

TWELVER SHĪ'Ī LITURGY FROM THE
PERIOD OF THE IMĀMS TO 'ABBĀS AL-QUMMĪ

A STUDY OF THE TEXTUAL HISTORY, DOCTRINAL CONTENT AND PHILOSOPHY OF
TWELVER SHĪ'Ī LITURGY FROM THE
PERIOD OF THE IMĀMS TO 'ABBĀS AL-QUMMĪ (D.1359/1940)

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Title: A Study of The Textual History, Doctrinal Content And Philosophy of Twelver Shī'ī Liturgy From The Period Of The Imāms to 'Abbās al-Qummī (D.1359/1940) AUTHOR: Vinay Khetia, B.A. (University of Toronto), M.A. (Concordia University) SUPERVISOR: Professor Liyakat Takim
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Abstract

This dissertation explores the historical, doctrinal, and philosophical aspects pertaining to Twelver Shīī liturgy. In doing so, it brings to light the broad historical contours which established its textual development and proliferation from the period of the Imāms until that of Shaykh ‘Abbās al-Qummī. This historical development entailed the production of the liturgical genre as a textual tradition that developed from the 2nd/8th century. It is believed that portions of this early textual tradition went on to form the basis of later liturgical collections such as al-Kulaynī’s *Kitāb al-du‘ā’*, Ibn Qūlawayh’s *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* and al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*. This is also indicative of a profound interest in liturgical material by both the scholars who compiled this material and the faithful who performed it, which is evidenced by the repeated copying and transmission of such texts in various parts of the Muslim world. These liturgical texts (*du‘ā’* and *ziyāra*) are also replete with philosophical and theological motifs which underly their function as a means of developing Shīī piety and a religious identity that focuses upon complete submission to the Imāms of the People of the House (*ahl al-bayt*). Considering the above, the texts, when recited and enacted, may be described as a form of performative theology in the Twelver Shīī tradition. It is this performative theology which aided in the development and fortification of Twelver Shīī identity, especially in light of their minority and often beleaguered social-political position at various times in history. Through an in-depth investigation into the culture and practice of the rigorous and systematic transmission of liturgical texts, this dissertation provides, for the first time, clear evidence of a method for preserving the liturgical compositions that were attributed to the Imāms. With a selection of words and phrases drawn from these texts, a sensitive analysis is made of their theological and cosmological underpinnings. It is hoped that such an analysis will pave the way for further consideration of this, until now, somewhat neglected field of Islamic Studies.

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Transliteration and Style

The “IJMES (International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies) Transliteration Chart” has been used for the transliteration of Arabic and Persian words. The transliteration of translated book titles and quotations have been retained as published and The Chicago Manual of Style, 16th edition has been used with some modifications. I have chosen to keep the names of the Imāms transliterated. Only online encyclopedia editions have been used for this dissertation, and their citation format is in accordance with each of their directives. Abbreviations for their titles and journals are as follows:

EI1: Encyclopaedia Iranica online edition 2012. New York: Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 1982-Available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org>

EI2: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition.

Available at <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>

EI3: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third Edition.

Available at <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3>

EIR: Encyclopedia of Religion ed. Lindsay Jones. Farmington: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005, 2nd edition.

EQ: Encyclopaedia of the Qur’an

Available at <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran>

JOAS: Journal of The American Oriental Society

Translations from the Qur’an are my own with the consultation of:

The Qur'an, tr. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Introduction

i.i. Liturgical Studies and prayer: background and objectives

The phenomenon of prayer is a fundamental component of nearly every religion that believes in a transcendent or superhuman power. It underscores the seemingly perennial quest of religion and its adherents to make sense of the world and the role God plays within it. A prime example of this can be seen in the Macmillan 1916 edited volume on prayer that reflects at the outset a Europe that finds itself in pain and deep crisis in the midst of the First World War. The editor, Rev. B. H. Streeter remarks that, as men and women search for answers, religious institutions must “prepare the way to the Lord” and realize “God’s love.” This, he insists, can only be achieved through true prayer, and it is through prayer that the devout may make sense of the darkness which has befallen them.¹ The ubiquitous nature of prayer allows for a gamut of possible meanings and forms by which it may be identified. This in turn presents us with a broad spectrum of definitions allowing the sheer diversity of this phenomenon to be grasped. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines prayer as “a solemn request for help or an expression of thanks addressed to God or another deity.”²

In addition to this generic definition, there have been multiple attempts to define prayer within the academy. For instance, Friedrich Heiler (d. 1967) classified two types of prayer: that of the mystic and that of the prophet; however, for Heiler, a central and necessary component of “true prayer” was a spontaneous outpouring of the heart to God. Both Sam Gill and Gregory D.

¹ Rev. B. H. Streeter, “Introduction” and “God and the World’s Pain,” in *Concerning Prayer: Its Nature, Its Difficulties and its Value* (London: Macmillan and C. Limited, 1916), ix-xiii; 3-33.

² *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 3rd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1396.

Alles in their respective encyclopedia entries point out key flaws in Heiler's approach to prayer.³ Alles speculates that Heiler's definition was influenced by his liberal Protestantism which places greater value on free-form prayer and supplication than on the use of a formal liturgy written by religious authorities who seek to promote a specific dogma *via* that text. Gill argues that the study of prayer has been hindered because of the overemphasis upon prayer as "act" in contrast to the study of prayer as comprising of a series of texts.⁴ Consequently, we may examine prayer within the context of the two categories (prayer as act and text) both of which posit a belief in an unseen force that has the ability to intercede in the midst of human life.

The study of prayer as "act" emphasizes the performative nature of prayer – or in other words, "the performance of religion." Over the past twenty or so years, Religious Studies has become more concerned with lived religion or how religious beliefs and rituals are conducted in the lives of devotees which may or may not have any semblance to the formal theology of a priestly class. An excellent introduction to this field is Catherine Bell's article entitled "Performance," which appears in an edited volume on approaches to Religious Studies, and also in a more comprehensive work entitled, *A Sociology of Prayer*.⁵ In this article Bell raises some key points, such as the need to examine the efficacy of ritual – or in other words, the ability of ritual (in the present thesis, prayer) – to bring about social or ontological change as viewed by the devotee. In this case, the prayer may be spontaneous or formulaic, but nonetheless it has the

³ Sam D. Gill, "Prayer," in EIR 11: 7367-7372; Gregory D. Alles, "Prayer: I. Religious Studies", in *Religion Past and Present*, www.brillonline.com, last accessed 15 September 2018.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Catherine Bell, "Performance," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 205-224. *A Sociology of Prayer*, eds Giuseppe Giordan and Linda Woodhead (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015). This text is an edited volume which focuses on the meaning and experience of prayer as expressed in the lives of those who perform it. It is not a study of prayer texts but rather it focuses on those who perform prayer and their relationship to their respective religious traditions.

potential to affect change in the universe of the devotee which issues from a magical and personal relationship between the supplicant and the deity. The efficacy of prayer for the devotee is magical - or supra rational - in the sense that it has the ability to do what mundane speech cannot achieve. Carlos Genova in his article "Prayer as Practice" asserts that the study of prayer as an act has searched for meaning which transcends doctrine or the prayer text itself. Hence the study of prayer as practice and act takes into account the cognitive or psychic "spiritual" state of the individual which is not captured by the study of the text.⁶

For Emile Durkheim (d. 1917), religious rituals such as prayer (especially congregational prayer) invoke gods akin to how Greek magicians invoked Assyrian or Jewish gods. Likewise, through prayer the priests invoked god(s) to protect themselves against demons, thwart calamities, or to alter the course of their afterlife. Thus, Durkheim, while also pointing out key organizational differences between magic and religion, states: "the magician is to magic what the priest is to religion."⁷ For instance, many devout Muslims on the basis of narrations of the Prophet believe that if they recite special prayers *ad'iyā* (supplications, sing. *du'ā'*) on the Night of Power (*laylat al-qadr*) they will be able to influence God's decree over their life for the coming year. Likewise, Shī'īs consider that the performance of *ziyārāt* (elegies or prayers of visitation, sing. *ziyāra*)⁸ at the grave of a patron saint has the potential to save the pilgrim from eternal damnation and grant them entrance into Paradise. In both cases, *du'ā'* and *ziyāra* may constitute a manifestation of prayer. Clearly this is not something unique to Islam or Shī'ism; rather, Guy G.

⁶ Carlo Genova, "Prayer as Practice: An Interpretative Proposal," in *A Sociology of Prayer*, 21.

⁷ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translated and introduced by Karen E. Fields (New York: The Free Press (Simon and Schuster, 1995), 40. Durkheim's discussion was particularly focused on Totemic religions, however his observations have far reaching implications for the study of prayer more broadly.

⁸ These terms will be used in their singular form throughout this dissertation.

Stroumsa demonstrates that this profound concern with “individual eschatology” is an integral part of the development of communitarian Religions of the Book which marked a decisive transformation in late antique religiosity.⁹

As they formed and transformed through late antiquity, these Religions of the Book (Judaism, Christianity and finally Islam) had two unique over-arching concerns: Firstly, there was a new attention given to an eternal self which requires reform and spiritual development all to draw closer to God. Secondly, this unseen self must prepare for a final judgement and thus must do all it can to attain eternal Paradise and avoid eternal damnation. The teleological underpinnings of prayer for Religions of the Book enhance one’s relationship with a God that is worthy of worship and the one entity that can save the believers from their unruly selves, as well as provide the consolation of an eventual deliverance in this world and the next. The development of private prayer and its associated liturgy detached from animal sacrifice becomes the nexus for expressing this teleology.

Lastly, prayer and liturgy as a subject of study, at least outside the realm of religious ethnography, consists of the study of a series of written materials most often bound up into various compilations or liturgical collections. In the case of Shī’ism, these liturgical collections contain prescribed rituals of worship along with prayers in the form of supplications, incantations, and grave visitations. The term “liturgy” is almost akin to “prayer,” except that it encompasses a broader meaning, prayer generally including rituals associated with worship. For

⁹ Stroumsa describes this as a “new sensibility” which was engaged in the “exegesis of the soul” or in other words an intensive soul searching which brought about a paradigm shift in what sort of ritual or liturgy was given importance. In this case, private and repentful prayer would occupy a central role as a means of advancing this exploration of the self. Cf. Guy G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice* tr. Susan Emanuel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 21-25.

instance, in the Western Church the sacrament forms a part of its broader liturgy. Thus, for the purpose of this dissertation, liturgy is defined as “a devotional script.” This liturgy may include *du‘ā’* or *ziyāra* recited from a text (or by memory) accompanied by a journey or pilgrimage to the tombs of the Fourteen Infallibles.¹⁰ Most religious traditions have multiple liturgical manuals and texts as a part of their devotional program and the study of these texts often sheds light upon the nature of faith and the demands that it places upon its adherents. In this regard, the study of prayer texts within Islamic Studies remains in a naïve state of desideratum requiring a systematic analysis. This lacuna becomes especially evident when compared to the academic literature which deals with both the complex textual history and philosophy of the Jewish and Christian liturgy and the numerous specialized studies devoted to the Psalms. In light of this the chief objective of this dissertation concerns the history and incipient doctrine or theology and philosophy of Shī‘ī liturgy as a contribution to this field.

The liturgical texts of the Shī‘ī tradition contain a variety of interrelated themes which express the demands of faith surviving the vicissitudes of time. The enactment or recitation of liturgical texts reflects a cognitive interaction with God and his chosen people (the Infallibles) while also constituting the verbalization of dogma on the part of scholars and the masses alike. Especially for Muslims, and Shī‘īs in particular, the early liturgical texts, whether addressed to God or the Imām, abound with philosophical and theological instructions concerning the nature of God, redemption, eternal bliss or suffering, and the construction of a sacred past (this is

¹⁰ These Fourteen Infallibles are revered by Twelver Shī‘īs as being the chosen and purified who have been endowed with supernatural qualities. It is this religious charisma which imbues the text with an aura of enchantment.

especially the case with *ziyārāt* literature).¹¹ With regard to this, I wish to examine the intended impact of these prayers upon the “self” as understood by Shīʿīs, in light of the numerous motifs found in the texts. All the above may be widely described as the philosophy of liturgical material which pertains to the doctrinal and spiritual tropes that inundate the texts. This dissertation is equally concerned with the historical background of the liturgical genre and attempts to situate ideas and beliefs within a broader context of a discursive and evolving textual tradition.

The study at hand does not claim to bring to light the experience of the supplicant or devotee. We can only assume that there exists a cognitive accord between the contents of the text and its performer who enacts these devotions with the accompanied belief (for the devout) that its contents originated from a divinely appointed and infallible guide. What we are able to examine through textual analysis is the intended experience and efficacy of these devotions by the authors. The continued importance of the performance of liturgical material in Twelver Shīʿism can be rapidly discerned if one visits any of the major Shīʿī shrines or places of worship in which a plethora of liturgical texts can often be heard being recited with great emotion, as well as being found without difficulty in the various volumes which fill the shrines’ shelves. This confirms the astute observation of the recognized scholar of Shīʿī studies, Ron Buckley, who states that the Twelvers are particularly known for the sheer quantity and emphasis places upon of liturgical literature.¹² A selection of such devotions are studied in this dissertation.

¹¹ In Twelver and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism the Imām is deemed to be an infallible guide and successor to the Prophet, endowed with special charisma and to whom obedience is obligatory.

¹² Ron Buckley, “The Writings of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq” in *Books and Bibliophiles* ed. Robert Gleave (Exeter: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2014), 23. To further add to the above point, in a meeting on March 20th, 2012 with Āyat Allāh Sayyid ʿAlī al-Sīstānī (arguably the most prominent contemporary Shīʿī jurist and a well-known specialist in ḥadīth), he pointed out to me that Ibn Nadīm (d.377/ 990) in his *Fihrist* has described the Twelvers as those who were known for *duʿāʾ*; however, in the editions I have consulted I have been unable to find this reference.

This dissertation shall embark on an extensive analysis of the historical origins of Shī'ī liturgy in order to develop a more nuanced understanding of why this literature (*du'ā'* and *ziyāra*) can be described as the prototypical act of spiritual devotion in the Shī'ī Muslim faith.¹³ I will then proceed to select two particular liturgies for further study, namely *Du'ā' Kumayl* (The Supplication of Kumayl) and *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* (The General Visitation for Imām al-Ḥusayn), which remain in contemporary usage and contribute to the living tradition of liturgical performance while also being found in the earliest extant Shī'ī sources. These extant sources originate from the 4th-7th / 10th-13th centuries, corresponding to the formative period of post-occultation Shī'ism and its nascent crystallization into the form of a defined dogma pertaining to matters such as the infallibility of the Imāms and the occultation of the twelfth Imām.

By as early as the late 3rd/9th century Twelver Shī'ī scholars of ḥadīth had already begun compiling major compendiums of transmitted material. It is believed that this material originated from the Prophet Muḥammad and his descendants, collectively known by Shī'īs as “the People of the House” (*ahl al-bayt*) or “the Fourteen Infallibles.”¹⁴ This transmitted material gave shape to Twelver Shī'ī religious identity and spirituality. A key component of this formative literature is the vast collection of devotional liturgies comprising *du'ā'* and *ziyāra*. The doctrinal or didactic merit or content inherent in both genres was clearly evident to the pioneers of the Shī'ī ḥadīth tradition such as Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941) and his predecessors, who

¹³ For the purpose of this dissertation the terms Shī'ī, Imāmī, Imāmiyya all refer to the Twelver branch of Shī'īs. That is not to say that other Shī'ī groups do not engage in such worship, which they do; however, the parameters of this dissertation will be largely limited to the Twelver Shī'ī tradition, unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁴ The *ahl al-bayt*, or the Fourteen Infallibles, include the Prophet Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭima, and the twelve Imāms about whom doctrine dictates that they are protected from sin (*ma'ṣūm*) and hence their words and actions are essentially a manifestation of God's will for humanity. It is for this reason that they are often described as being infallible or immune from sin.

classified both *du'ā'* and *ziyāra* as a sub-genre of ḥadīth literature, through their inclusion in various multi-volume ḥadīth collections.¹⁵ Furthermore, *du'ā'* and *ziyāra* are most often found collected in specialized liturgical manuals from as early as the 5th/11th century, notably, the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (The Lantern of the Night Worshipper).¹⁶ Consequently, a study such as this underpins the integrative nature of liturgy as a source of identity formation, while being intertwined with the proliferation of the ḥadīth literature during the formative period following the occultation of the twelfth Imām.

As mentioned, *du'ā'* "call" and *ziyāra* "visit" are the two most common liturgical genres for Shī'īs. *Du'ā'* is a form of communication between the devotee and God which for the most part entails a personal supplication or calling upon God,¹⁷ whereas *ziyāra* is often an emotionally and politically charged liturgy addressing one or all of the Fourteen Infallibles in addition to some select personalities who are revered by Shī'īs but remain inferior to the Infallibles.¹⁸ The *ziyāra* may be recited from afar; however, it is believed to be most effective when recited during pilgrimage to the grave of an infallible; hence, it is described as *ziyāra*, which in this context has

¹⁵ I would also include also here other forms of liturgy such as *dhikr* (invocation of God's names) or *munāja* (whispered prayer to God which is a form of *du'ā'*).

¹⁶ The four principle books of ḥadīth are *al-Kāfī* compiled by Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh* compiled by Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (Shaykh al-Ṣadūq d.381/991), *al-Istibṣār* and *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* compiled by Abī Ja'far al-Ṭūsī (Shaykh al-Ṭūsī d.460/1067) who also wrote *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (The Lantern of the Night Worshipper and the Weapon of the Worshipper).

¹⁷ It should be noted that *ziyāra* texts often include lengthy *du'ā'*'s in which the devotee invokes God's providence to be granted the opportunity to visit the Imām, as well petitioning God for this not to be the final visitation or pledge of allegiance to the Imām. Therefore, while *ziyāra* and *du'ā'* are distinct genres of Shī'ī liturgy, we do come across instances where both God and the Imām are addressed in the same text. *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* is one poignant example of this intersection; see See: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (Shaykh al-Ṭūsī), *Miṣbah al-mutahajjid* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Fiqh al-Shī'a, 1991), 774.

¹⁸ For an example of a *ziyāra* containing litigious political rhetoric one may refer to the prescribed elegy to be recited on the day of '*Āshura*', attributed to the fifth Imām, al-Bāqir, in which he is alleged to have instructed his followers to recite the following: "O God! Damn (*la'n*) the community who set the foundation of oppression, allowing the People of the House to be oppressed and murdered. O God! May you remove your mercy from those who heard of the injustice perpetrated against the People of the House and were content regarding it (*sami'at bidhālika fa raḍiyat bihi*)."¹⁸ See: Ibid. This will be discussed in chapter four.

a dual meaning, referring to the practice of visiting the grave, as well as a devotional liturgy in the form of a text. Both the visitation itself and the recitation of a prescribed text are intended to invoke the intercessory and intermediary roles of the Imāms.

This cumulative body of devotional literature (*du'ā'* and *ziyāra*) in addition to the ritual regiments (*ā'māl*)¹⁹ which accompany it consist of an elaborate braiding of various mystical, theological, and political motifs.²⁰ The variegated contents of these liturgies can also be situated within the greater historical context of what Marshall Hodgson describes as “Muslim personal piety” and “mystical orientation.”²¹ Hodgson aptly describes the “mystically oriented” pietistic movement of the second and third centuries (coinciding with the historical period of the twelve Imāms) as principally occupied with developing a sense of spiritual consciousness in search of ultimate aims and objectives. These ultimate aims and objectives are to discover the purpose of existence and equip oneself for the journey of life which concludes with the act of meeting God.²² In this sense the liturgical literature can be described as embodying that quest for personal piety which is at least partially advanced by the intentional poetic construction of the texts themselves

¹⁹ To commemorate religious occasions such as the Night of Power (*laylat al-qadr*) or the 10th day of Muḥarram (*Āshūrā*) a ritual is performed which often includes the performance of specific ritual regiments. These regiments include the following: a ritual bath (*al-ghusul*), the recitation of specific *ad'iya* and *ziyāra* combined with a specified number of units (*rak'a*) of canonical prayer (*ṣalāt*) in addition to invoking specific names of God (*dhikr*). These rituals can be done as a group, or individually.

²⁰ The content of these liturgies is filled with essential theological and sectarian themes. These themes include, but are not limited to, the attributes of God, the oneness of God, the immanence of God, the Imamate, the legacy of oppression and injustice (*ẓulm* and *jawr*) experienced by the Imāms and their followers, mystical references to the journey (*riḥla*) to and meeting with God (*liqā' allāh*), details concerning life after death and even matters of Islamic law. Such examples can be seen in *Du'ā' Kumayl*, ascribed to the first Imām, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d.40/661), or *Du'ā' Abī Ḥamza al-Thumālī* ascribed to the fourth Imām, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d.95/713). For liturgies with marked dogmatic overtones including references to the divine presence and knowledge of the Imāms refer to *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā*, or *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*, both of which have been ascribed to the sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d.145/765).

²¹ See Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 1:392-405.

²² The Qur'an continuously emphasizes that among the signs of the believer is that he or she yearns for the meeting (*liqā'*) with God. For instance, see Qur'an 29:5 and 10:7.

which attempt to leave the reader in a state of wonder (*ta'ajjub*). In this regard, Lara Harb in her study of Arabic poetics and eloquence describes this as being an “aesthetic experience” inherently found in certain types of classical Arabic literature which is purposefully composed based on its ability to “move the soul” and elicit an emotive response—such as wonder (*ta'ajjub*), strangeness (*istighrāb*), finding it novel (*istiṭrāf*), instilling a sense of imagination (*takhyīl*) all of which engage the religious imagination of the supplicant and contribute to intensifying the religious experience.²³ Both *Du'ā' Kumayl* and *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* are replete with the poetically strange and mysterious which she asserts can also be at once magical, respectful and humbling all of which contribute to the “aesthetic experience.”²⁴ This is where Arabic poetics and liturgy find much in common while keeping in mind that the liturgies chosen for study in this dissertation both attempt to construct a theological worldview while giving shape to a prescriptive form of personal piety.²⁵

The present study shall set out to demonstrate that this liturgical material was produced at least partly in order to facilitate the articulation of a socio-religious identity within the broader milieu of Islamicate civilization.²⁶ In doing so, it will attempt to reflect the pivotal role of liturgy (*du'ā'* and *ziyāra*) in the formation of Shī'ī spirituality and as a vehicle for the emergence of a distinct liturgical community. This shall be demonstrated in two particular ways. Firstly, by developing a much needed study of the details pertaining to the historical transmission of Shī'ī

²³ Lara Harb, *Arabic Poetics Aesthetic Experience in Classical Arabic literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 3-12.

²⁴ Harb, 7.

²⁵ The appendix of this dissertation includes a translation of both liturgies in which I provide instances of poetic devices such as wonder and imagination to be found in *Du'ā' Kumayl* and *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*.

²⁶ I have used the term as explicated by Hodgson to indicate something broader than simply Islamic. Islamicate refers to both Islam as a set of beliefs and as living a culture with any number of iterations depending on geography, language, class, gender, etc.

liturgy we will ascertain the lofty status this material occupied in the eyes of the doctors of Shī'ī tradition, such as al-Kulaynī and al-Ṭūsī, who were responsible for shaping and articulating various aspects of the faith. Secondly, by analysing a selection of liturgical texts, it will become apparent that their veneration by the Shī'ī scholarly community and laity alike is at least partly due to intricate doctrinal and poetic contents of the devotions themselves. Therefore, it is my assertion that *du'ā'* and *ziyāra* constitute a form of liturgical theology for the Shī'ī scholarly elite and masses alike in which they vocalize and or enact components of their submission to God and the People of the House.

Kenneth Leech has aptly stated in his study on Christian spirituality and prayer that “Christian theology cannot survive in a healthy state apart from the life of prayer and the search for holiness.”²⁷ It is a further assertion of this dissertation that a similar characterization can be made of Shī'ī liturgy insofar as worship and devotion provide the primary experience of God and the Imāms for the devout who do not spend their life immersed in the specialized study of Islamic texts. Thus, for Shī'īs, these liturgical texts, namely *Du'ā' Kumayl* and *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*, could certainly be described as “sacred” lessons in devotional theology in which the People of the House taught the “seekers” how to “express their deepest feelings” and to find words for “the dialectic of the embattled self” in the presence of God (as reflected in *du'ā'*) and the Imām (as reflected in *ziyāra*).²⁸ In a broader sense, both *du'ā'* and *ziyāra* are reflective of a conscientious

²⁷ Kenneth Leech, *Soul Friend* (Harrisburg: Morehouse Publishing, 2001), 31.

²⁸ This is how Heiler has described the pivotal role played by Augustine's understanding of prayer which may be analogous to how the Infallibles or saints of Shī'ism propounded prayer to the “seeker” of spiritual enlightenment in their midst. For Heiler, it was Augustine who in prayer masterfully combined the passion of the Psalms' lament over the self with Neo-Platonic contemplative mysticism which, when brought together, best express a deep dialectic of the self that contends with both of these realities while returning to the “infinite One.” See Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1997 reprint), 126-127.

attempt to “acculturate” Shī’īs to Islamic ideals such as *‘aqīda* (belief or creed) and *tarbiyya* (pietistic discipline).²⁹ This process of religious acculturation may also be described as a form of social and spiritual initiation for the devout Shī’ī whom by performing this liturgical material, enters into a metahistorical communion with God and the Imāms. This communion is not bound by any sense of time, in the sense that the eventual goal is two-fold.

Firstly, the act of *du‘ā’* (in this case *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*) posits a point at which the self enters into a state of eternal service and ecstatic love of God which transcends any notion of linear time. Secondly, *ziyāra* (in this case *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*) posits an experience of the suffering and tragedy of the Imām which is as much physical as it is metaphysical and the pilgrim enacting this script is inducted into a universe that comprises the past, present and future in which the pilgrim weeps for the Imām and rushes to his grave, as if his martyrdom has just taken place. His death is suspended in the moment and is not merely an historical incident. A study of the theology of both *du‘ā’* and *ziyāra* as complementary forms of liturgical material will bring to light an elaborate and exclusivist Shī’ī soteriology in which submission to God (in His transcendent unity) and devotion to the People of the House (as intermediaries of God’s mercy) are both inseparable and necessary facts of Shī’ī salvation history.³⁰ Consequently, it is for this reason that *du‘ā’* and *ziyāra* will be treated as complementary to one another insofar as Shī’ī belief and religious life is shaped by these forms of devotion, namely, the worship of God coupled with reverence for the Prophets

²⁹ Within the context of Ismā’īlī devotional literature of South Asia, Ali Asani describes one of the functions of devotional literature as an effort to acculturate populations to Islamic ideals. I would not hesitate to make a similar assertion regarding the efflorescence of Twelver Shī’ī devotional material. See Ali S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 16-20.

³⁰ As a point of clarification, I am using the term “theology” in a very general sense to encapsulate all that pertains to the human-divine relationship, or in the case of Shī’īs, the tripartite ontological relationship between fallible human beings, the infallible Imām (the quintessential intercessor, *al-shafī’*), and God.

and the Imāms. This complementary relationship between *du‘ā’* and *ziyāra* is so evident that one need only visit any Shī‘ī centre of worship to find both of these practices comprising equally important segments of a single religious service.

i.ii Chapter outline and organization

This dissertation is divided into chapters dealing with the subject of *du‘ā’* and *ziyāra*. Chapter one begins with a comprehensive discussion of the historical trajectory of Shī‘ī liturgy as well as providing a description of the various genres of this literature which may be classified under the broader typology of liturgy and/or prayer. This will be done through a close reading of key biographical and bibliographical compendiums, through which it will be demonstrated that this literature is copious and in line with a Shī‘ī understanding that originated during the time of the Imāms. This shows the ubiquitous presence of written liturgical material which early scholars such as al-Ṭūsī and Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Najāshī (d.463/1071) trace back to the Imāms and their companions. I will then proceed to study chronologically a representative selection of liturgical compendiums which were written and assembled both during and following the major occultation of the twelfth Imām in 329/941.

The overarching concern of this chapter in discussing both extant and non-extant liturgical material is to ascertain the contemporaneous historical relationship between the writing of ḥadīth and *du‘ā’* literature as being concomitant elements in the development of Shī‘ī identity and piety. The above exercise allows us to develop a reasonable hypothesis which posits that the development of Shī‘ī ḥadīth literature as a written tradition was inexorably tied to liturgy as a written tradition that developed in tandem with ḥadīth tradition and thus liturgical material may be classified as a sub-genre therein. This is accomplished by identifying some of the non-extant

primary sources believed to have originated during the historical period of the Imāms which early Shī'ī scholars such as al-Ṭūsī and 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ṭāwūs (d.664/1266) relied upon in the compilation of their liturgical manuals.

As a result, this chapter will demonstrate that Shī'ī scholars of the 4th/10th century onwards relied upon an extensive body of written *du'ā'*; however, the titles (and in some cases the description) of these various works and their respective authors can be found in sources prior to al-Kulaynī who died in 329/940. Specific emphasis will be placed on the legacy of al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and the contribution of Shī'ī scholars to its transmission, annotation, and teaching. More broadly, this chapter will not only address the history of Shī'ī liturgical material but also the role that it played in the development of Shī'ī scholarly training in which various scholars across centuries copied, annotated, edited, studied, and taught liturgical material at various points in their careers. An emphasis is placed upon the study of medieval Shī'ī liturgical manuscripts from as early as the 5th/11th century as a key source of material history which demonstrates the profound Shī'ī scholarly attention that has been given to this literature. This shall be done not to confirm the historical authenticity or lack thereof of these texts (which is not the objective of this dissertation) but to develop a further understanding of how Shī'ī scholars such as Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī (d.1389/1970) have attempted to resolve this apparent lack of historical certainty as to whether these devotions are in fact the compositions of the Imāms or simply written by others and retrospectively attributed to them.

It cannot be lost upon us that these were purposeful liturgical collections, selected, arranged and at times even edited by various compilers and copyists over the centuries; hence a body of devotional material that is attributed to the Prophet and the Imāms has passed through

any number of editorial hands prior to the earliest surviving manuscripts which exist today. Furthermore, there is no way of knowing for certain if the Imāms are in fact the true authors of these devotions in the absence of material documentary evidence contemporary to that period. Nevertheless, the Shī'ī devout and their scholars have performed these liturgies chosen for study here with the belief that they are the sacred words of their Imāms after consecutively transmitting and copying them in their respective works, from al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī* to 'Abbās al-Qummī's (d.1359/1940) *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* which, for the purpose of this chapter, constitutes the climax of the arc of history pertaining to the Shī'ī liturgical tradition. Thus, the objective is to chart the textual history of liturgy as a genre of Shī'ī sacred literature and a site of scholarly activity from the period of the Imāms to 'Abbās al-Qummī whose liturgical manual is considered to be the standard reference for Shī'īs across the globe.

In chapter two I address the theology of Shī'ī devotion through supplication. At the outset, as a means of introduction, I will explore the pivotal place of *du'ā'* "call, supplication, summons" in the Qur'an and ḥadīth literature as well as its various meanings. This is done so as to introduce the reader to the connotation of *du'ā'* in Muslim spiritual life through the Qur'an, which is the primary and most trusted source for Muslims of all denominations. Following that, I will engage in a textual-philological study of the *Du'ā' Kumayl* which I have selected because it is among the most often recited and famous supplications in the Shī'ī *du'ā'* corpus and has been attributed by al-Ṭūsī to the first Imām, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This supplication may be described as an intricate patchwork containing a multitude of theological and mystical themes which focus upon the act of traversing the various stages of spiritual development. I will use the *Du'ā' Kumayl* as the central text while making cross-references to other supplications with similar motifs, all of which

originated in texts from the 4th/7th–10/13th centuries, coinciding with the systematization of Shīʿī theology. This has involved dividing up the *duʿāʾ* along the lines of various motifs such as: the conception of God and creation, confession and repentance, passionate love and perpetual servitude and the return to God. Doris Hiller in her article on prayer as theology points out that close observation of prayer texts will reveal a complex tripartite cognitive process in which prayer “reflects, situates, and narrates the relationship between God and man.”³¹ Similarly, I attempt to demonstrate how *Duʿāʾ Kumayl* involves a spiritual and psychological journey in which the supplicant traverses through various states of his or her relationship with God. At least from the perspective of this particular *duʿāʾ* and those like it, the process of reflecting, situating, and narrating can be readily discerned. Thus, the performance of this supplication entails verbalizing elements of Islamic theology intertwined with an intensely psychologically demanding quest for salvation.

Chapter three will begin by introducing the practice of grave visitation in Islamic history and then delve into the theological, socio-political significance of *ziyāra* (grave visitation and the devotions associated with it) in Shīʿī Islam. Engaging in the act of *ziyāra* is one of the most importance practices of the Shīʿī tradition, as it is an affirmation of devotion to the People of the House in the clearest terms while also dissociating oneself from all those who stood against them. It is an articulation of a theological and social identity through the enactment of a liturgical rite which is uniquely Shīʿī, and hence would go on to serve as a marker of identity for Shīʿīs in general

³¹ Doris Hiller, “Prayer: VII Fundamental Theology,” in *Religion Past and Present*, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/religion-past-and-present/prayer-COM_08151?s.num=0&s.rows=20&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.religion-past-and-present&s.q=prayer, last accessed 7 August 2019.

and specifically Twelver Shī'īs, who developed a rich and voluminous tradition of *ziyāra* literature from the time of the Imāms well into the contemporary period as evidenced by Shaykh 'Abbās al-Qummī's *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*.

I will also include a brief history of *ziyāra* as a genre of liturgical material. This examination pertaining to its textual history demonstrates that *ziyāra* as a liturgical text developed in a similar manner to that of *du'ā'* literature. That is, *ziyāra* began as a written tradition during the historical period of the Imāms and then was later included alongside *du'ā'* in most liturgical manuals such as the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*. Consequently, greater attention has been given to those texts which are deemed to be *ziyāra* compendiums in a formal sense that their central objective was *ziyāra* literature and its attending virtues. Examples of such texts are the *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* by Ibn Qūlawayh (d.368/977), which is the most extensive extant work on the subject. Nevertheless, this dissertation will demonstrate an equally dedicated scholarly devotion to the compilation, citation, and proliferation of *ziyāra* as a liturgical textual genre which complements *du'ā'* literature as a beacon of performative Shī'ī piety and doctrine.

Chapter four then proceeds to give particular attention to the prodigious credence given to the *ziyāra* of Imām al-Ḥusayn in the Shī'ī ḥadīth tradition and how this formed the cult-like culture of lamentation among the Shī'a. I will then proceed to conduct a textual analysis of *Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*. I chose this *ziyāra* because it is unique due to it being found in three of the four principal ḥadīth compendiums, in addition to others. Its widespread inclusion in the earliest ḥadīth collection demonstrates its paramount importance to the Shī'ī liturgical tradition beyond the importance given to other *ziyārāt* such as *al-Wārith* or 'Āshūrā' while being similar in its thematic structure.

Prior to examining its contents, particular emphasis will be placed on the historical value of its chain of transmission (*isnād*), not for the purpose of authenticating the text but to demonstrate how this *ziyāra* has been transmitted by formative Shīʿī figures. This is done in order to develop insight into the circulation of the text among prominent Shīʿī traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) thereby elucidating its reigning status during the formative period of developing Shīʿī doctrine. As for its contents, *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* may also be described as a mosaic of complementary subject matter which includes themes such as God consciousness, suffering, redemption, sectarian polemics, profound reverence for the Imāms. This *ziyāra* will be compared to *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* and *al-Wārith*, especially with regard to its cursing (malediction) of the killers of Imām al-Ḥusayn and its politically charged allusions to prominent members of the early Muslim community. In addition to this a selection of motifs pertaining to the attributes of the Imāms as found within the text will be discussed as pertains to principles of divine mediation and retribution against the enemies of the Imāms.

i.iii Methodology

My method in this study is largely phenomenological combined with a critical-historical approach. I shall treat the corpus of devotional literature as constituting part of a broader religious imagination in which various myths are produced, interpreted, and contested. While recognizing the perspective of the “insider,” (who deems these liturgies to be sacred), I am cognizant that the doctrinal motifs selected for analysis must be situated within a multi-vocal cumulative tradition of Islamic intellectual history and even more broadly within the epistemic space of late antiquity. The historical-critical method will involve a historical-chronological examination of the attribution of these texts to the Prophet and the Imāms in which I consult

various manuscripts and biographical compendiums in order to critically reconstruct the history of the transmission of these texts.

As for the phenomenological method, I engage in a close philological and thematic study of the texts themselves in two specific ways in order to explore the intended efficacy of these prayers upon the believer who recites them and therefore to discern what sort of moral-theological edification is intended *via* these texts; that is to say, while the true efficacy can only be known by the participant alone, the texts nevertheless have been composed with certain moral and theological objectives ultimately designed to move the believer into a state of God-consciousness through the figure of the Imām as the intermediary. The phenomenological method will allow me to explore questions of spiritual transformation and the presence of the divine as expressed by the respective authors of these texts. This two-fold method, involving a critical-historical analysis along with a phenomenological approach, is the most appropriate for studying this genre of primary-source texts in light of the objectives of this dissertation.³² It should be clarified that this is not an exercise in confessional theology. Rather, my objective is to bring to light various elements of Shīʿī self-identity which need not be apologetic. This is an exercise in intellectual history and a study of communal engagement all of which is an attempt to articulate how these respective liturgical texts correlate to the broader religious-theological milieu of Islam and Shīʿism particularly. Shīʿī liturgy as an expression of faith is tethered to discussions surrounding theology and the philosophical worldview of the faithful as articulated by the various actors who contributed to the development of Shīʿī religious identity. These may

³² Cf. Clive Erricker, “Phenomenological Approaches” in *Approaches to The Study of Religion* ed. Peter Connolly (London: Cassel, 1999), 82-90.

be described as human responses to the divine which manifest in this case through liturgical literature. It is this literature which engages with the world of religious imagination as well as the world of religious experience as articulated by Annemarie Schimmel and Henry Corbin.³³ The world of religious imagination (for Corbin the *imaginal world*) is often associated with images, ideas or conceptions of God, cosmology and revelation where the world of religious experience refers to what occurs within the soul or at least what is intended to occur when human beings are confronted with the sacred.³⁴ The phenomenological method is best suited to explore both these dimensions of liturgy. Consequently, this dissertation is by no means prescriptive but rather, descriptive in its approach to developing an understanding of firstly the historical development of liturgy as a textual tradition. And secondly laying out the multitude of connections that may be drawn between the content of these liturgies and the wider religious universe in which they were composed and performed. One of these connections is a discussion as it pertains to authenticity of liturgical material in so far as understanding how Shī'īs have attempted to grapple with this question due the fact that it is the alleged historical link to the Prophet and the Imāms is what renders it sacred and efficacious in their view. To that effect, any discussion of such a nature may appear subjective but is nonetheless vital in providing an educated hypothesis as to why certain liturgical expressions or passages have a bearing upon the development of Shī'ī religious thought more broadly.

³³ Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering The Signs of God A Phenomenological Approach to Islam* (New York: SUNY Press, 1994), xii-xvii.

³⁴ For Corbin there is a common thread that weaves through various spiritual traditions which allowed him to pursue a discipline of comparative philosophy by using the phenomenological method. See: Howard Caygill, "The Phenomenologists of the One God: Levinas and Corbin" *Journal for the British Society of Phenomenology* 37:1, 58-59. Cf. Tom Cheetham, *All the World an Icon: Henry Corbin and the Angelic Function of Beings* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2012), 3-5, 195.

i.iv Literature review

There currently is a paucity of substantive literature dealing with Muslim liturgical literature in general and Shī'ī liturgy specifically, especially in light of the expansive breadth of the primary source literature and the lack of academic studies in this regard. Academic scholarship written on the subject of Shī'ī liturgy is largely limited to the groundbreaking 1961 work of Constance Padwick, entitled *Muslim Devotions*.³⁵ However, this text is very limited in its treatment of Shī'ī devotional practice and largely focuses upon medieval Sufi ritual manuals. In addition to this work, William Chittick has written a short but informative introduction to his translation of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* (The Scroll of Sajjād) which consists of a variety of supplications attributed to the fourth Imām, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 95/713).³⁶ This introduction has been certainly useful as a starting point from which various research questions have been developed, especially regarding the link between the doctrine of oneness (*tawḥīd*) and devotional prayer.

Another study of methodological and contextual significance is chapter five of Henry Corbin's *Alone with the Alone: Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, in which he explores the role of theophanic prayer in the mystical thought of Ibn 'Arabī and briefly touches upon what he describes as, "the extraordinary development in Imāmism, of the literature of the *ad'īya*, or private liturgies" without engaging in discussing any particular texts.³⁷ Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi picks up on this theme in his brief article, "Notes on Imāmī Prayer" in which he discusses Imāmī prayer within the context of the thought of Corbin.³⁸ The short chapter by Amir-Moezzi

³⁵ Constance Padwick, *Muslim Devotions* (London: One World, 1961).

³⁶ Chittick, 17-38.

³⁷ Henry Corbin, *Alone with the Alone: Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 259.

³⁸ Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, "Notes on Imāmī Prayer," *The Spirituality of Shi'i Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 378-384.

provides this dissertation with an excellent introductory point as it lists some of the important liturgical works and themes without going into much detail.

As for *Du'ā' Kumayl*, there are currently only two academic studies with respect to it. The first of them is an article by Gabriele Rebecchi, in which the author includes a brief biography of Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'ī (d. 82/701) and one key thematic note regarding the impermanence of all suffering except for the fire of Hell as illustrated in the *du'ā'*.³⁹ The second study focuses on a discussion of how *Du'ā' Kumayl* was used and included in mourning ceremonies for the late Āyat Allāh Khomeini (d. 1989) in post-revolutionary Iran, and also includes a complete French translation of the *du'ā'*.⁴⁰ Lastly, the chapter by Reza Shah Kazemi is perhaps the most informative in so far as he explores the connection between some passages of *Du'ā' Kumayl* and Islamic mysticism and theology.⁴¹ All three of these studies are very limited in their scope and focus upon neither the manuscript's history, nor the Qur'anic and mystical-theological themes with which the prayer is imbued, such as the immanence of God, spiritual psychology, suffering, and love. Lastly, Marion Holmes Katz briefly addresses the practice of *du'ā'* and its intersection with free will and pre-determination in Sunnī theology in her monograph entitled, "Prayer in Islamic Thought and Practice."⁴²

On the subject of *ziyāra*, in addition to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* entry,⁴³ there exist seven brief scholarly studies on the topic. The first can be found in the notes of Henry Corbin on *al-*

³⁹ Gabriele Rebecchi, "La preghiera di Kumayl ibn Ziyād," *Islām Storia e Civiltà*, no. 4 (Rome, 1985), 227-229.

⁴⁰ Denise Aigle, "Le symbolisme religieux šī'ite dans l'éloge funèbre de l'imām Khomeyni à l'occasion de la prière de Kumayl," *Arabica*, Vol. 41, no. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 59-83.

⁴¹ Reza Shah Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance: Introducing the Spirituality of Imām 'Ali* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 146-147.

⁴² Marion Holmes Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 20-43.

⁴³ "Ziyāra," in *EI2*.

Ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra which were prepared by the late scholar for a graduate seminar on Shī'ī Imamology offered at Sorbonne.⁴⁴ Secondly, there is a discussion on *ziyāra* in chapter five of Mahmoud Ayoub's "Redemptive Suffering in Islām: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of 'Ashūra."⁴⁵ In this chapter, Ayoub discusses the importance of grave visitation and recitation of the *ziyāra* of Imām al-Ḥusayn (d.61/680) in the formation of a distinct Shī'ī identity. While Ayoub does dedicate three pages to the translation of some select passages, it is by no means cumulative, nor is it a study of the sources or of the chains of transmission. The last two noteworthy articles are by Khalid Sindawi and Liyakat Takim. The work of Sindawi focuses on the development of mourning poetry dedicated to Imām al-Ḥusayn in addition to some notes regarding the visitation of his tomb and a listing of the important devotional manuals in this regard.⁴⁶ Alternatively, Takim analyses the pilgrimage from the view point of the ritual theory of Victor Turner.⁴⁷ This article does briefly analyze some elements of *ziyāra* literature while its overall contribution can be situated within the context of ritual studies and an informative introduction to the practice of grave visitation amongst Twelver Shī'īs. Currently, there is no substantial monograph or detailed textual analysis of Shī'ī *du'ā'* or *ziyāra* literature aside from a limited number of beneficial articles or book chapters which briefly summarize or indicate the

⁴⁴ Henry Corbin had offered a course on *al-Ziyāra al-jāmi'a* in which he was particularly interested in the mystical aspects of the liturgy with respect to the ontological position of the Imāms as reflected in the text. Henry Corbin, *Itineraire d'un Enseignement* (Tehran: Institut Français De Recherche En Iran, 1993), 107-110.

⁴⁵ Mahmoud Ayoub, "Redemptive Suffering in Islām: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of 'Āshūrā'," in *Twelver Shī'ism* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978), 180-196.

⁴⁶ Khalid Sindawi, "Visit to the Tomb of al-Ḥusayn in Shiite Poetry: First to the Fifth Centuries AH," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37 (2) (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230-258.

⁴⁷ See Liyakat Takim, "Charismatic Appeal or Communitas? Visitation to the Shrines of the Imāms," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 18 (2) 2004, 106-120.

historical and thematic questions pertinent to this dissertation in the form of short encyclopedia entries.

Chapter 1

An Examination of the Textual History of *Du‘ā* Literature in Twelver Shī‘ism

This chapter shall seek to shed light upon the history of transmission and preservation of Shī‘ī literature with a specific focus on *du‘ā* texts. It should be noted that such an undertaking is in no measure comprehensive but rather is an endeavour to outline the historical contours inherent in the development of this genre of literature, which until now has not been done in any substantive manner. In the course of this historical examination it will become apparent that *du‘ā* is an integral part of the Twelver Shī‘ī scholarly tradition insofar as Shī‘īs from the historical period of the Imāms – and to a degree non-Shī‘īs as well – made the production of liturgical texts an important component of their scholarly output and legacy. Consequently, as opposed to being a more nontechnical or popular matter largely of concern to the layman, this extensive collection of written texts has been continually transmitted from teacher to student in the vicinity of various Shī‘ite shrines and cities of learning. The sheer volume of texts and the supplications therein, numbering at least 3,803, is an indication of its paramount value to Shī‘ī scholarship and spirituality.⁴⁸ The primary source literature in this regard is vast and spread out from the period of the Imāms up to the contemporary period. Much of it remains unpublished and can only be found in the archives of private and public libraries across the globe.⁴⁹ By making use of

⁴⁸ According to my calculation, there are at least 3,800 *du‘ā*’s and *ziyārāt* of varying length attributed to the Prophet, Fāṭima and the twelve Imāms found in hundreds of texts both published and non-published. Two hundred of these are *ziyārāt* and the remainder are in the form *du‘ā*’s. This number is based solely on the currently published material, and I have calculated it by adding up the number of supplications attributed to the Prophet, Fāṭima, and the twelve Imāms mentioned in the encyclopedic work of *du‘ā*’ by the late Sayyid Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Abṭahī (d. 1422/2002) who spent decades compiling this literature under titles such as *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Nabawiyya*, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Fāṭimiyya*, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-‘Alawiyya* and so on for each Imām. For the *ziyārāt* literature, I have studied the relevant texts as well and added up the number of *ziyārāt* included in a recent encyclopedic work entitled *Mawsū‘at ziyārāt al-ma‘šūmīn*, ed. al-Sayyid Rafī‘ī (Qum: Mu‘assasat al-Imām al-Hādī, 2013).

⁴⁹ These rare manuscripts can be found in European and Middle Eastern libraries in addition to the numerous private collections which I have had the privilege of accessing in the cities of Najaf, Qum, Mashhad and Lucknow.

prosopographical and bio-bibliographic sources, I shall proceed to chart the oral/aural and textual history of liturgical literature from the period of the Imāms up until ‘Abbās al-Qummī. We may describe the *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* (The Keys of Paradise) as reflective of a contemporaneous pinnacle in the historical trajectory of this Shī‘ī liturgical genre, insofar as ‘Abbās al-Qummī’s work is currently the most printed and readily available in the world, as well as being revered by the laity and scholars alike.⁵⁰

1.1 The importance of this literature to the early Shī‘ī community

For Shī‘īs, there is one common feature which ties together the thousands of liturgical texts that are believed to have originated from the Imāms and are the product of their infallible composition. Thus, as stated at the outset of this dissertation, the history of *du‘ā* literature is intertwined with that of the history of ḥadīth transmission and writing since it is an offshoot of the latter. This common link between an ordinary ḥadīth of an infallible and that of a *du‘ā* believed to be composed by them is what for the devout renders both of these types of texts sacred and spiritually efficacious. The famous 7th/13th century Shī‘ī jurist and theologian, ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī has attempted to delineate the efficaciousness of this supplication literature by emphasizing its ability to cultivate certainty and conviction of faith (*yaqīn*) in a way that material from a non-infallible (*ghayru ma‘ṣūm*) cannot.⁵¹ Hence there would naturally be a profound emphasis on supplications that originated from the Imāms themselves.

I remain cognizant of the fact that those who write from a faith-based and perhaps even an apologetic *cum* polemical perspective find it in their interest to hold fast to the idea of a

⁵⁰ I shall discuss the importance of this work and its compiler and author towards the end of this chapter.

⁵¹ Al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (‘Allāma al-Ḥillī), *al-Alfayn* (Kuwait City: Maktabat al-Alfayn, 1985), 295.

pristine, unaltered, and coherent mythical narrative of origins. I am certainly not employing the term “myth” in any disparaging manner except to designate what forms the backbone of a dogmatic religious identity which consists of a set of narratives that convey an absolute truth for believers. That being said, insofar as this is an examination of Islamic intellectual history, I will explore the narratives that form the basis of how Shīʿīs have understood their own history with regard to the production, transmission, and preservation of liturgical material as a genre of sacred literature. I must emphasize that this liturgical material is for the devout also “magical” or supra rational insofar as it is thought to be especially efficacious due to it being composed by one of the Fourteen Infallibles. An example of this would be a supplication transmitted by Ibn Ṭāwūs in which Yaḥyā, the son of Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī (d.150/767-768) fractured his hand and was taken to the doctor for treatment. While the doctor went to fetch a bandage, Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī recalled a *duʿā* taught to him by the fourth Imām, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, so he proceeded to recite it for his son. Thereafter, the doctor returned astonished to find that the fracture had disappeared. His immediate response was to accuse Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī of magic (*siḥr*), saying: “It is not surprising to see your (performance) of the magic of the Shīʿa!” Now, Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī’s response is particularly instructive, where he says: “May your mother be bereaved of you, this is not magic; rather I recalled the supplication I heard from my master ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, so I recited it.”⁵² Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī goes on to say that he felt unworthy of being taught this *duʿā*, at which point his friend, Ḥumrān b. Aʿyan, pleads with him to teach it to him,

⁵² The expression “May your mother be bereaved of you” is a symbolic Arabic expression meant to convey disdain towards someone.

which he proceeds to do so.⁵³ These liturgies for the devout Shī'ī would then be deemed to be a product of supreme and divinely inspired wisdom. The perceived efficacy of these texts for Shī'īs is due to the conviction that the words and particularly the supplications of the Prophet and the Imāms are impregnated with their spiritual charisma and authority (*wilāya/walāya*) which transcends the passage of time, unlike the supplications of an ordinary Shī'ī scholar, however eloquent they may be.⁵⁴ In this sense it may be compared to the attachment to the various voluminous writings and supplications of Sufi masters or *qawwali* and other Sufi texts; however, in the case of Shī'ism, this literature has been attributed to infallible Imāms. These devotions for Shī'īs have played an especially important role to assure this minority community of God's presence and the Imām's unrivaled authority, which has made their dissemination all the more vital.

The need for such reassurance became particularly pressing in the face of widespread marginalization at the hands of various proto-Sunnī dynasties through the Umayyad, Abbasid and Seljuq periods.⁵⁵ Further, these supplications would have provided a convenient vehicle for the

⁵³ Raḡī al-Dīn 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ṭāwūs (Ibn Ṭāwūs), *Muhaj al-da'awāt*, ed. Abū Ṭalib Kirmānī (Qum: Dār al-Dhakā'ir, 1990), 166.

⁵⁴ In the case of Sufism, the Sufi masters have their own collections of liturgical material which is revered by their followers or members of their spiritual guilds. This is an important distinction between Twelver Shī'īs and Sufis, in the sense that considering the voluminous material attributed to the Fourteen Infallibles there is minimal aspiration among Shī'īs to examine or perform the individual compositions of Shī'ī scholars albeit they are so few and treated with little importance in comparison to the compositions of various Sufi masters such as Muḥyī al-Dīn b. 'Arabī (Ibn 'Arabī d. 638/1240). See Ibn 'Arabī, *The Seven Days of the Heart (Awrād al-usbū): Prayers for Nights and Days of the Week*, tr. Pablo Beneito and Stephen Hirtenstein (Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2000).

⁵⁵ "Proto-Sunnī" here refers to the notion that the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties at least cannot be described as Sunnī in the fully developed sense. Of course, in the case of the later Abbasids and the Seljuqs they could certainly be described as having a pro-Sunnī agenda. However, throughout most of the period of these dynasties their intolerance towards Shī'ī movements and especially towards *rafḍ* (rejection of the first three caliphs and early companions), and their at least tacit support for a positive evaluation of the companions of the Prophet and the legitimacy of the first three caliphs would render them proto-Sunnī. Such beliefs would later be incorporated into mainstream Sunnī orthodoxy by the time of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (242/855). This doctrinal trend ran wholly counter to Shī'īs, who, as Patricia Crone describes, believed their Imāms to be "superhuman saviour figures" that divided the

dissemination of the spiritual, political and social aspirations of the Imāms and their followers. As Hamid Algar asserts with regard to Twelver Shī'ī liturgy: "these prayers constitute for the masses of believers, both the chief textual legacy of the Imāms and the principal means by which they commune with them."⁵⁶ It should be once again reiterated that the proliferation of this liturgical material, and especially in this case *du'ā'* literature, became a mode of communal survival with the aim of continuously reviving the spiritual legacy of the Prophet, Fāṭima and the twelve Imāms as those who tie the community to the remembrance of God. To this effect, Henry Corbin describes the private liturgies in Imāmī Shī'ism as an "extraordinary development" whose prayers are the very reflection of the Imām as the "epiphany of the Godhead" whose liturgical compositions, when in the hands of the faithful, allow them to participate in his cult.⁵⁷ Hence the availability of liturgical material acts as a conduit by which the Shī'ī devout may partake in and benefit from the unparalleled proximity to God as reflected in their prayers.

1.2 The textual legacy of Shī'ī *Du'ā'* literature

The liturgical legacy of *du'ā'* as a genre of literature began during the period of the Imāms themselves. Shī'īs were distinguished from non-Shī'īs partly by their emphasis on the written word and the transmission of religious knowledge in the form of writing, of which liturgical literature plays an elemental role. Etan Kohlberg in his ground breaking article on the four

community between the party of God and the party of Satan, the latter being all those who "usurped" the authority of the Imāms. Thus, a portion of the Shī'ī community has been described as *Rawāfiḍ* (sing. *Rāfiḍī*) and were often viewed as pariahs. The imprisonment or disenfranchisement of especially the seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh Imāms along with several their companions is indicative of the perceived religious and political threat which emanated from this group. For more on this see Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 110-119.

⁵⁶ Hamid Algar, "Do'ā." in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

⁵⁷ Henry Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 258-259.

hundred *uṣūl*,⁵⁸ and later Maria Dakake,⁵⁹ have demonstrated that the Imāmī ḥadīth tradition encouraged the recording of the sayings of the Imāms from at least the early 2nd century, coinciding with the Imamates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d.117-118/735-736) and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (148/765).⁶⁰ This encouragement seems to have been counter-cultural, even acting as a form of resistance against the dominant proto-Sunnī customs of the time which would have been shared by other Shī‘ī subgroups and Shī‘ī narrators of tradition prior to the establishment of the Imāmiyya as a group who ascribed to the belief in twelve Imāms by the early 4th/10th century with the occultation of the twelfth Imām, the Mahdī. Furthermore, the act of recording the sayings of the Imāms was rather commonplace. In fact, Michael Cook points out that, aside from a few others, among the Imāmīs, he found no impropriety associated with the writing of traditions, unlike the discouragement among numerous proto-Sunnīs who seem to have been inspired by ‘Umar b. Khaṭṭāb’s alleged aversion towards the writing of traditions out of the fear that it would become a scriptural rival to the Qur’an.⁶¹ Indeed, the writing of tradition and religious knowledge was certainly viewed with suspicion and even derision in centres of learning such as Mecca, Medina, and Basra. Despite this, historical reports do indicate that by as early as the 1st/8th century, ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/713, the son of the prophetic companion, al-Zubayr b. ‘Awwām, d.36/656) was relying on a series of notebooks (*kutub*) which contained numerous legal ḥadīths, in addition to composing specific works on Islamic history, and it is for this reason

⁵⁸ Etan Kohlberg, “al-Uṣūl al-Arba‘umia”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 10 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 128-29.

⁵⁹ Maria Massi Dakake, *The Charismatic Community: Shi‘ite Identity in Early Islam* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007), 99 and 192.

⁶⁰ “Imāmī” here refers to the Shī‘ī community who believed in the succession of ‘Alī.

⁶¹ For an extensive discussion in this regard see Michael Cook, “The Opponents of the Writing of Tradition in Early Islam,” *Arabica* 44 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 437-496.

that ‘Urwa’s writing survived well into the 3rd/9th century, being cited by al-Ṭabarī (d.310/923) and others.⁶² Likewise, Mujāhid b. Jabr (d.104/722), the representative of the Meccan school of Qur’anic exegesis, is well attested to have conducted classes in which his students not only transmitted exegetical ḥadīth from him but also recorded these ḥadīth in the form of notebooks or class notes.⁶³ To further attest to the existence of an early written tradition, al-Bukhārī reports traditions from “The Scroll of ‘Alī” (*Ṣaḥīfat ‘Alī*) which contained sayings of the Prophet on different subjects.⁶⁴ Therefore, despite the primacy of oral transmission as a manifestation of scholarly piety, it can be asserted with some degree of certainty that the custom of writing ḥadīth was in fact a practice which began during the first century of Islam. Furthermore, that the Kharijites, despite holding no specific ill will towards ‘Umar, nonetheless rejected his prohibition on the writing of ḥadīth, in turn confirming at least a tangential association between the writing of ḥadīth with heterodoxy.⁶⁵

It is this association with ‘Umar which may have encouraged some Shī’īs to defy the ban on writing by the second caliph, whom they deemed hostile to ‘Alī, Fāṭima and their early followers.⁶⁶ I should emphasize at this juncture that even in the absence of historical certainty

⁶² In the figure of ‘Urwa b. Zubayr’s student, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d.124/742) we see a continuation of the same practice of writing down and recording ḥadīth. See Gregor Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam: From the Aural to the Read*, tr. Shawkat M. Toorawa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 41-43; 47-48.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶⁴ Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī, *Dirāyat al-ḥadīth* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-‘Alamī li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 2004), 127. Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā al-Qazqī’s introduction to Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taghlīq al-ta’līq ‘alā ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1987), 1:10.

⁶⁵ There were non-Shī’īs and non-Kharijites who also made a habit of writing ḥadīth and thus it could not be exclusively associated with the former two groups; thus among the proto-Sunnīs some supported writing tradition while others disliked it. For those who disliked it see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d.911/1505), *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taqrīb al-nawawī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahāb ‘Abd al-Laṭīf (Medina: al-Maktaba al-‘Ilmiyya, 1959), 1:3. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taghlīq al-ta’līq ‘alā ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*, 1:10.

⁶⁶ Maria Massi Dakake, “Writing and Resistance: The Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Early Shi’ism” in *The Study of Shi’i Islam*, ed. Farhad Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 183.

regarding ‘Umar’s ban on writing ḥadīth, the mere connection drawn between him and its prohibition would have been sufficient premise for early Rāfiḍī Shī‘īs⁶⁷ by the early 2nd/8th century to consider the writing of tradition as a form of protest against their arch-adversary, ‘Umar.⁶⁸ Part of this written tradition during the first centuries of Islamic intellectual history was the liturgical material associated with the Prophet and the Imāms. This liturgical material consists of prayers both of a specific and general purpose. Specific *du‘ā*’s are ideally performed at certain hours, days or months of the year often coinciding with a sacred day such as the middle of Rajab, the middle of Sha‘bān, or the nights of power in the month of Ramaḍān. Some prayers are not time specific but can be recited while in a state of fear, sickness, or in response to some form of tribulation.⁶⁹

1.2 Liturgical material during the historical period of the Imāms

In this regard, the earliest written liturgical text in the Shī‘ī tradition is arguably the *Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila* (The Complete Scroll), also known as *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* (The Scroll of Sajjād) believed by Shī‘īs to be have been composed by the fourth Imām, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d.95/713), its contents confirmed by his son Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir and grandson, Imām Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq.⁷⁰ The current printed edition contains fifty-four supplications of

⁶⁷ Etan Kohlberg notes that al-Shahrastānī included the Rawāfiḍ among the Ghulāt, whom, according to Kohlberg, would certainly include Zurāra b. A‘yan and Mu‘min al-Ṭāq. For all purposes, the term “Rāfiḍa” became synonymous with Imāmī or Twelver Shī‘īs who especially categorically rejected the religious legitimacy of the first three caliphs (“Al-Rāfiḍā or al-Rawāfiḍ,” in *EI2*, eds. P. Bearmen, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online 14 July 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6185).

⁶⁸ Shī‘ī scholars have long vilified ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb for this apparent prohibition on writing and the polemical literature in this respect is voluminous. You may refer to the extensive bibliography found in ‘Alī Sharastānī, *Man‘a tadwīn al-ḥadīth* (Qum: Dār al-Ghadīr, 2005), 544-580.

⁶⁹ This may be easily discerned by glancing at the table of contents of any major Shī‘ī liturgical manual which is a collection of devotions for various times and circumstances.

⁷⁰ For the complete narration in which both the fifth and sixth Shī‘ī Imāms have confirmed its contents and affirmed their possession of the *Ṣaḥīfa* see ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* (Qum: Maktabat al-Hādī, 1997), 12-15.

which the number belonging to the original text cannot be exactly ascertained, nor can it even be known if such an original text ever existed. Despite the absence of material evidence contemporary to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, there exists a staggering fifteen hundred manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīfa* found in public and private libraries around the world, the earliest surviving of which contains thirty-eight supplications and was copied in 416/1025 just three years after the death of Shaykh al-Mufīd in 413/1022.⁷¹ This copy of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* is counted among the oldest manuscripts in Twelver Shī'ī collections, since there are a minute number of extant manuscripts from the early 5th/11th century in comparison to later centuries. It is believed that this manuscript was copied and collated with the transmission of an earlier, no longer extant, *Ṣaḥīfa* manuscript copied by the caliphal vizier (minister), Abī 'Alī b. Muqalla (Ibn Muqalla, d. 328/939-940).⁷² This non-extant copy of the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* is important for several reasons, in addition to it being a century earlier than the manuscript copied in 416/1025. Firstly, prior to his execution, Ibn Muqalla formed part of al-Muqtadir's (d.320/932) inner political circle and was renowned for his penmanship as a copyist of Arabic manuscripts.⁷³ It can also be gleaned from Shī'ī sources that, despite his Abbasid affiliations, he had Shī'ī sympathies to such an extent that

The fourth Imām has several titles which include Zayn al-'Ābidīn ("The ornament of the worshippers") and al-Sajjād ("The one who prostrates frequently"). Both are often used separately to refer to him.

⁷¹ Sayyid Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūjirdī, "al-A'lām al-jilīya fī aṣālat nuskhat al-shahīd min al-ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya," *Turāthunā*, nos 89-90 (2007), 41-42. The earliest surviving manuscript can be found in al-Raḍawiyya library (Āstān-i Quds). See 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, "al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya copied 416/1025" MS no. 12405, al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya, Mashhad.

⁷² This manuscript attributed to Ibn Muqalla has been mentioned by Mīrzā Afandī, who claims to have had access to it and he describes it as "an antique precious copy (*nuskha 'atīqa nafisa bi-khaṭṭ Ibn Muqalla*)." See al-Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh Afandī (1130/1718), *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Tārīkh al-'Arabī, 2010), 4:395. This will not be the first occasion that we encounter an Abbasid vizier with Shī'ī leanings who concurrently takes an interest in liturgical material, as will be seen in the case of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.

⁷³ Ibid. For instance when a copyist's penmanship is to be praised it can be described as "It is like the writing of Ibn Muqalla (*ka 'annahū khaṭṭ Ibn Muqalla*)." See Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāghā* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1979). Al-Muqtadir reigned as the Abbasid caliph from 908-932/295-320.

Ibn Ṭāwūs remarks that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī had a unique compilation of supplications from the Imāms to be recited during the various hours of the day (*ad'īya al-sā'āt*) which was based on an earlier copy in the handwriting of Ibn Muqalla ("*min khaṭṭ Ibn Muqalla*").⁷⁴ One may suppose on the basis of this anecdotal evidence that Ibn Muqalla in his function as a renowned copyist also copied the supplications of the Imāms and due to the aesthetic appeal of his writing. Some of these copies such as the *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* survived until at least the 12th/18th century as can be seen from Mīrẓā Afandī's testimony.⁷⁵ In addition to the manuscript dated 416/1025, there exist numerous complete manuscripts of the *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* from the 7th /13th century onwards, some of which are the following: the manuscript of Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh Al-Mustaṣ'amī dated 694/1294, and the manuscript of Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Shīrāzī copied in Mosul in the year 695/1295. Lastly, the most renowned extant manuscript is that of Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Āmilī (al-Shahīd al-Awwal d.786/1384) upon which the current edition of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* is largely based, in addition to the manuscript of Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Majlisī (d.1110/1699).⁷⁶ The importance of the Shahīd al-Awwal manuscript is based on his claim that he had at his disposal earlier manuscripts such as the copy of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Sakūn al-Ḥillī (lived early 7th/13th century) and the distinguished Imāmī jurist, Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī (d.598/1201).⁷⁷ It should be noted that the manuscript of al-Shahīd al-Awwal contains eighteen

⁷⁴ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Amān min al-akhṭār al-asfār wa-l-azmān* (Qum: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1988), 101.

⁷⁵ He was a prolific bibliophile and scholar who is counted among the students of al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī (1104/1693), the writer of *Wasā'il al-shī'a*. For more on Afandī, see the superb intellectual biography written by al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī in *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, 1: 13-24.

⁷⁶For further copious details on the various manuscripts see the extensive research by 'Alī Fāḍlī in *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya bi-khaṭṭ Ḥajjī 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār al-Iṣfahānī*, edited and introduced by 'Alī Fāḍlī (Tehran: Majlis Shūrā Islāmī, 1979), 328-329.

⁷⁷ See 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila al-Sajjādiyya*, copied by Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Āmilī (al-Shahīd al-Awwal) on 11th of Sha'bān, 772/1370, Maktabat Mumtāz al-'Ulamā', Lucknow, India, folio 2. This manuscript is rare and the only known extant copy in the handwriting of al-Shahīd al-Awwal. I had the privilege of acquiring a xerox of

fewer supplications than the copies of the *Ṣaḥīfa* from 416/1025 and 697/1297, which indicates that at least until al-Shahīd al-Awwal the text of the *Ṣaḥīfa* remained in flux with regard to the number of supplications as well as containing minor variations in the texts of the supplications.⁷⁸ That being said, the text of al-Shahīd al-Awwal may have been a chosen selection of supplications especially since earlier copies contained a greater number of supplications. There are five commonly cited chains of transmission:

1. Muḥammad b. Wārith >⁷⁹ al-Ḥusayn Ishkīb (companion of tenth and eleventh Imāms, al-Hādī d.254/868 and al-‘Askarī) > ‘Umayr b. Mutawwakil > His father, al-Mutawakkil b. Hārūn > Yaḥyā b. Zayd > Zayd b. ‘Alī > ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.⁸⁰
2. Al-Najāshī (d. circa 463/1071) > al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh > through various intermediaries > Yaḥya b. Zayd (d.125/742) > Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn who was given the *Ṣaḥīfa* of his father, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.
3. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī > Aḥmad b. ‘Abdūn (d.380/990) > Yaḥyā b. Zayd (d.125/742) > Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn who was given the *Ṣaḥīfa* of his father, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.
Shaykh Ṭūsī > A group of his authorities (*jamā’a*) > al-Tala‘ukbarī Yaḥyā b. Zayd > Zayd b. ‘Alī who was given the *Ṣaḥīfa* from his father, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.⁸¹

the entire manuscript. These two names (Ibn Idrīs and Ibn al-Sakūn) shall be discussed further in addition to al-Shahīd al-Awwal, as they shall arise later in this chapter with respect to their contributions to the manuscripts of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.

⁷⁸ For an extensive analysis see Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī, *Dirāsāt ḥawl al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-‘Alamī li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 2000), 67-115.

⁷⁹ This symbol “>” represents “on the authority of (‘an)” indicating that the person following the symbol is the one who narrated the report to the reporter who came before him.

⁸⁰ This is the chain of transmission of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* copied by Ibn Muqalla.

⁸¹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl* (Qum: Jāmi‘at al-Mudarrisīn, 1994), 434. For more on this see Muḥammad ‘Alī Majīd Faqīhī, *An Introductory Commentary to al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyyah*, trans. Kazim Bhojani (Qum: al-Muṣṭafā International, 2011), 48-49.

4. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Kirmānī⁸² > Yaḥya b. Zayd > Zayd b. ‘Alī who was given the *Ṣaḥīfa* from his father, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.⁸³
5. Unknown (“*ḥaddathanā*”, lit. “We have been told”) > Bahā’ al-Sharaf b. Ḥasan al-‘Alawī > various intermediaries > Yaḥyā b. Zayd > Zayd b. ‘Alī who was given the *Ṣaḥīfa* from his father, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.⁸⁴

The above chains of transmission demonstrate that by at least the 5th/11th century, the *Ṣaḥīfa* was an established text among prominent Twelver Shī‘ī authorities such as al-Ṭūsī and his teachers and authorities (*mashāyikh*) such as Shaykh al-Mufīd (d.413/1022) and Ibn Ashnās al-Bazāz (d.439/1047).⁸⁵ There is a rare manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfa* transmitted on the authority of Ibn Ashnās which contains 54 *du‘ā*’s, about which his student states: “Abū Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ashnās al-Bazāz informed us (*akhbaranā*) and I recited it to him and he confirmed it (*qarā’ tuhu ‘alayhi wa aqarra bi-hi*).”⁸⁶ This is the opening line of a copy of the

⁸² He is most likely Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Nawfalī al-Kirmānī who is listed among the ḥadīth authorities (*mashāyikh*) of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq as found in the chains of transmission in *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* and *Kamāl al-dīn*. See the editor’s introduction to al-Ṣadūq, *Ma‘ānī al-akhbār*, edited and introduced by ‘Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Qum: Jāmi‘at al-Mudarrisīn, 1982), 64.

⁸³ This chain of transmission is found in the manuscript copied in 416/1021 held in al-Maktaba al-Raḍawīyya. See note 51.

⁸⁴ This is the chain of transmission found in the current most popular edition of the *Ṣaḥīfa*. In my personal collection I own a complete manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfa* copied in 1071/1660 with this chain of transmission. There exists disagreement as to whom the unknown “*ḥaddathanā*” pertains, meaning to whom does the pronoun [“we have been told”] refer to? According to Shaykh al-Bahā‘ī (d.1030/1621) it is Ibn Sakūn al-Ḥillī, whereas Mīr Damād speculates that it is ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ Hibat Allāh b. Ḥāmid b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb (d.610/1213); however, neither Shaykh al-Bahā‘ī nor Mīr Damād have provided corroborating evidence for this claim. See Faqīhī, *An Introductory Commentary*, 50.

⁸⁵ On this see al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī‘a ilā ṭaṣānīf al-shī‘ā* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1983), 15:344; Faqīhī, 51. There is a unique *Ṣaḥīfa* transmission from Ibn Ashnās through his intermediaries going to Imām ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

⁸⁶ ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila bi-riwāyat Ibn Ashnās al-Bazāz*, copied in 1172/1758, MS no. n,d,, Ketāb-khāneh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Naṣīrī, Tehran. The verbal noun *qirā’a* literally means “to read”, or “to recite aloud” which for the purpose of this dissertation is indicative of the process in which the student either reads to the teacher or vice versa, after which the teacher would issue a reading certificate to the student for that text or book. In this case, this was a classical method of teaching liturgical material such as the *Ṣaḥīfa*, ensuring its further transmission is sound and accurate.

Ṣahīfa which was recited by the student back to his or her teacher, thus demonstrating that during the early 5th/11th century the *Ṣahīfa* as a liturgical text was taught in a similar manner to jurisprudence and theology *via* performative recitation (*qirā'a*). Although I have not found any direct evidence, it would not be implausible that scholars such as Sayyid al-Murtaḍā and Shaykh al-Mufīd participated in and instructed reading sessions for the *Ṣahīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, much like their contemporary Ibn Ashnās.

To further attest to the proliferation of the *Ṣahīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, al-Ṭūsī has included three supplications from the *Ṣahīfa* in his devotional work, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (The Lantern of the Night Worshipper), each of which can be found in nearly identical form in the current published edition of the *Ṣahīfa*.⁸⁷ It would seem al-Ṭūsī only included these three since they were time-specific supplications which fit the needs of his text and also due to the fact that the contents of the *Miṣbāḥ* was chosen at his discretion hence the inclusion of only three supplications from the *Ṣahīfa* should not indicate that al-Ṭūsī only trusted the authenticity of those three. Furthermore, in the century following al-Ṭūsī, the famous jurist, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Ḥillī (Ibn Idrīs d.598/1201) set out to write a short commentary on the *Ṣahīfa* which included fifty-four supplications all of which correspond with the current published version of the *Ṣahīfa*. This is the earliest extant commentary on the *Ṣahīfa* which also demonstrates the lofty position it occupied in the city of Hilla which became a centre of Shī'ī learning under

⁸⁷ In each of these instances al-Ṭūsī states the following: “*yad'ū bi-du'ā' 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn min ad'iya al-ṣahīfa* (supplicate with the *du'ā'* from the supplications of the scroll of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn).” These supplications include the supplication for the morning (*al-ṣabāḥ*), the supplication following the night prayers (*ṣalāt al-layl*), and the supplication to be recited at night and in the morning (*'inda al-ṣabāḥ wa-l-masā'*). See al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 188; 245, and 607.

Ibn Idrīs's leadership. To this effect, Ibn Idrīs describes the *Ṣaḥīfa* in the following manner as an introductory note to his commentary:

“The *Ṣaḥīfa* as it is transmitted from the chief of the worshippers (the fourth Imām, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-‘Ābidīn) is the most sublime of what is engaged with by the devout (*muta‘abbidīn*). This is the case when it is the dessert of the fruit of which its origin is the chief of the messengers (the Prophet Muhammad) and the soul of the soul that is connected with the sacred presence of the Lord of the worlds.”⁸⁸

In the above statement, Ibn Idrīs is attempting to reflect upon how the *Ṣaḥīfa* is in-fact a manifestation of the Prophet's own spiritual charisma since it flows from the Imām whose soul is part and parcel of that singular spiritual reality originating with God himself who in-turn chose Muḥammad as his prophet and messenger. It should also be noted that Ibn Idrīs transcribed and transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfa* sometime in Rajab, 570/1174 from the copy of Abī ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī (Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's son) who in-turn transmitted it from his father.⁸⁹ While the original copy of Ibn Idrīs is no longer extant, we have the written testimony of ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Sadīd al-Dīn who collated the *Ṣaḥīfa* copied by Ibn Sakūn al-Ḥillī with the copy of Ibn Idrīs in the year 654/1256.⁹⁰

With that being said, the question remains as to whether the *Ṣaḥīfa* existed as a written book of supplications during the lifetime of Imām ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn or whether it has been retroactively attributed to him. In the absence of any surviving material evidence contemporaneous to the Imām we cannot know for certain. However, there are some pieces of circumstantial evidence to consider. Firstly, al-Kulaynī has included a report in his *al-Kāfi*

⁸⁸ Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Ḥillī, *Ḥāshiyat Ibn Idrīs ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya in Mawsū‘a Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī al-Mūsawī al-Khirsān* (Najaf: al-‘Ataba al-‘Alawiyya al-Muqaddasa, 2008), 6:99

⁸⁹ Ibid, 6:39.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 40.

in which it is stated that ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn’s trusted companion, Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī, had in his possession a scroll (*ṣaḥīfa*) containing the Imām’s words on the topic of *zuhd* (asceticism) at which point he presented the scroll to the Imām who then acknowledged it and authenticated its contents (*fa-‘arafahu wa ṣaḥḥahu mā kāna fihā*).⁹¹

In a second report, Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab (d.94/715), who is respected by Shī‘īs and Sunnīs alike, states that every Friday, Imām ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn would admonish the people in the mosque of the Prophet and “it was memorized from him and written (*ḥufiẓa ‘anhu wa kutiba*).”⁹² If such reports are to be trusted, it can be surmised that, on occasion, the lectures and traditions of the fourth Imām were recorded for posterity, which in turn would prompt us to speculate that his supplications may have also been transcribed. In addition to this, in the manuscript copied in 416/1025, at the conclusion of the *Ṣaḥīfa*, the scribe has included an additional two supplications attributed to Imām ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn as reported by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, which the scribe insists was compared by means of *qirā’a* with the *aṣl* (notebook) of an unknown Akhī Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad.⁹³ These crucial details shed light upon the fact that these were written works of supplication which were compared to one another, often by recitation, *qirā’a*. It should be especially noted that we find similar details pertaining to the performance and teaching of *du‘ā’*, not only in the case of the addendum, but also pertaining

⁹¹ Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1986), 8:14.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 8:72.

⁹³ *Al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila*, MS no. 12405 copied in 416/1025, folios 76-78, al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya. The position of al-Zuhrī in Shī‘ī tradition and especially as a transmitter of the traditions of Imām ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn is beyond the scope of this study and remains to be investigated. However, it will suffice to mention that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī mentions al-Zuhrī’s commentary on aspects of fasting (*Sharḥ wujūh al-ṣiyām*) as including a lengthy tradition from Imām ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn. See al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 665; *al-Istibṣār fī-mā ikhtalafa min al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Khirsān (Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1970), 2:131. As for Akhī Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad, I have not been able to find any historical details regarding him.

to the *Ṣaḥīfa* itself in which the scribe, al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Zāmī (or Ilzāmī) al-Ḥayṣamī, who copied it in 416/1025, mentions on the final folio that he was given a license (*ijāza*) to transmit the *Ṣaḥīfa* from Abū Bakr al-Kirmānī.⁹⁴ I have been unable to find biographical details regarding these figures; however, it can be surmised that neither were Twelver Shī'īs. This is due to un-Twelver Shī'ī like expressions found at the beginning and end of the text. On the first folio the expression “May the mercy of God be upon him (*rahmatu allāhi 'alayhi*)” follows the name of the Imām ('Alī b. al-Ḥusayn), which is atypical of Twelver Shī'īs of that era who would use the expression “upon him be peace (*'alayhi al-salām*).” Secondly, in the colophon, it is written: “‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, the seal of the rightly guided caliphs (*khātam al-khulafā' al-rāshidīn*),” which clearly indicates that this scribe was most likely either a non-Shī'ī or a Zaydī.⁹⁵

Upon studying the genealogy of the names mentioned in the manuscript, Hassan Ansari concludes that the scribe and issuer of the *ijāza* are both most likely of a Karāmī persuasion and from the Khurāsān region of Northern Iran.⁹⁶ The early nature of this manuscript is material evidence that the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* was also proliferating among non-Shī'īs and non-Twelvers by the early 5th/11th century. In the case of non-Twelver Shī'īs this would be expected since 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, while being an infallible Imām for the Twelvers, was a

⁹⁴ The term *ijāza* here is defined as license and to avoid constant repetition I will use both words interchangeably to indicate the same type of document, which is a transmission license issued for a text or part of a text. See *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmīla*, MS no. 12405, al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya, folio 79. I was not able to find any information on this individual whose name is Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salama . . . , the remainder of the name being illegible.

⁹⁵ The expression “rightly guided caliphs” is a Sunnī invention since Twelver Shī'īs did not accept the legitimacy of the first three caliphs. The Zaydīs, while also being Shī'īs, had a more accommodating attitude towards the first three caliphs and it would not be out of the ordinary to see such an expression. See Etan Kohlberg, “Some Zaydi Views on the Companions of the Prophet,” *Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Studies*, 39:1 (1976), 91-98.

⁹⁶ Hassan Ansari does not provide many details in this regard, except that these names can be traced to a Zaydī group of the Karāmīyya who hail from Northern Iran. See Hassan Ansari, “Mulāḥiẓātī chand darbārih-i mirās-i bar jāy māndih-i karāmīyya.” Tehran: Vezārat-i farhang va irshād islāmī (2002), 71.

spiritual role model for Muslims of all persuasions, and of course he was an Imām for the Zaydis who share him with the Twelvers.⁹⁷ To emphasize the continuous and unbroken transmission (*tawātur*) of the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, the bibliographer and student of the important late Safavid scholar Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d.1110/1699), Mīrzā Afandī states that, to his knowledge, there are sixty thousands “*isnāds*” (links) and one hundred chains of transmission for this text. Of course, it should be noted that the term “*sanad*” as used by Afandī most probably includes the numerous licences (*ijāzāt*) issued by teachers to their students to transmit the text. As for the one hundred chains of transmission (*isnāds*), I have not been able to empirically verify this claim; however, the chains of transmission in the various ḥadīth, *rijāl*, and prosopographical works are certainly so numerous that it would require an entire monograph to sort out their particularities and relevant details. It will suffice to mention that Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, in his magnum opus *Biḥār al-anwār*, states the following regarding the *Ṣaḥīfa*:

As for what I have seen (*ra’aytu*) of the chains of the transmission (*asānīd*) other than these chains of transmission [other than what he has already mentioned], it amounts to more than what can be enumerated, such that there is no doubt that it [the *Ṣaḥīfa*] is from Sayyid al-Sājidīn (the fourth Shī‘ī Imām). As for the chain of transmission, it is akin to the Noble Qur’an. And it [the *Ṣaḥīfa*] also has continuous chains of transmission (*mutawātira*) in the links (*ṭuruq*) of the Zaydiyya.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Much more research is yet to be done regarding the Zaydī reception and recension of the *Ṣaḥīfa* in both Yemen and Khurāsān.

⁹⁸ Al-Majlisī has provided an extensive discussion regarding the chains of the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīfa*, such that it is evident that he has numerous sources available to him which are no longer extant, one of these being the original manuscript written by Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī. An independent study on al-Majlisī’s *Biḥār* as a source for the history of the *Ṣaḥīfa* remains to be completed. For the above excerpt and other details see Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (Beirut: Dār Ihyā’ Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1987), 107:59-60. Currently, the most exhaustive study on the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīfa* and its manuscripts is Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī’s, *Dirāsāt ḥawl al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*.

Al-Majlisī's claims may certainly be contestable, but his comments nevertheless indicate the reverence and perceived authenticity of the *Ṣaḥīfa* during his tenure as chief scholar of the Safavid dynasty.⁹⁹ Furthermore, as for the current published editions, there are nearly thirty different ones, many of them with extensive introductions and notes regarding the chains of transmission, the various manuscripts and the discrepancies therein.¹⁰⁰ In conclusion, the popularity of the *Ṣaḥīfa* is primarily due to the fact that, unlike other surviving liturgical compositions, it is believed to have been written and composed by the Imām himself and thus it is set aside in a category of its own when compared to other liturgical material transmitted from the Imāms. This is what would be commonly considered of the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* which ranged between thirty- eight and fifty-four supplications, as the early manuscripts vary up to the time of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī. As stated, regarding the al-Shahīd al-Awwal MS (Maktabat Mumtāz al-'Ulamā', Lucknow), the discrepancies could be due to personal selections, which limited the number of supplications included or the various *isnāds* reflected differing copies of the original text. However, it would stand to reason those fifty-four supplications seems to be the standard from at least the period of Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥilli (who commented upon fifty-four supplications in his commentary) up to the edition compiled by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī which contains the same

⁹⁹ An equally if not more extensive analysis of the *isnāds* of the *Ṣaḥīfa* can be found in Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Abṭaḥī, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya al-jāmi'a* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Mahdī, 2002), 690-725. In these pages al-Abṭaḥī maps out the *isnāds* for the *Ṣaḥīfa*. They have been mapped out for every generation (*al-ṭabaqa*) with twenty-seven generations in total, beginning with 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and ending in the twenty-seventh generation with himself (Muḥammad Bāqir al-Muwwahid al-Abṭaḥī) Sayyid Shihāb al-Dīn al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī and others. The complexity and intricate network of the *Ṣaḥīfa's* transmission speaks to al-Majlisī's claim that it is as widely narrated as the Qur'an itself, at least among the Twelvers and the Zaydīs.

¹⁰⁰ For an excellent translation and introduction see 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila*, introduced and translated by William C. Chittick (London: Muhammadi Trust, 1988). For an excellent list of the various editions and the respective publication details see this online database:

<http://mtif.org/p/book/67568/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%AD%DB%8C%D9%81%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%AF%DB%8C%D9%91%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%DA%A9%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%84%D8%A9> accessed 26 September 2019.

number of supplications and titles. Thereafter, al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d.1104/1693) compiled an addendum to the *Ṣaḥīfa* known as *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-thāniyya* (“The Second *Ṣaḥīfa*”) containing additional supplications such as the numerous *Munājāt* (“whispered supplications”) attributed to Imām ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. He describes his compilation as being its “sister (*ukhtuhā*)” and not to be confused with the original “brother (*akh*).”¹⁰¹ His student, Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Afandī, the writer of *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, compiled *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-thālitha* (“The Third *Ṣaḥīfa*”), followed by *al-Ṣāḥifā al-rābiʿa* (“The Fourth *Ṣaḥīfa*”) by Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī (the writer of *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* d.1320/1902), and lastly *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-khāmisa* (“The Fifth *Ṣaḥīfa*”) compiled by Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn (d.1371/1952), the writer of *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*.¹⁰² The contributions of these four scholars to the legacy of the supplications of Imām ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn is remarkable and requires an entire separate study. That being said, the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* is not the only “*Ṣaḥīfa*” attributed to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. In fact, there is a second written piece entitled “*al-Duʿāʾ li-l-muḥimmāt*” (“The Supplication for Exigent Circumstances”). It is reported by Shaykh al-Mufīd and al-Ṭūsī with complete chains of transmission that “Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad (al-Ṣādiq) presented to me pages (*awrāq*) from an ancient scroll (*ṣaḥīfa ʿatīqa*) and he told me to transcribe its contents, for it is the supplication of my grandfather ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn during exigent circumstances (*muḥimmāt*).”¹⁰³ Once again this would indicate that early Shīʿī scholars such as al-Mufīd and al-Ṭūsī believed that at least parts of the liturgical tradition were written down, as indicated in this

¹⁰¹ Al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-thāniyya al-Sajjādiyya* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿa al-Sayl, 1904), 6.

¹⁰² *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* is perhaps the last important compilation of ḥadīth spanning over forty volumes. *Aʿyān al-shīʿa* is a voluminous bio-bibliographical compendium providing details on the various Shīʿī authors and their works. For more on these addendums to the *Ṣaḥīfa* see Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭīhrānī, *Maʿrifat al-imām: taʾrib bi-ʿAlī Hāshim* (Beirut: Dār Maḥḥajat al-Bayḍāʾ, n.d.), 15:41-59.

¹⁰³ Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-ʿUkbarī al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī* (Qum: International Congress of Millennium of Shaykh Mufid, 1992), 239-240; Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* (Qum: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1993), 15-16; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, 158-159.

narration, which is found in their *Amālī*, compilations of lecture notes from their teaching sessions.

A lesser-known work entitled *Ad'īya al-sirr* ("Secret Supplications") has been attributed to fifth Imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir who transmits all of them from the first Imām, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who narrated them from the Prophet. These supplications were taught to the Prophet during his ascension to the Heavens (*mi'rāj*) in which God showed him an opening in the throne (*al-'arsh*) from which He spoke to him and taught them to him under a vow of secrecy.¹⁰⁴ It is perhaps due to this that the text is not so well known, for the editor himself mentions that debate exists as to whether these supplications should be published or not. However, he insists that "secrets" of this nature are more general and its inner meaning will only be understood by select personalities (*ashkhāṣ al-khāṣīn*).¹⁰⁵ There are at least five chains of transmission (*asānīd*) cited by Maḥmūd al-Muqaddas al-Ghurayfī from Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (d.589/1193) and Ibn Ṭāwūs through their various intermediaries, four of which lead to Shaykh al-Ṭūsī who narrates it from his authorities reaching back to Imām al-Bāqir.¹⁰⁶ Sayyid Murtaḍa al-Kashmīrī (d. 1363/1949), a famous master (*shaykh*) of Āghā Buzurg (d.1390/1970) and contemporary of 'Abbās al-Qummī notes that he found an *isnād* for this work in some of the books of *ijāzāt* "licenses" from which he copied the *isnād* for this particular text. This demonstrates the popularity of the text, as he found the *isnād* in "some of the books of licences (*ba'd al-kutub al-ijāzāt*)," which meant that it was prominent enough for Shī'ī authorities to transmit it to one another and issue licences in this

¹⁰⁴ Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, *Ad'īya al-sirr bi-riwāyat Abī Ja'far al-Bāqir* (Beirut: Dār wa Maktaba Ṭarīq al-Ma'rifa), 71-72.

¹⁰⁵ See the introductory chapter entitled "Secret supplications: between publication and concealment (*Ad'īya al-sirr bayna al-nashar wa-l-ikhfā'*)," *ibid.*, 49-58.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 35-47; Both Sayyid Faḍl Allāh Rāwandī and Ibn Ṭāwūs were prolific scholars in their respective generations.

regard.¹⁰⁷ Of course it is impossible to determine with certainty whether al-Bāqir ever uttered these supplications on behalf of the Prophet. However, Shī'ī communal memory would believe that he did in fact teach this collection of supplications.¹⁰⁸ This communal memory includes very prominent scholars such as al-Ṭūsī, and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baghdādī (famously known as Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī, d.450/1058), Abū Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Tala'ukbarī (d.375/985) and others, all of whom believed this liturgical collection to have originated from al-Bāqir who in turn narrated it from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who is believed to have transmitted it from the Prophet.

In addition to the above compositions, we encounter the mention of numerous books of supplications which were compiled by the companions of the Imāms during their lifetime, all of which are no longer extant. There are at least fourteen separate compositions between the time of the companions of the fourth Imām, Imām 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and that of the eleventh Imām, al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d.260/874). Among these works is the *Kitāb yawm wa layla* of Abū Baṣīr al-Asadī (d.170/786); *Kitāb yawm wa layla* ("Book of Day and Night"); *Kitāb al-du'ā'* ("Book of Supplication") of Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār (d.175/791), *Kitāb al-du'ā'* of Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl (d.195/810-811) and *'Amal al-yawm wa layla* ("Ritual Practices of the Day and Night") by 'Abd Allāh b. Sinān (d. circa 200/815).¹⁰⁹ As for al-Kāẓim, his son Ismā'īl b. Mūsā (d. early 3rd/9th century) is known to have compiled a book of supplications entitled *Kitāb al-du'ā'*, which may

¹⁰⁷ Murtaḍā al-Kashmīrī, *al-Majmū'a*, MS no. 13635, Maktaba al-'Ataba al-'Abbāsiyya, Karbala, Iraq.

