

Unpublished Versions of the Sahifah Sajjadiyah

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Introduction:

The spirit of Shi'i faith shines through the *Ṣaḥīfah*, the legacy of the fourth Imam 'Alī ibn Husayn al-Sajjād (d. 95/713), the great grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). The Shi'i community has from earliest times transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* generation after generation as a prayer book for worship, an outline of major themes of the faith, and as a guide of the duties of individual Shi'i Muslims towards their Lord, the society in which they live, and each other. Thus the *Ṣaḥīfah* touches on a variety of topics, such as praise of God and worship of Him, prayers for help and protection in times of stress and difficulty, pleas for God's forgiveness, and petition for His grace and blessing. The two main reporters of the *Ṣaḥīfah* are the two sons of the fourth Imām, al-Bāqir (d. 114/732) and Zayd al-Shahīd (d. 122/739). The chain of *Isnād* of all the manuscripts discovered so far goes back to 'Umayr, son of Mutawakkil al-Thaqafi al-Balkhi who reports from both Yahyā son of Zayd (d. 126/743) and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). The reporters of the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Mutawakkil, however, are many and the manuscripts vary greatly in the number, length, and the arrangement of the invocations. The main aim of this discussion is to describe the variant manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīfah* which I was able to examine. First, however, it will be useful to shed some light on the devotional works of the Shi'i faith. We shall then speak of the author of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, the origin of its title, and its composition, and finally proceed to a comparison between the three available manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīfah*.

The Merit of Invocation:

"Du'ā" is a term derived from the Arabic root "Du'ā", that is, to call. In Islamic literature, when "Du'ā" is used with the preposition "lah", it refers to the direct call, addressed to God alone, requesting blessings, or cursing whomever deserves it when it is used with the preposition "la". The term has been rendered variously as invocation, supplication, and spoken prayer. Thus, Du'ā' differs from *Ṣalāt*, the ritual prayer, and also from *Dhikr*, the remembrance of God. Du'ā' may be used as a liturgy in a congregational gathering, or individually as a private prayer. Shi'is consider, "Du'ā'" an important source of spiritual guidance in accordance with the Qur'ānic injunction: "Call upon me, I will reply." (Qur'ān, 40:60). Many sayings of the Prophet and the Imams on the merit and significance of invocations are reported in Shi'i collections of *Ḥadīth*. For instance, the Prophet says, "Invocation is the essence of worship."; and Imām 'Alī says, "Invocation is the key to mercy and success."

Shi'i scholars, furthermore, have specified many conditions for Du'ā' such as being in a state of purity, eating lawful foods, facing the *Qiblah* (the direction of the ritual prayers), and most importantly, being obedient to God's commands. (For details see: Ibn Fahd, *Uddat al-dā'i*, p. 24 and Majlis II, *Bihār al-anwār*, v. 93 pp. 299-394).

Aqā Buzurg Tehrāni lists 126 books on Du'ā' (See Tehrāni, *Dharī'ah* v. 8 pp. 177-206). The following are some sources of Du'ā' commonly used by the Shi'i community today:

1. *Kamil al-ziyārah* by Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Qulawayh, (d. 367/977), Najaf: Murtaḍawīyyah Press, 1356/1974.
2. *Miṣbāḥ al-muraḥḥijid* by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), Ed. Ismā'il Anṣārī Qum: 1401/1980.
3. *Iqbal al-'a'māl* by 'Alī b. Mūsā ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1265). Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1390/1970.
4. *Al-Balad al-'amīn* by Ibrāhīm Taqī al-Dīn Kafāmi (d.c. 895/1489), Iran: 1382/1962.
5. *Uddat al-dā'i* by Ahmad Ibn Fahd al-Hilli (d. 841/1437), Qum: Wujdani Bookstore, 1392/1972.

6. *Tuhfat al-zā'ir* by Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī II (d. 1111/1699).
7. *Tahḥiyat al-zā'ir* by Mirzā Ḥusayn Nūrī (d. 1320/1902).
8. *Miftāḥ al-jannāt* by Muḥsin Amīn al-'Āmilī (d. 1371/1951).
9. *Mafāṭiḥ al-jinān* by Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī (d. 1359/1940).

These popular books of prayer and liturgy have always been widely in use by the Shī'ī communities of Iraq and Iran and have appeared in many editions. They are mainly concerned with the life of the infallible Shī'ī Imams, in particular the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn. In fact, it is the commemoration of the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn which has given rise to much Shī'ī devotional terminology such as *Ziyārah* (liturgy), *Majālis* (memorial services), and *Qārī* in Arabic, *Rawz-e-khān* in Persian, and *Dhākīr* in Urdu for the one who recites the events of the tragedy of Karbalā'. Several of these liturgies list the names and biographies of those who took part in the events of Karbalā'. The author of the *Ṣaḥīfah* was an eyewitness to this tragedy from its beginning to its end.

The Author of the *Ṣaḥīfah*:

Al-'Imām al-Sajjād, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (d. 95/713) also known as Zayn al-'Ābidīn is considered the author of the present *Ṣaḥīfah*. It is said that he dictated the work to his two sons al-Bāqir d. 114/732 and Zayd (d. 122/739). Al-Imām al-Sajjād was born in Medinah, 38/658, and grew up under the direct supervision of his father, al-Imām al-Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet (ﷺ). In 61/680, he witnessed the tragedy of Karbalā'. His father and other male relatives and followers were massacred; al-Sajjād was the only male who was saved, for his illness kept him from taking an active part in the battle. After the events of Karbalā' and captivity in Damascus, the Imam returned to his residence in Medinah, where he stayed until his death in 95/713. In Medinah, he kept totally aloof from politics and devoted himself exclusively to worship. Worship was the only means to teach his children and the followers the principles of spiritual growth which were so greatly needed in those times. The fourth Imam was dedicated to educating his children as a living example of resistance to the oppressive rulers of his time by dictating these

invocations. The *Ṣaḥīfah* was also intended as a vehicle of repentance, providing the means to purify the Shī'īs of any guilt they may have felt for not participating in the events of Karbalā'. The fourth Imam left the *Ṣaḥīfah* as a legacy for generations of Shī'ī to come; it is a true mirror of Shī'ī thought in the aftermath of Karbalā'.

The Title of the *Ṣaḥīfah*:

Imām Sajjād's collection of devotions has been referred to by various descriptive titles:

1. *Al-Kāmil*, i.e. the perfect [devotion]. In manuscript no. 2, Ibn 'Umayr reports from al-Ṣādiq saying that his father, al-Bāqir, used to worship by reciting this collection of devotions and used to call it "*al-Kāmil*". Manuscript no. 3 also uses the word "*al-Kāmil*" as an adjective for the devotion (see: p. 6). Some Yemeni manuscripts have the title, *Ṣaḥīfat al-Kāmil*, that is the book of the perfect [author] (see: 'Isawī manuscript no. 57 p. 364).

