CRITICAL *EPISTEMOLOGY* OF *CRONE* AND *COOK'S* THOUGHT IN "HAGARISM: THE MAKING OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD"

EPISTEMOLOGI KRITIS PEMIKIRAN CRONE DAN COOK DALAM "HAGARISM: THE MAKING OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD"

M. Rizqi Aulia

UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

Email : rizqiauliamoh@gmail.com

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menganalisis gagasan Patricia Crone dan Michael Cook sebagaimana disajikan dalam karya mereka, "Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World," yang diterbitkan pada tahun 1977. Teks penting ini memperkenalkan pendekatan revisionis yang menantang narasi tradisional seputar asal usul Islam melalui penggunaan sumber-sumber non-Muslim dan metodologi kritis. Studi ini mengeksplorasi argumen-argumen sentral yang dikemukakan oleh Crone dan Cook mengenai pembentukan dunia Islam, dengan penekanan khusus pada konteks kompleks peradaban kekaisaran, termasuk pengaruh Zoroastrianisme, tradisi Yahudi, Kekristenan Nestorian, dan hukum Romawi. Dengan menggunakan metode analitis historis-kritis, makalah ini juga mengkaji implikasi metodologis dan epistemologis dari pendekatan mereka terhadap historiografi Islam kontemporer. Temuan studi ini menunjukkan bahwa, meskipun Hagarism memberikan perspektif baru yang signifikan, ketergantungan Crone dan Cook pada sumber-sumber non-Muslim dapat menyebabkan kesalahpahaman mengenai sejarah Islam. Lebih jauh lagi, karya mereka mendorong wacana lebih lanjut tentang akulturasi dan perubahan sejarah dalam konteks pembentukan Islam, sekaligus memicu kritik mengenai objektivitas dan keandalan sumber dalam studi sejarah.

Kata kunci: Epistemologi, Hagarisme, Historiografi.

Abstract

This research analyzes the ideas of Patricia Crone and Michael Cook as presented in their work, "Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World," published in 1977. This seminal text introduces a revisionist approach that challenges traditional narratives surrounding the origins of Islam through the utilization of non-Muslim sources and critical methodologies. The study explores the central arguments posited by Crone and Cook regarding the formation of the Islamic world, with a particular emphasis on the complex context of imperial civilization, including the influences of Zoroastrianism, Jewish traditions, Nestorian Christianity, and Roman law. Employing a historical-critical analytical method, this paper also examines the methodological and epistemological implications of their approach to contemporary Islamic historiography. The findings of this study indicate that, while Hagarism provides a significant new perspective, the reliance of Crone and Cook on non-Muslim sources may lead to misunderstandings regarding Islamic history. Furthermore, their work fosters further discourse on acculturation and historical change within the context of Islam's formation, while simultaneously inciting critiques concerning the objectivity and reliability of sources in historical studies.

Keywords: Epistemology, Hagarism, Historiograph.

INTRODUCTION

The study of the origins of Islam and the establishment of early Islamic civilization is one of the most intriguing and controversial topics in the history of religion and civilization. (Robinson,

2003) Since the 20th century, various approaches have emerged to understand Islamic history, ranging from traditionalist approaches that rely on classical Muslim sources to revisionist approaches that attempt to revisit the historical narratives of Islam using non-Muslim sources and modern critical methodologies. (Robinson, 2003) In this context, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*, published by Patricia *Crone* and Michael *Cook* in 1977, stands out as one of the most controversial works in Islamic *historiography*. (Crone P. &., 1977) *Crone*, a Danish-American historian known for her critical approach to traditional Islamic sources, and *Cook*, a British historian specializing in early Islamic studies, present thesis that challenges the conventional understanding of the origins of Islam.

