

## The Connectivity of Hadith Criticism Theory Formulation among Orientalists

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### Abstract

This article attempts to trace the connectivity of theoretical formulation of hadith criticism among Orientalists, namely the theory of projecting back, argumentum e silentio, common link, dating, isnâd cum matn analysis, explosive isnâd, and family isnâd that had been constructed by Joseph Schacht, GHA. Juynboll, Harald Motzki, and Nabia Abbott. This study finds that there has been a connection among Orientalists in formulating theories of hadith criticism which can be seen in the similarity of these theories in assessing the Prophet hadiths, although some of them has a little different, but when they are traced there is a common thread connecting them. Some factors cause the connectivity of theoretical formulations of hadith criticism among Orientalists are methodological, socio-geographical, cultural, ideological and world views, language, interests, doctrines, and scientific ethics. These factors encourage the connectivity so they have relatively the same thoughts in assessing and researching the Prophet's Traditions, which are different from the assessments and researchs of hadith scholars.

**Keywords:** Isnâd, Matn, Hadith, Projecting Back, Argumenta E Silentio, Common Link, Isnâd Cum Matn Analysis, Explosive Isnâd, Family Isnâd

### Introduction

The term orientalism refers to a branch of knowledge concerning with the study of Eastern nations in all of their aspects such as religion, language, science, literature, art, culture, politics, traditions, and others. Meanwhile, the Eastern world (orient) refers to the part of the world identified by Western nations as the world including all nations located in the east of

European continent. Western nations divide the Eastern world into three parts; Near East, Middle East, and Far East (al-Dasuqi: 2013: 41). Geographically, orientalism deals with an area that stretches from the Near East (Turkey and its environs), the Middle East (Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, etc.) to the Far East (Japan, Korea, China) and South Asia to the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union, as well as the Middle East to North Africa (Maufur, 2015: 11).

As an intellectual and cultural activity, orientalism concerns with various intellectual works such as editing Islamic heritage books and publishing them, studying regional languages in various Eastern countries, analyzing various social, economic, and psychological factors influencing the behavior of a nation, studying various sects and beliefs in a country, both moderate and extreme, as well as examining various ancient relics in various countries (Marzuq, 2011: 136-137). They also conduct research and analysis of various objects of study and publish them in scientific works, both articles, books and other forms of scientific works. Thus, the positive contribution of orientalism to Muslims is reflected in the fact that Orientalists have edited and published manuscripts, cataloged Islamic manuscripts, propagated scientific research methods when studying *turâth*, created index books such as *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li Alfâz al-Hadîth al-Nabawî*, and so on.

In the field of hadith, the Orientalists very active in studying, analyzing, and researching it, then they publish the results of their scientific works containing various opinions and theories of the authenticity of the Prophet's hadiths that relatively different from the theories and principles of hadith science formulated by Muslim hadith scholars. They develop basic assumptions and certain theories regarding the authenticity of hadith and *sunnah* as well as the epistemology of hadith studies according to their understanding. Among them are Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1920 AD), a Hungarian-born Jewish Orientalist, Snouck Hurgronje (1886 AD), a Dutch Orientalist, Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb (1895-1971 AD), a British Orientalist, Joseph Schacht (1902-1969 AD.), a Polish Orientalist, G.H.A. Juynboll, a Dutch Orientalist, and several other Orientalists with their various nationalities.

This study will explore the possibility of a connection between the formulation of hadith criticism theories by Orientalists with their various backgrounds. The Orientalists who explicitly put forward the theories of hadith criticism are Joseph Schacht, G.H.A. Juynboll, Harald Motzki, Nabia Abbott, and so on. This study limits to the explanation of the theories developed and carried out by them, namely the theory of projecting back or backward projection, *argumentum e silentio*, common link, dating, *isnâd cum matn* analysis, explosive *isnâd* and *isnâd* family.

### **Research Method**

The advantage of this research type is its high critical value. Researchers are required to fully understand the concepts and theories being used and require relatively more and more varied library materials than field research. Library materials are very important in terms of comparative, statistical, and official materials in the form of formal juridical, historical, and basic materials (Ndraha, 1985: 96).

Data collection has been carried out to obtain the information needed in order to achieve research objectives (Gulö, 2008: 110). To collect data, this study uses documentation techniques by tracing the literature of hadith criticism theories among Orientalists. The data

analyzed using the following methods: Firstly, the descriptive-analytical method that has been carried out by presenting the data as it is and then analyzing as well as interpreting it. The descriptive method according to Surakhmad (1982: 139), is applied not only on the collection and compilation of data, but also on its analysis and interpretation. Secondly, the content analysis method, namely the analysis of a text contents by classifying the signs used, using criteria as a basis of classification, and using certain analytical techniques to make predictions (Muhadjir, 1992: 76).

#### *The Connectivity of Hadith Criticism Theories Formulation*

Joseph Schacht was one of Orientalists who at the forefront in criticizing hadith and Islamic law, he even classified as an extreme and skeptical Orientalist figure (el-Badawi, 2008: 40). In conducting his research, particularly on hadith and Islamic law, Schacht used historical and sociological approaches as Bernard Lewis (1970: 378) said, "Schacht approach was neither theological nor juristic, but rather historical and sociological." Therefore, when studying and researching hadiths, Schacht focused more on *isnâd* than *matn* of the hadiths which can be studied using historical and sociological approach because the *isnâd* (hadith transmission) relating to historical aspects and the condition of society when the hadiths were narrated. Conducting his research, Schacht referred to several literatures written in the second and third centuries of Hīgra, namely *al-Muwattâ'* by Mâlik bin Anas (d. 179/795), *al-Muwatâ'* by Muhammad al-Shaybânî (d.189/804), as well as *al-Umm* and *al-Risâlah* by al-Shâfi'î (d. 204/820). The use of these literatures caused by the fact that these books were found and are still exist today so they become historical evidences about the beginning of the Prophet's hadith codification. Because the hadith literature only existed in the second and third centuries, according to Schacht, there is a possibility that they were made up during these times.

