

Refleksi

JURNAL KAJIAN AGAMA DAN FILSAFAT

Nurul Fajri

The Concept of Mahdī in Shī'ī Theology

Syamsuri

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Modernisme: Studi Pemikiran Frithjof Schuon**

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Jurnal Kajian Agama dan Filsafat

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Jurnal Kajian Agama dan Filsafat

ISSN 0215-6253

Vol. 1, No. 3, Juni-Agustus 1999

Penerbit

Fakultas Ushuluddin IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta

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Pelindung

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Sekretariat

Suzanti Ikhlas

Alamat Redaksi

Jl. Ir. H. Djuanda No. 95, Ciputat, Jakarta Selatan

Telp. (021) 740 1925, 7440425

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Jurnal Refleksi adalah jurnal tiga bulanan yang diterbitkan oleh Fakultas Ushuluddin IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. Terbit pertama November 1998

Refleksi menerima kontribusi tulisan berupa artikel, liputan akademik, laporan penelitian, dan tinjauan buku. Panjang tulisan minimal 10 halaman kuarto spasi ganda. Isi tulisan merupakan tanggung jawab penulis. Tulisan yang dimuat akan diberi honorarium.

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SIDANG PEMBACA, Refleksi kembali hadir ke hadapan sidang pembaca sekalian. Harus diakui bahwa penerbitan ini cukup terlambat. Kami harus berapologi bahwa berbagai persoalan yang sebenarnya teknikal seperti penambahan jumlah halaman dan penggunaan transliterasi yang konsisten, terus terang saja, menjadi salah-satu penyebab utama keterlambatan ini. Kedua hal teknis itu memang sepatutnya dianggap kemajuan dan layak disyukuri, mengingat volume artikel yang masuk dan keinginan untuk menjadikan jurnal ini sebagai jurnal yang *primus inter pares* di antara jurnal-jurnal di IAIN selama ini harus juga diimbangi dengan kualitas seleksi dan *editing* yang mumpuni. Karena itu dengan banyak artikel yang masuk ditambah *editing* yang cukup melelahkan yang dilakukan di sela-sela tugas utama ke-fakultas-an, menambah panjang daftar alasan bagi keterlambatan ini.

Beberapa artikel dihadirkan kepada pembaca pada edisi kali ini cukup beragam namun tetap konsisten dengan visi jurnal. Antara lain, beberapa artikel dalam kajian keislaman, seperti dua artikel berbahasa Inggris tentang konsep *Mahdi* dalam teologi Syi'ah, pemikiran al-Farabi tentang hubungan metafisika dan teori politik. Juga artikel kajian keislaman penting lainnya seperti pemikiran Ibn Taimiya tentang sifat Tuhan dan pentingnya Islamisasi ilmu pengetahuan. Beberapa artikel berkenaan dengan kajian filsafat (agama) seperti kritik Frithjof Schuon terhadap modernisme, pandangan agama dan filsafat tentang eskatologi, serta kritik Jurgen Habermas terhadap rasionalisasi dan materialisme sejarah juga melengkapi edisi ketiga ini. Dan, terakhir, seperti biasa terdapat dua artikel tambahan yang menarik dalam rubrik akademika dan rehal. Selamat membaca.

Jakarta, Desember 1999

Redaksi

THE CONCEPT OF MAHDĪ IN SHĪ'Ī THEOLOGY

Nurul Fajri

Before being employed as a specifically eschatological term in Shī'ī theological doctrine, the term *Mahdī* was applied to “historical personages”¹ who were considered as charismatic leaders such as *al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn al-Mahdīyyūn* (the divinely rightly guided khalifahs). The non-eschatological application of the term *Mahdī* was also employed as an honorific epithet for a leader who was regarded as successful in his leadership such as 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.² In Medina, for example, the conservative religious view generally recognized him as the *Mahdī*. One of the prominent traditionists in Bashrah, Abi Kilaba (d. 107/725), agreed with the view that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was the *Mahdī*. In addition, an

eminent figure in Bashrah, al-Ḥasan al-Bashrī (d. 110/728), did not believe in the *Mahdī*, but said that if there were one, it would have been 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. Moreover, as "an honorific epithet without messianic significance, the term [*Mahdī*] was employed from the beginning of Islam.... Ḥasan b. Tsabit thus applied it to the Prophet.... Sulayman b. Shurad referred to al-Husayn, after his martyrdom, as *Mahdī*, son of the *Mahdī*..."³ With regard to the term *Mahdī* Sachedina has pointed out:

