

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:

Oposisi terhadap kalam dan Mutakallimun diklaim oleh sebagian besar peneliti sejarah teologi sebagai monopoli kaum Sunni (ahl al-sunna wa 'l-jama'a), terutama pengikut Ahmad b. Hanbal. Oposisi tersebut diklaim tidak pernah dilakukan oleh kelompok Shi'ah. Penelitian terhadap dua karya ulama Shi'ah abad ke-15, Ibn al-Wazir al-san'ani, memberikan antitesis (tentatif) yang bisa mengakhiri klaim akan monopoli tersebut. Penelitian terhadap isi, sumber, dan otoritas yang dirujuk Ibn al-Wazir dalam kedua karyanya tersebut membeberkan data baru bahwa kalam dan Mutakallimun mendapat cercaan dari sebagian anggota mazhab Shi'ah.

Kata Kunci: *Oposisi terhadap Kalam dan Mutakallimun, Kaum Shi'ah, Ibn al-Wazir 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*.¹ 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.² 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*⁵ 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, Mūhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Wazir al-san'ani, well-known as Ibn al-Murtada al-Yamani was born in Hajr al-*ahrawayn* in 775 H /1374 and died in San'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), *Atraf al-Silsila Allati Hiya bi Aslaf al-Nubuwwa wa Wilaya Muniha 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.

Al-Hasani mentions that Ibn al-Wazir studied Arabic and literature under the supervision of his brother, al-Imam al-Hadi b. Ibrahim al-Wazir and of *al-Qadi al-'Allama* Muhammad b. Hamza b. Muzaffar.¹⁰ He learned *tafsir* and *usul al-fiqh* from *al-Sayyid al-'Allama* 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Abi al-Qasim, *al-Sayyid al-'Allama* al-Nasir b. Ahmad b. al-Imam al-Mutahhar al-Hasani, al-Shayh Nafis al-Din Sulayman b. Ibrahim al-'Alawi al-Ta'azzi. Besides, he studied *al-usul*, *al-furu'* and *'ilm al-latif* from *al-Qadi al-'Allama* 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah b. Abi al-Hayr, *al-Qadi al-'Allama* 'Abd Allah b. al-Hasan al-Dawari al-Sa'adi.¹¹

Ibn al-Wazir not only studied in Jemen, but also abroad. In a number of biographical dictionaries, it was mentioned that he attended lectures of a number of scholars in Mecca: *al-Shayh al-Muhaddith* Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. ϵ ahira, *al-Shayh* Najm al-Din Muhammad b. Abi al-Hayr al-Qusi al-Shafi'i, *al-Shayh* Zayn al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Tabari, *al-Shayh* Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Ibrahim, well-known as Abu al-Yaman al-Shafi'i, *al-Shayh* 'Ali b. Mas'ud b. 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Mu'ti al-Ansari al-Maliki, *al-Shayh al-Mu'ammarr* Abi al-Husayn b. al-Husayn b. al-Zayn Muhammad al-Qutb al-Qistalani, *al-Shayh* 'Ali b. Ahmad b. Salama al-Makki al-shafi'i, Jar Allah b. salih al-Shaybani, al-Sharaf Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Hasani, well-known as al-Fasi.

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'l-Qawasim*,¹⁴ *al-Rawd al-Basim al-Muntaẓi' min al-'Awasim wa'l-Qawasim*,¹⁵ *shar al-Haqq 'ala al-Halq fi Radd al-Hilafat ila Madhhab al-Haq*,¹⁶ *al-Burhan al-Qati' fi Ithbat al-sani' wa Jami' ma Ja'at bih al-Shara'i'*,¹⁷ *Qabul al-Bashari bi 'l-Taysir li 'l-Yusra, Tanqih al-Anzar fi 'Ulum al-'Athar*,¹⁸ *Kitab al-Amr bi 'l-'Uzla fi 'Abir al-Zaman, Hasr Ayat al-Ahkam al-Shar'iyya, al-Tafsir al-Nabawi, Majma' al-Haqa'iq wa'l-Raqa'iq, al-Tuhfa al-safiyya, al-Ta'dib al-Malakuti, Kitab al-Qawa'id, Nasr al-A'yan '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-Hafiz 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 Ruwwat al-Fiqh wa 'l-'Athar, al-Sahawi in al-Daw' al-Lami', al-Taqi b. Fahd in Mu'jam and al-Hafiz b. Hajar al-'asqalani (in his al-Durar al-Kamina).*¹⁹ Therefore, it is plausible if he was considered by al-Shawkani as *al-Imam al-Kabir al-Mujtabid al-Mutlaq* (the great savant and the independent *mujtabid*).²⁰

