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Publication Principles

Editorial

In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful...

Praise be to Allah, and peace and blessings be to the Prophet.

As the Journal of Theological Academia, we are delighted and excited to reunite with you, our esteemed readers.

Sent to all mankind as a mercy, the Prophet is also presented as a role model for humanity in the Qur'an. The religion he conveyed from Allah has a quality that encompasses all fields of faith, worship, morality and social life. It has the quality of being "the final and the most perfect religion" due to this feature. In other words, Islam is a religion that is perfect in every way with no deficiencies. This is expressed to us by Allah in the Qur'an as follows: *"This day I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favor upon you and have approved for you Islam as religion."* (Al-Ma'idah, 5/3)

The fact that the religion of Islam is perfect, brings up the point of rejecting any additions to the religion. Due to this quality of the religion, the Prophet always forbidden statements and practices that are contrary to the essence of the religion and that are not able to be included in religion, and he warned his companions about preserving the purity of the religion. The Prophet's companions obeyed his warnings and demonstrated the same diligence in terms of understanding and preserving the sunnah. The generations of "tâbiin", who were the students of the generation of the companions, and the generation of the "tebe-i tâbiîn" followed by the "tâbiîn" were exemplary generations who were diligent about understanding and protecting the sunnah. Scholars such as Muhaddis and Fuqaha within these three generations also made every effort to understand and preserve the sunnah. Different approaches in understanding and interpreting the sunnah emerged among these generations. Some scholars tried to understand the sunnah by giving it a literal meaning, while others did it by establishing its defects. In this context, a number of schools and sects emerged.

In the context of the modernization of the sunnah and the sunnah becoming a solution to the problems of our time, the sunnah and the hadiths, which are its written form, must be understood well. In this context, serious debates are being had in our country as well as the world of Islam in relation to the hadiths and the sunnah. In some circles, the hadiths and the sunnah are being underestimated by only taking the wisdom as a basis, while in others, there is an effort to save all narratives without identifying whether they are true or weak and what their topic is. In the past, the hadith ulema produced many works for the sunnah and the

hadiths to be understood, and there are also many studies in this area today. Our goal

in this special issue of "Sunnah" is to attract attention to this topic through the works of our authors who are well qualified in understanding the hadiths and the sunnah and who have spent many years serving the science of the sunnah and hadiths; to try to provide a contribution to the creation of a new society and civilization of Islam based on the principles set forth by the sunnah; and to try to understand the message provided by the Prophet's morality and the sunnah for humanity, life and the planet we live in.

We conducted interviews with the leading names in the Science of Hadith, Prof. Dr. Mehmed Said Hatiboğlu, Prof. Dr. Ali Osman Koçkuzu and the Lebanese Shia academician Haydar Hubullah, in order to gain an accurate understanding of the hadiths and the sunnah and to get their opinions on what could be done to modernize the sunnah. In addition, our esteemed professors from different social disciplines who are proficient in their fields enriched our journal with their papers.

We would like to express our gratitude, particularly to our university and faculty management, as well as the authors, their reviewers, the publication and advisory board, and the publication printing and distribution team, and we are calling on the God Almighty for this issue to conduce to benevolence.

Having the purpose of identifying and diagnosing the problems that appear in the field of religion in our country and the world of Islam, and providing an accurate understanding of Islam through authentic sources, the *Journal of Theological Academia* will, in the next issue, be offering its readers a special focus on the "Qur'an".

Greetings and best regards,

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Recep ASLAN

Faculty of Divinity, Gaziantep University

Issue Editor of The Journal of Theological Academia

Limits of the Hadith Interpretations*

Bünyamin ERUL **

Abstract

Scholarly works, which aim to understand hadith, starts from early the ages and continues with commentaries of the fundamental hadith sources. It is evident that such studies, written in different times and places, contribute to the multi-dimensional interpretations of hadiths. In this limited study, limits of hadith interpretations are the topic, by critically reviewing studies by well-known hadith commentaries. It aims to trace commentators' style and methodology through various important cases. It has been observed that commentators, from time to time, force the limits of interpretation by addressing fewer probable cases, repeating former commentators, or not commenting on the core issue; rather than undertaking a detailed investigation of problematic cases. In this article, the challenges with commenting on tradition are addressed and some solutions are presented.

Keywords: Hadith, commentary, interpretation, text

Hadis Yorumunun Sınırları

Özet

Sahabeden itibaren başlayan hadis ve sünnetin anlaşılmasına dönük ilmî çabalar, erken asırlardan itibaren temel hadis kaynakları üzerine telif edilen birçok önemli şerhin yazılmasıyla devam etmiştir. Farklı zaman ve zeminlerde kaleme alınan bu şerhlerin, hadislerin yorumuna çok yönlü katkısı olduğu herkesin malumudur.

Sınırlı hacme sahip olan bu çalışmada, meşhur hadis şerhlerinden faydalanılarak eleştirel bir gözle hadis yorumunun sınırları üzerinde durulmuştur. Dikkat çekici birkaç örnek üzerinden, hadisleri yorumlama faaliyetinde şarihlerin takındıkları tavır ve temayülün izi sürülmeye çalışılmıştır. Şarihlerin hadis metin ve muhtevalarında görülen müşkilatı serinkanlılıkla tartışarak makul bir şekilde çözmek yerine, zaman zaman yorum sınırlarını çok zorlayarak hayli uzak ihtimalleri sıraladıkları, önceki şarihlerin açıklamalarını tekrarladıkları, rivayeti savunmagayretiyle çeşitli teviller getirdikleri yahut müşkili izah yerine o hususta dolaylı malumat vererek sessiz kaldıkları görülebilmektedir. Makale ile

*This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Hadis Yorumunun Sınırları" published in the 7-8th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Bünyamin Erul, "Hadis Yorumunun Sınırları", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 7-8, Aralık 2018, s. 1-24.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

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şerh geleneğindeki yoruma dair çeşitli sorunlara dikkat çekilmekte ve bazı teklifler sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hadis, Şerh, Yorum, Metin

Introduction

The efforts to understand and interpret the hadith and the sunnah, which are the most definitive references besides the Quran for Muslims and Muslim communities, dates back to the first addressees, namely, from the companions. The companions of the prophet commented on the hadith and the sunnah through the process of listening-observing, understanding-explaining and commentating. Titles of the chapters and brief notes either inside the texts or as footnotes placed later on during the processes of narration, codification, or classification of narratives represent the first examples of the hadith commentaries. Branching into different sub-fields, such as gharib al-hadith, mushkil al-hadith, mukhtalif al-hadith, and fiqh al-hadith, these commentaries have become and developed as a new field of science with the influence of independent works composed by Al-Khattabi and subsequent commentators.

This paper dwells upon limits of the hadith interpretations with reference to well-known commentaries written during the classical period. What do the commentators focus on in interpretation of the texts? What are their approaches in explaining and annotating the narrated texts? What are the constants, criteria or fundamental principles upon which they predicated their commentaries? To what extent are rules of the Arabic language, Arabic rhetoric and pattern, literary arts and performances in Arabic, logic, reasoning, judgment, and most importantly, the verses of the Qur'an, determinative of the commentaries? Are charisma of the interpreted hadith, authority of the author, accuracy of references or narratives, the sect followed by the commentator etc. definitive at all? To what extent are explanations and possibilities given by the commentator to clarify the complexities in narratives and to accommodate the contradictions consistent with each other? What should the authorities and the limits of commentators be in terms of protecting the text and its content and presenting them as reasonable and acceptable, when there is no single marker for interpretation? In other words, could a commentator use every possibility produced by his imagination or recalled from his memory in his commentaries? Could the verses of the Qur'an ignore the specific rules of the Arabic language, as well as sense, reasoning, and judgment? Is narrating a number of possibilities one after the other to accommodate, manipulate, or gather the contradictions in relevant texts considered to be interpretation?

What should the attitude and place of a commentator be between the wording and meaning in the interpretation of the narratives? In this duality of words and meaning, which of them should the commentator prioritize? An attitude

which ignores the meaning in order to salvage the words and the explicit sides? Or an approach that focuses on the meaning and prioritizes the content?

Another question, how should a commentator approach different problem identified in the narratives? There are two distinctive approaches seen in the commentaries we have examined: Occasionally, explicit problems are ignored and avoided. On the other hand, the large quantity of information and narratives which are propounded with a motive to avoid the problem, may result in new problems, contradictions, and conflicts. Should a commentator keep silent in such situations? Or should he defend the objections and criticisms regarding the problem with a motivation to offer answers? Or else, if there is a real problem, should he find a solution through explanation and examination of this complexity to a sufficient extent?

With reference to a few texts of hadith narratives, this study will focus on certain issues in commentaries such as the limits of the hadith interpretation, dependence on words, approaches to contradictions, submissive attitudes, dilemmas caused by an instinct to defend, and the ignorance towards the problems.

Before further analysis, it should be noted that we are aware that the commentators conduct a number of significant services such as the analysis of language and grammar use in the texts, explanation of unknown words, reference to different version and narratives on a specific topic, use of various resources that have not survived to the present day, representation of the scholars in their own periods as well as of former scholars, supporting the hadith, achieving judgments and regulations out of them, obtaining information about narrators, referencing different versions of chapters in a single resource, and narrating the reasons behind the hadith, together with further additional information. Commentaries on hadiths serve as an archive or information bank that narrates all related narratives, regardless of their levels of accuracy, through the information obtained throughout the interpretation process. This resembles the classification of information sheets created in modern practices without sufficient interpretation, analysis, and evaluation. Although this information brings undeniable benefits in the collation of relevant knowledge on a specific topic, we should still question whether this approach is a genuine "interpretation of the hadith" or to what extent it meets the requirements of hadith interpretation.

The cases analyzed in this paper were chosen purposefully as they are more conspicuous and may assist in drawing attention to certain problems in hadith interpretation.

Case I.

The chief of the Banu Khazraj tribe and the so-called leader of the Munafiqun (hypocrites), Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul died 9 years after the Islamic Hegira (migration). When the Prophet wanted to say the funeral prayer for him, he faced a firm objection by ‘Umar. There are different narratives relating to this incident:

1. Narrated by ‘Umar bin Al-Khattab: When Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul died, Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) was called upon to offer his funeral prayer. When Allah's Messenger stood up to offer the prayer, I got up quickly and said, “O Allah's Messenger! Are you going to pray for Ibn Ubai? And he said so and so on such and such occasions, and started mentioning all that he had said. Allah's Messenger smiled and said, “O ‘Umar! Go away from me.” When I talked too much he said,

إني خيرت فاخترت لو أعلم أني إن زدت على السبعين يغفر له لزدت عليها

“I have been given the choice and so I have chosen (to offer the prayer). Had I known that he would be forgiven by asking for Allah's forgiveness more than seventy times, surely I would have done so.”

‘Umar added: Allah's Messenger offered his funeral prayer and returned. After a short while, the two verses of Surat Bara were revealed: *“And do not pray [the funeral prayer, O Muhammad], over any of them who have died - ever - or stand at his grave. Indeed, they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger and died while they were defiantly disobedient.”*[1]

‘Umar added, “Later, I was astonished at my courage before Allah's Messenger on that day. And Allah and His Messenger know better.”[2]

2. Narrated Ibn ‘Umar: “When Abdullah Ibn Ubai died, his son Abdullah bin Abdullah came to Allah's Messenger who gave his shirt to him and ordered him to shroud his father in it. Then he stood up to offer the funeral prayer for the deceased, but ‘Umar bin Al-Khattab took hold of his garment and said, “Do you offer the funeral prayer for him though he was a hypocrite and Allah has forbidden you to ask forgiveness for hypocrites?” The Prophet said:

وسأزيده على السبعين إنما خيرني الله فقال استغفر لهم أو لا تستغفر لهم إن تستغفر لهم سبعين مرة

“Allah has given me the choice (or Allah has informed me), saying, “*Whether you, O Muhammad, ask forgiveness for them, or do not ask forgiveness for them, even if you ask forgiveness for them seventy times, Allah will not forgive them.”* Then he added, “*I will (appeal to Allah for his sake) more than seventy times.”* “‘Umar said, “But he (Abdullah bin Ubai) is a hypocrite!”

[1] At-Tawbah, 9/84.
[2] Al-Bukhari, Cenâiz, 84; Tafsir 9/12; Al-Nasa'i, Cenâiz 69; Ahmad, Musnad, I. 16.

The narrator added: "So Allah's Messenger offered the funeral prayer for him and we too, offered the prayer along with him. Then Allah revealed: *"And do not pray [the funeral prayer, O Muhammad], over any of them who have died - ever - or stand at his grave. Indeed, they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger and died while they were defiantly disobedient."*[34]

However, another version narrated by Bukhari says:

فقال استغفر لهم أو لا تستغفر لهم إن تستغفر لهم سبعين مرة فلن يغفر الله لهم فقال - أو أخبرني -إنما خيرني الله سأزيده على سبعين

"But Allah has given me the choice (or Allah has informed me)..."

Although Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1449) says that this uncertainty does not exist in other narrations and the narrated phrase is often "hayyeranî"[5], this hesitation between the narrators is important for us.

3. When Abdullah Ibn Ubai (the chief of hypocrites) died, his son came to the Prophet and said: "O Allah's Messenger! Please give me your shirt to shroud him in, offer his funeral prayer and ask for Allah's forgiveness for him." So Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) gave his shirt to him and said, "Inform me (when the funeral is ready) so that I may offer the funeral prayer." So, he informed him and when the Prophet intended to offer the funeral prayer, 'Umar took hold of his hand and said, "Has Allah not forbidden you to offer the funeral prayer for the hypocrites?" The Prophet said,

أنا بين خيرتين قال استغفر لهم أو لا تستغفر لهم إن تستغفر لهم سبعين مرة فلن يغفر الله لهم

"I have been given the choice, for Allah says: *"(It does not avail) Whether you (O Muhammad) ask forgiveness for them (hypocrites), or do not ask for forgiveness for them. Even though you ask for their forgiveness seventy times, Allah will not forgive them."*[6] So the Prophet offered the funeral prayer and then the revelation came: *"And do not pray [the funeral prayer, O Muhammad], over any of them who have died - ever - or stand at his grave. Indeed, they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger and died while they were defiantly disobedient."*[78]"

On the other hand, in another narration by Al-Bukhari, which was made through a scholar called *Sadaqa*, there is no statement similar to "I have been given the choice":

Narrated by Abdullah bin 'Umar: "When Abdullah bin Ubdi (bin Salul) died, his son came to Allah's Messenger and said,

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[3] At-Tawbah, 9/84.
[4] Al-Bukhari, Tafsir, 9/13; Muslim, Fedâilu's-Sahâbe, 25, Munâfikîn, 3.
[5] Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bârî*, VIII. 338.
[6] At-Tawbah, 9/80.
[7] At-Tawbah, 9/84.
[8] Al-Bukhari, Cenâiz, 22; Tirmidhi, Tafsir, 9/13; Cenâiz 40; İbn Mâce, Cenâiz 31; Ahmad, Musnad, II. 18.

"O Allah's Messenger! Give me your shirt so that I may shroud my fathers body in it. And please offer a funeral prayer for him and invoke Allah for his forgiveness." The Prophet gave him his shirt and said to him,

"Inform us when you have finished (and the funeral procession is ready), call us." When he had finished he told the Prophet and the Prophet proceeded to offer his funeral prayers but 'Umar stopped him and said,

"Didn't Allah forbid you to offer the funeral prayer for the hypocrites?" He said:

"Whether you (O Muhammad) ask forgiveness for them or ask not for forgiveness for them, (and even) if you ask for forgiveness for them seventy times, Allah will not forgive them."[9] Then this message was revealed: *"And do not pray [the funeral prayer, O Muhammad], over any of them who have died - ever - or stand at his grave. Indeed, they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger and died while they were defiantly disobedient."*[10] Thenceforth the Prophet did not offer the funeral prayers for the hypocrites."[11]

Before further discussion on the narrators' interpretations of these narratives, we have to remember two groups of verses which are relevant to this subject:

سَوَاء عَلَيْهِمْ أَسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ لَن يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ

هُمُ الَّذِينَ يَقُولُونَ لَا تُنفِقُوا عَلَى مَنْ عِندَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ حَتَّى يَنفَضُّوا وَلِلَّهِ خَزَائِنُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَلَكِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ

يَقُولُونَ لَئِن رَّجَعْنَا إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ لَيُخْرِجَنَّ الْأَعَزُّ مِنْهَا الْأَذَلَّ وَلِلَّهِ الْعِزَّةُ وَلِرَسُولِهِ وَلِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَلَكِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

"It is all the same for them whether you ask forgiveness for them or do not ask for forgiveness for them; never will Allah forgive them. Indeed, Allah does not guide the defiantly disobedient people. They are the ones who say, "Do not spend on those who are with the Messenger of Allah until they disband." And to Allah belongs the depositories of the heavens and the earth, but the hypocrites do not understand. They say, "If we return to al-Madinah, the more honored [for power] will surely expel there from the more humble." And to Allah belongs [all] honor, and to His Messenger, and to the believers, but the hypocrites do not know."[12]

اسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ أَوْ لاَ تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ إِن تَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَن يَغْفِرَ اللّهُ لَهُمْ ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَاللّهُ لاَ يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ

وَلاَ تُصَلِّ عَلَى أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا وَلاَ تَقُمْ عَلَىَ قَبْرِهِ إِنَّهُمْ كَفَرُوا بِاللّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَمَاتُوا وَهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ

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[9] At-Tawbah, 9/80.
[10] At-Tawbah, 9/84.
[11] Al-Bukhari, Libas, 8.
[12] Al-Munafiqun, 63/6-8.

"Ask forgiveness for them, [O Muhammad], or do not ask forgiveness for them. If you should ask forgiveness for them seventy times - never will Allah forgive them. That is because they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger, and Allah does not guide the defiantly disobedient people."

"And do not pray [the funeral prayer, O Muhammad], over any of them who have died - ever - or stand at his grave. Indeed, they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger and died while they were defiantly disobedient."[13]

Regarding the aforementioned verses and narratives, we ask the following questions:

1.Could one correctly interpret the situation upon reading the words, *"sevâun"* and *"ev"*?

2.Could we interpret "If you should ask forgiveness for them seventy times" as "more than seventy times"?

3.Does the verse saying, *"Fe len yağfirallâhu lehum"* leave any chance or possibility for those to be forgiven?

4.Could 'Umar interpret the verses better than the Prophet?

5.Is it certain in these narratives that the Prophet uttered these statements? Could these statements be only interpretations or commentaries from the narrators?

6.Is it certain in these narratives that the Prophet did offer the funeral prayer?

7.Were there objections suggested in the past against the accuracy and certainty of these narratives?

1. *Could one correctly interpret the situation upon reading the words, "sevâun"* and *"ev"*?

In his interpretation of the Surah at-Tawbah, Al-Qurtubi (d. 671/1273), points out the controversies among narrators who interpreted these verses. According to some of these narrators, the phrases, *"len yağfirallâhu lehum"* and *"seb'îne merraten"* in these verses refer to despair. On the other hand, a group of scholars, including Urve b. ez-Zubeyr (d. 94/713), Hasan al-Basri (d. 110/728) and Qatada (d. 117/735) were of the opinion that the Prophet's utterance, "I have been given the choice and so I have chosen" refers to a freedom of choice.[14]

Al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1144), on the other hand, propounds that the phrases, *"sevâun aleyhim"* refers to equality between the existence and the absence of forgiveness as they would not approach it of their own accord. Or it refers to a

[13] At-Tawbah, 9/80, 84.
[14] Qurtubi, *al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Quran*, X. 321.

fact that "Allah will never forgive them" despite the Prophet asking for their forgiveness.[15]

When it comes to the interpretation of the hadith, the scholars have never asked, "How could the Prophet understand freedom of choice from these verses?", as according to our research, the narratives are accurate and cited in reliable resources.

2. *Could one correctly interpret the situation upon reading the words, "sevâun"* and *"ev"*?

Those who support the approach to interpret the numbers given in verses as numerical values espoused this narration. Could the Prophet have perceived asking for forgiveness more seventy times as different from seventy, and said, "I will more than seventy times." However, those who objected to this approach of interpretation (of numbers) responded to the former group with the following part of this narration and stated that this interpretation could not refute the evidence. Because, if there was no evidence showing that *"seb'în"* refers to an abundance, it could be interpreted as a number and the reasoning could be understood in this way.[16]

Ibn Hajar states that the utterance, "I will more than seventy times", causes a problem, as higher quantities are also judged the same way. Some of the scholars suggest that "I will more than seventy times" was uttered to win the hearts of his tribe and does not refer to a possibility of forgiveness if asked for more than the given quantity, thus one of the narratives presents this expression as, "Had I known that he would be forgiven by asking for Allah's forgiveness..." However, the "I will more than seventy times" utterance is proven and his promise is true. Particularly the phrase, *"le ezîdenne"* was uttered to express consolidation and reinforcement. Some of the scholars responded to these statements by stating that: He must have done so considering the situation they were involved in. Because, the possibility of forgiveness with a higher quantity of prayers (for forgiveness) had been a proven fact before the revelation of this verse. Ibn Hajar also finds this response reasonable.[17]

3. *Is it certain in these narratives that the Prophet did offer the funeral prayer?*

Ibn Hajar explains the Prophet's approval to offer the funeral prayer for that hypocrite by stating that He probably judged the situation on face value and wished to do this as a favor for his son, a way to establish rapport with his tribe, and to mitigate their mischievous characteristics. Accordingly, previously being ordered to be patient regarding the tortures of the *mushriq,* the Prophet maintained an attitude that upholds forgiveness for those who claim to have converted to

[15] Al-Zamakhshari, Kashshaf, II. 221.
[16] Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bârî, VIII. 336.
[17] Ibid, VIII. 338.

Muslim in order to further attract them to Islam even after an order to fight against them, and to prevent any negative claim by society, such as "Muhammad kills his companions." Besides, the Prophet offered the funeral prayer before he was forbidden to pray for the hypocrites.[18]

Al-Khattabi, (d. 388/998) relates the Prophet's acceptance to offer that funeral prayer with his compassion for those associated with religion in some way, his attempt to win his son's heart, who was a virtuous person, together with those of the whole tribe, as he was their leader and says: "If the Prophet had not responded to his son's request and explicitly refused to offer the funeral prayer before any clear prohibition, this could be a reason for curses upon that man and embarrassment for his tribe. Allah's Messenger chose the best of two choices until it was explicitly forbidden.[19]

Ibn Hajar and Al-'Ayni (d. 855/1451), focus on the contradiction between the hadith narrated by Ibn 'Umar, which includes, "Please give me your shirt to shroud him in", and the one narrated by Jabir b. Abdullah saying, "Allah's Apostle came to the grave of Abdullah b. Ubayy, brought him out from there, placed him on his knee and put his saliva in his mouth and shrouded him in his own shirt"[20], and compile them as follows:

فأعطاه أي أنعم له بذلك فأطلق على العدة اسم العطية مجازا لتحقق وقوعها

Here, *"a'tâhu"* means "he did a favor to him in this way", and this favor was expressed with the word "giving" as it is a reliable promise that it will happen. Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597/1201), on the other hand, tries to explain this incident by saying that he probably gave two shirts to him.[21]

Interestingly, Ibn Hajar focuses on the shirt used to enshroud him but does not mention the contradiction between this narrative and the others, such as the one narrated by Jabir, which states that there is no evidence about the Prophet's attendance at the funeral, but instead suggests that there was no funeral prayer as he was directly put into his grave. Accordingly, Al-Tahawi (d. 321/933) considers Jabir's narrative as evidence indicating that he did not say the funeral prayer.[22]

Based on the reliability of these narratives, those who accept that the Prophet said the funeral prayer for Ibn Ubai argue that the verse mentioned in this hadith refers to freedom of choice, and explains the Prophet's choice to say the funeral prayer by stating that the Prophet relied upon his disclosure of converting to Islam,

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[18] Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bârî, VIII. 336.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Allah's Apostle came to the grave of Abdullah b. Ubayy, brought him out from there, placed him on his knee and put his saliva in his mouth and shrouded him in his own shirt, and Allah knows best. Muslim, Munâfikîn 2; Abd al-Razzaq, Musannaf, VI. 40.
[21] Aynî, Umdet al-Qari, VIII. 54; Fath al-Bârî, III. 139.
[22] Al-Tahawi, Sharh Mushkil al-Athar, I. 75.

wished to win the heart of his son, who was a righteous Muslim, and to build rapport with the Banu Khazraj tribe, who lost their leader through this death, and to mitigate their mischievous characteristics.[23]

In our opinion, the Prophet intended to offer the funeral prayer for Ibn Ubai despite the objection from 'Umar due to political reasons based on various reflections and deliberations, however, he did not realize this offer because of the verses 73-84 of the Surah at-Tawbah, which were revealed about the hypocrites and initiated a new age and a new policy.[24] Accordingly, some of the narratives do not believe that he actually offered the funeral prayer.[25]

Some scholars from *Ahl al-Hadith* (The people of hadith) are of the opinion that Abdullah b. Ubai's conversion to Islam was accurate as the Prophet offered his funeral prayer, and they ignore the verses and the hadiths that contradict this or explicitly disclose his characteristics.

4. Could 'Umar interpret the verses better than the Prophet?

According to Ibn Hajar, relying upon a common understanding and a common usage in Arabic, 'Umar interpreted the word *"ev"* as a reference to grading rather than freedom of choice, which equalizes the outcomes of asking and not asking forgiveness. Similarly, 'Umar considered *"seb'îne merraten"* to be a hyperbole rather than a numerical value like 70, and thought that forgiveness was impossible regardless of how many times it was asked for. He did not even consider that these utterances might refer to the apparent face of the situation due to his firm belief in the religion and toughness against the heathen and the hypocrites.[26]

'Umar's warning to the Prophet about the prohibition of praying for the hypocrites is considered as an apprehension of the narratives by some scholars, while some others think that 'Umar was aware of a special prohibition. Al-Qurtubi is of the opinion that 'Umar might believe this due to his own inspiration or that he likely interpreted a relevant verse which says, *"It is not for the Prophet and those who have believed to ask forgiveness for the polytheists..."*[27] in this way. This suggestion from Al-Qurtubi is found to be more reasonable by Ibn Hajar.[28]

Accordingly, Al-Zamakhshari asks the following question of himself and offers the following response: "If you ask me, how could the meaning of this number (given in this verse) which refers to the fact that "forgiveness is impossible

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[23] See: Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bârî, VIII. 186-190.
[24] For a similar study, see: Meududi, *Tefhîm*, II. 258.
[25] Al-Bukhari, Cenâiz 78, II. 95; Muslim, Munâfikîn 2, III. 2140; Al-Nasa'i, Cenâiz 92, IV. 84; Ahmad, III. 371. For the narratives mentioned by Al-Tahawi, stating that the Prophet also did not offer the funeral prayer for those who had stolen, committed suicide, or died with debt and so, he likely did not offer it for the leader of the hypocrites, see: Sharh Mushkil al-Athar, I. 74-81.
[26] Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bârî, VIII. 335.
[27] At-Tawbah, 9/113.
[28] Ibn Hajar, ibid, VIII. 334.

no matter how many times it is asked" be ambiguous for someone (the Prophet) who is the master of rhetoric and most acquainted with patterns and representations in the language, I will answer you with this: "It was not ambiguous to (hidden from) him but his words intended to manifest his mercy and compassion for the people he has been sent to." However, Ibn Hajar is not satisfied with this response.[29]

Ibn al-Munayyir (d. 683/1284) and some other scholars criticize his idea by saying: "It is not permissible to associate what he said to the Prophet. Because, Allah has already revealed that he will never forgive the disbelievers. As they will never be forgiven, it is impossible to ask for forgiveness for them. And it is not possible that the Prophet can ever ask something impossible."

According to some others: "The prohibition of forgiveness for those who died as polytheists does not mean that it is also forbidden for those who apparently showed that they are Muslim. Because, in the latter there is a possibility of trueness in belief." Ibn Hajar finds this response reasonable too.[30]

5. Were there objections suggested in the past against the accuracy and certainty of these narratives?

Although these narratives are mentioned by reliable sources such as Al-Bukhari and Muslim, they have been criticized by a number of scholars based on the fact that it is impossible for the Prophet to have made this sense out of Verse 80 in the Surah at-Tawbah, and thus it is impossible for him to offer Ibn Ubai's funeral prayer based on this verse in the Qur'an. Some scholars, including Abu Ja'far al Dawudi (d. 402/1012), Al-Baqillani (d. 403/1013), Al-Juwayni (d. 478/1085), Al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111), and Al-Qushayr (465/1072) do not regard these narratives as reliable[31]. While Al-Tahawi (d. 321/933) suggests that Ibn Abbas' narration is more reasonable due to the words he uses, but it is a fact that the Prophet did not offer this funeral prayer.[32]

Ibn Hajar states that the freedom of choice inferred from this verse causes a problem, and a group of notable scholars criticize the accuracy of this hadith, although the number of narratives is considerable, *the Sheikhein* agree in this regard, and some other scholars regard it as reliable and narrate it to others. He also suggests that the facts that its narrators are less known and they do not have sufficient information about the hadith leave the narratives wide open to refute its

[29] Ibn Hajar, ibid, VIII. 339; Mubarakpuri narrates this exact explanation in his Tuhfat ul-Ahwazi. See: VIII. 395

[30] Ibn Hajar, ibid, VIII. 339.

[31] See: Ibn Hajar, ibid, VIII. 189; Qurtubi, Ahkam al-Quran, VIII. 219; Al-Zamakhshari, Kashshaf, II. 164; Maraghi, Ahmad Mustafa, Tafsir al-Maraghi, Beirut, nd., Daru Ihyai Turas al-Arabi, (I-XXX), X. 176.

[32] Al-Tahawi, Abu Jafar Ahmad b. Muhammad, Sharh Mushkil al-Athar, ed. Shuaib Al Arna'ut, Beirut-1987, Muessesetu'r-Risâle, (I-XV), I. 70-81.

accuracy. "(Lots of) feet slipped for interpretation of this verse. Even Al-Baqillani refused the accuracy of this hadith and said, "It is not permissible to accept this and it cannot be true that Allah's Messenger said this." Ibn Hajar narrates Al-Baqillani's expression by saying, "This hadith is one of the *ahad* news, which are not fully known in terms of certainty." On the other hand, Mukhtasar, Al-Juwayni states that, "This hadith is not examined in *Sahih*", while according to Burhan, "Ahl al-Hadith do not regard it as accurate." In addition, Al-Ghazali states in his *al-Mustasfa* that, "It is understood that this hadith is not accurate." According to Abu Ja"far al Dawudi, "I have been given the choice for..." is not a reserved statement. Because it contradicts with the reserved one narrated by Anas[33]. In his narration, Anas says that "Umar said, 'Didn't Allah forbid you to offer the funeral prayer for the hypocrites?'" and added, "On that the revelation came: "*And do not pray [the funeral prayer, O Muhammad], over any of them who have died...*"[34]"[35] Again Ibn al-Munayyir states that, "There is no doubt among the experts of rhetoric that the given number did not refer to a numerical value."[36]

Moreover, Ibn Hajar suggests that the reason leading some scholars to reject this aforementioned hadith is their disbelief that, "*Indeed, they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger"*, was revealed together with *"Whether you (O Muhammad) ask forgiveness for them or ask not for forgiveness for them."*[37] Indeed, this part was revealed later on. This information resolves the aforementioned problem. In this case, evidence of those who suggest that the number given in this narrative should be interpreted as a numerical value is accurate. Also, there is no doubt regarding the Prophet's adherence to the apparent situation in a legitimate way to adjudge in certain situations until prohibitive evidence is revealed. Adding, "All praises to Allah who inspired and taught this (commentary) to me", Ibn Hajar admits that the author of *Hilyat al-awliya'*, Abu Nu`aym (d. 430/1083) wrote a chapter about this issue, gathered the relevant hadiths in this chapter and discussed their meaning, while he only summarized the chapter by Abu Nu`aym.[38]

Case II

The second case consists of the following narrative, which is considered in the category of Muttafaqun Alaihi:

لولا بنو إسرائيل لم يخبث الطعام ، ولم يخنز اللحم ، ولولا حواء لم تخن أنثى زوجها الدهر

[33] We could not find the narrative from Anas in our references.
[34] At-Tawbah, 9/84.
[35] See: Aynî, Umdet al-Qari, VIII. 55.
[36] Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bârî, VIII. 338.
[37] At-Tawbah, 9/80-84.
[38] Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bârî, VIII. 339.

"But for the Israelis, meat would not decay and but for Eve, wives would never betray their husbands."[39]

Israel is a biblical name given to Jacob, and both in the Torah and the Qur'an, sons of the Prophet Jacob and their descendants are called Israelites.[40] As it is known, Allah Almighty sent down manna and quails from the skies to the Israelites.[41] In the commentaries we analyzed, it is emphasized that this hadith refers to the possibility that the meat sent by Allah decayed as it was laid aside. Here it is narrated that although it was forbidden to lay these quails aside, the Israelites ignored this prohibition and attempted to lay the meat aside, and then they were punished by Allah. And the meat did not start to decay until this punishment. In another explanation, it is stated that, "the meat would not decay if they did not have such a habit", and that they were led to this conclusion by finding a new way. Al-Nawawi (d. 676/1277) states that the scholars explain this incident, claiming that the Israelites laid the quail meat sent to them aside although it was forbidden, and then the meat decayed, stank, and it continued to do so thereafter.[42]

According to another opinion, their food started to decay after they laid the food sent to them aside. Accordingly, at-Tirmidhi narrates that when they were sent the meal of bread and meat, they were ordered not to lay the food aside for the following day and not to betray these instructions. However, they disobeyed and kept their food for the following day, and thus were transformed into monkeys and pigs.[43]

It is understood that in this hadith some general terms are used and the reason for the decaying of the food and the stinking of the meat is because of the acts of the Israelites. If the issue here was only that the Israelites hid the quails or the food sent from the sky, we could interpret the incident as follows: If they had not done so, this divine treat would continue every day without interruption. It would be fresh as would be sent daily and would never decay. However, the blessings were interrupted because of their greed and disobedience, and the hidden food decayed. In our opinion, when we base our interpretation upon the text of this hadith, this explanation is also not possible nor satisfactory.

Indeed, a narrative by Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 114/732) states in some holy scriptures that Allah Almighty says, لولا أني كتبت الفساد على الطعام لخزنه الأغنياء عن الفقراء "If I did not let the food to decay, the rich would hide them and the poor would begrudge them."

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[39] Al-Bukhari, Enbiya, 1, 25; Muslim, Radâ', 63; Ahmad, Musnad, II. 315.
[40] Harman, Ömer Faruk, "İsrail (Benî İsrail)" chapter, DİA, XXIII. 193-5.
[41] See: Al-Baqarah, 2/57; The Bible, Exodus 13, 21, 16, 13-15.
[42] Al-Nawawi, al-Minhaj, X/ 59.
[43] See: Tirmidhi, Tafsir 6, no: 3061, V. 260.

Indeed, this statement indicates the scientific rules Allah Almighty established for all beings and the Earth. All plants, human beings, and animals, all creatures in short, have a specific duration to live due to certain reasons such as the temperature, humidity, air, bacteria, etc. that exist on Earth. Due to these rules of nature, which have been valid since the time Adam was banished to Earth and will be until the resurrection, except for some protective measures, fruits, vegetables, other food, and beverages decay over time. Could these physical rules, that were initiated with the banishment of Adam, last until the end of human history and the day of resurrection? Therefore, we cannot claim that the stinking and decaying phenomena of the meat and the food is not associated with the unfavorable manner of the Israelites after the Prophet Jacob. We cannot say that the meat and food had never decayed before Jacob and that the Israelites caused this problem.

In his independent work about the revisions conducted by the hadith scholars, Abu Hilal al-Askari (d. after 400/1009) states that the expression, ولم يخنز اللحم in this hadith is mentioned as ولم يخزن اللحم , which means, "the meat would not be stored" in some other narratives.[44] However, we could not find the narrative of this given hadith during our review in Shamila One and Two. Therefore, this revision mentioned by Al-Askari is probably an interpretation and a revision which was deliberately conducted to preserve the narrative.

It is also not possible to understand and accept the part of this narrative about Hawwa as is. Likewise, it is impossible to attribute any betrayal of Hawwa against her husband, the Prophet Adam. In contrary to the narrations in the Torah, the Qur'an doesn't relate the first sin of the Prophet Adam to any solicitation from a woman at all. The Torah narrates that Hawwa was fooled by a snake, in the same way Adam was fooled by her,[45] while the Qur'an says both of them were misled by Satan,[46] and both of them committed the sin.[47] In some verses, it is even mentioned that the Prophet Adam that Satan misled Adam and then both of them ate the fruit of the forbidden tree. After that, they explicitly state that, *"And Adam disobeyed his Lord and erred."*[48] Thereby, the Qur'an never cites the name of Hawwa and neither implies her betrayal in this violation of the rules.

In Jewish-Christian traditions, Hawwa is presented as tempting and seductive,[49] while the Qur'an holds both the man and the woman accountable for the incident that caused their banishment from Heaven.[50]

The classical commentaries explain this hadith, unfortunately, under the effect of the approaches in Jewish-Christian traditions, instead of adopting a

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[44] Askari, Tashifât al-Muhaddisîn, I. 223-4.
[45] See: Genesis, 3.
[46] Al-A'raf 7/20.
[47] Al-Baqarah 2/36.
[48] Taha 20/115-121.
[49] For more information: Harman, Ömer Faruk, "Havva" chapter, DİA, XVI. 543-5.
[50] Al-A'raf 7/19-23.

Qur'anic interpretation. For instance, Ibn Hajar says: "Hawwa not only agreed to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree, which was illustrated as embellished by Satan, she also misled Adam. This is the meaning of the betrayal implied here. Adultery and other kinds of betrayals are out of the question. As she is the mother of all women, this attitude of her has genetically been transferred to every woman. Therefore, no woman can avoid either oral or actual betrayal against her husband..."[51]

The best comment we can make regarding this incident based on Qur'anic realities is: Mother Hawwa made the mistake of eating the fruit of the forbidden tree as she was misled by Satan together with the Prophet Adam, and both of them repented immediately afterwards. In this regard, the Qur'an does not include any utterance or sign that puts the blame solely on Hawwa. For this reason, although it is accurate in terms of the basis and references, it is inevitable to question whether this text and content actually belong to Allah's Messenger.

Case III.

The third case we will analyze consists of commentaries on another narrative which is considered by Muttafaqun Alaihi:

فرجع الملك : فلطم موسى عين ملك الموت ففقأها ، قال : أجب ربك ، قال :جاء ملك الموت إلى موسى فقال له
ارجع إلى : فرد الله عينه ، قال : إنك أرسلتني إلى عبد لك لا يريد الموت وقد فقأ عيني ، قال :إلى الله عز وجل فقال
الحياة تريد ؟ فإن كنت تريد الحياة فضع يدك على متن ثور فما وارت يدك من شعرة ، فإنك تعيش بها سنة :عبدي فقل له
وقال رسول . رب أدنني من الأرض المقدسة رمية بحجر : فالآن من قريب ، قال : قال : ثم تموت : ثم مه ؟ قال :، قال
لو أني عنده لأريتكم قبره إلى جانب الطريق عند الكثيب الأحمر« :الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

"The Angel of Death came to Moses and said:

- "Respond (to the call) of Allah (i. e. be prepared for death)." Moses (peace be upon him) sent a blow to the eye of the Angel of Death and knocked it out of place. The Angel went back to Allah (the Exalted) and said:

- "You sent me to your servant who would not like to die and he knocked my eye out of place." Allah restored his eye to its proper place (and revived his eyesight) and said,

- "Go to My servant and say: Do you want life? And in case you want life, place your hand on the body of the ox and you will live the

[51] Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bârî, VI. 376.

number of years as the (number of) hairs your hand covers." He (Moses) said,

- "What, then?" He said,
- "Then you would die", whereupon
- he (Moses) said, "Then why not now?" (He then prayed): "Allah, cause me to die close to the sacred land."

Allah's Messenger said,

"Had I been near that place I would have shown his grave by the side of the path at the red mound."[52]"

As an accurate hadith in terms of its basis, this narrative has been controversial particularly among hadith and kalam scholars. It's meaning is considered contradictory to the spirit of Islam, which necessitates an absolute submission. This contradiction has led to various other discussions, scholars have revealed several doubts about it, while some others have responded to these claims. In this respect, we can ask the following questions:

1. How can this attitude of Moses, as a prophet, against death and the Angel of Death be explained?

2. Could Moses beat the Angel of Death instead of accepting the call immediately?

3. Was the eye of the Angel of Death really knocked out of place?

4. Did this incident really happen? Or is it only an imaginative narration?

The commentaries we analyzed considered each incident narrated in this hadith a reality and made efforts to address the criticisms presented in different time periods. According to some of these commentaries, Allah sent the angel not with a certain order, but as a test or to inform him. The Angel of Death approached Moses in a shape that he couldn't recognize and Moses, who was a jealous man, hit this stranger in his home and put his eye out of place. Moreover, according to Islamic law, it is alright to knock a stranger's eye if he/she enters a house without permission. Besides, Abu Huraira reported Allah's Messenger as saying: "If a person were to cast a glance in your (house) without permission, and you had in your hand a staff and you thrust that in his eyes, there is no harm for you."[53] Therefore, there is no harm for the Prophet Moses to do this.

Some scholars suggest that the angel intended to kill Moses and he did this as a manner of self-defense. Some others are of the opinion that he hit the angel's

[52] Abd al-Razzaq, XI. 274-5; Al-Bukhari, Enbiya, 31, Cenâiz 69; Müslim, Fadâil, 158; Ahmad, Musnad, II. 315.
[53] Muslim, Âdâb 43, II. 1699; Ahmad, Musnad, II. 266.

eye as the angel tried to take his soul without offering his a choice, which is against the common case for prophets.

Although *"Kafee aynehû"* was also interpreted as "negated his testimony", this suggestion was immediately refused as the hadith includes "restored his eye to its proper place."

Considering that the "Angel of Death" is a character in Jewish holy scriptures and it is a known fact in Jewish traditions that when the Angel of Death came to Moses to take his soul, Moses rejected the angel and his soul was taken by God. The incident of Moses and the Angel of Death, which is narrated in greater detail in several hadiths, is associated with the one narrated in the Jewish holy scripture and Jewish traditions. Ibn Qutaybah finds this hadith "favorable" and associates it with narrated cultures by saying, "I think that the original narrative was mentioned in past news."[54]

Could In relation to the Prophet, it would be more accurate to explain this hadith with a representation. As is in many anecdotes and proverbs, it is highly possible that Allah's Messenger expressed the reaction of human beings towards the phenomenon of death by means of the Prophet Moses and the Angel of Death. First of all, it is emphasized that even the Prophet Moses does not accept death, and then it is given as a message that death will come sooner or later for everyone and no one can escape it, and submission to the will of Allah is inevitable. Allah knows best.

Case IV.

According to a narrative by Abu Huraira, Allah's Messenger (p. b. u. h.) said, "If there is bad luck, it is in the house, and the wife, and the horse." However, Aisha objected this statement by saying:

a. "Abu Huraira didn't memorize it well. Because when he entered, the Prophet said, "May Allah confound the Jews! They say, "If there is bad luck...", but Abu Huraira did not hear the beginning of this hadith, but only its end."[55]

b. "I swear to the One (Allah) who revealed the Qur'an to Abu Al-Qasim that he (p. b. u. h.) did not say this in this way. But Allah's Messenger said that, "People of the days of ignorance used to say: "Bad luck is in the house, and the wife, and the horse""[56].

[54] Hıdır, Özcan, Yahudi Kültürü ve Hadisler, p. 582-3; Kılavuz Ahmet Saim, "Azrail" chapter, DİA, IV. 350-1.
[55] Abu Dawud at-Tayalisi, Musnad, p. 215, no: 1537, Hyderabad-1321.
[56] Ahmad, Musnad, VI. 246, 150, 240.

It is possible that Aisha's objection was not taken into significant consideration because commentators offered interesting explanations regarding this narrative during the very early period. For instance; Ma'mar ibn Rashid (d. 153/770) provides the following information to help this narrative be understood:

قال معمر :يقول الحديث هذا يفسر من سمعت وسمعت : الفرس إذا لم يغز عليه ، وشؤم المرأة إذا كانت غير ولود ، وشؤم الدار جار السوء
.في سبيل الله ، وشؤم

"I heard those interpreted this hadith saying: The bad luck of a woman is her infertility, the bad luck of a horse is its use out of the path of Allah, and the bad luck of a house is a bad neighbor."[57]

Subsequent scholars did not discuss nor object to this "interpretation", claiming that infertility is the bad luck of women, whose commentator is unknown, but unfortunately chose to narrate it as an apodictic fact. Al-Khattabi is the first commentator who repeated this interpretation, although he added *"it was said that"* to it.[58] Al Baihaqi (d. 458/1066), narrated Ma'mar's narrative in his Sunan without any modification.[59] Al-Nawawi also commentated on the bad luck of women and added some other characteristics such as impudence and mistrust to infertility.[60] Ibn Hajar and Azimabadi (1857-1911), also narrated Ma'mar's narrative without any change or further interpretation.[61]

Repeating the same rationale, Al-Munawi (d. 1031/1622), added "bothering" next to infertility.[62] Mubarakpuri, on the other hand, cited Al-Nawawi's aforementioned explanation with no change.[63]

In fact, the commentators could object to this interpretation in at least a few of its aspects and express its inaccuracy:

1. The Qur'an does not see infertility as bad luck. On the contrary, It states that infertility is a fate ordained by Allah:

"To Allah belongs the dominion of the heavens and the earth; He creates what he wills. He gives to whom He wills female [children], and He gives to whom He wills males. Or He makes them [both] males and females, and He renders whom He wills barren. Indeed, He is Knowing and Competent."[64]

2. This interpretation could immediately be denied due to the fact that the problem of infertility is not peculiar to women but men can also be infertile.

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[57] Abd al-Razzaq, Musannaf (Ma'mer'in Câmii) X. 411.
[58] Al-Khattabi, Meâlimu's-Sunen, IV. 218.
[59] Al Baihaqi, Sunen, VIII. 140.
[60] Al-Nawawi, al-Minhaj, VII. 382. (وَشُؤْم الْمَرْأَة عَدَم وِلَادَتهَا ، وَسَلَاطَة لِسَانهَا ، وَتَعَرُّضهَا لِلرِّيْبِ)
[61] Fath al-Bârî, VIII. 484; Avn al-Ma'bûd, VIII. 448.
[62] Al-Munawi, Fayd al-Kadîr, II. 710.
[63] Mubarakpuri, Tuhfetu'l-Ahfezî, VII. 140.
[64] Ash-Shuraa, 42/49-50.

3. Unlike previous religions and beliefs, Islam and its Messenger objected to superstitious beliefs in general and the Prophet fought against superstitions throughout His life. In brief, the scholars had to refuse this interpretation based on the fact that there is nothing called "bad luck" in Islam.

4. Unlike other religions which humiliate and condemn women, Islam and its Messenger ensured that women earn the reputation they deserve, and the Prophet became a living model of this principle. Therefore, it is not possible that the Prophet considered women to be "bad luck" or interpret their bad luck as "infertility."

5. At least, this incorrect comment could be rejected if the fact that Mother Aisha also had no child was taken into consideration.

In fact, these commentators who did not neglect narrating the aforementioned interpretation so as to perform their duties were aware of these issues outlined above. However, the habit of "repetition of the past" and the "negative approach toward women", which emerged soon after the Prophet's rule, led the forenamed commentators to benefit from the ease of narrating the inherited information without question. In fact, such information, if required to be included in commentaries, could only be so for the purpose of demonstrating an objection and exposing its inaccuracy. Beginning with Ma'mar ibn Rashid, none of the scholars who narrated this interpretation had to report this information at all. The fact that such an interpretation survived to the second century of Islam and has been narrated up to the present day, is certainly a significant matter. However, it is not a verse from the Qur'an, neither a hadith or words of the companions. It is an expression whose narrator is unknown. Thus, at least it has to be evaluated in terms of the fundamentals and basic principles of Islam. However, the aforementioned explanations made to fulfill the duty of being a commentator, which are based on an incomplete narrative in this case, has been nothing but repetition of an incorrect interpretation.

Case V.

In the resources we refer to, there are some narratives from Anas bin Malik, which show the frequency of revelations before the Prophet's death and on the day he passed away. We will discuss the explanations made by the commentators after the narratives cited by the Al-Bukhari.

أَنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى تَابَعَ عَلَىرَسُولِهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم - رضى الله عنه -عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ قَالَ أَخْبَرَنِى أَنَسُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ قَبْلَ وَفَاتِهِ حَتَّى تَوَفَّاهُ أَكْثَرَ مَا كَانَ الْوَحْىُ، ثُمَّ تُوُفِّىَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بَعْدُ

"From Ibn Shihab: Narrated Anas b. Malik: "Allah sent down His Divine Inspiration to His Apostle continuously and abundantly during the period

preceding his death till He took him unto Him. That was the period of the greatest part of the revelation; and Allah's Messenger died after that."[65]

Ibn Battal, one of the commentators of the Bukhari (d. 449/1057), did not interpret this narrative at all.[66] Al-Kirmani (d. 786/1384), however, only dwelled upon the word of "tabea" and therefore says that, "Allah sent subsequent revelations, more frequent than ever, and at this time corresponded to the time when the death of the Prophet was closer."[67]

Regarding this narrative, Ayni states that its relation to the chapter's title is obvious, but correlated with the explanation of "tâbea" in meaning and "ba'du" in spelling.[68]

In his explanation of this narrative, Ibn Hajar says:

It means that the highest number of revelations were given in a time which was close to his death. The mystery behind this is that the number of delegates coming to the city increased after the conquest of Mecca and therefore, their questions about the judgments also increased. Thus, the frequency of revelations increased. Moreover, I understood the reason behind Anas's narration of this hadith reading the Ad-Darawardi. Accordingly, Al-Zuhri responded to Anas b. Malik saying that, "I asked the Messenger whether the revelations had come to an end. (But) He said that there were more than ever." Ibn Yusuf mentions this in Târih-u Misr. Unlike the previous situation, this reflects the recent conditions. Accordingly, the revelations stopped soon after the bi'tha for a while and than increased in frequency. In Mecca, only a few long surahs (chapters) were sent during the revelations. The relatively longer chapters which include a number of significant judgments were revealed only after the Hijra. However, the last days of the Prophet's life saw more revelations than ever due to the abovementioned reasons. The relation between this hadith and the title of the relevant chapter is revealed by its reference to the conditions of the revelations.[69]

Muslim narrates the incident with the following words:

عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ قَالَ أَخْبَرَنِى أَنَسُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ تَابَعَ الْوَحْىَ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَبْلَ وَفَاتِهِ حَتَّى تُوُفِّىَ وَأَكْثَرُ مَا كَانَ الْوَحْىُ يَوْمَ تُوُفِّىَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم

"From Ibn Shihab: Anas bin Malik reported that Allah, the Exalted and Glorious, sent the revelations to Allah's Messenger just before his death in quick succession until he left for his heavenly home, and the day when he died, he received the revelations profusely."[70]

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[65] Al-Bukhari, Fedâilu'l-Kur'an, 1.
[66] Ibn Battal Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, X. 215.
[67] Al-Kirmanî, al-Kevâkibu'd-Derârî, XIX. 4.
[68] Ayni, Umdet al-Qari, XX. 13-14.
[69] Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bârî, IX. 8.
[70] Müslim, Tafsir, 2; Al-Nasa'i, es-Sunenu'l-Kübrâ, V. 4; Ahmad, Musnad, III. 236.

The narrative is the same when we look at the commentaries on Muslim's narration. Accordingly, neither Qadi `Iyad, nor Al-Nawawi commented on this narrative. Both of them skipped this part without any explanation.[71] Probably, Ahmed Davudoğlu also wrote similar points by referring to the works of Ibn Hajar.[72]

According to this second hadith of the Kitâbu't-Tefsîr, which is a part of Sahih Muslim and composed of only 40 hadiths, the revelations sent to Allah's Messenger increased in his last days and the highest number of revelations was witnessed on the day he died. However, we learn from other narratives that some of these verses, which were claimed to be the last revelations, had been revealed during the Farewell Sermon. We also know that Allah's Messenger lived for around 2-3 months after the Farewell Sermon and, arguably, no more than one or two verses were revealed in this period of time. In this case, which one is true? This narrative or the others? If this narrative is true, what are the verses or chapters revealed in his last days and particularly on the day he died? Where are these revelations?

Has this question, and similar others, been answered in the commentaries made throughout the history of our culture, during which time some groups, particularly of the Rafida (rejectionists), claimed that certain chapters about Ahl al-Bayt and Ali had been hidden and not been included in the Qur'an? Unfortunately, none of the commentaries we could access discuss these problems and ask these questions. Even the commentators who made partial explanations avoid giving clear information by referring to this period as "the last years of the Madina period." However, the given expression explicitly mentions a huge number of revelations made in the last days of the Prophet's life and on the day he died. In this case, the duty that falls upon a commentator is to examine the other narratives related to the "revelation of the last verses and chapters" which contradict this hadith, or to offer explanations about how to interpret this expression.

Conclusion

The commentators, who have generated volumes of work that unravel and interpret the hadiths and narratives, fulfill a substantial need. However, we cannot simply think that they were independent from all other factors while performing this duty. Besides the time and the place they were in, and the socio-cultural and psychological factors, a number of other issues, such as considerations on and the power of nass, the authority of narrator imams and the charisma of their works, tawatur, general acceptance (talaqqi), the narratives regarded as muttafakun alaih

[71] Al-Nawawi, al-Minhaj, XVIII. 152; Qadi Iyad, Ikmâl al-Mu'lim, VIII. 578.
[72] Davudoğlu, Ahmed, Sahih-i Müslim Tercüme ve Şerhi, XI. 500.

and sahih, evaluations based on the methodology and opinion of the sects (either within jurisprudence or in kalam) they followed, are only a few examples of the main factors that have influenced the commentaries.

As expressed in a previous statement, when commentating on an acceptable narrative which is included in reliable resources, due to the reasons mentioned above and many others, the hadith commentators have often showed strong tendencies to interpret instead of criticize, taqlid (imitate) instead of scrutinize, offer possibilities instead of examination, repeat instead of be consistent, identify mysteries instead of problems, rely on wording rather than meaning, assent instead of discuss, defend instead of question, see the future instead of the past, comment excessively rather than contradictorily, etc.[73]

The exaggerated comments and advocacy seen in the literature of commentaries, which have a significant place in the rich culture of the hadiths, is a condition that has emerged in almost every century and every geographical region due to a submissive approach. Although the issues identified in different periods and considered as "problems" have brought about the composition of several independent works, even these notable compositions have been dominated by excessive explanations and heavy interpretation, instead of critical approaches. Ibn al-Jawzi's Kashf Al-Mushkil, which is a remarkably useful piece of work about the arguable topics mentioned in the Sahihayn, is the most typical example of this. Ibn al-Jawzi realized, identified and responded to questions about a number of problems in his period. However, it is not quite possible to say that the responses given by Ibn al-Jawzi were as successful as his ability to identify problems.[74]

Of course, here we will not fall to anachronism by expecting from these commentators, who lived in different ages of history, to have the understanding of the modern era and the capacity deal with today's problems. However, as they were closer to the first two centuries, they could handle the issues of their time in a disparate way and clarify and explain the issues that caused problems in their time and place more intrepidly.

In that case, what should the limits of a narrator be in the act of commentating?

1. A narrator should initially take the problem of certainty in a narrative. Not only the reference of a narrative, but also its text and content should be discussed in terms of consistency.

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[73] Erul, Bünyamin, *Yorum-Rivayet İlişkisi: Yorumun Rivayete Katkısı Ve Rivayetin Yoruma Etkisi,* Günümüzde Sünnetin Anlaşılması [Sempozyum Tebliğ ve Müzakereleri], 29-30 May 2004/Bursa, 2005, p. 97-114.

[74] Erul, Bünyamin, *Keşful-muşkil min Hadîsi's-Sahîhayn,* Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, v. 45, no: 1, Date of Publication: 2004, p. 314-319.

2. Before denotation of a text, expressions should be understood and explained in consideration of its different versions and other related narratives. Narratives should be examined from a holistic perspective and those considered contradictory should certainly be analyzed together.

3. Possible contradictions between these texts and the expressed verses of the Qur'an should be looked through and opposition to the verses should be prevented.

4. Commentaries should be grounded in the language rules of Arabic and usages in Arabic societies. These rules should not be violated only for the sake of interpretation.

5. None of the inappropriate possibilities that come to mind should be propounded for the sake of justification of and glossing over problematic narratives without any relevant expression or clue. Possibilities should also be measured and limited.

6. Weak and even fabricated hadiths, inconsistent and inappropriate words, interpretations, and commentaries should not be repeated without any evidence of accuracy and certainty by referring to irrelevant resources.

7. Complexities that were misinterpreted in the past and in the present, and could be misunderstood in the future, should be identified and efforts should be made to find necessary solutions and to correct misunderstandings. These problems should not be ignored or glossed over with unsatisfactory explanations.

8. After identification of a problem, at least some questions should be asked to draw attention to it, even when it is not possible to offer a satisfactory comment or explanation. Moreover, the inadequacies of the commentator to solve problems should be admitted. Asking necessary questions and disclosing the identified problems will probably open a way for subsequent scholars to find satisfactory answers to these questions or problems.

9. Commentators have often interpreted the hadiths using their knowledge of the Arabic language and personal experience in Islamic sciences. However, interpretation of the hadiths that require proper knowledge of different fields, such as medicine, history, agriculture, and geography, should be discussed with specialists of these fields.

10. In general, commentators tend to reiterate previously propounded commentaries. It is clearly seen that particularly the commentaries written in the last century are directly quoted from Al-Khattabi, Ibn Hajar, and Al-Ayni. Moreover, it is seen that Ibn Hajar and Al-Ayni also frequently referred to the commentaries of Ibn Battal, Ibn al-Munayyir, Al-Kirmani, and other scholars. At this point, authenticity of commentaries and the repetitions should also be taken into consideration.

With their pros and cons, there is no doubt that every commentary on a hadith serves as a repository for those interested in the science of the hadith. We can neither be indifferent to the current knowledge presented by the available and notably voluminous commentary works, nor consider all information they offer to be "certain." We can never contend with the presented commentaries, nor will we be satisfied with a significant amount of inaccurate information written just for the sake of commentating. Now then, it is evident that the need for genuine commentaries and interpretations, which will filter the traditional commentaries through criticism, is more urgent than ever. And the largest responsibility falls upon the scholars. Modern commentaries should not only respond to modern problems, but should also be built upon the understanding of this century. It is essential to ensure that text, and content-oriented commentaries be written by committees with multiple authors and undoubtedly be academic, methodology-based, systematic, problem-solving, and analytical.[75]

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[75] The study prepared with the valuable contributions of many of the hadith scholars of our country and published as 7 volumes by the Presidency of Religious Affairs a few years ago can be mentioned here as the example closest to this quality.

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The Problem of the Legitimization of the Sunnah*

İsmail Hakkı ÜNAL**

Abstract

It has been a long-lasting debate for centuries regarding Sunnah's shariatic evidence position and its religious binding status. It is a known application that religious sources are respectively Qur'an verses, hadiths, and if necessary rational assessments of the individuals. Although the Qur'an is the principal and natural legitimization source of the Sunnah, it is not possible to understand this if the related verses are not considered in order. Specific studies show that hadiths, presented as evidence for the Sunnah's authority, are from the debates that emerged after the death of the prophet Mohammad. For that reason, such narratives cannot be a proper source for determining and defending the authority of the Sunnah.

Keywords: Qur'an, Sunnah, testification of the Sunnah, shariatic evidence, hadith, narrative

Sünnet'in Temellendirilmesi Problemi

Özet

İslam Dini'nin hüküm kaynakları arasında Kur'an'dan sonra gelen Sünnet'in şer'î delil olma keyfiyeti ve dînî bağlayıcılığı asırlardan beri tartışılan bir husustur. Konuyla ilgili deliller sıralanırken önce Kur'an ayetleri, sonra hadis rivayetleri, gerekirse aklî değerlendirmelere yer vermek bilinen bir uygulamadır. Sünnet'in esas ve doğal meşrûiyyet kaynağı Kur'an olmasına rağmen, ilgili ayetler bağlamlarına ve delaletlerine dikkat edilmeden sıralandığı zaman isabetli bir delillendirme yapılamamaktadır. Sünnet'in otoritesine delil olarak sunulan hadisler üzerinde yapılan müstakil ilmî çalışmalar da bu rivayetlerin, Hz. Peygamber dönemi sonrası zuhur eden konuyla ilgili tartışmaların ürünü olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu rivayetlere dayanarak Sünnet'in otoritesini tespit etmek ve savunusunu yapmak sağlıklı ve doğru bir yaklaşım değildir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kur'an, sünnet, sünnetin hücciyyeti, şer'î delil, hadis, rivayet.

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A- Legitimization of the Sunnah through the Qur'an

It is a well-known fact that many books were written about the Sunnah being a source of evidence and rules in religion (its evidentiary quality), which is the most important source in the teachings of the Religion of Islam, followed by the Qur'an, and which essentially refers to the religious and moral example of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). In the first chapters of these books, it is customary to list the verses of Qur'an as the basis of the value of the sunnah being a source of evidence and rules. In fact, this is natural and true. Hence, seeking the source of the authority of a prophet who is obliged by the owner of a religion which s/he is a subject and believer of, to communicate, explain, apply and teach that religion first and foremost and maybe only in the Qur'an is the most reasonable thing to do. However, while identifying these verses, it is extremely important to look at not just the wording but also the context, purpose, interlocutor and the reason why such wording was utilized. Prof. Dr. M. Hayri Kırbaşoğlu who has extensively studies this subject, divided the verses that identify the position of the Prophet in the Qur'an into four main groups and based his authority on these, criticizing those who wish to incorporate verses with different contexts in this group and those who claim that verses of this group cannot be the basis of the Sunnah's authority by taking those verses out of context and misinterpreting them.[1] He also demonstrated the misuse of some verses for the legitimization of the Sunnah through examples.[2] Here we would like to convey Kırbaşoğlu's categorization by mentioning some of his examples:

1. Verses that Command Obeying the Prophet, Not Objecting to Him, and Submitting to His Judgements:

"Say, [O Muhammad], If you should love Allah, then follow me, [so] Allah will love you and forgive you your sins. And Allah is forgiving and merciful. Say, obey Allah and the Messenger. But if they turn away - then indeed, Allah does not like the disbelievers. (3/ Ali 'Imran, 31-32)

"Say: obey Allah and obey the Messenger. And if you obey him, you will be [rightly] guided. And there is not upon the Messenger except the [responsibility for] clear notification. (24/ An-Nur, 54)

"He who obeys the Messenger has obeyed Allah" (4, Nisa,80)

[1] M. Hayri Kırbaşoğlu, *İslam Düşüncesinde Sünnet*, Ankara Okulu Pub. (4th Edition), Ankara 1999, p. 148-187.
[2] Ibid, p. 188-205.

"And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger and fears Allah and is conscious of Him - it is those who are the attainers." (24/An-Nur,52)

"And we did not send any messenger except to be obeyed by permission of Allah." (4/An-Nisa,64)

"The only statement of the [true] believers when they are called to Allah and His Messenger to judge between them is that they say, 'We hear and we obey'. And those are the successful." (24/An-Nur, 51)

"It is not for a believing man or a believing woman, when Allah and His Messenger have decided a matter, that they should [thereafter] have any choice about their affair. And whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger has certainly strayed into clear error." (33/Al-Ahzab, 36)

"But no, by your Lord, they will not [truly] believe until they make you, [O Muhammad], judge concerning that over which they dispute among themselves and then find within themselves no discomfort from what you have judged and submit in [full, willing] submission." (4/An-Nisa, 65)

"O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best result." (4/An-Nisa, 59)

After Kırbaşoğlu summarizes the verses in this group as follows, he states that, "what is implied by obedience to God in these verses is not obedience to God Himself, but to the book He sent, meaning the Qur'an and the orders and prohibitions of the Qur'an. Obedience to its Messenger implies obedience to him personally, and his commandments, prohibitions and instructions while he's alive and to his Sunnah after his death.

1. Believers are invited to obey Allah, His Messenger, and the authority holders.
2. Believers are refrained from disobeying the Prophet.
3. Believers are invited to be subjects to the Prophet.
4. Believers have to submit to the rulings of the Prophet and the decisions he makes on disputed issues.[3]

[3] Ibid, p. 152.

2. Verses Indicating that the Prophet is Obliged to Explain the Qur'an:

"And We did not send any messenger except [speaking] in the language of his people to state clearly for them." (14/Abrahim, 4)

"[We sent them] with clear proof and written ordinances. And we revealed to you the message that you may make clear to the people what was sent down to them and that they might give thought to." (16/An-Nahl, 44)

Extensively explaining the declaration mission of the Prophet in light of these verses, Kırbaşoğlu[4] makes the following assessment: "Admitting that the Prophet has a duty to explain the Qur'an, while rejecting the hadiths, relaying the explanations on this to us, without discovering whether they are fabricated or true, is not an understandable attitude. Therefore, accepting that the Prophet had a duty to explain the Qur'an actually means accepting that the Sunnah has a place in Islam. This means approving the accuracy of the view trying to prove that the Sunnah has an evidential quality and is a source, based on verses implying that the Prophet had such a duty."[5]

3. Verses Indicating that the Prophet had the Authority to Designate What Is Lawful and Unlawful:

"Fight those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have made unlawful and who do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the Scripture - [fight] until they give the jizyah willingly while they are humbled." (9/At-Tawbah, 29)

"Those who follow the Messenger, the unlettered prophet, whom they find written in what they have of the Torah and the Gospel, who enjoins upon them what is right and forbids them what is wrong and makes lawful for them the good things and prohibits for them the evil and relieves them of their burden and the shackles which were upon them. So, they who have believed in him, honored him, supported him and followed the light which was sent down with him - it is those who will be the successful." (7/Al-A'raf, 157)

After providing these verses, Kırbaşoğlu discusses different opinions on the subject and expresses his opinion as follows: All this indicates the Prophet's designation of what is "lawful and unlawful" is not just about the conveyance of "lawful and unlawful" that are mentioned in the Qur'an. In light of the general

[4] Ibid, p. 165-171.
[5] Ibid, p. 168.

principle/criterion reflected on him in the Qur'an, he has the authority to identify whether the matters that are not addressed in the Qur'an are "lawful/unlawful" or not and this authority is based on the Qur'an."[6] What Kırbaşoğlu refers to as the general principle/criterion consists of the principles of "enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong" and "making the good things lawful and prohibiting the evil" which are mentioned in verse 157 of the Al-A'raf surah.

4. Verse Indicating that the Prophet is a Good Example to be Followed by Muslims:

"There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of Allah an excellent pattern for anyone whose hope is in Allah and the Last Day and [who] remembers Allah often." (33/Al-Ahzab, 21)

After mentioning the different interpretations of this verse, Kırbaşoğlu says: "Consequently, legitimizing the Sunnah based on verse (33/Al-Ahzab, 21) can be considered as a generally accepted approach. It is also observed that there has been no conflict among the Islamic scholars and philosophers until today. As such, it can be concluded that legitimizing the Sunnah based on this verse is a healthy approach.[7]

In addition to the verses above which Kırbaşoğlu considers to be true and on-point for the legitimization of the Sunnah, he also discusses other verses whose evidence of the Sunnah are quite controversial or even inapplicable which we will only refer to and offer the relevant sources for more detailed interpretations and assessments on the subject.[8] Kırbaşoğlu states that the effort to defend the Sunnah at any cost by approaching the subject with a defensive mentality causes some coercion in the interpretation of some verses. The following are the ones that he finds controversial or inapplicable for the legitimization of the Sunnah: 53/An-Najm, 3-4; 4/An-Nisa, 61, 136; 64/At-Taghabun, 8; 48/Al-Fath, 8,9,158; 49/Al-Hujurat, 15; 24/An-Nur, 62; 2/Al-Baqarah, 151, 231; 4/An-Nisa, 113; 3/Ali 'Imran, 164; 62/Al-Jumu'ah, 2; 33/Al-Ahzab, 34; 59/Al-Hashr, 7; 48/Al-Fath, 10; 24/An-Nur, 63; 47/Muhammad, 32.

B- Legitimization of the Sunnah Through the Hadiths

Legitimization of the Sunnah through the hadith narratives, in other words, the effort to prove its value as a source through the hadiths is the most problematic area in the evidentiary quality of the Sunnah. As natural and on-point it is to identify the authority of the Prophet and His Sunnah through the Qur'an, trying to

[6] Ibid, p. 176.
[7] Ibid, p. 187.
[8] See: Ibid, p. 188-205.

prove it through the hadiths is more artificial and insignificant. Above all, the studies on the subject reveal that the "Sunnah" and "hadith" took on meanings in the sense of special terms as a second source of commandment after the death of the Prophet, during the period of the young companions.[9]

The scientific studies on the hadiths stating that the Sunnah and hadiths are sources of commandments, either individually or together with the Qur'an, revealed that almost all of these narratives were problematic. For example, the fact that it is not appropriate for the narrative known as the "erike (the seat) hadith", which is the one that is the most referenced as evidence for the Sunnah being a separate source of commandment in addition to the Qur'an, and the narrative known as the "Muaz hadith", which is most certainly included in the listing of shariatic evidence, to be referenced to the Prophet in their current state and with their problems and weaknesses, was revealed in a study by M. Emin Özafşar.[10] It was also clearly discovered that the terms of "His Prophet's Sunnah" and "My People of the House" included in the narrative known as the "Sekaleyn (two heavy things) hadith", which is stated to have been entrusted to the people by the Prophet during the Farewell Sermon; and referred to as the "Qur'an" for one and ""His Prophet's Sunnah" for the other in some passages, while referred to as the "Qur'an" for one and "My People of the House" for the other in other passages, were added to the hadith later on.[11]

Trying to provide evidence for the authority of the Prophet and his Sunnah based on such narratives with traces of the discussions of the hadiths and the Sunnah that took place in the first one and a half hijri century during which the majority of the Prophet's words and practices were conveyed verbally as only some of these were in writing; and many social, political and cultural disputes were experienced, appears to be laying a foundation on shaky ground. Even only the reasonable and logical explanations that can be provided on a subject matter that we can provide tens of evidential items from an authentic source such as the Qur'an, would be much more satisfactory in terms of their content than additional evidence like this whose relation to the Prophet is questionable. So here, in addition to the studies we mentioned above, we will provide the examination and critique of a narrative which we examined in an article published earlier[12]; which considers not only the Prophet's Sunnah but also the Sunnah of the four caliphs as shariatic

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[9] Bünyamin Erul, *Sahabenin Sünnet Anlayışı*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Pub., Ankara 1999, p. 14-78; M. Emin Özafşar, *Hadisi Yeniden Düşünmek*, Ankara Okulu Pub., Ankara 1998, p. 13-32; Enbiya Yıldırım, *Hadis Meseleleri*, Rağbet Pub., Istanbul 2008, p. 16-19; İsmail Hakkı Ünal, *Hadis*, MEB Pub., Istanbul 2005, p. 16-23.

[10] M. Emin Özafşar, "Polemik Türü Rivayetlerin Gerçek Mahiyeti", *İslamiyat*, v. 1, no: 3, Ankara 1998, p. 19-48.

[11] See: Bünyamin Erul, *Sünnet Kavramı ve Sekaleyn Rivayetleri*, İlahiyat Pub., Ankara 2007.

[12] İsmail Hakkı Ünal, "Seçmeci ve Eleştirel Yaklaşım veya Hz. Peygamber'i Anlamak", *İslâmî Araştırmalar*, vol. 10, no: 1-3, Ankara 1997, p. 47-51.

evidence while considering the subsequent developments as heresy (perversion) under the concept of innovation.

In a narrative recited by Al-Irbad Ibn Sariyah (d. 75) he said, "One day, the Messenger (peace be upon him) led us in performing a prayer. Then he turned to us and he eloquently propounded a sermon. Eyes became filled with tears, hearts were shaken. One of them (those who listened) said, O Messenger of Allah! This sounded like a farewell sermon. What do you advise us to do? He (the Messenger of Allah) said, I advise you to be afraid of Allah (be aware) and do as you are told and show obedience even if you have an Abyssinian slave as a leader. Those who live after me will witness many conflicts. You should be subject to my Sunnah and the Sunnah of the mahdi caliphs who are on the path of Allah after me. Hold on to these tightly. Refrain from things that come up later on (innovation). Anything that comes up later is undoubtedly an innovation. Any innovation is heresy."[13]

5 of the 14 passages of the hadith which I reviewed and become different after the first communicator are located in the Sunan of Ahmad ibn Hanbal's *Musnad*, 4 of them are located in the Sunan of Tirmidhi, while 3 are located in the *Sunans* of Ibn Majah and, 1 in each of Abu Dawud and Al-Darimi. If the common communicators are combined, it is possible to lower the number of passages to 6. The common communicator companion in all of them is Al-Irbad Ibn Sariyah d. 75). So, this narrative has only one communicator (sole communicator) based on the hadith procedure. The communicator who is included the most at the second level is Abdurrahman b. Amr As-Sulaimi (d. 110). He is the one who recites the hadith from Al-Irbad in 8 of 14 passages. Other communicators who are reported to have received word from Al-Irbad are: Damre Habib, Hujr ibn Hujr, Halid ibn Ma'dan (d. 104), Abdullah ibn Abu Bilal, Yahya ibn Abu-l Muta'. The communicators whose names are referred to the most in the third and fourth layers of the attribution are Halid ibn Ma'dan (in 7 passages) and Sevr ibn Yazid (d. 153) (in 6 passages), respectively.

There are no problems with the joining of the charter and the reliability of the communicators, based on the information provided in the books on dignitaries. Although narratives aren't included in any issues of *Muwatta* ve *Musannaf*, which is a hadith magazine published before the Six Books, and Buhari and Muslim, it is a hadith that is considered to be authentic in terms of a classical hadith assessment. That's why Tirmidhi says, "this hadith is essentially authentic"[14], while Al-Hakeem

[13] Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad,* 4/126-127 (1-6, Çağrı Pub., Istanbul 1982); Abu Dawud, Sunna, 6 (1-5, Çağrı Pub., Istanbul 1981); Tirmidhi, İlm, 16, (1-5, Çağrı Pub., Istanbul 1981); Ibn Majah, Mukaddime, 6 (1-2, Çağrı Pub., Istanbul 1981); Al-Darimi, Mukaddime, 16 (Çağrı Pub., Istanbul 1981); Ibn Hıbban, *Sahih,*1/104 (1-16, Beirut 1988); Hakeem, *Mustedrek*1/95 (1-4, Beirut, nd.); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jami al-Beyan al-llm,* 2/181-183 (1-2, Beirut, nd.)

[14] Tirmidhi, İlm, 16.

al-Naysaburi says, "the hadith is authentic and has no defects"[15].

There are also some differences in the hadith text. In some passages, it is stated that this sermon came after an ordinary prayer (Abu Dawud), while in others it is reported to have come after the morning prayer (Tirmidhi, Al-Darimi). In the narrative included in Ibn Majah, it is stated that the Prophet directly got up and preached a sermon, with no mention of a prayer.

In Tirmidhi, it is stated that "these are (innovation) perversion" followed by the expression, "avoid innovation", without the sentence, "any new thing is an innovation" being included and then it is continued with the phrase, "whoever reaches that time, my Sunnah and the Sunnah of the caliphs who are on the path of Allah..." In the narrative in Ibn Majah, the following addition is available: "I left you with a religion and hujjat the night of which is as clear as day. Whoever diverts from that after me would definitely be ruined. Your responsibility is to be subject to what you know of my Sunnah and the Sunnah of the mahdi caliphs who are on the path of Allah. And in the end, the following expression which is also included in a passage of *Musnad* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal is included: "the believer is like a bridled camel. He goes wherever he is led.[16]

While the three separate passages of the same narrative included in *Sharh Mushkil al-Athar* by Tahawi (d. 327) are complementary of each other, neither of them includes the sentence, "those who live after me will witness many conflicts" and the section, "refrain from innovation, any new thing is undoubtedly an innovation, and any innovation is heresy." The absence of these expressions which appear in some previous sources in Tahawi's book is noteworthy.[17]

After providing this technical information and before proceeding with the examination of the text, we should mention the following fact. Even though such a hadith is considered to be authentic by the hadith researchers, what becomes a matter of daily actions are considered to be in the group of uncommon news which are rejected, according to a principle developed by the Hanafi canonists. This means that, the conveyance of a Sunnah or hadith that is supposed to be known by everybody or many people by only one communicator is a sufficient reason for the rejection of that narrative.[18] Although the Hanafis did not always abide by this principle of theirs, the justification they established is reasonable. Consider a case where the Prophet will give a speech to the congregation after a prayer or to a group of people on another occasion, those who listen to him will be affected by it

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[15] Hakeem, *Mustedrek,* 1/95. Also see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jami al-Beyan al-llm,* 2/182. for assessments on the authenticity of the hadith. The only example I can see where this hadith is criticized on reasonable grounds is the work of Shi'ite scholar Sayyid Murtada al-Askari. See *Mealimu'l-Medreseteyn* 2/243-244 (1-3, Tehran 1993). However, this person does not display the same sensitivity for his own narratives.

[16] It is stated that this last sentence is a fabrication that is added later on to the hadith. (Ibn Rajab al-Hanbali, *Jami al-Ulum ve'l-Hikem* 2/110, 1-2, Beirut 1991).

[17] See: Al-Tahawi, *Sharh Mushkil al-Athar,* 3/221-224, (1-17, Beirut 1994).

[18] Serahsi, *Usûl,*1/368, (Istanbul 1984).

so much that they will cry and Al-Irbad Ibn Sariyah will be the only one to convey that speech! This rule applies not only for Hanafis but also for Shafiis. For example, Khatib Baghdadi also lists "a single person's narrative on a matter that is supposed to be known by many people" in the reasons for the rejection of uncommon news. According to him, it is not permissible for a person to be the only one in a large community who has information on that subject and for a narrative based on this information to be authentic.[19]

While mentioning the indicators of a fabricated hadith, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751) also states that a narrative which would give rise to the claim that the companions collaboratively concealed something that the Prophet said or did in their presence cannot be authentic.[20] Although our narrative is no longer a secret thanks to the conveyance of a person, the narrative of "Gadîr-i Hûm", which is mentioned by Ibn Qayyim on this issue as not being authentic, is news that is conveyed by not just one, but a few communicators, even though its content is a little different from our narrative.[21]

The part of the narrative that we would like to focus on is the one that begins with the expression, "those who live after me will witness many conflicts" and continues until the end. However, while a person could understand the expression, "I advise you to do as you are told and show obedience even if you have an Abyssinian slave as a leader" in a reasonable fashion, taking into account the scale of the faith, good action and merit of Islam which does not recognize any supremacy other than piousness, and its Messenger; and think that what is meant by this expression is, "even if a negro slave whom no one attaches any importance to becomes your leader under these circumstances, obey him", one of the first hadith commentators Al-Khattabi (d. 388) explains that it is not the case as follows: "This means that even if the administrator (imam) appoints an Abyssinian slave to oversee your affairs you should obey him. In fact, the Prophet's hadith, "imams are from the Quraysh"[22] has become a fixture. Sometimes, a proverb is said for things that will almost never happen. For example, the saying, "whoever builds a prayer room even as small as a bird's nest for Allah, Allah would build a house for him in heaven" is such a proverb. However, there cannot be a prayer room that is as small as a bird's nest."[23]

So, as "the imams shall be from the Quraysh", the chance of an Abyssinian to become an administrator is as high as the chance of a bird nest becoming a prayer

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[19] Khatib Baghdadi, *el-Fakîh ve'l-Mütefakkıh*, 1/133, (1-2, Beirut 1980). Also see *el-Kifâye*,17 (Medina nd.); Suyûti, *Tedrîbu'r-Râvî*. 1/276.

[20] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Menaru'l-Münîffi's-Sahîhi ve'd-Daîf*, 57, (Aleppo 1982).

[21] See: Muslim, Fedâilu's-Sahâbe, H. No. 36 (by Zayd ibn Arqam); Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, 1/ 84,118, 119, 152, 4/370 (by Ali).

[22] Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, 3/129, 183, 4/ 421.

[23] Al-Khattabi, *Mealimu's-Sunen* 4/278, (1-4, Beirut 1991) Also see Ibn Rajab al-Hanbali, *Câmiu'l-Ulûm ve'l-Hıkem*, 2/119.

room. Therefore, we lack an accurate understanding of even the section of the narrative which we examined and consider to be problem-free, in light of the other narratives.

It is quite natural for the Prophet to preach to his companions and give them advice on any occasion. Here, the information he provided on how those who will live after him will experience conflicts reflects a certainty rather than a prediction. For those who accept that the unknown events announced by the Prophet are based on revelations, these must have been informed to him by Allah. According to this approach, the fact that these people came into conflict with and behead each other even though the Prophet declared and warned them that this would happen, seems like the result of the efforts of such people for realizing the future events that their Prophet announced.

Although the term Sunnah hasn't yet gained its meaning in the sense of a special term, it is observed that the Prophet uses the expression, "my Sunnah", in order to refer to his own practices on some issues.[24] It is quite natural for a Prophet who is mentioned as a role model in the Qur'an to indicate his own practices as a model and to recommend them to his interlocutors. However, it is not so natural for him to mention the Sunnah of the mahdi caliphs who are on the path of Allah. As it is well-known, the Prophet provided no explanations or signs either expressly or implicitly on who will take on the administration of the state after him. It has been discovered that the narratives indicating that he implicitly points to a successor are fabricated.[25] The fact that discussions on who will take on the administration began as soon as the Prophet passed away, even before he was buried and the emergence of a wide variety of opinions on the subject in the meantime indicate that the Prophet had no instructions on this matter.[26]

Leaving aside the matter of the awareness of the Prophet on whether the caliphs that will follow him will be on the path of Allah or not, we need to focus on who these caliphs who are on the path of Allah were. Based on the news expressly or implicitly pointing to the order of the caliphate which we mentioned above, their identification is simple.[27] Hence, those who took this into account stated that these caliphs were Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman and Ali, in that order.[28] According to a particular narrative, it is mentioned that the Prophet said: "Follow Abu Bakr and

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[24] For an example, see Al-Bukhari, Nikah, 1; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad,* 3/241, 259, 4/ 268.

[25] For such narratives and their assessment, see M. S. Hatiboğlu, *Siyasi-İctimâî Hadiselerle Hadis Münasebetleri,* Otto Pub., Ankara-2015, p. 57 et. al.

[26] For extensive details on the discussions on the matter, see at-Tabari, *Tarihu'l-Umem ve'l-Muluk,* 3/218-223, (1-10, Beirut nd.)

[27] For some of the relevant narratives, see Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, *al-Matalibu'l-Aliye,* 4/17-19, (1-4, Kuwait 1973).

[28] Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jami al-Beyan al-llm ve Fadlih,* 2/183-184; Ibn Rajab, *Jami al-Ulum,* 2/122; Lucknawi, *Tuhfetu'l-Ahyâr,* 51, (Beirut 1992).

'Umar after me."[29]Ahmad ibn Hanbal also adds 'Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (d. 101) to these caliphs who are on the path of Allah.[30]

While explaining what the Sunnah of the caliphs means, Sayyid Sharif Jurjani (d. 816) states that, "although four caliphs are implied here, this doesn't mean that the caliphate is prohibited for others because the Prophet said, "there shall be 12 caliphs in my ummah."" According to him, the implication of four caliphs refers to attaching importance to them, approving their views and indicating their superiority over others on management capabilities. The reason why the Prophet mentions their Sunnah besides his own is because he knows that they would not be mistaken in the precedent that they would obtain from the Sunnah. The Prophet also knew that some his Sunnah would prevail during their time. He attached their Sunnah to his own in order to eliminate the views of those who would reject these Sunnah. There is evidence yet again in this hadith on the fact that the opinion of one of the four caliphs would be preferred over the opinions of the other companions."[31]

Whether complying with the Sunnah of the four caliphs is only encouraged or ordered is also debated; while this compliance is encouraged according to Ibn al-Humam (d. 861), it is binding (required) according to Abdul Hayy Lucknawi (d. 1304).[32]

In the above quotation, Sayyid Shari mentioned that, "the Prophet knew that the caliphs would not make a mistake in their precedent, while he was attaching their Sunnah to his own and that's why he said what he said." In contrast, Al-Shafi'i (d. 204) did not share the same opinion perhaps because this narrative did not gain much prevalence in his time or simply because he did not give credit to this news. He says: "I say, if we receive news from some of the caliphs of the Messenger and news that is contrary to that of the Messenger, we should take into account the news of the Messenger."[33] Obviously, while Şafii was saying this, he was aware of the practices of the caliphs that were different than the Sunnah of the Prophet.

In our opinion, this is the key point in this matter. In other words, while the four caliphs were implementing many new ideas and practices in the face of developing political, social and economic requirements, some of these were turning out to be in opposition to the Sunnah of the Prophet, even if such opposition was just in form; it is possible to find many such examples, particularly in the practices

[29] Ibn Abi Shaybah, *Musannaf,* 12/11, (1-15, Bombay 1983); Ibn Sa'd, *Kitabu't-Tabakâti'l-Kebîr*, 2/ 334, (1-9, Beirut 1968); Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad,* 5/ 385, 402; Tirmidhi, Menakıb, 16, 37; Ibn Majah, Mukaddime, 11.

[30] Ibn Qayyim, *al-Menaru'l-Munif,* 150.

[31] From Sayyid Sharif, Lucknawi, *Tuhfetu'l-Ahyâr*, 49.

[32] Ibid, 50.

[33] Al-Shafi'i, *al-Umm,* 7/262-263, (1-7, Bulak 1326).

of 'Umar. In fact, the number of innovations that he created for the first time during his period as a caliph was around 150.[34] These are the Sunnah of the caliphs.

The narrative we examined is the product of the efforts on; reminding those who would misjudge the innovations which the close friends of the Prophet implemented due to necessity, that they are also covered by the Sunnah of the Prophet, at a time when the majority of the companions were alive; and assessing whatever comes next within the negative connotation of the concept of innovation by closing the door to those who would like to use this instrument, other than the four caliphs whose authorities are accepted.[35] However, since it was not possible to restrict and prevent the new ideas and practices that the ulema and the administrators create in the face of new developments, the scope was broadened by expressing that the Sunnah to be complied with was the Sunnah of the first three generations[36] who were reported to have been approved by the Prophet on their merits in benevolence and righteousness and the things that are implemented in opposition to their methods by those who come after them would be innovations that would lead a person to perversion. Those who wanted to grant this right to all Muslims by extending this scope even further, set forth the narrative, "What Muslims see as beautiful is also beautiful in the eyes of Allah, and what they see as ugly is also ugly in the eyes of Allah", as evidence.[37]

In the hadith, "refraining from things that come up later on (innovation)" is advised. As a matter of fact, only the innovations of the first caliphs were allowed, which were reported to be just like the Sunnah of the Prophet.[38] In that case, any innovation outside this limit is one of the innovations that must be avoided.

Probably taking into account the innovations that the Prophet himself accepted in his life, those who accept this narrative as the word of the Prophet had to state that these innovations, meaning the new things, could not all be bad, there were some that were good and some that were bad, and that the innovations that were bad were the ones which were created in the religion itself.[39] It is obvious that such a differentiation is inevitable. This is because, the Islamic State, which extended outside the Hejaz Peninsula right after the death of the Prophet and developed at a great pace, and the Muslims who came across new cultures and civilizations observed hundreds and thousands of new innovations that they had not seen before in their own country. While they hesitated in adopting some of

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[34] See: Ghalib ibn Abdul Kafi al-Qurayshi, *Evveliyyâtu'l-Fârûk fi'l-İdâreti ve'l-Kadâ,* (1-2, Beirut 1990); the same writer, *Evveliyâtu'l-Farûk es-Siyâsiyye,* (Egypt 1990).

[35] For a similar assessment, see Talbî, "Bid'atlar", trans. Mehmet Şimşek, *AÜİFD,* no: 23, (Ankara 1978), p. 460.

[36] For the relevant narratives, see Al-Bukhari, Şehâdât, 9, Fedâilu Ashabi'n-Nebi, 1; Tirmidhi, Fiten, 45; Ibn Majah, Ahkam, 27.

[37] Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad,* 1/379.

[38] Al-Shatibi, *al-I'tisam,*1/135, (1-2, Beirut-1991); Lucknawi, *Iqametu'l-Hucce,* 23.

[39] See Al-Shatibi, *el-l'tisâm*1/128 et al., 135 et al.; Lucknawi, *Iqametu'l-Hucce,* 19 et al.

them, they adopted others easily. For example, the public hamams that the Arabs did not know of but came across in the Byzantine Empire must have been well-liked by many Muslims since some companions warned those who went to these places of their potential harms. These warnings were even verbalized by the Prophet himself as he was asked to do so.[40]

Since it is mentioned in the hadith that any new thing is innovation and any innovation is heresy (perversion), without any explanations or references, Islamic scholars spent many hours studying and writing many volumes of books for centuries, on which innovations would really be considered as perversion and which ones would not.[41] Formations of ideas and discussions of faith, that were not known of during the time of the Prophet were deliberated on within this concept of innovation, and even on issues concerned with fiqh that were a matter of polemics, the votes and precedents of the counterparty, for instance, Ebû Hanîfe and his students, were tried to be refuted through this difficult concept of innovation.[42] Members of sects in relation to faith and kalam, who were outside the Followers of the Sunnah, were also considered to be the followers of innovation. The matter of whether a hadith can be narrated by them was also debated. Since the assessment of "the follower of innovation" also brings forth with it a general accusation, some potentially sensible views that could be gained from those sects were also ignored.

The main reason why we cannot consider this narrative to be the word of the Prophet is because the discussions on the Sunnah and innovation never existed in the life of the Prophet, on the contrary, the narrative is a reflection of such discussions that began in the 1st hijri century and continued later on, pursuant to the rapid developments that appeared after the death of the Prophet.[43] While innovation was available as a word in the Arabic language, and even in the Qur'an,[44]it was foreign to the Prophet in terms of its later meaning in the sense of a special term. This is because he accepted many useful new things and always remained open to the suggestions of others.

In our opinion, the concept of "caliphs who are on the path of Allah" is also

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[40] See Abu Dawud, Hammam, 1; Tirmidhi, Edeb, 43; Al-Nasa'i, Gusl; 2. Also see Ibn al-Jawzi, *Kitabu'l-Mevdûât,* 2/80-81, (1-3, Beirut 1983).
Other than these innovations, there could also be innovations that could be put forward in the religion. For example, the Governor of Madinah, Mervan b. Hakem ensured that the sermon which is normally given after the Salat el Aid is given before it, in order to prevent the congregation from leaving right after the prayer, and Abu Sa'id al-Hudrî, who wasn't particularly fond of this practice said, "you really changed it." Abu Sa'id's use of the word, "gayyertum" without including the words, "new thing" or "innovation", is noteworthy (*Al-Bukhari*, Iydeyn, 6; *Muslim*, Iydeyn, H. No. 9). It is also conveyed that it was Caliph 'Umar who first made this change. See A. b. Hemmâm, *el-Musannaf,* 3/ 283.
[41] For books on the subject, see Rahmi Yaran, "Bid'at" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi,* 6/131, (Istanbul-1992). Also see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* 2/25-37, (1-2, London 1967); M. Talbi, "Bidatlar", p. 445-460.
[42] See. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. *Jami al-Beyan al-llm,* 2/148.
[43] For an important study on this, see Muhammad Talbi, "Bidatlar", p. 445-460.
[44] 46/Al-Ahkaf, 9, 57/Al-Hadid,27.

not an expression that was known and well-established in the period of the four caliphs. This expression is not only not encountered much in the first sources relating to the history of Islam,[45] but it is perhaps, also only included in this narrative that we examined among famous hadith sources.[46] It is understood that the use of the word gained prevalence long after the appearance of this narrative.[47]

Here, the question of why the Prophet's provision of information about what is to come after him is regarded as strange, can come to mind. There are some reasons why we regard this as strange. First of all, the Prophet did not provide any explanations on the issue of who will take on the administration after him, which is a crucial matter. Since he did not pass away suddenly, he might have been expected to provide such an explanation. While he probably deemed it to be appropriate for the community to elect their own administrator with respect to such a crucial matter, it is not reasonable for him to declare his opinions on so many matters that are not as important as this one; to be involved in, and even be a party to many conflicts that came about after him; to announce many cases of instigation; and to reprimand, and judge certain political sects and sects of faith, implicitly at times and by explicitly mentioning names at other times. It must be noted that political and social news, as well as news of kalam in relation to the future that was conveyed by the Prophet, are usually limited to the first 3 centuries. When the events that developed in this time period are compared to some hadith texts, almost an exact match between these two can be seen.[48] The reason for this is quite clear. The classification of the hadith magazines was completed to a great extent by the end of the 3rd hijri century, and the fabrication of hadiths came to a stop in parallel with this. In these centuries during which the codification and classification activities continued, the Prophet was made to say whatever it was that was wanted to be said by him, some of these found their way to the sources, while others were collected in legislation books and perhaps a majority of them were simply forgotten. Since it is not possible to enter new information into books that took on their final version by being classified, hadiths in relation to the future were limited to the first three centuries. Why the Prophet did not give any news of events that took place in the later centuries, for example, those that took place in this century, which are perhaps the most significant events in world history, is a mystery, when it is conveyed that he announced what will happen up until the apocalypse in a

[45] For example, it is conveyed in *Tabakât* by Ibn Sa'd that Caliph Abu Bakr said, "vec'alhum in hulefâike'r-râşidin" during the prayer he said while he was recommending 'Umar as his successor (3/200). It must be noted that the word "hulefâ" here is attached to Allah.

[46] In a scan we conducted in *Concordance*, the expression, "hulefâ-i râşidîn" is not encountered in any narratives other than this one.

[47] For the view advocating that the adjective, "râşidîn" is used for the first four caliphs after the cruel Emevi and Abbasid caliphs came to power and that the hadiths defining the first four caliphs with this adjective appeared after this, see Sayyid Murtadha al-'Askari, *Mealimu'l-Medreseteyn,* 2/243.

[48] See Mehmet S. Hatiboğlu, *Siyasi-lctimâi Hadiselerle Hadis Münasebetleri,* Otto Pub., Ankara 2015.

sermon he gave that began in the morning and ended at night.[49]

The fact that people mislead themselves and others by using the Prophet as a mediator, rather than taking responsibility for their words and actions, forms the basis of the problems we experience in the area of the hadiths. Furthermore, considering that people who predict that they could achieve their political, tribal, economic and other personal goals more easily this way choose this path, it would not be hard to understand why we hesitate in the face of many such narratives. In light of this analysis, we believe that all narratives addressing the Sunnah rejection/advocacy and the Sunnah-innovation contrast, which reflect the developments and debates that appeared after the Prophet, should be subjected to the same assessment.

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[49] Muslim, Kitabu'l-Fiten and Eşratu's-Sâa H. No. 2891, 2892; *Al-Bukhari,* Kitabu'l-Kader, 4.

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The Dilemmas of "the Qur'an is Enough" Discourse*

Enbiya YILDIRIM**

Abstract:

Qur'an and hadiths are two fundamental sources that base Islamic civilization and Islamic future. For that reason, all Islam related issues, from architecture to culture, should be interpreted with reference to them. Besides that, it is not possible to sustain Islamic civilization and future without these sourses.

The counter situation is the rupture from the values and degeneration. Although this plain truth, in the last one hundred fifty years, there are increase in the number of supporters for the Qur'an is enough discourse which excludes hadith tradition. This approach hypothesizes that hadiths are the among of reasons for underdeveloped situation of the Islamic world and considers that uniting Muslim people around the Qur'an is easier to achieve.

Although this approach has potential to unity people, it causes many new problems and excludes the ummah differently. For that reason, the cure is to respect two fundamental sources of the Islam. While doing that, it is important not to ignore the current problems.

Key Words: Hadith, sunnah, Qur'an, salah, azan, prophet, ummah

Kur'ân'la Yetinme Söyleminin Çıkmazları

Özet:

İslâm medeniyet ve geleneğini inşa eden iki aslî unsur Kur'ân ve hadislerdir. Bu nedenle, mimariden âdet ve geleneklere varıncaya kadar akla gelebilecek herşey bu iki aslî unsur göz önünde bulundurularak anlaşılmalıdır. Ayrıca bundan sonraki dönemlerde de bu ikisi olmadan söz konusu medeniyet ve geleneği sürdürmek mümkün olmayacaktır. Tersi bir durum değerlerden kopuş ve başkalaşmadır. Bu yalın gerçeğe rağmen, son yüz elli yıllık süreçte hadisleri tamamen bir yana koymak suretiyle İslâm medeniyet ve geleneğini yeniden inşa etme ve Kur'ân'la yetinme şeklinde bir yaklaşım kendisine taraftar toplamaktadır. Bu yaklaşım İslâm coğrafyasının son iki yüzyıldır zillet içinde yaşamasının kökenindeki etkenlerden biri olarak hadisleri görmekte ve ümmeti tek kitap etrafında birleştirmenin daha rahat olacağını düşünmektedir. Bu bakış açısı bütünleştirici bir bakış açısı olarak kendisini takdim etmekle birlikte pekçok yeni sorunu da beraberinde getirmekte, ümmetin yeni parçalanmışlıklara sürüklenmesine neden olmaktadır. Bu nedenle yapılması gereken, iki aslî

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unsurun hâkimiyetini korumaktır. Bunu yaparken de, var olan bazı sorunlara gözleri kapamamaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Hadis, sünnet, Kur'ân, namaz, ezan, peygamber, ümmet

Hadiths have always been among the fundamental topics of discussion in the Islamic world. Certain studies focused on the lack of consistency in the narrations of hadith books, while some studies have suggested that hadiths should be discarded altogether. The latter, which is the understanding that the "Qur'an is sufficient for us" then evolved into a movement of thought, which recently gained attention amongst the younger Muslim generations. The situation is no different in our country. Defenders of this discourse tend to base their claims on certain accounts, suggesting that an unchanged text, that is the Qur'an, would be enough for all the faithful to follow. Therefore, according to this way of thinking, it is reasonable to focus on the Qur'an and unite the ummah around its teachings, rather than take account of conflicting hadiths which were narrated at least a hundred years after the passing of the Prophet.

This discourse comes across rather reasonable at first, but it also raises many problems. The reason being, it intends to unite the community around a single book, but fails to do so and leaves Muslims with new problems.

1. Roots of the discussion:

In the 19th century, the English invasion of India and Egypt also brought the East and the West face-to-face, which led the Muslim world into thinking that they need to regain their dominance and the power they had in the past, and that this was only possible by sticking to their own values. Some of the defenders of this thinking (i.e. on the Indian subcontinent) claimed the people can only unite around the Qur'an and set aside the teachings of the hadiths in order to gain power and develop interpretations that followed their way of thinking. According to them, the hadiths were written long after the passing of the Prophet, were not reliable and, worst of all, caused and are still causing division among Muslims. This idea, which did not gain attention before, has gathered a considerable number of supporters in many Muslim regions. Today, this idea is still broadly accepted.

Adopters of this idea run activities everywhere in the world in order to prove their so-called rightfulness, and respond to opposing ideas with refutation. However, striking aspects in the majority of these responses is that the tone of voice is far from polite, and the general approach is to accuse and stigmatize. According to the criticizing side - while also taking into account that a British influence is to blame for the onset of the movement - supporters of the movement, especially those on the Indian subcontinent and in Egypt, are under the influence and following the

way of orientalists and do not respect Islamic values. What is more, some of these people are Muslims only by appearance and in reality they are true enemies of our faith, and their purpose is to abolish the second main source of our religion in an attempt to destroy the religion altogether.

We need to know that while this movement of thought has existed for around one hundred and fifty years, the ideas behind it date back much longer. Thus in his book *Umm*, Al-Shafi'i narrates a debate he had with a person who rejected all of the hadiths. Taking into account that he passed in 204/819, we can easily understand that the roots of the discussions date all the way back to the first centuries but could not take hold due to lack of scientific grounds, therefore it did not turn into a sustainable movement.

Orientalists did not exist in the first centuries, when the abovementioned discussions were taking place, therefore we should abandon the behaviors that are underestimating the intelligence of Muslims and stereotyping them as people who always need to follow someone else and are unable to individually express their own thoughts. What is more, we need to pave the way for criticism and expression of different ideas, so that Islamic thought can evolve. Otherwise, the only thing we can achieve is an environment ripe for chaos if we oppress, set back, ostracize and target Muslims, and it also means covering up insufficiency with tyranny. Therefore we must show mercy and understanding to every Muslim. We must not forget that since the followers of the "Qur'an only" movement believe that the hadiths -in other words, stories- cause division, they always thought, and still think that it is easier to unite the ummah around one book, and that in fact this is a must.

2. Followers of "the Qur'an is enough" movement today

Looking at the backgrounds of those who support "the Qur'an is enough" movement, we can see that these people pose a very different profile than Syed Ahmad Khan, Abdullah Chakralawi and Ahmad Uddin Amritsari, who are believed to be the initiators of this movement, which is quite an interesting find. Most of these people did not receive adequate religious education, have only undertaken superficial readings and are not at all intellectually mature in the areas of Islamic science, such as connecting the Qur'an and the hadiths and the sunnah, fiqh, religious interpretations, etc. Therefore, they are unable to comprehend what religious sciences are and how they work within the context of the hadiths. This leads them to use certain incoherent stories in the hadith books to denigrate the entire corpus of the hadiths, for the greater purpose of rejecting all of the hadiths. Due to their limited knowledge, these people seem to be unable to take into account, and even comprehend, that the Prophet has to mean something to the Muslims of today.

There is an extension of the same group in our country too. The people in this group do not speak Arabic and take some Turkish translations as the base of their beliefs. They claim that, "Allah's book doesn't only address Arabs and teachers of Islam, therefore it is not a must to speak Arabic. We can take its translation as source too." However, they do not know that it is very hard to understand the Qur'an - especially certain verses - only by reading a translation, and that one has to make use of other scientific disciplines in order to fully comprehend what the Qur'an says. In other words, their lackings in this area prevents them from becoming aware of such necessities. However, Arabic literature, interpretation studies, the hadith, fiqh and kalam sciences are the major sources of help at this point. However, these people claim that they can use the Turkish interpretation of the Qur'an and only this, so they deprive themselves of the complementary sciences. This causes them to reduce the religion down to the understanding their mentors created using the Qur'an. This is a grave situation indeed.

3. Accusations based on the number of hadiths

One of the main baselines for the accusations that the hadiths are unreliable, is the number of hadiths. This is because of the fact that, according to some accounts, great narrators of hadiths, including Sahih al-Bukhari, selected some of hundreds of thousands of hadiths to write their books. Moving forward from this point, adding the stories collected by all the hadith narrators, gives us a collection of roughly two million stories. The opposers make a calculation based on this number and say,

"The Prophet carried the duty of prophecy for thirty three years. Multiplying 23 years with 365 days gives us 8,395 days. Then dividing two million with 8,395 days, we get an average of 238 hadiths per day. It is simply not possible for Allah's Messenger to speak of this many matters every day. What is more, it would not be possible for a person to remember everything they had heard over the past year from a beloved person, and transcribe them. This shows that the hadiths, which were written at least a hundred years after the passing of Muhammad, are quite a mixture of truth and lies, and are therefore not reliable."

This claim in itself is based on many incorrect assumptions, that is,

3.1. Accounts regarding the pools of hadiths, from where the imams of the hadiths made their selections, were narrated in their life stories. These figures are not obtained by counting. Furthermore, we do not think that the imams of the hadiths did not count the hadiths they collected themselves, since it would be a waste of time and resources.

3.2. There is a very important aspect which those who are stuck on the figures narrated in the tales miss due to their inexperience in the field: They are counting the two million hadiths as if they were two million individual accounts,

each of which focuses on a different topic. However, hadith researchers deem that when one of the narrators in the hadith chain, or when a word in a hadith, changes, it is then a new and separate hadith. Therefore, a set of one hundred hadiths, which exhibit differences in terms of storyline and text flow, may well be counted as a single hadith.

3.3. As for the claim that it would be impossible for a person to fully transcribe the information they heard from a beloved person a year ago, or multiple times within a year, accuracy of many of the hadiths are doubtful:

It is possible to classify the hadiths of the Prophet into two groups. The first group is made up of the hadiths which Muslims always refer to in their daily lives. Worshipping such as Salah, Zakat and blessing after prayers can be included in this group. These have been practiced daily by the Islamic faithful since the time of the Prophet. In a sense, it is a verification of the accounts in the hadith books. Muslims have been sustaining the practices they both learned from the hadith books and inherited through generations. We can call this, "the preservation of the sunnah." Therefore, Muslims always take the last Prophet as an example in their worship, such as striving for Salah and fasting in the way he did.

Fiqh sects adopt different practices, especially in the Salahs, because they adopt only one example of practice among the hadiths for all types of worship, and disregard other examples. Therefore, the differences between sects, which can be attributed to different practices of the Prophet at different times, is a reflection of the flexibility which Allah's Messenger bestows. It is not at all proof that one of these practices is correct and the others are false. Therefore, when we accept the fact that sunnah includes a variety of practices and regards differences as positive diversity, then we should have no problems. This also means that it is impossible to talk about any contradictions.

As for the hadiths in the second group, these are rather more rarely referred to by Muslims and they are not practiced in daily life. Most of the hadiths referred to by those who create doubt and provoke anxiety around the hadiths are in this group. The majority of these hadiths are related to faith and anecdotes from history. Examples of this are the descension of Jesus Christ; the Antichrist; Mahdi; Cessase (Antichrist's guide); the suffering of the soul within the grave; Prophet Solomon visiting his ninety wives in one night; Moses slapping the angel of death; the reason why meat goes bad very quickly once in the hands of the Tribes of Israel; mice being a group of human beings in the past; killing a lizard being a good deed, etc. These narratives are the hadiths which have long been a matter of debate. Therefore the criticism towards and doubt on these are nothing new. However, what separates the majority of people who spoke of these in the past is that they did not reject the hadiths altogether. That is, they criticized specific sets of hadiths and they did not have a problem with the concept of hadiths. Expectedly, this attitude is very

easily observes in the acceptances and works of the sects which can be classified as bid'ah.

Looking at the hadiths in the second group, we see that there are about two hundred and fifty of them (without counting the different storylines, that is, different versions of the same hadith). This means that at the center of all of these discussions and rejections of the hadith corpus is about two hundred and fifty hadiths. Therefore, it is a holistic approach of rejection based on some of the hadiths in this second group, which is an unhealthy premise.

It should not be forgotten that even if all of these two hundred and fifty hadiths were to be inaccurate, there would be no shortcomings in terms of the religion. All Muslims would continue practicing the religion just as the Prophet did. Therefore, whether the content of one hundred and fifty hadiths are accurate or that only some of them are based on proven facts, the state of the narratives in this second group would not affect that of the ones in the first group which regulate Muslims' religious life, or detract from the value of their behaviors towards practicing their religion. The number of accurate and true narratives in the first group, which regulate to Muslims' daily life, is estimated to be between twenty and twenty five thousand.[1] This abundance would not leave any untouched aspects in one's religious life. Furthermore, discussing the content of those other two hundred and fifty hadiths would not cause any problems. This could be accepted as an area for debate which could lead to the production of ideas, as long as it is not exaggerated or lead to the rejection of all the hadiths in the first group.

4. The problem of using every negative provision

Defenders of the understanding of "the Qur'an is enough" discourse tend to recklessly use every account that points to the unreliability of the hadiths. On the one hand, they think that hadiths are not reliable, but then they stick very firmly to other hadiths which are in their favor. They do not care whether these hadiths are accurate or not, or used correctly according to their context. The best examples to this are their stance against khalifa hadiths, and that some of sahabahs hadiths are fictionalized (!). There certainly are answers to the doubts which they create, however, it is unusual behavior to use hadiths as proof to historically denigrate hadiths. For this reason, it would be wise to stop trying to prove why hadiths are unreliable by using the very same. Because science allows for no dilemmas.

[1] See Enbiya Yıldırım, *Hadisler ve Zihinlerdeki Sorular*, Istanbul 2011, p. 127.

5. Results of total hadith rejection

5.1. The existence of the Prophet Muhammad

The people who only trust in the Qur'an are also not supposed to believe in and mention the existence of a person named "Muhammad", his parents and his life story.

5.2. No verses needed for the Prophet

If the life and words of Allah's Messenger mean nothing for the Muslims of today, the verses of thr Qur'an which mention him and stipulate obeying him would also be rendered meaningless. Thus, verses without any messages for the current Muslims, and specifically those mentioning his personal state and family affairs do not need to be in the holy book either! Then again, it is almost always impossible to comprehend the meaning of this second group of verses by looking at the text alone. This is especially true for the verses which narrate the warnings sent to the Prophet, so we need to remove all of them from the book!

5.3. Corrosion and simplification of values

Imagine that we have all of our knowledge of Islam wiped from our minds and we do not have any information about any kind of worship such as Salah, fasting and especially kalima shahadat. Then imagine we gathered a hundred people in a lecture hall. We tell them to open to a completely random page in the Qur'an and tell them to write what they understand from it onto a blank piece of paper in front of them. When we collect the papers and read them, we can see that everyone understood a different thing. This would be especially evident if the page was about worship, judgment or anecdotes.

In that situation we would have to ask ourselves, "If two hundred people cannot produce a common understanding of a page of text, what if we were to have this page read by all of the 1.7 billion Muslims in the world?" Undoubtedly, we would face 1.7 billion different outcomes. Then we would have a right to ask, "This religion is based on a book which was brought down to convert believers into being an ummah. If only one page is enough to divide opinions into 1.7 billion, how will we become an ummah?" This all means that when we take the Prophet out of the equation, everybody else substitutes themselves for the prophet and constructs a very individual understanding of the religion. It goes without saying that a religion interpreted in 1.7 billion ways would not stay as the Islam which Allah meant us to adopt. Beyond doubt, this religion would be one which everybody interprets individually, which would be quite far from how it would have come to be under Prophet Muhammad's guidance. Therefore, we need to have the interpretations of

the Prophet between the Qur'an, which is the center of Islam, and ourselves. As there cannot be an individual Islam for every person. If we fail to do this, we would then be faced with this bitter situation which we are all currently witnessing:

5.4. The danger which awaits the culture and civilization of Islam

The Prophet is the foundation of Islamic culture and civilization which Muslims have been building for around one thousand four hundred years. His words and practices are keystones of this culture and civilization. Our tradition and our world perspective were shaped by him. Undoubtedly, the last messenger took the Qur'an as a reference and the motivating power for himself, but the administering of the Qur'an was only realized by his hand. Therefore, his explanations of the Qur'an and everything else he offered to us have been the main pillars which have given Muslims their horizons and shaped their lifestyles. The culture and civilization of Islam developed around him.

To give a few examples: Having a look at the world of Islam, we can see that the values that make us who were are would be Azan, Community Salah, Friday Salah, Eid Salah, Tarawih Salah, the Hajj, together with customs such as cleaning and enshrouding the deceased, funeral prayers, greeting each other in the streets, handshaking, eating with the right hand, etc. If we were to remove all of these from our lives because they are not in the Qur'an, would there be anything left which would unite us and remind us that we are all brothers and sisters? Think of Islam without Azan, without Community Salah, would it be a devout practice at all? Would an abstract religion of Islam, which is relegated to a mere symbol, bring any joy at all to life and to the Muslims who believe in it? Of course not. Because these values help Muslims feel their very existence and by practicing them they enjoy their lives. An Islam without these values would not mean anything to them and only produce chaos and problems.

6. Verses taken as proof

The people who think that only the Qur'an is enough for Muslims also refer to some verses as proof of their belief. However, their method of reference is problematic. To give a few examples:

6.1. "*Say: Then is it other than Allah I should seek as judge while it is He who has revealed to you the Book explained in detail? And those to whom we [previously] gave the Scripture know that it is sent down from your Lord in truth, so never be among the doubters.*"[2]

[2] Al-An'am 6/114.

Those who use this verse as proof are of the opinion that the only source to be referred to is the Qur'an, everything is openly expressed in the book and therefore that which is not in the book cannot be accepted as truth. According to this, wearing silk is not forbidden for men since it is not mentioned anywhere in the Qur'an. If it were to be, Allah would have mentioned it. Because He does not forget. This is the same for other subjects which are not mentioned in the verses.

The answer:

a) Those who refer to this verse fail to notice that it addresses those who reject Islam. When we read the previous verse and the next verses together it will become clear:

"And [it is] so the hearts of those who disbelieve in the Hereafter will incline toward it and that they will be satisfied with it and that they will commit that which they are committing. [Say], Then is it other than Allah I should seek as judge while it is He who has revealed to you the Book explained in detail? And those to whom we [previously] gave the Scripture know that it is sent down from your Lord in truth, so never be among the doubters. And the word of your Lord has been fulfilled in truth and in justice.None can alter His words, and He is the Hearing, the Knowing."[3]

As seen here, the Qur'an addresses those who do not believe in it, and states that the only referee is Allah, and the proof of it is the Qur'an, that is, the last book is the true book. Since Islam addresses its audience through the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad claims the Qur'an to be proof of the fact that he is the messenger of Allah, is not it only natural that the Qur'an is the sole foundation against heathens?

b) The "openness of the Qur'an" which is mentioned in the verse is very easy to understand and it does not require any further explanation. Indeed, the Qur'an very clearly portrays the belief of unity free from polytheism, the fact that the Prophet Muhammad is the last messenger, and that the Qur'an itself is the last holy book.

c) As for the conclusion of this verse, "everything that is unlawful is pointed out in the Qur'an and all else is allowable", we first need to clarify that creatures such as bears, dogs, wolves, cats, hyenas, centipedes, scorpions, and worms that appear in dead animal flesh, and leeches are not mentioned in the Qur'an, are also forbidden food. So can we say that we can eat them? In addition, the unlawful acts pointed out in the Qur'an are only based on the state of the region when the verses were communicated to the Prophet. Therefore, things not related to the Arab world cannot be deemed as permissible just because they are not mentioned in the Qur'an. There are also things which did not exist when the Qur'an was brought down, such as, narcotic drugs including marijuana, heroin and LSD. It would be a disaster for

[3] Al-An'am 6/113-115.

the communities to allow use of these just because they are not mentioned in the Qur'an. This all means that for some situations, the knowledge is left to the Prophet, and then to the ummah, to judge.

6.2. *"O, you who have believed, do not ask about things which, if they are shown to you, will distress you. But if you ask about them while the Qur'an is being revealed, they will be shown to you. Allah has pardoned that which is past; and Allah is forgiving and forbearing."*[4]

Those who use this verse as proof state that what needs to be mentioned is already in the book, and as pointed out in the verse, that which is never mentioned is automatically allowable. So everything that is not intentionally forbidden must be allowable.

The answer:

a) Many verses were brought down because of a case. These narratives may not mean anything for those who do not respect the hadiths just by looking at a verse's wording, however, it is very easy to understand that the majority of the verses in the Qur'an were brought down for a reason. Therefore, denying the reason for certain verses means denying the truth, and the fact that the Prophet Muhammad responded to some of the social problems and cases that needed explanation by using revelations coming from Allah. This also means to deny social life and the problems it may lead to. Thus, within the context of this verse, some sources cite some people asking questions such as, "Who is my father?"; "Where is my lost camel?", or "Is the Hajj an annual requirement?", which led to the bringing down of verses.[5] Even if we were to admit that these narratives are unfounded, when we look at the content of the verse we can understand that certain questions were directed to the Prophet and the verse itself bans people from asking unnecessary questions. This means that it is forbidden by verses to ask unnecessary questions, and likewise creating unnecessary problems.

It is very possible to see that every verse has a context. Verses prohibit asking questions and requesting answers on certain topics because the answers would be too hard to handle. If there is no explanation for a topic, it is then considered to be allowable. Therefore, the wording in the Qur'an roughly means that if there was anything to point out, then it would have already been pointed out, and that people must not create their own problems. Therefore, we need to take the verses' contexts into consideration too.

Another significant proof that the matters which are asked about are allowable is, that if the question was unlawful, neither Allah nor His Messenger would keep silent about it. In short, the text of the verse is quite telling of the fact

[4] Al-Mai'dah 5/101.
[5] See: *Sahih al-Bukhari*, 4621-4622; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, 905.

that the people who were asking questions, were questioning things that were not unlawful and rather ordinary aspects of life.

b) It would not be correct to conclude from this that something has to be mentioned in the Qur'an if it is prohibited. Because the verse makes it clear that we only should ask allowable questions. Besides, we learn from the immediate next verse that a community in the past brought itself into denial because of asking the wrong questions:

"A people asked such [questions] before you; then they became thereby disbelievers."[6]

Therefore, no questions should be asked about certain unnecessary subjects, since the answers to them might be too heavy for people and lead them to disbelief. Thus submission is demanded from believers. Here there are no limitations on the Prophet in terms of prohibition. It is a matter of answering a question within its own context.

6.3. *"This day I have perfected for you, your religion and completed My favor upon you and have approved for you Islam as your religion."*[7]

Those who use this verse as proof state that the verse very openly dictates that the religion, as it is, is complete. Therefore, we do not need any more proof than the Qur'an itself.

The answer:

a) Here, the fundamental problem is what meaning is intended by "religion being complete." According to defenders of "the Qur'an is enough" discourse, the book complements religion as being complete. However, since not all aspects of life or details of certain accounts in the verses are not explained in the Qur'an, it is not completion in a real sense, it is only a complete listing of the fundamental principles of life. Actual completion is up to Allah's Messenger. The Messenger personally practiced and materialized the religion through his actions and explanations, all of which were under Allah's control. Besides, the verse does not say that we should not pay attention to what the prophet says.

It should not be forgotten that it was the Prophet who made people aware of this verse, which says that religion is complete, and it was him again who guided the society throughout his life. He spoke the verses for twenty three years and never stopped speaking of them.

b) Those who ignore Asbab al-nuzul may deny that the verse was brought down during the Farewell Sermon, but the verse's content explicitly demonstrates the fact. Here is the full verse, together with the preceding verse:

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[6] Al-Mai'dah 5/102.
[7] Al-Mai'dah 5/3.

"O, you who have believed, do not violate the rites of Allah or [the sanctity of] the sacred month or [neglect the marking of] the sacrificial animals and garlanding [them] or [violate the safety of] those coming to the Sacred House seeking bounty from their Lord and [His] approval. But when you come out of ihram, then [you may] hunt. And do not let the hatred of a people for having obstructed you from al-Masjid al-Haram lead you to transgress. And cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression. And fear Allah; indeed, Allah is severe in penalty. Prohibited to you are dead animals, blood, the flesh of swine, and that which has been dedicated to other than Allah, and [those animals] killed by strangling or by a violent blow or by a head-long fall or by the goring of horns, and those from which a wild animal has eaten, except what you [are able to] slaughter [before its death], and those which are sacrificed on stone altars, and [prohibited is] that you seek decision through divining arrows. That is grave disobedience. This day, those who disbelieve have despaired of [defeating] your religion; so fear them not, but fear Me. This day, I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favor upon you and have approved for you Islam as your religion. But whoever is forced by severe hunger with no inclination to sin - then indeed, Allah is forgiving and merciful."[8]

Therefore, we can interpret the verse's message as the principles of Islam to be complete, together with the Hajj. The religious structure was completed when the Prophet made his first Hajj, so to speak. So we can conclude that the verse's purpose is, "You have taken Mecca. Your prophet has completed his Hajj too. Religion now dominates this region. All worshipping activities, together with the religious system is now complete and crowned with the Hajj that Allah's Messenger made. Fear not the heretic now, fear me."

c) Those who deny the narratives about the bringing down of this verse, do they have any proof that this was the last verse to be brought down? No. Maybe other verses were brought down after this one too?! This chance is always real. Therefore, what is meant by "completion of religion", is always up to individual interpretation.

d) This verse goes hand in hand with certain provisions regarding the Hajj. However, the Qur'an does not include all stages and particularly the practices of the Hajj. This leads us to learn from the hadiths and prophetic biography, and to rethink what is being meant by the notion of "completion" pointed out in the verse.

7. The supreme status granted to the Prophet in the Qur'an

The last book of Allah strikes us with its messages and some of them are that the Prophet Muhammad was sent to us as our guide. People who describe themselves as Muslim must obey him, he carried the duty of explaining Islamic matters, etc. Therefore, the Prophet Muhammad has a mission to carry out for all of

[8] Al-Mai'dah 5/2-3. The 1st, 4th and 5th verses of the same sura regulate some religious matters within the context of the Hajj.

Muslims who ever live in this world until the day of judgment. The sources which we can learn this mission from are the hadiths and sunnahs. There is a problem with this in our day.

Scientific developments are used to a great extent in order to explain the Qur'anic verses, especially those regarding creation, therefore uncovering the wisdom behind Allah's orders. The greater purpose is to prove the miraculous nature of the Creator's book in another way. All this effort being said, who are we then to say that we do not need the Prophet Muhammad, who is the bringer of the book and who best knows the wishes of Allah, to understand the verses? This makes what we understand from the book more important and valuable than what the Prophet Muhammad understood from it. Yet he knows best the context of and the reason for every verse, because he was the receiver of the revelation which brought it. Therefore, the sole purpose of his hadiths is to explain the meaning of the Qur'an.

There is another important problem here. Defenders of "the Qur'an is enough" discourse deny all hadiths for various reasons, but they are also coming between the Prophet and the Qur'an. They are almost dictating how the Prophet and us interpret the Qur'an! They are acting as if Allah revealed the book to them and not to his Prophet! Worse still, they devalue the Prophet Muhammad's explanations of the Qur'an for various reasons, but then they act as if they were themselves the Prophet Muhammad and they stand between the Qur'an and us. But if we do not need the Prophet Muhammad, we do not need new pretend Muhammads either! This is why these defenders should not stand between the Qur'an and us.

