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Analysis of the Attribution of *Tazkirāt Al-A'ima* to Allāma Muhammad Bāqir al-Majlesi

Tezkiretü'l-e'immenin Allāme Muhammed Bâkır el-Meclisî'ye Nispetinin Analizi

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Analysis of the attribution of *Tazkirāt Al-A'ima* to Allāma Muhammad Bāqir al-Majlesi

Abstract: Disagreement exists among historical biographers in attributing the authorship of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* to either Allāma Muhammad Bāqir Bin Muhammad Taqii Majlesi or his contemporary scholar of the same name, Muhamad Bāqir Bin Muhammad Taqī Lāhiji. The remaining manuscripts of this book have also been attributed to both writers. The similarity of their first names as well as their fathers' names on the one hand and their contemporaneity on the other, has paved the way for this ambiguity. The present study tries to find the original author of the book through following 3 steps: a) Analyzing the in-textual evidence, b) by analyzing the extracted evidence from the remaining manuscripts of this treatise, c) by reviewing the reports of the historical biographers. This study suggests that the remaining manuscripts of this treatise fall into two categories: Those which contain the original text of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* and those that cover its abridged form. The original version of the treatise is the work of Allāma Majlesi. Even though there is no direct mention of Lāhiji within the remaining manuscripts, a number of biographical books have remarked on it.

Keywords: Shi'ism, Iran, *Tazkirat al-A'ima*, Allāma Muhammad Bāqir Bin Muhammad Taqī Majlesi, Muhammad Bāqir Bin Muhammad Taqī Lāhiji

***Tezkiretü'l-e'immenin* Allāme Muhammed Bâkır el-Meclisî'ye Nispetinin Analizi**

Öz: Tarihi kaynaklarda *Tezkiretü'l-e'immenin* nispeti konusunda bir belirsizlik söz konusudur. Bazı kaynaklarda Allāme Muhammed Bâkır b. Muhammed Takî Meclisî'ye, bazılarında ise onun çağdaşı ve aynı isimli Muhammed Bâkır b. Muhammed Takî Lâhicî'ye nispet edilmiştir. Bu eserin her iki yazara da nispet edildiği farklı yazma nüshaları mevcuttur. Bir yandan hem kendi isimleri hem de baba isimlerinin benzerliği, diğer taraftan muasır olmaları bu belirsizliğin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olan unsurlardır. Bu çalışmada üç adımda eserin asıl yazarı tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır: a) metin içi verileri tahlil etmek, b) günümüze ulaşan nüshalarından çıkarılan delilleri tahlil etmek, c) rical kitaplarındaki bilgileri değerlendirmek. Çalışmamızda yazma nüshalar iki farklı kategoride ele alınmıştır: *Tezkiretü'l-e'immenin* orjinal metnini içerenler ve özetlenmiş halini kapsayanlar. Eserin orjinal metnini ihtiva eden şekli Allāme Meclisî'ye aittir. Yazma nüshalar arasında Lâhicî'den doğrudan söz edilmese de, bazı rical eserlerinde eser ona nispet edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Şiiilik, İran, *Tezkiretü'l-e'imme*, Allāme Muhammed Bâkır b. Muhammed Takî Meclisî, Muhammed Bâkır b. Muhammed Takî Lâhicî

Introduction

Tazkerat al-A'ima is a treatise written in Persian with the aim of illustrating the lives of the Imāmiyya leaders. It is among the texts which has been both used by the historical biographers and had been duplicated by a large number of scribes. Today, more than 120 copies of this treatise have been introduced in Iranian libraries¹. It had been first published using lithography in 1260 and 1277 A.H. Regardless of its popularity which the book rightfully deserves, discrepancy exists in both the historical biographies and the remaining copies in attributing it to two Shiite authors of the same name: Muhammad Bāqir bin Muhammad Taqī Majlesi (known as Allāma Majlesi, D.1110 A.H), and Muhammad Bāqir Bin Muhammad Taqī Lāhiji². The readers of this treatise are now presented with a number of theories:

- 1) Its real author is Allāma Majlesi and attribution of the treatise to Lāhiji is incorrect.
- 2) This is a work by Lāhiji and not Allāma Majlesi.
- 3) These two scholars had written two different treatises which share the same title.

The third theory is incorrect and is not supported neither by the historical biography books nor the transcripts thus; we are not faced with two separate texts of the same title. The first two theories each have their own supporting and rejecting evidence. For the first time, the present study tries to address the problem of attribution of the text through in-dept. Analysis of the treatise's text along with the analysis of the extra-textual evidence and the data which has been provided by the historical biographers. For this purpose the following steps will be taken:

- 1) Reporting on the account of the remaining copies of this treatise and to whom they have been attributed by the writers and indexers.
- 2) Producing evidence from the treatise's text which is suggestive of the authors' identity.
- 3) Revising the differences within the biographical books and attempting to eliminate them.

