MUFTI ALI

ANTI-KALAM MOVEMENT AMONG THE SHI'ITES: WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO TARJIH ASALIB AL-QUR'AN AND AL-RAWD AL-BASIM BY THE ZAYDITE MUHAMMAD B. IBRAHIM

Abstrak:

Kata Kunci: Oposisi terhadap Kalam dan Mutakallimun, Kaum Shi'ah, Ibn al-Wazjr al-san'ani, Tarjih dan al-Rawd

Introduction
Like the Mu'tazilites, Murji'ites and the members of any other theological denominations, most of the Shi'ites are regarded by the partisan of Tradition as heretics, innovators and even infidels. Ibn Taymiyya, for instance, identifies them as the Jews of the umma. This appellation to the Shi'ites is based on the assumption that Shi'ite people are Mutakallimun, those who were occupied by kalam, disputation and arguing.

By almost all of modern literatures, for instance, we get impressed that not a single individual could be found among the Shi'ites who is against kalam. No one among modern scholars suggests that there is an objection to, or opposition against, kalam by a number of Shi'ite individuals of classical periods. Despite extensive reference to Tarjih Asalib al-Qur'an (forthwith called: tarjih), al-Jabiri, for instance, relies on it...
in his discussion of some Shi'ites of ithna 'ashariyya's attitude toward logic and Greek philosophy and not toward kalam.3

This paper tries to answer questions pertaining to: Whether or not the objection to, or the opposition against, kalam as an instrument of argumentation, is a monopoly of the partisans of the Tradition of Sunnite affiliation whose spearheads are the Hanbalites;4 Whether Kalam and the Mutakallimun are also subjected to an opposition by Shi'ite(s). Such questions need to be raised since a number of works by the Zaydite Ibn al-Wazir (d. 840/1436), like Tarjih Asalib al-Qur'an 'ala Asalib al-Yunan‘ and al-Rawd al-Basim fi Dhabb 'an Sunnat Abi al-Qawasim,6 have been composed to condemn kalam and the Mutakallimun. These works, toward certain extent, can be said to represent the hostile attitude of the partisans of the Shi'ite theological denomination toward kalam and the Mutakallimun. This is based on two assumptions: First, that kalam, here, must be understood as a technique by which the Mutakallimun, use to defend their own creeds. Thus, kalam is identified with an instrument of argumentation, a methodical tool in the discussion and a stylistic device for the exposition of the ideas. Secondly, kalam, in this regard, cannot be identified with something like ‘theology,’ in contrast to philosophy (falsafa) or jurisprudence (fiqh). In sum, kalam is considered only as a technique typical of Muslim theology, and not as a Muslim theology itself.7

In the light of works by Ibn al-Wazir, this paper tries to prove that kalam and the Mutakallimun also underwent the opposition by the Shi'ites. In dealing with this discussion, we try to discuss:

1. The biography of the Zaydite Ibn al-Wazir
2. His censure against kalam reflected in Tarjih and al-Rawd
3. Ibn al-Wazir's predecessors who were allegedly claimed against kalam and the Mutakallimun
4. The sources to which Ibn al-Wazir refers in the censure of kalam and the Mutakallimun

The Biography of Ibn al-Wazir

According to Brockelmann, Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Wazir al-san'ani, well-known as Ibn al-Murtada al-Yamani was born in Hajr al-šahrāyūn in 775 H/1374 and died in Sana'a in 840/1436.8

It is difficult to get informed about Ibn al-Wazir's familial life. The biographical dictionaries do not provide us sufficient information thereof. However, the information about Ibn al-Wazir's genealogy,
According to Brockelmann, can be found in a manuscript preserved in Ambrosiana Library (291, IV, 93-100), Atraj al-Silsila Allati Hiya bi Aslaf al-Nubwwa wa Wilaya Muniba Muttasila by his descendant, 'Uthman b. 'Ali b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Wazir (d. 1052/1730).9

Relying on a number of the biographical dictionaries, al-Hasani gives us capsule information concerning where Ibn al-Wazir studied and who his teachers were when he followed courses on Islamic studies. Al-Hasani started his discussion by saying that Ibn al-Wazir in his studies were supervised by a number of teachers from San'a and any other cities in Jemen and Mecca.


