



MAJLESI, MOḤAMMAD-BĀQER

MAJLESI, Moḥammad-Bāqer b. Moḥammad-Taḳī b. Maḳṣud-ʿAlī Eṣṫahāni, (b. 1627; d. 1699 or 1700), an eminent Twelver Shiʿite jurist in Safavid Iran (1501-1722) and one of the most important hadith scholars of Twelver Shiʿism (Ar. *Eṫna ʿAṣariya; Emāmiya*). He is often referred to as Majlesi-e ṫāni, or Majlesi-e dowwom (Majlesi II), while his father **Moḥammad-Taḳī Majlesi** (b. 1594-95; d. 1659-60), who was a significant theologian in his own right, is known as Majlesi-ye Awwal (Majlesi I). He is also known as ʿAllāma-ye Majlesi or al-ʿAllāma (e.g., Baḫrāni, p. 55; cf. Davāni, 1991), Mollā Majlesi (e.g., Tonokāboni, 1992, p. 220; Zanuzi, 2007, IV, p. 237), and Āḫund Majlesi (e.g., Jazi, p. 117). Majlesi’s reputation among the ulema (*ʿālem*, pl. *ʿolamā* “religious scholar”) rests primarily upon his monumental **hadith** encyclopedia *Behār al-anwār* in which he rearranged the entire corpus of Twelver Shiʿite traditions. Beyond the realm of theology and hadith, Majlesi wielded an unprecedented degree of political power under the last two Safavid shahs Solaymān (r. 1666-94) and Solṫān-Ḥosayn (r. 1694-1722), serving as *ṣayḫ al-Eslām* (see **SHIʿITE DOCTRINE ii. Hierarchy in the Imamiyya**) in the Safavid capital Isfahan from 1687 until his death.

In view of his apparently extraordinary intellectual and political stature, concrete data and hard facts about Majlesi’s life are, as in the case of his father, surprisingly scanty, and the historical person behind the literary and political figure remains rather elusive. He is first mentioned in Waliqoli Ṣāmlu’s chronicle *Qeṣaṣ al-ḫāqāni*, which was written around 1670. Majlesi is named among the Isfahan dignitaries and described as being “perhaps over 30



years” old (Šāmlu, II, p. 51). ‘Abd-al-Ḥosayn Kātunābādi (d. 1693-94) refers to Majlesi in his chronicle *Waqā’e al-senin wa’l-a’wām* (cf. Āqā Bozorg, XXV, p. 128), mentioning his birth, his appointment as šayh al-Eslām, and a few dates on which he completed some of his writings (Kātunābādi, pp. 508, 533, 536, 537-38; for Majlesi’s death date, see p. 551 in the supplement, as Kātunābādi died before Majlesi). Three of his students composed biographical dictionaries (*ṭabaqāt*) that do not go into any further detail either, making do instead with listing his honorifics and writings (Ardabili, 1983, II, pp. 78-79; Afandi, 1981, V, pp. 39-40; Ḥorr ‘Āmeli, II, pp. 248-49). The earliest substantial biography was written by Majlesi’s grandson and student Moḥammad-Ḥosayn Kātunābādi (d. 1739; see Pampus, pp. 60-61; cf. Kohlberg, 1989, p. 91), and it is quoted in excerpts in later compilations (e.g., Kṽānsāri, II, pp. 82-85; Ṭabresi, pp. 27-29).

French travelers (see [FRANCE vii. French Travelers in Persia, 1600-1730](#)) occasionally noticed Majlesi’s extraordinary office, without, however, specifying his name. In his description of 1690s Isfahan, the French priest and missionary [Martin Gaudereau](#) (1663-1743) mentioned “le grand Acconde qui est le chef de la Secte des Persans, & en quelque façon comme leur Pape” (p. 131, cf. p. 46). His colleague François Sanson spoke of the “Le troisième Pontife de Perse se nomme Akond ou bien Chiek Alislam, c’est à dire le Sçavant par excellence, le Vieillard ou le Venerable de la Loy Mahometane “ (pp. 23-24). In the 1670s the business man [John Chardin](#) (d. ca. 1713) explained the office of šayḵ al-Eslām (spelled *cheic-al-Islam*) as “cette espece de prélat se nomme aussi *akhoun*, lecteur, théologien” (VI, p. 51). He knew of three men with the name Moḥammad Bāqer (VII, pp. 463-64, spelled *Mahamed Baguer*.) in Isfahan, though none of them seems to have been Majlesi who moreover did not yet serve as šayḵ al-Eslām when Chardin lived there.

The exact dates of Majlesi’s birth and death are disputed. Most sources agree on 1037/1627-28 as his date of birth (Kātunābādi, p. 508; Ṭabresi, p. 149; the hijra year 1027/1618 in Amin, IX, p. 182, seems to be a misprint). But one of the earliest writers, Aḥmad b. Moḥammad Behbahāni (d. 1819 or 1820) gives 1038/1628-29 in his *Mer’āt al-aḥwāl* (p. 113; cf. Ṭabresi, p. 149). For his date of death, the day is always 27 Ramazān, but one finds the year 1110 (29 March 1699), as well as the year 1111 (18 March 1700). Both dates are often put side by side in biographical dictionaries, and chronograms are quoted for either (Ṭabresi, pp. 150-51; Kṽānsāri, II, pp. 81, 85; Kašmiri, pp. 178-79; cf. Pampus, p. 47). In the 20th century Imamite scholarship seems to have accepted the earlier date as given by Kātunābādi (e.g., Davāni, 1983, p. 101; Davāni



in Mehrizi and Rabbāni, 1999, I, pp. 65-66).

