Unpublished Versions of the Sahifah Sajjadiyyah.

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Introduction:

The spirit of Shi'i faith shines through the *Sahifah,* the legacy of the fourth Imam 'Ali ibn Husayn al-Sajjad (d. 95/713), the great grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (s). The Shi'i community has from earliest times transmitted the *Sahifah* 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 *Sahifah* 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 *Sahifah* are the two sons of the fourth Imam, al-Baqir (d. 114/732) and Zayd al-Shahid (d. 122/739). The chain *of lsnad* of all the manuscripts discovered so far goes back to 'Umayr, son of Mutawakkil al-Thaqafi al-Balkhi who reports from both Yahya son of Zayd (d. 126/743) and Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 148/765). The reporters of the *Sahifah 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 Sahifah 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 *Sahifah,* the origin of its title, and its composition, and finally proceed to a comparison between the three available manuscripts of the *Sahifah.*

The Merit of Invocation:

"Du'a" is a term derived from the Arabic root *"Du'a",* that is, to call. In Islamic literature, when *"Du'a'* 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'a'* differs from *Salat,* the ritual prayer, and also from *Dhikr,* the remembrance of God. *Du'a'* may be used as a liturgy in a congregational gathering, or individually as a private prayer. Shi'is consider, *"Du'a'"* an important source of spiritual guidance in accordance with the Qur'anic injunction: "Call upon me, I will

reply." (Qur'an, 40:60). Many sayings of the Prophet and the Imams on the merit and significance of invocations are reported in Shi'i collections *of Hadith.* For instance, the Prophet says, "Invocation is the essence of worship."; and Imam 'Ali says, "Invocation is the key to mercy and success."

Shi'i scholars, furthermore, have specified many conditions for *Du'a'* 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-da'i,* p. 24 and Majlisi II, *Bihar al-'anwar,* v. 93 pp. 299-394)

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

1. *Kamil al-ziyarah* by Ja'far ibn Muhammad ibn Qulawayh, (d. 367/977), Najaf: Murtadawiyyah Press, 1356/1974.

2. *Misbah al-mutahajjid* by Muhammad b. Hasan al-Tusi (d. 460/1067), Ed. Isma'il Ansari Qum: 1401/1980.

3. *Iqbal al-'a'mal* by 'Ali b. Masa ibn Tawus (d. 664/1265). Tehran: Dar al-kutub al-Islamiyyah, 1390/1970.

4. *Al-Balad al-'amin* by Ibrahim Taqi al-Din Kaf'ami (d.c. 895/1489), Iran: 1382/1962.

5. *'Uddat al-da'i* by Ahmad Ibn Fahd al-Hilli (d. 841/1437), Qum: Wujdani Bookstore, 1392/1972.

6. *Tuhfat al-za'ir* by Muhammad Baqir Majlisi II (d. 1111/1699).

7. *Tahiyyat al-za'ir* by Mirza Husayn Nuri (d. 1320/1902).

8. *Miftah al-jannat* by Muhsin Amin al-'Amili (d. 1371/1951).

9. *Mafatih al-jinan* by Shaykh 'Abbas Qummi (d. 1359/1940).

These popular books of prayer and liturgy have always been widely in use by the Shi'i communities of Iraq and Iran and have appeared in many editions. They are mainly concerned with the life of the infallible Shi'i Imams, in particular the martyrdom of Imam Husayn. In fact, it is the commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Husayn which has given rise to much Shi'i devotional terminology such as *Ziyarah* (liturgy), *Majalis* (memorial services), and *Qari* in Arabic, *Rawz-e-khan* in Persian, and *Dhakir* in Urdu for the one who recites the events of the tragedy of Karbala'. Several of these liturgies list the names and biographies of those who took part in the events of Karbala'. The author of the *Sahifah* was an eyewitness to this tragedy from its beginning to its end.

The Author of the *Sahifah:*

      Al-'Imam al-Sajjad, 'Ali ibnal-Husayn ibn 'Ali (d. 95/713) also known as Zayn al-'Abidin is considered the author of the present *Sahifah*. It is said that he dictated the work to his two sons al-Baqir (d. 114/732) and Zayd (d. 122/739). Al-Imam al-Sajjad was born in Medinah, 38/658, and grew up under the direct supervision of his father, al-Imam al-Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet *(s)*. In 61/680, he witnessed the tragedy of Karbala'. His father and other male relatives and followers were massacred; al-Sajjad was the only male who was saved, for his illness kept him from taking an active part in the battle. After the events of Karbala' 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 *Sahifah* was also intended as a vehicle of repentance, providing the means to purify the Shi'is of any guilt they may have felt for not participating in the events of Karbala'. The fourth Imam left the *Sahifah* as a legacy for generations of Shi'i to come; it is a true mirror of Shi'i thought in the aftermath of Karbala'.

