Hebrew Bible Quotations in Arabic Transcription in Safavid Iran of the 11th/17th Century: Sayyed Aḥmad ʿAlavī's Persian Refutations of Christianity

Dennis Halft OP

Research Unit Intellectual History of the Islamicate World, Freie Universität Berlin
dennis.halft@dominikaner.de

Abstract

In Muslim polemical writings on the Bible written in Arabic, scriptural quotations frequently appear in Arabic transcription of the original Hebrew. This phenomenon also occurs in the Persian refutations of Christianity by the 11th/17th-century Shīʿī scholar Sayyed Aḥmad ʿAlavī. The adduced biblical materials, however, vary significantly depending on the particular manuscript or recension. Nevertheless, they reflect the common repertoire of scriptural verses invoked by Muslim authors. In contrast to Henry Corbin, who argued on the basis of the Hebrew verses transcribed in Arabic characters that ʿAlavī was a Hebraist and directly acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures, it is suggested here that the Shīʿī scholar relied instead on lists of biblical "testimonies" to Muḥammad. Although ʿAlavī's literary sources are as yet unknown due to a lack of research, there is evidence from the manuscripts dating from ʿAlavī's lifetime that he copied the transcribed Bible quotations from earlier Muslim writings.

Keywords

Arabic transcription of Hebrew, Biblical testimonies to the Prophet Muḥammad, Henry Corbin, Muslim Bible reception, Muslim polemics against Judaism and Christianity, Safavid Iran, Sayyed Aḥmad ʿAlavī, Shīʿī refutations of Christianity

I

Despite the allegations in the Qurʾān that Jews and Christians have tampered with their divine scriptures, Muslim writers frequently draw on the Bible to prove the veracity of the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.[1] The scriptural

material was transmitted in collections of biblical "testimonies" included in intermediary sources, among the earliest known ones being the *K. al-dīn wa-l-dawla* by the Nestorian convert to Islam ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. 251/865) and, in particular, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*.[2] Both writings give evidence of the general tendency in Muslim polemical literature to reproduce biblical verses and traditional arguments against Judaism and Christianity over centuries.[3] This apparently also applies to scriptural quotations in Syriac, Greek and especially Hebrew that were transcribed in Arabic characters.[4] Although portions of the Bible were available in Arabic translation since the late 8th or early 9th century CE,[5] Muslim writers drew on biblical verses in the languages used by Jews and Christians, probably with the purpose of authenticating the claim of Muḥammad's prophethood and, in the case of Shīʿī authors, the advent of the imāms.[6] Although this phenomenon has attracted scholarly attention since the late 19th century CE, the research on the sources used by Muslim authors still remains a *desideratum* in the field of Islamic studies.

[2]   Adang, "A Rare Case"; Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission"; eadem, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah"; eadem, "Biblical Predictions"; eadem, "The Muslim Reception". Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba themselves apparently relied on earlier sources which, however, do not appear to have been preserved.

[3]   For an introduction to Muslim polemics and further references, see Adang, *Muslim Writers* (with a survey of verses from the Hebrew Bible invoked by Muslim authors, pp. 264–266); Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*; Nickel, *Narratives of Tampering*.

[4]   For Syriac and Greek verses transcribed in Arabic characters, see, e.g. Baumstark, "Zu den Schriftzitaten," pp. 308–311; Hasenmüller, "Die Beschreibung Muḥammads," pp. 121–125, 131–135, 137 f., 140 f., 155–159, 164–167, 170, 173 f., 176–178, 180 f.; Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate," pp. 246, 250, 258 f. For Hebrew verses, see, e.g. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī, *al-Sayf al-mamdūd*, pp. 111–144; Adang, "A Polemic against Judaism," pp. 148–150; Goldziher, "Saʿid b. Hasan," pp. 12–15, 22 f.; Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate," pp. 245–250, 253–257, 259–263; Monferrer Sala, "Siete citas hebreas," pp. 395–398; al-Qarāfī, *al-Ajwibat al-fākhira*, p. 100 (I am indebted to Diego R. Sarrió Cucarella, M.Afr., for bringing these two last references to my attention); al-Saʿūdī, *al-Muntakhab*, ed. van den Ham, p. 210 f., and ed. al-Ṣafanāwī l-Badrī, p. 272 f.; Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Aussprache," pp. 243–255; Weston, "The *Kitāb Masālik an-Naẓar*," pp. 319–321, 324–351, 361–378.

[5]   Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow*, p. 50. Cf. also idem, *The Bible in Arabic*; Vollandt, "Christian-Arabic Translations," pp. 19–59.

[6]   Interestingly, it was obviously more important to argue on the meaning of the adduced verse than to reproduce the original script. An early exception seems to be al-Maqdisī (d. after 355/966) who alongside the Arabic transcription also gives the biblical verses in Hebrew characters, cf. his *K. al-badʾ*, vol. 5, pp. 32–34 (translation), pp. 29–32 (Arabic numbers, text).

II

In early modern Safavid Iran, biblical passages in an Arabic transcription of the original Hebrew also appear in the Persian refutations of Christianity entitled *Lavāmeʿ-e rabbānī dar radd-e shobha-ye naṣrānī* (1031/1621) and *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ dar tajleya va taṣfeya-ye Āyena-ye ḥaqq-nomā* (1032/1622), composed by the well-known Shīʿī scholar Sayyed Aḥmad ʿAlavī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650). The large number of sources, namely about a dozen manuscripts of the former tract and twice as many of the latter, provides evidence for the relatively wide diffusion of ʿAlavī's polemical writings.[7] An examination of the transmitted manuscripts shows that the adduced Hebrew biblical material is subject to considerable variations, depending on the manuscript or recension concerned. This development can already be attested to in the manuscripts dating from the author's lifetime.

The earliest known manuscript of *Lavāmeʿ-e rabbānī*, MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83 dated in the colophon to 5 Shaʿbān 1031/15 June 1622, quotes only Genesis 17:20 in an Arabic transcription of the Hebrew.[8] Other verses of the Pentateuch are rendered in Arabic translation.[9] The only known manuscript of *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ* bearing ʿAlavī's personal signature can be found in MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5. The date of composition is given in the colophon as 1032/1622.[10] In this manuscript, Deuteronomy

---

[7] Currently the most comprehensive, though still incomplete, reference work listing numerous copies of ʿAlavī's polemical writings is Derāyatī, *Fehrestvāra*, vol. 8, p. 1106, vol. 9, p. 692. Although both tracts are available in print (cf. Aḥmad ʿAlavī, "Lavāmeʿ-e rabbānī," ed. Saʿīd; idem, *Meṣqal-e ṣafā*, ed. Nājī Eṣfahānī), a critical edition based on a comprehensive discussion of the transmitted manuscripts and recensions is still lacking. For an analysis of selected manuscripts of *Lavāmeʿ-e rabbānī* and their textual variations, see my "Schiitische Polemik". Regarding the primary sources of *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ*, I propose to discuss its manuscripts and recensions in my Ph.D. dissertation which is currently in preparation.

