

CHAPTER 4

AN ANALYSIS OF IMAMATE ACCORDING TO IBN KHALDUN IN THE *MUQADDIMAH*

4.1 Introduction

As chapter one mentions, Ibn Khaldun specifies one subtopic to discuss imamate in the *Muqaddimah*. But why did Ibn Khaldun discuss imamate in chapter three of the *Muqaddimah*? Perhaps because that subtopic was mainly focused on discussing leadership, thus imamate was covered in that chapter. Before discussing the issue of imamate, he first addressed the power of the ruler, the monarchy system, and the government system of the caliphate. It can be said that Ibn Khaldun is an all-rounded historian who discusses the governance system in religion specifically because he is a Muslim himself. This quality of historians derived from their eagerness to find the truth and want to know more until they go deeper into religion and religious belief, as Arnold J. Toynbee mentioned²⁰².

Therefore, this chapter answers the third research question that serves as the last question in this study. This third question is also purposely designed due to the subtopic made by Ibn Khaldun to discuss the issue of leadership according to Shiism. The cross-reference method was used to examine the authenticity of the information Ibn Khaldun gave. This is because he did mention two Muslim scholars, namely Ibn Hazm and al-Shahrastānī, as his primary reference for subtopic 27 in chapter three of *Muqaddimah*.

²⁰² Toynbee, A. J. 1972. *A Study Of History: The One-Volume Edition*. London: Oxford University Press and Thames and Hudson Ltd. p. 489-491.

Not only that, but he also recommends readers of the *Muqaddimah* to look up these two scholars' work to better understand the issue of imamate. All the topics discussed in this chapter also serve as an extended and detailed discussion of the themes of imamate in the previous chapter. The discussion was supported by the opinion of both Sunni and Shiite scholars.

4.2 Caliphate and Imamate: Sunnis and Shiism Perspectives

A good leader is essential for every nation. It is not a matter that can be taken lightly because it may lead to many disastrous events due to the incompetence of one ruler. Thus, the discussion on this matter was lengthy and made by many scholars, including Ibn Khaldun. In the *Muqaddimah*, if one were to go through every chapter, one may find that Ibn Khaldun makes a significant effort in discussing this matter, especially in chapter three.

However, the sole focus of this study is only limited to Islamic leadership, especially about imamate in Shiism. Some glimpses of the discussion of the caliphate and imamate in the *Muqaddimah* can be found in Appendix 6: Discussion on Caliphate and Imamate in the *Muqaddimah*. Ibn Khaldun also discusses leadership at the hand of royal authority that a king governs. Then, he makes a broad discussion on the caliphate and imamate. This subtopic mainly focuses on matters regarding the caliphate and imamate.

4.2.1 The Definition

Caliphate and imamate carry about the same meanings, which means the system that Islam made as a basis for ruling among the people, intending to select the fittest among the Muslims so that the nation gathers around it. Its ranks unite with it,

establishing the *sharī'ah*'s rulings. Or it can be said that imamate is prophetic leadership that aims to preserve Shariah. Both Sunni and *Shī'ī* agree with this opinion. This can be seen based on their opinion on imamate as follows:

By this, al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286 AD) said that imamate is a succession of a person to the Prophet SAW in establishing legal laws and preserving the nation's possession. At the same time, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Laḳānī (1564-1668 AD) defines the caliphate in his commentary on *Jawharah al-Tawḥīd* as public leadership in matters of religion and the world, on behalf of the Prophet SAW. Al-Juwaynī al-Ḥaramayn (1028-1085 AD), one of the most prominent imams of the *al-Ashʿariyyah*, defines imamate as a complete leadership and general leadership related to the private and the public in the tasks of religion and the world. Its mission is to preserve the country, taking care of the subjects, establishing the call by argument and the sword, stopping fear and injustice, seeking justice for the oppressed among the oppressors, fulfilling the rights of those who abstain, and fulfilling them according to eligibility²⁰³.

Ibn Khaldun defines imamate as a part of religious law because it serves the public interest; thus, its real meaning is the supervision of the interests of the Muslim nation in both their worldly and spiritual affairs²⁰⁴. Al-Māwardī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 450AH) defines imamate as the object of prophetic leadership in guarding religion and the world²⁰⁵. Al-Ījī, one of Ashʿari's scholars, defines imamate as the power of the Prophet

²⁰³ Muḥammad Bayyūmī Mahrān. 1995. *Al-Imāmah Wa Ahl Al-Bayt*. Vol. 1. Bayrūt: Dār al-Nahdah al-ʿArabiyyah. p. 7, 28-29; Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Isma'iliyah*. Jakarta: Dar'ami Publishing. p. 124; Al-Damījī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn Sulaymān. 1983. *Al-Imāmah Al-ʿUzmā ʿInda Ahl Al-Sunnah Wa Al-Jamāʿah*. Al-Riyād: Dār al-Tayyibat. p. 28.

²⁰⁴ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 591.

²⁰⁵ Al-Mawardi, Abu 'l-Hasan. 1996. *Al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyyah: The Laws Of Islamic Governance*. (trans.) Asadullah Yate. London: Ta-Ha Publishers Ltd. p. 10; Al-Māwardī, Abī al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb. 1989. *Al-Ahkām Al-Sulṭāniyyah Wa Al-Wilāyāt Al-Dīniyyah*. Al-Baghdāwī, Aḥmad Mubārak (*tahqīq*). Al-Kuwayt: Maktabat Dār Ibn Qutaybah. p. 3; Al-Damījī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn

SAW in upholding the religion that all Muslims should follow. Kamaluddin and Fithriah summarize that the imamate or caliphate is a system that serves as the basis of law among people in Islam, which aims to select the worthiest Muslims who have sufficient power to gather the voices of the Ummah, unite its ranks, and implement the religious law²⁰⁶.

While *al-Zaydiyyah* defines imamate as general leadership with shariah provisions for specific individuals in various religious and worldly matters, provided that he should not commit tyranny. Concerning this definition, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍa (d. 840H/1436AD)²⁰⁷ argues that the imamate is a general leadership for a particular individual with the provisions of the religious law that do not contain elements of tyranny²⁰⁸.

While the definition given by al-Qasim ibn Muḥammad (d. 106/8AH)²⁰⁹ concerning imamate is general leadership with a shariah decree for a man who does not possess any tyranny toward a single person, this man must be descended from the descendent of *Ahl al-Bayt* and, more precisely, from al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. In his speech on the truth, Ḥumaydān ibn Yaḥyā, a scholar of *al-Zaydiyyah*, expressed agreement with this definition. He said an imam is a perfect individual to lead

²⁰⁶ Umar ibn Sulaymān. 1983. *Al-Imāmah Al-ʿUẓmā ʿInda Ahl Al-Sunnah Wa Al-Jamāʿah*. Al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Ṭayyibat. p. 28-29; p. 277.

²⁰⁷ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Isma'iliyah*. Jakarta: Dar'ami Publishing. p. 124.

²⁰⁸ He is an *al-Muʿtazilah* scholar and imam of the *Shīʿah al-Zaydiyyah* state in Yemen.

²⁰⁹ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Isma'iliyah*. Jakarta: Dar'ami Publishing. p. 124-125; Al-Murtaḍā, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā. 1947. *Muqaddimah Kitāb Al-Baḥr Al-Zakḥkhār: Al-Jāmiʿ Li Madhahīb ʿUlamāʾ Al-Amṣār*. Al-Ṣaʿdī, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā Bahrān (*tahqīq*). Ṣanaʿāʾ: Dār al-Hikmah al-Yamāniyyah. p. 91-92; Wahbah Al-Zuhaili. 2010. *Fiqh Islam Wa Adillatuhu*. Vol. 8. Kuala Lumpur & Jawa Barat: Darul Fikir & Gema Insani. p. 461-462.

²⁰⁹ Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣādīq is one of the early Islamic Jurists in Medina, whose maternal grandfather is Jaʿfar al-Ṣādīq.

humanity in religion and the world in a form where there is no higher power than him, as practiced by our imams, which are the imams of *al-Zaydiyyah* AS²¹⁰.

And *al-Zaydiyyah* also limits the people's obligations towards their imam on religious and worldly matters related to the people's interest, such as holy war (*jihād*), territory (*al-wilāyah*), and zakat matters. In contrast, issues related to religious matters and the world by Islamic law do not fall within its capacity (power)²¹¹. While according to *al-Imāmiyyah al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah*, imamate is the general leadership of divinity (*ilāhiyyat*), the caliphate of the Prophet SAW, in various matters of world and religion, so that all humans must obey the imam. And the difference between the Prophet SAW and the imam is that the Prophet SAW is the original judge for people on matters of religion and their world directly without any intermediaries. In contrast, the imam is a judge with the mediator of the Prophet SAW²¹².

The concept of imamate, within the context of faith, holds significant importance as it encompasses both religious and secular authority combined with divine attributes. While it shares similarities with prophetic lineage, the imamate differs from prophets as the imams do not receive revelations. Therefore, the imamate does not go through an election process, and its determination is solely based on the provisions of Allah and the Prophet SAW. Or based on the text (*naṣṣ*)²¹³, the Prophet SAW gave from generation to generation from the previous imam to the next imam. Based on this, the divine laws are obtained only from the source of the imams, and

²¹⁰ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Isma'iliyah*. Jakarta: Dar'ami Publishing. p. 125.