2. *Du'ā' al-Ṣaḥīfah*. The early Shī'ī bibliographical sources refer to this collection as *Du'ā' al-Ṣaḥīfah*. Both Najāshī (d. 450/1058), and Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) refer to it by this title (see: Najāshī, *al-Rijāl* p. 301, and Ṭūsī, *al-Rijāl* p. 489, and *al-Fihrist* p. 199). Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) also mentions this title (*Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* p. 112). Here devotion is used in the singular, indicating the unity of the whole collection with one chain of *Isnad* back to the Imām. Tustarī, however, believes that this title is not accurate since the collection in fact contains more than one *Du'ā'* (Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 7:38).

3. *Zabūr Al-Muḥammad*, i.e. Psalms of the House of Muḥammad. The earliest source to refer to the *Ṣaḥīfah* by this title is Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) (*Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* 112, also note the misreading of the editor as Ibn Nūr Al Muḥammad). A comparison between this collection and *The Psalm of David* in the *Old Testament* seems to justify this title, for there is a common theme and a similar style.

4. *Injīl Ahl al-Bayt* (the Gospel of the people of the House). Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1191) in the biography of Yahyā b. 'Alī al-Riqqī refers to a collection by this title (see: Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* p.

118). Majlis I, Muḥammad Taqī (d. 1070/1659) and Muḥammad Bāqir Dāmād (d. 1041/1631) are of the opinion that this title refers to the *Ṣaḥīfah*. However, Effendi questions the accuracy of this opinion and believes that this title refers to one of the Imām's *Du'ā's* known as *al-Munājāt al-injiliyyah*, (the Evangelical fervent prayer) and not to the *Ṣaḥīfah* collection (See: Effendi p. 102). A comparison between the collection and the commonly used *Gospel* of today shows this title to be unjustified since the *Ṣaḥīfah* and *Gospel* have entirely different themes and styles.

5. *Al-Ṣaḥīfah al-kāmilah*, i.e. the perfect or complete collection of papers. The earliest reference to this title is by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) in his biographical source, *Ma'ālīm al-'ulama'* (p. 3). The word *Ṣaḥīfah* as it is used here means a collection of leaves of devotional literature. Manuscript no. 3 uses this title because it is the popular title of the collection since the time of Majlis I (d. 1070/1659). The collection also has been referred to as *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* or *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah*. Obviously, *al-Sajjādiyyah* indicates the attribution of the work to its author, Imām Zayn al-'Abidin, also known as al-Sajjād. The adjective *al-kāmilah* bears two possible meanings. It could mean "perfect", indicating the perfection of the devotion, or it could mean complete, meaning that nothing is missing from it. Sayyid 'Alī Khān Madanī (d. 1120/1708) is of the first opinion (See: Madanī, *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*, p. 13), while Sayyid Mar'ashī (d. 1411/1990) seems to support the second. Mar'ashī says that Jamāl al-Dīn Kawkabānī of Yemen had told him that an incomplete version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* is in use among Zaydīs (Mar'ashī, p. 29). Comparing the three manuscripts available at hand proves the second opinion. Manuscript no. 3 is the complete version, while both mss. 1 and 2 are incomplete. They have fewer and shorter invocations.

The Zaydī Version:

The Zaydī school of thought honours the *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah* in the same manner as the Ja'fari school does. The Zaydīs made the *Ṣaḥīfah* a text-book to be studied by their Imāms. The earliest Zaydī *Ijāzah* of the *Ṣaḥīfah* discovered so far is by Aḥmad b. Jamāl al-Nahadī in 606/1209. It

indicates that he had read *Ṣaḥīfah* with his teacher Yahyā b. Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī. This teacher narrates from Shaykh Hasan b. 'Alī al-'Alawī from 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mughathī, in 597/1200 (Mīswarī p.152). All the Zaydī manuscripts at the al-Maktabah al-Gharbiyya in Ṣan'ā', Yemen seem to be identical with the popular Shī'ī version, judging from their description in the catalogue of the library (see: 'Isawī, p. 364). Mar'ashī is thus absolutely correct when he says that the word *kāmilah* means a complete version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in contrast to the incomplete version. The incomplete version, however, is not necessarily the Zaydī version as the description of these manuscripts indicates.

The Composition of the Ṣaḥīfah:

All extant manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīfah* agree that it was dictated by Imam Zayn al-'Abidin al-Sajjād. Manuscript no. 1 mentions that he dictated the *Ṣaḥīfah* to his son al-Bāqir (d. 114/732). Al-Bāqir, in turn, dictated to his son al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), and al-Ṣādiq dictated it to his companion 'Umayr b. al-Mutawakkil. Manuscript no. 1 does not give details about how the *Ṣaḥīfah* was transmitted between these three generations. Manuscripts no. 2 and 3, however, contain prefaces in which it is described how the *Ṣaḥīfah* was kept safe with Mutawakkil b. 'Umayr and was transferred to the next generation. According to these manuscripts the Imām also dictated to his other son, Zayd al-Shahīd, (d. 122/739) after Zayd, his son Yahyā of Juzjān (d. 126/743) inherited the *Ṣaḥīfah*. Subsequently, Mutawakkil met Yahyā and during a dialogue between the two, 'Umayr revealed that al-Ṣādiq had dictated the *Ṣaḥīfah* to him. Mutawakkil further mentioned the concerns of al-Ṣādiq about this collection of *Du'ā's* for fear of it being lost or confiscated by the Umayyads. Likewise, Yahyā revealed to Mutawakkil that he had inherited a *Ṣaḥīfah* from his father Zayd, which was dictated by his grandfather, Imām Sajjād. When the two manuscripts were compared, they were found to be identical. Yahyā, according to the prefaces in manuscripts 2 and 3, then entrusted Mutawakkil with the return of the *Ṣaḥīfah* to Medinah and its safekeeping with his relatives, due to the same fear that al-Ṣādiq had. The number of invocations of the *Ṣaḥīfah* were 75,

but Mutawakkil lost 11. The third manuscript relates the same episode but with additional details. Neither manuscripts 1 nor 2 have any addenda; the third one, however, adds several invocations of the Imām known as the addenda of the *Ṣaḥīfah* as well as other invocations. All of the three manuscripts agree that the composition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* was by *Imlā'*, that is, by dictation. The word *Imlā'* is used here in its primary meaning. It means to dictate orally to others, with the author being the one who dictates and not the one who records. Therefore, it is logical to consider al-'Imām al-Ṣajjād as the author of this collection, as it is likewise logical to regard variations in number and length of invocations as stemming from the nature of the process of dictation.