The title al-*Mahdī* ...was, in the beginning, merely a designation for the ideal Islamic ruler. But with the delay in the great social transformation under al-*Mahdī* command, the title took on eschatological tones in Imām Shī'ism. The Imāmate of the twelfth Imām was unique in the sense that in him merged the two ideas of Shī'ite messianism: the occultation and the return of the future restorer of justice.⁴

As Shī'ī eschatological doctrine, thus the concept of the *Mahdī* consists of the belief in the *Imām Mahdī* (divinely guided one) or the Hidden Imām who will reappear at the end of time as a savior realizing sociopolitical justice and equity through which a peaceful life based on the ideals of religious (Islamic) teaching may be reached. In other words, it is believed of the *Imām Mahdī* that he will realize an ideal religious society. "The belief in the *Imām Mahdī* becomes not only a basic tenet of the creed, but also the foundation on which the entire spiritual edifice of the Shī'ite rests."⁵ In this relation, thus the belief creates the Shī'ī eschatological doctrine of the expectation of a socioreligious and political situation in the future. In the course of the history of Shī'ī community life, one may interpret that such an eschatological expectation helps to explain the extraordinary resoluteness which, the Shī'ah have shown in the face of unbearable sociopolitical circumstances. With respect to the belief in the *Imām Mahdī*, Sachedina has explained:

He is the victorious Imām who will restore the purity of the faith, which will bring true and uncorrupted guidance to all mankind's, creating an adequately just social order and a world free from tyranny and wickedness. The chiliastic vision of history in Shī'ism continues to be expressed, even today, in terms of radical social protest in the face of political oppression. Had it not been this deep sense of paving the way for the reappearance of the Imām, the Shī'ites would not have felt the need to reevaluate their social circumstances and the shortcomings of their present lives.⁶

As a matter of fact, from the very beginning the idea of the *Mahdī* has served as an ideological basis of Shī'ī political protest against social dissatisfaction and socio-political oppression of both the Ummayyad and the

‘Abbāsīd. In addition, “the tradition of the *Mahdī* grew and developed with the disintegration of the caliphate, both Ummayyad and ‘Abbāsīd, and the flowering and disappointment of successive hopes which the Shī’īs had nurtured for the establishment of the ideal rule.”⁷

Considering the Shī’ah as a latent force threatening their power, the ‘Abbāsīds always controlled Shī’ī socio-political activities and the lives of the Shī’ī Imāms. In this political situation, the twelfth Imām (Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-‘Askarī) was born in Samarra in the mid-Sha’ban 255/868⁸—some sources vary by as much as one to five years from this date—and until 260/872, when his father was killed, lived under his father’s care and tutelage.⁹ These circumstances surrounding the birth of the twelfth Imām led al-‘Askarī to save his successor from the oppressive political structure of the ‘Abbāsīds. He decided to seek a place safer for his son in order to avoid the interference of the ‘Abbāsīds.¹⁰ After he died in 260/872, his son (the twelfth Imām) went into occultation;¹¹ it was believed of him that he was the *Mahdī* who will appear at the end of time in order to fill the earth with justice, just as it had previously been filled with oppression and injustice.¹²



The title *Mahdī* seems to have been employed by al-Mukhtar b. Abi ‘Ubayd al-Thaqāfi for Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyyah, a son of ‘Ali by a woman other than Fāthimah, “in 66/685-686, in his rebellion against ‘Abd Allah b. Zubayr.”¹³ Since the movement was a failure, when Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyyah died in 81/700, many of the followers of his revolt

did not recognize his death as a reality, and instead continued saying that he was in concealment and would return.¹⁴ Later the followers of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyyah were associated with the Kaysaniyyah sect which held that he was the promised *Mahdī*.¹⁵