[8] MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83, fols 14b:10–15a:1. For a description of this copy, see my "Schiitische Polemik," p. 314 f.

[9] Interestingly, the Arabic translation of Deut. 33:2a has interpolated the word *al-nūr* and translates "the light" as coming from Mount Sinai instead of God himself. This variant apparently avoids an anthropomorphism and is already to be found in 4th/10th-century Shīʿī writings such as Ibn Bābawayh, *K. al-tawḥīd*, p. 427 f.; idem, *ʿUyūn*, vol. 1, p. 165. In MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83, fol. 13a:8–10, the verse runs as follows:

جاءَ النُّورُ مِنْ جَبَلِ طُورِ سَيْنَا، وَ اَضَاءَ لَنَا مِنْ جَبَلِ سَاعِيرْ، وَ اسْتَعْلَنَ عَلَيْنَا مِنْ جَبَلِ فَارَان.

[10] MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5, fol. 174b:7. For ʿAlavī's signature at the end of a personal note, see fol. 175b:1–2 of the manuscript. His hand can be established by comparison with other writings which have preserved glosses in the author's hand including his signature. Cf. Eʿteṣāmī, *Fehrest*, vol. 5, pp. 450 f., 520 (with a facsimile of *Kuḥl al-abṣār*, MS Tehran, Majles 1944, fol. 1b); Monzavī and Dāneshpazhūh, *Fehrest*, vol. 1, pp. 189–191; Aḥmad ʿAlavī, *Laṭāʾef-e ghaybiyya*,

33:2a appears in addition to Genesis 17:20, both transcribed in Arabic characters.[11]

In other manuscripts of *Meṣqal-e ṣafā'* which date from some years later in Shāh Ṣafī's (r. 1039/1629–1052/1642) era but still in ʿAlavī's lifetime, Hebrew verses now appear in different transcription systems alongside word for word translations from Hebrew into Persian. In MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256 and MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī) which both contain glosses in ʿAlavī's hand and are dedicated in the prologue to Shāh Ṣafī,[12] Deuteronomy 33:2a and Genesis 17:20 are quoted in two different transcriptions.[13] Moreover, Deuteronomy 33:2b appears in a fully transcribed Hebrew quotation, whereas Deuteronomy 18:15 and Zechariah 9:9 appear only as word for word translations from Hebrew into Persian.[14]

The most extensive biblical material in Arabic transcription of Hebrew, however, is transmitted in a manuscript of *Meṣqal-e ṣafā'* which bears no autographical note but is also dedicated in the prologue to Shāh Ṣafī, namely MS Tehran, Majles 715.[15] In this manuscript we find, in order of appearance, the Hebrew verses Deuteronomy 33:2a (in two different transcriptions) and 2b, Genesis 17:20 (in two different transcriptions), Deuteronomy 18:13 and 15, Deuteronomy 18:18–19 as well as Deuteronomy 34:10 which are all transcribed in Arabic characters and translated word for word into Persian.[16] The fact that Deuteronomy

---

pp. 84, 86 (introduction). The two latter references give facsimiles of *Laṭā'ef-e ghaybī*, MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 74, fols 17b, 151a. For a description of MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5, see Rossi, *Elenco*, p. 163.

[11]   MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5, fols 81a:10–11, 82b:2–4. Isolated Hebrew terms which occasionally appear in the manuscripts of *Meṣqal-e ṣafā'* are not considered in this article.

[12]   MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, fols 1b (margin), 3a:10–11 (own foliation); MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), fols 1b, 2a, 3a (margins), 3a:3–4 (own foliation). For a description of MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, see Ardalān Javān, *Fehrest*, vol. 1, p. 217 f.; Āṣef Fekrat, *Fehrest-e alefbā'ī*, p. 526. For a description of MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), see Dāneshpazhūh, *Fehrest-e mīkrūfīlmhā*, vol. 3, p. 173. These photographs are presumably taken from a manuscript which used to be preserved in the private collection of the late Jaʿfar Mīr Dāmādī in Tehran. This is established by various parallels between the photographs and Nājī Eṣfahānī's description of Mīr Dāmādī's copy, namely glosses in ʿAlavī's hand on the same folios, the dedication to Shāh Ṣafī and further details as far as I can verify them in the photographs. For the description, see Aḥmad ʿAlavī, *Meṣqal-e ṣafā*, ed. Nājī Eṣfahānī, p. 103 f. The current location of the manuscript is unknown to me.

[13]   MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, fols 76a:5–8, 77b:11–78a:3; MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), fols 72b:4–7, 74a:8–12.

[14]   MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, fols 76b:6–7, 79a:3–7, 79b:3–12; MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), fols 73a:5, 75a:11–75b:3, 75b:10–76a:6.

[15]   MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 3a:10. For a description of this copy, see Eʿteṣāmī, *Fehrest*, vol. 1, p. 58, no. 194, vol. 2, p. 453 f., no. 715. A microfilm is available in the Ketābkhāna-ye Markazī-ye Dāneshgāh, Tehran, cf. Dāneshpazhūh, *Fehrest-e mīkrūfīlmhā*, vol. 3, p. 84, no. 4654.

[16]   In the appendix, I shall present the transcribed Hebrew verses with their respective Persian

18:15 appears twice in different translations suggests a later insertion in the text on the basis of different sources.[17] Besides Zechariah 9:9, Habakkuk 3:3 and Isaiah 9:2 are also adduced here in word for word translations from Hebrew into Persian.[18]

In contrast to all previously mentioned manuscripts, MS Tehran, Majles 715 reflects a particular Jewish flavour which suggests the influence of a Jewish informant. This is shown by the fact that the portions of the Jewish cycle of Torah reading are indicated before the citation of Genesis 17:20 and Deuteronomy 18:13 and 15, namely the Parashot *Lekh-Lekha*, respectively, *Shofṭim*.[19] A Hebrew quotation from the Jewish Midrash, given under reference to "the leading exegetes of the Jews", is also adduced in Arabic transcription. In favour of the Muslim argument on Deuteronomy 34:10, it allegedly gives evidence for the advent of a prophet "among others than the Children of Israel", namely Muḥammad, who is said to be a descendant of Ishmael.[20]

In sum, the sources of ʿAlavī's refutations suggest a development towards the insertion of more differentiated and extensive Hebrew biblical quotations transcribed in Arabic characters and word for word translations into Persian in later manuscripts. This development probably began shortly after ʿAlavī's original composition and continued until his death in the mid-11th/17th century. Still, the adduced scriptural verses including additions and revisions are far from being original but are rather standard for Muslim polemical writings on the Bible.