The Title of the *Sahifah:*

      Imam Sajjad's collection of devotions has been referred to by various descriptive titles:

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

      2.*Du'a' al-Sahifah.* The early Shi'i bibliographical sources refer to this collection as *Dua al Sahifah.* Both Najashi (d. 450/1058), and Tusi (d. 460/1067) refer to it by this title (see: Najashi, *al-Rijal* p. 301, and Tusi, *al-Rijal* p. 489, and *al-Fihrist* p. 199). Ibn Shahrashub (d. 588/1192) also mentions this

title *(Ma'alim al-'ulama'* p. 112). Here devotion is used in the singular, indicating the unity of the whole collection with one chain *of isnad* back to the Imam. Tustari, however, believes that this title is not accurate since the collection in fact contains more than one *Du'a'* (Tustari, *Qamus al-rijal* 7:38).

3. *Zabur Al-Muhammad,* i.e. Psalms of the House of Muhammad. The earliest source to refer to the *Sahifah* by this title is Ibn Shahrashub (d. 588/1192) *(Ma'alim al-'ulama'* 112, also note the misreading of the editor as Ibn Nur Al Muhammad). 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. *Injil Ahl al-Bayt* (the Gospel of the people of the House). Ibn Shahrashub (d. 588/1191) in the biography of Yahya b. 'Ali al-Riqqi refers to a collection by this title (see: Ibn Shahrashub, *Ma'alim al-'ulama'* p. 118). Majlisi I, Muhammad Taqi (d. 1070/1659) and Muhammad Baqir Damad (d. 1041/1631) are of the opinion that this title refers to the *Sahifah.* However, Effendi questions the accuracy of this opinion and believes that this title refers to one of the Imam's *Du'a's* known as *al-Munajat al-injiliyyah,* (the Evangelical fervent prayer) and not to the *Sahifah* 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 *Sahifah* and *Gospel* have entirely different themes and styles.

5. *Al-Sahifah al-kamilah,* i.e. the perfect or complete collection of papers. The earliest reference to this title is by Ibn Shahrashub (d. 588/1192) in his biographical source, Ma'alim *al-'ulama'* (p. 3). The word *Sahifah* 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 Majlisi I (d. 1070/1659). The collection also has been referred to as *al-Sahifah al-Sajjadiyyah* or *al-Sahifah al-kamilah al-Sajjadiyyah.* Obviously, *al-Sajjadiyyah* indicates the attribution of the work to its author. Imam Zayn al-'Abidin, also known al-Sajjad. The adjective *al-kamilah* 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 'Ali Khan Madani (d. 1120/1708) is of the first opinion (See: Madani, *Riyad al-salihin,* p. 13), while Sayyid Mar'ashi (d. 1411/1990) seems to support the second. Mar'ashi says that Jamal al-Din Kawkabani of Yemen had told him that an incomplete version of the *Sahifah* is in use among Zaydis (Mar'ashi, p. 29). Comparing the three manuscripts available at hand proves the second opinion. <u>Manuscript no. 3 is the complete version, while both mss. 1 and 2 are incomplete</u>. They have fewer and shorter invocations.

The Zaydi Version:

The Zaydi school of thought honours *the Sahifah Sajjadiyyah* in the same manner as the Ja'fari school does. The Zaydis made the *Sahifah* a text-book to be studied by their Imams. The earliest Zaydi *Ijazah of* the *Sahifah* discovered so far is by Ahmad b. Jamal al-Nahadi in 606/1209. It indicates that he had read *Sahifah* with his teacher Yahya b. Isma'il b. 'Ali al-Husyni. This teacher narrates from Shaykh Hasan b. 'Ali al-'Alawi from 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Mughathi, in 597/1200 (Miswari p.152). All the Zaydi manuscripts at the al-Maktabah al-Gharbiyya in San'a', Yemen seem to be identical with the popular Shi'i version, judging from their description in the catalogue of the library (see: 'Isawi, p. 364). Mar'ashi is thus absolutely correct when he says that the word *kamilah* means a complete version of the *Sahifah* in contrast to the incomplete version. The incomplete version, however, is not necessarily the Zaydi version as the description of these manuscripts indicates.

The Composition of the *Sahifah:*

All extant manuscripts of the *Sahifah* agree that it was dictated by Imam Zayn al-'Abidin al-Sajjad. Manuscript no. 1 mentions that he dictated the *Sahifah* to his son al-Baqir (d. 114/732). Al-Baqir, in turn, dictated to his son al-Sadiq (d. 148/765), and al-Sadiq dictated it to his companion 'Umayr b. al-mutawakkil. <u>Manuscript no. 1 does not give details about how the *Sahifah* was transmitted between these three generations. Manuscripts no. 2 and 3, however, contain prefaces in which it is described how the *Sahifah* was kept safe with Mutawakkil b. 'Umayr and was transferred to the next generation.</u> According to these manuscripts the Imam also dictated to his other son, Zayd al-Shahid, (d. 122/739) after Zayd, his son Yahya of Juzjan (d. 126/743) inherited the *Sahifah.* Subsequently, Mutawakkil met Yahya and during a dialogue between the two, 'Umayr revealed that al-Sadiq had dictated the *Sahifah* to him. Mutawakkil further mentioned the concerns of al-Sadiq about this collection *of Du'a'* for fear of it being lost or confiscated by the Ummayyads. Likewise, Yahya revealed to Mutawwakkil that he had inherited a *Sahifah* from his father Zayd, which was dictated by his grandfather, Imam Sajjad. When the two manuscripts were compared, they were found to be identical. Yahya, according to the prefaces in manuscripts 2 and 3, then entrusted Mutawakkil with the return of the *Sahifah* to Medinah and its safekeeping with his relatives, due to the same fear that al-Sadiq had. The number of invocations of the *Sahifah* were 75, but Mutawakkil lost 11. The third manuscript relates the same episode but with

