

The Archaeology of Motzki's Studies on Hadith: Study of The Origin of Isnad Cum Matn Method

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Abstract

Hadith studies, especially the discourse of the dating of hadith become Western Scholarship's concern. Some of them are included in the Revisionist or the Skeptic group. Their paradigm, idea, and theory dominate the hadith studies. Harald Motzki, as one of the Sanguine group members, challenges their idea and paradigm with his theory, the Isnad Cum Matn method. It is important to investigate the nature of the Isnad Cum Matn method and the genesis of this discourse. This paper explores epistemological structure of Motzki's study on hadith and archaeological dimension of the Isnad Cum Matn method. This research uses the epistemology, the genealogy and the archaeology of knowledge as the analytical tool. This research is a library research. The source of the primary data of this research are Motzki's two main books; *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before The Classical School* and *Analysing Muslim Tradition*. The analysis of data is conducted using descriptive method, taxonomy method, interpretative method and the comparative method. Based on this research, we can conclude several points. The first is that the epistemological structure of the Isnad Cum Matn relies on the source, the methodology and the validity. The source of the Isnad Cum Matn method comes from the classical hadith collection, the biography of the transmitter, and the Western scholars' theories. The second is that the Isnad Cum Matn method is not built from an "empty space", but the nature of this method came from other theories offered by many scholars. The discourse formation of the dating hadith issue show that his theory connects and relates to many scholar's theories before him.

Keyword: Harald Motzki, Isnad Cum Matn, Archaeology of Knowledge

Abstrak

Kajian hadis, khususnya wacana penanggalan hadis menjadi perhatian para sarjana Barat. Beberapa dari mereka termasuk dalam kelompok Revisionis atau Skeptis. Paradigma, ide, dan teori mereka mendominasi kajian hadis. Harald Motzki sebagai salah satu anggota kelompok Sanguinis, menantang ide dan paradigma mereka dengan teorinya, metode Isnad Cum Matn. Penting untuk menyelidiki sifat metode Isnad Cum Matn dan asal usul wacana ini. Tulisan ini menganalisa struktur epistemologis kajian Motzki tentang hadis dan dimensi arkeologis dari metode Isnad Cum Matn. Penelitian ini menggunakan epistemologi, silsilah dan arkeologi pengetahuan sebagai alat analisis. Sumber data primer penelitian ini adalah dua buku utama Motzki; *Asal Usul Fikih Islam: Fiqh Mekah Sebelum Mazhab Klasik dan Menganalisis Tradisi Muslim*. Analisis data dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode deskriptif, metode taksonomi, metode interpretatif dan metode komparatif. Berdasarkan penelitian ini, kita dapat menyimpulkan beberapa poin. Pertama, struktur epistemologis Isnad Cum Matn bertumpu pada sumber, metodologi, dan validitas. Sumber metode Isnad Cum Matn berasal dari kumpulan hadits klasik, biografi perawi, dan teori para ulama Barat. Kedua, metode Isnad Cum Matn tidak dibangun dari "ruang kosong", tetapi metode ini berasal dari teori-teori lain yang ditawarkan oleh para pakar hadis.

Kata kunci: Harald Motzki, *Isnad Cum Matn*, Arkeologi Pengetahuan

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

The study of hadith, especially the dating of hadith, is one of the themes studied in Western Scholarship. There are many Western Scholars who focused on this topic, and all of them are classified as part of the Revisionist or the Skeptic scholars. Based on his research of manuscripts of *Al-Muwatta*, Ignaz confirms that the origin of hadith can only be verified until the second Hijri century earlier.¹ His research was followed by Joseph Schacht. Schacht tried to investigate different data: manuscripts of *Al-Umm* by Imam Syafi'i. Then, he published his phenomenal theory of hadith: the common link theory. He also developed a theory of Ignaz and found the factors that cause a lack of hadith authenticity.² Schacht's theories are then expanded by Juynboll. The Revisionists build their paradigm on the Eurocentrism paradigm.³ Their ideas and paradigms spread and dominate among hadith scholars. The skepticism seems to dominate the trend of hadith studies among Orientalist circumstances especially in Europe⁴ and hadith studies in Indonesia.

In 1978, Harald Motzki challenged the Revisionist and the Skeptics paradigms. He combined Western methods with classical Islamic theories. He offers his theory of dating of hadith which is known as "Isnad Cum Matn". Motzki tried to utilize not only *Isnad* but also *Matn* (Oral Process) as data for his theory. The *Isnad Cum Matn* was a result of the development and shifting trends in Western Scholarship from the Orientalist phase into Post-Orientalist/Cosmopolitanism phase. The questions now present themselves; why does *Isnad Cum Matn* theory appear among the Western Scholarship tradition while the Revisionist paradigm dominated the trend of hadith studies? Is his theory have similar aspects to other Western Scholars? Why does Motzki consider an *Isnad* (Written Process) and *Matn* (Oral Process) while other Scholars determine an *Isnad* (Written Process) only? How is the genealogy of the *Isnad Cum Matn* theory? Why Motzki's can produce an *Isnad cum Matn* method? Who was involved/contributed to his thought? To answer all these questions, I use two theories: genealogy and archaeology of knowledge.

¹ For full explanation check Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols, London 1967

² Look; Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950

³ I found several scholars who embraced the Eurocentrism among Orientalist, such as Edward Said, Wael B. Hallaq, A. Rohde, and others. Look, Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books, 1979, Wael B. Hallaq, "On Orientalism, Self-Consciousness, and History", *Islamic Law Society*, Vol. 18, No. 3/4, Brill: 2011, and A. Rohde, "The Orient Within. Orientalism, Anti-Semitism, and Gender in 18th to early 20th Century Germany", *Fremde, Feinde und Kurioses, Germany: De Gruyter*, 2009.

⁴ Several centers of hadith studies in Europe: Germany, Netherland, England, and others.

