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Samaw'al al-Maghribī's (d. 570/1175)

*Ifḥām al-yahūd*

The Early Recension

Introduced and edited by  
Ibrahim Marazka, Reza Pourjavady  
and Sabine Schmidtke

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## PART ONE

### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Conversions often induced converts to produce literary outputs, such as autobiographies describing the motives that made them convert or refutations of their former religion.<sup>2</sup> Both genres are to be found among the literary outputs of the convert to Islam Samaw'al al-Maghribi (d. 570/1175). Samaw'al, a Jew of North African origin, was a renowned mathematician<sup>3</sup> and a successful

- 1 We take the opportunity to thank Wilferd Madelung, Camilla Adang, Bruno Chiesà, and Sarah Stroumsa who read the introduction and the edition and made helpful suggestions.
- 2 For examples of conversions to Islam, see I.A. Khalifé and W. Kutsch (eds.): "Ar-radd alā-n-naṣārā de 'Alī at-Ṭabarī." In: *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 36 iv (1959), pp. 115-148; Conrad I. Lawrence: "Reflections by a Nineteenth-Century Convert to Islam on Judaism and Christianity in Ottoman Jerusalem." In: *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7 i (1996), pp. 63-73; 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī: *Al-Sayf al-mamdūd fī l-radd 'alā aḥbār al-yahūd* (*Espada extendida para refutar a los sabios judíos*). Edición, con introducción, traducción y notas Esperanza Alfonso. Madrid 1998. — An example of a Jewish convert to Christianity is Petrus Alfonsi (1062-1110), the author of *Dialogi in quibus impiae Judaeorum opiniones ... confutantur*. — For further references, see Mercedes García-Arenal: „Dreams and reason: Autobiographies of converts in religious polemics.“ In: *Islamic Conversions. Religious Identities in Mediterranean Islam*. Ed. M. García-Arenal. Paris 2001, pp. 89-118.
- 3 For Samaw'al's contributions as a mathematician, mention should be made in particular of his innovative treatise on algebra, *al-Bāhir fī l-jabr* (eds. Ṣalāḥ Aḥmad and Rushdī Rāshid. Damaskus 1392/1972). See also the studies by J.L. Berggren and Glen van Brummelen: "Al-Samaw'al versus al-Kuhi on the Depression of the Horizon." In: *Centaurus* 45/i-ii (2003), p. 116; Yvonne Dold-Samplonius: "The solution for quadratic problems according to al-Samaw'al." In: *Mathemata. Festschrift für Helmuth Gericke zum 75. Geburtstag*. Eds. Menso Folkerts and Uta Lindgren. Wiesbaden 1985, pp. 95-104; Franz Rosenthal: "Al-Aṣṭurlābī and al-Samaw'al on scientific progress." In: *Osiris* 9 (1950), pp. 555-564 [containing a translation of Samaw'al's introduction to his *Kitāb Kashf 'awār al-munajjimīn wa ghalaṭihim fī akthar al-a'māl wa l-aḥkām*]; Roshdī Rashed: "L'Extraction de la Racine n<sup>ième</sup> et l'Invention des Fractions Décimales (XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> Siècles)." In: *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 18 iii (1978), pp. 191-243; idem: "L'induction mathématique: al-Karajī, al-Samaw'al." In: *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 9 (1972), pp. 1-21; idem: "Les fractions décimales: Al-Samaw'al, al-Kāshī." In: *Proceedings of the First International Symposium for the History of Arabic Science*. Aleppo 1976, pp. 169-186; idem: "Al-Samaw'al, al-Biruni et

physician who had studied medicine with Abu l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (d. after 560/1164-5),<sup>4</sup> yet he is mostly known for his polemical treatise against Judaism, *Iḥām al-yahūd*, that he wrote immediately following his conversion. Four years later, he composed an autobiography with details about his intellectual development and the motives for his conversion. From his pen we also have an undated reply to an anonymous accuser who had doubted the sincerity of his conversion. This correspondence presumably took place before Samaw'al wrote his autobiography, i.e. between 558/1163 and 562/1167.

As a polemical tract, *Iḥām* had a significant impact on the later development of the genre. It was well known to 'Izz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284), who rejected numerous objections raised in this work against Judaism in his examination of the three faiths, i.e. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth*.<sup>5</sup> The tract also served as a refe-

Brahmagupta: les méthodes d'interpolation." In: *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 1 (1991), pp. 100-160; W.C. Waterhouse: "Note on a method of extracting roots in as-Samaw'al." In: *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 19 iv (1978-79), pp. 383-384. See also generally Adel Anboubā: "Al-Samaw'al." In: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. Editor in Chief: Charles Coulston Gillispie. Vol. xii. New York 1975, pp. 91-95; R. Firestone: "Samaw'al b. Yahyā al-Maghribī." In: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition. Supplement. Fascicules 9-10. Brill 2004, pp. 702-703; B.A. Rosenthal and E. Ehsanoğlu: *Mathematicians, Astronomers, and other Scholars of Islamic Civilization and their Works* (7<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> c.). Istanbul 2003, pp. 184-186 no. 487.