The examples we will be giving in the following sections to demonstrate how difficult it is to interpret the verses without the hadiths, since the hadiths are the biggest obstacle that stand in the way of falsifying verses, will remind us of the unshakable status of Allah's Messenger within the world of Islam.

8. The claim that the hadiths cause division

It is claimed that the different inclinations, understandings and divisions among the ummah are mostly caused by the hadiths, that Muslims are being fragmented because of them, and that as a result, the only way to provide unity again is to take only the Qur'an as the foundation.

This approach does not reflect the truth at all. Because even if we rejected all of the hadiths and pretend that they never existed, the Qur'an itself is, by nature, open to different interpretations (in terms of belief and practice). For this reason, the Qur'an itself is enough to cause different sects and understandings to emerge. What really matters at this point is to show an understanding of various

perceptions and interpretations that will naturally emerge, and that people are tolerant and understanding of each other. Therefore, the true skills is to turn diversity into richness, avoid ostracizing other people and be able to live together with all the differences we embrace. This is the way of thinking and tolerance that should be instilled in all Muslims. Because different interpretations mean richness. Besides, even the defenders of "the Qur'an is enough" discourse differ in their interpretations of verses. They ca not be said to have a common understanding of the Qur'an. Not that this is ever possible. Because people can interpret the content differently and the Qur'an lends itself to this as well. In other words, the last book would also like to be interpreted in a number of ways.

At this point we would like to give an example of how the Qur'an itself is easily able to be interpreted in different ways.

يَاأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا قُمْتُمْ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ فَاغْسِلُوا وُجُوهَكُمْ وَأَيْدِيَكُمْ إِلَى الْمَرَافِقِ وَامْسَحُوا بِرُءُوسِكُمْ وَأَرْجُلَكُمْ إِلَى الْكَعْبَيْنِ

The expression, وَأَرْجُلَكُمْ can be read in two ways, depending on the rules of the Arabic language. If we were to read this as, وَأَرْجُلَكُمْ by using the letter lam's ustun, the meaning then becomes:

"O, you who have believed, *when you rise to [perform] Salah, wash your faces and your forearms to the elbows and wipe over your heads and (wash) your feet to the heels.*[9]

But if we were to read the letter lam with kesre,وَأَرْجُلِكُمْ , then we get the following meaning:

"O, you who have believed, *when you rise to [perform] Salah, wash your faces, and your forearms to the elbows and wipe over your heads and your feet down to the heels."*

Both readings are correct in Arabic, but, for some, the second reading is of priority.[10]

9. Evaluation

Looking at the religious discussions in the world of Islam, and the reflections of these discussions on social life, we can observe that the ummah always move between exaggeration and understatement. For some people, the information conveyed in classical written Arabic works is absolute truth. For other people, which is close to this group, some works which the ummah - rightfully - greatly value are almost sacred and they cannot be criticized in any way. Because such an act would damage the belief of sunnah followers, later worsening and causing mayhem. This is why the critical point of view must be abandoned. Another group is incapable of comprehending the importance of values which make an ummah.

[9] Al-Mai'dah 5/6.

[10] Since the Prophet did not wipe his bare feet, the followers of sunnah do not prefer the second reading.

They do not have the required knowledge to interpret the situation, but they regard themselves as the authority, find it deft to attack tradition, culture and our achievements, and find faults and devalue everything. Some of these people hold the hadiths responsible for the chaos that the ummah are currently in, and tend to deny the hadiths. They also claim the ability to provide unity through the slogan, "the Qur'an is enough." Despite their sincere nature, it is obvious that these efforts fail to unite the ummah at a common point. Every one of these ideas have large numbers of supporters in every Islamic country, however, the failure of the movement is also obvious. The ummah is divided into camps.

This shows us how important composure really is. The way to gain composure is to dignify the Prophet Muhammad in the way that he deserves to be, and consider him to be a bridge between the Qur'an and us, and surrender to his authority. While doing this we should also examine and study the consistency of the narratives in all possible ways, but without consecrating any books other than the Qur'an. In this way, we can see that the majority of the disputes in the area the of hadiths are not rooted in narratives, which form the daily worship routines of Muslims, but in the suffering of the soul within the grave, the Second Coming, some anecdotes regarding previous prophets, etc. Therefore, there is no reason for exaggeration. The narratives, which are subjects of discussion, must still be discussed, but it must be known that it is convenient to use the remaining narratives as examples of the way of worshipping in the time of the Prophet. Therefore it would be unjust to spread a small scale discussion into a large corpus of hadiths.

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Causes of Hadith Opposition in the First Hijri Centuries*

Kamil ÇAKIN**

Abstract

The Prophet's religious authority, as in his health, continued after his death. This authority, which is accepted by the vast majority of Muslims, has occasionally been questioned by some individuals and groups. The opposition of the hadith, which is rejected or restricted the religious authority of the hadeeth, emerged from the early stages of Islam. In this article, the reasons for the hadith opposition seen in the first Islamic centuries were held. We discussed this very important issue in the relevant part of our doctoral dissertation. Although nearly thirty years have passed, the subject is still up to date. In the light of new information and the new tests, we have concluded to revaluate the subject once again. In this article, the reasons of the hadith opposition are examined under the main headings and with many examples. Not only the evidence and the examples are presented in the article, but also these examples have been tried to analyze psychologically the causes of emergence of negative attitude towards the hadith in the people living in these periods. Thus, the reader will have reached a level of knowledge about the characteristics of the period. In the context of hadith, it appears that as of today and throughout the history, there will be people or groups opposing the hadiths in the future. However, it can be hypothisized that they will remain marginal but active.

Key Words: Hadith Opposition, The Prophet, Sunnah, Kalam

İlk Hicri Asırlarda Hadis Karşıtlığının Nedenleri

Özet

Hz. Peygamber'in dini otoritesi, sağlığında olduğu gibi, vefatından sonra da devam etmiştir. Müslümanların büyük çoğunluğu tarafından kabul edilen bu otorite, zaman zaman bazı kişi ve gruplarca sorgulanmıştır. Hadisin dini otoritesini reddeden veya sınırlandıran hadis karşıtlığı, İslâm tarihinin erken dönemlerinden itibaren görülmeye başlanmıştır. Bu makalede hadis karşıtlığının İslâm'ın ilk asırlarına tekabül eden kesiti ve hadis karşıtlığının nedenleri incelenmiştir. Oldukça önemli sayılabilecek bu konuyu, doktora tezimizin ilgili kısmında da müstakil olarak ele almıştık. Aradan yaklaşık otuz yıl geçmiş olmasına rağmen, konu hala güncelliğini korumaktadır. Biz de yeni bilgiler ve yeni tahliller ışığında konuyu bir

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kez daha ele almayı uygun gördük. Bu makalede hadis karşıtlığının nedenleri ana başlıklar halinde ve çok sayıda örnekle incelenmektedir. Sadece deliller ve örnekler serdedilmekle yetinilmemiş, bu örneklerden hareketle, söz konusu dönemlerde yaşayan insanların hadise karşı olumsuz tavır geliştirmelerinin nedenleri zihinsel olarak tahlil edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Böylece okuyucu dönemin özellikleri hakkında da bir bilgi seviyesine ulaşmış olacaktır. Hadis karşıtlığı bağlamında bugün itibariyle görünen odur ki tarih boyunca olduğu gibi, gelecekte de hadislere menfi yaklaşan kişi veya gruplar var olacaktır. Fakat bunların marjinal, ancak aktif nitelikte kalacakları şimdiden var sayılabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hadis Karşıtlığı, Hz. Peygamber, Sünnet, Kelam

It is a fact that some people and groups/early-sects assumed a negative attitude towards the hadiths (and the sunnah) at the very beginning of Islamic history. However, it is difficult to identify the precise time when this negative approach began. It is not possible to identify the emergence of any kind of opposition to the hadiths during the lifetime of the Prophet, in the first half of the period of companions or even until the emergence of the Kharijites at the earliest. This is because the oldest evidence we have about opposition to the hadiths is the first Kharijites (Haruriyye), who expressed a negative approach towards the hadiths, as we will address in the following pages.

According to this narrative, they are the first factious people to come to mind during the time of the Prophet, they appear to be good Muslims, at least on the surface, and therefore, it is impossible for them to dare to oppose the hadiths. It can also be said that the environment was not suitable for hadith opposition after the death of the Prophet until the martyrdom of Uthman. Suitable conditions began to emerge with the martyrdom of Uthman and the political, social and kalam atmosphere facilitating the development of negative attitudes towards the hadiths, which are one of the prominent commandments of Islam. The development of some personal methods by some of the companions for the purpose of identifying the authenticity of the narratives that they had heard for the first time (persistence), should not be considered as anti-hadith but as the first examples of the emergence of the methodology of criticism of the hadiths. For example, when the hadith, *"if a dog, donkey or a woman passes by in front of a person who prays, his prayer becomes invalid"* is mentioned, Aisha said, *"You equated us with dogs. The Prophet used to pray and I used to lay on the bed between him and the qiblah. When I needed something I slowly removed myself from there in order to not be opposite him".* This is an example of a hadith criticism in the early period. It is quite common for the companions to approach narratives that they had heard of and have no information about, in this manner or in a similar one. These are not related to hadith opposition, but are

merely examples of the efforts of the companions to identify the correct form of the hadiths.[1]

Since the reasons of the hadith opposition will be discussed here, its history and variations will not be addressed. However, the hadith opposition will be defined and the elements included in this definition will be briefly explained so that the framework of the issue can be established.

We consider mentioning the definition we made at the beginning of our doctoral thesis here to be appropriate: ***"Denying the position that the Qur'an gives the Prophet and the matter of needing following him, in thought and practice, fully or partially, without any reasonable and scientific cause means denying the hadiths."***[2] According to the Qur'an, the Prophet is not only responsible for conveying the Qur'an, but also for explaining the Qur'an (disclosure), being a role model for morality and worship, and providing solutions to the problems of the ummah in matters that the Qur'an does not address. In other words, it is imperative for Muslims to abide by the *religious* statements and acts of the Prophet.

However, his acts in *non-religious* settings are not binding. The expression, *"Thought and practice"*, included in the definition refers to the theoretical and practical dimensions of the hadiths and the sunnah. Because we witness that the groups which were seen as hadith opposers formed their world views without taking the hadiths into account. Elements of this can be observed in the Kharijites and some Sufis[3]. Nevertheless, addressing the narratives and subjecting them to criticism in line with the methods followed for the identification of the authenticity of the hadiths, became a religious and scientific imperative. It is impossible to consider these methods and the actions taken solely to identify the authenticity of the narratives as part of hadith opposition. Consequently, exclusion of a hadith (or sunnah), completely or partially, is included in the elements of definition of the hadith opposition. Now, we can examine the reasons of the emergence of the hadith opposition based on the foundation of this definition.

We can say that the most significant factor of the hadith opposition which began to emerge in the early periods of Islamic history was the ***"political environment"***. This is because there is a strong connection and interaction between political events and human thoughts. This connection and interaction can manifest itself as, *"the effect of human thoughts on political developments"*. However, it is also

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[1] For examples of the methods of hadith criticism by the companions, see Musfir Garamullah ad-Dumeyni (ed-Damini), *Mekâyisu Nakdi Mutûni's-Sunne*, Riyadh 1404/1984.

[2] Hadis İnkârcıları, Seba Pub., Ankara 1998, 25

[3] We cannot use the word "Sufi" as, *"a person who is committed to Sufism"* during the first centuries. This is because Sufism, as a philosophical movement was born a few centuries later, in approximately the 3rd Hijri century. Here, the term, "Sufi" is predominantly used for ascetic people. Nonetheless, the ascetism movement and philosophy was effective in the formation of Sufism later on, while Sufism was effective in the emergence of the cults. For more information, see Mehmet Necmeddin Bardakçı, "*Doğuştan Günümüze Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar*", Rağbet Pub., Istanbul 2015.

true that extraordinary events and developments that disrupt the social structure, which occur in the political arena (such as assassination attempts, successful or failed coups, massacres), cause changes in the people's thought systems. According to this narrative, the martyrdom of Uthman (18 AH Dhu al-Hijjah 35/June 17, 656 AD) was a very serious assassination in history, and a **milestone for evil,** which set in motion the beginning of the incidents of instigation in Islamic history and triggered conflicts that would last for centuries. Obedience to Ali, after the martyrdom of Uthman, was not enough to provide peace. The Battle of the Camel broke out between the army led by Aisha and Ali's army (13 Jumada al-awwal 36 AH/ November 7, 656 AD). During this war, there were companions on both sides and a lot of them lost their lives. Following this battle, the Battle of Siffin (36 AH/657 AD) and the Incident of Judges took place between Muawiyah and Ali. Many companions also lost their lives in the Battle of Siffin. In a few years, very serious incidents broke out in the political arena, civil wars were fought, the state was destroyed, the blood of companions was shed and a caliph was martyred. While the beloved grandson of our Prophet, Hasan, continued his case to become the next caliph for a while, he later gave up on this demand. The brutal martyrdom of Husayn, the younger grandson of our Prophet, in Karbala on 61 AH/680 AD after the death of Muawiyah, was one of the most painful events of the political arena during the first century.

It is possible to refer to the period of political unrest which began in Hijri 35 with the martyrdom of Uthman and continued until the martyrdom of Husayn in 61 AH, as the period of ***"Great Instigations"***.

We mentioned the effects of political events on people's thoughts above. At this point, the question we should ask in terms of our topic is as follows: *What kind of a cause and effect relationship is there between these political events and the hadith opposition? In other words, how could some people and groups be affected by this atmosphere while developing opposition to the hadiths?*

Criticism of the Companions

Considering the companions in relation to their historical roles, we could say that they have two historical duties, one of which is related to the *"Qur'an"*, and the other is related to the *"Prophet"*. The companions created the Mushaf by compiling the Qur'an between two covers (cem'), right after the death of the Prophet. Secondly, they made an effort for the Qur'an to be well-understood by interpreting it in all aspects. A portion of this effort consists of the conveyance of the hadiths and the sunnah. Therefore, the historical duty of the companions in relation to the Qur'an would be completed in this way. One of their duties in relation to the Prophet was the conveyance of his words and actions as accurately as possible to future generations. Their second duty can be described as being actual role models for the experience of the sunnah.

Whether the companions were able to maintain the environment of peace and quietude in the political arena which they took over from the Prophet is debatable, but it is evident that they performed their duties in relation to the Qur'an and the Prophet. In this respect, the Islamic ulema (followers of the sunnah) cultivated the idea that the companions were fair from a very early period. The fairness of the companions indicates that they successfully completed their duties in relation to the Qur'an and the Prophet, but does not include any ideas indicating that they are free of sin. In our opinion, the most important reason why the companions were excluded from disaffirmation and revision is the possibility that such disaffirmation of this generation, who were the first carriers of Islam, could lead to the emergence of suspicions around the Qur'an and the sunnah which are the main sources that they conveyed. Because, the idea that, ***"the accuracy of news is directly proportional to the reliability of those who convey it",*** constitutes the main principle of disaffirmation and revision. This is why, "there were no people in dispute over the fairness of the companions apart from some innovation groups."[4] Khatib Baghdadi (d. 463 AH) states the following on the subject matter in a more explanatory manner: "Acting on a hadith whose attribution is contiguous from the Prophet until the final communicator, can only be possible if it becomes certain that all communicators were fair. While it is necessary to investigate their state in all aspects, the state of a companion who attaches a hadith to the messenger. This is because the fairness of the companions gained credibility as Allah informed that they are fair, informed them that they are honest people and sent down verses in relation to them."[5] These opinions, compiled by the scholars who lived a few centuries later, actually express the Islamic ummah's general opinion of the companions in the first century. Indeed, an overwhelming majority of society accepted the leadership of the companions and did not question them at this point. However, the revolt committed against a companion for the first time, and in a way that would create quite serious consequences, was such a far cry from this environment. With this revolt, a great companion, who is the caliph of the Muslims, was not only seriously criticized but also martyred as a result of this revolt. According to this narrative, points on which Uthman is criticized are as follows: 1. He had the Mushafs burned after compiling the Qur'an; 2. During trips, he prayed without shortening his prayer time; 3. He considered himself to be more superior than the messenger and degraded Abu Bakr and 'Umar to a lower level; 4. His absence in Badr and the Pledge of Ridwan, and his return from Uhud[6]. Those who revolted had decided that Uthman made big mistakes, he should fear God and repent, and resign from his position as caliph.[7] *"The companion is the first link in the chain that carries the Prophet's words and actions to us. This first link is very important, particularly in terms of the hadith narratives because they are not like other communicators,*

[4] Ibn Hajar, Isabe, 1/10
[5] Baghdadi, Kifaye, 93.
[6] İbn Al-Arabi, Avasım, 61.
[7] Taberi, Tarih, 4/333

and heard the hadiths directly from their sources. If the reliability of the one who first heard the words from their source is compromised, doubts will ensue over the authenticity of the communicated hadith. Therefore, the criticism of the companion would directly have a negative impact on the reliability and authority of the hadith."[8]In fact, examples of this can be seen in the attitudes of the first sects; the Kharijites, the Gulat-i Rafiza, and some followers of innovation. The first Kharijites, who left Ali's army and withdrew to Harura, did not accept the narratives of the companions who participated in the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Siffin, and the parties in the Incident of Judges, as they accused them of blasphemy[9]. According to this narrative, dialogue between Aisha and a woman is a striking example of the hadith opposition of the Kharijites: *"A woman asked Aisha, 'After anyone is clean, should she pray later on to make up for it (the prayer she couldn't perform during menstruation)? According to this narrative, Aishe replied, 'Are you a Haruriyah (Kharijite)? We had our periods while we were with the Prophet and he did not command us to do that (or 'we didn't do that')."*[10] There are a couple of points that attract our attention in this example; it is understood from this dialogue that the women who menstruated and could not pray did not perform an additional prayer later on to make up for it on her clean days, and this was an established practice at that time (sunnah). So, this rule was not just based on a narrative, but it was also evidenced by the established practice. Therefore, it is observed that the Kharijites took into account neither the narratives nor the established sunnah. It can be said that one of the most important reasons for this anti-hadith and anti-sunnah attitude of the Kharijites is their negative opinions of the companion, while another reason is the disappointment they experienced in this political platform. The reason for their disappointment is the fact that their wishes from and expectations of Ali and the other companions whom they gathered around, were not met. Because, they demanded from Ali that the women around Aisha should be considered as prizes, and that he rejected the decisions made by the judges. These did not happen, in fact, the circle around them was getting smaller by the day. The disappointment of the Kharijites in the political arena drove them to opposition. They then developed a religious approach that criticizes the companions.

The development of a negative point of view towards the companions by the Rafizi groups constitutes one of the reasons why they rejected the hadiths. One of the scholars who pointed out the impact of the criticism of the companions in hadith opposition is Suyuti (d. 911 AH/1505 AD). According to him, *"One of the strangest behaviors of the Rafizis is their consideration of the companions as perverse and their rejection of the hadiths as they are the narratives of these perverse people"*[11]. Watt makes the following assessment in relation to the Rafizis: *"A natural result of the*

[8] Çakın, Hadis İnkarcıları, 35.
[9] Baghdadi, Abdulkahir, Fark, 55 et al., Sehristani, Milel, 1/201, Eş'ari, Makalât, 87 et al.
[10] Al-Bukhari, Hayz, hadith no: 321, 1/71
[11] Suyuti, Miftah, 45.

essential doctrine of the Rafizis was the following: The majority of the companions who had a special position in Islam rebelled against the commandment of the Prophet, since they did not recognize Ali as the caliph after the death of the Prophet. Hence, they did not deserve to convey his hadiths. Rafizis were undermining the sensitive structure of the hadith, which is the basis of the Shariah, or the law of Islam, which in turn undermined the developing influence and power of the class of hadith and legal scholars."[12]

The Political Environment

The political unrest, the panorama of which we provided in the beginning, laid the foundation for negative movements of thought surrounding the companions, while leading to the emergence of different tendencies in relation to the hadiths. As we mentioned earlier, political events may deeply affect the thought structure of the society and cause a number of changes. The state of civil turmoil that broke out after the martyrdom of Uthman and continued for a long time, brought some Muslims and groups face-to-face with some very complicated problems. A product of the political conditions by their nature, these events which needed to be resolved under those same conditions gained a religious identity through the explanations and interpretations of the following generations. In other words, while the emergence and development of these events could be explained by societal conditions, they were tried to be resolved under religious laws. Considering our subject matter, political groups referred to the hadiths rather than the Qur'an to be able to justify their cause and to prove the erroneous ways of their opponents. While the narratives that were known to be true were interpreted to serve certain purposes, some groups did not refrain from fabricating hadiths. The hadith material, which was actually pure, was contaminated for the first time through politics, and the stagnant waters were blurred by politics. For example, the following hadith was claimed to have been stated by the Prophet as it was supposedly conveyed by Aisha, *"I am the master of mankind and Ali is the master of the Arabs"*[13]. The oddness of this narrative is its conveyance from Aisha. If Aisha knew this hadith, she would not have fought with Ali, who is the master of the Arabs; on the contrary, she would have stood beside him. Another narrative that is fabricated in the political arena is as follows: Abd Allah bin Mesud narrates: *"I was with the Prophet on the night a group of genies visited him. The Messenger took deep breaths. I asked him, 'What is this state of yours messenger?'. He said, 'I was informed of my death'. Then I said, 'So, designate a caliph'. He asked, 'Who?'... I said: 'Ali b. Abi Talib'. Upon this, he said, 'I swear to the one who holds my life in his hand that if they obey Ali, they will all go*

[12] Watt, Islamic Philosophy, 53.

[13] Hakeem, Mustedrek, hadith no: 4625, 3/133. Hakeem states that he cannot say that the attribution of this hadith is authentic according to the conditions of Al-Bukhari and Muslim due to Umar bin Al-Hasan beingincluded in the attribution. His zahab says that Umar bin Hasan al-Rasibi fabricated this hadith. Taberani also narrates this hadith through Enes b. Malik, and rules it to be a sole hadith. Taberani, Mu'cemu'l-Evsat, hadith no: 1468, 2/127.

to heaven"[14]. As it can be seen in this narrative, the caliphate of Ali was praised by the Prophet himself and Muslims were encouraged to obey him. It is obvious that this narrative was fabricated by the followers of Ali, most probably the Rafizis. The counter group would either attribute a different meaning or reject such narratives that praise a political figure. However, it is also observed that the opposers did not idly stand by and fabricate hadiths. Followers of Muawiyah also fabricated hadiths referring to the virtues of Muawiyah. One of these is the following hadith, *"There are three reliable individuals in the eyes of Allah: I, Gabriel and Muawiyah"*[15]. While Muawiyah's followers fabricated the hadith, *"If you see Muawiyah reading a sermon in my mimbar, accept him (submit to him)"*[16]. The followers of Ali spread the narrative, *"If you see Muawiyah reading a sermon in my mimbar, kill him."*[17]

In such an atmosphere where political events have become blurred in the minds of the people, what kind of an attitude could Muslims have on hadiths in the face of the spreading of such narratives among the people? It is evident that the ulema had warned the public against such narratives since the early days and tried to discard the fabricated narratives as much as possible. However, it may be considered that the people who did not have the ability to distinguish the authentic narratives from the fabricated ones directed the suspicions they had in themselves to the hadiths. Obviously, such a negative reaction can be possible for people who were exposed to a great number of fabricated hadiths. Because, it is a common occurrence that those who are exposed to negativities more frequently fall into the misconception that the overall atmosphere only consists of such negativities. As a matter of fact, it is possible for people working in some professions, such as those in law enforcement who constantly encounter crimes and criminals due to their job, to have a negative outlook on life in general. It is also natural that there are certain variations in the way doctors, who constantly come into contact with disease and patients, view society and life. In the field of divinity, it is a common occurrence for experts who come across numerous fabricated narratives due to the nature of their field, to develop a suspicious attitude towards the hadith canon. It can be argued that the circumstances were not so different during the first centuries. In an environment complicated by politics, it is possible that political parties develop suspicion towards narrated materials on a personal or group level.

This negative environment did not end with the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Siffin, it lasted until the martyrdom of Husayn (61 AH/680 AD). Hadiths concerning Hasan and Husayn may have been discussed a little after the caliphate rivalry, or after 61 AH. For example, one of these is as follows: *"The night I ascended to the sky, I saw that the following was written on the gate of heaven: La ilaha illa Allah Muhammedun Resulullah, Ali is the beloved subject of Allah, Hasan and Husayn are good*

[14] Ibn al-Jawzi, Mevzûat, 1/346.
[15] Sevkani, Fevâid, 404; Suyuti, Leâli, 1/418.
[16] Ibn al-Jawzi, Mevzûat, 2/27; Suyut, ibid, 1/418.
[17] İbn Arrâk, Tenzihu'ş-Şerîa, 2/8; Sevkani, 407.

subjects of Allah."[18] Political rivalry and conflicts not only created the disaster referred to as, *"the instigation"*, but also created serious doubts with respect to the authority and value of the hadiths in the minds of some Muslim individuals and groups.

External Attitudes

We mentioned the Kharijites above, while discussing the anti-hadith groups that initially emerged. We can assume that the Kharijites and hence, the Kharijite nature, played a significant role in this opposing attitude. They developed very marginal ideas in a very short period of time. However, it must be noted that we cannot precisely identify the chronological course of the Kharijite ideas, since they were conveyed to us through later works. Nonetheless, it is clear that beliefs such as the "takfir of the companion", arose and developed early in history; in fact, right after the Battle of Siffin. As it can be seen in the example of Aisha that we provided above, it can be said that they adopted an attitude (which involved claiming that only the Qur'an was taken as the basis) against the narratives and the sunnah in the same period. In this respect, the descriptions of the Kharijites in later sources are true. For example, their slogan, "*la hukme illa lillah/There is no other than Allah to command"*,[19] reflects the Incident of Judges and the companions and obviously their approach, which involves invalidating the narratives with regards to the foregoing. The Kharijites, particularly a group of them called Azariqa, *"only took the Qur'an into account and ignored the sunnah. For they, like the Jews and Christians, considered the cruelty of the prophets to be permissible, and they approved a prophet to become a disbeliever before or after he was anointed."*[20] They, *"also ignored hadiths containing a commandment that was not available in the Qur'an, other than hadiths explaining concise verses."*[21] The advice of Ali to Abd Allah Ibn Abbas for him, *"to submit evidence only from the Qur'an and not try to convince the Kharijites based on hadiths"*[22] before sending him to the Kharijites as a messenger in order to convince them, is a meaningful example demonstrating that the Kharijites did not have a positive attitude towards narratives.

We mentioned earlier that one of the reasons that led the Kharijites to reject the hadiths was, "their disparagement/takfir of the companions". We provided the evidence in relation to this in the relevant section. Here, we will discuss another important reason that led them to oppose the hadiths, which is the nature of the Kharijites and the Kharijite state of mind. The majority of the Kharijites were Bedouins. It can be assumed that they also had in their midst, some people from

[18] Ibn al-Jawzi, İlel, 1/257.
[19] Ibn Sa'd, Tabakat, 3/32.
[20] Sehristani, Milel, 1/211, Izmirli, Muhassal, 82.
[21] Yaltkaya, İslam'da İlk Fikri Hareketler, 12.
[22] Suyuti, Miftah, 35.

faraway lands such as Yemen ,and maybe some people from the tribes who revolted at the time of Abu Bakr.[23] If our prediction is correct, that a significant Bedouin population as well as some rebellious tribesmen were within the Kharijites, the reason why they displayed a negative attitude towards the narratives and the sunnah that is not available in the Qur'an, can be explained more easily. The attitudes that the Kharijites displayed and the accusations they made during their dialogue with Ali demonstrate how superficially they perceive the events. One of these accusations is concerned with the question of why women from the ranks of Aisha are not shared as odalisques despite the fact that the goods in her army are considered as booty, as she was defeated in the Battle of the Camel. The second item of accusation is concerned with the question of why the title, "amir al-muminin" was deleted without any settlement upon the objection of the followers of Muawiyah to this title in the Incident of Judges. Another accusation directed to Ali by the Kharijites is the following statement of Ali to the judges: *"If I'm worthy of being a caliph, make me one, if I'm not, don't"*.[24] As it can be seen in these examples, the impact of the Bedouin nature of the Kharijites is obvious in their opposition to the hadiths. The Bedouins are not curious about the background of thoughts and events; they do not take into account the wisdom and reasoning behind the words and behaviors. They make superficial assessments by assuming that people, behaviors, ideas and events are only what they seem to be. The impact of the Bedouin nature on the negative view of the narratives is obvious and it is possible to see traces of this state of mind in any era and any society.

Religious and Cultural Interaction

Islam emerged in a geographical region that is far from major cultures, religions and civilizations. There were Jewish communities and some Christians in Hejaz. In addition, inhabitants of Mecca and Medina were encountering different communities in Damascus in the north and Yemen in the south during their commercial trips. It cannot be stated that the Hejaz Arabs were unaware of these civilizations and cultures; however, their communication and interaction with them was quite limited with no effect whatsoever on Arabian beliefs and way of life.

During the very early period, during the time of the four caliphs, northern Africa, the Middle East and Iran were conquered and Ma wara'un-nahr was very close. The conquest of Middle Asia also began in the first century. Before Islam, many diverse religions and cultures existed in this wide region. Islam arrived while these were active and naturally interacted with these religions and cultures. At this point, we may focus on what effects these foreign factors had on the emergence of the hadith opposition by painting a picture of the religions and cultures of the countries that joined the world of Islam.

[23] Çakın, Hadis İnkarcıları, 99.
[24] For accusations directed to Ali by the Kharijites, see Baghdadi, Fark, 58-60.

Eastern Anatolia, the Syrian and Iraqi basin and Iran was a stage for struggles for dominance between the Byzantine and Persian states[25]. It can be argued that there were also struggles for power between the cultures and religions in addition to these two states. The effect of the Byzantine Empire in this region manifested itself as the spread of the Hellenistic Greek culture and Christianity.[26] Monophysites, who had separated from Orthodox Christianity and had been subjected to their oppression, had settled in the region of Syria.[27] In Egypt, particularly the city of Alexandria was a lively center of the Hellenistic culture.[28] The philosophical movement of Neoplatonism was quite active in Alexandria.[29] While the cities of Antakya, Nusaybin, Urfa and Harran remained under Byzantine control for a very long time, they still held their position as the center of Mandeanism.[30] The most prevalent belief systems in pre-Islam Iran were Magianism, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Mazdakism.[31] Buddhism, Magianism, Christianity, Judaism and Manichaeism were present in Middle Asia.[32]

Now we can examine whether the religious and cultural diversity had any effect on the rejection of the hadiths and if so, the scale of such effect. First of all, it must be noted that Islam arrived in these regions with two significant bases of power: The Qur'an and the sunnah. The basis of the sunnah is primarily the way the companions experience the religion and the narrated materials. So, Islam did not only conquer those regions but also brought with it its own value system, resources and way of life, and presented these to the masses. While an idealist Muslim could assume that this system of values and way of life was readily accepted and adopted by the local communities, it can easily be predicted that it was not so easy. It appears that the local beliefs and cultures continued for a long time and it is possible to see traces of them even today. We may consider that the local communities may have developed several opinions towards Islam. Undoubtedly, many people preferred Islam by wholeheartedly adopting its universal values and way of life. Otherwise, it would not be possible for Islam to take hold across such a large region. It can be said that even these people continued to hold on to their previous beliefs, traditions, cultures and ways of life by combining them with Islam and making them compatible with it.[33] It is possible to view this approach as positive for Islam. Because, according to our prediction, anti-hadith movements did not come out of the masses which adopted this attitude. However, as a second approach, the local communities made the effort to maintain

[25] Barthold, İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi, 10.
[26] O'leary de Lacy, İslâm Düşüncesi ve Tarihteki Yeri, 11.
[27] Mantran, İslâm'ın Yayılış Tarihi, 89; Bayraktar, İslâm Felsefesine Giriş, 35 et al.
[28] Ahmed Emin, Fecr, 85.
[29] O'Leary, 16.
[30] For more information, see: Bayraktar, 38-40; Barthold, 10.
[31] Nasr, Seyyid Hüseyin, Religion in The Middle East, 96-98.
[32] Kurt, Orta Asya'nın İslâmlaşma Süreci, 219-229.
[33] See: Emin, Fecr, 94.

their beliefs and cultures under the cloak of Islam and created a number of sects at this point. For example, according to some theories, the Mujassima and Mushabbiha sects in Islam carry traces of Zoroastrianism which comes from the religion of Iran. According to Zoroastrianism, "the manifestations of nature" are "Godly formations"; in this respect, they referred to the sun as "the eye of God" and the light as "the son of God".[34] For this reason, the Mujassima and Mushabbiha sects fabricated hadiths that expressed similitude, while rejecting hadiths that exonerated Allah.[35] In this example, the effect of pre-Islamic beliefs on the negative attitude towards the hadiths can be clearly seen. The term "zindiq" is used for members of sects such as Mujassima and Mushabbiha, and planned, purposeful movements aimed at distorting Islam. The members of pre-Islamic religions and cultures are presented as the origin of zindiqism. The impact of Greek philosophy and Zoroastrianism is mentioned in the development of the kalam system of Muʿtazila.[36] For example, according to Aristotle and Plato, god is a being that oversees the good deeds in the universe and has no part in evil. According to Zoroastrianism, there are two powers (two gods) in the universe. These two powers, which are light and darkness, are in constant battle. All the good deeds in the universe are created by the good power (Ahuramazda), while all the bad deeds are created by the evil power (Ehrimen). Muʿtazila also rejected the hadiths which expressed that both good and evil come from Allah. As it is known, the following sentence is included in the hadith of Gabriel, *"to have faith in destiny and the arrival of both good and evil from Allah"*. The rejection of this approach of destiny, and hence the narratives that identify them, has existed since the emergence of Muʿtazila.[37]

The Nationalist Policies of the Umayyads

Islam appealed to all races as it is a universal religion. Allah states: *"We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you."* (49.Al-Hujurat. 13) The Prophet also revealed the view of Islam on humanity by saying the following in his farewell sermon: *"a Persian has no superiority over an Arab and an Arab has no superiority over a Persian"*[38].

It is observed that this principle was complied with until the period of the four caliphs. However, nationalist policies were gradually put in practice as the Umayyads came to power and distinctions were made between Arabs and those

[34] See: Emin, Fecr, 99.
[35] For examples of hadiths fabricated by these sects, see: Kandemir, Mevzu Hadisler, 46.
[36] See: Emin, Fecr, 99 et al.; Gazali, Faysal, 58.
[37] Işık, Kemal, Mutezile'nin Doğuşu ve Kelami Görüşleri, AÜİF Pub. Ankara 1967, 41. For discussions on Muʿtazila's partial rejection of the hadiths, see: Kamil Çakın, Hadis İnkarcıları, Seba Pub. Ankara 1998.
[38] Ahmad ibn Hanbal narrated this hadith through an unknown companion. See: Musnad, hadith no: 23489, 38/474. Al-Bayhaqi evidenced the unknown companion as Jabir by narrating the same hadith through Abu Nadra via Jabir ibn Abd Allah. See: Al-Bayhaqi, Şuabu'l-İman, hadith no: 4774, 7/132.

who were not Arabs. In addition to the Islamic way of worship and morality, Arabian (particularly Hejaz) culture was tried to be presented to societies that are not Arabians through the hadiths and fiqh with the impact of the developing nationalism. For instance, the sociological identification of the Prophet [39]emphasizing the political leadership quality of the Quraysh among the Arabs of the Hejaz region through the hadith, "imams are from the Quraysh", is interpreted in a way that would close the paths of those who are not Arabians for political power. Therefore, other communities who did not consider themselves to be any different from the Arabs adopted a reactional attitude towards these nationalist comments. It is obvious that such reactions can sometimes be directed directly towards the hadiths. The fact that fiqh scholars do not consider a non-Arabian to be equal of an Arabian woman, and someone who is not from the Quraysh to be equal to a woman from the Quraysh in terms of equality in marriage, is a clear example of the effect of nationalism on fiqh.[40] It is possible to provide more of these examples. Here, it would be useful to emphasize the point that people have the instinct to protect the cultural values which they adhere to. Consisting simply of the experience of the culture in normal times, this quality gains a defensive and protective nature against an external threat of the culture. Reactive attitudes emerge against the counterculture and its members. Here, the counterculture for the local people is the Arabian culture and the means by which it is conveyed is seen to be the hadiths and fiqh. This defensive instinct may have had a serious effect in the spread of Shiism in Iran among Persians and some Turks, as well as the adoption of the Hanafi-Maturidi sects by Turks. Philip Hitti makes the following point in relation to this: *"However, the spirit of this nation (he implies the Persians) that was led to obedience would become alive again, also resurrecting its neglected language."*[41]Like Persians, it is evident that Turks are also resistant to assimilation. Brought to the capital of the Islamic country either as slaves or soldiers after the conquest of Middle Asia, Turks did not give in to the cultural hegemony of the Arabs. Jean-Paul Roux, cites the following observations of Von Grünebaum: *"...but what was even more exciting than that was their (Turks') resistance against assimilation; their commitment to the country they were born in cannot be seen as a simple form of nostalgia; on the contrary, it includes frightening consequences. Because for Turks, the commitment of the community to each other came before the sense of belonging to the Muslim community, even though they had settled at the heart of Islam."*[42]Turks who became Muslims came up with Persian as an alternative to Arabic by reviving Persian as a language

[39] It has been conveyed in this manner from Ali under arrest, by Ma'mar ibn Rashid (Fadailu Quraysh, hadith no: 19903, 11/58). An authentic attribution of the same hadith is also available (Al-Bayhaqi, es-Sunenu al-Kubrâ, hadith no:16540, 8/247). In sources such as Hadith Al-Bukhari and Muslim, it is also authentically conveyed as, *"this (caliphate) is on Quraysh..."* (Al-Bukhari, Menakıb, hadith no: 3500, 4/179.).

[40] For detailed information on equality in marriage, see: Mehmet Dirik, İslâm Aile Hukukuna Göre Evlenmede Eşler Arasında Denklik, İslâm Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi 2015, 26/229-262.

[41] Hitti, İslâm Tarihi, 1/240.

[42] Türklerin Tarihi, 185.

against Arabization after they arrived and settled in Iran before they went to Anatolia[43]and stood against Shafiism and Ash'arism, which were preferred by the Arabs, by adopting Hanafism and Maturidiyya in fiqh, all of which seem to be a result of the reviving self-defensiveness against nationalism. Bayraktar makes the following assessment on this: *"...in addition to this, as a result of their efforts to demonstrate that their culture is more superior than the Arabian culture, with the impact of the 'shu'ubiyyah' movement in Islamic history, which we may refer to as 'nationalism' or 'tribalism', translations to revive their thoughts of old Iran and re-present them in the new environment..."*[44]

In such an atmosphere, it can be considered that (some of) the nations who had tended to protect their national assets, may have opposed (some) hadiths which they considered to be the carrier of the Arabian culture, which they opposed believing it to be an opposing and aggressive culture. The efforts of the Muslim armies who victoriously entered Middle Asia to instill some practices which are not part of the essence of religion as the absolute commandments of the Prophet, led to the adoption of a negative attitude towards the hadith and sunnah culture. Attaching importance to such superficial matters rather than the many principals of Islam such as justice, equity, fairness, cooperation and mercy, may have led to the emergence of an antipathy to arise against the hadith materials. For example, the abolition such practices during the time of Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz enabled the people of Ma wara'un-nahr to become closer to Islam. Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz equated the statuses of the local community - the Mevali and the Arabs. He gave a share of the winnings to the local people who participated in the wars and forbade them to apply taxation. The governor of Khorasan, Al-Jarrah ibn Abdallah, worried that tax revenues would decrease, and requested from the caliph that locals should be required to be circumcised, saying that he doubted the sincerity of the locals. Getting angry at this, the caliph reprimanded Al-Jarrah by telling him that, *"he's more inclined to start an instigation than them"*, and dismissed him from his position after a while.[45] We see a striking example of the wrong policies of the Umayyads in this incident. It is possible to assume that similar attitudes were expressed many times. All this not only delayed the Islamization process of the local people but also led to the development of negative attitudes towards the hadiths, which are considered to be the carriers of Arabian culture and dominance.

The First Discussions on Kalam

[43] *"It was absolutely not a coincidence that the Turks frequently engaged in defending Iran either on purpose or not. Ghaznavids and Seljuqs spoke Persian, allowed the Iranian art to display its authenticity to the fullest extent and Iranian literature reached its highest level during their period"* (Jean-Paul Roux, Türklerin Tarihi, 186).
[44] Bayraktar, 76.
[45] Kurt, Orta Asya'nın İslâmlaşma Süreci, 175.

It is possible to mention four sects that emerged by discussing some of the main kalam issues right after the incidents of instigation: 1-Kharijites; 2-Murji'ah; 3-Jabriyya; 4-Qadariyya. The Kharijites had begun to verbalize that the murtekibu'l-kebire (a believer who committed a great sin) was bound to go to hell unless he did not repent.[46] The Kharijites were referring to the companions with this statement. This formed the basis for their idea of the "disparagement of the companions" which we mentioned above. The Murji'ah, which appeared in the early period, argued that the determination of the status of the murtekibu'l-kebire must be delayed until the Last Day (remaining silent on this issue and leaving the decision to Allah), as an opposition of the views of the Kharijites on the companions. The Murji'ah stated at the beginning that the practices would not damage the faith.[47] They, then improved this to mean that even bad practices (sins) would not damage the faith. While faith was considered to simply consist of knowing about Allah, sometimes elements such as "verbal admission" and "loving Allah" was added to it.[48] The thought that there would not be any increase or decrease in faith was included in the principles that the Murji'ah developed at this stage. Probably in an attempt to save the companions from takfir, the Jabriyya argued that people had to take the actions they took and were not responsible for them. The following statement was their slogan: "We are obliged to perform the deeds we perform, we cannot afford to perform anything else".[49] Unlike this strict "fatalist" approach of the Jabriyya, the Qadariyya sect - which would be represented by the Muʿtazila later on - argued that "human willpower is free and the freedom of willpower would require responsibility".[50] Their most important slogan was: "La kader, el-emru bi'l-unf/there is no destiny, the deed is right under your nose."[51] This means that "something only happens if you make it happen, otherwise, it does not; the choice and the power is yours".

While each of these sects gave new meanings to verses within their own thought systems, they rejected the hadiths that did not conform to their opinions. Let us consider the Kharijites; it is impossible for this group of people to accept the hadiths conveyed from the Prophet, which praise the companions and emphasize their exemplary nature and leadership, as the Kharijites subject the companions to takfir and consider those who committed a great sin to be bound to hell for eternity. Since they subject those who committed a great sin to takfir, it is natural for them to not accept the hadiths, indicating that the Prophet will intercede for sinful believers. It is evident that they reacted suspiciously to authentic narratives that verbalized the virtues of some companions, for example, Ali who is someone never to be

[46] Sehristani, Milel, 1/198.
[47] Ahmed Emin, Fecr, 279.
[48] Esari, Makalât, 133-134.
[49] Ahmed Emin, Fecr, 283.
[50] For the views of this sect, which is also known by the name Jahmiyya, see: Abu Sa'id Uthman ibn Sa'id ad-Darimi, Kitabu'r-red alâ'l-Cehmiyye, Beirut 1402/1982.
[51] Muslim, hadith no: 8, 1/36.

forgiven by them. Hadiths fabricated against the Kharijites may also have reinforced their hadith opposition. For example, in one of these, Abd Allah bin Ebi Evfa asks (Said ibn Cemhan): *'What did they do to your father?'*. When Said says: *'Azariqa killed my father'*, Ibn Ebi Evfa tells him: *'May Allah curse them, the messenger informed us that they are the dogs of hell'*.[52] Such fabricated narratives must have also angered the Kharijites.

As the Qadariyya/Jahmiyya/Muʿtazila sects rejected destiny, they interpreted the verses in this respect and rejected the narratives that confirmed destiny. For instance, when Imran ibn Husain asked the Prophet, *"if those who deserve to go to heaven and those who deserve to go to hell are known (as of now)"*; the Prophet replied, *"yes"*. Then, when Imran asked, *"why anyone would perform any good deeds in that case"*, the Prophet said, *"Each person (each living being) is inclined to do what is in their nature/that deed is facilitated for them"*.[53] It is impossible for this narrative, which is conveyed as authentic in the hadith collection, to be accepted by the Qadariyya. Yet again, "the forty days hadith" which states that a person's time of death, livelihood, deeds and whether s/he is bound for heaven or hell are all determined while the person [54]is in the mother's womb was not accepted by these sects since they were in opposition to their systems. Sometimes we observe that hadiths identifying destiny are given a different meaning by the Muʿtazila.[55]

Effects of Philosophy

Here, we focus specifically on the Greek philosophy. It is possible to say that the acquaintance of Muslims with Greek philosophy began with the conquest of the regions of Egypt, Damascus and Iraq. The foundation of the Bayt al-Hikmah institutions at the time of the Caliph Me'mun and the translation of philosophical books to Arabic was at a later time. Me'mun ascended the throne in 193 AH and performed his duty as a caliph until he died in 218. During this time, he was the most influential person in the officialization of the sect of Muʿtazila. Philosophy had a clear impact, which began during the period of Me'mun and continued for a while afterwards. Nonetheless, the acquaintance of Muslims with philosophy is at an earlier time and its role in hadith opposition is undeniably apparent. The ideas of the Greek philosophers, Aristotle and Plato were influential in the kalam of Muʿtazila.[56] Aristotle had tried to reach the idea of a perfect God. While he had freed God from many imperfections, he had envisioned a God with no power of

[52] Suyuti, Hasâis, 3/18.
[53] Muslim, Kader, hadith no: 9(2649), 4/2041.
[54] For detailed information on this hadith, see: Murat Arslan, Kırk Gün Hadisinin İsnad ve Metin Yönünden Değerlendirilmesi, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Ens., Ankara 2006.
[55] For the views of Muʿtazila on destiny, see: Abdulhamid Sinanoğlu, İslâm Düşüncesinin İlk Özgürlükçü Hareketi Mutezile'nin Kader Anlayışı, KSÜ İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi 2006, 7/69-92.
[56] Nader, Albert Nasri, Felsefetu'l-Mutezile, 1/58.

creation.[57] Plato on the other hand, considered a God who at least created the good things.[58] Aristotle's idea of a God with no power of creation and Plato's idea of a God who creates what is good is evident in the discussions of the Muʿtazila on ef'alu'l-ibad (human acts). Gazali also pointed out the parallelism between the Muʿtazila and Greek philosophy.[59] For example, according to the Muʿtazila, Allah does not create cruelty or evil.[60] In fact, Allah also did not create profanity or disbelievers.[61] Not everything is in the power of Allah.[62] According to the Muʿtazila, Allah is fair. Therefore, He cannot be considered as the creator of evil. Then evil must be the deed of humans or demons who are responsible for their acts.[63] According to Ahmed Emin, the Muʿtazila believe that the acts of the subjects, whether they are good or evil, are not created by Allah; human willpower is free, and humans are creators of their own actions.[64] While addressing the views of the Muʿtazila on ef'alu'l-ibad, Ebu'l-Muzaffer el-İsferayini states: *"One of the issues they agreed on is the following: Subjects create their own acts. All living beings such as a person, mosquito, honeybee, ant, insect or fish are creators of their own acts. It is not Allah who created their acts. He cannot afford anything that the subjects do."*[65]

In these quotes, it is possible to clearly see the parallel between some views of the Muʿtazila and the views of the Greek philosophers. However, it is also evident that narratives in opposition to this system of thought were rejected while this system of thought was being established. In the context of the ideas developed as a result of these interactions, it is seen that authentic narratives on destiny were chosen to be rejected as a result of the Muʿtazila's approach of destiny which can be formulized as, *"humans create their own destinies"*. In fact, the number of narratives within the hadith literature, indicating that, *"the destiny of a person is determined by Allah and good and evil comes from Allah"*, which also constitute the approach of destiny of the followers of the sunnah, are quite high. This issue is expressed in the following way in the Gabriel hadith which is considered to be authentic: *"faith in destiny and faith in the arrival of good and evil from Allah"*.

We know that the Muʿtazila rejected some hadiths. Here, we only gave an example of their rejection of the hadith of destiny. The Muʿtazila did not abide by the hadiths on such issues, and created different ideas, which can be considered to be a result of philosophical influences as well as many other factors. The hadith

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[57] Bolay, Aristo Metafiziği, 101. *"Aristotle, and most of the Greek philosophers, did not like the idea of creation since it was based too much on divine intervention. So, they believed that mankind and the surrounding world has always existed and will continue to exist"* (Hawking, 19).
[58] Platon, Devlet, II. Kitap, 70.
[59] Faysal, 58.
[60] Kadi Aduljabbar, Tenzih, 78.
[61] Kadi, ibid, 69.
[62] Kadi, ibid, 27.
[63] Tritton, A. S., İslâm Kelamı, 84; Suyûri, İrşâd, 130.
[64] Duha'l-İslâm, 3/45.
[65] Isferayini, Tabsir, 38.

opposition of the Muʿtazila is **perhaps** not a simple *nass* opposition and can be considered as the product of a broader point of view that is more fundamental and systematic. Philosophical influence is just one of the factors here, the real target may require to be addressed on a much wider plane. That is: **Actually, the Muʿtazila were not just against the hadiths, they were against the wide range of established Islamic traditions and religious values, which are represented by the traditions and manifested themselves in the hadiths and through the companions. At the time the Muʿtazila gained strength (the time of Ma'mun), Islamic civilization had certain centers of attraction. These included the region of Hejaz, the region of Egypt and Damascus, the region of Iraq, the region of Ma wara'un-nahr and the region of Yemen. These centers were different in a various fields such as methodology, reading and assessment of *nass*, and approaches to the basic Islamic sciences. However, the most obvious common characteristic of all of them was their attribution of the value to the Qur'an and the hadiths (sunnah) as the source of the religion. Therefore, an Islamic system of life had been created based on a foundation of the Qur'an and the sunnah, and enriched with tradition. Was the objection of the Muʿtazila an objection against this system? What did the Muʿtazila want to do by attributing value to Greek philosophy and by translating the old books of Greek philosophy to Arabic? Did they want to remove Islamic civilization based on the Qur'an and the sunnah, which is dominated by traditions, from an Islamic approach under the influence of Hejaz and Ma wara'un-nahr and lead it towards a different civilization; the Mediterranean civilization? If that is the case, we can assume that the first supporters of Westernization in the history of Islam was the Muʿtazila. Actually, they have infiltrated the government since the period of Ma'mun and preferred a top-down change by benefiting the power of the state, which indicates that we should also consider this possibility. It would not be wrong not to consider the Muʿtazila's hadith opposition as intellectual satisfaction of the mind and address it within the framework of this extensive project for the change of civilizations.** But we also need to mention that this subject matter requires further research.

Limiting the Role of the Hadiths and the Sunnah in the Understanding of the Qur'an

We can categorize the role of the hadiths and the sunnah in the understanding of the Qur'an under four headings: 1 - Statement (declaration) of the concise verses; 2 - Interpretation of verses using a general rule so that they have a specific meaning; 3 - Ensuring that cognate verses become specific; 4 - Creation of new rules for topics that are not addressed in the Qur'an. When carefully examined, it can be seen that the hadiths and the sunnah play an extensive and significant role in the understanding of the Qur'an. Performance of these roles to the fullest extent would not only provide guidance for understanding of the verses, but also ensure that the verses are free of the arbitrary interpretations of the people who would like

to understand them. The method followed from a very early period to ensure that the Qur'an is understood, is as follows: The verbal or practical sunnah of the Prophet was checked, then, the practices of the companions were considered, and finally, the tabi'un and tabi'al-tabi'in ulema were consulted. This charismatic method of reference provides a serious obstacle for the arbitrary interpretation of the verses.

While this is the general case, there have always been groups and individuals who wanted to interpret the verses based on their own systems of thought with respect to judgement and cognation. We mentioned above, the fatwas of the Kharijites on the practice of prayer at a later time for women who menstruate, which was against the sunnah. If the Kharijites considered the sunnah on this topic as evidence, they would have to apply the practices at the time of the Prophet and would not break away from the ummah. Since the Kharijites and Rafizis of the first groups did not take into account this deterministic function of the sunnah, they subjected the verses to different interpretations while developing their own systems of thought. On this aspect of the Kharijites, Abd Allah ibn Abbas said: *"While they believe in the specifics of the Qur'an, they have a very hard time about cognate verses"*.[66] The interpretations of the Kharijites on deception and kaade reflect their approach. The founder of the Azariqa, Nafi ibn al-Azraq (d. 65 AH/684 AD) and the founder of the Najdat, Najdah ibn 'Amir (d.?), had a disagreement in the matter of deception and kaade. Nafi thought that deception was not permissible and kaade was blasphemous. He provided the following verses as evidence to support this opinion of his, *"A group of them fear humans as if they fear Allah"*, (4.An-Nisa.77) and, *"They strive in the cause of Allah and do not fear the blame of a critic"* (5.Al-Ma'idah. 54). As it can be seen in these verses, Muslims are not supposed to hide their ideas and beliefs or misrepresent them and not participate in the war and stand back (kaade). Najdah said that deception was permissible and provided the following verses as evidence for his opinions, *"except when taking precaution against them in prudence"* (3.Ali 'Imran.28), and, *"a believing man from the family of Pharaoh who concealed his faith"* (40.Ghafir.28). However, these verses had nothing to do with discussions that emerged later on, such as the discussion on deception and kaade. Nonetheless, these two imams of the Kharijites felt the need to prove their opinions through the verses. In fact, reading the verses in the context of their reason for being sent would prevent them from being used for ideological purposes in this manner.

There is an expression that is attributed to 'Umar, which is as follows: *"Some people will come up and get into discussions with you based on the cognate verses of the Qur'an. Stand up against them through the sunnah. Undoubtedly, the companions of the sunnah are the ones who know the book of Allah the best."*[67] There are some striking points in these statements. First of all, it is mentioned that the groups use the cognate verses and interpret them with an ideological purpose. Secondly, it is

[66] Al-Tabari, *Jami al-Bayan*, 3/181.
[67] Al-Taberi, *Jami al-Bayan*, 3/177.

advised to stand up against these groups through the sunnah. Here, the deterministic and limiting role of the sunnah (and the hadiths) in the attribution of a different meaning to the cognate verses are pointed out. Because, if the hadiths and the sunnah are accepted as the highest level of authorized sources for understanding the verses, the arbitrary and ideological meanings would no longer be valid. The term, *"the companions of the sunnah"* in the statement, *"the companions of the sunnah are the ones who know the book of Allah the best"*, is actually a definition from a later period. *The companions of the sunnah* refers mostly to hadith and sunnah scholars of the post-tabi'un period. But this term clearly states the undeniable role of the sunnah in knowing, understanding and experiencing the Qur'an. In the 7th verse of the Ali 'Imran surah, it is stated: *"It is He who has sent down to you [O Muhammad], the Book. In it are verses [that are] precise - they are the foundation of the Book - and others unspecific. As for those in whose hearts is deviation [from truth], they will follow that of it which is unspecific, seeking discord and seeking an interpretation [suitable to them]. And no one knows its [true] interpretation except Allah. But those firm in knowledge say, 'We believe in it. All [of it] is from our Lord.' And no one will be reminded except those of understanding."* Here, the verses are divided into two groups - specific and cognate. It is stated that Muslims should take into account the specific verses while thinking, transferring Islam into their lives or creating their world views. It is pointed out that the interpretation of the cognate verses belongs to Allah. This is important because Allah's interpretation means that another verse is sent down or the Prophet attributes a different meaning to the verse. While this makes the cognate verses specific, it also prevents the verses from being interpreted in a purposeful way. *"A disbeliever, zindiq, an ignorant or innovative person; anyone can be included in this verse. While attributing a different meaning to this verse, Katade states: 'If the ones implied in this verse are the Kharijites and their groups, I don't know who else they can be!' This interpretation was conveyed by reference to Abu Umamah."*[68] Taberi makes the following statement in reference to the purposeful attribution of a meaning to the cognate verses: *"The heart of an innovative person is inclined to the cognate, he will get into a conflict with the deserving ones by attributing a different meaning to some of the cognate verses of the Qur'an. He will deny the implications of the clear and specific verses in order to leave the believers who are on the right path in doubt. Any innovative group, whether Jewish, Christian, Zoroastrian, Sebeiyye or Haruriyah, Qadariyya or Jahmiyya, attempts to attribute a different meaning to cognate verses."*[69]

There is an interesting point here. Various groups claimed that the verses they referred to for supporting their own ideas were specific, while those by which their opposers supported their own ideas were cognates. Razi mentions the following while addressing this issue: *"You should know that you can't find even one sect in this world, which doesn't identify a verse that is not in compliance with the sect's view as cognate. In such a case, it all reaches a horrific level. Don't you see Jubba'i? He*

[68] Qurtubi, 4/13.
[69] Al-Tabari, *Jami al-Bayan*, 3/181.

says: 'Jabriyya attributes lies, cruelty and the deeds that they can't be bothered to do to Allah and bases this on cognate verses'."[70] Actually, the Muʿtazila's method in understanding and interpreting the cognate verses is not so different from this. For instance, Kadi Abduljabbar tried to attribute different meanings to nearly four hundred verses in his book, Mutesabihu'l-Kur'an, but he benefited from only fourteen hadiths while doing so. Some of these fourteen hadiths are evidence of the contrary view, and Kadi Abduljabbar only mentioned these for purposes of criticism. Asserted by his opposers, these hadiths were given different meanings through constraint, just like the Qur'an verses were. While referring to the freedom that the Muʿtazila applies in attributing different meanings to verses, Lalekai says: *"When it comes to taking and experiencing the book of Allah as it is and in terms of its wisdom, the Muʿtazila did not act in accordance with the information contained in any verse and understood the verses not the way they are understood by the salafs but through attributing different meanings to them in line with their new opinions."*[71] Lalkai represents a salafi approach with these statements. In this respect, he appears to have closed the door on new interpretations on nasses. The attribution of different meanings to verses by the salafs and their approaches, obviously do not represent the absolute and final meaning. The idea of Islam will always have the opportunity to approach the truth a little more through new opinions. While the opinions and comments of the salafs are very important, being open to new ideas was probably also the scientific attitude of the salafs themselves. For example, the Muʿtazila/Jahmiyya did not accept the idea that Allah would be seen on the Last Day. One of the verses they base this opinion on is: *"Vision perceives Him not, but He perceives [all] vision"* (6.Al-An'am.103).[72] However, there are authentic hadiths indicating that Allah can be seen by the believers on the Last Day, and one of such hadiths is as follows: *"We were sitting next to the Messenger. He looked at the full moon and said, 'you will see your lord as you effortlessly and clearly see this moon'."*[73] It appears that the Muʿtazila created its system of thought first, and then, either attributed different meanings to hadiths that did not conform to that system, or rejected them. Because hadiths are really of great assistance in understanding the Qur'an.

Animosity Towards Islam

Earlier, we mentioned that the Muslims encountered local religions and cultures with the first conquests and that the people of the conquered countries did not immediately choose Islam and continued their old beliefs and traditions. It is known that people who were not Muslims or only appeared to be Muslims, but had a certain level of intellect, tried to spread their beliefs either openly or secretly. It is

[70] Razi, Tefsir, 2/601.
[71] Lalkai, Sheerh, 1/12.
[72] Razi, Tefsir, 8/377-380; Ibn Taymiyyah, Mecmua, 1/100.
[73] Al-Bukhari, Tevhid, 179; For more information on the matter of Ru'yetullah, see: Talat Kocyigit, Kur'an ve Hadiste Ru'yet Meselesi, AÜİF, Ankara 1974.

mentioned that these people who used different methods, attributed different meanings to verses, fabricated hadiths or rejected them. For instance, while discussing the reasons for hadith fabrication, Ibn al-Jawzi mentions that some Jews and Zoroastrians who chose Islam after the first conquests, had to live under Islamic rules and appeared as if they were Muslims due to fear, preferred to fabricate hadiths because of their racial instincts and for the purpose of distorting the thought structure.[74] According to Ahmed Emin, *"most of the various nations had a certain history when they chose Islam. They began to incorporate the history of their own nation with Islam and spread it among Muslims. They were doing this with a nationalistic, or similar, feeling. Many Jews who were well aware of the Jewish history and knew about the incidents that, particularly the Torah and its annotations informed, had become Muslims. They began to narrate this information to the Muslims. Sometimes, they just connected the information in respect of the Qur'an interpretation, while at other times they simply shared this information in the context of the history of other nations."*[75] These are assessments that are mostly made in respect of the fabricated hadiths. However, it is also possible to make the same assessments in terms of the rejection of the hadiths. For instance, according to Ibn Taymiyyah, who used hypocrisy and zindiqism with similar meanings and stated that they consist of old Mandaeans and polytheists, *"the real purpose of zindiqs is to reject the Book and the Wisdom (sunnah)."*[76] Gazali also divides zindiqs into two groups, one of which consists of those who reject the Last Day and the creator of the world, and the second of which consists of those who reject the emotional sorrows and joys on the Last Day.[77] Here, while those who are in the second group particularly, reject the blessings of the heaven that is declared through so many narratives, also happen to reject those narratives. *"First appearing by arguments between individuals and expression of innovative ideas, zindiqism then became the quality of perverse groups referred to by several names. Sects known for their zindiqism, such as the Nusayris, Ismailis, Qarmatians and Batinis emerged. It is obvious that the main motive for their emergence is overthrowing Islam through various methods as they could not leave their old cultures and religions behind. One of the oldest of these, the Rafizis, preferred to abandon the sunnah and the ihtijaj."*[78] There is another aspect of the hadith opposition. The fabrication of hadiths by the enemies of Islam has an indirect effect on the rejection of the hadiths. It is obvious that ill-willed people who fabricate hadiths are aware of this. So, the beliefs and practices of Muslims were tried to be distorted by putting forward unreal hadiths, while the reliability of the hadith legacy was damaged and the hadith scholars were disparaged by attributing these fabricated hadiths to hadith scholars. *"They were attacking the sunnah and were trying to create suspicion of its state of hujjat, authenticity*

[74] Mevzuat, 1/7.
[75] Fecr, 157.
[76] Mecmua, 3/15.
[77] Faysal, 14-15.
[78] Suyuti, Miftah, 3-4.

and its communicators."[79] When hadith history is examined, it can be seen that the zindiqs fabricated many hadiths. However, they fabricated these hadiths, not because of their commitment to the hadiths, but in order to create suspicion for Muslims and to tarnish the hadith scholars.[80] For instance, Muhammad ibn Shuja es-Selji was fabricating hadiths indicating similitude and disparaging the hadith scholars by attributing these to them.[81] Another aspect of the animosity towards Islam appears as the creation of doubts over the accuracy of the Prophet's discourses. For example, according to the Batinis, *"The Prophet told people things that did not match with reality, even though He knew these weren't true. According to them, all prophets lied (engaged in suitable affairs) to the public since they thought it was in the interest of the public."*[82] **We see a similar approach in the movement of *"historicism"*. According to this method, which is applied especially for the explanation of the parables and verses in relation to the universe in the Qur'an, the Qur'an included and used the parables that were commonly known and told by the Arabs at those times as they are, did not take an interest in finding out whether these parables included true information or not, and simply settled with relaying its message through them. Actually, none of these parables were historically authenticated, they were just parables that were told by the Arabs. Verses in relation to the universe and the creation are also like this. For instance, the creation of the universe in six days was the belief of the Arabs rather than an expression of reality. The Qur'an only emphasized that it was Allah who created the universe by referring to this belief. In reality, there is no such thing as the creation of the universe in six days. Therefore, a movement similar to the one that is spreading today under the name of *"historicism"* was also available in the past in the discourses of some groups on the Prophet and the institution of prophecy.** While Gazali considers Brahmanists, Dahris and Sanaviyyah (the dualists) to be the zindiq groups who reject the Prophet[83], Ibn Taymiyyah considers Qalandaris and Nusayris to be in the same category.[84] *"Qalandaris were also opposed to the sunnah of the Prophet, like others. They tried to instill doubt in Muslims about the sunnah, which is the second authentic source of Islam, and expressed their animosity by stating that most of the hadiths consist of narratives conveyed by just one or a few communicators, and those that were conveyed by many communicators are very few."*[85] Animosity towards Islam is an important factor that cannot be underestimated in terms of the hadith opposition. As we mentioned before, the role of the hadiths and the sunnah is quite significant for understanding Islam and reflecting it in life; therefore, they were adopted as the second original source of Islam after the

[79] Sibai, es-Sünne ve Mekânetuhâ, 2.
[80] Ekrem Ziya, Buhus, 32-33.
[81] Zehebi, Mizan, 3/577.
[82] Ibn Taymiyyah, Risaletu Meârici'l-Vusul, 3.
[83] Faysal, 4-5.
[84] Mecmua, 1/52.
[85] Abu Shahba, Difa, 6.

Qur'an. However, it can clearly be seen that the activities of the enemies of Islam over centuries caused the unknowing and ignorant public to have doubts about the hadiths.

Ignorance and Doubt

Ibn Abd al-Barr mentions in his book, Camiu Beyani'l-İlm, that some groups of the public who did not have the intellectual sufficiency in the area of the hadiths were inclined to have doubts about the hadiths, and provides the warnings of some companions in relation to this. According to what he conveys, Abd Allah ibn Masud (d. 32 AH/652 AD) warns Ubaidullah ibn Abd Allah ibn Utba by saying: *"don't narrate people a hadith that they won't be able to understand! Otherwise, some of them will engage in instigation"*. His father, Urwah told Hisham (d. 145 AH/762 AD) the following: *"If I had narrated just one hadith to people who don't have the required mental capacity, they would commit blasphemy through that hadith."* While giving Ayyub similar advice, Abu Qilabah (d. 104 AH/722 AD) told him: *"don't narrate even one hadith to a person who doesn't have the wisdom to understand it; because, that hadith would hurt that person instead of providing him/her benefit"*. Abd Allah Ibn Abbas (d. 68 AH/687 AD) warned those around him by saying: *"narrate people the hadiths they'd be able to understand; would you have liked them to deny Allah and His messenger?"*.[86] Ignorance in the science of hadiths and the factor of doubt created by this ignorance were a significant element that led some people to reject the hadiths. The public, in particular, is quite inclined to fall into doubt. It would make sense to consider the above warnings from this perspective. For instance, while the companion, Imran ibn Husain (d. 52 AH/672 AD) was narrating a hadith in the prayer room, one of the people there stood up and said: *"O Abu Nujaid! Forget these hadiths, tell us about the Qur'an"*. Imran responds to the man as follows: *"You and your friends read the Qur'an. Can you tell me about prayer, the conditions of prayer and its rakats? Are you able to find in the Qur'an that the isha, evening, morning, noon and afternoon prayers consist of four, three, two and four rak'ats, respectively?..."* The man prayed for Imran by telling him: *"You gave me life, I hope God gives you life"*.[87]

Ignorance causes a person with superficial knowledge in Islamic rules to see such level of knowledge as sufficient and to make wrong judgements through simple and unmethodical criticism. While Zayd ibn Suhan (d. 36 AH) was narrating a hadith, a Bedouin came near him. By the way, Zayd's left hand was severed from the wrist down at the battle of Nahavand. The Bedouin tells Zayd, *"Your hadiths thoroughly surprise me. And your (severed) hand creates doubts in my mind"*. With these words, the Bedouin implies that Zayd's hand may have been cut due to theft. When Zayd told him: *"Why does my hand create doubts in your mind? My severed hand is the*

[86] For narratives see: Ibn Abd al-Barr, Abu Umar an-Namere al-Qurtubi, Câmiu Beyâni'l-İlm ve Fadlihi, inv.: Ubai al-Ashbal az-Zubeiri, Daru Ibn al-Jawzi, Suud 1414/1994 (2 vol.), 1/539-542.
[87] Naisaburi, Müstedrek, 1/109.

left one", the Bedouin replied: *"Well, I don't know if the right or the left hand is cut for theft"*. Then, Zayd ibn Suhan says: *"How right the almighty Allah is in saying: 'The Bedouins are stronger in disbelief and hypocrisy and more likely not to know the limits of what [laws] Allah has revealed to His Messenger'"* (9.At-Tawbah.97)[88]. Their ignorance in the hadiths had a negative impact on the way people specializing in other sciences viewed the hadiths. These groups of people who cannot understand the wisdom in the words and actions of the Prophet are obviously insufficient in their capacity. Ibn Taymiyyah establishes this as follows: *"Actually, the kalam scholars of Jahmiyya and Muʿtazila argued with the zindiqs, but these arguments were inefficient as they didn't involve the awareness of the facts that Muhammad relayed, and judgements through mental premises."*[89] On another occasion, Ibn Taymiyyah points out the ignorance of some of the scholars on the hadiths by saying: *"They don't mention the view that forms the basis for the salaf, and pointed out by the Book and the sunnah; because, they don't know it"*.[90] Addressing a parable teller who does not know about the al-nasikh (abrogating) and wal-mansukh (abrogated) status of the hadith, Ali says: *"you are destroyed and you destroyed"*.[91] Telling parables provides respect to the person who does so in the eyes of the public. Ignorant groups of the public think that these people have a deep scientific knowledge. Ali revealed the ignorance of the parable teller with a simple experiment. Although the doubt of the ignorant groups over the authority or authenticity of the hadith can be excused to a certain degree, the ignorance of those who appear to be experts in Islamic disciplines in relation to the hadiths cannot be excused. Because, it is witnessed that one of the reasons why the public approach the hadiths with suspicion is the ignorant scientists. After mentioning the example in the al-nasikh, Hemedani crowns the topic with the following example as well: *"There is an apparent conflict between the following hadiths:* ***'The most evil witness is the one who testifies even though s/he is not called'*** *and,* ***'The best witness is the one who testifies without being called'****. Due to this apparent conflict, someone who is not a canonist would find hadiths that are similar to the first one and come to the conclusion that the second one is wal-mansukh. S/he will reach this conclusion since s/he does not know the conditions of the al-nasikh, but there are ways to eliminate the conflict. The first hadith is attributed to a person who testifies when there is no need, without being called. This is clearly seen in the following narrative of Imran ibn Husain: The Prophet said: 'the most benevolent ummah is this generation that I'm sent for. This is followed by the next ones... Then a community who attempts to testify even though they are not called emerges'. In this case, the second hadith is attributed to a person who testifies due to a requirement. That is the most benevolent witness."*[92]

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[88] Ahmed Emin, Fecr, 82. Ibn Sa'd, Tabakatu'l-Kübrâ, inv. Muhammed Abdülkadir Atâ, Daru'l-Kütübi'l-İlmiyye, Beirut 1410/1990 (8 vol.), 6/176.
[89] Ibn Taymiyyah, İslam Hidayeti, 96-97.
[90] Mecmûa, 3/25.
[91] Hemedani, İ'tibar, 6.
[92] İ'tibar, 9.

Attribution of different meanings and interpretation play a significant role in understanding the hadiths and eliminating the inconsistencies observed between some narratives. The book, "*Te'vilu Muhtelifu'l-Hadis*" by Ibn Qutayba constitutes a good example of this issue. In this book, the objections of the kalam scholars, especially those of Muʿtazila and Jahmiyya, are addressed and responded to. Here, we will be content in mentioning one of the many examples provided in this book. According to what Ibn Qutayba conveys, one of the hadiths that the opposers object to, is the following: *"If the Qur'an is placed in a leather cover and thrown into fire, it wouldn't burn"*[93]. The opposers who tried to burn the pages of the Mushaf by placing it in leather covers and saw/observed that they burned, took action based on their experience. They tried to burn the mushaf by taking the hadith literally and when they saw it burned, they had doubts over its authenticity. After Ibn Qutayba criticizes the opposers, he offers a very meaningful response to them. He says: *"This hadith has a different meaning attributed to it, which they are not aware of, I will hopefully explain it now. In the context of the attribution of a different meaning to this hadith, Asmai said: 'If the Qur'an was placed inside a human (in his/her heart) and then, if that person is thrown in fire (in hell), the fire wouldn't burn it'. Asmai meant to say that if Allah taught the Qur'an to a Muslim and made him/her memorize it, that Muslim wouldn't burn in hell even if s/he has some sins. As a matter of fact, Abu Umamah said: 'Read and memorize the Qur'an. Other pages should not waste your time. Allah would not torment a heart that grasped the Qur'an'. So, the body was made to look like the envelope/container that it was placed inside, like a leather cover."*[94]

As it can be seen in these examples, one of important reasons for rejecting hadiths is ignorance. The science of hadith is one of the most extensive and difficult Islamic sciences due to its literature as well as its methodology. In this respect, it requires a lot of time and effort. It is a fact that even intellectuals who are not hadith scholars are insufficient when it comes to the hadiths, let alone the ignorant groups of the public.

Conclusion

While there are many reasons for the rejection of the hadiths, it can be said that **three of these reasons** play a more significant role.

The **institution of politics** which functioned positively and constructively in the time period between the time when the Prophet was alive and until the martyrdom of Uthman, functioned as a mechanism that disappointed large masses of people, caused societal trauma and led people to approach their basic values with suspicion. At the end of this process, the authority of the generation of

[93] Ahmad, Musnad, hadith no:17409, 28/627; hadith no: 17421, 28/636; Al-Darimi, Musnad, hadith no: 3413, 2/1054. The hadith was considered to be weak because Ibn Lahia was included in its attribution.
[94] Te'vil, (el-Mektebu'l-İslâmi), 291.

companions was damaged and challenged, a lot of blood was shed, the institution of politics turned into a dynasty, different meanings were attributed to the Qur'an based on the opinions of the groups and the reliability of the hadiths was seriously damaged. Hence, we are able to see both the constructive and destructive effects of the **institution of politics**.

When Islam came, it also brought a clean and pure faith with it. This faith was simple, plain and sufficient. The effects of paganism on the society was eliminated and Islam was as far away as possible from the diffusion of other religions. However, as a result of the need to clarify the events that occurred within the internal dynamics of Islamic society itself and communication with the members of other religions, **the first discussions on kalam** began. Soon enough, the information with regards to faith at the beginning of Islam, which appeared to be pure, simple and sufficient, lost its purity as a result of many speculative discussions and questions and answers, and the environment of faith became blurred. By the time the first hijri century ended, people were in a position where they were unable to know what to believe or not to believe in; and to not be able to decide what was right and fair, and what was wrong and unfair. **Discussions on kalam** managed to create this environment.

Muslims had to live side by side with people of **foreign religions and cultures** following the first conquests. These cultures that the local people had was a result of centuries of accumulation. Muslims had to resist these and protect their own identity. The local cultures sometimes lived on with an Islamicized identity, while at other times they fueled animosity. The ignorance of the people also added to these factors.

In such an atmosphere, many established values and traditional institutions were damaged, and of course hadiths were also exposed to criticism and a loss of authority. It is possible to say that this negativity was effective in a minority of the society. Because, in the eyes of the Muslim public and the public ulema, the hadiths and the sunnah always maintained their quality of being one of the undeniable foundations of Islam and the hadith opposition mostly remained as the attitude of marginal individuals and groups.

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Looking at Sunnah in Relation to the Prophet by Taking Off the Blinders:

From Nano Traditions to Macro Traditions

-Notes on a Book-*

Mehmet Hayri KIRBAŞOĞLU**

The Sunnah and its Status in Islamic Law – The Search for a Sound Hadith - Ed.: Adis Duderija, Palgrave Macmillan – England (2015[1]) (Ix+ 255)/ The Sunnah and its Status in Islamic Law – The Search for a Sound Hadith –

This work consists of an introduction and preliminary article as displayed below. The original titles and authors of the articles were collectively presented to provide an insight into the scope of the book, and the Turkish versions of these titles were additionally provided while evaluating each article. This article did not solely describe the content of the book; it also occasionally included the authors' comments, evaluations, criticisms and contributions. However, it is hard to assume whether the authors of the present article were successful in the composition of the article considering the limited duration, but it is not hard to note that the article is sufficient in its present form for providing insights regarding the significance and value of the book.

The book's aim to cover the entirety of Islamic traditions was appropriate and significant, but there were certain deficiencies as it did not include articles on the sunnah and hadith concepts of the Maliki and Shia/Imamah sects. This book will still enable the individuals, who do not know about the sunnah-hadith-related traditions other than the Ahl-al Hadith traditions but take an interest in Islamic studies, to learn about the new concepts and take off the blinders, which will be remarkably beneficial to introduce concepts of the sunnah to all Islamic traditions.

Although significant studies on the subjects in this book were conducted in Turkey, authors and researchers of international literature still do not know about the efforts in this field because the relevant works have not been published in foreign languages, which is a shame for the individuals in the field. Consequently,

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preparing a Turkish anthology that aims to introduce the sunnah and hadith concepts in all components of Islamic tradition on "macro-micro and nano" dimensions and translating it into foreign languages has become a necessity. Failure to do so will result in continuing to miss the whole picture of the sunnah-hadith subject.

Many statements can be made regarding the book. Some of these statements were reflected in the articles, but certain statements were withheld, due to time and space constraints, in order to share with the readers in the future. Even this presentation, which consisted of the notes taken to guide the reading of such a book with pleasure and discussing it with colleagues, had seminal comments that are sufficient to prove that this book can be read with pleasure.

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Introduction: The Sunnah and its Status in Islamic Law – The Search for a Sound Hadith – Adis Duderija

The sunnah was formulated, preserved and narrated through verbal methods or sahabah practices during the first three centuries of Islam, and understood within a non-systematical general definition as "the ethico-behavioral practice of

the first Islamic society". The author of the present article uses the term, non-hadith-dependent approach of the sunnah, for the fundamental religious norms and standards that were derived from the religious and ethical principles preached by the Prophet in the Maliki traditions.

However, Muslims started to systematically document information regarding the Prophet's life before the first Islamic century ended. One of the reasons is the increasing number of legal, religious, political and social needs. Another reason is based on the emergence of the Abbasid dynasty and the claim that the Abbasids were the legitimate protectors of the sunnah that had been gaining significance.

The activities for compiling information regarding the Prophet's life as hadiths became significant. Consequently, "hadith knowledge/uloom-ul hadith" that would contribute to the hadith collections and discipline emerged. This comprehensive process is called "The Traditionalization of Islamic Thought" and "Hadithification of the Sunnah" by the author of this study.

The same process resulted in the following incidents in the following two centuries through the social, politic and fiqh mechanisms:

- Continuation of the increase and expansion of the hadiths.
- The increase in the significance of the hadiths to the detriment of the non-hadith-dependent approach of the sunnah that was dominant in the first two centuries of Islam.
- The verbal aspects of the sunnah in the form of "true hadith ahad".
- The ever-increasing rate of implementing the hadiths in the Qur'an and the sunnah, interpretation, fiqh and usul-al fiqh.
- Developing a totally text-based (Qur'an and hadith) fiqh and hermeneutic "hierarchic" models; marginalizing the non-textual (such as the inexplicit provisions, precedent and juristic preferences) epistemological and methodological instruments in the sunnah (p. 2).
- The sunnah and Qur'an reflect the emergence of similar concepts regarding certain moral values and principles such as justice, honesty, and "sunnah adilah" used by Muslims in the second Hijri century.

The purpose here is to mention that written hadith works became the sole narrators of the sunnah, and hadith-based methods emerged for presenting the sunnah.

Certain people stated in the early second Hijri century that these hadiths narrated the Prophet's legacy more loyally than the concept of the sunnah that was not epistemologically and methodologically based on the hadiths. These works were referred to as Ahl al-Hadith and Ahl al-Ra'y in the second half of the second Hijri century.

Ahl al-Hadith suggested that the hadiths, which were the only guides in immortalizing the sunnah, were the only complete sources for the sunnah. Thus, it contradicted Ahl al-Ra'y's concept of the sunnah and the approach in ra'y. According to hadith authorities, fiqh should be entirely centered on the Qu'ran and hadith-based sunnah. Thus, ra'y was either an illegal methodological means to form provisions, or a method of use that was limited to the subjects concealed in the Qu'ran and hadith texts.

According to Melchert, Ahl al-Hadith considered the Qu'ran and true hadiths as the sole source of fiqh, ethics and theology. Ahl al-Hadith generally preferred the weaker hadiths to the principles that were derived from the Qu'ran or achieved by making comparisons. According to its followers, fiqh should be based on the hadiths. They dealt with the fiqh subjects solely by referring to the relevant hadiths and hadith narratives. Ahl al-Hadith was deeply associated with the Hanbali school in Baghdad in the ninth century.

Ahl al-Ra'y, which was defined as semi-rationalist by Melchert, considered fiqh to be a field different than the hadith discipline. This fiqh approach was associated with the Maliki and Shafi schools that were developing in the second and third centuries. However, the aim here should be clarified because mentioning the chronological relationship between these two sects and Ahl al-Ra'y would be more realistic than investigating the relationship between the ra'y and these two fiqh schools. In this context, it is remarkable that the author did not mention the Hanafi school, which should be mentioned in particular because of the chronological considerations and the motor function within the Ahl-i re zy.

According to the author, Ahl al-Ra'y and Ahl al-Hadith indicate two fiqh authorities conducting studies in Islamic fiqh. The former dealt with examining the narration sources, while the latter consisted of the fiqh authorities that examined the practical aspects of fiqh.

As the hadith-based sunnah approach gained more confidence in the second and third century, Ahl al-Ra'y started to gain regional popularity first and came to be seen as individual schools of thought. They took more legitimate steps toward the term, hadith-based sunnah, in their own Qu'ran-sunnah hermeneutics.

Followers of the Hanafi school were considered to be closer to Ahl al-Ra'y regarding hermeneutics, but the followers of Hanbali school were regarded as being a continuation of the Ahl al-Hadith approach. Maliki and Shafi underwent a transformation at this time and remained in a central position. However, certain sects stated that the term, *sunnah*, was still different than *hadith*, epistemologically and methodologically. However, the concept of the sunnah with no relation to the hadiths was clearly seen in a work by Abu Yusuf (d. 182/798), an eighth-century Iraqi fiqh authority, who referred to the approach as "es-Sunna al-marufa al-mahfuza" (the well-known sunnah that is under protection), and in a work by

Malik ibn Anas (d. 178/795), a scholar from Medina, who reflected his approach as "es-Sunna al-madaya/amal" (the Sunnah/labors in practice).

According to Daniel Brown, sects appeared to pay importance to the hadiths in theory, but they resisted them in practice, thus a tension developed between the Sunnah definition of Ahl al-Hadith and actual sectarian doctrine. The Ahl al-Hadith movement started to systematically question the Qu'ran-sunnah hermeneutic doctrine formed by the sects as it was not based on true hadiths. Therefore, a discussion regarding the rejuvenation of the sunnah and return to the true sunnah of the Prophet emerged. According to Ahl al-Hadith, rejuvenation of the true sunnah can be undertaken by firmly abiding by the true/reliable hadiths determined by Ahl al-Hadith. The main purpose behind the call for the rejuvenation of the sunnah was to investigate the sectarian aims to conceptualize and interpret Islamic traditions and conceptual sectarian approaches in relation to the purpose and nature of the sunnah.

A tension between the hadith-based epistemological and methodological concept of the sunnah from the authorities within Ahl al-Hadith and Mu'tazila, as well as certain Hanafi and Maliki fiqh authorities who were close to the period prior to the traditionalization/narration of the abovementioned Islamic idea and hadithification of the sunnah was always present.

The nature and statuses of the sunnah and the hadiths as the sources of fiqh brought forward the mutual hermeneutic relationship of the sunnah and the hadiths with the Qu'ran, and the question of whether the sunnah was a part of the revelation as in the case of the Qu'ran. A positive answer to this question would be that the sunnah (and therefore the hadiths and Ahl al-Hadith) can be used as independent and sufficient resources of fiqh and theology, and hermeneutics can be used as a legitimate instrument for interpretation or annotation (p. 5).

Regarding the subject, the difference between the revelation in the Qu'ran and the revelation in hadith books is based on the form rather than the essence. The Qu'ran maintained its dominance through prayer and religious activities, but the sunnah was granted a status in fiqh that was equal to the Qu'ran. Wording and orders in the Qu'ran are divine, but the content of the sunnah was not protected from distortion although it was reliable.

According to most of the canonists, the sunnah is a determinant of the Book, but the Qu'ran is not a determinant of the sunnah. They also state that the sunnah clarifies the concise aspects of the Qu'ran and also reflects the brief sections. These canonists assign a status that is similar to the revelation to the sunnah and the hadiths, and state that the sunnah and hadiths can generally serve as the Qu'ran or even abrogate it. To sum up, the sunnah/hadiths became a legitimate hermeneutic means in both Qu'ran hermeneutics and Usul al-Fiqh. This process took place in the form of true hadiths, which is seen in mainstream classical Islam, or ongoing and

practical sunnah as seen in the Mu'tazila, Hanafi and Maliki schools. In addition, Usul al-Fiqh became a separate source, but kalam did not undergo the same process at the same rate.

Sections in Brief

1. The Concept of *the Sunnah* Based on the Analysis of *Sira* and Historical Works from the First Three Centuries of Islam - (Nicolet Boekhoff -van der Voort)

The first section presents detailed research by Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort with comparisons of the nature and meaning of the Sunnah in historical and sira works from the first three centuries of Islam. The most interesting outcome is that four of the eight sunnah instances were attributed to the Prophet and used in the concept of "Allah's Book and The Prophet's Sunnah". The sunnah was used in different forms in the latest sources of the era. Nicolet points out that the Islamic ulama acts as a communicator of the Islamic society as well as the verbal and written traditions in transferring the sunnah to future generations (p. 14).

According to him, the term, sunnah, did not only mean the Prophet's sunnah until the last quarter of the second Hijri century. It also meant, a) the sunnah of the sahabah and four caliphs; b) the sunnah in force (sunnah madayah) and; c) the sunnah of the canonists (sunnah al-Fakiha) (p. 15).

According to Meir Brawmann, the sunnah was formed by the Prophet as a person before and during the Islamic period and formation of the sunnah could not be associated with a group. Certain practices were accepted as sunnah in the later periods, which was related to the assumption that the social practices were based on the Prophet's exemplary characteristics. Brawmann does not agree with Schaht's claim that the prophetic sunnah was formed by future generations and retrospectively attributed to the Prophet.

Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds agree with Schaht' claim but they support Meir Brawmann's notion that the sunnah, as normative behavior, dates back to the pre-Islamic periods. However, all of these scholars do not agree with the idea that the Prophet's acquaintances consider him to be the sole source of normative behaviors in Islam, which was supported by the Islamic ulama later.

The prophetic sunnah became a concept that was different from the caliphs' sunnah and served as an alternative to it in the last quarter of the Umayyad era. However, this process was accepted by the Islamic ulama but was disapproved of by those who lived and served in the Umayyad Palace.

The Abbasid dynasty, following the Umayyad dynasty, claimed that the empire would be ruled by the Qu'ran and the sunnah. However, in that context, the sunnah meant practices of good deeds, benevolence and credibility. In its form in the hadiths during the mid Hijri second century, the sunnah became an

independent source of fiqh. According to Crone and Hinds, the caliph who first used the new concept of the sunnah in his statements was Mahdi. The sunnah was limited with the set of rules in the hadiths by the Islamic ulama in the late second Hijri century. It was not possible for the Abbasid caliphs to preach a new sunnah.

According to Gualtherus Juynboll, it might be possible that the Prophet's behaviors were exemplary and obligatory during the final period of his life due to his reputation among his companions.

Nicolet conducted a statistical analysis regarding the use of the unnah and sunnah derivates in the sira, prophetic bibliography and war-related works from the first three centuries as the main sources for the Prophet Muhammad's life. The sources she used were *Kitab al-Maghazi* by al-Waqidi, *as Sira an-Nabawiyyah* by Ibn Hisham, *at-Tabakat al Kubrah* by Ibn Sad, and *at-Tarikh* by Al-Tabari. In addition, *as Sira* by Yunus bin Bukeyr and Ibn Ishaq, *Tarikh* by Ya'qubi, and Kitab al-Maghazi in *Al Musannaf* by Abd al-razak were also used for reference.

The terms reviewed in these works are Sunnatullah (Sunnah of Allah); the sunnah of the non-Muslim groups in the pre-Islamic period; the Sunnah of the Muslim groups (women, Ahl al-Hayr etc.); the sunnah of the pilgrimage; the sunnah of the individuals in the pre-Islamic period; the sunnah of the sahabah; the sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad; and the sunnah from unknown sources (es-Sunen and ma kane mine'l-feraidi and sunen feinnema nezele bi al-Medina and emarahum Rasulullah en yukriuhumu al-Quran and yuallimuhumu as-sunen, yuallimuhumu as-sunen and fiqh and hayru as-sunen sunenu Muhammad and emarahum Rasul al-allah en yukriuhumu al-Quran and yuallimuhumu as-sunen).

These instances, particularly the statement, "The most benevolent sunnah belongs to Muhammad", indicate that other practices, individuals and groups have sunnah too, but they are not at the level of the Prophet's sunnah (p. 33).

The sira sources include fewer sunnah terms than the historical sources. The terms, "sannah, sunan, sunnah", were mentioned more frequently in the late historical sources and achieved a higher rating in the works by Al-Tabari. This process can be explained by the fact that the discussions regarding the concept of the sunnah among the fiqh ulama affected the historians too.

2. Usul as-Sunna: The Tenets of Islamic Orthodoxy and Orthopraxy According to the Traditionalists (Ahl al-ḥadith) (Ahmet Temel)

Ahmet Temel examined the conceptual development in the use of usul as-Sunnah in Ahl al-Hadith. The concepts such as usul ad-deen, usul ad-tawhid and usul al-futia-usul al-fiqh, as well as usul us-Sunnah were found to express the subjects, particularly in doctrines and kalam, agreed by Ahl al-Hadith. In addition,

this process was used as an alternative literature developed by Ahl al-Hadith against the kalam authorities.

However, regarding scientific reliability and objectivity, the author, who was Turkish, from Turkey, did not find any relevant studies before conducting the present study, which points to the following unanswered question: "What sorts of results, that are different and more comprehensive than the findings of the previous studies, did the author find?". In addition, the author seems to be unaware of the significant studies conducted in the Western world, which can be explained by the insufficient amount of research.

Although the last sentence of the outcome section suggested that research by Ahl al-Hadith, that is similar to usul us-Sunnah, influenced the later Ahl as-Sunnah (p. 53), and separate studies such as, *Founding Fathers of Ahl al-Sunnah* were conducted and published before, none of these works were referred to, which cannot be explained.

3. The Concept of *Sunnah* in Muʿtazilite Thought (Usman Ghani)

Usman Ghani reviewed the development of the concept of the sunnah in the period from the formation of Mu'tazila to the classical era. He stated that the discussions regarding the sunnah in Mu'tazila were undertaken to determine the validity of hadith content and the role of intelligence in the text criticism approach corresponding to the imputation-based Ahl al-Hadith. Accordingly, Mu'tazila reviewed the meanings of terms such as mutawatir and ahad news, considering extent to which a hadith can be deemed reliable. Ghani discovered that Mu'tazila did not display only a single approach toward the concept of the sunnah. According to him, Mu'tazila's concept of the sunnah underwent many changes/shifts in the period from the foundational to the classical era, and he revised his ideas with consideration of his ties to the main fiqh sects.

Usman Ghani, who states that Amr ibn Ubayd was referred in place of Vasil and he left the council of Katadah rather than that of Hasan al-Basri (p. 59), presents the main topic soon after his statement and continues with the following significant finding:

The Islamic ulama that attempted to establish an epistemology with consistent rules to convince the addressee was the Mu'tazila ulama. Mu'tazila attempted to establish a strong epistemological foundation for the knowledge based on conveyance against the groups that totally rejected categories of information that was not associated with the five senses, such as Barahima, Sumaniyya and Sofists (p. 60).

According to Mu'tazila, humans can aquire information about Allah and the universe in three ways: The five senses; conveyance-based knowledge/khabar; and intelligence. These senses are needed to gain information about the physical world. For the information regarding the metaphysical world, either rational assumption or information/khabar provided by the Prophets is needed. According to Mu'tazila, the information gained through the senses and by intelligence is direct, but khabar/conveyance/narrative is indirect because there are intermediaries/narratives between the news/narration and the object of transmission. Thus, the communicators should be reliable as the subject acquires the relevant information through these people.

Mu'tazila suggests that its conception of the sunnah is different than that of Ash'ari, Maturidi and Ahl al-Hadith because Islamic scholars followed different ways in evaluating the hadiths.

The discussions regarding the sunnah were remarkably limited within Mu'tazila. According to Usman, one of the reasons for this may be related to the fact that Mu'tazila imams adopted a certain denomination in the field of fiqh. Al-Cassas (d.370/980), Abu al-Huseyn al-Basri (d.477/1085) and al-Zamakhshari (d.538/1144) were Hanafi. Kadi Abduljabbar (d. 415/1025), on the other hand, was Shafi. As the sunnah was a main source for these sects, Mu'tazila did not review the relations and processes regarding the sunnah. Mu'tazila only examined how the reliability of the hadiths could be determined from an intelligent perspective.

The first Mu'tazila followers, particularly İbrahim an-Nazzam (d.220/835), were almost entirely inclined to reject the concept, or they specified such strict conditions in accepting the records/narratives of the sunnah in hadith form that only a certain number of narratives could be accepted (p. 61-62). This does not mean that Mu'tazila completely rejected the sunnah. Instead, Mu'tazila considered the sunnah to be a certain set of values and practices. The narratives, whether they are mutawatir or ahad, regardless of their imputations or communicators, were considered to be synonymous with the sunnah in their suitability to wisdom.

Mu'tazila and Ahl al-Hadith directed known criticisms and accusations to one another. Consequently, both groups formed their own methodologies. Mu'tazila canonize intelligence in interpreting the religious sources, but hadith authorities canonize the imputation and believed that imputation is the only guaranteed way to understand the Prophet's Islam in its purest form. Mu'tazila suggests that the Qu'ran and intelligence are the bases for criticizing a text. According to Mu'tazila, the sole religious authority in the revelations of the Qu'ran and hadith narratives were used to the extent to which the narratives suited the methodologies of Mu'tazila (p. 62).

The Concepts of Mutawatir and Ahad in Islamic Epistemology:

The concept of mutawatir was not found in the works by al-Ramhurmuzi and Al-Hakim Nishapuri, but scholars such as Ibn as-Salah began to gradually use the concept in their works in the seventh/thirteenth centuries.

According to most of the kalam authorities, the certainty of prophetic statements by the Prophets is related to their support of miracles, but this is valid for Prophets' followers who directly witnessed the events. The only way to acquire information about the past is learning by conveying, khabar and narratives. Thus, all religious sections gave importance to these (p. 64).

However, Usman claims that the only way to acquire information about the past is learning from conveying, which should be explained. This claim can be regarded as reasonable to a certain degree if the chronicles of palace historians, archeological and numismatic findings, inscriptions and similar objective sources are included in the information based on conveyance. However, controversial issues will emerge if these are neglected.

The informational value of ahad hadith narratives have led to discussions and differing ideas among the kalam authorities, but according to a certain narrative, Ahl al-Hadith, Zahirism and Ahmad ibn Hanbal stated that ahad hadith reflected correct information (p. 64).

The Attitude of Mu'tazila Toward the Hadiths (narratives) in the Organizational Period:

Rasha al-Umari mentions three positions that determine the attitude of Mu'tazila toward the hadiths in the pre-classical period:

The first is the position of conveying the hadith narratives. The first example of this position was presented by Amr ibn Ubayd. He dealt with the boycott by Ahl al-Hadith because of his narrative regarding the freedom of destiny/will. The examples include the following: *Kitab as-Sunan* by Sumama ibn al-Ashras (d.213/828); *Kitab al-asari al-Kabir, Kitab at-mani al-ahbar* and *Sharhooha* by Cafer ibn al-Mubashir (d.234/848), and *Kitab al-ahbar* and *kaifa tasih* by al-Jahiz (d. 255/868).

The second position reflects the khabar/narratives in the mutawatir category, which date back to Wasil ibn Ata (d.131/748) and Abu al-Huzail al-Allaf (d.227/841).

The third position is the skeptical attitude toward the narratives because it is ideological polemic material. Dirar ibn Amr (d.128/815) [the author did not mention where he had found the date of death as Dirar ibn Amr's date of death was not known] displayed his anger toward the narratives used by different parties for polemic-related purposes, and rejected these narratives. He reacted to hadith authorities who misused the narratives for polemic-related purposes in *at-Tahrish and al-irja,* and therefore, he pioneered an-Nazzam (d.220/835) (p. 65).

In addition, Dirar severely criticized the narratives stating that they could not be independent findings. He wrote a work titled, *Kitab tanakood al-hadith* for this purpose. Dirar stated in his book that each party within the era could find evidence that could support/justify themselves in the hadith collections, which highlighted the reliability of the hadiths.

Dirar's statements appeared similar to the criticisms referred to in the introduction section of *Ta'wil* by Ibn Qutayba, which should be mentioned here. *Ta'wil* might have been written as an answer to *at-Tahrish,* according to Dirar's work, and our esteemed master, Hüseyin Hansu.

According to Usman, Nazzam claimed that narratives, whether they are mutawatir or ahad hadiths, could not be sources of accurate information compared to intelligence and the Qu'ran. He also implied the potential weakness and errors displayed by the communicators and that nobody could make sure communicators did not make changes to the narratives they conveyed.

Dirar ibn Amr (d.195/810) established Mu'tazila as a cosmological system, but the hadiths played no remarkable role in this process. Abu Bakr al-Asamm (d. 201/816) continued the trend of rejecting the narratives by supporting intelligence and the Qu'ran against narrative-centered opponents. However, Nazzam and Jahiz, an encyclopedia authority and polymath from Basra, limited the use of narratives with mutawatir that reflected certainty, and attempted to determine the relevant conditions against the hadithification of the sunnah. Consequently, Mu'tazila appeared to accept fewer hadith narratives (p. 66).

The approach-based differences between the (narrator/conveyor) hadith authorities and Mu'tazila (centering on the Qu'ran and intelligence) are displayed in certain subjects reviewed to respond to the hadith-based criticisms of Mu'tazila in *Ta'wil* by Ibn Qutayba (p. 67-68).

The Attitude of Mu'tazila Toward the Hadiths in the Classical Era:

Mu'tazila followed the hadithification of the sunnah during the late third Hijri century and early fifth century and the inquisition practices that occurred in Baghdad in 234/848, and attempted to come to an agreement with the opposing parties. It also investigated the hadiths that could be compared to those of hadith authorities who were the narrative-based opponents/rivals. For example, Muhammad ibn Imran al-Marzubani (d. 384/994) is a Mu'tazila scholar who was regarded as a reliable communicator by the hadith authorities. He even wrote a book on the hadiths by Mu'tazila. Abu Said Ali ibn As-Samman (d. 434/1042) acted as a master to Hateeb al-Baghdadi (d.463/1071) as a Mu'tazile member in faith, and a Hanafi member in fiqh.

The main hadith-based transformation in Mu'tazila took place with Kadi Abduljabbar (d. 415/1025). The Mut'tazila ulama were members of the Hanafi sect who were cautious with the hadiths. Kadi Abduljabbar adopted the Shafi sect and was subject to the attitude of the sect in the hadiths. Thus, he abandoned the condition that the hadiths should be narrated by many communicators from each sect but kept his mutawatir principle on kalam-related subjects.

Although the article states that Abu al-Husein al-Basri (d. 436/1044) [477/1085 in p. 61 and 64] was a Hanafi member before (p. 61), he was mentioned to be a Shafi member and to guide many Shafi usul al-fiqh works conducted later (p. 69-70), which suggests an imprecise understanding of his life.

The author, who stated that Abu al-Husein al-Basri's attitude toward the hadiths is the same as the approach shared by almost all Sunni Muslims, suggested that ahad khabar presented approximate information that should be validated rather than serving as a accurate information, which was a controversial Shafi approach (p. 70). Shafi's statements in Ar-Risalah suggests that he considered ahad khabar to be an accurate information source like mutawatir [For more information, see the anthology *Shafi's Role in the Formation of Sunni Paradigm*].

The author implies in the outcome section that Mu'tazila underwent a remarkable transformation in the sunnah and hadith subjects from the period of establishment to the classical period, and states that Abu al-Qasım al-Balhi considers the sunnah as the second most significant kalam source (after the Qu'ran) in his work titled Kab al-Ahbar. According to Al-Balkhi, a hadith should not be contrary to the Qu'ran and the sunnah, which was practiced by the ummah or the first Islamic society, in order to be true. Jahiz implies that he uses the concept, "the sunnah agreed by all Muslims", rather than the concepts of khabar and the hadiths. According to the author, it is hard to state that Mu'tazila completely agreed with the sunnah, mutawatir and ahad khabar. He also adds that Mu'tazila regarded the sunnah with the attitudes of the first Hanafi fiqh scholars, such as Abu Hanafi. Since Mu'tazila followed the Sunni sects in fiqh, it often considered the sunnah as most ulama did, and a different attitude was displayed not only in fiqh but also in kalam (p. 70-71).

[Note: The pronunciation of Kubal el-Ahbar (p. 69, 70, 73) should be, "Qabul al-Ahbar" to be in accordance to Western languages which often display similar examples. This article also has various editing issues. For example, the misspelling of, "cantered" in the following sentence on page 70 should be edited to be, "centered": "The Muʿtazilite was a distinct school of thought with its own principles and foundations which cantered primarily on the issues of creed and theology". This example, and the statement in footnote 52 on page 73 (See also the chapter in this volume) suggests that the book has editing-related issues.]

Consequently, Usman states that conveyance-based information was regarded to be the most significant religious source by the Mu'tazila.

4. The Sunnification of the Ḥadiths and the Hadithification of the Sunnah (Aişe Y. Musa)

Aisha Y. Musa aimed to present how the Sunni hadith literature developed under the service of fiqh, and how this literature consolidated the "Transformation of Hadiths into Sunnah" and "Sunnah into Hadiths". She is remarkably descriptive as she reflected the priority and superiority of the Prophet Muhammad as the source of the sunnah and Sunni literature [only the Ahl al-Hadith], volumes, particular narratives, titles from these narratives, the systematics of the main and subsections, the periods of hadithification for the sunnah and information.

Aisha Musa suggests that the incidence of using the sunnah and derivatives in the hadith collections often contradict with the table presenting the hadith collections and titles.

Aisha Musa states in the introduction of her article that the sunnah and the hadiths were regarded to be synonymous since As-Shafi (d. 204/820), but it is obvious that synonymy could only emerge following the works of As-Shafi in this discipline. In addition, Wael Hallaq's study suggests that the author is aware of the result (p. 78). Besides, her statement that *Sahih al-Bukhari* is the most significant Islamic book after the Qu'ran does not reflect a certainty as it is controversial in a context covering the time, places, individuals and schools (p. 75).

It is possible to tolerate the use of the concept, Sunni hadith collections (p. 78,82) to a certain degree, but an author who investigated the difference between the sunnah and the hadiths and the process of making these concepts synonymous should have made it apparent that this literature could only reflect the Ahl al-Hadith, which was a component of Ahl al-Sunnah, rather than the Ahl al-Sunnah.

In addition to the controversial but precise statement by Malik that *al-Muwatta,* a fiqh book rather than a hadith collection (in this case, the author should explain the differences between the musannaf, sunan and jami hadith collections, and *al-Muwatta*), reflects a period when the sunnah was not in a close relationship with the hadiths (p. 79), which is remarkable.

The author, who provides introductory details about the hadith sources in the study, states that musnads were compiled later than the musannaf works and present evaluations claimed that musnads were genuinely hadith books (p. 80). Although the first claim that has been repeated in all classical contemporary works regarding hadith history appear to be true, it is fair to state that the time order is not particularly significant. Because there is not a long time between the compilers of the first musannaf works and musnad works. Despite the thesis that musnad style was developed before the musannaf style, the idea that both genres were developed together (Turkish Association of Religious Affairs, Islamic Encyclopedia, "Musannaf") is more realistic. On the other hand, the assessment that musnad

works deserve attribution as the true hadith collections appears to be reasonable considering that other genres are based on fiqh and kalam remarks. Additionally, the claim that sunan works reflect the sunnah and hadith relationship the best (p. 81) is also remarkable.

5. The Concept of *Sunnah* in the Ibadi School (Ersilia Francesca)

Ersilia Francesca's contribution is related to the development of the concept of the sunnah in the Ibadi School. In sources from the early Ibadi sect, the concept of the sunnah was used to express the sunnah in terms of ideas and practices of those closest to the Prophet (such as Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Ali, Aisha, Ibn Abbas and Jabir ibn Abdillah who were thought to abandon the Prophet's sunnah except Uthman) [also used by the early İbadi authorities from Basra and Uman canonists (not as commonly used by Umman)].

The mechanisms and relevant factors reflecting the hadithification of the sunnah in the Ibadi sect were presented in the works by Ibadi encyclopedists in Uman during the late fifth/eleventh century and early sixth/twelfth century. The ideas of the Ibadi school toward the status of the sunnah before the Qu'ran were a reflection of those in the relevant Sunni literature.

The author repeats the thesis, which was strongly rejected by Ibadi individuals of the modern day, that the followers of the Ibadi school who live in Uman, Mzab Oasis in Algeria, Zavara and Jabal al-Nafasa, Djerba island in Tunisia and the island of Zanzibar that was under the dominance of the Uman sultanate are the continuation of Kharijites, and implies a significant portion of this sect had significant political and kalam-related characteristics: The oldest fiqh sect is still being practiced today! (p. 97).

The Ibadi movement, which was thought to start under the leadership of Abu Ubaidah, who was the student of Jabir ibn Zaid who was the friend and follower of al-Hasan al-Basri and Ibn Abbas in Basra and also the master of Sunni authorities such as Katada ibn Diame, Amr ibn Herim, Amr ibn Dinar, Temim ibn Huveis and Umara ibn Hayyan, was completely abandoned by the Sunni society in the second Hijri century after agreement attempts with the Sunni authorities failed and the Ibadi movement began to undergo a radicalization process (p. 98). The Ibadi movement, which started in Basra, moved to Uman from Basra after the third Hijri century and underwent an intense systematization process in the fifth and sixth Hijri centuries. Following its formation in the third Hijri century, it formed its own fiqh in a system that appeared similar to controversial issues in Sunni works (p. 98). The Ibadi movement underwent a renaissance period in Maghreb with the help of Abd al-aziz ibn al-Hajj al-İzjini (d.1808) and Muhammad ibn Yusuf Itfiyyish (d.1914), and in Uman with the help of Abdullah ibn Humaid as-Salimi (d. 1914) (s. 98).

The Ibadi fiqh is no different than other sects as it was based on the Qu'ran, the sunnah, and comparison and agreement between Muslims. However, it is possible to mention that the Ibadi movement differs from the Sunni movement in certain branches because of the different interpretations toward certain narratives and subjects that were not accepted by the other sects (p. 99).

The Concept of the Sunnah in the first Ibadi Sources

The ideas of Jabir ibn Zaid, the founding imam of the sect, were incorporated into two channels, namely the Ibadi (Dumam ibn as-Saib, Abu Ubaid, Abu Noah Salah, Hayyan al-A'rac) and Sunni (Katada, Amr ibn Dinar and Amr ibn Herim) movements 99).

According to Jabir ibn Zaid, the sunnah is a general concept that covers the ideas of the sahabah as much as those of the Prophet (p. 101). In addition, a letter that was claimed to be written by Salem ibn Zakwan in the eight century AD suggested that the concept of the sunnah was used to refer the sunnah of the Prophet, those with good morals and deeds, and the Rashidun including Uthman, Abu Bakr and 'Umar, who were accused of betraying the Prophet's sunnah (except Uthman) (p. 101-102).

According to Jabir and Abu Ubaid, the Qu'ran is used for fiqh matters. If a relevant issue is not present in the Qu'ran, the sunnah is used. Abu Ubaid displayed a conveyance-based approach as a kalam authority and canonist, and strongly objected to the use of ra'y. He only tolerated ra'y when a formation took place (p. 102).

The first Ibadi steps to form a hadith collection were taken by ar-Rabi, the successor of Abu Ubaid (p. 103).

The Ibadi followers, who actively took part in fiqh discussions in the Islamic world, went into aggressive polemics regarding the Sunni traditions and became isolated societies within the boundaries of the Islamic world (p. 104).

Rationalization of the Ibadi Movement

The Ibadi movement started to adopt the usul al-fiqh following the third Hijri century and held discussions regarding the authority, reliability and commentary of the sources (p. 104).

The sources were limited to the Qu'ran, the sunnah and Ibadi traditions (asar al-Muslim) in *Kitab ar-Rasph* by Abu al-Munzir (d.290/ 908). According to him, the sunnah is independent from the Qu'ran. It may explain the Qu'ran, provide additional provisions and even abrogate it (p. 105,107). However, neither his work

nor the Ibadi sources of the third Hijri century present any tips regarding the limitations of the sunnah on the Prophet's Sunnah. The branches of the usul emerged in the fourth Hijri century and the Ibadi doctrine was discussed under the plan in the Sunni usul books. Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn Barakah al-Bahlawi (in the second half of the fourth/tenth century) adopted the hadith classification by Sunni schools and provided remarkable contributions to the Ibadi fiqh (p. 105).

The Process of "Hadithification" in Uman Sources

The followers of the Ibadi movement found no risk in using the hadiths in the sources of other sects as evidence, provided that the imputation was sound. They occasionally used the narratives in Sunni/Ahl al-Hadith sources without imputation or questioning their reliability. These hadith sources, which were regarded to be common good for everyone, were entirely used by the Ibadi sect, but they used the sources only for issues related to phadail/virtue. This usage did not cover the narratives that contradicted sectarian doctrine (p. 106), which is remarkable.

The Process of "Hadithification" in the Maghreb Sources

The followers of the Ibadi movement in North Africa had to move to isolated regions such as M'zab, Djerba and Jabal al-Nafasa due to the dominance of the Fatimid Dynasty. The Ibadi movement assimilated the narratives from the Sunni sources into the Ibadi tradition leading to the Maliki movement that was dominant in Maghreb. However, scholars were still reluctant to use the Sunni sources and were inclined to avoid these works in the eighth/fourteenth century. The Ibadi author first mentioned the Sunni hadith sources, with which he was familiar with the assistance of his Sunni masters in Cordoba, in his work *al-Adl v'al-insaf* is Abu Yaqub Yusuf al-Verjeleni (p.108). In addition, the principle that the narratives which do not contradict with the Qu'ran are to be accepted, and rejected or paraphrased when the narratives contradict with what the Qu'ran states appears to be seen in the Ibadi movement (p. 109).

al-Musnad by Ar-Rabi ibn Habib

The remarkable characteristic of this book is that it presents the narratives that were conveyed by the Ibadi communicators with the wordings which were almost the same with those conveyed by the Sunni communicators except a couple of differences. Western literature includes many studies that were conducted to determine whether *al-Musnad,* which was accepted to be comparable to the hadith works by Bukhari and Muslim by the modern Ibadi ulama, belonged to the claimed era. However, a significant aspect is that *al-Musnad* served the function of providing a hadith source to the followers of the Ibadi movement against the sources of other sects (p. 110).

Conclusion

The first Ibadi authorities were in contact with the Sunni authorities when they were in Basra, and they exchanged information with one another. Thus, they contributed to the development of Islamic law. The followers of the Ibadi movement moved to the solitary regions of the Islamic world, which caused them to form an isolated tradition. Afterwards, they gradually adopted the hadith principles of other sects. The innovative attempts in the Ibadi movement of the modern era generated the attempts to bring the Ibadi movement closer to other sects, particularly the Sunni movement (p. 111-112).

6. The Concept of the Sunnah in Early and Medieval Ḥanafism (Ali Altaf Mian)

The author provided general but controversial assessments in the introductory section. He stated that Ḥanafism followers defined the sunnah as religious and standard practices, but he mentioned in the further sections that they limited the collective/social sunnah concept that was dominant in Medina because they accepted that only the prophetic words that were narrated with imputation could be equal to the Qu'ran (p. 118-119). It is obvious that the author is unaware of his contradiction to the common sunnah conception, "as-Sunna al ma'rafa al-mahfaza" that was mentioned in *ar-Rad al-Siar al-Evzaa* by Abu Yusuf.

On the other hand, the author stated that the Sunnah was in the category of unread revelations by Ḥanafism followers (p. 118-119), but the reference he mentioned for these claims at the end of the paragraph is surprising: "I am indebted to Behnam Sadeghi for the idea expressed in this sentence. Personal Correspondence, 12 July 2014 (I am grateful to Behnam Sadıki, who gave me the idea stated in this sentence during our correspondence on 12 July 2014) (p. 135/ footnote 10).

Then the author also mentioned that the sunnah was divided into two groups - the certain and uncertain sunnah - by the followers of the Hanafi movement, and both groups could be found in written sources as hadiths and fixed standards of Islamic society (p.119). He contradicted his previous claim that Hanafism followers aimed to limit the collective/social sunnah concept.

Afterwards, the author provided details regarding the expansion of the Hanafi sect and implied that most Hanafism followers were Mu'tazila members in the ninth and tenth century. Thus, rationalist theology deeply affected the contextual formation (p. 119). These explanations are remarkable regarding the relationship between the Hanafi and Mu'tazila schools which have regularly been recently mentioned.

The statements of the author that Hanafism followers were less engaged in the hadith narratives (compared to the Hadith authorities) (p. 119) should not lead to neglecting their activities in the hadith discipline because their priority towards hadith authorities was generally unknown or neglected in terms of forming hadith collections (for example, Abu Yusuf and Muhammad ibn al-Hasan were first included as the compilers in al-Asar, and Kitab al-Hujje by Muhammed ibn al-Hasan) and it generates the basis for the hadith-narrative discipline (for example, the theoretical contributions from Abu Hanifi, Abu Yusuf and Isa ibn Aban in hadith practices).

At-Tahawi (d. 312/933) and his commentator, al-Jassas (d. 981), aimed to present the legitimacy of Hanafism fiqh that was taken over from Kufa by consulting the Qu'ran and the sunnah, which suggests that these scholars considered the Hanafism fiqh to be the summary of the rationalist approach used in conveying the prophetic sunnah from the Qu'ran (p. 120). This process indicates that the attempts to base Hanafism on the acknowledged sources and existence of three Hanafism authorities (Abu Hanafi, Abu Yusuf, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan) still continues (p. 120). [The author makes additional explanations to indicate that the statuses of these authorities increased over time]

The Three Hanafism Authorities and the Sunnah

The author mentioned that the canonists of Kufa, a garrison town in Iraq, formed a concept of the sunnah that was different from the Medina-based sunnah concept of Malik ibn Anas, but he provided no information about what this different concept was. He suggested that the three Hanafism authorities defined the sunnah as the social norms and exemplary actions of the Prophet and his sahabah. He also added that they objected to Malik who limited the sunnah to the organization in Medina (p. 121). However, this objection was not sufficiently detailed. It should be clarified whether the objection was toward the transfer of the sunnah as social practices from generation to generation, or toward the limitations within the Medina practices. Abu Yusuf's statements that appeared similar to Malik's ideas can be found in *ar-Rad al-Siar al-Evzaa.* The relevant examples include: "Aleyke bima aleyhi'l-cemaatu mine'l-hadis (Use the hadiths practiced by the society!)" (ar-*Rad*, p. 31) or "as-*Sunna al-ma'rafa* (Known Sunnah)" (*ar-Rad al-Siar al-Evzaa*, p. 32).

However, the author of the present study states that if *ar-Rad al-Siar al-Evzaa,* which was completely reviewed again, is to be considered while compiling these evaluation notes provided to the readers, the aforementioned work should be meticulously reviewed to understand whether Abu Yusuf was consistent in terms of his concept of the sunnah from a conceptual, epistemological and methodological point of view.

In addition, the author points out that Hanafism is a council sect (cited from Muhammad Zaheed al-Kawsari), which is remarkable. Although almost all fiqh sects were founded by a single person (al-Evzaa, Malik, as-Shafi, Ahmed ibn Hanbal, Dawud az-Zahiri, and the rest), the Hanafi sect continued his works with the participation of many canonists and hadith and interpretation authorities using the council/counselling/consultation methods and through this process, formed the basis of the sect. The author mentions that the three authorities of the Hanafi sect is an indication of this phenomenon. Thus, this process is a remarkable characteristic that makes the Hanafism sect different from almost all other sects.

The comments made by referring to the citations in the second-hand sources of Abu Hanafi's approach to the sunnah (p. 122) and Abu Yusuf's statements do not clarify whether the social practice or hadith narratives were referred to as the concept of the sunnah. However, it is estimated that the information conveyed by the individuals were used considering Hammad ibn Abu Suleiman was the bridge between Abu Hanafi and the sunnah, and he was included in a family tree from Kufa (p. 122). If this prediction is correct, the question of whether there was a significant difference in the approach regarding the sunnah-hadith issue between Hanafism followers and Ahl al-Hadith would be remarkable.

Although the fact that three Hanafism authorities used hadith narratives and the statement, hadis al-Rasulallah (the Prophet's hadith) to base their fiqh-related ideas (p. 123) on was a remarkable point in the history of the hadiths, and despite the presence of the difference between marfu-mawkouf, the author seemed to miss this point.

The issue was largely clarified with the statements of the three Hanafism authorities that the concept of the sunnah was not identical to the concept of the hadith (p. 123), but the significant point here is how consistent the founding imams of the Hanafism movement acted, which seems to be missed by the author.

The author considers the polemics between Abu Yusuf and Al-Evzaa and states that Abu Yusuf's distrust of ahad khabar that contradicts with the Qu'ran and the sunnah served as a paradigmatic model for the approaches of the Hanafism followers toward ahad khabar (p. 124). This result is not wrong but insufficient because the risk of neglecting the role of Abu Hanafi's similar attitude is still present.

The Sunnah in Hanafi Usul al-Fiqh

The author provides more details after stating that Hanafi usul authorities interchangeably used the concepts of the sunnah and the hadiths in the period following the three Hanafism authorities. The concept of the sunnah was used with a method covering the ideas of the sahabah, the concepts of maruf and popular

sunnah corresponded with mutawatir and popular hadith narratives, and canonists preferred the narratives to the comparisons in the issue whether the ahad khabars narrated by the sahabah would be preferred to the comparison-based provisions (p. 124-125).

The significant point implied by the author is that Hanafi usul authorities used the Qu'ran and the sunnah from a broader epistemological and methodological perspective. They epistemologically reviewed the Qu'ran and the sunnah using a framework based on "scientific and precise information" and "uncertain, estimated information", and methodologically examined the Quran and the sunnah from a "adilah, hujej, usul" perspective. Therefore, they reduced the priority order of sources such as the comparison and ahad khabar/hadith which do not express certainty (p. 125). However, if the comparison was based on certain sources of the Sharia, they preferred the comparison to the narratives by the sahabah who were not canonists. Thus, the hadith authorities continued to criticize the Hanafi authorities with the following statement, "Ahl ar-Ra'y (Ra'y people)" (p. 125).

Although it was mentioned that Hanafi usul authorities preferred a kalam/rational/theological approach to base religious beliefs and actions on the sound principles (p. 125), and the parallelism between the alteration that appeared similar to the obligatory and possible distinction between the Hanafi methods for reviewing the issue and similar approaches in Mu'tazila is remarkable, the assumption that the aforementioned similarity was a natural outcome of the relationship between the Hanafism followers and Mu'tazila.

According to the author, Hanafism usul authorities strengthened certain sources with an epistemological system and determined the status of ahad khabar from that perspective. According to Aron Zysow, their approaches toward ahad kahabr were based on two purposes: a) obtaining sufficient narrative functional material for comparison; b) excluding the material that could invalidate the fiqh system. Consequently, it is fair to state that Hanafism followers based their fiqh systems on the Qu'ran and the maruf/popular sunnah (p. 125).

The author provided details about the sunnah-based ideas of ad-Dabusi, as-Sarahsi and al-Pazdawi, and continued to review the subject in chronological order. He also stated that evidence was divided into two categories, a) Rational evidence (hujja akliyyah), and b) Canon evidence (hujje shariah) according to ad-Dabusi, and canon evidence was based on two sources which were, a) the revelations, and b) the sunnah (p. 125-126). According to ad-Dabusi, the certainty of the revelations is not questioned but the issue becomes more complicated regarding the concept of the sunnah. The hadiths heard directly from the Prophet and the khabar that were conveyed from him to us via stories reflect certainty, but ahad khabar only suggests the possibilities. Ad-Dabusi adds the practices, which he considered to be other particular canon evidence, to this schema. According to the author, this

classification by ad-Dabusi reflects how Hanafism followers used epistemological concepts such as heteronomy and autonomy while organizing the canon evidence.

In addition to the purpose of basing concepts on sound evidence of faith and practice, Hanafism canonists had another purpose in using an epistemological filter: To reduce the degree of ahad hadiths among the canon evidence by accepting that ahad hadiths indicated approximate concepts rather than serving as precise information against the ever-developing attempts to prove the authenticity of the hadiths, which included the ahad hadith narratives that contradicted the systems based on the Qu'ran and the sunnah (regarded as accurate evidence) (p. 126).

As-Sarahsi defined the sunnah as the information directly heard from the Prophet or conveyed from him in the form of stories. Hanafism followers accepted the sunnah to be synonymous with mutawatir and popular khabar, and considered ahad khabar to be the secondary source of the sunnah. The usul authorities, such as Sarakhsi, who wished to see the sunnah and mutawatir on the same level was significant because according to them, the Qu'ran's authority was based on the sunnah. Thus, Sarakhsi implied that the sunnah was the main source of all religious norms and the Qu'ran was first heard from the Prophet, which was the basis of his authority (p. 126-127).