This paper, discusses imperial civilization, particularly comparing Persian Zoroastrianism and Greek traditions, and how this context shapes the environment in which Islam emerges. *Crone* and *Cook* argue that Islam did not arise in a historical vacuum but rather within the complexities of imperial civilization, influenced by strong components from Jewish, Nestorian Christian, and Roman law that had been transformed in the Middle East. (Crone P. &., 1977) This work is significant for several reasons. First, it represents a significant revisionist approach in Islamic studies that challen ges academic orthodoxy. (Wansbrough, 1977) Second, the methodology used by *Crone* and *Cook* relies on non-Muslim sources, which tend to be non-competitive. Third, this work has broad implications for our understanding of the relationship between Islam and the religious traditions that preceded it. (Donner, 1998)

Research Questions

Based on the background above, this study aims to answer several research questions as follows:

a. What are the main arguments of *Crone* and *Cook* in *Hagarism* regarding the formation of the Islamic world, particularly in the context of imperial civilization?
b. How do *Crone* and *Cook* analyze the influence of Zoroastrianism, Jewish tradition, Nestorian Christianity, and Roman law on the formation of Islam?
c. What are the methodological and epistemological implications of *Crone* and *Cook's* approach to contemporary Islamic *historiography*?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach with historical-critical analysis and textual analysis methods. The primary data for the research is the text of *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* by Patricia *Crone* and Michael *Cook*, specifically pages 51-161, which discuss imperial civilization and the formation of early Islam. Secondary data includes academic literature discussing the work of *Crone* and *Cook*, critiques of revisionist approaches in Islamic studies, as well as literature on early Islamic history from various perspectives.

Literature Review

Muhammad Abed Ali Dhahi Al-Dulaimi authored the article *The Hagarism at Patricia Crone and Michael Cook: A Comparative Commentary Study Between Western Christian Thought and Facts of Islam*. In this study, he elucidates profound misunderstandings regarding Crone and Cook's interpretation of Islamic history. He argues that their reliance on non-Muslim sources, coupled with the disregard for traditional Islamic narratives, leads to a misrepresentation of the

complex historical landscape of Islam. According to him, their methodology underscores the necessity for clearer and more balanced research within Islamic historiography. (Al Dulaimi, 2019) Meanwhile, the article *The Hagarism Theory of Michael Cook: The Qur'an and Hadith in the Perspective of Religious Syncretism*, authored by Nur Hamidah Pulungan and colleagues, concludes that Crone and Cook should have employed a more objective and holistic academic approach to integrate Islamic texts with external evidence and comprehend the intricate historical dynamics. (Pulungan, 2025)

Leon Nemoy, in his article *Crone-Cook's "Hagarism"*, asserts that there is a piece of evidence utilized in the Qur'an, specifically the term "amir al-mu'minin" (commander of the faithful), which refers to the caliph and not "amir al-muslimin" (leader of the Muslims), which he finds clearer. This term, according to him, possesses ambiguity, yet he maintains that it may be preserved due to its antiquity. (Vajda, 1978) The article by Nasr Isfahani, B., Montazerolghaem, A., & Kajbaf, A. A., titled *A Comparative Study of the Representation of Sīrat al-Rasūl Al-Lāh (PBUH) and the History of Islam in Hagarism and Faces of Muhammad*, compares the writings of Crone and Cook with those of John V. Tolan, who represents two divergent directions in Islamic studies: extremism and traditionalism. Crone and Cook's writings are seen as products of the skepticism and extremism among revisionists, which stands in contrast to the positions taken by John V. Tolan. (Nasr Isfahani, 2023)

Furthermore, Georges Vajda's article indicates that Crone and Cook conclude that Muslim civilization is a result of the amalgamation of Jewish thought and Arab conquests; however, he criticizes the "Hagarism" theory for failing to sustain this amalgamation, suggesting that the resultant culture is notably fragmented. (Vajda, 1978) Additionally, the article titled " فرضية خاستگاه هاجري اسلام، تحليل و نقد " by Said Karimpur and 'Ali Rad, explains that the Hagarism theory proposed by Crone and Cook seeks to identify Petra, located in northwest Saudi Arabia, as the origin of Hagarism. They claim that there is a geographical shift in Jewish sources supporting the connection with Jewish ancestral figures. They reference the misalignment of the early mosque's qibla away from Mecca as evidence. However, the evidence shows that Jewish sources have not changed and continue to place Hagarism within the same region. Furthermore, the misalignment of the qibla is attributed to the misunderstandings of early Muslims, rather than any attention towards Petra. (Karimpur, 2017)