4 Al-Samaw'al has composed a number of works in the fields of medicine and sexology of which only one is extant: *Kitāb Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī mu'āsharat al-aḥbāb fī 'ilm al-bāh*; see the partial editions by Kamal Hallak (*Kitāb nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī mu'āsharat al-aḥbāb fī 'ilm al-bāh* (*Das Buch der Unterhaltung der Freunde über den vertrauten Umgang der Liebenden mit der Wissenschaft von der Sexualität*) des Abū Naṣr as-Samaw'al Ibn Yahyā Ibn 'Abbās al-Maghribī al-Isrā'īlī. Zweiter Teil, sechster Abschnitt. Edition, Übertragung und Bearbeitung des Textes auf der Grundlage der Handschrift Gotha 2045 unter Hinzuziehung der Handschriften Berlin 6381 und Istanbul (Schid Ali Paşa) 2145. Diss Erlangen 1973), Fadi Mansour (*Kitāb nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī mu'āsharat al-aḥbāb fī 'ilm al-bāh* (*Das Buch der Unterhaltung der Freunde über den vertrauten Umgang der Liebenden mit der Wissenschaft von der Sexualität*) des Abū Naṣr as-Samaw'al Ibn Yahyā Ibn 'Abbās al-Maghribī al-Isrā'īlī. Zweiter Teil, erster bis fünfter Abschnitt. Edition, Übertragung und Bearbeitung des Textes auf der Grundlage der Handschrift Istanbul (Schid Ali Paşa) 2145 unter Hinzuziehung der Handschriften Berlin 6381 und Gotha 2045. Diss Erlangen 1975) and Taher Haddad (*Kitāb nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī mu'āsharat al-aḥbāb fī 'ilm al-bāh* (*Das Buch der Unterhaltung der Freunde über den vertrauten Umgang der Liebenden mit der Wissenschaft von der Sexualität*) des Abū Naṣr as-Samaw'al Ibn Yahyā Ibn 'Abbās al-Maghribī al-Isrā'īlī. Teil eins, Abschnitt sechs bis acht. Edition, Übertragung und Bearbeitung des Textes auf der Grundlage der Handschriften Gotha 2045 und Berlin 6381. Diss Erlangen 1976).

5 Moshe Perlmann (ed.): *Sa'd b. Manṣūr Ibn Kammūna's Examination of the Inquiries into the Three Faiths. A Thirteenth-Century Essay in Comparative Religion*. Berkeley/

rence text for some later authors polemicizing against Judaism. Numerous excerpts are to be found in Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ṣanhājī al-Qarāfi's (d. 684/1285) *al-Ajwiba al-fākhirā 'an al-as'ila al-fājira* and in some of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's (d. 751/1350) writings, such as *Hidāyat al-hayārā min al-Yahūd wa l-Naṣārā*.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the treatise is one of the main literary sources for an anonymous polemical tract against Judaism, written between 694/1295 and 812/1409-10, entitled *Ithbāt al-nubuwwa*,<sup>7</sup> and it is quoted extensively by Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī Kirmānshāhī (1144/1732-1216/1801) in his *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*, composed in 1215/1800-1.<sup>8</sup>

Possibly due to the conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, there was renewed interest in the tract towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; at least two manuscript copies are known to have been written at the turn of the century.<sup>9</sup> – At about the same time, Samaw'al's polemic was discovered by scholars. A copy of *Iḥām al-yahūd* in Paris came to the attention of Salomon

Los Angeles 1967; idem (transl.): *Ibn Kammūna's Examination of the Three Faiths. A Thirteenth-Century Essay in Comparative Study of Religion*. Translated from the Arabic, with an Introduction and Notes. Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London 1971.

6 See Moshe Perlmann: "Ibn Qayyim and Samaw'al al-Maghribī." In: *Journal of Jewish Bibliography* 3 iii (1942), pp. 71-74; Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Iḥām*. Ed. Perlmann. Introduction, pp. 24-26; ed. Sharqāwī, p. 31. Both works are printed on the margin of 'Abd al-Rahman Bachachizāda: *Kitāb al-fāriq bayn al-makhlūq wa l-fāriq*. Cairo 1323/1905. A more recent edition of al-Qarāfi's *al-Ajwiba al-fākhirā* was prepared by Bakr Zakī 'Awād (Cairo 1407/1986). – The editor of Ibn Maḥrūma's critical glosses on Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth*, Habib Bacha, suggests *Iḥām al-yahūd* as a possible source of Ibn Maḥrūma; see *Ḥawāshī (Notes) d'Ibn Maḥrūma sur le "Tanqīḥ" d'Ibn Kammūna*. Etude et édition critique par Habib Bacha. Rome 1984, pp. lxxii-iii. However, the text of the *Ḥawāshī* does not support this suggestion.

7 The tract, which is extant in a single manuscript, was first published by Moshe Perlmann ("Proving Muhammad's Prophethood", A Muslim critique of Ibn Kammūna." [Hebrew] In: *Hagut Ivrit Ba'Amerika. Studies on Jewish Themes by Contemporary American Scholars*. Eds. Menahem Zohori, Arie Tartakover, Haim Ormian. Vol. III. Tel Aviv 1974, pp. 75-97). For an analysis and a new edition of the text, see Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke: "*Kitāb fī Ithbāt al-Nubuwwa* (ms. Hamidiye no. 1447/3), an Anonymous Polemic Against Judaism of the 7th/13th or 8th/14th Century and Its Literary Sources." (forthcoming).

8 Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī: *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*. Ed. Sayyid Mahdī Rajā'ī. Qum 1413/1992. See Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke: "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*." (forthcoming).

9 Ms. Jaffa, copied in 1328/1899 and ms. orient Oct. 2686 (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), copied in 1329/1911. For descriptions of these manuscripts, see infra.

Munk,<sup>10</sup> and Moritz Steinschneider gave a brief description of the tract;<sup>11</sup> the earliest analysis of *Ifḥām al-yahūd*, containing a partial translation of the text, was published between 1898 to 1900 by Martin Schreiner, who had access to a manuscript of the tract from Cairo (ms. 2618 *kalām* 261), dated 732/1332.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the tract was printed repeatedly in the Arab world, clearly for the purpose of political propaganda. In 1939, Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī published the text on the basis of a single manuscript dated 1328/1899 from Jaffa, together with the incomplete autobiography contained in the same codex.<sup>13</sup> The manuscript has a colophon stating that it contains the version that was compiled in 558 together with the author's additions made in 562.<sup>14</sup> Around 1950, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Shāmī [al-Yamanī] published the tract in Cairo. A comparison with the print published in 1939 shows that al-Shāmī reproduced the same version of the text and quoted extensive portions of the incomplete autobiography in his introduction.<sup>15</sup> The print of 1939 was also the single textual basis for the publication of *Ifḥām* in 1989 in Damascus to which 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ṭawīla added an extensive commentary (*ta'liq*).<sup>16</sup>

The first critical edition of *Ifḥām al-yahūd*, the correspondence and Samaw'al's autobiography was published by Moshe Perlmann in 1964 on the basis of all manuscripts that were known at the time and within reach,<sup>17</sup> namely Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 1456, ff. 59a-68b, containing *Ifḥām*

10 See infra n. 18.

11 Moritz Steinschneider: *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts*. Leipzig 1877, pp. 26-27 no. 8.

12 Martin Schreiner: "Samau'al b. Jahjā al-Maḡribī und seine Schrift 'Ifḥām al-Jahūd'." In: *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 42 (1898), pp. 123-133, 170-180, 214-223, 253-261, 407-418, 457-465; 43/44 (1899/1900), pp. 521-522.