DISCUSSION

Biography and Family Background of Motzki

Harald Motzki grew up with his parents. He was born in Berlin, Germany, in 1948, when Hitler's empire collapsed. He lived in an unstable neighborhood. When he was a child, he grew with several historic events in Germany. Motzki and his parents had to survive through a bad political situation. The process of reunification of East and West Germany decreased economic income. Despite the circumstances, Motzki's parents gave academic access to Motzki.⁵

Germany is one of the countries which has an intense relation with Islam. The German states had a very particular experience of Islam, situated as they were in the center of Europe, in the form of Ottoman Turkish expansion through the Balkans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This history is very much characterized by conflicts culminating in the two sieges of Vienna. The second of which also provided the circumstances in which people of Muslim origin first became permanent residents in Germany.⁶

Diplomatic relations had been established between Berlin and Istanbul in the eighteenth century. These were being slowly expanded a century later. As a consequence of these developments, the Muslim community in Germany grew significantly in the years before the First World War. During the war itself, the German government and the Turkish ambassador in Berlin worked together in providing a mosque and imams for the Muslim prisoners taken from allied armies

In central Europe, attention has been concentrated on the early settlement of Muslims in the territory today encompassed by Germany, necessarily so because of the importance of the Muslim communities in that area since the 1960s. But this should not allow one to forget that, in a sense, the modern state of Austria has inherited a much more institutional history of relations with an indigenous Muslim community.

When this research was written, Motzki lives in Im Lehmpuett 5, D-47574, Goch, Germany. He can be contacted by his email: h.motzki@rs.ru.nl. While this research was finished, Motzki had passed away.

The Archaeology of Motzki's Studies on Hadith

The Discursive Formations of Hadith-Critical Study

For a brief explanation, I would not only demonstrate the schematic of scholars of hadith who invented their method, theories, and idea on the study of hadith, to trace back the chain link of the

⁵ Interview with Motzki, 4 March 2018 via email.

⁶ Jorgen Nielsen, *Muslim in Western Europe*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995, p. 1-2

transmission idea of Motzki but also trace the transmission after him. So, we must collect the data of early hadith scholars (especially western scholars) which connected with a similar topic/theme or categorization. After a deep investigation, I decide on "a source-critical study"⁷ as the standard theme.

Several scholars tried to classify hadith scholars. For example, Herbert Berg's classifications. Berg made four categories: Firstly, Early Western Skepticism. As we know, a lot of Western Hadith Scholars became a member of these groups.⁸ Such as Ignaz Goldziher⁹, Joseph Schacht¹⁰, Joseph van Ess¹¹, and other Hadith Scholars. Goldziher said that hadith cannot be validated easily. There is a lot of forgery on hadith transmitting.¹²

Like Goldziher, Joseph Schacht also believed in skepticism. Schacht produced his monumental theory, the common link theory, and the backward projection. He criticized the system of *isnad*. Finally, he concludes that hadith can hardly be validated.¹³ His ways followed by E. Stetter. Stetter made Topoi and Schemata theory.¹⁴

Secondly, *Reaction Against Skepticism*.¹⁵ There are hadith Scholars who had a similar paradigm in this group, such as Fuat Sezgin¹⁶, Nabia Abbot¹⁷, M.M Azami¹⁸. This group existed as a response to the group of skepticism. Fuat Sezgin had criticized a lot of Goldziher's thoughts. Sezgin wrote down his argument on his books *Geschichte des Arabischen Schriftums, Band I: Qur'an, Wissenschaften, Hadith, Geschichte, Fiqh, Dogmatik, Mystic*.¹⁹ Similar to him, Nabia Abbot also fights back a paradigm of skepticism. He argues that "writing tradition" existed in the Prophet's era. It means "writing tradition" can be used as proof for hadith historicity.²⁰

⁷ As we know, the term "source-critical study" is one of the popular themes on Islamic studies. The source-critical or analysis of source divided into two parts: the internal analysis of source (German: *innere Quellenkritik*) and external analysis of source (*außere Quellenkritik*). Look, Sebastian Gunther, "Assessing..." p. 75

⁸ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 8-9

⁹ Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols, London 1967

¹⁰ Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950

¹¹ Joseph van Ess, *Zwischen Hadit und Theologie*, Berlin/New York, 1950 in Kamaruddin Amin, *Menguji Kembali Keakuratan Metode Kritik Hadis*, (Hikmah: Jakarta), 2009

¹² Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 9-12

¹³ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 12-16

¹⁴ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 17

¹⁵ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 18

¹⁶ Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schriftums*, vol 1, Leiden 1967

¹⁷ Nabia Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II: Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition*, The University of Chicago Press, 1976

¹⁸ M. Azami, *Studies in Early Hadith Literature with a Critical Edition of Some Early Text*, Beirut 1968

¹⁹ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 21

²⁰ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, page 18

This works followed by M.M Azami who denied a lot of Schacht thought, especially on *Isnad* problems.²¹ There are two monumental books by him; *Studies in Early Hadith Literature* and *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. He also made a re-scheme of *isnad* which was classified by Schacht. He said that Schacht did not really understand Hadith sciences.

Thirdly, The Middle Ground.²² This group lead by G.H.A Juynboll,²³ G. Schoeler²⁴, and Harald Motzki²⁵. This group has taken a neutral position between the skeptic group and the reaction against skepticism. Juynball criticized the theory of common link by Schacht. But in other ways, he also did not agree with Azami. This position was followed by Harald Motzki²⁶.

Fourth, *Renewed Scepticism*²⁷. Michael Cook and Calder lead this group²⁸. This group had a paradigm that not only skeptic to hadith authenticity but also skeptic to all theories by skepticism group.²⁹ Fred Donner also labeled this category as "new skepticism".³⁰

On the other hand, Gregor Schoeler also proposed another classification or categorization. His classification was followed and used by Gledhill,³¹ and Motzki. Schoeler divided a classification into two categorize:

Firstly, "Sanguine" scholars or traditionalists. Schoeler defines 'sanguine': "They are scholars who attach some historical value to the traditional sources about the life of Muhammad in spite of the fact that these sources underwent changes in the process of transmission. In a nutshell, they regard the outlines and most important events of the traditional biography of Muhammad as historically accurate."

