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THE QUṬB AL-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ (D. 710/1311) CODEX
(MS MAR'ASHĪ 12868)

[STUDIES ON QUṬB AL-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, II] ¹

RÉSUMÉ

Les fonds des manuscrits dans le monde conservent de nombreux textes transcrits de la main de Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (634/1236-710/1311), l'un des savants les plus renommés du monde islamique oriental au cours de la fin du VII^e/XIII^e et le début du VIII^e/XIV^e siècles. Cet auteur est également connu pour avoir écrit en 685/1286, à Konya, un recueil (*majmū'a*). Pendant longtemps, notre connaissance de ce volume se réduisait aux données fournies par un exemplaire incomplet copié en 1060/1650 et conservé aujourd'hui dans les fonds de la Bibliothèque du Parlement à Téhéran (Ms. Majlis 593). Mais, le volume transcrit de la main même de Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī a récemment refait surface ; il est actuellement dans la possession de la Grande Bibliothèque de l'Āyat Allāh al-'uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī à Qum (Ms. Mar'ashī 12868). Les similitudes textuelles entre le Codex Shīrāzī et un autre volume faisant partie de la Collection Fātih, aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Süleymaniye à Istanbul (Ms. Fātih 3141), suggèrent que ce dernier volume, copié par Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, disciple de Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, a également été transcrit du Codex Shīrāzī, même si le copiste n'indique pas sa source. Le présent article contient la description détaillée du Codex Shīrāzī.

Mots clés : Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī ; 'Izz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna ; Samaw'al-Maghribī ; Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī ; manuscrit; codicologie.

SUMMARY

Manuscript collection around the world preserve a considerable number of items written by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (634/1236-710/1311), one of the highly esteemed scholars of the eastern lands of Islam during the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th century. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī is, moreover, known to have written in 685/1286 in Konya a collective manuscript (*majmū'a*). Knowledge about this codex was for a long time restricted to the evidence provided by an incomplete copy that was transcribed in

¹ This article is the second of a series of studies devoted to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. The first study was published in *Journal Asiatique* 292/1-2 (2004), pp. 309-328 ("Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's (d. 710/1311) *Durrat al-tāj* and Its Sources").

1060/1650 and is nowadays part of the manuscript collection of the Parliamentary Library in Tehran (MS Majlis 593). The codex written by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī has recently resurfaced and is now in the possession of the Great Library of Āyat Allāh al-'uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī in Qum (MS Mar'ashī 12868). Textual similarities between the Shīrāzī Codex and another codex that is part of the Fātih Collection – now held in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul – (MS Fātih 3141), suggests that this codex, written by the hand of Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, a student of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, was likewise transcribed from the Shīrāzī Codex, although the scribe does not indicate his source. The present paper contains a detailed description of the Shīrāzī Codex.

Keywords: Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī; 'Izz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna; Samaw'al al-Maghribī; Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahraṣṭānī; manuscript; codicology.

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I.

Manuscript collections around the world preserve a considerable number of items written by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (634/1236-710/1311), one of the highly esteemed scholars of the Eastern lands of Islam during the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th century. These range from brief notes to entire codices. On *laylat al-qadr* of Ramaḍān 692/ August 1293, for example, Quṭb al-Dīn presented a precious copy of 'Izz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna's (d. 683/1284) commentary on Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī's (executed 587/1191) *Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt* as a gift to the son of a certain *amīr* Kamāl al-Dīn. The copy itself was transcribed by an unknown scribe and completed on 16 Jumādā II 687/17 July 1288, while the dedication (f. 1a) is written by Quṭb al-Dīn's own hand.² In Rabī' II 707/October 1307, Quṭb al-Dīn commissioned a copy of his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) *Qānūn fī l-ṭibb* as a gift for the custodian of the library of an unidentified sovereign. Again, while the commentary was copied by an unknown scribe, the relevant inscription is by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.³ The Oriental Public Library at Bankipore (India) owns a copy of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's astronomical treatise *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk*, written by an unknown scribe and completed on 6 Shawwāl 689/11 October 1290. In Ramaḍān 690/August-September 1291,

² MS Ahmed III 3244 (= Topkapı 6707). For a description of the manuscript and a transcript of the text of the dedication, see Ritter 1937, pp. 273-274; Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2006, pp. 67-68.

³ MS Hunt. 263 (Bodleian Library, Oxford). For a description of the manuscript and a transcript of the text of the commission, see the volume in preparation by Emily Savage-Smith: *A New Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, volume I: *Arabic Manuscripts on Medicine and Related Topics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press). We are grateful to Emily Savage-Smith for having made her description of the manuscript available to us and to the Bodleian Library for having provided us with an image of the page containing the autograph note.

Quṭb al-Dīn compared this copy with his autograph, as is indicated by an autograph note at the end of the manuscript.⁴ The Malik Library (Tehran) possesses a copy of the philosophical sections of his *Durrat al-tāj*, written by an unknown scribe, containing a note written by the hand of the author on the title page stating that the copy was produced in 706/1306-07 for Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn Māstarī.⁵ The Köprülü Library (Istanbul) owns another copy of *Durrat al-tāj*, copied by an unknown scribe, which also contains a note written by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.⁶

There is an autograph *ijāza* by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, issued for Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Tabrīzī and dated Dhu l-Ḥijja 701/ July-August 1302 at the end of a copy of his commentary on Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sakkākī's (d. 626/1299) *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*, that was completed in Muḥarram 700/September-October 1300 and is preserved in the Millī Library (Tehran).⁷ Another *ijāza* written by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī is to be found at the end of a collective manuscript containing several writings concerned with Qur'ānic sciences preserved in the Chester Beatty Library. He had issued this certificate for Najm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr b. al-Shaḥḥām al-Mawṣilī in Tabriz in Rabī' II 708/ September 1308.⁸

The Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Foundation in Mashhad (Iran) owns an autograph of Quṭb al-Dīn's reply to glosses by an unknown scholar on his

⁴ MS Bankipore 2452. For a detailed description of the manuscript, see *Khuda Bakhsh*, XXII, pp. 42-45. A facsimile of the autograph note is reproduced in al-Ziriklī 1980, VII, p. 188. It reads as follows:

بلغ العراض بالأصل ... العلم موضوعه حرره أوج خلق الله إليه محمود (?) بن مسعود الشيرازي
ختم الله له بالحسنی ليلة القدر من رمضان ست وتسعين وستمانه حامدا ومصليا

Another copy of the same treatise that was also written during the lifetime of the author is preserved in MS Bankipore 2453; see *Khuda Bakhsh*, XXII, p. 45. The library of the Iraqi Academy of Sciences (al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī) possesses another copy of Quṭb al-Dīn's *Nihāyat al-idrāk*, which might be an autograph. See Roper 1993, II, p. 14.

⁵ MS Malik 1358 (see Afshār and Dānīshpazhūh 1351-1369sh., II, p. 243). According to Maryam Tafaḍḍulī (Tafaḍḍulī 2004, p. 329), the entire codex is written by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. This is not supported by the information provided by the catalogue. We were unable to inspect the manuscript ourselves.

