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# A Newly Discovered Persian Treatise on Biblical ‘Proofs’ of Muḥammad’s Prophethood (ca. 1702) by a Missionary Convert to Šī‘ī Islam\*

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THE PAST few decades have seen a growing scholarly interest in cultural and intellectual encounters between Catholic missionaries and Imāmī (Twelver) Šī‘ī scholars in early-modern Safavid Iran.<sup>1</sup> Two recently published volumes in the series *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History* provide us with a state-of-the-art publication on this topic.<sup>2</sup> With the continuing efforts of manuscript repositories in Iran in cataloguing and digitizing their collections, more hitherto unknown works that reflect Šī‘ī-Catholic interaction during the 17th and early 18th centuries are likely to surface. Studying even fragmentary copies from the vast Iranian (and Indian)

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1. See, e.g. Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians*; Ča‘fariyān, *Šafaviyyah dar ‘arsa-yi dīn*, vol. 3; Matthee, “Poverty and Perseverance”, as well as his essay in this issue; Piemontese, *Persica vaticana*; Richard, “Catholicisme et Islam chiite”; *Raphaël du Mans*; and Windler, *Missionare in Persien*.

2. See CMR, vol. 10 (Ottoman and Safavid Empires, 1600–1700), p. 493–691, and CMR, vol. 12 (Asia, Africa, and the Americas, 1700–1800), p. 243–312, and the literature cited there.

collections of Persian manuscripts can further advance our knowledge about the relationship between religions and the inter-cultural dynamics that shaped their respective theologies. In this article, we use a thus far unstudied anti-Christian work by a missionary convert to Islam to explore how the Latin Bible and other books printed in Europe were used to substantiate Šī‘ī doctrine.

Two manuscripts preserved in libraries in Iran, namely Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, 85 fols. (own partly corrected foliation), and Tih-rān, Malik, MS 6348, 95 fols. (own foliation), contain an Imāmī Šī‘ī treatise (*risāla*) on Christianity and the Bible.<sup>3</sup> The Persian treatise can be dated ca. 1702, as suggested by the following comment by the author: “From the time of Jesus until present, according to the Christian account, nearly 1,702 years have passed...”<sup>4</sup> Both manuscripts are defective in the beginning and mention neither the title of the work nor the name of its author.<sup>5</sup> However, in the penultimate section of the treatise, the author identifies himself as a former Catholic missionary and Father (*pādri*) who converted to Islam. Reporting on the theological disagreement among Christians over the term *filioque*,<sup>6</sup> the author relates that,

3. The two copies, none of which possesses a colophon, vary slightly. Each of them has been collated with its original *Vorlage*, as suggested by collation notes in the margins. For descriptions of the manuscripts, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna*, vol. 2, p. 213–214; Afšār & Dānišpazhūh, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi ḥaṭṭī*, vol. 3, p. 405–406; DINĀ, vol. 4, p. 1240, no. 117943, and vol. 5, p. 596, no. 133943; FANĤĀ, vol. 14, p. 762, and vol. 16, p. 408. The titles mentioned in the catalogues, *Dalā’il-i nubuvvat u imāmat* and *Radd-i Yahūd*, were chosen by the editors and do not correspond to the manuscripts.

4. *Az zamān-i ḥazrat-i ‘Īsā tā ḥāl bi-qawl-i Našārā qarīb bi hazār u haftšad u du sāl mi-šavad...* See Tih-rān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 77r:12–14. By contrast, the same passage reads “nearly 1,700 years” (*qarīb bi hazār u haftšad sāl*) in Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 70r:10–11. The *lectio difficilior*, i.e. 1,702 years, is probably to be preferred.

5. While a portion of the prologue is still extant in Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614 (see fols. 2r:1–2v:3), Tih-rān, Malik, MS 6348 begins a few lines after the beginning of the first section (equivalent to Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 2v:12). For the structure of the treatise, see below.

6. “One of the Popes said that the Trinity, on which the religion is based, consists of Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. The Father did not come forth from anyone, the Son came forth from the Father, and the Holy Spirit came forth from the Son alone. [...] A few years later, another Pope came and said that the Holy Spirit did not come forth from the Son alone, but from the Father and the Son [my italics]” (*yakī az Rīm-pāpāyān gufta ki tuṭṭa [sic] ki banā-yi maḍhab rā bar ān guzāšta-and, pidar u pisar u rūḥ al-quḍus ast, va pidar az hič kas bi-ham na-rasīda, va pisar az pidar bi-ham rasīda, va rūḥ al-quḍus az pisar tanhā bi-ham rasīda [...] va ba’d az čand sāl Rīm-pāpā-i diḡar āmada va gufta ki rūḥ al-quḍus na tanhā az pisar balka az pidar u pisar bi-ham rasīda*). See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 68r:6–11; and Tih-rān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 74v:13–75r:4.

