

## CHAPTER 3

### SHIISM ACCORDING TO IBN KHALDUN IN THE *MUQADDIMAH*

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses Shiism through the glasses of Ibn Khaldun. In brief, his opinions on Shiism are collected from the word '*shī'ah*' mentioned in the *Muqaddimah*. These opinions are subjected from chapter one until chapter six of *Muqaddimah* frequently, where Ibn Khaldun discusses them based on the chapter's subtopic but mainly in a general manner. Even so, as mentioned in chapter one, Ibn Khaldun specially designated one subtopic discussing Shiism, subtopic twenty-seven (in the Arabic version). Thus, this chapter describes Ibn Khaldun's findings and observations on Shiism in the *Muqaddimah*, where this discussion becomes the second objective of this study. Therefore, this chapter is an essential part of this study in validating *Muqaddimah* to be viably accepted as a reference for studying Shiism.

#### 3.2 The Word of *Shī'ah* in the *Muqaddimah*

In order to accurately discuss the prevalence of the word *shī'ah* in the *Muqaddimah*, it's important to note that Ibn Khaldun's usage of the term carries both literal and technical definitions. The literal meaning means the terms of *shī'ah* only reflect its meaning from the perspective of language. Meanwhile, the technical meaning pertains to *shī'ah* or Shiism, an Islamic sect that serves as the main subject of this study. In addition, the total count of the word *shī'ah* varies depending on the specific publication.

The total word *shī'ah* in the Arabic version of *Muqaddimah* Ibn Khaldun is different according to definite (*al-ma'rifah*) and indefinite (*nakirah*). For definite (*al-shī'ah*), the repetition of the word *shī'ah* is 30 words, while indefinite (*shī'ah*) recorded 16 repetitions. This study also requires analyzing another word that shares the same root verb with the word *shī'ah* to avoid missing Ibn Khaldun's opinions on Shiism in his *Muqaddimah*. The term is *al-Tashayyu'* which was recorded nine times. For detailed information, please refer to Appendix 4: The Contents of Discussion on Shiism in the *Muqaddimah*.

### 3.3 Ibn Khaldun's Study of Shiism in the *Muqaddimah*

In discussing the magnanimous work of Ibn Khaldun, namely the *Muqaddimah*, the discussion is led by reading and reviewing an abundant study from scholars worldwide. Their opinion on the *Muqaddimah* differs, thus leading to various perspectives on this subject. According to Fuad Baali, the published works on Ibn Khaldun may be classified into four categories as follows:

(1) the very "pro," which glorifies Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* as an intellectual miracle, an inexplicable stroke of genius, without which "nothing would be left in the Arabic heritage that deserves to be called a science or a social study"; (2) the extreme "con," which declares that Ibn Khaldun did not make any contribution to our knowledge and that his *Muqaddimah* "is a curiously twisted, grand misconception of the historical process"; (3) the "encyclopedic," which gives no judgment Ibn Khaldun's work speaks for itself; and (4) the invented, which attributes to Ibn Khaldun ideas and theories that he never made<sup>138</sup>.

However, this study only describes and quotes from the *Muqaddimah* and endeavors to objectively present and examine Ibn Khaldun's idea or opinion. Thus, this study follows none of the above categories, which does not over-glorify his work

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<sup>138</sup> Fuad Baali. 1988. *Society, State, And Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought*. New York: State University of New York Press. p. ix.

nor criticize it in a biased and dogmatic manner as it shows an unethical way of academic writing.

In the *Muqaddimah*, the discussion on Shiism is not specified in one chapter or subchapter. Ibn Khaldun explains some nations or sectarians based on the categorization of the discussion. For instance, in chapter three, namely *on dynasties, royal authorities, the caliphate, government ranks, and all that goes with these things*, Ibn Khaldun discusses on leadership and governance; thus, he specifically designs three subchapters consecutively to discuss it in lengthy and systematic. There is subchapter twenty-five, namely *the meaning of caliphate and imamate*; subchapter twenty-six, namely *the differences of Muslim opinion concerning the laws and conditions governing the caliphate*; and subchapter twenty-seven, namely *Shī'ah tenets concerning the question of the Imamate*<sup>139</sup> (refer to Appendix 2).

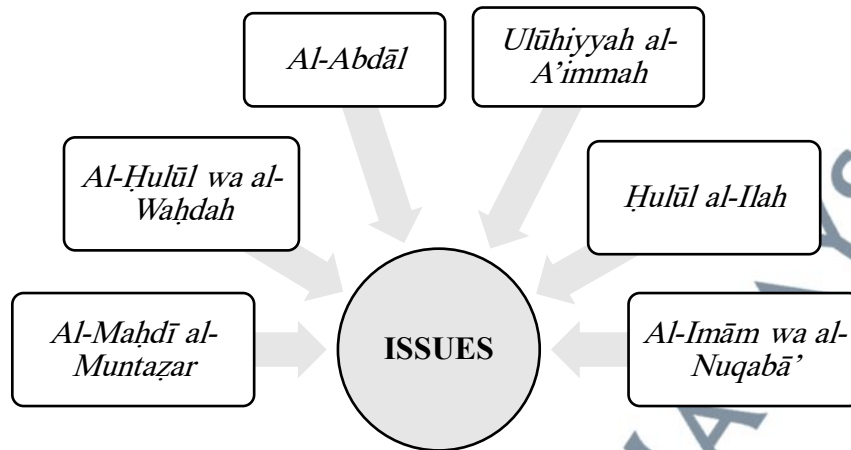
While in chapter three of *Muqaddimah*, under subtopic 53 entitled *The Mahdī. The opinions of the people about him. The truth about the matter*, Ibn Khaldun discusses Shiism's doctrines on imamate by referring to Fatimids and the Mahdī<sup>140</sup>. This matter is also found in the Introduction to the 2005 edition (English version) by Bruce B. Lawrence<sup>141</sup>. This study finds that the discussion on Shiism in the *Muqaddimah* is mainly related to the issue of imamate. Figure 3.1 shows the doctrines of Shiism based on subtopic 53 in chapter three of *Muqaddimah*:

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<sup>139</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (*tahqīq*). Vol. 3. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 1269-1270

<sup>140</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. Vol. 1. p. 145.

<sup>141</sup> Ibn Khaldun. 2005. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction To History*. Translated and introduced by Franz Rosenthal. Abridged and edited by N. J. Dawood. With an Introduction by Bruce B. Lawrence. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p. xx.



**Figure 3.1:** The Doctrines of Shiism<sup>142</sup>

### 3.4 The Themes of Shiism in the *Muqaddimah*

This subtopic discusses Ibn Khaldun's views on Shiism in *Muqaddimah*. After analyzing the *Muqaddimah*, it can be concluded that the discussion on Shiism can be divided into four themes. These themes include the definition of *Shī'ah*, sources and types of texts in Shiism, sectarianism in Shiism, and imamate/political leadership in Shiism. A detailed explanation of these themes is provided below.