In general, 20th century biographical entries on Majlesi tend to be rather stereotypical (for the character and purpose of Shi'ite biographical dictionaries in general, see Gleave, pp. 40-60), and hardly go beyond that which had been gathered by Kātunābādi, Behbahāni and Ṭabresi (ca. 1838-1902; cf. Brunner, 2001, pp. 39-42). Some recent compilers (e.g., Ḥakimi, Ku'i) even content themselves with merely reproducing the sparse information provided by Ardabili (fl. 17th cent.), Moḥammad b. Ḥasan Ḥorr 'Āmeli (1624-93), Afandi (d. ca. 1718), or Yusof Baḥrāni (b. 1695-96, d. 1772?).

Ṭabresi's *al-Fayẓ al-qodsi* remains one of the most valuable sources on Majlesi's life. The book was first published in 1884, on the occasion of the first complete lithographed edition of the *Behār al-anwār* (Āqā Bozorg, XVI, p. 408; cf. Pampus, pp. 17-19), and Ṭabresi's work was retained in the *Behār*'s 1980s Lebanese reprint. Ṭabresi focused on Majlesi's writings (pp. 37-75), his teachers and students (pp. 76-104), as well as his ancestors (pp. 105-42) and descendants (pp. 143-48). All information about Majlesi's life proper is restricted to the introduction (pp. 9-36) and the last chapter (pp. 149-65), and is of a decidedly hagiographic nature.

His family was well respected, as his father Muḥammad-Taqi Majlesi was an important jurist and hadith commentator, as mentioned above (for the family genealogy, see Brunner, 2002). Majlesi first studied with his father and other eminent scholars. Ṭabresi (pp. 76-82) listed 18 teachers (cf. Pampus, pp. 92-101), including Moḥammad Ṣāleḥ Māzandarāni (d. 1670 or 1675), Ḥasan-'Ali Tostari (d. ca. 1659), and Moḥammad b. Ḥaydar Rafi'ā Nā'ini (d. 1670?). The outstanding Ḥorr 'Āmeli ranks among both his teachers and his students, due to their mutually exchanged certificates of transmission (sing. *ejāza*; Ḥorr 'Āmeli, II, p. 249; Majlesi, 1983, CX, pp. 103-06). While his early studies comprised the traditional curriculum of the religious sciences, he later concentrated on Quran and, above all, the traditions of the 12 imams. Majlesi (1983, I, pp. 2-3) called them the treasurers (Ar. *kāzen*, pl. *kozzān*) because their traditions are regarded as the sole means of accessing divine wisdom.

Majlesi had a large circle of students, and was an astonishingly prolific author. His influence as a teacher must have been enormous, even if the assertion of one thousand students is hardly verifiable (Ṭabresi, pp. 12-13). The names of a substantial number of his students are preserved in the biographical literature (49 in Ṭabresi, pp. 82-104; cf. 80 in Pampus, pp. 101-116), in part because they



were recipients of an *ejāza* (for a collection of 115 licenses issued to 84 persons, see Ḥosayni, 1990; cf. Āqā Bozorg, I, pp. 148-56). Several of his students became scholars in their own right and are known as the authors of important works of the religious sciences and *ṭabaqāt*, such as Majlesi' son-in-law Moḥammad-Şāleḥ Kātunābādi (d. 1714; cf. Pampus, pp. 102-3), Ne'mat-Allāh Jazā'eri (d. 1701; cf. Pampus, pp. 104-105), Afandi (cf. Pampus, p. 105), or Solaymān b. 'Abd-Allāh Baḥrāni (d. 1709 or 1715; cf. Pampus, p. 106).

Within his own family, Moḥammad Bāqer Majlesi was to be the last scholar of an outstanding reputation. The works of his two elder brothers 'Aziz-Allāh and 'Abd-Allāh are only of minor importance (Kašmiri, pp. 135-36). His sister Āmena Begum is the only woman of the family whose name is mentioned in the biographical literature (Maḥallāti, III, p. 329). She gained limited fame as an authority on Majlesi's family and the complex genealogy of his descendents (Ṭabresi, pp. 118-42; cf. Pampus, pp. 64-92; Mosleḥ-al-Din Maḥdawi, 2003, pp. 30-44).

Majlesi wrote several dozen works in both Arabic and Persian, and their number varies in the many lists available (useful bibliographies are found in Ṭabresi, pp. 37-75; Mošar, II, cols. 23-42; Anšāri Qommi; cf. the 25 Arabic books, 48 Persian books, and 17 Persian translations identified by Pampus, pp. 116-34). A first inventory, entitled *Fehrest taṣānif al-Majlesi* was drawn up by his aforementioned grandson Moḥammad-Ḥosayn Kātunābādi (Āqā Bozorg, XVI, pp. 380-81).

Majlesi's most important book is the *Beḥār al-anwār*, one of the most extensive collections of Imamite hadith; it comprises 111 volumes in the printed edition. Other significant Arabic books are commentaries on classical tomes, such as the *Mer'āt al-'oqul* on *al-Kāfi* by Kolayni (d. 941) and the *Malāḍ al-akyār fi šarḥ al-tahḍib* on *Tahḍib al-aḥkām* by Moḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭusi (b. 995, d. 1066/7), and shorter treatises, such as the *Resālat al-e'teqādāt* and *al-Wajiza fi'l-rejāl*. The majority of Iranians only converted to the Imamiyya after the establishment of the Safavid state (Brunner, 2005), and Majlesi's fame as one of the most influential promoters of Twelver Shi'ism in Iran rests primarily on his Persian writings, who are said to have spurred this development. Majlesi himself made statements to this effect (Hairi, 1986, p. 1087; Shireen Maḥdavi, 2003, p. 89), and several of his Persian works were highly popular:

(1) *Helyat al-mottaqin* (Āqā Bozorg, VII, p. 83) is a collection of traditions on recommended customs and behavior (Shireen Maḥdavi, 2003).