13 Samaw'al al-Maḡribī: *Badhl al-majhūd fī ifḥām al-yahūd*. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī. Cairo 1358/1939.

14 *Wa ḥādhihi l-nuskha nuqilat 'an nuskhat al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Afandī al-Qaṣṣār wa hiya 'an nuskhat tārikh ta'līfihā fī sanat 558 bi-ziyādātihā allatī aḍāfahā al-mu'allif ilayhā fī sanat 562*. Cf. Samaw'al al-Maḡribī: *Ifḥām*. Ed. Perlmann. Arabic section, p. 128.

15 Samaw'al al-Maḡribī: *Badhl al-majhūd fī ifḥām al-yahūd*. Ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Shāmī [al-Yamanī]. Cairo [1950?]. The extract of the autobiography (pp. 4:9-10:5) is taken from al-Fiqqī's edition, pp. 12:13-20:17.

16 Samaw'al al-Maḡribī: *Badhl al-majhūd fī ifḥām al-yahūd*. Ta'liq 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ṭawīla. Damascus 1989.

17 Samaw'al al-Maḡribī: *Ifḥām al-Yahūd. Silencing the Jews*. Ed. and transl. Moshe Perlmann. New York 1964 (Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research; 32).

(incomplete) and the autobiography (dated 21 Ramaḍān 735/15 May 1335);<sup>18</sup> Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. orient Oct. 2686, copied in 1329/1911 in Damascus by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Fahmī b. al-Sayyid Amīn al-Māliḥ, containing a complete copy of *Ifḥām* only;<sup>19</sup> Istanbul Reisülkütab 586/8, containing *Ifḥām* and the autobiography (undated);<sup>20</sup> Istanbul Reisülkütab 545, containing *Ifḥām* and the autobiography (both incomplete, written before 861/1456-57);<sup>21</sup> Tehran Majlis 593, containing *Ifḥām* and the correspondence;<sup>22</sup> Istanbul Fātiḥ 3141, containing the correspondence only; Cairo 2618 *kalām* 261 (undated); Cairo 1965 *kalām* 397/1925 (dated 735/1334-5); and the manuscript from Jaffa (copied in 1328/1899) which was accessible to Perlmann through the print of 1939. Since the publication of Perlmann's edition of these texts, they have repeatedly been investigated in detail by students of interreligious polemics.<sup>23</sup>

18 The manuscript was formerly in the possession of the Bibliothèque de Saint-Germain-de-Près. For a description, see Georges Vajda and Yvette Sauvan: *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes. Deuxième Partie: Manuscrits Musulmans*. Paris 1985, pp. 320-321.

19 The manuscript (17 x 22 cm) has been in the possession of the (nowadays) Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz since 1927 (Rec. ms. or. 1927.555) and has so far not been catalogued. It was originally paginated (138 pp.) and was in 1976 foliated by the custodian of the collection (69 ff.) and has 11 lines to a page. Chapter headings, key words (*fā-in qāla*, *wa-in za'ama* etc.), and transcriptions of Hebrew quotations from the Bible are written in red ink. Perlmann states that "[t]he copyist identifies the author as the pre-Islamic poet Samau'al b. 'Adiya." See *Ifḥām*, ed. Perlmann, p. 27 n. 39. See, however, the title page where it is stated: *hādha Kitāb Badhl al-majhūd fī iqnā' al-yahūd ilā l-marḥūm al-fāḍil al-Samaw'al b. Yaḥyā b. 'Adiyā al-Maḡribī alladhī tar-jamahu sāhib 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī tārikh al-aṭibbā' wa-kāna l-mu'allif min aḥbār al-yahūd fa-aslama bi-sabab ru'yat al-nabī ṣalā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam. sādiq*.

20 Ff. 305a-316a [319a-330a according to the alternative foliation of the manuscript], 20,4 x 31,1 cm, 37 lines to a page.

21 Perlmann erroneously gives as shelfmark Ashir 545. The manuscript consists of 51 ff., 13 x 18,2 cm. The codex consists of two parts that apparently did not constitute a single codex initially; the two parts of the codex (ff. 1-44 containing *Ifḥām al-yahūd* and being incomplete in the end; ff. 45-51 containing the autobiography and being incomplete in the beginning) clearly differ in ink and paper. On the titlepage (f. 1a), the following title is given: *Ghāyat al-maḡsūd fī l-radd alā l-naṣārā wa-l-yahūd*. On the same page and on f. 2a (inner margin) it is stated that the marginal glosses throughout the codex are by the hand of Burhān al-Dīn Abu l-Ḥasan b. 'Umar al-Biqā'ī (d. 885/1480), a Damascene Shāfi'ī scholar (cf. GAL 2/142) who in 861/1456-57 completed *Naẓm al-durar fī tanāsul al-āy wa-l-suwar*.

22 See 'Abd al-Ḥusain al-Ḥā'irī [a.o.]: *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī* 1-22. Tehran 1305-57/1926-78, vol. 2, pp. 350-351. Cf. also Ḥusayn Alī Maḥfūz: "Nafā'is al-makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī Irān." In: *Majallat ma'had al-makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyya* 3 (1957), p. 28.