Madelung suggests that Ibn al-Wazir has played a significant role in moderating the Zaydite teachings so as to be accepted by the Sunnites. His voluminous al-'Awasim wa l-Qawasim represents his defence of Sunni doctrine, criticizing the opposing Zaydite teaching(s).12 Likewise, Ibn al-Wazir, Madelung says, had accepted the Sunnite canonical collection of hadith as authority in religion. The attempt by Ibn al-Wazir at favouring the neo-Sunni school is to accommodate the religious views and sentiments of the majority of the people who were under Zaydite imamate control. The long lasting imamate ruling in Jemen until the modern time (1382/1962) is said to have owed to Ibn al-Wazir's merit.13
The authority of Ibn al-Wazir in Islamic studies was generally well-known. This was reflected by the fact that he composed a number of works: al-'Awasim wa'I-Qawasim, al-Rawd al-Basim al-Muntazj' min al-'Awasim wa'I-Qawasim, al-Burhan al-Qati' fi Ithbat al-sani' wa Jami' ma Ja'at bib al-Shara'y, Qabul al-Bashari bi '1-Taysir li '1-Yusra, Tangib al-Anzar fi 'Ulm al-Athar, Kitab al-Amr bi '1-Uqza fi 'Abir al-Zaman, Hasr Ayat al-Abkam al-Shar'iyya, al-Tafsir al-Nabawi, Majma' al-Haq'a'iq wa'I-Raqa'iq, al-Tuhfa al-safryya, al-Ta'dib al-Malakut, Kitab al-Qawa'id, Nasr al-Ayan 'ala Sharr al-Umyan and al-Hassam al-Mashhur.

His popularity was reflected in the fact that his biography was quoted extensively by a number of leading biographers: al-Qadi al-Hajjiz Ahmad b. salih b. Abi al-Rizal in Matali' al-Budur, al-Sayyid al-Hafiz Ibrahim b. al-Qasim b. al-Muayyid al-Hasani al-Shuhara in Runwat al-Fiqh wa 'l-Athar, al-Sahawi in al-Daw' al-Lami; al-Taqiq b. Fahd in Mu'jam and al-Hafiz b. Hajar al-'asqalani (in his al-Durar al-Kamina). Therefore, it is plausible if he was considered by al-Shawkani as al-Imam al-Kabir. al-Muqted al-Mutlaq (the great savant and the independent mujahid).

According to Madelung, Ibn al-Wazir even established his own school, to which the following scholars and authors belong: salih b. Mahdi al-Maqbali (d. 1108/1696), Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Amir (d. 1182/1768), and Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Shawkani (d. 1250/1834).

Ibn al-Wazir’s censure against kalam and the mutakallimun Reflected in Tarjih and al-Rawd

Ibn all-Wazir’s Condemnation of Kalam and the Mutakallimun in Tarjih

Ibn al-Wazir’s hostile attitude toward kalam and the Mutakallimun is reflected first of all in his reason why he composed his works. In the introduction of his Tarjih Ibn al-Wazir, for instance, faithfully said that the background of composing it was “...raja’an an akuna min al-ladhina qala allah ta‘ala fihim (wa yara al-ladhina ‘utu’ al-ilm al-ladhina unzila ilayka min rabbik al-haq wa yahdi ila sirat al-aziz al-hamid) wa lima warada fi jad’ man intahara sahib bid’ a min gayr riya’ wa la sum’a ma’a al-ishara ila jumal shafya fi jad’ kitab allah ta‘ala wa sadl hamilith wa dhiher nabdh min al-abbar al-warida fih wa bayan ba’d ma ishtamala ‘alayh min al-dala‘il al-mughiyya fi al-i’tiqad ‘an al-isthigal bikutub al-awa‘il (hoping that I become one of those about whom God the Almighty said (but those to whom the (revealed) knowledge has been given hold that which hath been sent to thee from
thy Lord to be the truth, and that it guides to the path of the Sublime, the Praiseworthy) because of the fact that the excellence is for one who rebukes the author of innovation without hoping to get fame and popularity, demonstrating health-giving sentences which point to the virtue of the book of God the Almighty and that of those who bear it, mentioning several news in it and revealing some of evidences in it, which surely renders [us] in no need of being occupied by the books of the ancients.)

Ibn al-Wazir, in this work criticizes not only the use of kalam and any argumentations of rational nature, such jadal (debate), mara' (disputation), or nazār (rational disputes), but also the use of logic and any other rational science for proving the existence of God, the arrival of the Prophet, the existence of the hereafter and any other theological issues. In his opinion, all these argumentations, either theological or logical, lead people into heresy (qandaqa) and infidelity (kufr).

Seeing the personalities and their works, discussed by Ibn al-Wazir in this work, one may suggests that Tarjih represents the Shi‘ite oppositional attitude towards kalam. Ibn al-Wazir often quotes the oppositional attitudes of the descendants of abī al-bayt, Hasan, Husayn, Ja‘far al-sadiq, etc towards kalam. Likewise, the sources on which Ibn al-Wazir al-Sam‘ani relies when discussing the opposition of scholars against Kalam, are the scholars of Shi‘ite denominations, such as al-Zamahshari, al-Imam al-Mahdi Muhammad b. al-Mutahhir, al-Sayyid Muhammad b. Yahya’ b. al-Hasan al-Qasimi, etc.