(2) *ʿAyn al-ḥayāt* (Āqā Bozorg, XV, p. 370) is a commentary on the testament which is said to have been given by the Prophet Moḥammad to his companion Abu Ḍarr Ġefāri.

(3) *Ḥaqq al-yaqīn* (Āqā Bozorg, VII, p. 40) explores the foundations of belief, and is usually regarded as Majlesi's last work. Some Imamite biographers (e.g., Tonokāboni, p. 221; Jazi, p. 123) claim that in Syria about 70,000 people converted to the Imamiyya because of this book.

(4) *Jalāʾ al-ʿoyun* (Āqā Bozorg, V, pp. 124-25) discusses Moḥammad, *Fāṭema*, and the 12 imams (i.e., *čahārdah maʿsum*).

(5) *Toḥfat al-zāʿer* (Āqā Bozorg, III, p. 438) explains the pilgrimage to the Shiʿite shrines (sing. *emāmzāda*).

(6) *Ḥayāt al-qolub* (Āqā Bozorg, VII, pp. 121-22) draws on the *Behār al-anwār* to examine the relations between the pre-Islamic prophets, Moḥammad and the imams. In the 19th century, this book attracted the attention of the Protestant missionaries Christian G. Barth (1799-1862) and James L. Merrick (1803-1866) who prepared partial German and English translations.

Majlesi exerted unprecedented political influence, not the least because Shah Solaymān and especially Shah Solṭān-Ḥosayn were weak rulers who in contemporary European travelogues (Gaudereau, pp. 31-34; Krusiński, I, pp. 54, 62, 76) are generally described as typical products of the *harem* system. He seems to have followed his father as the leader of the congregational Friday prayer (*emām-e jomʿa*) of Isfahan (Baḥrāni, p. 55; cf. Pampus, p. 32), and in 1687 Shah Solaymān appointed him as the capital's *šayḵ al-Eslām* (on this post, see Jaʿfariyān, 1992, pp. 90-107), so that he was entrusted with “the matters of the Muslims and jurisdiction according to religious law” (Kvānsāri, II, pp. 76-77). The assertion (Abisaab, p. 127) that he became *šadr-e kāšša* and *šadr-e ʿamma* (see *ŠADR*) is not corroborated elsewhere, and the confusion may reflect that the contemporary *šadr-e kāšša* was also called Moḥammad-Bāqer (Floor, pp. 482-83). The ascription of the office of *mollā-bāši* to Majlesi was likewise shown to be erroneous (Arjomand, 1983). In his capacity as *šayḵ al-Eslām*, Majlesi is generally described (Baḥrāni, p. 55; Jazi, p. 124) as fighting everything considered heresy and innovation (*bedʿa*) by the traditionalist ulema, being incessantly intent on reviving the *šariʿa*, and enforcing the principle of enjoining the good and prohibiting the bad (Ar. “al-amr beʾl-maʿruf waʾl-nahy ʿan al-monkar;” see *AMR BE MAʿRUF*). In many biographical



accounts (Kvānsāri, II, p. 77; Ṭabresi, p. 20; cf. Pampus, p. 33) it is reported with satisfaction how, in the year of his appointment, he had an idol that was venerated by “Indian unbelievers” – the sources are unclear with regard to the specific religious context – in Isfahan destroyed and the idolators expelled from the Safavid empire (for his dealing with non-Muslim monotheistic faith communities (*ahl al-ḍemma*; Ar. sing. *ḍemmi*) and the enforcement of the poll tax (*jezya*), see Moreen’s tr. of his treatise about Jews). Majlesi fought against both Sunnite Islam and Sufism, but his opposition to Sufism was a delicate issue. His father was said to have had Sufi leanings, and Majlesi subsequently tried to dispel these claims (Baḥrāni, 1986, p. 60; Širāzi, I, pp. 268-86; Ṭabresi, pp. 117-18). He failed, however, in his attempt to have the prohibition of wine thoroughly enforced (Pampus, 1970, p. 35).

Regarding the dominant intellectual struggle of the time between Aḳbāris and Oṣulis, Majlesi did not side with either faction in an obvious way. Since he compiled the *Beḥār al-anwār* he contributed enormously to the dissemination of Twelver Shi‘ite traditions about the 12 imams (Ar. sing. *kaḅar*, pl. *aḳbār*) and consciously employed them to make Twelver Shi‘ism prevail in Iran. On the delicate issue of the falsification (*tahrif*) of the Qur‘ān, which was claimed in early Shi‘ite traditions and in later times became a hallmark of Aḳbāri leanings, Majlesi avoided passing final judgement. While qualifying such traditions as potentially weak, he nevertheless included them without restriction in his compilation (Brunner, 2001, pp. 21-22). Yet As emām-e jom‘a and šayḅ al-Eslām, he showed a willingness for political reasoning that exceeded the usual Aḳbāri stance (Jazi, pp. 122-23; Gleave, pp. 155, 241-44, 264-66), and his student Ardabili (II, p. 78) characteristically honored him with the epithet *kaṭam al-mojtahedin*.

