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MUSLIM POLEMICS AGAINST JUDAISM AND
CHRISTIANITY IN 18TH CENTURY IRAN. THE LITERARY
SOURCES OF ĀQĀ MUḤAMMAD ‘ALĪ BIHBAHĀNĪ’S
(1144/1732-1216/1801) *RĀDD-I SHUBUHĀT AL-KUFFĀR* *

RÉSUMÉ

Le *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* de Āqā Muḥammad ‘Alī Bihbahānī Kirmānshāhī (m. 1216/1801), figure parmi les ouvrages de réfutation dirigés contre les missionnaires chrétiens et écrits sur l’ordre de Fath ‘Alī Shāh Qājār (r. 1212/1797-1250/ 1834). L’article s’intéresse aux sources littéraires de cet ouvrage, et notamment au *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth* d’Ibn Kammūna (m. 683/1284) et à l’*Ifḥām al-yahūd* de Samaw’al al-Maghribī (m. 570/1175). Parmi ses autres sources importantes, on peut citer le *Hawārīnāmah*, écrit par le Père jésuite Jérôme Xavier entre 1602 et 1607, le *Lawāmi’-i rabbāniyya* de Sayyid Aḥmad ‘Alawī (m. entre 1054/1644 et 1060/1650), ainsi que le *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* de ‘Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, un ancien moine augustin converti à l’islam (XII^e/XVII^e siècle).

Mots clés : Polémique religieuse au XVIII^e s. ; chiisme ; judaïsme en Iran ; christianisme en Iran ; Āqā Muḥammad Bihbahānī Kirmānī.

SUMMARY

Among the refutations, that were written against Christian missionaries at the turn of the 18th/19th century following the order of Fath ‘Alī Shāh (reigned 1212/1797-1250/1834), was the extensive *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* by Āqā Muḥammad ‘Alī Bihbahānī Kirmānshāhī (d. 1216/1801). The present article investigates the literary sources of this work, among them particularly Ibn Kammūna’s (d. 683/1284) *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth* and Samaw’al al-Maghribī’s (d. 570/1175) *Ifḥām al-yahūd*. Other prominent sources of the work are *Hawārīnāmah* written by the Jesuit Father Jérôme Xavier between 1602 and 1607, *Lawāmi’-i rabbāniyya* by Sayyid Aḥmad ‘Alawī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650), and *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* of ‘Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, the Augustinian convert to Islam of the 12th/17th century.

Keywords : Religious polemics 18th c.; Shiism; Judaism in Iran; Christianity in Iran; Āqā Muḥammad Bihbahānī Kirmānī.

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I.

Muslim writers of interreligious polemics did not, as a rule, have independent access to the religious literature of their respective opponents that was often written in non-Islamic languages, but were highly dependent on intermediary sources. The most important among these were works written by converts to Islam against their former religion, polemical writings against Islam written by non-Muslims, and, of course, earlier Muslim polemical literature. The intellectual quality and argumentative refinement of the available source material, the erudition of the authors, and the general intellectual climate in which the polemical exchange took place, had an immediate impact on the Muslim polemical writings, which differed according to time and place.

The Jewish presence in the Ottoman Empire following the Jews' expulsion from Spain in 1492, for example, constituted a serious intellectual challenge for Ottoman Muslim scholars. The Ottoman Empire presented relatively favourable conditions for the Jewish immigrants, and the often highly educated Jews were well represented in the highest intellectual, professional and economic strata of Ottoman society. An indication of the intellectual standing of the Jews were the Jewish printing houses that were established from the end of the 15th century onwards.¹ Although Ottoman Muslim scholars presumably did not have immediate access to the printed books that were mostly in Hebrew, they were certainly aware of this technological development and of the richness of the available Jewish religious literature. The highly developed intellectual and cultural standing of the Jews is reflected in the refined polemical literature against Judaism that was written by Ottoman scholars during the 15th and 16th centuries, as is the case, for example, with Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Taşköprüzade's (d. 968/ 1561) *Risāla fī l-radd 'alā l-yahūd*. The range of sources the author uses is impressively wide and comprehensive. The Biblical material he quotes or refers to is (with one exception) exclusively taken from the Pentateuch. Yet within this corpus he uses material that goes beyond the standard pool of verses that are characteristically employed in Muslim polemical writings.² In addition to Biblical material, the author has an intimate knowledge of a wide range of Jewish religious literature and the respective Jewish arguments relevant to the issues discussed. He frequently refers to and quotes from various commentaries on the Torah; among them, Abraham Ibn Ezra's (d. 1164/67) commentary constitutes his main source. In addition, he explicitly refers to the

¹ See Ya'ari 1967; Rozen 2002, pp. 251ff.

² For the standard Biblical references, see Adang 1996, pp. 264-266 (Appendix Two: Biblical Passages Invoked as Testimonies to Muḥammad).

commentary of Moshe Ben Nahman (d. 1270) and uses other, not further specified exegetical literature. The author is also familiar with the Talmud and other Jewish writings, among them being likely Sa'adya Gaon's (d. 942) *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-l-i'tiqādāt* and possibly al-Qirqisānī's (10th c.) *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-l-marāqib*.³

In Iran, the intellectual climate for interreligious polemics was completely different. Despite the continuous and visible Jewish presence and the frequent and severe persecutions and forced conversions of Jews during the Safavid period, particularly during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (995/1587-1038/1629), Shāh Ṣafī I (1038/1629-1052/1642) and Shāh 'Abbās II (1052/1642-1077/1666)⁴ and during the Qajar period,⁵ Muslim scholars evidently did not perceive the Jews as a serious intellectual challenge. The rich Jewish literary legacy that was easily accessible in the Ottoman Empire was beyond the reach of Iranian Jews,⁶ and – at least for the Safavid period – there is little evidence that Muslim scholars engaged in composing original polemical works against Judaism.⁷

³ For an edition and analysis of Taşköprüzade's text and other polemical writings by Ottoman authors, see the forthcoming Adang, Ösgüdenli and Schmidtke, *Ottoman writers on Judaism. A Collection of Texts*.

⁴ Bābā'i ben Loṭf's *Kitāb-i Anūsī*, the first known historical work from a member of the Iranian Jewish community written in Judaeo-Persian, describes the persecutions of Jews under the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I, Shāh Ṣafī I, and Shāh 'Abbās II with special emphasis on Kashan. For Bābā'i ben Loṭf's chronicle, see Bacher 1907; Spicehandler 1975, pp. 331-356; Moreen 1981a, pp. 275-309; Moreen 1987; Netzer 1980, pp. 33-56; Amnon Netzer, "Conversion. iv. Of Persian Jews to Other Religions," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, VI, pp. 234-235; idem, "Bābā'i ben Loṭf," in *ibid.*, III, pp. 297-298; Matthee 1991, pp. 17-36.

⁵ The forced conversion of the entire Jewish population of Mashhad in Muḥarram 1255/March 1839 was especially notorious. On this incident, see Netzer 1990, pp. 127-156; Patai 1997; Pirnazar 2002, pp. 115-136. On the forced conversion of the Jews of Kashan during the early Qajar period, see the historical report of the grandson of Bābā'i ben Loṭf, Bābā'i ben Farhād's *Kitāb-i Sarguzasht-i Kāshān*; see Netzer 1978, pp. 1-38 [MS. no. 917 of Ben Zvi Institute photoprinted]; Amnon Netzer, "Bābā'i ben Farhād," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. III, p. 297; Moreen 1990. One of the few tracts that was written in this period about Jews that shows the persecutive condition of the Jewish population, is *Ṣawā'iq al-yahūd* by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1699 or 1111/1700). See Moreen 1992 [a Hebrew version was later published in *Muslim Authors on Jews and Judaism. The Jews among their Muslim Neighbours*, Hava Lazarus-Yafeh (ed.), Jerusalem 1996, pp. 171-181]. The text is also edited in *Bist u panj risāla-yi fārsī-yi i'tiqādī fiqh tafsir hay'at muta-farriqāt az Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī*, ed. Sayyid Mahdi Raja'i, Qum 1412, pp. 513-522. Both editions are based on the same manuscript, ms. Mar'ashī 187/26.

⁶ Some glimpses into the range of literature that was available to Iranian Jews during the 16th to 18th centuries can be gained from Adler 1898; Spicehandler 1968; Netzer 1985. See also Yeroushalmi 2002; Moreen 1999.