additional details. <u>Neither manuscripts 1 nor 2 have any addenda; the third one, however, adds several invocations of the Imam known as the addenda of the *Sahifah* as well as other invocations</u>. All of the three manuscripts agree that the composition of the *Sahifah* was by *Imla',* that is, by dictation. The word *Imla'* 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-'Imam al-Sajjad 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 *Sahifah:*

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

The First Sahifah is the original *Sahifah.*

The Second Sahifah by Muhammad b. Hasan al-Hurr al-'Amili, (d. 1104/1692) also known as *Ukht al-Sahifah* published in Bombay in 1311/1893 (See: *Dhari'ah,* v. 15 p. 20).

The Third Sahifah, also known as *al-Durr al-manthur* by Mirza 'Abd Allah b. 'Isa Isfahani al-Effendi (d.c. 12th/18th) Qum: Maktabat al-Thaqalayn, 1400/1979.

The Fourth Sahifah by Mirza Husayn b. Muhammad Taqi al-Nuri (d. 1320/1902). Qum: Maktabat al-Thaqalayn 1398/1977.

The Fifth Sahifah by Sayyid Muhsin b. 'Abd al-Karim al-'Amin al-'Amili (d. 1371/1951). Damascus: 330/1911. Al-'Amin found 52 additional invocations attributed to Imam Sajjad. This edition contains all of the supplements mentioned in the previous works and has a total of 182 invocations.

The Sixth Sahifah by Muhammad Salih al-Ha'iri al-Mazandarani. This title is mentioned in the list of his works (see *Dhari'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-'Imam al-Sajjad, regardless of their authenticity or style. There scholars did not consider the distinctive style of the *Sahifah* 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 *Sahifah*. Some of these devotions are very different from the length and style of composition of the authentic *Sahifah*.

Addenda to the *Sahifah:*

The popular edition of the *Sahifah* today has several addenda which do not match the length and style *of the Sahifah*. Manuscripts 1 and 2 do not have any addenda. Manuscript 3, however, has a few. Even Sayyid 'Ali Khan Madani'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'as*. They are as follows:

> a. *Du'a' al-Simat* pp. 124-128.
> b. *Khatam al-Nubuwwah,* the diagram of the seal of prophethood, p. 129.
> c. 15 Addenda to *Sahifah* pp. 130-136.
> d. Weekly prayers pp. 137-140.
> e. *Munajat* (Fervent Prayers) pp. 141-166.
> f. and *Sabah* Invocation by Imam 'Ali pp. 167-173.

Obviously, these addenda were not in the original manuscript and the writer of this manuscript, Muhammad 'Ali, copied them as he saw fit. The oldest manuscript containing a number *of Munajat Zayn al-'Abidin,* i.e. Fervent Prayers, dated 722/1322 preserved at Ankara 'Umumi Kutub O. 324 pp. 117-130. It has been published by 'Afif 'Asiran, Catholic Press, Beirut: 1960. This edition is based on a manuscript at Ankara 'Umumi Kutub. O.324 pp. 117-130.

Authenticity of the *Sahifah:*

Ibn Shahrashub (d. 588/1192) considers *Sahifah Sajjadiyyah* the sixth book written in Islam *(Ma'alim al-'ulama'* p. 1). Muhammad Taqi Majlisi I d. 1070/1659 says, "There is no doubt that the *Sahifah Kamilah* belongs to Imam Zayn al-'Abidin (the master of worshippers). Ibn Shahrashub supports

