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# From Ideology to Hadith Narration: The Effect of Human Geography on the Asbāb al-Riwāyah (Reason for Narration)

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### **Abstract**

This article is based on the relationship between geography, culture and hadith narration. The research deals with the relationship between human geography and the asbāb al-riwāyah (reason for narration). Primarily, a new definition of the asbāb al-riwāyah (reason for narration) has been made. Then, firstly the narration about the killing of Ammar b. Yasser was discussed in order to put forward the mentioned relationship. The second sample, is an examination the narration of the "73 sects". The hadiths on the subject were obtained from The Nine Books. If it is needed, secondary hadith sources were used. As a result of the researches, it was determined that the narration about the murder of Ammar b. Yasser, who went to the war alongside Ali, was narrated in Iraq, where Ali and his supporters lived. Similarly, it was understood that the narration of "73 sects" was narrated with the concept of "al-jama'a" in the region of Damascus, where Muawiya and his supporters lived. In the study, it can be sad as a result that human geography affects the narration of hadith.

### **Keywords**

Hadith, Asbāb al-Riwāyah (Reason for Narration), Human Geography, Ammar b. Yasser, 73 Sects

# İdeolojiden Hadis Rivayetine: Beşerî Coğrafyanın Sebeb-i Rivayete Etkisi

Öz

Bu makale coğrafya, kültür ve hadis rivayetinin birbiriyle olan ilişkisine dayanmaktadır. Araştırmanın konusu beşeri coğrafya ile sebeb-i rivayet arasındaki ilişkidir. Bunun için öncelikle sebeb-i rivayet kavramının yeni bir tanımı yapılmıştır. Daha sonra bahsedilen ilişkiyi ortaya koymak amacıyla ilk olarak Ammar b. Yasır'in öldürülmesi ile ilgili rivayet, ikinci olarak ise "73 fırka" rivayeti incelenmiştir. Konuyla ilgili hadisler öncelikle Kütüb-i Tis'a'dan elde edilmiş, ancak gerektiğinde ikinci derece hadis kaynaklarına da başvurulmuştur. İncelemeler sonucunda Ali'nin yanında savaşa katılan Ammar b. Yasir'in öldürülmesi ile ilgili rivayetin Ali ve taraftarlarının yaşadığı Irak'ta nakledildiği tespit edilmiştir. Benzer şekilde "73 fırka" rivayetinin "el-cema'a" kavramıyla Muaviye ve taraftarlarının yaşadığı Şam bölgesinde rivayet edildiği anlaşılmıştır. Çalışmada, beşeri coğrafyanın hadis rivayetini etkilediği sonucuna varılmıştır.

### Anahtar Kelimeler

Hadis, Sebeb-i Rivayet, Beşerî Coğrafya, Ammâr b. Yâsir, 73 Fırka

### Introduction

<sup>\*</sup> This article has been prepared by benefiting from the doctoral thesis "The Effect of Geography and Culture on Hadith Narration in the Companions Period".

Every society has its own lifestyle and many factors that play a role in the formation of this style. Geography, culture and narration affect a society's lifestyle and at the same time, they are also affected to a certain extent by the lifestyle of that society. Accordingly, there is a mutual interaction between the society and the factors.

Geography is one of the important factors that affect people. Therefore, the first step in analyzing the society is to analyze the geography inhabited.¹ According to Ibn Khaldun, many factors such as climate, vegetation and food habits have positive or negative impacts on humans. In fact, Ibn Khaldun says that climatic conditions are important enough to have an effect on people's moods.² According to his way of thinking, hot weather and cold weather have an effect on human morality. People in hot/unkindly regions are happy and relaxed; people in cold regions are sad and uneasy.³ As can be understood from these expressions, geography plays an important role in changing people's attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, from region to region people vary in many aspects.⁴

Geography also shows its influence on culture produced by humans. Along with the society-culture relationship, the geography where the society lives is one of the factors of the culture. The reason why societies living in Ecuador, the Indian subcontinent or the Arabian peninsula differ from each other in terms of culture is geography. In other words, geography is an efficient factor in the formation of the sociocultural environment. People have demonstrated the ability to adapt to different geographic environments. Then, they constituted their social environment connecting to social relationships among themselves. Therefore, people have formed their own sociocultural environment with natural data and human abilities. Figure 1.

Religious principles can be interpreted without deforming the essence in order to respond to changing social conditions and requirements. As religion spreads out different geographies, it contacts other cultures, influences those cultures and also tries to adapt to the culture. For example, although Persians accepted Islam, they figured it out as their own culture and sticked to the beliefs and habits of their old religion completely. Islam was understood by influences of their old religions. As a natural consequence, new beliefs and issues, which their effects emerge later, have entered Islam. According to Ahmed Amin, the most obvious of these new ideas are Shiism and Sufism. Therefore, Persian wisdoms, stories and imaginations have a great influence on Arabic literature.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Nevzat Tartı, Tarihsellik Düşüncesi ve Hadislerin Anlaşılması (Ankara: Otto, 2016), 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mehmet Emin Özafşar, Hadisi Yeniden Düşünmek (Ankara: Otto, 2015), 341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibn Khaldun, Abdurrahman b. Muhammed, Muqaddimah (Istanbul: Dergâh, 2018), 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibn Khaldun, Muqaddimah, 265.