⁷ For some anti-Jewish writings from the Qajar period, see Tsadik 2004; Tsadik 2005. Iranian manuscript catalogues list several manuscripts containing refutations of Judaism. On the basis of the meagre information provided – in many cases the

By contrast, the activities of Christian missionaries since the end of the 10th/16th century posed a serious intellectual challenge for Iranian Muslim scholars. Since the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās I, who maintained friendly relations with European royal courts, foreign Catholic missions and missionary orders (esp. Capuchins from 1602, Augustinians from 1603, and Carmelites from 1607) became evidently active in Iran. The presence of Christian missionaries aroused the sensitivities of the religious scholars in Iran and led to a relative decline in tolerance of Christians in the later Safavid and particularly the post-Safavid periods. This gave rise to a sophisticated polemical literature.⁸ Jérôme Xavier’s (Padri Jirūnimūshūvir, 1549-1617) *Ā’ina-yi haqq-numā*, which was first written in Portuguese (*Fuente de Vida*) and subsequently translated into Persian, and which the author presented in 1609 to the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr b. Akbar (r. 1014/1605-1037/1627), soon reached Iran and constituted an important point of departure for subsequent interreligious polemics during most of the Safavid period and beyond.⁹ The prominent Iranian philosopher and scholar Sayyid Aḥmad ‘Alawī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650) acquired an abridgement of Jérôme Xavier’s *Ā’ina-yi haqq-numā*,¹⁰ which he refuted in his *Miṣqal-i ṣafā dar tajliya u taṣfiya-yi ā’ina-yi haqq-numā*,

author is anonymous – it is impossible even roughly to date them, let alone evaluate the significance of their contents. See, e.g., *Mu’jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, p. 351 no. 6407, and Munzawī 1969-74, II/1, p. 946 (anonymous: *Radd bar Tawrāt*); *Mu’jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, p. 354 no. 6418, and Munzawī 1969-74, II/1, p. 968 (anonymous: *Radd bar yahūd*); *Mu’jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, p. 415 no. 6775 (anonymous: *Risāla-yi Radd-i madhhab-i yahūd*), p. 416 no. 6782 (anonymous: *Radd-i naṣārā wa yahūd*), p. 418 no. 6790 (anonymous: *Radd-i yahūd*). Anti-Jewish polemical writings were apparently also written by two of the renowned writers of anti-Christian polemics of the Safavid period, namely ‘Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, a Christian convert to Islam of the 12th/17th century (see *Mu’jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, pp. 353-354 no. 6417, and Munzawī 1969-74, II/1, p. 948: *Radd bar yahūd*), and by Sayyid Aḥmad ‘Alawī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650) who authored a polemical work against Judaism entitled *Ṣawā’iq al-Rahmān dar radd-i madhhab-i yahūdān*. This work seems to be lost. On both authors, see below for details.

⁸ On Christian missionaries in Persia and the Muslim-Christian polemical literature, particularly during the Safavid period, see Chick 1939; Yahya Armajani, “Christianity. viii. Christian Missions in Persia,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V, pp. 544-547; Kenneth J. Thomas and Fereyduṇ Vahman, “Bible. vii. Persian translations of the Bible,” in *ibid.*, IV, pp. 209-213; Qamar Āryān, “Christianity. vi. In Persian Literature,” in *ibid.*, V, pp. 539-542; Francis Richard, “Carmelites,” in *ibid.*, IV, pp. 832-834; Francis Richard, “Capuchins,” in *ibid.*, IV, pp. 786-788; Richard 1993; Richard 1980; Richard 1984a; Richard 1989; Hairī 1993; *Asnād-i pādīriyān-i karmilī bāzmāndih az ‘aṣr-i Shāh ‘Abbās Ṣafawī (Remained Documents of Carmelite Padres Since Shah Abbas Era)*, Manūchīhr Sūtūdiḥ and Īraj Afshār (eds.), Tehran 1383sh./2004.

⁹ On Jérôme Xavier, see Camps 1957.

¹⁰ For this work, see Camps 1957, pp. 21-22.

completed in 1032/1623.¹¹ As 'Alawī writes in the introduction to his *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, he had already completed two other works in the fields of polemics before coming across Xavier's *Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā* in 1030/1622: *Lawāmi'-i rabbāniyya* in which the author sets out to refute an anti-Muslim work written in 1031/1621 by Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652),¹² and another work of polemics that was directed specifically against Judaism, *Ṣawā'iq al-Raḥmān dar rādd-i madhhab-i yahūdān*, which is apparently lost.¹³

'Alawī gave a copy of his *Miṣqal-i ṣafā* to the Carmelites in Isfahan, who forwarded the book to the Pope. It therefore became known in Rome soon afterwards and elicited a number of Christian refutations, for example, by Filippo Guadagnoli ("Pādri Filip") (ca. 1596-1656),¹⁴ the Franciscan Bonaventura Malvasia (d. ca. 1635),¹⁵ and by the Jesuit Aimé Chézaud (1604-1664), completed in 1656. Copies of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā* were also in the possession of the Franciscan Dominus Germanus of Silesia (1588-1670) and of the Capuchin Gabriel de Paris (d. 1641).¹⁶ 'Alawī received one of these refutations, which he said was written by a certain "Pādiri Mīmīlād", whom he assumed to be the author of *Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*, and he wrote a

¹¹ Ed. Hāmid Nāji Iṣfahānī, Qum 1415H./1373sh./[1994]. For this work, see also *Dharī'a*, XXI, pp. 130-131 no. 4275; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, V, p. 136 no. 10872. For Aḥmad 'Alawī, see Henry Corbin, "Aḥmad 'Alawī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, pp. 644-646; Corbin 1981, pp. 168-179.

¹² From the preserved copies of *Lawāmi'* it is evident that various versions of the text exist. We were able to inspect the following: the edited text (in *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i Qur'ān-i karīm* 2, ed. Ḥasan Sa'id, Tehran 1406H., pp. 20-183), which differs from the text as preserved in ms. Mar'ashi 2400, the longest version that was available to us. A third version was the basis for the extracts of the text that are included in Lee 1824, pp. xli ff. For additional manuscript copies, see Richard 1980, p. 383; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, IV, p. 574 no. 10208; Browne 1896, p. 12; Rawḍātī [n.d.], I, p. 169.

¹³ See Hairī 1993, p. 156. For *Ṣawā'iq al-Raḥmān*, see *Dharī'a*, XV, p. 94 no. 621.

¹⁴ *Apologia pro Christiana religione qua a Philippo Guadagnolo, Malleanensi Clericorum Regul. Minorum respondetur ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphanensis*. For Filippo Guadagnoli's work, see Graf 1964-66, IV, pp. 251-253. In his refutation of the work, 'Alī Qulī was either unaware of or decided to ignore the Arabic translation of Guadagnoli's work (Rom 1637 [1649²]) when he argued that since the Persian scholars do not know Latin he is the first to make the text and its arguments available to them by translating directly from the Latin original. The same applies apparently to the Persian version of Guadagnoli's work completed in 1656 in Isfahan by Aimé Chézaud. See Richard 1984a, p. 105.

¹⁵ *Dilucidatio speculi verum monstrantis, in qua instruitur in fide Christiana Hamet, filius Zin Elabedin, in regno Persarum princeps, et refellitur liber a doctoribus persis editus sub titulo Poliior speculi verum monstrantis*, Rom: Ex typis sacrae Congregationis de fide propaganda, 1628.

¹⁶ See Graf 1964-66, IV, p. 253; Richard 1984a, pp. 92, 94-95, 105; Richard 1980, pp. 353, 384ff. For a complete list of Christian retorts against *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, see Richard 1993, p. 261f.

reply to this refutation.¹⁷ However, it was in particular Filippo Guadagnoli's refutation that became widely known in Iran through the counter-refutation by 'Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, *Sayf al-mu'minīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn*.¹⁸ 'Alī Qulī was a 12th/17th century Christian convert to Islam whose historical identity is not altogether clear. He claims in his own writings to have formerly been a highly authoritative priest who had discovered the truth of Islam after a great deal of research and investigation, whereas independent historical evidence suggests that he was in fact an Portuguese Augustinian prior by the name of Antonio who converted to Islam in Isfahan in 1108/1696.¹⁹ 'Alī Qulī authored other works in the field of polemics: (1) *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* (or: *al-muḍillīn*) *wa-taqwīyat al-mu'minīn*, which, according to its author, was first written "in the language of the Franks" (*bi-zabān-i farangī*) and subsequently translated into Persian and dedicated to Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (reigned 1105/1694-1135/1722). This is a comprehensive work in four volumes;²⁰ (2) a polemical work against Sufism that circulated under the titles *Radd jamā'at ṣūfiyān* and *Radd 'aqā'id ṣūfiyān*;²¹ (3) *Ithbāt al-nubuwwa*, to which 'Alī Qulī refers in *Hidāyat al-dāllīn*. This work is apparently lost or might perhaps be iden-

¹⁷ The title of the reply is *Risāla dar radd-i dibācha'i kih 'ālim-i naṣārā kih muṣannif-i Kitāb-i Ā'ina-yi ḥaqq-numā ast ba'd az dīdan-i Kitāb-i Miṣqal dar radd-i Ā'ina-ash*. It has been published as an appendix with separate pagination to *Miṣqal-i ṣafā* (ed. Ḥamid Nāji Isfahāni, Qum 1415H./1373sh./[1994]).