DISCUSSION

Intellectual Biographies of Patricia *Crone* and Michael *Cook*

1. Patricia *Crone* (1945-2015)

Patricia *Crone* was one of the most influential and controversial Islamic historians of the 20th and early 21st centuries. Born in Denmark in 1945, *Crone* attended the University of Copenhagen and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, obtaining her doctorate from SOAS in 1974. Her dissertation, later published as *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987), became one of the most controversial works in Islamic studies by challenging the traditional narrative of Mecca as a vital pre-Islamic trade center. (Crone P. , 1987) *Crone* taught at several prestigious institutions, including Oxford University and the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Her intellectual approach was influenced by the European tradition of

historical criticism, particularly the source criticism methodologies developed in biblical studies and ancient history. She was known for her methodological skepticism towards traditional Muslim sources, which she believed were written too far removed from the events they described and were overly influenced by theological and political agendas. Throughout her career, *Crone* published many important works, including *Slaves on Horses* (1980), *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law* (1987), *Pre-Industrial Societies* (1989), and *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (2004). Her works consistently challenged academic orthodoxy and urged scholars to question the foundational assumptions in the study of Islam.

2. Michael *Cook* (1940-present)

Michael *Cook* is an English historian born in 1940, known as a leading expert in early Islamic studies and Middle Eastern history. *Cook* studied at Cambridge University and received his doctorate in 1966. He taught at various universities, including the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, and Princeton University, where he was a professor until retirement. Unlike *Crone*, who is more radical in her skepticism, *Cook* is known for a more balanced approach, although still critical. His works include *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia* (1972), *Muhammad* (1983), *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (2000), and *Ancient Religions, Modern Politics: The Islamic Case in Comparative Perspective* (2014). The collaboration between *Crone* and *Cook* in *Hagarism* represents a meeting point between *Crone's* methodological skepticism and *Cook's* broad historical knowledge. Although both later distanced themselves from some of the more extreme claims made in *Hagarism*, this work remains a significant milestone in revisionist Islamic *historiography*.

Key Ideas in Hagarism: Imperial Civilization and the Formation of Islam

Oleg Grabar, as a critic, acknowledges the strength of the ideas proposed but asserts that many of *Crone* and *Cook's* theses are not based on solid research. He argues that these ideas seem built on a weak foundation, relying solely on a limited analysis of several texts, such as a Greek anti-Jewish text from 634, a mid-eighth-century Jewish apocalypse, and an Armenian chronicle from around 660. This haphazard writing is considered to fall short of the academic standards expected from an ambitious work. Furthermore, Grabar criticizes the writing style of *Crone* and *Cook*, which appears to excessively use concise statements often difficult to understand. For example, complex expressions such as, "If barbarian power and Judaic values can be united, they might achieve what they could not accomplish separately" feel overly complicated and exemplify the use of phrases that spotlight intellectual excess without providing meaningful contributions. (Grabar O. , 1978)

One of the most profound criticisms is the evident negative view of Islam in this work. From beginning to end, *Crone* and *Cook* see Islam as a phenomenon that brings cultural loss, noting many destructive changes following its emergence. Critics argue that while changes in history are often associated with destruction, it is arrogant and insulting to completely condemn a culture as "boring" or "limited." This raises doubts about the authors' objectivity in interpreting historical events. Despite being filled with criticisms, *Hagarism* retains remarkable merits. The utilization of non-Muslim sources, especially Syriac documents, offers an important new perspective on the Muslim phenomenon that has been underappreciated in previous studies. Evidence from those who were

once colonized and later converted provides the insights needed to dismantle traditional understandings of the development of Islamic culture. (Grabar O. , 1978)

According to the authors, *Crone* and *Cook's* work also needs to consider the idea of Muslim sources, including the Quran, which may have been written with the intention of reconstructing early history. Although the review authors do not fully agree with this assumption, they acknowledge that challenging commonly accepted truths is part of a more complex historical research approach. While *Hagarism* contains significant criticism of the foundational methodologies and premature views regarding Islamic culture, this book opens up exciting new discussions about acculturation and historical change. The exploration of interactions between early Muslims and the surrounding cultures, along with their strong emotional ties to Palestine and Jerusalem, injects an intellectual challenge that could enrich the study of Islamic history in the future. With all its accompanying controversies, *Hagarism* remains an intriguing and essential work, compelling readers to reconsider their assumptions about the formation of Islamic culture and the challenges faced by human civilization at large. (Grabar O. , 1978)

