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PEOPLES' HADITH IN DATING HADITH DISCUSSION: Reviewing Another Way to Track the Initial Tradition

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Abstract

This study aims to explain and assess the Peoples' Hadith as part of a historical approach that can be used in Dating Hadith. The criticism of the inauthenticity of the hadith has been widely discussed by skeptical orientalists. The most basic reason for this doubt is that there are no written hadith documents in the era of the Prophet that can be known in the present era. The method they use is the dating of hadith; a method that seeks to find out the source of the earliest hadith documents by determining their age and origin. So far, the dating efforts made by Motzky and Nabia Abbott ended in the 2nd century AH. The difference of a century makes this effort still not sufficient to provide an absolute refutation of orientalist skepticism. Based on the descriptive-analytical method, the author finds that People's Hadith has a novelty in terms of viewpoint in the form of the need to look at document sources in the 1st century AH. through communities outside of Muslims, especially the Bedouin. Due to the widening of the scope of this historical search, the implication that will arise is the discovery of prophetic documents that will be obtained by historians or Islamic scholars with sources that come from the Prophet's Era in the 7th century AH.

Keywords: Authenticity of Hadith, Dating hadith, People Hadith

Abstrak

Ahli Hadis dalam Diskursus Penanggalan Hadis: Meninjau Cara Lain untuk Melacak Tradisi Awal. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan dan menilai *Peoples' Hadith* sebagai bagian dari pendekatan sejarah yang dapat digunakan dalam *Dating Hadith*. Kritik terhadap ketidak-otentikan hadis telah banyak didiskusikan oleh *skeptical orientalis*. Alasan yang paling mendasar dari keraguan tersebut sebab tidak adanya dokumen hadis tertulis di era Nabi yang bisa diketahui di era sekarang. Metode yang mereka gunakan yakni *dating hadith*; sebuah metode yang berupaya mencari tahu sumber dokumen hadis paling awal dengan penentuan umur dan asal-muasalnya. Sejauh ini, upaya dating yang dilakukan oleh Motzky dan Nabia Abbott berakhir pada abad ke 2 H. Adanya selisih satu abad menjadikan usaha tersebut masih tidak cukup untuk memberikan sanggahan penolakan yang mutlak atas keskeptisan orientalis. Berdasarkan metode deskriptif-analitis, penulis menemukan bahwa *Peoples' Hadith* memiliki kebaruan dari segi *viewpoint* berupa perlunya memandang sumber dokumen abad ke 1 H. melalui komunitas-komunitas yang berada di luar muslim, terutama kepada suku Badui. Oleh karena melebarnya ruang lingkup penelusuran sejarah ini, implikasi yang akan muncul yakni adanya penemuan-penemuan dokumen nabi yang akan didapatkan oleh para ahli sejarah atau pengkaji islam dengan sumber yang memang berasal dari Nabi pada abad ke-7 H.

Kata kunci: *Dating hadith*, Keotentikan Hadis, *People Hadith*

Introduction

The *dating of hadith* is one of the historical inquiries. That term can be interpreted as an effort to decide the age and the origin of the historical source. In practice, when *dating* is utilized by a historical expert to the historical source and the result is incorrect on the following day, all resulted premises, theories, and conclusions are dissolved or rejected. It seems to be an endless effort for the scholars to create their own findings which are different from the previous one, and it is possible and common in the nature of the academic course. For instance, most orientalis generally use a *tradition-historical approach* to examine the authenticity of hadith. Several names included in this group of orientalis are Goldziher, Noldeke, Schwally, Joseph Schacht, Norman Calder, and Irene Schneider (Kamaruddin, 2003, pp. 202).

The critique of the Quranic and hadith authenticity is the branch of orientalist skepticism about the Islamic origin. Numerous controversial scholars of Islamic origin discussions that is Jhons Wansbrough, Fred M. Donner, Michael Cook, Goldziher, J. Schacht, dan Juynboll. They lift up “peculiar argument”—according to Muslims— yet, their efforts are highly having a historical anchor on the real data. On another side, the critics of hadith have the same sense. Goldziher, among the beginning skeptical scholars

on hadith, attempts to reconstruct key terms on hadith discussion by bounding it to historical sources. Initial Goldziher's criticism gets huge appreciation from contemporary hadith scholars. Then, he is recognized as a spearhead of hadith criticism in the western milieu, and his work "*Mohammadenische Studien*" becomes the foundation of western inquiry (Burton, 2001, pp. ix).

The suspicion about the originality of the hadith taken from prophet Muhammad is going to advance. At the time, J Schacht, a pupil of Goldziher, argues that the relation in 'sanad's structure' was asserted inconsistently and it firstly appeared in Syafi'i era (d. 204 /819). This manner brings a big implication, concerning the fact that the hadith concept for Muslims emanates from Prophet Muhammad, it should be projected in Syafi'i era instead of Muhammad era (Burton, 2001, p.x). Starting from this point, the debate about *the nature and the origin of Sunna* is more interesting and complex. Thus, it draws out a lot of scholars' interest, both Muslim and orientalist.