Secondly, "Revisionist". Also known as 'The Revisionist School of Islamic Studies' or 'Historical-Critical School of Islamic Studies' or simply 'Revisionism'. Schoeler defines it as "scholars who maintain that the sanguine sources about the early history of Islam (or the early

²¹ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 23-26

²² Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 26

²³ He has been known as *The Search of Middle Ground* which means the *Early Western Scepticism with Reaction Against Scepticism*. Look, G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition. Studies in Chronology, Provenance, and Authorship of Early Hadith*, Cambridge 1983

²⁴ Baca Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, hal 34-36

²⁵ Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence Meccan Fiqh Before the Classical Schools*, Leiden, Brill 2002

²⁶ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 36-38

²⁷ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 42

²⁸ Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1993. See also *Book Review* of Calder's articles: *Book Reviews of Norman Calder: Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, by Yasin Dutton in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol 5 Number 1 Jan 1994, page 102

²⁹ Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam*, Curzon, 2000, page 42

³⁰ Fred Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Princeton, NJ, 1998, p. 20

³¹ P.J. Gledhill, "Motzki Forger: The Corpus of Follower Ata in Two Early 3/9 Century Hadith Compendia", *Islamic Law and Society* 19, Leiden: Brill, 2012, page 161

hadith) almost exclusively reflect the opinions and concerns of later generations. They dismiss the traditional biography of Muhammad as largely or completely fictitious.

Those classifications are not free from criticism. For example, Berg chooses Juynboll as middle ground while Schoeler placed Juynboll as sanguine. It means this classification is still fluid and not taken for granted. So, I more prefer to combine or mix both of these classifications and sometimes modify them based on the purpose of this research.

The first discourse is Ignaz Goldziher. He believed that hadith cannot be perceived as historical data, not authentic, and can only be validated up until the second century Hijri. He determines several reasons that made hadith could not be relied upon as historical data: firstly, the *isnad* was often fabricated to father religious lore that served a partisan purpose onto the Prophet. Secondly, the *matn* manifestly contained anachronisms and prophecies that made it impossible to be trusted to be authentically Muhammadian. Goldziher also recovers proof from Islamic texts themselves that established Muslim's mistrust of writing hadith.

Not long after, Joseph Schacht followed Goldziher paradigm. In Schacht epoch-making books, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, he modified and spread out the areas of the theory, until he made a theory of Islamic law's development that the Qur'an had no role in the development of Sharia and that the hadith were "forged" in the late 100s Hijri to allow the insertion of Umayyad and Roman administrative practice and other items into Islamic Law.

Schacht's theory, "*Argumentum e Silentio*", has continued to inspire discussion. He assumes that if data on later collection is not found in the early collection, it means the data does not really exist. Another theory by him, the backward projection or the projecting back declared that the *isnad* being spread by transmitter who came from *Ahl Fiqh*, to get authority of their dogma.

While Goldziher and Schacht (and other skeptics) suggest that the *isnad* cannot guarantee the authenticity of hadith, Juynboll came with a fresh view that the *isnad* itself is a revealing historical datum even if the *matn* is not authentic. This view affected based on his object research which was also used when he helped compile Wensinck's *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*. Even though Juynboll develops a theory from Schacht's theory, "the common link" theory, He had not followed Schacht on all aspects. His view is exactly shown in his first work on hadith which was published in 1969 and on at least twenty more articles on the subject, in addition to his set of essays, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance, and Authorship of Early Hadith*. Juynboll added many technical terms to his theory. Such as "diving strands", "real common link", "partial common link" and more others. He thought the authenticity of hadith is hard to determine, but also opened the possibility of real historical data.

Like Juynboll, the common link theory by Schacht invited Fuat Sezgin and Nabia Abbot to react upon the theory. Abbot suggested that the early development hadith used written materials.³² Similar to her, Sezgin claimed nothing that of the eight ways in which transmission took place, only two involved memorizations, the other ways all involved written materials.³³

On the middle ground or sanguine group, we must give deep attention to one of the most concerned scholars on a source-critical hadith and the historicity of hadith theme, Gregor Schoeler. He tried to formulate the structure of dating methods which was similar to theories by other sanguine groups. This effort showed on many of his research such as *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Ueberlieferung uber das Leben Mohammeds, Ecrire et transmettre dans les debuts del Islam*.

Like Schoeler, who thought that the authenticity of hadith can be evaluated and have a historical dimension, other 'sanguine' groups propose a soft-perspective or soft-paradigm to the study of hadith. They are F. Buhl,³⁴ J. Horovitz,³⁵ A. Guillaume,³⁶ van Ess³⁷, M. Watt, Serjeant³⁸, Johan Fuck,³⁹ Rudi Paret, Ursula Sezgin, Albrecht Noth, Cornelius Kees Versteegh, Miklos Muranyi, M. Lecker, G. Stauth, E. Whelan, Andreas Gorke⁴⁰ and Harald Motzki.

The most significant sanguine scholar, who was determined as the face of the sanguine group, is Harald Motzki. many scholars consider Motzki as a sanguine group. It means his position was clearer than others, such as Juynboll's position which is debatable while some scholars add Juynboll as 'skeptics' and the others judge him as 'sanguine'.

Motzki proposes his monumental theory for a source-critical study, namely "the isnad cum matn" methods. This method inspired many scholars, especially 'sanguine' scholars, to investigate the hadith. Motzki claimed his theory was more effective to investigate hadith than others'. Motzki also argued that his theory successfully traced the authenticity of hadith until the Companion period while other theories such as 'the common link' theory can only trace until the Successors period.

The discourse account of hadith-critical study influences not only scholars before and in the same period with Motzki, but also scholars after him who were inspired by his idea. method,

³² Nabia Abbot, p. 39-64

³³ Sezgin, p. 58-62

³⁴ F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, trans. H.H Schaefer, Leipzig

³⁵ J. Horovitz, *The Earliest Biographies of The Prophet and their Authors*, ed. L. Conrad, Princeton, NJ

³⁶ A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A translation of Ibn Ishaq Sirat Rasulullah*, Oxford, 1955

³⁷ J. van Ess, *Zwischen Hadith und Theologie: Studien zur Entstehung pradestinatianischer Ueberlieferung*, Berlin and New York, 1975

³⁸ R.B. Serjeant, "Meccan trade and the rise of Islam: Misconception and flawed polemics", *Journal of the American Society*,

³⁹ Johan Fuck, *Muhammad Ibn Ishaq: Literaturehistorische Untersuchungen*, Ph.D. Thesis, Frankfurt, Main, 1925

⁴⁰ Andreas Gorke, "The historical tradition about al Hodaybiya: A study of Urwa bin Zubayr account, 2000, in Motzki

theories, and paradigm. We can mention several scholars such as Joas Wagemakers, Nicolet Boekhoff-van Der Voort, Kamaruddin Amin, and more others. Some of them tried to develop Motzki's method, re-formulate his theory, apply his theory, react to his idea, and criticize his paradigm.

