MIḤNAH KHALQ AL-QUR'ĀN: AN IMPORTANT EPISODE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ‘ULŪM AL-HADĪṠ

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Abstract

The development of ilm al-hadith has come under scrutiny, especially with regard to the study of hadith criticism (ilm al-dirāyah) because it seems to have led to a tendency towards the formulation of rigid rules similar to mathematical calculations. The aims of this article is to look at how this event has led to a more dynamic development in the study of hadith. This article is qualitative research by basing data on sources related to miḥnah and its relationship with the science of hadith. This paper shows that the science of hadith is a scientific discourse that cannot be viewed as a standardized and rigid science in the application of its rules because basically the application of the science of hadith which includes the transmission and criticism of hadith is a dynamic human scientific activity, as seen in the period of miḥnah and after.

Keywords

miḥnah; khalq al-qur’ān; abbasid; hadith

Abstrak

Perkembangan 'ilm al-hadith (ilmu hadis) telah menjadi sorotan, terutama dalam kajian kritik hadis ('ilm al-dirāyah), karena dianggap telah melahirkan kecenderungan untuk merumuskan kaidah-kaidah yang kaku, layaknya perhitungan matematis. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menelaah bagaimana fenomena tersebut justru mendorong perkembangan yang lebih dinamis dalam studi hadis. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif yang mendasarkan datanya pada berbagai sumber yang berkaitan dengan miḥnah dan hubungannya dengan ilmu hadis. Tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa ilmu hadis merupakan suatu wacana keilmuan yang tidak dapat dipandang sebagai ilmu yang baku dan kaku dalam penerapan kaidah-kaidahnya. Hal ini karena pada dasarnya penerapan ilmu hadis, yang mencakup transmisi dan kritik hadis, merupakan aktivitas keilmuan manusia yang bersifat dinamis, sebagaimana terlihat pada masa miḥnah maupun setelahnya.

Keywords

miḥnah; khalq al-qur’ān; Abbasiah; hadis

Introduction

Hadith science as a science that has received great attention by scholars[1] not just appear as it does today. Hadith science developed through long historical periods. However, this development has come under scrutiny, especially with regard to the study of hadith criticism (*ilm al-dirāyah*) because it seems to have led to a tendency towards the formulation of rigid rules similar to mathematical calculations, so that nowadays one who conducts research on the quality of hadith no longer needs to have a high level of memorization and expertise, he or she can simply access concise books on the status of hadith narrators.[2] This is so because the science of hadith is discussed in isolation from its historical aspects which include the complex history of its birth and development. It is seen as a taken-for-granted science ready to be applied like formulas in the natural sciences,[3] in this case the rules found in the books of *muṣṭalāḥ al-ḥadīth*.

This article will highlight one of the important chapters in the development of the science of hadith, namely the *Miḥnah khalq Qur'ān* that occurred during the reign of the 'Abbasid dynasty especially under Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allah Hārūn al-Rāshid al-Ma'mūn (d. 218 AH), an event later known as the inquisition in Islamic history. This article will look at how this event has led to a more dynamic development in the study of hadith.

A number of earlier studies have examined this issue. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Guddah[4], Umar Muhammad Noor[5], Aḥmad Sanusi Azmi[6], Mohd Nor Ali Osmana et al[7], Aḥmad ‘Ubaidy Hasbillah[8], and Arrazi Hasyim[9]. In general, these writings provide specific explanations of the influence of the mihna on the science of hadith, whereas this paper, in addition to confirming what has been revealed by these writings, will also look at these

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[1] Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkasyī said that the science of hadith (and the science of fiqh) is a mature and burning science because these two sciences are so widely discussed and studied by scholars, diverse terms are discussed and studied with definitions that it is not uncommon for scholars to differ in opinion regarding the same term. M. Quraish Shihab, ‘Kata Pengantar’, in *Studi Kritis Atas Hadis Nabi SAW: Antara Pemanahaman Tekstual Dan Kkontekstual*, trans. by Muhammad Al-Baqir (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), p. 8.

[2] Umar Muhammad; Faisal Aḥmad Shah Noor, ‘Sanad ‘Amr Ibn Shu‘ayb ’an Abihi ‘an Jaddihi Dalam Kritik Hadith Mazhab Al-Shāfi‘Ī’, *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, 45.2 (2017), 55–86 (p. 58). See also, Nāṣir bin Hammād Al-Faḥd, *Manhaj Mutaqaddimīn Fī Al-Tadlīs* (Riyāḍ: Aḍwā’ al-Salaf, 2001), pp. 50–51.

[3] I am of the position that the event of hadith narration is a human event and therefore it is more appropriate to view this science with a social science approach rather than using the positivistic logic of the natural sciences. This distinction can be seen in, F. Budi Hardiman, *Seni Memahami : Hermeneutika Dari Schleiermacher Sampai Derrida* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2015), pp. 75–77.

[4] ’Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Guddah, *Mas’alah Khalq Al-Qur’ān Wa Aśāruha Fī Ṣufūf Al-Ruwāt Wa Al-Muḥaddiśīn Wa Kutub Al-Jarḥ Wa Al-Ta’dīl* (Beirūt: Maktabah al-Nahḍah, 1391).