1. The First Step: The Remaining Copies of the Text

The Dena list attributes 94 copies of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* treatise to Lāhiji³, and has assigned 16 copies to Allāma Majlesi⁴. In the *Fankha* list, 123 manuscripts

¹ Derāyati, Mostafa, *Dastneveshtehaye Iran (Iranian manuscripts)*, Dena: 2: pp. 1051-54; idem, (Tehran: *Fankha*, 1391) v. 7, pp. 783-90.

² This discrepancy is not limited to this treatise and has also affected other treatises such as *Ikhtiyarāt al-Ayyam al-Saqir*, *Ikhtiyarāt al-Ayyām al-Kabir*, *Tazkira al-Masā'ib wa Istema' al-Nawā'eb*, *Ta'bir Khāb or Ta'bir al-Ru'yā wa Sirāt al-Nijāt* (in translation of Y'rābi Hadith). (See: Mahdavi, Musleh al-Din, *Biography of Allāma Majlesi* (Tehran: Islamic Culture ministry publication house, 1378), v. 2, p. 218.

³ Derāyati, Mostafā (Tehran: *Dena*, 1391), v. 2, pp. 1051 –54.

⁴ Ibid. v. 2, p. 1054.

of this volume are attributed to Lāhiji and no copies of this treatise have been assigned to the Allāma Majlesi.

In the *Fankha* list also, 123 manuscripts of this volume are attributed to Lāhiji, but none to Allāma Majlesi. This suggests that the indexers of the *Fankha* Collection have come to the conclusion that the treatise is written by Lāhiji and not Majlesi. Generally, the remaining copies of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* fall into two categories:

1.1. The First Category: Abridged Copies of the Text

This includes the abridged versions of the *Tazkirat*. The 223 issue of the shrine of Masuma, sister of Ali ibn Musa al Rida, written in 1120 can be recommended as an example. This summarization is certainly created by someone other than Allāma Majlesi.

1.2. The Second Category: Copies of Tazkirat al-A'ima's Text

The unabridged versions of *Tazkirat* are divided into two groups based on their source: those which have been written based on the original copy of the author, and those based on unknown sources. The present research is based on a copy from the former group; copy 874 of the Ihya al-Turath al-Islāmi Center written in 1223 A.H. This copy has been trusted by the researchers as it had been copied from the original text of *Tazkirat* written by the original author. It is almost error-free and contains corrections in the margins by its writer. It also contains the Baliq (Eloquence) emblem at the beginning and the middle of the book which shows the scholars' trust in this version.

2. In-textual Evidence

2.1. Specific Reference to the Master's Quote and his Death, Without Mentioning his Name.

2.1.1. On the Life of Ali ibn Abi Tālib

In the original copy (Ihya Center 874) one reads: "The author declares that although The Imam has miraculously stated it by improvisation through brevity, yet it is possible via reservation (*Taqia*)."

But in the abridged version (*Āstaneh Ma'sumiya*, 1120) under the same part reads: "Master scholar Nur-Allah Muzja'eh has stated regarding these two matters: Although the Imam has stated.

This difference testifies that we are facing a text (issue 874 Ihya Center) from the same scholar whose student has presented a shortened version of his teacher's text (*Āstaneh Ma'sumiya*, 1120) Although the name of the teacher and the student is not clear through this text

2.1.2. On the Life of Fatimah Zahra

The author of the abridged version (1120 *Āstaneh Ma'sumiya*) directly mentions his teacher: "The master teacher, - may he rest in Allah's light, has mentioned in the aforementioned book that the second chapter is on the life of the lady of all the women, Fatima Zahra. But in the original version (Ihya Center 874) we read in the same spot: "Chapter 2: On the life of the lady of all women; Fatima Zahra". The difference between the two is yet an evidence that we are faced with two works: One by the teacher and the other by a pupil of him after his death.

In the abridged version and on the subject of Fatima Zahra's prayer, the author refers to his teacher by stating: "The master teacher has said in the aforementioned book that: On the characteristic of that protected holy person that the prayer of Fatimah Zahra which is famous for ..." but the original version (Ihya Center 874) reads: "Fatima Zahra's prayer which is famous for. As it is obvious again, we are faced with two books and two works: One by the teacher and the other an abridged version by his pupil. The phrase "aforementioned book" regarding the abridgment sermon is in fact *Tazkirat al-A'ima*

2.2. Second Evidence: Stating the Name of the Teacher and His Book

The summarizer, on the life of Imam Hossein - Under the subject of horses tramping on his blessed body, in the abridged version (*Āstaneh Ma'sumiya*, 1120) mentions the name of his master through the title "Sheikh Āla Al-din Muhammad Qaddasa Allah Ruhahu", and refers to parts of his other book; "*Bihār al-Anwār*". The writer even states on the difference in his own and his master's viewpoints and tries to arrive at a consensus of meaning within his master's disparate words. While in the original version, (Ihya Center 874) there is no mention of neither the teacher nor the excerpt from his *Bihār al-Anwār*. Furthermore, whatever has been mentioned there is different from Allāma Majlesi's words in *Bihār al-Anwār*.