III

Although in the current state of research we do not at present know ʿAlavī's sources, there is no evidence that he was a Hebraist with a direct knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures. Nevertheless, it has been argued by previous scholarship since the 1970s that the adduced Hebrew verses transcribed in Arabic characters were indications for ʿAlavī's acquaintance with Hebrew. The prominent French philosopher and orientalist Henry Corbin (1903–1978), for instance, was among the first Western scholars who turned their attention to

---

translation as transmitted in MS Tehran, Majles 715, fols 75a:7–75b:12 (Deut. 33:2); 76b:11–77b:5 (Gen. 17:20); 78a:13–78b:11, 79b:9–13 (Deut. 18:13 and 15); 78b:12–79a:11 (Deut. 18:18–19); 79a:13–79b:8 (Deut. 34:10); 80a:2–8 (Hab. 3:3); 80a:14–80b:11 (Zech. 9:9); 81a:4–9 (Isa. 9:2).

[17] Ibid., fols 78b:6–11, 79b:9–13.
[18] Ibid., fols 80a:2–8, 80a:14–80b:11, 81a:4–9.
[19] Ibid., fols 76b:11, 78a:13. Cf. the appendix, nos 2 and 3.
[20] Ibid., fol. 79b:4–8. For the Midrash quote, see the appendix, no. 5.

'Alavī's theological and philosophical thinking.[21] Based on his research on the above-mentioned MS Tehran, Majles 715, Corbin came to the conclusion:[22]

> Ce théologien-philosophe de l'Ispahan des Safavides ['Alavī, D.H.] savait, chose remarquable, parfaitement l'hébreu; il cite textuellement l'Ancien Testament en transcrivant l'hébreu en caractères arabes et le traduisant mot à mot en persan. Il s'offre même le luxe d'indiquer des variantes. Il semble que quelque relation rabbinique secrète doive être présupposée pour expliquer qu'un théologien shî'ite iranien pût, à l'époque, être si bon hébraïsant. Il a en outre une parfaite connaissance des Evangiles canoniques.[23]

Following Corbin, later scholars similarly claimed that the biblical verses in Arabic transcription of the Hebrew text allegedly give evidence for 'Alavī's erudition and his direct access to the Hebrew Bible, possibly with the aid of a Jew or a Jewish convert to Islam. Thus the French scholar Francis Richard stated on the basis of an undated manuscript of *Meṣqal-e ṣafā'*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. persan 12:[24]

> Sayyid Ahmad 'Alavî (...) semble s'être fait aider par quelqu'un connaissant l'hébreu, peut être un Juif converti, de manière à utiliser des arguments tirés du texte hébreu du Deutéronome lui-même. (...) On sait en effet que Sayyid Ahmad avait tiré certains de ses arguments décisifs contre la véracité de la doctrine chrétienne de la Torah elle-même.[25]

Such conclusions, however, which are still echoed today,[26] seem to be questionable in the light of the transmitted sources. Corbin's first argument that 'Alavī had a perfect knowledge of Hebrew is challenged by the fact that no

---

[21] Corbin, "Annuaire 1976–1977"; idem, *La philosophie iranienne*, pp. 168–179; idem, "Theologoumena," pp. 232–235. Corbin's conclusions need to be critically re-examined on the basis of the sources that are accessible today.

[22] Corbin apparently mixed up the shelf marks in his various contributions. Instead of MS Tehran, Majles 715 (see his *En Islam iranien*, vol. 4, p. 27, n. 27) he numbered the copy elsewhere "725" or "726", cf. Corbin, "Annuaire 1976–1977," p. 171; idem, "Theologoumena," p. 233, n. 28. It is beyond doubt, however, that Corbin was referring to MS Tehran, Majles 715.

[23] Corbin, "Annuaire 1976–1977," p. 169. Corbin even speculated about an interreligious interaction between scholars of the "People of the Scriptures" in Isfahan, cf. idem, "Theologoumena," pp. 233, 235.

[24] This manuscript gives Deut. 33:2a and Gen. 17:20 in a single Arabic transcription of Hebrew, cf. MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. persan 12, fols 190b:3, 192a:3–4. For a description of this copy, see Blochet, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 33 f., no. 52 (the indicated shelf mark "Supplément 11" at the very end needs to be corrected to "Supplément 12").

[25] Richard, "Le Père Aimé Chézaud," pp. 13, 15. Cf. also idem, "Catholicisme et Islam chiite," p. 384.

[26] Flannery, "The Persian Mission," p. 104, n. 360; Harrow, "Notes on Catholic-Shī'ī Relations," p. 109, n. 31, p. 120. It remains unclear to me on which sources Harrow's assumptions are based.

word for word translation into Persian is to be found in the earliest dated manuscripts, namely MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83 and MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5. Moreover, it is striking that several inaccuracies appear in the transcribed quotations of Hebrew verses such as Genesis 17:20 which is commonly interpreted in Shīʿī writings as predicting the mission of the twelve imāms. In all the early manuscripts of both *Lavāmeʿ-e rabbānī* and *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ* single Hebrew terms are regularly omitted (*nesiʾim*, *yolid*, *untatiy*).[27] An accurate quotation of the verse is only to be found in the first of two transcription variants preserved in MS Tehran, Majles 715 on which Corbin exclusively based his conclusions.[28] This suggests that ʿAlavī was not acquainted with Hebrew but copied the verse in a defective Arabic transcription from an earlier source. Later, Genesis 17:20 was apparently rectified in part as transmitted in MS Tehran, Majles 715. Interestingly, a full quotation of the same verse but in a different transcription also appears in a recension of *al-Kashkūl* (1002/1593), composed by ʿAlavī's teacher Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1621).[29] This transcription variant of Genesis 17:20 with its characteristic מֵאֹד בִּמְאֹד for מְאֹד בִּמְאֹד, followed by a translation into Persian, comes fairly close to the one already included in Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī's (d. about 360/971) *K. al-Ghayba*.[30] The manuscripts of ʿAlavī's polemics, however, obviously rely on a transcription tradition which is different from the one found in *al-Kashkūl*.

Corbin's second argument, that the biblical material incorporated in ʿAlavī's refutations is based on the Hebrew Bible itself, also appears unlikely. Since the Shīʿī scholar reproduces common scriptural verses and traditional arguments as they appear in various earlier Muslim writings, there was no need to consult the Jewish Scriptures directly. The argumentation concerning Deuteronomy 33:2, for instance, as given in all the above-mentioned manuscripts of ʿAlavī's refutations, recalls well-known literary *topoi* which already appear in Ibn Qutayba's list of biblical "testimonies" in his 3rd/9th-century tract *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*. ʿAlavī apparently relied on an intermediary source which likewise refers to "the land of Abraham" (*zamīn-e Khalīl*) where Mount Seir is said to have been located. In addition, the same connection between the village of

---

[27] MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83, fol. 15a:1; MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, fol. 78a:1 and 3; MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5, fol. 82b:4; MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), fol. 74a:10 and 12. Cf. also MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. persan 12, fol. 192a:4.

[28] MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 76b:12–14.

