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Transliteration

Arabic has been transliterated according to the following key:

ء	’	ض	ḍ
ا	a	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	‘
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dh	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
س	s	و	w
ش	sh	ي	y
ص	ṣ	ة	a; at in <i>idāfah</i>

Vowels and Diphthongs

اَ	ā	اَوْ	aw
اُو	ū	اَيَّ	ay
يَ	ī		
اِ	a		
اُ	u		
اِى	i		

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Al-Qalam Journal



ARTICLES

Assessing the Authenticity of the *Ahl al-Bayt*'s Supplications: A Case Study of *Du'ā' 'Arafa*¹

Hamid Khani (Farhang Mihrwash)
Islamic Azad University

Abstract

Among the prominent supplicatory works of the Shī'ī tradition is *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, attributed to Imam al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 61/680). The text of this supplication (*du'ā'*), which lacks a chain of transmission (*isnād*) and contains various omissions and additions in different manuscripts, can only be found in works dating from after the seventh/thirteenth century. This absence from earlier works has led to long-standing debates about the validity of attributing, at least some parts of this *du'ā'*, to Imam al-Ḥusayn. This study aims to demonstrate, through the application of internal and external methods of analysis to historical texts, that *Du'ā' 'Arafa* is authentic and rooted in the teachings of the Family of the Prophet (*Ahl al-Bayt*), likely originating from Imam Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). Furthermore, this study intends to provide a theoretical model for examining the authenticity of other supplications, attributed to the *Ahl al-Bayt*, that sometimes lack *isnāds* and whose authenticity cannot be determined by traditional methods employed in biographical evaluation (*rijāl*) and other sciences of *ḥadīth*.

Keywords: Shī'ī supplicatory literature, *ḥadīth* dating, stylistic analysis of supplications, *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, Imam al-Ḥusayn, Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

¹ This article was originally published in Farsi in *Ḥadīth Pazhūhī* 5/10 (2013-2014): 57-94, titled "Difā' az Iṣālāt-i Ad'īya-yi Ahl-i Bayt: Muṭāla'a-yi Mawridī-yi Du'ā'-yi 'Arafa."

Introduction

An important portion of the narrations and teachings of the *Ahl al-Bayt* have been transmitted through their supplications (*ad'īya*). In addition to complete works produced directly by the *Ahl al-Bayt*, such as *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya al-kāmila*, many of their *ad'īya* can be found in the corpora of their sayings. In contemporary times, efforts have been made to compile these *ad'īya*. However, the question of the authenticity of *ad'īya* attributed to the *Ahl al-Bayt* has always been considered an unresolved issue, that has received little attention. Muslim scholars have sometimes deemed it impossible for these supplications to have originated from anyone other than the infallibles (*ma'ṣūmūn*), either based on the sublimity of their content or their rhetorical beauty. Nevertheless, this view has not always been accepted and has faced criticism.

Among the critiques of this reasoning, one can point to a noteworthy statement by Ayatollah Sayyid Ruhollah Khomeini (d. 1409/1989), where he states that the door remains open for questioning the *isnāds* and the textual implications of *ad'īya*.² This is because the *isnāds* for *ad'īya*—including *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya*—are typically weak (*ḍa'īf*), and the sublimity of content and eloquence of expression, aside from not necessarily guaranteeing the certainty of their issuance from an infallible, are not consistently present throughout all passages of the *ad'īya*. Furthermore, one cannot rely on the fact that the Imāmī jurists have accepted these works and *ad'īya*, as there is a difference between general acceptance of such *ad'īya*, as a whole, and detailed acceptance of each of their individual components.

This critical approach certainly has its merits. Since some narrations of *ad'īya* lack *isnāds* or have multiple disconnections in their *isnāds*, examining their authenticity through traditional biographical (*rijālī*) methods is impossible. Biographical scholars can

² Sayyid Rohullah Khomeini, *al-Makāsib al-muḥarrama* (Ismā'īliyyān: 1410/1989), 320.

usually only classify the *Ahl al-Bayt's ad'īya* as weak, according to their own criteria. If we were to examine the narrations of *ad'īya* using conventional and traditional methods of *ḥadīth* sciences, we would reach more or less the same aforementioned conclusion as Ayatollah Khomeini. This means nothing other than acknowledging that we have been unable to find an acceptable way to defend the authenticity of an important portion of the *Ahl al-Bayt's* teachings, namely, *ad'īya*.

The aim of this study is to find a solution to this very problem. Through a case study of *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, we intend to demonstrate that by utilising modern methods of textual analysis and other historical sciences, we can discuss the identity and attribution of ancient texts, such as supplications, and demonstrate the authenticity of this important and significant portion of Shī'ī teachings.

1. Problem Statement

Du'ā' 'Arafa is a literary and rhyming (*musajja'*) text of approximately 3,200 words, with minor variations in transmission. Its content acknowledges God's position and affirms humanity's place in existence, offers praise and gratitude for God's abundant blessings upon humanity, recalls the difficulties and tribulations one has endured throughout life—from the beginning of creation until the present—and strives to attract divine mercy while seeking peace and well-being from Him, as humanity's most important request. In its existing form, the supplication contains a core text mentioned in all versions—of approximately 2,400 words—and an appendix found in some versions—of about 800 words.

1.1 The Status of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* in Shī'ī Culture

This supplication can be found in Shī'ī supplicatory prayer books from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards.³ It is said that Imam al-Ḥusayn recited it on the Day of 'Arafa during the *ḥajj* season.⁴ We have

³ Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a'māl*, ed. Jawād Qayyūmī (Maktab al-I'lām al-Islāmī: 1414/1993), 2:74 ff.

⁴ Ibid.

limited information about the history of this *du'ā'*, consisting of brief explanations that the narrators of this *du'ā'* reportedly provide about the content of their narration. These explanations are mainly narrated through two brothers, Bishr and Bashīr, sons of Ghālib al-Asadī.⁵ Apparently, they both provided some explanations that included what the Imam did before, after, and while delivering *Du'ā' 'Arafa*.⁶ According to these explanations, the *du'ā'* was delivered on the Day of 'Arafa on the land of 'Arafāt. The Imam is said to have left his tent along with his relatives and friends and, with tranquillity and serenity, while engaging in remembrance of God, they turned toward the plain of 'Arafāt. Then, weeping and beseeching, they recited this supplication. As people heard the Imam's voice, they gradually abandoned their own supplications, gathered around him and—moved by the Imam's eloquent *du'ā'*—chose to listen to it and say "Amen," instead of their individual prayers.⁷

Shī'ī scholars of *ḥadīth* have recommended the recitation of this *du'ā'*, alongside many others, on the Day of 'Arafa. They have said that its recitation is beneficial whether in the plain of 'Arafāt or elsewhere.⁸ It is worth noting that in the devotional literature of the Islamic world, there are approximately ten examples of short and long *ad'īya* for recitation on the Day of 'Arafa. Among the more well-known examples is a *du'ā'* for the Day of 'Arafa found in *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya* as well as a *du'ā'* reported from the Prophet Muḥammad, according to both

⁵ Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Kaḥmī, *al-Balad al-amīn*, lithograph ed., calligraphy by Aḥmad Najafī Zanjānī (Ṣadūq: 1383/1963), 258.

⁶ For a report of all these explanations, see Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (Wafā': 1403/1983), 95:213. See *Ibid.*, 214 for mention of the said explanations in the margins of *al-Balad al-amīn*; cf. the printed version of this same work by al-Kaḥmī which lacks those explanations.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁸ Shaykh 'Abbās al-Muḥaddith al-Qummī, *Maḥfūẓ al-jinān*, lithograph ed., calligraphy by Ṭāhir Khushniwīs (Daftar-i Nashr-i Farhang-i Islāmī: 1370 Sh./1991), 258.

Sunnī and Shīʿī sources.⁹ Among these supplications, *Duʿāʾ ʿArafa*, attributed to Imam al-Ḥusayn, has gained in recent centuries an important ritual status in Shīʿī culture.

Attention to *Duʿāʾ ʿArafa* increased from around the eleventh/seventeenth century—the Safavid era—as evidenced by the commentaries written on this supplication from this time onwards. The early commentaries include al-ʿAllāma al-Majlisī's commentary in *Biḥār al-anwār*,¹⁰ *Sharḥ Ṣadr al-aḡādil* titled *Hidāyat al-mustabṣirīn*,¹¹ and the *Versified Commentary*¹² of Ḥuwayzī.¹³ Among contemporaries too, some have written commentaries on this supplication, such as Abū l-Qāsim al-Shaʿrānī's *The Duʿāʾ ʿArafa of Abū ʿAbdullāh*, and Muḥammad Taqī Jaʿfarī's *The Supplication of Imam al-Ḥusayn in the Plain of ʿArafāt*. To all these must be added numerous commentaries written outside the sphere of Shīʿī devotional literature about the approximately 800-word appendix of this *duʿāʾ*—though not as part of *Duʿāʾ ʿArafa*, but rather as a private prayer attributed to Ibn ʿAtāʾullāh al-Iskandarānī (d. 709/1309).¹⁴ Similarly, this supplication has been

⁹ See respectively: Supplication 47 of *al-Ṣaḡḡifa al-sajjādiyya*; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭaʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʿad ʿAbd al-Bāqī (Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī: n.d.), 1:214-5; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḡḡduruh al-faqīh*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Ghaffārī (Jāmiʿat al-Mudarrisīn: 1404/1983), 2:542-3.

¹⁰ al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 47:373 ff., 64:142, 95:227.

¹¹ Aḡmad Husaynī Eshkavari, *Fihrist-i Nuskhahā-yi Khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Najafī Marʿashī* (Kitābkhāna-yi Marʿashī: 1354 Sh./1975-), no. 5342.

¹² Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, ed. Sayyid Aḡmad Ḥusaynī (Maktabat al-Andalus: 1385/1965), 2:111.

¹³ See also Mohammad Mahdi Karbaschi, “Barrasī-yi Matn, Sanad, Shurūḡ, wa Nusakh-i Khaṭṭī-yi Maṣādir-i Awwaliyya-yi Qismat-i Duwwum-i Duʿā-yi ʿArafa-yi Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ” (Masters diss., Dānīshkada-yi ʿUlūm-i Ḥadīth: 1385 Sh./2006), 100 ff.

¹⁴ ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Sharnūbī, *Sharḥ al-ḡikam al-ʿaṡāʾiyya*, digital reprint of 1304/1887 (Cairo edition), available at www.al-mostafa.com, accessed August 2011, 195 ff.; Aḡmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAjība, *Īqāẓ al-himam* (Dār al-Maʿārif: n.d.), 470 ff.

translated into Persian several times in the contemporary period, either independently or within supplicatory prayer books, namely, the translation of 'Abd al-Karīm Bī-Āzār Shīrāzī.¹⁵

Shī'ī scholars have long referred to passages from this supplication to explain ethical and theological concepts.¹⁶ It even appears that some of its phrases were so well-known that they became proverbial,¹⁷ or were used as opening statements at the beginning of speeches.¹⁸ Shī'īs have taken pride in it as one of the outstanding Shī'ī legacies with profound mystical content.¹⁹

1.2 Different Versions of *Du'ā* 'Arafa

Regarding the different versions of the *du'ā*, the oldest works in which it appears are Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's (d. 664/1266) *Iqbāl al-a'māl* and Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Ka'fāmī's (d. 905/1499) *al-Balad al-amīn*. Al-Ka'fāmī attributes his narration to Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir*,²⁰ an attribution that cannot be traced in the existing printed and manuscript copies of *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir*. One possibility is that al-Ka'fāmī erred in citing *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir* as his source and that he saw the supplication in *Iqbāl al-a'māl*. Some have also suggested that Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs had two works titled *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir*, and this supplication was in the greater *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir*, while only the lesser *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir* has survived.²¹

¹⁵ 'Abd al-Karīm Bī-Āzār Shīrāzī, *Du'ā-yi Rūz-i 'Arafa (Rūz-i Shinākht)* (Daftar-i Nashr-i Farhang-i Islāmī: 1373 Sh./1994).

¹⁶ For example, see 'Abd 'Alī b. Jum'a al-Ḥuwayzī, *Nūr al-thaqalayn* (Ismā'īliyyān: 1370 Sh./1991), 3:238-9.

¹⁷ For example, see Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Taḥf al-kabīr* (al-Maṭba'at al-Bahiyya: n.d.), 5:238.

¹⁸ See Hidāyatullah Mustarḥamī's introduction to vol. 109 of al-Majlisī's *Bihār al-anwār*.

¹⁹ For example, see Khomeini, *Waṣīyyat-nāma* (Qadr-i Wilāyat: 1374 Sh./1995), 5.

²⁰ al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 95:214, citing al-Ka'fāmī's marginal note on *al-Balad al-amīn*.

²¹ Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tawus & His Library*

Of these two, the version in most copies of *Iqbāl al-a'māl* includes that 800-word appendix at the end of the *du'ā'*,²² which is absent in *al-Balad al-amīn*. On the other hand, in the margins of *al-Balad al-amīn*, one can find explanations quoted from the aforementioned Bishr and Bashīr;²³ a marginal note that we can assume al-Kaf'amī wrote himself, and which *Iqbāl al-a'māl* lacks in content and substance. Later traditionists have striven to edit the text of the supplication and purge it of errors and textual variants, such that the most eloquent version of the supplication can be found in al-Muḥaddith al-Qummī's (d. 1359/1940) *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*.²⁴ Moreover, they have chosen either to include or omit the aforementioned appendix found in copies of *Iqbāl al-a'māl*, just as they have chosen either to include or exclude the explanations mentioned in *al-Balad al-amīn*.

1.3 Main Questions of Discussion

Firstly, what studies have been conducted thus far to examine the authenticity of *Du'ā' 'Arafa's* issuance from an infallible Imam? Secondly, what ambiguities still remain regarding the attribution of this *du'ā'* to an infallible? Thirdly, what methods can be employed to gain confidence in the authenticity of this *du'ā'*? To answer these questions, we will first review the most important theoretical studies concerning the attribution of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* to Imam al-Ḥusayn. Then, by reviewing some unanswered questions about the *du'ā'*'s authenticity, we will attempt to introduce and pursue methods for advancing and completing this study.

2. Literature on the Attribution of *Du'ā' 'Arafa*

2.1 Views of Early Scholars

If we wish to understand the historical background of discussions

(Brill: 1992), 47; Karbaschi, "Barrasī-yi Matn," 30-2.

²² Ibid., 157-65; cf. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a'māl*, 2:87, footnote 2.

²³ al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 95:214.

²⁴ al-Muḥaddith al-Qummī, *Mafātīḥ al-jinān*, 261 ff.

about the attribution of the *du'ā'* to Imam al-Ḥusayn, the earliest place we find an opinion, albeit brief, is Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Iqbāl al-a'māl*. In this work, he decisively refers to this *du'ā'* as "the supplication of our master al-Ḥusayn on the Day of 'Arafa."²⁵ His statement reflects no doubt about this attribution. However, he does not explain how he received this *du'ā'* nor does he mention his intermediaries back to the Imam.

The history of critical discussion about the attribution or non-attribution of at least part of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* to the Imam goes back to the twelfth/eighteenth century, when al-'Allāma al-Majlisī, in *Biḥār al-anwār*, expressed his skepticism about attributing the appendix of the *du'ā'* to the Imam.²⁶ He found this appendix more consistent with the disposition of some Sufis, than with the character of Imam al-Ḥusayn. Al-Majlisī's basis for criticism was attention to the content and themes of the *du'ā'*'s appendix. Although he does not name the Sufi he has in mind, he insists on his claim to the point where he states that there are only two possibilities: either Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs mistakenly included the ending in the original supplication, or the copyists of his works found this addition elsewhere and added it to the original text of the *du'ā'*. He considers the second possibility more likely because, from al-Majlisī's perspective, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs did not include this appendix in *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir*, and moreover al-Majlisī himself had not seen it in the ancient copies of *Iqbāl al-a'māl* that were in his possession.

In contrast to al-Majlisī's criticism, numerous scholars in subsequent centuries have approved the very same passages—which al-Majlisī considered Sufi-like—and have regarded them as containing sublime teachings. Among these scholars, one can point to Muḥammad Mahdī al-Narāqī²⁷ and Mullā Hādī al-Sabzawārī.²⁸ This

²⁵ Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a'māl*, 2:74.

²⁶ al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 95:227.

²⁷ Muḥammad Mahdī b. Abī Dharr al-Narāqī, *Jāmi' al-sa'ādāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kalāntar (Maṭba'at al-Nu'mān: n.d.), 3:116-7 and 122.

²⁸ Hādī b. Mahdī al-Sabzawārī, *Sharḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*, lithograph offset, calligraphy by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭubā (Baṣīratī: n.d.), 1:51 and 209.

trend continues into the contemporary period.²⁹ For example, al-Muḥaddith al-Qummī shows no sign of doubts about the authenticity of the supplication and includes it—including the appendix³⁰—in *Maḥāṭib al-jinnān*,³¹ based on Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Iqbāl al-a'māl*. Many other contemporary scholars also consider the sublimity of the supplication's contents as the primary evidence for the validity of its attribution to Imam al-Ḥusayn.

2.2 Contemporary Discussions

The most serious and ongoing contemporary discussion regarding *Du'ā' 'Arafa* concerns the attribution of its appendix to Imam al-Ḥusayn. In this regard, some scholars, like Muḥammad Kāẓim Furqānī,³² have attempted to present their understanding of the philosophical concepts mentioned in this appendix, as being in harmony with the authentic teachings of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. On the other hand, while accepting the attribution of the *du'ā'* to Imam al-Ḥusayn, critics, like Muḥammad Mahdī Ruknī,³³ have tried to deny the presence of such concepts in the *du'ā'* and consider the Imam's status as being above “belief in the unity of existence” and similar Sufi-like views.

Meanwhile, Ḥusayn Turābī attempted, through studying the appendix of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* and reviewing various contemporary opinions about it, to defend the view that this section was composed by Ibn 'Aṭā'ullāh al-Iskandarānī and therefore should not be considered the words of an infallible Imam.³⁴ These efforts culminated

²⁹ Karbaschi, “Barrasī-yi Matn,” 52 ff.

³⁰ Muḥaddith al-Qummī, *Maḥāṭib al-jinnān*, 271.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 261 ff.

³² Muḥammad Kāẓim Furqānī, “Irfān-i Sayyid al-Shuhadā’,” *Mishkāṭ* 82 (1383 Sh./2004).

³³ Muḥammad Mahdī Ruknī Yazdī, “Āyā Du'ā'-yi 'Arafa Waḥdat-i Wujūd rā Bayān Mikunad?” *Mishkāṭ* 83 (1383 Sh./2004), 54-8.

³⁴ Ḥusayn Turābī, “Pazhūhishī Darbāra-yi Dhayl-i Du'ā'-yi 'Arafa,” *Miqāt-i Ḥajj* 51 (1384 Sh./2005), 48.

in Mohammad Mahdi Karbaschi's Master's thesis examining the attribution of the appendix of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* to Imam al-Ḥusayn.

Like Turābī, Karbaschi's starting point was the ambiguity arising from the possible attribution of the *du'a*'s appendix to Ibn 'Aṭā'ullāh al-Iskandarānī, author of *al-Ḥikam al-'aṭā'iyya*. Although Karbaschi's approach focused more on studying ancient manuscripts, he essentially shared the same concern as Turābī before him: to determine who authored the appendix. The problem lies in the fact that this section of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* exactly matches the text of the supplication as it appears in *al-Ḥikam al-'aṭā'iyya*,³⁵ making it possible—and according to Turābī, certain³⁶—that al-Iskandarānī himself composed the *du'ā*'s appendix, which copyists may then have inserted into copies of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Iqbāl al-a'māl*, as al-Majlisī suspected.

Karbaschi first seeks the solution in studying the manuscripts of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Iqbāl al-a'māl* and *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir*.³⁷ Given the absence of manuscripts of *Miṣbāḥ al-zā'ir* containing this supplication, his focus shifts to manuscript studies of *Iqbāl al-a'māl*. Karbaschi's study, of more than 44 manuscripts of this work, indicates the presence of the supplication in most manuscripts.³⁸

Nevertheless, the possibility of scribal interference cannot be ruled out. What ultimately proves decisive in Karbaschi's study is *Zawā'id al-fawā'id*, written by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's son, Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī, who quotes extensively from his father's works, especially *Iqbāl al-a'māl*.³⁹ If it can be proven that one of the passages transmitted from *Iqbāl al-a'māl* to this work is *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, including its appendix, we can conclude that this appendix was not the result of scribal additions, but was included by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs himself. However, based on the existing manuscripts of this work, the possibility of reaching a precise

³⁵ al-Sharnūbī, *Sharḥ al-ḥikam*, 470-1.

³⁶ Turābī, "Pazhūhishī Darbāra-yi Dhayl-i Du'ā-yi 'Arafa," 52.

³⁷ Karbaschi, "Barrasī-yi Matn," chapter 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 121.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 18 ff.

judgment appears to be ruled out.⁴⁰

Similarly, Karbaschi, after mentioning evidence supporting the attribution of the ending to Ibn al-Iskandarānī, still views it as no more than a weak possibility.⁴¹ He cites, as an example, the presence of a considerable volume of phrases from the core section of *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* in the intimate prayers of Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī.⁴² He argues that the mere presence of a *du‘ā’* in someone’s works does not indicate that the text belongs to them.⁴³ Nevertheless, he ultimately leans towards rejecting the attribution of the appendix to Imam al-Ḥusayn.⁴⁴

Karbaschi’s study appears to offer the most serious research to date regarding the question of attributing *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa*’s appendix to Imam al-Ḥusayn. However, the question of attributing the main supplication to the Imam lies outside the scope of his research. Additionally, he does not provide any convincing explanation for the absence of the complete text of *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* in approximately 15 manuscripts, or the presence of the main text, minus the appendix, in some other manuscripts. Similarly, Karbaschi’s study does not give special consideration to the age of the manuscripts and their general dates of composition.

2.3 Remaining Ambiguities

Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa is an ancient historical text and, like all such texts, requires analysis of its authenticity. From a historical perspective, the reliability of an ancient text is directly related to the temporal distance between the original event and its recorder. As mentioned, this supplication cannot be found in any texts predating the seventh/thirteenth century. This means there is approximately a 600-year gap between the original incident and the earliest surviving

⁴⁰ Ibid., 121.

⁴¹ Ibid., 123-4.

⁴² For the intimate prayers, see: Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullāh Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’* (Dār al-Kutub al-‘Arabi: 1405/1984), 9:332 ff.

⁴³ Karbaschi, “Barrasī-yi Matn,” 43.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 128.

record of the event.

Another ambiguity relates to the fact that Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs never disclosed his intermediary sources back to the first transmitters of the *du'ā'*. Undoubtedly, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs himself was among the most prominent Shī'ī *ḥadīth* scholars, and particularly one of the greatest and most renowned scholars in the field of Islamic supplicatory literature. However, this does not necessarily mean that the sources he had access to contain the most accurate and flawless transmissions. It is entirely possible, as al-Majlisī considers probable, that even the surviving manuscripts of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's own works may have undergone alterations, corruptions, and similar changes over time.

On the one hand, the oldest source containing the text of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* is itself late, and on the other hand, it is unclear through whose hands the text passed during this period, how it reached Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, and what developments or changes it may have undergone in the process. To defend the authenticity of *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, a method must be found to demonstrate that although this supplication has only reached us through a late transmission, the text was not fabricated in later periods. Rather, various pieces of evidence confirm its attribution to the era of the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

Furthermore, our knowledge about the earliest listeners or scribes of the supplication is very limited, amounting to just two names: Bishr and Bashīr. The scholars of biographical evaluation (*rijāl*) provide very little information about them. It seems these two narrators only heard a few statements from the Imam and afterwards established no relationship with him or anyone else for the purpose of hearing *ḥadīth*. While such a case might occasionally occur, its occurrence is strange and requires examination. Apart from these two narrators, whose names we have merely found, we know nothing about the other transmitters of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* in the period before Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs.

Another potential objection that might be raised regarding the attribution of the supplication to the Imam, is its length. The Imam was surely not delivering an eloquent speech to the public in a loud and resonant voice but rather was engaged in private supplication. Although one can accept that others were present in the vicinity and

heard the Imam's voice, it is difficult to accept that while the Imam was reciting the supplication, an individual could have written every word down at that speed—an individual who had apparently come to 'Arafāt for supplication during the *hajj* season, and whose primary concern would have been the *hajj* rituals. A similar objection has previously been raised by some Sunnis in criticising the attribution of the long sermons of *Nahj al-balāgha* to Imam 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661),⁴⁵ and unfortunately, despite the criticism of this view from various other perspectives, no effort has yet been made to scientifically examine the practical possibility of delivering these long sermons and the methods used by the ancients to record them.

Another objection concerns the available technologies for recording during that era, which did not allow for extensive and accurate documentation of events. These recording technologies were limited to writing technologies that were very primitive: a few pieces of leather or occasionally leaves and clay tablets, an inkwell and a quill, or a sharpened piece of wood. It is difficult to accept that someone could quickly record an event as it occurred with such tools, even if they were observing the Imam from the beginning of his intimate supplication to God.

To put it simply, there is a difference between recording a sermon or letter from Imam 'Alī during his caliphate, by scribes officially tasked with preserving these works, and recording a supplication recited in a private gathering, in a mournful tone, during days when everyone had gathered during the *hajj* to receive the spiritual rewards of the Day of 'Arafa, with tools that were inadequate for fast writing, and listening to someone who continued his speech after each sentence without intending to pause or repeat for the scribes. Similarly, it is not easy to accept that someone could hear and memorise a supplication, of about 3,000 words or more, in one sitting and then for such a person with such mental brilliance to leave no trace in history.

⁴⁵ For example, see Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, *Tarjamat 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* (Maṭba'at al-'Ulūm: 1932), 131.

The main issue is that we still lack precise information about how such reports were recorded. Perhaps the method of delivering major sermons in the periods close to early Islam was somewhat different from what we have assumed. However, our current understanding of how long reports were preserved, through memorisation, seems less defensible, and achieving a clearer picture of the issue requires further consideration of the evidence. To defend the authenticity of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* and other similar texts, an extensive study of ancient methods of transmitting long reports in Islamic culture is necessary.

Besides these, numerous passages from *Du'ā' 'Arafa* appear in other *ad'iya*, either as short independent supplications or as sayings attributed to major religious figures. For example, 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī (alive in 705/1305) included a large portion of the opening passages of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* in a supplication for the thirtieth day of each month (*Īrān Rūz*).⁴⁶ Undoubtedly, al-Ḥillī never knew this supplication as part of the Imam's *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, for if he had, he would certainly have mentioned its attribution to him. Many other similar cases can be found.⁴⁷ Although it is possible that the composers of these texts drew from the sayings of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, it is also possible that texts composed by others were sometimes attributed to the *Ahl al-Bayt*, either intentionally or unintentionally. To prove the authenticity of *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, we must also find a way to demonstrate the unity of this text and show that all its different parts are authentic, rather than being pieces taken from other texts and assembled together.

3. Textual Characteristics

To demonstrate the unity of *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, it is necessary to review its text, to understand the overall structure and the author's main purpose. For this, we must first identify the text's motif and then study the *du'ā'*'s paragraph structure.

⁴⁶ 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, *al-'Adad al-qawīyya*, ed. Mahdī Rajā'ī (Maktabat al-Mar'ashī: 1408/1987), 371 ff.

⁴⁷ Karbaschi, "Barrasi-yi Matn," chapter 2.

3.1 Motif

To understand the motif of *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa*, it is essential to consider the meaning of *‘arafa* itself. Based on the contemporary common understanding, few doubt that *‘arafa*, from the same root as *ma‘rifā* (knowledge) means recognition, and that the Day of ‘Arafa means the Day of Recognition.⁴⁸ Yet a more precise understanding may be achieved by reviewing the general *ad‘iya* prescribed for this day.

Whether short or long, all *ad‘iya* of the Day of ‘Arafa contain human acknowledgment and confession regarding the position of oneself and God in existence.⁴⁹ On this basis, in Islamic culture, the Day of ‘Arafa was inevitably considered a day for confession before the divine court. In other words, in the ancient ritual calendar of Islamic culture, the Day of ‘Arafa was the Day of Confession. Yet in later periods, the status of confession and its importance on this day gradually faded from memory.

More evidence for this claim is provided by the traditions that reflect Prophet Adam’s confession of his sin on this day.⁵⁰ A review of the content of the *du‘ā’* attributed to the Imam confirms this same meaning. This *du‘ā’*, like all *‘Arafa* supplications, is a supplication for confession.

3.2 Text Structure

The simplest way to paragraph *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* is to consider its segmentation by the narrators. Based on the placement of the narrator’s explanations, *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* can be divided into three major sections. The first comprises the initial words attributed to the Imam, until the point where it is said that his tears flowed and he raised his hands in supplication (up to the phrase “O God, make me fear You...”

⁴⁸ For one reference, see ‘Alī Sharī‘atī, *Taḥlīlī az Manāsik-i Hajj* (Ilhām: 1383 Sh./2004), 105; Bī-Āzār, *Du‘ā-yi Rūz-i ‘Arafa*, 5.

⁴⁹ For instance, see the previously mentioned supplications for the Day of ‘Arafa.

⁵⁰ ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *al-Taḥfīr*, ed. Ṭayyib Mūsawī Jazā‘irī (Dār al-Kitāb: 1404/1983), 1:44.

(*allāhumma ij'alnī akhshāk*)). The second section begins with the words attributed to the Imam following the narrators' middle explanations, until the end of the text transmitted in al-Kaḥmī's *al-Balad al-amīn* (from the previous phrase until "My God, I am the poor one..." (*ilāhī ana al-faqīr*)). The final section contains the appendix which appears in some versions of *Iqbāl al-a'māl* and is also included in al-Iskandarī's *al-Ḥikam al-ʿaṭā'iyya*, as his own work, but is not found in al-Kaḥmī's work.

In this study, we will not use this method for division. We assume that the *duʿāʾ*, along with its appendix, forms a coherent whole, and with this assumption, we attempt to extract its structure. However, as will be observed, even when we consider the main text and appendix as a coherent structure, we still have the same three distinct sections when considering the content. Of these three, the first two sections—the main text—are present in both ancient versions of the supplication, but the third section or appendix can only be found in Sayyid Ibn Ṭawūs's *Iqbāl al-a'māl*.

1. *The Opening Intimate Discourse:* The first section of the supplication is an intimate discourse with God, with the theme of confessing God's exalted position in existence and humanity's unstable position within it, along with establishing and reinforcing this belief through numerous and detailed reasons for God's exalted position, His countless blessings, and the impossibility of adequately expressing gratitude to Him.
2. *The Main Body:* The theme of the second section is acknowledging the position of God and humanity in existence, the status of the Day of ʿArafa, the Prophet's role in obtaining divine mercy, and supplication. This section, with approximately 1,600 words, is the most extensive part of the supplication. It begins where Bishr and Bashīr reported that tears flowed from the Imam's eyes, and he raised his hands in supplication. This section contains an introduction and four chapters. The introduction to this section can be considered among the *jawāmiʿ al-duʿāʾ* (comprehensive supplications),

which are brief prayers with comprehensive and all-encompassing requests. The first chapter's subject is acknowledging God's position in existence, whilst the second chapter's subject is acknowledging humanity's position in existence. The third chapter draws attention to the status and value of the Day of 'Arafa before God. The fourth chapter presents general requests to God and is, in effect, the conclusion of the entire second section.

3. *The Appendix:* The appendix is a completely independent intimate discourse that cannot be firmly connected to the previous section. In previous sections of the supplication, following extensive groundwork (divine praise, divine glorification, and confession), requests were made, reaching their peak with the request for the most fundamental need—salvation from hellfire—and then concluding with blessings upon the Prophet. Now it appears that an entirely new discussion begins: asking God for epistemological guidance. The theme of this supplication is acknowledging humanity's complete poverty (*faqr*), a poverty that accompanies humans not only in practical spheres but also in the realm of acquiring knowledge.

3.3 Structural Analysis

Now we can analyse the text's coherence by examining its macro-structure. As observed, the arrangement of the three sections follows a logical sequence, free from semantic leaps and discontinuities.⁵¹ When reading these three sections consecutively, one never gets the impression they are three unrelated texts. This indicates that the work was composed with a coherent mindset. In other words, factors such as scribal errors and inaccuracies have not resulted in several unrelated text fragments being viewed as a single work.

⁵¹ For further explanation of this point, see Mihrwash, "Huwiyyat wa Intisāb-i Şahīfa-yi Sajjādiyya, bā Tikya bar Shākhişaha-yi Matn," (Masters diss., Dānishgāh-i Imām-i Şādiq: 1382 Sh./2003), 98 ff.

Nevertheless, each of these three sections has such a coherent internal structure that they could be each recited as an independent *du'ā'*. For example, if only the first section was given to an uninformed person, as a supplication, they would not assume that the text was incomplete or in need of further explanation or continuation. The other sections appear similarly self-contained. Therefore, the possibility cannot be completely ruled out that separate supplications were first created and then a coherent mindset arranged them together. For this very reason, it seems that numerous passages from each section can also be used as independent supplications. Any further precise commentary about the text's unity requires careful examination of the above possibilities, considering both internal and external textual evidence.

4. The Narrators of the *Du'ā'*

As previously mentioned, in the few surviving later sources, the two brothers Bishr and Bashīr are identified as the narrators of *Du'ā' Arafa* from Imam al-Ḥusayn. We will now examine historical evidence to gain a better understanding of these two figures, their relationship with the Imam, and the possibility that they recorded the *du'ā'*.

4.1 Bishr and Bashīr

Like all other little-known narrators, the best way to gain a general understanding of these two individuals is to study the surviving narrations from them. At first glance, the few surviving narrations from these two brothers are heavily intermingled. It appears that both Bishr and Bashīr narrated from Imam al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (d. 50/670), Imam al-Ḥusayn, and Imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-'Ābidīn (d. 95/713). The possibility of scribal errors (*taṣḥīf*) between Bishr/Bashīr, as well as between al-Ḥasan/al-Ḥusayn, is so high that one cannot be certain which of the narrations attributed to either narrator or Imam are correct and which are corrupted. Perhaps by carefully examining historical narrations and attempting to deduce the chronological order of events, we can propose a hypothesis to resolve the problem of

scribal corruption and distinguish and reconstruct the biographies of these two narrators.

Given the complete confusion in the surviving reports about these two brothers, the first step is to find key clues that can help distinguish between their narrations and explain their relationship with the *Ahl al-Bayt*; clues where the possibility of fabrication and motivations for distortion are less likely to arise. We can identify two key reports of this kind, which speak of Bishr being unknown to Imam al-Ḥusayn in the last month of his life. If we analyse other surviving evidence based on these two reports, we can largely distinguish between the surviving reports from Bishr and Bashīr. Based on the distinction made between the narrations of these two brothers using the above criterion, we will first present a picture of Bashīr's life and then turn to Bishr.

4.1.1 Bashīr b. Ghālib al-Asadī

Based on all available evidence, we can hypothetically say that Bishr was the younger brother, though with greater social influence. He also transmitted most of the narrations he heard from the *Ahl al-Bayt* to his brother Bashīr. Due to the scarcity of his narrations and later scholars' lack of trust in the transmitters of his works, Bashīr gradually fell into obscurity. Meanwhile, Bishr, in addition to his numerous transmissions from the Imams and prominent figures from among the Companions' descendants, emerged as an influential figure in the political activities of his time. Moreover, with his multiple children and narrators, he had a better chance of preserving his works.

Despite being few in number, Bashīr's narrations fall into several categories. Some of them, based on the above hypothesis, have been attributed to Bashīr due to scribal corruption of Bishr's name, which can be detected by carefully examining all the evidence. Others, besides being considered "weak" according to traditional scholarly criteria and dismissed due to intermediaries accused of fabrication,⁵² do not align with historical evidence and contextual clues extracted

⁵² See "disconnected" in Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* (n.p.: 1398/1978), 2:101.

from other narrations or have been attributed to other individuals as well. Finally, only a small number of these narrations can be considered authentic. Looking at these few narrations, we find Bashīr merely as a transmitter of Bishr's works and a more peripheral figure.⁵³ It is not without reason that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) identifies him only as a transmitter of his brother's works.⁵⁴ We now intend to better understand him by reviewing two reports that appear to be authentic.

The first report is Muḥammad Ibn Ḥibbān's (d. 354/965) statement that Bashīr narrates from Imam 'Alī.⁵⁵ The second report, if it can be considered authentic—despite all the criticisms suggesting it is fabricated and all its textual corruptions⁵⁶—describes the presence of people from Antioch meeting with Imam al-Ḥasan. They discussed their governor with the Imam, and Bashīr reported the account of this meeting. In some narrations, the person being addressed in Bashīr's presence is identified as Imam al-Ḥusayn. However, if this event did take place, it was undoubtedly people from Antioch coming to Imam al-Ḥasan, who was the Caliph at the time, since a discussion with Imam al-Ḥusayn about their city's governor would not make sense.

These are the only two reports that can be considered to contain information about Bashīr's life. If we trust these reports, we must conclude that Bashīr had minimal contact with the caliphate administration during the caliphates of Imam 'Alī and Imam al-Ḥasan in Kūfa, and afterward permanently withdrew from Kūfa's political sphere. After that, he can only be recognised as a reporter of his brother's statements. His social position in Kūfa and his family

⁵³ For example, see Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu'mānī, *al-Ghayba*, ed. Fāris Ḥassūn (Anwār al-Hudā: 1422/2001), 240–41.

⁵⁴ al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 2:101. See also 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl* (n.p.: 1371/1952), 2:377.

⁵⁵ Muḥammad Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt* (n.p., 1393/1973), 4:72.

⁵⁶ 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍū'āt*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān (n.p.: 1386/1966), 2:90–1; also, Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān* (A'lami: 1390/1971), 2:29.

connection with the *Ahl al-Bayt* were not so significant that years later, when Imam al-Ḥusayn first met his brother, Bishr, Imām al-Ḥusayn would recognise his brother as his relative.

4.1.2 Bishr b. Ghālib al-Asadī

Bishr b. Ghālib al-Asadī was among the Shīʿī scholars of Kūfa in the second half of the first/seventh century, whose name appears in reports from the time of Imam al-Ḥusayn, al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafi (d. 67/687), and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714). His complete lineage can be found in Ibn Ḥibbān's work.⁵⁷ Al-Ardabili's mention of his *kunya* (teknonym) as Abū Ṣādiq⁵⁸ stems from a textual corruption or error.⁵⁹

Bishr should be considered among the generation of Successors (*tābiʿūn*). In addition to Bishr's numerous narrations from Imam al-Ḥusayn, it is said that he also transmitted reports from Abū Hurayra,⁶⁰ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya⁶¹ and, in later sources, his narrations from Ibn al-ʿAbbās are also mentioned.⁶² Given his numerous narrations from Imam al-Ḥusayn through direct transmission, it is entirely natural that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) counted him among the Imam's companions.⁶³ He appears to have been recognised as an authoritative Qurʾānic exegete as well, as Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) included one of his opinions in his exegesis.⁶⁴ Even during the brief opportunity he had to meet

⁵⁷ Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 4:69.

⁵⁸ al-Ardabili, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* (Dār al-Aḍwāʾ: 1403/1983), 2:393.

⁵⁹ Muḥammad Taqī al-Shūshtarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* (Jāmiʿat al-Mudarrisīn: 1419/1998), 11:368.

⁶⁰ Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*, 2:363.

⁶¹ Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfi, *Manāqib amīr al-muʾminīn*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Maḥmūdī (Majmaʿ Iḥyāʾ al-Thaqāfa al-Islāmiyya, 1412/1991), 1:195-196.

⁶² Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī* (Dār al-Thaqāfa: 1414/1993), 247-8.

⁶³ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Rijāl*, ed. Jawād Qayyūmī (Jāmiʿat al-Mudarrisīn: 1415/1994), 99.

⁶⁴ Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *al-Tafsīr* (Dār al-Fikr: 1415/1995), 26:159.

with Imam al-Ḥusayn before his martyrdom, he asked exegetical questions,⁶⁵ which further demonstrates his interest in this field of knowledge. Occasionally, indirect debates took place between him and Sa'īd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714),⁶⁶ and Sa'īd's responses to his statements indicate a similarity in their social standing within the same generation of Kūfan scholars. Moreover, Bishr's own independent judgments and opinions, that are reported in various sources,⁶⁷ indicate that he was a noteworthy figure as both a Successor and a scholar. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) found him described as a "learned, virtuous and highly esteemed scholar" in a section of *Rijāl al-Kashshī* that apparently has not reached us.⁶⁸ The name of Bishr b. Ghālib became so renowned and respected in later periods that even forgers would try to use it to make their narrations appear credible.⁶⁹

Bishr was the one who accompanied Imam al-Ḥusayn to a stopping point near Mecca. Apparently, when he had come to Mecca for pilgrimage and the Imam was intending to leave Mecca, he reported to him that "the hearts of the Iraqis are with you, but their swords are with the Umayyads."⁷⁰ In this report, the Imam first inquires about Bishr's name, lineage, and tribe. As reflected in this report, the manner of the Imam's conversation with him indicates that in the last month of the Imam's life, he did not yet know Bishr and encountered him as a stranger. In addition, according to some other narrations, the Imam addresses him during his questioning as "brother of Banī Asad" (*akhā banī asad*),⁷¹ which again suggests the newness of their acquaintance.

⁶⁵ For these questions, see Aḥmad Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, ed. ʿAlī Shīrī (Dār al-Aḍwā': 1411/1991), 5:70; Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Ghaffārī (Islāmiyya: 1363 Sh./1984), 2:611.