In Anglo-American scholarship, MoḤammad-Bāqer Majlesi does not usually enjoy a good reputation (on Western judgement of Majlesi in general, see ‘Alawi, 1991). Positive statements such as those by the American Dwight M. Donaldson who in the late 1920s considered Majlesi “the last and the greatest theologian of the Safavid period” and “thorough and diligent as a scholar” (p. 303-304) remain the exception. Critical and even polemical judgments are typical. John Malcolm (1767-1833), one of the earliest historians of Qajar Iran, saw Majlesi as an outright “bigot” (I, p. 595). Edward G. Browne (1866-1926) called him “one of the greatest, most powerful, and most fanatical *mujtahids* of the Šafawí period” (p. 403). Laurence Lockhart (b. 1890) perceived him as “a rigid and fanatical formalist” (p. 70) because of his persecution of Sunnites,



Sufis and non-Muslims (cf. Pampus, pp. 33-34). A more recent example of this position is the tone adopted by Colin Turner (esp. pp. 148-86).

In stark contrast, most Imamite scholars have treated Majlesi with great reverence, and the eulogies and honorary epithets which normally open his entries in biographical dictionaries speak for themselves. Several biographers go so far as to suggest a direct connection between Majlesi's death and the final decline of the Safavid empire within the following two decades (Baḥrāni, p. 55; Tonokāboni, p. 221; cf. Jazi, p. 124). Many an author cites with unconcealed pride a dictum by the anti-Shi'ite polemicist 'Abd-al-'Aziz Dehlawi (d. 1823), a son of the renowned Indian reformist thinker [Šāh-Wali-Allāh Dehlawi](#) (1703-62), to the effect that it is entirely appropriate to call Twelver Shi'ism "the religion of Majlesi" (Behbahāni, pp. 114-15; Ṭabresi, p. 14; cf. Qommi, 1984, pp. 250-51; 1948, p. 412; Modarres, V, p. 193). The deep veneration can extend to the belief in miracles, when it is, for example, asserted that a [genie](#) (Ar. *jenn*) once visited Majlesi's teaching circle (Tonokāboni, *Qeşaş*, p. 221) and miracles occurred at his gravesite (Mahdawi, 1969, p. 164; Jazi, p. 121). Ṭabresi (pp. 163-65) who sharply criticized the belief in miracles as credulity (pp. 163-64), reported a great number of [dreams](#) in which scholars were visited by Majlesi (pp. 149-62). In several of these accounts Majlesi is presented as the apotheosis of an Imamite scholar who is one of the intermediaries facilitating access to the imams and therefore to divine knowledge (*bāb al-a'imma*; see [BĀB \(1\)](#)). Other dream narratives, by contrast, center on Majlesi's humbleness, as he was only allowed to enter paradise because he once gave a quince to a small child. Both visions illustrate the enormous charisma Twelver Shi'ite ulema through the responses of their followers (Brunner, 2009, pp. 110-15).

Such awestruck veneration notwithstanding, Majlesi has not entirely escaped Imamite criticism. Among his contemporaries Moḥammad b. Moḥammad Ḥosayni Mir Lawḥi (17th cent.; cf. Hairi, 1993) seems to have been the only one who openly resisted Majlesi in his book *Kefāyat al-mohtadi fi ma'refat al-mahdi* (Āqā Bozorg, XVIII, pp. 101-102; for a summary of its content, see Dānešpažuh). After he had fallen out with Majlesi's father over his support for Sufism, Mir Lawḥi openly repudiated the veneration of Moḥammad-Taqi Majlesi after his death, and criticized Moḥammad-Bāqer Majlesi for his use of allegedly weak and tendentious hadiths (Babayan, pp. 465, 470-71). Mir Lawḥi claimed to have received death threats because of his reprobation of the Majlesis (Ṭabresi, pp. 34, 117; cf. Jazi, p. 121). This stance may explain why he was



largely ignored by later compilers of Imamite *ṭabaqāt*.

Among his more recent Imamite critics, the prominent voices of Moḥsen Amin (1867-1952), Moḥammad Ḥosayn Ṭabāṭabā'i (1902 or 1903-1981), and 'Alī Šari'ati (1933-77) are representative. In the *A'yān al-šī'a* Amin remarked (IX, p. 183) that Majlesi's merits notwithstanding, his writings needed revision, as they indiscriminately mixed useful and worthless material (Ar. *al-ġatt wa'l-samin* lit. "the meagre and the fat"), and his interpretations of the traditions were often precipitate. Amin also disapproved of the fanaticism (*aṣabiya*) with which people spoke about Majlesi. The philosopher Ṭabāṭabā'i mainly disagreed with Majlesi over the definition and conceptualization of the intellect, and this disagreement earned Ṭabāṭabā'i the characteristically heavy criticism of the clerical establishment in Qom (Dabashi, pp. 297-99; cf. in general 'Alawi, 1992). For the revolutionary theorist Šari'ati (pp. 189-96; cf. Dabashi, pp. 110-13) Majlesi was one of the protagonists of the "black" or Safavid Shi'ism, which he considered conservative and irresponsible, juxtaposing it to the revolutionary and progressive force of "red" or 'Alid Shi'ism.

Majlesi's influence on the intellectual history of Twelver Shi'ism, the politics of 18th century Iran, and the final Shi'itization of the country was enormous (Babayan, pp. 458-67). Ṭabresi (p. 19) credited Majlesi with being more meritorious than 'Allāma Ḥelli (d. 1325), because the few preserved books of 'Allāma Ḥelli were written in Arabic and only addressed to specialists. Majlesi, by contrast, had been a prolific writer who had also composed many works in Persian which could be understood by scholars and students, well as Sunnites, children, and women alike (cf. Kātunābādi in K'vānsāri, II, pp. 82-83). With regard to the role of the Imamite clergy in Iranian politics, Majlesi's influence endured far beyond the Safavid era. Mainly thanks to Majlesi, the Twelver Shi'ite clergy of Arab Lebanese descent triumphed over the Imamite clergy who were Iranian notables. Since these powerful theologians were largely independent of the ruling elites, they survived political change while expanding their power. The scholar-cum-politician Moḥammad-Bāqer Majlesi not only marked the beginning of a genuinely Iranian development within Twelver Shi'ism (Pampus, p. 52), but also foreshadowed the late 20th century assumption of power by the Imamite clergy in Iran (Arjomand, 1983, pp. 138-40; 1984, pp. 151-55). Unsurprisingly, in post-revolutionary Iran Majlesi continues to be held in high esteem. Since the 1990s, his works have been published in many new editions, as well as in Arabic and English translations,