#### 3.4.1 Theme One: The Definition of *Shī'ah*

According to Ibn Khaldun, the definition of the word *shī'ah* falls into two categories: literal and technical. Literally, Ibn Khaldun define *shī'ah* as companion and follower<sup>143</sup>. Al-Azhari (d. 370H) and Ibn Manzūr (d. 711H) also define *shī'ah* as

<sup>142</sup> Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. °Alī °Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jizah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 735-762; Ibn Khaldūn. 1980. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction To History*. (trans.) Franz Rosenthal. Vol. 2. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p. 156-200; Abdurrahman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldun. 2011. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. M. Nurkholis Ridwan (ed.). Masturi Irham, Malik Supar & Abidun Zuhri. Jakarta Timur: Pustaka Al-Kautsar. p. 556-585.

<sup>143</sup> Ibn Khaldun. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. °Alī °Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. p. 571; Ibnu Khaldun. 2002. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 209.

an assistant and follower to someone<sup>144</sup>. At the same time, Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *The Institute of Ismaili Studies*, and Khair Izzah<sup>145</sup> define the word *shī'ah* as a sect, denomination, faction, party, group, followers, adherents, partisans, disciples, admirer, the *shī'ah* and the Shiites<sup>146</sup>. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿAtūm defines the word *shī'ah* as companion and follower, and the followers of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his descendants<sup>147</sup>. As a result, there is no dispute between Sunni and Shiism on the literal meaning of *shī'ah*.

Meanwhile, the technical definition of *shī'ah*, according to Ibn Khaldun, is the followers of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his descendants. Ibn Khaldun mentioning this definition is referring to the meaning of *shī'ah* by *fuqaha* (Islamic Jurists) and *mutakallimun* (Islamic Theologians), whether from the classic or orthodox (*salaf*) or contemporary (*khalaf*)<sup>148</sup>. Al-Shahrastānī defines *shī'ah* as a group who shows respect towards ʿAlī in particular, and they believe the appointment of ʿAlī as an imam based on the testament from *naṣṣ* (al-Qurʾān and hadith) and the will of the prophet Muḥammad SAW may it be explicit (*jaliy*) or implicit (*khafiy*)<sup>149</sup>.

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<sup>144</sup> Wan Zahidi Bin Wan Teh et al. 2012. *Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 4-5.

<sup>145</sup> His real name is Khaireen Syahreem Bin A Malek. His work namely *Meniti Titian Kebenaran* is one of the Malay's *Shī'ah opus* that contains the teaching of the *Shī'ah Ithna ʿAsyariyyah*. Refer: Mohd Aizam Mas'od & Fauzi Hamat. 2018. "Analisis Definisi Sahabat Dalam Beberapa Karya Syiah Melayu". *AFKAR: Journal of ʿAqidah & Islamic Thought*. Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya. Vol. 20. : (1). June. p. 4; Mohd. Aizam Bin Mas'od & Mohd. Fauzi Bin Hamat. 2018. "Sikap Syiah Terhadap Sahabat Dalam Karya-Karya Syiah Berbahasa Melayu: Satu Sorotan Ringkas". *Jurnal Penyelidikan Islam*. Putrajaya: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia. Vol. 30. p. 163.

<sup>146</sup> Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Sayyid Muḥammad Husayn. 2010. *Shi'ite Islam*. (trans.) Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust. p. xlii; Azim Nanji & Farhad Daftary. 2007. "What Is Shi'a Islam?". *The Institute of Ismaili Studies*. <<https://www.iis.ac.uk/academic-articles/what-shi-islam>>. p. 1; Khair Izzah. 2008. *Meniti Titian Kebenaran*. n.pl.: Al-Muntazar Resources. p. 11.

<sup>147</sup> Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿAtūm. 1988. *Al-Nazariyyah Al-Siyāsiyyah Al-Mu'āshirah Lil Shī'ah Al-Imāmiyyah Al-Ithnī ʿAshariyyah: Dirāsāt Taḥlīliyyat Naqdiyyat*. Amman: Dar – Albashir. p. 23.

<sup>148</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (*taḥqīq*). Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. Vol. 2. p. 571; Ibnu Khaldun. 2002. *Mukadimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 209.

<sup>149</sup> Al-Shahrastānī, Abī al-Fatah Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm. 1968. *Al-Milal Wa Al-Niḥal*. Al-Qāhirah: Muassat al-Ḥalabi Wa Sharikāh. Vol. 1. p. 146; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿAtūm. 1988. *Al-Nazariyyah Al-Siyāsiyyah Al-Mu'āshirah Lil Shī'ah Al-Imāmiyyah Al-Ithnī ʿAshariyyah: Dirāsāt*

While according to one of the *Shī'ī* scholars, namely Ṭabāṭabā'ī, the *Shī'ah* refers to “those who consider the succession to the Prophet Muḥammad SAW, to be the special right of the family of the prophet and who in the field of the Islamic Sciences and Culture follow the school of the Household of the Prophet”<sup>150</sup>. Thus, there was no dispute in the definition of *shī'ah* as both Shi'ites and Sunnis share the exact meaning.

### 3.4.2 Theme Two: Sources and Types of Texts in Shiism

This second theme explains the types of texts used by the Shiites and their sources. The texts in this theme refer to the verses and argumentations presented by Shiites in the appointment of ʿAlī as imam or caliph after the death of Prophet SAW and his successive heirs. According to Ibn Khaldun, Shiites presented their argumentation based on texts or verses from al-Qurʾān and tradition but with their interpretation and intention. Those texts were not recognized by Sunni scholars and even cannot be found in the book of Ḥadīth, and their statuses mostly are not authentic or false, and there was a defect in the chain of narration<sup>151</sup>.

Shiites also divides the texts into two types which are explicit or express (*jaliy*); and implicit or implied (*khafiy*) statements<sup>152</sup>. Amidst the examples of explicit texts that were taken based on the words of the Prophet SAW, according to Shiites, are:

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*Tahlīliyyat Naqdiyyat*. Amman: Dar – Albashir. p. 24; Wan Zahidi Bin Wan Teh et al. 2012. *Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 6.

<sup>150</sup> Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn. 2010. *Shī'ite Islam*. (trans.) Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust. p. xlii.

<sup>151</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Naḥdat Miṣr. p. 572; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 209; H. M. Rasjidi. 2005. *Apa Itu Syiah?* Kuala Lumpur: Al-Hidayah Publishers. p. 3.

<sup>149</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. p. 572; Ibn Khaldun. 2002. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. p. 209; Ibn Khaldūn. 1980. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction To History*. (trans.) Franz Rosenthal. Vol. 1. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p. 403; H. M. Rasjidi. 2005. *Apa Itu Syiah?* p. 3.