²¹¹ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Isma'iliyah*. p. 125.

²¹² Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. p. 126.

²¹³ Al-Qaffārī, Nāṣir ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī. 1994. *Uṣūl Madhhab Al-Shīʿah Al-Imāmiyyah Al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah: ʿArd Wa Naqd*. Vol. 1. n.pl: n.pb. p. 675.

their partaking is only valid if issued by the imams. And there is no dispute between the *al-Imāmiyyah* and *al-Ismaʿīliyyah* regarding this matter of imamate²¹⁴.

And it is worth noting here that the phrase ‘imam’ in Shiism has a specific meaning of spiritual teacher. And the phrase imam can also mean caliph, judge, or president. The various purposes of the imam are widely spread in classical books that discuss politics. Although there are synonyms and linguistic similarities between the caliphate and imamate in the view of Sunni scholars, the phrase imamate, according to Shiism, differs from the caliphate²¹⁵.

Regarding this matter, Ibn Khaldun explains the secret behind using the word imam instead of the caliph in Shiism. He said, indeed, the Shiite specializes in ʿAlī with the name imam as a remark to imamate, a synonym to the caliphate for him. And the use of the name imam is a clear opinion from Shiism that ʿAlī is more entitled to be an imam in the prayer than Abū Bakr. Hence, ʿAlī and his successors were granted the title of imam and were eligible for the position of caliphate²¹⁶.

The definitions of imamate and caliphate above share certain similarities, such as the importance of religious and worldly leadership, the preservation of justice, the implementation of *sharīʿah*, and the responsibility to care for the subjects. Scholars also agree that the imam or caliph should not be a tyrant and should uphold the rights of the people. However, there are differences in the specific nuances of the definitions. For example, some scholars focus on the lineage of the imam, such as being descended from *Ahl al-Bayt*. Others see the imamate as part of religious law serving the public interest. Moreover, there are variations in the scope of leadership, with

²¹⁴ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Ismaʿīliyah*. Jakarta: Darʿami Publishing. p. 126.

²¹⁵ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Ismaʿīliyah*. p. 126.

²¹⁶ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. p. 126-127.

some scholars defining imamate as complete leadership encompassing private and public matters. Others emphasize the prophetic leadership in safeguarding religion and the world. In summary, while there are shared principles and responsibilities, differences arise in the specific details and perspectives of the scholars.

Thus, the main differences between how imamate is defined according to Shiism and Sunni views are based on the succession of leadership that followed the Prophet Muḥammad SAW's death. According to Shiism views, imamate is a divinely ordained spiritual leadership that is passed down through the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet SAW. The Shiism believe that the imams are appointed by divine will and possess spiritual authority. On the other hand, Sunni views on the caliphate emphasize the selection of leaders through consensus and the caliph's role as a political and administrative leader rather than a divinely appointed spiritual guide. Furthermore, Sunni Islam does not attribute the same level of infallibility to their leaders as Shiism does to their imams.

4.2.2 The Rules of Imamate

Based on the discussion on the meaning of imamate in the previous subtopic, it is clear that imamate or caliphate is essential in Islam, and its practice is deemed necessary and compulsory for both Sunnis and Shiites. Even though the question of the caliphate and the succession are very important in the people's opinion, they were not crucial in the time of the Prophet SAW. Ibn Khaldun left a remark by saying it is so unimportant that the Prophet SAW did not appoint a successor after him²¹⁷. It became important during the time of the early caliph due to the specific needs concerning military protection, the holy war, the apostasy of Arab tribes after the

²¹⁷ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (tahqīq). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 571-572.

death of the Prophet SAW, and the conquests. Later on, the group's feelings also play a significant role in determining the successor.

At first, imamate was not discussed in the field of faith (*uṣūl al-dīn*) by speculative theology scholars (*kalām*) but regarded imamate as a matter of *furūciyyah* (non-fundamental) based on the statement from al-Qur'ān and hadith. But later on, it became an important discussion in Islam as Shiism believed imamate was one of the articles of faith. This matter became the most significant distinction between Sunni and Shiism. Ṣālih ibn Maḥdī al-Maqbilī (1637-1696AD)²¹⁸ said that imamate is one of the discussions in Islamic jurisprudence²¹⁹. Still, speculative theology scholars have issued it in the fundamental (*uṣūl*) discussion due to the enormous polemic between Sunni and Shiism. This also serves as the same issue with some *al-Ash'ariyyah* scholars, including the discussion on stroking the water on shoes in ablution in one of the discussions in *kalām*²²⁰.

According to Ibn Khaldun, imamate is part of religious law. And an appointment of a successor is recognized as part of the religious law through the consensus of the Muslim nation, which says that it is permissible and binding when it occurs²²¹. The position of the imam is a necessary one. The consensus of the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation shows that imamate is needed according to the religious law. Suppose it has been established that the institution of the imamate is necessary by consensus. In that case, it must be added that the institution of imamate is a community duty and is left to the discretion of all

²¹⁸ Ṣālih ibn Maḥdī al-Maqbilī, also known as Diyād al-Dīn Ṣālih ibn Maḥdī al-Maqbilī, a seventeenth century *al-Zaydiyyah* scholar, was born in Yemen and had extensive knowledge in *tafsīr*, *ʿulūm al-Quran*, *ḥadīth*, language, mysticism, and jurisprudence.

²¹⁹ Al-Maqbilī, Ṣālih Ibn Maḥdī. 1328. *Al-ʿAlamu Al-Shāmikh Fī Iṭhār Al-Ḥaq ʿAlā Al-Ābā' Wa Al-Mashāyikh*. Miṣr: n.pb. p. 7.

²²⁰ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Isma'iliyah*. Jakarta: Dar'ami Publishing. p. 128.

²²¹ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (taḥqīq). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 591.

competent Muslims. They must see to it that the imamate is set up, and everybody has to obey the imam as stated by the verse of the al-Qur'ān²²²:

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا﴾

Meaning: “O you who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger and those charged with authority among you. If you differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to Allah and His Messenger, if you do believe in Allah and the Last Day: that is best and most suitable for final determination.”

Thus, the institution of the imamate or the caliphate is necessary and obligatory in Islam. °Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib said the *ḥukm* for imamate or caliphate is compulsory in Islam, and he defines the imams as the support of God over his creation and his acquaintances over his servants, except those who deny them. While al-Baghdādī in *al-Farq Bayn al-Firaq*, according to Sunnis - that is, *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* - said that the imamate is an obligation on the nation to establish an imam who will appoint judges and trustees for them, control their frontiers, invade their armies, and divide the factions among them. And upholding justice for the oppressed of their oppressors²²³.

Al-Māwardī opines that imamate is a necessary requirement of Islamic law (*sharī'ah*) and not of reason (*al-'aql*). The appointment of an imam by the consensus of the Muslim community is obligatory. There is a similar passage in al-Baghdādī, who remarks that this is al-Ash'arī's opinion and opposes the *al-Mu'tazilah* view²²⁴. Al-Baghdādī said there are many different opinions on the imamate's obligation and the necessity to seek and appoint the imam. The majority of our companions (the Sunnis) among theologians and jurists, along with the Shiites, the *al-Khawārij*, and

²²² Al-Qur'ān. Al-Nisā' 4:59.

²²³ Muḥammad Bayyūmī Mahrān. 1995. *Al-Imāmah Wa Ahl Al-Bayt*. Vol. 1. Bayrūt: Dār al-Nahdah al-'Arabiyyah. p. 30-33.

²²⁴ n.a. 1963. *A History of Muslim Philosophy With Short Accounts Of Other-Disciplines And The Modern Renaissance in Muslim Lands*. Vol. 1. M. M. Sharif (ed.). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. p.720

most of the *al-Muʿtazilah*, said that the imamate is obligatory and that it is an obligation to establish it and to follow the one appointed for it. Abū al-Ḥasan said that the imamate is one of the Islamic laws, the permissibility to follow the imam/leader is known by reason, and the obligation of imamate is known by religious text²²⁵. This opinion is also in line with Ibn Hazm concerning the imamate²²⁶.

Whereas according to *al-Zaydiyyah* and *al-Muʿtazilah*, it is a logical obligation, while according to *al-Imāmiyyah* and *al-Ismāʿīliyyah*, its appointment is an obligation to Allah. Meanwhile, the *al-Khawārij* think that the appointment is not obligatory at all. Still, *al-Imāmiyyah* obliges it to protect various Islamic laws from changes caused by its revision by adding and removing some laws. *Al-Ismāʿīliyyah* obliges it to introduce Allah and His attributes, which means, in their opinion, that the obligation of having an imam aims to know God through the imams²²⁷.

In the perspective of al-Bāqilānī, the imamate can only be complete in two ways - either through textual evidence or through choice. He argues that the textual evidence for the imamate is invalid because if the Prophet Muḥammad SAW had appointed an imam, he would have made it clear and obligated the entire ummah to obey that imam. However, there is no such clear textual evidence. Moreover, the Prophet SAW explicitly stated that Abū Bakr was his successor, and the imam would come after him. This statement was made in the presence of the Companions, or at least a majority of them, and if there was any other imam appointed, the Prophet SAW would have made it clear to them²²⁸.