⁶⁶ Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *al-Tafsīr*, 26:159.

⁶⁷ For example, see al-Ṭūsī, *al-Ghayba*, ed. ʿIbād Allāh Tihrānī and ʿAlī Aḥmad Nāṣiḥ (Mu'assasat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya: 1411/1990), 462-3.

⁶⁸ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 2:29.

⁶⁹ ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-rijāl*, ed. Yaḥyā Mukhtār Ghazāwī (Beirut: 1409/1988), 5:130.

⁷⁰ Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, 5:69-70.

⁷¹ al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:611.

When considering all the narrations indicating meetings between the Imam and Bishr, it appears this encounter was their only meeting, and Bishr was present along with ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr’s group.⁷² ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr had himself, like the Imam, refused to pledge allegiance to Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and had earlier fled to Mecca.⁷³ Apparently during this meeting, he had decided to accompany the Imam for a stage of the journey, to bid him farewell. In addition to ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr’s repeated questions to the Imam about various jurisprudential matters, Bishr also posed various questions to the Imam during this meeting, with each answer being narrated separately as an independent tradition—so independently that it is difficult to imagine all these questions were exchanged during a single journey. According to these narrations, despite Bishr’s discouraging reports about the social corruption of Arabs and non-Arabs in Kūfa, the Imam remained optimistic about the future and the support of the Kūfans and their unity under the rule of the *Ahl al-Bayt* during that meeting⁷⁴ and therefore did not take ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr’s concerns seriously, citing instead the letters from the Kūfans.⁷⁵

It must have been during this same meeting that someone reported to the Imam that “some people have wept over Mu‘āwiya’s death,” and

⁷² For ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr’s presence, see: ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn bi-Iṣbahān*, ed. ‘Abdulghafūr Bilūshī (n.p.: 1412/1991), 2:186-7; Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Barī, *al-Jawhara fī nasab al-nabī wa aṣḥābihi al-‘ashara*, ed. Muḥammad Tūnjī (Maktabat Nūrī: 1402/1981), 38-9. For the Imam’s private meeting with ‘Abdullāh and their lengthy conversation, and ‘Abdullāh’s advice to the Imam that “be like one of the doves of the sanctuary” (*kun ḥamāman min ḥimām al-ḥaram*), see Ja‘far b. Muḥammad Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, ed. Jawād Qayyūmī (Nashr al-Faqāha: 1417/1996), 150-1.

⁷³ Regarding him, see H.A.R. Gibb, “Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition (Brill: 1965-1995), I:54.

⁷⁴ al-Nu‘mān al-Maghribī, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Jalālī (Jāmi‘at al-Mudarrisīn: n.d.), 3:488-9.

⁷⁵ Ismā‘il Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ed. ‘Alī Shīrī (Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī: 1408/1988), 8:174; cf. al-Kūfī, *Manāqib*, 2:262.

Bishr heard the Imam's curse and response to them.⁷⁶ The narrations transmitted from the Imam, through Bishr, regarding the rewards for the supporters of the *Ahl al-Bayt* should also be considered as belonging to this same gathering; narrations that entirely reflect the passion and sentiment of a prominent political leader calling for public cooperation.⁷⁷ It is reported that during the journey Bishr asked the Imam about drinking while standing and received the answer when the caravan stopped.⁷⁸ Imam Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir (d. 114/733), who was also in that caravan, later referred to his grandfather's answer to this question.⁷⁹ This report supports the previous assumption that Bishr and 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr travelled part of the way with the Imam.

Bishr's numerous reports of his encounter with the Imam primarily indicate his fascination with the Imam's personality during this brief period, a fascination that began late and ended early. Perhaps it was due to this belated recognition of the Imam's personality that it is said Bishr would later, after the tragedy of Karbala, embrace the Imam's burial soil while lamenting⁸⁰ —regretting that he had lost the opportunity to help. Perhaps he could not predict the Imam's early martyrdom and the complexity of the situation in Kūfa in such a short time, otherwise he might have joined the Imam's caravan.

In the aftermath of 'Āshūrā', there are various reports about Bishr's presence. It is said that Bishr met with Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn in Medina shortly before the arrest of Ḥarmala and other killers of Imam

⁷⁶ al-Nu'mān al-Maghribī, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 3:103.

⁷⁷ For example, see Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsīn*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith, (Islāmiyya: 1370/1951), 1:61; al-Nu'mān al-Maghribī, *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 3:447.

⁷⁸ al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsīn*, 2:580. For another version of the incident, see Muḥammad b. Khalaf Wakī' al-Qāḍī, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* ('Ālam al-Kutub: n.d.), 3:16.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd, "*Tarjamat al-Imām al-Ḥusayn wa Maqataluhū*," in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'ī (Āl al-Bayt: 1415/1994), 8:88.

al-Ḥusayn, and heard the Imam's curse upon Ḥarmala, which was later fulfilled by Mukhtār.⁸¹ Multiple reports reflect the cooperation of his students—such as ‘Abdullāh b. Sharīk al-‘Āmirī⁸²—and his associates—like his servant Abū ‘Umar Dīnār, known as Ṣāhib Ḥanafīyya⁸³—with Mukhtār's uprising. However, it appears that during Mukhtār's rule, he was imprisoned and tried to conceal his identity—“he was a man in disguise” (*kāna rajulan mutanakkiran*)—and was freed after Mukhtār's defeat.⁸⁴ If he was among the few Shī‘ī followers who remained loyal to Imam Zayn al-‘Ābidīn and did not become Kaysānī or support Mukhtār, one would expect him to have transmitted more narrations from the Imam. Yet, his narrations from the Imam are few.

Reports of his cooperation with Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, or the high status he held with Ḥajjāj, seem somewhat strange given his background. Perhaps his position, as one of the nobles of the Banī Asad of Kūfa, necessitated such connections. In any case, debates between him, as one of the nobles of Banī Asad, and the leaders of other tribes in Ḥajjāj's presence have been recorded.⁸⁵ His cooperation with Ḥajjāj apparently continued until the final days of his life, which al-Ṭabarī reports among the political events of 76/695. During this time, in the war against Shabīb b. Yazīd, the leader of the Ṣufrī Kharijites, he was one of Ḥajjāj's army commanders and was in charge of the left wing of the army.⁸⁶ Despite strong resistance, his army was defeated and he

⁸¹ Muḥammad b. Ja‘far Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī, *Muthīr al-aḥzān* (Maṭba‘at al-Ḥaydariyya: 1369/1950), 121.

⁸² For his biography, see Mihrwash, “Mashīkha-yi Abān b. Taghlib dar Ṭabaqa-yi Ṣaḥāba wa Ṭābi‘īn,” *Ḥadīth Paḥūhī* 3/5 (1390 Sh./2011), 210-3.

⁸³ For his biography, see ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf Ḥūt (Maktabat al-Rushd: 1409/1988), 8:59; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 3:246.

⁸⁴ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā‘ir al-darajāt* (A‘lamī: 1404/1984), 268-9.

⁸⁵ Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *al-Taḥfīr*, 26:159.

⁸⁶ Idem., *Tārīkh al-umam wa-l-mulūk* (A‘lamī: 1403/1983), 5:72, 74.

and his companions were killed to the last man.⁸⁷

The branches and details of reports concerning the relationship between Imam al-Ḥusayn and Bishr b. Ghālib have increased over time. Sometimes in newer versions, stories appear that had no precedent before. One example of this is the story of the Imam's predictions about the future of his uprising during 'Abdullāh b. Zubayr's meeting with Imam al-Ḥusayn in the presence of Bishr.⁸⁸ Similarly, reports indicating conversations between the Imam and Bishr about the events of the end of times should be considered of the same category. It appears that 'Abdullāh b. Sharīk al-ʿĀmirī, as one of Bishr's most important narrators, played a significant role in adding certain concepts to his reports. Being himself one of the companions of Mukhtār and a Kaysānī,⁸⁹ he relates numerous concepts and teachings from Bishr, narrating from Imam al-Ḥusayn regarding opposition to the Umayyads and encouragement to support the *Ahl al-Bayt*.⁹⁰

4.2 The Possibility of Name Corruption Among the Narrators of *Duʿāʾ ʿArafa*

With these premises in mind, we can better examine the position of Bishr and Bashīr in narrating a *duʿāʾ* from Imam al-Ḥusayn during the days of *hajj*. Bashīr is an unknown Kūfan figure with limited connection to the family of the Prophet's household, and only during their residence in Kūfa. Bishr also only met with the Imam in the final year of his life, at the beginning of his departure from the sanctuary. Thus, the possibility of him narrating the Imam's *duʿāʾ* is also ruled out. He could not have reported the *duʿāʾ*—during the *hajj* days—before becoming acquainted with the Imam in the last month of his life,

⁸⁷ Ibid., 5:75.

⁸⁸ For two different versions, see al-Kūfī, *Manāqib*, 2:262 and Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakḥā'ir al-ʿuqbā* (Maktabat al-Qudsī: 1356/1937), 151.

⁸⁹ See Mihrwash, "Mashikha-yi Abān," 212.

⁹⁰ For examples of such reports, see al-Nu'mānī, *al-Ghayba*, 240-1.

whereas the *hajj* certainly did not take place that year, as Imam al-Ḥusayn departed from Mecca towards Kūfa on the eighth of Dhū l-Ḥijja—one day before the Day of ‘Arafa in the year 60/680.⁹¹

Now the question arises: if neither Bishr nor Bashīr narrated this *du‘ā’* from Imam al-Ḥusayn, is the *du‘ā’* itself fabricated and the words of a non-infallible wrongly or deliberately attributed to Imam al-Ḥusayn? In reality, such a hypothesis is invalid. As we shall see, it appears this problem arose due to name corruption.

The family of Ibn Ghālib al-Asadī was a prominent family in Kūfa with distinguished figures across several generations. It seems that name corruption between different members of this family has caused narrators to be confused with other ancestors. Based on this hypothesis, *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* is indeed a transmitted text, though belonging to another Imam. The distinguished literary author of the *du‘ā’* is a prominent and widely recognised figure in the Islamic world: Imam al-Ṣādiq. Apparently, the sharing of the narrator’s name with his grandfather’s name, and the shared *kunya* between Imam al-Ṣādiq and Imam al-Ḥusayn, has led to such confusion over time.

It appears that Bishr b. Ghālib also had a son called Ghālib, named after his own father. Ghālib b. Bishr, like his father and children, was among the narrators of *ḥadīth*, and his name appears in some narrations as a student of Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib.⁹² We can say with relative certainty that the narrations attributed to Imam al-Bāqir,⁹³ that were transmitted by ‘Abdullāh and Ishāq b. Ghālib from their father, are narrations that this same Ghālib b. Bishr heard from Imam al-Bāqir. These ‘Abdullāh and Ishāq b. Ghālib were themselves among the prominent companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq, and both were literary figures, poets, jurists, and narrators of numerous works from him.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 4:286; See “... one day before *al-Tarwīya*” in Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-zīyārāt*, 152.

⁹² See for example al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 2:265; 7:347; 8:244.

⁹³ See for example: al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd al-Ahwāzī, *al-Zuhd*, ed. Ghulām Riḍā ‘Irfāniyān (al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Ilmiyya: 1399/1979), 33.

⁹⁴ For these two, see Hossein Modarressi *Tabataba‘i, Tradition and Survival*:

Finally, Bishr b. Ghālib b. Bishr b. Ghālib, who narrates from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri⁹⁵ and whom most *ḥadīth* scholars consider unknown (*majhūl*),⁹⁶ must be the son of this same Ghālib b. Bishr. Given his narration from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri and considering that his grandfather Bishr was killed in 76/695, we can determine that he was of the same generation as Imam al-Ṣādiq.

It appears that a mistake has occurred, with confusion between multiple narrators from one family and between two Imams from the *Ahl al-Bayt*. More precisely, there seems to be confusion between Bishr and Bashīr, the sons of Ghālib al-Asadī, and ‘Abdullāh and Ishāq, the sons of another Ghālib al-Asadī—who was the son of Bishr the Successor (*tābi‘ī*). These ‘Abdullāh and Ishāq were both prominent narrators and students of Imam al-Ṣādiq, and they particularly strove to record and transmit his lengthy sermons and wise sayings. Indeed, one can find several sermons of the Imam that these two recorded and narrated.⁹⁷

On the other hand, Imam al-Ṣādiq also shared a similar *kunya* with Imam al-Ḥusayn: Abū ‘Abdullāh. It is possible that this similarity in the *kunyas* of the two Imams, along with the similarity in the names of the narrators’ fathers and the resulting confusion, led firstly to the *du‘ā* narrated by ‘Abd al-Malik and Ishāq b. Ghālib being mistakenly attributed to their grandfather Bishr and his brother Bashīr; and secondly, to the main *du‘ā*, which was from the sayings of Imam al-Ṣādiq, being incorrectly attributed to Imam al-Ḥusayn. For such a

A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shiite Literature (Oneworld: 2003), 141-2

⁹⁵ ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, ed. Majdī Sayyid Ibrāhīm (Maktabat al-Qur’ān, 1411/1990), 44.

⁹⁶ For example, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Dār al-Fikr: 1404/1984), 2:28-9.

⁹⁷ See for example al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā‘ir*, 432-3; al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 444-5; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Hāshim Ḥusaynī Tihirānī (Ṣadūq: 1387/1967), 44-5; idem., *Ilal al-sharā‘i‘* (al-Maktabat al-Ḥaydariyya: 1385/1966), 1:119-20. For an example of the sermons of the *Ahl al-Bayt* that his father reported, see Ibid., 8:72 ff.

mistake to occur, it would have been sufficient for just one of the copyists, over the many centuries of the *du‘ā*’s transmission, to have relied on the fame of the narrators and the *du‘ā*’s author, and recorded it as something like: “... from the two sons of Ghālib, from Abū ‘Abdullāh.” This narrator’s intention in referring to the two sons of Ghālib was to refer to those two famous Shī‘ī narrators from among the companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq—narrators so well-known at the time of the work’s composition that the author never imagined anyone would have difficulty identifying them. Similarly, his intention in referring to Abū ‘Abdullāh was the famous Imam from whom most Shī‘ī narrations are transmitted: al-Ṣādiq. However, the passage of time and the loss of contextual clues led to a misunderstanding of this author’s statement and a corruption of the name of the *du‘ā*’s author.

5. Evidence Supporting the Attribution of *Du‘ā* ‘*Arafa* to Imam al-Ṣādiq

We now intend to strengthen the above hypothesis by presenting evidence demonstrating that *Du‘ā* ‘*Arafa* is a text belonging to the second/eighth century, originating from Imam al-Ṣādiq. This text was only attributed to Imam al-Ḥusayn and other narrators due to a textual corruption, and although its *isnād* is disconnected, we can still present multiple pieces of evidence indicating that it is from the sayings of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and is a transmitted supplication (*ma’t’hūr*).

Our evidence for proving the authenticity of the prayer and its issuance from Imam al-Ṣādiq falls into three categories. First, evidence showing that this *du‘ā*’ could not have been issued earlier than the second/eighth century. Second, evidence indicating that the main *du‘ā*’ could not have been composed later than the second/eighth century either. Finally, evidence demonstrating that the likelihood of the *du‘ā*’s issuance from Imam al-Ṣādiq is greater than from any other scholar of the second/eighth century. We shall now consider each of these categories of evidence in turn.

5.1 *Du'ā* 'Arafa's Dissimilarity to First/Seventh Century Texts

Upon examining the *du'ā*, it becomes apparent that it was issued in a multilingual environment. Within the main text of the *du'ā*, the supplicant mentions that "O God, today, the cries of many people rise to Your threshold in different languages" (*fa-ilyaka 'ajjat al-aṣwāt bi-ṣunūf al-lughāt*). This statement clearly evokes the Day of 'Arafa and the extensive presence of Muslims from various parts of the world. It is implausible that during Imam al-Ḥusayn's era, the plain of 'Arafāt was this populous and multilingual.

The time between Imam al-Ḥusayn's era and the conquests was very brief, and political power was held by the Umayyads. The Umayyads had no interest in promoting Islam, as they wanted to collect poll tax (*jizya*) from non-Arabs. In the first/seventh century, after the conquest of Palestine and the Levant, conversion to Islam was not encouraged;⁹⁸ new Muslims were even still subjected to poll tax, lest anyone choose Islam to escape taxation.⁹⁹ Moreover, as we know, accepting a new religion is very different from political submission to a regime. One cannot expect that within about thirty years of the conquest of Iran and Rome, such a large population from the conquered territories would have become such devoted Muslims that many of them would travel to *ḥajj*. It was not until the second/eighth century, during Imam al-Ṣādiq's lifetime, that the crowding at 'Arafāt and Mash'ar necessitated juridical discussion about the permissibility of passing through surrounding hills and mountains, rather than through them directly.¹⁰⁰ The questions posed to Imam al-Ṣādiq on this matter had not been asked of previous Imams, indicating these were emerging issues during Imam al-Ṣādiq's time.

Apart from this, at least at first glance, there is evidence suggesting

⁹⁸ W.L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Westview Press: 1999), 15.

⁹⁹ Ahmad Pakatchi, "Jizya," in *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī*, vol. 18, ed. Kāzīm Mūsawī Bujnūrdī et al. (Markaz-i Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī: 1389 Sh./2010), 104.

¹⁰⁰ See *ḥadīth* No.7 in al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:471.

Du'ā' 'Arafa' content and form are incompatible with first/seventh century texts. The text of the *du'ā'* is extensive, containing many requests to God. There are narrations indicating that some Companions were surprised upon hearing lengthy supplications containing multiple requests.¹⁰¹ They recalled that such practices were never common during the Prophet's time. Even if these narrations are fabricated, they could indicate that in the first/ seventh century, and even later than the Companions' era, there was still opposition to the intellectual movement promoting long supplications. Although this alone cannot prove that the Day of 'Arafa *du'ā'* is a text from later than the first/seventh century, it can be considered as evidence alongside other indicators.

Finally, for *Du'ā' 'Arafa'* to belong to the first/seventh century would require its similarity to *ḥadīth* literature (*adabiyyāt-i riwāyī*);¹⁰² yet such similarity does not exist. If we consider the surviving *ad'īya* from the Noble Prophet as representative of first/seventh century *ad'īya*, we see that firstly, these *ad'īya* are very brief, and never exceeding 200 words; secondly, they lack rhythm and rhyme (*saḡ'*); thirdly, the requests are expressed in a very simple, basic, and pragmatic manner; and fourthly, the *ad'īya* do not present numerous and multiple requests but mainly focus on a specific desire.¹⁰³

5.2 Evidence Indicating the Text Belongs to the Second/Eighth Century

Words in any language are either born or borrowed from another culture; they undergo multiple changes in meaning and may then fall into disuse. Obsolete words are not used in later writings, and their usage in ancient texts is subject to misunderstanding because their

¹⁰¹ Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Du'ā'*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya: 1413/1993), 37-8.

¹⁰² For this term, see Mihrwash, "Gūna Shināsī-yi Ta'līfāt-i Du'ā'ī-yi 'Ālimān-i Musalmān Tā Zamān-i Ibn Ṭāwūs," wa Siyri Taḥawwul-i ān, *Pajūhish-i Qur'ān wa Ḥadīth* 2 (1386 Sh./2008), 57.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 58-9.

precise meanings are not known, so they are interpreted based on context. It appears that *Du'ā' Arafa* also contains some ancient words that were difficult for later generations to understand. Among these is the word *tāmūr* in the phrase "and what is contained within the *tāmūr* of my chest" (*wa mā ishtamala 'alayhi tāmūru ṣadri*) from the *du'ā'*.

Tāmūr appears to be a Syriac word meaning "hermitage,"¹⁰⁴ which through semantic expansion came to be used in Arabic to mean house, place, or container of anything. This word, with this meaning, can also be found in pre-Islamic poetry close to the early Islamic period,¹⁰⁵ which indicates its usage in Arabic culture near the time of early Islam. In *Du'ā' Arafa*, the word is used with this same meaning. However, it seems that from around the third/ninth century onward, many different opinions emerged about its meaning. The various meanings attributed to it in this later period are: notebook, blood, ribcage, and lion's den.¹⁰⁶ Most of these interpretations are uninformed guesses about the original meaning of the word and attempts to discover its meaning based on sentence context. This itself indicates that from around the third/ninth century onward, the precise meaning of the word was not known and had fallen into disuse. Its rare later uses are formulaic expressions surviving from earlier periods.¹⁰⁷ In fact, later users did not actively employ this word. Rather, they used ancient phrases that contained it, where the whole expression carried a specific meaning.

On the other hand, the general atmosphere of *Du'ā' Arafa*

¹⁰⁴ See 'Abdullāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. 'Abdullāh al-Jabūrī (Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya: 1408/1988), 1:389.

¹⁰⁵ See Aws b. Ḥajar, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Najam (Dār Beirut: 1400/1980), 47.

¹⁰⁶ See respectively Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 10:331 quoting from Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī (d. 282/895); Ibn Qutayba, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 1:389; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, Aḥmad b. Qāsim, *Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-a'ṭibbā'*, ed. Nizār Riḍā (Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt: n.d.), 52; Ibn al-Athīr, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, *Asad al-ghāba* (Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī: n.d.), 2:292.

¹⁰⁷ For example, see 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. 'Alī Shīrī (Dār al-Fikr: 1415/1995), 35:395.

necessitates expressing meanings in simple language, free from literary affectations. The use of the word *tāmūr* in the *du‘ā* occurs completely naturally within a meaningful context that is free from affectation and verbal embellishment. We can confidently accept that this word was incorporated into this context when it was still in common use. Therefore, the text containing this phrase must belong to a period when this ancient word had not yet fallen into disuse, that is, before the third/ninth century.

Additionally, the *du‘ā* contains certain concepts expressed in their primitive and simple terminology, which could indicate the *du‘ā*’s antiquity. To explain: concepts and meanings themselves have their own history. They are born through social movements, under the influence of great thinkers, and similar factors. Initially, the terms referring to them take crude and primitive forms, and gradually become refined.

One example of these concepts in Shī‘ī culture is the concept of *tawassul* (seeking intercession) through the *Ahl al-Bayt*. While the essence of this concept certainly has an authentic and ancient position in Shī‘ī thought, the common terms used to refer to it have evolved over time. The widespread discussion among non-Shī‘īs about the possibility of the Prophet’s intercession (*shafā‘a*), and the possibility of *tawassul* to obtain *shafā‘a*, dates back to the time of Imam al-Bāqir, when he was asked “is what the people of Kūfa narrate from you regarding the Prophet’s intercession correct or not?”¹⁰⁸ In the first/seventh century and for long after, the concept of intercession was not yet common among non-Shī‘ī circles. Thus, there were not yet multiple terms with specific technical meanings to refer to this concept. During these periods, the Shī‘īs used different expressions, such as “turning to the Prophet,” “asking God through his mediation,” and so on. Gradually, as the culture of intercession became more widespread, the use of other terms also became common in Islamic

¹⁰⁸ Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muḥjam al-awsaṭ*, ed. Ṭāriq b. ‘Awaḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad and ‘Abd al-Muḥsin b. Ibrāhīm Ḥusaynī (Dār al-Ḥaramayn: 1415/1994), 2:307.

culture. For this reason, in *al-Kāfī* by Kulaynī (d. 329/941), the actual word *tawassul* itself is never used despite its numerous references to the culture of intercession.¹⁰⁹ It seems unlikely that this term, which refers to one of the fundamental and authentic concepts of Shī'ism, was common yet al-Kulaynī did not use it.¹¹⁰

In *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, for seeking intercession through the Prophet, the simple expression "we turn to You... through Muḥammad" (*natawajjahu ilayk ... bi-Muḥammadin*) is used; a completely basic expression that indicates an ancient period. This manner of expression can serve as evidence for attributing the text to a period before the fourth/tenth century, and to an era predating the composition of al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*. If *Du'ā' 'Arafa* was a text from later than the first half of the second/eighth century, one would expect to find multiple instances of the term *tawassul* used in various contexts. The presence of such basic expressions further confirms the text's attribution to the era of the early Imams and its authenticity.

Finally, *Du'ā' 'Arafa* uses the word *raḥmān* as a description for God, not as His name: a feature more consistent with the text being from after the first/seventh century. Apparently, in early Islamic culture, the word *raḥmān* was initially the name for the one God in southern and central Arabia.¹¹¹ Even some claimants to prophethood in early Islam who arose from Yamāma and Yemen presented themselves as recipients of revelation from Raḥmān.¹¹² This name was so prevalent in early Islam that people would ask the Prophet about mentioning God by this name. By divine command, people were given the choice to call upon God as either Allāh or Raḥmān, since He has many beautiful

¹⁰⁹ Except for one instance, which is due to manuscript variations; see al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:74.

¹¹⁰ See Mihrwash, "Jāyigāh-i Tawassul dar Farhang-i Islāmī" (Baṣīrat: 1389 Sh./2011), 170-2.

¹¹¹ Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran* (Gorgias Press: 2009), the entry on Raḥmān.

¹¹² For example, see Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 6:375.

names.¹¹³ On the other hand, the Meccans, who knew their god by the name of Allāh and sought intercession from idols to draw closer to Him, apparently expressed their aversion, and objection to, identifying God by the name Raḥmān.¹¹⁴ Thus in early Islamic culture, Raḥmān emerged as an important divine name alongside Allāh, most prominently displayed in the *basmala*: “In the name of God—the Raḥmān—who is also merciful.” Various companions of the Prophet and first-generation successors emphasised this understanding that Raḥmān is one of the divine names.¹¹⁵ The Qur’ānic uses of the word *raḥmān* also present it as a name of God, not as a description of Him.¹¹⁶

However, over time with the widespread acceptance of Islam among Arabs and their recognition of the unity of Allāh and Raḥmān, the prevalence of the name Allāh reduced the usage of the name Raḥmān. Thus, Raḥmān came to be commonly understood merely as one of God’s attributes. Under these circumstances, Muslim exegetes in the later generations of the successors introduced Raḥmān, alongside Raḥīm, as an attribute of God. It was around the early decades of the second/eighth century that Raḥmān was interpreted as an attribute in contrast to Raḥīm. Exegetes in this intellectual climate explained that the attribute Raḥmān refers to God’s universal mercy, while Raḥīm refers to His specific mercy. Among the earliest theorists of this thinking, one can point to al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim al-Hilālī (d. 105/724), the famous exegete from the generation of successors.¹¹⁷

Turning to *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa*, we see this divine name—the Raḥmān—used as an attribute and in contrast with the attribute Raḥīm. In a passage near the end of the main supplication, God is referred to as “the Raḥmān of this world and the hereafter, and the Raḥīm of both”

¹¹³ Q 17:110.

¹¹⁴ Q 13:30; Q 25:60.

¹¹⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *al-Taḥfīr*, 1:89; Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Rāzī, *al-Taḥfīr*, ed. As‘ad Muḥammad Ṭayyib (al-Maktabat al-‘Aṣriyya: n.d.), 1:26.

¹¹⁶ Gardet, L., “Basmala,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition (Brill: 1965-1995), 1:1084.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Abi Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa al-ta’dil*, 1:28, 8:2683.

(*yā Raḥmān al-dunyā wa-l-ākhirā wa Raḥīmahumā*). This phrase undoubtedly uses the word *Raḥmān* as an attribute for God, not as a name. The use of such an attribute for God cannot date back to before the early decades of the second/eighth century. This usage undoubtedly occurred at a time when, following the theorising of figures like al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim and the general spread of these views, *Raḥmān* was considered an attribute of God, not His name.

Now is the time to piece together the evidence above to form a more precise picture of the period when *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* took shape. First, the supplication emerged in a multilingual environment that appears to date back at least to the late first/seventh century. Second, the use of *Raḥmān* as an attribute of God must also be connected to a time after the early decades of the second/eighth century. Third, the supplication contains ancient words and primitive terms that cannot be later than the second/eighth century. As observed, this evidence indicates that *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* emerged in the second/eighth century—neither earlier nor later.

6. Evidence Indicating the Main Supplication’s Issuance from Imam al-Ṣādiq

Regarding evidence that the main supplication of *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* can be attributed to Imam al-Ṣādiq, we should first note that there are narrations indicating discussions about the legitimacy of gathering for supplication on the Day of ‘Arafa in the middle of the second/eighth century. Questions were posed about this to both Imam al-Ṣādiq and some other followers of the successors. Some, like Imam al-Ṣādiq, saw no issue with it,¹¹⁸ while others, such as Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) or slightly later, Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. 215/820), explicitly called these gatherings an innovation (*bid‘a*).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:487.

¹¹⁹ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl Abū Shama al-Maqdisī, *al-Bā‘ith ‘alā inkār al-bida‘ wa-l-ḥawādith*, ed. Uthmān Aḥmad ‘Anbar (Dār al-Hudā: 1398/1978), 9:263.

From studying these reports, it becomes clear that the position of figures, like Mālik b. Anas, regarding Muslims gathering for supplication on the Day of ‘Arafa was a response to Imam al-Ṣādiq’s position. Although he does not explicitly name the Imam, by labelling such gatherings as an innovation (*bid‘a*), he seeks to critique a perspective that Imam al-Ṣādiq was the main proponent of. On the other hand, it can naturally be accepted that Imam al-Ṣādiq, who himself promoted such gatherings, would also prepare programs for them, including teaching a supplication to be recited during them.

On this basis, the recording of the supplication by two literary companions of the Imam, namely ‘Abd al-Malik and Ishāq b. Ghālib al-Asadī, was not coincidental. Just as they were responsible for recording other sermons of the Imam, they were present in the desert at Imam al-Ṣādiq’s command with prior preparation and recorded the supplication. The complete similarity in writing style between this supplication and other sermons these two narrators transmitted from Imam al-Ṣādiq supports this hypothesis—a matter whose details must be sought in another independent study. In other words, contrary to the assumption that the *du‘ā*’ was transmitted purely orally as a lengthy report, it must be acknowledged that the writers of the supplication were the same people to whom Imam al-Ṣādiq entrusted the writing and recording of his other sermons, and from the very beginning, the supplication was transmitted in written form.

7. Dating the Appendix of *Du‘ā* ‘Arafa

Although, as previously mentioned, the content of the appendix can be considered a continuation of the content of the main supplication, the appendix must nevertheless be considered independent from the main supplication in several aspects.

7.1 Key Phrases for Dating the Appendix

Firstly, the sons of Ghālib al-Asadī themselves narrate that when the Imam finished the first section, he concluded by repeatedly saying “O Lord, O Lord” (*yā rabbi yā rabbi*) Then, at sunset, he returned from

‘Arafāt with his companions and proceeded to Mash‘ar.¹²⁰ This report itself indicates that the Imam’s discourse concluded with the end of the main supplication. Secondly, Sufi expressions such as poverty (*iftiqār*), others (*aghyār*), and similar terms appear in the appendix with their technical meanings as used by the Sufis.¹²¹ These expressions are more consistent with later Sufi thought, than with the literature of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in the first two centuries of Islam. As evidence, the numerous traditions of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in Kulaynī’s *al-Kāfi* are devoid of these terms, indicating that such terminology has no precedent in the language and literature of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, even among the later Imams. This is the same point that, as mentioned earlier, had caught the attention of al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī. Thirdly, the term *tawassul* is used in the appendix, where one makes their *faqr* (poverty) a means of approaching God. As we mentioned, *tawassul* is also an expression whose use in Islamic literature should be associated with the period after the fourth/tenth century. Based on all these pieces of evidence, we must confirm the aforementioned judgment of Turābī and Karbaschi regarding the rejection of attributing this portion of the supplication to the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

7.2 Comparative Stylistics of the Main Text and Appendix

Several other pieces of evidence and indicators can be shown that demonstrate the stylistic differences between the author of the main text and the appendix. Firstly, in the main text, the breaks (*fawāṣil*)—in the technical sense used in Qur’anic sciences—change less frequently than in the appendix. In other words, the number of

¹²⁰ al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 95:213, citing manuscripts of *al-Balad al-amīn* by al-Ka‘fāmī.

¹²¹ For some of the earliest technical uses of these two terms among Sufis, see respectively: Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Sulamī, *al-Taḥṣīn*, ed. Sayyid ‘Imrān (Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya: 1421/2001), 2:103; Qushayrī, *al-Risāla*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd b. Sharīf (Dār al-Sha‘b: 1409/1989), 146. Also, for some other examples, see Turābī, “Pazhūhishī Darbāra-yi Dhayl-i Du‘ā-yi ‘Arafa,” 54.

rhyming sentences in the main text is much greater. This means that if we consider each rhyming section as a paragraph—or in Qur'ānic sciences terminology, a section (*rukū'*)—the number of sentences in each section of the main text is much higher than the number of sentences in each section of the appendix. Put differently, key themes in the main text are supported by a greater number of sentences (usually 7-8 sentences), whereas in the appendix, topics change frequently—usually after just two or three supporting sentences. The main text reflects the spirit of a calm and confident individual, while the appendix shows an agitation and excitement that manifests itself through frequent topic changes. Thirdly, the main text and appendix differ in terms of the author's focus on literary techniques. In the main text, the greatest emphasis for creating an artistic text is placed on the device of associated meanings (*murā'āt nazīr*);¹²² whereas the creator of the appendix pursues this goal by presenting paradoxical images.¹²³ Thirdly, the nature of the presence of the human self (*nafs*) also differs in the main text and appendix. The supplicant's chief emphasis in the main text is on expressing God's blessings and favours. His own presence in the main text is very secondary and subtle. Conversely, in the appendix, self-talk (*ḥadīth nafs*) is much more common. In other words, in the appendix of *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, the supplicant's main focus is on expressing his or her own spiritual states, whereas in the main supplication, the supplicant's emphasis is on expressing his or her devotion to God.

In addition, the text of the appendix contains many allusive expressions and indirect, veiled requests, whereas the main text lacks such expressions and contains direct requests. Finally, the majority of the appendix is devoted to expressing the supplicant's personal religious experiences, while in the main supplication there is much less focus on expressing this. Based on all this evidence, one cannot accept that the main text and the appendix form a unified text.

¹²² For a study of a short section as an example, see Mihrwash, "Huwiyyat," 27-9.

¹²³ See throughout the appendix of *Du'ā' 'Arafa*.

7.3 Dating the Appendix

Based on the above evidence, we can now date the appendix. It appears that the appendix was composed in the period after al-Kulaynī, that is, after the first decades of the fourth/tenth century, when the term *tawassul* became commonly used in its conventional religious meaning. However, a more precise dating requires an independent study.

The conclusion of the discussion about dating *Du'ā' 'Arafa* is that the main text most likely belongs to the second/eighth century and was issued by Imam al-Ṣādiq. The appendix must have been composed at least about two centuries after the main text, that is, after the fourth/tenth century.

Conclusion

We have seen that through a linguistic and historical study of the text of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* one can largely compensate for the deficiencies of traditional methods of *ḥadīth* science and find a way to ensure the authenticity of the *du'ā'*'s issuance from an Infallible. As we have seen, based on the mentioned evidence, one can date the formation of this *du'ā'* to some time in the second/eighth century, which is consistent with its issuance from Imam al-Ṣādiq, not from Imam al-Ḥusayn. Secondly, Imam al-Ḥusayn's connection with Bishr and Bashīr during the *ḥajj* season and the Day of 'Arafa seems impossible, whereas it is very natural to imagine Imam al-Ṣādiq and his family and close students, such as the sons of Ghālib b. Bishr b. Ghālib al-Asadī, performing this ritual together during the *ḥajj* season and on the Day of 'Arafa. Thirdly, in addition to transmitting *Du'ā' 'Arafa*, 'Abdullāh and Ishāq b. Ghālib al-Asadī showed great attention to recording other lengthy sermons of Imam al-Ṣādiq, which could also indicate their interest in recording such a *du'ā'*. Fourth, 'Abdullāh and Ishāq b. Ghālib al-Asadī were both poets and men of letters, and one would expect them more than anyone else to appreciate the artistic value of *Du'ā' 'Arafa* and strive to preserve it. Fifth, one can accept that Imam al-Ṣādiq—who, unlike his contemporaries such as Mālik b. Anas and

some others, was among the promoters of congregation and group supplication at ‘Arafāt—would himself plan to participate in such ceremonies and, similar to other instances of planned preservation and recording of his sermons by the Ibn Ghālib family, would entrust the recording of this supplication to them as well.

Finally, one can hypothesise that in one of the *ḥadīth* books *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* might have been narrated with an *isnād* like: “... from the two sons of Ghālib al-Asadī, from Abū ‘Abdullāh...” Later traditionists and copyists might then have made mistakes in identifying the two sons of Ghālib al-Asadī and the person with the *kunya* of Abū ‘Abdullāh. On the one hand, they might have confused the two sons of Ghālib al-Asadī, who were among the companions of the earlier Imams, with their grandsons who were companions of Imam al-Ṣādiq. On the other hand, they might have confused Imam al-Ḥusayn with Imam al-Ṣādiq, both of whom shared the *kunya* of Abū ‘Abdullāh.

As emphasised earlier, the nature of this study is based on cumulative hypotheses, and therefore complementary studies are necessary to discover new evidence and analyses, that either supports or refutes the aforementioned hypothesis. Among these studies could be a comparative stylistic analysis of the text of *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* with other sermons and statements that ‘Abdullāh and Ishāq b. Ghālib al-Asadī have narrated from Imam al-Ṣādiq. Additionally, efforts to date a larger number of words and expressions from *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa* would be very beneficial.

In any case, whatever the outcome of future studies, we can now confidently say that *Du‘ā’ ‘Arafa*, attributed to Imam al-Ḥusayn, has its roots in the teachings of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and is a transmitted (*ma’tḥūr*) *du‘ā’*. Although the passage of time has caused a minor textual corruption in recording the name of the *du‘ā’*’s composer and its two main narrators, various pieces of evidence indicate its belonging to the era of the *Ahl al-Bayt*’s presence. Furthermore, we have learnt that, contrary to what is frequently assumed, the transmission of lengthy narrations, such as the supplications of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, was not originally oral in nature but was often the result of careful advance planning to ensure the accuracy of written recording, and possibly

reviewed by the infallible Imam himself. On this basis, we can be much more optimistic about many other transmitted texts that are only found in later books and were previously thought to have no reliable narrative foundation, although of course examining the authenticity of each text is the subject of separate studies.

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The Final Passage in *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*: Original or Additional?

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Abstract

Some have claimed that the final curses (*laʿns*) in the well-known *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* were not originally part of this pilgrimage prayer and were later added to *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, authored by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), during or after the Safavid period, thus resulting in the distortion of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*. The main arguments of those making this claim of distortion are two: first, the text of the oldest manuscript of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, known as the al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī manuscript; second, the text of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. In this article, through analysis of various pieces of evidence, we will demonstrate that the very important factor that caused the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (the al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī manuscript) and *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* not to be transmitted according to the well-known version, is that Shīʿī scribes and scholars, especially before the Safavid rule, practiced dissimulation (*taqiyya*) in transmitting those expressions. Further, the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* has been written according to the well-known version in numerous manuscripts including *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ fī ‘amal al-sana* in the handwriting of Ibn Sakūn al-Ḥillī (d. 600/1203) and some other ancient sources.

Keywords: *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*, dissimulation (*taqiyya*), curse (*laʿn*), disassociation (*tabarrī*), scholars’ dissimulation, scribes’ dissimulation, manuscript studies, authenticity of Shīʿī *ḥadīth* heritage.

Introduction

A claim that has been widely circulated in recent decades—especially in recent years—is that the final curses (*la’ns*) in *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* were not originally present, but rather, were added to the manuscripts of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (*Miṣbāḥ kabīr*) and *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ fi ‘amal al-sana* (*Miṣbāḥ ṣaghīr*), both authored by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), from the tenth/sixteenth century (Safavid period) onward, thus resulting in the distortion of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*.¹ While some scholars have sought to refute this claim,² they have not paid sufficient attention to an important factor that has caused these differences in manuscripts: the role of dissimulation (*taqiyya*) in the transmission and writing of the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*. There is substantial evidence to suggest that one of the major reasons for the variation in how this passage was transmitted in different books was the practice of *taqiyya* and secrecy by Shī‘ī scribes and scholars, especially before the Safavid rule.

Many manuscripts of *Miṣbāḥ kabīr* and *Miṣbāḥ ṣaghīr* have been identified that show signs of scribal or owners’ *taqiyya* in various forms, such as indications of erasure of this final passage, as well as erasure of the name Mu‘āwiya in manuscripts, removal of pages containing *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* from manuscripts, and unprecedented inconsistency in transcribing this final passage, which has given rise to ten different variations. The visible signs of *taqiyya* in these manuscripts clearly show that the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* and

¹ Ḥusayn al-Rādī, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ fi-l-mizān* (Dār al-Maḥajjat al-Bayḍa’: 1429/2008), 107 ff.

² For example, see Mirza Jawad al-Tabrizi, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ fawq al-shubuhāt* (Dār al-Ṣiddīqa al-Shahīda: 1432/2010); Ḥubb al-Ḥusayn, *al-Mudākhalāt al-kāmila fi radd mudda’ī al-tazwīr ‘alā Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ al-mutadāwila* (al-Mu’assasat al-Tārikh al-‘Arabī: 1429/2008); Yūsuf al-Sultān al-Aḥsā’ī, *al-Radd al-ṣaghīr ‘alā mudda’ī al-tazwīr* (Markaz al-Zahrā’: 1426/2014); Muslim al-Dāwūrī, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ tuḥfa min al-samā’* (Mu’assasa Sāhib al-Amr: 1431/2010); Muḥammad ‘Andalīb Hamadānī, *Mizān-i tashayyu’* (Masjid-i Muqaddas-i Jamkarān: n.d.).

the name Mu'āwiya were subject to *taqiyya* in previous centuries. This paper critically examines the two main arguments put forwarded by those claiming distortion in *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'*: first, the text found in the earliest known manuscript of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, the “al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī manuscript;” and second, the version preserved in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* authored by Ja'far Ibn Qūlawayh al-Qummī (d. 368/978).