See for factors of culture, Zeki Aslantürk and Tayfun Amman, Sosyoloji (İstanbul: Kaknüs, 2000), 237-238. Also see for features of culture Bozkurt Güvenç, Kültür ve Demokrasi (İstanbul: Gündoğan, 1995), 108; Bilge Onur Kula, Demokratikleşme Süreci, Eleştirel Kültür Bilinci (Ankara: Gündoğan, 1992), 28; Osman Özkul, Kültür ve Küreselleşme (Istanbul: Kitap, 2008), 28, 55; Aslantürk and Amman, Sosyoloji, 246; Fatih Aman, "Branislaw Marinowski'nin Kültür Teorisi," UÜİFD 21/1 (2012), 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Nihat Nirun, Sosyal Dinamik Bünye Analizi (Ankara: Ankara Kültür Merkezi, 1991), 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ahmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām* (Cairo: Maqtabah al-Nahda al-Misri, 1955), 98.

History examines that the sociocultural environment created by people with various factors including geography and culture. It is stated that geography and culture must be taken into consideration in the science of history. Because historical facts that come through the minds of historians have never been conveyed purely. In order to understand accurately, the narrations from the experiences in a certain geography, should be investigated its relations with the social environment. The Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) lived in a certain period of time. For this reason, he did not break connections from the society and culture in which he lived, and acted within the conditions of the region. The natural and physical environment, which affects people's customs, habits, way of thinking, enjoyment and character, and even the content of their social institutions, must also be considered in the content critique of the narrations. Some of the expressions of the Prophet states only one meaning if the natural and geographical conditions and physical environment of that period take into consideration.

To examine the narrations in fiqh, sirah and hadith sources, it is absolutely necessary to place them on their historical grounds. Therefore, a historical environment analysis that is made for this purpose can enable the historical emergence and development of the narrations for following by establishing a connection between the narrations and historical events. In order to completely understand a past event, it is necessary to know all aspects of the conditions of the time when the event took place and the culture and the structure of the society. Because it is very difficult for ideas and thoughts accepted by a society to be completely annihilated. From this point of view, geography and culture are of great importance in order to follow the changes and transformations of hadith narrations until they were recorded in writing.

Probably the most important relationship that affects the life of society is the relationship between culture and religion. Indeed, religion is one of the factors that constitute culture. <sup>13</sup> Sometimes religion stokes up and affects culture and even causes some cultural phenomena to occur. Some religious practices become cultural element over time. Actually, culture and religion are both the way of life of a society. It may be probability why the culture defines as "the embodiment of a society's religion" is based on this. <sup>14</sup>

Religion is one of the different systems that has distinctive in culture. In fact, religion is a set of symbols that creates a strong, comprehensive and long-term spirituality in people, it enables a person to produce concepts about existence and causes these concepts to be perceived as the only reality in the environment in which a person lives.<sup>15</sup> Religion and culture are so intertwined. Both religion need culture for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Edward Hallett Carr, What is History? (England: Penguin Books, 1990), 7-8.

Mehmet Görmez, Sünnet ve Hadisin Anlaşılması ve Yorumlanmasında Metodoloji Sorunu (Ankara: Otto, 2014), 362-363; Tartı, Tarihsellik Düşüncesi ve Hadislerin Anlaşılması, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Özafşar, Hadisi Yeniden Düşünmek, 341-342.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Özafşar, Hadisi Yeniden Düşünmek, 371.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> P. K. Hitti, Siyasi ve Kültürel İslâm Tarihi, trans. Salih Tuğ (İstanbul: İFAV, 2011), 132.

Religion is also among the components of culture, A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (Cambridge, 1952), 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> T. S. Eliot, Kültür Üzerine Düşünceler, trans. Sevim Kantarcıoğlu (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1987), 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 90.

spread and continuation, and culture needs religion for the continuation.<sup>16</sup> This relationship between culture and religion sometimes manifests itself as influencing religious life/understanding. Because religious life/understanding is impressed by the culture in which it was born.

It is inevitable that hadiths, the second source of religion, are also affected by culture. The hadiths, which have an important place in the formation of religious life/understanding, came from the prophet who lived in a certain period of time and in a certain environment. It is not possible to accept that the prophet was isolated from his environment. So his words/hadiths are not isolated from it and every narration attributed to the Prophet should be considered within its own terms. Then, it can be understood that it is a wrong attitude to evaluate events and actions based on only external observations.

This influence, which existed in the time of the Prophet, was also effective in the narration of hadiths in later periods. Companions, who went to different regions to teach the religion or some others who came to the Prophet with a delegation and explained the religion to their people when they returned, narrated the hadiths according to the needs, wishes and culture of that society. These words of the Prophet to Muaz b. Jabal (d. 17/638), who went to Yaman, show us that the culture of the society is considered in religious communication: "You are going to the people of the Book. First of all invite them to worship Allah (alone) and when they come to know Allah, inform them that Allah has enjoined on them, five prayers in every day and night; and if they start offering these prayers, inform them that Allah has enjoined on them, the zakat. And it is to be taken from the rich amongst them and given to the poor amongst them; and if they obey you in that, take zakat from them and avoid (don't take) the best property of the people as zakat". 19

As it is seen, the effect of geography and culture on human, society, environment and religious life/understanding is highly influential. The most important factors that affect and even constitute religious life/understanding is the hadiths that narrated from the Prophet. One of the important questions of the study are: what is the reason why the companions narrated and how much their region and culture were effective on them. The second question is whether the followers who listened to these narrations from the companions was affected by their geography and culture during the understanding and transmission of the narration. These questions will be research within the context of geography and culture affecting the asbāb al-riwāyah (reason for narration).