²²⁵ Al-Baghdādī, Abī Maṣṣūr ʿAbd Al-Qāhir Ibn Ṭahir Al-Tamīmī. 1928. *Uṣūl Al-Dīn*. Iṣṭānbūl: Maṭbaʿat Al-Dawlah. p. 271-272.

²²⁶ Wahbah Al-Zuhaili. 2010. *Fiqh Islam Wa Adillatuhu*. Vol. 8. Kuala Lumpur & Jawa Barat: Darul Fikir & Gema Insani. p. 279.

²²⁷ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah Dan Isma'iliyah*. Jakarta: Dar'ami Publishing. p. 129.

²²⁸ ʿAbd al-Raḥman Badawī. 2005. *Madhāhib Al-Islāmiyyīn: Al-Muʿtazilah Wa Al-Ashāʿirah Wa Al-Ismāʿīliyyah Wa Al-Qarāmiṭah Wa Al-Nuṣayriyyah*. Bayrūt: Dār al-ʿIlm lil Malāyīn. p. 627-628.

When conveying religious messages, it is crucial to prioritize clarity and simplicity to ensure everyone can understand them. If the Prophet SAW had said something well-known and widely accepted, like prayers, fasting, obligatory pilgrimage, and other religious obligations, it is essential to pass on similar beliefs. The same goes for appointing an imam, which is a general obligation for everyone in the religion, and it is essential to follow the correct guidance. The words of the Prophet SAW regarding this matter carry great weight and should not be taken lightly. It is a grave danger, and its importance cannot be understated. The knowledge regarding the appointment of an imam is widespread, and it cannot be hidden from people. The Shiite's claim regarding the significance of an imam is a matter of great concern and should be addressed with utmost seriousness. It is more critical than the appointment of princes and judges²²⁹.

4.2.3 The Conditions Governing the Institution of the Imamate

The jurists stipulated conditions for the imam, perhaps the most important: knowledge, justice, sufficiency, and sound of the senses and organs. There is a fifth condition in which they differed in opinion, such as al-Bāqilānī²³⁰, which is the Quraysh lineage. However, some Islamic sects have reached seven states with these conditions, and those have come to fourteen conditions, such as *al-Zaydiyyah*²³¹. While al-Damijī listed eleven conditions²³² similar to the table 4.1, there is Islam, *al-*

²²⁹ °Abd al-Raḥman Badawī. 2005. *Madhāhib Al-Islāmiyyīn: Al-Muʿtazilah Wa Al-Ashʿirah Wa Al-Ismāʿiliyyah Wa Al-Qarāmiṭāh Wa Al-Nuṣayriyyah*. p. 628.

²³⁰ °Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. °Alī °Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (tahqīq). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 569.

²³¹ Muḥammad Bayyūmī Mahrān. 1995. *Al-Imāmah Wa Ahl Al-Bayt*. Vol. 1. Bayrūt: Dār al-Nahdah al-°Arabiyyah. p. 62-75.

²³² Al-Damijī, °Abd Allāh ibn °Umar ibn Sulaymān. 1983. *Al-Imāmah Al-°Uzmā °Inda Ahl Al-Sunnah Wa Al-Jamāʿah*. Al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Ṭayyibat. p. 234-295.

bulūgh (mature), perfect mind, freedom, a man, knowledge, probity, psychological competency, physical competency, bravery, and a Quraysh.

The table below shows some opinions from Sunni scholars²³³, including Ibn Khaldun, concerning this matter. It should be noted here that Wahbah al-Zuhaylī also referred to al-Māwardī²³⁴ and al-Dihlawī²³⁵ concerning his opinion in this matter.

Table 4.1: The Requirement for the Institution of the Imamate according to Sunni Scholars²³⁶

The Requirement for the Institution of the Imamate according to Sunni Scholars		
Ibn Khaldun	Wahbah al-Zuhaylī	Al-Māwardī
1. Knowledge	1. Have perfect competence and capacity (<i>al-wilāyah</i>), namely, Muslim, independent and freedom, male, mature, and intelligent	1. Justice and all its conditions

²³³ °Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. °Alī °Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 567-571; Wahbah Al-Zuhaili. 2010. *Fiqh Islam Wa Adillatuhu*. Vol. 8. Kuala Lumpur & Jawa Barat: Darul Fikir & Gema Insani. p. 306-312; Al-Mawardi, Abu °l-Ḥasan. 1996. *Al-Ahkām As-Sultāniyyah: The Laws Of Islamic Governance*. (trans.) Asadullah Yate. London: Ta-Ha Publishers Ltd. p. 12; Al-Māwardī, Abī al-Ḥasan °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb. 1989. *Al-Ahkām Al-Sultāniyyah Wa Al-Wilāyāt Al-Dīniyyah*. Al-Baghdāwī, Aḥmad Mubārak (*tahqīq*). Al-Kuwayt: Maktabat Dār Ibn Qutaybah. p. 5; Wan Naim Wan Mansor. 3 November 2015. “Abu Hasan Al-Mawardi: The First Islamic Political Scientist”. *International Institute of Advance Islamic Studies (IAIS) Malaysia*. <https://iais.org.my/publications-sp-1447159098/dirasat-sp-1862130118/architects-of-civilisation/item/664-abu-hasan-al-mawardi-the-first-islamic-political-scientist>. p. 5.

²³⁴ Al-Mawardi, Abu °l-Ḥasan. 1996. *Al-Ahkām As-Sultāniyyah: The Laws Of Islamic Governance*. p. 12; Al-Māwardī, Abī al-Ḥasan °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb. 1989. *Al-Ahkām Al-Sultāniyyah Wa Al-Wilāyāt Al-Dīniyyah*. p. 5

²³⁵ Al-Dihlawī, Walī Allāh. 2021. *The Conclusive Argument From God: Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi’s Hujjat Allāh Al-Bāligha*. (trans.) Hermansen, M. K. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV. p. 343-345.

²³⁶ °Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. °Alī °Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 567-571; Wahbah Al-Zuhaili. 2010. *Fiqh Islam Wa Adillatuhu*. Vol. 8. Kuala Lumpur & Jawa Barat: Darul Fikir & Gema Insani. p. 306-312; Al-Mawardi, Abī al-Ḥasan °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb. 1989. *Al-Ahkām Al-Sultāniyyah Wa Al-Wilāyāt Al-Dīniyyah*. Al-Baghdāwī, Aḥmad Mubārak (*tahqīq*). Al-Kuwayt: Maktabat Dār Ibn Qutaybah. p. 5; Al-Mawardi, Abu °l-Ḥasan. 1996. *Al-Ahkām As-Sultāniyyah: The Laws Of Islamic Governance*. (trans.) Asadullah Yate. London: Ta-Ha Publishers Ltd. p. 12.

2. Probity	2. <i>Al-ʿAdalah</i> ; religious and moral integrity	2. The knowledge that equips them for <i>ijtihad</i> (independent interpretation) in unforeseen matters and for arriving at relevant judgments
3. Competence	3. Have competence, capability, and intellectual capacity; have adequate knowledge that can be used to carry out <i>ijtihad</i> when dealing with various events or exploring divine laws and other matters related to legitimate policy	3. Good health in their faculties of hearing, sight, and speech so they may arrive at a sound assessment of whatever they perceive
4. Freedom of the senses and limbs from any defect that might affect judgment and action	4. Have wisdom in looking at various political, military, and administrative issues	4. Sound in limb, free of any deficiency which might prevent them from normal movement
5. Quraysh descent	5. Have a strong personality character; brave and firm	5. A judgment capable of organizing the people and good administrative capabilities
	6. Adequate physical capacity: have normal limbs and senses and still function properly	6. Courage and bravery enabled them to defend Islam's territory to wage <i>jihad</i> against the enemy
	7. Lineage; descendants of the Quraysh	7. The Quraysh lineage because of the text (of a prophetic hadith) on the matter and by consensus

This study finds that most discussions on this matter would discuss the controversial lineage requirement belonging to the Quraysh family in length. Ibn Khaldun also did not miss the opportunity to discuss this specific characteristic for an imam and bound it with his *ʿaṣabiyyah* (group feeling) theory. When it came to discussing from the Shiite perspective, this study finds that they also stress the *Ahl al-*

Bayt or from ʿAlī and Faṭimah genealogy upon their imams. This also can be found in the *Muqaddimah* by Ibn Khaldun²³⁷.

Other criteria that are also important are the requirements concerning those eligible to elect an imam. Al-Māwardī, in his book entitled *The Ordinance of Government (Al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyyah wa al-Wilāyāt al-Dīniyyah)*, listed three conditions regarding the qualified person to select an imam²³⁸. First, they are considered just and meet all the necessary conditions to be considered as such. Second, they have the knowledge to identify who has the right to the imamate and fulfill all the conditions implied by this knowledge. Third, they possess the insight and wisdom to select the most suitable person for the imamate, who is knowledgeable, upright, and competent in administration.

However, the criteria for an imam by *Shīʿah al-Imāmiyyah* differs significantly from the discussion above. Among the criteria for an imam listed in *al-Kāfi* are²³⁹:

1. An imam does not die until he makes a will to the imam after him.
2. It must be the eldest son of the current imam (this condition was an exemption for al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn).
3. Imam must be someone who is the most pious and the bravest.
4. The Imam knows what has happened and will happen. Nothing is hidden from him.
5. The imam has all the earlier books of God, and he knows them in the various languages of the book.

