



DEVELOPMENTS OF ḤADĪTH RIWĀYA  
IN AL-ANDALUS  
(2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> CENTURIES OF HIJRIYYA)

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**Abstract:** This article examines the relations between Mālik schools and Andalusian scholars, the development of *ḥadīth riwāyah* and its relation with the social and cultural conditions in al-Andalus. Andalusian scholars, being influenced by views of Mālik b. Anas and his schools, made some tolerant standard for ḥadīth transmission. They did not make differences in narrative symbols and its hierarchy, except within the scope of the method. The validity of hadith is not solely determined by the strict criteria and subjective narrative, but also by the society and how they understand the narrative. There were social and cultural power relations with ḥadīth knowledge in al-Andalus that were influenced by critical and relative epistemology. Studies of hadith in al-Andalus focused more on the study of comprehension and meaning (*sharh*) of ḥadīth, which give practical benefit and applicable knowledge to the society.

*Keywords:* al-Andalus, *ḥadīth riwāya*, Mālik schools, epistemology

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## Introduction

COMPANIONS of Prophet and their followers (*tābi'īn*) traveled a long way and distance only to find hadith and its *isnād* directly, despite getting only one hadith. The travel was a necessity for people afterwards and it became a scientific method of acquiring knowledge of a hadith by travelling (*al-riḥlah fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth*).<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad bin 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al- Baghdādī, "Muqaddimah," in *Al-Riḥlah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1975); Adis

travel to look for hadith then formed networks of transmission and expanded into areas outside Arabia. This was conducted through various conquests and spread of Islam in the areas. At the end of the first century of Hijriyya, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 101 H) formally commanded Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124 H) for *tadwīn al-hadith* (hadith codification).<sup>2</sup> This process was a systematic foundation for hadith to be spread away to Kūfa, Basra, Syria, Egypt, Yemen, Jurjan, Qazwīn, Khurasān and Magrib, and also al-Andalus as outermost regions of Islam.<sup>3</sup>

Andalus was a region far from the civilization of science, with multi-ethnicity and the outermost region of Islam. The Muslim conquerors did not force people of this area to convert to Islam, so that there was a multicultural interaction between the Muslims and local residents in Andalus.<sup>4</sup> The second and third century of Hijriyya were periods of Islamic conquest. It was the time when Islam became stronger in al-Andalus while at that time Islam in Mashriq had already got very significant scientific advances. 'Ājil Ḥusain shows that the farthest time of scientific codification in the Arabian Peninsula and al-Andalus was 118 years, while the closest one was 36 years.<sup>5</sup> The far and big distance of this advances then balanced by *riḥla* to Mashriq in order that al-Andalus became the hadith and narrative area (*dār al-hadīth wa al-riwāya*) after several years. Studies about stages of hadith transmission and its construction in al-Andalus have been done by Maribel Fierro and

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Duderija, "Evolution in the Canonical Sunni Ḥadīth Body of Literature and the Concept of an Authentic Ḥadīth During the Formative Period of Islamic Thought as Based on Recent Western Scholarship," *Arab Law Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (2009): 389–415.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad 'Ajjāj al- Khāṭīb, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth wa Muṣṭalaḥuhu* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1975).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ṣā'īd bin Aḥmad Al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Umam* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-Kāthūlikiyyah li al-Abā' al-Yasū 'iyyīn, 1912); Karīm 'Ājil Ḥusayn, "al-Tamhīd li al-Tadwīn al-Tārīkhī fi al-Andalus ḥattā Nihāyah al-Qarn al-Thānī al-Hijrī," *Majallah Jāmi'ah Tikrīt li al-'Ulūm al-Insāniyyah* 14, no. 11 (2007): 185–226.

<sup>5</sup> Ḥusayn, "al-Tamhīd li al-Tadwīn."

A.N.M. Raisuddin. Fierro said a little about early hadith transmission, and Raisuddin did not focus on the early *riwāya*.<sup>6</sup>

This paper will discuss three things. *First*, the relation between Mālik schools and Andalusian scholars. *Second*, the development of *ḥadīth riwāya* in al-Andalus, related to its epistemology. The role of *ḥadīth riwāya* in the early al-Andalus would determine the method and the criteria of *riwāya* which were then continued by scholars who came later.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the development of *ḥadīth riwāya* as objects in the science of hadith would determine the development of *ḥadīth dirāya*. *Third*, the relationship between *ḥadīth riwāya* and the social and cultural conditions in Andalus.

Study of hadith epistemology in a particular region is closely related to the social and cultural environment in that area. *First* social and cultural environments include knowledge and its importance to human life. Such knowledge is a strategy used by human to acquire power.<sup>8</sup> *Second*, knowledge is descriptions, opinions or theories that reflect a reality of society, even as a result of method or reasoning style that contributes to the formation of a number of information on the reality. The relation of thought and environment eventually form a system of knowledge in the society. The presence or absence of innovation (*ibdā'*) of

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<sup>6</sup> A.N.M. Raisuddin, "Baḳī Ibn Makhlad Al-Qurṭubī (201-276/816-889) and His Contribution to the Study of Ḥadīth Literature in Muslim Spain," *Islamic Studies* 31, no. 1 (1991): 263–270; A.N.M. Raisuddin, "Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā Al-Maṣmūdī (152–234/769–851): His Contribution to the Study of Ḥadīth Literature in Spain," *Islamic Studies* 30, no. 2 (1992): 213–217; Isabel Fierro, "The Introduction of Ḥadīth in Al-Andalus (2nd/8th–3rd/9th Centuries)," *Der Islam* 66 (1989): 68–93; Maribel Fierro, "Local and Global in Ḥadīth Literature: The Case of Al-Andalus," in *The Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam: Essays in Honour of Harald Motzki*, ed. Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort, Kees Versteegh, and Joas Wagemakers (London: Brill, 2011), 63–88.