[29] For Gen. 17:20 transcribed in Arabic characters, see Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Kashkūl*, vol. 2, p. 611 (I thank Simon W. Fuchs for making the edition of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Naṣīrī available to me); Bosworth, *Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī*, p. 52.

[30] Al-Nuʿmānī, *K. al-Ghayba*, p. 108.

Nazareth (*Nāṣira*) and the Arabic name for Christians (*al-Naṣārā*) is estab-
lished, as Ibn Qutayba had already done.[31] That the Shīʿī scholar relied on ear-
lier literary sources is also suggested by an Arabic quotation which apparently
draws on Genesis 21:13–14, given under reference to the Qurʾān commentator
Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī (d. 127/745).[32] This quotation which is com-
monly attributed to al-Suddī also appears in later 11th/17th-century Shīʿī works,
namely Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī's (d. 1104/1693) *al-Jawāhir al-
saniyya fī l-aḥādīth al-qudsiyya* and Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī l-
Majlisī's (d. about 1110/1699) *Biḥār al-anwār*. Both authors refer to ʿAlī b. Mūsā b.
Ṭāwūs' (d. 664/1266) *al-Ṭarāʾif fī maʿrifat madhāhib al-ṭawāʾif* as their source.[33]
Thus it is reasonable that ʿAlavī likewise quoted al-Suddī through an interme-
diary source which still needs to be identified.

Corbin's third argument that the adduced variants of an Arabic transcrip-
tion of Hebrew verses as found in several manuscripts of ʿAlavī's *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ*
argue for the author's direct acquaintance with the Jewish Scriptures, is not
justified either. On the contrary, since it seems unlikely to assume that there
were Pentateuch manuscripts in 11th/17th-century Isfahan with such variant
Hebrew texts, the variations of the Arabic transcription rather indicate that
different Muslim sources were used by ʿAlavī. Although the phonetic transcrip-
tion of Hebrew in Arabic characters in Muslim polemical literature is in need
of further study, there are indications in the manuscripts of the Shīʿī scholar's
writings which suggest that the transcriptions were, at least in part, originally
devised by Muslims.[34] Considering the different transcription variants in the

---

[31] Cf. MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83, fol. 13a:10–13b:9; MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256,
fol. 77a:10–77b:6; MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. persan 12, fol. 191a:7–191b:6; MS Rome,
Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5, fol. 82a:1–9; MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F ('aksī), fols 73b:8–74a:3;
MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 76a:11–76b:6, and Schmidtke, "The Muslim Reception," p. 254, no. 3. For
an English translation of the corresponding passage as quoted in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Wafāʾ*, see Adang,
Muslim Writers, p. 268.

[32] Although the author frequently draws on biblical materials in his *Tafsīr*, I was unable to iden-
tify this quotation according to al-Suddī, *Tafsīr al-Suddī l-kabīr*. The passage which is transmitted
in the all above-mentioned manuscripts of *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ* runs, according to MS Tehran, Majles
715, fol. 77b:8–12, as follows:

لمَّا كَرِهَتْ سارة مكان هاجر اوحى الله تعالى الى ابرهيم الخليل عليه السلم، فقال: انطلق باسمعيل و
امه حتى تنزله بيتي التهامي، يعني مكه، فانّى ناشر ذريتها و جاعل منهم نبيًّا عظيمًا، و جاعل من ذريته
اثنى عشر عظيمًا.

[33] Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 36, p. 214; Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Jawāhir al-saniyya*, p. 311f. For the
quotation according to Ibn Ṭāwūs, see his *al-Ṭarāʾif*, p. 172.

[34] Plosive *pe* is rendered by *bāʾ*: אֶל־פֶּנִ֫ים (البانم)—Deut. 34:10, MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 79a:14,

sources, it seems that ʿAlavī was not sufficiently acquainted with the Hebrew language and Scriptures to decide on the quality of the respective transcription, but rather copied them side by side into his refutation. Such a procedure can already be observed in Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Shahrāshūb's (d. 588/1192) *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* in which Genesis 17:20 is also adduced in two different transcriptions.[35] The author identifies Faḍl b. Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī's (d. 548/1153) *Iʿlām al-warā bi-aʿlām al-hudā* as his source for the first variant and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAyyāsh al-Jawharī's (d. 401/1011) *Muqtaḍab al-athar fī l-naṣṣ ʿalā l-aʾimmat al-ithnay ʿashar* for the second transcription.[36] The latter also served as a source for ʿAlī b. Yūnus Bayāḍī (d. 877/1472–1473) who includes the transcribed Hebrew text of Genesis 17:20 in his *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm ilā mustaḥiqqī l-taqdīm*.[37] A transcription of the verse is also included in al-Majlisī's late 11th/17th-century *Biḥār al-anwār* who identifies Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Manāqib* as his source.[38]

In view of the fact that earlier transcription variants of Hebrew biblical verses reappear in Shīʿī writings in Safavid Iran, it is reasonable to assume that this also applies to the verses included in the manuscripts of ʿAlavī's polemics. Interestingly, in the same period in the Ottoman Empire, biblical verses in an Arabic transcription of Hebrew also emerged in Ottoman Turkish refutations of Judaism which possibly drew on earlier Arabic sources.[39] The phenomenon of

---

79b:4) or *pe*: (פָּארָן) پاران—Deut. 33:2, MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, fol. 76a:6, 8 and 10, 76b:5; MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), fols 72b:5, 7 and 9, 73a:4; MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 75a:11 and 13, 75b:7); (פָּנִים) پانم—Deut. 34:10, MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 79a:14). Long *qameṣ* is transcribed by *wāw*: (עָשָׂר) عسور—Gen. 17:20, MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83, fols 14b:11, 15a:6 and 9; MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, fols 77b:10, 78a:2; MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. persan 12, fol. 192a:4; MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5, fol. 82b:4; MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), fol. 74a:7 and 11; MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 77a:14); (גָּדוֹל) کُوذیل—Gen. 17:20, MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83, fol. 15a:1; MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, fol. 78a:3; MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. persan 12, fol. 192a:4; MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5, fol. 82b:4; MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), fol. 74a:12; MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 77a:14). *Ṣere* is rendered by *yāʾ*: (בֵּרַכְתִּי) بیراختی ، بیراحتی—Gen. 17:20, MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83, fol. 14b:10; MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256, fol. 78a:2; MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. persan 12, fol. 192a:3; MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5, fol. 82b:2; MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī), fol. 74a:11; MS Tehran, Majles 715, fol. 77a:13). The word לֹא is transcribed لو (MS Tehran, Majles 715, fols 78b:14, 79a:9, 13 and 14). Cf. Khan, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts*, pp. 7, 9; idem, "The Medieval Karaite Transcriptions," p. 166 f.

35) Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, vol. 1, pp. 246, 259.