⁶ MS Köprülü 867. The note (f. 1a) reads as follows:

طالعه المؤلف وهو قريب من السداد حرره أوج خلق الله محمود بن مسعود بن المطلع الشيرازي

The name of the *amīr* to whom the copy was presented as a gift is illegible on the title page and in the final colophon. See *Köprülü Library*, I, pp. 424-425.

⁷ For a facsimile of this *ijāza* and an edition of the text with translation into Persian, see Ṣadīq 1336sh., pp. 373-377.

⁸ MS Chester Beatty 3883, ff. 368b-371a. See Arberry 1959, IV, p. 48; Mīnuwī 1348sh., pp. 199-200.

Nihāyat al-idrāk (*Ḥāshiyat ḥāshiyat Nihāyat al-idrāk*).⁹ In the British Library there is a copy of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) *al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a*, written by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.¹⁰ The library of Ya'qūb Bakhsh al-Badayūnī in India preserves a codex copied by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī containing eight astronomical and mathematical writings by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.¹¹ Volume Two of Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 606/1210) popular *ḥadīth* collection, *Jāmi' al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-rasūl*, copied by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, is part of the Feyzullah Collection (now part of the Süleymaniye Library) in Istanbul. He had studied the work under the supervision of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī in Konya in 673/1274-75, i.e., shortly before Qūnawī's death in the same year.¹² 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmi (d. 898/1492) reports in his *Nafahāt al-uns* that Quṭb al-Dīn had copied the *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* by his own hand and that he had read it to Qūnawī.¹³ This suggests that the original copy included also the first volume of the work.

On the basis of copyist colophons in extant manuscripts, we further know of additional texts copied by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī that are apparently lost. This is the case with a copy of the *Risāla fī ithbāt wājib al-wujūd* by Farīd al-Dīn Dāmād, one of the teachers of Naṣīr al-Dīn

⁹ MS Mashhad Ilāhiyāt 361/1; see Tafadḍulī 2004, p. 329. We did not have a chance to consult the manuscript ourselves.

¹⁰ MS British Library Add 7477. We are grateful to Robert Morrison for having pointed out this MS to us and for having provided us with copies of sample pages from it.

¹¹ For a description of the codex, which was not available to us, see *Tadhkirat al-nawādir min al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya*, Hyderabad 1350H./1931-32, pp. 161-162 no. 269, 162 no. 271, 163 nos. 273, 274, 164 nos. 277, 278, 279, 280. See also the following references to this codex that are all based on the information provided by *Tadhkirat al-nawādir*: Mīnuwī 1348sh., p. 199; Raḍawī, 1334sh., pp. 356-357 no. 8, 357 no. 9, 358 no. 11, 358-359 no. 12, 359 no. 13, 360 no. 14, 360-361 no. 15; Brockelmann 1937-42, I, p. 930 (no. 36b). The codex contains the following items: *Kitāb al-Maṭāli'*, *Tahrīr al-Mufradāt li-Thābit b. Qurra*, *Risāla fī l-ṭulū' wa-l-ghurūb*, *Risāla fī 'ilm al-muthallath*, *Tahrīr Zāhirat al-falak*, *Risālat al-ayyām wa-l-layālī*, *Risāla fī jurmay al-nayirayn wa-bu dayhimā*, *Tahrīr Kitāb ma'rīfat misāhat al-ashkāl al-basīṭa wa-l-kura*.

¹² MS Feyzullah 300. See Ritter 1953, pp. 71, 77-78, and Plate XIII containing a facsimile of the title page. See also Mīnuwī 1348sh., p. 200. The page containing Quṭb al-Dīn's inscription is also reproduced in al-Ziriklī 1980, VII, p. 188. In the same inscription on the title page of the work, Quṭb al-Dīn reports that later on, at the beginning of Dhu l-Qa'da 678/March 1280 he corrected his copy (Ritter 1953, erroneously gives the year as 675 in the English commentary to the inscription although the year is correct in his transcript of the inscription text). Quṭb al-Dīn later on taught the work himself to some of his students. It is specifically mentioned in the *ijāzas* he issued to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Tabrizī and to Najm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr b. al-Shaḥḥām al-Mawṣilī. See above, nn. 7 and 8.

¹³ See 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmi, *Nafahāt al-uns*, p. 554.

al-Ṭūsī, by an unknown scribe,¹⁴ and with a copy of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Kashf al-qinā'* 'an asrār shakl al-qiflā', contained in a collective manuscript.¹⁵ MS Laleli 2116 contains a copy of Quṭb al-Dīn's working copy of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a*, which he had collated with the autograph.¹⁶

Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī is, moreover, known to have written in 685/1286 in Konya a collective manuscript (*majmū'a*). Knowledge about this codex was for a long time restricted to the evidence provided by an incomplete copy that was transcribed in 1060/1650 and is nowadays part of the manuscript collection of the Parliamentary Library in Tehran (MS Majlis 593).¹⁷ The Majlis codex contains numerous colophons indicating that it was copied from the original Shīrāzī Codex.¹⁸ The codex written by the

¹⁴ The colophon reads as follows:

نقلت مما نقل من خط المولى العلامة قطب الحق والدين شيرازي روح الله وروحه الناقل أضعف إلى عفو به ...

See Raḍawī 1334sh., p. 175. Raḍawī does not provide any details about the location of the manuscript and explains that the remaining part of the colophon, where the copyist identified himself, is illegible.

¹⁵ MS Sipahsalar 689 has the following colophon (see Raḍawī 1334sh., p. 367, n. 1):

نقل ما في هذه المجموعة من أول الأصول إلى هنا من نسخة نسخت بخط قطب الحق والملة والدين محمود بن مسعود الشيرازي وهو قد نقلها من نسخة أكثرها بخط المصنف المحرر لهذه الكتب وباقيها مقابلة بنسخ بخط المصنف أفضل العلماء والحكماء نصير الملة والدين محمد بن محمد بن الحسن الطوسي

¹⁶ For a description of the manuscript, see Ragep 1993, I, pp. 77-78.

¹⁷ 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, 24.5×15.5 cm. For a description of the codex, see al-Ḥā'irī 1305-57sh., I, pp. 54-55, II, pp. 350-351. A microfilm of the manuscript is preserved in the Central Library of the University of Tehran (no. 2320); see Dānishpazhūh, *Mikrūfīlmhā*, I, p. 673. A copy of MS Majlis 593 is part of the collection of Dr. Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz in Baghdad. See Maḥfūz 1960, p. 56. 'Alī Naqī Munzawī, who has consulted this manuscript for his edition of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth*, states that the manuscript, which is undated, was written in the 19th century and is a direct copy of MS Majlis 593. He explains that the copyist could apparently not read everything as he left some places blank; see Munzawī 1972, p. 56. Nā'īnī and Perlmann in their respective editions of *Majlis-i Shahrastānī* (published in Nā'īnī's edition of Turka Iṣfahānī's Persian translation of Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, *Tanqīh al-adilla wa-l-'ilal fī tarjamat Kūṭab al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, Tehran 1321sh./1942, pp. 18-33; see also below, Section II, no. 5), of Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīh* (see Perlmann [ed.] 1967) and Samaw'al al-Maghribī's *Iḥām al-yahūd* and his correspondence (see Samaw'al al-Maghribī, ed. Perlmann 1964) both used MS Majlis 593 without being aware of the existence of the original Shīrāzī Codex. Moreover, Perlmann erroneously assumed MS Majlis 593 to have been copied in the 7th/13th c.; see the introduction to his edition of *Tanqīh al-abḥāth* (Perlmann 1967, pp. xi-xii). See also his introduction to *Iḥām al-yahūd*. *Silencing the Jews* (Samaw'al al-Maghribī, ed. Perlmann 1964, pp. 25-26).

