

TAMADDUN

Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Sastra Islam

Nomor : 2/Volume II/ Juli 2002

ISSN : Dalam Proses

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DITERBITKAN OLEH
FAKULTAS ADAB IAIN RADEN FATAH
PALEMBANG

Keterangan Gambar Sampul : Naskah Catatan Harian Sultan Palembang
Raden Syarif bin Raden Abdul Habib bin Pangeran Haji bin Perabu Diraja
Abdullah bin Susuhunan Mahmud Badaruddin bin Sultan Muhammad
Baha'uddin bin Susuhunan Ahmad Najmuddin (*Copyright by Mujib*)

M. Syahman


Tamaddun

Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Sastra Islam

Nomor : 2/Volume III/ Juli 2002

ISSN : *Dalam Proses*

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Terbit dua kali setahun pada bulan Januari dan Juli. Berisi tulisan yang diangkat dari hasil penelitian dan kajian analitis ilmiah di bidang sastra dan budaya Islam. Penyunting menerima tulisan yang belum pernah dipublikasikan di media lain. Naskah diketik di atas kertas kuarto dengan spasi ganda antara 15-20 halaman (diharapkan ketikkan komputer yang disertai disket). Naskah yang dimuat akan diberikan honorarium sesuai dengan ketentuan yang berlaku.

Pengantar Penyunting

Sejarah sebagai fakta dan tafsiran telah menduduki posisi penting dalam studi ilmu-ilmu sosial. Hampir dapat dipastikan bahwa sangat sulit menghindari sejarah sebagai aspek rujukan dalam merumuskan ilmu-ilmu sosial. Sejarah dapat dijadikan sebagai tolak ukur dan cerminan moral di dalam menyongsong masa depan.

Pada terbitan edisi ini, Tamaddun menampilkan tema-tema yang berhubungan dengan Sejarah Kesusastraan Nusantara (Indonesia). Dalam kenyataan, tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa Kesusastraan Nusantara khususnya Khazanah Kesusastraan Melayu sangat dipengaruhi oleh karya-karya Sastra Arab, lebih dari itu karya-karya Sastra Arab mendapatkan Apresiasi yang tinggi dari peminat dan peneliti Sastra. Disamping itu, tulisan tentang Sejarah lokal Sumatera Selatan tetap ditampilkan.

Selamat Membaca.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICO-RELIGIOUS SECT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE WRITING OF HISTORY: A CASE OF SIFFIN

Salah Partaoman Daulay & Mhd. Syahnan

Abstrak : Perkembangan aliran politik dan keagamaan pada masa awal Islam, khususnya implikasi dari kasus Siffin, ikut mempengaruhi tingkat subjektivitas dan objektivitas tersebut yang pro dan kontra antara pendukung Ali di satu sisi dan Mu'awiyah di sisi lainnya, dua kelompok sejarawan yang bersikap netral dengan motivasi dan pertimbangan ilmiah belaka. Di antara tiga kelompok ini misalnya dapat disebutkan antara lain bahwa Urwah bin Zubair bin Awwaz, 'Awanah bin Hakim dan al-Jarhumi, merupakan sejarawan yang pro-Mu'awiyah. Sementara al-Thabari dan al-Ma'udi termasuk kategori sejarawan yang pro-Ali, sedangkan al-Yamini dan al-Zubri termasuk sejarawan yang netral dan mengutamakan objektivitas dalam penulisan sejarah tanpa memperhatikan aliran politik dan rekta keagamaan.

Kata Kunci : Aliran politik dan keagamaan, pengaruh, sejarawan.

Introduction

Siffin war which occurred between the supporters of Mu'awiyah and Ali had a great impact on the development and the dynamics of Muslim society. The question of who is right or wrong in such case is of minor important to discuss, however, what do matters to be analyzed deeper is the impact arose from the circumstances both from the aspect of the emergence of politico-religious mainstream and its impact on writing the history of Islam.