1. The Text of *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, the al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī Manuscript

The first argument presented by those claiming distortion in *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* refers to the oldest manuscript of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*—written in 502/1108, 42 years after the death of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī in 460/1067—which is known as the “al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī manuscript.” This manuscript is preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī library. In this particular manuscript of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, the final passages of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* are written as follows: “O God, curse Abū Sufyān, then prostrate and say: O God, praise be to You...” (*allāhumma il'an Abā Suftiyān, thumma tasjud wa taqūl: allāhumma lak al-ḥamd*). In this text, a large portion of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'*—containing the phrases of cursing and salutation that are repeated one hundred times, as well as the final passage of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'*—is missing. Four other manuscripts of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* have been identified that are written similarly to the al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī manuscript.³ Those claiming distortion consider the *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* in the al-Naqqāsh al-

³ Sayyid Mahdi Mahmoudi, *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā' az Āghāz tā Imrūz* (Kitābshenāsi-yi Shī'i Shināsi: 1400 Sh./2023), 140-3. The topics discussed in this article are presented in detail, with numerous images of manuscripts, in *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā' az Āghāz tā Imrūz*. An English translation of this work is forthcoming from the International Centre for Advanced Islamic Research (ICAIR). Additionally, Mahmoudi has written a highly condensed version of the content of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā' az Āghāz tā Imrūz* as a separate entry for the Encyclopedia of the Islamic World, which has been published in its thirty-second volume.

Rāzī manuscript and its similar versions to be undistorted.⁴

In response to this argument, evidence indicates that *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* had two versions: the Baghdad version and the Najaf version. The al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī manuscript and similar manuscripts were copied (either directly or indirectly) from the first version of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*—which Shaykh al-Ṭūsī authored in Baghdad—and he did not write these final passages in the first version of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* due to *taqiyya*.

1.1 External Evidence of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *Taqiyya* in *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*

1.1.1 Conflicts Between Sunnis and Shī‘īs

The first external evidence is that during the rule of the Būyids (334/945 to 447/1055), although the Shī‘ī Daylamite rulers controlled Baghdad, according to numerous historical reports, bloody conflicts occurred between extremist Sunnis and Shī‘īs due to the public display of Shī‘ī rituals, especially during the days of ‘Āshūrā’ and Eid al-Ghadīr. Historical sources have recorded at least 34 major conflicts during this period.⁵

Considering the time of composition of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* is also very important for better understanding the occurrence of *taqiyya* in this book. Since Shaykh al-Ṭūsī mentions *al-Mabsūṭ* in the

⁴ al-Rāḍī, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ fī-l-mizān*, 144.

⁵ See ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī-l-tārīkh* (Dār Ṣādir li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Naṣhṛ Dār Beirut li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Naṣhṛ: 1386/1966), 8:632; 9:178, 208, 393, 394, 531, 560, 561, 575, 578, and 591-2; al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a‘lām* (Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī: 1407/1986), 27:11-12; Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Rāzī Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-umam* (Surūsh: 1379 Sh./2008), 7:401; ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam* (Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya: 1412/1992), 15:125 and 340; al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar fī khabar man ghabar* (Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya: 1961), 3:124, 139, and 146.

introduction and three other places in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*,⁶ it is clear that *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* was written after *al-Mabsūṭ*, or at the very least, they were both being written simultaneously. In addition, from the introduction of *al-Mabsūṭ*, it can be gathered that there was a significant time interval between the composition of *al-Mabsūṭ* and *al-Nihāya*—which was written in the early years of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's arrival in Baghdad.⁷ From these indications, one may conclude that it is most likely that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī wrote *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in his final years in Baghdad—that is from 436/1044 (the time of his teacher Sayyid al-Murtaḍā's death) until 448/1056—when he was the leader of the Imāmī community. Thus, since *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* was written in the final years of Būyid rule—which was a period of their weakness and decline and consequently, intensification of conflicts⁸—the practice of *taqiyya* in this text, especially during Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's leadership, was more necessary.

1.1.2 Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's Works

The second external evidence consists of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's works—such as *al-Khilāf* and especially his valuable exegesis *al-Tibyān*—which were written during his leadership in Baghdad. These works clearly show that he was generous in his interactions with Sunnis. For example, in *al-Tibyān* he quoted from Qatāda more than 1,800 times and from Mujāhid more than 1,500 times—both Sunnī exegetes—in explaining the meanings of Qur'ānic verses.

1.1.3 Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's report

The third and perhaps most important external evidence

⁶ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (Mu'assasa Fiqh al-Shī'a: 1411/1990), 13, 540, 855, and 858.

⁷ In the introduction to *al-Mabsūṭ*, he writes: "... And I had written the book *al-Nihāya* in earlier times...". See al-Ṭūsī, *al-Mabsūṭ fi fiqh al-imāmiyya* (al-Maktabat al-Murtaḍawiyya: 1387/1967), 1:2.

⁸ As will be discussed later in this article, al-Dhahabī in his book *al-Ibar*, 3:146, explicitly mentions the weakness and frailty of the Būyid sultan during that period.

demonstrating Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *taqīyya* in Baghdad is that his grandson, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), explicitly mentions his grandfather’s *taqīyya* in composing the exegesis *al-Tibyān*. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs writes in his book *Sa’d al-Su’ūd*:

“... and we mention what my grandfather Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī related in the book *al-Tibyān*, and *taqīyya* compelled him to limit himself to distinguishing between the Meccan and Medinan [chapters] and...”⁹

Furthermore, according to Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (d. 1070/1659), a large number of Sunnis attended Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s lectures. With such a composition of students, it was necessary for this great Imāmī scholar to practice *taqīyya* in his speech and writing. He writes:

“His accomplished students—who were among the jurisprudents (*mujtahidūn*)—numbered more than 300 learned individuals among the Shī‘īs, while among the Sunnis their number is uncountable.”¹⁰

1.2 Internal Evidence of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *Taqīyya* in *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*

1.2.1 The Removal of the Final Phrases from the Expression “*Wa Mu‘āwiya*”

The first internal evidence is that in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, the al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī’s version of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* does not contain the phrase “*wa Mu‘āwiya*” up to the beginning of the mention of prostration. The absence of Mu‘āwiya’s name and sufficing with cursing Abū Sufyān in this version is an important indication of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *taqīyya* in Baghdad. This is because, according to reliable historical reports, both before and during Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s

⁹ Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d al-su’ūd li-l-nufūs manḍūd* (Manshūrāt al-Raḍī: 1417/1996), 287.

¹⁰ Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī, *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn fī sharḥ akhbār al-a’immat al-ma’šūmīn* (Bunyād-i Farhang-i Islāmī-yi Kūshānpūr: 1393 Sh./2014), 14:405.

residence in Baghdad, the Sunnis of Baghdad specifically honoured Mu'āwiya in order to counter Shī'ī beliefs.

Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) historical account provides a clear example of the honouring of Mu'āwiya during Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's presence in Baghdad. He writes:

“In the year 422 [A.H.], a person named ‘Madhkūr’ was appointed by the caliph with a written decree as army commander for war. He was given a flag, many people joined him, and armed men marched before him, shouting and praying for the two shaykhs, saying: ‘Today is the day of Mu'āwiya’.”

Following this incident, intense conflict broke out between the Sunnis and the Shī'īs of Karkh in Baghdad. Many Shī'īs were killed; their markets were burned, and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā's house was plundered. Interestingly, after describing this great turmoil in Baghdad, al-Dhahabī writes:

“... and no disapproval came from the sultan (Būyid), due to his weakness and inability, and the common people became emboldened and stirred up turmoil...”¹¹

This historical account clearly shows that due to the Būyids' weakness in their final years of rule, a difficult situation arose for the Shī'īs in Baghdad and turmoil against them increased.

1.2.2 Using the Word “*Wafāt*” to Describe Mu'āwiya's Death

The second internal evidence showing that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī practiced *taqiyya* regarding Mu'āwiya in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* is that when mentioning religious occasions in the month of Rajab, he wrote:

¹¹ al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar*, 3:146. For other historical evidence, see Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (Mu'assasat al-A'lamī li-l-Maṭbū'āt: 1403/1982), 8:82; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 13:316; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, 8:542-3; Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm* (Maktabat al-Maqbūlī: 1411/1990), 126; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Ghayba* (Mu'assasat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya: 1411/1990), 385-6.

“And on the twenty-second day of it was the death (*wafāt*) of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.”¹²

Here, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī used the word “*wafāt*” to describe the occasion of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān’s death—a term that indicates reverence and demonstrates his *taqiyya* regarding Mu‘āwiya. From a linguistic perspective, the word “*wafāt*” meaning “passing”¹³ has a fixed meaning and is not exclusive to the death of righteous people, such that its use would indicate reverence. However, considering the usage of the word “*wafāt*” during that time period and in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s works, one may conclude that the use of this word here was for reverence and indicates *taqiyya*. This is because in all cases in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, except for this instance, the word “*wafāt*” has been used to mark the occasion of death for those who were revered by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, such as its use for marking the death of the Noble Prophet, the *Ahl al-Bayt*, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and Abū Ṭālib.¹⁴ In the same book, for marking the occasion of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya’s death, the word “death” (*mawt*) has been used.¹⁵

Thus, observing the use of the word “*wafāt*” in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* for all the mentioned occasions—for those who were worthy of reverence in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s view—and the use of the word “*mawt*” for marking the occasion of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya’s death—who was not worthy of reverence in his view—indicates that this usage was not coincidental, and that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī had full intention of showing reverence or lack thereof in these cases.

¹² al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 813.

¹³ “... And God took his soul (*tawaffāhu*), meaning He seized his spirit, and death (*al-wafāt*) means passing away.” Ismā‘īl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ tāj al-luḡa wa ṣiḥāḥ al-‘arabiyya* (Dār al-‘Ilm li-l-Malāyīn: 1376/1956), 6:2526. “Death (*al-wafāt*) means demise; so-and-so passed away (*tawaffā*) and God took his soul, meaning He seized his soul.” See al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fi tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (Dār Ihya’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī: 1409/1988), 1:183.

¹⁴ al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 787, 790, 791, 793, 805, and 812.

¹⁵ Shaykh al-Ṭūsī writes: “And on the fourteenth of it in the year sixty-six was the death of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, and he was thirty-eight years old at that time.” al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 791.

Similarly, the word “*wafāt*” appears in different expressions in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s books and has been used in two ways: First is the usage of the word “*wafāt*” in the context of describing the death of individuals for whom there was no requirement for reverence. In this form, the word “*wafāt*” is mostly used to describe the death of individuals with general titles and does not indicate reverence or lack thereof, such as: death of the testator,¹⁶ death of the husband,¹⁷ death of the one who frees his slave,¹⁸ death of the contracted slave,¹⁹ death of a master,²⁰ death of a partner,²¹ and death of the deceased. This form of using the word “*wafāt*” in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s works is also extensively used interchangeably with the word “*mawt*” and has the same meaning, such as: death of the testator,²² death of the husband,²³ death of the lessor,²⁴ death of the lessee,²⁵ death of the father,²⁶ death of his partner,²⁷ and death of the deceased.

The second usage of the word “*wafāt*” is in the context of describing the death of individuals for whom there was a requirement for reverence. Unlike the first category, in which the word “*wafāt*” was used for general titles, in this category, the word is used to describe the death of specific individuals²⁸ who were respected and worthy of

¹⁶ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Mabsūt*, 4:27.

¹⁷ Ibid., 5:70.

¹⁸ Ibid., 6:58.

¹⁹ Ibid., 6:96.

²⁰ Ibid., 6:167.

²¹ Ibid., 6:179.

²² Ibid., 1:219.

²³ Ibid., 4:118.

²⁴ Ibid., 3:224.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 4:118.

²⁷ Ibid., 6:179.

²⁸ It is possible that in a few cases, the word “*wafāt*” was used in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s works to honour individuals with general titles such as: “death of the Prophet” or “death of the Imam”; however, we did not find any examples of this in the software containing Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s works.

reverence in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s view, such as:

“... and everyone who believed in their Imamate was certain about the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [d. 81/700];”²⁹ “... from the time of the death of Amīr al-Mu’minīn [‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 41/661)] ...;”³⁰ “... the death of the Messenger of God;”³¹ “... the death of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [d. 50/670];”³² “... the death of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Askarī [d. 260/874];”³³ “... the death of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn [d. 95/713];”³⁴ and “... the death of Abū l-Ḥasan Mūsā b. Ja‘far [d. 183/799].”³⁵

In Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu‘mān al-Mufīd’s (d. 413/1022) works also, we extensively see this second form of using the word “*wafāt*”, such as:

- “... and the community differed regarding his Imamate on the day of the *wafāt* of the Messenger of God.”³⁶
- The *wafāt* of the Commander of the Faithful occurred just before dawn on Friday night, the twenty-first night of the month of Ramadan in the fortieth year after the migration.”³⁷
- “The Imamate of al-Ḥusayn was established after the *wafāt* of his brother, as we have previously explained, and obedience to him was obligatory for all creation even though he did not call to

²⁹ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Ghayba*, 385-6.

³⁰ Ibid., 98.

³¹ al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 790.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 791.

³⁴ Ibid., 790.

³⁵ Ibid., 812.

³⁶ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu‘mān al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād* (Dār al-Mufīd li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘: 1414/1993), 1:6.

³⁷ Ibid., 1:9.

himself.”³⁸

- “Chapter on mentioning the *wafāt* of al-Riḍā ‘Alī b. Mūsā and its cause, and some reports about that.”³⁹
- “Chapter on mentioning the arrival of Abū l-Ḥasan from Medina to the military camp, his *wafāt* there, its cause, the number of his children, and some reports about him.”⁴⁰
- “... and his age at the time of the *wafāt* of Abū Muḥammad was five years.”⁴¹
- “And on the twenty-third day of it occurred the *wafāt* of our master Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā.”⁴²
- “And on the twenty-fifth day of it in the year one hundred and eighty-three after the migration occurred the *wafāt* of our master Abū l-Ḥasan Mūsā b. Ja‘far.”⁴³

An important point that completes this discussion is that in our software search of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s collected works, we did not find any instance where he used the word “*mawt*” in a context of reverence—especially when discussing the death anniversaries of the Prophet and the People of the House. Similarly, there was no instance found where he used the word “*wafāt*” to describe the death of someone who was not revered by him - except in cases of *taqīyya*. However, in some cases, he has used the word “*mawt*” to describe the death of the *Ahl al-Bayt* for certain reasons, such as:

“As for those who believe in the Imamate of Ja‘far b. Muḥammad from among the Nāwūsiyya, and that he is alive and has not

³⁸ Ibid., 2:30.

³⁹ Ibid., 2:269.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 2:309.

⁴¹ Ibid., 2:339.

⁴² al-Mufīd, *Masār al-Shī‘a fī mukhtaṣar tawārīkh al-sharī‘a* (al-Mu’tamar al-‘Ālamī li Ulfīyya al-Shaykh al-Mufīd: 1413/1992), 34.

⁴³ Ibid., 59.

died, and that he is the Mahdī, the response to them is clear because we know of the *mawt* of Ja‘far b. Muḥammad just as we know of the *mawt* of his father and grandfather, and the killing of ‘Alī, and the *mawt* of the Prophet. If it were permissible to dispute this, it would be permissible to dispute all of that, and it would lead to the doctrine of the extremists and the delegators who denied the killing of ‘Alī and al-Ḥusayn, and that is sophistry.”⁴⁴

Here, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī first mentions the doctrine of the Nāwūsiyya sect, and then in the context of their statement: “He is alive and has not died,”⁴⁵ since he was only concerned with expressing the concept of the passing of these great personalities, not describing the occasion of their death—which would require greater reverence—he used the word “*mawt*” in accordance with their statement “he has not died.”

In some cases, the use of the word “*mawt*” for the Prophet and the People of the House in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s works is a quotation from others, such as in these two instances:

- “If they say: The apostasy was evident from Mālik, because it was reported that he returned the alms to his people when news of the *mawt* of the Messenger of God reached them...”⁴⁶
- ... and it was said that the unbelievers used to wish for the *mawt* of the Prophet and the *mawt* of his companions.”⁴⁷

1.2.3 *Masār al-Shī‘a* as a Source of *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*

The third internal evidence is that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī took the religious occasions mentioned in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* from the book *Masār al-Shī‘a*, written by his teacher Shaykh al-Mufīd. Below are selected

⁴⁴ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Ghayba*, 21.

⁴⁵ In *Firaq al-Shī‘a* it is stated: “One group among them said that Ja‘far b. Muḥammad is alive and has not died.” Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī‘a* (Dar al-Aḍwā’: 1404/1983), 67.

⁴⁶ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Talkhīṣ al-shāfi* (Muḥibbīn: 1382 Sh./2003), 3:189.

⁴⁷ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān*, 10:71.

portions from these two books that demonstrate this similarity.

In the occasions of the month of Rabiʿ al-Awwal in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, it is written:

“... and on the tenth day of it, the Prophet married Khadija b. Khuwaylid when he was twenty-five years old, and on the same day, eight years after his birth, occurred the *wafāt* of his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the eighth year of the Year of the Elephant, and on the twelfth day of it was the arrival of the Prophet to Medina at noon, and on the same day in the year one hundred and thirty-two occurred the end of the Banū Marwān dynasty.”⁴⁸

The same occasions in the book *Masār al-Shīʿa* are as follows:

“... and on the tenth day of it, the Prophet married Khadija b. Khuwaylid, the Mother of the Believers, may God be pleased with her, when he was twenty-five years old, and she was forty years old at that time, and on the same day, eight years after his birth, occurred the passing of his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, may God be pleased with him, in the eighth year of the Year of the Elephant, and on the twelfth day of it was the arrival of the Prophet to Medina at noon, and on the same day in the year one hundred and thirty-two occurred the end of the Banū Marwān dynasty.”⁴⁹

This extensive similarity between the two books clearly shows that the occasions mentioned in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* were taken from *Masār al-Shīʿa*, although there are slight changes in some of the expressions. An interesting point is that in describing the death of Muʿāwiya, the wording in *Masār al-Shīʿa* differs from that in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*. In *Masār al-Shīʿa*, regarding the occasions of the month of Rajab, concerning Muʿāwiya’s death it states:

“And on the twenty-second day of it in the year sixty after the

⁴⁸ al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 791.

⁴⁹ al-Mufid, *Masār al-Shīʿa*, 49-50.

migration occurred the destruction (*halāk*) of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.”⁵⁰

Here, Shaykh al-Mufīd—who lived during the early rule of the Būyids, that is, during the time of Shī‘ī political power in Baghdad that did not require *taqiyya* regarding Mu‘āwiya—used the word “*halāk*” for the occasion of Mu‘āwiya’s death. Comparing the two books, there is no doubt that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, in borrowing from *Masār al-Shū‘a*, changed the word “*halāk*” to “*wafāt*” when describing the occasion of Mu‘āwiya’s death. Since in Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s time, the word “*halāk*” was used to mean “bad death,” its change to *wafāt* was undoubtedly to avoid condemning Mu‘āwiya, and rather to show respect for him out of *taqiyya*.

It may be possible to object that the word “*halāk*” and its derivatives have been frequently used in the Qur’ān, *ḥadīth*, and lexically to mean “death” without the qualifier “bad,” therefore its indication of “bad death” is incorrect.

In response, it can be said that after examining the word “*halāk*,” it is evident that this word and its derivatives did not originally mean “bad death” in their lexical meaning. However, in common usage after the first centuries of Islam—except in cases quoted from the early centuries or where the context requires a different usage⁵¹—it has generally been used to mean “bad death.” This is why, in the Qur’ān, *ḥadīth*, lexicons, and works of authors from the early Islamic centuries, it has been used in many instances to mean “death” without the

⁵⁰ Ibid., 59.

⁵¹ One example of contextual requirement is when Shaykh al-Mufīd, in a debate with a Sunnī scholar, used the word “*halaka*” in its literal meaning instead of “*tuwuffiyya*” to describe the death of Imam Mūsā b. Ja‘far. It is also important to note that the use of the word “*halāk*” as a verbal noun seems to be more expressive of a “bad death” than “*halaka*” in its verbal form. Later in the same text, Shaykh al-Mufīd used the word “*wafāt*” as a verbal noun to describe the death of Imam al-‘Askarī, and did not use the word “*halāk*”. See al-Mufīd, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra* (Dār al-Mufīd li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘: 1414/1993), 328.

qualifier “bad.”⁵² Of course, its usage in the meaning of “bad death” was much more frequent even in those early centuries than its usage in the meaning of “death” without the qualifier “bad.”

It seems that the main factor in the use of the word “*halāk*” to mean “bad death” after the early Islamic centuries is the concept inherent in the original lexical meaning of “*halāk*”—which means “to be wasted”.⁵³ It appears that this original meaning, as well as the frequent use of the word “*halāk*” to mean “bad death,” caused this word in later centuries—except in rare cases which are usually accompanied by contextual evidence—to be used only for “bad death.” Additionally, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 502/1108) believes that most uses of the word “*halāk*” in the Qur’ān are for expressing condemnation.⁵⁴

⁵² Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī writes in *Tāj al-‘arūs* (Dār al-Fikr li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘: 1414/1993), 13:670: “Al-Khalīl read the word of God: ‘and do not throw yourselves into destruction’ (*Sūrat al-Baqara*/195) with a *kasra* on the *lām*, and his statement that ‘died’ explains his statement ‘perished’ without any qualification because it is more common in their usage, and its specification for a bad death is a recent convention that is not considered, as evidenced by countless verses and traditions. Our shaykh said: Due to this recent convention, al-Shihāb said in his explanation of *al-Shifā’* that its use is prohibited in reference to the prophets (peace and blessings be upon them), and the original ancient linguistic meaning is not considered, as is clear to anyone familiar with religious principles, and God knows best.” Also, Sa‘īd al-Khūrī al-Lubnānī al-Shartūnī states in *Aqrab al-mawārid fi fuṣaḥ al-arabiyya al-shawārid* (Dār al-Uswa li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr: 1414/1993), 5:637: “*Halaka al-rajul*: ... [means] died, and it is only used for a bad death, and for this reason it is not used for the great prophets....”

⁵³ Shaykh al-Ṭūsī writes in *al-Tibyān*, 2:152: “*Tahluka* and *halāk* are the same. It is said: *tahluka* is that by which God destroys them. The root meaning of *halāk* is loss, which is a verbal noun meaning something is lost where its whereabouts are unknown, and from it the disbeliever is called *hālik*, and the dead person is called *hālik*, and the tormented person is called *hālik*.”

⁵⁴ Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī writes about the third meaning of “*halāk*”: “...And the third: death, as in His saying: ‘if a man dies’ [Q 4:176], and the Almighty says reporting from the disbelievers: ‘and nothing destroys us except time’ [Q

Regarding the death of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, it is stated in *Masār al-Shī‘a*:

“And on the fourteenth day of it in the year sixty-four after Hijra was the *halāk* of the heretical, accursed Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān...”⁵⁵

In this passage, Shaykh al-Mufid has used the word “*halāk*” to describe the death of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, and undoubtedly, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī changed the word “*halāk*” to “*mawt*” here. It seems that the situation in Baghdad was such that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī was even compelled to practice *taqiyya* regarding Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya.

It is noteworthy that, similar to Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s approach in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, Shaykh al-Mufid also used only the word “*wafāt*” in *Masār al-Shī‘a* when describing the deaths of the Prophet and the *Ahl al-Bayt*, except for Mu‘āwiya and Yazīd, for whose deaths he used the word “*halāk*.” Thus, it is difficult to accept that these uses of the words “*wafāt*,” “*mawt*,” and “*halāk*” in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and *Masār al-Shī‘a* were all coincidental and that there is no difference between them. Shaykh al-Mufid also writes in *al-Masā’il al-sarawīyya*: “...the *halāk* of ‘Utba and the death of Abū l-‘Āṣ ...”⁵⁶ It appears unreasonable to assume that he arbitrarily used the word “*halāk*” to describe the death of ‘Utba b. Abī Lahab, who died as a disbeliever, and the word “*mawt*” for Abū l-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘, who died as a Muslim.⁵⁷

45:24]: God does not mention death using the word *halāk* where criticism is not intended except in this instance and in His saying: ‘And Joseph had already come to you before with clear proofs, but you remained in doubt of that which he brought to you, until when he died, you said, “Never will God send a messenger after him” [Q 40:34], and that is for a benefit specific to what comes after this book’. See al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mu‘jam mufradāt al-fāṣṣ al-Qur’ān* (Dār al-Qalam: 1412/1991), 843.

⁵⁵ al-Mufid, *Masār al-Shī‘a*, 48.

⁵⁶ Idem., *al-Masā’il al-sarawīyya* (Dār al-Mufid li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘: 1414/1993), 93.

⁵⁷ Shaykh al-Mufid writes about ‘Utba and Abū l-‘Āṣ: “‘Utba died in disbelief, while Abū l-‘Āṣ embraced Islam after Islam was established”. See Ibid.

1.2 The Second Edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* in Najaf

Multiple indications show that after Shaykh al-Ṭūsī migrated from Baghdad to Najaf in 448/1056, he wrote the second edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* there, completing the missing final sections of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* and recording it in full. He then summarised this second edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and named it *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ fī ‘amal al-sana*. In *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ*, he also recorded *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* according to the well-known version.

The evidence for the claim that a second version of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* exists is as follows: Firstly, as is common in today’s age, it was also common at that time for a book to have two or more editions.⁵⁸ Secondly—and this also serves as another piece of evidence to support Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *taqiyya* in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in Baghdad—there is a statement that Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs included in *Miṣbāḥ al-zā’ir* after citing *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* and the narration of its virtues. He writes:

“Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāwūs said: We have transmitted this narration with its chain from *al-Miṣbāḥ al-kabīr*, which was compared with the handwriting of its author (may God have mercy on him), and the two sections that are repeated one hundred times were not in the words of the visitation (*ziyāra*), and we have transmitted the visitation from *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Ṣaghīr*; so know this.”⁵⁹

It is clear from this statement that the copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*

⁵⁸ Muḥammad b. Ishāq Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Mu’assasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī: 1430/2008), 1:271 and 231; Yāqūt b. ‘Abdullāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, (Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī: 1414/1993), 5:2118. Ḥatīm Bāy in his book *al-Ibrāzāt al-muta‘addida li-l-Kitāb*, which was first published in 1441/2019 by Maktabat al-Imām al-Dhahabī li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘ in Kuwait, mentions numerous examples of multiple editions of a single book from previous centuries.

⁵⁹ Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Miṣbāḥ al-zā’ir* (Mu’assasa Āl al-Bayt li-l-ḥyā’ al-Turāth: 1417/1996), 287.

owned by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs was considered reliable by him, as he identifies it as having been compared with the author’s handwriting and transmits the narration of the virtues of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* from that copy. It is thus unlikely that this copy was incomplete in two important and distinctive phrases of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*, such that he was compelled to transmit the text from *al-Miṣbāḥ al-ṣaghīr*.

The best explanation for the statement of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs that living in Baghdad during the Abbasid rule and among the Sunnis, he could not explicitly state that his grandfather, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, had omitted the final phrases of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*, especially its last section, due to *taqiyya*. For this reason, he briefly mentioned only the absence of two distinctive sections that are repeated one hundred times in his copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, so that in the future it would not be assumed that this incomplete version of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* was authentic. It appears that while practicing *taqiyya*, he was referring to the first edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, which was similar to al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī’s copy, and was reporting his grandfather Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *taqiyya* in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.⁶⁰ If this explanation is not accepted, there appears to be no other reasonable justification for Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs’s statement.⁶¹

Thirdly, the complete narration of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* also shows that *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* contained the final sections of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* before its abridgement. Based on what was

⁶⁰ It is worth noting that the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* copy of al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī was written more than a century before the time of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, and the existence of similar copies during Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs’s lifetime was completely natural.

⁶¹ Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Tustarī expressed surprise at this statement by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs in *al-Akhbār al-dakhila* (Maktabat al-Ṣadūq: 1401/1980), 1:257, and Mīrzā Abū l-Faḍl Ṭihrānī in *Shifā’ al-ṣudūr* considered the existence of defects in Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs’s copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* to be certain and attributed it to forgetfulness and oversight. See Mīrzā Abū l-Faḍl b. Abū l-Qāsim al-Ṭihrānī, *Shifā’ al-ṣudūr fī sharḥ Ziyārat al-‘Āshūrā’* (al-Maktabat al-Murtaẓawiyya: 1376 Sh./1997), 1:118. A detailed analysis of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs’s statement appears in Mahmoudī’s *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ az Āghāz*.

previously mentioned about Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *taqīyya* in composing *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in Baghdad, it would have been necessary to add the final sections of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* to *al-Miṣbāḥ al-kabīr* in a new edition before its abridgement, and then include them in the abridged version. Otherwise, adding phrases within a narration in a book that was abridged from another book would be scientifically problematic.

Fourthly, among the evidence indicating that *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* had two editions is that no known copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* was written in the same style as *al-Miṣbāḥ al-kabīr* in al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī's copy. Since *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* is an abridgement of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, if the original version of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* matched al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī's copy and had no second edition, then *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* should have matched that writing style in at least some copies. However, no copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* with that writing style is known to exist.

Fifthly, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī was the first traditionalist to preserve *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* for future generations with two unique chains of transmission. In our time, most of the sources from which Shaykh al-Ṭūsī quoted *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* are not available. If Shaykh al-Ṭūsī had not taken the opportunity in Najaf to complete *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and address its deficiencies, the Shī'ī community today would be deprived of this valuable supplication based on his reliable transmission. Therefore, it was necessary for him to compose the second edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* as well as *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* in Najaf.

One might object⁶² that if Shaykh al-Ṭūsī needed to practice *taqīyya* in Baghdad and, for the sake of secrecy, did not narrate the final passages of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'*, why did he then narrate those passages in Najaf? Was *taqīyya* not necessary for him in Najaf?

The answer is that *taqīyya* that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī practiced in Baghdad was not necessary during his residence in Najaf for the following

⁶² In Mahmoudi's *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā' az Āghāz*, 225-38, seven other objections to the topic of "Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *taqīyya* in the first edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*" are raised and answered.

reasons. Firstly, in 448/1056, Ṭūsī left Baghdad due to the escalation of civil unrest, increasing insecurity and growing dangers, and sought refuge near Amīr al-Mu’minīn.⁶³ At that time, Najaf was not a city; there was only the sacred shrine and a few shelters, perhaps some tents around the shrine housing a group of Shī’īs. However, nearby was Kufa, which was a large city where Shī’īs had long resided.⁶⁴ This new social situation created suitable conditions for narrating the complete version of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*.

Secondly, as mentioned before, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s classes in Baghdad were filled with Shī’ī students and those from various Sunnī schools, and were constantly a place for the clash of views between Shī’īs and other sects. In Najaf, however, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s students were all Imamis who benefited from his lessons.⁶⁵ The best evidence for this claim is Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *Amālī*, which was dictated in Najaf and contains mostly traditions suitable for an entirely Shī’ī environment.

Thirdly, as mentioned before, in 447/1055, the Būyid dynasty fell; the Seljuks, who were Sunnis, gained control over Baghdad, and the Shī’īs of Baghdad no longer had suitable conditions for performing their religious ceremonies openly. For this reason, after 448/1056, when Shaykh al-Ṭūsī was residing in Najaf, conflicts between Sunnis and Shī’īs in Baghdad rarely occurred. From the previous discussion, it was established that Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *taqīyya* was actually intended to prevent the escalation of conflicts between Shī’īs and Sunnis by not narrating the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*; otherwise, his concern about the Abbasid rule alone was not significant enough to compel him to practice such *taqīyya*. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs—who lived in

⁶³ Ismā’īl b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Dār al-Fikr: 1418/1997), 11:289.

⁶⁴ al-Maqdisī, who travelled to Kufa in the second half of the fourth/tenth century, writes in describing the sect of the Kūfāns: “... and in Kufa, they are Shī’ī except for al-Kunāsa which is Sunnī.” See al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 126.

⁶⁵ Āghā Buzurg Ṭīhrānī refers to this matter in his introduction to al-Ṭūsī’s *al-Tibyān*, 7.

Baghdad during the Abbasid rule - narrated the final passages of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* completely in his book *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā’ir*.⁶⁶

2. The Text of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*

The second argument given by those who claim there has been alteration in *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* is Ibn Qūlawayh’s *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, in which the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* is written differently from the well-known version, as follows:

“O God, single out for cursing the first oppressor who oppressed the family of Your Prophet, then curse the enemies of the family of Muḥammad from among the first and the last. O God, curse Yazīd and his father, and curse ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād and the family of Marwān and all of Banū Umayya until the Day of Resurrection.” (*allāhumma khuṣṣa anta awwala ḡālīmīn ḡalama āl nabiyyik, thumma il’an a’dā’ āl Muḥammad min al-awwalīn wa-l-ākhirīn, allāhumma il’an Yazīd wa abāh wa il’an ‘Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād wa āl Marwān wa banī qāṭiba ilā yawm al-qiyyama*).⁶⁷

2.1 Unity of Transmission

Before responding to this claim, it must be noted that the *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* narrated in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* and the one narrated in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* have the same source, and it is not the case that two different versions of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* were taught by Imam al-Bāqir. This is because the primary narrators in both books are the same: in both books, Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Uqba and Sayf b. ‘Amīra narrate this supplication from ‘Alqama b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī. Additionally, in both books, the one being narrated from—namely Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir—is the same. Further, the words of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in the two books are identical except for differences that can be attributed to manuscript variations, *taqiyya*, marginal notes entering the text, and similar

⁶⁶ Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Miṣbāḥ al-zā’ir*, 269.

⁶⁷ Ja’far b. Muḥammad Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* (Mu’assasa Nashr al-Faqāha: 1417/1996), 332.

factors. The uniformity of primary narrators, the uniformity of the one being narrated from, and the uniformity of the words of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in both books demonstrate the uniformity of their dissemination, and if someone considers these two versions different, they must provide evidence. Mīrzā Abū l-Faḍl al-Ṭīhrānī has explicitly confirmed the uniformity of dissemination of the two versions of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* and *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.⁶⁸

Now, given the uniformity of dissemination, we must consider the expressions in one of these two versions of the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* to have been altered.⁶⁹ Based on the evidence that follows, it appears that this passage in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* was altered due to *taqiyya*.

2.2 External Evidence

2.2.1 Conflicts Between Sunnis and Shī‘īs During the Time of the Compilation of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*

Firstly, considering the time and place of the composition of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, it seems entirely plausible that Ibn Qūlawayh practiced *taqiyya* in transmitting the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*. To demonstrate the validity of this possibility, one should note that according to evidence and indications, Ibn Qūlawayh composed *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* in Baghdad during the final years of his life. According to an account reported by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1178), this esteemed scholar of *ḥadīth* arrived in Baghdad in 339/950 while

⁶⁸ A-Ṭīhrānī writes in *Shifā’ al-Ṣudūr*, 1:82: “...The insightful contemplator and expert critic has no doubt that this tradition [*Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*] transmitted in the two books is one tradition, even though it has been transmitted differently and changes have occurred in its text and chain of transmission due to differences among transmitters or multiple transmissions or mistakes of narrators, but there is reliable presumption of the tradition’s unity...”

⁶⁹ Tustarī also noted this unity of origin and believed that one of these two transmissions had been altered. After quoting the final section of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* from *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* and *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, he writes: “...And the investigation of which of these two contains the alteration is not known.”

enroute to perform the pilgrimage. He fell ill in Baghdad and was unable to complete his pilgrimage journey. The same account states that Ibn Qūlawayh passed away in 369/979.⁷⁰ He was buried near the two shrines of al-Kāẓimayn.⁷¹ It appears that Ibn Qūlawayh spent approximately the final 30 years of his life, between 339/950 and 369/979, residing in Baghdad, as there are no reports of him living elsewhere during this period. Moreover, his burial location near the holy shrine of al-Kāẓimayn near Baghdad strengthens the likelihood that he was a resident of this city. Additionally, according to Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Najāshī’s (d. 450/1058) report, Shaykh al-Mufid—who was residing in Baghdad—studied under him and learned jurisprudence from him.⁷² Naturally, to teach his students, especially Shaykh al-Mufid, Ibn Qūlawayh would have needed to reside in Baghdad for a considerable period.

Furthermore, there are indications in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* showing that this book was composed during Ibn Qūlawayh’s residence in Baghdad. Among these is that after mentioning the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (the teacher of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq)—from whom he directly narrated *ḥadīth* and who passed away in 343/954—he wrote: “May God have mercy on him” (*raḥimahu Allāh*)⁷³ This phrase indicates that *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* was composed after the year 343/954.

In addition, the possibility that scribes might have added the phrase “*raḥimahu Allāh*” after the names of some narrators in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* can be ruled out for the following reasons:

1. The default assumption is that what is written in the manuscript text is the author’s writing, and anyone claiming otherwise must

⁷⁰ Qutb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, *al-Kharā’ij wa-l-jarā’ih* (Mu’assasat al-Imām al-Mahdī: 1409/1988), 1:459.

⁷¹ Shaykh ‘Abbās Qummī, *al-Kunā wa-l-alqāb* (Maktabat al-Ṣadr: n.d.), 1:392.

⁷² Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Najāshī writes: “...And with him our teacher Abū ‘Abdullāh studied jurisprudence (fiqh) and from him he carried [knowledge]:” See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Mu’assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī: 1407/1986), 123.

⁷³ Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, 94.

provide evidence.

2. The phrase “*raḥimahu Allāh*” appears consistently in multiple manuscripts of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.
3. In some cases, the phrase “*raḥimahu Allāh*” appears after the name of an unknown narrator like Ḥakīm b. Dāwūd b. Ḥakīm, and is not used consistently for all well-known and prominent narrators. This pattern of usage makes the possibility of scribal intervention to add the phrase “*raḥimahu Allāh*” very unlikely.
4. In *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, the phrase “*raḥimahu Allāh*” appears 193 times, of which 178 instances are for Ibn Qūlawayh’s father and only 15 instances for other narrators. This is strong evidence that the phrases “*raḥimahu Allāh*” in this book were written by the author.
5. Shaykh al-Mufid and Ibn al-Mashhadī have each transmitted numerous narrations from *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* in their respective books titled *al-Mazār*; in some of these narrations, the phrase “*raḥimahu Allāh*” is quoted exactly as we read it in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.⁷⁴

Another indication that *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* was composed in Baghdad is that in all existing manuscripts, the transmitter of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* is Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḡhīra al-Būshanjī, a student of Ibn Qūlawayh. According to al-Najāshī, al-Būshanjī was Iraqi.⁷⁵ If *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* had been composed in Qom and permission had been given for its copying, it is highly likely that at least in Iran, some copies of it would have been found. However, all copies of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* are transmitted from al-Būshanjī, and no other version exists.

Now, considering the aforementioned evidence, and given that *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* was composed in Baghdad after 343/954, when one

⁷⁴ al-Mufid, *al-Mazār* (Dār al-Mufid li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘: 1414/1993), 134; Muḡammad b. Ja‘far Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr* (Nashr al-Qayyūm: 1419/1998), 355.

⁷⁵ al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 68.

reviews the numerous bloody conflicts between Sunnis and Shī'īs in Baghdad during the years 340 to 367,⁷⁶ it can be understood that the circumstances necessitated secrecy for Ibn Qūlawayh, a great Shī'ī scholar of *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence, and it was necessary for him to modify the expressions in the final section of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* out of precautionary *taqiyya*.

If one objects by asking why precautionary *taqiyya* was not practiced regarding "Mu'āwiya" in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, it can be said that it is because Ibn Qūlawayh composed this book during the period of Shī'ī Daylamite rule in Baghdad, when precautionary *taqiyya* regarding Mu'āwiya was unnecessary. This is similar to the manner in which his student Shaykh al-Mufīd did not practice precautionary *taqiyya* regarding Mu'āwiya and reported the occasion of his death using the word "*halāk*" in *Masār al-Shī'a*.

2.3 Internal Evidence

Secondly, there are two problems in the expression of the final section in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* that make it unlikely to have been issued by the Imam.

2.3.1 A Rhetorical Problem

The first issue is rhetorical. In the final section of *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, a specific curse is directed at the first oppressor: "O God, single out—with curse—the first oppressor who wronged the family of Your Prophet" (*allāhumma khuṣṣa awwala ḡālīmīn ḡalama āl nabīyyik bi-l-la'n*). This phrase targets a specific individual, although expressed in coded language. After this specific curse, the enemies of the Prophet's family from first to last are cursed: "Then curse the enemies of the family of Muḥammad from the first to the last" (*thumma il'an a'dā' āl Muḥammad min al-awwalīn wa-l-ākhirīn*). This is a general curse that encompasses all instances. After this general and comprehensive curse, specific individuals are cursed again: "O God, curse Yazīd and his father, and curse 'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād"

⁷⁶ Mahmoudi, *Ziyārat 'Āshūrā'* az Āghāz, 157-69.

(*allāhumma il‘an Yazīd wa abāh wa il‘an ‘Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād*). Then once again the style changes and groups of people are cursed in a general manner: “And the family of Marwān and all the Umayyads until the Day of Resurrection” (*wa āl Marwān wa banī Umayya qāṭiba ilā yawm al-qiyāma*). As can be observed, the final section of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* is, from this perspective, confused and inconsistent.

