The Contributions of the *Mawālī* to Hadith Scholarship

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Abstract: Islamic scholarship is built by various communities. As a religion that carries the spirit of liberation, Islam provides opportunities for anyone to self-actualize. *Mawālī* was an element of the early Muslim community that contributed positively to hadith scholarship. During the Umayyah Dynasty, the *mawālī* became a second-class community, but it had a positive impact on the *mawālī* to take another path to be considered the main community. This research uses a qualitative method with an analytical-descriptive approach. The author used a biographical dictionary of hadith narrators to find the research data. For the data found to be informative, the author uses a historical perspective to find out the traces of his scholarship. In addition, the author confirms the hadith books. Based on the elaboration, it can be concluded that the *mawālī*, with its various types, contributed greatly to Islamic scholarship, especially in the field of hadith studies, from the time of the Companions to the later generations.

Keywords: Hadith, Contribution, *Mawālī*

Abstrak: Kesarjanaan Islam dibangun oleh berbagai komunitas. Sebagai agama yang membawa semangat pembebasan, Islam memberikan peluang kepada siapapun untuk mengaktualisasikan diri. *Mawālī*, adalah elemen masyarakat muslim awal yang berkontribusi positif dalam kesarjanaan hadis. Pada masa Dinasti Umayyah berkuasa, *mawālī* menjadi masyarakat kelas kedua, tetapi hal itu berdampak positif bagi *mawālī* untuk mengambil jalur lain agar dianggap sebagai masyarakat utama. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan analitis-deskriptif. Penulis menggunakan kamus biografis periwayat hadis untuk menemukan data penelitian. Agar data-data yang ditemukan bisa informatif, penulis menggunakan perspektif kesejarahan untuk mengetahui jejak kesarjanannya. Selain penulis mengonfirmasi kepada kitab hadis riwayah. Berdasarkan elaborasi yang dilakukan, dapat disimpulkan bahwa *mawālī*, dengan berbagai jenisnya berkontribusi besar dalam kesarjanaan Islam (*Islamic scholarsip)*, terutama di bidang kajian hadis, sejak masa sahabat sampai generasi agak belakangan.

Kata Kunci: Hadis; Kontribusi; *Mawālī*

1. Introduction

Humans are equal before Allah SWT. The Qur'an unequivocally expresses that the fairest individual in seeing Allah is devout (Q.S Al-Hujurat [49]: 13) (Al-Bayhaqi, 2003, p. 1820). As a result, humans live in a shared spirit and fully engage in collective work for the benefit of their lives at the praxis level. In one of the traditions, the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) said that Arabs and *'ajam* people are the same and that neither is better than the other (Al-Bayhaqi, 2003, p. 1820). The fundamental teaching of Islam is equality, which is essential for all people to achieve global prosperity. As a result, the purpose of this study is to discuss the role that *mawālī* plays in hadith scholarship.

The Prophet Muhammad overthrew the unjust social structure of Arab society, which was founded on the tribal bonds of Jahiliyah Arabia, and replaced it with the idea of *ummah* from his early days as a Prophet and an apostle. The Prophet, who was of Arab descent from the noble clan of Quraysh, did not view Arab ethnicity as a source of dominance over non-Arabs ('ajam), but rather as a bond that united all Muslims under the banner of Islam. However, this does not imply that the practice of social interaction based on tribal sympathies vanished; rather, soon after the Prophet's passing, social stratification between Arabs and non-Arabs ('ajam or *Mawālī*) began to take shape (Cooperson, 2015, p. 368).

The majority of the companions (followers) of the Prophet Muhammad were Arabs. Arabs lived in the Prophet's prophetic centers of Mecca and Medina, and the Hijaz region as a whole is predominantly Arab. It is unlikely, but not impossible, that the Prophet's companions were not originally from the Arab world. Due to the Prophet's prominent status as a religious and political figure at the same time, societal unrest could be minimized even if the population was not Arab. Almost everyone was on an equal footing during the Prophet's futuh Makkah, including those who benefited from the social position due to genetics (Jabali, 2010, p. 184).