23 See, e.g., Moshe Perlmann: "The Medieval Polemics Between Islam and Judaism." In:

A second edition of all three texts was published in 1986 by Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī,<sup>24</sup> who used two manuscripts: Istanbul Topkapı Saray 4832 R 506, ff. 115b-135, containing *Iḥām* and the autobiography as the basis for his edition.<sup>25</sup> According to the colophon at the end of the text of *Iḥām*, the copy (dated 17 Šafar 1115/2 July 1703) was made from an autograph completed on 2 Šafar 565/24 October 1169.<sup>26</sup> Sharqāwī collated this copy with ms. Damascus Zāhiriyya 5111, containing *Iḥām* (incomplete) and the autobiography, and the edition of Perlmann. Close comparison between the two editions shows that Sharqāwī's text hardly differs from Perlmann's text; in a number of instances, Sharqāwī falsely attributes a wrong reading to Perlmann.<sup>27</sup> When differences are mentioned, the intention is usually polemical;<sup>28</sup> moreover, Sharqāwī consistently ignores Perlmann's apparatus criticus.<sup>29</sup>

*Religion in a Religious Age*. Ed. S.D. Goitein. New York 1974, pp. 114-120 (passim); Norman Roth: "Forgery and Abrogation of the Torah: A Theme in Muslim and Christian Polemic in Spain." In: *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 54 (1987), pp. 203-236 (passim); Moshe Perlmann: "Samaw'al al-Maghribī (XII century)." In: *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*. Eds. Bernard Lewis and Friedrich Nicwöhner. Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 351-356; Hava Lazarus-Yafch: *Intertwined Worlds. Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*. Princeton 1992, passim; Hava Lazarus-Yafch: "Muslim Medieval Attitudes Towards the Qur'an and the Bible." In: *Les retours aux écritures fondamentalismes présents et passés*. Eds. Evelyne Patlagean and Alain Le Boulleuc. Louvain/Paris 1993, pp. 253-67 (passim); Adnan A. Husain: "Conversion to History: Negating Exile and Messianism in al-Samaw'al al-Maghribī's Polemic against Judaism." In: *Medieval Encounters* 8 i (2002), pp. 3-34; Steven Wasserstrom: "False Messiahs and false conversion. Samaw'al al-Maghribī in the context of twelfth-century interconfessionalism." In: *Proceedings XXVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Bamberg 26-30 March 2001* (forthcoming).

24 Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Iḥām al-Yahūd wa-qīṣṣat Islām al-Samaw'al wa-ru'yāhu al-nabī*. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī. Cairo 1406/1986 [numerous reprints]. — On this edition, see also *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire* 19 (1989), p. 367 no. 87.

25 For a brief description of the manuscript, see Fehmi Edhem Karatay: *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3, Istanbul 1966, p. 51.

26 The colophon as quoted in *Iḥām*, ed. Sharqāwī, p. 184 n. 2, states:

منقول من خط مصنفه مما وجد مكتوباً في آخر النسخة المنقول منها: كتبه مؤلفه السموال بن يحيى المغربي في ثاني صفر سنة خمس وستين وخمسمائة هجرية، حامداً الله على أفضاله ومصلياً على رسوله محمد وآله والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على محمد خير خلقه وآله وصحبه وسلامه.

27 See *Iḥām*, ed. Sharqāwī, p. 85 nn. *alif*, *bā*?, p. 89 n. *dāl*, p. 92 n. *bā*?, p. 132 n. *bā*?, p. 134 n. *alif*, p. 143 nn. *alif*, *dāl*.

28 See *Iḥām*, ed. Sharqāwī, p. 87 n. *alif*, p. 91 n. *alif*, p. 122 n. *alif*, p. 147 n. *jīm*, p. 149 n. *alif*, p. 152 n. *alif*, p. 154 n. *alif*; see also pp. 35-36.

29 See *Iḥām*, ed. Sharqāwī, p. 93 n. *alif*, p. 99 n. *bā*?, p. 120 n. *alif*, p. 134 n. *dāl*, p. 174 n. *alif*.

Since the publication of Perlmann's critical edition, it is well known that Samaw'al had written two versions of *Iḥām*. In his autobiography he reports that he started composing the treatise on the Friday evening following his conversion to Islam on the previous day (Thursday, 9 Dhū l-Ḥijja 558/8 November 1163), that numerous copies were produced under his supervision, and that he later revised the work substantially: „The book became widely known, its fame was widespread, and numerous copies of it were made under my supervision in many places in the regions of Mosul, Diyārbakr, Iraq, and Persia. Later, I added to it many sections (*fuṣūlan kathīra*) of polemics against the Jews on the basis of the Torah, so that it became an excellent work on polemics against the Jews, the like of which had never been produced in Islam.”<sup>30</sup> The early version was presumably completed shortly after 9 Dhū l-Ḥijja 558/8 November 1163,<sup>31</sup> and according to the colophon of the manuscript preserved in Jaffa, the later version was completed four years later; in the colophon it is stated that the manuscript contains the version that was compiled in 558 together with the additions made by the author himself in 562.<sup>32</sup> A different date is given in the colophon of the manuscript in Topkapı Saray 4832 R 506, which was made from an autograph dated 2 Šafar 565/24 October 1169;<sup>33</sup> Šafar 565 is also the date of an autograph indicated in a further copy of the text from Cairo that was used neither by Perlmann nor by Sharqāwī.<sup>34</sup> Since we know from his autobiography that Samaw'al completed the later version in 562 or perhaps even earlier, the later dates of these colophons suggest that the author himself copied the text repeatedly.

Moshe Perlmann reasonably suggested that the Tehran copy (ms. Majlis 593/4, pp. 178-99) represents the earlier version of the text that was presu-

30 Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Iḥām*. Ed. Perlmann, p. 118:1-6 [transl. p. 86:31-36]. — For an analysis of the autobiography, see Sarah Stroumsa: „On Jewish Intellectuals Who Converted in the Early Middle Ages.” In: *The Jews of Medieval Islam. Community, Society, and Identity*. Proceedings of an International Conference held by the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London 1992. Ed. Daniel Frank. Leiden 1995, pp. 191-196.

31 9 Dhū l-Ḥijja 558 as date of composition is given in the title of the tract in ms. Majlis 593, p. 178: *Iḥām al-yahūd min amālī al-Samaw'al b. Yahyā b. 'Abbās al-Maghribī fī yawm al-jum'a tāsi' dhī l-ḥijja sanat thamān wa khamṣīn wa khamṣamī'a*. It is unlikely that the author completed the tract within one day, but he certainly completed it very soon afterwards.

