

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 ʿamal 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 the name

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.).

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 Sufiyān, 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 distor-

³ Sayyid Mahdi Mahmoudi, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ az Āghāz tā Imrūz* (Kitābshenāsī-yi Shī‘i Shināsī: 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.

tion consider the *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* in the al-Naqqāsh al-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*

⁴ al-Rādī, *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-Nashr Dār Beirut li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr: 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-‘alām* (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.

in this book. Since Shaykh al-Ṭūsī mentions *al-Mabsūṭ* in the 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.

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.

1.1.3 Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs’s report

The third and perhaps most important external evidence demonstrating Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *taqiyya* in Baghdad is that his grandson, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), explicitly mentions his grandfather’s *taqiyya* 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 *taqiyya* 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 *taqiyya* in his speech and writing. He writes:

“His accomplished students—who were among the jurists (*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 *Taqiyya* 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

⁹ Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa‘d al-su‘ūd li-l-nufūs mandūd* (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.

taqiyya in Baghdad. This is because, according to reliable historical reports, both before and during Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's 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

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), 8:182; 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.

taqiyya regarding Mu‘āwiya in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* is that when mentioning religious occasions in the month of Rajab, he wrote:

“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 wor-

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-lughā 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 fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (Dār Iḥyā’ 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.

thy 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.

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 reverence

¹⁶ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, 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-

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

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.

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.

was obligatory for all creation even though he did not call to 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 *taqiyya*. 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

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.

from among the Nāwūsiyya, and that he is alive and has not 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-*

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-Aḏwā’: 1404/1983), 67.

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

⁴⁷ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān*, 10:71.

Shī'a, written by his teacher Shaykh al-Mufid. Below are selected portions from these two books that demonstrate this similarity.

In the occasions of the month of Rabī' 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-Shī'a* 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-Shī'a*, although there are slight changes in some of the expressions. An interesting point is that in describing the death of Mu‘āwiya, the wording in *Masār al-Shī'a* differs from that in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*. In *Masār al-Shī'a*, regarding the occasions of the month of Rajab, concerning Mu‘āwiya’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-Mufīd, *Masār al-Shī'a*, 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-Shī‘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 qualifier

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 “*tuwuffiya*” 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.

“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 Qurʾān are for expressing condemnation.⁵⁴

⁵² Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī writes in *Tāj al-ʿarūs* (Dār al-Fikr li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ: 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-Shifāʿ* 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, Saʿīd al-Khūrī al-Lubnānī al-Shartūnī states in *Aqrab al-mawārid fī fuṣaḥ al-arabiyya al-shawārid* (Dār al-Uswa li-l-Ṭibāʿa 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-Mufīd 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-Mufīd 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-Mufīd also writes in *al-Masā’il al-sarawiyya*: “...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-Rabi‘, 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 alfāz al-Qur’ān* (Dār al-Qalam: 1412/1991), 843.

⁵⁵ al-Mufīd, *Masār al-Shī‘a*, 48.

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

⁵⁷ Shaykh al-Mufīd 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 fi ‘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 *taqīyya* 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* owned by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs was considered reliable by him, as he

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. Ḥātim 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-Iḥyā’ al-Turāth: 1417/1996), 287.

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 previously mentioned about Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s *taqiyya* in composing

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-Akḥbār al-dakhīla* (Maktabat al-Ṣadūq: 1401/1980), 1:257, and Mīrzā Abū l-Faḍl Ṭīhrānī 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-Ṭīhrānī, *Shifā’ al-ṣudūr fi sharḥ Ziyārat al-‘Āshūrā’* (al-Maktabat al-Murtaẓawīyya: 1376 Sh./1997), 1:118. A detailed analysis of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs’s statement appears in Mahmoudi’s *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ az Āghāz*.

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 reasons. Firstly, in 448/1056, Ṭūsī left Baghdad due to the escalation of

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.