36) Ibn ʿAyyāsh al-Jawharī, *Muqtaḍab al-athar*, p. 40; al-Ṭabarsī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, vol. 1, p. 59. The transcriptions of the Hebrew verse, however, considerably vary from each other in the editions concerned.

37) al-Bayāḍī, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, vol. 2, p. 238 f.

38) al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 36, p. 214.

39) On *Keşfü'l-esrār fī ilzāmi'l-Yehūd veʾl-aḥbār* (1016/1607) by the Jewish convert to Islam Yūsuf

Hebrew verses transcribed in Arabic characters is neither confined to Muslim writings in Arabic nor to anti-Jewish tracts but appears in Ottoman Turkish as well as Persian polemics against Judaism and Christianity from the early 11th/17th century onwards.

IV

In conclusion, there is no evidence from the manuscripts of *Lavāmeʿ-e rabbānī* and *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ* that ʿAlavī was acquainted with Hebrew, nor that he had any direct knowledge of the Hebrew Bible. Although the manuscripts which date from ʿAlavī's lifetime reflect a significant increase in Hebrew scriptural quotations transcribed in Arabic, they still belong to the traditional *corpus* of verses that are commonly invoked by Muslim writers. Despite the possible involvement of a Jewish informant, it seems reasonable to assume that ʿAlavī relied on earlier lists of biblical "testimonies" to Muḥammad included in intermediary sources which provided the Hebrew material in Arabic transcription. Even though ʿAlavī's sources remain as yet unknown due to a lack of research, the assumptions made by Corbin and other scholars do not seem to be justified. In view of the arguments proposed in this article and our knowledge about the transmission of biblical materials in Muslim writings, ʿAlavī's refutations of Christianity cannot be considered as proof of a Hebraist's hand.

Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān (Yūsuf Ibn Ebī ʿAbdüʾd-Deyyān), for instance, see Schmidtke and Adang, "Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrīzāde," p. 84. For the Hebrew passages included in his refutation, see Pfeiffer, "Confessional Polarization," pp. 44–46, 49 f.

Appendix

The biblical passages according to the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible and in the Arabic transcription and the word for word translation into Persian as found in MS Tehran, Majles 715:

1. *Deuteronomy 33:2*

וַיֹּאמַר יְהוָה מִסִּינַי בָּא וְזָרַח מִשֵּׂעִיר לָמוֹ הוֹפִיעַ מֵהַר פָּארָן וְאָתָה מֵרִבְבֹת קֹדֶשׁ מִימִינוֹ אֵשְׁדָּת לָמוֹ.

ويُومَر اذُوناء مَيسِيناى بَا وَزارَح مسِعِير لَامُو هُوفِيع مِهْر پاران، يا به اين عبارت: ويُومْار اذُوناي مَيسِيناى باء وزارح مِيسَعِير لَامُو هُوفِيع مِهار پاران،

يعنى امر كرد خداى تعالى در كُوه سينا و لامع و هويدا گرديد از سعير يعنى كُوه ساعير، و طالع و پيدا گرديد از مِهر يعنى از كُوه فاران، ويُومْار يعنى امر كرده، اَذُونْاى يعنى خداى، مِيْسِيناى يعنى از چه مى بمعنى از است درين لغت و سيناى طور سينا است، بَا يعنى آمد، وَزَارَح يعنى بدرخشيد، مِيسَعِير يعنى از كُوه ساعير، و در بعضى از نسخ تورات ميم مكسوره است و بعد از آن سين مُهمله ساكنه و آن نيز بمعنى از است،⁴⁰ لَامُو يعنى به ايشان، هُوفِيع يعنى فيض دهنده، مِهَر يعنى از كُوه چه هر بمعنى كُوهست و مِ بمعنى از، پاران يعنى فارن، (…)

وآتَا مِرى وَوُوْت فُودَش مِيْمِينُو اش دات لَامو، (…)

وَاتَا يعنى بيايد، مِرى يعنى چندين، وَوُوت يعنى هزار،⁴¹ فُودش يعنى خاص، مِيْمِينُو يعنى از راستان او، اِش يعنى آتش، دات يعنى شرع، لَامُو يعنى به ايشان.

---

40) Interestingly, the writer comments on a small orthographical variation between Pentateuch manuscripts which he claims to know. After translating the Hebrew مِيسَعِير [מִשֵּׂעִיר] into Persian از كُوه ساعير, he remarks that "in some copies of the Torah [the first letter] *mīm* [= Hebrew *mem*] is marked with the vowel *kasra* [= Hebrew *chireq*] and, after that, [the letter] *sīn* [= Hebrew *sin*] is without diacritical point and vowelless [= מִשְׂעיר]. Even so, the meaning [of מ] is 'from'." The writer apparently expects a *dagesh forte* and a short vowel in the intial letter of שֵׂעיר after the assimilation of the final consonant of מִן with the following. Such a familiarity with Hebrew grammar rather suggests the source of a Jewish informant.

41) The Arabic transcription of מֵרִבְבֹת is split into the parts مِرى and وَوُوت.

2. *Genesis 17:20*

וּלְיִשְׁמָעֵאל שְׁמַעְתִּיךָ הִנֵּה בֵּרַכְתִּי אֹתוֹ וְהִפְרֵיתִי אֹתוֹ וְהִרְבֵּיתִי אֹתוֹ בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד שְׁנֵים־עָשָׂר נְשִׂיאִם יוֹלִיד וּנְתַתִּיו לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל.

در آخر فصل لْخْلخا (...) باین عبارت: ولیشمَعِل شَمَعتیخا هِنّ بَرَخْتِی اُوثُو وِهِفرِیتی اُوثُو وِهِرِیبْتِی اُوثُو بِمْاد مْاد شنم عاسار نسی ایم یولید ونطِطِیْو لغوی کادوْل،

لِخْلخا یعنی برو ای ابرهِم ازین زمین بزمین کعبه، ولیشمعل از برای اسمعیل، شَمعتیخاشنیدم گفته ترا دربارهٔ دعا از جهت بقاء او، هِنّ اینك، بَرَخْتِی آفرین کردم، اُوثُو او را، وِهِفرِیتی یعنی برومند کردم او را از جهت زیادتی فرزندان، اُوثُو او را، وِهِرِیبْتِی بسیار کردم، اُوثُو او را، بِمْاد مْاد در غایت غایت بزرگی بهره مند گردانم، کنایه است آنحضرت رسالت صلی الله علیه و آله، و عدد این بحساب جمّل موافق اسم محمد است، شنم یعنی دو، عاشار یعنی ده، نَسِیئِمْ، جمع ناسی، یعنی بزرگ و سر کرده قوم، یُوْلید بزاید، ونطِطِیْو بدادم او را، لُغُوی یعنی بقوم، کادوْل بزرگ،

یا باین عبارت: ولشمْاعِیْل شْمْاتِیخو هِنّا بِراخْتِی وحفِرِیْتی ایتی وحریتی ایتی بِمْاد مْاد شنِم عسور لامیتا لغوی کُوْذیل،

و ترجمه اش بفارسی اینست، یعنی شنیدیم گفته ترا ای ابرهِم دربارهٔ اسمعیل. پس در او برکت بخشیده صاحب ثمره و میوه اش خواهم ساخت، و اولاد او را بسیار خواهم گردانید، و از فرزندان او مْاد و دوازده شریف منیف و امت عظیمه اخراج خواهم نمود.