Siffin is the most significant war occurred between the Muslims, the loss caused by this war can not be calculated clearly wheter lives and wealth. Each sides both has similar objective to fight for the succession for the caliphate. However, the reason put forward by Ali differed from those of Mu'awiyah in which the former accused the latter as reactionary (*bughah*) as he refused to give his allegiance to him as succession for the death of Usman, whereas Mu'awiyah maintained that Ali was not capable of taking the succession since he failed to investigate the death of Usman ibn Affan.

Although this case ended in arbitration (arbitrase), many parties could not satisfy with such of solution, especially in the part of Ali. Consequently, this resulted in the breaking up the Moslem force into various group in which each

one has an opinion. It is the disruption that will be discussed in this paper and this will be followed by analyses how its influence in writing the history of Islam.

The Battle of Siffin and The Emergence of Politico-Religious Sectarian Group

Following the death of Usman ibn Affan, Ali ibn Abi Thalib took over this position as the fourth caliph. However, the position of the caliphate he was carrying out was challenged by important disciples who also in the same aim wanted to become caliph, some of whom were Thalhah and Zubeir who gained support Aisyah. However, Ali's side could defeat the challenge of these three companions in the battle of Jamal. Thalhah and Zuberi were killed whereas Aisyah was sent back to Mecca (Nasution, 1986:4).

Other challenge came from Mu'awiyah ibn Abu Sufyan who showed confrontative attitude and did not give his allegiance to Ali ibn Abi Thalib. But rather he insist in Ali's accountability for the death of Usman ibn Affan. Meanwhile, he had been preparing troops in a great number in his domain in Syria to fight Ali's army. The citizen of Syria supported Mu'awiyah move in the belief that the position of the caliphate is the right of the whole Muslim and does not only limited to Bani Hasyim. They felt that the leadership of Mu'awiyah had resulted in prosperity which has to be maintained (Syalabi, 1994:300).

To face Mu'awiyah aggressors, Ali prepared troops which mounted to 95.000 personnel in Kufa. He planned to generate this attack from Syria. Realizing the plan of Ali, Mu'awiyah also organized some 85.000 troops and then marched earlier to the Northern part of Syria and the siffin plain at he Euphrates river bank. It was in this site that the two sides meet and each of which raised his flag. Before the battle broke out, Ali sent his messenger to Mu'awiyah for several times in order to persuade him to give allegiance for his appointment. On the contrary, never did Mu'awiyah care for the call, but rather responded full of hostility (Sou'yb, 1979:488).

The conflict had intensified and war could probably break out in 37 H/658 M. in the longer 8th day of such battle, Umar ibn Yasir, one of Ali's commander was killed. The death of this figure ammunition for the the fight in the part of Ali's troops. They continued to put pressure on Mu'awiyah soldier until finally they could subjected them one by one. The victors of Ali's side almost became concrete following the success of Asyrar al-Nakhir to cut a way with the flag carrier of Mu'awiyah troops. It was at this stunning moment that

Amru ibn 'Ash suggested to end the battle and raised the Mushaf on the javelin top and exclaim : "Let's arbitrate to the book of God (Bukish, 1985:82).

The appeal warmly welcome by the supporters of Ali ibn Abi Thalib. However, Ali himself insisted in continuing the battle until the victory became reality in the true sense of the word. Ali's appeal to continue the battle was not responded. But rather the forced Ali to stop the fighting. Ali could not refuse the pressure of his followers so that he announce to stop the battle.

Eventually, both parties came agreement to appoint their own delegation for the negotiation. The side of Mu'awiyah selected Mar ibn 'Ash with unanimous support, whereas Ali's chose by voting. The out come of the negotiation was that both delegation came to conclusion that both Ali ibn Abi Thalib and Mu'awiyah ibn Abu Sufyan had to be discounted from the office of caliphate in order to guaranteed the safety and prosperity of the community.