¹⁰⁸ In the Shī'ī tradition the Imām does not require an *isnād* going back to the Prophet, thus it would be sufficient for Shī'īs if al-Bāqir was to have related these supplications on behalf of the Prophet without mentioning an *isnād* reaching the Prophet.

¹⁰⁹ For the respective works of 'Abd Allāh b. Sinān and Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl see al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 241; 411; Ibn Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2002), 375. As for Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār, his liturgical collection will be discussed when dealing with the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Ṭūsī who narrates from him. For Abū Baṣīr see al-Kashshī, *Rijāl*, 1:396.

have been at the instruction of his father.¹¹⁰ In the case of the companions of al-Kāẓim and the writing of his supplications there is a particularly informative narration to be found in the *Muḥaj al-da'awāt* translate title of Ibn Ṭāwūs in the section devoted to the supplications of Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāẓim.¹¹¹ The relevant portion of the report written by Ibn Ṭāwūs is particularly germane and thus will be quoted in full:

It has been reported from him (al-Kāẓim) and we have reported it *via* numerous channels reaching my grandfather, al-Sa'īd Abī Ja'far al-Ṭūsī; also we have transmitted it from a manuscript and these are its words: . . . Abū Waḍāḥ Zayd al-Nashalī said my father ('Abd Allāh b. Zayd) informed me: 'A group of exclusive disciples of Abī al-Ḥasan al-Kāẓim from among his family and his partisans (*shī'atihi*) were present in his (al-Kāẓim's) assembly (*majlisihi*) and they had soft black tablets (*alwāḥ*) in their sleeves (*akmāmihim*) and writing instruments (*amyāl*) so that when Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Kāẓim) issued an edict, they could retain what they heard from him (by writing it down). So, they heard the following from him as he was uttering in his supplication (*du'ā'ihī*) . . .¹¹²

This account is of particular importance for several reasons. Firstly, although it is found in a work from the 7th/13th century (as opposed to being from the historical period of the Imāms), the information provided in the *isnād* is exceptionally detailed in demonstrating the importance of this supplication in the Twelver Shī'ī scholarly community. Ibn Ṭāwūs relates this supplication *via*

¹¹⁰ Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī (Ibn Shahrāshūb), *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* (Najaf: al-Maṭba'a al-Ḥaydariyya, 1960); al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 27.

¹¹¹ This excerpt seems to have immense probative value for 20th century Shī'ī historians such as Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī and Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī in support of their assertion that the supplications of the Imāms were preserved in writing during their lifetime. See al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, 8:172-173. While Āghā Buzurg requires no introduction, Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī is a prolific editor and specialist in the history of Shī'ī liturgy (both *du'ā'* and *ziyārāt*), as he has edited, annotated and introduced numerous critical works, including *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* by Ibn Qūlawayḥ; *lqḅāl al-a'māl* of Ibn Ṭāwūs; *al-Mazār al-kabīr* of Muḥammad b. Mashhadī, in addition to annotating and editing a seven-volume encyclopaedia of *du'ā'* and *ziyārāt*. While these scholars have not been trained in the academy, their profound and lifelong learning in the field of manuscript history and its relation to Shī'ī liturgy cannot be overlooked. The late Muḥammad Mahdī al-Āsifī (d.2015) has also used this narrative in his introduction to the history of Shī'ī liturgy. I thank him dearly for sharing with me a copy of his well-researched book. See Muḥammad Mahdī al-Āsifī, *al-Du'ā' 'inda ahl al-bayt* (Qum: Markaz al-'Ālamī li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 2003), 269.

¹¹² Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muḥaj al-da'awāt*, ed. Abū Ṭalīb Kirmānī (Qum: Dār al-Dhakā'ir, 1990), 220.

his chains of transmission ending with his grandfather, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, in addition to informing us that he also found this supplication and an additional *isnād* in a manuscript (*nuskha*) which includes an *isnād* furnished with the names of luminary Shīʿī traditionists (*muhaddithūn*) narrating this single *duʿāʾ* to their students.¹¹³

1. Abī ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī (d.511/1117) in Ramaḍān, 507/1113 taught it to his students and had it read back to him.¹¹⁴
2. Abū al-Wafāʾ ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī taught it to his students in Rayy during Shaʿbān, 503/1109.¹¹⁵
3. Abū al-Faḍl al-Muntahā b. Abī Zayd Kākā (d. c. 6th/12th century) taught it to his students in Jurjān in Dhīl Ḥijja, 503/1109.¹¹⁶
4. Abu ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin (d. c. 516/1122) taught it and issued an *ijāza* for it in Rajab, 514/1120.¹¹⁷

All four of the above state that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d.460/1067) narrated to them this *duʿāʾ* in Ramaḍān, 458/1066 by the grave of ʿAlī in al-Gharī (Najaf). He then proceeded to inform them that it was related to him by four of his masters (*mashāyikh*) who are: Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn (d.423/1031), Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī, Ibn Ashnās al-Bazāz (d.439/1047), and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣaffār (d.

¹¹³ Ibn Ṭāwūs states that he is transmitting it from a copy and these are its words: “*Naqalnāhu min nuskhatin mā hadhā lafẓuhu. . .*,” once again indicating that, in addition to his own multiple pathways (*ṭuruq ʿadīda*). See *ibid*.

¹¹⁴ He was al-Ṭūsī’s son and successor about whom more will be discussed when examining the proliferation of al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.

¹¹⁵ Al-Ṭūsī issued a license for the *Tibyān* (his ten-volume work on Qurʾanic exegesis) to al-Rāzī in 455/1063. Mīrzā Afandī had the original copy of this *ijāza* in al-Ṭūsī’s own handwriting. See al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharīʿa*, 1:223. It has been related to me by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Jalālī (a prominent student of the late Āghā Buzurg) that the work of Afandī was not known to many people due to the difficulty in deciphering his handwriting. However, Āghā Buzurg was among one of two scholars to have possessed the sole complete rough draft of Afandī’s extensive bio-bibliographical work, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, and thus prized details such as the mention of this written *ijāza* have been preserved in the *Dharīʿa*, while perhaps not being found in the current published edition. It was thirty years after Āghā Buzurg’s death that an edition of the *Riyāḍ* was published by another student of Āghā Buzurg and fellow classmate of al-Jalālī, namely, Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (al-Ishqwarī) in Qum whom I have had the pleasure of benefitting from over the years.

¹¹⁶ Āghā Buzurg has listed him among al-Ṭūsī’s students. See Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, “Ḥayāt al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī,” in *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-qurʾān* (Najaf: Maktab al-Amīn, 1950), 49. Jurjān is an area in Northeast Iran with relative proximity to the Caspian Sea. It was scholars such as al-Ṭūsī, his teachers and his students, who went on to transmit the traditions of the Imāms, and to write books of theology and law articulating a unified vision of what they deemed to have constituted orthodox Shīʿism, which would include the infallibility of the Imāms, and particulars of Shīʿī jurisprudence.

¹¹⁷ He was a prominent student of al-Ṭūs about whom more will be mentioned in the following pages.

mid 5th/11th century).¹¹⁸ Although al-Ṭūsī does not mention the date and place, it can be reasonably assumed that this occurred during his years of study in Baghdad prior to his escape to Najaf. All his four teachers related the supplication from their master and prolific narrator of ḥadīth, Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Muṭṭalib al-Shaybānī (d.387/997).¹¹⁹ Al-Shaybānī in turn narrated the *du‘ā*’ through three intermediaries ending with al-Kāzīm.¹²⁰

The dates and places in which the supplication was recited and recorded have also been mentioned, such as al-Gharī in 458/1066 and 514/1120, Rayy in 503/1109, and Jurjān in 503/1109. All are indicative of the widespread geographical and generational transmission of a single *du‘ā*’. These details establish that al-Ṭūsī studied this supplication in Baghdad and then went on to teach it to his students in Najaf, after which two of them (Abī ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī and Shahriyār al-Khāzin) proceeded to continue this tradition in Najaf while the other two went on to teach in their own home towns of Jurjān and Rayy, which is indicative of a widespread network of transmission for a single *du‘ā*’ attested to in a written document (*nuskha*) available to Ibn Ṭāwūs. In addition, as has been demonstrated in the case of the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* and *Ad’iya al-sirr*, the mention of such prominent Shī‘ī figures, many of whom can be counted among the masters of al-Ṭūsī and al-Mufīd, should not be overlooked. These crucial historical details not only shed light upon the scrupulous nature of Ibn Ṭāwūs’s reporting but also upon the paramount

¹¹⁸ It should be emphasized that these are among the most central writers and traditionists of the formative period of Shī‘ī theology, law and liturgy. Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣaffār is not to be confused with the 3rd/9th century writer of traditions, al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, who has been mentioned earlier.

¹¹⁹ Al-Shaybānī was born in 297/ 909, thus being alive during the lesser occultation (*ghayba al-ṣuḡhrā*). His name can be found in hundreds of *isnāds*, especially in the various ḥadīth compilations of al-Ṭūsī who narrates from him usually *via* a group of his teachers such as those cited above. For a sample, see al-Ṭūsī, *Istibsār*, 1:72; *Kitāb al-ghayba* (Qum: Dār al-Ma‘ārif al-Islāmiyya, 1990), 137, 167, 208, 251.

¹²⁰ These three are Muḥammad b. Mazīd al-Būshanjī (al-Shaybānī’s master, d.352/963), Abū al-Waḍāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Nahshalī (d. c. late 3rd/9th century and Shaykh of al-Būshanjī), and lastly his father, ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-Nahshalī (d. c. early 3rd/9th century), who narrated from al-Kāzīm and was among his close disciples.

importance of this supplication to the extent that this information can be traced back with some confidence at least to the formative period of Twelver Shī'ism (3-5th/9-11th centuries) during which the architects of what would become normative Twelver Shī'ī theology. These formative scholars also contributed to the dissemination of liturgical material as a part of their role as senior instructors in various medieval Shī'ī centres of learning scattered from Baghdad to Jurjān and Rayy.

As for the text of *Du'ā' jawshan al-ṣaghīr* (The Small Chainmail Supplication), it indicates again that, in accordance with Imāmī communal memory, the companions wrote down the supplication of al-Kāẓim with the same vigour as they would record his fatwas. It is for this reason that Āghā Buzurg contends that the supplications of the Imāms were recorded and formed part of the wider written record of what came to be known as the four hundred *uṣūl*, or notebooks, in the sense that those who expended the effort to note down the Imām's words would have also included liturgical material in them. To this effect, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī further affirms Āghā Buzurg's analysis by citing *Du'ā' jawshan al-ṣaghīr* as an early example of how the Shī'a preserved the legacy of their Imāms, and hence it serves to demonstrate the nature of the compilation of ḥadīth literature.¹²¹ At least partly on this basis, reason dictates that it is by no means a whimsical proposition to suggest the presence of a written tradition during the historical period of the Imāms and especially from the fourth Imām onwards. In addition to this, as the narrative states, these students of the seventh Imām were forced to hide their notebooks up their sleeves (*akmām*), and despite the incredible pressure placed upon al-Kāẓim and his community by the Abbasids, his companions went to great lengths to record his words

¹²¹ Al-Jalālī, *Dirāyat al-ḥadīth*, 127.

for posterity, including his supplication later known as *Du‘ā’ jawshan al-ṣaghīr*.¹²² Upon examining the *du‘ā’* the reason for its concealment and secrecy becomes evident. The opening line from the *du‘ā’* will suffice in this regard: “My Lord! How many an enemy has unsheathed the sword of his hostility against me and honed toward me the upper portion of his knife and sharpened for me its tip. . .”¹²³

The above is an excerpt from this seven-page supplication found in the published edition of *Muhaj al-da‘awāt*. It speaks of an embattled Imām who turns to God for protection amid his numerous adversaries. It also demonstrates the downtrodden condition of the community which found itself in the crosshairs of the Abbasid rulers and their seemingly limitless resources to apprehend, torture and imprison any potential or foreseeable threat to their dynasty. This supplication and the tale of its written preservation speaks once again of the role of liturgy as a means of developing a Shī‘ī piety which is also immersed in an aura of persecution and political disenfranchisement.¹²⁴ While we cannot presume that all the supplications of al-Kāzīm or the other Imāms were recorded for posterity, if the narratives of preservation and writing are to be trusted in the case of *Du‘ā’ jawshan al-ṣaghīr*, it would not be implausible that other such liturgical material was also preserved in writing and thus treated in a meticulous manner. This instance also demonstrates that supplications such as this were treated with reverence by later Shī‘ī authorities and the issue of “confirmation of its origin (*ithbāt al-ṣudūr*)” was an important

¹²² For an excellent discussion on the life of al-Kāzīm and the dire circumstances of his community under Abbasid rule, see Mehmet Ali Buyukara, “The Imāmī Shī‘ī Movement in the Time of Mūsā al-Kāzīm and ‘Alī al-Riḍā,” PhD Thesis (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1997), 108-152.

¹²³ “*Ilāhī kam min ‘aduwwin intaḍā ‘alayy sayfa ‘adawātihi wa shaḥadha lī zubata mudaytihi wa arḥafa lī shaban ḥaddihi . . .*” Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj al-da‘awāt*, 220. The noetic tenor and the precise linguistic rhyme of this *du‘ā’* cannot be understated, such that the English translation does not capture the eloquence of the original Arabic text. A complete philological and thematic analysis of the text is required in the future.

¹²⁴ This is similar to common tropes found in the *ziyārāt* literature which is discussed in chapter four.

matter as was demonstrated in the plethora of *isnāds* attributed to the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*. Furthermore, in the case of the supplication's proliferation in Najaf (at the shrine of 'Alī) it is clearly mentioned that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin (the grandson of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and custodian of the shrine of 'Alī in Najaf), who is the same report mentioned in the chain of the *Ṣaḥīfa*, also issued a licence (*ijāza*) to his students to record and transmit *Du'ā' jawshan al-ṣaghīr* in the year 514/1120, which is akin to a licence given to transmit jurisprudential or theological works.¹²⁵ In spite of the passage of time and the loss of source material, this single supplication is evidence of the paramount importance given to liturgical material in Shī'ī scholarship and specifically this particular supplication of Imām Mūṣa b. Ja'far al-Kāẓim.

Following al-Kāẓim there are numerous works of supplication attributed to the companions of the eighth Imām, 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d.203/818). Three of these works are the *Mukhtaṣar fī al-da'awāt* (Abridgement of Supplications) by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī (d. early 3rd/9th century), *Kitāb yawm wa layla* (The Book for Day and Night) by Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d.204/819), and *Kitāb al-yawm wa layla* of Muḥammad b. Abī 'Umayr (d.217/832).¹²⁶ It should be noted that the work of al-Ahwāzī remained extant until Ibn Ṭāwūs as he cites a *du'ā'* directly from it that was believed to be recited by Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at the battle of Ṣiffīn.¹²⁷ This is an indication that at least a portion of these works survived centuries after they were

¹²⁵ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj al-da'awāt*, 217. For more on this individual see Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī, *Fihrist al-turāth* (Qum: Dalīl Mā, 2002), 1:570.

¹²⁶ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, 57. Ibn Nadīm describes this as being a *Kitāb al-du'ā'* which was the same composition or an alternative one. See Ibn Nadīm, 369.

¹²⁷ Ibn Ṭāwūs states the following: "We have found in it and reported from it, the book of supplication and remembrance compiled by al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī (*wajdnāhu wa rawaynāhu min kitāb al-du'ā' wa-l-dhikr taṣnīf al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī*)." See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj al-da'awāt*, 133. Ibn Ṭāwūs is most likely referring to the same work, since we do not find a second liturgical work attributed to al-Ahwāzī.

written.¹²⁸ As for those works compiled during the lifetimes of the ninth and tenth Imāms, al-Jawād (d.220/835) and al-Hādī, one of these includes the *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (d.274/887).¹²⁹ Lastly, there are numerous individual works associated with the companions of the eleventh and twelfth Imāms, al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī and his son, Muḥammad al-Mahdī (b.255/869).¹³⁰ One of these is the *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* of the famous theologian and jurist, al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/874).¹³¹ In addition to this, there is a unique set of twin manuscripts copied in approximately 530/1135, of which the originals are believed to have been in the possession of al-‘Askarī, the second one also belonging to his son, Muḥammad al-Mahdī who bequeathed it to his envoys (pl. *sufarā’*, sing. *safīr*). The first of these is a text of eight folios entitled *Munājāt ‘amīr al-mu‘minīn* (Whispered Prayers of the Commander of the Faithful) attributed to the first Imām, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. According to the chain of transmission reported by Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (d.589/1193), an unknown individual by the name of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Satra al-Kāshānī met al-‘Askarī in Samarra in the year 260/873, who then taught him the *munājāt* of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib which was most probably a composition in the possession of the Imām.¹³² Another similar, but lengthier work is a manuscript of eighty-four folios with intricate gold ornaments copied by the same scribe and originating from the same collection. In this case, the unknown transmitter states: “I found the following in the handwriting of Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī who narrates (with his *isnād*) the following incident” in which two

¹²⁸ Al-Ahwāzī reports this *du‘ā’* with his *isnād* (*bi-isnādihi*) to the sixth Imām, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, who narrated the *du‘ā’* of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at the battle of Ṣiffīn. See *ibid*.

¹²⁹ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 206.

¹³⁰ It is believed by Twelver Shī‘īs that he is still alive but currently in occultation and will reappear at an unknown time as the saviour of humanity.

¹³¹ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 206.

¹³² The contents of these prayers are profoundly intimate and laden with esoteric motifs of spiritual travel and the preparation for death. An entire study would need to be devoted to this text alone.

individuals met the eleventh Imām, and thereafter the representative of the Mahdī, Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd al-‘Amrī (d.304/917), and eventually met the special representative of the Mahdī, who at the time was al-Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ al-Nawbakhtī (d.326/938). It was then that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Rūḥ presented them with a notebook containing the *ad’iya* (supplications) and *qunūṭ* (supplications to be recited during canonical prayer) entitled: *Qunūṭ mawālīna al-‘a’imma min āl Muḥammad* (The *Qunūṭ* of our Masters the Imāms from the Progeny of Muḥammad).

According to the narration from Ibn Ṭāwūs they were then told by Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ that the eleventh Imām bequeathed it to ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd who bequeathed it to his son Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān who in turn bequeathed it to him. Thereafter, Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ showed it to them so as to preserve it, so they wrote its contents (*fa-katabnāhā*) and they were told by him to pay due heed to it just as they did so with regard to the essential points of religion (*muhimāt al-dīn*) and the judgements of God (*‘azamāt rabb al-‘ālamīn*).¹³³ It can be surmised from this episode that it was believed that the eleventh Imām had in his possession various works of supplications which he entrusted to his representatives to reveal to their disciples when it became opportune to do so.¹³⁴ These details are indicative of the intricate nature of the transmission of liturgy and the lofty position it occupied in the ongoing formation and nurturing of Shī‘ī piety and identity, especially during the occultation when devout Shī‘īs find themselves estranged from direct contact with their twelfth Imām, whom they believe to be living. It is also indicative of the role played by the special representatives and companions of the eleventh and twelfth Imāms in the

¹³³ *Qunūṭ mawālīna al-‘a’imma al-aṭḥār*, MS n.d., Āghā Khan Museum Geneva, folio 3.

¹³⁴ Ibid. These supplications have esoteric and political motifs interwoven throughout the text, especially the supplication attributed to the Mahdī which describes the eventual dissolution of a political system ridden with corruption in addition to the miraculous powers infused with the various names of God which can bring fire and ice together. See *ibid.*, folio 44.

proliferation of liturgical material. Two additional examples can be mentioned here, the first being found in the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Ṭūsī and the second in *Jamāl al-usbū'* of Ibn Ṭāwūs.

First, the supplication known as *Du'ā' fī al-ghayba al-qā'im* (Supplication during the Occultation of the Saviour) has been attributed to al-Ṣādiq in *al-Kāfī* and then re-introduced by 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-'Umarī to the community.¹³⁵ Interestingly, 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd informs his interlocutor that "it was dictated to him and he was commanded to supplicate with it" presumably from the eleventh or twelfth Imāms for whom he was a special envoy.¹³⁶ It should also be noted that al-Ṭūsī related this supplication through his access to earlier sources such as Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tala'ukbarī (d.375/985), who had access to numerous early texts from the historical period of the Imāms.¹³⁷ The second example is the famous *Du'ā' simāt* which is reported by 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd to be recited during the last hour of Friday (i.e., before sunset). Thirdly, is the famous supplication entitled *Du'ā' al-iftitāḥ* which was taught by the second special envoy Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Umarī who revealed a collection of supplications contained in a red notebook (*daftarān mujallidan bi-aḥmar*) to be recited during Ramaḍān of which *Du'ā' al-iftitāḥ* formed part of it.¹³⁸ It should be noted that *Du'ā' al-iftitāḥ* continues to be recited regularly by Shī'īs every night during Ramaḍān. Its contents contain a summary of Shī'ī creed which entails the praise of God, the praising of the Imāms, and beseeching God for the restoration of justice at

¹³⁵ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:149.

¹³⁶ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahhajid*, 1:411.

¹³⁷ For instance, *aṣl* works of numerous companions of the Imāms have been transmitted through him. See Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, 2:144, 163, and 165. Al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī has expressed a similar sentiment except mentioning that al-Tala'ukbarī reported all of the *uṣūl* works and known collections from the historical period of the Imāms. See Mīrzā al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Khātimat mustadrak al-wasā'il* (Qum: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyā' al-Turāth, 2008), 3:532.

¹³⁸ This narration and the supplication itself has been reported by Muḥammad b. Abī Qurra with a detailed *isnād* reaching the nephew of Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Umarī. See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *lqḃāl al-a'māl*, 1:58.

the hand of the awaited twelfth Imām who is in occultation. All these mentioned supplications have become synonymous with Shīī worship and piety, such that if one were to travel to the various Shīī centres or shrine cities one would often hear any one of these supplications depending on the day and month of the year, all of which testifies to the contribution of the envoys of the eleventh and the twelfth Imāms in the dissemination and instruction of liturgical material to the community. The fecundity of this tradition should not be understated, insofar as these devotions proliferated by the envoys of the Imāms aided in building communal cohesion and identity during the lesser and greater occultations.

I should reiterate at this juncture that my position is that at present there is no method to confirm the absolute historicity of the episode related with regard to *Du‘ā’ jawshan al-ṣaghīr* or other material which is believed to have been authored by the Imāms, except that it contributes to a mounting body of circumstantial evidence that there existed a substantial corpus of written liturgical material attributed directly to the Imāms or their companions (who transcribed the Imāms’ devotions) during their lifetime. Further, a significant portion of this literature survived centuries after initially being transcribed. What we do know for certain is that compositions such as the *Ṣahīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, *Ad‘iya al-sirr*, *Munājāt Amīr al-Mu‘minīn*, *Qunūṭāt al-mawālīna*, and others have been transmitted by prominent companions of the Imāms and copied by later scholars. For Shīī scholars this provides a sufficient basis for trust in the general historical veracity of this material and how they view their tradition.

Considering the multiple anecdotes and bibliographic details, the following question maybe raised which is: can this genre of liturgical literature be classified as *aṣl* works? The importance of this point lies in the fact that the *aṣl* was an instance of an early form of written

collection of traditions which coincided with the writing of liturgical works. Hence, liturgy as a written genre is closely associated with that of *aṣl* compositions, or at least be recognized within the same historical context. The answer to this question also depends on how we define an *aṣl* (notebook) often associated with the four hundred *uṣūl* (sing. *aṣl*) containing the traditions of the Imāms believed to be composed by their companions.¹³⁹ Strictly speaking, these liturgical compositions could also be described as *taṣānīf*, or subject specific compositions; however as the *taṣnīf* movement gained momentum and popularity we can also surmise that the companions of the Imāms would have compiled and written subject-specific works as we see in the case of theology and law. Hence, we are able to surmise that liturgical material, when treated as a form of ḥadīth, was found in various *aṣl* works in addition to being included in liturgical compilations which were also prepared by the companions of the Imāms.¹⁴⁰ It is for this reason that the history of writing during the early period is intimately interwoven with the textual history of Shī'ī liturgy, but in the absence of secondary evidence in which these books are cited as sources for the supplication of the Imāms, we cannot know for certain whether many of them consisted of the words of the Imāms or were simply the personal compositions of their companions. Having said that, there is no mention in bibliographical indices nor in any extant liturgical work of personal supplications composed by the companions of the Imāms themselves as there are in the case of various Sufi personalities such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.561/1166), Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) and

¹³⁹ According to Etan Kohlberg the term *aṣl* could be interchangeable with *kitāb* (book) since both refer in this case to ḥadīths written down by disciples of the Imāms or those who lived during their lifetime. See Kohlberg, "al-Uṣūl al-'Arba'umi'a," 129. Also see Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī'ite Literature* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003), 1:xiv-xv; al-Jalālī, *Dirāyat al-ḥadīth*, 128-129.

¹⁴⁰ These *uṣūl* contained any number of subjects, which were most often the recorded discourses with the Imāms or question-and-answer sessions. See Abū al-Faḍl al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī, *l'lām al-warā* (Tehran: al-Maktaba al-Islāmiyya, 1970), 410.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d.656/1288), all of whom composed collections of their personal supplications which are revered by their followers. Furthermore, if these books of supplication and religious rites were composed by the companions, then surely there would exist mention of the personal supplications attributed to leading Shī'īs such as Abū Baṣīr, Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār, or Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. This, however, is not the case; rather, the vast majority of the supplications to be found in the extant literature are attributed to the Fourteen Infallibles and not to the companions of the Imāms, nor is there any contrary supposition by early or later bibliographers. In this regard, al-Kashshī relates the following episode which is exceedingly germane to the subject at hand:

Aḥmad b. Abī Khalaf, the slave of Abī Ja'far (al-Jawād) relates I was ill, and Abū Ja'far visited me during my illness when *Kitāb yawm wa layla* (The book of the day and night) was by my head. So, he proceeded to examine it [the book] page by page (*yataṣaffaḥuhu waraqatan waraqatan*) until he read it from the beginning to the end (*min awwalihi ilā ākhirihi*). He then said (after completing reading it): God have mercy upon Yūnus, God have mercy upon Yūnus, God have mercy upon Yūnus.¹⁴¹

While we do not have such reports corroborating the religious value of liturgical works attributed to other companions, it nevertheless demonstrates to us that at least on occasion the Imāms would examine and verify the contents of a liturgical book compiled by their followers. One may plausibly deduce from this that these numerous non-extant compositions must have been available in some form until a certain period or at least prior to the burning of the Shī'ī libraries in Baghdad in 447/1055.¹⁴² That being said, the only conceivable way to confirm whether these

¹⁴¹ Al-Kashshī, 484.

¹⁴² Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1990), 1:534. Āghā Buzurg also mentions that contemporaneous to the activity of compiling devotional manuals, the famous four hundred *uṣūl* (parchments or notebooks of ḥadīth) works were also said to have been housed in the expansive library of Shapur and other Shī'ī

non-extant works were in fact transmitted material from the Imāms is to cross reference the various companions and their respective works with the existing liturgical tradition. It goes without saying that this would be a major undertaking which may only yield hypothetical results and remains to be done in the future.¹⁴³

At this juncture, the objective of the above discussion was to demonstrate that there existed a great deal of written liturgical material from the time of the Imāms, some of which survived in extant form until the period of Ibn Ṭāwūs in the 7th/13th century. In the above discussion regarding liturgical material from the historical period of the Imāms I have demonstrated that upon recourse to the 4th- 5th /10th-11th century bio-bibliographical indices (such as al-Najāshī's *Rijāl*) one would come to learn that various companions of the Imāms themselves had compiled a multitude of devotional manuals often entitled '*Amal al-yawm wa-l-layla* (Devotional acts for the day and the night) or *Kitāb al-du'ā'* (The book of supplication).¹⁴⁴ Therefore it is not surprising to see that all of the principle Shī'ī ḥadīth collections of the formative period include sections on *du'ā'* especially since the *du'ā'*s of the Imāms have been treated as a genre of ḥadīth literature. Āghā Buzurg goes further to emphasize that these collections of prayers available to al-Mufīd and al-Ṭūsī would have been primarily sourced from the Buyid Shī'ī library of Shāpūr in Baghdad which acted as a central reference library for Shī'ī scholars. To this

patrons in Baghdad which were frequented by all the prominent Shī'ī scholars of the day including Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. For a detailed discussion regarding this Shī'ī library see Āghā Buzurg, *al-Dharī'a*, 5:173-174. For a similar discussion see Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, "Notes on Imāmī Prayer," 378-384.

¹⁴³ Some instances of this cross referencing can be seen through a careful study of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* of al-Ṭūsī, and the various works of Ibn Ṭāwūs as demonstrated in the forthcoming subsections.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, 1:158-159; 5:172-173. It should be noted that at times the title of the books is abridged to *Kitāb yawm wa layla* ("Book of day and night"). According to the Shī'ī scholars of *rijāl* these are liturgical texts, since the title refers to the devotions to be performed throughout the year, such as the *Kitāb yawm wa layla fī 'ibādāt al-yawmiyya* ("The book of day and night regarding the daily rites of worship") written by al-Ṭūsī but no longer extant. See al-Ṭabarsī, *Khātimat mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 3:173.

effect, Āghā Buzurg coins the term, “*al-uṣūl al-du‘ā’iyya (du‘ā’ sources)*” to describe the collections from which Shīī traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) extracted the various devotions attributed to the Imāms prior to the Sunnī-Shīī riots which led to the burning of the library.¹⁴⁵ These devotions would have included both *du‘ā’* and *ziyāra* and most likely would have been found scattered in the various compilations (*majmū‘āt*), individual books, or even as a part of *uṣūl* (notebooks) which contained the transcription of the Imām’s utterances. It should be noted that a number of these works were available to Ibn Ṭāwūs who lived three centuries after the era of al-Kulaynī, and two centuries after al-Mufīd, and al-Ṭūsī. It would be reasonable to surmise that the scholars who preceded him would have had access to a vaster source of liturgical material, considering the fact that the Buyids accommodated the mass collection of literature in Baghdad.

One such example is the *Kitāb ‘amal shahr al-Ramaḍān* and *‘Amal Sha‘bān* (Book of Devotion for Ramaḍān and Sha‘bān), a two-volume collection by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Mahjūr al-Fārsī (Ibn Khālūyah d.370/980). This individual was a contemporary of al-Ṣadūq and was well known to al-Najāshī’s teachers (a master to his masters).¹⁴⁶ It is from his *Kitāb ‘amal shahr Sha‘bān* that Ibn Ṭāwūs transmits the famous *Munājāt ‘Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* (Whispered or Intimate Prayer of The Commander of the Faithful) also known as *Munājāt Sha‘bāniyya* (The Sha‘bān Whispered Prayer) which is a supplication of immense profundity describing a journey of

¹⁴⁵ This was the result of widespread Sunnī-Shīī riots in Baghdad in which the Ḥanbalīs felt especially insulted by what they perceived to be Shīī insults towards the companions of the Prophet. For a discussion on the Sunnī-Shīī tensions during the Seljuq period see Robert Gleave, “Shīī Jurisprudence during the Seljuq Period: Rebellion and Public Order in an Illegitimate State,” in *The Seljuqs Politics, Society and Culture*, ed. Christian Lange and Songul Mecit (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 205-206. Amir-Moezzi, “Notes on Imāmī Prayer,” *The Spirituality of Shī‘ī Islam*, 378-384.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 268. He was primarily settled in Halab but also active in Hamadan, and Baghdad. See ‘Abbās al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* (Mashhad: Majmū‘a al-Buḥūth al-Islāmī, 1995), 2:745.

repentance and love of God.¹⁴⁷ Once again both of these supplications are regularly recited by the faithful to this day and are to be found in a multitude of liturgical texts in addition to numerous online recordings.¹⁴⁸

While we do not have any library catalogues from the Buyid period pertaining to these collections, we know that Shī'ī liturgy was a literary genre given extraordinary emphasis for the cultivation of personal piety alongside jurisprudential texts which articulated the particularities of the *sunna* (tradition and normative practice), both of which were given remarkable importance during the historical period of the Imāms. Furthermore, common sense would dictate that the traditionists that made use of the *uṣūl* would have also made use of these classical liturgical texts stemming from the historical period of the Imāms. It is for this reason that Amir-Moezzi also stresses (albeit without elaborating in detail) that it can be convincingly upheld that the prayer tradition of the 4th-5th/10-11th centuries was assembled based upon earlier sources which originated from the period of the Imāms.¹⁴⁹ Put differently, it should be emphasized that the writing of *uṣūl* compositions almost certainly coincided with the writing of the first works of *du'ā'* or perhaps it may be considered to be one-and-the-same in itself. This early liturgical material from the historical period of the Imāms may have formed what is broadly described as the “four hundred *uṣūl*” or be perceived in a similar manner. Secondly, by the late Umayyad and early

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Ṭāwūs also provides a description of Ibn Khālūyah whom he describes as a leading Shī'ī of Halab known as a master in all branches of knowledge (*kullu qismin min aqsām al-'ilm*). Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a'māl*, 2:685. In this case the only difference between a “Whispered Prayer” and a “Supplication” is the title given to it as for instance if we were to compare the contents of *Du'ā' Abī Ḥamza al-Thumālī* (The Supplication of Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī) and *Munājāt Sha'bāniyya* we would find similar themes and a nearly identical mode of expression.

¹⁴⁸ 'Abbās al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* (Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Rasūl al-Akram, 1997), 208. This supplication is often recited in the month of Sha'bān, and its melodious and emotional recitation can be found online by a simple YouTube search for which one may find 300 thousand views for a single upload.

¹⁴⁹ Amir-Moezzi, “Notes on Imāmī Prayer,” 378.

Abbasid period the Imāms and their companions had committed themselves to preserving the liturgical tradition in the form of a written corpus, which coincided with the wider interest in writing religious treatises and the ordering of the ḥadīth corpus (*tadwīn al-ḥadīth*) which also clearly coincided with the development of liturgy as a textual genre and the development of the art of writing. We are aware of this since the bio-bibliographic and prosopographical sources mention liturgical texts next to both general and specific books written on various aspects of theology and law often attributed to the same individual.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless the question of the attribution of this literature to the Imāms remains a contentious one due to the absence of surviving material evidence from their lifetime.

1.3 Liturgical Material during period of al-Kulaynī and his near contemporaries

Regarding liturgical material found in the four books (*al-kutub al-arbaʿa*) none can be compared to al-Kulaynī's *Kitāb al-duʿāʾ* (contained within *al-Kāfī*) which includes the most extensive selection, numbering over two hundred pages. This section of *al-Kāfī* is not limited to the transmission of supplications alone but includes its merits and characteristics (*faḍl* and *adab*). Upon analysis of the reporters (*ruwāt*) found in the chains of transmission (*isnāds*) of al-Kulaynī's *Kitāb al-duʿāʾ*, thirteen of them have also had an *aṣl* work attributed to them, hence contributing to what has been mentioned in the previous section. While we cannot be sure that the material transmitted by these thirteen reporters was based on a written notebook of traditions, the association in itself is indicative that some writers of the *uṣūl* could also be counted among those who transmitted supplications from the Imāms and thus it is not unlikely that this liturgical

¹⁵⁰ Examples of this are Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmmār, Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and al-Faḍl b. al-Shādhān, all of whom had compiled numerous works on different subjects alongside their liturgical collections.

material was included in their written records.¹⁵¹ In addition to *al-Kāfī*, there were numerous books of supplications (*kutub al-da'awāt*) compiled by al-Kulaynī's contemporaries or near contemporaries. Among them was the *Kitāb al-du'ā'* compiled by the prominent *muḥaddith* and authority for al-Kulaynī, Ḥamīd b. Ziyād (d.310/922), which was known to be available to al-Najāshī through his chain of authorities.¹⁵² Therefore, it would have been highly probable that al-Kulaynī also had access to this book in light of him reporting directly from Ḥamīd b. Ziyād eleven times in *Kitāb al-du'ā'* and on at least a hundred instances throughout *al-Kāfī*.¹⁵³ This relationship is especially salient because Ḥamīd b. Ziyād is one of the key transmitters of numerous *uṣūl* works from the various companions of the Imāms; furthermore, one of his key masters (*mashāyikh*) was a Kūfan contemporary of Imāms al-Hādī (d.254/868) and al-'Askarī, namely, Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Nahmī (also known as al-Khazzāz, d. early 3rd/9th century) who is credited with a *Kitāb al-du'ā'*.¹⁵⁴

Contemporary to al-Khazzāz, and a near contemporary and teacher of al-Kulaynī, was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī (d.290/903) who composed *Kitāb faḍl al-du'ā'* which was available until the 7th/13th century as evidenced by its transmission in the work of Ibn Ṭāwūs.¹⁵⁵ Another architect of a *Kitāb al-du'ā'* during the minor occultation is Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh

¹⁵¹ Etan Kohlberg makes a similar argument, emphasizing that the transmission from an author of an *aṣl* "may well derive" from the *aṣl* itself. See Kohlberg, "*al-Uṣūl al-'Arba'umi'a*," 137.

¹⁵² Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 132. This chain of authorities (*mashāyikh*) linking al-Najāshī to the *Kitāb al-du'ā'* of Ḥamīd b. Ziyād are: Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Nūḥ al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Sufyān (al-Bazūfarī) who reported directly from Ḥamīd b. Ziyād, hence al-Bazūfarī was the single intermediary between the two. See *ibid.*

¹⁵³ See Appendix 1. For more details pertaining to al-Kulaynī's transmissions from Ḥamīd b. Ziyād see: Āyat Allāh al-Sayyid al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabaṭabā'ī al-Burūjirdī, *Asānīd kitāb al-kāfī ed. Al-Shaykh Maḥmūd Duryāb al-Najafī* (Qum: Mu'assasat Āyat Allāh al-Uẓmā al-Burūjirdī), 2:5-80.

¹⁵⁴ Al-Najāshī, *ibid.*, 18. For further details see al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a* (Beirut: Dār al-Ta'aruf l-il-Maṭbū'āt, 1986), 2:141.

¹⁵⁵ Ibn Ṭāwūs, in transmitting from the book of al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, provides a discussion regarding the most exalted name (*al-ism al-a'zam*) of God (*Muhaj al-da'awāt*, 379). Ibn Ṭāwūs also transmits from al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī a

al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī (d. 299 or 301/912 or 914). He was a contemporary of the eleventh Imām and among the most noteworthy masters of al-Kulaynī.¹⁵⁶ He is described as being “Master of the sect (*shaykh al-ṭā’ifa*), their jurist (*faqīh*) and their chief (*wajh*)” in addition to being particularly concerned with challenging what he understood to be the consistent danger of extremism (*ghuluww*).¹⁵⁷ His *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* remained in circulation centuries after his demise as evidenced by Ibn Tāwūs’s and Taqī al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm al-Kaf‘amī’s (d.905/1499); direct citation of it which is indicative of its status as a reference book in Shī‘ī scholarly circles.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, this particular work of supplication by Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh was a key source of early liturgy as evidenced by Ibn Tāwūs’s mentioning that Shī‘ī authorities such as Ibn Qūlawayh al-Qummī (d.368/977), Shaykh al-Mufīd (d.413/1022), Ibn al-Ghadā‘irī (d. 450/1058-59), and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d.460/1067) all had chains of transmission (*isnāds*) connecting them through their teachers to this particular liturgical work.¹⁵⁹ That being said, numerous scholars, following the practice of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh and al-Kulaynī, compiled liturgical compendiums of their own, scholars such as Abī Muḥammad Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tala‘ukbarī, who compiled *Majmū‘ al-da‘awāt* (Collection of Supplications) and his student Aḥmad b. ‘Abdūn (commonly known as Ibn ‘Abdūn d.423/1031) who compiled a *Kitāb*

supplication to be recited in Sha‘bān from the sixth Imām, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, *Iqbāl al-a‘māl* (Qum: Maktabat al-‘Ilām al-Islāmī, 1997), 3:295. On al-Ṣaffār’s book of supplication and the author see al-Jalālī, *Fihrist al-turāth*, 1:301-302.

¹⁵⁶ We are not aware of any traditions from the eleventh Imām reported on the authority of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh. The lack of any reported traditions by him from the eleventh Imām could be due to the fact that the tenth and eleventh Imāms were largely inaccessible and relied upon special representatives to communicate their doctrines and guidance to their followers. On this see Shonda Ward, “The Lives of Imāms Muḥammad al-Jawād and al-Hādī and the development of the Shī‘ite Organization,” PhD Thesis (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1988), 103-107.

¹⁵⁷ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 188.

¹⁵⁸ Al-Najāshī, *ibid.*, 177; Ibn Tāwūs, *Muhaj al-da‘awāt*, 173; *Iqbāl al-a‘māl*, 2:202. For references to Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh’s *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* in the work of Ibn Tāwūs see Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tāwūs and His Library* (Leiden: Brill Publications, 1992), 158-159.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Tāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a‘māl*, 2:202.

'amal al-jumu'a which pertains to the acts of worship and supplications to be performed on Friday (the holiest day of the week).¹⁶⁰

Another notable work written in the early 5th/11th century was the *Kitāb 'amal dhī al-ḥijja* (Rites for the month of Dhī al-Ḥijja) by al-Ṭūsī's teacher, Ibn Ashnās al-Bazāz who, as already mentioned, was among the transmitters of *Du'ā' jawshan al-ṣaghīr*.¹⁶¹ This particular work remained in the original handwriting of Ibn Ashnās al-Bazāz well into the 7th/13th century as Ibn Ṭāwūs cites directly from it in *lqbāl al-a'māl*.¹⁶² Lastly, the *Kitāb 'amal shahr al-Ramaḍān* see above of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Ibn Abī Qurra lived early 5th/11th century and contemporary to Shaykh al-Mufīd) is cited in more than forty-six instances, all of which refer to the devotional acts and supplications to be performed in Ramaḍān, many of which have been related from Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Tala'ukbarī who was an important source for the dissemination of various *uṣūl* works originating from the historical period of the Imāms.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the famous supplication known as *Du'ā' al-nudba* (Supplication of Lamentation) has been sourced from the book of Ibn Abī Qurra who in turn relates it from the book of Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān al-Bazūfarī (a contemporary to al-Ṣadūq) who mentions that it is a supplication belonging to the twelfth Imām. The source of Ibn Abī Qurra, namely al-Bazūfarī is an

¹⁶⁰ Al-Najāshī describes him as *shaykhunā* (our master) in *al-Rijāl*, 87. Shaykh al-Ṭūsī writes: "We have heard many reports and auditions from him and he has given us a license (to transmit) the sum of what he has reported (*kathīr al-samā' wa-l-riwāya sami'nā min-hu wa ajāza lanā bi-jamī' mā rawāhu*)." See al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 413.

¹⁶¹ Shaykh al-Ṭūsī narrates from Ibn Ashnās (also known as Ibn al-Ḥamāmī al-Bazāz) on numerous occasions. See al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 445 and 473. On his relationship with al-Ṭūsī see al-Mīrzā al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Khātimat mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 3:191. Al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī lists Ibn Ashnās's *Kitāb 'amal dhī al-ḥijja* as belonging to the category of "*al-kutub al-mu'tamida* (reliable books)" which he transmitted portions of through various authorities, one of them being Ibn Ṭāwūs. For Shī'ī traditionists this is an important point since it affirms the usefulness of this text in scholarly circles. See al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Wasā'il al-shī'a* (Qum: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt li-lḥyā al-Turath, 1998), 30:160.

¹⁶² Ibn Ṭāwūs, *lqbāl al-a'māl*, 2:34.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1:326; 370; 378.

important conduit of traditions for al-Ṭūsī and his contemporaries who transmit from him *via* their teachers.¹⁶⁴

The sum conclusion after citing these various anecdotes and bibliographic references points towards the existence of a voluminous corpus of liturgical texts which was both written down and orally transmitted during the historical period of the Imāms, well into the greater occultation in 329/941 when it is believed that the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (al-Mahdī) ended all direct communication with his followers. The evidence for the existence of early sources also demonstrates that the numerous supplications included in *al-Kāfī* and other sources, including Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (as it will be seen) were at least partially derived from a longstanding written liturgical tradition that originated during the historical period of the Imāms. Further to this point, at times these supplications were even copied under the supervision of the Imāms themselves or given their stamp of approval, as mentioned in the case of *Du'ā' jawshan al-ṣaghīr* and *Kitāb yawm wa layla* by Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. This scholarly practice of writing, compiling, and copying liturgical books continued unabated well into greater occultation as can be seen by the numerous collections of supplication penned by Shī'ī scholars following al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, such as Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh or al-Tala'ukbarī.

The linkage between these three generations of scholars would be as follows: al-Tala'ukbarī and al-Bazūfarī > Ibn 'Abdūn, Ibn Ashnās al-Bazāz, and Ibn Abī Qurra > al-Ṭūsī. All three of these generations following al-Kulaynī were involved in the composition of liturgical manuals with al-Ṭūsī being a culminating figure in the school of Baghdad and later that of al-Gharī (al-

¹⁶⁴ For instance, the supplication to be recited on the 15th of Sha'bān commemorating the birth of the twelfth Imām as taught by the Imām himself has been reported by al-Bazūfarī as mentioned by al-Ṭūsī *via* a single intermediary in the *Miṣbāḥ*. Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:828.

Najaf). The study, composition, and copying of liturgical manuals was a common rite of passage among these luminaries for which al-Ṭūsī was the chief successor and inheritor of this intellectual establishment. It then follows that within the Shīʿī liturgical tradition, no work has had as lasting an impact upon the trajectory of this literature as that of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (Lantern of the Night Worshipper) and his abridged version *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (Abridged Lantern of the Night Worshipper) to which we shall now turn.

1.4 Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and its legacy in Shīʿī scholarship

The *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and its abridged version, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, were both written by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and constitute the earliest surviving Shīʿī liturgical manuals dating back to the formative period of Twelver Shīʿism.¹⁶⁵ While al-Ṭūsī requires no introduction it suffices to note that he is credited with compiling and authoring two of the four principal ḥadīth collections, namely *Taḥdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*. Al-Ṭūsī's scholarly production was extensive and covered a wide array of religious sciences, including ḥadīth, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), substantive jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), theology, history, and liturgy. At some point, perhaps, he was even given the revered title of “Shaykh al-Ṭāʿifa (Master of the Sect)” or *raʾīs* (Leader of the Shīʿa), in the sense that his influence was so pervasive that Shīʿī scholars describe him as representing and leading the entire sect.¹⁶⁶ He was a student of Shaykh al-Mufid (d.413/1022) and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (d.436/1044) and was clearly seen as their successor in the capital Baghdad where he

¹⁶⁵ To avoid repetition I am using both “devotional manual,” “prayer manual,” or liturgical manual, or book in order to convey the same meaning, which is a text that contains liturgical material to be recited or performed. This material consists of supplications and most often also *ziyārāt*.

¹⁶⁶ ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d.726/1326) describes him as being “Our greatest master and our foremost leader (*shaykhunā al-aʿzam wa raʾisunā al-muqaddam*.” Al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭaḥḥar al-Ḥillī (ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī), *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ* (Qum: Maktabat ʿAllāma al-Majlisī, 2000), 69.

remained for most of his scholarly career before fleeing to al-Gharī (Najaf) following the arson attack on his voluminous library in 447/1055 and finally the seizure of his home and offices in 449/1057 coinciding with the Seljuq seizure of Baghdad in 448/1055.¹⁶⁷ The *Miṣbāḥ* may be described as a liturgical manual because it is not simply a compilation of prayers attributed to the Imāms akin to the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* or *Ad'iya al-sirr* but it is instructive and selective in the sense that he has chosen a variety of devotions which include *du'ā's* and *ziyārāt* to be recited for different occasions. On the one hand, al-Ṭūsī instructs the faithful as to how they may perform various liturgical rites and when they are to enact these devotions. Since the *Miṣbāḥ* has not been discussed in detail before, below is a complete translation of the brief but informative introduction which was written by al-Ṭūsī himself, as it contains essential particulars requiring analysis:

You requested that I compile the acts of worship for the year, those which repeat and those which do not repeat. I added to those select supplications for every act of worship in an abridged form without prolongation and over elaboration. The exhaustive treatment of supplications is long-winded and perhaps people would become tired by it and irritated due to it. Thus, I am putting forth within that context that which pertains to praxis (*al-'amal*)¹⁶⁸ and mention that which is limited only to the absolutely necessary articles of jurisprudence (*masā'il al-fiqh*) (as they appear) in it [this book] without extensive discussion with respect to the articles of jurisprudence nor their derivation. For, surely our books dedicated to jurisprudence and legal rulings cover that perspective without addition to it, such as *al-Mabsūṭ*, *al-Nihāya*, *al-Jumal wa-l-'uqūd*, *Masā'il al-khilāf* and others.¹⁶⁹ The purpose of this book is dedicated to praxis (correct performance of religious rituals) and mention of supplications which we have not mentioned in the books of jurisprudence. Many of our companions are eager to worship without acquiring deeper understanding when it comes to praxis, nor arriving at (a comprehension of) the end purpose of it [the praxis]. Among them (average Shī'īs) are those who focus on acquiring deeper

¹⁶⁷ Andrew Newman, "Legal Traditions," in *The Shi'i World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 84. For details regarding al-Ṭūsī's flight from Baghdad see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1991), 16:17. For an excellent biography of al-Ṭūsī see Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, "Ḥayāt al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī," 5-78.

¹⁶⁸ By praxis 'amal here he means the necessary acts of worship which include *ṣalāt* (the daily obligatory ritual prayer), *ṣawm* (fasting), and *hajj* (the obligatory pilgrimage) does not include morality etc?.

¹⁶⁹ These are books of Islamic jurisprudence written by al-Ṭūsī.

understanding (without performing worship). And among them are those who merge both matters (worship and arriving at deeper knowledge). For it [this book] is for every group among them. Contained in it is something they can rely upon and refer to and they may acquire their object of desire from it. Thus, I responded to you in that regard. We seek assistance from God and rely upon Him. Following that I mention a section dedicated to acts of worship (*'ibādāt*) and how it is divided up, and an elucidation of what is to be repeated from it (the acts of worship) and what is not (required) to be repeated and that which relies upon a condition and that which does not rely upon a pre-requisite condition. Thus, the purpose of this book shall be known and God is the source of good fortune.

Al-Ṭūsī states at the outset that this work was the result of a request of which the *Miṣbāḥ* is its product and response. While there is no internal textual evidence to discern at whose behest it was written, Ibn Ṭāwūs states that al-Ṭūsī (his great maternal grandfather) wrote the *Miṣbāḥ* “for some of my mothers (*ba‘ḍu ummahātī*; i.e., his grandmothers).¹⁷⁰ In fact, Ibn Ṭāwūs repeats this statement in the same text (*Falāḥ al-sā’il*) regarding a series of supplications taught by the Mahdī to a group of companions which was transmitted by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī to “some of my mothers (*ba‘ḍu ummahātī*).”¹⁷¹ If we are to accept this claim, then it is clear that first and foremost the ladies of the family either requested or required a prayer manual by which to organize their spiritual and religious calendar. Secondly, this would indicate the role that the women of the household played in becoming bearers of this liturgical tradition such that the initial impetus for compiling this work was at the behest of a group of women whose lives allowed for greater time spent on supererogatory worship in comparison to their husbands.¹⁷² Furthermore, due to Ibn Ṭāwūs’s maternal familial relationship to al-Ṭūsī, we have little reason to doubt this claim and hence the *Miṣbāḥ* may also be described as a family heirloom which Ibn

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-sā’il wa najjāḥ al-masā’il* (Qum: Būstān-i Kitāb, 1985), 7.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁷² Here we are speaking of 5th/11th century Baghdad and Najaf which were wholly patriarchal societies in which the lives of women were largely confined to the home and for the most part they did not partake in commerce, academic or political life – at least the evidence to the contrary is extremely sparse.

Ṭāwūs inherited. Further, the impetus to produce such a work demonstrates that there was a need (in al-Ṭūsī's view) for the devout to have a liturgical manual which they could refer to with ease, as he himself states in his introduction. Hence it would not have been beneficial for al-Ṭūsī to have inundated the text with *isnāds*, nor were such details necessary in this work as a means of verifying its contents. This is at least partly due to the status of al-Ṭūsī as the grand jurist and leader of the Shī'ī community of his day.¹⁷³ We may draw an analogy between the *Miṣbāḥ* and his legal manual, *al-Nihāya*, which is a book of practical laws akin to the *Miṣbāḥ*, a book of religious rites and spiritual practices. In both cases, neither of these works has been inundated with *isnāds* or extensive commentary unlike his multi-volume compositions on the subject of demonstrative jurisprudence (*al-fiqh al-istidlāl*) and theology (*kalām*) such as *al-Mabsūṭ fī fiqh al-Imāmiyya* (The Extensive Elaboration on Imāmī Jurisprudence) or *Talkhīs al-shāfi'ī fī al-imāma*.¹⁷⁴ This practical arrangement is reflective of the genius of al-Ṭūsī in recognizing that while the scholars were fully aware of these devotions in their various collections and notebooks, the average among the faithful, such as his womenfolk in this case, required a practical liturgical guide by which they might organize their spiritual calendar. After all, this was the expressed "objective (*gharaḍ*)" which spurred al-Ṭūsī to compile the *Miṣbāḥ* to begin with.

Secondly, while he has written several works dealing with jurisprudence and other subjects, he has chosen to provide a short introduction to rules regarding the rites of worship (*'ibādāt*) followed by supplications organized according to time and place which he has not

¹⁷³ The matter of *isnāds* and trust in the authenticity of this liturgical material will be discussed in more detail when we examine the work of Ibn Ṭāwūs, as he has provided a detailed discussion in this regard.

¹⁷⁴ The *Talkhīs al-shāfi'ī* (Abridgement of the Restoration) is a four-volume abridgement to the famous book by his teacher Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, who wrote *al-Shāfi'ī fī al-imāma* (The Restoration of the Imāma) as an extensive defense of the doctrinal belief in divine leadership and the succession to the Prophet.

mentioned in his various jurisprudential texts.¹⁷⁵ This also demonstrates that this text was designed to be a manual for the average Shī'ī who could refer to the liturgies but also learn the basic rulings (*aḥkām*) pertaining to worship, purity, obligatory prayer (*ṣalāt*) and required financial dues (*khums* and *zakāt*). Consequently, the *Miṣbāḥ* was not a response to a lack of availability of liturgies since these texts, as it has been demonstrated, were widespread and available to scholars who had scholarly means to refer to multiple liturgical compendiums. In fact, al-Ṭūsī refers to this in his introduction to the abridged version of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* where he says:

When I compiled the acts of worship for the year in the book which I named *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and I assembled in it acts of worship and a selection of supplications which were hardly found in a book of an author or a compilation of a compiler, I assembled it (*jamā'atuhu*) from different places and distant locations. By that [process] (the purpose) was to achieve an objective of trustworthiness for the one who is interested in this genre and embarks on its path.¹⁷⁶

It becomes apparent from al-Ṭūsī's claim that his work was unique insofar as the diversity of devotions to be found in it were not to be found in other works. This point is partially true in the sense that we have no record of al-Mufīd or al-Murtaḍā compiling practical liturgical manuals unlike al-Ṭūsī's own contemporary Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karājīkī (d.449/1057), although al-Karājīkī's work is no longer extant except for a few citations to be found in later works, and thus we are unable to compare it in any meaningful manner to the *Miṣbāḥ*. In addition, as it has been related already, al-Ṭūsī was one of the last Shī'ī scholars to have access to the vast libraries of Baghdad. Consequently, when viewed through the lens of posterity, the

¹⁷⁵ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 20.

¹⁷⁶ Al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (Qum: Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Majlisī, 2016), 10.

Miṣbāḥ can be described as an effort to preserve a tradition of liturgical material which may have otherwise been lost to the vicissitudes of time. Furthermore, it was also during al-Ṭūsī's reign that intra-Shī'ī rivalries were thriving, especially between the Twelvers, Ismailis, and the Zaydīs. Thus, having a prayer manual which clearly asserts Twelver Shī'ī identity by means of including various supplications related to the Mahdī would have served as a bulwark against both these competing groups. In the case of the Ismailis, their missionary work (*da'wa*) was well known in Iraq and was backed by the powerful Fatimid rulers such that by 401/1010 the Ismaili religious propagation was at the doorsteps of Baghdad during the tenure of Shaykh al-Mufid in addition to already being well established in the southern city of Hilla. The tensions with the Ismailis reached such a point that the then Abbasid caliph, al-Qādir (r.381-422/991-1031) compelled both al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d.406/1015) and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d.436/1044-1055) and to openly denounce the Fatimid ruler, al-Ḥākim and his predecessors as being illegitimate decedents of Fatima with no right to leadership.¹⁷⁷ Despite these desperate polemical Ismaili missionary and destabilizing activities would continue in Iraq to such a point that the Fatimid, proxy, al-Baṣārīrī seized Baghdad and Kufa from the Abbasids in 450/1058 coinciding with al-Ṭūsī's escape to al-Gharī (suburb of Kufa).¹⁷⁸ These overt Ismaili incursions in Baghdad and Kufa would have placed extraordinary pressure upon al-Ṭūsī to defend Twelver Shī'ism and produce a liturgical cannon for the devout to follow. While some of the liturgies are generic supplications, others clearly provide further foundations for the Twelve Imām thesis. These include prescribed supplications for twelve hours of the day corresponding to the twelve

¹⁷⁷ Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs 2nd ed.* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), 185.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 196-197.

Imāms, and various supplications which either reference the Twelfth Imām or have been allegedly transmitted by him to the community all of which ensure the community can develop an emotional and spiritual connection with whom the deemed to be the rightful yet absent Imām. These efforts under al-Ṭūsī's reign as the successor to al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā brought about a crucial systematization of Twelver Shī'ism as a spiritual, theological and legal school of thought among both Sunnī and competing Shī'ī sects who were also attempting to make a case for their own respective legitimacy as established schools of thought in the 5th/11th century Iraq.

Also, al-Ṭūsī in the introduction to *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* insists that he did not simply compile whatever he found, but he was selective and his diligence in this regard may allow his readership be assured that that the material he assembled originated from the Infallibles.¹⁷⁹ Evidence of this can be gleaned from the earliest manuscript of the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, copied in 502/1108, just forty-two years after al-Ṭūsī's death in which the copyist diligently differentiates between the passive verbal use (*al-fi'l al-majhūl*) of *ruwiya* (it is reported) in contrast to the active use (*al-fi'l al-ma'rūf*) of the verb *rawā* (he reported). The subtle distinction is especially germane when understood within the parlance of ḥadīth as the active tense is generally indicative that al-Ṭūsī had a verifiable chain of transmission (*isnād*) ending with the particular reporter of a liturgy or he had the book of that particular companion of the Imām which he used as a source for the *Miṣbāḥ* along with a chain of authorities for that book.

¹⁷⁹ I mention Infallibles here so to indicate any of the Fourteen who are revered by Twelver Shī'īs, thus any one of their devotions would technically be given equal theological and spiritual value.

An example of this is *Du‘ā‘ alqama* which is to be recited on the day of ‘*Āshūrā*’ and which begins with “Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Ṭayālīsī (d.259/872) reporting (*rawā*) from Sayf b. ‘Umayra who reported from the sixth Imām, Abū ‘Abd Allāh (al-Ṣādiq) . . .”¹⁸⁰ Upon recourse to the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī we find that al-Ṭayālīsī had a book (*kitāb*) and al-Ṭūsī demonstrates his particular chain of transmission leading back to the book of al-Ṭayālīsī.¹⁸¹ Thus in using the active form of *rawā* (triliteral root *r-w-y*) al-Ṭūsī is likely demonstrating that he has verified at least for himself that the supplication mentioned in fact has a chain of transmission ending with a particular companion reporting from the Imām. For Shī‘ī traditionists this in turn contributes to the aura of trustworthiness regarding the contents of the *Miṣbāḥ* as it would pertain to the matter of *ithbāt al-ṣuḍūr* (confirmation of origins) of the traditions of the Infallibles. Therefore, by examining the liturgical narrations of the *Miṣbāḥ* in light of al-Ṭūsī’s *Fihrist* we are able to ascertain that al-Ṭūsī had in his possession numerous important works such as the *Kitāb* of Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Ṭayālīsī who maybe classified among the “culture builders” of Shī‘ī intellectual history akin to Abū Baṣīr. In fact al-Ṭayālīsī is the reporter for the famous heart-rending supplication known as *Du‘ā‘ alqama* to be recited on tenth of Muḥarram (‘*Āshūrā*’).¹⁸² Another such example would be two supplications to be recited after the obligatory prayers, one to be recited following the afternoon prayer (*al-‘aṣr*) and the other a general supplication to be recited after any obligatory prayer, both of which are based upon the “report (*riwāya*) of Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Ammār.”¹⁸³ According to al-Ṭūsī’s literary catalogue, Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Ammār had a *Kitāb yawm wa layla*, the contents of which

¹⁸⁰ Al-Ṭūsī, *miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 773.

¹⁸¹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 421.

¹⁸² This supplication to be recited on ‘*Āshūrā*’ recalls the tragedy of Imām al-Ḥusayn and asks God to exact his vengeance upon the killers of the Imām.

¹⁸³ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 1:27 and 218.

were available to al-Ṭūsī as per his pathway (*ṭarīq*) to the book.¹⁸⁴ In another case al-Ṭūsī includes a supplication for the protection of “The Possessor of the Command (*Ṣāhib al-‘amr*: a reference to the Imām of the Time)” by stating, “*rawā* Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (Yūnus reported)” that al-Riḍā ordered the following supplication be recited for the Imām of the Time. Once again upon reference to the *Fihrist* we see that al-Ṭūsī outlines his *ṭarīq* to all the books attributed to Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, and among the myriad of titles is this liturgical text.¹⁸⁵

As Scott Christopher Alexander states succinctly, the central contribution of al-Ṭūsī’s *Fihrist* was to posit the existence of a “textual community” among the Twelver Shī’īs whose culture was built upon a documented record of preserved writings emanating from the historical period of the Imāms. For al-Ṭūsī, the “trustworthiness” of the contents of the *Miṣbāḥ* at least partially derives from the testimony he provides in his *Fihrist* to the effect that he had at his disposal numerous works originating from the period of the Imāms which would have been indispensable sources for the *Miṣbāḥ*.¹⁸⁶ Once again, there is no absolute evidence to indicate this connection since al-Ṭūsī does not provide us with minutiae such as complete *isnāds* and reference details in the *Miṣbāḥ* that we so often find in his other works. It should be noted that a complete analysis of and correlation of reporters (*ruwāt*) in the *Miṣbāḥ* with the *Fihrist* and his *mashyakha* (the chain of his authorities in ḥadīth transmission) would be a formidable task requiring a separate study. At this juncture, we cannot dismiss the fact that this correlation

¹⁸⁴ What is meant by “pathway” is that al-Ṭūsī is able to verify the provenance of the book through a chain of established authorities who have transmitted its contents in light of the fact that he did not have the original handwritten work by the Imām or his companion. Even in the case that he had the original work, it would still require a chain of ownership and transmission in order to safeguard against potential fabrications and false attributions.

¹⁸⁵ Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 511.

¹⁸⁶ Alexander Scott Christopher, “Hidden in the books: Biobibliography and religious authority in the work of an eleventh-century Shī’ite jurist and theologian” PhD Thesis (Columbia University, New York, 1993), 292-293.

certainly exists for some the liturgical material cited therein and it is at least partially for this reason that the *Miṣbāḥ* was and continues to be treated with such reverence and esteem by both classical and contemporary Shīʿī scholars.

A second correlation may be made with al-Ṭūsī's magnum opus, *al-Taḥdhīb al-aḥkām* and earlier ḥadīth collections. For instance, al-Ṭūsī includes a supplication to be recited on the first day of Ramaḍān (*Du'ā' awwal yawm shahr al-ramaḍān*) without providing any chain of transmission, nor even a passive attribution such as "*ruwiya* (it has been reported)," nor the preposition *li* (attributed to Imām) such as "*Du'ā' al-ṣabāḥ li-l-Ṣādiq* (The Morning Supplication of al-Ṣādiq)," for example. Therefore, at first glance we would be left with no information as to the source of the supplication or even if it was possibly composed by al-Ṭūsī himself. However, upon recourse to the *Taḥdhīb* we find an entire section devoted to the supplications of Ramaḍān in which al-Ṭūsī provides his sources and chains of transmission. It is there that we find the identical supplication with a complete chain of transmission beginning with al-Kulaynī with his chain reaching 'Alī b. Ri'āb (d. late 2nd/9th century) who narrated the supplication from the seventh Imām, 'Abd al-Ṣālīḥ (Muṣā al-Kāẓim). Upon recourse to the *Fihrist* we also learn that 'Alī b. Ri'āb was a revered Kufan companion of the sixth and seventh Imāms who also possessed an *aṣl kabīr* (a large note book), the contents of which were available to al-Ṭūsī again through a group of his chain of authorities, for which he states: "We have been informed by a group. . . (*akhbaranā jamā'tan*)," which linked him *via* Ibn Walīd al-Qummī (d. 343/954), and al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī whose *mashāyikh* (authorities) served as conduits for later scholars to access transmitted material from the era of the seventh Imām.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣadūq, and al-Mufīd

¹⁸⁷ Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 263. For more on 'Alī b. Ri'āb see al-Najjāshī, *Rijāl*, 250.

have reported that this supplication is to be recited on the first day of Ramaḍān as taught by al-Kāẓim although there is no mention of al-Kāẓim's connection to this *du'ā'* in the *Miṣbāḥ*.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, it would appear that even when no information whatsoever is provided regarding a particular liturgy in the *Miṣbāḥ*, it is viable to reconstruct its source through recourse to al-Ṭūsī's ḥadīth and bio-bibliographical compositions in addition to earlier compilations, such as those of his teacher, al-Mufīd and earlier Shī'ī authorities. Much work remains to be done in this regard, but the aforementioned examples will suffice as an introduction to some of the possible sources of the *Miṣbāḥ*. Furthermore, it may be asserted that even when al-Ṭūsī uses the passive tense (*ruwiya*) it does not necessarily indicate that he has no source for that particular liturgy (*du'ā'* or *ziyāra*); rather, his *isnād* may not be complete or he is relying on an earlier source for which he did not have a direct pathway.

As for the contents of the *Miṣbāḥ*, the initial devotions that are arranged according to time are those to be recited after the various obligatory prayers (*ṣalāt*), followed by supplications for every hour, day, and week. The supplications to be recited at every hour are twelve in total and, dedicated to each of the twelve Imāms, are known as *ad'iya al-sā'āt* (hourly supplications) which, as mentioned, were based upon a much earlier written composition that was copied by the renowned copyist, Ibn Muqalla. This once again demonstrates/indicates that al-Ṭūsī had in his possession early written materials hailing from the historical period of the Imāms. He then proceeds to include the various rites and supplications to be performed in every month, beginning with Ramaḍān. This is particularly interesting because Ramaḍān is not the first month

¹⁸⁸ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 7:394; al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh* (Qum: Jāmī'at al-Mudarrisīn, 1992), 2:102, al-Mufīd, *al-Muqni'a* (Beirut, Dār al-Mufīd, 1992), 321.

of the Islamic calendar, but according to al-Ṭūsī, “it is well known among our colleagues (*aṣḥābunā*) that while Muḥarram is technically the first month, Ramaḍān is really the beginning of the year according to the reports which he deems trustworthy.”¹⁸⁹ Each month has numerous supplications and various *ziyārāt* to be recited at the shrines of Imāms ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in Gharī (Najaf) and his son, al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī in Karbala. The book ends with the supplications and *ziyārāt* to be recited in the month of Sha‘bān.

1.5 The principle of leniency (*al-tasāmuḥ*) and trust upon early liturgical material

Much of the devotional material attributed to the Infallibles has been treated by Shī‘ī scholars with the principle known as “leniency in verifying the recommended traditions,” also known as *al-tasāmuḥ fī adillat al-sunan* which essentially stipulates that recommended actions do not necessarily require incontrovertible historical proof that it originated from the Prophet and his family but rather there should be a probability that it has come from them.¹⁹⁰ This probability is based on two general factors. The first being that the act itself and the accompanying liturgical material should not contain anything that contradicts established Shī‘ī beliefs or teachings. Therefore, as Takim aptly demonstrates, this principle could not apply to known fabricated reports but rather those reports in which there is a probability that it came from the Imāms. This understanding and governing principle is described as “the principle of what has reached us (*qā’idatu mā balaghta*).” “Whatever good reaches someone and he performs it he shall have

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 376.

¹⁹⁰ On this see the excellent discussion by Liyakat Takim, “From *Bid’a* to *Sunna*: The *Wilaya* of ‘Alī in the Shi‘i Adhan” *JOAS* 120:2 (2000), 173-174.

the reward for that even if the Messenger of God did not utter it.”¹⁹¹ There exist a variety of traditions and an ensuing juridical discourse pertaining to this general rule all of which point to the acceptability in performing these acts. Hence those acts which are classified as recommended (*mustahhab*) have tended to be approached in this manner by the vast majority of jurists. It should be noted that this principle cannot apply to an act deemed obligatory (*wajib*) since the burden of proof is more stringent in such cases. Consequently, liturgical material that entails the act of supplicating to God or eulogizing the Imāms in the case of *ziyāra* would certainly fall under this auspice.¹⁹²

The second factor delineating the probability of this liturgical material to have come from the Imāms is what may be described by jurists as being “general contextual factors” (*al-qarā'in al-ijmāliyya*) which pertain to the early texts and the famous scholars such al-Ṭūsī who have transmitted liturgical material believing it to have originated from the Imāms. Thus for example if it can be determined that al-Kulaynī or al-Ṣadūq chose to include a particular liturgy in either *al-Kāfī* or *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*, or similarly with al-Ṭūsī in his *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* or *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*- this in itself would lend an aura of trust in the material as being close to the historical period of the Imāms and perhaps sourced from texts which originated from time of the Imāms themselves. Thereafter, an examination of a chain of transmission would then yield additional information regarding its potential authenticity. Put differently a hybrid

¹⁹¹ This principle is known as “the principle of what has reached us (*qā'idatu mā balaghta*).” The Arabic of the tradition is as follows: *man balāghāhu shay'un min al-khayr fa-'amilahu kāna la-hu ajru dhālika wa in kāna rasūl allāh lam yaqulhu.* Ibn Ṭāwūs cites various iterations of the principle later known “*al-tasāmuḥ fī adillat al-sunan* (leniency in verifying the recommended traditions).” He cites three traditions in this regard from al-Kulaynī and al-Ṣadūq (Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-sā'il*, 11-13). Interestingly, Kohlberg does not discuss this introduction in his work on Ibn Ṭāwūs, thus to my knowledge the discussion here is the first.

¹⁹² On this see Sayyid Muhammad Riḍā al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tasāmuḥ fī adillat al-sunan taqrīrāt al-abḥāth* (Najaf: Dar al-'Alqamī, 2008), 33.

approach which blends the above perspectives would include a general trust in the respective liturgical text combined with a reliance upon the “deeds of the companions (*‘amal al-aṣḥāb*)” which would include the historical period of the Imāms and the acquiescence of this material on the part of early scholars (*al-qudamā’*). More specifically there tends to be a general reverence of trust on the part of Shīī scholars extended to the liturgical material that can be reasonably believed to have been transmitted from the companions of the Imāms *via* the early generations of Shīī scholars who lived during the time of the Imāms up to al-Ṭūsī.¹⁹³ This aura of trust in their perceived faithful transmission of liturgical material greatly contributed to the encouragement for subsequent generations to wholeheartedly accept the veracity and spiritual efficacy of this liturgical material and particularly the devotions chosen by al-Ṭūsī for inclusion in the *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*. Furthermore, the presence of unknown transmitters (*majāhīl* sing. *majhūl*) in the chains of transmission (of those liturgies that have chains) would be somewhat mitigated when a particularly liturgy has been copiously reported by multiple generations of scholars.¹⁹⁴ Consequently, this repeated transmission of a single liturgy especially by formative figures such as al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī (al-

¹⁹³ Al-Ṭūsī was the last Shīī scholar to transmit and compile traditions in Baghdad prior to the fall of Buyids. Baghdad from early 3rd/10th century up to his era (mid 5th/11th century) became an epicentre of Shīī traditionalism partly due to the strategic presence of the special representatives of the Twelfth Imām and thereafter the likes of al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣadūq, Ibn Qūlawayh, and al-Mufīd all of whom transmitted ḥadīth in Baghdad and contributed to its establishment as being a centre of Shīī learning and as a repository for both oral and written tradition believed to have originated from the Imāms *via* the written compilations of their companions containing their traditions. Therefore the chronological and geographical circumstances yield for later Shīī scholars, a degree of circumstantial trust in the material transmitted by those noteworthy traditionists in Baghdad who had access to numerous early sources most of which were lost following the fall of the Buyids which marked the end of what is often described as the Shīī golden age in Baghdad. Consequently, this circumstantial trust in material attributed to the Imāms would diminish following al-Ṭūsī’s escape from Baghdad and the mass looting of the rich Shīī written collections which were held in the city which al-Ṭūsī had access to as the leader of the Shīīs of Baghdad.

¹⁹⁴ These are transmitters of ḥadīth whose biographies cannot be found in the extant bio-bibliographical literature and hence are unknown to us today.

Shahīd al-Thānī), and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī further solidified a broad-spectrum of trust in such material. It should also be noted that this broad-spectrum of satisfaction pertained to recommended acts and did not pertain to the legislation of obligatory acts (*wājibāt*) such as fasting in the month of Ramaḍān or the necessary rules pertaining to the daily obligatory prayers. It is for this reason that principles such as *al-tāsāmuḥ fī adillat al-sunan* and or its variant expressions facilitated the scholars in encouraging the devout to perform these liturgies while believing them to have originated from a sacred source such as an infallible Imām. The absence of any clearly fabricated content when combined with the above mentioned factors contribute to the praiseworthy nature of performing these various liturgical rites and devotions and a general aura of acceptability.¹⁹⁵ Naturally the aforementioned contributing factors are subjective in nature and are left to individual scholars to determine their applicability. That is to say, there would have to be a clear Qur’anic precedent or verified ḥadīth that would nullify the recommended status of a particular *du‘ā’* or *ziyāra* depending on the hermeneutic and interpretive theological framework utilised by Shī‘ī scholars when evaluating this material. As it will be seen, it was Ibn Ṭāwūs who was the first Shī‘ī scholar to address this matter in any substantive manner when he put forward various arguments in the form of an impassioned apologetic defense of the liturgical material he chose to include in his collections. The most famous among the early liturgical texts is none other than al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ* which has left a lasting impression upon the generations of scholars who followed him

¹⁹⁵ Any content which would seem to contradict fundamental beliefs regarding the attributes of God or the Imāms. For instance, an anthropomorphic description of God would not be acceptable in Twelver Shī‘ī circles nor would any outright divinization of the Infallibles in describing them as the providers of sustenance as opposed to being the means by which sustenance is delivered to creation. Once again, by using certain subjective hermeneutics much of this has the potential to be dismissed as mere analogies.

1.6 The transmission and historical legacy of the *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ*

Among the methods of understanding the dynamics of a text's survival is the examination of its transmission history. In the case of the *Miṣbāḥ*, no other liturgical manual has had such a lasting impact as it has upon the Shī'ī liturgical tradition. By examining the historical details pertaining to its early manuscripts, its recitations (*qirā'āt*) and licences (*ijāzāt*), chains of transmission (*asānīd*) and manuscript transcription notes, we may develop an insight into the place of this formative liturgical manual within the Shī'ī *Weltanschauung*. As Jonathan Brockopp has outlined in his analysis of Muslim scholarly communities, these manuscripts, especially when furnished with dates and copyist information, can be treated as archaeological evidence that informs us about the community that produced these texts.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the notices and scribal glosses as found in multiple *Miṣbāḥ* manuscripts give us an insight into the role of these particular liturgical texts within the Twelver Shī'ī scholarly milieu and al-Ṭūsī's legacy in this regard. As for the extant manuscripts of the *Miṣbāḥ* and the *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ*, the number of manuscripts in the public libraries of Iraq and Iran number well into the hundreds.¹⁹⁷ This is an indication of the widespread usage and proliferation of the text. The earliest and most prized extant manuscript of the *Miṣbāḥ* was copied on 23rd of Ṣafar, 502/1109 in the city of Mashhad, just forty-two years after the demise of al-Ṭūsī who died in 460/1067. This pristine and fully vocalized copy continues to be held in the Āstān-i Quds Library (also known as *al-Maktaba al-*

¹⁹⁶ Jonathan E. Brockopp, *Muhammad's Heirs: The Rise of Muslim Scholarly Communities, 622-950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 115.

¹⁹⁷ Mostafa Derayati lists 157 manuscripts of the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and 65 manuscripts for the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* as they appear in *Union Catalogue of Iran Manuscripts* (Tehran: National Library and Archive of Iran, 2013), 28:804-817;418-425.

Raḍawīyya) in Mashhad and is one of the oldest and most venerated works in its manuscript collection, which is among the largest in the Middle East. The preservation of this manuscript (no. 8822) for the past 909 years and its current pristine condition is itself a testament to the importance of the *Miṣbāḥ* and this copy itself, which is partly due to the exceptional historical details preserved on its first and last folios. The copyist was ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī who lived until at least 508/1114, since he received a licence (*ijāza*) to transmit the *Amālī* of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq in that same year.¹⁹⁸ In fact it was this very copy that was used by the prominent Shī‘ī scholar and liturgist, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī as his original copy of the same text prior to his death in 548/1153.¹⁹⁹ These immediate details are indicative that ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Rāzī was involved in the copying and transmission of important Shī‘ī texts including the *Miṣbāḥ*. On the last folio of the *Miṣbāḥ* portion of the manuscript ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Rāzī states that he copied the *Miṣbāḥ* from the copy of an unknown Abī Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Māwarā’ al-Nahrī.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Rāzī received an *ijāza* to transmit the *Miṣbāḥ* according to the following legible excerpt on the first folio:

He recited (the *Miṣbāḥ*) to me [‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qummī] from its beginning to its end [the *Miṣbāḥ*] and he compared it [the *Miṣbāḥ*] to my copy and corrected it with his determination and utmost effort, (that is) the jurist . . . al-Shaykh Abī Mas‘ūd ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-

¹⁹⁸ The *Amālī*, also known as *al-Majālis*, are lecture notes from the classes conducted by a particular scholar, in this case al-Ṣadūq (Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī). Lectures would comprise a book of ḥadīth traditions which were narrated by al-Ṣadūq to an audience of his students and others on different occasions during the year. This text is among the earliest extant Shī‘ī ḥadīth compilations. For information on the earliest manuscript and the *ijāza*, see Mīrzā ‘Abd Allāh Afandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta’līqat Amul al-Āmul* (Qum: Library of Āyat Allāh al-Mar‘ashī al-Najafī, 1989), 212 and al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī‘a*, 19:354.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 8822, copied in 502/1109, Āstān-i Quds Library, Mashhad, Iran, folio 212. The little we can discern from the last name Māwarā’ al-Nahrī is that it is an epithet which refers to those who lived in or originated from Transoxiana in Central Asia, or what is beyond the Oxus River (*mā warā’ al-nahr*) which is in the proximity of modern day Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Naqqāsh al-Rāzī. This (testimony) was recorded by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qummī.²⁰¹

It is also not coincidental that ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qummī is the same teacher who issued ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Rāzī the licence to transmit and copy al-Ṣadūq’s *Āmālī*, thus indicating that the *Miṣbāḥ* as a liturgical work was taught in tandem with other key texts in Shī‘ī scholarly circles. While we are not entirely sure as to the precise identity of ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s teacher, Mīrzā Afandī has surmised that it is most likely Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. early-mid 6th/12th century) whom Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī (b.504/1110) has described as being a jurist and excellent scholar (*faqīh wa fāḍil*).²⁰² I am inclined to accept Mīrzā Afandī’s claim, not only because he was an expert on these matters, but also due to the fact that Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qummī had two brothers, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl and Abū Ṭālib Ishāq, both of whom were direct students of al-Ṭūsī. Further, according to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ardabīlī (d.mid-11th/17th century), the two brothers “read under al-Ṭūsī’s (supervision) all of his compositions and they have narrations of traditions, extensive works and abridged works concerning creed in Arabic and Persian.”²⁰³ Consequently, these two were not only students of al-Ṭūsī but also authorized to transmit his books, and as al-Ardabīlī and others have

²⁰¹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 8822, folio 1. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qummī has written this reading license and testified to his student, ‘Abd al-Jabbar b. ‘Alī b. Manṣūr al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī’s recitation of the *Miṣbāḥ*.

²⁰² Muntajab al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Bābawayh al-Rāzī, *Fihrist asmā’ ‘ulamā’ al-Shī‘a* (Qum: Āyat Allāh al-Mar‘ashī al-Najafī Library, 2001), 91. It should also be noted that Najm al-Dīn was the paternal grand-uncle of Muntajab al-Dīn, thus placing the latter in an ideal position to provide information regarding the intellectual legacy of his family. Al-Jalālī, *Dirāyat al-ḥadīth*, 193.

²⁰³ “Qara’ā ‘alā al-shaykh al-muwwafaq Abī Ja‘far jamī‘i taṣānīfihī wa lahumā riwāyāt al-ahādīth wa muṭawilāt wa mukhtaṣarāt fī al-‘itiqād ‘arabiyya wa fārsiyya.” On the intellectual relationship of the two brothers to al-Ṭūsī see Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘ al-ruwāt* (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar‘ashī al-Najafī, 1982), 1: 91; al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī (d.1104/1692), *Amal al-Āmil* (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Wafā, 1983), 2:32; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A‘yān al-shī‘a*, 3:279.

stated, they recited and meticulously read these works in front of their teacher, thereby being authorized to transmit them. Therefore, it would not be implausible to presume that their brother Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan was also a student of al-Ṭūsī, or at the very least a near contemporary of al-Ṭūsī himself whose two brothers were among al-Ṭūsī's inner circle of students.

With regard to Najm al-Dīn's ancestry, Muḥammad (Najm al-Dīn's father) was the son of Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh al-Qummī, hence making him the grand-nephew of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, and his father al-Ḥasan would have been al-Ṣadūq's nephew.²⁰⁴ All of these genealogical particularities are crucial in discerning that this particular manuscript is of unparalleled historical value to the history of Shī'ī liturgy as it is not only the earliest extant manuscript of the *Miṣbāḥ*, but also its contents inform us as to who in the Shī'ī scholarly community was utilizing it, and the times and places in which they did so. It also demonstrates the importance of this manuscript as not only being authorized by a near contemporary or student of al-Ṭūsī himself, but also that Najm al-Dīn al-Qummī was a scholar in his own right with close ancestral relations to al-Ṣadūq. These interconnections articulate the role that the descendants of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq played in the transmission of the *Miṣbāḥ* and Shī'ī liturgy more broadly. The fact that 'Abd al-Jabbār was referred to as "*al-faqīh*" ("the jurist") by his teacher implies that he could not have simply been a copyist but rather an individual of some scholarly repute. Further, as the copyist of this manuscript, 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Rāzī was required to recite

²⁰⁴ Al-Ṣadūq (Abū Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh al-Qummī) as far as we know had two brothers, al-Ḥasan and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn. The latter was Najm al-Dīn's paternal great-grandfather. As well, Muḥammad was the father of Najm al-Dīn Abī al-Ḥasan, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl and Abū Ṭālib Iṣḥāq. See al-Jalālī, *Dirāyat al-ḥadīth*, 193.

aloud the entire text (*min awwalihi ilā ākhirihi*), compare it to the copy of his teacher, make any corrections if necessary and have this process supervised by his teacher, all prior to him being given a licence for transmitting it. Lastly, most of this activity would have taken place in the Shīʿī centre of Rayy, as both ʿAbd al-Jabbār and his teacher, Najm al-Dīn, were Rāzīs, which indicates that they originated from Rayy. It became a famous centre of Shīʿī learning after several of al-Ṭūsī’s students, upon completing their studies in Najaf, returned there.

The second *qirāʿa* is also on the first folio of the no. 8822 *Miṣbāḥ* manuscript and it reads as follows:

The chief of the age, the scholar, commander of the religion and support of Islam, Muḥammad b. . . . Abī al-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan) b. Abī Ishāq read to me from the beginning of this book (*Miṣbāḥ*) . . . and to his two sons Abī Ṭālib Maḥmūd and Abī al-Ḥasan on the basis of the report he transmitted from me (unknown) from al-Sayyid al-Saʿīd . . . al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. . . . Abī Muḥammad al-Mūsawī from al-Sayyid al-Ajal al-Murtaḍā Dhī al-Fakhrayn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Muṭahhar b. ʿAlī from . . .²⁰⁵

In this case both the *mujāz* (licentiate/student) and the *mujīz* (licenser/teacher) remain unknown; however, the chain of authorities (*mashāyikh*) of the issuer of this licence are both Shīʿī authorities who link the *mujīz* to al-Ṭūsī himself. The unknown *mujīz* transmitted the *Miṣbāḥ* to his student through his teacher, al-Sayyid al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Mūsawī who lived during the first quarter of the 6th/12th century and is described as a chief of the *sayyids* (*najīb al-sāda*) of his time. This title indicates the venerated status of this figure as a spokesperson for the descendants of ʿAlī in addition to being a master in ḥadīth for Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who was

²⁰⁵ I was able to decipher this legible portion of the *qirāʿa* at top of the first folio: “*qarʿa ʿalay al-raʿīs al-ajal al-ʿālim amīr al-dīn wa sanad al-islām muḥammad b. . . . abī al-ḥusayn (or al-ḥasan) b. abī ishāq . . . min awwal hadhā al-kitāb...wa li-waladayhi abī ṭālib maḥmūd wa li abī al-ḥasan ʿanī riwāyatan ḥamalathu ʿanī ʿan al-sayyid saʿīd . . . al-ḥusayn b. muḥammad n . . . abī muḥammad al-mūsawī ʿan al-sayyid al-ajal al-murtaḍā dhī al-fakhrayn abī al-ḥasan al-muṭahhar b. ʿalī ʿan . . .*”

one of the most prolific Shī'ī ḥadīth transmitters of the 6th/12th century.²⁰⁶ The second figure is Abū al-Ḥasan al-Muṭahhar b. 'Alī b. Abī al-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Dībājī who was a teacher of Sayyid al-Mūsawī and a student of al-Ṭūsī. Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī describes him as among the last of the chiefs of the descendants of 'Alī (*sādāt*) who was an author and scholar in Iraq as well as being a student of al-Ṭūsī who is known to have studied the hajj rites with him.²⁰⁷ These details confirm that the *Miṣbāḥ* as a liturgical text, and this manuscript in particular, was of immense importance, since it is was not only copied 42 years after al-Ṭūsī's death, but also those who studied it as a component of their scholarly training meticulously ensured that the text was certified by a chain of transmission, ending with a student of al-Ṭūsī, which would end with the author himself. Furthermore, this *qirā'a* must have been issued during the early to mid-6th/12th century since the licencer was a student of Sayyid al-Mūsawī who lived during the first quarter of the 6th/12th century and was a student of al-Ḥasan b. Muṭahhar b. 'Alī, a direct student of al-Ṭūsī. This second *qirā'a* is of more significance than the first, primarily due to the direct association between al-Ḥasan b. Muṭahhar b. 'Alī and al-Ṭūsī, whereas in the first *qirā'a* we can only surmise with some confidence that the issuer of the licence was a student or associate of al-Ṭūsī. Nevertheless, both 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Bābawayh al-Qummī (Najm al-Dīn) and al-Ḥasan b. Muṭahhar had a near or direct relationship with al-Ṭūsī.

²⁰⁶ Regarding Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Mūsawī, Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī states: "*rawā lanā*" ("he reported to us"), meaning that he was an authority or teacher of his. See Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Fihrist*, 100. For an extensive discussion on the life and intellectual legacy of Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī, see Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn and Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabātabā'ī, *Mustadrak a'yān al-shī'a* (Beirut: Dār al-Ta'āruḥ li-l-Maṭbū'āt, 1987), 2:190. This particular entry was initially written by Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn and then expanded by Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabātabā'ī.

²⁰⁷ Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *ibid.* Also see Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 102:263; Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 1:57; al-Subḥānī, *Mawsū'at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 6:80.

The third and final *qirā'a* is to be found on the last folio which reads as follows: “I completed reading this book [*Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*] from its beginning to its end in the month of God (Ramaḍān) in the year 584/1188 to our master al-Imām Sadīd al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Dūryastī . . .”²⁰⁸ Due to the deterioration of the bottom of the page, the name of the student is not decipherable; however, the teacher in this case is well known. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Dūryastī was a student of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī and a teacher in his own right based in Kashan but hailing from the village of Dūryast which was a suburb of Rayy (near modern day Tehran).²⁰⁹ He was also a contemporary of Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī while also being a student of Muntajab al-Dīn’s father, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Bābawayh (d. early-mid 6th/12th century). ‘Ubayd Allāh’s father, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Bābawayh was a direct student of al-Ṭūsī, thus separating al-Dūryastī from al-Ṭūsī by two intermediaries.²¹⁰ Furthermore, in 584/1188 and 586/1190 respectively al-Dūryastī issued *ijāzāt* (licences) for al-Ṭūsī’s *al-Mabsūṭ* and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Amālī* to his student ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Warrānī (d. circa early 7th/13th century).²¹¹ This demonstrates that al-Dūryastī (akin to ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-

²⁰⁸ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 8822, folio 212. The Arabic reads as follows: “*faraghtu min qirā’at hadhā al-kitāb min awalihi ilā ākhirihi fī shahri allāh . . . sanna arba’a wa thamānīn wa khamsa miya ‘alā Mawlanā al-Imām Sadīd al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Dūryastī . . .*”

²⁰⁹ Al-Dūryastī transmits the *Amālī* of Sayyid al-Murtaḍā from his teacher Fāḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī as per the *qirā’a* (reading certificate) dated 587/1190 found in the manuscript of the *Amālī*. See Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī* MS no. 1475 copied in Rajab, 586/1190, Maktabat Fayḍ Allāh, Istanbul. Duryast is a region famous for producing well known Shī’ī scholars, the most famous among them being Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ja’far b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī who was a contemporary of al-Ṭūsī and a student of al-Mufīd. See Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī, *Lu’lu’at al-Baḥrayn fī a-ijāzāt wa tarājim rijāl al-ḥadīth*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (Manama: Maktabat Fakhrāwī, 2008), 327-330. It is very likely that Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Duryastī was descendant of this reputed family of scholars.

²¹⁰ Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, 1:79; al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharī’a*, 1:270; al-Amīn, *A’yān al-shī’a*, 2:383.

²¹¹ Ibid. Al-Dūryastī taught the *Amālī* to his student al-Warrānī while transmitting it from his teacher Fāḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī as per the *qirā’a* (reading certificate) dated 587/1190 found first folio of the manuscript of the *Amālī*. See Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī* MS no. 1475 copied in Rajab, 586/1190, Maktabat Fayḍ Allāh, Istanbul, folio 1. The *Amālī* of Sayyid al-Murtaḍā is among his most famous writings and consists of his lessons regarding Qur’anic exegesis and linguistics. The editor has provided a picture of this reading certificate on the first page of manuscript mentioned above. See al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1998), 1: 27.