his view on the basis of the content and the style of the *Sahifah.* He says, "It cannot be but of an infallible person." (See: Majlisi II, *Bihar al-'anwar* v. 110, p. 66). In general, Shi'i scholars after Majlisi I agree with his opinion. Effendi says that *Sahifah* is *"mutawatir",* a historical fact, and does not need any chain of *Isnad* to prove its authenticity (see Effendi p. 5). Sahib *al-Jawahir* (d. 1266/1849) says, "The attribution of the *Sahifah* to the Imam is certain." (See: Najafi, Jawahir *al-kalam,* 11:158). Burujerdi (d. 1380/1960) says, "It is obvious that the *Sahifah* is of the Imam." He, then mentions the *Isnad* of others as well as his own Isnad (See: *al-Badr al-zahir,* p. 25). Aqa Buzurg (d. 1389/1969) says, *"Sahifah* is *mutawatir"* according to the Shi'i 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 *Sahifah's* authenticity, some Shi'i scholars attempt to prove theories which are not related to religious matters. Bahrani (d. 1186/1772), also known as Sahib *al-Hada'iq,* comments on a phrase in the *Sahifah* which reads *"Laka wahdaniyyt 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). Bahrani 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-Durrah al-Najafiyyah* p. 76). al-Khu'i, (d. 1413/1992) explains a natural phenomenon based on two sentences of the *Sahifah* describing the day and night. He quotes the Imam as saying: "He makes each of them [day and night] to enter in its companion and causes its companion to enter into it." *(Sahifah* invocation no. 6 see Chittik p. 32). al-Khu'i further explains that this phrase proves that the Earth is round and not flat. Otherwise, he says, one of these two sentences '*Yaliju kulla wahidin fi sahibih",* and *"Yaliju sahibahu fihi"* would be redundant. According to Khu'i, 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-Bayan* p. 76). Khu'i 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 centre as possible. As a result, it is held as a curving shape around the centre. Al-Khu'i's explanation indicates the highest opinions that he has on the authenticity of the *Sahifah.* Ironically, he does regard al-Mutawakkil, the main narrator of the *Sahifah,* as a reporter not proven to be reliable. (See: Khu'i, *Mu'jam rijal al-Hadith* 14:187). That is to say that technically the *chain of Isnad of*

the *Sahifah* is considered to be weak for the biography of Mutawakkil, the main narrator of all the *Sahifah's* versions, is not known. Therefore, Imam Khumayni (d. 1410/1989) says, "The honoured *Sahifah Sajjadiyyah* has a weak *Isnad* though its great contents and eloquence make us have some degree of confidence that it has been narrated from Imam. But this does not prove the authenticity of each phrase of the *Sahifah."* (see: Khumayni, *al-Makasib al-muharramah,* 1:320). He, however, does not hold the same view regarding other Shi'i literature which is less important than the *Sahifah.*

The popular manuscript of the *Sahifah* was in the hands of Majlisi I d. 1070/1659. He mentions the traditional argument to prove the authenticity of the *Sahifah* through chains of Ijaza, and he adds that the chains of the *Sahifah* are endless (See: *Rawdat al-muttaqqin, v.* 14 p. 422). Further, Majlisi I mentions an episode which sheds some light on the popularity of manuscript no. 3, the popular version *of Sahifah.* Majlisi I says that it was revealed to him at the beginning of the age of maturity in a dream while half asleep that Sahib al-zaman al-Mehdi was standing at the old *masjid of* Isfahan. Majlisi asks the Imam about some personal and scholarly questions for which he receives the answer. Then, Majlisi I asks him for a reference book to consult whenever is needed. The Imam in reply says, "I have given a book for you to Mawlana Muhammad al-Taj. Go and take it." In his dream, Majlisi goes to the man and takes the book. When he wakes up, Majlisi says, "I thought that the man called Taj must be Shaykh Muhammad [i.e. Baha' al-Din al-'Amili d. 1031/1621]. Majlisi says, "I went to his school and saw him editing the *Sahifah Sajjadiyyah* with Sayyid Salih Amir Dhulfiqar. When I told him my dream, he interpreted my dream as 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 Hasan Taja and after introduction, he gave me the same book which I saw in my dream. I came back to the Shaykh [Baha' al-Din al-'Amili]." Majlisi I further says, "I started to copy with him manuscripts which his grandfather had copied from the manuscript of Shahid. Shahid had copied his manuscript from the manuscript of' Ali b. 'Amid al-Sadid. 'Ali copied his from Ibn Sakun and compared it with the manuscript of Ibn Idris, directly or indirectly". Majlisi adds that the manuscript which Sahib al-zaman gave me was copied from the manuscript of Shahid. [They were] totally identical in the style of writing. People began to copy the *Sahifah* from me. Now the *Sahifah* is distributed in all cities, especially in Isfahan (see: Majlisi I, *Rawdat al-muttaqin* v. 14: p. 431). This long episode explains in part why manuscript no. 3 of the *Sahifah* is popular today and not the other two versions. According to Majlisi I (since the beginning of his age of maturity) in approximately c. 1018/1509 [Majlisi I was born in 1003/1595; the Shi'i 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 Majlisi I and Shaykh Baha' al-Din al-'Amili (d. 1031/1621), to distribute manuscript no. 3. The efforts of these two scholars in particular resulted in the popularity of the *Sahifah* version which is commonly in use today.