In order to see how much the region and culture affect the hadith narration, the study discusses two narrations that were spread in Iraq and Damascus. Iraq is a region mostly populated by Ali supporters. Damascus is a region where Muawiya supporters were located. It is also possible that the political conflicts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Eliot, Kültür Üzerine Düşünceler, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tartı, Tarihsellik Düşüncesi ve Hadislerin Anlaşılması, 35.

Behram Hasanov, "Clifford Geertz'e Göre Kültürel Bir Sistem Olarak Din," Bülent Ecevit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi 1/2 (2014), 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Bukhari, "Zakat(Obligatory Alms)", 41; Muslim, "Iman(Faith)", 29; Abu Dawud, "Zakat(Obligatory Alms)", 5; Tirmidhi, "Zakat(Obligatory Alms)", 6; Nasai, "Zakat(Obligatory Alms)", 46; Ibn Majah, "Zakat(Obligatory Alms)", 1.

between Ali and Muawiya has affected the hadith narration through their supporters.<sup>20</sup> For this reason, these political marks in the hadith narration are investigated in the study.

# 1. The Effect of Geography and Culture on the Asbāb al-riwāyah (Reason for Narration)

It is known that some of the words and practices of the Prophet were narrated from him as a result of some events. These factors, which are named as "asbāb al-wurūd (reason for the appearance of hadiths)" by Islamic scholars, is a crucial resources for understanding hadiths.<sup>21</sup>

After the death of the Prophet, the ummah of Islam was left alone with the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet and tried to solve the problems they encountered by using these two sources. Therefore, they needed some verses and hadiths to solve the problems and the events they faced. This situation is a reason for narration in terms of hadiths. It is possible to express this with the concept of "asbāb al-riwāyah (reason for narration)".

In the studies dealing with the concept of asbāb al-riwāyah (reason for narration), mainly fiqh hadiths were emphasized and asbāb al-riwāyah (reasons for narration) were determined by way of the personal ijtihad (judicial opinion) of the companions. The effect of the environment, the political and faith views and cultural differences in the region where companions lived, on asbāb al-riwāyah (reasons for narration) was not mentioned.<sup>22</sup>

The Companions, who were constantly in contact with others in daily life, and formed hadith studies to narrate the hadiths and actions of the Prophet to others, and during this time met new cultures with conquests, sometimes needed to narrate some hadiths. This narration is closely related to the environment in which the companions live. Because of its nature, human beings are in constant communication with their environment. At this point, especially the concept of human geography emerges. The companions, who moved from Madinah and went to the newly conquered lands to communicate Islam or for different reasons, encountered new people and cultures in the regions they went to. They needed to narrate the hadiths and actions of the Prophet according to the figh, political and moral needs of the new society they joined.

According to this information, it can be defined the concept of asbāb al-riwāyah (reasons for narration) as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See for more information, Hüseyin Akgün, *Hadis Rivayet Coğrafyası* (İstanbul: M.Ü. İlahiyat Vakfı, 2019), 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See for more information, Ramazan Ayvallı, "Esbâbü Vürûdi'l-Hadîs," *TDV Islamic Encyclopedia*, (İstanbul: TDV, 1995) 11/362-363.

See for other definitions, Serkan Demir, *Rivayet Kitaplarında Esbâbü'l-Hadîs*, (İstanbul: Marmara University, Social Sciences Institute, Doctoral Thesis, 2016), 28; Serkan Demir, "Sebeb-i Vürûdun Kapsamını Genişletme Çabası Olarak Sebeb-i Rivâyet", *Hadis Tetkikleri Dergisi* 8/2 (2015), 122; Nizâr Abdülkadir Muhammed Reyyân, "Esbâbü vürûdi'lhadîsi'n-Nebevî ve îrâdihi", *Sahifetü Dâri'l-'ulûm li'l-lugati'l-arabiyyeti ve âdâbiha ve'd-dirâsâtü'l-İslâmiyye* 8/23 (2005), 107.

"Religious, fiqh, political, environmental, regional or cultural factors that cause companions, followers or any narrators to narrate the hadith after the death of the Prophet."

In this study, the impact of the political, religious and cultural environment in the region in which the companions live on asbāb al-riwāyah (reasons for narration) determines in the context of the hadiths of "killing of Ammar b. Yasser" and "73 sects".

## 2. The Killing of Ammar b. Yasser and Characterization of the Astray Cohort

Since the early years of Islam, some of the hadiths of the Prophet were narrated for political or faith reasons. However, hadiths were understood and interpreted according to certain views. Undoubtedly, one of the most important reasons for this situation is the Ali-Muawiya conflict. It is seen that some hadiths are specifically narrated by the extreme partisans/supporters of both sides, interpreted according to their own views and even fabricated hadiths. It is understood that the narration "ختك الفية الكونية" (Ammar! An astray cohort will kill you", which was narrated after the killing of Ammar b. Yasser (d. 37/657) following the battle of Siffin as a result of the conflict between the two sides, was also narrated for the same purpose. Under this title, the narrative of the narration around Iraq-Damascus will be analyzed, based on the regionalism of this narration.