¹⁸ MS Majlis 593, p. 40:3-4: *wa-qad tamma taswīduh, fī shahr ṣafar li-sanat 1060 min al-hijra al-muqaddasa* (at the end of Ibn Kammūna's *Kalimāt wajīza* = item no. 7); p. 68:19, and continued in the margin: *nuqila min khaṭṭ al-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī*

hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī has recently resurfaced. Sayyid Maḥmūd Mar‘ashī had bought it years ago from Āyat Allāh Sayyid Maḥdī Lājiwardī, and it is now in the possession of the Great Library of Āyat Allāh al-‘uzmā Mar‘ashī Najafī in Qum (MS Mar‘ashī 12868).¹⁹

Textual similarities between the Shīrāzī Codex and another volume that is part of the Fātih Collection, now held in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (MS Fātih 3141), suggest that the latter *majmū‘a*, written by the hand of Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, a student of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī,²⁰ was likewise transcribed from the Shīrāzī Codex,²¹ although the scribe does not indicate his source. MS Fātih 3141, which is incompletely preserved, with the sequence of leaves in disorder, contains most of the writings also included in the Shīrāzī Codex. It also contains a copy of Ibn Kammūna’s *al-Jadīd fī l-ḥikma* (alternatively known under the title *al-Kāshif*),²² which is included neither in the Shīrāzī Codex nor in the Majlis Codex. Although there is no clear evidence, this may well suggest that the Shīrāzī Codex initially also contained this work.

II.

The Shīrāzī Codex (MS Mar‘ashī 12868) consists of 147 leaves (18.5 × 8.5 cm) and has between 26 to 30 lines to a page. It belonged to the Library of Quṭb al-Dīn’s contemporary, the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 718/1318), in Tabriz, as is evident from the stamps found on ff. 42a, 92a, 109b, and 132a.²³ The codex is incomplete in the beginning and end, and

(at the end of the *Majlis-i Kh‘ārazm* by Shahrastānī = item no. 5); p. 178:14 (at the beginning of *Iḥām al-yahūd* = item no. 10): *nuqilat min khaṭṭ al-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī*; p. 199 (marginal note at the end of *Iḥām al-yahūd*): *ṣūrat khaṭṭ al-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī*.

¹⁹ We are grateful to Sayyid Maḥmūd Mar‘ashī Najafī for the opportunity to inspect the original codex and for having provided us with a copy of it. A facsimile publication of the codex is currently under preparation. For a description of the codex and facsimiles of selected pages, see Mar‘ashī Najafī 1975-, XXXII, pp. 637-643, 1151-1157.

²⁰ The manuscript of the *ijāza* issued by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī to Tāj al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (dated 696/1296-97; preserved in the Yūsuf Agha Library, Konya), which may contain more information on what Kirmānī studied with Quṭb al-Dīn was unavailable to us. According to Mīnuwī 1348sh., pp. 191-192, the shelfmark of the codex in which this *ijāza* is contained (following a copy of Quṭb al-Dīn’s *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq*) is 6624 (f. 281).

²¹ MS Fātih 3141 consists of 293ff, 20/25 lines to a page, 8×16.5 cm.

²² MS Fātih 3141, ff. 1-158 (= Ibn Kammūna, *al-Jadīd fī l-ḥikma*, ed. Ḥamīd Mar‘īd al-Kabīsī, 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 (= pp. 533:3-536:22), ff. 173-201 (= pp. 536:22-598:4). On this work, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2006, pp. 87-92.

²³ The stamps (*waqf-i kitābhāna-yi Rashīdī*) are clearly visible in the original. The first to identify these in the Shīrāzī Codex was Jawād Bashaṛī (Bashaṛī 1384sh.,

some folios throughout the codex are likewise missing. It has recently been rebound and the first three folios underwent preservation measures. The codex has been foliated twice. There is an older foliation on the right upper corner of each recto folio, with the exception of items nos. 3 and 4 copied on f. 2 (see below) which suggests that this leaf did not belong to the original codex or that it had been originally left in blank and was used later on by other scribes. Following preservation measures, the codex was again foliated (left upper corners); since items nos. 3 and 4 were now included, the new foliation varies from the old by one.

The codex contains the following items:

1. Fragment(s) from one or two unidentified work(s), apparently on philosophy (f. 1). This folio is heavily destroyed; only some few words of the first three lines of f. 1a and of the last four lines of f. 1b are preserved.
2. Various poems in Persian and Arabic (f. 2).²⁴

Three Persian quatrains on f. 2a:

- f. 2a: 2-4, [anonymous]:

گر بر فلکم دست بدی چون یزدان] برداشتمی من این فلک را ز میان
از خود فلکی دگر چنان ساختمی کزاده به کام دل رسیدی آسان²⁵

- f. 2a: 6-9, [Badī' Pandī (?)]²⁶ in reply to the previous poem]:

گر بر فلکت دست بدی چون یزدان برداشته ای تو این فلک را ز میان
خر را چو سرو دهند داند عاقل کو هر دو جهان کند به شاخش ویران

- f. 2a: 11-14, [Karīm 'Umar Ganja'ī]:²⁷

گفتم مگر این دل به غم پیوسته یکباره بشد ز بند خوبان رسته
او خود به یکی خوب قناعت نکند این قلب شکسته بین به ده جا بسته

pp. 525-534). For a facsimile of the same stamp on a copy of *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, see Özgüdenli 1382sh., p. 67. See also Déroche 2000, pp. 355f.

²⁴ On the Persian poems of the codex, see Basharī 1384sh., pp. 525-534.

²⁵ This poem exists in some late collections of Khayyām's poem such as *Ṭarabkhānah* (See Yār Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn Rashīdī Tabrīzī: *Rubā'iyāt-i Khayyām: Ṭarabkhānah*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humāyī, Tehran 1367/1988, p.18, n. 47).

²⁶ The identity of this poet could not be verified. See Basharī 1384sh., p. 530, n. 3.

²⁷ The identity of this poet could not be verified. According to Basharī (1384sh., p. 530, n. 5) there are some other poems of him in MS Mar'ashī 12598.

Three Arabic quatrains on f. 2b:

- f. 2b: 1-2, (*kāmil*) [anonymous] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288b:16-17):

وَرَدَ الْكِتَابُ نَعِمْتُ مِنْ إِجْلَالِهِ وَجَعَلْتُ الْتَيْمُ خْتَمَهُ وَأَنَادِي
أَهْلًا بِأَكْرَمٍ وَارِدٍ مِنْ حَيِّ أَكْ رَمَ جِيرَةَ حَلُّوا بِأَكْرٍ وَأَدِي

- f. 2b: 3-4, illegible.