Naqqāsh al-Rāzī) was responsible for the transmission and instruction of key Shīʿī texts authored by al-Ṭūsī in jurisprudence and Qurʾānic exegesis which formed the academic curriculum alongside the *Miṣbāḥ*. Furthermore, similar to the first and second reading licences, we see that the issuer of the licence was either a contemporary of al-Ṭūsī, his direct student, or connected to al-Ṭūsī through an intermediary or two.²¹² These details provide material evidence for al-Ṭūsī's legacy, and particularly that of the *Miṣbāḥ* as a liturgical text which was treated with reverence by central figures within the Shīʿī intellectual establishment who transmitted the *Miṣbāḥ*, much like his other writings such as the *Mabsūṭ* or *Tahdhīb*. Further, it is astonishing that these details regarding the *Miṣbāḥ*'s transmission as evidenced in its earliest manuscript have not been discussed by bio-bibliographers such as Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, or even Mīrzā Afandī, all of whom were authorities in the field of Shīʿī bibliographic studies. In fact, the editors of the published editions of the *Miṣbāḥ* also fall short of mentioning these pertinent details, aside from simply recounting the existence of MS no. 8822 held at Āstān-i Quds in Mashhad.²¹³

The next noteworthy early copy of the *Miṣbāḥ* is manuscript no. 2156 in the collection of Markaz al-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, Qum, copied circa 629/1231.²¹⁴ Due to the second volume being unavailable we are unsure of the copyist's identity and the year the copy was made,

²¹² Al-Dūryastī was a student of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī who was a student of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's son, Abī 'Alī al-Ṭūsī. For more on this see the introduction to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, *Ad'iya al-sirr*, 23-25.

²¹³ This may not be due to negligence on the part of the editors, but perhaps the sheer difficulty in accessing the no. 8822 Āstān-i Quds manuscript in its full colour and high-resolution format; in fact I have met several librarians and notable scholars who have been unable access a complete legible copy of this manuscript.

²¹⁴ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 2156 copied circa 629/1231, Markaz Ihyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, Qum, Iran, folio 2. The *Miṣbāḥ*, due to its length, is often divided into two volumes of which the second volume in this case was not made available to me by Markaz Ihyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī if they happened to have it in their collections. However, the reading license (*qirā'a*) was issued in 629/1231 which would lead us to reasonably assume that either the copy was made by the licentiate or prior to the license being issued.

however, the reading licence (*qirā'a*) on the first folio is sufficiently informative to deduce the historical import of this copy. The complete translation of the reading license is as follows:

He, the righteous, pious, scholar, and beauty of Islam, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Abī al-Jūd b. Badr b. Daryās read to me some of what he had retained from volume one of the book *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* authored by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ṭūsī. He [Abī al-Jūd b. Badr b. Daryās] requested that I issue him a licence (*ujīzu la-hu*) for the remaining information which he had retained [of the contents of the *Miṣbāḥ*, volume one. So, I responded to him regarding that and I issued him a licence for the remainder of the report. And I informed him (*akhbartuhu*) that I read it [the *Miṣbāḥ*] to my master (*shaykhī*) the scholar, Rashīd al-Dīn Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Shahrāshūb al-Sarawī and he (my master) informed me (*akhbaranī*) that he heard it [the *Miṣbāḥ*] during his childhood from the words of his grandfather, Shahrāshūb b. Abī al-Naṣr b. Abī al-Jaysh al-Sarawī, that he [Shahrāshūb b. Abī Naṣr b. Abī al-Jaysh al-Sarawī] read it [the *Miṣbāḥ*] to its author al-Shaykh Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ṭūsī. I [the issuer of the licence] allowed him [Abī al-Jūd b. Badr b. Daryās] to report it [the *Miṣbāḥ*] from me according to this exalted chain of transmission (*al-isnād al-'ālī*) when he so desires along with the informative conditions (*al-shurūṭ al-mu'tabara*) associated with the licence (*ijāza*). This (the above information) was written by Ḥaydar al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī in Jamādī al-Ūlā, the year 629 A.H.²¹⁵

Unlike the previous two licences issued by al-Ḥasan b. Muṭahhar and al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Dūryastī, in this case both the licencer and the licentiate are known to us. According to al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, Ḥaydar al-Dīn was a noteworthy scholar who was a student of Ibn Shahrāshūb (the author of *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*) and reported traditions on his authority, which confirms Ḥaydar al-Dīn's own testimony as evidenced in the chain of transmission noted above.²¹⁶ Further, al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī states that he had seen a copy of al-Ṭūsī's *Amālī* which was transmitted from the copy (*nuskha*) of Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd which was based on a copy transcribed by his teacher,

²¹⁵ Ibid., folio 2. I should emphasize that this is not based on a transcription of the original, but is in fact the original writing of Ibn Abī al-Jūd which has been preserved and a xerox of the original handwriting is in my possession.

²¹⁶ Al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-'Āmil*, 2: 109.

Ibn Shahrāshūb. Al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī also relates that on the last folio of this non-extant manuscript of al-Ṭūsī’s *Amālī* there is a copy of the full licence (*ijāza*) given to Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd from his teacher Ibn Shahrāshūb to transmit both volumes of al-Ṭūsī’s *Amālī* on the basis of his reading the text in the year 570/1174 with Ibn ‘Alī al-Sarawī (Ibn Shahrāshūb’s father), who had his own chain of transmission reaching al-Ṭūsī.²¹⁷ These details confirm that the issuer of the licence, Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, was a well-known figure and a student of the famous Ibn Shahrāshūb.²¹⁸ Furthermore, in the case of the licence in question and its chain of transmission, it is certainly plausible that Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Shahrāshūb (d.588/1192) did in fact report traditions from his grandfather, Abī Naṣr b. Abī Jaysh al-Sarawī (Shahrāshūb) as evidenced in his *Manāqib*.²¹⁹ Ibn Shahrāshūb describes his grandfather as reporting most of the books of al-Ṭūsī (*aktharu kutubihī wa riwāyātihī*) through multiple methods.²²⁰ [[Furthermore _Repetition.] – Delete], in addition to being a teacher of Ibn Abī al-Jūd, Ḥaydar al-Dīn was also a teacher of the liturgical specialist, Ibn Ṭāwūs, thus making Ibn Ṭāwūs a contemporary of Ibn Abī al-Jūd. It is therefore entirely plausible that Ibn Abī al-Jūd (the licentiate) studied liturgical texts such as the *Miṣbāḥ* in the company of Ibn Ṭāwūs since both were students of the same teacher, namely, Ḥaydar al-Dīn.²²¹ Such details are pertinent to the discussion at hand firstly because it

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ His full name is Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Shahrāshūb. He wrote extensively in the field of ḥadīth, Qur’anic exegesis and bio-bibliography.

²¹⁹ Ibn Shahrāshūb outlines his various chains of transmission for the texts he cites from in his magnum opus, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* (Virtues of the progeny of Abū Ṭālib). Among these source texts is the *Faḍā’il* by al-Sam’ānī which he reports on the authority of Shahrāshūb b. Abī Naṣr b. Abī al-Jaysh al-Sarawī whom he describes as, “*jaddī* (my grandfather)” (Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* Qum: ‘Allāma Publications, 1959), 1:9

²²⁰ “*Wa jaddī Shahrāshūb ‘anhu [al-Ṭūsī] ayḍan simā’an wa qirā’atan, wa munāwalatan, wa ijāzatan bi-akthari kutubihī wa riwāyatihī.*” See *ibid.*, 1:12. These methods include listening, reading, receiving, and licensing. These are all the various ways a book and ḥadīth were transmitted from student to teacher.

²²¹ Ḥaydar al-Dīn issued a license in ḥadīth to Ibn Ṭāwūs in the year 620/1223. See Sayyid Maḥdī al-Khirsān, “*Muqaddamma li-Falāḥ al-sā’il li-Ibn Ṭāwūs,*” in *Muqaddamāt al-turāthiyya* (Qum: Dalīl Mā, 2006), 2:84.

serves as an important historical confirmation that such individuals existed and in fact studied liturgy with or under one another. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, it demonstrates once again that the *Miṣbāḥ* as a liturgical text was given the likeness and reverence of a ḥadīth or jurisprudential text in so far as an audition is performed under the supervision of the teacher, a licence for its transmission is issued and in this case a clearly discernible chain of transmission is cited which begins with the student narrating from the teacher who in this case was a well-known student of al-Ṭūsī, who read the *Miṣbāḥ* with the author himself. Furthermore, the licence (*ijāza*) and record of the recitation (*qirā'a*) in this case was written by Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd himself and preserved in its original form in 629/1231, making it 787 years old.

A nearly identical reading licence and chain of transmission can be found in a manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* which hails from the early 7th century, much like the copy discussed above.²²² In this manuscript, on the first folio Ibn Abī al-Jūd states in his handwriting that he read the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* with his teacher, and famous belle-lettrist Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Abī Zanbūr (d.607 or 613/1210 or 1216), who was a well-known scholar of belles lettres (*adab*) and, according to al-Dhahabī (d.749/1348), he belonged to the “extremist *Rāfiḍa* (*ghulāt al-rāfiḍa*),” or in other words he was a Shī'ī.²²³ It was Ibn Abī Zanbūr who transmitted the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* from Ibn Shahrāshūb (both of whom were well travelled), who in turn transmitted it from his grandfather, who studied the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* with Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. This would then indicate that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī taught both the larger *Miṣbāḥ* and its abridged version (*Mukhtaṣar*

²²² Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-ṣaghīr* (*Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*) MS no. 9907 copied circa 607 A.H., Āstān-i Quds, Mashhad, Iran, folio 1. The manuscript is incomplete and missing the last folio; however, the reading certificate/license as found on the first folio is dated 607 which usually coincides with its copy date or is closely related.

²²³ Al-Amīnī, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 3:50; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, ed. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Salām (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabī, 1993), 44:135.

miṣbāḥ) as separate texts to Abī Naṣr b. Abī Jaysh al-Sarawī (Ibn Shahrāshūb’s grandfather) since the abridged (*mukhtaṣar*) edition was written by al-Ṭūsī sometime after the first and slightly larger companion text. Furthermore, it demonstrates that Ibn Abī al-Jūd studied with prominent Shī‘ī authorities of his time and over the course of his studies both in the early and later stages (in 607/1210 and 629/1231 respectively) of his scholarly development a particular emphasis was placed upon the reading of liturgy, especially the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.

In addition to the licences found in early *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscripts, upon examination of the various published literature of ḥadīth and liturgy, we encounter three additional *isnāds* for the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*, all of which conclude with al-Ṭūsī himself. Two of these *isnāds* were transmitted *via* his son, Abī ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, whose role in the transmission of al-Ṭūsī’s legacy and writing continues to be unexplored. It would suffice to cite Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (d.1070/1660) who describes the intellectual legacy of Abī ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī in the following manner: “most of our licences (*ijāzāt*) from al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī end with him.” This indicates that al-Ṭūsī’s son was the main conduit by which the intellectual legacy of his father lived on as he himself would go on to become a sought-after *shaykh* who taught the various books of his father in Najaf.²²⁴ Abī ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī’s near contemporaries such as Ibn Shahrāshūb and Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī describe him as a close student of his father and as having studied all of

²²⁴ “*Ilāyhi yantahī akhatharu ijāzātina ‘an Shaykh al-Ṭā’ifa,*” (‘Abd Allāh al-Mamāqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* Qum: Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyā al-Turāth, 2009), 1:306. One of his most prominent students was ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (also known as Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī) who studied with him in al-Gharī (later known as Najaf) and narrates a large proportion of the traditions in *Bishārat al-Muṣtafā li-shī‘at al-Murtaḍā* (The Glad Tidings of Muṣtafā for the Partisans of Murtaḍā) from him in addition to receiving multiple licenses (*ijāzāt*) from his teacher. See ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *Bishārat al-Muṣtafā li-shī‘at al-Murtaḍā* (Qum: Madyan, 2007), 4,112 and 120.

his father's writings.²²⁵ The third *isnād* begins with al-Ṭūsī's student, Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥsin al-Ḥalabī (d. early 6th/12th century), who was a well-known authority and master of ḥadīth.²²⁶ Furthermore, these *isnāds* include some of the pillars of 6th-7th/12th-13th century Shī'ī learning such as Muḥammad b. Namā (d.636/1238), Ibn Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d.606/1209), Ibn Zuḥra al-Ḥalabī (d.585/1189), al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Ruṭba (d.560/1164) and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. circa 553/1140), as well as Ibn Shahrīyār al-Khāzin, the latter three of whom were direct students of Abī 'Alī al-Ṭūsī (d.515/1121).²²⁷ All of these individuals who post-date Shaykh al-Ṭūsī can be included within the wider orbit of noteworthy Shī'ī traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) and jurists (*fuqahā'*) living during the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, who participated in the transmission of a single liturgical text. These scholars, both as teachers and students, received and issued *ijāzāt* (licences) for either or both editions of the *Miṣbāḥ* with chains of transmission ending with al-Ṭūsī. To summarize, as is evident from the licences and chains of transmission pertaining to the *Miṣbāḥ*, the following students of al-Ṭūsī were primarily responsible for transmitting the *Miṣbāḥ* as immediate students of al-Ṭūsī:²²⁸

1. Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī (Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's son)
2. Al-Sayyid al-Ajal al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥasan b. Muṭahhar b. 'Alī
3. Shahrāshūb b. Abī Naṣr b. Abī al-Jaysh al-Sarawī (the grandfather of Ibn Shahrāshūb)

²²⁵ See the excellent and comprehensive discussion al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 5:244-245.

²²⁶ Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Fihrist*, 155. Al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 2:289.

²²⁷ See Figure 1.1 for the various *isnāds* of the *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ*. Ibn Shahrīyār al-Khāzin was the son-in-law of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī as well as the brother-in-law of Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī. He was known to be the caretaker and supervisor of 'Alī's grave and shrine in al-Gharī. He is also notably mentioned in the most commonly cited chain of transmission of the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* as well as in the chain of transmission of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*. See Afandī, *Ta'liqa amal al-'āmil*, 241.

²²⁸ I should note that these are the chains of transmission that I have been able to discover on the basis of extant works and unpublished manuscripts that were available to me. Further investigation and new sources would need to be brought forward to expand this list.

4. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Muḥsin al-Ḥalabī

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that these licences and chains of transmission are not all-encompassing bundles so as to comprise multiple writings of al-Ṭūsī which would happen to include al-Ṭūsī’s liturgical writing by default.²²⁹ On the contrary, these chains of transmission (*asānīd*), licenses for transmission (*ijāzāt*), and reading licences (*qirā’āt*) were all issued specifically for the *Miṣbāḥ* or the *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ* as liturgical material used by scholars and produced for the Shī‘ī masses.

Regarding the *Miṣbāḥ* and its abridged version, we have largely limited the discourse to a number of early sources that contain chains of transmission (*asānīd*) and reading licences (*qirā’āt*) which formed a network of scholars from the 5-7th/11-13th century, all of whom transmitted the *Miṣbāḥ* with a relationship to al-Ṭūsī’s immediate students, contemporaries, and al-Ṭūsī himself. This process of transmission and performance of the text was part of the teaching method of that era in which Shī‘ī luminaries such as Ibn Shahrāshūb and ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī and others treated it similarly to the transmission of works of jurisprudence in performing (reciting) them aloud for their teachers. Following this live performance of the text, they received licences to transmit the material to their contemporaries and the next generation of students, thereby demonstrating a degree of scholarly investiture in this material akin to what has been mentioned with respect to the *Ṣahīfa al-Sajjādiyya*.

²²⁹ We often come across examples in which teachers authorize students to transmit all their books or several books in a general license (*al-ijāza al-‘amma/shāmila*) in which they would say “I authorize you to transmit all of my compositions.” We see in the examples above that the *Miṣbāḥ* was not simply included in a cluster of other texts but singled out and studied independently and thus a solitary transmission license was issued for it.

I will now explore additional marginal glosses and colophons found in the various *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscripts. These manuscript notices form the basis of a material record that further contributes to the history of the *Miṣbāḥ*'s reception, geographical dispersion, and more broadly to the role of liturgical texts in Shī'ī scholarly life. The history of a manuscript copy is much like a chain of transmission insofar as it delineates how the copyist arrived at producing his specific copy or the process which led to the finalization of a particular copy of the *Miṣbāḥ* and its *mukhtaṣar* after consulting earlier manuscripts which were often copied on the basis of other earlier manuscripts. The first and most obvious example is *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 93 held by the Āyat Allāh Burūjirdī Library, Qum, copied by Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Astarābādī in 912/1506.²³⁰ The codex of al-Astarābādī was later owned by the Safavid scholar, al-Mawlā Aḥmad al-Bashrawī al-Tūnī (d.1083/1672) who in turn compared it to other copies at his disposal and then inscribed red marginal glosses indicating discrepancies between al-Astarābādī's copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* to the copies of *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* as copied by Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī (d.598/1202) and Ibn Sakūn al-Ḥillī (d. circa 606/1209), both of which were in his possession.²³¹ Ibn Idrīs could certainly be described as among the most influential Shī'ī jurists and teachers of the 6th century, whilst Ibn Sakūn was a renowned grammarian and jurist (*faqīh*). That is to say,

²³⁰ Also known as 'Imād al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, he was a Shī'ī scholar who had a close relationship with the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp I (d.984/1576). He authored several works on Qur'an recitation (*qirā'a*) as well as a commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghā*. See Afandī, *Riyāq al-'ulamā'* 4:153; al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, 14:140. He was also a well-known student of the famous Safavid scholar and martyr, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Tustarī (d.997/1588). See al-Subhānī, *Mawsū'at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 10:141.

²³¹ Mullā Tūnī describes these two works as constituting the *aṣl*, or original work, hence the earliest copies available to him. On Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī see the medieval Sunnī biographer and historian, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d.773/1371) who describes Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī as "*faqīh al-shī'a wa 'ālim al-rāfiqā fī 'aṣrihi* – the jurist of the Shī'a and the scholar of the *rāfiqā* during his age," (*al-Wāfi bi-l-wafāyat*, Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2000), 2:129; Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *An Introduction to Shī'ī Law: a biographical study* (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), 46; Ibn Sakūn was a renowned grammarian and copyist of books, hence he has been given the title "*al-kātib*." See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafāyāt*, 2:129. Regarding Ibn Sakūn's scholarly achievements see Amīn, *A yān al-shī'a*, 8:313-314.

since the vast majority of the *Miṣbāḥ* and its abridged version (*Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*) have identical contents, Mullā Tūnī set out to compare in detail the expressions and wording of al-Astarābādī's codex to the original written copies of Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn. Mullā Tūnī was meticulous in his comparison and has provided copious marginalia indicating every discrepancy he found, however minute, much like a modern critical edition of a published text.²³² Furthermore, both of these figures (Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn) also played a part in the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, and in the case of Ibn Idrīs, he is also credited with the earliest surviving commentary which demonstrates their further involvement in liturgical studies.²³³ However it should be noted that, unlike the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*, the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (the original larger edition) copied by Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī and Ibn Sakūn was not available directly to al-Ṭūnī, but rather through intermediaries.²³⁴ It is crucial to note that these intermediaries are al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid (d. after 830/1426), who is described as being “among the great jurists (*min akābir al-fuqahā*),” while ‘Alī

²³² One example is the addition of the preposition *min* (from) which was missing from a portion of the supplication to be recited following the afternoon (*‘aṣr*) prayer where in between the lines is written “*min bi-khaṭṭihima* [from their (two) handwritings],” that of Ibn Sakūn and Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī. Another example is an addition to the prayer for third night of Ramaḍān for which al-Ṭūnī notes: “*and in this night sustain me with your remembrance and your thanksgiving . . . bi-khaṭṭ Ibn Idrīs* (in the handwriting of Ibn Idrīs)”²³² (Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 093 copied in 912/1506, Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Burūjirdī, Qum). A nearly identical method was used by the unknown copyist of *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* MS no. 4224, Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Gulpāygānī, Qum. This manuscript originates from the Safavid period and the copyist had access to much earlier copies of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* copied by Ibn Sakūn and Ibn Idrīs and, much like al-Ṭūnī, he or she provides over one hundred notes indicating corrections related to both the content of the devotions and the grammatical inflection (*i’rāb*).

²³³ Regarding both of their contributions to the *Ṣaḥīfa*, see the extensive notes and discussion by Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Abtaḥī in ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Abtaḥī (Qum: Mu’assasat al-Imām al-Mahdī, 2000).

²³⁴ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 093. Al-Ṭūnī states in his marginal gloss next to the colophon that he compared al-Astarābādī's copy to that of al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid al-Ḥillī who compared his copy to that of ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Rumaylī while in Karbala (*al-ḥā’ir al-Ḥusaynī*) on the 27th of Sha’bān in the year 830/1426. Al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid transmits the testimony of al-Rumaylī, who states that he compared his copy to a copy written by ‘Alī b. Sakūn al-Ḥillī (*naqala nuskhatahu tilka min khaṭṭ ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sakūn*). Thus al-Ṭūnī had access to ‘Alī b. Sakūn's copy of the *Miṣbāḥ* via two intermediaries namely, al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid al-Ḥillī, who in turn relied on the process of comparison as done by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Rumaylī.

b. Aḥmad (better known as “al-Rumaylī”) was also a scholar succeeding both Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī and ‘Alī b. Sakūn by one generation; thus he would have lived during the early-mid 7th/13th century.²³⁵

The matter of collating early *Miṣbāḥ* copies with later ones has importance to the degree that Afandī in his bio-bibliographical compendium mentions all of these details regarding the collation of early *Miṣbāḥ* copies with older ones and the role played by both al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid al-Ḥillī and al-Rumaylī in that regard. In fact Afandī mentions that he saw in Qazvin and Hamadan copies of the larger *Miṣbāḥ (Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid)* and the smaller *Miṣbāḥ (Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid)* that contained copious marginalia indicating all of the discrepancies (*jamī‘ al-ikhtilāfāt*) between various manuscripts, which may be a reference to Burūjirdī MS no. 93. In addition to having access to earlier copies of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*, Mawlā Aḥmad Bashrawī al-Ṭūnī critically collated his copy (the codex of al-Astarābādī) with the copy of al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid who states that he had in his possession the copy of ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Rumaylī who in turn collated his copy with that of ‘Alī b. Sakūn al-Ḥillī’s handwritten copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* which at the time was in his possession. In addition to the critical collation carried out by al-Ṭūnī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Astarābādī also notes that he undertook an extensive process of critically collating numerous copies of the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in his possession, including one that was copied by

²³⁵ Mīrzā Afandī notes that he saw a copy of al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid’s handwriting at the conclusion of the *Miṣbāḥ al-muhtahajjid* which confirms the exact details already mentioned above; thus, Afandī is most likely referring to what is now known as al-Burūjirdī MS no. 093. Al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid was a student of the famous jurist of Hilla, Miqdād al-Suyūrī al-Ḥillī (d.826/1422). For the biographies of both al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid see Afandī, 1:185-186, and al-Jalālī, *Fihrist al-turāth*, 1:754. On al-Rumaylī, see Afandī, 3:342-342. Once again, Afandī reproduces the marginal gloss under discussion in full. However, since we have access to the original manuscript there is no need to rely on Afandī’s transcription of al-Ṭūnī’s notes regarding the process of comparing his copy of the *Miṣbāḥ* to older copies. The practice of referring to the notes of Ibn Sakūn regarding the discrepancies (*ikhtilāfāt*) in the *Miṣbāḥ* and the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* has also been mentioned by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Mar’ashī al-Najafī, *al-Ijāza al-kabīra* (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā al-Mar’ashī al-Najafī, 1993), 386.

Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī himself. The most striking detail in this regard is a note by Ibn Idrīs which (reproduced from the original by al-Astarābādī) states the following:

Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAjalī completed its transmission (*naqluhu*) and writing (*kitābatahu*) in Jāmādā al-Ūlā in the year 573/1177. This book has been compared to the original work (*al-aṣl al-maṣṭūr*) in the handwriting of the author (*bi-khaṭṭ al-muṣannif*). I have expended my effort in this regard (the copying of this book) except that which missed my glance and was hidden from my sight. By God, by God! whomever alters anything in it or substitutes or replaces that which is not in it – I swear against (curse) him by the right of God and Muḥammad (if) a word or letter is altered from its grammatical inflection (*iʿrāb*) and other than that. This was written by Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-ʿAjalī in the year 573/1177.²³⁶

Several details can be discerned from the above excerpt, namely that Ibn Idrīs would have had a chain of transmission through his teachers ending with al-Ṭūsī and he unequivocally states that he had the author’s copy at his disposal. This in turn would indicate that Astarābādī’s copy was based upon the original work, albeit through a single intermediary, namely, Ibn Idrīs. Secondly, Ibn Idrīs treated the subject of liturgy with utmost seriousness in condemning any person who attempts to add or remove even a single word due to the fact that, despite his well-known disagreements with al-Ṭūsī in jurisprudential matters, he felt it necessary to not only preserve the integrity of al-Ṭūsī’s legacy but that of the liturgical devotions of the Prophet and the Imāms. The emphatic nature of Ibn Idrīs’s statement may have arisen from a belief that these devotions are to be treated as similar to ḥadīth and thus to add or remove something from the actual text would be tantamount to tampering with sacred literature. In this regard there is a narration in which Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq emphasized to his well-known companion ʿAbd Allāh b. Sinān that he

²³⁶ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 093, last folio.

should recite a supplication as taught by him, “but recite [it] just as I say it to you (*lākin qul kamā aqūlu la-ka*).”²³⁷ In another narration, al-Ṣādiq intervened when his companion added the following hymn of praise to a morning supplication, “good rests in His hand (*bi-yadihi al-khayr*)” to which the Imām affirmed the truth of the statement while saying “but recite just as I say it to you.”²³⁸ Hence a statement such as this by Ibn Idrīs could be interpreted to be a general guidance (*al-amr irshādiyyan* or a religious decree (*al-amr mawlawiyan*), but nevertheless it serves as an imperative in reciting a supplication “just as” the Imām desired it to be recited verbatim. Consequently the argument could be made that if this was to be taken as a religious decree, then the supplications of the Imāms could be seen as being immutable (*tawqīfī*) especially if someone desires to benefit from its intended efficacy.²³⁹ Furthermore, this comment by Ibn Idrīs sheds further light upon effort expended by such people as this famous jurist in the copying and preservation of liturgical material such as the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and the *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ*, which he copied three years earlier.²⁴⁰ To summarize, *Miṣbāḥ* MS no. 093 underwent three different collations. Firstly, it was collated by al-Astarābādī (as he himself testifies) to numerous other copies including that of Ibn Idrīs. Secondly, Mullā Aḥmad al-Tūnī (its later owner) set out to

²³⁷ Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (Shaykh al-Ṣadūq), *Kamāl al-dīn wa itmām al-niʿma* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1975), 2:352. This supplication was instructed to be recited by the Imām for a time when there will not be access to the Imām which he describes as the supplication of the drowning person (*duʿāʾ al-ghariq*).

²³⁸ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 4:432.

²³⁹ For more on this see Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Māzandarānī, *Sharḥ al-kāfi al-uṣūl wa-l-rawḍa* (Tehran: al-Islāmiyya Library, 1962).

²⁴⁰ Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī completed copying the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* in Jumādī al-Awwal in the year 570/1174 and to this effect he writes the following: “I collated this book [*Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*] with the original copy in the handwriting of the author.” This was transcribed directly from Ibn Idrīs’s copy as stated in the testimony of the unknown copyist: “This book was transmitted from a copy which was written by Muḥammad b. Idrīs (*nuqila al-kitāb min nuskha kānat bi-khaṭṭ Muḥammad b. Idrīs*).” See al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 336/1531 n.d., British Library, London, folios, 47,50, and 233. The Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī copy also includes the above testimony of Ibn Idrīs; however, it was collated with a copy that was in turn collated with that of Ibn Idrīs, unlike the British Library manuscript which was collated directly with the copy of Ibn Idrīs. See al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 4224 n.d., Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī Library, Qum.

collate al-Astarābādī's copy with that of al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid who had access to earlier copies which were collated with that of Ibn Sakūn's. Thirdly, Mullā Aḥmad al-Tūnī collated al-Astarābādī's copy to contents of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* for which he had the handwritten copies of both Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn, all of which demonstrate comprehensive and multi-layered efforts to ensure a veracious transmission of this liturgical manual by multiple Shī'ī scholars spanning a period of five centuries (6th/12th – 11th/17th century). Further, evidence of the contributions of both Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn and other prominent figures to the preservation, transmission and reproduction of the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* is by no means limited to the marginalia found in al-Burūjirdī MS no. 93.²⁴¹

As for the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, there are three additional manuscripts with informative notes, which include Imām 'Alī Shrine Collections, MS no. 11-408; The Library of Āyat Allāh Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm, MS no. 1363; Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī Library, MS no. 3241.²⁴² Much like al-Burūjirdī MS no. 93, the Imām 'Alī Shrine manuscript was copied in 1078/1667 and at some point collated with the handwritten copies of Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn (*bi-khaṭṭ Ibn Idrīs wa Ibn Sakūn*).²⁴³ Furthermore, this copy was then collated with what is described as *al-aṣl* (the original), which most likely refers to the copy of al-Ṭūsī himself especially since it is written at the end of volume one that this was "collated with the book of the Shaykh (*qubila bi-kitāb al-shaykh*)."²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ The differences in the various copies are generally very minor and thus are not deemed significant. That being said, in the case of who or which characters are cursed in the various *ziyārāt* there are most certainly discrepancies between the manuscripts, and these can have a profound effect upon sectarian tensions depending upon which Shī'ī antagonists are cursed. This is discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with *ziyārāt* literature.

²⁴² This list is by no means exhaustive but based on the *Miṣbāḥ* manuscript copies in my possession.

²⁴³ Red marginal notes to this effect can be found throughout the text. See al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no.11-408, copied in 1078/1662, Khazānat Amīr al-Mu'minīn (Collection of The Commander of the Faithful/Imām 'Alī Shrine Library), Najaf, Iraq.

²⁴⁴ I should note that, unlike al-Burūjirdī MS no.93, the Imām 'Alī Shrine manuscript is incomplete and thus we are not able to confirm if the copyist or later editors clarified whether these works were available directly to them or *via* intermediaries, thus the al-Burūjirdī manuscript would be of greater historical value and was given first mention.

The next noteworthy copy of the *Miṣbāḥ* can be found in the collection of the late Āyat Allāh Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm (d.1390/1970) which was copied by an unknown Muḥammad b. Nāsikh al-Baghdādī in 715/1315.²⁴⁵ In addition to the early provenance of the manuscript, a marginal note on the concluding page states that it was collated with a copy (*nuskha*) that was corrected (*ṣahḥahahā*) by the celebrated Shīʿī scholar and jurist, Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī (d.841/1437).²⁴⁶ Further yet, the unknown collator states that the copy he collated it with also had written on its page: “a page in the handwriting of copyist of the original (*aṣl*).”²⁴⁷ Lastly, among the *Miṣbāḥ* copies held by the Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī library is an undated manuscript which was collated with a manuscript in the handwriting of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī (d.1104/1692).²⁴⁸ He was the great-grandson of al-Shahīd al-Thānī (the second martyr) and a contemporary of al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, who describes him as a jurist and scholar whose distinction is so well established that it need not be mentioned (*ashhur min ‘an yudhkar*).²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 1364 copied in 715/1315 by Muḥammad b. Nāsikh al-Baghdādī, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm al-‘Āmma/Qism al-Makhṭūṭāt (The Public Library of Āyat Allāh al-Ḥakīm/ Manuscript Department), Najaf, Iraq. The library has erroneously labeled the manuscript as being *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* when in fact it is the original larger *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and not the abridged version (both of which were written by al-Ṭūsī). This can be discerned from the final folio in which al-Ṭūsī’s concluding statements are identical to that of the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and not the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. See the concluding page (fourth page from the colophon). Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī was among the most recognized of Shīʿī scholars and jurists of the 9th/15th century in the Shīʿī centre of Hilla, in modern-day southern Iraq. See Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shīʿī Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 314. This manuscript has no pagination. It should also be noted that there is an informative preface written by a Najafī scholar, Jaʿfar ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī in 1382/1962, who happened to discover the manuscript sitting in the entrance of the Imām ‘Alī shrine. Realizing its immense historical value to the Shīʿī tradition, he then proceeded to repair it and hand it over to the *marjaʿ* (source of emulation) of his time whom he leaves unnamed. In Najaf, that would have been Āyat Allāh al-Sayyid al-Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm, hence the manuscript was then added to his vast collection.

²⁴⁷ Ibid. This may refer to the original copy of the *Miṣbāḥ* which Ibn Fahd relied upon or even the copy of al-Ṭūsī himself. It nevertheless refers to a copy which predates Ibn Fahd.

²⁴⁸ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 3241 copy date unknown, Markaz al-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, Qum, folio 316; 324.

²⁴⁹ Al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Amal al-‘Āmil*, 130. He relocated to Isfahan from Jabal Amil (South Lebanon) and was the author of many books. See Mirzā Afandī, *Takmilat al-Amul al-‘Āmil*, 311; al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, 8:246; al-Subḥānī, *Mawsūʿāt ṭabaqāt al-fuqāhāʾ*, 12:227.

As for the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*, it has an equally prominent manuscript culture if not superior to that of the larger *Miṣbāḥ*, which once again indicates the immense Shīʿī scholarly involvement in the transmission, copying and collation of liturgical material. The earliest and most outstanding example is *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* MS no. 13547, held in the Parliament Library (Majlis library) in Tehran; MS no. 1268 in the Library of Āyat Allāh al-Ḥakīm (Najaf); MS no. 4224 in the Āyat Allāh Gulpāyḡānī Library (Qum); MS no. 336/1531 held in the British Library Rare Collections (London).²⁵⁰ As for the Parliament Library manuscript, it is the most prominent of *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscripts. It was copied in Ṣafar, 578/1182 and then owned and annotated by Shīʿī Abbasid vizier and scholar, Muʿayyad al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿAlqamī (d. circa 656/1258). Furthermore, al-ʿAlqamī states that his final reading (*qirāʿa*) of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* took place in 609/1212 with his teacher, ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasāʾ (d.610/1213).²⁵¹ Al-ʿAlqamī would have been eighteen or so years old at the time, thus indicating that his study of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* took place during his formative years prior to his relocation to Baghdad and subsequent rise to distinction.²⁵² Secondly, it is stated that this was his “final reading” which

²⁵⁰ Al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 13547 copied in 578/1182, Maktabat al-Majlis (Parliament Library), Tehran. The editors of the current edition of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* have erroneously named Muʿayyad al-Dīn al-ʿAlqamī as the copyist. See al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (Qum: Maktabat ʿĀllāma al-Majlisī, 2013), p.39. Al-ʿAlqamī died at the age of 63 in the year 656/1258, which would indicate that he was born in 593/1196, or in 591/1194. See Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, 9:82-83. There is no doubt that he was a later owner of this manuscript as well as contributing to the notes therein; however, he could not have been its copyist since it was copied thirteen years before his birth.

²⁵¹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, MS no.13547, folio 230, where at the conclusion of the text he states: “It was my final reading to him (*kāna ākhiru qirāʿati ʿalayhi*) in 609/1212. He died in that year after passing the age of 80.” ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasāʾ was a recognized scholar and grammarian in Hilla where al-ʿAlqamī grew up. He was a well known master in ḥadīth to al-Sayyid Fakhār b. Maʿd al-Mūsawī (d.630/1232), who was the teacher of Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Muṭaḥḥar (d. late 7th/13th century), who was the father of the famous al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. Muṭaḥḥar al-Ḥillī, famously known as, ʿĀllāma al-Ḥillī (d.726/1325). See al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, *Ijāza al-kabīra*, 385.

²⁵² Al-ʿAlqamī was among the most prominent Shīʿī personalities of the 7th/13th century who was intimately acquainted with the influencers of his age, which included the last Abbasid caliph, al-Muṣṭansir, as well as the Mongol ruler, Hulagu Khan, following the fall of Baghdad. He was a student of Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277), a colleague of Ibn Ṭāwūs, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d.672/1274) as well as a friend and patron to the famous commentator on the

indicates that there were multiple readings of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* performed with his master, ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’. This manuscript is particularly significant due to the numerous marginalia written by Shī‘ī luminaries such as Muḥammad b. Makkī al-‘Āmilī (Shahīd al-Awwal, d.786/1384), Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī (Shahīd al-Thānī, d.966/1559), and Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Majlisī (d.1110/1699).²⁵³ This would also indicate the exceedingly salient importance of this liturgical text and the merit of the devotions therein, which not only survived for centuries but were also studied and annotated by renowned Shī‘ī jurists across the Muslim world in centres such as Hilla, Jabal Amil (South Lebanon), and Isfahan. This also indicates that scholars such as Muḥammad b. Makkī al-‘Āmilī, while being renowned legal authorities, also took great interest in these devotions as we saw in the case of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*. Furthermore, similar to the al-Burūjirdī MS no. 093, at some point this manuscript was collated with the copies of Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn as stated in red on the first folio as well as diligently noted throughout the margins.²⁵⁴ In fact, there is even a reference to “the handwriting of the author (*khaṭṭ al-muṣannif*),” which would be

Nahj al-Balāghā, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. circa 650/1253). Infact, it reported that he wrote his extensive commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghā* at the behest of al-‘Alqamī who as the vizier (minister) was in a position to support such projects. See the extensively researched biography written in Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A’yān al-shī‘a*, 9:82-101: Al-‘Alqamī was given the infamous title of Rāfiqī (rejector of the first three caliphs) albeit he is said to have revealed little of his *rafq* (*aḏhara al-rafq qalīl*). See Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafāyāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 210), 1:165. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī describes al-‘Alqamī as being an influential “Shī‘ī” vizier who struggled to protect the Shī‘ī community in Baghdad during the reign of al-Mu‘taṣim as well as during the reign of Hulagu Khan. See Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nūwayrī (d.733/1322), *Nihāyat al-‘arab fī funūn al-adab* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathā’iq al-Qawmiyya, 2002), 23:324.

²⁵³ This has been identified by the specialist curator at the Parliament Library in Tehran as indicated on the front page, as well as confirmed by Sayyid ‘Alī al-Ṭabaṭabā’ī, a renowned specialist in Shī‘ī manuscripts and the director of the Amīr al-Mu‘mnīn Manuscript Library in Najaf. I was able independently to discover the notes of al-Majlisī as mentioned on the final folio of the manuscript as well as the stamp of ownership belonging to Shahīd al-Awwal. See al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* MS no. 12547, folio 229.

²⁵⁴ Ibid. See cover page and folio 52 where it states “*ṣaḥḥaḥā Muḥammad b. Idrīs* (corrected by Muḥammad b. Idrīs).” This is reference to Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Ḥillī and his copy of *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* which was collated with al-Ṭūsī’s handwritten copy.

a reference to al-Ṭūsī, thus indicating that this copy of *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* was at least partially collated with the original, either directly or through an intermediary copy.²⁵⁵

The above details are by no means limited to the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* MS no. 13547; rather, we find a Safavid-era *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscript 1268 in the collection of Āyat Allāh al-Ḥakīm written by Fāḍil b. Muḥammad b. Maḥdī al-Mashhadī who states that in 1081/1670, he completed the process of collating his handwritten copy of *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* with that of Ibn Sakūn's copy which was transcribed in 558/1162 as stated in Ibn Sakūn's own testimony (according to al-Mashhadī). Fāḍil al-Mashhadī (d. circa early 12th/17th century) was the student of both al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, two of the most prominent ḥadīth scholars of the Safavid era.²⁵⁶ In addition it should also be noted that we find very similar collations and comparisons made to the copies of Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn in undated copies of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* such as those found in the British Library (London), and the library of Āyat Allāh al-Gulpāygānī (Qum) both of which have been collated with the copies of Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn either directly or *via* a single intermediary copy.²⁵⁷

This section concerning *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscripts serves as a testament to how prominent Shī'ī scholars formed networks spanning many centuries and geographical

²⁵⁵ Ibid., folio 99.

²⁵⁶ We can confirm his intimate connection with these two scholars through the existence of various *ijāzāt* (licenses) issued to him in jurisprudence and for the four canonical works of Shī'ī ḥadīth (*al-kutub al-arba'a*), which he received from al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī respectively. See al-Ṣubḥānī, *Mawsū'at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 12:390-391; al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, 21:406. On both of these teachers, see Rula Abisaab, *Converting Persia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), pp.126-133.

²⁵⁷ That is a copy which was collated against the copies of Ibn Idrīs and/or Ibn Sakūn. For more on this see note 110. Both copies have nearly one hundred or more notes and grammatical corrections, most of which relate to the corrections or observations of Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn. This becomes apparent from simply browsing the pages. See al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 4224 copy date unknown, Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī Library, Qum; *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 336/1531 copy date unknown, British Library, London.

locations while copying, collating, and preparing extensive marginal glosses for a liturgical text by a single author. All the above has been discerned from an analysis of the al-Burūjirdī MS no. 093 and the other manuscripts mentioned. Furthermore, these marginal notes are a form of material history highlighting how this particular liturgical text was treated by distinguished Shī'ī authorities, giving us an insight into their scholarly activities outside of what is commonly known about them which mainly pertains to their theological and jurisprudential work.

To summarize and further clarify, when a teacher writes that his student read (*qarā'a*) this text to him and affirmed the veracity of his copy, this in itself is understood to be a licence to transmit the book, which is akin to an *ijāza*, and which literally can be defined as a scholarly licence except in the case of a *qirā'a* where there is evidence that the student not only received a licence to transmit the text(s), but that he or she also read some or all of the text aloud in the presence of their teacher and the teacher affirmed their correct and faithful transmission of the text. All of this would be done prior to issuing a licence or degree pertaining to that particular text or multiple texts. In some cases it is clearly mentioned that a licence (*ijāza*) was issued for the *Miṣbāḥ* or the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*. In other cases, it is reasonably assumed that following a reading session, the testimony of the teacher who writes "that John Doe read this text with me" is in itself a testimony to the status and licence of John Doe to transmit the text, hence there is no requirement to state: "I am issuing him a licence (*ujīzu la-hu*)."

In this case, the licences or degrees have been issued for the *Miṣbāḥ*, thus demonstrating its paramount importance to those invested in the intricacies of the transmission of a liturgical text that is part of their scholarly training as inheritors of the Shī'ī tradition of which the *Miṣbāḥ* played an active role. Additionally, the *qirā'āt* and *ijāzāt* consulted thus far were not retroactively

copied at a later date but rather recorded in the 6th/12th -7th/13th centuries and preserved in original form, as evidenced by survival of these liturgical manuscripts which are between eight hundred and nine hundred years old. This further reiterates what has already been demonstrated with respect to the *Ṣahīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, *Du‘ā jawshan al-ṣaghīr* and numerous other works, which is that liturgy as a form of devotional literature has been given immense scholarly attention such that its faithful transmission and correct recitation formed part of the syllabus which constituted Shī‘ī intellectual culture, while concurrently being designed to be used by the faithful to organize their spiritual activities and give shape to their piety.

While the various contributions to the *Miṣbāḥ* in the form of reading licences and its manuscript culture cannot go unnoticed, the following question lingers: did Shaykh al-Ṭūsī organize his own spiritual life with these liturgies? Unfortunately, there is no evidence in the works of al-Ṭūsī in which he speaks of his own personal practice; however, there is a principle introduced to us by Ibn Ṭāwūs which may shed light on this matter. In mentioning the virtues of al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ* and the authority it retained among Shī‘īs, he makes it clear that in his view, it is a book of ritual (*‘amal*) and knowledge (*dirāya*) and it is not simply a book, cataloguing reports (*riwāya*). Therefore, the one who composes a book of ritual worship, must himself “follow[s] the act (of worship) therein (*taqallada al-‘amal bi-mā fī-hi*) for the one who acts upon its meanings (*li-man ‘amila ‘alā ma‘ānīhi*).”²⁵⁸ Ibn Ṭāwūs emphasizes that this is a principle, such that books pertaining to advice and liturgy – that is, spiritual guidance and matters of worship – must be

²⁵⁸ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Fath al-abwāb*, 186-187. Ibn Ṭāwūs is referring to those who attempt to fulfill the objectives of the book which is to understand and perform these acts of worship with a state of mind attuned to their importance. Therefore, the *Miṣbāḥ* and its abridged version could be a reflection of al-Ṭūsī’s own beliefs and spiritual practice since he is its compiler and author.

practiced by the author (*muṣannif*) himself first and it would not behoove a personality such as al-Ṭūsī to invite people to practice what he did not believe in or practice himself. The reason for this is that Ibn Ṭāwūs insists that the *Miṣbāḥ* is not simply a compilation, but it is a work of spiritual guidance meant to guide the devout and thus it is a principle among the Imāmiyya that such works be practiced first by the compiler and author which in this case was al-Ṭūsī.²⁵⁹ Consequently, due to the influence al-Ṭūsī had as a leading scholarly authority among Shī'īs, the scholars and lay people alike were profoundly drawn to the *Miṣbāḥ* and its *Mukhtaṣar* to the point that even his famous detractor, Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī, did not compose his own liturgical work, but spent a considerable amount of time copying and annotating the hundreds of pages which constitute both the *Miṣbāḥ* and the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* respectively such that his efforts have been preserved for posterity.²⁶⁰

The liturgical work of al-Ṭūsī had a lasting impression upon the generations that followed not only due to the scholarly legacy of its compiler but due to the devotional contents he chose to include in this work. The devotional material ultimately serves as a vehicle by which beliefs and religious polemics such as the *ziyārāt* affirming the rightful succession of the Imāms are affirmed in the lives of believers. These doctrines are expressed in an emotive and rhythmic compositional manner which only further serves to embed their contents in the minds of those who enact these devotions. It is through the performance of these prayers that the devout may bond with both God and the Imām simultaneously since the authorship has been attributed to

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ The *Miṣbāḥ* and its *mukhtaṣar* span several hundred folios; for instance, the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 8822 copied in 502/1108 is 420 folios, whereas the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 13547 copied in 578/1182 is 260 folios. As mentioned earlier, it is well established that Ibn Idrīs did not hesitate to point out what he viewed to be errors in al-Ṭūsī's work.

what is believed to be an infallible source. Therefore, various devotions whether they be enacted at specific hours or during specific holy days all function to secure the salvation of the devout who perform them as a sign of their submission to the tenets of Shī'ism as it was envisioned by al-Ṭūsī. Therein lies one of al-Ṭūsī's ultimate achievements in so far as he was able to compile a concise yet seemingly comprehensive enough collection which served the spiritual needs of the Shī'ī community not only of his time but for the generations and centuries that followed. The *Miṣbāḥ* along with its abridged edition served to articulate a Shī'ī identity and a spiritual praxis that was welcomed by leading theologians as a liturgical touchstone of sorts that was worthy of emulation and continuous transmission which is evidenced through the numerous manuscripts, and the copious marginalia in the hand of some of the most accomplished Shī'ī scholars from Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī to Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī. It should also be reiterated that the legacy of the *Miṣbāḥ* and its abridged edition may be thought of as being akin to a seminal book of legal prescriptions which functions as a guide by which the devout may express their religiosity in practical terms.

1.7 Post-*Miṣbāḥ* Liturgical Manuals up to the *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* of 'Abbās al-Qummī

The *Miṣbāḥ* and the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* had a tremendous impact on the Twelver Shī'ī liturgical tradition, such that every extant work thereafter either follows the model prepared by al-Ṭūsī or draws from its contents. As stated, al-Ṭūsī's career and charismatic persona contributed to the need to preserve and recopy his devotional manual over and above other works such as the *Rawḍat al-Ābidīn* (Garden of the Servants) penned by his fellow classmates and colleagues, Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Alī Al-Karājīkī (d.449/1057) or *Kitāb 'amal al-yawm wa layla* (The Book of Worship in the Day and Night) by Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Dūraystī (alive

in 473/1080-81) neither of which have survived the vicissitudes of time.²⁶¹ To this effect al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī (d.1320/1902) aptly describes the *Miṣbāḥ* as constituting a *qudwa* (archetype) for later liturgical manuals which either followed its organizational structure or used it as a liturgical repository to draw from.²⁶² We find evidence of the legacy of the *Miṣbāḥ* to al-Ṭūsī's own student, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣahashtī (d. circa early 6th/12th century) who compiled *Qabas al-miṣbāḥ fī al-ad'īya* ("Burning Coals" Derivations from the *Miṣbāḥ* regarding Supplications) which is no longer extant, but excerpts from it can be found in al-Majlisī's *Biḥār*.²⁶³ In the generations that followed, several prominent scholars penned various liturgical works such as the famous Qur'anic exegete, Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī (d.circa 540/1145) who wrote *Kunūz al-najjāḥ* (Treasures of Triumph) which, although like al-Karājikī's *Rawḍat al-'ābidīn*, is also no longer extant, excerpts from it can be found in the various works of Ibn Ṭāwūs and al-Kaf'amī.²⁶⁴

The earliest extant post-*Miṣbāḥ* liturgical manual is that of the polymath Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d.573/1177) who wrote *Salwat al-ḥazīn* (Consolation for the Depressed) which focused on weekly supplications and those dealing with illness and sadness.²⁶⁵ Once again, al-Majlisī and al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī emphasize that this work is of immense value due to the fact that Quṭb al-Dīn

²⁶¹ This liturgical text was available to Ibn Ṭāwūs and al-Kaf'amī and excerpts of it can be found in these works as well as supplications from it found as scribal additions to the title page of al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 12547 Majlis Shūrā Tehran (Parliament Library). Also, see al-Āṣifī, 276-278.

²⁶² Al-Mīrzā al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Khātimat mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 3:179.

²⁶³ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 1:192; 2:180.

²⁶⁴ This work is no longer extant but supplications from it can be found in the various works of Ibn Ṭāwūs and Ibrāhīm al-Kaf'amī (d.905/1499). One such example is a special prayer taught by the twelfth Imām for those who have a need (*ḥāja*). See Ibn Ṭāwūs who reproduced al-Ṭabarsī's chain of transmission (*isnād*) to al-Bazūfarī, an early source who transmitted various supplications of the twelfth Imām. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj al-da'awāt*, 294; al-Ibrāhīm al-Kaf'amī, *Junnat al-amān al-wāqiyya wa junnat al-īmān al-bāqiyya* (Qum: Dār al-Rādī, 1984), 396.

²⁶⁵ The work is also known as *al-Da'awāt*. On the work and its author see al-Mīrzā al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Khatimat mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 1:182. Also see the excellent introduction by Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishqwarī to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's, *Fiqh al-qur'ān* (Qum: Āyat Allāh al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī Library, 1984), 1-29. The author and compiler would certainly be counted among the most prominent Shī'ī scholars of the 6th/12th century who is credited with nearly sixty works dealing with jurisprudence, Qur'anic exegesis, theology, and of course liturgy.

al-Rāwandī was a renowned scholar and chief among Shīī authorities of his age. Al-Majlisī emphasizes that he must have had numerous liturgical resources at his disposal which al-Majlisī describes as “*al-uṣūl al-mu‘tabara* (informative sources),” a reference to early liturgical material similar to the sources used by al-Ṭūsī.²⁶⁶ Of course, due to the absence of *isnāds* (chains of transmission) there is no avenue to confirm al-Majlisī’s assertion except that a similar assumption regarding al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ* would be in order namely, that these renowned Shīī authorities of the 5th and 6th centuries still had at their disposal vast collections of earlier texts, some of which have been cited in their legal and theological writings. Therefore, the following question may be posed which is: why would their liturgical manuals be deficient in regard to being well researched and grounded upon the earliest sources available to them? For the ‘guardians’ of the Shīī ḥadīth tradition such as al-Majlisī, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, and Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, the above question would be rhetorical in nature since liturgy is by no means a parochial affair when being treated by the Shīī intelligentsia such as al-Ṭūsī, and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī. In the same vein, a lesser-known scholar by the name of Ibn Bāqī al-Qurashī al-Ḥillī (d. circa 660/1262) produced a two-volume addendum to al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ* entitled *Ikhtiyār al-miṣbāḥ* (Selection [from] the *Miṣbāḥ*) which he completed in 653/1255, making him a contemporary of Ibn Ṭāwūs who transmits material from his *riwāya* (report).²⁶⁷ This two-volume work attests to the importance of the *Miṣbāḥ* especially during the 7th/ 13th century as a source and inspiration for the additional composition of liturgical manuals even among authors who are lesser known.

²⁶⁶ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, 1:31; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Khātimat mustadrak al-wasā’il*, 1:182-183.

²⁶⁷ Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, 3:419; al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharī‘a*, 1:364; Ibn Ṭāwūs transmits the *du‘ā’* to be recited on 30th of Ramaḍān from Ibn Bāqī (Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a‘māl*, 1:262).

The classical and most ubiquitous example in this regard is the plethora of material produced by Ibn Ṭāwūs.²⁶⁸ To put this in perspective, in the *lqbāl al-a'māl* (Inclination to Acts of Worship, a three-volume work), the first volume spanning four hundred and ninety-two pages is dedicated only to the acts of worship during Ramaḍān.²⁶⁹ Ibn Ṭāwūs states at the outset of his journey to embark on assembling and composing his multi-volume liturgical compendium that his inspiration for doing so was the *Miṣbāḥ* of his grandfather, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. He states that, upon seeing the benefit of spiritual seclusion and whispered prayer, “I found something great and replete with benefit in the *Miṣbāḥ al-kabīr* (*Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*) of my grandfather which he compiled for my mothers.”²⁷⁰ The pages which preceded this declaration are vital to understanding Ibn Ṭāwūs’s approach to these matters which may only be described as immersed in piety and self-abnegation. He opens by describing how the heart (*qalb*) and intellect (*‘aql*) will protest against their owner for years of procrastination and false hopes (*al-tawānī wa-l-amānī*). He does so in order to emphasize the importance of being immersed in the praise of God which for him is embodied in the devotions of the People of the House. He goes on extensively to describe various spiritual states and then the importance of channeling one’s relation with God through an infallible Prophet or an Imām. Naturally these expressions are not unique in and of themselves; however, considering that this is his preface to a series of ten liturgical volumes it would behoove us to examine it as it pertains to why he feels this project requires the extraordinary focus of his scholarly life unlike any other Shī‘ī scholar in history. Furthermore, his

²⁶⁸ An introductory biography has been diligently written by Etan Kohlberg in *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 3-23.

²⁶⁹ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *lqbāl al-a'māl*, pp. 23-515.

²⁷⁰ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-sā'il* (Qum: Būstān-i Kitāb, 2009), 43-44. “*Wajadtu fi al-miṣbāḥ al-kabīr alladhī ṣannafahu jaddī li-ba‘ḍi ummahātī Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī shay’an ‘aẓīman min al-khayr al-kabīr.*”

emphasis on the absolute need for an infallible guide or Imām is done so for the very purpose of stating that outside of their guidance there is no way to be sure that our determinations are not on the basis of *ārā'* (arbitrary opinions) and *ahwā'* (whims).²⁷¹ Hence, the liturgical traditions must be based as closely as possible upon the teachings of the Prophets and the Fourteen Infallibles and it is for this reason that Ibn Ṭāwūs tended to shy away from his own personal comments in comparison to his peers who wrote in the fields of substantive jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and dialectic theology (*'ilm al-kalām*).²⁷² After all, he states that the Imāms first-and-foremost experienced unveilings (*al-mukāshafāt*) and it was due to this that they sought their reform from God, and if this was the case for them, then what would be the case for other than them (*man hūwa dūnahum*)? Following this prolonged discussion, he then reveals to us his own moment of inspiration where he says “I saw what God had blessed me with from the spring of His divine assistance (*min 'ayn al-'ināya al-ilāhiyya*) . . . and He revealed to me (*'arrafanī*) His divine will for me and He unveiled for me reason and tradition (*kāshafanī 'aqlan wa naqlan*) according to what pleases Him from me.”²⁷³ Further on he again emphasizes that God has endowed him with this knowledge and unveiled for him through means of *mukāshafa* in such a way that he is unable to describe it in speech (*mā lā uqaddiru 'alā waṣfihi bi-maqāl*). While such Sufi-like expressions are not unusual for the 7th/13th century, for “orthodox” Shī'ī scholars, they certainly are.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 41.

²⁷² On the surface such arguments are not original whatsoever; however, when used in connection with liturgical material and its importance, this is the first time such discussions have been mentioned.

²⁷³ Ibid., 43.

Considering the fact that Ibn Ṭāwūs was a highly integrated scholar who worked within the Abbasid establishment and even taught at the Mustanṣariyya in Baghdad, the use of such expressions in his work could certainly be understood as reflecting a broader religious culture in which Sufism was an “institutionalized religion” that engaged in meditation (*fikr*) and invocation (*dhikr*). Ibn Ṭāwūs maintains that his allegiances are with the Imāms and their traditions; however, his overwhelming preoccupation with liturgical manuals and devotion was most likely rooted in a broader and widespread mystical religious culture which could be found throughout the Muslim world in the 7th/13th century.²⁷⁴ The themes of *kashf* (unveiling), arrival at certainty (*yaqīn*), and *sa’āda* (felicity) were all brought to bear upon the Shī’ī liturgical tradition which, when practiced correctly with “*ma’rifa* (cognizance),” was meant to bring about a knowledge of presence (*‘ilm al-ḥuḍūrī*). Put differently, for Ibn Ṭāwūs these devotions (comprising *du‘ā*’ and *ziyāra*) were tied to what Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d.504/1111) described as “the science of unveiling (*‘ilm al-mukāshafa*) such that God unveils the spiritual eye of the devout so that the truth may be made plain to them (*jāliyat al-ḥaqq*).²⁷⁵

For Ibn Ṭāwūs this journey is a practical science of learning to transcend speculation to becoming a “*jalīs* (a guest)” who is in the company of God to either speak with Him or receive a response (*jawāb*) from Him. This form of being Ibn Ṭāwūs states is reserved for the “*‘arifīn* (the knowers)” for whom the *sine qua non* of devotion and the performance of liturgy is to arrive at pure felicity (*sa’āda*) and experiential cognizance of God (*al-kashf wa-l-ma’rifa*). Hence he set out to compile a series of volumes devoted exclusively to liturgy so to explore what he describes as

²⁷⁴ Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 2:210-211.

²⁷⁵ On both *‘ilm al-mukāshafa* and *jāliyat al-ḥaqq*, see Alexander Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought: Al-Ghazālī’s theory of mystical cognition and its Avicennian foundation* (London: Routledge, 2012), 39.

“*fawā'id al-khalwa* (the benefits of spiritual seclusion/communion).”²⁷⁶ In this regard, the introduction to the *Falāḥ al-sā'il* cannot be appropriately contextualized without recourse to his *Kashf al-maḥajja* in which he has laid bare his spiritual journey in the form of a will (*waṣīyya*) for his son Muḥammad. In *Kashf al-maḥajja* he alludes to the notion that there are esoteric realities unveiled both in this work and his other written works.²⁷⁷ He states further on that an example of an ordinary book of his would be the *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir* that he wrote earlier on in his career whereas his later liturgical works according to his own description include “divine secrets (*asrār al-rabāniyyāt*)” within them for which one must study his liturgical encyclopedia entitled *al-Muhimmāt wa al-tatimmāt* (Exigencies and Addendums) which contains “secret unveilings and felicitous lights (*al-asrār al-kāshifāt wa-l-anwār al-sa'ādāt*).”²⁷⁸ Ibn Ṭāwūs alludes to these buried mysteries on more than one occasion. This of course refers to his ten-volume series entitled fully as: *Kitāb al-muhimmāt fī ṣalāḥ al-muta'abbid wa tatimmāt li-miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (Book of Exigencies in Righteousness of the Worshipper and Addendums to the Lantern of the Night Worshipper). For Ibn Ṭāwūs the foundational text in this regard was al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, for his ten-volume work functions as a commentary and addendum to al-Ṭūsī's work. The stark contrast between al-Ṭūsī and his descendant Ibn Ṭāwūs is that al-Ṭūsī never made any claims regarding divine secrets, unveiling, or his own spiritual journey towards divinely inspired experiential knowledge of God. However, al-Ṭūsī's writings had by the 7th/13th century become a vast repository for the exploration of secrets which Ibn Ṭāwūs believed were buried within this

²⁷⁶ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-sā'il*, 6.

²⁷⁷ He often refers to these as secrets (*asrār*) or unveilings (*kāshifāt*).

²⁷⁸ He says that he chose to write the *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir* for path of the ordinary ones (*salaktu fī-hi sabīl al-'ādāt*).” See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf al-maḥajja li-thamarat al-muhja* (Qum: Būstān-i Kitāb, 1996), 196.

devotional collection and others like it that originated from his Shī'ī colleagues who preceded him. Furthermore, in his most extensive liturgical work *Iqbāl al-a'māl (Inclination to Acts of Worship)*, which provides various supplications and visitations to be performed during each Islamic month, under his discussion regarding the 20th of Şafar he ascribes to the importance placed on the *ziyāra* of Imām al-Ḥusayn but dismisses al-Ṭūsī's claim that the family (*ḥaram*) of al-Ḥusayn arrived in Medina on the 20th of Şafar, hence marking forty days after the death of the Imām. He describes as being "farfetched (*mustab'ad*)" al-Ṭūsī's proposition in the *Mişbāḥ* as well as the alternative one being that the family arrived in Karbala on the 20th of Şafar. He argues that, considering the slow speed of travel and the deplorable physical conditions of the family, it is not historically feasible for them to have been in either Karbala or Medina on the 20th of Şafar. However, he remains convinced of the prominent traditions and Shī'ī practices pertaining to the *ziyāra* on the fortieth (*'arba'in*) following al-Ḥusayn's killing even though the number of days may not add up to forty but in fact be forty-one. The exception to this may be if Muḥarram consisted of thirty and not twenty-nine days in that year and we can uphold the belief that the Imām died in the late afternoon (*awākhir al-nahār*) hence it may have even considered to be close to the next day (while still technically being the tenth of Muḥarram). Nevertheless, Ibn Ṭāwūs said that "this elucidation (*ta'wīl*) is sufficient for the knowers (*li-l-'ārifīn*) and they are most cognizant of the secrets of the Lord of the worlds with regard to the timings for the *ziyārāt* of the purified ones (the Fourteen Infallibles)." It is clear that Ibn Ṭāwūs is alluding to certain elements which are hidden from the masses and only accessible to a certain guild of enlightened souls who have access to the deeper mystical meaning of the time and days for visiting Fourteen Infallibles.²⁷⁹ To

²⁷⁹ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a'māl*, 3:100.

reiterate, this mode of expression is by no means unique to the 7th/13th century which witnessed the institutionalization of High Sufism following the significant contributions to mystical spiritual programs by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna d. 429/1037), Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and Ibn ‘Arabī. Further we also know that Shī‘īs such as Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d.678/1280) and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d.672/1274) were profoundly influenced by this esoteric and experiential approach to understanding the relationship between God and humanity.²⁸⁰ That being said, there is no evidence to date which indicates that Ibn Ṭāwūs was directly influenced by Sufi or Sufi-like literature; rather, his focus remained for most of his life on the traditions of the Prophet and the Imāms with extraordinary emphasis placed upon their liturgical traditions as a paradigmatic instantiation of their inspirational spiritual life. Nevertheless, we can certainly describe his references to unveiling and divine secrets as being a part of the literary and spiritual *oeuvre* of his generation; however, we are unable to deduce any direct Sufi influences upon Ibn Ṭāwūs that can be found in the catalogue of his various writings and his vast library as compiled by Etan Kohlberg. Furthermore, it should not be missed that he has not been accused of extremism or unruly religious speculation by any of his notable predecessors, all of whom praise him without exception, such as ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, or ‘Abbās al-Qummī who, while compiling his liturgical manual, did not invoke such language.²⁸¹

It becomes clear that Ibn Ṭāwūs goes well beyond the *Miṣbāḥ* as his sole source of liturgical material while attempting to model his books on the organization of the *Miṣbāḥ* which

²⁸⁰ For more on this see the succinct chapter by Ata Anzali, “Mysticism,” in *Iran: The Safavid Roots of a Modern Concept* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2017), 9-23. On Maytham al-Baḥrānī see Ali Oraibi, “Rationalism in the School of Bahrain,” in *Shī‘ite Heritage*, ed. and tr. Lynda Clarke (Binghamton: Global Publications, 2001), 331-332.

²⁸¹ For a summary of Shī‘ī views on Ibn Ṭāwūs see Ibn Ṭāwūs, “Muqaddamat al-Taḥqīq li-Jawad al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī,” in *Iqbal al-a‘māl*, 1:11. Also see al-Jalālī, *Fihris al-turāth*, 1:656.

is divided up according to hours (that includes the various prayer times), days, months and the various occasions of the year, all of which have associated supererogatory worship in the form of *du‘ā’* and *ziyārāt*.

Ibn Ṭāwūs states at the outset that when he embarked on this project a potential criticism of his work may be that he has included “blameworthy (*maṭ‘ūn*)” reporters of traditions, which in this case are largely liturgical devotions.²⁸² This discussion is particularly relevant since it is the first of its kind about the historicity of liturgical material in the Shī‘ī tradition. Ibn Ṭāwūs certainly felt the desire to state his case, which also indicates that he may have faced skeptics who doubted the veracity of the material he presented. To this effect he emphasizes that, even if a particular narrator is deemed to be “blameworthy” or to have some character faults, this does not necessitate the discarding of the entire tradition. He insists that, firstly, for every so-called “blameworthy” reporter, he has alternative chains of transmission, and secondly, even if this person was blameworthy at some point in their life this should not necessitate a lack of trust in his transmission.

The subject of discourse at this juncture is not ḥadīth sciences; however, what Ibn Ṭāwūs is attempting to emphasize is that the vast majority of his sources are famous scholars of the past who themselves have transmitted these devotions. He states: “Surely I find those who have relied on (a blameworthy reporter) to be among our trustworthy colleagues (*min thiqāt aṣḥābinā*), those whose chains of transmission either end with a so-called “blameworthy” reporter or stem

²⁸² These are *ruwāt* (reporters) of traditions who have been condemned in the books that evaluate various ḥadīth transmitters (*kutub al-rijāl*).

from one.”²⁸³ This point is subtle but profoundly important because Ibn Ṭāwūs has outlined what he considers to be an acceptable report, or in the case of his compilation, an acceptable *du‘ā’* or *ziyāra*. It has been demonstrated earlier on that Ibn Ṭāwūs had access to a considerable number of early sources of famous Shī‘ī scholars, many of which even predated al-Ṭūsī. In fact upon analysis of the *Muhaj al-da‘awāt* and the *Iqbāl al-a‘māl*, we find at least thirty written liturgical sources that pre-date al-Ṭūsī, who died in 460/1067/8.²⁸⁴ In fact Āghā Buzurg claims that when Ibn Ṭāwūs mentions that he owned seventy volumes of *du‘ā’* literature, most if not all of his collection would have pre-dated al-Ṭūsī, since the majority of Shī‘īs did not compose original liturgical collections between al-Ṭūsī’s death and Ibn Ṭāwūs. To further emphasize this lack of material, we find only sparse mention of liturgical material in the *Fihrist* of Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who lived during the mid-5th/12th century and had compiled a list of Shī‘ī scholars and their compositions up to his period with a focus on the century following al-Ṭūsī.²⁸⁵

Further to this point, it has been demonstrated that Ibn Ṭāwūs had access to a plethora of ancient written material which predated him by up to four centuries, such as the *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* of Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh or the *Aṣḥ* of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamād al-Anṣārī (companion of al-Kāzīm, d. second half of the 2nd/8th century), Hishām b. Sālīm al-Jawālīqī (d. mid-2nd/8th century), or the *Aṣḥ* of ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Yāmānī (lived during mid-3rd/9th century) who was taught supplications of the Prophet and Imāms by Imām al-‘Askarī and thereafter transcribed them in his notebook.

²⁸³ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-sā’il*, 9. They are allegedly blameworthy in his view because in most cases the accusations leveled by his fellow Shī‘ī scholars against various reporters such as Muḥammad b. Sinān (companion of Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq) are either based on solitary reports (hence not widespread enough to yield certainty) or misinterpreted reports altogether. He argues rather apologetically that accusations against Muḥammad b. Sinān are either based on false information or sheer ignorance of his status and closeness to the Imāms.

²⁸⁴ For a list of some of these texts see Appendix 2.

²⁸⁵ Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Fihrist*, 280-287; al-Ṭihirānī, *al-Dharī‘a*, 8:177.

In the case of al-Yāmānī, Ibn Ṭāwūs stated that he had access to a manuscript of this notebook which was collated by al-Ṭūsī himself.²⁸⁶ The total number of *aṣl* texts in Ibn Ṭāwūs’s known collection amount to nineteen, ranging from the early 2nd-early 4th/8-10th centuries.²⁸⁷ It is on this basis that Ibn Ṭāwūs insists that to discard an entire *du‘ā’* or *ziyāra* because a single transmitter may have been “blameworthy” is for him an unpalatable proposition when “great scholars” have relied on these sources themselves and made use of them. It is this perceived fact that underlies the aura of trust that Ibn Ṭāwūs is attempting to garner from his colleagues, who would critically review the copious liturgical material he assembled. Another justification raised by Ibn Ṭāwūs is the tradition of the Prophet which states: “Whatever good reaches someone and he performs it he shall have the reward for that even if the Messenger of Allāh did not utter it.”²⁸⁸

This principle would in essence apply to all liturgical material that is not related to the obligatory matters (*wājibāt*); however, it does not imply that *isnāds* were a trivial issue, the reason being is that although Ibn Ṭāwūs cites this principle, it is absolutely evident that he treated the matter of historical authenticity with extreme care in light of the copious details that he mentions throughout his works.²⁸⁹ Therefore, the principle of “leniency in verifying the recommended traditions” would only apply for Ibn Ṭāwūs in cases where he did not have a clear

²⁸⁶ Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library*, 123.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 121-127. Etan Kohlberg has done an excellent job of cataloguing these citations in the works of Ibn Ṭāwūs; however, analysis of the actual devotions associated with these ancient *aṣl* compositions remains to be completed.

²⁸⁸ This principle is known as “the principle of what has reached us (*qā’idatu mā balaghta*).” The Arabic of the tradition is as follows: *man balāghāhu shay’un min al-khayr fa-‘amilahu kāna la-hu ajru dhālika wa in kāna rasūl allāh lam yaqulhu.* Ibn Ṭāwūs cites various iterations of the principle later known “*al-tasāmuḥ fī adillat al-sunan* (leniency in verifying the recommended traditions).” He cites three traditions in this regard from al-Kulaynī and al-Ṣadūq (Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-sā’il*, 11-13). Interestingly, Kohlberg does not discuss this introduction in his work on Ibn Ṭāwūs, thus to my knowledge this is the first discussion of it.

²⁸⁹ In the introduction to *Falāḥ al-sā’il* Ibn Ṭāwūs provides his various *ṭuruq* (channels) by which he arrived at al-Ṭūsī and others of the early period. This is most often described as a *mashyakha* which is an outline of one’s scholarly lineage, much like a family tree or an *isnād* in the case of ḥadīth (*Ibid.*, 14-16).

chain of transmission to the author of the original text that he was referring to, whether it be a *du‘ā’* or a *ziyāra*. In the cases in which he did not find any recommended *du‘ā’* from an “infallible” he made it clear that the composition is his own, which may even be something taught to him by the Prophet in a dream.²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, in the view of the vast majority of Shī‘ī biographers and scholars, Ibn Ṭāwūs was a figure of unparalleled scholarly and spiritual reputation among both Shī‘īs and Sunnīs of his day and it would not have behooved him to be careless in his transmission of these supplications let alone to fabricate them while attributing them to the Imāms. That being said, there is no certainty that earlier generations of reporters and compilers did not engage in such practices with regard to liturgical material; however, for Shī‘īs, the reliance upon the astute due diligence of scholars like al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Ṭāwūs gave them confidence in the material assembled by such personalities who would have exercised some caution in this regard.

I should emphasize here that the trust conveyed by figures such as Āghā Buzurg and Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn is that of a general nature and not to be misconstrued as a total authentication of all that al-Ṭūsī or Ibn Ṭāwūs reported in terms of liturgical devotions. In modern parlance these books would be deemed *mu‘tabar* (reliable) and *mu‘tamad* (relied upon).²⁹¹ These are often described by Shī‘ī ḥadīth experts as contextual factors (*qarā’in*) which point to the acceptance of a narration especially in the absence of a “healthy” *isnād* or the absence of one altogether.²⁹² Furthermore, it can be observed that this approach as adopted by Ibn Ṭāwūs to liturgical material remained the norm for Shī‘ī scholars well into the contemporary period. A

²⁹⁰ See the last chapter of *Muhaj al-da‘awāt*.

²⁹¹ A superb analysis of this matter has been done by the student of the late Āyat Allāh al-Khū‘ī, Shaykh Muslim al-Dāwarī. See Muslim al-Dāwarī, *Uṣūl ‘ilm al-rijāl taqrīr al-baḥth Samāḥat Āyat Allāh Muslim Dāwarī* (Qum: Mu‘assasat al-Rāfid, 2012), 1:264-268.

²⁹² This matter will be discussed further when introducing *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*.

discussion regarding chains of transmission and devotional literature can be found by way of mention in an essay written by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d.1954) who, while discussing the Ḥusaynī clay tablet (*al-turba al-ḥusayniyya*), emphasizes that there is no need to investigate the chains of transmission of *du'ā's*, provided that there is nothing in the text itself which contradicts the accepted teachings of the "*madhhab* (school of thought)." In the absence of this objection, worshippers are free to make use of these supplications without any concern for *isnāds*. For Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' this laxity stems from the claim that *du'ā'* literature is classified under the subheading of traditions which include: moral advice (*maw'īza*), ethics (*al-akhlāq*) and spiritual purification (*tahdhīb al-nafs*); therefore, *sanad* criticism is not of primary concern by virtue of it being classified within this rubric of literature, hence the principle of leniency or something approximate to it may be applied in the above case.²⁹³ This would accord well with Ibn Ṭāwūs's approach to liturgical material which either has a deficient *sanad* or is missing one altogether. It should be emphasized that this would have been of secondary importance for Ibn Ṭāwūs, whose primary focus was to demonstrate the historical authenticity of the vast majority of the liturgies that he transmitted through the use of *isnāds* which originated with Infallibles themselves or the early scholars such as al-Kulaynī, and al-Ṭūsī, who had access to a plethora of ancient material.

²⁹³ Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' was a leading scholar of Najaf with an international reputation. He states the following regarding *du'ā'* literature: "*lā yalzimu al-baḥth an ṣiḥat sanadihi wa matanihi 'illā idhā qāmat al-qarā'in wa-l-amārāt al-mufida li-'ilm bi-kadhabihī wa annahu min akādhīb al-dassāsīn al-mufsidīn fī al-dīn* (It is not required to investigate regarding the correctness of its chain and text except when fruitful contextual factors and indications arise with knowledge regarding its falsehood and that it is from falsehoods of the corrupt conspirators of the religion)." Hence it is to be assumed to be acceptable unless proven otherwise and the burden of proof lies in proving that it stems from some form of falsehood, or from those who wish to wreak havoc upon the religious tradition. See Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', *Al-arḍ wa-l-turba al-ḥusayniyya* (Najaf: al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥaydariyya, 1960), 48.

The legacy of the *Miṣbāḥ* continues with Ibn Ṭāwūs’s student ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, who was an authority in his own right, yet upon request decided not to compile his own prayer manual but simply to prepare an abridgement to the *Miṣbāḥ*, albeit with some minor changes such as the inclusion of *Du‘ā’ al-wasā’il* (later known as *Du‘ā’ al-tawwasul*).²⁹⁴ Unlike the *Miṣbāḥ*, ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī includes an introductory section pertaining to the meaning of *du‘ā’*, its variants, and the conditions for its acceptance which better prepares the worshipper prior to embarking upon the performance of the various liturgies contained therein. Furthermore, ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī included a cursory discussion pertaining to ritual purity and the daily prayers (*ṣalawāt yawmiyya*) as well as a brief treatise on the fundamentals of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), all in an effort to make this a practical guide for the average Shī‘ī. From this perspective, ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī’s work is much closer to that of al-Ṭūsī (minus the section on beliefs) in contrast to the at times tremendous details provided by Ibn Ṭāwūs, who felt the need to write well over ten volumes in this regard. The key contrasting factor can be found in the introduction to al-Ḥillī’s *Minhāj* in which he admits that he only endeavoured to abridge al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ* at the request of Abū Maṣnūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maṣnūr al-Qūhadī, one of the Shī‘ī viziers (alive in mid-8th/14th century) under the Ilkhanid dynasty.²⁹⁵ He seems to be a character of elevated repute in light of ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī’s glowing praise for him as someone whose obedience is indispensable (*ṭā’atahu shay’un lāzim*) and possessing beautiful virtues (*al-fawāḍil al-jamīla*). This description gives us a key insight into

²⁹⁴ This supplication is known as “*Du‘ā’ al-wasā’il* (The Supplication of Intermediacy);” that is, seeking God’s blessings and mercy through the Prophet and his family as a means of intercession. See al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Muṭahhar (‘Allāma al-Ḥillī), *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ fī ikhtiṣār al-miṣbāḥ* (Qum: Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī, 2008), 511. I should note that this edition is the most critical yet and based upon numerous manuscripts, one of which is contemporary to the author. See *ibid.*, 36-41.

²⁹⁵ Al-Ḥillī, *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ*, 71. For more on al-Qūhadī, see ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Aḥmad b. Fūṭī (Ibn al-Fūṭī d.723/1323), *Majma‘ al-Ādāb* (Tehran: Mu’assasat al-Ṭiba‘ā wa-l-Nashar Wizāra al-Thaqāfa al-Islāmī, 1995), 1:332.

‘Allāma al-Ḥillī’s relationship with parts of the Ilkhanid political establishment and the patronage he clearly relied upon despite the governate of Hilla being Shī‘ī. It also demonstrates an interest in liturgical material by non-scholars, albeit a person of elevated social status such as al-Qūhadī. Further, the material contained in this text is fully Shī‘ī in terms of the inclusion of the major *ziyārāt* texts as well as ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī’s reference to the broken rib of Fatima which is not found in the *Miṣbāḥ*. As an introduction to the 10th of Muḥarram (the day of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn), al-Ḥillī cites a ḥadīth *al-qudsī* in which God informs Muḥammad of the suffering to befall his community which includes “his daughter’s right being taken away, her inheritance being denied, her husband being oppressed, and her rib being broken (*yuksaru dil’uhā*),” which of course is a reference to what Shī‘īs believe to be result of a brazen assault by prominent companions of the Prophet following his death.²⁹⁶

To find such incendiary details included in a liturgical manual given to a political appointee is profoundly informative. It is indicative of a widespread Shī‘ī culture in Hilla that allowed for such mention while certainly provoking the ire of his Sunnī adversaries such as Ibn Taymiyya. Furthermore, al-Ḥillī mentions at the outset that he chose the *Miṣbāḥ* for two specific reasons. Firstly, the author, al-Ṭūsī, being the (*ra’īs*) leader for Shī‘īs, “compiled in this text a resource of powerful (religious) devotion and placed in it most of what has come from our infallible Imāms.”²⁹⁷ Similarly to the case of Ibn Ṭāwūs, this is an indication that ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī understood, or at least had access to, the sources of al-Ṭūsī in order to affirm that, in his view, the

²⁹⁶ See ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ*, 445.

²⁹⁷ The Arabic is as follows: *ṣannaḥa fīmā yarji’u ilā al-quwwat al-‘amaliyya kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid fī ‘ibādāt al-sanna wa istawfā fī-hi aktharu mā warada ‘an a’immatinā al-ma’šūmīn* (al-Ḥillī, *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ*, 70). I have translated *al-quwwat al-‘amaliyya* here as “powerful religious devotions,” since *‘amal* here refers to religious devotion or effort and not simply any kind of “devotion or act.”

overwhelming majority of the contents of the *Miṣbāḥ* originated from the Imāms. Al-Ḥillī does not go into further detail but we can surmise that the basis of his judgement rests upon al-Ṭūsī's scholarly aptitude, in addition to his access to early sources that al-Ṭūsī drew from when compiling the *Miṣbāḥ*.

‘Allāma al-Ḥillī's confidence in the *Miṣbāḥ* is particularly instructive considering the position he held as a community leader and as the most highly regarded Shī'ī scholar of his time who also had an interest in liturgy. To this effect he attributed to himself a work entitled *al-Ad'iya al-fākhira al-manqūla 'an al-a'imma al-ṭāhira* (Praiseworthy Supplications Transmitted from the Pure Imāms) which, although no longer extant, demonstrates his interest in the subject beyond the abridged *Miṣbāḥ*.²⁹⁸ Following ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, there is a unique commentary written on the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* entitled *Īdāḥ al-miṣbāḥ li-ahl al-ṣalāḥ* (Clarification of the *Miṣbāḥ* for the People of Righteousness) written by ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamīd al-Najāfī (also known as al-Nīlī d.803/1400). Al-Nīlī was student of ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī's son, Shaykh Fakhr al-Muḥaqqaqīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d.771/1369) and teacher to the prominent Aḥmad b. Fahd al-Ḥillī.²⁹⁹ This unpublished manuscript written by a prodigious theologian and traditionist (as described by those within the tradition) spans 488 folios devoted solely to commentary on the various supplications found in the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* of al-Ṭūsī. In this work the author's commentary is unique, as it is limited to the philological and theological implications

²⁹⁸ ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl fī ma'rifa al-rijāl* (Qum: Mu'assasat Nashr al-Faqāha, 2009), 111; *al-Rijāl* (Najaf: al-Dhakā'ir, 1990), 46. Some manuscripts of the *khulāṣa* indicate that this work consists of four parts (*ajzā'*). See al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, 1:398. The above work is no longer extant.

²⁹⁹ Afandī describes him as “Among the most prominent Imāmī scholars. He was a jurist, virtuous and a complete scholar (*min akābir 'ulamā' al-imāmiyya faqīḥun fāḍilun 'ālimun kāmilun*), *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, 4:130; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Khātimat mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 3:182; al-Amīnī, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 8:267-268. His better-known works are devoted to the subject of the twelfth Imām and the occultation; three of these books are extant and published.

found in many supplications.³⁰⁰ The breadth of this work is notable in terms of its contribution to the study of Shī'ī liturgy in the late 8th/14th century work (a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ*) and is the only known work of its kind during this period, that is, a commentary on the *Miṣbāḥ*. According to Afandī, it was studied and utilized by both Taqī al-Dīn al-Kaf'amī (d.1499/905), as well as Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī.³⁰¹

The next author is Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Kaf'amī, who wrote two books entitled *Junnat al-amān al-wāqiyya wa junnat al-īmān al-bāqiyya* (The Shelter of Shielding Security and The Shelter of Surviving Faith) and *al-Balad al-amīn* (The Secure City). Al-Kaf'amī's importance lies in his reputation as a leading Shī'ī scholar and more importantly in that he has provided for us a rich bibliography citing the various liturgical sources that were at his disposal. Al-Kaf'amī hailing from Jabal Amil (modern South Lebanon) is among the most noteworthy contributors to liturgical material and is held in high esteem by Shī'ī scholars from al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī to the well-known scholar of ḥadīth, 'Abd Allāh al-Māmaqānī (d.1351/1933), all of whom describe al-Kaf'amī as a prodigious scholar who wrote on a variety of subjects but was renowned for his expertise in liturgy.³⁰² Two particular early sources used by al-Kaf'amī are the *Kitāb al-du'ā'* of Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī and *Kitāb al-du'ā'* (Book of Supplication) of Abū al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-

³⁰⁰ The author engages in theological speculation as to how one may interpret the confessions to God (of misdeeds and sins) which are attributed to the Imāms as found in various supplications while concurrently believing the Imāms to be to be infallible. This is discussed in chapter three with regard to *Du'ā' Kumayl*. See 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamīd al-Najafī, *Ṭiqāḥ al-miṣbāḥ li-ahl al-ṣalāḥ* MS no. 4568 copied in 1064/1653. Maktabat al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, Qum, folio 300. This manuscript was collated with the original which was written in the "handwriting of the author (*min khatṭ al-muṣannif*).” See *ibid.*, front flyleaf.

³⁰¹ The scribe who copied this manuscript from the author's original copy has also provided the following crucial note from the author: "I began the assembly of this book (*bi-ta'līf hadha al-kitāb*) at al-Kāzimiyya al-Jawādiyya (shrines of Imāms al-Kāzīm and al-Jawād in Baghdad) on the 8th of Dhū al-Qa'da in the year 784/1382. We hope to God that it will be completed and accepted, written by the servant, 'Alī b. (Ghiyāth?) al-Ḥamīd al-Najafī." See *ibid.* I am unable to determine for certain whether the second name it is to be read as Ghiyāth due to it being partially obscured. However, the author mentioned above is well known and this work has been written by him.

³⁰² Al-Jalālī, *Fihrist al-turāth*, 1:784.

Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Mu’arikh (d.346/957), and lastly, *Kitāb al-ad’iya* (The Book of Supplications) of the famous historian Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Mas‘ūdī (d.345/956), and the *Rawḍat al-‘ābidīn* of al-Karājikī.³⁰³ Following al-Kaf‘amī, all three of these sources were no longer available in extant form to various Safavid era authorities who penned liturgical works. Thereafter, we find numerous liturgical manuals written during the Safavid period belonging to Shaykh al-Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī (d.1030/1621), Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d.1091/1680), and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī who catalogued numerous works in his *Biḥār al-anwār* in addition compiling his own liturgical manual.³⁰⁴

The works compiled by these scholars were not particularly original in terms of their access to sources predating the 5th/11 century, although their scholarly efforts in this regard are notable. That being said, the liturgical work of Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī and Shaykh al-Bahā’ī are much simpler and shorter in comparison to al-Majlisī’s *Zād al-ma‘ād* (Provisions [for] the Hereafter) which is five hundred and sixty pages in comparison to the former two which are less than three hundred and fifty pages in the published editions. Furthermore, among the three mentioned, al-Majlisī is the only one to have commented on the authenticity of the devotions he included in his work. To this effect he says:

I have included in this book a selection of devotions (*a’ māl*) for the year, the virtues of the days and the nights along with their accompanying devotions transmitted by means of authentic (*ṣahīḥ*) and reliable (*mu’tabar*) chains of transmission (*asānīd*) such that the ordinary people shall not be deprived of its blessings (*barakāt*).³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Afandī, 3:428; Āghā Buzurg, *al-Dharī’a*, 8:201. Al-Kaf‘amī also had several early *ziyāra* texts at his disposal which will be mentioned in the chapter dealing with *ziyāra*.

³⁰⁴ Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī wrote *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ fī ‘amal al-yawm wa layla* (The Key of Success for Day and Night Devotions); Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī wrote *Zād al-ma‘ād*, and Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī wrote *Khulāṣat al-adhkār* (A Summary of Incantations). All of these works have been published numerous times and are readily available in Shī‘ī bookstores.

³⁰⁵ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Zād al-ma‘ād* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-‘Alamī l-il-Maṭbū‘āt, 2002), 9.

The above introductory remarks by al-Majlisī again indicate that he is claiming to have taken care to ensure that the devotions he has included in his book are in fact either authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) or at least reliable (*mu'tabar*). The distinction between these two classifications is that the *ṣaḥīḥ* chain of transmission not only originates from an Infallible but that all the reporters therein are confirmed to be known and trustworthy, whereas a *mu'tabar* chain of transmission may not require the above conditions but should be reliable insofar as scholars of repute have relied upon that devotion and chains of transmission exist for it, albeit not all the reporters may be authenticated or have established biographies. The implications of al-Majlisī's comments confirm what has been mentioned by Ibn Ṭāwūs in that the blessings (*baraka*) inherent in these texts reside in the belief and trust that it is reasonable to assume that this liturgical material originated from an infallible. There could be any number of contextual factors which indicate this that includes the presence of chains of transmission, their mention by reputable scholars who had access to early sources and paid due attention to matters of historical authenticity, or that the same devotion has been mentioned by numerous scholars in their liturgical works.

For Shī'ī scholars all of these mentioned contextual factors (*qarā'in*) contribute to the aura of trust (*iṭmi'nān*) which allows the "average people or non-scholars (*'āmmat al-nās*)" to benefit from the *baraka* of the contents of a liturgical manual compiled by scholars such as al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Ṭāwūs, al-Kaf'amī, or al-Majlisī. Furthermore, we find that the practice of issuing of *ijāzāt* for liturgical texts continued into the Safavid period. Two such examples are the *ijāza* granted by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī for the *lqbāl al-a'māl* and Bāhā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī granting one for the

Miftāḥ al-falāḥ to be copied and transmitted. In the case of the *Iqbāl al-a'māl* al-Majlisī's comments are particularly informative (as preserved in his original handwriting):

It (the *Iqbāl al-a'māl*) has been collated with corrected copies (*nusukh muṣaḥḥiha*) which were collated by virtuous people (a reference to scholars). Many deficiencies were corrected which had rendered its proper understanding difficult. I have issued a licence (*ajzatu*) to the owner of the book, who is my godly brother al-Hāj Muḥammad 'Alī who belongs to the folk of understanding for its (the *Iqbāl al-a'māl*'s) recitation and its narration (*tilāwatuḥu wa riwāyatuhu*) from me ('*annī*) on the basis of my chains of transmission (*asānīdī*) which arrive at the veracious sincere ones (the Prophet and the Imāms). Written by Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī in the sacred month, *Dhī al-Qa'da*, the year 1089/1678.³⁰⁶

This *ijāza* stipulates that in order for al-Majlisī to issue a licence for the *Iqbāl al-a'māl* he must have his own chains of transmission reaching the author and to the Imāms themselves, which is not surprising for someone of his stature. However, in order to render the text more efficacious he emphasizes that it has been diligently collated and critically compared to other texts. Thereafter, he issued a licence for the transmission of the text which formalized and certified the text for “authentic” liturgical performance. The need to ensure “authentic” liturgical transmission was impressed upon Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī by his father, Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī who issued him a lengthy *ijāza* which included the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, and “all supplications transmitted from the Imāms of the People of the House.”³⁰⁷ However, in this case, his father took the highly unorthodox step of issuing a license to his son for the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, not only on the basis of his various chains of transmission through past scholars, but

³⁰⁶ This has been preserved in the original handwriting of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī as found in Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a'māl* MS no. 10583, copied in 1076/1666, al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya, Mashhad, Iran. This copy was later owned by Shaykh 'Abbās al-Qummī who writes that in 1338/1919 he came into possession of the above manuscript. See *ibid.*, flyleaf.

³⁰⁷ The Arabic is *jamī' al-da'awāt al-ma'thūra 'an al-a'imma ahl al-bayt*.

also through an additional route for his *ijāzā* in which he says: “rather, I issued him a license to report it [the *Ṣaḥīfa*] on my authority from our master the viceregent of The Merciful and Possessor/Master of Time/the Age (the twelfth Imām).”³⁰⁸ Therefore in this case, the hidden and inaccessible Imām became available through a miraculous apparition or otherwise in order to provide his charismatic seal of approval for the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, which was a spiritual mantle transmitted *via ijāza* from father to son. This once again reminds us of the mystical tenor employed by Ibn Ṭāwūs in relation to his interaction with liturgical material – thus, such claims add an aura of charisma to the text, and to the Majlisī father and son’s legacy. It is also interesting to note that, once again, similar to Ibn Ṭāwūs, scholars have not summarily criticized the above claim; however, if it were to be claimed by an ordinary Shī‘ī it would certainly be labeled a heresy.