2.3. Third Evidence: Knowledge of Rare Books and Accessing Them

With regards to the life of the twelfth Imam, in the original copy (Ihya Center 874), the author quotes a rare book titled "*Farhang al-Muluk*," or "*Asrār al-Ajam*" and "*Jāmāsb Nāmeḥ*". This book, containing nine chapters and written on the skin has been sent by the Grand Minister of Kerman to the author. The author clearly states: "I have not heard anyone, an Arab or a Persian, to have seen or heard about this book." Both the knowledge of such a text and its deliverance by the Minister of Kerman and the fact that ordinary people had not been aware of its existence can indicate that these words could only have uttered by a prestigious scholar such as Allāma Majlesi. This evidence could support the possibility of the book's ownership by Allāma Majlesi, since it is expected of Allāma Majlesi to be in possession of such books as he had many rare titles in his possession. It is also difficult to find the description of Lāhiji's life in the abridged versions, and there doesn't exist any specific titles speaking of him. It is worthy to mention that he has spent a part of his life in India.

2.4. Fourth Evidence: Praise of Sufism

In the chapter about the life of Imam Ali on the subject of the admission of his grace by everyone, we see the following differences in the original and abridged versions: While the abridged copy (*Āstaneh Ma'sumiya*, 1120) we find the praising phrase "and other greatly respected and honored scholars of Sufism, such as the Mawlānā Rūmi, Shams from Tabriz and Sheikh Attār, and Junayd Baghdādi, Bāyazid Tayfour Bastāmi and so on." In the original version (Ihya Center , 874) the phrases respected (*Zavi al-ehterām*) and honored (*Bozorgavār*) are not present. The addition of the aforementioned phrases by the author implies his tendency toward Sufism; as the absence of such complements is more in accordance with the mentality of Allāma Majlesi because his opposition to Sufism is a known fact to all his acquaintances. He rescinds the Sufism and even curses it in his *Hāq al-Yaqin*. The above-mentioned complements about Sufism are more

compatible with the character of Lāhiji, as he is known to have favorable tendencies toward Sufism.

3. The third step:

Revision of the narratives of the Historical Biographers and extra-textual evidence about the author of the treatise.

3.1. The Absence of the Name of the Treaties in Allāma Majlesi's Written Works

A number of autobiographers among Majlesi's relatives or his students have not mentioned the name of this work among his writings. As an example Muhammad Khātun Abādi (1058-1126 A.H), Majlesi's son-in-law, considers Allāma Majlesi's Farsi compilations as his third service and lists the works which he had written in Farsi but does not mention *Tazkirat al-A'ima* among them⁵. He ends his phrase by saying: "I read the book of Ahādith in his presence and in the year one thousand and eighty five he wrote permission for me and provided me with all his works and the works of other scholars whom he had the permission of. Muhammad Hossein Bin Muhammad Sālih Khātun Ābādi (1151 A.H) Who is Allāma Majlesi's grandson has not mentioned any works by the title of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* among 10 Arabic and 49 Farsi works written by Allāma Majlesi⁶.

3.2. Explicit Attribution of the Treatise to Allāma Majlesi

A number has clearly attributed the *Tazkirat al-A'ima* treatise to Allāma Majlesi. Among them Mirza Haidar Ali bin Aziz Allah Majlesi Isfahani, (1214 – 1146) can be named, who is one of Allāma's descendants and in his *Al'Ijaza al-Kābira* treaty attributes *Tazkirat al-A'ima* directly to Allāma Majlesi and considers it as one of his last books written in Farsi. Sheikh Yusuf Bahrāni (d. 1187 A.H) in his treaty titled "Lu'lu', al-Bahrain fi al-I'jaza wa Trajim Rijal al-Hadith"⁷ considers this as Allāma Majlesi's final work in Farsi. Seyyed Muhammad Hossein Hosseini Jalāli (born: 1321 SH) also considers *Tazkirat al-A'ima* as the Allāma Majlesi's 8th book.⁸ Seyyed Ahmad Hosseini Eshkevari believes that many historical biographers and indexers of manuscripts have attributed this treatise to Lāhiji, while in *Tazkirat al-A'ima* the writer refers the reader to his other book, *Bihār al-Anwār* in numerous instances. Therefore, the writer of this treaty must be Allāma Majlesi⁹.