¹⁸ Edited by Rasūl Ja'fariyān in 1375sh./1996 under the title *Tarjuma. Sharḥ u naqd-i sifr-i piydayish-i Tawrāt*, reprinted Qum: Intishārāt-i Anṣāriyān, 1382sh./2003.

¹⁹ See Richard 1984, pp. 73-85. Richard's study also includes comprehensive descriptions of *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* and *Sayf al-mu'minīn*.

²⁰ The volumes are entitled as follows: (i) The Refutation of the Principles of Christianity and the Proofs for the Principles of Islam according to their Books (*Radd-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Naṣārā u ithbāt-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Islām az rū-yi kitāb-hā-yi īshān*); (ii) The Refutation of the Branches of Christianity and the Proofs for the Branches of Islam according to their Books (*Radd-i furū'-i dīn-i Naṣārā u ithbāt-i furū'-i dīn-i Islām az rū-yi kitāb-hā-yi īshān*); (iii) The Proofs for the Prophecy of Muḥammad and that he is the Seal of Prophethood according to their Books (*Ithbāt-i payghambari u khātamiyyat az kitāb-hā-yi īshān*); (iv) The Proofs for the Imamate and the Mahdi according to their Books (*Ithbāt-i imāmat u mahdaviyyat az kitāb-hā-yi īshān*). Of this work four manuscripts are known to be extant: Malīk 5438, containing Volume One of the text; Majlis 2089, containing the complete Volume One; Āstān-i Quds 12116; Mar'ashī 3651, which is incomplete in beginning and end. Thus it is not clear which volume of the work it contains; certainly not Volume One as is clear from a comparison with Majlis 2089 which was available to us. We assume that Mar'ashī 3651 contains a fragment of Volume Three. For the manuscripts, see also Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī, V, p. 464 no. 12499; Dhari'a, XXV, p. 179 no. 142.

²¹ Ed. Rasūl Ja'fariyān in *Mirāth-i Islāmī-yi Irān*, VII, Qum 1377sh./1999, pp. 11-54. See also Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī, III, p. 352 no. 6408. Here the author maintains that the term *ṣūfi* derives etymologically from the Greek *sophia* and that Sufism grew out of the Greek and early Christian tradition. Accordingly, he harshly criticizes Sufis as the "Christians of our community" (*Naṣārā-yi ummatinā*).

tical with (4) *Radd bar yahūd*, a polemical work against Judaism which is extant in one manuscript;²² and (5) a short polemical treatise entitled *Fawā'id izdiwāj*.²³

Also during the second half of the 11th/17th century, the Twelvershī'i scholar Ṣāḥib al-Dīn b. Mullā Murād Tafrishī composed a refutation in Arabic of two apologetical works written by Gabriel de Paris, entitled *Nuṣ-rat al-ḥaqq*,²⁴ and another polemical work in Persian entitled *Risāla dar radd bar Naṣārā*.²⁵

In the first half of the 19th century, a new wave of Catholic missionary work in Persia began when the French Catholic orientalist Eugène Boré (1809-1878) in 1841 recruited French Lazarist missionaries for Persia. At about the same time, a number of Protestant missionaries came to Iran, such as the British preacher Henry Martyn (1781-1812) who spent a brief but very active time in Iran, mostly Shiraz from 1811 to 1812,²⁶ and the German born missionary Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1805-1865), who visited Persia twice, from March to September 1831 and again in 1837 on his way to India. Pfander was the author of *Mizān al-ḥaqq*. In May 1829 he completed a first draft in German (entitled *Mizan ul Hakk oder die Waage der Wahrheit*) to be later expanded and translated into Armenian, Turkish,

²² See *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, pp. 353-354 no. 6418; Munzawī 1969-74, II/1, p. 948. The manuscript, ms. Dānishgāh 1186/5, ff. 102b-113a, is part of a codex (copied ca. Ramaḍān 1278/March 1862) that consists of the following polemical works against Judaism: *Maḥḍar al-shuhūd fī radd-i yahūd* (ff. 1b-81b), completed on 6 Ramaḍān 1211/5 March 1797 by Ḥājji Bābā b. Muḥammad Ismā'il Qazwīnī Yazdī, who was the son of a convert to Islam; another brief treatise against Judaism by the same author (ff. 81b-83b); another treatise against Judaism by the same author (ff. 84a-90b); *Hujaj al-Islām* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā Ḥusaynī Ḥasanī Ṭabātabā'i Yazdī (ff. 92a-100a). This work, which was completed on 27 Jumādā II 1275/1 February 1859 is apparently directed against Judaism and Christianity. For a description of the codex, see Munzawī and Dānishpazhūh 1330-/1951-, VI, pp. 2251-2254.

²³ Ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Zā'iri in *Mirāth-i Islāmī-yi Īrān* (ed. Rasūl Ja'fariyān), I, Qum 1373sh./1994, pp. 291-310.

²⁴ Cf. Richard 1980, pp. 362-367; see also Richard 1982, pp. 253-259. On this work, see *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, V, pp. 386-387 no. 12134; *Dhari'a*, XXIV, p. 175 no. 912.

²⁵ Cf. Munzawī 1969-74, II/1, p. 947.

²⁶ On Henry Martyn and the Persian reactions to his activities, see Amanat 2004. Translations of selections of Henry Martyn's Persian writings against Islam and some Muslim reactions to them were published by Samuel Lee in his *Controversial tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism* (1824). Specifically for Mirzā Abu l-Qāsim Qummi's (Mirzā-yi Qummi) *Risāla dar radd-i Padrī* written at the request of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, see the partial edition by Ḥusayn Mudarrisī Ṭabātabā'i, "Risāla dar radd-i Henry Martyn," in *Wahīd* 10 (1351sh./1972), pp. 1223-1237; see also Ja'fariyān 1370sh./1991, pp. 258-263.

Persian, Arabic, and Urdu.²⁷ The numerous refutations written against this work in Persian attest to the significant reception it had in Iran.²⁸ A younger contemporary of Pfander and Martyn, the British missionary William St. Clair Tisdall (1859-1928), also wrote in Persian, and his *Yanābi' al-Islām* elicited several Muslim retorts.²⁹

II.

Many of the refutations against Christian missionaries that were composed at the turn of the 18th/19th century were written following the order of Fath 'Alī Shāh (reigned 1212/1797-1250/1834). Among them was the extensive *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* by Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī Kirmānshāhī (1144/1732-1216/1801), composed in 1215/1800-1, i.e. when the author had reached a very advanced age.³⁰ Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī, who was a son of the renowned Wahīd Bihbahānī (1118/1706-1207/1792), is mostly known for his persecution and killing of some of the leaders of

²⁷ See Graf 1964-66, IV, pp. 279-281. For Pfander's biography, see Bennet 1996. See also Schirmacher 1992; Schirmacher 1999.

²⁸ Refutations against Pfander were, e.g., written by Mahdī Ibn Maḥmūd Burūjirdī (*Bayān-i ḥaqīqat dar pāsukh-i iddī'ā-yi Sanjish-i ḥaqīqat*, Qum 1329sh./1950), and by Mawlawī Āl Ḥasan al-Hindī (*Istīfsār*, written in Urdu and translated into Persian by 'Abd al-Karīm; cf. *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, I, p. 250 no. 887), by Mullā 'Alī Nūri (*Hujjat al-Islām wa-burhān al-milla*; cf. *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, pp. 73-74 no. 5080), by Mullā Aḥmad Narāqī (*Sayf al-umma wa-burhān al-milla*; cf. *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, p. 563 no. 7507), and by Ḥusayn Tūtūnchī (*Kitāb Izālat al-waswās wa l-awḥām 'an quds sāḥat al-Islam*, Tabriz 1351H./1932-33).

²⁹ Refutations were written, e.g., by Tūtūnchī (*Kitāb Izālat al-waswās...*, 1351H./1932-33), by 'Alī Akbar b. Muḥsin al-Ḥasanābādī (*al-Mujāhid fī radd al-jāhid*; cf. *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, V, p. 43 no. 10416), and by Aḥmad Shāhrūdī (*Risālat Izālat al-awḥām fī jawāb Yanābi' al-Islām*, Tehran 1343H./1924).