²³⁷ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. p. 570, 595-596.

²³⁸ Al-Mawardī, Abu ʿl-Ḥasan. 1996. *Al-Ahkām As-Sultāniyyah: The Laws Of Islamic Governance*. (trans.) Asadullah Yate. London: Ta-Ha Publishers Ltd. p. 11; Al-Māwardī, Abī al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb. 1989. *Al-Ahkām Al-Sultāniyyah Wa Al-Wilāyāt Al-Dīniyyah*. Al-Baghdāwī, Ahmad Mubārak (*tahqīq*). Al-Kuwayt: Maktabat Dār Ibn Qutaybah. p. 4.

²³⁹ Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan. 2020. *Ada Apa Dengan Syiah? Mengenal Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 19.

These differences in criteria for an imam reflect the contrasting perspectives and beliefs between Shiite and Sunni views on imamate. Some of the differences highlighted between the Shiite and Sunni criteria for an imam include:

1. The lineage requirement:

Shiites believe that the imam must be from the descendants of °Alī and Fāṭimah, while Sunnis do not attribute the same level of importance to lineage.

2. The appointment of imam:

Shiites believe that imams are appointed by divine will and possess spiritual authority, whereas Sunni Islam emphasizes the selection of leaders through consensus and the caliph's role as a political and administrative leader rather than a divinely appointed spiritual guide.

3. The infallibility of imam:

Shiites attribute a higher level of infallibility to their imams, particularly to °Alī, while Sunni Islam does not attribute the same level of infallibility to their leaders.

4.3 An Analysis and Discussion of Imamate in Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*

Discussing *firaq* in Islam is essential in *uṣūl al-dīn* or Islamic theology. This is because an explicit knowledge of Islamic sectarianism can give a clear picture of the true faith according to Islam and, at the same time, preserve a Muslim's faith from being distorted. Although the split was initially caused by *siyāsah* or political strife, the groups continued to split because they had different views on faith (*°aqīdah*), sharia or Islamic law, and ethics (*akhlāk*).

This can be seen through the explanation of the *Ḥadīth Iftirāq al-Ummah* (the split of the *ummah* or nation) into 73 groups or famously known as the *Ḥadīth al-Firqah al-Nājiyah*. This hadith gives a picture of the disagreement of the *ummah*, in

which only one sect is on the right path, namely *al-Firqah al-Nājiyah*, while the rest are described as unjust sects, and Allah promised Hell upon them²⁴⁰. Narrated by al-Tirmidhī from ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAmr, the Prophet SAW said²⁴¹:

لَيَأْتِيَنَّ عَلَى أُمَّتِي مَا أَتَى عَلَى بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ، تَفَرَّقَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ عَلَى ثِنْتَيْنِ وَسَبْعِينَ مِلَّةً، وَتَفَرَّقَتْ أُمَّتِي عَلَى ثَلَاثٍ وَسَبْعِينَ مِلَّةً، كُلُّهُمْ فِي النَّارِ إِلَّا مِلَّةً وَاحِدَةً، قَالُوا: وَمَا الْمِلَّةُ الَّتِي تَتَّعَلَبُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ؟ قَالَ: مَا أَنَا عَلَيْهِ وَأَصْحَابِي

“What befell the children of Isrā’īl will befall my Ummah. Indeed, the children of Isrā’īl split into seventy-two sects, and my Ummah will split into seventy-three. All of them are in Hell except one sect. The Companions asked: “And which is it, O Messenger of Allah?” He said: “What I am upon and my Companions.”

Thus, the discussion on Islamic sectarianism is studied and discussed in detail by Sunni scholars, especially in *ʿaqīdah*. As a scholar and historian of the eighth century of Hijri, Ibn Khaldun is also no exception in discussing this matter in his *Muqaddimah*. Through textual analysis, this study was able to rule out three issues regarding imamate based on the themes in chapter three of this study. They are first, imamate is a pillar and teaching of Islam. Second, the bigotry towards ʿAlī and his descendants as an imam. And third, various groups in Shiism formed due to different opinions on imamate.

It is important to reiterate that this subtopic delves into the concept of imamate as described by Ibn Khaldun in his work, the *Muqaddimah*. The three issues mentioned earlier have been organized according to Ibn Khaldun’s perspective on imamate, which can also be found in chapter three, subtopic 3.4.4. This subtopic also addresses the third research question of this study and supplements it with the viewpoints of Sunni and Shiite scholars, all based on Ibn Khaldun’s opinions.

²⁴⁰ Mohd Zohdi Mohd Amin et al. 2019. “Kedudukan Hadis *Ifirāq al-Ummah* Menurut Neraca Para Ulama Hadis”. *ʿUlūm Islāmiyyah*. Bandar Baru Nilai: Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia. Vol. 27. April. p. 1-2.

²⁴¹ Al-Baghdadi, Abdul Qahir bin Thahir. 2018. *Dirasatul Firqah*. (trans.) Umar Mujtahid. Jawa Tengah: Penerbit Zamzam. p. 17-18.

4.3.1 First Issue: Imamate is a Pillar and Teaching of Islam

In the *shī'ah* belief system, the imamate holds great importance and is viewed as a crucial component of Islamic practice. Unlike other aspects of public life that can be determined through popular vote, the imamate is not subject to such a process. Rather, it is believed that a prophet should take on the task of appointing an imam who can lead and rule with authority and wisdom. This approach ensures that the imam is selected based on their merit and suitability for the role, rather than on factors such as popularity or public opinion. Ultimately, this helps to ensure that the imam is able to carry out their duties effectively and in accordance with the principles and values of Islam²⁴².

According to al-Shahrastānī, the first group to use the term imam as a title for their leader is Shiism. However, this group of *shī'ah* was not from the follower of 'Abdullah ibn Saba' or al-'Alba' ibn Dhara' al Dawsī because these two people are more likely to believe in the divinity of 'Alī. Therefore, the *shī'ah* here refers to the follower of Kaysan, a servant (*mawla*) of 'Alī. It is also said that *shī'ah* has been using the term imam, which refers to their leader, since the first century of Hijri, which is in the time of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah (31-81H). The term imam has also been used before to precisely describe the disposition and personality of a person, as mentioned by the word of the prophet, which refers to the privilege of Banī Quraysh in leadership²⁴³.

²⁴² 'Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. 'Alī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 571-572; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 209; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah. 1963. *Tārīkh Al-Madhāhib Al-Islāmiyyah Fī Al-Siyāsah Wa Al-'Aqāi'd Wa Tārīkh Al-Madhāhib Al-Fiḥiyyah*. Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabiyy. p. 30; Muḥammad Abu Zahrah. 1996. *Aliran Politik Dan 'Aqidah Dalam Islam*. (trans.) Abd Rahman Dahlan & Ahmad Qarib. Batu Caves: Penerbit Edaran Kalam. p. 34.

²⁴³ Mohd Hamidi Ismail. April 2019. "Konsep Imam Dan Imamah Syiah Dan Percanggahannya Dari Islam". *Researchgate*.

However, this does not serve as an obligate indicator in choosing a leader among the people of Quraysh. But instead, the Prophet's words here are more in encouragement and guidelines (*tawjihāt*), and it is different from the use of the term imam by *shī'ah*. The term imam, according to Shiism, not only refers to a Muslim leader who governs the worldly matter, but their leader also has the quality to govern in the matter of religion. Thus, according to Shiism, imam means continuing the prophethood's leadership in delivering the truth about Islam and maintaining the sanctity of religion. This is because the prophet is the leader of morality and also a leader of a country. This leadership is known as the imamate of the house of the Prophet (*Imāmah Ahl al-Bayt*) in conjunction with their imams, descendants of the Prophet SAW²⁴⁴.

Thus, according to Shiism, imamate is one of the pillars of Islam, which becomes an obligation for every Muslim to obey because it was commanded in the al-Qur'ān and was bequeathed by the Prophet SAW in the hadith. Shiites always used the verses of the al-Qur'ān²⁴⁵, such as in Sūrat al-Nūr verse 36, Sūrat al-Aḥzāb verse 33, and Sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ verse 83 as proof regarding the privileges of Shiite imams, which qualify 'Alī and his descendants as a leader of Muslims. This also applies to several hadiths of the Prophet SAW, especially the hadith of *Ghadir Khum*, which became the basis for the claim of the leadership of 'Alī after the death of the Prophet SAW²⁴⁶.

Answering this issue, *al-Ash'ariyyah* opines that imamate is compulsory based on Islamic teaching. In supporting this opinion, al-Baghdādī said that it is mandatory

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332494739_KONSEP_IMAM_DAN_IMAMAH_SYIAH_DAN_PERCANGGAHANNYA_DARI_ISLAM. pp. 3-4.

²⁴⁴ Mohd Hamidi Ismail. April 2019. "Konsep Imam Dan Imamah Syiah Dan Percanggahannya Dari Islam".. p. 4-6.

²⁴⁵ Al-Qur'ān. Al-Nūr 24:6; Al-Aḥzāb 33:33; Al-Qaṣaṣ 28:83.