Supplements to the *Ṣaḥīfah*:

Shī'ī scholars have made serious attempts to find the missing eleven invocations of the original *Ṣaḥīfah* lost by Mutawakkil b. 'Umayr as well as the other ten invocations lost for unknown reasons. Thus, there are found in Shī'ī libraries a series of works of devotional literature known as *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Ṣajjādiyyah* with additional numbers, such as second, third, and so on. They are as follows:

The First Ṣaḥīfah is the original *Ṣaḥīfah*.

The Second Ṣaḥīfah by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, (d. 1104/1692) also known as *Ukht al-Ṣaḥīfah* published in Bombay in 1311/1893 (See: *Dharī'ah*, v. 15 p. 20).

The Third Ṣaḥīfah, also known as *al-Durr al-manthūr* by Mirzā 'Abd Allāh b. 'Isā Iṣfahānī al-Effendī (d. c. 12th/18th) Qum: Maktabat al-Thaqaalayn, 1400/1979.

The Fourth Ṣaḥīfah by Mirzā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Nūrī (d. 1320/1902). Qum: Maktabat al-Thaqaalayn 1398/1977.

The Fifth Ṣaḥīfah by Sayyid Muḥsin b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Amin al-'Āmilī (d. 1371/1951). Damascus: 1330/1911. al-'Amin found 52 additional invocations attributed to Imām Sajjād. This edition contains all of the supplements mentioned in the previous works and has a total of 182 invocations.

The Sixth Ṣaḥīfah by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥā'irī al-Mazandarānī.

This title is mentioned in the list of his works (see *Dharī'ah* v. 15 pp. 18-21).

Effendi indicates that it was his intention to find the missing invocations (Effendi p. 90). The aim of other scholars, on the other hand, seems to have been to collect whatever invocations could be attributed to al-'Imām al-Ṣajjād, regardless of their authenticity or style. These scholars did not consider the distinctive style of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in searching for its supplements. They simply basically compiled whatever invocations they were able to find attributed to the Imam which did not appear in the original popular version of *Ṣaḥīfah*. Some of these devotions are very different from the length and style of composition of the authentic *Ṣaḥīfah*.

Addenda to the *Ṣaḥīfah*:

The popular edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* today has several addenda which do not match the length and style of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. Manuscripts 1 and 2 do not have any addenda. Manuscript 3, however, has a few. Even Sayyid 'Alī Khān Madanī's commentary, however, does not contain any commentary to these addenda. Manuscript no. 3 is the oldest manuscript with addenda dated 1079/1668. It contains at the end many added *Du'ās*. They are as follows:

a. *Du'ā' al-Simāt* pp. 124-128.

b. *Khātam al-Nubuwwah*, the diagram of the seal of prophethood, p. 129.

c. 15 Addenda to *Ṣaḥīfah* pp. 130-136.

d. Weekly prayers pp. 137-140.

e. *Munājāt* (Fervent Prayers) pp. 141-166.

f. and *Ṣabāḥ* Invocation by Imām 'Alī pp. 167-173.

Obviously, these addenda were not in the original manuscript and the writer of this manuscript, Muḥammad 'Alī, copied them as he saw fit. The oldest manuscript containing a number of *Munājāt Zayn al-'Abidin*, i.e. Fervent Prayers, dated 722/1322 preserved at Ankara 'Umūmī Kutub O. 324 pp. 117-130. It has been published by 'Affī 'Asiran, Catholic Press,

Beirut: 1960. This edition is based on a manuscript at Ankara 'Umūmī Kutub. O. 324 pp. 117-130.

Authenticity of the *Ṣaḥīfah*:

Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) considers *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah* the sixth book written in Islam (*Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* p. 1). Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī I d. 1070/1659 says, "There is no doubt that the *Ṣaḥīfah Kāmilah* belongs to Imām Zayn al-'Abidīn (the master of worshippers). Ibn Shahrāshūb supports his view on the basis of the content and the style of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. He says, "It cannot be but of an infallible person." (See: Majlisī II, *Bihār al-anwār* v. 110, p. 66). In general, Shī'ī scholars after Majlisī I agree with his opinion. Effendi says that *Ṣaḥīfah* is "*mutawātir*", a historical fact, and does not need any chain of *Isnad* to prove its authenticity (see Effendi p. 5). Ṣāhib al-Jawāhir (d. 1266/1849) says, "The attribution of the *Ṣaḥīfah* to the Imam is certain." (See: Najafī, *Jawāhir al-kalām*, 11:158). Burūjerdī (d. 1380/1960) says, "It is obvious that the *Ṣaḥīfah* is of the Imam." He, then mentions the *Isnad* of others as well as his own *Isnad* (See: *al-Badr al-zāhir*, p. 25). Āqā Buzurg (d. 1389/1969) says, "*Ṣaḥīfah* is *mutawātir*" according to the Shī'ī scholars, through their special *Ijazah* narration, generation after generation down to the Imam (see: *Dhari'ah* 15:18).

In accord with a strong belief in *Ṣaḥīfah*'s authenticity, some Shī'ī scholars attempt to prove theories which are not related to religious matters. Baḥrānī (d. 1186/1772), also known as Ṣāhib al-*Ḥadā'iq*, comments on a phrase in the *Ṣaḥīfah* which reads "*Laka waḥdāniyyt al-'adad*": to You [O' God], belongs the oddness of the number one and the property of eternal power (see Chittik p. 101 invocation no. 28). Baḥrānī explains in detail that the number one is not a number, but rather a basic element which composes other numbers. For example, two is composed of two ones and so on (see: *al-Durrāh al-Najafīyyah* p. 76). al-Khū'ī, (d. 1413/1992) explains a natural phenomenon based on two sentences of the *Ṣaḥīfah* describing the day and night. He quotes the Imām as saying: "He makes each of them [day and night] to enter in its companion and causes its companion to enter into it." (*Ṣaḥīfah* invocation