This effort, on this sub-chapter, did not try to make a generalization of all discourse account on the unity of a source/hadith-critical studies. According to Foucault, the purpose of the archaeology of knowledge is just only to classify and categorize among all discourse account. Because the generalization will eliminate the uniqueness of each discourse.

The Comparative Fact

Based on the explanation of classifying of discourse hadith account earlier, I realize that each of the discourse accounts does not stand by itself. The discourse is not isolated among other discourse. The discourse is connected and related to others. This relation appeared as the impact of the unity theme. For a brief explanation, I categorized the connection into several points:

Firstly, *the similarity of methodical form*. If we investigate the methods by all scholars on the hadith-critical study, we will find that each method had a similar methodical form among others. Joseph Schacht's method, which is known as 'the common link' methods have a connection with a method by Juynboll. The methodical form of Juynboll's method is similar to Schacht's because Juynboll formulated his method by developing the Schacht method. For example, the characteristic of the Schacht method tried to trace the origins of the common link. On the same side, Juynboll methods also did that. This similarity between Juynboll method and Schacht method shows the transmission of the idea from Schacht to Juynboll.

Motzki's method is also related to Juynboll method that Motzki's idea of methodical form being transmitted from Juynboll. For example, the methodical form of Motzki's method is a combination of *isnad* and *matn* as the basis of theory. Juynboll also used both *isnad* and *matn* but with different capacities. This relation is a positive type because of the taking process of the idea through the agreeing type, not the rejection type.

Sebastian Gunther who was known as the former of the 'sanguine' method, has a similar methodical form with Motzki. Gunther formulated several steps of rules for evaluation of the dating of hadith by his source criticism theory: a) assessment of the individuals who significantly contributed to transmitting the pieces of text that the compiler eventually incorporated into his compilation. b) identification of these older texts. c) Assessment of the nature of these older texts. This includes tracing back the ways these texts were transmitted, along with the investigation into

the method used by the scholars in transmitting them, and a conclusive appraisal of the value these texts had for the compiler when used as a source.⁴¹

Another scholar who has a similarity of methodical form with Motzki is Gregor Schoeler. Schoeler developed a ‘sanguine’ theory. Similar to Motzki, he also used both *isnad* and *matn*. He suggested that the historical value contained on *matn* preserved massive data. While another scholar, especially the ‘revisionist’, ignored the *matn*, he added the *matn* as the basic historical fact of his method.

The Similarity of Methodical Form

No.	Discourse Account	Type of Connection	Case of Similarity
1.	Schacht → Juynboll	By agreeing	Determining the origin of the common link
2.	Juynboll → Motzki	By agreeing and modifying	Using both of <i>isnad</i> and <i>matn</i>
3.	Gunther → Motzki	By comparing	Technical steps of external analysis of source
4.	Schoeler → Motzki	By Comparing	Using <i>matn</i> as the basic historical fact

Table 1

After the investigation, I conclude that the ideas, paradigm, and method “*isnad cum Matan*” of Motzki did not appear instantly, or purely produced by Motzki himself. But it came from the earlier scholars who not only on the same paradigm with him but also those who have a different paradigm. The idea transmitted from one scholar to another scholar until Motzki. The idea was formulated, then criticized, then modified, then criticized, then combined, then re-structured, then reformulated, then criticized again.

Secondly, *the similarity of the ‘core’ paradigm*. As my explanation before, the horizon of paradigm on the hadith-critical study is widely divided into two paradigms: “revisionist” and “sanguine”. Both “revisionist” and “sanguine” spread among hadith scholars. Even though the composition of the paradigm of each scholar is not the same, but their core paradigm is always connected and linked to each other.

⁴¹ Sebastian Gunther, “Assesment...”, p. 76

If we investigate the characteristic of each discourse's paradigm, we will find a different basic view of them. This basic view is implicated by their core paradigm: "revisionist (the skeptics)" and "the sanguine (who are open to the reliability of authentic hadith)". The basic view determines how the scholars take a position of hadith on their research.

The 'revisionist' built their 'core' paradigm on views that the nature or development of hadith through the written material process, *an sich*. So, they consider the hadith like another written material, which can be evaluated from the texts *an sich*. But actually, the nature of hadith is not only a written process but also an oral process, which is considered as important by the 'sanguine' group. In addition, the 'revisionist' did not realize that the transmission of hadith was flexible and fluid, while the 'sanguine' consider that fact. This core view or paradigm is important because it determines the next step of the scholars on hadith study.

For example, Goldziher and Schacht have a core view which only considers the writing process. So, it implicated to their theory which focused on material collection. They tried to access early written material. They did not consider the variation of *matn* as important hints.

On the contrary, Sebastian Gunther, Gregor Schoeler, and Motzki consider that the transmission of hadith cannot be separated between the oral and written process. Motzki explains the oral process of hadith must be considered as the proof of a 'historical event'. Motzki believed that the variation of *matn* shows the real communication among transmitters. It also showed hadith which were produced for a 'real' report. The more variant that existed, the more possibilities of historical fact can be determined.