Manuscripts of the *Sahifah:*

A comparison between the three manuscripts at hand answers many questions. Manuscript no. 1 lacks any. It contains only one *Isnad* to the Imam, while manuscript no. 2 has a short preface with one *Isnad* to the Imam. And manuscript no. 3 is the most complete with a long preface and two *Isnads* to the Imam. As a result, there are three versions of the *Sahifah* at hand: those of al-Mutahhari's, Ibn al-'A'lam's and Ibn Malik. Only two of these three versions, those of al-Mutahhari and Ibn al-'A'lam, constitute the popular *Sahifah* commonly known as *al-Sahifah kamilah.*

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

This manuscript has 41 invocations; its *Isnad* is short. It has no preface and was written by Husayn b. Muhammad b. Husayn Shirazi on llth Rabi al-'Akhir 695/1295 in 73 folios (see: Husayni, 10:81). The *Isnad* of this manuscript goes back to Ja'far al-Sadiq as follows:

1. Abu al-Mufaddal.
2. Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Ruzbeh b. Abi Bakr al-Mada'ini.
3. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Musallim al-Mutahhari.
4. [His father].
5. 'Umayr b. Mutawakkil b. Harun al-Balkhi.
6. [His father].
7. al-Sadiq.
8. al-Baqir.
9. al-Sajjad.

Names 5-9 are common with the other manuscripts. The first name, Abu al-Mufaddal refers to Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib al-Shaybani (d. 387/997), as comparison with the other

two manuscripts indicates. Both Najashi (d. 450/1058) and Tusi (d. 460/1067) have mentioned their *Isnads* to Mutahhari's version in their bibliographical works (see: Najashi, *al-Rijal* p. 301, and Tusi, *al-Rijal* p. 489, and *al-Fihrist p.*199).

Manuscript no. 2, Ibn Malik's Version:

This manuscript contains 37 invocations. In the preface, there is a reference to the two manuscripts of Zayd and al-Sadiq. This manuscript has no date and the name of the copyist is not known; however, on page 12 a reference to Baha' al-Millah wa al-Din appears. The manuscript is in 78 folios at the Mar'ashi Library, in Qum, # 198 (see: Husayni, v. 1 p. 230). This name most likely refers to Muhammad al-'Amili (d. 1031/1621) who advocated the popular version of the *Sahifah.* If this reference is correct, Baha' al-Din 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. Abu 'Ali b. Humam b. Suhayl al-'Iskaf in Baghdad [d. 332/943].
2. 'Ali b. Malik [Tusi d. 460/1067 mentions this version in *Rijal* p. 485].
3. Ahmad b. 'Abd Allah [? Ibn Marwan al-'Anbari see: *Tusi, Rijal* p. 428].
4. Muhammad b Salih [? b. Mas'ud al-Jadali al-Kufi, see: Tusi, *Rijal* p.291].
5. 'Umar b. al-Mutawakkil b. Harun al-Thaqafi al-Balkhi.
6. Al-Mutawakkil [His father].
7. Yahya and al-Sadiq.
8. [Their fathers] al-Baqir and Zayd.
9. Al-Sajjad.

The editor *of al-Rijal* by al-Tusi believes that Tusi's *Isnad* refers to only *one Du'a',* namely invocation no. 3 (see: Tusi, *Rijal* 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 *Sahifah* as the following examples clearly prove. In the popular *Sahifah,* 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 s*adaqah,* 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. 0, 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 *Sahifah.* (See: Chittick, p. 94). The popular *Sahifah* begins directly with the second paragraph, with the additional commonly used phrase: *"Allahumma Salli 'ala Muhammad wa Ale Muhammad",* that is, O' God, bless Muhammad and his Household. The missing paragraph refers to several important aspects of Shi'i thought, such as the principle *of Khums.* The Imam 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 *Sahifah.* 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..." *(Sahifah* 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 *Sahifah* which he has seen and says, it was known as *al-Ma'sumah,* that is, the infallible book, meaning that it was the most correct version of the *Sahifah* (Effendi p. 57). It is quite possible that Effendi refers to this version *of Sahifah* manuscript no. 2, for it seems to be more correct than the popular version. For example, the word *al-Saqalibah,* referring to the Slavic race has been written, incorrectly, with *Sin* in the popular version, (See: Chittik *Du'a'* no. 27 p. 97 line 3). In a manuscript no. 2, it is written with *Sad* not *Sin* (see Du 'a' no. 36 p. 77 line of Ms no. 2).

Manuscript no. 3, Ibn al-'A'lam Version:

This is the popular version of the *Sahifah.* It consists of 123 folios written by Ghulam 'Ali, known as Muhammad Amin, son of Muhammad 'Ali, in 10 Dhul Hijjah 1079/1668. It was copied from a

manuscript written by Muhammad b. Makki also known as al-Shahid al-'Awwal in 11 Sha'ban 772/1370. His manuscript was copied by 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Sadid in 642/1244. Al-Sadid in turn made his copy from a manuscript of 'Ali b. Sakun. At the end of this manuscript, many *Du'a's* are included such as *Mashlul, Sabah,* and *al-I'tisam* and others. Also on the margin of this manuscript Fayd al-Kashani (d. 1091/1680) has written some notes, (see: Monzavi, p. 167). This manuscript was the basis for the edition of the S*ahifah* edited by *Mishkat,* Tehran 1361/1942.