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلَيْهِ مَوْلَاهُ<sup>153</sup>.

“If I am a person’s *mawlā* (friend and supporter), then ‘Alī is also his *mawlā*”. Based on this narration, Shiites believe the leader position applies only to ‘Alī. By that, ‘Umar thus said to ‘Alī, “You have become the leader of all believers, men, and women”. Another example of a tradition similar to this is the statement by the Prophet SAW, “‘Alī is in charge of deciding the law for you”.

Based on these two explicit statements, *imamate* according to Shiites means implementing the divine law which refers to *ūlī al-amr* (the people with authority; responsibility and decision) where the obligation to obey them was required by Allah<sup>154</sup>. This is based on the verse in al-Qur’ān<sup>155</sup>:

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِن تَنَزَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِن كُنتُمْ 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 the best, and most suitable for final determination.

While the implicit text or statement indicating the inauguration of ‘Alī as imam or caliph is that Prophet SAW sent ‘Alī to recite Surāt al-Barā’ah during Hajj season when it had just been revealed. It is said that Abū Bakr had recited that chapter first, but ‘Alī was resent again by the Prophet SAW upon receiving a revelation. The revelation stated that: “a man from you or your people should transmit it<sup>156</sup>”. Thus, ‘Alī was sent by Prophet SAW to recite the chapter again.

<sup>153</sup> Ahmad ibn Hanbal. n.d. *Musnad Ahmad*. (Internet) Musnad ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. #961. <https://sunnah.com/ahmad:961>. The status of this ḥadīth is *hasan* or *good* because of corroborating evidence. This is a *da‘if isnād* (weak in the chain of narrators) because of the weakness of Yazīd ibn Abū Ziyād.

<sup>154</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥman 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. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. p. 209

<sup>155</sup> Al-Qur’ān. Al-Nisā’ 4:59.

<sup>156</sup> It is worth noting that Ibn Khaldun did not incorporate any verses about this revelation.

حَدَّثَنَا وَكَيْعٌ، قَالَ قَالَ إِسْرَائِيلُ قَالَ أَبُو إِسْحَاقَ عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ يُثَيْعٍ، عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرٍ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَعَثَهُ بِبِرَاءَةٍ لِأَهْلِ مَكَّةَ لَا يَحُجُّ بَعْدَ الْعَامِ مُشْرِكٌ وَلَا يَطُوفُ بِالْبَيْتِ عُرْيَانٌ وَلَا يَدْخُلُ الْجَنَّةَ إِلَّا نَفْسٌ مُسْلِمَةٌ مَنْ كَانَ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مُدَّةٌ فَأَجَلُهُ إِلَى مُدَّتِهِ وَاللَّهُ بَرِيءٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَرَسُولُهُ قَالَ فَسَارَ بِهَا ثَلَاثًا ثُمَّ قَالَ لِعَلِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُ الْحَقُّ فَرَدَّ عَلَيَّ أَبَا بَكْرٍ وَبَلَّغَهَا أَنْتَ قَالَ فَفَعَلَ قَالَ فَلَمَّا قَدِمَ عَلَيَّ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ بَكَى قَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ حَدِّثْ فِيَّ شَيْءٌ قَالَ مَا حَدَّثْتُ فِيكَ إِلَّا خَيْرٌ وَلَكِنْ أُمِرْتُ أَنْ لَا يُبَلِّغَهُ إِلَّا أَنَا أَوْ رَجُلٌ مِنِّي<sup>157</sup>.

It was narrated from Abū Bakr that the Prophet SAW sent him with Sūrat al-Barā'ah (al-Tawbah) to the people of Mecca, to say that no *mushrik* should perform Hajj after this year and no one should circumambulate the Kaaba naked, and no one would enter Paradise except a Muslim, whoever had a covenant with the Messenger of Allah SAW for a specific time, it would last until the stated time, and Allah is free from (all) obligations to the *Mushrikūn* and so is His Messenger (al-Barā'ah 9:3). He went around doing that for three days, then [the Prophet SAW said to °Alī; “Go and catch up with him; send Abū Bakr back to me, and you convey it.” So, he did that. And when Abū Bakr came to the Prophet SAW, he wept and said: O Messenger of Allah, is there something the matter with me? He said: “There is nothing but good, but I was instructed that no one should convey it except me or a man from my family.”<sup>158</sup>

Almost all historians and commentators agree upon it that when the first verses of Sūrat al-Barā'ah were revealed, and the covenants that were made between the polytheists and the Muslims were annulled, the Prophet SAW ordered Abū Bakr to convey these verses during the Hajj season, then he took them from him and gave them to °Alī to convey them, so °Alī recited them to the people during the Hajj season<sup>159</sup>.

Based on this statement, Ibn Khaldun argues that Shiites believe that °Alī is a more suitable imam compared to Abū Bakr. However, there is no evidence to support

<sup>157</sup> Al-Shaybānī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal Abū °Abdillāh. 1995. *Musnad Al-Imām Aḥmad Ibn Hanbal*. Shu°ayb al-Arnā'ūṭ (*tahqīq wa takhrīj*). Bayrūt: Muassasat al-Risālah. Musnad Abī Bakr al-Siddīq Raḍiyā Allah °Anhu. Vol. 1: 183. #4. Ḍa°if.

<sup>158</sup> Ash-Shaibani, Abu Abdullah Ahmad bin Muḥammad bin Hanbal. 2012. *Musnad Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal*. Nasiruddin Al-Khattab (trans.). Huda Al-Khattab (ed.). Riyadh: Maktaba Dar-us-Salam. Musnad Abu Bakr Siddeeq. Vol.1: p.27. #4. Ḍa°if.

<sup>159</sup> Al-Shayrāzī, Nāṣir Makārim. 2013. *Al-Amthal Fī Tafsīr Kitāb Allah Al-Munzal Ma°a Tahdhīb Jadīd*. Vol. 5. Bayrūt: Muassasat al-A°lamī. p. 119-121.

the idea that the Prophet SAW favored any individual over ʿAlī as his successor. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that some of the statements made by the Shiites can be difficult to comprehend<sup>160</sup>.

### 3.4.3 Theme Three: Sectarian in Shiism

The *Shīʿah* community has experienced a split that has arisen from divergent opinions regarding fundamental doctrines, teachings, and the selection of an imam from among the descendants of ʿAlī<sup>161</sup>. However, Shiism did not experience any schism during the tenure of the first three imams, namely ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn. But after the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, they started to have a different opinion on the appointment of the next imam<sup>162</sup>.