The Similarity of 'Core' Paradigm

No.	Discourse Account	Group	The similarity of 'core' paradigm
1.	Goldziher	Revisionist	Determining of Written Process
2.	Joseph Schacht	Revisionist	Determining of Written Process
3.	Sebastian Gunther	Sanguine	Determining of Oral and Written Process
4.	Gregor Schoeler	Sanguine	Determining of Oral and Written Process
5.	Harald Motzki	Sanguine	Determining of Oral and Written Process

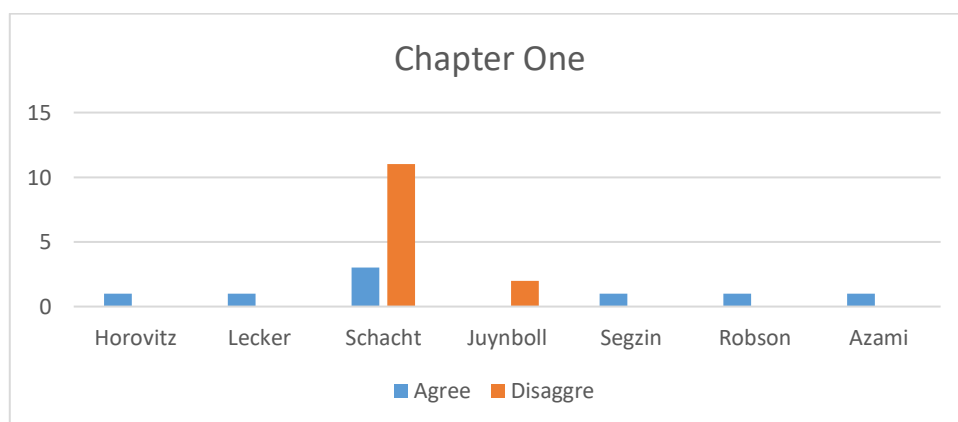
Table 2

Thirdly, a *process of referring*. As we know, Motzki produces several works which show his idea and method. When he elaborated the explanation, he refers to another scholar, he mentions another scholar's method which he approved, and he criticized the scholars whom he denied. This referring process, at least, shows the connection between Motzki and another scholar. The referring process means the footnote. For the simple trial, I had analyzed all footnotes on Motzki's book, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence* and *Analyzing Muslim Tradition*.

I found two types of the process of referring by Motzki. First, referring using a footnote. By adding the footnote, it shows the scholars who influenced Motzki. Secondly, referring by mentioning the method or scholars in the paragraph directly without a footnote. This type also is shown which scholars inspired Motzki. Both 'footnote' and 'direct mention' show the transmission of ideas from scholars before Motzki to him.

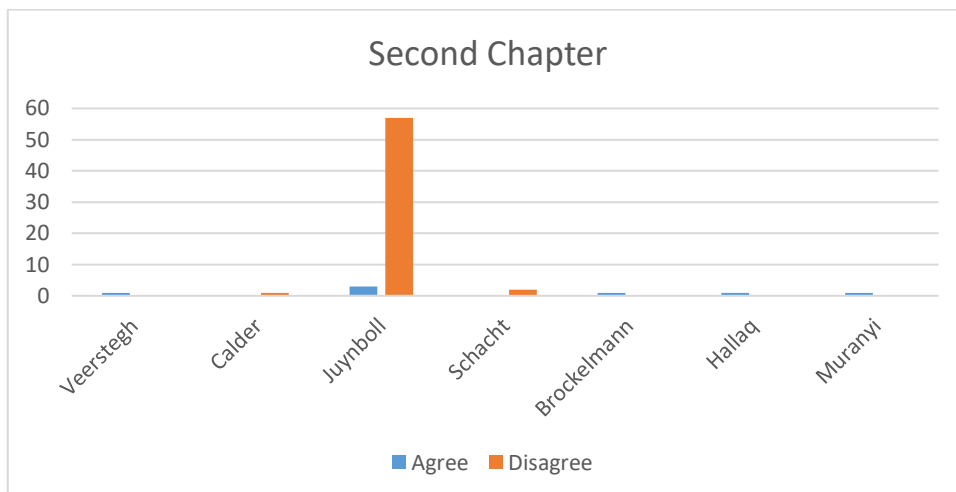
It is easy for us to get a "clue" that Motzki is being inspired by scholars which he mentions, and he agrees with the scholars. But, if we investigate deeply, we also will find that Motzki is also inspired indirectly by scholars whom he denied. When Motzki denied, criticized, or disagreed with other scholars, actually, he took his own position, made a different technical theory, or modified his method.

In *Analyzing Muslim Tradition*, four articles were made as a response to several scholars. In the first article. Motzki criticized Joseph Schacht's methods. He mentioned Schacht in the article more than fifty times. He also adds a footnote that refers to Schacht's book and articles. Most of the footnotes refer to Schacht (66,6%). Only 33,3% of footnote refers to other scholars which are normal because the article was written as a response to Schacht.



Graph I

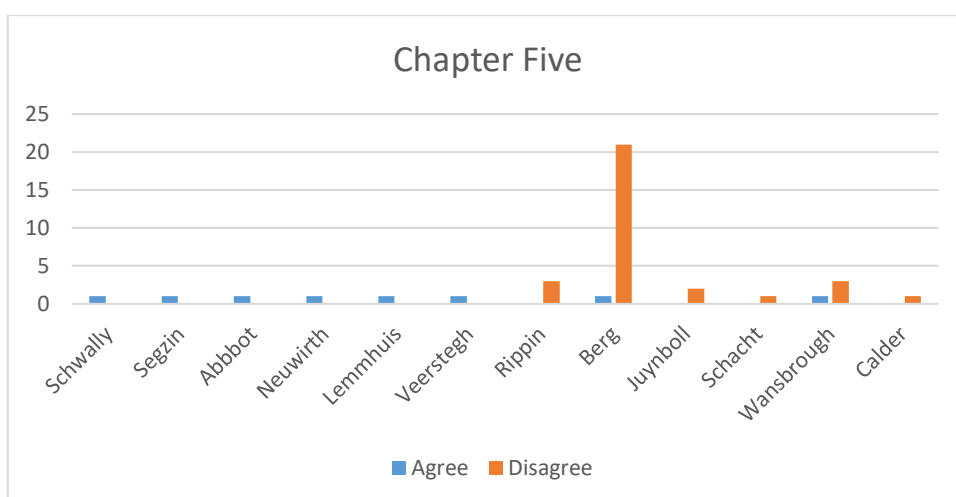
In chapter two, Motzki wrote an article as a response to Juynboll. He mentioned Juynboll on the article more than sixty times. Most of his footnote refers to Juynboll (89,5%). He also referred to another scholar but in a small quantity, only 10,4%.



