

# FALSE HADITH, IDENTITY, AND CONTESTATION OF THOUGHT: The Analysis of hadith on the division of Muhammad's *Ummah* in the Historical Dimension

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**Abstract:** This study positioning false hadiths (*mawdhû'*) as historical documents and historical data, not just past information, which is considered wrong and must be avoided. The hadith used as the object of study was the Prophet's words, "All will go to heaven except the al-Zanâdiqa group." The main issue that we want to explore is what matters behind the hadith's emergence. Using a historical approach, normative analysis, and historical, this study shows: *first*, that the hadith is considered a false hadith, both from its *sanad* and *matan* aspects. However, the assessment of these two aspects does not co-occur. *Second*, the diction of "al-Zanâdiqa," which is interpreted with the al-Qadariyyah sect, appeared in the verbal form before the 4th century AH/10 AD as a form of resistance to the al-Qadariyyah sect. However, since the 4th century AH/10th AD, the hadith has entered into various hadith literature as a form of resistance to the hadith's existence as a false hadith. *Third*, in the 6th century AH/12th AD, this hadith became a new discourse, namely as an authentic hadith but without the addition of the diction of "al-Qadariyyah." In the 10th century AH/16th AD or the 12th century AH/18th AD, and in the 14th century AH/20th AD, it also appeared to the public. This finding also shows that hadith was one of the authoritative tools to corner groups considered the opposite of the mainstream, causing contestation and discourse shift.

**Keywords:** false hadith; history; power relations; contestation; identity.

**Abstrak:** Kajian ini dimaksudkan untuk memosisikan hadis palsu sebagai dokumen dan data sejarah, tidak sekedar informasi masa lalu yang pasti salah. Hadis yang dijadikan objek kajian adalah hadis yang berbunyi "Semua akan masuk surga kecuali golongan al-Zanâdiqa." Persoalan utama yang ingin dieksplorasi adalah peristiwa apa yang berada di balik kemunculan hadis tersebut. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan sejarah; analisis normatif dan historis, kajian ini menunjukkan: *pertama*, hadis tersebut dinilai sebagai hadis palsu, baik dari aspek *sanad* maupun *matannya*. Meskipun, penilaian terhadap dua aspek ini tidak terjadi secara simultan. *Kedua*, diksi "al-Zanâdiqa" yang ditafsirkan dengan golongan al-Qadariyyah, muncul dalam bentuk verbal sebelum abad ke 4 H/10 M sebagai bentuk resistansi terhadap golongan al-Qadariyyah. Namun, sejak abad ke 4 H/10 M, hadis tersebut sudah masuk ke dalam berbagai literatur hadis sebagai bentuk resistansi terhadap keberadaan hadis itu sebagai hadis palsu. *Ketiga*, pada abad ke-6 H/12 M, hadis ini menjadi diskursus baru yakni sebagai hadis sahih namun tanpa tambahan diksi "al-Qadariyyah." Pada abad ke 10 H/16 M atau abad ke 12 H/18 M juga muncul ke khalayak. Demikian pula pada abad 14 H/20 M kembali muncul—di samping diskursus yang memang sudah eksis sebelumnya. Temuan ini juga menunjukkan, di masa itu, hadis menjadi salah satu alat yang otoritatif untuk menyudutkan golongan yang dinilai berseberangan dengan golongan arus utama; melahirkan kontestasi dan pergeseran diskursus.

**Kata kunci:** hadis palsu; sejarah; relasi kuasa; kontestasi; identitas.

## Introduction

The hadith "All will go to heaven except the al-Zanâdiqa group" since its inception is referred to as a problematic hadith, both from its *sanad* (the chain of transmission) and *matan* (the content or text) aspects. The downbeat assessment from the

*sanad* aspect is narrated by narrators who do not meet the qualifications as acceptable narrators. The *matan* aspect is considered to violate other hadiths believed to be accountable whose *matans* are contradictory to that hadith.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> In this context, the hadith is a famous hadith that states

general assessment of this hadith ends with the conclusion that it is a false hadith (*mawdhû'*). This assessment implies that the hadith in various works of literature is nothing more than an example of a hadith that must be avoided because it does not meet the criteria as authentic hadith (*shahîh*; valid) *hasan*, or weak (*dha'if*), which can still be tolerated. From this point, the false hadith has only been seen ethically that it is not feasible, and the perpetrator is threatened with the torments of hell.<sup>2</sup> If there is also an important work on false hadith on the title *al-Wadh'u fî al-Hadîts* by al-Du'ailaj, but, he only presents the hadith as an example of a false hadith.<sup>3</sup>

So far, there has not been a specific study of the hadith except the hadith's scientific aspects - as mentioned above - namely, from the aspects of *sanad* and *matan*. The monodisciplinary approach to false hadith is a common phenomenon by scholars of false hadith, even in current studies. A simple example can be seen in Istianah, Kuswandi, Marfuah, and Darwisyah; Ali Sati and Yahya, who tend to dwell only on the terminology of false hadith the law is narrated and put into practice.<sup>4</sup>

that the Prophet Muhammad's *ummah* will be divided into 73 groups; all will go to hell except for one group.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Hasan Al-Rabbânî, *Ushûl Naqd Al-Hadîts*, (Iran: Mu'assasah al-Thab' wa al-Nashr, 1397); Lukmân al-Hâkim al-Indûnîsî Al-Azharî, *Imdâd Al-Mugîts Bi Tashîl 'Ulûm Al-Hadîts*, (Kairo: Dâr al-Shâlih, 2017); Shalâh al-Dîn Al-Idlîbî, *Manhaj Naqd Al-Matan 'inda 'Ulamâ' Al-Hadîts Al-Nabawî*, (Bairut: Dâr al-Âfâq al-Jadîdah, 1983); Muhammad 'Alî Qâsim Al-'Umarî, *Dirâsât Fî Manhaj Al-Naqd 'inda Al-Muhaddîtsîn* (Yordania: Dâr al-Nafâ'is, n.d.); Abû Mu'âz Thâriq ibn Muhammad, *Al-Dîbâjah Fî 'Ilm Al-Hadîts*, (Mesir: Dâr al-Kautsar, 2009); Abû Al-'Ulâ Muhammad Al-Mubâarakfûrî, *Fawâ'id Fî 'Ulûm Al-Hadîts Wa Kutubih Wa Ahlih*, (Riyad: Dâr al-Minhâj, n.d.); Mahmûd Al-Thahhân, *Ushûl Al-Takhrîj Wa Dirâsah Al-Asânîd*, (Riyad: Maktabah al-Ma'ârif, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Mubâarak Hamd Al-Da'a'ilij, *Al-Wadh'u Fî Al-Hadîts*, (Arab Saudi: Maktabah al-Malik Fahd, 2000), pp. 81–85.

<sup>4</sup> Ali Sati, "Hadis Palsu Dan Hukum Meriwayatkannya," *Jurnal El-Qanuny*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2018), pp. 1–15; Shamsul Azhar Yahya, "Hadis Palsu Kajian Ringkas Komprehensif Oleh Syed Abdul Majid Ghouri," *Jurnal Hadhari*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2018), pp. 149–54; Istianah, "Kritik Terhadap Penisbatan Riwayat Hadis: Studi Atas Hadis-Hadis Palsu," *Riwayat : Jurnal Studi Hadis*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2018), pp. 77–100; Edi Kuswadi, "Hadits Maudhu' Dan Hukum Mengamalkannya," *El-Banat: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2016): 80–88, <http://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/susi/index.php/elbanat/article/view/2895>; H. Mukhlis Mukhtar, "Hadis Maudhu' Dan Permasalahannya," *Ash-Shahabah: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Studi Islam*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2017), pp. 77–87; Siti Marpuah and Farah Darwisyah Binti Ahmad Zamree, "Kesan Hadis Maudhu' Dalam Amalan Umat Islam," *Perada*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2019), pp. 24–32, <https://doi.org/10.35961/perada.v2i1.27>.