in Qom and Tehran. But it seems that some anti-Sunnite sections of the *Behār al-anwār*, especially the *Ketāb al-fetan* (Ar. sing. *fetna* lit. “trial”), were at least temporarily not reprinted for political reasons (Buchta, p. 72).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographies of Works Ascribed to Majlesi:

Nāṣer-al-Din Anṣāri Qommi, “Ketābšenāsi-ye ta’lifāt-e ‘Allāma-ye Majlesi,” *Meškāt* 29, 1991, pp. 150-73; references to printed editions, translations, and revisions, as well as to Āqā Bozorg’s *Dari’a*; repr. in Mehrizi and Rahbāni, *Šenākt-nāma*, 1999 (for full reference see below), II, pp. 39-71.

Ḥosayn Dargāhi and ‘Ali-Akbar Talāfi Dāryāni, *Ketāb-šenāsi-ye Majlesi*, Tehran, 1991.

Mahdi Mehrizi and Hādi Rabbāni, *Šenākt-nāma-ye ‘Allāma-ye Majlesi: Maqālāt-e montašer šoda dar maṭbu’āt*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1999.

Ḳānbābā Mošār, *Mo’allefin-e kotob-e čāpi-e fārsi o ‘arabi*, 6 vols., Tehran, 1961-66, II, cols. 23-42.

Selected Works Ascribed to Majlesi, in Alphabetical Order:

‘Ayn al-ḥayāt, ed. by ‘Ali-Moḥammad Rafi’i, Tehran, 2003; tr. as *Ta’rib ‘Ayn al-ḥayāh*, Qom, 2000; tr. as *Essence of Life*, by Ṭāher Belrāmi, Qom, 2005.

Behār al-anwār al-jāme’a le-dorar aḳbār al-a’emma al-aṭḥār, 111 vols., Beirut, 1983; for a summary, see Maḥmud Doryāb Najafi, *‘Alā zefāf al-Behār: Ta’rif mujaz be-Ketāb behār al-anwār le’l-‘Allāma al-Majlesi*, Beirut, 2002.

Ḥaqq al-yaqin dar oṣul o foru’-e e’teqādāt, Isfahan, 2001.

Ḥayāt al-qolūb, 3 vols., Tehran, 1963; partial tr. as *Die Mythen des Lebens Jesu: Auszüge aus “Haiat ul Kulub, oder Geschichte Muhameds, beschrieben nach der schiitischen Tradition von Mohamed Bachir, nebst einem das “Leben Jesu” von*



Dr. Strauss betreffenden Anhang, ed. Christian G. Barth, Stuttgart, 1837; partial tr. as *The Life and Religion of Mohammed, as Contained in the Sheeâh Traditions of the Hyât-ul-Kuloob*, by James L. Merrick, Boston, 1850; tr. as

Hayatul-Qulub: Stories of the Prophets, Characteristics and Circumstances of the Prophets and their Successors, by Syed Athar Husain S. H. Rizvi, 3 vols., Qom, 2003; tr. as *La vie des coeurs*, by A. and H. BenAbderRahmane, Beirut, 2007.

Helyat al-mottaqin dar âdâb o sonan o aklâq-e eslâmi, Qom, 2002.

Jalâ' al-'oyûn: Târiq-e çahârdah ma'sum, Qom, 2004.

Mafâtiḥ al-ġayb: Râhi beh jahân-e ġayb dar raveš-e esteġâra, Teheran, 1995, prayers in Persian and Arabic; tr. as *Mafâtiḥ al-ġayb wa-âdâb al-esteġâra*, by Yuşof Şafi'l-Din, ed. by Mahdi Rajâ'i, Beirut, 1992.

Mer'ât al-'oqul fi šarḥ akbâr âl al-rasul: Šarḥ ketâb al-Kâfi le'l-Kolayni, 25 vols., Tehran, 1981-89.

Meškât al-anwâr, ed. 'Abd-al-Ḥosayn Ṭâle'i, Isfahan, 1992.

Toḥfat al-zâ'er, Tehran, 1897.

Al-Wajiza fi 'elm al-rejâl, ed. MoḤammad Kâzem Raḥmân Setâyeš, Tehran, 2000.

Zâd al-ma'âd, Arabic tr. by 'Alâ'-al-Din al-A'lami, Beirut, 2003.

Mahdi Mehrizi and Hâdi Rabbâni, eds., *Yâdnâma-ye Majlesi: Majmu'a-ye maqâlât, goftoguhâ o soġanrânihâ-ye hamâyeš-e bozorgdâšt-e 'Allâma-ye Majlesi*, 3 vols., Tehran, 2000.

Vera Basch Moreen, ed. and tr., "*Risâla-yi šawâ'iq al-Yahūd* [The Treatise Lightning Bolts Against the Jews] by MuḤammad Bâqir b. MuḤammad Taqi al-Majlisi (d. 1699)," *Die Welt des Islams* 32, 1992, pp. 177-95.

Other sources:

'Abd-Allâh Afandi b. 'Isâ Eşfahâni, *Riâz al-'olamâ' wa-ḥiâz al-fożalâ'*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥosayni, 6 vols., Qom, 1981, esp. V, pp. 39-40.