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).*²¹

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

Ibn al-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-haqq wa yahdi ila sirat al-'aziz al-hamid) wa lima warada fi fadl man intahara sahib bid'a min gayr riya' wa la sum'a ma'a al-ishara ila jumal shafiya fi fadl kitab allah ta'ala wa fadl hamilih wa dhiker nabdh min al-abbar al-warida fih wa bayan ba'd ma ishtamala 'alayh min al-dala'il al-mughniya fi al-'itiqad 'an al-ishtigal 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 Praiseworthy²²) 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.”²³

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 *nazar* (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 (*zandaqa*) and infidelity (*kufri*).

Seeing the personalities and their works, discussed by Ibn al-Wazir in this work, one may suggest that *Tarjih* represents the Shi'ite oppositional attitude towards *kalam*. Ibn al-Wazir often quotes the oppositional attitudes of the descendants of *ahl 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.²⁴ Ibn al-Wazir's censure of light tone can also be seen when he discusses the hatred of *ahl 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-husumat*) and the innovation (*al-shububat*).²⁵ 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.²⁶

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

Relying on *al-Jami' al-Kafi* of Abu 'Abd Allah al-Hasani, Ibn al-Wazir opines that the pious ancestors exhorted the people to follow the Tradition and to censure those who were involved in *kalam*. Then he mentions those who censure *kalam* among the people of the house (*ahl al-bayt*): 'Ali b. al-Husayn, Zayd, Ja'far al-sadiq, 'Abd Allah b. Musa, Ahmad b. 'Abd Allah b. Zayd, al-Hasan b. Yahya b. al-Husayn b. Zayd b. 'Ali, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allah, al-Qasim b. Ibrahim, Muhammad b. Ibrahim, and Muhammad b. Mansur.²⁸

Accordingly, Ibn al-Wazir quotes 'Ali as having advised his son, Hasan, to avoid the rational dispute (*al-naẓar*) 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-Mujzi*, *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.³⁴ 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*.³⁵ *Kalam* renders people confused and distracted. Those who are occupied by it, lead themselves to destruction.³⁶

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.³⁷ Due to their being deeply occupied by *kalam*, the *Mutakallimun* become doubted, confused, oppose against each other as well as afflict a lie toward each other.³⁸

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,³⁹ 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 *Nihaya*:
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 regret⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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-fitan*) 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-Kafi*, he maintains that Zayn al-'Abidin, Zayd b. 'Ali, Ja'far al-sadiq, al-Baqir, 'Abd Allah b. Musa, Ahmad b.  and al-Hasan b. Yahya are against *kalam*. The attitude of those scholars has been discussed, Ibn al-Wazir maintains, in *Kitab al-Jumla wa'l-Ujfa* of Muhammad b. Mansur.⁴⁶

Tarjih 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.⁴⁷ 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*.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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.⁵² While in other passage, he relies on Abu Hamid al-Gazali, who is of the Shafi'ite juridical affiliation and Sunnite theological affiliation.⁵³

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:

Al-Zamahshari, al-Imam al-Natiq bi 'l-Haq al-Sayyid Abu Talib, al-Gazali, Ibn Abi 'l-Hadid, Ja'far al-sadiq, Hamidan b. Yahya al-Qasimi, Mahmud al-Mulahimi, Nur al-Din Abu 'Abd Allah Hamidan b. Yahya,

Abu Huzayl al-Allaf , Hushsham al-Futi, Hushsham al-Bardha'i, Abu 'l-Husayn al-Basri,

Zakiy al-Din Mahmud al-Hawarizmi, Abu Bakr al-Baqilani, 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 Matwih, al-Turtusi, al-Bagawi, Ibn Taymiyya, al-Murtadla' b. al-Hadi.