<sup>7</sup> Ḥadīth riwāya is the science which deals with how the receiving and delivering hadith, both orally and in writing. Ḥadīth dirāya is how to determine the validity of an existing narration in the science of ḥadīth riwāya. See Muḥammad bin Muḥammad Abū Shuhbah, *Al-Wasīṭ fi 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, n.d.).

<sup>8</sup> J. Sudarminta, *Epistemologi Dasar: Pengantar Filsafat Pengetahuan* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Kanisius, 2002).

knowledge is determined by such relationship.<sup>9</sup> This paper will focus on relation among Mālik schools and Andalusian scholars, methods of *ḥadīth riwāyah* and its relation with social and cultural conditions in al-Andalus. The interaction between Mālik schools with local scholars and the social and cultural conditions in al-Andalus influenced the developments of *ḥadīth riwāyah*.

### Andalus and the Hegemony of Mālik Schools

The later development of a scientific civilization did not reduce the spirit of Andalusian community and scholars to build science and civilization. There were six factors led to the development of science and civilization in Andalusia: the migration of Prophet companions and *tābi'īn* with the conquerors to al-Andalus by bringing knowledge and science, the arrival of Mashriq scholars to al-Andalus, the Andalusian travel to Mashriq to learn and then come back to al-Andalus for spreading knowledge, the codification book (*tadwīn al-kutub*) and the establishment of scientific and cultural centers such as mosques and libraries, the love of the Umayyad caliphs in al-Andalus for the science, and the last is the conflict of Umayyad caliphs with the Abbasid and Fatimid in Mashriq.<sup>10</sup>

The transfer of knowledge and civilization in al-Andalus at the beginning was further than in Mashriq. The scholars and governments were ordered to look for knowledge through *riḥla* for seeking science, especially the science of hadith. *Riḥla* at that time was aimed to look for *riwāyah*, hadith verification obtained from al-Andalus, *isnād 'alī* (great and short *isnād*). It was also intended to review, and search for the narrator (*rāwī*) information, exchange ideas in hadith criticism and look for weaknesses (*'ilal*) in hadith.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Jābirī, *Ishkāliyyāt al-Fikr al-'Arabī al-Mu'āṣir* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥdah al-'Arabiyyah, 1990).

<sup>10</sup> Ḥusain Yūsuf Dwedār, *al-Mujtama' al-Andalusī fī al-'Aṣr al-Umawī* (Kairo: Maṭba'ah al-Ḥusain al-Islāmiyyah, 1994).

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Akmaluddin, "Silsilah Riwāyah al-Aḥādīth fī al-Andalus: Dirāsah Jīniyālūjiyyah li Taṭāwwur Riwāyah al-Aḥādīth fī al-Qarn al-Thānī wa al-Thālīth al-Hijrī" (PhD Thesis, UIN Walisongo, 2015).

Returning from Mashriq, Andalusian scholars who were dominated and influenced by Mālik schools that color the study in al-Andalus, indirectly strengthened this school.<sup>12</sup> Andalusian scholars and community only studied and discussed the Koran and *Muwatta' Mālik (lā na'rifillā kitāb Allāh wa Muwatta' Mālik)*.<sup>13</sup> Ḥadīth narrations (*riwāya al-ḥadīth*) in al-Andalus were strongly influenced by the schools of Islamic jurisprudence which then differentiated the type of hadith in Mashriq.<sup>14</sup> This was due to the Mashriq residents who came to al-Andalus and residents of al-Andalus who did *riḥla* to Mashriq such as Ziyād b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 204 H), Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laithī (d. 234 H), 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238 H) and others.<sup>15</sup> They did not want to use logic (*ra'y*) excessively, rarely giving *fatwā* or legal deduction (*istinbāt al-ḥukm*) except in urgent situations (*darūra*).<sup>16</sup> According to Mustafā 'Abd al-Razzāq, they actually did not reject the necessity to use reason and analogy (*qiyās*), on condition that there was no text (*naṣṣ*) that determined whether something was lawful or not. They are known as *ahl al-ḥadīth* because they referred many hadith to issue *fatwā*, deduce law, and give a decision (*qaḍā'*) and so forth.<sup>17</sup> This is contradictory to what happen in Iraq where many scholars use reasons in various activities of legal deduction.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Aḥmad Amīn, *Zuhr al-Islām* (Cairo: Mu'assasah Hindāwī li al-Ta 'īm wa al-Ṣaqāfah, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Al-Maḥdīsī, *Aḥsan al-Taḥqīm fī Ma'rifah al-Aqālīm* (Kairo: Maṭba'ah al-Madbūlī, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> Andalusian commentators called sharḥ ḥadīth as tafsīr because of their limited knowledge on the book of the Koran and *Muwatta' Mālik*. For example Tafsīr al-Muwatta' by Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm b. Mazīn al-Qurṭubī (d. 259 H) and Tafsīr Garīb al-Muwatta' by 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī al-Ilbirī (d. 238 H). See Akmaluddin, "Silsilah Riwayah."

<sup>15</sup> Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Al-Maḥdīsī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Raḥīb wa Dhikr Wazīriḥā Lisān al-Dīn bin al-Khaṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1997).

<sup>16</sup> Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Dihlawī, *Hujjah Allāh al-Bālighah*, ed. Al-Sayyid Sābiq (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 2005).

<sup>17</sup> Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tamhīd li Tārīkh al-Falsafah al-Islāmiyyah* (Kairo: Lajnah al-Ta'līf wa al-Nashr, 1959).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*; Akmaluddin, "Silsilah Riwayah."