[5] Umar Muhammad Noor, ‘Traditionist Internal Reform: Motives Behind The Birth Of The First Manual Of ‘Ulūm Al-Ḥadīth’, *Ilahiyat Studies*, 11.2 (2020), 295–316 <https://doi.org/10.12730/13091719.2020.112.211>.

[6] Aḥmad Sanusi Azmi, ‘The Influence Of Abbasid Empire and Community Needs in The Development of Ḥadīth Literature and Islamic Prophetology’, *UMRAN - International Journal of Islamic and Civilizational Studies*, 4.2 (2017), 24–32 <https://doi.org/10.11113/umran2017.4n2.138>.

[7] Mohd Nor Adli Osman and others, ‘The Implication of Mihnah Khulq Al-Quran on the Status of Hadiths Assessed by the Hadith Scholars’, *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*, 7.4 (2019), 239–47 <https://www.ijicc.net/images/vol7iss4/7420_Osman_2019_E_R.pdf>.

[8] Aḥmad ’Ubaidy Hasbillah, *Nalar Tekstual Ahli Hadis: Akar Formulasi Kultur Moderat Berbasis Tekstualisme* (Tangerang: Maktabah Darussunnah, 2018), pp. 229–30.

[9] Arrazy Hasyim, *Teologi Muslim Puritan* (Tangerang: Maktabah Darussunnah, 2018), pp. 41–65.

influences in a broader scope and lead to a perspective on the science of hadith as a science that will determine what is the appropriate paradigm to interact with the science.

Methodology

This article takes the history of the *miḥnah khalq al-Qur'an* as a starting point to study the development of hadith studies and what is the meaning behind the study of the development of hadith science by linking it with the *miḥnah khalq al-Qur'an* event so that this paper is a qualitative research that is a library research by making literature that talks about the *miḥnah* event in general and specifically talking about its relationship with the development of hadith science. In addition, the historical literature of the 'Abbasid period is not forgotten to better understand the social setting of the historical event.

The author collects references related to the *miḥnah* event both written by Muslim scholars and western researchers to get diverse perspectives. The data generated from the existing references are then critically analyzed by comparing with each other, then narrating in a series of history, then the data are analyzed to see the influence of the *miḥnah* event on hadith science and then examine more deeply the meaning behind these influences on the perspective on hadith science.

History of *Miḥnah Khalq al-Qur'ān*

The *Miḥnah* took place during the reign of the Abbasids, especially during the time of the caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 218 AH). It is generally known that the Abbasid Dao succeeded in overthrowing the Umayyads in 132 AH who had ruled for approximately 91 years. The Abbasid period was born out of the role of several groups ranging from the Ahl al-Bait Shi'a, the Caesarean Shi'a, and the Banu Abbas.[10] The 'Abbasid Caliphate was established on the ruins of the Umayyad Caliphate whose caliphate began with clandestine propaganda that was carried out for a long time until Abū Muslim al-Khurasani did it openly. Hadith is one of the tools used as a means to fulfill their interests in politics.[11] The 'Abbasids claimed that they were the legitimate custodians of the Sunnah. This claim was reinforced by tracing the lineage of the Bani Abbasiah to the Prophet's uncle ‘Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This lineage was used as the basis of legitimacy for the political leadership of the Bani Abbasiah.[12]

It was during the 'Abbasid caliphate that science in the Islamic world reached a very important position, especially when the establishment of an institution of knowledge called *Bait al-Ḥikmah*, the project that received the most attention was the translation of works from languages other than Arabic into Arabic. Sciences such as mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, physics, were translated into Arabic.[13]

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[10] Tarikuddin bin Haji Hassan, *Pemerintahan Kerajaan Bani Abbasiah* (Malaysia: Jahabersa), pp. 1–5.

[11] Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Zahw, *Al-Ḥadīṡ Wa Al-Muḥaddiṡūn* (Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1379), p. 260.

[12] Adis Duderija, *Constracting a Religously Ideal Believer and Women in Islam: Neo-Traditional Salafi and Progressive Muslim's Method of Interpretation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 29–30.

[13] Firas Al-Khateeb, *Islamic History: Reclaiming Muslim Civilisation From The Past* (London: C. Hurst & Co, 2014), pp. 53–69.

The origin of the fitnah khalq al-Qur'an

As the Mu'tazilah view that only Allah, peace be upon him, is the eternal and eternal, because His nature is His essence. So as a consequence, they argue that the Qur'an is a creature, something new (hadith) that occupies space, and the Qur'an is not the essence of Allah swt.[14]

The doctrine of the deity of the Qur'an is allegedly an influence of pagan culture, the treasures of Greek philosophy, Christian tales that associate partners with Allah, or Jewish religious concepts that repeatedly commit fraud by associating partners with Allah. Abū Lubabah Husain quotes al-Khatib al-Bagdadi that Bisyr bin al-Murisi was one of the leaders of the Murji'ah, holding that the Qur'an is a creature. His father was a Jew who worked as a dyer in Kufa. It is also mentioned that based on the opinion of Ibn Asir, the first to spread this belief was Labid bin al-A'sam who was a Jew who later by his grandson the writing he had was taken and then applied to the Qur'an.[15]