no. 6 see Chittik p. 32). al-Khū'ī further explains that this phrase proves that the Earth is round and not flat. Otherwise, he says, one of these two sentences "*Yāliju kulla wāḥidin ft ṣāḥibih*", and "*Yāliju ṣāḥibahu fthi*" would be redundant. According to Khū'ī, both phrases refer to a natural phenomenon happening simultaneously. It is impossible that it be both day and night at the same place. Therefore, day and night must be at two different places opposite to each other; only then can both day and night exist at the same time. This can only happen when the earth is round, in which case, the place where it is day is opposite to the place where is night (see: *al-Bayān* p. 76). Khū'ī reconciles between this statement and the scientifically proven theory that Earth has been shaped by the mighty force of its own gravity. Because of a pull of the heavy interior and outer parts of the planet, the surface tends to settle as near the center as possible. As a result, it is held as a curving shape around the centre. Al-Khū'ī's explanation indicates the highest opinions that he has on the authenticity of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. Ironically, he does regard al-Mutawakkil, the main narrator of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, as a reporter not proven to be reliable. (See: Khū'ī, *Mu'jam rijāl al-Ḥadīth* 14:187). That is to say that technically the chain of *Isnad* of the *Ṣaḥīfah* is considered to be weak for the biography of Mutawakkil, the main narrator of all the *Ṣaḥīfah*'s versions, is not known. Therefore, Imām Khumaynī (d. 1410/1989) says, "The honoured *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah* has a weak *Isnad* though its great contents and eloquence make us have some degree of confidence that it has been narrated from Imām. But this does not prove the authenticity of each phrase of the *Ṣaḥīfah*." (see: Khumaynī, *al-Makāsib al-muḥarramah*, 1:320). He, however, does not hold the same view regarding other Shī'ī literature which is less important than the *Ṣaḥīfah*.

The popular manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfah* was in the hands of Majlisī I d. 1070/1659. He mentions the traditional argument to prove the authenticity of the *Ṣaḥīfah* through chains of *Ijaza*, and he adds that the chains of the *Ṣaḥīfah* are endless (See: *Rawḍat al-muttaqqīn*, v. 14 p. 422). Further, Majlisī I mentions an episode which sheds some light on the popularity of manuscript no. 3, the popular version of *Ṣaḥīfah*. Majlisī I says that it was revealed to him at the beginning of the age of maturity in a dream while half asleep that Ṣāhib al-zamān al-Mehdī was standing at the

old *masjid* of Isfahān. Majlisī asks the Imām about some personal and scholarly questions for which he receives the answer. Then, Majlisī I asks him for a reference book to consult whenever is needed. The Imām in reply says, "I have given a book for you to Mawlānā Muḥammad al-Tāj. Go and take it." In his dream, Majlisī goes to the man and takes the book. When he wakes up, Majlisī says, "I thought that the man called Tāj must be Shaykh Muḥammad [i.e. Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī d. 1031/1621]. Majlisī says, "I went to his school and saw him editing the *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah* with Sayyid Ṣāliḥ Amīr Dhulfiqār. When I told him my dream, he interpreted my dream as a good news; that is to obtain some divine knowledge; I left him to the destination to which I went in my dream. I met a man called Agha Ḥasan Tājā and after introduction, he gave me the same book which I saw in my dream. I came back to the Shaykh [Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī]." Majlisī I further says, "I started to copy with him manuscripts which his grandfather had copied from the manuscript of Shahīd. Shahīd had copied his manuscript from the manuscript of 'Alī b. 'Amīd al-Sadīd. 'Alī copied his from Ibn Sakūn and compared it with the manuscript of Ibn Idrīs, directly or indirectly". Majlisī adds that the manuscript which Ṣāhib al-zamān gave me was copied from the manuscript of Shahīd. [They were] totally identical in the style of writing: People began to copy the *Ṣaḥīfah* from me. Now the *Ṣaḥīfah* is distributed in all cities, especially in Isfahān (see: Majlisī I, *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn* v. 14: p. 431). This long episode explains in part why manuscript no. 3 of the *Ṣaḥīfah* is popular today and not the other two versions. According to Majlisī I (since the beginning of his age of maturity) in approximately c. 1018/1509 [Majlisī I was born in 1003/1595; the Shī'ī school of thought considers 15 to be the age of maturity for males], there was a serious attempt on the part of these two scholars of the Safavid era, namely Majlisī I and Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī (d. 1031/1621), to distribute manuscript no. 3. The efforts of these two scholars in particular resulted in the popularity of the *Ṣaḥīfah* version which is commonly in use today.

Manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīfah*:

A comparison between the three manuscripts at hand answers many

questions. Manuscript no. 1 lacks any. It contains only one *Isnad* to the Imām, while manuscript no. 2 has a short preface with one *Isnad* to the Imām. And manuscript no. 3 is the most complete with a long preface and two *Isnads* to the Imām. As a result, there are three versions of the *Ṣaḥīfah* at hand: those of al-Muṭahharī's, Ibn al-'A'lam's and Ibn Mālik. Only two of these three versions, those of al-Muṭahharī and Ibn al-'A'lam, constitute the popular *Ṣaḥīfah* commonly known as *al-Ṣaḥīfah kāmīlah*.

Manuscript no. 1, al-Muṭahharī's Version:

This manuscript has 41 invocations; its *Isnad* is short. It has no preface and was written by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Shīrāzī on 11th Rabi' al-'Ākhir 695/1295 in 73 folios (see: Ḥusaynī, 10:81). The *Isnad* of this manuscript goes back to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq as follows:

1. Abū al-Mufaḍḍal.
2. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Rūzbeh b. Abī Bakr al-Madā'īnī.
3. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Musallim al-Muṭahharī.
4. [His father].
5. 'Umayr b. Mutawakkil b. Ḥārūn al-Balkhī.
6. [His father].
7. al-Ṣādiq.
8. al-Bāqir.
9. al-Sajjād.

Names 5-9 are common with the other manuscripts. The first name, Abu al-Mufaḍḍal refers to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalīb al-Shaybānī (d. 387/997), as comparison with the other two manuscripts indicates. Both Najāshī (d. 450/1058) and Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) have mentioned their *Isnads* to Muṭahharī's version in their bibliographical works (see: Najāshī, *al-Rijāl* p. 301, and Ṭūsī, *al-Rijāl* p. 489, and *al-Fihrist* p. 199).

Manuscript no. 2, Ibn Mālik's Version:

This manuscript contains 37 invocations. In the preface, there is a reference to the two manuscripts of Zayd and al-Ṣādiq. This manuscript has no date and the name of the copyist is not known; however, on page 12 a reference to Bahā' al-Millāh wa al-Dīn appears. The manuscript is in 78 folios at the Mar'ashī Library, in Qum, # 198 (see: Ḥusaynī, v. 1 p. 230). This name most likely refers to Muḥammad al-'Āmilī (d. 1031/1621) who advocated the popular version of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. If this reference is correct, Bahā' al-Dīn popularized his version for an unknown reason. Following the third page, two pages are missing, as the contents clearly indicate. The *Isnad* of this manuscript reads as follows:

1. Abū 'Alī b. Humām b. Suhayl al-'Iskāf in Baghdad [d. 332/943].
2. 'Alī b. Mālik [Ṭūsī d. 460/1067 mentions this version in *Rijāl* p. 485].
3. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh [? Ibn Marwān al-'Anbārī see: Ṭūsī, *Rijāl* p. 428].
4. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ [? b. Mas'ūd al-Jadālī al-Kūfī, see: Ṭūsī, *Rijāl* p. 291.
5. 'Umar b. al-Mutawakkil b. Hārūn al-Thaqaḥī al-Balkhī.
6. Al-Mutawakkil [His father].
7. Yaḥyā and al-Ṣādiq.
8. [Their fathers] al-Bāqir and Zayd.
9. Al-Sajjād.