In censuring kalam, Ibn al-Wazir makes use of different expressions. Sometimes he expresses his censure lightly and sometimes strongly. The light tone of Ibn al-Wazir’s censure of kalam is reflected in his indication that when the Mutakallimun learned the reasoning from the Koran, they exceeded in their reasoning. They did not limit themselves to reason something useful and mentioned in the Book of God the Almighty. Ibn al-Wazir’s censure of light tone can also be seen when he discusses the hatred of abī al-bayt with kalam. Ibn al-Wazir maintains that ‘Ali exhorted his son, al-Hasan to follow what he learned from the pious ancestors and not to be occupied by the disputation (al-hismmat) and the innovation (al-shubutah). According to Ibn al-Wazir, ‘Ali’s prohibition of his son from being occupied by kalam is based on his knowledge that his son, al-Hasan fell short of knowledge of kalam and on his conviction of invalidity of this science and of evilness it could incur on the belief.

Ibn al-Wazir’s criticism against kalam can be found in a number of statements, dealing with various contexts. When discussing the
qualification of a mujtahid (an independent scholar who undertakes an ijtihad), Ibn al-Wazir, for instance, maintains that the most important one for a mujtahid is to avoid from being occupied by the questions of kalam. His censure on kalam is also found when he discusses the attitude of some members of the ahl al-bayt against kalam. According to Ibn al-Wazir, Muhammad b. Mansur said that ‘Abd Allah b. Musa - may God be pleased with him - used to hate kalam on what people speak about. If a man told him about one who speculates (yatakallam) on what people speak about, he will say: O my God, make us die in Islam and then he gets silent.27


Accordingly, Ibn al-Wazir quotes ‘Ali as having advised his son, Hasan, to avoid the rational dispute (al-nazar) and to hold of what his predecessors have taken as a principle and to avoid what they did not know.29 Ibn al-Wazir then discusses the attitude of two Shi’ite savants, Sayyid Abu Talib and Sayyid al-Imam al-Mu’ayyid bi ‘llah toward kalam. In his opinion, even though they composed extensively the works on fiqh and its usul and on the tradition, such as Sharh al-Tahrir, al-Mujzj’, Sharh al-Tajrid, they did not write anything on kalam, because of their hatred with being occupied by this science.30 Their attitudes towards kalam can also be seen in the poetry written by al-Sayyid al-‘Allama Yahya b. Mansur b. al-‘Afif b. Mufaddal31 who speak against the Mu’tazilites:

They consider it great school due to the broadness of its views and the virtue of thought
They forget that Islam is in no need of what they have innovated, and of every speech which arises lately
They do not think that the Prophet asked them to avoid it
They were not aware of it that his prohibition for it is stated repeatedly32

Finally, he mention that al-‘Allama b. al-Mufaddal composed a number of treatises warning people to avoid being occupied deeply by kalam and innovations.33
In another passage, Ibn al-Wazir identifies people who are indifferent in being occupied by *kalam* with those who refuse the evils of the heretics.\(^3^4\) According to Ibn al-Wazir, *kalam* is superfluous for obvious reasons: *First*, protecting ourselves against the scepticism originating from our hearts can be done by understanding that God gives us guidance. This is what the pious ancestors have done when neglecting *kalam*.\(^3^5\) *Kalam* renders people confused and distracted. Those who are occupied by it, lead themselves to destruction.\(^3^6\)

Being in the same line, Ibn al-Wazir maintains that those who refute the unknown heresy (*shubhat*) with the science of *kalam* resemble those who encounter the deadly poison with hard medicines which probably become lethal for those who drank them. Instead of the fact that they could encounter the poison, they may have been dead because of drinking such hard medicines.\(^3^7\) Due to their being deeply occupied by *kalam*, the *Mutakallimun* become doubted, confused, oppose against each other as well as afflic{t a lie toward each other.\(^3^8\)

Ibn al-Wazir mentions that some of the *mutakallimun* have regretted to be occupied by *kalam*. Having penetrated deeply into the science of *kalam*, Ibn Abi al-Hadid,\(^3^9\) in Ibn al-Wazir's opinion, said:

> If the one whom I deem great is # the one who committed
> offence against a severe calamity of the trials
> I get perplexed (*tih*) without having knowledge # and sink in
> a deep sea without ship

Accordingly, al-Shahrastani said in his *Nihayat*:

> I have paid a visit to all those colleges # Likewise, I have
> already set my feet on those schools
> I did not see anyone but a humble who refrained and got
> confused, # lying on his chin and grasping his teeth due to
> his regret\(^4^0\)