The main sects in Shiism may be divided into four sects. They are the Extremist or *al-Ghulāh*, *al-Zaydiyyah*, *al-Imāmiyyah*, and *al-Isnāʿīliyyah*. Meanwhile, Muḥammad Abū Zahrah divides Shiism into three main groups: *al-Ghulāh*, moderate and liberal. Al-Ashʿari identifies three major ones: *Ghulāt*, *al-Rāfiḍah*, and *al-Zaydiyyah*, along with their minor variations. Meanwhile, al-Shahrastānī and al-Baghdadi recognize four major sects, including *al-Zaydiyyah*, *al-Kaysāniyyah*, *al-Imāmiyyah*, and *Ghulāt*. Al-Nawbakhtī<sup>163</sup> goes even further and lists a total of

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<sup>160</sup> 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.

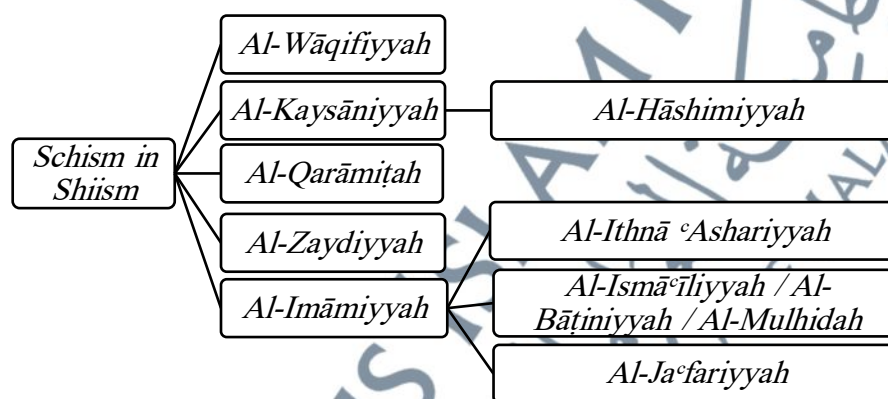
<sup>161</sup> H.M. Rasjidi. 2005. *Apa Itu Syiah?* Kuala Lumpur: Al-Hidayah Publishers. p. 8; Wan Zahidi Bin Wan The et al. 2012. *Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 28-29.

<sup>162</sup> Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn. 2010. *Shiʿite Islam*. (trans.) Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust. p. 43.

<sup>163</sup> Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī was a respected scholar of theology and philosophy from the al-Nawbakhtī family in Baghdad. He is an *Imāmī Shīʿī* theologian who adopted some *al-Muʿtazilah* principles in the late 9th century.

fourteen sects within Shiism<sup>164</sup>. However, later the division is restricted to only three main groups that remain relevant today. They are *al-Zaydiyyah*, *al-Ismāʿiliyyah*, and *al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah* (also known as *al-Imāmiyyah*)<sup>165</sup>. For a detailed and systematic table on the division of Shiism, refer to Appendix 3: The Sects in Shiism.

Figure 3.2 shows the schism among Shiism in the *Muqaddimah*. This schism is determined based on Shiite’s opinions on imamate, as stated and discussed by Ibn Khaldun.



**Figure 3.2:** Schism in Shiism According to Ibn Khaldun in the *Muqaddimah*<sup>166</sup>

At the end of subtopic twenty-seven in chapter three, Ibn Khaldun suggested to readers who wish to gain more profound knowledge and a better understanding of

<sup>164</sup> Al-Nawbakhtī, Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā. 2007. *Shīʿa Sects: Kitāb Firaq Al-Shīʿa*. (trans.) Abbas Kadhīm. London: ICAS Press.

<sup>165</sup> Muḥammad Abū Zahrah. 1963. *Tārīkh Al-Madhāhib Al-Islāmiyyah Fī Al-Siyāsah Wa Tārīkh Al-Madhāhib Al-Fiqhiyyah*. Al-Qāhīrah: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabiyy. p. 35-55; Muḥamad Abu Zahrah. 1996. *Aliran Politik Dan ʿAqidah Dalam Islam*. Abd. Rahman Dahlan & Ahmad Qarib (trans.). Batu Caves: Penerbit Edaran Kalam. p. 39-61; H.M. Raṣjidi. 2005. *Apa Itu Syiah?* Kuala Lumpur: Al-Hidayah Publishers. p. 10-12; Wan Zahidi Bin Wan The et al. 2012. *Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 29-34; n.a. 2015. *Membongkar Kesesatan Syiah Di Malaysia*. Shah Alam: Majlis Agama Islam Selangor (MAIS). p. 14-15; Kamaluddin Nordin Marjuni. 2009. *Al-Firaq Al-Shīʿiyyah Wa Uṣūhūhā Al-Siyāsiyyah Wa Mauqif Ahl Al-Sunnah Minhā: Al-Zaydiyyah, Al-Imāmiyyah Al-Ithnā ʿAshariyyah, Al-Ismāʿiliyyah Al-Bāṭiniyyah*. Nilai: Unit Penerbitan, Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia. p. 7-44; Ṭabāṭabāʿī, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn. 2010. *Shīʿite Islam*. (trans.) Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust. p. 43-53; Al-Shahrastāni, Abī al-Fatah Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm. 1968. *Al-Milal Wa Al-Niḥal*. Al-Qāhīrah: Muassat al-Ḥalabi Wa Sharikāh. Vol. 1. p. 147-192; Azim Nanji & Farhad Daftary. 2007. “What Is Shiʿa Islam?”. *The Institute of Ismaili Studies*. <<https://www.iis.ac.uk/academic-articles/what-shi-islam>>. p. 6-22; Mohd Aizam Masʿod. 2013. *Soal Jawab Isu Syiah Di Malaysia*. Putrajaya: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia. p. 18.

<sup>166</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Naḥdat Miṣr. p. 573-579.

Shiism by reading the works of Ibn Hazm and al-Shahrastānī entitled *al-Milal wa al-Nihal* and others. In his writing, Ibn Khaldun emphasizes that he merely presented the commonly held beliefs about Shiism, indicating he did not devise them himself. Lastly, he concluded subtopic 27 with this remark:

﴿وَاللَّهُ يَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ﴾<sup>167</sup>

Meaning: For Allah guides whom He will to a path that is straight.

#### 3.4.4 Theme Four: Imamate/Political Leadership in Shiism

The imamate is one of the crucial beliefs in Shiism. They believe that the succession of a ruler after the Prophet SAW belongs to the descendants of °Alī and Fāṭimah. Due to this, the imamate becomes one of the crucial pillars in Shiism, resulting in one's faith being invalid until one believes in the concept of imamate<sup>168</sup>. According to al-Shahrastānī, Shiism believes that the imamate is exclusively passed down to the descendants of °Alī. It is not an interest-based issue dependent on the choice of the public but a fundamental and one of the pillars of religion. Hence, the Prophet SAW should not neglect or ignore about the imamate issue and leave it to the public to determine the imam<sup>169</sup>.