The Context of Imperial Civilization: Zoroastrianism and Greek Tradition

Crone and *Cook* begin with an in-depth discussion of imperial civilization, particularly comparing Persian Zoroastrianism with Greek philosophical traditions. (Crone P. &., 1977) They argue that the polytheistic worldview, while capable of generating rich and complex meanings from multifaceted realities, has a fundamental weakness: what is gained in variation will be lost in strength. According to *Crone* and *Cook*, polytheism is not sufficiently uniting to provide a drastic articulation of a nation's subjective solidarity, nor is it comprehensive enough to provide a penetrating explanation of the objective nature of the universe. They identify a fundamental polarity between a personal God (as in Judaism) serving the function of ethnic solidarity and an impersonal concept (as in Buddhism) serving the cosmological function. Zoroastrianism, in their analysis, occupies a unique position. While sharing intellectual contexts with Greek and Indian traditions in the shift from a disintegrated polytheistic heritage to a more unified and conceptual cosmology, the historical context of Zoroaster's career resembles that of Moses more than that of Parmenides or Buddha. Zoroastrianism developed in an environment dominated by ethnic confrontations between Iran and Turan. The fundamental implications of the character of Zoroastrianism are twofold. First, Zoroastrianism designates Iran as a distinct "chosen nation," much like Israel in Judaism. Ahura Mazda is the "God of the Aryans" as Yahweh is the "God of Israel." Second, the correlation of external ethnic specificity is a commitment to internal social pervasiveness. The Zoroastrian worldview does not sanction philosophical indifference toward the philomythical tendencies of the masses.

The Influence of Judaism in the Formation of Islam

One of the most controversial theses in *Hagarism* is the argument that early Islam has a strong genealogical connection with Judaism, not only in terms of general influence but in the sense that the early Islamic movement can be understood as a kind of Jewish-Arab sect. *Crone* and *Cook* use the term *Hagarism* to emphasize their claim that early Arab Muslims identified themselves as descendants of Hagar and Ishmael and thus part of the broader Abrahamic tradition. In the section analyzed, *Crone* and *Cook* highlight how Islamic legal concepts show a strong influence from Jewish law. They discuss parallels between the Muslim concept of oral tradition (hadith) with

Jewish oral tradition (Mishnah and Talmud), and how both traditions share epistemological doubts about committing oral traditions into writing. They also analyze how the concept of ijma' (consensus) in Islamic law has parallels with Jewish legal concepts, albeit with important differences. While in Roman tradition, similar concepts represent imperial decision-making procedures, in Jewish and Islamic traditions, this concept represents the principles of the jurists themselves.

In fact, when discussing Jewish law, the emergence of the discipline of Mishpat Ivri (Jewish Law) in the early 20th century was not merely a project of legal codification but a discursive battleground between established religious traditions and aspirations of modern secular nationalism. Amihai Radzyner in his article captures this tension through the dialectic between the figure of the "Scholar" oriented to scientific-historical objectivity and the figure of the "Jurist" who firmly upholds the authority of the sanctity of texts. The center of this controversy lies in the use of the comparative method, especially concerning Roman law. For secular thinkers such as the group in Moscow and later Asher Gulak, Jewish law must be separated from its theological shell to become a functional national legal system for modern Jewish political entities. Gulak attempts structural deconstruction by borrowing universal legal categories to prove that Jewish law has systematic sophistication equivalent to Western civilization. For him, Jewish law is not a static entity but a living organism that interacts with the surrounding socio-political realities. (Radzyner, 2007)

However, this modernization narrative clashes severely with the walls of orthodox defense represented by figures like Rabbi Yitzhak Herzog. From this perspective, Jewish law, or more precisely, Mishpat ha Torah, is a manifestation of divine will that is imminent and closed to external influences. Herzog rejects substantive comparisons that he sees as an effort to "impose" foreign identity into the body of holy law. For him, the use of legal Western terminology is merely a linguistic tool for explaining texts, not evidence of legal syncretism. This conflict reflects a profound identity crisis: is Jewish law the "voice of God" that does not change beyond time, or is it a "cultural product" of human evolution through intercultural contact? The failure to achieve a full synthesis between scientific methods and religious commitment during that period indicates that the transition from sacred texts to modern legal systems always carries the risks of losing spiritual essence on one side or functional rigidity on the other.