In the books written in the first three centuries of the Islamic calendar, the Ammar narration comes from a total of thirty companions<sup>24</sup> of sixty-five<sup>25</sup> variants. These names: Ammar b. Yasser, Huzaifa b. al-Yaman (d. 36/656), Huzayma b. Thabit (d. 37/657), Abu Rafi (d. 40/660), Abu Masoud (d. 42/662), Amr b. al-As (d. 43/664), Amr b. Hazm (d. 53/673), Abu Qatada (d. 54/674), Abu Hurairah (d. 58/678), Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan (d. 60/680) Umm Salama (d. 62/681), Abdullah b. Amr (d. 65/684-85), Abu Said al-Hodari (d. 74/693-94). In addition, Abdullah Abu al-Huzayl al-Kufi (d.?), who is one of the followers, has also narrated the narration as a loose hadith.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Bukhari, "Salah (Prayer)", 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Considering the sources after the first three centuries, this number reaches twenty, Ibn Hajar, Ahmed b. Ali, *Fath al-Bari Sharkh al-Sahih al-Bukhari* (Beirut: Dar al-Risalah al-Alemiyyah, 2013), 1/714. Ibn Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1070), Dhahabi (d. 748/1348) and Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1449) stated that this hadith is recurrent (mutewatir) hadith. Ibn Abd al-Bar, Yusuf b. Abdullah, *al-Istiab fi Marifah al-Ashab*, ed. by Ali Muhammed el-Bajavi (Beirut: Daru al-Jayl, 1992), 3/1140; Dhahabi, Muhammed b. Ahmed, *Tarikh al-Islam ve Vefeyat al-Meshahir ve al-Alam*, ed. by Omar Abdusselam Tedmuri (Beirut: Dar al-Qitab al-Arabiya, 2000), 3/580; Ibn Hajar, Ahmed b. Ali, *Tahzib al-Tahzib* (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risalah, nd.), 5/246.

See for the complete variants Cemal Ural, Ammâr B. Yâsir'in Azgın Bir Topluluk Tarafından Öldürüleceğine Dair Rivayetin Hadis Tekniği Açısından Tahlili, (Elazığ: Fırat University, Social Sciences Institute, Master Thesis, 2017), 13-126; Rıdvan Kalaç, Hanbel b. İshâk b. Hanbel'in Hadis İlmindeki Yeri ve Rivâyetlerinin Değerlendirilmesi, (Van: Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, Social Sciences Institute, Master Thesis, 2015), 179-186.

In some of the variants of the narration in the hadith sources, only the expressions of the Prophet "Ammar! An astray cohort will kill you" are included.<sup>26</sup> In some variants, there is information that the words were said during the construction of the Masjid al-Nabawi.<sup>27</sup> There is also different information that the words were said during the Battle of the Handak<sup>28</sup> or the Battle of Siffin.<sup>29</sup> This subject is also included in prophetic biography sources. Ibn Hisham (d. 218/833) mentioned what happened during the construction of the masjid in Medina,<sup>30</sup> and Ibn Sad (d. 230/845), along with other information, narrated that the Prophet said these words when Ammar was tortured in Mecca.<sup>31</sup>

In the commentaries of the narrations that the Prophet said these expressions during the construction of the Masjid al-Nabawi, Ibn Hajar said that the words "Ammar! An astray cohort will kill you" are included material into hadith (mudraj). According to him, Bukhari did not include these expressions, which are additions, in his book. Ibn Hajar says that these expressions are not found in copy of Firabri (d. 320/932), but exist in copy of Sagani (d. 650/1252). Abu Said al-Hodari admitted that he did not hear these statements from the Prophet. However, it is possible to say that these words were remembered during the Battle of Siffin regardless of when and how these expressions were said.

The narration was brought to the agenda by Abdullah b. Amr when Ammar was killed in the Battle of Siffin. Abdullah b. Harris (d. 84/703) reported the event as follows: "I was walking between Muawiya and Amr b. al-As. Amr's son, Abdullah said: 'My father! I heard the Prophet say to Ammar: 'What a pity Ammar! An astray cohort will kill you!' Then Amr said to Muawiya, 'Did you hear what this boy said?' Muawiya replied, "Did we kill him! Those who brought him here killed him!". <sup>34</sup> There is information in the sources that some soldiers from Muawiya's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ahmed b. Hanbel. *Musnad*, ed. by Shuaib al-Arnaut (Beirut: Muassasa al-Risalah, 1999), 44/189; Muslim, "Fiten(Tribulations)", 72; Nasai, Ahmed b. Shuaib, *al-Sunan al-Qubra*, ed. by Hasan Abdulmunim (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risalah, 2001), 7/466.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Bukhari, "Salat (Prayer)", 63; Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 17/53.

Muslim, "Fiten(Tribulations)", 70; Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 44/279; Nasai, al-Sunan al-Qubra, 7/467.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 11/42; Nasai, al-Sunan al-Qubra, 7/469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibn Hisham, Abdulmaliq b. Hisham, *al-Sirah al-Nebeviyah*, ed. by Omar Abdussalam Tedmuri (Beirut: Dar al-Qutub al-Arabiyah, 1990), 1/346.

Ibn Sad, Muhammed b. Sad, *al-Tabaqat al-Qubra* (Cairo: Maqtabah al-Hanji, 2001), 3/230. Amr b. Meymoun (d. 74/693), who narrated the hadith, lived in Kufa. Look at Bukhari, Muhammed b. Ismail, *al-Tarikh al-Kabir* (Beirut: Dar al-Qutub al-Ilmiyah, 1986), 6/367; Ibn Abu Hatim, Abdurrahman b. Abu Hatim, *al-Jarh ve al-Tadil* (Beirut: Dar al-Qutub al-Ilmiyah, 1952), 6/258. Abu Balaj, who narrated the hadith from Amr, also lived in Kufa. Look at Ibn Hajar, *Tahzib al-Tahzib*, 4/498.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bari*, 2/368. On this subject, Homaidi (d. 488/1095) said: "There is a famous addition to this hadith that Bukhari did not mention in both of his variants. This addition either did not reach Bukhari, or if it did, he deliberately removed the addition" (Homaidi, Muhammed b. Futuh, *al-Jem bayna al-Sahihain*, ed. by Ali Huseyn al-Bavvab (Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1998), 2/461-462). Bayhaqi (d. 458/1066) also says that Bukhari did not mention these expressions. Look at Bayhaqi, Ahmed b. al-Huseyn, *Dalail al-Nubuvah ve Marifah Ahbar Sahib al-Sheriah*, ed. by Abdalmuti Kalaji (Beirut: Dar al-Qutub al-Ilmiyah, 1988) 2/546.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 17/53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 11/42; Nasai, al-Sunan al-Qubra, 7/469.

