

WACANA

The Concept of Mahdî in Shî'î Theology

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Before being employed as a specifically eschatological term in Shi'î theological doctrine, the term *Mahdî* was applied to "historical personages"¹ who were considered as charismatic leaders such as *al-Khulafâ' al-Râshidûn al-Mahdiyyûn* (the divinely rightly guided khalifahs). The non-eschatological application of the term *Mahdî* was also employed as an honorific epithet for a leader who was regarded as successful in his leadership such as 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz. In Medina, for example, the conservative religious view generally recognized him as the *Mahdî*. One of the prominent traditionists in Bashrah, Abû Kilâba (d. 107/725), agreed with the view that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz was the *Mahdî*. In addition, an eminent figure in Bashrah, al-Hasan al-Bashrî (d. 110/728), did not believe in the *Mahdî*, but said that if there were one, it would have been 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz.² Moreover, as "an honorific epithet without messianic significance, the term [*Mahdî*] was employed from the beginning of Islam.... Hasan b. Tsâbit thus applied it to the Prophet Sulaymân b. Shurad referred to al-Husayn, after his martyrdom, as *Mahdî*, son of the *Mahdî*...."³ With regard to the term *Mahdî* Sachedina has pointed out:

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

As Shi'î eschatological doctrine, thus the concept of the *Mahdî* consists of the belief in the *Imâm Mahdî* (divinely guided one) or the Hidden *Imâm* 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 *Imâm Mahdî* that he will realize an ideal religious society. "The belief in the *Imâm Mahdî* becomes not only a basic tenet of the creed, but also the foundation on which the entire spiritual edifice of the Shi'ite rests."⁵ In this relation, thus the belief creates the Shi'î eschatological doctrine of the expectation of a socioreligious and political situation in the future. In the course of the history of Shi'î community life, one may interpret that such an eschatological expectation helps to explain the extraordinary resoluteness which, the Shi'ah have shown in the face of unbearable sociopolitical circumstances. With respect to the belief in the *Imâm Mahdî*, Sachedina has explained:

He is the victorious Imam who will restore the purity of the faith, which will bring true and uncorrupted guidance to all mankind, creating an adequately just social order and a world free from tyranny and wickedness. The chiliastic vision of history in Shi'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 Imam, the Shi'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 *Mahdî* has served as an ideological basis of Shi'î political protest against social dissatisfaction and socio-political oppression of both the Ummayyad and the 'Abbasid. In addition, "the tradition of the *Mahdî* grew and developed with the disintegration of the caliphate, both Ummayyad and 'Abbasid, and the flowering and disappointment of successive hopes which the Shi'is had nurtured for the establishment of the ideal rule."⁷

Considering the Shi'ah as a latent force threatening their power, the 'Abbasids always controlled Shi'î socio-political activities and the lives of the Shi'î Imâms. In this political situation, the twelfth Imam (Muhammad b. Hasan al-'Askari) 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 Imâm led al-'Askarī to save his successor from the oppressive political structure of the 'Abbasids. He decided to seek a place safer for his son in order to avoid the interference of the 'Abbasids.¹⁰ After he died in 260/872, his son (the twelfth Imâm) 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. Abî 'Ubayd al-Thaqâfi for Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyyah, a son of 'Alī by a woman other than Fâthimah, "in 66/685-686, in his rebellion against 'Abd Allah b. Zubayr."¹³ Since the movement was a failure, when Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyyah 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 Muhammad 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 Shī'ī sect to employ Mahdistic terms for their Imâm. This practice was afterwards maintained by other Shī'ī sects, primarily the Imâmiyyah, in respect to their Imams. "This was the beginning of the two central beliefs in



idea of the *Mahdî*, the *ghayba* (occultation) and the *raj'a* (return) of the Islamic messiah at the appropriate time."¹⁶ In Shî'î eschatological doctrine, the return of the *Mahdî* was identified with the *raj'a* of the Hidden Imâm.¹⁷