Studies of false hadith with this model tend only to repeat the studies of the scholars. Nur Afrizal and Abd Wahid conducted another example of a study and focused on how the ulama's contribution, role, and strategy in preventing and anticipating the spread of false hadiths in the Muslim community;<sup>5</sup> This includes studies conducted by Sakat (et al.), and Aslamiah, which examine false hadiths and their implications for Muslim life.<sup>6</sup>

However, the hadiths that have been recorded well in various works or literature have become historical data. For this reason, it is not sufficiently relevant to examine only that those who have committed lies on behalf of the Prophet have committed grave sins. Likewise, a study is not sufficient to provide a comprehensive description if it is only limited to how scholars have used various methods to ward off the development of false hadith, both in the past and in the present, including other normative-monodisciplinary studies. As historical data, it needs to be approached with a historical approach, in addition to the hadith scientific approach itself. Thus, the main question that needs to be answered is "What event triggered the emergence of this hadith?" considering the question is related to events, which means more than just a religious issue. In this case, al-Du'ailaj did mention this hadith's existence due to the forgery by al-Abrad to dispel the al-Qadariyyah thought in his time. However, there is no further explanation other than that.<sup>7</sup>

The main question above will accommodate an important aspect that was not present in previous studies. One such aspect is the historicity of the

<sup>5</sup> Afrizal Nur, "Kontribusi Dan Peran Ulama Mencegah Hadits Maudhu'," *An-Nida*, vol. 38, no. 2 (2013), pp. 69–76; Abd Wahid, "Strategi Ulama Mengantisipasi Penyebaran Hadist Maudhu' Di Kecamatan Peureulak," *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2018), pp. 119–36, <https://doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v20i2.5151>; Atika Yulanda, "Kajian Hadis-Hadis Palsu Yang Populer Oleh Ustadz Adi Hidayat: Studi Atas Fenomena Hadis Di YouTube," *ISLAM TRANSFORMATIF: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2020), pp. 36–45.

<sup>6</sup> Ahamad Ahmadi Sakat et al., "The Fabricated Hadith: A Review on Its Implication to Society," *PONTE International Scientific Researchs Journal*, vol. 72, no. 9 (2016), pp. 414–22, <https://doi.org/10.21506/j.ponte.2016.9.29>; Rabiatal Aslamiah, "Hadis Maudhu Dan Akibatnya," *Alhiwar: Jurnal Ilmu Dan Teknik Dakwah*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2016), pp. 24–34.

<sup>7</sup> Mubâarak Hamd Al-Da'a'ilij, *Al-Wadh'u Fî Al-Hadîts...*, pp. 81–85.

false hadith. In this case, the main question will be specified in three derivative questions: *first*, why is the hadith “All will go to heaven except one group” called a false hadith? This question affirmed that the discourse of the hadiths of the *ummah*’s division is not necessarily considered a false hadith. In other words, there must be a fundamental reason why these judgments surface. *Second*, how did the discourse on al-Zanâdiqa understood as al-Qadariyyah, exist in early Islam to trigger the emergence of this hadith? This question was asked to see more clearly the correlation between the emergence of the hadiths of the *ummah*’s division and the al-Qadariyyah sect’s existence. *Third*, how can the hadiths about the *ummah* divisions appear again in various discourses across history? This question will look further at how the hadith’s discourse has shifted from one time to another.

The important assumption of the questions: *first*, the hadith above is questioned; it should not be separated from two main possibilities: problematically from *sanad* aspects or its *matan*, or both at once. However, one or two of these fundamental aspects form the basis for assessing the hadith’s quality, whether it is worthy of being called a false hadith or just a weak hadith, and so on. *Second*, the emergence and efforts to bring back the above hadith in the religious discourse were never separated from the situation and conditions at that time. This also applies to the existence of a group called al-Zanâdiqa mentioned in the hadith’s *matan*. With this assumption, the hadith about the division of the *ummah*, who are all considered safe except for the al-Zanâdiqa group does not rule out the possibility of being a form of concrete resistance by some religious elites to groups; that is considered “deviant.” *Third*, the hadith’s existence concerning the *ummah* division is considered problematic by one generation and maybe judged differently by another. This happens because of the different paradigms used by each generation.

## Method

This study is a literature study using a historical approach. Thus, the entire analysis process is based on written data and correlates with situations and conditions in the past, especially when the

hadith about the *ummah* divisions were raised. The situations and conditions referred to include when the hadith appeared, who was involved, and what other situations and conditions were involved, including about the development of the science of kalam; considering the al-Zanâdiqa, which is then interpreted as al-Qadariyyah as an inseparable part of the discourse of kalam science itself. In particular, important works or literature in the field of hadith science (*‘ulûm al-hadîts*), history of hadith narrators (*rijâl al-hadîts*, *târîkh al-ruwâh*, *al-jarh wa al-ta’dîl*), and literature containing codification the relevant hadith will be the primary literature. Outside of these main works or literature, the position is secondary literature.

Applicatively, the analysis method used in this study is mapped into three. *First*, normative analysis. It has based on hadith science, namely the *takhrîj* method, *sanad* criticism, and *matan* criticism. This method is used in order to trace the existence of related hadiths in various primary works and to ascertain whether the narrators involved in the *sanad* and their hadith *matans* can be accepted or not. *Second*, historical - hermeneutical analysis. In this case, the paradigm used is that the hadith appears in a specific historical space. “Al-Zanâdiqa” or “al-Qadariyyah” will be the main keywords in the analysis. Simply put, the hadith about the *ummah* division will be correlated with the situation and conditions that were developing at that time, namely in the 2nd, 3rd or 4th century AH. The historical analysis in this section is carried out diachronic. *Third*, historical analysis of related hadiths as part of the discourse can shift under the paradigms that develop every time and generation.

## Hadith in Historical Dimensions

Hadith refers to all things originating from the Prophet, whether in words, deeds, provisions, etc.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Abd al-Rahmân ibn Ibrâhîm Al-Khamîsî, *Mu’jam ‘Ulûm Al-Hadîts Al-Nabawî*, (Jeddah: Dâr Ibn Hazm, n.d.), p. 91; Syaraf al-Dîn al-Husain Al-Thîbî, *Syarh Al-Thîbî’ Alâ Misykâh Al-Mashâbih*, ed. Abd al-Hamîd Hindâwî, (Riyad: Maktabah Nazâr Mushthafâ al-Bâz, 1997), II, p. 371; Amr ‘Abd al-Mun’im Salîm, *Al-Mu’allim Fî Ma’rifah ‘Ulûm Al-Hadîts*, (Arab Saudi: al-Dâr al-Tadmuriyyah, 2005), p. 13; Abû al-Fadhl Ahmad ibn Hajar Al-‘Asqalânî, *Fath Al-Bârî Syarh Shahîh Al-Bukhârî*, (Bairut: Dâr al-Ma’rifat, n.d.), I, p. 193; Alî Nâyif Biqâ’î, *Al-Ijtihâd Fî ‘Ulûm Al-Hadîts Wa Atsaruh Fî Al-Fiqh Al-Islâmî*, (Bairut: Dâr al-Basyâ’ir al-Islâmiyah, n.d.), p. 34; Syuhudi Ismail, *Pengantar Ilmu Hadits*, (Bandung: Angkasa,

However, a false hadith (Arabic: *hadīts mawdhû'*) refers to a hadith which the Prophet never actually said, did, or ordained. In this term, the word "hadith" is only because of his conversion to the Prophet and not because it originated from him.<sup>9</sup> In simple terms, the falsity of a hadith comes from *sanad*, *matan*, or both. There are specific criteria related to this. From the aspect of *sanad*, for example, false hadith is seen from several aspects: sourced from a narrator known to be a liar, based on his confession, and so on. Meanwhile, from the aspect of *matan*, it can be seen from: the sentence structure that does not show the characteristics of the Prophet's words; contrary to the text of the Quran, or an authentic hadith (*mutawatir*), contradicts historical facts, and so on. More than that, political interests, the goal of gaining popularity, group fanaticism, and so on triggered the fabrication or falsity of hadith.<sup>10</sup>