To strengthen his thesis, Schacht offered the theory of projecting back or backward projection by attributing all the arguments of Islamic scholars of the first and second centuries to earlier scholars or scholars of the previous century. Schacht illustrated his theory by the existence of Iraqis who attributed their opinions to Ibrâhîm al-Nakhâ'î (d. 95/714), then to gain stronger legitimacy, these opinions attributed to figures who had higher authority, for example to 'Abd Allâh ibn Mas'ûd, and subsequently these opinions attributed to the Prophet (Yakub, 2004: 22). Therefore, Schacht concluded that the series of narrators contained in the hadith *isnâd* were deliberately engineered and took famous figures in each era (Darmalaksana, 2004: 117). This is the reconstruction of hadith *isnâd* formation by projecting these opinions to figures whose legitimacy was behind them (Schacht, 1964: 31-32).

This theory can be seen in Schacht's explanation that Islamic law did not exist at the time of al-Sha'bî (d. 104/723) showing that if hadiths related to Islamic law were found, then they had been made by people who lived after al-Sha'bî. Schacht believed that Islamic law had only been known since the time when *qâdîs* (religious judges) were appointed. The previous caliphs (*al-Khulafâ' al-Râshidûn*) never appointed *qâdîs*. The appointment of *qâdîs* was carried out during the Umayyad dynasty (Schacht, 1964: 34). Around the end of the first century of Hīgra, the appointment of these *qâdîs* was for specialists from the devoutly religious. Because the number of these specialists was increasing, they eventually developed into a group of classical Islamic law schools. This happened in the first decade of the second Hīgra. Then, the legal decisions given by these *qâdîs* required legitimacy from people who had higher

authority. Therefore, they did not attribute these decisions to themselves, but to the previous figures up to the Prophet (Schacht, 1964: 32).

The emergence of these classical Islamic law schools caused the appearance of an opposition group consisting of hadith experts. The basic thinking of this group is that hadiths originating from the Prophet must be able to defeat the rules made by the group of jurists (*qâdîs*). To achieve this goal, the group of hadith experts made explanations and hadiths, saying that this was done or said by the Prophet. They also said that they received them orally based on continuous *isnâd* from reliable hadith narrators (Schacht, 1964: 149). Therefore, Schacht concluded that the hadith of the Prophet was a product of Islamic scholars in the first and second centuries of Hira. The series of narrators contained in the hadith *isnâd* were the result of engineering by the scholars who lived that time, and the existence of hadith was only their creation, especially the hadiths relating to law. Schacht's rationalization to strengthen his conclusion is that if the legal hadiths had existed at the time of the Prophet, these hadiths would have been used in discussions or they would have been made as evidences. The fact is that at the time, this did not happen (Schacht, 1964: 149). He stated that during the time of the Prophet and even the period after it (the time of the Companions), the existence of hadith was never used as a source of law and a basis in resolving religious issues. Hadith was only used as a source of law in the first and second centuries (Schacht, 1959: 163). Schacht stated that the *isnâd* system also began to be held in the second century. He said, "The regular practice of using *isnâd* is older than the beginning of the second century." He also claimed that the authenticity of the six hadith books (*al-kutub al-sitta*) which are the main reference books for Muslim cannot be guaranteed, as he stated, "... even the classical corpus contains a great many traditions which cannot possibly be authentic" (Schacht, 1959: 37).

Schacht's formulation of the projecting back theory is that the *isnâd* system may be valid for tracing hadiths back to the scholars of second-century, but the chains of transmission that stretched back to the Companions and the Prophet are false. His argument can be summed up in five points. Firstly, the *isnâd* system started in the second century, or at least at the end of the first century of Hira. Secondly, the *isnâds* are placed haphazardly and arbitrarily by those who wanted to project backwards their doctrines up to classical sources (projecting back). Thirdly, the *isnâds* are gradually improved by forgeries. The earlier *isnâds* are incomplete, but all gaps had been filled in during the classical collections. Fourthly, additional sources were created in al-Shâfi's time to answer the objections to hadiths traced back to single source. The family *isnâds* are fake, as well as the hadith *matns* conveyed in the *isnâds*. Lastly, the existence of a common narrator in the chain of transmission is an indication that the hadith originating from the time of the narrator (Yakub, 2004: 232-233). Based on this theory, Schacht concluded that there are no authentic hadiths, especially legal hadiths, from the Prophet, as he stated, "We shall not meet any legal tradition from the Prophet which can be considered authentic" (Schacht, 1959: 149). So, according to him, there are no hadiths that really come from the Prophet, so we shouldn't believe in the existence of the hadiths, and even if there are and can be proven, the number of authentic and verifiable hadiths is very little.

The projecting back theory initiated by Schacht is actually a development of the ideas of the previous Orientalist, Ignaz Goldziher, regarding the method of hadith criticism. Goldziher stated that hadith is a product of religious, historical, and social development of Islam which

had only emerged since the second century of Hira. He said, "We are unlikely to have even as much confidence as Dozy regarding a large part of the hadith, but will probably consider by far the greater part of it as the result of the religious, historical, and social development of Islam during the first two centuries" (Goldziher, 1971: 19). Likewise in his book *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, he argued that *Sunna* is a form of religious views and practices that developed in the early generation of Islamic communities as he said, "...since the *Sunna* is the embodiment of the views and practices of the oldest Islamic community" (Goldziher, 1979 : 38).