The editor of *al-Rijāl* by al-Ṭūsī believes that Ṭūsī's *Isnad* refers to only one *Du'a'*, namely invocation no. 3 (see: Ṭūsī, *Rijāl* p. 480). This not correct. On the contrary, this manuscript proves the unity of all invocations in one *Isnad*. There is a great discrepancy between this version and the popular version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* as the following examples clearly prove. In the popular *Ṣaḥīfah*, invocation no. 27, the invocation for the

fifth of the booty which they gain. Indeed, it is a compensation for what you have forbidden to us, according to the statement of your Prophet, of the *ṣadaqah*, which is intended [to wash] the sins of people. [This is] to purify Your Prophet, his family, his progeny, his children, and his kin. And [also inspire the people of the frontiers to know] the sins and the great faults of those who prevent it from us and Your revenge, whether it comes sooner or later, upon those who have treated us unjustly. O, God, purify the Muslims' frontiers through Your might, support the defenders through Your strength..." (Invocation no. 17 manuscript 2, pp. 31-32). This first paragraph is totally missing from invocation no. 27 of the popular *Ṣaḥīfah*. (See: Chittick, p. 94). The popular *Ṣaḥīfah* begins directly with the second paragraph, with the additional commonly used phrase: "*Allāhumma Ṣallī 'alā Muḥammad wa 'Āle Muḥammad*", that is, O' God, bless Muḥammad and his Household. The missing paragraph refers to several important aspects of Shī'ī thought, such as the principle of *Khums*. The Imām in this paragraph shows his intention to send his message to a remote place and important audience: the warriors at the frontiers of the Islamic territories.

Another *Du'a'*, no. 36 of manuscript no. 2, is also entirely missing from the popular *Ṣaḥīfah*. The first paragraph of this *Du'a'* reads as follows:

(Among his invocations is the invocation of acceptance)

"O' God, indeed, appeal is difficult and means also very difficult except with You. The channels are narrow, the objectives impossible [to obtain], such desires are rarely realized, and all avenues are cut off except to You. [All] hopes are in vain, all the expectations are cut off but of You. And trust is failing and good opinions are disappointed but of You..." (*Ṣaḥīfah* Ms. no. 2, invocation no. 36).

The entire invocation is a contrast between the mercy of Almighty God and the true nature of humans. By the contrast between the two, the *Du'a'* identifies the only path to salvation as total reliance on God alone.

Effendi refers to an old *Ṣaḥīfah* which he has seen and says, it was known as *al-Ma'zūmah*, that is, the infallible book, meaning that it was the most correct version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* (Effendi p. 57). It is quite possible that Effendi refers to this version of *Ṣaḥīfah* manuscript no. 2, for it seems to be more correct than the popular version. For example, the word

al-Ṣaḡālibah, referring to the Slavic race has been written, incorrectly, with *Ṣīn* in the popular version, (See: Chittick *Du'a* no. 27 p. 97 line 3). In a manuscript no. 2, it is written with *Ṣād* not *Ṣīn* (see *Du'a* no. 36 p. 77 line of Ms no. 2).

Manuscript no. 3, Ibn al-'Ālam Version:

This is the popular version of the *Ṣaḡīfah*. It consists of 123 folios written by Ghulam 'Alī, known as Muḥammad Amīn, son of Muḥammad 'Alī, in 10 Dhul Hijjah 1079/1668. It was copied from a manuscript written by Muḥammad b. Makkī also known as al-Shahīd al-'Awwal in 11 Sha'bān 772/1370. His manuscript was copied by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd in 642/1244. Al-Sadīd in turn made his copy from a manuscript of 'Alī b. Sakūn. At the end of this manuscript, many *Du'a*'s are included such as *Mashlūl*, *Ṣabāh*, and *al-I'tisām* and others. Also on the margin of this manuscript Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680) has written some notes, (see: Monzavī, p. 167). This manuscript was the basis for the edition of the *Ṣaḡīfah* edited by *Mishkat*, Tehran 1361/1942.

The *Isnad* of this manuscript of the *Ṣaḡīfah* reads as follows:

1. Najm al-Dīn Bahā' al-Sharaf Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Yahyā al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī.
2. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahrāyār al-Khāzin, in 516/1122.
3. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Ukbarī al-Mu'addal [d. 472/1079].
4. Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalīb al-Shaybanī [d. 387/997].
5. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Ḥasan b. Ja'far b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Amir al-Mu'mīnīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb [d. 308/920].
6. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Khaṭṭāb al-Zayyāt in 265/878.
7. His uncle, 'Alī b. Nu'mān al-'Ālam [al-Nakḥā'ī al-Kāfī].
8. 'Umayr b. al-Mutawakkil al-Thaqafī al-Balkhī.
9. His father Mutawakkil b. Harun.
10. Yahya and Ja'far from their father.
11. Al-Baqir and Zayd.
12. Al-Sajjad.

Names 8 to 12 are common with the *Isnad* of the manuscript no. 2. This manuscript has 54 invocations. It is the most complete version of all three manuscripts. The preface to this manuscript is longer than that of no. 2. What makes this manuscript unique is that someone in the chain of *Isnad* has combined two versions of the *Ṣaḡīfah* into one. These are the versions of Ibn al-'Ālam and Muṭahharī. The result of this combination is manuscript no. 3, which is known as *al-Ṣaḡīfah al-kāmilah*. Most likely, the one who is responsible for this combination is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Ukbarī d. 742/1079. The line on page 13 of manuscript 3 reads, "*wa ḥaddathanā Abū al-Mufaḍḍal*". This obviously belongs to the first *Isnad* mentioned on page 2. In the first *Isnad*, the one who reports from Abū al-Mufaḍḍal is described as al-Shaykh, the truthful, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Ukbarī al-Mu'addal [d. 472/1079 see: *al-Ansāb* by Sam'ānī [9:246 Hyderabad, 1928].