32 See above n. 14.

33 See above.

34 Ms Cairo, Dār al-kutub, 'ilm al-kalām 61; see Fu'ād Sayyid: *Fihrist al-makḥṭū'āt. Nashra bi-l-makḥṭū'āt allatī iqtanathā l-Dār min sanat 1936-1955* 1-3. Cairo 1380-83/1961-63, vol. 1, p. 65.



mably completed in 558. This is supported by the title page to the text.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, many sections contained in all other manuscripts he consulted are not included here.<sup>36</sup> There are numerous other differences as to chapter titles, sequence of arguments and texts, wording etc.<sup>37</sup> A further characteristic of this version is that it has the original Hebrew quotations (reproduced, though, in unintelligible form). Yet, Perlmann was mistaken in assuming that the Tehran copy is the earliest of the manuscript copies at his disposal and in concluding that the version of the text as it is preserved in this copy circulated less widely than the later enlarged version and was eventually replaced by it. The entire codex of which the text of *Iḥām* is part, is a copy, written in 1060/1650, of a codex that Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 710/1310) had completed on 30 Rabīʿ II 685/24 June 1286 in Konya.<sup>38</sup> The value of this copy is nonetheless considerable; according to the title page and colophon for *Iḥām*, both formulated by Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, he had an autograph of the treatise at his disposal.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, Perlmann was apparently not aware of the identity of Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd al-Shīrāzī as being the famous astronomer and philosopher Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, who is known to have been very well acquainted with Ibn Kammūna's *œuvre* and who was also deeply influenced by the latter's writings in philosophy.<sup>40</sup> It is not unlikely that it was through Ibn Kammūna that Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī had access to Samaw'al's autograph.

Ms. Majlis 593 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 con-

35 See above n. 31.

36 Not included in ms. Majlis 593 is the text of *Iḥām*, ed. Perlmann, pp. 16-28, pp. 42:10-44:10, 48:10-54:8, 62:8-63:9, 68-85.

37 See the (incomplete) table in *Iḥām*, ed. Perlmann, pp. 29-30. Perlmann annotations do not include all variants of ms. Majlis 593.

38 See ms. Majlis 593, p. 40 [manuscript paginated not foliated]: *wa qad tamma taswīduhu fī shahr Ṣafar li-sanat 1060 min al-hijra al-muqaddasa* (at the end of Ibn Kammūna's *al-Lum'a al-juwayniyya*); p. 68: *nuqila min khaṭṭ al-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī* (at the end of the *Majālis al-Shahrastānī*); p. 178 (at the beginning of *Iḥām al-yahūd*): *nuqilat min khaṭṭ 'Allāma al-Shīrāzī*; p. 199 (at the end of *Iḥām al-yahūd*): *ṣūrat khaṭṭ al-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī*. See also 'Abd al-Ḥusain al-Ḥā'irī: *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 2, pp. 350-351. – Possibly Perlmann did not have the entire codex at his disposal and was therefore unable to notice the dated scribe's note on p. 40. – The colophon by Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (p. 202:13-15) reproduced by Perlmann (*Iḥām*, Arabic section, p. 128:19-21) needs to be corrected in two places: *sarār* (not: *Shīrāz*) *Rabīʿ al-thānī* and *fī baldat Qūnya* (not: *Qūna*).

39 Ms. Majlis 593, pp. 178, 199. See also infra Part Two.

40 See Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke: „Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's (d. 710/1311) *Durrat al-Tāj* and Its Sources.“ In: *Journal Asiatique* 292 i-ii (2004), pp. 309-28.

tains the following items: (1) Fragment from an unidentified work, apparently dealing with legal methodology (p. 1); (2) Fragment from an unidentified philosophical work (p. 2); (3) Ibn Kammūna: *al-Lum'a al-juwayniyya fī l-ḥikma al-'ilmiyya wa l-'amaliyya* (pp. 3-40); (4) *Majālis al-Shahrastānī* (pp. 40:5-69); (5) Ibn Kammūna: *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth* (pp. 69-178); (6) Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Iḥām al-yahūd* (pp. 178-199:16); (7) *Nuskhat mas'alat wuridat 'alā Samaw'al min ba'd al-zanādiqa al-mutafalsifa* (pp. 199:17-200:16); (8) *Nuskhat al-jawāb* [Ibn Samaw'al al-Maghribī] (pp. 200:17-202); (9) 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 Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh: *Fihrist-i mīkrūfilmhā-yi khaṭṭī-yi kitābkhāna-yi markazī-yi dānishgāh-i Tihirān* 1-3. Tehran 1348-63/1969-84, vol. 1, p. 673.

Moreover, in the light of two other manuscripts of *Iḥām* that were not known to Perlmann, it is evident that the earlier version continued to circulate during the following centuries. The Majlis Library in Tehran holds another copy of the tract and the exchange of letters between Samaw'al and his anonymous critic which is part of a codex consisting of writings on philosophy and medicine mostly by Ibn Sīnā and originally also by Hippocrates (Buqrāṭ) (ms. Majlis 4547).