Ibn Khaldūn said that the Maghrib and al-Andalus had common geographic and cultural countryside with Hejaz. Thus, they did not take and renew the culture by taking from other schools of thought, for example, by following the schools of Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi'ī in Iraq. As a result, they had no choice for *ijtihād* and *qiyās* except to follow principal and guidance of the Malik schools, including the hadith narration. Even Ibn Khaldūn at that time claimed that all residents in the Maghreb followed Malik schools.<sup>19</sup>

In addition, trends in Malik schools were due to political reasons. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H) said that there were two schools of thought spread through the power of government. They were Abū Ḥanīfa in Mashriq, spreading from Mashriq tip to tip of Africa region through Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 182 H), and Malik schools in al-Andalus, through Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laithī (d. 303 H). No judge in both areas but to follow the schools.<sup>20</sup> Malik schools entered al-Andalus when al-Gāzī b. Qais (d. 169 H) returned to al-Andalus with *Muwatta' Mālik* and Koranic reading by Nāfi' ibn Nu'aim,<sup>21</sup> at the ruling time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiya (138-172 H).<sup>22</sup> After ruled by Hishām (172-180 H) and his son, al-Ḥakam (180-206 H), Malik was getting more sympathetic to Umayyad caliphs in Andalus.<sup>23</sup> It made Malik unhappy with the behavior of the Abbasid caliph, Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, who did many insults, holds, hunts and discriminations against the descendants of 'Alī ('Alawiyya) in Mashriq.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn al-Ishbīlī, *Dīwān al-Mubatada' wa al-Khabar fī Tārīkh al-'Arab wa al-Barbar wa man "Āṣarahum min Dhawī al-Sha'n al-Akbar*, ed. Khalīl Syaḥādah (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān al-Barmakī, *Wafayāt al-A'yān Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1900); Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim*.

<sup>22</sup> Muḥammad bin Abī Bakr Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, *Tārīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Aibārī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Libnānī, 1989).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> 'Abd al-Muta'al al-Ṣa'īdī, "Fī Maidān Al-Jihād," *Majallah al-Risālah* 4, no. 137 (1936): 36-40; Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*.

On the other hand, Hejaz became the center of Islamic scholarships and the life of Prophet Muhammad).<sup>25</sup> With this assumption, al-Andalus scholars assumed that the scholars of Hejaz had more accuracy of narration (*riwāya*) and tradition which related to the Prophet Muhammad. Hejaz traditions and Malik schools then affected the epistemology of *ḥadīth riwāya* in Andalus.

### Epistemology of *Ḥadīth Riwāya*: A Study of *Ḥadīth* Narration in Andalus

In the study of hadith transmission, there are two major groups: Iraqi group supported by the Abū Ḥanīfa schools (*ahl al-ra'y*) and the Hejaz group were widely followed by Mālik schools, residents of Qairawān and Andalus.<sup>26</sup> Iraqi group that was followed by the majority of Mashriq scholars called hadith transmission method as *naql al-ḥadīth wa riwāyatuhū* or *taḥāmmul wa akhdh al-riwāya*. According to them, there were eight methods used in the transmission of hadith and they had hierarchy among them. The higher the transmission method used, the more valid and accurate the received or delivered hadith. The methods chronologically are *samā'*, *qirā'a*, *ijāza*, *munāwala*, *kitāba*, *i'lām*, *wasiyya* and *wijāda*. They also differentiated between the symbols and the validities of each transmission method.<sup>27</sup>

Andalusian scholars, as identified by al-Qāḍī 'Iyād b. Mūsā al-Yaḥsubī (d. 544 H), also said that there were eight methods of receiving and delivering hadith (*naql wa riwāya*), namely *samā'*, *qirā'a*, *munāwala*, *kitāba*, *ijāza*, *i'lām*, *wijāda* and *wuqūf 'alā khaṭṭ al-rāwī faqaṭ*.<sup>28</sup> Unlike the chronological division by proposed by Mashriq scholars which indicates the superiority of the hierarchical concept, Andalusian scholars claimed that the

<sup>25</sup> Al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*.

<sup>26</sup> Qairawan's genealogy came from Hejaz and then taken up by scholars of Andalus before riḥla to Hejaz. See Akmaluddin, "Silsilah Riwāyah," 104–106.

<sup>27</sup> 'Uthmān bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *Ma'rifaḥ Anwā' 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir, 1986); Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth bi Sharḥ Alfiyyah al-Ḥadīth*, ed. 'Alī Ḥusain 'Alī (Mesir: Maktabah al-Sunnah, 2003).

<sup>28</sup> Iyād bin Mūsā Al-Yaḥsubī, *al-Ilmā' ilā Ma'rifaḥ Uṣūl al-Riwāyah wa Taqyīd al-Samā'*, ed. Al-Sayyid A. Ṣaqar (Kairo: Dār al-Turās, 1970).

division was just regular division. Symbols of narration had the same validity and accuracy from one method to another.

The first method is *samā'* (listening and receiving to the hadith orally from the teacher). *Samā'* is divided into *imlā'* (writing) and *taḥdīth* (speech), either dictated orally by the teacher or the teacher read from a book. According to Mashriq scholars and the majority of *muḥaddithūn*, *samā'* has higher position than the other methods of transmission. According to Andalusian scholars, following the Hijaz scholars in various methods of *ḥadīth*, *qirā'a* and *samā'* have similar position. In their opinion, *qirā'a* has higher position than the *samā'*. In *qirā'a*, the teacher is quiet and focus on listening to the students in reading hadith, while in the *samā'*, the teacher himself dictates the hadith to the students. Symbols of *samā'* method are *ḥaddathanā*, *akhbaranā*, *anba'anā*, *sami'tu fulānan yaqūlu*, *qāla lanā fulan* and *dhakara lanā fulān*.<sup>29</sup>

The second method is *qirā'a* (reading in the presence of a teacher). The majority of *muḥaddithūn* call it *'ard* (presentation) because a student presented what he/she read to a teacher like when they read the Qur'an in front of his/her *imām*. According to scholars of al-Andalus, Hejaz and Kufa, Mālik schools, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān, Sufyān b. 'Uyainah, al-Zuhrī and al-Bukhārī,<sup>30</sup> *samā'* and *qirā'a* have similar position. In *qirā'a*, teacher or student were allowed to use the symbols of *samā'*.<sup>31</sup>

Andalusian scholars followed the distribution of Mālik, in terms of hierarchically division of *samā'* into three types: 1) a student read hadith in the presence of a teacher; 2) a teacher read hadith to a students; and 3) a teacher handed his book to a student to be read. In the case that a teacher made a mistake, a student did not dare to correct due to three possibilities. The possibilities

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Aḥmad bin 'Alī bin Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1379).