In the case of the *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, Shaykh al-Bahā’ī issued the licence (as preserved in his handwriting) after his student Jalāl al-Dīn al-Jurbādaqānī had read (*qarā’a*) the text aloud to him.³⁰⁹ The rhetorical and symbolic value inherent in such a licence grants legitimacy to a liturgical text, demonstrating the importance it occupied in scholarly spheres well into the Safavid period. It would seem that this tradition of issuing licences for liturgical texts as seen up to this period is no longer a famous practice albeit for a few texts such as the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, but more generally as grand scholars began to limit their main teaching to jurisprudence, these sorts of licences became a rarity, due also to the amount of time that it took to read aloud an entire

³⁰⁸ Al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, 107:83. The Arabic reads as: “*bal ajaztu la-hu an yarwīhā ‘anī ‘an mawlānā khalīfat al-rahmān wa ṣāḥib al-zamān.*” This is highly unusual in Twelver Shī‘ī *ijāzāt* literature and speaks to the role of divine apparitions and the role of occult mysticism in the transmission of liturgical texts in the case of Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī.

³⁰⁹ Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, MS no. 636, copied in 1016/1607, Markaz Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, Qum, Iran.

liturgical text.³¹⁰ Another reason was that famous liturgical texts such as the *Miṣbāḥ* and *Iqbāl al-a'māl* were already copied and transmitted along with their respective licences by prominent Shī'ī authorities and once the texts were deemed stable, and also with the advent of the modern printing press, what utility would exist in the process of *qirā'a* (performance for the teacher) followed by the issuance of a licence unless for the purpose of scholarly training? That is to say, the continuous process of transcribing, reading and licence issuance ensured that these liturgical texts survived the vicissitudes of time and circumstance.

The aforementioned names, Shaykh al-Bahā'ī, Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kashānī, Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, can be counted among the most influential scholarly authorities during the Safavid period whose intellectual and political legacies continue to be a source of immense interest to modern scholarship. These scholars were also involved in the preparation of liturgical manuals and their respective commentaries. An example is Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī's annotation upon the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* which has been published.³¹¹ Following the legacy of these Safavid-era scholars, the most prominent liturgical expert was al-Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Shubbar (d.1242/1826). He was a Qajar-era scholar with a vast literary output, who is ranked among the leading Shī'ī authorities of his time.³¹² His most famous liturgical work was *Rawḍat al-*

³¹⁰ For instance, in *al-Ijāza al-kabīra* (The Large License) spanning 828 pages by Āyat Allāh al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, we seldom find liturgical texts in the midst of the hundreds of licences which he possessed, aside from a mention of the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* for which he had eight licences and a book of *ziyāra*. See Āyat Allāh al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, *al-Ijāza al-kabīra* (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar'ashi al-Najafī, 1993) 810. For instance, he does mention details concerning *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*; however, not as a text that he possessed a license for.

³¹¹ Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Ta'liqāt 'alā al-ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* (Tehran: Mu'assasat al-Buḥūth wa-l-Taḥqīqāt, 1987). For additional commentaries on the *Ṣaḥīfa* written by established Safavid-era scholars see Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī, *Riyād al-mu'minīn wa ḥadā'iq al-muttaqīn wa fiqh al-ṣāliḥīn*, ed. 'Alī Fāḍilī (Qum: Markaz Abḥāth Bāqir al-'Ulūm, 2010); al-Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'irī [d.1112/1700], *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr 'alā al-ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, ed. Ḥusayn Taqī Zādeh (Qum: Markaz Abḥāth Bāqir al-'Ulūm, 2010); 'Alī Zayn al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-'Āmilī, *Sharḥ al-ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* (Qum: Markaz Abḥāth Bāqir al-'Ulūm, 2010).

³¹² Al-Tiḥrānī, *Ṭabaqāt al-'ālam al-shī'a* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2009), 11:565-566.

‘*ābidīn* (The Meadow of the Worshippers) written in two volumes which cover the various supplications to be recited throughout the year.

1.8 ‘Abbās al-Qummī’s *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*

The last liturgical compendium to be discussed in this chapter is *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* (The Keys of Paradise) by ‘Abbās al-Qummī. This work is by far the most famous and often read liturgical manual in contemporary Twelver Shī‘ism. Translations of it can be found in English, Urdu, and Persian in addition to which it certainly occupies a space next to the Qur’an as can be witnessed by a visit to a Shī‘ī home, Islamic centre, or shrine of an Imām, whether it be Iraq or Iran. ‘Abbās al-Qummī was a renowned scholar of ḥadīth in his own right and the student of the late Mīrzā al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī who wrote *Mustadrak al-wasā’il*, a forty-volume addendum to *Wasā’il al-shī‘a* by al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī. It is evident from ‘Abbās al-Qummī’s scholarship and his tutelage under al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī that he had exposure and access to a myriad of liturgical texts as evidenced by al-Ṭabarsī’s reference to them in *Mustadrak al-wasā’il*.³¹³ It was these formative years in the company of al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī and his respective library that gave shape to ‘Abbās al-Qummī’s attraction to ḥadīth and particularly liturgical material.³¹⁴ In addition, he has been described by his peers as having been notably pious. The most poignant of these descriptions is from his contemporary and former roommate, Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, who describes him as “the epitome of a complete human being (*mithāl al-insān al-kāmil*) who had intense piety and spiritual austerity.”³¹⁵ ‘Abbās al-Qummī’s piety was renowned, such that after completing the *Mafātīḥ*, he

³¹³ Al-Subḥānī, *Mawsū‘āt ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā’*, 14:579; al-Amīn, *A’yān al-shī‘a*, 7:461.

³¹⁴ Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, who was a colleague of ‘Abbās al-Qummī, describes ‘Abbās al-Qummī as the research assistant and scribe to al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī. Al-Ṭīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 15:100.

³¹⁵ Ibid, 999. It is evident that Āghā Buzurg’s admirable description of ‘Abbās al-Qummī should not be viewed as “ceremonial praise”; rather, it stemmed from the intimate relationship that the two shared about which Āghā Buzurg

refused for over one year to publish the text until he performed every devotion (*du‘ā’* and *ziyāra*) contained in the book, which is well over seven hundred pages.³¹⁶ It is this very point that brings this discussion full circle, in the sense that it was Ibn Ṭāwūs who emphasized that when a scholar embarks upon compiling a devotional-liturgical manual, he himself must embark upon the performance of these spiritual acts prior to impressing it upon others. It is at this juncture that we have come from the *Miṣbāḥ* (written in the mid 5th/11th century) to the *Mafātīḥ* (written in the early 14th/20th century), which is a book that guides the devout regarding the various *du‘ā’s* and *ziyārāt* to be performed throughout the year and even those devotions which do not have a prescribed time.

The *Mafātīḥ*, numbering seven hundred and sixty pages (in the most popular edition), may be described as a creative collage of the most avowed extant liturgical material and manuscripts available to ‘Abbās al-Qummī, such as the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Ṭūsī, *lqḃāl al-a‘māl* of Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Junnat al-amān* of al-Kaf‘amī, and the *Zād al-ma‘ād* of al-Majlisī. The well-known scholar of ḥadīth, Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī, describes ‘Abbās al-Qummī as “an authority of his time in this field.”³¹⁷ While Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Nūrī (a reputable scholar

says: “I yearned for his company and my soul blended with his soul for a time (*Ansatu bi-ṣuḥḃatihi muddatan wa imtazajtu rūḥī bi-ruḥihi zamānan*).” (Ibid.) Praise of this nature from such an individual such as Āghā Buzurg is of tremendous significance in Shīṭ scholarly circles. It should be noted that Āghā Buzurg was among the teachers of Āyat Allāh Sayyid ‘Alī al-Sīstānī (b.1930), who is currently the most prominent Shīṭ jurist in Iraq.

³¹⁶ Āyat Allāh Maḥmūd Kirmānshāhī (b.1939) narrates this anecdote. He was a student of Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā Bahā’ al-Dīnī (d.1995) whose teacher was ‘Abbās al-Qummī. See “Shaykh ‘Abbās Qummī pas az ‘amal bih tamāmī mafātīḥ ān rā chāp kard,” Farsnews.com

<https://www.farsnews.com/news/8802261037%20%20%20%20/%D8%B4%D9%8A%D8%AE-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B3-%D9%82%D9%85%D9%8A-%D9%BE%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D8%B2-%D8%B9%D9%85%D9%84-%D8%A8%D9%87-%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-%D9%85%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%8A%D8%AD-%D8%A2%D9%86-%D8%B1%D8%A7-%DA%86%D8%A7%D9%BE-%D9%83%D8%B1%D8%AF> (accessed, 1 March 2019).

³¹⁷ See the preface by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī in Sayyid Hādī al-Ṣuḥufī, *Khulāṣat mafātīḥ al-jinān* (Chicago: The Open School, 1987), Preface.

of Najaf and older contemporary to al-Jalālī) describes ‘Abbās al-Qummī’s *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* as being based upon “reference works and reliable primary sources (*al-maṣādir wa-l-uṣūl al-mu’tamada*).”³¹⁸ Despite this, Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Nūrī was convinced that since the *Mafātīḥ* was a Persian translation of the original Arabic traditions, it required a return to the original language so as to preserve the sanctity of the traditions, some of which he believed were mis transcribed or mistranslated by ‘Abbās al-Qummī.³¹⁹

The author’s reputation as a sincere scholar and liturgical specialist contributed to the *Mafātīḥ* becoming the most trusted and well-known liturgical manual in contemporary Shī’ism.³²⁰ In this regard it would not be an exaggeration to describe the *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* as being the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* of modern times in the way it has been received by the Shī’ī community and scholars, such that by 1964 it had already been published ten times.³²¹ Al-Jalālī and Riḍā al-Nūrī point out that the initial objective of ‘Abbās al-Qummī was to prepare a new devotional manual as a correction to what was presently being used by the majority in his day. The book ‘Abbās al-Qummī had in mind was *Miftāḥ al-jinān* (The Key of Paradise) by Asad Allāh al-Ṭīhrānī al-Ḥā’irī (d.1333/1915) which, after being published, had various additions made to it that were not deemed acceptable by ‘Abbās al-Qummī.³²² It is for this reason that ‘Abbās al-Qummī invoked

³¹⁸ Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Nūrī al-Najafī wrote these notes as an introduction to his Arabic translation of the *Mafātīḥ*. ‘Abbās al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān: al-ta’rīb bi-Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Nūrī al-Najafī* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 2014), 8. The Arabic edition has been published many times prior to 2014.

³¹⁹ One such example is a mis transcription of the original Arabic ḥadīth. For instance, ‘Abbās al-Qummī wrote “*Qāma rasūl allāh ‘an firāshihā* (‘The Messenger of Allāh got up from her bed (‘Ā’isha),” whereas the correct pronoun is not “her” but “his,” so it should be read as *firāshihī* (his bed)” (ibid.).

³²⁰ This is also the speculation of Āyat Allāh Nāṣir Makārim Shīrāzī which I would tend to concur with. Āyat Allāh Nāṣir Makārim Shīrāzī, *Mafātīḥ novīn* (Qum: Intishārāt Imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 2014), 16.

³²¹ Al-Ṭīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 15:1001. Volume fifteen was completed by Āghā Buzurg in 1964 and he remarks that the *Mafātīḥ* has been published ten times.

³²² Ibid.; al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī’a*, 21:324; al-Jalālī, *Fihris al-turāth*, 2:628. Al-Jalālī recounts that he was a young boy when he met ‘Abbās al-Qummī and was orally granted an *ijāza* for the transmission of ḥadīth shortly after which ‘Abbās al-Qummī died and could not fulfil his promise at the time to put the *ijāza* in writing for the young al-Jalālī.

God's curse (*laʿn*) upon anyone who has the audacity to add material to his book and publish it under his name. In this sense, we can draw a parallel between ʿAbbās al-Qummī and Ibn Idrīs who swore a similar oath against anyone who would alter a single word of al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ*, which he had painstakingly copied with his own hand. This fervent puritanism regarding liturgical texts and their correct reading should not be lost on the reader since scholars such as al-Qummī and Ibn Idrīs attached their scholarly integrity to the soundness of these texts, although Ibn Idrīs was not the compiler but simply made a copy of the original. Further, for the sake of emphasis, it should be reiterated that the efficacy of these liturgies (whether they be *duʿāʾ* or *ziyāra*) relies on them being believed to have been composed by the Infallibles themselves. Consequently, a scholar such as al-Ṭūsī or ʿAbbās al-Qummī prepared these collections in "good faith" that what is to be recited is believed to have reasonably come from one of the Infallibles. That being said, some of the devotions therein may be of doubtful authenticity especially when found in older texts post-dating Ibn Ṭāwūs and not having any known origins or chain of transmission aside from its mere attribution to an Infallible. Further, in addition to exploring questions pertaining to historical origins, the moment material is added, removed or altered the entire liturgical project (in this case the *Miṣbāḥ* or *Mafātīḥ*) is then put into jeopardy, in turn adversely affecting the benefit of the prayers contained within for those who associate efficacy with a degree of textual authenticity. The question would then be raised: what else was altered or tampered with and how can it be ascertained that these are the original selections of al-Ṭūsī or ʿAbbās al-Qummī? It is also for this purpose that *ijāzāt* were issued for the instruction and transmission of liturgical material, as we saw in the case of the *Miṣbāḥ* and even into the Safavid period (albeit it to a lesser degree) with the *lqbāl al-aʿmāl* and the *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*.

It should be reiterated that the *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* is relied upon by both laity and scholars alike. In contemporary times perhaps the best-known example is Āyat Allāh Nāṣir Makārim Shīrāzī, a well-known authority in the Qum seminary (*ḥawza*), who writes in the introduction to *Māfātīḥ-i novīn* (New *Mafātīḥ*) that ‘Abbās al-Qummī can be considered as the successor to the likes of al-Majlisī and others who expended their research efforts on the subject of liturgical devotions. An endorsement from such a Shī‘ī authority further contributes to the attachment of Shī‘īs more generally to this text and confirms the endorsements from al-Jalālī and Riḍā al-Nūrī, both of whom hail from the Najaf seminary. Further, Āyat Allāh Nāṣir Makārim Shīrāzī clarifies that he is furnishing further explanations and or clarifications to the *du‘ā’s* and *ziyārāt* and this should not be misconstrued as a criticism of the *Mafātīḥ* but rather akin to an addendum or new edition.³²³ Despite the praise stemming from both Najaf and Qum, there is no complete authentication of the text by contemporary scholars as each *du‘ā’* or *ziyāra* would have to be studied individually both in terms of its historical provenance. However, the book itself would certainly be classified by Shī‘ī scholars as *mu‘tabar* such that it is generally a reliable and useful liturgical manual.³²⁴

1.9 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter has not been to simply enumerate liturgical books in the Shī‘ī tradition but rather to attempt to convey a sense of an overarching meaning that acts as a thread

³²³ Shīrāzī, *Mafātīḥ novīn*, 16.

³²⁴ I use the term “grand scholar” to refer to the legal authorities for Shī‘īs who have the title Āyat Allāh (sign of God) or *Marja’* (source of reference). Admiration for ‘Abbās al-Qummī and his *Mafātīḥ* is nearly unanimous, such that most often if a “grand scholar” in the seminary of Qum or Najaf wishes to read a particular *du‘ā’* or *ziyāra* during his lesson he will without any hesitation ask a student to pass him a copy of the *Mafātīḥ* (which usually fill the shelves of the mosque) and read from the text. I have witnessed this dozens of times in the advanced classes (*baḥth al-khārij*) of Āyat Allāh Shaykh Muḥammad al-Sanad, in addition to observing carefully Shī‘ī authorities reciting from the *Mafātīḥ* while visiting the various shrines.

running through the history of this venerable literary tradition. As shown by Shīī communal memory, liturgical material began to be put into writing during the lifetime of the Imāms. This is evidenced from the numerous references that can be found in the bio-bibliographical literature written during the 4/5th-10th/11th centuries which contain copious references to *Kutub al-du‘ā’* (books of supplication), and *Kutub a‘māl al-yawm wa al-layla* (books pertaining to the devotions for the day and the night). Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that this written tradition developed in tandem with the writing of ḥadīth as a part of a broader 2nd/8th century culture of notebooks (*uṣūl*) which contained the various lectures and sayings of the Imāms. We are unsure if the books of liturgy can be defined as *uṣūl* since the definition of what exactly constitutes an *aṣl* work is debated. Is it limited to only jurisprudential matters; can it include doctrinal traditions, and must it have the title “*aṣl*” in order to be classified as such? Our objective was not to answer these queries but to demonstrate that at the very least there is a close association between liturgical material and the Shīī memory of an early written tradition. In the absence of material evidence from the historical period of the Imāms, we are unable to confirm with any certainty the claims made by al-Ṭūsī, al-Najāshī and others who attest to the existence of this vast written liturgical corpus originating from as early as the 2nd/8th century that includes texts such as the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*. Considering that these claims may have been at least partially true, it would then be reasonable to suggest that the scholars of Baghdad had a multitude of early resources at their disposal. Hence the process of compiling and preparing liturgical collections such as the *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* of al-Kulaynī and later the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* of al-Ṭūsī would have reasonably benefited from these works. This becomes even more evident in light of Ibn Ṭāwūs’s numerous claims that he possessed sixty or seventy volumes of *du‘ā’* literature of which the majority,

according to Āghā Buzurg, would have pre-dated al-Ṭūsī. As stated, I was unable to confirm this figure, but upon analysis of Ibn Ṭāwūs's *lqbāl al-a'māl* and *Muhaj al-da'awāt*, I was able to count nineteen references that he cited directly from those two works, all of which pre-date Shaykh al-Ṭūsī.

This chapter has demonstrated that throughout this history we find the doctors of the Shī'ī tradition immersed in the study, teaching, copying and preparation of liturgical texts. This was particularly demonstrated through a detailed analysis of the historical legacy pertaining to the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. The sheer number of early manuscripts, transmission licences, chains of transmission, annotations, and critical editions demonstrates not only the preeminence of the *Miṣbāḥ* but the role of liturgy in Shī'ī scholarly life. It can therefore be asserted with confidence that liturgical material, while being compiled for the masses, was concomitantly a thoroughly scholarly enterprise that involves to this day pivotal figures of Shī'ī thought. Put differently, these liturgical texts become a nexus at which the concerns of both the scholarly class and laity meet. Far from being a parochial matter, these liturgical texts have been endowed with a sense of sacrality because they are not viewed as the personal writings of scholars but as the product of spiritual charisma coming from an infallible divine guide. This spiritual charisma is given an added aura of performativity when recited as an act of worship, the noetics of which cannot be captured in written words. The question of authorship and authenticity of this material is also in some ways analogous to authorship of the *Nahj al-balāgha* which is a compilation of sermons, letters and maxims attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Some of these can be found in earlier sources while others cannot. However, much like the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Ṭūsī or the *Mafātīḥ* of 'Abbās al-Qummī the contents of this work has been memorialized in Shī'ī

thought and piety regardless of its actual historical origins due to the profundity of its contents. This is highlighted in an exchange between ‘Allāma al-Ṭabātabā’ī and Henry Corbin the late ‘Allāma was asked: “What argument would you provide to prove that the *Nahj al-balāgha* was by the first Imām, ‘Alī. The venerable master of Islamic philosophy answered, ‘For us the person who wrote the *Nahj al-balāgha* is ‘Alī, even if he lived a century ago.”³²⁵

In light of the number of scholars who have been involved in the prayer book tradition, I would not hesitate to describe it as a rite of passage for recognized Shī’ī scholars to participate in liturgical scholarship as means of leaving a spiritual legacy that demonstrated their connection to the fourteen Infallibles which went beyond jurisprudence and dialectical theology. In other words, authorities such as al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Idrīs, ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī were all renowned scholastic prodigies of their age, albeit with conflicting views on key matters pertaining to Islamic law, the finer points of theology, and the role given to the use of reason (*‘aql*) in religious tradition. Despite that, a common thread, which weaves through each of these differing time periods and scholarly lives, is their devotion to the liturgies (*du‘ā’* and *ziyāra*) of the Infallibles for which their respective contributions have been preserved in the annals of both oral and material history.³²⁶

³²⁵ Kazemi, 4-5.

³²⁶ Meaning that both their books and oral accounts of their contributions to liturgical literature remain.

Chapter Two

Du‘ā’ as a Form of Liturgy and Its Relation to Islamic Spirituality

2.1 An exploration of *du‘ā’* in the Qur’an and Tradition

Du‘ā’, the verbal noun derived from the triliteral root, d-‘-w,) may be described as a creative free-form supplication in contrast to the obligatory canonical daily prayer or “prayer service” (*ṣalāt*) which has a strict formal structure with prescribed bodily movements. Despite this key distinction, *du‘ā’* is certainly considered a form of worship which sets out to fulfill what Islam deems as the greatest right, which is the right of God to be recognized and worshipped.³²⁷ The notion of fulfilling God’s right (*ḥaqq*) can be found in Qur’an 3:102: “O you who believe, have consciousness of God (with) due consciousness of Him (*ḥaqqa tuqāṭihi*).”³²⁸ According to a tradition attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, the meaning of this verse is that the individual should “obey and not disobey, remember Him whilst not forgetting Him, and engage in thanksgiving whilst not being ungrateful.”³²⁹ Many supplications include mention of some – if not all – of the aforementioned states of being. With this in mind, the Islamic worldview is suffused with the notion that God has a multitude of rights over His creation; however, it is His unity which “compresses all these rights into one right and that right has no more appropriate name than

³²⁷ The verbal noun *du‘ā’* can have multiple related meanings which include “an invocation,” “an appeal,” “a call,” or “a supplication.” See E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2003 reprint), 1:885. For an academic overview on the place of *du‘ā’* in Islamic thought see L. Gardet, “Du‘ā’,” in *EI2*; Hamid Algar, “Do‘ā,” in *EIr* (New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1982-). For consistency I have chosen to translate *du‘ā’* as “supplication” and its verbal usage (*da‘ā* and *yad‘ū*) as “supplicate” or “supplicating,” which, according to Merriam-Webster, is defined as “praying to God,” or more specifically “to ask humbly, earnestly of.” See *Merriam-Webster Online*, s.v. “supplicate,” <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/supplicate>, accessed 13 March 2019. For the purpose of this dissertation *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* could certainly be described as a humble or earnest prayer to God; hence, it is an act of supplicating, and the text can be described as a supplication.

³²⁸ Qur’an 3:102. The Arabic reads as follows: “*yā ayyuhā alladhīna āmanū ittaqū allāha ḥaqqa tuqāṭihi*.”

³²⁹ Aḥmad al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith (Qum: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1951), 204.

‘worship’ or ‘servanthood.’”³³⁰ Furthermore, in Qur’anic terms, it is only by fulfilling this right that human beings can fulfill the purpose of their existence, as the Qur’an states: “humans and *jinn* were not created except to worship.”³³¹ This Qur’anic proclamation fits well with a prophetic tradition which states: “supplication is worship.”³³² Toshihiko Izutsu remarks that *du‘ā’* as described in the Qur’an refers to a bilateral linguistic relationship between God and human beings. This relationship consists firstly of God’s revelation (*wahy*) to us and our *du‘ā’* to God.³³³ This communicative relation between the two parties is extraordinary due to the common assumption in linguistics that there is an ontological equality between the addresser and addressee in order for a verbal exchange to occur. However, as Izutsu points out, in this case, we are confronted with an evident ontological inequality which would render the practice of *du‘ā’* to be an unusual linguistic event.³³⁴ For Ibn Ṭāwūs this bi-lateral communication can be described in intimate terms as being as a form of companionship with God in which the supplicant has the opportunity to commune with Him in seclusion with Him as their companion (*jalīs*), hence it has been described as the epitome (*mukhkh*) of worship.³³⁵

³³⁰ William Chittick, “Worship,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology*, ed. Tim Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 221.

³³¹ This refers to Qur’an, 51:56: “I did not create the *jinn* and human beings, except for them to worship Me (*‘illā li-ya‘budīn*).” This is precisely what William Chittick describes as the “ontological imperative” in worship; that is to say, worship, and for our purposes the act of supplicating, reflects what it means to come to terms with the perennial need for God’s grace. See Chittick, “Worship,” 222.

³³² “*Al-du‘ā hūwa al-‘ibāda*.” See al-Ṭabarī *Majma‘ al-Bayān*, 8:823; al-Ṭabarī, 24:52; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 5:211, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, 2:76. For more details see al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣiddīq al-Qanūjī al-Bukhārī, *Nuzul al-abrār bi-l-‘ilm al-ma‘thūr fī al-ad‘iyya wa-l-adhkār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2012), 52. An identical statement has been attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. See *al-Kāfī*, 4:99.

³³³ Izutsu, 208; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-Sā‘il*, 44.

³³⁴ Toshihiko Izutsu, *God and Man in the Koran* (Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964), 208-209.

³³⁵ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-sā‘il*, 44.

It can be asserted that the importance placed upon the practice of *du'ā'* is partly due to the prominent place it occupies in the Qur'an. The root word *d-ʿ-w* both as a noun and a verb has been used in nearly fifty different verses in the Qur'an, and in the majority of cases to convey an act of supplicating to a deity (the one God or many gods) and beseeching His (or their) help. The Qur'an speaks of the sincere supplication of the believer (*mu'min*) and the "misguided" supplication of the non-believer (*kāfir*).³³⁶

As for the supplication of the believers, the Qur'an encourages them to supplicate to God, while also assuring them that God is both "near" and shall "answer" their supplication.³³⁷ The following verse from 2:186 is particularly germane: "When my servants ask you concerning me, (tell them): I am close, I answer the call of the caller when he calls upon me so that they shall respond to me and they shall believe in me (so that) perhaps they may be guided."³³⁸ In this context, the Qur'an puts forward an intimate relationship between the supplicant and God in stating: "I am near and I answer. . ." It should be noted that this expression "I answer the call (*da'wa*)" can apply to any form of beseeching God, whether it be in the form of the canonical prayer or a supplication; however, it is linguistically apt that Qur'anic exegetes have associated this verse with the practice of *du'ā'*.³³⁹

³³⁶ Both of these terms have been subject to a multitude of interpretations as to who may be classified as a believer or non-believer. It is not the intention of this dissertation to explore the gamut of competing voices but simply to point out that the Qur'an speaks of both types of supplication emanating from these distinct groups of people.

³³⁷ See Qur'an 2:186 and 40:60. For a list of the various Qur'anic usages of the trilateral root *d-ʿ-w* see Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2001), 316-320. Also on the subject of *du'ā'* in the Qur'an see Gerhard Bowering, "Prayer," *EQ*. For overviews on the place of *du'ā'* in Islamic thought, including the Qur'an, see Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought and Practice*, 29-43; L. Gardet, "Du'ā'," in *EI2*; Algar, "Do'ā," in *Eir*.

³³⁸ Qur'an, 2:186. All Qur'anic translations are my own unless otherwise stated. I have chosen a more literal translation in order to emphasize the grammatical nuances.

³³⁹ This is also closely related to notion that God is closer to a person than his or herself. "...And We are closer to him than his jugular vein (*naḥnu aqrabu ilayhi min ḥabli l-warīd*)." Cf. Qur'an, 50:16

Exegetes such as al-Ṭabarī (d.310/923) and al-Ṭūsī clearly understood the verbal phrase “calls upon Me” (*da‘āni*) and the noun (*da‘wa*) to refer to practice of *du‘ā*, which is to supplicate or beseech God. In this regard, al-Ṭūsī is more specific in emphasizing that the process of *ṭalab*, or beseeching and or seeking, could also simply involve praise of God, such as the following invocation: “Our Lord! to you belongs praise” (*rabbanā laka al-ḥamd*), usually followed by a request of some kind, most often in the form of a plea for forgiveness, mercy, or guidance.³⁴⁰ This verse is particularly poignant because it attempts both to encourage personal supplication and reassure the supplicant that God is not only close but He answers the plea of those who call upon Him. Language of this nature elicited a range of responses from exegetes who have attempted to answer two principal questions: firstly, what does it mean for an omnipotent God to be close (*qarīb*) and secondly, what does it mean that God assures the devout of His response by saying: “I shall answer the call of the caller when he calls upon Me (*ujību da‘wat al-dā‘ī idhā da‘ānī*)”? Sunnī and Shī‘ī commentators are adamant that the word “close” is to be understood in terms of knowledge and not of place insofar as God is all-knowing and we need to search for Him when we supplicate or fret about whether our pleas remain unheard. In fact, both early and later commentators speculate that this verse was revealed as a response to a group of companions who asked the Prophet if they should cry out (*yunādī*) or whisper (*yunjī*) to God, to which they were told that they may whisper to God, because He is close (*qarīb*). This proximity to God in the thought of Ibn ‘Arabī would reflect the entire situation as it pertains to existence

³⁴⁰ Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1992), 2:92. Also see Qur’an, 23:109 which states: “Our Lord we believe; so forgive us and have mercy on us. You are the best of those who show mercy.” The most often recited chapter, The Opening (*al-Fātiḥa*), is itself a prayer with an opening invocation followed by a request for guidance and salvation. See Qur’an, 1: 1-7.

itself or as Mohammed Rustom describes for Ibn ‘Arabī, “God is proximate everywhere.”³⁴¹ Therefore, when one obeys God especially through acts of obedience such a supplication acts as a vehicle to attain proximity to Him through an act of love (in this case supplication) that is beloved to Him.

I should also note that the expressions “verily I am close and I answer” are linguistically significant, for three particular reasons. Firstly, the use of the first person conjures a sense of propinquity in supplication assuring the supplicant of God’s presence in contrast to the more impersonal use of the third person which may have read as: “Surely He is close and He responds.”³⁴² Secondly, there is a sense of immediacy due to the absence of any intermediary construct of time such “*thumma*,” “*fa*,” or “*qad*” (“then,” “so,” or “thereafter”) which separates the adjective *qarīb* and the verb *ujību*, meaning that it literally reads as: “So surely I am close; I respond to the call of the caller. . .” Lastly, the use of the present continuous tense verb “I respond” may be interpreted as an attempt to indicate a continuous and perennial response on the part of God; according to numerous reports attributed to the Prophet, the companions asked him: “where is our Lord?,” to which this verse was then revealed as a testimony to the closeness (*qurb*) of God and the importance of developing a personal relationship with Him founded on supplication/*du‘ā*.³⁴³

It should also be noted that it is not a coincidence that this verse outlining the importance of supplication is shortly preceded by the famous verse: “fasting has been prescribed for you”

³⁴¹ Mohammed Rustom, “Ibn ‘Arabī on Proximity and Distance Chapters 260 and 261 in the *Futūhāt*” *Muhyiddīn Ibn ‘Arabī Society*, published 2019, <https://ibnarabisociety.org/proximity-and-distance-mohammed-rustom/>.

³⁴² “*Innahu qarībun wa yujību*”.

³⁴³ See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmī al-bayān*, ibid; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān*, 2:129.

and followed by verses dealing with the rites of fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, which is known to be a month of worship and spiritual reflection for Muslims. In this case, the “servant” (*‘abd*), as described in 2:186, supplicates or calls upon God, and receives a response, albeit evidently non-verbal, in the form of “*ujību*” or “I respond.” The Qur’an does not specify how and when this precisely takes place – that is to say, shall the supplicant discover an immediate response? If so, shall it occur whilst in this world or the hereafter? The immediate answer to these questions is rather ambiguous and perhaps obscure; as a result the ḥadīth and exegetical literature is replete with a series of alternative ways in which this promise of God may be interpreted, especially in the case of the supplicant not being able to recognize any immediate response to their prayer. In fact, the Qur’an once again assures the supplicant of a response in 40:60, where it is stated: “Your Lord said: call upon Me and I shall answer you.”³⁴⁴ This verse conveys a sense of immediacy due to the absence of any separating particles of time, as well as it being in the present tense. In this case we see that the imperative verb is used: “call upon Me,” which is indicative of not only the importance of supplication but also its incumbency. Furthermore, this verse, akin to 2:186, draws a clear relationship between *‘ibāda* and *du‘ā’* due to the assurance of God’s response being immediately followed by the following warning: “those who are disdainful of worshipping Me shall enter Hell in a state of utter humiliation.”³⁴⁵

It should also be noted that the first person verbs (*ujību* and *astajīb*) in both 2:186 and 40:60 tend to be translated as “I respond,” “I hear,” or “I answer.” There is in fact a subtle difference between form I and form X of the root *j-w-b*. According to early lexicographers such

³⁴⁴ Qur’an 40:60: “*ad’ūnī astajīb la-kum.*”

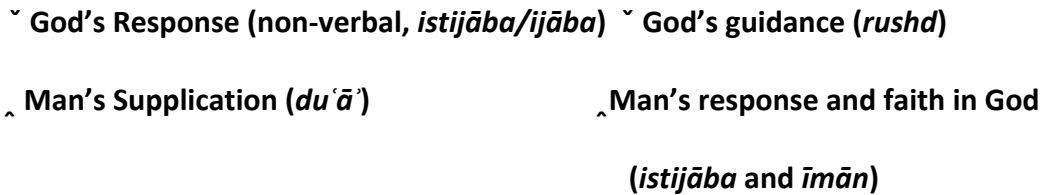
³⁴⁵ See *ibid.*

as Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d.502/1108), and Ibn Manẓūr(d.711/1311-1312), *ujību* may be defined as a response to a question (*su'āl*); thus it may be translated as “I respond,” or even “I hear,” but it need not entail the granting of one’s request or the immediate resolution of a predicament, whereas the form X first person verb, *astajībū*, or its verbal noun, *istijāba*, entails the confirmation of one’s request and its resolution. So, therefore, by virtue of God hearing every person’s supplication or prayer, this may be described as a form of *ijāba* whereas the granting of one’s request or petition may be properly described as *istijāba*.³⁴⁶ Another question which arises is: how are we to perceive or recognize this response? Put differently, when God says: “I respond” what does this entail and are there conditions attached to the granting of a supplication? At this juncture, without venturing into ḥadīth and theological discussions, it is clear from the Qur’anic text itself that God’s response is at least partly predicated upon the supplicant’s “response” i.e., their “belief (*īmān*)” and or conviction in Him. Therefore, the second part of 2:186 uses the imperative particle “*lām*” before each verb, which is indicative that God’s response is not open-ended or unconditional but predicated upon the expectation that the supplicant will respond to the call of God, meaning that he will pay heed to divine commandments and to believe with conviction. This once again reminds us of Izutsu’s characterization of the bi-lateral communicative relationship between “Man and God” as envisioned in the Qur’an. However, despite all the conditions being met in order to elicit a response from God, it remains uncertain as to how and when the response (*ijāba/istijāba*) shall occur, and perhaps it is for this reason that the believers are encouraged to have faith (*fa-l-yu’minū*) that their supplication has been taken

³⁴⁶ See Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Qur’ān*, 210 and the renowned lexicologist Muḥammad b. Mukarram (Ibn Manẓūr d.711/1311-1312) who also cites the important early exegete and grammarian al-Farrā’ (d.207/822) in *Lisān al-‘arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādiq, 1993), 1:283-285.

into due consideration, and as expressed in a tradition attributed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the supplicant should trust that "God is able to grant them their request."³⁴⁷

Qur'an 2:186: Relationship between the Supplicant and God:³⁴⁸



Desperation and ingratitude as states of being are another significant theme found in numerous verses related to supplication in the Qur'an. In these verses we can discern an acute concern with an urgent and often public plea for divine assistance; this plea is frequently followed by a period of ingratitude. One such example can be seen in Qur'an 10:12:

When affliction befalls humankind he supplicates (cries out) to Us whilst on his side, standing or sitting and when We remove his affliction he goes on as if he never supplicated to Us for an affliction that befell him. In this way the deeds of such heedless people are made attractive to them.³⁴⁹

This verse presents a foray into the thought process or psychology of certain people for whom it takes little to compel them to cry out to God, supplicating in a state of desperation only to receive a tangible resolution to their situation and then to move on with their lives as if no divine intervention ever took place. The Qur'an alludes to this situation in a rather dramatic fashion on more than one occasion, as in 10:22-23, to highlight firstly that God does respond to the cries and supplications of human beings; however, a large proportion of human beings are ungrateful - one of the connotations of the word *kufr*, and perform supplications of convenience despite

³⁴⁷ Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr al-'Ayyāshī* (Tehran: 'Ilmiyya Press, 1960), 1:83

³⁴⁸ This is a re-rendering of Izutsu's diagram. See Izutsu, 211.

³⁴⁹ Qur'an 10:12. This translation was partially informed by *The Qur'an*, tr. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 128.

being absolutely sincere (*mukhliṣīn*) towards God during that trying hour.³⁵⁰ This rather pessimistic outlook upon human consciousness and behaviour insists that humans will in fact turn to God in *du‘ā’* and become temporary believers so as long as their worldly predicaments are resolved; however this temporary state of sincere humility rapidly dissipates and consequently the Qur’an classifies them as *musrifūn*, which is literally defined as “the one who wastes or goes to excesses.” Thereafter, the Qur’an highlights God’s ultimate infuriation with the *musrifūn* (Qur’an, 10:12) since their neglectful attitude not only continues but is “made to seem attractive to them (*zuyyina la-hum*).” Furthermore, in very stark terms, the Qur’an associates this temporary state of sincerity with a fleeting form of monotheism.

Say: Do you reckon that if the chastisement of God befalls you, or the Hour (the Last Hour) comes upon you: *will you supplicate to other than God, if you are truthful? Nay, it is to Him that you shall supplicate*, and He removes (the affliction) for which you called upon Him and you shall forget that which you associate with Him.³⁵¹

The supposition of this verse is that true supplication must be accompanied by a form of “correct belief”; that is to say, the supplication which is heard is that of the monotheist even if it be a temporary state of monotheism in which even the polytheist is prepared to abandon all other gods aside from “the one God” when faced with the terror of God’s wrath or imminent death and or divine judgment. I would be remiss to not describe this as a form of psychological duress

³⁵⁰ “It is He who carries you across the land and the sea while you are in ships and they sail with an advantageous wind for which they rejoice. Then a violent wind confronts them, and waves assail them from every side and they think that they will drown. They then supplicate to God with sincere faith in Him; that if You save us from this we will surely be among the grateful.” See Qur’an, 10:22. In this verse, sailors who find themselves drowning and helpless in the midst of raging waves “supplicate to God with sincere religion or faith” (*mukhliṣīna la-hu al-dīn*) and they promise God that they shall be grateful if He saves them from calamity. “Grateful”, in this case implies that they will submit to God as a sign of their gratefulness if He saves them from the impending calamity.

³⁵¹ Qur’an 6:40-41.

which necessitates a radical, albeit often, temporary conversion envisioned by the Qur'an that is sufficient to yield a response (*istijāba*) from God.

This is precisely what Izutsu refers to as the 'magical' component of personal prayer invoked in a state of absolute desperation which can render an effect on the addressee similar to that of the pre-Islamic *hijā'* which was a form of powerful invocation or imprecation aimed at having an immediate and provocative effect on the addressee.³⁵² This provocative request while expecting a reply depends on one's fidelity to the cause of God as viewed through the lens of a supplication entitled: "Seeking needs from God (*ṭalab al-ḥawā'ij ilā allāh*)" in the *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya* where 'Alī b. Ḥusayn says: "Whoever seeks to remedy his lack (or want) through you and he casts the removal of his poverty from himself to You for he has sought his need in the ideal place and has approached his request from the right quarter. Be he who turns with his need towards any one of your creation or makes him the cause of his success instead of you, for he has exposed (himself) to deprivation and deserves to lose your beneficence"³⁵³ Thus, a prayer full of faithful commitment is one that does not 'dare' to attribute any success or relief to other than God. This statement in light of the Qur'anic exhortation of "belief in God and answering the call of God" emphasizes that the psychological state and inner thoughts of the supplicant must be harmonious with the actual words uttered. Furthermore, it also is indicative that the virtue of *du'ā'* and the supplicant's proximity to God is intimately tied to beliefs, ethics, and execution of jurisprudential commands. In light of this, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq has said: "The act of supplication (*al-*

³⁵² I am using the term "magical" as a technical term as employed by Izutsu and not to connote its Arabic equivalent, namely, *siḥr* (magic). See Izutsu, 211-212.

³⁵³ 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila*, introduced and translated by William C. Chittick, 143.

du‘ā’) repeals the decree (*al-qaḍā’*) that has descended from heaven even after it has been wholly established .”³⁵⁴ The efficacy of supplication ultimately lies in its ability to turn back the very decree of God which is seemingly unalterable and destined to be executed. Despite this, a supplication rooted in sincere faith can be seen to have life altering implications. However, for Shī‘ī theologians, two immediate theological and philosophical inquiries may arise. Firstly, does this imply that God changes his mind (*badā’*) or there can be an alteration in His decree, hence he is changeable? Secondly, what sort of requests are rendered efficacious and acceptable and which are not? As for the change in God’s decree, Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī has attempted to explain it by stating that there would be no alternation in the knowledge (*‘ilm*) of God but rather change may occur from the point of His divine will (*mashiyya*) until its execution (*imḍā’*).³⁵⁵ This would imply that all possible outcomes would be included between these two points and hence a sincere supplication has the potential to effect change akin to how maintaining familial relations (*ṣilat al-raḥim*) increases sustenance (*rizq*) and the length of one’s life.³⁵⁶ As Mahmoud Ayoub explains, this theological concept is known as *badā’* which implies that there can be change in God’s decree but not in his essential knowledge of something as per Shī‘ī doctrine. Therefore when a prayer is granted and God’s decree is changed that is something external to God’s essence but remain recorded in “the mother of the book (*umm al-kitāb*)” which refers to Qur’an, 13:39 which states: “He effaces and confirms whatever He wills, and with Him is the mother of the Book.”³⁵⁷ As Ayoub points out, the Shī‘ī scholars from al-Ṭūsī to Āyat Allāh al-Khū‘ī (d.1412/1992)

³⁵⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 4:304.

³⁵⁵ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Mirāt al-‘uqūl fī sharḥ akhbār āl rasūl* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1983),12:13.

³⁵⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 5:508.

³⁵⁷ Mahmoud Ayoub, “Divine Preordination and Human Hope: A Study of the Concept of *Badā’* in Imāmī Shī‘ī Tradition” *JOAS* 106:4 (Ann Arbor, MI: 1986), 630.

have attempted to resolve this seeming theological conundrum in a number of ways but have come to a consensus that to believe that there can be no change in destiny would deprive a person of God's mercy and would result in despair in their ever being a miraculous change in life circumstances.³⁵⁸

While the Qur'an bemoans the supplication of "temporary believers" they may still benefit from God's response and divine assistance, whereas the Qur'an condemns to perdition the supplication of unbelievers (*al-kāfirūn*).³⁵⁹ An example of this can be seen in Qur'an 35:14 and 13:14:

If you supplicate to them they shall not hear your supplication and even if they could hear you they cannot respond to your supplication (*mā astjābū la-kum*) and on the Day of Judgement they will disown your partnership (with them). None can inform you like the One who is all aware.³⁶⁰

To Him is due the true supplication, and those who call upon other than Him, they do not answer them in any form (*lā yastajībūna la-hum bi-shay'in*) except it is like someone who stretches out his hand towards water so that it shall reach his mouth, but it does not reach it. And the supplication (*du'ā'*) of unbelievers (*al-kāfirīn*) is naught but misguided.³⁶¹

It is evident from the above verses and the respective contexts that these verses most likely refer to the Meccan polytheists for whom the Qur'an reserves special disdain. This disdain is particularly poignant since they are denied any hope in having their prayers answered due to

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ At this juncture, I will not venture to speculate as to which specific religious groups would fall under this category as that is an exercise fraught with hermeneutical difficulties, nor is it the objective of the study at hand. I have chosen to translate *kāfirūn* as "non-believers" in a general sense as will become evident from the Qur'anic texts cited.

³⁶⁰ Qur'an 35:14

³⁶¹ Qur'an 13:14. *Al-Kāfirūn* may also be translated as ungrateful and *kufir* as ingratitude since both are attributes of disbelief or a rejection of God's bounty by believing in one's own self-sufficiency whether it be in the form of faith or worldly sustenance. See: Marilyn Robinson Waldman, "Development of the Concept of *Kufir* in the Qur'ān" *Journal of The American Oriental Society*, 88:3 (1968), 445.

their polytheism. In fact there is a tenor of finality echoed in these verses that, so long as they do not adopt what is envisioned by the Qur'an to be an acceptable form of belief. In the absence of firm belief, their act of supplicating to their "false" deities is nothing but a mirage and an act of self-delusion. Furthermore, considering the importance placed upon supplication and the promised response on the part of God even for those of mediocre religiosity, statements such as "the supplication of the unbelievers is naught but misguided," are of profound theological importance. The uncompromising tenor of the verse is reflective of the broader Qur'anic narrative that salvation lies in accepting the one true God, and anything short of that is akin to error and warrants damnation. Thus, the perpetually false prayer is part of the Qur'an's conception of the tragedy of disbelief.

The above introduction to the place of *du'ā'* in the Qur'an is key to understanding the role it occupies in Muslim devotional life. As Tilman Nagel has aptly pointed out, prayer is one of the most encountered genres in the Qur'an.³⁶² These prayers are at times solitary units and at times woven into a narrative fabric within the Qur'anic corpus. Many of these prayers are supplications of petitions and complaints followed by penitence most often in the form of a conversation with God.³⁶³ We shall now see, in the case of *Du'ā' Kumayl*, that the Qur'anic *Weltanschauung*, especially in the case of prayer and its function, is a discernable trope throughout the supplication.

³⁶² Samji, 36.

³⁶³ A comprehensive typology of the types of prayer in the Qur'an can be found in Karim Samji, *The Qur'ān: A Form-Critical History* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 54-83.

Chapter Three

The Supplication of Kumayl b. Ziyād as a Source of Shī'ī Piety and Devotion

This chapter seeks to examine the historical markers of this supplication and to explore some of its philosophical aspects with respect to the religious worldview(s) it may seek to convey. The supplication has been ascribed by Twelver Shī'īs to the first Imām, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Contemporary Shī'īs of varying linguistic-cultural backgrounds tend to recite this prayer in their homes and places of congregation as a part of their weekly Thursday night religious programs.³⁶⁴

There are currently three academic studies of *Du'ā' Kumayl*.³⁶⁵ The first of them is an article by Gabriele Rebecchi, in which the author includes a brief biography of Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'ī and one key thematic note regarding the impermanence of all suffering except for the fire of Hell, as illustrated in the *du'ā'*.³⁶⁶ The aim of the Rebecchi article is not to be a comprehensive thematic study but rather a translation from Italian of the supplication. The second article focuses on a discussion of how the prayer was used and included in mourning ceremonies for the late Āyat Allāh Khomeini in post-revolutionary Iran, in addition to including a complete French translation of the *du'ā'*.³⁶⁷ Lastly, the most recent study of *Du'ā' Kumayl* can be found in Reza Shah-Kazemi's study of the life of 'Alī. In this regard, Shah-Kazemi makes brief

³⁶⁴ In my travels across parts of Europe, North America, the Middle East, and South Asia I can certainly remark that this prayer is commonly known by both specialists and non-specialists alike in the Shī'ī community insofar as I have witnessed its performance on Thursday evenings in every community that I have visited, including in the United Kingdom, Denmark, Canada, United States, France, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, India, and Pakistan. This information can also be easily gleaned from a Google and You Tube search. Thursday nights are considered to be sacred since it is the eve of the Friday (the holiest day of the week), hence the entire period from sunset Thursday until Friday sunset is deemed to be especially auspicious. The Islamic day begins at sunset, so Friday really starts on Thursday evening.

³⁶⁵ By the term "academic" I am referring to those studies published in peer reviewed journals and by academic publishers. That is not to negate the copious scholarship that is written outside of this platform.

³⁶⁶ Gabriele Rebecchi, "La preghiera di Kumayl ibn Ziyād."

³⁶⁷ Denise Aigle, "Le symbolisme religieux šī'ite dans l'éloge funèbre de l'imām Khomeyni" *Arabica* 41:1 (1994), 59-83.

mention of the supplication in relation to the incessant and God-inspired remembrance (*dhikr*) of God.³⁶⁸ All three of these studies are very limited in their scope and do not focus upon the manuscript history, or Qur'anic and other mystical-theological themes which permeate the prayer, such as the immanence of God, spiritual psychology, suffering, and love. While keeping in mind the aforementioned historically contingent themes, the broader objective of this chapter is to uncover the envisioned dialogical narrative between the supplicant and God in which the beseecher embarks upon a tumultuous journey of the "self" (*nafs*) which strives to unleash itself from the shackles of spiritual poverty beset with sin (*dhunūb*) and self-delusion (*ghurūr*) and instead to hasten upwards towards *ma'rifa* (cognizance) of God in His sheer transcendent oneness, to be brought nigh into the presence of His expansive mercy (*al-rahma al-wāsi'a*) and love (*al-ḥubb*). Thus, the prayer could certainly be described as a "sacred" lesson in devotional theology in which 'Alī, by applying these lessons to himself, taught the "seekers" how to "express their deepest feelings and to find words to describe their embattled state of lament and hope before God."³⁶⁹

This interplay and braiding of concerns is not something unique to this supplication. Sam Gill correctly demonstrates that, often, prayers, due to the materials available to us, tend to be approached as texts. Gill goes further to add that these texts include within them an eclectic array of "theological, doctrinal, cultural, historical, aesthetic and creedal dimensions of a religious

³⁶⁸ Reza Shah-Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance: Introducing the Spirituality of Imām 'Alī* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 157-158.

³⁶⁹ By the 5th/11th century this prayer was included in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's devotional manual at which point there was near unanimity among Twelver Shī'ī scholars regarding the '*iṣmā*' or infallibility of the Prophet and the *ahl al-bayt* (the People of the House) which include Fāṭima and the twelve Shī'ī Imāms. Thus, it would not be overly ambitious to describe this prayer as constituting a source of sacred or divinely inspired knowledge for those Shī'īs who adhere to the doctrine of infallibility. See Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 76-82.

culture.”³⁷⁰ The premise of this dissertation is that *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* is a genre of religious text which can be subject to a host of inquiries and thematic divisions, which is similar to the approach of Constance Padwick in her classical work on Muslim devotions or more generally the study of the Psalms.

3.1 The textual history of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*: its attribution and implications

As mentioned, the prayer can be found in the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutaḥajjid* of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, which currently is the earliest surviving extant Shī‘ī prayer manual dating back to the formative period of Twelver Shī‘ism during the early 5th/11th century. This version of the text would become the source for later transmissions of the *du‘ā’*. *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* can be found in the MS no. 8822 copied in the 502/1108 manuscript currently housed in the Raḍawiyya Library in Mashhad, Iran.³⁷¹ Furthermore, aside from a few minor orthographical differences there is no significant textual divergence in the supplication as found in a multitude of devotional manuals from the 5th/10th century up to and including the most famous, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*, as compiled by ‘Abbās al-Qummī.³⁷²

The continuous post-al-Ṭūsī transmission, in addition to the textual congruity of the *du‘ā’*, stems from the fact that it is considered by Shī‘ī authorities to be *ma‘thūr* (inherited from the

³⁷⁰ Gill, “Prayer,” in *EIR*, 11: 7367-7372; Gregory D. Alles, “Prayer: Religious Studies,” in *Religion Past and Present*, last accessed 15 May 2019, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/religion-past-and-present/prayer-COM_08151?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.religion-past-and-present&s.q=prayer%3A.

³⁷¹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutaḥajjid*, MS no. 8822, al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya, Mashhad, folios 324-334.

³⁷² The following in chronological order are the post-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī sources in which *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* can be currently found: ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bāqī al-Qurashī al-Ḥillī (Ibn Bāqī), *Ikhtiyār al-miṣbāḥ al-kabīr* (Qum: Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī, 2010), 2:346-353. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *lqbāl al-a‘māl*, 220-225; *Jamāl al-‘usbū‘ bi-kamāl al-‘amal al-mashrū‘* (Qum: Dār al-Rādī, 1991), 542-552; Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-‘Āmilī al-Kaf‘amī, *Balad al-amīn wa dur‘ al-ḥaṣīn*, 188-191, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī al-ad‘iya wa-l-ṣalawāt*, 555-560. The following sources also include the *du‘ā’* but their transmissions are either from al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ* or Ibn Ṭāwūs’s *lqbāl*. Cf. Muḥsin Fayḍ Kashānī, *Dhari‘at al-ḍirā‘a fī jam‘ al-ad‘iya* (Qum: Madrasa Shahīd Muṭahharī, 2008), 178-185. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Zād al-ma‘ād*, 60-65; ‘Abbās al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*, 106-112.

Imām). In being so, it acquired a sacred status similar to that of a famous ḥadīth or even the Qur'an itself in Shī'ī communal memory. This aura of sacredness is also related to the fact that it is listed by al-Ṭūsī as being among the supplications to be performed on the eve of the fifteenth of Sha'bān.³⁷³ According to both Shī'ī and Sunnī traditions, the eve of the fifteenth of Sha'bān is among the most sacred nights in the Muslim calendar which is rendered further sacred due to it being the birthday of the Twelfth Shī'ī Imām, the Mahdī and awaited saviour. Al-Ṭūsī includes the following tradition as a preamble to the listed devotional acts prescribed for this night, in which the sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, states that upon making intimate advances towards Muḥammad, 'Ā'isha (the wife of the Prophet) was scolded by Muḥammad who said:

What is this sighing (*al-naḥas al-'ālī*)? Do you not know what the eve of the fifteenth of Sha'bān is? In it [this night] sustenance is apportioned (*tuqasimu al-arzāq*), and in it [this night] life spans are determined (*tuktabu al-ājāl*), (as is) the arrival of the *ḥājjī* (pilgrim to Mecca), for God shall extend more forgiveness to His creation than the number of hairs (on) the goats of the (tribe of) Kalb.³⁷⁴ And God causes Angels to descend from the skies to Mecca.³⁷⁵

As for *Du'ā' Kumayl*, there are two alternative narratives regarding the circumstances in which the *du'ā'* was taught to Kumayl, the first being a short ḥadīth provided by al-Ṭūsī and the second, a lengthier *riwāya* related by Ibn Ṭāwūs. Both narratives have certain theological

³⁷³ Sha'bān is the eighth month of the Islamic lunar year. It is considered to be a holy month by both Shī'ī and Sunnī Muslims. See A.J. Wensinck, "Sha'bān," in *EI2*. For a Shī'ī discussion regarding the importance of this month, see 'Abbās al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*, 225.

³⁷⁴ The number of hairs on the goats of the Kalb refers to the prominent Kalb tribe who apparently owned many goats. See Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī, *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn fī sharḥ man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh* (Qum: Koushanpour Islamic Institute, 1985), 3:267.

³⁷⁵ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahhajid*, 2:842. For a similar report attributed exclusively to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, albeit without any details related to 'Ā'isha, cf. al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*, 2:94. Also, there is a similar Sunnī ḥadīth in which 'Ā'isha goes out to look for the Prophet while being under the impression that he is visiting his other wives, at which point she finds him in the Baqī' cemetery and he informs her regarding the importance of the eve of the fifteenth of Sha'bān. Cf. Abū 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī [d.279/892], *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996), 2:108.

implications. I will present a translation of both and then proceed to discuss them. The narration has been mentioned by al-Ṭūsī as a simple introductory preamble to the *du‘ā* itself. The narration is as follows: “It has been reported (*ruwiya*) that Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha‘ī saw Amīr al-Mu‘minīn (‘Alī) prostrating and supplicating (*yad‘ū bi-hadhā al-du‘ā*) on the eve of the fifteenth of Sha‘bān.”³⁷⁶ While also including the first report, Ibn Ṭāwūs mentions the second one, not found in al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ*. Ibn Ṭāwūs relates that according to an alternative report, Kumayl b. Ziyād was with ‘Alī at the mosque of Basra and accompanying them were a group of ‘Alī’s companions, at which point some of them asked him to comment upon Qur’an 44:4, which states: “in it (this night) is made distinct every affair of wisdom.”³⁷⁷ ‘Alī then proceeds to elucidate that this verse refers to the eve of the fifteenth of Sha‘bān and he goes on to emphasize that what is destined of good and evil is determined for God’s slave (*‘abd*) in this night, for the period of one full year. He then expands further by saying: “There is no slave (of God) who stays awake in this night and supplicates with the prayer of al-Khiḍr (*bi-du‘ā’ al-Khiḍr*) except that he shall receive a response (to his supplication).” Kumayl then relates that he left ‘Alī’s presence only to meet him later that same evening whereupon ‘Alī asked Kumayl: “What brings you O Kumayl?” Kumayl responds: “The *du‘ā* of al-Khiḍr.” ‘Alī then says:

Sit O Kumayl! Upon memorizing this *du‘ā* supplicate by it on the eve of every Friday, or once a month, or once a year, or once in your lifetime. (By it) you will be protected (*takafa*), be given assistance (*tunṣiru*), and bestowed with sustenance (*turziqū*). And forgiveness (*al-maghfira*) shall never abate. O Kumayl! You have been granted a prolonged companionship with us (*tūl al-ṣuḥba lanā*); thus we have generously granted you what you have asked (*najūda la-ka bi-mā sa’alta*).³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:844. Ibn Ṭāwūs includes the same report *verbatim* while also confirming that it is based on an *isnād* going back to his grandfather, Abī Ja‘far al-Ṭūsī, cf. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-‘amāl*, 220.

³⁷⁷ The Arabic reads as follows: “*fihā yufraqu kullu amrin ḥakīm.*” See Qur’an 44:4.

³⁷⁸ The earliest known text in which this report can be found is Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-‘amāl*, 220.

The first evident contrast between the earlier al-Ṭūsī report and the later one provided by Ibn Ṭāwūs is that the attribution of the *du‘ā’* itself is in question. According to the first narration from al-Ṭūsī, there is no mention of ‘Alī attributing this *du‘ā’* to al-Khiḍr; rather, it simply states that Kumayl observed ‘Alī reciting these words. However, even this assertion is not entirely clear for the reason that both the ‘Alī Aṣghar Mawārīd and the Shaykh Ḥusayn al-A‘lamī published editions of the *Miṣbāḥ* include the following subtitle preceding the short narration and the *du‘ā’* itself: “An additional supplication (for the fifteenth night of Sha‘bān), and it is the supplication of al-Khiḍr.”³⁷⁹ Upon analysis of four separate manuscripts of the *Miṣbāḥ*, it is most probable that this subtitle has been included by way of a marginal note (*ḥāshiyā*) not included in the original text of the *Miṣbāḥ*, neither in the form of a subheading nor as a part of the *riwāya*. This would explain why both editors include the attribution to al-Khiḍr by way of a somewhat misleading subheading and not in the actual text.³⁸⁰ Furthermore, in both of al-Kaf‘amī’s devotional works, he cites *verbatim* the identical narration found in the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Ṭūsī without any mention of al-Khiḍr.³⁸¹ As for al-Khiḍr, the lore surrounding his persona is extensive. According to al-Ṭabarī

³⁷⁹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, ed. ‘Alī Aṣghar Mawārīd, (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-A‘lamī li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 2004), 2:844; al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, ed. Shaykh al-Ḥusayn al-A‘lamī (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-A‘lamī li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 2004), 584.

³⁸⁰ In addition to the MS no. 8822, the following three manuscripts make no mention of al-Khiḍr either in the form of a marginal note or in the text itself: Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, “*Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*” (copied in 1086/1675), MS no. 5966, Kāshif al-Ghiṭā Foundation Library, Najaf; “*Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*” (copied in 1308/1891), MS no. 6705, Kāshif al-Ghiṭā Foundation Library, Najaf. The next two only include reference to al-Khiḍr by way of a marginal note: “*Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*” (copied in 1095/1684), MS no. 3/4/333, Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Library, Najaf; *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (lithograph edition) introduced by Ismā‘īl Anṣārī (Beirut, 1981), 774. Lastly, the only manuscript of the *Miṣbāḥ* that is in my possession which attributes the prayer to al-Khiḍr directly in the text is “*Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-kabīr*” (copied in 1105/1694), MS no. 2/4/157, Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Library, Najaf. This manuscript does attribute the *du‘ā’* to al-Khiḍr by prefacing the common narration found in the *Miṣbāḥ* with the following: “*Du‘ā’ Ākhir li-l-Khiḍr*” and then it goes on to state “it has been reported that Kumayl b. Ziyād saw the Commander of the Faithful . . .”

³⁸¹ Al-Kaf‘amī, *Balad al-amīn*, 188; *Miṣbāḥ min al-ad‘iyya*, 555. Alternatively, if al-Ṭūsī had in fact attributed the *du‘ā’* to al-Khiḍr, al-Kaf‘amī may have chosen to ignore this attribution and limit himself to what was mentioned in the narration alone.

he was a contemporary of Abraham or even Alexander. Nevertheless, the Shī'ī and Sunnī tradition has ascribed him a seeming immortal life span such that he would be able to interact with and inspire later prophets and saints.³⁸² There exists debate as to whether he can be considered a prophet or a saint (*walī*). Either way he has been ascribed divinely inspired knowledge as per Qur'an, 59-81 in which Moses is baffled by his actions only to eventually be humbled by al-Khiḍr's superior insight which Moses could not perceive throughout their encounter. As a result, Muslim tradition has viewed al-Khiḍr as a sage even for Moses who is among the most prominent prophetic figures in the Qur'an. Al-Khiḍr's supernatural life span accompanied with his extraordinary knowledge in Muslim legend allows him to play a continued role in the dissemination of religious guidance as per the example of *Du'ā' Kumayl*. Furthermore, al-Khiḍr's inclusion in the *Du'ā' Kumayl* narrative by Ibn Ṭāwūs serves to reiterate Ibn Ṭāwūs's esoteric and or Sufi-like proclivities.

The question which remains is: what would be the significance of the *du'ā'* being attributed to al-Khiḍr? The early Shī'ī ḥadīth collections are replete with traditions indicating that the Imāms – and especially 'Alī himself – had met al-Khiḍr on multiple occasions; however, during each instance, 'Alī and his children have been presented as a source of knowledge for al-Khiḍr. The nature of these reports indicates that traditionists such as al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, Aḥmad al-Barqī, and al-Kulaynī, posit *via* ḥadīth that the Imāms possess a rank (*maqām*) superior to that of the prophets.³⁸³ However, according to later rationalist theologians such as Shaykh al-Mufīd,

³⁸² A.J. Wensinck, "al-Khaḍir" *EI2*.

³⁸³ Al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī has included an entire section entitled: "A chapter in which the Imāms are superior to Moses and al-Khiḍr (*bāb fī a'imma afḍal min Mūsā wa-l-Khiḍr*). Among the numerous traditions cited in this chapter, al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī *via* his chain of transmission, reports that Ja'far al-Ṣādiq exclaimed that Moses was confronted with a question from the scholar (*al-'ālim*) to which he did not have an answer and likewise Moses also asked this scholar a question to which the scholar in question neither had an answer. Al-Ṣādiq then states that: "if only I was with them both, I would have provided them both with an answer." See al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt fī faḍā'il Āl*

there is no definite evidence that indicates that the Imāms are in fact superior to the prophets, although it would seem that he nonetheless “cautiously inclined” towards the latter.³⁸⁴ What does this say about charges of *ghuluww* in general? Further to this point, there is a Shī‘ī ḥadīth tradition that on at least one occasion ‘Alī is said to have been instructed by al-Khiḍr. According to the narration found in al-Ṣadūq’s *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, prior to the battle of Badr, al-Khiḍr appeared to ‘Alī in his dream, and ‘Alī requested al-Khiḍr to teach him something that will grant him victory over the enemies.³⁸⁵ Al-Khiḍr then taught him the following invocation: “*yā hūwa man lā hūwa illa hūwa*” (“O He whom there is no He aside He”). Upon informing Muḥammad of his dream, ‘Alī was told that al-Khiḍr had taught him the greatest name (*al-ism al-a‘ẓam*).³⁸⁶

While such cases are rare in the Shī‘ī ḥadīth literature, it stands to reason that for some, including Ibn Ṭāwūs, the *du‘ā* may have been among the many things taught to ‘Alī by al-Khiḍr which is indicative according to Shī‘ī myth of ‘Alī’s access to extraordinary esoteric knowledge not

Muḥammad (Qum: Manshūrāt Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar‘ashī al-Najafī, 1987), 229-230. Furthermore, al-Barqī and al-Kulaynī include a tradition in which al-Ṣādiq relates a story in which ‘Alī and his son al-Ḥasan encounter a man in the mosque of Basra inquiring about matters pertaining to the state of the soul (*al-rūh*) during sleep among other questions pertaining to remembrance (*al-dhikr*) and forgetfulness (*al-nisyān*), at which point ‘Alī turns to al-Ḥasan to answer the queries. Al-Ḥasan proceeds to provide detailed answers to all of these questions. Al-Ṣādiq was then asked: “Who was that man?” to which he replied: “al-Khiḍr.” This report is found throughout the Shī‘ī ḥadīth collections. See Aḥmad al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsīn* (Qum: Majma‘ al-‘Ālimī li-Ahl al-Bayt, 2011), 59-60; cf. al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:261; Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd al-‘Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr al-‘ayyāshī*, 1:30.

³⁸⁴ Al-Mufīd also asserts that the traditions claiming that the Imāms are superior to the Prophets are by no means consistent, and as per his estimation there are traditions which claim the converse position. For a discussion regarding al-Mufīd’s beliefs on this issue see *Awā‘il al-maqālāt* as cited by Martin J. McDermot, *The Theology of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd* (Beirut: Dār el-Machreq, 1978), 106.

³⁸⁵ This report is *mursal*, that is, its chain of transmission is incomplete, thus, for some Shī‘ī scholars it may lack probative value. See al-Ṣadūq, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, ed. Ḥusaynī Hāshim (Qum: Jāmi‘at al-Mudarisīn, 1977), 89.

³⁸⁶ Ibid. This refers to the greatest name of God (*al-ism al-a‘ẓam*), often described as a divinely ordained secret which, when chanted, can invoke divine assistance. There is much lore as to who or what this greatest name is and how it may or may not be used ever since it was given by God to Adam. See al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsīn*, 1:235; al-‘Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, 1:306. In another tradition Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq states that the greatest name of God (*ismu allāh al-a‘ẓam*) is made up of seventy-three letters of which the Fourteen Infallibles possess seventy-two of those letters with the last of the letters only being known by God. See al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:571. Shī‘ī ḥadīth claims that the Imāms inherited the greatest name of God from the Prophet and thus it remains with them or in the case above, ‘Alī was taught the greatest name by al-Khiḍr. Cf. Ibid, 1:568-570.

only from Muḥammad but also from al-Khiḍr. The episode in question as well as the attribution of the supplication to al-Khiḍr, may indicate by way of textual evidence a belief in the spiritual inferiority of ‘Alī to al-Khiḍr since al-Khiḍr figures as a teacher to ‘Alī as he was to Moses. Hence, the attribution of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* to al-Khiḍr by ‘Alī’s own account adds another layer to the lore and legend which surrounds this mysterious prophetic-like interlocutor who, according to some Muslim myths, has been alive since Biblical times, if not earlier as an eternal spiritual entity; interacting, learning from, and guiding various saints and prophets.³⁸⁷

Lastly, both the al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Ṭāwūs narrations glaringly lack any chain of transmission (*isnād*) in turn leaving us with no information whatsoever regarding how al-Ṭūsī or Ibn Ṭāwūs came upon this *du‘ā’*. That being said, there is an untitled *du‘ā’* of striking similarity to *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* attributed to ‘Alī by the early Sunnī traditionist, Ibn Abī Shayba (d.235/849), with an accompanying chain of transmission.³⁸⁸ The chain of transmission and narration is as follows:

Ibn Abī Shayba > Abū Khālīd al-Aḥmar (d.189/204) > Ḥajjāj (alive during 144/761) > al-Walīd b. Abī al-Walīd (lived circa early to mid-1st/7th century) > his source (‘*amman ḥaddathahu*) > (from) ‘Alī that he uttered in his supplication (*fī du‘ā’ihi*): “O God I ask you by your mercy which encompasses everything . . .”

Abū Khālīd al-Aḥmar, al-Walīd b. Abī al-Walī, and Ḥajjāj are deemed to be eminent narrators of ḥadīth in the Sunnī tradition.³⁸⁹ In the case of Abū Khālīd al-Aḥmar (d.189/804), he was a reputable teacher of Ibn Abī Shayba as well as a contemporary of the Abbasid caliph, Hārūn al-

³⁸⁷ Cf. John Renard, “Khiḍr” in *EQ*; Patrick Franke, *Begegnung mit Khidr: Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam* (Beirut: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1999).

³⁸⁸ His full name is Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Absī al-Kūfī. He was a famous Kufan traditionist whose *Kitāb al-muṣannaf* is among the earliest extant Sunnī ḥadīth compilations. See Charles Pellat, “Ibn Abī Shayba,” in *EI2*.

³⁸⁹ Ḥajjāj here should not be confused with the famous Umayyad governor, al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (d. 95/714).

Rashīd.³⁹⁰ Ibn Sa‘d (d.230/845) describes him as “trustworthy” (*thiqa*) and a narrator of numerous ḥadīth as is evidenced by the number of *isnāds* in which he is found.³⁹¹ Thereafter is Ḥajjāj, whose full name is Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad al-A‘war, and is described by his famous student, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d.245/859) with the extraordinary attribute of being the “most authentic (*aṣaḥḥ*)” of ḥadīth transmitters.³⁹² Ḥajjāj’s source for the supplication was al-Walīd b. Abī al-Walīd who was a client (*mawlā*) of the third caliph, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (d.35/656) from whom he heard traditions (*sami‘a min ‘Uthmān*) among others including ‘Abd Allāh b. Mughīth, and Sulaymān b. Khārija. He belonged to the generation which includes the various children of prophetic companions such as al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī and Ṭalha b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. In fact, Ibn Abī Khuthayma lists him among those who saw the Prophet, although he would have been a young child at the time. Lastly, we are unsure as to who his source was as it is simply written as “from who informed him (*‘amman ḥaddathahu*).” However, considering that he was well placed to narrate traditions from any number of prominent early Muslims, including companions of the Prophet, it would be reasonable to assume that any of his numerous interlocutors would have encountered ‘Alī at some point in order to narrate this supplication from him. These transmission details indicate that this supplication was attested to in early Muslim memory as it has been related not only by one of the earliest 3rd/9th century Sunnī traditionists but also the personalities mentioned in the chain of transmission were reputable narrators whose biographies are well established in various bio-bibliographical collections.

³⁹⁰ Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar was the client (*mawlā*) of Banī Ja‘far b. Kilāb. A client was a non-Arab freedman whose belonging or membership in the Muslim community was certified through his connection with a recognized Arab tribe. In this case his patronage was through the Banī Ja‘far al-Kilāb tribe in Kufa. See Patricia Crone, “Mawlā,” in *EI2*.

³⁹¹ Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 6:363.

³⁹² Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* (Beirut: Risāla Publishers, 2014), 9:448.

Furthermore, the wording and its respective phrasal sequence is glaringly similar to the opening lines of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* which focus on God’s attributes and the forgiveness of sins. It is therefore probable that the longer supplication attributed to ‘Alī as transmitted by al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Ṭāwūs was based on a much earlier tradition and had its origins in sources that predated al-Ṭūsī by at least two centuries. We are therefore confronted with two possibilities, which are that either the short excerpt as found in the *Muṣannaḥ* of Ibn Abī Shayba was in fact the original text that was later creatively expanded into what would be known as *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* or that Ibn Abī Shayba and his sources only provided a sample of the longer supplication which has been transmitted “seemingly” in full by al-Ṭūsī in his *Miṣbāḥ*. As mentioned, the first possibility would imply that there were multiple authors; however, upon examining the contents of the longer version and the general flow of the text, it is hard to detect the contributions of a secondary author or multiple authors. Secondly, when the flow of the text and its content is taken into consideration in relation to other supplications attributed to ‘Alī such as the *Munājāt al-sha‘bāniyya* (The Whispered/Intimate Prayer of Sha‘bān), *Munājāt Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* (The Whispered/Intimate Prayer of The Commander of the Faithful), and *Du‘ā’ al-ṣabāḥ* (The Morning Supplication) it would indicate that it fits a general type of supplication that has been attributed to ‘Alī. Whether these supplications originated with ‘Alī or not cannot be proven for certain; however, Shī‘ī communal memory has associated this genre of supplication with the person of ‘Alī. The vast majority of these supplications attributed to ‘Alī focus on the transcendence and immanence of God combined with an intense process of self- introspection lamenting over the self, followed by an upwards turn towards salvation and a return to the Beloved all of which are topics shared by both Shī‘ism and Sufism. Therefore, it would indicate that within both Sunnī (as

seen in the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba), and especially Shī'ī memory, this supplication or at least a portion of it has been famously associated with 'Alī as evidenced by a 3rd/9th century chain of transmission.

It is also possible that the supplication transmitted by Ibn Abī Shayba is a different text altogether but considering the nearly identical resemblance between it and the opening lines of *Du'ā' Kumayl*, this may be unlikely. In light of all of the above factors, we can ascertain that at least a section of *Du'ā' Kumayl* as transmitted by al-Ṭūsī and later by Ibn Ṭāwūs was well attested in one of the earliest sources of the ḥadīth which coincided with the formative period of formal ḥadīth compilation during 3rd/9th century. Lastly, it would not be unusual whatsoever for this to be attested in a Sunnī source since 'Alī, at least by the 3rd/9th century, was a figure of universal admiration among Muslims and the rift between Sunni and Shī'ī had yet to be fully articulated by Muslim scholars.³⁹³ Lastly, as will be demonstrated below, the contents of this supplication are not at all sectarian (despite its inclusion in a Shī'ī liturgical manual) and would have been perfectly acceptable as a source of devotional piety by Muslims of multiple doctrinal persuasions.

As for the lengthy supplication transmitted by both al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Ṭāwūs, there is a conspicuous absence of any chain of authority aside from simply stating that “it has been reported” – in the passive tense (*ruwiya*) – that Kumayl saw 'Alī reciting this supplication, which leaves the textual historian with little recourse except to say that the supplication has been

³⁹³ This rift would finally be cemented under the influence of al-Ṭūsī who compiled the last two of the four most well-known Shī'ī ḥadīth texts and succeeded al-Murtaḍā as the leader of the Shī'īs of Baghdad. As it has been demonstrated, al-Ṭūsī's leadership came at a time when the Shī'ī community and al-Ṭūsī himself were besieged by both Sunnīs and other competing Shī'ī sects. Consequently, the inclusion of *Du'ā' Kumayl* in the *Miṣbāḥ* would go on to become an identity marker for the Shī'ī community by its virtue of its inclusion in al-Ṭūsī's first liturgical manual compiled for the Shī'ī community.

attributed with no supporting evidence mentioned or, alternatively, the supporting evidence (a chain of authorities attesting to the veracity of the report) never existed to begin with. Even if it can be assumed that al-Ṭūsī would have included the *du‘ā’* based on what he deemed to be a credible source, this source is no longer extant and as a result we are left exclusively with al-Ṭūsī’s and Ibn Ṭāwūs’ claims.

Does the lack of a chain of transmission or any cited source material imply that this *du‘ā’* would be an inferior genre of literature attributed to the Prophet and the Imāms? Furthermore, would this textual inferiority diminish its probative value (*ḥujjiya*) or reliability (*‘itibār*) as a source of religious education for Shī‘īs? It would reason that the Shī‘ī world does not think so as is evident by its recitation and performance across geographical boundaries without any objection from the Shī‘ī clergy. Rather, its performance can certainly be described as a rite of passage for Shī‘ī devout who would have had greater exposure to this supplications than any other simply by virtue of its weekly recitation. We are however unsure as to when this practice became commonplace but its recommendation to be recited on Thursday evenings can be traced by to the report from Ibn Ṭāwūs. Therefore it can be surmised that as the liturgical works of Ibn Ṭāwūs became widespread and supported by Shī‘ī religious authorities (by means of sermons and later devotional compilations) so to would have the recommendation to recite this particular supplication on Thursday evenings.

3.2 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Kumayl b. Ziyād in the Shī‘ī tradition

At this juncture, when approaching the biography of either ‘Alī or Kumayl, or for that matter any figure from the early period of Islam, I should emphasize that my intention is not to sort historical fact from fiction, but rather, I am approaching the sources in order to discover

what it is that Muslims may or may not have believed regarding these individuals. The historical details, especially, of the first decades of Islam are mired in an abyss of competing partisan claims which in turn make many of the sources “tendentious,” especially since both these figures lie at the heart of competing sectarian reconstructions of an idealized past.³⁹⁴

The figure of ‘Alī requires minimal introduction except to reiterate that he is revered by all Muslims regardless of their sectarian persuasion. For Shī‘īs, he is the first Imām and successor to Muḥammad who also inherited Muḥammad’s spiritual-religious charisma and as Reza Shah-Kazemi aptly states: “‘Alī lived physically in the shadow of the Prophet and absorbed spiritually all that radiated from him.”³⁹⁵ For the Sufi tradition, ‘Alī is the fourth of the rightly guided caliphs and the inheritor of Muḥammad’s esoteric knowledge.³⁹⁶ In either case, ‘Alī is a figure of immeasurable importance to the history of Islamic spirituality and its myth of origins as it pertains to the development of Shī‘ism, Sufism, and non-Sufi Sunnī Islam.³⁹⁷ As for Kumayl b. Ziyād, there exists a striking paucity of academic literature about him. For the purpose of clarity we can divide our approach to his biography and legacy into two parts, the first being an examination of early historiographical and prosopographical works; the second being aspects of his life as can be

³⁹⁴ The inspiration for this description of the pitfalls in a historical study of early Muslim figures originated from my reading of Suleiman Ali Mourad’s work on al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/728). See Suleiman Ali Mourad, *Early Islam Between Myth and History al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and His Legacy in Classical Islamic Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill Publications, 2006), 4-16. I have partially relied upon the wording of L. Veccia Vaglieri, “‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,” in *EI2*. From my perspective, this is what perhaps divides an insider’s emic approach to the formative texts of Islamic thought from that of an outsider’s etic approach that ideally has no vested theological interest in discovering and or promoting a particular spiritual or religious truth. Further, I am in no way implying that the sources of early Islam, whether in the form of historiography or ḥadīth have no historical value, for this would assume that the traditional “Western-academic” approach to early Islam has a monopoly over determining what constitutes historical value. Nevertheless, the intention of this chapter is not to uncover a kernel of historical truth but to examine the relevant sources as both products and constructions of Islamic intellectual history.

³⁹⁵ Shah-Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance*, 13.

³⁹⁶ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007 reprint), 27.

³⁹⁷ For an overview of ‘Alī’s legacy in Shī‘ī, Sufi and Sunnī thought see L. Veccia Vaglieri, “‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,” in *EI2*.

gleaned from Shī'ī ḥadīth and Sufi hagiography. The earliest Muslim prosopographer, Ibn Sa'd, lists Kumayl among the *tābi'īn* (followers of the successors of Muḥammad's companions) who fought on the side of 'Alī at the battle of Ṣiffīn and he was well respected and obeyed by his tribe.³⁹⁸ According to al-Ṭabarī, prior to the battle of Ṣiffīn, Kumayl was among the prominent (*ashrāf*) Iraqis of Kufa who detested the rule of 'Uthmān. It is alleged that Kumayl's dislike for 'Uthmān's policies led him to join the uprising against 'Uthmān and he even came to Medina to kill him but only "exchanged blows with the caliph."³⁹⁹ It was during these years that Kumayl found a kindred spirit in Mālik al-Ashtar in their joint attempt to remove 'Uthmān; furthermore, both of these men would become the subject of Shī'ī lore since they formed 'Alī's inner circle as his intimate *shī'a*.⁴⁰⁰ Following the death of 'Alī, Kumayl, along with the assistance of 'Alī's famous supporter, Hijr b. 'Adī (d.50/660), would continue his struggle against the Umayyad leadership of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d.60/680, r. 661-680/41-60). Eventually, Mu'āwiya's enforcer and governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf caught Kumayl and had him executed as an enemy of the State.⁴⁰¹ It is also rather ironic that an earlier version of the supplication has been narrated by

³⁹⁸ Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Qārī al-'Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997), 6: 217. Later biographical sources confirm most of these details. See Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd and 'Alī Muḥammad Ma'ūd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1995), 5:486-487.

³⁹⁹ See the notes of Ella Landau-Tasserson in Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, V.39: Biographies of the Prophets Companions and Their Successors*, translated and annotated by Ella Landau-Tasserson (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), 270. Also see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Beirut: Dār al-Turāth, 1967), 4:366, 403, 404. For a Shī'ī source which mentions that Kumayl was among the group which came to Medina to confront 'Uthmān, see Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal wa-l-nuṣra li-Sayyid al-'itra fī ḥarb al-Baṣra*, ed. 'Alī Mīr Sharīfī (Beirut: Dār al-Mufīd, 1993), 137.

⁴⁰⁰ Henry Corbin refers to Kumayl as 'Alī's *famulus* (personal attendant) hence apart of his inner circle. Cf. Henry Corbin, *En Islam Iranien: L'Ecole d'Ispahan, L'Ecole shaykhie, Le Douzième Imām* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 4:511.

⁴⁰¹ There is currently no *Encyclopaedia Iranica* or *Encyclopaedia of Islam* entry on Kumayl b. Ziyād; thus this short biography is based on an initial venture into the early sources and much work remains to be done in this regard. It should be mentioned that according to a report mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, Kumayl was killed by al-Ḥajjāj's own admission for three reasons: firstly, Kumayl was among the "rebels" who assaulted 'Uthmān; secondly he fought with 'Alī at Qādisiyya against Mu'āwiya; thirdly he joined the revolt of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ash'ath against al-Ḥajjāj b.

the client of ‘Uthmān, al-Walīd b. Abī al-Walīd who would have been acquainted with Kumayl or even perhaps been his adversary considering their opposing allegiances. It is also within the realm of possibility that Kumayl was al-Walīd b. Abī al-Walīd’s unknown source (who is not mentioned in the *sanad* for the supplication in the *Muṣannaḥ* of Ibn Abī Shayba).⁴⁰²

Based on study of early Muslim historiography, Kumayl had all the credentials to become a Shī‘ī hero and martyr *par excellence* in light of his virulent anti-‘Uthmān stance and eventual execution at the order of the arch Shī‘ī nemesis, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. While this may not be the sole reason, it is not surprising to find that the Shī‘ī tradition has constructed a highly mystical profile of Kumayl as being the bearer of ‘Alī’s secrets and esoteric knowledge.⁴⁰³ Among the most famous lessons taught to Kumayl was an incident in which ‘Alī mysteriously takes Kumayl out to a desert graveyard on the outskirts of Kufa and begins to impart counsel to him saying:

O Kumayl b. Ziyād! Truly these hearts are vessels and the best of them are those that hold the most so retain from me that which I say to you. People are divided into three types: a lordly knower (*‘ālim rabbānī*); one who seeks knowledge (*muta‘llim*) for the sake of deliverance and the rabble (*hamaj ra‘ā*) . . .⁴⁰⁴

Yūsuf at the Kufan suburb of al-Jamājim. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 11:664. Also see A. El-Ali Saleh, “Dayr – Djamādjim,” in *EI2*.

⁴⁰² This is possible since they were historical contemporaries and both belonged to the group that succeeded the companions of the Prophet, namely, the *tābī‘īn*.

⁴⁰³ The term “constructed” in this context does not mean “fabricated,” but rather, “produced and composed by the tradition.”

⁴⁰⁴ For a complete translation of this sermon see Shah-Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance*, 36-37. For various sources and versions of this sermon in Shī‘ī ḥadīth literature and historiography see Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī [d.283/896], *al-Ghārāt*, ed. ‘Abd al-Zahrā’ al-Ḥusaynī (Qum: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1989), 1:89-91; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mufīd (Shaykh al-Mufīd), *al-Irshād fī ma‘rifat ḥujaj allāh ‘alā al-‘ibād* (Beirut: Dār al-Mufīd, 1992), 1:227-228; Ibn Shu‘ba Ḥarrānī [d. circa 3rd/10th century], *Tuḥaf al-‘uqūl*, ed. ‘Alī Akbar Ghaffārī (Qum: Jāmi‘at al-Mudarrisīn, 1984), 169-171. This sermon has also been included by the proto-‘Alid historian, al-Ya‘qūbī. See Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb [d. 287/897], *Tārīkh Ya‘qūbī* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 2:205-206. For a Sufi source that includes this sermon with a complete chain of transmission see Abū Nu‘aym al-Ḥafḥānī [d.430/1039], *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1988), 79-80.

The above exchange is one among others found in the Shīʿī tradition indicative of Kumayl’s intimate relationship with ‘Alī.⁴⁰⁵ As a result of this intimate relationship, the Bektāshīyya Sufi order of Turkey and Iran has given a prominent position to Kumayl within their chain of spiritual masters.⁴⁰⁶ This is not unusual since it was the famous theosopher Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (d. after 787/1385) who seems to be the first scholar to place Kumayl in a Sufi *silsila* (spiritual chain of authorities). Al-Āmulī reports that the angel Gabriel placed the *khirqā* (spiritual mantle) on Muḥammad; it was then ‘Alī who was adorned with it by Muḥammad (*labbasahā ‘Alī minhu*), and this chain of transmission would continue to include the twelfth Shīʿī Imām, the promised Mahdī (messiah). Al-Āmulī then says: “As for the authorities (*mashāyikh*): It [the mantle] was taken on from ‘Alī by Uways al-Qaranī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakhaʿī.”⁴⁰⁷ In light of Kumayl’s legacy and place in the sources of Muslim historiography, Shīʿī ḥadīth, and spirituality, it is not surprising to see that he was not only seen to be privy to ‘Alī’s wisdom and spiritual charisma but also his intimate discourse *cum* supplication with God. Among the most famous and oft recited among these supplications is the *du‘ā* of Kumayl.⁴⁰⁸ That being said, the narrations

⁴⁰⁵ The only substantial piece which deals with the legacy of Kumayl b. Ziyād is Gabriele Rebecchi, “La preghiera di Kumayl ibn Ziyād.” In this piece the author insists, based on his analysis of various Shīʿī *rijāl* works, that there is little doubt that Kumayl was among the closest companions of ‘Alī and certainly deemed thoroughly trustworthy by Shīʿīs. See *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayna al-taṣawwuf wa-l-tashayyūʿ* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1969), 255. This Sufi order began as a Sunnī Sufi order which was later influenced by the Qizilbash Shīʿīs of Anatolia who were loyal to the Safavids. The Bektāshīyya went on to become a syncretic Sufi order which included elements of Shīʿī jurisprudence such as the Shīʿī manner of ablution (*wuḍūʿ*). Cf. Hamid Algar, “Bektāshīya” *Eir*.

⁴⁰⁷ See Ḥaydar al-Āmulī, *Muqaddima min naṣ al-nuṣūṣ* (Tehran: Intishārāt Tūs, 1974), 213, 224. Also see Khanjar ‘Alī Ḥamīya, *al-ʿIrfān al-shīʿī: dirāsa fī al-ḥayāt al-rūḥīyya wa-l-fikriyya li-Ḥaydar al-Āmulī* (Beirut: Dār al-Hādī, 2004), 63.

⁴⁰⁸ In addition to *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*, Kumayl is also said to have been taught the Dawn Supplication (*Du‘ā’ al-ṣabāḥ*) by ‘Alī, which is imbued with profound imagery and intimate descriptions of God. This prayer also has its own exegetical tradition. Al-Majlisī remarks that although this supplication is not found in well-known devotional texts it is still famously recited and found in other lesser-known compilations. See Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 84:339-342.

provided by both al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Ṭāwūs do not indicate that the other Imāms or their companions recited this, aside from its attribution to ‘Alī.

3.3 *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*: a textual and thematic study

The objective of this section is to conduct a textual-thematic analysis of the *du‘ā’*. I shall approach this prayer as constituting part of a broader religious imagination in which various myths are expressed, interpreted, and contested. While recognizing the perspective of the “unnamed believer” (as envisioned in the prayer), I am cognizant that the themes in this prayer must be situated within a multi-vocal cumulative tradition of Islamic intellectual history.⁴⁰⁹

There are three key sets of themes that will be examined within the discursive tradition of Islamic and Shī‘ī sources of religiosity and dogma which include: the Qur’an, ḥadīth and theological literature (which developed slightly prior or was contemporaneous to the *Miṣbāḥ*), and lastly the parallel themes found in mystical-theological literature (in the broadest sense), which developed slightly earlier and concurrently with the genesis of al-Ṭūsī’s *Miṣbāḥ*.⁴¹⁰ I have chosen to examine three themes, or stages, in this narrative journey:

1. The sanctification and transcendence of God
2. The nature of sin, confession, and the return to God
3. The language of love and the quest for union with God

⁴⁰⁹ As already stated, the prayer is believed by Shī‘īs to have been taught to Kumayl by ‘Alī who, according to some sources, received it from al-Khiḍr; however, we are not entirely sure as to who the wayfarer precisely is in this prayer – is it ‘Alī himself, Kumayl, or al-Khiḍr? Or is the main character whosoever chooses to enact and recite it, thus ideally transforming into the wayfarer envisioned by this supplication? Perhaps this has been left intentionally ambiguous.

⁴¹⁰ In the absence of any substantial methodological literature on the study of Muslim prayer literature, this dissertation is guided in a general sense by the textual study of the Psalter in which scholars of the Psalms attempt, among other things, to uncover the structure, usage and linguistic-ideological context of these prayers.

The multiplicity of themes in the *du‘ā’* is evidence confirming Constance Padwick’s insightful observation that many “Muslim devotions” have a “mosaic” quality.”⁴¹¹ In the case of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*, its “mosaic” allows the supplicant to traverse from perspective to perspective with each instance describing a different aspect of the God-human relationship.⁴¹² The alternating of perspectives seems to have been purposefully crafted to invoke the supplicant’s deepest imagination of God.⁴¹³

3.3-1 The sanctification and transcendence of God

O God, I ask You by Your mercy, which encompasses all things; and by Your power, with which You subdue all things, and all things are brought low and humbled to it; and by Your omnipotence which prevails over all things; and by Your honor against which nothing can withstand...⁴¹⁴

اللهم إني أسألك برحمتك التي وسعت كل شيء و بقوتك التي قهرت بها كل شيء و
خضع لها كل شيء و ذل لها كل شيء و بجزوتك التي غلبت بها كل شيء و
بعزتك التي لا يقوم لها شيء

According to the excerpt above, ‘Alī begins the *du‘ā’* in typical fashion with an extended description, praise, and sanctification (*taqdīs*) of God, a “doxology”. Many of these opening lines of the supplication can be found attributed nearly *verbatim* to the seventh Imām, al-Kāẓim, and

⁴¹¹ Padwick, xxvii-xxviii.

⁴¹² This analysis was inspired by William Chittick’s informative introduction to *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*. See William C. Chittick, “Translator’s Introduction,” in *Psalms of Islam*, introduced, translated and annotated by William C. Chittick (London: Muhammadi Trust, 1988), xl.

⁴¹³ Ibid, xxvii. This is very similar to the function of many of the Biblical Psalms. See Bellinger Jr., 1-14.