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 *taqiyya* 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 *taqiyya*. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs—who lived in Baghdad during the Abbasid rule - narrated the final passages of *Ziyārat*

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 Kūfans: “... 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.

‘*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 nabīyyik, thumma il’an a’dā’ āl Muḥammad min al-awwalīn wal-ākhirīn, allāhumma il’an Yazīd wa abāh wa il’an ‘Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād wa āl Marwān wa banī qāṭiba ilā yawm al-qiyāma*).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 factors. The uniformity of primary narrators, the uniformity of the one being narrated from, and the uniformity of the words of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā* in

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.

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 enroute to perform the pilgrimage. He fell ill in Baghdad and was unable to complete his pilgrimage journey. The same account states that Ibn

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.”

Qūlawayh passed away in 369/979.⁷⁰ He was buried near the two shrines of al-Kāzimayn.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-Kāzimayn 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-Mufīd—who was residing in Baghdad—studied under him and learned jurisprudence from him.⁷² Naturally, to teach his students, especially Shaykh al-Mufīd, 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 provide evidence.
2. The phrase “*raḥimahu Allāh*” appears consistently in multiple

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.

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-Mufīd 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 reviews the numerous bloody conflicts between Sunnis and Shī‘īs in

⁷⁴ al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār* (Dār al-Mufīd 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.

Baghdad during the years 340 to 367,⁷⁶ it can be understood that the circumstances necessitated secrecy for Ibn Qūlawayh, a great Shīʿī scholar of *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence, and it was necessary for him to modify the expressions in the final section of *Ziyārat ʿĀshūrāʾ* out of precautionary *taqiyya*.

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

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 ʿĀshūrāʾ* 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 ḡālimin ḡalama āl nabīyyik bi-l-laʿn*). 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 ilʿan aʿdāʾ 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 ʿUbaydullāh b. Ziyād” (*allāhumma ilʿan Yazīd wa abāh wa ilʿan ʿUbaydullāh b. Ziyād*). Then once again the style

⁷⁶ Mahmoudi, *Ziyārat ʿĀshūrāʾ az Āghāz*, 157-69.

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-rābi‘, allāhumma il‘an Yazīd*

khāmisan) does not mean the founder of oppression.

In addition to the two problems mentioned regarding the final section of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* 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 ‘Āshūrā’*, 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 Shī’ī scholars after Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, such as Ibn al-Mashhadī (alive in 594/1197), Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, and al-Kaf’amī (d. 905/1499), all transmitted *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’* from *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in their books of supplication and pilgrimage, and did not transmit or prefer the version from *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*. Al-‘Allāma al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1699) transmitted both versions only in *Bihār al-anwār*, which is a comprehensive *ḥadīth* collection; however, in his books of supplication, namely *Zād al-ma‘ād* and *Tuḥfat al-zā‘ir*, he sufficed with the text from *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* and did not transmit the version from *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.

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

To prove the occurrence of alteration in *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*, reference has

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

also been made to some manuscripts of *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ* by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) and manuscripts of *Dhakhīrat al-ākhirā* 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 Shīʿī 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 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

⁷⁸ al-Rāḍī, *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’ fi-l-mizān*, 109-19.

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

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

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.