According to customary practice the older delegate should stand first to announce the outcome of the negotiation. Given the fact that Abu Musa al-'Asy'ari was older, he stepped forward and declared the overthrow of Ali from the office of caliphate. Soon after, Amr ibn 'Ash also stood up but rather broke the agreement. He did not stroke down Ali, but also, to the contrary affirmed Mu'awiyah as caliph. Of course, such decision of the two negotiators was automatically rejected by Ali ibn Abu Thalib. Therefore, he strove for his position in the office of the caliphate until he died in 661.

It is at this part that politico-religious sectarian groups initiated in the Moslem community. Ali's attitude to submit to Amr ibn 'Ash tactic for arbitration, although in state of emergency, did not catch the support of some of his soldier. They believed that such a case could not be resolved by *tahkim*. The proper resolution of this should come down from Allah by returning to the laws of God enshrined in the Qur'an. Based on this, there appears a motto *la hukama illa allah* (there is no laws other than the laws of Allah), and *la hukamu illa allah* (there is no legitimate mediator except Allah. This group viewed Ali as having committed wrong deed they deserted from him. This group is known as *Khawarij* (those who separate).

They did not only isolated themselves from Ali's line, but also turned away to fight Ali. Thus, now Ali confronted by two rivals they are Mu'awiyah and Khawarij. Ali's effort to defeat the two groups had never been successful until he died. Meanwhile, Mu'awiyah more ground for the caliphate and took its center in Damascus. The office of the caliphate could easily be acquired following the death of Ali (Nasution, 1986:5).

In addition to Khawarij, there emerged Murji'ah another group of which known as taking neutral position. They maintained that Ali could not be categorized as grave sin. The parameter of whether one is sinful or not was in the hand of Allah, and therefore all matter related to sin should be completely submitted to Allah (Nasution, 1986:7).

Other sectarian group is Shiite. This sect does not hostile Ali but on the contrary they became more fanatic which was justified by their believed that everything Ali's saying and action was correct. In addition, they also believed that Ali ibn Abi Thalib *ma'shum* from shin. This sect then developed and became larger which also broke up into various sectarian groupings.

As antithesis of various opinion arose from such sectarian groupings, at the out set of the second half appeared other sect of Mu'tazilah. They maintained that those who committed grave sin could not be categorized as either unbelief or belief, but rather, they are in between two position. This group went through its success in the time of Abbasid rule particularly when al-Ma'mun was holding the office of caliphate of the Abbasid dynasty.

In addition to these groups, there emerged some other sects such as Qadarite and Asy'arite. However, these last mentioned sects did not very much involved in political affairs. The tendency of this sects was aimed at merely theological thought. Indeed, it has to be acknowledge that Asy'arite was more or less related to politic especially in the time of Al-Ghazali and Nizam al-Muluk who utilized this sect as the formal sects of the state. However, as far as the writing of history and tradition are concerned, this sectarian groups rarely got involved.

The argument of those groups to greater or lesser extent influence the writing of history. There are many historian who tent to lean to Ali, and others in support of Mu'awiyah, but there is also who take neutral position. The subjectivity of historians of course influenced by his/her own perception and point of view of such case. For that reason, what follows will discuss the impact of the emergence of religio-political sectarian groups on the writing of history.

The Impact of the Siffin Case towards the Writing of History

Ajjaj al-Khatib (1989:415) in his book *Ushul Hadith* admits that Siffin case (*sifnab*) grave rise the escalation of controversies in Muslim society both in matter of belief and politics. He asserted that the emergence of political reality, sectarian groups in Islam occurred at the first and second Hijrah. Consequently, this conflict had negative impact on the development of the

sciences of hadits. Group fanaticism and the tendency to defeat it, push they opportunist to fabricate the prophet tradition.

Therefore, it is conceivable that 'Ajjaj al-Khatib (1989:417) takes the political issue as one of the main aspect undelining the rise of hadits fabrication. Hew further explained that there are significant group responsible for the fabrication of hadits, namely partisan of Ali's, supporters of Mu'awiyah, and Khawarij group.