Ibn al-Wazir then said that being occupied with *kalam* which lead to innovation and to get interested in the questions of philosophers and innovators is very dangerous and gives a sicknesses to the sound hearts.\(^4^1\) There are a number of statements in the Koran and the Tradition censuring against *kalam*, innovation and argumentation. In his opinion, some of the statements contain the prohibitions of the innovations and the argumentation on the Kor'an and *qadr*. Some of the statements also deal with the prohibition of the reflection on the Essence of God and with the command of being doubtful with the ways of the *Mutakallimun.*
Ibn al-Wazir's criticism against *kalam* is also reflected in his quoting *al-Shayb* Abu 'Ali's advise to his son, *al-Shayb* Abu Hashim: "O my son, you should have known that at the past I was like you, pursuing knowledge, when I was young. I was involved in a debate very often while I was rarely occupied by (religious) action. At the past, when young and during the pursuance of the knowledge, you were not like me. You were very rarely involved in a debate and you gave much priority to an action. Nowadays, I was pursuing nothing other than the safety, being guided by the statements which read: the path of the pious ancestors gives more safety than any other paths, while the path of the followers of the pious ancestors (halaf) become more knowledgeable. Those who are occupied with debate and *kalam* are not willing to follow the path of safety and they are not protected from the enmity, injustice and the baseness.\(^{42}\) Because of these reasons, Ibn al-Wazir then exemplifies, that it is plausible if the Sayyid al-'Allama al-Imam al-Mu'ayyid bi'l-Allah avoided to be involved in *kalam*.\(^{43}\)

Ibn al-Wazir not only censures *kalam*, he also criticizes the people of *kalam* (*Mutakkallimun*). His criticism is discernably understood from his statements which read that the scholars of *kalam*, the polemicists and the logicians' could not admit to the pious ancestors that they were experts in their knowledge and they gave them a principle. If there is something in it, they should have changed their statements respecting it.\(^{44}\)

In chapter the censure of the pious ancestors (*al-salaf*) against being involved deeply (*al-ghulw*) in *kalam*, Ibn al-Wazir said that it is an obligation for a smart intellectual (*al-'aqil al-fit'an*) to avoid *kalam* and hold of the saying of God the Almighty. In his opinion, the jurists of Islam, the leading scholars of the tradition and all the pious ancestors abandoned *kalam* and prohibited people from being occupied by it.\(^{45}\)

In another passage, Ibn al-Wazir discusses the attitude of the Shi'ite *imams* against *kalam*. Referring to the authority of al-Qasim, al-Hadi and al-Nasir and to the author of *al-Jami' al-Kufi*, he maintains that Zayn al-ʾAbidin, Zayd b. 'Ali, Ja'far al-sadiq, al-Baqir, 'Abd Allah b. Musa, Ahmād b. ʾSa and al-Hasan b. Yahya are against *kalam*. The attitude of those scholars has been discussed, Ibn al-Wazir maintains, in *Kitab al-Juma wa'I-Ula* of Muhammad b. Mansur.\(^{46}\)

Tadjih not only represents Ibn al-Wazir's hostile attitude toward *kalam* but also describe his censure of any rational sciences. This was reflected in a number of facts. It was reported from the authority of Mahmud al-Mulahimi who said that knowing God should not be based
on logical premises and rational principles. Then he exemplified that when al-Hudhud confessed the oneness of God and argued the truth of his belief on the existence of God based on the existence of the rain and plant of which all the animals are in need, he did not read logic and was ignorant of kalam. When they delivered a speech and gave a counsel, all leading scholars and amir al-mu'minin did not make use the premises of the logicians and the principles of the theologians.

Likewise, Ibn al-Wazir opposed logic. This is found in Ibn al-Wazir’s description on the pursuit of sciences. In his opinion, the pursuit of science till to China is suggested as far as that of religious sciences. In contrast, the pursuit of rational sciences, among which is logic, is prohibited whatsoever. Accordingly Ibn al-Wazir’s underestimation of the logician suggests his critical attitude toward logic. According to Ibn al-Wazir, the logician, along with theologians and polemicists, could not consider themselves as experts in the sciences, since they could do nothing in comparison with the pious ancestors, in dealing with the establishment of the principle of the religion.

The Sources on which Ibn al-Wazir al-San’ani relies when discussing the opposition of scholars against Kalam

When discussing the opposition against kalam and logic, Ibn al-Wazir relies on authorities and on number of works. Some of them are Shi’ites and the others are Sunnite. Ibn al-Wazir, for example, refers to Uqud al-Uqyan of al-Imam al-Mahdi Muhammad b. al-Mutahhir, who is of the Shi’ite denomination. While in other passage, he relies on Abu Hamid al-Gazali, who is of the Shafi’ite juridical affiliation and Sunnite theological affiliation.