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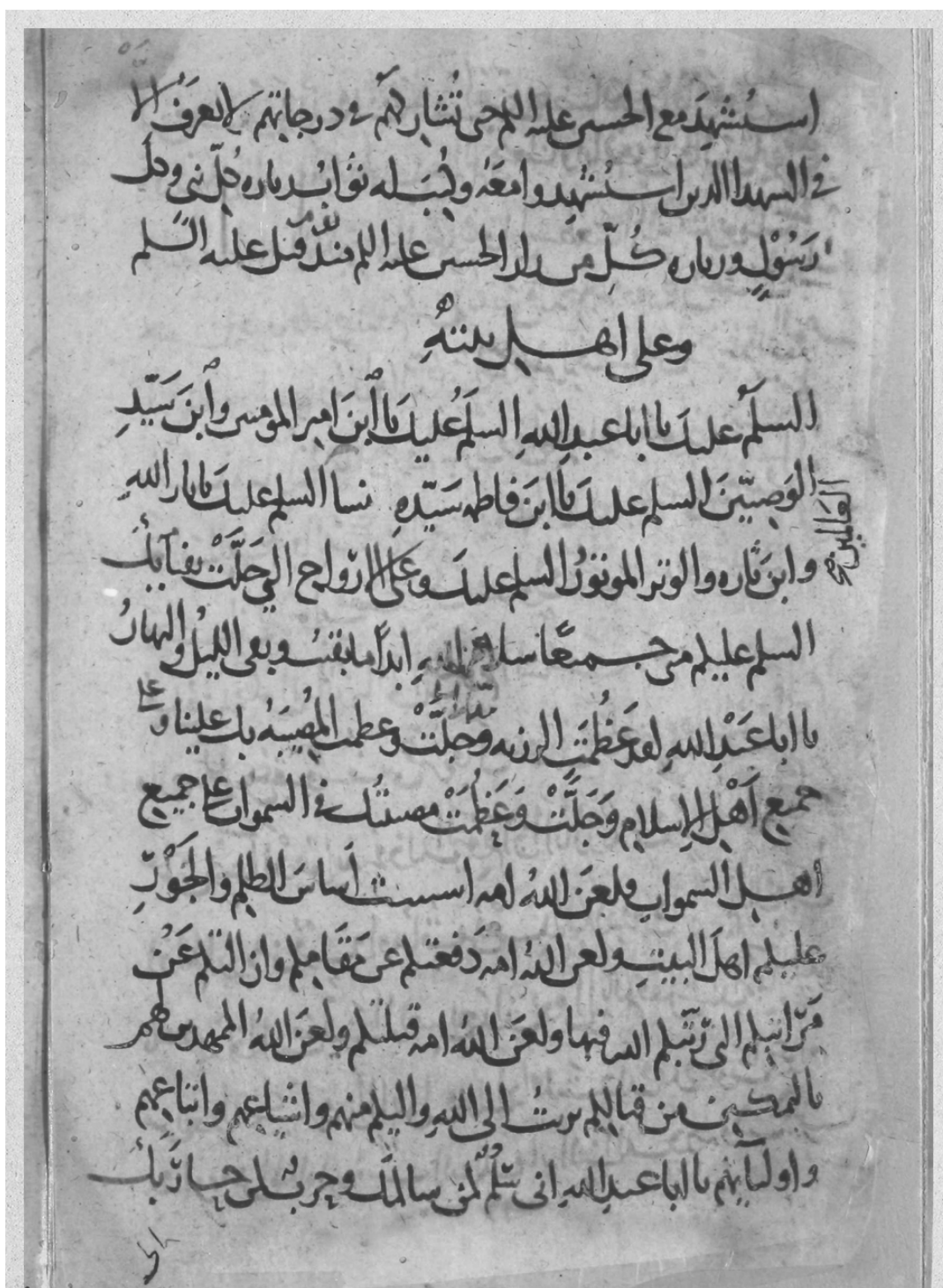


Figure 1. A manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in the handwriting of Ibn Sukūn al-Ḥillī, copied around 560/1164;

No. 13056, Mar'ashī Najafī Library.