2.3.2 A Conceptual Problem

The second issue is conceptual. The apparent meaning of the phrase “first oppressor” (*awwala ḡālimin*) suggests that the speaker intended “a specific individual” by this expression, and it is incorrect for “*awwala ḡālimin*” to refer to two or more people, even in an alternative sense. However, we know that there were multiple founders of oppression against the Prophet’s family, and this evil foundation is not limited to one specific individual. The best evidence for this claim is found in the text of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* itself, where we read: “May God curse the nation that laid the foundation of oppression and tyranny against you, the People of the House...” (*fa-la‘ana Allāh ummatan assasat asāsa al-ḡulmi wa-l-jawri ‘alaykum ahl al-bayt*). In this phrase, the founders of oppression are identified as a “nation” and “group.” Therefore, directing a curse at a “specific individual” as the founder of oppression—which is understood from the passage quoted in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*—is conceptually incorrect.

One might say: What is wrong with specifically cursing one person among the founders of oppression who has temporal or hierarchical precedence, as the first oppressor? Therefore, there is no conceptual problem in the final section of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. In response, it can be said that this is merely a hypothesis, whereas in the case of oppression against the family of the noble Prophet, the group of oppressors cannot be differentiated either temporally or hierarchically.

It is noteworthy that this problem does not exist in the well-known version of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, because there the phrase “*awwala ḡālimin*” in conjunction with the phrase “...then the

second, and the third, and the fourth, O God curse Yazīd fifth..." (*thumma al-thānī wa-l-thālith wa-l-rābiʿ, allāhumma ilʿan Yazīd khāmisan*) does not mean the founder of oppression.

In addition to the two problems mentioned regarding the final section of *Ziyārat ʿĀshūrā* in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, which makes the version in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* preferable, there are other reasons why the version in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* is superior to *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. Among these is that *Miṣbāḥ kabīr* and *Miṣbāḥ ṣaghīr* have ancient manuscripts dating back to the sixth/thirteenth century and later, while according to manuscript experts, the oldest copy of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* belongs to the ninth/fifteenth century. This means there is a gap of about five centuries between the oldest manuscript of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* and the time of Ibn Qūlawayh.

Those who rely on the text of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* to prove the occurrence of alteration in the final section of *Ziyārat ʿĀshūrā*, even if they do not accept Ibn Qūlawayh's practice of *taqiyya* in this section, cannot prove that after Ibn Qūlawayh, scholars like Būshanjī, who narrated *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*,⁷⁷ did not practice *taqiyya* in this section, since this is a section that was subject to *taqiyya* for many centuries.

Another important point is that great Shīʿī scholars after Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, such as Ibn al-Mashhadī (alive in 594/1197), Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, and al-Kafāmī (d. 905/1499), all transmitted *Ziyārat ʿĀshūrā* from *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in their books of supplication and pilgrimage, and did not transmit or prefer the version from *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. Al-ʿAllāma al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1699) transmitted both versions only in *Biḥār al-anwār*, which is a comprehensive *ḥadīth* collection; however, in his books of supplication, namely *Zād al-maʿād* and *Tuḥfat al-zāʾir*, he sufficed with the text from *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and did not transmit the version from *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.

⁷⁷ Būshanjī is extensively discussed in the book by Mahmoudi, *Ziyārat ʿĀshūrā* az Āghāz, 290-91.

3. Two Other Arguments for the Occurrence of Alteration and Their Response

To prove the occurrence of alteration in *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*, reference has also been made to some manuscripts of *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ* by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) and manuscripts of *Dhakhīrat al-ākhira* by Tamīmī Sabzawārī (alive in 540/1145)—in which the final section of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* was not written and transmitted according to the well-known version.⁷⁸ In response to these two arguments, by looking at the social conditions during the time these two books were written, the possibility of *taqiyya* by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī and Tamīmī Sabzawārī appears clearly acceptable.⁷⁹

Although the mentioned evidence and indications for the scholars’ *taqiyya*, especially the evidence of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *taqiyya*, are reassuring, it is important to note: For the uncommon narrations of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*, such as the narration in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* (al-Naqqāsh al-Rāzī’s version) and the narration in *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, to lose their credibility, one does not need to prove the *taqiyya* of great Imāmī scholars with certainty. The mere rational possibility of *taqiyya* occurring is enough to invalidate those narrations.

With the rational possibility of *taqiyya* occurring in the uncommon narrations of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*, those claiming alteration can no longer use those narrations as evidence for the occurrence of alteration in the well-known *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*; because it is clear that “when possibility arises, the argument becomes invalid” (*idhā jā’a al-iḥtimāl, baṭala al-istidlāl*). If one wants to prove a claim, one must first definitively refute the rational possibility of *taqiyya* occurring.

Additionally, the purpose of presenting evidence and indications for the *taqiyya* of Shīrī scholars is not to prove the authenticity of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*, such that one might object that “the possibility of secrecy” in these four cases is insufficient to prove its authenticity. Rather, the author’s purpose here is only to invalidate the arguments

⁷⁸ al-Rāḍī, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ fī-l-mīzān*, 109-19.

⁷⁹ Mahmoudi, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ az Āghāz*, 239-75.

of those claiming alteration who have cited these four cases to prove alteration in *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*.⁸⁰ Definitive evidence for proving the authenticity of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* has been presented in the second part of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ az Āghāz tā Imrūz*.

4. The Well-Known *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in Authentic and Numerous Manuscripts

In the second part of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ az Āghāz tā Imrūz*, images of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* from 110 manuscripts of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* from the sixth/twelfth to thirteenth/nineteenth centuries have been presented. In these 110 manuscripts, the final section of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* was written according to the well-known version—the first and most important of which is *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* written by Ibn Sakūn (d. 600/1203-4 or 606/1209-10), the esteemed Shī‘ī scholar of the sixth/thirteenth century. This precious manuscript, due to being written by Ibn Sakūn, holds such importance and credibility that it alone is sufficient to prove the authenticity of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*. At the end of this article, images of the pages containing *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* written by Ibn Sakūn can be seen.

Conclusion

From what has been discussed in this paper, we can conclude that the key factor behind the differences in the transmission and recording of the final passage of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* is the practice of *taqiyya* by scholars and scribes in the sources of this *ziyāra*. The arguments presented for appending the final passage to the known *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* and the occurrence of textual corruption in this visitation are insufficient to prove the claim. Furthermore, based on more than 110 manuscript copies of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ*, particularly the manuscript of Ibn Sakūn, the final passage in the known *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* appears to be authentic.

⁸⁰ al-Rāḍī, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ fi-l-mizān*, 144-212 and 539-70.

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- Qummī, Shaykh 'Abbās, *al-Kunā wa-l-alqāb*, Maktabat al-Ṣadr: n.d.
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- al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn, *Mu'jam mufradāt alfāz al-Qur'ān*, Dār al-Qalam: 1412/1991.
- al-Rāwandī, Qutb al-Dīn, *al-Kharā'ij wa-l-jarā'ih*, Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Mahdī: 1409/1988.
- al-Shartūnī, Sa'īd al-Khūrī al-Lubnānī, *Aqrab al-mawārid fī fuṣaḥ al-arabiyya al-shawārid*, Dār al-Uswa li-l-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashr: 1414/1993.
- al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Mu'assasat al-Ālamī li-l-Maṭbū'āt: 1403/1982.
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- al-Ṭihrahī, Mīrzā Abū l-Faḍl b. Abū l-Qāsim, *Shifā' al-ṣudūr fī sharḥ Ziyārat al-'Āshūrā'*, al-Maktabat al-Murtaẓawīyya: 1376 Sh./1997.
- al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, *al-Ghayba*, Mu'assasat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya: 1411/1990.
- al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, *al-Mabsūt fī fiqh al-imāmiyya*, al-Maktabat al-Murtaḍawīyya: 1387/1967.
- al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, Mu'assasa Fiqh al-Shī'a: 1411/1990.
- al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Nihāya fī mujarrad al-fiqh wa-l-fatāwī*, Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī: 1400/1979.
- al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Talkhīṣ al-shāfi*, Muḥibbīn: 1382 Sh./2003.
- al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Dār Ihya' al-Turāth al-'Arabī: 1409/1988.

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- Hamadānī, Muḥammad ‘Andalīb, *Mizān-i tashayyū*‘, Masjid-i Muqaddas-i Jamkarān: n.d.
- Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, *al-Kāmil fī-l-tārīkh*, Dār Ṣādir li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr Dār Beirut li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr: 1386/1966.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, *al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-Umam*, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya: 1412/1992.
- Ibn al-Mashhadī, Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, Nashr al-Qayyūm: 1419/1998.
- Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Ishāq, *al-Fihrist*, Mu‘assasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī: 1430/2008.
- Ibn Qūlawayh, Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, Mu‘assasa Nashr al-Faqāha: 1417/1996.
- Ibn Ṭāwūs, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Mūsā, *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā‘ir*, Mu‘assasa Āl al-Bayt li-l-Iḥyā’ al-Turāth: 1417/1996.
- Ibn Ṭāwūs, Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mūsā, *Sa‘d al-su‘ūd li-l-nufūs mandūd*, Manshūrāt al-Raḍī: 1417/1996.
- Mahmoudi, Sayyid Mahdi, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ az Āghāz tā Imrūz*, Kitābshenāsī-yi Shī‘i Shināsī: 1400 Sh./2023.
- Tustarī, Muḥammad Taqī, *al-Akhhār al-dakhīla*, Maktabat al-Ṣadūq: 1401/1980.

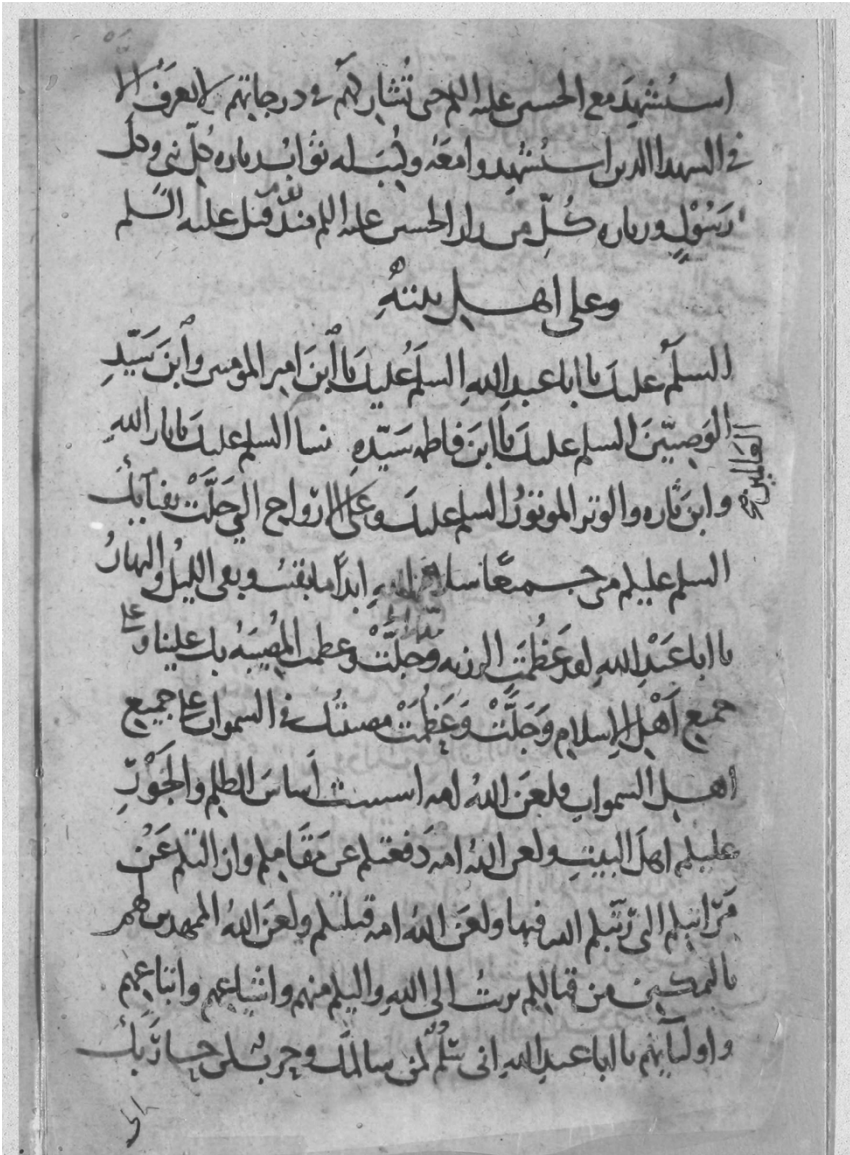


Figure 1. A manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in the handwriting of Ibn Sukūn al-Ḥillī, copied around 560/1164;

No. 13056, Mar'ashī Najafī Library.

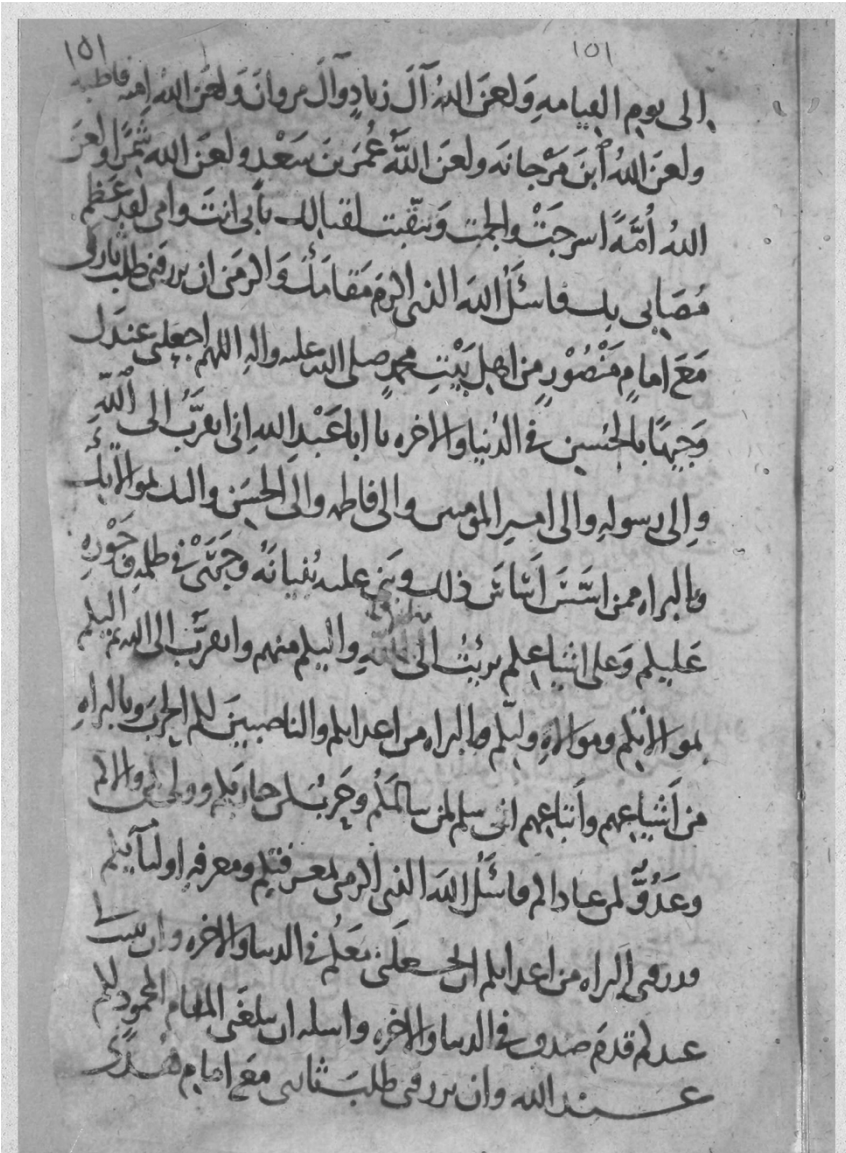


Figure 2. A manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in the handwriting of Ibn Sukūn al-Ḥillī, copied around 560/1164;

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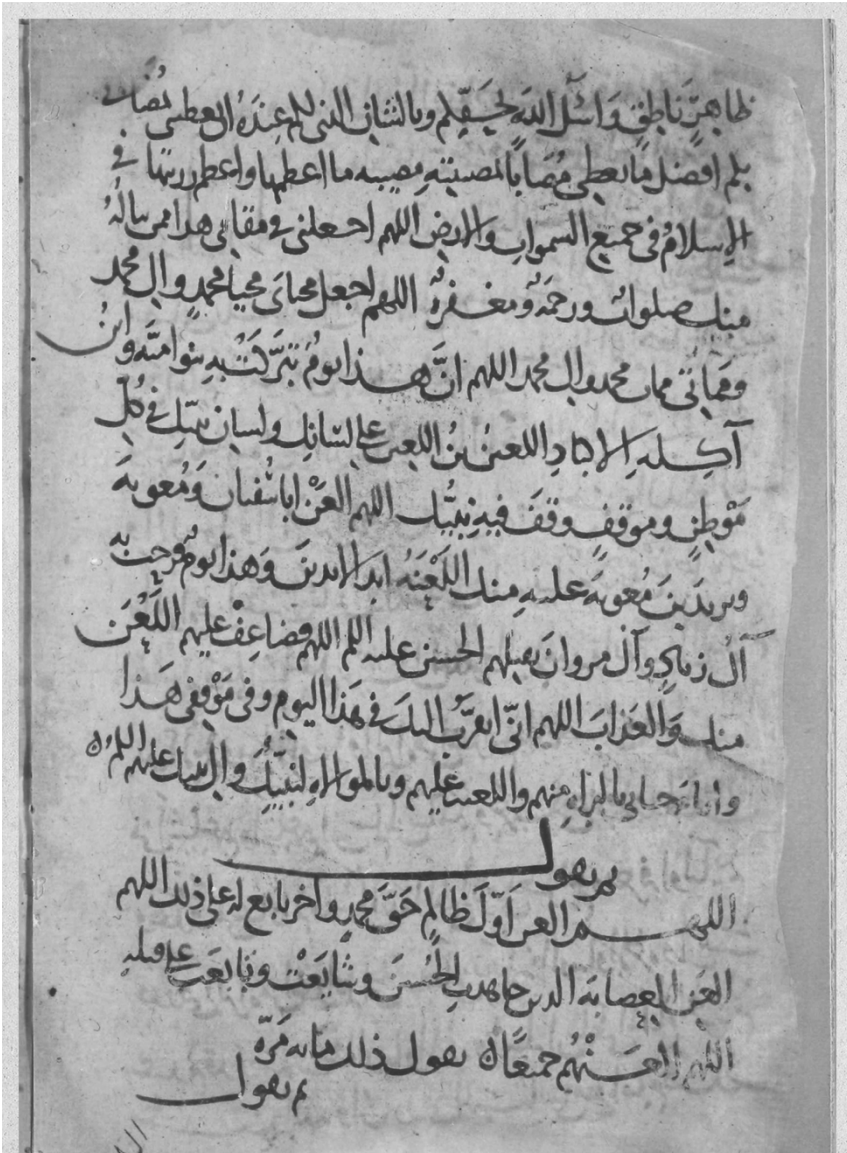


Figure 3. A manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in the handwriting of Ibn Sukūn al-Ḥillī, copied around 560/1164;

No. 13056, Mar'ashī Najafī Library.

١٥٢
 السَّلامُ عَلَيْكَ يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَمَّا لِي الْأَزْوَاجِ الَّتِي جَلَّتْ فَنَالَتْ عَلَيْكِ مِثْلِي
 اللَّهُ مَا بَعَثَ فِي الْبَيْتِ وَالنَّهَارِ وَلَا حَعْلَهُ اللَّهُ الْخَيْرَ الْعَهْدَ مِنْ كُنْزِ مَا رَزَقَ
 السَّلامُ عَلَى الْحُسَيْنِ وَعَلَى الْحَسَنِ وَعَلَى أَصْحَابِ الْحُسَيْنِ

بقول ذلك مائة مرة ثم يقول
 اللَّهُمَّ خُصَّنْتَ أَوْظَالَي بِاللَّعْنِ مَنِّي وَأَبْدَابِي وَأَوَّلَامِي الْبَازِي وَالْبَازِي وَالْبَازِي
 اللَّهُمَّ الْعَنْ رِدْخَانًا وَالْعَنْ عَمِيدَ الدِّينِ نَذَارِي وَابْنَ مَوَاطِنِي
 سَعْدٍ وَشَيْرٍ وَأَوَّلَ أَبِي سَفِيَّانٍ وَأَلْزَبَادٍ وَأَلْ مَوَالِ الْيَوْمِ

ثم يسجد ويقول
 اللَّهُمَّ لَكَ الْحَمْدُ الشَّادِرِينَ لَكَ عَلَى مُصَابِهِمُ الْجِدَّةُ عَلَى عِظَمِ رُحِيِّ اللَّهِ
 ارزوي فاعلم الحسين يوم الورد ونبئت لي قدم صندو عبد مع
 الحسين وأصحاب الحسين الذين بذلوا أنفسهم دون الحسين عليه السلام
 والاعلمه قال ابو جعفر وان استطعت ان تورد في يوم

هذه الزمان من دارك فافعل فلك ثواب جميع ذلك
 وعداورد ما غير ذلك الزمان والدعاء المخصوص هذا اليوم في الصباح
 ومما دراهم ما كناس فانه ان شاء الله ع

ص

Figure 4. A manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in the handwriting of Ibn Sukūn al-Ḥillī, copied around 560/1164;

No. 13056, Mar'ashī Najafī Library.

A Typological and Statistical Analysis of Early Twelver Biographies of the Imams: Focusing Upon al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*, al-Ṣadūq's *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* and al-Mufīd's *al-Irshād*¹

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Abstract

This article presents an analysis of Twelver Shīʿī *ḥadīth*-based historiography, examining the nature and composition of early historiographical compendia. As such, it aims to broaden the perspective of historical studies concerning the lives of the *ahl al-bayt*, which have generally been characterised by a decontextualising approach that prioritises analysis of individual reports over attention to the character of the compendia in which they are gathered. The present analysis takes the form of a case-study of three of the most important early Twelver compendia concerning the lives of the Imams—Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*, Ṣadūq's *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* and Mufīd's *al-Irshād*—and consists of two stages: a typology and a comparative analysis. Our principal findings include the identification of considerable commonalities across various aspects of these compendia, details of each author's theological attitude to the historiography of the lives of the *ahl al-bayt*, the objectives of their compendia and how each can be seen to be

¹ This article, translated by George Warner, was originally published in Farsi in *Uluḥadīth* 26/3 (2021): 156-76, titled “Barrasī-yi Taḥlīlī-yi Rūykard wa Muḥtawā-yi Manābiʿ Tārikh-i Aʿimma (Muṭāliʿi-yi Gūnishināsī wa Kammī-yi Kitābhāyi *al-Kāfī*, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* wa *al-Irshād*).”

responding to the needs of the Twelver community at the time. Attention is further drawn to important differences between Twelver historiography concerning the Imams and the broader Muslim historiographical tradition, and also to the necessity and feasibility of developing a qualitative taxonomy for Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiography.

Keywords: *ḥadīth*, historiography, Imams, Mufīd, Ṣadūq, Kulaynī, typology, quantitative analysis.

Introduction

We begin with an overview of this study's principal methodological tools, the first of which is quantitative analysis—a method that uses mathematical and statistical means to assess data.² Among the first to apply quantitative methods to the social sciences was the Franco-Belgian thinker Adolphe Quetelet, who was confident that apparently complex and random phenomena were based upon principles that could only properly be analysed through numerically grounded analysis. Like many other fields, the study of history is a valid context for the targeted use of such methods—an approach known variously as quantitative history, historiometry, or cliometrics—the goal of which is to subject historical data to statistical analysis. Overall, quantitative analysis has a broad range of possible applications to the study of history;³ in addition to the study of historical events themselves, it is notably used to examine both the content of historiographical literature and its provenance, enabling a wide range of productive approaches and outcomes.

² Alireza Ali Ahmadi and Wafa Ghafarian, “Uṣūl-i Shinākht wa Rawish-i Taḥqīq (bā Tikyi bar Muṭālī‘āt-i Tārīkhī),” *Faṣḥnāmi-yi ‘Ulūm-i Insānī* 46-7 (1382 Sh./2003), 241-66.

³ François Furet, “Tārīkh-i Kammī,” trans. Mujtabā Fāḍilī, in Dāryūsh Raḥmāniyān (ed.), *Majmū‘i Maqālāt-i Tārīkh wa Hamkārīhā-yi Miyan Rishti-yi* (Pazhūhishkadi-yi Tārīkh-i Islām: 1395 Sh./2016), 135-55; Maryam Shiypūrī, “Kiliyūmitrīk (Bahrigīrī az Dānish-i Āmār dar Tārīkh),” in Raḥmāniyān (ed.), *Majmū‘i Maqālāt-i Tārīkh*, 241-55.

In light of the above, it should be evident that typological and quantitative analysis has much to offer every branch of Islamic learning; the application of such analyses to the corpus of *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* relevant to a given field promises to enable a more comprehensive understanding of those sources, to the benefit of scholars who engage with them. Through such an approach, answers may be sought to several important questions concerning historical accounts of the Imams. What are the different concerns and topics that make up the corpus of narrations attributed to the Imams? What is the proportional weight of emphasis given to each topic within the overall corpus, and within individual compendia thereof? By means of statistical analysis, the results of such enquiries may, in turn, be used to uncover a wealth of information regarding historical works, their authors, and the historical contexts in which they were written.⁴ It is hoped that some of these benefits will be demonstrated in the present article.

The following study will apply the methods described above to three works—Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī’s (d. 329/941) *al-Kāfī*, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq’s (d. 381/991) *‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, and Muḥammad b. al-Nu‘mān al-Shaykh al-Mufīd’s (d. 413/1022) *al-Irshād*—assessing each author’s approach to the records of the Imams’ lives and the kinds of narrations that each selects.⁵ This case study, meanwhile, will allow an objective consideration of the advantages of the methods used, keeping in mind, of course, that the present contribution represents only the first steps towards realising their promise in this field.

Before proceeding further, it behoves us first to discuss the chief reason behind the selection of this case study’s three main source

⁴ For further details, see Furet, “Tārikh-i Kammī,” 135-53.

⁵ It should be noted that in what follows, when mention is made of these authors’ method and approach to their material, this refers specifically to their approach to historical sources, and this, in turn, specifically refers to the works under discussion. More expansive statements in this regard would, of course, require further research directed at their complete oeuvres.

texts, namely these works' especial importance and influence in the longer Imāmī tradition of *ḥadīth*-based historiography. *Ḥadīth*-based historiography, it should be noted, is a source of particular value for historians seeking to reconstruct the lives of the Ma'ṣūmūn. The designation "*ḥadīth*-based" in this context does not only denote the *ḥadīth*-like appearance of these works' contents, not least their inclusion of *isnāds*, but more generally signifies the authors' application of the standards and methods of *ḥadīth* literature (albeit to different extents, of course) in their approach to the material, and in their criteria for the selection of narrations in particular.⁶ As for *al-Kāfi*, *ʿUyūn* and *al-Irshād*, Rouhollah Towhidi-niya has previously demonstrated that the status of these three works of *ḥadīth*-based historiography was such that they still exerted significant influence on both the form and the content of subsequent writings on the lives of the Imams three centuries after their composition.⁷

Our choice of sources also pertains to another concern of this article, namely the qualitative categorisation of Twelver works on the lives of the Imams. Studies of the broader corpus of Imāmī *ḥadīth*-based historiography make clear that when it comes to the task of establishing reliable and comprehensive accounts of the Imams' lives, this literature can be divided into at least three qualitative levels on the basis of its utility as source material.⁸ Thus, the first and highest

⁶ For more on Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiography, see Rouhollah Towhidi-niya and Ne'matollah Safari Forushani, "Barrasī-yi Taḥlīlī-yi Tārīkh-nigārī-yi Riwayī-yi Imāmiyyi tā Nīmi-yi Qarn-i Panjum," *Faṣlnāmi-yi Tārīkh-i Islām* 64 (1394 Sh./2015), 12-35; Towhidi-niya, "Bāyistihā-yi Hamgarāyī-yi Zharfnigar dar Bāb-i Tārīkh-nigārī-yi Riwayī-yi Imāmiyyi," *Faṣlnāmi-yi Tārīkh-i Islām* 76 (1398 Sh./2019), 173-202.

⁷ Towhidi-niya, "Naqsh-i Shī'ayān dar Tadwīn-i Manābi'-i Tārīkh wa Sīri-yi Imāmān-i Ahl-i Bayt (Nazāriyyi-yi Farāyand-i Mantīqī wa Jāmi'-i Shiklgīrī-yi Manābi'-i Tārīkh wa Sīri-yi Imāmān)," in *Majmū'ī Maqālāt-i Barguzīdī-yi Kungiri-yi Bayn al-Milālī-yi Naqsh-i Shī'i dar Pīdayish wa Gustarish-i ʿUlūm-i Islāmī* (n. p.: 1397 Sh./2018).

⁸ For more on this taxonomy, see *ibid.*, 12-35; Towhidi-niya, "Arzyābī-yi Tārīkh-nigārī-yi Shaykh Ṣadūq dar Kitāb-i *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*," (Ḥawza

level would include works such as those of the great masters of the early Shiʿī tradition, for example al-Irbilī's (d. 692/1293 or 693/1294) *Kashf al-ghumma fī ma'rifat al-a'imma*, in which the authors make considerable efforts to use narrations that are truly reliable. The third and lowest level, on the other hand, would comprise works such as Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's (d. fifth/eleventh century) *Uyūn al-mu'jizāt* or al-Ṭabarī's (d. late fourth/tenth-early fifth/eleventh century) *Dalā'il al-imāma*, which pay little heed to critical standards regarding either *isnāds* or textual content, ascribe absurdities to the Imams, and generally lack credibility.⁹ To the second level would be allotted those works that exhibit some combination of the features of the other two.¹⁰ Works such as al-Barqī's *al-Maḥāsin* and al-Ṣaffār's *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* could tentatively be placed in this category.¹¹ In what follows, then, it will be shown how quantitative analysis of this study's limited sample of texts can shed light upon such qualitative taxonomies.

It must also be clarified that this study, as an examination of the historiography of the Imams' lives, does not examine all the *ḥadīth* in the works under discussion, but is confined to *ḥadīth* describing events that involve either the Imams themselves or the historical contexts and circumstances in which they lived. This corpus comprises both texts in which the narrator mentions the Imams in some fashion and texts recording the Imams' own utterances. Excluded, meanwhile, are texts with no clear narrative content, such

diss., Qom, 1394 Sh./2015) 213-45.

⁹ These observations certainly do not entail any suggestion that there are no authentic narrations contained within such works, or that reports of the Imams' miraculous powers should be dismissed. Such reports are certainly worthy of scholarly attention, possessing exceptional power to elevate the Imams' status.

¹⁰ Full criteria for this taxonomy are presented in Towhidi-niya, "Barrasī-yi Taḥlīlī."

¹¹ Though these works are not analysed in the present article, the results of earlier studies make clear the validity of such an assessment. Naturally, a quantitative study of these works would clarify the matter, and it is our intention presently to embark upon such a study.

as exegetical, legal or ethical statements.

A final, all-important methodological starting point for this study is the awareness that the reports contained within a given work of Imāmī *ḥadīth*-based historiography are there because they have been selected by the work's author. Accordingly, the proportion of a compilation that the author chooses to allot to a specific kind of *ḥadīth* can be examined as a record of the author's priorities and his relative interest in a given topic.

It should, of course, be acknowledged that various elements of the above methodological considerations have been employed in previous studies of Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiography. The novelty of the present study is in combining them with the specific focus on producing a typological and quantitative analysis of the three designated source texts.

The hypothesis of the present study is that despite these three authors' different approaches and, consequently, the diversity of content-types in these works—which could affect the assessment and use of narrations in these sources—overall, there is considerable similarity between the content of all three in terms of their approach to the needs of the Twelver community at the time, such that they may be understood as together following a shared method and purpose.¹²

Our study begins with typological analysis and then proceeds to quantitative analysis, the latter being a means of examining and clarifying the categories alighted upon through the former. Accordingly, the study is composed of three parts: the first surveys the identifiable types of *ḥadīth* within the three compendia, the second subjects the distribution of these types to statistical analysis, and the third presents the results gleaned from this analysis, beginning with what it can tell us about the individual compendia before moving to a comparative examination of all three works.

¹² This hypothesis emerges from the particular questions addressed in the present article, and it should be emphasised again that quantitative and statistical analyses can be used in pursuit of a wide variety of research goals.

1. Identifying Categories of Narration

Before beginning the process of categorisation itself, we first offer a few remarks regarding the methodological motivations behind this undertaking. Typology is an important tool of academic analysis, defined as “the rendering into distinct categories of events, actions and objects,”¹³ the goals of which are “the identification of similarities, the recognition of patterns (determining both how many patterns are present and how they may be understood), and the tracing of relationships between patterns within diverse data sets, establishing points of comparison.”¹⁴ Typologies in general are based on either a comparative or an inductive approach. In the case of the former, various types are conceptualised theoretically and these are then applied to a data set, while in the latter the categories are generated through statistical analysis of the data.¹⁵ The present article employs a comparative approach, with the aim of creating a typology of narrations pertaining to the lives of the Imams in our three chosen compendia. Moving, then, to the categories governing our source texts; the first to be noted is the overall category into which all of our source material fits, namely historically orientated narrations pertaining to the lives of the Imams (such narrations, as noted above, do not account for the entirety of the contents of the three compendia studied). These narrations, in turn, may be comprehensively classified on a number of levels. A first division is between those narrations focussing upon the Imams’ human, earthly nature, and those focussing upon their otherworldly, divine (*ilāhī*) nature.¹⁶ Both of these

¹³ Khadige Safiri, *Shīwī-yi Taḥqīq-i Kiyfī* (Intishārāt-i Payām-i Pūyā: 1378 Sh./1999), 201.

¹⁴ Norman Bailey, *Ṭarrāḥī-yi Taḥqīqāt-i Ijtimāʿī*, trans. Ḥasan Chāwushīyan (Nashr-i Niyy, 1389 Sh./2010), 12.

¹⁵ For the uses of both kinds of typology, see Ramin Habibzade, “Barrasī-yi Anwāʿ-ī Dīndārī dar Biyn-i Dānishjūyān-i Dānishgāh-i Tehran” (Masters diss., Tarbiat Modares University, 1384 Sh./2005).

¹⁶ It should, of course, be acknowledged that these two sides of the Imams’ nature are not mutually exclusive, but it remains the case that one side is

categories, in turn, may be subdivided into two further categories. Narrations concerning the Imams' earthly nature are either a) documentary texts that record specific events in the Imams' lives, or b) paradigmatic texts, that is to say those that attest to an Imam's overall mode of conduct, be it in general or with regard to particular circumstances. Narrations concerning the Imams' otherworldly nature, meanwhile, can be either a) descriptions of miracles that the Imams performed or of their wondrous characteristics, or b) those of a different type, the nature of which will be elucidated presently.

Beyond these general categories, our analysis in what follows will focus on four principal types of narration that recur in the sources as follows:

1. Narrations from which principles of theology and correct belief are derived. This category encompasses both narrations that are used by scholars to prove certain beliefs, inferring ideas about the Imams from their contents, and narrations in which the Imams directly expound upon Shī'ī doctrines. Examples of the first kind include accounts of the events at Ghadīr Khumm¹⁷ or of Imam 'Alī's vicegerency during the battle of Tabūk.¹⁸ Examples of the second kind would be texts that focus explicitly upon the Imams' knowledge of the unseen¹⁹ or their infallibility.²⁰ From here on in, this category will be referred to as "theological narrations."
2. Narrations that simply recount a particular historical event,

emphasised over the other in many narrations.

¹⁷ Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī* (Islāmiyya: 1362 Sh./1983), 1:289; Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣadūq, *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* (Nashr-i Jahān: 1378 Sh./1999), 1:29; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān al-Mufid, *al-Irshād fī ma'rifat hujaj Allāh 'alā al-'ibād* (Kungiri-yi Shaykh Mufid, 1413/1992), 1:170-79.

¹⁸ Mufid, *al-Irshād*, 1:151-6.

¹⁹ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:258, 272; Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 2:204-44; Mufid, *al-Irshād*, 2:198.

²⁰ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:203, 459; Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 1:222.

with no obvious doctrinal objective or use. Examples of texts in this category include those recording the date of an Imam's birth or death,²¹ those concerning the Imams' family members (mothers, wives, children, etc.),²² and those recording the geographical details of an Imam's residence or travels.²³ Among other things, such reports are important for the information that they can supply regarding the political, societal and cultural circumstances of the Imams' lives. This category will be referred to as "purely historical narrations."

3. Narrations concerning the Imams' character and their way of being—how they behave amid and in response to different situations and different sorts of people. These include, for example, accounts of the Imams' confrontations with caliphs or others in political power,²⁴ or their coordination of Shī'ī communities in opposition to the schemes of their opponents.²⁵ Such reports can show the Imams' own political activities, their relationships with their companions and followers and how they instruct them,²⁶ their conduct with the leaders and wider membership of other groups of various kinds,²⁷ and their efforts to attract followers from different quarters of society.²⁸ Such reports may also show aspects of the intellectual and cultural character of the Imams. The following will refer to all such reports as "*sīra* narrations."
4. Narrations that focus upon the Imams' wondrous qualities and their excellence, and that seek to illustrate their superhuman

²¹ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 1:497; Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 1:18; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:17-25.

²² E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 1:452; Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 1:41.

²³ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 4:43; Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 2:8.

²⁴ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 4:553; Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 2:141-2; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 2:234-5.

²⁵ E.g., Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 2:13, 227.

²⁶ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 1:172-4; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 2:194-9.

²⁷ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 1:232, 2:657, 5:24; Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 1:138, 307-9; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 2:187.

²⁸ Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 1:192.

status. Most such reports are accounts of miracles, either miracles performed by the Imams in order to illustrate their exalted nature, or external supernatural events that facilitate their endeavours.²⁹ This is not to deny that such reports do not also contain instances where the Imams' feats and attributes illustrate both their special status and their humanity. Examples of such texts include accounts of Imam 'Alī's lifting of the fortress gate at Khaybar,³⁰ or of the exceptional political and social instincts that different Imams exhibit as they manoeuvre and instruct their followers in response to the particular circumstances in which they lived.³¹ In what follows, this category will be referred to as "narrations of miracles (*mu'jizāt*) and excellence (*faḍīlāt*)."

Inevitably, there will remain some narrations that do not easily fit into any of the above categories. Such reports will sometimes be referred to without differentiation as "miscellaneous narrations," but they also fall into four main types: first, narrations discussing scientific topics (both religious sciences such as law and sciences such as medicine) and the Imam's explanation thereof or response thereto; second, narrations concerning the practice of visiting the Imams' tombs, whether describing the practice thereof or its rewards and effects³²; third, narrations related to dreams and visions of the Imams, where either the details of what has been seen in a dream or vision are explained, or an account is given of decisions of the Imam influenced by and taken after a dream or vision; fourth, narrations concerning instances of the Imams foretelling the future, a significant portion of which pertain to the Twelfth Imam's occultation and his anticipated reappearance.

²⁹ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, 1:254; Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn*, 1:20, 96; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:346-9.

³⁰ E.g., Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:127.

³¹ E.g., Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn*, 1:163, 218.

³² While some of these are narrated from the Imams themselves (describing the visitation of previous Imams' tombs), this category also encompasses reports about the visitation of the Twelfth Imam, narrated from his followers.

As a final word before putting these categories to use, it is worth reiterating that this taxonomy is not only a way of shedding light on the thematic structures of historiographical compendia, but is also a means of uncovering the goals, motivations, and methods of the authors of those compendia.

2. Statistical Analysis

The following will present a statistical analysis of the distribution of these eight categories of narration in Kulaynī's *al-Kāfi*, Ṣadūq's *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* and Mufid's *al-Irshād*. It should be noted that two or more of these categories can sometimes appear within a single text; in such circumstances, each category has been accounted for in the enumeration.

2.1 *al-Kāfi*

Al-Kāfi contains 1,451 historical narratives regarding the Imams. Of these, 338 are miracle and excellence narrations (23%) and 224 are theological narrations (15%), 373 are purely historical narrations (26%) and 302 are character narrations (21%). 150 narrations (10%) have legal or other scientific content. Other kinds of narrations were minimally represented as follows: 38 narrations (3%) containing prophecies of the occultation and other future events, 1% concerning dreams and another 1% concerning tomb visitation.