<sup>31</sup> Unlike Andalusian scholars, Khurasān and Mashriq scholars such as Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfi'ī, Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī said that *qirā'a* position was under the *samā'* so it was not allowed to use symbols of transmission as *ḥaddathanā*, If using symbols of *samā'*, it must be explained that the narration is *qirā'a*. For example with *ḥaddathanā qirā'atan* or *qara'tu 'alaihi*. See Al-Yaḥṣūbī, *al-Ilmā' ilā Ma'rifah*.



were: 1) The student might not know the mistake so he/she could not correct it; or 2) the teacher has the authority and high position: or 3) fault of teachers at the disputed case (*mukhtalaf fih*) so the students considered it as the choice or opinion of his/her teacher. This did not mean a *vice versa*.<sup>32</sup>

According to al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, the status of student reading the book on the teacher (as teacher's assistant) is the same as the teacher's own reading to his/her student with the same book. There was no difference between narration using the sense of sight (*qirā'a*) in the presence of the teacher or the sense of hearing (*samā'*). This similar status of the narration is according to those who use tolerant way (*tashīl*) in *samā'*. As for the strict way (*taḥqīq wa tashdīd*), especially for those who did not allow the method of *ijāza* and *munāwala*, *qirā'a* is not allowed.<sup>33</sup> According to Andalusian scholars, the declaration of teacher (*iqrār al-shaikh*) when finished listening to student and saying *nā'am* (yes) were as affirmation (*ta'kid*), not as requirement according to Mashriq scholars.<sup>34</sup>

The third is *munāwala* (giving hadith) that has many different types . The highest is giving the book of teachers (that was corrected by him/her or direct writing, or the teacher's own writing), and student's writing or teacher's script that was given license from teacher for narrating to others. According to Andalusian scholars, this type has the same level or position with *samā'*.<sup>35</sup> This opinion is also supported by al-Auzā'ī, 'Ubaid Allāh al-'Umarī, al-Zuhrī, Hishām b. 'Urwa, Ibn Juraij, scholars from Medina, Kūfa, Basra and Egypt. According to al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, the authority of the writing with the license from teacher is more powerful and credible than *samā'* method which sometimes tend to have illusion (*wahm*) from *rawī* (*sāmi'*) and content (*musma'*).<sup>36</sup> There is no difference in status between *ijāza* from teacher to students to narrate *Muwatta'*, whether he is present or not, because the aim is to determine what to be licensed to the students

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.; al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī*.

according to Hejaz scholars. The reason in giving the book from a teacher to students and changing the ownership of the book (for narrated hadith or copied book) had the same position with narration and dictation from teacher to student to ascertain (*taḥqīq*) until he/she writes down or memorizes the narration from the teacher. The important thing is the licensed book, and the name of the students who will receive a license has to be obvious, even if he/she is not present.<sup>37</sup>

The fourth is *kitāba* that implies students asking the teacher to write hadith, or the teacher starting to write hadith for the students who came to him/her, or student came from other countries. This is also considered to be a valid narration although the written and oral statements have no permission from the teachers, and the students did not ask hadith narration from the teachers. Andalusian scholars allowed this type of narration on condition that the text has to be directly written by the teacher. The reason is that teacher's writing to the student by his own hands, or teacher's response to student's request to write a hadith is the most powerful permission of a narration. The purpose of writing, as spoken by the tongue (*lisān*), is to state what is hidden (*ḍamīr*), so that the status of spoken and written narration is the same. Scholars who support this reason are al-Muḥāmīlī (d. 330 H), 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and al-Bukhārī.<sup>38</sup>

The fifth is *ijāza* either in face-to-face way by shaking hand (*mushāfaha*) or by oral permission for anyone who is absent, or teacher's handwriting to students, present or absent. The highest type of *ijāza* is a licensed book and a certain hadith, both oral and written one, or by some indexed books (*fihrisat*) in the presence of teachers or popular *fihrisat*. Most followers of Malik such as Walīd b. Bakr Andalusī (d. 392 H) equalized between *ijāza* and *munāwala* and the status or position is the same with *samā'* and *qirā'a*. As for Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī al-Andalusī (d. 474 H), al-Juwainī, 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṭubnī al-Qurtubī (d. 457 H), the quality of *ijāza* is valid. In one of narratives, Mālik and 'Īsā b. Miskīn al-Magribī allowed symbols of *ijāza* with *ḥaddathanā*, *akhbaranā*, *ḥaddathanī* or

<sup>37</sup> Al-Yaḥṣūbī, *al-Ilmā' ilā Ma'rīfah*.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.; al-'Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*.