By comparing these three manuscripts, we find a new meaning for the phrase "*Wa baqī al-'abwāb*" (and the rest of the chapters) in the preface of the popular *Ṣaḡīfah* (see: Chittick, *The Psalm of Islam* p. 15). Surely, this phrase refers to the other version of the combined manuscripts. Apparently, 'Ukbarī had a copy of Ibn al-'Ālam's version, which he then combined with Muṭahharī's version. Whatever additional invocations were in Ibn al-'Ālam's version were referred to as "*Baqī al-'abwāb*". Further, he mentioned the table of contents of al-Muṭahharī's version in order to distinguish the two versions. Someone must have failed to understand this and included in the table of contents all the headings of the invocations, whether in Muṭahharī's or Ibn al-'Ālam's version. In other words by adding Muṭahharī's version to Ibn al-'Ālam's version, the *Ṣaḡīfah* became complete. This fine point makes the meaning of the phrase "*Baqī al-'abwāb*" very clear; it means the rest of the invocations. Madani seems to miss this fine point. He believes that the phrase "*Baqī al-'abwāb*" refers only to the heading title of each invocation within the *Ṣaḡīfah* (See: Madani, *Riyad al-ḡālihi* p. 31). The English translation picks up this opinion and translates the phrase as, "The remaining chapter headings." (See: *Ṣaḡīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* Trans. Chittick, 15).

The *Ṣaḥīfah* up to the Present Time:

The *Ṣaḥīfah* has been since its completion in the 1st/7th century in use by scholars of both the Shī'ī and Zaydī schools. We can identify the following phases in its history:

Dictation:

In the first phase, from the time of al-'Imām al-Ṣajjād up to the generation of 'Umayr b. Mutawakkil, The *Ṣaḥīfah* was transmitted by dictation. Ibn al-Mutawakkil reports the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Yahya and al-Ṣādiq, both of whom report it from their fathers, then, from their grandfather al-Ṣajjād, (see: Ms. 1, p. 1; Ms. 2 p. 2; and Ms. 3 p. 5).

Narration:

In the second phase, Mutawakkil receives the *Ṣaḥīfah* by narration using the term "*Haddathani*", that is, (reported to us), rather than by dictation. Most likely he transmitted *Ṣaḥīfah* by reading the text to others. The earliest manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfah* written by Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī in 694/1294 indicates that the copy was read to Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Shaybānī at his residence in the quarter of Marta'at Khāqān, (See: Atabai, p. 787). Judging from the little information given in this catalogue, this manuscript seems to be the same as Ibn al-'A'lam's version.

Transmission by *Ijāzah*:

During the third phase, the *Ṣaḥīfah* was transmitted by a Shaykh. He usually permits his students to attribute a book to a name in the list of his chain of *Isnad*. *Ijāzah* usually does not accompany *imlā'*, that is, dictation, as it was the case during the first phase, nor reading, which was the case during the second phase. The transmission is rather accomplished by permission, either orally or in writing. The purpose of the *Ijāzah* is to attribute a text to its author, or to enable oneself be included in the chain

of *Isnad* for the sake of blessing. Apart from these two points, there is no significance in such *Ijāzah*. The one who most advocated this method was Majlisī I (d. 1070/1659). He calculated the *Isnad* of the *Ṣaḥīfah* to be 56, 100 *Isnads* (see Majlisī II, *Bihār al-'anwār* v. 110 p. 51).

Commentary:

In the fourth phase, the main objective of the scholar becomes to write commentaries on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, explaining the text by *Shanḥ*, (commentary) or *Hashiyah*, (marginal notes), or *Ta'liqah*, (short separate notes). Tehrānī lists 64 commentaries on the *Ṣaḥīfah* (*Dharr'ah* v. 13 pp. 309-340) and 16 marginal notes (*Dharr'ah* v. 4 pp. 111-113). Maḥfūz further lists 14 translations, (Maḥfūz p. 70). The earliest commentary listed is of Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Kafāmī (d.c. 895/1489), and the most comprehensive commentary in use is of Sayyid 'Alī Khān Madānī, d. 1120/1708, known as *Riyāḍ al-'āliyah* (printed in Iran 1334/1955 and reprinted afterwards, by Mu'assasat Ahl al-Bayt Qum n.d.).

The following commentaries should also be added to the list:

1. *Fī dīlāl al-Ṣaḥīfah* by Muḥammad Jawād Mughniyyah (d. 1400/1979). Beirut: Dār al-Ta'āruf, 1979.
2. *Shanḥ al-Ṣaḥīfah* by 'Alī Naqī Fayḍ al-Islām, Tehran: 1376/1956.
3. *Shanḥ al-Ṣaḥīfah* by Sayyid Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, Najaf: Nu'mān Press, 1387/1967.
4. *Shraḥ al-Ṣaḥīfah* by 'Izz al-Dīn Jazā'irī, Beirut: 1402/1982.

Publication:

Of the manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, preserved at public and private libraries, I was able to locate 141 manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. This is not, by any means, a comprehensive list; this will need much further research. The oldest manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfah* found is written by Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī in 694/1294, is preserved at the Kitābkhāne-Saltānātī, Tehran, Iran. (See: Atabai, p. 787). It is ironic that with so many manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, no manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfah* has been

mentioned in the lately published catalogue by the Royal Institute for Islamic Research of Amman, Jordan. Only one manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfah* is listed and is wrongly attributed to Imam 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb (See: *al-Fihris al-shāmī li al-turūth al-'Arabī al-Islāmī al-makhtūf*, i.e., The Comprehensive Catalogue of the Arabic Islamic Manuscript v. 2 p. 1049).

The earliest edition was printed 1262/1845 in Tabriz, lithograph (see: *Mushar* p. 588). Further, *Mushar* lists 16 editions of the *Ṣaḥīfah* (see: *Mushar* p. 588). *Maḥfūz* lists 5 Indian editions and 11 Iranian editions (see: *Maḥfūz* p. 71). However, the following editions should be added to the list:

1. *Ṣaḥīfah Kāmilah mutarjam wa muḥashshā* with Urdu translation by Muḥammad Hārūn Zangīpūr, Delhi: Matba' Yūsuf Dehli 1333/1914.

2. Cairo by Ahl al-Bayt Society, Gilani press, with a foreword by Dr. Aḥmad Wa'ilī n.d.

3. Beirut, Dār al-Ta'arūf with a foreword by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr.

4. Tehran with an introduction by Muḥammad Mishkāt, 1361/1942.

This edition is so far considered the most authoritative edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. It was published based on Manuscript no. 3.

5. Damascus, 1405/1984 edited by 'Alī Anṣārīyān. It includes:

a. the text of the popular *Ṣaḥīfah*, p. 1-232,

b. subject index by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Muẓaffarī pp. 233-336, and a

c. word index by 'Alī Akbar Qurayshī, pp. 336-589.

This edition is the most elaborately illuminated of all editions.

All the editions I was able to examine are of the popular version being almost identical to manuscript no. 3.