³⁰ Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī, *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*, ed. Sayyid Mahdī Rajā'i, Qum: Mu'assassa-yi 'Allāma Wahīd Bihbahānī, 1413H./1992. (We are grateful to Daniel Tsadik, who made a copy of this work available to us.) The text has not been edited critically. Sayyid Mahdī Rajā'i does not indicate on the basis of which manuscripts he produced the text. The only reference to the manuscripts that were used is to be found on p. 279 n. 2, where the editor states that one of the manuscripts belonging to the library of Masjid a'zam in Qum ends at the end of the second epilogue and before the beginning of the final *qaṣida*. Since the edited text continues, he must have used at least two manuscript copies, which are most likely Masjid a'zam 3151/1 and Mar'ashī 1478; see *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, IV, p. 201 no. 8463. Rajā'i further brings chapter and section-headings in square brackets and it is not clear whether these were added by him or whether they are included in the manuscripts. For Bihbahānī, see also Hamid Algar, "Behbahānī, Āqā Muḥammad-'Alī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV, pp. 97-98; Muḥammad Hānī Mullāzāda, "Bihbahānī, Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī," in *Dānishnāma-yi jahān-i Islām*, IV, pp. 754-758; 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Shahidī, "Bihbahānī, Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir," in *Da'irat al-ma'ārif-i tashayyu'*, III, p. 520.

the Ni'matullāhī order, in particular Sayyid Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, which earned him the name *ṣūfī-kush* ("Killer of the Sufis"). His hostility toward the Ni'matullāhīs has found literary expression in his *Khayratiyya dar ibtāl-i ṭarīqa-yi ṣūfiyya*, a polemical work against Sufis that also contains attacks on mystical poets such as Sanā'ī, 'Aṭṭār, and Rūmī, and philosophers such as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, Ibn Sinā (d. 429/1037), Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā; d. 1050/1640-41), and Mīr Findiriskī (d. 1050/1640-41).³¹ Apart from this, he wrote a polemical work against Sunnis entitled *Sunnat al-hidāya li-hidāyat al-sunna*³² and numerous works on legal issues, most of which have not been edited so far.³³ *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* is his only work in the field of interreligious polemics.

The book is structured as follows. After a lengthy introduction (pp. 3-24), the main part of the work consists of three chapters (*baḥth*), each subdivided into a number of sections (*nūr*). The first chapter (pp. 24-52) is devoted to Judaism (*baḥth-i awwal dar dhikr-i yahūdān u shukūk u abḥāth mawrūda bar ān*) and consists of six sections (*nūr*) plus an addition (*fā'ida*) in the end. The second chapter (pp. 53-89) is concerned with Christianity (*baḥth-i duwwum dar bayān-i millat-i naṣārā*) and consists of eight sections. The third and by far the longest chapter (pp. 90-191) deals with Islam (*baḥth-i suwwum dar dhikr-i millat-i Islām*) and consists of ten sections. Two lengthy epilogues (*khātima*) conclude the main part of the book. The first (pp. 191-209) is subdivided into ten sections (*sahm*) and is again concerned with Judaism (*dar dhikr-i ba'dī az maṭā'in u abḥāth-i wārīda bar ṭā'ifa-yi yahūd-i 'unūd*); the title of the second epilogue (pp. 210-279) suggests that it addresses all three religions (*dhikr-i mukhtaṣarī az uṣūl-i khamṣa-yi dīn-i milliyān*), though in fact it deals exclusively with Christianity. As is indicated in the title of the second epilogue ("*uṣūl-i khamṣa*"), its structure follows the traditional structure of Imāmī-Mu'tazilī works: it contains five sections (*āghāz*) devoted to divine unity (*tawḥīd*) and justice (*'adl*), prophecy (*nubuwwa*), the imamate (*imāma*)

³¹ Ed. Sayyid Mahdī Rajā'ī, Qum: Mu'assassa-yi 'Allāma Waḥīd Bihbahānī, 1412H./1991. For manuscripts, see *Dharī'a*, VII, p. 286 no. 1407; Munzawī 1969-74, II/1, p. 940; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, p. 233 no. 5820. On the work and Bihbahānī's relation to the Sufis, see Pourjavady (N.) and Wilson 1978, pp. 128-131; Pourjavady (N.) 1999.

³² Qum: Mu'assassa-yi 'Allāma Waḥīd Bihbahānī, 1415H./1373sh./[1995]. For extant manuscripts, see Munzawī 1969-74, II/1, p. 959; *Dharī'a*, II, p. 330, XI, p. 111, XI, p. 234; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, III, pp. 547-548.

³³ See Tabātabā'ī 1984, pp. 90, 110, 126, 157, 159, 182, 187, 189, 194; *Dharī'a*, V, p. 137 no. 568; XVI, p. 101, p. 130 no. 279; XVII, pp. 158-59; XX, p. 375 no. 3499; XXI, pp. 169-70 no. 4463, p. 209 no. 4650, pp. 247-48 no. 5404; XXII, p. 14 no. 5791; XXIII, p. 148.

and resurrection (*ma'ād*). The book ends with a long *qaṣīda* (pp. 279-284).³⁴

In the introduction to the work, the author states the circumstances that led to the composition of the book and outlines its overall structure.³⁵ He explains that he will discuss the three religions (*dar laṭā'if-i abḥāth-i milal-i thalāth*) in detail and that he will present his material in an introduction (*muqaddamāt*), three chapters (*sih baḥth*) and an epilogue (*khātima*).³⁶ The fact that he mentions *one* epilogue here suggests that he decided to add a second *khātima* at a later stage. In the course of the second part of the introduction that opens with the formula *ammā ba'd*,³⁷ Bihbahānī writes in general terms on prophethood and prophetic miracles. He concludes the introduction by stating that he will deal in the following with Jews, Christians, and Muslims and that he entitled the book *Rādd-i shubuhāt-i kuffār dar dhikr abḥāth-i milal-i thalāth*.³⁸ The wording *abḥāth-i milal-i thalāth* at the beginning of the introduction and particularly in the enlarged version of the title of the book already alludes to 'Izz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna's (d. 683/1284 or 684/1285) *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth*.³⁹ Although Bihbahānī refrains from explicitly mentioning either the complete title of this work or its author throughout the entire text of his *Rādd*, a close comparison of *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* with *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth* reveals that not only is the overall structure of Bihbahānī's work modelled upon Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ*, but that both the introduction and the subsequent three chapters of the *Rādd* consist to a large extent of translations of extensive portions from Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ*.

With few omissions, Bihbahānī's introduction is in fact a translation of Ibn Kammūna's first chapter "On the true nature of prophethood, its varieties, the proof of its existence, its advantages, and other matters pertaining thereto"⁴⁰ with only some additional remarks by the author. With few ex-

³⁴ *Sahm* and *nūr* as section titles are also used in Bihbahānī's other works. *Nūr* is used in *Khayratiyya*, whereas *sahm* is employed in *Sunnat al-hidāya*.

³⁵ *Rādd*, pp. 4-6. This section is introduced by *wa-ba'd* (p. 4:3).

³⁶ *Rādd*, p. 5:2-6.

³⁷ *Rādd*, pp. 6:12-24:19.

³⁸ *Rādd*, p. 24:18-19. On p. 5:7 he mentions the title under which the work has been published: *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*.

³⁹ *Sa'd b. Maṣṣūr Ibn Kammūna's Examination of the Inquiries into the Three Faiths. A Thirteenth-Century Essay in Comparative Religion*, ed. Moshe Perlmann, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967; *Ibn Kammūna's Examination of the Three Faiths. A Thirteenth-Century Essay in the Comparative Study of Religion*, translated from the Arabic, with introduction and notes by Moshe Perlmann, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1971.