1991), p. 1; Shubhî Al-Shâlih, *Ulûm Al-Hadîsh Wa Mushthalahuh*, (Bairut: Dâr al-Ilm li al-Malâiyîn, 1977), pp. 3–5; Muhammad Mahfûzh Al-Tirmasî, *Manhaj Żawî Al-Nazhar*, (Bairut: Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2003), p. 9; Mushthafâ Al-Sibâ'î, *Al-Sunnah Wa Makânatuh Fî Al-Tasyrî' Al-Islâmî*, (Dâr al-Warrâq, n.d.), p. 65; Muhammad Abû Syuhbah, *Al-Wasîth Fî 'Ulûm Wa Mushthalâh Al-Hadîts*, (Jeddah: 'Alam al-Ma'rîfah, n.d.), p. 15; Abû al-'Abbâs Ahmad Al-Fayyûmî, *Al-Mishbâh Al-Munîrî Garîb Al-Syarh Al-Kabîr*, (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-Ilmiyyah, n.d.), I, p. 124; Jamâl al-Dîn Al-Qâsimî, *Qawâ'id Al-Tahdîts Min Funûn Mushthalah Al-Hadîts*, ed. Muhammad Bahjah Al-Baithâr, (Bairut: Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, n.d.), p. 61; Abû al-Qâsim Mahmûd Al-Zamakhshârî, *Al-Kasasyâf 'an Haqâ'iq Gawâmidh Al-Tanzîl*, (Bairut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-'Arabî, n.d.), III, p. 188; T.M. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, *Sejarah & Pengantar Ilmu Hadits*, ed. HZ. Fuad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, (Semarang: Pustaka Rizki Putra, 2009), pp. 3–4; Muhammad 'Ajjâj Al-Khathîb, *Al-Sunnah Qabl Al-Tadwîn*, (Kairo: Maktabah Wahbah, 1988), 20; Jamâl al-Dîn Abû al-Fadhl ibn Manzhûr, *Lisân Al-'Arab*, (Bairut: Dâr Shâdir, n.d.), II, pp. 133; Muhammad 'Ajjâj Al-Khathîb, *Ushûl Al-Hadîsh: 'Ulûmuh Wa Mushthalahuh*, (Bairut: Dâr al-Fikr, 1975), pp. 26–27.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Rabbânî, *Ushûl Naqd Al-Hadîts*; Al-Azharî, *Imdâd Al-Mugîts Bi Tashîl 'Ulûm Al-Hadîts*; Al-Idlîbî, *Manhaj Naqd Al-Matan 'inda 'Ulamâ' Al-Hadîts Al-Nabawî*; Al-'Umarî, *Dirâsât Fî Manhaj Al-Naqd 'inda Al-Muhaddîtsîn*; Muhammad, *Al-Dîbâjah Fî 'Ilm Al-Hadîts*; Al-Mubârakfûrî, *Fawâ'id Fî 'Ulûm Al-Hadîts Wa Kutubih Wa Ahlih*; Al-Thahhân, *Ushûl Al-Takhrîj Wa Dirâsah Al-Asânîd*.

<sup>10</sup> Ayub, "Matn Criticism and Its Role in the Evaluation of Hadith Authenticity," *IJISH (International Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities)*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2018), pp. 69–75; Mukhtar, "Hadis Maudhu' Dan Permasalahannya"; Nur, "Kontribusi Dan Peran Ulama Mencegah Hadits Maudhu'"; Istianah, "Kritik Terhadap Penisbatan Riwayat Hadis: Studi Atas Hadis-Hadis Palsu"; Wahid, "Strategi Ulama Mengantisipasi Penyebaran Hadist Maudhu' Di Kecamatan Peureulak"; Wajidi Sayadi, "Weak and False Hadits in Learning Book of Qur'an and Hadits at Islamic Schools," *Analisa*, vol. 19, no. 2 (2012), pp. 227–41, <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/42046-ID-weak-and-false-hadits-in-learning-book-of-quran-and-hadits-at-islamic-schools.pdf>;

In broader history, hadith's existence is also used for specific purposes which have triggered contestations between religious groups, especially in the past.<sup>11</sup> Ibn Qutaiba (d. 276 AH/889 AD), as a hadith scholar and Islamic history, recorded how this contestation took place in his time, the 3rd century AH/9 AD. At that time, the Khawârij, Murji'a, Qadariyya, Râfidha, and others were widely recognized as sects with large followers. They contested each other, even using the Prophet's hadiths. These hadiths then became synonymous with their movements. The Khawârij sect, for example, is identical with the hadith, which affirms that Muhammad's *ummah* will always be in the truth. The Murji'a sect is identical with the hadith about tawheed. The Qadariyya sect is identical to the hadith about the nature of mankind as Muslims, but it can change due to his parents' actions to cause him to become a Jew or a Christian. Simultaneously, the Râfidha sect is identical to the hadith about Alî as the person who is considered the most entitled to become caliph after the Prophet's death.<sup>12</sup> More than that, each adherent of a religious group in the early falsified the Prophet's hadith to support their group or attack other groups of people who were considered different.<sup>13</sup>

Ibn Qutaiba describes how these groups contest each other and how they identify themselves - one of which uses hadith - as a specific group. This identification is then transformed into an identity that continues to stick. However, the Prophet's hadith, which tends to be diverse, opens space for the birth of various understandings and

pdf; Marpuah and Ahmad Zamree, "Kesan Hadis Maudhu' Dalam Amalan Umat Islam"; Sati, "Hadis Palsu Dan Hukum Meriwayatkannya"; Sakat et al., "The Fabricated Hadith: A Review on Its Implication to Society"; Yulanda, "Kajian Hadis-Hadis Palsu Yang Populer Oleh Ustadz Adi Hidayat: Studi Atas Fenomena Hadis Di YouTube"; Aslamiah, "Hadis Maudhu Dan Akibatnya"; Ali Mustafa Yaqub, *Kritik Hadis*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 2011), 6th ed.; Teungku Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, *Sejarah & Pengantar Ilmu Hadits*, (Semarang: Pustaka Rizki Putra, 2009), 3rd ed.

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Abû Zahw, *Al-Hadîth Wa Al-Muhaddithûn*, (Kairo: Dâr al-Fikr al-'Arabî, n.d.), pp. 316–63.

<sup>12</sup> 'Abd Allâh ibn Qutaibah al-Dînawarî, *Ta'wîl Mukhtalif Al-Hadîts*, (Mesir: Mu'assasah al-Ischrâq, 1999), 2nd ed, pp. 47–61.

<sup>13</sup> Umar ibn Hasan Fallâtah, *Al-Wadh'u Fî Al-Hadîts*, (Damaskus: Maktabah al-Gazalî, 1981), I, pp. 253–58; Mubâarak Hamd Al-Da'aillij, *Al-Wadh'u Fî Al-Hadîts...*, pp. 81–85.

interpretations. This difference in understanding and interpretations has led to the birth of such an attitude. Ibn Qutaiba himself admitted this.<sup>14</sup> However, efforts to affirm identity through religious texts are often carried out by making a bad image or giving a negative label to different groups. The label “*hashwiyya*” or “*hashawiyya*,” for example, was assigned to a group of Hadith Scholar groups by Khawarij, Rafida and others. “*Hashwiyya*” or “*hashawiyya*” itself can be understood as an inferior or despicable expression, including the label “*pharaohyya/fir’auniyya*,” which means the pharaoh group pinned by the Jahmiyya sect to a group of Hadith scholars.<sup>15</sup>

### The Hadith “All will go to heaven except al-Zanâdiqa” as a False Hadith

The hadith of the Prophet, which states that his *ummah* will be divided into more than 70 sects and only one will be harmed, is a hadith marginalized in the hadith discourse about the division of the *ummah* (hadith *al-iftiraq*). This hadith can only be traced in secondary literature, namely al-’Uqailî (d. 322 AH/934 AD), al-Jûraqânî (w. 543 AH/1148 AD), Ibn al-Jauzî (d. 597 AH/1201 AD), al-Suyûthî (d. 911 AH/1505 AD) and Ibn ‘Irâq (d. 963 AH/1556 AD). The *matan* of this hadith states that only one will be harmed, namely the al-Zanâdiqa group.<sup>16</sup> The *matan* of the hadith by al-’Uqailî (d. 322 AH/934 AD) referred to is as follows:

<sup>14</sup> ‘Abd Allâh ibn Qutaibah al-Dînawarî, *Ta’wîl Mukhtalif Al-Hadîts...*, pp. 47–61.

<sup>15</sup> See, Ahmad Sardâr Muhammad Mahr Al-Dîn, *Al-Mabâhîs Al-’Aqdiyyah Fi Hadîts Iftirâq Al-Umam*, (Madinah: Maktabah al-Malak Fahd, 2009), II, 1st ed., pp. 099–1119.