The term *Mahdî* in its eschatological significance was also applied by the Zaydiyyah to their leaders who rebelled against the 'Abbasids, such as Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah (d. 145/762), Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Shâdiq (d. 203/818), and Muhammad b. al-Qâsim al-Thâlqân who disappeared in the year 219/834.¹⁸ As for the Twelver Shî'ah, it was al-Nawbakhtî—one of the leading Shî'î theologians who died at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century—who was the earliest to formulate the Twelver Shî'î eschatological doctrine of the concealment of the twelfth Imâm, the *Mahdî*. Following al-Nawbakhtî, it was al-Mufid (one of the leading Shî'î theologians of the tenth century who died in 413/1022) who developed and systematized the Shî'î point of view concerning the *Mahdî*.¹⁹

In Shî'î eschatological doctrine, in addition to *al-Mahdî*, the twelfth Imâm had many other titles such as *Imâm al-'Asr* (the Imâm of the Period), *Shâhib al-Zamân* (the Master of the Age), *Shâhib al-'Amr* (the Master of Authority), *Mahdî al-Anâm* (the Mahdî of the People), al-Qâ'im (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 Shî'ah for centuries. In other words, these Mahdistic titles reflected and represented a myth of eventual Shî'î vengeance against their experience of social injustice and political inequity. So far as the Mahdistic titles are concerned, "the title al-Mahdi, with its eschatological connotation, had much wider recognition than the other titles used for the messianic Imam such as al-Qâ'im or al-Hujja."²⁰

In the case of the title al-Qâ'im (meaning he who will rise after his death for a great task),²¹ however, the title reflected obviously a myth of Shî'î eschatological revenge since al-Qâ'im "will rise with the sword."²² He thus symbolized an avenger against those who had caused disturbances. According to al-Kulaynî's report, "al-Qâ'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 Imams and their followers, particularly against those who assassinated Husayn."²³ In addition, the Shî'ah also associated al-Qâ'im with socio-economic issues such as their dissatisfaction with the feudal economic system of the 'Abbasid state.²⁴

Abû Ja'far claimed that all land belonged to the Shî'î Imâm;

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-Qâ'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-Qâ'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 Shî'î eschatological doctrine, social justice and equity become the main issue of its idea of the return of the awaited Imâm.

In this connection, the accumulation of Shî'î 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 Shî'î eschatological expectations on which the doctrine of the *Mahdî* developed rested on their historical experiences in terms of sociopolitical and economic injustice. Thus, they entitled their last Imâm al-Qâ'im (he who will rise with the sword) and *Shâhib al-'Amr* (the Master of Authority); these titles represented the functions which they attributed the *Mahdî Imâm*. When al-Qâ'im rises, he will rule and fill the earth with justice in his capacity as the Master of Authority. In this regard, the *Mahdî Imâm* was called as *al-Qâ'im bi al-Imâmah* (the one who carries out the duty of Imamate) and *al-Qâ'im bi al-Jihâd* (the one who carries out the duty of the holy war).

In addition to political functions, the *Mahdî* also has religious duties indicated by the title *al-Hujjah* (the Divine Proof). These religious functions of the *Mahdî* were inherited from the Prophet and his legatees (*awshiyâ'*).²⁶ Thus, the title *al-Hujjah* was not only the designation of him who became the vicegerent of God (*khalîfat Allah*), but also that of the Prophet (*khalîfat al-Rasûl*) 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-Hujjah* is to bring about the religious society upon which social justice and political equity depend.

In Shî'î tradition, it is believed that the Imâmns have both esoteric and exoteric knowledge. Moreover, the Imâmns possess knowledge of the past and of the future.²⁷ These extraordinary capacities of the Imâmns lead *al-Hujjah* to be an authority on religious matters. In this respect, Sachedina concludes that "the title *al-Hujjah*, in contrast to other titles which are often used to designate the justice and political equity depend twelfth Imam, emphasizes the religious and spiritual aspects of his function, whereas *al-Qâ'im* or *Shâhib 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 Imâm 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 mahdistic functions in terms of socioeconomic, political, and religious categories. In this respect, the title *al-Mahdî* is the central one of the twelfth Imâm who will reappear at the end of time as the restorer and savior.