²⁴⁶ Mohd Hamidi Ismail. April 2019. "Konsep Imam Dan Imamah Syiah Dan Percanggahannya Dari Islam". *Researchgate*.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332494739_KONSEP_IMAM_DAN_IMAMAH_SYIAH_DAN_PERCANGGAHANNYA_DARI_ISLAM. p. 12.

to determine the imam in every situation who does not have an apparent imam. If it is seen, obeying him becomes an obligation and compulsory. Meanwhile, al-Juwaynī said that imamate is not a decree in the faith (*aqīdah*) but is a full public mandate²⁴⁷. In addition, the use of the term imam is only used by *shī'ah*, and the use of that term among scholars of Sunni is nowhere to be found. This is because the period of the imam is more general than the term of the caliph, while the Shiites think otherwise²⁴⁸.

4.3.2 Second Issue: The Bigotry Towards ʿAlī and His Descendants as an Imam

Through this second issue, three issues of *shī'ah* fanaticism towards ʿAlī and his descendants can be pointed out based on the study upon the subtopic twenty-seven of chapter three in the *Muqaddimah*. First, the Shiites claim that ʿAlī was appointed by the Prophet SAW to be an imam after his death based on the texts from al-Qurʿān and hadith either explicitly (*jaliy*) or clearly and implicitly (*khaftiy*) or hidden. Ibn Khaldun explains that the *shī'ah* brought evidence of al-Qurʿān texts and hadiths that they quoted and interpreted according to their will and desire. These texts are unknown to the scholars of *Ahl al-Sunnah wal Jamā'ah* and are not even found in any book of hadith, most of which are false and have flaws in their chain of the narrator (*sanad*)²⁴⁹.

The issue of the imam being testified to ʿAlī based on will from *naṣṣ* is a misappropriation by the Shiites because there is no verse in al-Qurʿān nor any clear

²⁴⁷ Kamāl al-Dīn Nūr al-Dīn Marjūnī. 2014. *Al-ʿAqīdah Al-Islāmiyyah Wa Al-Qaḍāyā Al-Khilāfiyyah ʿInda ʿUlamāʾ Al-Kalām: Dirāsah Muqāranah*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah. p. 388.

²⁴⁸ Saʿduddin al-Taftazani. 2017. Huraian Al-Aqaid Al-Nasafiyah. (trans.) Mohamad Hilmi Marjunit, Anwar Yusof & Farhan Affandi. Rawang: Awal Nahdah Resources. p. 258-259; Al-Taftāzānī, Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar. 2014. *Sharḥ Al-ʿAqāʾid Al-Nasafiyah*. ʿAlī Kamāl (tahqīq). Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī. p. 142.

²⁴⁹ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (tahqīq). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 572; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 209; Ilham Kadir. 2014. “Kesesatan Syiah Menurut Ibn Khaldun”. *Academia.edu*. https://www.academia.edu/37658840/Kesesatan_Syiah_Menurut_Ibn_Khaldun. p. 3.

authentic hadith about the imamate of ʿAlī after the death of Prophet SAW²⁵⁰. Their inclination towards ʿAlī was probably based on the qualities possessed by ʿAlī, especially his bravery on the battlefield, ʿAlī's status as the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet SAW, and also had two sons from his marriage with Faṭimah, the youngest daughter of the Prophet SAW. This inclination became more intense after the appointment of Uthmān as the third caliph. Still, his governance was less effective in governing the country until causing him to be killed,²⁵¹ and the eruption of the first Muslim civil war, the Siffin between ʿAlī and Muʿawiyah, happened.

Second, there are certain Shiite followers who hold ʿAlī in such high regard that they view him as a prophet. In some extreme cases, there are those who even consider ʿAlī to be a God. They also rejected the caliphate or imamate other than ʿAlī and thus denied the Companions, especially Abū Bakr and ʿUmar²⁵². This was also explained by Jād al-Haq Ali Jād al-Haq, and Hasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf, who mentioned that among the principal of *al-Imāmiyyah* is to accuse the Companions as infidel and berate them, especially Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Muhibbuddin al-Khatib also said this was a constant feeling of hatred and resentment towards the Companions²⁵³.

The act of rejecting the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, according to al-Zahabi, was an outrageous act or *ghuluw* by the sect of *Shīʿah al-Rāfiḍah* who also accused of infidelity towards these two companions, and they were adhered to misleading faiths (*uṣūl al-ʿaqīdah*). While the *Ahl al-Sunnah wal Jamāʿah* opines and believes that the issue of the caliphate is a matter of *ijtihād* (independent opinion or

²⁵⁰ Mohd Aizam Bin Mas'od. 2015. *Diskusi Isu Aqidah Dan Pemikiran Semasa Di Malaysia*. Putrajaya: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia. pp. 136-137.

²⁵¹ H. M. Rasjidi. 2005. *Apa Itu Syiah?* Kuala Lumpur: Al-Hidayah Publishers. p. 6.

²⁵² ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 572-573; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 210.

²⁵³ Syihabudin Ahmad. 2017. *Fatwa Ulama Al-Azhar Terhadap Syiah 12*. Sungai Buloh: Santai Ilmu Publication. p. 26; Muhibbuddin al-Khatib. 1980. *Asas-asas Mazhab Syiah Imam Dua Belas (Imamah)*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Printcorp. p. 19.

judgment), which does not involve a matter of *‘aqīdah*. It should also be mentioned here that the term *shī‘ah* initially referred to those who preferred ‘Alī over ‘Uthmān as caliph when there was a dispute of opinion among the companions and *tābi‘īn* (the generation of Muslims who followed the Companions and thus received their teaching secondhand²⁵⁴) on this matter. This is contrasted with today’s Shiites, especially *al-Rāfiḍāh*, who refer to themselves as followers of ‘Alī and the house of the Prophet (*Ahl al-Bayt*)²⁵⁵.

According to Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *shī‘ah* reject their sect or group who consider and believe ‘Alī as a god as believed by the sect of *al-Sabā’iyyah*, which does not belong to Islam. And the *al-Sabā’iyyah*’s doctrines also include philosophical thought, according to Iraqi and Western scholars, as philosophy and religious schools before Islam and from Persian civilization that ceased upon the arrival of Islam²⁵⁶. Thus, the Shiism sectarian that deified ‘Alī and said that God was present in ‘Alī’s body was known as *al-Sabā’iyyah*, who were the followers of ‘Abdullah ibn Saba’ as well as ten other sectarians in Shiism that were famous with this doctrine. The ten sectarians were also defined as extremists and not accepted by other Shiism sectarians²⁵⁷.

The third issue is that the heir after ‘Alī must be among his descendants, known as *Ahl al-Bayt* (the household of the Prophet), and are infallible (*ma‘ṣūm*). *Shī‘ah*

²⁵⁴ Glassé, Cyril. 2001. “Tābi‘īn”. *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*. Revised edition of the Concise Encyclopedia of Islam California: AltaMira Press. p. 443.

²⁵⁵ Wan Zahidi Bin Wan Teh & Mahmood Sa’ad Nasih. 2014. *Mengenal Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 135-136.

²⁵⁶ Muḥammad Abū Zahrah. 1963. *Tārīkh Al-Madhāhib Al-Islāmiyyah Fī Al-Siyāsah Wa Al-‘Aqā’id Wa Tārīkh Al-Madhāhib Al-Fiqhiyyah*. Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabiyy. p. 33-34; Muḥammad Abu Zahrah. 1996. *Aliran Politik Dan ‘Aqidah Dalam Islam*. (trans.) Abd Rahman Dahlan & Ahmad Qarib. Batu Caves: Penerbit Edaran Kalam. p. 38.

²⁵⁷ Muḥammad Abū Zahrah. 1963. *Tārīkh Al-Madhāhib Al-Islāmiyyah Fī al-Siyāsah Wa Al-‘Aqā’id Wa Tārīkh Al-Madhāhib Al-Fiqhiyyah*. p. 35; Muḥammad Abu Zahrah. 1996. *Aliran Politik Dan ‘Aqidah Dalam Islam*. p. 40; Wan Zahidi Bin Wan Teh et al. 2012. *Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 29.

underlines that an imam must be infallible or free from minor and great sins²⁵⁸. And some describe their imams as humans with the nature of God or God in human incarnation. Their opinion regarding this matter resembles the Christian belief in Jesus or Prophet ʿIsā AS²⁵⁹. The brief explanation of the imam of *shīʿah* as the incarnation of God has been discussed in the first issue. They were not only deified ʿAlī but shared the same idea towards their imams. This belief belongs to the extremist Shiites, which is not even accepted by other Shiites sectarians.

Their belief in the infallibility of their imams is desolate from any small, great sins, and never forget once is far deviating from the true faith²⁶⁰. This is because there are no human beings, apart from the Prophets, are infallible, as mentioned by Allah in Sūrat al-ʿAnkabūt²⁶¹:

﴿وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَنُكَفِّرَنَّ عَنْهُمْ سَيِّئَاتِهِمْ وَلَنَجْزِيَنَّهُمْ أَحْسَنَ الَّذِي كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ﴾

Meaning: “Those who believe and work righteous deeds, from them shall We blot out all evil (that may be) in them, and We shall reward them according to the best of their deeds.”