The projecting back theory also had been appreciated by other Orientalists. According to H.A.R. Gibb, the theory of projecting back developed by Joseph Schacht would one day become a reference for Islamic studies around the world, at least in the Western world (Murad, 1995: 192. Robson stated that the theory is a valuable study that opens new ways of research (Azami, 2000: 231). Likewise, John van Ess, a well-known Orientalist who followed the concept offered by Schacht. Like Schacht, van Ess also admitted that *isnâds* had been projected backwards and he also accepted the common link theory (Amin, 2009: 156).

Besides projecting back, Schacht also initiated an *argumenta e silentio* theory. This theory was created to prove non-existence of a narration in hadith literature, if a hadith is not found in a hadith collection, where its existence is certainly expected, then the hadith did not exist when the hadith collection was made (Amin, 2009: 174). The theory of *argumenta e silentio* was constructed based on an assumption that if a narrator at a certain time was not careful about the existence of a hadith and failed to mention it or if a hadith was narrated by a scholar or narrator who came later where the previous narrators did not use the hadith, then it means that the hadith was not ever existed. If a hadith was firstly found without a complete *isnâd* and then written with a complete one, then that *isnâd* is also a forgery. In other words, to prove whether a hadith existed or not, it is enough to show that it had been used as evidence in the discussions of jurists. Because if the hadith ever existed, it would definitely be used as a reference. This theory received various responses, not only receiving praise and support from scholars, but also getting criticism including from the Orientalists themselves, such as Harald Motzki, a Professor of the University of Nijmegen Netherlands (Amin, 2009: 176-181). Some Muslim scholars also imitated and developed the theory initiated by Schacht. For example, A.A.Fyzee, a Muslim judge in the ranks of the Supreme Court of the State of Bombay India, in his book *A Modern Approach to Islam*, he unconditionally accepted Schacht's theses. Likewise Fazlur Rahman, a director of the Islamic Center in Karachi who later moved to Chicago, in his book entitled *Islam*, he criticized the basics of Schacht's views regarding the formation of schools of Islamic law, but accepted Schacht's main thesis regarding the process of circulating hadiths and his projecting back theory (Yakub, 2004: 23).

The explanation of projecting back theory by Schacht above can be seen in the common link theory. Although the common link theory is often associated with G.H.A. Juynboll, actually he was not its creator and inventor. Juynboll himself admitted that he was only the developer and not inventor of the theory. In some of his writings, he always refers to Schacht as the creator of the term common link and who firstly introduced it in his book, *The Origin of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Juynboll, 1992: 292-293). However, because Schacht was assumed as had been failed to observe the frequency of this phenomenon and did not pay enough attention and elaboration, Juynboll made a breakthrough by developing, elaborating,



and explaining it more detail so that this theory was later associated to his name. Therefore, it can be said that there is a very close connection between the formulation of the projecting back and the common link theory.

Juynboll stated that the common link theory is a brilliant theory, but it has not been developed on a large scale by hadith scholars, because this theory has received less attention, elaboration, or emphasis, even by Schacht himself (Juynboll, 1985: 207). In terms of its basic argument, the common link theory departs from the assumption that the more lines of transmission meet or leave certain narrators, the greater the moment of narration has a historical claim, in the sense that the truth of the hadith can be accounted for historically (Juynboll, 1994: 153). On the other hand, if a hadith is narrated from the Prophet through one person (Companion) to another person (*tâbi'în*) and then to another person (*tâbi' tâbi'în*) which eventually reaches a common link, and after that the *isnad* path is branching outward, the history of the single track cannot be maintained (Juynboll, 1991: 296-297). In other words, a hadith that is narrated by many narrators through many *isnad* channels can be accounted for as true historically, in contrast to a hadith which is only narrated by one person (as a common link), even though the next *isnâd* route is narrated by many narrators and so on up to the collector (*mukharrij*) hadith, the existence of the hadith is doubtful. Ideally, according to Juynboll (1991: 296-297), the majority of *isnâd* lines in various collections of hadiths show the paths of transmission that developed from the Prophet and then radiated to a large number of Companions and then they conveyed to a large number of *tâbi'în* (the Successor) and so on until hadith collectors. But in fact, most of the *isnâds* that support the same part of a hadith *matn* (content) have only begun to branch off from a common link, that is, a narrator who came from the second or third generation after the Prophet.

Thus, through the common link theory, Juynboll wanted to state that since most hadiths are only narrated individually, their truth is difficult to be accounted for. These hadiths were made by narrators (which he called common links) which were then based on previous authoritative generations and so on until the Prophet. These hadiths were then conveyed to the next generation in a large number of narrators at each level of *isnad*. Therefore, almost all hadiths are fake, made by the narrators involved as common links that came from the *tâbi'în* and *tâbi' tâbi'în* generations, or even the next generation. Through this theory, he also wanted to propose a solution in studying hadith. This theory not only has implications for efforts to revise the hadith critique method of hadith scholars, but also reject all the basic assumptions that form their basis theory. If the critique method of the hadith scholars is based on the quality of hadith narrators, but the common link theory does not only emphasize on their quality but also on their quantity. Junyboll said that we have never found a scientifically successful method to prove the historical attribution of hadiths to the Prophet. In addition, the *isnâd* criticism method used by hadith scholars has several weaknesses. Firstly, the *isnâd* criticism method has been developed in a relatively very slow period. Secondly, the *isnâd* of hadith, even if they are accurate, can wholly be falsified easily. Thirdly, it is not applied the proper criteria to check the hadith *matn* quality (Masrur, 2007: 77).