What can we imply from the explanation of Ajjaj al-Khatib above? The most important point to be noted is that if the fabrication of hadits and been boldly carried out that time, what's more with historical fact. A group people could easily create a history which support the existence of this group and look down on others. Historical put can be turned the other way around or even righted tof completely.

Shiite opposition toward the rule of Ummayyad dynasty had not yet been clearly seen until the hands over of the power to hand of Abbasid dynasty in 720 AD (Peterson, 1963:83). Shiite partisan play an important role in attaining power from the power of Umayyad in which they also contributed to build power in Kurasan to overthrow the Umayyad dynasty. The involvement of Shiite partisan in gaining power seen to be *reasonable, since so far the were put aside by Mu'awiyah partisan*. The example of Mu'awiyah attitude is reflected in writing of Al-Thabari in his *Tarikh al-Jahuri*. It is reported that at an occasion Mu'awiyah gave a message to al Mughirah in which he asserted that to feel free to condemn Ali and the other hand to keep on loving and asking for forgiveness for Usman (Azami, 1994:97).

The success of Abbasid dynasty in obtaining power motivated the Shiite partisan to proclaim its relation with the rule of Umayyad dynasty. Their state of being isolated is shown by replaying the statement and writing of Mu'awiyah partisan. It is at this point that pro and contra in the writing of the history emerged.

Related to writing the history, especially Siffin case, Peterson (1963:98) explains that by the end of Umayyad dynasty rule there appeared two version of historical transmission concerning Siffin case. First is the Kufah school which anti Umayyah, and second versions is the Syrian-Madanian which pro-Umayyah, these two mainstream are very contradictory one another. In addition to these versions, there is neutral position which neither in support of Ali nor Mu'awiyah.

One way of identifying the inclination of historians towards one party can be done by analyzing their works directly. It appears that this method is very

difficult due to unanimous amount of the works of the historian that have to be studied. As a preliminary study of this issue, the writer is trying to expose a number of historians who allegedly in support of one group or who is taking the neutral position.

The Pro-Mu'awiyah Historians.

1. 'Urwan ibn Zubei. (d.93 AH)

He has a relationship with Umayyad dynasty. He knew Abdul Malik ibn Marwan in his youth in city of Madina and used to meet him in the prophet mosque. When al-Malik was a caliph 'Urwah met him in Damascus. His relationship with Abd al-Malik became a part when his brother Abd Allah ibn Zubeir died (Yatim, 1997:60). They deterioration of this relationship is visible because Abd Allah ibn Zubeir was an opposition who was very harsh toward Umayyad dynasty. This opposition was on its peak when a battle occurred between Abd al-Malik troops and those of Abd Allah's ibn Zuberi. At this battle Abd Allah ibn Zuberi was totally defeated and he was killed in this event (Syalabi, 1988:303-307).

According to the writer, the inclination of 'Urwah towards Umayyad partisan occurred before the case of the killing his brother Abd Allah. At that time 'Urwah felt comfortable to be close to the peak of the power that he wrote part of his work to be in support of the Umayyad group. However, the writer did not find any information in what aspect 'Urwah to be in the side of Umayyad group. In addition, the writer also can not find explanation whether the assassination of Abd Allah, he is still continued to be in support of Umayyad dynasty or rather on the contrary turned to support Ali's partisan.

2. Awanah ibn al-Hakam. (d.147 AH)

Awanah is an historian originated from Kufah by the time of which was one of the political and cultural centers. He tended to stand in the side of political view of the Syrian (Umayyad dynasty). One of the indication of his partisan can be seen from one of this monumental works entitled *Kitab Sirah Mu'awiyah wa Bani Umayyah* (biographies of Mu'awiyah and the clan of Umayyad). Although he was originated from Kufah, Awanah felt that he himself was closer to the Syrians so that he collected most of the circumstances occurred at the clan of Umayyad.