Dealing with this discussion, Ibn al-Wazir sometimes mentions the authors of the works on which he relies and sometimes does not. It is not rare that Ibn al-Wazir relies on the authorities without mentioning their works.

The works and the authorities on which Ibn al-Wazir relies when discussing the opposition against logic and kalam In Tarjih are:

The authorities:
Abu Huzayl al-Alla£, Hushsham al-Futi, Hushsham al-Bardha'i, Abu 'l-
Husayn al-Basri, 
Zakiy al-Din Mahmud al-Hawarizmi, Abu Bakr al-Baqlani, Abu Ya'kub 
al-Shahham, Abu 'Ali al-Jubba'i, Abu Hashim, Abu Husayn al-Hayyat, 
Abu 'l-Qasim al-Balhi, Abu 'Abd Allah al-Basri, Abu Rashid, Ibn 

The works: 
Diya'ı al-Hulum, al-Talbis, al-Waza'ıf 'ala Madhab al-Salaf 

The authorities along with their works: 
'Uqud al-'Uqyan by al-Imam al-Mahdi Muhammad b. al-Mutahhir, Kitab al-
Shifa' by the Qadi 'Iyad, al-Sunan by Ibn Majah, al-Amali fi 'l-Hadith and 
Sharb al-Tahirir by al-Imam al-Naqiq bi 'l-Haq al-Sayyid Abu Talib, Majma' 
al-Zawa'id by al-Haythami, al-Jami' by the hafiz mhaddith Abu 'sa al-
Tirmidhi, Jamii' al-Usul by Abu Sa'adat b. al-Athir, Nahj al-Balaga by 'Ali b. 
Abi Talib, al-Tambid, al-Ziyadat, Sharh al-Tajrid and Mi'yar by al-Imam al-
Mu'ayyad bi 'l-Allah Yahya' al-Husayni b. Hamza, al-Jumal al-Islamiyya 
by al-Sayyid al-'Allama Yahya' b. Mansur, al-Jumla wa'l-Uljya by Muhammad b. 
Mansur al-Kufi, al-Jami' al-Kafi by al-Sayyid al-'Allama Abu 'Abd al-Allah 
Muhammad b. 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Alawi al-Hasani, Sharh al-Uyun 
y by al-Hakim Abu Sa'id al-Muhsin b. Karrama, al-Mubiti by the chief judge 
'Abd al-Jabbar, al-Mujtaba' fi'l-Istidilal by Muhtar b. Mahmud the 
Mu'tazilite, al-Arba'in fi 'l-Kalam 'ala al-Nubuwat by al-Fahr al-Razi, 
Muntahhab by Muhammad b. Sulayman, al-Arfa by al-Muttahir b. Yahya', 
al-Muhadhab by al-Sayyid Muhammad b. Yahya' b. al-Hasan al-Qasimi, 
Kitab al-'Ibar wa'I'tibar of al-Jahiz, 'Awarif al-Ma'arif by 'Umar b. 
Muhammad al-Suhrawardi, al-Burhan by al-Juwayni, Jam' al-Jawami' by al-
Subki, al-Minhasji Usul al-Fiqh by al-Baydawi, al-Mubiti by Ibn Taymiyya, 
Awa'il al-Mubiti by Ibn Matawiyia, al-Jami' al-sagir by Abu Hashim, al-Balig 
al-Mudrik bi Hubb 'ala al-Balig al-Mudrik by al-Hadi, Kitab al-Bassat by al-
Hasan b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. 'Amr al-Ashraf, Kitab al-Tawhid by 
Muhammad b. Mansur, al-Fa'iiq by Rukn al-Din al-Hawarizmi, Kitab al-
Arba'in and Asrar al-Tanzil by al-Razi, al-Tadhkira by Abu 'Ali al-Taymi, 
al-Hawi fi Usul al-Fiqh by Yahya' b. Hamza, Kitab al-Fusus by Ibn 'Arabi 
al-Ta'i, Kitab al-Majaz by Zayd b. 'ali, al-Nasir wa'l-Mansuh by al-Qasim b. 
Ibrahim, Tafsir al-Kashshaf by al-Zamahshari.
8. Ibn al-Wazir's Condemnation of Kalam and the Mutakallimun in al-Rawd

The condemnation of kalam and the Mutakallimun by Ibn al-Wazir is not only recorded in his Tarjih but also in al-Rawd al-Basim fi Dhabb 'an Sunnat Abi 'l-Qawasim (forthwith called: al-Rawd). The following passages will be devoted to discuss his censures against kalam and the mutakallimun in it.