There is a wide space to criticize the authenticity of hadith, indeed it has been caused due to the overdue of the Hadith codification era. Where the historical data tells Us that the start of hadith codification was conducted in 99-101 H. by the order of Khalifah 'Umar bin 'Abd Azīz in the Umayyah dynasty. Nevertheless, long before the time, the maintenance and surveillance of hadith manuscripts were done by early companions (Sahabah). and it will be a pity to know that most of the manuscripts do not reach our era (Idri, 2017, pp. 40-46). Thus, most Islamic scholars, western as well as eastern scholars, compete to find the most initial document that can arrive around the prophet Muhammad era. For instance, Nabia Abbott offered Arabic papyri as the earliest Islamic document. Arabic papyri definitely dated or readily datable as of the late seventh and early eighth centuries are generally known to be comparatively rare (Abbott, 1949, pp. 129). Moreover, Abbott's inquiry does not reach to prophet era. So, there is a deadlock when talking about the prophet's document in dating. And it should need to be recovered by offering another view to track more accurate and specific data that perhaps can directly go to the prophet era. Then, this issue will play a role to answer the deadlock. The last urgency of people's hadith can be directed to discover or understand the latest development of dating hadith in general, and to respond to western criticism on hadith in specific.

People Hadith as an approach offered by Sarah Mirza has the same sense as her predecessor that is Motzky and Abbott. Both of them talk about the dating of hadith

also. They intend to encounter the western scholars who profoundly hesitate to Islam origin and in specific to hadith originality. Several sanctions in this matter connect to the source of hadith is regarded from *tabi'in* idea, hadith does not have any real manuscripts in the 7th century and so forth so on. Those deconstructive accusations need to be responded to. And some scholars have endeavored to abjure outsiders' ideas. Peoples' hadith is one of the ideas to prove the originality of hadith, and it has been revealed by Sarah Mirza in his work under the title "*The Peoples' Hadith: Evidence for Popular Tradition on Hadith as Physical Object in the First Centuries of Islam*". This work deserves to be widely delivered for getting a new sense of hadith dating in the modern era.

Some kinds of literature which chat up about peoples' hadith that emerged by Sarah Mirza is unfound. Then, this article offers the novelty of the discussed object. However, by viewing another work that resembles with this article that focused on the idea belongs to the dating of hadith the writer could expose several works that are "Penerapan Metode Tradition-Historical Dalam Muṣannaf 'Abd Al-Razzāq Al-Ṣan'ānī Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Persoalan Dating Hadis Dan Perkembangan Fikih Makkah" by Ali Masrur. This labor examines the application of the tradition-historical method in Muṣannaf resulting by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, it also talks about the implication of the problem of hadith dating and the development of Islamic jurisprudence in Makkah. By using a tradition-historical method, Motzki proved that Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Shan'ānī (w. 221 H) can be trusted as the authentic hadith sources in 1 H. So, Masrur highly illuminates the application of the tradition-historical method owned by Motzky in Mushannaf Karya 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (Masrur, 2016).

A study that alludes to the dating of hadith has also been carried out by Mohammad Said Mitwally Ar-Rahawan in an article entitled "Dating Hadith Textual Transposition by Means of Sanad-cum-matn Analysis", this work uses Sanad Cum Matn analysis which incidentally is an approach that uses an intensive study of isnads as well as texts from various hadiths. Afterward, this method has proven to be an effective tool for grading certain hadiths. This method is applied to hadiths that are strongly suspected of having changed or have an inverted order. By using this method, the author also attempts to identify who is most responsible for the transposing of hadith (changes in the order in the 'matn text' of the hadith). And the author also at the level of

the chain to what extent does this occur. Thus, this work tries to date the traditions which are considered to have inversions in the *matn* by using Sanad Cum Matan (Said Mitwally, 2018).

The next study was carried out by Aghaei SA, with the title: "Dating Hadith Based on Document Analysis: A Critical Review of Juynboll's Methodology" which was published in 2006. Through this work, Aghaei tries to provide an introduction to the technical matters and implementation of the analytical method used by Juynboll. Thus, this work places Juynboll and his ideas and research on dating hadith as the object of study using theoretical and practical narratives (Aghaei, 2006).

Based on some of the literature reviews above, it can be concluded that the distinction and novelty brought by this work compared to previous works, which includes the object of study. The purpose of this paper is to introduce and review the views of Sarah Mirza about peoples' hadith and compare them with the dating of hadith as a more general approach to scrutinizing the authenticity of hadith. Furthermore, this article also narrates the contribution of peoples' hadith in the sense of another option for tracking the most initial manuscripts through the past time. Meanwhile, the method used by the author to get to the intended goal is a descriptive-analytical method which is applied in this paper to present Sarah Mirza's ideas, including the struggle about the polemic dating hadith that has occurred so far. The analysis effort is more directed to the search for what is novelty brought by Sarah Mirza and where is Sarah Mirza's actual position when compared to the reviewers of dating hadith that have existed in the previous era.