The works:

Diya'u al-Hulum, al-Talbis, al-Waza'if '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 *Sharh al-Tahrir* by *al-Imam al-Natiq bi 'l-Haq al-Sayyid* Abu Talib, *Majma' al-Zawa'id* by al-Haythami, *al-Jami'* by the *hafiz mubaddith* Abu 'Ubayd al-Tirmidhi, *Jami' al-'Usul* by Abu Sa'adat b. al-Athir, *Nahj al-Balaga* by 'Ali b. Abi Talib, *al-Tahbid, al-Ziyadat, Sharh al-Tajrid* and *al-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-Ulfa* 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* by al-Hakim Abu Sa'id al-Muhsin b. Karrama, *al-Muhit* by the chief judge 'Abd al-Jabbar, *al-Mujtaba' fi'l-Istidlal* by Muhtar b. Mahmud the Mu'tazilite, *al-Arba'un fi'l-Kalam 'ala' al-Nubuwwat* by al-Fahr al-Razi, *al-Muntahab* by Muhammad b. Sulayman, *al-Arjuza* by al-Muttahir b. Yahya', *al-Mubadhdhab* by al-Sayyid Muhammad b. Yahya' b. al-Hasan al-Qasimi, *Kitab al-Ibar wa'l-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-Minhaj fi Usul al-Fiqh* by al-Baydawi, *al-Muhit* by Ibn Taymiyya, *Awa'il al-Muhit* by Ibn Matawiyya, *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'iq* 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-Nasih wa'l-Mansub* by al-Qasim b. Ibrahim, *Tafsir al-Kashshaf* by al-Zamahshari.

B. 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*).⁵⁴ 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*;⁵⁵ (2) Leading scholars of arts joined the traditionists (*al-muhaddithun*) in avoiding '*ilm al-kalam*;⁵⁶ (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,⁵⁷ (4) This is reflected by: First, the statements by al-Gazali against *kalam*;⁵⁸ Second, al-Imam al-Razi's prohibition of studying *kalam*;⁵⁹ and third, al-Juwayni's censure against *kalam*.⁶⁰ The partisans of the tradition avoided '*ilm al-kalam* not due to their static comprehension but due to their obedience with the Koran.⁶¹

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* (*mufasssir*) and *counselor* (*wa'iz*).⁶²

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.⁶³ 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-man wa 'l-Zandaqa*. 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-man wa 'l-Zandaqa*, according to Ibn al-Wazir, al-Gazali said that being occupied by '*ilm al-kalam* is prohibited.⁶⁴

By considering al-Razi⁶⁵ 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 prise 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 *sawn 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 He used to say to his companions: 'Do not be occupied by *kalam*! So, if I know that *kalam* occupies me to the most, I am not occupied by it.'⁶⁹

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-Balaga* 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 jabidan hamsin 'aman # fa lam absul '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 (*fatattahimuni*). 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."⁷²

Ibn al-Wazir proceeds to say that the people abandon *ilm 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 *judal* (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 *judal*. A condition of *judal*, i.e. *billati hiya ahsan*, in Ibn al-Wazir's opinion, is embodied in the Prophet's practice of *judal*, in doing which he does not follow the way the partisans of *kalam* debate.⁷⁴ *Secondly*, that *judal* 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-Musfihim 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 'l-lah, Yahya b. Mansur al-Hasani, *Sharh Nahj al-*

Balaga by Ibn Abi al-Hadid, Fahr al-Din b. al-Hatib al-Razi, *Imam al-Haramayn* al-Juwayni, *Nihaya al-Iqdam fi 'Ilm al-Kalam* by al-Shahrastani.

Conclusion

The opposition against *kalam* and the *Mutakallimun* 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 *Mutakallimun*.

Endnotes:

¹This statement is discussed elaborately by S.M. Wasserstrom, "The Si'is are the Jews of our Community an Interreligious Comparison within Sunni Thought," in *Israel Oriental Studies*, XIV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), p. 297-324.

²Abrahamov 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: Edinburgh 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.

³See, 'Ali Husain al-Jabiri, *al-Fikr al-Salafi 'ind al-Shi'a al-Ithna 'Ashariyya Dirasa Tahliliyya li Mawqif al-Fikr al-Salafi fi 'l-Islam 'Umuman wa 'Ind al-Ithna 'Ashariyya 'ala Wajh al-al-Husus min Mantiq wa Falsafat al-Yunan* (Beirut: Manshurat 'Uwaydat, 1977)

⁴Here 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 *Mutakallimun* 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.