army said the same words what Muawiya said and that they considered those who brought Ammar to the war and taxed them with the guilty.<sup>35</sup>

As can be understood from the information in the narration, when Ammar was killed, some people, especially Abdullah b. Amr, remembered this narration and feared of becoming a part of an astray cohort. Others were satisfied with Muawiya's response and relieved by throwing the blaming the other side. In both cases, it is possible to say that this narration came to the mind of the people there during the war. The most important thing is that when the chain of transmitter of the narration are examined, there is no person from Damascus among the following narrators in the first two generations. On the other hand, Iraqi narrators attached great importance to this narration in order to describe the people from Damascus who supported Muawiya as an astray cohort and narrated it.

All of the twenty-one variants that came via the channel of Umm Salama (d. 62/681), one of the companion narrators of the hadith, came via Hasan al-Basri's (d. 110/728) mother Hayra (d.?) and were narrated by Iraqi narrators. No place or time is mentioned in the variants coming from Umm Salama and the words, "An astray cohort will kill you" are narrated in plain language.

Except one, all of the narrators were Iraqi in the variants that came via Abdullah b. Amr (d. 65/684-85). Three of the eleven narrations are in *Musnad*.<sup>37</sup> In these variants, there is information that Muawiya was reminded of the Prophet's words after the killing of Ammar during the Battle of Siffin.

All of the variants that came via Abu Said al-Hodari (d. 74/693-94) were narrated by Iraqi narrators.<sup>38</sup> In these variants, it is stated that the Prophet said these words by the reason of that Ammar carried two each adobe during the construction of the Masjid al-Nabawi.

The variants that came through Abu Qatada (d. 54/674) were narrated by Abu Nadra (d. 108/726) from Basra. These variants were also narrated by Iraqi narrators. All four of the narrations are included in *The Nine Book*. <sup>39</sup> There is information in Abu Qatada variant that the Prophet said these words while digging the trench. Apart from these, Huzayma b. Thabit (d. 37/657), Abu Huraira (d. 58/678) <sup>40</sup> and Amr b. al-As (d.

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Ibn Sad, al-Tabaqat, 3/234; Tabari, Muhammed b. Jarir, Tarikh al-Rusul ve al-Muluq (Cairo: Dar al-Maariph, 1967), 5/41; Minqari, Nasr b. Muzahim, Vakah Siffin, ed. by Abdussalam Muhammed Harun (Cairo: Muassasah al-Arabiyah al-Hadisiyah, 1382 AH), 343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Muslim, "Fiten(Tribulations)", 72-73; Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 44/83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 11/42, 96, 522.

Bukhari, "Salah (Prayer)", 63; Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 17/53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Muslim, "Fiten(Tribulations)", 70; Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 37/297.

This is the only narration that all the narrators are from Medina. Mubaraqphuri (1865-1935) also stated in the commentary of the hadith that the astray cohort was Muawiya and his followers. Look at Mubaraqphuri, Abdurrahman b. Abdurrahim, *Tuhfah al-Ahvadhi Sharh al-Jami al-Tirmidhi* (npp., Dar al-Figr, nd), 10/301.

43/664)<sup>41</sup> also have narrations on the subject.<sup>42</sup> The common point of all three narrations is that only the words "An astray cohort will kill you" are conveyed without mentioning any place and time.

As can be seen, Iraqi narrators are included in almost all of the variants of narration from the followers' generation at the latest. This situation shows that after the Battle of Siffin, those who opposed to Muawiya in the Iraq region where Ali lived, attached a special importance to the narration in terms of its meaning. The death of Ammar created an atmosphere of fear and panic in the Muawiya/Damascus army and a self-confidence in the Ali/Iraq army.<sup>43</sup> It has also been stated that this narration was not known much before the Battle of Siffin.<sup>44</sup>

The majority of Iraqi narrators in the variants shows us the importance of the political attitude in the regions in the transmission of a narration. Thus, the asbāb al-riwāyah (reasons for narration) of hadith is that the Iraqis regard the people of Damascus as a "astray cohort". The fact that the people of Damascus have never taken this narration into their agenda also supports this view.

### 3. Narration of 73 Sects Hadiths as a Political Reflex

We have said that the expression "astray cohort" in the narration about the killing of Ammar b. Yasser, which we discussed in the previous title, is interpreted as Muawiya and his supporters by the Iraqi people. The people of Damascus/Muawiya supporters did not remain indifferent to this accusation made against them by the Iraqis and referred to the narration of 73 sects. We will not reevaluate the 73 sects narration that have come up and interpreted at different times and on different grounds throughout history. We will only try to understand the reason why the people of Damascus narrated this narration and how they interpreted it in the past.