Al-Pazdawi adds different dimensions to the concept of sunnah in *Usul.* According to him, the sunnah has certain aspects such as orders and prohibitions on general and private issues, details the Qu'ran and explains these aspects, and strengthens the basic fiqh system that was generated from the Qu'ran (p. 127).

Al-Pazdawi employs the term, *ittisal* (joining), to theorize Hanafi khabar typology. The prophetic model or teachings were not the problem in doing so, the problem was the contradictions in the historical transfer of these divine information sources to the following generations. These narrative-based information sources might have errors because of the nature of verbal conveyance. Therefore, the canonist should make sure that there is a reliable connection between the narrated hadith and the Prophet. Accordingly, ad-Dabusi develops and details the concept of *ittisal* and mentions three categories: a) complete *ittisal* that is far from skeptical attitudes (mutawatir khabar), b) the khabar that includes certain formal doubts (popular), and c) the khabar that includes certain formal and content-based doubts (khabar al-wahid/ahad khabar). The khabar in the last category has errors in the content and imputation. Al-Pazdawi details the fiqh and kalam-based results of these three khabar/narrative types. This result indicates how Hanafi canonists established a basic relationship between the sunnah typology and epistemological typology.

Although ad-Dabusi considered the expansion of communicators to different regions and towns as a condition that should be carried out by the mutawatir, al-Bukhari who annotated his work implied that this condition was not shared by

certain Hanafi usul authorities. The reason for stating this condition is that the Medina movement, which was only limited to Medina, aimed to distort the legitimacy of the practices by the people from Medina.

The author mentioned that the mutawatir included not only the written sources but also the actions and values according to the Hanafism movement. However, he did not provide examples from the formational or classical period and preferred to refer to Anwar Shah al-Cashmere who died in 1933. He also demonstrated that Anwar Shah al-Cashmere divided mutawatir into four categories: a) based on narratives, b) based on groups, c) based on practices, and d) based on common information or values 129,130), which is obviously controversial.

In addition, the author provided examples of many takfir provisions based on al-Cashmere's classification, but he did not question how realistic these examples of mutawatir concepts were, which is remarkable. Presenting controversial issues such as using miswak, miracles, and the descent of Jesus that was accepted to be Mutawatir by the same author, as mutawatir concepts (p. 129-130) and failing to imply that the claim of regarding these concepts as mutawatir sunnah was controversial was not appropriate.

Additionally, the information that was provided about the popular khabar, the explanations that popular khabar may abrogate and allocate the Qu'ran and statements that those who denied the popular khabar would be deviants rather than heretical were included, and the authority of popular and mutawatir could be compared to the authority of the Qu'ran (p. 130).

Al-Pazdawi defines the ahad khabar as the khabar/narratives that could not reach the level of mutawatir and popular khabar, and mentions that ahad khabar does not require precise information/belief although practice is needed. In other words, ahad khabar may be proof to the fiqh subjects but it does not constitute evidence for the aqaid subjects. The Hanafism school differs from the Maliki, Shafi, Hanbali and Zahiri schools in the authority they attributed to the ahad khabar (p. 131).

The author again implies the relationship between the comparison and ahad khabar, and points out the different evaluations of Hanafism followers toward the comparison and the narratives of canonist sahabah and non-canonist sahabah (p. 131).

According to him, Hanafi usul authorities did not have to make any changes to the system provided by the founding father of the sect thanks to the usul principles they formed (p. 132).

Conclusion

The remarkable epistemological role in the usul traditions of Hanafism is obvious.

The faith of Hanafism followers toward the issue of certainty, namely their cautious attitude toward basing the doctrines on sound information, reflects the relationship between this tradition and rational theology.

According to Hanafism followers, the informational sources that were certainly accessed by the Prophet are the Qu'ran, the sunnah and practices. Ahad khabar suggests the comparison of sahabah words, juristic preferences and manners indicate approximate information.

It is fair to state that Maruf and the popular sunnah became the basic fiqh statement of the Hanafism movement. The presence of the sunnah as the second most accurate source after the Qu'ran depends on the certainty of that sunnah. According to them, maruf and the popular sunnah are the basic sources for all divine/religious/canon norms.

The division of the sunnah as the "certain sunnah" and the "estimated Sunnah" constituted an epistemological basis to ensure that Hanafism followers could defend the system of the founding father of the sect (p. 132).

The author implies in footnote 28 on page 136 that many Muslim modernists had inaccurate thoughts regarding the role of the hadith narratives in the Hanafi sect and present Muhammad Iqbal as an example.

In addition to the assessments by the author, this study suggests that failure to thoroughly reflect the role of Isa ibn Aban in the Hanafism sect is a serious deficit.

Consequently, the section of Ali Eltaf Mian reviewed the meanings of the sunnah through the basic medieval Hanafism fiqh and usul al-fiqh texts. The Hanafism followers epistemologically reviewed the sunnah from the perspective of fiqh evidence and obligatory characteristics, and they used the concept of the sunnah to explain sharia.

7. The Concept of the *Sunnah* in the Early Shafi Sect (Gavin Picken)

This section by Gavin Picken reviews the concept of the sunnah in the early periods of the Shafi sect. He focuses on the statement as a part of the theory called, "the revelatory matrix" by ash-Shafi to refer to the relationship between the Qu'ran, the sunnah and the hadiths. Picken reviews how ash-Shafi's work is understood by the structure known today as the Shafi sect Consequently, the remarkable role of al-Buwait, the most significant student of ash-Shafi, in forming the sect is

demonstrated. The most significant contribution of al-Buwait in relation to the purpose of this book is included in consolidating the hadith-based fiqh hermeneutics that appears to be similar to those of the hadith authorities such as Ahmed ibn Hanbal.

The author starts his article with the claim that ash-Shafi is the founding father of usul al-fiqh and mentions his "iconoclastic" role, which continues to exist, by raising the bar to another level (p. 139) but he appears to repeat the same statements without making any assessment of the other views in this field. Moreover, ash-Shafi reiterates that a paradigm change took place by degrading the sunnah to the level of the hadiths without needing to base this result on any evidence, which is remarkable (s. 140).

Life and Works of ash-Shafi

The author does not add anything new under this title but mentions that ash-Shafi was a student of Malik. The author surprises the readers by claiming that ash-Shafi learned the fiqh methods that were an extension of the textual fiqh methods of the hadith authorities who were dominant in Hejaz (p. 140) but he attempts to repeat his claim without making an assessment of Malik's management based on the practices in Medina or basing his claim on evidence. He also repeated the claims regarding the particular ability of ash-Shafi in Arabic Language and Literature again without referring to any evidence from Islamic jurisprudence works (p.141).

Statement Theory of ash-Shafi

The author continues to repeat the known claims and mentions that all fiqh sects agree on four sources (the Qu'ran, the sunnah, practices and comparison) (p. 142). However, these four sources of theory were not valid even for Shafi because it is fair to say that his approach to comparison and belief was no more than a reluctant acceptance contrary to the followers of Hanafism (p. 158, footnote 17). There are fiqh movements, including Hanafism, which adopted sources other than these four sources. It would be logical to ask the author about how correct it is to state a general claim that was previously mentioned.

The author, who stated that ash-Shafi's contribution was not limited to four sources of theory and suggested that his aim was to develop a fiqh hermeneutics that organizes the relationship between the sources and intends to elimate the contradictions between them (p. 142), did not need to explain what sort of contributions the four source issues provided. However, the issue of four sources was already known before ash-Shafi. If a cautious approach is needed and the issue of contribution is not regarded to be that important, ash-Shafi's attempts to limit the canon evidence to four sources becomes obvious.

Although the author states that ash-Shafi designed the revelatory matrix as a new comment (p. 142), this is not different from ash-Shafi's attempt to include the sunnah and the hadiths in the context of the revelation by considering the concept of unread revelations.

In addition to the question of why and how the author regarded the forms of the revelation ordered as, 1) the Qu'ran; 2) the Qu'ran and the sunnah and; 3) the sunnah by ash-Shafi (in relation to this matrix) as the "architectural symmetry" (p. 143), the author also missed the nature of the sunnah. What ash-Shafi meant by mentioning the sunnah was not different from the "ahad hadith narratives" that were transferred with imputation.

Considering these results, it is remarkable that ash-Shafi conveys his claim that two types of revelations cannot contradict one another and if a contradiction is present, it cannot be found in the essence of these types of revelations without questioning the reliability of his claim. However, the author should have asked the following question to ash-Shafi: Does ash-Shafi, who claims that both are revelatory, make the assessment of the concept of the sunnah considering the prophetic period or the period and place he is in? If the former is the answer, how would he explain the situation when certain people make strong criticisms regarding the errors of the Prophet in the Qu'ran? If the sunnah is a revelatory product as claimed by ash-Shafi, does the process of ordering Allah's messenger to take steps on certain issues as the "sunnah revelation", and criticizing him because of these steps with the "Qu'ran revelation", not cause harm to Allah's divinity and justice, and the reliability of the revelation? If we are to review the issue from Shafi's point of view, we should know what the sunnah is so that we can decide whether there is a contradiction between the Qu'ran and the sunnah. According to this narrative, regarding the sunnah: Either the mutawatir sunnah (khabar al-amma) or the ahad hadith narratives (khabar al-hassa). Did ash-Shafi base his claims on the Qu'ran or the sunnah when he mentioned that there is no contradiction between the Qu'ran and the sunnah? If he considers both, how will ash-Shafi assess those within the category of ahad khabar? If an ahad hadith narrative clearly contradicts the Qu'ran, what would as-Shafi do? Will he avoid the issue stating that the contradiction is not essential, or reach the outcome that this narrative cannot belong to the Prophet? Ash-Shafi's reluctance toward the second question is clearly seen in *ar-Risalah*. Consequently, he attempted to develop certain mechanisms to prevent hadith narratives from being neglected due to the claim of contradiction with the Qu'ran. To sum up, ash-Shafi's method for solving these issues attempts to clarify contradictions in general, private matters and all abrogation patterns. Was his solution successful or to what extent was his solution successful? The usul al-fiqh tradition indicates that it is not possible to mention success of a form and system as believed by ash-Shafi. The reason for this is the subjective aspect of this five-pattern form that generates the backbone of ash-Shafi's

theory statement. It is not always clear whether a revelation or hadith narrative relates to general or private matters. Therefore, usul al-fiqh literature is full of relevant discussions. The process reached the point of writing separate works on the general capacity (for example: *Talkah al-fuhum fi tenkih al-siyagh al-umum* by Alaaddin Keykeldi). The issue of ambiguous/clear wording holds the same status.

The status of abrogation is more controversial because the relevant information (asbab al-nuzul narratives) is not sufficient and has many reliability-related problems. Thus, the Islamic ulama had discussions on these issues for centuries, displayed different approaches and achieved various results. Even the different numbers that were provided in relation to the number of wal-mansukh revelations indicate that we are stuck in a challenging situation. The presence of those who did not accept the abrogation with its nature should be remembered.

Another significant point is that all hadith narratives that were associated with the sunnah, which was seen as a second type of revelation, were narrated according to the current findings of this study. These remarks indicate that it is not possible to consider ash-Shafi's theory statement as a perfect approach. This assumption suggests how much it is required to revise authors' assessments regarding as-Shafi's theory statement. On the other hand, Lowry's finding that ash-Shafi's theory statement is different from the meaning in usul al-fiqh should be mentioned (p. 161, footnote. 72).

The most interesting aspect [?] of ash-Shafi's revelation matrix theory and five-pattern form indicated by the author to be the abrogation theory, which suggests that the claim of abrogation is formed in each source rather than in the revelation sources (p. 144) was presented without detail.

The assumption that the Qu'ran cannot abrogate the sunnah is in accordance to the assumption that both types of revelations cannot contradict one another. However, criticisms toward the Prophet (e.g. at-Tahrim 2) removes the absolute identity of this adaptation. Ash-Shafi's failure to provide the right of initiative for the Prophet and his attempt to signify the concept as a revelation plays a role in this process. Regardless of how the concept was named (comparison or belief) (for example, see Abdurrahman ibn Nejm ibn Abd al-vahhab Jezeri, *Akyisath an-nabayy* by Ibn al-Hanbali and *Ijtihad ar-rasul* or *İjtihad an-nabayy*) and despite the presence of many revelations and hadith narratives that indicated that the Prophet did not take any steps to consider revelations other than those of the Qu'ran, reviewing the issue by neglecting these findings would be contradictory to the scientific mindset.

The Sunnah-Hadith concept of ash-Shafi:

The Prophet is the reflection of Allah's will in the world of phenomenon (p. 147)

What does the sunnah include and how is the content of the sunnah determined according to ash-Shafi? As he determined the hadith narratives as the source of the sunnah (p. 149,151,152), he should have reviewed the notions he considered to be the rivals of the hadiths (p. 147). Therefore, he examined the practices of those in Medina (amel al-ahl al-Medina), as supported by his master Malik, and believes that these practices consisted of the agreement between the Medina ulama rather than the organic development of the prophetic practices (p. 146). However, ash-Shafi's main purpose is to object to the practices of Medina as they pose a risk to the hadith narratives he decided to associate with the sunnah, which the author of the present study intended to reflect in the anthology titled, *Shafi's Role in the Formation of Sunni Paradigm* (p. 145). However, ash-Shafi does not directly target his master, Malik; instead, he targets an addressee Malik (p. 159, footnote 30).

As another approach that jeopardizes the preference for considering the hadiths as the only source is the juristic preference that was often used by the followers of Hanafism, he objects to that approach and regards it as arbitrariness (p. 147).

In addition, the author states again that ash-Shafi protected the revelation matrix against the practices of Medina and juristic preferences, and mentions that he focuses on the sunnah as there are no controversial issues regarding the revelation of the Qu'ran. However, the information provided by the author here is a descriptive summary of ar-Risalah, and no critical or analytical approach is present. Almost all of the arguments the author used to provide the basis for the sunnah (p. 147-148) were included in the anthology titled, *Shafi's Role in the Formation of Sunni Paradigm,* thus the present study only provides these details without repeating the same findings.

However, Lowry's warning (the following statement is not common in the interpreted literature before the era of Shafi) against the claim by ash-Shafi was that the wisdom in the Qu'ran meant the sunnah was appropriate (p. 160, footnote 44). In addition, *al-Vucuh and an-nazair* (regarded as a Qu'ran dictionary) by Mukateel ibn Suleiman, who passed away in the same years as Abu Hanafi (d. 150), does not include a single word about the sunnah among the five meanings of the wise words in the Qu'ran, which supports the present findings. The same evaluation can be made for the arguments ash-Shafi intended to develop for the basis of the ahad khabar (p. 149-150).

Ash-Shafi, who believed that these problems were solved in these issues, reviews the contradictory hadith issue and examines what should be considered

when making a choice from the contradictory narratives, as well as the five-pattern (general and private matters, ambiguous matters and abrogation) method regarding the revelation matrix (p. 151).

Reactions to Shafi's Teaching

Relating the author's preference of reviewing the issue from the works of al-Muzani and al-Buwait, the students of ash-Shafi, does not appear to be possible (p. 151-153). However, the author also implies significant points in relation to these summaries. His comments regarding the *Muhtasar* by al-Buwait are remarkable.

According to the author, as the significant point in ash-Shafi's fiqh-related world view is the hadiths, hadiths became an open card for al-Buwait who made the following statement: "If you find a true hadith, that is my sect". Consequently, according to the author, al-Buwait adds new hadiths or removes certain hadiths when summarizing the works of ash-Shafi, and he can object to the ideas of his master (p. 152).

The author points out another significant topic in relation to the example of al-Buwait: How did the canonists determine their relationships with their masters in the early periods? Contrary to common assumptions, they did not carelessly accept the ideas of their masters. Instead, they tried to maintain their commitment to their ideas. Thus, al-Buwait remained committed to the methods of his master but also objected to him on many issues and reached different perspectives. Additionally, the work of al-Buwait is not only a work, but also a compilation of contributions and objections to ash-Shafi. This suggests that the Shafi sect did not consist of only the ideas of a single person.

On the other hand, according to the hadith-based methods of al-Buwait's master, the hadiths were used more by him, which meant they were objections to the hadith authorities who found the fiqh discipline too rationalist and r'ayist and thus avoided the fiqh. Consequently, al-Buwait founded a bridge between the mind, the function of which cannot be neglected in fiqh discipline, and revelations, and therefore he fulfilled one of his master's goals (p. 153).

Conclusion

According to the author, ash-Shafi must have seen the various contradictions and inconsistencies among the fiqh authorities during his trips to Hejaz, Yemen, Iraq and Egypt. He probably considered the hadith narratives attributed to the Prophet to be against the use of the practices by the Medina sect and of excessive ra'y, which he considered to be the reasons for the case, and he preferred the comparison method for paving the way for systematic rationalist fiqh concepts (p. 154).

Schacht and Coulson place importance on ash-Shafi's roles in terms of his impact on Shafi usul al-fiqh and finds it appropriate to call him the founder of fiqh. However, certain scholars such as Wael Hallaq and Lowry object to this statement and follow a more moderate approach (p. 154).

The author states that considering *ar-Risalah* to be equivalent to the later usul al-fiqh books is wrong because 80% of the book was attributed to the relationships between the sources and the sunnah, as mentioned by Lowry, or half of the book targeted the concept of the sunnah, and one-third of the work aimed to review the relationships between the sources (p. 162, footnote 87). This was related to the fiqh atmosphere of the second century, and the emphasis was on basing fiqh on revelatory materials by abandoning the rationalist impact (p. 155). In addition, George Makdisi's article that followed the anti-Mu'tazila or anti-rationalist inclinations in *ar-Risalah* confirms this finding (p. 157 / footnote 8). Thus, it is fair to state that ash-Shafi was successful in driving the fiqh authorities to base the fiqh on revelatory sources and revising the status of the sunnah and the hadiths (p. 155). However, the author must be reluctant to abandon the thesis that ash-Shafi is the founder of usul al-fiqh because he still attempts to convey the ideas in this discipline that ash-Shafi is the founding father of fiqh (p. 155). The inclusion of author's emotionality must have reached another level because he considers ash-Shafi to be the Mujaddid (the person who brings new concepts to a religion) with his works on the sunnah and the hadiths, and as the person who contributes to usul al-fiqh and brought Islamic law to life (p. 155). These are remarkably controversial issues, but it is fair to say that they should be called emotional or rhetorical statements, instead of scientific findings.

Consequently, the author limited the subject to only Shafi and his two students although the title reflected the Shafi sect, which suggests that the title should be revised.

8. From Tradition to Institution: The *Sunnah* in the Early Hanbali School (Haris ibn Ramli)

Haris ibn Ramli thoroughly reviews the concept of the sunnah in fiqh tradition, the hermeneutic position of the sunnah before the Qu'ran, and the epistemological status of mutawatir, ahad and untrue hadiths. He reflects how the Hanbali fiqh tradition emerged as a result of the works of canonist hadith authorities. These canonist hadith authorities made efforts to replace the regional ra'y-based fiqh traditions with a text-based tradition, and they included the true hadiths and practices and fatwa of sahabah and relevant individuals in the concept of text-based tradition. The reason for the inclusion is their resistance to ash-Shafi and the concept of a true hadith. The concept of true hadiths was regarded as a concept that paved a broad way for the comparison that was considered with skepticism by the Hanbali followers, at least in theory. Thus, according to those in this movement, the concept of the sunnah meant, "an ongoing sunnah" that materialized due to those who knew the concept thoroughly and represented it in their beliefs and actions (?).

Ramli points out that the Hanbali determinant of whether a statement was a sunnah was a significant result of their attitude toward the text-based concepts. The sole awareness of the sunnah communicators also meant awareness about the conceptual sunnah term.

However, in the introductory section, the author discusses whether Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855) really intended to establish a sect. He also varies the discussion topics and points out that being called a traditionalist because of his attempts was not problem-free. He implies the uncertainty of the tradition here and emphasizes the obscurity of the extent of correspondence with the sunnah, an Arabic-Islamic concept (p. 163-164). Moreover, the author suggests that if the sources are to be considered, it is not possible to attribute any fiqh methods and hermeneutic system to Ahmad ibn Hanbal (p. 164).

According to Susan Spectorsky, Ahmad ibn Hanbal provides hadith-based answers on non-controversial issues and refrains from doing the same when it is not possible, but he would not let his ideas be the authority in any case.

Christopher Melchert agrees with her and points out that the answers regarding Ahmed ibn Hanbal carry traces of improvisation-based characteristics and an old and verbal cultural model. He also implies that these answers were not based only on the hadiths. Instead, they reflected the trust of the scholars (the followers) on the theoretical ideas and practices. He also adds that these answers include a new emphasis on the meticulous recording of the textual evidences (p. 164).

David Vishanoff reaches similar findings considering the conveyance-based information in usul al-fiqh literature and states that ash-Shafi resisted the fiqh

vision that was based on the systematic method from a revelation-matrix axis, contrary to common belief, (p. 164) and left no systematic hermeneutic methods, which provided a broad area for the followers to improve his methods (p. 165).

Vishanoff's finding that Ahmad ibn Hanbal did not participate in the systematic reform program of ash-Shafi was confirmed in the latest studies. Schacht particularly considered the whole ahl al-Hadith as a monolithic structure and regarded Ahmad ibn Hanbal and ash-Shafi in the same context by neglecting the differences between them, which was questioned in the studies. The findings indicate that there were people who paved the way for undertaking fiqh-based reasoning at different rates within a certain spectrum (p. 165).

Melchert, who stated that the conflict between Ahl al-Hadith and Ahl al-ray emerged because of the issue of halk al-Quran at the end of the second/eighth century, mentioned that the people in Ahl al-Hadith, who ensured that the importance of the hadiths in the Islamic fiqh during the third/ninth century was accepted at a greater rate, were open to performing a systematic reasoning process. However, Melchert also notes that Ibn Abi Shaybah, who can be regarded as a purist hadith authority compared to them, and al-Bukhari, of the true hadith movement, were among those people. As demonstrated by Ahmad ash-Chamsi, despite the clear significance of *ar-Risalah* by al-Buwait, who was the student of ash-Shafi, ash-Shafi was closer to the Ahl al-Hadith as he preferred the opinions of the sahabah to the comparison (p. 165), which is remarkable. According to a doctoral thesis by Volkan Stodolsky, the person who preferred comparing the ideas of the sahabah was not ash-Shafi. Instead, that person was Dawud az-Zahiri, who was the student of ash-Shafi (p. 165).

Where does Ahmad ibn Hanbal stand in this picture?

According to Susan Spectorsky, if the works compiled by al-Kawsaj (d. 251/865), Salih ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 266/880), Abu Dawud as-Sijistani (d. 270/884), Ibn Hani (d. 275), Abdullah (d. 290/903), and el-Baghawi (d. 317/929) are to be reviewed, various Ahmad ibn Hanbal characters will emerge in fiqh subjects (p. 166). For example, Abdullah states that Ahmad ibn Hanbal categorically rejected the fiqh books of all great canonists. According to Abu Dawud and Ibn Hani, the books of Malik and ash-Shafi were exempt from the hadith-based aspects (p. 166). *Masail* by Abdullah indicates that Ahmad ibn Hanbal implied a verbal culture, and did not adopt a book-based approach, and approves the use of fiqh and hadith books without consulting an authority. It is fair to state that this approach was in accordance with the style of *al-Musnad.*

For example, *as-Sunan* by Abu Dawud is a hadith collection that can be accessed and used by non-specialists without even needing to consult an authority,

but *al-Musnad* is a database for the authorities with its multiple imputations and various types of hadiths, which conforms to Ahmad ibn Hanbal's approach of consulting the authorities in fiqh and hadiths (p. 167).

According to a doctoral thesis by Saud Salah as-Sarhan, the *Masail* literature used to determine the status of Ahmad ibn Hanbal in fiqh does not directly represent the ideas of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, and the differences between the narratives in these works arise from the followers of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (p. 167). Abu Bakr al-Hallal (d. 311/923) compiled these different narratives in his great work, which appears to be lost at the present time, and formed a new compilation from which Ibn Hamid (d. 403/1013) can work to form a new frame for solving the conflicts between them. Afterwards, the systematization of the sectarian doctrine was performed by Abu Yala (380-458/990-1066), who was the student of Ibn Hamid, Abu al-Hattab al-Kalwazani (d. 510/1116) and Ibn Akil (d. 413/1119) [the correct date should be 513] (p. 167).

The following findings were obtained when the definition of the sunnah in the Hanbali sect, the sunnah-qur'an relationship and the issue of the hadiths were reviewed and these processes and sources were considered:

1) All sources, excluding *Masail* by Abu Dawud, agree on the assumption that the sunnah is limited to the Prophet and sahabah practices are not included in the sunnah (p. 168).

2) The impact of ash-Shafi's theory statement is seen in the assumption that the sunnah is the descriptor of the Qu'ran. Thus, it is fair to state that followers of Hanbali and Shafi formed a concept against the minimalist approach that is limited by the obvious meanings and practices of the Qu'ran (p. 169).

3) The ideas of the sahabah and relevant people are excluded from the sunnah, but Hanbali sources indicate that Ahmed ibn Hanbal occasionally preferred the ideas of a scholar like al-Musayyeeb to those of Ibn Abbas, a sahabah (p. 171).

The Relationship between the Qu'ran and the Sunnah

The different ideas of whether performing practices from the Qu'ran are permissible when there is no sunnah that states the relevant provision of the Qu'ran are attributed to Ahmad ibn Hanbal (p. 172).

Ahmad ibn Hanbal accepts the central role of the sunnah in interpreting the Qu'ran, but he does not adopt the formula, "Sunnah is the determinant of Qu'ran", and he only states that, "Sunnah explains the meanings of Qu'ran" or, "Sunnah explains Qu'ran".

Ahmad ibn Hanbal accepts that the Qu'ran can abrogate the sunnah, contrary to ash-Shafi, and he adopts the distinction between the fard and wajib (p.

174), which indicates that this distinction has Iraqi origins (p. 175). However, it should be noted that contrary to the Hanafi followers, there are works that indicated that he did not pursue a distinction between the Qu'ran-based provisions and the sunnah-based provisions (p. 174).

Hadith

The Hanbali sect agrees with the mutawatir when it reflects certain information as Abu al-Qasim al-Balhi and other Mu'tazila imams do. However, there are various ideas about whether the mutawatir suggest obligatory or acquired information (p. 175-176). The Hanbali sources indicated that ahad khabar suggested precise information as mutawatir did (p. 176). This idea is thought to belong to Dawud az-Zahiri and al-Haris al-Muhasibi too (p. 176). However, according to a narrative conveyed by Abu Ya'la from *Maani al-hadith* by al-Asram, Ahmad ibn Hanbal stated that he would practice a true hadith but would not witness that this hadith was stated by the Prophet, which recalls that ahad khabar will reflect estimated information instead of certain information (p. 177). On the other hand, the effect of the contiguous sahabah statements is clear in ash-Shafi's persistence on contiguous imputation and its influence from Ahmad ibn Hanbal (p. 177).

Ahmad ibn Hanbal had two ideas on uncertain hadiths: a) the uncertain hadith can be practiced if there is no other certain hadith; b) the uncertain hadith cannot be practiced (p. 178).

On the other hand, certain sources indicate that Ahmad ibn Hanbal did not follow a meticulous method in narrating the hadiths but he was cautious on the issue of halal and haram. Consequently, he stated that uncertain hadiths can be used as evidence of certain issues but not for the issue of halal and haram (p. 178-179).

Another significant point to be considered is realizing the existence of maximalist approaches (e.g. al-Hiraki and Ibn Hamid), which made assumptions based on Ahmad ibn Hanbal's ideas and proposed new concepts (tahrij) which were against the minimalist concepts that conveyed Ahmad ibn Hanbal's ideas without changing (the most typical example is al-Hallal and his remarkable student Ghulamu-Hallal) within the sect (p. 180). Ibn Hamid displayed a maximalist approach against Ahmad ibn Hanbal who was generally portrayed to be a purist hadith authority. Ahmad ibn Hanbal was more theoretical as he was open to using the usul al-fiqh methods (p. 181).

Ibn Hamid distinguishes Ahmad ibn Hanbal's approach toward the narratives in the hadith collections compiled from *al-Musnad* from his attitude toward the fiqh-related use of these narratives. In other words, he suggests that the

portrait of Ahmad ibn Hanbal in *al-Musnad* is not the same as that in the masail literature (p. 181).

Considering Ahmad ibn Hanbal's ideas, Ibn Hamid claims that Ahmad ibn Hanbal was not opposed to comparison, as previously believed. Actually, the maximalist efforts by Ibn Hamid can be interpreted as less commited to Ahmad ibn Hanbal's minimalist characteristics and, as a result of the efforts to open broader horizons for the sect with the purpose of forming a systematic fiqh sect that could compete with other sects (p. 182).

In addition to general beliefs, ash-Shafi's attempt to attribute the sunnah to true and marfu hadiths was not considered to be positive by the Hanbali school. Accordingly, Ahmad ibn Hanbal objected to his student, al-Marruzi, in copying *ar-Risalah* by ash-Shafi, but he occasionally preferred the works of ash-Shafi when he compared them to the works by other fiqh authorities because ash-Shafi's works were more hadith-based (p. 186 / footnote 9). However, according to them, ash-Shafi's approach would make it inevitable to perform comparisons on issues in which no true hadiths were present. Therefore, the Hanbali followers suggested that consulting the ideas of the sahabah and tabi'un as well as the true hadiths would be more appropriate than making comparisons with concerns for reliability (p. 183). However, the presence of the findings that Hanbali followers did not collectively reject comparisons as Zahiris did was previously implied.

Although the Hanbali movement was labeled as fanatic literalism by orientalists such as Goldziher, Schahcht and Coulson, Wael Hallaq makes a distinction between the early-period Hanbali followers (e.g. the conservative fourth century Baghdad Hanbali followers), who were closer to his definition, and the late Hanbali followers who were more moderate and open to change, and he appears to assist us in understanding the inconsistent and contradicting Hanbali traditions better (p. 184). However, there is no doubt that the different narratives, particularly those from Ahmad ibn Hanbal, make it impossible to perform a generalization. Additionally, the relationship between the extreme fanatic inclinations in the sect and Hanbal's Zahiri-based inclinations rather than himself should be implied (p. 184).

Ahmad ibn Hanbal's religious conservatism should be assessed not only in terms of sin-related fears, but also regarding his love toward the movement and his aim to ensure the integrity of the Islamic Ummah. Thus, this emotional dimension that was neglected by Goldziher should be considered when reviewing the Hanbali movement (p. 185).

9. The Sunnah in the Zahiri Sect (Amr Osman)

Amr Osman provides a contribution that reviews all sunnah-related discussions in the book from the perspective of the Zahiri movement, which does

not exist today, and their usul a-fiqh. Consequently, he states that Ibn Hazm's concept of the sunnah reflected the top status of the accumulative work that meant the same as the hadiths.

Although he seems to be a person who would be neglected because of his identity as the founder of the Zahiri sect, Dawud az-Zahiri's scientific works and skills in argumentation were certified by the sources which also reflected that all scientific aspects from Baghdad are associated with his personality. It should be noted that people got to know a new scholar who produced many significant works including, *Kitab az-zabb an as-sunan and al-ahkam and al-ahbar* that consists of 1000 fascicles and could be accessed even by Tajuddin as-Subki 500 years after the death of this scholar (p. 195). The sources indicate that he began his career following Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ash-Shaybani (d. 189/805), who followed ash-Shafi when he came to Baghdad, and the influences of ash-Shafi are clear in Dawud's works. However, as a classical act seen in the medieval scientific Islamic paradigm, he was influenced by many scholars such as Muhammad ibn al-Hasen ash-Shaybani, ash-Shafi, Abu Sawr al-Kalbi (d. 240/854) and al-Karabisi (d. 245/859), and he exchanged information with these scholars.

However, the significant point here is that the common belief regarding him acting as an Ahl al-hadith sympathizer is not correct. His relationship with ash-Shafi is not sufficient to attribute this identity to him. Sources indicate that in addition to his criticisms toward the hadith authorities who were obsessed with hadith narratives, he was interested in fiqh discussions rather than the hadith narrative, he did not have good relationships with Ahl al-Hadith including Ahmad ibn Hanbal, and Ahmad ibn Hanbal called him *bidat,* a person who comes up with new ideas. This tension arose from the positive approach of scholars such as Abu Sawr and al-Karabisi to ash-Shafi's hadith-based ideas as they were also the scholars who did not abandon ra'y completely. The reason why he regarded Ahmad ibn Hanbal as a rival is that Hanbal labeled him as a *bidat* who followed Bishr al-Marisi (d. 218/833) and al-Karabisi and spent his time reviewing their books while neglecting the hadiths. Ahmad ibn Hanbal's rivalry between them is based on al-Karabisi's idea: "Qu'ran is not a creature, but the way we read it (al-lafz al-Quran) is relation to creation" (p. 196). However, it is fair to state that the positive aspect of Dawud az-Zahir's reputation is dominant before Ahl al-Hadith despite his ideas and his fewer attempts toward hadith (p. 207 / footnote 6).

For a better understanding of the issue, what sort of inquisition Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Abu Zura ar-Razi and Abu Hatim ar-Razi undertook toward al-Bukhari, a friend of al-Karabisi, should be noted here with additional details provided by the author. Consequently, it is not possible to state whether Dawud az-Zahiri considered himself a member of Ahl al-Hadith. Additionally, there is not sufficient information on regarding him as an Ahl al-Hadith member. On the contrary, it is

fair to mention that he was closer to Ahl al-Ray and the canonists (p. 196, 197). The fact that Dawud az-Zahiri accepted the claim, "khabar al-wahid reflects certain information", which was rejected by many people from the Hanafi, Shafi, Maliki, Mu'tazila and Hariji movements, along with Abu Sawr, caused individuals to believe that he was a member of the Ahl al-Hadith school (p. 197). Only a couple of Dawud's students were regarded as hadith communicators, which is not surprising considering his lack of interest in the hadiths.

Dawud was closer to ra'y society and the canonists, which does not mean that he agreed with them on every issue. On the contrary, it is certain that he had different ideas in comparisons, juristic preference and jurisprudence compared to ra'y society. However, he objected to these methods because of his support for "al-ebaha al-asliyyah", another usul principle. It is significant that Abu Sawr and al-Karabisi, who were close to him, also had the same approach.

Sources indicate that Zahari followers, including Dawud and his son, did not accept the sunnah practices excluding the sahabah practices, and they believed that the Qu'ran contains no metaphors. In addition, they believed that all kinds of narratives can abrogate the Qu'ran and narratives can include the solutions for issues (p. 197).

According to the author, the data indicate the following:

1) The Zahiri movement did not provide great contributions to the hadith discipline.

2) The scholars from this tradition did not present an usul-related standard approach, and they always had different ideas and concepts on many issues.

These different opinions continued to exist until Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064), who standardized the sectarian ideas and presented the following clauses as the basic matters agreed by everyone from the sect.

1) Only the religious texts are to be used for establishing canon provisions.

2) These texts should be interpreted from a broader perspective when there is no precise evidence.

3) The orders suggest necessity unless evidence to the contrary is present.

4) The prophetic actions are not solely compulsory and binding unless a relevant verbal statement is present.

5) The prophetic actions are not binding for Muslims in a religious and canon-related context, they only serve as suggestions (p. 198).

The Sunnah in the Zahiri Sect

Ibn Hazm classifies the sunnah as words, actions and statements and suggests that the first reflects obligation and necessity, the second indicates the suggestions without any obligations, and the last means suitability with no divine suggestion or necessity.

Prophetic actions are not compulsory because Allah did not order his followers to copy his actions in the Qu'ran. The verse indicating that the Prophet is an exemplary person for Muslims (Al-Ahzab, 21) does not suggest necessity. If it meant necessity, it would be, "la-kad kana alaykum…" instead of, "la-kad kana lakum…". Thus, it is propitious to follow the Prophet's actions but failing to do so is not a sin (p. 199).

The works that indicate that following the Prophet's actions is not obligatory do not have any evidence, and it is not always possible to follow his actions. If Muslims were to copy the Prophet's actions, they would be obliged to live where he lived, pray like him, fast as much as and when he fasted, and do exactly the same things he did. There are no legitimate reasons to follow or abandon his actions.

Ibn Hazm states that the main opponent of the Zahiri movement is the Maliki school. He mentions Maliki followers' contradictions in following the Prophet's actions and objects to the claim that a hadith should be practiced in order to be regarded as evidence. Additionally, he also asks Maliki followers whether the practices of Medina represent the practices of the whole Ummah. Consequently, he states that Medina is neither different nor superior compared to other Islamic countries and regions (p. 200-201). However, modern studies present that Malik himself did not consider the practices of the Medina ulama and people to be binding (p. 208 / footnote 55).

Ibn Hazm objects to the Maliki followers based on an example, and implies that the standard practice regarding Zakat began to be performed 80 years after the Prophet's death, and different practices were performed by various caliphates before him. He states that the practices have not always been standard. Thus, certain researchers regard him as the "black box" because of the nature and uncertainties of the concept, the practices of Medina (p. 209 / footnote 69). Ibn Hazm (like ash-Shafi) makes suggestions about the hadith narratives he regarded as the standards by referring to the verse that an issue arising from different practices should be reviewed by consulting Allah and Prophet's orders (p. 202).

However, the author misses a point: Ibn Hazm neglects the differences, inconsistencies and contradictions between the relevant hadith narratives as ash-Shafi did before. The number of narratives related to fiqh issues, agreed by all sources, and regarded to be evidence is quite limited. In other words, it is fair to state that it is hard to find these narratives in all cases. Thus, the significance of the

objections decreases when criticisms by Ibn Hazm, and Hanafi and Shafi followers toward the practices of Medina are also valid for the hadith narratives they supported.

Ibn Hazm does not accept the narratives reflecting that opposing actions of these narratives were performed while neglecting certain hadith narratives and claims that, without providing a decent reason, these narratives are simply fake. Consequently, Ibn Hazm combines the sunnah with the hadiths and considers the hadiths to be the sole source of the sunnah, which was also performed by ash-Shafi (p. 202).

He answers the question why the sahabah was in conflict with the issue of the sunnah as every member of the sahabah cannot have information on every sunnah-related issue, or the information that was found to be reliable by a sahabah member might have been found to be unreliable by another member (p. 202-203).

He approaches the narratives, suggesting that certain members of the sahabah, including Umar ibn al-Hattab, forbade the hadith narratives, with skepticism and provides the claim that they could not have neglected the hadiths, the sole source of the sunnah, as the basis (p. 203). However, he does not need to prove his assumption that the sahabah members had the same ideas as him for some reason.

Consequently, Ibn Hazm provides his ideas on the issue related to the authenticity and reliability of the hadiths, that hadith narratives should be conveyed through direct experience with the Prophet or with open statements such as, "I heard this from him/her or he/she told me so", and he regards narrative types that are not related to the above-mentioned methods as invalid (p. 203).

Zahirism: A Textual Theory

The Zahiri movement reflects the top level regarding the idea that the sole source of the sunnah is the hadiths. In this regard, Ibn Hazm uses the words, sunan, ahbar and narrative, interchangeably as synonyms of *hadith*.

Ibn Hazm, who rejects the practice notion of the people from Medina with the opposing idea in this regard, and reserves a broad section in *al-Ahkam* for that purpose. He also notes that sahabah's statements regarding the sunnah may be related to the fact that they were occasionally unaware of certain hadiths or misinterpreted these hadiths. He adds that these statements cannot reflect anything other than the practices of the sahabah (p. 204).

The attitude of the Zahiri followers toward the practical sunnah is not surprising. Accordingly, the term, *zahir,* is a hermeneutic concept that is entirely related to the texts. This term, which was previously used by ash-Shafi and at-Tabari, means the general concept that covers all possible matters. For example,

when the Qu'ran orders, "O! People", all humanity is meant instead of a certain group. It is essential to find evidence from the Qu'ran or the hadiths to state that only a certain group is addressed. Additionally, the order-based addressing style indicates the obligation and necessity rather than the suggestion, and instant or repeated performance when ordered in this way (p. 204).

The term, Zahirism, is considered to be the outcome and reason that is in relation to focusing on the texts and text-based reviews in the fiqh rather than other methods or practices.

[Zahirism does not necessarily mean literalism]

The Zahirism was wrongly seen as a literalist hermeneutic and fiqh theory for a long time. Literalism is still a controversial term in linguistics, and Zahirism is not literalist as it is understood today (p. 205). Zahirism is based on the historical and textual context when compared to literalism, which states that any text can be interpreted independently from its context or with a "null context" concept. Actually, Zahirism is closer to the statement that it is a textual theory that supports certain superiority of the textual evidence and excludes para-textual evidence such as comparison, juristic preference, and the search for beneficial actions and practices (e.g. the practical sunnah). The method of reviewing these religious texts is subject to strict rules. Thus, Zahirism is a formalist concept.

[Zahirism: The Search for Certainty]

Zahirism followers' attitudes toward the textual sources, and orders and demands for understanding these sources, should be explained through their search for certainty. For example, the uncertainties of the practices and the question of whether the orders mean obligation and necessity or suggestion caused conflicts among Muslims, but what is more significant is that there is an uncertainty regarding Allah's will, which cannot be accepted (p. 205). Therefore, it is possible to categorize Zahirism as a sect that searches for the certainty instead of settling with the dominant beliefs in fiqh like the Zahiri, Hanafi and Jafari movements (p. 205).

If the Prophet's practices were to be followed instead of his statements, Muslims would be obliged to confirm whether any practices they performed would be the last. In regard to the verbal hadiths, the Prophet verbally states that the new practice abrogates the validity of the previous practice, thus disallowing any uncertainty or questionable issues (p. 206).

10. The Relative Status of the Hadiths and the Sunnah as Sources of Legal Authority vis-à-vis the Qur'an in Muslim Modernist Thought – Adis Duderija

Adis Duderija, who is also the editor of the book, transfers the subject from the pre- to post-modern era in the latest period and searches for the answer to the question of which classical matters of discussion still exist, or not, today. He attempts to explain the relative status of the sunnah and the hadiths before the Qu'ran, and the normative role in interpreting the Qu'ran by referring to certain modernist Islamic scholars, who developed certain arguments and ideas, such as Javid Ghamidi, Fazlurrahman, Muhammad Shahrur and Ghulam Perviz. Adis also presents the outline of his approach toward the concept of the sunnah.

According to him, discussions regarding the nature of the concept of the sunnah and its conceptual, epistemological and hermeneutic relationship with the true hadiths and the Qu'ran still exist. The interesting point is the continuity between these discussions and the previous relevant discussions.

Javid Ghamidi (1951-) is a sharp critic of the Pakistani religious approach. He was born in Punjab, Pakistan. He received both modern (Islamia High School, Pakpattan in 1967) and classical Islamic education (Arabic, Farsi and Qu'ran education with Mawlawi Nur Ahmad). He went to Lahore in 1967 and stayed there until he left Pakistan to move to Malaysia because of Taliban threats. He completed his master studies in the English Literature at Government College, Lahore, in 1972, and he received a traditional Islamic education from many lecturers. He joined those who were close to Amin Islakhi, a Pakistani scholar who had a great influence on Ghamidi, in 1973. He worked with the well-known scholar, Mawdudi (d. 1979), for nine years, as Islahi did. However, he was dismissed from Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan in 1977 due to a difference of opinion on the nature and social aspects of the religion. Compared to Mawdudi, Ghamidi suggested that religion cannot be established with governmental authority and the main religious function is to control personal actions and encourage people to serve Allah. Consequently, Ghamidi redefined the classical fiqh concepts of the sunnah, the hadiths, stories, practices and jihad. Ghamidi is the founding chairman of the al-Mawrid Institute of Islamic Sciences and the chief editor of the monthly Urdu journal, Ishraq, and English journal, Renaissance. In addition, he is the founder of the Mus'ab School System which aims to raise Pakistani Muslims with decent moral values, a remarkable level of educational, and knowledge about religions. He presents programs on television to teach the public about Islam and provides information on Islamic and modern issues. He also served as a member of the Islamic Ideology Council for the Pakistani Government.

Ghamidi was influenced by the ideas of his predecessors such as Farahi and Islakhi, but many of his contributions to the Islamic world are unique (p. 212).

Like Islahi (his master), he considers the sunnah within the Abrahamic religious tradition, which was revived, revised and renewed by the Prophet Muhammad, by referring to the concept of the Abrahamic Nation. These religious practices were conveyed to us via the information based on mass practices, instead of written and verbal channels such as the hadiths. The epistemological value of the sunnah is equal to that of the Qu'ran, and higher than that of the hadiths (p. 213). The sunnah were set by "amal al-tawatur" that was practiced by the sahabah and those around the sahabah.

Ghamidi divides the sunnah into many sub-sections (sunan):

1) Prayer section

2) Social section

3) Food and beverage section

4) Forms of politeness section (p. 213).

In addition to his efforts to determine the content of the sunnah, he also developed methodological criteria for determining the nature and purpose of the sunnah.

1) The sunnah is only valid for religious matters and issues of daily life.

2) The concepts of belief, ideology, history and asbab al-nuzul are excluded from the context of the sunnah.

3) The provisions ordered by the Qu'ran and practiced by the Prophet are not included in the sunnah.

4) The new sunnah (e.g. tarawih) can be categorized as nafl prayers rather than vajib prayers.

5) The sunnah can only be valid for issues related to the Prophet's human characteristics.

6) There are certain matters that the Prophet did not want to turn into sunnah (e.g. the prayer wordings).

7) Like the Qu'ran, the sunnah was not set by the ahad khabar. It is one of the two main sources of Islam.

According to him, the sunnah was not defined by the ahad khabar. Instead, it was set by the sahabah practices and conveyances from them. He defined the hadithsas the prophetic words, actions and statements, basically ahad, which do not add anything to the content of the religion, the Qu'ran and the sunnah (p. 214-215). He states that hadith texts should not contradict the Qu'ran, the sunnah, or rationality. In addition, they should be written in proficient Arabic. He mentions that hadiths should be reviewed in light of the Qu'ran rather than reviewing the

Qu'ran in consideration of the sunnah. Hadiths cannot alter the Qu'ran in any way. The sunnah only serves to explain the religion and describe the exemplary characteristics of the Prophet Muhammad (p. 215).

All passages of a hadith should be collected and reviewed to make a decision about its reliability (p. 215). To use a hadith as canonical evidence, that hadith should be based on the Qu'ran and the sunnah, and it should not contradict human nature and rationality (p. 215).

To sum up, the sunnah is independent from the hadiths and the hadiths can be accepted only when they fit the above-mentioned criteria (p. 216).

Fazlurrahman (d.1988)

He was born in Hazara, Pakistan, and received classical madrasah education from his father who was a madrasah instructor. He received Arabic courses at the University of the Punjab where he received his master's degree. He completed his doctoral studies on *Kitab al-Najat* by Ibn Sina at Oxford. He lectured Farsi and Islamic philosophy courses at Durham University between 1950 and 1958. Afterwards, he started to lecture at McGill University (Canada) until 1961. He then returned to Pakistan to serve in the Islamization policies of Ayub Khan. He directed the Central Institute of Islamic Research, which was founded for that purpose, between 1961 and 1968. He also served as a member of the Islam Ideology Counselling Council. He was the target of the ever-increasing assaults by those who planned to distort the reform efforts presented to this council, which was the highest institute for determining Islamic policies. In addition to his other opinions, his ideas on the sunnah and the hadiths gained negative reactions from traditionalists. Considering these and his medical problems, he started to work at Chicago University in 1968 and stayed there until 1988.

His most systematic work on the sunnah and the Qu'ran was Islamic Methodology in History.[2] Like Ghamidi, Fazlurrahman made an obvious conceptual distinction between the sunnah and the hadiths. He describes the sunnah as the general normative moral rules and moral-religious behavioral system, which results in a normative practice that cannot be added into a text. Additionally, he defines the sunnah as a concept that is open to interpretation and adaptation. According to him, the sunnah is a concept that constitutes the ra'y and precedent of the Prophet and sahabah practices. He states that the number of sunnah is limited. In addition, all practices are not equal to one another based on their moral, psychological and material aspects. Fazlurrahman claims that the prophetic sunnah rarely works as the steps of general legislation, it instead acts as a means of coincidental legislation, and the Prophet's fiqh-related practices are not binding in a certain and literal context. On the other hand, he points out that the

[2] http://www.ankaraokulu.com/tarih-boyunca-islami-metodoloji-sorunu-_9-812

organic relationship between the sunnah, precedent and practices is broken, and the concept of the sunnah is defined by the concept of the true hadiths. Contrary to Ghamidi, Fazlurrahman does not attempt to describe the content of the sunnah.

Fazlurrahman implies the significance of the hadiths for both Muslims and historical studies, and states that there will be nothing but a big gap between the Prophet and us if the hadiths are neglected. He also mentions that those who aim to put the hadiths and the sunnah aside under the excuse of progressivism act worse than Nero who destroyed Rome. According to Fazlurrahman, the hadiths are not equivalent to the prophetic teaching, they only represent the essence of his teaching. The concept that became more obvious after the precedent practices is the fixed version of the sunnah that is still in practice. In addition, Fazlurrahman accepts the categorical superiority of the Qu'ran over any hadith when the Qu'ran and a hadith contradict one another, because the Qu'ran is the direct and flawless guidance of Allah. 217).

To sum up, Fazlurrahman represent a disengagement from the concept of the hadith-based sunnah and thus, he does not accept the hadiths as a container for the content of the sunnah. He also does not regard the hadiths as an independent source of the sunnah, but the hadiths are significant for Fazlurrahman because the hadiths are significant sources that reflect the ideas of the first Muslims on understanding and interpreting the Qu'ran and the Prophet. 218).

Muhammad Shahrur (1938-)

He is one of the most interesting and creative modern Arab-Islamic philosophers. His best-selling book is AI-Kitab wa'l- *Qu'ran: A Contemporary Reading (1990).* This book made him one of the most controversial intellectuals whose book has regularly been discussed since the 1990s. Certain people have associated him with the efforts to present a Zionist Qu'ran review under an Arabic name, but some compared him to Martin Luther, the father of Protestantism.

He was born in Damascus in 1938. He was raised in a liberal environment. His father was religious but he had a moral understanding. He was sent to Soviet Russia in 1959 to study engineering. As he had to face Marxist philosophy and Soviet atheism concepts there, he had to defend his religion. He graduated from Moscow Power Engineering Institute in 1964. He was married to a Russian woman and had a son. He can speak Russian fluently. He came back to Syria in the same year. He went to Dublin in 1968, and he completed his master's studies in engineering in 1969, and his doctoral studies in 1972. He came back to Syria in the same year and lectured at Damascus University until 1998. The failure of the Arabic Unity Project and the severe defeat in the 1967 War affected him. He never lost interest in Islam and stated as many Syrian scholars did that Islam has a universal

epistemology that supported rationality, freedom and information-based approaches. His inspiration was his training in modern engineering and natural sciences rather than Islamic philosophy or Islamic interpretation traditions. His main purpose was to show the harmony between his modern and rationalist experiences of a world view and the reality of the Qu'ran. Whitehead, Russel, Kant, Fichte and Hegel played a key role in the formation of his experiences.

Shahrur did not face the accusation of disbelief or apostasy, or was subjected to arrest. His book, *The Book and The Qur'an* was formally banned in Egypt, and temporarily banned in countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Shahrur is regarded to be one of the main actors in the reformist Islamic review in the present day (p. 218-219).

Shahrur states the fallacy in the process that the concept of the hadith-based sunnah abrogates the Qu'ran and achieves the status of a primary source (p. 219). He also mentions that the concept of the hadith-based sunnah blocks creative ideas, reform and renaissance in Islamic law. According to him, the sunnah consists of the non-binding comments from *al-Kitab* that are within human capacity and are provided by the prophetic precedents.

He does not reject the concept of the sunnah but he claims that the sunnah is subject to particular conditions and has contextual characteristics. He also provides the following grounds for his claim:

1) The Prophet's decisions are related to the historical conditions of the era.

2) His limitation toward permissible acts is not related to the revelations.

3) His limitation toward certain halal things and actions is related to a couple of changes in his life.

4) His precedents are not as flawless as the revelations.

5) No matter which title he held, his precedents do not serve as canon law (p. 220).

According to him, obedience to the Prophet is performed in two ways: Muttasal (at-ta al-muttasalah) and munfasal (at-ta al-munfasalah). The former means obedience to Allah and his Prophet until judgment day. The latter suggests obedience to the Prophet in consideration to the time. The first concept is valid before and after Prophet's death, but it is divided into two categories, unconditional and relational. The first is related to practices such as salah, fasting or pilgrimage that are in accordance with the essence of the Qu'ran. The second is related to the issues that can vary based on the social and economical status such as the rate of zakat. With regard to the second category, prohibitive attitudes at maximum and minimum levels were occasionally displayed. For example, his bans on music, dance, visual arts (picture, sculpture), and cemetery visits are related to this category. However, there are comments which state that the ban on visual arts was

only meant for those for worshipping-related purposes (p. 279 / footnote 20). He divides the hadiths into two groups: Words with wisdom and prophetic statements. The first group has certain universal moral principles and is related to words of wisdom which are reflected by humans (p. 221). Although these may be the result of revelations/inspiration, they may exist without depending on the revelation. Thus, they cannot serve as binding sources for Islamic law. However, it would be appropriate to regard these sources as moral doctrines.

Shahrur divides the prophetic statements of the Prophet Muhammad into five categories:

1) Those related to the ways of fulfilling the prayers in the Qu'ran (Ibadah). As it is included in the context of Muttasal obedience, Muslims have to follow this unconditionally.

2) Those related to al-Ghaib. As it is not possible for the Prophet to know al-Ghaib, these narratives should not be regarded as a reflection of the truth (Gaybahah).

3) Those related to the field of al-Ahkam; the solutions provided by the Prophet as an interpreter of Islamic law to solve the issues of his era are not binding for Muslims of later periods (al-Ahkam). This does not mean that their precedents are valueless or they face disrespect.

4) The narratives related to the al-Ghaib, which are named as the holy hadiths and regarded to be the results of the revelation. Shahrur assesses these as those in the second category [Kudsiyah].

5) The personal behaviors as humans [Insaniyah]. These are not binding for Muslims. The narratives reflecting the actions which were performed by a person not with the title of Prophet such as, eating-drinking, sleeping, dressing or travelling could be in this category (p. 222).

It is obvious that Shahrur does not consider the sunnah and the hadiths to be independent sources, and he assesses the prophetic statements regarding the interpretation of the Qu'ran and personal precedents to be comments of the relevant era that are not unconditional and binding (p. 223).

Ghulam Parwiz (d. 1985)

He was a scientist from Lahore. He was the founder of the movement called *Tulu'i Islam,* which was formed following inspiration from a poem by Muhammad Ikhbal. Ghulam Parwiz, who was the founder of this movement which supported Quran-based Islamic thought against any ideas, beliefs and actions against the Qu'ran, was born in 1903 in a Sunni (Hanafi) family in Batala, Gurdaspur-Punjab, India. He was educated by his grandfather, Hakimbahsh, in Qu'ranic studies and

other traditional Islamic sciences. The scholar, who determined his approach to the Qu'ran and was in a close relationship with him, was Muhammad Ikhbal. He met Aslam Jairacpuri (d. 1955), one of the greatest scholars of the Indian subcontinent, with the assistance of Ikhbal and received advanced Arabic literature courses from Aslam Jairacpuri. He was with his master for fifteen years after he left Pakistan in 1947. He started to publish *Tulu'i Islam* upon the directive of Muhammad Ali Cinnakh in 1938 (p. 222-223). According to him, a society is based on an ideology rather than the geographical borders, and Islam should be practiced to ensure a completely independent country. His idea contradicted the benefits of occupying England, many Hindu people and Muslim Indian nationalists (p. 224).

He acted as a consultant for Cinnakh during the Pakistani movement with regard to Qu'ranic values and principles established in the legal commission under the 1956 Pakistani constitution. He was the director of the Center of Qu'ranic Studies in Lahore and he established the Educational Qu'ran Association. He founded a network to spread the Qu'ran doctrines under the title, Bazm-e Tolu-e-Islam. It is remarkable that similar formations such as, "Only Qu'ran" and, "Ahl al-Quran" appeared in Egypt, too.

Parwiz was a productive author. His most well-known work on Qu'ran doctrines is *Ma'arif al-Qur'an* that consists of eight volumes, *Lughat al-Qur'an* with four volumes, and *Mefhum al-Qur'an* with three volumes. His work that has the best reviews in this regard is *Mukam al-Hadith* (The Status of Hadith). This work was also translated into English by his followers. He strongly criticized the classic approach to the sunnah in Islamic law and using the hadiths while interpreting the Qu'ran. He was regarded as a *Qurani* as he supported the assumption that the Qu'ran is sufficient itself for the areas of doctrine, prayers and law, which is different from Shahrur. He based his ideas on the concept of "ad-Din". This concept, which covers the Qu'ran and the sunnah/hadiths in classical theory includes only the Qu'ran, according to Parwiz, and the Qu'ran is the only reliable source that will be flawlessly protected until judgment day. Parwiz states that the same words cannot be said for the hadiths and rejects hadith authorities' idea that the hadiths are in the unread hadith category. The Qu'ran needs the sunnah-hadiths but the sunnah/hadiths do not need the Qu'ran, and the sunnah/hadiths can abrogate the Qu'ran. He also criticizes the classical approach considering the Prophet as the best Qu'ran glossator and states that the current hadith material is far from being comprehensive to function on this subject (p. 224-225).

Another reason why his idea that obedience to the Prophet is fulfilled by following the Qu'ranic system (ad-Din) is correct is related to the contradiction between Muslims' definitions of the sunnah and the possibility of divisions between Muslims. According to him, the only binding hadith is the Qu'ran. The classic justifications and claims other than that are far from being epistemologically and methodologically satisfactory. Thus, he rejects the idea that the Qu'ran cannot be understood without the hadiths and supports the interpretation of the Qu'ran

with the Qu'ran, contrary to Shahrur. He justifies his claim through the contradiction between certain Qu'ranic revelations and hadiths. According to him, the hadiths are meaningful for the history of the religion but not that functional in order to organize the religion to be rational. The hadiths may prevent the essential and critical doctrines in the Qu'ran.

The interesting point here is that Parwiz does not distinguish between the sunnah and the hadiths as other intellectuals do (p. 225). To sum up, Parwiz states that the sunnah/hadiths are not a binding fiqh source for "ad-Din". Moreover, accepting the concept of the sunnah/hadiths causes a misunderstanding toward the Qu'ran doctrines, and there are many example cases in regard to this issue (p. 226).

Consequently, Adis Duderija presents the following comments in his assessment: The Qu'ran and the sunnah have the same context and nature, which means they cover the doctrines, prayers (amaliyah, ibadah), al-Ahkam (fiqh) and moral areas; the sunnah should be regarded as the principles for interpreting the Qu'ran within the usul al-fiqh rules; the sunnah cannot be established just by referring to the hadiths (independently from the Qu'ran); the Islamic ulama of the pre-classical era was aware of the connection between the Qu'ran and the sunnah, and thus it would be appropriate to attribute hermeneutic priority and superiority to the ethical-moral or purpose-related approaches for the concepts in relation to the usul al-fiqh (p. 226).

Thus, it should be noted that Adis Duderija, the editor, has two significant articles in this regard: "Toward a Methodology of Understanding the Nature and Scope of the Concept of Sunnah", *Arab Law Quarterly,* 21, (2007): 1–12; and "A Paradigm Shift in Assessing/Evaluating the Value and Significance of Hadith in Islamic Thought–From ulum-ul-hadith to usul-ul-fiqh", *Arab Law Quarterly*, 23 (2009), 195–206.

Conclusion

According to the editor, although the educational and socio-cultural statuses of the Islamic scholars in this section are different, their common characteristics are that they agree upon revising and re-conceptualizing the classical ulama position on the status and role of the sunnah and the hadiths. Thus, their approaches reflect a significant difference compared to those in the formational and classical Islamic periods.

Islamic law provides remarkably significant findings about how to conceptualize the sunnah in moral and political fields. The modernist (contemporary-innovative) sunnah approaches generate extensive findings in socio-cultural, political, legal and moral areas. Thus, the authorities who were often in contact with these intellectuals were often regarded as reformists. The classical

ulama evaluated these reform requests as assaults on Islam and thus rejected them. For example, Fazlurrahman and Ghamidi received death threats, causing them to leave their countries.

The issue that these new concepts cannot compete with the classical approaches is based on the growing expansion of the chorus, which gradually increases its voice in the necessity of an Islamic reform in the status of the sunnah as Islamic evidence in the predictable future (p. 227).

It should also be pointed out that a rich list of references was presented at the end of the book as an annex to the assessment by the editor (p. 232-249) and this annex should be carefully revised. Presenting the authors' biographies, which we could not have done due to limited time and place, would be appropriate. It should be noted that the remarkably weak and poor index, and many contradictions and errors arising from insufficient editing, as previously mentioned, necessitates the revision of the work for the new editions.

A Wish and Request

Not only the theology authorities in Turkey, but also the Sunni world restricted themselves with the approaches of Ahl al-Hadith traditions believing that the sunnah and hadith culture represents the definition of the Sunni movement, and they locked themselves into this small world. This hadith-based approach, which could be called the nano tradition, does not represent the Ahl al-Sunnah that could be called as the micro tradition. Accordingly, Ahl al-Sunnah reflects a micro-tradition that consists of many components such as Hanafism, Shafism, Malikism, Hanbalism, Asharism, Maturidism, Zahirism, Ahl al-Hadith/Salafism, Sufi elements, and many independent traditions such as al-Awzaa and at-Tabari that are excluded from these categories but included in the Ahl al-Sunnah. Ahl al-Hadith is only one of these components, and neither the hadith authorities nor the other nano traditions can solely represent the Ahl al-Sunnah, although they have claimed otherwise. As a micro tradition, Ahl al-Sunnah is the name of all these nano components.

It is a lot more difficult for the approach of the hadith authorities to represent the Islamic tradition because Islamic tradition is a macro-tradition that consists of five micro -traditions, Sunniism, Shia, Ibadism, Zaidism and Mu'tazila, which still exist today.

This book will enable us to remove the Ahl al-Hadith blinders, realize and learn about other nano traditions such as Sunni components, and micro traditions out of the sunnah movement, engage in dialogues with them, and consequently learn about the Macro Islamic Tradition. Thus, we believe that it is of great importance to translate and present this study in Turkey, which aims to raise awareness of the blind spots in this field.

With the translation of these works, our process of moving from the nano to micro and from the micro to macro traditions in regard to the sunnah and the hadiths should accelerate, but relevant works and anthologies of a higher quality should be presented and translated into different languages. In addition, we should not be delayed in our contemporary developments in the field of the sunnah and the hadiths.

We hope and pray that this book will be conducive to the fulfillment of our wishes and demands.

Sahabah, Qur'an and Tafsir*

Mustafa ÖZTÜRK **

Abstract

Sahabah is the first generation who witnessed and supported revelation of the Quran. For that reason, they are both privileged and have excellence on tafsir. Because tafsir is a scientific discipline which aims to portray what Quran said to the society in which it revealed for the first time.

On the other hand, ta'vil is the practice of generating ideas and opinions for later generations and humanity on what Quran said by referencing its original meaning.

While tafsir is static, ta'vil is dynamic. Any Muslim, who is sensitive to follow original meaning of the Quran, is not certified to interpret the Qur'an outside of the sahabah' approach even in today's world. However, the issue of what Sahaba understood from the Quran is disregarded for both not revealing that the Qur'an is the universal message of the God and to prevent its prevalence widely. On the contrary, many contemporary interpreters exaggerate sahabah on the topics outside the Qur'an. They become subjective when the issue is Qur'an interpretation and overstate themselves which makes their interpretation arbitrary.

Keywords: Sahabah, Qur'an, sunnah, tafsir, ta'vil

Sahabe, Kur'ân ve Tefsir

Özet

Sahabe, Kur'an vahyinin nüzulüne hem şehadet hem refakat eden ilk müslüman nesildir. Bu yüzden de tefsir konusunda hem imtiyaz hem faikıyet sahibidir. Çünkü tefsir, Kur'an'ın nazil olduğu tarihsel ve toplumsal vasatta ilk muhatap kitleye ne söylediğini ortaya çıkarmayı hedefleyen bir ilmî disiplindir. Te'vil ise bu ilk ve özgün anlamdan hareketle Kur'an'ın daha sonraki tüm zamanlar ve çağlarda insanlığa ne söylemek istediği hakkında fikir ve görüş üretme faaliyetidir. Tefsir sabit, te'vil değişkendir. Kur'an'ın ilk defa ne söylediğine sadakat kaygısı taşıyan her müslüman, bugünkü sosyolojik zeminde dahi sahabenin genel anlayış ve idrak ufkundan bağımsız yorum yapmaya mezun değildir. Oysa bugün gerek Kur'an'ın evrensel mesajlar taşıyan bir ilâhî kelam olduğunu izhar etmek, gerek Kur'an'ı çağın idrakine söyletmek adına sahabenin Kur'an'dan ne anladığı meselesi bilinçli olarak göz ardı edilmektedir. Buna karşılık birçok çağdaş müslüman yorumcu, Kur'an tefsirinden bağımsız konularda sahabeyi yere göğe sığdıramama retoriği yapmaktadır.

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Kur'an'ı anlama ve yorumlama söz konusu olduğunda ise sahabenin tasfiyesiyle oluşan otorite boşluğu modern yorumcunun kendi öznelliğiyle doldurulup Kur'an çoğu zaman keyfi şekilde konuşturulmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sahabe, Kur'an, sünnet, tefsir, te'vil.

Introduction

The modern commentary on the tafsir of Qur'an reflects the term, tafsir, which relates to interpretation (ta'vil), or both terms are accepted to be synonymous. In addition, tafsir suggests the efforts of exploring what the Qur'an expresses to the first addressees in the nuzul environment, and it is based on narratives and historical knowledge. The differentiation from "tafsir-ta'vil", expressed with the wording, *huwa ma kilah,* by Imam al-Maturidi (d. 333/944), that was quoted from previous generations, is significant for this topic. According to this well-known differentiation, anybody other than the Sahabah can express their ideas about the tafsir because tafsir is related to what Allah ordered in the Qur'an. Tafsir, which essentially indicates the scientific circumstances and religious nature, is directly related to the search for the answer to the question of what the Prophet and the sahabah told the first and direct addressees in the nuzul environment, testified by themselves, namely in the search for the first and primary meaning. If the ideas and comments are formed through direct or indirect references to authentic/genuine meaning and content, which are also reflected through various Islamic terms such as ra'y, jurisprudence, investigation or assumption, they are included in the context of "ta'vil", as understood from the differentiation narrated by Imam al-Maturidi.[1]

The meaning that has bee discovered through history, narratives and language-based (linguistics and semantics) tafsir activities is related to what the Qur'an told the first and direct addressees in the nuzul environment, whereas the deductive meaning that has been obtained through ta'vil, is related to what the Qur'an aims to tell the indirect addressees across different times. It is fair to state that tafsir searches for the certain meaning of the actions that took place in the nuzul process which lasted 23 years. However, ta'vil is related to the issues that have already occurred or is expected to occur in the future. The claim of absolute objectivity in ta'vil activities is not possible because these activities reflect an open-ended process and remain open to different possibilities. In addition, absolute accuracy is not possible, either.

Thus, scholars of the classical era, such as Shamsalaimmah as-Sarahsi (d. 483/1090 [?]) and Muwaffakaddin ibn Kudamah (d. 620/1223) mentioned the fact that subjectivity in interpretation activities and religious messages, which can be

[1] Abu Mansur Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Maturidi, *Ta'vilat al-Quran*, published by Ahmed Vanlıoğlu, Istanbul 2005, I. 3.

summarized with the statement, "Takfir is not present when ta'vil is not either",[2]can be understood and transferred through interpretation to different periods, but different orientations and inclinations generally emerge because of this discipline's nature. Accordingly, the first and original meaning that is searched for through interpretation activities does not answer the question of how Islam should be understood and practiced in the present time, but it constitutes the first stage for various possible answers of this question. Therefore, Qur'an cannot be interpreted by neglecting the general understanding and approaches of the sahabah which represented the first Muslim generation.

The sahabah are different and privileged compared to all other Muslim generations because they were the founding ummah of the established Islam, which was conveyed and represented by the Prophet through the guidance of the revelations. According to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), the sahabah is the generation that stands next to the source from which the holy water [revelations and prophecy] gushes out in a sweet, pure and ice-cold form.[3] One of the main characteristics that distinguishes the sahabah from other Muslim generations in the last fifteen centuries is that they were ready in the nuzul environment of the Qur'an revealed to the Prophet and thus witnessed the whole process, which makes the sahabah generation unique in understanding the Qur'an and relating to the holy book.

Consequently, sahabah is referred to as a romantic anecdote on the level of religious rhetoric or even referred to in a manner that appears to be nostalgic evoking the literature of the ancestors. However, the experiences of the sahabah are not sufficiently considered on serious issues, such as how a Muslim should understand the Qur'an and relate to it. In addition, the sahabah are role models for us in understanding and practicing the Qur'an correctly. They were the first and pioneering generation, who were raised under the guidance of the divine book and the Prophet, and they sacrificed everything, including their lives, for tawhid and Islam, which is clearly expressed in the true explanation of many verses. For example, the sahabah generation were introduced as the "most benevolent society revealed for humanity" in a verse. Another revelation implied that Allah was pleased with them and they were pleased with Allah.[4] The sahabah were also honored through Allah's praises and promises of rewards in several verses.[5]

Despite all these findings, it is obvious that the sahabah are not innocent or sinless. Many verses express that they did not do what they were supposed to do or they did incorrectly what they should have done perfectly, as they were inclined to

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[2] See: Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad as-Sarahsi, *Kitab al-Mabsut*, Beirut 1989, X. 125, 128; Abu Muhammad Muwaffakuddin ibn Kudamah, *al-Mughni*, published by Abdullah ibn Abdilmuhsin at-Turki-Abdulfattah Muhammad al-Hulv, Riyadh 1997, XII. 276-277.

[3] Abu Abdillah Shamsuddin Muhammad Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ilam al-Muwakkin*, Riyadh 1423, II. 8.

[4] Al Imran 3/110; At-Tawba 9/100.

[5] Al-Baqara 2/143, Al-Anfal 8/74, Al-Hashr 59/8-9.

make mistakes and forget as many people do. In addition, their inappropriate attitudes and behaviors were also referenced.[6] However, another significant point is that the Prophet Muhammad was often addressed with divine warnings. To sum up, the sahabah are the most benevolent generation, as stated in a hadith attributed to the Prophet.[7] Therefore, it is an obligation, not an option, for every Muslim who is sincere and has issues in their lives, to consider and refer to the sahabah in explaining, understanding and interpreting the Qur'an.

Sahabah's Way of Understanding the Qur'an

Understanding the Qur'an means for the humans to recognize Allah, the real owner and master of each presence, and therefore comprehend their place in this mortal world and the reason for their existence. According to many verses, hadiths and narratives, the sahabah generation's general approach to understanding and relating to the Qur'an is based on this context. In such a relationship, there is no room for an ontology that sees the subject-object separation between Muslims who attempt to understand the Qur'an and the revelation of the Qur'an, which is the subject of understanding. In addition, the sahabah did not consider the Qur'an in terms of a wording, statement or meaning-based text, which carries meanings independently from autonomous objects and concepts (excluded from the "me/us" approach), that is, independent from the recognition of this approach and real-life experiences. On the contrary, the Qur'an was adapted as divine guidance that offered direction on practical life with an iman and obedience-based understanding.

This existential relationship between the sahabah and the Qur'an was formed by iman and obedience-based feelings as heartfelt actions, rather than by rational minds and ideas. The sahabah paid attention to the call of the revelations that were deeply connected to the Prophetic Sunnah, heard the divine orders as if they were directly talking to Allah, and fulfilled what was ordered. The deep relation formed upon the iman and obedience between the sahabah and Allah was implied in Al-Imran 3/193: "Our Lord! Indeed we have heard a caller calling to faith, [saying], 'Believe in your Lord,' and we have believed. Our Lord! So forgive us our sins and remove from us our misdeeds and cause us to die with righteousness."

The Qur'an, which has been addressing to humans since the revelation process started, was perceived by the sahabah, independently from real-life experiences, as a text that attempted to reveal the great meaning and main purpose in the existential story in this mortal world and the limited life time rather than as an object or textual entity. Thus, sahabah members perceived the meaning and orders of the Qur'an in an attempt to comprehend this mortal world. Consequently,

[6] For example, see: An-Nisa 4/75, 109; Al-Ma'ida 5/101; Al-Anfal 8/67; An-Nur 24/11-18; Al-Ahzab 33/53.
[7] Bukhari, "Fazail al-Ashabi an-Nabi" 1; Muslim, "Fazail as-Sahabah" 211, 212.

after understanding the Qur'an, they began to perceive what was happening in the mortal world and what could happen in the Akhirah differently. The meaning of the Qur'an serves as a gateway between the mortal world and the divine book for the Prophet Muhammad and the sahabah and forms a connection between this world and the Qur'an. In other words, the meaning of the Qur'an does not only refer to the verses, or cannot be understood only by look at this world. The Qur'an revealed its meaning as a promise, and exposed itself as a divine book that enabled the addressee to undergo transformations, transform themselves from their current state, and think about the future. It also serves as a divine book that provides broad opportunities for humans in general, and Muslims in particular, to adapt to what has been ordered.[8]

It is fair to say that the sahabah generation understood the Qur'an as a direct religious invitation (call, address) to themselves, and perceived it as an "open-text". As an open text, the Qur'an partially delivers its messages, rather than completely, or completes its messages by referring to a narrative that begins elsewhere. The Qur'an's passages, regarding anecdotes and issues, are written in an open text style. The messages in these passages are the complementary elements of a narrative that started in a previous surah or in the previous parts of the same surah.[9]

After the end of the nuzul period when the sahabah generation witnessed and consorted both the nuzul of the revelations and the Prophet's sunnah, and established a sincere and lively relationship with the divine messages, a serious distortion in understanding the Qur'an emerged. The reason is that the Prophet and the sahabah that consorted with him no longer physically existed. The Qur'an was present, but it was just perceived as a divine text between two covers rather than a book with messages and orders. This perception has expectedly turned the Qur'an, which was genuinely a living text, into a closed text.

A closed text aims to deliver a message in written form, adheres to the specific rules of this form, uses its means, and is limited to the discipline of this form. Legal texts, philosophic articles and scientific works, particularly the works which were formed with consideration of the audience, are all closed texts. The works that were completed in their own forms and transformed into closed texts appeal to the mind, reasoning and imagination. The shortcomings of a section about what these works meant, or of a passage that would be meaningful in the whole text, is not felt. The narration in these texts starts where the text starts and ends where the text ends, too.[10]

The second Muslim generation, called the Tabi'un, were introduced to the Qur'an and recognized it as a closed text, which inevitably revealed the necessity to

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[8] Burhanettin Tatar, *Din, İlim ve Sanatta Hermenötik*, Istanbul 2014, p. 87-88.

[9] Vehbi Başer, "Kur'an'da İnsanın Dünyası: Bir Giriş Denemesi", *II. Kur'an Haftası Kur'an Sempozyumu*, Ankara 1996, p. 142-143.

[10] Vehbi Başer, "Kur'an'da İnsanın Dünyası", p. 141-142.

understand and explain the Qur'an on a technical level. Accordingly, the number of ideas based on tafsir and ta'vil increased at a rate that cannot be compared to that of the sahabah generation. However; the world, language, meanings, and the nature of understanding inevitably changed with time. Allah was considered to convey the divine messages through written texts rather than in the form of the Prophet's expressions. These texts did not include elements such as time, place and life experiences (extratextual context) that facilitated the verbal understanding process, and they did not cover the characteristics such as gestures, mimics and tone that were displayed by the conveyer (The Prophet) during his speeches.

The process of recording the divine call as a written text and the technologies affecting verbal communication inevitably resulted in a significant distance between the following Muslim generations and the Qur'an, and a perception of alienation. The Qur'an became an embodied text, namely a text that existed independently from us. Additionally, the second Muslim generation (Tabi'un) after the sahabah were unable to witness the nuzul context of the revelations and faced an issue of technical understanding caused by recognizing the Qur'an as a written text between two covers. However, the Tabi'un considered the fact that the Qur'an text was open to different meanings and interpretations as a significant disadvantage and issue rather than an advantage, opportunity and chance.

Al-Tabari (d. 310/923) stated that well-known canonists, particularly Said ibn al-Musayyab (d. 94/713), and Salim ibn Abdillah (d. 106/725) and Qasim ibn Muhammad (d. 107/725[?]), were quite hesitant toward the tafsir of the Qur'an, which is remarkable.[11] This finding pertains to the sahabah because Imam al-Maturidi witnessed the nuzul of the tafsir revelation. In addition, the tafsir supports his following statement, "Allah meant this/that in this verse, thus this information is true."[12] The main purpose of the tabi'un generation was to understand the Qur'an in relation to its meanings and interpretations, or to determine what the Qur'an essentially expressed rather than impose their ideas and subjective concepts on to the Qur'an. The tafsir narratives of tabi'un indicate that the main purpose of this generation was to close the gap between the Qur'anic revelation in the nuzul environment and themselves, and to understand the "authentic/genuine" meaning. Therefore, it is more appropriate to perceive the following statement, which is attributed to Islamic natural science authorities, as a hermeneutic principle instead of a slogan of the Ahl al-Hadith movement: "Islamic science consists of narratives". In addition, tabi'un ulama considered the actions of consulting the sahabah's experiences and gaining true information from them at the earliest opportunity, as a principle. However, ra'y and jurisprudence were also consulted because many members of the sahabah passed away and the sahabah members did not have sufficient knowledge about all the verses.

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[11] Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir ibn Yazid at-Tabari, *Tafsir at-Tabari (Jami al-Bayan an Ta'vil Ay al-Quran)*, published by Abdullah ibn Abdilmuhsin at-Turki, Cairo 2001, I. 78-79.

[12] Maturidi, *Ta'vilat al-Quran*, I. 3.

The tafsir-ta'vil differentiation conveyed by Imam al-Maturidi can be evaluated as a generalization toward the sahabah, and may not be regarded appropriate. It is obvious that each member of the sahabah does not have sufficient knowledge about Qur'an tafsirs. Nejmeddin at-Tufi's (d. 716/1316) following findings on the conflicts within tafsir are remarkable and significant:

As we all know, glossators conflict with one another as they state different ideas on a word or verse. These opinions occasionally contradict or refute one another. The main reason for different opinions in tafsir is as follows: Certain members of the sahabah obtained information from the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) about the tafsir of the Qur'an and shared this information with each other as much as they could. Some members of the sahabah passed away after a short time and therefore, took the tafsir information with them. In addition, the sahabah moved to different regions following the death of the Prophet, and they conveyed their experiences and knowledge on tafsir to their tabi'un. However, not all members of the sahabah were thoroughly competent in tafsir of the Qur'an because they had partial tafsir knowledge. In addition, the number of the sahabah who have tafsir-based experiences of the entirety of the Qur'an is quite limited. A member of the sahabah with limited knowledge and experience of the Qur'an tafsir conveyed his knowledge and experiences to his tabi'un, but the tabi'un were unable to meet another member of the sahabah who could compensate for the experience and knowledge-based deficiencies, and to access sufficient knowledge, even if they met one. Thus, their tafsir knowledge was limited to what they learnt from the member of sahabah. Therefore, they consulted their jurisprudencial sources, linguistic assumptions, sunnah and other verses that had similar content to the tafsir-based verse. Additionally, they used the historical sources that they considered to be useful for tafsir, and they benefited from the significant events of previous nations and Israiliyyah content. The tafsir discipline expanded as much as possible, and different concepts were included in this discipline.[13]

Tufi's findings on the conflict between the sahabah and tafsir are both appropriate and significant. However, it is certain that the sahabah generation's authority on tafsir discipline is not comparable to other generations. The sahabah's superiority and authority was not related to being superior and more knowledgeable. Instead, their characteristics of superiority and authority were based on the following historical findings: they witnessed the nuzul of the revelation as laconically stated by glossators such as Abu Ubaydah (d. 209/824[?]) and Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi (d. 745/1344); they (often) did not need to ask questions on the Qur'an's meanings and messages, and thus they understood the Qur'an naturally through their own life experiences.[14]

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[13] Abu'r-Rabi' Najmaddin Suleiman at-Tufi, *al-Iksir fi Ilm at-Tafsir*, published by Abdulkadir Husein, Cairo, n.d., p. 36.

[14] Abu Ubaydah Ma'mar ibn al-Musannah, *Majaz al-Quran*, published by Fuat Sezgin, Cairo, n.d., I. 8; Abu Hayyan Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Andalusi, *al-Bahr al-Muhit*, Beirut 2005, I. 26.

The above-mentioned glossators implied that members of the sahabah directly, or even naturally, understood the Qur'an and related their concepts to it. In other words, the Arabic language, in which the Qur'an was revealed, was used by the members of the sahabah in communications amongst themselves. The language is certainly not the sole communication method, it is also "the house of the presence", as stated by Martin Heidegger, a well-known existentialist philosopher. Consequently, the Arabic language is a phenomenon that bears the traces of the sahabah members' opinions, perceptions and ways of understanding, and also reflects these elements. On the other hand, the sahabah's excellence in understanding the Qur'an is based not only on language, but also on their direct experiences with the historical and social environment when the Qur'an was revealed. The following narrative, mentioned in many classical works, indicates what we meant when we suggested the testimony of the sahabah:

During his caliphate, Umar (r.a.) asked himself, "How could this ummah have different ideas when they have one Prophet?!". Then he sent the following message to Abdullah ibn Abbas: "This ummah has one Prophet, one kiblah, and one book, but how could they have different ideas?" Ibn Abbas responded: "O! Commander of the believers! The Qur'an was revealed in an environment to which we were familiar, thus we could easily read and understand the verses. However, new generations will follow us and read the Qur'an even though they will not know upon which incident the verses were revealed. These new generations will contradict one another just to provide their own ideas and comments on the Qur'an."[15]

This narrative, which was also included in the works compiled by scholars such as Abu Ubaid Qasim ibn Sallam (d. 224/838) and Said ibn Mansur (d. 227/842), does not reflect certainty, but it specifically refers to a certain historical fact. This fact is that the Qur'an's meanings and evidence were understood by the members of the sahabah almost without conflict between Muslims. The sahabah certainly conflicted on various verses and wording in the Qur'an, but these conflicts took place particularly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. On the other hand, the number of conflicts was quite limited, as implied by Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328). It is fair to say that the number of salaf ulama's conflicts over social orders and laws is higher than their conflicts over tafsir. In addition, the conflicts over tafsir reflect variety instead of contradiction.[16] In other words, the sahabah's conflicts over the Qur'an were not as contradictory as the following statements from two different sects: "There is no such thing as Barzakh" from one sect; and, "No, Barzakh will take place" from another sect.

The fact that the sahabah's conflicts were not based on contradiction is primarily related to another fact that the sahabah perceived the Qur'an as the

[15] Abu Ishak Ibrahim ibn Masa ash-Shatibi, *al-Itisam*, Riyadh, n.d., II. 183.
[16] Abu al-Abbas Takayyuddin Ibn Taymiyyah, *Mejmu al-Fetawa,* Beirut 2000, XIII. 149.

words, actions and the sunnah of the Prophet. They did not consider the Qur'an just as a written source. It is fair to say that the sunnah has a broader meaning that also covers the Qur'an in the nuzul period. The sunnah had the function of reflecting the Qur'an's message in the practices during the nuzul period, which was also indicated though the following words by Abu Nasr Yahya ibn Abi Kasir (d. 129/747), "as-sunnah kadiyatun ala al-Quran and laysa al-Quran bi-qadin ala as-sunnah[17] (The sunnah is determinant for what was meant in the Qur'an but the Qur'an does not determine what the sunnah aimed for)".

Following the death of the Prophet, the Qur'an was transferred between two covers and the sunnah was recorded as the hadith narratives, the hierarchy of religious evidence inevitably emerged, and the Qur'an and sunnah were ranked as the first and second religious sources/evidence, respectively, in relation to the ontological difference between Allah and the Prophet. However, when the verses were revealed, the Qur'an and sunnah was closely related, which were considered to be integral by the sahabah. Accordingly, after the Islamic disciplines were considered to be separate scientific fields, Muslims perceived the Qur'an and sunnah as two independent sources or canonical evidence, and believed the idea that the Qur'an was older than the sunnah in many ways. However, the Prophet, and occasionally the sahabah, performed their practices in relation to their daily lives, and verses were revealed following these steps. The narratives of asbab al-nuzul, Umar's (r.a.) consent, and the narratives conveyed under the title, "Verses revealed through the statements of certain sahabah members",[18] are evidence of this fact.

Musa Jarullah's (1875-1949) opinions on the Qur'an-sunnah relationship is remarkable. According to Jarullah, the sunnah is antecedent to the Qur'an is a source for knowledge and of practice. Thus, the sunnah should be above the Qur'an in the canonical evidence hierarchy. In addition, each Islamic provision was determined by the sunnah, and the Qur'an revelation confirmed the Prophet's words, actions, and statements. In other words, the main religious principles and rules were determined by the sunnah first, and the Qur'an was later revealed to confirm these principles and rules. For example, all elements, conditions and times of salah were revealed by the sunnah first, and confirmed through Qur'anic verses later. Another example is that wudu is the most significant condition of salah, but the verse (Al-Ma'idah 5/6) related to this ritual was revealed in the sixth year of hijrat. The Prophet determined the pause at Arafat as the most significant element of the pilgrimage through the following statement: "The pilgrimage means the Arafat"[19]. However, this statement was mentioned with a message in the Qur'an on a non-obligatory element of the pilgrimage. On the other hand, fasting was

[17] Darimi, "Mukaddimah" 49.
[18] Abu al-Fazl Jalaluddin Abdurrahman as-Suyuti, *al-Itkan fi Ulum al-Quran*, published by Mustafa Dib al-Bugha, Beirut 2002, I. 92-112.
[19] Abu Davud, "Manasik", 69.

mentioned through the sunnah first in Islam, and the relevant verses were revealed to confirm the fasting ibadah.[20]

Jarullah's approach to the Qur'an and sunnah relationship is significant and valuable to us, but a criticism of the generalization may be made in relation to this issue and this criticism may be found appropriate considering the fact that the Prophet occasionally expected revelations and found himself in difficulty when revelations did not occur, and he was warned through revelations many times[21]. However, the narratives in siar and tafsir sources indicate that the general view during the nuzul period almost confirmed the following claim: "The sunnah is antecedent to the Qur'an".

The significant point here is that iman (belief) started to emerge with the Prophet, who declared the revelation of the Qur'an. to the people, and the trust of those around him. The sunnah was more prominent and decisive in the period of the prophecy, lasting twenty-three years. From a fiqh-based point of view, the sunnah activated the maruf and munkar culture of the society and determined the practices, and the revelation of the Qur'an generally confirmed these practices. The sharia did not start with the revelation of the Qur'an. It is obvious that Arabic society had a social life including their life styles and traditions, which were formed in the past and continued to exist steadily during the nuzul period. Statements of the Qur'an were formed in this historical and social environment, which also formed a new world view. The revelation of the Qur'an indicated that the Prophet's practices had not been rejected. It is possible to evaluate the verses on salah, particularly the Friday salah, in this context. We are inclined to understand these verses as follows: "The salah the Prophet taught to you is what I initially had taught to you". However, the revelation essentially confirmed the prayers which were put into practice by the Prophet.[22]

According to August Babel's statement, if a new religion aims to attract people and become popular, the first condition is that the teachings in this religion should suit the social culture. The failure of the religious teachings to keep up with the cultural level on sociological grounds, or become more superior to this cultural level, will negatively affect the expansion rate of that religion. If the former takes place, the religious teachings and principles will satisfy the social sections (classes) with a low cultural level, but, if the latter is present, the upper classes will be satisfied. However, the chances of a permanent impact would be lost in both cases, and the teachings would either disappear or appear again and be able to expand beyond the conditions, ensuring an appropriate environment for the teachings is

[20] Musa Jarullah Bigiyaf, *Kitab as-Sunna*, trans. Mehmet Görmez, Ankara 2000, p. 7-9.

[21] Mehmet Görmez, "Musa Carullah'ın Sünnet Anlayışı", *Ölümünün 50. Yıldönümünde Musa Carullah Bigiyef*, Ankara 2002, p. 98.

[22] Ali Bardakoğlu, "Fıkıh Çözüm mü, Sorun mu Üretir?", *Eskiyeni Anadolu İlahiyat Akademisi Araştırma Dergisi*, no: 29 (2014), p. 159.

formed or certain sections of the society achieve a higher level of cultural development.[23]

If the fact that a religion and the teachings of this religion can only exist with consideration of the attitudes and behaviors of the followers of that religion, the significance of culture and traditions for a religion can certainly be better understood. The greatest achievement of the Prophet Muhammad is the new tradition he formed in considering the ancient maruf-munkar culture. This new tradition reflects the sunnah. The greatest difference between the traditions of the nuzul period and current time is that the general behaviors and attitudes of the Prophet and the first Muslim generation were inspected through the revelations. In other words, the significance of the sunnah as a tradition is largely related to these issues.

What we call the sunnah today, was the personal guidance of the Prophet for the sahabah generation. The sahabah generation was unfamiliar with the following statement and questions: "The Qur'an is sufficient for us; Did the statements of the Prophet arise from the revelations or jurisprudence?; Can the Prophet form a provision as the Qur'an did?" Considering certain separate incidents, it is not possible to provide a generalization and state that these issues were discussed in that period. These issues should be considered and assessed in relation to when and how they emerged in Islamic history.[24]

To sum up, the sahabah did not perceive the Qur'an independently from the Prophet and the sunnah. Instead, they understood it under the guidance of the Prophet. They also consulted the Prophet for their wishes from Allah. In addition to many verses that start with the wording: "yas'alunakah", "wa-yas'alunakah" and "yastaftunakah"; al-Baqarah 2/186, "And when My servants ask you, [O Muhammad], concerning me - indeed I am near. I respond to the invocation of the supplicant when he calls upon me. So let them respond to me [by obedience] and believe in me that they may be [rightly] guided."; al-Mujadila 58/1, "Certainly has Allah heard the speech of the one who argues with you, [O Muhammad], concerning her husband and directs her complaint to Allah. And Allah hears your dialogue; indeed, Allah is hearing and seeing.", and many other verses confirm this fact. Particularly, al-Maidah 5/101, "O you who have believed, do not ask about things which, if they are shown to you, will distress you. But if you ask about them while the Qur'an is being revealed, they will be shown to you. Allah has pardoned that which is past; and Allah is forgiving and forbearing" is the most remarkable example indicating that the sahabah's relationship with the Qur'an was closely associated with the sunnah. This last verse indicates that the sahabah formed an

[23] August Bebel, *Hz. Muhammed ve Arap İslam Kültürü*, translated by Sıddık Çelik-Hasan Erdem, İstanbul 2011, p. 9-10.

[24] For a broader evaluation on the nature, function and significance of the sunnah during the nuzul period, see Selahattin Polat, ""Din, Vahiy, Peygamberlik Işığında Hadis ve Sünnetin Mahiyeti", *İslam'ın Anlaşılmasında Sünnetin Yeri ve Değeri, Kutlu Doğum Sempozyumu*, Ankara 2003, p. 16-17.

ontological relationship, rather than an epistemological relationship, with the Qur'an. It is not possible for the sahabah, who knew that they would be warned by Allah if a wrong word or action was displayed by them, to form another type of relationship with the Qur'an.

Understanding the Qur'an as a divine order that was explained by the Prophet and continually practiced by him, and witnessing the nuzul of the revelation added an emotional dimension to the sahabah's relationship with the Qur'an. This dimension brought forward the necessity to record the verses, which were revealed before their testimony, as a sacred element. Approximately 40 narratives were mentioned in the sources of the history of the Qur'an[25], which indicate the emotional dimension of the issue in addition to the Prophet's efforts to form a broad verse book archive. The reactions of certain members of the sahabah, such as Ibn Mas'ud, toward burning their own collections of verses can be assessed in the same context.

On the other hand, various narratives indicating that certain surah or verses were abolished or abrogated by causing the Prophet to forget about them, suggest that the Qur'an-based perception of the sahabah and Uthman's (r.a.) (divine) book-based perceptions in the period after the copying process were quite different. According to a narrative conveyed by Urwa ibn Zubair from Aisha (r.a.), surah al-Ahzab consisted of 200 verses during the Prophet's era but only 73 verses were found during the copying process performed by Uthman (r.a.). The narrative conveyed by Zirr ibn Hubaish from Ubay ibn Qa'b suggests that the surah al-Ahzab was once almost equal to surah al-Baqarah in size, and it consists of a verse on stoning. However, a significant part of the surah, including the verse on stoning, was abolished later. Other narratives that were associated with Abu Musa al-Ashari indicate that a surah that was similar to Al-Tawbah was once revealed but abrogated, that the ora surah that was similar to those starting with *sabbahah lillah,* but this surah was later forgotten.[26]

Although the Islamic scholars insisted on an authenticity-based belief that these narratives should not be deemed reliable and people should accept that the Qur'an reached those days without a single letter change, this insistence does not change the fact that the sahabah generation had a perception of the Qur'an that was different compared to other Muslim generations. According to the Prophet and the sahabah, the Qur'an was not a text that should be handed to the later Muslim generations. Instead, it was a divine guidance that was related to their own lives and moral experiences. Thus, people of the era did not regard the abrogation of certain verses or provisions as strange during the period when their lives underwent transformations. In addition, the Prophet considered delivering the divine messages of the Qur'an, and the organization of life according to this

[25] See: Mustafa Özturk-Hadiye Ünsal, *Kur'an Tarihi*, Ankara 2017, p. 123-138.
[26] See: Suyuti, *al-Itkan*, II. 718-719.

message, as a duty rather than as a mission of writing down these messages and handing the text to the next generations. Accordingly, following the martyrdom of many Islamic scholars in the Battle of Yamamah, the caliphate Abu Bakr found Umar's (r.a.) offer to write down the Qur'an strange at first, and did not attempt to do so.

These details in the most well-known narrative in the Qur'an's history of becoming a text is sufficient to demonstrate that certain members of the sahabah had a perception of the Qur'an that was different to that of later Muslim generations. To sum up, the sahabah considered the Qur'an as an open text, which ensured that the abrogation or abolishment of certain surah and verses during the nuzul period was regarded as normal. The members of the sahabah understood the divine words and statements under the guidance of the Prophet Muhammad, and understanding the Qur'an was like understanding themselves or their actions, because many verses were revealed on them or their actions.

Because the sahabah generation considered the Qur'an and sunnah relationship, but did not regard the verses as the legal codes to be used for solving every particular issue, they were inclined to solve the issues that emerged using sociological trends in consideration of their "existing sunnah experiences". What we meant by existing sunnah experiences is the Islamic life experiences the Prophet gained in a close relation to the divine revelation, and ensured that his sahabah had similar experiences by enabling them to witness the events. The sahabah acclimated to the post-Prophetic period with their Islamic approaches and ideas acquired over 23 years of experience, and they attempted to solve later issues using the ra'y and jurisprudence they formed with the same approaches and ideas.

Abu Bakr's judgement of the issue of those who lost their fathers, with his ra'y and declaration of war on certain Bedouin tribes who stated that they would not give zakat, collection of the Qur'an text in his era, Umar's various jurisprudence-based actions that are difficult to regard as in accordance with many expressly-stated messages in the Qur'an, Umar's habit of obtaining zakat from the horses, rule of performing the tarawih prayer with the community, the ban on the tamattuh pilgrimage, and his statement regarding a slave who committed a robbery stating that, "There is no need to cut his hand off because he stole the goods of his master in the end", Uthman's action of performing a four rakat prayer during travel by suspending a two rakat prayer rule instead of four during the pilgrimage due to the concerns that illiterate and inconsiderate people would emerge and these people would perform the two rakat prayer anyway, and reciting adhan twice on Fridays, Ali's (r.a.) implementation of the penalty of 80 strikes of a stick for those who drank alcohol, and Muawiyah's action of assigning a Muslim to be an inheritor to a non-believer[27] .

[27] Bünyamin Erul, *Sahabenin Sünnet Anlayışı*, Ankara, 2007, p. 361-431; Hayreddin Karaman *İslam Hukukunda İctihad*, Ankara 1975, p. 69-79.

Umar (r.a.) definitely had a remarkable place among these members of the sahabah. Accordingly, Umar's actions of sparing no share of zakat for muallafa al-qulub and jurisprudence-based practices on various actions in relation to the penalty of robbery and the issue of dividing the spoils of the sawad field, are remarkably radical and hard to explain in consideration with the dominant idea of the historical superiority of the Qur'an's provisions. As is known to all, Fazlurrahman points out the jurisprudence-based practices of Umar (r.a.) while stating his own ideas on how canon provisions should be understood and interpreted. On the other hand, those who object to historicity form many ideas by stating the following claim: "Umar (r.a.) did not do anything that contradicted the Qur'an's provisions nor did he perform any jurisprudence-based practices that would provide the basis or evidence for the historicity-based approach." However, Umar's (r.a.) jurisprudence-based practices suggests the obvious suspension of the literal reasons in certain Qur'an provisions in accordance with the sociological reality of the era.

For example, zakat principles are clearly expressed in al-Tawbah 9/60 and a class named muallafa al-qulub (al-muhallafatu qulubukhum) is mentioned in these principles. The term, muallafa al-qulub, refers to non-Muslims who are targeted to make them more tolerant toward Islam and Muslims by making economical contributions; those people and the acquaintances of those people who hope to adopt Islam, or thought that they would do harm to Islam; the authorities whose protection is demanded against enemies; and those who just adopted Islam and hope to stay committed to Islam. It is a well-known fact that the Prophet made financial contributions to many people to confirm their potential negative actions or make them more interested in Islam, which resulted in positive outcomes.

Accordingly, he granted 100 camels to Abu Sufyan ibn Harb who was Umayya's son, Haris ibn Hisham and Abdurrahman ibn Yarbu who were Makhzum's sons, Sayvan ibn Umayyah who was Jumah's son, Suhail ibn Amr and Huwayteeb ibn Abdiluzza who were Amir ibn Luey's sons, Hakim ibn Hizam who was Esed's son, Sufyan ibn Haris who was Hashim's son, Uyaynah ibn Hisn who was Fazarah's son, Akra ibn Habis who was Temim's son, Malik ibn Avf who was Nadr's son, Abbas ibn Mirdas who was Suleim's son, and al-Ala ibn Harisah who was Sakif's son, [28], and these people were all called Ashab al-Mi'in, which meant those who were granted camels. In addition, Makhramah ibn Nawfal az-Zuhri from Quraysh, Umair ibn Wahb al-Jumakhi, and Hisham ibn Amr al-Amiri were also granted goods of certain amounts. According to a particular narrative, Abbas ibn Mirdas becomes angry when he was granted a low amount of goods complaining, "I was only granted a couple of small camels, that's it!", upon which the Prophet told some of his followers, "Go, make him shut up", and ibn Mirdas was granted a

[28] Al-Tabari, *Jami al-Bayan*, XI, 520.

large amount of goods.[29]

The practice of dividing the share of zakat amongst the muallafa al-qulub was maintained during the caliphate of Abu Bakr. However, Umar's (r.a.) objected to this action by Abu Bakr, stating that Islam had expanded and became more powerful, thus it was not needed any longer. According to the details in sources, Akra ibn Habis, one of the leaders of the Tamim tribe, and Uyaynah ibn Hisn, one of the leaders of the Fazarah tribe, visited Abu Bakr and demanded a barren piece of governmental land. Abu Bakr accepted their demands, issued the documentation and sent them to Umar (r.a.) for his testimony. 'Umar listened to both sides and examined the document they brought, but then he ripped the document apart and suggested that the muallafa al-qutub issue was closed with the following statement, "The Prophet attempted to earn your hearts because Islam was weak during those days. However, Allah made Islam more powerful. Go and earn it by working".[30]

Certain modern researchers stated that this narrative mentioned the land issue instead of the share of zakat, and therefore Umar (r.a.) did not do anything that would contradict the provisions of the Qur'an, but some researchers mentioned that the suspension of the provision was due to an accidental issue and believed that they refuted the thesis of the historicist approach.[31] Whether three caliphs after Abu Bakr provided financial contributions to the muallafa al-qulub is not known. The jurisprudence books mention that Umar's policy on the muallafa al-qulub was an element of agreement and practice for the sahabah. For example, according to the findings of Hanafi canonists, such as Kasani (d. 587/1191) and Ibn al-Humam (d. 861/1457), many scholars believe that zakat provision regarding the muallafa al-qulub was abrogated and thus became null. The provision in the relevant verse was practiced with limitations of what the Prophet did, or the provision's validity ended because the authority of the provision was terminated.[32]

This practice means that a provision in the Qur'an was abrogated through ra'y and jurisprudence in a certain historical context. The abrogation is not valid for all periods. However, the Qur'an ahkam was not revealed to be practiced in all periods and under every condition. A provision that was abrogated during 'Umar's era can be practiced in another period, but the issue here is not based on the practicability of a Qur'anic provision that was not practiced in a certain era; instead, it was based on the fact that these provisions were not preached to be practiced under every condition.

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[29] Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Kurtubi, *al-Jami'li Ahkam al-Quran*, Beirut 1988, VIII. 114.

[30] Abu Muhammed Ibn Abi Hatim, *Tefsir al-Quran al-Azim,* Beirut 2003, VI. 1822.

[31] For more information and evaluations about these ideas and their reasons, see, Saffet Köse, "Hz. Ömer'in Bazı Uygulamaları Bağlamında Ahkâmın Değişmesi Tartışmalarına Bir Bakış", *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no: 7 (2006), p. 18-29.

[32] Abu Bakr ibn Mas'ud al-Kasani, *Badai as-Sanai*, Beirut, 1974, II. 45; Kamaluddin Muhammad Ibn al-Humam, *Fath al-Qadir*, Bulak 1319, II. 201.

This is the thesis supported by the historicist approach. Those who have claimed otherwise are inclined to be unprincipled, contradictory and thoughtless such as in the following incidents: displaying a modernist attitude while objecting to and betraying tradition and the ulama's traditional approvals, neglecting the traditions under the concept of traditionalism, and stating that, "We will do as we know despite the contradictions, no matter what the sahabah and/or salaf ulama said or did".

İmam al-Maturidi implied that the Prophet contacted the polytheists and hypocrites under the surah al-Tawbah 9/60, but he abandoned this policy after Islam and Muslims became more powerful. He also called Umar's (r.a.) ban on the muallafa al-qulub an "abrogation through jurisprudence", and stated that evidence for the authority of abrogation through jurisprudence were present because the issues forming the provisions were terminated (*wa-fi'l-ayat al-dalalatu jawazi'n-nashi bi al-ijtihadi li'rtifai al-ma'nallazi kana*).[33] Consequently, as Islam and Muslims became more powerful, Umar (r.a.) terminated the implementation of this provision because the necessity in providing a share of zakat to the muallafa al-qulub ended, and the provision did not fulfill the expected affairs.

Regardless of whether this jurisprudence is interpreted as suspending or totally terminating the provision, it is fair to say that the sahabah knew that the Qur'an's verses on social order and law were not revealed to be practiced under every condition and obvious meanings and reasons for the wording in the verse that contained the provision did not coincide with the conditions of the era, and they terminated the practice of the provision if this provision did not provide the expected benefits.

It is remarkable that the well-known narrative that Muaz ibn Jabal, who was serving as qadi in Yemen, told the Prophet was that he would consult Allah's book, the sunnah, and his own ra'y/jurisprudence, respectively, if he could not find evidence in the Qur'an before making a decision on any issue[34]. Despite concerns regarding certainty, this well-known narrative still provides a basis for the hierarchy of religious evidence and traditional concepts. To clarify, the term, "ijtihad ar-ra'y", which emerged while appreciating Muaz ibn Jabal's response, "I will consult to my ra'y" to the question regarding what evidence would he use for the issues that could not be solved through the Qur'an or sunnah provisions, indicates an important step while ra'y and jurisprudence achieved their conceptual meanings.[35]

In addition, the following statements in the letter sent by Umar (r.a.) to Surayh (d. 80/699[?]), the qadi of Kufa and one of the most remarkable canonists of the era, imply the same point: "If a provision is present in the Qur'an, use it to make

[33] Maturidi, *Ta'vilat al-Quran*, VI. 392.
[34] Abu Davud, "Akziye" 11; Tirmidhi, "Ahkâm" 3.
[35] H. Yunus Apaydın, "Re'y", *DIA*, Istanbul 2008, XXXV. 37.

your decisions. However, if you face an issue which was not clarified in the Qur'an, use the Prophet's sunnah to make your decisions. If you face an issue that was not included in the Qur'an or the sunnah, make your decisions based on Muslims' practices. However, if you face an issue that was not included in the Qur'an and the sunnah and judged by no one before, make your decisions with your ra'y, or postpone the issue if you wish!"[36]

The content of the last narrative can be regarded as the product of retrospective history formation because it reminded the hierarchy of "Quran, Sunnah, Practices and Comparison", which was related to the sources of religious evidence and provision in the usul al-fiqh tradition. However, the classical sources include the statements of the sahabah that promote ra'y and jurisprudence. However, there are narratives from the same sahabah members that suggest that ra'y should be avoided.[37] Contradicting narratives on ra'y were conveyed from the same members of the sahabah, which suggest that the sahabah had remarkably different ideas on this issue and reflect the popular conflict between Ahl al-Hadith and Ahl al-Ra'y. However, this is also valid for the Muaz narrative.[38] The well-known narratives that decry ra'y on the Qur'an tafsir can be evaluated within the same context.

In addition to the nature of related narratives on the isse of ra'y, many sahabah members' practices on social order and legal disciplines following the Prophet's death should leave no doubt that they formed many provisions through ra'y and jurisprudence. Although the Muaz ibn Jabal narrative appears to imply that the sahabah used the verses of the Qur'an as legal codes in specific issues during the nuzul period, what is more significant and remarkable is that issues that could not be solved within the provisions in the Qur'an and the sunnah, might have emerged even when the Prophet was alive, and a member of the sahabah who was also a qadi might have considered his own ra'y and jurisprudence rather than consulting the Prophet to make decisions about those issues.

The well-known narrative of Muaz ibn Jabal is not certain, but it still indicates that according to the use of these narratives in classical fiqh usul sources, the traditional ulama believed the Qur'an and the sunnah did not mention all life events and solve all issues even during the nuzul period, thus personal ra'y and jurisprudence were inevitably used to make decisions. This issue was expressed by Shahristani (d. 548/1153) as follows: "We definitely believe that the number of

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[36] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Ilam al-Muwakkin*, I. 115.

[37] See: Abu al-Meali Ruknuddin al-Juwayni, *al-Burkhan fi Usil al-Fiqh* published by Salah ibn Muhammad ibn Aviza, Beirut 1997, II. 15-17; Ibn Qayyim al--Jawziyyah, *Al ama'l-Muwakkin*, I. 97-124.

[38] Muâz ibn Jabal used extensive fiqh terminology, "ijtihad al bi-ra'yi", which reinforces the concern that the narrative was problematic in terms of certainty, and recalls the idea that the narrative was formed on the basis of well-known conflicts between Ahl al-Hadith and Ahl al-Ray. In addition, the Muaz narrative was accepted in the tradition. The fact that we are referring to this narrative is related to traditional approaches and directed towards questioning the traditionalist approach on the tradition itself.

hadiths and issues regarding the ibadah and daily life matters is limitless. We also know that the Qur'an and the sunnah do not include an explanation for all issues. This is impossible to even imagine. As the issues explained in the Qur'an and Nas are limited and matters relating to life are limitless, and these explanations do not cover every life issue, the use of ra'y and jurisprudence is inevitable."[39]

The main point here is that almost all movements agree on the thesis that ra'y was a fact during the period of the sahabah. In addition, Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni (d. 478/1085) pointed out that tabi'un and the next generation practiced ra'y and Islamic orders, and nine-tenths of their fatwa and judicial provisions were solely related to ra'y with no association to the open meanings of verses and hadiths (…a*nna tis'ata asharikha sadiratun ani ar-ra'yi al-mahzi wa al-istinbati wa-la taalluka leha bi an-nususi wa'z-zawahir*).[40] Whether the sahabah formed jurisprudence when the Prophet was alive is still controversial among the usul authorities. Some people believe it would not have been appropriate to have used jurisprudence when the Prophet was alive, but the dominant idea formed around the narrative by Muaz ibn Jabal appears to overrule this belief. Accordingly, many people found the jurisprudence of the sahabah to be rational when the Prophet was alive, but there were different opinions on whether this jurisprudence was practiced. Certain scholars, such as Bakillani (d. 403/1013) recorded the jurisprudence when the sahabah were away from the Prophet's council, but Ghazali (d. 505/1111) stated that this was already lawful and in practice under every circumstance (wa-*innama al-kalamu fi jawaz al-ijtihadi mutlakan fi zamanihi sallallahu alayhi wa-salla*m).[41]

As the revelation process continued when the Prophet was alive and the revelation of the Qur'an was declared, the sahabah had no issues of authority in this era. Although the issue of imamah-caliphate that emerged following the death of the Prophet was solved as a result of the discussions performed under the guidance of Bani Saidah, the issue of who would perform the legislative processes and legislative interpretation (legal authority) and how the process would progress, formed the basis for a more extensive and ongoing discussion. The sahabah had no doubt about the Qur'an's authority, but they were not sure about whether they had the authority to explain the Qur'an as the Prophet did.

Consequently, people understood that the Qur'an's textual presence was not sufficient for solving present issues and the Prophet's statements were needed, but, after a short time, this assistance was found to be insufficient. The Qur'an and the sunnah consisted of a limited number of statements and were passive even if the meaning potential was decent. Thus, a person who would make the Qur'an and the

[39] Abu al-Fath Muhammad ibn Abdilkerim ash-Shahristani, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, published by Ahmad Fahmi Muhammad, Beirut, n.d., I. 210.

[40] Juwayni, *al-Burkhan*, II. 15.

[41] Abu al-Meali Ruknuddin al-Juwayni, *at-Talhis* (*Talhis at-Takhrib*), published by A. Cawlam an-Nibali-Sh. Ahmad al-Omari, Beirut 1996, III. 398; Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali, *al-Mustasfa min Ilmi al-Usul*, published by Abdullah Mahmud Muhammad Omar, Beirut 2010, p. 532.

sunnah active and dynamic, and act with a function that was similar to that of the Prophet before the Qur'an was needed. This requirement pointed to the concept of "ra'y jurisprudence" in the well-known dialogue called the Muaz hadith.[42]

It is a well-known fact that ra'y and jurisprudence had a broad area of use in the era of the sahabah. Whether preferring the compromising and prudent, rather than the binding provisions, or following the rationalist concepts, revealing the hidden meanings of the Qur'an and the sunnah, or presenting the comparison and jurisprudencial elements, these assumptions do not change the fact that members of the sahabah did not have the approach of solving all issues directly through the Qur'an and the sunnah; instead, they used their own ra'y.

Considering the Qur'an as a compilation of divine wording between two covers rather than approaching the Qur'an from the perspective of "the sunnah in practice", and understanding and interpreting the Qur'an through this relationship based on subject-object ontology, raises problems instead of solving issues. This fact was clearly expressed during the caliphate of Ali (r.a.). He told Ali ibn Abbas, who was sent to negotiate with the Khawarij, the following: "Go talk to them but do not make deductions from the Qur'an. As you know, the Qur'an is open to different meanings/interpretations (*zu wujuh*). Discuss with them, considering the sunnah".

According to another variant of the same narrative, Ibn Abbas said the following to Ali (r.a.): "O! Commander of the believers! I know Allah's book better than them, because the Qur'an was revealed to our house". Ali (r.a.) replied: "You are right but the Qur'an has various meanings. When you talk about an issue, they may understand something else. Thus, discuss with them, considering the sunnah, because they cannot manipulate the meaning of the sunnah".[43] Similarly, Ali (r.a.) responded to Ibn al-Kawwah's, the spokesman of Khawarij, objection raising the question, "Is it rightful to assign somebody as a referee for blood-related issues?!" as follows: "We assigned the Qur'an as the referee, but the Qur'an cannot speak itself. Humans reflect what the Qur'an orders."[44]

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[42] H. Yunus Apaydin, "İctihad", *DIA*, İstanbul 2000, XXI. 433. For more information, see: Karaman, *İslam Hukukunda İctihad*, p. 43-53.

[43] Suyuti, *al-Itkan*, I. 446; Abu al-Hasan ash-Sharif ar-Radi, *Nahj al-Balagha*, Beirut 1996, p. 378.

[44] Abu Zaid Waliyyuddin Ibn Haldun, *Kitab al-Ibar*, Beirut 1992, II. 607. As clearly understood from this well-known statement, the Qur'an was a text that could be manipulated by people and there was a negative indication that this was already being done, but Shiah sources understood the issue totally differently. For Example, Sharif ar-Radi (d. 406/1015) reflected the following in *Nahj al-Balagha*: "Allah sent Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) during a period when prophecies was not continuing, people were being negligent, and divine provisions revealed by the prophets were being ignored. He brought a divine light with him that confirmed the previous verses and indicated that he should be trusted. This light is the Qur'an. Even if you attempt to make the Qur'an speak, it will not. However, I can provide messages to you from the Qur'an. Information regarding the past and future is in the Qur'an. Sharif ar-Radi, *Nahju al-Belagha,* p. 185-186.

The Sahabah's Authority on Tafsir and Hujjat Remarks

As is known to all, the recent issue whether tafsir is a particular discipline and has its own usul is controversial in theological academia. The issue of what tafsir is or should be was reviewed by the ulama of the past, and they made significant remarks on this issue. The classical sources generally reviewed tafsir with ta'vil and defined it through comparisons, which is remarkable. This is significant for clarifying the issue of whether the meaning of the Qur'an during the revelation period, and the meaning assigned to or obtained from it later, was equal based on the nature and intention of the conveyer. Modern studies mention the differences between tafsir and ta'vil, but the issue is reviewed based on details between the meaning and use of both concepts. However, the meaning and uses of both concepts are related to many significant issues including, adillah al-shariyyah, the place of ra'y and jurisprudence in religion, and hujjat remarks in Qur'anic interpretation.

To clarify, reviewing whether a true statement from a member of the sahabah based on the details of a verse (when and where it was revealed and which messages it contained), and the relevant comments from a modern Qur'an researcher were equal enables us to obtain important outcomes regarding the reasons why the ulama were meticulous toward the actions of evaluating the efforts of both concepts of explanation and interpretation of the Qur'an in different categories, and considering them unequal in relation to hujjiyat (evidence and binding degree).

Qadi Shamsaddin al-Huwayyi (d. 637/1240), Fahraddin ar-Razi's student (d.606/1210), made the following statement: "Tafsir discipline is both difficult and easy. The difficulty here has a couple of dimensions. The most obvious one is as follows: The Qur'an has such remarks that individuals can only understand the messages in those remarks through directly hearing them. Contrary to maxims and poems, reaching the meaning of the messages in the Qur'an is not possible for humans. People can understand the intention of an author only through directly hearing or learning what was heard from that author. The Qur'anic tafsir can be known only through directly hearing it from the Prophet to avoid different understandings. However, tafsir knowledge in this style is almost absent because the Prophet interpreted only a few verses."[45]

Evaluating tafsir as an activity that consists of the messages understood in the conceptual context of the abridgement period and conveyed though directly hearing it, coincides with what Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) stated under the title, "ahsan ah-turuk at-tafsir" (the most beautiful tafsir methods). According to Ibn Taymiyyah, the most appropriate way for tafsir is interpreting the Qur'an with the Qur'an because an issue that is mentioned in a concise way in one verse, is

[45] Abu Abdillah Bedruddin az-Zarkashi, *al-Burhan fi Ulum al-Quran*, published by Muhammad Abu al-Fazl Ibrahim, Beirut 1972, n.d., I. 16.

explained in another verse in the Qur'an. The Nabawi sunnah should be considered as a second source for tafsir. The Prophet is the expounder of the Qur'an... The sahabah's statements are to be considered if tafsir details cannot be found in the Qur'an or the sunnah. Members of the sahabah have an indisputable authority in tafsir as they witnessed the revelation of the Qur'an and directly heard the hadiths relating to the verses. The sahabah generation had a remarkable capability for understanding and performed true Islamic practices. The four caliphs and great scholars such as Ibn Masud and Ibn Abbas had these characteristics: If the details of tafsir cannot be found in the statements of the sahabah, the statements of tabi'un such as Mujahid ibn Jabr, who was educated by the sahabah glossators, are considered. The tabi'un scholars presented different ideas on verses, but these ideas essentially had the same meaning although they were conveyed using different wording.

The following objections can be brought to the forefront in this context: "How can tabi'un statements be regarded as hujjat when their words are not hujjat on legal issues?" This objection is correct considering the following provision: "The statements of a tabi'un scholar does not mean to be hujjat for another tabi'un scholar who objects to his/her ideas." However, it is not rational to question whether an issue-based agreement between tabi'un scholars meant to be hujjat. In addition, when tabi'un scholars do not agree on an issue, the statements of a tabi'un scholar do not mean to be hujjat for another tabi'un scholar or the following generations. The Qur'an, sunnah, general use of Arabic, or statements from the sahabah are used in this case. Regarding the Qur'anic tafsir based only on ra'y, this tafsir approach is unlawful.[46]

Ibn Taymiyyah's ideas are significant in relation to certain aspects. Tafsir is not a field in which Muslims who aim to understand and explain the Qur'an can present their ideas and concepts as hujjat. On the contrary, tafsir is an action that requires considering or following a statement that is present in the Qur'an, the sunnah, statements from the sahabah or tabi'un remarks. This requirement indicates that tafsir is not the discovery of meaning. Instead, it is the specification of meaning that has been present since the time of the revelations. Accordingly, the main mission of an glossator is based on conveyance. The following statement was made for that purpose: "A glossator conveys, but a ta'vil authority is a discoverer."[47]

The fact that the nature and function of tafsir is related to the statements from the sahabah, and tabi'un does not require people to perceive the Qur'anic interpretations from the first two Muslim generations as marwiyyah that does not include any personal ideas and concepts but corresponds to conveying unique statements from the Prophet. To clarify, a majority of the statements regarding the

[46] Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmu al-Fatwah*, XIII. 162-165.
[47] Zarkashi, *al-Burkhan*, II. 166.

tafsir from the sahabah and tabi'un in particular, are based on ra'y, jurisprudence and discoveries, but the sagacity-related statements were referred to as "narratives" over time with the significant effect of the concept of "salaf" in the Ahl al-Hadith and Salafi schools and meant the opposite of ra'y.

Although the tafsir narratives that are technically marfu, mawkuf and maktu contain ra'y based statements from the sahabah and tabi'un ulama, it is certain that these statements are integral sources for determining the original and historical meaning in the Qur'an, and these statements formed a category that is different to ra'y concepts following the kalami and fiqh sects.

The narratives related to the sahabah's explanation and interpretation of the Qur'an are generally evaluated under the category of mawkuf. In addition, if the tafsir narrative conveyed from the sahabah is related to nuzul-based reasons, it is accepted as marfu. In other words, it is accepted to belong to the Prophet. Rejecting the sahabah narratives in this form was not permissible. The narratives within the category of mawkuf were evaluated using a different approach. First of all, it is not obligatory to accept a narrative that was conveyed as mawkuf from the sahabah. The sahabah might have interpreted the verses based on their ra'ys; their ra'y/jurisprudence/discoveries may or may not be correct. According to the second approach, it is possible in mawkuf narratives that the sahabah heard the tafsir-based information from the Prophet. Even if a member of the sahabah explained a verse based on his/her ra'y and opinions, the possibility that these statements is true is quite high. The sahabah generation lived during the nuzul period and witnessed the events.[48] Thus, the sahabah was the first Muslim society who knew the Qur'an the best and deserved to be regarded as the privileged generation.

The last concept adopted by salafi scholars, such as Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Kasir (d. 774/1373) is more appropriate for us. It is certain that the sahabah generation understood the Qur'an better than other Muslim generations because they were raised under the guidance of the Prophet and witnessed the nuzul period. However, all tafsir narratives that were associated with the sahabah are not genuine, but the point here is the authority of the sahabah in tafsir, rather than the authenticity of the narratives. Therefore, the authenticity issue is significant for the subject of this paper. In addition, the significance of ta'vil, ra'y and jurisprudence for the tafsir narratives associated with the sahabah is remarkable. The relationship between ta'vil, ra'y and jurisprudence was mentioned in fiqh usul.

Hanafi usul authorities mentioned a nuance between ta'vil and jurisprudence. For example, Sarahsi (d. 483/1090[?]) implied that the sahabah's ta'vils are not hujjat for the future generations, but the case is not the same for jurisprudence. He also related this difference to the variation between the ta'vil and jurisprudence activities. Accordingly, ta'vil is performed by considering the meanings and evidence in a language. Jurisprudence, on the other hand, takes place

[48] See: Muhammad Husain az-Zahabi, *at-Tafsir wa'l-Mufassirun*, Beirut, n.d., I. 64-65.

by thinking about the Qur'an and the sunnah as forming the basis of canonical provisions. There is no difference between the sahabah and the ulama, who knew the details of Arabic well, in regard to ta'vil. However, jurisprudence is different from ta'vil. There may be external issues that affect jurisprudence. The fact that the sahabah generation witnessed the nuzul environment makes them superior in jurisprudence. Consequently, the fact that the sahabah generation clearly determined a possible meaning of verses or the hadiths, does not prevent anybody from understanding the Qur'an and the sunnah. The sahabah performed ta'vil, but their action do not mean hujjat for other people.[49]

We believe that Sarahsi's distinction between the ta'vil and jurisprudence is not convincing. Ta'vil presents such a proposition, regarding the meaning and provision of wording, that it is not easy to categorize the ta'vil and jurisprudence. Besides, Sarahsi states that there is not a superior party among the sahabah and individuals who are fluent in Arabic and therefore, the sahabah's ta'vil cannot be deemed privileged compared to the ta'vil of other people. He also mentions that the sahabah's jurisprudence is superior to those of other scholars and jurisprudence authorities considering the fact that the sahabah witnessed the nuzul period. The remarkable point here is associating the notion of superiority to witnessing the nuzul period. If this is the criteria for superiority, sahabah's ta'vil should be deemed superior to other ulama's ta'vils as seen in the issue of jurisprudence because language is not a static concept. Thus, the wording in the Qur'an has been the same for fifteen centuries but the meaning of this wording has changed many times.