Ibn al-Wazir's discussion against kalam in his al-Rawd revolves around: (1) That reason why the partisans of the tradition fell in a mistake is their adherence to 'ilm al-kalam; (2) Leading scholars of arts joined the traditionists (al-muhaddithun) in avoiding 'ilm al-kalam; (3) To avoid the interpretation of the traditions on the attributes and to prohibit people from being occupied by kalam are not a monopoly of the partisans of the tradition; This is also done by masters of theologians, (4) This is reflected by: First, the statements by al-Gazali against kalam; Second, al-Imam al-Razi's prohibition of studying kalam; and third, al-Juwayni's censure against kalam. The partisans of the tradition avoided 'ilm al-kalam not due to their static comprehension but due to their obedience with the Koran.

First of all, Ibn al-Wazir started his discussion by declaring that the science of tradition is the most significant of all sciences. Because it is referred to by the usuli, faqih, grammārian, philolog, mystic, interpreter (mu'tashir) and counselor (wa'iz).

Like any other apologetics, Ibn al-Wazir also seeks for the support for his attack against kalam and the Mutakallimun among the greatest authorities in Islamic History. He maintains that al-Gazali was a fervent opponent of kalam. This is reflected in his statements against kalam, which can be found, in Ibn al-Wazir's opinion, in three of his works, al-Munqidh min al-Dalal, Ihya 'Ulum al-Din and al-Tafriqa bayn al-ma'r wa 2Zandaqa. In both works, according to Ibn al-Wazir, al-Gazali has said in his Ihya' that it is claimed that the use of 'ilm al-kalam is to reveal the truth and to know it. The claim is far from being true. 'ilm al-kalam rather leads one astray in seeking it. Asserting his view, al-Gazali, Ibn al-Wazir maintains, said in al-Munqidh that the arguments of kalam do not render one familiar with any certainty. Al-Gazali's censure of kalam can also be found in other work. In al-Tafriqa bayn al-ma'r wa 2Zandaqa, according to Ibn al-Wazir, al-Gazali said that being occupied by 'ilm al-kalam is prohibited.
By considering al-Razi\(^65\) as a master of *kalam* and theologians, Ibn al-Wazir probably want to argue that even the masters of *kalam* themselves regretted being occupied with it. According to Ibn al-Wazir, al-Razi said: "I have had experience of being occupied by all the methods of *kalam* and of all the paths of philosophy. Unfortunately I have not found in them either satisfaction or comfort to equal that which I have found in reading the Koran..." Likewise, al-Razi asserts that the end of the intellectual prize is *compos mentis*, and most of the efforts of the scholars end in error.\(^66\)

By referring to *Sharh Muslim* of al-Qurtubi,\(^67\) Ibn al-Wazir explains al-Juwayni’s attitude toward *kalam*. He then quotes the latter’s statements that were also mentioned by al-Suyuti in *sawm al-Mantiq*: "I have already abandoned the authorities of Islam and their knowledge. I then travelled by the Greatest Sea. Each time I sought the truth and freed from unquestioning imitation, I was choked [by the water]. Now I returned from all these things to the word of the truth: ‘Follow a faith of the old women! So, if you do not obtain the truth in a fair manner, you die with a faith of the old women. You impose my affair upon me sincerely. So, woe unto Ibn al-Juwayni!’\(^68\)

Ibn al-Wazir, accordingly, cites the statements against *kalam* by his Shi’ite fellows. According to Ibn al-Wazir, Yahya b. Mansur al-Hasani, the most leading scholar of Zaydite denomination, has repented from being occupied by ‘ilm al-*kalam* and has prohibited himself from it. His repentance and abstinence from *kalam* is aptly described in a fine poetry which essentially says that if one wants to know what leads him to a danger, one is to tell that it is because of being occupied by ‘ilm al-*kalam* and the debate.\(^70\)

Ibn Abi al-Hadid, the author of monumental *Sharh Nahj al-Bala* whom Ibn al-Wazir regarded as a Mu’tazilite, is also referred to by Ibn al-Wazir as one who has a hostile attitude toward *kalam*. This is obviously reflected in his poems lamenting his being perplexed seeking for the truth by means of theological way. According to Ibn al-Wazir, Ibn Abi al-Hadid said: "*talabtuka jahidan hamsin ‘aman # fa lam habsul ‘ala barar al-yaqin.*”\(^71\)

Likewise, Ahmad b. Sannan’s reportage of his uncle, al-Walid b. Abban al-Karabisi with regard to the latter’s attitude toward *kalam* does not miss the attention of Ibn al-Wazir who said that when al-Karabisi lied in the death-bed, he said to his sons: "Do you know if there is one
who is more knowledgeable than me. They replied: No. Thus, you lied to me (fatattahimum). They said: no. He then said: Thus, I am giving you my last will. Are you accepting [it]. They replied: Yes. So he said: You have to follow what is upheld by the partisans of Tradition. Because I saw that the truth is with them."