⁴¹⁴ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 2:844. I will be providing brief translations and transliterations in order to give the reader a sample of the *du‘ā’*. However, it should not be misconstrued that I will limit my discussion only to those passages which have been put into block quotations. I have provided the Arabic for excerpts of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* in an effort to convey the rhythmic and noetic tenor of the supplication which can only be appreciated in the original Arabic.

the eighth Imām, al-Riḍā' in pre-Ṭūsī sources as well as in al-Ṭūsī's own ḥadīth compilations.⁴¹⁵ This is indicative of one or more possibilities, the first being that these descriptions of God as used in prayer are formulaic at least within the Shī'ī *du'ā'* tradition, and secondly, for the Shī'ī faithful, this would demonstrate a rather obvious observation that the seventh and eighth Imāms inherited an integrated spiritual tradition from their forefathers, and included within this was the art of speaking to God.⁴¹⁶ The literary wisdom in opening a conversation in such a manner is to set the stage where a lowly subject shall approach the King. As a poetic device, the motif of a radical divide between king and servant instills a sense of awe and wonder in the reader. Lara Harb cites the renowned lexicographer Ibn Manẓūr (d.711/1311-1312) who describes this form of eloquence as having the intended effect of "being in awe of something if its stature is great (*'aẓuma mawqī'uhu*)" hence the supplicant would be made to be humble whilst in a state of awe in the presence of God.⁴¹⁷ The pre requisite humility and reverence required for successful or effective prayer has been referred to by al-Ṣādiq where he has advised the faithful to invoke the various attributes of God as being singular (*aḥad*), the most generous (*ajwad*), and mighty (*'azīz*) prior to requesting the fulfillment of a need (*ḥāja*), for this is how one should approach the *sulṭān* (sovereign).⁴¹⁸ The supplication opens dramatically for this reason in order to create an

⁴¹⁵ There are two stark examples which should be mentioned. The first is a *du'ā'* attributed to al-Kāẓim with a chain of transmission (unlike *Du'ā' Kumayl*), to be recited on the first day of the month of Ramaḍān. See al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 7: 395-396, h.30; al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 3:1060107. The second *du'ā'* attributed to al-Riḍā is a supplication for well-being (*al-'āfiyya*). See al-Ṭūsī, *Ibid*, 3:95.

⁴¹⁶ I should note that the *du'ā'* attributed to Imām al-Kāẓim, unlike Imām al-Riḍā's, is not entirely identical to the text of *Du'ā' Kumayl*. For instance, whereas *Du'ā' Kumayl* reads as "*wa bi-'izzatika allatī lā yaqūmu lahā shay*", the *du'ā'* of al-Kāẓim reads as "*wa bi-'izzatika allatī qaharta kulla shay*" ("by your esteem which subjugates everything"). Also the prepositional pronoun "*bi-hā*" is curiously absent here. The editor of *al-Kāfī* remarks that according to many marginalia (*ḥawāsh*) the supplications include "*bi-hā*" which precedes "*kulla shay*." See al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 7:394, note 13.

⁴¹⁷ Harb, *Arabic Poetics*, 8.

⁴¹⁸ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:475.

immediate sense of God as radically and utterly “other,” and transcendent insofar as all created things, or the stuff of existence, submit before Him. Hence, there is an emphasis throughout the first section of the *du‘ā* that God’s various attributes conquer, fill, and give life and meaning to all created things (“*kullu shay*’), or better put, all existence.

Regarding the statement “*by Your Mercy which encompasses everything,*” it is a slight alteration of Qur’an 7:156: “and My Mercy (*rahmatī*) encompasses everything,” which also happens to be God’s response to the prayer of Moses, who asks God for the good of this world and the next. Numerous Qur’anic allusions of a similar nature can be found throughout the *du‘ā*, perhaps for the simple reason that the Qur’an as God’s revelation to creation is ideally the nucleus of inspiration and standard reference for all Muslims. The free-form usage of Qur’an 7:156 could also be viewed as a form of typological exegesis in which ‘Alī (as is attributed to him by the tradition) in seemingly extemporaneous fashion (while I am sure being fully aware of the immediate Qur’anic context) opens his conversation with God on the eve of the fifteenth of Sha‘bān through an unveiled reference to the supplication of Moses in the Qur’an. ‘Alī’s usage of 7:156 arises out of the typological figuration of the Qur’an. According to Todd Lawson, this form of typology (quoting Northrop Frye) “unites time, harmonizes it, and gathers it together: ‘the type exists in the past and the antitype in the present, or the type exists in the present and the antitype in the future.’”⁴¹⁹ ‘Alī’s recalling of God’s all-pervading mercy emphasizes the importance of mercy (*rahma*) in the Qur’an and Islam as a whole.

⁴¹⁹ Todd Lawson, “Typological Figuration and the Meaning of ‘Spiritual’: The Qur’anic Story of Joseph,” *JOAS* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan, 2012), 132:2, 222.

Rāghib al-Isfahānī has defined the verbal noun “*rahma*” as the act of divine mercy which entails the “extension of *ihsān* (divine goodness) upon the *marḥūm* (the mercified).”⁴²⁰ This *rahma*, which encompasses all things, is intimately linked to God as being *al-Raḥmān* (the Merciful) and al-Ṭūsī remarks that it is the *Raḥmān* who dispenses His *ni‘ma* (bounty), and none else can be given the title *al-Raḥmān*.⁴²¹ When reading the *du‘ā’* within the discursive context of the *Miṣbāḥ* this exclusivity stems from a linguistic conservatism for scholars such as al-Ṭūsī and Rāghib al-Isfahānī that is anchored in a theological preoccupation with ensuring God’s absolute unity at all times and in all expressions. This absolute and essential unity would entail that there can be no Merciful one (or dispenser of divine mercy) except the Divinely Merciful (*lā raḥmān ‘illa al-raḥmān*) in the same manner as one would declare the formal testimony of faith, “there is no god but (the) God” (“*lā ilāha ‘illa allāh*”).⁴²² The lexicographers also tell us that *rahma* is morphologically related to the noun “*raḥim*” (“womb”), which evokes inherent qualities of “motherhood, nurturance, and unconditional love” since both derive from the first form of the trilateral root, *r-ḥ-m*.⁴²³

⁴²⁰ The *marḥūm* is the object of God’s mercy, hence he or she has been mercified. See Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Qur’ān* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-A‘lamī li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 2009), 257-258; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 1:1477.

⁴²¹ See al-Ṭūsī’s commentary on Qur’an 1:1 [“In the name of God the Merciful (*al-raḥmān*), the Compassionate (*al-raḥīm*)”], which, according to Shī‘īs, is the first verse of Qur’an (Al-Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr al-tibyān*, Najaf: Dār al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Ilmiyya, 1957, 1:27-28). The famous lexicographer, Ibn Manẓūr, also makes a similar linguistic-theological comment in his discussion of “*al-raḥmān*”: “*fa al-raḥmān alladhī wasī‘at raḥmatahu kulla shay’ fa-lā yajūz an yuqālu raḥmān li-gharyi allāh*.” See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 1:1478; cf. Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-qur’ān*, 258.

⁴²² Reza Shah-Kazemi also makes mention of this point in his work on the spirituality of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. See Shah-Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance*, 32-33.

⁴²³ See Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Qur’ān*, 257; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 1:1476. I have made use of and quoted Todd Lawson’s eloquent discussion regarding the inherent implications in the relationship between *rahma* and *raḥim*. See Todd Lawson, “Divine Wrath and Divine Mercy in Islam,” in *Divine Wrath and Divine Mercy in the World of Antiquity*, eds. Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spiekermann (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 258.

For later mystical scholars such as Ibn ‘Arabī, every existent and affair will have its final conclusion at mercy. In other words, God “mercified” the universe and every element of the cosmos is a manifestation of this expansive absolute mercy. As Todd Lawson aptly remarks, in the view of Ibn ‘Arabī: “things have not been merely ‘created’ they have been mercified into existence.”⁴²⁴ To further add to the theme of the mercification of existence, in the same section of the *du‘ā* ‘Alī also introduces a further divine identification with (or in) existence. He says: “I ask You . . . by Your Majesty which occupies every-thing (*bi-‘aẓamatika allatī mala`at arkāna kulla shay`*) and by Your Names (through) which You conquer the pillars of every-thing (*bi-asmāi` ka allatī ghalabta arkāna kulla shay`*).”⁴²⁵ Or in the following line it states: “I ask You . . . by the light of Your Face that illuminates every-thing/all things” (“*bi-nūri wajhika alladhī aḏā`a la-hu kullu shay`*”).⁴²⁶

Prior to exploring the broader implications in these opening lines, I should note that both the “*asmā*” and “*nūr*” of God occupy a pronounced thematic role in the Qur’an and Islam throughout its formation. The noun, *asmā*’ (sing. *ism*) in relation to God is used five times in the Qur’an, and in each instance it refers to something which belongs to God or emanates from God such as his names or attributes. One example is Qur’an 7:180: “To God belong the Names [that are] the most beautiful, so supplicate to Him by them.” There is a debate as to what these Names precisely are but they are generally understood to refer to God’s attributes, such as The Merciful

⁴²⁴ Todd Lawson, “Divine Wrath and Divine Mercy in Islam,” 250-251.

⁴²⁵ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 2:844. The editor, ‘Alī Aṣghar Mawārīd, mentions that one of the manuscripts has “*mala`at arkāna kulla shay`*” (“it occupies every-thing”), instead of the “*ghalabta arkāna kulla shay`*”.

⁴²⁶ Ibid. The *lām* is most probably an explanatory preposition (*lām al-ta`līl*); thus I have translated “*la-hu*” as “as a result of.” The English translation may seem out of place but it is necessary to convey in this case the actual meaning of the preposition. For more on this see al-Sayyid ‘Alī Ḥusayn Yūsuf al-Makkī, *Ta`mulāt fī Du‘ā` Kumayl* (Beirut; Dār al-Aḏwā’, 2010), 90.

(*al-Raḥmān*), The Powerful (*al-Qawī*), The Sovereign (*al-Sultān*), The Light (*al-Nūr*).⁴²⁷ Therefore, if the assumption is that “the Names” as employed in the *du‘ā’* refer to God’s attributes then it is not surprising to see that they occupy the “corners of every-thing,” or in other words, act as the foundation (*rukṅ*) of all existence or being (*wujūd*). As for light, or (*nūr*), it can refer to a host of things including, God himself, revelation and the security of faith.⁴²⁸ Within the lexicon of Qur’anic discourse as understood in the centuries following ‘Alī, God’s light as it is referred to in the *du‘ā’* refers to something more foundational which is that being (*wujūd*) is associated with light whereas the depths of darkness (*ẓulumāt*) are a synonym for faithlessness and a God-less life, which may even be described as equating to ‘*adam* or non-being (or non-existence). In the view of the Qur’an and later Islamic tradition, the reality of existence is that which owes its nourishment to God’s light. The process of realizing faith is described vividly in Qur’an 2:257 which states: “God is the friend (*walī*) of those who believe, he removes them from the depths of darkness (*al-ẓulumāt*) to the light (*al-nūr*) and those who are ungrateful in disbelief (unbelievers) and their confidants are the *ṭāghūt* (false deities). They take them from the light to the depths of darkness . . .”⁴²⁹ This duality is present throughout the Qur’an, but should not be understood as dualism.⁴³⁰ In other words, the duality posits that there are two contrary states of being, one is a state of faithfulness accompanied by light and the other is faithlessness coupled by darkness. However, these are two separate modes of existence since darkness is accidental

⁴²⁷ It would be appropriate where applicable to refer to al-Ṭūsī’s own theological and exegetical work regarding *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*, since al-Ṭūsī’s devotional manual is the earliest historical source for the *du‘ā’*.

⁴²⁸ See Jamal J. Elias, “Light,” in *EQ*, 3:186-188.

⁴²⁹ Qur’an 2:257. Also see Qur’an 5:16. I am in no way claiming that this is the sum of how the Qur’an presents the duality of light and darkness

⁴³⁰ For an excellent discussion on duality and opposition in the Qur’an see Todd Lawson, “Duality, Opposition and Typology in the Qur’an: The Apocalyptic Substrate,” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), Vol. 10, 27.

whereas light is the foundation of all existence and hence essential. Put differently, “unfaith,” or the absence of faith, is a neglectful lack of realization and gratitude that everything is suffused with God’s light, hence placing someone in a state of darkness.⁴³¹

To sum up, according to the *du‘ā’*, God’s Mercy, Majesty, Names, and Light infuse every existent with His presence. Such an emphasis upon God’s immediate immanence renders every moment existent (past and present) a sign of God that is ever present as well as providing the “ontological infrastructure” for existence.⁴³² In other words, everything, including the “enemy of God,” exists by God’s Mercy and Light since it covers everything and envelopes everything (*kullu shay’*). Furthermore, from the perspective of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* it could be said that God “mercified” all things into existence, hence anything contrary to that would be non-existence. This emphasis upon God’s *ma‘iyya* (“withness,” a term used in the *Nahj al-Balāgha*) in creation without comparison (*bi-lā muqārana*) acts as a means by which the supplicant can converse with an otherwise utterly transcendent God that is unknowable by the physical senses (*hawāss*).⁴³³

The vivid portrayal of God’s merciful yet autocratic and awe-inspiring presence in creation is also an attempt to bridge the gulf between “human finitude and divine infinitude, between temporality and transcendence.”⁴³⁴ Even prior to al-Ṭūsī, for both the Shī‘īs and the Mu‘tazilites, the attributes (*ṣifāt*) of God all have one common factor, which is that they are uncreated, despite

⁴³¹ For a discussion on the binary of light and darkness in relation to faith and unfaith or guidance and misguidance within the context of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* see al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Yūsuf Makkī, *Ta‘amullāt fī du‘ā’ kumayl*, 90. Also Cf. Lamin Sanneh, “Gratitude and Ingratitude” in *EQ*, 2:370-373.

⁴³² See Shah-Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance*, 146-147.

⁴³³ The first sermon of the *Nahj al-balāgha* as attributed to ‘Alī is a careful discourse regarding the nature of God as both indescribable yet with everything. The paradox of monotheism is fully brought to bear in this sermon. See al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Ṣālih Suḥbī (Qum: Hijrat, 1993), sermon 1, 39-40. For an insightful but brief discussion on this sermon and its authenticity see Shah-Kazemi, 33-35.

⁴³⁴ See William Graham, “Transcendence in Islam,” in *Islamic and Comparative Religious Studies Selected Writings* (London: Ashgate, 2010), 78-79.

the distinction between attributes of essence and originating actions (*ṣifāt al-dhāt wa af'āl al-muḥdatha*).⁴³⁵ Or in other words, although early scholars such as al-Ṣadūq and al-Ṭūsī made the distinction between attributes of essence and action (albeit based on some reference to ḥadīth), all of these attributes or names (*asmā'*) remain uncreated (*ghayru makhluq*).⁴³⁶ This semantic note is of importance due to the discursive scholarly tradition in which al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ* was introduced, and these lines would have been understood by al-Ṭūsī and his Shī'ī colleagues, through the lens of an evolving theological discourse (in the broadest sense of the term) within the intellectual milieu of 4-5th/10th -11th centuries. In short, the objective of this first section of the *du'ā'* is for the supplicant to profess God's cosmological and ontological authority. There is a purposeful calibration of the state of mind of the supplicant, who, by exalting God in such a devotional manner, begins his or her "spiritual journey" of prayer from a position of absolute nothingness before "the one God" that is the source and singular cause for every-thing (*kulla shay'*) and thus rightfully so (for 'Alī as the composer of the *du'ā'*) one cannot embark on this prayer *cum* journey without first determining what existentially belongs to God and what belongs to humans.

⁴³⁵ See al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Itiqādāt al-imāmiyya* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Hādī, 2010), 55. In an exegetical comment regarding the Most Beautiful Names (*al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*) al-Ṭūsī makes a key point regarding God's attributes, where he says: "*hīyā al-asmā' al-rāji'a ilā dhātihi aw fi'lihi* (these are attributes that apply to His essence or his act)." See al-Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr al-tibyān*, 5:40.

⁴³⁶ See al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Itiqādāt*, 55-56. It should be noted that during the 4th-5th/10th -11th centuries among the vast majority of Shī'īs and Mu'tazilis there was a distinction made between the attributes or names of God as originating (*muḥdatha*) as an action (*fi'l*) on the part of God as opposed to them being *makhluq* (created) thus radically separate and "other" from His essence.

3.3-2 The nature of sin, confession and the return to God

We now turn to the core of the *du‘ā*’ which consists of a vivid series of emotional confessions and pleas for pardon. This section is the longest and the subject of abundant commentary mainly due to the richness of its mystical and theological content, which for Shī‘īs provides a profound insight into how ‘Alī may have viewed himself as a human being who had no existential goodness apart from what has been granted to him by God. There is also a deep sense of self-abnegation and guilt which transpires in these lines, thus requiring a close philological and thematic analysis similar to that in the previous section.

Forgive me the sins which tear apart the safeguards. O Allāh, forgive me the sins which send down wrath. O Allāh, forgive me the sins which alter blessings. O Allāh, forgive me the sins which obstruct *du‘ā*’. O Allāh, forgive me the sins which send down tribulations.

اغفر لي الذنوب التي تهتك العصم اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي تنزل النقم اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي
تغير النعم اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي تجبس الدعاء اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي تنزل البلاء

The key terms such as *al-‘iṣam*, *al-niqam*, *al-ni‘am*, and *al-balā*’ all have a clear Qur’anic resonance which again demonstrates that so often prayers contain a common vocabulary that forms the spiritual lexicon of worshipers, especially since the imagery is both thoroughly Qur’anic and grounded in the ḥadīth thus becoming an extension of those religious genres. Also, the sacred charisma of the Quran as God’s speech is infused into the prayer and mingled with the words of the Imāms until the lines are blurred beyond distinction. Furthermore, the musicality of the text when listened to cannot go unnoticed. There is clearly a rhythmic pattern and meter which can be discerned by observing successive nouns with the *mīm* (m) ending. This is what Abu Naṣr Muḥammad al-Farābī (d.339/950) refers to as the innate poetic disposition of human

beings who appreciate lyrical melody, hence liturgies as consequential as that of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* were not only spiritually meaningful but also melodious even without accompanying instruments.⁴³⁷ In fact the spiritual meaning in this case would be combined with the musicality of the text so to further contribute to wonder and enchantment of both the listener and the reciter.⁴³⁸ It should be noted that the musicality of the text cannot be overemphasized such that upon listening to the Aḥmad al-Fatlāwī recitation (which has over two and a half million views) one is struck not only by the rhythm but the fluctuating emotions as the reciter fluctuates the pitch of his voice when reciting *yā ilāhī* (O my Lord) by stretching the alif (a) much like a seasoned singer extends the pronunciation of certain syllables so to emphasize certain lyrics or key words.⁴³⁹ This is called melisma in musical technical terms: God Himself seems to “reside” in the extended vowel of, e.g., Allāh. From this perspective *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* can certainly be described as both poetic and a musical text which provides both a spiritual and sensual experience with the mysterious.

The first noun, *al-‘iṣam*, in broad terms has been used in the Qur’an to mean “protection” or “immunity from sin, punishment, or any form of harm.”⁴⁴⁰ Thus, it would seem to be in logical fashion that ‘Alī begins by stating that sins committed by human beings are the *ratio legis* for the loss of good fortunes. Put differently, in very broad terms, the perpetration of a sin which is left unaccounted and un-repented for has the potential to set off a series of adverse reactions which

⁴³⁷ Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Farābī “Kitāb Musīqī al-Kabīr (Great Book of Music)” tr. Geert van Gelder and Marle Hammond in *Takhyīl The Imaginary in Classical Arabic Poetics* ed. Geert Jan van Gelder and Marle Hammond (Exeter: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2008), 22.

⁴³⁸ For example one may listen to the recitation by Aḥmad al-Fatlāwī, “Du‘ā’ Kumayl” June 21st, 2017, YouTube Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E1ulbHqSKEI&t=923s>.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ See Qur’an 5:67, 12:32, 1:27, 11:43, and 32:17. It is also related to one of the central beliefs of Shī‘ism, namely that the Imāms are protected from committing sin hence they possess *‘iṣma*.

begin with exposing oneself to a whole host of personal tragedies as a result of losing divine protection or immunity. I have chosen to describe *al-iṣām* as “divine protection” or “immunity” because its predominant usage in the Qur’an is to emphasize that protection from any sort of evil is only bestowed by God, and those who seek protection from people or things instead of God are committing a form of polytheism (*shirk*). Also on a more technical note, in the case of ‘Alī, his sins risk violating his infallibility (*iṣma*) which for Shī‘īs underpins the cosmic and worldly authority (*walāya*) of the infallible Imām (*al-imām al-ma‘ṣūm*).⁴⁴¹ Once this umbrella-like protection is ruptured, a proverbial flood gate opens, unleashing a series of more specific consequences.

The first of these is *niqam* (sing. *naqima*) which, along with its derivatives, has been used in the Qur’an to describe God’s vengeance or retribution that is exacted from “those who commit evil” (“*alladhīna ajramū*”).⁴⁴² It would then clearly follow that if one’s sins have the potential to spur divine vengeance then certainly a change of course in God’s blessings (*ni‘am*, sing. *ni‘ma*) or the descent of divine tests (*balā’*) would be in order. The *du‘ā’* furthermore states that these sins may also act as a barrier to having one’s supplication answered to begin with. A theological argument has been proffered by the text here to the effect that one of the causes for an unanswered prayer rest with the supplicant and not God because it is the sins that obstruct the supplication or request (*taḥbisu al-du‘ā’*) from being answered. It should also be noted that the consistent use of the verb *tunzilu* (to descend) is indicative that these punishments, tests, and

⁴⁴¹ This is a crucial area of investigation within the field of Shī‘ī devotional literature which shall be addressed separately at the end of this section.

⁴⁴² See Qur’an 30:47. Cf. Qur’an, 43:25 and 32:22. For a brief but insightful discussion on this term in the Qur’an, see Todd Lawson, “Divine Wrath and Divine Mercy in Islam,” 255.

adverse events occur in this world as a worldly recompense for sins. It is the same word for revelation. *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* is by no means the only source in which this theme can be found since al-Kulaynī and al-Ṣadūq have also included supplications attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzīm that contain the same correlations between sin and worldly recompense.⁴⁴³ Furthermore, the early Shī‘ī ḥadīth collections pre-dating al-Ṭūsī contain chapters dedicated to “*tafsīr al-dhunūb*” (“commentary on sins”) or “*bāb ma‘nā al-dhunūb allatī tughayrri al-ni‘am . .* .” (“A chapter on the meaning of sins that alter blessings . . .”).⁴⁴⁴

In a ḥadīth attributed to him, ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn has provided an extensive list of sins along with their ramifications, some of which are the following: alteration of blessings (*ni‘am*) are caused by highway robbery and the ceasing of a good habit; sins which bring about divine vengeance (*niqam*) are caused (among other reasons) by attacking and mocking others.⁴⁴⁵ The objective of these lines is again to emphasize that whatever evil occurs to humankind they shall not attribute its cause (*‘illa*) to God but rather to their own sinfulness. Most notably, the correlation between sin and misfortune gives the supplicant the necessary free will to alter the course of their destiny through the act of seeking pardon and self-reformation. The following expression of the Church Father, Origen, would aptly apply in this case: “If everything happens in accordance with the will of God and His decrees stand fast, and nothing of what He wills can be

⁴⁴³ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:570, 7:395; al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*, 2:102; al-Mufīd, *al-Muqni‘a* (Beirut: Dār al-Mufīd, 1993), 321. Also, similar expressions can be found in a supplication attributed by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd to the Prophet who taught a blind man desiring sight a supplication which included the very same lines under discussion. See Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha* (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar‘ashī al-Najafī, 1983), 6:181-189.

⁴⁴⁴ *Bāb tafsīr al-dhunūb* can be found in al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:447-448; and as for “*Bāb ma‘nā al-dhunūb allatī tughayyiru al-ni‘am*,” see al-Ṣadūq, *Ma‘ānī al-akhbār*, 269-270.

⁴⁴⁵ Al-Ṣadūq, *Ma‘ānī al-akhbār*, 270. Cf. al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:447; al-Ṣadūq, *‘Ilal al-sharāyī‘* (Qum: Davani Bookstore, 2006), 2:584; al-Mufīd, *al-Ikhtisās*, ed. ‘Alī Akbar Ghaffārī (Qum: Dār al-Mufīd, 1993), 238. For an extensive list of traditions on this subject see Sayyid Hāshim Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī, *Tafsīr al-burhān* (Qum: Bi‘tha Institute, 1995), 4:351-356.

reversed, then prayer is absurd.”⁴⁴⁶ Furthermore, for Shī‘īs who take inspiration from this supplication, it would not be blameworthy to beseech God to lessen one’s misfortune in this world providing they acknowledge their own misdeeds and not hold God accountable in this regard.

O God, I seek nearness to You with your remembrance. And I seek Your intercession by You. And I ask You by Your generosity that You bring me near You, and that You teach me gratitude for You, and that You inspire me with Your remembrance.

اللهم إني أتقرب إليك بذكرك و أستشفع بك إلى نفسك و أسألك بجودك أن تدنيني من قربك
و أن توزعني شكرك و أن تلهمني ذكرك

Prior to engaging in further confession, in these lines ‘Alī stresses that his journey to God essentially belongs to God and is governed by God. Firstly, he uses the word *dhikr* which has an incredibly vast semantic range of meaning that can include reference to the Qur’an, worship, or any thought or action related to seeking God’s pleasure. Within the context of liturgy, it refers to an act of prayer or invocation of the name(s) of God. The Qur’an extols *dhikr* as a means of reflection about God in fifteen separate verses, in addition to expression *dhikr Allāh* (remembrance of God used either in nominal or verbal form) can be found in twenty-six verses all of which demonstrates the importance of this form of supererogatory prayer in the Qur’an.⁴⁴⁷ The remembrance of God has been described by ‘Alī as “polish for the hearts” and thus *a fortiori* one cannot even begin to endeavour to be brought nigh into the presence God without *dhikr*

⁴⁴⁶ Quoted in Heiller, *Prayer*, 101.

⁴⁴⁷ William Chittick, “Dhikr” in *ER*, 4:2339.

(remembrance of God), which is the fundamental element of the entire supplication.⁴⁴⁸ Put differently, if one had to describe the *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* in one all-encompassing word it would be, “*al-dhikr*,” or “the act of remembering.”

Further yet, the supplicant is reminded that it is not he that is approaching God, it is God that is bringing him close; it is God that spurs him on to thank Him and it is God that inspired him to remember Him. The supplication of ‘Alī in this case could be described as the supplication of God since the servant is but a vessel inspired by God to remember God. On this note, there is a striking similarity between *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* and *Du‘ā’ Abī Ḥamza Thumālī* in which ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn begins his penitential pleas by telling God: “By You I have come to know You, and You have guided me to You and summoned me to You. Had it not been for You I would not have known You.”⁴⁴⁹ The shadowiness which surrounds agency in prayer has been commented upon by Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, who was asked to shed light upon the fifth verse of the Fātiḥa: “You alone we worship and from You alone we seek help.” Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq explains “that the second half of the verse means that we ask help from God’s strength and the sufficiency to worship Him properly.”⁴⁵⁰ When viewed from an understanding of the Islamic spiritual universe, it is only by God’s grace and divine favour that we can even attempt to journey towards Him; or in the words of the famous Sufi al-Junayd (d.298/910): “Servanthood is to abandon two things: leaning on other than God and reliance on [one’s own power of] movement.”⁴⁵¹ ‘Alī’s broader abandonment of ownership of his worship and his description of remembrance as inspiration from God

⁴⁴⁸ Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-balāgha*, 342.

⁴⁴⁹ The Arabic is as follows: “*bi-ka ‘arafutuka anta dalaltanī ‘alayka wad da‘awtanī ilayka wa law lā anta mā adrī mā anta.*” See al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, ed. ‘Alī Aṣghar Mawārīd, 2:582.

⁴⁵⁰ See Gerhard Bowering (ed.), *The Minor Qur’ān Commentary of Abū ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī* (Beirut: 1997), 5 as cited in Chittick, “Worship,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Islamic Theology*, 225.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*

(*tulhimanī dhikrak*) is also reminiscent of Qur'an 91:8: "And he inspired it (*alhamahā*) [the soul] with its lewdness and god-consciousness." From this perspective, 'Alī's request for God to inspire him so that he may remember Him is a typological reference to the moment of creation when the soul was inspired by God to distinguish between what shall purify it or corrupt it. Put differently, the ability to recall God is a condition for which the soul has been primordially inspired, yet despite this, due to heedlessness (*ghafḷa*), the soul relies upon God for re-inspiration. Friedrich Heiler, in reading the tradition of the early Church Fathers, describes the truly "religious man" as the one who engages in a perennial struggle for God in which his prayer is not a product of his own effort, "but comes down from above, streams out of the plenitude and power of God."⁴⁵² In this respect and perhaps others, the Shī'ī-Islamic prayer tradition is intimately related to its Christian predecessor: a situation in which prayer itself is seen to be a divine gift hence an opportunity bestowed upon the supplicant by God.

'Alī then proceeds to once again reiterate that he truly has none other than God, and none other can forgive him, veil his ugly deeds (*qabā'ih*) or transform his ugly deeds into good ones save God.⁴⁵³ This admission becomes a perfect segue for 'Alī to now venture to identify reasons as to why he has fallen from the grace of God. He begins by saying: "I have oppressed - been unjust to -- myself (*zalamtu nafsī*), and I have been overcome by my own ignorance (*jahlī*), and I have taken solace in perpetual remembrance of You and Your favour towards me."⁴⁵⁴ Both, self-oppression and self-imposed ignorance are themes that run throughout the Qur'an. For instance, the Qur'an constantly reminds humankind in general that by transgressing God's rights, they have

⁴⁵² Quoted in Heiler, 108.

⁴⁵³ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, 2:844.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

done injustice to themselves (*zalamū anfusahum*) and they cannot claim to have been oppressed by God (*wa hum la yuẓlamūn*).⁴⁵⁵ Or in another verse it states: “And those, when they commit a grave act of indecency (*fāḥisha*) and perpetrate injustice upon themselves (*zalamū anfusahum*), they shall remember (*dhakarū*) God and seek His forgiveness (*fa-astaghfarū*) for their sins (*li-dhunūbihim*) . . .”⁴⁵⁶ As for the ignorance of his true self which has led him down the path of vile deeds (*qabā’ih*), this too is an all-important Qur’anic motif. Qur’an 4:18 encapsulates the import of this self-ignorance: “Repentance is only upon God (to accept) for those who commit evil in a state of ignorance (*bi-jahāla*) and then repent soon thereafter . . .” This state of *jahāla* does not imply that these sinners were unaware of their actions, but rather in this case, it is a willful state of self-ignorance that allows them to be overcome by temptation and desire (*shahwa*). Similarly, in the story of Joseph as told in the Qur’an, in his supplication to God Joseph says: “If you do not avert their trickery from me I shall fall prey to them and I shall be among the immoral ones (*al-jāhilīn*).”⁴⁵⁷ Or in another instance it is Joseph who attributes the misdeeds of his brothers to a moment in which they were foolhardy or immoral (*jāhilūn*), which does not entail a summation of their entire life as being immoral but rather limited to the moment(s) of transgression.⁴⁵⁸ About the latter verse, the fifth Shī’ī Imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, states that every sin committed by the servant (*al-‘abd*) even if he is aware of it, is done so from foolishness. He then narrates the story of Joseph and his brothers to demonstrate that it was Joseph who attributed *jahl* as the cause of their misdeeds (*mukhāṭaratihim*) committed upon themselves which resulted in the

⁴⁵⁵ Qur’an 11:01, 23:62.

⁴⁵⁶ Qur’an 3:135.

⁴⁵⁷ Qur’an 12:33.

⁴⁵⁸ Qur’an 12:89.

disobedience towards God (*fī ma‘ṣiyat allāh*).⁴⁵⁹ However, ‘Alī goes further to stress that despite him taking God’s remembrance and grace for granted and allowing himself to be overcome with *jahl*, that in spite of all this, His Lord continued to protect him from harm and cover up his faults,⁴⁶⁰ at which point ‘Alī again begins a barrage of solemn confessions to God:

O God, my tribulations are great and my poor state is excessive. My works fall short and my fetters restrict me, preventing me from my benefit, for which I hold out distant hope. The world tricked me with its deception and my soul with its misdeeds and its delaying.

اللهم عظم بلائي و أفرد بي سوء حالي و قصرت بي أعمالي و قعدت بي أغلالي و حبسني عن نفعي
بعد أملي و خدعتني الدنيا بغرورها و نفسي بجنايتها و مطالي

‘Alī goes on at great length to describe his state of absolute spiritual poverty in which he has allowed himself to be misled into a state of disobedience; thus, he stands at the threshold of God’s mercy recognizing that it is the delusion of this world (a prominent Qur’anic motif) which lies at the root of human misdeeds; however the world can only overcome a person if they allow themselves (their *nafs*) to be overcome by it. It is for this reason that ‘Alī mentions that it is a combination of the nature of this world and his weakness or lack of self-control that lies at the root of him being betrayed by his own *nafs*. The *nafs* in the Qur’an is without doubt a precarious entity which, if not guarded and given admonition, shall drive a person towards evil (*al-nafs al-*

⁴⁵⁹ Al-‘Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr al-‘ayyāshī*, 1:228.

⁴⁶⁰ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, 2:845.

'*ammāra bi al-sū*') and the only force which can save it is God's mercy.⁴⁶¹ In light of these Qur'anic references, it should be kept in mind that in describing himself as overcome with *jahl*, 'Alī is pointing to a deeper psychology of the self and underlying causes of sin.

In these passages and throughout the supplication, an evident duality is at play between God's kindness, and leniency, and a soul – or more specially the soul of 'Alī - on the other hand that is in desperate need of God's mercy and love. Furthermore, it is only by means of God's mercy and leniency towards him that he can escape from and repair a self that is beset with unbearable sins performed during private moments (*fi al-khalwāt*). This illustrative confessional imagery on the part of 'Alī is designed to create a spiritual atmosphere in which the beseecher delves deep into his spiritually bankrupt soul to reveal to God his inner most secrets (*asrār*) and private moments of immorality. In the words of Muḥammad Mahdī al-Āṣifī: these confessional states are all *wasā'il* (means or vehicles) by which the supplicant can attain nearness to God.⁴⁶²

Briefly, I would like to explore the implications in attributing such expressions of sin to an infallible Imām. This in fact is an important subject of inquiry which has not been fully examined: how Shī'īs may interpret what on the surface seem to be the deepest confessions of an infallible (*ma'ṣūm*) and therefore deep contradiction in faith. In fact, most famous supplications attributed to the Prophet or the Imāms as found in Shī'ī ḥadīth and devotional collections include a form of

⁴⁶¹ This notion can be found in a statement made by Joseph as presented in Qur'an, 12:53. A comparable trope can be found in Qur'an, 75:2 which states: "And I swear by the self-blaming soul" that is the part of the self which serves as conscience allowing an individual to incriminate themselves so to take accountability for their deeds. Lastly, Qur'an, 89:27-28 refers to the tranquil self (*al-nafs al-muṭma'ina*) which returns to God in a peaceful state pleased with God and God is pleased with it. Ideally the journey involves moving from a self that commands one to evil, to one that self-blames (taking accountability for oneself) and lastly arriving at a state of peace and tranquility with God. Cf. Annmarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 25.

⁴⁶² See al-Āṣifī, *al-Du'ā' 'inda ahl al-bayt* (Supplication in the thought of The People of the House), 135. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Āṣifī (d.1436/2015) was recognized for his specialization in Shī'ī liturgical literature including its history and religious meanings.

a confession with some being highly elaborate and lengthy. An entire independent study would be required to examine this phenomenon; I should also note that I am not attempting to defend the doctrine of *‘iṣma* (infallibility) but am endeavouring to explore in a phenomenological fashion how Shī‘īs would attempt interpret these confessions within the framework of the doctrine of infallibility and the apologetics they employ to do so. In doing so we may develop a further understanding of how these types of liturgies intersect with the broader Shī‘ī religious worldview. There exist multiple avenues by which Shī‘ī theologians could approach this subject.⁴⁶³ The first of these is a famous theological and linguistic hermeneutic known as: “*‘iyyāka a’anī wa isma’ī yā jāra* (Pay attention to me and listen O neighbour).” The first Shī‘ī scholar to invoke this principle formally was al-Ṣadūq who used this expression to interpret Qur’anic verses which attribute any sin (minor or major) to the Prophet. This principle was then widely used by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and his student al-Ṭūsī in their respective theological and exegetical works.⁴⁶⁴ In the case of the Imāms, this convention has been invoked by Ibn Ṭāwūs as an exegetical gloss to a ḥadīth attributed to ‘Alī in which he describes being overcome by lust (*shahwa*), worldly delusion (*ghurūr al-dunyā*) and heedlessness (*ghafḷa*) in the face of death. It would then follow that Ibn Ṭāwūs may have interpreted ‘Alī’s confessions in *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* in a similarly apologetic manner.⁴⁶⁵ Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamīd al-Najafī (al-Nīlī) also explores this in his 8th/14th century commentary on the *Miṣbāḥ*, in emphasizing that “whatever is found from an infallible Imām’s supplication (mentioning falling prey to Satan) or its likeness - it is to not to be interpreted as

⁴⁶³ As I mentioned, as far as I know this is the first study of this nature aside from a brief treatment of the subject by William Chittick in his introduction to *Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*. See *ibid.*, xxx-xxxv.

⁴⁶⁴ See al-Ṣadūq, *‘Itiqādāt al-imāmiyya*, 87; cf. al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-‘Alamī li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 1991), 164; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-qur’ān*, 2:253.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Falāḥ al-sā’il wa najāḥ al-masā’il fī ‘amal al-yawm wa-l-layla* (Qum: Būstān-i Kitāb, 2008), 375.

the Imām intending it for himself, for he only intends it to be directed towards other than him from among the legally obligated since they are doctors of the self” who prescribe spiritual prescriptions to the believers.⁴⁶⁶ He then goes on to invoke the same linguistic principle (*iyyāka a’annī...*) as mentioned above echoing what was cited by Ibn Ṭāwūs.⁴⁶⁷ Within all of the above contexts, the objective in using “*iyyāka a’annī wa ismā’ī yā jāra*” has been to insist that even if it is an infallible that is being spoken to or that is speaking about themselves in reality these maxims are directed towards the community at large or the partisans of the Imāms.⁴⁶⁸

Another possible explanation has been provided by Mullā Ṣadrā and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Māzandarānī within the context of their respective commentaries on al-Kulaynī’s chapter regarding the pleas for forgiveness (*istighfār*) and repentance (*tawba*), in which they emphasize that the *istighfār* of an infallible including that of the Prophet must not be misconstrued to indicate that they are repenting from the type of sins which non-infallibles so often commit.⁴⁶⁹ In order to defend this position both Ṣadrā and al-Māzandarānī narrate a ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet in which he said: “the good of the upright ones are the evils of those brought nigh”

⁴⁶⁶“*wa hadhā al-kalām wa amthāluhu idhā warada ‘an al-imām al-ma’šūm fa-hūwa lā yurīdu bi-hi nafasahu wa innamā yurīdu bi-hi ghayruhu min al-mukallaḥīn a-laysa hum aṭibbā’ al-nufūs.*” This discussion is within the context of a treatment of? how one may explain the mention of sins by the Infallibles. What does it mean for an infallible to admit to performing sins and then seek forgiveness for sins? See Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamīd al-Najafī (al-Nīlī), *Ṭāḥ al-miṣbāḥ li-ahl al-ṣalāḥ* MS no. 4568, folio 300.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Todd Lawson, “Akhhārī Shī’ī Approaches to Tafsīr.” In *Approaches to the Qur’an ed. G.R. Hawting* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 182.

⁴⁶⁹ Al-Māzandarānī attempts to explain that it cannot be denied that the Prophet and the Imāms repented to God, but this repentance and plea for forgiveness was not of a type that would nullify their infallibility. The Arabic is as follows: “*lam takun tawbatuhu wa istighfāruhu min al-dhunūb al-munāḥiyat li-l-’iṣma.*” See Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Māzandarānī, *Sharḥ al-kāfī al-uṣūl wa-l-rawḍa* (Tehran: al-Islāmiyya Library, 1962), 1:157.

("ḥasanāt al-abrār sayyi'āt al-muqarrabīn").⁴⁷⁰ Al-Māzandarānī adds that another explanation could be simply that the infallibles taught the art of repentance to their followers.⁴⁷¹

The dilemma with the *ta'līm* (teaching) hypothesis is that it would imply that 'Alī was merely dramatizing these various emotions solely for the purpose of teaching which in turn would entail a degree of 'insincerity' on his part. Put differently, how could such a dramatic and vivid emotional appeal for forgiveness before God be simply a teaching moment for Kumayl b. Ziyād? Chittick, in a rather abstract manner, explains that the nature of the testimony of faith (*shahāda*) by its own virtue means that nothing that is created can ever be on par with the Creator.⁴⁷² Therefore, the "best" of creation – namely the prophets and saints – derive their spiritual status from a profound position of servanthood (*'ubūdiyya*) and these nearest servants to God fear Him the most and constantly engage in a form of devotion that requires a radical and complete spiritual program of self-diminishment before God. Ostensibly this involves recognizing and conquering the greatest impediment between God and the beseecher, that is, the self. Even then, how can a supplicant seek forgiveness for something which he or she has no control over, namely the fact that the self will remain as a veil between oneself and God?⁴⁷³

The predicament arises from transferring and translating a vocabulary from one religious universe to another. The English terms: *sin*, *repentance*, and *forgiveness* imply some sort of moral-ethical transgressions; however, as Chittick correctly remarks, the terms *dhunūb* and *maghfira* may point to real instances of immorality or an expression of one's utter poverty

⁴⁷⁰ See Ṣadra al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā), *Sharḥ usūl al-kāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Khvājavi (Tehran: Cultural Studies and Research Institute, 2004), 4:123, cf. Muḥammad Ṣālih al-Māzandarānī, *Sharḥ al-kāfī al-uṣūl wa-l-rawḍa*, 9:228.

⁴⁷¹ Al-Māzandarānī, 1:157.

⁴⁷² William Chittick, *The Psalms of Islam*, xxxiii.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, xxxiv.

(*ḥaqāra*) before God.⁴⁷⁴ In other words, it is much more complex than it at once appears, and we are left rather unsure as to what these *dhunūb* be indicative of. Although we do not have any explanation of this demeanour from ‘Alī himself, there is an incident reported by Abū Nu‘aym al-Isfahānī (d.1038/429) in which al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.728/110), after witnessing ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (‘Alī’s great-grandson) weeping and begging God for forgiveness, asked him: “what is this intimate conversation and tears while you are a member of the People of the House (*ahl al-bayt*)” who have been purified by God? ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn responds by saying the following: “Leave this matter O Abū al-Ḥasan! Paradise has been created for he who obeys Him [God] even if he be an Ethiopian slave, and the fire has been created for whomever disobeys Him [God] even if he be a free Qurayshī. The Prophet has said: ‘Approach me with your deeds not your genealogy.’”⁴⁷⁵ To conclude, for Shī‘īs, the confessions and repentance of the “infallibles” will remain an enigma depending on how the parameters of the doctrine of *‘iṣma* are determined and whether a Shī‘ī theology would be able to accommodate a version of *‘iṣma* which allows for an infallible to feel a sense of intense guilt before God even while outwardly obeying the *sharī‘a*. The alternative interpretation as seen with Ibn Ṭāwūs and al-Nīlī is to develop an apologetic hermeneutic to avoid this matter altogether by simply describing such confessions as teaching moments for fellow listeners or onlookers.

3.3-3 The language of love and the quest for union with God

O my Lord! shall you leave me chastised in Your fire after professing Your unity, and after my heart has been enveloped by recognition of You and my

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ See Ibn al-Jawzī’s *al-Muntaẓam* as cited in Kāmil Muṣṭafā Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayna al-taṣawwuf wa-l-tashayyū’*, 145.

tongue has unceasingly remembered You, and my consciousness is convinced of Your love, and after my truthful confession and supplication?⁴⁷⁶

و ربي أترك معذبي بنارك بعد توحيدك و بعد ما انطوى عليه قلبي
من معرفتك و لهج به لساني من ذكرك و اعتقده ضميري من حبك و بعد صدق
اعترافي و دعائي.

The tenor of the *du‘ā* noticeably changes from this point forward into a steady crescendo upwards, beginning with ‘Alī posing a series of rhetorical questions before God. This conversation with God could be described as a discourse between ‘Alī and his Beloved, insofar as he now begins to attempt to persuade God by revealing to Him that “despite my sins and numerous lapses, the reality remains that my heart and being is impregnated with awareness, love, and remembrance of You.” Slightly later, ‘Alī repeats another series of seemingly rhetorical questions in which he says:

O Lord! Would You subjugate to the fire faces which, due to Your Majesty, have fallen in prostration, or would You set aflame the tongues which have professed Your oneness truthfully and engaged in your thanksgiving with praise. Or (would you subjugate to the fire) hearts which have acknowledged Your divinity with affirmation of the truth or the minds which are bewildered with knowledge of You until such a point that they are in awe of You?⁴⁷⁷

إلهي و مولاي أ تسلط النار على وجوه خرت لعظمتك ساجدة و على ألسن نطقت بتوحيدك صادقة
و بشكرك مادحة و على قلوب اعترفت بإلهيتك محققة و على ضمائر حوت من العلم بك حتى صارت
خاشعة

⁴⁷⁶ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, 2:846.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

There are three key terms in the above passage which require some clarification, each of which function as a locus of piety, namely, the heart (*al-qalb*), the tongue (*al-lisān*) and lastly the mind or consciousness (*al-ḍamīr* not found in the Quran unlike other two). Ultimately, the incessant state of remembrance (*dhikr lahija*) emanates from and is in complete unison with the cognizance of the heart (*maʿrifat al-qalb*) and love (*ḥubb*), which is found in the mind or consciousness (*ḍamīr*). It is also crucial to demonstrate that one’s consciousness and unreflected spontaneous thoughts (*khaṭarāt*, sing. *khaṭar*), and inner heart (*bātin al-qalb*) may all be subsumed in the realm of the *ḍamīr*, which in this case is impregnated with an unrelenting love of God (*ʿataqaduhu ḍamīrī min hubbik*).⁴⁷⁸ The hope in this case is that this conscientious love will be met with a corresponding love from God himself. Hence ‘Alī only hopes that this will be the case, if not for the sole reason that it was God who inspired him and implanted the seed of remembrance of His own remembrance within him.⁴⁷⁹ If one were to rewrite the supplication with its possible spiritual meaning it could be as follows:

My heart (seat of my intellect) is subsumed with knowledge of You; thereafter my tongue engages in assiduous remembrance of You, which emanates from a verified and deeply rooted love of You which itself comes from the kernel of my heart and my innermost secrets, all of which has fallen in love with You.

We may also interpret these three words, these technical terms, (*qalb*, *lisān* and *ḍamīr*) as being indicative of three elements which form the axis for spiritual travel and personal development.

The first line: “After my heart has been enveloped with recognition of You [God]” may refer to

⁴⁷⁸ Ibn Manẓūr describes “*ḍamīr*” as a secret or inner thought (*al-sirr wa dākhil al-khāṭir*). See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, 4:492.

⁴⁷⁹ As we read earlier on in the supplication, ‘Alī says: “You brought me close . . . and You inspired me in Your remembrance (to remember You).”

the intellectual conviction in God's existence and presence such that in this case "*qalb*" literally translated as "heart" would also imply the intellect (*al-'aql*) and the process of intellection or intellectual contemplation.

This interweaving of meaning can be found in the Qur'an, which describes these two (heart and intellect) as embodied within one metaphysical reality. For instance, we read in 47:24: "Do they not contemplate the Qur'an or do they have locks on their hearts (*qulūb*)?"⁴⁸⁰ In 22:46 we read: "Have they not ventured out on the Earth with hearts by which to understand '*aql*' and ears by which to hear see later mention of *ṣudūr*?"⁴⁸¹ In both cases there is a direct link between the intellectual contemplation and the heart. Furthermore, the enveloping of the heart in the cognizance of God, when viewed within this context, demonstrates that cognition has an ontological value which is rooted in the fundamental metaphysics of Islamic culture. The metaphysical nature of education would posit that the acquisition of "true knowledge" and wisdom is when the heart is able to see with the light of God. This perception of knowledge and intellection is uncannily proximate to the process of Self-Mastery in the thought of Plato in which enlightenment and wisdom become a reality "by turning the soul's eye to face in the right direction."⁴⁸² All of this is indicative of an organic and holistic view which ties together intellection, knowledge and virtue within an intricate metaphysical framework, all of which originates from a necessary being or God as seen in the case of *Du'ā' Kumayl* and the Qur'an. Furthermore the use of the verb *anṭawā* (to envelope or be folded within) is also used in a famous

⁴⁸⁰ Qur'an 47:24. The Arabic is as follows: "*a-fa-lā yatabbarūna al-qur'āna wa law am 'alā qulūbin aqfāluhā.*"

⁴⁸¹ Qur'an 22:46. The Arabic is as follows: "*a-fa-lam yasīrū fī al-arḍ fa-takūna la-hum qulūbun ya'qilūna bi-hā wa ādhānun yasma'ūna bi-hā.*"

⁴⁸² Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 123.

poem attributed to ‘Alī in which he says: “Do you reckon that you are but a miniscule germ and within you is enveloped (*anṭawā*) the largest realm?”⁴⁸³ In this case, “the largest realm” or cosmos is contained within humans beings; however, in order for it to be contained it must be folded up which in turn implies that it will also unravel within. Hence, in the case of *ma’rifa* (cognizance of God) and the cosmos (*al-‘ālam al-akbar* or frequently *al-kabīr*) they are at once enveloping the self while in a state of being folded or rolled up within.⁴⁸⁴ Hence it is implied that it is only through the process of the journey towards God that the cognizance of God unfolds and reveals itself within the heart and intellect which are embodied within one another.⁴⁸⁵

In light of the above, the second expression “my tongue has remembered you incessantly” (*lahija bi-hi lisānī min dhikrik*) indicates that following the intellectual illumination of the heart, the tongue is then spurred to tirelessly mention God, hence the act of remembrance (*dhikr*) is not an act of blind worship but rather it sprouts from a heart and intellect which is consumed with the knowledge of God. It should also be added that the unceasing remembrance of God is deemed to be sincere in this case because its foundation is one of heart-felt intellection (or spiritual cognition), thus the act of remembrance is at once a physical ritual rooted in certain

⁴⁸³ This statement, while not found in early sources, has been attributed to ‘Alī in numerous Safavid-era sources such as al-Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā), *Sharḥ uṣūl al-kāfī*, 1:292; 3:334; al-Majlisī, *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn*, 6:81; Muḥammad Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *al-Wāfī* (Isfahan: Maktabat Amīr al-Mu’minīn, 1985), 2:319; *Tafsīr al-ṣāfī*, ed. Ḥusayn A’lamī (Tehran, Maktabat al-Ṣadr, 1994), 1:92 and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Mir’āt al-uqūl fī sharḥ akhbār āl al-rasūl* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1983), 11:362; 3:272.

⁴⁸⁴ *Anṭawā* derives from the trilateral root ṭ-w-y from which Form IV, *anṭawā*, derives. It means “to be enfolded” and also “to cover entirely.” See Lane, 1:642. For similar themes attributed to refer to the *Khuṭba al-ṭatanjayn* (The Sermon of The Two Gulfs). Cf. Rajab b. Muḥammad al-Bursī, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn fī asrār Amīr al-Mu’minīn ed. ‘Āshūr ‘Alī* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-A’lamī, 2001), 260.

⁴⁸⁵ It is evident that the linguistic and mystical features which tie this expression in the *du‘ā’* to the above aphorism are particularly germane to the study of the esoteric dimensions of Islamic piety and cosmology. To this effect, Hossein Nasr describes the heart as ultimately tied to the “human state” as it relates “intellection, sapience, and union.” Knowledge, when pertaining to the heart as outlined in the Qur’an, may even be described as “heart knowledge.” Hossein Nasr, “The Heart of the Faithful is the Throne of the All Merciful,” in *Paths to the Heart: Sufism and The Christian East*, ed. James C. Custinger (Bloomington: World Vision, 2002), 32-33.

spiritual awareness. The final stage is for the kernel of the heart (or consciousness) to be entrenched in God's love. These three lines are indicative of three corresponding stages of intellectual-spiritual development which begin with the intellect-*cum*-heart that is convinced of God; followed by the tongue that ceaselessly remembers Him, then concluding with the love of God implanted within the kernel (deepest portion) of the heart.

The objective of these lines is to demonstrate that the supplicant shall arrive on the Day of Judgement equipped with certain means of attaining God's permanent grace and mercy and thus avoiding hellfire. The most important of these means is the profession of His oneness which is then manifested through acts of worship such as prostration (*sajda*). By virtue of this profession and worship, the supplicant is striving to protect themselves and acquire some form of divine immunity (*al-ʿiṣma*) from divine wrath. On this note there is a tradition attributed to the Prophet in which he states that on the Day of Judgement the sinners shall be put in Hell. Upon them being placed in Hell they shall protest to God, asking Him: "Is Your mercy not greater than Your wrath, and did You not promise to save those who testified to there being no God but You?" God then answers them all by saying "Yes," and He removes them from the Fire and places them in Paradise.⁴⁸⁶ Thus, 'Alī's use of *tawḥīd* as a means of divine protection from divine wrath is a common theme in the tradition which invests an extraordinary degree of salvific efficacy in the first part of the testimony of faith, namely, *lā ilāha illa allāh* (there is no god but God). In good narratological fashion, 'Alī provides an immediate response to his own question by invoking the Arab code of honour and hospitality and says: "Woe! You are too honoured to denigrate the one You have nurtured or to distance the one You have brought near or to abandon the one You have

⁴⁸⁶ Al-Ṣadūq, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, 28.

sheltered.”⁴⁸⁷ He then emphasizes again in a climactic fashion that: “this is not how You are thought of (*mā hakadhā al-ẓannu bik*) . . . nor is this what is known regarding Your kindness (*walā ma’rūfun min faḍlik*).”⁴⁸⁸ This section of the supplication marks the point from which the supplicant rises quickly towards God. After confessing his sins, he now testifies to his love, telling God that certainly his *du‘ā* that was filled with tears emanating from a sincere heart shall not go in vain. Thus, it is crucial to demonstrate the turn in the narrative from this point forward until the end of the supplication. ‘Alī then constructs a Qur’anic binary in order to put all that he has mentioned into perspective. He does this by giving the title of “monotheists” (*al-muwaḥḥidūn*) to the ones who have already testified to God’s oneness and confessed their sins, as opposed to the “non-believers” (*al-kāfirūn* or ungrateful ones) whom God has vowed to fill Hell with (*tamla’ahā min al-kāfirīn*).⁴⁸⁹ He explains to God that “had it not been for this promise (*wa‘ad*) of Yours, You would have made the entire fire cold and safe” (*bardan wa salāman*).⁴⁹⁰ Again, here ‘Alī, in typological fashion, is creatively invoking the story of Abraham, who was thrown into the fire by Nimrod, to which the Qur’an exclaims: “We said to the fire, be cool (*bard*) and as a means of safety (*silm*) for Abraham.”⁴⁹¹ By ‘Alī using this clear reference to the story of Abraham in Qur’an, 21:69, he may be implying that had God not promised to fill Hell with the “*kāfirūn*” the instance of Abraham being saved would have been transformed to become a permanent eschatological paradigm. ‘Alī ends this section by quoting *verbatim* the following Qur’anic binary: “As if he who is a believer (*mu’minan*) is like he who is an ungodly transgressor (*fāsiqan*)? They

⁴⁸⁷ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, 2:846.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:848.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹¹ See Qur’an 21:69.

are not equal.”⁴⁹² By invoking these various Qur’anic binaries, ‘Alī is firmly placing himself as the supplicant within a demarcated group of those who are saved. In this case the saved group are those who profess God’s oneness, not simply as a gesture, but truly do so with their entire heart and being. This group is known in the ḥadīth tradition as “the people of monotheism” (*ahl al-tawḥīd*), “monotheists” (*al-muwaḥḥidūn*), or “the people of there is no god but God” (*ahl lā ilāha illa allāh*). In one tradition, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq has said: “Verily, God has prohibited the bodies of the monotheists (*al-muwaḥḥidūn*) from the Fire (of Hell).”⁴⁹³ To assert the sanctity of monotheism further, al-Ṣadūq reports an elaborate conversation which shall take place between God and monotheists plagued by sin. In this tradition, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq states that God shall order a group of people to be sent to Hell because of their sins, at which point they beseech God telling him:

Our Lord! how can you put us in the Fire (of Hell) when we professed Your oneness (*nuwaḥḥiduka*) whilst in this world, and how can You cast our tongues on fire when they (our tongues) have professed Your oneness whilst in this world? How would You burn our hearts when they firmly held the doctrine of ‘there is no god but You?’ How would You burn our faces which we anointed (*via* prostration) on dirt for You? How would You burn our hands which we raised in supplication to You? Then, God says to them: “My slaves, foul were your deeds (*sā’at a’ mālukum*) whilst in this the realm of the material world (*dār al-dunyā*), thus your recompense is the Fire of Hell (*nār al-jahannam*).”⁴⁹⁴

They then protest to God with a series of questions, comparing His mercy to His wrath, to which He responds by affirming that His mercy is greater (*a’ẓam*) and given precedence over their sins (*dhunūb*). Then finally they pose two concluding questions: “Is our conviction in Your oneness

⁴⁹² Qur’an 32:18.

⁴⁹³ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Ḥusaynī Hāshim (Qum: Jāmi‘at al-Mudarrisīn, 1977), 20.

⁴⁹⁴ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 29. Cf. al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 296.

not more sublime than our sins?” To which God responds: “Positively, your conviction in my oneness is more sublime.”

This back-and-forth question-and-answer results in God ordering His angels to place this group in Paradise. The final reason for this dramatic change in fate is God Himself. In explaining to the angels His rationale for this seemingly new decision, He says:

I have not created a creation more beloved to Me than those who draw near to Me by means of my oneness (*bi-tawḥīdī*) and that there is no god but I and it is incumbent upon Me (*ḥaqqun ‘alay*) that I do not roast in the Fire the people of My oneness (*ahl tawḥīdī*).⁴⁹⁵

Shaykh al-Ṣadūq comments in this regard that the sinners among the monotheists (*ahl al-tawḥīd*) do not experience the torment of Hell whilst in it, but only when they exit the Fire towards Heaven that they experience pain which (albeit for a moment) is the reality of their misdeeds.⁴⁹⁶ Sayyid Ja‘far Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (d.1377/1957) as well as ‘Izzat al-Dīn Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, in their commentaries on *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*, emphasize that the sanctity of monotheism is a trope that is often repeated in this supplication, which ultimately indicates that only God can save. He truly knows whose hearts have submitted to the existential reality that there can be no worthwhile existence apart from Him.⁴⁹⁷ It is this heartfelt and sincere belief that guided the imagined supplicant’s life despite numerous personal failings. It is for this reason that ‘Alī says “My God, My Master, My Chief, and my Lord, perhaps I could withstand Your wrath but how could I withstand Your separation?”⁴⁹⁸ It is evident here that the ultimate bliss of salvation is to reside

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-I‘tiqādāt al-imāmiyya*, 77.

⁴⁹⁷ Al-Sayyid Ja‘far b. Muḥammad Bāqir b. Maḥdī Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, *Asrār al-‘arīfīn fī sharḥ kalām Mawlānā Amīr al-Mu‘minīn sharḥ du‘ā’ Kumayl* (Beirut: Dār Jawād al-A‘imma, 2008), 122.

⁴⁹⁸ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:847. The Arabic is “*fa-habnī ya ilāhī wa sayyidī wa mawlay wa rabbī ṣabartu ‘alā ‘adhābika fa-kayfa aṣbiru ‘alā firāqika.*”

in the presence of God and never be separated from Him. It is the absence of God which is not tolerable for 'Alī, for it is akin to losing himself since it was already admitted that the kernel of his heart and consciousness (*damīr*) was impregnated with the love of God. As a result, the Fire which ultimately represents a separation (*firāq*) from God shall be rendered cool and peaceful (*bardan wa salāman*) which 'Alī is positing as a metaphor for the journey of the believer and his or her conclusion with God.

This reflects a crucial point in the journey the *du'ā'* is describing that at this point, the supplicant, after a prolonged emotional repentance and admission of deep seated love for His Lord, now places himself among those who will surely receive a promised salvation. Inclusion among this select group of people is given further resonance by creating a dialectic between the divine reality of salvation for the “believers” as opposed to all those who did not embark upon this spiritual journey of repentance and affirmation of God’s oneness.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated a possible method by which a supplication can be studied.⁴⁹⁹ The first section of this chapter was concerned with providing an in-depth discussion regarding the legacy and heritage of Shī'ī liturgy with specific attention given to the textual history of *Du'ā' Kumayl*. By doing so, I demonstrated that devotional literature has a rich textual history dating back to the formative period of Twelver Shī'ism. As mentioned in chapter one, among the oldest surviving textual remnants of this tradition is the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahhajid* of

⁴⁹⁹ Other methods may involve examining the perspective of the supplicant by conducting an ethnographic study which would perhaps focus upon the sociological dimensions of prayer and its role in personal and community development. This may be integrated with studying the supplication using modern literary theories which would examine cognitive relationship between the text and the reader.

Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. The *Miṣbāḥ* is also the earliest known source for *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* and it, along with a later prayer manual, the *lq̄bāl al-a‘māl* compiled by Ibn Ṭāwūs, became the standard edition for the *du‘ā’*. Thereafter this particular supplication has been continuously transmitted in nearly identical form for a millennium.

Furthermore, as I demonstrated throughout my analysis of the text itself, the *du‘ā’* contains numerous allusions to the Qur’an, ḥadīth, and Islamic theology (in the broadest sense of the term). It is also by virtue of the *du‘ā’* being attributed to the first Shī‘ī Imām that it may be described as a genre of sacred literature within the larger corpus of Shī‘ī ḥadīth. It is for this reason that my contention is that the supplication of Kumayl can be described both as a prayer and a sacred lesson in devotional theology. The theology of this prayer may be described as a doctrine of passionate devotional form of worship. In this sense, it is this form of devotional theology in the form of *du‘ā’* which invokes the deepest imagination and emotions of the worshipper, unlike the pedantic dialectical works of the *mutakallimūn* (professional Muslim theologians). I have attempted to highlight this devotional theology by focusing on three specific themes namely: the sanctification and transcendence of God, the nature of sin and confession, the language of love and salvation before God, and lastly transformation and spiritual union with God. I have engaged with these themes by drawing connections to other forms of religious literature to demonstrate the various possible interconnections between the themes and concepts found in the *du‘ā’* with the broader Islamicate tradition. Furthermore, this distinction between pedantic scholastic theology and devotional theology, even if not made entirely clear by al-Ṭūsī, must have been evident to scholars such as he who, since after writing voluminous legal and polemical texts, chose somewhere towards the end of his scholarly career to compile

the *Miṣbāḥ* which contains, in addition to *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*, several richly imaginative supplications. The poetic and imaginative description of the self and God cannot be found in any of al-Ṭūsī’s other known works. It has therefore been my aspiration that through this study of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* to have drawn some attention to a relatively unknown aspect of this prolific scholar’s career whose various works gave shape to what Shī‘ism was to become.

It should also be pointed out that within the context of the Shī‘ī religious universe, the performance of this supplication could be described as a means by which the devout may set out on their journey towards God. Further yet, while the supplication is solely addressed to God, for Shī‘īs, the Imām’s *walāya* (charismatic authority and guidance) remains the focal point of guidance insofar as he chose to reveal this supplication to his Shī‘a. That is not to imply that non-Shī‘īs, or even non-Muslims, would not make use of this supplication, but rather, its target audience (as al-Ṭūsī himself admitted) was the Shī‘ī community. It has also been demonstrated that this supplication is an exemplification of the Qur’an’s call to recall God and beseech Him for assistance. The overall narrative of the *du‘ā’* can be described as a struggle to liberate oneself from a deep-seated sense of guilt and sin in order to hasten oneself towards proximity (*qurb*) to the Divine. This journey is replete with tears and profound lamentations of the heart. It is an emotional cry for assistance to escape the depths of spiritual poverty to eventually arrive at the comfort of residing permanently in God’s grace, mercy, and salvation.

Chapter Four

Ziyāra as Ritual and Textual Tradition

4.1 Introduction to *ziyāra* and its place in Islamic thought

It has been seen above that by the late 3rd/9th century Twelver Shī'ī scholars had already begun compiling major compendiums of ḥadīth believed to have originated from the Prophet Muḥammad and his descendants, the *ahl al-bayt*. This doctrinal and legal material contributed to giving shape to Twelver Shī'ī religious identity and spirituality.⁵⁰⁰ Part of this early literature is a genre of liturgical material which includes *ziyārāt* texts and hundreds of traditions pertaining to the virtues and instructions associated with it. This literature refers to the devotions which are to be recited when performing the *ziyāra* at the graves of the Prophet and his progeny. Hence *ziyāra* as a verbal noun (*maṣḍar*) denotes both the act of visiting the dead and a liturgy that is recited while visiting the dead. Ignaz Goldziher has demonstrated in his research on grave veneration that the pre-Islamic Bedouin society had a cult of the dead in which they would venerate the graves of their deceased by furnishing them and building structures over them.⁵⁰¹ In addition to this they would engage in *niyāḥa* (wailing and mourning) at the graves as well as seeking asylum there. In this regard the Qur'an uses the word *anṣāb* or *nuṣub* which refers to stones or altars that were honoured by pagan Arabs who deemed them as sacred sites at which they would slaughter animals for sacrifice.⁵⁰² Recent archaeological research has also demonstrated that the pre-Islamic Arabs built houses or elevated structures over the graves of

⁵⁰⁰ As stated earlier, Twelver Shī'ī is synonymous with the terms Shī'ī, Shī'a, or Imāmī for the purposes of this dissertation.

⁵⁰¹ Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966), 1:210.

⁵⁰² Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān* (Beirut: Dār al-Iḥyā' al-Turāth, 2002), 501. For more on the definition of *ansāb* see Elsaid M. Badawi and Muhammad Abdel Haleem, *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qur'anic Usage* (Leiden: Brill Publications, 2008), 967.

their heroes.⁵⁰³ Furthermore, simpler structures would often include tents of various kinds built over graves with each tent-like shade described as a *qubba*.⁵⁰⁴ This evidence demonstrates that the pre-Islamic “cult of the dead” was something which continued well into the Islamic period akin to other practices that were at times adapted to Islamic norms, albeit with recognition of its pre-Islamic heritage.⁵⁰⁵

It should be stated at the outset that as far as Shīʿī tradition is concerned, there has seldom if ever arisen a theological or legal controversy with regard to visiting any of the graves of the thirteen deceased Infallibles.⁵⁰⁶ As J.W. Meri points out, in the case of Shīʿism, *ziyāra* was not only encouraged but it became a form of “institutionalized ritual” which gave way to the development of shrine cities in Iraq on a scale unlike anything seen in Sunnī tradition. That is not to say that Sunnīs do not perform *ziyāra*; they most certainly do. In fact, in addition to the Prophet’s grave, there exist numerous shrines attributed to prophets, prophetic companions and Sufi saints who are revered by their followers. However, the accompanying literature and practice is not as deeply rooted among Sunnī tradition as it is in the Shīʿī tradition, and this is why a fascination with *ziyāra* cannot be found in the canonical Sunnī or Sufi literature as it is in Shīʿī

⁵⁰³ Ondrej Beranek and Pavel Tupek, *The Temptation of Graves in Salafi Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 19.

⁵⁰⁴ In addition to the obvious Arabic words denoting a tent being “*fuṣṭāṭ*” or “*khayma*,” one of the terms used in this regard is “*qubba*,” which came to mean “dome.” This dome structure often found above shrines or places of worship became synonymous with Eastern Christian and Islamic architecture. Another example of this is a report included by Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, which described Umm Salama (d.62/680), the widow of the Prophet, as erecting a shade, or tent (*qubba*), in the mosque of the Prophet following the killing of al-Ḥusayn at Karbala. It is alleged that she sat in this *qubba* and wore black as a sign of mourning. See Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ḥayyūn (Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān), *Sharḥ al-akhbār fī faḍāʾil al-aʾimma al-aṭḥār*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī (Qum: Jāmiʿat al-Mudarrisīn, 1988), 3:171.

⁵⁰⁵ Beranek and Tupek, 18. Such examples of pre-Islamic customs can be found in the practice of Islamic marriage contracts which were continued by Muslims, albeit with some adjustments. See Ilya Yakubovich, “MARRIAGE i. THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT IN THE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2005, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/marriage-contract-in-the-pre-islamic-period>, accessed 19 May 2019.

⁵⁰⁶ J.W. Meri, “*Ziyāra*,” EI2.

literature. One need only examine ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī’s (d.611/1215) *ziyāra* manual entitled, *Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā ma’rifat al-ziyārāt*, in order to ascertain the stark difference between Sunnī and Shī‘ī approaches to *ziyāra*, with the latter being firmly tied to the very principles that underlie the faith and thus treated with a sense of concerned scholarship that would not be afforded to Sunnī or Sufi *ziyāra* literature.

For instance, *ziyāra* pilgrimage guides written by Sunnī scholars (this includes Sufi as well) are not endowed with the charisma and reverence given to Shī‘ī *ziyāra* manuals for the very reason that the former are not compilations of prophetic traditions or even narrations of the companions describing the liturgical rites (*a’māl*) to be performed; rather they are an assemblages of some prophetic traditions containing prayers and rituals of visitation encouraging *ziyāra* and salutations which are either composed by scholars or simply left to the pilgrim who may or may not wish to recite any specific liturgical formula. In other words, these guides (for which al-Harawī’s constitutes a representative example) may best be described as religious travel guides which honour and describe the graves and shrines of prominent personalities such as Prophets and prophetic companions.⁵⁰⁷ Furthermore, the pilgrims in both traditions hope for salvation, intercession, and miraculous healing while visiting their saint/divinely inspired guide. In this sense the pilgrims in both traditions often share a sense of fervent and deep emotional commitment to the Prophet himself or the saint that is visited. That being said, it must be underscored that in Shī‘ī tradition, *ziyāra* is a scripted liturgy and treated as a *sunna mu’akadda*

⁵⁰⁷ ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī, *A Lonely Wayfarer’s Guide to Pilgrimage: ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī’s Kitāb al-Ishārāt ilā Ma’rifat al-Ziyārāt*, translated and introduced by Josef W. Meri (Princeton N. J.: Darwin Press, 2004). For instance, on p. 198, al-Harawī describes the visit to Karbala as simply containing the grave of al-Ḥusayn and the family members who died with him. He does not prescribe any specific *ziyāra* to be recited, nor does he discuss the specific religious merits of visiting al-Ḥusayn.

(highly recommended practice) prescribed by the Prophet or the Imāms whose doctrines and commandments for Shī'īs reflect the very will of God.

Conversely, the encounter with *ziyāra* in Sunnī ḥadīth and law is starkly different as there exists a range of views regarding the visitation of graves and even that of the Prophet himself. To this effect, Ondrej Beranek and Pavel Tupek, describe Sunnī tradition as being multi-faceted on this matter, such that there are traditions of the Prophet in which he has encouraged and even ordered the Muslims to visit his grave, while conversely he is alleged to have said “Do not leave any statue without destroying it nor any raised grave without levelling it.”⁵⁰⁸ The contradiction within the ḥadīth corpus has left an environment of ambiguity on the matter over which Sunnī scholars have engaged in heated internal polemical debates as it pertains to matters such as what one was to do while visiting the Prophet’s grave and how one was to behave, and what the purpose was of such a visitation after his death. Once again these are theological disputes which were largely foreign to the Shī'ī tradition. In fact, I have not come across a single dispute with regards to the religious legitimacy of *ziyāra* in Shī'ī theology. Shaykh al-Mufīd does raise the question as to whether the Prophet or Imāms can hear the salutations of the “believers” who convey greetings either at their graves or from afar. In doing so he first emphasizes that there is no doubt among the jurists (*fuqahā'*) that it is due to divine grace (*luṭf*) that the Prophets and Imāms do hear the salutations of the visitors to their graves. He also mentions that it has been brought to his attention that Banū Nawbakht (an influential group among the Twelver Shī'īs) had

⁵⁰⁸ These traditions can be found in canonical Sunnī ḥadīth literature. See Beranek and Tupek, *The Temptation of Graves in Salafi Islam*, 22.

a conflicting position in this regard; however, he does not elaborate further.⁵⁰⁹ His lack of elaboration is perhaps due to him not having certainty about whether Banū Nawbakht rejected this belief or not, for he states “It has reached me (*balaghanī*) that there is a disagreement (*khilāf*) from them on this matter,” hence it would seem that he was not aware first-hand as to whether this was the case, except that it was a *khilāf* attributed to them as opposed to being an article of disagreement about which he had an opportunity to engage with Banū Nawbakht directly in the form of a specific treatise rejecting its possibility. He then goes further to say that he also encountered a group who held the same view as Banū Nawbakht, whom he labels as Shortcomers (*al-muqaṣṣirūn*); that is, those who bespeak (*yantamī*) the doctrine of *imāma* due to their lack of knowledge.⁵¹⁰ It is evident that even among the Shīʿī groups there was some disagreement on this matter, albeit seemingly minimal, as he mentions that the collective belief of Imāmī scholars in this regard is that the Prophets and the Imāms can hear the whisper (*kalām al-munājī* “confidential intimate conversation”) at their burial sites (*fī mashāhidihim*).⁵¹¹ His confidence in this matter arose from commonly accepted sayings of the Prophet such as, “I hear he who conveys salutations (*sallama*) upon me at my grave and he who conveys salutations upon me from afar (*baʿīd*); I convey the salutation (*salām*) of God upon him and the mercy of God and His blessings.”⁵¹² Al-Mufīd makes it clear that this particular station after death is reserved

⁵⁰⁹ Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awāʿil al-maḳālāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Mufīd, 1993), 72-73. Banū Nawbakht were an established Shīʿī family of scholars based in Baghdad who inclined towards “rationalist” positions in opposition to the majority of Imāmī scholars, in tending to reject the supernatural abilities of the Imāms. See Sean Anthony, “Nawbakhti Family,” in *Elr*.

⁵¹⁰ Al-Mufīd, *Awāʿil al-maḳālāt*, 72.

⁵¹¹ Ibid. Interestingly there is a semantic relationship with the Arabic word *najāt* (salvation) or *munājī* (the one who is saved).

⁵¹² The Arabic is as follows: “*man sallama ʿalay ʿinda qabrī samiʿtuhu wa man sallama ʿalay min baʿīd balaghtuhu salām allāh ʿalayhi wa raḥmat allāh wa barakātuhu*. See al-Mufīd, *Awāʿil al-maḳālāt*, 73. Cf. al-Mufīd, *Taṣḥīḥ al-ʿitiqādāt al-imāmiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Mufīd, 1993), 91.

exclusively for the proofs of God (*ḥujaj allāh*) and it is accepted on the basis of “truthful traditions (*al-āthār al-ṣādiqa*). It should also be noted that in this same discussion al-Mufīd lambasts groups of Shīʿīs for blindly accepting traditions regarding the status of souls before death without investigating their chains of transmission nor their contents to sort out truth from falsehood; however, in the case mentioned above he is confident that after much critical analysis the traditions supporting the belief that the Prophet and the Imāms can hear salutations and greetings after their death is well supported and thus must be accepted on this basis as a divinely bestowed honour upon them.⁵¹³ That is, for al-Mufīd the root cause of this problem was that for him and his colleagues the ḥadīths on this matter are clear and compelling and thus a rejection of this cannot be on the basis of the Qurʿan either since it states emphatically that those who are killed for the sake of God (martyrs) remain alive with their Lord (*aḥyāʿun ʿinda rabbihim*) being sustained (*yurzaqūn*).⁵¹⁴ As a result it would not be unfathomable whatsoever for the believer to accept that they could hear the voices of the devout who salute them from close or afar.

In addition, later Sunnī and Shīʿī apologists (from both the medieval and the modern period) would cite the following traditions, among many others, in support of *ziyāra* to the Prophet and then extend those principles to the Imāms. I will cite two examples: “Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar relates from the Prophet: For he who visits my grave, my intercession for him is made obligatory.”⁵¹⁵ Another report from the prolific ḥadīth reporter Abū Hurayra (d.59/681) states:

⁵¹³ Al-Mufīd, *Awāʿil al-maqālāt*, 72.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, 73. Cf. Qurʿan, 3:169

⁵¹⁵ See the traditions found in the respective Sunnī ḥadīth collections of ʿUbayd b. Muḥammad Abū Muḥammad al-Warāq al-Nīshāpūrī (d.255/868) and Ibn Abī Dunyā Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī (d.281/894) as cited in al-Jalālī, *Mazārāt ahl al-bayt* (Beirut: Muʿassasat al-ʿAlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1995), 12. For similar apologetic traditions see Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Shifāʿ al-siqām fī ziyārat khayr al-anām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2008). For an extensive discussion pertaining to legal the polemics of *ziyāra* in Sunnī literature see Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous* (Leiden: Brill Publications, 1999), 168-218.

“The Prophet said: ‘he who visits me after my death it is as if he visited me while I was alive and for he who visits me I shall be a witness and intercessor (*shahīdan wa shafī’an*) for him on the day of resurrection.”⁵¹⁶

These traditions and others like it prevented a total ban on the *ziyāra* to the Prophet’s tomb since the early sources such as the *Sīra* (biography) of Ibn Ishāq (d.159/770) describe throngs of visitors to the Prophet’s freshly prepared grave in the days following his burial.⁵¹⁷ Clearly if such a practice were to be condemned as sinful, large numbers of the early Muslim community would have been guilty as charged.⁵¹⁸ Further, al-Mufīd, in his impassioned defense of *ziyāra*, mentions that there exists a consensus among the Muslims (*ajma‘a al-muslimūn*) regarding the obligation of visiting the grave of the Prophet (*wujūb ziyārat rasūl allāh*), leaving the possibility of disagreement pertaining to its permissibility. Al-Mufīd is correct in pointing out that there is an overwhelming consensus (*ijmā‘*) on this matter; however, that consensus is on the basis of it being a recommended (*mustahhab*) act and not obligatory (*wājib*) for Sunnīs.⁵¹⁹ Nonetheless, it is evident that for al-Mufīd this was an important ritual which was closely associated with Shī‘ī communal identity especially as it pertained to the visitations of the Imāms during the early 5th/11th century in Iraq.

It is further pointed out that the commitment to visiting the Prophet’s grave is in fact a point of unity between the Shī‘īs and the Ḥanbalīs, who were otherwise their chief theological

⁵¹⁶ Al-Jalālī, *Mazārāt*, 13.

⁵¹⁷ Beranek and Tupek, *The Temptation of Graves in Salafi Islam*, 23.

⁵¹⁸ From a Shī‘ī perspective this would not be a valid argument in favour of *ziyāra* since the majority of Muslims did not accept ‘Alī as the immediate successor to the Prophet, hence they are united in an act of disobedience from a Shī‘ī point of view.

⁵¹⁹ Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī provides an extensive discussion of this by citing a number of Sunnī jurists who proclaim consensus on the recommended nature of visiting the Prophet’s grave. See al-Subkī, *Shifā’ al-siqām*, 202-232.

nemesis in Baghdad.⁵²⁰ This gives us an insight into established communal practice of *ziyāra* in the 4-5th/10-11th centuries in which Shī'īs and Sunnīs alike performed this devotional act without any significant theological or legal impediment. With regard to visiting the grave of the Prophet and its permissibility, there was in fact no Muslim scholar of noted prominence that ever banned the *ziyāra* of the Prophet all together.⁵²¹ Therefore, it was virtually impossible to prevent Muslims from visiting and venerating the grave of the Prophet. To this effect, the Marwanids (r. 64-132/684-750) and later Muslim dynasties furnished his grave and made it a part of the larger mosque in Medina.⁵²² It is perhaps for this reason that even the contemporary Kingdom of Saudi Arabia continues to tolerate some minimal expression of *ziyāra* at the Prophet's grave.⁵²³

As for the critics of *ziyāra*, the Ḥanbalī school of Islamic law after Ibn Taymiyya was particularly critical of *ziyāra* practices such as building structures over them or furnishing them, while the Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Shāfi'ī schools have generally been more flexible, but nevertheless cautious in this regard.⁵²⁴ Among the earliest critics of *ziyāra* is the Ḥanbalī jurist, Ibn 'Aqīl (d.431/1039-1040), who was a contemporary of Shaykh al-Mufīd and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī in Baghdad. His view was that burial places should not be a place of prayer or exaltation reflected in kissing the grave (or shrine) as such practices may jeopardize one's monotheism.⁵²⁵ These were theological fears which are echoed further by the prominent Ḥanbalī scholar, Ibn Qudāma al-

⁵²⁰ Al-Mufīd responds to a question regarding common points between the Imāmīs and the Ḥanbalīs as being rather odd considering that the Imāmīs commonly derided the Ḥanbalīs. See al-Mufīd, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra* (Beirut: Dār al-Mufīd, 1993),130.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² Beranek and Tupek, *The Temptation of Graves in Salafi Islam*, 24.

⁵²³ Beranek and Tupek, *From Visiting Graves to Their Destruction* (Waltham: Crown Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 2009), 21-27.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 26.

⁵²⁵ George Makdisi provides a discussion on this in *Ibn 'Aqīl: Religion and Culture in Classical Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 209-213.

Maqdisī (d.620/1223) only to be amplified by Ibn Taymiyya and his most loyal student, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, who claimed that large swathes of the Muslim community had reverted back to polytheist idol worship which had been replaced by Islam. These practices include grave veneration and invocation of the dead in seeking assistance from them instead of the “one true God”. It is for this reason that *ziyāra* and its attending customs became a matter of Islamic law due to grave veneration being a practice that would threaten the monotheistic fabric of Muslim society. This in turn became an opportunity to “promote good and forbid evil,” all in the best interests of the Muslim community. Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim were both adamant that there is no proven efficacy in supplicating at a grave site as opposed to supplicating elsewhere, and there is no evidence that the visitor’s soul connects with or is positively affected by the sanctified soul of a buried saint, even if it be that of the Prophet himself. For Ibn Qayyim any semblance of this theological fallacy originated from misguided philosophers such as Avicenna and al-Farābī. In other words, for Ibn Taymiyya as well as Ibn Qayyim, there is no transference of blessings from the dead to the living due to the grave site being perceived as “hallowed ground” which would include the Prophet himself. Rather, in his view, the only benefits of “*al-ziyāra al-sharīyya* (legally acceptable visitation)” is to contemplate over one’s own mortality, as well as to pray for the dead but never to the dead which would constitute an innovation (*bid’a*). Furthermore, there should be no wailing, kissing, rubbing of cheeks on the dirt, decoration, or even travelling for the sole purpose of visiting a grave even if it be that of the Prophet’s grave in Medina, for all these practices are absolutely forbidden. Those performing such acts are deemed to be people of innovation.⁵²⁶ These three limited objectives according to Ibn Qayyim are: contemplate the

⁵²⁶ Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 185.

hereafter, perform a good deed for the deceased, and lastly to perform a good deed for oneself by following the prophetic tradition.⁵²⁷

Ironically, given earlier Ḥanbalī and Shī'ī agreement on *ziyārāt*, it is evident that both Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim were responding to what they viewed as the excesses occurring in medieval Egypt and especially the Qarāfa cemetery in Cairo. In fact, both jurists circumscribed the “legitimate” objectives of *ziyāra* in such a way as to render it meaningless in comparison to what many pilgrims were seeking, such as healing and divine intercession. Consequently, any continuation of this practice at least for some fundamentalists or purists would have been viewed with derision and at the very least suspicion. In both Ibn Taymiyya’s and Ibn Qayyim’s view, the worst offenders in this regard are the Shī'īs who were supported from the 3rd/9th century onwards by the eventual rise of Shī'ī dynasties such as the Buyids, Qarmatians, and the Fatimids, who encouraged grave veneration and the spread of “polytheistic” practices in the Muslim world.⁵²⁸ Therefore, from their viewpoint, in the 8th/14th century, they were responding to the misdeeds and innovations of heretical sects and dynasties that preceded them. There is a sense of profound suspicion in their respective writings that Muslims would unknowingly abandon the monotheism which forms the foundation of Islam by turning to created beings for assistance, however subtle it may be. In doing so, the community would unravel the Prophet’s efforts to ‘purify’ them from the “impurity (*rijs*)” of idol veneration and worship. To this effect, formative Sunnī traditionists (al-Tirmidhī and Muslim among others) report that the Prophet sent ‘Alī to destroy elevated graves and later ‘Alī did the same during his rule by ordering Abū al-Hayyāj al-Asadī, telling him:

⁵²⁷ Ibid, 189.

⁵²⁸ Ibid, 178.

“Do not leave any statue without destroying it, nor should you leave any raised grave without levelling it.”⁵²⁹ Contemporary Shī‘ī scholars such as Murtaḍā ‘Askarī with obvious Shī‘ī polemical intentions deny the authenticity of such traditions as they are found in Sunnī texts or limit their applications to pre-Islamic graves which were sites of divination and polytheistic custom so to theologially and legally justify established Shī‘ī practice.⁵³⁰

It should also be emphasized that Sunnīs have historically also visited and revered the graves of the Prophet’s family. An example of this can be seen in Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* in his section entitled “The Visit to Medina and Its Etiquettes (*Ziyārat al-Madīna wa ādābuhā*),” where the author cites three traditions of the Prophet urging Muslims to perform his *ziyāra*, albeit none of these can be found in the six Sunnī canonical ḥadīth texts. One tradition cited in the collection of al-Ṭabarānī (d.360/973) is of particular importance, in which the Prophet is quoted saying: “He who comes to me as a visitor (*zā’iran*) and does not concern himself (with anything) except my visitation shall have a right (*ḥaqqan*) upon God that I will be an intercessor (*shafī’an*) for him.”⁵³¹ He then provides a lengthy *ziyāra* text to recite at the grave of the Prophet which consists of salutation (*salām*) upon him and upon his family “those from whom God has removed impurity and purified them with a thorough purification.”⁵³² He then says: “After sending salutations upon the Prophet, it is recommended (*yastahabū*) to go every day to al-Baqī’ (the cemetery outside the Prophet’s mosque) and to visit (*yazūr*) the grave of ‘Uthmān, the grave

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 23. The original Arabic of ‘Alī’s alleged command is as follows: *lā tada timthālan illā ṭamastahu wa qabran musharrifan illā sawwaytahu*. Also see the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 1:89 and 96 as cited in Sayyid Murtaza Askari, *Building Tombs* (Mumbai: World Islamic Network, 1998), 17.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Miṣr, n.d.),1:337. Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Ayyub al-Lakhmī (al-Ṭabarānī) was one of the most important Sunnī traditionists of his era. See Maribel Fierro, “al-Ṭabarānī,” *EI2*.

⁵³² Ibid. The expression al-Ghazālī employed is from Qur’an, 33:33.

of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī and in it [al-Baqī‘ Cemetery] is the grave of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (Zayn al-‘Ābidīn), Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (al-Bāqir) and Ja‘far b. Muḥammad (al-Ṣādiq) . . .”⁵³³

Al-Ghazālī’s endorsement of *ziyāra* is not unusual for the time in which he lived, nor is it apologetic in its tenor. Rather, as a prominent theologian and jurist it was accepted by him that *ziyāra* had substantial merits which included the intercession of the Prophet where he will plead with God on the pilgrim’s behalf for the forgiveness of their sins and subsequent admission to Paradise. It was also during this time period in which the Seljuq Sultans revered the graves of prominent Muslims and saints. In 479/1087 both Malikshah (d.484/1092) and his vizier, Nizām al-Mulk (d.484/1092) are reported to have made pilgrimages to the shrines of al-Kāẓim and al-Jawād in Baghdad, al-Ḥusayn in Karbala and ‘Alī in Najaf in addition to visiting the graves of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Abū Ḥanīfa.⁵³⁴ During the Seljuq period such admiration for *ziyāra* would have been a point of unity between Shī‘īs and Sunnīs at least as exemplified by the Sunnī dignitaries of the 5th/11th century. Two centuries later, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d.756/1355) would write a lengthy defense of *ziyāra* spanning over five hundred pages in the published edition. The nuances have been discussed at length by Christopher S. Taylor in *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, hence are not required to be reproduced here. However, there are three key points of divergence between al-Subkī and Ibn Taymiyya on the subject of *ziyāra* which are necessary to be pointed out. Firstly, al-Subkī firmly believes that one of the purposes of *ziyāra* is to receive the mediation or connection with (*tawwasul*) and intercession (*shafā‘a*) of the Prophet, which he bases upon numerous ḥadīth traditions, demonstrating that there is a necessary congruency between *ziyāra*

⁵³³ Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’*, ibid.

⁵³⁴ D.G. Tor, “The Religious Life of the Great Seljuq Sultans,” in *The Seljuqs: Politics Society and Culture*, ed. Christian Lange and Songul Mecit (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 51.

and mediation received on the Day of Judgement. This mediation is the ultimate fruit stemming from the act of visiting the Prophet's grave and has been promised by him, hence in al-Subkī's view, why would Muslims not flock to salute him at his grave especially since they believe he can hear them and respond, albeit in a non-auditory manner. Secondly, while there is a disagreement as to whether the sanctification and respect for the Prophet can be counted as a legitimate objective for *ziyāra*, al-Subkī firmly believed it was.⁵³⁵ He insisted that *ziyāra* of the Prophet's tomb resulted in being blessed while being in the presence of his righteous soul and is a manifestation of the required reverence which was due to him during his life and equally incumbent after his death. He mentions that the Prophet would visit his own mother as a sign of "companionship, mercy, and kindness" towards the dead; hence, how could Muslims not do the same for the Prophet with whom there is no legitimate comparison?⁵³⁶ In this case al-Subkī takes a theological position which is akin to the Shī'ī position which is that saintly dead bodies carry residual sanctity which is conveyed to their righteous visitors after their death because their souls are unique, and this is essentially in an unseen (*ghaybī*) matter requiring faith.⁵³⁷ He rhetorically argues, that if this unique position can be extended to martyrs or other righteous Muslims, then what would be the [case] of the Prophet?⁵³⁸ Al-Mufīd some three centuries prior made a similar common sense [case], stating that the Prophet urged the Muslims to visit Hamza's tomb out of respect and reverence as is agreed upon by the Muslims (as per al-Mufīd). If this was the

⁵³⁵ His contemporary and fellow Shāfi'ī jurist 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd al-'Aṭṭār (d.724/124) has written a treatise entitled, *Majlis fī ziyārat al-qubūr* (An Exhortation on Visiting Tombs). In this treatise he concurs with most of al-Subkī's views but denies that the glorification of the Prophet is a legitimate objective of *ziyāra* since the Prophet prohibited Muslims from making his grave into a celebratory site akin to practices of Christians and Jews. See Taylor, who cites directly from the unpublished manuscript (*In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 213.)

⁵³⁶ Ibid, 202.

⁵³⁷ Ibid, 205.

⁵³⁸ Ibid, 201.

actuality, then how could one question the *ziyāra* of the Prophet and deny that *ziyāra* is a manifestation of this love and reverence. Lastly, al-Subkī, akin to al-Mufīd, emphasizes that Muslim jurists are essentially unanimous when it comes to the value of *ziyāra* and especially the *ziyāra* of the Prophet. While there is a disagreement among theologians regarding the precise relationship between the body and soul – especially after death – there is a general agreement that there is certainly some subsistence of life albeit in an altered form. Thus, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim’s strict limitation of *ziyāra* perceived as a discouragement or a ban was certainly a rare opinion and outside the norm among Sunnī jurists. The majority of jurists were of the view that Muslims understood the difference between polytheism and monotheism as they would be mature enough to distinguish between the two.⁵³⁹ Conversely, it seems, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim would not presume that Muslims understood the difference and would adhere to the limits.