3.3. Stating the Erroneousness of Attribution of this Treaty to Allāma Majlesi:

Some historical biographers have explicitly disagreed with the assignment of this treaty to Allāma Majlesi. They have analyzed the statements made by the scholars on the attribution of the treatise to Allāma and have given their reasons to

⁵ Khātun Abādi, Mohammad Saleh, *Hada'iq al-Muqarabin* (Tehran: Chap va Nashr e Beynalmelal Limited, 1389), p. 250.

⁶ Khātun Abādi, Muhammad Hossein, *List of Titles by Allāma Majlesi* (Tehran University College of Literature Journal, v. 2. Issue 10), throughout.

⁷ Bahrāni Yousuf bin Ahmad, *Lu'lu' al-Bahrain* (Bahrain: Maktaba al-Fakhrāwi, 1429), p. 56.

⁸ See, Hossein Jalāli Muhammad Hossein, al-Turāth (Qum: Dalil e Maa publication, 1421), p. 24/2

⁹ Hosseini Eshkevari Ahmad, *Talamiza al-Allāma al-Majlesi* (Qum: Matba,a Khayyam, 1410), p. 177.

disagree with them. As an instance Muhammad Bāqir Khansari, states clearly in *Rawzat al-Janāt*: "The treaties have been attributed by some to a person who is called "Muhammad Bāqir Bin Muhammad", similar to Allāma Majlesi, except he is known in public as "Lāhiji" and not Majlesi and needless to say is a far cry from Majlesi considering his grace, jurisprudence, status, class and studies. Khansāri himself considers the attribution of the treatise to Lāhiji to deserve acceptance¹⁰. He explicitly states in another instance: "Many elders, who have not read Allāma Majlesi's books closely and haven't understood Allāma Majlesi's rights as it is appropriate to him, have attributed *Tazkirat al-A'ima* to him merely by observing that the author has introduced himself as Muhammad Bāqir bin Muhammad Taqī in the sermon of the holy book of remarks that their author, Muhammad Bāqir bin-Muhammad Taqī, while the author of this treatise, although referred to as the Allāma Majlesi, has a much lower position than Allāma¹¹. Muhaddith Nouri (1254-1320 A.H), in agreement with Muhammad Bāqir Khansāri (February, 1313 A.H), disagrees with the appointment of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* to Allāma Majlesi. As the strongest reason for the incorrectness of this attribution and a foolproof evidence of its falseness he points to the 5th chapter of *Riād Al-Ulamā*, which is on the subject of the unknown books, written by Mirza Abd-Allah Isfahāni, Majlesi's student (1066-1130), which has been written during the life of Allāma Majlesi and gives reasons that this treaties is not the work of Allāma. In the aforementioned chapter, he recalled a book titled "Tazkirat al-A'ima fi Zikr al-Akhbar al-Marwiat fi Bayan Tafsir al-Ayat al-Manzila fi Shā'n Ahl al-Bayt al-Islam" which is written by his contemporary scholars, except that his author has tendencies toward Sufism, and at times quotes from *Tafsir al-Safi* by Feyz Kashani (1007-1091 A.H). Muhaddith Nouri says: "How could such a book by Mirza Abd-Allah Isfahāni exist but remain hidden to such a student who has always been with his teacher and had never been separated from him?"¹²

3.4. Resources that Specify the Attribution of the Treatise to Lāhiji

Some of the books by historical biographers, consider Lāhiji as the writer of the treaties: Aqā Buzurg Tahrani (1293-1383), by referring to Mirza Abdullah Afandi, the student of the Allāma Majlesi in Riyad Al-Ulama, regards it erroneous to attribute Tazkerat al-A'emah to Majlesi and considers the words of Mirzā Haidar the descendants of the Allāma Majles in Al-Ejazat al-Kabir as imaginations¹³. Seyyed Mohsen Amin Amili (1284-1371 A.H) also considers the author of the treaties of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* to be Lāhiji, and mentions that this book is attributed to Allāma due to the similarity of the author's name with Allāma Majlesi.

4. Analyzing the Reasons Against Attributing the Treaties to Allāma Majlesi

¹⁰ See, Khansāri Mohammad Bāqir, *Rawzat al-Jannāt*, (Qum: Ismailiyan publication, 1390A.H), v. 2. p. 82.

¹¹ Ibid. v. 1. p. 82.

¹² See, Nouri Hossein bin Muhammad Tāqī, *al-Faid al-Qudsi fi Tarjomāt al-Allāma al-Majlesi* (Qum: Mersad Publication, 1377), p. 142.

¹³ Aqā Buzurg Tehrāni Muhammad Hossein, *al-Dharia* (Qum: Ismailiyan Publication, 1408 A.H), v. 4, p. 26.