In this phenomenon, Juynboll proposed a solution using common link theory and *isnâd* analysis method. Broadly speaking, the workings of these two theories are: (a) determining the hadiths to be studied, (b) tracing them in various collections of hadiths, (c) compiling all hadith *isnâds*, (d) compiling and reconstructing all *isnâd* paths in one *isnâd* bundle, and (e)

detecting common links, namely the narrators who were considered to be most responsible for the spread of hadiths (Masrur, 2007: 77). After determining and tracing the hadiths in various hadith collections, the next step is to make *isnâd* bundle construction. The working procedure of this is that a hadith researcher should make a scheme describing the *isnâd* paths that support the *matn* of hadith being studied, then the *isnâd* pathways originating from the various books are combined into one to form one constructed or combined *isnâd* describing the process of hadith transmission from generation to generation begins from the Prophet until the time of the scholars who collected hadiths such as al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Majah, and so on (Sumbulah, 2010: 74).

To compile the *isnâd* bundle construction, Juynboll used al-Mizzi's book *Tuḥfah al-Ashrâf bi Ma'rifah al-Aṭrâf* as the main reference. This book records the transmissions of hadiths narrated neatly by *al-aimma al-sitta* (six scholars of hadiths) in their six standard hadith books, so that by using this, Juynboll did not need to compile all *isnâd* paths contained in the books. In order to see the *isnâd* pathways which are being studied more comprehensively and to describe the actual course of transmission, the *isnâd* networks contained in the books other than the six ones must also be compiled and then combined with the *isnâd* networks that had been compiled by al-Mizzi (Juynboll, 1991: 345-350). The combined results of this *isnâd* network provide an overview of how the transmission took place; who played a role in transmitting the hadith *matn*, in which generation did the hadith *matn* begun to spread widely, where did the narrators come from, and so on. In short, it is this the *isnâd* network that will be used as the field of analysis. The next step to perform an *isnâd* analysis is that the networks of various *isnâd* have been displayed in the *isnâd* bundle construction as released from the six books and others are then analyzed in such a way with the existing methods, to find out who was the first person who made the hadith *matn*. Here, Juynboll explained about single strand, common link, and partial common link. The path of the *isnâd* from the Prophet to the third or fourth single narrators according to Juynboll is a single strand. The third or fourth narrators who started having more than one student are called a common link and the common link students who had more than one student are called partial common links (Juynboll, 1991: 345-350).

In addition to using the *isnâd* analysis method, Juynboll also conducted *matn* analysis to test the authenticity and historicity of the Prophet's Traditions. In general, the steps of *matn* analysis method proposed by Juynboll are: (a) looking for parallel *matns*, (b) identifying common links contained in the parallel *matns*, (c) determining the oldest common link, (d) determining parts of the text which are the same in all hadiths examined, and (e) the sources or origins of all hadith *matns* traced using the same method, namely the *isnâd* analysis method. Using this step, it could be found who were the responsible persons for a hadith transmission and then the authenticity and truthfulness of a hadith could also be known (Masrur, 2007: 88-89).

In his research on hadith, Juynboll used a method built on the basic principles of historical-philological text criticism (Masrur, 2007: 115). The historical approach explores the meaning and significance of written language as understood at the time when the author wrote it. Besides that, this approach also explores the relationship between a work and other works so that historical elements can be identified (Akbar, 2012: 146). The philological approach examines the culture and spirituality of a nation by examining literary works or written

sources from that nation (Partanto, 1994: 178). This philological approach focuses on the study of religious texts or sources to find out the religious spiritual culture. Thus, the historical-philological approach focuses on the text, language, meaning, author, origin or historical background of the text, and the relationship between texts.

Both Schacht and Juynboll came to a conclusion that the Prophet's hadiths were forgeries. The difference is, if Schacht convincingly stated that all hadiths, especially legal hadiths, are fakes as a result of engineering by the scholars at the first and second century of Hira who relied on previous figures and finally reached to the Prophet, then Juynboll saw from the possibility of a common link among narrators which cause the hadith they conveyed as fakes, did not come from the Prophet, but engineered by their own narrators. On the other hand, Juynboll idealized the existence of hadith narrations in which the majority of the *isnâd* lines show many paths of transmission from the Prophet which were conveyed to a large number of Companions and then conveyed to a large number of *tâbi'în* and so on until the hadith collectors.

Therefore, it can be said that Juynboll's views on hadith cannot be separated from his preliminary thoughts such as Ignaz Goldziher and Joseph Schacht, who argued that hadith is a result of the religious, historical, and social developments of Islam during the first two centuries, or a reflection of trends appeared in Muslim society during these times. They claimed that hadith is a fabrication by classical jurists and hadith experts to legitimize their opinions. Thus, it can be said that no hadith, whether concerning legal issues or not, can be considered as authentic. In other words, hadiths did not come from the Prophet, but from the *tâbi'în* (Successor) generation (Idri, 2013: 34).

The theory put forward by Schacht and Juynboll received support as well as criticism. The criticism for example comes from Harald Motzki, a Professor of Nijmegen University Netherlands. Motzki developed dating and *isnâd cum matn* analysis theory. Dating theory is a theory used to estimate the age and origin of a historical dating document through the method of modern historical criticism namely source criticism which aims to reconstruct the events of the early days of Islam (Amin, 2015: 5). Meanwhile, the theory of *isnâd cum matn* analysis is a theory of hadith dating through analysis and study of transmission lines by collecting and comparing variations of hadith texts simultaneously (Ayaz, 2015: 45). The comparison between *matn* (the substantive part of a Tradition) and *isnâd* (the formal part) will help to determine who is a key figure who existed historically as a common link (cl) or partial common link (pcl) (Pavlovitch, 2011: 143). Through *isnâd cum matn* analysis it can also be known the narrators who had deviated, added, and subtracted the original transmissions. Likewise, the level of accuracy of the narrators can also be measured by analyzing each texts (Amin, 2015: 39). By comparing the results of *isnâd* and *matn* analysis, a conclusion can be drawn about when the hadith began to be disseminated, who was the oldest transmitter of the hadith, as well as the texts could experience changes in certain transmission lines and who was responsible for the transmission. If we look closely at the first two steps of Motzki's *isnâd cum matn* analysis it seems that it is not much different from Juynboll's *isnâd* analysis method. The different is the last two steps focusing on the *matn* of hadith, especially on its structure and composition of words (Masrur: 2007: 92).