Many of the Prophet's associates left Medina for various locations to carry on the da'wah that the Prophet had started, especially during the reign of Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattāb (Jabali, 2010, pp. 89–90). Due to the spread of Islam, non-Arabs now lived in new Islamic countries like Kufa, Basrah, Yemen, and Syria. The inhabitants of the newly captured territories outside of Ḥijāz were not Arabs, but they eventually became Arabs. After converting to Islam, non-Arabs were administratively given the status of *mawālī* (Urban, 2012, p. 44).

In contrast to ethnic Arabs, however, non-Arabs (*'ajam* or *mawālī*) were regarded politically as second-class citizens. They were prohibited from holding political or strategic positions in the administration during the Umayyad era. Arabs occupied positions in politics and administration (Al-Miqdād, 1988).

Hisham b. 'Abdul Malik reportedly questioned Al-Zuhrī who was in command of Mecca, Yamān, Shām, Egypt, Jazīrah, Khurāsān, Baṣrah, and Kufa. ʿAtaʾ, Tāwus, Makhūl, Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, Maymūn b. Mihrān, al-Ḍaḥāk b. Muzāhim, al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhʿī were the names he gave in response. Hishām inquired as to if each of these names was of Arabic or *mawālī* origin, to which he responded that he was. "By Allah, the *mawālī* will lead the Arabs, to the extent that he will preach on a pulpit and the Arabs under him," Hishām said to al-Zuhrī after completing the task (Ibn Ṣalāḥ, 1986, p. 244). The role that *mawālī* plays in hadith scholarship will be discussed in greater detail in the following article.

This study employs an analytical-descriptive qualitative methodology (Rahman, 2016). The discussion of *mawālī* contribution serves as the primary research object, while the hadith scholarship context serves as a supporting object. The author employs a historical perspective to uncover the traces of his scholarship in relation to the sources of the found and informative data. Likewise, the writer affirms this through the book of riwayah hadith.

2. *Mawālī*'s Contribution to Improving Hadith Quality

The Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century lacked an official state or government in northern Yemen. Albeit not indistinguishable, the capability of clans in Arabia can be compared to bunches in the advanced world. Due to the fact that they are dependent on their tribe for survival, people have an unwavering devotion to it. Because of this, the well-known Arab proverb reads, "Support your brother whether he is the oppressor or the oppressor."(Shiblī, 1962, pp. 35–36).

Islam challenges the tribal system by arguing that everyone is equal before God and that justice should be upheld even when it goes against one's closest relatives. "O you who believe, establish justice and bear witness to God, even if it is against yourselves, your parents, or your close relatives," is one example from Qur'an 4:135. Whether that individual is rich or poor, God can take great consideration of both. So that you can do the right thing, don't do what you want. God is well aware of your actions if you distort or disregard justice. In Arabia in the seventh century, women, orphans, and slaves were the most vulnerable. It was uncommon for the Prophet Muhammad to demand fairness and equality. His message's main points focused on justice and equality (Khan, 2020). "How can God sanctify a nation that does not protect the less fortunate from his power," he said when he learned that an elderly woman was being treated cruelly in a neighboring country (Majah, 1996, no. 4010).

Justice and fundamental rights are guaranteed by the government for everyone, even non-Muslims, according to the Qur'an and Sunnah (Anjum, 2021) whom the Prophet referred to as "the guardian of the helpless." (Hanbal, 1995, no.2260). It took

time to transition from a tribal system that favored some tribes over others to a universal Muslim community. Instead, it was a process that happened gradually over several years.

There was a way for outsiders to integrate into the tribal system in Arabia in the seventh century. This was crucial to the transition from the *jahiliyyah* tribal system to Islam's rule of law. Affiliates (*mawlā*, plural *mawālī*) of a tribe could be foreigners, Arabs who moved from other regions, and other individuals who were not married. Free slaves are also accorded this status. At the point when an individual from a Bedouin clan liberated their slave, the slave would turn into a partner of the clan. Although freed slaves did not initially belong to the tribe, they still maintained that affiliation. In the early years of Islam, the term "*mawālī*" could refer to freed slaves or individuals outside the tribal system who had been integrated into it.