The fact that Sarahsi defined the ta'vil issue as an activity that is independent from time or historical factors is related to another fact that classical fiqh usul is based on wording or statements. Additionally, if a distinction is to be made between ta'vil and jurisprudence and discussions on whether the ta'vil and jurisprudence of the sahabah are superior to the ta'vil and jurisprudence of other ulama, it would be more appropriate to state that the sahabah's ta'vil, rather than their jurisprudence, is superior. Ta'vil is related to determining new meanings for the wording that was directly revealed at a certain time and understood by the addressee in that period. Jurisprudence, on the other hand, is the practice of providing solutions to issues and problems that emerged following the period when the Qur'an was revealed. The Qur'an and the sunnah may not be focused on jurisprudence.

Sayfaddin al-Amida (d. 631/1233) pointed out that ta'vil is an activity that has been performed and accepted since the period of the sahabah, and implied the conditions that were described as, "makbul and ma'mul bih" following a couple of

[49] Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmed ibn Abi Sahl as-Sarahsi, *Usul as-Sarahsi*, published by Abu al-Vafa al-Afgani, Daru Kahraman, Istanbul 1984, II. 109.

explanations about the nature and validity of ta'vil.[50] The fact that Amidi mentioned the period of the sahabah means that the practice of ta'vil started during the nuzul period, which points to the relationship between ta'vil, ra'y and jurisprudence and whether tafsir, which was considered unique to the sahabah generation (explanation) and deemed equal to regarding Allah as a witness to the meaning of the wording in the Qur'an, as mentioned in the tafsir and ta'vil differentiation conveyed by al-Maturidi, was open to the possibilities such as ta'vil. The second issue requires a discussion about whether the sahabah's ra'y, jurisprudence and ta'vil were based on the Qur'an and the sunnah.

We should state that Imam Maturidi's distinction between the tafsir and ta'vil is not a generalization. To clarify, this distinction aims to suggest that members of the sahabah understood the meanings in the Qur'anic verses better than the following generations because they witnessed the nuzul period. As clearly stated by Najmaddin at-Tufi (d. 716/1316),[51] not all members of the sahabah witnessed the process, thus not all members of the sahabah were able to acquire the tafsir information regarding the whole book. This insufficiency made it inevitable for certain members of the sahabah to gain the missing information from other members and practice ra'y, ta'vil and jurisprudence activities when necessary.

Ra'y and jurisprudence can be both correct or incorrect. This is also valid for the members of the sahabah. Thus, no members of the sahabah regarded their ra'y and jurisprudence as hujjat and invited the people to follow their jurisprudence. In addition, a member of the sahabah once objected to the jurisprudence of another member of the sahabah. Accordingly, if the statements of the sahabah are based on communication that reflects certain information, these statements are prioritized over ra'y. The prioritization of such statements of the sahabah appear similar to the prioritization of khabar al-wahid to comparison. If the statements of a member of the sahabah are based on ra'y, this ra'y is more valid than that of other Muslim ulama. As is known to all, members of the sahabah witnessed the nuzul period and the Prophet's methods for stating the canon provisions. Therefore, sahabah's r'ay is preferred over the ra'y of another Muslim scholar.[52]

On the other hand, it is well-known that the sahabah narratives on tafsir are quite limited. This suggests that sahabah members' relationship with the Qur'an is different than other Muslim generations'. As previously stated, the sahabah understood the Qur'an as a divine order that was perceived and performed under guidance of the sunnah, rather than regarding it as independent from the sunnah, and they learned what the Qur'an ordered them to do thorough the statements, actions and reports of the Prophet. In addition, the members of the sahabah did not need to perform intellectual activities, because the Qur'an occasionally addressed

[50] Abu al-Hasan Saifuddin Ali ibn Muhammad al-Amidi, *al-Ihkam fi Usul al-Ahkam*, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut 1999, III. 38.
[51] Tûfî, *al-Iksir*, p. 35-37.
[52] Serahsi, *Usul as-Sarahsi*, II. 107-108.

their actions. They understood the divine book directly and naturally. In regard to all these reasons, the members of the sahabah did not talk too much about tafsir because the Qur'an was holistically explained by the Prophet and continually practiced.

Ibn Taymiyyah stated that the Prophet completely interpreted the Qur'an and most likely attempted to express this issue. According to him, tafsir means revealing the meaning, that which should be referred to as the first and original meaning, which was previously understood, and gaining information about this meaning. Revealing this first meaning is based on communication and language, and it consists of simple explanation activities that correspond to concepts such as statements and tawzih. The Prophet holistically explained the religion in terms of usul, lineage, clear issues, science and other practices. In addition, Allah explained everything in the Qur'an, and the Prophet clarified all issues through the hadiths, which left nothing for us to explain.[53] The divine words, *li-tübeyyine li'n-nâsi mâ nüzzile ileyhim*, in surah An-Nahl 16/44 express that the Prophet explained the wording and meanings in the Qur'an to the ashab.[54] The Qur'an's meaning was explained within the nuzul environment. Thus, Muslims should be committed to the Prophet's statements rather than reexplaining and interpreting the Qur'an.

On the contrary to what Ibn Taymiyyah claimed, those who stated that tafsir narratives that were conveyed from the Prophet are too few, imposed a historical meaning on the concept of tafsir, and implied that not all narratives that were conveyed from the Prophet and the sahabah can be considered within the context of tafsir. In regard to the discussions on whether tafsir is a sub-heading of the hadiths and narrative disciplines or a separate discipline, a particular section called, "Kitab at-Tafsir" in certain hadith works is notable, which can be considered as an argument that made Ibn Taymiyyah's claim, "The Prophet holistically interpreted the Qur'an", a controversial statement. In addition, Ibn Taymiyyah's statement, "If you cannot find the tafsir information in the Qur'an and the sunnah", under the title, "ahsanu turuk at-tafsir",[55] indicated that the Prophet did not interpret the whole book (technically). It also contradicted his own hypothesis. However, it is certain that the Prophet actually explained and implemented the Qur'an, although this does not mean it was a technical tafsir activity.

The most obvious evidence in the Qur'an for this claim is as follows: "O Messenger, announce that which has been revealed to you from your Lord, and if you do not, then you have not conveyed His message. And Allah will protect you from the people. Indeed, Allah does not guide the disbelieving people."[56] Accordingly, the issue is not based on whether the Prophet conveyed, stated and represented the Qur'an. Instead, it was based on his continual practices of the

[53] Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmu al-Fatwah*, VII. 71-72.
[54] Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmu al-Fatwah*, XIII. 148
[55] Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmu al-Fatwah*, XIII. 164.
[56] Al-Maidah 5/67.

Qur'an with the sahabah, and the efforts to examine his efforts in relation to the Qur'an and the sunnah. In addition to the statements in the Qur'an on this issue, it is inevitable that the prophetic biography and historical information would be used in tafsir sources.

Assessment and Conclusion

According to the general perception in the modern era, focusing on the first/original meaning of the Qur'an, in other words, considering the tafsir narratives conveyed from the sahabah and tabi'un as a principle for determining the meanings in the Qur'an, is regarded as an approach that may limit the Qur'an in its own nuzul environment, and the possibility to diminish the universality of divine kalam can also be mentioned here.

To make the Qur'an contemporary across all periods and to ensure its messages are present, the marfu, mawkuf and maktu narratives that contained tafsir information related to asbab al-nuzul, indefinite and concise Qur'anic wording conveyed from the Prophet, the sahabah and tabi'un were neglected several times, and the divine revelation are associated with a limitless number of meanings and texts as if the Qur'an was revealed in the present day.

This modern interpretation concept, which we regard as problematic for scientific usul, is actually based on the orientation known as the sociological tafsir, and the main references were essentially obtained from Manar tafsir, the common product of Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) and Rashid Riza (d. 1935). This modern conception presents itself in an effort to associate Qur'anic verses with positive scientific and technological discoveries for proving the contrary of the claim, "Islam is against development", and these modern claims require tafsir history and the first and direct addressee of the revelation to be neglected. Therefore, the history of the Prophet and the sahabah is neglected for the purpose of universalizing the Qur'an.

This ironic process can also be defined as historizing the Prophet, who conveyed, stated and interpreted the Qur'an's universality and the sahabah generation, and producing a Qur'an text that suits modern history with the meanings and messages that consider modern historical experiences. Modern Muslim interpreters who intentionally neglected the authority of the Prophet and the sahabah in understanding and interpreting the Qur'an make statements that rhapsodize the Prophet and the sahabah in the issues that are different from the Qur'an tafsir. If the Qur'an is to be understood and interpreted, these modern scholars fill the authority gap that is formed by dismissing the sahabah through their own subjective decisions, and they interpret the Qur'an however they wish.

The modern concepts that were formed to convey the universal message of the Qur'an for the present time and associated with the wording of the verses do

not present more authentic and deeper Islamic practices, and they do not add anything to the characteristics and main function of the divine kalam. Instead, they are the reasons for banalizing and losing the seriousness of the Qur'an, and even causing the public to regard themselves as glossators. Thus, all sensitive Muslims should ask the following question to themselves, and regard faithfully answering this question as a moral and conscientious duty: "If the purpose in understanding and interpreting the Qur'an is to obtain and adapt to its messages in real life practices, then what is the obstacle prior to this purpose when the Qur'an is understood as the sahabah explained it?"

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Sunnah and Social Dynamics*

Mustafa TEKİN**

Abstract

Sunnah is one of the dynamic discussion topics of Islamic thought. The Sunnah, which is mostly debated over authoritarianism, is the subject of criticism for this reason. However, when we consider the social function of the Sunnah and the dynamics it provides, another picture emerges.

This article approaches the Sunnah in this respect and makes short analyzes. In the article, firstly, the definition of the Sunnah is emphasized. In this sense, the definition of Sunnah as an experience of Quran in social life gives him the possibility to experience a code of behavior as well as to re-experience towards the future.

If we are to talk about the mutual relationship between theory and life, Sunnah shows that the Holy Quran is not a utopia and that it will gain life in different cultures and historicities. In this sense, there is no equivalent in the experience of Sunnah. On the other hand, the codes of behavior produced by Sunnah reveal a universality in its opening to all times.

One important point is that the society consists of inequality and differences within itself. Education, income, gender, age are the causes of these inequalities. The Sunnah, which the Prophet built with his ummah, ensured the continuity of religion in the lower social layers with the tradition he created. Most people will come without knowing that there is Sunnah and display the codes of behavior contained in cultural elements. In this context, Sunnah operates social dynamics on the one hand and on the other hand it is transferred from generation to generation with these dynamics.

Keywords: Sunnah, Society, Tradition, Culture, Social Dynamics.

Sünnet ve Toplumsal Dinamikler

Özet

Sünnet, İslam düşüncesinin dinamik tartışma konularından birisidir. Daha çok sahihlik üzerinden tartışması yapılan Sünnet, en fazla bu sebeple eleştiri konusu yapılmaktadır. Fakat bunun dışında Sünnet'in toplumsal işlevi ve sağladığı dinamikler açısından ele alındığında karşımıza bir başka resim çıkmaktadır.

Bu makale, Sünnet'e bu açıdan yaklaşmakta ve kısa analizler yapmaktadır. Makalede önce, anlatımlarımıza temel oluşturacak şekilde kısaca sünnet tanımı üzerinde durulmaktadır. Bu anlamda Sünnet'in Kur'an-ı Kerim'in toplumsal hayatta bir deneyimleme

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olarak tanımı, onun hem bir davranış kodu hem de geleceğe doğru yeniden deneyimlenebilmesi imkanını vermektedir.

Teori ile hayat arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiden bahsedeceksek Sünnet, Kur'an-ı Kerim'in ütopya olmadığını, farklı kültür ve tarihsellikler içinde hayatiyet kazanacağını göstermektedir her şeyden önce. Bu anlamda Sünnet'in karşılığı olabilecek tecrübenin hiçbir dinde karşılığı yoktur. Diğer yandan Sünnet'in ortaya çıkardığı davranış kodları, onun tüm zamanlara açılım yapmasında bir evrenselliği ifşa etmektedir.

Önemli bir nokta da şudur: Toplum kendi içerisinde eşitsizlik ve farklılıklardan oluşur. Eğitim, gelir, cinsiyet, yaş bu eşitsizliklerin sebepleridir. Hz. Peygamber'in ümmeti ile birlikte inşa ettiği Sünnet, oluşturduğu gelenekle bilhassa alt sosyal katmanlarda dinin devamlılığını sağlamaktadır. İnsanların çoğu Sünnet olduğunu bile bilmeden gelecek ve kültürel ögelerin içerdiği davranış kodlarını sergilemektedir. Bu bağlamda Sünnet, bir yandan toplumsal dinamikleri işletmekte, diğer yandan bu dinamiklerle nesilden nesile aktarılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sünnet, toplum, gelenek, kültür, toplumsal dinamik.

The post-modern world we live in is an eternal witness to many multi-dimensional discussions about the sunnah. The people who speculate on the sunnah gain visibility, and the discussions on the sunnah go so far as to create positive and negative partisanship and classify people according to their approaches to the matter. Sometimes it goes even further to be used as a "faith-meter". In a time like this, when we have turmoil going on in many areas, we need to clarify the meanings bestowed upon the sunnah and their connotations, together with what the sunnah actually means. However, the fundamental subject of this article is to provide a sociological analysis on the social dynamics of the sunnah.

The encountering of Islam with modernism caused many fractures within itself. Essentially one of the greatest challenges in history is that modernism brought the most disputes in Islamic thinking. Modernism brought Western and Islamic thinking and practices face-to-face, leading to an inevitable questioning of themselves and one another. When daily practices and products of the modern world were also adopted in the Islamic world through modernism, this led the individual to question certain religious concepts.

Such that, the concepts of the hadiths and the sunnah had been discussed within different contexts, but the dilemma of accepting or rejecting the hadiths and the sunnah became widespread through modernism. Conceptualizations such as "Qur'an's Islam" are the products of this era. Stuck between Islam and the modern paradigm, a possible problem to run into when encountering the modern world was that some Muslims started to interpret the sunnah in their own personal ways.

The first of these interpretations was to reject the hadiths and the sunnah altogether. Although the rejection of the sunnah has, to some extent, to do with the way that it is perceived, but to a larger extent, it is a consequence of the thought that the sunnah is in disagreement with the idea and the practices of modernism. This can lead individuals to reject the hadiths and the sunnah in order to make their

practices consistent with modernism or to solve the problems caused by the disputes between these ways of thinking.

This is the point where it becomes critical to correctly interpret the sunnah. Certain traditionalist approaches, which believe themselves to be following in the footsteps of the ulama, handle the concepts of the hadiths and the sunnah at the level of narratives, degrading the sunnah to mere historical stories. These approaches are not interested in how the meaning of the sunnah can be extended according to different aspects of history. What is more, the narrative approach ignores the requirement of evaluating the hadiths according to hadith principles, and establishes its argument around a stance of total "claiming" or "defending".

What is the Sunnah?

The sunnah is undoubtedly defined in many ways in related books. This article does not aim to list and reiterate these definitions, it rather seeks to underline some aspects regarding the content of the sunnah in order to exhibit the relationship between the sunnah and social dynamics. Thus, it will be possible to analyze these dynamics more thoroughly.

Erul addresses the definition of the sunnah in two dimensions. According to him, the sunnah, by definition is can be the method, custom, way of living, or behaviors the Prophet exhibited or specified, or the unity of the sunnah and the Qur'an. The Prophet attaches the following five meanings to the sunnah: 1 - Pioneering a function, whether good or bad, breaking new ground, exhibiting exemplary behaviors for people. 2 - To state, to specify. 3 - To execute a certain rule, to handle something. 4 - To demonstrate exemplary behavior, a sunnah. 5 - To follow a trail, to follow a path.[1] Through these particulars, Erul outlines the concept of the sunnah.

We see that various definitions of the sunnah portray or underline its various aspects. For example, Aşur's definition looks at the sunnah through the frame of "lawfulness" and "widespread knowledge": "Behaviors which became widely known and rules of law to the sahabah for they witnessed the Prophet's (p.b.u.h.) practices hundreds of times."[2] While the sunnah has an irreplaceable place as a source for fiqh, in our opinion it is rather a weakness to construe the sunnah as an embodiment of a newly constructed understanding of lawfulness. Because this may lead to the construction of a legal concept of life which has no place for customs, culture, historical and social aspects, and is built on strict particular rules. However, the sunnah includes many social norms which can never be lawful, such as the

[1] Bünyamin Erul, Sahabenin Sünnet Anlayışı, 2nd Edition, Ankara, T.D.V. Pub., 2000, p. 15-26.
[2] Muhammed Tahir bin Ashur, İslam Hukuk Felsefesi-Gaye Problemi, translated and annotated by Vecdi Akyüz-Mehmet Erdoğan, 2nd edition, İst., İz Pub., 1996, p. 37.

concepts of customs, cognizance and ethics. Perception of the sunnah in a completely legal context produces, through certain formal and cultural aspects in a historical sense, in a society, an attribute which disregards the customs and culture.

Another definition relates the essence of the sunnah to realize an ideal. According to Faruki, the sunnah, as an interpretation of the embodiment of an idea and the realization of the ideal, has turned theory into reality, and therefore shaped the values of Islam, combining these values with an active power. Only with the emergence of the sunnah could the inanimate be brought to life.[3] Therefore, according to Faruki, the sunnah is in a sense, an embodiment of life.

Al-Shatibi attaches three meanings to the sunnah. According to Al-Shatibi, the first meaning is the facts which were only revealed to the Prophet and not addressed in the Qur'an, and hold the same value as the general principles stipulated by the Qur'an. The second meaning is the opposite of Bid'ah, which means diversions from a fact. The third meaning is the established actions of the sahabah.[4] Hamidullah establishes that, "The expression of the sunnah means all the rules, which aren't stated in the Qur'an but taught or preached by the Prophet"[5], which is a reference to Al-Shatibi's first meaning. Fazlur Rahman stated that the sunnah of the Prophet is a relatively late concept and that in the era of the first Muslims it directly meant Muslim practices[6], which in itself is a reference to Al-Shatibi's third meaning.

Musa Carullah refers to all the explanations of the Prophet when he states, "All the Greatest Prophet does or intends for the purpose of announcing the revelations and prophecies given to him are the sunnah."[7] In fact, according to him, the sunnah means the Prophet's lifestyle in his private life and the methods he follows in his social relations and procuring and fulfilling his basic needs.[8] Tahir B. Hekim defines the sunnah as a method for life,[9] which partially corresponds to Carullah's idea.

Kırbaşoğlu, in his definition of the sunnah, emphasizes the nature of its world view: "A mindset or a world view, which is the whole of the Qur'an, followed by principles, which the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) regarded as the foundational pillars for directing and administering Muslim society in various fields such as

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[3] İsmail Raci El-Faruki-Luis Lamia El-Faruki, İslam Kültür Atlası, trans. Mustafa Okan Kibaroğlu-Zerrin Kibaroğlu, 2nd edition, İst., İnkılab Pub., 1997, p. 131.

[4] Al-Shatibi, El-Muvafakat-Sosyal İlimler Metodolojisi, trans. Mehmet Erdoğan, v. 4, İst., İz Pub., 1993, p. 2.

[5] Muhammed Hamidullah, "Sünnet", İslam Anaiklopedisi, v. 11, İst., M.E.B. Pub., 1970, p. 243.

[6] Fazlur Rahman, Tarih Boyunca Metodoloji Sorunu, trans. Salih Akdemir, Ankara, Ankara Okulu Pub., 1995, p. 17.

[7] Musa Jarullah Bigiyaf, Kur'an-Sünnet İlişkisine Farklı Bir Yaklaşım-Kitabu's-Sünne, trans. Mehmet Görmez, Ankara, Ankara Okulu Pub., 1998, p. 6.

[8] See: Musa Carullah, ibid., p. 6.

[9] Muhammed Tahir Hekim, Sünnetin Etrafındaki Şüpheler, trans. Hüseyin Arslan, Ist., Pınar Pub., 1985, p. 15.

faith, prayers, conveyance of religion, education, ethics, law, politics, economy, etc; meaning all aspects of life, at the individual, social and universal levels."[10] Kırbaşoğlu's definition seems to carry and offer an advantage which might essentially bring the discussions of strict narratives to an end, since interpreting the sunnah within a world-view context is sure to enable the world of Islam to reach to a consensus without drowning in individual discussions. According to him, the purpose of the sunnah is to form a new kind of Islamic society and a model of civilization, centered around the principles set by the sunnah.[11]

We are intending to define the sunnah as follows: "The sunnah is a collective experience of the Qur'an by the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and the sahabah (ummah) in a particular setting of society and culture, during a certain historical period." Due to the necessity of being concise, definitions may not be fully clear. Therefore it is helpful to attach a short explanation to the definition and put forward essential attributes of the sunnah.

Firstly, the sunnah is not the Prophet's private and individual behaviors and traits. It is the model of interaction the Prophet exhibited when communicating with his ummah. For example, the fact that the Prophet likes or does not like a particular type of food cannot be suggested as a sunnah. This is a personal trait. In this sense, we can say that the models (patterns) which transcend this subjectivity, and have a place in social memory can be defined as the sunnah.

Secondly, the sunnah is a real-life Qur'anic experience. Moving forward from an operational distinction of the Qur'an, theory and sunnah practice, it is the practice of the revelations by the Prophet within the ummah (society). Experiences, or in a classical sense living/practices, are proof that theory can transcend being a sum of claims or being a manifesto, and enter life and actually be applicable. In this way celestial becomes earthly and local.

The third fact is the sunnah being an example for the ummah. A perfect example for a society on how to experience/implement the revelations it receives. But one must never forget that this example came to life only as long as the Prophet and the ummah participated in the implementation of it.

The fourth fact is the sunnah being the name of the embodiment, which is the Qur'an being experienced within a particular setting of history, society and culture. In this sense it has two attributes. It carries within itself the Qur'an's universal message as a "purpose". These purposes are universal in nature and survive time. On the other hand, the form that the sunnah has gained has come into existence within that history, society and culture, and within the confines of those possibilities and limits. For this reason the sunnah may change in form from time to

[10] M. Hayri Kırbaşoğlu, İslam Düşüncesinde Sünnet-Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım, 3rd edition, Ankara, Ankara Okulu Pub., 1997, p. 104.
[11] M. Hayri Kırbaşoğlu, ibid, p. 105.

time. For example, miswak, which the Prophet used to clean his teeth, can today be replaced with a toothbrush. It is only possible to continue serving this aim using more current tools. The Prophet's clothes, meals and tools also carry these attributes of culture and history. Therefore, the claim that imitations of these follow the sunnah does not seem to be valid.

At this point, we believe that we have clarified the relationship and dialogue between the sunnah, history and society. We first need to accept that, moving forward from the meanings of "trail" and "path", the sunnah was a key factor in forming a certain historical inheritance. As a matter of fact, although the religion of Islam is the particular religion brought down to the Prophet , it has traces which go all the way back to Adam. The Prophet particularly inherited some accounts from Abraham and had those followed on as sunnah. This provides a connection to tradition and in a greater sense, continuity, in the sunnah.

Undoubtedly, Arab society has carried to the present day, some models of behavior which they refer to as sunnah and originate from the society of that time. Islam did not completely reject these, leaving out those which were not in agreement with its own paradigm and parameters. In this sense, it is possible to say that the sunnah is a continuation of some past traditions and practices. The fact that the sunnah is referred to as a tradition in Western languages is understandable in this sense.

To say that the sunnah is an experience of the Qur'an, in other words the theory, is also consistent with the abovementioned point. The fact that the Qur'an was experienced under the historical and cultural conditions of that time is meaningful in the sense that it had been experienced by the prophets of the more distant past, leading to more links in the chain of the sunnah spanning history. In fact, what is being experienced is a universal message. However, the formalities, which come to life through this experience, may carry historical and local characteristics. Therefore, for the purpose of keeping to the sunnah's purpose, some formalities may need to be altered in order to retain its functionality. This is the very aspect which helps the sunnah resist "history", which is always subject to change with time. In this sense, thinking of the hadiths and the sunnah as, "a collection of sayings and behaviors of yesteryear", will result in serious anachronisms.

In its current state, the sunnah is a critical accelerator for forming and preserving social dynamics in Muslim societies. In this sense, we will also suggest that fiqh and the sunnah constitute an opportunity, or even a privilege, which cannot be found in any other religion or tradition. In a conversation with a Japanese academician, I was discussing with him the comparative religious studies, which was his area of research. When I asked him about the distinctive difference of Islam from other religions, his answer was, "fiqh". Indeed, we need to add the sunnah to that too. Because, no religion, including Christianity and Judaism, has such an

extensive accumulation like the sunnah, which evolved into a field of science in and of itself.

Sunnah and Social Dynamics:

This article does not approach the sunnah from a technical angle. Indeed, its approach has to do with the relationship between social life and the sunnah. In this sense we can think of a bi-dimensional relationship. One of these dimensions is the dynamics bestowed by the sunnah to society. The other is the re-interpretation of the sunnah through social dynamics. We can now analyze these interactions through a variety of problems.

As mentioned above, we can qualify the Qur'an as a theoretical text, albeit a bit of a reductive definition for it. The Qur'an is, on the one hand, a perspective regarding life, universe and human beings and on the other hand, it comes with aspects of ethics regarding the relationship between human beings and their environment, and with a universality and a particular set of rules. When we go into details, it is very possible to make an extensive list of the topics touched upon in the Qur'an. This framework constitutes a theory in its not-yet-experienced state, but it is also a theory in that it includes theses in relation to life itself, human beings and the universe. Every sentence in the Qur'an surely means "truth" to a person who believes. However, considering the context of the whole of humanity, these sentences are theoretical propositions.

There have always been different religions, ideologies and philosophies throughout history. Those are also primarily theoretical propositions and interpretations. Buddhism, Marxism, Atheism, etc. are various examples in this sense. For example, Christianity interprets truths in a different way and develops its own approach to the concept of "truth", therefore, adopting a specific world view. Marxism employs a theoretical framework established on a framework which consists of dialectic materialism, labor, exploitation, infrastructure and superstructure. In these states, all of these religions, philosophical ideas and ideologies are mere theories. Buddhism thrived in a limited geographical area and could not expand throughout the world, but it does not seem intent to. Marxism was practiced in various locations, but common belief is that it mostly failed.

When we look at Islam from this point of view, we can see that the Qur'an, by being experienced within a setting of history, culture and society, it did not remain a theory but it has been embodied as "life" itself. What is more, the sunnah was not only adopted for a limited time in the era of the Prophet, but it became the norm throughout much of the history. This historical continuity has only been made possible through the dynamic perception of the sunnah. Indeed, the sunnah is the bringing together of the specific and the whole, in order to construct a way of life within the historical and social conditions of the Prophet's time and after his

example, and then, the continuation of this way of life.[12] In this sense "sunnah" means life.

At this point we need to touch upon the relationship between utopia and reality. The term "utopia", which comes from the Greek word "topos" prefixed with the negative particle "u", can be roughly translated as "a place which does not exist"[13] and is rather of a theoretical nature, is an expression of ideas which only thrive in theory, and does not correspond to any kind of reality in the world that we live in. This is consistent in a sense that when people first listen to the propositions of different ideologies, philosophical ideas and religions, they first think about how possible they are to execute. In this sense, the sunnah must be regarded as an indicator of experience and realization.

Another dimension, which needs to be handled due to the relationship of the theoretical nature of the Qur'an with the sunnah, is the sunnah's constructive function against possible diversions from or attacks on the Qur'an's stock and contexts of meaning. Through its journey to the present, the Qur'an has passed through many different ideologies and philosophical ways of thinking. There have always been efforts to connect the Qur'an with particular ideologies or philosophical ideas, and interpret it through their own points of view. Present examples of this are the efforts of liberalism, post-modernism, etc. to use the Qur'an as filler for other ideas and ideologies. On the other hand, the Qur'an also has always been challenged throughout history. At this very point, the sunnah has a very critical function. The Prophet's sunnah, his examples, models and the perspectives within these prevent taking the Qur'an out of its own meaning and paradigm framework. In connection with this, the sunnah's functions of detailing and narrating the Qur'an in the classical sense are also realized. Maybe we need to interpret Evzai's words, "The Book needs the sunnah more than the sunnah needs the Book"[14] in this context. Essentially involving the models of paradigm, purpose and behavior, the sunnah has always detailed these attributes of itself through time.

We have mentioned above that the sunnah is, at the same time, tradition. In one aspect, tradition means all the experiences gained along the timeline of history. Passed from generation to generation, the sunnah functions as part of tradition in our day. Vitality of a religion is only possible when it manages to create tradition. Therefore, how should we construe the relationship between the sunnah and tradition?

The sunnah, for one, has been passed through generations as a paradigm and perspective, as well as behavioral patterns and practices, gaining context and perspective within social memory and acting as a guide along a society's journey to

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[12] See: Mustafa Tekin, "Sünnet Sosyolojisinin İmkanı-İslam Sosyolojisine Sünnet'ten Başlamak", Sünnet Sosyolojisi, Ed. Mustafa Tekin, Ankara, Eski Yeni Pub., 2013, p. 45.
[13] Ö. Demir-M. Acar, Sosyal Bilimler Sözlüğü, Ist., Ağaç Pub., 1992, p. 370.
[14] Al-Shatibi, ibid., v. 4, p. 24.

the truth. Therefore, the sunnah has passed through many generations before we inherited it. This process has happened via written sources too, but in this study we are focusing on social practices. However, these practices are not passed from one generation, or one geographical location, to another, in the same form. It is experienced afresh within the culture and sociality of every generation, every period and every geographical location. These re-experiences serve to protect the essential purposes of the sunnah, while at the same time creating practices within the extent allowed by their own culture and social norms. Prayers and certain essential aspects of faith are likely to be preserved in terms of content and form. The most essential purpose here is for the Qur'an to gain "life" through the sunnah. Therefore the sunnah, as a practice, carries within itself its own paradigm and perspective, and reveals these in individual and social life through its impact.

It should also be taken into account that since the sunnah went through a social sedentation after the Prophet, it also includes customs, rituals, tradition and certain other types of social norms. In other words, the sunnah is only experienced by society under the name of "sunnah" and through religious forms, and while acting in line with mentioned social norms or taking those into account as a framework, societies keep the sunnah alive. It is possible to witness this in various cases such as a wedding ceremony, contemporary customs and rituals. This is an indicator for the fact that the sunnah appeals to human life in a very wide context and has its own place in social culture.

Therefore, social circles such as family, relatives, neighborhood etc. keep the sunnah in circulation. We especially need to reiterate the critical role of the family, both in terms of practicing customs and tradition so as to pass them on, and also in teaching social roles to the next generation. The language spoken, and the models practiced in a family shows us the reflection of the sunnah on all of the particular aspects of individual traits. Parents' behaviors, clothes, privacy, ethical principles, how they treat their neighbors, etc. mean to both practice the sunnah and construct an understanding of it for the next generation.

However, changes in modern times have isolated family from many of its classical roles, while also weakening the bonds between neighbors, relatives, etc. These were the bonds which tested and reinforced what a new generation learned from their family. Today the family has passed many of its functions onto institutions, and the intense attention of the media and communication technologies have transformed communication, which has led to weakening family bonds and consequently, weakening tradition.

Earlier in the study we touched upon the connection between a religion's survival and tradition and the sunnah. In this context, we also need to study this subject's relationship to social classes and social stratification. As generally known, a society consists of differences and inequalities. For example, individuals in a

society become distinct in terms of gender, age, etc. Society also includes stratification in terms of economic, cultural, etc. criteria. Put simply, there is the wealthy class, there is the middle class and there is the poor. The highbrow and the lowbrow in the old language.

The distinction that is important for our subject is the highbrow and the lowbrow. Highbrow people adopt a rather academic and theoretical understanding approach to religion. After all, a highbrow person would know the reasons behind religious provisions, be able to criticize the narrative they encounter and somehow *adapt* them in order not to be a mere "imitator". However, the lowbrow adopt almost the exact opposite traits. Since the lowbrow do not possess sufficient education or religious proficiency, their understanding of religion is rather narrative-based, literal and pragmatic. They have inherited most of their religious knowledge from the preceding generation. Therefore, the religiousness in a society is considerably defined by the practices inherited through generations. Awareness about practices is certainly of importance, but these are the characteristics of lowbrow religion, or the public's religion.

The sunnah, which has entered into daily life, culture, customs and traditions, as well as various social norms over centuries, lives on in practices, whether we are aware of it or not. These practices are sustained by the lowbrow, or the public. For example, a person who intends to build a fountain in a place shows benevolence. Building a fountain is an act of charity in our society. Keeping this tradition up, as a sign of religiousness, essentially means to keep a sunnah living. In the same way, the particular ways and practices of doing prayers and rituals in mosques are embodiments of the sunnah, which have become widely accepted formalities.

At this point we need to mention a specific difference. The highbrow serve a function in updating and criticizing understandings and practices which would lead to formality and dullness, while the common people make inheriting these practices by future generations possible. Religion comes to life through these social functions.

Another important point to consider is the necessity to interpret the sunnah as a lifestyle and world view. As mentioned in the aforementioned definitions, the sunnah also bestows a worldview upon us. We can conclude that the Prophet's sunnah is the entirety, made up of a point of view towards life. This means looking at life itself, human beings and the universe through a specific frame. It is possible to see many examples of this when we look at the sunnah and many narrated hadiths.

As it is already known, the world we live in is home to many different ideologies and philosophical ways of thinking. These are distinguished by their perspectives towards human beings, the world and the universe. For example, while earthly ideologies limit the existence of the human being to this world,

religion refers to the afterworld too. This alone creates differences in one's purposes and practices within the world. The sunnah has a way to solidify and unveil these world views through its practices.

In this context, the sunnah is capable of constructing a lifestyle for a person through the world view it comprises within itself. Interpreted along with the argument that the sunnah is an experience and concretizes the Qur'an, this proposition could be comprehended more thoroughly. It is possible for the majority of society to quickly administer a practice of the sunnah when they inherit it. However, the relationship of that particular practice to the Qur'an may not be so readily obvious and consistent. How sound this is the subject of another discussion, but we still need to know that this a functioning fact within a society.

In this sense, we have two points to pay attention to, one of which is the mistake of utilizing the sunnah for lawful purposes. As suggested earlier, the sunnah builds a lifestyle through customs, traditions and social norms. Merely creating rules of law out of the sunnah means to substantially miss the sunnah's functions which caters to almost all aspects of life in order to build a complete human being.

Interpreting the sunnah as a world view prevents construing it in a very "particular" way, which could very well put an end to the never-ending discussions surrounding it today. That is, trying to make individual sense of narratives means to lose the wholistic point of view in the sunnah and drowning in details. It is naturally important to subject the hadiths to factual examinations and revisions in order to assess their reliability. However, the social dynamics of the sunnah must never be forgotten.

In this study, we aim to express that since the sunnah includes a set of behavioral codes for the ummah, it relies on certain social dynamics, and feeding them back at the same time, therefore leading to different experiences of Islam in different cultures and different parts of the world, the sunnah is a vital component of Islam due to its critical function of keeping the religion alive.

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Wisely Looking to *Sunnah*[*]

Mehmet ÖNAL [**]

Abstract

In Islamic literature, there is a decisive role for the Sunnah in both the understanding of the Qur'an and in understanding the essence of the religion for human life. Thus, the determination of the Sunnah, which does not have a clear statement like the Qur'an, is very important. However, for the determination of the Sunnah, it is not enough to refer only to the hadiths. At the same time, it is necessary to use a range of science and knowledge, such as the Qur'an, Siyer, Kelam, history, natural sciences, logic and philosophy. Thus, these aforementioned sciences should be collected in parallel, rather than in an order of absolute priority. It is very important to determine the sunnah in Islamic science, but at least as important as is the reflection of the sunnah in the lives of Muslims. According to Muslim scholars, the sunnah provides the basic measures of being a good person and a good Muslim. The aim of this article is to make the sunnah understandable and bring it to life based on the concept of "wisdom" in the Qur'an. At this point, the sunnah will be able to seen in its dynamic and flexible dimension by wisely looking at it. From this new point of view, the concepts of "prophetic wisdom" and "prophetic guidance" will illuminate the debate.

Key Words: Sunnah, prophetic wisdom, prophetic guidance, hadith, Qur'an.

Sünnete Hikmet Nazarıyla Bakmak

Özet

İslami literatürde, hem Kuran'ın anlaşılması hem de insan hayatı için dinin özünün kavranmasında Sünnetin belirleyici bir rolü vardır. Kuran kadar çok net bir metne sahip olmayan Sünnetin tespiti, bu yüzden çok önemlidir. Ancak Sünnetin tespiti için sadece hadislere başvurmak yetmez aynı zamanda başta Kuran olmak üzere, Siyer, Kelam, Tarih, Doğa Bilimleri, Mantık ve Felsefe gibi pek çok bilim ve bilgi alanından yararlanmak gerekir. Bu yüzden, adı geçen bu ilimler mutlak bir öncelik sonralık sırasıyla değil çoğunlukla paralel bir biçimde tahsil edilmelidir. İslami İlimler sahasında Sünnetin tespitine çalışmak çok önemlidir, ancak en az onun kadar önemli olan bir diğer husus da Sünnetin Müslümanın hayatına yansımasıdır. Müslüman âlimlere göre, Sünnet, iyi bir insan ve iyi bir Müslüman olmanın temel ölçütlerini verir. İşte bu makalenin yazılış amacı, Kuran'da geçen "hikmet" kavramına dayanarak, Sünneti anlaşılır ve yaşanabilir kılmaktır. Bu sayede, Sünnete bilgece bakarak onun dinamik ve esnek boyutunu görmek mümkün olacaktır. Bu yeni bakış

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açısından hareketle, "peygamberi hikmet" ve "peygamberi rehberlik" kavramları tartışmayı aydınlatacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sünnet, peygamberi hikmet, peygamberi rehberlik, hadis, Kuran-ı Kerim.

I. Introduction

As in all Abrahamic religions, it is only possible in Islam to understand and administer the divine kalam, define the principles of faith, say prayers and streamline morals and daily life through the guidance of the Prophet. In today's world, there is not much conflict among Muslims in terms of the acceptance and importance of the Prophet's guidance. However, there is a significant lack of research regarding how to understand this guidance and what methods to use with it; and even less on how to reflect this guidance to academic education so as to create a world of meaning and values which we can use to raise Muslims. Therefore, we need to ask the following question: "How is it possible that Muslims, in our day, are not able to make use of such a great guide and use him as a role model in their education?" Somehow, certain intellectuals, who are prominent figures in the area of inviting individuals to Islam, fail to act upon this premise, while others are completely unaware of it.

The inability to use such an integral guide and role model, as pointed out by the above question, can be attributed to a multitude of reasons. One of these reasons is that the life of the Prophet Muhammad has now been bestowed so much holiness that he is perceived to be an ethereal entity, and therefore, people are unable to see him as example.[1] The second reason is the defense of the sunnah, wherein it is believed and dictated that the Prophet Muhammad orders predefined and invariable behaviors for given situations. However, it is known that since a forceful approach is against the nature of guidance, except in the form and magnitude of prayers, the Prophet Muhammad suggested to Muslims that there are many alternative ways and examples of living based on various situations and conditions with no contradictions between them. The companions could even act freely in terms of allowable prayers. As regards to the Qur'anic verse, *"So whoever sights [the new moon of] the month, let him fast it; and whoever is ill or on a journey - then an equal number of other days"*[2], the famous Islamic Scholar, Al-Shatibi cited the hadith, *"The companions journeyed together with the Messenger of Allah. Some of them did salah in the fully extended version, some of them shortened it. Some of them fasted and some did not. No Muslim condemned another."* (Al-Bukhari, Savm 37; Muslim Siyah 95-100), suggesting that the Prophet Muhammad left the sahabah free to worship in their own ways and therefore, the sahabah did not have to imitate the Prophet.

[1] For detailed information, see: Mustafa İslamoğlu, *Üç Muhammed*, Denge Pub., Istanbul, 2000.
[2] Qur'an, 2: 185.

A third reason is that, some Muslim orientalists, albeit small in number, think of the Prophet as merely an intermediary, or the famous concept of a "postman", who brought the Qur'an to people and then left. This way of thinking has less impact these days, but it can still be thought of as an obstacle for contemporary Muslims to rightfully benefit from the sunnah. Due to such reasons, the sunnah and the guidance of the Prophet Muhammad are misunderstood or raised to an ethereal level which is impossible to take as an example, therefore rendering them impractical.

The common mistakes in Islam, which hinder understanding and defining the sunnah, is another problem which further adds to the already established problems. Maybe the most significant problem among these is the belief that the only resource that can be used when establishing the sunnah is written in the hadiths. A critical outcome of this mistake is the ignorance towards the dynamic and flexible nature of the Prophet Muhammad's social and individual guidance. This inevitably led to believing that respected interpretations were deemed to be the sunnah, therefore giving rise to a static understanding of guidance. Evaluating this situation in terms of either a Prophet's Guidance or the principles of modern Psychological Counseling and Guidance generates a contradiction,[3]because the most important principle of guidance is to guide a person while taking the conditions of their environment into account.

Another common mistake that stems from this, in terms of defining the sunnah, is overlooking the background conditions of the hadiths, which leads to a superficial interpretation. For some canonists or reverends, this results in the belief that the interpretation of a hadith is of a binding nature for every Muslim. At this point, it is a problem when the hadith is simplified down the "quoted" part, which is believed to be the words directly coming from the Prophet, and then is believed to be grounds for the binding interpretation of it. Some records, which were interpreted in the area of fiqh, also prevent revealing the true purpose of the sunnah. Hadiths are regarded as legal content and are simplified down to provisions which start with, "The Prophet said that ...", just like what happens in courtrooms before witnesses. Therefore, for such people, the sunnah became no more than static truths, and were consequently turned into a compilation of prescriptive provisions. Therefore, no information was provided as to where, under what conditions and towards what group or age of people the references in the texts were made, and even if there was such information, the authorities who interpreted these hadiths did not pay much attention to them and only focused on the main idea in the text. This caused, and is still causing, critical problems. What is more, the science of the hadiths must take into account not only the occasion where the Prophet Muhammad said certain things, but also the reason and the principle

[3] For detailed information regarding the principles of guidance, see: Yeşilyaprak, Binnur, *Eğitimde Rehberlik Hizmetleri, Gelişimsel Yaklaşım*, 2003.

which was taken into consideration.

The main problem regarding the comprehension of the sunnah is not only that the sunnah is based on an insufficient amount of resources or an inconsistent array of narratives, but also that there are not enough studies for the methods employed in determining and administering the sunnah. However, there have always been Islamic scholars and philosophers in the history of Islam who focused on the purposes of and the wisdom behind the events and statements in the hadiths, rather than the literal meaning of them. These individuals aimed to use the hadiths to determine greater principles and rules, rather than extracting individual provisions out of them. The fact that the first generation of fiqh scholars put forward the methods of fiqh rather than fiqh itself, seems to be related. The history of Islam has been witness to thorough studies in this area, but these studies are due to be refreshed today. Therefore, within the context of determining the sunnah and interpreting the Qur'an, the interpretations of the sunnah, which abandon the holistic view of Siyer-i Nebi; reasoning based on logic; and taking real life conditions into account, beside the science of the hadith and its history, damage the integrity and wisdom of the sunnah.

The Qur'an directs Muslims to see the Prophet Muhammad as an example, a guide, or in the words of philosophers of education, a role model. This shows the importance of the sunnah, which is an indicator of the extent of piety for a Muslim and establishes the principles of becoming a good person and Muslim. However, contrary to belief, the sunnah is not a given and it is a resource which must be revealed through extensive effort, and which should also be updated, at least in terms of wording, in every age. If we were to liken the sunnah to a field of crops, we should be able to conclude the fact that however fertile the soil may be, we would still need to process it so it is ready for plantation. The determination and administration of the sunnah work in this way. Therefore, the efforts to determine the sunnahs seem to be complete thanks to Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim, and it is not quite right to look at the situation from this angle. When it comes to the difference between the concepts of the hadiths and the sunnah, it is also evident that there is more work to be done in this area. So, we can shed light on this situation by studying these very concepts.

II. The Hadiths and the Sunnah

The literal meaning of 'sunnah' is a way or conduct, good or bad.[4] Technically, the sunnah is about words, attributes and behaviors of the Prophet Muhammad and covers his acknowledgements, behavior, attributes, outfits, eating habist, etc. throughout his life. The difference between the hadiths and the sunnah is of critical importance. Being the richest resource for determining the sunnah, the

[4] Koçyiğit, *Hadis Tarihi*, p. 10.

hadiths literally mean rather *word, narrative* and *instruction.* The technical definition of 'hadiths' is a compilation of words, behaviors or attributes of the Prophet, which is used to determine the sunnahs, comes in through a chain of oral or written narratives and is then investigated in terms of its reliability using certain scientific criteria. Another field of science which is used to determine the sunnahs is Siyer-i Nebi, which is a biography of the Prophet Muhammad covering his life as a whole. Siyer-i Nebi is also mainly informed by the hadiths and the science of history, but it also contributes back to them. These two, namely the hadiths and Siyer (prophetic biography) then combine to constitute a very important resource which can be used to determine the sunnahs.

One cannot encounter the term "sunnah" in the Qur'an in its technical sense. We can only read about the sunnahs of other societies or groups as a way to learn about their routine life. It appears that in the Qur'an, the concept *"hikmat" (wisdom)* was used in the place of 'sunnah'. Coming from the Arabic root, *"hakeme"*, hikmat means to *"cleanse mischief and obtain goodness, adjudge and ensure."* Interpreting verse 169 of Al-Baqarah which is, *"Allah bestows hikmat to whomever He wishes, he who is bestowed hikmat is also given much benevolence and only the pure minds understand this, and take this as example"*, the famous glossator Muhammed Hamdi Yazır explains hikmat as follows: *"Accuracy in words said and deeds done, science and practice, science and fiqh, knowing and understanding the meaning of objects, contriving Allah's orders and practices, keeping objects well organized, taking Allah's morals as an example for the self, thinking about Allah's orders, the regularity of religion and the world."* These two explanations are consistent with each other.

Al-Tabari, a renowned scholar of Islam, defined the concept of *hikmat* in the Qur'an as, *"the whole which consists of the science of religion (fiqh), wit and true words".* Beyzai described hikmat as, *the "perfection of the human soul by mastering theoretical sciences and doing as good deeds as possible."*[5] Scholars of Islam have not reached a consensus in terms of describing the concept of hikmat. However, according to Süleyman Ateş, the majority of these scholars believed hikmat to be deep and useful information, which is related to cause and effect and which inevitably translates into action.[6]

The concept of *hikmat* is used together with the word *kitap (book)* in many places in the Qur'an and is bestowed as a gift by Allah to the prophets. In short, it is evident thanks to confirmation from the Qur'an, that hikmat was given to the Prophet Muhammad, just like other prophets. However, hikmat must be something different from the Qur'an, as *the Book* and *hikmat* are said to be two things. The Book is the Qur'an, but then, what is being pointed out by the concept of hikmat? This is indeed a meaningful question. Al-Shafi'i interpreted the phrase of, *"book and*

[5] *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, "hikmet" article, M.N. E.
[6] Ateş, *Kuran-ı Kerim ve Yüce Meali*, p. 44, footnote.

hikmat", which is mentioned in eight distinct places in the Qur'an, as *the Qur'an and the Sunnah.* In this sense, the phrase, *"... teach you the Book and Hikmat"*, in the section, *"Allah, the Exalted and Glorious, sent his prophet to you for He wants to protect you from harm and teach you the Book and Hikmat"*, should be interpreted as "... teach you the Book and the Sunnah" in Al-Jumu'ah, verse 63. Let us ask again: Why use expression, *"Book and Hikmat"* instead of, "Book and Sunnah?" The answer to this question is hidden in the meaning of the word "hikmat", so we need to focus on this word. The sunnah is described as, "the concept of hikmat mentioned in the Qur'an", which is interesting as it demonstrates that guidance can only be delivered through hikmat. Thus, trying to understand why the concept in the Qur'an, which points to the sunnah, is described as "hikmat", will have a defining role in shaping our perception of the sunnah. In this sense, hikmat is not knowledge or action bestowed only upon the Prophet Muhammad. We need to interpret statements in the Qur'an such as, "We bestowed hikmat on Luqman", and the fact that descendants of Abraham are bestowed with hikmat, as a sort of sunnah. Therefore, the most convenient phrase to express the sunnah would be, "A Prophet's Hikmat."

III. A Prophet's Hikmat

If we take into consideration the meanings of hikmat such as justice, science, prophecy, commanding a fine understanding of religion, acting as required by science, perfect mind, true words and divine knowledge[7], it then can be understood that all of these concepts are almost synonyms of hikmat. So, when we replace the word *sunnah* with *hikmat*, then a prophet's hikmat becomes the phrase which reflects all the actions of a prophet and in turn reflect the spirit of the Qur'an, and are in line with the Qur'an's provisions. We can only understand this through a thorough study of the lifestyle that is inherited to us from him. This act of comprehension requires a considerable effort, which will also deliver the main principles of Islamic hikmat. Therefore, it seems more suitable to deem hikmat as a second source of knowledge, directed to practical administration of the revelations. We also encounter hikmat as a sort of knowledge given in some verses of the Qur'an for cleansing of the soul; this can be construed as a gateway to Islamic mysticism.

A careful study of the history of Islamic philosophy will reveal that since the very beginning, Muslims have been split into two groups, one of which approaches the premises of understanding the Qur'an and interpreting the hadiths, which are records of the actions of the Prophet, in terms of hikmat, and the other interprets these two resources purely based on wording. In this sense, 'Umar represented the first approach, while his son Abdullah ibn Umar represented the second approach. Similarly, some companions such as Ali and Aisha considered the hikmat

[7] Önal, Mehmet, İslam Hikmet Anlayışına Dayalı Bir Tıp Felsefesi Önerisi, *Flsf*, no: 3, 2007-Bahar, p. 148. (145-154)

underlying the Prophet Muhammad's behaviors, that is, looking at the *why* of his behaviors rather than the *how*, adopters of the opposing thought only focused on what he did. Therefore, in the words of Mehmet Görmez, the latter group adopted an approach based on wording when interpreting the hadiths, and a formalistic approach when interpreting the sunnah.[8]

As a reflection of this difference, Islamic sects and Muslim scholars were also split into two groups, one of whom advocated that Muslims must take the Prophet as an example in everyday practice, while the other group took another approach, which is the belief that there is a limit to how much the Prophet can constitute an example and the examples should be limited to religious matters. A hadith to prove this approach is provided i the following words of the Prophet Muhammad, *"I am a mere human being too. When I order you to do something about religion, obey it. But when I order you to do something out of my own opinion, at that moment, (you shall know that) I am a mere human being too"* (Muslim, Hadith No. 5831). According to these accounts, the sunnah consists of all the actions of the Prophet Muhammad but not all of these sunnahs are binding. The binding parts of these sunnahs are the moral principles which constitute the religion and the main purpose of this religion, and the essence of which are also found in the Qur'an. After all, religion and morals are the two main pillars of law.

However, the persistence about the sunnah at this point manifests itself in the principles underlying individual cases, rather than these cases themselves. For this reason, in the sense that the sunnahs are based on principles, Islamic law has always been dynamic in nature and has been able to generate solutions adapted to changes in every time and place. In that case, Muslims should devote extensive effort to determining these religious and moral principles, which we can qualify as a prophet's hikmat, and then commit to these principles in their lives. Another piece of evident pointing to the fact that the prophets' sunnah is based on hikmat is that when evaluating events, prophets always adjusted their approach to the people based on the knowledge, manners, comprehension abilities and individual differences of these people. For example, when asked for advice, the Prophet Muhammad always suggested behaviors that fit the conditions the person is in, and their needs, and addressed them with an approach which was easy enough for them to understand. Despite the linguistic differences, the common people and the elite described the same truths. The moral side of this wise approach is that the Prophet put the principle of justice at the core of all of his behaviors, whether as an individual or a statesman. This virtue of the Prophet was observed on many occasions, both before and after he became a prophet, where he was consulted to resolve contradictions between people. An example to this, when he became the leader of Muslims after establishing the City State of Medina, he was also consulted

[8] Görmez, *Sünnet ve Hadisin Anlaşılması ve Yorumlanmasında Metot Sorunu*, p. 46-47.

to referee, as a member of the high court, in the conflicts between other groups. He imposed penalties on guilty people in ways prescribed by religion or tradition, but never violated their individual rights since they were human beings. He was careful to uphold individuals' human rights by respecting this principle as much as humanly possible while imposing penalties on a guilty individual, and also continued his relationship with that person after they served their penalty. These all point to a guidance based on hikmat. Therefore, we also need to interpret his sunnah within the context of his style of guidance, which is based on hikmat. The expressions, "A Prophet's Guidance" and "A Prophet's Hikmat" can be used as meanings of sunnah, for the purpose of explaining this truth.

IV. A Prophet's Guidance

As described in the Qur'an, prophets were chosen among people and had humane attributes in that they needed to feed themselves and explore their surroundings.[9]However, the fact that they were chosen and defined as recipients of revelations elevated them to an exemplary and 'guide' status, and gave them a responsibility of guidance based on hikmat. All the efforts of the prophets are for the realization of happiness in the world and in the afterworld, which is the ultimate goal of humanity. Therefore, guidance in religions is only possible through prophets and scholarly people who follow in the prophets' footsteps. On the other hand, prophets are social reformists and keepers of truth, besides being individual guides.[10]

One of the most important reflections of the prophets' guidance is their tolerance towards diversity. For this very reason, they treated followers of other religions with tolerance, and let them live in the Islamic state as long as they did not openly oppress or commit injustices or treason in times of war. This principle then became a tradition which extended into other Muslim countries and survives to this very day. This is the very reason many religions and sects have been able to survive in the Islamic world. Prophets took great care to be merciful, patient and polite in their behaviors, and they always became exceptional leaders with their societies. These attributes separated the prophets from other social leaders. The individual and social guidance of the Prophet Muhamad was based on certain hikmat principles. The most important of these principles was practicing what is stipulated in the revelations, setting people free in areas of life whereupon religion does not stipulate any orders or prohibitions, acting as a facilitator, paying regards to individual differences, respecting human rights, being tolerant of other groups'

[9] *Qur'an*, 14: 11; 18: 110; 41: 6.

[10] For detailed information regarding a prophet's guidance, see: Mehmet Önal, *Bireysel Rehberlik Yönüyle Hz. Muhammed*, Bilsam Pub., Malatya, 2015, p. 45.

beliefs, respecting the emotional sides of people, and being merciful, patient and polite.[11]

This all goes to show that prophets did not just convey the revelations to people, they also guided them as to how to act as prescribed by these revelations, which we define as "sunnah" in our day. Since prophets were trustworthy individuals, they were consulted about almost anything in their lifetimes, and for this reason they served as 'psychological counsels' too (if we are to define them by today's standards). Especially when we say, "their simplicity and intellectual standing made prophets natural social leaders", this is saying that they served to fulfill hikmat. Therefore, we can say that the sunnah is a sum of actions done on the basis of hikmat. A majority of political, national and social activities, which were done on this premise, were shaped according to these very acts of guidance of the prophets and have survived to this day. Because prophets tried to show people the ways to live better and happier in a polite and kind way and without hurting them, and the people with these attributes are almost always called "wise" and a "person of hikmat" in any society.

The last of the prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, must be taken as a religious, as well as a global leader, and his actions must be interpreted as hikmat. Looking at some verses on conveyance, to which he was the receiver, and his own practice, it is possible to define a conveyor as a person who is not an offender and not harsh in their manners, is smooth-spoken, solemn, has a strong character, offers sensible ideas, tries to convince others in the most appropriate way, and instills trust.[12] This clearly means to act with wisdom (with hikmat) and this is how the sunnah, as a whole, must be defined. In the Qur'an, Allah addressed the prophets, and through them all Muslims, as follows: "*That time you treated them softly, for mercy was given to you by Allah. If you were rough and strict, they would have dissolved. Then forgive them; pray that they would be forgiven; consult them for business matters...*", which is a suggestion of universal guidance. The Prophet Muhammad carefully practiced this principle during his leadership of Muslim society, and also when inviting people to Islam. Instead of a hard and imitating demeanor, he always possessed gentle, polite and affectionate attributes and was sensitive not to embarrass or hurt the people he spoke to. He demonstrated countless exemplary attributes and behaviors which even gained appreciation from his enemies.

The fact that prophets held firm stances against disturbances of social and moral rules, fought against the deterioration of society in many ways, and through this fight, strived to resolve individual and social problems, is another indication that they carried this responsibility of prophets' guidance, or hikmat. Therefore, prophecy in the eyes of Muslims is hikmat, grace and benevolence which comes

[11] Önal, Mehmet, Peygamberi Hikmetin Ana İlkeleri, *Bilge Adamlar*, no: 27, 2011, p. 89-90.
[12] Çelik et. al, *Üsve-i Hasene*, v. II, p. 35, 36.

from Allah.

The very first thing to be done for the purpose of proving the guidance of the Prophet Muhammad is to re-evaluate the readings of the Qur'an and the hadiths within the context of hikmat. The resources provided by Siyer-i Nebi and the science of history must also be made use of. Because in order to understand the acts of guidance of the Prophet Muhammad, his social relations, daily actions, attributes and behaviors and other overlooked details of his life must be carefully studied. The holistic dimension of his life are overlooked, which results in contradicting actions being narrated in the hadiths.

In short, it is of critical importance, in terms of bringing integrity to the perception of Islam, to start from verses which are related to, or which point to the guidance of the Prophet Muhammad, then use hikmat to determine sunnah, which is an explanation of the Qur'an and a practice of theoretical information, and then turn back to the Qur'an to understand it. The knowledge and awareness of the sunnah, to be obtained through the hadiths, will always carry us to hikmat. Otherwise, the divine purpose of the Qur'an will be difficult, and at times, impossible to understand. Likewise, the sunnah is impossible to understand without the Qur'an either. This means that however true, all hadiths, without exception, are based on a particular provision in the Qur'an. For this very reason, the hadiths, which are the carriers of the sunnah, cannot be evaluated as free from the Qur'an.[13]

V. Conclusion

The greatest misconception of Muslims today, is the belief that the completion of the hadiths have finalized and anchored the sunnah. The sunnah, a practice of the Qur'an in a sense, can only be complete using the Qur'an, the corpora of the hadiths, the works of Siyer-i Nebi, the knowledge gained from the science of history, logical thinking, considering real life conditions and other fields of religious science. Moving forward from the resources mentioned above, the determination, updating and adjusting to our age of the sunnah is the most significant issue Muslim intellectuals are facing today.

In order to attract attention to and create awareness of the resolution of this problem, the first step is to refer to the arbitration of the Qur'an and look at the sunnah through the frame of hikmat. Looking at the resources which catalyze the determination of the sunnah, will prove that the theoretical foundation of a prophet's hikmat comes from the Qur'an. Therefore, the essence and principles of the Islamic world view are based on this first source, which is the Qur'an. As a matter of fact, according to most Muslim scientists, the concept of *"hikmat"* in the expression of, *Book and Hikmat* in the Qur'an is nothing other than sunnah, which is

[13] Hatipoğlu, Nihat, *Hz. Peygamber'le İslâm'ı Doğru Anlamak*, p. 244.

of a dynamic nature and is flexible enough adapt to the conditions of every age. Also defined as a prophet's hikmat, the sunnah is also rich in terms of meaning, in that it involves the fundamental principles of original Islamic thought and culture.

Looking at the sunnah within the context of hikmat, or describing the sunnah as a prophet's hikmat, will adjust the concept of *prophet* from an example to be imitated, to an example to be understood. The dynamic aspect of the Islamic world view is based on this foundation. People who research Islam and then attribute to it nothing more than wars and the administration of certain rules, have overlooked the prophet's hikmat, knowingly or unknowingly, and failed to penetrate this deep-seated power of Islamic hikmat.

Acting in line with the Qur'an, the Prophet followed the way of morality, worship and law after belief, which also happen to be the priorities of Islam. The Prophet followed these priorities in establishing principles of belief, morals and worship, followed by a legal system, which reflects the fundamental perspective of Islamic hikmat in terms of content, while also employing the basic attributes of a prophet's guidance. Such an approach will lead Muslims to a prophet's hikmat and a prophet's guidance.

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Suyuti's Hadith Criticism*

Recep ASLAN**

Abstract

Suyuti (d. 911/1505) is an important figure in the history of Islamic culture in 10th century. He is especially a major contributor to Hadith, Tafsir, Arabic Language and Literature sciences. In this article, by revealing the hadith criticism of Suyuti, who is interested in every branch of Islamic sciences, it is aimed to evaluate Suyuti's hadith criticism.

Suyûtî had a lot of interactions with hadith and Sunnah. Suyuti has made isnâd-centered evaluations in determining the well-being of the narratives. He, as seen in his small volume works such as Risale, has reported made up hadiths, he was not selective in the criticism of the hadiths and he acted loose in assessing the sanad of the hadiths.

Keywords: Hadith, Sunnah, Suyuti, Hadith, Criticism, Sanad.

Suyuti'nin Hadis Tenkitçiliği

Özet

Suyûtî (ö. 911/1505), İslâm kültür tarihinde hicri 9. asra damgasını vurmuş önemli bir şahsiyettir. Özellikle Hadis, Tefsir, Arap Dili ve Edebiyatı ilimlerinde büyük katkıları olan etkili bir âlimdir. Bu makalede, İslâmî ilimlerin her dalıyla ilgilenmiş olan Suyûtî'nin hadis tenkitçiliğini ortaya koyarak değerlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Suyûtî hadis ve sünnetle uzun süre iştiğal etmiştir. Suyûtî, rivâyetlerin sıhhatini belirlemede isnâd merkezli değerlendirmeler yapmıştır. Özellikle risâle türü olan küçük hacimli eserlerde uydurma ve mesnedsiz birçok nakil yapmış, hadislerin kritiğinde seçici davranmamış, bu değerlendirmelerde genellikle mütesâhil davranmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hadis, Sünnet, Suyûtî, Hadis Tenkitçiliği, Sened.

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Introduction

a. Hadith Discipline in Suyuti's Era

The period when Suyuti lived was an era of improvement and development for Islamic sciences, and many works were written in this period. Many scholars were trained in this period with the assistance of Mamluks of Islamic works. In parallel to these developments, many hadith studies were conducted in this era. The number of those who were interested in the hadiths increased, and hadith orthography councils were established. Sahawi (d. 902/1497), one of the scholars of the era, described the process as follows: "Hadith councils were developed. Those who participated in these councils were interested in the hadiths."[1]

There were two dimensions regarding the hadiths in this era:

The first was related to hadith narratives. Scholars from Egypt and Damascus combined the large musnads, which are the rich sources of hadith narratives. Shah Valiyullah Dahlawi (d. 1176/1762) explained the case as follows:

"The number of hadith chains was limited in this era. However, Egyptians paid particular attention to the issue. Zaynuddin Zakariyyah al-Ansari (d. 926/1520), Shamsuddin Sahawi and Jalaluddin Suyuti were among the last scholars who placed importance on the hadith chains in Egypt…"[2]

The second dimension is related to the dirayat al-hadith. The number of studies in this field is not at the desired level. However, works related to all disciplines of known hadith sciences were compiled. The following works are examples written within different fields:

1. Works of Hadith Compilations:

Ibn Kasir's (d. 744/1373) ***Jami al-Masanid wa's-Sunan***: Ibn Kasir gathered the ***Musnads*** of Kutub al-Sittah, Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/856), Bazzar (d. 292/905) and Abu Ya'la (d. 307/920); and Tabarani's (d. 360/971) ***Mu'jam al-Kabir***.[3]

Ibn Hajar al-Askalani's (d. 852/1449) ***Atraf al-Kutubi al-Ashara*** (***Ithaf al-Maharra bi-Atraf al-Ashara***): Ibn Hajar covered the following ten books in his work: ***Muwatta'***, ***Musnad-ush-Shafi***, ***Musnad as-Ahmad***, ***Musnad ud-Darimi***, ***Sahih al-Ibn Huzaymah***, ***Muntaka Ibn al-Jarud***, ***Sahih as-Ibn Hibban***, ***Mustadrak al-Hakim***, ***Mustahraj us-Abi Avanah ala Muslim***, ***Sherhu Me'an al-Asar***, ***Sunen ad-***

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[1] Sahawi, Shamsuddin Muhammad ibn Abdirrahman, *ad-Dav'ul-Lami li Ahl al-Karn at-Tasi*, Dar al-Maktabat al-Hayat, Beirut, n.d., VIII, p. 13.

[2] ad-Dahlawi, Shah Waliyullah, narrated from *İttihaf an-Nabi fi ma Yahtaju ileyh al-Muhaddisun wa'l-Fakih*, Lehham, Badi´ as-Sayyid, *al-Imam a-Hafiz Jalaluddin Suyuti and Juhuduhu fi'l-Hadith and Ulumih*, Daru Kutaybah, Damascus, 1994, p. 200.

[3] Kattani, Muhammad ibn Jafar, *Hadis Literatürü*, translated by Yusuf Ozbek, İz Pub., Istanbul, 1994, p. 378.

Darekutni. The number of books referred to is 11. The additional one is Ibn Huzaymah's (d. 311/924) ***Sahih,*** only one quarter of which we still have. [4]

2. Commentaries:

Ibn Hajar's ***Fath al-Bari*** and al-Ayni's (d. 855/1451) ***Umdat as-Kari*** are the most well-known commentaries written in this era. These works still hold their value in the present time.

3. Comprehensive works were written within the discipline of rijal. Works such as Ibn Hajar's ***al-Isaba*** and ***Tahzib at-Tahzib*** are among the works of this era.

In addition, ***al-Makasidu'-Hasanah*** by Sahawi, who collected the hadiths that are well-known by the public, and Sharrani's (d.973/1565), one of Suyuti's students, ***al-Badru al-Munir*** are among the most popular works of the era. These popualr works also include Ibn Hajar's ***al-Matalib al-Aliyyah***, one of Zawaid books, and al-Haysami's (d. 807/1405) ***Majma az-Zawaid*** are among the works of this era.[5] Books on hadith fatwa were also written in this period. These books include Ibn Hajar's ***Fatawa*** and Sahawi's ***al-Ajwibat ul-Mardiyyah amma Suiltu anhu min al-Ahadis an-Nabawiyyah***.[6]

Suyuti benefited from this rich hadith literature partly mentioned above. Suyuti made the following explanation in Ibn Hajar's bibliography: "Although I was not able to witness Ibn Hajar's divan and receive Islamic lessons from him through whirling practices, I could still benefit from his works."[7]

The hadith scholars who were known for their abilities to memorize, and narratives in Suyuti's era, include the following: Abdillah ibn Kutlubogha al-Hanafi (d. 879/1474), Shamsuddin as-Sahawi, al-Hafiz ad-Dimi (d. 908/1502), al-Kastallani (d. 923/1517), Zaynuddin Zakariyyah ibn Muhammad al-Ansari as-Sunayki (d. 926/1519). These scholars became well-known in the hadith discipline in Egypt between the late ninth Hijri century and early tenth century.[8]

b. Suyuti's Interest in the Hadith Discipline

Suyuti stated that he was an expert in seven disciplines which are tafsir, the hadiths, fiqh, syntax, rhetoric studies, statement and innovation, and he mentioned that none of his masters could have achieved what he did in these disciplines,

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[4] Kattani, ibid., p. 371.
[5] See: Çakan, İsmail L., *Hadis Literatürü*, M.U. IFAV Pub., Istanbul, 1989, p. 118-120.
[6] Kattani, ibid., p. 397.
[7] Suyuti, *Zaylu Tazkirat al-Huffaz li Zahabi*, Daru Ihyai't-Turasi al-Arabi, Beirut, 1955, p. 381-382.
[8] For the bibliographies of these scholars, see Halife, Rashad, *Madrasat al-Hadith fi Misr*, Cairo, 1983, p. 58-64.

excluding fiqh.[9] Accordingly, Suyuti is an expert in the hadiths, and he wrote works in this field.

However, the first disciplines Suyuti was interested in were Arabic and fiqh. He made the following statement: "I became an expert in the discipline of syntax, read many relevant books, and made many commentaries on these books. Most of the modern scholars and their salafs could not become as knowledgeable as I did regarding these books… Then, I displayed the same interest in fiqh. These two disciplines are the most significant for me. These are followed by rhetoric and the istilah al-hadith…"[10]

Hadith education was different from other disciplines as its practices were not only performed in madrasahs. Although Suyuti read many hadith compilations, he did not find these efforts sufficient, and attempted to collect hadiths. The collection-based efforts required him to memorize hadiths or go beyond what was discovered. The procedure he practiced the most in that era was the sama procedure in which students memorize what their masters convey. Reading hadiths only from a hadith compilation was not enough; the only sufficient and reliable method was to obtain the hadiths directly from the conveying sheikh. The narratives in the hadith discipline indicate the verbal conveyance of the hadiths, while dirayah reflects examining the authenticity of the hadiths and the justice of hadith scholars who narrated the hadiths.[11] Suyuti reflects his attitude toward the comparison between narrative and dirayah as follows:

"Due to many reasons, I did not aim to collect hadiths using the sama method because I was working on the dirayat al-hadith discipline. I received education from the most well-known scholars within the discipline, lectured people and compiled works in this discipline. To me, my achievements were more significant than hadith narratives. Another reason is that I consider the sheiks who convey narratives through sama as ordinary unqualified females and old men, and I did not need to collect hadiths from them as a scholar… However, I did not completely abandon the sama procedure."[12]

Suyuti mentioned some of the hadiths compiled through sama in his bibliography.[13]

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[9] Suyuti, *Husnu al-Muhadara fi Ahbari Misr wa'l-Kahirah*, Dar al-Kutubi'l-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1997, I, 290; Sahawi, *ibid*., IV, 67; Shawkani, Muhammad ibn Ali, *al-Bedru at-Tali´ bi Mahasini min Ba'di al-Karni as-Sabi´*, Daru al-Marifah, Beirut, n.d., I, 330; Suyuti, *Bughyat al-Vu'at fi Tabakat al-Lugaviyyin wa'n-Nuhat*, inv. Muhammad Abu al-Fazl Ibrahim, al-Maktabat ul-Asriyyah, Beirut, 1964, I, Mukaddimah, p. 12.

[10] Suyuti, *at-Tahaddus bi Nimetillah*, inv. Elisabeth Sartain, Unıversity of Cambridge, Cambridge, 1975, p. 138; Sartain, Elisabeth, *Jalaluddin Suyuti's Life and Works*, n.d. Hasan Nureddin, Gelenek Pub., Istanbul, 2002, p. 20.

[11] Sartain, Elisabeth, *Jalaluddin Suyuti*, Cambridge, University of Cambridge, 1975, p. 18.

[12] Suyuti, *at-Tahaddus*, p. 247-248.

[13] Suyuti, *ibid.*, p. 71-78.

Suyuti quit working in the discipline of logic and stated that working in the hadith discipline was a gift from Allah for him:

"I read a work of logic in the early period of my education. Then Allah made me reluctant to pursue this discipline. I once heard Ibn as-Salah's (d. 643/1245) fatwa that this discipline is unlawful. Thus, I lost my interest in logic. Allah (j.j.) granted me the opportunity to be an expert in the hadith discipline, the most esteemed scientific discipline."[14]

Suyuti was able to memorize all hadith narratives as he had a strong memory. He stated that he memorized 200,000 hadiths. He mentioned that he could memorize more if there were more.[15]

c. Suyuti's Commentaries on the Hadith Discipline

Suyuti indicated the number of sheiks from whom he collected hadiths through sama and permissions he was granted to be 195 in ***al-Munjam fi al Mu'jam,*** and presented their bibliographies. Suyuti divided these sheiks into four categories. He added an abbreviation next to sheiks' bibliographies to indicate their categories. He did not need to add an abbreviation next to the fourth category as he collected fewer hadiths from the sheiks in this category.[16]

He classified these categories as follows:

The First Category: The narratives from sheiks such as, Fahr Ibn al-Bukhari (d. 690/1291), Abdulmu'min ibn Halaf ad-Dimyati (d. 705/1306), and Takıyyuddin Suleiman ibn Hamza (d. 715/1315).

The Second Category: The narratives from sheiks such as, Sirajuddin Omar ibn Raslan Bulkini (d. 805/1403), and Hafiz Abu al-Fadl Zaynuddin al-Iraqi (d. 806/1404). This category is weaker than the first category in uluwwu as-Sanad.

The Third Category: The narratives from masters such as, Ibn al-Kuwaik and Jamal al-Hanbali. This category is weaker than the second category in uluwwu as-Sanad.

The Fourth Category: The narratives from individuals such as, Abu Zur'a ibn Iraqi (d. 826/1422) and Ibn Jazari (d. 833/1429). Suyuti did not convey any narratives from these individuals, and he did not undertake any assumption- or orthography-based studies.[17]

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[14] Suyuti, *Husn al-Muhadara*, I, 290. See: Suyuti, *at-Tahaddus*, p. 241-242.

[15] Ibn al-Imad, Abu al-Falah Abdulhay, *Shezarat az-Zahab fi Ahbari Man Zahab*, edited by Abdulkadir Arnawud, Mahmud Arnawud, Daru Ibn Kasir, Damascus, 1993, X, 76.

[16] Suyuti, *al-Munjam fi al Mu'jam: Mu'jamu Shuyuhi's-Suyuti*, edited by Ibrahim Bajis Abdülmajid, Daru Ibn Hazm, Beirut, 1415/1995, p. 45; Suyuti, *at-Tahaddus*, p. 43.

[17] Suyuti, *at-Tahaddus*, p. 43; See: Suyuti, *al-Munjam*, p. 45.

Suyuti, mentioned about 130 sheiks from whom he conveyed narratives on different categories in his work entitled, "***at-Tahaddus bi nimetillah***". The narratives from these sheiks have "Ali" imputations[18].[19]

In addition, there are ushari hadiths in relation to Suyuti's practices. There are three of these rare hadiths. In other words, he found these around Damietta on his journeys.[20]

d. The Works Compiled by Suyuti on the Hadith Disciplines

Suyuti provided works from almost every branch of the hadith discipline. Ad-Dawudi (d. 945/1539), one of Suyuti's most well-known students, mentioned 229 hadith works by Suyuti.[21] Badi´ as-Sayyid Lahham mentioned 304 works by Suyuti in his relevant work.[22] Some of these works are separate studies. However, some have tiny volumes. We will provide the titles of some of these works.

Some of Suyuti's hadith works include the following:

1. Works of Hadith Compilations: ***Jam'ul-Jawami, al-Jami as-Saghir***.

2. Hadith commentaries: ***at-Tawshih ala al-Jamii as-Sahih li al-Bukhari, ad-Dibac ala Sahihi Muslim ibn Hajjaj, Kutu al-Mughtezi ala Jamii at-Tirmidhi, Zahru ar-Ruba ale al-Mujtaba li an-Nasai, Mirkat as-Suud ila Sunani Abi Dawud, Misbahu az-Zujajah ala Sunan-i Ibn Maje, Tanwir al-Hawalik Sherhu Muwatta al-Malik, Ukudu az-Zabarjad ala Musnad al Imam Ahmad***.

3. A certain hadith study or commentary of that hadith: ***Azab al-Manahil fi man Kale Ena Alimun fe Huve Jahilun, at-Tasbih li Salati at-Tasbih, Juz' fi Turuki man Hafiza ala Ummati Arba'ine Hadisan, Muntaha al-Amal fi Sherhi Hadisi Innama al-A'mal.***

4. Hadith books prepared thorough selection and abstraction: ***Mujarrad al-Muwata, al-Muntaka mine al-Mustadrak ala as-Sahihain li al-Hakim, al-***

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[18] The lower the number of conveyors, whose names were mentioned since the Prophet's era, the closer the narrators are to the Prophet. This imputation is called, "Ali Imputation". The well-known hadith authorities preferred to collect hadiths from those with Ali imputations. See: Iraqi, *at-Takyid wa'l-Izah li-ma Utlika and Ughlika min Mukaddimati Ibn as-Salah, Muesseset al-Kutubi's-Sakafiyyah*, Beirut, 1991, p. 240-241.

[19] Suyuti, *at-Tahaddus*, p. 70.

[20] Kattani, ibid., p. 192. For these hadiths, see Suyuti, *at-Tahaddus*, p. 71-74; Suyuti, *Tadrib ar-Ravi fi Sharhi Takribi an-Navavi,* edited by A. Omar Hashim, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Beirut, 1999, 147 etc.

[21] For the list of these works' titles, see Bukai, Muhammad Hayri, "Mahtutatu Tarjumat al-Allame as-Suyuti li Abi Abdillah Shamsuddin Muhammad ad-Dawudi", al-Arabiyyah, January, 2001, no: 13, p. 380-394.

[22] See: Lahham, ibid., p. 239-264.

Muntaka min Musnadi ibni Abi Shaybah, al-Muntaka min Musnad Abi Ya'la, al-Muntaka min Mu'jam at-Tabarani, al-Muntaka min Sunani Said ibn Mansur. [23]

5. Classification of certain books: ***İs'afu at-Tullab bi tartibi ash-Shihab***.

6. Zawaid books: ***Bughyet ar-Ra'id fi'z-Zayl ala Majmua'iz-Zawa'id, Zawa'id Shu'abi al-Iman li'l-Bayhaki, Zawa'idu Nawadir al-Usul li al-Hakimi at-Tirmidhi***.

7. Hadith fascicles: They contain hadiths on certain issues. ***Ahadis ush-Shita, al-Haber ad-Dall ala Vujudi al-Kutb wa'l-Awtad wa'n-Nujaba wa'l-Abdal, Juz' fi Asmai'l-Mudellisin*** etc.

8. Takhrij books: These books examined the takhrij from the first hadith sources mentioned in doctrine, tafsir, the hadiths, usul al-fiqh, Sufism and dictionary works by certain scholars[24]. ***Manahilu as-Safa fi Tahriji Ahadisi ash-Shifa, Nashru al-Abir fi Tahriji Ahadisi ash-Sherhi al-Kabir, Tahriju Ahadis al-Kifayah, Tahriju Ahadisi Sherhi al-Mawaakif, Tahriju Ahadisi Sherhi Akaidi at-Taftazani*** etc.[25]

9. Works on hadith procedure: ***Tadrib ar-Rawi fi Sherhi Takribi an-Nawawi, Alfiyet al-Hadith*** (***Nazmu ad-Durar fi Ilmi al-Asar***), ***al-Bahr al-lazi Zahar fi Sherhi Alfiyat al-Aser***.

10. The books on well-known hadiths: ***ad-Durar al-Muntasirah fi'l-Ahadisi al-Mushtahirah***.

11. Books collecting the mutawatir hadiths: ***al-Fawaid al-Mutakasirah fi'l-Ahbari al-Mutawatirah***. Suyuti shortened his work under the following title, ***al-Azhar al-Mutanasirah fi'l-Ahbar al-Mutawatirah***"[26]. He also has another work under the following title, ***Katf al-Azhari al-Mutanasirah fi'l-Ahbar al-Mutawatirah***.

12. Mawzu'at books: ***al-Laal al-Masnu'a fi'l-Ahadis al-Mawdu'a, an-Nukhat al-Badi'at ala al-Mawzu'at***. Imam later shortened his work under the following title, ***at-Taakkubat ala al-Mawu'at***.[27]

13. Categorization, refutation and amendment books: ***Tabakat al-Huffaz, al-Munjam fi'l Mu'jam: Mu'jamu Shuyuhi as-Suyuti, Is'af al-Mubatta bi Rijal al-Muwattah, Juz' fi Eshma al-Mudellisin, Tazkirat ul-Mu'tasi bi men Haddese wa Nesiye***.

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[23] Tabba', Iyad Halid, *Jalaluddin Suyuti: Ma'lamat al-Ulum al-Islamiyyah*, Dar al-Kalam, Damascus, 1996, p. 149-150.
[24] Kattani, ibid., p. 388; Çakan, ibid., p. 224.
[25] Kattani, ibid., p. 388-394.
[26] Kattani, ibid., p. 399.
[27] Kattani, ibid., p. 325-326.

14. Works on Asbab wurud al-hadith: ***al-Lum'a fi Asbab al-Hadis***. The work was translated into Turkish. It was published by Ihtar Yayıncılık in Erzurum in 1996.

15. The work on Garib al-hadith: ***at-Tazyil wa't-Taznib ala Nihayat al-Garib***. Suyuti epitomized Ibn al-Asir's (d. 606/1210) ***an-Nihayah fi Garib al-Hadis***.[28]

16. The work on fabrication: ***al-Mudrij il al-Mudraj***.

17. Consecutive hadith books: ***al-Musalsalat al-Kubra, Jiyad ul-Musalsalat.***[29]

18. Works on Ushariyyah: ***Ushariyat al-Bukhari, al-Faid al-Jari fi Turuk al-Hadis al-Ushari, Juz as-Salam min Sayyid al-Anam, an-Nadiriyyah min al-Ushariyyah***.

I. SUYUTI'S HADITH CRITICISM

The critisim of the hadiths entails examining the hadiths' imputation, the conveyors and texts in order to differentiate the true hadiths from weak or false hadiths. Accordingly, the priorities include determining the authenticity of the conveyors of imputations, and criticizing hadith texts in a way so as not to leave any doubts about the authenticity. As hadiths consist of two sections, chain and texts, a criticism-based study conducted on the narratives includes both these sections, too.[30]

Two factors should always be considered when determining the hadiths' authenticity. These are chains and texts, the integral elements of the hadiths. As chains help us reach the hadith text, the examination in this phase can be regarded as formal criticism. In cases where imputable criticism is insufficient in determining a hadith's authenticity, the text section is reviewed and authenticity is determined using certain perspectives.

These perspectives include the Qur'an, the nabawi sunnah, history, logic, scientific data, and contradictions and inconsistencies seen in the texts.[31]

This study will review Suyuti's contributions to hadith chains and texts.

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[28] Kattani, ibid., p. 333.

[29] Kattani, ibid., p. 124.

[30] Sibai, Mustafa, *as-Sunnatu wa Makanatuha fi't-Tashri al-İslami*, Fourth Edition, al-Maktab al-Islami, Beirut, 1985, p. 269-271; Karacabey, Salih, *Hadith Criticism*, Sır Pub., Istanbul, 2001, p. 16.

[31] Sibai, ibid., p. 271-272. See: al-Gumari, Muhammad ibn as-Siddiq, *al-Mughir 'ala al-Ahadis al-Mawdu'ati fi'l-Jami as-Saghir*, Beirut, 1982, p. 136-138; Karacabey, *ibid*., p. 233-254.

a. Suyuti's Objections to Ibn al-Jawzi

This study will use Suyuti's work, ***al-Laal al-Masnu'a fi'l-Ahadis al-Mawdu'a***, while presenting his method of criticizing narratives from a chain-based perspective.

While explaining the reason for compiling ***Laali,*** Suyuti stated that not all of the issues in ***Mawzu'at*** by Ibn al-Jawzi (d.597/1201) took place, and these issues include weak narratives, and even true and benevolent narratives.[32]

We find the following when we review this work from the author: After conveying the khabar in "***Kitab al-Mawzu'at***" by Ibn al-Jawzi using the chains, Suyuti briefly reflects on Ibn al-Jawzi's ideas of the hadiths, criticizes his own ideas using the word, "قلت" (qultu), and completes his statement with the phrase, "علم الله" (vallahu a'lam).

In addition to the details in "***Kitab al-Mawzu'at***", the information presented by Suyuti on criticism consists of the narratives and passages based on the conveyance of different ideas on the hadiths and the conveyors, which were used by him to support his thoughts.[33]

This study will evaluate Suyuti's criticisms based on the hadiths, the conveyors and their ideas, and the information he propounded.

Suyuti states that not all narratives mentioned by Ibn al-Jawzi in "***Kitab al-Mawzu'at***" are false. To prove his own claim, he presented the evidence that the hadiths were presented in other sources, the narratives were collected from other passages, and there were witnesses and authorized scholars.

The relevant examples include the following:

1. "Allah grants 1500 good deeds to whoever reads al-Ikhlas 200 times, excluding the debts of that person." The issue was recognized and accepted making the statement, "La yuhtejju bih", to Hatim ibn Maymun in the hadith chain.[34] However, Suyuti stated, "قلت" (qultu) and Tirmidhi (d. 279/893) presented this narrative in his work[35]. He also attempted to prove that this narrative was not false by mentioning other passages.[36]

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[32] Suyuti, *al-Leal al-Masnu'a fi'l-Ahadis al-Mawda*, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1996, I, 9.

[33] Karayılan, Mevlüt, *Suyûtî'nin Leâlî'deki Kaynakları Ve Tenkid Metodu*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, A.U.I.S.S., Ankara, 1994, p. 91.

[34] Ibn al-Jawzi, Abu al-Faraj Abdurrahman ibn Ali, *Kitab al-Mawzuat*, edited by Nuraddin ibn Shukri ibn Ali Boyacilar, Maktabatuh Advau as-Salaf, s.l., 1997, III, 18-19.

[35] Tirmidhi, Abu Isa Muhammed ibn Isa, *as-Sunan*, edited by Ahmad Muhammad Shakir, Matbaatu Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, Cairo, 1356/1937, Fadail al-Qur'an, 11.

[36] Suyuti, ibid., I, 217-218.

2. "The holders of the Qur'an are the esteemed members of Jannah."[37] Ibn al-Jawzi called this narrative, "obsolete".[38] Suyuti stated that this narrative was conveyed by the hadith authorities such as, Abu Dawud (d. 275/889), Tirmidhi and Nasai, and Zahabi (d. 748/1348) conveyed the same hadith in ***Mizan al-I'tidal.*** In addition, hadith authorities such as, Yahya ibn Main (d. 233/848) and Abu Hatim ar-Razi (d. 277/890) considered this narrative to be true.[39] Thus, Suyuti stated that this hadith text is correct.[40]

As this example demonstrates, Suyuti used other sources to prove that this narrative, which was claimed to be obsolete by Ibn al-Jawzi, is true. The remarkable point here is that he did not provide the chain and hadith text, although he mentioned the source that included this narrative.

3. "All ummahs have their Majusis. The Majusis of this ummah are those who deny destiny…" Suyuti states that the aforementioned narrative has other passages, while presenting his criticisms. He also mentioned the passages presented by Abu Dawud[41] and Ibn Majah (d. 273/887).[42] [43]

4. Suyuti stated that Asbagh ibn Zaid, the conveyor of the hadith, "Whoever becomes the sole holder of a good and stores it for forty nights moves away from Allah", was mutaba' to Yazid ibn Harun in Ahmad ibn Hanbal's *Musnad*[44], and that Asbagh ibn Zaid conveyed the hadith with its chains.[45] However, Ibn al-Jawzi stated that this narratives and similar ones are not true.[46]

Suyuti criticized Ibn al-Jawzi regarding this and similar examples and ensured that the narratives are authentic by presenting the mutaba' of the narratives. However, Suyuti mentioned a similar narrative in ***al-Jami as-Saghir***, and stated that this narrative is weak.[47] This is a contradiction and an inconsistency this is seen between two works by Suyuti.

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[37] Darimi, Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Abdirrahman, *as-Sunan*, Daru Ihya as-Sunnat an-Nabawiyyah, Damascus, 1349, Fadail al-Qur'an, 33 (II, 470).
[38] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., I, 413-414.
[39] Zahabi, Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Osman, *Mizan al-I'tidal fi Nakdi'r-Rijal*, edited by Ali Muhammad al-Bajawi, Daru Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, Cairo, 1963, III, 340.
[40] Suyuti, ibid., I, 223.
[41] Abu Dawud, Suleiman ibn Ash'as, *as-Sunan*, M. M. Abdulhamid, n.d., Kitab as-Sunnah, 17, no: 4691, (II, 222).
[42] Ibn Majah, Abu Abdillah Muhammed ibn Yazid al-Kazvini, *as-Sunan*, n.d. Muhammad Fuad Abdulbaki, Daru Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, 1952, Mukaddimah, 10, no: 92, (I, 35).
[43] Suyuti, ibid., I, 236-237. Ali al-Kari mentioned relevant narratives and stated that the narrative is authentic, contrary to Suyuti. See: Ali el-Kari, *al-Asrar al-Marfa fi'l-Ahbar al-Mawdua*, edited by Muhammad Sabbagh, Dar al-Amanah, Beirut, 1971, p. 213.
[44] Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, s.l., 1314, II, 33.
[45] Suyuti, ibid., II, 124.
[46] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., III, 14-18. See: Ali al-Kari, *Mevzûât-i Aliyyu'l-Kârî Tercemesi*, translated by Ahmed Serdaroğlu, Ankara, 1966, p. 111; s. author, *al-Asrar al-Marfu*, p. 330.
[47] Suyuti, *al-Jami as-Saghir fi Ahadis al-Bashiri an-Nazir*, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1990, p. 508.

5. Suyuti stated that Ibn Majah and Bukhari (d. 256/870) conveyed hadiths from Yusuf ibn Yusuf, who was cited to have considered Ibn Al-Jawzi's narratives as, "munkar" and "matruk"[48] .[49] Suyuti stated that Abu Dawud, Nasai and Tirmidhi conveyed hadiths from Suleiman ibn Arkam[50] who was disapproved of through the terms, "matruk" and "laysa bi-shay".[51]

Accordingly, Suyuti attempted to remove the imputation of certain conveyors accused by Ibn al-Jawzi, by stating that these conveyors are related to the hadith authorities of kutub al-sittah. He also attempted to prove that the narrative was authentic.

6. "Looking at the following things will boost the capability to see: Green plants, flowing water and beautiful faces." Ibn al-Jawzi states that this narrative is not true, and that Vahb ibn Vahb is a liar.[52] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751/1350) supported Ibn al-Jawzi's claim and stated that this narrative and similar narratives were fictionalized by atheists, and any so-called hadiths with compliments of beautiful faces just aim to blemish the Prophet's name.[53] Ali al-Kari (d. 1014/1605) adopts a more flexible attitude and states that these hadiths are weak rather than being false.[54]

Suyuti defended this narrative, stating that there were other passages. He also referred the hadith critics' evaluations of certain conveyors while mentioning other passages. Suyuti did not confine himself to the passages and stated that, "These witnesses reflect that the hadith is true", after mentioning the hadiths that described how the Prophet enjoyed looking at green plants.

Suyuti made the additional remarks: "Ukayli (d. 323/935), Ibn Hibban (d. 354/965), Hakim (d. 405/1015) and other hadith authorities considered this narrative to be a myth due to being conveyed by a conveyor who was accused of acting falsely in the chain of this narrative. However, the same text was well-known with another passage. As Ibn al-Jawzi was unaware of the case, he considered the hadith text to be authentic and included it in his book ***Kitab al-Mawza'at***, which is not correct. Hadith authorities criticized Ibn al-Jawzi for his attitude. The last person who criticized Ibn al-Jawzi was Ibn Hajar. Hadith scholars frequently state that this/that hadith is a myth because of this/that chain. We have also witnessed that they say these hadiths are not myth by using another imputation."[55]

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[48] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., II, 509.
[49] Suyuti, *al-Asrar al-Marfu'a*, I, 425.
[50] Ibn al-Jawzi, *ibid.*, II, 503; III, 220, 292, 393.
[51] Suyuti, ibid., I, 18.
[52] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., I, 253-254.
[53] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Shamsuddin Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr, *al-Manar al-Munif fi's-Sahih wa'd-Daif*, trs. Muzaffer Can, Cantaş Pub., Istanbul, 1992, p. 63-64.
[54] Ali al-Kari, *al-Esrar al-Marfu'a*, p. 435–436. See al-Hut, Muhammad Darvish, *Asna al-Matalib fi Ahadisi Muhtalifat al-Maratib*, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Beirut, 1983, p. 119.
[55] Suyuti, ibid., I, 105-108.

If scholars other than Ibn al-Jawzi consider a hadith to be false due to the conveyor, their aim is to argue that the relevant imputation is not true. The same text might have been honestly conveyed by using another imputation. Calling a hadith false means calling the relevant imputation false, in the same way that calling a hadith true means calling the relevant imputation true. This is the point Suyuti aimed to imply and practice. This reason reflects Ibn al-Jawzi.

7. "When those with black flags come to Khorasan, we will be subject to them. Remember that Mahdi, the caliph of Allah, will be among them." Ibn al-Jawzi called this hadith "La asla lah". He meant that the hadith has no known chains. He noted that conveyors of the ravayah series did not convey any hadiths from each other.[56]

Suyuti leaves the evaluation to Ibn Hajar's consideration and conveys texts from ***al-Kawl al-Musaddad.*** Ibn Hajar stated that Ibn al-Jawzi made a mistake, and this narrative was presented by Ahmad ibn Hanbal ***Musnad***[57].[58] Suyuti mentioned that Hakim presented this narrative in ***Mustadrak***, and he conveyed this hadith from ***Mustadrak***.[59] He implied in this series of chains that Amr ibn Qys is a reliable conveyor of Muslim (d. 261/875) and the four ***Sunans.*** He completes his evaluations by addressing two equal narratives Abu Sheikh (d. 369/979) presented in ***Fitan*** and Ibn Asakir's (d. 571/1176) supportive narratives.[60]

This narrative indicates that Suyuti does not offer any opinions about him, but conveys the details about the conveyor who became the target of narrative-based criticisms. However, this is a hadith that was made up for political purposes.[61] If cautiously examined, Suyuti conveyed the information about the hadiths and the conveyors, but he did not clearly mention anything about the narratives.

M. Ali Durmuş evaluated this narrative and similar narratives in his thesis entitled "***Examination of Mahdi Hadiths***" as follows: "Suyuti's complimentary narratives on "those with black flags" and "Khorasan" were clearly made up for Abbasids, particularly for Abu Muslim's propaganda. For example, one of these hadiths mentions as-Saffah, al-Mansur and al-Mahdi, the Abbasid caliphs, addressing Abbas, the Prophet's uncle. How could it be possible for the Prophet to know the sultans who came after him, to separately mention their names, and praise them together with Gabriel?"[62]

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[56] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., II, 287-288. See: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, ibid. p. 138-139.
[57] Ahmad ibn Hanbel, ibid., V, 277.
[58] Ibn Hajar, Ebu'l-Fadl Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Kinani al-Askalani, *al-Kavlu al-Musadad fi'z-Zabbi 'ani al-Musnad*, Haydarabad, 1319, p. 45-46.
[59] Hakim, Abu Abdullah an-Naysaburi, *al-Mustadrak ala as-Sahahain*, Beirut, n.d., IV, 464.
[60] Suyuti, ibid., I, 399-400.
[61] Kandemir, M. Yaşar, *False Hadiths*, D.I.B. Pub., Ankara, 1991, p. 41.
[62] Durmuş, M. Ali, *Mehdî Hadislerinin Tedkiki*, Unpublished Master's thesis, A.U.I.S.S., Ankara, 2000, p. 145.

b. Suyuti's Evaluations of the Text

This study will use Suyuti's work, ***al-Laal al-Masnu'a fi'l-Ahadis al-Mawdu'a***, while presenting his contributions to textual aspects of certain narratives. Suyuti carried out evaluations on imputation, rather than performing textual criticism, *in Laali.* Although it is rare, there are positive or negative evaluations of hadith texts.

The examples include the following:

1. "It is without a doubt that Allah's revelations mean direct orientation without a revelation process." Suyuti presented the following short evaluation of this narrative in Zahabi's ***Mizan al-I'tidal***:[63] The imputation was narrated with an unclear chain from the conveyors, many of whom are unknown; the text is, on the other hand, made up.[64] Ibn al-Jawzi regarded this narrative as made up by making the following statements: "false", "la asla lah".[65]

2. "My ummah will be divided into 73 sects. They will all go to Jannah, except the non-believers." Suyuti stated that both the chains and text of this narrative required too much effort. He implied that there are contradicting narratives in relation to the chains and texts, and it is not possible to prioritize one over another[66]. Afterwards, Suyuti conveyed the mahfouz[67] text. He added that this mahfouz, or a more authentic narrative, is maklub al-metn (a presentation in hadith texts).[68] Ibn al-Jawzi stated that these narratives and hadiths are false.[69]

3. "...Nobody named Ahmad or Muhammad will go to jahannam..." Ibn al-Jawzi stated that this narrative is false and is not presented with the evidence of the conveyor, Sadaka ibn Musa, because the locations in the narratives would be different.[70]

After stating that Zahabi called Ahmad ibn Abdullah, the conveyor of the hadith, a liar[71], and that Ibn Hajar said Sadaka ibn Musa is unknown and Ahmad ibn Abdillah conveyed munkar narratives from Sadaka[72], Suyuti stated that the

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[63] Zahabi, ibid., I, 298.
[64] Suyuti, ibid., I, 31. For a similar evaluation, see Suyuti, ibid., I, 258.
[65] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., I, 178. See: Ibn Arrak, Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Muhammad, *Tanzih ush-Sheriat al-Marfu'a an al-Ahbar ash-Sheniat al-Mawdu'a*, edited by Abdulvahhab Abdullatif, Muhammad Siddik, Maktabatah, Cairo Egypt, n.d., I, 173-174.
[66] Suyuti, ibid., I, 227-228.
[67] Mahfouz, the hadith preferred as the counterpart of a Shaz hadith. Koçyiğit, Talat, *Hadis Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Rehber Pub., Ankara, 1992, p. 251; Aydınlı, Abdullah, *Hadis Istılahları Sözlüğü*, Timaş Pub., Istanbul, 1987, p. 91.
[68] Suyuti, ibid., I, 228.
[69] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., I, 438-440. See: Ibn Arrak, ibid., I, 310; Ali al-Kari, ibid., p. 161-162; s. author, *Mawzuat*, p. 55.
[70] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., I, 241. See: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, ibid. p. 62.
[71] Zahabi, ibid., II, 313.
[72] Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-Mizan*, Haydarabad, 1330, III, 187.

hadith was presented in Abu al-Mahasin Abdurrazzak ibn Muhammad at-Tabasi's (d. 443/1052) "***Arba'un***", and this narrative was mu'dal.[73]

It is obvious that Suyuti suggests the hadith was false by conveying and presenting the views about the texts and conveyors.[74]

It is impossible for Suyuti to be unaware of the fact that reaching Jannah would be achieved through correct practices, instead of names and titles[75], and a person who does not fulfill Allah's orders would not be privileged before Allah, even if he has been bestowed with one of the most beautiful names of the Prophet.

Consequently, Suyuti would be expected to approve of Ibn al-Jawzi, stating that the hadith is false instead of confining himself to this khabar which is definitely false, and conveying the ideas.[76]

Abdulfattah Abu Guddah (d. 1417/1997) explained the principles and signs of determining a false hadith, and he presented examples that false hadiths contradict the provisions of the true sunnah.[77]

Suyuti stated in his work ***Tadrib ar-Ravi*** that narratives contradicting the mutawatir sunnah are false[78]. Suyuti acted as an opponent to Ibn al-support Ibn al-Jawzi against this khabar, which is a contradiction between two of Suyuti's works. He presented the methods for determining false hadiths in ***Tadrib ar-Ravi*** and he mentioned the criteria for classic hadith usul books in this work[79], but he did not follow the criteria in ***Laali***, as seen in this example.

c. A General Evaluation

While assessing the narratives in Laali, Suyuti carried out imputation-based evaluations but he did not present any remarkable textual criticisms. He did not follow the textual criticism criteria, which was generally accepted by hadith scholars, such as the Qur'an, the Prophet's sunnah, logic, historical data, and contradictions and inconsistencies seen in the texts.

His evaluations are limited in criticisms of chains. He presented the information that survived until his time to us. Thus, he was not selective. He also did not act properly while assessing the conveyors in the chain series.

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[73] Suyuti, ibid., I, 97.
[74] Karayılan, ibid., p. 112-113.
[75] Abu Guddah, Abdulfattah, *Mevzû Hadisler*, translated by Enbiya Yıldırım, İnsan Pub., Istanbul, 1997, p. 141-142.
[76] Karayılan, ibid., p. 113.
[77] Abu Guddah, ibid., p. 141-142.
[78] Suyuti, *Tadrib ar-Ravi*, I, 233.
[79] See: Suyuti, ibid., I, 233-236.

Abdulfattah Abu Guddah, a contemporary scholar, stated that Suyuti was not cautious in his evaluation of the conveyors. He evaluated the case using the following example: "Contemplating for a period is more benevolent than performing ibadah for sixty years." Suyuti conveyed this statement. Al-Munavi (d. 1030/1621) implied the false aspect in ***Faizu al-Qadir.*** This hadith is false as stated by Imam Ibn al-Jawzi in al-***Mawzu'at***.[80]

Suyuti stated in ***al-Laal al-Masnu'a*** that there is another narrative that supported this narrative. He either deliberately acted in an incautious manner or he was really unaware of the case, because there are two liars in the chain of the hadith that have the same meaning. The first is Said ibn Maysarah al-Bakri al-Basri. Yahya al-Kattan (...) stated that he was a liar, while al-Bukhari mentioned that his hadiths were rejected. Thus, conveying narratives from him is unlawful. Ibn Hibban stated that he conveyed false hadiths. The second is Ali ibn Ibrahim al-Kazwini. As Hafiz Ibn Hajar stated in the translated version of ***Lisan al-Mizan***, al-Kazwini provided false hadiths. Similarly, there are certain unknown individuals in the chains.

These incidents are present in the hadith mentioned to support this hadith by Suyuti. Can this hadith be accepted as supportive? May Allah forgive Hafiz Suyuti, who acted incautiously by supporting a false hadith with another false hadith."[81]

As this evidence indicates that Suyuti acted improperly in evaluating the hadith chains. Abu Guddah made the following the statement about Suyuti: "He is the most incautious imam, among the great imams we have mentioned up to the present day, as he presented weak, false and other similar narratives in his books and booklets.[82]

Although Suyuti claimed that he did not include any false hadiths in ***al-Jami'a'Saghir,*** [83] he was thought to include many weak hadiths.[84] Allamah Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn as-Siddik al-Gumari (d. 1380/1960) identified 456 false hadiths in ***al-Mughir 'al al-Ahadis al-Mawdu'ati fi'l-Jami's'Saghir*** and ***al-Jami'u'Saghir***.[85] Abu Guddah also stated that Suyuti could not comprehend the fact that many hadiths he included were false, due to reasons including his incautious attitude, failure to call a hadith "false"without facing the obligation to do so, and using false hadiths to support other false hadiths in works.[86]

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[80] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., III, 386.

[81] Abu Guddah, ibid., p. 53-54.

[82] Laknawi, Muhammad Abdulhay, *al-Ejvibat al-Fadila li As'ilet al-Ashrat al-Kamilah*, edited by Abdulfattah Abu Guddah, Fourth Edition, Dar as-Salam, Cairo, 1997, p. 126; Kırbaşoğlu, M. Hayri, *Alternatif Hadis Metodolojisi*, Kitabiyat, Ankara, 2002, p. 121.

[83] Suyuti, *al-Jami as-Saghir*, I, 5; Dayfullah, Muhammad Hasan, *Fayzu al-Qadir Sherhu al-Jamii as-Saghir*, al-Maktabat al-Halabi, Cairo, 1964, I, 3.

[84] Laknawi, ibid., p. 126; Kırbaşoğlu, ibid., p. 121.

[85] Laknawi, ibid., p. 130; Kırbaşoğlu, ibid., p. 121. See al-Gumari, *al-Mughir 'ala al-Ahadis al-Mawdu'ati fi'l-Jami as-Saghir.*

[86] Laknawi, ibid., p. 126-127; Kırbaşoğlu, ibid., p. 121.

Al-Gumari carried out evaluations in the introduction of his book before mentioning the false hadiths in ***al-Jami'u'Saghir.*** Suyuti stated that he mentioned the initial parts, or any unobtrusive parts, of many false hadiths and removed the remaining parts of these in ***al-Jami'u'Saghir.*** Thus, he aimed to hide the fact that these hadiths were false, and nobody would have understood it if he were to mention the hadiths in their entirety. He presented the following example: "O! Jabir! What Allah created first was the divine light of the Prophet".[87]

Consequently, Suyuti emphasized imputation rather than the text. Even though he formed certain criteria in ***Tadrib,*** he conveyed many weak and false narratives in his other booklets, particularly in ***al-Jami'u'Saghir.*** The fact that he did not place importance on textual criticism is one of the reasons that false and weak narratives are seen in Suyuti's works.

d. Comparisons of some of his Booklets in terms of Narrative-Based Criticism

This study will review certain booklets in Suyuti's ***al-Hawi li al-Fatawa***. These booklets are tiny volumes. This work in two volumes includes approximately 78 booklets and reviews many subjects such as fiqh, in particular, and tafsir, the hadiths, doctrines, Sufism and syntax. Certain narratives in this work were evaluated based on the chains and texts. This study will also examine whether his evaluations display similarities to those in ***al-Laal al-Masnu'a.***

1. His Booklet Entitled al-Kawlu al-Asbah fi Hadith, "Men Arafah Nafsah Fakad Arafah Rabbah"

Suyuti stated in this booklet that the abovementioned narrative was a well-known statement, not a true hadith, and it was the statement of the prominent scholars of the era.

Suyuti reviewed this statement from two perspectives:

a. Authenticity-based perspective: Suyuti stated that this statement is not true, Nawawah (d. 676/1277) called this statement "Laysah bi sabitin", and Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) regarded it as false. According to Ibn Samani (d. 489/1096), Zarkashi (d. 794/1392) stated in "***al-Ahadis al-Mushtahirah***" that this statement was made by Yahya ibn Muaz ar-Razi d. 258/872).[88]

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[87] al-Gumari, ibid., p. 6-7. Kırbaşoğlu, ibid., p. 122-123. See: Kırbaşoğlu, *İslâm Düşüncesinde Hadis Metodolojisi*, Ankara Okulu Pub., Ankara, 1999, p. 132.

[88] Zarkashi, Badruddin Muhammad ibn Abdillah, *at-Tazkirah fi'l-Ahadis al-Mushtahirah*, edited by Mustafa Abdulkadir Ata, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1986, p. 129. See: Ajluni, Ismail ibn Muhammad, *Kashf al-Hafa wa Muzil al-Ilbas amma Ishtahara min al-Ahadisi ala Alsinat an-Nas*, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1988, II, 262; Ali al-Kari, *al-Asrar al-Marfa'a*, p. 351-352; al-Hut, ibid., p. 299.

b. Regarding the meaning: Suyuti examined the statement in terms of the body-soul relationship and found it to be meaningful. He conveyed the ma'na assigned by Nawawi in particular, Tajuddin ibn Ataullah al-Iskandari (d. 709/1309), and Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 386/996).[89] Nawawi assigned the following ma'na to this kalam: It means that an individual is aware of his own impotence and poverty, serves as a servant to Allah, and considers Allah's divine titles, absolute authority and rububiyah. Other scholars examined this kalam considering the body-soul relationship and Sufist perspectives.[90]

2. The Booklet Entitled 'Azab al-Manahal fi Hadisi "Man Khale Ana Alimun Fahawah Jahilun"

Suyuti stated that this statement by Yahya ibn Abu Kasir (d. 129/747), one of the tabi'un members, was known within the category of a maktu hadith. However, he considered this narrative to be weak because of Yahya ibn Abu Kasir, a member of tabi-as Saghir. According to him, Abu Kasir only met Anas ibn Malik, but he did not meet any of the sahabah members. His narrative is not known with a contiguous imputation. Thus, he should be considered to be from atbaat-tabi'un. Although certain conveyors assign this narrative to this person as a marfu hadith with sighat al-jazm, the hadith ulama agreed on the assumption that Lays ibn Abu Salim, who was in the chain series, is not a qualified conveyor. For example, Ahmad ibn Hanbal called this narrative muztarab al-hadith. Hadith critics such as Yahya ibn Main, Ali ibn Madini (d. 234/849), and Nasai (d. 303/916) stated that Lays ibn Abu Salim is not a qualified conveyor.[91]

After presenting the evaluation regarding Lays ibn Salim, one of the conveyors in the aforementioned narrative associated with Yahya ibn Abu Kasir, Suyuti made the following evaluation, which is significant in terms of chain criticism:

"This narrative is not qualified as he experienced memory loss. Thus, his narratives were not considered to be accurate proper as he confused them with one another. This narrative is rejected because it is not known whether the conveyor experienced memory loss before or after conveying this hadith".[92]

After making this statement, the following question was directed to Suyuti: "Why was Lays ibn Abu Salim's narrative not recognized, although he was not accused of being a liar?" Suyuti answered the question by presenting examples of

[89] Suyuti, *al-Hawi li al-Fatawa*, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1988, II, 238-239.
[90] For more information, see Suyuti, ibid., II, 239-241. See: Suyuti, *ad-Durar al-Muntasirah fi'l-Ahadis al-Mushtahirah*, inv. Muhammad Abdulkadir Ata, Dar al-Kutub a-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1988, p. 228.
[91] For more information, see Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, II, 7-8.
[92] Suyuti, ibid., II, 8.

the types of false hadiths and reasons for making up false hadiths, which are significant for hadith usul.

He mentioned that there are two types of false hadiths; one of which is false and conveyed by liars, the second is related to those who made accidental errors within hadith narratives without any ulterior motives. Muztarab al-hadith reflects those who are not qualified and su'al-hifz. Those who made up hadiths conveyed the statements of the tabi'un, judges, doctors and Israiliyyah culture as hadiths, and they occasionally added additional wording to the texts of these so-called hadiths.[93]

After presenting these details which are significant for the hadith procedure, Suyuti stated that Abu Salim's narrative was not accepted due to negligence and complications, although he did not have any ulterior motives.

Suyuti criticized a narrative, which was known to be a hadith, in this booklet in accordance with the classic hadith procedure criteria presented in ***Tadrib ar-Ravi.*** He also criticized the imputation of the so-called hadith, and he provided certain information regarding the hadith procedure. However, he did not carry out any evaluations of the text of the hadith.

3. His Booklet Entitled Ad-Durret at-Tajiyah ala'l-Asilata an-Najiyahe:

Suyuti carried out evaluations in this booklet using different methods than those in the aforementioned booklets. He only examined the narratives and thoroughly reviewed the conveyors in the chain in the previous booklet. However, many narratives were collectively assessed in this booklet.

He mentioned his purpose in the introductory section as follows: "He was provided with a couple of hadiths from Damascus, and a study of the authenticity of these hadiths should be formed.[94] Suyuti discovered that some of these hadiths are authentic but some are the statements of other people. Therefore, he separately examined every hadiths provided to him".[95]

The booklet includes forty hadiths. Suyuti did not make a statement on each hadith. His assessment was not long. He evaluated the hadith chain as seen in other booklets. He mentioned the source of the hadith in the hadith regarding the curse on Jewish people, and he stated that both passages including the narrative were weak.[96] He presented those supported the hadith that those who die in foreign lands will be regarded as martyrs, and added that Amr ibn Hasis, in the chain of

[93] Suyuti, ibid., II, 9. For false hadith, see Suyuti, *Tadrib ar-Ravi*, I, 233-246.

[94] For these narratives, see Suyuti's booklet entitled "a*l-'Ajajat az-Zarnabiyyat afi as-Sulalati Zaynabiyyah*". Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, II, 31-46. This booklet includes topics such as the title and virtue of sayyid/sharif, wearing green clothes as a sign of seyyid, the negative aspects of the mortal world, benefiting from women's service, virtue of certain foods and red roses, and the narratives on the four caliphs.

[95] Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, II, 46-47.

[96] Suyuti, ibid., II, 47.

this hadith, was not up to date.[97] He only mentioned the chains in the third hadith that Islam would be adopted as a foreign religion,[98] and the fourth hadith on neighborhood relationships because there were no issues in the narrative series.[99] He stated that Suleiman ibn Amr is a liar in the narrative on offering date palm to pregnant women, and that this narrative was conveyed by Ibn al-Jawzi in ***al-Mawzu'at***.[100] Ibn al-Jawzi regarded Davud ibn Saghir as unqualified and conveyed this through the statement, munkar al-hadith, regarding the chain of the seventeenth hadith on Munkar and Nakir's questions.[101]

In addition, he mentioned the twenty-fourth hadith which states that the cedar in the harem region should not be cut down.[102] Suyuti presented his clear ideas on the twenty-sixth hadith on appreciating the name of a newborn, Muhammad, and added the following: "To me, the chain of this hadith consists of the conditions for the hasan hadith".[103]

Suyuti stated that all conveyors in the chain series of the thirty-first hadith on two angels that prayed for forgiveness, are reliable. However, he stated that Valid ibn Muslim, one of these conveyors, performed tadlis at-taswiyyah[104].[105] He stated that Anas, one of the conveyors, was unqualified.[106]

Suyuti stated that the thirty-first hadith, "I am the city of science, and Ali is the gate of that city", was accepted to be true by Tirmidhi, Tabarani and Hakim Naysaburi, and he also added that hadith authorities such as Ibn Hajar and Abu Said Alai (d. 761/1359) considered this hadith to be authentic.[107]

Ali al-Kari made the following evaluation of this hadith in ***Mawzu'at***: "Tirmidhi conveyed the hadith, 'I am the city of science, and Ali is the gate of that city.' and considered it to be munkar; and scholars such as Yahya ibn Main, Abu Hatim and Yahya ibn Said al-Kattan (d. 198/813) considered this hadith to be a lie. Ibn al-Jawzi mentioned this hadith in ***Mawzu'at***', and hadith critics such as Zahabi

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[97] Suyuti, ibid., II, 47. See: Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., III, 202; Zahabi, ibid., III, 252-253; Ibn Arrak, ibid., I, 93.
[98] See: Suyuti, *ad-Durar al-Muntasirah*, p. 97-98.
[99] Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, II, 47.
[100] Suyuti, ibid., II, 49. Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., III, 176-177. See: Ali al-Kari, ibid. p. 439-440; Zahabi, ibid., II, 216-218; Ibn Arrak, ibid., I, 65.
[101] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., III, 232; Suyuti, ibid., II, 50. See: Zahabi, ibid., II, 9.
[102] Suyuti, ibid., II, 51. This booklet, which consists of the hadiths on protecting the cedar tree in the harem region, is a tiny volume. For more information, see Suyuti, ibid., II, 54-57. See: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, ibid. p. 116-117; al-Hut, ibid., p. 222.
[103] Suyuti, ibid., II, 51.
[104] Tadlis at-taswiyyah indicates the separation of the weak conveyors from the reliable conveyors and mentions the false statement that the chain totally consisted of reliable conveyors. Aydınlı, ibid, p. 152. See: Suyuti, *Tadrib ar-Ravi*, I, 187.
[105] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., I, 302.
[106] Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, II, 52.
[107] Suyuti, ibid., II, 53. For the evaluation of this narrative, see Suyuti, *Laali*, I, 302-308; Suyuti, *ad-Durar al-Muntasirah*, p. 44-45.

and Ibn Dakik al-Id (d. 702/1303) stated that this narrative is false." Suyuti's above-mentioned idea was included in the subsequent section.[108]

These examples indicate that Suyuti completed short evaluations about the hadiths he was asked about. He generally carried out chain criticisms as in other works by him, and he did not include a textual criticism. His evaluations are in accordance with the evaluations and style in ***al-Laal al-Masnu'a***. He referred to **al-Mawzuat** by Ibn al-Jawzi, similar to ***Al-La'al al- Masnu'a***. However, the evaluations in this booklet were short and brief.

4. His Booklet Entitled al-Masabih fi Salat at-Tarawih and Certain Narrative Evaluations by him

Suyuti was asked about the narratives on tarawih prayer in this booklet. He stated that some of these narratives are true, but some are weak.

Suyuti was asked about this hadith, which was associated with Ibn Abbas: "The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) performed twenty-rakat tarawih and witr prayers during Ramadan." Suyuti evaluated the narrative using a rich array of literature. He began by stating that this hadith was weak and thus, cannot serve as evidence. After stating his viewpoint, he mentioned the criticisms of the hadith critics before him. For example, he stated in Zahabi's ***Mizan al-I'tidal*** that among the conveyors in the chain of this hadith, Hakam ibn Uyayyah is a liar, and Yahya ibn Main stated "Laysa bi sika", Ahmad ibn Hanbal stated "za'ifun", Bukhari stated "Sakatu anh", and Nesai stated "matrak ul-hadith", which are the expressions conveying refutation.[109] Other passages of this hadith were considered to be weak by many scholars such as Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Yahya ibn Main, Bukhari, Nasai, Abu Hatim ar-Razi, Abu Dawud and Tirmidhi.[110]

Suyuti presented the following evaluation after conveying his criticisms of the hadith chain.

"These scholars agreed that this narrative is weak. It is not lawful to use this hadith as evidence..."[111]

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[108] Ali al-Kari, *Mawzuat*, p. 43-44. For different considerations regarding the book, see Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., II, 110-118; Ibn Arrak, ibid., I, 377-378; Ajluni, ibid., I, 203-204; Ibn Hibban, Muhammad ibn Ahmed al-Busti, *Kitaba'l-Majruhin mina'l-Muhaddisin wa'd-Duafa wa'l-Matrukin*, edited by Hamdi Abdulmecid as-Salafi, Dar as-Samii, Riyadh, 2000, I, 139; Zarkashi, ibid., p. 163-166; al-Hut, ibid., p. 93.

[109] Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, I, 347; Zahabi, ibid., I, 577.

[110] For the evaluations of the narratives, see Suyuti, ibid., I, 347-348; Ibn Hibban, Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Busti, *Kitab al-Jarh wa't-Ta'dil*, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1952, III, 125; Ibn Hajar, *Tahzib at-Tahzib*, Daru Sadir, Beirut, 1325, II, 434-435.

[111] Suyuti, ibid., I, 348.

Another narrative included the statement from Aisha (r.a.) about the question of Prophet's prayers at night, which was also included in ***Sahih al-Bukhari:***

"The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) did not perform supererogatory prayers no more than eleven rakats on any night, including those during the Ramadan.[112] Another narrative included in ***Sahih al-Bukhari*** indicates that 'Umar said, "This is such a significant innovation" after ensuring that the tarawih prayers are to be performed with the congregation.[113] Suyuti mentioned the types of innovations here. He stated that some innovations indicate aberration as they contradict the Qur'an, sunnah, Islamic works and idea-based agreements between Islamic scholars. He also noted that some innovations were for a benevolent purpose, and 'Umar's (r.a.) practices were within the category of benevolent purposes.[114]

Suyuti was asked about the source and authenticity of certain narratives in the following parts of this booklet and other sections in ***al-Hawi***, and he carried out a couple of short evaluations. This study will provide a few examples, as mentioning the criticisms of all of these narratives would exceed the objectives of the study.

a. There is a narrative which is publically known as, "***white days***"*. How could it be possible for the Prophet to know the sultans who would come after him, when he descended from the Jannah? Allah ordered him to fast. During the first day, a third of his body turned white when he fasted. Another third also turned white during the second day, and he became totally white on the third day." Suyuti was asked about the authenticity of this hadith, and he adopted the following method as an answer to this question.

Suyuti mentioned the sources which referred to the narrative. This narrative was mentioned in Hatib Baghdadi's (d. 463/1071) ***Emali*** and Ibn Asakir's ***Tarihu Dimashk.*** Ibn al-Jawzi stated in al***-Mawzu'at*** that this hadith is false and there is an unknown congregation in the chain series.[115]

b. The following hadith was conveyed by Anas ibn Malik: The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) ordered the following: "There is a river called Rajab in Jannah, the water of which is sweeter than honey and whiter than milk. Allah grants the water of this river to those who fast for one day during the month of Rajab." Similarly, the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) ordered the following in the hadith ordered the following: "Whoever fasts on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays during the month of

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[112] Bukhari, Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ismail, *al-Jami as-Sahih*, al-Matbaat as-Salafiyyah, Cairo, 1400, Salat at-Taravih, 1 (II, 61).

[113] Bukhari, Selat at-Tarawih, 1 (II, 60).

[114] For more information, see Suyuti, ibid., I, 348-350.

*The reason for calling it "***white days***" is that the night became totally white. See: Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., II, 344.

[115] Suyuti, ibid., I, 350-351; Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., II, 344; Ibn Arrak, ibid., II, 54-55.

Muharram will be granted good deeds for 700 years." The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) ordered the following in the hadith conveyed by Ibn Abbas: "Whoever fasts for one day during the month of Rajab will be considered to have fasted for one month..." Suyuti was asked about the authenticity of these narratives and he presented his evaluations.[116]

Suyuti did not accept these narratives as false hadiths instead, he considered them to be weak hadiths. With regard to the virtue of practices, he saw it as permissible to practice based on weak hadiths. Ibn al-Jawzi stated that narratives on fasting during the month Rajab were not true.[117] After presenting his general opinion on weak hadiths, Suyuti assessed the hadiths he was asked about. Suyuti pointed out the sources in which the first narrative was included, and Ibn Hajar implied that Mansur ibn Zaidah al-Asadi, who was in the chain of this narrative, was not scrupulous. Zahabi stated in ***Mizan al-I'tidal*** that he considered this hadith to be weak. He provided the sources where the second narrative was included, and Ibn Hajar noted that this was a weak hadith that was close to a hasan hadith. Although the sources for the third narrative were not reliable, Suyuti stated that the hadith was not a weak hadith to the extent of becoming false.[118]

Following these evaluations, he pointed out the difference between a weak and gharib hadith.[119]

c. Suyuti was asked about whether the narrative that eating aubergine is beneficial for all disorders is truer than the hadiths on the virtue of drinking zamzam, and he criticized two narratives in order to answer this question.