4.1. Unawareness of Allāma's Relatives from the Fact that He is its Writer

Muhammad Salih Khātun Ābādi (1058-1126) who is Allāma Majlesi's son-in-law, has been assigned the duty of completing his uncompleted books. He has also written a list to count Majlesi's written works. Nevertheless, he does not include the *Tazkirat al-A'ima* treatises in the list. Muhammad Hussein ibn Muhammad Salih Khātun Ābādi (D. 1151 AH), Allāma Majlesi's grandson has not mention the name of this treatise among his grandfather's writings, either. This problem was first raised by Muhammad Bāqir Khansāri (1226-1313 A.H) in *Rawzāt al-Jannāt*, and has been quoted by others who came after him as a confirmation. Khānsāri, by referring to Sheikh Yusuf Bahrāni, mentions that there are reasons for the wrongness of the attribution, among which the most concise and strongest being that his son-in-law, who is considered as a the dress of the Allāma and has sought to collect his works, has neither attributed it to Allāma nor has mentioned its name, while he has even included Allāma's brief treatises in Farsi¹⁴.

Answer

The absence of this title among Allāma Majlisi's works cannot refute its attribution to Majlesi since many of the books that are now definitely considered to be his works, were not mentioned among his books in that era; this is confirmed by Seyed Musleh al-Din Mahdawi (1294-1374) who speaks about Allāma Majlisi's books in detail in the second volume of his biography of Allāma. He has mentioned 169 books (after eliminating shared names) as the works of Allāma, many of whom have not been mentioned by Allāma majlesi's son-in-law, grandson, or student as his works. As an example; Musleh-al-Din Mahdavi (1294-1374 AH) tells about Majlesi's *Ta'bir al'Ruya* that it is definitely written by Allāma Majlesi's, while those like Muhaddith Nouri believe that this work cannot be relied on because it has not been mentioned in Khātoun Abādi's list of Allāma's books¹⁵.

On the subject of Allāma Majlesi's works remaining hidden to his relatives, it should be said that: A number of Allāma Majlesi's works had been written by the writers which were in his employment, as the researchers of the publication of *Bihār al-Anwār*¹⁶ have stated: " studying the components of the original versions of Bihār al-Anwār - Which is at times in his own handwriting, indicates that he had employed transcribers who have been assigned the task of transcribing his books. "Mullah Zulfiqār" and "Mullah Muhammad Rezā" are two of these amanuenses who have contributed to the transcription of Allāma Majli's *Bihār al-Anwār*, while their names have not mentioned among their contemporary religious scholars. Seyyed Muhsen Amin Amili (1284-1371 A.H) also says that Allāma has had transcribers who, with the guidance from Allāma, narrated material from other sources, which Allāma would consequently organize¹⁷.

¹⁴ See, Khansāri Muhammad Bāqir, *Rawzat al-Jannāt* (Qum: Ismailiyan Publication, 1390 A.H), v. 2, p. 82.

¹⁵ Mahdawi Seyed Musleh al-Din, *Biography of Allāma Majlesi* (Tehran: Islamic Culture Ministry Publishing house, 1378), v. 2, P. 219.

¹⁶ See, Majlesi Muhammad Bāqir bin Muhammad Taqi, *Bihār al-Anwār* (Beiruth: al Wafa Institute, 1403 A.H), v. 102, p. 30.

¹⁷ Amin Amili Muhseni, *A'yan al-Shi'a* (Beiruth: Dar al Tamaruf, 1406 A.H), v. 9, p. 185.

Apart from the reputation of certain Allāma's books such as *Bihār al-Anwar* and the irrefutability of their attribution to Allāma, it should be noted that the books written with the help of the scribes were usually become widespread and their attribution to Allāma Majlesi would not remained hidden; as in the case of his extensive books such as *Bihār al-Anwar* or *Hayāt al-Qulub*, all have accepted their attribution to Allāma. Accordingly, some of the treatises that Allāma had not requested the assistance of a second party in their compilation (such as his margins on the books of others, or the treatises written by him while traveling or at the request of a particular person,) might have remained hidden to the general public and even his relatives. Books such as: *Ikhtiar al-Ayām*, *Tazkirat al-Masā'ib* and *Tabir Khab* are among such writings. The final phrase of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* can be a validation for the insertion of the treatise in this category of his works: 'Thus ended this treaty, وقد فرغت من تسويد هذه الرسالة العاجلة مع وفور الاشتغال و تخلخل الأحوال على سبيل الاستعجال, 'فى مشهد امام المؤمنين. 'I finished writing this urgent treatise while dealing with an abundance of tasks and uncertainties, guided by urgency, in the outlook of Imam of believers.'