English Translations:

So far there are two English translations of the *Ṣaḥīfah* available:

1. By Aḥmad 'Alī Mohanī published in 1929 and in 1931 by Mu'ayyad al-'Ulūm Association, Lucknow; (see: *Maḥfūz*, p. 70). This translation has also been published by Imam Sahe-bu-Zaman Association, New Jersey, 1405/1984.

2. *Psalm of Islam* by William C. Chittik with a foreword by S.H. Ja'fari, published by the Muḥammadī Trust of the U.K., 1988. This translation is based on "The modern Iranian editions" as the translator

indicates (see: p. xxi).

Final Note:

Constance E. Padwick says that *Ṣaḥīfah Kāmilah Sajjādiyyah* is in use in Iran and Syria as the sister book in use in India (*Muslim Devotions* p. xv). The author seems to suggest that the Indian edition in use in India is somehow different from the edition in use in Iran and Syria. This is not an accurate description of the following Indo-Pakistani editions I was able to examine:

1. *Ṣaḥīfah Kāmilah mutarjam wa muḥashshā* with Urdu translation by Muḥammad Hārūn Zangīpūr, Delhi: Matba' al-Yūsuf Dehli: 1333/1914.

2. *Ṣaḥīfah Kāmilah ya'nī Zabūr-e 'Alī-e Muḥammad* with Urdu translation by Sayyid Qāsim Rīzā Nāṣīm Amr Dehlwī, Pakistan, Lahore: Shaykh Ghulām 'Alī Publishers n.d.

3. *Ṣaḥīfah Kāmilah* with Urdu translation by Sayyid 'Alī Saheb, Pakistan, Lahore: Maktabah Razawīyyah n.d.

Conclusion:

Examination of the three manuscripts at hand leads us from speculation closer to certainty, at least on three points:

1. There are basically three variants of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, those of Ibn al-'A'lam, al-Muṭahharī, and Ibn Mālik. Some scholar, most likely al-'Ukbarī (d. 472/1079), combined two of these versions--those of Ibn al-'A'lam and Muṭahharī, in one volume. This is the provenance of the popular version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in use today in the Shī'ī community worldwide. It is because of this combination that the *Ṣaḥīfah* is called *al-Kāmilah* i.e. the complete one (see Chart 1).

2. There is a difference between the two versions of Ibn al-'A'lam and Ibn Mālik of 18 invocations. The unpublished manuscript no. 2 has 37 invocations, while the popular one has 54 invocations. The following invocations are included in the popular version, but missing from the other: 2, 3, 4, 5, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 38, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, and 53. (See: Chart # 2).

3. The addenda of the published *Ṣaḥīfah* are not part of the work itself. These definitely do not share the chain of *Isnad* of the three manuscripts and are moreover vary in style of composition. Despite this, manuscript no. 3 has at the end a few additional invocations, such as the *Du'a Shābur* and *Ṣabāḥ* but these are presented as addenda and not as part of the work itself.

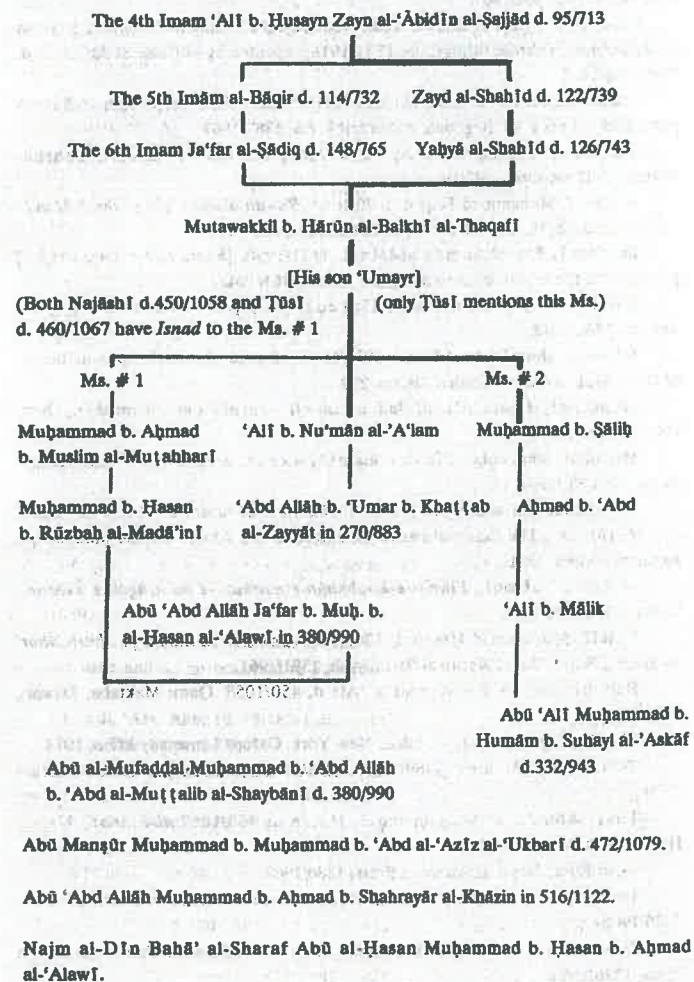
In short, the *Ṣaḥīfah* has gone through phases of dictation, narration, *ijazah* transmission, commentary, publication, and translation. The popularity of the combined version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in use is due in part to the diligent work of two scholars, Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1031/1621), and Majlisī I (d. 1070/1659). Other versions of the *Ṣaḥīfah* received attention during the first and the second phases, but not afterwards. Regrettably, so far there is no scholarly edition of the complete versions of this masterpiece of Shīʿī devotional literature.

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Chart # 1

The Origin of the Popular *Ṣaḥīfah*

(This is the popular version of *Ṣaḥīfah* identical to Ms. no.3.)

Chart # 2

(A comparison between Ms. no. 3 of *Ṣaḥīfah*, the popular version and the two unpopular Mss. no. 2 and 3)

The following chart indicates the sequences and the missing invocations in both manuscripts. Ms. no. 2 has one invocation which is not in the popular manuscript. The popular one has 18 invocations more. They are 2, 3, 4, 5, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 38, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, and 53. The common invocations between the two, however, differ in their texts and their length.