⁴⁰ *Tanqīḥ*, pp. 2-21; transl. *Examination*, pp. 14-39. Bihbahānī translated the following portions of this chapter: *Tanqīḥ*, pp. 2:3-14 (*wa-l-mumtana'āt*) [= *Rādd*, p. 6:12-7:5], 2:16-4:17 [= 7:6-10:4], 5:3-5 [= 10:4-6], 6:1 [= 10:6-7], 7:13-20 [= 10:10-23],

ceptions, the order of the translated text is identical to that in its source.⁴¹ Bihbahānī's first chapter on Judaism is basically a translation of most of Ibn Kammūna's Chapter Two "Discussing briefly the proof of the Jews for the prophethood of Moses; the principles of the laws which he laid down for the Jews, as reported by them; questions and answers pertaining thereto,"⁴² including a passage where Ibn Kammūna refers explicitly to Samaw'al al-Maghribī's (d. 570/1175) *Ifhām al-yahūd* and quotes from it.⁴³ There is no change in the order of the material taken from Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh*, and the only difference is that Bihbahānī further subdivided the material into sections (*nūr*), something that applies to all three chapters. Apart from very minor additions throughout the text, Bihbahānī supplements the text in two instances with quotations from Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī's (d. 817/1415) *Qāmūs al-lugha* (pp. 25:4-7) and from *Jāmāsbnāmah* (pp. 26:4-27:8). At the end of the chapter he adds a *fā'ida* (pp. 50-52) containing a list of the books of the Pentateuch. He refrains from mentioning his source, but since the entire text of the *fā'ida* is in Arabic, it is likely that the author took this material from some other source. The second chapter, devoted to Christianity, is, with a few omissions and with the exception of the first two sections and part of section eight, a translation of Ibn Kammūna's third chapter "On the belief of the Christians in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is Jesus the son of Mary, peace be upon them; his message; in what manner he is, according to them, both prophet and deity; opinions and counter-opinions therewith connected."⁴⁴

8:3-22 [= 11:1-12:13], 9:22-23 (*makhšūš*) [= 12:14-16], 10:1 (*wa-hādhā*)-2 [= 12:16-17], 8:23-9:4 [= 12:18-13:2], 10:3-5 [= 13:3-8], 9:5 [= 14:13-15], 10:6-7 [= 14:16-20], 9:6-21 [= 14:21-15:22], 10:8-18 [= 15:23-16:17], 15:18-16:19 [= 16:19-18:8], 17:1-20:16 [= 18:9-24:7], 20:19-22 [= 24:7-13], 21:1-2 (*wa-Aghātādīmūn*), 21:3 (*wa-āmanat*)-5 (*'alayhi al-salām*), 21:6 (*wa-āmana*)-7 (*bi-nubuwwatihī*), 21:10-13 [= 24:13-16].

⁴¹ In the translation, the original order of Ibn Kammūna's text was modified at one instance as follows: *Tanqīh*, pp. 9:22-23 (*makhšūš*), 10:1 (*wa-hādhā*)-2, 8:23-9:4, 10:3-5, 9:5, 10:6-7, 9:6-21.

⁴² *Tanqīh*, pp. 22-50; transl. *Examination*, pp. 40-77. Bihbahānī translated the following portions of this chapter: *Tanqīh*, pp. 22:5-23:20 (*shamsiyya*) [= *Rādd*, pp. 27:10-28:19], 24:10-22 [= 28:20-29:12], 25:11-27:14 [= 29:14-31:17], 27:17-24 (*mulūki-him*) [= 31:17-32:4], 28:1 (*bal*)-12 (*'adaduhā*) [= 32:5-22], 28:13-20 (*li-tawātur*) [= 32:23-33:11], 28:22-32:3 [= 33:11-38:4], 32:4 (*wa-kānat*)-32:17 (*biḥā*) [= 38:4-21], 32:18-19 (*nusiyat*), 32:22-33:13 (*al-tawrāh*), 33:16-20 [= 38:22-40:7], 35:7-13 (*sulṭānihi*), 35:13 (*wa-yu'akkidu*)-15 (*biḥī*), 35:16-36:2 (*al-ma'mūra*), 36:4-8 (*al-ān*), 36:11-12 (*sana*), 37:1-9 (*al-amr*), 37:9 (*wa-qad*)-10 (*dhālika*), 37:11 (*wa-man*)-20, 40:7-42:4, 43:9-18, 45:5-47:5 (*al-dawām*), 47:10-14 (*'anhu*), 47:17-18 (*nashk*) [= 40:15-49:18], 49:15-50:3 [= 49:19-50:1].

⁴³ *Tanqīh*, p. 28:14-18; *Rādd*, p. 33:1-8.

⁴⁴ *Tanqīh*, pp. 51-66; transl. *Examination*, pp. 78-99. Bihbahānī translated the following portions of this chapter: *Tanqīh*, pp. 51:4-52:16 (*al-'aqida*) [= *Rādd*, pp. 57:5-59:13], 52:16 (*wa-ittafaqu*)-54:7 (*bi-maṣnū'*), 54:10-15 (*lā ghayr*) [= 60:8-62:22],

When translating the text, Bihbahānī made some minor modifications to it. The third chapter dealing with Islam contains, though with considerable omissions, a translation of Ibn Kammūna's fourth chapter "On the creed of the Muslims: concerning the prophethood of Muḥammad, his miracles, the principles of his faith; on their opponents' inquiries in these matters; and a right course in reply to their inquiries."⁴⁵ Compared with the preceding chapters, this *baḥṭh* is much less dependent on Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ*, since the author is now writing on Islam, a subject on which he is of course well-versed, and for which he has an abundance of additional texts at his disposal. Sections (*nūr*) 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, and 10 consist of material taken from other sources, and even throughout his translation of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ* he adds numerous remarks of his own.

Bihbahānī's first epilogue, which is subdivided into ten sections (*sahm*), is entitled *Khāṭima dar dhikr-i ba'dī az maṭā'in u abḥāth-i wārīda bar ṭā'ifa-yi yahūd-i 'unūd*. The entire section is a selective translation of Samaw'al al-Maghribī's *Iḥām al-yahūd* with a few additional remarks.⁴⁶ With some exceptions, the order of the text of *Iḥām* is preserved.⁴⁷ As in the case of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ*, Bihbahānī again refrains from indicating his source. His two earlier explicit references to Samaw'al's *Iḥām* in the chapters on Judaism (p. 33) and on Islam (p. 179) were part of the respective passages from *Tanqīḥ* in which Ibn Kammūna explicitly refers to *ṣāhib al-Iḥām* that were among the translated passages included in *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*.⁴⁸

54:16-55:20, 55:23-57:7 [= 63-67:4], 57:8-14 [= 67:6-16], 57:14-21 (*al-nabī*), 57:23-58:1 [= 68:3-21], 58:5-14 (*ajlika*), 58:15 (*wa-kayfa*)-20 (*ba'duhum*), 59:1-7 [= 69:1-70:13], 59:8-61:17, 61:22-62:20, 62:22 (*wa-naḥnu*)-23 (*hikmatihī*), 63:3-5 (*wuqū'ihī*), 63:6-64:9, 64:13-65:1 (*al-anājil*), 65:4-5 (*muḥtamil*) [= 70:14-78:12].

⁴⁵ *Tanqīḥ*, pp. 67-108; transl. *Examination*, pp. 100-57.

⁴⁶ Bihbahānī translated the following passages from *Iḥām al-yahūd*: pp. 20:7-11 (*ādam*), 20:11 (*wa-mā*)-13 (*mīlādihī*), 21:3-4 (*'abathan*), 21:6 (*wa-in*)-9, 23:2 (*fa-naqūlu*)-3 (*al-salām*), 23:6-12, 24:11-12 (*al-umam*), 25:1-12 (*awlād Līwī*), 25:12 (*qulnā*)-26:6, 26:8-14, 27:11-16 (Makka), 28:5-9 (Ismā'il), 28:11 (*anna l-yahūd*)-15, 29:2-12 (*minkum*), 29:12, 29:15-16, 30:6-21, 31:2 (*wa-aqāmū*)-4 (*al-ṭawīla*), 31:6-10, 31:15-16, 32:5-14, 32:17-33:4 (*al-abdāl*), 35:7 (*wa-ashadd*)-9 (*al-anbiyā'*), 35:11, 35:15-36:3, 36:5-13, 36:16-37:4, 37:8-17 (*aydan*), 38:1-16, 39:3-7, 39:14-16, 40:15-20, 40:20-41:1, 41:4 (*fa-qāla*)-9 (*al-salām*), 41:11-14, 41:16 (*fa-inna*)-43:9 (*al-zamān*). *Rādd*, p. 193:17-22: here, Bihbahānī has slightly modified Samaw'al's argument; p. 195:18-19 has a Qur'ānic verse not mentioned in *Iḥām*; p. 196:14-24 contains a discussion of different locations with the name of Pārān, such as a place near Samarqand and a mountain in Egypt, which is not included in *Iḥām al-yahūd*. Such a discussion is included in the longer version of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth*. See ed. Perlmann, p. 101 n. 19.

⁴⁷ Modifications in the order of the text are to be observed in *Rādd*, pp. 205:11-206:9 (= *Iḥām*, pp. 35:15-36:3), p. 200:1-15 (= pp. 32:14-33:3), p. 197:6-12 (= p. 40:15-18).

⁴⁸ *Tanqīḥ*, pp. 28, 95.

III.