- f. 2b: 5-8, (*tawīl*) [anonymous] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 289a: 7-8):

سَأَشْكُرُ لَا أُنِّي أَجَازِيكَ مُنْعِمًا بِشُكْرِي وَلَكِنْ كَيْ يُرَى ذَلِكَ الشُّكْرُ
سَأَشْكُرُ لَا أُنِّي أَجَازِيكَ مُنْعِمًا بِشُكْرِي وَلَكِنْ كَيْ يُرَى ذَلِكَ الشُّكْرُ

- f. 2b: 9-12:

من كلام الشيخ المحقق سعد المله والدين الحموى رضي الله عنه اعلم ...

3. Various poems in Arabic and Persian (f. 3a), written by a different hand and most likely not part of the original codex.
4. Fragment of a report about a conversation between Aristotle and Alexander (f. 3b), written by a different hand and, again, most likely not part of the original codex.
5. Extensive fragment of *Majlis-i maktūb ... mun‘aqid dar Kh^wārazm* by Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) (ff. 4a-22a; cf. Mar‘ashī Najafī 1975-, XXXII, p. 637); the first two folios of the text are missing [= MS Majlis 593/4, ff. 40:5-68].

This sermon-style *majlis*, delivered in Kh^wārazm and devoted to “Creation and Order” (*al-khalq wa-l-amr*; cf. Qur’ān 7:54) and to prophecy, is Shahrastānī’s only known work in Persian. The text has been edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā’īnī first in the introduction to his edition of Turka Iṣfahānī’s Persian translation of Shahrastānī’s *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal (Tanqīḥ al-adilla wa-l-‘ilal fī tarjamat Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*. Tehran 1321/[1942] (2)1335/[1956]), pp. 18-33; republished as an appendix to his *Sharḥ-i ḥāl u āthār-i ḥujjat al-ḥaqq Abu l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Shahrastānī*, Tehran 1343/1964) on the basis of the single known manuscript at the time, MS Majlis 593. Nā’īnī later discovered a second manuscript of the text in Istanbul (MS Baġdatlı Vehbi Efendi 2023/25, ff. 133b-135a; microfilm Dānishgāh Tehran no. 643; see Dānishpazhūh, *Mikrūfīlmhā*, I, p. 518) and published a revised edition of the text (in his re-edition of Turka Iṣfahānī’s

Persian translation of Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, Tehran 1350/[1971], pp. 111-161, and later again in his *Dū maktūb*, Tehran 1369/1990 [republished as *Amr u khalq u 'ilm wājib al-wujūd. "Dū maktūb"*, Tehran 1382/2003], pp. 101-155).²⁸

The beginning of the text in the Shīrāzī Codex (f. 4a:1) corresponds to p. 4:10 of Nā'inī's edition published in *Sharḥ-i ḥāl*. At the end of the text, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī writes as follows (f. 22a:22-25):

نقل من نسخة منقولة من نسخة منقولة من نسخة بخط الإمام تاج الدين محمد بن عبد
الكریم الشهرستاني ومع هذا كانت النسخة سقيمة وأصلحت ما أمكن إصلاحه عند النقل

In MS Majlis 593 (p. 68:19, continued in the margin), an abbreviated version of this colophon is incorporated in the copyist's colophon:

نقل من خط العلامة الشيرازي ومع هذا كانت النسخة سقيمة والحمد لله وحده

6. An anonymous chronicle of the Mongols, in Persian (ff. 22b-39b; cf. Mar'ashī Najafī 1975-, XXXII, p. 638), followed by poems on f. 39a-b. The leaves are in disorder, and the correct order of the folios is as follows: 22b, 24, 32, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39.²⁹

Following introductory remarks on Chingiz Khān and his successors, the chronicle covers the history of the Mongols from the time of Hülegü's departure from Mongolia in 651/1253 to 28 Jumādā I 683/1 August 1285, when Arghūn (r. 683/1284-690/1291) took power. Quṭb al-Dīn indicates neither the author of the text nor does he provide any information about his *Vorlage*. He may himself have authored the text (suggested by the compiler of the catalogue), yet there is nothing to confirm this. The chronicle was penned down during the years 680/1281-82 to 683/1285 or shortly after, as the author gives 680/1281-82 as the current date at the beginning of the text (ff. 22b:25-24a:1). The chronicle is written in a dense style and is replete with dates, and its particular value lies in its documentary perspective on the events of those years.

Ff. 39a-b contains the following poems:

- f. 39a:18-21, [anonymous]:

انگشت زمانه بر که خاید بینیم	شب حامله است تا چه زاید بینیم
ور عمر بود هر آنچه آید بینیم	از دور فلک هر آنچه آمد دیدیم

²⁸ For *majlis-i Shahrastānī*, see also Steigerwald 1997, pp. 68-69, 83, n. 150.

²⁹ An edition of the text is currently being prepared by İraj Afshār.

- f. 39b:1-5, illegible.

- f. 39b: 6-7, [Kāfirak]³⁰:

وز نام پدر در پی تو صد دسته	ای نام تو در گردن تو صد رشته
یا قوت گداخته در آب بسته	بر نه به کف کافرک دل خسته

- f. 39b: 10-12, [Tāj al-Dīn to Firdawsī]:

فرشته چو طاووس پر می نهاد	در آن راه باخرز کز بس نهیب
ز اسبی که سر بر قمر می [نهاد]	غلامان مخدوم فردوس را
فرو می گرفتند و بر می نهاد	به هر نیم فرسنگ صد ره فزون

- f. 39b: 14-16, [Firdawsī in reply to Tāj al-Dīn]:³¹

که سر بر خط تو قمر می نهاد؟	چه گویم تو را تاج بر یاد هست
تو را در بها صد گهر می نهاد؟	ملک خسرو خانه دان رسول
ملک بر زبر تاج بر می نهاد؟	تو در زیر او چارپا همچو تخت

- f. 39b: 17-18, [Kāfirak]:

رهبر او مباد جز نیکی	خواجه مسعود سعد می برود
کان یکی نان دهد دگر سیکی	به خدایش سپردم و ابلیس

7. Ibn Kammūna: *Kalimāt wajīza mushtamila ‘alā nukat laṭīfa fī l-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal* (ff. 40a-59b; cf. Mar‘ashī Najafī 1975-, XXXII, pp. 639-640) [= MSS Majlis 593/3, pp. 3-40; Fātih 3141/5, ff. 266-286].

This philosophical treatise was commissioned by a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mu‘min al-Qazwīnī, and is dedicated to Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad, one of the sons of *ṣāhib al-dīwān* Shams al-Dīn al-Juwaynī (d. 683/1284). It must have been completed before Sha‘bān 678/December 1279 when Bahā’ al-Dīn died. The work consists of two parts (*jumla*) on ‘ilm and ‘amal, each containing two chapters (*bāb*), and each chapter consisting of five sections (*fuṣūl*).