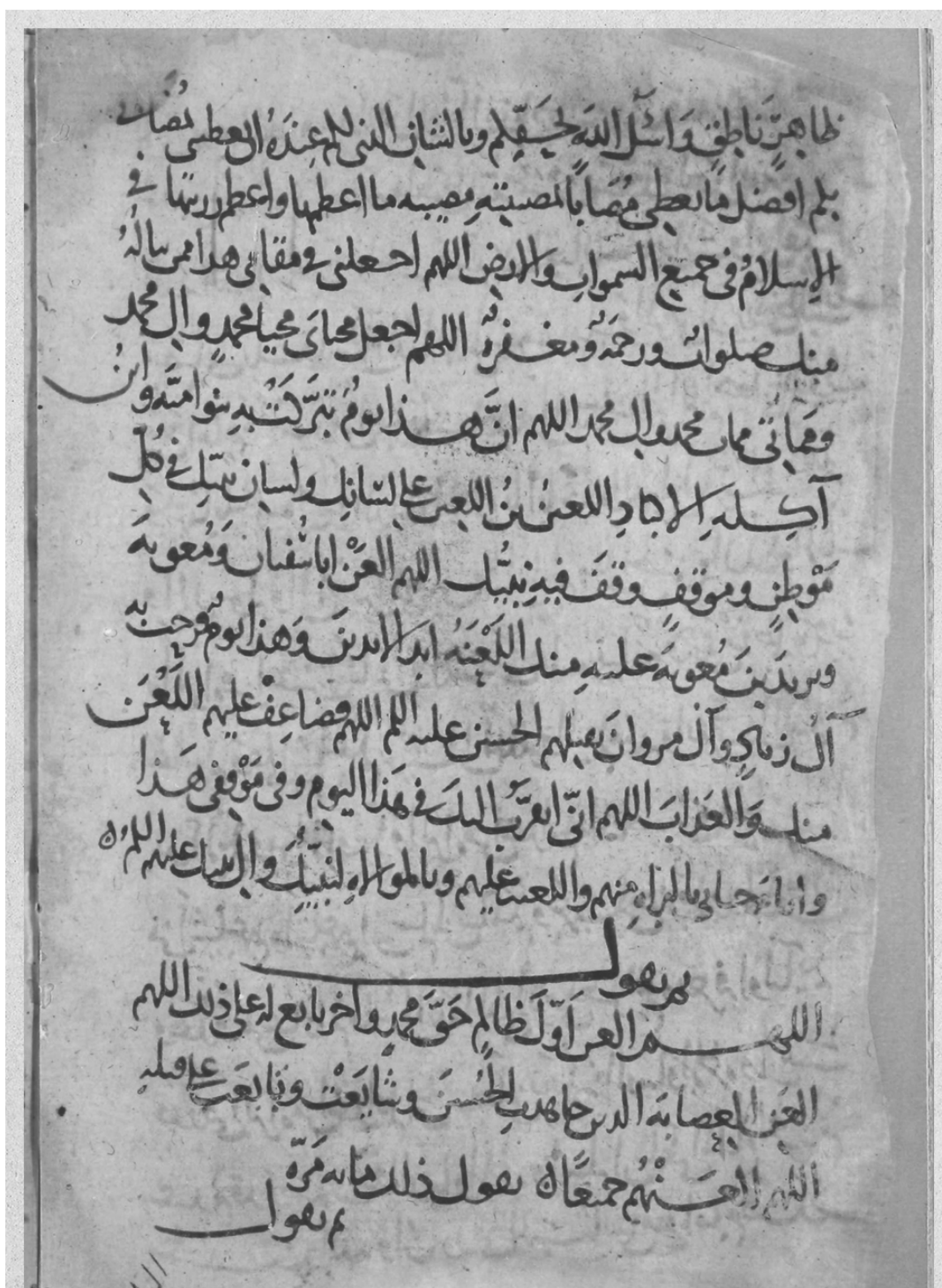


Figure 3. A manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in the handwriting of Ibn Sukūn al-Ḥillī, copied around 560/1164;

No. 13056, Mar'ashī Najafī Library.