This imamate concept becomes the most significant distinction between Sunni and Shiism. It is because the appointment of an imam or caliph, from Sunni's perspective, is based on agreement (*al-ittifāq*) and election (*al-ikhtiyār*) from

<sup>167</sup> Al-Qur'ān. Al-Baqarah 2:213.

<sup>168</sup> n.a. 2015. *Membongkar Kesesatan Syiah Di Malaysia*. Shah Alam: Majlis Agama Islam Selangor (MAIS). p. 19; Wan Zahidi Bin Wan Teh et al. 2012. *Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 35.

<sup>169</sup> Al-Shahrastānī, Abī al-Fatah Muḥammad °Abd al-Karīm. 1968. *Al-Milal Wa Al-Nihal*. Al-Qāhirah: Muassat al-Ḥalabi Wa Sharikāh. Vol. 1. p. 146.

Muslims<sup>170</sup>. Al-Kulaynī, in his book entitled *Uṣūl al-Kāfi: Kitāb al-Hujjah*, explains the difference between imam, messenger, and prophet as follows:

The difference between *Rasūl*, *Nabī*, and an Imam is that Jibrīl met the Rasūl. Thus, they see him, hear his word, and the divine adjunctions are revealed to them (*al-rasul yanzilu ‘alay-hi Jibrīl fa-yarā-hu wa yasma‘u kalāma-hu wa yanzilu ‘alay-hi al-wahyu*). They see him in their dreams as the dreams of prophet Ibrāhīm AS. A *Nabī* either hears the words of an angel or sees him without hearing his words (*al-nabī rubbamā sami‘a al-kalām wa rubbamā ra’ā al-shakhs wa lam yasma‘*). In comparison, the imam hears the words of an angel but is not able to see him (*al-imām huwa al-ladhī yasma‘ al-kalām wa lā yarā al-shakhs*)<sup>171</sup>.

While al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī defines the imam as the person who bears the duty of guarding and preserving the revelation and is chosen by God for his role and is equal to the prophet. Hence, the imamate and prophethood can be within a person or separated<sup>172</sup>. Therefore, it can be said that the status of an imam in the eyes of Shiism is equal to the prophet, as they claim that an imam also receives divine revelation<sup>173</sup>. Moreover, Shiism also claims that their imam is inerrant as they share the same status with the prophet, which differs from Sunni teaching<sup>174</sup>. Later, the discussion on imamate focuses on the viewpoint of three significant sects in Shiism. They are *al-Zaydiyyah*, *al-Imāmiyyah Ithna ‘Ashariyyah* and *al-Isma‘īliyyah al-Bāṭiniyyah*.

Besides, the *Muqaddimah* delves into three key topics pertaining to the idea of imamate in Shiism, as outlined in this study<sup>175</sup>. The three issues are: first, imamate is a pillar and teaching of Islam. Second, the bigotry towards ‘Alī and his descendants as an imam. And third, various groups in Shiism formed due to different opinions on

<sup>170</sup> n.a. 2015. *Membongkar Kesesatan Syiah di Malaysia*. Shah Alam: Majlis Agama Islam Selangor (MAIS). p. 19; Wan Zahidi Bin Wan Teh et al. 2012. *Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 35.

<sup>171</sup> Al-Kulaynī, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad Bin Ya‘qūb. 1994. *Uṣūl Al-Kāfi: Kitāb Al-Hujjah*. n.pl.: n.pb. p. 27.

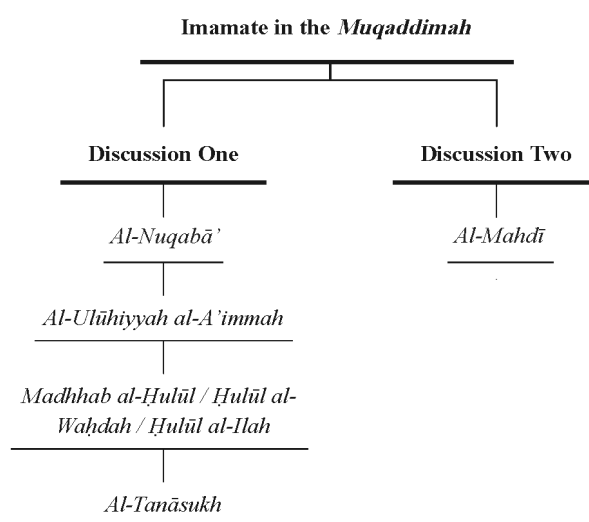
<sup>172</sup> Ṭabāṭabā’ī, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn. 2010. *Shi‘ite Islam*. (trans.) Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust. p. 43.

<sup>173</sup> n.a. 2015. *Membongkar Kesesatan Syiah Di Malaysia*. Shah Alam: Majlis Agama Islam Selangor (MAIS). p. 19-20.

<sup>174</sup> n.a. 2015. *Membongkar Kesesatan Syiah Di Malaysia*. p. 20; Wan Zahidi Bin Wan Teh et al. 2012. *Hakikat Syiah*. Putrajaya: Pejabat Mufti Wilayah Persekutuan, Jabatan Perdana Menteri. p. 36.

<sup>175</sup> A more detailed analysis can be found in chapter four of this study.

imamate. Additionally, five doctrines related to imamate or leadership in Shiism are discussed in these three primer issues. This discussion is divided into two discussions as follows:



**Figure 3.3:** The Discussion of Imamate in the *Muqaddimah*<sup>176</sup>

### Discussion One: *Al-Nuqabā'* and, Theory of Oneness and Incarnation in Shiism

*Al-Nuqabā'* refers to leadership positions held by substitutes or chiefs in Shiism<sup>177</sup>. This is a term used by the Alids<sup>178</sup> to refer to their chiefs (imams), which carries the same meaning as imamate. The Alids were descendants of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Muḥammad SAW. Their lineage was important to various sects and dynasties within the Islamic community. The Alids adhered to their own school of thought and jurisprudence, which they based on their dogmatic belief that certain men around the Prophet SAW should be mistreated. They also believed that the imams were infallible and that any differences in their

<sup>176</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2-3. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 735-759 & 994-999.

<sup>177</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. p. 998; Ibn Khaldūn. 1980. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction To History*. (trans.) Franz Rosenthal. Vol. 3. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p. 5; Abdurrahman bin Muhammad bin Khaldun. 2011. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. M. Nurkholis Ridwan (ed.). Masturi Irham, Malik Supar & Abidun Zuhri. Jakarta Timur: Pustaka Al-Kautsar. p. 825.

<sup>178</sup> Teresa Bernheimer. 2013. *The ʿAlids*. Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press. p. 51-53 & 63-69.

statements were unacceptable. However, all these principles are futile and have no basis<sup>179</sup>.