For an edition of this work, that also circulated under the titles *al-Lum‘a al-juwayniyya fī l-ḥikma al-‘ilmiyya wa-l-‘amaliyya* and *Risāla fī l-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2006,

³⁰ On Nāṣir Shams Kāfirak Ghaznawī, see ‘Awfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, pp. 455-456. Cf. Bashārī 1384sh., p. 531, n. 2.

³¹ It is not certain that the Firdawsī, whose poem was quoted in the codex, is Abu l-Qāsim al-Firdawsī, the poet of *Shāhnāma*. Jawād Bashārī has found another version of Tāj al-Dīn’s poem to Firdawsī and the reply of the latter in a codex from the British Library copied in 813-814/1410-12 for Iskandar Mirzā. See Bashārī 1384sh., pp. 531-32, n. 5.

pp. 139-185. The edition is based on MSS Mar‘ashī 12868/7, Majlis 593/3 and Fâtih 3141/5, and was further collated with MSS Āstān-i Quds 855 and Mishkāt 861/16.³²

8. Ibn Kammūna, *Risālat Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth* (ff. 59b:30-126b:18; cf. Mar‘ashī Najafī 1975-, XXXII, pp. 640-641). [= MSS Majlis 593/5, pp. 69-178:4; Fâtih 3141/2, ff. 202-209, 211-263 (incomplete)].

Completed in Jumādā II 679/September-October 1280, Ibn Kammūna’s *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth* belongs to the literary genre of inter-religious polemics. The author therein defends Judaism against Muslim polemical arguments, particularly those of the Jewish convert to Islam, Samaw’al al-Maghribī (d. 570/1175), in his polemical tract *Iḥām al-yahūd*. The author criticizes Christianity and particularly Islam, though in a very unpolemical, sober style, and without adducing any *ad hominem* arguments. The work has been edited by Moshe Perlmann in 1967 on the basis of five manuscripts, two in Hebrew characters (MSS Berlin, Oxford), one copied by a Christian scribe (MS Angelicana), and the two manuscripts transcribed from the Shīrāzī Codex, MSS Majlis 593 and Fâtih 3141 [see Perlmann (ed.) 1967]. In 1972, ‘Alī Naqī Munzawī submitted his dissertation containing another edition of the text based on MSS Majlis 593, Maḥfūz 318 and Perlmann’s edition [see Munzawī 1972].³³ In 2006, Muḥammad Karīmī Zanjānī Aṣl published in Tehran an edition of the text that relies heavily on those by Munzawī and Perlmann. The text as preserved in MSS Fâtih and Majlis contains numerous variants and textual additions, particularly in Chapters Two (Judaism) and Four (Islam). Since these are not to be found in any of the other three manuscripts consulted by Perlmann, he argued that the recension of *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth* as preserved in these two manuscripts constitutes the “Muslim recension” of the text that contains additions by a later Muslim scribe to the original text as composed by Ibn Kammūna. The purpose of these additions, Perlmann suggested, is to strengthen the argumentative position of the Muslims. In view of a further Muslim copy of the text that was unknown to him (MS Chester Beatty 4965), the assumption that the additions in MSS Majlis 593 and Fâtih 3141 (and, unknown to him, in the Shīrāzī Codex) constitute the “Muslim recension” of the work can no longer be upheld. This copy does not contain any of the additions to be found in MSS Majlis and Fâtih and in the

³² For a description of these MSS, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2006, p. 97.

³³ For a description of these MSS, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2006, pp. 108-110.

Shīrāzī Codex.³⁴ Since the Shīrāzī Codex was written only some five years after Ibn Kammūna finished composing the work in 680/1281, and given the intimate familiarity of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī with the *œuvre* of Ibn Kammūna,³⁵ it seems more plausible that the recension as preserved in the Shīrāzī Codex constitutes the original version of the *Tanqīh*, and that another recension came into circulation (it is unclear when and for what reason), in which a number of passages had been omitted.

9. Sayings attributed to various pre-Islamic Iranian and Greek as well as to Muslim figures, followed by pieces of Persian poetry by ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī (Khayyām) (d. 526/1131-32), Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 481/1088-89?), ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ al-Jabalī (d. after 540/1145-46), Ṣābir b. Ismā‘īl Tirmidhī (“Adīb Ṣābir”) (d. 546/1151-52?) and some anonymous poets (ff. 126b:19-129b). Some of the sayings are also to be found in MS Majlis 593, pp. 1-2, although in different order; the two pages are heavily damaged, and there might be a break in the continuity of text between pp. 1 and 2 with one or more leaves missing between them. One saying attributed to Aflāṭūn that appears on p. 2:3-5 of the Majlis Codex is located at the end of the Shīrāzī Codex (see below, item no. 14). MS Majlis 593 does not contain any of the pieces of poetry that are found in the Shīrāzī Codex, all of which are included, however, in MS Fātih 3141.

Min kalām Aristū (f. 126b:19-21 = MS Majlis 593, p. 2:5 [end] - 7 [first two words]; f. 127a:10-11 = MS Majlis 593, p. 1:9 [first half of the line]; f. 127a:7-8 = MS Majlis 593, p. 2:19 [second half of the line]); *qāla* Kasrā (f. 127a:22-23 = MS Majlis 593, p. 2:10 [second half of the line]); *min kalām* Dāwūd *‘alayhi al-salām* (f. 127a:23-25 = MS Majlis 593, p. 2:11-12 [first half of the line]); *su’ila* Būdharjumīhr (f. 127a:11-17 = MS Majlis 593, p. 2:7 [third word of the line]-10 [first five words of the line]). Moreover, f. 127b:14-15 = MS Majlis 593, p. 2:18 [second half of the heavily damaged line]; f. 127b:17 [*al-ghanī*]-22 [*al-dunyā*] = MS Majlis 593, p. 2:15-18; f. 128b:23 [*tamayyuz*]-23 [*al-naẓar*] = MS Majlis 593, p. 2:14 [first half of the line]; f. 129b:22 [*mā*]-24 = MS Majlis 593, p. 1:12 [end of line]-13; f. 128b:17 [*al-ḥarīṣ*]-19 [*wa-l-buḥl*] =

³⁴ For a description of MS Chester Beatty 4965, see Arberry 1959, VI, p. 157; see also Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2006, p. 109. Another, possibly incomplete, copy of the text, transcribed by a Muslim scribe, is preserved in Shīrāz (*ibid.*, p. 110). Thanks are due to Dr. Sayyid Maḥmūd Mar’ashī for having brought this manuscript to our attention. This manuscript was not available to us.

³⁵ See Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2004.

MS Majlis 593, p. 1:13-14. For the following sayings no equivalent is found in MS Majlis 593: ff.126b:22-127a:7 [first half of the line], 127a:8 [second half of the line]-10 [first half of the line], 127a:18-21, 127a:26-127b:14, 127b:15 [last word]-17, 127b:22 [last word]-128b:17 [first word], 128b:19-22, 128b:23 [second half of the line]-26. – The fact that MS Majlis 593 contains additional sayings (pp. 1:1-12, 1:14-15, 2:1-3, 2:12-13, 2:14-15) that have no equivalent in the Shīrāzī Codex suggests that one leaf or more belonging to this part is [are] missing from the Codex.