*akhbaranī*.<sup>39</sup> All kinds of *ijāza*, except *ijāza* for narration that has not been narrated by *mujīz*, were permitted by Andalusian scholars. According to Aḥmad b. Muyassar al-Misrī (d. 337 H), narration by *ijāza* is more powerful than bad and poor *samā'*.<sup>40</sup> Mālik said that *ijāza* must show the original text of teacher, a person giving the *ijāza* (*mujīz*) is required to be an intellectual (*'ālim*) and understandable on what will be licensed, *thiqa* (being relied) in religion and hadith, as well as popularity of his/her knowledge. In addition, those who receive *ijāza* (*mujāz lahū*) must have knowledge, should be characterized by their knowledge and should not deliver knowledge except to experts.<sup>41</sup>

*Ijāza* for narration that has not been narrated by *mujīz*, according to some scholars, including al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, is not allowed to be used for something which had never existed before. Therefore, *mujāz lah* in general and unclear *ijāza* (*'amma mubhama*) when asked for the validity from teacher's narration should explain the existed narration before *ijāza* so that there is obvious narration to be validated. According to al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, beside Mālik's requirements above, this sort of *ijāza* must be known in the time of *ijāza*.<sup>42</sup>

The sixth method is *i'lām* which means a teacher tells students that a hadith is his/her narration and this book is his/her *samā'*, either by giving permission, narrating or instructing to narrate hadith to students. This type is a valid narration because teacher's recognition and validation of hadith (that it is his/her *samā'*) is similar with a teacher's narration (in oral and written narration) to students even though a teacher does not give any permission. It was the opinion of 'Ubaid Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 147 H), al-Walīd b. Bakr al-Andalusī, Medina scholars and 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Qurtubī (d. 238 H) whose narration from Asad b. Mūsā al-Umawī (d. 212 H) was asked and disputed. This was because Asad b. Mūsā gave his book to 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb. He then copied and narrated the book without a license from Asad b. Mūsā. According

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<sup>39</sup> Al-Yaḥṣūbī, *al-Ilmā' ilā Ma'rifah*.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

to al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, this was a valid form of narration because a prohibition for not narrating the hadith from teachers without obvious and clear reason could not be accepted. Hadīth that have been submitted could not be withdrawn and banned to be narrated without reason. This is in contrast to the testimony (*shahāda*) which could be withdrawn since hadith cannot be equated with the *shahāda*.<sup>43</sup>

The seventh method is *wasīyya* which situates a teacher to give virtuous speeches (*wasīyya*) by submitting his/her book to students. Submission of this book is considered as a kind of license and likened to *qirā'a* and *munāwala*. Eighth is *wuqūf 'alā khaṭṭ al-rāwī* which denotes someone who knows of the *muḥaddithūn'* books and their own popular writing and validation even though he/she had never met directly or listened to *muḥaddith*, or they met but never narrated from the *muḥaddith*. It is the same case if someone finds his/her father's or grandfather's article written by themselves. However, this type is not considered as an *isnād* so that there is no use of narration symbols by *haddathanā* or *akhbaranā* to avoid concealing hadith (*tadlīs*). The allowed symbols are *wajadtu bi khaṭṭ fulan*, *qara'tu fī kitāb fulan bi khaṭṭihī*. Mālik scholars do not allow the practice of this narration.<sup>44</sup>

According to Andalusian scholars, by excluding *wasīyya*, the use of seven transmission methods is stressed on the transmission process that can be corrected by the narrator and others' (correction by two side). Therefore, *qirā'a* method is considerably more valid than *samā'* in spite of coming from a very strong *isnād*. Narrative correction from both teacher and student is more valid and reliable than the one from one side either only teacher or student. It is also applied to all kinds of transmission, so the various usages of symbols are not questioned and differentiated. It is different with Mashriq scholars who were more concerned with direct transmission from teachers and the quality of teachers.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> M.M. Azami, *Studies in Hadith Methodology and Literature* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1978).

From the explanation above, Andalusian scholars did not problematize the symbols of narration and its hierarchy, except within the method. And, it relied on the strength, not on the validity. All methods, except *wuqūf 'alā khaṭṭ al-rāwī*, were valid forms of transmission (*turuq al-naql al-ṣaḥīḥ*). The use of *ḥaddathanā*, *akhbaranā* and *anba'anā* had the same status and position. Similarly with *qirā'ā*, students are allowed by a teacher to narrate or to recognize narration. The narration is considered valid even though those surrounding him/her did not hear what the teacher said. *Kitāba* or teacher's permission to student was a valid narration and it was information about the validity of the book and the narration as well as its *isnād*, which was spoken out to a student and was regarded as *samā'* from a teacher.<sup>46</sup> It was an analogy of people who swear by *ḥaddatha* (talking) or *akhbara* (provide news) to do something, without intention, then he/she used gestures or written texts. Yet, it was still considered to be a violation of oath according to Mālik schools.<sup>47</sup>

*Isnād* should be valid and clear in its connection (*ittiṣāl*). In one hadith, *isnād* had to be read from beginning to end. In a diary entry (*dafātir*) or book with volumes (*ajzā'*), there should be a notice of a teacher on which hadith of the book, and *isnād* which is then followed by reading the book by a teacher, self-reading, or other reading. There was also a reading *isnād* at the beginning of the book, or at the beginning of each meeting, or after reading the teacher's narration that was told to the students at the beginning

<sup>46</sup> Al-Yaḥṣūbī, *al-Ilmā' ilā Ma'rifaḥ*. According to several explanations by al-Yaḥṣūbī, there were no clear examples of hadiths using Andalusian methods but by himself. For example narration by *qirā'a* method by al-Yaḥṣūbī:

حَدَّثَنَا الْقَاضِي الشَّهِيدُ أَبُو عَلِيٍّ بِقِرَاءَتِي عَلَيْهِ قُلْتُ لَهُ حَدَّثَكُمْ أَبُو الْحُسَيْنِ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْجَبَّارِ وَأَبُو الْفَضْلِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ خَيْرُونَ قَالَا أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو يَعْلَى أَحْمَدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْوَاحِدِ عَنْ أَبِي عَلِيٍّ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ السِّنْجِيِّ عَنْ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مَحْبُوبٍ أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو عَيْسَى مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سَوْرَةَ الْحَافِظُ أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يُوسُفَ عَنْ ابْنِ ثَوْبَانَ هُوَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ ابْنُ ثَابِتِ بْنِ ثَوْبَانَ عَنْ حَسَّانِ بْنِ عَطِيَّةَ عَنْ أَبِي كَبْشَةَ السَّلُولِيِّ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَلْعَوُ عَنِّي وَلَوْ آيَةً وَحَدَّثُوا عَنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَلَا حَرَجَ وَمَنْ كَذَبَ عَلَيَّ مُتَعَمِّدًا فَلْيَتَّبِعُوا مَقْعَدَهُ مِنَ النَّارِ

In hadith collections by Andalusian scholars, the clear methods were by *mu'allaq* (omitting several *rāwīs*) and *balāga*. The latter will be explained in next discussion.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*.

of the book in all meetings (*majālis*) that his/her *isnād* was as the previous one. Therefore, to read the book, complete *isnād* should not be read one by one to each hadith like what Mashriq did.<sup>48</sup>

The minimum and maximum for narration capacity and delivery of *rāwī* were determined by the circumstances of his/her related territories. Scholars of al-Andalus, such as Qāsim b. Aṣḡab al-Qurṭubī (d. 340 H), still transmitted hadith until the age of 90.<sup>49</sup> Even, in the tradition of the Hejaz, there was a certain priority for which areas should be heard firstly when listening hadith. In narrating hadith, Mālik invited the society of Hejaz for the first, those of Syria, and those of Iraq.<sup>50</sup>

According to Andalusian scholars, the way to receive hadith should not be heard directly, or there must be recognition of a teacher. The important thing was that a student knew and understood that a hadith narration was derived from a teacher, either by listening directly, or written permission and license given to him/her. How to receive and deliver the narration was pondered by the scholars as equal in status, position and its level of accuracy. The validity of knowledge was not solely determined by the strict and subjective criteria of narration, but also by the society or the local community and the understanding of the society on a hadith. Mashriq scholars, in their tightness and stiffness in hadith, insert knowledge of truth by mixing absolute skepticism and radical subjectivity.<sup>51</sup> They ruminated that the truth cannot be reflected, and may only be applied within their community or their schools only. They were not reflected, examined and conducted as an experiment of narration knowledge in society.

An overview of epistemology of *ḥadīth riwāya* by Andalusian scholars is conducted to determine the knowledge, the way of thinking and its relationship with society and the environment in al-Andalus. Viewed from the methods in the process of knowledge, the scholars departed from the procedures,

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Sudarminta, *Epistemologi Dasar*.

assumptions and results of thought in Mashriq with social and cultural realities in al-Andalus. They used a critical epistemology to investigate the hadith assumptions and procedures tested in the environment of Andalus.<sup>52</sup> Truth and objectivity of hadith narration were not absolute, as Mashriq scholars claimed. Nevertheless, both were social dialectics involving linguistics and local culture.<sup>53</sup> These dialectics, according to al-Jābirī, consist of motifs *aqīda* (doctrine to reinforce confidence and schools), *qabīla* (positive or negative bond in the tribes) and *ganīma* (economic interests behind political and ideological alignments in civilization).<sup>54</sup> Thus, a scientific innovation and the next civilization in al-Andalus took place very quickly and were taken into account by the Mashriq.

### Tolerance of *Ḥadīth Riwāya* in Andalus

In the *epistemology of ḥadīth riwāya*, one of Andalusian scholars who became the focus of criticism from Mashriq or al-Andalus itself was ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb b. Sulaimān al-Sulamī al-Ilbirī al-Qurtubī (174-238 H). He narrated from Sa’sa’a b. Sallām, al-Gāzī b. Qais and Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān Shabṭūn when in al-Andalus. Then ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb did an intellectual journey (*rihla ‘ilmīyya*) to Mashriq and narrated from ‘Abd al-Mālik b. al-Mājishūn, Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd Allāh, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī, Aṣbag b. al-Farj, Asad b. Mūsā and others.<sup>55</sup>

‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was a controversial figure in hadith narration. Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403 H) said that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb did not have the science of hadith, could not tell whether a hadith is valid, did loose in the narration and used *ijāza* in most of his narrations.<sup>56</sup> Even al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H) in his *Tārīkh* said that he was accused of lying for he narrated without *isnād* and narrator

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Muḥammad ‘Abid al-Jābirī, *Al-‘Aql al-Siyāsī al-‘Arabī: Muḥaddidātuhū wa Tajalliyyatuhū* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥdah al-‘Arabīyyah, 2000).

<sup>55</sup> ‘Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh “Ullamā” al-Andalus*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf (Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2008).

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

criticism (*naqd al-rāwī*).<sup>57</sup> Later al-Maqqarī (d. 1401 H) said that negative criticism to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb cannot be taken for granted. There were many professional *muhaddithūn* (*jahābidha*) who received hadith from him. Even, many sources of hadith which were unknown by most Mashriq as *al-Shifā’s* al-Qādī ‘Iyād (d. 544 H) and *Musnad* by Baqī b. Makhlad (d. 276 H). Both hadith books were assumed to contain *garīb ḥadīth* (strange meaning of hadith) and bigger than *Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. The methods of hadith transmission by *ijāza* like what was done by ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb remained valid for some scholars.<sup>58</sup>

There are two aspects of scientific capacity addressed to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb. The first aspect is concerned with negative assessment and criticism against his knowledge. The assessment is based on political and ideological conflicts among him with Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laithī and other *fuqahā’* during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam (206-238 H).<sup>59</sup> The interests of the politics and ideology finally eliminated ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb from society and made him alienated from the community of *fuqahā’*.