As for Ibn Qutaibah argues that the first to echo the doctrine of *khalq al-qur'an* is al-Mugīrah bin Sa'īd al-'Ajalī who is a follower of 'Abd Allah bin Saba' al-Jewish. While the search conducted by Umar Muhammd Noor, who first sparked this view was Ja'ad bin Dirham (d. 118 H). then inherited by Jahm bin Ṣafwan (d. 128 H) and championed by the Mu'tazilah during the Bani 'Abbasiah with full support by al-Ma'mun (d. 218 H).[16]

Al-Baihaqī elaborates on the Qur'an in a chapter entitled *al-Qaul fī Al-Qur'ān*[17] which is a response to the opinion that says that the Qur'an is a creature. This view is a consequence of the rules believed by the Mu'tazilah who oppose all attributes for Allah swt. According to the Mu'tazilah, kalam is not an attribute that stands on God's substance, instead it is one of the forms of God's actions such as creating, sending rain, etc.

In 212 AH al-Ma'mun declared a religious doctrine that the Qur'an was a creature, before 6 years later making an official policy that came to be called the *miḥnah* in 218 AH.[18] Al-Ma'mun passed away 4 months later.[19] The policy of al-Ma'mun was a novelty among the caliphs including the 'Abbasid caliphs, thus leading researchers to examine the motives behind al-Ma'mun doing so considering that al-Ma'mun who was known as a figure who glorified intellect and advocated the supremacy of reason as a source of truth carried out a political policy known as *miḥnah* or inquisition to force compliance with this

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[14] Abū Lubābah Ḥusain, *Mauqīf Al-Mu'tazilah Min Al-Sunnah Al-Nabawiyyah Wa Mawāzin Inhirāfihim 'Anha* (Riyāḍ: al-Maktabah al-'Arabiyyah al-Su'ūdiyyah, 1407), p. 46.

[15] Ḥusain, p. 47.

[16] See Umar Muhammad Noor's explanation in the footnote. Abū Bakr Aḥmad bin al-Ḥusain Al-Baihaqī, *Akidah Ahli Hadis*, trans. by Umar Muhammad Noor (Singapore: Arbain Publisher, 2020), p. 75.

[17] Abū Bakr Aḥmad bin al-Ḥusain Al-Baihaqī, *Al-I'tiqād Wa Al-Hidāyah Ilā Sabīl Al-Rasyād* (Riyāḍ: Dār al-Fāḍilah, 1420), pp. 95–115.

[18] In 215 AH al-Ma'mun was directly involved in the Roman invasion of the year and managed to conquer more than 20 Roman fortresses and forced the then Roman king to ask for a peace treaty with the Muslims. He even intended to attack Constantinople the Roman capital but he died in 218 AH - the same year he made the mihnah - in a battle in Rajab..'Abd al-'Azīz bin Ibrāhīm Al-'Umarī, *Al-Futūḥ Al-Islamiyyah*, trans. by Abdul Basith Basamhah (Jakarta: Darus Sunnah Press, 2013), pp. 158–59.

[19] Nimrod Hurvitz, 'The Mihnah and The Public Sphere', in *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), p. 21.

view.[20] John Abdallah Nawas analyzed the various arguments offered in this regard and concluded that the purpose of *miḥnah* was not to enforce a particular religious doctrine, but to turn the clock back to the time of the Prophet, whose authority was passed on to the caliph and centered on the caliph, and later the caliph's argument turned into obedience to the caliph. This was to secure his power, and to make those who rejected the doctrine into opponents and threats, and to undermine the religion. Al-Ma'mun was driven by his determination to assert that the holder of the caliphate was entitled to be an indisputable and universally recognized authority in religious affairs just as he was the supreme leader of the people in secular affairs.[21]

Al-Ma'mun chose this doctrine as the starting point of his endeavor because he wanted to challenge ahl al-hadith in order to assert his religious authority and undermine the authority of the hadith experts. Had al-Ma'mun chosen another doctrine, such as the doctrine that God does not have a body, he would have been forced to challenge the apparent meaning of many Qur'anic verses and hadith that describe God as having a face, hands, etc. But the doctrine of the khalq al-qur'an was not a doctrine of God. But the doctrine of *khalq al-qur'an* is different, there are no early texts that speak of it. This is why hadith scholars initially refused to engage in such a discussion because if they did they would be forced to offer interpretations of the revealed texts. In other words they would have to face the kalam-debaters on the latter's own ground.[22]

Amira K. Benison considers that although in some places it is also described as an inquisition, it cannot be equated with the Spanish inquisition. Since it did not lead to executions, it is only noteworthy - she adds - that some victims of the *miḥnah* died in prison. During the 16 years of the *miḥnah* hundreds of scholars were examined and the majority of them complied with the rules but avoided giving direct answers. For example Abū Ḥasan al-Ziyadī:

> *The Qur'an is the word of God, and God is the creator of all things, everything besides Him is created. But Amīr al-Mu'minin is our Imam, and through him we have heard the whole of knowledge. So if he commands us, we obey his orders; if he forbids us to do something, we stop, and if he calls us, we respond.*[23]

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[20] Philip K. Hitti states that the mihnah was not the first time Islam punished the perpetrators of heresy. Earlier, Caliph Hisham of the Umayyads had ordered the execution of Ja'd bin Dirham for teaching that the Qur'an was invented. But the mihnah was the first systematic judicial institution to punish the perpetrators of heresy and repel attempts to oppose its teachings. The names of the Mu'tazilah figures of this period are: Al-Nazhzham (d. 845); Al-Jahiz (d. 868); Mu'ammar ibn Abbad al-Sulami (d. 835) - a Qadariyah who developed much of his thought in India. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arab* (UK: Macmillan Education, 1970), p. 541.