Both meanings of the word "*Mawālī*" became much more common as Muslims spread outside of Arabia. As additional individuals from outside the Bedouin Landmass started to acknowledge Islam, the Ḥijāzī Bedouins incorporated them into the texture of Middle Easterner Muslim society by utilizing the *mawālī* framework. To manage the numerous new converts spread out over a large area, a patronage system was developed. An Arab patron mawla would be a non-Arab convert. The Arab Muslim conquerors also found themselves with a large number of captives and were also given slaves as tribute by allies as they entered the civilized lands of the Mediterranean and Persia, where slavery had long been an important part of the economy and the slave trade was strong. They had never seen such a large number of slaves in Arabia. Following the Qur'ān and As-Sunnah, the early Muslims liberated a considerable lot of their slaves, particularly the people who had become Muslims, so the majority of the new Muslim *mawālī* class were previous slaves or their youngsters. Take, for instance, Sulaymān ibn Yasār (w. 107/725), who was of Persian beginning and a liberated slave of the Prophet's last spouse, Maymūna bint al-Ḥārith. Along with the grandchildren of Arabs like Abū Bakr and Ibn Masᶜūd, he eventually became one of Medina's seven prominent jurists.

The Umayyad Dynasty initiated this *mawlā* policy, which was initially contentious. Some of the prejudices of the previous tribal system remained. Even though they were Muslims, non-Arabs who converted to Islam were all referred to as *Mawālī*, and their status was lower than that of Arab Muslims (Urban, 2012, pp. 114–117). Conflict erupted because the Umayyad government's preference for Arab Muslims went against the Qur'anic assertion that all Muslims were equal. A tax known as jizya was paid by non-Muslims living in the Umayyad dynasty. This tax got them out of having to serve in the military. This tax no longer applied to non-Muslims who converted to Islam. However, the Umayyad state did not want to provide new Muslims

with financial equality, so they required them to continue paying the jizya. The ᶜulamāʔ and devout Muslims had a problem with this strategy and contended that Arabs and non-Arabs were equivalent. Laws that discriminated against Muslims were repealed by the pious Umayyad caliph ᶜUmar ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz (d. 101/720). The early Umayyads had involved tribalism as a political device, and the *Mawālī* represented a danger to the ancestral framework (Urban, 2012, p. 103). However, in order to organize the vast Muslim Umayyad empire, the tribal system collapsed by the middle of the Umayyad period. The new pillar was then chosen by the Umayyad caliphs by *mawālī*.

By the 720s CE, the *Mawālī* had largely begun to speak Arabic, married Arabs, and become significant figures in business, scholarship, and society, despite the concerns of the early Umayyad state. When the Abbasids took control of the caliphate, they immediately dismantled all traces of the policy that distinguished Arabs from Muslims, and Arabs were no longer regarded as a lower social class.

In a variety of ways, they achieved social, educational, and economic equality with Arabs. First, the idea that Arabs were better than non-Arabs was rejected by the intellectual class. In addition, like children of immigrants who eventually identify as American rather than their country of origin, children of enslaved mothers resolve their borderline position by redefining themselves as fully Arab (Urban, 2020, p. 2). *Mawālī* had to demonstrate that they were correct. Muslims who were devoted to both Islamic scholarship and the empire. They rose to political and religious leadership positions by leveraging their knowledge of Arabic and scholarship. Arabs and non-Arabs were no longer regarded as distinct ethnic or tribal groups during the Abbasid period. Arabic became the mother tongue of millions of people, the language of the royal court, and the language of scholarship in Islamic culture, which became a common identity for all.

3.   *Mawālī*'s Contribution to Hadith Comprehension

Mawālī began to play an important role in Islamic education and governance by the time of the first four caliphs. During the hajj, Caliph Umar once met the head of Mecca. "Who did you leave in charge of the people of the valley (i.e., Mecca)?" Umar asked him. "Ibn Abza," was the man's response. Umar inquired, " Which Ibn Abza is he? "He is one of the *mawālī*," the man declared. Umar stated: So, you've given the *mawālī* authority?" The man answered, "He peruses the book of Allah and is familiar with commitments." ᶜUmar answered, "To be sure, I heard your Prophet say, 'God hoists [some] individuals with this religion and cuts down others.'" (al-Naisaburi, 1991, no. 3088).