Suyuti stated that such an evaluation would be wrong, and that the hadith on eating aubergine was considered to be a myth by Ibn al-Jawzi, Zahabi and other critics. Zarkashi stated in ***at-Tazkirah fi'l-Ahadis al-Mushtahirah*** that there are no true chains for this narrative.[120] He mentioned that there are different ideas on the zamzam-related hadith, and that some of these are true while some are weak. However, he implied that there are no weak hadiths to the degree of being false. He referred to the sources which included this narrative and the evaluations of hadith scholars on this narrative.[121]

d. Suyuti was asked about the conveyor and the authenticity of the hadith, "Allah created kalam first", and he gave the following answer.

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[116] Suyuti, ibid., I, 352.
[117] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., II, 576-581. See al-Hut, ibid., p. 87.
[118] Suyuti, ibid., I, 352. See Ibn Arrak, ibid., II, 158-159.
[119] See: Suyuti, ibid., I, 352.
[120] Zarkashi, ibid., p. 150-151. See Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., III, 125-126; Ali al-Kari, *al-Asrar al-Marfu'a*, p. 144-145; s. author, *Mawzuat*, p. 50; Ibn Arrak, ibid., II, 237-238; Ajluni, ibid., I, 278-279; al-Hut, ibid., p. 107. For a similar evaluation, see Suyuti, *ad-Durar al-Muntasirah*, p. 96.
[121] Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, I, 353. See: Suyuti, *ad-Durar al-Muntasirah*, p. 215-216.

Suyuti stated that this is a true hadith and that this hadith was conveyed by a community from the sahabah. Ahmad ibn Hanbal[122], Abu Dawud[123], and Tirmidhi[124] conveyed this hadith from Ubadah ibn Samit. Tirmidhi called this hadith "hasan and true". Tabarani conveyed the same hadith from Ibn Abbas in ***Mu'jam al-Qabirr*** and stated that he conveyed this hadith from reliable conveyors, but he did not consider Muamil ibn Ismail, who was in the narrative series, to be reliable. However, Yahya ibn Main and other hadith authorities accepted this conveyor as reliable. Bukhhari and other hadith scholars did not consider this conveyor to be weak.[125]

Although Suyuti stated that Tirmidhi called this hadith "hasan and true", the truth is different. Tirmidhi also used the term "hasenun garibun" to describe this hadith.[126]

Suyuti provided different passages of this hadith while evaluating this narrative in ***Laali.*** He stated that he describe some of these narratives as weak by using the following terms: "hadisun batilun" and "hadisun gayru mahfouz". In addition, he only mentioned the chains and sources of certain narratives. He did not carry out any evaluations.[127]

There are narratives about which Suyuti provided brief details while assessing hadiths on different subjects and stated that he was not competent in the relevant subject. Regarding the narrative, "Protect and love your daughters...", the author made the following statement: "I do not know about such a hadith, and I did not learn anything about such a hadith from hadith books".[128] Suyuti stated that Abu Ya'la conveyed the hadith, "O! Allah! Grant the Quraysh the hidayah. For the wisdom of a Qurayshi scholar will encompass the Earth" in ***Musnad,*** and the chain for this narrative is authentic.[129] He only stated, "I do not know" in relation to the following narrative: "I am the grandfather of whoever fears Allah".[130] Suyuti briefly addressed the origin of the narrative, "Whoever sits above the scholar also sits on the divine works", as "la asla lah", and mentioned that the narrative has no chains.[131]

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[122] Ahmad ibn Hanbel, ibid., V, 317.
[123] Abu Dawud, Kitab as-sunnah, 17, (IV, 311).
[124] Tirmidhi, Kadar, 17; Tafsir, 67.
[125] For the evaluation on other narratives, see Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, I, 358.
[126] Tirmidhi, Kadar, 17.
[127] See: Suyuti, *Laali*, I, 120-122.
[128] Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, I, 358.
[129] Suyuti, ibid., I, 359.
[130] Suyuti, ibid., I, 359.
[131] Suyuti, ibid., I, 359.

5. The Booklet Entitled al-Avc fi Khabari Uj

Suyuti was asked about Uj ibn Unuk in this booklet, and he conveyed the relevant evaluations using a rich array of hadith literature. Many questions were directed to him about the Prophetic era Ub ibn Unuk lived in, his height, and the date on which he passed away. Statements in many tafsir sources, such as those by Kurtubi (d. 671/1273) and Baghavi (d. 516/1122), are provided in relation to this person. This study will briefly review the details regarding the critiques of the narratives without thoroughly examining these statements.

Suyuti started his words with the evaluations in "***al-Manar al-Munif fi as-Sahih wa'd-Da'if***" by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. Ibn Kayyım stated that these statements are false despite the supportive narratives by Uj ibn Unuk. He stated the following after explaining that Uj did not live after Noah, and presented Uj's and Adam's heights and the comparison between their height. "Atheists made up these examples from ahl al-kitab to ridicule the prophets and their followers."[132]

Ibn Kasir stated certain ideas, which are about Uj ibn Unuk, similar to those of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah in ***al-Bidayah wa'n-Nihayah***. Ibn Kasir stated that narratives related to Uj ibn Unuk were false, and these narratives came from ahl al-kitab by the atheists.[133]

This study indicated that the information in Ibn Kasir's ***al-Bidayah wa'n-Nihayah*** was reflective of the information conveyed by Ibn Kasir by Suyuti. Ibn Kasir, who stated that these narratives are weak and irrational, noted that the aforementioned khabar was conveyed by Ahl al-kitab to us and added the following:

"I believe the khabar about Uj ibn Unuk was made up by the atheists and immoral individuals who are the Prophet's enemies."[134]

Suyuti conveyed a long narrative about Uj ibn Unuk in the following sections,[135] and he evaluated this khabar as follows: "This khabar is a myth and lie. The reason why it is a lie is related to Abdulmun'am ibn Idris..."[136] Ibn al-Jawzi presented the following evaluation about Abdulmun'am ibn Idris: Ahmad ibn Hanbal stated, "He lies about Vahb ibn Munabbah."; Yahya ibn Main stated, "He is a sinful liar."; Ali ibn Madini and Abu Dawud, "Laysah bi sika"; Ibn Hibban, "Ihtijaj is not possible with him"; Darakutni (d. 385/995), "matruk al-hadith".[137]

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[132] Suyuti, ibid., II, 342. See: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, ibid. p. 76-77.
[133] Suyuti, ibid., II, 342.
[134] Ibn Kasir, Ab a-Fida Ismail ibn 'Umar, *el-Bidâye ve'n-nihâye (Büyük İslâm Tarihi)*, translated by Mehmet Keskin, Çağrı Pub., Istanbul, 1994, I, 157-158.
[135] See: Suyuti, ibid., II, 342-343.
Suyuti, ibid., II, 343.
[137] Ibn al-Jawzi ibid., II, 36; I, 168; Ibn Hibban, *Kitab al-Majruhin*, II, 143; Zahabi, ibid., II, 668.

Following these evaluations, Suyuti presented hadith authorities' assessments on the khabar, and used a wide range of literature. Zahabi mentioned in ***Mizan al-I'tidal*** that these statements are not reliable. Ahmad ibn Hanbal also stated that these are made up by Vahb ibn Munabbah. Bukhari made the following challenging statement regarding this khabar: "their hadiths are weak".[138] Ibn Hibban stated that he made up this khabar with what he had heard from Abdulmun'am ibn Idris's father and others. Yahya ibn Main stated this narrative is false, and Ali ibn Madini and Nasai made the following statement, "Laysa bi sika".[139]

Suyuti presented chain-based evaluations in this booklet as he did in other booklets, and conveyed the ideas of hadith authorities who had lived during his era or before. He adopted the traditional hadith procedure and presented his own ideas.

6. His Booklet Entitled Raf'us-Sawt bi Zabh al-Mawt

Suyuti was asked about the following narrative: "When the people of Jannah are sent to Jannah and people of Jahannam are sent to Jahannam, death shows itself as a beautiful ram. That ram is stopped between Jannah and Jahannam and both sides are asked the following question: "Do you know this?". Both sides (the people of Jannah and Jahannam) say: 'Yes, it is death.' Then the ram is sacrificed.[140] Suyuti evaluated this narrative and other narratives in this booklet.

Suyuti stated that this hadith is inconvenient and conveyed Qadi Abu Bakr ibn Arabi's (d. 543/1148) assessment on the hadith. Abu Bakr ibn Arabi stated the following: "This hadith is a problematic narrative as it contradicts the authenticity approach. Remember that death is abstract. It cannot take the form of an object. Thus, how could death be sacrificed?"[141] The authenticity of this narrative was rejected.

Those who believed that this narrative was true assigned a different meaning to this hadith and stated that the sacrifice of the soul was figurative rather than being literal. Therefore, they supported this hadith.[142]

Narratives on different topics were evaluated in this booklet. This study did not review the other narratives in order not to repeat them. Suyuti rarely criticized texts in this booklet. He conveyed Abu Bakr ibn Arabi's idea and considered the

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[138] Ibn al-Jawzi, ibid., I, 224.

[139] For other considerations about the book, see Suyuti, ibid., II, 343.

[140] For similar narratives, see Suyuti, *Sharh as-Sudur bi Sharhi Hal al-Mawta wa'l-Kubur*, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Beirut, 1994, p. 44-45.

[141] Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, II, 95-96.

[142] Scholars such as al-Mazari (d. 536/1142), Nawawi, and Qurtubi assigned a different meaning to this hadith and stated that it was true. For their evaluations, see Suyuti, ibid., II, 96.

narrative to be irrational. He conveyed and evaluated the nature and comments related to death, which is a topic within the field of kalam.

Suyuti rejected the narrative which states that the person named Muammar would live for 400 years because of the Prophet's prayer, as this narrative contradicted another hadith. He stated that this narrative contradicted with The Prophet's hadith that nobody would be on Earth 100 years after that period. He mentioned that the last living member of the sahabah was Abu-t-Tufayl Amir ibn Vasilah ibn Abdilah al-Laysi (d. 100/718)[143]. He noted that hadith scholars agreed on this assumption. He also implied that the narrative regarding the person called Muammar was a lie, and that person was a liar. He warned that telling lies about the Prophet would be a great sin causing that person to go to Jahannam. He rejected the first hadith as it contradicted the second one.[144]

7. His Booklet Entitled al-Urfu al-Vardi fi Ahbar al-Mahdi

Suyuti epitomized the statements related to Mahdi from Nuaym ibn Hammad's (d. 228/843)[145] ***Kitab al-Fitan***. Ibn Hammad was one of Bukhari's sheiks. He conveyed many topics such as Mahdi's national origins, the need to follow Mahdi, revelations of the prophet Jesus, Mahdi acting as an Imam for the Prophet Jesus, signs regarding the emergence of Mahdi, the arrival date and age of Mahdi and the emergence of Sufian without presenting a chain or textual criticism.[146]

Suyuti presented some examples including the arrival date of Mahdi, but he provided contradicting numbers and details on many subjects. For example, he stated that people agreed with the assumption that Mahdi would arrive in the Hijri year of 204.[147] Another khabar suggested that Mahdi would arrive in the Hijri year of 200.[148] A khabar stated that Mahdi would be 40 years old when he emerged, but his age was also cited to be 20.[149] A narrative indicated that Mahdi is only one person, but another one suggested that the name, Mahdi, refers to three individuals.[150] Many narratives indicated that Mahdi would be from Fatima's family, but a narrative suggested that he would be a member of Abbas's family.[151] A khabar conveyed the narrative that Mahdi would emerge from a place called

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[143] Suyuti, *Tadrib ar-Ravi*, II, 201. See: Subhi, Sâlih, *Hadîs İlimleri ve Hadîs Istılahları*, translated by M. Yaşar Kandemir, D.İ.B. Pub., Ankara, 1988, p. 304; Erul, Bunyamin, *Sahabenin Sünnet Anlayışı*, T.D.V. Pub., Ankara, 2000, p. 280.
[144] Suyuti, *al-Hawi*, II, 97-98.
[145] Sezgin, Fuad, *Buhârî'nin Kaynakları Hakkında Araştırmalar*, İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, Istanbul, 1956, p. 283.
[146] Suyuti, ibid., II, 57-86.
[147] Suyuti, ibid., II, 68.
[148] Suyuti, ibid., II, 71.
[149] Suyuti, ibid., II, 73.
[150] Suyuti, ibid., II, 78.
[151] For similar narratives, see Suyuti, ibid., II, 58, 59, 66, 74, 78.

Kur'ah.[152] Another narrative indicated that Mahdi would emerge from Medina.[153] Mahdi's authority was suggested to last for 40, 30, and 14 years in various narratives.[154] There are more narratives with the similar context.

Suyuti presented a different approach in this booklet which was different to the booklet previously evaluated. Suyuti conveyed many statements that are weak in relation to hadith criticism, and that contradict one another. He did not even assess the khabar on the arrival date of Mahdi. He did not evaluate these narratives from a procedural perspective based on chains and texts. However, Suyuti criticized the chains although he did not assess the texts in ***Laali*** and other booklets reviewed in this study. He confined himself to conveying the narratives without determining whether they are weak or false.

Suyuti evaluated a few narratives at the end of his work. For example, he stated the chains of the narratives that cited Abu Bakr and 'Umar (r.a.) as being the most benevolent people after the prophets.[155]

In addition, he evaluated certain narratives under the title "Tanbihah" at the end of the booklet. Suyuti stated in his first suggestion, that Abu Dawud believed Mahdi would be one of the twelve caliphs under the title of "Kitab al-Mahdi"[156], but this assumption had yet not occurred. In his second suggestion, Suyuti referred to Darakutni, who mentioned the narrative that Mahdi would be an Abbasid and stated that this narrative was gharib because Muhammad ibn Walid was the only one in the chain series. Suyuti stated in his third suggestion that Qurtubi's hadith chain regarding the narrative that Mahdi would be the Prophet Jesus,[157] is weak. In addition, Suyuti stated that the hadith that Mahdi would be from Fatima's family is the most authentic narrative among these hadiths.[158] Suyuti stated in his fourth suggestion that the long anecdote that Mahdi would emerge from the West, which was conveyed by Qurtubi, was false.[159]

Conclusion

The first significant conclusion of this study is that Suyuti was quite interested in the hadiths and the sunnah. Suyuti provided works from almost every branch of the hadith discipline.

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[152] Suyuti, ibid., II, 66.
[153] Suyuti, ibid., II, 76.
[154] Suyuti, ibid., II, 79.
[155] Suyuti, ibid., II, 77.
[156] For the narratives on Mahdi, see Abu Dawud, Mahdi, 1, no: 4279, 4280, (IV, 150).
[157] Ahmad ibn Hanbel, *ibid*., II, 411.
[158] Tirmidhi, Fitan, 52; Ibn Majah, Fitan, 34, (II, 1366); Ahmad ibn Hanbel, ibid., I, 84.
[159] Suyuti, ibid., II, 85-86. For another booklet on similar topics, life of the Earth, the emergence of Dajjal, the descent of the Prophet Jesus, and the arrival date of Mahdi, see Suyuti, ibid., II, 86-92. See: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, ibid. p. 131-145; Durmuş, M. Ali, *Mehdî Hadislerinin Tedkiki.*

Accordingly, Suyuti is an expert in the hadiths, and he wrote many works in this field. Suyuti was able to memorize all the hadith narratives as he had a strong memory. He was believed to have memorized 200,000 hadiths. He attempted to compile these narratives. Consequently, Suyuti is an encyclopedist.

Suyuti carried out imputation-based evaluations for determining the authenticity of narratives. However, he occasionally criticized texts as he did in ***al-Laal al-Masnaa.*** Despite this, his works include many narratives which are not compatible with his hadith procedure. He presented many false narratives in his booklets and works including ***al-Jami as-Saghir.*** He was not selective in criticizing the hadiths. He collected the narratives randomly. He did not evaluate these narratives using his procedural perspective based on the chains and texts he wrote. However, he carried out remarkable evaluations of his own procedure in some of his booklets.

One of the results this study found is that Suyuti was not meticulous in evaluating the hadith chains. Suyuti focused on the chains rather than the texts. The fact that he did not place importance on textual criticism is one of the reasons that false and weak narratives are seen in Suyuti's works. He presented a hadith as false in a particular work, but used it comfortably in another work, which indicates that he was not cautious or meticulous in this discipline. This evidence also indicates Suyuti's work ethic.

Consequently, Suyuti is a great hadith scholar who brought the traditional concept of the hadiths to the present and left a broad range of hadith literature to us. It is fair to say that Suyuti's work is among the primary narrative and intellectual sources for those who are interested in the hadith discipline in modern times.

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• _____, *Lisan al-Mizan*, Haydarabad, 1330

• _____, *Tahzib at-Tahzib*, Daru Sadir, Beirut, 1325.

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Identification of the Narratives of the Ownership of Imamate by the Quraysh, which are Attributed to the Prophet, through an Integrative Approach*

Mehmet APAYDIN **

Abstract

In this article, a *Scenario* has been made by using the *Integrative Approach* method which we have previously presented as a doctoral thesis, based on the narratives where the exact words, or the meaning of, "*The Imams are from Quraysh*" is found. Based on the resulting *Scenario*, it can be said that these words came into being after the narration of the meaning of a detailed text, which is being exposed in the *ṭaḳṭîʿ* process, and it was also concluded that the purpose of the words of The Prophet was overreached.

Keywords: Quraysh, Imamete, Fiction, Integrative Approach, Banu Hashim

İmâmetin Kureyş'e Ait Olduğuna Dair Hz. Peygamber'e İsnâd Edilen Rivâyetlerin Bütünsel Yaklaşım Yöntemiyle Tespiti

Özet

Bu makalede, tarafımızdan daha önce doktora tezi olarak sunulan *Bütünsel Yaklaşım* yöntemi kullanılarak "*İmamlar Ḳureyş'tendir*" sözünün lafız veya mana olarak yer aldığı rivâyetlerden hareketle bir *Kurgu* yapılmıştır. Ortaya çıkan *Kurgu*'dan hareketle bu sözün, *mufaṡṡal* bir metne sahip bir rivâyetin *ṭaḳṭîʿ* ameliyesine maruz kalmasının ardından *maʿnen rivâyet* edilmesiyle ortaya çıktığı ve mevcut hâliyle Hz. Peygamber'in maksadının aşıldığı sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ḳureyş, İmâmet, Kurgu, Bütünsel Yaklaşım, Benû Hâşim.

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Introduction

In classical hadith procedure, the identification and rating of a narrative conveyed from the Prophet is performed by using certain attribution-based and text-based criteria. However, the ratings of certain narratives obtained through the criticism of the chain may result in a complete opposition of those determined through the criticism of the text. So, while a narrative needs to be considered as ideal in terms of its attribution, it may be rejected in terms of its text.

The criticism of the narratives in hadith sources, which include the statement, "الائمة من قريش", meaning *"Imams are from the Quraysh"*, can be provided as an example of a criticism that is likely to have different outcomes in terms of chain and text. Narratives including this statement, literally or in the meaning, were presented by many companions.[1] Some of these were accepted to be authentic according to the classical procedure. In fact, some scholars, such as **Ibn Hazm**[2] (d. 456 AH/1064 AD), **al-Mardavi**[3] (d. 885 AH/1480 AD) and **al-Kattani**[4] (d. 1345 AH/1926 AD) argued that the narratives relating to this issue were conveyed by many communicators. According to **M. Said Hatiboğlu,** who provided a noteworthy study on this topic in this era, this hadith is fabricated.[5]

It is natural for these two contrasting results to be obtained as a result of these examinations. This is because, while the above-mentioned scholars made a judgement based on the prevalence and chains of these narratives, **M. Said Hatiboğlu** reached a different conclusion by using the criteria for criticism of the text.

There are some recent studies on narratives including statements that literally indicate or imply that the imams are from the *Quraysh*. The study entitled, *İslamda İlk Siyâsî Kavmiyetçilik: Hilâfetin Kureyşliliği* by M. Said Hatiboğlu,[6]which is mentioned above; the article by Ali Bakkal entitled, *Ebû Bekir'in Halîfe Seçilmesinde "İmamlar Kureyş'tendir" Hadisinin Rolü Üzerine;*[7]and the article published by İsrafil Balcı with the title, *"İmamlar/Halifeler Kureyş'tendir" İddiasının Kritiği*[8], can be

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[1] For the passages of the narrative, see Ibn Hajar, Abu'l-Fadl, Ahmad Ibn 'Ali al-'Asqalani (d. 852 AH/1448 AD), *Leẓẓetu'l-ʿAyş fî Ṭuruḳi Ḥadîsi el-Eʾimmeti min Ḳureyş* (pub. Muḥammad Nasr al-ʿAjami), Beirut 1433/2012.

[2] Ibn Hazm, *el-Faṣl*, IV, 74.

[3] al-Mardavi, *et-Taḥbîr Şerḥu't-Taḥrîr*, IV, 1761.

[4] al-Kattani, *Naẓmu'l-Mütenâṣir mine'l-Ḥadîsi'l-Mütevâtir*, Beirut 1980, p. 103.

[5] See: M. Said Hatiboğlu, "İslamda İlk Siyâsî Kavmiyetçilik: Hilâfetin Kureyşliliği", *AÜİF Journal*, v. XXIII, Ankara 1978, p. 121-213.

[6] M. Said Hatiboğlu, "İslamda İlk Siyâsî Kavmiyetçilik: Hilâfetin Kureyşliliği", *AÜİF Journal*, v. XXIII, Ankara 1978, p. 121-213

[7]Ali Bakkal, "Ebû Bekir'in Halîfe Seçilmesinde "İmamlar Kureyş'tendir" Hadîsinin Rolü Üzerine", *İstem/6*, Aralık 2005, p. 87-103.

[8] İsrafil Balcı, "İmamlar/Halifeler Kureyş'tendir" İddiasının Kritiği", *OMÜİFD*, 2016, no: 40, p. 5-32.

provided as examples of such studies. In all three of these studies, in general, a conclusion was tried to be reached through the texts of the narratives rather than their attributions. This can be considered to have arisen from the abundance of the narratives attributed to the Prophet, which literally or implicitly include the statement, "الائمة من قريش", and the challenge of their criticism in terms of their attributions.

In the event that the chain criticism and text criticism of a narrative provide opposing results, a third method is required for the identification of that narrative. Our suggestion on this is to apply the method which we refer to as a *Integratif Approach*.[9] Using this method, the chain and the text are handled together and processed in quite a different way compared to classical hadith procedure, and a new *Scenario* that may reveal the location, time and the conditions of the narrative is created. In this way, the origin of the narrative including the statement, " الائمة من قريش" is identified more accurately and its meaning in the first level is revealed in a manner that is more in line with its original.

It is not possible to provide the full details the *Integrative Approach* here. In short, the purpose of the method is to identify whether the statement, " الائمة من قريش", which is alleged to have been stated by the Prophet was used by him personally or not, and if so, to identify the time, place and details of this event and to construct a 'scenario' in accordance with its origins. In order to do this, the *Scope of Application* must be identified first. Then, the passages of the narratives of the companions, or tabi'un who conveyed these statements, must be compiled in separate groups and combined by being classified according to the form and methods referred to as the *Khabar*. In this study, considering the limitations of the article, only one passage of each of the narratives will be used. However, other passages or certain statements in those passages will be made use of where required. In addition, almost all the other narratives on this topic included in the sources will also be analyzed even if they are cited here and the inconsistencies of these - if encountered - will be pointed out.

According to the *Integrative Approach*, after the *Khabars* are compiled, the statements contained in the narratives will be extracted. These statements are classified into five categories: *Action, Time, Place, Object* and *Group*.

At the *Scenario* stage, the classified statements with the *Action* feature are listed based on time. Other statements are mapped against *Action* cases based on their associations.[10]

An event flow is created as a result of these activities. The event flow is then turned into a technical text referred to as the *Script*. Therefore, it becomes possible to make an assessment at a first level of understanding of the statement, " الائمة من

[9] See Mehmet Apaydın, *Hadislerin Tespitinde Bütünsel Yaklaşım*, Istanbul 2018.
[10] For details of this method, see Mehmet Apaydın, *Hadislerin Tespitinde Bütünsel Yaklaşım*, p. 275-311.

قريش" which is attributed to the Prophet, as well as the details of the event, through the newly formed text. However, within the framework of the *Integrative Approach*, no conclusion relating to the religious meaning of the event is offered.

Identification of the Scope of Application

According to the *Integrative Approach*, the first order of business to initiate a *Scenario* is the identification of the Scope of Application. The *Scope of Application* must be accurately identified for the *Scenario* to be at a scale that would allow it to present understandable results and to be completed successfully.

In this article, some narratives that literally or implicitly include the statement, "الائمة من قريش" were considered to be within the *Scope of Application*. However, as the study progressed, it became apparent that the *Scenario* to be created would exceed the limits of this article and so, the *Scenario* was limited by taking into account certain narratives. This will cause the created *Scenario* to receive a low value for its rating. However, this shortcoming was accepted considering that the issue, with respect to this *Scenario*, was not directly related to authenticity. It is obviously possible to provide a greater number of improved examples of *Scenarios* in this context.

Compilation of the Khabars within the Scope of Application

The attribution of each narrative, literally or implicitly including the statement, "الائمة من قريش" by the Prophet will be listed as *Khabar* based on its *Narrator* in line with the *Integrative Approach*.

According to the *Integrative Approach, the* authenticity of the narratives cannot be an evaluation on the sources or the communicators in their chains. Therefore, any narrative required for the *Scenario* can be used without taking into account the *jarh* and *ta'dil* criteria in the classical hadith procedure.

Narratives can be founded in sources of the early period or the late period but this is not directly related to their authenticity; in fact, a narrative or passage located in sources of the late period could have been preserved in a better way than those located in sources of the early period. These points must be taken into consideration[11], since the resource used by an author (e.g. **Ibn Hajar**) who lived in the late period to provide a narrative can be closer to the author's copy. In fact, it is possible for him to access the author's copies of some of the books from the early period. This is more likely for narrators of periods that are close to early eras, such as **at-Tabarani** (d. 360 AH/971 AD), **Abu Nuʿaym** (d. 430 AH/1039 AD) and **al-Bayhaki** (d. 458 AH/1066 AD).

[11] For our research on this, see Mehmet Apaydın, *Hadislerin Tespitinde Bütünsel Yaklaşım*, p. 159-176.

[BCD186] **Khabar of Rifa'a bin Rafi**

Description: In this *Khabar,* whose *Narrator* is said to be **Rifa'a bin Rafi**, there is no explicit statement indicating that **Rifa'a** is an *Observer*. However considering what is written before this text (siyak), it can be said that this is unlikely. While there are other passages of the narrative, they are not included in the analysis as they do not include material differences of statements in terms of our topic and have been excluded in order not to increase the volume of the article.

Quotations

[D185] al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

حَدَّثَنَا عَمْرُو بْنُ خَالِدٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا زُهَيْرٌ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُثْمَانَ قَالَ: أَخْبَرَنِي إِسْمَاعِيلُ بْنُ عُبَيْدٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ عُبَيْدٍ، عَنْ رِفَاعَةَ بْنِ رَافِعٍ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ لِعُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: «اجْمَعْ لِي قَوْمَكَ» ، فَجَمَعَهُمْ، فَلَمَّا حَضَرُوا بَابَ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ دَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ عُمَرُ فَقَالَ: قَدْ جَمَعْتُ لَكَ قَوْمِي، فَسَمِعَ ذَلِكَ الْأَنْصَارُ فَقَالُوا: قَدْ نَزَلَ فِي قُرَيْشٍ الْوَحْيُ، فَجَاءَ الْمُسْتَمِعُ وَالنَّاظِرُ مَا يُقَالُ لَهُمْ، فَخَرَجَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ ، فَقَامَ بَيْنَ أَظْهُرِهِمْ فَقَالَ: «هَلْ فِيكُمْ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟» قَالُوا: نَعَمْ، فِينَا حَلِيفُنَا وَابْنُ أُخْتِنَا وَمَوَالِينَا، قَالَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ: " حَلِيفُنَا مِنَّا، وَابْنُ أُخْتِنَا مِنَّا، وَمَوَالِينَا مِنَّا، وَأَنْتُمْ تَسْمَعُونَ: إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ، فَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ أُولَئِكَ فَذَاكَ، وَإِلَّا فَانْظُرُوا، لَا يَأْتِي النَّاسُ بِالْأَعْمَالِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَتَأْتُونَ بِالْأَثْقَالِ، فَيُعْرَضَ عَنْكُمْ "، ثُمَّ نَادَى فَقَالَ: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ – وَرَفَعَ يَدَيْهِ يَضَعُهُمَا عَلَى رُءُوسِ قُرَيْشٍ – أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّ قُرَيْشًا أَهْلُ أَمَانَةٍ، مَنْ بَغَى بِهِمْ – قَالَ زُهَيْرٌ: أَظُنُّهُ قَالَ: الْعَوَاثِرَ – كَبَّهُ اللَّهُ لِمِنْخِرَيْهِ ، يَقُولُ ذَلِكَ ثَلَاثَ مَرَّاتٍ.

Statements

▪ <u>*Statements of Action*</u>

E-185-D18E (أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ لِعُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: «اجْمَعْ لِي قَوْمَكَ») Nabi (peace be upon Him) tells '**Umar** the following: "*Gather your tribe!*".

E-185-D18F (فَجَمَعَهُمْ) [**'Umar**] gathers them.

E-185-D190 (فَلَمَّا حَضَرُوا بَابَ النَّبِيِّ) They get ready in front of the Nabi's door.

E-185-D191 (دَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ عُمَرُ) '**Umar**, enters near the Nabi.

E-185-D192 (فَقَالَ: قَدْ جَمَعْتُ لَكَ قَوْمِي) 'Umar tells Him the following: "*I gathered my tribe*".

E-185-D193 (فَسَمِعَ ذَلِكَ الْأَنْصَارُ) The Ansar hears this.

E-185-D194 (فَقَالُوا: قَدْ نَزَلَ فِي قُرَيْشٍ الْوَحْيُ) [The Ansar] thinks that a revelation about the *Quraysh* is sent.

E-185-D195 (فَجَاءَ الْمُسْتَمِعُ وَالنَّاظِرُ مَا يُقَالُ لَهُمْ) They come the hear and observe what is said about them.

E-185-D196 (فَخَرَجَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ) Nabi (peace be upon Him) gets out.

E-185-D197 (فَقَامَ بَيْنَ أَظْهُرِهِمْ) Nabi stands near the gathered *Quraysh*.

E-185-D198 (فَقَالَ: «هَلْ فِيكُمْ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟») He asks them the following: *"Is there a foreigner among you?"*.

E-185-D199 (قَالُوا: نَعَمْ، فِينَا حَلِيفُنَا وَابْنُ أُخْتِنَا وَمَوَالِينَا،) They say: "Yes, there are. *We have our caliphs, the children of our sisters and our slaves with us.*

E-185-D19A (قَالَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ: حَلِيفُنَا مِنَّا، وَابْنُ أُخْتِنَا مِنَّا، وَمَوَالِينَا مِنَّا، وَأَنْتُمْ تَسْمَعُونَ) Nabi (peace be upon Him) says: "*Our caliph is one of us. The son of our sister is one of us. Our slaves are one of us. Now, all of you should listen to me*".

E-185-D19B (إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*My friends among you are the ones who are righteous*".

E-185-D19C (فَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ أُولَئِكَ فَذَاكَ) He says: "*If you are so (righteous), then you are my friend*".

E-185-D19D (وَإِلَّا فَانْظُرُوا، لَا يَأْتِي النَّاسُ بِالْأَعْمَالِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَتَأْتُونَ بِالْأَثْقَالِ) He says: "*If you're not, take care of yourself. You shouldn't arrive with a burden (sins) on judgement day, while people arrive with good deeds*".

E-185-D19E (ثُمَّ نَادَى) Then He raises His voice.

E-185-D19F (فَقَالَ: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ – وَرَفَعَ يَدَيْهِ يَضَعُهُمَا عَلَى رُءُوسِ قُرَيْشٍ – أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّ قُرَيْشًا أَهْلُ أَمَانَةٍ) He raises his hand and places it on the heads of the *Quraysh*, then He says: "*O people! The Quraysh are worthy of the divine liabilities*".

E-185-D1A2 (مَنْ بَغَى بِهِمْ – قَالَ زُهَيْرٌ: أَظُنُّهُ قَالَ: الْعَوَاثِرَ – كَبَّهُ اللَّهُ لِمِنْخَرَيْهِ) "*Whoever sets them up* Allah should take him/her to the ground, on his/her nose*".

▪ <u>*Statements of Place*</u>

M-185-D18B (بَابَ النَّبِيِّ) Nabi's [His house's] Door.

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-185-D187 (رِفَاعَةَ بْنِ رَافِعٍ) **Rifa'a bin Rafi**

N-185-D188 (النَّبِيَّ) Nabi

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* The statement in the text, "مَنْ بَغَى بِهِمْ الْعَوَاثِرَ كَبَّهُ اللَّهُ لِمِنْخَرَيْهِ" is usually understood as follows: "*Whoever sets them up Allah should take him/her to the ground, on his/her nose*". However, in our opinion, it is possible to understand this statement as, *"Whoever wants this (this deed) for himself/herself [for his/her own gain] Allah should take him/her to the ground, on his/her nose*", which is more appropriate for the scenario in this article. Because this statement appears to be the opposite of the following curse, which is included in some of the other *Khabars*: (فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ) *"The curse of Allah, His angels and all the humans shall be on the one who doesn't do this"*. However, since this issue requires a more thorough analysis, it is reserved for other studies likely to be undertaken in the future.

N-185-D189 (قَالَ لِعُمَرَ) **'Umar [ibn al-Khattab]**

▪ *Statements of Group*

G-185-D18A (فَجَمَعَهُمْ) Those who gather

G-185-D18C (الْأَنْصَارُ) The Ansar

G-185-D18 (حَلِيفُنَا وَابْنُ أُخْتِنَا وَمَوَالِينَا،) Caliphs, Sons of Daughters and Slaves

[BCD1A5] **Khabar of One Man from Ansar**

Description: Some of the statements in this khabar show similarities with the ones in the above khabar. Therefore, it is likely that the unknown ansari, **Rifa'a bin Rafi,** who is the *Narrator*.

Quotations

[D1A4] Ibn Abi Hatim, *'İlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363-364.

وسألتُ أَبِي عَنْ حديثٍ رَوَاهُ أَبُو عَاصِمٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ ربِّه ابن عَطاء اللَّهِ؛ قَالَ: حدَّثني ابْنُ القارِيّ ، قَالَ: حدَّثني ابنُ أَبِي عُبَيد الزُّرَقي : أَنَّهُ خرَجَ مَعَ أَبِيهِ، فلمَّا كَانَ مِنَ السَّحَر؛ إِذَا هُوَ بِرَجُلٍ نَائِمٍ، فَنَادَاهُ: أَيُّها النَّؤومُ! مالَكَ ولِلوَحْدَةِ؟ أَمَا علمتَ مَا قَالَ رسولُ الله ﷺ فِي الوَحْدَة؟ فَقَالَ: إِنِّي لَمْ آتِكَ سَفَرًا ؛ إنماخرجتُ مِنْ هَذَا الْمَاءِ الَّذِي رُحْتَ مِنْهُ، وَأَنَا أريدُ هَذَا الماءَ الَّذِي أصبحْتَ ، فَقَالَ: مِمَّن أَنْتَ؟ قَالَ: رجلٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ؛ قَالَ: أَبْشِر؛ فَإِنِّي سمعتُ رَسُولَ الله ﷺ يَقُولُ: اللَّهُمَّ، اغْفِرْ للأَنْصَارِ، ولأَبْنَاءِ الأَنْصَارِ – قَالَ: وأُراهُ قَالَ: ولأَبْنَاءِ أَبْنَاءِ الأَنْصَارِ – قَالَ: إِنِّي لستُ مِنْهُمْ، أَنَا مِنْ مَوَالِيهم؛ قَالَ: أَنْتَ منهُم؛ قَالَ رسولُ اللَّهِ لِعُمَرَ: اجْمَعْ لِي قَوْمَكَ؛ قَالَ: فَقُلْنَا – أَوْ قَالَ النَّاسُ–: نَزَلَ فِي قُرَيْشٍ أَمْرٌ، فلمَّا اجتمَعُوا قَالَ: إِمَّا أَنْ يَدْخُلُوا إِلَيْكَ، وإِمَّا أَنْ تَخْرُجَ إِلَيْهِمْ؛ قَالَ: فخرَجَ إِلَيْهِمْ فَقَالَ: هَلْ فِيكُمْ أَحَدٌ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟ ، قَالُوا: فِينَا أبناؤنا وحُلَفاؤنا وبنو أخواتنا ومَوالينا، فقال رسولُ الله ﷺ : حَلِيفُنَا مِنَّا، وابْنُ أُخْتِنَا مِنَّا، ومَوَالِينَا مِنَّا، ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِيَ مِنْكُمُ المتَّقُونَ، فَإِنْ تَكُونُوا أَنْتُمْ فَأَنْتُمْ، ثم صرخ رسول الله ﷺ ، فَلَمْ يَسْمَعْ أحدٌ صوتَه أَوْ بلغَه إلا جَاءَ يَشتَدُّ، فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، مَنْ بَغَاهُمُ العَوَاثِرَ ، كُبَّ عَلَى مَنْخِرَيْهِ؟ قَالَ أَبِي: ابنُ القارِيّ هُوَ عِنْدِي: عبد الله ابن عثمان بن خُثَيم.

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-1A4-02D9 (قَالَ رسولُ اللَّهِ لِعُمَرَ: اجْمَعْ لِي قَوْمَكَ) The Messenger of Allah tells **'Umar** the following: *"Gather your tribe [near me]!"*.

E-1A4-02DA (قَالَ: فَقُلْنَا – أَوْ قَالَ النَّاسُ–: نَزَلَ فِي قُرَيْشٍ أَمْرٌ) People say: *"[Probably] something must have been sent down about the Quraysh.*

E-1A4-02DB (فلمَّا اجتمَعُوا) When they are gathered…

E-1A4-02DC (قَالَ: إِمَّا أَنْ يَدْخُلُوا إِلَيْكَ، وإِمَّا أَنْ تَخْرُجَ إِلَيْهِمْ) [**'Umar** tells the Prophet] *"Should they enter your room or will you come out near them?"*.

E-1A4-02DD (فخرَجَ إِلَيْهِمْ) [The Prophet] comes out near them.

E-1A4-02DE (فَقَالَ: هَلْ فِيكُمْ أَحَدٌ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟) He asks them the following: *"Is there a foreigner among you?"*.

E-1A4-02DF (قَالُوا: فِينَا أبناؤنا وحُلَفاؤنا وبنو أخواتنا ومَوالينا) They say: *"We have our children, caliphs, children of our sisters and our slaves with us"*.

E-1A4-02E0 (فقال رسولُ الله ﷺ: خَلِيفَتُنَا مِنَّا، وابْنُ أُخْتِنَا مِنَّا، ومَوَالِينَا مِنَّا) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) says: *"Our caliph is one of us. The son of our sister is one of us. Our slaves are one of us"*.

E-1A4-02E1 (ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِيَ مِنْكُمُ المُتَّقُونَ) He says: *"O the people of Quraysh! My friends among you are the ones who are righteous"*.

E-1A4-02E2 (فَإِنْ تَكُونُوا أَنْتُمْ فَأَنْتُمْ) He says: *"If you will be so, then you will be my friend"*.

E-1A4-02E3 (ثم صرخَ رسول الله) Then the Messenger of Allah raises His voice.

E-1A4-02E4 (فَلَمْ يَسْمَعْ أحدٌ صوتَه أَوْ بلغَه إلا جَاءَ يَشْتَدُّ) Those who hear His [Allah's Messenger's] voice go hear Him in a hurry.

E-1A4-02E5 (فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، مَنْ بَعَاهُمُ العَوَاثِرَ ، كُبَّ عَلَى مَنْخِرَيْهِ) *"O people! "Whoever sets them up Allah should take him/her to the ground, on his/her nose"*

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-1A4-02D5 (رسولُ اللَّهِ) The Messenger of Allah

N-1A4-02D6 (لِعُمَرَ) **'Umar [ibn al-Khattab]**

▪ <u>*Statements of Group*</u>

G-1A4-02D7 (فَقُلْنَا- أَوْ قَالَ النَّاسُ) Those Who Think [something must have been sent down about the *Quraysh*].

G-1A4-02D8 (فِينَا أبناؤنا وحُلَفاؤنا وبنو أخواتنا ومَوالينا) Caliphs, Sons of Daughters and Slaves.

[DA9BD5] Khabar of **Abdurraḥman ibn Jubayr ibn Nufayr (d. 118 AH/737 AD)**

Description: *Mufassal*, in terms of text, this narrative includes the contents of a majority of the khabars used in this *Scenario*. According to what is written before this text, it appears that the *Narrator*, **Abdurrahman ibn Jubayr** heard the event from a single *Observer*. It is highly likely that this *Observer* was **Abu'd-Darda**.[12] In some sections located in the final part of the *Khabar*, the Prophet asks some of his

[12] It is known that the father of **Abdurrahman**, **Jubayr ibn Nufayr** has other narratives from **Abu'd-Darda**. For instance, see Ibn Saʿd, *eṭ-Ṭabaḳât*, VII, 440; "... عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ جُبَيْرِ بْنِ نُفَيْرٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ أَبِي الدَّرْدَاءِ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ..." Ibn Abi Shaybah, *el-Musned*, I, 46; Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *el-Musned*, IX, 476, no: 22153.

companions about the prayers they said after praying. These sections will not be included in the *Scenario* in order to not go beyond the scope.

Quotations

[9BD4] at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو شُعَيْبٍ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ الْحَسَنِ الْحَرَّانِيُّ، ثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْبَابْلُتِيُّ، ثَنَا صَفْوَانُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو، عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ جُبَيْرِ بْنِ نُفَيْرٍ، قَالَ: أَرْسَلَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ رَجُلًا وَهُوَ قَاعِدٌ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ فَقَالَ: «اجْمَعْ لِي بَنِي هَاشِمٍ فِي دَارٍ» قَالَ: فَجَمَعَهُمْ , فَقَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ حَتَّى دَخَلَ الدَّارَ فَجَلَسَ مِنْهُمْ ثُمَّ قَالَ: «افْتَحْ لِي بَابَ الدَّارِ» فَقَالَ: «هَلْ فِيكُمْ غَرِيبٌ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟» قَالُوا: لَا إِلَّا ابْنُ أُخْتِنَا وَكَانَ رَجُلًا مِنَ الْأَشْعَرِيِّينَ فَقَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِكُمْ مِنْكُمْ يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَنِي إِلَى الْخَلْقِ عَامَّةً وَبَعَثَنِي إِلَيْكُمْ خَاصَّةً وَأَمَرَنِي أَنْ أُنْذِرَ عَشِيرَتِي الْأَقْرَبِينَ فَإِيَّايَ لَا تَأْتِينَ أُمَّتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يَقْتَسِمُونَ مُلْكَ الْآخِرَةِ وَتَأْتُونِي تَحْمِلُونَ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى رِقَابِكُمْ تُدْلُونَ بِقَرَابَتِكُمْ فَإِنَّمَا أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْ جَمِيعِ أُمَّتِي الْمُتَّقُونَ وَإِنَّ لَكُمْ دَعْوَةً مُجَابَةً، فَأَقِيمُوا فِيهَا جَمِيعًا بَيْنَكُمْ» قَالَ: فَرَفَعَ يَدَهُ وَرَفَعُوا أَيْدِيَهُمْ , قَالَ: فَلَمَّا قَضَى رَغْبَتَهُمْ جَعَلَ يَسْأَلُ مَنْ يَلِيهِ: «بِمَاذَا دَعَوْتَ؟» ثُمَّ الَّذِي يَلِيهِ ثُمَّ الَّذِي يَلِيهِ وَقَدْ حَضَرَ ذَلِكَ أَبُو الدَّرْدَاءِ فَرَأَى رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ رَافِعًا يَدَهُ فَأَقْبَلَ حَتَّى حَضَرَ مَعَهُمُ الرَّغْبَةَ فَسَأَلَهُ يَوْمَئِذٍ: «بِمَ دَعَوْتَ بِهِ يَا عُوَيْمِرُ» قَالَ: قُلْتُ: اللَّهُمَّ أَسْأَلُكَ جَنَّاتِ الْفِرْدَوْسِ نُزُلًا وَجَنَّاتِ عَدْنٍ نَفْلًا فِي مُعَافَاةٍ مِنْكَ وَرَحْمَةٍ وَخَيْرٍ عَافِيَةٍ وَعِلْمٍ يُنْسَأُ فَأَشَارَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ بِيَدِهِ مَرَّةً أَوْ مَرَّتَيْنِ يَقُولُ: «ذَهَبْتَ بِهَا يَا عُوَيْمِرُ».

Statements

▪ <u>*Statements of Action*</u>

E-BD4-8DA1 (أَرْسَلَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ رَجُلًا وَهُوَ قَاعِدٌ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) sends a man while He is sitting in the prayer room.

E-BD4-8DA2 (فَقَالَ: «اجْمَعْ لِي بَنِي هَاشِمٍ فِي دَارٍ») He tells the man the following: "Gather *Banu Hashim in a house!*"

E-BD4-8DA3 (قَالَ: فَجَمَعَهُمْ) The man gathers *Banu Hashim*.

E-BD4-8DA4 (فَقَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ حَتَّى دَخَلَ الدَّارَ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) gets up and enters that house.

E-BD4-8DA5 (فَجَلَسَ مِنْهُمْ) [The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him)] sits among them.

E-BD4-8DA6 (ثُمَّ قَالَ: «افْتَحْ لِي بَابَ الدَّارِ») Then He says: "*Open the door of the house!*"

Note: When this statement is considered together with the above statement, it indicated an error in the text.

E-BD4-8DA7 (فَقَالَ: «هَلْ فِيكُمْ غَرِيبٌ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟») He asks them the following: *"Is there a foreigner among you?"*

E-BD4-8DA8 (قَالُوا: لَا, إِلَّا ابْنُ أُخْتِنَا) They say: *"No. We only have our sister's son with us."*

E-BD4-8DA9 (فَقَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِكُمْ مِنْكُمْ) The Prophet says: "*Your sister's son is one of you.*"

E-BD4-8DAA (يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَنِي إِلَى الْخَلْقِ عَامَّةً, وَبَعَثَنِي إِلَيْكُمْ خَاصَّةً) He says: "*O, Banu Hashim! Allah sent me to his creations and He expressly sent me to you.*"

E-BD4-8DAB (وَأَمَرَنِي أَنْ أُنْذِرَ عَشِيرَتِي الْأَقْرَبِينَ) He says: "*He commanded me to warn my close relatives.*"

E-BD4-8DAC (فَإِيَّايَ لَا تَأْتِينَ أُمَّتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يَقْتَسِمُونَ مُلْكَ الْآخِرَةِ) He says: "*While my ummah shares the property of the Last Day on the Last Day.*"

E-BD4-8DAD (وَتَأْتُونِي تَحْمِلُونَ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى رِقَابِكُمْ تُدْلُونَ بِقَرَابَتِكُمْ) He says: "*Don't rely on your closeness to me and come with too much property on your shoulders.*"

E-BD4-8DAE (فَإِنَّمَا أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْ جَمِيعِ أُمَّتِي الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: *"My friends in my ummah are the ones who are righteous."*

E-BD4-8DAF (وَإِنَّ لَكُمْ دَعْوَةٌ مُجَابَةٌ) He says: "*Your prayers will be accepted.*"

E-BD4-8DB0 (فَأَقِيمُوا فِيهَا جَمِيعًا بَيْنَكُمْ) He says: "*All of you should pray for one another.*"

E-BD4-8DB1 (قَالَ: فَرَفَعَ يَدَهُ وَرَفَعُوا أَيْدِيَهُمْ) He raises his hands and they do too.

▪ <u>*Statements of Place*</u>

M-BD4-8D9C (الْمَسْجِدِ) The prayer room [of the Nabi]

M-BD4-8D9E (فِي دَارٍ) [The gathered] House

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-BD4-8D99 (عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ جُبَيْرِ بْنِ نُفَيْرٍ) Narrator

N-BD4-8D9A (النَّبِيُّ) Nabi

N-BD4-8D9B (رَجُلًا) The man [who gathered *Banu Hashim*]

N-BD4-8DA0 (أَبُو الدَّرْدَاءِ) **Abu'd-Darda**

▪ <u>*Statements of Group*</u>

G-BD4-8D9D (بَنِي هَاشِمٍ) *Banu Hashim*

[DA9BD2] **Khabar of Hakam ibn Mina**

Quotations

[9BD1] Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 251.

حَدَّثَنَا الْمُقَدَّمِيُّ، نا أَبُو بَكْرٍ الْحَنَفِيُّ، نا عَبْدُ الْحَمِيدِ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ، عَنْ سَعِيدٍ الْمَقْبُرِيِّ، عَنْ أَبِي الْحُوَيْرِثِ، سَمِعَ الْحَكَمَ بْنَ مِينَاءَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ لِعُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: «اجْمَعْ لِي مَنْ هَا هُنَا مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ» قَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، تَخْرُجُ إِلَيْهِمْ أَوْ يَدْخُلُونَ؟ قَالَ: «أَخْرُجُ إِلَيْهِمْ» فَخَرَجَ فَقَالَ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، هَلْ فِيكُمْ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟» قَالُوا: لَا؛ إِلَّا أَبْنَاءَ أَخَوَاتِنَا. قَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ» ثُمَّ قَالَ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، اعْلَمُوا أَنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِي الْمُتَّقُونَ فَأَبْصِرُوا أَنْ لَا يَأْتُوا النَّاسُ بِالْأَعْمَالِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَتَأْتُونَ بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا فَأَصُدُّ عَنْكُمْ بِوَجْهِي» ثُمَّ قَرَأَ: {إِنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِإِبْرَاهِيمَ لَلَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُ وَهَذَا النَّبِيُّ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَاللَّهُ وَلِي الْمُؤْمِنِينَ} [آل عمران: 68].

Statements

▪ <u>*Statements of Action*</u>

E-BD1-1D70 (أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ لِعُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: «اجْمَعْ لِي مَنْ هَا هُنَا مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ) Nabi (peace be upon Him) tells ‘**Umar** the following: *"Gather those from the Quraysh here!"*

E-BD1-1D71 (قَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، تَخْرُجُ إِلَيْهِمْ أَوْ يَدْخُلُونَ؟) He [‘**Umar**] says: *"O, Messenger of Allah! "Will you come out near them or should they enter your room?"*

E-BD1-1D72 (قَالَ: «أَخْرُجُ إِلَيْهِمْ») He [Nabi (peace be upon Him)] says: *"I'll come out."*

E-BD1-1D73 (فَخَرَجَ) He [Nabi (peace be upon Him)] comes out near them.

E-BD1-1D74 (فَقَالَ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، هَلْ فِيكُمْ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟») He says: *"O the people of the Quraysh! Is there a foreigner among you?"*

E-BD1-1D75 (قَالُوا: لَا؛ إِلَّا أَبْنَاءَ أَخَوَاتِنَا.)They say: *"No. We only have our sister's son with us."*

E-BD1-1D76 (قَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ») The Prophet says: *"Your sister's son is one of you."*

E-BD1-1D77 (ثُمَّ قَالَ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، اعْلَمُوا أَنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِي الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: *"O Quraysh people, you should know that the people who are closest to me are the ones who are righteous."*

E-BD1-1D78 (فَأَبْصِرُوا أَنْ لَا يَأْتُوا النَّاسُ بِالْأَعْمَالِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَتَأْتُونَ بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا فَأَصُدُّ عَنْكُمْ بِوَجْهِي») He says: *"Don't see me distance myself from you when people come with good deeds on judgement day and you come carrying loads of belongings!"*

E-BD1-1D79 (ثُمَّ قَرَأَ: {إِنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِإِبْرَاهِيمَ لَلَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُ وَهَذَا النَّبِيُّ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَاللَّهُ وَلِي الْمُؤْمِنِينَ}) Then He reads the 68th verse of the Ali ʿImran surah.

▪ <u>*Statements of Place*</u>

M-BD1-1D6F (قَالَ لِعُمَرَ) The Place Where He Commanded ‘Umar

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-BD1-1D69 (الْحَكَمَ بْنَ مِينَاءَ) Narrator

N-BD1-1D6A (النَّبِيَّ) Nabi

N-BD1-1D6B (عُمَرَ) ‘Umar [ibn al-Khattab]

▪ *Statements of Group*

G-BD1-1D6C (مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ) The People of *Quraysh*

G-BD1-1D6D (قَالُوا: لَا؛ إِلَّا أَبْنَاءَ أَخَوَاتِنَا) Sons of Daughters

[0F97AA] **Khabar of Abu Hurairah-1**

Description: Based on the statements included in the narrative below, which was conveyed by **Abu Hurairah,** who is apparently the *Narrator* of this narrative, it does not seem possible to be able to say with certainty that he was also the *Observer*. It can be said that the passages below are different from each other in terms of text. However, considering the other khabars, it can quite easily be said that these are the same narrations.

Quotations

[97A9] al-Tirmidhi, *Sunenu't-Tirmiẑî*, V, 338.

حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ بْنُ حُمَيْدٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا زَكَرِيَّا بْنُ عَدِيٍّ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عَمْرٍو الرَّقِّيُّ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الملِكِ بْنِ عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ مُوسَى بْنِ طَلْحَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ: لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ {وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ} [الشعراء: 214] جَمَعَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ قُرَيْشًا فَحَصَّ وَعَمَّ فَقَالَ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ أَنْقِذُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ النَّارِ فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا، يَا مَعْشَرَ بَنِي عَبْدِ مَنَافٍ أَنْقِذُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ النَّارِ فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا، يَا مَعْشَرَ بَنِي قُصَيٍّ أَنْقِذُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ النَّارِ فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا، يَا مَعْشَرَ بَنِي عَبْدِ المطَّلِبِ أَنْقِذُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ النَّارِ فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا، يَا فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ أَنْقِذِي نَفْسَكِ مِنَ النَّارِ فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكِ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا، إِنَّ لَكِ رَحِمًا سَأَبُلُّهَا بِبِلَالِهَا».

[979A] at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Evsaṭ*, I, 34.

حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى بْنِ خَالِدِ بْنِ حَيَّانَ الرَّقِّيُّ قَالَ: نا زَكَرِيَّا بْنُ يَحْيَى الْوَقَّارُ قَالَ: نا عُثْمَانُ بْنُ كُلَيْبٍ، عَنْ نَافِعِ بْنِ يَزِيدَ، عَنْ زُهْرَةَ بْنِ مَعْبَدٍ، عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيِّبِ، عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ قَالَ: «يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ، يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ، يَا صَفِيَّةُ عَمَّةُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ، يَا فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتُ مُحَمَّدٍ، لَا أُعْرِفَنَّ مَا جَاءَ النَّاسُ غَدًا يَحْمِلُونَ الْآخِرَةَ، وَجِئْتُمْ تَحْمِلُونَ الدُّنْيَا، إِنَّمَا أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ الْمُتَّقُونَ، إِنَّمَا مَثَلِي فِيكُمْ كَمَثَلِ رَجُلٍ يُسْتَنْصَحُ فِي قَوْمِهِ، أَتَاهُمْ، فَقَالَ: يَا قَوْمِ أُتِيتُمْ غُشِيتُمْ واصَباحَاهُ، أَنَا النَّذِيرُ، وَالْمَوْتُ الْمُغِيرُ، وَالسَّاعَةُ الْمَوْعِدُ».

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-7A9-11AB (لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ {وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ} [الشعراء: 214] جَمَعَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ قُرَيْشًا) When the verse, "وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ" (ash-Shu'ara 26/214) is sent down, the Messenger of Allah gathers the *Quraysh*.

E-7A9-11AC (فَقَالَ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ أَنْقِذُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ النَّارِ فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا،) He tells them the following: *"O, people of the Quraysh! Save yourselves from fire. Because I don't have the power to prevent the damage and the benefit that will come to you from Allah."*

E-7A9-11AD (يَا مَعْشَرَ بَنِي عَبْدِ مَنَافٍ أَنْقِذُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ النَّارِ فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا) He tells them the following: *"O, the people of Banu Abdu Manaf! Save yourselves from fire. Because I don't have the power to prevent the damage and the benefit that will come to you from Allah."*

E-7A9-11AE (يَا فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ أَنْقِذِي نَفْسَكِ مِنَ النَّارِ فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكِ ضَرًّا وَلَا نَفْعًا) He says: *"O, **Fatimah bint Muhammad**, save yourself from fire. Because I don't have the power to prevent the damage and the benefit that will come to you from Allah."*

E-79A-11A0 (لَا أَعْرِفَنَّ مَا جَاءَ النَّاسُ غَدًا يَحْمِلُونَ الْآخِرَةَ، وَجِئْتُمْ تَحْمِلُونَ الدُّنْيَا) He says: *"I don't want to see you carrying the world with you in the future, while people come carrying the Last Day with them."*

E-79A-11A1 (إِنَّمَا أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: *"On judgement day, those who are close to me are those of you who are righteous."*

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-7A9-11AA (أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ) **Abu Hurairah**

[CC2D5F] **Khabar of Abu Umamah, al-Harith and Umair ibn. al-Aswad**

Quotations

[2D5E] Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Mesânî*, V, 302.

حَدَّثَنَا عِيسَى بْنُ خَالِدٍ، نا أَبُو الْيَمَانِ، عَنْ إِسْمَاعِيلَ، عَنْ صَفْوَانَ، عَنْ شُرَيْحٍ قَالَ: نا أَبُو أُمَامَةَ، وَالْحَارِثُ، وَعُمَيْرُ بْنُ الْأَسْوَدِ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ نَادَى قُرَيْشًا فَجَمَعَهُمْ فَقَامَ فِيهِمْ فَقَالَ: «أَلَا إِنَّ كُلَّ نَبِيٍّ بُعِثَ إِلَى قَوْمِهِ وَإِنِّي بُعِثْتُ إِلَيْكُمْ» ثُمَّ جَعَلَ يَسْتَقْرِيهِمْ رَجُلًا رَجُلًا فَسُمُّهُ إِلَى أَقْصَى أَيَّامِهِ ثُمَّ يَقُولُ لَهُ: «يَا فُلَانُ عَلَيْكَ بِنَفْسِكَ فَإِنِّي لَا أُغْنِي عَنْكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى شَيْئًا» حَتَّى خَلَصَ إِلَى فَاطِمَةَ ابْنَتِهِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا فَقَالَ لَهَا مِثْلَ مَا قَالَ لَهُمْ ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُمْ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، لَا أُلْفِيَنَّ النَّاسَ يَأْتُونَ يَجُرُّونَ الْجَنَّةَ وَتَأْتُونَ تَجُرُّونَ الدُّنْيَا، اللَّهُمَّ لَا أُحِلُّ لِقُرَيْشٍ أَنْ يُفْسِدُوا مَا أَصْلَحْتُ» ثُمَّ قَالَ: «أَلَا إِنَّ خِيَارَ أَئِمَّتِكُمْ خَيْرُ النَّاسِ وَشِرَارُ أَئِمَّتِكُمْ شِرَارُ النَّاسِ وَخِيَارُ قُرَيْشٍ خِيَارُ النَّاسِ وَشِرَارُ قُرَيْشٍ شِرَارُ النَّاسِ».

Statements

▪ <u>*Statements of Action*</u>

E-D5E-11BA (أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ نَادَى قُرَيْشًا فَجَمَعَهُمْ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) calls the *Quraysh* and gathers them.

E-D5E-11BB (فَقَامَ فِيهِمْ) He stands up while He's among them.

E-D5E-11BC (فَقَالَ: «أَلَا إِنَّ كُلَّ نَبِيٍّ بُعِثَ إِلَى قَوْمِهِ وَإِنِّي بُعِثْتُ إِلَيْكُمْ» ثُمَّ جَعَلَ يَسْتَقْرِئُهُمْ رَجُلًا رَجُلًا فَسُمُّهُ إِلَى أَقْصَى أَيَّامِهِ ثُمَّ يَقُولُ لَهُ: «يَا فُلَانُ عَلَيْكَ بِنَفْسِكَ فَإِنِّي لَا أُغْنِي عَنْكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى شَيْئًا») He tells them the following: "*Each Nabi is sent to His own tribe. I was sent to you.*" Then, he recounts them name by name in order of their closeness to Him as a relative and tells each of them the following: "*O, [name]! Get a hold of your desires. Because I wouldn't be able to be of any good to you before Allah.*"

E-D5E-11BD (حَتَّى خَلَصَ إِلَى فَاطِمَةَ ابْنَتِهِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا فَقَالَ لَهَا مِثْلَ مَا قَالَ لَهُمْ) Then, it's his daughter **Faṭ ima**'s turn and he also tells her similar things.

E-D5E-11BE (ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُمْ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، لَا أُلْفِيَنَّ النَّاسَ يَأْتُونَ يَجُرُّونَ الْجَنَّةَ وَتَأْتُونَ تَجُرُّونَ الدُّنْيَا، اللَّهُمَّ لَا أُحِلُّ لِقُرَيْشٍ أَنْ يُفْسِدُوا مَا أَصْلَحْتُ») Then he tells them the following: "*O, people of the Quraysh! I shouldn't see you pulling the earth with you while people come with things that would allow them to go to heaven. My Allah, don't let them spoil the things I put in order!*"

E-D5E-11BF (ثُمَّ قَالَ: «أَلَا إِنَّ خِيَارَ أَئِمَّتِكُمْ خَيْرُ النَّاسِ وَشِرَارُ أَئِمَّتِكُمْ شِرَارُ النَّاسِ وَخِيَارُ قُرَيْشٍ خِيَارُ النَّاسِ وَشِرَارُ قُرَيْشٍ شِرَارُ النَّاسِ») Then he says: "*The benevolent ones of your leaders are the benevolent ones of the people. The evil ones of your leaders are the evil ones of the people. The benevolent ones of the Quraysh are the benevolent ones of the people. Their evil ones are the evil ones of the people.*"

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-D5E-11B9 (أَبُو أُمَامَةَ، وَالْحَارِثُ، وَعُمَيْرُ بْنُ الْأَسْوَدِ) Narrators

[DA9BDA] **Khabar of Amr ibn Avf ibn Zaid ibn Milḥa**

Description: In this khabar, statements indicating that the Prophet gave advice to the *Quraysh* about the Ansar are included. In this respect, it supports the Khabar of Abu Hurairah-1.

Quotations

[9BD9] at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْمُبَارَكِ الصَّنْعَانِيُّ، ثَنَا إِسْمَاعِيلُ بْنُ أَبِي أُوَيْسٍ، حَدَّثَنِي كَثِيرُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ عَوْفِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ مِلْحَةَ الْمُزَنِيُّ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ جَدِّهِ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ ﷺ كَانَ قَاعِدًا مَعَهُمْ فَدَخَلَ بَيْتَهُ وَقَالَ: «ادْخُلُوا عَلَيَّ وَلَا يَدْخُلَنَّ عَلَيَّ إِلَّا قُرَشِيٌّ» ، فَتَسَلَّلْتُ فَدَخَلْتُ، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، هَلْ بَيْنَكُمْ أَحَدٌ لَيْسَ مِنْكُمْ؟» قَالُوا: نُخْبِرُكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ بِآبَائِنَا أَنْتَ وَأُمَّهَاتِنَا مَعَنَا ابْنُ الْأُخْتِ وَالْمَوْلَى، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ: «حَلِيفُ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ، وَمَوْلَى الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ، وَابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ، يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّكُمُ الْوُلَاةُ بَعْدِي لِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ، فَلَا تَمُوتُنَّ إِلَّا وَأَنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنُونَ، وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا، وَلَا تَكُونُوا كَالَّذِينَ تَفَرَّقُوا وَاخْتَلَفُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَهُمُ الْبَيِّنَاتُ، وَمَا أُمِرُوا إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوا اللهَ مُخْلِصِينَ لَهُ الدِّينَ حَنِيفًا، وَتُقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ، وَتُؤْتُوا الزَّكَاةَ، وَذَلِكَ دِينُ الْقَيِّمَةِ، يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، احْفَظُونِي فِي أَصْحَابِي وَأَبْنَائِهِمْ وَأَبْنَاءِ أَبْنَائِهِمْ، رَحِمَ اللهُ الْأَنْصَارَ وَأَبْنَاءَ الْأَنْصَارِ»

Statements

▪ <u>*Statements of Action*</u>

E-BD9-1D5A (أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ ﷺ كَانَ قَاعِدًا مَعَهُمْ) The Messenger of Allah sits with some of His companions.

E-BD9-1D5B (فَدَخَلَ بَيْتَهُ) Then, He enters His home.

E-BD9-1D5C (وَقَالَ: «ادْخُلُوا عَلَيَّ وَلَا يَدْخُلَنَّ عَلَيَّ إِلَّا قُرَيْشِيٌّ») Then, He says: *"Only those from the Quraysh should come near me."*

E-BD9-1D5D (فَتَسَلَّلْتُ فَدَخَلْتُ) [ʿ**Amr b.** ʿ**Avf**] also enters the home.

E-BD9-1D5E (فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، هَلْ بَيْنَكُمْ أَحَدٌ لَيْسَ مِنْكُمْ؟») The Messenger of Allah says: *"O people of the Quraysh! Is there a foreigner among you?"*

E-BD9-1D5F (مَعَنَا ابْنُ الْأُخْتِ وَالْمَوْلَى) They say: *"We have the son of our sister and our slaves with us."*

E-BD9-1D60 (فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ: «حَلِيفُ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ، وَمَوْلَى الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ، وَابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) says: "*The caliph of a tribe is from them. The loved ones of a tribe are from them. The son of the sisters of a tribe is from them.*"

E-BD9-1D61 (يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّكُمُ الْوُلَاةُ بَعْدِي لِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ) He says: "*O people of the Quraysh! You will be the ones who will take over after me.*"

E-BD9-1D62 (فَلَا تَمُوتُنَّ إِلَّا وَأَنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنُونَ) He says: "*Don't die before becoming a believer.*"

E-BD9-1D63 (وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا) He says: "*Hold on to Allah's rope altogether and don't fall into disagreement.*"

E-BD9-1D64 (وَلَا تَكُونُوا كَالَّذِينَ تَفَرَّقُوا وَاخْتَلَفُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَهُمُ الْبَيِّنَاتُ) He says: "*Don't become one of those people who are in conflict and fall into a disagreement even though they received clear evidence.*"

E-BD9-1D67 (يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، احْفَظُونِي فِي أَصْحَابِي وَأَبْنَائِهِمْ وَأَبْنَاءِ أَبْنَائِهِمْ) He says: "*O people of the Quraysh! Take care of [and protect] my companions, their children and their children's children for me.*"

E-BD9-1D68 (رَحِمَ اللهُ الْأَنْصَارَ وَأَبْنَاءَ الْأَنْصَارِ) He says: "*Allah should have mercy on the Ansar and their children.*"

▪ <u>*Statements of Time*</u>

Z-BD9-1D58 (كَانَ قَاعِدًا مَعَهُمْ) Time of the Event

▪ <u>*Statements of Place*</u>

M-BD9-1D59 (فَدَخَلَ بَيْتَهُ) House of the Messenger of Allah

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-BD9-1D52 (كَثِيرُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ عَوْفِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ مِلْحَةَ الْمُزَنِيُّ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ جَدِّهِ) Narrator

N-BD9-1D53 (رَسُولَ اللهِ) The Messenger of Allah

N-BD9-1D55 (فَتَسَلَّلْتُ فَدَخَلْتُ) **ʿAmr b. ʿAvf**

▪ *Statements of Group*

G-BD9-1D54 (كَانَ قَاعِدًا مَعَهُمْ) Those Who Sit with the Prophet

G-BD9-1D56 (مَعَنَا ابْنُ الْأُخْتِ وَالْمَوْلَى) Child of the Sister and Slaves

G-BD9-1D57 (مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ) The People of the *Quraysh*

[DA9BCE] **Khabar of Abu Moosa**

Description: It is observed that this khabar contains information and statements that are quite similar to those contained in the khabars of **Anas bin Malik** and **Abu Sa'id al-Khudri**[13]. Two of these khabars can simply consist of the passages of one of them. Obviously, detailed analyses must be performed to verify this. However, since the issue of authenticity is not considered as a problem, it was decided that it would not be a problem to separately analyze these khabars in the *Scenario*.

Quotations

۞ [9BCD] al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ حَكِيمٍ، قَالَ: أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ، قَالَ: أَخْبَرَنَا عَوْفٌ، عَنْ زِيَادِ بْنِ مِخْرَاقٍ، عَنْ أَبِي كِنَانَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي مُوسَى، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ عَلَى بَابِ بَيْتٍ فِيهِ نَفَرٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ، فَأَخَذَ بِعِضَادَتَيِ الْبَابِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: «هَلْ فِي الْبَيْتِ إِلَّا قُرَشِيٌّ؟» ، قَالَ: فَقِيلَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ غَيْرُ فُلَانٍ ابْنُ أُخْتِنَا، قَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ» ، ثُمَّ قَالَ ﷺ: «هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا دَامُوا إِذَا اسْتُرْحِمُوا رَحِمُوا، وَإِذَا حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا، وَإِذَا قَسَمُوا أَقْسَطُوا فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ لَا يُقْبَلُ مِنْهُ صَرْفٌ وَلَا عَدْلٌ» ، وَهَذَا الْحَدِيثُ لَا نَعْلَمُهُ يُرْوَى بِهَذَا اللَّفْظِ إِلَّا عَنْ أَبِي مُوسَى بِهَذَا الْإِسْنَادِ وَأَبُو كِنَانَةَ رَوَى عَنْهُ زِيَادُ بْنُ مِخْرَاقٍ، حَدِيثَيْنِ هَذَا أَحَدُهُمَا وَالْآخَرُ رَفَعَهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ حُمْرَانَ وَغَيْرُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ لَا يَرْفَعُهُ.

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-BCD-1D80 (قَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ عَلَى بَابِ بَيْتٍ فِيهِ نَفَرٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ) The Messenger of Allah stands in front of the door of the house where some people from the *Quraysh* are.

E-BCD-1D81 (فَأَخَذَ بِعِضَادَتَيِ الْبَابِ) He holds the two frames of the door.

[13] It was not included in the Scenario due to the similarity of the text (see at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu's-Ṣağîr*, I, 142).

E-BCD-1D82 (ثُمَّ قَالَ: «هَلْ فِي الْبَيْتِ إِلَّا قُرَشِيٌّ؟») Then, He asks: "*Is there anyone in the house other than those from the Quraysh?*"

E-BCD-1D83 (فَقِيلَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ غَيْرُ فُلَانٍ ابْنُ أُخْتِنَا) They say: "*No, there is just the son of our sister.*"

E-BCD-1D84 (قَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ») He says: "*The son of a sister of a tribe is with them.*"

E-BCD-1D85 (ثُمَّ قَالَ ﷺ: «هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا دَامُوا) Then, He says: "*This work is on the Quraysh [as long as they maintain these.]*"

E-BCD-1D86 (إِذَا اسْتُرْحِمُوا رَحِمُوا) He says: "*If they show mercy to the one who asks for mercy.*"

E-BCD-1D87 (وَإِذَا حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا) He says: "*If they act fairly in their judgements.*"

E-BCD-1D88 (وَإِذَا قَسَمُوا أَقْسَطُوا) He says: "*If they act justly in what they distribute.*"

E-BCD-1D89 (فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ) He says: "*The curse of Allah, His angels and all the humans shall be on the one who doesn't do this.*"

E-BCD-1D8A (لَا يُقْبَلُ مِنْهُ صَرْفٌ وَلَا عَدْلٌ) He says: "*Neither his repentance nor his redemption shall be accepted.*"

▪ <u>*Statements of Time*</u>

Z-BCD-1D7F (قَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ عَلَى بَابِ بَيْتٍ فِيهِ نَفَرٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ) Time of the Event

▪ <u>*Statements of Place*</u>

M-BCD-1D7C (عَلَى بَابِ بَيْتٍ) In Front of the Door of the House

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-BCD-1D7A (عَنْ أَبِي مُوسَى) Narrator

N-BCD-1D7B (رَسُولُ اللَّهِ) The Messenger of Allah

▪ <u>*Statements of Group*</u>

G-BCD-1D7D (نَفَرٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ) People from *Quraysh*

G-BCD-1D7E (غَيْرُ فُلَانٍ ابْنُ أُخْتِنَا) Son of the Sister

[0F97AD] **Khabar of Abu Umamah-2**

Description: Including quite clear statements with respect to the nature of the Prophet's speech, this khabar provides significant contributions for grasping the event flow appearing in the *Scenario*. In the subsequent sections of the khabar, there

is also information and statements with respect to topics that are outside the scope of the *Scenario*. In some of these statements, it is understood that the Prophet also addresses the women. This information indicates that the event may be connected to the separation of the Prophet from the women for one month. However, this is the subject matter of another study that would require an extension of the scope of the *Scenario*.

Quotations

[97AC] al-Ajurri, *eş-Şerîʿa*, III, 1337.

وَأَنْبَأَنَا الْفِرْيَابِيُّ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا هِشَامُ بْنُ عَمَّارٍ الدِّمَشْقِيُّ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا صَدَقَةُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا عُثْمَانُ بْنُ أَبِي الْعَاتِكَةِ , عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ يَزِيدَ , عَنِ الْقَاسِمِ , عَنْ أَبِي أُمَامَةَ قَالَ: لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ {وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْأَقْرَبِينَ} [الشعراء: 214] الْآيَةَ جَمَعَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ , فَأَجْلَسَهُمْ عَلَى الْبَابِ , وَجَمَعَ نِسَاءَهُ وَأَهْلَهُ , فَأَجْلَسَهُمْ فِي الْبَيْتِ , ثُمَّ اطَّلَعَ فَقَالَ: يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ , اشْتَرُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ , لَا يَغُرَّنَّكُمْ قَرَابَتُكُمْ مِنِّي , فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ شَيْئًا , ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ فَقَالَ: يَا عَائِشَةُ بِنْتَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ , وَيَا حَفْصَةُ بِنْتَ عُمَرَ , وَيَا أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ , وَيَا فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ , يَا أُمَّ الزُّبَيْرِ يَا عَمَّةَ النَّبِيِّ: اشْتَرُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ , وَاسْعَوْا فِي فِكَاكِ رِقَابِكُمْ , فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ شَيْئًا , فَبَكَتْ عَائِشَةُ , ثُمَّ قَالَتْ: أَيْ حِبِّي , وَهَلْ يَكُونُ ذَلِكَ يَوْمَ لَا تُغْنِي عَنِّي شَيْئًا؟ فَقَالَ: نَعَمْ , فِي ثَلَاثَةِ مَوَاطِنَ: يَقُولُ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ {وَنَضَعُ الْمَوَازِينَ الْقِسْطَ لِيَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ} [الأنبياء: 47] وَقَالَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ {فَمَنْ ثَقُلَتْ مَوَازِينُهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ , وَمَنْ خَفَّتْ مَوَازِينُهُ فَأُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ خَسِرُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ فِي جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدُونَ} [المؤمنون: 103] فَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ لَا أُغْنِي عَنْكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ شَيْئًا , وَعِنْدَ النُّورِ: مَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أَتَمَّ نُورَهُ , وَمَنْ شَاءَ تَرَكَهُ فِي الظُّلْمَةِ يَعْمَهُ فِيهَا , فَلَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ شَيْئًا , وَعِنْدَ الصِّرَاطِ , مَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ سَلَّمَهُ وَأَنْجَاهُ , وَمَنْ شَاءَ كَبْكَبَهُ فِي النَّارِ " قَالَتْ عَائِشَةُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا: أَيْ حِبِّي , قَدْ عَلِمْنَا أَنَّ الْمَوَازِينَ هِيَ الْكِفَّتَانِ يُوضَعُ فِي هَذَا الشَّيْءَ , وَفِي هَذَا الشَّيْءَ فَتَرْجَحُ إِحْدَاهُمَا , وَتَخِفُّ إِحْدَاهُمَا , وَقَدْ عَلِمْنَا النُّورَ وَالظُّلْمَةَ , فَمَا الصِّرَاطُ؟ قَالَ: " طَرِيقٌ بَيْنَ الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ , يُجَازُ النَّاسُ عَلَيْهَا , وَهِيَ مِثْلُ حَدِّ الْمُوسَى , وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ صَافُّونَ يَمِينًا وَشِمَالًا يَتَخَطَّفُونَهُمْ بِالْكَلَالِيبِ , مِثْلَ شَوْكِ السَّعْدَانِ , وَهُمْ يَقُولُونَ: رَبِّ سَلِّمْ سَلِّمْ , وَأَفْئِدَتُهُمْ هَوَاءٌ , فَمَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ سَلَّمَهُ , وَمَنْ شَاءَ كَبْكَبَهُ فِيهَا "

Statements

- *Statements of Action*

E-7AC-11AF (وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ" (قَالَ: لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ {وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْأَقْرَبِينَ} [الشعراء: 214] الْآيَةَ جَمَعَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ الْأَقْرَبِينَ") When this verse is sent down, Nabi (peace be upon Him) gathers *Banu Hashim*.

E-7AC-11B0 (فَأَجْلَسَهُمْ عَلَى الْبَابِ وَجَمَعَ نِسَاءَهُ وَأَهْلَهُ فَأَجْلَسَهُمْ فِي الْبَيْتِ) He tells them to sit down in front of the door and His family and wives to sit down inside the house.

E-7AC-11B1 (ثُمَّ اطَّلَعَ) Then, he stands before them.

E-7AC-11B2 (فَقَالَ: يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ اشْتَرُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ, لَا يَغُرَّنَّكُمْ قَرَابَتُكُمْ مِنِّي, فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ شَيْئًا) He tells [them] the following: *"O Sons of Hashimi! Buy your desires from the almighty and sacred Allah, your closeness to me shouldn't make you haughty. Because I don't have the power to prevent anything that will come to you from Allah."*

E-7AC-11B3 (ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ فَقَالَ: يَا عَائِشَةُ بِنْتَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ , وَيَا حَفْصَةُ بِنْتَ عُمَرَ , وَيَا أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ , وَيَا فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ , يَا أُمَّ الزُّبَيْرِ يَا عَمَّةَ النَّبِيِّ: اشْتَرُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ , وَاسْعَوْا فِي فِكَاكِ رِقَابِكُمْ , فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ شَيْئًا)

Then, He directs his attention to the People of the House and says: "*O A'ishah bint Abi Bakr, O Ḥafsah bint Umar, O Umm Salama, O Fatimah bint Muhammad, O Ummu'z-Zubayr, O Nabi's aunt! Buy your desires from the almighty and sacred Allah. Work to save your necks. Because I don't have the power to prevent anything that will come to you from Allah.*"

[B11D8E] **Khabar of Anas bin Malik**

Quotations

[1D8D] at-Tabarani, *ed-Duʿâ*, p. 583.

حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ، ثنا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ يُونُسَ، ثنا فُضَيْلُ بْنُ عِيَاضٍ، عَنِ الْأَعْمَشِ، عَنْ أَبِي صَالِحٍ الْحَنَفِيِّ، عَنْ بُكَيْرٍ الْجَزَرِيِّ، عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: كُنَّا فِي بَيْتٍ، نَفَرٌ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَنَفَرٌ مِنَ الْأَنْصَارِ فَأَقْبَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَأَقْبَلَ كُلُّ رَجُلٍ مِنَّا يُوَسِّعُ إِلَى جَنْبِهِ رَجَاءَ أَنْ يَجْلِسَ إِلَيْهِ حَتَّى قَامَ عَلَى الْبَابِ فَأَخَذَ بِعَضَادَتِهِ فَقَالَ: الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ، وَلِي عَلَيْهِمْ حَقٌّ عَظِيمٌ، وَلَهُمْ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ مَا فَعَلُوا ثَلَاثًا: إِذَا اسْتُرْحِمُوا رَحِمُوا، وَإِذَا حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا، وَإِذَا عَاهَدُوا وَفَوْا فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ.

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-D8D-62CC (كُنَّا فِي بَيْتٍ، نَفَرٌ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَنَفَرٌ مِنَ الْأَنْصَارِ فَأَقْبَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ) While immigrants and some of the Ansar sit in a house, the Messenger of Allah comes near them.

E-D8D-62CD (فَأَقْبَلَ كُلُّ رَجُلٍ مِنَّا يُوَسِّعُ إِلَى جَنْبِهِ رَجَاءَ أَنْ يَجْلِسَ إِلَيْهِ حَتَّى قَامَ عَلَى الْبَابِ) People make room for him to sit near them, but he stands next to the door.

E-D8D-62CE (فَأَخَذَ بِعَضَادَتِهِ) He holds the frames of the door.

E-D8D-62CF (فَقَالَ: الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ) He says: "*Imams are from the Quraysh.*"

E-D8D-62D3 (فَقَالَ: وَلِي عَلَيْهِمْ حَقٌّ عَظِيمٌ، وَلَهُمْ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ مَا فَعَلُوا ثَلَاثًا) He says: "*I did so much for them, so they owe me that much. If they do these three things they will have my blessing.*"

E-D8D-62D4 (إِذَا اسْتُرْحِمُوا رَحِمُوا) He says: "*If they show mercy to the one who asks for mercy.*"

E-D8D-62D5 (وَإِذَا حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا) He says: "*If they act fairly in their judgements.*"

E-D8D-62D6 (وَإِذَا عَاهَدُوا وَفَوْا) He says: "*If they honor their agreements.*"

E-D8D-62D7 (فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ) He says: "*The curse of Allah, His angels and all the humans shall be on the one who doesn't do this.*"

▪ *Statements of Time*

Z-D8D-62CA (كُنَّا فِي بَيْتٍ) The Time Sitting in the House

▪ *Statements of Place*

M-D8D-62C9 (فِي بَيْتٍ) The House

▪ *Statements of Object*

N-D8D-62C6 (عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ) Observer and Narrator

N-D8D-62CB (رَسُولُ اللَّهِ) The Messenger of Allah

▪ *Statements of Group*

G-D8D-62C7 (كُنَّا فِي بَيْتٍ، نَفَرٌ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ) A Group from immigrants

G-D8D-62C8 (وَنَفَرٌ مِنَ الْأَنْصَارِ) A Group from Ansar

[CC2D68] **Khabar of Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari**

Description: Based on statements such as, "بَيْنَمَا نَحْنُ عِنْدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ" and other similar statements which are included in all passages in this khabar, it can be said that **Abu Mas'ud Al-Ansari** is the *Observer*. The statement, "ثُمَّ لَحَا قَضِيبَهُ, فَإِذَا هُو أَبْيَضُ يَصْلِدُ" included in some passages of the *khabar*, indicates that the Prophet had a stick in his hand at that time and was barking it. This confirms the statements in relation to the stick in the other khabars and reinforces our opinion that all the khabars we quoted here describe the same event.

Quotations

[2D67] ad-Darakutni, *el-ʿİlelu'l-Vâride*, VI, 188.

حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ، قَالَ: حدثنا إبراهيم بن الحارث، قال: حدثنا يحيى بن أبي بكير، حدثنا حماد بن شعيب، قال: حدثنا حَبِيبُ بْنُ أَبِي ثَابِتٍ، عَنِ الْقَاسِمِ، عَنْ عبيد الله بن عبد الله، قال: حدثنا أَبُو مَسْعُودٍ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ، قَالَ: كُنَّا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ فِي بَيْتٍ، فَقَالَ: إِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ لَا يَزَالُ فِيكُمْ، وَأَنْتُمْ وُلَاتُهُ، مَا لَمْ تُحْدِثُوا عَمَلًا، فَيَنْزِعُهُ اللَّهُ مِنْكُمْ، فَإِذَا فَعَلْتُمْ ذَلِكَ، سَلَّطَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكُمْ شِرَارًا مِنْ خَلْقِهِ، فَالْتَحَوْكُمْ كَمَا يُلْتَحَى القضيب.

[E011] Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *el-Musned*, II, 536.

حَدَّثنا عَبْدُ اللهِ، حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي، حَدَّثنا يَعْقُوبُ, حَدَّثنا أَبِي، عَنْ صَالِحٍ قَالَ ابْنُ شِهَابٍ: حَدَّثَنِي عُبَيْدُ اللهِ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ عُتْبَةَ أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللهِ بْنَ مَسْعُودٍ قَالَ بَيْنَا نَحْنُ عِنْدَ رَسُولِ اللهِ ﷺ فِي **قَرِيبٍ مِنْ ثَمَانِينَ رَجُلاً** مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ لَيْسَ فِيهِمْ إِلاَّ قُرَشِيٌّ لاَ وَاللهِ مَا رَأَيْتُ صَفِيحَةَ وُجُوهِ رِجَالٍ قَطُّ أَحْسَنَ مِنْ وُجُوهِهِمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ فَذَكَرُوا النِّسَاءَ فَتَحَدَّثُوا فِيهِنَّ فَتَحَدَّثَ مَعَهُمْ حَتَّى أَحْبَبْتُ أَنْ يَسْكُتَ قَالَ: ثُمَّ أَتَيْتُهُ فَتَشَهَّدَ، ثُمَّ قَالَ أَمَّا بَعْدُ يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ فَإِنَّكُمْ أَهْلُ هَذَا الأَمْرِ مَا لَمْ تَعْصُوا اللهَ, فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُمُوهُ بَعَثَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَنْ يَلْحَاكُمْ كَمَا يُلْحَى هَذَا الْقَضِيبُ لِقَضِيبٍ فِي يَدِهِ، ثُمَّ لَحَا قَضِيبَهُ, فَإِذَا هُو أَبْيَضُ يَصْلِدُ.

[2AF8] ash-Shashi, *el-Musned*, II, 293.

حَدَّثَنِي عِيسَى بْنُ أَحْمَدَ، نا مُصْعَبٌ، حَدَّثَنِي إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ، عَنْ صَالِحِ بْنِ كَيْسَانَ، عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ، عَنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ مَسْعُودٍ قَالَ: بَيْنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ جَالِسٌ فِي ثَمَانِينَ رَجُلًا أَوْ نَحْوٍ مِنْ ثَمَانِينَ رَجُلًا مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ، مَا رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ صَفَحَاتِ وُجُوهِهِمْ لِقَوْمٍ قَطُّ إِذْ تَحَدَّثُوا

عَنِ النِّسَاءِ فَتَحَدَّثَ مَعَهُمْ حَتَّى أَحْبَبْتُ أَنْ يَسْكُتَ، ثُمَّ انْتَبَهَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَحَمِدَ اللَّهَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: «أَمَّا بَعْدُ، مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، فَإِنَّكُمْ وُلَاةُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا أَطَعْتُمُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى، فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُمُوهُ بَعَثَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَنْ يَلْحَاكُمْ نَحْوَ هَذَا الْقَضِيبِ» ، ثُمَّ لَحَا قَضِيبًا فِي يَدِهِ، فَإِذَا مَا لَحَتْهُ أَبْيَضُ يَصْلِدُ.

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-AF9-11C2 (بَيْنَمَا نَحْنُ عِنْدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ فِي قَرِيبٍ مِنْ ثَلَاثِينَ رَجُلًا لَيْسَ فِيهِمْ إِلَّا قُرَشِيٌّ) [**Abu** or **Ibn Mas'ud Al-Ansari**] is near the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) with nearly 30 people from the *Quraysh*.

E-AF9-11C3 (فَذَكَرُوا النِّسَاءَ فَتَحَدَّثُوا فِيهِنَّ) They mention women and talk about them.

E-AF9-11C4 (وَتَحَدَّثَ مَعَهُمْ) [The Messenger of Allah] talks with them.

E-AF9-11C6 (ثُمَّ قَالَ: «أَمَّا بَعْدُ» يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، فَإِنَّكُمْ أَهْلُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا أَطَعْتُمُ اللَّهَ) Then, He says: "*O people of the Quraysh! You are worthy of this job as long as you obey Allah*."

E-AF9-11C7 (فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُمُوهُ بَعَثَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَنْ يَلْحَاكُمْ كَمَا يُلْحَى هَذَا الْقَضِيبُ) He says: "*If you rebel, [He] will send you people who will bark you and remove you [from this job] like this stick is barked*."

▪ *Statements of Object*

N-AF9-11C1 (أَنَّ ابْنَ مَسْعُودٍ) **Abu** or **Ibn Mas'ud Al-Ansari**

[0F97A7] **Khabar of Imran ibn Husain**

Quotations

[97A6] at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVIII, 161.

حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ صَدَقَةَ، ثنا أَبُو فَرْوَةَ يَزِيدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ سِنَانٍ، ثنا أَبِي، ح وَحَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ زُهَيْرٍ التُّسْتَرِيُّ، ثنا أَبُو حَاتِمٍ الرَّازِيُّ، ثنا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ بْنِ سِنَانٍ، ثنا عَبْدُ اللهِ بْنُ حُدَيْرٍ، عَنْ أَبِي الْمُهَلْهَلِ، عَنْ أَبِي سَهْلٍ، عَنِ الْحَسَنِ، عَنْ عِمْرَانَ بْنِ حُصَيْنٍ قَالَ: جَمَعَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ، فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: «يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ، لَا أُغْنِي عَنْكُمْ مِنَ اللهِ شَيْئًا، يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ، إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ، يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ اتَّقُوا النَّارَ وَلَوْ بِشِقِّ تَمْرَةٍ، يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ لَا أَلْفِيَنَّكُمْ تَأْتُونَ بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا عَلَى ظُهُورِكُمْ، وَتَأْتُونَ بِالْآخِرَةِ تَحْمِلُونَهَا».

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-7A6-11A4 (جَمَعَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ) One day, Nabi (peace be upon Him) gathers *Banu Hashim*.

E-7A6-11A6 (فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: «يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ، لَا أُغْنِي عَنْكُمْ مِنَ اللهِ شَيْئًا) He tells them the following: "*O Sons of Hashimi! I don't have the power to prevent anything that will come to you from Allah.*"

E-7A6-11A7 (إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*My friends among you are the ones who are righteous.*"

E-7A6-11A8 (يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ اتَّقُوا النَّارَ وَلَوْ بِشِقِّ تَمْرَةٍ) He says: "*O Sons of Hashimi! Protect yourselves from fire even if it would be through half a date.*"

E-7A6-11A9 (لَا أَلْفِيَنَّكُمْ تَأْتُونَ بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا عَلَى ظُهُورِكُمْ، وَتَأْتُونَ بِالْآخِرَةِ تَحْمِلُونَهَا) He says: "*I wouldn't want to see you carry the world...*"

Note: Considering the other khabars, it can be seen that these statements are erroneous. But despite that, what is implied is understood. According to another passage of the Khabar, these statements should be as follows: "لا أَلْفَيَنَّكُمْ تَأْتُونِي بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا عَلَى ظُهُورِكُمْ وَيَأْتِي النَّاسُ بِالْآخِرَةِ يَحْمِلُونَهَا."[14]

▪ <u>*Statements of Time*</u>

Z-7A6-11A5 (ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ) One day

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-7A6-11A3 (عِمْرَانَ بْنِ حُصَيْنٍ) Narrator

[E67853] **Khabar of Aisha**

Description: In this khabar, conveyed by **Aisha**, it is confirmed that the Prophet addresses **Fatimah**, **Safiyya** and the other sons of **Abd al-Muttalib** altogether. Although it is mentioned in the text that the verse, "وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ" was sent down at that time, it is understood that the Prophet reminds this verse, when it is assessed with the other khabars. Additional evidence is required to be able to say that the verse was sent down at that time. While there are a number of statements in certain passages of the other narratives indicating that the Prophet gathered his relatives in Mecca in the first years of his prophecy and read this verse, it is understood that such statements are merely the disposition of the communicators who confused this gathering with another event that took place in Mecca and that **Abu Lahab** also participated in.[15] Because **Fatimah**, who was reported to have been at this gathering[16], was young at the time of the event that was hosted in Mecca, **Aisha** was probably just born at the time, and He had not married his other wives yet.

[14] Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Telḫîṣü'l-Muteşâbih fi'r-Resm*, II, 743.
[15] Ibn Isḥaq, *Sîretu İbn İsḥâḳ*, p. 145-146; el-Bezzâr, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, II, 105.
[16] al-Ajurri, *eş-Şerîʿa*, III, 1337; at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, VIII, 225.

Quotations

[7852] Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *el-Musned*, XI, 450, No: 26175.

حَدَّثنا عَبْدُ اللهِ, حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي حَدَّثنا وَكِيعٌ, عَنْ هِشَامِ بْنِ عُرْوَةَ عَنْ أَبِيهِ, عَنْ عَائِشَةَ قَالَتْ: لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ: {وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ} قَامَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ فَقَالَ: يَا فَاطِمَةَ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ يَا صَفِيَّةَ بِنْتَ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ, لاَ أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللهِ شَيْئًا سَلُونِي مِنْ مَالِي مَا شِئْتُمْ.

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-852-11B8 (لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ: {وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ} قَامَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ فَقَالَ: يَا فَاطِمَةَ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ يَا صَفِيَّةَ بِنْتَ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ لاَ أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللهِ شَيْئًا سَلُونِي مِنْ مَالِي مَا شِئْتُمْ) "وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ" When this verse was sent down, Nabi (peace be upon Him) gets up and says: "O **Fatimah bint Muhammad**, O **Safiyyah bint Abd al-Muttalib**, O *Bani Abd al-Muttalib*, you may request my properties from me, but I don't have the power to prevent anything that will come to you from Allah."

▪ *Statements of Object*

N-852-11B7 (عَائِشَةَ) Narrator

[9D62EC] **Khabar of Maaz ibn Jabal**

Description: This khabar, which is concerned with the appointment of **Maaz ibn Jabal** as governor, is not directly related to the *Scenario*. However, based on the statements, "إِنَّ أَهْلَ بَيْتِي هَؤُلَاءِ يَرَوْنَ أَنَّهُمْ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِي، وَلَيْسَ كَذَلِكَ. إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ، مَنْ كَانُوا وَحَيْثُ كَانُوا" and "اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي لَا أُحِلُّ لَهُمْ فَسَادَ مَا أَصْلَحْتُ" we believe that both events are quite similar and affected each other either directly or indirectly. If the *Scenario* we prepared here as an introduction is extended, we think that the cause and effect relationship, and the time links between these two events will be revealed more clearly.

Quotations

[62EB] Ibn Abi Asim, *es-Sunne*, I, 93.

ثنا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَوْفٍ، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو الْمُغِيرَةِ، حَدَّثَنَا صَفْوَانُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو، عَنْ رَاشِدِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ، عَنْ عَاصِمِ بْنِ حُمَيْدٍ الْكُوفِيِّ، عَنْ مُعَاذِ بْنِ جَبَلٍ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ لَمَّا بَعَثَهُ إِلَى الْيَمَنِ خَرَجَ مَعَهُ يُوصِيهِ، ثُمَّ الْتَفَتَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ فَقَالَ: «إِنَّ أَهْلَ بَيْتِي هَؤُلَاءِ يَرَوْنَ أَنَّهُمْ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِي، وَلَيْسَ كَذَلِكَ. إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ، مَنْ كَانُوا وَحَيْثُ كَانُوا. اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي لَا أُحِلُّ لَهُمْ فَسَادَ مَا أَصْلَحْتُ، وَايْمُ اللَّهِ لَتُكْفَأَنَّ أُمَّتِي عَنْ دِينِهَا كَمَا تُكْفَأُ الْإِنَاءُ فِي الْبَطْحَاءِ».

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-2EB-1197 (أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ لَمَّا بَعَثَهُ إِلَى الْيَمَنِ خَرَجَ مَعَهُ يُوصِيهِ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) starts on the road with [**Maaz**] while He sends him to Yemen in order to give recommendations to him.

E-2EB-1198 (ثُمَّ الْتَفَتَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ) Then, the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) looks at Medina.

E-2EB-1199 (فَقَالَ: «إِنَّ أَهْلَ بَيْتِي هَؤُلَاءِ يَرَوْنَ أَنَّهُمْ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِي، وَلَيْسَ كَذَلِكَ) He says: "*These people of mine think that they're closer to me than others.*"

E-2EB-119A (إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*My friends among you are the ones who are righteous.*"

E-2EB-119B (مَنْ كَانُوا وَحَيْثُ كَانُوا) He says: "*If they are so, then they are my friends.*"

E-2EB-119C (اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي لَا أُحِلُّ لَهُمْ فَسَادَ مَا أَصْلَحْتُ) He says: "*My Allah! Don't give them the opportunity to spoil the things I put in order.*"

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-2EB-1195 (مُعَاذِ بْنِ جَبَلٍ) **Maaz ibn Jabal**

N-2EB-1196 (رَسُولَ اللَّهِ) The Messenger of Allah

▪ <u>*Statements of Group*</u>

G-2EB-119E (أَهْلَ بَيْتِي هَؤُلَاءِ) *The People of the Prophet*

[CC2D77] **Khabar of Ibn Umar**

Description: The statement, "سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ" in some passages of this narrative, conveyed by **Abdullah ibn Umar,** confirms that **Ibn Umar** was both an *Observer* and a *Narrator*. The narrative was conveyed by many communicators. However, as far as we were able to identify, all of these were conveyed through **Asim ibn Muhammad** with similar statements. For this reason, the other passages were not included in the study.

The statement, "مَا بَقِيَ فِي النَّاسِ رَجُلَانِ" or "مَا بَقِيَ مِنْهُمُ اثْنَانِ" included in the passages below are not found in any narrative other than this khabar conveyed by **Abdullah ibn Umar**. In our opinion, this is due to a narrative error arising from the communication of the text followed by the statement, "مَا بَقِيَ مِنْهُمْ", by one of the communicators. In fact, here, after the statement, "مَا بَقِيَ مِنْهُمْ", what should be provided is not the number of people remaining as it was included in the narrative conveyed by **Anas ibn Malik**, but the traits that those people should have been included. As a matter of fact, another example similar to this one is the narrative conveyed by **Abu Barza al-Aslami** which includes the statements, " الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ **مَا عَمِلُوا**

بِفَلَاتٍ", and is *shortened* inaccurately in our opinion.[17] In another *detailed* passage of this narrative, these deeds were listed in a similar way to those included in narratives that were conveyed by **Anas bin Malik** and other communicators.[18] Apparently, since the text conveyed by **Abdullah ibn Umar** was also *shortened* inaccurately, it became possible to be misunderstood, and the statement in this section - whatever it is - begun to be narrated as, "رَجُلَانِ" or "اثْنَان", meaning "the number of survivors", assuming that it was this way.[19] Therefore, it does not seem possible to accept that this narrative ,which was conveyed by **Abdullah ibn Umar**, is accurately conserved. If a passage of this narrative, other than conveyed by **Asim ibn Muhammad,** is identified, this vague situation could be clarified

Quotations

[2D76] at-Ṭayalisi, *el-Musned*, III, 462.

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو دَاوُدَ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا الْعُمَرِيُّ، عَنْ عَاصِمٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: «لَا يَزَالُ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا بَقِيَ فِي النَّاسِ رَجُلَانِ»

[2D7B] al-Bukḫari, *eṡ-Ṡaḥîḥ*, IV, 179, No: 3501.

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو الوَلِيدِ، حَدَّثَنَا عَاصِمُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبِي، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ، قَالَ: «لاَ يَزَالُ هَذَا الأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا بَقِيَ مِنْهُمُ اثْنَانِ»

Statements

▪ <u>*Statements of Action*</u>

E-D76-11C9 (سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: «لَا يَزَالُ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا بَقِيَ فِي النَّاسِ رَجُلَانِ») **[Ibn Umar]** hears the Messenger of Allah say: "*This job belongs to the Quraysh until there are two people left*."

▪ <u>*Statements of Object*</u>

N-D76-11C8 (عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ) **Ibn Umar**

[492AFC] **Khabar of Ata ibn Yasar**

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[17] "حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو دَاوُدَ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا **سُكَيْنُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ، عَنْ سَيَّارِ بْنِ سَلَامَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي بَرْزَةَ**، قَالَ: قَالَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ: «الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ **مَا عَمِلُوا بِثَلَاثٍ**»" at-Tayalisi, *el-Musned*, II, 240.

[18] "...حَدَّثَنَا سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ دَاوُدَ **حَدَّثَنَا سُكَيْنٌ حَدَّثَنَا سَيَّارُ بْنُ سَلَامَةَ سَمِعَ أَبَا بَرْزَةَ يَرْفَعُهُ** إِلَى النَّبِيِّ ﷺ قَالَ: الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ **إِذَا اسْتَرْحَمُوا رَحِمُوا وَإِذَا عَاهَدُوا وَفَوْا وَإِذَا حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِين**" Aḥmed b. Ḥanbel, *el-Musned*, VIII, 468, No: 20091. Hence, see ar-Ruyani, *el-Musned*, II, 25, 27.

[19] Indeed, **Ibn Hajar** also stated that it may not have been the number of people that was implied in the narrative with the statement, "اثْنَان" by **al-Bukhari,** and considered other options (Hajar al-ʿAsqalani, *Fetḥu'l-Bârî Şerḥ Ṡaḥîḥ el-Buḫârî*, XIII, 117).

Description: This khabar is important as it supports the other statements included in the other khabars, in relation to the peeling off of the stick in the Prophet's hand.

Quotations

[2AFB] ash-Shafi, *el-Musned*, IV, 53.

حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ أَبِي فُدَيْكٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي ذِئْبٍ، عَنْ شَرِيكِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي نَمِرٍ، عَنْ عَطَاءِ بْنِ يَسَارٍ: أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ قَالَ لِقُرَيْشٍ: «أَنْتُمْ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الأَمْرِ مَا كُنْتُمْ مَعَ الْحَقِّ إلا أَنْ تَعْدِلُوا عَنْهُ فَتُلْحَوْنَ كَمَا تُلْحَى هَذِهِ الْجَرِيدَةُ» يُشِيرُ إِلَى جَرِيدَةٍ فِي يَدِهِ.

Statements

▪ <u>*Statements of Action*</u>

E-AFB-11CE (عَنْ عَطَاءِ بْنِ يَسَارٍ) Narrator

E-AFB-11CF (أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ قَالَ لِقُرَيْشٍ: «أَنْتُمْ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الأَمْرِ مَا كُنْتُمْ مَعَ الْحَقِّ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) tells the Quraysh the following: "*As long as you don't divert from justice, you are the most worthy ones for this job*."

E-AFB-11D0 (إلا أَنْ تَعْدِلُوا عَنْهُ فَتُلْحَوْنَ كَمَا تُلْحَى هَذِهِ الْجَرِيدَةُ» يُشِيرُ إِلَى جَرِيدَةٍ فِي يَدِهِ.) Showing the stick in His hand, He says: "*If you divert from justice, you will be peeled off and removed [from this job] like this stick is peeled off*."

[CC2D79] **1189 – Khabar of Ismaʿil ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmr ibn Saʿd**

Quotations

[2D78] Nuʿaim ibn Hammād, *el-Fiten*, I, 395.

حَدَّثَنَا الْوَلِيدُ، عَنْ إِسْمَاعِيلَ بْنِ رَافِعٍ، عَنْ إِسْمَاعِيلَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ سَعْدٍ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: " يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، لَا تَزَالُوا وُلَاةَ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا أَطَعْتُمُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى، فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُمُوهُ الْتَحَاكُمْ عَنْ وَجْهِ الْأَرْضِ كَمَا أُلْتَحِي عَصَايَ هَذِهِ ثُمَّ قَشَعَ طَائِفَةً مِنْ لِحَاهَا فَأَلْقَاهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ

Statements

▪ <u>*Statements of Action*</u>

E-D78-11CB (قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: " يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، لَا تَزَالُوا وُلَاةَ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا أَطَعْتُمُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) says: "O people of the Quraysh*! As long as you obey the Almighty Allah, you shall be the representatives of this job*."

E-D78-11CC (فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُمُوهُ الْتَحَاكُمْ عَنْ وَجْهِ الْأَرْضِ كَمَا أَلْتَحِي عَصَايَ هَذِهِ) [The Messenger of Allah] says: "If you become rebels, you will be peeled off [and removed] from earth, like this rod peels off."

E-D78-11CD (ثُمَّ قَشَعَ طَائِفَةً مِنْ لِحَاهَا فَأَلْقَاهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ) Then, He peels off a part of it and throws it on the ground.

▪ *Statements of Object*

N-D78-11CA (إِسْمَاعِيلَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ سَعْدٍ)

[EDE0E5] **Khabar of Abu Hurairah-2**

Description: There are different passages of this khabar, narrated by **Abu Hurairah**. While there are differences between statements in these passages, in general, they all include recommendations about the Ansar. Based on statements such as, "سَمِعْتُ رسول الله" included in most of these passages, it can be concluded that **Abu Hurairah** is also an *Observer* in addition to being a *Narrator*. This concept is of great importance for chronological identification during the development of the *Scenario*.

Quotations

[E0E4] Yaʿḳub ibn Sufyan al-Fasavi, *el-Maʿrife ve't-Târîḫ*, I, 383-384.

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو الْيَمَانِ أَخْبَرَنِي شُعَيْبٌ عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ حَدَّثَنِي يَزِيدُ بْنُ وَدِيعَةَ بِحُذَافَةَ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رسول الله ﷺ قال: إِنَّ الْأَنْصَارَ أَعِفَّةٌ صُبْرٌ، وَإِنَّ النَّاسَ تَبَعٌ لِقُرَيْشٍ فِي هَذَا الشَّأْنِ، مُؤْمِنُهُمْ تَبَعُ مُؤْمِنِهِمْ، وَفَاجِرُهُمْ تَبَعُ فَاجِرِهِمْ.

[E0E7] Ibn Ḥibban, *es-Ṣaḥîḥ*, XIV, 159.

أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ قُتَيْبَةَ، حَدَّثَنَا حَرْمَلَةُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ وَهْبٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا يُونُسُ، عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ، حَدَّثَنِي يَزِيدُ بْنُ وَدِيعَةَ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ، أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: «الْأَنْصَارُ أَعِفَّةٌ صُبْرٌ، وَإِنَّ النَّاسَ تَبَعٌ لِقُرَيْشٍ فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ: مُؤْمِنُهُمْ تَبَعُ مُؤْمِنِهِمْ، وَفَاجِرُهُمْ تَبَعُ فَاجِرِهِمْ»

Statements

▪ *Statements of Action*

E-0E4-11D1 (أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رسول الله ﷺ قال: إِنَّ الْأَنْصَارَ أَعِفَّةٌ صُبْرٌ) **Abu Hurairah** hears the Messenger of Allah say: "The *Ansar are forgiving and patient*".

E-0E4-11D2 (وَإِنَّ النَّاسَ تَبَعٌ لِقُرَيْشٍ فِي هَذَا الشَّأْنِ) [**Abu Hurairah** hears the Messenger of Allah] say: "*People are subject to the Quraysh on this*."

E-0E4-11D3 (مُؤْمِنُهُمْ تَبَعُ مُؤْمِنِهِمْ، وَفَاجِرُهُمْ تَبَعُ فَاجِرِهِمْ.) [**Abu Hurairah** hears the Messenger of Allah] say: "*Those who are believers are subject to the ones who are believers, and those who are hypocrites are subject to the ones who are hypocrites*."

CASES

❋ 41169-Action - Based on Conveyance: **The Prophet Asks Umar ibn al-Khattab to gather Banu Hashim and Banu-'l-Muṭ ṭ alib**

E-185-D18E- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ لِعُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: «اجْمَعْ لِي قَوْمَكَ») Nabi (peace be upon Him) tells **'Umar** the following: "*Gather your tribe!*"

E-1A4-02D9- Ibn Abi Hatim, *'Ilelu'l-Ḥadîs̓*, VI, 363.

(قَالَ رسولُ اللَّهِ لِعُمَرَ: اجْمَعْ لِي قَوْمَكَ) The Messenger of Allah tells **'Umar** the following: "*Gather your tribe [near me]!*"

E-BD4-8DA1- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(أَرْسَلَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ رَجُلًا وَهُوَ قَاعِدٌ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) sends a man while He is sitting in the prayer room.

E-BD4-8DA2- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(فَقَالَ: «اجْمَعْ لِي بَنِي هَاشِمٍ فِي دَارٍ») He tells the man the following: "Gather *Banu Hashim in a house!*"

E-BD1-1D70- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 251.

(أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ لِعُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: «اجْمَعْ لِي مَنْ هَا هُنَا مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ») Nabi (peace be upon Him) tells **'Umar** the following: "*Gather those from the Quraysh here!*"

E-7A9-11AB- al-Tirmidhi, *Sunenu't-Tirmiẑî*, V, 338.

(لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ {وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ} [الشعراء: 214] جَمَعَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ قُرَيْشًا) When this verse (ash-Shu'ara 26/214) is sent down, the Messenger of Allah gathers the *Quraysh*.

E-D5E-11BA- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 302.

(أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ نَادَى قُرَيْشًا فَجَمَعَهُمْ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) calls the *Quraysh* and gathers them.

▪Conn: N-60DC-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: N-60DD-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609D]- Umar ibn al-Khattab

▪Conn: Z-60DE-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-60DF-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609A]- *Prayer Room of the Prophet*

❋ 4116A-Action - Based on Conveyance: **Umar ibn al-Khattab Gathers Them at a House and Lets the Prophet Know About This**

E-185-D18F- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَجَمَعَهُمْ) [**'Umar**] gathers them.

E-185-D190- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَلَمَّا حَضَرُوا بَابَ النَّبِيِّ) They get ready in front of the Nabi's door.

E-185-D191- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(دَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ عُمَرُ) **'Umar**, enters near the Nabi.

E-185-D192- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَقَالَ: قَدْ جَمَعْتُ لَكَ قَوْمِي) 'Umar tells Him the following: "*gathered your tribe.*"

E-1A4-02DB- Ibn Abi Hatim, *'Ilelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(فلمَّا اجتمَعُوا) When they are gathered…

E-BD4-8DA3- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(قَالَ: فَجَمَعَهُمْ) The man gathers*Banu Hashim*.

E-BD1-1D71- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Mesânî*, V, 251.

(قَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، تَخْرُجُ إِلَيْهِمْ أَوْ يَدْخُلُونَ؟) He [**'Umar**] says: *"O, Messenger of Allah! "Will you come out near them or should they enter your room?".*

E-BD1-1D72- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Mesânî*, V, 251.

(قَالَ: «أَخْرُجُ إِلَيْهِمْ») He [Nabi (peace be upon Him)] says: "*I'll come out*".

▪Conn: N-60E0-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: N-60E1-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609D]- Umar ibn al-Khattab

▪Conn: M-60E2-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609A]- *Prayer Room of the Prophet*

▪Conn: M-60E3-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: Z-60E4-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: G-60E8-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609E]- Sisters' and Caliphs' Children

▪Conn: G-60E9-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609F]- The Family of the Prophet

❋ 4116C-Action - Based on Conveyance: **The Prophet Comes to the Door of the House Where They Are**

E-185-D196- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَخَرَجَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ) Nabi (peace be upon Him) goes out.

E-1A4-02DD- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(فخرَجَ إِلَيْهِمْ) [The Prophet] comes out near them.

E-BD4-8DA4- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(فَقَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ حَتَّى دَخَلَ الدَّارَ) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) gets up and enters that house.

E-BD9-1D5B- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(فَدَخَلَ بَيْتَهُ) Then, He enters His home.

E-BD1-1D72- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 251.

(قَالَ: «أَخْرُجُ إِلَيْهِمْ») He [Nabi (peace be upon Him)] says: "*I'll come out*."

E-BD1-1D73- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 251.

(فَخَرَجَ) He [Nabi (peace be upon Him)] comes out near them.

E-BCD-1D80- al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

(قَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ عَلَى بَابِ بَيْتٍ فِيهِ نَفَرٌ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ) The Messenger of Allah stands in front of the door of the house where some people from the *Quraysh* are.

E-BCD-1D81- al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

(فَأَخَذَ بِعِضَادَتَيِ الْبَابِ) He holds the two frames of the door.

E-7AC-11B1- al-Ajurri, *eş-Şerîʿa*, III, 1337.

(ثُمَّ اطَّلَعَ) Then, he stands before them.

E-D5E-11BB- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 302.

(فَقَامَ فِيهِمْ) He stands up while He's among them.

▪Conn: N-60E5-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-60E6-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6098]- *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muttalib*

▪Conn: M-60E7-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: Z-60EC-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

❋ 4116D-Action - Based on Conveyance: **The Prophet Asks Them If There is a Stranger Among Them**

Note: It is understood that the Prophet asks this question so that He would not reprimand them near strangers.

E-185-D198- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَقَالَ: «هَلْ فِيكُمْ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟») He asks them the following: "*Is there a foreigner among you?*"

E-1A4-02DE- Ibn Abi Hatim, *'İlelu'l-Ḥadîs̱*, VI, 363.

(فَقَالَ: هَلْ فِيكُمْ أَحَدٌ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟) He asks them the following: "*Is there a foreigner among you?*"

E-BD4-8DA7- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(فَقَالَ: «هَلْ فِيكُمْ غَرِيبٌ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟») He asks them the following: "*Is there a foreigner among you?*"

E-BD9-1D5E- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، هَلْ بَيْنَكُمْ أَحَدٌ لَيْسَ مِنْكُمْ؟») The Messenger of Allah says: "*O people of the Quraysh! Is there a foreigner among you?*"

E-BD1-1D74- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 251.

(فَقَالَ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، هَلْ فِيكُمْ مِنْ غَيْرِكُمْ؟») He says: "*O the people of the Quraysh! Is there a foreigner among you?*"

E-BCD-1D82- al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

(ثُمَّ قَالَ: «هَلْ فِي الْبَيْتِ إِلَّا قُرَشِيٌّ؟») Then, He asks: "*Is there anyone in the house other than those from Quraysh?*"

▪Conn: N-60EA-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-60EB-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6098]- *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muttalib*

▪Conn: Z-60ED-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-60F2-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

❋ 4116E-Action - Based on Conveyance: **They Say That They Only Have Their Sisters' Children With Them**

E-185-D199- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(قَالُوا: نَعَمْ، فِينَا خَلِيفُنَا وَابْنُ أُخْتِنَا وَمَوَالِينَا) They say: "*Yes, we do. We have our caliphs, the children of our sisters and our slaves with us.*"

E-1A4-02DF- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(قَالُوا: فِينَا أبناؤنا وخُلَفاؤنا وبنو أخواتنا ومَوالينا) They say: "*We have our children, caliphs, children of our sisters and our slaves with us.*"

E-BD4-8DA8- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(قَالُوا: لَا , إِلَّا ابْنُ أُخْتِنَا) They say: "*No. We only have our sister's son with us.*"

E-BD9-1D5F- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(مَعَنَا ابْنُ الْأُخْتِ وَالْمَوْلَى) They say: "*We have the son of our sister and our slaves with us.*"

E-BD1-1D75- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Mesânî*, V, 251.

(قَالُوا: لَا؛ إِلَّا أَبْنَاءَ أَخَوَاتِنَا) They say: "*No. We only have our sister's son with us.*"

E-BCD-1D83- al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

(قَالَ: فَقِيلَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ غَيْرُ فُلَانٍ ابْنُ أُخْتِنَا) They say: "*No, there is just the son of our sister.*"

▪Conn: N-60EE-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-60EF-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6098]- *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muttalib*

▪Conn: G-60F0-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609E]- Sisters' and Caliphs' Children

▪Conn: M-60F1-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

❋ 4116F-Action - Based on Conveyance: **The Prophet Says That the Children of the Sisters Are Considered as Part of the Tribe**

E-185-D19A- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(قَالَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ: خَلِيفُنَا مِنَّا، وَابْنُ أُخْتِنَا مِنَّا، وَمَوَالِينَا مِنَّا، وَأَنْتُمْ تَسْمَعُونَ) Nabi (peace be upon Him) says: "*Our caliph is one of us. The son of our sister is one of us. Our slaves are one of us. Now, all of you should listen to me.*"

E-1A4-02E0- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(فقال رسولُ الله ﷺ: خَلِيفُنَا مِنَّا، وابْنُ أُخْتِنَا مِنَّا، ومَوَالِينَا مِنَّا) The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) says: "*Our caliph is one of us. The son of our sister is one of us. Our slaves are one of us.*"

E-BD4-8DA9- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(فَقَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِكُمْ مِنْكُمْ») The Prophet says: "*Your sister's son is one of you.*"

E-BD9-1D60- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ: «خَلِيفُ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ، وَمَوْلَى الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ، وَابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ») The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) says: "*The caliph of a tribe is from them. The loved ones of a tribe are from them. The son of the sisters' of a tribe is from them.*"

E-BD1-1D76- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 251.

(قَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ») The Prophet says: "*Your sister's son is one of you.*"

E-BCD-1D84- al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

(قَالَ: «ابْنُ أُخْتِ الْقَوْمِ مِنْهُمْ») He says: "*The son of a sister of a tribe is from them.*"

▪Conn: N-60F3-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: M-60F4-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: Z-60F5-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

❋ 41170-Action - Based on Conveyance: **The Prophet Sits and Chats With Them For a While**

E-D8D-62CD- at-Tabarani, *ed-Duʿâ*, p. 583.

(فَأَقْبَلَ كُلُّ رَجُلٍ مِنَّا يُوَسِّعُ إِلَى جَنْبِهِ رَجَاءَ أَنْ يَجْلِسَ إِلَيْهِ حَتَّى قَامَ عَلَى الْبَابِ) People make room for him to sit near them, but he stands next to the door.

E-AF9-11C3- Abu Ya'la, *Musnedu Ebî Yaʿlâ*, VIII, 438.

(فَذَكَرُوا النِّسَاءَ فَتَحَدَّثُوا فِيهِنَّ) They mention women and talk about them.

▪Conn: N-1481-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-1482-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6098]- *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muttalib*

▪Conn: G-1483-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609E]- Sisters' and Caliphs' Children

▪Conn: M-1484-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: Z-1485-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

❋ 41171-Action - Based on Conveyance: **Some of the Ansar Hear About the Situation and Go to the Place of the Gathering**

E-185-D193- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَسَمِعَ ذَلِكَ الْأَنْصَارُ) The Ansar hear this.

E-185-D194- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَقَالُوا: قَدْ نَزَلَ فِي قُرَيْشٍ الْوَحْيُ) [The Ansar] think that a revelation about the *Quraysh* is sent.

E-185-D195- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَجَاءَ الْمُسْتَمِعُ وَالنَّاظِرُ مَا يُقَالُ لَهُمْ) They come to hear and observe what is said about them.

E-1A4-02E4- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(فَلَمْ يَسْمَعْ أحدٌ صوتَه أَوْ بلغَه إلا جَاءَ يَشْتَدُّ) Those who hear His [Allah's Messenger's] voice go to listen to Him in a hurry.

E-BD9-1D5D- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(فَتَسَلَّلْتُ فَدَخَلْتُ) [**ʿAmr b. ʿAvf**] also enters the home.

▪Conn: G-1486-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6099]- A Group from Ansar

▪Conn: M-1487-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: Z-1488-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

❋ 41172-Action - Based on Conveyance: **The Prophet Begins Speaking, Says that He Needs to Warn His Relatives, and Reminds Them of the Verse "** وأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ**"**

Note: It was mentioned above that this verse was sent down in Mecca, whereupon the Prophet hosted a party for his relatives and that his uncle, **Abu Lahab** also participated in this party. Here, it is understood that the Prophet gathers and warns them, reminding them of this verse which was sent down years ago in Mecca.

E-BD4-8DAA- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ , إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَنِي إِلَى الْخَلْقِ عَامَّةً , وَبَعَثَنِي إِلَيْكُمْ خَاصَّةً) He says: "*O, Banu Hashim! Allah sent me to his creations and He expressly sent me to you.*"

E-BD4-8DAB- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(وَأَمَرَنِي أَنْ أُنْذِرَ عَشِيرَتِي الْأَقْرَبِينَ) He says: "*He commanded me to warn my close relatives.*"

▪Conn: N-1489-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-148A-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6098]- Banu Hashim and Banu-'l-Muttalib

▪Conn: G-148B-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609E]- Sisters' and Caliphs' Children

▪Conn: G-148C-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609F]- The Family of the Prophet

▪Conn: M-148D-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: Z-148E-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

❋ 41173-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Reminds Them That Being the Relative of the Prophet will not be Enough for Them to Save Themselves**

E-7A6-11A6- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVIII, 161.

(فَقَالَ لَهُمْ: «يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ، لَا أُغْنِي عَنْكُمْ مِنَ اللهِ شَيْئًا) He tells them the following: "*O Sons of Hashimi! I don't have the power to prevent anything that will come to you from Allah.*"

E-852-11B8- Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *el-Musned*, XI, 450.

(لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ: {وأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ} قَامَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ فَقَالَ: يَا فَاطِمَةَ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ، يَا صَفِيَّةَ بِنْتَ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ، يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ، لاَ أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللهِ شَيْئًا، سَلُونِي مِنْ مَالِي مَا شِئْتُمْ.) "وأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ" When this verse was sent down, Nabi (peace be upon Him) gets up and says: "O **Fatimah bint Muhammad**, O **Safiyyah bint Abd al-Muttalib**, O *Bani Abd al-Muttalib*, you may request my properties from me, but I don't have the power to prevent anything that will come to you from Allah".

▪Conn: N-148F-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-1490-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6098]- *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muttalib*

▪Conn: G-1491-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609F]- The Family of the Prophet

▪Conn: G-1492-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609E]- Sisters' and Caliphs' Children

▪Conn: M-1493-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: Z-1494-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

❋ 41174-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Warns Them Not to Come to the Last Day with Sins Hanging from their Necks**

E-185-D19D- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(وَإِلَّا فَانْظُرُوا، لَا يَأْتِي النَّاسُ بِالْأَعْمَالِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ، وَتَأْتُونَ بِالْأَثْقَالِ، فَيُعْرَضَ عَنْكُم) He says: "*If you're not, take care of yourself. You shouldn't arrive with a burden (sins) on judgement day, while people arrive with good deeds.*"

E-BD4-8DAC- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(فَإِيَّايَ لَا تَأْتِينَ أُمَّتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يَقْتَسِمُونَ مُلْكَ الْآخِرَةِ) He says: "*While my ummah shares the property of the Last Day on the Last Day.*"

E-BD4-8DAD- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(وَتَأْتُونِي تَحْمِلُونَ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى رِقَابِكُمْ تُدْلُونَ بِقَرَابَتِكُمْ) He says: "*Don't rely on your closeness to me and come with too much property on your shoulders.*"

E-BD1-1D78- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Mesânî*, V, 251.

(فَأَبْصِرُوا أَنْ لَا يَأْتُوا النَّاسُ بِالْأَعْمَالِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَتَأْتُونَ بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا فَأَصُدُّ عَنْكُمْ بِوَجْهِي») He says: "*Don't see me distance myself from you when people come with good deeds on judgement day and you come carrying loads of belongings!*"

E-7A6-11A9- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVIII, 161.

(يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ لَا أَلْفِيَنَّكُمْ تَأْتُونَ بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا عَلَى ظُهُورِكُمْ، وَتَأْتُونَ بِالْآخِرَةِ تَحْمِلُونَهَا) He says: "*I wouldn't want to see you carrying the world...*"

Note: Considering the other khabars, it can be seen that these statements are erroneous. But despite that, what is implied is understood. According to another passage of the *Khabar*, these statements should be as follows: "لا أَلْفَيَنَّكُمْ تَأْتُونِي بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا عَلَى ظُهُورِكُمْ وَيَأْتِي النَّاسُ بِالْآخِرَةِ يَحْمِلُونَهَا".[20]

▪Conn: Z-1495-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A0-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14AB-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

[20] Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Telḫîsü'l-Muteşâbih fi'r-Resm*, II, 743.

▪Conn: G-14B8-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6098]- *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muttalib*

❋ 41175-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Turns to His Daughter Fatimah and His Wives and Warns Them**

E-7AC-11B0- al-Ajurri, *eş-Şerîʿa*, III, 1337.

(فَأَجْلَسَهُمْ عَلَى الْبَابِ، وَجَمَعَ نِسَاءَهُ وَأَهْلَهُ، فَأَجْلَسَهُمْ فِي الْبَيْتِ) He tells them to sit down in front of the door, and His family and wives to sit down inside the house.

E-7AC-11B3- al-Ajurri, *eş-Şerîʿa*, III, 1337.

(ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ فَقَالَ: يَا عَائِشَةُ بِنْتَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ، وَيَا حَفْصَةُ بِنْتَ عُمَرَ، وَيَا أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ، وَيَا فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ، يَا أُمَّ الزُّبَيْرِ يَا عَمَّةَ النَّبِيِّ: اشْتَرُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، وَاسْعَوْا فِي فِكَاكِ رِقَابِكُمْ، فَإِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ شَيْئًا) Then, He directs his attention to the People of the House and says: "*O A'ishah bint Abi Bakr, O Ḥafsah bint Umar, O Umm Salama, O Fatimah bint Muhammad, O Ummu'z-Zubayr, O Nabi's aunt! Buy your desires from the almighty and sacred Allah. Work to save your necks. Because I don't have the power to prevent anything that will come to you from Allah.*"

▪Conn: Z-1496-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A1-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14AC-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-14B9-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609E]- Sisters' and Caliphs' Children

▪Conn: G-14BA-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6098]- *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muttalib*

❋ 41176-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Advises Them to Protect Themselves From Fire, Even if it is Through Half a Date**

E-7A6-11A8- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVIII, 161.

(يَا بَنِي هَاشِمٍ اتَّقُوا النَّارَ وَلَوْ بِشِقِّ تَمْرَةٍ) He says: "*O Sons of Hashimi! Protect yourselves from fire even if it is through half a date palm.*"

▪Conn: Z-1497-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A2-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14AD-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

❋ 41177-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Reminds Them That His Friends are not His Relatives, But They are Righteous Believers**

E-185-D19B- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*My friends among you are the ones who are righteous.*"

E-1A4-02E1- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِيَ مِنْكُمُ المُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*O the people of the Quraysh! My friends among you are the ones who are righteous.*"

E-BD4-8DAE- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(فَإِنَّمَا أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْ جَمِيعِ أُمَّتِي الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*My friends in my ummah are the ones who are righteous*".

E-BD1-1D77- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 251.

(ثُمَّ قَالَ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، اعْلَمُوا أَنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِي الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*O Quraysh people, you should know that the people who are closest to me are the ones who are righteous.*"

E-2EB-119A- Ibn Abi Asim, *es-Sunne*, I, 93.

(إِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*My friends among you are the ones who are righteous.*"

E-79A-11A1- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Evsaṭ* , I, 34.

(إِنَّمَا أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*On judgement day, those who are close to me are those of you who are righteous.*"

E-7A6-11A7- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVIII, 161.

(بِإِنَّ أَوْلِيَائِي مِنْكُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ) He says: "*My friends among you are the ones who are righteous.*"

▪Conn: Z-1498-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A3-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14AE-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

❋ 41178-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Informs Them That If They are Not Righteous They Will Have a Very Hard Time**

E-185-D19C- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ أُولَئِكَ فَذَاكَ) He says: "*If you are so (righteous), then you are my friend.*"

E-1A4-02E2- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(فَإِنْ تَكُونُوا أَنْتُمْ فَأَنْتُمْ) He says: "*If you will be so, then you will be my friend.*"

E-2EB-119B- Ibn Abi Asim, *es-Sunne*, I, 93.

(مَنْ كَانُوا وَحَيْثُ كَانُوا) He says: "*If they are so, then they are my friends.*"

▪Conn: Z-1499-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A4-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14AF-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

❋ 41179-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Tells Them that They Will be Leading This After Him and Advises Them that They Should not Fall into Disagreement and Stray from the Right Path**

E-BD4-8DB0- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(فَأَقِيمُوا فِيهَا جَمِيعًا بَيْنَكُمْ) He says: "*All of you should pray for one another.*"

E-BD9-1D61- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، إِنَّكُمُ الْوُلَاةُ بَعْدِي لِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ) He says: "*O people of the Quraysh! You will be the ones who will take over after me.*"

E-BD9-1D62- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(فَلَا تَمُوتُنَّ إِلَّا وَأَنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنُونَ) He says: "*Don't die before becoming a believer.*"

E-BD9-1D63- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا) He says: "*Hold on to Allah's rope altogether and don't fall into disagreement.*"

E-BD9-1D64- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(وَلَا تَكُونُوا كَالَّذِينَ تَفَرَّقُوا وَاخْتَلَفُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَهُمُ الْبَيِّنَاتُ) He says: "*Don't become one of those people who are in conflict and fall into a disagreement even though they received clear evidence.*"

E-BCD-1D85- al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

(ثُمَّ قَالَ ﷺ: «هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا دَامُوا) Then, He says: "*This work belongs to the Quraysh [as long as they maintain these.]*"

E-D8D-62CF- at-Tabarani, *ed-Duʿâ*, p. 583.

(فَقَالَ: الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ) He says: "*Imams are from the Quraysh.*"

E-D8D-62D0- at-Tabarani, *ed-Duʿâ*, p. 583.

(فَقَالَ: وَلِي عَلَيْهِمْ حَقٌّ عَظِيمٌ، وَلَهُمْ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ مَا فَعَلُوا ثَلَاثًا) He says: "*I did so much for them, so they owe me that much. If they do these three things they will have my blessing.*"

E-D5E-11BF- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Mesânî*, V, 302.

(ثُمَّ قَالَ: «أَلَا إِنَّ خِيَارَ أَئِمَّتِكُمْ خَيْرُ النَّاسِ وَشِرَارُ أَئِمَّتِكُمْ شِرَارُ النَّاسِ وَخِيَارُ قُرَيْشٍ خِيَارُ النَّاسِ وَشِرَارُ قُرَيْشٍ شِرَارُ النَّاسِ») Then he says: "*The benevolent leaders are the benevolent ones of the people. The evil leaders are the evil ones of the people. The benevolent ones of the Quraysh are the benevolent ones of the people. Their evil ones are the evil ones of the people.*"

E-AF9-11C6- ash-Shashi, *el-Musned*, II, 293.

(ثُمَّ قَالَ: «أَمَّا بَعْدُ» يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، فَإِنَّكُمْ أَهْلُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا أَطَعْتُمُ اللَّهَ) Then, He says: "*O people of the Quraysh! You are worthy of this job as long as you obey Allah.*"

E-D76-11C9- at-Ṭayalisi, *el-Musned*, III, 462.

(سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ: «لَا يَزَالُ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا بَقِيَ فِي النَّاسِ رَجُلَانِ») **[Ibn Umar]** hears the Messenger of Allah say: "*This job belongs to the Quraysh until there are two people left.*"

E-AFB-11CF- ash-Shafi, *el-Musned*, IV, 53.

(أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ قَالَ لِقُرَيْشٍ: «أَنْتُمْ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا كُنْتُمْ مَعَ الْحَقِّ») The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon Him) tells the Quraysh the following: "*As long as you don't divert from justice, you are the most worthy ones for this job.*"

▪Conn: Z-149A-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A5-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14B0-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

❃ 4117A-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Reminds Them That They Should Treat People Well, Otherwise They Shall be Peeled Off and Removed just like the Stick in His Hand is Peeled Off**

E-AF9-11C7- ash-Shashi, *el-Musned*, II, 293.

(فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُمُوهُ بَعَثَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَنْ يَلْحَاكُمْ نَحْوَ هَذَا الْقَضِيبِ) He says: "*If you rebel, [He] will send you people who will bark you and remove you [from this job] like this stick is barked.*"

E-D78-11CC- Nuʿaim ibn Hammād, *el-Fiten*, I, 395.

(فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُمُوهُ الْتَحَاكُمْ عَنْ وَجْهِ الْأَرْضِ كَمَا أَلْتَحِي عَصَايَ هَذِهِ) [The Messenger of Allah] says: *"If you become rebels, you will be peeled off [and removed] from earth, like this rod peels off."*

E-D78-11CD- Nuʿaim ibn Hammād, *el-Fiten*, I, 395.

(ثُمَّ قَشَعَ طَائِفَةً مِنْ لِحَاهَا فَأَلْقَاهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ) Then, He peels off a part of it and throws it on the ground.

E-AFB-11D0- ash-Shafi, *el-Musned*, IV, 53.

(إلا أَنْ تَعْدِلُوا عَنْهُ فَتُلْحَوْنَ كَمَا تُلْحَى هَذِهِ الْجَرِيدَةُ» يُشِيرُ إِلَى جَرِيدَةٍ فِي يَدِهِ) Showing them the stick in His hand, He says: "*If you divert from justice, you will be peeled off and removed [from this job] like this stick is peeled off.*"

▪Conn: Z-149B-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A6-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14B1-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

❋ 4117B-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Says that The Curse of Allah, His Angels And All Humans Shall Be on Them if They Act Cruelly**

E-BCD-1D89- al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

(فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ) He says: "*The curse of Allah, His angels and all humans shall be on the one who doesn't do this.*"

E-BCD-1D8A- al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.

(لَا يُقْبَلُ مِنْهُ صَرْفٌ وَلَا عَدْلٌ) He says: "*Neither his repentance nor his redemption shall be accepted.*"

E-D8D-62D7- at-Tabarani, *ed-Duʿâ*, p. 583.

(فَمَنْ لَمْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُمْ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ) He says: "*The curse of Allah, His angels and all humans shall be on the one who doesn't do this.*"

E-2EB-119C- Ibn Abi Asim, *es-Sunne*, I, 93.

(اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي لَا أُحِلُّ لَهُمْ فَسَادَ مَا أَصْلَحْتُ) He says: "*My Allah! Don't give them the opportunity to spoil the things I put in order.*"

E-D5E-11BE- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 302.

(ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُمْ: «يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، لَا أُلْفِيَنَّ النَّاسَ يَأْتُونَ يَجُرُّونَ الْجَنَّةَ وَتَأْتُونَ تَجُرُّونَ الدُّنْيَا، اللَّهُمَّ لَا أُحِلُّ لِقُرَيْشٍ أَنْ يُفْسِدُوا مَا أَصْلَحْتُ») Then he tells them the following: "*O, people of the Quraysh! I shouldn't see you pulling the earth with you while people come with things that would allow them to go to heaven. My Allah! Don't let them spoil the things I put in order.*"

▪Conn: Z-149C-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A7-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14B2-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

❋ 4117C-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Generalizes His Speech by Addressing the Ansar Who Heard about the Khabar Later On and then Came to the Gathering**

E-185-D19E- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(ثُمَّ نَادَى) Then He raises His voice.

E-185-D19F- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَقَالَ: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ – وَرَفَعَ يَدَيْهِ يَضَعَهُمَا عَلَى رُءُوسِ قُرَيْشٍ – أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّ قُرَيْشًا أَهْلُ أَمَانَةٍ) He raises his hand and places it on the heads of the*Quraysh*, then He says: "*O people! The Quraysh are worthy of the divine liabilities.*"

E-185-D1A0- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(مَنْ بَغَى بِهِمْ – قَالَ زُهَيْرٌ: أَظُنُّهُ قَالَ: الْعَوَاثِرَ – كَبَّهُ اللَّهُ لِمِنْخِرَيْهِ) "*Whoever sets them up Allah should take him/her to the ground, on his/her nose.*"

E-185-D1A1- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(إِنَّ قُرَيْشًا أَهْلُ أَمَانَةٍ) He raises his hand and places it on the heads of the*Quraysh*, then He says: "*O people! The Quraysh are worthy of the divine liabilities*".

E-1A4-02E3- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(ثم صرخ رسول الله) Then the Messenger of Allah raises His voice.

E-1A4-02E4- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(فَلَمْ يَسْمَعْ أحدٌ صوتَه أَوْ بلغَه إلا جَاءَ يَشْتَدُّ) Those who hear His [Allah's Messenger's] voice go to listen to Him in a hurry.

E-1A4-02E5- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، مَنْ بَغَاهُمُ العَوَاثِرَ، كُبَّ عَلَى مَنْخِرَيْهِ) "*O people! "Whoever sets them up Allah should take him/her to the ground, on his/her nose."*

▪Conn: Z-149D-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A8-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14B3-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-14B7-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6099]- A Group from Ansar

❋ 4117D-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Asks the People There to Protect the Ansar**

E-BD9-1D67- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، احْفَظُونِي فِي أَصْحَابِي وَأَبْنَائِهِمْ وَأَبْنَاءِ أَبْنَائِهِمْ) He says: "*O people of the Quraysh! Take care of [and protect] my companions, their children and their children's children for me.*"

E-BD9-1D68- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(رَحِمَ اللهُ الْأَنْصَارَ وَأَبْنَاءَ الْأَنْصَارِ) He says: "*May Allah have mercy on the Ansar and their children.*"

E-0E4-11D1- Yaʿḳub ibn Sufyan al-Fasavi, *el-Maʿrife ve't-Târîḫ*, I, 383.

(أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رسول الله ﷺ قال: إِنَّ الْأَنْصَارَ أَعِفَّةٌ صُبْرٌ) **Abu Hurairah** hears the Messenger of Allah say: "The *Ansar are forgiving and patient.*"

▪Conn: Z-149E-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14A9-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14B4-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

❋ 4117E-Action - Based on Conveyance: **He Prays for Those Who are There and for the Ansar**

E-185-D19F- al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.

(فَقَالَ: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ – وَرَفَعَ يَدَيْهِ يَضَعُهُمَا عَلَى رُءُوسِ قُرَيْشٍ – أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنَّ قُرَيْشًا أَهْلُ أَمَانَةٍ) He raises his hand and places it on the heads of the*Quraysh*, then He says: "*O people! The Quraysh are worthy of the divine liabilities.*"

E-1A4-02E5- Ibn Abi Hatim, *ʿİlelu'l-Ḥadîs*, VI, 363.

(فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، مَنْ بَغَاهُمُ العَوَاثِرَ، كُبَّ عَلَى مَنْخِرَيْهِ) "*O people! "Whoever sets them up Allah should take him/her to the ground, on his/her nose.*"

E-BD4-8DAF- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(وَإِنَّ لَكُمْ دَعْوَةٌ مُجَابَةٌ) He says: "*Your prayers will be accepted.*"

E-BD4-8DB0- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(فَأَقِيمُوا فِيهَا جَمِيعًا بَيْنَكُمْ) He says: "*All of you should pray for one another.*"

E-BD4-8DB1- at-Tabarani, *Musnedu'ş-Şâmiyyîn*, II, 66.

(قَالَ: فَرَفَعَ يَدَهُ وَرَفَعُوا أَيْدِيَهُمْ) He raises his hands and they do too.

E-BD9-1D67- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(يَا مَعْشَرَ قُرَيْشٍ، احْفَظُونِي فِي أَصْحَابِي وَأَبْنَائِهِمْ وَأَبْنَاءِ أَبْنَائِهِمْ) He says: "*O people of the Quraysh! Take care of [and protect] my companions, their children and their children's children for me.*"

E-BD9-1D68- at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.

(رَحِمَ اللهُ الْأَنْصَارَ وَأَبْنَاءَ الْأَنْصَارِ) He says: "*May Allah have mercy on the Ansar and their children.*"

E-BD1-1D78- Ibn Abi Asim, *el-Âḥâd ve'l-Meŝânî*, V, 251.

(فَأَبْصِرُوا أَنْ لَا يَأْتُوا النَّاسُ بِالْأَعْمَالِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَتَأْتُونَ بِالدُّنْيَا تَحْمِلُونَهَا فَأَصُدُّ عَنْكُمْ بِوَجْهِي») He says: "*Don't see me distance myself from you when people come with good deeds on judgement day and you come carrying loads of belongings!*"

▪Conn: Z-149F-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609C]- Day of the Gathering

▪Conn: M-14AA-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [609B]- *The Gathering House*

▪Conn: N-14B5-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6097]- The Prophet

▪Conn: G-14B6-Based on Conveyance-Connection: [6099]- A Group from Ansar

Scenario Script

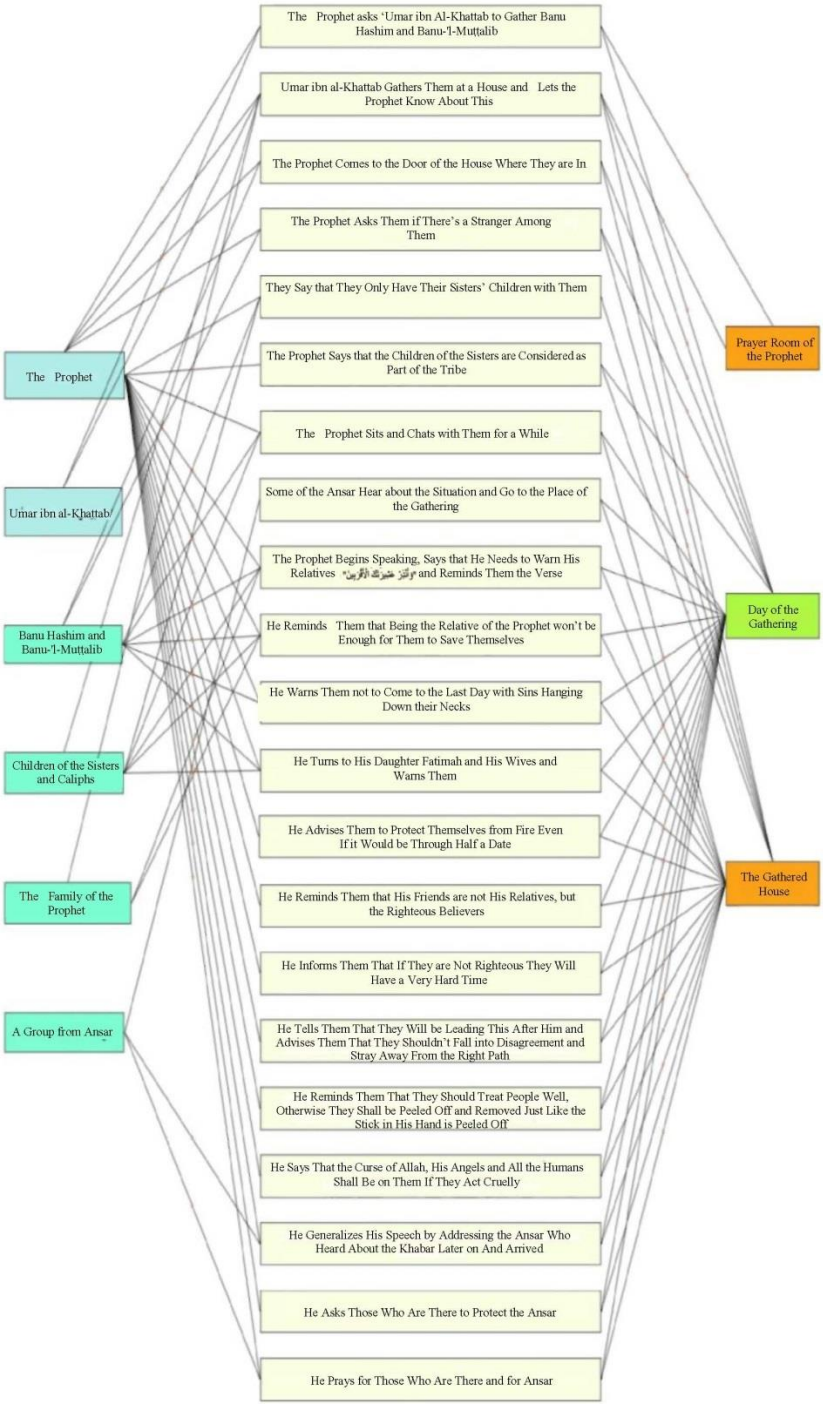
The Prophet asks **Umar ibn al-Khattab** to gather *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muṭṭalib.*[21] **Umar ibn al-Khattab** gathers them in a house, then goes to the Prophet and lets him know about the situation.[22] The Prophet comes to the door of the house where they are.[23] The Prophet asks them if there is a stranger among them.[24] They say that they only have their sisters' children with them.[25] The Prophet says that the children of the sisters are considered as part of the tribe.[26] The Prophet sits and chats with them for a while.[27] Some of the Ansar hear about the situation and go to the place of the gathering.[28] The Prophet begins speaking, says that He needs to warn His relatives, and reminds them of the verse, "وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ".[29] He reminds them that being the relative of the Prophet will not be enough to save themselves.[30] He warns them not to come to the Last Day with sins hanging around their necks.[31] He turns to his daughter, Fatimah and his wives, and warns them.[32] He advises

[21] 41169-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[22] 4116A-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[23] 4116C-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[24] 4116D-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[25] 4116E-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[26] 4116F-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[27] 41170-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[28] 41171-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[29] 41172-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[30] 41173-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[31] 41174-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[32] 41175-Action - Based on Conveyance.

them to protect themselves from fire even if it is through half a date.[33] He reminds them that His friends are not His relatives, but they are righteous believers.[34] He informs them that if they are not righteous they will have a very hard time.[35] He tells them that they will be leading this after Him and advises them that they should not fall into disagreement and stray from the right path.[36] He reminds them that they should treat people well, otherwise they shall be peeled off and removed just like the stick in His hand is peeled off.[37] He says that the curse of Allah, his angels and all humans shall be on them if they act cruelly.[38] He generalizes His speech by addressing the Ansar, who heard about the khabar later on and then came to the gathering.[39] He asks those who are there to protect the Ansar.[40] He prays for those who are there and for the Ansar.[41]

[33] 41176-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[34] 41177-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[35] 41178-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[36] 41179-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[37] 4117A-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[38] 4117B-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[39] 4117C-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[40] 4117D-Action - Based on Conveyance.
[41] 4117E-Action - Based on Conveyance.

THE SCENARIO CHART



Assessments

In order to accurately understand the *Scenario* resulting from this study on an initial first level, some identifications in relation to the historical background of the event must be made first.

The Prophet sent the spoils He acquired through his military campaign of *Hunayn* to the town of *Jaraanah* and proceeded to Taif.[42] After he came back from Taif he went to *Jaraanah* to distribute the spoils. There, He also gave a part of these spoils to prominent people of Mecca. When the Prophet heard that the Ansar was uncomfortable with this and said, " يَغْفِرُ اللَّهُ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ يَغْفِرُ اللَّهُ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ يُعْطِي قُرَيْشًا وَيَتْرُكُنَا، وَسُيُوفُنَا تَقْطُرُ مِنْ دِمَائِهِمْ", he gathered them, talked about this with them and appeased them.[43]

When the Prophet went back to Medina, his uncle **al-Abbas,** in addition to most of His relatives who were members of the *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muṭ ṭ alib* tribes and became Muslims during the conquest and a short while after the conquest, went there with Him.[44] When some of them came to Medina, they saw that *Khaybar had been* conquered, and the Prophet set aside a share of the dates in *Khaybar* for some people from *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muṭ ṭ alib* who immigrated there earlier and participated in these battles. They mentioned that they were also relatives of His and started asking for some things from the Prophet. For instance, His uncle **al-Abbas** asked Him to give some of those[45] or appoint him as governor.[46] **Uthman ibn Affan** and **Jubayr ibn Mut'im** also mentioned that they were close relatives of the Prophet and asked him to give them a share as well.[47]It is mentioned that **Ali ibn Abi Talib** and his wife, **Fatimah** also had some requests.[48] The Prophet was uncomfortable with these requests from them.[49] He demonstrated his discontent by keeping quiet and looking at the ceiling of the house from time to time.[50] He showed his disapproval of his uncle **al-Abbas**' greed for property by

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[42] al-Waqidi, *el-Meğâzî*, III, 924.

[43] al-Waqidi, *el-Meğâzî*, III, 957-958; Ibn Abi Shaybah, *el-Muṣannef*, VII, 418; al-Bukhari, *eṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ*, V, 157-158, No: 4330-4331.

[44] Ibn Saʿd, *eṭ-Ṭabaḳât*, IV, 16. Information indicating that **al-Abbas** came to Medina in the year of the Trench or after the conquest of *Khaybar* is also available. (See Ibn Saʿd, *eṭ-Ṭabaḳât*, IV, 17, 18).

[45] al-Waqidi, *el-Meğâzî*, II, 693; "...فَسَأَلَ الْعَبَّاسُ فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، **كَبِرَتْ** سِنِّي وَرَقَّ عَظْمِي، وَقَدْ رَكِبَنِي مَؤُونَةٌ، فَإِنْ رَأَيْتَ أَنْ تَأْمُرَ لِي بِكَذَا وَكَذَا **وَسْقًا مِنْ طَعَامٍ فَافْعَلْ**..." Umar ibn Schabba, *Târîḫu'l-Medîne*, II, 645.

[46] قَالَ أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو سُفْيَانَ الْحِمْيَرِيُّ الْحَذَّاءُ الْوَاسِطِيُّ، عَنِ الضَّحَّاكِ بْنِ حُمْرَةَ قَالَ: قَالَ الْعَبَّاسُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ اسْتَعْمِلْنِي، فَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: «يَا عَبَّاسُ يَا عَمَّ النَّبِيِّ " نَفْسٌ تُنْجِيهَا خَيْرٌ مِنْ إِمَارَةٍ لَا تُحْصِيهَا» " Ibn Saʿd, *eṭ-Ṭabaḳât*, IV, 27.

[47] ...أَنَّ جُبَيْرَ بْنَ مُطْعِمٍ، أَخْبَرَهُ قَالَ: مَشَيْتُ أَنَا وَعُثْمَانُ بْنُ عَفَّانَ، إِلَى النَّبِيِّ ﷺ فَقُلْنَا: أَعْطَيْتَ بَنِي المطَّلِبِ مِنْ خُمُسِ خَيْبَرَ، وَتَرَكْتَنَا، وَنَحْنُ بِمَنْزِلَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنْكَ، فَقَالَ «إِنَّمَا بَنُو هَاشِمٍ، " وَبَنُو المطَّلِبِ شَيْءٌ وَاحِدٌ» قَالَ جُبَيْرٌ: «وَلَمْ يَقْسِمِ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ لِبَنِي عَبْدِ شَمْسٍ، وَبَنِي نَوْفَلٍ شَيْئًا» " al-Bukhari, *eṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ*, V, 137, No: 4229.

[48] al-Waqidi, *el-Meğâzî*, II, 694; Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *el-Musned*, I, 1197; Umar ibn Schabba, *Târîḫu'l-Medîne*, II, 645; al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, II, 229.

[49] Ibn Abi Asim, *es-Sunne*, I, 93; " يَا عَبَّاسُ يَا عَمَّ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ إِنَّ الْإِمَارَةَ أَوَّلُهَا نَدَامَةٌ، وَأَوْسَطُهَا مَلَامَةٌ، وَآخِرُهَا خِزْيٌ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ. فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا مَنْ عَدَلَ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: **كَيْفَ تَعْدِلُونَ مَعَ الْأَقَارِبِ** " al-Mawardi, *Edebu'd-Dunyâ ve'd-Dîn*, p. 222.

[50] "فَسَكَتَ وَرَفَعَ رَأْسَهُ إِلَى سَقْفِ الْبَيْتِ" al-Waqidi, *el-Meğâzî*, II, 697; Ibn Saʿd, *eṭ-Ṭabaḳât*, IV, 58; Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *el-Musned*, VII, 417, No: 17791; Ibn Hibban, *es-Ṣaḥîḥ*, X, 385.

turning down his offer of help during the distribution of the goods that came from Bahrain.[51]

It is understood that such requests from **al-Abbas** and other relatives continued when zakat officers were sent at the beginning of the 9th year of the Hegira. In fact, **al-Abbas** sent his son and niece to the Prophet and tried to ensure that they would be sent as alms officers.[52] However, the Prophet found another solution to the problem and did not fulfill this request from his uncle.

The Prophet must have gotten tired of these requests from his relatives as he shared this problem with **Maaz ibn Jabal** whom he appointed as the governor of Yemen while he was seeing him off there.[53] In fact, according to a narrative told by **Amr ibn al-'As**, the Prophet said: "آلُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ لَيْسُوا إِلَيَّ بِأَوْلِيَاءٍ، إِنَّمَا وَلِيِّي اللَّهُ وَصَالِحُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ".[54]

It is understood that the Prophet, affected by all this, gathered *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muṭ ṭ alib*, delivered the sermon to them and offered advice, the details of which were revealed by the Scenario described above, reminded them[55] of the verse, "وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْأَقْرَبِينَ", meaning, ***"Warn your closest relative"***[56], and told them that they were not entitled to alms.[57] The fact that the Prophet stayed away from his wives for one month may have something to do with this event. Because, both events happened roughly at the same time. However, since the inclusion of this event in the *Scenario* would increase its volume, no such attempt was made at this point.

It is understood that the same event is discussed in all the narratives quoted above. No information or statement indicating that another event was discussed, was identified either in these narratives or the other passages we identified but could not quote here.

There are other narratives in hadith sources as well, declaring that the *Quraysh* had the right to imamate or administration, through the words, "الائمة" or

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[51] Umar ibn Schabba, *Târîḫu'l-Medîne*, II, 640.

[52] Muslim, *eṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ*, II, 752, No: 1072; at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XI, 69.

[53] Ibn Abi Asim, *es-Sunne*, I, 93.

[54] Abu Bakr ibn al-Arabi, *Aḥkâmu'l-Ḳurʾân*, III, 461. This narrative is available in other sources as well, including *eṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ* by **al-Bukhari** (see al-Bukhari, *eṣ-Ṣaḥîḥ*, VIII, 6, No: 5990). However, it is mentioned that the statement, "آلُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ" in these sources has been deleted. For discussions on this topic, see al-Maqrizi, *İmtâʿu'l-Esmâʿ*, V, 402. On the other hand, it is quite likely that this word, mentioned in this narrative, was said by the Prophet during his speech that appeared in the *Scenario* addressed in this article. However, it was not possible to find sufficient evidence, so this was not included in the *Scenario*.

[55] Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *el-Musned*, XI, 450, No: 26175; al-Tirmidhi, es-*Sunen*, V, 338, No: 3185.

[56] ash-Shu'ara 26/214.

[57] "أَخْبَرَنَا مُطَرِّفُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، أَخْبَرَنَا عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ بْنُ أَبِي حَازِمٍ، عَنْ أُسَامَةَ بْنِ زَيْدٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ الْمُغِيرَةِ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: «يَا بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ، إِنَّ الصَّدَقَةَ أَوْسَاخُ النَّاسِ فَلَا تَأْكُلُوهَا وَلَا تَعْمَلُوا عَلَيْهَا» İbn Saʿd, *eṭ-Ṭabaḳât*, I, 391; "حَدَّثَنَا الْحَسَنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ الْمَعْمَرِيُّ، ثنا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ جَعْفَرٍ الْمَدِينِيُّ، حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي، ثنا جَعْفَرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ حُمَيْدٍ الْأَعْرَجِ، عَنْ مُجَاهِدٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُمَا: أَنَّ فِتْيَانًا مِنْ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ أَتَوُا النَّبِيَّ ﷺ ، فَقَالُوا: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ اسْتَعْمِلْنَا عَلَى هَذِهِ الصَّدَقَةِ نَصِيبُ مِنْهَا مَا يُصِيبُ النَّاسُ وَنُؤَدِّي كَمَا يُؤَدُّونَ فَقَالَ: «إِنَّا آلَ مُحَمَّدٍ لَا تَحِلُّ لَنَا الصَّدَقَةُ وَهِيَ أَوْسَاخُ النَّاسِ، وَلَكِنْ مَا ظَنُّكُمْ إِذَا أَنَا أَخَذْتُ بِحَلْقَةِ الْجَنَّةِ هَلْ أُوتِرُ عَلَيْكُمْ أَحَدًا» aṭ-Ṭaberânî, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XI, 69.

"وُلَاةَ".[58] Although we analyzed nearly all of them, we could not find any evidence indicating that the Prophet said the statements, "الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ" or "فَإِنَّكُمْ وُلَاةُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ", on any occasion other than at the gathering mentioned in the above *Scenario*. Therefore, it seems that addressing all these narratives separately and including them in the *Scenario* would verify the achieved outcome with more solid results. For this reason, such a detailed *Scenario* study was not deemed to be necessary as it would exceed the limits of our article.

Considering all this information, it does not seem to be possible to say that the Prophet used the expression, "الائمة من قريش". It seems that he used one of the expressions, "إِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ فِيكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ وُلَاتُهُ", "إِنَّكُمْ أَهْلُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ" or "تَزَالُوا وُلَاةَ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ", or an expression similar to these instead, and asked *Banu Hashim* or *Banu-'l-Muṭṭalib,* and in general the *Quraysh,* through the conditional sentences he used with the expression above, in order not to rely on their closeness to the Prophet when they were appointed to certain roles, and perform their duties by showing mercy to those who ask for it, and being just and equal. He reminded them that they would appear before Allah on the Last Day with the burdens (sins), created by the duties they undertook, on their shoulders.

We believe that one of the narratives which was analyzed in terms of the first level of understanding, and which has the most appropriate meaning for the state that emerged as a result of the *Scenario*, is the following:[59]

الْفَضْلُ بْنُ دُكَيْنٍ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ، عَنْ حَبِيبِ بْنِ أَبِي ثَابِتٍ، عَنِ الْقَاسِمِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُتْبَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي مَسْعُودٍ، قَالَ: قَالَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ لِقُرَيْشٍ: إِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ فِيكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ وُلَاتُهُ مَا لَمْ تُحْدِثُوا عَمَلًا يَنْزِعُهُ اللَّهُ مِنْكُمْ، فَإِذَا فَعَلْتُمْ ذَلِكَ سَلَّطَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكُمْ شِرَارَ خَلْقِهِ فَالْتَحُوكُمْ كَمَا يُلْتَحَى الْقَضِيبُ.

"... Nabi (peace be upon Him) told the *Quraysh*: *'This job was [handled] by you first and you are its administrators. This will last until you create a job that would cause Allah to take this job away from you. When you do that, Allah will unleash His evil creatures upon you and they will peel you off and remove you from that job just like this stick has been peeled off'".*

However, in the same source, even in the passage from the same narrative, which was *shortened* as cited below, is surprising as it demonstrates the extent of the shift in the meaning at the initial level considering the above *Scenario*:[60]

حَدَّثَنَا الْفَضْلُ بْنُ دُكَيْنٍ، عَنْ سُفْيَانَ، عَنْ حَبِيبِ بْنِ أَبِي ثَابِتٍ، عَنِ الْقَاسِمِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ، عَنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُتْبَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي مَسْعُودٍ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ ﷺ لِقُرَيْشٍ: إِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ فِيكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ وُلَاتُهُ.

[58] **Ibn Hajar** compiled these narratives in his book, *Leẓẓetu'l-ʿAyş fî Ṭuruḳi Ḥadîsi el-Eʾimmeti min Ḳureyş*, as noted in the footnotes in the Introduction section of the article.

[59] Ibn Abi Shaybah, *el-Muṣannef*, VII, 526, No: 37718.

[60] Ibn Abi Shaybah, *el-Muṣannef*, VI, 402, No: 32390.

"... Nabi (peace be upon Him) told the *Quraysh*: *'This job was [handled] by you first and you are its administrators.'"*

According to the first narrative, the fact that the *Quraysh* are the administrators is the natural result of the prophecy's occurrence within them. However, it is reported that this would change if they created a job that would cause Allah to take the original job away from the *Quraysh* and they would lose this power.

Since there are no conditions in the second narrative, which was inaccurately *shortened* in our opinion, the statements seem to indicate that the administration was a right entitled to the *Quraysh* tribe under any circumstances.

This is noteworthy since it demonstrates that the dispositions of classical hadith procedure on the text, such as *shortening, cutting* and *figurative revision* of the narrative, can be manipulative.[61]

Conclusion

It is worth noting that this study, in which we analyzed the narratives through the method we referred to as the *Integrative Approach* and presented as a *Scenario,* is still in its early stages. However, even at this stage, it can be argued that many issues on the topic have been clarified.

We can list some of these as follows:

1. It is understood that the Prophet made a speech, particularly addressing the *Banu Hashim* and the *Banu-'l-Muṭṭalib* rather than the *Quraysh,* and in this speech, he warned them as they thought they had certain rights as relatives of the Prophet, and acted accordingly. He prayed to Allah so that he would not allow those he had improved to go back to their old ways (اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي لَا أُحِلُّ لَهُمْ فَسَادَ مَا أَصْلَحْتُ)[62]. Additionally, he reminded them that if they did not show any mercy, abide by fairness and equality in their actions and obey Allah (فَإِنَّكُمْ وُلَاةُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا أَطَعْتُمُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَ), they would be barked and removed from this job just like the stick in his hand was barked (فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُمُوهُ بَعَثَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَنْ يَلْحَاكُمْ كَمَا يُلْحَى هَذَا الْقَضِيبُ)[63]. In fact, the statements from *Banu Hashim,* and statements indicating that the number of the people gathered in the house was approximately 30 or 80, included in the above compiled *Khabars,* confirm our belief that the gathering was meant for the Prophet's close relatives rather than the *Quraysh*. The statement from the *Quraysh* in certain narratives may have arisen from the need to include both *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muṭṭalib* together *as* they are both members of the *Quraysh*. In fact, in some passages, these two groups are

[61] For our assessment on this, see Mehmet Apaydın, *Hadislerin Tespitinde Bütünsel Yaklaşım,* p. 115-125, 229-130.
[62] Ibn Abi Asim, *es-Sunne*, I, 93.
[63] ash-Shafi, *el-Musned*, IV, 53; Nuʿaim ibn Hammād, *el-Fiten*, I, 395; ash-Shashi, *el-Musned*, II, 293.

referred to as *Banu ʿAbd Manaf,* which they are both members of.[64] It is also possible that the negative situation arising from the Prophet's warning to his close relatives was attempted to be eliminated by attributing it to the *Quraysh* tribe.

2. It is understood that the Ansar, who became aware of this gathering and the subsequent speech, also gathered there, upon which the Prophet turned to them and gave advice to his relatives and other companions about them as well. However, this section is not detailed as it exceeds the limits of the *Scenario*.

3. The statement, "الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ"[67], "هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ"[66], "إِنَّكُمُ الْوُلَاةُ بَعْدِي لِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ"[65], "إِنَّ قُرَيْشًا أَهْلُ أَمَانَةٍ"[68], "فَإِنَّكُمْ أَهْلُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ"[69], "لَا يَزَالُ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ"[70], "أَنْتُمْ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الأَمْرِ"[71], "لَا تَزَالُوا وُلَاةَ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ"[72] or "إِنَّ النَّاسَ تَبَعٌ لِقُرَيْشٍ فِي هَذَا الشَّأْنِ",[73] which is reported to have been said by the Prophet during this speech was used due to the positions that some people from the *Quraysh*, particularly those from *Banu Hashim* and *Banu-'l-Muṭṭalib,* were appointed or desired to be appointed at the time, rather than as an expression of a future decision. The *Quraysh* had skills in this matter, but the proper use of such skills was bound by a certain condition through statements such as, "مَا دَامُوا إِذَا اسْتُرْحِمُوا رَحِمُوا، وَإِذَا حَكَمُوا عَدَلُوا، وَإِذَا عَاهَدُوا وَفَوْا"[75] and "مَا أَطَعْتُمُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَ"[76]. Additionally, they were informed that they would be peeled off and removed from such positions just like a stick is peeled off (فَتُلْحَوْنَ كَمَا تُلْحَى هَذِهِ الجَرِيدَةُ),[77] unless they abided by those conditions.

4. It is understood that the expressions in the narrative conveyed from **Abdullah ibn Umar** shown in bold, which are cited as, "لَا يَزَالُ هَذَا الْأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا بَقِيَ فِي النَّاسِ **رَجُلَانِ**" by **at-Tayalisi**[78], and as, "لاَ يَزَالُ هَذَا الأَمْرُ فِي قُرَيْشٍ مَا بَقِيَ مِنْهُمُ **اثْنَانِ**" by **al-Bukhari,**[79] appeared due to a narrative error arising from the conveyance of the text followed by the statement, "مَا بَقِيَ مِنْهُمْ" by one of the communicators; and not the "number of the remaining people", but the "traits that the *Quraysh* needs to maintain" is listed

[64] at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Evsaṭ*, I, 34.
[65] al-Bukhari, *el-Edebu'l-Mufred*, p. 40.
[66] at-Tabarani, *el-Muʿcemu'l-Kebîr*, XVII, 12.
[67] al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.
[68] at-Tabarani, *ed-Duʿâ*, p. 583.
[69] ash-Shashi, *el-Musned*, II, 293.
[70] al-Bukḫari, *eš-Ṣaḥîḥ*, IV, 179, No: 3501.
[71] ash-Shafi, *el-Musned*, IV, 53.
[72] Nuʿaim ibn Hammād, *el-Fiten*, I, 395.
[73] Yaʿḳub ibn Sufyan al-Fasavi, *el-Maʿrife ve't-Târîḫ*, I, 383-384.
[74] al-Bazzar, *el-Baḥru'z-Zeḫḫâr*, VIII, 73.
[75] at-Tabarani, *ed-Duʿâ*, p. 583.
[76] ash-Shashi, *el-Musned*, II, 293.
[77] ash-Shafi, *el-Musned*, IV, 53.
[78] at-Ṭayalisi, *el-Musned*, III, 462.
[79] al-Bukḫari, *eš-Ṣaḥîḥ*, IV, 179, No: 3501.

after the statement, "مَا بَقِيَ مِنْهُمْ" here. As we discussed in more detail in the relevant section, it does not seem possible to accept that the passages in this narrative received from **Abdullah ibn Umar**, which were conveyed through **Asim ibn Muhammad** by **at-Tayalisi** and **al-Bukhari** - and we were not able to identify any other passages - were conserved as they were.

5. Finally, we believe that the likelihood of the statement, "الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ" to be used by the Prophet in this gathering is low, considering the nature of the gathering and the target audience of the speaker; and that this statement appeared through the *figurative revision* of the narrative resulting from an inaccurate *shortening* or *cutting* of the statement. In respect of the overall *Scenario*, it can be said that a statement such as, "فَإِنَّكُمْ وُلَاةُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا أَطَعْتُمُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى"[80] is more appropriate for the Prophet's speech rather than the statement, "الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ". However, when the communicators wanted to emphasize these statements only, without quoting the whole speech, they must have summarized the purpose of the statement, "فَإِنَّكُمْ" as *Quraysh*, and the statement, "هَذَا الْأَمْرِ" as "الْأَئِمَّةُ". Information indicating that the statement, " الْأَئِمَّةُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ", expressing that the caliphate belonged to the *Quraysh* was either never used or the statement, "قُرَيْش وُلَاةُ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ" was used instead[81], during the arguments about the caliphate that occurred between the Ansar and the immigrants after the death of the Prophet, and that this word was not even the main focus of the argument[82], also supports our idea.

As it can be seen, unless the events behind a word, action or narrated statement belonging to the Prophet are established, the meaning of such word, action or statement on an initial level cannot be identified, and this leads to an inaccurate understanding of such a narrative from another (religious) perspective as well and causes it to be turned into a controversial verdict. Hence, even though the words belong to the Prophet in terms of wording as well as meaning, and reached us through authentic attributions, according to classical hadith procedure, they go beyond his purpose. This is because each generation reads the statements transferred to them from the previous generation with the thought process of their own time and usually focuses on the sections that benefit them. In fact, as the effectiveness of the *Quraysh* tribe wore on as time went by, the same statements were interpreted in different ways.

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[80] ash-Shashi, *el-Musned*, II, 293.

[81] Aḥmed b. Ḥanbel, *el-Musned*, I, 12, No: 19.

[82] For a detailed analysis on this issue, see Ali Bakkal, "Ebû Bekir'in Halîfe Seçilmesinde "İmamlar Kureyş'tendir" Hadîsinin Rolü Üzerine", p. 98, 100, 103.

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An Example of the Way How an Idea is Criticized Within the Orientalist Paradigm:

The Criticisms Regarding Norman Calder's Dating of *Muwatta*[*]

Rahile KIZILKAYA YILMAZ[**]

Abstract

It is possible to say that the orientalist researchers who showed a particular interest in the early period of hadith and Islamic jurisprudence have written enough to form a significant literature on *Muwatta'*. Among these works, Norman Calder's *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* is worthy of note, for it discusses the period in which *Muvatta'* emerged and his book is widely discussed in many books, articles and reviews. In this article, the scientific and intellectual continuity within the orientalist paradigm will be discussed, as well as the possible mistakes caused by a generalist approach asserting that all orientalist researchers have the same mindset and each study made by them arrives at similar conclusions. The subject will be handled through the criticisms made researchers for Calder; especially Wael B. Hallaq and Harald Motzki.

This article aims to present the idea that the only way to determine the approach of the Orientalist paradigm on any fundamental issue of the science of hadith, all of the studies ever done in that particular subject must be evaluated together. It also aims to provide a method and a perspective to researchers who want to benefit from orientalist literature.

Keywords: Orientalism, Norman Calder, Harald Motzki, Wael B. Hallaq, *Muwatta'*, Dating

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Oryantalist Bir Fikrin Kendi Paradigması İçinden Tenkid Edilme Serencamına Örnek:

Norman Calder'ın *Muvatta'*ı Tarihlendirmesine Yöneltilen Eleştiriler

Özet

Hadis ve fıkhın erken dönemiyle ilgilenen oryantalist araştırmacıların *Muvatta'* hakkında önemli bir literatür oluşmasına imkan sağlayacak kadar sayıda eser kaleme aldığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu çalışmalar arasında özellikle *Muvatta'*ın ortaya çıktığı dönemi tartışması itibariyle kendisinden sonra pek çok kitap, makale ve değerlendirmenin yazılmasına neden olması sebebiyle Norman Calder'ın *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* adlı eserini zikretmek önem arz etmektedir. Bu makalede Calder'a eleştiriler yönelten araştırmacılar arasında özellikle Wael B. Hallaq ve Harald Motzki'nin tenkidleri ele alınarak hem Oryantalist paradigmanın içerisindeki ilmî ve fikrî süreklilik ortaya konulmuş hem de Oryantalist araştırmacıların tamamının aynı fikre sahip olduğu ve onlar tarafından kaleme alınan her eserin benzer sonuçlar içerdiği şeklinde genellemeci bir yaklaşımın yol açacağı muhtemel hatalara dikkat çekilmiştir.

Oryantalist paradigmanın hadis ilminin temel bir problemi hakkındaki yaklaşımını tespit edebilmenin, ancak ilgili mesele etrafında ortaya çıkan çalışmaların tamamını bir arada görmek ve değerlendirmek ile mümkün olabildiği düşüncesini ortaya koymayı amaçlayan bu makale, söz konusu literatürden istifade etmek isteyen bilim insanlarına bir yöntem ve perspektif sunmayı da ön görmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Oryantalizm, Norman Calder, Harald Motzki, Wael B. Hallaq, *Muvatta'*, Tarihlendirme

Introduction

Although all ideas and works formed within the framework of the orientalist paradigm bear the traces of the paradigm itself, the reality that an orientalist approach is occasionally criticized by another orientalist researcher should be mentioned in advance.[1] Any hypotheses related to the relevant paradigm cannot be understood without considering criticisms in the relevant literature, annexes and amendments. Thus, reviewing all relevant works becomes particularly necessary for researchers who aim to benefit from these works. This process will serve as a methodfor the scientists who wish to obtain information about orientalist literature

[1] Some of the orientalist researchers criticized by their orientalist colleagues include the following: Kılıç, Muharrem, "A Critical Outlook on the Approach of the Classic Orientalist Discourse Towards Islamic Law: Wael B. Hallaq as an Example", *Rereading the Orientalism: Islamic Works in the Western World Symposium*, 11-12 May 2002, Adapazarı 2003, p. 343-363; Kılıç, "Klasik Oryantalist Geleneğe Eleştirel Bir Bakış: David Stephan Powers Örneği", *Journal of Islamic Law Studies*, 2004, issue: 4 [*Orientalist Islamic Law Experts Special Issue*], p. 175-195;

or benefit from these studies. However, a general approach and point of view will act as the greatest obstacle before being able to recognize the scientific and intellectual continuity of the orientalist paradigm and will result in the failure of the academic studies.

Malik ibn Anas, who has a significant place among the scholars of the early periods and serves as the reference point for those interested in hadiths and Islamic Law (d. 179/795) wrote *Muwatta* over twenty years between the dates of 250/864 and 270/883, according to Calder. Ibn Waddah (d. 287), who is regarded as Yahya ibn Yahya's (234/849) follower, transformed the work into a book in Cordoba.[2] While dating *Muwatta,* Calder bases his claims on three basic points: The content in *Muwatta*; reviews of the formation and organizational principles of *Muwatta*; comparison of the formation, organization and content of *Muwatta* to those of *Mudewwene*.

Although many studies criticizing certain claims in Calder's book have been written[3], compilations for directly refuting the main hypothesis of the work were formed by Hallaq and Motzki. Therefore, this studywill reviewthe criticisms and hadith-fiqh history, and contains the ideas of Hallaq and Motzki towards the dating of *Muwatta*, which casts doubt upon Calder's ideas. This study will also display the different inclinations between the orientalist researchers and how the evaluations towards the ideas and works of orientalist researchers are performed by their colleagues. Tracing the way in which a hypothesis is criticized within the orientalist

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[2] Calder, Norman, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence,* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1993, p. 35-38, 146. An article introducing this work by Calder, his claims, and the date assigned by him to *Muwatta* was written by the authors of the present study. See. "Norman Calder'ın *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* Adlı Eseri Çerçevesinde Şarkiyat Literatüründe *Muvatta'*ın Tarihlendirilmesi", *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2014, issue: 24, p. 393-407. However, criticisms and details regarding the dating of *Muwatta* by Calder were not included in the study. This subject, which requires further study, constitutes one of the reasons for writing this study.

[3] Some of the reviews regarding the book by Calder include the following: Burton, John, "Rewriting the Timetable of Early Islam", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 115/III (Jul.-Sep., 1995), p. 453-462; Görke, Andreas, *Das Kitāb al-Amwāl des Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām: Entstehung und Überlieferung eines frühislamischen Rechtswerkes*, Princeton: The Darwin Press 2003 (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 22); Sadeghi, Behman, "The Structure of Reasoning in Post-Formative Hanafi Jurisprudence", Princeton University, 2006; Schneider, Irene, "Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence by Norman Calder",*The Journal of Religion*, 75/4 (Oct., 1995), p. 604-606; Hawting, G. R., "Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence by Norman Calder", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 59/1 (1996), p. 139-141; Peters, Rudolph, "Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence by Norman Calder" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26/4 (1994), p. 699-701; Weiss, Bernard, "Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence by Norman Calder", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 21/2 (1994), p. 253-255; el-Matrûdî, Abdülhakîm, "Târîḫu teʾlîfi'l-meṣâdiri'l-fiḳhiyyeti'l-ḳadîme ʿinde'l-müsteşriḳ Norman Calder ve reddü baʿżi'l-müsteşriḳīn ʿaleyh", *ed-Dirâsâtü'l-İslâmiyye*, XLIV/1, Islamabad 1430/2009, p. 145-178; Rippin, Andrew, "Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence by Norman Calder", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 39/2 (1994), p. 346-347; Rosen, Lawrence,"Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence by Norman Calder", *Law and History Review*, 13/1 (1995), p. 137-139;M. al-Faruque, "Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence by Norman Calder", *Muslim World Book Review* 15/1 (1994), p. 11-15.

paradigm will enable people to determine the unique characteristics of the relevant literature and provide a perspective for those intending to benefit from the relevant findings.

I. Norman Calder's Dating of *Muwatta*

Norman Calder (1950-1998), a Scotch orientalist, reviews the following works using the textual-historical method and questions when, where and by whom these works were compiled in his book,*Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*:*Muwatta* by Malik ibn Anas, which is regarded as the main source for the early periods of Islam Jurisprudence, *Kitâbu'l-Harâc* by Imam Abu Yusuf (d. 182/798), *Kitâbu'l-Asl* and *Kitâbu'l-Hucce 'alâ ehli'l-Medîne* by Imam Al-Shaybani (d. 189/804), *Kitab Al Umm* by Al-Shafi'i (d. 204/819), *el-Müdevvene* by Sahnun ibn Sa'id ibn Habib at-Tanukhi (d. 240/854), and *el-Muhtasar* by Muzeni (d. 264/878). Norman Calder suggests that these works should be dated to a later period because they underwent a thorough redaction process. He believes that these works do not belong to their authors and many of these works were written in different geographical locations. Thus, he attempts to redetermine who the authors are, the geographical location in which the texts were written, and the dates of these works.[4]

Calder, who was influenced by the ideas of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), Joseph Schacht (1902-1969), Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930) and his instructor, John Wansbrough (1928-2002),[5]has often been referred to in the Islamic and Western world because of his views, which are related to the dating of *Muwatta* and his book aimed to analyze *Muwatta* and the socio-cultural environment where the work was formed.[6] Calder's methodology, the comparison he made between the contents of

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[4] For the details of Calder's claims, see: Yılmaz, Rahile, Modern Hadis Tartışmaları Bağlamında Muvatta'daki Mürsel Rivayetler, MÜSBE, (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis), Istanbul 2014, p. 60-111; Yılmaz, "Norman Calder'ın *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* Adlı Eseri Çerçevesinde Şarkiyat Literatüründe *Muvatta'*ın Tarihlendirilmesi", *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2014, issue: 24, p. 393-407.

[5] Calder states in the initial pages of his work that he follows the ideas of Goldziher, Schacht and Wansbrough, and he explains how they have directed Islamic studies with their theories. See: Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1993, p. vii, ix.

[6] Anas bin Malik, *Muvatta'ü'l-İmâm Mâlik*, I-VIII, edited by M. Mustafa al-A'zami, Müessesetu Zayed b. Sultân Âli Nehyân, Abu Dhabi 2004, I, 300-313; Hallaq, Wael B.,"On Dating Mâlik's Muwatta",*UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law*, I/1, 2001-2002, p. 47-65; Motzki, Harald, "The Prophet and the Cat", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, XXII, 1998, p. 18-83; Dutton, Yasin, "Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence By Norman Calder", *The Journal of Islamic Studies*, V (1994), p. 102-108, Dutton, "'Amal v. Hadith in Islamic Law: The Case of Sadl al Yadayn When Doing the Prayer, *Islamic Law and Society*, III (1996), p. 13-40, Muranyi, Miklos, "Die Frühe Rechtsliteratur zwischen Quellenanalyse und Fiktion", *Islamic Law and Society* IV (1997): p. 224–41; Muranyi, *Die Rechtsbücher des Qairawāners Saḥnūn B. Sa'īd: Entstehungsgeschichte und Werkuberlieferung*, Stuttgart: 1999; Burton, John, "Rewriting the Timetable of Early Islam", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 115/III (Jul.-Sep., 1995), p. 453-462; Sadeghi, Behman, "The Authenticity of Two 2nd/8th Century Ḥanafī Legal Texts: the *Kitāb al-āthār* and *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of

Muwatta and *Mudewwene,* the researchers who have criticized how a hadith in *Muwatta* was presented in other books (particularly in *Mudewwene*), as well as these researchers' works, suggest that the same researchers can be classified by themselves.[7] The orientalist researchers can be divided into three groups in regard to Calder's book, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence,* which raised doubts about the books that were accepted to be compiled before the Hijri year 250: Those who completely accept his ideas; those who partly accept his ideas; and those who reject his ideas completely. John Wansbrough, Patricia Crone (1945-2015), Jonathan E. Brockopp and Michael Cook are in the first group; G.H.A. Juynboll (1935-2010), David Powers and John Burton are in the second group; Miklos Muranyi, Andreas Görke, Christopher Melchert, Hallaq and Motzki are in the last group.

II. A Methodological Criticism: Wael B. Hallaq and his emphasis on the historical context of Islamic Law

Wael B. Hallaq, who preferred the approach of evaluating Islamic Law in the period in which it emerged, responds to the orientalist theses, which he criticizes in almost all of his studies, with remarkable arguments in relation to the historical function of fiqh.[8] Hallaq, who formed significant works in regard to the nature and content of Islamic Law, expresses methodological criticisms towards Calder's ideas that completely contradict the information about the compilation dates of respected fiqh works and performs analyses considering the developmental history of fiqh discipline. He criticizes Calder's claims regarding the development of fiqh in the third Hijri century in his article titled, "On Dating Of *Muwatta*", which was written based on the belief that *Muvatta* was compiled in circa 270 AH.[9] According to him, these claims, which should be considered by any researcher who specializes in the history of legislation, cannot be disregarded. Instead, these claims should either be accepted or rejected.[10]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybani", *Islamic Law and Society*, XVII (2010), p. 291-319; Fierro, Maribel, "Nuevas Perspectivas Sobre la Formacion del Derecho Islamico", *Al-Qantara* 21 (2000), p. 511-523.
For Calder's work and the literature consisting of the dates, see: Yılmaz, "Norman Calder'ın *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* Adlı Eseri", p. 393-407.

[7] Yılmaz, Rahile, *Modern Hadis Tartışmaları Bağlamında Muvatta'daki Mürsel Rivayetler*, MÜSBE, (Unpublished Phd Dissertation), Istanbul 2014, p. 112 et al.

[8] For detailed information about Wael B. Hallaq, see: Aybakan, Bilal, "Batıda İslam Hukuku Araştırmalarında Farklı Bir Ses: Wael B. Hallaq", *İslâm Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2004, issue: 4 [*Oryantalist İslâm Hukukçuları Özel Sayısı*], p. 149-174; Kılıç, Muharrem, "Klasik Oryantalist Söylemin İslâm Hukukuna Yaklaşımına Eleştirel Bir Bakış: Wael B. Hallaq Örneği", *Oryantalizmi Yeniden Okumak: Islamic Works in the Western World Symposium*, 11-12 May 2002, Adapazarı 2003, p. 343-363.

[9] Hallaq, Wael B., "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", *UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law*, I/1, 2001-2002, p. 47-65.

[10] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 47.

Hallaq, who implies that the claims on the compilation of *Muwatta* in a later period are largely based on the comparison between the styles and structures of *Muwatta* and *Mudewwene* and that the examples selected for these claims consist only of the analysis regarding the style and organization of a section relating to dirty water that does not exceed two pages, suggests that Calder's criteria in his analysis are essentially fictionalized and arbitrary.[11] According to him, criticisms by Calder are based on a single example that is insufficient for achieving exact results with regard to *Muwatta*. Additionally, he believes that Motzki clearly demonstrated the dating and that the results in Calder's analysis are wrong, and attempts to point out the claims regarding the early development of fiqh.[12]

Stating that the general organization and content of *Muwatta* should be considered for determining the compilation time, Hallaq accepts *Muwatta* as a product of the second Hijri century for various reasons. Firstly, *Muwatta* includes subjects that are not directly related to fiqh. Additionally, book names and sections were not organized using the method common in the fiqh works of the era claimed by Calder and various fiqh subjects were not discussed under the usual titles. Finally, *Muwatta* is more limited compared to the fiqh works of the third Hijri century. According to Hallaq, sections named *cewami* are present at the end of many chapters, and different fiqh topics that could be mentioned under other sections are in the relevant parts. However, these topics were reviewed in the section named *cewami.* Hallaq also believes that *Muwatta* cannot be entirely regarded as a complete fiqh book with relevant terms due to the characteristics such that the topic of leasing was reviewed under the context of spelling.[13] Calder is aware of the points raised by Hallaq and acknowledges this in certain parts of the book, however, he associates some deficiencies, that can be understood from the disorganized structure in *Muwatta,* with the hast with which the compiler composed the work. This may be the most arbitrary approach in Calder's claims.[14] Hallaq, who believes that *Muwatta*'s unique style makes it one of a kind, considers this book as a work with a content and structure that produces an ancient idea that was not supported with a fiqh and technical attitude.[15] According to Hallaq, who points out the significance of the general organization and content of *Muwatta* to determine the date of compilation, provides evidence to suggest that the content of the book could not have been written after 150/767.[16]

Another point that is heavily criticized by Hallaq, who questions the relationship between Amal Ahli Madinah and Andalusia in Cordoba during the period claimed by Calder, is as follows: Why did the Maliki sect allow *Muwatta*,

[11] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 48.
[12] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 49.
[13] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 50.
[14] Hallaq notes that naming the person who investigated *Muwatta* as the author is an assumption that should be proved. Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 49-50.
[15] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 50.
[16] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 47.

accepted as the work by Malik ibn Anas, to include all these obvious errors when it was in the last phases of its formational and sectional organization? Hallaq questions Calder's redactor-related claims and findings on the content of the work, and asks the following question: Was there not somebody who could edit the content and technical characteristics of *Muwatta,* make the work more convincing and elevate it to the level of other fiqh works of the late third Hijri century?[17] Accordingly, we accept in advance that the person named as the author of *Muwatta* after 270 AH by Calder could not compile the work in accordance with the trends in the third Hijri century nor manage to reflect a fiqh notion that conforms to the works of the popular scholars of the era.

Hallaq implies the abundance of hadiths in *Muwatta* and the shortage in *Mudewwene* while suggesting that the Prophet is in the forefront in *Muwatta* whereas Malik ibn Anas is mentioned more in *Mudewwene.* According to Hallaq, interpreting these findings to mean that *Muwatta* was compiled later than *Mudewwene* resulted in a range of poor outcomes regarding the history and development of early hadiths and fiqh. Hallaq, who finds the claim regarding the further use of authentic hadiths compared to the works questionable, notes that the number of authentic hadiths will be found to be smaller than that of the works by the companions, followers and ulema in the later periods after each section is analyzed separately.[18]

Hallaq implies that there were different reasons for the comparison of the number of hadiths in both works and explains why hadiths were not often referred to in *Mudewwene,* stating that Sahnun ibn Sa'id ibn Habib at-Tanukhi did so as a precaution to ensure genre conformity among his works. Sahnun ibn Sa'id ibn Habib at-Tanukhi who, according to Hallaq, is the author of the work, compiled this work as a fiqh book which discussed problematic issues. Hallaq indicates that fiqh experts did not refer to the hadiths in an intensive and systematic order when making inferences while reviewing different issues in fiqh books. He also reflects that Sahnun ibn Sa'id ibn Habib at-Tanukhi acted like the other fiqh authorities and followed this method.[19]

Hallaq implies that certain ancient fiqh books, such as *Al Umm* by Al-Shafi'i and *Al Muhtasar* by İsmail bin Yahya al-Muzani, refer to or center on *Muwatta*, which does not conform to the date of *Muwatta* claimed by Calder.[20] Noting that citations from *Muwatta* require the book to be older, Hallaq points out that Calder's claims regarding the compilation date of *Muwatta* will result in significant historical issues. According to Hallaq, if Calder's claims are accepted, the compilation dates of the well-known fiqh works that refer to sources such as *Al Umm* and *Al Muhtasar*,

[17] Hallaq believes that Calder did not ask these difficult questions nor make any admissions to himself. See. Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 50-51.
[18] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 52-53.
[19] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 54.
[20] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 55.

and the dates of the works from the later periods should be revised.[21] If the compilation dates of these works are accepted to be later, the idea that the fiqh authorities of the era cooperated to hide the facts despite their differences emerges, which, according to Hallaq, cannot go beyond being an fictionalized theory.[22] The variety of fiqh trends, the range of authorities' views regarding the styles, the issues between them, and the personal conflicts between some of them, suggest that such a cooperation is not possible. The idea that fiqh authorities reached a consensus on this issue and neglected such a claim cannot be accepted. Calder's idea does not solely mean that the fiqh authorities displayed a common attitude; it also means that the relevant authors of fiqh works, the authors of translation works, even the individuals and narrators who viewed *Muwatta*, and those who provided annotations on the work performed the same action.

III. A Text-Based Criticism: Harald Motzki with Content and Source Analyses

Motzki, who shared his views on the dating of *Muwatta* in relation to the hadith on cats in an article the size of a book,[23]directs criticisms regarding the text and sources to Calder and provides significant findings and criticisms related to the development and history of the classified hadith works.[24] The statement, 'the Prophet and the cats' within the relevant article, forms the basis for Calder's dating of *Muwatta,* as Motzki reflects the hadiths which were the essence of Motzki's study and based on the analyses. Motzki disagrees with Calder who dates *Muwatta* based on the hadith, "They are the animals living around your houses"[25]and claims that

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[21] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 56-57.

[22] Hallaq, "On Dating Mâlik's *Muwatta*", p. 57-58.

[23] For details about Harald Motzki and his methods, see: Hıdır, Özcan, "Harald Motzki: Hayatı, İlmi Şahsiyeti, Çalışmaları ve The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence Adlı Eseri", *İslâm Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2004, issue: 4 [Oryantalist İslâm Hukukçuları Özel Sayısı], p. 275-283; Karapınar, Fikret, "Harald Motzki ve İlk Dönem Hadis-Fıkıh İlişkisiyle İlgili Klasik Oryantalist Görüşe Getirdiği Eleştiri", *Oryantalizmi Yeniden Okumak: Islamic Works in the Western World Symposium*, 11-12 May 2002, Adapazarı 2003, p. 293-326; Kuzudişli, Bekir, *İsnad ve Metin Bağlamında Hadis Tarihlendirme Metotları*, Harald Motzki; Turkish, Istanbul: İz Pub., 2011, p. 13-62.

[24] Motzki, Harald, "The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik's *Muwatta'* and Legal Traditions", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, XXII, 1998, p. 18-83. This article is included in the work titled, *İsnâd ve Metin Bağlamında Hadis Tarihlendirme Metotları* (Istanbul 2012), which was translated and compiled by Harald Motzki.

[25] The hadith is included in*Muwatta* as follows:

و حَدَّثَنِي عَنْ مَالِك عَنْ إِسْحَقَ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي طَلْحَةَ عَنْ حُمَيْدَةَ بِنْتِ عُبَيْدِ بْنِ رِفَاعَةَ عَنْ خَالَتِهَا كَبْشَةَ بِنْتِ كَعْبِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ وَكَانَتْ تَحْتَ ابْنِ أَبِي قَتَادَةَ الْأَنْصَارِيِّ أَنَّهَا أَخْبَرَتْهَا أَنَّ أَبَا قَتَادَةَ دَخَلَ عَلَيْهَا فَسَكَبَتْ لَهُ وَضُوءًا فَجَاءَتْ هِرَّةٌ لِتَشْرَبَ مِنْهُ فَأَصْغَى لَهَا الْإِنَاءَ حَتَّى شَرِبَتْ قَالَتْ كَبْشَةُ فَرَآنِي أَنْظُرُ إِلَيْهِ فَقَالَ أَتَعْجَبِينَ يَا ابْنَةَ أَخِي قَالَتْ فَقُلْتُ نَعَمْ فَقَالَ إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ إِنَّهَا لَيْسَتْ بِنَجَسٍ إِنَّمَا هِيَ مِنْ الطَّوَّافِينَ عَلَيْكُمْ أَوْ الطَّوَّافَاتِ. قَالَ يَحْيَى قَالَ مَالِك لَا بَأْسَ بِهِ إِلَّا أَنْ يُرَى عَلَى فَمِهَا نَجَاسَةٌ.

Anas bin Malik, *Muwatta Al Imam Malik*, inv. M. Mustafa Al-A'zami, I-VIII, Muessesetu Zayed b. Sultan Ali Nehyan, Abu Dhabi, 1425/2004, II, 30-31.

The translation of the hadith is as follows: "(Yahya) narrated to me from Malik who narrated from Ishak b. Abdillah ibn Abu Talha who narrated from Humeida bnt. Abu Ubadiah ibn Ferve who narrated from

the book was compiled later than *Mudewwene,* which does not include the same hadith although the same subjects were reviewed, as *Muwatta* presents this narrative. Motzki believes that the absence of this hadith in *Mudewwene* does not mean that this hadith was not told by the Prophet. According to him, the subjects that were not finalized in *Muwatta* may be discussed in *Mudewwene*. This possibility is supported by the fact that the hadith on dogs is explicitly present *Muwatta* but spiritually in *Mudewwene*.[26]

According to Motzki, Calder confused the hadiths on cats and dogs, which are different. The hadith on cats reflects the completion of the cleaning ritual with the water from which the cat drank, while the hadith on dogs demonstrates the matters regarding completing the prayer after realizing that the cleaning ritual was completed with the water from which a dog drank. Motzki finds Calder's suggestion that the relevant discussion in *Mudewwene* has less fiqh content than the hadith on cats in *Muwatta* to be wrong, and supports his own idea with the fact that the hadith on cats is present in *Kitabü'l-Vâdıha* by the scholar from Andalusia, Abdu'l-Malik ibn Habib (d. 238/852), who lived at the same time as Yahya ibn Yahya and Sahnun ibn Sa'id ibn Habib at-Tanukhi.[27] Ibn Habib, the compiler of *Kitabü'l-Vâdıha,* does not provide an extensive solution regarding the dirt of domestic predatory animals, including dogs, although his work was a fiqh book written before *Mudewwene*. As Motzki states, the notion formed by Calder comparing *Muwatta* and *Mudewwene* on subjects relating to dirt in the Maliki sect is weak. According to Motzki, this idea conflicts with his claim that the person who wrote the book does not know the narrative resulting in the absence of the hadith on cats in *Mudewwene.* The fact that the hadith is present in *Kitâbü'l-Vâdıha* nullifies his claims.

Motzki states that the authors of *Muwatta* and *Mudewwene* differ in relation to the points they care about. The claims that the author of *Mudewwene* did not thoroughly review *Muwatta,* and that Malik ibn Anas had such a purpose in *Muwatta* while focusing on the matters requiring additional explanations, cannot be made.[28] It is fair to mention that the main point Sahnun ibn Sa'id ibn Habib at-

his aunt, Kabsha bnt Ka'b b. Malik who was married to Ibn Abu Katade Al-Ansari that, Abu Katade went to his house according to what Kabsha told Humeida Malik. Kabsha poured ablution water for Katade. A cat came close to drink from the water and Abu Katade held the bowl toward the cat. Kabsha adds, "He realized that I was looking at him. He said, 'Are you surprised, daughter of my sibling?'" She answers, "Yes". He responds, "The messenger of Allah says they are not dirty, thus they can come in and out of your houses regardless of their sex.
Yahya mentions that Malik ibn Anas stated the following, 'As long as a cat does not have something dirty in its mouth, it does not constitute a problem'".

[26] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 25. According to Motzki, Sahnun ibn Sa'id ibn Habib at-Tanukhi knows the hadith on cats, assuming that his followers know the same.

[27] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 27.

[28] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 28-29.

Tanukhi considered in *Mudewwene* was not related to Malik ibn Anas's narratives, instead, it was his fiqh-related ideas.

Motzki, who considers the unique nature of classified hadith works and the reasons for writing the compiled works, believes that the differences arising from the comparison between the structure and content of *Muwatta* and *Mudewwene* are based on reasons that differ from what Calder claims. According to him, the reasons include the following: the compilation of both works serve different purposes (Motzki states that Calder is aware of this difference[29]), *Muwatta*'s purpose is different than generating solutions about legal subjects like a fiqh book, while *Mudewwene*'s aim is to present a collection of news related to Malik ibn Anas and his followers. Motzki suggests that *Muwatta*'s purpose was to collect certain hadiths that are related to the law since the beginning of Islam and to appropriately narrate these (according to Malik ibn Anas), while *Mudewwene*, which was dedicated to the fiqh-related ideas of Malik ibn Anas and his followers such as Sahnun ibn Sa'id ibn Habib at-Tanukhi, aimed to serve as a legal book, resulting in a difference from *Muwatta.*[30]

Motzki finds a relevant narrative in *Sünen-i Erbaa* and states in the article related to his criticisms toward the dating of *Muwatta* that Calder should answer the following question: How could a hadith that was mentioned first in Cordoba, Andalusia be included in three books whose authors lived in the Eastern region of the Islamic geographical area and died between the year 270 and 280?[31] The most significant result of imputation-text analysis, a method often used by Motzki in his works, in this study is that Malik ibn Anas is the person on whom the narrative is based in all works in which the hadith was found. Another significant outcome is that the names of the conveyors and certain parts of the hadiths differ, which nullifies the possibility of a complete copying process. According to Motzki, dating the hadith on cats to a period later than 270 AH results in greater problems considering the works compiled before *Kutub Al Sittah*. The hadith on cats is included in an early-period hadith book that was compiled in a period other than what Yahya ibn Yahya narrated: *Sunen* by *Al-Darimi (d.* 255/868); *Musnad* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855); a part of *a Muvatta* narrative by Suveid ibn Said (d. 240/854); *Musannaf* by Ibn Abu Shayba (d. 235/849) ; *Kitab Al Vadaha* by Abd al-

[29] Calder's statement that, "*Muwatta* does not appear to be a legal text compared to *Mudewwene"* supports the assumption that he is aware of the case, according to Motzki. [29] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 21.

[30] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 21.

[31] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 30-31.

A similar question was asked by Muhammad Mustafa al-A'zami who found the relevant hadith in many works of the era. See: Malik ibn Anas, *Muwatta Al Imam Malik*, inv. MuhammadMustafa Al Azami, I-VIII, Muessesetu Zayed b. Sultan Ali Nehyan, Abu Dhabi 1425/2004, I, 310-312.

For the details relating to Al Azami's criticisms and ideas regarding Calder, see: Yılmaz, Rahile, Modern Hadis Tartışmaları Bağlamında Muvatta'daki Mürsel Rivayetler, MÜSBE, (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis), Istanbul 2014, p. 64-68 ("Muhammad Mustafa Al Azami" title).

Malik ibn Habib who lived 238/852); *al-Muhazî li'l-Muvatta* by Yahya ibn Abdullah ibn Bukeyr (d. 231/845-846); *Kitâbu't-Tuhûr* by Abu Ubeyd Kasım ibn Sellam al-Herevi el-Baghdadi (d. 224/838); a part of *a Muvatta* narrative by Abdullah ibn Mesleme al-Ka'nebi (d. 221/826); *Musnad* by Humaidi (d. 219/834); *Musannaf* by Abd al-Razzaq (d. 211/826); *Kitâb Al Umm* by Al-Shafi'i and *Muwatta* narrative by Imam Al-Shaybani.[32]

Motzki, who believes that Calder's hypothesis regarding the dating of classical fiqh books should be analyzed, as an error in the dating of relevant works would greatly affect the comments and remarks based on these works.[33] Referring to the dating and information regarding the works and translation-based sources of the era for dating *Muwatta* and focusing on Malik ibn Anas's ideas, Motzki accepts the relevant date in his works. Because of his skeptical attitude toward the information narrated with imputation, it is fair to state that Calder did not find the dates when the works that were narrated with imputation were written, which is supported by Motzki's ideas. According to Motzki, Calder's unfair attitude toward the narratives and narration means that in the works he reviewed, he tended to neglect and deny the data that could be useful for examining the compilation dates of the works.[34] Motzki highlights the *Kitab Al Ittıkaf,* which was indirectly narrated by Yahya ibn Yahya and included eleven narratives. One of the narrators was Ziyad ibn Abd al-Rahman (d. 193/808-809). Motzki also believes that Calder could have different opinions if he considered the imputations.[35] Motzki criticizes Calder's rejection of relevant explanations and insistence on his claims despite being aware of the statements in the books dedicated to the biographies of the narrators.[36] He also adds that the irregular instances in the imputations can be assessed as signs that the narration means are not false. Likewise, if the person who wrote *Muwatta* later, as claimed by Calder, referred Malik ibn Anas falsely from the narrative of Yahya ibn Yahya, that person would do the same throughout the work and would not add the eleven narratives from Ziyad ibn Abd al-Rahman, who was Yahya ibn Yahya's master.[37]

[32] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 33-34.
[33] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 18.
[34] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 21.
[35] Motzki explains the fact Ziyad ibn Abd Ar-Rahman acted between Malik ibn Anas and Yahya ibn Yahya while conveying the narratives so that Yahya ibn Yahya did not hear the eleven narratives directly from Malik ibn Anas, which is in accordance with the information in the fiqh books of the era. Accordingly, Yahya ibn Yahya conveyed the eleven narratives of *Muwatta* from those of his master, Ziyad ibn Abd al-Rahman, as he did not attend the courses of Malik ibn Anas. Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 22-23.
[36] Motzki implies that the explanations in Islamic sources are more reliable even if Calder has an explanation for this interesting case. Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 22-23.
[37] Motzki, "The Prophet and the Cat", p. 23.

Conclusion

Calder bases his findings on two explanations. The cat and dog subjects are the same; the hadith on cats should be accepted as dating from an earlier fiqh period. Hallaq and Motzki criticized Calder believing that these two principles would not guide anyone in finding what Calder found. Hallaq, who criticizes Calder's consideration of the developmental process of fiqh, directs his criticisms particularly from a methodological frame. Motzki, on the other hand, follows a text, content and source-based method and propounds his criticisms and reviews regarding the dating of *Muwatta.*

Hallaq's criticisms, which direct affected the dating of *Muwatta*, are significant for questioning the validity of Calder's general findings. However, Hallaq generated most of his works for criticizing the orientalist paradigm; thus, he was expected to find aspects in Calder's methods that looked similar to Schacht's methods, and to criticize these methods. His approach is significant as hepointed out the scientific and intellectual continuity in the orientalist paradigm. It is fair to say that Calder's method looked similar to that of Schacht based on a number of characteristics. According to Schacht's method, if a narrative is not included in a work despite the requirements and expectations, it means the relevant hadith is not present during the period when that work was compiled. However, no convincing evidence has not yet been presented, and it does not seem plausible to be able to prove the validity through the sources that have survived from the first three centuries to the present day, as well as the uncertainty of the final forms.

The most appropriate example to the use of the information in ancient governmental and fiqh books by Motzki, who considered and used the imputations as much as the text during the datings and analyses of the hadiths, are his reviews regarding the dating of *Muwatta.* Motzki does not have any prejudice toward the information, with imputations and works compiled in accordance with that information, which facilitates his use of relevant works and enables him to benefit from the information of hadith-related topics and narrator biographies. The different approaches in trusting the information with imputation and narrators' names are determinants for the orientalists in relation to trusting the literature written and compiled by different scholars. These approaches are also significant for the attitudes of Muslim researchers toward the works generated by the orientalists.

The most significant points, which were neglected in the specific studies by researchers who criticized Calder's claims regarding *Muwatta were* formed by considering the principles which are the basic elements of the orientalist paradigm and include the following: Calder, who was influenced by Schacht and accepted his findings regarding the ancient law schools as apodictic data, achieved certain results. Calder did not rely on conveying the information with imputation along with the compilation periods for the books that were conveyed with imputation. It

is obvious that the hypothesis, which was proposed by Schacht and improved by Juynboll, that, *imputations become greater in a retroactive period and errors in them have been cleared over time*, influenced Calder the most in reviewing the history of the hadiths and fiqh and reading the works written in the first three Hijri centuries. Both Motzki and Hallaq did not point out the basic orientalist claims that affected Calder's study, which is remarkable. Schacht, who claims that the esteemed narratives can be evaluated as evidence of the later periods of fiqh, and the orientalist researchers following him, constantly question the esteemed narratives in *Muwatta,* Malik ibn Anas's canonist portrait in *Mudewwene* and the hadith, and the role of the narrative conveyor in *Muwatta.* According to Calder, benefiting from the hadiths as a religious source takes place in a period that is later than the claimed compilation date of *Muwatta.* Thus, he states that *Muwatta* should be dated to a period later than when *Mudewwene* was written. However, it is obvious that Malik ibn Anas was also a canonist in addition to acting as a conveyor of hadiths and ancient works in *Muwatta* for early fiqh and hadith history.

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Use of Textual Criticism in Imami Shia for Interpretation of Narratives between the 3rd and the 11th Centuries (9th-17th)*

Peyman ÜNÜGÜR**

Abstract

With the emphasis on the importance of textual criticism in the evaluation of narratives in hadith methodology during the last century, an increasing number of studies have examined and employed different topics about textual criticism both in Sunni and Shi'te academic circles. In this context, some studies have focused on the efforts of textual criticism laid out in the historical process. Yet, a historical analysis investigating the practice of textual criticism in a detailed way has not yet been done, and the present study hopes to fill this gap. The Shiite hadith tradition between the III-XI/IX-XVII centuries has been examined within its different periods, and an overview of the approaches/practices of textual criticism in each period has been provided. Each historical period has been investigated through its representative scholars and their work. Consequently, it has been found out that textual criticism has been practiced by Shiite scholars since the third/ninth century. The concept of ghuluww (exaggeration) necessitated the practice of textual criticism in the Shiite hadith tradition, and textual analysis has been employed as a primary approach in the evaluation of narrations regarding ghuluww. Textual criticism, which was also employed in the study of narrations concerning fiqh, lost its popularity after the seventh/thirteenth century, when a methodology based on isnad began to be more commonly used.

Key Words: Ḥadīth, Shiʿism/Shiah, textual criticism, ghuluww, Akhbārīs, Uṣūlīs, qarīnah.

III-XI. (IX-XVII) Asırlar Arasında İmâmiyye Şîa'sının Rivayetleri Değerlendirmede Metin Tenkidi Kullanımı

Özet

Son bir asırlık süreç içerisinde, rivayetlerin değerlendirilmesinde metin tenkidinin en az isnad tenkidi kadar önemli olduğuna ve tarihi süreçte hadis usulünde metin tenkidine gereken önemin verilmediğine dair vurgunun artması sonucunda, metin tenkidine yönelik

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çalışmalar, hem Sünnî hem de Şiî ilim çevrelerinde artış göstermiştir. Bu bağlamdaki çalışmaların bir kısmını tarihsel süreçte ortaya konan metin tenkidine dair çabaların tespiti oluşturmaktadır. Şîa'da metin tenkidinin, dönemsel olarak ayrıntılı bir şekilde ortaya konduğu bir çalışma ise yapılmamıştır. Bu çalışmada, III-XI/IX-XVII. asırlar arasındaki süreç karakteristik özelliklerine göre dönemlere ayrılarak Şîa tarafından metin tenkidi bağlamında ortaya konan yaklaşım ve uygulamalara dikkat çekilmeye çalışılmıştır. Tarihsel dönemler, her dönemi en doğru şekilde yansıtacak alimler ve eserlerinden oluşan örneklemler üzerinden incelemeye tabi tutulmuştur. Ulaştığımız veriler Şîa'da metin tenkidinin III/IX. asırdan itibaren, Şiî alimler tarafından başvurulan bir yöntem olduğunu göstermektedir. Guluv olgusu, Şîa'da metin tenkidine erken dönemlerden itibaren ihtiyaç duyulmasını beraberinde getirmiş ve tarih boyunca guluv içerikli rivayetlerin ayıklanmasında metin tenkidi temel yöntem olarak kullanılmıştır. Fıkhi konulardaki rivayetlerde de yaygın olarak kullanılan metin tenkidi, VII/XIII. asırdan itibaren isnad merkezli bir anlayışın hâkim olmasının ardından söz konusu etkinliğini kademe kademe yitirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hadis, Şîîlik/Şîa, metin tenkidi, guluv, Ahbârîler, Usûlîler, karîne.

Introduction

The principal role of the hadiths in the emergence of the Shiite tradition, just as the role they play in the tradition of Ahl As-Sunnah (the People of Sunnah), serves as the most significant reason for the need for further studies in this field. Its approach to the hadiths and specific characteristics of its literature necessitates profound examination of the Shiite understanding, and its undeniable impact on the emergence of different disciplines, such as interpretation, fiqh, and kalam, requires relevant studies to be furthered without exclusion of those conducted in the listed disciplines.

Identifying the accuracy and acceptance criteria for narratives is significant for an examination of the Shiite understanding of the hadiths. Being aware of the essential criteria for acceptance or denial of a narrative would help us understand the types of narratives which contributed to the rise of the Shiite tradition. One of the characteristics peculiar to the Shiite understanding of the hadiths is that the criticism of isnad (the chain of transmitters), which is a fundamental method to decide whether to accept or reject a narrative, was first used in a more systematic way in the seventh Hijri century, which is quite late and only after this period it was able to gain a central position in the examination of narratives. In other words, rather than considerations of narrators and chains, textual criteria has become the determinant in the examination of narratives within the foundation period of the Shiite understanding of the hadiths. This determinative role of textual criteria has continued throughout the history of Shiite studies on the hadiths, and reached the peak of its impact within the last century. Although it is not quite possible to speak of a systematical and concrete textual criticism in Shiite hadith interpretation, textual criticism in Shiah is worth studying due to the determinative role of the criteria about the narrative texts in the interpretation process. As the ultimate aim,

in order to understand and reveal what textual criticism actually means in Islamic tradition, as well as in many other issues, this one should also be discussed from a comprehensive perspective that takes all denominations/schools into consideration, instead of a S*unni-oriented* approach.

Unlike the criticism of isnad, textual criticism, in both Sunni and Shiite understandings of hadith interpretation, have not gone through a conceptualization process and its principles have not yet been explained in detail by the guide books of *usul*. Therefore, the textual criticism that we analyze within the Shiite perspective does not correspond to a clearly defined concept. This study aims to identify which textual issues have an impact on the acceptance or rejection denial of narratives, on the basis of different periods and scholars who dominated these periods. This study covers the process between the 3rd-11th/9th-17th centuries. The periods between the 9th-13th/17th-19th centuries are not included in the study due to the dominant prevalence of the Systematic Akhbari approach. By nature, this approach prevented any considerable criticism within the given period. In addition, the period between the 13th/19th century and today, which can also be termed the modern period, should be analyzed in a different study/studies due to the dimensions of change textual criticism has gone through within this period.[1]

At this point, it may be thought that the analysis could have covered the process starting from an earlier time. As a response, we can say that as it is observed in all relevant areas that the emergence of the Shiite understanding of hadith interpretation was also highly related to the perception of *imamate* (leadership). Accordingly, Shiite scholars think that the compilation of the hadiths ended with the death of the Prophet and continued in the period of the Twelve Imams. According to the Shiite understanding of imamate, imams have the trait of infallibility, they undertake all responsibilities given to the Prophet except for prophecy, and they have been taught the entirety of knowledge revealed to the Prophet. That is why their words are equal to those of the Prophet. As a result of this, hadith recording practices were furthered by the Shiites after the Prophet and throughout the period of the imams. However, the comprehensive works that compile all studied narratives and the works of criticism of these narratives could only be initiated in the second half of the third Hijri century. Although it is possible to find traces of a content-oriented criticism relating to some narratives attributed to the imams by the ghulat, the current information we have does not allow us to identify whether a considerable effort was made by the Shiites in the period of the imams to undertake any textual criticism.

In this study, the term Shiah refers to the school of Imamiyyah or the Twelvers, which adopts the understanding of the Twelve Imams. Textual criticism,

[1] For a published article about textual criticism studies conducted in this period, and for more information about the topic itself, see: Peyman Ünügür, *Şîa'da Metin Tenkidi*. Dissertation, A.Ü.S.B.E., 2017.

on the other hand, refers to a method of examination which is based on the criteria of textual analysis and often conducted in order to reach a decision of accepting or rejecting a narrative. "Narrating with meaning, qalb, idraj, ziyadah, iztirab (contradiction), ikhtisar and taqti'a (dissection), revision, distortion and lahn" are known as the issues encountered in textual examination. However, they cannot be associated with textual criticism."[2]

1. Textual Criticism in the 3rd and 4th Centuries/Segregation of Narratives Containing Ghuluww

Most parts of this study examine the activities that can be considered to be textual criticism from the second half of the third Hijri century and the whole of the fourth Hijri century. Also, it is seen that the efforts of textual criticism in the second half of the third century and the whole of the fourth century were focused on the narratives originating from the ghulat. Ghulat is mainly composed of people who associate themselves with at least one of the Twelve Imams, who are known as the descendants of the Prophet, in order to legitimize their extremist ideas. Today, it is understood that they often used the narratives they fabricated in line with their ideas and attributed them to the imams. The narratives originating from the imams which contain warnings about the fabricated narratives attributed to them by the ghulat incidate that there has been an awareness of the ghulat's narratives since the early periods.[3] Criticisms of the Shiite kalam authorities, who lived in the third/ninth century, against the narratives originating from the ghulat and the steps taken by the scholars of Qom, the representatives of early period Akhbaris, to segregate the narratives containing ghuluww include the first studies of textual criticism conducted by the Ithnā'ashariyyah as a school of thought.

1.1. A General Overview of Factors in the Sources of Narration

The first written Shiite sources of narration are the *originals*, which were composed by members of the congregation of the imams. Authors of the *originals* compiled the narratives they had heard from their imams in books which can also be considered to be *hadith chapters*. It is claimed that the number of the *originals* reach up to 400.[4] The *originals* have also formed a basis for the comprehensive

[2] M. Hayri Kırbaşoğlu, *Alternatif Hadis Metodolojisi*, (Ankara: Otto, 2015), p. 182.

[3] In this context, in a famous narrative, it is mentioned that a friend of el-Muğîra b. Saîd infiltrated İmam Muhammed Bâkır's (d. 114/733) friends, brought the narrative books he got from them to Muğîra, and that Muğira allowed his extreme ideas to intervene in the words of imams by secretly changing these books. (Keşşî, Ihti al-Ma'rifeti'r-ricâl, tah. Mustafavî, (Beirut: The Center of Neshari al-a'al al-al-Alâme al-Mustafavî, 2009), p. 241.) In a narration ascribed to Imam Rızâ (d. 203/818), it has been pointed out that the narratives of the imams about the coercion and simile were utterly made up by the gulat. (Assembly, Bihâru'l-envâr, (Beirut: Muessesetu Mul-Vefâ, 1983), III, p. 294.)

[4] Muhaqqiq al-Hilli, *Mu'teber*, (Qom: Muessesetu Seyyidi'ş-Şuhedâ, 1364), I, p. 26.

sources of narration which were first written at the end of the third Hijri century. However, only a few of the originals have survived to the present day, and they contain only a limited number of narratives.[5]

It can be said that the ideas of the Imami school of theology had not yet taken shape and emerged as a systematic school within the period when the narratives were compiled in the *originals*[6] and this situation resulted in an enabling environment for extremist ideas to influence Shiah. In other words, this environment was full of uncertainties in terms of the perception of imamate and thus, allowed groups that demonstrated divine or extraordinary qualities to the imams to express and disseminate their ideas freely,[7] and the narratives were inevitably impacted by this movement.

According to Imami Shiah, the basic problems relevant for the ghulat are: Attribution of divinity to those other than Allah, and incarnation;[8] attribution of prophecy to those other than the Prophet Muhammad;[9] attribution of imamate to those other than the Twelve Imams;[10] similitude;[11] believing in the occultation of someone other than the twelfth Imam;[12] the understanding that implies a lack in knowledge of Allah (beda);[13] believing in someone else's return as the Mahdī other than Muḥammad ibn Al-Ḥasan;[14] reincarnation;[15] tafwidz;[16] al-ghaib mutallaqa;[17]declining responsibilities;[18] and distortion of the Qur'an[19] and others.[20]

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[5] For detailed information about the *originals*, see: Majid Ma'arif, *Târîh-i Umûmî-yi Hadîs -bâ Rûykerd-i Tahlîlî-*, (Tehran: İntişârât-e Kevîr, 1396), p. 241-252; Bekir Kuzudişli, *Şîa ve Hadis*, (Istanbul: Klasik, 2017) p. 187-224.

[6] Metin Bozan, *İmâmiyye Şîa'sının İmamet Tasavvuru*, (Ankara: İlâhiyât, 2007), p. 34. Bozan argues that the process of emergence was furthered, to a certain extent, even after this period.

[7] Hossein Modarressi, *Crisis an Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam*, (Priceton-New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1993), p. 19-33.

[8] Muhammad Jawad Mashkur, *Târih-i Şîa ve Fırkehâ-yi İslam tâ Karn-i Çeharom,* (Tehran: İntişârât-ı İşrâkî, 1379), p. 178. See also: Ashâbu'l-Kisâ (Ibid, p. 169), Ehl-i Hak (Ibid, p. 170), Bezi'iyye (Ibid, p.171).

[9] Mashkur, *Târih-i Şîa*, p. 164, 178.

[10] Mashkur, *Târih-i Şîa*, p. 173,

[11] Ehl-i Tefrit/Muşebbihe (Meşkûr, *Târih-i Şîa*, p. 170), Bezi'iyye (Ibid, p. 171), Cevâribiyye (Ibid, p. 173), Cevâribiyye (Ibid, p. 173)

[12] Vâkıfe (Ibid, p. 166), Cevâribiyye (Ibid, p. 172)

[13] Mashkur, *Târih-i Şîa*, p. 170-171.

[14] Mashkur, *Târih-i Şîa*, p. 182. See also: Beyâniyye (Ibid, p. 171)

[15] Mashkur, *Târih-i Şîa*, p. 170, 171, 179,

[16] Mashkur, *Târih-i Şîa*, p. 172, 184.

[17] The groups that attribute divinity to the imams or believe in tafwidz can be considered within this scope.

[18] Mashkur, *Târih-i Şîa*, p. 180.

[19] In his "*Kur'ân'ın Bilinmeyen Kısımları*" (The Unknown Parts of the Qur'an), published in Journal Asiatique in 1982, Garcin de Tassy mentions Surat al-Nurayn, which is claimed to have been removed from the Qur'an, and provides Dabistān-i Mazāhib, which was written in Farsi in the 17th century, as his reference. In addition, another copy found in India includes Surat al-wilaya, which is also claimed to have been removed from the Qur'an. However, Mashkur states that each of these so-called chapters is untrue. Mashkur, Ibid, 154-156; Amir Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, (New York, 1994), p. 80.

Looking at the comprehensive Shiite hadith books, which have been written since the end of the third Hijri century, we do not see any narrative that attributes divinity to someone other than Allah, prophecy to anyone other than the Prophet Muhammad, and reflects ideas, such as reincarnation, which are directly attributed to the ghulat. However, in these sources, there are a lot of narratives about extraordinary characteristics, particularly attributed to the imams. Presence of these narratives, which can also be considered as tafwidz, brings to mind the possibility that the Imami Shiah may not have shown the same sensitivity for criticizing the narratives about imamate, which are known to contain tafwidz.[21] Another presumption of the facts is that narratives with ghali content subsisted in Shiite sources through narratives of tafwidz.[22] Therefore, to identify the ghali elements in the sources of narration, the narratives released by the mufawwidah should be particularly taken into consideration.

Modarressi, a modern Shiite author, gives particular importance to the issue of tafwidz. According to him, the mufawwidah should be analyzed in a different category than the ghulat, who are noted for deifying the imams. He defines the mufawwidah as, "the new ghulat" who do not deify the Prophet or the imams, but attribute deific powers to them, such as having limitless knowledge and control over the universe. According to the mufawwidah, these powers have been gifted to them. Therefore, they are not natural but secondary. Modarressi also suggests that the narrators defined as ghali in the books of *rijal* are members of the groups of the ghulat that stayed out of the mufawwidah.[23] This situation enabled narratives and thoughts that contain tafwidz to gain a place within Shiah.

Although tafwidz is seen as a problem by Shiite scholars in some aspects, extremist ideas such as attributing limitless knowledge to the imams are legitimized as positive tafwidz. Thoughts by Al-Majlisi (d. 1110/1698-99), the author of a famous book of hadiths called *Bihar al-anwar*, who followed the way of Akhbaris but also used Usuli methods in his works, should be mentioned in this regard so as to have an understanding of the overall Shiite approach about the issue of tafwidz. In his work, Al-Majlisi created an separate chapter for "Banishment of Ghuluww". In this chapter, he divides tafwidz into two categories, namely, positive tafwidz and negative tafwidz. Negative tafwidz refers to the understanding that

[20]For discussions of Iranian scholars about whether issues such as occultation, beda, return of the Mahdī, which find a common ground for the imami and ghulat, were integrated into the Shiite tradition in its early or late periods, and more importantly, whether they were adopted with the impact of the narratives containing ghuluww or not, see: Amir Moezzi, Ibid, p. 129-130; Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, p. 29-31; Nimetullah Safari, *GâliyanKaâveşî Der Cereyanhâ ve Berâyendehâ tâ Pâyaân-i Sede-yi Sevvom,* (Meşhed, 1378), p. 361.

[21] These narratives suggest extremist thoughts which entrust the control of the universe, the authority to punish and reward on the Last Day, and those similar to the Prophet Muhammad and the Twelve Imams.

[22] Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, p. 33-34.

[23] Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, p. 23-25; For a similar classification, see: Mohsin Kasimpur, "Berresî-yi Tahlîlî-yi Taabîr-i Nazir ber Guluv ve Tefvîz-i Râviyân der Menabi'-i Ricâl-i Şîa", *Do Faslnâme-yi Hadî Pejuhî* 5 (1390): 83-87.

attributes certain powers that belong to Allah, such as to create and to giveth, to the imams. This is the understanding of the people of ghulat. Positive tafwidz, on the other hand, is defined as a handover of the responsibilities in religious affairs from the Prophet to the imams, and thus they should be accepted.[24] Al-Majlisi tries to identify the limits of tafwidz in his work using different narratives that do not contain extremism. According to this identification and the given narratives, knowing all languages spoken on earth is a requirement for imamate and it can be considered within the scope of positive tafwidz. Similarly, the suggestion that imams have been authorized by Allah to decide what is halal (lawful) or haram (unlawful) just like the prophets is also regarded as a matter of this type of tafwidz.[25] Another narrative mentioned by Al-Majlisi under this title is one of the most significant narratives which actually corroborates the idea of negative tafwidz through its content. According to a narrative from Muhammed ibn Sinan [26](d. 220/853), who is indicated to be a member of the ghulat, Allah had created the Prophet, Ali, and Fatimah two thousand years before all other creatures and they witnessed the entire creation process of everything. And then Allah authorized them to judge and control everything and decide what is halal and what is haram.[27] At this point, it is understood that Al-Majlisi interprets the control mentioned in this narrative as the control over religious affairs and thus, regards this narrative as accurate. Moreover, he argues that the understanding of imamate given in this narrative is the midway point between the overstatement (idea of the ghulat) and the understatement (idea of the muqassirun). Muqassirun refers to the scholars of Qom and some kalam authorities. Al-Majlisi denounces some kalam authorities and narrators for understating the characteristics of the imams. According to this, the muqassirun regarded a number of siqa narrators as weak because of their narratives about the imams, which claim that they are faultless and have the knowledge of everything that has happened and will happen.[28] Al-Majlisi's considerations about the narratives transmitted by Muhammad ibn. Sinan indicate that he limits the authority given to the imams to religious affairs, and has a different perception of imamate in ontological terms. Moreover, he does not criticize the information mentioned in the narrative, suggesting that the imams had a different story of creation. On the other hand, the aforementioned points he suggests while criticizing narrators and kalam authorities, indicate that he supports an understanding that attributes the knowledge of everything to the imams.

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[24] Al-Majlisi, *Bihârû'l-envâr*, XXV, p. 209-212.

[25] Al-Majlisi, *Bihâr*, XXV, p. 199-201.

[26] Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī, *Ricâl*, (Qom: Darû'l-hadîs, 1422), p. 92; Kashshi, *Ihtiyârû ma'rifeti'r-ricâl*, inv. Hasan al-Mustafawi, (Lebanon: Merkezu neṣri âsâri'l-allâme el-Mustafavî, 2009), p. 504; Al-Najashi, *Ricâl*, (Qom: Muessesetu'n-neṣri'l-Islâmî, 1429), p. 328.

[27] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, (Tehran: Dârû'l-kutubi'l-Islâmiyye, 1363). I, p. 441.

[28] Al-Majlisi, *Bihâr*, XXV, p. 209. At this point, it is understood that he refers to the kalam authorities who were actively involved in studies before the emergence of the systematic movement of Usulis. Accordingly, the Usuli understanding that emerged after Al-Mufid accepts the idea that the imams were exempt from both sins and mistakes as an essential principle of the religion.

These narrations by Al-Majlisi include another significant dimension in terms of the topic we are discussing. By referring to the muqassirun, Al-Majlisi points out that the criticisms of these kalam authorities and narrators against the narratives originating from the ghulat is rather content-oriented. According to Al-Majlisi, they regarded a lot of narrators as weak based on the problematic content narrated by them. In our opinion, these suggestions can be considered to be strong evidence indicating that the reliability of the chains were identified through the content during the early periods.

The consistency between the content of written sources from the early period, which are available today and referred to by the ghulat, and the narratives of Shiite sources that contain tafwidz, is another significant topic for our discussion. Today, we have two different books representing the ghali understanding and these books are known to have been written in the second century. A handwritten copy of *Umm al-Kitab* was found at the beginning of the last century and most of the scholars studying on the book accepts it to have been written in the second Hijri century.[29] This book contains the answers given by Imām al-Bāqir to the questions asked by Jabir al-Ju'fi and the other scholars.[30] The other book is the one consisting of the answers given by Ja'far al-Sadiq to the questions from al-Mufaddal ibn Umar al-Ju'fi, who is known to be a student of his.[31] This book is called, *Kitab al-haft wa'l-azilla* or *Al-Haft al-shareef* and it is composed of the doctrines of Batiniyya, which form the basis of the Isma'ilism and Nusayriyah sects.[32] Although the general consensus is that these books were compiled in the second Hijri century, the changes that have occurred within the historical process to the copies we have are open to discussion.[33] However, it is possible to say that *Kitab al-haft wa'l-azilla* provides a general framework for the ideas about tafwidz as well as appropriate content for us to study. In this regard, the common issues seen in both *Kitab al-haft* and the narratives presented in the fundamental sources of Shiah include; the suggestion that Allah had created souls of the imams two thousand years before the other creatures, and these souls were praying for Allah around the ninth heaven[34];

[29] Turkish translation: İsmail Kaygusuz, (Demos, 2009). For more information about the book, see: Halm, *Shiism*, trans. Janet Watson, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), p. 157; Daftary, *Şiî İslam Tarihi*, trans. A. Fethi Yıldırım (İstanbul: Alfa-Tarih, 2016), p. 67; Stephanie Haught Wade, *The Umm Al-Kitab: A Study In Syncretism* (Postgraduate Thesis, University of Arkansas, 1990), p. 7.

[30] For more information about the revelation of this text at the beginning of the 20th century and the process of publishing in different languages, see: Sean W. Anthony, "The Legend of ʿAbdallāh ibn Sabaʾ and the Date of Umm al-Kitāb", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21/1 (2011): 2-4.

[31] Muhammad ibn Sinan, who was a follower of al-Mufaddal ibn Umar, is considered to be the author of this book. Al-Najashi mentions a book, titled *Al-Adilla,* which is attributed to him: *Ricâl,* p. 328.

[32] *el-Heftu'ş-şerîf*, inv. Mustafa Ghalib, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Endelus, 1977). For considerations about the book, see: Daftary, *Şiî İslam Tarihi*, p. 237-240.

[33] For a chapter-based date identification of *Kitab al-haft wa'l-azilla*, see: Mushegh Asatryan, *Heresy and Rationalism in Early Islam: The Origins and Evolution of the Mufaddal-Tradition* (PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2012), p. 239-241.

[34] *Kitâbu'l-heft*, p. 68, 181.

birth stories of the imams which are different from other humans[35]; other similar narratives that attribute ontologically different characteristics and superiority to the Twelve Imams, and claim that the imams could speak all languages spoken on earth[36]; the suggestion that the ninth heaven is placed on water, and this water is associated with the infinite knowledge the imams have[37]; the suggested fact that the imams have Allah's hidden treasures of knowledge[38]; and other similar narratives about the scope and source of the knowledge the imams have.

In light of the aforementioned information, we will initially examine the efforts by narrators and kalam authorities in the period between the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries to criticize the ghali considerations and narratives based on their content, as also mentioned by Al-Majlisi.

1.2. First Cases of Criticism About Narratives Originating From the Ghulat/Mufawwidah

Under this title, we will analyze the Shiite kalam authorities and the early period Akhbari scholars, who were rather interested in the narratives containing ghuluww that emerged as a result of the intensive work of the ghulat sects in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries. In this respect, we try to identify whether scholars from these two groups have undertaken considerable works of textual criticism regarding these narratives, and to reveal the essence of identified works. The analysis has been based on the narratives about the knowledge of the imams. The scholars whose approaches are analyzed in this study lived during the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries, a period when the school of the Twelvers/Imami and the other Shiite sects prominently differed from each other.

1.2.1. Criticism of Narratives Containing Ghuluww About the Knowledge of the Imams by Shiite Kalam Authorities

Narratives about the source and scope of the knowledge of the imams stand out as the most manipulated area by the ghulat in terms of fabricated hadiths, which were used to attribute posthuman characteristics to them. The narratives provided in Shiite sources which contain warnings for the imams also corroborate this suggestion. One of these narratives states that Ja'far al-Sadiq warned his companions about those attributing characteristics such as the knowledge of everything that has happened and will happen on earth, or having control over the entire universe to him by saying, "May Allah damn those narrating something we have never said as if we have"[39]. In another narrative, it is suggested that someone

[35] *Kitâbu'l-heft*, p. 87-90.
[36] *Kitâbu'l-heft*, p. 68.
[37] *Kitâbu'l-heft*, p. 79.
[38] *Kitâbu'l-heft*, p. 80-81.
[39] Al-Saduq, *İ'tikâdât*, (Qom: Peyâm-e İmam Hâdî, 1391), p. 109.

comes to Ja'far and tells about the words narrated by others about him. According to these rumors, the imam knows the numbers of all raindrops, stars, leaves on all trees, as well as the amount of water in the seas and the soil on earth. In response, Ja'far states that these are impossible and only Allah can have such superior knowledge.[40]

It is observed that the narratives regarding the source and scope of the knowledge the imams had, and those containing ghuluww have formed a basis for criticism of scholars from other sects against Shiah since the third Hijri century. A narrative mentioned in *Basa'ir* of Al-Saffar also confirms this fact. According to this narrative, which is narrated by Ali, he never went to bed before learning the revelations about halal, haram, sunnah, commandments and prohibitions, and what and who they target, from the Prophet in person. Until this point, this narrative does not differ from the others mentioned in *Basa'ir* in terms of the knowledge of the imams. However, the rest of this narrative provides historically significant information. Adherents of Muʿtazila denied this narrative when they heard and claimed that it was something impossible that they were always together in the same place. Shiite Muslims informed Zayd ibn Ali, who is the narrator of this statement, about this opposition.[41] In response, Zayd reminded them of the days the Prophet and Ali were in separate places and states that the Prophet taught the knowledge revealed in the days they were separated to Ali when they came together and asked them to deliver this information to the adherents of Muʿtazila who opposed this narrative.[42]

Although there is no trace of a critical approach against Imami Shiah in this narrative, the other information given in the same narrative confirms a considerable interaction between Imami Shia and Muʿtazila in the second half of the third Hijri century, when *Basa'ir* was written. Secondly, based on the information given in this narrative, regardless of any actual criticism from Muʿtazila, it can be concluded that there was a critical attitude toward the approach of Imami Shia and the narratives that formed a basis for this approach. Moreover, the Shiite Muslims were confused about this issue.

Fadl b. Shadhan (d. 260/874) and Ibn Qibba al-Razi (d. 319/931) are among the scholars who responded to the criticism against Shiah through rejections or other types of academic works. According to a modern author called Bayhom, the fact that the kalam authorities, who constituted a major school of Shiah in the pre-occultation period, considered sources other than the Prophet as ghuluww, and

[40] Al-Majlisi, *Bihâr*, XXV, p. 179; Muhammad Hasan al-Ahmadi, "Ga̒liyan ve Endiṣe-yi Tahrîf-i Kur'ân", *Ulûm-e Hadîs* 2/52 (1388): 192. For some criticism by modern Shiite authors about narratives containing ghuluww regarding the knowledge of the imams, see: Nematollah Salehi Najafabadi, *Guluv*, (Tehran: İntişârât-e Kevîr, 1384), p. 14-15; Hashim Maruf al-Hasani, *el-Mevzuat fi'l-âsâri ve'l-âhbâr-arz ve dirâse-*, (Beirut: Dâru't-taâruf li'l-matbûât, 1987), p. 260-261.

[41] Zayd ibn Ali, the narrator of this information, is the brother of Imām al-Bāqir, who is the founder of the Zaidiyyah sect and the fourth imam of the Imami Shiah.

[42] Al-Saffar, *Basaîru'd-deracaî*, inv. Hasen Kûçebaǧî, (Tehran: Munteṣira̒tu'l- a'lemî,1404), p. 217.

criticized relevant narratives in terms of textual properties.[43] One of these authorities, al-Fadl b. Shadhan (d. 260/874), responded to the criticism addressed by Ahl Al-Sunnah against Shiah about the source of the knowledge the imams had in his work, *el-Îdâh li'r-reddi fî sâiri'l-fırak.*

Al-Fadl b. Shadhan discusses the criticism against the knowledge of the imams in a chapter about *Sahifah Alawiyyah,* which is a book claimed to have been written by Ali. According to this, Sunni scholars blame Imami Shiah for accepting the deific inspiration as a source of the knowledge the Prophet's family had besides his teachings. They claim a narrative about Ali to be the basis of this claim. This narrative states that Ali could comprehend the revelation of Allah only through an understanding taught by Him and this understanding can be nothing but His inspiration.[44] After mentioning this narrative, al-Fadl emphasizes that the information provided is not supported by Shiah. As evidence, he cites another narrative claimed to have originated from Ali. According to this narrative, Ali stated that there is nothing (no source of knowledge) they had but Allah's revelation and the *Sahifah.* According to al-Fadl, this narrative refers to the fact that the imams only had the book revealed by Allah, which contains everything human beings need in their daily lives, and the *Sahifah,* which is an interpretation of this book. Al-Fadl also suggests that *Sahifah* was a corpus composed of 100 volumes in which the Prophet Muhammad presented every necessary piece of information about halal and haram to Ali, and it was inherited to the imams after Imam Ali. He also argues that Sunni Muslims did not accept this fact.[45]

From this suggestion from al-Fadl about the criticism made by Sunni scholars, where he clarifies his view of the knowledge the imams had, we can understand that he accepted the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad as the only source of knowledge for them. The fact that Al-Fadl mentions an untrue narrative referred to by Sunni scholars to Ali shows that some of the pre-occultation narratives about the nature and source of the knowledge the imams had are inconsistent narratives. Therefore, it is understood that Al-Fadl not only reveals his attitude toward these kinds of narratives, but also responds to the criticism made by Sunni scholars. It can also be suggested that he does not accept the narratives which claim that the imams received inspiration and/or revelations about the *ghaib* (the unseen) because of their content.

Ibn Qibba al-Razi is another Shiite kalam authority who responded to the criticisms from the adherents of Zaidiyyah, generally about the narratives originating from the ghulat, and specifically those about the knowledge of ghaib

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[43] Tamima Bayhom-Daou, "The Imam's Knowledge and The Qur'an According to al-Fadl b. Shâdhân al-Nisâbûrî", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 64/2 (2001): 190.

[44] However, this narratives cannot be found in Shiite sources today.

[45] Al-Fadl b. Shadhan, *el-Îdâh li'r-reddi fî sâiri'l-fırak,* inv. Jalāl al-Din al-Husayni al-Urmawi, (Beirut: Muessesetu't-Târîhu'l-Arabî, 2009), p. 460-464. Al-Fadl's approach, which rejects these narratives, accepts the possibility that the Prophet Muhammad might have guided Ali to write an 100-volume corpus during his prophecy of twenty-three years full of sufferings.

attributed to the imams. The rejection, authored by Ibn Qibba against the aforementioned sect of Islam, was narrated by Al-Saduq in *Kamal Ad-Din.*[46] According to Ibn Qibba, the reason for the increase in the number of narratives containing ghuluww is that lesser known narrators of the time were taken as references for narratives due to h*usn al-dhan* (good opinion). The imams received complaints due to the increasing severity of this situation and as response, they ordered their companions to take only the narratives of consensus into consideration. However, they did not obey this order and continued the conventional practices. It was not possible for the imams to know everything added to their narratives. Because, they did not have the knowledge of ghaib. There is no question regarding the accuracy of the narratives about imamate, as all of them are considered mutawatir. Accordingly, all controversial issues are associated with khabar al-wahid. Khabar al-wahid does not provide any information and could either be true or untrue.[47]

The information narrated by Ibn Qibba depicts this situation in a more clear way. According to this information, he explicitly accepts the existence of narratives which pose a source of criticism against Zaidiyyah, propounds that they cannot be accepted due to their content mentioning the ghulat as the origin, and suggests presenting these narratives for consensus as a method for clarification. This is sound evidence which indicates a critical attitude adopted towards the narratives circulated among Shiah in a fairly early period, and the content-oriented approach seen in this attitude.

1.2.2. The School of Qom and Ghuluww-Oriented Textual Criticism

Qom, which is considered to be the most operative Shiite center of Islamic sciences of the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries, is the first city in Iran where the Shiite understanding gained dominance. The Ashʿarites, an Arabic tribe originally from the Yemen area, settled in Qom and had a significant influence on the propagation of the Shiite understanding in this region after being relegated from Iraq by the Umayyad Caliphate for being followers of Ali and playing active roles in rebellions. It is also suggested that eleven people from the Ashari family, who migrated to Qom at the beginning of the second Hijri century, were companions of Imām al-Bāqir and al-Sadiq and initiated the hadith studies in the region.[48] Today, it is understood that Qom has served as a shelter for Shiite scholars escaping from the pressure of the Umayyad Caliphate and become the center of compilation (of hadiths) for Shiah. It is thought that narratives from the imams were first brought together in Qom and then those originating from the ghulat were

[46] Al-Saduq, *Kemâlu'd-dînve tamaîmu'n-ni'me*, (Beirut: Menşûrâtu'l-a'lemî, 1991), *p*. 98-125.
[47] Al-Saduq, *Kemâlu'd-dîn*, p. 112.
[48] Suheyla Pîruzfer, Muhammed Mehdî Âciliyâne Mâfûk, "Hânedân-i Eş'arî ve Te'sir-i ân ber Siyer-i Tahavvul-i Mekteb-i Hadîsî-yi Kum", *Hadîs Pejûhî* 3/5 (1390): 8; Habip Demir, *Horasan'da Şîîlik-İran'da Şîîliğin Tarihsel Kökenleri*, (Ankara: Otto, 2017), p. 103-104.

eliminated during the compilation process. The first two of the *al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah* (the Four Books) are al-Kulayni's[49] (d. 329/941) *Kitab al-Kafi* and Al-Saduq's (d. 381/991) *Man la yahduruhu al-Faqih*. Both of them are considered to be the most important Shiite scholars raised in Qom.[50]

There are a number of interesting facts which support the suggestion that the Qom scholars adopted an uncompromising attitude toward the ghali narrators. Among those includes facts such as, allowing others to kill those having ghali thoughts or expelling them from Qom, as well as intellectual activities such as writing rejections for ghali ideas. Al-Najashi mentions a number of relevant books in *Rijal,* which were written for this purpose but have not survived to the present day.[51] In this way, they must have tried to build barriers against the narratives originating from the ghulat by exposing ghali narrators of the time together with their ideas.

Two modern Shiite authors, namely, Modarressi and Kadivar, attach relatively higher importance to this attitude of the school of Qom toward the ghali narrators. According to them, the claims suggesting that the imams had the knowledge of ghaib, that they were entrusted by Allah, and those attributing purity to them were rejected by the scholars of Qom for being extremist ideas.[52] One of the most significant points taken as reference by Modarressi and Kadivar for this consideration were that the early period Akhbaris considered *sahw an-nabi* within the scope of ghuluww, and Al-Saduq mentions a relevant narrative in *Man la yahduruhu al-Faqih*, which is followed by a statement from his teacher, Ibn al-Walid, who says, "the first degree of ghuluww is to reject sahw an-nabi".[53]

It is clear that the precautions taken by the scholars of Qom against the ghulat and the tafwidz authorities indicate intolerance against extremist ideas. However, whether these precautions completely annihilated the idea, especially that of the scholars of Qom, alleging a superhuman prophet (as argued by Modarressi and Kadivar) or not, should be discussed in an independent study. To determine this, we will examine the place of the narratives about the knowledge of

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[49] Al-Kulayni was a member of Qom's population and the fact that 80 percent of the narratives in *Kitab al-Kafi* were directly, and 10 percent indirectly, narrated by the Qom community proves his association with the school of Qom. For the information provided by Jafarian about Al-Kulayni's sources of the narratives, see: Rasul Jafarian, *Tarîh-i Teşeyyu' Der Îrân Ez Ağâz Ta'Karn-i Dehom-i Hicrî*, (Qom, 1375), I, p. 209.

[50] Ali Zuhayr as-Sarraf, "Medresetu Kum er-rivâî fî muvâceheti'l-gulât", *Mecelletu Merkezi Dirâsâti'l-Kûfe* 1/34 (2014): 31-32.

[51] Najashi, *Ricâl*, p. 177, 354, 448.

[52] Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, p. 41-42; Muhsin Kadivar, "Kırâat-e Ferâmuş Şode", (1385), http://kadivar.com/?p=238 .

[53] Al-Saduq, *Men la yahduruhu'l-fakîh*, (Qom, 1404), I, p. 358-360. However, it is not possible to claim that we have the necessary evidence to prove that the other scholars of Qom, except for Al-Saduq and his teacher, Ibn al-Walid, accepted the phenomenon of sahw an-nabi or associated those who rejected it with ghuluww. Therefore, we cannot say that what Modarressi and Kadivar attribute to the scholars of Qom is accurate.

the imams in Saffar's *Basa'ir al-darajat,* Al-Kulayni's *Al-Kafi,* and the works covering Al-Saduq's narratives regarding faith and theological issues.

Criticisms of Narratives Containing Ghuluww About the Knowledge of the Imams

Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Saffar al-Qummi (d. 290/903) is one of the earliest scholars of Qom and an author of a comprehensive book of hadiths. Looking at the content of this book, it is understood that he wrote *Basa'ir al-darajat*, which consists of forty chapters and begins with an introduction, to bring together the narratives about the traits of Ahl al-Bayt. Narratives about the knowledge of the imams in *Basa'ir* can be divided into four categories according to their sources. These sources mentioned in different narratives are; the Qur'an, teachings of the previous prophets, and the knowledge narrated from the Prophet Muhammad in form of text, a book written by Fatima based on the Jibrīl's teachings (Book of Fatimah), and the revelations or inspiration. The narratives about the knowledge of the imams given in *Basa'ir* include those considered as having originated from the early ghulat period alleging that the imams had the knowledge of ghaib,[54] they continuously received divine inspirations besides the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad[55], which were considered as having originated from the ghulat in the early period by Shiite kalam authorities, as well as the narratives alleging that the imams had been created two thousand years before all other human beings and were gifted the knowledge of everything, and others similar to these which were consistent with the early period mufawwidah sources of the ghulat. This can be regarded as an indicator of the fact that not all recognized Shiite scholars of Qom maintained a distance from the ghulat and the narratives containing ghuluww. On the other hand, the fact that al-Saffar, as a prominent scholar of Qom, used narratives of the ghulat a lot in his book shows that he did not attempt to criticize the content of these narratives.[56]

In order to understand whether Al-Kulayni has a significantly different approach from Al-Saffar toward ghali narratives, it would be useful to make a comparison between the narratives about the knowledge of the Imams.