The phrase 'تخلخل الاحوال' (Takhalkhul al-Ahwāl) meaning "uncertainty" indicates that the composition of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* has long been started and the author has been working on it in his spare time. The other phrase 'الرسالة العاجلة' (*al-Risāla al-Ajila*) or "urgent treaties" also shows that the author did not spend a considerable time over this treatise, and the time and effort that they were willing to spend had been far greater; however, the preparation and structuring of this treaties, and possibly the collection of the related materials, may have caused him a bit of boredom and fatigue. The phrase 'وفور الاشتغال' (Vufur al-Ishteqāl) 'Abundance of tasks', also suggests that the compilation of this treaties has not been a serious concern for its author and that he has written it while doing his numerous other projects. Moreover, it should not be overlooked that Allāma's place of residence as well as his official seat at school as well as his publications has been the city of Isfahan, and his associates and his students were mainly aware of the writings he had in Isfahan. They might have been unaware of the writings that Allāma has done while traveling. One of the journeys of Allāma had been to the city of Mashhād? the years 1085 and 1086 A.H¹⁸. The date of Allāme Majlesi's permission "اجازه" (Ijāza) to Seyed Abu al-Hasan Astar Ābādi Mashhadi, is 10 Jumaada al-Awwal, 1085 and the date of the permission of Sheikh Hurr Āmili for the Allāma Majlesi, is the first of Jumadi al-Ukhara 1085, and the date of the compilation of the I'teqadāt treaties near the end of Muharrām 1086 and the date of completion of the translation of the verse of Al-Rida , and the treatise of Vajiza is Rajab of the same year, on the way back from Khurāsān's visit. The date of the permission of Muhammad Tahir Qumi (d. 1098 AH) to Allāma Majlesi is, 7 Dhul Qa'da of this year (apparently in Qum)¹⁹. Considering the fact that Allāma Majlesi's permission to Muhammad Salih Khātun Ābādi was issued in 1085 and probably in Isfahan; it seems justified to speculate that Allāma travel from Isfahan to Mashhad began at or near Muharrām of 1085, and his return to Isfahan After Dhul-Qa'da in 1086. Also in several copies of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* 1085 has been mentioned as the date of

¹⁸ Mahdawi, *Biography of Allāma Majlesi*, v. 1. p. 162.

¹⁹ Majlesi Muhammad Bāqir, *Bihār al-Anwār* (Beiruth: al Wafa Institute, 1403 A.H), v. 107, p. 130-131.

the completion of the book and it has been stated that it was completed near the holy shrine of Imam Rida.

4.2. Mentioning of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* Among the Books with Unknown Authors

Mirza Abd-Allah Isfahāni (1066-1130) who has been a student of Allāma Majlesi, during Allāma's lifetime wrote the fifth chapter of *Riyād al-Ulamā's*, which lists the names of unknown books whose authors are unidentified. *Tazkirat al-A'ima* is placed among these books. This problem was first mentioned by Mohades Nuri who quoted it from *Riyad al-Ulama* though this section does not exist in *Riyād al-Ulamā*. Agha Buzurg Tehrāni, also narrates this issue through his teacher, Muhaddith Nuri from *Riyād al-Ulamā*²⁰. It is clear from Seyed Mohsen Amin Amili's narrative that he has not noticed this problem in *Riyād al-Ulamā* either²¹.

In response, it should be said that the book which Mirza Abd-Allah Isfahāni, the author of *Riyād al-Ulamā* has mentioned as the book of an unknown author, is different from *Tazkirat al-A'ima* which is the focus of this study, as the title which Afandi has considered to have an unknown author is a treatise named *Tazkirat al-A'ima* which discusses the versus which has descended in relation to Ahl al-Bayt and mentions the words of Feyz Kāshāni²². While the *Tazkirat al-A'ima* which is the subject of our discussion is not a narrative book. In which two other directions are stated. The first direction: bringing materials from other religions from Brahmin to Sunni literature in acceptance of Ahl-al Bayt. The second direction: describing examples from the life of Ahl-al Bayt. It is even stated in the introduction of the treaty of our study stated that the purpose of this book is to prove the imamate and virtue of the Imams through the books of different nations.

It is clear that this content has no connection with the description of Mirza Abd-Allah Isfahāni from *Tazkirat al-A'ima*. Furthermore, in the treaties of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* which is the subject of our study, there is no quotation of *Tafsir Al-sāfi* by Feyz kāshāni. Therefore, it can be stated that *Tazkirat al-A'ima* which is the focus of our interest cannot be the treaty with the unknown author which Isfahāni had access to.

4.3. The Author's Inclination toward Sufism

As it was previously mentioned, the author of *Tazkirat al-A'ima* approaches the Sufism with a respectful manner; this is while Majlesi has been among the inflexible opponents of Sufism. Khansāri in *Rawzāt al-Janāt* and others have attested this to the incorrect attribution of this treatise to Allāma²³.