The Occultation of the Hidden Imam

In the course of Shî'î history, the death of each Shî'î Imâm at every turn generated a serious problem of succession. The death of the twelfth Imâm "produced what appears to have been the worst of the crises of succession"³⁰ to the Shî'î imâmate. This crisis situation occurred not only because of theological debate in Shî'î 'ulamâ' circles to determine who would be the successor of the eleventh Imâm (Hasan al-'Askarî), but also because of the 'Abbasid political repression of the Shî'î Imâm and community. In this regard, Hussain has pointed out:

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

In this relation, when his son (Muhammad al-'Askarî) was recognized as the twelfth Imâm following his death, there appeared a new problem of political insecurity for the twelfth Imâm. This political circumstances, thus, to a certain extent, led the Shî'î 'ulamâ' to formulate a theological doctrine of the occultation (*ghaybah*) of the twelfth Imâm.

In Shî'î 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 Imâm (*Hujjah* from God) who will guide mankind to the right path³² and, on the other, of the political insecurity of the twelfth-Imam. To protect his life and to continue his imamate, the twelfth imam had to remain in concealment. Thus, he was permanently able to apply his imamate functions of guiding his adherents through spiritual communication.

Before being accepted as a theological tenet, as has been noted,

the doctrine of the occultation become a serious issue of theological disputation among the Shī'ī 'ulamā' over the problem of whether or not the eleventh Imam 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 Imâm, the status of the twelfth imam made many Shī'ah confused. Hence in a number of Shī'î traditions, the Hidden Imâm was well known as *ghaybah wa hayrah* (the occultation and the confusion).³⁴ To authenticate his birth, Shī'î traditions contain narratives to vindicate the existence of the twelfth Imâm. To this point, Hussain has noted:

The possibility that the twelfth Imâm 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 Imâm as *al-Qâ'im al-Mahdî* gave rise to other narrations which can only be described as hagiographical. But from the time of al-Shadûq 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 Imâm from his birth until the present time, reports Kulaynî, is due to the political insecurity in which he lived.³⁶ It seems to have been the repressive political system of the 'Abbasids restricting Shī'î sociopolitical activities which compelled the eleventh Imâm to conceal the birth of his son from the Shī'î community in general. It was this state of affairs which may have led the Shī'î traditionists to report various types of traditions narrating and justifying the birth of the twelfth Imâm.

As for the occultation of the twelfth Imâm, 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 'Abbâsid sociopolitical control. A number of Shī'î traditions, therefore, report that the occultation of the twelfth Imâm is appropriate before he rises for fear of his being killed.³⁸ In this respect, al-Kulaynî reports a theological justification of the occultation: the twelfth Imâm 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 imamate.³⁹ This theological justification was applied not only to avoid offering a political idea of the occultation of the Hidden Imâm, but also to supply a theological-basis on which the doctrine of the occultation may rest.

Dealing with nature of the occultation, al-Thûsî holds that the twelfth Imâm went through two forms of the occultation: *al-ghaybah al-qashîrah* (the shorter occultation) and *al-ghaybah al-thawîlah* (the longer occultation). Other terms signifying two kinds of occultation are *al-*

ghaybah al-shughrâ (the minor occultation) and *al-ghaybah al-kubrâ* (the major occultation) or even *al-ghaybah al-tamma* (the complete occultation). As for the shorter occultation, al-Thûsî goes on, it was known where the twelfth Imâm was, but during the longer occultation only God knows. Hence, some people speculated that the twelfth Imâm died; some of them considered that he was killed; and some others said that he went away.⁴⁰ On the contrary, al-Nu'mânî narrates from Abû 'Abdallâh that those who knew where the twelfth Imâm was during his shorter occultation were his special followers (*khâshshah min shî'atih*), but it is only his elite religious patrons (*khâshshah mawâlîh*) who know where he is during his longer occultation.⁴¹ Thus, there appeared a disagreement about the existence of the longer occultation among the Shî'i theologians. In addition, al-Nu'mânî says:

As for the first *ghayba*, it is that occultation in which there were the mediators (*al-sufara'*) between the Imam and the people, carrying out (*qiyamm*) [the duties of the Imam], 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 Imâm who served as mediators between the Imâm and the people during the shorter occultation were [1] 'Utsmân al-'Amrî (d. 260/916-17); [2] Abû Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Utsmân al-'Amrî (d. 304/934-38); [3] Abû al-Qâsim Ḥusayn b. Rûḥ al-Nawbakhtî (d. 326/937-38); and [4] Abû al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Alî al-Sammarî (d. 329/940-41).⁴⁴ Following them after the death of al-Sammarî, the longer occultation commenced and will endure until the end of time. God alone knows when the Hidden Imâm will return.