3. *Deuteronomy 18:13 and 15*

תָּמִים תִּהְיֶה עִם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ (...) נָבִיא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאַחֶיךָ כָּמֹנִי יָקִים לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵלָיו תִּשְׁמָעוּן.

چه در فصل شوفطِیمْ (...) باین عبارت: تآمِمْ تِهْیه عَمَ ادُونْایَ اَلُوهِیْخا نابیْا مِیقِربْخا مِیْاحِخا کامُوْنی یاقِیْم لَخا ادُونْایَ اَلُوهِیخا اِیْلاو تِیشْماعُن،

ترجمه اش اینست: شوفطِیمْ، جمع شوفط، یعنی بزرگان صاحبان حکم، تامِیْم یعنی در صاف دلی تمام، تِهْیه باش، عَمَ بمعی مع، اَدُونْایَ یعنی بزرگوار، اَلُوهِیْخا یعنی خداوند تو، نابیْاَ یعنی نبی مرسل، مِیقِربْخاْ از خویشان تو ای بنو اسرائیل، مِیْاحِخْاْ از برادران تو، کامُوْنی یعنی مانند من که موسی پیغمبرم و اولو العزم، یاقِیْمْ این پیغمبر بر خواهد انگیزاند، لَخْاْ از برای تو، ادُونْایَ بزرگوار، اَلُوهِیخا خداوند تو، اِیْلاو بگفته او، تِیشْماعُن بشنوند، (...)

نَابِی یعنی پیغمبر، مِیْغِیر در میانه، بُخَا⁴² یعنی مَأَحخَا از برادران تو، کَامُونِی یعنی مانند من صاحب شریعت تازه، یَاقِیمْ بر انگیزاند، لَخَأ بتو، ادُونَای یعنی خدای، الُوِهخَا یعنی آفریننده تو، اِلِاوَ یعنی سخن او، تِشمَاعُوْن یعنی بشنوید.

4. *Deuteronomy 18:18–19*

נָבִיא אָקִים לָהֶם מִקֶּרֶב אֲחֵיהֶם כָּמוֹךָ וְנָתַתִּי דְבָרַי בְּפִיו וְדִבֶּר אֲלֵיהֶם אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר אֲצַוֶּנּוּ

וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִשְׁמַע אֶל־דְּבָרַי אֲשֶׁר יְדַבֵּר בִּשְׁמִי אָנֹכִי אֶדְרֹשׁ מֵעִמּוֹ.

نَابِیْ اَقِیم لَاهِم مِیقِرب اَحِیم کَامُوخَا وناتَی وَبَارَی بِفِیْوَ وِدِبَّر اَلِهِم اِثْ کُل اَشِرْ اَصَوِی مِینُو وَهابَا هَائِش اَشِرْ لُو لَیَشْمَعْ اِلْ دَبَارَیْ اَشِرْ یدَبِّر بِشْمِی اَنُوخِیْ اِدْرُوش مِیْعِمُو،

ترجمه اش اینست: نَابِیْ یعنی پیغمبر مرسل، اَقِیْم بر خواهم انگیزاند، لَاهِم از برای ایشان یعنی بنی اسرائیل، مِیقِرّب یعنی از میان، اَحِیم برادران ایشان، کَامُوخَا مانند تو ای موسی، وناتَی بدهم، وبَارَی سخنان من، بِفِیْوَ در دهن او، وِدِبِّر و سخن گوید، اِلِهِم بایشان یعنی بنی اسرائیل، اِثْ کُل اَشِرْ اَصَوِی مینو مر جمله آنچه بفرمایم او را، وَهایَا باشد، هَائِش آمرد، اَشِرْ آنچه، لُوْ لَیَشْمَعْ نشنود، اِلْ دَبَارَیْ بکلام من، اَشِرْ آنچه، یدَبِّر سخن گوید، بِشْمِی بنام من،⁴³ اِدْرُوش طلب می نمایم، مِیْعِمُوْ از نزد او.

5. *Deuteronomy 34:10*

וְלֹא־קָם נָבִיא עוֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמֹשֶׁה אֲשֶׁר יְדָעוֹ יְהוָה פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים.

ولُوقَامَ نَابِیْ عود بِیِسرَائِیل کِمُوش اَشِر یَدَاعُو اَدُونَایَ پَانِیم اِلْپَانِیم.

ولُوقَامَ بر نخواست، نَابِیْ پیغمبر مرسل، عود بر خواست پیغمبر دیگر، بِیِسرَائِیل در بنی اسرائیل، کِمُوش مانند موسای، اَشِر آنچه، یَدَاعُو شناخت او را، اَدُونَای بزرگوار، پَانِیم اِلْپَانِیم روی بروی.

مُفسران یهودان که سر کرده ایشانند تفسیر این: اَبَالِ بَامُوْلَ هَاعُولَام قام [אֲבָל בְּאֻמּוֹת הָעוֹלָם קָם]،⁴⁴

یعنی در بنی اسرائیل همچنین پیغمبری بر نخواست، اما در غیر بنی اسرائیل بر خواست.

بنابر این تفسیر باید که از نسل اسماعیل پیغمبری مانند موسی بر خیزد.

---

⁴²) The Arabic transcription of מִקֶּרֶב is split into the parts مِیْغِیر and بُخَا.

⁴³) A translation of [אָנֹכִי] أُنُوخِیْ as it appears in the quotation is lacking here.

⁴⁴) *Sifre Devarim*, paragraph 357, 10. I owe this reference to Camilla Adang.

6. *Habakkuk 3:3*

אֱלוֹהַ מִתֵּימָן בּוֹא וְקָדוֹשׁ מֵהַר־פָּארָן סֶלָה כִּסָּה שָׁמַיִם הוֹדוֹ וּתְהִלָּתוֹ מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ.

اَلُوٰهْ الله تعالى، مِيتِيمَان از طرف مغرب، يَاوُوْ مى آيد، وقُوْدِش الله كه قدوس است، مِهْر باران از كوه فاران، صلّا هميشه، [45] كِيصا بيوشاند، شَمَايِم آسمانها را، هُوْدُوْ شكوه مندى او، أُوتِيِلاتُو مدح او و پر كردانيد، مِلاو مملو ساخت، هَارْض روى زمين را.

7. *Zechariah 9:9*

גִּילִי מְאֹד בַּת־צִיּוֹן הָרִיעִי בַּת יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הִנֵּה מַלְכֵּךְ יָבוֹא לָךְ צַדִּיק וְנוֹשָׁע הוּא עָנִי וְרֹכֵב עַל־חֲמוֹר וְעַל־עַיִר בֶּן־אֲתֹנוֹת.