Since the narrators between Amr b. al-As and Amr b. Dinar (d. 126/744) were unknown in both variants in this narration, this narration was regarded as spurious with this chain of transmitter. However, in another narration from Amr, who narrated hadith in the dialogue between Muawiya and him is this time not his son Abdullah, but himself. Amr b. Hazm (d. 53/673), who witnessed the speech here, brought the news of Ammar's death, and was an opponent of Muawiya, lived in Medina. Ahmed b. Hanbel, *Musnad*, 19/316.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 36/198; Tirmidhi, "Menaqib(Virtues)", 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Adem Apak, "Hz. Ali'nin İlk Dönem Siyasî Hâdiselerdeki Rolü," *Marife* 5/1 (2005), 121, 143.

Mehmet Nadir Özdemir, "İslâm Tarihi'nde İlk İhtilâfların Odağında Bir İsim: Ammâr b. Yasir," *Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi* 7/14 (2013), 325. See for an opposing comment that the hadith was not actually known during the war and therefore was not brought up, Mahmut Demir, "Tarihsel Bağlamından Koparılmış Bir Hadis:- "O'nu Azgın Bir Topluluk Öldüreck…" Rivayeti Üzerine Bir İnceleme-," *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 7/3 (2007), 154-155.

There are comments on how the narration should be understood in many studies written independently about the narration. See for example, Muhammet Emin Eren, Hadis, Tarih ve Yorum: 73 Fırka Hadisi Üzerine Bir İnceleme (Istanbul: Kuramer, 2017), 23-52; Mevlüt Özler, İslâm Düşüncesinde 73 Fırka Anlayışı (Istanbul: Rağbet, 2010), 46-65; Abdullah Eren, İftirak Hadisleri'nin Tahric, Tahkik ve Yorumu, (Bursa: , Uludağ University, Social Sciences Institute, Master Thesis, 1998); Davut Gazi Benli, Din Dili Bağlamında 73 Fırka Hadisinin Değerlendirilmesi, (Samsun: Ondokuz Mayıs University, Social Sciences Institute, Master Thesis, 2010); Sayın Dalkıran, "Yetmişüç Fırka Hadisi ve Düşündürdükleri,"

In some of the 73 sects narrations, only secession is mentioned<sup>46</sup> and in others, it is said that a single sect will survive.<sup>47</sup> In some variants, this group that will be saved is referred to as *al-jamaat*,<sup>48</sup> *al-savad al-azam*,<sup>49</sup> *people with the Prophet and his companions*<sup>50</sup> or *Ahl al-Bayt*.<sup>51</sup> Most of the scholars who dealt with the hadith stated that the first three statements mean the same thing.<sup>52</sup>

In a study on the subject, it was stated that the interpretations that the expressions explaining the "al-firqa al-najiya (winning sect)" mentioned in the narration mean the same thing, were not correct, in fact, words were carefully chosen to express different meanings in different regions. For this reason, it is necessary to look at the geographical distribution of the hadith in order to determine in which regions the hadith was narrated with which expressions. The orders of the narration in The Nine Book come from five companions. This names are Abu Huraira, Muawiya b. Abu Sufyan, Abu Sufyan, Enes b. Malik, Abu Malik, Amr. Among these names, Abu Huraira lived in Medina, Muawiya and Awf b. Malik in Damascus, Anas b. Malik in Basra, and Abdullah b. Amr in Damascus and Egypt.

Among the narrations, the variants that mention about the group to be saved is *al-jamaat* has a special importance. These variants come from Muawiya, Enes, Said b. Abu Waqas and Awf b. Malik. In all of the Muawiya variants, the first three narrators are Abu Amir Abdullah b. Luhay (d. ?), Ezher b. Abdullah (d. 128/745) and Safwan b. Amr (d. 155/771). All three narrators lived in Humus, which is within the borders of Damascus. The narrations narrated from Anas b. Malik with the words *al-jamaat* were reported by Zayd b.

Ekev Akademi Dergisi 1/1 (1997), 97-115; Ahmet Keleş, "73 Fırka Hadisi Üzerine Bir İnceleme," Marife 5/3 (2005), 25-45; Mehmet Kubat, "73 Fırka Hadisi'ni Yeniden Düşünmek," İnönü Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi 3/2 (2012), 9-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Abu Dawud, "Sunnah", 1; Tirmidhi, "İman (Faith)", 18; Ibn Majah, "Fiten(Tribulations)", 17; Ahmed b. Hanbel, *Musnad*, 14/124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 19/241.

Abu Dawud, Sunnah, 1; Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 28/134; Darimi, "Siyer(Prophet's Biography)", 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ibn Abu Shayba, Abdullah b. Muhammed. *Musannaf*, ed. by Muhammed Avvama (npp. Dar al-Qibla, nd), 21/429.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Tirmidhi, "İman(Faith)", 18

Marvadhi, Muhammed b. Nasr, Sunnah (Riyadh: Dar al-Asimah, 2001), 24.

Ajuri, Muhammed b. al-Huseyn, *Qitab al-Şari'a*, ed. by Abdullah b. Omar al-Dumayji (Riyadh: Dar al-Vatan, 1997), 1/302; Bayhaqi, Ahmed b. al-Huseyn, *al-I'tiqad ala Mezhebi al-Salaf Ahl al-Sunna ve al-Jamaat*, ed. by Abu al-Fadl Muhammed al-Sidiq (npp., Dar al-Ahd al-Jadid li al-Tibaa, 1959), 115; Ibn Batta, Ubeydullah b. Muhammed, *al-Ibanah an Sheria al-Firaq al-Najiyah ve Mujanabah al-Firaq al-Mazmuma*, ed. by Rida Nasan Muti (Riyadh: Dar al-Rayeh, 1994), 1/366; Laleqai, Hibetullah, *Sarh Usul Itikad Ahl al-Sunnah ve al-Jamaat min al-Qitab ve al-Sunnah ve Ijma al-Sahabe*, ed. by Ahmed Sad Hamdan, (Riyadh: Dar Taiba, 1995), 1/107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Eren, Hadis, Tarih ve Yorum, 276, 378.