In *al-Kafi*, there are around 348 narratives which are directly or indirectly relevant to the knowledge of the imams. These narratives and issues explained therein can be listed as follows: The imams had the knowledge of the earth and the sky and they could speak about the ghaib;[57] they got information from the angels;[58] they could recognize their followers by face;[59] they had the knowledge of

[54] Al-Saffar, *Basâir*, p. 118-121.
[55] Al-Saffar, *Basâir*, p. 268-272, 356-358, 361-364.
[56] For an isnad-oriented analysis and criticism of the narratives about the knowledge of the imams, see: Kuzudişli, *Şîa ve Hadis*, p. 226-252.
[57] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 173.
[58] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 175-176.
[59] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 184.

everything about the future of other people, including deaths and births and everything that had happened or would happen until the day of judgment;[60] the Prophet and the imams could see the practices of other people and were aware of them;[61] they had a written list of the adherents of Shiah;[62] they could have the knowledge of the earth and the sky, and everything that had happened and would happen only through the knowledge of the Qur'an;[63] they had *al-Jamia*, which includes the knowledge of halal and haram, *al-Jafr*, which contains the all the knowledge of all the prophets and scholars who had ever lived, and the *Book of Fatimah*, which contains the knowledge of everything that will happen in the future;[64] they were presented with the knowledge of everything that would happen that year in each Laylat al-Qadr;[65] their knowledge increased every Friday night;[66] Allah informed the Prophet Muhammad and the imams of everything He ordained;[67] the imam asked Allah about everything related to ghaib and He revealed what they asked of them;[68] they knew the number of all deaths;[69] they were informed of or received an inspiration about everything they needed to know;[70] they had the knowledge of the essence of all creatures and everything on earth and in the sky in virtue of the *ruh al-qudus (holy spirit),* and thus were protected from mistakes and ignorance;[71] they could answer every question, understand every languages spoken by human beings and animals;[72] as well as what was in their minds, and their intentions;[73] they were gifted with the entirety of knowledge revealed by Allah as soon as they were born;[74] they also learned practices of all creatures by virtue of a column raised in front of them after birth;[75] all souls were presented to the imams before creation, and thus they could recognize their adherents.[76]

Therefore, it is evident that narratives that reflect the understanding of ghuluww are consistent with those mentioned in *al-Basa'ir* and there is no critical approach that excludes any of these narratives. It is, for sure, not a coincidence that in chains of a majority of these aforementioned narratives, the narrators regarded to

[60] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 197-225.
[61] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 219-220.
[62] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 224.
[63] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 229.
[64] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 238-240.
[65] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 247.
[66] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 254.
[67] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 256.
[68] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 257.
[69] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 259.
[70] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 264.
[71] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 272.
[72] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 285.
[73] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 343-345.
[74] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 385-387.
[75] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 387.
[76] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 438.

be from the ghulat or mufawwidah by Shiite sources were mentioned. In this respect, among the narratives provided in Usul al-kafi and listed above, those alleging that the imams had the knowledge of ghaib;[77] that they could recognize their adherents by face;[78] that they had the knowledge of everything that would happen to others, including deaths and births, and everything that had happened and would happen until the day of judgment;[79] that they were presented the knowledge of everything that would happen that year in each Laylat al-Qadr;[80] that their knowledge increased every Friday night;[81] that they had the knowledge of the essence of all creatures and everything on earth and in the sky in virtue of the *ruh al-qudus*, and thus were protected from mistakes and ignorance;[82] that they were gifted with the entirety of the knowledge revealed by Allah as soon as they were born;[83] that they also learned the practices of all creatures by virtue of a column raised in front of them after birth;[84] that all souls were presented to the imams before creation, and thus they could recognize their adherents,[85] were narrated by those noted for ghuluww and had consistent content with the ghali opinions presented in *Kitab al-haft wa'l-azilla.*

What is important for our study is that these instances support the opinion that Al-Kulayni did not adopt an attitude that takes the criteria of accuracy into account while compiling the narratives in the *originals*. It is also understood that *al-Kafi*, or *the* chapter which contains narratives about faith, is not different from al-Saffar's *al-Basa'ir* in terms of the ghali content. On the other hand, it seems impossible to say that as a prominent scholar of the Qom school, which is noted for its struggle against the ghulat, Al-Kulayni was rather successful in the identification and segregation of extremist opinions embedded in the narratives. Therefore, this

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[77] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 353. About Ahmad b. al- Husayn b. Said b. Hammad b. Said b. who were mentioned in the chain, Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī (*Ricâl*, p. 40-41), Al-Najashi (*Ricâl*, p. 77-78), and Shaykh Tusi (*Fihrist*, p. 65) report the narratives showing his ghulat origins.

[78] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 184 (Muhammad b. Jumhur was also mentioned in the chain and regarded as having ghali opinions and being corrupt in terms of sectarianism. Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī, *Ricâl*, p. 92; Najashi, *Ricâl*, p. 337).

[79] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 197 (Sahl b. Ziyad, as mentioned in the chain, was regarded as corrupt (fasid) in terms of the act of narration, and the religion as a whole: Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī, *Ricâl*, p. 66-67; Najashi, *Ricâl*, p. 185).

[80] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 247 (Sahl b. Ziyad is mentioned in the chain).

[81] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 254 (Mufaddal b. Umar is mentioned in the chain as superior in rhetoric and sermon: Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī, *Ricâl*, p. 87; Kashshi, *Ricâl*, p. 331-340; Najashi, *Ricâl*, p. 416).

[82] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 272 (In the chain, Muhammad b. Sinan is noted as being a liar and fabricating hadiths: Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī, *Ricâl*, p. 92; Kashshi, *Ricâl*, p. 504; Najashi, *Ricâl*, p. 328).

[83] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 385-387 (Muhammed b. Sulayman ad-Daylami, as mentioned in the chain, is noted for being a weak reference and having extremist views, as well as being corrupt in terms of sectarianism: Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī, *Ricâl*, p. 91).

[84] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 387 (In the chain, Muhammd ibn Sa'dan is noted as a follower of ghuluww for having extremist ideas: Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī, *Ricâl*, p. 90).

[85] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfi*, I, p. 438 (Salih ibn Sahl, as mentioned in the chain, is noted for being ghali, a liar, and a fabricator of hadith: Ibn al-Ghadāʿirī, *Ricâl*, p. 69. A narrative from Kashshi corroborates this idea: Kashshi, *Ricâl*, p. 350).

finding invalidates allegations of those attributing the absence of a compilation for mawḍūʿ (fabricated) hadiths in the early periods of Shiah to a movement of segregation maintained by the authors of major hadith collections led by al-Kulayni.

As another significant figure in the early period, Akhbarism, Al-Saduq (d. 381/991) had a distinctive character compared to previous Akhbari scholars. He did not take narration as the basis for most of his works but tried to systematize the Imami understanding, and adopted a realistic approach in this regard. Although the main content of his works is composed of narratives, he differs from the general Akhbari attitude, which accepts literal meanings of narratives without questioning, with his distinctive explanations, particularly in terms of the interpretation of narratives. It is also seen that Al-Saduq expresses his critical approach against extremist ideas and narratives in a more explicit way. In the introductory chapter of *al-I'tiqadat*, which is known as the first well-structured work of Shia that explains the belief of Immami, he denounces the understanding of similitude-corporeality, bases his opinions about tawhid upon verses of the Qur'an, and expresses that any other understanding from that framework is insufferable and the narratives that support such understandings are fabricated. Accordingly, he thinks that any narrative that is inconsistent with the Qur'an is untrue, even when mentioned in the works of the Shiite scholars.[86] This principle corresponds to a fundamental criterion of textual criticism, which is reference to the Qur'an.

As he travelled to and stayed for a while in Baghdad, it is highly possible that al-Saduq had the opportunity to be acquainted with the opinions of the school of Muʿtazila in Baghdad. Accordingly, Newman regards his view as mentioned in al-Tawhid, which opposes the understanding of similitude and his emphasis on certain values such as tawhid and justice, as a reflection of the influence of Muʿtazila.[87]

The examples which indicate Al-Saduq's reference to the concept of interpretation within the scope of the narratives about the knowledge of the imams are significant for our subject matter. A narrative in his *Ma'ani al-akhbar*, which widely addressed the speech delivered by the eighth imam of Shia, Ali ar-Rida (d. 203/819), in a mosque in Merv, talks about the characteristics of the imams. The narrative, which also discusses the knowledge of the imam, emphasizes that the imam should have everything he needs in order to show others the true path to follow. According to this narrative, the Imams should be able to answer questions about the future and understand all languages spoken by human beings.[88] Al-Saduq narrates this information but also states that this knowledge should be

[86] Al-Saduq, *İ'tikâdât*, (Qom: Peyâm-i İmam Hâdî, 1391), 3-4.
[87] Andrew J. Newman, "The Recovery Of The Past: Ibn Bābawayh, Bāqır Al-Majlısī And Safawıd Medical Discourse", *Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 50 (2012): 111.
[88] Al-Saduq, *Maâni'l-ahbâr*, (Beirut: Dâru'l-ma'rife, 1979), p. 95-102.

limited in some aspects. According to him, the knowledge of the imam should be derived from the teachings of the Prophet. And they were taught everything they needed by him before his death. Also, it is not possible for imams to receive divine revelations after the Prophet's death.[89] In essence, many narratives transmitted by Al-Saduq constitute evidence showing that he sees no harm in attributing a vast amount of knowledge to the imams, as long as it has been conveyed by the Prophet. According to the aforementioned narrative, the imams had a list of their followers and enemies up until the day of judgment, they also had a 35 meter long al-Jami'a, which contained human beings' every need until the day of judgment, and the big and small al-Jafr, which was written on a piece of leather and described every single judgments in Islamic fiqh.[90]

At this point, Al-Saduq states that the imams did not receive any direct revelation from Allah, either in order not to place them in a position equal to prophets, or to close the door to this understanding for some extremist opinions based on the characteristics attributed to the imams. Accordingly, the editor Ali Akbar Ghaffārī feels the need to express his dissent to this suggestion and states in a footnote that his words contradict a number of extant narratives regarding this subject.[91] Looking at the narration of the aforementioned statement from Ibn Qibba[92], we can say that Al-Saduq implicitly accepted the fact that the imams cannot have the knowledge of ghaib, or at least took up a position against the narratives that he associated with the ghulat and the mufawwidah.

It is seen that Al-Saduq, who tries to limit the knowledge of the imams to the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad on one hand, cites the narratives alleging that they received the knowledge of ghaib in sources other than from the Prophet himself. The narrative mentioned in *Kamal al-din, al-Basa'ir,* and *al-Kafi,* alleging that the knowledge of everything that would happen in a year was revealed to the imam of the time, can be cited as an example to this.[93] There are narrative containing ghuluww in different works of Al-Saduq. Some of the narratives from al-Mufaddal ibn Umar, who is regarded as a significant representative of the mufawwidah, can also be cited as examples in this context. The imams' different stories of creation, and being presented to the other creatures as prominent servants of Allah,[94] the extraordinary births of Ali and Fatima[95], and the narratives about the allegation that souls of innocent people had been created a few thousands of year before the others are among them.[96]

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[89] Al-Saduq, *Maâni'l-ahbâr*, p. 102.
[90] Al-Saduq, *Maâni'l-ahbâr*, p. 102-103.
[91] Al-Saduq, *Maâni'l-ahbâr*, p. 102.
[92] Al-Saduq, *Kemâlu'd-din*, p. 112.
[93] Al-Saduq, *Kemâlu'd-din*, p. 305.
[94] Al-Saduq, *Kemâlu'd-dîn*, p. 240; *Uyuûnu ahbaŕi'r-Rıza*, inv. Husayn al-A'lami, (Beirut: Muessesetu'l-A'lemî, 1984), II, p. 61; *Maâni'l-ahbâr*, p. 108.
[95] Al-Saduq, *el-Emâlî*, (Qom: Muessesetu'l-bi'se, 1417), p. 194-195, 691.
[96] Al-Saduq, *Maâni'l-ahbâr*, p. 108; *Kemâlu'd-dîn*, p. 315-316. The information in these narratives about the differences between the creation of innocent souls and those of others is shown in a variety of different

Findings from Moezzi in a similar study support the findings we obtained throughout this research. Moezzi argues that there is no significant difference between Al-Saffar, Al-Kulayni, and Al-Saduq, in terms of the content of the narratives about the knowledge, power, and creation of the imams, except for the declining number of narratives cited in their works.[97] Another considerable difference seen in Al-Saduq's work is that he uses his mechanism of interpretation as a tool of defense against criticisms that may be addressed to the narratives and he tries to isolate the narratives that could normally be considered as ghuluww through interpretation.

In our opinion, the findings we have revealed up to this point may lead us to make the following inference: The uncertainties existed before the completion of the systematic internal development of Ithnā'ashariyyah/Imami, particularly those that emerged in the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries, and prepared the ground for the rise of different groups of ghulat established on the basis of partisanship to Ali. With time, these groups used the narratives they fabricated and attributed to the Shiite imams in order to propagate their ideas and rally supporters. When these narratives started to become popular among the Shiite population, they brought about a counter-view against extremist ideas and the first reactions against ghali groups were received directly from the imams. Today, it is understood that kalam authorities like Al-Fadl ibn Shadhan and Ibn Qibba, who lived in the third Hijri century, adopted remarkable critical approaches which can be considered within the scope of textual criticism. It is also seen that particularly the school of Qom, which was active in the fourth/tenth century, played a significant role in this regard by struggling against the ideas of the ghuluww, their representatives, and other extremists, and tried methods of relegation (from Qom) and intimidation. According to Shiah, this attitude of the school of Qom helped segregation of narratives containing ghuluww within the compilation process and as a result of this attitude we cannot see such narratives in the Four Books *(al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah)*. The information provided in different sources confirms this struggle against the members of the ghulat in Qom.[98] However, as expressed within Shiah, it is not possible to say that these efforts were sufficient to segregate all ghali narratives and to prevent them being included in fundamental sources of the hadiths. Even the limited information about ghali elements in Shiite sources is sufficient to indicate that there are a significant number of narratives originating

sources. In some narratives it is cited as two thousand years, while according to others it is fourteen thousand years.

[97] Mohammed Ali Amir Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism*, trans. David Straight, (New York: University of New York Press, 1994), p. 15-18.

[98] At this point, we can mention some intellectual activities to demonstrate rejections against ghali ideas. Najashi cites a lot of books in his *Rijal*, which were written but have not survived to the present day. For examples, see: Najashi, *Ricâl*, p. 177, 354, 448. For more information about the attitude of the scholars of Qom toward the ghulat, see: Ali Zuhayr Sarraf, "Medresetu Qom er-rivâî fî muvâceheti'l-gulât", *Mecelletu Merkezi Diraŝaẗi'l-Kufe*, 1:34 (2014).

from the ghulat and the mufawwidah in the books authored by the scholars of the school of Qom, including the Four Books.

In our opinion, one of the most significant reasons for the fact that scholars of Qom could not completely protect their works from ghali narratives despite the struggle against the ghulat, is the uncertainty in terms of the definition of ghuluww and the resultant failure of Akhbari scholars to get over the ghali ideas. Although it is seen that they applied a method of segregation, particularly against narratives that attribute divinity to someone other than Allah and similar, as a marginal point of extremist ideas, it is certain that they could not ensure an equally meticulous criticism on the narratives containing ghuluww about the matter of imamate. For instance, it is not possible to say that it was easy for those who supported the understanding of imamate at the time to admit the impact of the ghulat on the necessity for imams to have knowledge of everything. This situation may be associated with the fact that the concept of imamate was a building block of Shiah and thus, it was too difficult to adopt an objective attitude toward the narratives containing ghuluww about imamate. Today, it is understood that the narratives containing ghuluww about superiority of the imams therefore have stayed out of content-oriented criticism. In addition, it is highly possible that the scholars of Qom did not narrate anything from the ghulat due to their uncompromising attitude against those who lived in the same period and place as them but stood out due to extremist ideas. However, it is also possible that they accepted and included in their works, the ghali narratives about imamate which were fabricated and attributed to an imam but narrated by someone else who was known to have no extremist ideas. In this regard, it may be suggested that the systematic use of textual criteria by these scholars prepared the ground for the narratives that attribute posthuman characteristics to the prophet and the imams and can be found in different sources.

It is clear that Al-Saduq has a different perspective than the classical understanding of Akhbaris. Despite the considerable quantity of ghali narratives in his works, he adopts a different approach when it comes to the narratives about certain topics, such as knowledge of the imams, and tries to resolve the contradiction between these two acts by referring to the method of interpretation. The declining number of such narratives in his works and the effective use of interpretation can be regarded as an indicator of the possibility that he took into consideration certain criteria relating to content during his judgment about the accuracy of narratives. However, it is impossible to say that he used the criteria for textual examination in an effective way.

Another notable situation is the reflection of the differentiation between the ghulat and the mufawwidah seen in the narratives cited in different sources. As argued by Modarressi, the opinion that extremist ideas of the ghulat, such as attributing divinity to someone other than Allah, lost its impact over time due to the aggressive reactions within Shiah, and the ghulat was replaced by the mufawwidah who attributes posthuman characteristics to the imams and the

rarefied ghali approach of the mufawwidah was admitted by Shiah over time. These findings allow us to make the following inference: The rising reaction among Shiah against the early period ghulat brought about more careful examinations of their narratives, and a significant quantity of these narratives were eliminated during the compilation process of comprehensive hadith collections. Marginal narratives of entities such as the Mughiriyyah and the Khattabiyyah, which are considered to be more extremist compared to those of the mufawwidah in this regard, could not even find a place in *al-Basa'ir*, while the narratives attributed to the mufawwidah were able to survive to the time of Al-Saduq, despite the decline in quantity.

The reason for our emphasis on the narratives about faith in examination of the acceptance or rejection of the narratives circulated within the dominant period of the early Akhbaris, is the fact that the Shiah, who were struggling against the ghulat and the mufawwidah within the same period of time, adopted a content-oriented approach to segregate the narratives originating from them and, although partially, this approach can still be monitored. However, it does not seem possible to say the same for narratives on issues of fiqh. The absence of textual criteria, such as consistency with the Qur'an, the sunnah, and ijma, which are frequently mentioned by Shaykh Tusi in *Tahdhib al-Ahkam* and *al-Istibsar,* are not cited in al-Kafi and al-Faqih of al-Kulayni and Al-Saduq, respectively. This complicates the possible identification of whether they predicate their opinions about the accuracy of the narratives regarding the details of some textual criteria. On the other hand, absence of a significant study by Shiite scholars to gather fabricated hadiths in the early periods or even until the last century poses a significant obstacle that prevents the identification of the Shiite perspective for the reasons behind the fabrication of these narratives which do not fit the scope of ghuluww.

2. Development of Textual Criticism between the 5th and the 13th Centuries

The Akhbarism, which became the dominant ideology about one and a half centuries after the end of the Imami period, gave way to the Usuli understanding, which had a chance to flourish under the rule of Buheyvis (334/945-447/1055), at the end of the fourth Hijri century, and this understanding preserved its dominance among Shiite scholars during the following period, except for about two centuries when the Akhbarism rallied again. Therefore, in the following part of the study, we will attempt to reveal the changes in the role attached to textual criteria in the examination of narratives during the period of Usuli understanding. Accordingly, we think that an analysis by characteristics seen in sub-periods of this long process would help to undertake a proper analysis of the development observed in textual criticism.

2.1. Usuli School of Baghdad and Criteria-Oriented Textual Criticism

Al-Shaykh Al-Mufid (d. 413/1022), Sharīf Murtadhā (d. 436/1044), and Shaykh Tusi (d. 460/1067) lived in Baghdad in the period of Buhayvis, which can be considered as the brightest time of Shiah in terms of both theological and administrative activities. These people are noted for their leadership in the Shiite Muslim community, which they ensured by playing significant roles in the systematization of the Usuli understanding.

According to Stewart, who is a modern researcher, the Shiite legal system adapted/borrowed its building blocks and principles from the Sunni tradition of justice and this process began before *the Major Occultation*. The consistencies between Sunni works of fiqh and the standard order of contents applied in *al-Kafi* by Al-Kulayni, who died in 329/941, is an indicator of this situation.[99] Watt regards this situation as a significant indicator of Sunni dominance in Islamic thought.[100]

We cannot say that this Sunni influence seen in Shiite theological (usul) studies was effective during the early stages of Shiah toward the narratives in their own sources. Accordingly, the approaches of Al-Mufid, Murtadhā, and Shaykh Tusi, which we will analyze in this study, indicate that they preferred certain textual criteria to isnad for decisions regarding the acceptance or rejection of the narratives. This situation is different from the isnad-oriented understanding of the hadiths mostly adopted by Sunni Muslims.

Al-Mufid followed his father to Baghdad at a young age and took lessons from prominent Sunni and Shiite scholars there. Al-Mufid is accepted to be one of the first Shiite scholars who attended regular classes from both Shiite and Sunni teachers. It is also narrated that he took kalam lessons from Muʿtazila's scholars in this period when the Muʿtazila school of Basra had influence in the region.[101] As a scholar of Islamic jurisprudence (usul al-fiqh), Al-Mufid holds a significant place in the emergence of the Usuli understanding of the hadiths with the principles he applied in the use of the news (khabar) he received.

In his other works, Al-Mufid mentions the criteria for the acceptance or rejection of content in the narratives. At the end of *al-Tazkirah bi-usul al-fiqh*, he describes two different types of narratives that can be used as hujjat in religious affairs and calls them *the khabar mutawatir* (successive narration) and *the khabar* supported by *qarinah (indirect evidence).* Mutawatir is a category of narration used for the narratives told by a majority that cannot be accused of telling lies. On the other hand, the narration supported by qarinah refers to *khabar al-wahid*, which is

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[99] Devin J. Stewart, Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to The Sunni Legal System, (University of Utah Press, 1998), p. 129, 131).

[100] W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, (Edingburg, 1973), p. 278).

[101] Waheed Akhtar, *Early Shi'ite Imamiyyah Thinkers*, (New Delhi, 1988), p. 79-83. For more information, see: Halil İbrahim Bulut, *Şia'da Usuliliğin Doğusu ve Şeyh Mufîd*, (Ankara: Araştırma Pub., 2013), p. 55-61, 98-114, 129-165.

defined as the narration that is supported by traditions and ijma. Any khabar which cannot be proved through any evidence mentioned above, cannot be taken as hujjat or reference.[102]

The issues he revealed about a narrative from Al-Shaykh Al-Saduq, which attributes the knowledge of practices committed by all servants of Allah, are significant in terms of constructing an outline of Al-Mufid's understanding of criticism. Al-Mufid criticizes this narrative both in terms of its chain and certain aspects of its text. According to Al-Mufid, the isnad of this hadith is uncertain as it cannot be taken as a reference alone. Moreover, in Arabic, knowing something does not mean creating it. He also clearly states that the narratives about this issue are contrary to the Qur'an.[103] Accordingly, in his explanation about this issue, he says that the Qur'an is a reference for the hadiths and the narratives and - sahih or saqim - all the narratives should be proved by verses from the Qur'an. It is also observed that Al-Mufid uses the narratives that support the status of the Qur'an as a reference. According to a similar narrative attributed to Imam al-Rida, the imam is asked whether he has the knowledge of the practices undertaken by all servants of Allah, and he responds to this question by stating that this narrative is contrary to the verse saying, "Allah is disassociated from the disbelievers, and [so is] His Messenger".[104] According to this verse, if Allah was the creator of practices, it would not be possible to say that He is disassociated from them.[105]

It is also observed that some narratives containing fiqh-related issues cannot avoid criticism by Al-Mufid. In a booklet he wrote for the people in Mosul about the time of fasting during the month of Ramadan, Al-Mufid tries to confute the allegation of those, including Al-Saduq and Al-Kulayni, who state that the time of fasting which is obligatory for Muslims is thirty days every year without any exception and takes certain narratives they mention in their works as references. As for the narratives about this issue, first, he states that these narratives have already been criticized for being *shadh* and having problems in terms of isnad, and then says that they are included in chapters which mostly include the narratives that cannot be taken as references alone. On the other hand, he thinks that these narratives[106] are contrary to the Qur'an, the sunnah, ijma al-ummah, as well as the findings by Muslims and non-Muslims who have performed calculations to identify of the periods of time in which they were written.[107]

Al-Mufid's strong reference to the accuracy of chain aside from the text, explicitly indicates a system of isnad used by the Shiite scholars of the time.

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[102] Al-Mufid, *et-Tezkira bi-usûlî'l-fıkh*, inv. Al-Mahdi, (Najaf, 1993), p. 44-45.

[103] He does not mention these rejected narratives. Likewise, it is seen that in *Al-I'tiqadat*, Al-Saduq also expresses his opinion about this issue but does not cite the narratives he refers to. *İ'tikâdât*, p. 29.

[104] At-Tawbah, 9/3.

[105] Al-Mufid, *Tashihu'l-i'tikâdât*, inv. Husayn Dargahi (Qom: Mu'temeru'l-a'lemî, 1413), p. 42-45.

[106] Al-Kulayni, *el-Kâfî*, IV, p. 28-29.

[107] Al-Mufid, *Cevâbâtu ehli'l-Musul fi'l-adedi ve'r-ru'yeti* (s.l. el-Mu'temeru'l-a'lemî, 1413), p. 21-22.

Accordingly, the emergence of the works of dignitaries which contain *al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* (discrediting and accrediting) during the fourth/tenth century when some fundamental hadith collections of Shiah, such as Al-Klayni's al-Kafi were also written, indicates that isnad was used as a criterion for the reliability of narratives. For this reason, the fact that theology scholars who lived in the period of foundation attached a central role to text in the examination of narratives cannot be interpreted as an absence of a system of isnad within Shiah.

Among the disciples of Al-Mufid, Murtadhā is one of the most outstanding figures due to his attitude toward khabar al-wahid. To understand Murtadhā's approach to textual criticism, we should first talk briefly about his understanding of khabar al-wahid. Murtadhā explicitly declares that khabar al-wahid cannot be considered as hujjat in religious affairs. His opinions about this topic can be seen in *Rasāʾil*, which is a compilation of responses he has given to the questions addressed to him. Among them, in response to a question asked by the people of Mosul about his opinion on the use of khabar al-wahid, which was released by siqa narrators, among Shiite scholars as hujjat in shariatic issues, he states that reference to these suspicious narratives about issues that are well-known and proved by accurate information is unnecessary. Accordingly, the narratives that are suspicious due to the uncertainty about narrators' honesty cannot be accepted as hujjat in issues regarding faith and shariah.[108]

According to Murtadhā, who claims the invalidity of practices grounded upon khabar al-wahid and mentions the reasons for this invalidity, the most significant reason is that it is impossible to rely on khabar al-wahid based on the isnad. Accordingly, to be able to claim that practices can be grounded in khabar al-wahid, we should first be sure of the fairness of its/their narrator(s). And fairness requires steadfastness (istiqamah) in faith. However, most of the fiqh-related narratives are narrated by Wakifis, as well as those known for having ideas of ghulat and believing in incarnation, and members and followers of Khattabiyya and Muhammise. Similarly, most of the population of Qom were supporters of force and similitude. Therefore, there is no narrative that has not been influenced by Waqifah or the ghulat in terms of text or isnad. As the criterion of fairness is not applied to every single narrator in the case of khabar mutawatir, narrations by such persons are not seen as a problem. Murtadhā also responds to the question about grounds for abstaining totally from practicing based on khabar al-wahid by saying that khabar mutawatir is enough to know the necessities regarding the sects (mazhabs) followed by the imams. Few of the judgments, on the other hand, are based on the words of the imams which have been accepted without objection.[109]

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[108] Murtadhā, *Rasâil*, (Qom: Daru'l-Kur'ani'l-Kerim, 1405), I, p. 210-211.

[109] Murtadhā, *Rasâil*, III, p. 309-313. For a detailed explanation about inappropriate nature of khabar al-wahid to be a hujjat in faith and shariatic issues, see: *ez-Zerîa ilâ usûli'ş-şerîa* (Qom: Muessesetu'l-İmam Sâdık, 1429), p. 364-386.

Despite his firm opposition to khabar al-wahid, although within a limited framework, Murtadhā provides some explanations in his works about the pathways to follow when reference to khabar al-wahid is necessary. It can be suggested that he, in one sense, identifies a method to determine the conditions under which khabar al-wahid can be taken as a reference for those who, unlike himself, does not discard these narratives completely. What concerns us here is Murtadhā's attitude that gives priority to the text, as exactly seen in this case. We see one of his explanations about this topic in a chapter in *Al-Amali*, where he examines narratives about praise and vilification. In this chapter, Murtadhā discusses the starting point for accepting or rejecting khabar al-wahid. According to Murtadhā, accepting or rejecting khabar al-wahid is only about positive or negative "evidence".[110] He suggests that if a narrative does not explicitly contradict with this evidence, the narrative and given evidence can be accommodated. This accommodation is ensured through different methods such as particularization of the general (tahksis al-'amm) or clarification of the ambiguous (bayan al-mujmal) etc. However, as there is also khabar al-wahid that does not give precise information, it is inevitable that one would encounter certain situations where an accommodation between the Qur'an and khabar al-wahid is impossible. Each type of khabar should be subjected to this process and the judgment made through evidence and hujjat should be enforced. If the khabar cannot be accommodated through evidence and cannot be interpreted despite all efforts, there is no need to deal with that specific narrative anymore. The narrative is set aside with all its problems and defects.[111]

In *Al-Amali,* Murtadhā presents fewer narratives than Al-Saduq, Al-Mufid, and Shaykh Tusi, and tries to interpret these narratives directly through the Qur'an and rational evidence, without looking at their isnad. Because of his negative view of the hadith narrators in general, he considers examining and evaluating chains of khabar al-wahid unnecessary and thinks that a narrative should only be accepted after an analysis based on certain textual criteria.[112] His method to accept or reject a narrative is built upon the interpretation of its compliance with the fundamentals of the religion, particularly the Qur'an, or rational evidence. A narrative is acceptable as long as it complies with these fundamentals or can be interpreted through them.

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[110] Although he does not list all of this evidence in the mentioned chapter, there and in other parts of the book he explains that they are the fundamentals of the religion, namely, the Qur'an, the sunnah, ijma and rational evidence: Murtadhā, *Emâlî*, edited by Muhammed Ebu'l-Fadl Ibrahim (Dârû Ihyâî Kutubi'l-Arabi, 1954), I. p. 318-323; II, p. 340-341.

[111] Murtadhā, *Emâlî*, II., p. 350, 396.

[112] On the other hand, the weakness of some narratives he mentions in his work as *very weak* is associated with the chain of the given narrative. Therefore, it is seen that Murtadhā takes the weakness of chains into account during the examination of certain narratives individually. However, his use of these somewhat strained interpretations of the narratives which he considers weak indicates that he focuses a majority of his attention on the content of texts in terms of acceptance or rejection.

Any narrative that cannot be interpreted in terms of compliance with the mentioned evidence is considered invalid.[113]

Al-Mufid and Murtadhā's attitudes towards textual criticism are closely related to their perspectives on the narratives. They are of the same mind about the fact that khabar al-wahid does not present precise information, and both scholars give priority to textual criteria in the acceptance or rejection of narratives. However, it is clear that Murtadhā has a firmer stance against the use of khabar al-wahid as hujjat compared to Al-Mufid. These attitudes can be seen in the works of each of these scholars. It is seen that, as an Usuli scholar, Al-Mufid, who harshly criticizes khabar al-wahid stating that the narratives that do not comply with the fundamental textual criteria should not be accepted, and khabar al-wahid in general cannot be taken as reference in issues related to faith,[114] includes a number of narratives, particularly those about imamate and other related topics, in his works. There are certain cases where Al-Mufid suggests that rational analysis is not possible in some situations and they can only be explained with revelation-based *(sam'i)* evidence (which he believes is supported with indirect evidence). It is observed that he refers to other narratives in such situations. His use of narratives in *Al-Irshad* and *Al-Amali* can be given as an example in this regard. It is clear that he takes care to choose narratives supported with some indirect textual evidence when making references in the aforementioned issues. It is also seen in these examples that he considers certain evidence, such as compliance of content with the Qur'an, to carry a narrative beyond the scope of khabar al-wahid and uphold the given narrative as evidence for faith-related issues.

Unlike Al-Mufid, Murtadhā often abstains from referring to narratives and mentions relatively few narratives in his works, particularly when it comes to faith-related issues. Looking at this approach, it is possible to say that the most fundamental factor in his acceptance or rejection of narratives is textual criticism. It can also be said that one of the most fundamental factors that distinguishes his approach from Al-Mufid's is this aforementioned practice. In terms of the acceptance or rejection of a narrative, Al-Mufid places the emphasis predominantly on the question about whether the text is supported by indirect evidence but does not necessarily ignore the factor of isnad. According to Murtadhā, however, the most fundamental reference to consider in the acceptance or rejection of narratives, or even the determination of the narrators' fairness is the text of the narrative. On the other side, the factor that puts Murtadhā in a more consistent position than Al-Mufid is the way he puts theories in practice, which is more successful than the former. Looking at Al-Mufid's *Al-Irshad* and Murtadhā's *al-Shāfī* to identify the basics of each understanding regarding imamate, it is observed that these

[113] For examples from *Al-Amali*, see: Murtadhā, *Emâlî*, II., p. 50-53, 340-341. Murtadhā's criticism against the distortion in the Qur'an as given in *Zahira*, see: Murtadhā, *Zahîra*, Beirut: Muessesetu'-Târîhi'l-Arabî, 2012, p. 361-364.

[114] Al-Mufid, *et-Tezkiratu bi-usûlî'l-fıkh* (Najaf, 1993), p. 44-45.

understandings about imamate differ from each other and Al-Mufid centers his works more upon narratives and even occasionally narrates those attributed to the ghulat.[115] In other words, both of these scholars predicate the issue of imamate, which they consider to be fundamental evidence, upon rational evidence, they use this evidence to accept the narratives that corroborate their understanding of imamate, and exhibit fairly different attitudes in terms of including these narratives in their works. Unlike Al-Mufid, Murtadhā generally abstains from using this rational justification (textual criticism for the purpose of acceptance) as an instrument to accept weak narratives or even narratives containing ghuluww.

Compared to Murtadhā, Shaykh Tusi has a more moderate approach in terms of practice based on khabar al-wahid, and argues that khabar al-wahid can be taken as hujjat in shariatic issues. Shaykh Tusi presents wide coverage of the issue of khabar al-wahid in *Uddat al-Usul*, which is one of the first Shiite written works in the field of *usul*, and analyzes this issue under certain titles such as evidence that supports ahad narratives to be considered as hujjat in religious affairs, types of khabar, and the necessary conditions that allow practice based on narratives.[116] Moreover, the introduction of *Al-Istibsar*, which is one of his two works considered within the *Four Books*, presents explanatory information about the types of khabar and the criteria that allows practice based on them. According to this, *khabar* can be divided into two categories, namely, mutawatir and non-mutawatir. Khabar mutawatir gives precise information, requires practices to be based on itself, cannot be considered as weak or strong or be preferred to another khabar, and is not in conflict with any other khabar. Khabar non-mutawatir, on the other hand, is composed of two types of khabar, one of which presents precise information. Precise information is given by the khabar, accompanied by indirect evidence. This type of khabar is also considered mutawatir and requires practicing. There is a large range of indirect evidence that corroborates any kind of khabar and all of them are text-oriented. Agreement upon rational evidence and their requirements, and agreement upon the Qur'an, maqtu` sunnah, and the issues on which Muslims and the true sects have consensus are among this evidence. Compliance with at

[115] For narratives about the scope of the knowledge the imams had, see: Al-Mufid, *İrşâd*, (Beirut: Muessesetu Âli'l-beyt, 1995), I, p. 35; II, p. 225. Al-Mufid claims in the introduction of this book, where he presents information about Ali, that he came into the world in Baitullah and in an unprecedented way, but does not give any other explanation or narrative to clarify how the incident happened. It is understood that in this part he refers to the narratives explaining that Fatimah bint Asad gave birth to her son, Ali ibn Abu Talib, in Kaaba, and some extraordinary events were observed at the same time as this birth (Al-Saduq, *İlelu'ş-şerâi'*, (Beirut: Dâru'l-Murtazâ, 2006), I, p. 137). The narrators mentioned in the chain of this narrative the inclusion of al-Mufaddal ibn Umar and Muhammad ibn Sinan. In addition, a similar narrative is mentioned in *Kitab al-haft*, which is regarded as one of the first written works of the ghulat and attributed to Muhammad ibn Sinan (p. 87-90).

[116] Shaykh Tusi, *Uddetu'l-usûl*, inv. Mohammad Reza Al-Ansari, (Qom, 1417), I, p. 63-155. For an article by İbrahim Kutluay about this topic, see: "İmâmiyye Şîası'na Göre Haber-i Vâhidin Hücciyeti Problemi (Şeyh Tûsî Özelinde), *Marife Bilimsel Birikim*, 28/2 (2014): 63-84.

least one piece of this evidence puts any kind of khabar into the category of that which can be the basis for practices.[117]

Shaykh Tusi mentions these four pieces of evidence in *Uddat uṣūl.* In this work, he initially refers to this evidence within the scope of fabricated news. According to this, contradiction with one of these four pieces of evidence indicates that the given news is not true[118]. Then, he discusses the same issue within the context of the evidence that proves the reliability of khabar al-wahid. According to Shaykh Tusi, the evidence needed to prove any khabar al-wahid, which does not give precise information, are as follow:

- First of all, the content should comply with rational evidence and its requirements. Accordingly, content of a narrative may include prohibition, allowance or suspension. For instance, in the absence of contrary evidence to a prohibitive narrative, the given prohibition should naturally be practiced. The same requirement applies to the narratives containing allowance and suspension.
- Secondly, the content should comply with injunctions of the Qur'an[119] in terms of its specific and general aspects, as well as evidence or meaning. Each of these criteria serves as evidence for the reliability of content.
- The third indirect evidence is compliance of the khabar with the mutawatir sunnah. Compliance of the content of a khabar with the mutawatir sunnah means absolute accuracy and a basis for practice.
- The last of these pieces of evidence is the compliance of the content of khabar with ijma (general consensus) of Shiah (firqa al-muhiqqa).[120]

According to Shaykh Tusi, compliance with the Qur'an means compliance with its zahir, umum, evidence and meaning; while compliance with the sunnah means compliance with sarih issues, evidence, meaning and general aspects. It is important to know the terms used by Shaykh Tusi within the context of compliance with the Qur'an and the sunnah to have a general idea about the scope of these criteria.

It is clear that what is meant by zahir or sarih aspects of the Qur'an and the sunnah is the meaning directly referred to by each word. Shaykh Tusi describes some research in the field of *'umūm al-lafẓ*. According to him, some scholars argue that a text which allows specification will not reveal its zahir aspects, while others suggest that this kind of text can be evaluated by looking at the general context. Shaykh Tusi declares that he accepts the latter.[121] *Fahw al-khitab* refers to the validity of a single jurisprudence for similar issues based on its acceptance by consensus,

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[117] Shaykh Tusi, *İstibsâr*, (Najaf, 1375), p. 3-5.
[118] Shaykh Tusi, *Udde*, I, p. 92.
[119] The author states that the term *"nass"*, in this regard, refers to mutawatir recitation (qira'at). From this point of view, nass, zahir, and sarih have the same meaning.
[120] Shaykh Tusi, *Udde*, I, p. 143-145.
[121] Shaykh Tusi, *Udde*, II, p. 425-426.

although not directly expressed in wording. Shaykh Tusi presents the verse from the Qur'an which prohibits saying so much as "uff" to parents, and says that the word "uff" herein includes prohibition of all offensive behavior, such as beating and insulting, as the textual indications.[122]

He discusses the issue of *dalil al-khitab* in detail in his *Uddat* and states that this topic is controversial among Usulis. According to the first group led by Al-Shafi'i, any judgment based on words told within the context of a single event applies to other events regarded in the same category based on their effective causes. Besides this, the opposite of any judgment also applies to the opposite situations (mafhum al-mukhalafah). The connotative meaning of mafhum al-mukhalafah is, "the word's reference to invalidity of the pronounced meaning as it does not meet one of the criteria required by judgment about the silent meaning".[123] In Islamic jurisprudence, this phenomenon is called *mafhum al-mukhalafah,* and it has been adopted as a method for judgment by most of the Sunni Usulis.[124] Shaykh Tusi states that the second group of scholars, including Murtadhā, does not consider mafhum al-mukhalafah within the scope of dalil al-khitab and he also adopts the second approach.[125] In other words, according to Shaykh Tusi, dalil al-khitab is valid for the situations within the scope of mafhum al-mukhalafah and in this case, bears a similar meaning to fahw al-khitab.

After listing the evidence (qarinah), Shaykh Tusi adds the following significant words: This evidence does not only apply to the khabar itself but also to its content. Even when the content of the khabar complies with this evidence, there is still a possibility that it may have been fabricated. If a narrative does not have at least one piece of this evidence, it is literally a khabar al-wahid. This kind of khabar is abandoned if it contradicts with the Qur'an, the sunnah, or ijma. In case it does not contradict with at least one of them, another khabar is sought to find out opposite narratives. If there are any, then reasons for preference are taken into consideration.[126]

According to Shaykh Tusi, who mentions the evidence regarding the text, in case of a contradiction among narratives, one of two contradicting narratives is preferred based on the following criteria: (1) If one of the two narratives complies and the other contradicts the Qur'an or maqtu` sunnah, the former is preferred as a basis for practice and the latter is abandoned. (2) If at least one of the narratives

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[122] Shaykh Tusi, *Udde*, II, p. 437.

[123] Zaki al-Din Shaban, *İslâm Hukuk İlminin Esasları*, translated by İbrahim Kâfi Dönmez (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Pub., 1996), p. 31.

[124] Mustafa Çil, "Hanefi Usulünde Fâsid Sayılan İstidlallerden İstifade İmkanı", *Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2 (2014): 67.

[125] Shaykh Tusi, *Udde*, II, p. 467-470. However, as an Akhbari scholar who lived in the Mutaahhirun period, Al-Majlisi considers mafhum al-mukhalafah within the context of dalil al-khitab: *Melâzu'l-ahyâr*, (Qom: Mektebetu Ayetullah el-Mer'eşî, 1406), I, p. 20.

[126] Shaykh Tusi, *Udde*, I, p. 145.

complies with the ijma of the firqa al-muhiqqa, this consistent narrative is preferred. (3) If both situations are not applicable as reasons for preference, then the narrators are taken into account. A narrator who is known to be fair is preferred, while one noted for being unfair is rejected. If both narrators are known to be fair, the khabar narrated by more narrators is preferred to the other. (4) If there is no difference between narrators in terms of fairness and number, the contrary one to the words of Al-'Ammah is accepted, while the consistent one is abandoned.[127] Most of the other conditions mentioned by Shaykh Tusi are about chains and characteristics of narrators.[128]

Shaykh Tusi's emphasis on the possibility that a narrative may be fabricated even when supported with indirect evidence is noteworthy. In our opinion, his consideration that puts the narratives supported by the aforementioned textual evidence into the second after mutawatir narratives in terms of reliability and practicability while mentioning the issues related to chains only as a criterion to apply when one of two opponent narratives should be preferred, allows us to make significant inferences about Shaykh Tusi's approach toward different narratives. First of all, these findings show that Shaykh Tusi is hesitant to attribute the narratives given in the available sources directly to the Prophet or one of the imams without any doubt. In other words, he abstains from regarding a narrative as accurate based on its isnad. In our opinion, the most fundamental reason for this attitude is Shaykh Tusi's distrust in terms of the number of narrations. This is also indicated by his reliance on the evidence of a narrative but not the narrative itself when it is supported with indirect evidence, and this approach helps him meet Al-Mufid and Murtadhā on common ground. The point that differentiates him, particularly from Murtadhā's approach toward narratives, is that he considers khabar al-wahid as evidence for shariatic issues despite his distrust. Regardless of what motives encouraged Shaykh Tusi to accept khabar al-wahid as evidence in shariatic issues, it is obvious that as an influential scholar of his time, he did not remain indifferent to the narratives, which served as a significant instrument for researchers. Also, it is seen that his distrust for the quantity of narratives led him to prioritize the textual evidence against those regarding the narrators and the chains.

Interpretation is a significant practice that cannot be ignored in discussions about the criteria in textual criticism of Shiah. By nature, interpretation is a subjective practice. Inevitably, the interpretation of a narrative is shaped by the knowledge, consciousness, and personal characteristics of the interpreter. In this respect, a narrative which is rejected by someone based on rational evidence can be accepted by another through interpretation. This also applies to the other evidence.

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[127] According to Shiah, a stalemate situation in terms of the resolution for a conflict between two narratives leaves open the possibility that one of these narratives is emanated in accordance with the sect of Al-'Ammah. Al-'Ammah is a term used by Shiah before Ahl As-Sunnah as a conceptualized term. Later on, it began to be used as a comprehensive term which covers all accepted groups within its scope.
[128] Shaykh Tusi, *Udde*, I, p. 145-148.

Therefore, the subjective nature of interpretation influences the criteria used in textual criticism by narrowing their scope of implementation. It seems like this nature of interpretation allowed Shaykh Tusi, who, as an Usuli scholar, accepts the idea that khabar al-wahid cannot form evidence in faith-related issues in theory, to stretch this principle in practice. Attribution of the fiqh-related narratives in *Al-Istibsar,* which contradict with the criteria for textual criticism, to interpretation and recommendation can be considered as an indicator of this attitude.[129]

2.2. The Usuli School of Hillah and Declining Impact of Textual Criticism

Al-'Allama al-Hilli (d. 726/1325), or indeed, his teacher Ahmad b. Tawus (d. 673/1275) before him, lived in a period when isnad was accepted as a primary criterion for practices grounded in khabar al-wahid. It is well-known that the Sunni influence on theological studies increased in this transition period. In this regard, it is seen that especially the late period Akhbaris strongly criticized the scholars of theology, who follow the way of Al-Allama al-Hilli, and accuse them of adapting the Sunni understanding of theology to Shiah.[130]

We are of the opinion that a study with a historical perspective about the period between Shaykh Tusi and Ibn Tawus could assist with clarification of this issue. In this regard, it is inevitable that the changing balance of power in the given period did not influence the mazhabs in different aspects. It is observed that the fall of the Twelver Buheyvi hegemony in Shaykh Tusi's period, and the new rule under Sunni Abbasids, who regained power in the region with the support of the Seljuks, resulted in the suspension of theological studies conducted by Shiite scholars until the emergence of Ibn al-Tawus. The intellectual studies and ideas of this period could not go beyond regeneration of those produced by the Usuli School of Baghdad.

The more suppressive attitude of Sunni Abbasids against Shiah, which was just relieved from the threat of Shiite Buheyvi rule, is a predictable situation. Therefore, it is highly possible that the Shiite scholars of the time (447/1055-654/1256), who lived in the areas ruled by Abbasids and the Seljuks and thus could not further their scientific and administrative activities, were under the influence of

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[129] As it is seen in *Al-Istibsar*, Shaykh Tusi does not abandon the *shadh* narratives that do not meet the criteria of textual criticism, instead, he interprets or recommends them in accordance with the Shiite understanding. On the other hand, he states that the recommended narratives cannot be considered in the scope of *fard* and *wajib*. Shaykh Tusi suggests that some narratives which cannot be accepted according to the rational evidence, can be used for practices through interpretation. Accordingly, he states that the same situation is also seen in a lot of verses in the Qur'an, which are seemingly contradictory to rational proof: Shaykh Tusi, *er-Rasâilu'l-aşr*, (Qom: Muessesetu'n-neşri'l-İslâmî, 1414), I, p. 325.

[130] Amin al-Astarabadi, *Fevâidu'l-Medeniyye*, (Qom: Muessesetu'n-Neşri'l-Islâmî, 1424), p. 123-124, 128; Hurr al-Amili, *Vesâilu'ş-Şîa*, (Qom: Muessesetu Âl-i Beyt, 1409), v. 30, 259; Kashani, al-*Vâfî*, (Isfahan: Menşûrâtu mektebeti'l-imâm, 1406), p. 14-15..

theological studies conducted by the Sunni scholars. This influence may also have played a significant role in the change made in the Shiite understanding of hadith studies, considering that the scholars could only be free in terms of intellectual activities under the Ilkhanate rule, which began about two centuries later. In other words, within the period of Usuli understanding, which was systematized by Al-Mufid, the intellectual activities were mainly about fiqh and therefore, no independent work of hadith studies was authored until the tenth/sixteenth century. The Shiite understanding of theology stayed under the rule of Sunni administrations for about two centuries following the rise of the Usuli School in the period of the Buheyvi rule (334/945-447/1055) and encountered a period of stagnation. The power struggle of the Seljuks against the Shiite Buheyvi and Fatimid rules led them to support the Sunni understanding against Shiah. The Nizamiyyah was founded for this purpose and contributed to the power of the Sunni understanding with the scholars educated by them.[131] In our opinion, the Shiite scholars had a chance to observe the ruling Sunni understanding within this period and used this observation in the Shiite understanding when they regained an environment of freedom for scientific studies under the Ilkhanate rule.[132] The isnad-oriented hadith understanding of Shiah can also be mentioned as a result of this period. At this point, a question can be asked about the reason for why the Sunni influence on the Shiites was seen in later periods despite the fact that the Shiite-Sunni interaction had already begun in Baghdad under the rule of the Buheyvis. In our opinion, the reason can be sought in the fact that Shiah was supported by the ruling administration to conduct scientific studies freely, and furthered these studies with the confidence arising from this environment of freedom. Therefore, it is acceptable that Shiah witnessed its highest level of productivity within this period and produced the scientific works using its internal dynamics, and without being influenced by external powers.

Textual Criticism by Ibn Tawus (d. 673/1275) and Al-'Allama al-Hilli (d. 726/1325) as Representatives of the Attribution-Oriented Approach

The classification that divides khabar al-wahid into four different types is known to have been suggested for the first time by Ibn Tawus.[133] However, some scholars argue that it was put forward by one of his disciples, namely, Al-'Allama al-Hilli.[134] According to this classification, khabar al-wahid can be sahih, hasan, muwassaq, and da'if (weak). One of the most significant examples of the isnad-oriented works in the field of rijal by Ibn Tawus is *'Ḥall al-Ishkāl fī Maʿrifat al-Rijāl'*.

[131] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Selçukluların Dini Siyaseti*, (Istanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2002), p. 232-234.

[132] For more information about the Mongol-Shiah relations in the period of the Ilkhanate rule, see: Andrew Newman, *Twelver Shiism-Unity and Diversity in the Life of Islam*, (Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 122 et al.

[133] Muhsin al-Amin, *A'yanu'ş-Şîa*, inv. Hassan al-Amin (Beirut: Dâru't-taâruf li'l-matbûât, 1983), p. 190.

[134] Muhammad Amin al-Astarabadi, *Fevâidu'l-Medeniyye*, p. 109.

With this work, Ibn Tawus became the first author who collated the five major sources of rijal in one book.[135]

As an indicator of the transition to an isnad-oriented approach in hadith studies, together with Ibn Tawus, the textual criteria used in the criticism of narratives was replaced by criteria about attributions. Looking at studies by Al-'Allama al-Hilli in this regard, it is observed that he no longer considers the criteria about content as a reliable reference for practices based on khabar al-wahid. Al-'Allama gives priority to conditions about narrators, instead of the criteria about content.

In *Mabadi 'al-wusul*, Al-'Allama al-Hilli gives some explanations about the acceptance of khabar al-wahid as hujjat among the ummah at the beginning of the relevant chapter. He then lists the acceptance criteria for khabar al-wahid. According to him, a narrator should be intelligent, baligh (reaching puberty), fair, and have the ability to protect the narratives.[136] The author provides a different classification for khabar al-wahid under the title, *mardud* (rejected) narratives. The first category is composed of only informative khabar al-wahid. In case no decisive evidence is found to support the content of a narrative within this scope, it is rejected. The second category consists of khabar al-wahid that contains information required to be practiced. If these narratives are about the issues of *umum al-balwa*[137], they need to be accepted. It would not be incorrect to suggest that in this classification by Al-'Allama, the condition that requires decisive evidence for the narratives in the first category, which seems to cover both faith-related narratives and kalam issues, can be interpreted as a requirement regarding the content to comply with the Qur'an, the sunnah, and ijma. Therefore, it can be said that he furthers the tradition of other Usuli scholars who do not use khabar al-wahid as evidence in faith-related issues unless it is corroborated with indirect evidence, and also takes the textual criteria as reference for textual criticism on narratives.[138] However, when it comes to fiqh-related narratives, he prefers khabar al-wahid to *umum al-balwa* and clearly shows the importance he attaches to isnad in the acceptance and rejection of narratives.

In the following chapters of his book, Al-'Allama mentions the determinants of preferences in cases of a conflict between narratives. According to this, the narratives which are narrated by a higher numbers of narrators, have reliable isnad,

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[135] These five books are Necîşî's Ricâl, Mainrife'si of Keşşî, the Ricâl and Fihrist of Tûsî, and Ibn al-Gadârî's Ricâl also known as the Duafâ. Hallu'l-işkâl has not reached us as a whole. Sheikh Hasan, the son of eş-Şehîdu's-Sânî, removed some parts of the work that had reached him and added some new chapters to it and named the book Tahrîru't-Tâvûsî: (Beirut: Muessesetu'l-alemî li'l-matbûât, 1988).

[136] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Mebâdiu'l-vusûl*, (Tehran: Mektebu'l-i'lâmi'l-İslâmî, 1404), p. 206.

[137] It is a fiqh term that refers to incidents that are hard to get rid of or not possible to be unknown due to prevalence: Mustafa Baktır, "Umûmü'l-Belvâ", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2012), 42: 155.

[138] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Mebâdiu'l-vusûl*, p. 209-210.

well-known narrators, and superiority in terms of religious affairs should be given priority. Then, he discusses some other issues regarding narrators. According to this, the narratives of canonist narrators, those narrated by people who have better knowledge of Arabic, witnessed the narrated event, have demonstrated significant attendance at gatherings of scholars, and who are stronger in terms of protectiveness are preferred. In addition to these, Al-'Allama suggests some textual criteria and says that narratives should be narrated in wording, rather than meaning, be Makki, not Madani,[139] the wording should be clear (fasih, without any defect) etc. Another preference based on textual characteristics is wha het mentions as the issue of practicing based on narratives, which concerns us more than others. According to this, narratives that are practiced by some scholars are preferred to those never practiced.[140]

In *Mukhtalaf al-Shi'a*[141], Al-'Allama uses the criticism of isnad as the fundamental method for the examination of narratives. There are lots of narratives rejected by him based on his criticism of isnad. Among these include those he rejected due to inaccuracy of the relation with chains and the imams they are attributed to,[142] as well as those he found to be unreliable due to the ghali narrators mentioned in chains.[143] However, we cannot say that he completely discards the practices of textual criteria in his approach. On the contrary, it is observed in some parts of *Mukhtalaf* that he does not rely on some narratives that he regards as sahih, even after an analysis of isnad based on the criteria of textual criticism.[144] The way he mentions narrators about ablution of the whole body reveals his opinion about acceptance or rejection of narratives based on the criteria of textual criticism. Accordingly, the author states that opposing narrators are mentioned in cases where ablution of the body is necessary according to the Qur'an and ijma, and narratives that contradict with the Qur'an and ijma cannot be credited.[145] In this book, although limited in number, we can find practices of textual criticism and the criteria regarding ijma, usul al-mazhab, and dissent from the other narratives etc.[146] Al-'Allama occasionally refers to rational evidence, one of which is *bara'ah az-zimmah.* He suggests that washing ihram is not wajib, but mustahab and *bara'ah az-*

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[139] The reason for this is explained by the scarcity of Makki narratives.

[140] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Mebâdiu'l-vusûl*, p. 234-238.

[141] In this part, Al-'Allama discusses conflicts observed in fiqh-related opinions of Shiite scholars together with the evidence these opinions are based upon and then expresses his preferences in this regard.

[142] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelefu'ş-Şîa,* (Qom: Muessesetu'n-neşri'l-İslâmî, 1413), I, p. 228.

[143] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelef,* I, p. 238, 249, 257, 260, 280; VII, p. 6, 8 (As it mentions Muhammad ibn Sinan in its chain). For other narratives he rejected because of certain problems in the chains, see: p. 227, 271, 316, 413, 429, 440, 460, 479

[144] For a case where he does not take a lot of narratives as references in judgment, although he regards them as *sahih* based on *Bara'ah az-zimmah*, but instead refers to recommendations, see: Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelef*, I, p. 349.

[145] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelef,* I, p. 328-329.

[146] For examples, see: Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelef*, I, p. 212, 230, 351. Opposition to Ijma (consensus): I, p. 297; Dissent from other narratives: VII, s. 356; Opposition to usul al-mazhab: VII, s. 367;

zimmah should be taken as references in this case (as there is no clear judgment about it). For this reason, he does not accept the narrative which claims that washing ihram is wajib, but refers to a recommendation.[147] It is also seen that Al-'Allama frequently mentions the concept of *mashhur* (famous) in *Mukhtalaf al-Shi'a.* He mentions a *mashhur* judgment (fatwa) in every studied case, and then presents the opinions of some Shiite scholars which are contrary to the mashhur. Lastly, Al-'Allama reveals his opinion in this regard and refers to recommendations in terms of the narratives which are contradictory to his ideas on certain issues and the fatwas on which the narratives are based.[148] It is also observed that Al-'Allama applies the interpretation of narratives that contradict the mashhur opinion as a practice of his within the scope of the famous fatwa[149]. In another case where he expresses his attitude regarding the concept of *mashhur,* Al-'Allama states that he is in favor of considering a narrative mashhur only because of its content without discussing its isnad (famous/common practice) against another one he regards as *mursal*.[150]

The essential point that makes Al-'Allama different from Shaykh Tusi is that he tends to take isnad as a reference in the acceptance or rejection of fiqh-related issues. The most fundamental criterion considered by Shaykh Tusi in the acceptance or rejection of fiqh-related narratives is the compliance with the criteria regarding the content. Accordingly, he suggests that attribution should be considered only when textual criticism does not reach a resolution in cases where narratives contradict each other. Unlike Shaykh Tusi, it is clear that Al-'Allama gives priority to the narrator and the chain in such cases. However, in his practices Al-'Allama does not necessarily discard the criteria for textual criticism, particularly the concept of mashhur.

2.3. The School of Jabal 'Āmil and Discrediting Textual Criticism

Jabal 'Āmil is a significant center of science, which is located in today's Lebanon. The center is one of the most important institutions after the school of Hillah, which reinvigorated the Usuli understanding under the Ilkhanate rule following a period of stagnation after the term of the founder, Usulis (413/1022-460/1067). It is thanks to Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Makki al-Shahid al-Awwal (d. 786/1384)[151] that Jabal 'Āmil could rise as a center of science for Shiah. The

[147] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelef,* I, p. 315-316. For an example about discretionary status of having bath on Fridays, see: I, p. 318.
[148] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelef,* I, p. 263, 272, 290, 318.
[149] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelef,* I, p. 297.
[150] Al-'Allama al-Hilli, *Muhtelef,* II, p. 38-39.
[151] Al-Shahid al-Awwal stayed for about five years in the city of Hillah and became certified by distinguished scholars of the time, including Ibn Al-'Allama al-Hilli. He traveled to famous Sunni centers of sciences, such as those in Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo, and took lessons from about forty different Sunni scholars.

waning influence of the school of Hillah is also another factor that accelerated the rise of Jabal 'Āmil within this period.[152]

Shahid al-Awwal suggests that khabar al-wahid can be accepted if it meets the criteria about content aside from those regarding the chains. In terms of content analysis, he mentions the same conditions offered by Shaykh Tusi.[153] It is noteworthy in terms of his approach toward khabar al-wahid that he puts sufficient emphasis on textual conditions as the criteria for the acceptance or rejection of narratives, despite being trained at the school of Hillah which is isnad-oriented. He especially highlights reputation as a criterion for textual criticism. In this respect, in a lot of cases he considers famous practices or practices of the companions of the imams as a criterion for the acceptance or rejection of khabar al-wahid.[154]

Al-Shahid al-Thani is the most influential representative of the School of Jabal 'Āmil during the following periods. He is known as the first scholar of Shiah who interprets narratives within the scope of dirayat al-hadith (comprehension of hadith). The fact that he adapted the terminology used in his relevant works from Sunni studies is known and stated by a number of Shiite scholars, including his son.[155]

It is understood that Zayn al-Dīn ibn ʻAlī, who is a scholar of the school of Jabal 'Āmil, adopts a different approach to the founder of his school, Shahid al-Awwal, in narrative criticism. Compared to Shahid al-Awwal, who places sufficient emphasis on the practices of the companions as well as reputation in the acceptance or rejection of narratives, Al-Shahid al-Thani thinks that text does not play any role when regarding a narrative as reliable. According to this opinion, the text should only be considered in rare cases. And these rare cases are maqlub, musahhaf, muztarib, and mazid narratives. Strength or weakness of a narrative depends on certain characteristics of its narrator, such as fairness, protectiveness, and faith, or the presence of a situation that damages contemporaneousness of its isnad.[156] Here, as also argued by Shahid al-Awwal (in his classification), he does not mention the concept of reputation that could deem weak hadiths to be acceptable. Accordingly,

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[152] Öljeitü, the emperor of Ilhkanate, adopted Shiah as his denomination, but the last two successing emperors of the state, namely, Amir Chupan and Abu Sa'id, pursued a rigid policy against Shiah following his death. (Jafar al-Muhajir, *el-Hicrâtu'l-Âmiliyyetu ila İran fi'l-asri's-Safevî*, (Beirut: Daru'r-ravza, 1989), p. 108.)

[153] Shahid al-Awwal, *Zikra'ş-Şîa fi ahkâmi'ş-şerîa*, (Qom: Muessesetu Âl-i beyt li-ihyâi't-turâs, 1419), I, p. 48-49.

[154] For Shahid al-Awwal's opinions on the concept of *mashur*, see: *Zikra*, I, p. 51-52. See also: *Zikra*, p. 419-420, 444.

[155] Al-Hurr al-Amili, *Emelu'l-âmil fi ulemâi Cebeli Âmil,* (Qom: Dâru'l-kitâbi'l-İslamî, 1362), I, p. 86, 88-91;Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, (London, 1985), p. 320.

[156] Al-Shahid al-Thani, *el-Bidâye fi ilmi'd-dirâye*, inv. Muhammad Reza al-Husayni al-Jalali (Qom, 1421), p. 22; *er-Riâye fi'illmi'd-diraîye*, inv. Abd al-Husayn Muhammad 'Ali Baqqal (Qom: Mektebetu Aʼyetullah el-Merʼaşî, 1433), p. 74.

narratives should be from the period before Shaykh Tusi so as to be considered in terms of reputation. According to Al-Shahid al-Thani, practices based on textual properties of narratives that are weak in terms of isnad were first seen in Tusi's period and then many other fiqh scholars followed his way without feeling any need to research these narratives. In other words, those coming after Shaykh and his followers thought that their reliance on the content of weak narratives (khabar) resulted from the most well-known practice of the time.[157]

Al-Shahid al-Thani expresses his negative attitude toward the concept of the reputation that has emerged, together with Shaykh Tusi. Accordingly, his comment in *Istiqsa'* about forgetting to recite Surah Al-Fatihah during a prayer can be given as an explicit example of this approach. According to the narrative he discusses, if someone forgets to recite Surah Al-Fatihah at the qiyam (standing phase), then he should recite the Surah before ruku' (bowing) with isti'adha (asking refuge with Allah from the accursed devil). However, Al-Shahid states that reciting Al-Fatihah with isti'adha, as mentioned in the narrative, contradicts the mashhur practice. He then adds that being sahih in terms of its chain is a more valid reason for the acceptance of a narrative compared to its reputation.[158]

Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī has quite a firm attitude toward the narratives of fiqh-related issues. He emphasizes that any fatwa based on the content of a narrative would be untrue. However, it is seen that he does not apply the same meticulous care for narratives about virtues of practices, and he argues that the general opinion is in favor of accepting these narratives. Additionally, in his opinion, these narrative do not serve any purpose but pure benevolence. He also points to the narratives which are narrated in both Shiite and Sunni sources and collated under the title, "man balagha", and "al-tasamuh bi adillat al-sunan" (the principle of charity) upon which these narratives are based.[159] One of the narratives transmitted by the author is as follows: "Whoever receives information about merits of practices from a (supposedly) divine source and undertakes this practice only for this promised merit, he/she will be given that even when it is not the case".[160] According to the principle of tasamuh, weak narratives can be accepted as the basis of practices based on their chains.[161]

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[157] However, these words should not be interpreted to be to mean that Al-Shahid al-Thani accepted a reputation that emerged before Shaykh Tusi and adopted this practice as a basis in his approach to narratives. Accordingly, Al-Shahid al-Thani highlights that the understanding of Murtadhā, who does not accept khabar al-wahit as hujjat, was the prevailing opinion of the previous period. In this respect, it would not be wrong to say that Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī was of the opinion that the reputation of narratives could not have emerged in a period before Shaykh Tusi.

[158] Al-Shahid al-Thani, *İstiksâ'*, (Qom: Muessesetu Âl-i beyt, 1419), VI, p. 42-43.

[159] Al-Shahid al-Thani, *Riâye*, p. 92-94; *Şerhu'l-bidâye fi ilmi'd-dirâye*, Qom, 2011, 29-30.

[160] Al-Kulayni, *Kâfî*, I, p. 87. See also: Meclisî, *Bihâr*, II, p. 256.

[161] For more information about the criteria of "et-Tesâhul(tesâmuh) bi-edilleti'l-sunen", see: Ali Akbar Qelantari, "Tesâmuh Der Edille-yi Sunen", *Pejûheş-e Ulûm-i İslâmî* 17 (2010).

In his *Istiqsa'*, which was written as an annotation to Shaykh Tusi's *Al-Istibsar*, Al-Shahid al-Thani discusses the types of khabar mentioned by Tusi in the introduction of his work. As mentioned before, Shaykh Tusi divides khabar into two fundamental categories, namely, mutawatir and non-mutawatir. Moreover, non-mutawatir khabar can be analyzed in two categories. These are the khabar supported with indirect evidence (qarinah) and the khabar which is not reinforced with any indirect evidence. Al-Shahid al-Thani examines the evidence suggested by Shaykh Tusi, namely, compliance with the Qur'an, the decisive sunnah, and ijma, under independent titles. One of the most significant issues emphasized regarding these criteria is the uncertainty he sees in these principles. According to Al-Shahid al-Thani, the meaning of compliance with rational evidence is not clear. Rational evidence consists of two types. The first is the rational evidence that does not follow any other injunction. *Al-baraah al-asliyyah* is one of the first examples he gives in this regard. The second is the rational evidence which is associated with another injunction. For instance, an order for a practice also refers to the banishment of its opposite. Similar problems are also seen in the principle of compliance with the Qur'an. One of these problems is that the evidence of the Qur'an[162] is based on speculative rulings and, according to Al-Shahid al-Thani, the same applies to the decisive sunnah.[163]

According to a significant allegation about Al-Shahid al-Thani and scholars of Jabal 'Āmil who adopted his opinions after him[164], these scholars formed the basis for the Systematic Akhbarism, which would emerge a while later than them, by emphasizing the use of khabar al-wahid in fiqh which is against the prevalence of jurisprudence.[165] In this regard, Al-Shahid al-Thani took a step that weakened the school of Usulis against the rising Akhbari understanding by predicating the decreasing practical functionality of textual criticism, which gained an established place in the Shiite tradition of usul in the fourth Hijri century, on a theoretical basis. In our opinion, this allowed narratives containing ghuluww narratives to regain an important place in the Shiite understanding. In this regard, there is a significant function in textual criticism in Shiah, which has been practiced in contexts of different criteria since the first century, which differs from the textual criticism implemented by Ahl As-Sunnah. In the tradition of Ahl As-Sunnah, textual criticism was first implemented in an effective manner in regulatory works where fabricated narratives mentioned in the originals are identified. In Shiah, on the

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[162] He examines the evidence of the Qur'an in four categories: zahir, umum, fahwa, and dalil al-khitab. The categories he mentions for the decisive sunnah are sarih, evidence, umum, and fahwa.

[163] Al-Shahid al-Thani, *İstiksâ'*, I, p. 13-18, 29.

[164] As a disciple and a friend of Al-Shahid al-Thani, Husayn ibn Abd al-Samad al-Amili (d. 984/1576), and as a follower of his father, Ibn Al-Shahid al-Thani (d. 1011/1602) can be mentioned in this regard.

[165] For opposing opinions of Modarressi and Steward in this regard, see: Modarressi, *An Introduction to Shi'a Law: A Bibliographic Study*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), 52-53; Devin Stewart, "The Genesis Of The Akhbârî Revival", *Safavid Iran an Her Neighbors*, ed. Michel Mazzaoi (Utah: The University of Utah Press, 2003), p. 172-173.

other hand, similar sources that bring fabricated hadiths together were authored thirty years ago.[166] Herein, we try to highlight that the Usuli scholars who accepted that there are fabricated narratives in the works of the authors of the Four Books *(al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah),* Al-Kulayni and Saduq, have used the principles of textual criticism as a safety net, especially against the fabricated narratives of the ghular under the impact created by the absence of a compilation that brings all fabricated narratives together. In addition, it can be said that the waning impact of textual criticism after Al-Shahid al-Thani resulted in the use of narratives containing ghuluww mentioned in fundamental sources such as *al-Kafi*, without any filtration of content.

The period of Systematic Akhbarism, which rallied after the School of Jabal 'Āmil, corresponds to a process of about two centuries in which most of the principles regarding both textual criticism and chains were put aside, and the narratives transmitted by the Four Books were regarded as indisputable sources of information. Therefore, it is clearly seen that we cannot mention any considerable activity of textual criticism in this period. However, it is seen that the ghali ideas, which had not completely disappeared, and the narratives forming a basis for them, revived as a result of the discrediting seen in all the criteria about criticism regarding texts and chains, and some of the scholars who lived in the period of Systematic Akhbarism could not remain unconcerned about this situation and did not completely abstain from using textual criticism with narratives.[167]

Conclusion

The findings we obtained throughout this research indicate that Imami Shiah/Twelvers used the criteria of textual criticism for the acceptance or rejection of narratives within the historical period we discussed, except for some short-term interruptions. However, the criteria used by these scholars vary from period to period.

The rising reaction among Shiah against the early period ghulat brought about more careful examination of their narratives infiltrated into the *originals* and a significant quantity of these narratives were eliminated during the compilation process of comprehensive hadith collections. This situation indicates the existence of textual criticism within the given period. However, it is observed that this criticism targeted the most marginal narratives that contain ghuluww, ghali ideas that were presented again after a process of moderation, and most of the narratives containing tafwidz, which had been considered within the scope of ghuluww by

[166] For more information, see: Peyman Ünügür, "Şīʿī Âlim Hāşim Maʿrūf el-Hasenī'nin Uydurma Hadis Tespitinde Metin Tenkidi Kullanımı", *A.Ü.İ.F. Dergisi*, 58/2 (2018): 89-120.

[167] Determining the dimensions of this situation requires another independent study. For an example in this regard, see: Al-Hurr al-Amili, *el-Isnaâşeriyye fi'r-reddi ala's-sufiyye* (Qom: Dârû'l-Kutubi'l-İlmiyye, 1400), p. 124-125, 138-142.

early period Shiite scholars, were left out. Marginal narratives of entities such as the Mughiriyyah and the Khattabiyyah, which are considered more extremist compared to the mufawwidah in this regard, could not even find a place in *al-Basa'ir*, while the narratives attributed to the mufawwidah were able to survive until Al-Saduq despite the decline in quantity.

Three different approaches are seen in the practices of textual criticism conducted roughly between the fifth/eleventh and the eleventh/sixteenth centuries. The first of these approaches is the one adopted by the founders of the Usuli understanding, such as Al-Mufid, Murtadhā, and Shaykh Tusi. In this approach, textual properties come to the forefront as determinants in the examination, and acceptance or rejection of narratives. The keyword used by the Usuli scholars in this regard is *qarinah*. According to this understanding, khabar al-wahid is considered reliable only when it meets at least one or more criteria about compliance with the Qur'an, the sunnah, rational evidence, ijma, and famous/common practices. Though only in theory, it is revealed that the narratives that contradict the aforementioned criteria would be rejected. On the other hand, we cannot say that the role of chains was completely put aside by the founders of the Usuli understanding. It is observed that the scholars, particularly Shaykh Tusi, referred to isnad (the chain of transmitters) when they needed to chose one of two conflicting narratives. In our opinion, the most significant reason for the prioritization of textual characteristics against chains in the examination of narratives within this period is that the phenomenon of ghuluww had spread considerably among the narratives transmitted by Shiite sources, and Usuli scholars, who were aware of this situation, had serious concerns about isnad of narratives.

The emphasis on isnad, which increased after the school of Hillah rallied within the seventh/thirteenth century, decreased the importance of textual criteria in the examination of khabar al-wahid. In our opinion, the most significant determinant of the increase in the emphasis put on isnad is that the Shiah have lived under Sunni powers since the dissolution of Buheyvi rule, which corresponds to the second half of the fifth/eleventh century. As a result, Shiah went through a period of stagnation in scientific activities and was indispensably influenced by the Sunni understanding, which was highly productive within the same period and field. Together with the Ilkhanate rule, Shiite scholars regained their autonomy in this regard but their works, especially those in usul of the hadiths, were seen to have been considerably influenced by the Sunni understanding. Therefore, the emphasis put on isnad as a reference by the school of Hillah can be explained with the isnad-oriented Sunni usul of the hadiths, which had produced competent works in this field unlike Shiah, which was influenced by the former.

Together with Al-Shahid al-Thani, a scholar of the school of Jabal 'Āmil, which was influenced by the isnad-oriented Usulism of the school of Hillah, studies were carried to a new level where the role of texts in the examination, acceptance or rejection of narratives was almost completely put aside. In this regard, it is

observed that the scholars of the school of Hillah, which was based on a isnad-oriented system, continued to accept the texts as a determinant in decisions to rely on faith-related and informative narratives, and though at a degressive rate, highlighted the importance of textual criteria in the examination of fiqh-related narratives. After Al-Shahid al-Thani, on the other hand, steps were taken toward discrediting the method of examination which was based on qarinah instead of referring to them, although there are exceptions to this situation.

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The Issue of Ismah as the Ground of Obedience to the Prophet *

Mahmut ÇINAR **

Abstract

Prophets are individuals who are chosen by Allah from among groups of people to guide them in their quest to put their lives in good order in their search of the true path. In order for prophets to function, they need to be well known and reliable in the performance of their duties, and have the trust of the people. Their recognition and trust are matters directly related to the nature of the work and the personality as a prophet. On the other hand, obedience is an expectation of a prophet's subjects in order to realize the purpose of the prophecy. However, it is not always easy for people to unconditionally submit to and obey another person who is just like them. On the other hand, lack of submission and obedience would make achieving the purpose of prophecy impossible . Therefore Allah, having created and proffered the means of prophecy in order to overcome such obstacles, supported His prophets with miracles so they would become well known and further bestowed the trait of ismah on them so they would become reliable. Miracles and ismah are the foundations in the capacity of a prophet to transform their ummah, and they also prevent ummah from abstaining from their cause. Obedience constitutes the prerequisite for ummah so they can be transformed in the correct way. In order for the ummah's obedience to be justified, the prophet's claim of prophecy must be sincere and they must keep their sentiments separate from their duty.

The fact that a person, who is tasked with prophecy, has also been bestowed with the virtue of ismah is proof that the person is able to practice and convey the religion of Allah, orally and verbally, which is the duty with which they have been entrusted. The fact that Allah has made a prophet innocent means that the prophet will not make any sacrifice other than as intended by Allah, who is the true owner of religion. This virtue, which no one else may have, was deemed to be the reason why people must obey the prophet. This article studies ismah's nature, limits, its capacity to become the foundation for obedience and the corresponding vision of obedience to the innocent prophet, and also examines the connection between ismah and obedience.

Keywords: Prophet, Ummah, Ismah, Obedience, Transformation.

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Peygamber'e İtaatin Dayanağı Olarak İsmet Meselesi

Özet

Peygamberler, insanların hidâyeti bulmaları ve bu doğrultuda hayatlarını düzenlemeleri için, Allah tarafından kendileri arasından seçilen ve yine kendilerine gönderilen şahsiyetlerdir. Peygamberlerin işlevlerini yerine getirmeleri için, öncelikle tanınmaları, daha sonra görevleri konusunda güvenilir olmaları ve kendilerine itaat edilmeleri gerekir. Tanınmaları ve güvenilir olmaları, işin tâbiatının gereği ve peygamber olan şahsiyetle ilgili hususlardır. İtaat edilmeleri ise, peygamberlikle amaçlanan hedefin gerçekleşmesi için, peygamberin muhatabı olan kitleyle ilgili bir tercihtir. Ne var ki insanların kendileri gibi başka bir insana kayıtsız şartsız teslim olmaları ve ona itaat etmeleri her zaman kolay değildir. Diğer yandan teslimiyet ve itaat söz konusu olmadığı takdirde de peygamberlikten beklenen neticenin elde edilmesi mümkün değildir. İşte bu engelleri aşmak için peygamberliği bir yöntem olarak belirleyip tercih eden Yüce Allah, peygamberlerin tanınmaları için onları mûcize ile desteklemiş, kendilerine güvenilmesi için de onları ismet sıfatıyla donatmıştır. Bu iki husus peygamberin ümmetini dönüştürme kapasitesini oluşturmakta ve ümmetin aksine mazeret göstermesini engellemektedir. İtaat ise, ümmetin istenilen yönde dönüşmesi için, başlangıçta sahip olması gereken ön şartı teşkil etmektedir. Ümmetin itaatinin meşru bir zeminde olması için, peygamberin peygamberlik iddiasında samimi olması ve bu görevine şahsi hiçbir kaygısını karıştırmaması gerekir.

Peygamberlik göreviyle görevlendirilen zâtın, ismet sıfatıyla donatılmış olması, onun görevlendirildiği konu olan Allah'ın dinini yaşama ve bunu hem sözlü olarak hem de fiili olarak tebliğ etme konusunda güvenilirliğini ifade etmektedir. Allah'ın onu mâsûm kılması, onun dinî konularda dinin gerçek sahibi olan Allah'ın iradesinin aksine herhangi bir tasarrufta bulunmayacağı anlamına gelmektedir. İşte başka hiçbir insanda bulunmayan bu özellik nedeniyle peygambere itaat etmek gerekli görülmüştür. Bu makalemizde ismetin mahiyeti, sınırları, itaatin kaynağı olma kapasitesi ve buna bağlı olarak gerçekleşmesi beklenen, mâsûm olan peygambere itaat üzerinde durulacak, ismet ile itaat arasındaki bağlantı irdelenmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Peygamber, ümmet, ismet, itaat, dönüşme

Introduction

The position of prophets in general, and the Prophet's position in particular, has always been the subject of discussion throughout the intellectual history of Islam. This discussion was based on two main topics. The first of these topics is the problem which can be formulated as "Does the Prophet have a binding initiative on religious provisions and religious life?". The second topic is what can be formulated as "What is the source of the Prophet's initiative and preferences on religious provisions and religious life?". The first problem directly relates to the nature, purpose and religious position of a prophet. The second relates to the executive position and the knowledge the prophet relies on when taking initiative, and the source of this knowledge. Doubtlessly, both are matters that need to be addressed and resolved. As a matter of fact, the efforts to resolve these matters have

not been successful and no efforts either now or in the future will suffice either. It is likely that even at the time of the apocalypse, a part of ummah will still be discussing these matters.

It is certain that Allah is the source and builder of prophecy. Scholars of kalam justified this method of Him in different ways. For example, Mu'tazila based his explanation on the "aslah" theory and the principle of "adl" which is the source of this theory[1], the Maturidi focused their explanations around "divine hikmat"[2] and the Ash'arites, rather, highlighted the concepts of "favor and mercy"[3]. None of these explanations disregard the divine will, but they rather justify and verbalize it. Therefore it becomes a priority to establish the function of prophecy, which is the method of Allah for communicating with His creation. To do this, the only source we can use is Qur'an. Efforts using other sources would not lead to anything more than mere relativity and speculation. It is possible and even a necessity to understand the purpose of divine will through means other than Qur'an. The results to be acquired by these means may be accurate but they can never reflect any certainty. Therefore we need to accept that the only source which can provide complete certainty is Qur'an. Looking at Qur'an we can see the following attributes coming to the fore in terms of the positions of the prophets relative to their ummahs.

1. The Prophet is a personal witness. When we take Qur'an as a whole, we can see that the verses, which will be explained shortly, are accompanied by other verses which directly or indirectly point to their meaning.

"O Prophet, indeed We have sent you as a witness and a bringer of good tidings and a warner."[4].

"And thus we have made you a just community that you will be witnesses over the people and the Messenger will be a witness over you."[5]

"There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of Allah an excellent pattern for anyone whose hope is in Allah and the Last Day and [who] remembers Allah often."[6]

The first two of these verses explain that the Prophet is a living witness for his ummah, and stipulate that the ummah regard him as an example. Especially the second verse tells that it is not sufficient to regard him as an example, and that the religious stance, which would be formed by regarding the prophet as an

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[1] Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad, *Şerhu'l-Usûli'l-hamse* (translation and publications by İlyas Çelebi), Istanbul: YEK Presidency, 2013, II, 420 vd.
[2] Ebu'l-Muîn en-Nesefî, *Tabsiratü'l-edille* (edited by H. Atay-Ş.A. Düzgün), Ankara: DİB, 2003, II, 1 et al.
[3] Seyyid Şerif el-Cürcânî, *Şerh'ul-Mevâkıf* (edited by M. Ömer ed-Dimyâtî), Beirut: Darü'l-kütübi'l-ilmiyye, 1433/2012, VIII, 242.
[4] al-Ahzâb 33/45.
[5] al-Baqarah 2/143.
[6] al-Ahzab 33/21.

example, must be conveyed to other people too. The third verse presents the Messenger of Allah as a role model and draws the path to gaining Allah's grace and salvation in the afterlife through the adoption of this example.

2. Prophet Mohamad is a teaching and purifying master. While there are a lot of verses in Qur'an which could be interpreted to convey this very same meaning, the following verse, which is a part of the surah Baqara, provides an extremely clear and detailed explanation of the subject:

"Just as We have sent among you a messenger from yourselves reciting to you Our verses and purifying you and teaching you the Book and wisdom and teaching you that which you did not know."[7]

In this verse, Allah Almighty emphasizes that the Prophet purifies and educates people by reading Allah's verses to them. Accordingly, the Prophet not only conveys information to people but also transforms them through the information he provides and the verses he reads to them, thereby purifying them from polytheism and other bad habits that they might fall into.

3. Prophets are always upon the right path and people who want to take this path must subject themselves to the prophets. In Qur'an, it is expressed many times that prophets generally, and the Prophet especially, are on the right path, and that people must subject themselves to the prophets in order to find this path. The following verses are examples of this:

"Those are the ones whom Allah has guided, so from their guidance take an example."[8]

"And We certainly sent into every nation a messenger, [saying], "Worship Allah and avoid Taghut." And among them were those whom Allah guided, and among them were those upon whom error was [deservedly] decreed. So proceed through the earth and observe how was the end of the deniers."[9]

The first verse addresses the Prophet, telling him that the prophets before him were on the right path and that he should follow their path too. The second verse supports this by stating that the reason why Allah sends prophets is to help people practice religion and avoid taghut, which would be the right path for them. Accordingly, the people who subject themselves to prophets find the right path and those who do not will remain in divergence from the path. Therefore we cannot position the path of prophets within any context other than hidayah, and people can only find hidayah by answering the call of the prophets.

4. Allah loves you when you subject yourself to the Prophet: Considering the wholistic nature of Qur'an, it can be concluded that Allah's love depends on

[7] al-Baqarah 2/151.
[8] al-An'am 6/90.
[9] an-Nahl 16/36.

whether the person makes the right choice, and that this love will bring about salvation within itself. Therefore, it is expressed in a general sense that Allah does not love the cruel but that He loves good people.

"[Say], [O Muhammad], If you should love Allah, then follow me, [so] Allah will love you and forgive you your sins. And Allah is Forgiving and Merciful."[10]

In this verse, it is expressed that the people, who claim to love Allah, must subject themselves to the Prophet if they are sincere in their love, which is a prerequisite for Allah to love them. The verse, which immediately follows, orders that they obey Allah and His prophet.

5. Prophet Mohamad only asks his ummah what is good for them: It is beyond doubt that all prophets are very fond of their ummahs and want them to be on the right path in the world and happy in the afterlife. The following verse clearly demonstrates The Prophet's feelings and stance towards his ummah.

"There has certainly come to you a Messenger from among yourselves. Grievous to him is what you suffer; [he is] concerned over you and to the believers is kind and merciful."[11]

This verse expresses that the Prophet is fond of his ummah and it is very difficult for him to watch his ummah encounter hardship. Accordingly, for a prophet so devoted to his ummah, it is impossible to wish for anything that would not be good for them and that would harm them. Therefore one must obey him and accept his leadership.

Up till now we have used Qur'an verses as a base to define and streamline the approach and relationship of prophets in general, and the Prophet specifically, towards their ummahs. The conclusions are that prophets are on the right path, that they invite the people around them to join them, that they have been sent by Allah for this very same purpose, and that they do not only convey Allah's verses to their ummahs but they purify them by becoming role models for them. In relation to this, Allah Almighty demands that members of the ummah subject themselves to their prophet, take him as a role model and therefore reach the grace of Allah in this way. Later parts of the study will touch upon the attribute of ismah, which is a proof that prophets are on the right path, and the limitations of ismah and will analyze the connection between a prophet's ismah and the act of obeying a prophet, together with the source of these connections. There have been discussions from time to time about what the Prophet means to his ummah; some people regard him as a semi-god, whose words and actions can never be questioned while some others hold him to no such effect. We will be studying these two problematic perspectives together with the extent of binding will that the Prophet has on his ummah as a prophet and the justification for this.

[10] al-i İmrân 3/31.
[11] at-Tawbah, 9/128.

Ismah Being a Prerequisite for Prophecy

Prophets are messengers who are chosen by Allah from among people to be sent back to them. The difference between a prophet and other people is that they receive revelations. However, since the act of receiving revelations is purely of an individual nature, it also brings with it some risks. Two of these risks are very critical and they directly influence the impact of prophecy. The first is, due to the individual nature of receiving revelations, there may be people who claim to be receiving revelations even if they are not for the purpose of taking advantage of such a position in society. There have always been false prophets throughout history. The second risk is that, since the person, who is charged with the duty of prophecy, is after all a human being, throughout their difficult, demanding and challenging journey they may be inclined to subjectively manipulate the revelations they receive. Unless both of these risks are eliminated, it is not possible to realize the purpose of any prophecy. Since it is Allah Almighty who created prophecy and who best knows this situation, He is expected to also take precautions regarding this. His precautions are as follows. By supporting the individual, whom he sends as a prophet, with miracles, He has eliminated the first risk. Therefore a true prophet is able to be distinguished from a false one by their miracles. Indeed, miracles were intended by Allah Almighty as a means to separate true prophets from false claimants. Allah Almighty administers, through his prophets, this ability of Himself, therefore demonstrating the authenticity of His prophets.

The second risk, as stated above, can be summarized as the possibility of partly or completely changing, adding to, subtracting from or decontextualizing a revelation which was originally intended by Allah to be conveyed to an ummah. Since the prophet is also a human being, for this reason it is possible for such an individual to fail to fully disclose, add to or alter a revelation due to the pressure they are subject to at a specific time. In addition, for this reason it is also possible to be subjected to pressure from djinnis or demons while receiving revelations. However, whatever circumstances may have effect, they will all lead to the same conclusion that a revelation does not fulfill its purpose. As openly stated in Qur'an, all prophets are shielded from such kinds of pressure[12]. For this very reason, Allah Almighty bestowed the attribute of ismah on every individual whom he charged with the duty of prophecy for the purpose of protecting His revelations. This shield protects at the physical and spiritual levels of word and heart, while it also preserves the accuracy of meaning and administration. Therefore any revelation to come down to the prophet is protected from any possible pressure from djinnis or demons as well as from any manipulation by the prophet themselves. Taking into account the nature and extent of the attribute of ismah, this aspect can be fully clarified.

[12] al-Waki'ah 56/79.

Literally meaning to "Prevent, eliminate possible harm", ismah is an Arabic name (infinitive) which was derived from the root "asm". As a term it's been used throughout the philosophical history of Islam to mean "Allah preventing the prophets, whom He chose as guides for people, from committing sins".[13] Especially in the later stages of the history of Islamic thinking, the innocence of prophets was carefully scrutinized since they directly affect the religion, which has also led to preparation of various study papers.[14] Discussions have been centered around topics such as in what religious/worldly areas is the prophets' innocence valid, the relationship of this innocence to the time before becoming a prophet, what the prophet told people about religion and its effects on religion and different perspectives have been laid out at different times. The conceptual framework of ismah was later founded, but it is accepted among sahabah and subsequent generations beyond doubt that the Prophet is an unquestionable authority in terms of religious thinking and religious lifestyle. In addition, the fact that Qur'an tells us to obey the Prophet in countless instances is the most important factor which supports this authority.[15] The authority in question emphasizes that The prophet is under protection especially regarding religious matters and that he will be warned in cases where he might do wrong. Qur'an clearly indicates that the Prophet is [was] under strict control while performing his duties of prophecy and that he would be very sternly warned in the case of misconduct.[16] This means that there can be no objection to the fact that the Prophet is under protection regarding the issues about the duty of prophecy, that is, regarding general religious matters.

Discussions that have taken place and different views that have been suggested about the extent of ismah are generally concerned with matters outside the field of prophecy. For example, Al-Juwayni (d. 478/1085) expressed that no major sins can come from prophets and that this is because they are being supported by miracles and that this is a reasonable fact. As for sins on a smaller scale, Al-Juwayni suggests that this is reasonable and there are no proofs based on conveyance that prophets do not ever commit small sins.[17] Nureddin Es Sâbunî (d. 580/1184) states that for prophets, being free of blasphemy, is a must both before and after revelations and being free of major sins is a must only after revelations.

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[13] For more information, see Ibn Manzur, *Lisânü'l-Arab*, p. 2976; Tehânevî, *Keşşâf*, II, 1183; Topaloğlu-Çelebi, *KTS*, "İsmet", p. 163; Bulut, Mehmet, "İsmet", DİA, XXIII, 134.

[14] As an example; Şerif el-Mürteza,*Tenzihü'l-enbiya*, Beirut 1988; Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, *İsmetü'l-enbiya*, Kahire 1986; Al-Suyuti, *Tenzihü'l-enbiya an tesfihi'l-eğbiya* (edited by. Saîd Mohammad Lahham), Beirut 1417/1997; Uveyd b. İyâd Mutrifi, *Âyâtu itâbi'l-Mustafa fi dav'i'l-ismeti ve'l-ictihâd*, Cairo n.d. (Dârü'l-Fikri'l-Arabi); Mehmet Bulut, *Ehli sünnet ve Şia'da ismet inancı*, Istanbul 1991.

[15] For example: "O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and do not invalidate your deeds. (Muhammad 47/33)".

[16] For example: al-Haqqah 69/44-47. "And if Muhammad had made up about Us some [false] sayings, We would have seized him by the right hand; Then We would have cut from him the aorta. And there is no one of you who could prevent [Us] from doing so."

[17] Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni *el-İrşâd* (edited by. M. Yûsuf Mûsâ-Abdülmün'im Abdülhamîd), Cairo 1369/1950, p. 356 et al.

According to him, prophets are Allah's hujjat for people so they must not be involved with sin. Otherwise they would no longer be reliable.[18] Opinions of the Sunni ulama on ismah can be summarized as follows. According to this, while there is conflict on subjects other than prophecy, there is complete consensus regarding the fact that prophets are innocent regarding matters related to prophecy and, therefore, religion.

Beside the Sunni, the approaches of the Mu'tazila and Shiite to the subject are also important. While Mu'tazila does not accept as permissible when prophets intentionally commit major sins (kebair), they do accept as permissible smaller sins (segair), as long as they do not invoke hate among people (munafir). Accordingly, the general opinion of the Mu'tazila and the Sunnis are close to each other. However there can at times be different opinions among the Mu'tazila. For example, İbrahim an-Nazzam (d. 231/845) does not see as permissible for prophets either kebair (major) or segair (small) sins. According to him, it is only acceptable for prophets to commit sin through forgetfulness or other human mistakes. However they receive warnings even in those situations too. Since their knowledge is a complete knowledge, they must stay vigilant at all times. Nonetheless, according to Ebu Ali Al-Jubba'i (d. 303/916) it's not acceptable for prophets to intentionally commit kebair or segair sins but it is possible and permissible for them to commit sins by mistake.[19] Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad (d. 415/1024) cites Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾi (d. 321/933) and elaborates on the subject. He suggests that the opinions of the parties, who think that it is permissible for a prophet to commit sin after becoming a prophet, are in conflict. Namely, prophets are sent to people to dissuade people from acts which result in sin, therefore it would create a conflict between their messages and acts if they themselves committed sins. Therefore they would not be able to succeed in their communications about religion.[20] All of the opinions coming from Mu'tazila members emphasize that prophets, as religious leaders, are completely innocent as far as religious matters are concerned. One can say that Mu'tazila ulama even adopted a method that is quite a bit stricter than that of the Sunni ulama. This is very important in terms of a prophets' authority and position in religion.

Shiites take the matter one step further and suggest that it is not permissible for prophets to commit kebair or segair sins intentionally, mistakenly or even forgetfully. Sharif al-Murtaza (d. 436/1044) states that there is consensus among Shia that committing sins would evoke hatred from people, and therefore they adopt the view that prophets must be free of any major or minor sins both before and after they become prophets. Furthermore, ismah at such a level would be valid

[18] Nureddîn es-Sâbûnî, *el-Bidâye fi Usûliddîn* (edited by Bekir Topaloğlu), Ankara 2005, p. 54.
[19] Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad, *Şerhü'l-Usûli'l-hamse* (edited by Abdülkerîm Osmân), Cairo 1408/1988, p. 573.
[20] Abd al-Jabbar ibn Ahmad, *el-Muğni fi ebvâbi't-tevhîdi ve'l-adl, Cairo* 1385/1965, XV, 300 et al.

for prophets and imams alike, thus extending the meaning of the word.[21] Kashif al-Ghita' (d. 1373/1954) who is one of the contemporary Shia authorities, reiterates that all prophets are sent by Allah and that they are honorable people. As for the Prophet he emphasizes that he is innocent in all of his actions and he did not do anything other than was intended by the will of Allah until the time of his passing.[22] This remark is ahead of Mu'tazila too and it is the opinion with the widest context as far as ismah is concerned.

As explained above, Islamic scholars have evaluated all the verses individually and have come to the conclusion that none of them are in conflict with the attribute of ismah. Having regard to the literature which evaluates these verses, it is possible to see that all comments and evaluations concentrate on these matters:

1. None of the actions regarding prophets are of a disgraceful or repugnant nature. None of the prophets carried any attributes that would be classified as "vile".

2. None of these actions were intended for rebellious purposes. These were excessive actions. Moses' attribute and expressions of regret when the Copt died because of him is clear proof of this.

3. They did not insist on any of these actions and they even took refuge in Allah's mercy and repented of it.

4. None of these actions were in any way related to communicating or practicing the religion.

5. Since prophets, unlike other people, were supported by Allah in such matters, they were also free of any spiritual (i.e. djinni, demons, etc) pressure.[23]

The most important result to be had from these evaluations is that a prophets' actions, which could be classified as mistakes, was behavior which would have been excused by other people if an ordinary person committed them. Even the scholars, who believe that prophets can make mistakes in their individual lives and in other areas which do not concern religion, are content wit the fact that prophets themselves do not insist on these matters and so stay away from disgraceful mistakes. The conclusion is therefore that prophets' practices and disposal regarding religious matters are under divine protection and that all determinations regarding this matter are accurate.

[21] el-Mürteza, Ebü'l-Kâsım Alemülhüda Ali b. Hüseyin Şerif, *Tenzihü'l-enbiyâ*, Beirut 1988, p. 4 et al.
[22] M. Hüseyin Kashif al-Ghita', *Aslu'ş-Şîâ ve Usûlühâ* (pub. Dâru'l-Usûl), Beirut 1410/1990, p. 143.
[23] For more information, see İsmail Cerrahoğlu, "Garanik", *DİA*, XIII, 363-364.

Obeying the Prophet and Proof of this in Qur'an

A prophet is an individual chosen by Allah to guide his creation. Allah sends revelations to his prophet to instruct them in their duties. Therefore it is only possible for men to learn about Allah's will, orders and prohibitions for them through prophets. Some of the verses, which express Allah's wishes have in practice a corresponding and practical content. Though Qur'an mostly does not tell us where, when and how these are to be practiced. This leads to different mindsets and opinions among people. The most obvious example of this is the difference between the rakats of namaz. While Qur'an orders namaz in numerous places, it indicates no rakat numbers and this is left to the disposal of the prophet. When the Prophet's disposal is not taken into consideration there are sure be different opinions and the ummah would not even be able to come to a consensus on a matter which is thought to be one of the pillars of Islam. This situation also involves a risk that the divine will may not be able to realize its purpose. However Allah the Almighty tasked His prophet with resolving such conflicts and demonstrating religious practice to the people at first hand. For this reason, Qur'an very explicitly tells us to obey the prophets, and especially to obey the Prophet, who is the prophet for this ummah. There are countless verses that tell that to us. We can categorize them according to their content.

1. Prophet It is a prerequisite of belief to obey the Prophet: The orders and prohibitions of Allah the Almighty for people work when people believe in Him. The majority of kalam scholars are of the opinion that non-believers are not subject to orders and prohibitions. Because if there is no belief, then there cannot be any good coming from any deeds. By this rule, all verses which order us to obey the prophet are in fact, addressed to believers. Among the verses which order us to obey the prophet, there are also verses which address the polytheists but these verses generally stipulate obedience in terms of belief and al-Tawhid or obedience in terms of practices after belief. Therefore, the verses which order us to obey the Prophet demand this as a requirement of our belief. Additionally, some verses express state and confirm. The two following verses can be given as examples of this.

"They ask you, [O Muhammad], about the bounties [of war]. Say, "The [decision concerning] bounties is for Allah and the Messenger." So fear Allah and amend that which is between you and obey Allah and His Messenger, if you should be believers."[24]

[24] al-Anfal 8/1.

"It is not for a believing man or a believing woman, when Allah and His Messenger have decided a matter, that they should [thereafter] have any choice about their affair. And whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger has certainly strayed into clear error."[25]

In the first verse, the phrase "... if you should be believers", and in the second verse, the expression "It is not for a believing man or a believing woman, when Allah and His Messenger have decided a matter, that they should [thereafter] have any choice about their affair." mean that obedience to Allah and His messenger is mandatory for believers.

2. Obeying the prophet is obeying Allah: While this is quite directly indicated in Qur'an, there are also verses which also indirectly convey this. The following verse is an example of this:

"He who obeys the Messenger has obeyed Allah ; but those who turn away - We have not sent you to them as a guardian."[26]

There are many verses which indirectly order us to obey the Prophet. The fact that the instructions to obey Allah are usually accompanied with instructions to obey the Prophet also means that obeying the Prophet is believed to be the same as obeying Allah. This obedience is due to the fact that the Prophet is Allah's messenger. Therefore, one who obeys the messenger, also obeys Allah, who sent the messenger to him. The two following verses are given as examples of this.

"Say, "Obey Allah and the Messenger." But if they turn away - then indeed, Allah does not like the disbelievers."[27]

"And obey Allah and obey the Messenger and beware. And if you turn away - then know that upon Our Messenger is only [the responsibility for] clear notification."[28]

3. Prophets are sent so that can be obeyed. Qur'an anticipates obedience as the reason why prophets were sent to the people. Therefore, if the people do not obey the prophet, it would not be possible for the divine will, which sent the prophet, to realize its purpose. Then it would not be possible to attain divine grace either. The following verses demonstrate this situation.

"And We did not send any messenger except to be obeyed by permission of Allah. And if, when they wronged themselves, they had come to you, [O Muhammad], and asked forgiveness of Allah and the Messenger had asked

[25] al-Ahzab 33/36.
[26] an-Nisâ 4/80.
[27] Ali 'Imrân 3/32.
[28] Al-Mai'dah 5/92.

forgiveness for them, they would have found Allah Accepting of repentance and Merciful."[29]

"So fear Allah and obey me."[30]

The second verse above is repeated through the words of several prophets. This means that the very position of a prophet requires obedience.

4. In order to attain Allah's grace, it is necessary to obey the prophet and Allah: Allah Almighty indicates that it is a prerequisite of attaining His grace that we obey the Prophet. If the prophet is not obeyed, then what awaits is "hizlan" (disgrace), which is a consequence that no believers can afford to incur. Here are the examples for this in verses:

"And obey Allah and the Messenger that you may obtain mercy."[31]

"The believing men and believing women are allies of one another. They enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and establish prayer and give zakah and obey Allah and His Messenger. Those - Allah will have mercy upon them. Indeed, Allah is Exalted in Might and Wisdom."[32]

"And keep up the prayer, and bring the Zakat, (Pay the poor-dues) and obey the Messenger, that possibly you would be granted mercy;"[33]

"And whoever obeys Allah and the Messenger - those will be with the ones upon whom Allah has bestowed the favor of the prophets, the steadfast affirmers of truth, the martyrs and the righteous. And excellent are those as companions."[34]

5. Prophets are sent to people so they can teach them the difference between the lawful and the unlawful: Allah Almighty states that prophets are sent to people so they can teach them the difference between the lawful and the unlawful and orders us to take heed of them, therefore obey them, as regards these matters.

"And [I have come] confirming what was before me of the Torah and to make lawful for you some of what was forbidden to you. And I have come to you with a sign from your Lord, so fear Allah and obey me."[35]

6. Ultimate salvation is only possible through obedience to Allah and his Prophet. In several places in Qur'an, Allah the Almighty relates ultimate salvation in the afterlife with obedience to the Prophet. According to this, ultimate salvation is not possible without obeying the Prophet. The final reward, which Islam promises people as compensation for all things that it asks of people, is ultimate

[29] an-Nisa 4/64.
[30] ash-Shu'ara 26/108, 110, 126, 131, 144, 150, 163,179.
[31] ali 'Imrân 3/132.
[32] at-Tawbah, 9/71.
[33] an-Nur 24/56.
[34] an-Nisa 4/69.
[35] ali 'Imrân 3/50.

salvation. Religious requirements would be meaningless for a person who does not care about ultimate salvation. Since this salvation is conditional on obedience to the Prophet, all religious requirements also become meaningful when one obeys the Prophet. Some of the verses which demonstrate this fact are:

"These are the limits [set by] Allah, and whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger will be admitted by Him to gardens [in Paradise] under which rivers flow, abiding eternally therein; and that is the great attainment."[36]

"O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best in result."[37]

"And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger and fears Allah and is conscious of Him - it is those who are the attainers."[38]

"O you who have believed, fear Allah and speak words of appropriate justice. He will [then] amend for you your deeds and forgive you your sins. And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger has certainly attained a great attainment."[39]

7. Lack of obedience to the prophet is a cause of ultimate suffering. While a direct relationship is established in Qur'an between obedience to the Prophet and ultimate salvation, there is another direct relationship between lack of such obedience and ethereal suffering:

"And whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger and transgresses His limits - He will put him into the Fire to abide eternally therein, and he will have a humiliating punishment."[40]

"The Day their faces will be turned about in the Fire, they will say, "How we wish we had obeyed Allah and obeyed the Messenger.""[41]

"O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and do not invalidate your deeds."[42]

The second verse establishes a connection between obeying Allah and heeding His messenger. According to this, in order to attain complete obedience to Allah, one needs to heed his messenger. The last verse means that lack of obedience to Allah and his messenger will result in invalidation of all the deeds one has done.

[36] an-Nisa 4/13.
[37] an-Nisa 4/59.
[38] an-Nur 24/52.
[39] al-Ahzab 33/71.
[40] an-Nisa 4/14.
[41] al-Ahzab 33/66.
[42] Muhammad 47/33.

Therefore, to be accepted good deeds depend on obedience to Allah and the Prophet.

The Relationship Between Ismah and Obedience

The essential qualification which separates a prophet from people is that a prophet receives revelations. Revelations come to a prophet from Allah the Almighty, and knowledge from this source is never a question of debate. A revelation, which always conveys absolute information, contains information from Allah, intended to facilitate people's progress in finding the right path. In this sense, revelations and the information they convey draws a sharp line between prophets and other people, whatever their position may be, in terms of qualitative and factual aspects. Besides, the fact that the sending of revelations to the Prophet continued throughout his life renders this difference even more important. The coming of revelations, which took 23 years according to the hijri calendar, means that throughout his guidance the Prophet was always under observation and subject to approval by Allah the Almighty. An indication of this is the fact that some disposals of the Prophet were criticized or caused direct warnings by way of revelations. This means that in regard to matters that he was not warned about, the prophet had divine consent. Doubtless, this situation only relates to disposals of the Prophet regarding his prophetic duties. What he did as a human being is of no concern. While the sahabah unquestioningly obeyed the Prophet in terms of what he had asked of them as a prophet, they sometimes debated what he had asked of them as an ordinary human being, which sometimes even led to the Prophet abandoning his own view and adopting theirs. This means that sahabah and the Prophet are under Allah's control in terms of prophetic matters, but sahabah rightfully understands that the prophet, as a human being, can naturally be right but also can be wrong in other matters.[43]

Since the prophet receives revelations from Allah, it means that when the prophet speaks religiously all he says is approved by Allah too. As explained above, Allah the Almighty sends a warning when He does not. For this very reason, history has borne witness to a number of false prophets who were seeking to benefit from the advantages that revelations bring to believers. It is important to be able to distinguish between a true prophet and a false one. To this end, Allah the Almighty bestowed true prophets with the ability to demonstrate miracles. Realizing miracles through the hands of his prophets, Allah the Almighty sent the message of "This person is truthfully my messenger, trust him and obey him".

With regard to the premise of being bound by, in terms of revelations, and obeying a person, who is shown to be a true prophet through miracles, there is only one problem to be considered. Could this person, as a human being and the receiver of divine revelations, have altered, reduced, extended, therefore

[43] For an evaluation, see Evkuran, Mehmet, *Ahlak, Hakikat ve Kimlik*, Ankara: Araştırma, 2013, p. 65. et al.

manipulated in terms of word or meaning, the revelations sent to them for reasons of fear, being adopted in society, or for extending their personal reach or success? Doubtless, Allah the Almighty, who established the concept of prophecy and wishes to facilitate the actions of His creation through prophecy, also took precautions against this by rendering His prophets free of wrongdoing in this regard. Bestowed with the attribute of ismah, a prophet is not able to convey any revelation in a different wording or meaning or create a practice that is different that what is originally intended by Allah. Doubtless, this practice comes from the Prophet and there may be alternative practices. However, those alternatives must be in line with the divine purpose. The practices of the Messenger of Allah comply with this purpose. As given above under the title of ismah, such an attempt would evoke instant divine intervention. Therefore, the requirement of obeying the prophets and in particular the Prophet, who is the prophet of this ummah, is for the same reason for making him free of sin. Since he is innocent, he properly fulfills his duty in line with divine will. Any circumstance in which he could be wrong, mistaken or less than perfect at implementation were always subject to divine warning. Therefore all disposals of him -the ones which have been corrected through divine will and revelations- are in line with divine will and are binding on his ummah. At this point, a conclusion that sunnah is almost equal to revelation would be a grave misconception. Sunnah has historical roots but revelations are of universal nature.

As can be seen, obeying the prophet is a requirement due to the fact that a prophet is a representative of the religion. The trustworthiness and binding nature of the actions of a prophet in a religious context are grounded in the prophet's innocence. This creates a direct connection between obedience and ismah. This also demonstrates that dedicating obedience to a person other than the prophet, whatever that person's religion, identity or title may be, is not *wajib*. Obedience to people other than prophets must be limited to those people's titles and jurisdiction. However, their remarks and disposals regarding religion would always be subject to debate. The adoption or rejection of these remarks would not cause anybody harm. However, the religious disposals of a prophet are binding for each person who considers themselves a believer. People who act otherwise would be deemed divergent from the religious path and would be condemned. This is because of the fact that no person other than a prophet is created free of sin in terms of religious disposal. In Shia imams are believed to be innocent but this suggestion has not been positively received by the ummah on a global scale. Therefore the only people whose religious disposals are under divine control and are innocent in their religious words and practices are the prophets. Their innocent stance can be considered as a guarantee for the accuracy of their religious disposals. Since it is guaranteed that their religious disposals are accurate, believers are ordered to obey them. It can be concluded from this fact, that the foundation of this obedience is the attribute of ismah.

Conclusion

Since the first years of the intellectual history of Islam, the Prophet's authority, binding nature and his exact position in religion have been subject to debate at times. These debates generally focused on the Prophet's ontological identity, the binding nature of his sunnah and the informational value of his hadiths. Doubtless, there are times when these debates had led to interpreting the Prophet as a super-human being and creating an identity of a semi-god based on his personality Such interpretations cannot be accepted within the context of prophecy that is set out in Qur'an. However, such excessive conclusions have led to other excessive behavior where the influence and example of the Prophet is removed from our lives and he is reduced to, so to speak, a mere postman who only receives and communicates revelations from Allah.

The actions of the Prophet as a human being are no different from those of any human being. However, his strong personality, positive disposition and pure morals are hard to find in most human beings. However, these attributes and his actions are personal and they do not need to be imitated by his ummah as part of religious identity. The ulama is of the general opinion that his binding words and practices are those which are related to religious matters and those outside of his personal and private affairs. These are the aspects we need to focus on and those we need to exclude from our agenda. This is a different thing from the requirement of questioning and evaluating narratives, which are credited to the Prophet and included in the hadith literature, by the rules of ulumu'l-hadith because activities in this area are aimed to determine whether a narrative, which is credited to the Prophet, really originates from him. However, the purpose of this article is to lay out the Prophet's authority in an area which is naturally linked to him and is religious in nature.

The essential attribute of religion, which Allah the Almighty sent to help people find the right path, is the belief of tawhid. In connection with this, being subject to a subject of Allah is rejected in any form and the belief of tawhid is presented as a guarantee of freedom. Thanks to tawhid, a person is able to believe with their own free will and without pressure. Otherwise there cannot be true belief. In this sense, it is impossible for a person, who believes in tawhid, to have a divine faith in another person. This determination and the verses in Qur'an regarding obedience to prophets seem to be in conflict. A prophet is indeed a human being and bears all the attributes a human being bears but the difference is in the receiving of revelations. What is more, a prophet has the attribute of ismah bestowed upon him in relation to the actions of receiving, interpreting and practicing revelations. This very attribute prevents a prophet from acting out of line with the divine will in religious matters. Therefore the innocence of the Prophet regarding religious matters means that his authority is binding for all members of the ummah.

No-one other than prophets receives revelations and no other person is as innocent.[44] Therefore it is out of the question to unconditionally obey any person in terms of religious matters, irrespective of who they are, what scientific or insightful knowledge they have or what family they come from. The last person to receive revelations and bear the attribute of ismah is the Prophet. His passing meant the conclusion of the communication of revelations and the cessation of the existence of the attribute of ismah, which was the precaution taken by Allah the Almighty to preserve the revelations. After his passing, religious words, actions or suggestions of his people from his ummah may be accurate or inaccurate, therefore they can be adopted or rejected. Protecting the unity, identity and integrity of ummah is only possible through obedience to the Prophet. When he is taken out of the equation from the attributes which make ummah then ummah will deteriorate, therefore leading to differing opinions which are destined to be problematic. This is only true for him and is out of question for anyone else.

Debating the binding quality of the Prophet counts as a failure in understanding Islam. The extent of this binding quality may be debated. However, there can be no doubt that a prophet is a determining and a binding factor for an ummah. Referring to extreme imagery centered around the Prophet as grounds for this would be misdirection. However excessive and false to the essence of prophecy such imaginative thinking is, that much that is excessive and false removes the impact of the Prophet from religious life. The claim that Qur'an is the only proof and resource is founded in the mistake of seeing the Prophet and Qur'an as alternatives to each other. However, Qur'an and the Prophet are actually complementary to each other. Everything the Prophet did as a prophet was meant to demonstrate and facilitate the understanding and practice of Qur'an. No words or practices, which truthfully come from the Prophet, were said or done "in spite of" Qur'an. The problem may lie in accounts which have not been proven as coming from him, in which case it would be a mistake to attribute these to him and to base arguments on that point. The essence of religion was adopted through the practices of the Messenger of Allah. The accounts which have not been demonstrated in any practice are of secondary importance and are open to debate. It is possible that different approaches could be taken towards them. However, the practices, which the Messenger of Allah adopted and wanted ummah to adopt, are required of Muslims so that they can incorporate Islam into their life and transform into better versions of themselves.

[44] Other than the opinion of the Shia, a minority in the Islamic ummah, that imams are innocent, nearly all of the ummah in the world is in agreement in this regard. The Shia only deem the Twelve Imams and Fatima to bear the attribute of ismah. This alone is indicative of how exclusive the attribute of ismah really is.

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The True Perception of the Sunnah and its Meaning Today -An Analysis on the Narration of 'Allah is Beautiful and He Loves the Beauty'-*

Nurullah AGİTOĞLU **

Abstract

Muslims have been striving for the first time since the Sunnah, the second main source of Islamic religion, has been understood and passed on to life. Hz. As the Prophet departed from his time, some troubles arose at the point of correct understanding of Sunnah. In the direction of this need, science branches like Muhtelifu'l-hadith, Garîbu'l-hadith were born. Nowadays, it is known that obstacles sometimes appear before correct understanding of hadiths and Sunnah. Sometimes the situations such as being totally distant and being disconnected from the context can sometimes cause the hadiths to be missed or misunderstood. It should not be forgotten that this condition also affects Sunnah's daily movement. The subject will be discussed in this study and the issue will be covered in the example of 'Allah is beautiful, he likes beauty'. Interpretations of the narration, especially commentaries, will be helpful.

Key Words: Sunnah, Hadith, Rumor, Understanding.

Sünnetin Doğru Anlaşılması ve Günümüze Taşınması -'Allah Güzeldir, Güzelliği Sever' Rivâyeti Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme-

Özet

İslam Dini'nin ikinci temel kaynağı olan Sünnet'in anlaşılması ve hayata geçirilmesi yolunda Müslümanlar ilk dönemlerden bu yana çaba sarf etmişlerdir. Hz. Peygamber'in (sas) yaşadığı dönemden uzaklaşıldıkça zaman içerisinde Sünnet'in doğru anlaşılması noktasında bazı sıkıntılar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu ihtiyaç doğrultusunda Muhtelifu'l-hadis, Garîbu'l-hadis gibi ilim dalları doğmuştur. Günümüzde de hadislerin ve Sünnetin doğru anlaşılması önünde bazen engellerin çıktığı bilinmektedir. Bütünlükten uzak, bağlamından kopuk ele alınması gibi durumlar da bazen hadislerin eksik veya yanlış anlaşılmasına sebep

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olabilmektedir. Bu durumun Sünnet'in günümüze taşınmasına etki eden yanı da unutulmamalıdır. Bu çalışmada ilgili husus üzerinde durulacak ve 'Allah güzeldir, güzelliği sever' rivâyeti örneğinde konu ele alınacaktır. Başta şerhler olmak üzere, rivayet ile ilgili yapılan yorumlar yol gösterici olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sünnet, Hadis, Rivayet, Anlama.

Introduction

The hadiths, which are the second most important source in Islam, are vital for Muslims. It is not possible to understand and practice Islam without the hadiths. The Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) is the person who was assigned the duty of announcing and declaring the Qur'an[1] .

Establishing a proper Prophetic image within a great Islamic culture that has continued to exist for fourteen centuries with its own values and supporting the guidance and exemplary role of this portrait, which will exist until the Day of Judgment, are among the most significant duties of Muslims.[2]

The significance of the Prophet Muhammad in practicing the sunnah, which is regarded as his lifestyle, and conveying it to those in the present day, is obvious. Therefore, understanding the distinction between the sunnah and the hadiths seems to be appropriate.

Although the concepts of the sunnah and the hadiths are often used interchangeably, exploring the difference between them will be appropriate for those interested in both concepts. Hadith scholars used these concepts in the same sense and implied that the main point concerning the concept of the sunnah is the consistency and continuity of the term, although all Prophet-related khabars were presented regarding this concept.[3]

The sunnah reflects the characterized behaviors of the Prophet that did not change. It suggests the consistency and continuity in his behaviors and acts.[4]

The Prophet asked his ummah to follow his practices and stated that those who neglected his sunnah would not be in his ummah anymore. He also mentioned

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[1] For example, see al-Hashr 59/7; an-Najm 53/ 3-4; al-Ahzab 33/ 21; an-Nahl, 16/44.

[2] İ. Hakkı Ünal, "İslam Kültürünün Sürekliliğini Sağlamada Hadis ve Sünnetin Rolü", *İslam'ın Anlaşılmasında Sünnetin Yeri ve Değeri Kutlu Doğum Sempozyumu – 2001*, Ankara 2003. p. 26-28.

[3] Ali Yardım, *Hadith I*, Damla Pub., Istanbul 1997, p. 31; Yavuz Ünal, "Tradition-Sunnah Relationship", *Ondokuz Mayıs University, İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1999, issue: 11, p. 79-96, p. 80.

[4] Yardım, s. 31; Yavuz Ünal, s. 80.

that commitment to the sunnah and paving the way for the sunnah should be exemplary for Muslims.[5]

The most important point here is to follow the Prophet himself. His sunnah should be considered in order to practice the religion properly. However, the Prophet was a human being who was born in a physical environment and raised in an intense culture, which resulted in different approaches to conveying his practices and statements to cultures from different times and places, and in problems for understanding his statements. However, this is not entirely valid for the sunnah. Nevertheless, problems may occur when we separately review the behaviors that can be regarded as sunnah. The relevant statements and practices emerged in their own contexts, and they belong to these contexts.[6]

Understanding a text does not only mean understanding the language of that text, which is valid for all text types. The conditions and the environment in which a text was written should be considered in order to understand that text. The elements that affected the formation of a text reflects the context of that text. A context acts as a key to understand and interpret a text.[7]

Context, an important concept, is a unit or entirety of a unit that covers a language unit, emerges before or after that unit, affects it in many cases, and determines its meaning and value. In other words, an indicator combined with other elements and reflecting a concept, is called context.[8] The context reflects the point where language and text exist collectively. This relationship between a text and context should be known by the indirect addressee in order to understand the meaning. This process takes place around a text. Thus, it is important for the indirect addressee to learn about the context to understand the meaning.[9] An accurate and consistent meaning requires considering all contexts.[10] The sunnah, which aims to justify and clarify the Qur'anic verses, should also be justified. This justification process, in which the understanding, culture and physical environmental factors of the Prophet's society were effective, is important in order to properly understand his sunnah. Therefore, the social values and their effectiveness, and the traditions should be considered.[11]

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[5] Bukhari, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn İsmail, *al-Jami as-sahih,* I-VI, Daru Ibn Kasir, Beirut 1987, Nikah 1; Muslim, Abu aI-Huseyn Ibn al-Hajjaj, *al-Jami as-sahih,* I-V, Daru Ihy at-turas al-Arabi, Beirut n.d., Nikah 5; Abu Dawud, Suleiman b. el-Ash'as, *as-Sunan,* Dar al-kitab al-Arabi, Beirut n.d., Sunnah, 6.
[6] Yavuz Ünal, p. 82.
[7] Dücane Cündioğlu, *History of Meaning from the Aspect of Verbal to Written Culture*, Tibyân Pub., Istanbul 1997, p. 17.
[8] Turkish Dictionary, TDK Pub., Ankara, 2005, (10th Edition), p. 180; Doğan Aksan, *Language from Every Relevant Aspects,* TDK Pub., Ankara 2007, III, 200.
[9] Cündioğlu, p. 17.
[10] Nurullah Agitoğlu, "Contextual Formation in Hadith", *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 2013, VI, 5, p. 127-145., p. 145.
[11] Yavuz Ünal, p. 82.

In modern times, when moral corruption is more common and humanistic values are neglected, presenting the Prophet as an exemplary person appears to be an practical solution for the negative status of Muslims privately and the whole of humanity generally.[12]

Taking the Prophet as the "role model" for the present era does not mean doing what he did. Instead, it suggests interpreting his actions in the presenting era by understanding the reasons for his actions. The only way to convey his message to those in the present is by correctly understanding and practicing his sunnah considering the principles he observed.[13]

Nasi Aslan summarized certain principles that can be followed in order to correctly understand and convey the provisions in the sunnah to those in the present, as follows: "If the sunnah-related provisions are valid based on certain reasons, examinations will be conducted to see whether these reasons are still present. The Prophet asked his followers to consider the results that arise from these reasons. Many provisions in the sunnah reflect the practices within the Qur'an, and some of these provisions were regarded as the best means for performing the practices in that era.[14] The reasons and conditions of an era, with regard to the hadiths, should be considered in order to correctly understand and practice these hadiths. The hadiths that reflect a social fact or custom of the era should be specified, and the reasons and related purposes should be determined. We have to consider this approach by the Prophet, who presented a lifestyle that facilitated prayers and religious practices, perpetually."[15]

It is obvious that the sunnah, that holds a particular significance for understanding and practicing Islam, will maintain its timeliness and universality. However, another significant point is the conveyance of sunnah to those in the present day. The first section of this study will focus on this issue

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[12] Musa Erkaya, "The Role of Hadith/Sunnah in Conveying The Prophet's (p.b.u.h.) Exemplary Characteristics to the Present Time", *Symposium of Ethics in the Modern Era, May 7-8, 2010 Konya* 2012, p. 327-364, p. 327.