Idem, *Ta'liqat amal al-âmel*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥosayni, Qom, 1989, esp. pp. 249-50.



Moḥammad b. ‘Ali Ardabili, *Jāme‘ al-rowāt*, 2 vols., Beirut, 1983, esp. II, pp. 78-79.

Yusof Baḥrāni, *Lo‘lo‘at al-baḥrayn fi‘l-ejāzāt wa-tarājem rejāl al-ḥadīṭ*, Beirut, 1986, esp. pp. 55-60.

Aḥmad b. Moḥammad Behbahāni, *Mer‘āt al-aḥwāl-e jahān-nomā*, ed. ‘Ali Davāni, Tehran, 1991, esp. pp. 112-26, 251-75.

John Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l’Orient*, ed. Louis Langlès, 10 vols. plus atlas, Paris, 1811.

André Deslandes, Martin Gaudereau, and François Sanson, *Nouvelles d’Ispahan: 1665-1695*, ed. Anne Kroell, Paris, 1979.

Martin Gaudereau, *Relation de la mort de Schah Soliman, roy de Perse, et du couronnement de Sultan Ussain son fils, avec plusieurs particularitez touchant l’état present des affaires de la Perse*, Paris, 1696.

Moḥammad b. Ḥasan Ḥorr ‘Āmeli, *Amal al-āmel fi ‘olamā’ Jabal ‘Āmel*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥosayni, 2 vols. Baghdad, 1964-65, esp. II, pp. 248-49.

Moḥammad-‘Ali Kašmiri, *Nojum al-samā’ fi tarājem al-‘olamā’*, Tehran, 2004, esp. pp. 178-85.

‘Abd-al-Ḥosayn Kātunābādi, *Waqā‘e‘ al-senin wa‘l-a‘wām yā gozārešhā-ye salyāna az ebtedā-ye kalqat tā sāl-e 1195 hejri*, Tehran, 1973.

Tadeusz Jan Krusiński, *The History of the Late Revolutions of Persia*, tr. and ed. by Jean Antoine du Cerceau, 2 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1733.

Moḥammad-Bāqer b. Zayn al-‘Ābedin Kṽānsāri, *Rawzāt al-jannāt fi aḥwāl al-‘olamā’ wa‘l-sadāt*, 8 vols., Beirut, 1991, esp. II, pp. 76-91.

John Malcolm, *The History of Persia From the Most Early Period to the Present Time: Containing an Account of the Religion, Government, Usages, and Character of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom*, 2 vols., 1st ed., London, 1815.

Moḥammad b. Moḥammad Ḥosayni Mir Lawḥi, *Kefāyat al-mohtadi fi ma‘refat al-mahdi*, Tehran, 1974.

Waliqoli b. Dāwudqoli Šāmlu, *Qeşaş al-kāqāni*, ed. Ḥasan Sādāt-e Nāşeri, 2



vols.,

Tehran, 1992-95, esp. II, p. 51.

[François] Sanson, *Voyage ou relation de l'état présent du royaume de Perse, avec une dissertation curieuse sur les mœurs, religion et gouvernement de cet état*, Paris, 1695.

Moḥammad Maʿsum ʿAlīšāh Šīrāzi, *Ṭarāʿeq al-ḥaqāʿeq*, Tehran, 3 vols., Tehran, 1897-1901; repr., 3 vols, Tehran, 1960-66.

Ḥosayn Taqī Nuri Ṭabresi (Ṭabarsi), *Al-Fayẓ al-qodsi fi tarjamat al-ʿAllāma al-Majlesi*, ed. Jaʿfar Nabawi, Qom, 1998; an older edition is printed with Majlesi's *Behār al-anwār*, Beirut, 1983; tr. as *Fayẓ-e qodsi: Zendegi-nāma-ye ʿAllāma-ye Majlesi*, by Jaʿfar Nabawi, Qom, 1995.

Moḥammad b. Solaymān Tonokāboni, *Qeşaş al-ʿolamāʿ*, Beirut, 1992, pp. 220-45.

Idem, *Tadkerat al-ʿolamāʿ*, ed. Moḥammad Reżā Azhari and Ġolām Reżā Paranda, Mashad, 1994, esp. pp. 159-64.

Moḥammad-Ḥasan Ḥosayni Zanuzi, *Riāz al-janna*, ed. ʿAli-Moḥammad Rafīʿi ʿAlām-rudašti, vol. IV, Qom, 2007, pp. 237-58.

Studies:

Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire*, London, 2004.

Ebrāhim Sayyed ʿAlawi, "Majlesi az didgāh-e mostašreqān wa Irān-šenāsān," *Keyhān-e andiša* 31, 1991, pp. 74-86.

Idem, "Taʿliqāt-e ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʿi bar *Behār al-anwār*," *Keyhān-e andiša* 38, 1992, pp. 12-30 and 39, 1992, pp. 49-61.

Moḥsen Amin ʿĀmeli, *Aʿyān al-šīʿa*, 10 vols., Beirut, 1986, esp. IX, pp. 182-84.

Moḥammad Moḥsen Āqā Bozorg Ṭehrāni, *Al-Dariʿa elā taşānif al-šīʿa*, 25 vols., Najaf, 1936-75.

Said Amir Arjomand, "The Office of *Mulla-Bashi* in Shiʿite Iran," *Stud. Isl.* 57,



1983, pp. 135-46.

Idem, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890*, Chicago, 1984.

Idem, "The Clerical Estate and the Emergence of a Shi'ite Hierocracy in Safavid Iran," *JESHO* 28, 1985, pp. 169-219.