Ms. # 2 Sequence: Ms. # 3:

Ms. # 2 Sequence: Ms. # 3:

1	=	1	20	=	31
2	=	37	21	=	13
3	=	8	22	=	14
4	=	9	23	=	16
5	=	10	24	=	6
6	=	11	25	=	7
7	=	12	26	=	35
8	=	39	27	=	43
9	=	28	28	=	17
10	=	41	29	=	15
11	=	29	30	=	18
12	=	40	31	=	36
13	=	30	32	=	34
14	=	32	33	=	33
15	=	24	34	=	46
16	=	26	35	=	54
17	=	27	36	=	Missing
18	=	44	37	=	51
19	=	45	=
			37	=	36

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ
 قَالَ أَبُو الْمُفَضَّلِ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ دُرَّةٍ أَبُو بَكْرٍ
 الْأَدْنِيُّ الْكَاتِبُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ جَارِمٍ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ
 بْنُ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُسْلِمٍ الطَّهَرِيُّ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي عَنْ عُثْمَانَ
 بْنِ مُتَوَكَّلٍ عَنْ مُزَوَّوْنَ أَبِي الْحُجَّيِّ عَنْ أَبِي التَّوَكُّلِ بْنِ مُرَّةٍ
 قَالَ أَمَلِي عَلَيْهِ سَيِّدِي الصَّيَادُ وَجَعَفَرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ عَلَيْهِمَا السَّلَامُ
 قَالَ أَمَلِي حَدَّثَنِي عَلَيْهِ ابْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ عَلَيْهِ ابْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
 يَوْمَ قَائِلٍ فَكَانَ مِنْ دُعَائِهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
 إِذَا ابْتَدَأَ بِالْأَمْرِ بِدَعَا بِالْحَمْدِ لِلَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ

أَعْمَاسِي وَتَقَطَّعَتْ أَوْصَالِي مَا أَغْفَلَنِي عَنْكَ إِذْ بَدَى مَوَالِي
 فَارْتَحَمَنِي فِي حَشَرِي وَتَشَرِي وَأَجْعَلْ فِي ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ
 مَعَ أَوْلِيَائِكَ مَوْفِقِي وَيُفِي أَحْصَاكَ مَسْجِدِي وَفِي جَمْعِ أَرْكَ
 مَسْكَنِي يَا رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ ٥
 ثُمَّ تَمَّ بِهَذَا وَبَعَثَ تَوْفِيقُهُ
 فِي يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ الْحَادِي عَشْرِينَ مِنْ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْإِسْلَامِ ثَمَانِينَ
 وَثَلَاثِينَ وَبِسْمِ اللَّهِ
 كَتَبَهَا الْحُسَيْنُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ الْمُسَنَّى الشَّيْخُ إِزِيدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْمَوْصِلِ
 بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ إِمَامِي أَمِيرِي عَلِيٍّ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَوَسَلَامًا
 كَتَبَهَا خُطَّابَةُ عَمْرُو بْنُ أَبِي اللَّهِ الْخَطَّاسِ

وقد كتبت هذا في سنة ١٢٠٠ هـ
في شهر ربيع الثاني

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو عَلِيٍّ تَهَمُّ بْنُ سُهَيْلٍ الْأَسْكَافِيُّ
 بِغَدَادَةَ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ مَالِكٍ عَنْ أَجْمَدَ
 بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ صَالِحٍ عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ
 الْمُتَوَكِّلِ عَنْ هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي الْمُتَوَكِّلُ
 قَالَ لَقِيتُ جَدِّي بْنَ زَيْدٍ بَعْدَ قَتْلِ أَبِيهِ وَهُوَ مُوَجَّهٌ
 إِلَى خُرَاسَانَ فَمَلَّتْ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالَ مَنْ ابْنُ أَبِيكَ فَهَلْتُ
 مِنْ لَحْجٍ فَسَأَلَنِي عَنْ أَهْلِهِ وَبَنِي عَمِّهِ فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ
 لَحْجِيهِمْ وَبَنِيهِمْ عَلَى أَبِيهِ فَكَانَ عَنِّي

[١٧] وَاسْعُدْ بِهِمْ يَا اللَّهُ الْعَالَمِينَ وَوَحِّدْ كَلِمَةً
 عَلَى السَّيِّئِ لَا يَمْلِكُ الشُّعُورُ وَالْجَوْنُ
 اللَّهُمَّ اللَّهُمَّ أَهْلَ الشُّعُورِ عَلِّمْنَا مَا لَنَا مِنَ الْحُجُ
 فِي خُمُرِ الْغَيَائِرِ الَّذِي يَغْمُوهُ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ
 [٥] عَوْرٌ مِمَّا حَرَّمْتَهُ عَلَيْنَا عَلَى لِسَانِ نَبِيِّكَ
 مِنَ الصَّدَقَةِ الَّتِي هِيَ غُسَّالَاتُ الذُّنُوبِ
 النَّاسِ تَنْزِيهَا مِنْكَ لِنَبِيِّكَ وَآلِهِ وَدُرِّيْدِ
 وَلَدِهِ وَعَشِيرَتِهِ وَمَا عَلَى مَا بَعَا آيَاهُ مِنْ
 الذُّنُوبِ وَمِنْ عَظِيمِ الْحُوبِ وَانْتِقَامِكَ
 [١٥] مِمَّنْ ظَلَمْنَاكَ عَاجِلًا وَأَجَلًا اللَّهُمَّ حَسِّنْ
 نَحْوَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِعِزَّتِكَ وَإِيْدِ خَلْقَكَ بِقُوَّتِكَ

كَمَا تَصِلُ بِأَصْلَيْ عَلَى أَحَدٍ قَبْلَهُ وَأَنْتَ مُصَلِّ
 عَلَى أَحَدٍ بَعْدَهُ وَأَشْأَنِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ
 حَسَنَةً وَقِنَا عَذَابَ النَّارِ **وَعَلَيْكُمْ**
عَلَيْكُمْ السَّلَامُ [35] **أَسْتَغِيثُ بِكَ يَا**
اللَّهُمَّ قَدْ أَخَذَ بِي الطَّلَبُ وَأَغْمَتِ الْجَلِيلُ
 الْأَعْيُنُ وَضَاقَتِ الْمَذَاهِبُ وَامْتَنَعَ الْمَطْلَبُ
 وَعَسَرَتِ الرِّغَائِبُ وَانْقَطَعَ الطَّرِيقُ إِلَّا إِلَيْكَ
 وَتَضَرَّعَتِ الْأَمْالُ أَشَقُّعَ الرِّجَا إِنْ مَكَرَ خَائِبُ
 النَّفْسَةِ وَأَخْلَفَ الظَّنُّ إِلَّا بِكَ اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَسْأَلُ
 سُبُلَ الْمَطْلَبِ إِلَيْكَ مِنْجَةً وَمُنَافِلَ الْأَجَلِ
 لَدُنْكَ مُتَمِّعَةً وَأَنْوَابَ الدُّعَاءِ إِلَيْكَ مُفْتِحَةً وَعِلْمَ

A Facsimile of the beginning of invocation no. 35 of the undated *Ṣaḥīfah*

Ms. no. 2.

The entire invocation is missing from the popular *Ṣaḥīfah*.