The Controversy about the Authenticity of Hadith

A case getting criticism means that there is an irregularity that needs to be resolved. In this case, it is related to criticism over the authenticity of the hadith which is one of the strongest legal foundations in Islam. Meanwhile, "the plaintiffs" are Orientalists who do not admit that the hadith is a product of the 7th century AD. The behavior of the plaintiffs has been recorded in historical records for a long time. The majority of Orientalists since the Middle Era and the Revival Era, have made sharp criticisms of the central figure in Islam, namely the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Just as the majority of them agree that the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, was a liar, a creator of revelations, he was the founder of Islam, and also the author of Quran. They

even agreed to attribute Islam to him while naming it "*Muhammadanism*", by analogizing the name of Christ, because of the relationship to the Messiah (Ghurab, 1992, p. 51-52).

These efforts depart from skepticism about when, where, and how Islamic jurisprudence emerged. This work has been occupied by Orientalism and has been a central theme for more than a century. Initially, what they believed was not much different from what Muslims believe, that Islamic jurisprudence was produced through an unbroken chain process from the time of the Prophet Muhammad until the emergence of schools of law in the second and third centuries. However, after Ignaz Goldziher published his monumental work entitled 'Muslim Studies' which was followed by the work of his student, Joseph Schacht, entitled 'The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence', the previous assumptions were inversely proportional to one hundred degrees (J. Schacht, 1967, p. 4). The skepticism of the hadith origin began to be debated and gave rise to several assumptions that made Muslims want to close their ears. Such is the assumption that the chain of hadith is only the result of the direct return to the generation in which the Prophet is still alive. This was later developed by Joseph Schacht into a projection back (Goldziher, 1971, p. 19). On the other hand, Goldziher was aware of *ṣaḥīfah* written by the companions at that time, but he was still skeptical that *ṣaḥīfahs* were just inventions from generations after the companions (Goldziher, 1971, p. 22).

In this section, the author tries to engage in a discussion that revolves around reproaching the authenticity of hadith. I do not think it would be appropriate if this discussion did not include the initial character who claimed the authenticity of the hadith, none other than Ignaz Goldziher. He has done quite long research on the origins of hadiths, Goldziher then realized that the number of hadiths was very large, therefore it was very difficult to select all these traditions so that the validity of their ratios to the Prophet or the Companions could be believed. A large number of hadith did not come directly, but it happened gradually, where the development of the quantity of hadith from generation to generation was caused by the creativity and innovation of the last generation in making hadith based on sentiments and legitimate interests against political rivals, theology, and fiqh, as for the weapon for the legitimacy of its authenticity, namely through the *sanad* (Idri, 2017, p. 153).

What needs to be understood is that Goldziher's argument does not only come from the self-subjectivity of a person that comes of Jewish descent but also some of these

arguments are based on several aspects; *First*, fabricated hadith by a group of scholars. According to Goldziher, the fabrication of hadiths was created to criticize the rulers of the Umayyad era. These criticisms are packaged in the form of hadith so that they have legitimacy in the community. *Second*, there is coercion of the authorities on the scholars to make hadiths. This coercion in Goldziher's observation also occurred during the Umayyad era, where the product of hadith was aimed at the interests of the rulers. *Third*, there is a fabrication of hadith caused by political competition. In this regard, Goldziher highlights Umayyah bin Abu Sufyan who ordered his governor, al-Mughirah, not to listen to the hadiths made by Ali's followers (Idri, 2017, p. 153-156). This view is not only found in Western ideas but also in the Islamic tradition. It has also been stated that the fabrication began to emerge since the political confrontation between Ali and Muawwiyah during the Shiffin war. Therefore, it can be concluded that the political aspect has a major impact on skepticism over the authenticity of the hadith.

Not much different from his teacher, Schacht argues that the codified hadith in the hadith books, in essence only comes from the *tabi'in* generation who can only refer to the scholars of the 2nd and 3rd H. At first, their works were very simple, but there are improvements and then it leaned on the figures who came earlier, starting from the Companions and then recommended to the Prophet. Meanwhile, the evidence of authenticity in the form of the genealogy of sanad and content (*matn*), especially those related to Islamic law narration, was made and formulated by *fiqh*/hadith scholars who lived in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Therefore, Schacht stated that there would not be a single authentic hadith sourced from the Prophet (Supian, 2016).

Even, through basic sources related to the critical tradition of sanad in Islam, that is about the data of the narrators (*rāwī*) as stated in *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi ma'rifat al-aṭrāf* by Yūsuf b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341). Juynboll was also dissatisfied with this initial product and tried to create a separate model that served as reinforcement in common link theory (Juynboll, 2007, p. ix). This shows that Juynboll even attempted to design a separate method to identify the authenticity of a hadith whether it was attributed correctly or incorrectly to the Prophet Muhammad. Through this data, it can be concluded that not only do some Western Orientalist criticisms have historical links but they are also supported by systematic and structured studies, while at the same time trying to emulate the existing traditions in Islam. The instance, in this case, is related to the criticism of sanad.

Responding to the many sanctions in the study of hadith, hadith scholars are not silent, as did M.M. A'dzami voiced his claim in his book entitled "*Studies in Hadith Methodology and Literature*" (A'dzami, 1978). The first is related to the sanad. The use of this isnad is not new, and it has not just emerged in the last few days. The Sanad has long been used in some literature during the pre-Islamic period although in a vague way. The *isnād* system has long been used in the transmission of pre-Islamic poetry (A'dzami, 1978, p. 32). But when the system is in the hadith literature, its urgency peaks until the sanad is considered part of religion. Regarding the proliferation of isnads in the hadith tradition, that is also very reasonable, even though there is only one friend, but the students they produce in the next generation can be 10 people, then to the next generation it can be 20 people, this depends on the region and country where the hadith is spread (A'dzami, 1978, pp. 33-34).