Besides that, there are certain beliefs held by some Shiites that include the divine nature of imams, the reincarnation of imams, and the return of deceased imams. This idea is associated with the Neo-*Ismā'īliyyah* Extremist<sup>180</sup> and their belief in the divinity and incarnation of the imam<sup>181</sup>. However, this idea has been rejected by many jurists and muftis<sup>182</sup>. Additionally, the *al-Imāmiyyah* and the Extremist Shiites believed in the divinity of the imams and the incarnation of the deity in them. This is also the opinion of the Extremist Shiites concerning the imam and the Alid chiefs (*al-nuqabā'*)<sup>183</sup> as they also believed the succession of the imams was through inheritance<sup>184</sup>.

The *al-Imāmiyyah* and the Extremist Shiites had discussions<sup>185</sup> regarding the preferred status of 'Alī, his imamate, and the claim made on his behalf to have received the imamate through the Prophet SAW's last will. The Shiites suggested that

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<sup>179</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. 'Alī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (*tahqīq*). Vol. 3. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 998; Ibn Khaldūn. 1980. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction To History*. (trans.) Franz Rosenthal. Vol. 3. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p. 93; Abdurrahman bin Muhammad bin Khaldun. 2011. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. M. Nurkholis Ridwan (ed.). Masturi Irham, Malik Supar & Abidun Zuhri. Jakarta Timur: Pustaka Al-Kautsar. p. 876.

<sup>180</sup> Refer to the Fatimid dynasty. The Fatimid dynasty, founded by 'Ubaydāllah al-Mahdī, was a flourishing Shiism dynasty in the Maghreb and Egypt, also known as al-'Ubaydiyyin.

<sup>181</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. 'Alī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (*tahqīq*). Vol. 3. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 997; Ibn Khaldūn. 1980. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction To History*. (trans.) Franz Rosenthal. Vol. 3. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p. 92; Abdurrahman bin Muhammad bin Khaldun. 2011. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. M. Nurkholis Ridwan (ed.). Masturi Irham, Malik Supar & Abidun Zuhri. Jakarta Timur: Pustaka Al-Kautsar. p. 875.

<sup>182</sup> Zaid Ahmad. 2004. *The Epistemology Of Ibn Khaldun*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon. p. 69.

<sup>183</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. 'Alī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfī (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 753; Ibn Khaldūn. 1980. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction To History*. (trans.) Franz Rosenthal. Vol. 2. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. p. 187; Abdurrahman bin Muhammad bin Khaldun. 2011. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. M. Nurkholis Ridwan (ed.). Masturi Irham, Malik Supar & Abidun Zuhri. Jakarta Timur: Pustaka Al-Kautsar. p. 753.

<sup>184</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. Vol. 3. p. 998; Ibn Khaldūn. 1980. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction To History*. Vol. 3. p. 93; Abdurrahman bin Muhammad bin Khaldun. 2011. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. p. 875.

<sup>185</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. Vol. 2. p. 753; Ibn Khaldūn. Vol. 2. p. 186; Abdurrahman bin Muhammad bin Khaldun. 2011. *Mukaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. p. 753.

°Alī was different from other men around the Prophet SAW due to his virtues, conforming with well-known Shiism beliefs<sup>186</sup>. They also discussed the rejection of the two Shaykhs, Abū Bakr and °Umar, which resulted in the Infallible Imam dogma among them. Much has been written on Shiism dogmatics<sup>187</sup>.

Besides, the oneness ascribed by the *al-Imāmiyyah* regarding their imams is similar and identical to the incarnation of Messiah in Christianity. In their doctrine, the *al-Imāmiyyah* believed that there are two ways or perspectives to achieve the oneness of the deity with the imams. The first perspective suggests that the primeval essence of God is inherent in all created things, both sensible and intelligible. This essence is perceived as one with the created things. The second perspective believes in the absolute oneness of God, which is beyond human perception and cannot be verified through speculation or argumentation. The scientific method is also considered insufficient to comprehend this concept<sup>188</sup>.

Furthermore, the *al-Isma'īliyyah* believed that the leadership of humanity and its guidance towards religious law duty rested on the imam. They believed that to avoid the possibility of a split, there could be no more than one imam, as established in religious law.<sup>189</sup> The *al-Isma'īliyyah* also believed in the divinity of the imam through the incarnation. Some factions believed that the dead imams would return either through metempsychosis or in the same form as they had during their lifetime. Meanwhile, other factions expected the coming of imams who would be separated from them through death<sup>190</sup>.

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<sup>186</sup> ibid. Vol. 3. p. 998; ibid. Vol. 3. p. 93; ibid. p. 876.

<sup>187</sup> ibid. Vol. 2. p. 753; ibid. Vol. 2. p. 186; ibid. p. 753.

<sup>188</sup> ibid. Vol. 3. p. 994; ibid. Vol. 3. p. 85-86.

<sup>189</sup> ibid. Vol. 3. p. 998; ibid. Vol. 3. p. 94; ibid. p. 876.

<sup>190</sup> ibid. Vol. 2. p. 753; ibid. Vol. 2. p. 186; ibid. p. 753.

However, some factions of *al-Ismāʿīliyyah* expected the return to power of the family of Prophet SAW (*Ahl al-Bayt*) based on the traditions concerning the Mahdi in the *Muqaddimah* and other traditions.<sup>191</sup>. Therefore, the books of Extremist *al-Ismāʿīliyyah* are filled with various ideas about the Expected Fatimid. These ideas were passed down through teaching and dictation. However, these speculations are built upon weak foundations. Some Shiites also use astrological discussions of astral conjunction to predict the arrival of the Mahdi or the Expected Fatimid, resulting in a prediction known as *malāḥim*<sup>192</sup>.

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<sup>191</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>192</sup> *ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 753; *ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 187; *ibid.* p. 753.