In his book’s introduction, Muḥammad ʿAlī Asbar puts forth the view that the scholars of exegesis have recognized the imamate of *shīʿah* imams as follows:

We have sourced the Prophetic hadiths from the books of authentic hadith scholars, memorizers, and interpreters of our Sunni brothers. Similarly, we have obtained information from the commentators, hadith scholars, and the

²⁵⁸ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Naḥḍat Miṣr. p. 572; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 209; Ilham Kadir. 2014. “Kesesatan Syiah Menurut Ibn Khaldun”. *Academia.edu*. https://www.academia.edu/37658840/Kesesatan_Syiah_Menurut_Ibn_Khaldun. p. 3.

²⁵⁹ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. p. 574; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. p. 211.

²⁶⁰ Mohd Aizam Bin Mas’od. 2015. *Diskusi Isu Aqidah Dan Pemikiran Semasa Di Malaysia*. Putrajaya: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia. p. 136-137.

²⁶¹ Al-Qur’ān. Al-ʿAnkabūt 29:7.

Imami's memorizers. What we have collected from each group has been documented by the other group. It is noteworthy that both groups agree on the fact that Imam ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the imam and prince of the nation, based on the hadiths narrated from the authority of the Prophet SAW and the great companions and followers²⁶².

Other *shīʿah* clerics also acknowledged this and presented an argumentation supporting the statement. Among the argumentation is through Sūrat Yunus²⁶³, which means:

﴿قُلْ اَنْظُرُوا مَاذَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا تُغْنِي الْآيَاتُ وَالنُّذُرُ عَنْ قَوْمٍ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

Meaning: “Say: “Behold all that is in the heavens and on earth”; but neither Signs nor Warners profits those who believe not.”

According to al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, who narrated from Muʿallā ibn Muḥammad, who in turn heard it from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdillah, who heard it from Aḥmad ibn Hilāl, who heard it from Umayyah ibn ʿAlī, a question was asked to Imam Abā ʿAbdillah AS by Dāwud al-Raqqī about the meaning of the above verse (Yūnus 10:101). In response, Abā ʿAbdillah AS²⁶⁴ provided an explanation that said that *al-Ayāt* (the Signs) were their imams while *al-Nudhur* (the Warners) were the prophets. This insight sheds light on the importance of understanding the role of the imams and prophets in guiding believers toward faith²⁶⁵.

²⁶² Muḥammad ʿAlī Asbar. 1991. *Al-Imām ʿAlī Fī Al-Qurʾān Wa Al-Sunnah*. Vol. 1. n. pl: Dār al-Aṣālah. p. 6; Mohd Hamidi Ismail. April 2019. “Konsep Imam Dan Imamah Syiah Dan Percanggahannya Dari Islam”. *Researchgate*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332494739_KONSEP_IMAM_DAN_IMAMAH_SYIAH_DAN_PERCANGGAHANNYA_DARI_ISLAM. p. 9.

²⁶³ Al-Qurʾān. Yūnus 10:101.

²⁶⁴ Refer to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

²⁶⁵ Al-Kulaynī, Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb. 2005. *Uṣūl Al-Kāfī*. Vol. 1-2. Bayrūt: Dār al-Murtaḍā. p. 149; Al-Kulaynī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad Bin Yaʿqūb. 1994. *Uṣūl Al-Kāfī: Kitāb Al-Ḥujjah*. n.pl.: n.pb. p. 31; Mohd Hamidi Ismail. April 2019. “Konsep Imam Dan Imamah Syiah Dan Percanggahannya Dari Islam”. *Researchgate*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332494739_KONSEP_IMAM_DAN_IMAMAH_SYIAH_DAN_PERCANGGAHANNYA_DARI_ISLAM. p. 9.

To address the notion that the appointment of imams is mandatory as believed by Shiites, al-Taftāzānī (d. 1037AD/891AH) detailed certain conditions that an imam must satisfy as follows²⁶⁶:

1. The Imam must be precise and actively engaged with the community.
2. The imam must not be hidden.
3. The imam must not be awaited.
4. The imam must be from Quraysh and cannot be from any other lineage, and not exclusively from Banu Hashim or the descendants of °Alī.
5. It is not necessary for the imam to be infallible.
6. It is not compulsory for the imam to be the most outstanding person of his time.
7. The imam should have absolute and complete authority within the community. (*ahl al-wilāyah*).
8. The imam is skilled in governing, and is capable of enforcing laws, protecting Islamic borders, and providing safety to those who are oppressed.
9. The Imam's position has not been revoked as a result of any malevolent or tyrannical actions on his part.

Based on the requirements of an imam listed by al-Taftazani above, it is clear that there is a significant difference between what is believed and practiced by the Shiites and the majority of the Sunnis. These differences are what Ibn Khaldun has stated as *al-Ibar* or lessons to the readers of his *Muqaddimah*.

²⁶⁶ Sa'duddin al-Taftazani. 2017. *Huraian Al-Aqaid Al-Nasafiyyah*. (trans.) Mohamad Hilmi Marjunit, Anwar Yusof & Farhan Affandi. Rawang: Awal Nahdah Resources. p. 259-264; Al-Taftāzānī, Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn °Umar. 2014. *Sharḥ Al-°Aqā'id Al-Nasafiyyah*. °Alī Kamāl (tahqīq). Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-°Arabī. p. 142-147.

4.3.3 Third Issue: The Formation of Various Groups in Shiism Due to Different Opinions on Imamate

As mentioned earlier, the imamate is the pillar of religion and Islam according to Shiites. Therefore, the selection and determination of imam is crucial to them. Among the main characteristics of an imam, according to *shī'ah*, are appointed from *Ahl al-Bayt* or descendants of °Alī and are infallible. This has also been explained in the first and the second issues. In contrast, the third issue discusses the different opinions among Shiites on the imamate until they split and formed other groups or sects.

This third issue is closely related to the second issue concerning who will succeed °Alī as imam after his death. Shiism regard the successor of imams are based on their allegiance to texts or hadiths, which are divided into two categories: explicit and implicit. All these religious texts indicate that °Alī was appointed as an imam by the Prophet SAW, and after the death of °Alī, the imamate will inherit or pass to the imam of *Imāmiyyah*²⁶⁷. According to Ibn Khaldun, this statement is based on the following implicit text:

فلما نزلت الآيات من سورة براءة، دفعها رسول الله ﷺ إلى أبي بكر، وأمره أن يخرج إلى مكة، ويقرأها على الناس (بمضى) يوم النحر، فلما خرج أبو بكر، نزل جبريل على رسول الله ﷺ فقال: (يا محمد!! لا يؤدي عنك إلا رجلٌ منك). فبعث رسول الله ﷺ علياً أمير المؤمنين (ع) في طلب أبي بكر، فلحقه (بالروحاء)، فأخذ منه الآيات، فرجع أبو بكر إلى رسول الله ﷺ فقال: يا رسول الله!! أنزل الله فيَّ شيئاً؟ فقال: لا، إن الله أمرني أن لا يؤدي عني إلا أنا أو رجلٌ مني)²⁶⁸.

When the verses from Sūrat al-Barā'ah were revealed, the Prophet Muhammad SAW entrusted them to his companion Abū Bakr. He then instructed Abū Bakr to go to Mecca and recite them to the people on the Day of Sacrifice in Mina. However, as Abū Bakr was leaving, Jibrīl

²⁶⁷ °Abd al-Rahman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. °Alī °Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 572; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 209-210.

²⁶⁸ Muḥammad °Alī Asbar. 1991. *Al-Imām °Alī Fī Al-Qur'ān Wa Al-Sunnah*. Vol. 1. n. pl: Dār al-Aṣālah. p. 250.

descended upon the Prophet SAW and informed him that only one man among them could perform this task. Upon receiving this message, the Prophet SAW sent ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful (peace be upon him), to retrieve the verses from Abū Bakr. Al-Rūḥā’, one of ʿAlī’s companions, accompanied him and retrieved the verses from Abū Bakr. Once Abū Bakr returned to the Prophet SAW and asked if God had revealed something about him, the Prophet SAW replied that it was God’s command that no one should perform this task on his behalf except himself or someone from his own family.

As per the account, Prophet SAW chose to send ʿAlī to transmit Sūrat Barā’at, which is considered as a sign of preference towards ʿAlī. It is widely known that Prophet SAW never preferred anyone over ʿAlī, even though he chose Usāmah ibn Zayd and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ over Abū Bakr and ʿUmar during two different raids. The *shīʿah* believes that all of these facts prove that ʿAlī was the only one appointed by Prophet SAW to the caliphate²⁶⁹. The *Shīʿah* believe that the question of caliphate and imamate is not relevant to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar since they did not precede ʿAlī. On the other hand, the *al-Zaydiyyah* sect argues that these texts suggest that ʿAlī was chosen based on his qualities (*al-waṣf*) rather than his personal identity (*al-shakhs*).

Al-Zaydiyyah was one of the *shīʿah* sectarians that can be described as lenient and close to Sunni because they did not denounce or curse Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and did not acknowledge their caliphate. They believe that ʿAlī was nobler and superior to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. However, they also argued that choosing a venerated person to be an imam was possible even though others were nobler than him. Ibn Khaldun describes *al-Zaydiyyah* as short-minded and does not put the information in its place²⁷⁰.