Various Confrontations in the Case of Dating of Hadith

Prior to discussing this section, it should be noted that the dating of hadith (determining the age and origin of historical sources) is one of the substances of historical research. This means, that if the dating made by a historian on a historical source is proven to be incorrect in the future, then all the premises, theories, and conclusions that have been built on that historical source will be rejected. It is common knowledge that most the orientalist—not to mention all of them—do tend materials in hadith studies to use a tradition-historical approach, for example, Goldziher, Noldeke, Schwally, Joseph Schacht, Norman Calder, Irene Schneider, etc. (Kamaruddin, 2003, p. 202).

The initial idea about the authenticity of hadith was initially just a doubt about the origin of the emergence of hadith, then more firmly rejected the authenticity of the hadith with the arrival of a figure named Joseph Schacht, where one of the objections was related to isnad. According to Joseph Schacht, isnad which for Muslims is an authentic link to the Prophet, these key terms began to be developed by Imam as-Shafi'i, including terms such as *ḍābit*, *masyhūr*, *mauṣūl*, *isnad*, *maqṭu'*, *ḍāif*. Especially for Isnad, demands and interest in Isnad started during the civil war (fitnah), when people could no longer be considered trustworthy without going through an exam. We will then see that the civil war which began with the assassination of Umayyad Caliph Walid bin Yazid (126 H.), is a conventional date on which the Sunnah of the Prophet still

applies. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that the practice of using *isnad* regularly is older than the beginning of the early second century Hijri (Schacht, 1967, p. 37). After gradually tracing the traces of hadith development passed the period when the hadith had not been mapped in the as-Shafi'i era. So, the conclusion comes from Joseph Schacht that the origins of the hadith came from practices at the end of the Umayyad era (Schacht, 1967, p. 1).

Schacht's thoughts are not independent, because he was inspired by Goldziher's mind in respect to that the beginning of the development of Islamic jurisprudence began in the 2nd or 8th century during the Abbasid dynasty, he argues later that it was only in this period that the systematic codification of *fiqh* was carried out in the form of the book (Kamaruddin 2003), p. 206). This also shows that some orientalist view the existence of an element as measured by its form, either in the form of writing or in the form of other relics. What is even more astonishing is that the four sources of Muslim law, which consist of the Quran, Hadith, *Ijma'* and *Qiyas*, are not the fundamental sources of Islamic jurisprudence. Even if there is, the basis used in building Islamic jurisprudence is not the Qur'an and hadith, but only *ra'y* or reasoning (Kamaruddin 2003, p. 206).

Previously, in 1956 Fuat Sezgin opened a debate with Goldziher's argument that hadith is a product of the 3rd century. He also stated that hadith collections discovered by Goldziher do not represent the beginning of the writing tradition of hadith, however, it more means the continuity of the process of hadith record as the writing tradition that has been started since the time of the Prophet Muhammad but the effort to collect it as early as the beginning of the second century. Therefore, Sezgin presents an essay by a Muslim hadith scholar, namely *Taqyid al-'Ilm* by Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 403) (Motzky, 2002, p. 18).

Based on some of the explanations above, we can conclude that the methods of hadith criticism developed in the Eastern and Western traditions are very different. In the Eastern tradition, hadith criticism emphasizes more on the quality of the narrators or chain linkages, while the criticism methods developed by the West are more directed to *matn* (the content of hadith) in specific and to finding a concrete source or data that can be used as an assessment of when a hadith shows up in general. Thus, it is not so surprising if they conclude that hadith is a product of the second century, because indeed the products of hadith bookkeeping can be easily found in that period (canonical

era). It does not end there, there is a slight gap between the codification of hadith and the era of systematization of hadith science developed by figures such as Imam-Shāfi'i (d. 204), al-Ramahurmūzy (d. 350), Khatīb al-Baghdādy. (d. 463), and Ibn Ṣalāh (d. 643). It raises a new question. Are the criteria used by the authors of the hadith books in selecting the hadith the same as the criteria used by later scholars in assessing the hadith? In other words, do these theoretical criteria reflect the practice of transmitting and criticizing early hadith? (Kamaruddin, 2009, p. 35).

The refutation of early Islamic documents was also made by Fred M. Donner, for him, there were no Papiri records, coins, or documents produced by the conquerors (referring to Muslims) in the period before 690 AD. Where these documents refer to Muslims. Even if there is an early document that is found in the interior of the inscription of a stone dome in Jerusalem, in 691 AD. (this is quite far when compared to the year the Prophet died in 632 AD). This inscription contains the oneness of God as the only God and at the same time rejects Jesus as the son of God, then which relates with the fragment of the verse *inna al-dīn 'inda allāh al-Islām* (M. Donner, 2018). Through a search carried out by Donner, the origin of Muslims is also unknown, even if we look at non-Arabic sources, one of which is written in Greek which calls the conquerors *Arabes, Sarakenoi, Agarenoi, and Magaritai* (two of the last words that can then refer to what in Arabic becomes *muhājirūn*, which can also mean as settle soldiers in conquered areas) (M. Donner, 2018, p. 10). What Donner describes only tends to portray dimensions related to war, power, and territorial expansion. Donner has more or less forgotten how Islam appeared together with moral values, such as the gradual abolition of the drinking *khamr*, as well as the practices of worship at that time, such as *hajj wadā'*, or other acts of worship that positioned Islam as a monotheistic religion that was different from other religions, at the same time not merely contain political confrontations.