As an answer, it should be stated that this problem has been brought up without studying the remaining manuscripts of the *Tazkirat al-A'ima* treatise. As we mentioned in the part concerning the inner-textual evidences, the praise for Sufism are not seen in the remaining copies of the original *Tazkirat al-A'ima* and only the names of a few members of Sufism have been mentioned in them. However, in the

²⁰ Aqa Buzurg Tehrāni, *al-Dharia* (Qum: Ismailiyan Publication, 1408 A.H), v. 4. p. 126.

²¹ Amin Amili Mohsen, *A'yan al-Shi'a* (Beiruth: Dar al Ta,aruf, 1406A.H), v. 9. P. 185.

²² Nuri Hossein Bin Muhammad Taqi, *al Fayd al-Qudsi* (Qum: Mersad Publication,1377), p. 142.

²³ Aqa Buzurg Tehrāni, *al-Dharia*, v. 4. p. 126. Amin Amili Mohsen, *A'yan al-Shi'a* (Beiruh: Dar al-Tamaruf, 1406 A.H), v. 9. p. 185.

abridged version of this Reminders and the mention of the number of Sufism has been noted; however, in the abridged versions of this extensive treatise, the writer has added these praises. Therefore, *Tazkirat al-A'ima* can be originally by Allāma Majlesi, and its summarization by Muhammad Taqi bin Muhammad Taqi Lāhiji, who apparently had a relatively good relationship with Sufism.

4.4. Quotation of Week Narratives (Ahadith) in the Treaties

Khansāri (1313 AH) and Aqā Buzurg Tehrāni (1293-1389) have pointed out the weak narratives²⁴. There is the hadith among these narratives, according to that; Amir al-Mu'minin was the first to combine the letters and that the letters were written separately before him. Such defunct narrations are far from Majlesi's elevated level.

It is clear, nevertheless, that the mere use of the quotation of weak narrations cannot be seen as a solid evidence of the incorrectness of attributing this treatise to Allāma Majlesi, since even in *Bihār al-Anwār*, for whose attribution to Allāma there is no doubt, weak narratives can still be seen.

Conclusion

There are disagreements about the author of the book *Tazkerat al-A'imah* and the time of its writing. The present study showed that this book was written in 1085 AH by Allāma Majlesi in Mashhad. Therefore, the attribution of this book to Muhammad Bāqir ibn Muhammad Taqi Lāhiji cannot be correct.

Of course, some bibliographers made this mistake without looking at the content of this book in its entirety.

The remaining manuscripts of this book are in two categories. One category is this book and the other category is a summary.

This is a summary by someone who considers himself a student of Mohammad Bāqir Majlisi; As some bibliographers have said. Of course, those bibliographers had looked at this type of manuscript, but they had not seen the book *Tazkerat al-A'imah* written by Muhammad Bāqir ibn Muhammad Taqi Majlisi.

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²⁴ Aqa Buzurg Tehrāni, *al Dhria*, v. 4. p. 26.