The emphasis of the Umayyad clan stories seem to be aimed as a reaction towards the stories which over emphasizing Ali ibn Abi Talib. At many occasion, he stressed more on the Umayyad clan person, although he some times wrote according to Iraq and Madinah's versions which was rather

unpopular in the domain of the power of the power of the Umayyad clan. In some respect he seem to be honest and free from political prejudiced and bias. The transmissions of Awanah stories came down to us is obtained through Ibn Kalbi, al-Madaini, and Haitam ibn 'Adi was predicted to have received direct stories from Awanah or from the collection of his writings (Tahini, 1991:62).

3. 'Abid ibn Syariyyah al-Jurhumi.

In fact, the inclination of historians was not only dominated by those two schools above (Kuffan and Madinan), but also found in the school of Yaman. One of the figures of Yaman school who is very close to the Umayyad rule was Abid ibn Syariyyah. During the period of Mu'awiyah, he was invited to Damascus to investigate the various disciplines of science. Due to his expertise in the field of history, he gained respect at that time. It is also reported that Mu'awiyah was very satisfied with his ideas. He lived around the caliphs of the Umayyad clan until the Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan's reign (Yatim, 1997:53). 'Abid's position being around in the palace environment for a long time, is of course still debatable. Would that be possible for him to make exposition on historical data in his writings honestly? If he talked about the Siffin issues with reliable data, for example, this of course will reveal the Mu'awiyah collapse as the founder of that dynasty. Should he do these, the Umayyad rulers wouldn't have placed him in the important position in the palace.

The Anti-Mu'awiyah Historians

1. Abu Mikhnaf. (d.157 AH)

Born in Kuffah, Abu Mikhnaf Luth ibn Yahya ibn Sa'id ibn Mikhnaf ibn Sulayman al-Azdi, was killed in the field of genealogy (*'ilm al-nasab*). He lived at a later time of the reign of the Umayyad dynasty. His grandfather was a supporter of Ali ibn Abi Thalib who died in the battle of Siffin (Faruqi, 1978:287).

Abu Mikhnaf represents the Iraqi's view on political issues. He is in support of Ali's partisan and anti-Umayyad dynasty. These can be seen as reflected in his writing which pays a lot of attention to the development of Shi'ite in Iraq (Faruqi, 1979:282). One of his works that can be analyzed to prove his prejudice for Ali is *Kitab Siffin* (The Case of Siffin).

2. Abu Ja'far Al-Thabari (d.310 AH)

His full name is Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Thabari. He lived in Baghdad for quite a long time. He is one of the greatest historians (*muarrikh*), exegete (*muflawid*), reader (*ahl-qinuf*), traditionalist (*ahl-hadith*), jurist (*ahl-fiqh*).

etc. One of his greatest work is *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk* (History of Kings and Nations).

According to Mohammed al-Khufi (1970:181), in writing of the history al-Thabari refers to the previous reports. When he writes about prophet's history, history of nation, the Arab before Islam, and the biography of Muhammad, he is neutral due to the fact that he quote to the two contradicting mainstreams above. However, strangely enough, still based on al Khufi's assertion, when he wrote on the battle of camel and the case of Siffin, he referred to the Iraqi school writers such as Abu Miknaf.

Based on the historical sources taken by al-Thabari above, we come to the conclusion that in fact al-Thabari is more inclined to the partisan of Ali ibn Abi Thalib. In addition, some data can also be found informing that al-Thabari is also the follower of Shiite doctrine.

3. Al Mas'udi. (d.956 AH)

His full name is Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Husain ibn Ali. He is an historian and geographer. His popularity in the field of history gained him the title of *imam al-muarikh* (the leader of historians). One of his monumental works is *Muraj al-Dzahab wal al-Madain*. He is known to be the follower of Mu'tazilah sectarian group.

His inclination to Ali's group is reflected in his writing where in an occasion he asserted that there is a prophet will for Ali ibn Abi Thalib, an occasion which refused by *Sunni school an of which believe strictly by Shiite*. In addition, in his writings he always usually lift up the greatness of the Shi'ism. Therefore, it is not surprising that people accused him to be the follower of Shi'ism (Yatim, 1997:128).