Ms. Majlis 4547 consists of 174 ff., 19 x 12 cm and contains the following writings: (1) Ibn Sīnā: *Fī l-sa'āda wa l-ḥujaj al-'ashara* (ff. 1b-14b); (2) Ibn Sīnā: *Risālat al-Ṭayr* (ff. 14b-17b); (3) Abu l-Faraj 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ṭayyib: *Fī l-quwā al-ṭabī'iyya* (ff. 17b-23a); (4) Ibn Sīnā: *Fī l-radd ilā l-Shaykh Abi l-Faraj Ibn al-Ṭayyib* [*Ibtāl ḥujaj risālat Ibn al-Ṭayyib Abi l-Faraj*] (ff. 23a-26b); (5) Ibn Sīnā: *Dustūr ṭibbī* (ff. 27a-29a); (6) Ibn Sīnā: *Fī isti'māl al-hindibā' al-ghayr al-mashghūl lahu* (ff. 29a-32b); [f. 33a empty] (7) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Adwiya al-qalbiyya* (ff. 33b-61b), dated Rabīʿ II 1011/September-Oktober 1602; (8) Ibn Sīnā: *Tadārūk al-khaṭā' fī l-tadbīr al-ṭibbī* (ff. 62a-86b), dated Rabīʿ II 1021/June 1612; (9) Ibn Sīnā: *Istiḍā' al-jaw* (ff. 86b-87b); [f. 88a empty] (10) Ibn Sīnā: *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān* (ff. 88b-92b); (11) Ibn Sīnā: *Fī l-akhlāq* (ff. 92b-97a); (12) Ibn Zayla: *Tafsīr Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān* (ff. 97b-102a), dated Jumādā I 1021/July 1612; (13) Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Iḥām al-yahūd* (ff. 102b-117b); (14/15) Samaw'al's correspondence with an anonymous accuser (ff. 118a-120a) [on f. 120a is to be found the same excerpt from an unidentified philosophical work that is also contained in ms. Majlis 593, pp. 202:15-203]; (16) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Qaḍā' wa l-qadar* (ff. 120b-128b), dated

1021/1610-11; (17) Ibn Sīnā: *Makhārij al-hurūf wa l-sawt* (ff. 128b-136b); (18) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Mabda' wa l-ma'ād* (ff. 137a-159a); (19) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Quwā al-nafsāniyya* (ff. 159b-173), dated Sha'bān 1021/September-October 1612; (20) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Nabẓ* (f. 174a) [beginning and end missing]. The codex in its present form is evidently incomplete. According to the title pages, it contained originally 16 items, of which the following are lost: (21) *Ithbāt al-wājib* [on the basis of a comparison with ms Dānishgāh 1074 (see infra) it is safe to assume that here Khafri's *Ithbāt al-wājib* is meant] (22) *Fuṣūl Buqrāt*; (23) *Taqdimat al-ma'rifa* (Buqrāt) (24) *al-Risāla al-qabriyya* (Buqrāt) (25) *Fawā'id Masiḥ al-zamān al-miṣrī*; (26) *Fī l-adwīya al-mushila wa-kayfiyyat isti'māliḥā* (27) *Nuskhat flūniyā-yi marmūz*. The title page has an ownership statement ('Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Najafī) dated 1120/1611-12. See also al-Ḥā'irī: *Fihrist*, vol. 12, pp. 219-231. A microfilm of ms. Majlis 4547 is preserved in the Central Library of Tehran University (no. 2794); see Dānishpazhūh: *Fihrist-i mikrūfilmhā-yi khaṭṭī-yi*, vol. 1, p. 730.

On the basis of some colophons throughout the codex, the earliest being Rabī' II 1011/September-October 1602 (item no. 7) and the latest being Sha'bān 1021/September-October 1612 (item no. 18), it is safe to assume that it was copied during the early 11th/17th century. The copy of *Iḥām* and the correspondence contained therein thus predate the copy of ms. Majlis 593. According to the colophons at the end of *Iḥām* and the correspondence, this copy was also taken from the original Shīrāzī codex.<sup>41</sup> However, it is safe to assume that the Shīrāzī codex cannot have been the immediate source for the anonymous scribe of ms. Majlis 4547. The text of *Iḥām* is in complete disorder and the sequence of the text is to be restored as follows: ff. 102b-103a:6, 104a:16-107a:16, 103a:6-104a:16, 107a:16-110a:1, 112b:2-113b:8, 110a:1-112b:2, 113b:8-end. The frequent interruptions reflect the disorder of the copyist's own textual basis. If he had had the original Shīrāzī codex at his disposal, the same interruptions would have occurred in ms. Majlis 593, which was copied some 40 years later; yet here the sequence of this text, as well as of all other texts contained therein, is faultless.

At one instance, there is an addition in the margin of the text of *Iḥām* entitled *hāshiya li-l-Samaw'al manqūl min khaṭṭīhi* (f. 105a) This addition is with slight differences identical with a passage of the late recension.

41 See the following edition.

ms. Majlis 4547  
(main text)

وأيضاً فلا تخلو المخطوطات من أن يكون  
تحريرها مفترضاً أبداً أو مختصاً بزمان،  
فإن كان مفترضاً في كل الأزمنة فقد  
جعلوا الأنبياء الذين كانوا قبل نزول  
التوراة في عداد المسيحيين  
للمحظورات. بل إن العجب أن يكون  
الشيء مفترضاً قبل نزول افتراضه من  
عند الله. وإن كان مختصاً بزمان وظهر  
قائم بمعجزات الرسالة وأعلام النبوة في  
زمن آخر بعد فترة طويلة فجائز أن يأتي  
بنسخ كثير من أحكام الشريعة، سواء  
حظر مباحاتها أو أباح محظوراتها.  
وكيف يجوز أن يحتاج من جاء بالبيئة  
باعتراض فيما ورد به من أمر ونهي،  
سواء وافق العقول البشرية أو باينها،  
ولا سيما أن الخصوم طال ما تعبدوا  
بفرائض مابينة للعقول كطهارة أنجاسهم  
برماد البقرة التي كان الكاهن الإمام  
المباروني يحرقها قبيل أوان الحج ونحاسة  
طاهرهم (ظاهريهم، أ) بذلك الرماد  
بعينه، على أن الذي يروم تنزيله منزلة  
هذا أقرب كثيراً إلى العقل، فإن الأفعال  
والأوامر الإلهية منزلة عن الوقوف عند  
مقتضى العقول البشرية. وإذا كانت  
التعبدات الشرعية غير عائدة بنفع لله عز  
وجل ولا دافعة عنه ضرراً لشره  
سبحانه عن الانتفاع والتأذي بشيء،  
فما الذي (فالذي ب) يحيل أو يمنع  
كونه تعالى يأمر أمة بشرية ثم ينهي أمة  
أخرى عنها، ويحرم محظوراً على قوم  
ويحلّه لأولادهم ثم يحظره ثانياً على من  
يجيء من بعده؟