The hadith in sources other than The Nine Books is narrated from Ali, Abdullah b. Abbas, Sad b. Abu Vaqqas, Abu Umama and Amr b. Avf.

<sup>55</sup> Abu Dawud, "Sunnah, 1"; Tirmidhi, "Iman(Faith)", 18; Ibn Majah, "Fiten(Tribulations)", 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Abu Dawud, "Sunnah, 1"; Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 28/134; Darimi, "Siyer(Prophet Biography)", 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Ibn Majah, "Fiten(Tribulations)," 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Ibn Majah, "Fiten(Tribulations)", 17; Ahmed b. Hanbel, Musnad, 19/241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Tirmidhi, "Iman(Faith)", 18.

Aslam and Yaqoob b. Zayd (d. 136/753) from Medina and Said b. Abu Hilal (d.135/752) and Haled b. Yazid (d. 139/756) from Egypt. In the variants of Said b. Abu Waqas, there are Aisha bnt. Said (d. 117/735), Abdullah b. Ubaid (d. 130/747) and Musa b. Uqbah (d. 153/769) from Medina. There are narrators from Humus in the Awf b. Malik variants as well as in the Muawiya variants. The narrators who narrated the narration are Rashid b. Sad (d. 108/726) and Safwan b. Amr (d. 155/771). As it can be understood from this distribution, the hadith with the word *al-jamaat* was known in Medina, Damascus and Egypt in the first century of Hijri. It is remarkable that the narration was not narrated in Iraq in the first century with the word *al-jamaat*.

At this point, it is necessary to dwell on the meaning of the concept of *al-jamaat* and how it was understood in the first century. The concept, which is not included in the Quran in this form, was used as "social unity" in the early periods of Islam. Asim b. Abu Avf, one of the Makkah polytheists, described the Prophet as "partition the society (mufarriq al-jamaat)" and in the letter that Abu Bakr sent to the opponents during the Ridde Events and during the differences of opinion in the activities of duplicating the Quran in the time of caliph of Osman and when Osman's house was besieged the concept of *al-jamaat* was used in the same way as "social unity". Again, after the murder of Osman, in the letter that Aisha sent to the Kufa and after the events that happened after Ali's caliphate, the concept was used in the same sense. As it is understood, the concept does not contain any religious, political or ideological meaning until the middle of the first century Hijri, but state to unity, which is the opposite of separation in general.

It would not be wrong to say that the concept has turned into a political meaning since the middle of the first century of Hijri.<sup>67</sup> The declaration of this year as "unity year (am al-jamaat)" after Hasan renounced his caliphate and obey to Muawiya in 41 AH<sup>68</sup> is one of the indicators that the concept was used politically. At the same time, this date is close to the killing of Ammar b. Yasser in 37 AH and the people of Kufa began to narrate the narration discussed in the previous title.

The fact that Caliph Muawiya narrated the narration with the concept of al-jamaat, although not for a political purpose, has been a pioneer for the Umayyad supporters in Damascus to give importance to this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Vaqidi, Muhammed b. Omar, *al-Magadhi*, ed. by Marsden Jones (Beirut: Alem al-Qutub, 1984), 1/86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Vaqidi, Muhammed b. Omar, *Qitab al-Ridda ve Nabza min Futuh al-Iraq*, ed. by Yahya el-Juburi (Beirut: Dar al-Garb al-Islami, 1990), 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Sayf b. Omar, *Qitab al-Ridda ve al-Futuh ve Qitab al-Jamal ve Mesiru Aisha ve Ali*. ed. by Qasım Samerrai (Riyadh: Daru Umayyah, Riyâd, 1997), 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Ibn Qutayba, Abdullah b. Muslim, *al-Imamah ve al-Siyasah*. ed. by Halil al-Mansur (Beirut: Dar al-Qutub al-Ilmiyah, 1997), 1/37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibn Hibban, Muhammed b. Ahmed, *al-Sirah al-Nebeviyah ve Ahbar al-Hulefa*, ed. by Aziz Beq (Beirut: Qutub al-Sakafiyah, 1996), 2/534.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Tabari, *Tarikh*, 442; Sayf b. Omar, *Qitab al-Ridda*, 247; Ibn Hibban, *al-Sirah*, 546.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Eren, Hadis, Tarih ve Yorum, 281-291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Eren, Hadis, Tarih ve Yorum, 291.

Eren, Haais, Tarin ve Yorum, 291

Ibn Abdirabbih, Ahmed b. Muhammed, al-Ikd al-Farid (Beirut: Dar al-Qutub al-Ilmiyah, 1404 AH.), 4/170; Jamaluddin Ibn Tagribardi, al-Nujum al-Zahirah fi Muluk Misr ve al-Qahirah (Cairo: Dar al-Qutub, 1963), 1/121; Ibn Hibban, al-Sirah, 554.

narration. There is information about Azhar b. Abdullah, one of the narrators from Humus, who narrated the narration from Muawiya, that he was against Ali and even swore him. <sup>69</sup> Likewise, the narrator Rashed b. Sad from Humus joined in the Battle of Siffin, in which Ammar was killed, on the side of Muawiya. 70 During the Battle of Siffin, Muawiya and his supporters objected after the narration of the "astray cohort" was narrated, and they said that those who killed Ammar were not themselves, but those who brought him to the war. In this case, the background of Rashed's transferring this narration, which includes the concept of al-jamaat, has emerged. The fact that this form of the narration has been narrated in Damascus for many years and the asbāb al-riwāyah (reasons for narration) insistently emphasized that the people of Damascus regard themselves as the survivor, not the astray cohort.