A part from Ali's partisan, Franz Rosenthal (1968:431) also eliminated some names categories as the followers of Shiite sectarian group. Of course, their writing have nuances of worshipping Ali and his followers. The names among others are al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Fudhail (d. 224 AH), Abu Ja'far Mohammed ibn al-Hasan ibn Ali al-Thusi (d.459 AH), Abu 'Abbas ibn 'Uqbah (d.332 AH), Abu al-Hasan ibn Babawaih (d. 580 AH), Yahya ibn Husam al-Bitriq (d. 630 AH), and others.

Such Rosenthal categorization above will be of great help to know the writers of Islamic history. Of course, when we find such name, we wouldn't directly accept their report, but on the contrary we will try make an attempt to compare with other supposedly neutral information. Thus, the originality of a work of Islamic history can be justified.

The Neutral Historians

1. Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Asadi al-Tamimi. (d.180 AH)

Sayf ibn 'Umar is an historian of Kuffan school. According to information from al-Nadim, Sayf ibn 'Umar has written two historical works namely; *Kitab al-Futuh al-Kabir wa al-Riddah* (the great expansion and the battle of riddah) and *Kitab al-Jamal wa Siyar 'Aisyah wa Ali* (the event of the battle of Jamal and the biography Aisyah and Ali). The later work is related to the issues of the event of assassination of Usman ibnAffan (Faruqi, 1979:286).

In writing the great political events, Sayf combines Iraqi person and that of Madinan one. The neutrality of Sayf is reflected in the combination of those historical sources. He is not satisfy to write history based on merely on Iraqi sources (although he is the followe of Iraqi school), and what's more he does not entirely relies on data put forward by the school of Madinan-Syrian. Selectivity of Sayf in selecting historical sources make him to be categories as neutral party.

2. Al-Zuhri. (d.124 AH)

His full name is Muhammad ibn Muslim ibn Ubaidillah ibn al-Syihab al-Zuhri. He is one of important figures of Madinan school who is aslo found of traditionist. Al-Thabari maintains that it is al-Zuhri who lied down the foundation of *al-Maghazi* (the prophet's battle) and *al-Sirah* (the prophets biography). His writing consists of events during the time of the rightly guided caliphs (*al-khalafa al-rasyidin*), critics on Usman's policy, the negative impact of Marwan ibn al-Hakam, the events of assassination of Usman, appointment of Ali, the battle of camel, the battle of Siffin, the regn of Mu'awiyah, the relationship between Hasan and the Kufah settlers. In writing great events mentioned above, it appears al-Zuhri is neutral and objective and does not lean in to one of the conflicting groups. Although he worked in the service of the palace of Umayyad dynasty in Damascus for a long time, his historical views can not be influenced by political development at the time. He is still asa a critical intellectual.

Bearing in mind the exposition above, in his work wntitled *Studies on the Historiography of Ali-Mu'awiyah Conflict*, Peterson (1963:99) explain that not all of Madman school necessarily be in the side of Mu'awiyah. Those who are categories *ahl al-hadith* has always paid attention to the importance of the position of such. On the other hand, not all the Kuffan school necessarily be in the side of Ali because there is a great a number of who still write neutraily.

According to the explanation above, it is clear that there is classification of historians in writing history especially in the post Siffin battle. The most important thing to be developed further whether we can make a distinction directly in each group based on data and fact presented in works. The writer has not been able to answer this question due to lack of literature related to each group mentioned above. The only way to answer this question is by reading a lot more on each groups and to compare between one another.

Concluding Remarks

By looking at the chronology of the emergence of historian's inclination in writing their works, it is obvious that we are led to make a conclusion that the history in fact, is subjective. This conclusion can not totally be justified because they are still historian who present the originality of historical fact rather than sympathetic with the groups. The selection of sanaf in the early period of the development of historical writing is an indication towards this. The reliability of historical data that reach us is determined by historians before us who undertake such selection.

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