The section contains the following poems:³⁶

- f. 128b:27-28, [anonymous] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288a:6-7):

تشریف شریف روح آور	بر ما ز روان عزیزتر
در دیده ما بصر مبادا	بر دیده اگر نه خون بصر

- f. 129a:1-4, [anonymous] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288a:8-9):

گر لاف ز نم که یار خوش خوست نه ای	با ما به وفای عهد نیکوست نه ای
وین نادره تر که از برای تو مرا	شهری همه دشمن اند و تو دوست نه ای

- f. 129a:6-9, [Khayyām] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288a:11-14):

هر جان شریف کو شناسای ره است	داند که هر آنچه آید از جایگه است
رنجی که رسد به تو نه از دور مه است	کو نیز ز هر چه می رود بی گنه است

- f. 129a:11-12, [Khayyām] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288a [written vertically at the bottom]):

گفتم دلم از علم محروم نشد	کم ماند ز اسرار که معلوم نشد
اکنون که همی بنگرم از روی خرد	معلوم شد که هیچ معلوم نشد ³⁷

- f. 129a:14-15, [Nāṣir-i Khusraw] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288a [written vertically at the bottom]):

دی آمدی به حیرت از منزل خویش	و امروز مقامی نه به کام دل خویش
فردا شدی بی خبر از حاصل خویش	پس من چه نشان دهم ز آب و گل خویش ³⁸

³⁶ See also Bashārī 1384sh., pp. 525-534.

³⁷ In *Nuzhat al-majālīs* of Jamāl Khalīl Shirwānī (ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1366/1987, p. 111), this poem appears as follows:

هرگز دل من ز علم محروم نشد	کم ماند ز اسرار که معلوم نشد
با این همه چون بنگرم از روی خرد	عمر بگشت و هیچ معلوم نشد

³⁸ This poem is not to be found in the published editions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīwān* (eds. Naṣr Allāh Taqawī *et al.*, Tehran 1304-07/1925-28; eds. M. Mīnūwī and M. Muḥaqqiq, Tehran 1353/1974).

- f. 129a:17-20, ['Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī] (=MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288b:2-5):³⁹

هر جا که ز فضل پیشگامی ست منم	وان یک تن تنها که سپاهی ست منم
گر دعوی عقل را گواهی ست منم	ور بر سخن از قیاس شاهی ست منم

- f. 129a:22-25, [Adīb Ṣābir] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288a [written vertically at the bottom]):

چو شمشیرم اندر نیام هنر	به قیمت بلند و به گوهر تمام
سزد گر نیارد نظیرم فلک	نگنجد دو شمشیر در یک نیام ⁴⁰

- f. 129b:2-5, [anonymous] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288b:6-7):

از سبزه کنون جهان چنان خواهد شد	گویی که بهشت جاودان خواهد شد
فردا که ز اندوه فراقست صنما	من پیر شدم جهان جوان خواهد شد

- f. 129b:6-9, [anonymous]:

آراسته گشت باغ و افروخته راغ	آمد گه عندلیب و شد نوبت زاغ
ز گل همه باغ گشت چون شمع و چراغ	لکون من [و] یل گل رخ و بله و باغ

- f. 129b:10-13, [anonymous] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288b:8-11):

هر باغ خورنق است و هر دشت بهشت	شدشش جهت هفت سماء هشت بهشت
باشد به بهشت می حلال ای ساقی	درده می روشن که جهان گنجد بهشت ⁴¹

- f. 129b:14-19, [anonymous] (= MS Fâtih 3141, f. 288b [written vertically at the bottom]):

اکنون که باد فتنه وزید و ز گرد او	یک دیده بی شکلیت خلر و خسی نملا
و امروز کز مخالفت دور روزگار	در چار سوی عالم عنصر کسی نماند
ای دوستن نمی دو که ملته است بر خورید	از یکدیگر که مدت ما هم بسی نماند

³⁹ Of Badī' al-Zamān 'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī so far only a collection of his *qaṣā'id* has been published (*Dīwān-i 'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī*, I, ed. Dh. Ṣafā, Tehran 1339sh./1960-61 [repr. Tehran 1356sh./1977-8]). In the introduction (pp. iv-vi), Ṣafā refers to ten manuscripts of the *Dīwān*, some of which, such as MS Lâlâ İsmail Efendi 463 includes his *rubā'īyyāt*.

⁴⁰ This poem appears in the *Dīwān* of Adīb Ṣābir in a slightly different version:

چو شمشیرم اندر نیام هنر	به قیمت بلند و به گوهر تمام
سزد گر نظیرم نیابد فلک	نگنجد دو شمشیر در یک نیام

See *Dīwān-i Adīb Ṣābir Tirmidhī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Nāṣiḥ, Tehran 1343sh./1964-65, p. 320; *Dīwān-i Adīb Ṣābir Tirmidhī*, ed. 'A. Qawm, Tehran 1334sh./1955-56, p. 305.

⁴¹ This poem is also quoted in *Nuzhat al-majālis* of Jamāl Khalīl Shirwānī. Therein, it is attributed to Abu l-Ma'ālī, who is presumably Abu l-Ma'ālī Nuḥās Rāzī. See Jamāl Khalīl Shirwānī, *Nuzhat al-majālis*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1366/1987-88, p. 191.

10. Samaw'al al-Maghribī: *Iḥām al-yahūd* (ff. 130a-144b:23; cf. Mar'ashī Najafī 1975-, XXXII, pp. 641-642). [= MS Majlis 593/6, pp. 178:5-199:16].

Critical editions of this treatise have been published by Moshe Perlmann (*Iḥām al-yahūd. Silencing the Jews*, New York 1964), on the basis of MSS Berlin orient Oct. 2686, Reisülküttab 586/8, Reisülküttab 545, Majlis 593, Fâtih 3141, Cairo 2618 *kalām* 261, Cairo 1965 *kalām* 397/1295; with the exception of MSS Majlis 593 and Fâtih 3141, the manuscripts contain the later recension of the work, and by the present authors, together with Ibrahim Marazka (*Samaw'al al-Maghribī's (d. 570/1175) Iḥām al-yahūd. The Early Recension*, Wiesbaden 2006), on the basis of MSS Majlis 593, Majlis 4547, Dānishgāh 1074.