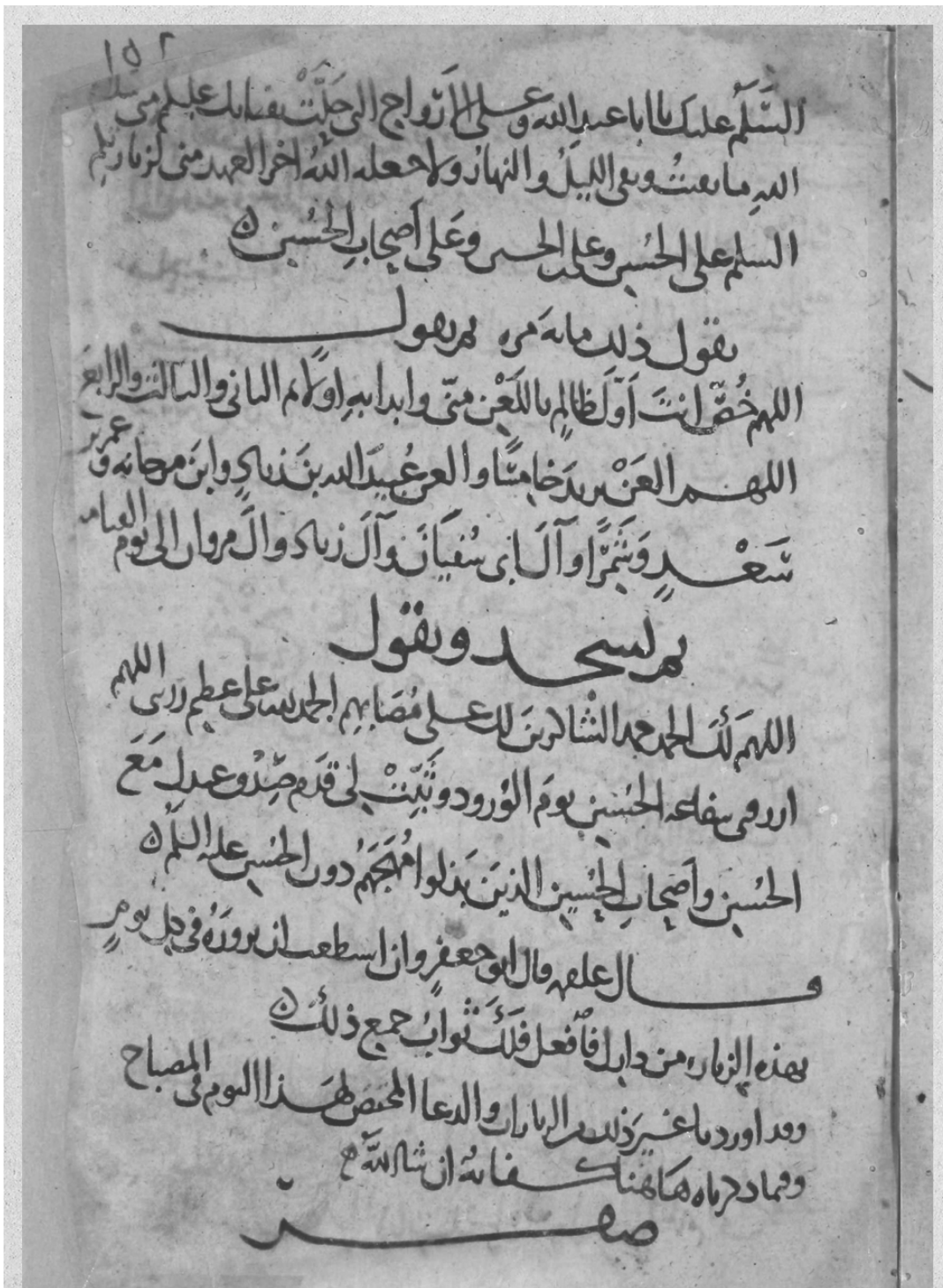


Figure 4. A manuscript of *Mukhtaṣar Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* in the handwriting of Ibn Sukūn al-Ḥillī, copied around 560/1164;

No. 13056, Mar'ashī Najafī Library.