When it came to *ziyāra* these limits which were shared by most Sunnī jurists included a prohibition on making tombs into places of prayer, kissing tombs, prostration before the tomb, and hanging graven images over them. In this case, the Shī’īs would certainly be guilty as charged; the degree of wailing, moaning, and bodily contact with the tomb would render even moderate Sunnī jurists uncomfortable at the sight of such practices. The Shī’ī reverence given to the *ziyāra* of the Infallibles and especially that of Imām al-Ḥusayn is extraordinary when compared to other schools of thought. Despite this great disparity when it comes to the intensity of *ziyāra*, it should be stressed that both Shī’īs and Sunnīs for the most part engendered a culture of love and

⁵³⁹ Ibid, 208.

commitment, not only to the Prophet but also to various saintly figures, including the family of the Prophet whose graves became vestiges of their spiritual charisma.

The spiritual charisma in this case is something that relies on the recognition of others and the construction of a sacred biography. As Vincent Cornell indicates, this is a matter of discourse which is constantly being reconstructed and recounted by those who confer saintly status upon those they view as charismatic and miraculous.⁵⁴⁰ The power and saintly authority of the Infallibles in Shī'ī tradition is perhaps best expressed in *ziyāra* as both ritual and text. This literary tradition is astoundingly voluminous and serves as a testament to a seemingly perennial commitment on the part of Shī'īs to nourish a constructed cultural memory of downtrodden spiritual heroes who not only warrant adoration and obedience but also demanded it from their followers who understand them to be the very proofs of God (*ḥujaj Allāh*) on Earth. For Shī'īs, *ziyāra* as practice and as a textual tradition is a response to those most pressing exigencies.

4.2 Shī'ī *ziyāra* as a textual tradition

While al-Kulaynī and his predecessors have been credited with producing the first significant systematically ordered Shī'ī ḥadīth compilations, it is imperative to recognize that they drew upon an existing written and oral tradition originating from the historical period of the Imāms which ended with the minor occultation in 872, six years after Kulaynī's birth.⁵⁴¹ In this case, *ziyāra* literature certainly formed a portion of this early written tradition mainly attributed

⁵⁴⁰ Vincent Cornell, *Realm of the Saint* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 63-64.

⁵⁴¹ I am in no way asserting that these entire compilations were the product of the Imāms or reflect in their totality the Imāms' words or ideas. Rather, these texts originated during the historical period of the Imāms and especially from the period of the fifth Imām onwards and were circulated by those who lived among them or who interacted with them.

to the companions of the Imāms, who are believed to have produced notebooks consisting of the traditions of the Imāms. It is for this reason that historians of Shī'ī literature such as Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī and Āghā Buzurg both describe the *ziyāra* textual tradition as mirroring that of *du'ā'* literature. Both liturgical genres can be found side-by-side in nearly all major Shī'ī ḥadīth compendiums from *al-Kāfī* to *Wasā'il al-Shī'a*. Therefore, the methods of al-Kulaynī and those like him were identical as far as using numerous written sources and having chains of transmission for the various *ziyārāt* cited. A glance at Shī'ī bio-bibliographical sources reveals the existence of numerous non-extant *ziyāra* texts originating from the historical period of the Imāms:

1. *Mazār Amīr al-Mu'minīn*: Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār al-Dihnī (d.175/791, companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim).⁵⁴²
2. *Kitāb al-mazār*: Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd b. Ḥammād b. Sa'īd Mihran al-Ahwāzī (d. circa late 3rd/9th century, companion of Imāms 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jawād, and 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī).⁵⁴³
3. *Kitāb al-ziyārāt*: 'Alī b. Faḍāl (d.224/838, companion of Imām 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā).⁵⁴⁴
4. *Ziyārat Abī 'Abd Allāh*: al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sima'a al-Kindī al-Ṣayrafī (d.263/876, companion of Imām Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāẓim).⁵⁴⁵
5. *Kitāb al-mazār*: Abū Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. Kathīr al-Raqqī (d. circa 3rd/9th century, companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā).⁵⁴⁶⁻⁵⁴⁷
6. *Kitāb al-mazār*: Muḥammad b. Urūma (d. early 3rd/9th century, companion of Imām al-Riḍā).⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴² Al-Ṭihārānī, *al-Dharī'a*, 20:321 The term *mazār* has the same meaning as *ziyāra*: "visitation", which for the purpose of this dissertation indicates the visitation of graves (*ziyārat al-qubūr*).

⁵⁴³ Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 149-150.

⁵⁴⁴ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 36.

⁵⁴⁵ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 41-42.

⁵⁴⁶ Al-Kashshī includes a report indicating that al-Raqqī lived during the time of Imām al-Riḍā, and thus historians have surmised that he died sometime in the early 3rd/9th century. See Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār fī ma'rifat al-rijāl* (Qum: Mashhad University Press, 1988), 407.

⁵⁴⁷ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 156. An *aṣl* has also been attributed to him. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 183.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 389. Without much explanation, he has been accused by his fellow Qummī associates of having extremist (*ghuluww*) tendencies albeit this is debated. See Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Mīr Dāmād, *al-Rawāshih al-samāwiyya fī sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-imāmiyya* (Qum: Dār al-Khalāfa, 1893), 108; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, 101. He is nevertheless a prominent reporter of traditions.

7. *Kitāb al-mazār*: Yūnus b. ‘Alī al-Qaṭṭān (lived during the mid 3rd/9th century; he was a contemporary of the tenth and eleventh Imāms).⁵⁴⁹
8. *Kitāb al-mazār*: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār (al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, d.290/902, a contemporary of the eleventh and twelfth Imāms).⁵⁵⁰
9. *Kitāb al-mazār*: Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī (d. 300/912, a contemporary of the eleventh and twelfth Imāms).⁵⁵¹

The above selection is intended to demonstrate that *ziyāra* literature has a long and venerable history in the Shī‘ī tradition. Similarly, to *du‘ā* literature, it also originated during the historical period of the Imāms and was compiled alongside the various *uṣūl* compositions.⁵⁵² An example of this is al-Raqqī who, while having a *mazār* attributed to him, is also known to have had an *aṣl*, as a companion of three Imāms. Another example is Yūnus b. ‘Alī b. Qaṭṭān, the compiler of a *mazār* who was a contemporary of the tenth and eleventh Imāms and an important source for Ḥamīd b. Ziyād, who transmits the *Kitāb of Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī* (companion of fourth and fifth Imāms) and other *uṣūl* compositions from him.⁵⁵³ It is observed in this case that transmitters of *uṣūl* works also compiled *kutub al-mazār* (Books of Visitation).⁵⁵⁴ As mentioned in chapter one, it is not to say that these are the same, but rather some of those who were transmitters (*ruwāt*) of the *uṣūl* also had their own respective *mazār* compilations. This correlation indicated that it would have been entirely plausible that the early *mazār* compilations also had the benefit of being based on very early written material that originated either from the Imāms or from their associates. In addition, all of the above sources were seen to have been written by companions

⁵⁴⁹ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 448.

⁵⁵⁰ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 354.

⁵⁵¹ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 177.

⁵⁵² For more on this see *Mawsū‘āt ziyārāt al-ma‘šūmīn* (Qum: Mu‘assasat al-Imām al-Ḥadī, 2005), 1: 100-150.

⁵⁵³ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 448.

⁵⁵⁴ *Mazār* literature means the site where *ziyāra* takes place such as the grave or shrine of a particular person. Hence a book of *mazār* would be synonymous with a book of *ziyāra* with both containing traditions pertaining to the visitation and recitation of liturgies at the various shrines of the Imāms.

or contemporaries of the Imāms who hailed from Kufa or Qum and upon whom large swathes of the Shī'ī ḥadīth tradition depend. The desired objective in drawing this correlation is not to authenticate the *mazār* literature but to demonstrate that at least portions of it can be traced back with some confidence, through Shī'ī communal memory, to a written tradition originating in the 2nd -3rd/8-9th centuries, well before al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī* or Ibn Qūlawayh's *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.⁵⁵⁵

Another important point is that all the texts quoted mentioned above were accessible to either al-Ṭūsī or al-Najāshī with their respective chains of transmission through their intermediaries and would have likely formed part of the Shī'ī literary repository in Baghdad. Furthermore, since the beginning of the greater occultation of the twelfth Imām, numerous noteworthy Shī'ī scholars across the centuries compiled devotional books containing the various *ziyārāt* of the Imāms. It should be noted that many of the works discussed in chapter one are known as *majmū'āt*, or liturgical collections, which contain a variety of *du'ā'* and *ziyāra*, such as the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and even the contemporary work, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*. Therefore, the discussion that follows will be limited to those texts which are devoted primarily to the *ziyāra* or *mazār* genre of liturgy.

4.3 Ibn Qūlawayh (d.368/978) and his *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*

In the period following the teachers of al-Kulaynī and towards the commencement of the greater occultation, we witness a continued and consistent scholarly interest in *ziyāra* literature by a myriad of scholars. One such example is the famous Shī'ī convert, Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-Ayyāshī (d.320/932) who wrote a *Kitāb al-mazār* which is no longer extant and is best known for

⁵⁵⁵ The biographical and bibliographic indices reflect that communal memory.

his partial *tafsīr*.⁵⁵⁶ Thereafter, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh al-Qummī (Shaykh al-Ṣadūq d.381/991) also compiled numerous *ziyāra* compendiums, all of which were available to his intellectual heirs, such as al-Najāshī.⁵⁵⁷ Contemporary to al-Ṣadūq were the prominent traditionists, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Naṣr al-Anbārī (d.356/966) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī (Ibn Dāwūd d.368/978) whose *Kitāb al-ziyāra* is said to have been extensive and remained a key source for later scholars until al-Kaf‘amī.⁵⁵⁸ The *Mazār* of Ibn Dāwūd must have been written at least six years prior to his death since Ibn Dāwūd issued an *ijāza* for the text to Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Samī in the year 360/970. The work of Ibn Dāwūd was sufficiently influential to be noted by ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs (d.693/1293) who was a student of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and mentioned this ancient manuscript (*nuskha ‘atīqa*) of the *Mazār* which was collated with the author’s original upon which the *ijāza* of Ibn Dāwūd was written in his own hand.⁵⁵⁹

Following al-Kulaynī, the most noteworthy expert on the matter of *ziyāra* is decisively Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh al-Qummī (Ibn Qūlawayh), whose work is extant and

⁵⁵⁶ Al-Amīn, *A‘yān al-shī‘a*, 1:159.

⁵⁵⁷ Shaykh al-Ṣadūq wrote separate volumes on the *ziyārāt* of the Prophet, Imāms al-Kāẓim and al-Jawād, al-Riḍā, and a general work entitled *Kitāb ziyārāt qubūr al-a‘imma* (“Book of Visitation of the Graves of the Imāms”), (Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 389). An introduction to him will be provided in the next section when discussing the *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibn Dāwūd al-Qummī is described as *Shaykh al-Qumīn* (“Master of the scholars of Qum”). He was very influential and is an important source of traditions for all generations of Shī‘ī traditionists that followed him. See Āghā Buzurg, *al-Dharī‘a*, 12:78. A manuscript entitled *Mazār* of Ibn Dāwūd has been mistakenly attributed to him by the curators at al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya in Mashhad. Upon analysing the manuscript, the compiler cites from sources much later than Ibn Dāwūd and there is no textual evidence indicating that even a portion of material was referenced from Ibn Dāwūd’s *Mazār*. Thus, the attribution to him is clearly erroneous. Pseudo-Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qummī, *Mazār* MS no. 3271a, copied in 1095/1683, al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya, Mashhad, Iran.

⁵⁵⁹ ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī fī ta‘īn qabri Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* (Qum: Markaz al-Ghadīr li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 1998), 195. Ibn Ṭāwūs also cites copious narrations from this work which was apparently two volumes. See Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work*, 390-391. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was one of the most celebrated Shī‘ī theologians and philosophers of the 7th/13th century.

numbering 550 pages, as can be seen from the edition edited by Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Isfahānī.⁵⁶⁰ His influence on the Shī'ī *ziyāra* tradition is unparalleled and most plainly to be seen by browsing any Shī'ī *ziyāra* manual, from his student Shaykh al-Mufīd's *Kitāb al-mazār* to the hundreds of pages devoted to *ziyāra* in *Wasā'il al-shī'a*.⁵⁶¹ It is evident that Ibn Qūlawayh, like his predecessor al-Kulaynī, had access to a vast number of resources originating from the time of the Imāms. Furthermore, he was a known teacher to not only al-Mufīd, but also Ibn al-Ghadā'irī, and Aḥmad b. 'Abdūn, who were known to be among the most prominent Shī'ī scholars of the 5th/11th century. Furthermore, his contemporary Ibn Bābawayh (Shaykh al-Ṣadūq) has listed Ibn Qūlawayh among his sources as found in his *mashyakha* (chain of authorities) followed by the epithet, "may God be pleased with him (*raḍīya allāhu 'an-hu*)" in addition to narrating from him on numerous occasions in his *Kamāl al-dīn*.⁵⁶² To this effect, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī describes Ibn Qūlawayh as being among the grand scholars and according to al-Ṣafadī he is listed among the companions of Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, although according to al-Najāshī Ibn Qūlawayh only narrated four traditions from him whereas his father was a direct student of Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh.⁵⁶³ In fact, al-Ṣafadī goes so far to say that "whatever is described regarding Ibn

⁵⁶⁰ Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh al-Qummī, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, ed. Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī (Qum: Nashr al-Faqāha, 2008).

⁵⁶¹ This is so plainly evident that one just needs to turn a few pages in any major *ziyāra* text (which happens to have *isnāds*) from al-Mufīd onwards to find Ibn Qūlawayh's name on nearly every page.

⁵⁶² See Ibn Bābawayh (Shaykh al-Ṣadūq), *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*, 4:430, 432, 475, 491, 505, 525, 526, 537; *Kamāl al-dīn*, 1:39, 270, 286, 294, 325, 430, 2:641; *al-Khiṣāl*, 1:33, 27, 167. This salient point has been often missed due to Ibn Qūlawayh also being known as Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Masrūr with Masrūr referring to his father, whereas Ibn Qūlawayh refers to his grandfather, however, both names refer to the author of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. For more on this see 'Alī al-Namāzī al-Shāhrūdī, *Mustadrak 'ilm al-rijāl* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 2005), 2:217, 425; Āyat Allāh al-Sayyid al-Ḥusayn al-Burūjirdī, *Rijāl asānīd kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh (al-mawsū'a al-rijāliyya)* (Mashhad: Majma' al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyya fi Āstāna al-Raḍawiyya al-Muqaddasa, 1994), 5:205; al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a*, 4:118.

⁵⁶³ Al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, 123. For Sunnī biographies of Ibn Qūlawayh see Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyya, 2002), 2:470; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafāyāt*, 11:151.

Qūlawayh's jurisprudence (*fiqh*), religion, and trustworthiness (*thiqa*), he is above that (*fawqa dhālika*)."

As for *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, firstly and most evidently, Ibn Qūlawayh did not set out to prepare a practical pilgrims' guide due to his text being documented with *isnāds* and thus can be compared to a formal scholarly ḥadīth compilation. However, since the text and its traditions are dedicated to *ziyāra*, its etiquette and virtues, while also including a number of traditions in praise of wailing and weeping (*niyāha* and *bukā'*) for Imām al-Ḥusayn, it can be used as a pilgrimage handbook while visiting the shrines. Among the early *mazārāt* (sing. *mazār*) authors who were contemporary to the Imāms (as in the list above), we find five of these narrators can be found in the *isnāds* of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. They are Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār, Dāwūd b. Kathīr al-Raqqī, Muḥammad b. Urūma, Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī, Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, and al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī.⁵⁶⁴ With regard to the *Mazārs* of al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī and Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, we find a clearly articulated *ṭarīq* (pathway) by which Ibn Qūlawayh had access to these texts *via* his teachers since he mentions these details in his bibliographic catalogue (*fihrist*).⁵⁶⁵ We could reason that Ibn Qūlawayh most likely had access to an even greater number of early *ziyāra* and *mazār* texts since the original *fihrist* of Ibn Qūlawayh is no longer extant, although parts of it can be found in al-Najāshī's *Rijāl*. Further yet, in a similar vein to *al-Kāfī*'s section on *du'ā'*, upon analyzing the reporters (*ruwāt*) found in the *isnāds* of *Kāmil al-*

⁵⁶⁴ For Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār see *ibid.*, 50, 60, 64-66, 68; on Dāwūd b. Kathīr al-Raqqī see *ibid.*, 198, 212, 224, 231, 317, 335; on al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī see *ibid.*, 47, 48, 53, 60, 173, 298, 435, 491; on al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī there are at least sixty different citations. For a selection see *ibid.*, 43, 72, 125, 173, 355, 360, and 386; on Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī there are again at least one hundred and thirty-six citations. For a selection see 39, 41, 84, 110, 112, 151, 156, 161, 469, 472, 501.

⁵⁶⁵ Al-Najāshī has preserved this vital information in his *Rijāl*. For Ibn Qūlawayh's *ṭarīq* to al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī's *Mazār*, see al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 253.

ziyārāt we find that thirty-five of these reporters also have an *aṣl* attributed to them or they acted as a conduit for its transmission.⁵⁶⁶ Some of these names include Dāwūd b. Kathīr al-Raqqī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥammad al-Anṣārī (lived during second half of the 2nd/8th century), ‘Alī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Sālim al-Baṭā’inī (companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm who lived in the 2nd/8th century), and Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Bazāz al-Qurashī (d.285/898 contemporary of al-Kulaynī), all of whom can be found in up to eighty separate *isnāds*.⁵⁶⁷

This correlation does not indicate that traditions on the subject of *ziyāra* can be found in the *uṣūl* works since the vast majority of these original texts have been lost. However, it does indicate that the reporters of traditions dealing with *ziyāra* contemporaneously had notebooks containing their lecture notes or the notes copied by another individual. As stated in chapter one, these notes are believed to have consisted of sayings attributed to the Imāms written down by their companions either during the lesson or subsequently. Within that broader culture of ḥadīth writing, it would be prudent to presume that *ziyāra* traditions could have naturally been contained in these notebooks while concomitantly existing as an individual written tradition during the lives of the Imāms.

One additional remark pertaining to the extant manuscripts of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* is in order: that is, in comparison to the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* does not have an illustrious manuscript heritage. In fact the earliest extant manuscript is MS 25558a copied in 920/1514 in

⁵⁶⁶ See the Appendix for the list of narrators.

⁵⁶⁷ For the list of *aṣl* works see Āghā Buzurg, *al-Dharī‘a*, 2:125-128. On these narrators in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* see Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*; for Dāwūd b. Kathīr al-Raqqī see 197, 212, 224, 231, 317, 335; on ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥammād al-Anṣārī see 223, 225, 264, 290, 457, 469; on ‘Alī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Baṭā’inī see 134, 173, 215, 220, 232, 233, 426, 428, 491, 534, 535; on Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Razāz al-Qurashī there are eighty-six individual citations since he was a central conduit for the dissemination of numerous *uṣūl* works. For a sample see 288, 291, 292, 449, 366, 482.

the collections of al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya.⁵⁶⁸ As far as non-extant manuscripts go we do find a reference from ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs to a *nuskha* (a copy originally owned by his uncle, Ibn Ṭāwūs) of Ibn Qūlawayh’s *mazār* that was copied in 369/979 upon which his handwriting (*khatt*) could be found.⁵⁶⁹ On the basis of this note it can be assumed that a copy purporting to be contemporary to the original work in the hand of Ibn Qūlawayh himself survived until the 7th/13th century and there is no mention of any copies made from the original which are in extant form.⁵⁷⁰ That being said, we can reasonably surmise that the narrations from *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* as cited by Ibn Ṭāwūs and his nephew ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs were based upon an original copy and hence may be treated with a degree of confidence. The current edition published by Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī is largely based upon a manuscript corrected and collated with multiple additional manuscripts by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, as this has been verified by his own testimony to this effect and accompanied by his signature.⁵⁷¹ This would also indicate that al-Majlisī had several manuscripts at his disposal, and we can rely upon his collation from which the published edition of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* is based. Another method of ascertaining the correctness of the current manuscripts and the published edition is to compare the narrations transmitted by Ibn Qūlawayh in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* with the same narrations from Ibn Qūlawayh found in other texts such as the *Mazār* of al-Mufid or *Miṣbāḥ al-zā’ir* of Ibn Ṭāwūs. In this regard the editor has done a considerable amount of work in collating all the traditions with extant material and manuscripts,

⁵⁶⁸ Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* MS 25558a copied in 920/1514, al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya, Mashhad, Iran.

⁵⁶⁹ ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī*, 87. This is a year after the author’s death; however, it is very well possible that he died in 369/979 and not 368/978. The author of *Farḥat al-gharī* states that he transmitted this manuscript from his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs. In this regard, much like the works of Ibn Ṭāwūs, the *Farḥat al-gharī* by his nephew ‘Abd al-Karīm contains important information regarding the various sources he used.

⁵⁷⁰ Today, we have no physical manuscript of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* earlier than the 10th/16th century.

⁵⁷¹ Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, MS 8453, Majlis Shūrā, Tehran, Iran, folio 388. Al-Majlisī notes on folio 388 in his own handwriting: “I collated (this manuscript) with numerous others (*‘ūriḍa ‘alā nusukhin ‘adīda*).”

making the current edition relatively reliable despite the absence of early manuscripts and licenses from the 5th-7th centuries as we observed in the case of the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, which contains both *du‘ā’* and *ziyāra*. One key reason for this distinction is that these two personalities, Ibn Qūlawayh and al-Ṭūsī, cannot be compared as near equals in terms of their legacies within the broader Shī‘ī tradition. That is to say, the legacy of al-Ṭūsī and the broad reception of his writings has very few near equivalents aside from that of his teacher al-Mufīd, ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, al-Shahīd al-Awwal, and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī. Nevertheless, Ibn Qūlawayh’s text was clearly used as a primary source by all those who followed him, as hundreds of his traditions are repeated in those sources.⁵⁷²

Ibn Qūlawayh’s own words are noteworthy and can be found in his introduction. He begins by bemoaning the “evil” acts perpetrated by the community (*umma*) of the Prophet in killing (*qatalū*) those whom they were ordered to love and abandoning the ones whom they were ordered to visit (*jaffū man umirū bi-ziyāratihī*). He goes on to say that the community (referring largely to elements in the Sunnī community) will face the Prophet on the Day of Judgement and be forced to answer for their oppression (*ẓulm*) of the family of the Prophet and their followers who wish to visit them.⁵⁷³ This may be a reference to any number of tragedies, the most shocking of which was the Abbasid al-Mutawakkil’s (d.274/861) torture of the pilgrims at al-Ḥusayn’s shrine in Karbala. In this regard Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī and Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d.356/967) have provided informative accounts of this Abbasid policy. Al-Ṭabarī states that al-

⁵⁷² This can be discerned by browsing the editor’s copious notes on the text which can be found on every page.

⁵⁷³ Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 36. For instance see the chapter on *ziyāra* in al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il al-shī‘a* (Qum: Jāmi‘at al-Mudarisīn, 2002), 5:422-624. The main four sources for the 900 traditions in this chapter are al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣadūq, Ibn Qūlawayh, and al-Ṭūsī (in historical order) with the vast majority of traditions being from Ibn Qūlawayh.

Mutawakkil ordered the destruction (*hadam*) of al-Ḥusayn's tomb in Karbala and its surrounding area (*mā ḥawlahu*) in addition to having it completely mown over and hidden with new shrubs. He then ordered the imprisonment and torture of any pilgrim who attempted to visit the gravesite in Karbala. Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī relates a more dramatic story (on the basis of an eye-witness's claims) that al-Mutawakkil destroyed the grave and apprehended pilgrims on their way to Karbala due to an incident which took place following his caliphal inauguration. In this account it is alleged that al-Mutawakkil enjoyed the company of female singers (*mughaniyyāt*) accompanying him while he drank (wine). However, upon his ascension to the throne he could not find his favorite singer only to discover that she had left with her masters to visit al-Ḥusayn's grave in Karbala. He then proceeded to send a warrant out for her return, and upon her return interrogated her as to the cause of her disappearance, to which she replied, "My masters went for *hajj*, and they took us with them." The witness (*shāhid*) states that this took place in Sha'bān, thus al-Mutawakkil retorted by saying: "Where did you go for hajj during Sha'bān (*ayna ḥajajtum fī sha'bān*)?" She responded by saying: "To the grave of al-Ḥusayn (*ilā qabri al-ḥusayn*)."⁵⁷⁴ Thus, out of his jealousy he ordered that the grave be obliterated.

During this reign of fear, al-Mutawakkil deprived the followers of the Imāms from visiting the grave of al-Ḥusayn and any of his living descendants in Medina. The degree of subjugation and deprivation was such that the female descendants of 'Alī (*'alawiyyāt*) in Medina only had a single prayer robe in which to pray and they would be forced to have to take turns sewing it and could not pray in congregation.⁵⁷⁵ Many of these details may be the product of the narrator's

⁵⁷⁴ See Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-ṭālibīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1987), 478.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 479.

imagination combined with Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's own antipathy towards al-Mutawwakil; however, it conveys a deep antagonism not only towards al-Mutawwakil but all those who either supported him or benefited under his reign. It should be further noted that while al-Mutawwakil's policies in this regard are viewed by Shī'īs as particularly heinous, he was not the first. Al-Ṭūsī has included a report from Mughīra b. Rāzī who reports from Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (a companion of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq) who states that Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 169/786-193/809) destroyed the grave of al-Ḥusayn in Karbala in addition to chopping down a tree (*sidra*) that was growing on top of it, for which he claims there is a ḥadīth of the Prophet that states that God curses (*la'ana*) the one who cuts the tree.⁵⁷⁶ While there are no corroborating historical reports to this effect, early Shī'ī tradition attempts to posit that aversion towards the *ziyāra* of al-Ḥusayn and his grave can at least be traced back to the early Abbasid period, well before al-Mutawakkil, whose infamous policies are well attested to.

In this introduction, Ibn Qūlawayh clearly views himself as among the downtrodden, whose ancestors and kinsmen were the subject of profound disenfranchisement and bigotry. Thus, he views himself and those of his ilk as the ones who are striving to hold fast to a tradition which had been neglected by the majority of Muslims according to what he imagines of the matter. In this sense the tenor of his introduction is profoundly hostile and argumentative. These sorts of sentiments indicate that his readership was largely the embattled Shī'ī communities of Qum and also Baghdad where he resided. Further, this blatantly polemical tenor accompanied by accounts of abandonment, oppression, and divine vengeance speak perfectly to the content

⁵⁷⁶ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 325.

of traditions to be found in the text that deal with the wailing for al-Ḥusayn done by the few select Shī'a who benefit from performing his *ziyāra*. He then proceeds to make two highly disputable claims. Firstly he states: "I have not included a ḥadīth in it [*Kāmil al-ziyārāt*] except that it is from the Imāms."⁵⁷⁷ Secondly he states: "I have not included everything reported from them [the Infallibles]; rather, whatever is with us from trustworthy individuals (*thiqāt*) from our companions (*aṣḥābinā*) ... and I have not included in it [*Kāmil al-ziyārāt*] a single reported by unidentified persons (*al-shudhādh*) ..." ⁵⁷⁸ Therefore it would seem that Ibn Qūlawayh is attempting to provide a blanket authentication (*al-tawthīq al-'āmm*) for his text.⁵⁷⁹ As Muslim al-Dāwarī explains, the above interpretation was accepted by his teacher Āyat Allāh al-Khū'ī (d. 1413/1992) who was the leading Shī'ī authority of his day in the city of Najaf. The late al-Khū'ī deemed it to be a general statement (*al-'ibāra al-shāmila*) covering all the various transmitters found in the *isnāds* of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.⁵⁸⁰ Both Muslim al-Dāwarī and Sayyid al-Jalālī (students of al-Khū'ī) put forward two critiques of this interpretation.

Firstly, it is clear that many of the *ruwāt* found in the *isnāds* are in fact unknown to us, which is contrary to the claim of the author. Muslim al-Dāwarī explains that some of these *ruwāt* are not even to be found in any book other than *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. I should note that much of these evaluations are dependent upon the methodological position of the scholar as to whether an unknown (*majhūl*) narrator weakens a chain of transmission such that it would no longer be

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 37.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ I say this because it is impossible to truly know what he intended by this; however, it would seem like a complete authentication.

⁵⁸⁰ Muslim al-Dāwarī, *Uṣūl 'ilm al-rijāl*, 1:322. Also see al-Jalālī, *Dirāyat al-ḥadīth*, 386.

considered authentic or trustworthy.⁵⁸¹ An example where a dispute arises is about whether a general testimony or evidence (*al-shahāda al-ijmāliyya*) is sufficient to authenticate a ḥadīth or whether it must be a direct sensory testimony (*al-shāhāda al-ḥisiyya*). This testimony entails that the narrator is known, as is evident in extant information, and classified explicitly as being trustworthy (*thiqa*) on the basis of an acceptable narration. Secondly, Ibn Qūlawayh claims that he has only reported traditions from “trustworthy narrators (*al-ruwāt al-thiqāt*)” which is equally debatable. Firstly as al-Jalālī points out, upon investigation of the *isnāds* we find non-Shīʿīs present, which at the very least who would rise to the level of trustworthiness (*withāqa*) in his view.⁵⁸² Secondly, several of the *ruwāt* have been classified as weak (*ḍaʿīf*), such as al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān. Further, many of *isnāds* are incomplete and do not conclude with an Imām as the primary source.⁵⁸³ After much debate, al-Khūʿī issued a postscript to his *Muʿjam rijāl al-ḥadīth* (Compendium of Men of Ḥadīth) in which he restates the arguments of his students as seen above and then concludes that we must limit our interpretation to being a limited and specific authentication (*al-tawthīq al-khāṣṣ*) of the masters (*mashāyikh*) of Ibn Qūlawayh and not beyond them.⁵⁸⁴ Further, in my view, the contemporary (20th/21st century) interrogation of Ibn Qūlawayh’s two assertions seems to be anachronistic and glaringly lacking in historical context. The reason for this is that contemporary *uṣūlī* scholars such as al-Dāwarī, and al-Khūʿī are

⁵⁸¹ Muḥammad al-Sanad would argue otherwise and state that there are other contextual factors (*qarāʿin*) by which an *isnād* can be authenticated even with an unknown narrator and this includes the transmission of a well-known personality who is deemed trustworthy (*thiqa*) but who also transmits from that unknown narrator. See Muḥammad al-Sanad, *Buḥūth fī mabānī ʿilm al-rijāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Amīra, 2011), 1:128-176.

⁵⁸² Once again these are highly disputed matters. For instance, Ibn Tāwūs vehemently argues that non-Shīʿī and non-Muslims have been trusted in the past as reliable narrators. Certainly, they would not be on par with a just and learned Shīʿī narrator, but if that is the criterion for determining authenticity then most *ziyārāt* and *adʿiya* would be deemed problematic from a *rijāl* perspective.

⁵⁸³ Al-Dāwarī, *al-Uṣūl fī ʿilm al-rijāl*, 1:323; al-Jalālī, *Dirāyat al-ḥadīth*, 387.

⁵⁸⁴ For the full postscript see *Ibid*, 388.

discrediting Ibn Qūlawayh's claims on the basis of a fully developed (15th/20th century) system of ḥadīth sciences and its accompanying epistemology. What is required is a further examination of the position of scholars like Ibn Qūlawayh on the issue of authentication as conveyed within the intellectual milieu of the 4th/10th century in which he was writing. This debate regarding the *isnāds* of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* is a common source of ongoing discussion in the Shī'i Islamic seminaries.⁵⁸⁵

4.4 Ibn Qūlawayh's legacy and *ziyāra* literature

In the generation following al-Ṣadūq and Ibn Qūlawayh, we see a continued interest in writing and compiling *ziyāra* as a genre of liturgical literature. Masters of al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī such as al-Mufaḍḍal al-Shaybānī, Ibn 'Abdūn, Ibn Abī Qurra and Shaykh al-Mufīd are all credited with *ziyāra* collections of their own compiled during late 4th-early 5th/late 10th-early 11th centuries. Among these four authorities, the latter two are of particular importance. In the case of Ibn Abī Qurra, his *mazār* has been cited by Ibn Ṭāwūs as a source for the famous *ziyāra* to be performed at Imām 'Alī's grave on the day of Ghadīr Khumm.⁵⁸⁶ The only extant text of *ziyāra* material from this mentioned period (following Ibn Qūlawayh) is the *Kitāb al-mazār* by Shaykh al-Mufīd whose work was used as a source by al-Ṭūsī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs and al-Kaf'amī.⁵⁸⁷ In the introduction, al-Mufīd emphasizes that this is a book of rites (*manāsik*) to be performed

⁵⁸⁵ For a discussion on this see Liyakat Takim, "The Origins and Evaluation of Ḥadīth Transmitters in Shī'i Biographical Literature," *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 24:4 (Herndon, VA: 2007), 35-37.

⁵⁸⁶ Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work*, 262. The day of Ghadīr Khumm refers to the Shī'i belief that the Prophet appointed 'Alī as his successor at a place known as Ghadīr and this day is celebrated as a holiday in addition to being a sacred day to perform the *ziyāra* of 'Alī's shrine in Najaf.

⁵⁸⁷ See the editor's notes in Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu'mān (Shaykh al-Mufīd), *Kitāb al-mazār*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Abṭahī (Qum: al-Mu'tamar al-'Ālamī al-Alfiyya al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1992), 12.

while visiting the various shrines.⁵⁸⁸ It would seem that the continuous compilation and preparation of *mazār* compendiums and texts devoted to its virtues was a personal preoccupation of scholars who could have relied upon the respective works of their teachers. In the years that followed al-Mufīd and al-Ṭūsī, numerous prominent scholars continued to contribute to the liturgical genre of *ziyāra* literature. These scholars include Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Mashhadī [Ibn al-Mashhadī (b. circa 510/1116)], Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Ibn Ṭāwūs, ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, al-Shahīd al-Awwal, and lastly, Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī.⁵⁸⁹ I shall reiterate here that all of these mentioned scholars continue to be regarded as pivotal figures (but of course not *ma‘ṣūm*) in the Shī‘ī tradition.

From among these formative figures, the extant work *al-Mazār al-kabīr* (“The Large *Mazār*”) of six hundred and seventy-one pages by a student of Abī ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, Ibn al-Mashhadī (d.609/1213) is the most significant. This is due to the breadth of the text, its introduction and the historical details he has included in his *isnāds*.⁵⁹⁰ The book contains various liturgies to be recited for the Prophet and each Imām’s *ziyāra*, in addition to supplemental supplications for the various months of the year which can be performed alongside the various *ziyārāt*. He professes in the introduction that all devotions contained in his work have come from trustworthy narrators (*min thiqāt al-ruwāt*).⁵⁹¹ It is of course not surprising that the author would make such a claim

⁵⁸⁸ The *isnāds* in this work have been truncated as the latter is more of a manual than a ḥadīth collection. A second work has been published under the title *al-Mazār al-kabīr* (“The Larger *Mazār*”) which has been attributed to al-Mufīd. It would seem that bio-bibliographers have used the terms *ṣaghīr* (“small”) and *kabīr* (“large”) with regard to al-Mufīd’s *Mazār* since the manuscript titles differ. See the editor’s introduction in al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, ed. Sayyid Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūjirdī (Qum: Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī, 2012), 8-59.

⁵⁸⁹ For a list of these works see al-Amīn, *A‘yān al-shī‘a*, 1:158-159.

⁵⁹⁰ Āghā Buzurg has devoted a significant entry to Ibn al-Mashhadī and his *Mazār*. See Āghā Buzurg, *al-Dharī‘a*, 20: 324-325.

⁵⁹¹ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Mashhadī (Ibn al-Mashhadī), *al-Mazār al-kabīr ed. Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī*, (Qum: Jāmi‘at al-Mudarrisīn, 1998), 27.

about his own work; however, it demonstrates that matters of authenticity pertaining to liturgical material continued to be relevant well after Ibn Qūlawayh. This method indicates that it was not sufficient simply to rely on the masters (*mashāyikh*) but Ibn al-Mashhadī also felt the need to assure his readers of his own scruples regarding the issue of authenticity. It is partially for this reason that many later scholars, including al-Khū'ī, have trusted Ibn al-Mashhadī's transmissions and the narrators in this text.⁵⁹²

Perhaps to be convincing, Ibn al-Mashhadī has provided an immense degree of detail in his chains of transmission. An example of which can be seen in his narration of the *Ziyārat Āl Yāsīn* (an epithet for the Imāms) taught to the Shī'a by the twelfth Imām and transmitted through a series of *ijāzāt* (licenses) from his (Ibn al-Mashhadī's) teacher, Muḥammad b. 'Arabī Musāfir (d. circa 580/1184), who studied and recited (*qirā'atan*) the text to him in Rabī' al-Awwal, the year 573/1177 in the city of Hilla.⁵⁹³ The *isnād* continues from Hilla to Najaf with a chain of teachers and students which include Abī 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, who reports it *via* his authorities arriving at Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī (d. mid 4th/10th century).⁵⁹⁴ Al-Ḥimyarī, in addition to being the source for al-Kulaynī, was also a contemporary to the father of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq and lived during the Imamate of al-'Askarī and into the early occultation of the twelfth Imām.⁵⁹⁵ Most significantly, al-Najāshī describes al-Ḥimyarī as being the secretary (*al-kātib*) to

⁵⁹² For the discussion and debate see al-Dāwarī, *Uṣūl 'ilm al-rijāl*, 344-366.

⁵⁹³ Muḥammad b. 'Arabī b. Musāfir was also an authority for Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī and a student of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī who is the author of the famous ḥadīth text on the virtues of the Prophet's family entitled *Bishārat al-muṣṭafa li-shī'at al-murtaḍā*. See al-Subhānī, *Mawsū'āt tabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 6:178.

⁵⁹⁴ This *ziyāra* is a special devotion taught by the twelfth Imām to the Shī'a to recite when they wish to turn to God through the Infallibles (*tawwaju bi-nā ilā allāh*) (Ibn al-Mashhadī, *Mazār al-kabīr*, 566-568). Shaykh al-Ṭūsī had a well-known pathway to al-Ḥimyarī. See al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb*, 2:51,75,72. There are two other examples with *isnāds* inclusive of *ijāzāt*. See *al-Ziyāra al-jāmi'a* and 'Āshūrā' in Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 523, 478.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibn Qūlawayh transmits directly from al-Ḥimyarī in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. For an example see Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 239, 275, 288.

the twelfth Imām and a key figure responsible for the deliverance of the Imām’s communiqués to the community.⁵⁹⁶ These details indicate that prominent scholars considered *ziyāra* as a part of their scholastic pursuits much like *du‘ā’* literature, and in the case of al-Ḥimyarī, he was instrumental, much like ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd and al-Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ (as discussed in chapter one), in the dispersion of liturgical material during the lesser occultation of the twelfth Imām. It is important to note that *ziyāra* texts such as those of Ibn Qūlawayh and Ibn al-Mashhadī are the subject of detailed scholarly discourse in the various texts pertaining to ḥadīth sciences, which in itself is an indication of the importance of the *ziyāra* as a genre of literature in Shī‘ī tradition.⁵⁹⁷

In addition to published works such as *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* and *Miṣbāḥ al-zā‘ir* there exist numerous unpublished *ziyārāt* collections mainly found in the public libraries of Iran and Iraq.⁵⁹⁸ Among these works is *Mazār al-qadīm* (“Ancient *Mazār*”) consisting of three hundred folios, which remains unpublished but is said to hail from the 7th/13th century.⁵⁹⁹ This text is most likely the smaller *Mazār* (in comparison to his larger *Miṣbāḥ al-zā‘ir*) of Ibn Ṭāwūs and not that of Ibn al-Mashhadī whom al-Jalālī has written as being the author.⁶⁰⁰ It is most probably the work of Ibn Ṭāwūs since the writer has reported from the *Majmū‘ al-Ṭirāzī* (d. early 5th/11th century) which

⁵⁹⁶ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 355.

⁵⁹⁷ See *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁸ An example being the *Mazār* of Mawlā Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan Jīlānī al-Isfahānī (d.1129/1717). See Muḥammad Nūrī Niyā and Ḥusayn Khabbāziyān, *Fihrist kutub khaṭī kitāb khāneh āstān-i-quds raḍawī: ‘ad’iya wa akhlāq* (Mashhad: Āstān-i Quds Library, 2011), 380.

⁵⁹⁹ Pseudo-Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Mazār qadīm*, copied circa 7th/13 century, personal collection of Vinay Khetia, Toronto, Canada. Sayyid al-Jalālī who gifted the original work to me speculates on the basis of his seventy years of expertise with manuscripts that this text is most likely from the late 7th/13th century. Āghā Buzurg has provided a description of the text entitled *Mazār ṣaghīr* (“Small *Mazār*”) which he is confident was written by Ibn Ṭāwūs and the manuscript is contemporary to the author. This perfectly fits the description of this manuscript in my possession and thus I have put Pseudo-Ibn Ṭāwūs as the author due to the lack of certainty in the matter.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, flyleaf.

has only been cited by Ibn Ṭāwūs and none other.⁶⁰¹ Further, there are sources used by al-Majlisī in his multi-volume magnum opus, *Bihār al-Anwār*, which are no longer extant but referred to by al-Majlisī in his extensive *Kitāb al-mazār*.⁶⁰²

The above literature has one commonality in that it has been classified by Shī'ī scholars as *ma'thūr*, or as material believed to have been composed by the Imāms.⁶⁰³ Consequently, the emotional and doctrinal bond of the community to this liturgical literature cannot be overstated. In the case of the Sunnī tradition, the practice of tomb visitation was also very common as is evident from the profusion of *ziyārāt* guides or manuals such as that of al-Harawī (d.611/1215).⁶⁰⁴ However, the contents of these guides were not revered like that of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* which is believed by Sunnīs to contain the largest number of authentic sayings of the Prophet. This crucial distinction makes a vast difference in the substance and value that this genre of literature carries among the scholarly class and those who revere them. For Shī'īs, the statement of an infallible Imām carries the same value as that of the Prophet himself and thus for them this *ziyārāt* literature is firmly rooted in their sources of religious authority.

While *du'ā'* was an expression of their devotion to God and spiritual refinement, their devotion to *ziyāra* can be described as a response to demand of obedience and love to the Prophet and his household without whom they would be deprived of the mercy of the God whom

⁶⁰¹ Ibn Ṭāwūs cites Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṭirāzī twenty-one times. For a sample see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *lqḅāl al-a'māl*, 1:366, 540; 2:70, 276, 279, 282; 3:163, 209, 229, 232, 265, 268. Al-Ṭirāzī was a contemporary to al-Najāshī. Al-Ṭirāzī had a *Kitāb al-du'ā' wa-l-ziyāra* ("Book of Supplication and Visitation") which has only been cited by Ibn Ṭāwūs. See Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, 8:195-196.

⁶⁰² Al-Majlisī refers to what he describes as a *nuskha qadīma* ("an old copy") of a *ziyārāt* containing the *ziyāra* of al-Riḍā to be performed in the month of Rajab which has been attributed to his son, the ninth Imām, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jawād (Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 99:52).

⁶⁰³ Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī insists that *ziyāra*, like *du'ā'*, is a body of transmitted literature not to be confused with charms or talismans, most of which have not been related by the transmitters of ḥadīth nor are they to be found in their respective works. See Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, 8:180-181.

⁶⁰⁴ See footnote 464.

they beseeched with supplication. Hence the doctors of the Shī'ī tradition set out to compile and comment upon hundreds of *ziyārāt* texts including their attending merits and etiquettes (*faḍā'il wa ādāb*).

Chapter Five

Al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa and the Development of Shī'ī Piety

5.1 The performance of *ziyāra* as an act of devotion

The intention of this chapter is to investigate the intricacies and substance of devotional literature and liturgy in Twelver Shī'ī thought, with a particular emphasis on the practice and textual tradition of *ziyāra*. *Ziyāra* as a genre of liturgical material consists of emotionally and often communalistically-charged devotional elegies addressing those collectively known in Shī'ism as the *ahl al-bayt* ("People of the House", the House of the Prophet) which, for Twelver Shī'īs, would come to include fourteen infallible individuals (*ma'ṣūmūn*).⁶⁰⁵ This study will entail a close philological and thematic analysis of a single Twelver Shī'ī liturgical and devotional text, namely *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* (General Visitation) for Imām al-Ḥusayn which has been attributed to the sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. The term *muṭlaqa* has been used by 'Abbās al-Qummī to refer to a group of *ziyārāt* that can be performed at any time and are thus open ended and not tied to any particular day or occasion on the Islamic calendar such as 'Āshūrā' of which this particular *ziyāra* has been included in this section of his *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*.⁶⁰⁶ This particular liturgy is found in the earliest sources of Twelver Shī'ism while also remaining in contemporary usage, found, as it is, in the early 20th century liturgical manual of 'Abbās al-Qummī.⁶⁰⁷ *Ziyāra* literature is included alongside *du'ā*' in all currently extant devotional manuals known as *majmū'āt* "Compilations" (sing. *majmū'a*), such as the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, and in fact it is often to be recited before and

⁶⁰⁵ For an example of a *ziyāra* containing divisive political rhetoric one may refer to the prescribed elegy to be recited on the day of 'Āshura'. See Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 774.

⁶⁰⁶ Al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ*, 545.

⁶⁰⁷ For the purpose of brevity I will often just refer to the Imām as al-Ḥusayn.

after specific supplications or invocations (*adhkār*). These texts are used by the faithful as a guide to the spiritual rites to be performed both at pre-ordained times or otherwise. Based on this simple observation, it can be reasonably asserted that performance of *ziyāra* is as important a component of Shīʿī piety as is *duʿāʾ*. For Shīʿīs, faith in God and the Prophet alone is eternally insufficient without the Imām who acts as the indispensable gateway to God-consciousness. In contrast to *ziyāra*, *duʿāʾ*, for the most part entails a personal supplication or beseeching of God; however, even this distinction does not hold true in all cases, for many of the *ziyārāt* invoke both God and the Imāms.⁶⁰⁸ These invocations are usually distinct from one another, in the sense that God is beseeched usually by stating “O God! (*allāhumma*) grant me. . .” and the Imām is often addressed by saying “Peace be upon you (*al-salāmu ʿalayka*) O Imām,” or “O Proof of God (*ḥujjat allāh*).” Put differently, *duʿāʾ* is an expression of devotion to God as the Lord of all creation (which includes the Imām), whereas *ziyāra* is an expression of devotion to the Imām as being God’s chosen servant.

Prior to examining the contents of the *ziyāra*, I will present a detailed discussion concerning its *isnād* (chain of transmission) in an effort to highlight its importance within Shīʿī scholarly circles of the 3-5/9-11th centuries. It is also the objective of this chapter to place both the details pertaining to the *isnād* and *maṭn* (text) within the broader context of the social and intellectual history of Islam and Shīʿism. As for the text itself, it will be demonstrated that this particular *ziyāra* consists of an elaborate braiding of various mystical, theological, philosophical and political-sectarian motifs, much like *Duʿāʾ Kumayl*, with the exception of sectarian polemics

⁶⁰⁸ While *ziyāra* and *duʿāʾ* are distinct genres of Shīʿī liturgy, we do come across instances where both God and the Imām are addressed in the same text. *Ziyārat ʿĀshūrāʾ* is one poignant example of this intersection. See al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 774.

which is not to be found in the *du‘ā’*. I employ such terms cautiously and do so simply to indicate the mosaic-like construction of the *ziyāra* which appeals to a whole gamut of spiritual and intellectual sentiments, hence it is appropriate to approach it using a broad spectrum of interpretive frameworks. It can be asserted that *ziyāra* as a genre of literature and practice *reflects* a living devotional theology in which the ideals of the Qur’an and traditions of the Imāms are given further shape through the medium of liturgy and its enactment. Furthermore, the present study aims to demonstrate that this liturgical material (*ziyārāt*) was produced – at least partly – in order to facilitate the articulation of a select social-religious identity within the broader milieu of Islamic civilization.⁶⁰⁹ In doing so, this philological-thematic study attempts to reflect the pivotal role of *ziyāra* in the formation of Shī‘ī spirituality and as a vehicle for the emergence of a distinct liturgical community. This liturgical community and the specific text attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq is reflective of a strain of early Abbasid Shī‘ism which coalesced around the figure of al-Ṣādiq. This expression of Shī‘ism and pro-Alid sentiment vested reverence in the practice of *ziyāra* to al-Ḥusayn and the motifs of cosmic suffering with which the text and the worldview of those Shī‘īs who define themselves in terms of it are imbued. The sheer number of *ziyārāt* compositions attributed to al-Ṣādiq is a key indicator that, at a minimum, the inspiration for such material would have some relation to him and have arisen in circles contemporary (or nearly) to him. There is a particularly emotive narration with multiple chains of transmission found in *al-Kāfi*, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, and the *Thawāb al-a‘māl* of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq which speaks to al-Ṣādiq’s

⁶⁰⁹ This select religious identity is the product of an elitist approach in which the followers of the chosen Imāms (Imāmiyya or Imāmī Shī‘īs) are to be saved due to their obedience to the Imāms in addition to being “chosen” by God in the primordial realm over and above the Sunnīs who are described as the “commonality” (*‘amma*). See Etan Kohlberg, “The Evolution of the Shī‘a” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 27 (Ramallah, 1983), 8.

remarkable praise and exaltation of the visitors (pl. *zuwwār*, sing. *zā'ir*) of Imām al-Ḥusayn and their merits as reported by his trustworthy companion and prolific ḥadīth reporter, Mu'āwiya b. Wahab al-Bajalī (alive in 183/799). The narration begins with Mu'āwiya b. Waḥab entering the presence of al-Ṣādiq only to find him finishing his prayers and then proceeding into the state of prostration (*sujūd*) and supplicating to God, thanking Him for choosing the Imāms and giving them knowledge of the present and what is to come. He then goes on to pray for the visitors to Imām al-Ḥusayn's shrine:

“Forgive me, my brothers and the visitors to Abī ‘Abd Allāh’s (Imām al-Ḥusayn’s, epithet) grave.⁶¹⁰ They are those who expend their wealth and they voyage (*ashkhaṣū*) for the purpose of seeking our pleasure (while) hoping for what is with You (to be given to them) due to their connection with us (*fī ṣīlatinā*). Your Prophet is made to feel happy (due to this *ziyāra*) and this (act) is a response on their part to our affair/cause/command (*ijābatan min-hum li-amrinā*) and Our enemy is incensed (as a result of this). Through this they [the visitors of Imām al-Ḥusayn] seek Your pleasure. So (O God) satiate them with divine good-pleasure and acceptance (*al-riḍwān*) and protect them by night and day and leave their families whom they left behind in the best circumstances and take them as companions [their families]. Relieve them from the evil of every stubborn tyrant and every weak one or strong one among your creation. (Relieve) them from the evil of demons (among) the human and *jinn* and bestow upon them the best of what they hope from you in light of their estrangement from their hometowns (due to the journey of *ziyāra*) and their preference for us (*atharūnā*) over their children, their families, and their kinsmen. O God, our enemies censure their departure (for *ziyāra*) but this does not prevent their arduous voyage (*al-shukhūṣ*)⁶¹¹ to us and them being in opposition (*khilāfan*) to he who opposes us (*khālafanā*). So, have mercy upon the faces altered by (exposure to) the sun and have mercy upon the cheeks which turn toward the grave pit (*ḥufra*) of Abī ‘Abd Allāh (Imām al-Ḥusayn). Have mercy upon those eyes which from which tears flow out of mercy for us (*raḥmatan la-nā*) and have mercy upon the hearts that anguish (*jazi‘at*) and burn (*iḥtaraqat*) for us. Have mercy upon the scream/wailing (*al-ṣarkha*) that is for us. O God, I entrust to you these souls and these bodies until we shall meet them at the pond (*al-ḥawḍ*)⁶¹² on the day of thirst.’ He (al-Ṣādiq) did not cease (to

⁶¹⁰ Abī (or Abū) ‘Abd Allāh is also the epithet for Imām al-Ṣādiq.

⁶¹¹ In this context the verbal noun (*al-shukhūṣ*) literally means to travel from country to country (*al-sayru min baladin ilā baladin*) which can be indicative of an arduous or strenuous journey. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 7:46.

⁶¹² This refers to a pond or drinking place on the Day of Judgement where the righteous shall be relieved of their thirst.

supplicate) and he was prostrating whilst supplicating by this supplication (*du‘ā*).
..”⁶¹³

The excerpt from the above narration is widely attested in early Shī‘ī sources *via* three chains of transmission ending with Mu‘āwiya b. Waḥab who narrates the incident with Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.

The incident and supplication underscores three central motifs in addition to others. The first being that, ultimately the *ziyāra* of Imām al-Ḥusayn is ideally performed for the sake of God and thus the connection between the devout Shī‘a and the Imāms is also due to their desire to gain divine favour and it is God who shall reward them. This reward of divine satisfaction (*riḍwān*) is a status described in the Qur’an as being even greater than Paradise itself.⁶¹⁴ This divine satisfaction then manifests itself in the joyous reunion of the fourteen Infallibles or “protected” with their devout followers at the pond of *al-Ḥawḍ*. *Al-Ḥawḍ* has important eschatological significance as delineated in ḥadīth which described it as a large cistern at which Muhammad will await his followers to relieve them of their thirst by granting them access to the water of life that is “whiter than milk and sweeter than honey”. It is debated as to whether this pond is located along the bridge that separated heaven and hell or after the entrance into heaven, but those granted access to it are deemed elect and among the saved.⁶¹⁵ In the case of the narration attributed to al-Ṣādiq, the visitors to the shrine of al-Ḥusayn are granted this eschatological privilege to be relieved of their thirst and distress for the sake of their emotive journey and visitation of their Imām who died both thirsty and distressed. In this sense, the visitation of al-

⁶¹³ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 9:330-332. Cf. Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 228-229; al-Ṣadūq, *Thawāb al-a‘māl wa ‘iqāb al-a‘māl* (Qum: Dār al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1985), 94-96; Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 334-336.

⁶¹⁴ See Qur’an, 9:27. After describing the glad tiding of Paradise for the believers it is stated: “. . . and the divine satisfaction (or grace) from God is greater (*riḍwānun min allāhi akbar*), that is the sublime victory.”

⁶¹⁵ Andrew Rippin, “al-Ḥawḍ” *EI3*.

Ḥusayn's grave for Shī'īs takes on profound eschatological meaning which gives them a degree of righteous redemption from a dystopic world. This most sublime of divine rewards stems from the extraordinary sacrifice which entails the leaving of family behind only to embark upon a dangerous journey wishing to arrive at the Imāms grave with a torrent of tears and a broken heart. Secondly, this act of *ziyāra* especially as viewed in the early Abbasid context in which al-Ṣadiq and his followers were situated is deemed to be an act of communal defiance towards all those who oppose the Imāms hence requiring immense courage to undertake such a journey in light of the dangers involved. Furthermore, these dangers stem not only from a hostile Abbasid political establishment and their supporters but also from unseen demons or *jinn* (*shayāṭīn min al-jinn*). These unseen beings share the earth with human beings and are often described as being both believers and non-believers; in this case there is a demonic group amongst them that prey upon the pilgrims who set out for the Imām's shrine in Karbala.⁶¹⁶ These motifs once again emphasize an often encountered theme of an oppressed minority who rely upon divine grace in order to be delivered from the clutches of demonic armies who brim with hatred of the Imāms and their righteous partisans. The *ziyāra* for al-Ḥusayn comes to symbolize a profound act of defiance and protest which would necessarily provoke the ire of their political and theological opponents. Thirdly, the act of wailing, and rubbing cheeks on the dirt of the grave is not only acceptable but also clearly extolled by the Imām as being deserving of God's mercy. It should also be noted here that the "hearts" are not merely saddened but ideally in a state of anguish (*jaza'a*) which is an "intense form of mourning (*ashaddu al-ḥuzn*)" akin to utterly unbearable anguish which manifests itself through screaming/crying out (*ṣarkha*) as opposed to sober forbearance

⁶¹⁶ Christian Lange, "Devil (Satan)" *E13*; K.A. Nizami and P. Voorhoeve, "Djinn" *E12*.

(*ṣabr*) in the face of tragedy.⁶¹⁷ Usually *jaza‘a* in the Shī‘ī tradition is a blameworthy form of mourning which has been associated by al-Ṣādiq with “the non-believer (*al-kāfir*),” who cannot find meaning and solace in the midst of trial (*balā‘*).⁶¹⁸ The exception in this case seems to be the tragedy of al-Ḥusayn in which al-Ṣādiq has said: “Verily crying (*al-bukā‘*) and anguish (*al-jaza‘*) are disliked (*makrūh*) for the slave (of God) for everything he has anguish over except for (*mā khalā*) the act of crying and anguish over al-Ḥusayn for surely it is rewarded (*ma‘jūr*).”⁶¹⁹

Such dramatic scenes, as mentioned in the previous chapter, have been roundly condemned by both moderate and fundamentalist Sunnī scholars as signs of exaggeration which contribute to the sanctification of graves. Consequently, traditions such as that cited above represent a paradigmatic example of what scholars such as Ibn Taymiyya condemns in his various polemical censures of *ziyāra* and the “polytheistic” practices which occur.⁶²⁰ It should also be noted that the act of wailing, screaming, and rubbing one’s body against the Imām’s shrine in Karbala, by Shī‘ī scholars and the “laity” alike, continues unabated today. The *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* is a good example of this. I should emphasize that the reverence for *ziyāra*, particularly among Shī‘īs, arises from the notion that it is not only a necessary act of devotion but one which facilitates eternal felicity. The traditions in this regard are plentiful, but it will suffice to provide a second and final example here, again attributed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq:

Qudāma b. Mālik reported from Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq who said: “[For he] who visits al-Ḥusayn, with a wrong done to him, without seeking fame, without

⁶¹⁷Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Wāsiṭī al-Zubaydī, *Tāj al-‘arūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1993), 11:64. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, in describing the use of intelligence (*al-‘aql*), says “sober forbearance [patience] and its bane is anguish (*al-ṣabr wa ḍiduhu al-jaza‘*)”. See al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 1:197; al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:22.

⁶¹⁸Al-Kulaynī lists numerous traditions condemning anguish when confronted with trials and tragedies. For the ḥadīth above see al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:554. Cf. *al-Kāfī*, 5:554-560.

⁶¹⁹Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 100.

⁶²⁰These include practices such as offering *du‘ā’* while at the grave, kissing the grave and seeking blessings from the grave site as a means of mediation with God. See: Taylor, *In the Vicinity*, 173-176

pride, without ostentation, and without seeking acknowledgement, his sins are erased, just as a cloth is washed in water. Thus, no impurity will be left on him and for every step (the reward of) a hajj is granted and every time he lifts his foot, he is granted an *'umra*.”⁶²¹

Furthermore, the theme of extraordinary suffering can be situated within the broader current of what Patricia Crone describes as an exclusivist late-Umayyad and early Abbasid *Rāfiḍī* Shī'ism.⁶²² This brand of Shī'ism, which posits that Imām al-Ḥusayn and the Imāms more broadly were the victims of a widespread communal betrayal resulting in supernatural cosmic suffering, would eventually become embedded as a principle motif found throughout Twelver Shī'ī *ziyārāt* literature. This process of religious acculturation through the promulgation of *ziyārāt* literature (used by laity and scholars alike) may also be described as a form of social and spiritual initiation for the devout Shī'ī who enters an elect fraternity of believers that commune with the Imāms by following a specific pre-determined script. One such instance of this is, again, *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*.

5.2 *Al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* in the Shī'ī ḥadīth canon

The immediate import of this specific *ziyāra* stems from it being found in three out of the four canonical books of Shī'ī ḥadīth with the earliest being *al-Kāfī*. In fact, we seldom find a single

⁶²¹ Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 144; al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 6:44; Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr* (Qum: Jāmi'at al-Mudarrisīn, 1998), 344. *'Umra* is considered by Muslims to be a lesser Hajj which involves a pilgrimage to the Mecca including some rituals similar to the annual Hajj pilgrimage such as circumambulation of the *Ka'ba* except it can be performed at any time of the year whereas Hajj can only be performed between 8th and the 12th of the Islamic month, *Dhū al-Ḥijja*.

⁶²² Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam*, 112-113.

ziyāra repeatedly transmitted in multiple early sources from the 4-5th /10-11th centuries. Furthermore, I should note that this *ziyāra* for al-Ḥusayn is only one of two *ziyārāt* mentioned by Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī (d.329/941) in *al-Kāfī*, and it is the only *ziyāra* for al-Ḥusayn reported by Shaykh al-Ṣadūq (d.380/991) and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d.460/1066) in *Man lā yaḥḍuruhū al-faqīh* and *Taḥdhīb al-aḥkām* respectively. Therefore, this is certainly an indicator of its significance to the compilers of “The Four Books (*al-kutub al-‘arba‘a*)” and the collective memory in Shī‘ī history. The above three scholars do not require an introduction except to emphasize that all three are revered as pioneers who laid much of the foundation of post-occultation Twelver Shī‘ism in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries. Al-Ṭūsī’s contributions are more versatile and prolific and include *rijāl*, theology, law, and Qur’anic exegesis, whereas al-Kulaynī and al-Ṣadūq are primarily known as traditionists whose main preoccupation was the collection of the sayings of the Prophet and the Imāms. The respective ḥadīth collections of al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣadūq, and al-Ṭūsī continue to be preferred references for the traditions (*aḥādīth*, sing. ḥadīth) of the Imāms. In fact their prominence as traditionists in Shī‘ī circles would be akin to the famous traditionists al-Bukhārī (d.256/870) and Muslim (d.261/875) in the Sunnī tradition in the degree of reliance upon them; however, there is no single ḥadīth compendium classified by Shī‘ī scholars being wholly and entirely authentic in Shī‘ism.⁶²³ Al-Ṣadūq’s contemporary Ibn Qūlawayh, has also included the *ziyāra* in his most famous work, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, which is the oldest surviving specialized collection of *ziyārāt* and traditions pertaining to its practice and merit. He was known as a prolific scholar and one of the teachers of al-Mufīd. He has been described by al-Najāshī as being “among

⁶²³ Aside from a chapter written by Amir-Moezzi, there has been no systematic and comprehensive study of al-Kulaynī and his *al-Kāfī*. As for al-Ṣadūq, much remains to be done. See Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur’an and the Speaking Qur’an*, tr. Eric Ormsby (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

our trustworthy colleagues (*min thiqāt aṣḥābinā*)” and “their eminence (*ajilā’uhum*) in ḥadīth and jurisprudence.”⁶²⁴ This particular *ziyāra* for al-Ḥusayn – along with the more well-known *Ziyārat al-wāriṭh* – are two of the most famous general *ziyārāt* for pilgrimage to the shrine of al-Ḥusayn which can be performed at any time in relation to those composed for a specific occasion in the religious calendar such as ‘Āshūrā’, Arba‘īn, or the 15th of Sha‘bān.⁶²⁵ It should be noted that, ideally, these liturgies are to be recited while at the grave of al-Ḥusayn; however, there remains merit in reciting them from abroad and even privately as a means of spiritual visitation.

5.2-1 *Isnād* analysis

There are two principal chains of transmission:

- A. Al-Kulaynī > A number of his associates > Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (al-Barqī)⁶²⁶ > al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā > his grandfather, al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid > al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr who narrated the conversation with ‘Abī ‘Abd Allāh (Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq)⁶²⁷
- B. Ibn Qūlawayh > his father, Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh > ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn (al-Qummī) collectively from Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh (al-Qummī) > Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Isā (al-Qummī) > al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā > al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid > al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr b. Abī Fākhita who narrated the conversation with ‘Abī ‘Abd Allāh (Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq)⁶²⁸

⁶²⁴ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 133.

⁶²⁵ In fact, it is interesting to note that nearly every religious occasion in the Shī‘ī religious calendar coincides with the *ziyāra* of Imām al-Ḥusayn. This is clearly seen by simply browsing the table of contents of ‘Abbās al-Qummī’s *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*, in which the author meticulously cited his sources, often choosing the earliest ones. See ‘Abbās al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* (Kuwait: al-Maktaba al-Fiqhīya, 2004), 924-925. Much research remains to be done in comparing and studying these various *ziyārāt* as well.

⁶²⁶ Al-Kulaynī has not provided the *nisba* (tribal last name) of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. This most likely refers to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī since on most occasions al-Kulaynī has truncated his name, whereas in the case of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Isā, al-Kulaynī tended not to do so.

⁶²⁷ Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 9:306. Al-Ṭūsī has used the same chain of transmission as al-Kulaynī which he has quoted from *al-Kāfī* (al-Ṭūsī, *Taḥdhīb al-aḥkām*, 6:54).

⁶²⁸ Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 197-198.

Prior to examining the text of the *ziyāra*, a discussion of its two chains of transmission is in order. To reiterate, the purpose is not to authenticate its attribution to Imām Ja‘far al-Šādiq but to demonstrate its preponderance not only among the compilers of the four books but also among those who preceded them who by virtue of transmitting the narration enabled its enshrinement in an extant corpus of tradition. Secondly, an examination of the prominent Shī‘ī authorities listed in the *isnād* will also shed light upon the importance this particular *ziyāra* had in Shī‘ī scholarly circles by virtue of it being transmitted by formative figures who played a role in the shaping of both pre-occultation and post-occultation Shī‘ī identity.⁶²⁹ It should be noted that these two *isnāds* are identical after al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā going forward, while having differing paths of transmission leading up to al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā. Therefore, both *isnāds* will be studied separately prior to al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā and thereafter examined together. As for the first *isnād* in *al-Kāfi*, it begins in typical fashion with al-Kulaynī transmitting from a number of his authorities (*‘iddatun min aṣḥābinā*). This demonstrates the importance of this *ziyāra* in so far as al-Kulaynī has reported it from multiple authorities who may comprise of six intermediaries between him and Aḥmad al-Barqī all of whom were contemporaries to him. According to al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, as evidenced in some manuscripts of *al-Kāfi*, al-Kulaynī had included the names of this group as being: ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. 307/919), Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Asadī (d.312/924), Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Aṭṭār (d. circa early 4th /10th century), ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh

⁶²⁹ I have been careful not to use the word “Twelver” here for the very reason that the belief in twelve Imāms as a matter of doctrine was not cemented until later and not during the era of those who figure earlier in al-Kulaynī’s chain of transmission, such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī. See” Etan Kohlberg, “From Imāmiyya to Ithnā-‘Ashariyya” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976), 532-533.

al-Qummī (Ibn Udhayna, d.circa early 4th/10th century)⁶³⁰, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. circa early 4th/10th century), and ‘Alī b. Al-Ḥasan (d.274/887).⁶³¹ Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Jalālī in his biographical account of these personalities demonstrates how this group of al-Kulaynī’s authorities (*mashāyikh*) formed an interconnected network of Qummī traditionists (those hailing from Qum), many of whom were also direct descendants of Aḥmad al-Barqī. It should also be added that all the above individuals described by al-Kulaynī as “a group of our companions” would also be counted among the teachers of al-Kulaynī whom in this case were also transmitters of this particular *ziyāra*.

Among this group, the celebrated traditionist and exegete ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī would have been of primary importance to al-Kulaynī. He is mentioned 5061 times in the *isnāds* of *al-Kāfī* and is also considered to be a primary intermediary between al-Kulaynī and Aḥmad al-Barqī.⁶³² ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm was known to be a prolific traditionist of Qum in addition to being the author of the famous *Tafsīr ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm*. He is also known to have played a pivotal role in the development and formation of Twelver Shī‘ī doctrine and jurisprudence as evidenced from al-Kulaynī’s copious use of him in *al-Kāfī*.⁶³³ Al-Najāshī, along with later biographers, has described

⁶³⁰ His son is ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Udhayna whom al-Ṣadūq relied upon as an authority in ḥadīth. His father Muḥammad was the grandson of Aḥmad al-Barqī, whereas ‘Alī b. Muḥammad was al-Barqī’s great-grandson. These details demonstrate the interconnectedness of the various traditionists of Qum, many of whom partook in the transmission of this *ziyāra*.

⁶³¹ Al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Wasā’il al-Shī’a* (Qum: Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1988), 30:148. On this also see al-Jalālī, *Dirāyat al-ḥadīth*, 171-175.

⁶³² Al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rasūl ‘Abd al-Ḥasan al-Ghaffār, *al-Kulaynī wa-l-Kāfī* (Qum: Mu’assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1996), 483. Intermediaries between al-Kulaynī and al-Barqī can also be found under the following names: ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Udhayna, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Umayya, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Sa’d Ābādī, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Aṭṭār, Muḥammad b. Ja’far and ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qummī. For further information see Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur’an and the Speaking Qur’an*, 142-143. We do not have death dates for most of these individuals, but we do know that all of them were contemporary to Aḥmad al-Barqī and thus would have known of his traditions.

⁶³³ On ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm and his *tafsīr* see the work by Meir Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shī’ism* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 33-35.

him as being “trustworthy in ḥadīth (*thiqa fī al-ḥadīth*) and having correct religious views (*ṣaḥīḥ al-madhhab*).”⁶³⁴

The next authority in the chain is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, whose full name is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khālīd al-Barqī, listed among the masters of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm.⁶³⁵ Aḥmad al-Barqī, being of Kufan origin, is from a long line of descendants with far-reaching Shī‘ī allegiances which include Aḥmad al-Barqī’s father, Muḥammad, who was a companion of the seventh, eighth, and ninth Imāms, whereas his son was a companion of the ninth Imām Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Jawād and the tenth Imām, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī.⁶³⁶ In addition to the eighty non-extant works attributed to him, Aḥmad al-Barqī is recognized for his ḥadīth collection, *al-Maḥāsīn*, as well as his biographical dictionary, both of which are extant and published.⁶³⁷ Aḥmad al-Barqī has been the subject of both praise and criticism insofar as he himself was “deemed” to be trustworthy, while he apparently reported from untrustworthy sources according to al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī’s assessment despite also being a companion of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh Imāms who did not directly report traditions from them.⁶³⁸ He nevertheless can be counted among the most prominent Shī‘ī scholars of the pre-Buyid period whose dedication to the narrations of the Imāms

⁶³⁴ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 26; for additional sources see, al-Ghaffārī, *al-Kulaynī wa-l-Kāfī*, 482.

⁶³⁵ Al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* (Qum: Mu’assasat al-Raḍī, 1982), 272.

⁶³⁶ Roy Vilonzy, “Pre-Būyid Ḥadīth Literature: The Case of al-Barqī from Qumm (d.274/888 or 280/894) in Twelve Sections,” in *The Study of Shi’i Islam: History Theology and Law*, ed. Farhad Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 205.

⁶³⁷ See Andrew Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shi’ism* (Oxon: Routledge, 2000), 51; Roy Vilonzy, *ibid.*

⁶³⁸ It is pointed out that this criticism of al-Barqī is largely benign for the reason that it was Aḥmad b. ‘Isā al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī who initially led the charge in condemning al-Barqī who was accused of relying on untrustworthy authorities of ḥadīth. However, according to Ibn al-Ghaḍā‘irī, Aḥmad b. ‘Isā later regretted his criticisms of al-Barqī and retracted them, demonstrating his profound grief at al-Barqī’s funeral by walking barefoot and leading the bier towards the cemetery. See Al-Ghaffār, *al-Kulaynī wa-l-Kāfī*, 486-489.

and the gnostic worldview of pre-rationalist Shī'ism can hardly be questioned.⁶³⁹ Lastly, he can certainly be counted among al-Kulaynī's most important indirect authorities as he figures some one thousand three hundred and eighty times in the *isnāds* of *al-Kāfi* and in the case of this *ziyāra* he is al-Kulaynī's final intermediary between him and al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā.⁶⁴⁰

As for Ibn Qūlawayh, his path of transmission up to al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā is much clearer since he has made explicit mention of his immediate authorities. He states: "My father informed me, and 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan collectively transmitting from Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh."⁶⁴¹ Ibn Qūlawayh's father, Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh al-Jamāl (d. early 4th /10th century)⁶⁴² was a key authority in ḥadīth for his son Ja'far, who transmits from his father on nearly every page of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.⁶⁴³ Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh is described by al-Ṭūsī and al-Najāshī as being among those who reported traditions from Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, whereas al-Najāshī sheds further light by describing him as "among the select students of Sa'd."⁶⁴⁴ He was

⁶³⁹ Al-Barqī is among those who advocated what has been described by Amir-Moezzi as a form of Neoplatonic gnosis in which the person of the Imām constituted the epitome of all that is sacred, and in which the Imām as the holy man or sage is the only individual who can initiate the faithful into a metaphysical realm of exclusive knowledge (*'ilm*). See Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an and the Speaking Qur'an*, 159.

⁶⁴⁰ Al-Ghaffār, *al-Kulaynī wa-l-Kāfi*, 487.

⁶⁴¹ Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.

⁶⁴² Al-Subḥānī, *Mawsū'at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 4:385. He was a contemporary of al-Kulaynī and thus would have died sometime in early 4th/10th century and certainly well after his teacher, Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh who died at the turn of the 4th century, close to 300/900.

⁶⁴³ It should be noted that Ibn Qūlawayh often transmits from his father on the same page. This would certainly amount to hundreds of traditions. Despite being a burdensome undertaking, a complete statistical analysis of Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh's transmission from his father and others would certainly shed light upon the primary sources and *mashāyikh* (authorities) used for the compilation of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.

⁶⁴⁴ On his relationship with Sa'd see al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 439. As for his transmission from Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh see al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 1:6, 35, 46, 48, 58, 86, 90, 112, 181, 190, 209, 212, 212, 216, 221, 225, 226; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Istibṣār*, 1: 12, 20, 27, 30, 31, 51. In describing Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, al-Najāshī says: *Kāna abūhu . . . min khiyār aṣḥāb Sa'd*," al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 123. I have chosen to translate *aṣḥāb* here as student for the purpose of conveying that the relationship between the two was not one of equals. For additional information see *Fahāris al-shī'a*, ed. Mahdī Khuddāmiyān al-Ārānī (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Turāth al-Shī'a, 2009), 1:146; 2:1063. A comprehensive study of Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh's life and his transmission from Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh is well beyond the scope of this chapter, except it suffices to emphasize that what has been cited is but a sample of a more common occurrence.

known to have lived during the lifetimes of the tenth and eleventh Imāms, al-Hādī and al-‘Askarī; however, he is not known to have directly transmitted any traditions from them. The second of Ibn Qūlawayh’s authorities is ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, whose full name is ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh (d.329/940), most well known for being the father of the famous Shaykh al-Ṣadūq. However, it should be noted that ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn was a scholar and prominent Shī‘ī in his own right. Being a Qummī contemporary of al-Kulaynī, he is primarily known as a prolific traditionist who transmitted thousands of ḥadīth as evidenced in the chains of transmission of not only *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, but also in the various ḥadīth collections of the 4-5th/10-11th centuries. In addition, he also composed some 25 works on various subjects ranging from jurisprudence to ethics, all of which are non-extant. Al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī relate that ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bābawayh was in contact with the third special representative of the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. It was during this exchange in Baghdad that ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn asked al-Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ (d.326/938) to request the Imām to pray that God grant him a child. The legend states that the Imām’s prayer resulted in the birth of his son, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, later known as Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, hence being the product of the Imām’s supplication. In this case, al-Ṣadūq’s father, a contemporary of al-Kulaynī, but unlike al-Kulaynī, purportedly corresponded in a direct manner not only with the special representative of the twelfth Imām but also with his father, the eleventh Imām, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Askarī. This is evidenced in a letter in which the eleventh Imām wrote to him describing him in glowing terms as being “O my elder and my supporter (*ya shaykhī wa mu‘tamadī*) . . .⁶⁴⁵”

⁶⁴⁵ Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-wasā’il wa mustanbiḥ al-masā’il* (Qum: Āl al-Bayt Institute, 1987), 3:277. Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī states that this letter was apparently included in *al-Ihtijāj*, but the current manuscripts of this work do not contain the letter and hence we are unable to confirm this claim. However, there are references to a letter written by the eleventh Imām to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh al-Qummī as included by Ibn Shahrāshūb in his *Manāqib*. See the marginal notes by Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī included by the editor as an

In addition to the above two authorities, Ibn Qūlawayh transmitted the *ziyāra* from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāsan, who is more famously known as Ibn al-Walīd al-Qummī (d.343/954). Al-Najāshī describes him as the master of the Qummīs (*shaykh al-qumīn*) and al-Ṭūsī describes him also in praiseworthy terms as “learned in *rijāl* (biographies of narrators) and trusted in this regard.” He had many authorities (teachers) in ḥadīth including Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja’far al-Ḥimyarī (companion of the tenth and eleventh Imāms).⁶⁴⁶ Among his ten or so known students are Ja’far b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh (writer of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*) and Shaykh al-Ṣadūq both of whom transmit hundreds of traditions from him.

All three of Ibn Qūlawayh’s authorities transmit the *ziyāra* from Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ash’arī al-Qummī, who requires little introduction except to mention that he is a pivotal authority for later Shī’ī traditionists, as has been already mentioned. In turn Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh reports from his teacher Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā al-Ash’arī al-Qummī (d. between 274-280/887-893) who, during his tenure, was also the leader of the Qummīs in both religious and political matters. In addition, Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā was a prolific transmitter of ḥadīth and a contemporary of the tenth Imām, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī. In fact as Andrew Newman has demonstrated, Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā’s role in the formation of Twelver Shī’ī doctrine and its ḥadīth tradition cannot go unnoticed, and he played a distinct role in his function as an elite scholar who gave shape to “the articulation of key points

annotation to Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī’s discussion. See *ibid.* Part of this letter, including its opening, is found in the surplus pages of a manuscript of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* copied by ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Manṣūr al-Rāzī in the year 502/1108. According to this excerpt the letter is described in the following way: “A copy of a letter (*nuskhatu kitāb*) of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār said: ‘We were informed by our teacher, the jurist (*akhbaranā al-shaykh al-faqīh*), ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh . . .’” See al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 8822 al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya, Mashhad.

⁶⁴⁶ *Fahāris al-Shī’a*, 2:833-835.

of doctrine and practice.”⁶⁴⁷ I would go further to assert that all of the above individuals mentioned thus far could certainly be described as being among those who gave Shī‘ism its distinct Imām-centric tenor through the 3th-4th/9-10th centuries, insofar as they stressed the central role of the traditions of the Prophet and the Imāms as the sole source of guidance.

As evidenced from the chains of transmission provided by al-Kulaynī and Ibn Qūlawayh, this *ziyāra* was treated as a genre of ḥadīth which teachers transmitted to their students.⁶⁴⁸ In this case, we have a unique combination of multiple renowned authorities transmitting this individual *ziyāra*, thus demonstrating its importance and widespread inclusion within the integrated network of Shī‘ī traditionists, who lived during the historical period of the Imāms but did not transmit any traditions directly from them. It would also be reasonable to assume that its inclusion in *al-Kāfī*, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, and *Tahdhīb* stems from the fact that this text had a venerable tradition among doctors of the formative period of Shī‘ism and what would become Twelver Shī‘ism following the advent of the occultation. From this point onward, the *isnāds* of al-Kulaynī and Ibn Qūlawayh converge since both Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā report from al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā (d. circa 180/742) who was a Baghdadī companion of the seventh and eighth Imāms, Mūsā b. Ja‘far al-Kāẓim (d.183/745), and ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d.203/818). However, it is unknown if he reported traditions directly from the Imām or through an intermediary. That being said, while al-Ṭūsī and al-Najāshī do not

⁶⁴⁷ Al-Barqī, *Rijāl al-Barqī* (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1963), 57-59; Newman, 40-41; 45. For a plethora of examples of his inclusion in the various *isnāds* of the four books and other contemporaneous works see the extensive notes by Mahdī Khuddāmiyān al-Ārānī in *Fahāris al-shī‘a*, 1: 164-165. Furthermore, if al-Kulaynī’s reference to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad is in fact Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, then this would not detract from the *isnād* since both Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Ibn Kālid al-Barqī and Ibn ‘Īsā were formative figures in the Shī‘ī ḥadīth tradition.

⁶⁴⁸ Thus, in this case individual *ziyārāt* along with *ziyārāt* manuals/compendiums would be treated as a genre of ḥadīth with similar norms, such as the issuance of licenses (*ijāzāt*) and recitals (*qirā‘āt*).

question his trustworthiness, Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī (d.450/1058) and 'Allāma al-Ḥillī have described him as “weak (*ḍa'īf*).”⁶⁴⁹ Neither of them gives any particular reason for this, except that their only description of him is that he was a client (*mawlā*) of the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr (d.158/775).⁶⁵⁰ Perhaps there was a suspicion that al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā would not have been faithful in his transmission of the Imāms' traditions in light of him working for the Abbasid dynasty; however, there does not seem to be any mentioned evidence of his duplicity. Rather, he is known to have been an authority for Aḥmad al-Barqī and Aḥmad b. 'Īsā as evidenced in their repeated transmission from him.⁶⁵¹

In the case of Aḥmad al-Barqī, based on a perusal of *al-Maḥāsīn*, he has transmitted directly from al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā on at least forty separate occasions.⁶⁵² In light of this, regardless of the reservations adduced by 'Allāma al-Ḥillī and Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī, al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā was an important transmitter of ḥadīth who narrated eighty-two traditions, all of them on the authority of his grandfather, al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid.⁶⁵³ Thus, as expected, al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid (d.circa 183/799) is the next authority in the chain. He was a Kufan companion of Imāms Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and Mūsā al-Kāẓim.⁶⁵⁴ According to al-Barqī, he served as a vizier to the Abbasid caliphs al-Mahdī (r. 158-

⁶⁴⁹ Al-Ḥillī, *Khulāṣa*, 389. I am sure that while being fully aware of 'Allāma al-Ḥillī and Ibn Ghaḍā'irī's comments, contemporary scholars of *rijāl* such as Aḥmad al-Amīnī and Ja'far al-Ṣubḥānī make no mention of this, but rather extol him. See the notes of Aḥmad al-Amīnī in Ibn Qūlawayḥ, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Amīnī (Najaf: al-Maṭba'at al-Mubāraka al-Murtaḍawiyya, 1937), 198; al-Subḥānī, 3:442-443.

⁶⁵⁰ Al-Jalālī, *Fihris al-turāth* (Qum: Dalīl Mā, 2001), 1:185.

⁶⁵¹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 436; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihris*, 371.

⁶⁵² For a sample of traditions transmitted by Aḥmad al-Barqī on the authority of al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā see Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsīn* (Qum: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1951), 2:583, 591, 592, 628, 631, 633, 634. A similar trend is found in *al-Kāfī* in which the majority of traditions transmitted *via* al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā have been through Aḥmad al-Barqī. With regard to Aḥmad b. 'Īsā's transmission from him, see al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 3:250, 267.

⁶⁵³ I have not yet come across a chain of transmission in which al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā narrates from someone other than his grandfather. For a selection of these *isnāds* and the traditions associated with them, see note 39. Also see al-Subḥānī, 3:442-443.

⁶⁵⁴ Al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 181; Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wāsitī (Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī), *al-Rijāl* (Qum: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1985).

168/775-785), Mūsā al-Hādī (r.168-169/785-786), and al-Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.169-193/786-809).⁶⁵⁵

Perhaps again due to this Abbasid connection, Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī has deemed him to be “weak in his transmission (*ḍa'if fi riwāyatihi*).”⁶⁵⁶ As is the case with his grandson al-Qāsim, there does not seem to be any corroborating evidence or even any clear line of reasoning as to why he was deemed weak by Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī, such as having received accusations of extremism (*ghuluww*) or fabrication (*al-waḍ'*) of ḥadīth; meanwhile, al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī make no mention of his “weakness.” Further yet, reputable transmitters of ḥadīth such as Ibn Abī 'Umayr (d.217/832) have relied on him as a source of ḥadīth which is certainly indicative of his prominence as a reporter of traditions from Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim.⁶⁵⁷

Lastly, we find al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr at the end of the chain who narrates the entire episode from Imām al-Ṣādiq. As for al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr, he has been described as *thiqa* (trustworthy) by al-Najāshī and is believed to have transmitted traditions from Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq.⁶⁵⁸ In fact it would seem that he is quite an important figure in Shī'ī ḥadīth since he is the one who reported from al-Ṣādiq in arguing for the legitimacy of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn's Imamate, in which al-Ṣādiq emphasized that after Imāms al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn the Imamate cannot pass laterally between two brothers.⁶⁵⁹ To conclude, this comprehensive discussion of the *isnād* has

⁶⁵⁵ Aḥmad al-Barqī, *Rijāl*, 26.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī, *Rijāl*, 49.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibn Abī 'Umayr was a distinguished companion of the seventh, eighth and ninth Imāms who recorded volumes of ḥadīth as well as composing numerous works. Al-Kashshī includes him among *aṣḥāb al-ijmā'* (companions of consensus); that is, those whose trustworthiness is beyond reproach due to their proximity to the Imāms and their trustworthiness. See al-Kashshī, *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 2:830. For examples of his transmission from al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid see al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:285; 6:118; 7:508, 588 Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-dīn*, 1:70.

⁶⁵⁸ Al-Najāshī, 55. Other books of *rijāl* write his name as al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwar b. Abī Fākhita. This is certainly the same individual as cited by al-Kulaynī without the mention of his family name. For a complete discussion, see al-Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam rijāl al-ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Zahrā, 1983), 6:224-226.

⁶⁵⁹ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:713. This tradition played an important role in internal Shī'ī polemics. In it, al-Ṣādiq asserts that the Imamate after al-Ḥusayn had to have passed to his son 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and not to any of his brothers such

attempted to ascertain certain critical historical details as to when and how this text was transmitted and why it may have been included in three of the “Four Books” in addition to *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.⁶⁶⁰ Further, al-Ṣadūq, while not offering any chain of transmission of his own, has provided a rare comment regarding the “authenticity” of this particular *ziyāra* by stating the following: “I have included various *ziyārāt* in *Kitāb al-ziyārāt* and *Kitāb maqṭal al-Ḥusayn* and I have chosen this *ziyāra* because it is the most authentic (*aṣaḥḥ*) for me in terms of the transmission of the report (*ṭarīq al-riwāya*) and its contents are edifying and sufficient (*fī-hi balāgh wa kifāya*).”⁶⁶¹

It should be highlighted that this may very well be the only circumstance in which al-Ṣadūq has used such language to describe a particular ḥadīth, let alone, a *ziyāra*. This clearly indicates that in his capacity as a traditionist, among the numberless *ziyārāt* available to him he chose this particular text to be included in what would come to be recognized as his most seminal work of ḥadīth, namely, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*. In this text, al-Ṣadūq simply mentions that “this *ziyāra* is the *riwāya* (report) of al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid from al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr who reported it from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.”⁶⁶² That being said, it is more than likely that Ṣadūq’s chain of transmission (*isnād*) would have closely mirrored the chain provided by Ibn Qūlawayh, since the three authorities Ibn Qūlawayh relied upon, namely, his father, al-Ṣadūq’s father, and Ibn al-Walīd also happened to be teachers of al-Ṣadūq as well. This is especially the case when it comes to al-Ṣadūq’s father, ‘Alī

as Muḥammad b. Ḥanafīyya. Later Shī‘īs would seize on this tradition when attempting to assert the Imamate of later Imāms, whose brothers had laid claim to the Imamate after their death. This issue becomes especially important with the Imamate of the twelfth Imām.

⁶⁶⁰ It should be noted that this *ziyāra* is not included in al-Ṭūsī’s *Istibṣār* since that work does have a section pertaining to *ziyārāt*.

⁶⁶¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *Mān lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh* (Qum: Jāmi‘at al-Mudarrisīn, 1992), 2:598.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*

b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh and Ibn al-Walīd, both of whom played pivotal roles as al-Ṣadūq's teachers. Lastly, the superlative comment of al-Ṣadūq is also indicative of why this *ziyāra* has acquired such prominence by virtue of its inclusion in the canonical texts of Shī'ī tradition.⁶⁶³

5.3 Textual analysis of *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*⁶⁶⁴

In what follows I have attempted to provide a close analysis of specific sections of *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*. In doing so I have chosen to divide the text into two parts:

1. The preamble to the *Ziyāra* report
2. The etiquette of performing *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*

It should be noted that the details presented in the preamble prepare the pilgrim emotionally for the *ziyāra* and this is perhaps why al-Kulaynī and Ibn Qūlawayh chose to include the entire text in their sections on *ziyārāt*, as opposed to truncating it. Further, as a part of the salutation and address to al-Ḥusayn (at his grave) the text does continue to describe the general attributes of the Imāms and their future eschatological role in avenging the injustice done to them and their followers. Thus, I will examine select passages in this regard as well.

5.3-1 The preamble to the *Ziyāra*: Cosmic Mourning and Cursing

The text opens with al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr narrating that a group of companions, including himself, Yūnus b. Ḍabyān (death date unknown), Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar (d. 180/796) and Abū Salama al-Ṣarrāj (death date unknown) were sitting in the presence of al-Ṣādiq when they decided that

⁶⁶³ In this regard, the contemporary jurist and source of emulation (*al-marja' al-taqīd*) for twelver Shī'īs, Āyat Allāh al-Wahīd al-Khurāsānī emphasises this very point when selecting this *ziyāra* for further examination. See 'Alī al-Kawrānī al-Āmilī, *al-Ḥaqq al-mubīn fī ma'rifat al-ma'sūmīn buḥūth mustafāda min muḥāḍarāt al-marja' al-dīnī al-Wahīd al-Khurāsānī* (Qum: Dār al-Hudā, 2003), 353.

⁶⁶⁴ I will primarily rely on *al-Kāfī* as the central text since it is the earliest. I will point out in a footnote if there are any discrepancies or alternative readings as may be found in the other texts.

Yūnus b. Ḍabyān would be the spokesperson among them due to his seniority in age.⁶⁶⁵ Yūnus then asks the Imām what he is to utter when attending the Abbasid court.⁶⁶⁶ Al-Ṣādiq replied by giving Yūnus (by default the other attendees as well) a cryptic supplication to recite whilst in the company of the Abbasids.⁶⁶⁷ These details inform us of the immediate historical context and social circumstances which beset some of the companions of the Imām.⁶⁶⁸ It should also be noted that interaction with the Abbasids was a rather cumbersome and delicate matter for the Imāms' companions as we see in the case al-Qāsim b. Rāshid and al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid. It would seem that Yūnus b. Ḍabyān did attend official Abbasid functions and this was clearly not something that he took pride in; rather, it was troublesome and hence the Imām provided him with a supplication to help relieve him of any potential anxiety or fear. Thereafter, he says to the Imām, "I frequently recall al-Ḥusayn, so what should I say?" The Imām now begins: "You shall say: 'May the blessings of God be conferred upon you o' Abā 'Abd Allāh – repeat this three times – for the invocation (*salām*) reaches him from close by and afar.'"⁶⁶⁹

This is similar to other reports which encourage the believers to convey their salutations to Imām al-Ḥusayn despite their physical absence from Karbala. This is further confirmed as a general principal, including on the day of 'Āshūrā'. It would seem that this question was so

⁶⁶⁵ *Al-Kāfī*, 9:306; Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 198.

⁶⁶⁶ He describes them as *majlis hā'ulā' al-qawm* (the gathering of those people). I have added "the Abbasid court" because either Yūnus or the reporter, al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr, added the comment: "*ya'nī wuld al-'abbās*," meaning the Abbasids immediately following *al-qawm*. In *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* it reads as: "*ya'nī wuld a-b-*." This short form may have been a form of dissimulation (*taqiyya*) due to fear of Abbasid reprisal for any veiled criticism of their dynasty.