The other is his loose in the method of *ijāza*. This permissibility according to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was due to several reasons. At the beginning of the second and third century of Hijriyya, al-Andalus was a region that had not so much Islamic knowledge, especially the hadith. Furthermore, the people there also did not really understand the importance of written sources of hadith. Consequently, some early generations such as the writing of Mu’āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥimṣī (d. 158 H) disappeared.<sup>60</sup> The narration of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was directed to *tadrij* (gradual process) in hadith transmission and giving understanding of

<sup>57</sup> Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa al-A’lām*, ed. Basysyār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf (Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2003).

<sup>58</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*.

<sup>59</sup> Jamāl ‘Ilāl al-Bukhtī, “al-Madrasah al-‘Aqdiyyah al-‘Ulā bi al-Andalus baina Ahl al-Fiqh wa Ahl al-Ḥadīth” (Maroko: al-Rābiṭah al-Muḥammadiyyah li al-“Ulamā,” 2011), 161–205.

<sup>60</sup> Tawfiq Al-Ghalbazūrī, “Taṭawwur ‘Ilm al-Ḥadīth bi al-Maghrib wa al-Andalus ilā al-‘Aṣr al-Ḥādir wa Juhūd al-‘Allāmah al-Muḥaddith al-Duktūr Ibrāhīm bin Ṣiddīq al-Ghumārī fi Khidmatihī” (Maroko: al-Rābiṭah al-Muḥammadiyyah li al-“Ulamā,” 2011), 381–415.



hadith to the people who did not know about it . Book narration like *ijāza* stated by Ibn al-Faraḍī was only on the book of Asad b. Mūsā, one of narrations of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, not all of his books.<sup>61</sup>

From the validity of hadith in al-Andalus, the hadith transmission of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb provided tolerance for the scholars and the people who were new to the scientific civilization. Although his tolerance was equally loose, but the case was different with *balāga ḥadīth* (*balagānī ‘an rāwi*) performed by Malik. This *balāga* reason was the Hijaz as the center of Prophet’s life in which almost everyone narrated the *sunna* hereditary.<sup>62</sup> It was understandable that delivering complete and full *isnād* was not necessary. In fact, according to residents, *‘amal ahl al-Madīna* (the practice of Medina residents) was stronger than *ḥadīth aḥad*.<sup>63</sup> Later, hadith from the Prophet was narrated and preserved by Medina’s residents, according to ‘Aisha Y. Musa, it is called “*sunification of hadith and hadithification of sunna*” all at once.<sup>64</sup>

Social circumstances that were new viewpoint for Islam and its culture had not been so scientific and was impossible for strict narration as in Mashriq. Unlike Mashriq, al-Andalus was not fulfilled by a lot of political, ideological, juridical and sectarian interest. The most important thing was that hadith transmission continued, should not mention the narrator individually , and should not be strictly through *samā’* or *qirā’a*. The important thing was honesty, scientific capability of narrator and narrator willingness to contribute and to share knowledge to the society.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh “Ullamā.”*

<sup>62</sup> Later, this *balāga* adopted by Mālik students in Andalus. See ‘Abd al-Mālik bin Ḥabīb bin Sulaymān al-Sulamī, *Adab al-Nisā’ al-Mawsūm bi al-Kitāb al-‘Ināyah wa al-Nihāyah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Turkī (Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1992).

<sup>63</sup> ‘Abd Allāh bin Muslim bin Qutaibah al-Dīnawārī, *Ta’wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1999); Yasin Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law: The Qur’an, the Muwaḥḥa’ and Madinan ‘Amal* (Surrey: Curzon, 1999).

<sup>64</sup> Aisha Y. Musa, “The Sunification of Ḥadīth and the Hadithification of Sunna,” in *The Sunna and Its Status in Islamic Law: The Search for a Sound Hadith*, ed. Adis Duderija (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 79–95.

## Cultural and Social Environment in Andalus

Al-Qadi 'Iyadl did not deny that the criteria established by scholars of Mālik schools and Andalusian scholars were tolerant standards (*tasāmuḥ*), while Mashriq scholars used strict standards (*tashdīd*). He said that the acceptable methods of hadith transmission were not only *samā'* and *qirā'a* because some areas had different cultural and social condition from Mashriq scholars. He pointed out that outside Mashriq areas, many teachers were delivering and validating *samā'* for non-Arabs, foolish people, small children and the people who attended the *majlis* and was clueless of what was read. The same applies to those who listen but did not have the book, and some months or years later he/she had written on the book of the *thiqa*, which were present with him at that time. Perhaps his/her accuracy (*dabt*) did not fit and appropriate with the narration of the teacher or the book before reading. Some teachers were also tolerant in *majlis* dictation (*imlā'*) and the delivery of those doing *imlā'* to people who came from a distant place and of those reminding each other who heard.<sup>65</sup>

But al-Qāḍī 'Iyād still recommended that all forms of methods of hadith narration, especially other than *samā'* and *qirā'a*, must be written and compared with the original book of a teacher, or the book that had been validated with *thiqa* by a trustworthy person. This included the phrase, point, *shakal*, accuracy and length of *isnād* based on the period of time.<sup>66</sup> In this case, the political power relations and knowledge of hadith,<sup>67</sup> as Foucault said,<sup>68</sup> just provides a way of developing the study of hadith in al-Andalus. Although there was government interference with the inclusion of *Muṣannaḥ Ibn Abī Shaiba* by Baqī b. Makhlad who did not follow

<sup>65</sup> Al-Yaḥṣūbī, *al-Ilmā' ilā Ma'rīfah*.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Muḥammad bin Ḥārith al-Khushanī, *Akḥbār al-Fuqahā' wa al-Muḥaddithīn*, ed. Maria Luisa Avila and Luis Molina (Madrid: Al-Majlis al-A'lā li al-Abḥāth al-'Ilmiyyah Ma'had al-Ta'āwun ma'a al-'Ālam al-'Arabī, 1992).