⁵This work is published twice: in Cairo by Idara 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.

⁶This work is published in Damascus by Idarat al-Tiba'a al-Muniriyya.

⁷For this assumption, the present author is inspired by J. van Ess's article, "Early Development of Kalam," in Juynboll, G.H.A. (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982) p. 109-123.

⁸GAL, S. II, p. 249.

⁹Ibidem; cf, L. fgren Oscar and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Rome: 1980) vol. II, p. 144.

¹⁰Probably 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.

¹¹See, the introduction of the editor, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Yahya Zibara al-Hasani al-Yamani, *op. cit.*, p. 1-4.

¹²Madelung, W., "Zaydiyya," EI2, vol. XI, p. 477-81.

¹³Ibidem.

¹⁴This 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.).

¹⁵This 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*.

¹⁶This work was published in Cairo by Matba'a al-Adab wa'l-Muayyad (1318/1900).

¹⁷This work was published in Cairo by al-Matba'a al-Salafiyya (1349/1931).

¹⁸Beirut: Dar ibn Hazm, 1999.

¹⁹Ibidem., p. 4.

²⁰Ṭhar, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

²¹Madelung, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

²²Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 421, vol. II (Sura Saba, XXXIV: 6).

²³Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²⁴Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²⁵Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 24-5.

²⁶Ibidem.

²⁷Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁸Ibidem.

²⁹Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³⁰Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³¹According to Brockelmann, Yahya b. Mansur was the author of *al-Kashifa li Ma'ani 'l-Jumal wa 'l-Usul*. GAL, S. II, p. 995.

³²*Wa yarawna dhalika madhhaban musta'ḥḥan min tulianḥ arwa husn tafakkur wa nasu gina' al-islam qabl huduthihim 'an kull qawl hadith muta'ahhir ma ḥ annuhum bi 'l-mustafa fi tarkih ma istanbatuh wa nahyuh al-mutakarrir*. See Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³³Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 36-7.

³⁴Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³⁵ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 45-6.

³⁸ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 50-1.

³⁹ 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.

⁴⁰ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 50-1.

⁴¹ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴² Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁴³ Al-Mu'ayyid bi 'llah is Yahya b. Hamza al-Husayni, the author of *al-Tiraz*, who died in Dhimar in 749/1349. See footnote no. 1, p. 19, *op. cit.*; Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁴⁴ *Wa kadhaliqa 'ulama' al-kalam wa 'l-jadaliyyun wa 'l-mantiqiyyun la yastati'un an yad'u 'ala al-salaf annahum hadu fi 'ilmihim wala mahhadu lahu qa'idatan.* Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁴⁵ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁴⁶ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁴⁷ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁵¹ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁵² Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵³ Tarjih, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵⁴ *Al-Rawd al-Basim fi Dhabb 'an Sunnat Abi al-Qawasim* (Damascus: Idarat al-Tiba'a al-Muniriyya), 2 vols

⁵⁵ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 9-10.

⁵⁶ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 10-11.

⁵⁷ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11.

⁵⁸ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 12.

⁵⁹ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 13.

⁶⁰ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 14.

⁶¹ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 15.

⁶² Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 4-5.

⁶³ 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*.

⁶⁴ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11-12.

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 14.

⁶⁷ Abu l-'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, Arnaldez, R., "Al-Qurtubi, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad," EI2, vol. II, p. 512.

⁶⁸ Abu 'l-Ma'ali 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwayni who was well-known as the *Imam al-Haramayn* was born in 419/1028 at Nisabur and died in 478/1085. He was a leading scholar in *usul al-fiqh* (*kitab al-waraqat fi usul al-fiqh* and *kitab al-burhan fi usul al-fiqh*) and *kalam* (*al-shamil*). See, Brockelmann, C., "Al-Djuwayni, Abu 'l-Ma'ali 'Abd al-Malik," EI2, vol. II, p. 605-6.

⁶⁹ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 14; cf, Sawan al-Mantiq, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁷⁰ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 12.

⁷¹ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p.13.

⁷² Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p.14.

⁷³ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 16.

⁷⁴ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 139.

⁷⁵ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 140-1.

⁷⁶ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 137.

⁷⁷ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 141.

⁷⁸ Al-Rawd, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 17.

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