[21] John Abdallah Nawas surveyed the proposed arguments about al-Ma'mun's motives behind the mihnah and mapped them onto three arguments: First, the action was taken because of his closeness to the Mu'tazilah; second, his inclination to Shi'ism; and third, because of his perception of the authority of the caliph. John Abdallah Nawas, 'Al-Ma'mun: Mihna and Caliphate', *Disertasi* (University of Nijmegen, 1992), pp. 40–50. Among those who argue that the khalq al-Qur'an is a doctrine specific to the mu'tazilah is Patrick S. O'Donnell.Patrick S. O'Donnel, 'Mu'tazili School', in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (New York: Facts On Files, 2006), p. 512. Aḥmad al-Usairy also argues that the doctrine was born from mu'tazilah. Aḥmad Al-'Usairī, *Al-Tārīkh Al-Islāmī*, trans. by Samson Rahman and Haji Harlis Kurniawan (Jakarta: Akbar Media Eka Sarana, 2004), p. 233.

[22] Michael Cooperson, *Al-Ma'mūn* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), p. 115.

[23] Amira K. Bennison, *The Great Caliphs: The Golden Age of the 'Abbasid Empire* (London: Yale University Press), p. 35.

The End of The Miḥnah

The *Miḥnah* came to an end during the period of al-Mutawakkil, the Sunni ruler, when the great scholars of hadith were released from prison and given the opportunity to narrate traditions to the people, presenting their complete sanads, including those that spoke of the prophet's hadith that told of the promise that believers would see God on the Day of Judgment. This then marked the rise of *Ahl al-Sunnah* and the sharp decline of the Mu'tazilah in the eleventh century their numbers became fewer and fewer and were confined to scholarly circles along the Silk Road in Baghdad, Iran and the mountains of Yemen and in Central Asia.[24]

The victory of the madhhab and the group that later became the majority was later referred to as *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah* based on their belief that they were a group that followed the sunnah of the Prophet and were on the path of unity of the Companions.[25] Caliph al-Mutawakkil at the time was well aware of the conditions and strength of the rationalists who had been supported by al-Ma'mun to al-Waṡīq, so the policy of stopping the *miḥnah* for al-Mutawakkil was also an attempt to strengthen his position, because he realized that allowing future *miḥnah* would hinder his position and eventually control it.[26] Al-Mutawakkil then gave favorable attention to the hadith scholars and ordered them to transmit the traditions including the traditions of the attributes and *ru'yatullah*. Abū Bakr bon Shibah organized a gathering in the mosque of al-Rasafah so that he had a congregation of about 300,000 people. Similarly other hadith scholars held crowded assemblies and they eulogized al-Mutawaakkil and praised him saying that "There are three Khalidafs: Abū Bakr the suppressor of apostasy, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz the defender of the weak and restorer of the rights of the wronged and al-Mutawakkil the defender of the sunnah and the death of cruelty."[27]

Impact of the Miḥnah

The Sunnah - prior to the growing influence of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal - was not only manifested by the hadith, meaning that access to the Sunnah was not only sourced from reports but there were also other authorities such as the Madrasa of Malik b. Anas, known as the *'amal ahl Madina*, as well as the practice of Isḥaq b. Rahawayh who did not only

[24] Jonathan A.C. Brown, *Misquoting Muhammad: The Challenge and Choises of Interpreting the Prophet's Legacy* (London: Oneworld Publication, 2014), p. 47.
[25] Brown, p. 48.
[26] John P. Turner, 'The End of Mihnah', *Oriens*, 38 (2010), 89–106.
[27] Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Zahw, p. 260.

rely his fiqh opinions on the hadith he knew.[28] This is because there is basically a difference between sunnah and hadith in the view of scholars.[29]

Towards the end of the first century H the phenomenon of *ṭalab al-'ilm* in the form of written traditions was intensified, one of the reasons being the collection of various things about the life of the Prophet is to utilize this knowledge to clarify Islamic law to meet the legal, religious, political, and social needs of the Islamic government is growing. This was also reinforced by the transition from the rule of Bani Umayyah to Bani 'Abbasiah as mentioned above.