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

1. Najm al-Din Baha' al-Sharaf Abu al-Hasan Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Muhammad b. 'Umar b. Yahya al-'Alawi al-Husayni.

2. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Shahrayar al-Khazin, in 516/1122.

3. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-'Ukbari al-Mu'addal [d. 472/1079].

4. Abu al-Mufaddal Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Muttallib al-Shaybani [d. 387/997].

5. Ja'far b. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Hasan b. Ja'far b. Hasan b. Hasan b. Amir al-Mu'minin 'Ali b. Abi Talib [d. 308/920].

6. 'Abd Allah b. ʻUmar b. Khattab al-Zayyat in 265/878.

7. His uncle, 'Ali b. Nu'man al-'A'lam [al-Nakha'i al-Kufi].

8. 'Umayr b. al-Mutawakkil al-Thaqafi al-Balkhi.

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 *Sahifah* into one. These are the
versions of Ibn al-'A'lam and Mutahhari. The result of this combination is manuscript no. 3, which is known as *al-Sahifah al-kamilah.* Most likely, the one who is responsible for this combination is Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-'Ukbari d. 742/1079. The line on page 13 of manuscript 3 reads, *"wa haddathana Abu al-Mufaddal".* This obviously belongs to the first *Isnad* mentioned on page 2. In the first *Isnad,* the one who reports from Abu al-Mufaddal is described as al-Shaykh, the truthful,

Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Ukbari al-Mu'addal [d. 472/1079 see: *al-'Ansab* by Sam'ani [9:246 Hyderabad, 1928].

By comparing these three manuscripts, we find a new meaning for the phrase *"Wa baqi al-'abwab"* (and the rest of the chapters) in the preface of the popular *Sahifah* (see: Chittick, *The Psalm of Islam* p. 15). Surely, this phrase refers to the other version of the combined manuscripts. Apparently, 'Ukbari had a copy of Ibn al-'A'lam's version, which he then combined with Mutahhari's version. Whatever additional invocations were in Ibn al-'Alam's version were referred to as *"Baqi al-'abwab"*. Further, he mentioned the table of contents of al-Mutahhari'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 Mutahhari's or Ibn al-'Alam's version. In other words by adding Mutahhari's version to Ibn al-'Alam's version, the *Sahifah* became complete. This fine point makes the meaning of the phrase *"Baqi al.'abwab"* very clear; it means the rest of the invocations. Madani seems to miss this fine point. He believes that the phrase *"Baqi al-'abwab"* refers only to the heading title of each invocation within the *Sahifah* (See: Madani, *Riyad al-salihin* p. 31). The English translation picks up this opinion and translates the phrase as, "The remaining chapter headings." (See: *Sahifah al-Sajjadiyyah* Trans. Chittick, 15).

The Sahifah up to the Present Time:

The Sahifah has been since its completion in the lst/7th century in use by scholars of both the Shi'i and Zaydi schools. We can identify the following phases in its history:

Dictation:

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

Narration:

In the second phase, Mutawakkil receives the *Sahifah* by narration using the term *"Haddathana"*, that is, (reported to us), rather than by dictation. Most likely he transmitted *Sahifah* by reading the text to others. The earliest manuscript of the *Sahifah* written by Yaqut al-Musta'simi in 694/1294 indicates that the copy was read to Abu al-Mufaddal Muhammad

b. 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Shaybani at his residence in the quarter of Marta'at Khaqan, (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 Ijazah:

During the third phase, the *Sahifah* was transmitted by a Shaykh. He usually permits his students to attribute a book to a name in the list of his chain *of lsnad. Ijazah* usually does not accompany imla', 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 *Ijazah* is to attribute a text to its author, or to enable oneself be included in the chain *of lsnad* for the sake of blessing. Apart from these two points, there is no significance in such *Ijazah.* The one who most advocated this method was Majlisi I (d. 1070/1659). He calculated the *Isnad of the Sahifah* to be 56,100 *Isnads* (see Majlisi II, *Bihar al-'anwar v.* 110 p. 51).

Commentary:

In the fourth phase, the main objective of the scholar becomes to write commentaries on the *Sahifah,* explaining the text by *Sharh,* (commentary) *or Hashiyah,* (marginal notes), or *Ta'liqah,* (short separate notes). Tehrani lists 64 commentaries on the *Sahifah (Dhari'ah* v. 13 pp. 309-340) and 16 marginal notes *(Dhari'ah* v. 4 pp. 111-113). Mahfuz further lists 14 translations, (Mahfuz p. 70). The earliest commentary listed is of Shaykh Taqi al-Din Ibrahim Kaf'ami (d.c. 895/1489), and the most comprehensive commentary in use is of Sayyid 'Ali Khan Madani, d. 1120/1708, known as *Riyad al-salihin* (printed in Iran 1334/195 and reprinted afterwards, by Mu'assasat Ahl al-Bayt Qum n.d.