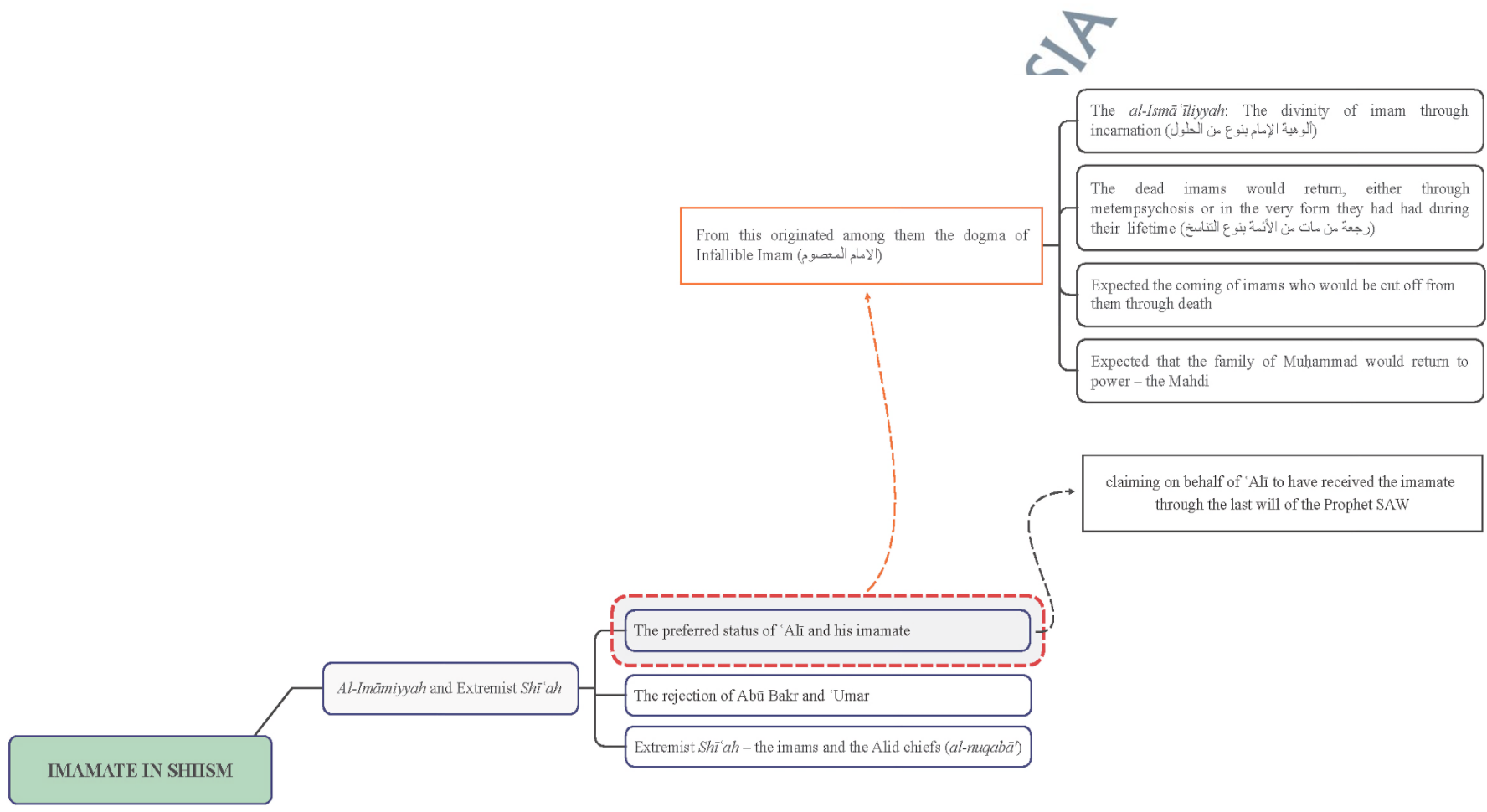


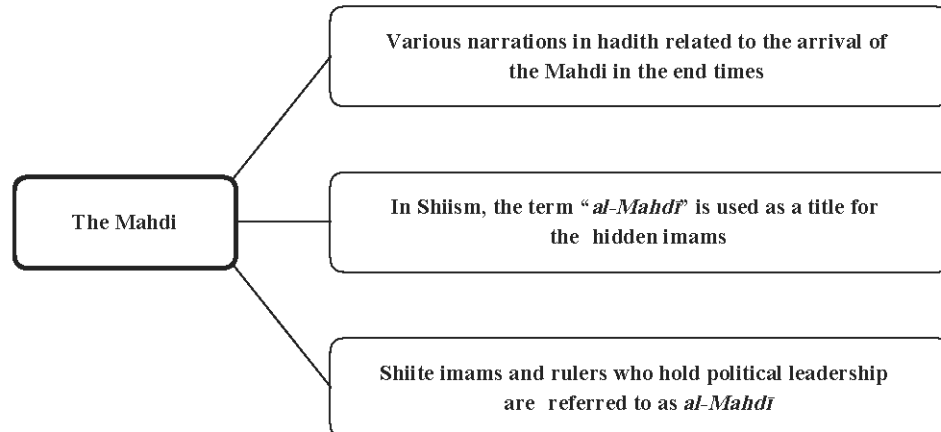
Figure 3.4: Discussion of imamate in Shiism<sup>193</sup>

<sup>193</sup> °Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldūn*. °Alī °Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi (*tahqīq*). Vol. 2-3. Al-Jīzah: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr. p. 571-580, 753-759 & 994-999.

## Discussion Two: The Mahdi

The topic of the Mahdi or the awaited one has always been a matter of great significance in Islamic eschatology. The discussion primarily caters to the beliefs of Shiism believers, who have talked about the concept of Mahdi. The concept of the Mahdi can be traced back to the early days of Islam, where it gained traction among Shiism sectarians.

The discussion of the Mahdi can be concluded in three categories. First, there are various narrations in hadith related to the arrival of the Mahdi in the end times. Second, the term “*al-Mahdī*” is used as a title in Shiism for the hidden imams. And third, *al-Mahdī* is a term used to refer to Shiite imams and rulers who hold political leadership positions. The data regarding this discussion can be referred to Appendix 5: Data of the Mahdi in the *Muqaddimah*.



**Figure 3.5:** The Discussion of the Mahdi in the *Muqaddimah*<sup>194</sup>

First, in the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun compiled various narrations on hadith related to the arrival of Mahdi. However, he faced skepticism regarding the authenticity of these narrations due to issues with the chain of narrators or transmitters. The existence of a problem in the chain of narrators or transmitters also

<sup>194</sup> Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Khaldun. 2019. *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldun*. Vol. 2. p. 735-762.

led to scholars accepting or rejecting certain narrations. A closer examination of the transmitter chain, this study finds that some of the transmitters belonged to the *shī'ah* denomination or were described as having pro-*shī'ah* sentiments<sup>195</sup>.

Second, the term *al-Mahdī* is used as a title in Shiism for the hidden imams<sup>196</sup>. According to Ibn Khaldun, this title is given by the *al-Ithnā 'Ashariyyah*, *al-Ismā'īliyyah*, and the Extremist *Shī'ah*. The hidden imam is believed to have gone missing or is currently in occultation, with the belief that he will return one day to establish truth and justice in this world. The *al-Ithnā 'Ashariyyah* refer to him as *al-Mahdī*, and also call him *al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar* (the Expected One) as they still await his return. On the other hand, *al-Ismā'īliyyah* believe that the successor after Ismā'īl was his son, Muḥammad al-Maktūm, who is also referred to as the Concealed One. As for the *al-Ismā'īliyyah*, he served as the first hidden imam as he went into hiding due to the lack of power.