<sup>16</sup> Abû Ja’far al-’Uqailî Al-Makkî, *Al-Dhu’afâ’ Al-Kabîr*, ed. Abd al-Mu’tihî Amîn Al-Qal’ajî, (Bairut: Dâr al-Maktabah al-’Ilmiyyah, 1984), IV, p. 201; Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Hamzânî al-Husain Al-Jûraqânî, *Al-Abâthîl Wa Al-Manâkîr*, (Bairut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 2004), pp. 162–65; Jamâl al-Dîn ibn Al-Jauzî, *Al-Maudhû’ât*, ed. Abd al-Rahmân Muhammad ‘Utmân, (Madinah: al-Maktabah al-Salafiyyah, 1966), I, pp. 267–68. See, Jalâl al-Dîn Al-Suyûthî, *Al-Lâli’ Al-Mashnû’ah Fi Al-Ahâdîs Al-Maudhû’ah*, ed. Abû ‘Abd al-Rahmâm Shalâh ‘Uwaidhah, (Bairut: Dâr al-Kutub al-’Ilmiyyah, 1996), I, pp. 227–28; Nûr al-Dîn Ibn ‘Irâq Al-Kannânî, *Tanzîh Al-Sharî’ah Al-Marfû’ah ‘an Al-Akhabâr Al-Shanî’ah Al-Maudhû’ah*, ed. Abd al-Wahhâb ‘Abd Al-Lathîf and ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad al-Shaddîq Al-Gumarî, (Bairut: Dâr al-’Ilmiyyah, 1981), I, p. 310.

The first:

حدثنا محمد بن مروان القرشي قال: حدثنا محمد بن عبادة الواسطي قال: حدثنا موسى بن إسماعيل الجبلي قال: حدثنا معاذ بن ياسين الزيات قال: حدثنا الأبرد بن أبي الأشرس، عن يحيى بن سعيد، عن أنس بن مالك، قال: قال رسول الله: تفرق أمتي على سبعين أو إحدى وسبعين فرقة، كلهم في الجنة إلا فرقة واحدة، قالوا: يا رسول الله، من هم؟ قال: الزنادقة وهم القدرية.

The second:

حدثنا الحسن بن علي بن خالد الليثي قال: حدثنا نعيم بن حماد قال: حدثنا يحيى بن يمان، عن ياسين الزيات، عن سعد بن سعيد أخي يحيى بن سعيد الأنصاري، عن أنس قال: قال رسول الله: تفرق أمتي على بضع وسبعين فرقة، كلها في الجنة إلا فرقة واحدة، وهي الزنادقة.

The *sanad* of this two *matan* can be seen in the following table:

Chart 1: the *sanad* of al-’Uqailî

The Prophet			
The 8 <sup>th</sup>	Anas ibn Mâlik		The 7 <sup>th</sup>
The 7 <sup>th</sup>	Yahyâ ibn Sa’îd	Sa’d ibn Sa’îd	The 6 <sup>th</sup>
The 6 <sup>th</sup>	Al-Abrad	Yâsîn al-Zayyât	The 5 <sup>th</sup>
The 5 <sup>th</sup>	Mu’âz ibn Yâsîn al-Zayyât	Yahyâ ibn Yamân	The 4 <sup>th</sup>
The 4 <sup>th</sup>	al-Jabalî		
The 3 <sup>rd</sup>	al-Wâsithî	Nu’aim	The 3 <sup>rd</sup>
The 2 <sup>nd</sup>	al-Qurashî	al-Laitsî	The 2 <sup>nd</sup>
The 1 <sup>st</sup>	al-’Uqailî		The 1 <sup>st</sup>

Al-’Uqailî (d. 322 AH/934 AD) is confirmed as the first hadith scholar who narrated the hadith in his great work, *al-Dhu’afâ’ al-Kabîr*. Two *sanad* lines are owned by al-’Uqailî, first: through Muhammad ibn Marwân al-Qurashî, Muhammad ibn ‘Ubâdah al-Wâsithî, Mûsâ ibn Ismâ’il al-Jabalî,

Mu'âz ibn Yâsîn al-Zayyât, al-Abrad ibn Abî al-Ashras, Yahyâ ibn Sa'îd, Anas ibn M Mâlik to the Prophet. Second, through al-Hasan ibn 'Alî al-Laits, Nu'aim ibn Hammâd, Yahyâ ibn Yamân, Yâsîn al-Zayyât, Sa'd ibn Sa'îd, Anas ibn Mâlik to the Prophet. However, al-'Uqailî mentioned that the figure of Mu'âz ibn Yâsîn al-Zayyât was an unknown narrator (*majhûl*), and his hadith was not preserved (*gair mahfûzh*). After presenting the hadith through these two series of *sanads*, al-'Uqailî emphasized that the hadith was not authentic (not *shahîh*; invalid). He also assumes that Yâsîn got the hadith from his father or al-Abrad. The rest, he says that this hadith is not sourced from Yahyâ ibn Sa'îd or Sa'd ibn Sa'îd.<sup>17</sup> Besides, al-Jûraqânî (d. 543 AH/1148 AD), Ibn al-Jauzî (d. 597 AAH/1201 AD), al-Suyûthî (d. 911 AH/1505 AD), and Ibn 'Irâq (d. 963 AH/1556 AD) is an important scholar post-al-'Uqailî who explicitly called the hadith a false hadith because of the existence of these two narrators. They also cited the opinions of other hadith scholars regarding this hadith *sanad* to strengthen their judgment.<sup>18</sup>

Chart 2: the scholar's assessment of the narrators of the hadith

Narrators	Hadith scholars	Comment Content
Al-Abrad	Al-Râzî (d. 277 AH/890 AD)	al-Abrad is a liar
	Ahmad (d. 241 AH/855 AD)	I do not know al-Abrad
	Ibn Khuzaimah (d. 311 AH/924 AD); al-Jûraqânî (d. 543 AH/1148 AD)	al-Abrad is a forger of hadith and a liar
Yâsîn al-Zayyât	al-Jûraqânî (d. 543 AH/1148 AD)	Yâsîn was a weak narrator ( <i>dha'îf</i> ), and his hadith was <i>munkar</i>
	Al-Bukhârî (d. 256 AH/870 AD)	Yâsîn was a narrator whose hadith was <i>munkar</i>
	Ibn Ma'în (d. 233 AH/848 AD)	Yâsîn's hadiths have no value ( <i>laisa bi shai'</i> )
Mu'âz ibn Yâsîn al-Zayyât	Al-Nasa'î (d. 303 AH/915 AD)	He is a narrator whose hadith was ignored ( <i>matrûk</i> )
	Al-'Uqailî (d. 322 AH/934 AD)	He is an unknown narrator of hadith ( <i>majhûl</i> ). His hadith of him is not preserved ( <i>gair mahfuz</i> )

At the beginning of its appearance, namely, in the 4th century AH/10 AD, the assessment that the hadith was false was emphasized on the *sanad* aspect. Since the 6th century AH/12th AD, the same assessment has also been strengthened by explaining the problem from the aspect of its *matan*, besides still confirming the scholar's assessment from the *sanad* aspect. In this regard, al-Jûraqânî mentioned that the observations of the related hadith are different and chaotic. In the 8th century AH/14th AD, criticism with the same pattern also appeared. Ibn Taimiyyah (d. 728 AH/1328 AD) highlighted the diction "al-Zanâdiqa" in the hadith's *matan*. According to him, this word is not found in the Prophet's hadith, as is not found in the Quran.<sup>19</sup> Al-Zahabî (d. 748 AH/1347 AD) is another scholar who reiterates that the hadith is problematic and considers it

<sup>17</sup> Abû Ja'far al-'Uqailî Al-Makkî, *Al-Dhu'afâ' Al-Kabîr...*, p. 201.