The following commentaries should also be added to the list:

1. Fi dilal al-Sahifah by Muhammad Jawad Mughniyyah (d. 1400/1979). Beirut: Dar al-Ta'aruf,

1979.

    2. *Sharh al-Sahifah* by 'Ali Naqi Fayd al-'Islam, Tehran: 1376/1956.

    3. *Sharh al-Sahifah* by Sayyid Muhammad al-Shirazi. Najaf: Nu'man Press, 1387/1967.

    4. *Sharh al-Sahifah* by 'Izz al-Din Jaza'iri, Beirut: 1402/1982.

Publication:

Of the manuscripts of the *Sahifah* preserved at public and private libraries, I was able to locate 141 manuscripts of the *Sahifah.* This is not, by any means, a comprehensive list; this will need much further research. The oldest manuscript of the *Sahifah* found is written by Yaqut b. 'Abd al-Allah al-Musta'simi in 694/1294 is preserved at the Kitabkhan-e-Saltanati Tehran, Iran (See: Atabai, p. 787). It is ironic that with so many manuscripts *of the Sahifah,* no manuscript *of the Sahifah* has been mentioned in the lately published catalogue by the Royal Institute for Islamic Research of Amman, Jordan. Only one manuscript of the *Sahifah* is listed and is wrongly attributed to Imam 'Ali b. Abi Talib (See: *al-Fihris al-shamil li al-turath al-'Arabi al-'lslami al-makhtut,* 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 *Sahifah* (see: *Mushar* p. 588). Mahfuz lists 5 Indian editions and 11 Iranian editions (see: Mahfuz p. 71). However, the following editions should be added to the list:

    1. *Sahifah Kamilah mutarjam wa muhashsha* with Urdu translation by Muhammad Harun Zangipur, Delhi: Matba' Yusuf Dehli 1333/1914.

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

    3. Beirut, Dar al-Ta'aruf with a foreword by Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr.

    4. Tehran with an introduction by Muhammad Mishkat, 1361/1942. This edition is so far considered the most authoritative edition of the *Sahifah.* It was published based on Manuscript no. 3.

    5. Damascus, 1405/1984 edited by 'Ali Ansariyan. It includes:

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

b. subject index by Muhammad Husayn Muzaffari pp. 233-336, and a

c. word index by 'Ali Akbar Qurayshi, 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 *Sahifah* available:

1. By Ahmad 'Ali Mohani published in 1929 and in 1931 by Mu'ayyad al-'Ulum Association, Lucknow, (see: Mahfuz, 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 Muhammadi 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 *Sahifah Kamilah Sajjadiyyah* 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. *Sahifah Kamilah mutarjam wa muhashsha* with Urdu translation by Muhammad Harun Zangipur, Dehli: Matba'at Yusuf Dehli 1333/1914.

2. *Sahifah Kamilah ya'ni Zabur-e 'Al-e Muhammad* with Urdu translation by Sayyid Qasim Riza Nasim Amr Dehlwi, Pakistan, Lahore: Shaykh Ghulam 'Ali Publishers n.d.

3. *Sahifah Kamilah* with Urdu translation by Sayyid 'Ali Saheb, Pakistan, Lahore: Maktabah Razawiyyah 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 *Sahifah,* those of Ibn al-'A'lam, al-Mutahhari, and Ibn

Malik. Some scholar, most likely al-'Ukbari (d. 472/1079), combined two of these versions-those of Ibn al-'A'lam and Mutahhari, in one volume. This is the provenance of the popular version of the *Sahifah* in use today in the Shi'i community worldwide. It is because of this combination that the *Sahifah is* called *al-Kamilah* i.e the complete one (see Chart 1).

2. There is a difference between the two versions of Ibn al-'A'lam and Ibn Malik 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 *Sahifah* 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' Shabur* and *Sabah* but these are presented as addenda and not as part
of the work itself.

In short, the *Sahifah* has gone through phases of dictation, narration, *ijazah* transmission, commentary, publication, and translation. The popularity of the combined version of the *Sahifah* in use is due in part to the diligent work of two scholars, Baha' al-Din Muhammad al-'Amili (d.1031/1621), and Majlisi I (d. 1070/1659). Other versions of the *Sahifah*
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 Shi'i devotional literature.