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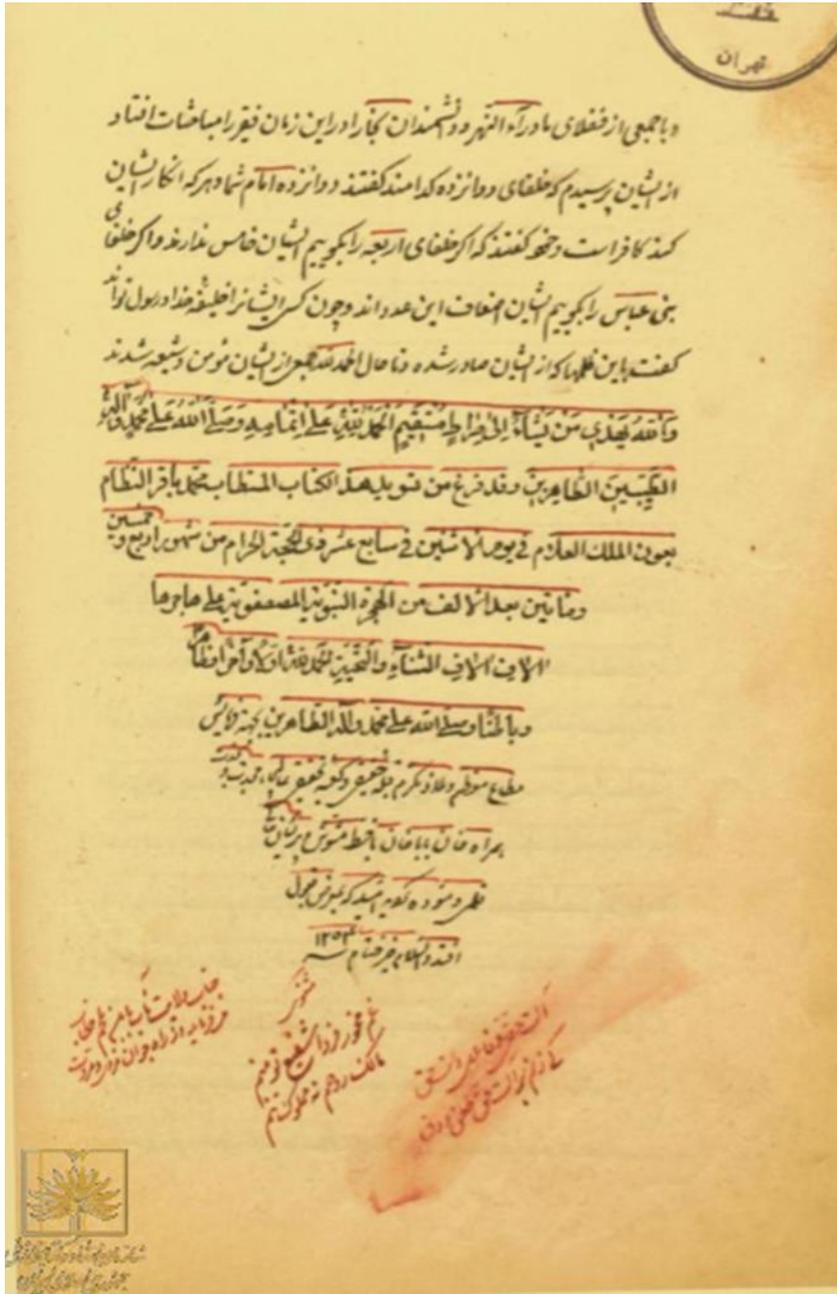
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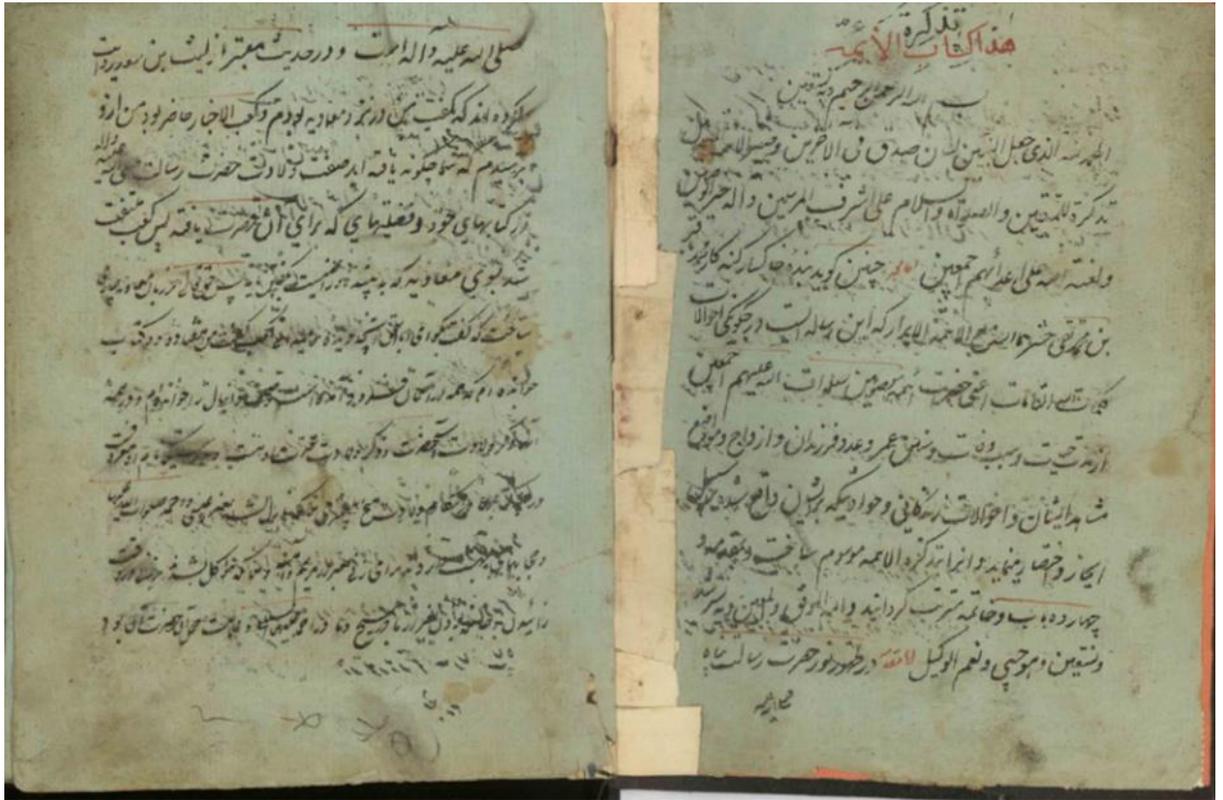
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