One of the characteristics of the *isnâd cum matn* analysis is that the quality of a narrator is not only based on scholar's comments about him. Scholars' comments are only as secondary consideration. The quality of a narrator primarily determined by his *matn* or text narrated. The analysis of *matn* referred to in this theory is not whether the *matn* contradicts to the Qur'an or Traditions that are considered more powerful, reason, senses or historical facts, and not indicates prophetic words, as advocated by hadith scholars such as Salah al-Din al-Idlibi (1983: 238). However, it is about analyzing how far a narrator's text deviates or differs textually from other narrations. And, before the textual analysis is carried out, a mapping is done on who received the narration and from whom, starting from the hadith collectors such as al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, al-Nasa'i, Ibn Majah, and soon to the Companions or even the Prophet.

Motzki's use of dating theory which is based on original sources in the *Musannaf* book by 'Abd al-Razzaq and the *isnâd cum* analysis theory using traditional-historical approach is a research that can be academically justified. This is different from Schacht's historical analysis which is based on doubts in interpreting phenomena solely as seen in the theory of projecting back. However, if we take a closer look at the theory developed by Motzki, it already exists in the study of hadith in Islam. For example, the theory of traditional-historical can be aligned with the science of *Rijâl al-Hadîth* and his theory of external criteria and internal arguments, formal criteria of authenticity in the transmission of hadith, can be aligned with the theory of *al-tahammul wa al-adâ' al-hadîth*. According to Juynboll, in dating a hadith, three questions need to be asked, namely where, when, and by whom the hadith was disseminated. In his view, the answers to these three questions at the same time answer the questions about the provenance, chronology, and authorship of the hadith. To answer these three questions, what must be done firstly is to identify the common links of the hadith being studied. To do this, the *isnâd* of the hadith must be analyzed, for example, by constructing an *isnâd* diagram (Motzki, 1998: 19).

Through the explanation above, it can be said that there is a connection between the hadith criticism theories among Orientalists. The *isnâd* analysis method by Schacht in his book *The Origin of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* which was later developed by Juynboll, elaborated in more detail by Harald Motzki and became the *isnâd-cum-matn* theory. This theory, according to Motzki (2000: 174), is used to trace the history of hadith transmission by comparing the variants contained in different compilations. Motzki offered a new approach to common link theory developed by Juynboll from his earlier Orientalist, Schacht. The new approach to trace the history of hadith transmission is what he called as the *isnâd cum matn* analysis. However, in contrast to Schacht and Juynboll who considered common link as a forger or beginner of hadith, Motzki interpreted common link as the first systematic collector of hadith, whose role is to record and narrate it in regular student classes, and from those classes a learning system developed. In principle, even though Motzki's interpretation of the common link theory differs from the understanding of Schacht and Juynboll, Motzki recognized that the *isnâd* system in general and the common link system in particular can be used for hadith dating (Amin, 2009: 167-168). In contrast to Juynboll, Motzki said that an *isnâd* bundle can be used to assess the origin and authenticity of hadith *matns* that go beyond common link. Through the *isnâd cum matn* analysis, the *matn* studies (through its various transmissions and sources) are more productive and applicable to trace and study the origin and authenticity of hadith *matn* (Masrur: 2007: 179).

Therefore, the combination of the isnad and matan analysis methods called isnad-cum-matan-analysis is based on the assumption that there must be a correlation between the isnad and matn of a hadith analysis. If the activity and process of transmission actually occurred in the past, it would have left a number of indications that could be used as evidence. Some experts who support this assumption believe that the existence of a number of correlations cannot be produced by a systematic forgery in the past. This was because the phenomenon of the correlation of isnad and matn which was widespread at that time necessitated the participation of each narrator (transmitter) in forgery. This method departs from the basic assumption that as a variant of a hadith, at least in part, is the result of the transmission process and also that the isnad of the variants, at least in part, reflects the actual transmission paths (Motzki, 2000: 174).

Like Motzki, Nabia Abbott's thoughts on hadith cannot be separated from some of her predecessors' such as Goldziher and Schacht because in expressing some of her ideas, Abbott seems to have been influenced by the previous Orientalists. She explained ideas containing acceptance, criticism, or even rejection to their thoughts. Through the explosive isnad theory, Abbott had placed herself as an Orientalist who rejected the premises put forward by Schacht. She claimed that hadith had been existed at the Prophet time, but there had been an explosive isnad after that. According to her, an explosive isnad is the occurrence of massive transmission of hadith by many narrators from the first to the third century of Hira. She stated that there were one to two thousand names of Companions and Successors involved in the transmissions, where each of them narrated an average of two to five hadiths, and this shows an estimate of the number of hadiths recorded in the third century. Abbott realized that the existence of the isnad path had involved so many people in narrating hadith that caused an explosive isnad as being seen that there were many people embroiled in hadith transmissions and the number always increased in each generations (Abbott, 1967: 72).