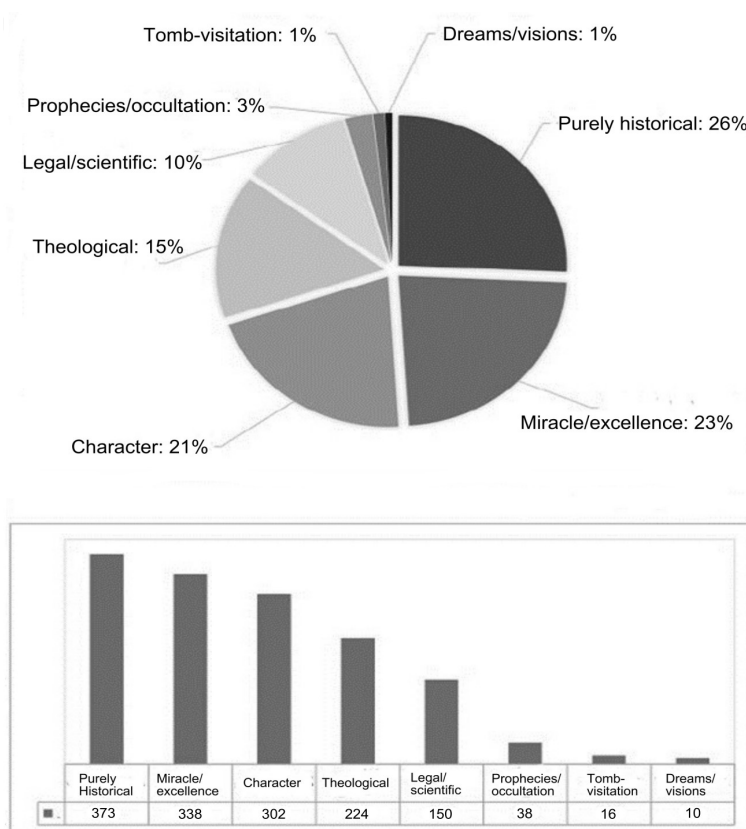


Figure 1. Distribution of *ḥadīth*-types in *al-Kāfi*.

2.2 *Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*

Of the texts in Ṣadūq's *Uyūn*, a total of 482 narrations are concerned with the history of the Imams. Of these, 130 are theological narrations (27%)—the largest share of any category. There are also considerable quantities of both purely historical narrations (98 narrations) and character narrations (94 narrations), each amounting to approximately 20%. Legal and scientific narrations make up around 16% with 76 narrations. Miracle and excellence narrations and narrations concerning tomb visitation both occur in similar, small quantities, 28 and 32 respectively, each approximately 6%. Narrations

foretelling the future only amount to 3% (16 narrations) and those concerning dreams even less at 2% (8 narrations).

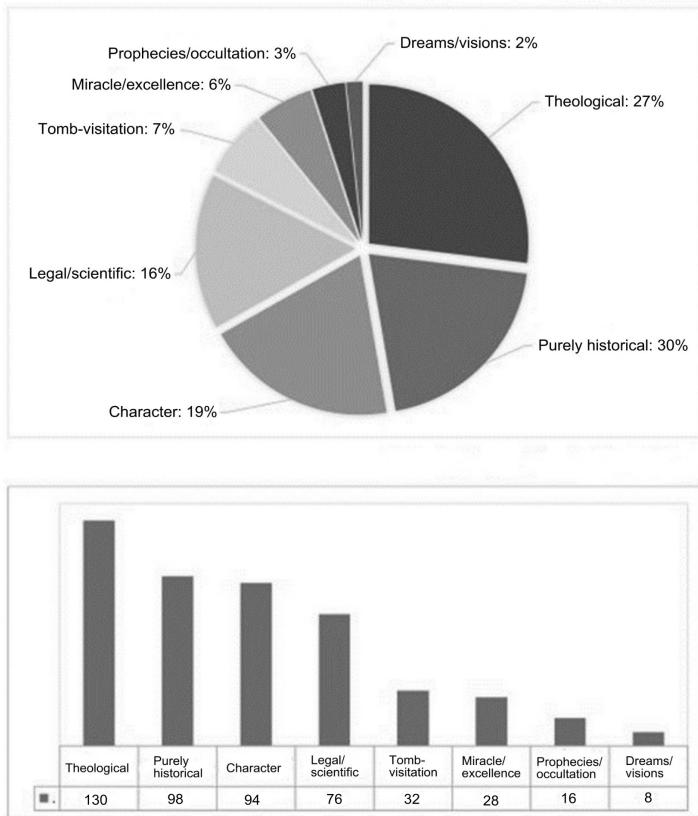


Figure 2. Distribution of ḥadīth-types in *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*.

2.3 *al-Irshād*

There are 559 narrations concerning the Imams in *al-Irshād*. The greatest portion is taken up by miracle and excellence narrations, of which there are 195 —more than a third of the total. The next largest portion is that allotted to character narrations, with 153 narrations—around 27%. Purely historical narrations and theological narrations make up the next largest portions with 106 narrations (19%) and 82 narrations (15%) respectively. Other kinds of narration together

account for only 4%, with 12 concerning tomb visitation, 4 concerning dreams, 4 concerning future events, and 3 concerning legal and scientific matters.

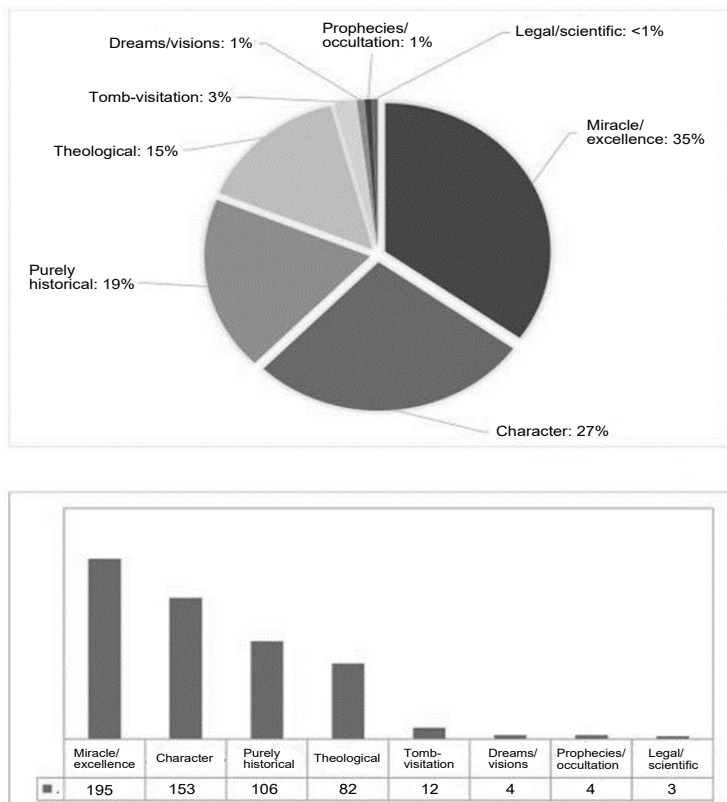


Figure 3. Distribution of *ḥadīth*-types in *al-Irshād*.

3. The Combined Results

Following the construction of our typology and the application thereof in statistical analysis, we move now to present our findings from this analysis, many of which have considerable potential to enrich scholarly understanding of our chosen source material. In order to clarify some of the results pertaining to the analysis below, a comparison of the statistical data collected from each of the three

books is given here in Figure 4.

3.1 Comparison Between *al-Kāfī*, *ʿUyūn* and *al-Irshād*

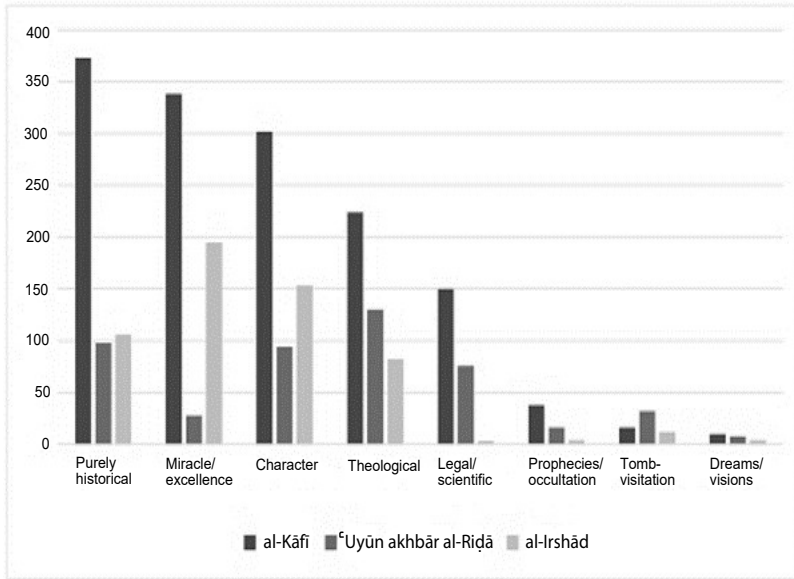


Figure 4. Comparison of Results.

3.1.1 The Quantitative Distribution of Different Narration Types

Though the works studied here are all examples of *ḥadīth*-based historiographical literature, it cannot be expected that they focus solely on historical events, given the complex objectives pursued by each of their authors. Nevertheless, the relative statistical preponderance of historically orientated narrations is an important point of distinction between our three sources. Such reports are much more frequently found in *ʿUyūn* and *al-Irshād* than they are in *al-Kāfī*, to the point where it can be confidently deduced that the primary motivation of the former two works' authors was to collect material pertaining to the biography of the Imams. As Figure 5 below illustrates, such reports dominate *al-Irshād* and *ʿUyūn*, while *al-Kāfī* is a more comprehensive (and much larger) work, of which historically focussed narrations are, accordingly, only a small fraction.

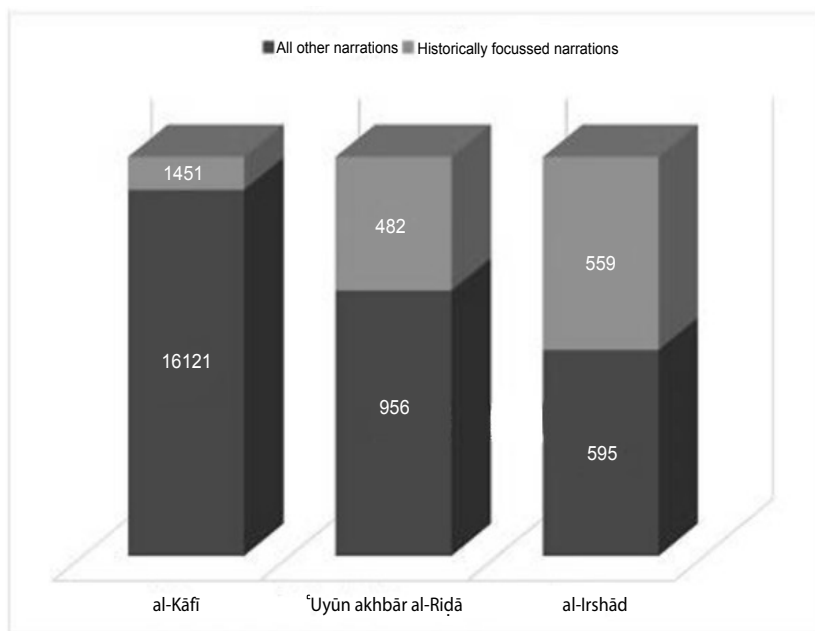


Figure 5. Overall proportion of historical material in *al-Kāfi*, *al-Irshād* and *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*

3.1.2 The Preoccupations and Methods of al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣadūq and al-Mufīd

Due to the particular situation of Twelver Shīʿism in this period, much of the literature produced by Twelvers has a distinctly theological concern. When it comes to the presentation of historical events, therefore, this is commonly geared towards the confirmation of Twelver beliefs or the refutation of distortions of those beliefs promulgated by opponents of the Twelvers, for example through accounts of the events of Ghadīr Khumm or of an imam's investiture by his predecessor. Comparing the usage of such theologically focussed materials in our sources, then, they account for about 15% of both Kulaynī and Mufīd's narrations, and 27% of Ṣadūq's. As far as Ṣadūq and Kulaynī are concerned, these statistics are as one would

expect—Ṣadūq was an important early Twelver theologian, whereas Kulaynī was primarily a *ḥadīth* scholar. In Mufid's case, however, the preceding analysis bids us to ask why such a prominent theologian in this instance transmits more purely historical reports than he does theological reports.

This discrepancy vanishes, however, upon closer inspection of the data, specifically when we take into account the miracle and excellence narrations. Narrations having to do with miracles or the divine powers of the Imams may not necessarily be directly linked to theological discussions, but the fact remains that they are perennially concerned with demonstrating the Imams' unique status and thus remain pertinent to theological matters in one way or another. Amongst other things, the authentication of such reports may serve to confirm an Imam's Imamate, or to demonstrate aspects of the Imams' nature such as his knowledge of the unseen. Returning to *al-Irshād*, then, theological narrations combined with miracle and excellence narrations together make up some 50% of the historical material, while the same materials together account for only 33% in *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* and 38% in *al-Kāfī*.

3.1.3 The Approach to Miracles

Our three authors' attitudes to narrations concerning miracles and other instances of the Imams' wondrous powers is a matter that invites careful examination. In *al-Kāfī* and *al-Irshād*, these reports amount to 23% and 35% respectively, while they represent only 6% in *ʿUyūn*. This indicates Ṣadūq's different view of Imāmī miracles, deeming them a correspondingly less important component of the Imams' biographies. The statistical data regarding Ṣadūq's treatment of miracle and excellence narrations in *ʿUyūn* show them amounting to only one fifth of the quantity of theological narrations that he includes. By contrast, the amount of miracle and excellence narrations in *al-Kāfī* is 50% greater than the quantity of theological narrations, and in *al-Irshād* there are twice as many miracle and excellence narrations as there are theological narrations.

Once more, these numbers raise a question concerning Mufid in

particular: how is it that this lynchpin of the Baghdad school and pioneer of Twelver rational theology comes to give such prominence to miracle and excellence narrations? The answer may again be found through closer attention to the data, in this case further interrogating the exact content of narrations of this type. Of the miracle and excellence narrations in *al-Irshād*, most either portray aspects of the Imams, such as their knowledge or sinlessness, that Mufīd specifically espouses on the basis of rational and textual proofs, or they manifest aspects of the Imams' nature that, though exceptional, is generally comprehensible, such as Imam 'Alī's heroism on the battlefield or other instances of his defending the Prophet.³³ By contrast, miracle and excellence narrations in the other two works studied regularly involve highly supernatural events,³⁴ a fact that is highly illustrative of Kulaynī's and Ṣadūq's traditionist mode of *ḥadīth* scholarship. Here, then, we see the care that must be taken in analysing the attitudes to and uses of miracle and excellence narrations in these compendia.

3.1.4 The Authors' Evolving Approach to Historiography

One of the narration types that receives equal attention across all three compendia is purely historical narrations. Commonly encountered examples thereof in all three works include texts giving the dates of the Imams' births and martyrdoms, explanations of their genealogies, and texts disclosing the location of their tombs. In all three books, these account for between 20% and 25% of all historical narrations. In some instances, nevertheless, we do find a given author exhibiting especial interest in a particular sub-topic—narrations concerning tomb visitation, for instance, are three times more numerous in *Uyūn* than in either of the other works. This case may be explained by the fact that *Uyūn* is an entire work specifically concerned with one Imam—Imam al-Riḍā—and is thus especially comprehensive in its collection of materials concerning him, including details of proper pilgrimage to his place of burial.

³³ E.g., Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:33-191.

³⁴ E.g., Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:227, 237; Ṣadūq, *Uyūn*, 1:192.

In terms of the thematic structure of these purely historical narrations, one important factor revealed by the statistical data from all three works is the passage of time. To take one important example, one sees that the closer an author's lifetime is to the actual event of the occultation in 260/874, the more focus they place on narrations concerning the occultation of the Twelfth Imam. Thus, one finds 38 cases of such reports in *al-Kāfi*, 15 in *Uyūn* and only 4 in *al-Irshād*. Meanwhile, narrations concerned with the Imams' character and manners gain greater prominence as the occultation becomes more distant, such that these texts are most numerous in *al-Irshād*. This correlates strongly with what is known about the developing conditions of the Twelver community over this period, thus constituting an example of how statistical analysis can illustrate how the selection and presentation of narrations in these compendia is tailored to the needs of the community at the time of compilation.

3.2 Overall Results of the Analysis

3.2.1 Imāmi *Ḥadīth*-Based Historiography in Its Broader Intellectual Context

One aspect of the sources under discussion that has attracted some interest from previous scholarship is the relationship between Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiography and the wider spectrum of Muslim historiography in general. As we have demonstrated in the preceding typological and quantitative analyses, these early examples of Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiography were closely tied to and shaped by the specific context of the Twelver community and its needs at the time of their composition. A crucial part of that context was the death of al-Ḥasan al-'Askari. When this occurred in 260/874, it was initially very unclear to most of his followers what form the succession would take, a circumstance that had two important consequences: first, the Imāmiyya were riven by internal disagreement on an unprecedented scale,³⁵ combined with intensified challenges levelled against them by

³⁵ al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shu'a* (Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī wa Farhangī, 1374 Sh./1995), 96-112.

other, often powerful groups.³⁶ Second, this maelstrom of doctrinal confusion engendered lasting questions regarding the exact nature and cause of the occultation and how the Shī'a should conduct themselves during the Imam's continued absence.³⁷ Against this turbulent background, then, Imāmī religious scholars began to place increased focus upon the task of establishing the authority of the Imams' *ḥadīth*, such that this corpus could meet the practical and intellectual needs of the Imāmī community in the face of these challenges. Though this endeavour revived the Imāmiyya over the following decades, it also bore its own consequences. We see these, for instance, in the great quantity of space allotted by the works analysed to theological narrations and character narrations; this is in marked contrast to the broader corpus of Muslim historiographical writing, wherein the main emphasis is placed upon narrations with a political focus. Generally speaking, Muslim historians of other traditions are less inclined to give their theological beliefs such wide expression in how they select their sources, tending rather towards constructing the fullest account possible of events deemed relevant to matters of government and to society at large.

It should be noted that these conclusions have considerable value for those seeking to make wider use of the narrations contained within *ḥadīth*-based historiographical works; for example, the specific objectives behind the compilation of the three texts studied here led their authors to include a significant number of extremist (*ghālī*) reports, since—notwithstanding such reports' dubious character from other perspectives—they seemed to serve these particular

³⁶ For examples of other groups' polemics against Twelvers at this time and of Twelver rebuttals thereto, see the introduction to Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-dīn wa-tamām al-ni'ma*, ed. Ali Akbar Ghaffari (Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī: 1429/2008).

³⁷ Andrew Newman, *Dawri-yi Shiklgīrī-yi Tashayyū'i Dawāzdah Imāmī*, trans. Mahdī Abūṭālibī, Muhammad Riza Amin, and Ḥasan Shukrullāhī (Mu'assisi-yi Shī'i Shināsī, 1386 Sh./2007), 109.

objectives.³⁸

3.2.2 The Qualitative Assessment of Twelver Historiography

The statistics revealed by the preceding study allow us to draw a number of general conclusions regarding the works studied. Though there do exist surface-level differences between them, the historical portions of all three of these compendia are based on the same set of principal content-types as follows:

1. A substantial core of purely historical narrations regarding the Imams' lives, their personalities and the circumstances in which they lived.
2. Narrations that illustrate variously the Imams' humanity and their enlightened, sinless nature. These first two types form the core of these compendia.
3. Material seeking to increase Twelver believers' faith in the Imams, while also rebutting attacks and theological critiques levelled against them by hostile groups.
4. Material proclaiming the Imams' exalted status in Shī'ī belief, such as reports of their wondrous qualities and, more rarely, of the miracles that they performed, including those of a dramatically supernatural nature.
5. Reports of the Imams' character and manners. This kind of material was consistently assigned a considerable portion of the works in question, reflecting the authors' concern to elevate them as examples and guides.
6. There is no reliance whatsoever in these works upon narrations that readers might find intellectually implausible, such as reports of dreams or of outlandish prophecies. This negative observation is important to make inasmuch as it marks a

³⁸ Regarding the penetration of *ghālī* ideas into the Twelver *ḥadīth* corpus, see Nāṣir Rafī'ī, *Durūs fi Waḍ' al-Ḥadīth* (Jāmi'at al-Muṣṭafā al-'Ālamiyya, 1388 Sh./2009), 68-74.

considerable contrast between these works and some other examples of Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiography.

Sufficient context for these patterns of content and their significance is supplied by comparison with such works as al-Ṭabarī's *Dalā'il al-imāma*, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's *Uyūn al-mu'jizāt*, and al-Khaṣībī's (d. 346/957 or 358/968) *al-Hidāya al-kubrā*, and (on another level) with a work like al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī's (d. 290/903) *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*. A survey of the balance of subject matter in these other works (as denoted by their subject headings) shows it to be almost the reverse of that found in the three studied here. The portrayal of the Imams therein casts them as thoroughly supernatural figures, minimising their humanity or effacing it altogether, while foregrounding miraculous deeds that disrupt the laws of creation and other themes that reflect some *ghālī* beliefs. Overall, their portrayal of the Imam evidences these authors having been substantially influenced by some of the Shī'ī beliefs entrenched within members of the respective periods, with the result that these compendia diverge greatly in content from the works of the leading Twelver scholars of the same era upon which the present study is focussed.³⁹

These distinctions between works like our three source texts and some other Twelver writings about the Imams' lives are further underscored by a number of factors, among which some observations concerning comparative influence are especially illustrative. Returning to the three-level qualitative schema for Twelver historiographical works outlined above, *al-Kāfi*, *Uyūn* and *al-Irshād* exert a considerable influence upon most well-regarded Twelver historiography in subsequent centuries, but their contents are, conversely, referred to only sparingly by second- and third-level works. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the difference between first-level sources, the three compendia studied in this article show very little

³⁹ Though a full statistical analysis of these books would constitute a separate study, these observations are based upon a comprehensive survey of their tables of contents, the overall impression of which (with regards to the contrast between these works and those studied here) is irrefutable.

influence from works like *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, and even where there is some overlap in content, the effect thereof upon the overall shape and essence of the compendia is clearly minimal.

3.2.3 The Defensibility of Twelver Historiography

The above makes plain that the works examined in the present study possess a more moderate, historically acceptable quality than works belonging to other levels of Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiography. This is further underscored by the fact that these eminent works retain a status as foundational sources for subsequent writings about the Ma'ṣūmūn, with both their method of composition and their contents exerting a discernible influence for some time after their composition, notwithstanding later authors' differences in approach and their access to earlier sources. For example, al-Fattāl al-Nisābūrī's (d. 508/1115) *Rawḍat al-wā'izīn*, which presents the lives of the fourteen Ma'ṣūmūn in thirty sessions (sg. *majlis*), makes various references to the names, views and *aḥādīth* transmitted by Kulaynī, Ṣadūq and Mufid.⁴⁰ Similarly, al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī's (d. 548/1153) important biography of the fourteen Ma'ṣūmūn, *I'lām al-warā* draws heavily upon these authors' works.⁴¹ That these three scholars continued to exert such influence is a clear testament to their status, and indeed to the success of their endeavour—identified above—of gathering records of the Imams' lives and thereby meeting the needs of the Shī'a during the tribulations of the early post-occultation period.

One of the most valuable conclusions to be drawn from the present typological study is therefore that Twelver historical writings about the Imams rest on a firm, defensible basis. These works, it has been shown, adhere to valid and necessary Shī'i teachings and themes, and steer clear of *ghālī* emphases on the highly miraculous.⁴² It is evident,

⁴⁰ E.g., Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Fattāl al-Nisābūrī, *Rawḍat al-wā'izīn* (Manshūrāt-i Sharīf Raḍī: n.d.), 1:54, 59, 75, 76, 204, 215, 232, 234, 238, 278.

⁴¹ E.g., al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī, *I'lām al-warā bi-a'lām al-hudā* (Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt: 1376 Sh./1997), 21, 24, 38, 65.

⁴² It should be reiterated that such a conclusion is not intended to denigrate

then, that quantitative analysis of the kind employed in the present study may serve as an effective defence against criticisms of Twelver historical literature about the Imams that dismiss this literature as dominated by implausible and exaggerated material.

Conclusion

We have shown in the above that by paying attention to how early Twelver authors of *ḥadīth*-based historiography select narrations—in particular their relative preference for different types of narrations—it is possible to discern their authorial goals and how they engage the context in which they write. Given the existence of these analytical possibilities, it is essential that researchers take them into account, ensuring that any scholarly use of narrations drawn from *ḥadīth*-based historiographies incorporates such examinations of the structure and content of these compendia.

We have further observed that the historical elements of Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiography can be productively subdivided into four principal categories: theological narrations, purely historical narrations, character narrations, and miracle and excellence narrations. These are accompanied by four ancillary categories: narrations concerning law and other sciences, tomb-visitation, dreams and visions, and predictions.

Building upon this taxonomy, a statistical analysis of these categories' usage was carried out upon *al-Kāfī*, *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* and *al-Irshād*, these works being selected on account of their being the most authoritative and influential examples of this literature. The analysis confirmed our hypothesis that, though these authors do have their differences—differences that are reflected in their works' content and have distinct repercussions for how narrations in these works should be evaluated and used—the three compendia studied nevertheless possess a close resemblance in the kinds of narrations

those narrations that do portray the Imams as miraculous, only to point out that such reports addressed different concerns to those of the authors studied here.

that they contain. This similarity, in turn, reflects their authors' response to the needs of the Twelver community at that time, and overall indicates a shared method and purpose behind all three compendia. The analysis also showed that over time these works exhibit a growing interest in historiographical and character-focussed material, relative to the interest shown towards theological and doctrinal discussions.

Significant differences, moreover, were observed between the content and preoccupations of the kinds of Twelver historiography exemplified by our principal sources and that exhibited by compendia of historical material about the Imams compiled by other groups, both Shī'ī and non-Shī'ī. Drawing partly upon previous studies, the article further showed that if Twelver *ḥadīth*-based historiographical literature is to be studied effectively, it is necessary to categorise the overall corpus of that literature according to a number of qualitative levels, a process that was demonstrated to be readily feasible. A crucial aspect of the three works studied here is their role as foundational sources for subsequent Twelver historiographical writings about the Imams, a fact that greatly bolsters defences of the historical viability of the broader corpus of Twelver writing on this subject. Such observations, of course, do not detract from the instructive value of any single *ḥadīth*; rather, they only affirm that the results of typological studies like that carried out here hold significant promise for application to the broader wealth of the historiographical tradition and beyond.

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Al-Qalam Journal



RESEARCH NOTES

Some Notes on the State of Islam in English (Including a New Translation of *Munājāt Sha‘bāniyya*)

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Beauty and Eloquence in Islam

With some noteworthy exceptions, Islam in English is neither beautiful nor eloquent.¹ In light of the centrality of beauty and eloquence in Islam, this situation is, to put it mildly, ironic. For instance, according to a well-known *ḥadīth*, “God is beautiful and he loves beauty.”² More to the point, it has long been understood that the beauty and the eloquence of the Qur’ān are two essential aspects of its miraculous nature.³ The Qur’ān itself attests to the beauty of its expressions in Q 39:23, which states: “God has sent down the most beautiful of all teachings: a scripture that is consistent and draws comparisons, that causes the skins of those in awe of their Lord to shiver...”⁴ For example, consider Q 2:17-20, which states:

They are like people who [labour to] kindle a fire: when it lights up everything around them, God takes away all their light, leaving them in utter darkness, unable to see—deaf, dumb, and

¹ By “Islam in English,” I mean English language material that Anglophone Muslims use as a means to approach God, especially in ritualised contexts. For Shī‘a, this includes the Qur’ān, *du‘ā’*, *maqāl*, and, to a much lesser extent, *ḥadīth*.

² Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi* (Dār al-Ḥadīth: 1429/2008), 13:7.

³ See Syed Shiraz Husain Agha, “*Ṣarfah*: An Examination of the Debate on the Nature of the Qur’ān’s Inimitability,” *al-Sidrah*. Accessed 11th April 2025, <https://www.al-sidrah.com/%e1%b9%a3arfah-examination-debate-nature-qur%ca%beans-inimitability/>.

⁴ I have used Abdel Haleem’s translations of the Qur’ān throughout.

blind: they will never return. Or [like people who, under] a cloudburst from the sky, with its darkness, thunder, and lighting, put their fingers into their ears to keep out the thunderclaps for fear of death—God surrounds the disbelievers. The lightning almost snatches away their sight: whenever it flashes on them they walk on and when darkness falls around them they stand still. If God so willed, He could take away their hearing and sight: God has power over everything.

If all he had wanted was to convey information, why did God use such elaborate imagery to describe the helplessness of disbelievers? Or consider the example of the Speaking Qur'ān himself, Imam 'Alī, who said:

How do I describe a world that begins in weariness and ends in death, where you are held accountable for approaching what is lawful and punished for consuming what is unlawful, where the wealthy are seduced and the poor grieve? The world eludes those who try to catch her while she comes willingly to those who pay her no heed. She instructs those who view her with discernment and blinds those who look at her with longing.⁵

That is how he answered a man who asked him to describe the world. Surely, he could have given a far less refined reply, but this was 'Alī after all, whose speech is said to have been “below the words of the creator and above the words of his creatures.”⁶ No one, not even his sworn enemies, could deny 'Alī's eloquence. “When 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750)—who has been called the ‘father of Arabic prose,’ and who was a chancery official for the intensely anti-'Alid Umayyads—was asked, ‘What enabled you to master the science of eloquence? What formed your training in it?’, he replied, ‘Memorising the words of 'Alī.’”⁷

⁵ al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah: The Wisdom and Eloquence of 'Alī*, ed. and trans. by Tahera Qutbuddin (Brill: 2024), 203.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1, no. 1.

⁷ Tahera Qutbuddin, *A Treasury of Virtues: Sayings, Sermons, and Teachings*

The Ugliness of Islam in English

From the very beginning, it seems, Muslims have understood the power of language. The Prophet is even reported to have said, “Some eloquent speech is magical.”⁸ In other words, you can win people’s hearts over and attract them by speaking in a beautiful way.⁹ Why, then, is so much of Islam in English so ugly?

I can think of a few reasons: First, there is the general phenomenon of illiteracy,¹⁰ which, it seems to me, is behind much of the enthusiasm for Artificial Intelligence. In 2010, Jaron Lanier, who pioneered virtual reality technology, made the following observation:

You can’t tell if a machine has gotten smarter or if you’ve just lowered your own standards of intelligence to such a degree that the machine seems smart. If you can have a conversation with a simulated person presented by an AI program, can you tell how far you’ve let your sense of personhood degrade in order to make the illusion work for you?¹¹

The degradation of language, as George Orwell argued in “Politics and

of ‘Ali, with the One Hundred Proverbs Attributed to Al-Jahiz (NYU Press: 2014), xiii.

⁸ Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *‘Awālī al-la’ālī al-‘aziziya al-dīniyya* (Mu’assasat Sayyid al-Shuhadā’: 1983), 1:71.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:71, no. 3.

¹⁰ It is encouraging to see senior ulema like Sayyid Munir al-Khabbāz lament this phenomenon in public. See, for example, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v8a8yoPsYTY&list=PLB8F595DFBCB48380&index=14>. Al-Khabbāz has also spoken about the reading habits of Sayyid al-Sistānī. See, for example <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hiWlHO8BebI&list=PLB8F595DFBCB48380&index=22> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NiO-rvf8ryk&list=PLB8F595DFBCB48380&index=23>.

¹¹ Jaron Lanier, *You Are Not a Gadget: A Manifesto* (Alfred A. Knopf: 2010), 24, eBook, quoted in Muhammad U. Faruque, “AI versus Human Consciousness: A Future with Machines as Our Masters?,” *Renovatio* 2022. Accessed 11th April 2025, <https://renovatio.zaytuna.edu/article/ai-versus-human-consciousness>.

the English Language,” has political (and I would add spiritual) consequences.¹² He writes:

[Language] becomes ugly and inaccurate because our thoughts are foolish, but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts... Modern English, especially written English, is full of bad habits which spread by imitation... If one gets rid of these habits one can think more clearly, and to think clearly is a necessary first step toward political regeneration: so that the fight against bad English is not frivolous and is not the exclusive concern of professional writers.

Not only does illiteracy diminish our capacity to recognise what is truly human and inhibit clear thinking, it deprives us of the ability to manifest beauty in speech and in writing.

Second, much of Islam in English is ugly because those who possess the requisite skill in Arabic (or Persian, Turkish, Urdu, etc.) rarely possess the requisite skill in English and vice versa. To be sure, philological expertise is necessary, but it is not sufficient: one needs to have good taste in both languages and that is a tall order indeed. As an aside, I should warn you that, while I'm somewhat competent in Arabic and English, I'm no philologist and my kids question my taste in just about everything.

Third, Islam in English tends to prioritise meaning over readability, lyricism, and affect. Frankly, this is understandable as no real lover would countenance the distortion of his beloved's words. But an overriding concern for meaning does not ensure accuracy either. Consider Shawkat Toorawa's translation of Q 111 (which he titles Abu Lahab):

In the name of God, Full of Compassion, Ever Compassionate

¹² George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language," *Horizon* (April 1946). Accessed 11th April 2025, <https://www.orwellfoundation.com/the-orwell-foundation/orwell/essays-and-other-works/politics-and-the-english-language/>.

(1) Abu Lahab and his power both will expire. (2) He will not be saved by wealth or the profits he may acquire. (3) He will be plunged into *lahab*, a flaming fire! (4) And his woman—that kindling-carrier—(5) Will wear about her neck a halter of palm-fibre!

In a lecture titled “How (Not) to Translate the Qur’ān,” Toorawa explains some of his choices.¹³ First, his translation of the *basmala* reflects the etymological relationship between “*al-raḥmān*” and “*al-raḥīm*.” Second, his translation preserves the end rhyme in the original *sūra*. Moreover, the letter “b” in the word “fibre” evokes the primary rhyme in the original *sūra*: *tabb, kasab, lahab, al-ḥaṭab, masad*. Finally, to preserve the pun on his name, Toorawa left “*Abu Lahab*” untranslated and used the original term “*lahab*” in Q 111:3, followed by the gloss “a flaming fire.”

By attempting to strike a balance between meaning, readability, lyricism, and affect, Toorawa has managed to produce a translation that conveys at least some of the power of the original *sūra*. In this respect, it is *more* accurate than translations that are narrowly focused on meaning. There is a place for academic translations that bring the Arabic text to mind, but such translations are rarely eloquent and therefore they do not stir the soul or “set hearts at ease.”¹⁴

English is a relatively new Islamic language. It will take time for Islam in English to achieve the level of beauty and eloquence that Islam in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and other languages has achieved. Remember that it took the virtuosity of a Mīr Anīs (1803-1874) to transform *marsiya* into a genre of Urdu poetry that could be mentioned alongside *ghazal*.¹⁵ Moreover, the situation of Islam in

¹³ Shawkat Toorawa, “How (Not) to Translate the Qur’ān,” YouTube. Accessed 12th March 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EOoLj7oCCFU>.

¹⁴ Q 13:28.

¹⁵ See Timsal Masud, *Mir Anees ka ek Marsiya* (Arshia Publications: 2011), 5-8. On the development of *marsiya* in Pakistan, see this interview with Iftikhar Arif, YouTube. Accessed 12th March 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-WU9ANNEWSY>.

English is far better than it was just twenty years ago. In addition to Toorawa's excellent translations of the Qur'ān,¹⁶ Tahera Qutbuddin has produced a truly marvellous translation of *Nahj al-balāgha*.¹⁷ And yet, the landscape of Islam in English still appears desolate to me. I long to see beautiful translations of *Du'ā' kumayl*, *Du'ā' abī ḥamza al-thumālī*, *Ziyārat al-jāmi'a al-kabīra*, and so many other prayers that have sustained the Shī'a over time. It was this longing and not some mistaken belief in my abilities that caused me to attempt (perhaps foolishly) a translation of *Munājāt sha'bāniyya*.

The Imams' Special Appeals to God

The legacy of the House of the Prophet includes scores of beautiful supplications, but there is perhaps no supplication more beautiful than *Munājāt sha'bāniyya*. In the introduction to his translation of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya*, William Chittick says, "No one with any sensitivity toward human weakness and God's love can fail to be moved at least by some of the supplications contained in the *Ṣaḥīfa*."¹⁸ This statement is even truer of *Munājāt sha'bāniyya*, which men and women of great spiritual achievement have held in the highest regard. One of these sages said the following:

¹⁶ See *The Devotional Qur'an: Beloved Surahs and Verses*, selected and trans. by Shawkat Toorawa (Yale University Press: 2024) and "Translations." Accessed 12th March 2025, <https://shawkutis.weebly.com/translations.html>.

¹⁷ *Nahj al-Balāghah*, ed. and trans. by Tahera Qutbuddin. See also al-Qāḍī al-Qudā'ī, *Light in the Heavens: Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad*, ed. and trans. by Tahera Qutbuddin (NYU: 2016) and idem., *A Treasury of Virtues*. See also the translations in Tahera Qutbuddin, *Arabic Oration: Art and Function* (Brill, 2019), which includes a translation of *al-Khuṭba al-fadakiyya*. Although it is beyond the scope of Islam in English (as I have defined the term), I would like to acknowledge a new translation of Fayz-i Kāshānī's *al-Aṣḥā fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* by my dear friend and colleague Alexander Khaleeli (ICAS Press: 2024).

¹⁸ *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya*, trans. by W. Chittick (1988), *Al-Islam.org*. Accessed 4th November 2025, <https://al-islam.org/sahifa-al-kamilah-al-sajjadiyya-imam-ali-zayn-al-abidin/translators-introduction#tawhid-devotional-mode>

You've read *Munājāt sha'bāniyya*. Read it. *Munājāt sha'bāniyya* belongs to a special class of special appeals to God. If you apply the teachings in these appeals, if you reflect on their contents, they'll elevate your soul. The one who spoke these words—and, according to tradition, all of the Imams prayed to God in these words—had already been liberated from sin and yet he prayed to God in this way because he wasn't egotistical. Whatever they were in reality, the Imams did not think "I am," for example, "Imam Sadiq." No, Imam Sadiq prayed to God like someone drowning in sin because he could see that he himself is nothing, whatever exists is flawed, and whatever exists comes from Him. Whatever perfection there is, it's from God. Imam Sadiq himself has nothing. None of the Imams had anything and neither did the prophets. Everyone is nothing. There is only God. And everyone is drawn to Him—everything is drawn to Him by its very nature. But, since we're cloaked in veils, we don't understand that we're drawn to Him. Those who do understand are liberated and they set out in search of this very reality. This is the total detachment they sought, which means abandoning everything in existence. Regarding the phrase "he has always been outrageous and oblivious," which occurs in the verse "We offered the trust to the heavens, the earth, and the mountains, but they refused to undertake it and were afraid of it. Man undertook it—*he has always been outrageous and oblivious*," some say "outrageous and oblivious" is actually God's highest praise for man. He's "outrageous" because he breaks every idol, breaks everything. He's "oblivious" because he pays no attention to anything, he doesn't notice anything—he's oblivious to everything other than God. We can't be like that. We can't undertake God's trust. But we can walk the road.

Reading *Munājāt sha'bāniyya* with an open heart is one of the surest ways of walking the road that leads to God and God alone. Q 39:53 states, "My servants who have wronged yourselves by your own excesses, do not despair of God's mercy—God forgives all sins. He is

truly the most forgiving, the most merciful.” I have found *Munājāt sha‘bāniyya* to be a potent remedy for despair.

The Provenance of the Text

The content of *Munājāt sha‘bāniyya* speaks for itself, but there is no harm in addressing the provenance of the text.¹⁹ Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) included the text in his *Iqbāl al-a‘māl*.²⁰ He says it was related from “Ibn Khālawayh” (*marwī ‘an ibn Khālawayh*) whom he identifies as the famous Shī‘ī litterateur Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad. As Ibn Ṭāwūs notes, al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058) said this individual knew “our doctrine” in addition to knowing Arabic language and literature, and he resided in Aleppo.²¹ Furthermore, Ibn Ṭāwūs notes that Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643/1245) mentioned Ibn Khālawayh in his addendum (*dhayl*) to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s (d. 464/1072) *Ta’rīkh baghdad*—Ibn Ṭāwūs had summarised this addendum in a work titled *Kitāb al-taḥṣīl min al-tadhyīl* and he says that he mentioned this individual in his summary too. Quoting Ibn al-Najjār, Ibn Ṭāwūs says, “[al-Ḥasan Ibn Khālawayh] was an authority (*imām*), unique among the people of his time in every branch of knowledge and literature. People came to see him from far and wide. He resided in Aleppo [where] the Ḥamdānids honored him and he died there.”²²

¹⁹ See Hassan Ansari, “Darbāra-yi Sanad-i Munājāt-i Sha‘bāniyya,” *Kateban*. Accessed 13th March 2025, <https://ansari.kateban.com/post/4832>. My remarks are based on Ansari’s brief notice. More broadly, see Ansari, “Some Remarks on the Authenticity of Supplications in Shi’a Hadith Literature,” trans. by Sayyid Ali, *Iqra Online*. Accessed 27th March 2025, <https://iqraonline.net/some-remarks-on-the-authenticity-of-supplications-in-shia-hadith-literature/>.

²⁰ ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-a‘māl* (Maktab al-‘Ilām al-Islāmī: 1414/1993), 3:295-299.

²¹ al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Mu’assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī: 1407/1986), 67, no. 161.

²² Ansari states that al-Ḥasan Ibn Khālawayh was associated with the Ḥamdānid emir Sayf al-Dawla, who ruled Aleppo from 336/947 until his

Returning to *Munājāt sha'bāniyya*, according to Ibn Ṭāwūs, Ibn Khālawayh said, "It is the *munājāt* of Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, and the Imams among his descendants, peace be upon them. They would pray in these words in the month of Sha'bān." Part of the text may very well go back to 'Alī. Furthermore, it is plausible to suppose that a later Imam amended this core and the Shī'a received the amended text.