Even under the Umayyads, the role of the *mawālī* expanded. When Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (w. 124/742), a scholar of Arab descent close to the caliph, returned from a journey, the caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān (d. 86/705) asked him about who the religious leaders were in the various regions. Al-Zuhrī kept mentioning *mawālī*. The question continued until the caliph asked who was in charge of Kufa, at the end of which al-Zuhrī mentioned an Arab, Ibrahim al-Nakha'ī (d. 96/717). "By God, the maulifahs will lead the Arabs until they give sermons from the pulpit while the Arabs sit under them," the caliph said, expressing concern about the fate of his Arab dynasty. Al-Zuhrī response was: O head of the adherents, this is the undertaking of God and His religion; It will be won by whoever keeps it, and it will be destroyed by whoever loses it." (al-Hakim al-Naisaburi, n.d., p. 199). Within a short time, almost all of the major educational institutions were led by *Mawālī*. It is clear from reading the biographical literature (*ṭabaqāt*) that *mawlā* frequently held positions of religious leadership. The anecdote recounted by Al-Zuhrī's is not uncommon but rather illustrative of the systematic transformations taking place throughout the Muslim empire.

However, under the Abbasids, non-Arabs took center stage in all aspects of life. Persians made up a large portion of the Abbasid government's scribes. Scribes, also known as kuttāb, were influential in politics and society and played a significant role in society. *Mawlā* quickly grew to comprise a sizable portion of the Muslim intellectual and political elite. Al-Zuhrī came to the realization that "Science has been taken over by the *mawālī*" very late in his life (Brown, 2019, p. 211). Similar remarks were made by Ibn Khaldūn, who died in 808/1406: "Amazingly, the majority of those who contributed knowledge to the Islamic tradition were non-Arabs." (Ibn Khaldūn, 2004, p. 361). "Statistical judgments on these matters (the role of *mawālī*) are bound to do the Arabs a disservice," Orientalist Ignaz Goldziher wrote (Goldziher, 2005, p. 109). The possibility that *Mawālī* dwarf Middle Easterner researchers is unparalleled as referenced before (Motzki, 2004, pp. 153–178; Nawas, 2005, pp. 141–152). The mawalī scholars were numerous and, more importantly, had a huge impact, regardless of whether or not they outnumbered the Arab scholars.

When we look at the great Sunni hadith collections, we can see this. Nearly half of the narrators in these canonical hadith collections are *mawālī*, and none of the compilers of the six well-known books are Arab. This demonstrates that being non-Arab or a former slave does not prevent one from contributing significantly to the preservation of the Sunnah, Islam's second primary source. Ibn Khaldun says that one reason for this is that many people who converted to Islam came from places where people were usually taught how to read and write. The majority of the early Arabs learned Islam from the Prophet himself and passed on his teachings to others. This is shown by the way that the early Bedouins used to call individuals who discussed

qurrāʾ. To put it another way, they had names to distinguish those who could read from those who didn't. Additionally, numerous companions traveled to other Muslim nations to command armies or hold political positions.

At last, it was the *mawālī* who moved forward and assumed a significant part in the development of the Islamic sciences (Hamdeh, 2021). After the time of the Companions, the Qurʾān needed interpretation, hadith needed to be compiled, dictionaries needed to be written, and new circumstances presented themselves that required new *fiqh* decisions. The *Mawālī* had an undeniable impact on the Islamic scientific tradition. They contributed to *fiqh*, hadith, tafsir, theology, and Arabic grammar. Islamic scholarship remains indebted to the contributions of non-Arabs and slaves. Especially Islam's call for equality created an environment where everyone could contribute to knowledge, regardless of race or social status. (Ibrahim, 2020).

4. *Mawālī*'s Contribution to Hadith Collection and Dissemination

Mawālī were important figures in the early history of Islam. Researchers have long recognized that *Mawālī* participated in political movements, Islamic development and civilization, interpretation, and various activities that influenced the Islamic tradition directly and dynamically. However, *mawālī* can be conceptualized to understand broader social phenomena in early Islam due to its flexibility and scope of meaning.