Lastly, *al-Mahdī* is a term used to refer to Shiite imams and rulers who hold political leadership positions<sup>197</sup>. For example, one of the *al-Zaydiyyah's* imams, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdāllah ibn Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan al-Sibṭi, took over as the imam after his father, Yaḥyā, was killed in al-Jūzajān. He was known as *al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah*, which means the Pure Soul. Later, after he came forth to the Ḥijāz, he adopted the surname of *al-Mahdī*. On the other hand, the Abbasid *Shī'ah*, also known as the *Shī'ah Banī al-'Abbās*, used the title of Commander of the Faithful (*Amīr al-Mu'minīn*) to refer to their successor.

In Tunisia and eastern Algeria, there existed a group known as the *Shī'ah* extremists who staunchly followed a leader called an imam. Their leaders were the

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<sup>195</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥman bin Muḥammad bin Khaldūn. p. 736-752.

<sup>196</sup> *ibid.* p. 575, 579-580.

<sup>197</sup> *ibid.* p. 577, 614, 617-619.

descendants of Ismā'īl, and they continued to be referred to as imams until the emergence of 'Ubaydillāh al-Mahdi, the founder of the Fatimid dynasty<sup>198</sup>. The Idrisids also adhered to this practice; the Almoravids and the Almohads followed the opinion of the 'Alids concerning the Infallible Imam. From this tenet, the title *al-Ma'sūm* (infallible) was derived, which was closely associated with their imams.

The information provided by Ibn Khaldun also aligns with the *shī'ah* belief about the Mahdi. Muslims universally believe that the Mahdi will emerge to bring justice after a period of fraudulence during the Antichrist time. Besides, the concept of Mahdi holds a significant place in the Islamic faith and has been a topic of discussion among the Muslim community for centuries. However, there has been a disagreement among scholars about the identity of the Mahdi and whether he was born or not although many scholars and religious leaders have recorded traditions about the Mahdi and consider him to be a member of the Prophet's household<sup>199</sup>.

While there are different interpretations and beliefs about the Mahdi in Islam, Shiism believes that the Mahdi is the last imam of the twelve imams namely Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī. According to this belief, the Mahdi is still alive but has been hidden from the public view. He will reappear at the end of the world to restore justice and order. The idea of Mahdi is supported by the verses in the al-

<sup>198</sup> Adam Zeidan. 23 May 2023. "Mahdī: Islamic Concept". *Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/mahdi>.

<sup>199</sup> '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. 735-752; Sayyid Moustafa al-Qazwini. 20 May 2023. "Imam Al-Mahdi". *Al-Islam.org*. <https://www.al-islam.org/inquiries-about-shia-islam-sayyid-moustafa-al-qazwini/imam-al-mahdi>; Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn. 2010. *Shi'ite Islam*. (trans.) Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust. p. 191; Abdur Rahman Ad Dimashqiyah et al. 2014. *Shiism Exposed*. Petaling Jaya: Dakwah Corner Publications Sdn. Bhd. pp. 98-99; Syihabudīn Ahmad. 2017. *Fatwa Ulama Al-Azhar Terhadap Syiah 12*. Sungai Buloh: Santai Ilmu Publication. p. 21-22; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm 'Atūm. 1988. *Al-Nazariyyah Al-Siyāsiyyah Al-Mu'āshirah Lil Shī'ah Al-Imāmiyyah Al-Ithnī 'Ashariyyah: Dirāsāt Taḥlīliyyat Naqdiyyat*. Amman: Dar – Albashir. p. 81-82, 84.

Qur'ān<sup>200</sup> that talk about the resurrection of people who have died and the prophets who lived longer than the Mahdi. However, it is worth noting that not all Shiites believe in the ideology of the Mahdi. *Al-Zaydiyyah*, for example, believes that only the descendants of Fāṭimah should be responsible for the matter of imamate<sup>201</sup>.

### 3.5 Conclusion

This chapter discusses Shiism according to Ibn Khaldun in his work the *Muqaddimah*. It examines Ibn Khaldun's opinions on Shiism that are collected from where he mentions the word '*al-shī'ah*' in the *Muqaddimah*. The discussion is divided into four main themes: the definition of *shī'ah*, sources and types of texts in Shiism, sectarianism in Shiism, and imamate/political leadership in Shiism. Under these themes, it analyzes Ibn Khaldun's views on the doctrines, divisions, and issues of imamate according to Shiism. It also provides discussions on related topics like *al-nuqabā'*, theories of oneness and incarnation, and the Mahdi based on insights from the *Muqaddimah*.

Ibn Khaldun discusses the differences in the concept of imamate between Sunni and Shiites views. The imamate doctrines in Shiism cover a range of topics that include the beliefs of oneness and incarnation regarding imams, the concept of Mahdi as the awaited 12<sup>th</sup> imam, and the role of titles like Imam and Commander of the Faithful (*Amīr al-Mu'minīn*) for Shiite rulers and imams. Shiism dynasties like

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<sup>200</sup> The verses are from Al-Baqarah 2:259; Al-Kahf 18:22, 60-82.

<sup>201</sup> 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. 735-752; Sayyid Moustafa al-Qazwini. 20 May 2023. "Imam Al-Mahdi". *Al-Islam.org*. <https://www.al-islam.org/inquiries-about-shia-islam-sayyid-moustafa-al-qazwini/imam-al-mahdi>; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn. 2010. *Shīʿite Islam*. (trans.) Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust. p. 191; Abdur Rahman Ad Dimashqiyah et al. 2014. *Shiism Exposed*. Petaling Jaya: Dakwah Corner Publications Sdn. Bhd. p. 98-99; Syihabudin Ahmad. 2017. *Fatwa Ulama Al-Azhar Terhadap Syiah 12*. Sungai Buloh: Santai Ilmu Publication. pp. 21-22; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿAtūm. 1988. *Al-Nazariyyah Al-Siyāsiyyah Al-Muʿāshirah Lil Shīʿah Al-Imāmiyyah Al-Ithnī ʿAshariyyah: Dirāsāt Taḥlīliyyat Naqdiyyat*. Amman: Dar – Albashir. p. 81-82.

Fatimids and Idrisids also followed the Shiite concept of infallible imam. However, differences arose due to varying opinions on determining the rightful imam.

Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun also discussed the divisions among Shiism sects and different views on the concept of imamate, and recognizes several sects among Shiism, including *al-Ghulāh*, *al-Zaydiyyah*, *al-Imāmiyyah*, and *al-Is mā'īyyah*. Ibn Khaldun analyzed the key doctrines and sects of Shiism with a focus on their unique concept of imamate, which is the main point of divergence with Sunni. He discusses these doctrines based on the writings of early Islamic scholars on sects and divisions in Islam. The next chapter discusses imamate based on three primer issues, as mentioned in subtopic 3.4.4.