Ibn al-Wazir proceeds to say that the people abandon *ibn al-kalam* not due to its being subtle and obscure but due to the fact that they were convinced by its being prohibited.73

The partisans of *kalam*, according to Ibn al-Wazir, tried to interpret the verse which says "wa jadilhum billati hiya ahsan" as a command for the Muslims to undertake *jidal* (debate and argumentation). Thus this justifies what they have done. Regarding this question, Ibn al-Wazir replied from two points of view: First, that the phrase *wa jadilhum*, is conditioned with *billati hiya ahsan*, and not a command of absolute *jidal*. A condition of *jidal*, i.e. *billati hiya ahsan*, in Ibn al-Wazir's opinion, is embodied in the Prophet's practice of *jidal*, in doing which he does not follow the way the partisans of *kalam* debate.74 Secondly, that *jidal* should be done with "*billati hiya ahsan*," means that God has taught in the Koran to His Prophet. However, being involved with the discussion with the heretics is prohibited.75

In another passage, Ibn al-Wazir said that the Prophet and all the Companions have never been occupied by *kalam*.76 Then Ibn al-Wazir added that being involved in the dispute with the people of argumentation and being eager to guide them to the debate will not be done by a knowledgeable individual and not justified by the enlightening book.77 Likewise, Ibn al-Wazir indicates that being involved in a matter which could lead to doubt, confusion and innovation is abhorrent.78

The Sources and the Authorities on which Ibn al-Wazir Relies when Discussing the Censures against Kalam in *al-Rawd*

In discussing the censures against *kalam* by his predecessors, Ibn al-Wazir sometimes refer to the authorities along with their works, and sometimes he mentions only the authorities. The sources and the authorities to which Ibn al-Wazir refer when discussing the censures against *kalam* in *al-Rawd* are *al-Mufhim fi Sharh Muslim* by al-Qurtubi, *Sharh Muslim* by al-Nawawi, *Ihya' Ulum al-Din*, *al-Tafriqa* and *al-Munqidh* by al-Gazali, *al-Maqalat* by Abu al-Qasim al-Balhi al-Ka'bi, *Kitab al-Ziyadat* by al-Imam al-Mu'ayyad bi 'illah, Yahya b. Mansur al-Hasani, *Sharh Nabj al-

Conclusion

The opposition against *kalam* and the *Mutakallimin* is not a monopoly of the partisans of the Tradition of Sunnite affiliation whose spearheads are the Hanbalites, but also occupied the Shi’ite(s).

*Tarjih* and *al-Rawd* by Ibn al-Wazir al-san’ani can be regarded as the manifesto of such opposition by the Shi’ite(s), since his reference to a number of prominent Shi’ite authorities who were claimed by him to be against *kalam* and the *Mutakallimin*.

Endnotes:


2. Abrahamov in his *Islamic Theology*, for instance, suggests that though shared by a different denomination, the opposition against *kalam* and the *mutakallimun* are only a monopoly of the traditionalists. The Shi’a has no place in his discussion of those who have hostile attitude toward *kalam* and the *mutakallimun*. See, Abrahamov, Benyamin, *Islamic Theology: Traditionalism and Rationalism* (Edinburgh: Edinburh University Press, 1998). As the most leading scholar of Islamic theology, Van Ess does not suggest us any information pertaining to this subject-matter. Even though he mentions Ibn al-Wazir in his *Theologie und Gessellschaft* twice, he does not indicate any objection or opposition by the latter against *kalam*. He deals with him rather with regard to scholars’ controversy on *ru’ya* (*visio beatifica*). See, *Theologie und Gessellschaft*, vol. IV, p.415, 511.


4. Here I was inspired by Van Ess’ identification of *kalam* with two senses: narrow and broad. The narrow sense, he argues, points to “a technique by which the *Mutakallimin* use for defending their conviction.” Here, thus, “*kalam* is identical with an instrument of argumentation, a methodical tool in real discussion and stylistic device for the expansion of ideas.” While the broad significance of *kalam*, according to Van Ess, points to “something like ‘Muslim Theology, ’ in contrast to philosophy (*falsafa*) or jurisprudence (*fiqh”). Van Ess discusses this topic in ‘Disputationpraxis in der Islamischen Theologie: Eine vorläufige Skizze,’” in REI, 44 (1976), p. 23-60; and in ‘Early Development of Kalam,’ in *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, ed. G.H.A. Juynboll (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), p. 109-123.