The disagreements within Shiism were initiated after the death of ʿAlī and in the process of appointment of the next successor of the imam. In the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn

²⁶⁹ Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 210.

²⁷⁰ ʿAbd al-Rahman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jizah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 573; Ibn Khaldun. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. p. 209-210.

Khaldun mentioned three Shiism's opinions on this matter. First, the imam must be among the sons of Faṭimah in turn, one by one. Second, the imam must be among the sons of Faṭimah but based on the consideration of shaykhs or scholars. And third, after the imamate of °Alī and his two sons, namely Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (though full of contradiction), the imamate was handed over to their brother, namely Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah and bequeathed to his sons²⁷¹.

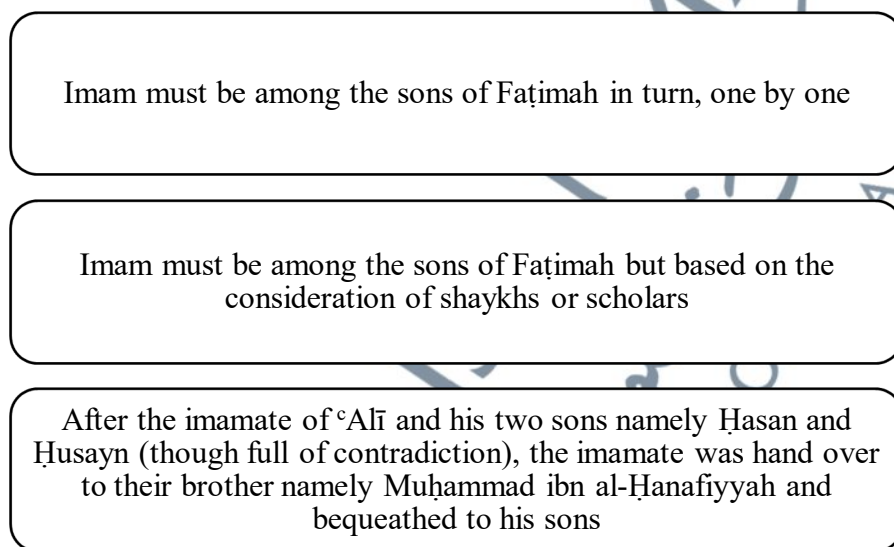


Figure 4.1: Ibn Khaldun Opinion Concerning the Schism in Shiism²⁷²

The first opinion refers to *al-Imāmiyyah*. The name of this group is attributed to their principle, which laid the prerequisite of knowing the imam and choosing him in faith. According to *al-Imāmiyyah*, the chronology of imamate started from °Alī to his son, Ḥasan, through a will. It was then bequeathed to Ḥusayn, then to his son, °Alī Zayn al-°Ābidīn to his son, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, and his son, Ja°far al-Şādiq. After the imamate of Ja°far al-Şādiq, *al-Imāmiyyah* splits into two sects due to disagreement over the subsequent appointment of an imam to either his two sons, Ismā°il or Mūsā

²⁷¹ °Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. p. 573; Ibn Khaldun. p. 2011.

²⁷² °Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. p. 573; ibid. p. 2011.

al-Kāẓim. Those who consider Ismāʿīl as an imam are known as *al-Ismāʿīliyyah*, while those who support Mūsā al-Kāẓim are referred to as *al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah*²⁷³.

The followers of the imamate of Mūsā al-Kāẓim are referred to as *al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah* because their imam (refer to Musā al-Kāẓim) is in the twelfth order when he succeeded the previous imam and ended there. They also believed that Mūsā al-Kāẓim has gone into occultation or remains removed until the end of time. Meanwhile, *al-Ismāʿīliyyah*, who believed in the imamate of Ismāʿīl, was also known as *al-Bāṭiniyyah* based on their opinion on the occultation of an imam or the existence of hidden imam. Another name for this sect is *al-Mulhidah* because some of their views harbor the elements of atheism²⁷⁴.

While the second opinion referred to *al-Zaydiyyah*, ascribed to Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn. According to *al-Zaydiyyah*, the imamate should take place among the household of Faṭimah, knowledgeable, ascetic, generous, and brave, and he goes out to make propaganda for his imamate. Their opinion towards the succession to the imamate was according to their view concerning the institution. In contrast, the imamate was chosen by competent Muslims among them and not by testamentary determination (*nass*). This intelligent Muslim is known as *Ahl al-Ḥilli wa al-ʿAqd*²⁷⁵. The chronology of their imamate is as follows:

²⁷³ *ibid.* p. 573&578; *ibid.* p. 211&213.

²⁷⁴ *ibid.* p. 579; *ibid.* p. 213.

²⁷⁵ *ibid.* p. 573&577; *ibid.* p. 211-213.

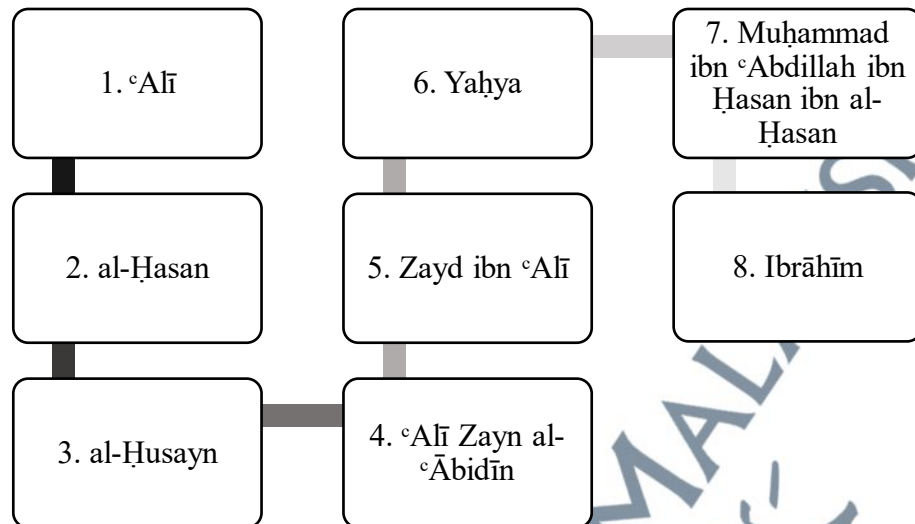


Figure 4.2: Chronology of the Imams according to *al-Zaydiyyah*²⁷⁶

However, *al-Zaydiyyah* opinions regarding the fifth imam, Zayd ibn 'Alī (695-740AH), who was also the son of the fourth imam, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (658-712AH) was opposed by the majority of *shī'ah*. This is because most of *shī'ah* believes that the position of the fifth imam should be handed over to Muḥammad al-Baqir (676-736AH), an elder brother of Zayd ibn 'Alī²⁷⁷. Kamaluddin and Fithriah also ascribe the foundation of *Shī'ah al-Zaydiyyah* refer to their fourth imam, namely Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, and this opinion also can be found in the *Muqaddimah*. In addition, *shī'ah al-Zaydiyyah* is one of the largest Shiism sectarians apart from *Shī'ah al-Imāmiyyah* and *Shī'ah al-Isma'iliyyah* that still exist to this day²⁷⁸.

Next, the third opinion refers to *al-Kaysāniyyah*, which their name takes after the *mawla* or servant of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah namely Kaysān. Nonetheless, this sect also cannot be avoided in having different opinions over imamate. As a result, this sect also went over the split as well. Among the emergence of their new sect after the schism is an extremist group or *al-Ghulāh* and *al-Wāqifiyyah*, as mentioned by Ibn

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷⁷ n.a. 2021. *Handbook Of Islamic Sects And Movements*. Muḥammad Afzal Upal & Cusack, Carol M. (ed.). Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV. p. 182.

²⁷⁸ Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni & Fithriah Wardi. 2017. *Konflik Pemikiran Politik Aliran-Aliran Syiah: Zaidiyah, Imamiyah, Isma'iliyah*. Fithriah Wardi (ed.). Jakarta: Dar'ami Publishing. p. 26-27.

Khaldun. Whereas in the matter of imamate, after the death of Muḥammad al-Ḥanafīyyah, they handed over the imamate to his son, namely Abī Hāshim; thus, this sect was known as *al-Hāshimiyyah*. Then, Ibn Khaldun said that this sect goes split into several sects²⁷⁹.

Table 4.2 below explains some characteristics of extremist *shī'ah* sects. The discussions on these characteristics have been discussed in the second issue. These characteristics also explain the differences in opinion concerning the matter of imamate.

Table 4.2: Differences in Opinions of Some Shiites Sectarian on Imamate²⁸⁰

Differences in Opinions of some Shiites Sects on Imamate		
No.	Sectarian	Characteristics
1.	<i>Al-Ghūlah</i> or an extremist	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The freedom to think beyond the limits of reason and faith. 2. Believe that their imam is a god, whether a human being with the attribute of God or the incarnation of God in human flesh. 3. The perfection and the infallibility of their imam, which refers to ʿAlī, is incomparable where no one possesses such characteristics. They also believe that after the death of ʿAlī, his soul transferred to the next imam so that the infallible of that imam would last.
2.	<i>Al-Wāqifiyyah</i> also known as an extremist Shiites	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ʿAlī was not dead but is not present and visible to the public vision. <p>Note: This opinion was also shared by the <i>al-Imāmiyyah</i>, especially the <i>al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah</i></p>

The formation of various sects in Shiism also begins after the death of ʿAlī as they do not share the same opinions regarding the successor of the imam after ʿAlī. And this schism also specifically happened in the election or appointment of the next imam after the death of their three imams, namely al-Ḥusayn (the third imam), ʿAlī

²⁷⁹ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 573-575; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 211-212.