The period of the shorter occultation was some sixty-nine years. Since the twelfth Imâm went into occultation when he was five years old (260/872), the complete occultation began when the age of the Imâm 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-Sammarî the twelfth Imam issued a pronouncement (*tawqî'*) predicting the time when al-Sammarî would die:

May Allah give good rewards to your bretheren 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-Shufyânî and the outcry from the sky, for he shall be a slanderous liar.⁴⁵

Thus, this pronouncement (*tawqî'*) of the twelfth Imâm 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 Imâm was some seventy-four years. This situation leads one to speculate that in all likelihood the twelfth Imâm 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-Sammarî marked the critical situation of internal resistance to the belief in *ghayba* ... [in which] the situation was regarded as inconceivable. The explanation that the Imâm had no mediators during the second occultation indicates the uneasiness felt by the Shī'ite leaders in their attempt to advance a longer than normal life-span for the Imâm, who could not communicate with his followers through his personal representatives.⁴⁶

Such a situation led the Shī'î leaders to formulate a theological justification of the occultation in order to vindicate that the twelfth Imâm went into occultation following the death of al-Sammarî (the fourth mediator). The strongest theological argument which was employed to endorse the doctrine of the occultation was that the twelfth Imâm went into occultation to satisfy God's will. Vindicating the occultation of the Hidden Imâm, the Shī'î leaders employed not only scriptural and traditional proofs (*al-dalîl al-sam'î*), but also rational ones (*al-dalîl al-'aqlî*). As for the Shī'î traditionists, such as al-Kulaynî and Ibn Bâbûyah, they applied mostly *al-dalîl al-sam'î*. However, Shī'î theologians, such as al-Syarîf al-Murtadhâ, employed chiefly *al-dalîl al-'aqlî*. In addition, Sachedina says, al-Thûsî developed a delicate compromise blending *al-dalîl al-sam'î* and *al-dalîl al-'aqlî*.⁴⁷

Whatever proofs and methods the Shī'î leaders employed to vindicate the occultation of the twelfth Imâm 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-Syarîf al-Murtadhâ, 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 Imâm, Ibn Bâbûyah and al-Thûsî report numerous traditions identifying certain Prophetic stories about Yûsuf, Mûsâ, Yûnûs, 'Isâ, Muḥammad, etc., who have disappeared from the sight of their followers for a period of time, with the occultation of the twelfth Imâm.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that the stories of certain Prophetic disappearances did not occur in the context of the occultation, Ibn Bâbûyah 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 Imâm 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 Imâm will reappear. During this period in which the Hidden Imâm has no special mediators or representatives (*nuwwâb al-khashsh*), "the mediatorship between the Imâm and the followers was indirectly assumed by the *ruwat*, who perform the duties of the special agents of the Imâm, without holding the office of the deputyship."⁵¹ Hence the *ruwat* functioned as the general representatives (*nuwwâb al-'âmm*) of the Hidden Imâm. As the *nuwwâb al-'âmm*, the *ruwat* were interpreted as being the *mujtahids* or the *marja' al-taqlîd*. In fact, the institution of the *ruwat* itself has become a controversial theological issue between the two major groups of the Shî'î 'ulamâ': the *Ushûlîs* and the *Akhbârîs*. It was the *Ushûlîs* who endorsed the institution of the *ruwat* during the period of the complete occultation of the Hidden Imâm.⁵²

Apart from a theological controversy, the transformation of the *nuwwâb al-khashsh* institution into that of the *nuwwâb al-'âmm* 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 Imamate 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 *nuwwâb al-'âmm* institution is needed. This matter obviously has relationship to the authority of the 'ulamâ', something that is of great important for the Iranian revolution.