5. This work is published twice: in Cairo by ldara Tiba’a al-Jam’iyya al-‘Ilmiyya al-Azhariyya al-Misriyya in 1349/1931 and in Beirut by Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya in 1984.
6 This work is published in Damascus by Idarat al-Tiba’a al-Muniriyya.
8 GAL, S. II, p. 249.
10 Probably he was Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Hamza al-Fanari al-Hanafi who was born in 751/1350, studied in minor Asia and Egypt, became a qadi in Brussa, jailed during Timur’s occupation and died in 834/1431. See, GAL, II, p. 303.
13 Ibidem.
14 This work was published twice. The first was published in Amman by Dar al-Bashir in 1985 (3 vols.), the second was published in Beirut by Mu’assasa al-Risala in 1992 (9 vols.).
15 This work consisted of two juzs and was published in Cairo (Idara al-Tiba’a al-Muniriyya). The first juz deals with the discussion that the science of tradition is the most virtuous sciences (afdal al-’ulum). The second juz discusses, among other things, the censure against kalam and its people. In this juz is also found the statement of al-Razi, al-Juwayni and al-Ghazali against kalam.
16 This work was published in Cairo by Matba’a al-Adab wa’l-Muayyad (1318/1900).
17 This work was published in Cairo by al-Matba’a al-Salafiyya (1349/1931).
19 Ibidem., p. 4.
20 al-Bihar, op. cit., p. 59.
21 Madelung, op. cit., p. 480.
22 Bell, op. cit., p. 421, vol. II (Sura Saba, XXXIV: 6).
23 Tarjih, op. cit., p. 9.
24 Tarjih, op. cit., p. 17.
25 Tarjih, op. cit., p. 24-5.
26 Ibidem.
27 Tarjih, op. cit., p. 27.
28 Ibidem.
30 Tarjih, op. cit., p. 32.
31 According to Brookelmann, Yahya b. Mansur was the author of al-Kashifa li Ma’ani ‘l-Jumal wa ‘l-Usul. GAL, S. II, p. 995.
32 Wa yazawna cha’ika madhhaban musa’id in anin min tulianj arwa husn ta’akkur wa nasu gina’ al-islam qabl huduthihim ‘an kull qawl hadith muta’ahhir ma ē aan‘umub bi ‘lmustafa fi tarkih ma istanbatuh wa nahyu al-mutakarrir. See Tarjih, op. cit., p. 33.
33 Tarjih, op. cit., p. 36-7.
34 Tarjih, op. cit., p. 44.
Abu Bakr ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. ‘Ubayd b. Sufyan al-Qurashi al-Bagdadi was born in Bagdad in 208/823 and died there in 281/894. He was author of monumental *Sharh Nahj al-Balaga* (20 vols.). He was regarded Mu’tazilite in *usul* but Shafi’ite in *furu’* being objective in his attitude to the *ahl al-bayt* and explicit in his affirmation of the rights of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib. Many scholars believe that he was between Shi’ite and Sunnite parties (*bayn al-fariqayn*), since he was inspired by sense of equity (*insaf*). See, Vaglieri, L., *Veccia, “Ibn Abi ‘l-Hadid,”* EI2, vol. III, p. 684-6.


Al-Rawd al-‘asim fi Dhabb ‘an Sunnat Abi al-Qawasim (Damascus: Idarat al-Tiba‘a al-Muniriyya), 2 vols

This is comparable, for instance, with al-Suyuti’s reference in his *sawn al-mantiq* to a great number of his predecessors whom he regarded as the opponents of *kalam*.

Fahr al-Din al-Razi, Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Husayn, who was one of the most celebrated theologians and exegetists of Islam, was born in 543/1149 in Rayy. He studied *kalam* under the supervision of his father, iya’ al-Din Abu ‘l-Qasim who wrote *gayat al-maram*, in which he showed himself a
warm partisan of al-Ash'ari and whose teacher was Abu 'l-Qasim al-Ansari, a pupil of the Imam al-Haramayn. He studied philosophy to al-Majd al-Jili and fiqh to al-Kamal al-Samnani. He was buried in Herat in 606/1209. Al-Razi's works are huge in numbers, the majority of which are concerned with kalam (40), philosophy (26) and exegesis (5). See, Anawati, G.C., “Fahr al-Din al-Razi,” in EI2, vol. II, p. 751-5.

67 Abu I-'Abbas Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Qurtubi who was an eminent Maliki scholar was born in Cordova in 578/1173 and died in Alexandria in 656/1259. He was a teacher of traditions and the most prominent expert on the Arabic Language. His work, al-Mufhim fi Sharh Muslim was often quoted by al-Nawawi in a number of places in his own work. See, Amaldez, R., “Al-Qurtubi, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad,” EI2, vol. II, p. 512.
73 Al-Rawd, op. cit., vol. II, p. 16.
74 Al-Rawd, op. cit., vol. II, p. 139.

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