Based on its dissemination, *mawālī* certainly had an existence among the narrators. The existence among the narrators led to the identity of *mawālī* being found in various books of hadith. As a result of this dispersion, the *mawālī* can influence the understanding of narration. On this basis, the following is a profile of *mawālī* hadith narrators and their bibliographical sources:

Table 1. Identity of *Mawālī* and their bibliographies

NO.	NARRATOR NAME	SOURCE
1.	Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdul Aʿla al-Juʿfi	Thiqāt [Vol:6] , Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:1], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:1], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [91]
2.	Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdur Raḥmān al-Saddi (w. 127)	Thiqāt [Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:1], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Siyar Aʿlam [5/263-265], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7] , Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:1] , Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [108] , Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [0], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [728]
3.	Thābit b. ʿUbayd al-Ansāri	Thiqāt [Vol:4] , Thiqāt [Vol:6] , Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:2], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [132]
4.	ʿAbdullāh b. Ḥabīb	Thiqāt [Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:5], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:5], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [299]

NO.	NARRATOR NAME	SOURCE
5.	Muḥammad b. ʻAbdur Raḥmān b. ʻUbayd al-Qurayshī	Thiqāt [Vol:7] , Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:1], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:9], Mīzān al-I'tidāl [Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [492]
6.	Masʻūd b. Mālik Abū Razīn al-Asadī (w. 85)	Thiqāt [Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:10], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [528], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [640]
7.	Muṣʻab b. Sulaym al-Asadī	Thiqāt [Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:10], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [533]
8.	Hilāl b. Yasāf al-Ashjaʻī	Thiqāt [Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:8], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:11], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [576]
9.	Yaḥyā b. al-Jazār al-Arni	Thiqāt [Vol:5], Thiqāt [Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:8], Tabaqāt [Vol:6] , Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:11], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Mīzān al-I'tidāl [Vol:4], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [588], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [720]
10.	Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād	Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:8], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Siyar A'lam [6/129-133], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:11], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [601]
11.	al-Layth b. Abī Sulaym	Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:7], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam[6/179-184], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:8], Mīzān al-I'tidāl[Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[464]
12.	Mukhtār b. Falfal (w. 140)	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:7], Siyar A'lam[6/123-123], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:10], Mīzān al-I'tidāl[Vol:4], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[523]
13.	Abū Ḥanīfa (w. 150)	Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:8], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Tabaqāt [Vol:7], Siyar A'lam[6/390-403], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:10], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [563], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[635]
14.	Saʼīd b. Jubayr al-Asadī (w. 95)	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam[4/321-343], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:4], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [234]
15.	Sulaymān al-Aʻmash (w. 133)	Thiqāt [Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:4], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam[6/226-248], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:4], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:4], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Mīzān al-I'tidāl [Vol: 2], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[254] \, Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [710], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[717]
16.	al-Ḥakam b. ʻUtayba (w. 113)	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:2], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam [5/208-213], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:2], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:2], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:2], Mīzān al-I'tidāl [Vol:1], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[175], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[175]

NO.	NARRATOR NAME	SOURCE
17.	al-Mughīra b. Maqsam (w. 136)	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:7], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam[6/10-13], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:10], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[543]
18.	Dhakwān Abū Ṣālh al-Samān al-Ziyāt (w. 101)	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Tabaqāt[Vol:5], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:3], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Mīzān al-I'tidāl[Vol:4], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[203]
19.	Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit (w. 119)	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:2], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam[5/288-291], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:2], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[150]
20.	Zayd b. Abi Anīsah (124)	Thiqāt[Vol:6] , Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Tabaqāt[Vol:7] , Siyar A'lam[6/88-89], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:2], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:3], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[222]
21.	Sālm b. Abī al-Ja'd (w. 100)	al-Isabah[3/274], Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:4], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam [5/108-110], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:3], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [226], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [688], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[0]
22.	Sa'īd b. 'Abdur Raḥmān b. Abzā	Thiqāt[Vol:6], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:3], Siyar A'lam [4/481-481], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:4], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [238], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[693]
23.	Sa'īd b. Fayrūz Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Tay'ī (w. 83)	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam [4/279-280], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:4].
24.	Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān (w. 140)	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:4], Tabaqāt[Vol:6] , Siyar A'lam[6/193-195], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:4], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12] Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[252], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [255], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[618], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[728]
25.	'Aṣim b. Bahdlah (w. 128)	Thiqāt [Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:6], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Siyar A'lam [5/256-261], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:1], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:5], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[285]
26.	Muslim b. Ṣabīh al-Hamdānī, Abū al-Ḍuha (w. 100)	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:7], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Siyar A'lam[5/71-71], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:10], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[530], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [651]