Many of the theoretical fabrications about the origins of Arabic characters by Orientalists are indeed caused by Arabic itself, whose origins are still speculative, so what Orientalists do is not a surprise (Al-Adzami, 2005, p. 129). So, for example, even though most sources of hadith have been found, there is still much debate about the use and character of the language used at the time of the Prophet. Because both language and writing are cultural products that will continue to change over time. However, it is

undeniable that the most phenomenal hadith dating is that of Nabia Abbott and Harald Motzky.

Despite, Islam having its arguments regarding the early period of Islam, as we know, Al-Quran lived in the tradition of memorizing in the Arab milieu. Even though the problem is that most orientalists are very skeptical of this tradition, even if some are not skeptical, they still do not give the proper respect to the tradition of memorizing. Good respect only goes to the writing tradition. Then when did this shift between the tradition of memorizing and writing (hadith) occur? Nabia Abbott firmly believed that the transmission of writing tradition during the time of Zuhri (d. 124). It could be considered a major shift from oral transmission to written transmission (Abbott, 1997, p. 53).

To review the procedure of dating hadith belongs to Orientalists, it can be correlated with which theory is used in criticizing hadith, because dating hadith basically has a close correlation with the theory of hadith criticism raised by several Western scholars, for example referring to Juynboll's view of the common link. If there is a group that believes in the truth of this theory, then in fact they will automatically conclude that in the dating process, there will be no hadith that can be traced historically to the time of the Prophet. Therefore, a calendar that adheres to the truth of the common link cannot be considered representative of a calendar that is trying to reach a time before the common link (Maizudin, 2016, p. 240). Other examples, such as *argumentum e silentio*. One of the extended ways of this matter is that citing books that can be found in the past. Among those considered as benchmarks are the book of Muwattha 'Imam Malik, if there is a hadith that is indeed included in the book or other older books, then the hadith in question can be proven true, even though it only covers that period. Well, this is very inaccurate, how can it be based on citing figures who often don't include a proposition intentionally, and sometimes some hadiths are not well known at one time and can become famous in the future. The existence of a leap like this makes *argumentum e silenteo* also cannot be used as a benchmark for conducting dating hadith, but in reality, this kind of model does not escape discussion.

The contestation to find the closest hadith documents to the time of the Prophet continues, beside the discoveries made by Orientalists, another contestation is also trying to find fragments (shards or fragments) of the oldest hadith collections. Among them such as Fuad Sezgin featuring *Jamī' Ma'mar bin Rasyīd* (d. 153-770) which he

considers to be the oldest collection of hadith, Hamidullah has published *Ṣaḥīfat Hammām bin Munabbih* (d. 101/719-720), Azmi has edited three manuscripts a collection of hadiths written by Nafi', Mawlā Ibn 'Umar (d. 117/735), al-Zuhry (d. 124/742), Suhayl ibn abī ālih (d. 138/755-756), and other phenomenal discoveries that is the efforts of Nabia Abbott to edit some papyrus; contains several collections of hadith, as well as Harald Motzky with Mushannāf as-Shan'ani which will be explained in the next section (Kamaruddin, 2003, p. 202).

Motzky and Nabia Abbott's effort on dating hadith

As alluded to in the previous section, many figures from both the West and the East have tried to overturn some orientalist arguments which say that hadith is a product of the 2nd century after the death of Prophet Muhammad. Among the two figures who have succeeded in overthrowing this argument are Nabia Abbott and Harald Motzky. Both succeeded to track the earlier data than the skeptical hadith scholars. It should be appreciated, Tracing and dating of hadith according to them did not reach the 7th century. The appearance of these two figures will be important as a comparison of how Sarah Mirza's ideas about peoples' hadith are applied in the discussion of the search for the most origins of hadith sources.

Nabia Abbott's work entitled: *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri; The Historical Text* states that the estimated date of the papyrus fragments' usage spans 200 years, roughly from the mid-8th century to the mid-10th century. Although many remain unidentified, Abbott believes that the fragments of the papyri can represent the earliest known manuscripts in discussions of authentic sources of hadith. The documents were analyzed by Abbott and it was found that there are documents attributable to Wahb bin Munabbih, Ma'mar bin Raṣīd, Abū Muhammad al-Farāghāni, etc. Some of these papyrus documents have some urgency, namely, *First*, they have a whole meaning if they are related to the early history of written manuscripts and writing practices. *Second*, several documents can capture the actual historical contents of both the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods. *Third*, these documents are very important for studies that discuss the scope and methods of early Islamic historiography (historical writing) (Abbott, 1957, p. 1).