⁶⁶⁷ This supplication translates as: "O God grant us rest and happiness for You bring about what You will."

⁶⁶⁸ These preamble details have been truncated from the report by al-Ṣadūq and al-Ṭūsī in their inclusion of the report in *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*. However, in his *al-Amālī*, al-Ṭūsī has reported a slightly different version of this initial exchange prior to the commencing of the *ziyāra* itself. In this case, there is no mention of "*ya'nī wuld al-'abbās*." See al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 54.

⁶⁶⁹ *Al-Kāfī*, *ibid*. *Ṣallā allāhu 'alayka yā Abā 'Abd allāh tu'īdu dhālika thalatha fa inna al-salām yaṣīlu ilayhi min qarīb wa min ba'īd*.

moving, or of such grave importance that the Imām, perhaps feeling comfortable enough in the presence of his inner circle, and without being prompted, went on to provide further sensitive details. Al-Ṣādīq states:

When he [al-Ḥusayn] died, the seven heavens, the seven earths, what is in them, what is between them, and all those creations of our Lord which inhabit Paradise and Hellfire wept over him. What is visible and invisible wept over Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn

لما قضى بكت عليه السماوات السبع والأرضون السبع وما فيهن وما بينهن ومن
ينقلب في الجنة والنار من خلق ربنا وما يرى وما لا يرى بكى على أبي عبد الله الحسين

As indicated above, the death of al-Ḥusayn is seen or understood to have set off a series of supernatural cosmic events. This could refer to several things both literal and symbolic which include the skies turning red, raining blood, or other natural disasters or supernatural events. This statement fits within the broader Qur’anic and Shī‘ī iteration of cosmological suffering centred on the person of al-Ḥusayn. One such example would be the saying of Ja‘far al-Ṣādīq which states: “The sky turned red for a year when al-Ḥusayn was killed as with Yaḥyā b. Zakarīyā. Its redness is its weeping.”⁶⁷⁰ As for the Qur’an, the most common motif of heavenly tears is rooted in 44:29: “And the Heavens and Earth did not weep over them nor were they given any respite.”⁶⁷¹ This allusion to cosmic weeping is balanced and distinguished by the evident belief that the drowning of the army of the Pharaoh as oppressors warranted no cosmic reverberation, hence the Heavens did not weep. Al-Ṭūsī, comments on this verse by drawing a comparison with al-Ḥusayn for whom he says the heavens wept over him as opposed to the Pharaoh who was humiliated by God and hence the people of the heaven and the earth (*ahl al-samā’ wa ahl al-arḍ*)

⁶⁷⁰ The Arabic is as follows: “*aḥmarat al-samā’ ḥīnā qutila al-Ḥusayn sannatan wa Yaḥyā b. Zakarīyā wa ḥamratuhā bukā’uhā*” (Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 90; 93).

⁶⁷¹ “*fa-mā bakat alayhim al-samā’u wa-l-arḍu wa mā kānū munzarīn*” (Qur’an, 44:29).

did not cry over them (*fa-mā bakat 'alayhim*), rather they were gleeful at their destruction (*bi-halākihim masrūrīn*).⁶⁷²

Conversely, the murder of al-Ḥusayn unleashed a series of catastrophic events in both physical and metaphysical terms. We may situate the motif of cosmic mourning and consequences once again by recalling the heart-rending moment narrated by Abū Mikhnaf (d.155/774) in which 'Umar b. Sa'd is baffled by the way that al-Ḥusayn is "fighting like a lion" despite the fact that "his children, his family and his companions have been killed (*qutila ahlihu wa wuldahu wa aṣḥābahu*)."⁶⁷³ In other words 'Umar b. Sa'd is stating that "we have taken everything away from him, yet he continues to fight." The Imām is eventually completely surrounded, he is battle worn, and weakened. As the massacre nears its end, 'Umar b. Sa'd now approaches al-Ḥusayn, at which point al-Ḥusayn's sister, Zaynab, anticipating her brother's final demise, charges out of her tent and exclaims: "If only the Heaven would collapse onto the Earth!" She yells at 'Umar b. Sa'd, telling him: "Shall you watch while you allow al-Ḥusayn to be killed?"⁶⁷⁴ Shortly thereafter, Shimr prompted his men to swarm upon the body of the Imām until Sinān b. Anas got off his horse, "slaughtered al-Ḥusayn and decapitated him (*dhabaḥahu wa ihtazza ra'sahu*)."⁶⁷⁵ A group of Umayyad soldiers then began to loot his body (*suliba mā kāna 'alā al-Ḥusayn*) which included his shirt, sword, sandals, and trousers (*sarāwīl*) and he was left bare

⁶⁷² Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān*, 9:231.

⁶⁷³ As reported by Abū Mikhnaf, 'Umar b. Sa'd was astonished that al-Ḥusayn continued to fight. See al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume XIX: The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah*, trans. I.K.A. Howard (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990), 157-158. I.K.A. Howard points out that Abū Mikhnaf certainly was an Alid, and his rendition of these events heavily influenced those after him including al-Mufid. See *ibid.*, x-xvi.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁶⁷⁵ According to Abū Mikhnaf this was Sinān b. Anas; however other accounts mention that it was Shimr Dhī al-Jawshan. See Abū Mikhnaf, *Waq'at al-ṭaff* (Qum: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1998), 145.

(*mujarradan*).⁶⁷⁶ These events are portrayed as both heaven and earth shattering: the Heaven (*samā'*) and the Earth (*arḍ*) waited in heavy anticipation for the moments which have just been described.⁶⁷⁷ Zaynab's cry, hoping the Heavens would crash to the Earth, is poetically befitting to be included here insofar as al-Ṣādiq is attempting to put words to this very scene, described by him as "*lammā qaḍā al-Ḥusayn* (when al-Ḥusayn died)." It was at this moment that the cosmos exploded/burst into a state of grief and the ultimate travesty took place. To this effect, al-Ṣādiq tells his companions that, not only does the cosmos weep but also every single person in Heaven and Hell is compelled to do so as well ("*man yanqalibu fī al-janna wa-l-nār*").

The literary motif of cosmic and divinely inspired mourning has been attested to in the ancient Epic of Gilgamesh in which Gilgamesh and his comrade Enkidu slay the Humbaba (guardian of the cedar forest) at which the narrative reads: "[*Rain*] in plenty fell on the mountain,...in plenty fell on the mountain."⁶⁷⁸ The copious falling of rain is interpreted as the gods weeping for Humbaba as the story makes clear that Gilgamesh and Enkidu committed a evil act by killing him. Further reference to cosmic and or divine weeping can be found in the Babylonian Talmud, Hagigah 5b commenting on Jeremiah 13:17 in which is contained the prophecy of weeping over the captivity of Israel.⁶⁷⁹ The excerpt reads as follows: "But if you will not listen, my soul will weep in secret for your pride; my eyes will weep bitterly and run down with tears, because the LORD's flock will be taken captive."⁶⁸⁰ In light of the Mesopotamian literary and Judaic precedents for such expressions of cosmic weeping, these sorts of sentiments

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.; Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Irshād fī ma'rifa ḥujaj allāh 'alā al-'ibād* (Qum: International Congress of Shaykh Mufid, 1992), 2:111. The accusative "*mujarradan*" can also mean "exposed" or "left with nothing on."

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ *The Epic of Gilgamesh translated and introduced by Andrew George* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 44.

⁶⁷⁹ Babylonian Talmud, Hagigah 5b.

⁶⁸⁰ Jer 13:17 New Revised Standard Version.

attributed to al-Şādiq are not unique. Further yet such motifs are germane to the construction of what Amir-Moezzi describes as a pre-rationalist Shīī ontology and cosmology. That is, the killing of al-Ḥusayn for al-Şādiq as attributed to him by sources is not simply a historical incident for Shīīs which occurred within the confines of linear time; rather, it transcends time to render even the seeming bliss of heavenly residence a site of perpetual weeping. That is to say, the sum of the contents of these unseen dimensions (what is in them and between them: *mā fihā wa mā baynahumā*) enter into a state of perpetual wailing.⁶⁸¹ This motif of cosmic and heavenly mourning is found in another *ziyāra* also attributed through a chain of transmission to Imām al-Şādiq in which he states: “weighty upon us is the massacre and colossal is the tragedy which befell you and upon all the people of the Heavens and the Earth.”⁶⁸² Furthermore, the purposeful use of Qur’anic imagery should not be lost here. In this regard two verses are particularly relevant:

To God belongs the kingdom of the Heavens and the Earth, and all that is between them (*mā baynahumā*). He created what He wills, for God has power over all things.⁶⁸³

The seven Heavens and the Earth, and all that is in them praise Him and there is not a thing except that it proclaims His praise but you do not comprehend their glorification (*tasbīḥahum*). . .⁶⁸⁴

The first verse posits that the kingdom of God is all-encompassing, and this goes to the bedrock of the Qur’an’s emphasis on God’s unity and the ultimate poverty of all things other than God.

⁶⁸¹ At some later date the *ziyāra* has been given the title *Ziyārat al-wāriṭh* (“the Inheritor”), because it describes al-Ḥusayn as being the inheritor of the virtues of various prophets and his mother, father, and brother. The Arabic is as follows: “*la-qaḍ aẓumat wa jallat al-muṣībatu bi-ka ‘alaynā wa ‘alā jamī‘i ahli al-samāwāti wa-l-arḍ.*” See al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:721; for similar wording and sentiments see *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* which has also been attributed to Imām al-Şādiq in *ibid.*, 2: 773-774.

⁶⁸³ Qur’an, 5:17. For similar expressions see Qur’an, 5:18, 15:85; and 19:65.

⁶⁸⁴ Qur’an, 17:44.

Thus, in the preamble to *al-Ziyāra al-Muṭlaqa*, by al-Ṣādiq using the participles “*wa mā fihā wa mā baynahumā*,” he is emphasizing that God’s kingdom, and the very substance of its unseen particularities (“*mā lā yurā*”), weep for al-Ḥusayn. Hence, the second verse states that all of existence is infused not only with God-consciousness but it also engages in His worship; however, this cannot necessarily be perceived by using the tools of the physical realm. It should also be noted that the motif of cosmic mourning is not limited to individual sayings or *ziyārāt*; rather, it is also preserved in a supplication to be recited on the birth anniversary of al-Ḥusayn. According to al-Ṭūsī, this *du‘ā* was delivered in a letter (*tawqī‘*) by a representative of the eleventh Imām, al-‘Askarī, in which the devout are requested by the Imām to recite the following: “O God, . . . for the sake of his [al-Ḥusayn’s] promised martyrdom (foretold) prior to his coming of age and birth and (as a result) Heaven and whatever is in it and the Earth and whomever is on it wept over him (*bakat-hu*) . . .”⁶⁸⁵ As will be demonstrated, statements such as this give way to ponderous speculations which connect the study of Shī‘ī liturgy with theological, and mystical speculation. The state of sadness of the Heavens and the Earth could be construed in Shī‘ī terms as a form of devotion to al-Ḥusayn who was God’s chosen servant. In poetic terms this would be described as a pathetic fallacy in which the poet imbues nature with human qualities as is evident in the Epic of Gilgamesh, The Hebrew Bible, the Qur’an and in this case with the *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* which is fully imbued with the motif of nature manifesting various signs of grief.⁶⁸⁶ Much like *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*, this flamboyant language has been composed to produce an aesthetic experience that

⁶⁸⁵ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:826; Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 397-398. This supplication was delivered by the Azerbaijani, al-Qāsim b. al-‘Alā’ al-Hamādānī (d.302/914) who was believed by Shī‘īs to be the representative of the eleventh and twelfth Imāms. See the editor’s introduction to *al-Kāfī*, 1:55.

⁶⁸⁶ T.O. Sloane, “Pathetic Fallacy” in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetics 4th Ed.*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1010-1011.

causes the reader to enter into a state of awe. Lara Harb in her analysis of ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d.474/1078) approach to science of Arabic eloquence posits that the elicitation of wonder is a form of eloquent elucidation (*bayān*) which makes something manifest that is otherwise hidden from the reader.⁶⁸⁷ Such motifs of heavenly mourning and suffering in the *ziyāra* can certainly be described as an instance of this *bayān* which contributes to intensifying the imaginative religious experience by means of literary devices.⁶⁸⁸ A Shī‘ī theological perspective as gleaned from this *ziyāra* would posit that if creation sings the praise of God, then it can equally mourn al-Ḥusayn, who was God’s proof (*ḥujja*) and the gate to his knowledge. A similar sentiment with regard to human beings is expressed by al-Ṣādiq, in which his intimate companion, ‘Īsā b. Manṣūr, relates from him the following: “The soul that grieves for us, and the one who is distressed in the face of injustice done to us – (this is) an act of glorification (*tasbīḥ*) and his concern for our affair is an act of worship (*‘ibāda*). . .”⁶⁸⁹ This state of sadness, distress and mourning all of which is equated with God’s praise, would extend to every realm of existence, such that, in both this world and the hereafter, the righteous would mourn over al-Ḥusayn and the tragedies which befell the family of the Prophet. Thus, even Paradise, the idyllic domain, would become a site of howling at the death of al-Ḥusayn. This motif of heavenly mourning is seemingly taken even further in a *ziyāra* attributed to the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, in which he addresses al-Ḥusayn

⁶⁸⁷ Harb, 141.

⁶⁸⁸ Harb, 18.

⁶⁸⁹ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 3:572. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī expounds upon this by saying that to be occupied with concern for the family of the Prophet and their mission is in itself an act of worship. See Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 1982 edition, 76:83.

on the day of 'Āshūrā' by saying: "The heavenly servants flagellate themselves over you (*laṭamat 'alayka al-ḥurr al-ṭyn*).⁶⁹⁰

Yet this is not limited to believers alone, for even the inhabitants of Hell are said to mourn for al-Ḥusayn as we see in the preamble statement "*wa man yanqalibu fī al-janna wa-l-nār.*" In the midst of this dark realm of divine torture, the inhabitants of Hell weep for al-Ḥusayn, which, as the Qur'an says, would include the ilk of criminals (*mujrimūn*), disbelievers (*kāfirūn*) and tyrants (*ṭāghūt*).⁶⁹¹ However, the following queries may be posed which are: in what realm of time and space does this take place? Did it take place on the 10th of Muḥarram in the 1st/7th century, and hence as a reaction to his death all of this has happened? If so, would these abodes of Paradise (*al-janna*) and Hell (*al-nār*) be akin to the same Paradise and Hell in which all of *jinn* and humankind shall find their final resting place? If this is the case, as the Qur'an and tradition say, this final settling of accounts coincides with the end of time and thus would take place at some point in the future and did not occur on the historical date of al-Ḥusayn's death. One potential Shī'ī solution to this conundrum may be that *al-janna* and *al-nār* in this context refer to *jannat al-dunyā* and *nār al-dunyā* (worldly Paradise and worldly Hell). Al-Kulaynī includes a tradition attributed to al-Ṣādiq in which he explains that when a believer dies, his soul is transferred from his grave to a Paradise (*janna*) which God created in the west (*al-maghrib*).

⁶⁹⁰ Due to their exquisite beauty, the *ḥurr al-ṭyn* are special companions awarded to the residents of Paradise (Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 506). There is a prolonged discussion regarding its attribution to the twelfth Imām and whether it may have been authored by al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā or even by al-Mufīd. However, neither of them claims to have authored it, nor do we find examples of them ever doing so with other *ziyārāt*. In an alternative *mazār* attributed to Pseudo-Ibn Ṭāwūs the *ziyāra* is transmitted from Abī 'Alī al-Ṭūsī (Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's son) from his father, who reports the *ziyāra* from al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā himself who states: "I visited Abā 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn" with this *ziyāra* (by reciting it) on the day of 'Āshūrā'. See Ibn Ṭāwūs (attrib.), *Mazār qadīm*, Library of Vinay Khetia, Toronto, Canada.

⁶⁹¹ Qur'an, 2:39; 2:57. This may be described as a Heaven and Hell on earth.

Likewise he says that God created a Hell in the east (*al-mashriq*) where the souls of disbelievers shall reside and where they shall consume boiling water and the like.⁶⁹² Therefore, the statement “whoever is interred in Paradise and Hell cries over al-Ḥusayn” may refer to this worldly realm of souls and not necessarily the permanent paradisaal or hellish abode.

Al-Ṣādiq then continues to state that, while everything weeps for al-Ḥusayn, there are three exceptions to this seeming universal mourning. Three things did not cry over al-Ḥusayn. Of course, he is prompted by Yūnus to give further details to which he states: “And those three (people or places) which did not cry over al-Ḥusayn are: “Basra, Damascus, and the progeny of ‘Uthmān, upon them be God’s *la’n* (curse).”⁶⁹³ Prior to discussing the mention of these three entities or people, a brief introduction to *la’na* is in order. *La’na* as a verbal noun could also be rendered as malediction or a spell which entails the befalling of misfortune upon the accursed (*mal’ūn*).⁶⁹⁴ The trilateral root, *l-’-n* has been used as both a verbal noun and a verb, and a noun forty-one times in these various forms in the Qur’an predominantly as an expression of divine condemnation.⁶⁹⁵ There are verses in which people and angels, along with God, also engage in cursing as a reinforcement of God’s curse.⁶⁹⁶ Two particular examples shall suffice:

“Indeed, those who conceal what We have sent down of proofs and guidance after We have made it manifest (and clear) for the people in the Book: they are those whom God curses and the cursers curse them.”⁶⁹⁷

“Verily those who molest God and His Messenger are cursed by God in this world and the afterlife and He has prepared a humiliating punishment for them.”⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹² Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 5:608.

⁶⁹³ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 9:308; Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 198.

⁶⁹⁴ Merriam-Webster defines malediction as an execration which can act as an anathema or imprecation. The Oxford English Dictionary defines malediction similarly as “a word or phrase uttered with the intention of bringing about evil; a curse.” Oxford English Dictionary, www.lexico.com/en/definition/malediction, last accessed 10 April 2019.

⁶⁹⁵ Badawi and Abdel Haleem, *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qur’anic Usage*, 868-869; Devin Stewart, “Cursing,” *EQ*.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 492.

⁶⁹⁷ Qur’an, 2:159

⁶⁹⁸ Qur’an, 33:57.

For Shī'īs, these verses and those like it demonstrate that the act of praying against someone or praying for the misfortune of others is not a disliked act; however, the question remains as to who qualifies to be subjected to such a curse? In the case of Twelver Shī'ism all those who are believed to have harassed the family of the Prophet would be treated no differently from the one who has harassed God and His Messenger (Muḥammad) in the sense of taking an antagonistic position against them.⁶⁹⁹ As Etan Kohlberg has aptly pointed out, any opposition to “the rights of ‘Alī and his family is grave sin” and those guilty of this should necessarily be cursed. For the Imāmīs, cursing itself is not prohibited and the companions – or for that matter anyone “guilty” of opposing the Prophet and his family – are not only worthy of being cursed but whoever curses such an opponent is performing an act of worship.⁷⁰⁰ In this regard, much polemical use is made of a ḥadīth in which it is alleged that the Prophet said: “Fāṭima is a part of me; he who angers me angers her, God is pleased for the sake of her pleasure, and He becomes angry due to her anger and she is Mistress of the Women of the Worlds.”⁷⁰¹ In another tradition, the Prophet is believed to have said: “Ḥusayn is from me and I am from Ḥusayn; God loves whoever loves Ḥusayn and God hates he who hates Ḥusayn.”⁷⁰² Based on these traditions and others, as cited in both Sunnī and Shī'ī texts, Shī'ī scholars would attempt to assert that God's love and hate is tied to the love and hate of Fatima and by extension any of the Infallibles. This assertion would give license to

⁶⁹⁹ Etan Kohlberg, “Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the Ṣaḥāba,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1984), 161.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰¹ Muslim b. Hajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 4:1903; 4:1902. For similar wording see Muḥammad b. Isma'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:1144.

⁷⁰² Al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, 364; Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, 2775; Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Māja*, 144.

invoke malediction upon prominent members of the early Muslim community who were seen to have had animosity towards any of the fourteen Infallibles and or facilitated such feelings.

As the creed developed in the formative period from the 2nd/8th century onwards, Shī'ism remained a school of thought with multiple streams of theology within which the subject of cursing was fiercely debated. This debate arose in so small part due to the obvious destabilizing ramifications in demonizing those who are seen as spiritual heroes by a large proportion of the Muslim community. It should be noted that *la'na* is not necessarily synonymous with foul language or insulting (*sabb* and *shatm*).⁷⁰³ Of the two words, *sabb* has been used in the following Qur'anic verse: "Do not insult (*lā tasubbū*) those who supplicate to other than God, for they shall insult (*fa-yasubbū*) God as an enemy without realizing it."⁷⁰⁴ *Sabb* or *shatm* is a form of name calling, reviling, insulting either a person or the gods of others in the case of the Qur'an being the god(s) worshipped by the Meccans. This act of name calling, or insulting can, however, be deemed blasphemous when directed at the Prophet, his family or other prominent personalities such as the companions as per some Sunnī legal schools.⁷⁰⁵

Whereas, *la'na* is defined by al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d.974/1566) as "removal from (God's) mercy (*'ibād 'an al-rahma*)," which would entail a prayer hoping for another's damnation or deprivation of God's mercy.⁷⁰⁶ Put differently, *la'na* is a form of imprecation asking God to do harm to someone (or a group of people) most notably by depriving them of

⁷⁰³ For a discussion on the topic of *sabb* and *shatam* see al-Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī (d.1993), *Mabānī takmilat minhāj al-ṣāliḥīn* (Najaf: Maṭba'at al-Adab, 1975-1976), 1:321-324.

⁷⁰⁴ Qur'an, 6:108.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibn Manẓūr defines *al-sabb* as synonymous with *al-shatm* since both imply reviling or a foul insult without any mention of *la'na/la'n* in his discussion in *Lisān al-'Arab*, 1:455-456. Cf. *Wiederhold*, L. "Shatm" *EI2*.

⁷⁰⁶ Al-Ṭūsī, *Tibyān fī tafsīr al-qur'ān* (al-Najaf: al-Maṭba'at al-'Ilmīyya, 1957-1963), 3:51. In another place al-Ṭūsī describes *la'na* as "*du'ā' 'alayhi wa bi-l-'ibād min rahmatihī* (a supplication against him [the one being cursed] and depriving him of God's mercy," *Ibid.*, 8:360;

blessings and to place them in hell.⁷⁰⁷ That being said, *la'na* can also be construed as an insult albeit in the form of an imprecation such as : “God’s curse is upon the oppressors (*la'natu l-Allāh 'alā l-zālimīn*) even if it does entail the use of foul language it would certainly be deemed offensive to those who respect the targets of such curses.⁷⁰⁸ From a lexical viewpoint *la'na* should not be misconstrued as foul language (*sabb* or *shatm*) in the way swear words are used colloquially. Rather it is a form of sanctimonious damnation however, equally offensive if not more so than *sabb* or *shatm*. This is confirmed by Zoltan Szombathy who indicates that the use of the preposition *'alā* indicates that *la'na* is a prayer is against someone which is most often invoked by using the trilateral root *l-‘-n* or even *d-‘-w* both of which mean to pray against someone or to pray for their misfortune.⁷⁰⁹ Szombathy further demonstrates that a curse when invoked by a descendent of the Prophet (*sharīf*), an oppressed person (*mazlūm*), or a saint (*walī*) has been deemed to be especially efficacious due to their privileged position in the view of God.⁷¹⁰ For Twelver Shī'īs the infallibility of the Prophet and the Imāms would entail any curse uttered by them to be especially efficacious. On the other hand, for Sunnīs who venerate the family of the Prophet, it would be unfathomable for them to accept that pious companions (as believed by them) would be condemned to hell by those decedents of the Prophet such as Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq whom they admire and respect. Such a scenario would be untenable for Sunnī scholars as it would present a seeming irreconcilable contradiction

⁷⁰⁷ Gardet, “Du'ā” *EI2*.

⁷⁰⁸ The later expression is found in Qur'an, 7:44 and 11:18.

⁷⁰⁹ Zoltan Szombathy, “Cursing, ritual” *EI3*.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid*.

forcing them to choose between the family of the Prophet and other prominent members of the early Muslim community such as prophetic companions.

Out of the three entities (Basra, Damascus, and the progeny of ‘Uthmān) that are cursed and did not cry over al-Ḥusayn, the latter two places which did not weep over al-Ḥusayn, namely Damascus and the progeny of ‘Uthmān, would be evident in the Shī‘ī tradition. Damascus was the cradle of anti-Alid sentiment, and the family of ‘Uthmān, namely, the Umayyads, were the progenitors of that sentiment.⁷¹¹ Furthermore, what is perhaps more peculiar at least at first glance is the place of Basra. One would speculate that it is included due to it being conceived of as constituting the bastion of proto-Sunnīs who did not adopt the Shī‘ī narrative with regard to succession and the temporal-cosmic authority of their Imāms. More specifically, it could refer to those Basrans who fought alongside ‘Ā’isha against ‘Alī at the Battle of the Camel and remained in a state of disloyalty towards both al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. In this regard, Shaykh al-Mufīd transmits a sermon of ‘Alī in Basra (following their alignment with ‘Ā’isha against him) in which he describes them in the following manner: “O people of Basra! You are the wretched of God’s creation . . . you opposed your Imām . . . for you were the first to violate your pledge of allegiance.”⁷¹² In an alternative account of the above sermon found in the *tafsīr* of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, ‘Alī is claimed to have said: “You (the people of Basra) have been cursed on the tongue of seventy prophets.”⁷¹³ In fact, Imām al-Ḥusayn had also written to the Basrans insisting that he was the rightful successor to the Prophet’s legacy and invited them to “the path of right guidance

⁷¹¹ According to an alternative tradition, the third thing (*shay’*) that did not cry was the Āl (progeny) of al-Ḥakam b. Abī ‘Āṣ, which replaces Āl ‘Uthmān. This is a reference to the decedents of al-Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (d.65/685) who was known to be among Mu‘āwiyā’s chief strategists. See al-Ṭūsī, *Āmālī*, 54.

⁷¹² *Yā ahl al-baṣra antum sharru khalq allāh . . . wa khālaftum imāmakum . . . fa-innakum awwalu nakatha al-bay’a.* al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal wa-l-nuṣra li-Sayyid al-‘itra fī ḥarb al-Baṣra*, 407.

⁷¹³ *La‘intum ‘alā liṣan sab’in nabiyyan.* See ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, 2:339.

(*sabīl al-rashād*),” yet none who read it chose to support him in the end.⁷¹⁴ Therefore, it is within this broader geo-political and historical context that the curse upon the Basrans may be understood in light of what was perceived to be their continuous infidelity towards the cause of the Imāms at least from the Imamate of ‘Alī to his son, Imām al-Ḥusayn. It should be noted here that sweeping declarations such as these aim to pour scorn upon the foes of al-Ḥusayn or those who were viewed as being responsible for his killing either by partaking in it or facilitating it, being pleased by it or even indifferent regarding the matter altogether. The curse levelled against the Basrans may also be understood within the context of the famous Basran- Kufan rivalry which was both religious and literary in which numerous debates regarding the virtues of both cities took place. These debates took place in the presence of both Umayyad and Abbasid officials in which very often Kufan partisans would claim superiority based on their support for ‘Ali and even the Abbasid caliph al-Ṣaffāḥ.⁷¹⁵ Therefore to find such curses upon Basra is not unusual due to the people of the city being consistently cast as anti-Alid by Shī‘īs during the Umayyad and Abbasid period.

This is not the only instance of malediction in the text. There is a lengthy passage in which, as a part of *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*, the pilgrim to al-Ḥusayn curses the enemies of the family of the Prophet more generally:

Cursed is a community that killed you and a community that opposed you and a community that opposed your authority and a community that claimed to support you and a community that bore witness but did not

⁷¹⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 5:358. For information regarding these individuals see I.K.A. Howard’s notes in al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume XIX: The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah*, 32, notes 145-149.

⁷¹⁵ Geert Jan van Gelder, “Kufa vs. Basra: The Literary Debate” in *Asiatische Studien. Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asien-gesellschaft* 50 1996, 345-348.

affirm their testimony. All praise is due to God who made hellfire their final abode, the worst place of arrival and the worst destination.⁷¹⁶

لعنت أمة قتلتكم وأمة خالفتكم وأمة مجدت ولايتكم وأمة ظاهرت عليكم وأمة
شهدت ولم تستشهد، الحمد لله الذي جعل النار مثواهم وبئس ورد الواردين
وبئس الورد المورود

A portion of this scathing supplication may be an indirect polemical reference to the event of *Ghadīr* in which Shī'īs believe that the Prophet appointed his son-in-law and cousin, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as his successor by saying “for whomsoever I am his master, then 'Alī is his master.”⁷¹⁷ Following this proclamation, many prominent companions such as Abū Bakr and 'Umar are said to have congratulated 'Alī and they bore witness (*shahadū anna rasūl allāh qāla dhālik*) to what the Prophet had said regarding 'Alī as being the master of the community akin to the Prophet himself.⁷¹⁸ It could also concomitantly refer to those Kufans who wrote letters to al-Ḥusayn inviting him to Kufa as their sworn Imām only to abandon his cause.⁷¹⁹ In one such letter the famous Kufan Shabath b. Rab'ī and others wrote to al-Ḥusayn: “The fields have grown green and the fruits have ripened, and the water has overflowed. If you wish, do come to an army that is

⁷¹⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 9:313; Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 200. Al-Ṣadūq has provided a slightly different wording: “Curse be upon a community . . . that bore witness and did not come to your aid (*umattun shahidat wa lam tanṣurkum*).” The meaning here is similar except more explicit in demonstrating the duplicity of the community. See al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*, 6:55. Both al-Ṣadūq and al-Ṭūsī's reports render *mathwāhum* as *ma'wāhum* which still indicates a resting place or final abode. See al-Ṣadūq, *ibid.*; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Taḥdhīb*, 6:55.

⁷¹⁷ Sunnīs have not interpreted these words to indicate 'Alī's succession to the Prophet. On this, see the discussion by Maria Dakake, *Charismatic Community: Shi'ite Identity in Early Islam* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007), 33-48.

⁷¹⁸ The Shī'īs would translate the term “*mawlā*” as “master,” whereas Sunnī commentators would emphasize that it also means “friendship.” For the historical incident of the companions testifying to the declaration at *Ghadīr* see Ibn Athīr al-Jazarī, *Usd al-ghāba* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), 5:252. See Ibn Kathīr who cites Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in this regard: Ismā'īl b. 'Umar ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 5:210. The Arabic is “*fa-shahidū annahum samī'ū min rasūl allāh wa hūwa yaqūl: man kuntu mawlāhu fa-'alīyyun mawlāhu*.” For a selection of Shī'ī sources see Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj* (Mashhad: Murtaḍā Press, 1982), 1:150; Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī, *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* (Qum: al-Hādī, 1984), 2:650.

⁷¹⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 5:353; al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 210.

battle ready, upon you be peace.”⁷²⁰ These baroque expressions were meant to convey that necessary preparations and support were in place for al-Ḥusayn’s uprising against Yazīd, yet nearly every signatory of this letter would go on to change sides and betray al-Ḥusayn and his deputy Muslim b. ‘Aqīl after writing to him in such an emphatic manner.⁷²¹ This manifest betrayal beset Shī‘ism with a self-identification as an embattled few who stand against the injustice and perfidy of the many, beginning from the time of the death of the Prophet and reaching its climax with al-Ḥusayn’s martyrdom at Karbala. As Marshall Hodgson points out this righteous indignation seems to have begun with the caliphate of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in which he was seemingly besieged and criticized by numerous factions including prophetic companions and abandoned by the majority of his Kufan partisans. This yielded a palatable sense of bitterness of the Shī‘a against the rest of the Muslims reminding them that most of the community were not faithful to God’s covenant.⁷²² Some centuries later, the Shī‘a were able to justify their minority status and their refusal to be reconciled with the Sunnīs in respecting both the family of the Prophet and his early companions such as Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān. This sense of bitterness and righteous indignation towards large proportions of the early Muslim community set Shī‘ism apart from Sunnism especially following the killing of al-Ḥusayn at Karbala. This *ziyāra* and those of a similar genre serves to perpetuate the recurring sectarian theme of betrayal and widespread mutiny on the part of the Muslim community at least partly to provide spiritual and theological support for

⁷²⁰ *Ikhḍāra al-janāb wa ayna‘at al-thimār wa ṭammat al-jamām fa-idhā shi’ta fa-aqdim ‘alā jundin la-ka mujannadun.* See *ibid.*

⁷²¹ On this, see the notes by I.K.A. Howard in al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume XIX: The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah*, 25-26.

⁷²² Marshall G.S. Hodgson, “How did the Early Shī‘a become Sectarian” *JOAS* Jan-March 1955, 75:1, 2.

an otherwise minority Shī'ī position *vis a vis* the majoritarian Sunnī narrative regarding the early Muslim community.

We encounter the invocation of *la'na* in other famous *ziyārāt* texts such as *Ziyārat al-wārith* and *Ziyārat 'arba'in* in which al-Ṣādiq teaches his companion Ṣafwān al-Jamāl to say: "May God curse (*la'n*) the community (*umma*) who killed you [al-Ḥusayn], and God curse the community that oppressed you; God curse the community who heard about it and were content with it . . ." ⁷²³ Thus, there is a comprehensive malediction invoked upon anyone complicit in the killing of al-Ḥusayn; or in the famous and often recited *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* in which al-Ṣādiq explicitly says:

This was the day taken as a day of blessing by the clan of Umayya and the son of the liver eater, the cursed son of the cursed on the tongue of your Prophet . . . O God curse Abū Sufyān, Mu'āwiya, and Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. Upon them be from you a perpetual curse for all time, for this is the day, which brought happiness to the progeny of Ziyād and the progeny of Marwān by their killing of al-Ḥusayn . . . ⁷²⁴

Expressions such as these bring to mind the important role of *barā'a* (disassociation) and *la'na* (malediction) in Shī'ism. This importance is to such an extent that while even the inhabitants of hell weep over al-Ḥusayn, these three cursed entities are so far banished from God's mercy that they are not even compelled to cry over al-Ḥusayn.

I would venture to cast the proverbial net of dissociation even further, for this passage from *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* may even encompass the period of the first three caliphs who are viewed by Shī'īs as the first who rejected the authority of the People of the House ("cursed be a

⁷²³ For these statements which form various *ziyārāt* believed to have been taught by al-Ṣādiq to his companions see al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:721; 2:788; al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 6:113.

⁷²⁴ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:776. The invocation of *la'na* is extensive in this particular *ziyāra*.

community that rejected your authority”). To this effect there is a cryptic reference in the famous *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* (the 10th of Muḥarram and day of Imām al-Ḥusayn’s death) believed to have been taught by al-Ṣādiq which states: “O God, May you especially reserve your curse from me upon the first oppressor, starting with him, then the second one, then the third one, and then the fourth...”⁷²⁵ In light of Shī‘ī hostility towards the first three caliphs it may have been a reference to Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān, and the fourth one being Mu‘āwiya.⁷²⁶ The speculation in this regard is broad and there is no clear interpretation. Some commentators have speculated that this refers to the three killers of al-Ḥusayn, namely, Shimr, al-Khulī, and al-Sinān who partook in the final execution of al-Ḥusayn and the violation of his body.⁷²⁷ Alternatively, two Safavid-era sources attribute an explanation for this curse to al-Ṭūsī.⁷²⁸ It is alleged that al-Ṭūsī was summoned by the Abbasid caliph (unnamed) who demanded an explanation for the cursing of the first, second, third and fourth. To which al-Ṭūsī responded by saying that the first refers to Qābīl (Cain) who killed his brother Hābīl (Abel)⁷²⁹, the second refers to the killer of the camel of Ṣāliḥ⁷³⁰, the third refers to the killer of Yaḥyā b. Zakarīyā (John the Baptist) and the fourth one refers to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljim who killed ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, after which, the Caliph was satisfied

⁷²⁵ ‘Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:776. The Arabic is as follows: *Allāhumma khuṣṣa anta awwala ḡālimin bi-l-l’ani minnī wa abda’ bi-hi awwalan thumma al-thānī wa al-thālith wa al-rāb’i.*

⁷²⁶ The first three remain unnamed in *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* while Mu‘āwiya has been cursed by name earlier on in the text. This poses the following question: why would he now be given the title of “the fourth” whereas he was cursed openly earlier? This leaves the identity of the fourth one ambiguous.

⁷²⁷ This interpretation is found in a marginal note from the 7th/13th century in Pseudo-Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Mazar qadīm*. Sayyid al-Jālālī is of the opinion that the curse refers to Abū Sufyān, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Mu‘āwiya, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljim all of whom openly took up arms against the Prophet and his family while acting in the interests of the Umayyad clan. See Syed Kazim Hussain, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* (Chicago: Open School, 2010), 37.

⁷²⁸ This attribution of this incident by Sayyid Maḥdī Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (d.1212/1797) and Qāḍī Nūr Allāh al-Shustarī (d.1019/1610) is not accompanied by any chain of transmission or referral to an earlier source pre-dating the Safavid period hence it is difficult to ascertain its historical accuracy.

⁷²⁹ This has been alluded in Qur’an, 5:27 albeit without mentioning the names of the two sons.

⁷³⁰ This has been described in Qur’an, 7:73-79.

with the explanation.⁷³¹ According to the rules of typological figuration it is possible for all of these interpretations to be true at once. Furthermore, there is a possibility that this seemingly provocative line is apocryphal and added to the manuscript of *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* at a later date. Two of the three *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscripts (that I have examined) hailing from the 6th/12th century do not contain these words; rather, it states: “O God curse the first one and all the oppressors (*allāhumma khuṣṣa awwalin bi-l-la’na minnī thumma la’n jamī’ al-ẓālimīn*).”⁷³² Secondly, in the case of the earliest *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscript, upon examining the folio in question it becomes evident that something was erased and this line (cursing the first followed by an innocuous general curse) was written over whatever was originally written, leaving us unsure as to the exact phrasing. It may have even been the case that the original curse upon the first, second, third, and fourth was erased and replaced the somewhat less innocuous curse. As for the first manuscript, that is *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* MS 13547 (Majlis Shūrā Parliament Library) copied in 578/1182- the has been truncated to the following: “*Allāhumma khuṣṣa anta awwala ẓālimin bi-la’n minnī...*” leaving us with a second alternative which is that the curse is only limited to the “first oppressor.” However, this again seems unlikely since the “first” may still refer to the first caliph, Abū Bakr which would render the passage provocative even without mentioning the second, third, or fourth. Therefore, either the original curse included the first, second, third, and fourth but was erased by scribes altogether or replaced with seemingly less offensive wording. This is the opinion of Āyat Allāh Nāṣir Makārim

⁷³¹ See al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Khirsān’s introduction to *al-Istibṣār* where he is citing from the *Rijāl* of al-Sayyid Maḥdī Baḥr al-‘Ulūm and the *Majālis Qāḍī Nūr Allāh al-Shustarī* in al-Ṭūsī, *al-Istibṣār*, 14. All of four of these are deemed by both Sunnīs and Shī’īs alike to be grave crimes whose perpetrators deserve to be cursed by God.

⁷³² Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, MS no. 8822, al-Maktaba al-Raḍawīyya, Mashhad, Iran, folio 357; *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, MS no.1687, *Majlis Shūrā*, Tehran, Iran, folio 381. For more analysis on these manuscripts see the discussion in chapter one.

Shīrāzī who states that there is a 5th/11th century manuscript containing the full curse which he says is from the time of al-Ṭūsī himself (*zamān mu'allaf*) as written on the first folio. However, he makes no mention of a colophon to confirm these details except he says the writing is old (*qadīm*).⁷³³ He also mentions that there is a 6th/12th century manuscript copied by Ibn Abī Jūd and collated with the manuscript of Ibn Shahrāshūb which also contains the full curse which he has included in his edition of *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*.⁷³⁴ That being said, I am of the view that the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* copied in 502/1108 MS no. 8822 (al-Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya) is perhaps the most important extant manuscript due to it being incredibly close to the era of al-Ṭūsī while having multiple reading licenses written on the manuscript and it does not include the curse that is that is commonly recited today.

Despite these questions regarding the provenance and exact wording of this curse, the published editions of both the *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* have included the controversial curse upon the first, second, third and fourth since the vast majority of post-6th/12th century *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscripts do in fact contain this controversial statement. These manuscripts containing the more controversial and detailed curse originate after the 6th/12th century and have been collated (as per scribal written testimony) with the copies of Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī, Ibn Sakūn al-Ḥillī or Ibn Abī al-Jūd as demonstrated in chapter one. These manuscripts are *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, MS no. 93 (Āyat Allāh al-Burūjirdī Library); MS no. 4224 (Āyat Allāh al-

⁷³³ Shīrāzī, *Mafātīḥ-i novīn*, 399. This manuscript (MS 394) belongs to the Āyat Allāh al-Burūjirdī Library in Qum. I have visited the library in question several times in search of *Miṣbāḥ* manuscripts, as well as discussed this matter with well known manuscript experts (including Sayyid Ishqwarī and Sayyid Ḥasan al-Burūjirdī) in the city of Qum, none of whom have seen this manuscript from the 5th century or nor mentioned its existence to me. Thus, I am not able to confirm this information.

⁷³⁴ Ibid. I did not get access to this manuscript (MS 6387) which held at Āyat al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī Library in Qum and thus I am unable to confirm Āyat Nāṣir Mākārim Shīrāzī's analysis.

Gulpāygānī Library); MS no. 1258 (Āyat Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm Library); MS no. 6738 (Āyat Allāh al-Mar‘ashī Library); MS no. 11-408 (Imām ‘Alī Shrine Library).⁷³⁵ Therefore, we are presented with two possibilities regarding the curse in question. Firstly, the copies which have been collated with Ibn Idrīs’s copy (which was in turn collated with al-Ṭūsī’s personal copy) are to be relied upon over the 6th/12th century manuscripts that do not contain the curse in question. Alternatively, we can rely exclusively on the three earliest manuscripts (examined here) which do not have the curse and then assume that all later manuscripts have included this as a retroactive insertion despite it being claimed that these Safavid era *Miṣbāḥ* manuscripts were collated with the original copies of Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Sakūn, both of whom lived during the 6th/12th century. In the case of Ibn Idrīs, he claimed that he collated his copy with the author’s handwritten copy. It is this claim which contributed to the trust placed upon Ibn Idrīs’s copy as reflecting what is closest to the original copy of the *Miṣbāḥ* hence later scholars chose his copy of the *Miṣbāḥ* over others. That being said, it is also plausible that the more detailed version of the curse could have been added and then falsely attributed to the copy of Ibn Idrīs since his original autographed manuscript is no longer extant and what we are left with are written records of those who claim to have collated copies of the *Miṣbāḥ* and *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* with the copy of Ibn Idrīs. It is also plausible that al-Ṭūsī’s successors such as Ibn Idrīs had different version of this curse which in turn leaves us unsure as to what the exact wording originally was except that some copies may have been edited due to dissimulation (*taqiyya*) or due to some other unknown reason.⁷³⁶

⁷³⁵ Only MS no. 6738 was collated with the original of Ibn Abī al-Jūd for which we only have Volume One, whereas the entire text was copied later and is known as *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* MS no. 6738.

⁷³⁶ Dissimulation for Shī‘īs involves hiding or intentionally lying about certain aspects of practice or belief when fearing persecution such as physical torture or confiscation of property. Cf. Lynda Clarke, “The Rise and Decline of *Taqiyya* in Twelver Shi‘ism” in *Reason and Inspiration in Islamic Thought* ed. Todd Lawson (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005,) 46-64.

To further contribute to this lack of certainty, Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *ziyāra* manual entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir* (*Lantern of the visitor*) states clearly that this curse (upon the four) is not found in his personal copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, which he claims was copied by al-Ṭūsī himself. However, he does mention that his copy of the *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* does contain the curse in question and thus he chose to include it in *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* - indicating that he did believe it belonged in the text.⁷³⁷ Lastly, we do not find this curse in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* but rather it reads as the following: “O God May you especially reserve the first oppressor with a curse (who) oppressed the family of Your prophet then curse the enemies of the family of Muḥammad from the first ones and the last ones...”⁷³⁸ Initially, this would indicate that the *Miṣbāḥ* is not to be relied upon as a primary source for *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* since the earlier text, namely, the published edition of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* does not mention it nor does the manuscript collated by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī.⁷³⁹ However, it would seem that Shī'ī scholars have placed greater trust upon the *Miṣbāḥ* as it pertains to *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* due to the extant manuscripts being older and transmitted with numerous licenses in addition to numerous collations, unlike *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* which does not have such a prominent history of manuscript transmission. It is also improbable that Ibn Ṭāwūs was not aware of the alternative version of this *ziyāra* as found in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, yet he chose to transmit it from the *Miṣbāḥ* and not the former. The exception to this would be that the manuscripts of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* available to Ibn Ṭāwūs did in fact contain the curse and

⁷³⁷ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir*, 326.

⁷³⁸ The Arabic reads as: *Allāhumma khuṣṣa anta awwala zālimin ḡalama āl nabīyika bi-l'ani thumma al'an a'dā' āl muḥammadīn min al-awwalīn wa al-ākhirīn*. See Ibn Qūlawayḥ, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 332. This version of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* is narrated from Mālik al-Juhnī who reports from Imām al-Bāqir who is teaching the *ziyāra* to 'Alqama.

⁷³⁹ Ibn Qūlawayḥ, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* MS 25558a, folio 145.

thus there may have not been any discrepancy between *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* and his copy of *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* as far as this curse is concerned.

To conclude, the evidence available yields no certain conclusion regarding the historical provenance of the curse in question, leaving the matter in a tendentious state. Upon recourse to multiple manuscripts from the 6th/12th century we do not find this curse. Hence, what we are able to ascertain is that a number of the earliest extant manuscripts of *Miṣbāḥ and Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* do not contain the curse that is commonly recited today in the published edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* and reproduced in the *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* as well as the *Mafātīḥ-i novīn*.⁷⁴⁰ The claims and counter claims cannot be resolved unless and until new evidence of a *Miṣbāḥ* or *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ* manuscript autographed and or copied by al-Ṭūsī himself comes to light in which *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* can be found.⁷⁴¹ With all that being said, the phrasing of the curse is itself ambiguous and perhaps intentionally so. If al-Ṣādiq did in-fact relate this *ziyāra* along with the complete curse (upon the four individuals), then he did so without mentioning the names of these four. This clear omission of names leaves the passage obscure and open to interpretation which perhaps was the intention either on the part of al-Ṣādiq or the unknown author of this curse.⁷⁴²

⁷⁴⁰ Al-Ṭūsī, *Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 593; ‘Abbās al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*, 575; Shīrāzī, *Mafātīḥ-i novīn*, 399.

⁷⁴¹ It is even possible that discrepancies regarding this curse arose during the life of al-Ṭūsī who would have been aware of the implications of this curse in a mixed Sunnī-Shī‘ī environment such as Baghdad.

⁷⁴² The Shī‘ī ḥadīth corpus contains references to “The first, second, and third (*al-awwal*, *al-thānī*, *wa al-thālith*) in reference to those who rejected the first Imām, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, on this see al-‘Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr al-‘Ayyāshī*, 2:256. In another narration the first, second and third are said to have possessed negative traits such as indecency (*al-faḥshā*), evil (*al-munkar*) and rebellion (*al-baghī*) as described in the Qur’an. See: Ibid, 2:268. These two narrations have been attributed by al-‘Ayyāshī to al-Bāqir. Whereas al-Ṣādiq is said to have classified disbelief/ingratitude (*al-kufr*), corruption (*al-fusūq*), and disobedience/sin (*al-‘iṣyān*) as used in Qur’an, 49:7 as referring to the first, second, and the third. See al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:398. Clearly this is a reference to certain historical figures who remain

Manuscript discrepancies notwithstanding, this curse or malediction upon the first, second, third and fourth is clearly provocative if not insidious from the viewpoint of a Sunnī audience and especially confrontational if specific names are publicly mentioned. The publicity of such cursing when promoted by a Shīī state (Twelver or Ismāīlī) is intended to achieve two common objectives: firstly, to unite the community around a common enemy and to project a sense of power over the Sunnī populace. This cursing was openly ritualized in an elaborate and public manner by the Fatimid caliph, al-Ḥākim, who instituted the cursing of the first three caliphs in 395/1005 in addition to mounting plaques bearing curses upon them on the walls of central mosque in Cairo.⁷⁴³ Such acts of blatant provocation left sentiments of widespread resentment among the Sunnī population who revered such figures as being Muḥammad's most trusted companions and a source of his traditions and spiritual charisma for the Muslim community. Furthermore, Abbasid caliph al-Qāhir in 321/933 under Shīī influence established the cursing of Mu'āwiya in Baghdad. This ritual while being provocative is certainly not as incendiary as the public cursing of the first three caliphs who are deemed to be those who were heaven bound as per the dominant Sunnī narrative in the late 4th/10th century.⁷⁴⁴ Nevertheless, even the public cursing of Mu'āwiya resulted in mass Sunnī riots in Baghdad. Consequently, the public cursing of those figures who are deemed to be most revered after the Prophet himself would naturally elicit a lethal response from the Sunnī communities. This practice of publicly cursing the revered figures of Sunnism and even 'Ā'isha (wife of the Prophet) would recommence during the Safavid

unnamed leaving its exact meaning ambiguous. The chains of transmission for these narrations can certainly be critiqued by Shīī scholars, however such narrations do form part of the formative Shīī ḥadīth corpus.

⁷⁴³ Szombathy, EI3.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

period such that there was a group of paid cursing specialists (*tabarrā'iyān*) tasked with cursing such individuals.⁷⁴⁵ Naturally, the Sunnī community would feel compelled to rush to protect the memory of their spiritual heroes just as Shī'īs would in the case of Fatima and the twelve Imāms resulting in communal violence and civil strife.

By drawing upon another passage from *Ziyārat 'Ashūrā'* and other early historical sources these provocative damnations may be further appreciated. The passage reads as follows:

God's curse (upon) the community that laid the foundation (*asassat asās*) of oppression and tyranny upon you, the People of the House, and God's curse (upon) the community that shoved you out from your positions (*dafa'at 'ankum min maqāmikum*) and removed you from your stations (*azālatkum 'an marātibikum*) which God had allotted to you. God curse the community that killed you and God curse those who paved the way (*al-mumahhidīn*) for them by enabling them to engage in battle with you.⁷⁴⁶

There is a clear repudiation not only of the killers of al-Ḥusayn but also of those who preceded them by laying the ground which allowed this massacre to occur. In this regard there is a highly germane exchange of letters between Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ('Alī's adopted son and loyal partisan) and Mu'āwiya which sheds further light on identifying the culpable parties to whom the above passage may apply. The famous Shī'ī historian, al-Naṣr b. Muzāhim al-Minqarī (d. 212/827), has included the contentious letter that Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr wrote to Mu'āwiya disparaging him and his father as rebels while insisting that 'Alī's right to leadership had been usurped and Mu'āwiya and his father, Abū Sufyān, were to be held responsible for this injustice.⁷⁴⁷ In response

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ Naṣr b. Muzāhim al-Minqarī, *Waq'at al-Ṣiffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, 1983), 118. A nearly identical version of this letter can be found in Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, eds. Suhayl Zakkār and Riyāḍ Zirkilī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), 2:394.

to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's letter, Mu'āwiya is alleged to have written an even further divisive response:

There is some deficiency in your viewpoint, and it serves as a disparagement to your father. You mentioned the right of the son of Abū Ṭālib ('Alī), his eternal priority (over others) and his closeness to the Prophet of God . . . for us. Thus we were and your father was with us (*fa-qad kunnā wa abūk ma'anā*) during the life of our prophet, we recognized that the right of the son of Abū Ṭālib was incumbent upon us (to accept) and his virtue outstripped us . . . For your father and his *fārūq* ('Umar) were the first to tear it away from him ['Alī] and to oppose him ['Alī] with an agreement between one another and working hand-in-hand with one another. Then they claimed it for themselves [Abū Bakr and 'Umar], and they kept it for themselves and made sure it stayed with them. After them [Abū Bakr and 'Umar], the third one, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, was guided on the basis of their guidance and he followed their path. Your father [Abū Bakr] paved his path (*mahada mihādahu*) and he built his kingdom and empire. If we [Mu'āwiya and the Umayyads] are on the correct path, then your father is its pioneer (*fa-abūka awwaluhu*). But, if we are on the path of tyranny, then your father laid its foundations (*fa-abūka asassahu*) and we are his partners (*shurakā'uhu*) and we are taking hold of his guidance and we are emulating his action.⁷⁴⁸

The above exchange demonstrates that the damnation meted out to the “pioneers” of oppression can certainly be attributed to the first three caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān, who are viewed as tyrannical villains by Shī'īs while starting to be seen as rightly guided caliphs in the view of the Sunnī community by the 3rd-4th/9-10th centuries as Sunnism developed the thesis of four Rightly Guided Caliphs (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*).⁷⁴⁹ Furthermore, the act of “laying foundations” and “paving the way” for the oppression of the family of the prophet was clearly a subject of great controversy in Muslim memory as evidenced by the usage of such expressions in

⁷⁴⁸ Al-Minqarī, 120. For a shorter version of this letter which conveys nearly identical sentiments see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, 2:164. For Shī'īs the shorter version of this letter would be deemed to be censored whereas for Sunnīs it may be more accurate in comparison to al-Minqarī's narration which would be seen as the embellished version. Cf. Maya Yazigi, “Defense and Validation in Shī'i and Sunni Tradition: The Case of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr” *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004), 49-70.

⁷⁴⁹ Josef van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, Vol. 1, tr. John O'Kane (Leiden: Brill Publications, 2017), 258.

Mu'āwiya's response to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's tirade against him. Therefore the practice of cursing "the first, second and the third (*al-awwal, wa-l-thānī, wa-l-thālith*)" is best situated within the broader development of polemical and sectarian historiographical literature as it developed in the 3rd/9th century, seen in the work of al-Minqarī and to a lesser extent but nevertheless present in the genealogical and historiographical work of the proto-Sunnī, , Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (d.287/892).⁷⁵⁰

This palpable sense of abandonment and betrayal on the part of Shī'īs at the hands of the broader Muslim community and their leaders had profound implications. These implications included the inculcation of an exclusivist gnostic-like worldview in which the Imāms and a small number of true partisans find themselves in conflict with the vast majority of the community who do not interpret the early history of Islam in such a manner. Patricia Crone suggests that there is evidence to assert that these sentiments and the widespread rejection (*rafḍ*) of the earlier community did arise from the inner circles of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's companions; however, we cannot be certain as to whether he himself condoned such attitudes. Crone classifies this group as *ghulāt* or extremists who believed in the supernatural knowledge of the Imāms and their special divine selection. Crone contends that the latter, which primarily arose during the lifetimes of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, also anathematized all those who did not accept the divinely inspired authority of their Imāms; hence they were also known as "*Rāfiḍa*" (sing. *Rāfiḍī*).⁷⁵¹ Kohlberg describes them

⁷⁵⁰ I have used the term proto-Sunnī to indicate that any archetypical Sunnī historical narrative had yet to be fully crystallized during the period of al-Balādhurī.

⁷⁵¹ Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam*, 112-113.

as those who would come to constitute the Imāmiyya and go on to form the majority of Shī'īs numerically globally known as Twelver Shī'īs today.⁷⁵²

The definition of extremism and what is denoted by it is a matter of disagreement, but we cannot deny that al-Ṣādiq's life and teachings were viewed in drastically differing if not polarizing terms by his Jamā'ī-Sunnī pupils and his Rafiḍī-Imāmī pupils. However, the reporters and interlocutors in the various *ziyārāt* such as al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr, Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar, Yūnus b. Ḍabyān and al-Ṣafwān al-Jamāl would have qualified, according to Crone's definition, as Rafiḍī-Imāmīs of the first order.⁷⁵³ It is my contention that we need to situate these expressions of *la'na* along with the fantastical descriptions of the Imāms within the broader development of Shī'ī exclusivism which began to crystallize as a doctrine during the Imamates of al-Bāqir and especially al-Ṣādiq. Again, whether these doctrines can be historically traced back to either of these two Imāms is certainly debatable in terms of whether the traditions attributed to them in this regard can be deemed as historically reliable. Furthermore, in my view it has been correctly demonstrated by Maria Dakake that whatever one may surmise regarding the authenticity of traditions describing the supernatural attributes of the Imāms and the special status of their followers, we must accept that they form an important place within the "Shī'ī ḥadīth discourse while also recognizing that there was much debate among the companions regarding the supernatural qualities of the Imāms."⁷⁵⁴ I would assert that the case of *la'na* and its usage in the various *ziyārāt* is no different and it is far from being an ephemeral phenomenon in formative

⁷⁵² See Etan Kohlberg, "Al-Rāfiḍā or al-Rawāfiḍ," *EI*2.

⁷⁵³ Those who believed in the spiritual election of the Imāms, their extraordinary knowledge, and that the majority of the community stood against the authority of the Imāms and thus were deserving of God's curse and wrath. Al-Shahrastānī included the Rawāfiḍ among the Ghulāt whom, according to Kohlberg would certainly include, Zurāra b. A'yān, Mu'min al-Ṭāq and much of inner circle of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. See *Ibid*.

⁷⁵⁴ Maria Dakake, *The Charismatic Community: Shi'ite Identity in Early Islam*, 173.

Shīī sources. On the contrary, it speaks to the nucleus of Shīī devotion to the Imāms, which for Shīīs necessarily entails an explicit dissociation (*barā'a*) from their enemies and even those who were indifferent to the injustice done not only to al-Ḥusayn but also to the Prophet and his family, beginning with 'Alī and Fāṭima.

5.3-2 The etiquette of performing *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*

The preamble to the *ziyāra* then continues with the Imām being asked by Yūnus b. Ḍabyān to inform him as to what he should say and do when visiting Imām al-Ḥusayn.⁷⁵⁵ The Imām begins by instructing him to perform *ghusl* (the ritual bath) in the Euphrates River (*Furāt*). Shīī tradition has endowed this river with extraordinary reverence primarily due to the belief that al-Ḥusayn died whilst thirsty and was killed after making multiple attempts to reach it.⁷⁵⁶ Perhaps due to this significance, Imām 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, describes an angel descending to the Euphrates every evening so as to deposit a heavenly perfume (*mask al-janna*) in it and due to that “there is no river neither in the East nor the West endowed with a greater blessing than it.”⁷⁵⁷ In fact, according to a famous report from the sixth and seventh Imāms, it is recommended to anoint (*ḥannakū*) the newborn child with a sip of water from the Euphrates along with dust of Karbala, since “surely it is a protection” (*fa innahu amān*) for the child.⁷⁵⁸ Furthermore, the act of bathing in the Euphrates prior to the visitation of al-Ḥusayn’s grave is given such emphasis that while

⁷⁵⁵ Yūnus says to the Imām: “*innī urīdu an azūrahu fa-kayfa aqūlu wa kayfa aṣna'u?*”

⁷⁵⁶ Khalid Sindawi, “The Cult of the Euphrates and its Significance among the Imāmī Shī'a,” *Der Islam* 81:2 (Berlin: De Gruyter: 2004), 255-256.

⁷⁵⁷ Both al-Kulaynī and Ibn Qūlawayh have provided chapters entitled “The Merit of the Euphrates.” See al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 16:351; Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 48. For a general discussion on the history of the Furāt in Shīī and non-Shīī sources see Sindawi, “Cult of the Euphrates,” 249-269.

⁷⁵⁸ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī* 11:383; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Taḥdhīb*, 6:74; Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 278. The water is to be put into the mouth of the child.

introducing *Ziyārat al-wāriṭh* al-Ṭūsī reports in his *Miṣbāḥ* a tradition on the authority of Ṣafwān

b. Jammāl who is told by Imām al-Ṣādiq:

My father (Imām al-Bāqir) informed me (*ḥadathanī*) on the authority of his fathers (the Imāms that preceded him) that the Messenger of God said: ‘Surely my son, this al-Ḥusayn (*hādhā al-Ḥusayn*) shall be killed (*qutila*) after me on the bank of the Euphrates (*‘alā shāṭī al-furāt*), so whoever visits him (*zārahu*) and bathes (*ightasala*) in the Euphrates, his misdeeds are nullified and (he shall be akin) to the body of a baby the day his mother gave birth to him.’⁷⁵⁹

In Christian parlance, this may be described as a sort of baptism in the Euphrates after which the newly-bathed pilgrim to al-Ḥusayn is reborn and initiated into what Khalid Sindawi describes as the “cult of the Euphrates” which in this case has been attributed to Prophet himself by al-Ṣādiq [which certainly?].⁷⁶⁰

The Imām continues to instruct his companions that the pilgrim is to wear clean clothes and walk barefoot to the grave of al-Ḥusayn because “you are in a sanctuary of God and a sanctuary of the Messenger of God.”⁷⁶¹ By invoking God and the Prophet, the Imām is emphasizing the religious centrality of this pilgrimage as constituting the reverence of God and His Messenger. Such expressions indicate that the pilgrim is primarily accountable to God and the Prophet. Once again, this invocation of God and His Messenger forms a broader motif within Imāmī Shīism which stresses that the *ziyāra* of al-Ḥusayn is done for the sake of God and His Messenger thus returning to God first and the Prophet both of whom Muslims could agree on with regard to the centrality of their role. This theme of the universality of the pilgrimage to al-Ḥusayn is poignantly

⁷⁵⁹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:718.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁶¹ “*Innaka fī ḥaramin min ḥarami allāh wa ḥarami rasūlihi*,” (al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 9:308).

conveyed by Ibn Qūlawayh, Shaykh al-Mufīd, and al-Ṭūsī who include the following ḥadīth in their respective collections:

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kathīr reported from Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq who said: ‘If any of you perform hajj in his lifetime but did not visit (*lam yazur*) al-Ḥusayn, he has abandoned a right (*tārikan ḥaqqan*) from the rights of God and the Messenger of God, because the right of al-Ḥusayn is an obligation (*farīḍa*) from God that is incumbent (*wājiba*) upon every Muslim.⁷⁶²

The Imām then emphasizes that the name of God is to be recalled and praised by reciting: “God is greatest, there is no god but God, and glorified is God (*allāhu akbar, lā ilāha illa allāh, wa subḥān allāh*).” This initial recitation situates the reverence, worship and oneness of God as being of the utmost importance when arriving at grave of al-Ḥusayn. The Imām’s emphasis on recalling God’s attributes and praise could be an attempt to situate monotheism (*tawḥīd*) *a priori* and everything else flows from that primary commitment, hence it would carry rhetorical religious value by affirming first principles to deflect from accusations of exaggerated veneration of al-Ḥusayn. Such emphasis may be interpreted within the context of a Shī‘ī apologetic discourse which partly aims to assuage Sunnī concerns that such *ziyāra* rituals would distract Muslims from worshipping God. Then at last the salutations begin when the pilgrim arrives at the *ḥā’ir*, which was a gate or place marking the entrance to the shrine itself or its courtyard.⁷⁶³ The term “*ḥaram*” (sanctuary), on the other hand, simply denoted the general vicinity of Karbala or the area around the shrine itself. This distinction is deduced from the fact, in this text, the pilgrim finds him/herself in the *ḥaram* of God and the Prophet until they arrive at the door of the *ḥā’ir* (*ḥattā tuṣīra ilā bāb*

⁷⁶² Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* (Najaf: Dār al-Mutaḍawwiyya, 1977), 122; al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār* (Qum: International Congress of Millenium of Shaykh Mufid, 1992), 27; *al-Muqni‘a* (Qum: International Congress of Millenium of Shaykh Mufid, 1992), 468; al-Ṭūsī, *Taḥdhib al-aḥkām* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1986), 6:42.

⁷⁶³ On this see al-Khū‘ī, *Mustanad al-‘urwa al-wuthqā: kitāb al-ṣalāt* (Qum: Manshūrāt Dār al-‘Ilm, 1968), 418-419.

al-ḥā'ir). Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī explains that the “ḥā'ir” in this context would have been more encompassing than the dome and the chamber containing the grave (*al-qubba wa-l-rawāq*).⁷⁶⁴ These details also indicate that by the time of Imām al-Ṣādiq in the mid-8th century the grave of al-Ḥusayn and its surrounding area had some form of marker or gate, which indicates that it was not an obscure destination. This would further confirm what Khalid Sindawi clearly demonstrates based on the analysis of early poetry and various traditions, that the *ziyāra* or visitation of al-Ḥusayn was commonplace in the 2-3rd/8-9th centuries.

Once the pilgrim arrives at the grave, they are to stand facing the face (*wajh*) of al-Ḥusayn and to continue to enact salutations (*salām*):

Peace be upon you, o proof of God and the son of His proof. Peace be upon you, o' the one killed for God and son of the one killed for Him. Peace be upon you, o' avenger of God and son of his avenger.⁷⁶⁵ Peace be upon you, o' the unique one of God, who is unparalleled in the heavens and the earth. I testify that your blood settled in eternity⁷⁶⁶, and the canopies/shadows of the divine throne shook because of it, and all of the creations wept because of it, and the seven heavens and seven earths wept for it, and whatever is in them or between them, and all those that dwell in heaven or in hell from among the creations of our Lord, whatever is visible and invisible.⁷⁶⁷

السلام عليك يا حجة الله وابن محجته، السلام عليك يا قتيل الله وابن قتيله،
السلام عليك يا وتر الله الموتور في السلام عليك يا ثأر الله وابن ثاره في
السموات و الارض، أشهد أن دمك سكن في الخلد واقشعرت له أظلة العرش
وبكى له جميع الخلائق وبكت له السموات السبع والأرضون السبع

⁷⁶⁴ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Mulādh al-akhyār fī fahm tahdhīb al-akhbār*, ed. Mahdī Raja'i, Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, 1985, 9:132.

⁷⁶⁵ This is an important comment, it would again make this *ziyāra* unique- *thā'ir* is used instead of *thār*. When written with a *hamza*- it is blood of God or blood spilled for God.

⁷⁶⁶ The language of al-Ḥusayn's blood coming to settle in eternity is an example of *ta'ajjub*.

⁷⁶⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 9:309-310.

This passage once again conveys the motif of overwhelming cosmic grief for al-Ḥusayn insofar as both the blood and tears shed for him have supreme ontological and cosmological importance in the Shī'ī liturgical tradition. It may be characterized as ontological in the sense that the very substance of being or existence – that which is “seen and unseen” – is utterly impregnated with his blood and the tears shed for him. While a similar sentiment was conveyed by al-Ṣādiq in his earlier remarks, there remains one important distinction: That is, in this case the pilgrim is enacting what is otherwise a theological statement. Hence it may be described as a form of devotional theology in which, after what must have been an arduous journey, the pilgrim washes himself, and arrives at the shrine for what may be best described as a life-altering experience. In the midst of this journey, the pilgrim now must bear witness, demonstrating that these are not simply abstract statements but matters of belief orchestrated in a liturgical act. As for the reference to “the seven Heavens and the seven Earths,” it is once again reflective of an attempt to situate the Imām's suffering in devotional and testimonial terms as encompassing every imaginable realm of existence.

5.4. Imām al-Ḥusayn and the throne

In light of the above reference to the throne, I will briefly dwell upon the relationship between Imām al-Ḥusayn and the throne (*'arsh*) as reflected in early Shī'ī literature. In doing so, the literal translation “the shadows of the throne (*aẓillat al-'arsh*) shiver for it” requires some analysis so as to render it more meaningful. The confusion arises from the highly abstract usage of both of these nouns, *aẓillā* (shadows, sing. *ẓilla*) and *al-'arsh* (throne). As a result, both Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī and his son Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī have proffered multiple

interpretations in their various commentaries on this *ziyāra*. The first of these is that all above the throne (*mā fawq al-‘arsh*) shivers/quakes at the spilt blood of al-Ḥusayn. This explanation posits that the throne is a physical item situated above the seventh and highest level of Heaven, thus a shadow could be above it since it is a medium of covering or a canopy of sorts.⁷⁶⁸ However, Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī expands upon this in *Biḥār al-anwār* by stating that *aẓillat al-‘arsh* would conceivably cover all parts (*ajzā’*) of the throne and every level (*ṭabqa*) of it, since each level has occupants and these occupants reside under a shade-like canopy (*minhu ẓillun li-man yaskunu taḥtahu*).⁷⁶⁹ The second alternative is that *aẓilla* would not be shadows, but rather people or entities of a shadowy-like substance. Amir-Moezzi, having dealt with this theme at length, shows that the early Shī‘ī ḥadīth contain numerous references to the pre-existential cosmogonic world of shadows or particles (*al-dharr*) in which the Imāms and all fourteen Infallibles existed alongside all of creation.⁷⁷⁰ In one tradition al-Ṣādiq describes the community (*umma*) as *aẓilla* prior to their physical existence, or in another tradition, the Imāms and their Shī‘a are described as *aẓilla*.⁷⁷¹

In a more specific ḥadīth, Imām al-Bāqir describes the People of the House (*ahl al-bayt*) as *aẓilla* at the right of the throne (*‘an yamīn al-‘arsh*).⁷⁷² Amir-Moezzi further elucidates that early Shī‘ī ḥadīth described *aẓilla* in a variety of ways as including “spiritual inhabitants of Heaven and Earth.” This corresponds to Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī’s second definition of *aẓilla* as

⁷⁶⁸ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Mulādh al-akhyār*, 9:134; Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī, *Rawḍat al-mutaqīn* (Qum: Koushanpour Islamic Institute, 1985), 5:428.

⁷⁶⁹ Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 98:154.

⁷⁷⁰ Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *Divine Guide in Early Shi‘ism*, tr. David Streight (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), 32.

⁷⁷¹ Al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsīn*, 1:135; 203.

⁷⁷² Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr furāt al-kūfī* (Tehran: Publication of Islamic Guidance, 1989), 338.

persons in spiritual form, which would also include angels.⁷⁷³ This description would correspond well with the Qur'an 39:75 and 40:8, which describe the throne of God as a site of intense activity involving angels circumambulating it (*ḥāfīn min ḥawl al-'arsh*) and a group of individuals bearing it or carrying it (*yaḥmilūna al-'arsh*).⁷⁷⁴ In both instances, the Qur'an presents a scenario in which there are three parallel activities: praising God whilst circulating the throne; a group of people carrying the throne, and the determination of divine judgement.⁷⁷⁵ In both of these verses, the throne is the site of a decisive and climactic moment. A second inquiry could then be posed which is: what is connoted by the throne? Is it a physical object with a seat or is it a metaphorical representation of something else? Early Shī'ī scholars such al-Ṣadūq and al-Mufīd believed it to be symbolic of God's kingdom. In fact al-Ṣadūq goes to the extent of saying that the throne is representative of all of creation (*jumlata jamī' al-khalq*).⁷⁷⁶ It has also been described according to various traditions as a symbol of God's power (*qudra*) and knowledge (*'ilm*).⁷⁷⁷ Whichever definition is chosen, it would seem that it represents something indispensably related to God's attributes and the manifestation of His omnipotence. In light of this, the statement: "the shadows of the throne shiver at it [his blood]," the throne and all that it symbolizes as being utterly consumed in a cult of blood reverence and perpetual weeping all of which contributes to

⁷⁷³ Amir-Moezzi, *Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism*, 33. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, 98:155; *Mulādh al-akhyār*, 9:134; *Mirāt al-'uqūl fī sharḥ akhbār āl rasūl* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1983), 18:299. Al-Majlisī describes these forms as "*al-ashkās wa-l-ajsām al-laṭīfa wa-l-arwāḥ* (individuals and subtle bodies and spirits) and angels (*malā'ika*)."

⁷⁷⁴ Qur'an, 39:75; 40:8.

⁷⁷⁵ In the case of 40:8, the angels intercede on behalf of a group of believers asking God to grant them and their families the gardens of Paradise.

⁷⁷⁶ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-'tiqādāt al-imāmiyya* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Hādī, 2010), 102. The editor has included extensive notes and commentary.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid. In studying the early tradition, Amir-Moezzi also describes the throne as a name representing God's knowledge and power. See Amir-Moezzi, *Divine Guide*, 31.

a Shī'ī conception of paradise.⁷⁷⁸ It would suffice to mention that such abstract statements are intended to leave the reader bewildered and unable to describe the person of Imām al-Ḥusayn and the nature of his tragedy with any sense of completeness or finality.⁷⁷⁹ That being said, the early Shī'ī tradition draws a clear relationship between al-Ḥusayn, his tragedy, and the cosmogonic realm. In this regard, al-Ḥusayn is counted among the eight bearers of the throne (*ḥamalat al-'arsh*).⁷⁸⁰

Furthermore, this relationship between the throne and al-Ḥusayn can be found in another tradition, in the work of al-Ṣadūq, with a chain of transmission of consecutive Imāms reporting from one another in which Imām al-Ḥusayn states that, one day he entered the presence of the Prophet while the Prophet was with Ubayy b. Ka'b.⁷⁸¹ The Prophet proceeded to address his grandson, al-Ḥusayn, by saying: "O the ornament (*zayn*) of the Heavens and the Earth!" from which the Prophet continues and states before a confused Ubayy b. Ka'b that "al-Ḥusayn of the heavenly (*al-samā'*) realm is surely greater than al-Ḥusayn of the earth."⁷⁸² The Prophet then says: "It is inscribed on the throne that al-Ḥusayn is the ship of salvation, the lantern of guidance,

⁷⁷⁸ *Iqsha'arat la-hu aẓillat al-'arsh*. I have chosen to translate the "*la-hu*" as "his blood" because it is preceded by: "I testify that your blood (*damak*) resides in perpetual realm"; thus, if the pronoun were to refer to al-Ḥusayn it would be you (*ka*) and not it or he (*hu*). Therefore, the shadows or particles of the throne shiver in the presence of his blood.

⁷⁷⁹ According to a later tradition found in al-Ṭabarsī's *Makārim al-akhlāq*, al-Ṣādiq is said to have exclaimed that the act of divorce causes the throne to shake ("*al-ṭalāq yahtazzu minhu al-'arsh*"). If this were the case for divorce, then for Shī'īs the death of al-Ḥusayn would certainly warrant some cosmic reverberations. See al-Ḥasan b. Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī, *Makārim al-akhlāq* (Qum: Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1991), 197.

⁷⁸⁰ 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr al-Qummī* (Qum: Dār al-Kitāb Institute, 1983), 2:384; al-Ṣadūq reports this tradition with multiple chains of transmission which he describes as "authentic (*ṣahīḥa*)."⁷⁸¹ See al-Ṣadūq, *al-I'tiqādāt*, 108.

⁷⁸¹ Such a chain of transmission would give an added sense of reliability and rhetorical sacrality to an already fantastical tradition.

⁷⁸² Al-Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-dīn*, 1:265.

and an Imām without any deficiency.”⁷⁸³ This association between the Imām and the throne is not unusual if only because Shī‘ī tradition posits that God is revealed through His various names and the “locus” of that manifestation is the Infallible. In this case, al-Ḥusayn’s stand at Karbala and the spilling of his blood becomes a locus for the manifestation of God’s vengeance and anger such that the blood of His *ḥujja* (proof) could imaginably flow through the streams of the permanent heavenly realm (*al-khuld*) and the proverbial echoes manifest themselves in the quivering of the throne (*iqsha’arrat la-hu aẓillat al-’arsh*) and all that it symbolizes.

5.5 The miraculous attributes of the Ahl al-Bayt and eschatological expectations

The *ziyāra* while being prescribed for performance at the grave of al-Ḥusayn includes a passage which speaks of the supra-rational attributes of the Imāms in general, reminiscent of the common traditions found in early Shī‘ī texts of the 3-4th/9-10th centuries. One such passage is as follows:

Who ever desires God then he begins with you; through you God clarifies falsehood, and through you God distances (from us) the stormy age; through you God brings about triumph; through you God seals (affairs); through you God erases what He wishes and through you He affirms; through you He releases the shackles of humiliation from our (the followers of the Imām) necks; through you God avenges the spilt blood of every believer by claiming (its right). Through you the Earth will grow its trees and through you the trees shall bear their fruits, and through you the Earth brings down its rain and its sustenance. Through you God removes affliction and through you God brings down relief; through you the Earth renders stable your bodies which are carried upon it and the mountains remain firm in their places. The will of the Lord for what He determines descends upon you and issues (from you) and the origin of the religious rulings for slaves of God originate from your homes.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 9:313.

من أراد الله بدء بكم، بكم يبين الله الكذب وبكم يباعد الله الزمان الكلب وبكم فتح الله وبكم يختم الله
وبكم يحو ما يشاء وبكم يثبت وبكم يفك الذل من رقابنا وبكم يدرك الله ترة كل مؤمن يطلب بها وبكم
تنبت الأرض أشجارها وبكم تخرج الأشجار أثمارها وبكم تنزل السماء قطرها وورزقها بكم يكشف الله
الكرب وبكم ينزل الله الغيث وبكم تسيخ الأرض التي تحمل أبدانكم وتستقر جبالها عنمراسيها إرادة
الرب في مقادير أموره تهبط إليكم وتصدر من بيوتكم

It is clear from this lengthy passage that the *ziyāra* is not only concerned with the cosmic and earthly suffering, but also the debt owed by creation itself to the ones “chosen by God” to carry out His will on Earth. It should also be noted that there is a noetic and kerygmatic tenor especially since it is a liturgical text designed to be recited whilst in a state of tears (*bukā'*) and feeling broken hearted (*makrūb*), indicative of a humility devoid of any ostentation (*riyā'*) on the part of the individual.⁷⁸⁵ The exception to this of course would be those traditions that encourage the mourner who is unable to cry to at least pretend to cry out of respect for the tragedy of al-Ḥusayn.⁷⁸⁶ It is performances such as these which intertwine the euphoria of visiting al-Ḥusayn with a proclamation in theology positing that the ontological infrastructure of existence rests upon the Infallibles, in the sense that all blessings, all benefits, and all fortune begins with them, for “the one who seeks God (*man arāda Allāh*) must begin with you (*bada'a bi-kum*)” and thus the lines that follow essentially serve as a commentary upon that single expression. Hence whoever desires to worship God, or even to set about acknowledging Him must do so through these Fourteen Chosen individuals of which the Prophet is the ultimate patriarch. Furthermore,

⁷⁸⁵ Al-Mufīd, *al-Muqni'a*, 468.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 105-106.

there is a unification of the Infallibles and their remarkable attributes akin to other *ziyārāt* such as *al-Ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-ṣaghīra* (The Smaller Comprehensive Visitation) attributed to Imām 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā and *al-Ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra* (The Larger Comprehensive Visitation) attributed to the Imām 'Alī al-Hādī, both of which describe the Imāms as possessing divinely-endowed qualities, making them the indispensable bridge between God and creation.⁷⁸⁷ For instance in the famous *al-Ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra* we find the following kerygmatic proclamation: “Whoever desires God begins with you [the Infallibles], whoever renders Him to be one, this is accepted by you [the Infallibles, and who ever sets out for Him he shall turn to you [Infallibles].”⁷⁸⁸ Thus, as per the *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* and its complementary liturgies, any acknowledgement not only of God, but also of “His blessings” such as rain, even human physical existence, is all due to these specific individuals who have been endowed with an extraordinary position that transcends the simple communication of commands and prohibitions to the point of rendering them to be the very centrifuge from which all existence and all affairs take their course.⁷⁸⁹

In light of this, the statement “O God! I ask You by Your mercy which pervades all things” from *Du'ā' Kumayl* could be given a rather esoteric exegesis when viewed in relation to *ziyāra* literature. That is to say, that divine mercy as the ontological infrastructure of existence is defused through the personhood of the Infallibles, and their very existence is an existential

⁷⁸⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 9:18; al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*, 2:615. See Ahsa'is lengthy sharh on this Kabira

⁷⁸⁸ “*Man arāda allāh bad'a bi-kum wa man waḥḥadahu qabila 'ankum wa man qaṣadahu tawajjahu bi-kum,*” al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh*, 2:615; Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 532.

⁷⁸⁹ We find nearly identical expressions in *al-Ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra*, in which it is said: “Through you God brings about triumph, through you God seals (affairs), through you God brings down relief, and by you the sky is held up from falling upon the Earth except by His [God's] permission.” The Arabic is: “*bi-kum fataḥa allāh wa bi-kum yakhtimu wa bi-kum yunazzilu al-ghayth wa bi-kum yumsiku al-samā'a an taqa'a 'alā al-arḍ illā bi-idhnihi.*” There is once again a clear emphasis that the ultimate actor is God while the Imāms are the chosen means by which the will of God unfolds. See *ibid.*

instantiation of God's mercy akin to the Qur'anic declaration that the Prophet was sent as a "mercy to existence (*raḥmatan lil-ʿālamīn*)."⁷⁹⁰ Hence we read the following statements as found in the complementary *ziyārāt*: "Peace be upon you O the containers of God's cognizance (*maḥāl maʿrifat allāh*) . . . and the treasured essence of mercy (*maʿdin al-raḥma*)."⁷⁹¹ To further reiterate this point the *ziyārāt* literature is replete with statements such as: "The one who knows you knows God and the one who is ignorant of you is ignorant of God," which can be paired with the famous statement of al-Ṣādiq for it relates to the following statement from "The Commander of the Faithful (ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib)": "God is not known except through the path of knowing us."⁷⁹² It is at least partly for this reason that *duʿāʾ* and *ziyāra* literature should be viewed as mutually inclusive and essential features of Shīʿi devotional theology. Accordingly, the formative works of ḥadīth and extant liturgical manuals from al-Ṭūsī onwards included both genres which germinated out of the same tradition in an effort to fuse the doctrine of *tawḥīd* (monotheism) and *wilāya* (divinely sanctioned leadership), which are determined to be sacred due to being products of what is believed to have originated from the guidance and prescriptions of the Imāms themselves. Lastly a point of reflection in this regard is that *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* has been attributed to al-Ṣādiq, whereas *al-Ziyāra al-jāmiʿa al-kabīra* and *al-Ziyāra al-jāmiʿa al-ṣaghīra*

⁷⁹⁰ Qur'an, 21:107.

⁷⁹¹ See *ibid.*; al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 9:18. These are *ziyārāt* which have been deemed to be suitable to be recited at any shrine.

⁷⁹² *Lā yuʿrafu allāhu illā bi-sabīli maʿrifatinā*. See al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:451; al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, *Baṣāʿir al-darājāt*, 1:496.

have been attributed to later Imāms indicating that the above expressions of devotion would have already been somewhat formulaic by the time of al-Riḍā and al-Hādī.⁷⁹³

Furthermore, in *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* the pronoun switches from the singular you (*anta*) to the plural you (*antum*) thus including all fourteen Infallibles as interpreted in the Shīʿī theology of infallibility and the Imamate as crystalized during the time of al-Kulaynī. In addition, al-Ḥusayn's grave becomes not only the site of perpetual grief, but also a place of future messianic expectations in which the downtrodden Shīʿa shall eventually be rescued from persistent oppression and betrayal; that is to say, that the shedding of blood shall not go in vain, but will be accounted for by God. This vengeance and precise settling of accounts shall occur in this Earthly realm through the awaited reappearance of the Messiah and the other Imāms who are believed to return as discussed through the doctrine of the return (*rajʿa*).⁷⁹⁴ According to a tradition attributed to al-Ṣādiq in the *Tafsīr* of al-ʿAyyāshī, the first Imām to return to Earth will be Imām al-Ḥusayn along with his companions in order to kill Yazīd and his companions who will also return so as to fight the Imāms and his companions, only to be defeated. Beliefs such as these have been

⁷⁹³ See al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Shubbar, *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-jāmiʿa al-kabīra* (Beirut: Dār al-Murtaḍā, 2008), 65 onwards; ʿAbbās al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*, 545; 681-689; Āyat Allāh al-Jawādī al-Āmulī, *Adab al-fanāʾ al-muqarrabīn sharḥ ziyārat al-jāmiʿa al-kabīra* (Beirut: Dār al-Isrāʾ, 2013-2017), 1:137-152; Nāṣir Makārim al-Shīrāzī, *Mafātīḥ-i novīn*, 371-537. In this section the author explains the importance of these *ziyārāt* and their authenticity, particularly the ones mentioned in the above discussion; al-Jalālī, *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-jāmiʿa al-ṣaghīra* (Beirut: Dār Jawād al-Aʿimma, 2012), 49-86.

⁷⁹⁴ This contested doctrine posits that following the re-appearance of the Messiah (al-Mahdī), the other Imāms will miraculously rise from their graves and return only to continue this campaign of justice and to rule the Earth. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī believes these expressions in the *Ziyārat al-muṭlaqa* refer to the doctrine of *rajʿa*. See al-Majlisī, *Mulādh al-akhyār*, 9:139. I would concur with him as it seems to be the most perceptible reading in light of the change of tense from singular to plural indicating that more than one person is expected to return to spread justice on Earth. For more on this, see Colin P. Turner, “The Tradition of Mufaḍḍal’ and the Doctrine of *Rajʿa*: Evidence of *Ghuluww* in Eschatology of Twelver Shīʿism?” *Iran* (London; Tehran: British Institute of Persian Studies 44 (2006)), 175-195.

attributed to the Kaysāniyya which then seem to have been incorporated into the later Shīʿī ḥadīth corpus.⁷⁹⁵ Traditions such as this describing the return of Imām al-Ḥusayn and other Imāms following the return of the Mahdī is by no means representative of a widespread belief, but can be found in 3rd -7th /10th -13th-century sources and thus form part of the narrative around chiliastic expectations in Twelver Shīʿī thought.⁷⁹⁶

In a broader sense the mourning and *ziyāra* for al-Ḥusayn will become a catalyst for mass revolution, uprising, and the unveiling apocalyptic expectations assuring the believers (in this case Shīʿīs) that God is surely with them despite their minority and embattled status as the few in the face of overwhelming mutiny in the ranks of the Muslim community. To this effect it is believed by Shīʿīs, according to a saying attributed to the eighth Imām, ‘Alī al-Riḍā, that after the slaughter of al-Ḥusayn, the battle cry of the Mahdī’s army will be “O for the revenge of al-Ḥusayn (*yā li-thārāt al-Ḥusayn*)!”⁷⁹⁷ This relationship is further emphasized in *Ziyārat ‘Ashūrā’*, in which al-Ṣādiq instructs the pilgrim to supplicate with the following words: “I ask God to honour me so as to grant me the opportunity that I may avenge you [al-Ḥusayn] with a supported Imām (*ma‘a*

⁷⁹⁵ Al-Ash‘arī states that “the Kaysāniyya say that people will return to their bodies they were in and Muḥammad (the Prophet) and all the Prophets shall return and they [the Prophets] shall believe in Muḥammad and assist him and ‘Alī shall return and kill Mu‘āwiya and the progeny of Abī Sufyān and he shall destroy Damascus and drown Basra, as well as set it on fire.” See Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa-l-firaq*, ed. Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr (Tehran: Maṭba‘a Ḥaydarī, 1963), 50.

⁷⁹⁶ “*Inna awwalu man yukarru ilā al-dunyā al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī wa aṣḥābuhu wa Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya wa aṣḥābuhu fa-yaqtaluhum . . .*” See Al-‘Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr al-‘Ayyāshī*, 2:282. Cf. al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 8:206. For more sources see the compendium compiled by ‘Alī Kawrānī al-‘Āmilī, *al-Mu‘jam al-mawḍū‘ī li-aḥādīth al-Imām al-Mahdī* (Qum: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 2015), 786-790. For an apologetic yet detailed exposition of this debated doctrine see Āyat Allāh Muḥammad al-Sanad, “Raj‘at al-Imām al-Ḥusayn ba‘da dawlat al-Imām al-Mahdī,” in *al-Iṣlāḥ al-Ḥusaynī majallatun faṣṣiyya fī al-nahḍa al-Ḥusayniyya*, ed. Shaykh ‘Alī al-Fatlāwī (Karbala: al-‘Ataba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa, 2013), 31-48.

⁷⁹⁷ Al-Ṣadūq, *‘Uyūn al-akhbār al-Riḍā* (Tehran: Jahan Press, 1958), 1:299; al-Amālī, 129. This battle slogan has been used in different ways throughout Islamic history. In the case of those fighting ‘Alī at the Battle of Ṣiffīn their slogan was “O for the revenge of ‘Uthmān!” See al-Minqarī, 332.

imāmin manṣūrin) from the People of the House of Muḥammad.” Further on the pilgrim is then to supplicate in a slightly varied manner: “I ask God to honour me so as to grant me the opportunity to avenge you (plural) with an Imām who is a saviour (*mahdīyin*), present and speaking (*nāṭiqin*) from among you (the progeny of Muḥammad).”⁷⁹⁸ To further emphasize this relationship, al-Ṭūsī narrates a tradition from al-Ṣādiq as a preface to *Ziyārat ‘Ashūrā’*, that on the day of ‘*Ashūrā’* the mourners are to curse al-Ḥusayn’s killer and console (*yu‘azzī*) each other by saying the following to one another: “May God exalt our reward due to our grieving for al-Ḥusayn and place us and you (fellow mourner) among those who seek his vengeance (*ṭalaba thārihi*) with His (God’s) intimate friend, the saviour Imām (*al-Imām al-Mahdī*) from the progeny of Muḥammad (*āl Muḥammad*).”⁷⁹⁹

On the basis of these various excerpts, in addition to the lengthy passage from the *al-Ziyārat al-muṭlaqa*, it becomes apparent that the relationship between Karbala, the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn and the rising of the Mahdī and successive Imāms becomes an intertwined doctrine during the later formative period of Shī‘ī liturgy; that is, by the time al-Kulaynī was compiling *al-Kāfī* during the lesser occultation of the twelfth Imām. That being said, it should not go unnoticed that such expressions demanding the blood and revenge for al-Ḥusayn’s killing at Karbala were not unique to Alids or specifically Twelver Shī‘īs.⁸⁰⁰ In fact it was the Abbasids who famously used the slogan “O for the revenge of al-Ḥusayn!” to gather support for their overthrow of the

⁷⁹⁸ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:774.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid, 2:772.

⁸⁰⁰ The followers of Mukhtar b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Thaqafī and Muḥammad b. Ḥanafīyya used the slogan “O for the revenge of al-Ḥusayn!” as a means for arousing the masses in support of their respective pro-Alid movements following the death of al-Ḥusayn at Karbala. See Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (Qum: Manshūrāt al-Raḍī, 1969), 289, cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 6:20. In the case of Muḥammad b. Ḥanafīyya see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 3:285.

Umayyad dynasty. In doing so, the Abbasids attempted to use such slogans as part of their propaganda in promoting themselves as the redeemers and messiah-like saviours of the Muslim community which would have certainly put the companions of al-Ṣādiq and al-Ṣādiq himself at odds with the Abbasids.⁸⁰¹ This propaganda was purposefully crafted by Abū Muslim over so to urge the rejection of Umayyad rule which led people to believe that what would become an Abbasid revolution was an attempt to avenge the usurpation and oppression of the children of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Therefore what began as an Alid Hāshimite Da‘wa (propaganda) would become the Abbasid revolution which was led under the guise of being pro- Alid as a means of garnering support among anti- Umayyad factions.⁸⁰² Coincidentally, this revolution carried out in the name vengeance for Imām al-Ḥusayn occurred during the lifetime of al-Ṣādiq to whom *al-Ziyārat al-muṭlaqa*, *Ziyārat ‘Āshurā*, and the rites of the day of ‘*Ashūrā*’ are ascribed – all of which feature explicit mention of the seeking of revenge for the blood of al-Ḥusayn at the hands of a saviour figure.