[13] Erkaya, p. 327.

[14] For a study on this subject see: Rahmet Koluman, *Hadis/Sünnette Araç-Amaç İlişkisi Ve Araçların Değişebilirliği (Misvak Hadisleri Örneği)* (Unpublished Master Thesis), ŞÜSBE, 2017.

[15] Nasi Aslan, "Conveying the Sunnah to the Present Time", *Diyanet İlmi Dergi [Diyanet İşleri Reisliği Yıllığı] Our Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) special issue*, 2000, 2003, issue: Special Issue, p. 339-360, p. 357-358.

I. Conveyance of the Sunnah to those in the Present Day

Practice often comes before theory, and a theory is built on a practice. As the sunnah is based on practice, it created a sense of unity for the first Islamic societies in terms of generation, formation and characterization processes.[16]

The Prophet is the establisher of the sunnah. Prophets are the servants who were assigned the duty of serving as a hidayah guide. The principles of the Prophet Muhammad, who was sent to reflect God's mercy to the world, will continue to guide people through his correct recognition, and the Prophet is introduced and accurately considered to be a role model. The need to understand the Prophet and taking him as a role model will never end. As time changes, beliefs and world views of people vary. Introducing the Prophet Muhammad to the people of the present from an exemplary aspect and by perceiving these changes properly is an important duty of Muslim scholars.[17]

Approaches toward the sunnah have always been significant. It is a fact that narratives, which have survived to the present day as written documents, despite the changes and dynamism in life, and are regarded as religious texts, are static, and they reflect the practices of a certain era. Muslims should correctly learn the Prophet's characteristics, purposes, the means and methods he used to fulfill these purposes, preferences, dislikes, and orders. Individuals who are to select certain narratives and transfer these to the present should certainly consider the sources and acquis about the Prophet. If the messages in the narratives are different from what these individuals are facing, the Prophet's relevant aims and intentions should be determined and new means and methods for fulfilling these aims should be regarded as sunnah. Those individuals should not think that they are acting against the sunnah. They should be at ease knowing that they are properly practicing the sunnah.[18] It is obligatory to determine the principles that will guide the personal or social approaches for problem solving in understanding the religion.[19]

Many sections of the Qur'an criticized imitating an action or belief slavishly without presenting any evidence. The Prophet Muhammad, who is the practitioner of the Qur'an, ordered his followers to convey what they heard from him, but he ordered them to do so while understanding what he meant because the Prophet stated the following: "May God bless those who have conveyed exactly what I

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[16] Habil Nazlıgül, "What Should be the Common Point on Conveying the Sunnah/Hadiths to the Present Time?", *YDÜ I. Symposium of International Hadith Specialization (April 26-29, 2012 Nicosia)*, 2014, p. 41-82 p. 80-82.

[17] Adem Apak, "Opinions on Properly Understanding the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) in the Present Time", *Uludağ University İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2010, XIX/2, p. 59-72, p. 60.

[18] Nazlıgül, p. 80-82.

[19] H. Musa Bağcı, "Significance of theProphet Muhammad's Exemplary Characteristicin the PresentTime: (In the Context of the Following Concepts: Tashabbah/Taklit and Iktida/Taassi/Ittiba)", *The Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and His Message*, 2014, p. 107-123, p. 107.

ordered."[20] The Prophet placed great importance on understanding, and he warned against those who slavishly and occasionally did what he did without questioning the relevant reasons and purposes. He once placed his shoes on his left side while praying with the congregation. The members of the sahabah saw what he did and they also put their shoes on their left sides. Then the Prophet asked them: "Why did you take your shoes off?" They answered: "We saw you took your shoes off, and we did the same". Upon their answer, the Prophet made the following statement: "Gabriel told me that shoes carry dirt". He implied that a behavior that was considered exemplary should not be practiced slavishly, and imitations performed without questioning should be avoided.[21]

Presenting the exemplary characteristics of the Prophet to people in the modern era using an imitation-based approach is wrong. Thus, telling them to take the Prophet as a role model would mean inviting them to live in the Prophetic era of the sixth century rather than the present era, which is not rational.[22]

The reasons for failing to understand and convey the sunnah correctly include formalism, imitation, ignorance, inability to understand the literary hadith analyses and language styles, failure to understand the difference between the orders, prohibitions, encouragement, warnings and threats in the hadiths, placing too much importance on false hadiths, neglecting the reasons and dates of effectiveness regarding the hadiths, and ignoring the universal aspect of the hadiths. Confusing the Prophet's pre and post-prophecy actions and statements are among the reasons for misunderstanding the Prophet.[23]

If the aim is to practice the Prophet's exemplary characteristics and actions with the concept and dynamism of his era, the data obtained from the hadiths and the sunnah should be evaluated within the relevent framework and the concepts that can be conveyed to those in the present era should be determined properly.[24]

The narrative "Allah is beautiful. He loves beauty" will be examined to better understand the issue of transferring the sunnah to the present. Chain criticism was not needed as the narrative was included in various hadith sources. However, the hadiths will be examined considering the interpretations. In addition, the significance of transferring such narratives to the present for Muslims will be implied.

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[20] Tirmidhi, Abu Isa Muhammed ibn Isa, *Sunan (al-Jami as-sahih),* I-V, inv. A. Muhammad Shaqir et al., Egypt 1975. (The edition presented with Muhammad Nasiruddin al-Albani's evaluations and remarks: Maktabat al-Maarif, Riyadh n.d.) Ilim, 7; Ibn Majah, Muhammad ibn Yazid al-Kazvini, *as-Sunan*, ed. Muhammad Fuad Abdulbaki, Dar al Fikr, Beirut n.d., Mukaddamah, 18.

[21] Abu Dawud, Ilim 10; Tirmidhi, Ilim 7; See Abu Dawud, Salat, 88; Bağcı, p. 107-108.

[22] Bağcı, p. 123; İ. Hakkı Ünal, p. 26-28.

[23] For more information, see Abdulkadir Evgin, "The Reasons for Misunderstanding the Prophet with Relevant Examples, *Fırat University İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2000, issue: 5 [Prof. Dr. Şaban Kuzgun's Gift], p. 111-116.

[24] İ. Hakkı Ünal, p. 26-28.

II. The Issue of Transferring the Sunnah to the Present in the Narrative 'Allah is Beautiful, He Loves Beauty'

Islam aims to ensure happiness for Muslims in both the physical and eternal world. It is impossible to state that religious texts neglect people's daily lives in the physical world. It is remarkable that, the aspect of the sunnah that guides people's daily lives, makes their lives meaningful, and provides full support to Muslims, which are also performed by verses.

Muslims should observe the balance between both worlds in order to properly prepare for the Day of Judgement, but they should also remember that the eternal world must be the ultimate goal.

The Prophet has hadiths that directe Muslims in their social life, encourage aesthetic emotions, and encourage them to contribute positively to their relationships with one another. These narratives have provided physical and spiritual benefits in the Islamic world throughout history. One of these narratives is 'Allah is beautiful, he loves beauty'.[25]

People should be spiritually comfortable for maintaining a life that is physically comfortable. Thus, the Qur'an and the sunnah, two basic sources of Islam, include many statements regarding the spiritual aspect of human life. Beauty and aesthetics that appeal to all sensory organs is significant for the spiritual aspect of human life. Therefore, the Qur'an and the sunnah include many statements regarding beauty and aesthetics.[26]

Those who study the life of the Prophet have seen that he is an example of beauty, cleanliness, kindness, chastity and sophistication in every respect. These characteristics reflect the most beautiful aesthetic aspects. It is not possible to limit the aesthetics and beauty in his life to one topic. It is a well-known fact that he behaved in the best way possible within his family and society. He was a great father to his children, and a great husband to his wives. He was also the best friend to every person within his community. As the Qur'an declared, "There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of Allah an excellent example for anyone whose hope is in Allah and the Last Day and [who] remembers Allah often"[27], he is an example of every sort of beauty. Accordingly, Muslims should take him as a role model in every aspects of their lives.[28]

The reason for conveying this hadith is as follows: When the Prophet stated, "Those who have the slightest pride in their hearts cannot go to Jannah", some of the members of the sahabah said, "People love to wear beautiful clothes and

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[25] Muslim, Iman, 147.

[26] Ali Karakaş, "Aesthetics in Hadith Culture", *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, 2017, XII/35, s. 487-501, p. 498-499.

[27] al-Ahzab 33/21.

[28] Karakaş, p. 498-499.

shoes", upon which the Prophet mentioned the following: "Allah is jamil and beautiful, and he loves beauty. Arrogance means to dislike, spoil, and underestimate others."

During the initial Islamic years, the sahabah were poor. However, the Prophet was not content with the authority of leaders over their tribes and their pride toward the weak, despite the modesty presented by the members of the sahabah. Islam announced from the very first moment that people are equal to one another, as much as the teeth of a comb. It also implied that Arabic people are not superior to other nations, and superiority can only emerge with takwa. In addition, Allah ordered as follows: "O mankind, indeed we have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the eyes of Allah are the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is knowing and acquainted."[29]

Therefore, the Prophet advised people to avoid pride, and warned those with pride and told them that they could not go to Jannah if they continue being so. He even stated that those with the slightest pride in their hearts would not go to Jannah. Therefore, certain members of the sahabah believed that wearing beautiful clothes and shoes suggested pride. However, the Prophet stated that this did not reflect pride. Instead, pride meant denying people's rights and underestimating them, but loving beauty was permissible because Allah created beauty and Allah wanted to see the reflection of beauty in his servants. This is permissible on the condition that nobody would be underestimated. However, when people boast about what Allah granted them, they display unlawful behavior, and it is particularly mentioned they will go to Jahannam."[30]

It is obvious that Islam places importance on aesthetics, regularity, cleanliness, and looking in a way that would not bother anybody. In addition, wearing beautiful clothes and being neat does not mean wasting anything. Wasting suggests displaying excessive behaviors.

Ali Karakaş, who stated that different remarks were made about the term, jamil, in the narrative 'Allah is beautiful and he loves beauty', made the following statement: "Beauty is assessed from two perspective: the beauty within anything or within people's essence, and the beauty presented to the outer world. Beauty has such a broad context. Accordingly, Allah's beauty suggests the beauty in his names, titles, and statements. Any actions, artistic works or professions of people are evaluated in this context of beauty. Thus, all people should perform their actions considering this approach, which indicates how much aesthetics affect each section of daily life. However, this concept of beauty should not drive people to have pride

[29] Al-Hujurat 13.

[30] Şahin, Musa, *Fath al- Mun'im Sharhu Sahih al-Muslim*, I-X, Dar ash-Shuruk, s.l., 2002, I, 300; VIII, 344; al-Harari, Muhammad al-Amin ibn Abdullah, *al-Kawkab al-Vahhaj Sharhu Sahihi Muslim*, I-XXVI, Dar al-Minhaj, Mecca 2009, III,53

in their attitudes. Those who dress beautifully and remain under the influence of their ego, and consider themselves superior to and neglect others, do not act beautifully. Instead, they just ignore rightful actions. Beauty should be within the moral and ethical borders in its every form."[31]

The incorrect aspect of appearing beautiful or dressing beautifully is considering clothes and living conditions as an indicator of superiority.

The narrative 'Allah loves beauty' reflects a proper or beautiful appearance. The beauty of Allah can be reviewed within the context 'He created your faces beautifully, and he beautified your creation.[32] The narrative in this study suggests that Islam is pure, and Islam calls for purity in its every form.[33]

The concept of beauty in the narrative, Allah is beautiful and he loves beauty, suggests possessing no deficiencies, thus certain people believed that this term was used as a name for Allah. In addition, the term, jamil, suggests beauty in appearance. Beauty suggests possessing no deficiency or ugliness. Some people stated that this term meant "Mujmil", which is the one who beautifies.[34]

We can make the following remarks regarding the narrative on the significant subject of transferring the sunnah to the present:

The Prophet stated that those with the slightest pride in their hearts would not go to Jannah. He clearly implied that such a serious sin as pride is not appropriate for Muslims, Muslims cannot have pride, and pride is an obstacle before going to Jannah. One of the members of the sahabah asked whether beauty, in terms of clothes and shoes, means pride, which could be asked even in modern times, to clarify the issue. This question points out the existence of the remarkable nuance between aesthetics and pride. Looking beautiful may result in having pride, which may also be caused by other actions.

After the relevant warnings regarding arrogance, the Prophet stated that wearing beautiful clothes and looking beautiful did not suggest absolute arrogance. However, he did not hesitate in resenting concepts of beauty and aesthetics in Islam. He noted that Islam, which placed importance on cleanliness and regularity, pointed out good appearance, and Muslims should act based on concerns of cleanliness and aesthetics in every possible circumstance during any era. Of course, it should be clear that people who are not be spoiled or act with pride should be sensitive to waste and extravagance.

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[31] Karakaş, p. 496.
[32] Şahin, I, 301.
[33] Şahin, VIII, 411.
[34] Mazari, Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ali, *al-Mu'lim bi fawaidi Muslim*, I-III, inv. Muhammad ash-Shazali, ad-Dar at-Tunusiyyah, 1988, I, 303; Iyaz ibn Musa Abu al-Fazl, *Ikmal al-Mu'lim bi fawaidi Muslim*, I-VIII, edited by Yahya Ismail, Dar al-Wafa, Egypt 1998, I, 359-360.

If those in the modern world follow the principles of the Prophet without concerns for waste and trends, they would realize the guidance and illuminating aspects of the sunnah as an immortal and universal lifestyle.

Conclusion

The hadiths, the second most important source in Islam, are vital for Muslims. It is not possible to understand and practice Islam without the hadiths. The significance of the Prophet Muhammad in practicing the sunnah, which is regarded as his lifestyle, and conveying it to those in the present day, is obvious.

The most important point here is to follow the Prophet himself. His sunnah should be considered in order to practice the religion properly. However, transferring the sunnah to the present does not mean doing what he did. Instead, it suggests interpreting his actions within the modern era by understanding the reasons for his actions.

The Prophet is the establisher of the sunnah. Approaches toward the sunnah have always been significant. Many sections of the Qur'an criticize slavishly imitating the practices of others. The Prophet also ordered his followers to convey what they heard from him, but he ordered them to do so while understanding what he meant because Presenting the exemplary characteristics of the Prophet to people in the modern era using an imitation-based approach is wrong.

The Issue of Transferring the Sunnah to the Present was reviewed in the Narrative 'Allah is Beautiful, He Loves Beauty'. The Prophet has hadiths that directe Muslims in their social life, encourage aesthetic emotions, and encourage them to contribute positively to their relationships with one another. These narratives have provided physical and spiritual benefits in the Islamic world throughout history. One of these narratives is 'Allah is beautiful, he loves beauty'.

Beauty and aesthetics that appeal to all sensory organs is significant for the spiritual aspect of human life. Therefore, the Qur'an and the sunnah include many statements regarding beauty and aesthetics.

The Prophet avoided arrogance, and warned those with arrogance and told them that they could not go to Jannah if they continue being so. He even stated that those with the slightest pride in their hearts would not go to Jannah. Therefore, certain members of the sahabah believed that wearing beautiful clothes and shoes suggested pride. However, the Prophet stated that this did not reflect pride. Instead, pride meant denying people's rights and underestimating them, but loving beauty was permissible because Allah created beauty and Allah wanted to see the reflection of beauty in his servants. It is obvious that Islam places importance on aesthetics, regularity, cleanliness, and looking in a way that would not bother anybody. In addition, wearing beautiful clothes and being neat does not mean

wasting anything. Wasting suggests displaying excessive behaviors. The incorrect aspect of appearing beautiful or dressing beautifully is considering clothes and living conditions as an indicator of superiority.

The Prophet stated that those with the slightest pride in their hearts would not go to Jannah. One of the members of the sahabah asked whether beauty, in terms of clothes and shoes, means pride, which could be asked even in modern times, to clarify the issue. This question points out the existence of the remarkable nuance between aesthetics and pride. Looking beautiful may result in having pride, which may also be caused by other actions.

After relevant warnings regarding the arrogance, the Prophet stated that wearing beautiful clothes and looking good did not suggest absolute arrogance. However, he did not hesitate to present the Islamic approach toward beauty and aesthetics. If the people of the modern era follow the Prophet's principles, they will realize the guidance and universality in the sunnah.

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Commentaries and Annotations Written on Hadith Works in Shia*

Mecid MAARİF**
Introduction to Translation and Notes: Peyman ÜNÜGÜR***

Introduction

The studies on Shia's understanding of the hadiths has tended to increase however, this is not a well-known field to the theologians in Turkey. It is necessary to make the efforts of Muslims in the historical process in the field of the hadiths apparent without discriminating against the groups in order to form a holistic view of hadith history. In this regard, translation of the works written by Shia and thought to make a contribution to the recognition of the studies is as important as academic research to be conducted directly on the Shia sources.

This study comprises of the translation of the part of a recently compiled book[1] about hadith history, in which commentary activities of Shia in the context of hadith works are examined with their main lines. The text tries to provide answers to the questions about when those activities started, how they were conducted, and which works they focused on. It is clear that Shia's approach to the hadiths cannot be understood independently of the way it is interpreted. Therefore, the comprehensive literature in the Shia tradition is an important area waiting to be studied.

The text includes some added parts in the translation. The dates of death given by the author in the Hijri calendar are provided with their equivalents in the Gregorian calendar. Some parts are added to the text within parentheses to help the reader understand it better. And a range of additional information and corrections are added in the footnotes as the translator's note (t.n.). Additionally, information about the books mentioned in the text, which are printed, are given as far as possible.

Although the fact that the early Shia hadith works were written in Arabic made it relatively easy for a theologist carrying out academic studies, it has become quite difficult to follow up on the developments in the Shia world, especially in the

*The title of the part in the book that was translated was, "The Analysis, Examination, and Commentary of Narratives" and the main purpose of translating the text was to draw attention to commentary activities in Shia, this title was considered to be appropriate for the content.
This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Şîa'da Hadis Eserleri Üzerine Yazılan Şerh ve Haşiyeler" published in the 7-8th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi.* (Mecîd Maârif Translator: Peyman Ünügür, "Şîa'da Hadis Eserleri Üzerine Yazılan Şerh ve Haşiyeler", *İlahiyat Akademi,* sayı: 7-8, Aralık 2018, s. 375-382.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

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[1]Mecid Maarif, Tarih-i Umumi-yi Hadis-ba Ruykerd-i Tahlili, Tehran: Intishaarat-i Kevir, 1396, 388-394.

recent period, as Persian has become the dominant language in the works written by Shia for more than three centuries. The one or two semester Persian education delivered through faculties of divinity cannot meet this need of the theologists today. Therefore, the translations to be made in this field might increase interest in the field and encourage more researchers to learn Persian and undertake research on these topics. We hope that this translation will make at least a small contribution.

The Analysis, Examination, and Commentary of Narratives

Commentaries began to be written in the mid 10th century of the Hijri calendar as mazji and mufassal[2] in *al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah* and the other books about the hadiths. The first author to start writing commentaries for the works written in the previous periods was Al-Shahid al-Thani (d. 966/1559). He wrote *Al-Bidaya fi 'Ilm al-Diraya* on the topic of mustalah al-hadith, and wrote a commentary on it to provide ease of use, which he called *Sharḥ al-Bidayah fī 'Ilm al-Dirayah*.[3] It is necessary to indicate that there are two types of commentary activities with respect to writing commentaries on hadith works. The first are the independent commentaries written on the hadith books. And the other are the commentaries on the narratives selected within the context of some fiqhi issues and books. Commentaries (sharh) and annotations (hashiyah) on hadith works are divided into two parts, as well. These are:

1.Commentaries and annotations written on *al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah*

2.Commentaries and annotations written on the other hadith works.

Commentaries and Annotations Written on *al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah*

It is necessary to indicate that there is a lot of commentaries and annotations written on al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah, some of which include commentary of the whole of the work, while the others contain commentary of a part of the work. Agha Bozorg Tehrani (d. 1970) mentions 48 commentaries and 70 annotations written on al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah in his work *al-Dhari'a;* 21 commentaries and 22 annotations among which were dedicated to al-Kulayni's (d. 329/941) *al-Kafi;* 15 annotations on Al-Shaykh al-Saduq's (d. 381/991) *Man la yahduruh al-faqih;* 14 commentaries and 20 annotations on Al-Shaykh al-Tusi's (d. 460/1067) *Tahdhib al-ahkam;* 13 commentaries

[2] In mazji commentaries, the text and commentary of the hadith takes place in the same paragraph, which makes it difficult to separate the hadith text from the commentary text. In the mufassal commentaries, the text is completely separate from the commentaries and explanations: İlyas Purekber - Ali Naqi Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia Der Sedeha-yi Heshtom Ta Yazdehom*, Muessese-i İlmi-yi Ferhengi-yi Daru'l-hadith, 1385, 420.

[3] Purekber- Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia*, 420.

and 13 annotations on Al-Shaykh al-Tusi's *Al-Istibsar fi ma ukhtulif min al-akhbar*. We are going to mention some of the commentaries and annotations written on each of these books as an example, and provide detailed information about one from each.

Some of the Commentaries and Annotations on *al-Kafi*

1.Mir'at al-'uqul:[4] Muḥammad Baqir b. Muhammad Taqi al-Majlisi (d. 1110-1111/1698-1699), known as al-ʿAllama al-Majlisi.

2.Sharh Usul al-Kafi: Amir Ismail Khatunabadi

3.Sharh Usul al-Kafi:[5] Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Sadr al-Din Shirazi (the author of *al-Asfār al-Arbaʿa*, d. 1050)

4.Sharh Usul al-Kafi: Muhammad Salih ibn Ahmad Mazandarani (d. 1081/1670) This book contains criticisms of the commentary of Mulla Sadra (Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Sadr al-Din Shirazi).

5.Mulla Khalil Qazwini's Persian commentary on *Usul al-Kafi, Safi.* And his commentary in Arabic on Usul al-Kafi, Shafi[6].

6.*Hashiyah bar Usul and Furu'-i Kafi:* Ibrahim ibn Faqih Kazimi. Kazimi, known as Ibn al-Vendi, is the author of *Jamiu Asrar al-Ulema*.

7.Hashiyah Usul al-Kafi: Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Zayn al-Din (d. 1030/1621).

8.*al-Rawashih al-samawiyya fi sharh al-Kafi:* [7] Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Muhaqqiq Damad (d. 1040/1631). This work is regarded as a mukaddimah to *al-Kafi*'s commentary.

9.*Sharh al-Rawdat al-Kafi (Nuzhat al-Ikhwan and Tuhfat al-Hallan):* Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi (d. 1112/1701)

10.Sharh al-Furu' al-Kafi: Muhammad Hadi ibn. Muhammad Salih al-Mazandarani (d. 1120/1708).[8]

Mir'at al-'Uqul, a commentary on al-Kafi

Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi explains the reason why Mir'at al-'Uqul was written:

[4] Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamia, 1404.
[5] Tehran: Muessese-i Mutalaat and Tahkikat-i Ferhengi, 1366.
[6] Teh. Muhammad Huseyn al-Dirayeti, Qum: Dar al-Hadith, 1429/1387.
[7] Qum: Dar al-Hadith, 1422/1380.
[8] For other commentaries on *al-Kafi*, see: [8] Purekber- Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia*, 175-179.

"My interpretations and annotations on hadith books had been written in a disorderly manner during my discussions with the fellows and students engaged in religious sciences. And I had had a fear of losing those notes. Therefore, I started to compile them even though I was very busy with other studies. I began with *al-Kafi* by al-Kulayni. I decided to give brief information on the status of the chains of narration, which are basic and essential to the hadiths, unless there was a need to offer an explanation. I named my book, *Mir'at al-'uqul fi sharh akhbar al al-Rasul*, in which I only wrote commentaries on complicated wordings and topics with brief explanations that research scholars could easily understand, and included some parts from the annotations of some of the prominent scholars."[9]

In his explanation of the status of the chain of narration, Majlisi just gives information about the classification of the narratives as weak, true, good, elevated, unknown, or mursal, and explains the reasons why they are considered true or weak. What he writes in his commentary on the first hadith in the section, "Characteristics of Scholars" in the part, "The Excellence of Knowledge" can be seen as an example of this. The hadith goes: "I heard that Abu Abd Allah (Jaʿfar al-Sadiq) said: Acquire knowledge and teach people. Learn along with it dignity and tranquility and humility for those who teach you, and humility for those whom you teach. Do not be tyrannical scholars and thus, base your knowledge upon your ignorance." Majlisi says in his commentary on this hadith that:

"The first hadith: True". Then, he continues with the commentary of some parts of the passages of the hadith: Although some scholars say what is implied in the expression, "for those whom you teach" is humility when knowledge is first demanded, it is probably being humble in general (not only when knowledge is demanded from the person). What is implied in the expression, "for whom you demand knowledge", is humility when and after knowledge is demanded. The word "tyrant" means arrogant. "Your wrong will annihilate your right", means that your arrogance will destroy your knowledge. Or it means that the honor and merit you obtained through knowledge will be destroyed. And the third meaning is that the reward you obtained by learning or teaching knowledge will be destroyed. The second meaning is clearer.

Some of the Commentaries and Annotations on *Man la yahduruh al-faqih*

There are also some commentaries and especially many annotations on *Man la yahduruh al-faqih.* We can list some of these as follows:

1.*Rawdat al-muttaqin fi sharh akhbari eimmeti al-masumin:* [10] Muhammad Taqi al-Majlisi (known as Majlesi-ye Awwal: d. 1070/1659).

[9] Majlisi, Mir'at al-'uqul, I, 3.
[10] Qum: Muassasat al-dar al-kitabi'l-Islami, 2008.

2.*Ma'ahid al-Tanbih fi Sharh Kitab Man La Yahdhuruh al-Faqih:* Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Zayn al-Din Shahid Thani (d. 1030/1621).

3.*Miraj al-Tanbih.* Belonging to Yusuf al-Bahrani, this is the commentary of a part of *al-Faqih*.

4.*Lawami' Qudsiyyah*/Sahibqirani:[11] The author of the book, written in Persian, is Muhammad Taqi al-Majlisi.[12]

5.*Man la yahduruh al-nabih fi sharh (kitab) man la yahduruh al-faqih:* Abd Allah ibn Salih Samahiji (d. 1135/1723).

6.*Sharh-i (kitab-i) man la yahduruh al-faqih:* Muhammad Salih ibn Abd al-Wasih Khatunabadi (d. 1126/1714).

7.*Miraj al-nabih fi sharh (kitab) man la yahduruh al-faqih:* Yusuf ibn Ahmad Bahrani (d. 1186/1772).

8.*Miftah al-nebih fi sharh al-faqih* Muhammad ibn Abd al-Nabi Nishaburi al-Akhbari (d. 1232/1816).[13]

Rawdat al-Muttaqin,* a Commentary on *Man La Yahduruh al-Faqih

The author of the commentary, Majlesi-ye Awwal, says at the beginning of the book:

"The hadiths transmitted from Ahl al-Bayt became widespread with the grace of Allah after a certain period of neglect. Some of my fellows and students engaged in religious knowledge wanted me to write a commentary that would make the status of the narratives clear and explain their purpose with regard to the hadiths of Ahl al-Bayt.

Finding this study very valuable and important, I set out to fulfill their wish, despite my weakness and advancing age, in the hope that this would be something for which people would be grateful and pray for me. As I thought *Man la yahduruh al-faqih* was a concise book, in which the provisions were made clear and the issues regarding sharia and their sources were explained, I asked Allah to help me and wrote a commentary on the work in accordance with the nature of the people of this era without going into details, calling it, *Rawdat al-muttaqin fi sharh akhbari eimmeti al-masumin*."[14]

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[11] Qum: Intisharat-i Ismailiyan, 1414.

[12] Âga Bozorg Tahrânî, *Zerî'a ilâ Tasânîfi'ş-Şîa*, Beyrut: Dâru'l-adva', 1983, XIV, 33.

[13] For information about the annotations written on *Man la yahduruh al-faqih*, see: Purekber- Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia*, 179-180.

[14] Muhammed Takî al-Majlisî, *Rawdat al-muttaqin*, Qom: Bunyad-i Ferheng-i İslami, 1367, I, 3 (in Muassasat al-dar al-kitabi'l-Islami (2008) edition: I, 73-74).

Ayat Allah Mar'ashi Najafi says briefly about the book: *Rawdat al-Muttaqin* is a unique work, superior to the other commentaries written. This work is ornamented with the most beautiful paragraphs in order to clarify the complexities, eliminate the ambiguities, shed light on difficult issues, detail the obscure statements, eliminate the obscurity of the hadiths, and discover the subtle purposes and make references to them. The book also tries to correct the mistakes in the chains and texts of the hadiths and make the profound purposes in them clear. The commentary on the commentator, makes use of the accuracy and clarity of hadith texts, the methods of compiling disputable narratives within the bounds of possibility, and the reasons of preference in the chain of narrations. The commentary also provides useful information on fiqh and dignitaries (rijal).[15]

Some of the Commentaries and Annotations on *Tahdhib al-ahkam*

There are several commentaries and annotations written on Al-Shaykh al-Tusi's *Tahdhib al-ahkam*. [16] We can list some of these as follows:

1.*Sharhu Tahdhib al-ahkam:* Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn. Zayn al-Din (d. 1030/1621).

2.*Sharhu Tahdhib al-ahkam:* Muhammad Amin ibn Muhammad Sharif Astarabadi (d. 1036/1626).

3.*Ihya' al-ahadith:* Muhammad Taqi al-Majlisi (d. 1070/1659).

4.*Maladh al-akhyar fi fahm tahdhib al-akhbar:* [17] Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi (d. 1110-1111/1698-1699), known as al-ʿAllama al-Majlisi.

5.*Maqsud al-anam* Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi (d. commentary by Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi (d. 1112/1701).

6.*Ghayat al-maram fi sharh Tahdhib al-ahkam:* A relatively concise eight-volume commentary by Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi.

7.*Kanz al-taleb wa* wasilat al-raghib: A commentary by Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi, summarizing *Ghayat al-maram*.

8.*Sharh al-Tahdhib*: Ahmad ibn Ismail al-Jazairi (d. 1151/1738).

9.*Tawdhih al-maram fi sharh Tahdhib al-ahkam:* Muhammam Nu'aym ibn Muhammad Taqi Urfi Talaqani (d. 1158-1745 or after 1177-1763). [18]

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[15] al-Majlisî, *Rawdat al-muttaqin*, Introduction of Mar'ashi Najafi, I.

[16] For information about the commentaries written on *Tahdhib al-ahkam*, see: Tehrani, *al-Dhari'a*, XXII, 191-192.

[17] Edited by Mahdi Rajai, Qum: Maktabat Ayat Allah Mar'ashi, 1406.

[18] For more information about the commentaries and annotations on *Tahdhib al-ahkam*, see: [18] Purekber-Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia*, 181-183.

Some of the Commentaries and Annotations on *al-Istibsar fi ma ukhtulif min al-akhbar*

There are a number commentaries and annotations on *al-Istibsar*. We can list some of these as follows:

1.*Sharh al-Istibsar*: Muhammad Amin Astarabadi (d. 1033/1624).

2.*Jami' al-akhbar fi sharh al-Istibsar*: Abd al-Latif ibn Abi Jami' el-Harithi. [19]

3.*Kashf al-asrar fi sharh al-Istibsar:* [20] Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi.

Hashiyah bar al-Istibsar: Muhammad Baqir Husayni Astarabadi (known as Mir Damad, d. 1041/1631)

4.*Hashiyah bar al-Istibsar:* Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi.

5.*Sharh al-Istibsar*: Mirza Hasan ibn Abd al-Rasul Husayni Zunnuzi.

6.*Sharh al-Istibsar*: Muhammad Salih ibn Abd al-Wasi' Khatunabadi. [21]

Commentaries and Annotations Written on Other Hadith Works

The commentaries and examinations written on hadith works in the Mutaahhirun period did not center only on *al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah*, but also covered other hadith works. We will mention here the works of many commentaries and, if not all, a sufficient number of examples among those commentaries.

1.There are a significant number of commentaries written on all or a part of *Nahj al-Balagha*. [22]

2.The commentaries written on *al-Sahifa al-Sajjadiyya*[23]. In one of his studies, Agha Bozorg Tehrani mentions 25 commentaries on it.[24]

3.Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi's commentaries on Al-Shaykh al-Saduq's *al-Tawhid: Nur al-barahin fi bayani akhbar al-saadat al-tahirin*,[25] *Anis al-farid fi sharh al-Tawhid*, and *Hashiyah Bar Tawhid al-Saduq*.

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[19] Tehrani, *al-Dhari'a*, V, 37.

[20] Qum: Mu'assasat al-Dar al-Kitab, 1408.

[21] For the other commentaries, annotations and suspensions on *al-Istibsar*, see: [21] Purekber- Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia*, 183-185.

[22] For information about the commentaries on *Nahj al-Balagha*, see: Tehrani, al-Dhari'a, XIV, 111-191; Abd al-Zahra al-Husayni al-Khatib, *Masadir Nahj al-balaghah wa asaniduh*, Beirut: Dar al-Ta'aruf, 1407, I, 202-254; Purekber- Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia*, 185-189.

[23] *al-Sahifa al-Sajjadiyya* is a book of prayers attributed to Ali ibn Husayn Zayn al-Abidin, who is regarded as the fourth of the twelve imams of Shia. It contains 54 prayers: Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1404/1363) (t.n.)

[24] For information about the commentaries on *al-Sahifa al-Sajjadiyya*, see: Tehrani, *al-Dhari'a*, XIII, 354-359; Purekber- Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia*, 189-192.

[25] Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1417

4.*al-Lawami al-Anwar fi sharh uyun al-akhbar*: Ni'mat Allah al-Jazairi.

5.*Jami' asrar al-Ulama'* or *Jami' al-ahadith wa al-'aqwal al-Istibsar*. The work belongs to Muhammad Qasim ibn Muhammad, known as Ibn al-Rawandi. Although it was a commentary on *al-Istibsar* at the beginning, the author then included the hadiths of *Tahdhib al-ahkam, Man la yahduruh al-faqih, al-Kafi* and some other books in the work.[26]

6.*Sharh al-Tawhid li al-Saduq*:[27] Qadi Muhammad Sa'id ibn Muhammad Mufid Qummi (d. after 1106/1694).

There are a few more significant points in the works in this field during the Mutaahhirun period, apart from the fact that commentaries were written on the hadith works in the early period. One of these points is the commentaries and annotations written on the certain parts of works such as, *al-Wafi*, *Wasa'il al-Shi'a*, and *Bihar al-anwar*. And another is the commentaries that began to be written on some sermons from Nahj al-Balagha, some hadiths of the Prophet and imams, and their prayers. There are a large number of examples, especially of the last two types. In fact, some researchers included the indexes of such commentaries (dedicated to only a hadith or sermon) in their books.[28]

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[27] Tehran: Mu'assasat al-taba'at wa al-nashri, 1415.

[28] Tehrani, *al-Dhari'a*, XIII, 186-225 [including page 226 (t.n.)]; Purekber- Khodayari, *Tarikh-i Hadith-i Shia*, 201-244.

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Scholarly Examination in Understanding the Culture of Thought and the Value of References*

Mehmed Said HATİBOĞLU**

A. Dere: I would like to begin with the best praises and blessings to Allah and His Messenger and extend my gratitude to our distinguished professor Hatiboğlu, who educated a lot of disciples on this path to knowledge, for allocating this time for this conversation in spite of his intensive scholarly activities.

An important principle we learned from you about scholarly activities and consistent thinking is that being aware of the meanings and evidence of concepts requires tracking where, when, by whom, and for what purpose they are used. When this aspect of concepts is ignored and they are used arbitrarily or deliberately for other purposes, the situation may lead scholars to a separation of ideas due to generalization, or even to denunciation and exclusion. The best two examples that suit this explanation are the hadiths (**حديث**) and the sunnah (**سنة**). Not only in Turkey, but in all Muslim communities, these two concepts are considered to be synonymous words/concepts, particularly in actual uses. How would you evaluate the current situation considering the etymologies or how they are used by scholars from the first three Hijri centuries and as the main concepts of books?

M. S. Hatiboğlu:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي وَيَسِّرْ لِي أَمْرِي وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِنْ لِسَانِي يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي

Just as today's young scholars, we have also been interacting with these two terms since we chose to engage with the science of the Messenger of Allah as a task for us. When we read books of usul or other texts, we see that some scholars use these two terms synonymously, while others confuse them with each other. Based on our understanding today, these two terms are not identical, but different. As for the sunnah; it reminds us of an action, a practice, a judgment or principle.[1] On the other hand, the hadiths - in its most general sense - is a narrative of them.[2] The difference would make sense if we offer some examples. For instance; if the

* This conversation is an interview with the honorable professor M. S. Hatiboğlu, and was held on August 18, 2018, by one of his library assistants, Prof. Dr. Ali Dere. This text was written in accordance with the orthographic rules preferred by Prof. Hatiboğlu.
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[1] For more information about the uses and meanings of the term *sunnah*, please see Hatiboğlu, Hadis Tedkikleri I, p. 157-163.

[2] For more information, see ibid., p. 176-178.

Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings be upon him) says, "leave your house with your right foot first", this is a hadith. That is to say, if it begins with ***Qaala Rasulallah*** (the Messenger of Allah said), it means it is a hadith. Otherwise, when we say, "we should leave home with our right foot first", it is sunnah. This is the most fundamental difference between these two terms and that's why there are scholars who explicitly clarify this difference in their works about ***the sunnah***, which consists of actions. We may see a similar clarification in *Sunan* by Abi Dawud (d. 275). When talking about a single hadith, Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241) told Abi Dawud that, "there are five sunnahs in this hadith"[3]. Therefore, if the sunnah and the hadiths were same in ***ma'na*** (meaning), this statement would logically be untrue. By saying this, he means, "there are five different conditions, issues, or judgments in these narrated words, and they can actually be practiced." The number can be ten or even fifteen, while the hadith is only one.[4]

It is possible to expand these instances. For example, many Islamic scholars are defined as, "an Imam in the sunnah, but not in the hadiths." For others, the opposite is suggested, "He is a scholar in the hadiths, but not in the sunnah."

These instances serve as good evidence, indicating that the hadiths and the sunnah do not refer to the same meaning. Some people who do not pay attention to these definitions often confuse them with each other or use them interchangeably, which is something we should avoid, in my opinion.

A. Dere: Honorable professor, early period sources often use certain terms for narrated and referenced information, such as hadiths, khabar, composition, narrative/narratives, or marwiyah. On the other hand, some of today's academia object to this term and suggest that the narrated information cannot be called a narrative if it is related to the Prophet (p.b.u.h.), and using this term even means banalizing the given information, and more importantly, trivializing the Prophet and his authority. Do you think this is a good approach?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: Let me say this first, these terms did not refer to their current meanings during the period of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.), and they were not accepted as principles. Scholars started to use these terms later on, in the first and second centuries when the science of the hadiths began to take shape. A significant number of scholars naturally used the term "narrative" when talking about hadiths from the Prophet. However, as the term narrative was considered as a comprehensive term that encompasses all other relevant words in the following centuries, narratives originating directly from the Prophet were isolated and the others, for example those from the companions of the Prophet, were called compositions or sometimes, khabar. And it was suggested that the narratives attributed directly to the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) were not khabar or compositions, but

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[3] k. el-Cenâiz, 80.

[4] For instance, a compilation by Muhammad Ibn 'Ali an-Nimawi (d. 1322) is called, *آثار السنن* مع التعليق الحسن and there he cites *marfu'* and *mawquf* narratives about practices and judgments.

they had to be cited as hadiths. On the other hand, it is also seen that a lot of narratives without the name of the Prophet or any other trace of him in the narrated content were also considered as hadiths. These different uses can be seen in today's references. For instance, scholars often call a narrative from Umar ibn al-Khattab a hadith. For this reason, I am of the opinion that it is not right to ascribe disrespect to someone who mentions a narrative from the Prophet as a khabar narrated from the Prophet. This person still regards the narrated information as words of the Prophet by saying this. Therefore, there is no point in attributing a single meaning to these terms and reading the minds of others through these meanings before the proper identification of how and for what purposes the scholars used them.

A. Dere: It is claimed that both in Turkey and other Muslim regions, either in religious sciences or other branches of science or fields of thought, there are two generalizing attitudes, one of them totally rejecting the hadiths or narratives thinking that, "they don't have any informative value", the other accepting everything, "if at least one hadith or narrative is transmitted about them." Is it true according to your observations?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: I think that this question points to the group that tends to take the culture of the hadiths and the sunnah completely out of the fundamentals of Islam, and only hinges upon the Qur'an. It would be a considerably long discussion if we talk about why they chose to do so and for what reasons and on what evidence they based their ideas. With respect to these issues, we can sometimes see misunderstandings, distortion, and denunciation as well. Let me say something beforehand, without the Prophet (peace be upon him), to whom the Qur'an was revealed, there will neither be Islam nor any understanding about religion.

For us, the most important issue in references about the Messenger of Allah is the Messenger's way of delivering the message, and that he is the only one who knows Islam best. We learned Islam from our Prophet. All scholars learned from him. The ways scholars transmitted the narratives have been discussed and examined by the scholars of following generations, then they have made some evaluations. What we see today in this respect is that

Allah is the owner of religion. But we cannot see Him directly and He reveals everything to the Messenger. The one who tells us about Allah, the Qur'an, and Islam is the Messenger. Therefore, we see our Prophet - as also mentioned in the Qur'an - as the most reliable source after the Qur'an. In other words, the revealed source of Islam is the Qur'an, while its human practitioner is our Prophet. In this regard, we need to accept all the information and behaviors narrated from the Messenger of Allah as values of Islam. And the scholarly culture of Muslims, in genera, does not assert the contrary. However, we encounter significant challenges and problems in terms of confirmation of this narrated information and these

values as to accuracy, and the identification of those open to discussion, which is called "determination of certainty" in technical terms.

There is no doubt about the certainty of the Qur'an. However, the narratives we have today differ in terms of content, because the Prophet was heard, understood, and his words were transmitted by people with different skills. Even as time passed by, some people or groups attempted to manipulate the narratives attributed to him and increased the number of these narratives.

We should hang on for a second if we see generations who wish for the Messenger of Allah to solve their all political and social problems saying, "the Messenger of Allah said that" etc., in the same way they speak about their own problems. We should think about whether the Prophet may have expressed such opinions or not.

Against these kinds of situations, which include a lot more details, scholars often consider and judge the narrators to whom the narratives are attributed as weak, siqa/reliable, or to be fabricating the knowledge etc. and conclude whether a narrative can be "attributed to the Prophet" or not. However, scholars do not always reach a consensus in these considerations. The evaluation of attributions does not always solve our problems. Then, how can we find a solution for this? We have to evaluate the narratives communicated by the narrators who were regarded as siqa during their eras on the basis of the Qur'an, which is the only source that offers us the most reliable information about the Messenger of Allah.

Personally, I have had to examine a lot of problems we have as far as I can. After these assessments, some scholars have not satisfied me due to the contradictions we have observed. I said to myself, "our Prophet must not have expressed such an opinion" when I heard some narratives which are accepted/considered as ***sahih*** by these scholars. I can give the matter of "the Quraysh and Caliphate" as an example of this, which was also the subject of my dissertation for professorship. During the analysis process I observed that some hadiths, which are considered sahih by a majority of scholars, may not actually be sahih (and be attributed to our Prophet). Some people criticize me saying, "how dare you put those scholars aside and give your own opinion." My opinion does not put those scholars aside. My claim and opinion is that, "*if we understand our Prophet in a way that the Qur'an tells us, it is impossible to attribute those narratives to him*." Accepting these kinds of narratives just because they are considered sahih by some prominent scholars would be - perish the thought - degrading the Prophet to a position of uttering groundless and untrue words. I think this could be the worst affront against the Prophet.

As you know, there are hundreds of sources claiming that the Caliphate had to be given to the Quraysh. Many hadith books cite these narratives. According to these hadiths, which are also narrated by the most reliable sources, Sahih al-

Bukhari and *Sahih* Muslim, the Prophet supposedly said,[5] "the authority to make the ruling will remain with the Quraysh, even if only two of them remain." So, when I ask whether there is a caliph from the Quraysh today, everyone says "no" in response. Then, what do these narratives say? They say, "the authority to make the ruling will remain with the Quraysh, even if only two of them remain." How many members of the Quraysh have become caliphs for Muslims to the present day or why did the others, who carried out the duty of the caliphate, contradict this principle, and why did Muslims not oppose them with this so-called evidence? Isn't this - perish the thought - to attribute groundless words to the Prophet? Yes, it is. I cannot accuse the Messenger of Allah of doing this as he is incapable making untrue statements. This is my opinion. Otherwise, if you think that those narratives argued by these sources and scholars are true, it would be inevitable to fall into a contradiction. Thusly, we will not only be far from properly understanding and knowing the Prophet, but also identifying why and how these narratives emerged and what led us to this.

I repeat this particular example to help you keep this situation in mind. In fact, there are a lot more similar examples. Today, we should also remember that misplaced praise is also offered to the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings be upon him) in order to dignify him. There are some scholars from the past and from the present day who introduce the Messenger of Allah as someone who is still living with his family in his grave. The Messenger of Allah lived together with his companions. And there is no such opinion or attribution narrated from them. Isn't this claiming that, "he is not human" in a defiant way, while the Qur'an says, "you are human" and "you are not immortal"? There are scholars who believe in this and write so. Here, there is an arbitrary approach that misuses the image of our Prophet.

So, these scholars said so and followed the wrong path. But understanding and explaining its reasons, and correcting these impressions are - unworthily - duties of our generation. This is exactly what I think.

A. Dere: What kind of information or social or psychological situation do you think could have affected the scholars to believe in or accept such opinions? Were there similar opinions put forward in early periods of Islam? Or, did the established acceptances of the pre-Islam period return, or is it the impact of surrounding cultures? Or, is it due to the influence of different approaches we encounter when trying to understand and interpret Islam, such as the Ishari belief, Batiniyyah, mythological and mystical thoughts, sufism, philosophy, wording, symbolic approaches, targhib-tarhib etc.? Did the difference in imagination present such

[5] al-Bukhari, 61. Menakıb 2. For information about other sources see: Hatiboğlu, *Hilafetin Kureyşliliği*, s. 93-94.

thoughts as natural or acceptable to them and did they argue these thoughts because of this?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: We should properly understand the social and political changes the Islamic world has gone through to respond to this question you addressed. When the Messenger (peace be upon him) closed his eyes, he was quite relieved. He was of the opinion that Islam was inherited by a generation who had comprehended it in all aspects. Is it possible that someone of this opinion said, "a day would come and the companions would kill each other"? No, it is not. But what happened? The historical truth is that Muslims themselves martyred Uthman ibn Affan, who was the third caliph of Islam, only to depose him from the caliphate. At this time, there was no intervention from Britain, France, or America. So, what happened after that? Within a year after the martyrdom of Uthman ibn Affan, two of the most important figures of Islam confronted each other and became engaged in a war. Aisha was in one front, Ali was in the other. It was beyond Muslims' capacity and imagination to understand and explain such grievous incidents. After that, while the rulings had to be given to a caliph chosen by all Muslims as it is ordered by Islam and the Qur'an, after the death of Ali and before Islam had even lasted half of its first century, rulers and sultanates were introduced to the Islamic world and this understanding has survived up to the present day. There are still some so-called sultans who sustain this sultanate. They use both the name and title "sultan", although there is no such sultanate in Islam.

So, why did these incidents happen? How did these untrue perceptions of religion and the prophets, which were presented and defended in the narratives, emerge? In my opinion, the first reason of this is the insufficient capacity to understand the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him). Other reasons are the differences among cultures, expectations, and goals of Muslim communities. In other words, misunderstanding the Prophet can sometimes be attributing different ideas and opinions to him for their own interests and in a deliberate way. How can this happen? Who did the people, who were seeking evidence from the two biggest sources I mentioned at the beginning, namely, the Qur'an and the Messenger of Allah, consult when they could not find a verse that confirms their ideas? The Prophet. However, they still resorted to fabricating narratives on behalf of him when they could not find any strong reference in the words of the Prophet. Even in the second Hijri century, a number of confessors from ahl al-bid'ah spoke out and said, "be careful about these hadiths, because we narrated the ideas we like or we would like to propagate as hadiths."

There are a lot of similar examples in our culture. Therefore, an attempt to know our Prophet only by reading a few books of hadiths, before understanding, comprehending, and examining the significant references of our culture, would lead us to nothing but a weak point. For this reason, I suggest that, "*we should particularly know the social and political history of Islam so as to examine the sources about the hadiths and narratives we have today*."

It seems that religious and intellectual cultures have influenced the narratives in some way over time. For instance, both in the past and today, we see a peculiar understanding of the Mahdi and even a Mahdi movement. However, there is not a single phrase about the issue of Mahdism in the Qur'an. There is no evidence that the Prophet talked about the Mahdi. However, can we find this issue and other opinions on it in the books of the hadith we have today? Yes, we can. Why? Only during the second century, when the corpus of hadith collections was being composed, Muslims had already conquered today's Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The Jewish and Christian communities living in these geographies had a peculiar perception of the Mahdi. They were waiting for Jesus (peace be upon him) to be resurrected and save the world. So, what could Muslims think when they heard about these ideas and narratives, and how could they respond to these? At this point, they Islamized these ideas and replaced the Christian perception of Masih with an Islamic understanding of Mahdi in order to respond to their allegations. Many references cover narratives about Mahdism. Although Ibn Haldun rejected all of them in his *Muqaddimah*, they continue to live on in other books. He claims that none of the sahih hadith collections include these narratives. This is true. For instance, Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim do not include any narrative relating to this issue, however we can see them in other books of *Sunen*, such as those by Abi Dawud and others. How can we examine them? Authors of Abi Dawud's and At-Tirmidhi's collections of *Sunen* are more sophisticated scholars than we are, but they are wrong in their opinions. They were overwhelmed and influenced by the political and intellectual movements of their time.

A. Dere: Can we say that their thoughts and opinions were affected by others of the time, the politics and perceptions of the society, the prevailing imaginations and assumptions, and they cannot notice the inconsistency of this situation?

M. S. Hatiboğlu - They naturally cannot notice this. We should be aware of them. But how? At this point, we witness how influential thoughts, cultures, and common assumptions are in terms of understanding the hadiths. I would like to explain this with an example.

Especially in May, when we commemorate a special event that closes an age and opens a new one in history, we emotionally cite a hadith from our Prophet again and again, saying,

"لَتُفْتَحَنَّ الْقُسْطَنْطِينِيَّةُ فَلَنِعْمَ الْأَمِيرُ اَمِيرُهَا وَلَنِعْمَ الْجَيْشُ ذَلِكَ الْجَيْشُ"

"Verily you shall conquer Constantinople. What a wonderful leader will her leader be, and what a wonderful army will that army be!"

It is quite possible that our Prophet was aware of the Rums, Byzantines, and Kaiser of his time. Based on this awareness, he sent letters to neighboring countries to invite them to follow Islam just after the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah, which was even

before the conquest of Mecca. Among the addressees of these letters of invitation was the Kaiser of Byzantine Empire, Muqawqis of Egypt, and Khosrau of Persia. Why did the Prophet send these letters? He sent them because he was more aware than we are of the fact that he is the Prophet and Allah sent him as a messenger to reveal the truth, not only within his surrounding environment in Mecca but to the whole of humanity. Needless to say, there are a lot of verses in the Qur'an about this. It is quite natural that he considers himself to be the greatest figure in the consciousness of these verses saying, "the day will come and Muslims will rule the whole world." He sent these letters of invitation to follow Islam because of this thought and desire, and his wish for the addressees to embrace Islam. Muslims during the early period, who were aware of these letters of invitation, sent armies to Istanbul at every opportunity. However, although about ten armies were sent there during different periods, they could not succeed in conquering Istanbul.

Since the second Hijri century, there have been thoughts and commentaries on the conquest of Istanbul and some military expeditions have been organized for this purpose. In one of the *Sunen* collections, I read that Anas ibn Malik (d. 93) mentioned the conquest of Istanbul as a sign of the apocalypse. Why did he think that? It is highly possible that Anas ibn Malik, who was one of the last standing companions of the Prophet, witnessed the unsuccessful expeditions commanded by Muawiyah's son, Yazid, and thought that this conquest would only be realized near the time of the apocalypse. Within time, the conquest of Istanbul has been narrated as a hadith and a "sign of the apocalypse." After about eight centuries, this honor was given to Muslims by favor of a Turkish sultan. Today, there are some Arabs who still do not accept this conquest. We ascribe the commander and army mentioned in this hadith to Sultan Mehmed II and the military of the Ottoman Empire, but some Islamic scholars still claim that "Istanbul has not yet been conquered." Then, when will it be conquered? According to them, the actual conquest will be realized when Arabs dispossess Istanbul from the bandit Turks, and then it will be the conquest heralded by the Prophet.

The last time I saw such allegations was when I was reviewing books in a bookstore. These allegations were mentioned in a dissertation called Ashraat as-Saa'ah (signs of the apocalypse) from Umm al-Qura University. The author even says that Istanbul is still occupied by the infidels (انها الان تحت ايدي الكفار). He should be ashamed of saying this. I apologize, but I would like to call this person a vagrant who is not aware of what is happening around him.

Today, there are some groups of bandits that have mushroomed within the Islamic world, such as ISIS and similar others. Besides their many other shocking allegations, they claim the same about this issue. So, what is the source of this mindset? Above all, it grows out of the books authored by Muslims or the narratives presented in these books. If so, proving the inaccuracy of these narratives, which form the basis for these extremist ideas or their misunderstanding, if they are reliable narratives, should be our duty.

Today we are living in the Hijri year of 1440. This is the fifteenth century of Islam. For centuries, over hundreds of thousands of books have been authored. Most of them have not survived to the present day, but we know these books from the biographies and other sources that mention them. We realize that there is almost nothing that has not been discussed by Muslims scholars, even by only looking at Ibn al-Nadim's (d. 385/995?) *al-Fihrist*. First of all, we should analyze the available sources using scientific methods, explore the history of thought, and the foundations and evidence of these thoughts, as well as their relevance to the respective periods of time. Today, we live in a world where the contemporary culture of Muslims encompasses such different perspectives regarding the religion, history, science, thought, and books. Therefore, we are in need of proper analyses of our sources in order to understand the thoughts and references within these different circles, make comparisons between them, and correct the mistakes. The examples we have given above suffice to establish this necessity. For that reason, if we attempt to understand our religion and the Prophet before recognizing, understanding, and examining the content of the prodigious sources of our culture, this effort would not lead us to a firm position. Therefore, I would like to say that, "*we should particularly know the social and political history of Islam so as to examine the sources about the hadiths and narratives we have today*."

A. Dere: We have "accuracy" as a fundamental term in hadith studies. And we use "sahih" as a title for some hadith collections/books. For instance, "sahih hadith", "Al-Jami' Al-Sahih", or "al-Sahihayn." Moreover, again in hadith studies we encounter specific terms, such as the criteria for accuracy of a hadith or the "criteria for accuracy according to scholars" or "methods of determining accuracy." What are the meanings of "accuracy" and "sahih" as used in these phrases? Does "accuracy" here mean that the content of a text narrated by a narrator can be traced directly back to the source, person, or people (subud) in terms of wording? Is it a category of evaluation developed by hadith scholars based on the criteria for references? Or, does it mean that they accept the content of given narratives as facts, truths, or realities? Today, when we talk about sahih hadith, some people - particularly those who are not experts in the subject - perceive it to be something that is truth itself.

M. S. Hatiboğlu: Scholars have devoted great efforts to examine the references and narrators, and created volumes of books about this subject. The contribution of these efforts and books to hadith studies is undeniable. **Let me tell you, before going into the details of** hadith criticism**, which is called** Al-Jarh wa Al-Ta'dil**,** that the prominent scholars have not always agreed upon the criteria used to critique either narratives or references. Despite their efforts in this regard, today it is not possible to talk about explicit practices that always present the same results or those upon which scholars have agreed on a hundred percent without any exceptions. This is even uttered by the fundamental sources of Al-Jarh wa Al-

Ta'dil**,** which has been created by the scholars who are involved in this field of science**.** They say, "we can understand if a narrative is sahih or not." But when they are asked "How?", they answer with universal principles about criticism and its common practices, but cannot give an exact explanation. They say, "if you bring some gold to a jeweler, he can understand whether it is authentic or counterfeit but cannot explain this to you as it is only a matter of skills." Accordingly, authors of the huge hadith collections that bring hundreds of thousands of narratives together - may Allah bless them all - have conducted these studies within the limits of their culture, knowledge, and skills, as well the conditions and rules of their eras. In this way, they have organized their books and made analyses.

Even collections by Al-Bukhari and Muslim are also titled as sahih and we call them *Al-Jami' Al-Sahih*. But, sahih according to what and for who? Of course, they are sahih according to their own principles and the terms sahih and daʿif (weak) are used according to the principles of these scholars (علي شرط فلان). Scholars often say, "narrators should be reliable, references should be accurate" in respect to hadiths. However, criticism of hadiths is an activity that is totally dependent on the scholars' cultures. For that reason, an assessment by a scholar does not concern anyone but himself and the resulting judgments can be relative. They may or may not be the absolute truth.[6]

A. Dere: To make it more clear with reference to the information you have given, as for accuracy of a narrative, is this judgment an outcome of an analysis on attributions (references), background (history), chronological order, and narrators? Or, is it only an analysis of content? Or, is it an outcome of both?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: They first examine the rijal of the narrative and whether it refers to siqa narrators or not. As I just said, there are many principles or conditions regarding this assessment. For instance, did the narrators have a chance to come together (liqa)? What are their extent of knowledge and culture? etc. They often conclude that the text of a narrative is accurate if its reference is consistent according to this assessment. Accordingly, we can say that this assessment approach is almost completely dependent on the criticism of attributions.

A. Dere: Do they examine other components of a narrative, such as its second part or text, after they claim its reference/attribution to be accurate/sahih?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: There are certain scholars who set some criteria regarding textual characteristics of narratives. There are also scholars who refer to the Qur'an as the most fundamental criterion and say, "no matter how accurate its reference is,

[6] The following quote from Zafar Ahmad Thanvi (d. 1892), who is one of the significant Indian scholars of the last century, can be regarded as a description of this situation: "We have reiterated quite a number of times that factors like accuracy or weakness of a hadith, or it being siqa or da'if, are all dependent on the taste, opinion, and judgment of scholars. This is also the source of conflicts among them." (cf. Ibid. p. 181; as cited in Tahânevî, Kava'id, p. 457.

if a text contradicts with the Qur'an, it means it is a worthless narration." There are plenty of details and opinions about both this one and the other criteria.

A. Dere: Would you mind if I ask one more question? Are there any famous hadith or rijal scholars, in the fourth or the fifth century, for example, who re-examined the narratives which had been regarded as sahih by former scholars and objected to their opinions? If so, does it mean that the outcomes of previous assessments of hadiths, which were based on temporary conditions, can be reanalyzed?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: We can read such objections and assessments by the scholars in their own works. Before giving some specific examples, I would like to point out an issue which is significant in my opinion. These instances we see do not always explicitly cite the conditions and criteria of their objections. For that reason, we should try to comprehend the intellectual foundations and assumptions of these objections or assessments by the scholars. Otherwise, some people may challenge us when we talk about these instances arguing that, "they are only some pieces of nonessential exceptions." However, even a single instance that can help us comprehend the essence of this issue can be important and sufficient.

So, let me give an example from some assessments[7] directly addressed to and partly associated with *Sahih* al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim. As you know, there are scholars who have tried to gather the narratives which comply with the conditions and reference criteria of Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim but have not been included in these collections in other works of hadiths since the fourth Hijri century. Al-Mustadrak is one of these works. Hakim al-Nishapuri (d. 405), the editor or author of Al-Mustadrak which was published in four biblical volumes in India, manifests the aim of this book as to compile the hadiths that meet the criteria set by Al-Bukhari and Muslim (in terms of references/attiributions) but are not included in their works, and to fill this specific gap in hadith studies. However, there are also scholars who lived after him and wrote commentaries about his book. One of them is al-Dhahabi (d. 758), who was a scholar of Turkish origin. In his commentaries, he addresses Hakim saying, "Weren't you ashamed, or didn't you fear Allah when saying that this hadith is sahih?" See how contradictory ideas from two different scholars can be about a single narrative.

Even in the period of Al-Bukhari and Muslim there were some scholars who challenged the hadiths included in their works. The most outstanding critic of the time is Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who is one of the most known figures of the Islamic world and tradition, and the teacher of both Al-Bukhari and Muslim.

On his deathbed he told his son, Abdullah, to "remove that hadith from my book because it is against the accurate ones" regarding a narrative in his *Musnad*.

[7] See ibid. p. 179-181.

When I looked at the hadith he asked his son to "remove"[8], I saw that it is still narrated in both Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim with its reference and text. So, doesn't this mean that a hadith regarded as sahih by Al-Bukhari and Muslim is considered to be contradictory to being removed from books by Ahmad ibn Hanbal? Yes, it is.

A. Dere: Once again we understand from the precious information you have given to us that there is a rich corpus of hadiths that have survived to the present day, a significant number of scholars in the past and today have created significant works in this field and made analyses, but there have always been different details, depths, and perspectives in this regard. As all these details and opinions about the field of the hadiths are obvious today, is it correct that the media and society discuss the sub-fields of hadith studies with regard to assumptions including generalization, which are suggested with the impact of the media? Do these issue have their own scientific methods and traditions?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: As someone who became a student of the Faculty of Theology in 1954-1958 and then an assistant to the chair of the hadiths beside Professor Tayyip Okiç, and again someone who has been involved in studies on hadith collections since then, the modest conclusion I have come to is: We are not at a extent of knowledge and understanding that can allow us to make holistic judgments about all available narratives at once. Therefore, there is no need to let these issues talked by people who are not competent. These are topics that require discussions in academic circles.

So, what can we do today in this regard? In my time, there was only one faculty of theology in Turkey and it was at Ankara University. Today the number of these faculties - may Allah help them - is over 100. However, what is important here is not the quantity, but the quality of these faculties. It is important to fill these faculties with qualified scholars. We need a number of different and significant specializations, studies, and discussions regarding certain topics such as understanding history, being familiar with former outstanding scholars as well as their thoughts and topics of discussion, and analyzing the works inherited from them. In different phases of scholarly studies, a sentence or an example given in a book you read can sometimes help you understand a whole issue or comprehend a thought, while explanations of the systems of previous scholars can sometimes be the key to these understandings. For that reason, we can't say we have enough works on hand and they are enough for us. There are many more manuscripts in world libraries which have not yet been published and there are some books in ancient libraries, such as those in Yaman and Qarawiyyin, which have been discovered during cataloguing efforts. We are in the position of discovering these works and discussing the knowledge and culture narrated therein. But so far we have been lazy in this regard. In his introduction to *Kitab al–Haraj*, the Egyptian

[8] *al-Musned*, II, 301.

scholar Ahmad Muhammad Shakir says: "Without Western orientalist and Islamist scholars, we would let the books of our scholars sleep for centuries. They are the ones who awakened us for the first time." Here, he makes a confession on behalf of all of us.

These words from Ahmad Muhammad Shakir remind me of the other written works by Western scholars in the field of Islamic studies. There are thousands of articles, books, analyses, translations etc. in this field published in different Western languages. So, it is not possible to oppose the Western world in the areas of both science and politics without analyzing these works - in today's terms - from a critical perspective. Today's Western behaviors and politics toward the Islamic world are an outcome of the influence by the orientalist master minds, who we call Islamologists, and their written works. Westerners never ask Muslims about Islamic issues as they already have experts in this field. This being the case, as the Islamic world, in order for us to take a stand against the West, we need to be familiar with the Islam they understand and narrate. This is one of the most important duties I expect from today's faculties of theology.

Therefore, as I mentioned above significant duties of the faculties of theologies and universities in Turkey include, on one hand, writing our works applying all necessary scientific assessments, while on the other hand educating qualified scientists, who have a good knowledge of Western languages and scientific methods of criticism, as well as the necessary capacity to criticize these works written by Westerners about us, and creating an environment that enables scientific studies and necessary efforts.[9]

There is no point in discussing all the scientific analyses and discussions at this level to the public. They can't even follow and understand all these details. For that reason, these topics should be discussed, debated, and improved within academic gatherings.

A. Dere: I would like to ask a methodology question, if you please. Which methods can we use to fulfill the duty of scientific analysis you mentioned today? For instance, as for methodology, the first thing that comes to mind is usul studies in the Islamic Sciences, such as usul of the hadiths, usul of interpretation, or usul of

[9] I don't want to repeat the details of how I searched for a scholarship to go to France to improve my knowledge of the French language and explore the orientalist studies conducted in that country and that the members of the commission in the Ministry of National Education (of the time) responded to me saying, "What can a theologist do there? Better we send someone from the conservatoire", as I have laughingly told this story numerous times. It should be noted that if today's decision makers continue to have the same mindset and say, "There is nothing a professor of interpretation or fiqh from faculties of theology can learn in countries like France, England, or Canada. If they have to, they should go to a Muslim country. There is no need for them to learn any language other than Arabic. This way they will also not be confused", which is extremely incorrect and is prejudiced, and will be remembered as a lamentable blindness and an act of ignorance, even in a hundred years from now.

fiqh. Do we have to use this classic framework of usul in order to evaluate today's Islamic culture and thought from all aspects and perspectives? Or, would you like to suggest new methodologies and recommend interdisciplinary studies? Can we say that the current methods we use are efficient in their approaches and perspectives, do they meet all of our needs in this regard, and support us in scientific activities?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: This is actually a very important question. As you know, a number of new branches of science, which did not exist during the Prophetic Years, such as interpretation, hadiths, fiqh, prophetic biography, aqidah etc., have emerged since the second Hijri century. Epistles and books of usul have been authored to explain areas of application, characteristics, and purposes of these branches, which have developed and become more systematized with time, and the issues have been discussed.

First of all, we should comprehend the developing processes (histories) of these aforementioned branches of science and fields of expertise, and which issues are handled by them and which concepts they use for this. In this way, we should try to understand how these scholars thought about relevant issues and what evidence they used to reach a judgment.

Secondly, we should outline all of these aforementioned fields of science, because it is impossible to totally separate them within Islamic thought. On the contrary, we should be aware of their impacts and contributions as either materials or thoughts.

Thirdly, we should note that a scholar who is specialized in one of these fields may not be competent in another. For example, an outstanding scholar in interpretation may not have that much influence in the hadiths. Today, this is quite an interwoven and intricate issue. How did the scholars of different branches of Islamic thought and culture think and what did they say about certain issues? We should examine what a scholar of interpretation, a scholar of kalam, philosophy, or a mystic (sufi) said, in a comparative way, considering different periods of time.

Fourthly, we should note that scholars' explanations and opinions about certain topics are dependent on the information and knowledge they could access in their respective eras. In *Tafsir*, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 606) presents precious information to us. However, in the same composition you can see hilarious things he says about different fields which we call experimental sciences today. You may even ask, "How could a scholar believe in such things?"

When you look at some words from Ibn Hazm (d. 456), who is an internationally renowned scholar raised in Andalusia, you might say, "Today, even children wouldn't say this nonsense." *They do not say these today. They said them in their times. So, we should try to identify the reasons behind these words and not criticize*

them. Instead, we should criticize those who imitate their opinions about certain issues even in the present.

The so-called religious arguments put forward about women show that women in our societies have not yet been able to take up the positions they deserve in Islamic communities. It is really sad that we see some of these arguments disguised in hadiths. The hadith narrated by Al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. 320) in Navodir Al-Usul saying, "لا تعلموا النساء الكتابة و لا تسكنوهن الغرف" (do not teach your women writing, do not let them go out on balconies) can be given as an example.[10] Al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi is an outstanding scholar. So, why did Al-Hakim include such a narrative attributed to the Prophet in his book, and what do I have to do when I encounter these words in his book? The essence of this issue is hidden in the answer of this question. First of all, I have to undertake research and find examples about what the Messenger of Allah said and how he behaved in such situations. Based on the information and examples we know about his life, as well as the conditions of that time and the position Islam gives to women, it does not seem possible for the Messenger of Allah to utter such words.

In books, the saying, "شاوروهن و خالفوهن" (counsel women and whatever they say, do otherwise) is presented as a hadith. Even Nizam al-Mulk (d. 485) narrates this as a hadith in *Siyasatnama* (Book of Government). It is astounding that Nizam al-Mulk, a friend of Al-Ghazali and Al-Juwayni, included this in his book. Then, we unavoidably explain this with the thoughts and opinions toward women during this time and the society they lived in. We also see to what extent the level of society, and the situation of the time, influenced the thoughts and judgement of these scholars. Unlike the time periods these scholars lived in, today we can criticize this insult against women which was supported by fabricated hadiths. Our Prophet is far from giving such an order. But you put these opinions, disguised in hadiths, into your book, establish them among people, and finally leave the women ignorant, although they constitute half of the Islamic world.

As the fifth step, we should create and develop a map of - in today's terms - Islamic thought by examining the books of history and culture together. For instance, what did scholars from a single branch who lived under the same circumstances, in the same period, but in different regions, say about this? What about those from different branches? How did people of different periods, geographies, regions such as Egypt, Iraq, or Middle Asia, perceive Islam? We should find and examine the answers of these questions, and thus absolutely create an index of information.

Sixthly, we will see in this index that scholars can have different opinions about a lot of different issues, either in usul or furu'. For certain reasons I am not

[10] Today's scholars, who analyze and publish these books, also do not write comments to explain this situation because they are also not aware of the fact that this is a fabricated hadith.

going to explain this in detail here, we see that tens of different thoughts can be put forward across the entire Islamic world against an opinion or thought. Do you call it intellectual pluralism today? For that reason, today it is impossible for an Islamic scholar to be precise and claim that the only truth is what he says. Everyone should bear the weight of thought and the responsibility for speaking.

Seventhly, although a majority of the notable sources we have today are written in specific fields, they often narrate the information, which is unlikely to be included in these books due to the content and characteristics, while mentioning other subjects. For that reason, it is both useful and important to read a lot of sources from cover to cover, or at least scan the content. Ibn Sa'd's *al-Tabaqat* , Ibn Asakir's *Tarikh Dimashq*, al-Dhahabi's *al-Nubala*, Ibn Abd al-Barr's *al-Tamhid* and *al-Istidhkar* are the first examples that come to mind.

As the eighth step, we should try to understand the different opinions which have emerged within Islamic culture and thought together with the reasons behind them. These issues should be analyzed within the limits of politeness and ethics, without cursing, contradicting, or - perish the thought - allegations of heresy, impiety, or any attempt to *takfir* others. Unfortunately, many appalling and sad incidents have happened throughout history. Al-Tabari (d. 310) is an unprecedented scholar of interpretation, hadiths, fiqh, and history. But his house was stoned. And after his death, the funeral could only be performed at midnight. We read this in works about our cultural history. Why? He wrote some incorrect ideas in his works of interpretation, according to a group of ignorant people. So, who could know these issues better? The group of ignorant people? Or the great imam Al-Tabari?

Ninthly, use of scientific and peer-reviewed publications to obtain information is necessary as some scientific works are distorted or abated based on the opinions of publishers. For instance, the Indian Hanafis who published Ibn Hibban's (d. 354) Al-Majruhin in 1970 did not include the article about Abu Ḥanifa al-Nuʿman b. Thabit in this new version of the book. However, this article was issued in the books 1975 Haleb edition. There are many other similar distortions.[11]

As the tenth step, we should know the principles followed by the author of a book we examine. Of course, there are books, credentials, documents etc. that inform us about past experiences and opinions of previous scholars. However; before making inferences from the information given in these sources, we have to understand the author's purpose and principles.

For instance; Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi's (d. 463/1071) *Ta'rikh Baghdad,* which was published in two editions, in 14 and 17 volumes, respectively. Among the late

[11] We also see that some books of our tradition have been distorted. For instance, Imam al-Sha'rani (d. 973/1565), says, "to examine Ibn Arabi's (d. 638/1240) *Al Futuhat al-Makkiyya* properly, read its edition published as a manuscript in Konya, as the others have already been distorted." It means that a lot of people resorted to manipulating the books of previous scholars for a variety of reasons.

Ottoman scholars, Zahid Al-Kawthari (d. 1952) authored a book titled, *Te'nîbu'l-Hatîb* to criticize Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi and there, he accuses al-Baghdadi of citing some negative narratives about Abu Hanifa. I think the sainted Al-Kawthari is not right to attack Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi. I think that he would not have done this if he had taken the principles adopted by al-Baghdadi into consideration. Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi narrates all the information he has received, but this doesn't mean that he accepts all of it to be true. He offers all the negative and positive suggestions about certain issues in his works. Likewise, in *Sharaf Ashab al-Hadith* he gathers true and untrue information about the hadith scholars and leaves the conclusion to the reader's interpretation.

As the eleventh step, we should use different sources from different opinions from all around the Muslim world and try to analyze and understand Islamic thought as a whole, as far as possible. Even in the field of the hadiths, Sunni and Shii'te scholars have different corpuses. Among them, our al-Kutub al-Sittah and the Shii'te al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah are the most famous ones. So, do you think a Sunni scholar has ever analyzed the sources of the Shiite Muslims? We may only give some recent examples. I think Shiite scholars have analyzed the Sunni sources - though for their own purposes - more than the other way around. The Shii'te scholar Abd al-Husayn tries to defend the political allegations of the Shiah by using books by Sunni scholars in his book, *Al-Ghadir Fi Al-Kitab Wa-'l-Sunnah Wa-'l-Adab*. In summary, he tries to say, "you also agree with us." But when you perform a scientific analysis of this book, you will understand why relying on this book is not permissible. I saw in some instances that he uses Al-Bukhari's *At-Tarikh al-Kabir*, which is a Sunni source, by parts of some narratives that support his purpose, but exclude other parts. Al-Bukhari states that the given narrative is a weak one. However, the author of *Al-Ghadir* does not include this statement from Al-Bukhari in his work. Then you understand that the book deliberately aims to manipulate, and does not have any scientific value.

Twelfth, I have tried to give my opinions about how we can examine the books on Islamic thought and culture, which constitute an archive for religious studies. Today, there is a huge field of science called social sciences, which analyzes humans, history, societies, politics, justice, ethics, thought, languages, literature, cultures etc. We should be aware of, if possible, what and how the branches of this science describes and uses the relevant subjects. I didn't even cite another huge area of research, which is the technical and experimental sciences.

Thirteenth, as it is not possible for individual researchers to get through these aforementioned areas of research, we should undertake joint studies, planned projects, and knowledge sharing activities, and take advantage of technical advancements which are used by the new generations rather than the older ones.

A. Dere: In light of your explanations and examples, we can now understand how scholars of the classical period thought about religion, society, and culture, and how we should evaluate their opinions today, within the conditions of their time. When we look at today's practices, Isn't it through the scholars, who had limited knowledge and perspectives because of the conditions of the time they lived in, and their books, we try to understand our religion, Islam, and to internalize its doctrines and principles in our lives? If so, we should ask another question: how can we build our Muslim identity and develop a new image of Muslims based on today's extent of knowledge and thought, considering that the prominent scholars of previous periods were unavoidably affected, in terms of understanding and interpretation, by the knowledge and thought of their time? How can we explain and practice the fundamental and vital principles of Islam as it was taught by our Prophet (peace be upon him)? What should we use as a method? How can we be successful in this regard?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: Actually, this question holds the response within it. First of all, we should analyze the different conditions of different periods while trying to understand our history and the opinions of previous scholars. If we analyze our history of thought and culture starting from the early periods up to the present day, you may see the answer to the question about how we can perform this duty today. As I said before, when we create maps and indexes of Islamic thought according to periods, geographies, and fields of science, these maps and indexes will depict the pathway that guides us today and lead us to the future. However, because we cannot reveal the historical experience and prosperity of Islamic thought in every field of science and we cannot agree upon this, we can neither see the path that may carry us to the future, nor take this road. After all, we still encounter different perceptions about Islam.

I highlighted this issue in an article. At one time, Muammar Gaddafi organized a lot of meetings and congresses. At one of these gathering, a female professor from al-Azhar called, Aisha bint al-Shati (d. 1998) - may Allah rest her soul - went up to the rostrum and addressed Gaddafi, saying: "Dear President! You also gathered us, the most significant scholars of the Islamic world, last year in Benghazi. There, every single scholar described a different Islam to us. And I observed that none of them were consistent with each other." Here, she makes an assessment of the situation. This statement confirms that every Muslim scholar describes a different Islam, according to his/her culture. So, to what extent do these narrations expose the real Islam? Moreover, all of them feel justified and make assertive suggestions. This is the point identified by Aisha bint al-Shati. For this reason, in the Islamic world, there is no one who can claim to be the only representative of Islam.

Unfortunately, this is the extent of Islamic culture today, and we are still far from going beyond this understanding. The answer to the question about how we

can reach the optimum level, as I mentioned before in many cases, is to work determinedly, to have a capacity for understanding, and to undertake assessments.

A. Dere: You have pointed out the meaning of accuracy in the hadiths and how we can identify this within the framework of usul studies in your previous answers. From your studies, we see that you often dwell on the content (of texts) during the assessment of hadiths, and try to understand them in detail this way. There are also different studies in Turkey which were led by you. And these studies examine (and criticize) the hadiths in terms of their textual properties/content. Do you think these studies are sufficient or insufficient? What are your expectations within this regard?

M. S. Hatiboğlu: When we say content, the first thing that comes to mind are the main ideas held by a text. The way you deliver these ideas is also important, and a significant matter in one's efforts of assessment. Based on this understanding, when we analyze a text/content of a hadith, we should first identify its main idea. One of the first steps we should take during the analysis is to grasp the historical development of the given issue or idea. We should try to identify the origin of the issue. Then we should ask, "How has it been put down on paper since the time it emerged as an issue?" Plus, "How has it been commentated on in those written works, on what evidence has it been based, and which deductions have been made based on this evidence?" We should be able to analyze all these different phases. References of such analyses should not be books of the hadiths, but sources from different fields such as interpretation, fiqh, history, kalam, politics, and even literature. Of course, on the condition that we maintain the sound principles and values taught by the Qur'an and the Prophet during this process.

I followed this pathway in my study about the Quraysh in the Caliphate. I tried to identify where, in which area and through which media this idea has appeared in different fields of science and culture, what are its foundations, and how it has been interpreted. Finally, I had knowledge and opinions about not only this specific hadith, but also the history of Islamic politics and administration - based on the issue mentioned there -, relations between administrators and the public, perceptions of administration, the roots of these perceptions, relevant understandings and practices of surrounding cultures, the opinions of scholars about social order and the methods of establishing justice in society, what kind of conflicting interests have emerged among communities, etc. Of course, my holistic analysis of the information provided by the books of previous scholars, and again my efforts to understand what has happened throughout history helped me come to these opinions. Accordingly, the basis of my opinions was the understanding of the relations between historical incidents and developments, as mentioned in the books of previous scholars, as well as the reasons behind them.

As far as I know, the hadith studies in other Islamic countries are heavily based on a traditional methodology, while the content-oriented analysis I mentioned above is rarely undertaken. Moreover, even in Turkey some scholars consider those adopting some different - let's say unusual - perspectives and methodologies than the conventional usul of hadith studies as, "teaching old dogs new tricks." My personal opinion is that if the most outstanding scholars of the hadiths, like Al-Bukhari and Muslim, were alive today and had the opportunity to use today's facilities, they would adopt a more comprehensive and content-oriented method of assessment and would be successful in their efforts. However, at present, we are not pursuing an interest in the studies of these scholars, who only have the knowledge and opportunities from their eras. Instead, we put them in a position, which is out of reach, and choose to imitate what they said.

In Turkey, I see that some recent studies about the hadiths and hadith-related subjects started to focus on content rather than other details. As these kinds of studies become more prevalent, it will be possible to make comparisons between the outcomes of these studies. Later on, we will be able to discuss the methodologies and results of these studies, and thus have a specific framework to apply in content-oriented assessment of narratives. Of course, this aforementioned method of assessment can be practiced together with the conventional methodology of hadith studies in a complementary fashion. That is to say, I do not claim that content analysis is the only true way to assess the hadiths. What I am saying here is that it will be difficult to explain a lot of issues in a consistent way without this method of analysis, and thus we will be devoid of a lot of other potentially valuable information and insights.

I recommend today's scholars, especially those in Turkey, to be courageous and learn practical and consistent scientific methods and assessment procedures, as well as the information and insights provided in recent studies, and put forward their own ideas with the same level of courage.

A. Dere: Distinguished professor, thank you for the time you have allocated for this conversation. I wish you a pleasant and healthy life, and success in your bold scholarly activities and guidance.

Interview *

Ali Osman KOÇKUZU **

Ahmet ABDULLAH ***

Ahmet Abdullah: Dear professor, could you please tell us briefly about your personal and scientific adventure?

Ali Osman Koçkuzu: I was born in Konya. When I finished primary school, I went to Hafiz School. And after completing my education there, I enrolled at Konya Imam-Hatip School as a second grade student. In 1959, I entered the Istanbul Higher Islamic Institute and finished my education there in 1963. I started working at Yozgat Imam-Hatip School teaching vocational courses, which was a compulsory service as I was a boarder during my schooling. In 1966, I was appointed as a hadith assistant at Konya Higher Islamic Institute. I was the assistant to Prof. Muhammed Tayyip Okiç. After completing my military service in 1968, I took office at the same institute, which then turned into a faculty. In addition to the studies at the institute, I did my doctorate at the Faculty of Islamic Sciences in Erzurum, and I retired in 2004.

A. Abdullah: Dear professor, what methodology should be followed to understand the hadiths and the sunnah correctly?

A. O. Koçkuzu: In my opinion, it would be right to follow the way, or the methodology in your words, followed by the Islamic scholars, or "Salafism", in order to understand the hadiths or the sunnah in a broader sense, over thousands of years throughout different lands. There are some well-established criteria for this method. First of all, one must learn the Arabic language and literature very well. If possible, the investigator must be a hafiz. This might be stipulated as one of the basic conditions in religious education. After all these requirements are fulfilled, Allah will make the scholar nominee, who knows the Qu'ran well, has knowledge of certain techniques, is right-minded, moral, open-hearted and open-eyed. There is no need to try to find a method to follow, as the criteria, methods, and curriculum of understanding the hadiths and the sunnah correctly are well-established today.

A. Abdullah: There are some claims that the authentication of the hadiths is problematic, they were written after a long break, even Muhammad al-Bukhari's

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original copies have not survived to the present day, and therefore the hadiths and the sunnah are invalid. What would you like to say about this?

A. O. Koçkuzu: A right-minded scholar, who has good knowledge of Islam cannot say these things. Claims that the hadiths were written after a long break, the original copies have not survived, and the hadith and the sunnah are invalid, cannot be claimed by people who have a fear of Allah and knowledge of the field and the Islamic scholars' responsibility to research and teach. These cannot be the criteria of education and religious guidance.

When you put "Allah, the Lord of Majesty" at the center as the criterion in religious sciences, the image will be very beautiful, but there will be a number of problems. The point we cannot understand is that the Prophet is the only criterion, source, and authority in Islam.

From time to time, various statements have been made in different Islamic regions; however, comprehending the scholarly activities in the Sahabah, Tabi'un, and Etba' periods, the ummah has supported and illuminated the scholars and eliminated their doubts.

A. Abdullah: There is a common way to read a hadith that relies on the understanding, "If the hadith is true, my sect is it." What would you like to say about this?

A. O. Koçkuzu: I do not know whether that is, "a way to read a hadith." In fact, I am not aware of what is implied with the word "read." The criterion that you have mentioned takes place in canonists and hadith scholars studies. When it was said, and what was implied with it, requires long explanations. To put it simply, saying, "I found a hadith about this issue and what it comprises of is my way of sorting the issue out and my fiqhi opinion", is such a narrow point of view. A good fiqhi, a good hadith scholar, or a good mujtahid understands this criterion correctly coming from Salaf. This criterion is not an obstacle to the jurisprudence. All mujtahids know how to maintain their studies when the hadith is steady. The presence of a hadith does not lead to "easily ensuring your opinion." It does not mean, "I will only follow the true hadith regardless of precedents." It is already everyone's obligation to follow the true hadith, which is mandated by the Sciences of Islamic Fiqh and Islamic Hadiths. What is important is to correctly know by whom this was said, and in what sense it was used.

A. Abdullah: What do you think about the course of studies on the hadiths/sunnah in Turkey? Your thoughts on this are very important to us.

A. O. Koçkuzu: I need to have knowledge about the studies on the hadiths/sunnah in Turkey to be able "to know the course" you are talking about. However, I do not know all about it. I only have a bit of knowledge of the former state of the Imam-Hatip schools and the education at the Faculties of Divinity. In my opinion, the private studies and educational activities are not known. I wish

that the education about the hadiths and the sunnah would be given by qualified people everywhere, and all families, all students, and all people would be interested in such religious duties, the criteria for these duties would be determined, and everything would be done for its development. I do not think there is such an endeavor today.

A. Abdullah: What do you think about the current debates over the hadiths? As a hadith scholar, what do you think can be done in this regard?

A. O. Koçkuzu: I do not watch the debates on TV, or more precisely, I do not know who appears where and talks about this issue. I know that they are not competent in this issue, though. Because I think it is unfavorable to talk about these issues in the public eye as they fall within the area of expertise of the scholars. You cannot see a number of doctors coming together and talking about a surgery or another topic within their area of expertise on TV. It would be in vain as the audience would not be knowledgeable with regard to that topic. A thirty-minute program would not be useful for the audience, and they would just end up with a confused mind. And it is generally said that those debating the hadiths/sunnah on TV are mostly people who are not studying Islamic sciences.

A. Abdullah: According to this narrative, do you suggest reading to understand the Prophet's hadiths and sunnah?

A. O. Koçkuzu: Here comes the word "reading" again. Let us proceed with what I know about this topic instead of the word "read" in your terminology. We need well-trained fellows speaking Turkish, Arabic, and the languages of the old religions of the holy books. We need humble fellows who memorize the Qu'ran, know the sunnah and fiqh very well, have knowledge of the Islamic rules, kalam, and the history of the sects. The order in this study is evident. Even the techniques of teaching and learning the history, communicating, guiding, and informing people of the religion are evident. Our "reader" should know these and properly implement them into his life. The teacher should want the grace of Allah to be diligent and powerful to raise a scholar much more perfect than himself.

A. Abdullah: Dear professor, you have raised a lot of students for many years. Could you share one or two of your memories in your professional life?

A. O. Koçkuzu: We were taken to Gaziantep in the 1950s when we studied at the Imam-Hatip School. The charity associations supporting the school took some successful students and some of our teachers to serve at the mosques. I wish, if Allah allows, one day I would see Gaziantep again and tell you about my "one or two memories" there. May Allah bless you.

Interview*

Haydar HUBBULLAH **

Interview and Translation: Davut TEKİN ***

Davut Tekin: The existence of the problem of not being able to access the original text for the identification of the hadiths is mentioned. For instance, in our country, it was alleged that *el-Camiu's-Sahihi* by Bukhari did not actually exist. Is this also true for the Shia world? For instance, was the original of *Usul-i Kafi accessed?* In this context, does the absence of this original constitute a problem for you?

Haydar Hubbullah: A book can only be reliable if there is an original written by hand by the author in his own handwriting. Because, here, another discussion may also occur; was this text written by the author in his handwriting, or did someone else write it? Therefore, we require a historical closeness in order to have more solid proof that such a text written in the same century was actually written by the author. Otherwise, how could we know that this text was written in the handwriting of the author himself? Is it enough that the name of the author is written on the text? Is it not possible that this was done by someone else? So, it is always possible to have this discussion in the case of any text that we are able to access. If there is a record indicating that this text was written in the author's own handwriting or that the author's expressions suggest this, then who could start a new discussion on the comparison of this text to other works written by the author even if there is another text from the period in which the author lived?

Here is what I would like to say: In terms of the copies of hadiths and hadith books, hadith researchers are like other researchers. They rely either on the agreement of the members of a certain sect on the fact that a certain book belongs to a certain author or the book's conveyance through generations and its good reputation, in cases where the original from the first centuries is unfortunately lost and the copy gained prominence after that. They may also rely on copies written by the sheiks and the verbal narratives of the sheiks throughout the centuries and such

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copies and narratives become a registry and a means to verify the identity of the old text. They may also use the method of collecting the evidence and the clues. Here is how this works; we look at the quotations of the authors from the time of the original author, which refer to a specific book by the author in question or the references of the people who lived around the same time as the author. If these references/quotations match, to a great extent, the copy of the book we have, or a copy that was written two or three centuries after the original book was written - this is true for the book, *el-Kâfî* by Sheik al-Kulayni - or a copy that was written nearly a century after the original book was written - this is true for the book, *Sahih-i Buhari* - these facts and clues constitute evidence for the accuracy or inaccuracy of the author of the book. Data such as these are data compiled by the Shia and sects other than the Shia to prove that a copy of a book that we have obtained belongs to its author. Therefore, the closer the time of such copy to the time of the author and the older it is, and the more the evidence and the clues support each other, the higher the chance to prove that the book belongs to its author and vice versa.

For example, tens of small hadith books are available from the middle period of the Shia, and we are not able to find their copies from the 10th and 11th hijri centuries, which correspond to the period of the Safavids. The authentication of the authors of such books requires a lot of work with many challenges. Nonetheless, when we refer to generations from one, two or three centuries ago and when data quoted from this book is quoted in other books, as well as having the evidence and the references support each other, we are required to trust the copy that we have obtained.

In the science of history, the concept of precise information is neither a mathematical certainty nor the logic of Aristotle. The science of history relies on the accumulation of data to achieve strong odds. This is a rational science referred to as confidence in the procedure of fiqh, which people build their lives on, live by and draw conclusions from. We are not against logical inferences that do not accept doubt in the science of the hadiths. If we use the path of logical and precise thought and information in the science of the hadiths, I can say that the authentication of the author of a book would be impossible in any branch of science, not just in the science of the hadiths. Yes, if there is a discussion or a suspicion in relation to the addition of any part or section of a book to that book deliberately, erroneously or in any other way, then, we need to wait until evidence comes up verifying that these belong to the original book.

An example of this case would be the book 'Ravdatu'l-Kâfî', which is the last part of *Kitâbu'l-Kâfî,* which is currently in print form. According to some, this book belongs to Ibn Idris al-Hilli, not to Sheik al-Kulayni (d. 595 AH). The remaining part of this suspicion requires us to focus on whether this section is from *el-Kâfî* by al-Kulayni and admit that this may have been added as a result of a mistake. Actually, I was able to prove as a result of my personal efforts - which I included in my book,

el-Medhal ila Mevsûati'l-Hadisi'n-Nebevî - that 'Ravda did not belong to Ibn Idris al-Hilli, and it was the mistake of a scholar who lived in the eleventh hijri century.

Based on what has beene discussed above, the issue can be summarized as follows: The oldest copy of *Kitâbu'l-Kâfî*, excluding some missing juzes and varaks, dates back to a time that is two and a half centuries after Sheik al-Kulayni. This means that we need a lot of evidence and clues, and we need the quotations from this book, which belong to his contemporaries or those who lived roughly during the same time he did, to support each other so that we can make a comparison with the old copy that we acquired. We also need to consider the reputation and quotations of this book and the significance attributed to it by the scholars and the generations during different time periods. For example, Sheik an-Najasi (d. 450 AH) provides a little information about *Kitâbu'l-Kâfî* in his book *el-Fihrist.*

D. Tekin: What would you like to say about Goldziher's argument that the hadiths were written three centuries later?

H. Hubbullah: The claim that the hadiths were not written in the first three centuries, which is asserted by the famous orientalist, Goldziher and others can be discussed. But this discussion would not focus on the hadiths being written in the first century, or entirely in the second century. Because, obviously, we did not encounter the manuscripts of the hadiths found in major hadith books in the first and second century. This is a topic that is agreed upon by the Shia and the followers of the sunnah. The question that needs to be asked here is the following: Is the text the only element of trust for the sunnah? And in this respect, is a verbal conveyance enough or not? Let us assume that there is a book by an individual in the first hijri century, and this book includes many Hadith-i Sharifs. Here, we need to ask the following: Is the codification of the sunnah in the first hijri century enough for the authentication of the narrative? Just as it is possible for the verbal narrative to be fabricated, it is also possible for this book to be completely fabricated. This means: The codification of the hadiths in the first two centuries does not verify their authenticity and if they are not codified, that does not eliminate the value of its conveyance. This is because the power of verbal conveyance does not completely end, and the written conveyance does not always lead to satisfaction regarding the healthiness of the reliability and conveyance.

Yes, in this respect, the diversity of the conveyance (both in written and verbal form) is important. I would like to get into a little detail at this point. A verbal conveyance does not allow one to identify if the conveyance was made word by word, unless there is additional evidence. Therefore, with regard to verbal conveyance, what we have is a conveyance of thoughts. Across five generations, each generation conveys this thought and the hadith is transferred through each generation's own dialect before it becomes widespread, and thus, we are in danger of distorting the hadith, even without intent. In written conveyance though, if a book is written by the next generation, it reaches the following generations without

any changes to its wording. This leads us to the following conclusion: When a sunnah is verbally conveyed as it was not codified, we cannot say that such conveyance is not enough and does not have a historical value, even in the existence of various passages and chains. Likewise, we cannot say that a written conveyance is enough, even if various passages and chains are missing. No, that is not how this issue is.

Yes, the verbal conveyance has many advantages as it provides us with hadith texts to a great extent. Therefore, the higher the number of the written texts we acquire dating back to the first century, the closer we get to the modes created originally by our Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him). Yes, this is an important point and I agree with Goldhizer on the following: The absence of widespread hadith writing in the first two hijri centuries led to the emergence of verbal conveyance. Verbal conveyance naturally opens the door to conveyance through meaning, which eliminates the possibility to identify through evidence, the distortion in a text, the conveyance of which is naturally completed. However, in my opinion, historical evidence refutes the allegations indicating that the sunnah was never codified in the first two centuries, and there was no actual hadith writing. As a result, this issue is limited and when you talk about the third century and beyond, you would find a more extensive area of discussion. Naturally, I think this issue leads us to act cautiously, to work more on hadiths and to not make any concessions in this area. Here is what I would like to briefly say: The value of verbal conveyance is not reduced by the number of times it is transferred, and written conveyance does not always verify the text of the hadith. However, written conveyance is less likely to have mistakes and inconsistencies compared to verbal conveyance.

D. Tekin: What are the problems with the procedure and history of the hadiths?

H. Hubbullah: It is not possible for me to limit the problems related to the procedure and history of the hadiths. There are so many of them which turned me into someone who does not make any concessions on the acceptance and conditions of the hadiths, which led me to find myself in difficult positions where I was exposed to the criticism of many people. But I may point out some elements that you are already aware of:

A) The problem of narrative through meaning, which I mentioned earlier. This is a real problem. We are not always faced with a text that is attributable to the prophet and that was imperatively codified in *Sahih-i Buhari* or *Kâfi'l-Kuleynî,* we are facing the interpretation of a text. So, this text reflects how the communicator understood the Prophet, not what the Prophet actually said. Saying that this text is an interpretation means that you are using an approach concerned with the way the words of the Prophet are understood, not the originals of those words.

Narrative through meaning causes us to always deal with texts that are distorted, stray away from the idea that the text reflects, be unable to conduct research on them, and be unable to form an opinion through the conclusions we draw from this text. It also results in our analysis of the communicators, not just in terms of their preservation skills but also in terms of their insight and intellectual capacity to understand the topic of the hadith.

The issue of narrative through meaning is not just exclusive to the period of the companions. Sometimes, it occurs in the third and fourth layers, and we cannot verify that they are not narrated through meaning. Other times, we make the mistake of assuming one hadith, that is conveyed in many passages and styles even though they all have the same idea, as multiple hadiths.

B) The problem of manuscripts and copies, which, in my opinion, is another real problem. For example, we have the interpretation book *Kitabu Misbâhi'ş-Şerîa* by Ali Ibn Ibrahim al-Qummi, *Kitabu Zeyd ez-Zerrâd* and tens of other small hadith book manuscripts of the Shia, the authors of which we cannot verify. The reason for this is the emergence of the oldest copies of them in recent times and the lack of information with respect to their existence before such times. The problem with manuscripts is a problem that requires effort and support by the Islamic states to be resolved so that a universal Islamic development can take place.

C) Addition to the hadiths (placement and entry) which is also a real problem. Most of the communicators added their interpretations to the hadiths with good intentions and added a sentence to a hadith like Sheik as-Saduq (d. 381 AH) did, to explain some unknown Arabic words or other purposes. As such, a hadith researcher may witness that some narrators combined two hadiths as they were close in meaning. This affects how the interpreters of Islamic law and canonists understand such a hadith. Some placements were concealed by some scholars as well in the recent period as they thought such placement was part of the hadith, which produced different results.

D) The problem of discontinuity in hadiths. When we look at the major hadith journals dating back to the third century and beyond, we see that most of them, if not all, subject the hadiths to discontinuity by removing the section which is appropriate for the title of the topic. For example, in the case of a hadith including the topic of compensations as well as other topics, a narrator leaves the parts of the hadith, related to other topics, extracts the parts related to compensations and places it under the compensations section of his book. Such discontinuity undoubtedly damages the work of the canonist, the interpreters of Islamic law and the interpreters of the Qur'an. Because such discontinuity causes us to lose the clues that are within the text and that play a role in the understanding of the hadith.

When a section in the hadith is exposed to discontinuity and we become limited by the remaining section, we end up sacrificing the indicators that would

help the canonist to understand the previous and following texts of the hadith as well as the section itself. Therefore, we need to bring the pieces of a hadith together, taking into account the integrity of the chain and the meaning, so that we can understand the hadith better. However, sometimes we are not able to do this.

In my opinion, the issue of discontinuity in the hadiths is not a simple one. On the contrary, it creates the possibility that the communicator did not convey all the sentences and cut some of them off, thinking that they are not important. Therefore, discontinuity is sometimes caused by narrators for purposes such as classification and codification, while at other times, it is caused by communicators due to reasons such as summarization or the consideration of other parts as unimportant. If those parts reached the canonist, he could see many remarks in them to help understand the hadith.

The problem of discontinuity is an extensive and general problem. Some significant hadith scholars also made this mistake, like Sheik al-Hurr al-'Amili (d. 1104 AH) did in his book, *Tafsîlu Vesâili'ş-Şîa.* In the modern age, Sayyid al-Burucirdi tried to correct these mistakes by bringing the entire text of the hadith together within the bounds of possibility in his book called *Cami'u Ehâdî's-Şîa*.

E) Failure to understand the reason for the communicator's question. There are many questions directed to the Prophet, the companions and the people of the house but we are only provided with the response and the question for the response, which is stated as, 'I asked him about this', and other elements in relation to the question are not provided. This leads to a kind of an implicitness about the question. The shorter and the more implicit the question is, the more confusing the response becomes in accordance with such a question. Because the response is shaped according to the question. So, if the question is implicit, the response will be affected by that depending on the level of implicitness, but the response would not be more implicit than the question in the absolute sense. We are not claiming that there is complete ambiguity and implicitness on this issue.

F) Another problem in hadith research is the problem of chain elements. These would not devalue the hadith, but the higher the number of the elements leading to the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) in the chain is (four, five or ten individuals), the lower the reliability of the hadith would become. Because there is a chance that any of these individuals may have made a mistake such as an error, a placement or forgetting something even if it was only in one part of a hadith. Therefore, the higher the number of the individuals of the elements is, the higher the possibility to make a mistake would become. As a result, the text we would end up having would not match the text that originated from the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him).

The fairness of the communicators, who are experts in the science of refutation and amendment, does not make them innocent, on the contrary, the possibility of making a mistake remains. The higher the number is, the higher the

mathematical probability would be. This is a problem that requires addressing more in hadith research.

G) The problem of fabrication (vad') in hadiths. This is a well-known issue in the area of hadith research that does not even require an explanation. This is a problem encountered by the researcher in the process of textual criticism, which we unfortunately do not pay enough attention to. Although it is mentioned that attention is paid to it, more attention must be paid. The reasons and varieties of lies are many throughout history. The hadith researcher must analyze the hadith topics in which the reasons for lying are increased, and must put more effort into hadiths with topics related to Judgment Day, worship that is not obligated, stories of the good subjects of Allah, deficiencies (faults), and sectarian and nationalist conflicts. The probability of lies and deception are higher in hadith topics like these ones. Our responsibility is to proceed slowly and with precaution in such topics. In addition to these topics with a high probability of fabrication, there is also the problem of concealed fabrication in topics such as the facts of science and the mind.

H) The presence of hadiths in separate pieces and the problem of not being able to bring together the hadiths held by the sects in order to strengthen the texts attributed to the Prophet and understand them better. I do not want to talk too much about this. I have an extensive study that brings together the hadiths available in all the Islamic sects (supra-sect). I added this study of mine to the first chapter of my book, '*el-Hadîsu'ş-Şerîf, Hududu'l-Merciiyye ve Devâiru'l-İhticâc*'.

D. Tekin: What do you think of the approach that emerged recently among Muslims claiming that, 'Only the Qur'an is enough', or 'Only the Sunnah/Hadith'? What would you like to say about the reflections of this approach in the Shia world?

H. Hubbullah: According to my humble research, there is no strict movement based on the Qur'an in the Imamiyyah Shia. We need to understand the reason for that. Yes, there are some schools of thought arguing that the Qur'an should be relied on at the highest level and the hadiths should not be easily trusted. However, in the Imamiyyah Shia, it is absolutely believed that the sunnah is evidentiary and there is almost no school of thought that argues not believing in this. The reason for this is as follows: As someone who is a member of the Imamiyyah Shia, I am certainly a believer in the Qur'an, (which means that I do not accept any source other than the Qur'an), and when one says that they need to leave behind their Shi'ism which includes (based on the belief) twelve imams. Because the names of the twelve imams are not referred to in the Qur'an and the idea of the twelve imams is not available. This means that the Qur'anist Shia must be automatically free of his/her Shi'ism. Therefore, the concept of a Qur'anist Shia, which is used extensively these days, is an inconsistent (paradoxical) concept. Yes, there is a movement that gradually developed among the Shia in the beginning of the twentieth century, which handles the hadiths according to the Qur'anic nass.

This is an undeniable fact which I included in the sixth chapter of my book, '*Nazariyyetu's-Sunne fi'l-Fikri'l-İmamî eş-Şiî*'. What this movement mostly does is to lower the use of hadiths as evidence in order to protect the Qur'anic nass or the religious mind for the purpose of understanding religion.

I personally discussed the evidence put forward in relation to the Qur'an being the sole source in my book, '*Hucciyyetu's-Sunne fi'l-Fikri'l-İslamî Kıraat ve't Takvim*' and stated the following: Evidence put forward in relation to the sunnah not having been codified, or the Qur'an itself explaining everything, or other evidence, does not necessarily prove that the sunnah is not evidentiary. This leads to the conclusion that the Qur'an is the first level source, while the sunnah complements it. Yes, we may come together in the established idea that extremism, such as paying more attention to the sunnah than the Qur'an or the sunnah coming before the Qur'an in the school of the Islamic madrasah, caused great problems. In my opinion, this school of Islam provided the sunnah that reached us with more opportunities for ruling than the book. The following can be deduced from all this: We may share the same idea with the Qur'anists; the Qur'an must be re-understood, the Qur'an has the power to explain itself and one needs to begin with the Qur'an in religious precedents. The purpose of this is to make the Qur'anic approach dominant over the conveyed sunnah, excluding a few topics such as 'āmm-khâss and general-specific, the arguments of which have been completed in the fiqh procedure.

I am not a Qur'anist in the sense of rejecting the sunnah; I am a Qur'anist in the sense that the Qur'an must be the first source and the sunnah must be the second source for understanding the religion, and today the sunnah has a narrower area of impact than its previously determined wide range of impact.

D. Tekin: What do you think of the Shia's approach to the hadiths/sunnah in the modern age? Is the classical procedure sufficient for the identifying and understanding the hadiths? What should be done to understand the hadith texts? A lot of studies were done both in the Shia world and by the members of the sect of the followers of the sunnah in the area of textual criticism and for the texts to be understood. Do you think that these studies are enough? What are the shortcomings in your opinion?

H. Hubbullah: I think that the Shia Islamic approach has a lot of strong elements for understanding the sunnah. These should not be taken lightly, but it must be noted that they include some elements of weakness. I would like to emphasize a few points here:

A) The effect of the Akhbari movement in the Imamiyyah Shia and some Sunni approaches to many scholars has clearly continued until today, especially in areas such as kalam, akaid and history. This movement considers that understanding the Qur'an is only possible through the hadiths. So, (according to this approach) whether a statement such as 'the Qur'an cannot be understood by

itself, it is not explanatory by nature' is made or not, the Qur'an can only be understood through the hadiths. We observe that some Sunni and Shia scholars took the hadiths as a starting point while interpreting the Qur'an so that the hadiths can guide them in understanding the Qur'an or considered the interpretation of the Qur'an through the hadiths to be ahead of their own interpretations. As I expressed in some of my humble studies, this method is not right in my opinion. In my opinion, the way we understand the Qur'an in accordance with the rules of language and history must come before the hadith texts. On the contrary, the Qur'an must rule over the hadith texts in a positive or negative way. Because, the condition for a hadith to be evidentiary is only met by the soundness of the text. One of the elements of soundness for the texts is the condition that the hadith should not be in opposition to the Qur'an. This means that the starting point and the foundation is the Qur'an. How can we limit understanding the Qur'an exclusively to the hadiths? This is only possible if the hadith texts are sound and are not in opposition to the Qur'an. Hadiths cannot be the main source for understanding the Qur'an as stated by some Akhbari Shia.

The reason why I focus on this point is to regulate the levels of the opinion sources in religious nass. The Qur'anic nass is the first source, while the hadith is the second source. (This topic we are talking about is not associated with the relationship between the Qur'an and the hadiths.) This is because the Qur'anic nass is a criterion for the acceptance of the hadiths due to its soundness. The Islamic ummah who wants to make judgements in religious nass must base it on the Qur'an nass today, without sacrificing the hadiths. The order of the levels of information sources are extremely important, which I discussed in detail in my book, '*Hucciyetu's Sunne fi'l Fikri'l İslamî Kıraat ve't Takvim*'.

B) In my opinion, the work on the criticism of the Islamic texts continues at a level that is lower than desired. While there have been hopeful strides in this in the past two centuries, the hadith movement is not as active as required in the area of textual criticism of the hadiths, due to the problems of textual criticism and the comparison of the hadith texts with other sources of information. The submissive and taabbudi approach available in fiqhi and canonistic texts affected many hadith texts in several areas such as takviniyyat - the beginning of creation - features of the universe, prophetic medicine, history, akaid, past communities and prophets, Qur'an interpretation, events that will occur in the future and on Judgment Day. Therefore, this submissive and taabbudi approach has caused the hadith researcher to lose his power to criticize the hadith texts in these areas. If the fiqh is not able to criticize hadith texts due to a submissive and taabbudi approach, the hadith texts can be criticized by means other than fiqh. In my opinion, there is a large gap in the area of hadith criticism. Therefore, this situation is one of the main points of weakness on this issue. We also witness intensive work in textual criticism on sectarian conflicts. For example, while the followers of the sunnah focus on criticizing the Shia hadith texts, the Shia, likewise, focus on criticizing the Sunni

hadith texts. However, when these sects get back to their own sources, we observe a decline in their mental capabilities in relation to forming opinions on textual criticism.

What I imply by textual criticism is not the personal tendencies and characteristic features of the researcher - which we unfortunately still witness today. On the contrary, the issue requires clear and precise scientific criteria within the bounds of possibility. A hadith may not be compatible with my customs, traditions and attitudes. The hadith must not be rejected due to such a reason. There is a narrative conveyed by Imam Jaʿfar as-Sadiq: Imam Ja'far warned his companions about rejecting a hadith due to its incompatibility with their taste and character and denying the conveyances. This is a fair warning which addresses all hadith researchers so that they can build their criticism on more scientific and important foundations.

C) There is another, general point of weakness here. It is the absence of a collective, historical insight on the hadiths. When we examine specific subject matter such as Judgment Day or future events, we usually fall into the trap of discontinuity, focus on the small-scaled subjects and skip the assessment of the chains. We require the following research in the area of hadiths: Where did this hadith which provides information about future events appear? In Iraq or Damascus maybe? Under which circumstances did it appear? How did it progress? How was it transferred to other places? What are the societal and political conditions surrounding this hadith? When did this hadith become powerful or weak throughout history? Which movement reinforced this hadith and which caused it to lose its effectiveness?

The historical course of a hadith subject is very important for us. It can shed light on many points, however, unfortunately that is not the case in this matter. We require a temporal monitoring observation, comparison with other subject matters and a more scientific method for the hadiths (the assessment of hadiths).

In my opinion, a hadith study must address the appearance of the hadith and the historical course it followed, together. Such a method would enlighten us on many points. I am not implying the general hadith history here (on which many books were written), on the contrary, I am implying the historical course that the hadith subjects took and the societal, geographical and historical course of the hadith texts.

D. Tekin: In your book, '*Hücciyetu'l Hadis*', you mention that hadiths are evidentiary. Do you think hadiths could also be evidentiary in Akaid?

H. Hubbullah: I actually need to explain to you my personal opinion on the evidentiary nature of the hadiths. I do not believe that zanni hadiths (zanni ahad khabars) are evidentiary even if they have authentic attributions. A hadith that does not provide us with anything more than a zan, is not evidentiary even if it has

authentic attributions. In my book, "*Hucciyetu'l-Hadis*", I reached this conclusion as a result of the comparison of a number of kalam, procedures and hadiths. Apart from this, hadiths with very strong supporting narratives, witnesses, sanctions, clues, manners, attributions, diverse manners and a wide range of multiple sources are evidentiary if one can almost be sure of its authenticity or the fact that it was verbalized by our Prophet (peace and blessing be upon him) himself through the soundness of their texts and similar historical research tools. But, whether it has authentic or weak attributions, any hadith that demonstrates itself and which has support and witnesses that provide a precise level of information about its occurrence cannot be evidentiary. This means that the authenticity of its chain is only one of the factors that helps the acquirement of precise information. However, while it is enough for the acquirement of precise information, it is not a sufficient factor to be evidentiary.

This is the summary of the theory I tried to reach and prove in my book (which is '*Hucciyetu'l-Hadis*'). In this book, I discussed the different evidence of Muslim procedure scholars - either Sunni or Shia - who would like to prove the 'evidentiary property' through only a khabar-i wahid, even if the hadith has an authentic attribution and, based on their work on the khabar hadith in the blessed Hujurat surah, the way the companions lived, the things they did and other similar things.

But I say; those who mention that the zanni hadith and khabar-i wahid is evidence based on the rules they built on the khabar-i wahid theory will be required to mention that the khabar-i wahid is also evidence of the detailed subjects of the akaid. Because, the path they followed to reach the conclusion that the khabar-i wahid is evidence should lead them to the same conclusion of evidence in detailed akaid as well. The obstacles they list at this point are not correct in my personal opinion. I do not believe the theory of khabar-i wahid being evidence, at all. In my opinion, a hadith is not evidentiary either in terms of akaid or in fiqh and morality. In fact, I also do not believe the theory of tolerance in sunnah evidence or tolerance in virtuous deeds. This is because this theory is a theory that allows weak hadiths, apart from akaid subjects or fiqh and canonistic liabilities, to be considered evidentiary.

In the second part (about Hadith-i Sharif, referencing limits and evidence collection circles) of my humble book, I discussed the evidentiary dimensions and fields of ahad hadiths in detail, in areas such as the universe, problems of the earth, the future, akaid and the science of kalam apart from the canonistic field. I also thoroughly examined the theory of tolerance on virtuous deeds and my personal thought is that the zanni ahad hadiths are not evidentiary in general, even if they have authentic attributions. Therefore, hadiths that are evidentiary in akaid and fiqh are those that are known to have been said for sure. However, the theory of those who mention that the khabar-i wahid is evidence requires them to mention that it is also evidence in the detailed subjects of the akaid. The evidence they put

forward in relation to the notion that it cannot be evidentiary in the detailed subjects of the akaid are weak. Therefore, they are required to complete the original theory they have on the evidentiary property of the khabar-i wahid and mention that it is evidentiary on the detailed subjects of the akaid as well, following the same path.

D. Tekin: What do you think of the hadith studies in Turkey? Did you have any preliminary preparations or information on this? Also, if the studies of the hadith scholars in the Gulf countries are compared to those of the hadith scholars in Turkey, what kind of results would one find in your opinion?

H. Hubbullah: I must clearly and sadly admit that my information on the hadith studies in Turkey is quite limited unfortunately. Because this is an issue that is not very much out in the open. However, I participated in the International Conference on the Criticism of Text in Hadiths from the Point of View of the Islamic Sects eight years ago in Istanbul, I was so amazed there and felt sad that I was not aware of the hadith studies in Turkey earlier. I want to take this opportunity; I hope that the hadith studies in Turkey are translated into Arabic, Persian and Urdu and published in these languages. In this respect, I hope that scientific, research-based publications and journals are established in Turkey and special centers and departments are founded for translating new studies on the Qur'an and the hadiths for the Arabic world. Because, in this way, we can become more familiar with the studies in Turkey and a new channel of communication can be established between the Turkish hadith researchers and the hadith researchers in the Arabic world. It is the responsibility of Turkish universities to develop relationships with Arabic universities at a scientific and research level. This is the responsibility of Turkish universities as much as it is the responsibility of the Arabian religious institutes and faculties, and it would open new horizons for both nations, particularly in terms of the hadiths, and in general in Islamic studies and provide new and insightful information. All of this would help us gain more information about the studies in Turkey. Because, the language problem is indeed an important problem. Therefore, this can be resolved either through translation centers or frequent meetings and conferences, which would allow the studies in Turkey to hopefully be communicated to the religious institutes, scientific meetings and universities in the Arabian world.

With respect to the second element of your question regarding the comparison of the hadith studies in the Gulf countries or Arabian countries and those in Turkey, I can say, in light of what I mentioned above, that I am not capable of responding to this question. Because, I personally do not have enough information about studies in this area in Turkey. I would have to work harder to extend my knowledge in Islamic studies in Turkey in general.

D. Tekin: What would you suggest us to do to be able to read and accurately understand the hadiths in relation to the morality of our Prophet? Also, which

method should we apply to be able to understand the sunnah in general in an ideal way?

H. Hubbullah: I believe that we should proceed to a new stage in relation to the hadiths and the blessed Siyer-i Nebi. The purpose of that stage would be to reevaluate and re-understand the hadiths. The first step in this respect is to free ourselves from the approach of the past. If we do not free ourselves of the interpretations that are available in Hadith and Siyer-i Nebi, and the process methods that have been executed up to today by the salaf, we cannot present new things and will find ourselves moving mostly within a circle or paradigm, or in the orbit of old products - in my humble opinion. Therefore, the key is to let go of the old approaches. However, this does not involve letting go of them completely. They will continue to remain relevant in positive or negative assessments in line with scientific standards, and will remain as studies completed through human efforts that are not sacred but valuable, just as in the other points of view of the world of thought and science. Always thinking inside the box in our scientific life cannot create new methods or expand new horizons, on the contrary, it would turn us into nothing more than commentators (descriptors), which would lead us to kill the precedents in the fields of morality and the hadiths.

This step is not just a slogan. On the contrary, it implies the necessity to create an education system in both the scientific and religious universities and institutes, in which the students of the sciences of hadith history and Siyer-i Nebi are taught to have a spirit of research and examination of thoughts, instead of the spirit of abstractly understanding what happened in the past. Approach is the first step, but it is not enough. On the contrary, we need to follow the steps of comparison and approximation, and then criticism and assessment. Eventually, real creative thinking is born - out of these three stages. However, we also should not only educate the students of the sciences of Hadith and Siyer with a critical approach and desire. Because, this would be unethical. We also should not educate the students with a culture of looking down on the past. This would mean a denial of the valuable efforts and works of the Islamic scholars throughout history.

We really require a revolution in Hadith and Siyer. However, this is not a rebellious revolution as some rebels engage in. Such rebels ardently use a language of criticism without any research, deep thinking or spending any time. This, on the other hand, is a scientific, objective and balanced revolution in terms of hadith evaluation, Siyer and understanding the behaviors of our Prophet, including the standards of the dignitary science of refutation and amendment. So, are these standards limited? Does what is asked of us today involve simply imitating what the dignitaries, refutation and amendment scholars said, or researching the texts, dates and other properties of the communicator hadiths, examining the old generations of dignitaries, refutation and amendment scholars and then opening the door for precedent in the area of refutation and amendment as I called for in my

book entitled, “Research on the logic of criticism, dignitaries, refutation and amendment rules”?

What is asked of us - literally - is to open the door for precedents in the science of refutation and amendment. Likewise, we also need to open this door to the sciences of recognition and hadith terms. We would perhaps move on to new types that were not previously paid attention to in the hadiths. Opening the door for the formation of opinions and proceeding to new levels of research requires going through the points of agreement and reputability, and going beyond the topics that were agreed upon.

The second step, followed by the adoption of the liberation culture, is the understanding of the standard property of the Qur’an texts during the evaluation and interpretation of the hadiths and the understanding of the Siyer-i Nebi incidents. This is the most important original. The text of the Qur’an is precise at the highest level for Muslims. Then, we should actually rely on the Qur’an texts for interpreting the other texts which are mostly zanni. In fact, I would like to repeat my call for considering the texts of the Qur’an to be the major source in Siyer and writing of Siyer, which is mentioned by most of the Islamic scholars of the 21st century in the area of Siyer-i Nebi. Siyer cannot be written only through history and hadith books. The Qur’an has priority in this field. Because, the developments of the incidents explained in the Qur’an constitutes important pieces in our minds from the honorable Golden Age.

The third step in understanding the Siyer-i Nebi is the requirement to understand the prophetic figure in light of his dualism. This is an issue which I brought up in some of my articles in recent years. The Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) is not always a person who interprets the Qur’an and provides the information he receives about the religion. He is in the position of an administrator of the Muslim population, based on the fact that he was a leader who oversaw the business of the Islamic ummah. It is quite reasonable that some hadith texts are in compliance with fixed divine judgements, while others are in compliance with the temporary administration applicable in their own time. The greatest issue here is the establishment of methods of precedent for the separation of actual prophetic texts that reflect the prophecy of the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings be upon him) and the prophetic texts constituting the administrative measures of his time. Because, was our prophet not the leader of the ummah and the administrator of the congregation in that period of history? The greatest problem before the hadith precedent today is the establishment of the standards for distinguishing these two types of prophetic texts. Because, we will continue to address the first type of text until the end of time, while the second type of text is a temporal factor, the apparent meaning of which we must abandon and the spirit of which we must focus on. This is an important point for determining the types of sunnah of the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings be upon him). Because, our Prophet sometimes speaks as required by the special circumstances of his time. We must

find out the method of administration he applied in his position, in the face of special events that occurred in his time. However, when these events are assessed - where the judgements are temporal ones - it is unfathomable for canonistic judgements based on the revelations to address all Muslims until Judgement day.

The fourth step is getting assistance from information acquired in modern history research. Actually, the science of history has made great strides in recent centuries. Then, we need to make use of these developments in order to understand the prophetic hadiths and history, and assess the information I acquire in a more scientific manner by benefiting from the improvements in historical research; the historical analysis methods and methodologies; the historical artefacts and the science of archeology; and the research on copies and manuscripts. This should not imply imitating either modern history scholars or innovators, or the methods of modern history. We are against imitation by any means, and in any shape or form. On the contrary, what we mean is benefiting from them, using the appropriate modern sciences in the field of history and hence, generating the best insight and assessment in the area of Hadith-i Sharif and Siyer-i Nebi.

D. Tekin: Finally... What would be your valuable suggestions to students of the hadiths, particularly young people?

H. Hubbullah: I am not in a position to give suggestions. I am below that. But what I can tell young students is that they should be able to carry the responsibility of information and the act of objective criticism within them. They also should not position themselves just as a critic, nothing more, nothing less, against their tendency to criticize. We need to improve the bravery for information, together with the morality of information in young people's hearts through education. The bravery for information and the feeling of scientific responsibility means the end of the imitation era. Because today, we really need refutation and amendment imams, imams of the science of history, and new imams in the science of the hadiths. Today, we are not the commentators of Ibn-i Salah, Bahai or others. Although it is one of our duties to understand them and be their student, we would like the new generation of the hadith classes - Allah willing - to create new copies of the books of Ibn-i Salah and Bahai themselves, which are better than those. The big problem here is this; How can the young generation think with great liberty, objectivity and morality at the same time today, and create such a positive atmosphere? How can a curriculum that would create such a positive atmosphere at educational institutions and universities on religion be created? Not only the annotations and remarks, but also new and innovative ideas should be included in the curriculum. Innovations in the area of modern theory and the presentation of new projects for resolving the current problems in the area of the science of the hadiths through a method that accepts the weaknesses of the doctorate theses, and that is based on the powerful points of the extensive Islamic heritage must be concentrated on.

I wish Allah accepts us for the service of major spiritual, moral and divine values in His own path…

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