The Kaysaniyyah seem to have been the first *Shīʿī* sect to employ Mahdistic terms for their Imām. This practice was after wards maintained by other *Shīʿī* sects, primarily the Imāmiyyah, in respect to their Imāms. “This was the beginning of the two central beliefs in idea of the *Mahdī*, the *ghayba* (occultation) and the *raja* (return) of the Islamic messiah at the appropriate time.”¹⁶ In *Shīʿī* eschatological doctrine, the return of the *Mahdī* was identified with the *rajʿa* of the Hidden Imām.¹⁷

The term *Mahdī* in its eschatological significance was also applied by the Zaydiyyah to their leaders who rebelled against the ‘Abbāsids, such as Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah (d. 145/762), Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Shidiq (d. 203/818), and Muḥammad b. al-Qasim al-Thālqān who disappeared in the year 219/834.¹⁸ As for the Twelver *Shīʿah*, it was al-Nawbakhtī—one of the leading *Shīʿī* theologians who died at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century who was the earliest to formulate the Twelver *Shīʿī* eschatological doctrine of the concealment of the twelfth Imām, the *Mahdī*. Following al-Nawbakhtī, it was al-Mufid (one of the leading *Shīʿī* theologians of the tenth century who died in 413/1022) who developed and systematized the *Shīʿī* point of view concerning the *Mahdī*.¹⁹

In *Shīʿī* eschatological doctrine, in addition to *al-Mahdī*, the twelfth Imām had many other titles such as *Imām al-ʿAsr* (the Imām of the Period), *Shāhib al-Zamān* (the Master of the Age), *Shāhib al-ʿAmr* (the Master of Authority), *Mahdī al-Anām* (the *Mahdī* of the People), *al-Qāʿim* (he who will Rise), and *al-Hujjah* (the Divine Proof). All these Mahdistic titles had significances of eschatological expectation and gave expression to the social discontent and political deprivation of the *Shīʿah* for centuries. In other words, these Mahdistic titles reflected and represented a myth of eventual *Shīʿī* vengeance against their experience of social injustice and political inequity. So far as the Mahdistic titles are concerned, “the title *al-Mahdī*, with its eschatological connotation, had much wider recognition than the other titles used for the messianic Imām such as *al-Qaʿim* or *al-Hujja*.”²⁰

In the case of the title *al-Qāʿim* (meaning he who will rise after his death for a great task),²¹ however, the title reflected obviously a myth of *Shīʿī*

eschatological revenge since *al-Qā'im* “will rise with the sword.”²² He thus symbolized an avenger against those who had caused disturbances. According to al-Kulaynī's report, “*al-Qā'im* will rise with the sword as God's avenger those who caused troubles to 'Ali and his wife Fatimah. He would also take vengeance against those who were responsible for the suffering of the Imāms and their followers, particularly against those who assassinated Husayn.”²³ In addition, the Shī'ah also associated *al-Qā'im* with socio-economic issues such as their dissatisfaction with the feudal economic system of the “Abbasid state.”²⁴

Abū Ja'far claimed that all land belonged to the Shī'ī Imāms: they had inherited the land from God through the Prophet. Thus, the Muslims must pay the *kharaj* (land tax) on all the land they cultivated. When *al-Qā'im* rises with the sword, the land tax must be paid to him.²⁵ In this context, one may deduce that the appearance of *al-Qā'im* with the sword will mean that the socioeconomic inequity, like the sociopolitical, will be resolved with violence in order to bring about justice and equity. In Shī'ī eschatological doctrine, social justice and equity become the main issue of its idea of the return of the awaited Imām.