“for a while, I was also one of them and a Father, and I shared their belief in the Holy Spirit in those days”.<sup>7</sup>

Although the two extant manuscripts do not provide conclusive evidence, there are strong indications that the author was the prolific Šīrī polemicist ‘Alī-Qulī Bayg or, as his name appears in his Persian works, ‘Alī-Qulī *jadīd al-Islām* (“new convert to Islam”, d. after 1123/1711). ‘Alī-Qulī is commonly identified as the former Portuguese Augustinian missionary António de Jesus, one of two late 17th-century missionary converts. He converted in Isfahan between 1694 and 1697.<sup>8</sup> ‘Alī-Qulī is well-known for his polemical treatises against Christianity (and Sufism) following his conversion.<sup>9</sup> His position as an ex-missionary with expert knowledge on his former religion confers special authority on ‘Alī-Qulī’s works.<sup>10</sup> Addressed to Muslim readers, they are particularly significant for the study of cross-cultural exchanges, since they provided indigenous Muslim scholars with arguments against the authenticity

7. *Man ham muddatī az iṣān va dar silk-i pādriyān būda va bi-i’tiqād-i iṣān dar ān-vaqt rūḥ al-quḍusī [sic] dāštām.* See Tihirān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 76r:6–8. The same passage has been erased in Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 69r:8–10, apparently by a reader who felt uncomfortable about the Christian past of the author.

8. For a discussion of the date of conversion, see Tiburcio, “Muslim-Christian Polemics”, p. 248. A few years earlier, another Portuguese Augustinian missionary, Manuel de Santa Maria, had converted to Islam, changing his name to Ḥasan- or Ḥusayn-Qulī Bayg (for the latter name, see Bruyn, *Reizen*, p. 187). In contrast to ‘Alī-Qulī, Ḥasan-/Ḥusayn-Qulī is not known to have authored Šīrī polemical works. On the conversion of the two missionaries, see Richard, “Un Augustin portugais renégat”, p. 73–74; Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians*, p. 94–98; Rota, “Conversion to Islam”, p. 59; and Windler, *Missionare in Persien*, p. 272–278. For an overview on conversion in Safavid Iran, see Matthee, “I. Confessions of an Armenian Convert”, p. 11–18, 27–30.

9. On his works, see Tiburcio, “‘Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām”, and the literature cited there, as well as Ğa‘fariyān, “Pidar-i Āntūniyū du Zhizū”, and Pourjavady, “‘Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām”.

10. In fact, ‘Alī-Qulī identifies himself in all of his works as a missionary convert to Islam. The following statement in his *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) is almost identical to the one in the treatise mentioned above: “For a while, I was a Father and I shared their belief in this Holy Spirit” (*banda muddatī pādri būdam va bi-i’tiqād-i iṣān īn rūḥ al-quḍus bi-āmin būd*). See Tihirān, Malik, MS 5438, p. 141:1–2 (no foliation). For similar passages in *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*), see Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 12116, fol. 2v:13–14; Qum, Iḥyā<sup>2</sup>-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī, MS 2895, p. 4:14–15 (no foliation); Tihirān, Maḡlis, MS 2089, p. 4:2–4 (no foliation); and Tihirān, Malik, MS 5438, p. 4:14–15, 176:14–177:2. For ‘Alī-Qulī’s edited works, see his “Risāla dar radd-i ḡamā‘at-i Šūfiyān”, R. Ğa‘fariyān (ed.), p. 24, 28–29, 44; “Favā’id-i izdivāḡ”, M.R. Zā‘irī (ed.), p. 301; and *Sayf al-mu‘minīn*, R. Ğa‘fariyān (ed.), published under the title *Tarḡuma, šarḥ va naqd-i sifr-i paydāyiš-i Tawrāt*, p. 56.

of the Christian Scriptures, based on a detailed analysis of textual variants between different versions of the Bible printed in Latin and Arabic.<sup>11</sup>

The article first discusses evidence supporting ‘Alī-Qulī as the author of this treatise and subsequently presents the structure and contents of the work. The identification of ‘Alī-Qulī as the author of this work remains preliminary until a complete copy of the treatise containing the name of the author is identified.<sup>12</sup> The overall purpose of this study is to introduce a hitherto unstudied work to the reader and to stimulate further research on it in the wider context of Muslim-Christian interaction in early-modern Iran.