Endnotes:

1. D.B. Macdonald, "al-Mahdī," in M. Th. Houtstma, 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 Abdulhussein Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'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 Mahdi," in S.H. Nasr, et.al., *Expectatioan 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'rûf, *Sīrah al-A'immah al-Itsna' Asyr* (Beirut: Dâr al-Qalam, 1397/1977), h. 537.
9. Allamah Sayyid Muḥammad Husayn Thabâthabâ'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 Imam: A Historical Background* (London: The Muhammadi Trust, 1982), h. 75.
11. al-Kulaynī, *al-Ushûl min al-Kâfi*, vol. I (Tehran: Dâr al-Kutb al-Islâmiyyah, 1954), h. 241.
12. al-Thûsī, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah* (Tehran: Maktabah Tsanawî al-Hadīts, 1386/1966), h. 152; Ibn Bâbûyah, *Kamâl al-Dîn wa Tamâm al-Ni'mah* (Tehran: Khayâban Bûdhar Jamharî, 1379/1959), h. 49 and also his *Ikmal al-Dîn wa Itmâm al-Ni'mah fi Itsbat al-Raj'ah* (Najf: al-Haydariyyah, 1389/1970), h. 366-367; al-Mufid, *al-Iktishash* (Tehran: al-Haydarî, 1379/1959), h. 209 and his *al-Irshâd li al-Shaykh al-Mufid* (Najf: al-Haydariyyah, 1381/1962), h. 346; al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah* (Tehran: Maktabah al-Shadûq, 1397/1977), h. 189.
13. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 9.
14. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 10.
15. Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imam*, h. 14; Ibn Bâbûyah, *Ikmal al-Dîn wa Itmâm 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 Imam*, h. 14.
19. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 49, 56-58; cf. S. Waheed Akhtar, *Early Shi'ite Imamiyyah Thinkers* (New Delhi: Asish Publishing House, 1988), h. 79.
20. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 69.

21. al-Thûsî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 282.
22. al-Thûsî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 280; al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 157.
23. Hussain, "Messianism and the Mahdi," h. 19; cf. al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 297; al-Mufid, *Kitâb al-Irshad: The Book of Guidance into the Lives of the Twelve Imams*, trans. by I.K.A Howard (London: Balagha Books, 1981), h. 552.
24. Hussain, "Messianism and the Mahdi," h. 19.
25. al-Kulaynî, *al-Ushûl min al-Kâfi*, vol. I, h. 407.
26. al-Kulaynî, *al-Ushûl min al-Kâfi*, vol. I, h. 199.
27. al-Kulaynî, *al-Ushûl min al-Kâfi*, 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 Imam: 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 Imam*, h. 57.
32. al-Kulaynî, *al-Ushûl min al-Kâfi*, vol. I, h. 178-179; al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 138-139; Ibn Bâbüyah, *Ikmâl al-Dîn wa Itmâm al-Ni'mah*, h. 312.
33. al-Mufid, *Kitâb al-Irshâd*, h. 529; Ibn Bâbüyah, *Kamâl al-Dîn wa Tamâm al-Ni'mah*, h. 108.
34. Ibn Bâbüyah, *Ikmâl al-Dîn wa Itmâm al-Ni'mah*, h. 280-281.
35. Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imam*, h. 67.
36. al-Kulaynî, *al-Ushûl min al-Kâfi*, vol. I, h. 176.
37. al-Thûsî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 101; al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 149-150.
38. al-Kulaynî, *al-Ushûl min al-Kâfi*, vol. I, h. 340; Ibn Bâbüyah, *Kamâl al-Dîn wa Tamâm al-Ni'mah*, h. 157-158; al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 177.
39. al-Kulaynî, *al-Ushûl min al-Kâfi*, vol. I, h. 336.
40. al-Thûsî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 101-103.
41. al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 170.
42. Quoted from Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 85-86; al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 173-174.
43. al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 174.
44. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. h. 86. See al-Ghafârî in his annotation to al-Nu'mânî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 171.
45. Quoted from Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imam*, h. 134.
46. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, h. 99.
47. Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, "Treatise on the Occultation of Twelfth Imamite Imam," *Studia Islamica* 48 (1978): h. 116.
48. Sachedina, "Treatise on the Occultation of Twelfth Imamite Imam," h. 120.
49. al-Thûsî, *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*, h. 77-79; Ibn Bâbüyah, *Ikmâl al-Dîn wa Itmâm 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 Ushûlî and the Akhbarî 'ulamâ', see for example Joseph Newman, "The Development and Political Significance of the Rationalist (Usuli) and Traditionalist (Akhbari) Schools in Imami Shi'i History from the Third/Ninth to the Tenth/Sixteenth Century A.D.," (Ph.D. diss. University of California, 1986).

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