Historical writings of the past are also difficult to examine, apart from the fact that the available documents are far from a perfect documents which could be caused

the obscurity, this is coupled with the differences in patterns in past writing, not only over the centuries, even some inscriptions and coins indicate the existence of differences in the use of writing since the middle of the 1st century (Abbott, 1957, p. 3). Abbott then realized that his findings were still difficult to provide much information related to the 1st century of Hijri, as he expressed “Still, even at this stage, hardly more than a few suggestions can be made regarding first-century usage” (Abbott, 1957, p. 2). Therefore, it is not surprising that despite the discovery of the Papiri documents, the lawsuit regarding the connection of these documents to the Prophet has still become a big question.

The next generation was represented by Harald Motzky who voiced new arguments related to the discovery of Muṣannaf Abd. Razzak as-San‘ānī. , this book is a book of hadith which is organized by the category of fiqh. Indeed, it has become a trend that Islamic Jurisprudence books have been a substitute option for looking for hadith books, as in the case of J. Schacht who traced the book of ar-Risālah belonging to Imam as-Syafi‘i as the earliest date for the emergence of hadith (Motzky, 2002, p. 18). This is based on the fact that Islamic Jurisprudence science was codified earlier than hadith science. Moreover, the assumption that Islamic Jurisprudence books also contain hadith either much or less can be used as a basis for seeing its connection with the era of the Prophet.

The earliest Muṣannaf works are indeed very suitable to be used as a comparison with Islamic Jurisprudence works such as *Muwaṭṭa’* and *Aṣṣār*, the difference is that the last two works are more exclusive where *Muwaṭṭa’* only focuses more on the transmission carried out by Imam Malik while the book of *Āṣār* is more focuses on Imam Hanifah and therefore both contain material covering Medina and Kufa. While the work of Mushannāf from Abd. Razzak and Ibn Abi Syaibah are broadly structured and are not confined to one tradition. Through Muṣannāf work, the image of Islamic law in the 7th century will be wider, where until now there is only discussion in which strongly centered on Medina and Kufa, thus hopefully, it will change the visualization of Islamic law in the initial times which has been widely accepted by Orientalists (Motzky, 2002, p. 51).

The utility of Muṣannāf work as a historical source depends on its material whether it can be timed and geographically can be referred to a certain location with precision. So, the problem is related to how old the script is. Even if viewed from a

historical point of view, hadith scholars have been intensively involved with Muṣannāf works since the end of the 2H/8 AD century and presented its results in classical hadith collections and work on *sanad* criticism. Over the centuries, these collections became the object of research and were accepted at least by the Sunnis. However, the existing collections have been generally questioned by skeptical scholars, especially by Goldziher and Schacht, since the beginning of the 19th century (Motzky, 2002, p. 53).

Muṣannaf belongs to Abd. Rozzāq as-Shan'ani bin Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/827) has been available since 1972 in 11 editions provided by Habib al-Rahman al-A'zami and published by Majlis al-Ilmi, Beirut. Unfortunately, the introduction to the manuscript and the principles of editing were lost (Motzky, 2002, p. 54). However, this reference from Mushannāf makes a great contribution to thousands of hadiths. The sources referred to are Ma'amar, Ibn Jurayj, and Sufyān ats-Tsauri, and in this section, there are figures such as Ibn 'Uyainah and about 13 percent come from other sources, this implies the authenticity of the mushannāf and the rejection to the accusation in which Abd. Rozzak is a forger because of the diversity of sources he cites, not to mention the many criticisms that he addresses in his work, where the forger may make it difficult for himself by including a lot of criticism in his work. Thus, it can be considered that source in respect to Abd. Rozzak is right (Motzky, p. 13).

Sarah Mirza and Her Idea about Peoples' Hadith

After presenting various arguments, findings, problems, and challenges related to the discussion on dating hadith, it is hoped that the contributions and shortcomings of people's hadith initiated by Sarah Mirza will be read.

A brief biography

Sarah Mirza was born in Chicago, and her parents are from Pakistan. Sarah Mirza, who is often called Sarah, earned a BA degree in English Literature at the William Paterson campus in 2000, and then an MA in concentration in Modern Middle Eastern and North African Studies at the University of Michigan in 2004. After earning a degree in that field, Sarah then continued her education at the same campus, namely the University of Michigan, and obtained a Ph.D. in Near Eastern Studies majoring in Islamic History in 2010 (Sarah, Email, 2020).

Since 2011, Sarah Mirza has taught at the College of Wooster (in the area of Wooster, Ohio) and she is currently a member of the Association of Professors in Islamic Studies. Sarah Mirza has an interest in the conservation of Islamic manuscripts, as well as working in the University of Michigan's library of catalogs and manuscript conservation. One of Sarah Mirza's books that have been published by Georgia Press is *Islamic Origins, Arabian Custom, and the Documents of the Prophet* (Sarah, Email, 2020).