قِيْلِي يعنى خرم شوم، مَأُوْ يعنى بسيار، بَتْصِيُّوْن يعنى جماعت صيْدا ترست كه عبارتست از دهى كه در نواحى بيت المقدس است، هَارِيْعِي غلبه كى مى كند، بت يعنى جماعت، يَرُوشالَايِم يعنى آن شهر، هِنِّ اينك، مِلْكِخْ يعنى پادشاه تو، بَاوُو بيايد، لَاخْ يعنى بتو، صِدِّيق يعنى راست گفتار راست كردار، وُنُوْشَعْ يعنى فرج دهنده، هُو يعنى او، افتاده و درويش نهاد[46] كه عبارتست از خلق عظيم او، ورُخِبْ يعنى سوار، عَلْحُمُوْر يعنى بر خر، وعَلْعَاير يعنى بر عِيْر يعنى كه شتر جمازه، وَعَلْ متصل بحمود و عَاير بمعنى على است، بن اَتُوْنُو يعنى پسر اصيل مند و بزركست.

8. *Isaiah 9:2*

הָעָם הַהֹלְכִים בַּחֹשֶׁךְ רָאוּ אוֹר גָּדוֹל יֹשְׁבֵי בְּאֶרֶץ צַלְמָוֶת אוֹר נָגַהּ עֲלֵיהֶם.

هَاعَام اى قوم بنى اسرائيل، هَهُوْلِخِيْم آن راه نوردان، بُوْسَخْ يعنى در تاريكي، رَاوُ اينست كه ديدند، اُوْرَ يعنى نور، كَادُوْل يعنى بزرگ، يُوْشِبَى يعنى نشستگان، بِاَرْض يعنى در زمين، صَلْمَاوَثْ يعنى ظلمات، اُوْرَ يعنى نور، نَاغَه عَلَيْهِم مى درخشد بر ايشان.

---

45) Interestingly, the translation of the puzzling term סֶלָה as "always" (*ḥamīsha*) is already to be found in the early Jewish tradition, cf. Snaith, "Selah," p. 55.

46) The corresponding transcription of the term עָנִי in Arabic characters is lacking here.

Bibliography

ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī, *al-Sayf al-mamdūd fī l-radd ʿalā aḥbār al-Yahūd* (*Espada exten-dida para refutar a los sabios judíos*), ed. and trans. Esperanza Alfonso, Madrid: Con-sejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998.

Adang, Camilla, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden: Brill, 1996.

——, "A Polemic against Judaism by a Convert to Islam from the Ottoman Period: *Risālat Ilzām al-Yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*," *Journal asiatique* 297 (2009), pp. 131–151.

——, "A Rare Case of Biblical 'Testimonies' to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtazilite Literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-al-dawla* in Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ghurar al-adilla*, as Preserved in a Work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī," in *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, eds Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke and David Sklare, Würzburg: Ergon, 2007, pp. 297–330.

——, and Sabine Schmidtke (eds), *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2010.

Aḥmad ʿAlavī, *Laṭāʾef-e ghaybiyya: Āyāt al-ʿaqāʾid*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn Mīr Dāmādī, [Teh-ran]: Ḥaydarī, 1396/[1976].

——, *Lavāmeʿ-e rabbānī*, MS Cambridge, University Dd.6.83.

——, "Lavāmeʿ-e rabbānī," in *Dāʾerat al-maʿāref-e Qorʾān-e karīm*, vol. 2, ed. Ḥasan Saʿīd, Tehran: Chehal-setūn, 1406/[1985–1986], pp. 20–183.

——, *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ*, MS Mashhad, Āstān-e Qods 256.

——, *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. persan 12.

——, *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ*, MS Rome, Biblioteca vaticana Borg. pers. 5.

——, *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ*, MS Tehran, Dāneshgāh 3531 F (ʿaksī).

——, *Meṣqal-e ṣafāʾ*, MS Tehran, Majles 715.

——, *Meṣqal-e ṣafā dar naqd-e kalām-e masīḥiyyat*, ed. Ḥāmid Nājī Eṣfahānī, Qom: Amīr, 1415/1373/[1994].

Ardalān Javān, ʿAlī, et al., *Fehrest-e kotob-e khaṭṭī-ye Ketābkhāna-ye Markazī-ye Āstān-e Qods-e Rażavī* 1–, Mashhad: Moʾassasa-ye Chāp va Enteshārāt-e Āstān-e Qods-e Rażavī, ²1365–/[1987–].

Āṣef Fekrat, Moḥammad, *Fehrest-e alefbāʾī-ye kotob-e khaṭṭī-ye Ketābkhāna-ye Markazī-ye Āstān-e Qods-e Rażavī*, Mashhad: Moʾassasa-ye Chāp va Enteshārāt-e Āstān-e Qods-e Rażavī, 1369/[1990].

Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Kashkūl* 1–2, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Naṣīrī, Qum: Dār al-ʿIlm, 1378/[1958].

Baumstark, Anton, "Zu den Schriftzitaten al-Kirmānīs," *Der Islam* 20 (1932), pp. 308–313.

al-Bayāḍī, ʿAlī b. Yūnus, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm ilā mustaḥiqqī l-taqdīm* 1–3, ed. Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Bahbūdī, Tehran: al-Murtaḍawiyya, 1384/[1964].

Blochet, Edgar, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale* 1–4, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1905–1934.

Bosworth, Clifford E., *Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī and His Literary Anthologies*, Manchester: University, 1989.

Corbin, Henry, "Annuaire 1976–1977: Shîʿisme et christianisme à Ispahan au XVIIe siècle: L'œuvre de Sayyed Ahmad ʿAlavî Ispahânî," in *Itinéraire d'un enseignement: Résumé*

des conférences à l'Ecole pratique des hautes études (*Section des sciences religieuses*) *1955–1979*, Tehran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1993, pp. 169–173.

——, *En Islam iranien: Aspects spirituels et philosophiques* 1–4, Paris: Gallimard, 1971–1972.

——, *La philosophie iranienne islamique aux XVIIe à XVIIIe siècles*, Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1981.

——, "Theologoumena iranica," *Studia Iranica* 5 (1976), pp. 225–235.

Dāneshpazhūh, Moḥammad T., *Fehrest-e mīkrūfilmhā-ye Ketābkhāna-ye Markazī-ye Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān* 1–3, Tehran: Dāneshgāh, 1348–1363/[1969–1984].

Derāyatī, Moṣṭafā, *Fehrestvāra-ye dastneveshthā-ye Īrān* 1–12, Tehran: Majles, 1389/[2010].

Eʿteṣāmī, Yūsof, et al., *Fehrest-e Ketābkhāna-ye Majles-e Shūrā-ye Mellī* 1-, Tehran: Majles, 1305–/[1926–].