The Influence of Nestorian Christianity and Provincial Roman Law

The most technical and possibly most persuasive argument in the analyzed section relates to the influence of Nestorian Christianity and provincial Roman law on Islamic law. *Crone* and *Cook* provide an in-depth analysis of how Islamic law regarding wills and the emancipation of slaves shows influences from Roman law that underwent etiolated (weakening or degeneration) in the context of the Eastern provinces. A specific example they discuss is Islamic law concerning wills that limits maximum bequests to one-third of the estate. They argue that this rule cannot be explained from within Arab or Islamic tradition itself but can be understood as an adaptation of Roman law Lex Fufia Caninia (which limited the emancipation of slaves in bequests) that has mixed with Persian law on wills in Nestorian Christian legal practice.

Their arguments are based on careful comparative analysis of the Syro-Roman Law Book compiled by Isho'bokht, a Nestorian legal scholar. They show that in this text, there is confusion between slave emancipation law and succession law resulting in a hybrid rule of one-third maximum

for slave emancipation in bequests. According to *Crone* and *Cook*, Muslims borrowed this hybrid rule and applied it to wills in general. The significance of this argument is that it shows how Islamic law, often considered a unique and self-contained legal system, is actually the product of a complex syncretism process involving various legal traditions present in the Middle East during the 7th and 8th centuries.

In exploring the relationship between Jewish law and Roman law, Cohen highlights the importance of these two legal systems in the broader context of civilization, referencing the statement of French Orientalist Ernest Renan, which suggests that the histories of Greece, Judea, and Rome collectively embody the essence of human civilization. (Cohen, The Relationship of Jewish to Roman Law, 1944) Cohen attempts to determine the extent of influence or relationship between these two legal codes by examining historical texts, legal principles, and the socio-political backgrounds of Jewish and Roman societies. In terms of historical context and methodology, Cohen emphasizes the need for a solid foundation for comparative research based on original sources, urging scholars to engage deeply with historical texts. He refers to the early comparison between Mosaic law and Roman law outlined in a fifth-century Latin work, *Lex Dei* or *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Collatio*. This work compares laws found in the Bible with provisions of Roman law, illustrating early attempts to showcase similarities despite different origins. Cohen notes that the purpose of the authors of this compilation was to highlight the similarities between the two legal systems, likely in response to impending legal restrictions against Jewish courts around 398 CE. (Cohen, 1944)

By examining the comparisons made in *Collatio*, where sections of Jewish law are reflected against Roman laws, Cohen demonstrates that while some similarities are proposed, they rest on debatable interpretations. He emphasizes the need for methodological rigor in distinguishing these similarities, especially in how both legal systems handle situations related to slavery and punishment. A significant focus of Cohen's analysis is how both legal systems regulate the treatment and punishment of slaves. Through specific examples, such as punishment for a master who injures his slave, issues of legal liability are examined. *Collatio* argues that neither Mosaic law nor Roman law imposes absolute liability on a master who harms his slave, reflecting a deeper understanding of justice that prioritizes intent. This approach reflects a deeper philosophical stream in the legal thought of each culture, mirroring variations in moral theology and legal responsibility. (Cohen, 1944)

Cohen discusses how further interpretations and developments in jurisprudence reflect an ongoing dialogue between the two systems. He points to important figures such as John Calvin, who began comparing Mosaic law with Roman civil law, further developing this discourse into the 17th and 18th centuries. Various academics produced comprehensive works that attempt to elucidate the symbiotic relationships and differences between the two legal systems. (Cohen, 1944) The landscape of Jewish legal thought in relation to Roman law has developed significantly from its early inquiries, with scholars like Leopold Zunz emphasizing the need for more in-depth investigations into how Roman law influenced Talmudic jurisprudence. Zunz's work spurred further research exploring terminological and contextual similarities. As discussions evolved, some scholars suggested significant debts of the Jewish legal tradition to the structure of Roman law, while others, such as Zechariah Frankel, argued that any commonalities stem from similar environmental factors rather than direct borrowing. (Cohen, 1944) Cohen notes that this increased

research reveals a complex web of ideas and influences, as Jewish legal terminology begins to reflect Roman terms, depicting a continuously evolving jurisprudential framework amid socio-political changes.