People hadith as a part of dating

From a historical perspective, the basic assumption concerning tracking the originality of data based on Prophet Muhammad's era is not only limited to hadith documents but also other things, such as all documents that have been related to the Prophet, whether they are related to agreements or other data which highlights the ownership of documents belonging to the Bedouin. When these reports are consciously matched to the Prophet's intentions, the implication is that they reflect the Subaltern's concern for the Prophet's literature as well as place themselves somewhere in the narrative of the Prophet's life. The reports investigated here to show the disclosure of hadith in a pre-canonical period where hadith was not yet considered a text but a physical object or "hadith object" (Mirza, 2016).

Realizing that the relics of the Prophet are very diverse, the focus of Sarah's study is related to "historical reports from the Bedouin who received certain categories of objects from the Prophet, namely in the form of documents" (Mirza, 2016, p. 31). Although these sources do not fall into the category of sacred texts, they (the Bedouins) provide material that can be treated as a different category of objects from the data provided by Islamic tradition (Mirza, 2016, p. 31).

From a historical point of view, the word "document" can also mean a narrative source or literary source which can be understood as sources that tell a message that is not limited to fictional sources but also includes diaries, films, biographies, and scientific works (Cripps, 1995, p. 741). The use of the term "document" here refers to very diverse text content. So, what Sarah means by the physical object or physical hadith is every physical object owned by the Bedouin that was obtained from the Prophet, which included even documents that were not read by them (Sarah Mirza, Email, 2020).

At a certain period, hadith is not interpreted as it is interpreted as it applies in the current era, namely in the form of oral tradition or legal law. However, it is more towards the physical object "hadith object" Because this is related to the remains of goods. With the many interactions between the Bedouin and the Prophet, Sarah then strongly suspected that at that time there was already a process of compilation and canonization of hadith in the simplest form. Therefore, Sarah tries to rediscover the influence of the subaltern—the term subaltern refers to people who are socially, politically, and geographically outside the hegemonic power structure of the colony and the colonial homeland—by tracing the social map and document preservation (Mirza, 2016, p. 43).

If we look more closely, there is a harmony between the views of Sarah Mirza and Fred M. Donner which states the importance of looking at sources other than Islam, or relics that are not in the form of hadith texts. The specific document in this term can be called as "constitution of Medina" other names namely "document ummah", "*Ṣaḥīfa*", or "*kitāb madīnā*". This text survived as a narrative source only until the 8th and 9th centuries AD. But this text later appears again in almost the same form in several different later sources. However, the model is also unusable, and its contents are very strange when compared with the norms of the Muslim community that came later. This shows a gradual change in the use of Arabic. What is important here, however, is that all scholars, including the most skeptical, agree that the Medina constitution should represent a record from the earliest existing document – the treaty drawn up by the Prophet Muhammad and his followers in Mecca on the one hand, and also with the residents of Medina on the other hand (Mirza, 2016, p. 31 & Donner 2018, p. 8).

Although there is no physical document from the time of Prophet Muhammad, early Islamic narrative sources claim that Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, composed several hundred pragmatic texts. These include tax records, sales documents, and diplomatic letters; texts reported in late medieval works. What makes these reported texts interesting is that they are brief and contain little or no theological material. However, the structural elements of the text provide us with historical evidence of pre-existing socio-legal practices (Mirza, 2018, p. 99).

A good example, in this case, is a Prophetic document that deals with the term *dhimma*, generally interpreted as "protection" or "protection" to non-Muslim groups living under Muslim rule. The term *dhimma* appears in a relatively standardized

formula in the Prophet's documents whose most basic form reads: *inna lahum dhimmat Allāh wa dhimmat rasūlihi* (they have protection from Allah and His Prophet). This is then accompanied by expressions of specific protection, such as land area inviolability, freedom from invasion, and tax exemption. Other documents were developed to ensure security in multi-ethnic regional contexts. As in Medina, there is a document called the "Madina constitution" which states regulations regarding haram (nature reserves) and *ḥimā* (undisturbed meadows) which prohibit bloodshed and other criminal acts in the area (Mirza, 2018, p. 99).

However, in certain cases, the Prophet had given documents to Arab tribes as part of a strategy to create agreements and treaties with the Bedouins. This was done in Medina and addressed to the delegation of the tribes in the year (9 AH/630-631 AD). A similar case also occurred when the Meccan Muslim group arrived in Medina, they asked for written regulations related to security, behavior, taxes, and land ownership rights (Mirza, 2016, p. 34). All of that is not related to science, but these data can be used as an initial source to test the authenticity of the hadith.

Among the sources that have been found, there is a document called *Iqtā'*, this document was given by the Prophet to the Bedouin tribe. This document contains rights to use certain lands, such as watering places, pastures, summer residences for nomads, as well as rights to cultivate crops for settled tribal branches (Mirza, 2016, p. 34). However, the form obtained through tribal informants, hadith collections in those ways, can tend to be paraphrasing sources instead of real hadith as we know at the time and to be citing legal content only, rather than the entire text of a document. For example, the report from Abdullāh bin Ukaym al-Ghulāny does not quote the full text, but only quotes and excerpts from the text. This passage is about a prohibition on the use of dead meat (Mirza, 2016, p. 37).