‘Ali ‘Aṭā’i Kōrāsāni, *Kār-nāma-ye ‘Allāma-ye Majlesi: Šarḥ-e fešorda-ye pirāmun-e kadamāt o tālifāt-e ‘Allāma-ye Majlesi va tarāveš-e wojudi-e u dar ḥefz-e a‘šār-e šī’i*, Mashad, 1975.

Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiah: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*, Cambridge, Mass., 2002; orig., *The Waning of the Qizilbash: The Spiritual and the Temporal in Seventeenth Century Iran*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University 1993.

Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: IV – Modern Times (1500-1924)*, Cambridge, 1930.

Rainer Brunner, *Die Schia und die Koranfälschung*, Würzburg, 2001.

Idem, "Majlesi, Moḥammad-Taqi," *EIr*, 2002; available at: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/majlesi-molla-mohammad-taqi-b-maqsud-ali-esfahani>

Idem, "The Role of *Ḥadith* as Cultural Memory in Shi'i History," *JSAI* 30, 2005, pp. 318-60.

Idem, "Al-Majlisi," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef M. Meri, 2 vols., London, 2006, II, pp. 460-61.

Idem, "Le charisme des songeurs: Ḥusayn al-Nūri al-Ṭabrisi et la fonction des rêves dans le shi'isme duodécimain," in *Le Shi'isme Imāmite quarante ans après: Hommage à Etan Kohlberg*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi et al., Turnhout, 2009, pp. 95-115.

Wilfried Buchta, *Die iranische Schia und die islamische Einheit 1979-1996*, Hamburg, 1997.

William C. Chittick, "Two 17th-Century Persian Tracts on Kingship and Rulers," in *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, ed. S. A. Arjomand, Albany, N.Y.,



1988, pp. 267-304.

Juan R. I. Cole, "Shi'i Clerics in Iraq and Iran, 1722-1780: The Akhbari-Usuli Conflict Reconsidered," *Iranian Studies* 18, 1985, pp. 3-34; repr., idem, *Sacred Space and Holy War: The Politics, Culture and History of Shi'ite Islam*, London, 2002, pp. 58-77, 221-25.

Hamid Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*, New York, 1993.

Moḥammed-Taqi Dānešpažuh, *Fehrest-e Ketāb-kāna-ye Ehdā'i-e Āqā-ye Sayyed Moḥammad Meškāt beh Ketāb-kāna-ye Dānešgāh-e Tehrān*, vol. III, Tehran, 1956, for a summary of Mir Lawḥi's *Kefāyat al-mohtadi fi ma'refat al-mahdi*, see pp. 1497-1507, s.v. baḳš 3, mojallad 5.

'Ali Davāni, *Āqā Moḥammad Bāqer b. Moḥammad Akmal Ešfahāni ma'rūf be Waḥid-e Behbahāni sar-āmad-e moḥaqqaqin va dānešmandān-e šī'a dar sada-ye dawāzdahom-e hejri*, Tehran, 1983, pp. 99-101.

Idem, *Allāma-ye Majlesi: Bozorgmard-e 'elm o din*, Tehran, 1991.

Idem, *Mafāker-e Eslām: VIII – 'Allāma-ye Majlesi*, Tehran, 1996.

Massoud Dilmaj, "Allameh Mohammad Baqer Majlesi," *Echo of Islam* 198, 2001, pp. 38-42.

Dwight M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak*. London, 1933; orig., Ph.D. diss., Hartford Seminary Foundation – Kennedy School of Missions, 1928.

Willem Floor, "The *ṣadr* or head of the Safavid religious administration, judiciary and endowments and other members of the religious institution," *ZDMG* 150, 2000, pp. 461-500.

Nahlā Ġarawi Nā'ini, "Menhaj al-'Allāma al-Majlesi fi *Mer'āt al-'oqūl*," *Majallat al-'olūm al-ensāniya* 6/8, 2002, pp. 12-29.

Robert Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam: The History and Doctrines of the Akhbāri Shi'i School*, Leiden, 2007

'Abd-al-Sāda Ḥaddād, *Al-Sayr wa'l-soluk fi'l-ḥayāt al-'Allāma al-Majlesi wa'l-sayyid 'Ali al-Qāzi*, Beirut, 2009.



Abdul-Hadi Hairi, "Madjlisi, Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir," *EI*², V, 1986, pp. 1086-88.

Idem, "Mir Lawḥi, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayni," *EI*², VII, 1993, pp. 94-95.

Moḥammad-Rezā Ḥakimi, *Tāriḳ al-'olamā' 'abr al-'oṣur al-moḳtalefa*, Beirut, 1983, pp. 87-93.

Aḥmad Ḥosayni, *Talāmeḍat al-'Allāma al-Majlesi wa'l-mojāzun menhu*, Qom, 1989.

Idem, *Ejāzāt al-ḥadiṯ allati katabahā Šayḳ al-Moḥaddeṯin wa-Moḥyi Ma'ālem-al-Din al-Mawlā Moḥammad Bāqer al-Majlesi al-Esfahāni, 1037-1110 A.H.*, Qom, 1990.

Rasul Ja'fariyān, "Ruyāru-ye faqihān o ṣufiān dar 'aṣr-e ṣafawiān," *Keyhān-e andiša* 33, 1991, pp. 101-27.

Idem, *Din o siāsat dar dawra-ye ṣafawi*, Qom, 1992.

'Abd-al-Karim Jazi, *Rejāl-e Esfahān yā tadkerat al-qobur*, ed. Moṣleḥ-al-Din Mahdavi, Isfahan, 1949, pp. 117-32.