Adis Duderija sees the strengthened use of hadith in the second period of the first century, and throughout the second and third centuries as having encouraged:

a) The continuous growth and spread of hadith

b) Increased interest and attention to the hadith as opposed to attention to the sunnah which is independent of the hadith,

c) The shift of the sunna from being practical and verbal based to textual hadith.

d) The increasing application of hadith in the sciences of the Qur'an and the sunnah such as ushuluddin, tafsir, ushul fiqh, ushul sunnah and;

e) The development of entirely textual-based interpretive models (i.e. based on the Qur'an and hadith) and the marginalization of non-textual-based epistemological and methodological tools of the sunnah (and Qur'an) such as the use of ra'yu (reason-based opinion) or sunnah (and Qur'an) that conceptually have certain ethical values or principles such as justice or righteous behavior.[30]

This condition, in Adis' terminology, is called the "hadification of the Sunnah" which eventually shifted the paradigm of legitimate knowledge ('ilm) from the tools of reason ('aql) and opinion (ra'yu) to the paradigm that hadith knowledge became the only means of conveying the realization of the Sunnah and the only methodology for making certain laws. In the end, the legitimacy and scope of 'aql and ra'yu gradually declined, leaving qiyas as the authoritative aqal-based source of Islamic law.[31]

The Effect of *Miḥnah* on *Rijāl al-Ḥadīṡ/Jarḥ wa Ta'dīl*

To understand the background of the *miḥnah* it is worth noting how al-Ma'mun highlights - in dramatic language - the terror that the Muhaddisin inflicted on the

[28] Yasin Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law: The Qur'an, the Muwatta' and Madinan 'Amal* (New Delhi: Lawman, 2000), pp. 168–77. See also Yasin Dutton, ''Amal v Hadith in Islamic Law the Case of Sadl Al-Yadain (Hold One's Hand by One's Sided) When Doing the Prayer', *Islamic Law and Society*, 3.1 (1996), 13–40. Susan Spectorsky demonstrates that even muhaddis like Isḥaq b. Rahawayh (d. 238 AH) did not always use hadith but also sometimes used the wisdom of the ulama community, she gives nine cases and she concludes that although Isḥaq b. Rahawayh collected hadith but it was not automatically integrated with his fiqh but combined the hadith with the current ulama opinion.Susan Spectorsky, 'Hadith in the Responses of Ishaq Bin Rahaway', *Islamic Law and Society*, 8.3 (2001), 407–31.

[29] A famous saying on this subject is from 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Mahdī quoted by al-Zarqānī that "Sufyan is the Imam of the hadith but not the Imam of the sunnah. While al-Auzā'ī is the Imam of the Sunnah and not the Imam of the Hadith, Mālik is the Imam of both. See Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Baqī bin Yūsuf Al-Zarqānī, *Syarḥ Al-Zarqānī 'alā Muwaṭṭa'' Al-Imām Mālik*' (Kairo: Maktabah al-Śaqāfah al-Diniyyah, 1424), I, p. 54.

[30] Duderija, pp. 29–30.

[31] Duderija, p. 30.

mutakallimin in an attempt to remove them from hadith transmission. There were two things that the Muḥaddiṡīn did: firstly by socially restricting the *mutakallimin* from society such as prohibiting them from praying behind heretics and marrying them. Second, by using 'ilm al-rijal. By using a surveillance mechanism known as *'ilm al-rijāl* they managed to get rid of them from among the hadith narrators, both from the Qadariah, Murji'ah, Shi'ah, and Khawarij. For example around the second century of the hijiri they discredited names like Mu'az b. Hisham (d. 200 AH), 'Abad b. Manṣur (d. 152 AH), Saur b. Yazid (d. 152 AH). Hurvitz quotes from Goldziher that "it was only when the invention of partisan and tendentious traditions had taken hold that anxious theologians took a closer look at each and every utterance with a view to making the validity of the hadith dependent on its quality. It seems to have been during the time of Ibn 'Aun (d. 151 A.H.), Shu'bah (d. 160 A.H.), 'Abd Allah b. Mubārak (d. 181 A.H.) and their contemporaries who initiated criticism of the rulers.[32] He also quotes from Juynboll assuming that the earliest date of systematic rijal criticism in Islam is around 130 A.H. Some names were criticized because of their fiqh and theological positions, for example Abū Yūsuf (d. 182 A.H.) who was a qadi under the leadership of Harus al-Rāshid, he was the first teacher of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. But Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal did not narrate the traditions he received from Abū Yūsuf because of Abū Yūsuf's fiqh, saying that Abū Yūsuf was *ṣadūq* but he was not fit to narrate anything from the ashab of Abū Ḥanīfah. This statement shows the scrutiny exercised by the scholars. But more importantly they reveal the danger of joining the *ahl a-ra'yī* (adherents of personal opinion) often associated with Abū Ḥanīfah's school. For some of those who had studied with Abū Yūsuf, his fiqh was sufficient reason for them to leave him.[33]

The conclusion is that 'ilm al-rijal was a very effective means of shaping the belief system of the scholars and as a consequence, the opinions and beliefs of the people. Al-Ma'mun realized that the *muhaddiṡīn* control over 'ilm al-rijal was the reason behind the *mutakallimun's* defeat in the battle of public opinion and thus initiated the *miḥnah*.[34]

The same thing happened in the period after the end of the *miḥnah*, what happened was the expansion of the jarh aspect into the discussion of the khalq al-Qur'an.[35] Al-Ḥusain al-Karābisī – Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal's friend while studying with al-Shafi'i - was asked about the Qur'an, so he answered that the Qur'an is the word of Allah and not a creature. Then he was asked again about the human reading of the Qur'an is a creature. Then the statement was reported to Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal. Knowing Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal's negative response to his views, he corrected his statement by saying that the reading of the Qur'an is not a creature. But even though al-Karabisi had corrected his initial statement, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal still judged him deviant so that al-Karābisī called Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal a "little boy" or *ṣabī*.[36]