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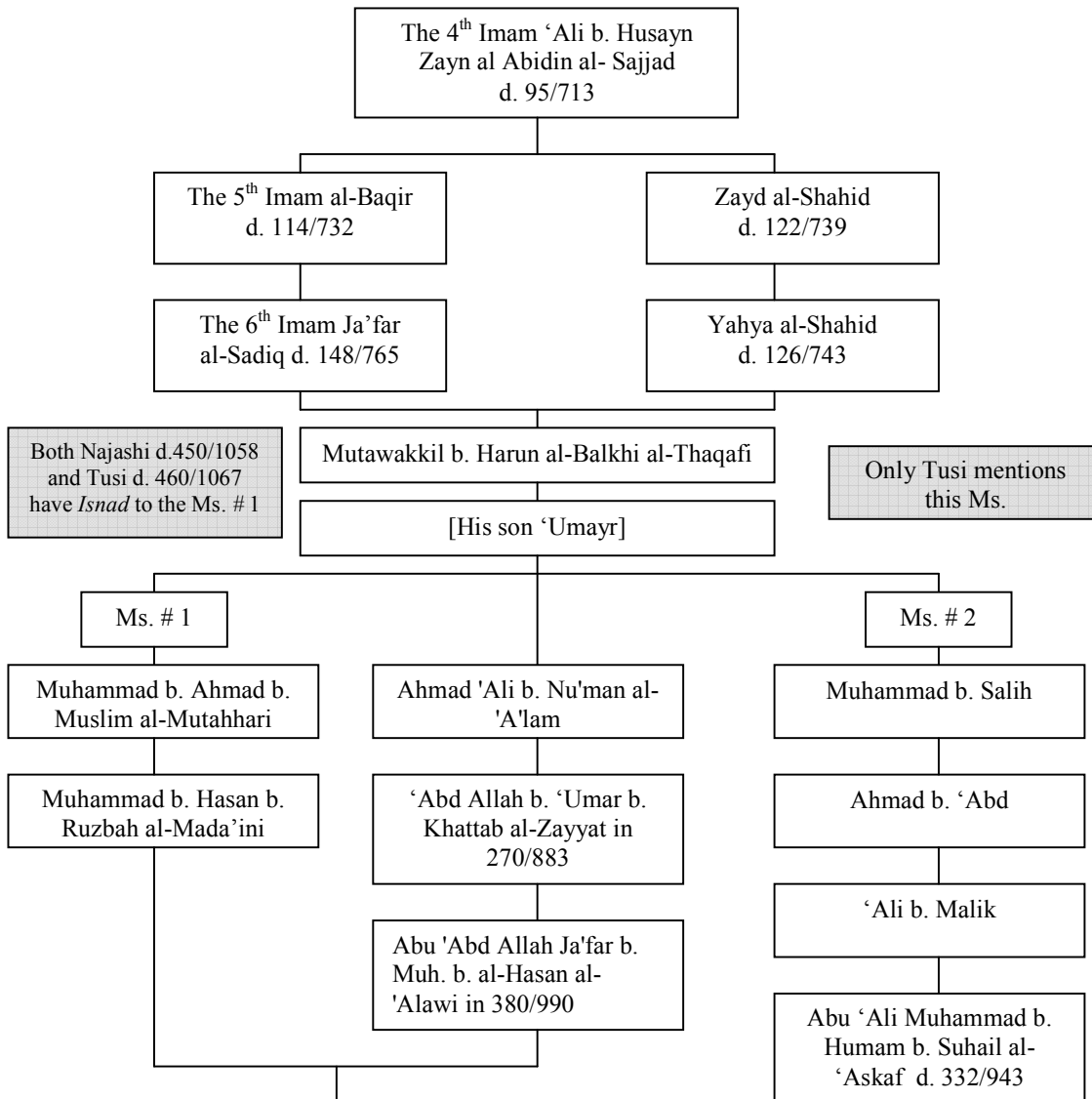
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Chart # 1

The Origin of the Popular *Sahifah*.

The 4th Imam 'Ali b. Husayn Zayn al Abidin al- Sajjad d. 95/713

The 5th Imam al-Baqir d. 114/732

Zayd al-Shahid d. 122/739

The 6th Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq d. 148/765

Yahya al-Shahid d. 126/743

Both Najashi d.450/1058 and Tusi d. 460/1067 have *Isnad* to the Ms. # 1

Mutawakkil b. Harun al-Balkhi al-Thaqafi

[His son 'Umayr]

Only Tusi mentions this Ms.

Ms. # 1

Ms. # 2

Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muslim al-Mutahhari

Ahmad 'Ali b. Nu'man al-'A'lam

Muhammad b. Salih

Muhammad b. Hasan b. Ruzbah al-Mada'ini

'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. Khattab al-Zayyat in 270/883

Ahmad b. 'Abd

'Ali b. Malik

Abu 'Abd Allah Ja'far b. Muh. b. al-Hasan al-'Alawi in 380/990

Abu 'Ali Muhammad b. Humam b. Suhail al-'Askaf d. 332/943

Abu al-Mufaddal Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Shaybani d. 380/990

Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-'Ukbari d. 472/1079.

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Shahrayar al-Khazin in 516/1122.

l-Najm al-Din Baha' al-Sharaf Abu al-Hasan Muhammad b. Hasan b. ahmad al-'Alawi.

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

Chart # 2

(A comparison between Ms. no. 3 of *Sahifah.* 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.
01 = 01	20 = 31
02 = 37	21 = 13
03 = 08	22 = 14
04 = 09	23 = 16
05 = 10	24 = 06
06 = 11	25 = 07
07 = 10	26 = 35
08 = 39	27 = 43
09 = 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 =
18 = 44	37 = 51
19 = 45	... = ...
	37 = 36