Cohen argues that comprehensive studies should not stop at acknowledging similarities; researchers should aim to build a broader understanding of the foundational principles of both laws, including cultural, social, and economic contexts. Such deep understanding could pave the way for a systematic compilation of legal terms, enhancing future discourse regarding the relationships between these two significant legal traditions. The goal of this comparison is not merely to clarify potential reciprocal influences but also to provide new insights into legal areas that can be further explored with knowledge gained from both of these legal systems. Cohen concludes that examining Jewish law and Roman law forms an integral part of ancient legal history, reflecting the complexities of the evolution of human civilization through interrelated and distinct legal experiences. Cohen's work serves as an essential foundation for ongoing studies regarding the impact of interactions between Jewish law and Roman law, reinforcing the need for scholars to approach this inquiry with depth of understanding and respect for original sources while remaining open to discovering new insights from historical connections. Delving into these ancient legal traditions provides a broader context for contemporary legal conversations and highlights the enduring legacy of these historical frameworks in shaping modern jurisprudence.

Methodology of Non-Muslim Source

Salahuddin Before discussing the direct bilateral borrowings between Jewish law and Roman law, Boaz Cohen notes several intriguing chronological coincidences. The earliest Roman legal code, known as the XII Tables, was established in 450 BCE, coinciding with the extension of the Jewish people's loyalty under Ezra's leadership toward Moses and the adoption of that law as their fundamental law. The *Institutes of Gaius*, as a standard textbook for Roman law, was written in 160 CE, prior to the editing of the Mishnah approximately half a century later. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian corresponds with the Talmud, both originating from the sixth century. (Cohen, 1944) The most controversial aspect of the approach taken by *Crone* and *Cook* is their reliance on non-Muslim sources to reconstruct early Islamic history. They argue that traditional Muslim sources, written two centuries or more after the events they describe, cannot be trusted as direct historical evidence. In contrast, *Crone* and *Cook* utilize contemporary Jewish, Christian (especially Syriac), Armenian, and Greek sources that are contemporaneous with early Islamic events. (Crone P. &., 1977) They argue that these sources, although often hostile to Islam, provide valuable external perspectives that are not contaminated by later Muslim theological agendas. This methodology has radical implications. If traditional Muslim sources are unreliable, then nearly everything we know about Muhammad, the early Quran, and the formation of the early Muslim community must be called into question. This is the core of the revisionist project represented by *Hagarism*.

Cohen notes that several similarities between the Code of Hammurabi, the Pentateuch, and the XII Tables have been recorded by D.H. Müller, who assumed that these similarities were due to a Semitic archetype transmitted to Rome through Greece. However, several other scholars, such as Kohler and Bonfante, reject this view, seeing it as the result of independent parallel evolution, related to the basic human nature pushing different groups to use similar legal methods to address the same situations. He notes that while the comparison between the Pentateuch and the XII Tables

remains definitive, this early comparison with the Talmud is more inviting. For example, in laws regarding damages, both legal systems provide similar regulations but also exhibit significant differences. Roman law allows for two methods of indemnification, while the laws in the Mishnah indicate differing rabbinical viewpoints regarding guaranteed damages. (Cohen, 1944)

Cohen then turns to discuss the principle of Lex Talionis, which serves as the foundation for principles of justice in primitive societies. The XII Tables contain provisions about mayhem that state that if someone injures another's body part, there should be equivalent retaliation unless he agrees to compensation. (Cohen, 1944) However, Jewish rabbis strongly reject this principle of retaliation, emphasizing that the meaning of "an eye for an eye" should not be understood literally. Provisions in the XII Tables regarding *usucapio*, or the possession and use of movable property, require ownership for one year to resolve claims, whereas for real property, two years are required. It is stated that stolen goods are forbidden to be owned through usucapio. Similarly, the Mishnah states that if someone can prove uncontested ownership for three years, they are entitled to that property. Cohen also highlights the provisions regarding posthumous rights of children based on the XII Tables and regulations in the Talmud that differ regarding the maximum legally recognized pregnancy duration. (Cohen, 1944)

An impressive series of analogies about burial ceremonies between the XIII Tables and Jewish law is also explained, where burial rules are emphasized to limit expenditures by necessitating the provision of entertainment and visitors. This shows an effort to maintain simplicity in burial ceremonies, which greatly aligns with Jewish norms. Legal Influence and Relationship While the XII Tables precede the Mishnah and the Talmud by hundreds of years, Cohen argues that this suggests the possibility of Roman law influencing Jewish law. Determining such influences is more complicated than merely finding similar rules and drawing conclusions from known chronological orders. It is essential to explore parallel developments and socio-political factors that may lead to similar rules. Cohen underlines that after the conquest of Judea, Jewish and Pagan courts had concurrent jurisdiction in civil matters, indicating that pagan law in Palestine was a blend of Hellenistic, Roman, and Eastern elements. He also refers to early Roman critiques of Jewish law recorded in the Talmud, highlighting the care of Roman legal thinkers in understanding Jewish law. (Cohen, 1944) Specifically, the complete separation of civil law and religion in Rome facilitated the acceptance of Roman law in Europe during the Middle Ages.