Abbott assumed that on average the Companions narrated one hadith to two Successors, and then each Successor transmitted it to the next generation, and the series of narrations continued until four or even eight generations below them. She exemplified this with the narration of hadith during the time of al-Zuhri, which continued until the time of Ahmad ibn Hanbal. She used geometric series calculation, where between the times of al-Zuhrî and Ibn Hanbal involved 16 to 256 transmission lines. Furthermore, Abbott concluded that the hadiths conveyed by the Companions -- based on geometrical series calculation -- were estimated to have passed through 16 hadith narrators during al-Zuhrî's time and passed 256 hadith narrators during Ahmad ibn Hanbal's. She said that if we extend this hypothesis to the time of the tenth generation, probably the number of narrators during the time of Ahmad and the two following generations would be 10% of 256, 512, and 1024, i.e. involving approximately 26, 51, and 102 narrators collectively. This number is very extraordinary because it involves many people in its transmission (Abbott, 1967: 72).

Abbott's statement contradicts to the theories put forward by her previous Orientalists, especially Joseph Schacht in the projecting back theory. According to Schacht, hadith did not exist during the time of the Prophet but appeared in later times which were made by Muslims at the end of the first or early second century of Hira. In other words, the hadith of the Prophet actually does not exist. What existed is a Successors' statement which then leaned on Companions and then the Prophet (Schacht, 1964: 31-32). Through this theory, Schacht

concluded that the series of narrators found in the hadith are a form of engineering by taking popular figures in each era (Darmalaksana, 2004: 117). According to Abbott, Schacht's claim cannot be justified historically because there were hadith manuscripts written during the Companions' time such as the manuscripts of 'Abd Allâh ibn Amr ibn al-'As (d. 65/684), Abû Hurayra (d. 58/678), 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs (d. 67-68/686-688), Anas ibn Mâlik (d. 94/712), and several other Companions. These documents had been continuously maintained by the Companions until their next generation through their own family members or not. From one document, hundreds of hadiths were obtained. That argument was then intended by Abbott regarding her *isnâd* concept, which is referred as explosive *isnâd*. The proof of this theory is by applying mathematics to the geometric growth of *isnâd* in a hadith. Through this concept, it can be found that in the narration of two to five hadiths, there are around one to two thousand names of Companions who narrated them (Abbott, 1967: 72).

Likewise, the concept of family and non-family *isnâd* by Abbott is an antithesis of Schacht's opinion that are several hadiths considered as false even though someones judged them as authentic hadiths and represented in the form of transmission between several narrators from one family, for example from father to son (also his grandson), an uncle to a nephew, or from a teacher to a student (Azami, 1985: 196). Abbott (1967: 36) agreed that in its development and dissemination, *isnâd* has a concept called *isnâd* family and non-family. The word family in this case relates to blood relations or close relatives. In other words, there is a family relationship between the narrators. For example, Nâfi' (d. 117/735) was a relative of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar and Muhammad ibn Sîrîn (d. 110 H) was a relative of Anas ibn Mâlik. This *isnâd* family developed through several prominent Companions and continued for three generations, with the so-and-so formula (originating from his father and grandfather). However, at certain times the *isnâd* family can also develop through only one generation, that is if the older narrator found his grandson, wanted to follow his footsteps or in other words, one narrated a hadith to the opposite path in the family chain, for example to nephew, like the relationship usually encountered in an *isnâd*. A number of *isnâd* families spread through several prominent Companions such as Anas ibn Mâlik, Zayd ibn Thâbit, Ibn 'Umar, 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As, Ibn 'Abbâs, and 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr was truly recognized and trusted throughout the civilization of the Islamic world, where a number of hadiths narrated through this trusted family *isnâd*, is included in the five conditions for the acceptance of a hadith (Abbott, 1967: 36).

### **Some Factors Affecting the Connectivity of Orientalist Thought**

#### *Methodology*

The methods used by Orientalists in eastern studies, including the Prophet hadiths, deal with historical approaches or historical criticism. In conducting his research, particularly on hadith and Islamic law, Joseph Schacht used a historical-sociological approach (Lewis, 1980: 378). Schacht's critique on hadith involves historical analysis of Islamic development, especially in the first and second centuries of Hîgra. This can be seen in the fact that in studying and researching the Prophet's hadith, Schacht focused more on the hadith's *isnâd* than on its *matn*. As a successor of Schacht, Juynboll also based his research on the historical method, namely the historical-philological method (Lewis, 1980: 115). This method focuses on the text, language, meaning, author, origin, or historical background, as well as the relationship between the texts. Using this method, he also came to a relatively similar conclusion with

Schacht that the majority, or even all, of the hadiths were fabricated in the first and second centuries of Hira.

Furthermore, the historical method has also been used by Harald Motzki in researching and criticizing hadith. Using traditional-historical method, Motzki examined the hadith in the book *Musannaf* by 'Abd Al-Razzâq in order to prove the truth of dating and *isnâd cum matn* analysis theories. Dating theory is a theory made to estimate the age and origin of a historical dating document through modern historical criticism, namely source criticism which aims to reconstruct the events of the early days of Islam (Amin, 2015: 5). Meanwhile, the *isnâd cum matn* analysis is a dating theory of hadiths through analysis and study of transmission lines by collecting and comparing variations of hadith texts simultaneously (Ayaz, 2015: 45).

In conducting research, Abbot also used historical method, as seen in the theory of explosive *isnâd* and *isnâd* family. She developed the explosive *isnâd* theory by analyzing the possibility of massive hadith transmission being carried out by many hadith narrators from the first to the third Hira centuries and concluded that there were one to two thousand names of Companions and Successors involved in the hadith transmission, where each of them narrated an average of two to five hadiths, and this shows us the approximate number of hadiths recorded in the third century of Hira (Abbott, 1967: 72). Likewise, the theory of *isnâd* family examines the relationship between family members and close friends (*mawali*), which is usually compiled with the *so-and-so* formula (hadith transmissions originating from father and grandfather) as a formula for the occurrence of *isnâd* family transmission such as the transmission of hadith to certain person who have blood relations or close relatives, such as father to child or grandfather to grandson, employer to his slave (Abbott, 1967: 36). The non-family *isnâd* theory was also developed using historical method by examining hadiths narrated outside the lineage of hadith narrators.