NO.	NARRATOR NAME	SOURCE
27.	Mūsā b. Abī 'A'isha	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:7], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Siyar A'lam [6/150-151], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:10], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[552]
28.	Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid al-Aḥmsī (146)	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:1], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Siyar A'lam[6/176-178], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:1], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[107]
29.	'Abdullāh b. Abī Labīd (w. 130)	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:5], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:5], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[319]
30.	Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdur Raḥmān al-Saksakī	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:1], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:1], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[91], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[708]
31.	'Abdullāh b. Sa'īd b. Jubayr	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [305], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[693]
32.	'Abdul Malik b. Sa'īd (w. 100)	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:5], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:6], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[363]
33.	'Umar b. Abī Zā'idah al-Hamdānī (w. 150-an)	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:6], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:7], Mīzān al-I'tidāl[Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[412]
34.	'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullāh b. Muhāb	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:6], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:8], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[424]
35.	al-Minhāl b. 'Amr al-Asadī	Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:8], Siyar A'lam[5/184-184], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:10], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[547]
36.	Hilāl b. Abī Ḥamīd	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:8], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:8], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:11], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:11], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[575], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[576], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[576]
37.	Yaḥyā b. Waththāb	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:8], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Siyar A'lam[4/379-382], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:11], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[598]
38.	Th'albah b. Mālik Abū Baḥr	Thiqāt[Vol:4]
39.	Masāwir Mawlā Abī Barzah	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:7]
40.	al-Aghar b. al-Ṣabāḥ al-Tamīmī-Minqarī	Thiqāt [Vol:6], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:2], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:1], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[114]
41.	Aymān b.n Thābit	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:2], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:1], Mīzān al-I'tidāl[Vol:1], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[117]
42.	Thābit b. Hurmuz	Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:2], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:2], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[133]
43.	Khalīfah b. Ṣā'ad al-Ashja'ī	Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [195]

NO.	NARRATOR NAME	SOURCE
44.	Rayāḥ b. 'Ubaydah al-Salmī	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:3], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [211], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[211]
45.	Ziyād b. Abī al-Ja'd	Thiqāt[Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[218]
46.	'Abdullāh b. 'Abdullāh Abū Ja'far al-Rāzī	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:5], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[310]
47.	'Abdullāh b. 'Abdur Raḥmān b. Abzā	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:5], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[310]
48.	'Abdur Raḥmān b. Sa'd	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:6], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[341]
49.	'Ubayd b. Abī Umayya al-Tanafasī	Thiqāt [Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:7], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[376]
50.	Kathīr b. Ismā'īl al-Nawā'	Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:7], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:8] , Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:8], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:8], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Mīzān al-I'tidāl[Vol:3] , Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[459]
51.	Kathīr b. 'Ubayd al-Taymī	al-Isabah[5/659], Thiqāt[Vol:5], Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:8], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[460]
52.	Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydillāh b. Abī Rāfi'	Thiqāt [Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:1], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:9], Mīzān al-I'tidāl[Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [494]
53.	Marwān b. Jināh	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:7], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:10], Mīzān al-I'tidāl [Vol:4], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[525]
54.	Nusayr b. Dhu'luq	Thiqāt[Vol:5], Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:8], Tabaqāt[Vol:6], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:10], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[560], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[651]
55.	Waqd b. 'Abdullāh Mawlā	Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:11], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[579]
56.	Yūsuf b. Maymūn al-Qurashi	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:8], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:8], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:11], Mīzān al-I'tidāl [Vol:4], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[612]
57.	Khalīfah b. Qays Mawlā Khālid b. 'Arfat}ah	Thiqāt [Vol:4]
58.	Ziyād b. Abī Zadhān Mawlā	Thiqāt [Vol:4]
59.	Ziyā mawlā banī Makhzūm	Thiqāt [Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Siyar A'lam[5/456-458], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:2]
60.	Sa'd al-Qurashī Mawlā al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī	Thiqāt [Vol:4]
61.	Suwayd Abū al-Aswad Mawlā 'Amr b. Ḥarīth	Thiqāt [Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:4]
62.	Sarī' Mawlā 'Amr b. Harīth	Thiqāt [Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:4]