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[32] Hurvitz, p. 25.
[33] Hurvitz, p. 26.
[34] Hurvitz, p. 27.
[35] Guddah, p. 10.
[36] Al-Karabisi said:

أيش نعمل بهذا الصبي؟ إن قلنا: مخلوق,قَالَ: بدعة، وإن قلنا: غير مخلوق قَالَ: بدعة؟

Artinya:

This consequently brought names like al-Bukhārī, Yahya b. Ma'in, Ali b. al-Madīnī, Yazid b. Harun, Zuhair b. Harb, and others, under the criticism of the *nuqqād*s.[37] Al-Bukhārī was jarhized by Ibn Abī Ḥātim in Al-Jarh wa Ta'dil because of his view that a person's recitation of the Qur'an is a creature.[38] Similarly, al-Żahabī mentions al-Bukhārī in his book *Diwan al-Du'afā' wa al-Matrukīn* to explain the judgment of the scholars in this case Abū Zur'ah and Abū Hatim who abandoned his hadith because of the polemic of the inerrancy of one's recitation of the Qur'an.[39] Al-Bukhārī was later abandoned because of this explanation, especially after al-Zuhli's statement criticizing al-Bukhārī and forbidding following and listening to him. Only Muslim b. al-Hajjaj did not abandon him and Aḥmad b. Maslamah.[40]

'Ali b. al-Madīnī - the teacher of al-Bukhārī - has been mentioned by Ibn Abī Ḥātim as having abandoned his tradition since the *miḥnah* because of his acceptance of the issue of the infallibility of the Qur'an.[41] Thus, 'Abd Allah b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said that his father - that is, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal - no longer narrated traditions from 'Ali b. al-Madīnī after the *miḥnah*.[42] Al-'Uqaili included the name of Ali bin al-Madīnī in al-Du'afa so that al-Żahabī criticized him in Mizan al-I'tidal for al-'Uqaili's actions.[43] These few examples show that the polemics over the inerrancy of the Qur'an that led to the *miḥnah* inquisition influenced the critic's assessment of the people he criticized in rijal al-hadis. After the *miḥnah* the rules of jarh wa ta'dil then established the weakness of the hadith reports of the narrators involved in the inquisition.

The Strengthening of Textualism

In addition to influencing the assessment of rijal al-hadis, *miḥnah* khalq al-Qur'an is also a context for the strengthening of textualism in Islam or in the language of Aḥmad 'Ubaidy Hasbillah "*aṡarī* textualism".[44] This trend occurred since al-Mutawakkil came to

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What should we do with this little boy. If we say talaffuz bi al-Qur'an is a creature then it is considered an innovation. If we say that it is not a creature then he also says bid'ah.

This made Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's followers emotionally ignited so that al-Karabisi was judged as a majruh narrator because of deviations on theological issues. Abū bakr Aḥmad bin ’Alī al-Khaṭīb Al-Bagdādī, *Tārīkh Bagdād* (Beirūt: Dār al-Garb al-Islāmī, 1422), VIII, p. 61.

[37] Guddah, p. 10.

[38] Abū Muḥammad ’Abd al-Raḥman bin Idrīs al-Rāzī bin Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ Wa Al-Ta’dīl* (Beirut: Dar al-Ihya’ al-Turas, 1952), VII, p. 191.

[39] Syams al-Dīn Abū ’Abd Allah Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin ’Uṡmān Al-Żahabī, *Dīwān Al-Ḍu’afā’ Wa Al-Matrūkīn* (Makkah: Maktabah al-Nahḍah al-Ḥadīṡah, 1387), p. 342.

[40] Muḥammad Zahid al-Kauṡarī in his notes on Shurūṭ al-A'immah Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Mūsā Al-Ḥāzimī, *Syurūṭ Al-A’immah Al-Khamsah* (Damaskus: al-Quds, 1346), p. 10.

[41] Ḥātim, VI, p. 194.

[42] al-Sayyid Abū Mu’āṭi Al-Nūrī and Et Al, *Mausu’ah Aqwāl Al-Imām Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal Fī Rijāl Al-Ḥadīṡ Wa ’Ilalih* (Ālim al-Kutub, 1417), III, p. 48.

[43] Syams al-Dīn Abū ’Abd Allah Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin ’Uṡmān Al-Żahabī, *Mīzān Al-I’tidāl Fī Naqd Al-Rijāl* (Beirūt: Dār al-Ma’rifah, 1963), III, p. 140.