It is possible to find examples in the sources showing that the concept of al-jamaat is used in opposite meaning to the concept of al-fia al-bagiyah (astray cohort) and that it is understood by scholars in this form as well. Ibn Abu Shayba (d. 235/849), in his book named Musannaf, narrates one after another a narration containing the concept of al-jamaat and the killing of Ammar b. Yasser. The Can say that Ibn Abu Shayba also positioned the concept of al-jamaat in front of the concept of al-fia al-bagiyah (astray cohort), with these narrations he gave one after the other under the heading "Remarks about the Battle of Siffin". However, the difference here is that al-jamaat was used neither for Ali's nor Muawiya's supporters. It would be correct to say that Abu Masoud used this concept in the sense of "social unity" due to his pro-peace attitude. 72 It is seen that Ibn Hajar, like Ibn Abu Shayba, narrated the narrations containing both concepts one after another. 3 As it can be understood from this situation, Ibn Hajar also thinks that those who divide the congregation are al-fia al-bagiyah (astray cohort). Therefore, the relationship between the two concepts has also been established by alims. However, as we have examined above, since Muawiya supporters thought they were the survivor community they gave special importance to the narrations containing the concept of al-jamaat.

In the face of the narration spreading in Damascus and being used against Ali and his supporters, Ali's supporters also shaped the narration in their favor. Narrators from Kufa appear with weak or fabricated hadiths which emphasize that the survivor group was Ahl al-Bayt. One of the narrations is narrated by Saeed b. Jubair from Kufa from Ali as halted hadith. 74 Rijal experts stated that Saeed was against the Umayyad rule. 75 Likewise, Abu Muawiya from Kufa, who took the narration from him, was also discredited and it is

Ibn Abu Hatim, al-Jarh ve al-Tadil, 2/312; Mizzi, Yusuf b. Abdurrahman, Tahdhib al-Qamal fi Asma al-Rijal, ed by. Bassar Avvad Maruf (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risalah, 1980), 2/327; Ibn al-Jawzi, Abdurrahman b. Ali, al-Duafa ve al-Matrugin (Beirut: Dar al-Qutub al-Ilmiyah, 1406 AH.), 1/94.

Bukhari, al-Tarikh al-Kabir, 3/292; Ibn Abu Hatim, al-Jarh ve al-Tadil, 3/483.

Ibn Abu Shayba, Musannaf, 15/301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> It was reported that Abu Masoud did not want both sides to prevail in the Battle of Siffin because he wanted peace. Look at Mücteba Uğur, "Ebû Mes'ûd el-Bedrî," TDV Islamic Encyclopedia, (İstanbul: TDV, 1994) 10/187.

Ibn Hajar, Bulug al-Meram, 450.

Marvadhi, Sunnah, 1/23.

Bukhari, al-Tarikh al-Kabir, 3/461; Ibn Abu Hatim, al-Jarh ve al-Tadil, 4/9.

said that he was a Shiite.<sup>76</sup> At the end of this narration, the characteristics of the survivor group are explained with a verse<sup>77</sup> that is not found in other variants and understood to be added referring to Shia.<sup>78</sup> It is possible to find many similar narrations in the sources.

#### Result

Geography and culture are important factors that affect the structure of a society. As determined by many scholars, the geography in which societies live and the culture they create constitute the lifestyle of that society. The element of narration is also very important in terms of providing communication between people. Likewise, the act of narration is affected by the geography and culture of the society. Another concept that all these concepts are related to is religion.

Human geography occurs when the religious, political and cultural infrastructure of people in the same direction. Human geography is a factor that affects the hadith narration, and even the way in which hadiths are narrated. Human geography is also included in the concept of asbāb al-riwāyah (reasons for narration), which is described as the reason why the hadith is narrated in the science of hadith.

In the study, firstly, the killing of Ammar b. Yasser during the Battle of Siffin between Ali and Muawiya and the narration of the hadith related to this event were discussed. As a result of the examination, it was determined that Ali's supporters living in Iraq narrated this hadith in order to describe Muawiya and his supporters as "astray cohort". Another result is that the same hadith was not narrated in Damascus where Muawiya and his supporters lived. As can be seen, the political attitude and human geography of a region affected the hadith narration.

Secondly, the hadith of "73 sects" was discussed in the study. After the examination, it was determined that the hadith was not narrated for any political-religious purposes until the middle of the first century AH, but it was narrated for different purposes after the caliphate of Muawiya. In the accusation of "astray cohort" made by Iraqis, the people of Damascus/Muawiya supporters were not content to blame Ali. However, they narrated "73 sects" hadiths in order to show that they collectively are on the right way in the face of being accused collectively. At this point, they responded to the accusation of "astray cohort" with the concept of "al-jamaat", which expresses the right way and ascending to heaven.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Bukhari, al-Tarikh al-Kabir, 1/74, Ibn Abu Hatim, al-Jarh ve al-Tadil, 7/246.

<sup>77 &</sup>quot;وَمِمَنْ خَلَقْنَا اُمَةٌ يَهْدُونَ بِالحَقِّ وَبِهِ يَعْدِلُونَ "And of those whom We created there is a nation who guide with the Truth and establish justice therewith." 7/al-Araf:181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Eren, Hadis, Tarih ve Yorum, 258.

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