<sup>18</sup> All off the *sanad* of these hadith scholars is almost the same, emptying al-Abrad and Yâsîn al-Zayyât. They differ only slightly in the *sanad* under the two narrators. However, the difference in names or the addition of narrators in the series of hadiths is understandable. Given that they are not one generation and do not live in the same place. In this case, it needs to be reiterated; several names in the chain of *sanad* have received special attention, namely, al-Abrad ibn al-Ashras, who is considered a liar. Khalaf ibn Yâsîn al-Zayyât, a weak narrator (*dha'îf*) and his hadith is *munkar* - in this case, Yâsîn narrated this hadith via the al-Abrad; sometimes he mentions as from Yahyâ ibn Sa'îd, sometimes also mentions from Sa'îd ibn Sa'îd-; Mu'âz ibn Yâsîn al-Zayyât, is called an unknown narrator (*majhûl*) and his hadith is judged to be unguarded (*gair mahfûzh*). Khalaf ibn Yâsîn al-Zayyât referred to as an unknown narrator; Hafsh ibn 'Umar is called a liar; whereas 'Utmân ibn 'Affân is known as a narrator whose hadith is abandoned (*matrûk al-hadîth*). See, Abû Ja'far al-'Uqailî Al-Makkî, *Al-Dhu'afâ' Al-Kabîr...*, p. 201; Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Hamzânî al-Husain Al-Jûraqânî, *Al-Abâthîl Wa Al-Manâkîr...*, pp. 162-65; Jamâl al-Dîn ibn al-Jauzî, *Al-Maudhû'ât...*, pp. 267-68. See also, al-Suyûthî (w. 1505) dan Ibn 'Irâq (w. 1556 M). See, Jalâl al-Dîn Al-Suyûthî, *Al-Lâli' Al-Mashnû'ah...*, pp. 227-28; Nûr al-Dîn Ibn 'Irâq Al-Kannânî, *Tanzîh Al-Sharî'ah...*, p. 310.

<sup>19</sup> Shams al-Dîn Abû al-'Aun Al-Safârînî, *Lawâmi' Al-Anwâr Al-Bahiyyah*, (Damaskus: Mu'assasah al-Khâfiqîn, 1982), I, 2nd ed, pp. 92-93.

a contradictory hadith.<sup>20</sup> The statement of al-Žahabî is quoted by Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalânî (d. 852 AH/1448 AD) with the addition of information that the *matan* of the hadith destroys meaning. For Ibn Hajar, the well-known hadith about this explains the opposite. He also mentioned that the hadith is messy, both in terms of *sanad* and *matan*, and what is certain is that the structure of the *matan* is reversed.<sup>21</sup> It is also clearly and conscientiously find the pattern of criticism to this hadith in modern scholars exposure, such as Ahmad Sardar.<sup>22</sup>

However, these two types of hadith about it. In terms of *matan*, they are contradictory to each other. The first hadith confirms that only one group survived. In some narrations, it is stated that this group is the majority (*al-jamâ‘a* or *al-sawâd al-a‘zam*) or following the Prophet and his companions (*mâ ana ‘alaih wa ashhabî*). The second Hadith states that there are more than 70 survivors, and only one will be harmed, namely the al-Zanâdiqa group. The difference also occurs in terms of the *sanad*. The first hadith is suspected to be a narration of the mainstream; sourced from many senior companions of Prophet and mentioned in the various primary literature, such as the six main hadith literature (*al-kutub al-sittah*), minus *Shahîh al-Bukhârî* and *Shahîh Muslim*. While the second hadith can only be traced in secondary literature, namely al-‘Uqailî (d. 322 AH/934 AD), al-Jûraqânî (w. 543 AH/1148 AD), Ibn al-Jauzî (d. 597 AH/1201 AD), al-Suyûthî (d. 911 AH/1505 AD) and Ibn ‘Irâq (d. 963 AH/1556 AD).<sup>23</sup>

Chart 3: Comparison between the narration of al-‘Uqailî (as secondary literature of hadith) and the narration of Ibn Mâjah (as primary literature); both sourced from Anas ibn Malik with contradictory *matan*.

<p>تفرق أمتي على سبعين أو إحدى وسبعين فرقة، كلهم في الجنة إلا فرقة واحدة، قالوا: يا رسول الله، من هم؟ قال: الزنادقة وهم القدرية.</p> <p>It is mean: Muhammad’s <i>ummah</i> will be divided into more than 70 sects, and only one will be harmed: al-Zanâdiqa, that is al-Qadariyyah</p>	<p>إن بني إسرائيل افتقرت على إحدى وسبعين فرقة، وإن أمتي ستفترق على ثنتين وسبعين فرقة، كلها في النار، إلا واحدة وهي: الجماعة.</p> <p>It is mean: Muhammad’s <i>ummah</i> will be divided into more than 70, and only one will survive: the majority (<i>al-jamâ‘a</i>)</p>	
The Prophet		
The 8 <sup>th</sup>	Anas ibn Mâlik	The 6 <sup>th</sup>
The 7 <sup>th</sup>	Yahyâ ibn Sa‘îd	Qatâdah
The 6 <sup>th</sup>	Al-Abrad	Abu ‘Amr
The 5 <sup>th</sup>	Mu‘âz ibn Yâsin al-Zayyât	Al-Walîd
The 4 <sup>th</sup>	al-Jabalî	Hishâm
The 3 <sup>rd</sup>	al-Wâsithî	The 2 <sup>nd</sup>
The 2 <sup>nd</sup>	al-Qurashî	The 1 <sup>st</sup>
The 1 <sup>st</sup>	al-‘Uqailî	Ibn Mâjah

### Al-Zanâdiqa as a Group that Will harmed: the Social History of Its Emergence

Al-Zanâdiqa is the plural form of the Arabic word: *al-zindîq*. Al-Zanâdiqa, in this context, is an essential keyword in the whole *matan* of the hadith about the division of the Prophet Muhammad’s *ummah*. In the various narrations that have been mentioned, al-Zanâdiqa is called a group that is sure to be harmed. The variety of *matan* in the various *sanad* confirms that what is meant by al-Zanâdiqa is ahl al-Qadar or al-Qadariyyah<sup>24</sup> If we refer to the narration from the al-Abrad, it is clear that the interpretation of al-Zanâdiqa as al-Qadariyyah indicates that it is part of the hadith itself. However, when referring to the narration of Mukram ibn Yûsuf from Yâsin al-Zayyât—in al-Jûraqânî—the interpretation comes from Yahyâ ibn Sa‘îd. In this case, he emphasized that one

<sup>20</sup> Shams al-Dîn Muhammad b. Ahmad Al-Dhababî, *Mizân Al-‘itidâl Fî Naqd Al-Rijâl*, ed. ‘Alî Muhammad Mu‘awwadh and ‘Âdil Ahmad ‘Abd Al-Mawjûd, (Beirût: Dâr al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d.), I, pp. 662–63.

<sup>21</sup> Abû al-Fadhîl Ahmad ibn Hajar Al-‘Asqalânî, *Lisân Al-Mizân*, ed. Abd al-Fattâh Abû Gaddah (Dâr al-Bashâ‘ir al-Islâmiyyah, 2002), III, p. 373; VIII, p. 69.

<sup>22</sup> Ahmad Sardâr Muhammad Mahr Al-Dîn, *Al-Mabâhith...*, p. 90.

<sup>23</sup> Abû Ja‘far al-‘Uqailî Al-Makkî, *Al-Dhu‘Afâ’ Al-Kabîr...*, p. 201; Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Hamzânî al-Husain Al-Jûraqânî, *Al-Abâthîl Wa Al-Manâkîr...*, pp. 162–65; Jamâl al-Dîn ibn Al-Jauzî, *Al-Maudhû‘ât...*, pp. 267–68. See, Jalâl al-Dîn Al-Suyûthî, *Al-Lâli’ Al-Mashnû‘ah...*, pp. 227–28; Nûr al-Dîn Ibn ‘Irâq Al-Kannânî, *Tanzîh Al-Sharî‘ah...*, p. 310.