#### *Socio-Geography-Culture*

Most of the Orientalists being the objects of this study came from Western Countries or at least some studied and lived there. Joseph Schacht was born in Rottburg (Sisille) Germany, on March 15, 1902 AD in a religious family. His father, Edward Schacht, was a Catholic Christian and a fleet school teacher. Since childhood, Schacht was familiar with the teachings of Christianity and Hebrew (Minhaji, 1992: 4-5) and also studied Latin, Greek, French and English at the Humanistisches Gymnasium (Hadi, 2013: 359). He studied classical philology, theology, and Eastern languages at two different universities; Prusla and Leipzig (Wakin, 2003: 1). After graduating, he became a lecturer at the University of Freiburg, Southwest Germany and in 1929, he received the title of Professor. In 1923, he moved to Kingsberg University and in 1929 he was appointed as a lecturer of Eastern languages. Between 1926-1933, Schacht made frequent trips to the Middle East and North Africa (Lewis, 1970: 378-381), and in 1934 he taught at the Egyptian University (now Cairo University) who was entrusted in teaching Islamic law, Arabic and Suryani languages at the Faculty of Literature, Arabic Language Department. He taught at the university until 1939 (Badawi, 1993: 366). Schacht's academic career took him to Leiden University in the Netherlands in 1954, where he served as a Professor until 1959. Here he took part as supervisor of the second printing, the book *Dâirah al Ma'ârif al Islâmiyyah*. Then in 1959, he moved to Columbia University New York and taught there until he died in 1969 (Badawi, 1993: 252-253). The life journey and educational history as well as work experiences are some factors that later shaped Schacht's thoughts and

tendencies in conducting research of hadith and Islamic law as contained in his two works entitled *The Origins of Muhammad Jurisprudence*, published in 1950 and *An Introduction to Islamic Law* published in 1960.

Gautier H.A. Juynboll was born in Leiden, the Netherlands, in 1935 M. Since 1965 he had seriously devoted himself in studying the early history of hadith, devoting attention and conducting research on it with all its classical to contemporary issues. In 1965 to 1966, by a grant from The Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research, Juynboll stayed in Egypt to conduct dissertation research on the views of Egyptian theologians on hadith literature. Through this research, finally on Thursday, March 27 1969, he had compiled the dissertation and defended it in front of a Senate Commission, in order to earn a Doctorate degree in literature at the Faculty of Literature, Leiden State University, the Netherlands. After that, Juynboll conducted research on various issues, both classical and contemporary. Since he wrote a paper entitled: "On The Origins of Arabic Prose" and published it in the book *Studies on the Century of Islamic Society*, Juynboll decided to focus his attention on hadith studies and never left it again (Badawi, 1993: 16). He had also taught at various universities in the Netherlands. However, the teaching activities and guiding students who were writing theses and dissertations are little of his interest. At the age of 69, Juynboll lived at Burggravenlaan 40 NI-2313 HW Leiden, The Netherlands and he died in 2010 at the age of 75 (Badawi, 1993: 17). Both Joseph Schacht and Juynboll were born in the West, the first in Germany and the next in the Netherlands. Both of them also received education there and they had traveled to the Middle East in scientific terms as researchers and teaching staffs. The experience of life and the socio-cultural environment of the West had influenced their way of life and mindset including in studying and criticizing hadith.

Harald Motzki was born on August 25, 1948 in Berlin, West Germany. Since childhood, he was educated as a Catholic. He was a graduate of Humanistic Academic High School. Then, he continued his studies of comparative religion, Semitic languages, Bible studies, Islamic studies and European history in Bonn (Germany), Paris (France), and Cologne (Germany) from 1968-1978. Thus, the academic basis of Motzki's study is the classical sciences (studies of classical area). In 1978, he earned his Ph.D. under the guidance of Prof. Albrecht North at the University of Bonn which was later published in Bonn Wiesbaden, 1979 intitled: *Aimma und Egalite – Die Nichtmuslimischen Minderheite Agyptens in der Zweiten Halfte des 18 Jahrhunderts und die Expeditions Bonapartes (1798-1801)*. From 1978 to 1981, Motzki was a guest lecturer at the Department of Islamic Studies, the University of Bremen (Amin, 2003: 41). From 1983 to 1989, he was appointed as an Assistant Professor at the Institute for History and Culture of the Middle East at the University of Hamburg. From 1989 to 1991, he was a visiting Professor in Islamic studies at the University of Hamburg. Since 1 February 1991, he had been an Associate Professor in the field of Islamic studies at the Institute for Languages and Cultures of the Middle East at the University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands. Since June 1, 2000, he was appointed as a full professor of Research Methodology in the field of Islamic studies at the same University (Masrur, 2013).