<sup>68</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

Mālik schools, but spirit of *riwāya*, *tafsīr* and *sharḥ* of in al-Andalus was not out of the methods and standards set by Mālik schools.<sup>69</sup>

Social and cultural power relations based on Foucault's thesis indicate that the study of subjects cannot be removed from power. Power is a necessary precondition for the production of knowledge and an important aspect of all of the social relationship.<sup>70</sup> According to him, power is the predominance between subject and object of power where power is mechanical, not possession. Foucault's concept of power is different from the traditional concept that views the power as repressive. Power according to Foucault can be positive and productive. This power is spread in all stages of life and rooted in a variety of social relations by any individual in the relation of knowledge and institutions. It certainly differs from the traditional view on the concept of power according to Freud, Hegel and the Marxist who considered power as something reserved and authoritative.<sup>71</sup>

The power in al-Andalus was not politics, but the power of the social and cultural environment. The social environment in al-Andalus was established by innumerable ethnicities and nationalities (Arabs, Berbers, Norman (Vikings), *mawālī*, descendants of Spanish-Islam (*muwalladūn*), Jewish, Aryan descent and others).<sup>72</sup> This condition led to the point that the transmission and development of hadith science could not be equated with Mashriq. Therefore, Andalusian scholars gave tolerance in the way of receiving and delivering hadith. They were more concerned with the social role of the scholars and *rāwīs* than person's status (*jarḥ wa ta'dīl*). The cultural environment was not only shaped by scholars, but also slaves, soldiers and local residents who were

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<sup>69</sup> Mu'ammār Nūrī, *Muḥammad bin Waḍḍāh al-Qurṭubī Mu'assis Madrasah al-Hadīth bi al-Andalus ma 'a Baqī bin Makhḥad* (Ribāṭ: Al-Maktabah al-Ma'ārif, 1983).

<sup>70</sup> Madan Sarup, *Posstrukturalisme dan Posmodernisme: Sebuah Pengantar Kritis*, trans. M.A. Hidayat (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Jendela, 2003).

<sup>71</sup> Michel Foucault, *Ingīn Tahu Sejarah Seksualitas*, trans. R.S. Hidayat (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2008); Haryatmoko, "Kekuasaan Melahirkan Anti-Kekuasaan," *Basis* 51, no. 1–2 (2002): 8–21; Larry Shiner, "Reading Foucault: Anti-Method and the Genealogy of Power-Knowledge," *History and Theory* 21, no. 3 (1982): 382–398.

<sup>72</sup> Dwe dār, *al-Mujtama' al-Andalusī*.

regarded less civilized.<sup>73</sup> Some scholars did not study hadith narration much, but focused on the hadith meaning and comments that were beneficial to society. Hadith *riwāya* influenced by social and cultural conditions in al-Andalus later affected *ḥadīth dirāya*. For example in some books of biographies of the scholars, they further highlighted the reliability (*thiqa*) and positive assessment similar to what Ibn al-Faraḡī did. This was because al-Andalus was not so much affected by the friction of ideological, theological, political and juridical interests like what had undergone in Mashriq.<sup>74</sup>

## Conclusion

In the theory of knowledge, the source and validity of knowledge cannot be separated from the social and cultural environment. Based on this theory, al-Andalus at that time, which had different social and cultural environments with Mashriq, shaped different standards of hadith epistemology. The eight methods of receiving and delivering hadith, brought from Masyriq scholars, were continuing in their shapes and names in al-Andalus, but changing in their definitions and uses.

There are at least three notes related to the epistemology of *ḥadīth riwāya*. *First*, the study of *ḥadīth riwāya* in Mashriq is linguistic and local culture construction. Therefore, the *ḥadīth riwāya* does not reflect the final and absolute knowledge of hadith. Various theological, ideological, political and juridical interests caused tightness and stiffness in the hadith narration in Mashriq. *Second*, based on the local linguistic and cultural construction, Andalusian scholars who studied in Mashriq saw the necessity of reflection and reconstruction on tightness and stiffness in the hadith narration to build the civilization of science in al-Andalus. They then did not give rigid and strict standard in hadith

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<sup>73</sup> Abdulghafour Ismail Rozi, "The Social Role of Scholars ('Ulama') in Islamic Spain: A Study of Medieval Biographical Dictionaries (Trājim)" (PhD Thesis, Boston University Graduate School, 1983).

<sup>74</sup> 'Abd al-Wahhāb bin 'Alī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Qā'idah fī al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl wa Qā'idah fī al-Mu'arrikhīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Beirut: Dār al-Basyā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1990); Fārūq Ḥamādah, *Al-Manhaj al-Islāmī fī al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl: Dirāsah Manhajīyyah fī 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* (Ribāṭ: Dār al-Salām, 2008).

narration. However, it does not mean that they are too permissive in narration of all hadith. They had various standards and methods of *ḥadīth riwāya*.

*Third*, reflective and critical attempts of Andalusian scholars were used to align the social and cultural interests with *ḥadīth riwāya*. Ḥadīth is not just a mere theoretical knowledge, but it has to be applicable and beneficial to society. For that reason, *sharḥ* (commentary) of hadith in al-Andalus was more developed than the study of *jarḥ ta'dīl* in Mashriq. Area of studies in the science of hadith is still rare and little to be researched. Now, the study of hadith is still focused on many disaggregated Mashriq. Mashriq has many areas with many characters and different studies. Reviewing specific area, the figures, the method and the environments of social, culture, politics, and more will provide more detailed and comprehensive study of hadith. Moreover, the study will also provide foundation for the progressive study of hadith, neither rigid nor static. *Wallāhu a'lam*.

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