[44]Textual in Aḥmad 'Ubaidy Hasbillah's definition is different from the term literalist. Aḥmad 'Ubaidy Hasbillah tries to give a different definition by citing the hadith about Muslim dress as an example. According to the salafi group, they tend to make the hadith about isbal as a benchmark. So that other fashionable traditions that do not contain elements of severe threats must be subject to the text of the isbal hadith which is accompanied by the threat of hell. This paradigm is referred to by many as textualism. The other understanding, as understood by NU, is that the hadith is not an absolute prohibition of isbal, because other texts mention the reason for the prohibition that is accompanied by the threat of hell, which mentions the reason for pride or causing social inequality. According to Hasbillah, the general tendency to regard the second

power, a breath of fresh air was given to the hadith scholars who had previously been restricted from proselytizing. The revival of hadith transmission and teaching by hadith scholars especially the Madrasa of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who rebuilt his textual civilization based on the asari reasoning.[45] Among Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's popular statements that emphasize his textual reasoning is "*al-ḥadīṡ al-ḍa'īf aḥabbu ilayya min al-ra'yī*" i.e. a daif hadith is more preferable to me than someone's mind.[46]

The end of the *miḥnah* indirectly ended the dominance of the rationalists and confirmed the strong position of the traditionists as the custodians of the old prophetic tradition which in turn strengthened the reliance on the sanad. The number of hadith scholars who were busy in collecting the sanad increased but their mastery in understanding it was low. This condition was criticized by Ibn Qutaibah in the preamble to his book Ta'wil Mukhtalif al-Hadis. Apart from his rebuttal to the destruction of the image of hadith experts by the kalamists he also recorded how there was a tendency of some people who claimed to be hadith experts but could not understand what they were narrating and thus became an easy target for the kalamists to attack them from that side.[47]

The influence of the *miḥnah* made the hadith scholars declare their hostility to anything related to rationalism especially of a speculative nature. The result was that the hadith scholars adopted a literal approach in dealing with religious texts which in turn made their theological and legal expositions very superficial.[48] In addition to the dichotomy between the rationalist mutakallim and the textualist ahl al-hadis, the polarization of Islamic intellectuals into two groups as recorded by Ibn Hibban. The first was the group of hadith seekers (*ṭalabah al-ḥadīṡ*) who traveled to various regions to collect hadith but were unwilling to memorize and understand their contents. Some of them did not even have sufficient expertise in distinguishing between authentic and invalid traditions. Secondly there was the group whose main concern was legal opinions and debates (الآراء والجدل) and who had little interest in the sunnah and hadith criticism.[49] It was in this context, according to Umar Muhammad Noor, that a movement was born within the Islamic intellectual camp which, while strongly rejecting the view of speculative theology, actively promoted the use of reason (*naẓār*) as a tool to be used by all traditionists. Or in other words, the movement condemns rationalism but supports rationality.[50]

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understanding as a contextual understanding is incorrect and even categorizes it as a textual understanding, because the derivation of the understanding and content of the hadith does not come from outside the text but from the text itself. He tends to agree with Amr Osman who distinguishes between textualism and literalism. He is of the view that textualism is still historical and structural context of the text, while literalism completely ignores the context..Hasbillah, pp. 73–74. See also Amr Osman, *The Ẓāhirī Madhhab (3rd/9th–10th/16th Century): A Textualist Theory of Islamic Law* (London: Brill, 2014), pp. 171–212.

[45] The term is to distinguish from the *takwil* and *taqdir* reasoning of the Hanafi school, the *'amali* reasoning of the Maliki school, and the *usuli* of al-Syāfi'ī, Hasbillah, p. 230.

[46] Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Al-Qāṣimī, *Qawā'id Taḥdīṡ Min Funūn Muṣṭalaḥ Al-Ḥadīṡ* (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Risālah, 2004), pp. 170–71.

[47] Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allah bin Muslim bin Qutaibah Al-Dīnawārī, *Ta'wīl Mukhtalif Al-Ḥadīṡ* (al-Maktabah al-Islāmī, 1419), pp. 53–59.

[48] Umar Muhammad Noor, p. 300.

[49] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Majruḥīn Min Al-Muḥaddiṡīn* (Riyāḍ: Dār al-Sumai'ī, 2000), pp. 19–20.

[50] Umar Muhammad Noor, p. 301.

The polemical scholarly climate in the post-*miḥnah* period that occurred after the *miḥnah* became a concern on the side of al-Qadī Abū Muḥammad al-Rāmahurmuzī to write a work entitled al-Muḥaddiṡ al-Fāṣil bain al-Rāwī wa al-Wā'ī,[51] which was later referred to as the first work that dealt specifically with the science of hadith.[52] This monumental work recites reformative ideas in which al-Rāmahurmuzī attempted to turn the tide of traditionalist scholarship after decades of decadence. The victory of the traditionalist hadith scholars over the rationalism of the kalam scholars following the abolition of the *miḥnah* created an acute sensitivity to rationalism among the hadith scholars which in turn affected the way they preserved the prophetic tradition. Some hadith scholars were too busy collecting narrations especially specialized and high (*'āli*) sanads. Anti-rationalism was also a fundamental factor behind the traditionalists' hostility towards *ahl al-ra'yī* which consisted mainly of theologians (*mutakallimūn*) and some jurists (*fuqahā'*).

Discussion

Based on the above data relating to the *miḥnah* and its relation to the science of hadith, it is known that the *miḥnah* had an impact on the increased use of hadith in various fields of scholarship in Islam, besides that the *miḥnah* also proved to have an impact on the study of jarh wa ta'dil in this case the assessment of hadith narrators in particular, The first book of 'ulum al-hadith, *Al-Muḥaddiṡ al-Fāṣil bain al-Rāwī wa al-Wā'ī* by al-Rāmahurmuzī was also a product of the social setting caused by the *miḥnah*.