In light of al-Ṣādiq’s lack of overt support for the Abbasid revolution and his general unenthusiastic outlook towards it, it can be surmised that these liturgical calls (in the *ziyāra*) for revenge and justice could have been viewed by the Abbasids as constituting a challenge to their religious legitimacy. It would have reasonably been assumed that these devotional slogans were not in praise of the Abbasid dynasty’s claim to have avenged the spilt blood of the Imām nor a recognition for their overthrow of the Umayyads, hence it would have perceived as an obvious

⁸⁰¹ Hayrettin Yucesoy, *Messianic Beliefs and Imperial Politics in Medieval Islam: The ‘Abbāsid Caliphate in the Early Ninth Century* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 25.

⁸⁰² Moshe Sharon, *Revolt The Social and Military Aspects of the ‘Abbāsid Revolution* (Jerusalem: The Max Schloessinger Memorial Fund, 1990), 21.

threat. Consequently, for this reason, and due to numerous provocative expressions castigating the early Muslim community, such *ziyārāt* texts may not have been widely circulated among the proto-Sunnī population. Rather, such liturgical material would be best understood as private devotions composed for the “private eye” as taught by al-Ṣādiq to his inner circle of companions and partisans, much like a concentric circle in which intimate and potentially contentious geopolitical and sectarian references would ideally stay closer to the centre and not reach the periphery,⁸⁰³ the reason being two-fold: firstly, it may have provoked the ire of those who would interpret certain passages to refer to the early Muslim community and hence accuse al-Ṣādiq’s companions of extremism.⁸⁰⁴ Secondly, as mentioned, it had the potential to agitate the Abbasid political establishment who already looked upon the Imāms with suspicion. Therefore, it can be asserted that *al-Ziyārat al-muṭlaqa* as a liturgical text found in formative Shī‘ī tradition forms an archetypical genre of *ziyāra* literature which in this case combines the emphasis upon explosive grief with an articulated theophany in which God manifests His ultimate power through a chosen people who, as the vanguards of divine justice on Earth, are concurrently vested with an apocalyptic messianic mission to redeem humankind.

⁸⁰³ The contrast between the public and private nature of sources has been discussed by Maria Dakake. The dichotomy of sorts follows a theory that the study of first-century Shī‘ism has largely relied upon the early historical chronicles which largely draw upon Abū Mikhnaf as a key informant. These sources present Shī‘ism as a predominantly political attachment to ‘Alī which unfolded largely in the public eye, whereas studies of second-century Shī‘ī doctrine, and especially the lives of the twelve Imāms, tends to rely upon sectarian literature such as ḥadīth and heresiographical accounts. See Maria Massi Dakake, *The Charismatic Community* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007), 3-4. In this case, I would describe the private eye of Shī‘ī *ziyārāt* literature as constituting individual and communally-influenced notions of piety circulating within the Shī‘ī community that were meant to build and reinforce its own worldview.

⁸⁰⁴ The accusation is that those claiming to be loyal companions of the sixth Imām, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq in fact misrepresented him by engaging with such provocative liturgical material which would openly curse the companions of the Prophet.

5.6 Conclusion

According to Shī'ī *rijāl* analysis, the narrator of this *ziyāra* is al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr, who is beyond reproach. However, the same cannot be said of two of his colleagues, Yūnus b. Ḍabyān and Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar. The texts of *rijāl* mention that both of these individuals have chequered pasts which most primarily include accusations of extremism or *ghuluww*. Although they are not the reporters (*ruwāt*) of the *ziyāra*, their mention and being privy to the details that follow must be taken note of. The latter, Mufaḍḍal, oscillated from being a companion of the extremist Abū al-Khaṭṭāb only to return to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq at a later date.⁸⁰⁵ To this effect, Hossein Modarressi describes Mufaḍḍal as “the leader of the *Mufawwiḍa* school of Shī'ite Extremism.”⁸⁰⁶ The historical truth of the matter, if such can be ascertained, is beyond the scope of this chapter and has been discussed at length by others.⁸⁰⁷ Nevertheless, al-Mufaḍḍal formed the inner circle of the sixth Imām, in addition to narrating hundreds of traditions from the fifth and seventh Imāms as well, with a particular focus on the miraculous nature of the Imām's knowledge and his influence remains very strong. As for Yūnus b. Ḍabyān, he has been categorically condemned as an extremist and untrustworthy by both early and later scholars.⁸⁰⁸ Once again it should be

⁸⁰⁵ Turner, “The ‘Tradition of Mufaḍḍal’”; Mushegh Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam: The Ghulat Muslims and Their Beliefs* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 46-55; Liyakat Takim, *The Heirs of the Prophet: Charisma and Religious Authority in Shi'ite Islam* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2006), 160-161. Al-Najāshī has also described Mufaḍḍal as having a corrupt [school of school?] (*fāsīd al-madhab*) due to his connection with the *ghulāt*. See: al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 416.

⁸⁰⁶ Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shi'ite Literature*, 1:333. The *Mufawwiḍa* were a group of extremist Shī'īs who attributed divinity to the Imāms by asserting that God created the universe and then left its functioning to the Imāms; in other words, God delegated some of His powers, such as determining sustenance (*rizq*), to the Imāms.

⁸⁰⁷ See note 55.

⁸⁰⁸ Al-Najāshī describes him as very weak and all that he has written is garbled or confused (al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 449). For more on him and his connection to the *ghulāt*, see Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam*, 53;61-62.

emphasized that neither Mufaḍḍal nor Yūnus are the narrators of the *ziyāra*, but it would be reasonable to assume that their communal status allowed them to have an intimate gathering of this type with al-Ṣādiq, especially one in which the Imām would reveal a *ziyāra* containing extraordinary details regarding the death of Imām al-Ḥusayn and the condemnation of their enemies. In this regard, Mushegh Asatryan aptly remarks that the Imāms tended to banish as well as befriend individuals with an array of theological proclivities which included the burgeoning *ghulāt* whose views were only beginning to crystallize - in order to be condemned - during this period.⁸⁰⁹

For Shī'īs, these liturgical texts could certainly be described as lessons in devotional theology in which the People of the House taught the “seekers” how to “express their deepest feelings and to find words for ‘the dialectic of the embattled self’.”⁸¹⁰ That is to say, *ziyāra* as a genre of liturgy allowed the Shī'īs to put words to an otherwise “ineffable” devotion to the family of the Prophet and especially to Imām al-Ḥusayn. It has been demonstrated in this chapter that *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* has a long and venerable history in Shī'ī ḥadīth literature so as to be included in the canonical compilations of Shī'ī tradition. The kerygmatic esotericism with which this *ziyāra* is imbued should not be simply consigned to a formative brand of pre-rationalist “extremist” Shī'ism.⁸¹¹ On the contrary, this text is a testament to the fact that such a *ziyāra* containing vivid sectarian and fantastical motifs survived well into the so-called “rationalist period.” This is evidenced by its inclusion by the rationalist theologian and jurist Shaykh al-Ṭūsī in his *Taḥdhīb*,

⁸⁰⁹ Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam*, 54.

⁸¹⁰ Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1997 reprint), 127.

⁸¹¹ Marshal Hodgson describes the “kerygmatic” esotericism of Shī'ism as arising out of a privileged view of history and a piety of protest. Marshal Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 373.

and other *ziyārāt* akin to it are to be found in his liturgical manual, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* . Its inclusion by al-Ṭūsī demonstrates that this strain of early “non-rational and esoteric” Shī’ism of Qum lived on through the devotional works composed by the theological and legal vanguards of Twelver Shī’ism from the early 4th/10th century onward. Therefore, it is my contention that liturgical material and, in this case, specifically *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*, allowed parts of an earlier elaborate and gnostic-like tradition to survive well into the age of what Amir-Moezzi describes as “rationalist” Shī’ism. In this case, to what extent is this esoteric and sectarian tradition representative of the *ghulāt* and their beliefs? There is no definite response to this for the very reason that many of the *isnāds* of these *ziyārāt* do not contain so-called “*ghulāt*” and al-Ṣadūq, who was himself intensely preoccupied with the dangers of extremism, has described this *ziyāra* in a superlatively positive manner. However, what we do know on the basis of recourse to early heresiographical works is that the various groups labelled as *ghulāt* or those deemed to have held heretical views, such as the Kaysāniyya, Mufawīḍa, Jārūdiyya, Nāwusiyya, Khaṭṭābiyya and others, had a collage of doctrines some of which mirror those expressed in *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*.

These doctrines, while not being commonly shared by all of them, include the belief in an Imām with supernatural abilities upon whom everything relies for its existence coupled with an uncanny attachment to the tragedy of Imām al-Ḥusayn. These doctrines are then intertwined with clear apocalyptic expectations, all of which can be found in saviour messiah-like figure(s) who will finally deliver the justice the Shī’a have been awaiting ever since the rights of ‘Alī and his children were taken away by tyrannical rulers. These rulers were supported by the silence of an inimical, apathetic or fearful Muslim community (*umma*) that in this case largely constituted what would eventually become Sunnīs or “Shortcomers”. It is these two groups who have failed

to obey and appreciate with any substantial degree of percipience the sheer cosmological profundity of Imām al-Ḥusayn’s death at Karbala coupled with the divinely bestowed virtues of the family of the Prophet collectively. Therefore, these above sentiments were fused together to form the bedrock of Shī’ī liturgical devotion to the Imāms through the practice and recitation of *ziyāra*.

The question which remains is whether the above sentiment truly constituted *ghuluww* or extremism (as per 3rd-4th/10th -11th century Shī’ī estimation) to begin with? The reason I am hesitant to define it as such is due to the unambiguous emphasis placed upon an *a priori* devotion to God and it is ultimately God who is the actor with the Imāms becoming the means for the execution of His divine will, similar to that of the Prophet himself. This distinction is of the utmost importance as it was 3rd/9th century Imāmī Shī’īs that largely defined themselves in contradistinction to the *ghulāt*, while also accepting and incorporating those beliefs as solely belonging to God and God alone which did not violate their understanding of monotheism and divinity. As Wadad Kadi points out, early Shī’ī heresiographers such as al-Nawbakhtī and Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī largely limited *ghuluww* to the transmigration of souls and antinomian tendencies such as the abandonment of the daily prayers.⁸¹² Therefore it would seem that the beliefs expressed in *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* would not have been defined as *ghuluww* at least when examined in relation to early Shī’ī heresiography since belief in an occultation (*ghayba*) and the return (*raj‘a*) by no means made a sect to be classified as extremist.⁸¹³

⁸¹² Wadad al-Qadi, “The Development of the Term *Ghulāt* in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the *Kaysāniyya*” in Albert Dietrich ed. *Akten des VII. Kongress für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft* (Goittengen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 304.

⁸¹³ Ibid, 306. This has also been demonstrated by Tamima Bayhom-Daou, “The Second-Century Shī’ite Ghulāt Were They Really Gnostic?” *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 2017, 5, 16-19.

Furthermore, if the sectarian and esoteric themes in this *ziyāra* were truly extreme and unrepresentative of the Imām's teaching (as understood by 3rd-4th/10-11th century Imāmī thinkers), what would have prompted Shī'ī traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) and jurists (*fuqahā'*) such as Ibn Qūlawayh, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and their teachers to transmit these texts and include them in their respective collections and liturgical manuals? This is especially the case with famous Shī'ī traditionists of Qum such as Aḥmad b. 'Isā al-Ash'arī al-Qummī and Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī both of whom were transmitters of *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa* while also being exceptionally concerned with the influence of extremist sects upon Shī'ī beliefs.⁸¹⁴ In light of its transmission details and contents, this *ziyāra* could be viewed as a mantle of doctrinal devotion passed from one generation of scholars to the next for it to be included in the *Mafātīḥ al-jinān* of 'Abbās al-Qummī. This repeated liturgical transmission facilitated the amalgamation of the Shī'ī community to form into an exclusivist spiritual fraternity comprising extraordinary devotion to the Fourteen Infallibles for which *ziyārāt* literature functioned as a fundamental conduit. It can also be said that the devotional theology expressed in this liturgical material brings to light a highly elaborate Shī'ī soteriology in which submission to God and submission to the People of the House are co-existential and mutually inclusive realities of salvation history.

⁸¹⁴ Newman, *The Formative Period*, 42.

General Conclusion

For Muslims, prayer and its accompanying expressions is an act of drawing near to God and embodying His remembrance within themselves. This is, however, not limited to God alone; rather an emphasis is to be found in formative liturgical texts which command the believers to a life of devotional invocation dedicated to the Fourteen Infallibles as the chosen people of God. This act of remembrance is the quintessential act of worship and devotion which pervades the entire spiritual tradition of Islam and particularly Shī'ism. Naturally, a subject of this nature is wholly germane to the study of Muslim religious life and intellectual history, hence it was selected as the subject of study for this dissertation. As mentioned at the outset, considering how ubiquitous prayer is in Muslim life, few studies have been dedicated to its analysis, both in terms of the formal canonical prayers (*ṣalāt*) and the various non-obligatory liturgical devotions which are recited and performed throughout the year. In fact, in comparison to Christian and Jewish Studies, the study of Islamic liturgy remains in its infancy. This dissertation which focused on non-obligatory devotions such as *du'ā'* and *ziyāra* has attempted to contribute to this rather open field of inquiry. These supplications and visitational elegies provide the worshipper with what Padwick describes to be a "voice of saintly authority" issued from the Prophet himself or one of the saints that followed him I have attempted to address two concerns, the first pertaining to the question of transmission history coupled with the textual legacy of this material and the second being the theological and philosophical import of the texts themselves.

The venerable historical transmission of this literature gives an insight into its significance and how it has been handled by the authoritative transmitters of Twelver Shī'ism. To this effect, it has been demonstrated that both *du'ā'* and *ziyāra* form a remarkable component of a

voluminous textual tradition which contributed to the emergence of a unique liturgical community. The uniqueness lies in the emphasis upon these two genres of liturgy during the historical period of the Imāms in tandem with the writing of ḥadīth as indicated in the various bio-bibliographic indices consulted therein. As a result, we are able to ascertain the priority given to personal devotion which manifested itself in the development of a literary genre of sacred literature believed to have been recorded for posterity by various companions of the Imāms. While most if not all these books (*kutub*) pertaining to *du‘ā’* and *ziyāra* are no longer extant, classical scholars such as Shaykh al-Ṭūsī had access to their contents through their various chains of transmission, by returning to the compilers of these texts such as the *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* of Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Ammār. This is indicative of the real possibility that material vestiges of these ancient works survived well into the 4th-7th/11th -13th centuries and were at the disposal of Shī‘ī authorities who embarked upon writing and assembling various liturgical manuals such as the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* of al-Ṭūsī and the *lqḇāl al-a‘māl* of Ibn Ṭāwūs. The potential spiritual efficacy of these devotions arises from the Shī‘ī belief that these liturgies emanated from divinely guided individuals whose words carry an aura of their efficacy and hence are vital for the devout Shī‘ī who desired to embark upon a path of religious enlightenment, ultimately resulting in experiencing the presence of God and the Imāms in their lives. Hence such literature was unique in that it was shared by scholars and laity alike due to the above shared concern.

I should also clarify that this dissertation only expounds upon one element of sacred devotion, which is the product of a scholastic tradition and thus not reflective of popular devotions thus not arising out of a textual legacy as delineated by the various gate keepers of Shī‘ī doctrine. It was these gate keepers who set out to select specific devotions (*du‘ā’* or *ziyāra*)

which they deemed to be efficacious and religiously legitimate. In this regard the most renowned texts of the early period are *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* and *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*. Both of these liturgical compendiums have been given near canonical status among Shīʿī scholars as evidenced by their repeated transmission and the reliance upon them by the generations of scholars that followed. This reliance was primarily due to the prominence of both Ibn Qūlawayh and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī whose scholarly careers and communal status lent a tremendous degree of legitimacy to their respective liturgical collections. In the case of al-Ṭūsī, it was demonstrated that the *Miṣbāḥ* in both its larger and abridged versions occupied a particularly poignant textual legacy as evidenced by the numerous reading licenses and manuscript notes associated with the text in the decades and centuries following al-Ṭūsī's death. Furthermore, the geographical dispersion of the text across various parts of modern-day Iraq, the Levant and Iran also points to the role it occupied in the scholarly life of Shīʿī luminaries who taught it as a seminal liturgical text. In addition to teaching the text by having it read aloud, scholars such as Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī and Shahīd al-Awwal were involved in the editing, and transcribing of its contents. This once again emphasizes the prominent role that liturgical material occupied in Shīʿī intellectual history and especially in the period following the occultation of the twelfth Imām.

Now we come to the question of authenticity, and the following query may be posed: how can we know that any of this material really originated from the Prophet or the Imāms themselves? The answer with any historical certainty is at best tentative, the reason being that we do not have any surviving archaeological evidence of liturgical material hailing from the first three centuries of Islam. That being said, it has been mentioned that there is abundant circumstantial evidence indicating the presence of a rich and widespread presence of both *duʿāʾ*

and *ziyāra* texts attributed to the various companions of the Imāms as well as scholars who lived during the historical period of the Imāms, such as al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī. Secondly the question remains as to whether such evidence is sufficient for Shī'īs to have a general confidence in the later collections of al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Qūlawayh if not even that of Ibn Ṭāwūs who also had tremendous access to early Shī'ī liturgical texts predating al-Ṭūsī. The answer to the above depends on the method of inquiry one chooses when approaching these questions as it pertains to historicity.

There are three general options, as I have alluded to and stated in this dissertation. The first option is to simply posit that since the vast majority of this material has little significance for what is obligatory (*wājib*) or impermissible (*ḥarām*), scholars could apply the principle of “liberality regarding the indicators of traditions (*al-tasāmuḥ fī adillat al-sunan*),” or the “principle of what has reached us (*qā'idatu mā balaghta*)”. Both juristic principles essentially posit that elective devotional acts which pose no harm to the widely held religious beliefs or practice should not be restricted and those who perform them shall receive a reward (*thawāb*) from God, even if the Prophet or the Imāms never actually authored a specific prayer. This general rule alleviates the need to authenticate every devotion and essentially nullifies the question of historicity and authenticity. However, as has been demonstrated, this principle alone did not negate the importance in ascertaining the historical reliability of liturgical material because we see this concern considered by scholars from al-Ṭūsī to Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, all of whom refer to the importance of selecting authentic texts from trustworthy sources. The question that then arises is: if the above principles were sufficient, then why did scholars throughout the centuries comment upon the general and specific reliability of these texts? The answer to such a question

entails a two-track approach in which the first option would be to delineate an authentic source (preferably with a chain of transmission) for each liturgy. In the absence of a chain of transmission, if the contents are doctrinally acceptable then the devotion can still be included in the corpus on the basis that it has been merely attributed to one of the Fourteen Infallibles. Ultimately, if one were to require a complete chain of transmission for each devotion going back to the Imāms with a “trustworthy” chain of narrators in which each transmitter is a known and praiseworthy personality, this would essentially reduce the entire *du‘ā’* and *ziyāra* corpus from thousands to perhaps dozens or less. Therefore, the early scholars such as Ibn Ṭāwūs and later scholars such as Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī posited that we can reasonably rely upon the collection of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and his contemporaries who had unprecedented access to early texts which originated from the time of the Imāms even though most of these texts had missing or deficient chains of transmission. The discussion pertaining to transmission, textual legacy, and authenticity sought to dissect the premises upon which such convictions are constructed. This in turn required detailed analysis of earlier sources, transmission patterns, and chains of transmission where applicable. This analysis contributed to broadening our general and specific perceptions of Islamic intellectual history and specifically Shī‘ī intellectual history regarding the transmission of liturgical material.

The second objective of this dissertation was to shed much-needed light upon liturgical material as a genre of sacred literature in the Shī‘ī tradition in which “divine realities descend into the life of people” by allowing them to engage directly and emotively with the numinous.⁸¹⁵ As

⁸¹⁵ Robert Cardinal Sarah, *God or Nothing: A Conversation on Faith* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2015), 82. I found this expression to be a very appropriate phenomenological description of prayer and its objectives which fits well within this instance.

stated at the outset, these liturgical compositions began as oral prayers which then became a textual corpus from which the devout were expected to recite. In other words, due to the sheer paucity of existing academic studies of this nature, it was required to devise a method by which to examine the various theological and mystical tropes which constitute the literary art of liturgical material. In the process of investigating the philosophy or meaning of these texts, I conducted a close textual-philological analysis of selected passages in an effort to ascertain the variety of theological tropes these devotions were conveying within the broader context of Islamic intellectual culture. To this effect, both *Du'ā Kumayl* and *al-Ziyāra al-Muṭlaqa* are reflective of a merging of various streams of religious concern uniting self-reflection with a concern for orthodoxy (right thought) and orthopraxy (right practice) all of which, when creatively combined, was described for the purpose of this dissertation as a form of devotional theology. The practice of *du'ā'* is firmly rooted in the Qur'anic text which incessantly calls upon the believers to supplicate and commune directly with God (right action) from a position of belief (right thought), while having certainty in knowing that He listens. In the case of *ziyāra* it is indirectly derived from the Qur'anic order to love and revere the Prophet and his kin (a combination of right thought with right action), hence people visit their graves with the belief that they can hear them, while demonstrating that the act of *ziyāra* is in fact a manifestation of orthopraxy in demonstrating one's belief and love in them. Nevertheless, for Shī'īs especially, both practices can find some basis in the revelatory text which is central to Muslim life.

As for the secondary literature namely, ḥadīth and theological-philosophical explorations, both *du'ā'* and *ziyāra* occupy a fixed position within the Twelver Shī'ī tradition and thus form a central component of religious life shared by both scholars and the masses. As noted, the

respective manifestations of orthodoxy coupled with orthopraxy are blended into acts of devotion (the performance of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl* or *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*), both of which are intensely introspective and psychologically engaging.

In the case of *Du‘ā’ Kumayl*, it charts out the inherent perils of the self or ego which finds itself at odds with what it truly knows is right and hence at odds with divine guidance. It is by no means a casual song of celebration but rather a deeply personal “self-involving response of faith” which sheds light upon the often tumultuous relationship between the individual and God.⁸¹⁶ The text does this by presenting a series of themes, seemingly carefully constructed with attention paid to its literary eloquence resulting in the depiction of an arduous journey of self-understanding and a course of spiritual psychology. In the case of *al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa*, its unique contribution is that it adds the Imām as a requisite dimension to the spiritual journey in which now the relationship become that of a tripartite dynamic between God, the devotee, and the Imām, who in the case of *ziyāra*, becomes a requisite element in allowing for a legitimate response of faith which would become acceptable to God. In the midst of this evident trope, the pilgrim is compelled to turn inwards to examine their own loyalties in relation to the betrayal and treachery experienced by the People of the House. Furthermore, the text transports the pilgrim into a metahistorical realm in which their tears and sadness are brought into a symphony of universal physical and metaphysical lamentation. This rhetorical device is extremely engaging and designed with the purpose of leaving the pilgrim who recites the *ziyāra* in a speechless state of confoundment. Therefore, it was the contention of this dissertation that both of the liturgies

⁸¹⁶ I have borrowed this apt description of prayer from Mathias Nygaard, *Prayer in the Gospels* (Leiden: Brill Publications, 2012), 2.

examined in this dissertation reflect integral realities designed to construct an ideal state of religious ideation. This ideation is grounded in an active spiritual life in which the love of God is inseparable from professing a wondrous degree of admiration for the spiritual charisma coupled with uncanny suffering experienced by those chosen divinely inspired guides who commune in the very summit of symbiotic divine love. These respective liturgical texts were analyzed using the phenomenological method which allowed for an exploration of the religious imagination that is inherently conveyed in these texts while also taking into account the historical situatedness of the theological and spiritual motifs that evolved during different periods in Islamic intellectual history. The Imāms in this case became a source of Islamic esotericism in so far as they were treated as cosmic guides whom Amir Moezzi describes as the ontological intersection between the divine and the human. This ontological intersection consists of two main things namely the “*wilāya* (divine friendship/spiritual charisma) of the Imām coupled with gnosis [*‘ilm* or (*ma‘rifa*)]” which is an initiatory type of knowledge that is conveyed to their devout followers.⁸¹⁷ The sources of liturgy constitute part and parcel of a spiritual and intellectual movement led by Twelver Shī‘ī traditionists. The result of this movement was such that Shī‘ism became the religion of the Imām or in other words “a religion set apart”.⁸¹⁸ Hence, the liturgical compositions of the Imāms would constitute a pivotal source of Islamic esotericism in which the devout Shī‘ī may access the initiatory power and benefit from spiritual charisma of the Imāms.

This dissertation serves as a contribution to an otherwise hitherto unexplored area of Islamic liturgical studies. This stands in contrast to the volumes of academic studies devoted to

⁸¹⁷ Amir Moezzi, *The Silent Qur’an and the Speaking Qur’an*, 170; 158-159.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid*, 171.

Jewish, Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist liturgical texts which focus on the study of manuscripts, historical transmission, and the theological motifs that imbue the texts. To this effect, this dissertation aimed to proffer some possible lines of inquiry and typological frameworks which may be used to approach the subject of liturgy in the Islamic tradition which saturates the lives of believers with the effort of communicating to them a set of specific religious priorities. For Twelver Shī'īs, the Fourteen Infallibles instructed their followers in how to access the otherwise ineffable mysteries of God while concurrently being immersed in the mysteries of their own saintly charisma and authority which manifests itself both in the seen and unseen realms.

Appendix 1

Below is a list of narrators found in the *isnāds* of *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* of *al-Kāfī*, who had either devotional collections or *aṣl* compilations attributed to them. The existence of these works is indicative of a vast written collection. Further, all the individuals mentioned below lived during the historical period of the Imāms and pre-date al-Kulaynī. This correlation indicates the possibility that numerous supplications and material related to them may have originated from the written collections, considering that al-Kulaynī had access to numerous early sources when compiling *al-Kāfī*.

*DH=*al-Dharī‘a ilā ṭaṣānīf al-shī‘a*

*AY= *A‘yān al-shī‘a*

* H=Ḥadīth number

*All ḥadīth and page numbers indicate that the reporters can be found on those respective pages, all of which can be found in *al-Kāfī* (Vol. 4) as published by Dār al-Ḥadīth, Qum. See bibliography for further details.

*Where death dates are available either as precise or approximate it has been mentioned.

1. Abī al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mahziyār al-Ahwāzī (d. 3rd/9th century)

Companion of Imāms al-Riḍā, al-Jawād and al-Hādī

Kitāb al-du‘ā’ (DH, entry 742, 8:185)

h.3392, p.506;

2. Ḥamīd b. Ziyād (d.321/933)

Kitāb al-du‘ā’ (DH, entry 713, 8:182) and *Aṣl* (DH: entry 564, 2:148)

Al-Kāfī: h.3421, p.524, h.3065, p.299; h.3186 p.359; h.3199, p.367; h.3205, p.370; h.3217, p.375; h.3293 p.429; h.3319, p.450; h.3344, p.468; h.3421, p.524

3. Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī (d. 299 or 301/912 or 914)

Kitāb al-du‘ā’/ Faḍl al-du‘ā’ (DH, entry 715, 8:182)

h.3093, p.309; h.3099, p.311; h.3101, p.312; h.3106, p.315; h.3118, p.320; h.3120, p.320; h.3123, 323; h. 3200, p.368; h.3238, p.388

Sa‘d b. ‘Abd Allāh is mostly referred to when al-Kulaynī narrates from “a number of our companions (‘iddatun min aṣḥābinā*),” which can be found in 81 separate *isnāds* in *al-Kāfī*, *Kitāb al-du‘ā’* of which ten examples are cited above.

4. Mu'āwiyya b. 'Ammār al-Dihnī al-Bajalī (d.175/791)

Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim

Kitāb al-du'ā' (DH, entry 740, 8:185)

h.3119, p. 320; h.3143, p. 335; h.3172, p.351; h.3225, p.379; h.3299, p.435; h.3339, p.465;
h.3358, p.482; h.3362, p.484; h.3400, p.512; h.3419, p.523; h.3454, p.554; h.3456, p.558

5. 'Abd Allāh b. Sinān (d.after 175/791)

Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim

'Amal yawm wa layla (DH, entry 6637, 15:348)

h.3076 p.302; h.3083 p.305; h.3188 p.359; h.3233 p.384; h.3240 p.390;

6. Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d.204/819)

Kitāb 'amal yawm wa layla (AY, 1:158)

h.3403, p.515

7. Muḥammad b. Abī 'Umayr (d.217/832)

Companion of Imāms al-Kāzim and al-Riḍā

Kitāb 'amal yawm wa layla (AY, 1:159)

h.3284, p.421; h.3299, p.435; h.3320, p.450; h.3330, p.458; h.3335, p.461; h.3342, p.467; h.3351,
p.473; h.3356, p.480; h.3358, p.482; h.3360, p.482; h.3361, p.483; h.3368, p.488; h.3381, p.498;
h.3388, p.504; h.3389, p.504; h.3394, p.508; h.3401, p.514; h.3403, p.516; h.3409, p.518; h.3426,
p.529; h.3447, p.549; h.3450, p.551; h.3454, p.554; h.3470, p.580

8. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (lived during late 2nd- 3rd/ late 8th – early 9th century)

Companion of Imāms al-Kāzim, al-Riḍā and al-Jawād

Kitāb 'amal yawm wa layla (AY, 1:158)

h.3156, p. 324

9. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barqī (d.274/887)

Kitāb al-du'ā' (AY, 1:158)

h.3348, p.471; h.3352, p. h.3366, p.486; h.3370, p.489; h.3398, p.511; h.3431, p.533; h.3453,
p.553

Possessors of *Uṣūl* works (*Aṣḥāb al-Uṣūl*) who are also transmitters (*ruwāt*) found in the *isnāds* of *Kitāb al-du'ā'* in *al-Kāfi*:

1. Abān b. 'Uthmān al-Aḥmar al-Kūfī (d. circa 200/815)

Companion of Imām al-Ṣādiq

Aṣl (DH, entry 504, 2:132)

h.3270, p.413; h.3319, p.450; h.3414, p.521; h.3293, p.429

2. Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Bilād
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāzim (DH, entry 502, 2:136)
h.3113, p. 318; h.3208, p.371; h.3446, p.548
3. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān
Aş/ (DH: entry 509, 2:136)
Companion of Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Şādiq
h.3283, p.421
4. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar al-Yamānī al-Şama‘ānī
Companion of Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Şādiq
Aş/ (DH: entry 510, 2:137)
h.3365, p.486
5. Ayyūb b. Hūrr al-Ju‘fī
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāzim
Aş/ (DH: entry 533,2:143)
h.3270, p.413; h.3272, p.415
6. Jamīl b. Sāliḥ al-Asadī
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāzim
Aş/ (DH: entry 543, 2:145)
h.3468, p.577
7. Jamīl b. Darāj Abī ‘Alī al-Nakha‘ī
Companion of Imām al-Şādiq
Aş/ (DH: entry 542, 2:145)
h.3116, p.319; h.3134, p.330; h.3320, p.450; h.3375, p.493
8. Dāwūd b. Zurbī Abī Sulaymān al-Khandaqī al-Bandārī
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāzim
Aş/ (DH: entry 570, 2:149)
h.3403, p.515
9. Sa‘īd b. Yasār al-Ḍabi‘ī al-Kūfī
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāzim
Aş/ (DH: entry 587, 2: 151)
h.h.3359, p.482; h.3394, p.508
10. Żurayf b. Nāşiḥ al-Kūfī al-Baghdādī
Contemporary of Imām al-Bāqir
Aş/ (DH: entry 595, 2:160)
h.3400, p.512

11. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kāhilī
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāẓim
Aş/ (DH: entry 600, 2:163)
h. 3431, p.533

12. ‘Alī b. Abī Ḥamza Sālim al-Baṭā’ in
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāẓim
Aş/ (DH: entry 603, 2: 163)
h.3472, p.584.

Appendix 2

What follows is a selection of ḥadīth compendiums and liturgical sources which are no longer extant pre-dating al-Ṭūsī and his *Miṣbāḥ* but which are found in the *Iqbal al-a'māl* and *Muhaj al-da'awāt* of Ibn Ṭāwūs, which is indicative of the existence of a rich and ancient written liturgical collection used by Ibn Ṭāwūs.

The list below does not include the numerous exegetical or jurisprudential works which Ibn Ṭāwūs used while discussing those relevant matters in *Iqbāl al-a'māl* (IQ) and *Muhaj al-da'awāt* (MD); rather, the focus of the list below is specifically general collections (*aṣl*, pl. *uṣūl*) and liturgical genre specific compositions found in IQ and MD. See the bibliography for reference details.

1. Abān b. Muḥammad al-Sindī al-Bazāz al-Bajalī (fl. first half of 3rd/9th century)
Aṣl, IQ, 3:87
2. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamād al-Anṣārī (fl. second half of 2nd/8th century)
Aṣl, IQ, 3:64; MD, 96,421
3. Hishām b. Sālīm al-Jawālīqī (fl. mid second/8th century)
Aṣl, IQ, 3:171
4. Yūnus b. Bukayr (fl. early 3rd/9th century)
Aṣl, MD, 303.
5. Anon.
al-Aṣl al-'atīq (Antique Notebook) written in 314/926, MH, 239
6. Naṣr b. Ya'qūb al-Dīnawarī (d.410/1019)
Kitāb jāmi' al-da'awāt (The comprehensive collection of supplications), IQ, 3:227
7. Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Karājīkī (d.449/1057)
Rawḍat al-'ābidīn, IQ, 3:160,178
2:21
8. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī (d.386/979)
Kitāb al-ziyārāt/al-mazār, IQ, 3:236
9. Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī (d. 299 or 301/912 or 914)
Kitāb faḍl l-du'ā'/Kitāb al-du'ā', IQ,2:202; MD,173.371

10. Ibn Ashnās al-Bazāz (d.439/1047)
Kitāb ‘amal dhī al-ḥijja, IQ, 2:34

11. Ibn Abī Qurra (fl. early 5th/11th century)
Kitāb al-mazār, IQ, 2:271-273.
Kitāb al-Mutahajjid, MD, 384
Kitāb ‘amal shahr al-ramaḍān, IQ, 1:47, 1:88, 86.

12. Al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd al-Ahwāzī (alive in 300/913)
Kitāb al-du‘ā, MD, 229,450.

13. Anon.
Kitāb ‘atīq (written in mid-5th/11th century), MD, 111

14. Abī al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Hārūn al- Tala‘ukbarī (lived end of 4th/10th century)
Kitāb al-majmū‘, MD, 229

15. Anon.
Kitāb ‘atīq written in 396/1005, MD, 239.

16. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās (‘Ayyāsh al-Jawharī d.401/1010-1)
Kitāb ‘amal rajab wa sha‘bān wa shahr ramaḍān, MD, 65.

17. Anon.
Nuskha ‘atīqa transmitted in 404/1013, MD, 318

18. Anon.
Aṣl ‘atīq written in 314/926, MD, 375

19. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī (d.290/903)
Kitāb faḍl al- du‘ā’/Kitāb al-du‘ā’, MD, 377.

20. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī (d.329/940)
Kitāb ta‘bīr al-ru‘ya MD, 397.

21. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khawārizmī (d.235/849)
Tārīkh ‘atīq, MD 440

22. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Qāsim (lived circa early 5th/11th century).
Kitāb al-waṣa’il ilā al-masā’il, MD, 471-473.

As evidenced above, in addition to the *aṣl* works attributed to companions of the Imāms, Ibn Ṭāwūs had at his disposal important pre-al-Ṭūsī compositions. This also indicates that at least some of the sources al-Ṭūsī would have used survived in compiling the *Miṣbāḥ* survived into the 7th century when Ibn Ṭāwūs set out to prepare his liturgical compendiums. If this was the case for Ibn Ṭāwūs, then it would seem that al-Ṭūsī who lived two centuries earlier would have had access to an array of resources as already mentioned in chapter one.

Appendix 3

What follows is a list of possessors of *aṣl* works who also figure as reporters (*ruwāt*) in the chains of transmission in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* by Ibn Qūlawayh. This correlation indicates the possibility that numerous *ziyārāt* and material related to *ziyārāt* may have originated from the written collections mentioned below.

*DH= *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-shī'ā*

*page numbers indicate that the reporters mentioned can be found on those respective pages in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* as edited by Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī (see bibliography for details).

1. Abān b. Taghlib
Companion of Imāms al-Sajjād, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq
Aṣl (DH: entry 503, 2:135)
pp. 83, 172, 232-233, 354, 546
2. Abān b. 'Uthmān al-Aḥmar al-Kūfī (d. circa 200/815)
Companion of Imām al-Ṣādiq
Aṣl (DH, entry 504, 2:132)
pp. 45, 167, 300, 392
3. Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Bilād
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim (DH, entry 502, 2:136)
pp. 289, 378-379, 430
4. Ibrāhīm b. 'Uthmān
Aṣl (DH: entry 509, 2:136)
Companion of Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq
pp. 236, 281, 284, 460
5. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān al-Qurashī (lived during late 3rd/9th century)
Contemporary of Imāms al-Hādī and al-'Askarī
Aṣl (DH: entry 517, 2:138)
p. 462
6. Iṣhāq b. Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Jarīr b. Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajalī
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim
Aṣl (DH: 523, 2:141)
p. 87
7. Iṣhāq b. 'Ammār b. Mūsā al-Sābitī

Companion of Imām al-Şādiq
Aş/ (DH: entry 524, 2:141)
Pp. 57, 220-223, 225-226, 428, 456-458, 531

8. Işmā'īl b. Mahrān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naşr al-Sakūnī
Companion of Imām al-Şādiq and met Imām al-Riḍā
Aş/ (DH: entry 532, 2:142)
p.215

9. Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Azdī
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāzim
Aş/ (DH: entry 537, 2:143)
pp. 176, 208, 235

10. Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī (d.128 or 132/745 or 749)
Companion of Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Şādiq
Aş/ (DH: entry 540, 2:144)
pp.323, 374, 433

11. Jamīl b. Darāj Abī 'Alī al-Nakha'ī
Companion of Imām al-Şādiq
Aş/ (DH: entry 542, 2:145)
pp. 60, 112, 293

12. Jamīl b. Sāliḥ al-Asadī
Companion of Imāms al-Şādiq and al-Kāzim
Aş/ (DH: entry 543, 2:145)
pp.47, 295

13. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī al-'Alā' al-Khafāf
Companion of Imām al-Şādiq
Aş/ (DH: entry 556, 2:146)
pp.152-153, 220, 466

14. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Ghandar
Companion of Imām al-Şādiq
Aş/ (DH: entry 557, 2:146)
pp.125, 143, 199

15. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Uthmān b. Sharīk b. 'Adī al-Āmirī
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 558, 2:146)
pp.108,110
16. Dāwūd b. Kathīr al-Raqqī
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāzim and al-Riḍā
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 571, 2:149)
pp.197, 212, 224, 231, 317, 335
17. Zur'a b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 572, 2:150)
pp. 250-251
18. Ziyād b. Mundhir Abī al-Jārūd (d.150-160/767-777)
Companion of Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 579, 2:150)
pp.106, 151, 451, 489, 490
19. Zayd al-Nursī
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 581, 2:151)
p.510
20. Sa'dān b. Muslim al-Āmirī
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 583, 2:151)
pp.233,285,289,535
21. Sa'īd al-A'raj
Companion of Imām al-Ṣādiq
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 584, 2:151)
pp.490, 492
22. Sa'īd b. Yasār al-Ḍabi'ī al-Kūfī
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim

Aṣ/ (DH: entry 587, 2: 151)
pp.121-122

23. Ẓurayf b. Nāṣiḥ al-Kūfī al-Baghdādī
Contemporary of Imām al-Bāqir
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 595, 2:160)
pp.73, 78
24. ʿĀṣim b. Hamīd al-Ḥanāṭ
Companion of Imām al-Ṣādiq
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 597, 2:162)
pp.151, 220, 355, 533
25. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamād al-Anṣārī
Companion of Imām al-Ṣādiq (suspected)
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 515, 2:138)
26. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Ṣayrafī al-ʿAbasī
Companion of Imām al-Ṣādiq
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 599, 2:163)
p.109
27. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kāhilī
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 600, 2:163)
pp. 66, 80, 289
28. ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamza Sālim al-Baṭāʾin
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 603, 2: 163).
pp.134, 173, 215, 220, 232-233, 426-427, 491, 534, 535
29. ʿAlī b. Asbāṭ
Companion of Imāms al-Riḍā and al-Jawād
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 603, 2:164)
pp.40,74, 84, 163, 213, 317, 453, 547
30. ʿAlī b. Riʿāb Abī al-Ḥasan
Companion of Imāms al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim

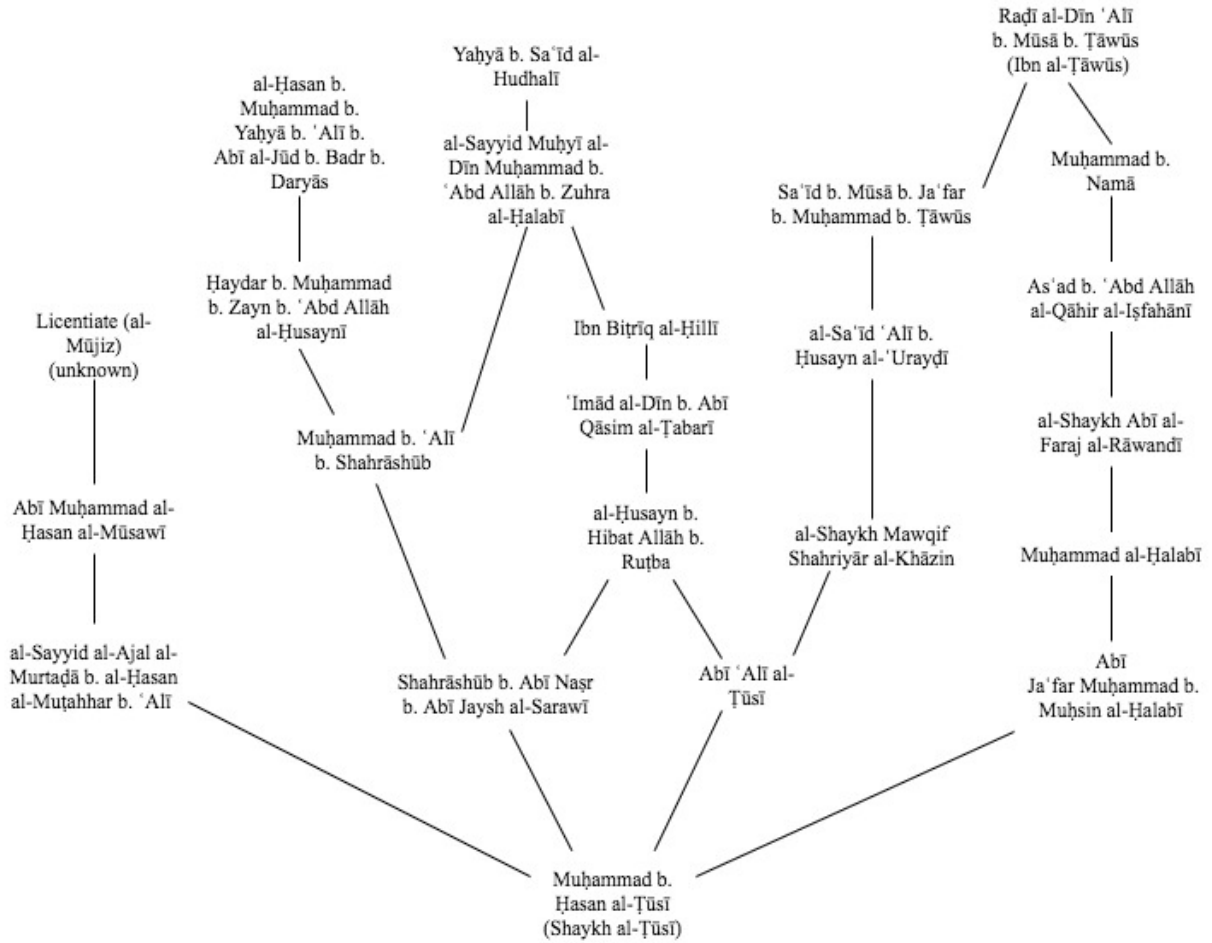
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 606, 2:164)
pp.77, 152

31. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Razāz al-Qurashī (lived in mid- to late 3rd/9th century)
Contemporary of Imāms al-Hādī and al-ʿAskarī
Aṣ/ (DH: entry 609, 2:165)
pp.47, 87, 104, 114, 115, 138, 139, 174, 176, 209

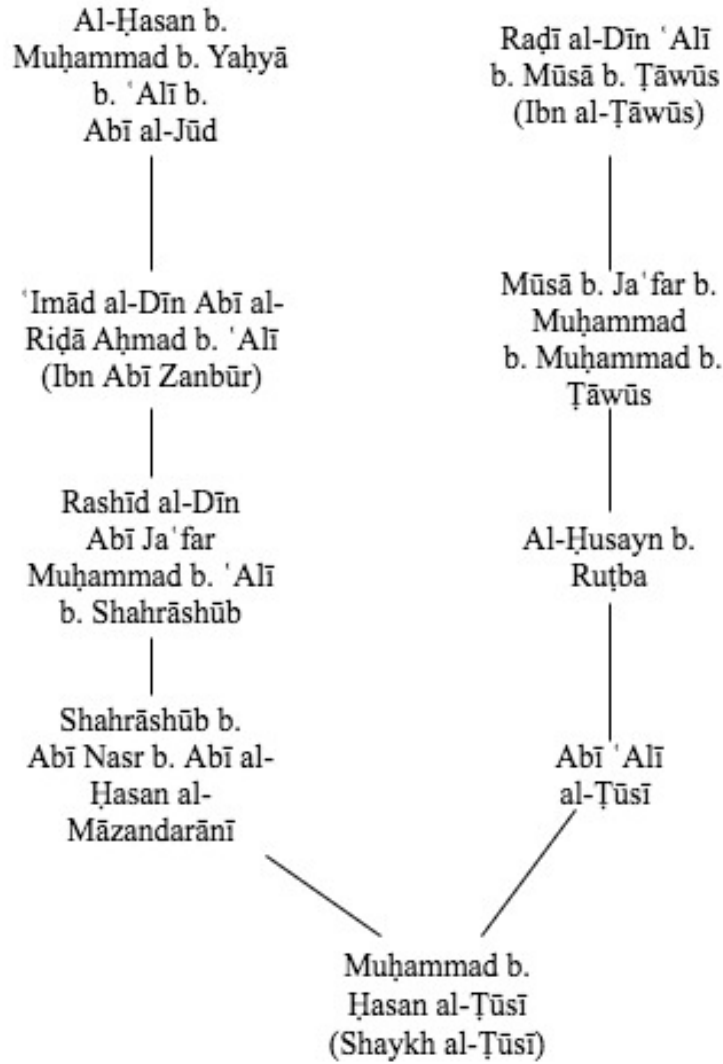
*Ibn Qūlawayh uses al-Qurashī as one of his primary sources and masters, hence he narrates from him on some eighty pages. A representative sample is cited above.

Appendix 4

The Isnāds (Chains of Transmission)
For *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*



The Isnāds (Chains of Transmission)
For
Mukhtaṣar miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid



Appendix 6

Du‘ā’ Kumayl : Arabic Critical Edition

I have prepared a critical edition by using the earliest extant manuscript being the *Maktaba al-Raḍawiyya* MS 8822 copied in 502/1108 as my original text (*al-aṣl*) and then proceeded to identify any textual variants with the following manuscripts and published editions of the *du‘ā’*. I have chosen the MS 1093 *al-Burūjirdī* as the second manuscript for the reason that is deemed to be the second most important *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* manuscript (after that of the MS8822) due to prominent authorities such as Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī who have transmitted it and written glosses on the text.

Key:

ب Burūjirdī, MS 1093

ب هامش Glosses on Burūjirdī MS 1093

حل Ibn Bāqī al-Qurashī al-Ḥillī, *Ikhtiyār al-miṣbāḥ al-kabīr* (Qum: Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī, 2010), 2:346-354

طق Ibn Ṭāwūs, *lqbāl al-a‘māl* (Beirut: Mu‘asassat al-A‘lamī lil-Maṭbū‘āt, 1996), 220-224.

كم al-Kaf‘amī, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī al-ad‘īya wa al-ṣalawāt wa al-ziyārāt* (Beirut: Mu‘asassat al-A‘lamī lil-Maṭbū‘āt, 1994, 737-744.

روي أن كميل بن زياد النخعي رأى أمير المؤمنين ساجدا يدعو بهذا الدعاء في ليلة النصف من شعبان

اللهم إني أسألك برحمتك التي وسعت كل شيء وبقوتك التي قهرت بها كل شيء و خضع لها كل شيء و ذل لها كل شيء و بجبروتك التي غلبت بها كل شيء و بعزتك التي لا يقوم لها شيء و بعظمتك التي ملأت كل شيء و بسلطانك الذي علا كل شيء و بوجهك الباقي بعد فناء كل شيء و بأسمائك التي غلبت أركان كل شيء و بعلمك الذي أحاط بكل شيء و بنور وجهك الذي أضاء له كل شيء يا نور يا قدوس يا أول الأولين و يا آخر الآخرين⁸²⁰ اغفر لي الذنوب التي تهتك العصم اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي تنزل النقم اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي تغير النعم اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي تحبس الدعاء⁸²¹ اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي تنزل البلاء اللهم اغفر لي كل ذنب أذنبته و كل خطيئة أخطأتها⁸²² اللهم إني أتقرب إليك بذكرك و أستشفع بك إلى نفسك و أسألك بجودك أن تدنيني من قربك و أن توزعني شكرك و أن تلهمني ذكرك اللهم إني أسألك سؤال خاضع متدلل⁸²³ خاشع أن تسامحني و ترحمني و تجعلني بقسمك راضيا قانعا و في جميع الأحوال متواضعا اللهم و أسألك سؤال من اشتدت فاقته و أنزل بك عند الشدائد حاجته و عظم فيما عندك رغبته اللهم عظم سلطانك و علا مكانك و خفي مكرك و ظهر أمرك و غلب قهرك⁸²⁴ و جرت قدرتك و لا يمكن الفرار من حكومتك اللهم لا أجد لذنوبي غافرا و لا لقبأحي ساترا و لا لشيء⁸²⁵ من عملي القبيح بالحسن مبدلا غيرك لا إله إلا أنت سبحانك و بحمدك ظلمت نفسي و تجرأت بجهلي و سكنت إلى قديم ذكرك لي و منك علي اللهم مولاي كم من قبيح سترته و كم من فادح من البلاء أقلته⁸²⁶ و كم من عثار وقينته و كم من مكروه دفعته و كم من ثناء جميل لست أهلا له نشرته اللهم عظم بلائي و أفرط بي سوء حالي و

حل؛ عليه السلم؛ ب هامش هو دعاء الخضر⁸¹⁹

اللهم؛ ب، حل، طق⁸²⁰

بعده في كم؛ إغفر لي الذنوب التي تقطع الرجاء.⁸²¹

اللهم اغفر لي الذنوب التي تقطع الرجاء؛ ب هامش⁸²²

ذليل (فقط)؛ حل؛ متدلل ذليل؛ كم⁸²³

جندك؛ طق⁸²⁴

بشيء؛ ب هامش⁸²⁵

أقلته؛ ب⁸²⁶

قصرت بي أعمالي و قعدت بي أغلامي و حسني عن نفعي⁸²⁷ بعد أمني⁸²⁸ و خدعتني الدنيا بغرورها
و نفسي بخيانتها⁸²⁹ و مطالي يا سيدي فأسألك بعزتك ألا⁸³⁰ يجب عنك دعائي سوء عملي و فعالي
و لا تفضحني بخفي ما اطلعت عليه من سري و لا تعاجلني بالعقوبة على ما عملته في خلواتي من سوء
فعلي و إساءتي و دوام تفريطي و جهالتي و كثرة شهواتي و غفلتي⁸³¹ و كن اللهم بعزتك لي في كل
الأحوال⁸³² رءوفا و علي في جميع الأمور عطوفا إلهي و ربي من لي غيرك أسأله كشف ضري و النظر
في أمري إلهي و مولاي أجريت علي حكما اتبعت فيه هوى نفسي و لم أحترس⁸³³ من تزيين عدوي
فغرني بما أهوى و أسعده على ذلك القضاء فتجاوزت بما جرى علي من⁸³⁴ ذلك من نقض⁸³⁵ حدودك
و خالفت بعض أوامرك فلك الحمد⁸³⁶ علي⁸³⁷ جميع ذلك و لا حجة لي فيما جرى علي فيه قضاؤك و
ألزمني حكمك⁸³⁸ و بلاؤك و قد أتيتك يا إلهي بعض⁸³⁹ تقصيري و إسرافي على نفسي معذرا نادما
منكسرا مستقبلا مستغفرا منيبا⁸⁴⁰ مقرا مدعنا معترفا لا أجد مفرأ مما كان مني و لا مفرعا أتوجه إليه
في أمري غير قبولك عذري و إدخالك إياي في سعة من رحمتك اللهم⁸⁴¹ فاقبل عذري و ارحم شدة
ضري⁸⁴² و فكني من شد وثاقي يا رب ارحم ضعف بدني و رقة جلدي و دقة عظمي يا من بدأ خلقي
و ذكرني و تربيتي و بري و تغذيتي هبني لابتداء كرمك و سالف برك بي يا إلهي و سيدي و ربي أ
تراك معذبي بنارك⁸⁴³ بعد توحيدك و بعد ما انطوى عليه قلبي من معرفتك و لهج به لساني من ذكرك
و اعتقده ضميري من حبك و بعد صدق اعترافي و دعائي خاضعا لربوبيتك هيهات أنت أكرم من أن
تضيع من ربيته أو تبعد⁸⁴⁴ من أدنيتها أو تشرد من آويته أو تسلم إلى البلاء من كفيته و رحمته و ليت

⁸²⁷ فقد: طق

⁸²⁸ آمالي: كم

⁸²⁹ بخيانتها: كم و طق

⁸³⁰ ان لا: كم و حل

⁸³¹ وكثرة غفلتي: حل

⁸³² في الأحوال كلها: ب و كم

⁸³³ احترس فيه: كم و طق

⁸³⁴ في جميع ذلك: طق

⁸³⁵ بعض حدودك: ب و كم

⁸³⁶ فلك الحجة: حل

⁸³⁷ على في: ب هامش

⁸³⁸ حلمك: ب هامش

⁸³⁹ بعد: كم, طق, و حل

⁸⁴⁰ غير موجود في ب, يوجد في ب هامش

⁸⁴¹ إلهي: ب, طق, و حل

⁸⁴² تضرعي: كم

⁸⁴³ بالنار: طق

⁸⁴⁴ تبعد: ب

شعري يا سيدي و إلهي و مولاي أ تسلط النار على وجوه خرت لعظمتك ساجدة و على ألسن
نظقت بتوحيدك صادقة و بشكرك مادحة و على قلوب اعترفت بإلهيتك محققة و على ضمائر حوت
من العلم بك حتى صارت خاشعة و على جوارح سعت إلى أوطان تعبدك طائعة و أشارت
باستغفارك مدعنة ما هكذا الظن بك و لا أخبرنا بفضلك عنك يا كريم يا رب و أنت تعلم ضعفي عن
قليل من بلاء الدنيا و عقوباتها و ما يجري فيها من المكاره على أهلها على أن ذلك بلاء و مكروه قليل
مكثه يسير بقاءه قصير مدته فكيف احتمالي لبلاء الآخرة و بحلول⁸⁴⁵ وقوع المكاره فيها و هو بلاء
تطول مدته و يدوم مقامه⁸⁴⁶ و لا يخفف عن أهله لأنه لا يكون إلا عن غضبك و انتقامك و سنخك
و هذا ما لا تقوم له السماوات و الأرض يا سيدي فكيف لي⁸⁴⁷ و أنا عبدك الضعيف الذليل الحقير
المسكين المستكين يا⁸⁴⁸ إلهي و ربي و سيدي و مولاي لأي الأمور إليك أشكو أو⁸⁴⁹ لما منها أضح
و أبكي أ لأليم العذاب و شدته أم لطول البلاء و مدته فلئن صيرتني للعقوبات⁸⁵⁰ مع أعدائك و جمعت
بينني و بين أهل بلائك و فرقت بيني و بين أحبائك و أوليائك فهبني يا إلهي و ربي⁸⁵¹ صبرت على
عذابك فكيف أصبر على فراقك و هبني صبرت على حر نارك فكيف أصبر عن النظر إلى كرامتك أم
كيف أسكن في النار و رجائي عفوك فبعزتك يا سيدي و مولاي أقسم صادقا لئن تركتني ناطقا
لأضجن إليك بين أهلها ضجيج الآلمين⁸⁵² و لأصرخن إليك صراخ المستصرخين و لأبكين عليك بكاء
الفاقدين و لأنادينك أين كنت يا ولي المؤمنين يا غاية آمال العارفين يا غياث المستغيثين يا حبيب
قلوب الصادقين و يا إله العالمين أ فتراك سبحانه يا إلهي و بحمدك تسمع فيها صوت عبد مسلم
يسجن⁸⁵³ فيها بمخالفته و ذاق طعم عذابها بمعصيته و حبس بين أطباقها بجرمه و جريرته و هو يضج
إليك ضجيج مؤمل لرحمتك و يناديك بلسان أهل توحيدك و يتوسل إليك بربوبيتك يا مولاي فكيف
يبقى في العذاب و هو يرجو ما سلف من حلمك⁸⁵⁴ أم كيف تؤلمه النار و هو يأمل فضلك و رحمتك

845 جليل: طق.; حلول: ب هامش و حل

846 بقاءه: ب.

847 ب هامش و كم.: بي (فقط); فكيف بي: ب

848 فيا: كم

849 و: ب و حل.

850 في العقوبات: ب, كم, و طق.

851 وسيدي ومولاي وربي: طق.; وسيدي وربي: ب و كم

852 . الالمين: هامش ب

853 يسجن: ب, حل; سجن: كم

854 حكمك: ب هامش

أم كيف يحرقه لهبها⁸⁵⁵ و أنت تسمع صوته و ترى مكانه أم كيف يشتمل عليه زفيرها و أنت تعلم ضعفه
 أم كيف يتغلغل⁸⁵⁶ بين أطباقها و أنت تعلم صدقه أم كيف تزجره زبانتها و هو يناديك يا ربه⁸⁵⁷ أم
 كيف⁸⁵⁸ يرجو فضلك في عتقه منها فتتركه⁸⁵⁹ هيهات ما ذلك الظن بك و لا المعروف من فضلك و لا
 مشبه⁸⁶⁰ ما⁸⁶¹ عاملت به الموحدين من برك و إحسانك فباليقين أقطع لو لا ما حكمت به من تعذيب
 جاحديك و قضيت به من إخلاد معانديك لجعلت النار كلها بردا و سلاما و ما كان⁸⁶² لأحد فيها مقرا
 و لا مقاما⁸⁶³ لكنك تقدست أساؤك أقسمت أن تملأها من الكافرين من الجنة و الناس أجمعين و أن
 تخلد فيها المعاندين و أنت جل ثناؤك قلت مبتدئا و تطولت بالإنعام متكرما- أ فمن كان مؤمنا كمن كان
 فاسقا لا يستوون إلهي و سيدي فأسألك بالقدرة⁸⁶⁴ التي قدرتها و بالقضية التي حتمتها و حكمتها و
 غلبت من عليه أجريتها أن تهب لي في هذه الليلة و في هذه الساعة كل جرم أجرمته و كل ذنب
 أذنبته و كل قبيح أسررته و كل جهل عملته كتمته أو أعلنته أخفيته أو أظهرته و كل سيئة أمرت
 بإثباتها الكرام الكاتبين الذين و كلتهم بحفظ ما يكون مني و جعلتهم شهودا علي مع جوارحي و كنت
 أنت الرقيب علي من ورائهم و الشاهد لما خفي عنهم و برحمتك أخفيته و بفضلك سترته و أن توفر
 حظي من كل خير أنزلته⁸⁶⁵ أو إحسان فضلته⁸⁶⁶ أو بر نشرته⁸⁶⁷ أو رزق بسطته⁸⁶⁸ أو ذنب تغفره
 أو خطأ تستره يا رب يا رب يا رب يا إلهي و سيدي و مولاي و مالك رقي يا من بيده ناصيتي يا
 عليم⁸⁶⁹ بفقري⁸⁷⁰ و مسكنتي يا خيرا بفقري و فاقتي يا رب يا رب يا رب أسألك بحقك و قدسك و
 أعظم صفاتك و أسمائك أن تجعل أوقاتي من⁸⁷¹ الليل و النهار بذكرك معمورة و بخدمتك موصولة و

لهيبها: ب. 855

كم: يتغلغل 856

يا ربه: هامش ب و ج. 857

وكيف تنزله فيها وهو: كم 858

فيها: كم 859

يشبه: هامش ب 860

لما: كم, طق. 861

و ما كانت: كم 862

مقرولا مقام: حل 863

بقدرتك: هامش ب 864

تنزله: ب. 865

تفضله: ب. 866

تنشره: ب. 867

تبسطه: ب. 868

يا عليما: هامش ب, كم, طق. 869

بذلي: حل, بضي: ب. 870

في: ب. 871

أعمالي عندك مقبولة حتى تكون أعمالي و أورادي⁸⁷² كلها وردا واحدا و حالي في خدمتك سرمدا يا سيدي يا من عليه معولي يا من إليه شكوت أحوالي يا رب يا رب يا رب قو⁸⁷³ على خدمتك جوارحي و اشدد على العزيمة جوانحي و هب لي الجد في خشيتك و الدوام في الاتصال بخدمتك حتى أسرح إليك في ميادين السابقين و أسرع إليك في البارزين⁸⁷⁴ و أشتاق إلى قربك في المشتاقين و أدنو منك دنو المخلصين و أخافك مخافة الموقنين⁸⁷⁵ و أجمع في جوارك مع المؤمنين اللهم و من أرادني بسوء فأرده و من كادني فكده و اجعلني من أحسن عبادك⁸⁷⁶ نصيبا عندك و أقرهم منزلة منك و أخصهم زلفة لديك فإنه لا ينال ذلك إلا بفضلك و جد لي بجودك و اعطف علي بمجدك و احفظني برحمتك و اجعل لساني بذكرك لهجا و قلبي بجبك متبيا و من علي بحسن أعلى إجابتك و أقلني عثرتي و اغفر زلتي فإنك قضيت على عبادك بعبادتك و أمرتهم بدعائك و ضمننت لهم الإجابة فإليك يا رب نصبت وجهي و إليك يا رب مددت يدي فبعزتك استجب لي دعائي و بلغني مناي و لا تقطع من فضلك رجائي و أكفني شر الجن و الإنس من أعدائي يا سريع الرضا اغفر لمن لا يملك إلا الدعاء فإنك فعال لما تشاء يا من اسمه دواء و ذكره شفاء و طاعته غناء⁸⁷⁷ ارحم من رأس ماله الرجاء و سلاحه البكاء يا سابغ⁸⁷⁸ النعماء⁸⁷⁹ يا دافع النقم يا نور المستوحشين في الظلم يا عالما لا يعلم صل على محمد و آل محمد و افعل بي ما أنت أهله و صلى الله على رسوله⁸⁸⁰ و الأئمة الميامين من أهله⁸⁸¹ و سلم تسليما⁸⁸².

وأورادي وإرادتي: كم،; إرادتي: هامش ب، طق، حل⁸⁷²

أقر: طق⁸⁷³

المبادرين: كم⁸⁷⁴

المؤمنين: طق⁸⁷⁵

عبيدك: ب وحل.⁸⁷⁶

غنى: ب وحل.⁸⁷⁷

سريع: كم⁸⁷⁸

النعماء: ب، طق، حل.⁸⁷⁹

على محمد: طق⁸⁸⁰

آله: ب، طق، كم، حل⁸⁸¹

كثيرا: ب⁸⁸²

Annotated English Translation⁸⁸³:

It is narrated that Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'ī saw the Commander of the Faithful, prostrating, supplicating with this prayer in the middle night of Sha'bān.

O God, I ask You by Your mercy, which encompasses all things⁸⁸⁴; and by Your power, with which You subdue all things, and all things are brought low and humbled to it. And by Your omnipotence which prevails over all things; and by Your honor against which nothing can withstand; and by Your might, which fills all things; and by Your authority, which exceeds all things. And by Your Face, which remains after all things are destroyed⁸⁸⁵; and by Your names which prevail over the foundations of all things; and by Your knowledge, which encompasses everything⁸⁸⁶; and by the light of Your Face, by which all things are illuminated⁸⁸⁷.

O Light! O' Holy! O' First of the first and o' Last of the last!

Forgive me the sins which tear apart the safeguards. O' God, forgive me the sins which send down wrath. O' God, forgive me the sins which alter blessings. O' God, forgive me the sins which obstruct *du'ā'*. O' God, forgive me the sins which send down tribulations. O' God, forgive me every sin and error I have committed.

O God, I seek nearness to You with your remembrance. And I seek Your intercession by You. And I ask You by Your generosity that You bring me near You, and that You teach me gratitude for You, and that You inspire me with Your remembrance. O' God, I ask You the request of someone submitting, low, and humble, that You forgive me and have mercy on me, and make me pleased and satisfied in your allotment and satisfied in all things.

O God, I ask You the request of someone whose poverty became severe, and he was brought down to You with the severity of his needs, and whose desire is great for what is with you. O God, Your authority is great, and Your place is high, and Your scheming is hidden⁸⁸⁸, and Your affair is manifest, and Your power prevails, and Your ability remains, and escape is not possible from Your realm.

O God, I do not find someone to forgive my sins⁸⁸⁹, nor someone to hide my obscene acts, and none to turn any of my obscene deeds into good ones, except for You, there is no God except for You. Glory be to You and praise. I wronged myself and been audacious with my ignorance while I was reassured of Your eternal remembrance and Your grace upon me. O' God, my Master, how many obscene deeds have You concealed? And how many calamitous tribulations have You averted? And how many stumbles have You protected against? And how many of

⁸⁸³ In the annotations that follow for both *Du'ā' Kumayl* and *al-Ziyārat al-muṭlaqa* I have attempted to provide instances which may represent poetic devices such as *ta'ajjub* (wonder or the instillment of awe) as well as *takhyīl*, which is the instillment of imagination or to render something so marvelous that it is virtually unbelievable. Both are poetic tools used to create a remarkable experience for the reader/listener. This is often done by creating a vivid image or *taṣwīr* for the reader. The usage of such literary devices also further intensifies the dramatic content of the liturgy. Cf. Wolfhart Heinrichs, "*Takhyīl*: Make Believe and Image Creation in Arabic Literary Theory" in *Takhyīl: The Imaginary in Classical Arabic Poetics* 2-14. On wonder, Cf. Harb, 6-15; 25-44.

⁸⁸⁴ Cf. Qur'an, 7:156; 40:7;6:147

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. Qur'an, 28:88

⁸⁸⁶ Cf. Qur'an, 85:20

⁸⁸⁷ These are poignant examples of *ta'ajjub*.

⁸⁸⁸ Cf. Qur'an, 3:54

⁸⁸⁹ Cf. Qur'an, 3:135

those detestable things have You protected against? And how many beautiful compliments, of which I have not been worthy, have You spread?

O God, my tribulations are great and my poor state is excessive. My works fall short and my fetters restrict me, preventing me from my benefit, for which I hold out hope. The world tricked me with its deception⁸⁹⁰ and my soul with its misdeeds and its delaying. O' my Lord, I then ask You by Your honor that my prayer is not veiled from You due to my evil actions and deeds, and You do not disclose my hidden sins, what I had done in secret, and that You do not hasten to punishment for what I had committed secretly from among my evil actions, misdeeds, my continuous remissions, my ignorance, my abundance of lust, and my heedlessness. And be, O' God, by Your honor, benevolent to me in conditions and in all matters compassionate.

My God and my Sire, who do I have except for You to ask for the relief of my pain and looking into my affairs. My God and my Master, you commanded me but I followed the desires of my soul in this, and I was not cautious of deceptions of my enemy, so he deceived me about my desire, and fate helped him in this. So, I transgressed Your limits while in that state, and went against your commands.

Thus, praise is due to you for all of this, and I have no argument about what has happened, except Your judgement, Your judgement and trial compel me. And I have bring to You, my God, my shortcomings and excess against myself, sorry, regretful, broken, apologizing, repenting, penitent, professing, submitting, and confessing. I do not find an escape for what I have done, nor a refuge to face for my actions, except Your accepting my apologies and Your admittance of me into the fold of Your mercy.

O God, so accept my apology and have mercy on the severity of my loss and free me from the severity of my fetters. O' Lord, have mercy on my weak body, my thin skin, my frail bones⁸⁹¹, O' He who began my creation, my remembrance, my rearing, my goodness, and my nourishment. Grant me pardon since Your generosity is pre-eminent and Your primordial good is favoring me. O my Lord! shall you leave me chastised in Your fire after professing Your unity, and after my heart has been enveloped by recognition of You and my tongue has unceasingly remembered You, and my consciousness is convinced of Your love, and after my truthful confession and supplication? And after my conscience believed in Your life?⁸⁹² Or after my sincere confession and prayer before Your lordship? Far be it, You are too noble to forsake whom You have reared, to distance he whom You've brought near, to drive out whom You have sheltered, or to deliver to tribulations whom you supported and shown mercy to.

O Lord! Would You subjugate to the fire faces which, due to Your Majesty, have fallen in prostration, or would set You set aflame the tongues which have professed Your oneness truthfully and engaged in your thanksgiving with praise. Or (would you subjugate to the fire) hearts which have acknowledged Your divinity with affirmation of the truth or the minds which are bewildered with knowledge of You until such a point that they are in awe of You or limbs which obediently went to Your places of worship and sought Your forgiveness. This is not what is thought of You nor what we were informed of about Your grace,

⁸⁹⁰ Cf. Qur'an, 3:185

⁸⁹¹ Here is an instance of *takhyīl*.

⁸⁹² The series of rhetorical questions is a vivid example of *ta'ajjub*.

O Generous! O' Lord, You know my weakness from the minor tribulations of the world, its punishment, and what unwanted evil befalls its inhabitants, though those tribulations are few, transitory, and in passing. So how then will I endure the tribulations of the afterlife, while these are unending, unceasing, never lightened for its inhabitants as it is from Your anger, wrath, and displeasure, not found anywhere in the heavens and the earth? O' my Sire, so how then can this happen while I am Your servant, weak, humbled and brought low, poor, and powerless? O' my God, Lord, Sire, and Master, about what thing shall I complain to You, for what among them shall I cry and weep? Should it be for the pain of the punishment and its severity, or for the length of the tribulation? Then, were You to bring me to punishment with Your enemies, to gather me with those who are doomed and separate me from those whom You love and those who are Your friends, granted, my God, my Sire, my Master, and my Lord, that I can withstand Your punishment. But how can I withstand separation from You? Grant that I withstand the heat of Your Hellfire, but how can I withstand being unable to look at Your generosity? Or how can I settle in Hellfire while I desire Your forgiveness?

So by Your Honor, my Sire and Master, I swear truthfully that if You leave me speaking, I will cry out to You with the cry of the hopeful while among the inmates of Hell⁸⁹³, and I will scream to You with the scream of those seeking help, I will weep for You the weeping of those who lose, and I will call out to You wherever You are, o' the Aider of the faithful, o' Aspiration of the gnostics, o' Helper of the appellants, o' Beloved by the hearts of the truthful, and o' God of the worlds!

Glory and praise be to You, my God, would You hear the voice of a Muslim slave imprisoned in it because of his disobedience, and who tasted its punishment because of his sins, confined in its levels because of his crimes and sins, while he cries unto You with the cry of someone hoping for Your mercy? And who calls You with the tongue of those people who affirm Your unicity? Or seeks Your intercession by Your Lordship? O' my Master, how, then, will he remain in the punishment while he hopes for what preceded from Your forbearance? How can Hellfire hurt him while he hopes for Your grace and mercy? Or how can its fire burn him while You hear his voice and see his station? How can its groans envelop him while You know his weakness? And how can he be crammed between its levels and You know his truthfulness? How can its keepers torment him while he calls out to You saying "o' Lord!" Or how will he hope for Your grace and You abandon him? Far be it such a thought about You! Such is not known about Your grace and it does not resemble how You have treated the monotheists from Your goodness.⁸⁹⁴

So with certainty I declare that were it not for what You decreed about Your punishment on those who deny You, and the eternal torment You declared for those who oppose You, You would have made Hellfire cool and safe⁸⁹⁵.⁸⁹⁶ None would have languished nor abided in it. But You, sanctified are Your names, swore that You would fill it with disbelievers from the Jinn and humans, and that You would make those who oppose abide eternally in it. And that You, lofty is Your praise, said in the first place, extending favour, "So is he who believed like he who transgressed? They are not equal."⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹³ An instance of both *ta'ajjub* and *takhyīl*.

⁸⁹⁴ This entire passage is perhaps another instance of both *ta'ajjub* and *takhyīl*.

⁸⁹⁵ Cf. Qur'an, 21:70

⁸⁹⁶ An example of *takhyīl*.

⁸⁹⁷ Qur'an, 32:18

My God and my Sire, I then ask You by Your capability, by which You destined, and by Your decree which You determine and set—prevailing over whomever You put into effect—that You grant pardon tonight and at this hour for every crime and sin I have committed, every obscene act I have concealed, every ignorant deed I have done, secretly or openly, whether I hid it or made it manifest, and every bad deed which You ordered the recording of by the noble clerks, whom You charged with safeguarding everything I have done, and whom You made witnesses against me along with my own limbs, though You watch over me beyond them, and are a witness to what is hidden from them but concealed due to Your mercy and covered due to Your grace. And that You grant me my fortune from every good thing You sent down, kindness You bestowed, good You spread, sustenance You expanded, sin You forgave, or mistake You concealed.

My Lord, my Lord, my Lord, my God, my Sire, my Master, my Guardian! O' He who possesses my forelock! O' He who is knowledgeable about my poverty and destitution! O' He who is informed about my poverty and hardships! My Lord! My Lord! My Lord!

I ask You by Your right, holiness, the greatest of Your qualities and names that you make the stations of my night and day filled with Your remembrance, connected to Your service, and grant that my deeds are accepted by You until my deeds and intentions are one will and my state in Your service is eternal. My Sire! O' He upon whom I rely! O' He unto whom I complain about my situation! My Lord! My Lord! My Lord! Strengthen my limbs for Your service. Intensify my determination in my body. Grant me earnestness in Your fear, and constancy in Your service until I freely move forward to You in the field of the forerunners, I hasten towards You among the eager servants, I long for Your nearness with those who long, draw near to You like the drawing of the sincere, fear You with the fearing of those who are certain, and gather with Your neighbors among the believers.

O God, whoever desires to harm me, desire to harm him, and whoever schemes against me, scheme against him. Make me among the best of Your slaves in what You intend for him, and the closest in proximity to You, and the most privileged to You. Surely that is not achieved except by Your grace. Be generous with me, have compassion for me by Your glory, and protect me by Your mercy. Make my tongue pronounce Your remembrance and my heart perfected in Your love. Favour me with the best of Your responses, pardon my slips, and forgive my lapses. For You ordained Your servants to worship You, ordered them to pray to You, and assured them of Your response. So I turn to You and outstretch my hand, my Lord. By Your honour, answer my prayer and grant my desire. Do not cut off my hope for Your grace and suffice me against the evil of my enemies from the Jinn and humans.⁸⁹⁸

O He who is quick to pleasure, forgive he who owns nothing except prayer, for You are accustomed to doing whatever You will. O' He whose name is a medicine, whose remembrance is a cure, whose obedience is enrichment, have mercy on he whose capital is hope, whose weapon is weeping. O' provider of blessings. O' defender against misfortunes. O light of those who are distressed in darkness. O' He who knows without ever having been taught!⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁸ This may arguably be an instance of *ta'ajjub* as within the theological model of prayer present in Islam this would not occur.

⁸⁹⁹ The string of metaphors here may be an instance of *takhyīl*.

Bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad and do for me what you are accustomed to doing. May God bless His messenger the honoured Imāms from his family and grant them peace.

Appendix 7

Al-Ziyāra al-muṭlaqa (The General Visitation of Imām al-Ḥusayn narrated by the 6th Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.⁹⁰⁰

*Reproduced below is the published Arabic critical edition of this text prepared by the editors at *Dār al-ḥadīth* publications in Qum.⁹⁰¹

Arabic text

عدة من أصحابنا، عن أحمد بن محمد، عن القاسم بن يحيى، عن جده الحسن ابن راشد، عن الحسين بن ثوير قال: كنت أنا و يونس بن ظبيان والمفضل بن عمرو أبو سلمة السراج جلوسا عند أبي عبد الله (عليه السلام) وكان المتكلم منا يونس وكان أكبر ناسنا فقال له: جعلت فداك إني أحضر مجلس هؤلاء القوم يعني ولد العباس فما أقول؟ فقال: إذا حضرت فذكرتنا فقل: " اللهم أرنا الرخاء و السرور فإنك تأتي على ما تريد، فقلت: جعلت فداك إني كثيرا ما أذكر الحسين عليه السلام فأبي شئ أقول؟ فقال: قل: " صلى الله صلى الله عليك يا أبا عبد الله " تعيد ذلك ثلاثا فإن السلام يصل إليه من قريب ومن بعيد، ثم قال :

إن أبا عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام لما قضى بكت عليه السماوات السبع والأرضون السبع وما فيهن وما بينهن ومن ينقلب في الجنة والنار من خلق ربنا وما يرى وما لا يرى بكى على أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام إلا ثلاثة أشياء لم تبك عليه، قلت: جعلت فداك وما هذه الثلاثة الأشياء؟ قال: لم تبك عليه البصرة ولا دمشق ولا آل عثمان عليهم لعنة الله، قلت: جعلت فداك إني أريد، أن أزوره فكيف أقول وكيف أصنع؟ قال: إذا أتيت أبا عبد الله (عليه السلام) فاغتسل على شاطئ الفرات ثم ألبس ثيابك الطاهرة ثم امش حافيا فإنك في حرم من حرم الله وحرم رسوله و عليك بالتكبير والتهليل والتسبيح والتحميد والتعظيم لله عز وجل كثيرا والصلاة على محمد وأهل بيته حتى تصير إلى باب الخير، ثم تقول: " السلام عليك يا حجة الله وابن حجته، السلام عليكم يا ملائكة الله وزوار قبر ابن نبي الله " ثم أخط عشر خطوات ثم قف وكبر ثلاثين

⁹⁰⁰ This critical edition has been extensively edited and commented upon in Arabic by the editors, the reader may refer to *Al-Kulaynī al-Kāfī*, 9:306-314.

⁹⁰¹ For information pertaining to the editing process of *al-Kāfī* and the 73 manuscripts utilized by the editors see: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Dirāyatī, "al-Madkhal: 'Amalunā fī al-kitāb" in *al-Kāfī*, 1:135-181.

تكبيرة ثم امش إليه حتى تأتيه من قبل وجهه فاستقبل وجهك بوجهه هو تجعل القبلة بين كتفيك ثم قل:

" السلام عليك يا حجة الله وابن حجته، السلام عليك يا قتيل الله و ابن قتيله، السلام عليك يا ثار الله وابن ثاره السلام عليك يا وتر الله الموتور في السماوات سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ رَبِّ السَّمَاوَاتِ السَّبْعِ وَ رَبِّ الْأَرْضِينَ السَّبْعِ وَ مَا فِيهِنَّ وَ مَا بَيْنَهُنَّ وَ مَا تَحْتَهُنَّ وَ رَبِّ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ وَ الْأَرْضِ، ، أشهد أن دمك سكن في الخلد و اقشعرت له أظلة العرش وبكى له جميع الخلائق وبكت له السماوات السبع والأرضون السبع وما فيهن وما بينهن ومن يتقلب في الجنة والنار من خلق ربنا وما يرى ومالا يرى أشهد أنك حجة الله وابن حجته وأشهد أنك قتيل الله وابن قتيله وأشهد أنك ثار الله و ابن ثاره وأشهد أنك وتر الله الموتور في السماوات والأرض وأشهد أنك قد بلغت و نصحت ووفيت وأوفيت وجاهدت في سبيل الله ومضيت للذي كنت عليه شهيدا ومستشهدا وشاهدا ومشهودا أنا عبد الله ومولاك وفي طاعتك والوفاد إليك ألتمس كمال المنزلة عند الله و ثبات القدم في الهجرة إليك والسبيل الذي لا يختلج دونك من الدخول في كفالتك التي أمرت بها، من أراد الله بدء بكم، بكم يبين الله الكذب و بكم يباعد الله الزمان الكلب و بكم فتح الله و بكم يختم اللهب بكم يحو ما يشاء و بكم يثبت و بكم يفك الذل من رقابنا و بكم يدرك الله ترة كل مؤمن يطلب بها و بكم تنبت الأرض أشجارها و بكم تخرج الأشجار أثمارها و بكم تنزل السماء قطرها و رزقها بكم يكشف الله الكرب و بكم ينزل الله الغيث و بكم تسيخ الأرض التي تحمل أبدانكم وتستقر جبالها عن مراسيها

إرادة الرب في مقادير أموره تهبط إليكم وتصدر من بيوتكم والصادر عما فصل من أحكام العباد لعنت أمة قتلتم وأمة خالفتم وأمة مجدت ولايتكم وأمة ظاهرت عليكم وأمة شهدت ولم تستشهد، الحمد لله الذي جعل النار مثوهم و بئس ورد الواردين وبئس الورد المورود والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله عليك يا أبا عبد الله أنا إلى الله ممن خالفك برئ - ثلاثا - " ثم تقوم فتأتي ابنه عليا (عليه السلام) وهو عند رجليه فتقول: " السلام عليك يا ابن رسول الله، السلام عليك يا ابن علي أمير المؤمنين، السلام عليك يا ابن الحسن والحسين، السلام عليك يا ابن خديجة و فاطمة صلى الله عليك لعن الله من قتلك - تقولها ثلاثا - أنا إلى الله منهم برئ - ثلاثا - " ثم تقوم فتومئ بيدك إلى الشهداء وتقول: " السلام عليكم - ثلاثا - فزتم والله فزتم والله فليت أني معكم فأفوز فوزا عظيما " ثم تدور فنجعل قبر أبي عبد الله (عليه السلام) بين يديك فصل ست ركعات وقد تمت زيارتك فإن شئت فانصرف.

Annotated English Translation

[From] A number of our companions⁹⁰²—on the authority of (‘an)

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (‘an) al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā (‘an) His grandfather, al-Ḥusayn b. Rāshid (‘an) al-Ḥusayn b. Thuwayr (reports):

I, Yūnus b. Ḍabyān, al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar, and Abū Salama al-Sarrāj were seated with Abū ‘Abd Allāh (al-Ṣādiq) while Yūnus was speaking—he was the eldest among us. He said to him, “May I be your ransom, I frequent the gathering of those people—referring to Banū ‘Abbās⁹⁰³—what should I say?”

He said, “When you are present, mention us and say, ‘O God, show us ease and contentment.’ And you will receive what you wish.”

I said, “May I be your ransom, I often remember al-Ḥusayn, what should I say?” He said thrice, “Say, ‘May God bless you, o’ Abu Abdullah our greetings will reach him, whether you are near or distant.”

Then he said, “When he [al-Ḥusayn] died, the seven heavens, the seven earths, what is in them, what is between them, and all those creations of our Lord which inhabit Paradise and Hellfire wept over him. What is visible and invisible wept over Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, except for three which failed to weep for him. I said, “May I be your ransom, who were these three?” He answered, “the people of Basra⁹⁰⁴, the people Damascus, and the family of ‘Uthmān— may God curse them.”

I said, “May I be your ransom, I wish to visit him. How must I speak and how must I act?” He said, “When you reach Abū ‘Abd Allāh, preform a *ghusl*⁹⁰⁵ at the banks of the Euphrates, wear your clean clothes and walk with fear, for you are in one of the holy precincts of God and his Messenger. And you should say often the *takbīr*, *taḥlīl*, *tasbīḥ*, *taḥmīd*, and *ta‘ẓīm* to God.⁹⁰⁶ And pray for blessings upon Muḥammad and his family until you are at the gate of the al-Ḥayr.⁹⁰⁷

Then say:

‘Peace be upon you, O proof of God and the son of His proof. Peace be upon you, O’ angels of God and the visitors of the grave of the Prophet’s son.’

⁹⁰² This includes ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī and other prominent authorities of al-Kulaynī.

⁹⁰³ This is a reference to the Abbasid rulers who were deeply suspicious of the various Shī‘ī groups.

⁹⁰⁴ This is reminiscent of a historical rivalry between the cities of Basra and Kufa, the latter being an early Iraqi centre of Shī‘ism especially during the lives of the Imāms. This rivalry went beyond just the famous grammatical schools which emerged from the respective cities and has been even identified by al-Jāḥiẓ as on par with the Arab-non-Arab (‘*ajam*) rivalry. Cf. Gelder, “Kufa vs. Basra”, 345-348.

⁹⁰⁵ This refers to a ritual bath or shower performed prior to specific acts of worship or auspicious religious rituals such as *ziyāra*.

⁹⁰⁶ This is a sanctuary of God- thus God’s name must be taken and praised—these details are important because it emphasizes the monotheism at the very beginning—“God is great, there is no God but God, Glory be to God.”

⁹⁰⁷ This refers to the entry point of the shrine or the precinct of Karbala.

Then take ten steps, stop, and pronounce thirty *takbīrs* (*allāhu akbar*). Then walk to him until you reach it, facing it and with your back to the *qibla*⁹⁰⁸. Then say:

‘Peace be upon you, o’ proof of God and the son of His proof. Peace be upon you, o’ the one killed for God and son of the one killed for Him. Peace be upon you, o’ avenger of God and son of his avenger.⁹⁰⁹ Peace be upon you, o’ the unique one of God⁹¹⁰, who is unparalleled in the heavens and the earth.

I testify that your blood settled in eternity⁹¹¹, and the canopies of the divine throne shook⁹¹² because of it, and all of the creations wept because of it, and the seven heavens and seven earths wept for it, and whatever is in them or between them, and all those that dwell in heaven or in hell from among the creations of our Lord, whatever is visible and invisible⁹¹³.

I testify that you are the proof of God and son of His proof, that you are the one killed for God and the son of the one killed for him, that you are the avenger of God and the son of his avenger, that you are the unique one of God, who is unavenged in the heavens and the earth. And that you informed and advised, you undertook and fulfilled, waged *jihād* in the way of God and died for what you followed as a martyr, killed as a martyr, a witness, and having been witnessed.⁹¹⁴

I am a slave of God⁹¹⁵ and your follower in your obedience, newly arrived to you and am requesting a perfect station with God, the firm placement of my feet in the journey to you⁹¹⁶,

⁹⁰⁸ *Qibla* is the direction towards the *Ka’ba* in Mecca to which Muslims direct themselves during their prayers (*ṣalāt*).

⁹⁰⁹ This is an important comment, it would again make this *ziyāra* unique- *thā’ir* is used instead of *thār*. When written with a *hamza*- it is blood of God or blood spilled for God.

⁹¹⁰ The phrase here is significant and discussed at length in the commentaries. Al-Majlisī in *Mir’āt al-’Uqūl*, 18:298 presents two options for how to understand this. *Al-watr* is understood as someone unique or unparalleled, *al-Mawtūr*, which follows, is either being used to emphasize how unique the Imām is, as is done in Qur’an, 25:22 and Qur’an, .25:53. Alternatively the phrase is synonymous with *thār allāh* or, as is reflected in the translation, refers to unavenged killing.

⁹¹¹ The language of al-Ḥusayn’s blood coming to settle in eternity is an example of *ta’ajjub*.

⁹¹² This is profound cosmic grief- all bodies of existence reverberate in a state of perennial, continuous grief due to the shedding of al-Ḥusayn’s blood. It resides in *khuld*- this is an important indicator of permanency. From the word *khuld*, meaning “to reside permanently”.

⁹¹³ This very exhaustive account of the mourning of creation for al-Ḥusayn is an example of *ta’ajjub*.

⁹¹⁴ The literary effect is observed in the Arabic as all four descriptors here are from the trilateral root sh-h-d, “martyr” is expressed by the *al-ṣīgha al-mubālagha* (exaggeration) or by a passive participle, “killed as a martyr” by a passive participle for pattern X, “a witness” being the active participle of the G-stem, and “having been witnessed” being the passive participle of the same stem.

⁹¹⁵ A textual difference in *al-Tahdhīb* reads instead “your slave (*’abduka*)” which is indeed a crucial difference- is the visitor the *’abd* of al-Ḥusayn (slave of al-Ḥusayn) or *’abd* of *Allāh* (slave of God)? This raises important issues regarding the semantic difference between servitude/bondage to God and servitude/bondage to the Imām. This is a unique expression (slave of *al-Ḥusayn*) as far as *ziyārāt* literature is concerned. Cf. al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tahdhīb*, 6:55.

⁹¹⁶ This is a unique statement which I have not found it in any other *ziyārāt* texts. There is a *hijra* to al-Ḥusayn, how is this to be interpreted? Using a term reminiscent of biography of the Prophet, indicative of migration and salvation, *hijra*, gives a sense of permanency, a feeling that this is not to be confused with a simple journey or a trip (*safar*, or *dhihāb* both of which connote travel and going) these are words which we find in other traditions. *Hijra*, however, is a unique term as it pertains to the visitation of al-Ḥusayn.

the path which mixes with none but you, and entering⁹¹⁷ your custodianship with which you were charged.

Whoever desires God then he begins with you; through you God clarifies falsehood, and through you God distances (from us) the stormy age; through you God brings about triumph; through you God seals (affairs); through you God erases what He wishes and through you He affirms; through you He releases the shackles of humiliation from our (the followers of the Imām) necks; through you God avenges the spilt blood of every believer by claiming (its right). Through you the Earth will grow its trees and through you the trees shall bear their fruits, and through you the Earth brings down its rain and its sustenance. Through you God removes affliction and through you God brings down relief; through you the Earth renders stable your bodies which are carried upon it and the mountains remain firm in their places. The will of the Lord for what He determines descends upon you and issues (from you) and the origin of the religious rulings for slaves of God originate from your homes, then spreads as is divided in the rulings given to the servants of God. Cursed is a community that killed you and a community that opposed you and a community that opposed your authority and a community that claimed to support you and a community that bore witness but did not affirm their testimony. All praise is due to God who made hellfire their final abode, the worst place of arrival and the worst destination.⁹¹⁸ Praised be God, Lord of the worlds.

Then say thrice:

‘May God bless you, Abu Abdullah, I repudiate those who opposed you to God.’

Then stand and go to his son, Ali, who is at his feet, and say,

‘Peace be upon you, son of the Messenger of God. Peace be upon you, son of the Commander of the Faithful. Peace be upon you, son of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Peace be upon you son of Khadīja and Fāṭima. May God bless you. May God curse the one who killed you.’ Say this thrice.

Then say thrice:

‘I repudiate them to God.’

Then get up and pointing with your hand to the martyrs and say:

‘Peace be upon you [thrice], you have been victorious, by God, you have victorious, by God. If only I were with you then I too would have achieved a great victory.’

Then, going back, face the grave of Abu Abdullah and pray six units. Then your visitation is completed. If you wish you can turn back.”

⁹¹⁷ This could be an explicating preposition (*bayāniyya*) or causative (*ta'liliyya*).

⁹¹⁸ The description of divine wrath and punishment could be an excellent case of *ta'ajjub*.

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