Excerpts from the Prophet's documents can serve a variety of uses in the study of literature. It can be presented as evidence of legal practice or a historical narrative of an event, and it can even state the status and abilities of the recipients of the message. On the use of legal documents, Ignaz Goldziher mentions that quotations from the Prophet's documents contain statements about taxes and ransoms which can be found in *Kitāb al-Harāg* written by Abū Yūsuf and *Muwaṭṭa'* written by Mālik bin Anās (Mirza, 2016, p. 35).

The forms of reports in the Prophet's documents are often mentioned using *adīm aḥmar* or "red leather" in English. This leather can refer to the skin that has been tanned by using vegetable tools, while the word "red" refers to the color of the leather. Regarding this, historical sources also mention that the Arabs also traded plants that can be used for tanning that as *leather* and *qarz* to Ethiopia and Syria. The Prophet's documents also use the term *gild* which refers to the form of untanned leather. Patricia Crone also emphasized that leather is a product of local material culture, which is often produced in the Hijaz, and possibly also in Mecca, this material is exported to Syria. From this, we can conclude that the main material in writing was leather, and the prophet's documents were also recorded in "red leather", both tanned and untanned. (Mirza, 2016, pp. 39-40).

Based on previous explanations, it can easily be assumed that the people around the Prophet exhibited a certain level of writing tradition, with some special figures already known for their writing skills. Meanwhile, in a broad context, it can be assumed that communities and tribes at that time already had access to texts, even to people who could not write. Then the definition of "ummi" that was interpreted by Ibn Qutaybah (w. 276/889) as "people who cannot write" was differently reinterpreted by Sarah Mirza with the meaning of "people who are less able to write, not people who are unable to write" (Mirza, 2016, pp. 60-61). The conclusion in this section can be drawn that "people hadith" in the context of dating leads to the search for the sources of the Prophet's relics that are held or owned by the Bedouin tribe, whether in the form of religious text documents or other documents that have links with Prophet. And the position of Sarah Mirza is definitely positioned among Islamic scholars who advocate the claim of hadith's originality.

Appreciation and Criticism

Many appreciations deserve to be delivered due to the progression resulting from the idea of "peoples' hadith"; *First*, it manifested a search for direct evidence leading to the time of Prophet Muhammad's era. As we know, both Western and Muslim orientalist are trying to trace the historical data of the hadith closest to the Prophet's era. And so far, the effort that is closest to success is through the work of Harald Motzky with the argument taken from Muṣannaf Abd. Rozak, owned by Abd. Rozzak as-Ṣan'anī (d. 221 H). Motzky argues that the book is the first hadith product in

the 2nd century with proof of its authenticity that goes back to the 1st century H. Although, through the tradition-historical method, Motzky tries to prove it by pulling it into an authentic source of hadith to the 1st century, but this work is never to become first compiled hadith in the 1st century, moreover, whether the truth of the narrator sources originates from the period and also has a relationship with the Prophet still contains a question mark.

Second, "Peoples' Hadith" is a new perspective in dating hadith discussion due to approaching the saved document by Bedouin. Furthermore, it deserves to be told as a new perspective because the tendency of dating and searching for authentic hadith data always refers to the works of Muslims, both early and late generations. Meanwhile, that's idea is a new breakthrough in viewing the historical data about hadith, and it can be done through communities outside of Muslims, which in this case refers to the Bedouin community.

The criticism in this idea regarding with; a). Although the documents owned by the Bedouin are a novelty in thinking about dating hadith. However, no evidence in the form of documents has yet been found and could be reached in our era. So, this search does not have a clear starting point. b). Just like its predecessors, if the document belongs to a Bedouin, it remains a question of how to prove that the Bedouin interacted with the Prophet. This is also applied to data owned by early Muslims, for which it is still questionable whether the data came from the Prophet or not. c). Sarah Mirza also did not provide the method used to read the truth of the ancient manuscripts that were from Bedouin and other communities.

Conclusion

Based on the purpose of this study, this conclusion results from several points regarding Peoples' Hadith in the Dating Hadith's inquiry; "Peoples' Hadith" offered by Sarah Mirza is a new perspective to trace the authenticity of hadith. This new perspective sees the urgency of the existence of Bedouin that can be evidence of the authenticity of the hadith. The focus of Sarah's study is related to historical reports from the Bedouin tribe who received certain categories of objects from the Prophet in the form of documents. Peoples' Hadith contributes as a way to prove the authenticity of the hadith by directly leading to the time of the Prophet. Then, it becomes a new perspective by looking at Bedouin's relics originating from Prophet Muhammad. This idea is

possible to be a new breakthrough in viewing the historical data of hadith and tracking the real data in the Prophet's era. Even though, the criticism in this idea regarding with; a). There is no evidence in the form of hadith documents that could be reached in our era. So, this search does not have a clear starting point. b). Just like its predecessors, if the document belongs to a Bedouin, it remains a question of how to prove that the Bedouin interacted with the Prophet. c). Sarah Mirza also did not provide the method used to read the truth of the ancient manuscripts that were from Bedouin and other communities. Some of these data also become homework for hadith reviewers in the current era associated with the study of the hadith authenticity is still not over, and there are still many polemics that need to be explained. One approach that is rarely touched on to trace the origins of hadith is anthropology which is supported by a historical approach. The combination of these two methods in further research is considered to have a great opportunity to discover new things from the early history of Islam.

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