Ibn Ṭāwūs seems to have misidentified the narrator of the text. It seems more likely that the Ibn Khālawayh in question was actually Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Mahjūr al-Fārisī. In his profile on this individual, who was also known as Ibn Khālawayh, al-Najāshī says, "[He was] a sheikh from among our associates [and he was] trustworthy... He had a book on the rituals of Rajab, *a book on the rituals of Sha'bān*, and a book on the rituals of Ramaḍān. Several of our associates related material from him to me."²³

If the narrator of *Munājāt sha'bāniyya* was 'Alī Ibn Khālawayh and not al-Ḥasan Ibn Khālawayh, then it seems reasonable to suppose that it was included in 'Alī Ibn Khālawayh's book on the rituals of Sha'bān. Moreover, the wording in *Iqbāl* (i.e. *marwī 'an Ibn Khālawayh*) suggests Ibn Ṭāwūs did not possess the book itself so he must have cited it indirectly, which explains why he confused the author of this book with the Shī'ī litterateur by the same name.

Al-Najāshī died in the middle of the fifth/eleventh century and he transmitted material from 'Alī Ibn Khālawayh via an intermediary. Therefore, we can trace the text back to a written source that circulated among the Shī'a during the first half of the fifth/eleventh century (if not earlier) with some degree of confidence, which mitigates the weakness of its chain of transmission.

A Comparison of Translations

In addition to dictionaries, thesauruses, and great works of English

death in 356/967.

²³ al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 268 no. 699. Emphasis added.

literature, I consulted three older translations. The best way to illustrate my approach to the translation, which favours readability and affect, is to compare three selections from these older translations (1-3) with my proposals (4). Consider the following phrase:

wa-lā yakhfā ‘alayka amru munqalabī wa-mathwāya

(1) And no matter pertaining to my transitory life and my ultimate goal is hidden from you

(2) And [you] are not unaware of my future and of my present

(3) And all my moves and stillness are known by you

(4) You know every move I make

The verb “*inqalaba*” means to be turned over, transformed, to return, etc. *Munqalab* is the end one meets. For example, Q 26:227 states, “The evildoers will find out what they will return to (*ayya munqalab yanqalibūn*).” The verb *thawā* means to stay, settle, remain forever. *Mathwā* is a dwelling, a place of rest. For example, Q 3:151 states, “Their shelter will be the fire—how miserable is the home (*mathwā*) of the evildoers.” So a straightforward translation of the meaning is “you know my fate,” but this seems incongruous with the next three phrases all of which deal with God’s knowledge of what the supplicant wants in the present moment: [You know] everything I want to say, all that I wish to ask of you, and the end for which I hold out hope. It also fails to capture the contrast between *munqalab* and *mathwā*, movement and inactivity. For these reasons, I prefer (3) over (1) and (2), but the syntax of (3) is unnatural. If something is known to you, then you know it—the use of the passive voice does not add anything. Additionally, “every move I make” is better English than “all my moves and stillness.” In my translation, the entire sentence (this phrase plus the next three phrases) reads as follows: You know every move I make, everything I want to say, all that I wish to ask of you, and the end for which I hold out hope.

Now consider the following sentence:

ilāhī hab lī qalban yudnīhi minka shawquhu wa-lisānan yurfā’u

ilayka şidquhu wa-naẓaran yuqarribuhu minka ḥaqquhu

(1) My God, give me a heart whose ardour draws one close to you, a tongue whose sincerity ascends towards you, a vision whose trueness brings one close to you!

(2) My Lord, provide me with a heart, the passion of which may bring it near you, with a tongue the truth of which may be submitted to you, and with a vision the nature of which may bring it close to you.

(3) Oh my God, (please) grant me a heart whose longing for you will approach it to you, a tongue whose truthfulness is directed to you, and a sight whose righteousness advances towards you.

(4) Oh, God, grant me a heart that is enamoured with you, a tongue that speaks lofty truths, and the vision to draw nigh to you.

The key terms in the first phrase are “*qalb*” and “*shawq*.” “*Shawq*” means longing, yearning, craving, etc. In this respect, (2) and (3) are better than (1). “Enamoured” means captivated and affected by strong feelings of love, admiration, or fascination. If you are enamoured with someone, you are drawn to them, which eliminates the need to translate “*yudnihi minka*” and allows for a finer English phrase: a heart that is enamoured with you. “Heart” and “enamoured” also seem to go together, as in Emily Dickinson’s poem “Arrows enamoured of his Heart.”²⁴ None of the older translations of the second phrase make much sense. For instance, what is the ascent of the sincerity of a tongue? Instead of translating the expression “*yurfa’u ilayka şidquhu*” literally, I prefer to convey its meaning with the expression “lofty truths” since “lofty” means rising to a great height. As for the third phrase, it is difficult to translate well. The key terms are “*naẓar*” and “*ḥaqq*.” The suppliant is asking God for the power to see in the truest sense of the word, which implies seeing beyond mere forms. The

²⁴ See <https://acdc.amherst.edu/view/EmilyDickinson/ed0132-133> and <https://emilydickinson.org/node/54> (Accessed 13th March 2025).

ability to truly see, to see things as they are, draws you toward God. "Vision" carries this sense of the supernatural so I settled on "the vision to draw nigh to you." My translation of the entire sentence reads as follows: Oh, God, grant me a heart that is enamoured with you, a tongue that speaks lofty truths, and the vision to draw nigh to you.

Finally, consider the following passage, the first sentence of which (*ilāhī hab lī kamāl al-inqītā'i ilayk*) is among the most beloved sentences in the entire prayer:

*ilāhī hab lī kamāl al-inqītā'i ilayk wa-anir abšāra qulūbinā bi-
ḍiyā'i naẓarihā ilayk ḥattā takhriqa abšāru l-qulūb ḥujuba l-nūr
fa-tašila ilā ma'dini l-'aẓama wa-tašira arwāḥunā mu'allaqatan
bi-'izzī qudsik*

(1) My God, grant me utmost dedication to you and illumine the vision of our hearts with the light of their gaze towards you, until our hearts' vision pierces the curtains of light to reach the reserves of supremacy and our spirits become suspended to the majesty of your holiness!

(2) My Lord, grant me complete severance of my relations with everything else and total submission to you. Enlighten the eyes of our hearts with the light of their looking at you to the extent that they penetrate the veils of light and reach the Source of Grandeur, and let our souls get suspended by the glory of your sanctity.

(3) Oh my God, (please) grant me absolute devotion to you and illuminate the sights of our hearts with the light of observing you so that the sight of the hearts will penetrate the Screens of Light and arrive at the Core of Magnificence and that our souls hang to the majesty of your Holiness.

(4) Give me the gift of total indifference to everything but you, God. Illuminate the vision of our hearts by the splendour of setting their sight upon you until that vision pierces the curtains of light, reaching the core of grandeur, and our souls become fastened on the power of your sanctity.

Even though I handled “*ilāhī*” differently in the previous example, in most cases I prefer to place “God” (rather than “my God”) after a plea and use a comma to indicate the vocative, which is customary in English. “*Inqīṭā*” denotes the severance of one thing from another. In this respect, (2) is preferable to (1) and (3), but it is wordy. To my ear, “Total indifference to everything but you” sounds much better and it conveys the significance of “*kamāl al-inqīṭā’i ilayk*” very well. The challenging bit in “*wa-anir abṣāra qulūbinā bi-diyā’i naẓarihā ilayk*” is “*bi-diyā’i naẓarihā ilayk*.” How is the vision of our hearts illuminated? Is it “with the light of their gaze towards you” (1), “with the light of their looking at you” (2), “with the light of observing you” (3), or “by the splendour of setting their sight upon you” (4)? “By,” which means through, seems preferable. “Splendour” means great brightness and it has the advantage of alliteration with “setting” and “sight.” Although there is no alliteration in the original Arabic phrase, it adds a lyrical quality to the translation that runs throughout the Arabic prayer as a whole. The last point I wish to raise about this passage concerns the translation of “*wa-taṣīra arwāḥunā mu‘allaqatan bi-‘izzi qudsik*,” particularly the translation of “*mu‘allaqa*.” While “*mu‘allaqa*” can mean suspended (1 and 2) or hanging (3), neither of these make much sense in this context. “*Mu‘allaqa bi*” means dependent on, which seems to make sense until you realise that our souls have always been dependent on God—they do not *become* dependent on Him. The expressions “*‘ullīqa bi-hā*” and (more commonly) “*‘ullīqahā*” mean he became attached to her (i.e., he fell in love with her). Furthermore, the expression “*raghbatuhu mu‘allaqa bi-hā*” means his desire is directed toward her, he has his heart set on her. “Our souls become directed to the power of your sanctity” sounds strange, but “our souls become attached to the power of your sanctity” works. However, the verb “*‘allaqa bi*” also means to fasten to, which works even better since “fasten” can mean to direct one’s eyes or thoughts intently as in the sentence “He fastened his eyes on the speaker.” Therefore, it seems “and our souls become fastened on the power of your sanctity” is the best option. In my translation, the entire passage reads as follows: Give me the gift of total indifference to everything but you, God. Illuminate

the vision of our hearts by the splendour of setting their sight upon you until that vision pierces the curtains of light, reaching the core of grandeur, and our souls become fastened on the power of your sanctity.

I did not highlight inadequacies in these older translation to (God forbid) ridicule them.²⁵ I have no doubt that each of them was a labour of love. To be sure, in some cases, I could not do any better than one of these translations. I am sure people will find fault with my translation for one reason or another and I welcome constructive criticism, but there is something to be said for a translation that is recognisable as good English. I have shown my translation to undergraduate students and the responses have been overwhelmingly positive. These students could not assess the accuracy of the translation. While it was important for my translation to remain faithful to the original prayer, the fact that it moved my students, most of whom are not Muslim, is extremely gratifying. One student said it helped her see how the relationship between God and humanity is modelled after the relationship between a benevolent king and his wayward subject, and the scene of an intimate encounter with God is comparable to a royal court where subjects have an audience with their king. I could not have hoped for a better result.

Teach Your Children to Love ‘Alī

It is said that Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī went around Medina saying “Teach (*addibū*) your children to love ‘Alī.”²⁶ The verb “*addaba*” means educate or discipline, and it is related to the word “*adab*.” “*Adab*” is commonly translated as manners or etiquette, but it means more than just that.²⁷ To conclude this short essay, I want to draw your attention

²⁵ For this reason, I chose not to identify the authors of these older translations.

²⁶ See, for example, ‘Abd Allāh al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl fī ‘ilm al-rijāl* (Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt li-Ḥyā’ al-Turāth: 1431/2009), 14:56.

²⁷ See Mana Kia, “Persianate ‘*adab*’ involves far more than elegant manners,” *Psyche*. Accessed 17th March 2025, <https://psyche.co/ideas/persianate-adab->

to the fact that, in addition to “proper social and aesthetic form,” the word “*adab*” also means literature.²⁸ This, of course, is no coincidence as exposure to good literature was considered part of the cultivation of fine manners, good taste, and virtue. If that is true, what can we expect from a generation raised on *The Adventures of Captain Underpants* and *Dog Man*? Moreover, what if, having no recourse, this generation were to begin taking the ugliness of Islam in English for granted? Imam al-Riḍā is reported to have said, “If people only knew the beauty of our words, they would follow us.”²⁹ We have a responsibility to nurture our children’s innate desire for beauty and convey the words of the House of the Prophet to them in a beautiful way. Expose your children to good literature so they learn to recognise what is truly human, learn to think clearly, and learn to appreciate beauty—all of these paths lead to God.

A Translation of *Munājāt Sha‘bāniyya*

I begin in the name of God the most compassionate, the most caring.

اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلٰى مُحَمَّدٍ وَّآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ،

Oh, God, bless Muhammad and his family.

وَأَسْمَعْ دُعَائِي إِذَا دَعَوْتُكَ، وَأَسْمَعْ نِدَائِي إِذَا نَادَيْتُكَ، وَأَقْبِلْ عَلَيَّ إِذَا نَاجَيْتُكَ،

Hear my calls when I call out to you, listen to my cries when I cry out to you, come to my aid when I beseech you secretly.

involves-far-more-than-elegant-manners. See also Mana Kia, “Being Persian,” *Aeon*. Accessed 17th March 2025, <https://aeon.co/essays/when-persian-belonging-was-a-generous-cosmopolitan-belonging>.

²⁸ “Proper social and aesthetic form” is Kia’s explanation of the concept of Kia, “Persianate ‘*adab*.’” See Ibid.

²⁹ Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma‘ānī l-akhbār* (Daftar-i Intishārāt-i Islāmī: 1403/1982), 180.

فَقَدْ هَرَبْتُ إِلَيْكَ، وَوَقَفْتُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْكَ مُسْتَكِينًا لَكَ، مُتَضَرِّعًا إِلَيْكَ، رَاجِيًا لِمَا لَدَيْكَ
ثَوَابِي،

For I have run to you and now I stand before you in a pitiful state,
imploring you in hope of the bounties that lie with you alone.

وَتَعَلَّمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي، وَتَخْبِرُ حَاجَتِي، وَتَعْرِفُ ضَمِيرِي،

You know what is in my heart, my needs, and my innermost thoughts.

وَلَا يَخْفَى عَلَيْكَ أَمْرٌ مُنْقَلَبِي وَمَثْوَايَ، وَمَا أُرِيدُ أَنْ أَبْدِيَ بِهِ مِنْ مَنْطِقِي، وَأَتَفَوَّهُ بِهِ
مِنْ طَلِبَتِي، وَأَرْجُوهُ لِعَاقِبَتِي،

You know every move I make, everything I want to say, all that I wish
to ask of you, and the end for which I hold out hope.

وَقَدْ جَرَتْ مَقَادِيرُكَ عَلَيَّ - يَا سَيِّدِي - فِيمَا يَكُونُ مِنِّي إِلَى آخِرِ عُمْرِي، مِنْ سَرِيرَتِي
وَعَلَانِيَتِي،

You, my master, have already decreed what is to befall me until the
end of my life—what I conceal from others and what I do openly.

وَبِيَدِكَ - لَا يَبْدُ غَيْرُكَ - زِيَادَتِي وَنَقْصِي، وَنَفْعِي وَضَرِّي.

Whether I am given more or less, my welfare and my adversities, all of
it is in your hands and your hands alone.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ حَرَمْتَنِي، فَمَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَرْزُقُنِي؟

If you, God, were to deprive me, then who would provide for me?

وَأِنْ خَدَلْتَنِي، فَمَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَنْصُرُنِي؟

And if you were to forsake me, then who would come to my aid?

إِلَهِي، أَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ غَضَبِكَ، وَحُلُولِ سَخَطِكَ.

I seek refuge with you, God, from your fury and the bluster of your wrath.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ كُنْتُ غَيْرَ مُسْتَاهِلٍ لِرَحْمَتِكَ، فَأَنْتَ أَهْلٌ أَنْ تَجُودَ عَلَيَّ بِفَضْلِ سَعَتِكَ.

I may be unworthy of your mercy, God, but you are worthy of showering me with your overflowing generosity.

إِلَهِي، كَأَنِّي بِنَفْسِي وَاقِفَةٌ بَيْنَ يَدَيْكَ، وَقَدْ أَظَلَّهَا حُسْنُ تَوَكُّلِي عَلَيْكَ، فَقُلْتَ مَا أَنْتَ أَهْلُهُ، وَتَغَمَّدْتَنِي بِعَفْوِكَ.

It is as if my soul stands before you, God, and the trust I have placed in you is sheltering it. You say what you are worthy of saying and your forgiveness completely envelops me.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ عَفَوْتَ، فَمَنْ أَوْلَى مِنْكَ بِذَلِكَ؟

If you forgive, God, then who better to forgive than you.

وَإِنْ كَانَ قَدْ دَنَا أَجَلِي، وَلَمْ يُدْنِنِي مِنْكَ عَمَلِي، فَقَدْ جَعَلْتُ الْإِقْرَارَ بِالذَّنْبِ إِلَيْكَ وَسِيلَتِي.

And if death approaches and my deeds have not brought me close to you, then let the confession of my sins bring me close to you.

إِلَهِي، قَدْ جُرْتُ عَلَى نَفْسِي فِي النَّظَرِ لَهَا، فَلَهَا الْوَيْلُ إِنْ لَمْ تَغْفِرْ لَهَا.

I have wronged my self, God, by neglecting it. If you do not forgive it, it is doomed.

إِلَهِي، لَمْ يَزَلْ بَرُّكَ عَلَيَّ أَيَّامَ حَيَاتِي، فَلَا تَقْطَعْ بَرَّكَ عَنِّي فِي مَمَاتِي.

Throughout my life, God, you have been kind to me. Cease not to be kind in the hour of my death.

إِلَهِي، كَيْفَ آيَسُ مِنْ حُسْنِ نَظْرِكَ لِي بَعْدَ مَمَاتِي، وَأَنْتَ لَمْ تُؤَلِّنِي إِلَّا الْجَمِيلَ فِي حَيَاتِي؟

How could I ever despair of your loving care after death, God, when you have tended to me beautifully throughout my life?

إِلَهِي، تَوَلَّ مِنْ أَمْرِي مَا أَنْتَ أَهْلُهُ، وَعُدَّ عَلَيَّ بِفَضْلِكَ عَلَى مُذْنِبٍ قَدْ غَمَرَهُ جَهْلُهُ.

Tend to me in a way that is worthy of you, God, and confer your favour upon a sinner drowning in his own foolishness.

إِلَهِي، قَدْ سَتَرْتَ عَلَيَّ ذُنُوبًا فِي الدُّنْيَا، وَأَنَا أَحْوَجُ إِلَى سِتْرِهَا عَلَيَّ مِنْكَ فِي الْآخِرَى.

You have overlooked my sins in this world, God, and I desperately need you to overlook them in the world to come.

إِلَهِي، قَدْ أَحْسَنْتَ إِلَيَّ إِذْ لَمْ تُظْهِرْهَا لِأَحَدٍ مِنْ عِبَادِكَ الصَّالِحِينَ، فَلَا تَفْضَحْنِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ عَلَى رُؤُوسِ الْأَشْهَادِ.

You were good to me, God, as you did not divulge my sins to any of your virtuous servants, so do not expose me on the day of the resurrection in front of everyone.

إِلَهِي، جُودُكَ بَسَطَ أَمْلِي، وَعَفْوُكَ أَفْضَلُ مِنْ عَمَلِي. إِلَهِي، فَسَرَّنِي بِلِقَائِكَ يَوْمَ تَقْضِي فِيهِ بَيْنَ عِبَادِكَ.

Your magnanimity has filled me with hope. Your pardon is far better than my deeds. So make me rejoice in meeting you on the day when you shall settle all accounts.

إِلَهِي، اِعْتِنَايَ إِلَيْكَ اِعْتِنَاؤُ مَنْ لَمْ يَسْتَغْنِ عَنْ قَبُولِ عُذْرِهِ، فَاقْبَلْ عُذْرِي يَا أَكْرَمَ مَنْ اِعْتَذَرَ إِلَيْهِ الْمُسِيئُونَ.

My plea to you, God, is the plea of one who cannot but plead for the acceptance of his excuse. So accept my excuse, oh, most noble of

anyone to whom the disobedient plea.

إِلَهِي، لَا تَرُدُّ حَاجَتِي، وَلَا تُخَيِّبْ طَمَعِي، وَلَا تَقْطَعْ مِنْكَ رَجَائِي وَأُمْلِي.

Do not refuse my request, God. Do not disappoint me, do not dash my hopes.

إِلَهِي، لَوْ أَرَدْتَ هَوَانِي لَمْ تَهْدِنِي، وَلَوْ أَرَدْتَ فَضِيحَتِي لَمْ تَعَافِنِي.

If you had wanted to disgrace me, God, you would never have guided me. And if you had wanted to humiliate me, you would never have spared me.

إِلَهِي، مَا أَظُنُّكَ تَرُدُّنِي فِي حَاجَةٍ، قَدْ أَفْنَيْتُ عُمْرِي فِي طَلَبِهَا مِنْكَ.

Oh, God, I do not think you would refuse a request that I spent my entire life seeking from you.

إِلَهِي، فَلَكَ الْحَمْدُ أَبَدًا أَبَدًا، دَائِمًا سَرْمَدًا، يَزِيدُ وَلَا يَبِيدُ، كَمَا تُحِبُّ وَتَرْضَى.

You alone are worthy of praise, God, forever and ever, perpetually and eternally, increasing and never perishing, in the way you wish and find pleasing.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ أَخَذْتَنِي بِجُرْمِي، أَخَذْتُكَ بِعَفْوِكَ، وَإِنْ أَخَذْتَنِي بِذُنُوبِي، أَخَذْتُكَ بِمَغْفِرَتِكَ، وَإِنْ أَدْخَلْتَنِي النَّارَ، أَعْلَمْتُ أَهْلَهَا أَنِّي أُحِبُّكَ.

Oh, God, if you were to hold me to account for my offenses, I would hold you to account for your pardon. And if you were to hold me to account for my sins, I would hold you to account for your forgiveness. And if you were to send me to hell, I would tell its inhabitants that I love you.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ كَانَ صَغُرَ فِي جَنبِ طَاعَتِكَ عَمَلِي، فَقَدْ كَبُرَ فِي جَنبِ رَجَائِكَ أَمْلِي.

Oh, God, if the effort I put into obeying you was trivial, the hope I placed in you was immense.

إِلَهِي، كَيْفَ أَنْقَلَبُ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ بِالْخَبِيَةِ مَحْرُومًا، وَقَدْ كَانَ حُسْنُ ظَنِّي بِجُودِكَ أَنْ تَقْلِبَنِي بِالنَّجَاةِ مَرْحُومًا.

How could I be turned away frustrated and deprived when your generosity led me to believe you would let me go with the news of my redemption.

إِلَهِي، وَقَدْ أَفْنَيْتُ عُمْرِي فِي شِرَّةِ السَّهْوِ عَنْكَ، وَأَبْلَيْتُ شَبَابِي فِي سَكْرَةِ التَّبَاعُدِ مِنْكَ.

I spent my life mischievously neglecting you, God, and I wasted my youth drunk off of my alienation from you.

إِلَهِي، فَلَمْ أَسْتَيْقِظْ أَيَّامَ اغْتِرَارِي بِكَ، وَرُكُونِي إِلَى سَبِيلِ سَخَطِكَ؛

Oh, God, I slumbered the days away when I was blind to you and inclined to a path that displeases you.

إِلَهِي، وَأَنَا عَبْدُكَ وَابْنُ عَبْدِكَ قَائِمٌ بَيْنَ يَدَيْكَ، مُتَوَسِّلٌ بِكَرَمِكَ إِلَيْكَ.

But I am your servant, God, and your servant's son. I stand before you today beseeching you by your magnanimity.

إِلَهِي، وَأَنَا عَبْدُكَ وَابْنُ عَبْدِكَ قَائِمٌ بَيْنَ يَدَيْكَ، مُتَوَسِّلٌ بِكَرَمِكَ إِلَيْكَ. إِلَهِي، أَنَا عَبْدٌ أَتَنَصَّلُ إِلَيْكَ مِمَّا كُنْتُ أَوَاجِهُكَ بِهِ مِنْ قَلَّةِ اسْتِحْيَائِي مِنْ نَظَرِكَ، وَأَطْلُبُ الْعَفْوَ مِنْكَ إِذِ الْعَفْوَ نَعْتُ لِكَرَمِكَ.

I am just a slave, God, renouncing how shamelessly and openly I defied you, and begging your pardon as forgiveness is one aspect of your magnanimity.

إِلَهِي، لَمْ يَكُنْ لِي حَوْلٌ فَانْتَقِلَ بِهِ عَنْ مَعْصِيَتِكَ، إِلَّا فِي وَفْتٍ أَيْقَظْتَنِي لِمَحَبَّتِكَ، وَكَمَا أَرَدْتُ أَنْ أَكُونَ كُنْتُ، فَشَكَرْتُكَ بِإِذْخَالِي فِي كَرَمِكَ، وَلِتَطْهِيرِ قَلْبِي مِنْ أَوْسَاخِ

الْغَفْلَةِ عَنْكَ.

I did not have the strength to stop disobeying you, God, until you awakened me to your love. Then and only then did I become what you wanted me to be: I thanked you for enfolding me in your gentle arms and cleansing my heart from the stain of disregard.

إِلَهِي، اُنْظُرْ إِلَيَّ نَظْرَ مَنْ نَادَيْتَهُ فَأَجَابَكَ، وَاسْتَعْمَلْتَهُ بِمَعُونَتِكَ فَأَطَاعَكَ،

Oh, God, look at me like someone who responded to your call when you summoned him, someone who complied when you helped him enter into your service.

يَا قَرِيبًا لَا يَبْعُدُ عَنِ الْمُعْتَرِّ بِهِ، وَيَا جَوَادًا لَا يَخْلُ عَمَّنْ رَجَا ثَوَابَهُ.

Oh, God, you are never far away from those who are blind to you and you are never stingy with those who expect bounties from you.

إِلَهِي، هَبْ لِي قَلْبًا يُدْنِيهِ مِنْكَ شَوْقُهُ، وَلِسَانًا يَرْفَعُ إِلَيْكَ صِدْقُهُ، وَنَظْرًا يَقْرَبُهُ مِنْكَ حَقُّهُ.

Oh, God, grant me a heart that is enamoured with you, a tongue that speaks lofty truths, and the vision to draw nigh to you.

إِلَهِي، إِنَّ مَنْ تَعَرَّفَ بِكَ غَيْرَ مَجْهُولٍ، وَمَنْ لَازَبَكَ غَيْرَ مَخْذُولٍ، وَمَنْ أَقْبَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ غَيْرَ مَمْلُوكٍ.

One who befriends you, God, will never be forgotten, one who takes shelter with you will never be forsaken, and one to whom you attend will never grow weary.

إِلَهِي، إِنَّ مَنْ انْتَهَجَ بِكَ لِمُسْتَنِيرٍ، وَإِنْ مَنْ اعْتَصَمَ بِكَ لِمُسْتَجِيرٍ،

One who finds his way to you, God, is enlightened and one who clings to you finds refuge—I have taken shelter with you, God.

وَقَدْ لُدْتُ بِكَ - يَا إِلَهِي - فَلَا تُخَيِّبْ ظَنِّي مِنْ رَحْمَتِكَ، وَلَا تَحْجُبْنِي عَنْ رَأْفَتِكَ.

I expect you to have mercy on me, God, so do not disappoint me and do not prevent me from experiencing your compassion.

إِلَهِي، أَقِمْنِي فِي أَهْلِ وَلَايَتِكَ مَقَامَ مَنْ رَجَا الزِّيَادَةَ مِنْ مَحَبَّتِكَ.

Oh, God, lift me up to the station of your intimate friends, the station of those who long to be loved by you more and more.

إِلَهِي، وَالْهَمْنِي وَلَهَا بِذِكْرِكَ إِلَى ذِكْرِكَ، وَهَمِّتِي فِي رَوْحِ نَجَاحِ أَسْمَانِكَ وَمَحَلِّ قُدْسِكَ.

Let my remembrance of you, God, inspire a passion to continue remembering you and make me long for the day when I am rejuvenated by your names and your sacred presence.

إِلَهِي، بِكَ عَلَيْكَ إِلَّا أَلْحَقْتَنِي بِمَحَلِّ أَهْلِ طَاعَتِكَ، وَالْمَثْوَى الصَّالِحِ مِنْ مَرْضَاتِكَ، فَإِنِّي لَا أَقْدِرُ لِنَفْسِي دَفْعًا، وَلَا أَمْلِكُ لَهَا نَفْعًا.

I beseech you, God, to place me among those who obey you, in a good place where you are pleased with me, for I cannot ward off harm from my self nor can I benefit my self.

إِلَهِي، أَنَا عَبْدُكَ الضَّعِيفُ الْمَذْنِبُ، وَمَمْلُوكُكَ الْمُتَنِيبُ، فَلَا تَجْعَلْنِي مِمَّنْ صَرَفَتْ عَنْهُ وَجْهَكَ، وَحَجَبَهُ سَهْوُهُ عَنْ عَفْوِكَ.

I am just a weak and sinful servant, God, a contrite slave, so do not turn away from me and do not let my negligence prevent me from obtaining your forgiveness.

إِلَهِي، هَبْ لِي كَمَالَ الْإِنْقِطَاعِ إِلَيْكَ، وَأَنْزِرْ أَبْصَارَ قُلُوبِنَا بَضِيَاءَ نَظَرِهَا إِلَيْكَ، حَتَّى تَخْرُقَ أَبْصَارَ الْقُلُوبِ حُجَبَ النُّورِ، فَتَصِلَ إِلَى مَعْدِنِ الْعِظَمَةِ، وَتَصِيرَ أَرْوَاحُنَا مُعَلَّقَةً بِعِزِّ قُدْسِكَ.

Give me the gift of total indifference to everything but you, God. Illuminate the vision of our hearts by the splendour of setting their sight upon you until that vision pierces the curtains of light, reaching the core of grandeur, and our souls become fastened on the power of your sanctity.

إِلَهِي، وَاجْعَلْنِي مِمَّنْ نَادَيْتَهُ فَأَجَابَكَ، وَلَا حَظَّتْهُ فَصَعِقَ لِجَلَالِكَ، فَنَاجَيْتُهُ سِرًّا، وَعَمِلَ لَكَ جَهْرًا.

Oh, God, include me among those who respond to you when you call them, those who swoon before your glory when you look upon them—you speak to them softly and they work for you openly.

إِلَهِي، لَمْ أُسَلِّطْ عَلَى حُسْنِ ظَنِّي قُتُوطَ الْإِيَّاسِ، وَلَا انْقَطَعَ رَجَائِي مِنْ جَمِيلِ كَرَمِكَ.

I never allowed the gloom of despair to prevail over my belief in your goodness, God, and I never lost hope in the beauty of your kindness.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ كَانَتْ الْخَطَايَا قَدْ أَسْقَطْتَنِي لَدَيْكَ، فَاصْفَحْ عَنِّي بِحُسْنِ تَوَكُّلِي عَلَيْكَ.

If my mistakes have degraded me in your eyes, God, then pardon me on account of the absolute trust I placed in you.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ حَظَّتْ بِي الذُّنُوبُ مِنْ مَكَارِمِ لُطْفِكَ، فَقَدْ نَبَهَنِي الْيَقِينُ إِلَى كَرَمِ عَطْفِكَ.

If my sins have made me unworthy of your benevolent grace, God, my unshakeable faith in you has reassured me of your bounteous compassion.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ أَنَامَتْنِي الْغَفْلَةُ عَنِ الْإِسْتِعْدَادِ لِلِقَائِكَ، فَقَدْ نَبَهْتَنِي الْمَعْرِفَةُ بِكَرَمِ آلَائِكَ.

If my failure to prepare to meet you, God, lulled me to sleep, then my cognisance of your lavish blessings has roused me from my slumber.

إِلَهِي، إِنْ دَعَانِي إِلَى النَّارِ عَظِيمُ عِقَابِكَ، فَقَدْ دَعَانِي إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ جَزِيلُ ثَوَابِكَ.

Oh, God, if the severity of your punishment summons me to hell, the abundance of your rewards summons me to heaven.

إِلَهِي، فَلَكَ أَسْأَلُ، وَإِلَيْكَ أَبْتَهِلُ وَأَرْغَبُ،

It is you alone that I ask, God, you alone that I beseech, you alone that I petition.

وَأَسْأَلُكَ أَنْ تُصَلِّيَ عَلَيَّ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ، وَأَنْ تَجْعَلَنِي مِمَّنْ يُدِيمُ ذِكْرَكَ، وَلَا يَنْقُضُ عَهْدَكَ، وَلَا يَغْفُلُ عَنْ شُكْرِكَ، وَلَا يَسْتَخِفُّ بِأَمْرِكَ.

I ask you to bless Muhammad and his family, and to include me among those who constantly remember you, those who never violate their covenant with you, those you never fail to thank you, and those who never make light of your commands.

إِلَهِي، وَالْحَقِّينِ بِنُورِ عِزِّكَ الْأَبْهَجِ، فَأَكُونُ لَكَ عَارِفًا، وَعَنْ سِوَاكَ مُنْحَرِفًا، وَمِنْكَ خَائِفًا مُرَاقِبًا،

Oh, God, surround me with the brilliant light of your majesty so that I may know you and turn away from everything other than you, so that I may fear you and devote myself to you.

يَا ذَا الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ،

Oh, you who are exalted and revered.

وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ وَآلِهِ الطَّاهِرِينَ، وَسَلَّمَتْ تَسْلِيمًا كَثِيرًا.

May God bless his messenger Muhammad and the pure family of Muhammad, and lavish peace upon them.

Al-Qalam Journal



REVIEWS

Contemporary *Ḥadīth* Studies in Iranian Scholarship: The Reconstruction of Early Textual Sources

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Introduction

In recent decades, Iranian scholars have developed sophisticated methodological approaches to one of the most challenging problems in Shī'ī *ḥadīth* studies: the reconstruction of early textual sources that, while no longer extant in their original form, served as the foundation for later canonical compilations. This methodological revolution, pioneered by distinguished scholars such as Muḥammad Jawād Shubayrī Zanjānī, has transformed our understanding of the transmission history of Imāmī traditions.

The intellectual genealogy of the Imāmī *ḥadīth* corpus follows a complex trajectory. Early Shī'ī scholars meticulously compiled traditions, transmitting complete collections to their students, who either preserved these works intact or selectively incorporated materials into new compilations. While bibliographical works (*fihrist*s) documented these transmission paths and source texts, many original compilations gradually fell into disuse and eventually disappeared. Innovative analytical frameworks developed by contemporary Iranian scholars have made it possible to trace and reconstruct these lost sources through careful examination of transmission patterns, textual features, and bibliographical evidence.

This study examines the methodological principles governing contemporary source-critical approaches to *ḥadīth* in Iranian scholarship. It categorises and analyses the diverse rules and criteria that scholars have developed for identifying written sources, distinguishing between oral and written transmission, and reconstructing the complex chains of textual transmission underlying major *ḥadīth* collections. By synthesising these methodological

discussions, which have primarily appeared in Persian-language scholarship and remain largely untapped in Western academia, this research illuminates the sophisticated analytical techniques that have revitalised the study of early Shīʿī textual history.

List of Ten Articles Reviewed in This Paper

1. Āmina Ḥaddādī, Nuṣrat Nīlsāz, Nahla Gharawī Nāʾinī, and Muḥammad Kāzim Rahmati, “Taḥlīl-i Kārkard-i Ḥalqa-yi Mushtarak dar Bāzyābī-yi Manābīʿ-i Āthār-i Riwayī-yi: Muṭālaʿa-yi Mawridī-yi Riwayāt-i ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm dar *al-Kāfi*,” *Ulūm-i Qurʾān wa Ḥadīth* 107 (2022): 271-93.
2. Ḥammādī, ʿAbd al-Riḍā and ʿAliriḍā Ḥusaynī Shirāzī, “Bāzshināsī-yi Manābīʿ-i Kulaynī dar Tadwīn-i *Kāfi*,” *Ḥadīth Pazhūhī* 6/11 (2014): 181-206.
3. Jamāl Farzandwahy and Minā Yaʿqūbī, “Iʿtibārsanjī-yi Manābīʿ-i Kitāb-i *al-Kāfi*,” *Sirāj Munīr* 8 (2021): 114-38.
4. Muḥammad Jawād Shubayrī Zanjānī, “*al-Kātib al-Nuʿmānī wa Kitābahu al-Ghayba*,” *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* 2/3 (2007): 238-75.
5. Muḥammad Jawād Shubayrī Zanjānī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya wa al-Ghayba fī Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*,” *Majmūʿa Maqālāt Muʿtamar al-Imām al-Mahdī wa Mustaqbal al-Ālam* 2 (2013): 85-151.
6. Muḥammad Riḍā Jadīdīnizhād, “Ravish-i Dastyābī bi Manābīʿ-i *al-Kāfi*,” *Āyini-yi Pazhūhish* 123 (2019): 16-20.
7. Muhammad Kazim Rahmati, “Bāzyābī-yi Mutūn-i Kuhan-i Imāmiyya dar Āthār-i Shaykh Ṣadūq,” *Ḥadīth-i Andisha* 9-10 (2016): 107-12.
8. Muḥsin Qāsimpūr and Muḥtabā ʿAlī Akbariyan, “*al-Nawādir-i Ashʿarī: Maṣdar-i Ḥadīthī-yi al-Kāfi-yi Kulaynī*,” *Muṭālīʿāt-i Fahm-i Ḥadīth* 7 (2020): 9-33.
9. Umīd Muḥīd Bujnūrdī, “Chigūnigī-yi Irtibāṭ-i Kulaynī bā Kitāb-i Muḥammad b. Muslim dar Partu-i Barrasī-yi Asnād wa Dādihā-yi Kitābshinākhti,” *Ḥadīth Ḥawza* 9/18 (2018): 61-96.
10. Zahrā Sarbāz, Murtaḍā Īrwānī, and Suhiylā Pīrūzfar, “Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Sālim dar *Kāfi*-yi Kulaynī: Maṣādir wa Maʾākhidh,” *Muṭālaʿāt-i Tārīkhī-yi Qurʾān wa Ḥadīth* 69 (2023): 45-63.

1. Written and Oral Transmission and Their Identification

In the process of transmitting *ḥadīth* from teacher to student, two methods are typically employed: “oral” (*shafāhī*) and “written” (*katbī*). In the oral method, the student hears the *ḥadīth* from the teacher without access to the text; conversely, when the student has the text of the book and hears the *ḥadīth* from the teacher, this method is recognised as written transmission. As Muḥammad Jawād Shubayrī Zanjānī has oft-noted, an author’s explicit mention of hearing a *ḥadīth* does not necessarily mean that the *ḥadīth* was not transmitted from a book.¹ There is substantial evidence showing that most Shī‘ī *ḥadīths* existed in written form from a certain point in history, and by the early third/ninth century, few *ḥadīths* from the second/eighth century remained that were transmitted only orally.

1.1 Methods of Distinguishing Written from Oral Transmission

One of the fundamental questions in this field is: How can one prove the existence of written sources for a compiler without relying on bibliographical (*fiḥristī*) reports? Shubayrī considers the principle of “taking *ḥadīth* from a written source” (*akhdh al-ḥadīth min maṣḍar maktūb*) to be proven based on specific evidence: he believes that the repetition of several names (all together or some of them together) or phrases like “a group of our companions” (*jamā‘a min aṣḥābinā*) at the beginning of an *isnād* that leads to one person in multiple instances is “the best evidence” for the existence of one or more written sources for that compiler. This is because it is unlikely that all these *ḥadīths* were transmitted orally from the teachers. Of course, methods such as the compiler’s explicit mention of his sources are also among important pieces of evidence, which will be addressed later in the article.²

However, if there is no evidence for the written nature of a compiler’s sources, should one consider the transmission of those

¹ Muḥammad Jawād Shubayrī Zanjānī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya wa al-Ghayba fī Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni‘ma*,” *Majmū‘a Maqālāt Mu‘tamar al-Imām al-Mahdī wa Mustaqbal al-‘Ālam* 2 (2013), 95.

² See Section 2.1.1.

ḥadīths to have been oral? One could argue that given the numerous pieces of evidence for the written transmission of *ḥadīths* among the Shīʿī from the third/ninth century onward, even if we cannot identify a compiler's written source for a particular *ḥadīth*, we can still consider its transmission to have been written. This is because our current rules for identifying written sources are limited and cannot identify all of a compiler's written sources. Of course, if there is independent evidence indicating the oral transmission of a specific *ḥadīth*, we can accept that the *ḥadīth* was transmitted orally. However, Shubayrī suggests the possibility of oral transmission from teacher to student in cases where no evidence has been found to identify a written source—even tentatively. It is unclear whether he means oral transmission without any reliance on writing, or merely that the student did not have access to the teacher's written text and the teacher dictated it for the student to write down or memorise.

1.2 Evidence for Identifying Oral Transmission

What independent evidence can be presented for the oral transmission of a *ḥadīth*? Shubayrī presents evidence for identifying the oral transmission of *ḥadīth*. This evidence can be limited to seven cases.

1.2.1 The Compiler's Explicit Statement of Hearing with Evidence

Shubayrī presents this category of evidence,³ and it seems this category should be of a nature that excludes the possibility of hearing a book, because as we mentioned, explicitly stating that a *ḥadīth* was heard (*samāʿ*) is broader than oral transmission and includes written transmission as well. Additionally, Shubayrī takes the expression “he read to me” (*aqraʿanī*) at the beginning of an *isnād* as evidence for the oral transmission of that text.⁴

³ Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 95.

⁴ Idem., “*al-Kātib al-Nuʿmānī wa Kitābahu al-Ghayba*,” *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth* 2/3 (2007), 225.

1.2.2 The Chain Including One or More Narrators Other Than the Compiler

Sometimes the chain of transmission available contains only one narrator who is not counted as a compiler,⁵ and sometimes the chain includes several narrators with this characteristic.⁶ Naturally, Shubayrī's reliance in determining that someone is not a compiler is based on reports in existing bibliographical works (*fihrist*). In one case, he also considers it unlikely that a person from Qom would be a compiler but that his book would not be reflected in *fihrist*s—especially Qummī bibliographies such as al-Ṣadūq's bibliography, which is the primary source for existing bibliographies.⁷

1.2.3 The Compiler's Teacher Having Only One or Two *Ḥadīth* and not Being Among the Compilers

In cases where one of al-Ṣadūq's teachers has only one or two *ḥadīths* in all of *Kamāl al-dīn* and is not counted as a compiler, Shubayrī considers him to be an oral transmitter of *ḥadīth*.⁸ In his article on al-Nu'mānī, regarding teachers from whom only one *ḥadīth* appears in al-Nu'mānī's *Kitāb al-ghayba*, Shubayrī considers it probable that al-Nu'mānī received (at least most of) these *ḥadīth* from them orally.⁹

1.2.4 Different Chains After the Name of a Teacher Who is not a Compiler

The explanation of this category of evidence is as follows: al-Ṣadūq's narration of several *ḥadīths* from one of his teachers is in such a way that in each case, after the name of that teacher, there appears a chain that differs from the chain that appears after his name elsewhere. Additionally, this teacher should not be counted as a compiler. However, in his examples, some of these teachers have occasionally

⁵ Idem., "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 96.