<sup>24</sup> See, Abû Ja‘far al-‘Uqailî Al-Makkî, *Al-Dhu‘Afâ’ Al-Kabîr...*, p. 201

group that did not survive was the al-Zanâdiqa group, namely those who denied the existence of destiny from Allah.<sup>25</sup> Whereas in the *sanad* that goes through the path of Hafis ibn ‘Umar, the mention of al-Zanâdiqa is al-Qadariyyah as a group that will be harmed is Anas ibn Mâlik’s interpretation.<sup>26</sup>

This word in the above hadith further strengthens the assumption that the hadith is problematic in its *matan*. As this word is not mentioned in the Quran, it is not mentioned in the authentic hadiths.<sup>27</sup> Initially, this word was a borrowed form of Persian and always referred to one of two things. *First*, it refers to the identity of certain beliefs or religions, namely Manâwiyya and others. *Second*, it refers to people who believe in the immortality of the universe, deny God’s existence, and do not recognize the day of resurrection (al-Dahriyya).<sup>28</sup> These two associative understandings were widely known before the existence of Islam. However, after the existence of Islam, this word experienced a significant expansion of its meaning. It is also pinned to specific groups considered to have violated the majority group or pinned to specific individuals considered to be carrying out practices that deviate from sharia.<sup>29</sup>

The interpretation of al-Zanâdiqa as ahl al-Qadar, al-Qadariyyah, or a group that denies the existence of Allah’s destiny is a form of the meaning of the word al-Zanâdiqa for specific purposes. In the statement of al-Da’ailij, al-Abrad became a figure accused of making the hadith dispel the al-Qadariyyah sects. The efforts made

by al-Abrad were verbal.<sup>30</sup> In the 4th century AH/10 AD, these meanings were written and entered into the literature codification of hadith, that is, it was only confirmed that there were works written by al-‘Uqailî (d. 322 AH/934 AD), and so on - such as already mentioned in advance. However, applicatively, apart from the use of this hadith, this label has been known and embedded in certain people and models of belief since the time of the Prophet’s companions of the last generation and the time of the early generation of tabi’in (post-Prophet’s companions’ generation). This label was primarily attached to Gailân and his followers. Rejection of al-Qadariyyah ideology at this time tends to be done through personal religious fatwas. In the next generation, the rejection of al-Qadariyyah began to vary, even involving state intervention.<sup>31</sup>

In the 4th/10th century AD and the 5th century AH/11th AD, the rejection of the anti-destiny group began to flourish, especially from the Sunnis through their great works. In this case, al-Shibgî (d. 342 AH/957 AD) wrote *Kitâb al-Qadr*; Bakr al-Mâliki (d. 344 AH/955 AD) wrote *al-Radd ‘alâ al-Qadariyyah* and Manshûr ibn Muhammad al-Sam’ânî (489 AH/1096 AD) wrote *al-Radd ‘alâ al-Qadariyyah* as well; and others. As an inseparable part of Mu’azila, massive rejection of al-Qadariyyah is still possible because the state does not protect it. This is different from when Mu’tazila became the official state ideology, namely from the reign of al-Ma’mûn (212 AH/827 AD), al-Mu’tashim (218-227 AH/833-842 AD), al-Wâtsiq bi Allâh (227-232 AH/842-847 AD), until the second half of al-Mutawakkil’s reign (232-247 AH/847-861 AD). In such a position, Sunni scholars - most of whom are hadith scholars - cannot freely and openly oppose state policies because they will end up with intimidation and the like. In this regard, Ahmad ibn Hanbal became one of the leading Sunni scholars who became the opposition and tortured prison.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See, Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Hamzânî al-Husain Al-Jûraqânî, *Al-Abâthil Wa Al-Manâkir...*, pp. 162–65.

<sup>26</sup> See, Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Hamzânî al-Husain Al-Jûraqânî, *Al-Abâthil Wa Al-Manâkir...*, pp. 162–65; Jamâl al-Dîn ibn Al-Jauzî, *Al-Maudhû‘ât...*, pp. 267–68.

<sup>27</sup> Shams al-Dîn Abû al-‘Aun Al-Safârîni, *Lawâmi’ Al-Anwâr...*, pp. 92–93.

<sup>28</sup> Sa’d Falâh ‘Abd al-‘Azîz Al-‘Arîfi, *Al-Zanâdiqah: ‘Aqâ’Iduhum, Firquhum Wa Mauqif A’Immah Al-Muslimîn Minhum*, (Riyad: Riyad Dâr al-Tauhid, 2013), p. 45; M. Quraish Shihab, *Sunnah-Syiah Bergandengan Tangan! Mungkinkah? Kajian Atas Konsep Ajaran Dan Pemikiran*, ed. Abd. Syakur Dj, (tangerang: lentera hati, 2014), 4th ed, p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> Haidar Bagir, *Islam Tuhan, Islam Manusia: Agama Dan Spiritualitas Di Zaman Kacau*, ed. Azam Bahtiar and Ahmad Baiquni, (Bandung: Mizan, 2019), 2nd ed, p. 142.

<sup>30</sup> Mubârak Hamd Al-Da’ailij, *Al-Wadh’u Fî Al-Hadîts...*, pp. 81–85.

<sup>31</sup> Sa’d Falâh ‘Abd al-‘Azîz Al-‘Arîfi, *Al-Zanâdiqah: ‘Aqâ’Iduhum, Firquhum...*, pp. 760–67.

<sup>32</sup> Elpanti Sahara Pakpahan, “Pemikiran Mu’tazilah,” *Al-Hadi*, vol. II, no. 02 (2017), pp. 413–23; Mustafa Shah, “Inquisition in Early Islam: The Competition for Political and Religious Authority in the Abbasid Empire by John P. Turner,” *Ilahiyat Studies*, vol.

## The Hadith and the Shifting Discourse of the Salvation of the *Ummah*

What can be ascertained is that the group that deviates from the mainstream is always referred to as al-Zanâdiqa and has been a discourse since the generation of the Prophet's junior companions. However, al-Abrađ, by this false hadith against the al-Qadariyyah sect, became the initial discourse about al-Qadariyyah as al-Zanâdiqa. This discourse has been sticking out again since the appearance of the work of al-'Uqailî (d. 322 AH/934 AD), which contains the hadith. However, like hadith scholars tendency in general, the emergence of this hadith is nothing more than a preventive measure so that it is not spread except for reasons of explaining to the public that the hadith is false. This principle was still a single principle at that time and received support from hadith scholars, such as al-Jûraqânî (d. 543 AH/1148 AD), Ibn al-Jauzî (d. 597 AH/1201 AD), al-Suyûthî (d. 911 AH/1505 AD), and Ibn 'Irâq (d. 963 AH/1556 AD).<sup>33</sup>

However, in the 6th century AH/12 AD, there was a shift in perspective in viewing the hadith. It appears in Islamic discourse not only as a part that must be avoided because of its falsehood,

6, no. 2 (2015), pp. 268–75, <https://doi.org/10.12730/13091719.2015.62.136>; Mawardi Hatta, "Aliran Mu'tazilah Dalam Lintasan Sejarah Pemikiran Islam," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Ushuluddin*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2016), pp. 87–104, <https://doi.org/10.18592/jiu.v12i1.286>; Adib Hasani, "Kontradiksi Dalam Konsep Politik Islam Eksklusif Sayyid Quthb," *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2016), pp. 1–30, <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2016.11.1.1-30>; Ahmad Zaeny, "Idiologi Dan Politik Kekuasaan Kaum Mu'tazilah," *Jurnal TAPIS*, vol. 7, no. 13 (2011), pp. 94–109, <http://ejournal.iainradenintan.ac.id/index.php/TAPIS/article/view/98>; Nicholas Morton, "Inquisition in Early Islam: The Competition for Political and Religious Authority in the Abbasid Empire," *Al-Masâq*, vol. 26, no. 3 (September 2, 2014), pp. 333–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09503110.2014.956491>; Rohidin Rohidin, "Mu'tazilah; Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya," *El-Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman Dan Tafsir Hadis*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2018), pp. 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.29300/jpkth.v7i2.1595>; Abdul Karim, "Manhaj Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal Dalam Kitab Musnadnya," *Riwayah*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2015), pp. 351–70; Syarifuddin, "The Rationality of the Mu'tazila Ulama," *Pusaka*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2017), pp. 97–108, <https://doi.org/10.31969/pusaka.v5i1.173>; Ahmad Lahmi, "Mihna in The Reign of Al-Ma'mun," *JURNAL SAINTIFIKA ISLAMICA*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2015), pp. 115–24; Fahrudin Faiz, "Kekerasan Intelektual Dalam Islam (Telaah Terhadap Peristiwa Mihnah Mu'tazilah)," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ummu Ushuluddin*, vol. XIII, no. 1 (2012), pp. 1–18.