For both *Tanqīh* and *Iḥām*, there are relatively few manuscript copies extant that are known to have been copied and/or to have circulated in Iran. Moreover, the version of both texts that were available in the East differs from the version(s) as known from manuscripts of different provenance. It is possible to identify the recensions of both texts that were at Bihbahānī's disposal and, possibly, even the manuscript he used. All copies of both *Tanqīh* and *Iḥām* that are either of Iranian provenance or that are still extant in Iranian libraries today are known to be based on a codex written by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, which he wrote in 685/1286 in Konya (ms. Mar'ashī 12868). This codex contains, among other things, Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh al-abḥāth* and Samaw'al's *Iḥām al-yahūd*.⁴⁹ An incomplete copy thereof, written by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's student Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī⁵⁰ is extant in ms. Fatih 3141. Although Tāj al-Dīn does not explicitly mention which manuscript he used for his copy, there are numerous indications suggesting that he used Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's codex. With the exception of two items, all writings included in ms. Fatih 3141⁵¹ are also part of another (equally incomplete) copy of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's codex that was written in 1060/1650 (ms. Majlis 593).⁵²

⁴⁹ Ms. Mar'ashī 12868 (preserved in the Mar'ashī Library, Qum) contains the following items: (1) fragment from an unidentified philosophical work (f. 1 [heavily damaged]); various poems in Arabic (f. 2); (3) various poems in Arabic and Persian (f. 3a); (4) fragment of report about a conversation between Aristotle and Alexander (f. 3b); (5) fragment of *Majlis-i maktūb* Kh'ārazm by Shahrastānī (ff. 4a-22a); (6) an unidentified Persian history of the Mongols (ff. 22b-39b); (7) Ibn Kammūna, *Kalimāt wajīza* (ff. 40a-59b); (8) Ibn Kammūna, *Tanqīh al-abḥāth* (ff. 60a-126b); (9) *Min kalām Aristū* (ff. 126b-128b); (10) various poems in Persian (f. 129); (11) Samaw'al al-Maghribī, *Iḥām al-yahūd* (ff. 130a-144b); (12) *Nuskhat mas'ala waradat 'alā Samaw'al min ba'd al-zanādiqa al-mutafalsifa* (ff. 144b-145b); (13) *Nuskhat al-jawāb* [li-Samaw'al al-Maghribī] (ff. 145b-147a); (14) fragment from an unidentified work apparently on medicine (f. 147). See also Husaynī, Sayyid Maḥmūd Mar'ashī Najafī, [1975-], vol. 32, pp. 637-643, 1151-1157. We are grateful to Sayyid Maḥmūd Mar'ashī Najafī for having provided us with a copy of this codex.

⁵⁰ A copy of an *ijāza* issued by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī for Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī is preserved in Konya; see Minuwī 1348sh./1969, p. 192.

⁵¹ Ms. Fatih 3141 (preserved in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul) (293ff, 20/25 lines to a page, 8 x 16,5 cm) contains the following items: (1) Ibn Kammūna: *al-Jadid fī l-ḥikma* ff. 1-158 (= ed. Ḥamid Mar'id al-Kabisi (Baghdad 1403H./1982), pp. 145:1-498:7), ff. 160-172 (= pp. 498:7-531:7), f. 159 (= pp. 531:8-533:3), f. 210 (= ed. pp. 533:3-536:22), ff. 173-201 (= pp. 536:22-598:4), incomplete in the end; (2) Ibn Kammūna: *Tanqīh al-abḥāth* (beginning missing), ff. 202-209 (= ed. Perlmann, pp. 2:1-16:4), ff. 211-263 (= pp. 17:2-108:8, 111:9-11); (3) Correspondence of Samaw'al al-Maghribī with an anonymous accuser, ff. 264-265; (5) Ibn Kammūna: *al-Lum'a al-juwayniyya* ff. 266-286; (6) Excerpts from various unidentified historical, philosophical, and poetic works, partly Arabic, partly Persian, ff. 286-293.

Moreover, the version of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh* that is contained in both codices differs significantly from all other extant manuscript copies of this text;⁵³ it contains numerous additions and variants throughout the text. Ms. Fatih 3141 does not contain Samaw'al's *Ifhām*. However, it is very likely that it was originally included in the codex containing Samaw'al's correspondence with an anonymous accuser. This correspondence is also included in mss. Mar'ashī 12868 and Majlis 593, where it follows immediately after the text of *Ifhām*. Both *Ifhām* and the correspondence are likewise included in another, third manuscript that was also copied from the Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī codex.⁵⁴

In his translation of the portions taken from *Tanqīh*, Bihbahānī clearly follows the version of the text as it is preserved in mss. Mar'ashī 12868, Majlis 593 and Fatih 3141. Whenever the reading of these three manuscripts disagrees with all other extant manuscripts of *Tanqīh*, these disagreements are reflected in Bihbahānī's translation:

Tanqīh, p. 46:10: *mushābaha* instead of *musāqafa* = *Rādd*, p. 48:10 (*mushābahat*); *Tanqīh*, p. 67:5: *qadīm* missing = *Rādd*, p. 98:18 (equally missing); *Tanqīh*, p. 68:8: *yadkhu-lūn* instead of *yakhliḍū* = *Rādd*, p. 100:2 (*dākhil mī shavand*); *Tanqīh*, p. 72:5-6: *wa-fi ma'āniḥā* missing, equally missing in *Rādd*, p. 115:14-15; *Tanqīh*, p. 80:19: *fi hajwihī* missing, equally missing in *Rādd*, p. 123:9; *Tanqīh*, p. 94:19: *Sā'ir* written without *alif*, equally without *alif* in *Rādd*, p. 179:6; *Tanqīh*, p. 88:21: *mutaḥayyilī* missing, also missing in *Rādd*, p. 182:16; *Tanqīh*, p. 88:23: *abadan* missing, also missing in *Rādd*, p. 182:18; *Tanqīh*, p. 89:4 Qur'ānic quotation continues following *al-arḍ*, also continues in *Rādd*, p. 183:1-2; *Tanqīh*, p. 89:9: *mamlu'a* instead of *mamlaka*, similarly in *Rādd*,

⁵² Ms. Majlis 593 (preserved in the Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmi Library, Tehran) consists of 203 pp. [from p. 100 onwards, the codex is also foliated, p. 100 being f. 17a], 19 lines to a page, 24,5 x 15,5 cm; it contains the following items: (1) Fragment from unidentified work, apparently dealing with legal methodology (p. 1); (2) Fragment from an unidentified philosophical work (p. 2); (3) Ibn Kammūna: *Kalimāt wajīza* (pp. 3-40); (4) al-Shahrastānī: *Majālis* (pp. 40:5-69); (5) Ibn Kammūna: *Tanqīh al-abḥāth* (pp. 69-178); (6) Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Ifhām al-yahūd* (pp. 178-199:16); (7) Correspondence of Samaw'al al-Maghribī with an anonymous accuser, pp. 199:17-202; (8) Excerpt from an unidentified philosophical work (pp. 202:15-203). A microfilm of ms. Majlis 593 is preserved in the Central Library of Tehran University (no. 2320); see Dānishpazhūh 1348-63sh./1969-84, I, p. 673.

⁵³ In addition to mss. Berlin Or. Oct. 256/1, Bodleian MS Huntington 390 (Uri 361), both of which are written in Hebrew letters, and Biblioteca Angelica 15, which is of Christian provenance, mention should be made of ms. Chester Beatty 4965 that is of Muslim provenance and was unknown to Moshe Perlmann, who edited the text on the basis of the three first mentioned manuscripts as well as on the basis of mss. Fatih 3141 and Majlis 593. See also Pourjavady (R.) and Schmidtke 2006, Chapter Two, Section 1.4.1.

⁵⁴ Ms. Majlis 4547, ff. 102b-117b (*Ifhām*), 118a-120a:6 (correspondence). For details, see the introduction to *Samaw'al al-Maghribī's (d. 570/1175) Ifhām al-yahūd. The Early Recension*, intr./ed. Marazka, Pourjavady (R.) & Schmidtke, Wiesbaden 2006.

p. 183: 8; *Tanqīh*, 101 n. 19: addition to the text which is also included in *Rādd*, p. 193: 17-22.

It is well known that Samaw'al wrote two recensions of *Ifḥām al-yahūd*, an early recension completed in 558/1163 that was used widely in the Eastern lands of Islam only, and a later, expanded version (completed presumably in 562/1167) that was more popular farther west (the manuscripts supporting this hypothesis are located in or originate from Cairo, Damascus, and Jaffa). The earlier recension is included in the original Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī codex, and all extant manuscripts of this recension are again based on this codex.⁵⁵ A comparison of Bihbahānī's translation with *Ifḥām* clearly shows that he had used the early recension.