Flannery, John M., "The Persian Mission of the Order of Augustinian Hermits, 1602–1747: A Study in the Relations between the Catholic Church, Shiʿa Islam and Eastern Christianity," Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 2009.

Goldziher, Ignaz, "Saʿid b. Hasan d' Alexandrie," *Revue des études juives* 30 (1895), pp. 1–23.

Griffith, Sidney H., *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the 'People of the Book' in the Language of Islam*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

——, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Halft, Dennis, "Schiitische Polemik gegen das Christentum im safawidischen Iran des 11./17. Jahrhunderts: Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlawīs *Lawāmiʿ-i rabbānī dar radd-i šubha-yi naṣrānī*," in *Contacts and Controversies*, eds Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke, Würzburg: Ergon, 2010, pp. 273–334.

Harrow, Leonard, "Notes on Catholic-Shīʿī Relations during the Safavid Period," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 63 (2011), pp. 99–121.

Hasenmüller, Monika, "Die Beschreibung Muḥammads im Evangelium: Eine muslimische Polemik gegen die Christen aus dem osmanischen Reich (Anfang 18. Jhdt.)," in *Contacts and Controversies*, eds Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke, Würzburg: Ergon, 2010, pp. 83–195.

Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Jawāhir al-saniyya fī l-aḥādīth al-qudsiyya*, Qum: al-Mufīd, 1384/[1964].

Ibn ʿAyyāsh al-Jawharī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Muqtaḍab al-athar fī l-naṣṣ ʿalā l-aʾimmat al-ithnay ʿashar*, ed. Hāshim al-Rasūlī l-Maḥallātī, Qum: al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, n.d.

Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *K. al-tawḥīd*, ed. Hāshim al-Ḥusaynī l-Ṭihrānī, Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, n.d.

——, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* 1–2, ed. Mahdī l-Ḥusaynī l-Lājawardī, Qum: Dār al-ʿIlm, 1377–1379/[1958–1959].

Ibn Shahrāshūb, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* 1–3, ed. Lajna min asātidhat al-Najaf, al-Najaf: al-Ḥaydariyya, 1376/[1956].

Ibn Ṭāwūs, ʿAlī b. Mūsā, *al-Ṭarāʾif fī maʿrifat madhāhib al-ṭawāʾif*, Qum: al-Khayyām, 1399/[1979].

Khan, Geoffrey, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

——, "The Medieval Karaite Transcriptions of Hebrew into Arabic Script," *Israel Oriental Studies* 12 (1992), pp. 157–176.

Kraus, Paul, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismāʿīlitischen Schriften," *Der Islam* 19 (1931), pp. 243–263.

Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī, *Biḥār al-anwār* 0–28, 35–110, ed. Jawād ʿAlawī, et al., Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1376–1405/[1957–1985].

al-Maqdisī, Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *K. al-badʾ wa-l-taʾrīkh* 1–6, ed. Clément Huart, Paris: Leroux, 1899–1919.

Monferrer Sala, Juan Pedro, "Siete citas hebreas, más una aramea, transcritas al árabe en el *Iʿlām* del Imām al-Qurṭubī," *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebráicos* 48 (1999), pp. 393–403.

Monzavī, ʿAlī N. and Moḥammad T. Dāneshpazhūh, *Fehrest-e noskhahā-ye khaṭṭī-ye Ketābkhāna-ye Markazī va Markaz-e Asnād-e Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān* 1-, Tehran: Dāneshgāh, 1330–/[1951–].

Nickel, Gordon D., *Narratives of Tampering in the Earliest Commentaries on the Qurʾān*, Leiden: Brill, 2011.

al-Nuʿmānī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *K. al-ghayba*, ed. Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm, Qum: Anwār al-Hudā, 1422/[2001–2002].

Pfeiffer, Judith, "Confessional Polarization in the 17th Century Ottoman Empire and Yūsuf İbn Ebī ʿAbdüʾd-Deyyān's *Keşfüʾl-esrār fī ilzāmiʾl-Yehūd veʾl-aḥbār*," in *Contacts and Controversies*, eds Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke, Würzburg: Ergon, 2010, pp. 15–55.

al-Qarāfī, Aḥmad b. Idrīs, *al-Ajwibat al-fākhira ʿan al-asʾilat al-fājira*, ed. Majdī Muḥammad al-Shahāwī, Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1426/2005.

Richard, Francis, "Catholicisme et Islam chiite au 'grand siècle': Autour de quelques documents concernant les Missions catholiques au XVIIème siècle," *Euntes docete. Commentaria urbaniana* 33 (1980), pp. 339–403.

——, "Le Père Aimé Chézaud controversiste et ses manuscrits persans," *Nāmeh-ye Bahārestān* 6–7 (1385–1386/2005–2006), pp. 7–18.

Rossi, Ettore, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca vaticana: Vaticani, barberiniani, borgiani, rossiani*, Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1948.

al-Saʿūdī, Abū l-Faḍl, *al-Muntakhab al-jalīl min Takhjīl man ḥarrafa l-Injīl*, ed. Frederik Jacob van den Ham, *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos*, Leiden: Brill, 1890.

——, *al-Muntakhab al-jalīl min Takhjīl man ḥarrafa l-Injīl*, ed. Ramaḍān al-Ṣafanāwī l-Badrī, Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1418/1997.

Schmidtke, Sabine, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission of Biblical Materials from *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-al-dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī: The Evidence from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 20 (2009), pp. 105–118.

——, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah and Its Abrogation," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 61 (2008), pp. 559–580.

——, "Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Iran," *Arabica* 59 (2012), pp. 218–266.

———, "The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials: Ibn Qutayba and His *A'lām al-nubuwwa*," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 22 (2011), pp. 249–274.

———, and Camilla Adang, "Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrīzāde's (d. 968/1561) Polemical Tract against Judaism," *Al-Qanṭara. Revista de Estudios Arabes* 29 (2008), pp. 79–113, 537–538.

Schreiner, Martin, "Zur Geschichte der Aussprache des Hebräischen," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 6 (1886), pp. 213–259.

Snaith, Norman H., "Selah," *Vetus Testamentum* 2 (1952), pp. 43–56.

al-Suddī, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Tafsīr al-Suddī l-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAṭā Yūsuf, al-Manṣūra: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 1414/1993.

al-Ṭabarsī, Faḍl b. Ḥasan, *Iʿlām al-warā bi-aʿlām al-hudā* 1–2, Qum: Muʾassassat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1417/[1996].

Vollandt, Ronny, "Christian-Arabic Translations of the Pentateuch from the 9th to the 13th Centuries: A Comparative Study of Manuscripts and Translation Techniques," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2011.

Weston, Sidney A., "The *Kitāb Masālik an-Naẓar* of Saʿīd ibn Ḥasan of Alexandria: Edited for the First Time and Translated with Introduction and Notes," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 24 (1903), pp. 312–383.