Graph II

The third and fourth chapter is an article which written as a response to Schneider. Motzki's method got many responses from Hadith scholars. One of them is Schneider. She describes Motzki's position and methods. Motzki thinks that Schneider's judgment is wrong. So, he made the articles to clarify that. Most of his footnote refers to Schneider. Only a few footnotes refer to another scholar.

The fifth chapter is an article written as a response for Herbert Berg. In 2000, Berg published his book *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: The Authenticity of Muslim Literature from the Formative Period*. The book contained Berg's application of *Isnad cum Matn* theory. Motzki determines that Berg's effort was not fully enough. So, most of the footnotes in this chapter refer to Berg (59,4%). Only a few footnote refers to another scholar (40,5%).



Graph III

From these analyses, I can conclude several points. Motzki's idea and knowledge cannot be separated from Schacht and Juynboll. Even though Motzki disagrees with them, actually his idea

and method built "indirectly" with some part of their idea. In other words, Motzki position is similar to Schacht and Juynboll's. The factor which made a difference among them will be explained below.

Contradictions

Foucault said that the unity of discourse accounts showed the connection. But at the same time, it also showed the contradiction. This contradiction which appeared from a different characteristic of each discourse, suggests the independence of each scholar. It means the contradiction shows the independence and the unique characteristic but at the same time, the correlation is shown the linking process and the inter-dependence among discourse. So, I will discuss this explanation into several points:

Firstly, *a variation of object research*. As we know, each of the scholars who study hadith, chose a manuscript for their research. We can start with Goldziher. His research focused on *Kitab Al-Muwatta* written by Imam Malik. I assumed that Goldziher chose *Al-Muwatta* based on several factors such as a) He tried to access the early collection of hadith while other scholars used the younger manuscript (*Shahih Bukhari, Shahih Muslim*). He believed that the earlier manuscript or the oldest collection of hadith to be more original and promised more reliable data than the younger manuscript. b) *Al-Muwatta* being written in Madinah. These geographical factors are very important for Goldziher. He wants to access the hadith from the Muslim community in Madinah which is trusted as the community who applied the hadith in their life.

Schacht came with a different effort. He chose the manuscript of *Kitab Al-Umm* which was written by Imam Syafi'i. As we know, Imam Syafii wrote *Kitab Al-Umm* in Kuffah, Iraq. *Kitab Al-Umm* has an interesting factor that the *Kitab* was written in the period of conflict of power between *Ahl Hadith* and *Ahl Ushul*. The geographical factors, Kuffah, also contain an important factor, that the center of the academic society of *ulama* growth in Kuffah.

While Goldziher and Schacht chose *al-Muwatta* and *Al-Umm*, Harald Motzki tried to access the earliest manuscript of the collection of hadith. Finally, he found the manuscript of *Mushannaf* by Abd Razzaq which is believed to be the earliest manuscript of the collection of hadith available. He suggests that *mushannaf* have an *isnad* strand that is connected with the Companion transmitter. So, the *mushannaf* is the nearest manuscript with the earliest transmitter. In addition, the *mushannaf* promised more reliable, authentic, and original data than other manuscripts.

The variant of object research

No.	Discourse Account	Object of Research	Reasons
1.	Goldziher	<i>Al-Muwatta</i> (Imam Malik)	Period of Manuscript Geographical Factor (Madinah)
2.	Schacht	<i>Al-Umm</i> (Imam Syafi'i)	Geographical Factor (Kuffah)
3.	Harald Motzki	<i>Mushannaf</i> (Abd Razzaq)	Period of Manuscript
4.	Fuat Segzin	<i>Shahih Bukhari</i>	The quantity of Data Collection
5.	M. Fleischhammer	Manuscript of Abu Faraj al-Isfahani	Unknown
6.	Bergstresser	Muwatta	Unknown

Table 3

Secondly, *the uniqueness of technical terms (theoretical aspects)*. Each discourse account produces its own theory which has different technical terms among them. They also made a unique term that can be determined as the trademark of each scholar. For example, Ignaz Goldziher proposed a 'fabricator' term for a transmitter who produce hadith by himself. Joseph Schacht proposes several terms: 'common link' (which is defined as the oldest transmitter in an *isnad* bundle covering a certain tradition or "someone who hears something from seldom more than one authority and passes it on to a number of pupils, most of whom pass it on in their turn to two or more of their pupils"),⁴² 'the backward projection/the projecting back' (which is defined as the process of referring by a younger transmitter to the older transmitter for getting authority of their dogma), and 'argumentum e silentio (which is defined as the condition of the absence of earlier hadith in the older collection while existed in a younger collection)?

Juynboll who developed Schacht theory proposed his own term such as 'partial common link' which is defined as a transmitter who receives something from a common link (or any other sort of transmitter from a generation after the common link) and passes it on to two more pupils⁴³, 'inverted partial common link' which he defined as "a transmitter who is represented in a bundle as having received a report from two or more authorities to pass it on to one or more pupils"⁴⁴

⁴² Schacht, *Origins...*, p. 172

⁴³ G.H.A Juynboll, "Some analytical *isnad*...", p. 352

⁴⁴ G.H.A Juynboll, "Some analytical *isnad*...", p 360-361

and ‘diving strand’ which defined as the strand which dives from collector to Companion level without several levels between collector and companion level.

Gregor Schoeler, who is known as a member of ‘sanguine’, proposed his unique terms such as ‘*grobere Sammler*’ (major collectors)⁴⁵ and ‘*letzte Quellen*’ (last sources) which mean chronologically, the oldest original material on which compiler relies.⁴⁶ Schoeler’s teacher, Manfred Fleischhammer, also propose his own term such as ‘*ester Gewabrsmann*’ (first guarantor) which mean the person who first circulated a particular piece of information,⁴⁷ ‘*Quellen im engeren Sinne*’ which mean (sources in the narrow sense of the word) or all literary material or pieces of information (transmitted in writing, or orally, or both) used by a given compiler directly,⁴⁸ and ‘*Quellen im weiteren Sinne*’ (source in the wider sense of the word) which mean every guarantor within the *isnad*.⁴⁹