<sup>33</sup> Abû Ja'far al-'Uqailî *Al-Makkî, Al-Dhu'afâ' Al-Kabîr...*, p. 201; Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Hamzânî al-Husain al-Jûraqânî, *Al-Abâthil Wa Al-Manâkîr...* pp. 162–65; amâl al-Dîn ibn Al-Jauzî, *Al-Maudhû'ât...*, pp. 267–68. See, Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûthî, *Al-Lâli' Al-Mashnû'ah...*, pp. 227–28; Nûr al-Dîn Ibn 'Irâq *Al-Kannânî, Tanzîh Al-Sharî'ah...*, p. 310.

especially from the aspect of the *sanad*. In *Faishal al-Tafriqah*, al-Gazâlî (d. 505 AH/1111 AD) mentions this hadith as a authentic hadith. This means that he was the earliest generation who brought up the hadith in a different discourse from the mainstream discourse. In this work, al-Gazâlî mentions the hadith that Muhammad's *ummah* will be divided into more than 70 sects, and only one will survive. He also acknowledged that there are historical differences in this context. He also mentioned a history with the content: "All will be saved except for the al-Zanâdiqa group, which is one group only." In this case, the narration he mentioned does not include the diction of "al-Qadariyyah" as an interpretation of "al-Zanâdiqa." According to him, all these reports or *matans* may be authentic. He further emphasized that one insecure group was the one who denied the Prophet and allowed lying on behalf of the Prophet with the aim of *maslahat* (*kaz̄zabat wa jawwazat al-kaz̄iba 'alâ Rasûl Allâh bi al-al-mashlahah*).<sup>34</sup>

After al-Gazâlî, this discourse seems to be lost again and covered by the mainstream discourse. In this case, although al-'Ajlûnî (d. 1749 AD) informed that the hadith was also narrated by al-Sha'rânî (d. 973 H/1565 AD) and was considered authentic by al-Hâkim (d. 405 AH/1015 M),<sup>35</sup> However, the information from al-'Ajlûnî is relatively difficult to confirm the truth, especially regarding al-Hâkim's opinion, which he calls an authentic assessment. Sardâr, as a scholar concerned with the hadith about the division of Muhammad's *ummah*, fully admits that he did not get the opinion of al-Hâkim.<sup>36</sup> However, if the information of al-'Ajlûnî (d. 1162 H/1749 AD) is authentic, then it can be assumed that the hadith returned to discourse in the 10th century AH/16 AD to the public as an alternative discourse, only appeared in the 12th century AH/18 AD through *Kashf al-Khafâ* 'by al-'Ajlûnî (d. 1162 AH/1749 AD) itself.<sup>37</sup> The information

<sup>34</sup> Abû Hâmid Muhammad Al-Gazâlî, *Faishal Al-Tafriqah Bain Al-Islâm Wa Al-Zandaqah*, (Bairut: Dâr al-Minhâj, 2017), pp. 81, 100, 104–5.

<sup>35</sup> Abû al-Fidâ' Ismâ'îl Al-'Ajlûnî, *Kashf Al-Khafâ' Wa Muzil Al-Ilbâs*, ed. Ahmad Al-Qallâsh, (Bairut: Mu'assasah al-Risâlah, 1985), I, 4th ed, pp. 168–69.

<sup>36</sup> Ahmad Sardâr Muhammad Mahr Al-Dîn, *Al-Mabâhith...*, p. 104.

<sup>37</sup> Abû al-Fidâ' Ismâ'îl Al-'Ajlûnî, *Kashf Al-Khafâ' ...*, pp. 168–69.

conveyed by al-'Ajlûnî was then quoted back in modern-contemporary, as was done by Saqqâf 'Alî al-Kâf (born 1946 AD ...) in *Haqîqah al-Firqah al-Nâjîyah* and 'Abd al -Halîm Mahmûd (d. 1397 AH/1978 AD) in *al-Tafkîr al-Falsafî fî al-Islâm*.<sup>38</sup> The quotations made by these two figures also include information that al-Hakim gave an authentic assessment of the hadith.

### The Hadith of Divisions of the *Ummah*: Interests, Contestations, and Identities

The hadith about the *ummah* division, which explains that all will go to heaven except the al-Zanâdiqa group, is a false hadith. At first, the hadith's falsity was correlated with the narrators accused of being liars; however, over time, the falsity was also correlated with the *matan*, which was considered contradictory with other hadiths considered authentic. Also, the diction of "al-Zanâdiqa," which is then interpreted explicitly as the al-Qadariyyah sect, is a meaning that is deliberately raised to oppose the religious understanding of the al-Qadariyyah sect. At first, allegedly raised by al-Abrad verbally and in the 4th century AH/10 AD, this interpretation also existed in writing. This fact was followed by the proliferation of works written by hadith scholars against the al-Qadariyyah. However, in the 6th century AH/12th AD, this hadith became a new discourse. Al-Gazâlî emphasized that it is a authentic hadith. The same discourse was found in the 10th/16th century or the 12th century AH/18th AD and returned to the public in the 14th century AH/20th AD.

In this case, as a whole, the hadith about the division of the *ummah*: all will go to heaven except al-Qadariyyah appears in Islamic history in three discourse tendencies. The first discourse is in the form of verbal utterances through a narrative made by al-Abrad. This utterance was deliberately made as a form of resistance against al-Qadariyyah. The second discourse begins with the works of al-'Uqailî and the scholars of hadith after him. The tendency of this discourse is as an effort to prevent the spread of this false hadith. The third

discourse starts from the appearance of *Faishal al-Tafriqah*, written by al-Gazâlî. The discourse that was raised by al-Gazâlî was relatively different from the mainstream discourse that had previously emerged. However, in this case, the hadith used by al-Gazâlî and subsequent generations appears to be relatively different from the hadith *matan* questioned by the mainstream. The hadith quoted by al-Gazâlî and assessed as authentic hadith does not mention "al-Qadariyyah" diction. It only reaches al-Zanâdiqa.<sup>39</sup>

In the third discourse above, discourse contestation occurs between scholars. However, al-Jûraqânî, Ibn al-Jauzî, and al-Gazâlî both lived in the 6th century AH/12th AD. Likewise, modern scholars such as Saqqâf 'Alî al-Kâf and Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd is one generation with Ahmad Sardar who has different judgments about this hadith.<sup>40</sup> In addition, looking at each scholar's scientific field, this contestation tends to be a contestation between hadith scholar and outside, such as Sufism, philosophy, kalam, and so on. This finding also explains that using the label "al-zânadiqah" in the al-Qadariyyah sect is concrete evidence of how these interests operate. However, a false assessment of the hadith is not the only assessment, even though, in this case, it also does not occur at one time and does not have the same hadith *matan*. These two discourses seem to be contradicting each other in the history of Islamic thought and civilization.

The findings above confirm that scholars in the past have provided specific criteria in tracing the falsity of a hadith, both in terms of *sanad* and *matan*, although not simultaneously.<sup>41</sup> This means

<sup>39</sup> Abû Hâmid Muhammad Al-Gazâlî, *Faishal Al-Tafriqah...*, pp. 81, 100, 104-5.

<sup>40</sup> Saqqâf ibn 'Alî Al-Kâf, *Haqîqah Al-Firqah...*, pp. 30-31; Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd, *Al-Tafkîr...*, p. 75.

<sup>41</sup> Mukhtar, "Hadis Maudhu' Dan Permasalahannya"; Marpuah and Ahmad Zamree, "Kesan Hadis Maudhu' Dalam Amalan Umat Islam"; Nur, "Kontribusi Dan Peran Ulama Mencegah Hadits Maudhu"; Istianah, "Kritik Terhadap Penisbatan Riwayat Hadis: Studi Atas Hadis-Hadis Palsu"; Wahid, "Strategi Ulama Mengantisipasi Penyebaran Hadist Maudhu' Di Kecamatan Peureulak"; Sayadi, "Weak and False Hadits in Learning Book of Qur'an and Hadits at Islamic Schools"; Ayub, "Matn Criticism and Its Role in the Evaluation of Hadith Authenticity"; Sati, "Hadis Palsu Dan Hukum Meriwayatkannya"; Sakat et al., "The Fabricated Hadith: A Review on Its Implication to Society"; Yulanda, "Kajian Hadis-

<sup>38</sup> Saqqâf ibn 'Alî Al-Kâf, *Haqîqah Al-Firqah Al-Nâjîyah*, (Bairut & Damaskus: al-Dâr al-Shâmiyah & Dâr al-Qalam, 1992), pp. 30-31; Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd, *Al-Tafkîr Al-Falsafî Fî Al-Islâm*, (Dâr al-Ma'ârif, n.d.), 2nd ed, pp. 75.

that the assumption that the scholars are too busy with *sanad* criticism to ignore *matan* criticism is incorrect. These two critical models are applied in a connected manner, according to developments and needs. Apart from that, this finding also strengthens the thesis conveyed by Ibn Qutaibah that the hadith of the Prophet in his time became the medium for the contestation between Islamic religious and political thought. Hadith is used as a justification tool for religious interpretation and specific interests.<sup>42</sup> Even though, in this context, the al-Qadariyyah sect appears to be a common enemy through the label al-Zanâdiqa, who is accused of going to hell.