Nabia Abbott was born in Mardin, southwestern Turkey, in January 1897. When she was a child, Abbott and her family had traveled a long way to the Mosul, sailing from the Tigris to Baghdad, then passing through the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea and arrived in Bombay in 1907. She studied there at the British school and then she continued her education at the



University of Cambridge, England in 1915. During the first world war, Abbott then returned to India, then continued his journey southwards and studied at Isabella Thorbom College, Lucknow -- which later joined Allahabad University --, and graduated with an honors BA degree in 1919 (Mahdi, 1942: iv). After graduating, Abbott then started a women's education program in the Iraqi kingdom. From there, she and her family moved to Boston, she studied and earned an M.A. at Boston University in 1925. She then joined the teaching staff in the Department of Education at Asbury College, Wilmore, and became a head of the Department of History in 1925-1933. After she and her family moved to Chicago, Abbott became a Professor of Arabic at the Oriental Institute, Chicago in 1933. She was the first woman who touch at the Oriental Institute. Abbott became a pioneer woman who spent much of her time seriously studying ancient Arabic texts and early Islamic culture. Before the second world war, the Oriental Institute had taken great interest in studying the ancient Arabic documents and Islamic texts. In conducting her research, Abbott studied Islamic history texts with Martin Sprengling, and then wrote her dissertation entitled *The Kurrah Papyri of the Oriental Institute* in 1936 (Mahdi, 1942: v-vi).

It seems that the Orientalists above were born in the West, educated, and lived there except Nabia Abbott who was born in Turkey but then she stayed and studied in the West. Socio-culture and geography are the most likely factors caused the connection of Orientalist thoughts. Although there are a little different, for example between Schacht and Juynboll with Motzki and Abbott about the authenticity of the Prophet hadith, we can find a common thread connecting their thoughts about it.

#### *Ideology and World View*

Other factors influenced connection between the Orientalists' theory formulation is the similarity of ideology and world view. Although not all of them are affected by these factors. This ideological and view of life can be seen in the conclusion of Mustafâ al-Sibâ'î (1985: 188-189) that the majority of Orientalist studies have the following characteristics: (a) Skeptical and misunderstanding in Islam, including Islamic goals and orientations. (b) Skeptical and negatively prejudiced against Islamic scholars and leaders. (c) Providing negative perceptions and projections about Islamic civilization throughout its history, especially in the early era describing personal egocentric conflicts between scholars and Moslem leaders. (d) Providing perceptions and projections about Islamic civilization that does not match the historical reality. This is aimed to belittle the position of Islamic civilization and undermined its influence and contribution. (e) The Orientalists do not fully understand substantially the characteristics of Islamic society but assess the characteristics of Islamic social system according to the paradigm and knowledge of Western morality and tradition. (f) Subordinating texts under certain conceptions of thought (*fikra*) and ideology by being selective-discriminatory in accepting certain texts and rejecting others according to the interests of subjectivity. (g) Often distorting the text (*tahrîf*), either in terms of what the text means or distorts the interpretation of textual expressions when there is no way to make deviations. (h) The mistake in their attitude towards the reference (*masâdir*) that was quoted and became the reference.

According to al-Sibâ'î (1985: 189), the above spirit that coloring Orientalists' studies and researchs on Islam and Muslims both in the disciplines of history, jurisprudence, interpretation, hadith, art, civilization, and others. In fact, their government also had

motivated and facilitated these studies. They had been devoted to specialize in each branch of Islamic studies so that they could concentrate fully and carried out genuine researchs throughout their lives and then they published them in various scientific publications, journals and books. Sa'ad al-Mirsafi (1994: 34) states that the religious fanaticism have influenced most Orientalists in interacting with Islamic texts. This is also recognized by Orientalists themselves such as Bernald Lewis and Norman Daniel. Even though there has been a shift paradigm in some Contemporary Orientalists, the skepticism is still strongly found in their thoughts. There is a tendency to reject the thought and methodology of hadith scholars which had been established in *'ulûm al-hadîth*.

#### *Language, Interest, Doctrine, and Scientific Ethics*

Other factors leading the similarity of Orientalist perspectives in studying hadith are language, interest, doctrine, and scientific ethics. (a) Some of them have a little understanding in Arabic language, their language sense is weak and their understanding of various linguistic contexts is very limited. This weakness affects their understanding of Islamic references such as the Koran and the hadith of the Prophet. Therefore, their understanding of Islam are always ambiguous and obscure. (b) The feeling of superiority as the Western people. Western scientists, especially Orientalists, always feel that the West is a 'teacher' in everything, especially in logic and civilization. (c) They adhere strongly their doctrines that seem cannot be criticized, especially the doctrine that the Koran is not the word of Allah and Muhammad is not His Messenger. This doctrine had been embedded in their minds before studying Islam, including the Koran and the Prophet hadith. (d) Many orientalism studies are closely related to the interests of Western countries that financed them. Western countries spent millions and even billion dollars not only for scientific purposes, but for certain targets that are very valuable for their interests. The target can be political, business, strategic and specific mission in Islamic world. (e) Some of them did not have proper ethics in respecting the content of the knowledge being studied namely Islamic studies especially hadith studies established by Muslim scholars.

#### **Conclusion**

In studying Islam, especially the hadith of the Prophet, the Orientalists have compiled various theories forming the basis of their analysis. These theories, not only make them well-known in the academic world of the West and East, but also give academic contributions to Islamic studies. These Western scholars have struggled and devoted their energies, costs, and thoughts in studying hadith, even though many of their thoughts are not the same as those of Muslims. Among the Orientalists who seriously studied and researched hadith are Ignaz Goldziher, Joseph Schacht, GHA. Juynboll, Harald Motzki, Nabia Abbott, and several others. They created many theories regarding the hadith of the Prophet, such as the theory of projecting back, *argumenta e silentio*, common link, dating, *isnâd cum matn* analysis, explosive *isnâd*, family *isnâd*, and so on.

Some of these theories seem to have a connection between one another, especially when viewed from the final conclusion that the hadiths were not from the Prophet Muhammad but were made up by Muslims after he died, especially in the second and third centuries of Hijra. There are several factors that are likely to cause this connection, namely methodology, socio-geography-culture, ideology and world view, language, interest, doctrine, and scientific

ethics. These factors have influenced their opinions about the hadiths of the Prophet and motivated them in making some theories above.

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