The Uniqueness of Technical Part

No.	Discourse Account	Technical Part
1.	Ignaz Goldziher	‘fabricator’
2.	Joseph Schacht	‘common link’ (cl) ‘projecting back’ ‘argumentum e silentio’
3.	Juynboll	‘partial common link’ (pcl) ‘inverted partial common link’ (ipcl) ‘seeming common link’ ‘diving strand’
4.	Michael Cook	‘the spread of <i>isnad</i> ’ ‘spurious’
5.	J. Wellhausen	‘ <i>ursprunglicher Berichterstatter</i> ’ (original reporter) ‘ <i>letzte Autoritat</i> ’ (last authority) ‘ <i>Hauptautoritat</i> ’ (main authority)

⁴⁵ Schoeler, *Die Frage*, p. 23

⁴⁶ Schoeler, *Die Frage*, p. 22-23

⁴⁷ M. Fleischhammer, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 25

⁴⁸ M. Fleischhammer, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 26

⁴⁹ M. Fleischhammer, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 25

		' <i>sammler</i> ' (collector)
6.	Ursula Segzin	' <i>ursprungliche Zeugen</i> ' (the original eyewitness) ' <i>unmittelbarer Gewährsmann</i> ' (the proximate guarantor)
7.	Fuat Segzin	' <i>verfasser</i> ' (author) ' <i>(blober) Überlieferer</i> ' (mere-transmitter)
8.	Bellamy	'earliest informant and transmitter' 'earliest common figure' 'ultimate sources' 'immediate sources'
9.	Schoeler	' <i>grobere Sammler</i> ' (major collectors) ' <i>letzte Quellen</i> ' (last sources)
10.	M. Fleischhammer	' <i>ester Gewährsmann</i> ' (first guarantor) ' <i>Quellen im engeren Sinne</i> ' ' <i>Quellen im weiteren Sinne</i> '

Table 4

The Power and The Knowledge

Geo-Political Europe

Based on Foucault's theory, we must consider the non-discourse which correlated with Motzki. One of the non-discourse accounts is political factors. For a comprehensive explanation, I trace back the political factor from a period before Motzki. I found interesting data on 1900-2000. According to the founding thesis of post-colonial studies, Edward Said, the German scholars' view of the orient both in the academy and the wider social context was hardly affected by the political factor, as Germany played only a marginal role among the colonial powers. Some of Said's critics point to the prestigious German Orientalist scholarship of the 19th and early 20th century as an example for a value-neutral, 'pure scholarship' and argue that by neglecting the German Orientalist tradition, Said basically devalued his whole argument.

In German scholarship, the political factors affected the scholars but were not bigger than other areas. I found the Nazi regime as the main political factor. As we know, the Nazis propose

their paradigm, anti-Semitism. In the Nazi period, this paradigm also spread among scholars. So, we can find the characteristic of scholars on the Nazi period more 'extreme-revisionist' cause affected by the political factors.

After the Nazi collapse, the orientation of academic research became more independent and objective. They conduct research just for academic purposes, not for political purposes. But their paradigm is still affected by Eurocentrism. They consider the Orient just an "object" while they consider themselves as the "reader". They "read" the Orient by their "Euro" view. This period which I called the "conventional-orientalist period", contained many Orientalists. Many of them are involved in the 'revisionist' paradigm.

Then the German political condition was normal and safe. The academic orientation going further. The scholars realized that they must understand the Orient by the Orient-view. They remained the Euro-scholars, not the only "men" who can claim or value the Orient. They started to connect with the Orient. This period has shown the "post-orientalist" paradigm. Many scholars were involved in this period such as Andreas Gorke, and Harald Motzki. The characteristic of them as 'sanguine' shows an effort to understand the Orient by the Orient views.

This paradigm shift, between "conventional-orientalist" into "post-orientalist", shows us the connection of the political factor to ideas of scholars. When the scholars in the Nazi era were affected by political interest, the scholars in the "post-orientalist" were free from political interest.

No.	Period	Scholars	Political Factors
1.	Old-Orientalist	Becker, Hugronje, Spuler	The Nazi party, colonial empire
2.	Conventional-Orientalist	Geiger, Ignaz, Schacht, Wansbrough	Eurocentrism
3.	Post-Orientalist	Noth, Gunther, Gorke, Schoeler, Motzki	None

Table 5

Geo-Academical Scholars

Motzki spent his academic life at least among two cities, Hamburg and Nijmegen. He also connected with other scholars around the world. I found several areas with scholars who connected with Motzki. I would not generalize all the discourse upon the classification. I realize that each 'academical area' has a different case and sometimes has an exception. So, I only tried to classify for trace the connection/effect from the factor of 'academical area' to Motzki's study on hadith. I classify into three 'academical areas', there are:

Firstly, '*Germany academical area*'. It is the most significant 'academical area' in Europe on hadith studies.⁵⁰ Each University has a member of scholars who produce research on hadith studies.

In Germany, the 'revisionist' also exists but grew in small quantities. They appeared at the Saarland University in Saarbrücken, Germany, also known as '*Saarbrücken School*'. The scholar who involved the '*Saarbrücken school*' are Gunter Lulling, Karl-Heinz- Ohlig, Markus Grob.

The most significant paradigm which growth in Germany is the 'sanguine'. The scholars who were involved in 'sanguine', connected among many universities in Germany. Schoeler is a Fellow at the University of Basel, Switzerland. He does not live in Germany. But in the past, he got his academic career in Germany. His thought was inspired by many scholars in the German area.

I found some interesting data. Motzki is a Lecturer at Radboud University, in Nijmegen, Netherlands. But, the characteristic of the research paradigm in Radboud was more similar to those in Germany. The background factors are a) the position of Nijmegen which is closer to Germany than the Netherlands. b) the influence of several lecturers in Radboud who got their academic career in Germany.

Secondly, '*Dutch-Academical area*'. One of the Netherlands scholars is Hans Jansen who in 2005 published a work showing in detail why the known account of Muhammad's life is legends. Then we must mention again two popular Hadith scholars in Netherland: Schacht, and Juynboll.

As we know, Goldziher is one of the founders of the "revisionist" group. His idea and theory spread in the Netherland area. Joseph Schacht and Juynboll who developed Goldziher theory live in Netherland. Most of their object research focused on the same topic: the source of Islamic law. So, if we look carefully at hadith research by Netherland hadith scholars, we will find the same characteristic and similarities. It was also affected by the "colonial" paradigm like research by Snouck Hugronje which contained colonialist factors.