M. Jorfādaqāni, *'Olamā-ye bozorg-e šī'a az Kolayni tā Komeyni*, Qom, 1985, pp. 167-69.

Etan Kohlberg, "Some Aspects of Akhbāri Thought," in *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, ed. N. Levtzion and J. O. Voll, Syracuse, N.Y., 1987, pp. 133-60; repr., idem, *Belief and Law in Imāmi Shi'ism*, Aldershot, Hampshire, 1991, chap. 17.

Idem, "Beḥār al-anwār," *EIr*, IV/1, 1989, pp. 90-93.

Abu'l-Qāsem b. 'Ali Akbar al-Ḳu'i, *Mo'jam rejāl al-ḥadiṯ wa-tafṣil ṭabaqāt al-rowāt*, 23 vols., Qom, 1983, XIV, pp. 211-12.

Laurence Lockhart, *The Fall of the Ṣafavi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia*, Cambridge, 1958.

Ḍabiḥ-Allāh Maḥallāti, *Rayāḥin al-šari'a dar tarjoma-ye danešmandān-e bānowān-e šī'a*, 6 vols., Tehran 1949, esp. III, p. 329.



Shireen Mahdavi, “Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, Family Values, and the Safavids,” in *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2003, pp. 81-99.

Moşleḥ-al-Din Mahdavi, *Tazkerat al-qobur yā dāneşmandān o bozorgān-e Eşfahān*, Isfahan, 1969, pp. 162-64.

Idem, *Zendegi-nāma-ye ‘Allāma-ye Majlesi*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1999.

Idem, *Mazārāt-e Eşfahān az qarn-e sewwom-e hejri tā zamān-e ḥāżer*, Isfahan, 2003, esp. pp. 30-44.

Yasuyuki Matsunaga, “Examining the Views of ‘Allāmah Majlisī on Legitimate Political Authority (*Sulṭanat-i Mashrū‘ah*) and the Guardianship of the Jurist (*Wilāyat-i Faqīh*),” *Orient* (Tokyo) 35, 2000, pp. 12-22.

Michel M. Mazzaoui, “Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir al-,” in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, III, 1995, pp. 27-28.

‘Ali Malaki Miānĵi, *Allāma-ye Majlesi: Akbāri yā oşuli*, Qom, 2006.

Moḥammad ‘Ali Modarres, *Rayḥānat al-adab fi tarājem al-ma‘rufin be-konya aw al-laqab*, 8 vols., Tabriz, 1967-70, esp. V, pp. 191-98.

Moḥammad Āşef al-Moḥseni, *Maşra‘at beḥār al-anwār*, 2 vols., Qom, 2002.

Mahdi Najaf-Ābādi, “Mostaşreqān va ‘Allāma Majlesi,” in *Haştomin Kongri-e taḥqiqāt-e irāni*, Tehran, 1997, VII, pp. 560-70.

Andrew J. Newman, “Bāqir al-Majlisi and Islamicate Medicine: Safavid Medical Theory and Practice Reconsidered,” in *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, ed. A. J. Newman, Leiden, 2003, pp. 371-96.

Idem, “Bāqir al-Majlisi and Islamicate Medicine II: *Al-Risāla al-dhahabiyya in Biḥār al-anwār*,” in *Le Shi‘isme Imāmīte quarante ans après*, ed. M. A. Amir-Moezzi et al., 2009 (for full reference, see above), pp. 349-61.

Karl-Heinz Pampus, Die theologische Enzyklopädie *Biḥār al-anwār* des Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maġlisi (1037-1110 A.H. = 1627-1699 A.D.): Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte der Şī‘a in der Şafawidenzeit, Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1970.



‘Abbās b. MoĤammad-Rezā Qommi, *Hadiyat al-aĥbāb fi dekr al-ma’rufin be’l-konā wa’l-alqāb wa’l-ansāb*, Najaf, 1930; repr., Tehran, 1984, pp. 250-51.

Idem, *Fawā’ed al-rażawiya fi aĥwāl ‘olamā’ al-madħab al-ja’fariya*, Tehran, 1948, pp. 410-18.

‘Ali-MoĤammad Rafi’i ‘Alām-rudašti, *Mollā MoĤammad-Bāqer Majlesi: Zendegi, zamāna, negāhhā, naqdhā*, Tehran, 1993.

‘Ali Aĥmad Sālus, *Ma’a al-ši’a al-eṭnā ‘ašariya fi’l-oṣul wa’l-foru’: Mawsu’a šāmela*, 4 vols., Doha, 1997, II, pp. 233-39.

‘Ali Šari’ati, *Tašayyo’-e ‘alawi va tašayyo’-e šafawi*, Tehran, 1971.

Roger Savory, “Relations between the Safavid State and its Non-Muslim Minorities,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 14/4, 2003, pp. 435-58.

Abu’l-Faẓl Solṭān MoĤammadi, *Āfāq al-fekr al-siāsi ‘end al-‘Allāma Majlesi*, Qom, 2005.

Ĥasan Ṭārami, *Allāma-ye Majlesi*, Tehran, 1997.

Idem, *Allāma al-Majlesi wa-ketābohu Beĥār al-anwār*, Tehran, 1999.

‘Abd-al-Mawlā Ṭariĥi, “Moḳtašar tarjamat šāḥeb *al-Beĥār*,” *Al-‘Erfān* (Beirut) 10/3, 1924, pp. 266-68.

Colin Turner, *Islam without Allah? The Rise of Religious Externalism in Safavid Iran*, Richmond, Surrey, 2000.

John T. Walbridge, “A Persian Gulf in the Sea of Lights: The Chapters on Naw-rūz in the *Biĥār al-anwār*,” *Iran* 35, 1997, pp. 83-92.