The designation al-Qadariyyah itself is a designation pinned by the Mu'azila opposition. They are called al-Qadariyyah because of their views on human freedom. Furthermore, they were also accused of denying the existence of Allah's destiny and *qada* over something. In this case, they ultimately rejected the accusation; they instead accused the opposition of being al-Qadariyyah. According to Sa'd Rustum, the term al-Qadariyyah for the Mu'tazilah sect arose from the al-Jabariyyah sect. The fact, the Mu'tazilah sect prefers to be called "experts or scholars of justice and tawheed" (*Ahl al-'adl wa al-tauhid*) for their sect.<sup>43</sup> In Islamic history, al-Qadariyyah and al-Jabariyyah were positioned side by side. If al-Qadariyyah is accused of denying the same fate and *qada* from Allah, al-Jabariyyah is accused of the opposite. These two sects are mutually contesting and resisting each other and are involved in the rulers political feud. In this case, the affiliation of al-Abrad, who gave rise to this discourse through a hadith, is not yet certain.<sup>44</sup> However, since the 4th century AH/10th AD—as already mentioned—it has formed a new discourse among hadith scholars.

It needs to be reiterated that in the history of Islam, the emergence of the earlier hadiths above

was a form of resistance to the al-Qadariyyah sect or resistance to government policies from the Abbasid dynasty. This dynasty became an integral part of the al-Qadariyyah sect, especially in the 3rd century AH/9th AD. At this time, al-Qadariyyah thought had legality and received full support from the state and intimidation of people who were considered contradictory, especially from the hadith scholar. This period was widely known as the *mihnah* tragedy, a kind of intellectual violence. The tragedy forces a diversity of understanding with the full intervention of state policies.<sup>45</sup> This hadith's emergence in the 4th century AH/10 AD indicates the loss of this intervention allowing open resistance, even though a false hadith.

In addition, al-Gazâlî, al-'Ajlûnî, 'Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd and Saqqâf al-Kâf who brought back these hadiths amidst the domination of hadith scholars related to the Prophet's hadiths, gives the impression of the need for awareness that the study of hadith always open and compatible with various approaches, including in order to assess whether it is authentic, weak or even false. The judgment that is authentic, weak, or even false seems that these scholars are fully aware that it is the result of *ijtihad*. They also made the hadith an essential basis for the emergence of a new discourse even though it was different from what most Muslims believed. In particular, al-Gazâlî brought up the hadith because he was aware of the sects growing fanaticism in his time. In this case, al-Zanâdiqa in the hadith is not understood as al-Qadariyyah but is specified for people who deny the Prophet and allow lying on behalf of the Prophet to benefit. (*kazzabat wa jawwazat al-kaziba 'alâ Rasûl Allâh bi al-al-mashlahah*).<sup>46</sup>

Hadis Palsu Yang Populer Oleh Ustadz Adi Hidayat: Studi Atas Fenomena Hadis Di YouTube"; Aslamiah, "Hadis Maudhu Dan Akibatnya"; Yaqub, *Kritik Hadis*; Ash-Shiddieqy, *Sejarah & Pengantar Ilmu Hadits*, 2009.

<sup>42</sup> 'Abd Allâh ibn Qutaibah al-Dînawarî, *Ta'wîl Mukhtalif Al-Hadîts...*, pp. 47–61.

<sup>43</sup> Sa'd Rustum, *Al-Firaq Wa Al-Mazâhib Al-Islâmiyyah*, (Damaskus: al-Awâ'il, 2005), 3rd ed, pp. 93–94.

<sup>44</sup> Saqqâf ibn 'Alî Al-Kâf, *Haqîqah Al-Firqah...*, pp. 30–31; Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd, *Al-Tafkîr...*, pp. 145–55.

<sup>45</sup> Shah, "Inquisition in Early Islam: The Competition for Political and Religious Authority in the Abbasid Empire by John P. Turner"; Morton, "Inquisition in Early Islam: The Competition for Political and Religious Authority in the Abbasid Empire"; Hatta, "Aliran Mu'tazilah Dalam Lintasan Sejarah Pemikiran Islam"; Hasani, "Kontradiksi Dalam Konsep Politik Islam Eksklusif Sayyid Quthb"; Zaeny, "Idiologi Dan Politik Kekuasaan Kaum Mu'tazilah"; Pakpahan, "Pemikiran Mu'tazilah"; Rohidin, "Mu'tazilah; Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya"; Karim, "Manhaj Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal Dalam Kitab Musnadnya"; Syarifuddin, "The Rationality of the Mu'tazila Ulama"; Lahmi, "Mihna in The Reign of Al-Ma'mun"; Faiz, "Kekerasan Intelektual Dalam Islam (Telaah Terhadap Peristiwa Mihnah Mu'tazilah)."

<sup>46</sup> Abû Hâmid Muhammad Al-Gazâlî, *Faishal Al-Tafriqah...*, pp. 81, 100, 104–5.

## Conclusion

Based on three questions: *first*, why is the hadith “All will go to heaven except for one group?” is called a false hadith? *Second*, how did the discourse on al-Zanâdiqa understood as al-Qadariyyah, exist in early Islam to trigger the emergence of this hadith? *Third*, how can the hadith about the *ummah* division be brought up again in various religious life discourses across history? This study finds three central answers: *first*, the hadith about the *ummah* division, which explains that all will go to heaven except the al-Zanâdiqa group is considered a false hadith, both from the aspect of *sanad* and its *matan*. However, the assessment of these two aspects does not co-occur. *Second*, the diction of “al-Zanâdiqa,” which was then interpreted explicitly as the al-Qadariyyah sect, verbally appeared before the 4th century AH/10 AD. In writing, it only existed in the 4th century AH/10 AD and after that. *Third*, in the 6th/12th century AD, this hadith became a new discourse, namely as an authentic hadith; in the 10th century AH/16 AD or the 12th century AH/18 AD also appeared. In the 14th century AH/20 AD, it was sticking out again to the public—with in the discourses that had already existed before.

From the points above, three discourses accompany the existence of this hadith. *First*, at the beginning of its appearance, verbally, it was suspected as an attempt to dispel the religious understanding of the al-Qadariyyah sect. The word “al-Zanâdiqa” in the hadith is interpreted as al-Qadariyyah. This occurred before the 4th century AH/10th AD. *Second*, since the 4th century AH/10th AD, the hadith was included in various literature on hadith codification and was considered a false hadith. So, its existence in the hadith literature is nothing more than a preventive effort from hadith scholars. *Third*, since the 6th century AH/16 AD, the hadith has been assessed as authentic hadith, without the “al-Qadariyyah” diction. This is a new discourse in addition to the mainstream discourse, especially among hadith scholars. This also shows the contestation among these different scientific experts or scholars.

The above also shows that criticism of certain hadiths in the past did not occur at one time. This data also shows that at that time, the hadith of

the Prophet was one of the authoritative tools used to corner sects that were considered to be opposite from the mainstream. These two discourses seem to be contradicting each other in the history of Islamic thought and civilization. In this case, the above hadith is used as a justification tool for certain religious views and interests; it became a form of resistance to the al-Qadariyyah sect and the government policies of the Abbasid dynasty, which had existed in the previous century and became the primary support for the Mu'tazilah sect. Their existence with state intervention has become a turning point for the marginalization of groups considered opposite, such as the hadith scholars. Thus, this hadith's appearance in the time is a sign of the loss of this domination.

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