Cohen concludes that since critical comparisons between Roman law and Jewish law have not been extensively made, it is premature to talk about significant benefits gained by either side from each other's legal experiences. *Crone's* excessive generalizations, often seeking common characteristics that state the "essence" of all Islamic civilization, become quite noticeable. Particularly, in one of her books, she discusses theories about the caliphate, recalling that the question of who has the right to be the caliph is a primary concern of Muslim thinkers and is at the root of many divisions within the Islamic community, such as the differences between Sunnis and Shi'ahs. (Donner, 1982) This assessment sometimes appears as a form of orientalism that simplifies complex civilizations. It seems as if she holds a strong critical stance toward Islamic culture, seeing it as a "flawed civilization". This creates a moralistic tone in her analysis. (Donner, 1982)

*Epistemologi*cal Implication

Most criticisms of *Hagarism* focus on specific substantive claims made by *Crone* and *Cook*, but few provide a comprehensive methodological critique of their approach. Questions such as: What are the appropriate criteria for assessing the reliability of non-Muslim versus Muslim sources? How do we address bias in non-Muslim sources? Can radical skepticism towards Muslim sources be justified methodologically? still require deeper discussion. If we accept that traditional Muslim sources are unreliable for early Islamic history, what implications does that have for the possibility of historical knowledge about this period? Should we accept historical agnosticism? Or are there alternative ways to reconstruct early Islamic history? While some scholars have noted that *Hagarism* emerges from a specific intellectual context (the European tradition of historical criticism, critical biblical studies, etc.), a more in-depth analysis of how this context shapes *Crone* and *Cook's* approach is still lacking.

Similarly, questions about whether there is an ideological agenda (conscious or unconscious) in their revisionist project have yet to be adequately explored. Most of the responses to *Hagarism* come from Western scholars, both supporters and critics. Responses from Muslim scholars, particularly those working within the classical Islamic scholarly tradition, remain relatively limited. Most discussions about the revisionist approach focus on early Islam. However, the question of whether the methodology used by *Crone* and *Cook* can or should be applied to other periods in Islamic history (e.g., Abbasid period, Ottoman period, etc.) has yet to be adequately explored.

CONCLUSION

Patricia *Crone* and Michael *Cook*, through their work *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*, have made significant contributions to Islamic *historiography* by presenting a revisionist approach that challenges the traditional narratives of the origins of Islam. Their intellectual backgrounds in the European tradition of historical criticism shape a methodological approach that emphasizes skepticism towards traditional Muslim sources and a preference for contemporary non-Muslim sources. *Crone* and *Cook's* central argument in the analyzed section is that Islam did not emerge in a historical vacuum but rather within a complex context of imperial civilization, heavily influenced by Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Nestorian Christianity, and Roman law. (Crone P. &., 1977) They meticulously demonstrate, through careful comparative analysis, how elements within Islamic law and theology can be traced back to these traditions. Their analysis of Zoroastrian influences shows structural parallels between the concept of the "chosen nation" in Zoroastrianism and Islam.

Their discussion of Jewish influences emphasizes the continuity between Jewish oral law traditions and Islam. Their argument regarding the influence of Nestorian Christianity and provincial Roman law, particularly in the case of inheritance law, provides concrete examples of the process of legal syncretism. The methodological approaches of *Crone* and *Cook*, relying on non-Muslim sources and exhibiting radical skepticism towards traditional Muslim sources, remain the most controversial aspects of their work. While this approach opens valuable new perspectives, it also raises serious questions about the criteria for source reliability and the possibilities of historical knowledge about early Islam. A review by Wael B. Hallaq notes that while the writing may seem engaging, it ultimately fails to substantiate its claims with sufficiently strong evidence. It indicates

that *Crone's* work tends to create confusion and lacks truly new or deep explanations in the context of the study of Islamic political thought. (Hallaq, 1990)

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