Quṭb al-Dīn states on the title page of the tract (f. 130a) that he copied the work from an autograph:

إفحام اليهود من أمالي السموءل بن يحيى بن عباس المغربي في يوم الجمعة تاسع ذي
الحجة سنة ثمان وخمسين وخمسمائة جعل تذكرة في الخزانة الأهلية السندية الأوحديّة
الصاحبة الصفوية الشرفية النظامية الجمالية الفخرية العزية لا زالت عامرة بالحقائق
أمنة من البوائق نقل هذه الأسطر من خط السموءل أوج خلق الله إليه محمود بن مسعود
الشيرازي ختم الله له بالحسنى

The information about his *Vorlage* is again repeated in the colophon at the end of the text, followed by the original colophon (f. 144b:17-23):

نقلت هذا الكتاب من خط السموءل وكان مكتوباً في آخر تلك النسخة بخطه أيضاً ما هذه
صورته كتبه مرتجلاً مؤلفه أبو نصر سموءل بن يحيى بن عباس المغربي بخطه حامداً
الله على أفضاله ومصلياً على رسوله محمد المصطفى وآله المجتبيين

One of the striking features of Quṭb al-Dīn's copy is that the numerous Hebrew quotations are clearly readable.⁴² Whereas the first word in Hebrew characters is written by a different, less skilled hand and contains a mistake (f. 134a:4: ולישמעיל instead of ולישמעאל),⁴³ all other quotes were evidently written by a hand skilled in writing Hebrew. It cannot be ruled out that Quṭb al-Dīn was familiar with the Hebrew script, yet it is unlikely that he was so used to write Hebrew that the quotations could have been written by him. Moreover, at times there is some space left at the end of some of the quotations while elsewhere the space was insufficient

⁴² Cf. ff. 134a, 134b, 135a, 135b (see Fig. 1), 136a (see Fig. 2), 136b, 137a, 138a, 140b, 141b.

⁴³ The meaning of the name Ishmael in Hebrew is "God hears" or "may God hear". By omitting the ך, the element "God" is in fact removed from the name.

so that the quotation continues unto the margin.⁴⁴ This suggests that when Quṭb al-Dīn first copied the work, he left space for the quotations to be inserted later. He may have asked some of his Jewish acquaintances to add these after he had completed copying the text. That he had connections with Jewish circles is supported by an anecdote that circulated in the later biographical literature, according to which Quṭb al-Dīn had dwelt fifty days among Jews.⁴⁵



Fig. 1: The Shīrāzī Codex, f. 135b (MS Mar'ashī 12868)
(©-The Great Library of Āyat Allāh al-'uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī, Qum).

The text of *Iḥām al-yahūd*, together with the correspondence of its author with an anonymous accuser (see below items 11 and 12) is also included in MS Majlis 593, whereas MS Fātih 3141 contains only the correspondence. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's copy of *Iḥām al-yahūd* served as *Vorlage* for further transcriptions of the text. The Majlis Library in Tehran preserves another copy of Samaw'al's *Iḥām* and the exchange of letters that is part of a *majmū'a* consis-

⁴⁴ See, e.g., ff. 134a:4-6, 134a:27-28, 134b:15, 134b:29-30, 135b:17, 137a:15-18, 138a:1-3.

⁴⁵ One of the earliest sources for this anecdote is Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'irī (d. 1112/1701), *Zahr al-rabī'*, Beirut 1411H./1990, p. 318; see also Mīnuwī 1348sh., pp. 179-180.

ting of writings on philosophy and medicine mostly by Ibn Sīnā (MS Majlis 4547); it was copied during the early 11th/17th century.⁴⁶ According to the colophons at the end of *Iḥḥām* and the correspondence, this copy was taken from the Shīrāzī Codex. However, the Codex cannot have been the immediate source for the anonymous scribe. The text of *Iḥḥām* is in complete disorder, and the frequent interruptions reflect the disorder of the copyist's own textual basis.⁴⁷

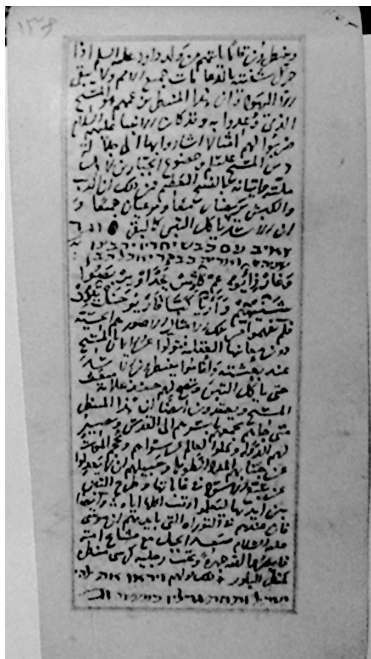


Fig. 2: The Shīrāzī Codex, f. 136a (MS Mar'ashī 12868)
 (©- The Great Library of Āyat Allāh al-'uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī, Qum).

⁴⁶ MS Majlis 4547. For a detailed description of the codex and a facsimile reproduction of the *Iḥḥām* and the correspondence, see *Samaw'al al-Maghribī's Iḥḥām al-yahūd* 2006, pp. 9-10, 51-69.

⁴⁷ The Central Library of the University of Tehran owns a collective manuscript (MS Dānīshgāh 1074) that apparently originally contained all items contained in MS Majlis 4547, including Samaw'al's *Iḥḥām* and the correspondence, though only partly in the same order. It was copied some fifty years later than MS Majlis 4547. This suggests that it was either transcribed from MS Majlis 4547 or that both copies were taken from an earlier shared *Vorlage*. Like MS Majlis 4547, MS Dānīshgāh 1074 is incompletely preserved, and it contains only one page of Samaw'al's *Iḥḥām*. For a detailed description of this manuscript, see *Samaw'al al-Maghribī's Iḥḥām al-yahūd* 2006, pp. 12-13.

The text of *Iḥām* as reproduced in the Shīrāzī Codex represents the early recension of the text that the author had completed shortly after his conversion to Islam on 9 Dhu l-Ḥijja 558/8 November 1163. Later on, the author reworked some parts of the text and expanded it with additional chapters; this later recension was completed four years later.⁴⁸ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī adduces at one instance a marginal note entitled *ḥāshiya li-l-Samaw'al manqūl min khaṭṭihī*. This addition is with slight differences identical with a passage of the later recension. This suggests that Quṭb al-Dīn had access to at least some of the material that Samaw'al later on had added to the text.⁴⁹



Fig. 3: The Shīrāzī Codex, general view of the volume: MS Mar'ashī 12868
(©-The Great Library of Āyat Allāh al-'uẓmā Mar'ashī Najafī, Qum).

⁴⁸ This is known from Samaw'al al-Maghribī's autobiography; see Samaw'al al-Maghribī, *Iḥām al-yahūd. Silencing the Jews* (ed. Perlmann 1964), p. 118:1-6 [transl. p. 86:31-36].

⁴⁹ The margins of f. 131b of the Shīrāzī Codex are partly cut off. For the reconstruction of the marginal note, MS Majlis 4547, f. 105a was consulted, where the same note is completely preserved. See *Samaw'al al-Maghribī's Iḥām al-yahūd* 2006, pp. 10-11, 54.