Ms. Majlis 4547,  
f. 105a (*hāshiya*)

لا تخلو المخطوطات من أن  
يكون تحريرها مفترضاً في كل  
من الأزمنة لأن الله تعالى  
يكره ذلك المحذور لعينه واما  
أن لا يكرهه الله لعينه  
بل [نهي] في بعض الأزمنة  
والأعصار فإن كان الله يكره  
عمل الصناعات في يوم  
السبت لعين السبت فيتعين  
أن يكون هذا حراماً على  
إبراهيم ونوح وآدم عليهم  
السلام لأنها كانت موجودة  
في أيامهم وهو رسول وعليه  
التحريم. وإذا كان ذلك غير  
موصى عليه من الله تعالى  
فليس بمكروه في جميع  
الأزمنة والأوقات إذ تحريم  
الأعمال في السبت لا لعينه  
فليس هذا التحريم في زمان  
آخر.

ed. Perlmann,  
pp. 9:14-10:10

وأيضاً فلا تخلو المخطوطات  
من أن يكون تحريرها  
مفترضاً في كل الأزمنة  
لأن الله يكره ذلك  
المحذور لعينه واما أن لا  
يكرهه الله لعينه بل نهي  
عنه في بعض الأزمنة. فإن  
كان الله ينهي عن عمل  
الصناعات في يوم السبت  
فينبغي أن يكون هذا  
التحريم على إبراهيم  
ونوح وآدم أيضاً لأن عين  
السبت كان أيضاً موجوداً  
في زمانهم وهي عليه  
التحريم. وإذا كان ذلك  
غير محرم على إبراهيم  
ومن تقدمه فليس النهي  
عنه لعينه أعني في جميع  
أوقات وجود عينه. وإذا  
لزمهم أن تحريم الأعمال  
الصناعية في يوم السبت  
ليس بتحريم في جميع  
وجود اوان السبت فليس  
يمنع أن ينسخ هذا التحريم  
في زمان آخر.



The marginal addition is written by a different hand than the main text. This suggests that a later reader had both recensions at this disposal or at least some of the additional material that is contained in the later recension.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the same or a different later reader of the manuscript, certainly a Jew or a Jewish convert to Islam, wrote in the margins of the manuscript the respective Hebrew quotations from the Bible in immaculate Hebrew letters; the original scribe obviously did not know Hebrew and his attempts to reproduce the original Hebrew quotes are futile. Next to the marginal Hebrew additions there are fully vocalized phonetic transcriptions of the original Hebrew quotations (the transcriptions in the main text are often corrupt). The hand that added the transcriptions in the margins is the same that had written the addition (*ḥāshiya*) on f. 105a. This suggests that all marginal additions, Hebrew and Arabic, were inserted by the same hand.

The Central Library of Tehran University owns a codex (ms. Dānishgāh 1074) that apparently originally contained all items contained in ms. Majlis 4547, including Samaw'al's *Iḥām* and the correspondence, though only partly in the same order. It was copied during the 1060s/1650s, i.e. some 50 years later than ms. Majlis 4547. This suggests that it was either copied from ms. Majlis 4547 or that both copies were transcribed from an earlier codex. Like ms. Majlis 4547, ms. Dānishgāh 1074 is incompletely preserved, and it contains only one page of Samaw'al's *Iḥām*. This copy of *Iḥām* is thus another testimony of the early recension of the text.

Ms. Dānishgāh 1074 consists of 232 ff., 18 lines to a page, 10 x 19,5 cm, and contains the following items: (1) Ibn Sīnā: *Fī l-sa'āda wa l-ḥujaj al-'ashara* (ff. 1b-18a; see 'Alī Naqī Munzawī and Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh: *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tihirān* 1-. Tehran 1330-/1951-, vol. 3, p. 225), dated Rajab 1061/June-July 1651; (2) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Mabda' wa l-ma'ād* (ff. 18b-43b); (3) Ibn Sīnā: *Fī l-quwā al-naḥsāniyya* (ff. 43b-65a); (4) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Nabẓ* (ff. 65a-75b); (5) Khafrī: *Ithbāt al-wājib* (ff. 76a-122a; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 126-27); (5a) *Tatimma min kalām al-fāḍil al-Khafrī raḥmat Allāh 'alayhi* (ff. 122b-123b; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 517); (6) Ibn Sīnā: *Risālat al-Ṭayr* (ff. 124a-127a; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 298-99); (7) Ibn al-Ṭayyib: *Fī l-quwā al-ṭabī'iyya* (ff. 127b-133b; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 319-20); (8) Ibn Sīnā: *Fī l-radd ilā l-Shaykh Abi l-Faraj Ibn Ṭayyib [Ibāl ḥujaj Risālat Ibn al-Ṭayyib Abi l-Faraj]* (ff. 134a-138a; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 72-73); (9) Ibn Sīnā: *Dustūr ṭibbī* (ff. 138b-141a; see *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp.

42 This also holds true for a later reader of ms. Majlis 593. The introduction has some marginal corrections that correspond to the later recension.

753-54); (10) Ibn Sīnā: *Risāla fī isti'māl al-hindibā' al-ghayr al-mashghūl lahu* (ff. 141b-145b; see *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 813-15); (11) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Adwiya al-qalbiyya* (ff. 146a-181b), dated *fī awākhir shahr Ramaḍān*; (12) Ibn Sīnā: *Tadārūk al-khaṭā' fī l-tadbīr al-ṭibbī* (ff. 182a-213b), dated *fī shahr al-Shawwāl*; (14) Ibn Sīnā: *Istiḍā' al-jaw* (ff. 214a-215b; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 142); (15) Ibn Sīnā: *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqzān* (ff. 216a-220b; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 256-57); (16) Ibn Sīnā: *Risāla fī l-akhlāq* (ff. 221a-226b; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 647-48); (17) Ibn Zayla: *Tafsīr Ḥayy Ibn Yaqzān* (ff. 227a-232a; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 209), dated *fī shahr Shawwāl*; (18) Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Iḥām al-yahūd* (fragment of one page) (f. 232b; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 575). According to the title page of the manuscript, there were seven more items in this codex which are lost, namely (19) Samaw'al's correspondence with his anonymous accuser; (20) Ibn Sīnā: *al-Qaḍā' wa l-qadar*; (21) Ibn Sīnā: *Kayfiyyat ḥudūth al-sawt*; (22) *Fawā'id Masīḥ al-zamān al-miṣrī*; (23) *Fī l-adwiya al-mushila wa kayfiyyat isti'māliḥā* (24) *Nuskhat flūniyā-yi marmūz*.