In this connection, the accumulation of Shī'ī discontents with the sociopolitical system of the Umayyads and the “Abbasids led them not only to revolt against the two dynasties, but also generated their eschatological expectations for the future. In other words, the Shī'ī eschatological expectations on which the doctrine of the *Mahdī* developed rested on their historical experiences in terms of sociopolitical and economic injustice. Thus, they entitled their last Imām *al-Qā'im* (he who will rise with the sword) and *Shāhib al-'Amr* (the Master of Authority); these titles represented the functions which they attributed the *Mahdī* Imām. When *al-Qā'im* rises, he will rule and fill the earth with justice in his capacity as the Master of Authority. In this regard, the *Mahdī* Imām was called as *al-Qā'im bi al-Imāmah* (the one who carries out the duty of Imāmate) and *al-Qā'im bi al-jihād* (the one who carries out the duty of the holy war).

In addition to political functions, the *Mahdī* also has religious duties indicated by the title *al-Ḥujjah* (the Divine Proof). These religious functions of the *Mahdī* were inherited from the Prophet and his legatees (*aw-shiyā*).²⁶ Thus, the title *al-Ḥujjah* was not only the designation of him who became the vicegerent of God (*khalīfat Allāh*), but also that of the Prophet (*khalīfat al-Rasūl*) who guides mankind to the true path in order to give

them the knowledge of God and His religion. The final goal of the religious functions of *al-Ḥujjah* is to bring about the religious society upon which social justice and political equity depend.

In Shī'ī tradition, it is believed that the Imāms have both esoteric and exoteric knowledge. Moreover, the Imāms possess knowledge of the past and of the future.²⁷ These extraordinary capacities of the Imāms lead *al-Ḥujjah* to be an authority on religious matters. In this respect, Sachedina concludes that “the title *al-Hujja*, in contrast to other titles which are often used to designate the justice and political equity depend twelfth Imām, emphasizes the religious and spiritual aspects of his function, whereas *al-Qā'im* or *Shāhib al-'Amr* convey his role as the ideal ruler of Islam who restores Islamic justice in the world.”²⁸

Despite the fact that it is unlawful to call the twelfth Imām by his name,²⁹ his various titles seem not to have been subject to that restriction; rather they were ways to indicate various aspects of Mahdīstic functions in terms of socioeconomic, political, and religious categories. In this respect, the title *al-Mahdī* is the central one of the twelfth Imām who will reappear at the end of time as the restorer and savior.

The Occultation of the Hidden Imām

In the course of Shī'ī history, the death of each Shī'ī Imām at every turn generated a serious problem of succession. The death of the twelfth Imām “produced what appears to have been the worst of the crises of succession”³⁰ to the Shī'ī Imāmate. This crisis situation occurred not only because of theological debate in Shī'ī ‘ulamā’ circles to determine who would be the successor of the eleventh Imām (Ḥasan al-'Askarī), but also because of the ‘Abbāsīd political repression of the Shī'ī Imāms and community. In this regard, Hussain has pointed out:

According to the early Imanite sources al-'Askarī did not leave a publicly acknowledged son, nor did he determine upon or install his successor openly. As al-Mufīd says, the Imāmites were suffering oppression at the hand of the ‘Abbāsīds, while the caliph, al-Mu'tamid, was searching for al-'Askarī's son and trying to arrest him by any means possible. Moreover, the views of the Imāmite Shi'a about him were being circulated, and it was becoming known that they were waiting for him to rise. For this reason, al-'Askarī had not revealed his son during his lifetime, not even to greater portion of his own adherents.³¹

In this relation, when his son (Muḥammad al-'Askarī) was recognized as the twelfth Imām following his death, there appeared a new problem of

political insecurity for the twelfth Imām. These political circumstances, thus, to a certain extent, led the Shī'ī 'ulamā' to formulate a theological doctrine of the occultation (*ghaybah*) of the twelfth Imām.