What has been described above also shows that the science of hadith is a science that continues to develop and dynamics that adjust to the conditions and discusses at the time of its development, the science of hadith was not born in a vacuum and matured as it is today. Hadith science was born from a struggle of thought that was also a struggle of political interests so that in reading the works of hadith scholars and hadith thoughts and products it cannot be separated from its historical context.

The rules in the science of hadith need to be read critically and not stop at the standard form so that the science of hadith leads to the mathematization of science that has a standard and rigid formula. In fact, hadith science was born as a science that records the journey of human thought in responding to the problems faced by each of its figures. This study shows that the working steps in hadith science, for example in hadith criticism, especially in sanad criticism, more specifically jarh wa ta'dil, are not understood as simplifications so that they do not require special expertise in doing so. The analysis of the *miḥnah* and its impact on the science of hadith confirms a rule mentioned by Taj al-Din al-Subki that one of the things that must be considered in jarh wa ta'dil is the state of belief

[51] Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan bin 'Abd al-Raḥman Al-Rāmahurmuzī, *Al-Muḥaddiṡ Al-Fāṣil Baina Al-Rāwī Wa Al-Wā'ī* (Dār al-Zakhā'ir, 2016).

[52] Abū Fadl Aḥmad bin 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Aḥmad bin Hajar Al-'Asqalani, *Nuzhah Al-Naẓr Fī Tadwih Nukhbah Al-Fikr Fī Muṣṭalaḥ Ahl Al-'Asr* (Damaskus: Matbu'ah al-Sabbah, 1421), p. 38; Abū Fadl Aḥmad bin 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Aḥmad bin Hajar Al-'Asqalani, *Al-Majmu' Al-Mu'assas Li Al-Mu'jam Al-Mufahraz* (Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifah, 1413), p. 186; Leonard T. Librande, 'Contrast in the Earliest Manuals of 'Ulum Al-Hadith: The Beginnings of the Genre', *Disertasi* (McGill University, 1976), p. 27.

and the difference between the one who did *jarḥ* (*jāriḥ*) and the one who was *jarḥ* (*majrūḥ*), it could be that the difference in belief between the jarih and majruh is the cause of the jarh that occurred.[53] Thus, the rejection of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's assessment - despite his undoubted scholarly position - of Ibrahim b. al-Munẓir al-Hizāmī motivated by his dislike of Ibrahim's attitude which was seen as inconsistent with his views at the time of the *miḥnah* cannot be glimpsed.[54] In addition, systematic methodological offers such as those made by M. Syuhudi Ismail[55] should be read as systematic steps and not simplifications. Ultimately, the application of the rules of hadith science requires a great deal of skill and knowledge of the various issues involved. Simplification in application will reduce the quality of research and hence the quality of hadith studies or in other words restore the state of decline of hadith science as it was after the *miḥnah*.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this article is that the *miḥnah* had an impact on the increased use of hadith in various fields of scholarship in Islam, but it also proved to have an impact on the study of *al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* in this case the assessment of hadith narrators in particular, but in general the science of *Rijāl hadith* was not only used as a science to select hadith but later became useful as a political tool as a means of assessing those who belonged to the community of survivors, the birth of the first book of *'ulūm al-hadīṡ* namely *Al-Muḥaddiṡ al-Fāṣil bain al-Rāwī wa al-Wā'ī* by al-Rāmahurmuzī was also one of the products of the social setting caused by the *miḥnah*.

Hadith science as a science that was not born in a vacuum and empty of polemical and political contexts must be read as a discourse that involves the minds of its figures and the contestation of thoughts that occurred at each period of its development. So that the rules and methodological offers in the science of hadith today are not read as a simplification effort but a systematization that still requires high expertise and expertise.

This paper shows that hadith science is a scientific discourse that cannot be seen as a standardized and rigid science in the application of its rules because basically the application of hadith science which includes hadith narration and criticism is a dynamic human scientific activity.

The limitation of this paper is that it has not done a more detailed and comprehensive analysis of the works and figures involved in the *miḥnah* event, especially the works that were born in the episode. in addition, the zoning of this study has not been specifically mapped, this paper still sees the *miḥnah* as an episode whose size is on the calendar, this paper has not looked further at the influence of the mihanh in other areas outside Baghdad and its relation to the development of hadith science in areas outside Baghdad. This paper

[53] Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb bin Taqī al-Dīn Al-Subkī, *Qā'idah Al-Jarḥ Wa Al-Ta'dīl* (Beirūt: Dār al-Basyā'ir, 1410), p. 35.
[54] Muhammad Zulkarnain Mubhar, 'Analisis Ta'arud Al-Jarh Wa Al-Ta'dil Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Kesahihan Hadis', *Disertasi* (UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2020), p. 161.
[55] M. Syuhudi Ismail, *Metodologi Penelitian Hadis* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1992).

is an initial study of the events that set the scene for the development of hadith science to guide hadith researchers in addressing hadith science as a science.

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