NO.	NARRATOR NAME	SOURCE
63.	'Abdur Raḥmān b. Abī Dh'ib al-Sadī	Thiqāt [Vol:5]
64.	'Uqbah Mawlā Adlam b. Nā'mah al-Ḥad}ramī	Thiqāt [Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:6]
65.	Mas'ud Mawlā banī Wā'il Wikān	Thiqāt [Vol:5]
66.	Maqsam al-D}abī, Abū al-Mughīra	Thiqāt [Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:8]
67.	Jarir al-Dabi	Thiqāt [Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:2], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:2], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [139]
68.	Hassān b. Abī al-Ashrus	Thiqāt [Vol:6], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:2], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [157]
69.	Dawūd b. Abī 'Awf, Abū al-Jahaf	Thiqāt [Vol:6], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:3], Tabaqāt [Vol:6], Lisān al-Mīzān [Vol:7], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:2], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:3], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:12], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[199]
70.	Sa'd b. Ma'bad	Thiqāt [Vol:4], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:4], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb [Vol:3], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [232]
71.	'Abdullāh b. Abī al-Ja'd	Thiqāt [Vol:5], Thiqāt[Vol:5], Tārīkh al-Kabīr[Vol:5], Lisān al-Mīzān[Vol:7], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:5], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb[298]
72.	'Abdur Raḥmān b. Ziyād, Abī Ziyād	Thiqāt[Vol:7], Tārīkh al-Kabīr [Vol:5], Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb[Vol:6], Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb [340]

In table one, the identities of 72 *Mawālī* are mentioned. In addition to the identities of the *Mawālī*, the distribution of identities in the bibliographical books as sources are also described. It is through these primary sources that the distribution of *mawālī* is known. The distribution of *mawālī* in the books is evidence of the existence of *mawālī*. The development of social movements at that time caused an influence on the historicity of the narrator. Of course, primary evidence can be used in tracing *mawālī* as a narrator. The *Mawālī* have contributed to the continuity of the narrators' understanding of hadith.

Another thing that the social and religious movements of the late Umayyad era agreed on was that they did not accept discrimination of any kind, especially discrimination based on race. They condemned any form of distinction between individual Muslims. There was a rejection of the Umayyad policy, which emphasized Arab superiority over non-Arabs, for this reason. As a result, many Muwahids participated in revolts against Umayyad rule and were present in these movements. In the same way, the *Mawālī* gave much support to the Shia groups (Raharusun & Kodir, 2021). According to the documentation, *Mawālī* are part of any movement that makes

their privileges legal. According to Gramsci's theory, this situation shows that *Mawālī* have a role to play in the development of awareness of societal differences.

5. Conclusions

Based on the author's elaboration, it can be concluded that the *Mawālī*, with their various types, contributed greatly to Islamic scholarship, especially in the field of hadith studies, from the time of the Companions to the later generations. Indeed, during the Umayyad dynasty, the *Mawālī* became second-class citizens, but that had a positive impact on the *Mawālī* to take other paths to be considered mainstream citizens. The scholarly path was a wide-open option to fill. This is evidenced by the existence of books that include *mawālī* in the narration. Therefore, in line with John A. Nawas' view, there was a phase in which the number of Islamic scholars between Arabs and non-Arabs was balanced, even dominated by the *Mawālī*.

It is recommended after this study because many aspects can be researched from the theme of *mawālī* and hadith narration. In addition to the material aspect of hadith narration, the theme of *mawālī* and hadith narration can extend to other aspects such as the influence of hadith codification by *mawālī*, the role of Persian mawali and Byzantine mawali outside the Hijaz in the spread of hadith and so on.

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