⁶ Ibid., 101.

⁷ Ibid., 97.

⁸ Ibid., 97-100.

⁹ Idem., "*al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī*," 224-5.

narrated two *ḥadīths* from one person.¹⁰

1.2.5 The Unusual Chain of a Teacher Who is not a Compiler

When a teacher who serves as al-Ṣadūq's path to some books but is not counted as a compiler has unusual chains of transmission, Shubayrī considers it "not unlikely" that the *ḥadīth* that this teacher narrated with those chains can be considered his oral transmission to the compiler.¹¹ For example, in a case where the author has identified al-ʿAyyāshī's book as al-Ṣadūq's source based on evidence, even though that *ḥadīth*'s chain ends with Sulaym and the *ḥadīth* exists in Sulaym's current book, due to the unusual nature of al-ʿAyyāshī's chain up to Sulaym, he does not consider Sulaym's book to be al-ʿAyyāshī's direct source and considers this *ḥadīth* to be al-ʿAyyāshī's oral transmission from his teachers.¹² Of course, it is clear that here, his intended meaning of oral transmission cannot be transmission without reliance on writing or dictation, because the identical text of this report with the existing text of Sulaym's book indicates the presence of a written text that was made available to al-ʿAyyāshī in some way—even if through dictation.

1.2.6 Evidence that a Teacher Who has a Book is not a Path

Sometimes one of al-Ṣadūq's teachers is counted as a compiler, but we know through evidence that in this chain, he is not a path to the books of previous individuals. Such evidence includes: the restriction of the subsequent narrator to this chain or to a few chains, or that the narrator after the teacher is not counted as a compiler. In these cases, Shubayrī has tentatively raised the question of whether al-Ṣadūq received that *ḥadīth* orally from his teacher or whether it was a transmission from that teacher's book.¹³

¹⁰ Idem., "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 100-1.

¹¹ Ibid., 102.

¹² Ibid., 105-6.

¹³ Ibid., 111 and 119; Shubayrī, "*al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī*," 224-5.

1.2.7 The Absence of a Book by the Compiler-Teacher in the Subject Matter of Those *Ḥadīths*

In the article on al-Nu‘mānī, in cases where evidence indicates that a compiler-teacher is the source—for example, when there is discontinuity (*irsāl*) after the compiler-teacher (see section 2.1.10)—and he is counted as a compiler but does not have a book on the subject matter in question, Shubayrī considers that transmission to be oral. For example, in the chain “Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd from some of his men...” given that between the compiler (= al-Nu‘mānī) and the discontinuity there is only one person, he must be al-Nu‘mānī’s source, but since this person does not have a book on occultation (*ghayba*), this *ḥadīth* is considered oral.¹⁴

2. Rules for Determining the Presence or Absence of Written Sources

Several rules have been presented in order to identify the written sources of a book. The authors of the articles in question, assuming the written transmission of *ḥadīth* in Shī‘ī tradition, have presented some of these rules as important evidence, while others are presented only as supporting evidence alongside other indicators. At times, some of this evidence sees counterevidence against the authors’ claims; hence, some writers—such as Shubayrī—have explicitly stated that such evidence alone cannot identify a written source, or that its identification is acceptable only when it does not conflict with other evidence.

The rules presented in the articles under consideration are divided into two categories: rules that identify one of the narrators in the chain as the author of a written source, and rules that negate the possibility of a person in the chain being the source of a book.

¹⁴ Ibid., 196. The explanation of parts of this matter will come in the sections on “Discontinuity” (see Section 2.1.10) and “The thematic relationship of the *ḥadīth* with people’s books” (see Section 3.1).

2.1 Rules That Determine Whether a Narrator is the Source Owner

What follows are the rules that authors have presented for determining the written sources of a compiler. These rules have mainly been presented in Shubayrī's articles, and subsequent articles have used these rules to identify other sources. Naturally, the author of each article may have their own variations in using a particular rule, just as it is possible to use a rule in a different way that yields the opposite result.

2.1.1 The Explicit Reference of a Compiler or Narrator to Their Source

Shubayrī considers the book of Sulaym b. Qays as the only source that al-Nu'mānī explicitly references¹⁵. Similarly, he considers al-Ṣadūq's use of the phrase "I found in so-and-so's book..." (*wajadtu fī kitāb fulān*) as his explicit reference to his written source. In *Kamāl al-dīn*, al-Ṣadūq uses this expression once regarding Sa'd b. 'Abdullāh's book: "I found it written in Sa'd b. 'Abdullāh's handwriting."¹⁶ The author also uses al-Ṣadūq's explicit reference to one of his sources—al-'Ayyāshī's book—in *al-Faqīh*, which can also confirm that al-'Ayyāshī's book was a source for *Kamāl al-dīn*.¹⁷

In the article on al-Nu'mānī, the author also considers the phrase "from his book" (*min kitābihī*) in some of al-Nu'mānī's chains as an explicit indication that al-Nu'mānī—or one of the narrators in the chain—took from the book of the person whose name precedes this phrase. In numerous instances in this book, Ibn 'Uqda (al-Nu'mānī's teacher) explicitly states that his teacher narrated to him "from his book."

Muḥammad Kazim Rahmati also used two main methods to reconstruct al-Ṣadūq's sources, one of which is "al-Ṣadūq's explicit

¹⁵ Shubayrī, "*al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī*," 187.

¹⁶ Idem., "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawīyya*," 115.

¹⁷ Ibid., 127. Regarding al-'Ayyāshī's book being a source for al-Ṣadūq, more details will be presented in Section 2.1.2.2.

reference to his source.” Rahmati believes that in *Kamāl al-dīn*, when using theological books, al-Ṣadūq generally mentions the name of the book. Al-Ṣadūq’s theological sources in this book are as follows: several treatises by Ibn Qība, *al-Tanbīh fī l-imāma* written by Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī, *al-Mab’ath wa-l-mubtada’ wa-l-maghāzī* written by Abān b. ‘Uthmān, and *al-Mab’ath wa-l-mubtada’ wa-l-mab’ath wa-l-maghāzī* written by Ibn Ishāq.¹⁸ However, al-Ṣadūq does not mention the names of some of these books. Rahmati also considers Faḍl b. Shādhān’s *Ilal al-sharā’i’* to be one of al-Ṣadūq’s sources in *‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, which al-Ṣadūq explicitly references.¹⁹ Additionally, he considers his teacher Ibn al-Walid’s book *al-Jāmi’* as one of al-Ṣadūq’s sources in *al-Tawḥīd*, which al-Ṣadūq explicitly references as a source in one instance.²⁰

2.1.2 The Existence of the Source in Modern Times or the Ability to Identify Parts of It

In Shubayrī’s—and other writers’—approach, his category of evidence can both affirm or deny the existence of a source. This means that if a *ḥadīth* appearing in a book was found in one of the existing sources, then that source was available to the author of that book and was used by them. If it was not found, this means that the *ḥadīth* was not taken from this source. Additionally, has addressed the topics of “indirect transmission” and “chain transformation among early scholars,” and using various pieces of evidence, he has identified a book as the source for some *ḥadīths* in one of the existing books, even though the name of the author of that source does not appear in the chains of those *ḥadīths*.²¹ Therefore, we will divide the discussion of this rule into three parts.

¹⁸ Muḥammad Kazim Rahmati, “Bāzyābī-yi Mutūn-i Kuhan-i Imāmiyya dar Āthār-i Shaykh Ṣadūq,” *Ḥadīth-i Andīsha* 9-10 (2016), 109-10.

¹⁹ Ibid., 109.

²⁰ Ibid., 110.

²¹ Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*”.

2.1.2.1 The Affirmative Role of this Category of Evidence

It seems that Shubayrī believes that when a *ḥadīth* exists in an available source belonging to someone who appears in that *ḥadīth*'s chain of transmission, that *ḥadīth* can be considered as taken from that source. In his article on *Kamāl al-dīn*, he has identified *al-Kāfi* by al-Kulaynī and *al-Imāma wa-l-tabṣira* by al-Ṣadūq's father as al-Ṣadūq's available sources.²² He has also considered a *ḥadīth* from Sulaym to be from al-ʿAyyāshī's book due to al-ʿAyyāshī's presence in the chain and the existence of the *ḥadīth* in *Shawāhid al-tanzīl* through al-ʿAyyāshī's route²³, as it is known that al-ʿAyyāshī's exegesis was available to the author of *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*. The author also considers *al-Kāfi* as the only available source for al-Nuʿmānī's book.²⁴

Zahrā Sarbāz et al have also considered that when al-Kulaynī narrates a *ḥadīth* with a chain from Ibn Abī ʿUmayr, and al-Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* also narrates it from Ibn Abī ʿUmayr's book, this indicates that the author of *al-Kāfi* also took it from Ibn Abī ʿUmayr's book.²⁵ Similarly, the authors have considered that when several *ḥadīths* in *Tahdhīb* are narrated from Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd's books, this indicates that *al-Kāfi* also took them from the same source, since Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd's name appears in those chains.²⁶ Although Ibn Abī ʿUmayr's book and Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd's books have not reached us, the authors have taken it as a premise that al-Ṭūsī in *Tahdhīb* took these *ḥadīths* from these books. The authors have also erroneously claimed that al-ʿAllāma al-Majlisī had access to Ibn Abī ʿUmayr's *Nawādir*, and therefore, they consider the *ḥadīths* that are directly narrated from Ibn Abī ʿUmayr in *Biḥār al-anwār* to be from his book, and consequently, if these *ḥadīths* appear in another book with Ibn Abī ʿUmayr in their

²² Ibid., 103-4.

²³ Ibid., 105-6.

²⁴ Idem., "*al-Kātib al-Nuʿmānī*," 188.

²⁵ Zahrā Sarbāz, Murtaḍā Īrwānī, and Suhiylā Pirūzfar, "Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Sālim dar *Kāfi*-yi Kulaynī: Maṣādir wa Maʾākhidh," *Muʿālaʿāt-i Tārīkhī-yi Qurʾān wa Ḥadīth* 69 (2023), 53.

²⁶ Ibid.

chain, they consider that *ḥadīth* to be taken from his book.²⁷

Ḥammādī and Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī have also used this category of evidence in their article as corroboration for identifying one of *al-Kāfi*'s written sources (namely *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*).²⁸

2.1.2.2 The Role of This Category of Evidence in Denying the Existence of a Source

In his article on *Kamāl al-dīn*, Shubayrī has taken the absence of a *ḥadīth* in an existing source—when the chain of the *ḥadīth* includes the name of that source's author—as evidence that this chain was not a direct path to that existing source, even if there is other evidence suggesting that book was a source.²⁹ In an example given by the author, a *ḥadīth* in *Kamāl al-dīn* has a chain that is al-Ṣadūq's most frequent and closest chain (in his books) to Furāt—which suggests that Furāt's book should be al-Ṣadūq's source—but since this *ḥadīth* does not appear in the existing *Tafsīr Furāt*, he has not considered *Tafsīr Furāt* to be al-Ṣadūq's source.³⁰

However, in some cases, the author has not considered an existing source to be the direct source of the compiler (i.e. al-Ṣadūq), even when the *ḥadīth* appears in that source. For example, regarding two *ḥadīth* that al-Ṣadūq has narrated with two different chains from 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb, which also appear in 'Abbād's *Aṣl* included in the *Uṣūl sittat 'ashar*, he does not consider the *Aṣl* of 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb to be al-Ṣadūq's direct source. Instead, he has identified one of the intermediaries in the chain as al-Ṣadūq's source, whose source in turn was 'Abbād's *Aṣl*.³¹

The author has also denied that Sulaym's book was a source for al-Ṣadūq and has suggested that the *ḥadīths* that contain chains that

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ 'Abd al-Riḍā Ḥammādī and 'Aliriḍā Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī, "Bāzshināsī-yi Manābi'-i Kulaynī dar Tadwīn-i *Kāfi*," *Ḥadīth Pazhūhī* 6/11 (2014), 196.

²⁹ Shubayrī, "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 107.

³⁰ Ibid., 107-8.

³¹ Ibid., 108-9.

include Sulaym's name—which also appear in Sulaym's existing book—were taken from one of the intermediate sources. It is noteworthy that he has not provided evidence for this claim in general barring one case in which he has considered al-ʿAyyāshī's book—not Sulaym's book—to be al-Ṣadūq's direct source due to al-ʿAyyāshī's presence in the chain up to Sulaym b. Qays and the evidence he has presented for al-ʿAyyāshī's book being a source.³²

Sarbāz et al have claimed that the chain “ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm from his father from Ibn Abī ʿUmayr from Hishām b. Sālim” indicates that ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm was al-Kulaynī's teacher who granted him permission (to narrate), and is not the author of a source that was available to him. To deny that ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm's book was a source for al-Kulaynī, the authors have relied on evidence suggesting that *Tafsīr al-Qummī* was not among al-Kulaynī's sources.³³ However, some scholars disagree with this claim and, based on certain pieces of evidence, consider this book to be among al-Kulaynī's sources in *al-Kāfī*.³⁴ It should be noted that according to various pieces of evidence, *Tafsīr al-Qummī* does not actually belong to ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm,³⁵ but rather, he used a manuscript of this book which may not have been reliable.

2.1.2.3 Identical Arrangement of *Ḥadīth* in Two Sources; The Status of Chain Substitution and Indirect Transmission

Shubayrī, in addition to his article on *Kamāl al-dīn*, has also discussed the topics of “indirect transmission” (*akhdh bi-l-tawassuṭ*) and “chain

³² Ibid., 105-6.

³³ Sarbāz et al, “Aḥādith-i Hishām b. Sālim,” 50-1.

³⁴ Āmina Ḥaddādī et al, “Taḥlīl-i Kārkard-i Ḥalqa-yi Mushtarak dar Bāzyābī-yi Manābīʿ-ī Āthār-i Riwayī: Muṭālaʿa-yi Mawridī-yi Riwayāt-i ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm dar *al-Kāfī*,” *ʿUlūm-i Qurʾān wa Ḥadīth* 107 (2022), 283.

³⁵ Muḥammad Kāzīm Raḥmān Sitāyish and Rūḥullāh Shahīdī, “Bāzyābī-yi Manābīʿ-ī Tafsīr-i Qummī,” *Ḥadīth Pazhūhī* 9 (2017), 115; Shubayrī, Muḥammad Jawād, “Tafsīr ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm,” *Dānishnāma-yi Jahān-i Islām*, entry on “Tafsīr Maʾthūr” (2015), 7:701; Shubayrī, “Dar Ḥāshiya-yi dū Maqāla,” *Āyini-yi Pazhūhish* 6 (1997), 43; Aḥmad Mūsawī Madadī, “Pazhūhishī Pīrāmūn-i Tafsīr-i Qummī,” *Kiyhān Andīsha* 32 (1990), 93.

substitution among early scholars” (*tabdīl sanad*) in some of his other articles.³⁶ According to this discussion, sometimes authors of certain books—whether extant works or existing reports of books that have not reached us independently—have used *ḥadīths* from another book in their work, but the name of the original source’s author does not appear in the chain they provide for those *ḥadīths*. To prove his view, the author has used various pieces of evidence, perhaps the most important of which is: the identical arrangement of *ḥadīths* in both the claimed earlier source and the extant source.³⁷ The author has also, in one part of his article on *Kamāl al-dīn*, taken the lack of identical arrangement of *ḥadīths* in two books (as well as the difference in chains) as evidence for the non-use of an extant source.³⁸

Qāsimpūr and ‘Alī Akbariyān have claimed that some of *al-Kāfi*’s extant sources have their *ḥadīths* arranged in the same order as they appear in *al-Kāfi*.³⁹ Sarbāz et al have also cited this claim.⁴⁰

One of the articles written with this approach is “*al-Nawādir-i Ash‘arī: Maṣḍar-i Ḥadīthī-yi al-Kāfi-yi Kulaynī*” (*al-Nawādir al-Ash‘arī: A ḥadīth source of al-Kulaynī’s al-Kāfi*). In this article, Qāsimpūr and ‘Alī Akbariyān, contrary to Shubayrī’s view, attribute this book to Aḥmad al-Ash‘arī and dedicate a portion of the article’s conclusion to examining this theory. However, the main focus of the article is to prove that *al-Nawādir* was a source for *al-Kāfi*, and thus the authors have explicitly stated that whoever the author of *al-Nawādir* may be does not affect their claim about it being a source for *al-Kāfi*. The authors have claimed in this article that out of a total of 456 *ḥadīths* in *al-Nawādir*, approximately 200 *ḥadīths* are found in *al-Kāfi*. The criterion for identifying matches is “unity of subject matter” (*ittiḥād*

³⁶ Shubayrī, “*Maṣḍar al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī fī Kitābihi Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*,” *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* 6 (2010), 191-223.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 104, footnote 1.

³⁹ Muḥsin Qāsimpūr and Muḥtabā ‘Alī Akbariyān, “*al-Nawādir-I Ash‘arī Maṣḍar-i Ḥadīthī al-Kāfi-yi Kulaynī*,” *Muṭāla‘āt-i Fahm-i Ḥadīth* 7 (2020), 21.

⁴⁰ Sarbāz et al, “*Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Salīm*”, 52.

mawḍūʿ), “similarity in text” (*mushābahat fī l-matn*), and similarity in *isnād*. The authors then divide the similar *ḥadīths* into three groups and draw conclusions for two of them:

1. *Ḥadīths* similar in both text and chain; in these cases, they consider *al-Nawādir* to be al-Kulaynī’s source due to the presence of al-Ashʿarī’s name in the chain (although they do not address the issue of al-Kulaynī’s multiple chains up to al-Ashʿarī).
2. *Ḥadīths* similar in text and the end of the chain; in these cases, if the *ḥadīth* in *al-Nawādir* is incomplete (*mursal*) and al-Ashʿarī’s name appears in *al-Kāfī*’s chain, they conclude that *al-Nawādir* is al-Kulaynī’s source and its attribution to al-Ashʿarī is proven (although they do not provide an analysis for why this chain is incomplete in *al-Nawādir*). However, in cases where al-Ashʿarī’s name is not in *al-Kāfī*’s chain—whether *al-Nawādir*’s chain is incomplete or not—based on the principle that Shubayrī attributed to early scholars, regarding the substitution of one reliable chain with another reliable chain, *al-Nawādir* is still considered a possible source for *al-Kāfī*.
3. *Ḥadīths* similar in text but different in the entire chain; the authors do not discuss the implications of this category

The authors have presented additional evidence for *al-Nawādir* being a source for *al-Kāfī*.

1. The identical arrangement of *ḥadīths* in both books: the authors have reported that the general arrangement of most of these similar *ḥadīths* (approximately 200 similar *ḥadīth*) is identical. The *ḥadīths* claimed to be in identical arrangement in both books are mostly in pairs. Interestingly, the authors do not consider cases of similar *ḥadīths* without identical arrangement to contradict *al-Kāfī*’s derivation from *al-Nawādir*, suggesting that this change in arrangement might have been according to al-Kulaynī’s organisation and for a specific reason.

2. There are *ḥadīths* in *al-Nawādir* that are found in *al-Kāfī* with two chains of transmission (up to a common link), where al-Ash‘arī’s name appears in one chain. The authors consider these cases as evidence that al-Kulaynī (probably) took from *al-Nawādir* all other cases that he narrated only with that other chain—which does not include al-Ash‘arī’s name—and which exist in *al-Nawādir*, but presented a different chain.⁴¹

2.1.3 Sequential *Ḥadīth* with a Single Chain leading to a Famous Author

According to Shubayrī, when several sequential *ḥadīths* appear in a book with chains sharing the same initial portion up to a famous author, this indicates that the book of the last person whose name appears in all the chains was the author’s source.⁴² The author also considers the phrase “with this chain” (*bi-hādhā al-isnād*) at the beginning of several chains as evidence that this famous person was the source.⁴³ Similarly, he sees no difference whether subsequent chains are connected to the previous chain through “suspension” (*ta‘līq*) or “omission” (*iḍmār*), or whether the entire chain is repeated again.⁴⁴ It seems that even if one *ḥadīth* with a different chain appears among these sequential chains, it does not invalidate this evidence,⁴⁵ and sometimes several *ḥadīths* with different chains may appear between these sequential chains.⁴⁶ However, the author himself sometimes describes the use of this method for source identification as “speculative” (*ẓannī*).⁴⁷ Interestingly, the author has even claimed this evidence in sequential repetitions of the name of the compiler

⁴¹ Qāsimpūr and ‘Alī Akbariyyān, “*al-Nawādir*”.

⁴² Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 123; Shubayrī, “*al-Kātib al-Nu‘mānī*,”

204-7.

⁴³ Idem., “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 123.

⁴⁴ Idem., “*al-Kātib al-Nu‘mānī*,” 189.

⁴⁵ Idem., “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 126.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 138, footnote 3.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 130.

shaykh; thus, in cases where Ibn Hammām's name (Nu'mānī's *shaykh*) appears in several sequential chains and the continuation of the chains after Ibn Hammām differs, he considers his book to be Nu'mānī's source.⁴⁸ However, for Shubayrī, this evidence is not valid in every case and has numerous counter-examples. The author also explicitly states that using this method does not necessarily reveal the direct source of the compiler, but in some cases, the author may have taken these *ḥadīths* from an intermediary source between him and the book of the last person common in the chains. Also in his view, the person mentioned after the demonstrative pronoun in the phrase "with this chain" (*bi-hādhā al-isnād*) is not necessarily the author of the *ḥadīth* source; rather, sometimes it could be the narrator from him, his shaykh, or even another person.⁴⁹

This rule is one of the rules that Jadīdīnizhād has also used for source identification, though it differs somewhat from Shubayrī's rule. The author considers the repetition of a chain up to a particular narrator in closely related instances as evidence that the last person common among the chains was the source, even if these *ḥadīths* appear in different chapters.⁵⁰ This rule is broader in the author's view than it is in Shubayrī's perspective, because while Shubayrī did not consider the intervention of one or more chains among the common and sequential chains as detrimental to this rule, the author also does not consider the presence of these *ḥadīths* in different but closely related chapters as detrimental to the rule.

Sarbāz et al also place significant emphasis on this evidence,⁵¹ though they extend this rule to include different sequential chains as well. Thus, their perspective will be discussed in the next rule—the rule of "unusual repetition of an author occurring in sequential

⁴⁸ Idem., "*al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī*," 221-2.

⁴⁹ Idem., "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 130.

⁵⁰ Muḥammad Riḍā Jadīdīnizhād, "Ravish-i Dastyābī bi Manābī'-i *al-Kāfi*," *Āyini-yi Pazhūhish* 123 (2019), 18-9.

⁵¹ Sarbāz et al, "*Aḥādith-i Hishām b. Sālim*," 51, 55, and 56.

chains.”⁵² However, most authors focus more on sequential chains than closely related chains, which differs somewhat from Jadīdīnizhād’s view. What they have presented regarding this rule is also consistent with what they believe about the evidence of “chain transformation” (*taḥwīl*).⁵³ In the frequently repeated chain “Alī from his father from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr from Hishām b. Sālim,” the authors cite the sequential repetition of this chain up to Ibn Abī ‘Umayr in *al-Kāfi* as reason to deny that Hishām b. Sālim was the source in this chain, and consequently consider Ibn Abī ‘Umayr’s book as the source for *al-Kāfi* in these chains.⁵⁴ Using this rule along with the rules of “transformation” (*taḥwīl*)⁵⁵ and “unusual repetition of an author occurring in sequential chains”,⁵⁶ they have also commented on other books being sources for *al-Kāfi*. The authors have used these pieces of evidence either together or individually—and sometimes along with other evidence—to deny Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim’s book as a source and to claim that the books of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, Ibn Maḥbūb, Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd, Aḥmad al-Ash‘arī, and Aḥmad al-Barqī were sources.⁵⁷

The authors have claimed that in each chapter, Kulaynī extracted from one source in its entirety before moving on to another source, and thus the traditions from each source are mentioned consecutively. By applying this rule along with the rule mentioned in “The existence of the source in our time...,”⁵⁸ they have claimed that one can be certain that Kulaynī took the traditions he narrated with the chain “Alī b. Ibrāhīm from his father from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr” from the book of Ibn Abī ‘Umayr.⁵⁹

⁵² See Section 2.1.4.

⁵³ See Section 2.1.8.

⁵⁴ Sarbāz et al, “Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Sālim,” 51.

⁵⁵ See Section 2.1.8.

⁵⁶ See Section 2.1.4.

⁵⁷ Sarbāz et al, “Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Sālim”.

⁵⁸ See Section 2.1.2.

⁵⁹ Sarbāz et al, “Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Sālim”, 51-2.

Some of Shubayrī's examples are cases where, using this category of evidence, he has claimed the last common person in the chain as the source, while other examples are cases where someone else in the chain might have been al-Ṣadūq's source.⁶⁰

2.1.4 Unusual Repetition of an Author in Consecutive Chains

The difference between this category of evidence and the previous one is that in the present case, the consecutive chains that end with one person are different chains. Accepting this category of evidence is based on a general principle for which Shubayrī has not provided evidence in these two articles, although he has stated that evidence for it exists. This general principle is as follows: the author (i.e. al-Ṣadūq) has many chains to different authors, but for various reasons, he does not always use a single chain. In al-Ṣadūq's books, this is often due to peripheral reasons such as showing respect to his teachers—in the case of his father and Ibn al-Walīd—but usually the main reason is variety, which can apparently be claimed in the case of al-Ṣadūq's other teachers.⁶¹ It seems that Shubayrī considers the main criterion for a chain to be the repetition of a chain up to a narrator; therefore, if among different chains to one narrator, a chain is not repeated and appears only once, that chain will not be considered a path.⁶² Also, if occasionally a chain that has no connection to the chains under consideration appears among these chains, it will not prevent the chains in question from being considered consecutive, and the ruling for all cases before and after it (except for this case) is the same.

This rule is one of the principles that Jadīdīnizhād has used for source identification, though he has also expanded it: the repetition of a narrator's name in the middle of different chains that are close to each other in *al-Kāfi* indicates that this narrator's book was a source, even if these chains appear in different chapters. However, in his work, this rule is conditional upon not falling under his next rule (namely:

⁶⁰ Shubayrī, "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 123-30.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 131-2, and 147-8.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 132.

the repetition of a segment of the chain in successive and closely related traditions)⁶³. He considers these two chains of Kulaynī as his path to the books of Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd: “Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad from al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd” and “a number of our companions (*ʿiddat min aṣḥābinā*) from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad from al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd.”⁶⁴

In the rule of “succession of multiple traditions with a single chain to a well-known author,” it was seen that Sarbāz et al place significant emphasis on this evidence in their article.⁶⁵ According to the authors, this rule is based on the repetition of a narrator’s name in multiple chains that are close to each other, whether these chains are identical up to that narrator or are different chains.⁶⁶ Therefore, their rule actually encompasses both this rule and the previous one—the rule of “succession of multiple traditions with a single chain to a well-known author.” It was mentioned that the authors’ emphasis is on successive chains rather than chains that are merely close to each other, and in this respect their view differs slightly from Jadīdīnīzhād’s perspective. What they have presented regarding this rule is also consistent with what they believe about the evidence of “chain transformation” (*taḥwīl*).⁶⁷ In the rule of “succession of multiple traditions with a single chain to a well-known author,” the authors’ applications of this rule to *al-Kāfī* was discussed.⁶⁸ It was also mentioned that the authors claimed that al-Kulaynī would completely extract from one source in each chapter before moving on to another source, and thus the traditions from each source appear successively in *al-Kāfī*.⁶⁹ According to this view, while al-Kulaynī was extracting from one source, he

⁶³ See Section 2.1.5.

⁶⁴ Jadīdīnīzhād, “Ravish-i Dastyābi”, 18-9.

⁶⁵ See Section 2.1.3.

⁶⁶ Sarbāz et al, “Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Sālim”, 51, 55, and 56.

⁶⁷ See Section 2.1.8. This has been discussed in two places: transfer [of narration] and chains with unusual repetition.

⁶⁸ See Section 2.1.3.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

would cite different paths to that source as his chain up to the source's author.

2.1.5 Repetition of a Segment in the Middle of a Chain to a Well-Known Author (Non-Successive)

In the previous rule, it was seen that Shubayrī presupposes a general principle in his articles: that al-Ṣadūq has different paths to authors and uses them in a varied manner.⁷⁰ This seems to have led him to conclude in the present rule that it is not necessary for the entire chain from the author's teacher (i.e. al-Ṣadūq) to an author to be repeated; rather, it is sufficient for just a portion of the chain to be identical in order to establish that chain as a path to a single source.⁷¹ Additionally, as mentioned in the previous rule, according to his writings, if among different chains to one narrator, one of the chains appears only once, that chain is not considered a path.⁷²

2.1.6 Common Chains to an Author Even When Scattered Throughout the Book (Non-Successive)

Shubayrī considers the repetition of a single chain throughout a book and the branching of chains from a specific person as evidence that the last person common to all chains is the source of the author (i.e. Nu'mānī). The writer considers this indication to be the most important "general indication" for source identification.⁷³ He also considers this indication as one of the important signs for determining the source of a *ḥadīth*,⁷⁴ but since various authors appear in common chains, he finds it difficult to determine the source without adding external information.⁷⁵ The writer also stipulates that in most cases—if not all—this indication requires that the content of the *ḥadīths* must be compatible with the titles of the books of the person whose book

⁷⁰ See Section 2.1.4.

⁷¹ Shubayrī, "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 143.

⁷² See Section 2.1.4.

⁷³ Shubayrī, "*al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī*," 190.

⁷⁴ Idem., "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 139-47.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 145-7.

we suspect to be the source.⁷⁶ Therefore, we will see that in some examples, the writer abandons this evidence due to other indicators. Hence, this evidence in Shubayrī's view might also be considered confirmatory evidence.⁷⁷ It seems that in these cases too, the writer accepts that an author has multiple paths to one person's book, and thus, according to this rule, multiple chains can be considered as an author's path to one book.

Ḥammādī and Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī, also use the frequency of *ḥadīths* from one student from one teacher or several teachers—with or without intermediaries—as one of the rules for identifying the written sources of *al-Kāfī*. According to this rule, the book of the last common teacher in the chains is the source of *al-Kāfī*, especially if this frequency constitutes most or all of that student's *ḥadīth*.⁷⁸ Similarly, one of the indicators that Mufīd Bujnūrdī used to identify the sources of *al-Kāfī* is the frequent repetition of Kulaynī's chain to one narrator. The writer also considers the dispersion of a narrator's teachers with the same ratio as evidence that that narrator's book is the source. Based on these indicators, he considers the books of Ḥarīz and 'Umar b. Udhayna to be Kulaynī's sources; unlike the books of Abū Ayyūb al-Khazzāz and 'Alā' b. Razīn, whose status as sources cannot be proven by this rule. It appears that Jadīdīnīzhād, inspired by this rule, has presented a rule with new terminology for source identification that is broader than Shubayrī's rule: the frequent repetition of one or more chains that all lead to one of the companions of the Imams—but where the narrator before him is also common in these chains—is evidence that this chain is a path to that narrator's book. As examples, he mentions Kulaynī's various chains up to "Uthmān b. 'Īsā from Samā'a" as well as the single chain "Aṭṭār Aḥmad Ash'arī Qāsim b.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 147.

⁷⁷ In some of the examples that will follow, sometimes other individuals are mentioned instead of or alongside the first person in the chain, the explanation for which will come when discussing the fifth category of evidence. See Section 3.

⁷⁸ Ḥammādī and Shīrāzī, "Bāzshināsī-yi Manābi'-i Kulaynī."

Yaḥyā Ḥasan b. Rāshid.”⁷⁹

Sarbāz et al have used this rule to reject sources. They consider the infrequent repetition of a specific chain to Maṣṣūr b. Ḥāzim in *al-Kāfi* as evidence that Maṣṣūr’s book was not a source for Kulaynī.⁸⁰ Similarly, regarding the chains of two other traditions, after noting their infrequent repetition in *al-Kāfi*, they have claimed that these traditions are not from Hishām’s book but are from Hishām’s oral traditions.⁸¹ They have also taken Ibn Ṭāwūs’s limited reference to the “*Aṣl* of Hishām b. Sālim” being a source as evidence that this *aṣl* was not Ibn Ṭāwūs’s source, or that his copy of Hishām’s *aṣl* was incomplete. The authors, apparently relying on this same rule,⁸² believe that the frequently repeated chain “‘Alī from his father from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr from Hishām b. Sālim” must be from a single source;⁸³ Subsequently, however, due to this chain’s succession in several instances up to Ibn Abī ‘Umayr’s name, they consider his book to be Kulaynī’s source.⁸⁴

2.1.7 Chain Suspension or Pronoun Reference and Beginning the Chain with a Famous Author

Chain suspension (*ta’līq*) refers to the occurrence whereby after mentioning a chain and its text, the chain of the next tradition begins with one of the individuals from the previous chain (other than the first person in the chain); this person’s name might be mentioned in the second chain, or it might suffice to use a pronoun referring to them. considers the book of the first person mentioned in the suspended chain to be Nu’mānī’s source.⁸⁵ However, in his article on *Kamāl al-dīn*—although he presents this rule as independent

⁷⁹ Jadīdīnīzhād, “Ravish-i Dastyābi,” 18–20.

⁸⁰ Sarbāz et al, “Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Sālim,” 57.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Although they have not specified any evidence.

⁸³ Ibid., 50.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 51–3.

⁸⁵ Shubayri, “*al-Kātib al-Nu’mānī*,” 198.

evidence—he explicitly states that the “mere” beginning of a suspended chain with a person’s name is not sufficient evidence that their book was a source for al-Ṣadūq.⁸⁶ He then cites al-Ṣadūq’s chain to Ibn Abī al-Dunyā as a counter-example to this rule. In this case, after mentioning one chain up to Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, al-Ṣadūq begins subsequent narrations from him with his name, even though we know he was not an author, and his narrations were collected later.⁸⁷ The author in this article first provides an example supporting this rule and then presents another example that contradicts it. However, in that example, he ultimately considers this rule as evidence for that person’s book being a source, though he does not consider this rule sufficient to prove that book was a direct source for al-Ṣadūq.⁸⁸ Therefore, perhaps this evidence in his view is among the corroborating evidence that will be discussed later.⁸⁹

Ḥammādī and Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī also used chain suspension (*ta’līq*) in the chain of transmission as one of their methods for identifying the written sources of *al-Kāfi*. The authors consider chain suspension as evidence that the book of Ishāq b. Muḥammad was a source for Kulaynī, since his name appears at the beginning of the suspended chains.⁹⁰ Mufid Bujnūrdī also used chain transfer (*taḥwīl*) and suspension (*ta’līq*) as evidence for identifying the sources of *al-Kāfi*, but only when such transfer or suspension is “frequent” and “consecutive.” The author does not accept transfer and suspension as evidence in other cases.⁹¹

2.1.8 Chain Transfer (*Taḥwīl*) in the Chain

Chain transfer (*taḥwīl*) or interruption (*ḥaylūla*) in the chain means that in the middle of a chain, a conjunction occurs where a chain

⁸⁶ Ibid., 199–200. In fact, it is not even evidence that the person was an author.

⁸⁷ Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 150.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 149.

⁸⁹ See Section 3.

⁹⁰ Ḥammādī and Shīrāzī, “Bāzshināsī-yi Manābi’-i Kulaynī,” 186.

⁹¹ Mufid Bujnūrdī, “Chigūnigī-yi Irtibāṭ-i Kulaynī.”

containing two or more narrators is joined to previously mentioned individuals. In this conjunction, more than one chain may be joined to the previous individuals. However, in this occurrence, a single person should not be joined to another single person, as this would not qualify as an instance of transfer.

Shubayrī considers the occurrence of chain transfer (*tahwīl*) in the chain of transmission, when it takes a specific form, as an indication that the source owner is a student whose name appears at the beginning of both chains. By “specific form,” he means that in the middle of a chain, a parallel chain is presented and joined to a portion of the first chain. In some cases, this may be accompanied by the repetition of the phrase “and he said” at the beginning of the second chain, or by repeating the name of the student who is the first person in the second chain—who is the source owner.⁹² The author apparently means that the second chain should not be among those cases where the compiler has presented the second chain from the beginning with a new teacher. The author also stipulates (after several pages and during the discussion) that there must be evidence proving that the chain containing the transfer is not the compiler’s path to the book of one of the individuals in the rest of the chain, since transfer in paths is also very common. He then considers one piece of evidence for this to be the lack of repeated transfers in Nu‘mānī’s book, because a path—whether containing transfer or not—should naturally be repeated in several places in the book.⁹³

In his article on *Kamāl al-dīn*, the author does not provide much explanation on this topic, as he has not presented this rule independently but has only occasionally used it as supporting evidence. However, it appears that in this article, he believes that in chain transfer (*tahwīl*), the person who is al-Ṣadūq’s source—and who appears before the chain to which the second chain is joined—has used two sources in his book; two sources that belong to two individuals who appear in the continuation of the two chains after

⁹² Shubayrī, “*al-Kātib al-Nu‘mānī*,” 198–201.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 202–3.

him. Furthermore, this itself indicates that he is a source (and not merely a transmitter) for the compiler or one of the individuals between the compiler and himself.⁹⁴

Of course, this evidence is not always conclusive in the article on Nu'mānī either; because in cases where considering the narrator before the two chains as a source conflicts with other evidence—such as a subsequent statement from one of the individuals in the chain⁹⁵—the author has claimed that in the second chain, the name of the book's narrator is repeated along with the name of the book's compiler.⁹⁶

In some articles, another form of chain transfer (*taḥwīl*) has been used. In this form, the second chain is joined to the entire first chain, and in fact, the compiler presents two independent chains from two teachers to a common narrator. One of the rules that Jadīdīnizhād has used for source identification of *al-Kāfi* is chain transfer in this form. According to his view, this rule indicates that Kulaynī's source is the first common person after the two transferred chains. However, an important point he has noted is that this evidence shows that in (most) cases where only one of these two chains appears, the same person (or someone in the level before him) is the source of *al-Kāfi*, even though there is no chain transfer in the chain.⁹⁷ Of course, the assumption that the first two people in the chain are transmitters is a foundation that the author has taken for granted for his evidence.⁹⁸

Sarbāz et al also heavily rely on this rule with the explanation that Jadīdīnizhād has provided. Additionally, what they have stated about different consecutive chains up to one narrator⁹⁹ is consistent with what they believe here in the discussion of the implications of chain

⁹⁴ Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 125 and 150.

⁹⁵ For example, Muḥammad b. Ḥassān from Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. See Section 3.4.

⁹⁶ Shubayrī, “*al-Kātib al-Nu‘mānī*,” 200.

⁹⁷ Jadīdīnizhād, “*Ravish-i Dastyābi*,” 17.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ See Section 2.1.3.

transfer (*taḥwīl*) in chains. They have used these two pieces of evidence together, or just one of them—and sometimes along with other evidence—to prove or disprove certain books as sources of *al-Kāfi*.¹⁰⁰ The authors have relied on three pieces of evidence regarding the chain: “Alī b. Ibrāhīm from his father from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr from Hishām b. Sālim” to prove that Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim’s book was not a source for *al-Kāfi*. One of these pieces of evidence is as follows: chain transfer appears in many of Kulaynī’s chains and indicates that two or more chains are paths to the book of the common person after both chains, and many of these transferred chains include the chain “Alī b. Ibrāhīm from his father,” therefore this chain is actually Kulaynī’s path to the books of previous individuals.¹⁰¹

In the rule of “suspended chain” (*ta’līq sanad*) it was also mentioned that one of the pieces of evidence that Muḥid Bujnūrdī used to identify the sources of *al-Kāfi* is chain transfer and suspension in the chain; however, only when this transfer or suspension is “frequent” and “consecutive.”¹⁰² The author does not accept chain transfer and suspension as evidence in cases other than these two.¹⁰³

2.1.9 Chain Ending with a Well-Known Author

Shubayrī has not presented this rule as a method for identifying al-Ṣadūq’s sources, but he has stated that when we identify one of al-Ṣadūq’s sources, this evidence becomes clearly apparent.¹⁰⁴ It seems this evidence serves as corroboration, and perhaps the author’s intention is that through investigation, this rule has been seen to be consistent with other evidence, and therefore it can be relied upon even without other supporting evidence. For example, using the rule

¹⁰⁰ Sarbāz et al, “Aḥādīth-i Hishām b. Sālim.” Also see Section 2.1.3. It has been mentioned in two places: transfer [of narration] and successive chains.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 51.

¹⁰² See Section 2.1.7.

¹⁰³ Muḥid Bujnūrdī, “Chigūnigī-yi Irtibāṭ-i Kulaynī.”