²⁸⁰ ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. p. 573-575; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. p. 211-212.

Zayn al-°Ābidīn (the fourth imam), and Ja°far al-Şādiq (the sixth imam). Table 4.3 below explains several sects that occur due to the different opinions regarding the successor of those three imams, as mentioned earlier:

Table 4.3: The Schism in Shiism²⁸¹

Situation	Sectarian	Description
The succession of the third imam, al-Ḥusayn	<i>Al-Kaysaniyyah</i>	Argued that the one who was more befitting and worthy to succeed al-Ḥusayn was his other brother (not from Fāṭimah), namely Muḥammad al-Ḥanafīyyah (the 4 th imam).
	Others	Argued that the next successor after al-Ḥusayn is °Alī Zayn al-°Ābidīn (the 4 th imam)
The succession of the fourth imam, °Alī Zayn al-°Ābidīn	<i>Al-Zaydiyyah</i>	Argued that the next successor must belong to Zayd ibn °Alī (the 5 th imam)
	<i>Al-Imāmiyyah</i>	Argued that the next successor is Jaafar Muḥammad al-Baqir (the 5 th imam)
The succession of the sixth imam, Ja°far al-Şādiq	<i>Al-Isma°liyyah</i>	Argued that the next successor was Ismaīl ibn Jaafar (the 7 th imam)
	<i>Al-Ithnā °Ashariyyah</i>	Argued that the next successor is Mūsā al-Kāzīm (the 7 th imam)

Next, Table 4.4 shows the list of imams for the three biggest sectarians in Shiism:

²⁸¹ °Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. p. 573-579; H. M. Rasjidi. 2005. *Apa Itu Syiah?* Kuala Lumpur: Al-Hidayah Publishers. p. 54-61.

Table 4.4: The List of Imams in Shiism Sectarian²⁸²

SECTARIAN NAMES			
NO.	<i>AL-ITHNĀ ‘ASHARIYYAH</i>	<i>AL-ISMĀ‘ĪLIYYAH</i>	<i>AL-ZAYDIYYAH</i>
1.	‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (600-661AD/d. 40AH)	‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib	‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib
2.	Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (625-670AD/2-50AH)	Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī	Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī
3.	Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (626-680AD/3-61AH)	Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī	Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī
4.	‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjād (658/9-712AD/37-95AH)	‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjād	‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ibn al-Husayn al- Sajjād
5.	Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Bāqir (676-732AD/57-114AH)	Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al- Bāqir	Zayd ibn ‘Alī
6.	Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad al- Ṣādiq (702-765AD/83-148AH)	Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq	
7.	Mūsā ibn Ja‘far al-Kāzīm (745-799AD/128-183AH)	Ismā‘īl ibn Ja‘far	
8.	‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (760/65/70- 818AD/143/8/153-203AH)		
9.	Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al- Jawwād (810-835AD/195-220AH)		
10.	‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Hādī (827-868AD/214-254AH)		

²⁸² Muḥammad ‘Asri Yusoff. 2006. *Syiah Rafidhah: Di Antara Kecuaian ‘Ulama’ Dan Kebingungan Ummah*. Kubang Kerian: Pustaka Bisjarah. p. 13; Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan. 2020. *Ada Apa Dengan Syiah? Mengenal Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 8-9; Muḥammad Bayyūmī Mahrān. 1995. *Al-Imāmah Wa Ahl Al-Bayt*. Vol. 3. Bayrūt: Dār al-Nahdah al-‘Arabiyyah. p. 17-42, 72-73, 104-107, 166-174, 185-186, 202-203, 216-219; At-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, as-Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn. 2008. *Al-Mizān: An Exegesis Of The Holy Qur’ān*. (trans.) Sayid Sa‘eed Akhtar Rizvi. Vol. 2. Tehran: World Organization for Islamic Services (WOFIS); Ja‘far Sobhani. 2001. *Doctrines Of Shi‘i Islam: A Compendium Of Imami Beliefs and Practices*. (trans.) Reza Shah-Kazemi. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies; As-Saduq, Abu Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Ali al-Husayn. 1999. *A Shiite Creed*. (trans.) Asaf A. A. Fyzee. Tehran: World Organization for Islamic Services (WOFIS).

SECTARIAN NAMES			
NO.	<i>AL-ITHNĀ ‘ASHARIYYAH</i>	<i>AL-ISMĀ‘ĪLIYYAH</i>	<i>AL-ZAYDIYYAH</i>
11.	Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-‘Askarī (846-874AD/232-260AH)		
12.	Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan/Ḥujjat Allah ibn al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī (255-328H (occultation))		

After thoroughly studying the issue of imamate in Shiism according to Ibn Khaldun, it can be concluded that imamate is very important in Shiism as they include it as one of article in faith. Their imams were appointed through *naṣṣ* and bequeathed until the 12th imam gone into occultation. However, the Sunnis view imamate as necessary due to governance issue in Muslims community concerning the matter of religion and worldly affairs²⁸³. Upon studying the concept of imamate or also known as *al-wilāyah*, its concept has a striking similarity with *al-nubuwwah*²⁸⁴ due to its nature were verdict by Allah through the *naṣṣ* from the Prophet SAW²⁸⁵.

Their doctrine also consists of *al-‘ismah* or *imam al-ma‘ṣūm* (infallible; inerrant from any sins), the belief in *al-raj‘ah* (the return of the Hidden Imam after his occultation known as *al-Mahdī al-Muntazar*) which incorporate with *al-tanāsukh* (reincarnation) and *hulūl al-a‘immah* (the divinity of the imams) and *al-badā’*. This doctrine was mostly implored by the extremists in Shiism including *Shī‘ah al-*

²⁸³ ‘Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (tahqīq). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Naḥḍat Miṣr. 591.

²⁸⁴ Al-Qaffārī, Nāṣir ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī. 1994. *Uṣul Madhhab Al-Shī‘ah Al-Imāmiyyah Al-Ithnī ‘Ashariyyah: ‘Ard Wa Naqd*. Vol. 1. n.pl: n.pb. p. 655-656.

²⁸⁵ Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan. 2020. *Ada Apa Dengan Syiah? Mengenal Hakikat Syiah*. p. 8.

Imāmiyyah and *Ismāʿīliyyah* which describe by al-Baghdādī and other Sunni clerics as *al-Rafīdah*²⁸⁶.

Lastly, the exciting part is when it can be seen in the *Muqaddimah*, where Ibn Khaldun concluded his write-up regarding the topic of imamate according to Shiism.

This can be seen in the final paragraph of subtopic 27 in chapter three as follow:

“There are many divergences within each of these *shīʿah* persuasions. However, the sects mentioned are the most prominent ones. For an exhaustive study of *shīʿah* sects, one should consult the books on religions and sects (*al-Milal wa al-Nihal*) by Ibn Hazm, al-Shahrastānī, and others. They contain additional information. God leads astray whomever He wants to lead astray, and He guides whomever He wants to guide²⁸⁷.”

Therefore, it is not surprising if there is a remarkable similarity between the information given by Ibn Khaldun regarding the matter of imamate in the teaching of Shiism with the information in these two books, *al-Fiṣal Fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwāʾ wa al-Nihal* by Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī (d. 456H) dan kitab *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548H).

4.4 Conclusion

In a nutshell, this chapter discusses the concept of imamate in Shiism, based on Ibn Khaldun’s work, *Muqaddimah*. Imamate is a foundational element in Shiism, which is believed to be passed down through generations of imams appointed by divine text. However, there are differing opinions among Shiite sects regarding succession, which has led to the formation of groups like *al-Zaydiyyah*, *al-Ismāʿīliyyah*, and *al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah*.

²⁸⁶ Al-Baghdādī, Abī Mansūr ʿAbd al-Qāhir ibn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad. 1988. *Al-Farq Bayn Al-Firaq Wa Bayān Al-Firqaq Al-Nājiyyah Minhum: ʿAqāʾid Al-Firq Al-Islāmiyyah Wa Ārāʾ Kibār ʿAlāmahā*. Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Khashin (*tahqīq*). Al-Qāhirah: Maktabat Ibn Sinā. p. 41.

²⁸⁷ ʿAbd al-Rahmān bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Naḥdat Miṣr. p. 580; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 213.

This chapter outlines three issues based on the discussion in the *Muqaddimah*. The first issue is that imamate is a pillar and religious teaching in Islam. The second issue is the preference given to ʿAlī and his descendants as imams. The third issue is the sectarian divisions caused by disputes over succession. The criterion for imams also varies between Sunni and Shiite views. Overall, this chapter analyzes Ibn Khaldun’s treatment of imamate in Shiism by cross-referencing other scholars to establish the context and debates surrounding this concept. The next chapter comprises the overall conclusion of this study.