Shīrāzī Codex (main text),
ff. 131b:7-132a:1

وأيضاً فلا تخلو المحظورات من أن يكون تحريمها مفترضاً أبداً أو مختصاً بزمان، فإن كان مفترضاً أبداً 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 فجانز أن يأتي بنسخ كثير من أحكام الشريعة، سواء حظر مباحاتها أو أباح محظوراتها. وكيف يجوز أن يحاج من جاء بالبيئة باعتراض فيما ورد به من أمر ونهي، سواء وافق العقول البشرية أو باينها، ولا سيما أن الخصوم طال ما تعبدوا بفرائض مباينة للعقول كطهارة أنجاسهم برماد البقرة التي كان الكاهن الإمام الهاروني يحرقها قبيل أوان الحج ونجاسة ظاهرهم بذلك الرماد بعينه، على أن الذي يروم تنزيهه منزلة هذا أقرب كثيراً إلى العقل، فإن الأفعال والأوامر الإلهية منزهة عن الوقوف عند مقتضى العقول البشرية. وإذا كانت التعبدات الشرعية غير عائدة بنفع الله عز وجل ولا دافعة عنه ضرراً لتتزهه سبحانه عن الانتفاع والتأذي بشيء، فما الذي يحيل أو يمنع كونه تعالى يأمر أمة بشرية ثم ينهي أمة أخرى عنها، ويحرم محظوراً على قوم ويحله لأولادهم ثم يحظره ثانياً على من يجيء من بعد؟

Shīrāzī Codex, f. 131a
(margin)

لا يخلو المحظورات من أن يكون تحريمها مفترضاً في كل من الأزمنة لأن الله يكره ذلك المحظور لعينه وأما أن لا يكرهه الله لعينه بل في بعض الأزمنة والأعصار فإن كان الله يكره عمل الصناعات في يوم السبت لعين السبت فيتعين أن يكون هذا حراماً على إبراهيم ونوح وأدم عليهم السلام لأنها كانت موجودة في أيامهم وهو رسول وعليه التحريم. وإذا كان ذلك ... ومن تقدمه فليس بمكروه في جميع الأزمنة والأوقات ان تحريم الأعمال في السبت لا لعينه في جميع الأزمنة فليس هذا التحريم في زمان آخر.

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

وأيضاً فلا تخلو المحظورات من أن يكون تحريمها مفترضاً في كل الأزمنة لأن الله يكره ذلك المحظور لعينه وأما أن لا يكرهه الله لعينه بل نهى عنه في بعض الأزمنة. فإن كان الله ينهى عن عمل الصناعات في يوم السبت فينبغي أن يكون هذا التحريم على إبراهيم ونوح وأدم 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.

11. *Nuskhat mas'ala waradat 'alā Samaw'al min ba'd al-zanādiqa al-mutafalsifa* (ff. 144b:24-145b:12; cf. Mar'ashī Najafī 1975-, XXXII, pp. 642-643) [= MSS Majlis 593/7, pp. 199:17-200:16; Fātih 3141/3, ff. 264a-b; Majlis 4547/14, ff. 118a-118b:9].

Following his conversion, Samaw'al al-Maghribī was addressed by an anonymous accuser who doubted the sincerity of his

conversion. The anonymous letter as well as Samaw'al's reply (below, item no. 12) apparently predate his autobiography written in 562/1167 and are included in all manuscript copies containing the early version of *Ifhām*.

12. *Nuskhat al-jawāb* [li-Samaw'al al-Maghribī] (ff. 145:12-147a:7; cf. Mar'ashī Najafī 1975-, XXXII, pp. 642-643) [= MSS Majlis 539/7, pp. 200:17-202; Fâtiḥ 3141/4, ff. 264b-265b; Majlis 4547/15, ff. 118b:9-120a:6].

The text is concluded by the following colophon (f. 147a:2-7):

تم الجواب قد نقله أوج خلق الله محمود بن مسعود الشيرازي ختم الله له بالحسنى من
خط السموعل وذلك في سرار ربيع الآخر من شهور خمس وثمانين وستمانه وفي بلدة
قونية [قونة – الأصل] حماها الله من الأفات

For an edition of the correspondence (items no. 11 and 12), see *Silencing the Jews*, pp. 121-136 [Engl. transl. pp. 89-93]; *Samaw'al al-Maghribī's Ifhām al-Yahūd. The Early Recension*, pp. 44-48.

13. Brief discussion about temperament (*mizāj*) of uncertain authorship (ff. 147a:8-147b:16). The same text is quoted following Samaw'al al-Maghribī's reply to his anonymous accuser in MSS Majlis 593, p. 202:15-19 (incomplete in the end), and Majlis 4547, f. 120a, following line 6 (complete). The text is as follows:

أورد على أن القول بالمزاج سيلزم أحد أمرين وهو إما خلو جزء من الجسم المركب
عن الكيفية المزاجية أو تداخل الأجسام وكلاهما محال أما الملازمة فلأنه إما أن يوجد في
أجزاء الجسم المركب ما يخلو عن الكيفية المزاجية أو لا فإن وجد يلزم الأول وإن لم
يوجد يلزم الثاني لأنه إذا لم يخل جزء عن تلك الكيفية وإن بلغ في الصغر إلى حيث لا
يقبل القسمة فيكون كل جزء مشتملا على العناصر الأربعة فلا يكون جزء من أجزاء
مكان الجسم المركب خاليا عن الماء مثلا لوجوده في كل جزء وكذا عن كل واحد من
العناصر الباقية وعلى هذا يكون كل واحد من العناصر شاغلا لمكان المركب بالكلية
وهو عين التداخل وأما بطلان الجزء الأول من التالي فلأنه لو خلا جزء من المركب عن
الكيفية المزاجية لما كان المزاج كيفية متشابهة في جميع أجزاء الجسم الممزح واللازم
باطل على ما يدل حدهم المزاج عليه وأما بطلان الجزء الثاني خطأ بالأدلة الدالة على
امتناع التداخل

وأجبت عنه بأنكم إن أردتم بجزء من أجزاء المركب ما يعم البسائط وغيرها فيختار
خلو جزء منها عن تلك الكيفية وهو الجزء البسيط لأن المزاج كيفية قائمة بالمركب وبكل
جزء من أجزائه المركبة من البسائط الأربعة لا بجزئه البسيط ولا بجزئين ووثلاثة كذلك
وإن أردتم به ما عدا البسائط فيختار عدم خلو شيء من الأجزاء عن تلك الكيفية ولا يلزم
التداخل على ما لا يخفى وبوجه آخر أقول لا نسلم أنه إذا لم يخل جزء عن تلك الكيفية
المزاجية كان كل جزء مشتملا على العناصر الأربعة فإن الجزء البسيط غير خال عن
الكيفية المزاجية وغير مشتمل على العناصر الأربعة وهذا الجواب أحسن من الأول
يظهر بالتأمل لمن وقف له

14. Saying ascribed to Plato (f. 147b:17-22), which is, slightly abbreviated, included in MS Majlis 593, p. 2:3 [*qāla* Aflāṭūn] - 5 [first half of the line]; lines 17-19 of the text in the Shīrāzī Codex are missing.

* *
*

In sum, the codex provides new insights into the intellectual background of Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, particularly regarding his interest in the writings and thought of Ibn Kammūna. Moreover, the anonymous chronicle on Mongol history contained therein may prove to contain new data on the early history of the Mongols in Iran. Some of the writings included in the codex, viz. the fragment of *Majlis-i maktūb ... mun‘aqid dar Kh^vārazm* by Tāj al-Dīn al-Shahraṣṭānī and the copy of Ibn Kammūna’s *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth*, both of which predate the manuscripts known so far of these texts, can serve as leading copies for new improved editions of these treatises.

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