Thirdly, the 'Anglophone area' or 'the area which use English as their language' or 'English-speaking skeptics'. The tendency or character of English-user research is more dominated by the 'revisionist' paradigm. Especially, the researcher who was involved in the new movement originated at the SOAS. The University of London, John Wansbrough and his students such as Andrew Rippin, Norman Calder, G.R Hawthing, Patricia Crone and Michael Cook. Still, in London, we will find Martin Hinds and Robert G. Hoyland (student of Patricia Crone).

Fourth, the '*francophone academical area*'. There are several scholars in France who were involved with 'revisionists'. They were obviously motivated by the desire to create their own

⁵⁰ Not only on hadith studies but also on another theme of Islamic studies such as Quranic studies, etc.

position as a counterpart to the achievements of English-speaking skeptics. For example, R. Blachere wrote *Le Probleme de Mahomet*⁵¹ with which the author made an independent contribution to the skeptical paradigm.⁵²

Another scholar has a connection with the ‘anglophone area’. There are J. Chabbi and De Premare. J. Chabbi was inspired by Michael Allan Cook. Chabbi maintains that the biography of Muhammad is ‘impossible’. De Premare was motivated by J. Wansbrough paradigm. He explained a strange ambivalence toward early Islamic sources.

Fifth, the ‘Jerusalem school area’. there is some scholar who was involved in this group such as Kister, Lecker, and Ella Landau Tasseron. Kister is a Hadith scholar who taught at the university in Jerusalem. His research was inspired by Johan Fuck. Like Kister, Lecker also was motivated by Fuck. Lecker also applied the *isnad cum matn* method by Motzki. Ella Landau made research which similar to Johan Fuck perspective. Ella uses a *Waqidi* manuscripts as her object research.

The Characteristic of The Geographical Area

No.	Geographical Area	Scholar Account	Paradigm
1.	‘Germany academical area’	Gunter Lulling, Gerd-Rudiger Puin, Karl-Heinz-Ohlig, Volker Popp, Christoph Luxenberg and Markus Grob	‘revisionist’
		Sebastian Gunther, Schoeler, Andreas Gorke, Harald Motzki, Kees Versteegh, Albrecht Noth, Nicolet Beekhoef, J. Wagemakers	‘Sanguine’
2.	‘Dutch-Academical area’	Goldziher, Schacht	‘revisionist’
		Juynboll	‘sanguine’
3.	‘Anglophone area’	John Wansbrough, Andrew Rippin, Norman Calder, G.R Hawthing, Patricia Crone, Michael Cook, Martin	‘revisionist’

⁵¹ R. Blachere, *Le Probleme de Mahomet*,

⁵² R. Blachere, *Le Probleme de Mahomet*, p. 3

		Hinds, and Robert G. Hoyland.
4.	<i>'francophone academical area'</i>	R. Blachere, J. Chabbi, and 'revisionist' De Premare.
5.	<i>'Jerusalem school area'</i>	Kister, Lecker, Ella Landau Tasseron 'sanguine'

Table 6

All connections between the 'academical area' also show the other factor of development of each area or paradigm, the language. The language is proof of the connection. The spread of paradigm was easier with the same language. So, we found that the 'sanguine' paradigm spread more in the German language than other languages. Meanwhile, the 'revisionist' paradigm spread more with Dutch and the English language.

CONCLUSION

Based on this research, I will conclude two main points. First, the epistemic structure of the Isnad Cum Matn method relies on the source of this method. The source of the Isnad Cum Matn method is the early hadith collection such as the "pre-canonical", the "canonical", the "post-canonical" and also the "non-canonical" hadith collections. He takes them into account in the place where they are relevant. He always does so in a thoroughly exhaustive fashion. The Isnad Cum Matn also rely on the biographical literature of transmitter. It means that Motzki takes the data of transmitters from several biographical works of literature of transmitters such as the oldest extant biographical work, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra*, and the most recent biographical work such as *Tadzkiirat al-Huffaz*, *Siyar Aalam Annubala*, and *Tabdhib al-Kamal*. Then the source of the technical method of the Isnad Cum Matn came from the earlier theory of the dating of hadith by the Sanguine scholars and the Revisionist scholars. Motzki takes and develops Schacht and Juynboll's common link theory. He also modified the dating of the hadith method by Sanguine scholars such as Gregor Schoeler and Sebastian Gunther. He chooses several parts of their method which fit his theory.

The validity of the Isnad Cum Matn Method depends on the reliability of the historical data of the transmitter. It means one of the transmitters can be valued as the real historical subject if the information of the transmitter can be found or accessed on the biographical literature. The validity of this theory also depends on the structural correspondence of *isnad* bundle. It means each of all transmitters in the *Isnad* bundle must connect and relate to each other. The connection is the process of transmission through an oral or written process.

Second, the discursive formation of the discourse of the dating of hadith shows that many scholars' ideas relate and connect with Motzki's idea. This relation and connection seem coherent on one side, and the contradiction on the other side. The connection and the coherence of Motzki's idea with other scholars are the similarity of the methodical form, the similarity of the "core" paradigm, and the referring process. The discursive formation also shows the domination of knowledge by several factors. From the geopolitical factors, we find that the domination of the Revisionist paradigm is supported by the political account of government. This domination affects Motzki. But it differs from Motzki who is considered to be in the Sanguine group. The Sanguine group lives on the Post-Orientalist period which left the Eurocentrism paradigm. Then from the area factors, we also find that the area living of scholars also constructs the theory or idea of scholars. The area also shows the power to hegemony knowledge. I have classified the trends of the paradigm of each area. The German academic area tends to be dominated by Sanguine paradigm. Similar to German area, the Jerusalem area also is dominated by the Sanguine paradigm. It is caused by the connection between scholars in the German area and the Jerusalem scholars. On the contrary, the Netherland academic area is dominated by the Revisionist paradigm. It is also the same as the Anglophone area and Francophone area which is dominated by the skeptic paradigm. All those points, influenced Motzki's idea especially the Isnad Cum Matn method.

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