In Shī'ī eschatological doctrine, one of the most significant tenets is the doctrine of the occultation. This doctrine is a direct corollary, on the one hand, of the belief that earth cannot be devoid of an Imām (*Hujjah* from God) who will guide mankind to the right path³² and, on the other, of the political insecurity of the twelfth-Imām. To protect his life and to continue his Imāmate, the twelfth Imām had to remain in concealment. Thus, he was permanently able to apply his Imāmate functions of guiding his adherents through spiritual communication. Before being accepted as a theological tenet, as has been noted, the doctrine of the occultation became a serious issue of theological disputation among the Shī'ī 'ulamā' over the problem of whether or not the eleventh Imām had left his son as his successor.³³ In fact, from the very time of his birth until it came to be believed that he was the Hidden Imām, the status of the twelfth Imām made many Shī'ah confused. Hence in a number of Shī'ī traditions, the Hidden Imām was well known as *ghaybah wa hayrah* (the occultation and the confusion).³⁴ To authenticate his birth, Shī'ī traditions contain narratives to vindicate the existence of the twelfth Imām. To this point, Hussain has noted:

The possibility that the twelfth Imām was born and his birth was kept hidden is supported by a number of narrations. The fact that there were already narrations about the twelfth Imām as *al-Qā'im al-Mahdī* gave rise to other narrations which can only be described as hagiographical. But from the time of al-Shadūq onwards, even these were accepted by the Imanites as historical facts. Nevertheless, other early narrations present his birth as a purely historical fact without the embellishment of miraculous reports.³⁵

The historical obscurity of the twelfth Imām from his birth until the present time, reports Kulaynī, is due to the political insecurity in which he lived.³⁶ It seems to have been the repressive political system of the 'Abbāsids restricting Shī'ī sociopolitical activities which compelled the eleventh Imām to conceal the birth of his son from the Shī'ī community in general. It was this state of affairs which may have led the Shī'ī traditionists to report various types of traditions narrating and justifying the birth of the twelfth Imām.

As for *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām*, it is believed that he went into occultation in 260/872 following his father's death.³⁷ His occultation, in fact, was a continuation of his political insecurity under the 'Abbāsīd

sociopolitical control. A number of Shī'ī traditions, therefore, report that *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām* is appropriate before he rises for fear of his being killed.³⁸ In this respect, al-Kulaynī reports a theological justification of the occultation: the twelfth Imām went into concealment until he reappears as a severe religious trial from God in order to test His creatures and find out who would remain resolute in recognizing his Imāmate.³⁹ This theological justification was applied not only to avoid offering a political idea of the occultation of the Hidden Imām, but also to supply a theological-basis on which the doctrine of the occultation may rest.

Dealing with nature of the occultation, al-Thūsī holds that the twelfth Imām went through two forms of the occultation: *al-ghaybah al-qashīrah* (the shorter occultation) and *al-ghaybah al-thawīlah* (the longer occultation). Other terms signifying two kinds of occultation are *al-ghaybah al-shughbrā* (the minor occultation) and *al-ghaybah al-kubra* (the major occultation) or even *al-ghaybah al-tamma* (the complete occultation). As for the shorter occultation, al-Thūsī goes on, it was known where the twelfth Imām was, but during the longer occultation only God knows. Hence, some people speculated that the twelfth Imām died, some of them considered that he was killed, and some others said that he went away.⁴⁰ On the contrary, al-Nu'mānī narrates from Abū 'Abdallah that those who knew where the twelfth Imām was during his shorter occultation were his special followers (*khāshshah min shī'atih*), but it is only his elite religious patrons (*khāshshah mawālīh*) who know where he is during his longer occultation.⁴¹ Thus, there appeared a disagreement about the existence of the longer occultation among the Shī'ī theologians. In addition, al-Nu'mānī says:

As for the first *ghayba*, it is that occultation in which there were the mediators (*al-sufara'*) between the Imām and the people, carrying out (*qiyamm*) [the duties of the Imām], having been designated (by him) living among the people. These were the eminent persons and leaders from whose hands emanated cures derived from the knowledge and the recondite wisdom which derived they possessed, and the answers to all the questions which were put to them about the problems and difficulties (of religion). This is the Short Occultation (*al-ghaybat al-qasira*), the days of which have come to an end and whose time has gone by.⁴²