Moreover, there are indications that it was either the original Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī codex or the codex preserved as ms. Majlis 593 that was used by Bihbahānī. When first mentioning Samaw'al in a passage that is otherwise entirely based on Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh*, Bihbahānī adds that *Ifḥām* was completed on Friday, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijja 558.⁵⁶ This information, which is not included in Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh*, is given on the title page preceding the text of *Ifḥām* in mss. Mar'ashī 12868, f. 130a, and Majlis 593, p. 178: *Ifḥām al-yahūd min amālī al-Samaw'al b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbās al-Maghribī fī yawm al-jum'a tāsi' dhī l-ḥijja sanat thamān wa-khamsīn wa-khamsami'a*. Since there is no other extant manuscript of *Ifḥām* indicating the date of the tract together with its title and given the striking similarity of the wording used by Bihbahānī with the title page of mss. Mar'ashī 12868 and Majlis 593, it is very likely that it was either of these two codices that was at his disposal. Moreover, there are some minor variants in mss. Mar'ashī 12868 and Majlis 593 that are not to be found in ms. Majlis 4547, the second extant copy of *Ifḥām* that is based on the original Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī codex. In all those cases, Bihbahānī follows the reading of mss. Mar'ashī 12868 and Majlis 593.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ These are the abovementioned mss. Majlis 593 and Majlis 4547. A one-page fragment of the text is preserved in ms. Dānīshgāh 1074. The later recension was edited by Moshe Perlmann (Samau'al al-Maghribī, *Ifḥām al-Yahūd. Silencing the Jews*, New York 1964 = Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research; 32).

⁵⁶ *Rādd*, p. 33: چنانکه فاضل کامل محقق سموول بن یحیی بن عباس مغربی در کتاب افحام الیهود که آن را در جمعه نهم ذی الحجه سنه ثمان و خمسين و خمسمائه تصنیف نموده بود چنین فرموده است

⁵⁷ *Rādd*, p. 197:20 (*nafāt* instead of *nabāt*); p. 199:16 where the Biblical verse stops at exactly the same place as ms. Majlis 593, whereas ms. Majlis 4547 has three more words; p. 200:8-10, again the same shortened version of a Biblical verse in ms. Majlis 593; *Rādd*, p. 200:18 احاث instead of Āḥāb; p. 205:5: *fāsūl* instead of *pāsūl*.

IV. Throughout his *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*, Bihbahānī increasingly uses additional sources. While Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh* is the single source for his introduction, he supplements the translated text of *Tanqīh* in the chapter on Judaism with two brief passages taken from *Qāmūs al-lughā* of al-Fīrūzābādī and from *Jāmāsbnāmāh*, and adds the *fā'ida* at the end. The first two sections of the chapter on Christianity are completely independent of the *Tanqīh*, and section eight also consists only partly of material translated from Ibn Kammūna. The chapter on Islam is even more independent of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh*; sections 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 10 consist of material taken exclusively from sources other than *Tanqīh*. The same applies to the entire second epilogue. A close examination of these portions of the text reveals that most of them consist of material that is again taken from earlier sources – likewise with no or only few original contributions by the author. Although Bihbahānī alludes at times to his sources, he clearly wants his readership to believe that most of the text was originally composed by him.

The first Christian source of which Bihbahānī makes extensive use is *Ḥawārīnāmāh*, a description of the lives of the Apostles that also circulated under the titles *Dāstān-i aḥwāl-i Ḥawāriyān* and *Waqā'i-i ḥawārīyān-i dawāzdagānāh*. The text was written between 1602 and 1607 by the Jesuit Father Jérôme Xavier at the request of the Mughal emperor Akbar (reigned 963/1556-1014/1605) and was dedicated to his successor Jahāngīr. The work was originally composed in Portuguese and subsequently translated into Persian by the author with the help of 'Abd al-Sattār b. Qāsim Lāhūrī.⁵⁸ Bihbahānī refers to *Ḥawārīnāmāh* already in section four of his second chapter on Christianity,⁵⁹ and he paraphrases an extensive portion of the text in section eight of this chapter, explicitly mentioning *Ḥawārīnāmāh* at the beginning.⁶⁰ In fact, apart from a brief passage at the beginning of this section that is translated from Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh*,⁶¹ the entire section eight is partly a paraphrase, partly a summary of an extensive passage from *Ḥawārīnāmāh*.⁶² At the end of

⁵⁸ Edition (of St. Peter's life only) with Latin translation: *Dāstān i San Pedro. Historia S. Petri persice conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata*, Leyden 1639. For the work see Camps 1957, p. 23; Munzawī 1382sh./2003, I, pp. 333-334; Storey 1927-39, I, pp. 165-166, 1251; Hosten 1914. We have used ms. Bodleian 365 of the text.

⁵⁹ *Rādd*, pp. 59-62, 78. He also refers by name to another work by Jérôme Xavier, *Mir'āt al-quds*. This text was not available to us.

⁶⁰ *Rādd*, pp. 78:23-79:1.

⁶¹ *Rādd*, p. 78:14-20 [= *Tanqīh*, p. 65:15-18].

⁶² The section consists of the following portions of *Ḥawārīnāmāh*: ms. Bodleian 365: 109b:2, 110a:12-111a:6, 120b:1-4, 120b:6-121a:6, 121b:2-122a:7, 122a:9-15, 122b:14-15, 147b:3-148a:9, 148a:15-149a:4, 171b:14-174a:7, 184b:6-10, 184b:12-187a:9, 192a:14-192b:3, 192a:3-7.

the section Bihbahānī writes that because of shortage of time he restricts himself to writing about those apostles that were mentioned so far.⁶³

Another major source for *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* is *Lawāmi‘-i rabbāniyya* by Sayyid Aḥmad ‘Alawī. Bihbahānī draws heavily on this source in his third chapter devoted to Islam, where it is his only source for the entire section seven and the beginning of section eight.⁶⁴ By contrast with the case of *Ḥawārīnāmah*, Bihbahānī does not mention his source explicitly. Rather, he opens this section with a reference to an unidentified European missionary (*ba‘dī az fuḍalā‘-i farangiyān u qisisān ya‘nī kishī-shān u pādariyān ya‘nī ‘ulamā‘-i tarsāyān*).⁶⁵ Throughout the entire section, Bihbahānī quotes numerous passages from a treatise authored by this missionary (*qawl-i masīhī ba‘d az dībācha*) followed by refutations (*wa raddash in ast ...*) which appear to readers unfamiliar with ‘Alawī’s *Lawāmi‘* to have been originally formulated by Bihbahānī. The form and wording of the discussion suggests that the author is refuting here a contemporary opponent.⁶⁶ In his paraphrastic quotation from the *Lawāmi‘* Bihbahānī introduced some minor changes to the text. Whereas the author of *Lawāmi‘* refers to his Christian opponent as “you”, Bihbahānī replaces this as a rule with “they”. Moreover, ‘Alawī typically opens each paragraph with the formula *yā ma‘shar al-naṣārā*, which Bihbahānī drops as a rule. There is one instance in which Bihbahānī modifies the wording to give it a more Shī‘ī flavour; there he expands on the original version in which ‘Alawī wrote about the piousness of the Prophet Muḥammad by adding Fāṭima, ‘Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn.⁶⁷

⁶³ *Rādd*, p. 89:21-22.

⁶⁴ Section seven of the third chapter on Islam of *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* (pp. 124-165:12) consists of the following portions of the *Lawāmi‘* (reference is given to the edited version of the text in *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i Qur‘ān-i karīm* 2, pp. 20-183): pp. 22:4-30:22, 31:9-32:1, 32:8-33:9, 37:19-37:21, 50:4-58:11, 63:3-64:17, 65:22-67:13, 68:2-68:14, 69:14-70:11, 70:15-71:21, 77:3-79:6, 82:4-83:3, 101:3-102:19, 103:1-26, 106:5-21, 107:4-12, 107:16-24, 109:7-15, 111:14-112:6, 112:10-15, 114:12-115:22, 117:22-118:11, 119:1-16, 145:6, 146:25-147:13, 149:5-14, 154:2-11, 159:20-160:5, 161:9-11. The beginning of section eight of the same chapter (*Rādd*, pp. 165:15-167:16) consists of the following portions of the *Lawāmi‘*: pp. 47:5-20, 37:9-25, 39:2-40:1, 40:6-11.

⁶⁵ *Rādd*, pp. 124:3-4

⁶⁶ The quotes are always introduced with *qawl-i masīhī ...*, each being followed by what appears to be Bihbahānī’s refutation; see *Rādd*, pp. 124:8ff, 137:14ff, 139:6ff, 140:1ff, 143:3ff, 145:14ff, 146:6ff, 147:8ff, 149:1ff, 149:16ff, 150:7ff, 151:12ff, 151:20ff, 153:4ff, 155:7ff, 157:3ff, 161:14ff, 161:24ff, 162:22ff, 163:16ff, 164:1ff, 164:12ff, 165:2ff. Amanat’s remark (2004, p. 268 n. 20), that Bihbahānī in this work “addressed Christian attacks though without reference to any European missionary” is therefore not justified.