¹⁰⁴ Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 150.

of “shared chains to one author...”,¹⁰⁵ the author believes that al-Ṣadūq’s source in the chain “al-Qaṭṭān → al-Sukkārī → al-Ghalābī → Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmāra → his father” is al-Ghalābī’s book, because Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad and his father are not counted among the authors. The author considers one of the supporting types of evidence for this conclusion to be that this chain in some cases ends with the name of al-Ghalābī—who is a well-known author.¹⁰⁶ In this rule as well, the author presents the same example without referring back to that section.¹⁰⁷

2.1.10 Ambiguous or Indirect Transmission Phrases

Shubayrī discusses this category of evidence by describing that if a chain contains an ambiguous phrase or one indicating indirect transmission (*irsāl*) (such as “he raised it” (*rafaʿahu*) or “he raises it” (*yarfaʿuhu*)), the person mentioned after the ambiguous or indirect transmission cannot be the source of the existing book (or a path to another source). Rather, the source must be one of the individuals between the author and the person before the indirect transmission. Therefore, when the indirect transmission appears immediately after the name of a Shaykh who authored a book, that Shaykh’s book is the source. The author also points to the absence of ambiguity and indirect transmission in the paths of bibliographical works to negate that individuals appearing after such phrases in these chains could be paths.¹⁰⁸ Jadīdīnizhād also considers cases where indirect transmission appears after the first person or first two people as evidence that one of these two individuals is the source in these instances,¹⁰⁹ as well as indirect transmission appearing after the third person,¹¹⁰ although the status of the first two people in the chain as paths is a foundation he

¹⁰⁵ See Section 2.1.6.

¹⁰⁶ Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 143-4.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 150.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 112-3; Shubayrī, “al-Kātib al-Nuʿmānī”, 189 and 195-6.

¹⁰⁹ Jadīdīnizhād, “*Ravish-i Dastyābī*,” 17, footnote 4, and 18, footnote 5.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19, footnote 18.

assumes for his other evidence.¹¹¹ This rule will also be discussed in the “Negating Rules” section.¹¹²

2.2 Rules for Negating a Narrator’s Status as Source Owner

In source identification, an important part of the work relies on rules that negate a person’s book being the source, as this reduces the number of candidates who could be source owners in a chain. Shubayrī divides the rules in this section into two categories:

- 1- Rules that negate both a narrator’s book being the source and their status as a path.
- 2- Rules that only negate a narrator’s book being the source, while still allowing the possibility of that narrator being a path.¹¹³

2.2.1 Rules Negating Both Source Ownership and Path Status of a Narrator

The rules previously discussed for oral transmission can all be used to negate both source ownership and path status of certain individuals. Some of the applicable rules in this regard were covered in the first section.¹¹⁴ Additionally, rules that identify one or more narrators in a chain as source owners can also negate source ownership for individuals before and after them, as well as path status for those after them. For example, the “ambiguous or indirect transmission phrase” rule¹¹⁵ can be considered a rule establishing that individuals appearing after indirect transmission cannot be source owners for the existing book or paths to another source.

However, apart from the previous rules, five new rules have been presented for this discussion.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 17.

¹¹² See Section 2.2.1.

¹¹³ Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*.”

¹¹⁴ See Section 1.2.

¹¹⁵ See: 2.1.10

2.2.1.1 An Unknown Narrator Who Appears in Only One or Few Chains

Shubayrī considers the presence of an unknown narrator in a chain—who appears only in this chain or a few limited chains—as evidence that al-Nu‘mānī’s source must be one of the individuals between him and this unknown person, not the unknown person himself or those after him.¹¹⁶ However, while the author also presents this evidence in multiple works, he does not consider it sufficient on its own to determine between two possibilities (namely: “source ownership by one of the middle narrators in the chain” or “oral transmission of the *ḥadīth*”).¹¹⁷ The author also does not consider merely being a “narrator of few traditions” (*qalīl al-riwāya*) sufficient to negate someone’s status as a “path”,¹¹⁸ although it apparently does negate their “source ownership.”

2.2.1.2 Multiple Intermediaries Between an Author and a Well-Known Person

Shubayrī considers al-Ṣadūq’s narration from Sa’d b. ‘Abdullāh through five intermediaries as evidence that Sa’d’s book was not the source, since al-Ṣadūq usually narrates from Sa’d through only one intermediary.¹¹⁹ Naturally, in this chain, Sa’d b. ‘Abdullāh is not a path either.

2.2.1.3 Unusual Chain to a Famous Narrator

Shubayrī provides two examples of chains to Sa’d b. ‘Abdullāh for this rule: one chain with a single intermediary and one with two intermediaries. Each of these chains appears only once in *Kamāl al-dīn*.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Shubayrī, “*al-Kātib al-Nu‘mānī*,” 189 and 197.

¹¹⁷ Idem., “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 111.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 119.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 113-114.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 114.

2.2.1.4 The Phrase “I Found in So-And-So’s Books” (*Wajadtu fī Kutub Fulān*)

According to Shubayrī, the presence of this phrase in a chain—provided it is not in the author’s own words—indicates that the source is not the author’s direct source, although it shows it is his indirect source.¹²¹ This rule serves as negating evidence in that it shows that source is not the author’s (i.e. al-Ṣadūq’s) direct source. Additionally, when it becomes clear that the person in whose book the *ḥadīth* was found is the source, it becomes evident that the person or persons after him are not paths either.

2.2.1.5 The phrase “I Heard from So-and-So” (*Sami’tu min Fulān*) in al-Ṣadūq’s Chain

Shubayrī believes this phrase indicates that the person from whom the hearing took place is neither the author’s (i.e. al-Ṣadūq’s) source nor a path to another source.¹²²

2.2.2 Evidence Negating a Narrator’s Status as Source

In these cases, although the narrator in question is not the source owner, they may still be a path. These pieces of evidence are as follows.

2.2.2.1 Shared Title in the Chain Without Specification

Shubayrī appears to believe that if someone who has a title shared with another person or multiple people is the author’s source, the author must specify who that person is when presenting their chain.¹²³ Therefore, if this is not done, this person is naturally a path to others’ books, even if, through contextual evidence, it can be determined which of these several people is meant by this shared title. Regarding al-Ṣadūq’s multiple chains to Aḥmad al-Ash‘arī, the author first considers it undeniable that Aḥmad could be a path to the books of those before him, and then states in a footnote that in some of these

¹²¹ Ibid., 114-5.

¹²² Ibid., 115-6.

¹²³ Ibid., 116-7.

chains, even the narrator after Aḥmad is the author's path to the book of the previous person or persons, because the name of the next person is shared and the author has not specified who they are.¹²⁴

2.2.2.2 Unusual Reference to a Well-Known Narrator

Well-known narrators are usually referred to by commonly used titles. In cases where Ibn Abī 'Umayr, a famous Imāmī narrator, is referred to as "Muḥammad b. Ziyād," Shubayrī considers it unlikely that this unusual reference came from al-Ṣadūq. Similarly, this applies to referring to "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Khaṭṭāb" as "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd al-Zayyāt," or referring to "Alī b. Abī Ḥamza" as "Alī b. Sālim."¹²⁵ Regarding "Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā," he also considers the reference "Muḥammad b. Aḥmad" in al-Ṣadūq's chains as unusual and evidence that al-Ṣadūq did not take directly from his book.¹²⁶

2.2.2.3 Not Being Listed Among Authors

Shubayrī considers it unlikely that a well-known narrator would be the author of a book but not be independently listed in the bibliographical indexes. Similarly, he considers it unlikely that an obscure person would be a source for *Kamāl al-dīn* without being listed as an author in the indexes. However, he does not consider this evidence as proof that such a person could not be a path to others' works, as they might still serve as an intermediary.¹²⁷

3. Corroborating Evidence in Source Identification

Shubayrī has mentioned various pieces of evidence as corroboration within the rules he established for determining or rejecting whether a person's book was a source.¹²⁸ These pieces of evidence sometimes

¹²⁴ Ibid., 145.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 117-8.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 109, footnote.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 119-21.

¹²⁸ These pieces of evidence do not form an independent section of the

confirm the identification of a source's author and sometimes help determine which book among several books by a narrator is the source. Additionally, some of the previously determining evidence has been presented as corroborating evidence in some articles; for example, the evidence of "the existence of the source in our time" in Ḥammādī and Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī's work¹²⁹, the evidence of "explicit declaration by the author or one of the chain's narrators about their source",¹³⁰ and the evidence of "the chain ending with a well-known author" in the same article¹³¹ have been presented as corroborating evidence. Furthermore, one might say that Shubayrī—unlike others—considers the evidence of "suspended chain or its implicitness and the chain beginning with a well-known author" as corroborating evidence, as he considers the determining nature of this evidence questionable due to counter-examples.¹³² As previously mentioned, one might say that the evidence of "shared chains to one author..." is considered corroborating evidence by Shubayrī, as it requires the addition of other evidence.¹³³

3.1 Thematic Connection Between *Ḥadīth* and Authors' Books

The bibliographical works (*fihrist*s), in addition to naming individuals and mentioning the chain of transmission to their books, have also undertaken to list the titles of many books. Of course, many books did not have titles, especially in cases where the person belonged to the second/eighth century and had only one book. Some book titles were also "non-thematic"—such as *al-Nawādir* ("rarities"), *al-Jāmi'*

articles being discussed in this work. Therefore, in this section of the article, these pieces of evidence have been collected from his articles, as well as the works of others. Some of these pieces of evidence were used in Shubayrī's *al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī* to determine al-Nu'mānī's source.

¹²⁹ See Section 2.1.2.1.

¹³⁰ See Section 2.1.1.

¹³¹ See Section 2.1.9.

¹³² See Section 2.1.7.

¹³³ See Section 2.1.6.

(“comprehensive collection”)—which generally either had no specific subject matter or had a general subject. Additionally, some books were untitled and later became known by their author’s name, such as *Kitāb al-Ḥalabī*.

After identifying the source author from whom the compiler (i.e. al-Ṣadūq) drew, Shubayrī has determined which book among that person’s works was their source. The author states that upon finding the source’s author, one must consult the bibliographical works for the source’s name; if that person had only one book, that would be the source in question, but if they had multiple books, the *ḥadīth*’s content must be compared with the titles of their books to possibly identify the source name.¹³⁴

But how is this evidence used as corroboration—not proof—in source identification? When other evidence identifies the source author in a chain of transmission, the fact that this person is attributed a book whose title relates to the subject matter of the *ḥadīth* in question can corroborate that identifying this person’s book as the source was correct, and generally that the method used to identify the source author is one that leads to results.

However, Shubayrī has explicitly stated in some cases that he has not identified the exact source. For example, where he identifies Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Ghalābī’s book as the source, he explicitly states that he has not determined which of his books was al-Ṣadūq’s source.¹³⁵ Similarly, regarding Ibn ‘Uqda’s book as a source, he states that while the *ḥadīths* relate to the twelve Imams and it is likely that they were taken from one of his books, many of his book titles correspond to the subject matter of these *ḥadīths*; therefore, he has not identified the specific source book.¹³⁶ Additionally, sometimes the author has identified the source’s author but found no book among their works with a title related to the subject matter of those *ḥadīths*, leading him to attribute a book with that specific subject to them, even

¹³⁴ Shubayrī, “*al-Kātib al-Nu‘mānī*,” 191-5.

¹³⁵ Idem., “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawīyya*,” 144.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 146, footnote 2.

though that book title is not mentioned in the bibliographical works. For example, in one part of the *Kamāl al-dīn* article, after identifying Muḥammad Ibn Awrama's book as the source, although no book about prophetic stories and history is listed for him, he suggests that he might have had a book on this subject, since these particular *ḥadīths* from Ibn Awrama deal with that specific topic and his being the source has been established through evidence; therefore, he suspects (*aẓunnu*) that he had a book in this field (History of the Prophets) that was not mentioned in the bibliographical works.¹³⁷ Perhaps the difference between this case and the al-Nu'mānī article case is that here there is more than one *ḥadīth*, and also since Ibn Awrama is not the compiler's (i.e. al-Ṣadūq's) direct teacher, the possibility of oral transmission is ruled out.

However, just as this evidence cannot independently prove that a narrator did not have a book on a specific subject, it seems it can also be used in a negative sense. For example, Shubayrī considers the absence of a book titled *Ghayba* (or related to this topic) for one of the narrators—like Ibn 'Uqda—as evidence that his book was not a source for al-Nu'mānī—at least in some chains of transmission.¹³⁸ In the same article, even in cases where there is evidence proving that the compiler's teacher (i.e. al-Nu'mānī) was the source, if that person did not have a book on this subject (or was not known to have authored books), he considers the transmission to be oral. For example, in the chain "Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd from some of his men..." since there is only one person between the compiler (i.e. al-Nu'mānī) and the point where the chain becomes incomplete (*irsāl*), that person must be al-Nu'mānī's source. However, since this person did not have a book about occultation (*ghayba*), the author considers this *ḥadīth* to be transmitted orally.¹³⁹ This case was discussed in the section on indicators for identifying oral transmission (See Section 1).

¹³⁷ Ibid., 148.

¹³⁸ Idem., "*al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī*," 188-9.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 196 and 200.

Ḥammādī and Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī also use the correspondence between the subject matter of a narrator's *ḥadīth* and the title of a book attributed to him in bibliographical works as one of their methods for identifying the written sources of *al-Kāfi*.¹⁴⁰

In his article “Bāzyābī-yi Mutūn-i Kuhan-i Imāmiyya dar Āthār-i Shaykh Ṣadūq” (Recovering Ancient Imāmī Texts in Shaykh al-Ṣadūq's Works), Rahmati has employed two main methods for reconstructing al-Ṣadūq's sources, one of which is “the thematic connection between *ḥadīth* or al-Ṣadūq's book with the book of one of the individuals mentioned in the chain of transmission.”¹⁴¹ Furthermore, elsewhere in the article, to recover lost sources in al-Ṣadūq's works, he suggests that—for example—we should identify authors of exegetical (*tafsīr*) books in al-Najāshī's and al-Ṭūsī's bibliographical works, and then find these individuals' names in al-Ṣadūq's chains of transmission (which contain exegetical *ḥadīths*) to identify al-Ṣadūq's exegetical sources.¹⁴² The author also discusses the sources of one of al-Ṣadūq's lost books titled *al-Tafsīr*. Given that al-Ṣadūq narrates from the exegesis attributed to Imam Ḥasan al-‘Askarī in various books and sometimes refers the continuation of *ḥadīth* to his own book of exegesis, by comparing these cases with the exegesis attributed to Imam al-‘Askarī and finding the continuation of the *ḥadīth* in it, he concludes that this book is the same as al-Ṣadūq's exegesis.¹⁴³

Rahmati identifies some of al-Ṣadūq's sources in *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* by examining the thematic connection between *ḥadīths* and source titles in bibliographical works. These include: *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā* by ‘Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. ‘Āmir, *al-Awrāq fī akhbār āl ‘Abbās wa ash‘ārihim* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣawlī, *al-Masā’il* by Muḥammad b. Sinān, and *Ilal al-sharā’i’* by Faḍl b. Shādhān. Al-Ṣadūq explicitly mentions the last source.¹⁴⁴ The author also examines al-Ṣadūq's

¹⁴⁰ Ḥammādī and Shīrāzī, “Bāzshināsī-yi Manābī‘-i Kulaynī.”

¹⁴¹ Rahmati, “Bāzyābī-yi Mutūn-i Kuhan-i Imāmiyya.”

¹⁴² Ibid., 111.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 112.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 108-9.

sources in *al-Tawḥīd* and identifies some of them through thematic connections: *Kitāb al-Jabr wa-l-istiṭāʿa* by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Asadī (from which al-Ṣadūq extracted approximately 100 *ḥadīths* through his teachers, and which the author considers the most important source for this book), *al-Tafsīr* by Abū l-Jārūd, and *al-Tanzīl min al-Qurʾān wa-l-tahrīf* by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl. The book *al-Jāmiʿ* by his teacher Ibn al-Walīd was also one of al-Ṣadūq's sources in this book, which al-Ṣadūq explicitly mentions.¹⁴⁵ In this article, Rahmati suggests using bibliographical works to identify authors,¹⁴⁶ apparently referring to examining the thematic connection between a person's *ḥadīth* in al-Ṣadūq's books and the titles of books attributed to that person.

3.2 Transformation/Interruption in *Isnād*

This evidence was used by Shubayrī in his article on al-Nuʿmānī as one of the indicators for identifying sources, but in the article on *Kamāl al-dīn*, it was used more as supporting evidence. We have also included this evidence in the Section 2.1.8 on determining indicators and repeat it here.

3.3 Restriction of *Isnād* to One Person in a Book

It appears that Shubayrī used this evidence as supporting proof in his article on al-Nuʿmānī. The evidence is as follows: If a narrator appears in only one chain of transmission in a book, and that chain appears two or more times in that book, then that person's book is the source for the author (i.e. al-Nuʿmānī). Additionally, if this person appears in other chains but with a different title than the one used in the chains under discussion, this evidence is still applicable. However, in the example under consideration, he used two other supporting proofs: 1) The transmitter of this person's book in bibliographical works is the same transmitter from him in this chain, 2) The transmitter from him in this chain appears in several other places in the book, but only in

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 110-1.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 111.

these chains under discussion is he referred to by a specific title (= Abū Jaʿfar al-Hamdānī).¹⁴⁷

3.4 The Appearance of Content After a *Ḥadīth* Quoted from One of the Chain's Narrators

Shubayrī considers this category of evidence as supporting proof in an example where content from al-Ḥimyarī (one of the narrators present in the chain) appears after the *ḥadīth*, indicating that the *ḥadīth* was taken from al-Ḥimyarī's book and this chain is the author's (i.e. al-Nu'mānī's) chain to his book.¹⁴⁸

3.5 Bibliographical Data

In Section 1, it was discussed that Shubayrī sometimes uses the fact that a narrator in the chain is not known as an author as one of several pieces of evidence for the oral nature of a transmission. We mentioned that he apparently means that this person is not known as an author according to bibliographical data. In one case, he even considers it unlikely that a person from Qom would be an author without their book being mentioned in bibliographical works—especially Qummī bibliographies like al-Ṣadūq's bibliography, which is the source for existing bibliographies.¹⁴⁹

However, the author has also used bibliographical data as supporting evidence to identify written sources. Shubayrī considered the chain "al-Ṭāliqānī → Ibn 'Uqda → Ibn Faḍḍāl → his father" to be the path to the same manuscript that al-Najāshī reported,¹⁵⁰ and apparently took al-Najāshī's statement as supporting evidence. Additionally, he sometimes considers the fact that a person's book transmitter in bibliographical works is the same person who narrates from that author in a chain as confirmation that the author is the source. For example, Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī appears in

¹⁴⁷ Shubayrī, "*al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī*," 124.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 223.

¹⁴⁹ Idem., "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 97.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 141-2.

al-Najāshī's path to al-ʿAyyāshī's books as the transmitter of al-ʿAyyāshī's books. Similarly, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī explicitly stated in his bibliography that he (al-Samarqandī) transmitted all of al-ʿAyyāshī's books. The author considers these reports as "supporting evidence" that he was the path to al-ʿAyyāshī's books in the chain of *Kamāl al-dīn*.¹⁵¹ He also states that he hopes to succeed in comparing the chains of *Kamāl al-dīn* with al-Ṣadūq's paths to the companions' books (which appear in two bibliographies).¹⁵²

Ḥammādī and Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī attempt to identify some of Kulaynī's sources by comparing the information from two bibliographies of al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī with the chains of *al-Kāfi*. One of the methods the authors use to identify the written sources of *al-Kāfi* was determining whether a narrator was listed as a transmitter of his teacher's books in the bibliographies, especially in cases where Kulaynī appears in the bibliographical transmission chains.¹⁵³ Additionally, they sometimes conclude that a narrator was the transmitter for the book of one of his predecessors based on the fact that the narrator was not independently mentioned in the bibliographies (along with some other evidence).¹⁵⁴

Sarbāz et al. also deny that Hishām's book was a source for Manṣūr regarding the traditions of Hishām that were narrated by Manṣūr b. Ḥāzim, because Manṣūr was not listed among the transmitters of Hishām's books.¹⁵⁵ The authors also cite three pieces of evidence to show that Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim's book was not the source in the chain: "Alī from his father from Ibn Abī ʿUmayr from Hishām b. Sālim." Two of these pieces of evidence were related to bibliographical data: 1) Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim was not a prolific author, 2) It was claimed that

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 128.

¹⁵² Ibid., 150-1.

¹⁵³ Ḥammādī and Shīrāzī, "Bāzshināsī-yi Manābiʿ-ī Kulaynī".

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 186.

¹⁵⁵ Sarbāz et al, "Aḥādith-i Hishām b. Sālim," 57.

Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim transmitted “all books and traditions” from some of his prominent teachers.¹⁵⁶

Mufīd Bujnūrdī also uses the correspondence between Kulaynī’s chain and the bibliographical transmission paths to a book to confirm or strengthen the case that a book mentioned in the bibliography was indeed Kulaynī’s source.¹⁵⁷

Farzandwaḥy and Ya‘qūbī emphasise that according to bibliographical data, many individuals whose books served as direct or indirect sources for Kulaynī were either trustworthy (*thiqa*) and of high status, or despite being considered weak, their books were reliable. They claim that Kulaynī’s *al-Kāfī* “possesses high scholarly value and credibility due to its use of authentic and original sources.”¹⁵⁸

3.6 Using *al-Faqīh* and the Paths of *Mashyakha*

It appears that Shubayrī considers that if a tradition in *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruḥu al-faqīh* begins with the name of a narrator, and al-Ṣadūq’s path to that person in the *Mashyakha* of that book corresponds with his chain in *Kamāl al-dīn* to that same person, this data serves as “confirmation” that that person’s book was a source for al-Ṣadūq in *Kamāl al-dīn*. For example, al-Ṣadūq explicitly states in one place in *al-Faqīh* that al-‘Ayyāshī’s book was a source, and in another place begins with his name. His path to al-‘Ayyāshī in the *Mashyakha* of *al-Faqīh* corresponds with one of his frequently repeated chains to al-‘Ayyāshī in *Kamāl al-dīn*. The author appears to consider this as confirmation that al-‘Ayyāshī’s book was a source for al-Ṣadūq in this chain of *Kamāl al-dīn*.¹⁵⁹

Rahmati, in examining al-Ṣadūq’s sources in the book *al-Tawḥīd*, proposes a method for identifying al-Ṣadūq’s sources as follows: comparing al-Ṣadūq’s paths to individuals in the *Mashyakha* of *al-*

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 51.

¹⁵⁷ Mufīd Bujnūrdī, “Chigūnigī-yi Irtibāt-i Kulaynī,” 79.

¹⁵⁸ Jamāl Farzandwaḥy and Minā Ya‘qūbī, “T‘tibārsanjī-yi Manābī-i Kitāb-i *al-Kāfī*,” *Sirāj Munūr* 8 (2021), 133.

¹⁵⁹ Shubayrī, “*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*,” 127-8.

Faqīh with al-Najāshī's and al-Ṭūsī's paths to the same individuals in their bibliographical works.¹⁶⁰ He appears to believe that if al-Ṣadūq's path in the *Mashyakha* to a person matches the path in one of the two bibliographies to that person's book, then that path represents al-Ṣadūq's path to that person's book. Additionally, in the middle of the discussion and in the section on the sources of *al-Tawḥīd*, he states that the only source that al-Ṣadūq explicitly mentions in the *Mashyakha* is Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*.¹⁶¹

Mufīd Bujnūrdī also uses al-Ṣadūq's path in the *Mashyakha* to confirm that Ibn Abī 'Umayr was the transmitter of 'Umar b. Udhayna's book.¹⁶²

3.7 Unusual Frequency of Two People Appearing Together in *Isnāds*

Shubayrī considers the "unusual frequency" of "Sa'd b. 'Abdullāh" and "'Abdullāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī" appearing together in the chains of *Kamāl al-dīn* as evidence that these two individuals' books were sources. However, because in some cases it is possible that these two individuals were paths to others' books, he does not consider this independent evidence that their books were sources in these chains, though he does consider it "general evidence" for source identification.¹⁶³

Conclusion

The rules that have been presented by Persian-speaking researchers in the field of Shī'ī *ḥadīth* for identifying lost written sources can be divided into two categories: 1) Rules that are claimed to have a determining role, 2) Rules that have a confirmatory role. The rules presented in the second category are not such that it has been claimed that by applying them, one can identify the lost source. Therefore,

¹⁶⁰ Rahmati, "Bāzyābī-yi Mutūn-i Kuhan-i Imāmiyya," 110.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Mufīd Bujnūrdī, "Chigūnigī-yi Irtibāt-i Kulaynī," 88.

¹⁶³ Shubayrī, "*Maṣādir al-Mahdawiyya*," 138-9.

these rules are falsifiable. However, regarding the rules of the first category, it has been claimed that they will always or usually apply to and account for the intended instances. The rules of this category can be divided into two groups: 1) Rules that have a negative aspect and negate the status of being a path or source owner for one or more narrators in the chain. 2) Rules that have a positive aspect and identify one (or more) of the narrators in the chain as the source owner. Some of these rules have been used by different authors in a minimal or maximal way, or with specific conditions. Additionally, some authors have considered some of these rules as belonging to one of the two categories while others have considered that rule as belonging to the other category.

Living Shi'ism: Instances of Ritualisation Among Islamist Men in Contemporary Iran.
By David Thurfjell. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Pp. viii+276, references, index. ISBN: 978-90-04-15345-5.

Reviewed by Zahra Naghshband, University of Erfurt

In societies undergoing religious change and reform, anti-reform groups are often at risk of being misanalysed, homogenised, simplified, and perceived as less interesting to research. This is what distinguishes David Thurfjell's book from other works on the same subject. Contrary to the prevailing trend, he traces the thread of change among anti-reform Shī'ī conservatives in contemporary Iran from 1999 to 2003. To understand this resistance to change, he wisely employs the lens of "ritualisation" which can paradoxically function both as a tool for continuity and a sphere for creativity.

The book primarily tells the story of five devout Shī'ī *basijis*, who all attend the same mosque in Isfahan, exploring their ritualistic lives with all their fluctuations and changes over four years. The author conducts this sensitive ethnography with a depth and nuance that sets the book apart from many similar works. Although published in 2006, it remains relevant for readers interested in the religious changes and dynamic interaction between secular and Shī'ī currents in Iran. One reason for this enduring relevance is the author's approach in selecting the hardcore, zealous supporters of the regime—an anti-change group that was labelled by him as "exceptions" in 1999, during the rise of reformist discourse and their electoral victory. By closely studying five of these individuals, and linking their personal, ritualistic, and communal religious lives, Thurfjell demonstrates that even within the hardline supporters of the Iranian Supreme Leader and conservative Shī'ism, personal rituals are individualised and operate beyond the top-down authorisation process.

In the first chapter, Thurfjell clarifies that he aims to explore the meaning of sorrow rituals and the purpose and significance of ritualisation in the lived experiences of his five informants, chosen from a substantial group of regular attendees at a mosque in Isfahan. He introduces his informants in this chapter as *basiji*, anti-reform, and zealous supporters of Islamic regulations. In the second chapter, Thurfjell presents a macro-level view of Iranian society during a period of rising demand for reform, which intensified after Khatami's victory in the 1997 presidential election, amidst a tense religious landscape (22-25). This broader perspective allows his empirical description to oscillate between the closed community in the mosque, its participants and authorities, and the larger societal tensions.

In chapter three, Thurfjell introduces the theme of “embodying virtue” and asks, “How is the message of virtue—which the informants aim to base their lives on—conveyed by mosques and constructed and used by informants?” (90) He clarifies his theoretical position by rejecting the traditional mind-body dichotomy and explaining his belief that “virtue” is embodied. He argues that the embodiment of virtue is largely reflected in the informants' attitudes towards sexuality, women, and gender, leading to stringent control through ritual practices (70). Thurfjell makes a significant argument at the end of this chapter by stating, “Being Muslim embodies the Islamic ideal of virtue, which occurs through a process of cross-fertilization of culture and body” (92).

In chapter four, Thurfjell shifts to discussing the embodiment of emotions through the employment of ritualisation to keep informants on their chosen path. This chapter can be considered the most important in his book as he explores in it the centrality of dysphoria and the invaluable position of suffering in Iranian culture (95). He beautifully explains the ambiguity of joy and sorrow in Shī'ī rituals through the words of the informants, revealing the complexity of the blissfulness of grief in their ritualised lives. Theoretically, when Thurfjell discusses the emotional aspects of Shī'ī rituals—their spontaneity or manipulation—he employs Saba Mahmood's perspective that the border of “what one feels and what one is

expected to feel is vague" (105). To Thurfjell's informants, crying for the tragedy of the *Ahl al-Bayt* is like "flying," however, he argues that this crying is also attached to the informants' personal anguish. He identifies a certain level of agency in the informants which manifests in their deliberate striving to reach the desired and conscious state of sorrow.

From chapter five onward, Thurfjell fluctuates between the "canonical" meaning of rituals and their "authorisation," along with the informants' positions. He observes that the informants' strong indictments are rooted in reason and force as part of socialisation (138). Thurfjell defines "authorisation" as the social process of creating the power of superiority without argument and force (135). To understand this, he analyses the content of lectures and lamentations in the chosen mosque. According to him, these mediums are tools of authorisation because of the framework in which they are presented (142). Thurfjell aims to show that lectures, lamentations, and ritualisation activities contribute to the construction of a community. His key points include the general call for obedience (from '*ulamā*'), identification with the *Ahl al-Bayt*, and the continuity of identity in a ritualised context.

Thurfjell titles the seventh chapter of his book "Crumbling Authority," inspired by the case of Jamie, the most important and impressive figure of this chapter, who exemplifies the process of change and distance from the community. By reflecting on Jamie as an example of the failure of authorisation, Thurfjell sees the informant's ideas about the Shī'ī authorities ('*ulamā*') in various degrees of acceptance and denunciation.

In the final chapter, Thurfjell offers a sharp, analytical understanding of the significance of "ritualisation" throughout his study. He employs Catherine Bell's notion of ritualisation to view rituals as ongoing processes rather than fixed entities. However, he specifically defines the term in his work as the construction of "otherness" in human activity (229). This definition allows him to include activities not traditionally labelled as rituals as long as they exhibit the otherness aspect of ritual. To highlight the creative aspect

of ritual, Thurfjell avoids strictly defining what he means by the word. Consequently, the book does not delve deeply into analysing ritual structure and sequences or their detached presence in the lives of informants. Instead, he broadens the concept to encompass living Shī'ism, which aligns with the informants' lifestyles. Nonetheless, to address the more rigid aspects in his analysis, he incorporates the "canonical" meaning of ritual (235).

His nuanced conclusion emphasises the creative aspects of the ritual life of his informants, despite their zealous and conservative beliefs. This is an important argument, as academic trends usually attribute such agency only to those who defy and reject conservative Islam. He strengthens this idea by showing how the informants' ritual activities correspond to their personal lives and connect to their anxieties, depression, poverty, and other issues. Although social class is not directly addressed as the main analytical framework, its presence is subtle and influential. It remains unclear whether the fact that all the participants belong to the lower class and struggle with poverty is coincidental or another significant analytical element. Regardless, by breaking the stereotype of a group that is most dependent on and benefits from state resources, the cost of Jamie's change of belief and his subsequent social decline provides a balanced view, preventing the homogenisation of this group.

It is worth mentioning that the main shortcoming of the book, of which the author is well aware, is its male-centric perspective and the absence of female encounters and experiences in the context of ritualisation. In chapter three, the author describes the participants' views on gender and sexuality, but this description fails to provide a dynamic, deep, and personalised image of their perceptions and emotions, offering instead a depiction similar to media rhetoric and sermon content. The trace of a "pro-revolutionary" woman is only notable in Jamie's story; Jamie lost his wife and the author attributes his severe ideological shift to repressed anger towards her as she had influenced his beliefs (176).

To sum up, Thurfjell's book can be read on one level as an attempt to generate a balanced and precise ethnographic work. While

maintaining a critical distance, it never conveys to the reader a sense of bias, homogenisation, or an exotic view of lived Shī'ism. This balance is primarily achieved through his minimal use of ideological terms, the natural integration of emic vocabulary without making the text difficult, and his continuous reflexive stance regarding his field position. His book exemplifies how discussions about positionality in the field—which are seamlessly intertwined with the description of the community, the mosque, and his interactions—can make ethnographic writing, especially about religion, credible and foster a new descriptive language.

On another level, revisiting this book has paved the way for future ethnographies of contemporary Shī'ism. This is not only because of the powerful and interwoven depiction of rituals, the political context, and the agency of participants but also because, despite the rapid pace of change, the reader can still trace contemporary society and ask whether, after 18 years, new or different instances of ritualisation can be discussed in Iran. What dynamics of change and rigidity characterise living Shī'ism in Iranian society today, and how far is it from the depiction in this book?

Material Culture and Rethinking the History of Shi'ism

Reviewed by Hossein Mohseni, Tarbiat Modares University

Introduction

In the methodology of historical research, scholars have traditionally relied on written documents as primary sources. They are, however, expanding their reliance beyond writings to include material culture as a supplementary—and sometimes rival—source to texts. This methodology was conventionally employed by archaeologists in response to scarce written materials but is now being applied to the study of more recent periods as well. Mary Lindemann in her entry titled “The Sources of Social History” in the first volume of the *Encyclopedia of European Social History* categorizes various sources used in social history. Among these, she highlights “non-written sources and artifacts,” which encompass material culture.¹ This approach places objects at the forefront of inquiry, with historians aiming to decode their meanings by exploring the objects’ relationships with their historical contexts and examining their “collective biographies” alongside written records.²

Material Culture Research in Existing Literature

The scope of this type of study has been covered through publications such as the *Journal of Material Culture* by the well-known publisher Sage and, more specifically in the field of material culture within the Islamic world, through the publication of the series of articles in journals like *Muqarnas* and *Journal of Material Cultures in the Muslim World* by BRILL publishers.

¹ See Mary Lindemann, “The Sources of Social History,” in *Encyclopedia of European Social History* (Scribner: 2001), 1:31-2.

² *Ibid.*, 1:33.

Successful examples of using material culture as a primary source for research include the two books *The History of the Sarbadār Dynasty, 1336-1381 A.D. and Its Sources* by John Masson Smith Jr. and *Islamic History Through Coins: An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikhshidid Coinage* by Jere Bacharach, both of which have used numismatic evidence to study the history of the Sarbadār movement and the Ikhshidid dynasty. Additionally, in the field of architectural studies, Yasser Tabbaa has published a volume of articles entitled *The Production of Meaning in Islamic Architecture and Ornament*, that collectively examine the reflection of the system of meaning in the mirror of architecture.

Despite numerous studies of Shī'ī history, the emergence of Shī'ism in different regions of the Islamic world and its continuation into later centuries are among the issues that require serious and fundamental study. Scholars in this field have deep disagreements about the background of Shī'ism in different geographical areas. For example, many believe that Shī'ism in the eastern regions of the caliphate (Persian cultural sphere) until before the rise of the Safavid dynasty in the 10th/16th century, had neither a social base nor a role in the political, social and cultural developments of the area. To some extent, these hasty and static conclusions are due to the limitation of the scope of research resources, a lack of attention to historical-religious trends, and historians' mental presuppositions. In recent decades, with the emergence of interdisciplinary studies in the humanities and attention to new trends in social history, cultural history, economic history, etc., historians have had to use other sources.

Non-written sources, the most important of which are historical objects, profoundly impact the understanding of the context and extent of Shī'ī history in the geography of the eastern regions of the caliphate. This methodology has two specific advantages i.e. historicity and less possibility of fabrication and distortion in material culture, thus providing a suitable foothold for foundational research.

The Institute of Ismaili Studies in London has published 22 essays in a collection titled *People of the Prophet's House: Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shi'i Islam* that specifically explores the diversity of Shī'ī

beliefs and practices expressed through various traditional and contemporary sources including material culture.

Pedram Khosronejad, a professor at Western Sydney University, has also published a collection of articles titled *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, although the collected articles were limited to a small circle of objects and only focused on the material culture in the post-Safavid period. The Western academy's desire to advance studies and produce works within this semantic field in the history of Islam, especially the Shī'ī narrative, has created new research opportunities. Recently, Karen Ruffle and Babak Rahimi, as part of their *Studies in Shi'i Materiality* series, a project for the University of Edinburgh, have invited researchers to write a collection of books in the field of social and cultural history of Shi'ism based on objects.³

The importance of including material culture as a primary source is also becoming embedded in education. The book *A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources: History and Material Culture*, a collection of articles edited by Karen Harvey—a professor of cultural history at the University of Birmingham—is a methodological effort to familiarize scholars within this field and considered essential reading for students of historical theory and methodology,

In this adopted approach, objects and their interpretive frameworks are not only foundational for understanding the social phenomena of the Islamic world but also, when prioritizing objects over texts, they can lead to a fundamental transformation. Indeed, when there is a conflict between the implications of a material phenomenon and historical accounts, the tangible elements are given precedence. These elements then become crucial criteria for modification and adjustment of an inferred narrative.

2. Explores theories and concepts related to Shī'ī material culture, the sensorium and ritual. See <https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/series-studies-in-shii-materiality>.

The works highlighted below are only a small part of the efforts of non-Iranian researchers to explain some examples of the material culture of Imāmī Shī'ī in the field of numismatics and architectural studies.

Atef Mansour Mohamed Ramadan, a renowned numismatist and professor at Cairo University, has written a book titled *al-Mahdī wa-l-Mahdawiyya 'alā al-Maskūkāt al-Islāmiyya* (The Mahdi and Mahdism on Islamic Coins). Part of this book deals with some of the Shī'ī coins of Iran and while the text does not have an analytical approach to the coinage system, Ramadan has tried as much as possible to collect historical data related to the minting governments.

Luke Treadwell, a famous numismatist and professor at the University of Oxford, is another scholar who has written a book about mints, focusing on the Būyid dynasty during the period of 322-435 A.H.⁴ In addition, Treadwell has also written two substantial articles about Quranic verses⁵ and phrases related to the Prophet's Household⁶ on coins from the fourth and fifth centuries AH. Other works include an article by numismatist Aram Vardanyan describing some of the coins of the 'Alawī dynasty of Ṭabaristān.⁷

In the field of architectural studies, Dr. Erica Cruikshank Dodd, in collaboration with Shereen Khairallah, has written a book titled *The Image of the Word: A Study of Quranic Verses in Islamic Architecture*

⁴ Luke Treadwell, *Buyid Coinage: A Die Corpus (322-445 A.H.)* (Ashmolean Museum: 2001).

⁵ Treadwell, "Qur'anic Inscriptions on the Coins of the *Ahl al-Bayt* from the Second to Fourth Century AH," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 14/2 (October 2012): 47-71, <https://doi.org/10.3366/jqs.2012.0055>.

⁶ Treadwell, "Ali Wali Allah' and Other Non-Qur'anic References to the Ahl Al-Bayt on Islamic Coinage before the Saljuq Period," in Fahmida Suleman (ed.), *People of the Prophet's House: Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shī'i Islam* (Azimuth Editions: 2015), 126-35.

⁷ Aram Vardanyan, "Numismatic Evidence for the Presence of Zaydī 'Alids in the Northern Jibāl, Gilān and Khurāsān from AH 250 to 350 (AD 864-961)," *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1966-) 170 (2010): 355-74, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42678897>.

about Quranic verses on inscriptions, part of which is dedicated to Shīʿī inscriptions. Raya Shani has authored a book about the ‘Alawī Dome of Hamadan and its Shīʿī aspects.⁸ In addition, Sheila Blair, a well-known researcher in architectural studies, has written a short article about how Shīʿī elements were incorporated into the lustre tiles of Kashan in various Shīʿī tombs during the seventh/thirteenth century.⁹

Conclusion

By studying the material culture left by the Shīʿa, one can review afresh the fluctuations of Shīʿī history across the geography of the Islamic caliphate. This would allow researchers to discover previously unnoticed achievements in the historical course of this religion and their effects and influences in political, social, and cultural arenas.

For example, coins, as one of the main tools of the political elite, show their identity elements and are a statement declaring the political and religious positions of the time. Also, the extent of minting these coins reveals various points in understanding different aspects of the social phenomenon of Shīʿism. Seeking the answers to relevant questions opens the narrative to new perspectives. Is the ruler who minted the coin one of the Shīʿī political elites or not, and which religion did he follow? Were the cities where these coins were minted Shīʿī? What meaning did people infer about the religious concepts—and their legitimacy—that were minted on those coins? From what semantic origin do the religious terms on the coin originate? What foundation of legitimacy do the religious concepts minted on the coin portray for the ruler in the face of political rivals?

⁸ Raya Shani, *A Monumental Manifestation of the Shiʿite Faith in Late Twelfth-Century Iran: The Case of the Gunbad-i ʿAlawiyan, Hamadan* (University of Oxford: 1996).

⁹ Sheila Blair, “Writing about Faith: Epigraphic Evidence for the Development of Twelver Shiʿism in Iran,” in Fahmida Suleman (ed.), *People of the Prophet's House: Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shiʿi Islam* (Azimuth Editions: 2015), 106–14.

On the other hand, the answers related to the semantic system reflected in coins can be evaluated with the material culture of the scientific elites in that geographical-cultural space. This will clarify to some extent the aspects of the scientific movement of the time, the prosperity or recession of the scientific situation, scientific trips, influences and relationships with other scientific currents, and the type of relationship between scientific elites, political elites, and the general public.

Finally, the artefacts related to the general public provide a suitable platform for understanding the social and discursive power of the Shīʿī, religious aspects, behavioural systems, cultural eclecticism, and various aspects of the acceptability and credibility of the semantic system of the Shīʿī (in the general sense) in connection with the two currents of scientific and political elites.

It can be hoped that renewed research on the individual categories of material objects mentioned above over the various historical and geographical periods will provide new awareness and understanding of the history of Shīʿism.