The second *ghayba* is the occultation in which the exclusive mediators (*askhas al-sufara'*) of (religious affairs passed away for God's will ... as He says [in the Qur'an]: It is not (the purpose) of God to leave you in your present state until He

shall separate the wicked from the good. And it is not (the purpose) of God to let you know the *ghayba*.⁴³

Four exclusive followers of the twelfth Imām who served as mediators between the Imām and the people during the shorter occultation were [1] ‘Utmān al-’Amrī (d. 260/916-17); [2] Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. ‘Utmān al-’Amrī (d. 304/934-38); [3] Abū al-Qāsim Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ al-Nawbakhtī (d. 326/937-38); and [4] Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sammarī (d. 329/940-41).⁴⁴ Following them after the death of al-Sammarī, the longer occultation commenced and will endure until the end of time. God alone knows when the Hidden Imām will return.

The period of the shorter occultation was some sixty-nine years. Since the twelfth Imām went into occultation when he was five years old (260/872), the complete occultation began when the age of the Imām was some seventy-four years (329/940-41). With respect to the doctrine of the occultation, it was believed that a week before the death of al-Sammarī the twelfth Imām issued a pronouncement (*tawqī’*) predicting the time when al-Sammarī would die:

May Allah give good rewards to your brethren concerning you (i.e. on your death), for indeed you shall die after six days. So, prepare your affairs, and do not appoint anyone to take your place after your death. For the second occultation has now occurred, and there can be no appearance until, after a long time when Allah gives His permission, hearts become hardened and the world becomes filled with injustice. And someone shall come to my partisan (Shī’a) claiming that he has seen me, but beware of anyone claiming to have seen me before the rise of al-Shufyānī and the outcry from the sky, for he shall be a slanderous liar.⁴⁵

Thus, this pronouncement (*tawqī’*) of the twelfth Imām predicting the death of the fourth mediator functioned as a theological justification of the doctrine of the occultation. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the complete occultation began following the death of the fourth mediator. At that time the age of the twelfth Imām was some seventy-four years. This situation leads one to speculate that in all likelihood the twelfth Imām died following—if not before—the death of the fourth mediator. Consequently, not only did the mediator institution come to an end, but also there was generated a crisis of religious belief in the doctrine of the occultation. With regard to this point, Sachedina comments:

The period following the death of al-Sammarī marked the critical situation of internal resistance to the belief in *ghayba* ... fin which) the situation was regarded as inconceivable. The explanation that the Imām had no mediators during the

second occultation indicates the uneasiness felt by the Shīʿite leaders in their attempt to advance a longer than normal life-span for the Imām, who could not communicate with his followers through his personal representatives.⁴⁶

Such a situation led the Shīʿī leaders to formulate a theological justification of the occultation in order to vindicate that the twelfth Imām went into occultation following the death of al-Sammarī (the fourth mediator). The strongest theological argument which was employed to endorse the doctrine of the occultation was that the twelfth Imām went into occultation to satisfy God's will. Vindicating the occultation of the Hidden Imām, the Shīʿī leaders employed not only scriptural and traditional proofs (*al-dalīl al-samʿī*), but also rational ones (*al-dalīl al-aqlī*). As for the Shi traditionists, such as al-Kulaynī and Ibn Babiyah, they applied mostly *al-dalīl al-samʿī*. However, Shīʿī theologians, such as al-Syarīf al-Murtadhā, employed chiefly *al-dalīl al-aqlī*. In addition, Sachedina says, al-Thūsī developed a delicate compromise blending *al-dalīl al-samʿī* and *al-dalīl al-aqlī*.⁴⁷

Whatever proofs and methods the Shi leaders employed to vindicate the twelfth Imām they were endeavoring not only to justify, but also to rationalize it in order that the occultation become a theological doctrine. In this regard, al-Syarīf al-Murtadhā, for example, attempts to rationalize the obscurity of the occultation when he argues that:

“The mode of that (*ghaybah*) has not been known in detail, because that is one of the things the knowledge of which has not been imposed on us as a duty. If we have taken it upon ourselves to offer mentioning this, this is an act of supererogation.”⁴⁸

In addition, to vindicate *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām*, Ibn Babiyah and al-Thūsī report numerous traditions identifying certain Prophetic stories about Yūsuf, Mūsā, Yūnūs, ʿIsā, Muḥammad, etc., who have disappeared from the sight of their followers for a period of time, with *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām*.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that the stories of certain Prophetic disappearances did not occur in the context of the occultation, Ibn Bābūyah strives to justify and rationalize the matter as follows:

Sometimes a person goes into occultation from a city where he is well known and whose inhabitants were used to seeing him; [at the same times] he is in occultation in respect to some other city (where he is not known or seen). Sometimes a person is in occultation from one community while he is present for another, or, he is hiding from his enemies and not from his friends, but still he is said to be in occultation and in concealment.⁵⁰

Thus, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām* was believed to be a reality, and its formulation as a theological doctrine was accomplished. In this connection, it was believed that the complete occultation would go on for an unlimited period of time with only God knowing the time when the Hidden Imām will reappear. During this period in which the Hidden Imām has no special mediators or representatives (*nuwwāb al-khashsh*), “the mediatorship between the Imām and the followers was indirectly assumed by the *ruwat*, who perform the duties of the special agents of the Imām, without holding the office of the deputyship.”⁵¹ Hence the *ruwat* functioned as the general representatives (*nuwwāb al-’āmm*) of the Hidden Imām. As the *nuwwāb al-’āmm*, the *ruwat* were interpreted as being the mujtahids or the *marja’ al-taqlīd*. In fact, the institution of the *ruwat* itself has become a controversial theological issue between the two major groups of the Shī’ī ‘*ulamā*’: the *Ushūlīs* and the *Akhhārīs*. It was the *Ushūlīs* who endorsed the institution of the *ruwat* during the period of the complete occultation of the Hidden Imām.⁵²

Apart from a theological controversy, the transformation of the *nuwwāb al-khashsh* institution into that of the *nuwwāb al-’āmm* during the complete occultation indicates that the Shī’ī community remains in need of certain institutions of the Imāmate in order to perform sociopolitical and religious functions. This demand corresponds with its theological doctrine of the Imāmate according to which the Imām must exist in every period. Thus, when the Imām disappears, or goes into occultation, a certain institution of his representatives is required. In this respect the *nuwwāb al-’āmm* institution is needed. This matter obviously has relationship to the authority of the ‘*ulamā*’, something that is of great important for the Iranian revolution.

Endnotes

1. D.B. Macdonald, “al-Mahdī, in M. Th. Houtma, et.al., *First Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. V (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), h. 112.
2. W. Madelung, “al-Mahdī,” in C.E. Bosworth, et.al., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new. ed., vol. V (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), h. 1231.
3. W. Madelung, *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*, h. 1231.
4. Abdulaziz Abdullhussein Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of the Mahdī in Twelver Shī’ism* (Albany: SUNY, 1981), h. 68-69.
5. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 9.
6. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 182-183; cf. Jan-Olaf Blichfeld, *Early Mahdism: Politics and Religion in the Formative Period of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), h. 13.

7. Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, "Messianism and the *Mahdī*," in S.H. Nasr, et.al., *Expectation of the Millenium* (Albany: SUNY, 1989), h. 25; S. Hussain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam* (Longman, London: Librarire du Liban, 1981), h. 261.
8. Hashim Ma'rūf, *Sīrah al-A'imma al-Itsna 'Ayr* (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1397/1977), h. 537.
9. Allamah Sayyid Muḥammad Husayn Thabāthabā'ī, *Shi'ite Islam*, trans and ed. by S.H. Nasr (Albany: SUNY, 1975), h. 209-210.
10. Jassim M. Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām: A Historical Background* (London: The Muḥammadi Trust, 1982), h. 75.
11. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Dār al-Kutb al-Islamiyyah, 1954), h. 241.
12. al-Thūsī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah* (Tehran: Maktabah Tsanawi al-Ḥadīth, 1386/1966), h. 152; Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin al-Ḥusain bin Bābūyah, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Timām al-Ni'mah* (Tehran: Khayāban Būdhar Jamhari, 1379/1959), h. 49; and also, his *Ikmāl al-Dīn wa Imām al-Ni'mah fi Itsbāt al-Raj'ah* (Najf. al-Haydariyyah, 1389/1970), h. 366-367, al-Mufid, *al-Ikhtishash* (Tehran: al-Ḥaydari, 1379/1959), h. 209; and his *al-Irshād li al-Shaykh al-Mufid* (Najf: al-Haydariyyah, 1381/1962), h. 346; al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah* (Tehran: Maktabah al-Shadūq, 1397/1977), h. 189.
13. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 9.
14. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 10.
15. Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām*, h. 14; Ibn Bābūyah, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Timām al-Ni'mah*, h. 31-32.
16. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 10.
17. Dwight M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion* (London: Luzac & Co., 1933), h. 229.
18. Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām*, h. 14.
19. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 49, 56-58; cf. S. Waheed Akhtar, *Early Shi'ite Imāmiyyah Thinkers* (New Delhi: Asish Publishing House, 1988), h. 79.
20. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 69.
21. al-Thūsī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 282.
22. al-Thūsī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 280; al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 157.
23. Hussain, "Messianism and the *Mahdī*," h. 19; cf. al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 297; al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād: The Book of Guidance into the Lives of the Twelve Imāms*, trans. by I.K.A Howard (London: Balagha Books, 1981), h. 552.
24. Hussain, "Messianism and the *Mahdī*," h. 19.
25. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. I, h. 407.
26. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. I, h. 199.
27. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. I, h. 260.
28. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 68.
29. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 67.
30. Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imām: Religion and Political Order and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning of the 1890* (Albany: SUNY, 1989).
31. Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām*, h. 57.
32. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. I, h. 178-179, al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 138-139; Ibn Bābūyah, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Timām al-Ni'mah*, h. 312.
33. al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, h. 529; Ibn Bābūyah, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Timām al-Ni'mah*, h. 108.

34. Ibn Bābūyah, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Timām al-Ni'mah*, h. 280-281.
35. Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām*, h. 67.
36. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. I, h. 176.
37. al-Thūsī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 101, al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 149-150.
38. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. I, h. 340; Ibn Bābūyah, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Timām al-Ni'mah*, h. 157-158, al-Nu'mīnī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 177.
39. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, h. 336.
40. al-Thūsī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 101-103.
41. al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 170.
42. Quoted from Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 85-86; al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 173-174.
43. al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 174.
44. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. h. 86. See al-Ghafari in his annotation to al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 171.
45. Quoted from Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām*, h. 134.
46. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 99.
47. Abdulaziz Abdullhusein Sachedina, "Treatise on the Occultation of Twelfth. Imāmite Imām," *Studia Islamika* 48 (1978), h. 116.
48. Sachedina, "Treatise on the Occultation of Twelfth Imāmite Imām," h. 120.
49. al-Thūsī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, h. 77-79; Ibn Bābūyah, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Timām al-Ni'mah*, h. 317-318.
50. Quoted from Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 82-83.
51. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 107.
52. For further information about the disputation between the Ushūlī and the Akhbarī 'ulamā', see for example Joseph Newman, "The Development and Political Significance of the Rationalist (*Usulī*) and Traditionalist (Akhbarī) Schools in Imāmi Shī'ī History from the Third /Ninth to the Tenth/Sixteenth Century A.D.," (Ph.D. diss. University of California, 1986).

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Nurul Fajri MR, dosen Fakultas Ushuluddin IAIN Jakarta, memperoleh MA dari McGill University, Kanada, 1992.

ISSN 0215-6253 (print)



9 770215 625008

ISSN 2714-6103 (online)



9 772714 610004