⁶⁷ *Rādd*, p. 147:20-24.

Bihbahānī concludes his work with a second epilogue consisting of five sections that are entirely dedicated to the refutation of Christianity (pp. 210-279). The author mentions numerous, in particular Christian sources without, however, disclosing the single source from which he draws the entire material of this part of his book: *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* (or *al-muḍīl-līn*) *wa-taqwīyat al-mu'mīnīn* of 'Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām, the Augustinian convert to Islam of the 12th/17th century. Bihbahānī's entire second *khātima* draws on material apparently taken from the third volume of *Hidāyat al-dāllīn*.⁶⁸ Again, Bihbahānī clearly creates the impression that the text is his own original composition. However, he refers to 'Alī Qulī and his *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* in other instances of his work, and his wording suggests that there he is also quoting from that work.⁶⁹ In all these instances Bihbahānī may have drawn material from other volumes of the work that were not available to us.

There are a number of further sources from which Bihbahānī quotes at times. Since the extent of material taken from these sources is much more limited than that extracted from the major sources discussed above, Bihbahānī did not hesitate to mention some of them. Among these sources is *Jāmāsbnāmah*, a text that was originally written in Pahlavi and attributed to Jāmāsb, a legendary Iranian figure, and was later translated into Persian by Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh al-Afandī (d. 1130/1718), apparently from Arabic.⁷⁰ Bihbahānī quotes passages from this work in all three chapters on Judaism,⁷¹ Christianity,⁷² and Islam,⁷³ always explicitly mentioning his source.

⁶⁸ Bihbahānī partly quotes, partly paraphrases the following passages from the text which was available to us in the incomplete ms. Mar'ashī 3651. We assume that this manuscript contains volume three: ff. 1-2a:9, 3a:8-5b:4, 9b:9-10b:7, 12b:5-13b:6, 14a:1-14b:2, 15a:6-17a:5, 19a:2-20b:1, 21b:8-13, 25a:1-26b:7, 27b:13-30b:6, 33a:12-35b:6, 36a:13-37a:8, 38a:2-38b:11, 40b:5-41a:9, 38b:12-40a:3, 44a:6-44b:1, 44b:12-46b:1, 45b:3-46b:1, 47b:5-8, 48a:9-48b:6, 56a:3-11, 56b:9-57a:2, 58a:1-14, 59b:3-60a:3, 60a:5-13, 60b:11-61a:2, 64a:14-65a:8, 70b:2-71b:3, 73a:14-74a:8, 75b:7-80b:6, 83b:7-84a:8, 82b:7-83a:6, 85b:7-86b:3, 96b:8-98b:5, 93b:4-94a:4, 98b:7-100a:2, 100a:12-101b:9, 104a:1-6, 104a:10-104b:8, 105a:1-105b:11, 106b:1-107a:2, 107a:11-107b:2, 107b:9-11, 108a:1-109b:2, 109b:5-111b:7, 113a:8-113b:5, 114a:11-14, 115a:1-8, 115b:9-116b:4, 117a:7-118b:1, 118b:8-119b:6, 119b:12-14, 120a:6-9, 132a:7-132b:1, 134a:10-134b:13, 136b:5-137a:11, 139b:7-140b:3, 140b:5-142a:2, 144a:3-145a:9. Bihbahānī also used *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* extensively in his *Khayratīyya*; vol. II, pp. 374-89 are exclusively based on this source.

⁶⁹ *Rādd*, p. 119:18, 163:11.

⁷⁰ See Munzawī 1382sh./2003, I, pp. 279-280; *Dharī'a*, IV, p. 93 no. 422; V, pp. 22-23 no. 104.

⁷¹ *Rādd*, pp. 26:4-27:8 [= *Farhang al-mulūk wa asrār al-'ajam, al-mawsūm bi-Jāmāsbnāmah. Min istikhrājāt al-ḥakīm al-khabīr Jāmāsb ibn Harāsb*, ed. Muḥammad "Malik al-Kitāb" Shīrāzī, Bombay 1330H./1912, pp. 9:4-10:1, 10:7-10:9.

⁷² *Rādd*, pp. 56:6-57:4 [= *Farhang al-mulūk wa asrār al-'ajam*, pp. 12:17-13:14].

⁷³ *Rādd*, pp. 96:4-98:9 [= *Farhang al-mulūk wa asrār al-'ajam*, pp. 16:6-21, 17:3-17, 17:19-18:2].

Another minor source from which he quotes at times is *Qāmūs al-lughā* of Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) which again he usually mentions explicitly.⁷⁴ Apart from these, Bihbahānī apparently draws some material from various Muslim historical sources, particularly when dealing with the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and with Jesus.

V.

It is well known that the writings of virtually every literary genre from the medieval and post-medieval Islamic periods need to be examined with close attention being paid to the literary sources used by the author that are often not mentioned. Only then can the originality of a work be assessed. Given the heavy dependence of Muslim polemical writings on their respective sources, this holds true even more for works within this genre. That full acknowledgement of the sources is a precondition for an appropriate judgement of the value of polemical writings has been shown with regard to Āqā Muḥammad ‘Alī Bihbahānī’s *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*. As has been seen, the book does not constitute an original contribution to the genre. However, the wide range of sources used by the author is impressive, and one of the particular values of the book is that it provides a detailed picture of the interreligious polemical literature that circulated at the turn of the 18th/19th century in Iran and that was accessible to a scholar such as Bihbahānī. Among other things, it demonstrates the discrepancy between polemics against Judaism and Christianity in Iran at the time. Whereas the polemical exchange with Christianity was highly developed because of the continuous and very active presence of Christian missionaries in Iran, as reflected in the rich and very refined polemical literature, there are no indications for a comparable intellectual encounter between Judaism and Islam during the same period. This is apparently why Bihbahānī had to resort to the two classics of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries – Samaw’al al-Maghribī’s *Iḥām al-yahūd* and Ibn Kammūna’s *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth* – apparently the only texts within reach that provided information on Judaism, while for Christianity he was able to draw on sources that were much closer to his own lifetime.

Having selected material from such a variety of sources, Bihbahānī was at the same time completely dependent on his sources. It is obvious that he was unable to verify the validity of his material. Although he pretends to be familiar with the text of the Bible and repeatedly inserts Biblical quotation in his text either in Latin or Hebrew transcribed into Arabic characters without adding the Persian translation, it is obvious that he had

⁷⁴ *Rādd*, pp. 25:3-7, 25:11-15, 53:6-10, 53:13-54:1, 54:2-9, 103:23-104:1, 104:6-9.

lier literature.⁷⁸ Yet he was unable to trace even one of the principal sources of the text. The numerous quotations from the Bible in Hebrew and Latin that are included in the text in Arabic transcription, as well as the translations of those quotes, are of especially poor quality, and the identification of the quotes is usually incorrect.⁷⁹

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- , *Miṣqal-i ṣafā dar tajliya u taṣfiya-yi āʾina-yi ḥaqq-numā*, ed. Ḥamid Nāji Iṣfahānī, Qum 1415H./1373sh./[1994].
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⁷⁸ It should be remarked, though, that quite a number of references given in the footnotes are of no use. Very often, the indicated sources do not contain anything similar to what has been said in the text.

⁷⁹ E.g. *Rādd*, p. 192:7-8 which is identified as Exodus 21:23-25, whereas in fact it is taken from Genesis 9:6; p. 194:12-13, which is identified as "Genesis 27" is in fact taken from Deuteronomy 2:4; pp. 195:21-196:1 is identified as Deuteronomy 33:4 instead of 33:2. A number of Biblical quotations are not identified at all, see e.g. *Rādd*, p. 194:5, 196:9, 197:3-4, 198:7-8, 199:6-7, 199:16, 199:17, 199:19-20, 200:2, 200:4, 200:8-10; in other instances the editor gives two or three references for a single Biblical verse. A correct identification of a Biblical passage is given in *Rādd*, p. 195:10-13.

- , "Radd jamā'at šūfiyān [Radd 'aqā'id šūfiyān]", ed. Rasūl Ja'fariyān in *Mirāth-i Islāmī-yi Īrān*, vol. VII, Qum 1377sh./1999, pp. 11-54.
- , *Sayf al-mu'minin fī qitāl al-mushrikīn*, ed. Rasūl Ja'fariyān under the title *Tarjuma. Sharḥ u naqd-i sifr-i piydayish-i Tawrāt*, Qum 1375sh./1996 [reprinted Qum: Intishārāt-i Anšāriyān, 1382sh./2003].
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