It is possible that the codex preserved in Istanbul, ms. Fātiḥ 3141, copied by Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's student Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī<sup>43</sup>, is another copy of the original Shīrāzī codex, since it contains most of the writings that are also included in the copy of the codex from the 11th/17th century. Moreover, the similarity of the versions of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ* and *al-Lum'a al-juwayniyya* preserved in mss. Majlis 593 and Fātiḥ 3141 further suggests that the copyist of ms. Fātiḥ 3141, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's student Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, had taken his copy of the *Tanqīḥ* from Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī. Unfortunately, the codex is incompletely preserved, and the sequence of the folios is in disorder. It contains the exchange of letters between Samaw'al and his anonymous accuser,<sup>44</sup> and it is likely that the codex originally also contained a copy of the early recension of *Iḥām al-yahūd*.

Fātiḥ 3141 (293ff, 20/25 lines to a page, 8 x 16,5 cm) contains the following items: (1) Ibn Kammūna: *Kāshif* ff. 1-158 (= ed. Ḥamīd Mar'īd al-Kabīsī (Baghdad 1403/1982), 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:

43 A copy of an *ijāza* issued by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī for Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī is preserved in Konya; see Mujtabā Mīnuwī, „Mullā Quṭb al-Shīrāzī.“ *Yād-Nāma-yi Īrānī-yi Mīnūrskī*. Eds. Mujtabā Mīnuwī and Īraj Afshār. Tehran 1348/1969, p. 192.

44 Ms. Fātiḥ 3141/3 (ff. 264-65). Carl Brockelmann (GAL 1/431) erroneously states that those two leaves contain the reply by Ibn Kammūna to a question about why he converted to Islam.

*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.

That there must have been numerous copies of the earlier version of the tract is also indicated by Samaw'al al-Maghribī, who writes in his autobiography that numerous copies of it were made under his supervision in many places in the regions of Mosul, Diyārbakr, Iraq, and Persia.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the manuscript evidence,<sup>46</sup> the lasting impact of the early recension in the Eastern lands of Islam can be seen from later polemical writings for the composition of which the respective authors evidently made use of the early recension of *Ifḥām*. This is the case in an anonymous polemical tract against Judaism, written between 694/1295 and 812/1409-10, entitled *Ithbāt al-nubuwwa*,<sup>47</sup> and in the comprehensive polemical work by Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī's *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*, composed in 1215/1800-1.<sup>48</sup>

On the basis of our present knowledge of the extant manuscripts of *Ifḥām* and of the reception of the work in its two recensions, it is to be tentatively suggested that in the East the earlier version seems to have been more widespread whereas farther West (the manuscripts supporting this suggestion are located in or originate from Cairo, Damascus, and Jaffa) the longer version was apparently more popular – or may here have been the only version that was known at all.<sup>49</sup>

45 Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Ifḥām*. Ed. Perlmann, p. 118:2-3 [transl. p. 86:31-33].

46 It appears that there is an additional copy of the early recension of *Ifḥām al-yahūd* preserved in a codex that originally belonged to the collection of Dr. Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz in Kāzimiyya which is now part of Saddam Manuscripts Library in Baghdad and which was apparently copied in the 19th century from ms. Majlis 593. This is stated by Muḥammad Karīmī Zanjānī Aṣl in the introduction to his forthcoming edition of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh al-abḥāth*.

47 See Pourjavady and Schmidtke: "*Kitāb fī Ithbāt al-Nubuwwa* (ms. Hamidiye no. 1447/3)." (As n. 7).

48 See Pourjavady and Schmidtke: "Muslim Polemics against Judaism and Christianity in 18th century Iran." (As n. 8).

49 This is also supported by a fragment from the Firkovitch Collection (St. Petersburg) which contains portions of the late recension of the text in Hebrew letters and parts of a refutation of the text written apparently by a Rabbanite author of the 13th century. It is likely that the fragment (RNL II Firk. Yevr.-Arab I 3020) comes from the Ben Ezra Genizah in Cairo. We are grateful to Bruno Chiesa for having pointed out this manuscript to us..

## THE MANUSCRIPTS<sup>50</sup>

Most of the manuscripts that were available to Moshe Perlmann represent the later recension of the text. He therefore decided to edit this version and to mention the variants of the earlier version on the basis of ms. Majlis 593 in his *apparatus criticus*. Given that the early version is much more significant than Perlmann could have known on the basis of the material that was at his disposal and in view of the additional manuscripts of the early version that are described above, the text of the early version has been re-edited here on the basis of the following three manuscripts:

- أ = ms. Majlis 593, pp. 178:5-199:16
- ب = ms. Majlis 4547, ff. 102b-117b (sequence of text: ff. 102b-103a:6, 104a:16-107a:16, 103a:6-104a:16, 107a:16-110a:1, 112b:2-113b:8, 110a:1-112b:2, 113b:8-end)
- ج = ms. Dānishgāh 1074, f. 232b containing only the introduction of the text

Following the tradition of the manuscripts that the early version is as a rule accompanied by the correspondence, the two letters have also been re-edited here. Of the manuscripts that were consulted for this purpose, the first two mentioned were already available to Moshe Perlmann:

- أ = ms. Majlis 593, pp. 199:17-202:15
- ف = ms. Fātiḥ 3141, ff. 264a-265b
- ب = ms. Majlis 4547, ff. 118a-120a:6

50 Thanks are due to the Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī Library, Tehran, the owner of mss. Majlis 593 and 4547, and the Central Library of Tehran University, the owner of ms. Dānishgāh 1074, for having granted the permission to publish the editions on the basis of these manuscripts and to publish facsimiles of them.