## Authorship and Identification

In the introduction to his most extensive refutation of Christianity, *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) *wa-taqwiyat al-mu’minīn* (*Guidance for those who are led [or who lead] astray and strengthening for the believers*, composed before ca. 1121/1709), dedicated to Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1105/1694–1135/1722), ‘Alī-Qulī references an earlier treatise (*risāla*) he authored on the “proof of prophethood” (*iṭbāt-i nubuvvat*).<sup>13</sup> Scholars have speculated that this treatise had either been ‘lost’ or is identical with an anti-Jewish work attributed to ‘Alī-Qulī in some secondary literature.<sup>14</sup> This article, however, suggests

11. For his analysis, ‘Alī-Qulī accessed the bilingual Arabic-Latin edition of the *Biblia sacra arabica* (= *al-Kutub al-muqaddasa bi-l-lisān al-‘arabī*), printed in three volumes by the *Propaganda Fide* between 1671 and 1673. For details, see Ğā‘fariyān, “Pidar-i Āntūniyū du Zhizū”, p. 94–101. On converts as cross-cultural brokers, see Clines, “The Converting Sea”, and the literature cited there.

12. ‘Alī-Qulī usually gives his name in the introduction of his works, often directly following the *ba‘diyya*. For his *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*), see Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 12116, fol. 2v:8; Qum, Iḥyā‘-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī, MS 2895, p. 4:7; Tihrān, Mağlis, MS 2089, p. 3:12; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 5438, p. 4:7. For his edited works, see ‘Alī-Qulī, “Risāla dar radd-i ğamā‘at-i Šūfiyān”, R. Ğā‘fariyān (ed.), p. 17; “Favā‘id-i izdivāğ”, M.R. Zā‘irī (ed.), p. 301; and *Sayf al-mu’minīn*, R. Ğā‘fariyān (ed.), p. 56.

13. See Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 12116, fol. 6v:10; Qum, Iḥyā‘-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī, MS 2895, p. 14:3; Tihrān, Mağlis, MS 2089, p. 12:4–5; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 5438, p. 15:3. *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) still remains to be researched and edited. For a preliminary study, see Richard, “Un Augustin portugais renégat”, p. 75–77. For descriptions of the extant manuscripts of the work, see below, Appendix I.

14. See Pourjavady & Schmidtke, “‘Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām”. The anti-Jewish work is extant in Tihrān, Dānišgāh, MS 1186/5, fols. 101v–112r. The untitled and undated copy, known under the title *Radd bar Yahūd*, contains extensive citations from the Hebrew Bible represented in Arabic

that 'Alī-Qulī's *Iṭbāt-i nubuvvat* is, in fact, extant in the two untitled manuscripts: Qum, Mar<sup>ca</sup>āšī, MS 614 and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348. A comparison between the treatise in these manuscripts and 'Alī-Qulī's hitherto known works, namely his *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*), *Radd-i ḡamā'at-i* (or 'aqā'id-i) *Ṣūfiyān* (*Refutation of the community [or beliefs] of Sufis*, composed ca. 1121/1709), *Favā'id-i izdivāḡ* (*Benefits of marriage*, composed before 1123/1711), and *Sayf al-mu'minīn fī qitāl al-mušrikīn* (*Sword of the believers in battling the polytheists*, completed in 1122/1710 or early 1123/1711), shows significant parallels, such as the argument structure, the referenced sources, and biblical citations.<sup>15</sup>

'Alī-Qulī's works are heavily informed by European texts, in particular theological books and dictionaries, on which the author draws in order to defeat Christianity with its own hermeneutical arguments. The multi-lingual *Dictionarium septem linguarum* (hereafter *Dictionarium*) by the Augustinian lexicographer Ambrogio Calepio ("il Calepino", 1435–1510), figures prominently in 'Alī-Qulī's writings.<sup>16</sup> 'Alī-Qulī references the *Dictionarium* for questioning the reliability of the (Latin) Vulgate, the official Bible translation of the Roman Catholic Church (1546). His use of European dictionaries for detailed etymological inquiries is considered "a novelty" in the genre of 'proofs of prophethood'.<sup>17</sup> In his *Sayf al-mu'minīn*, for instance, 'Alī-Qulī rejects the interpretation of Ammon as a reference to the "people" (*ummat*) of the Ammonites (cf. Genesis 19:38).<sup>18</sup> He argues, based on Calepio's *Dictionarium*, that Ammon

(fols. 101v–110v) as well as Hebrew letters (fol. 111r). It is part of a codex that was copied in ca. 1278/1862. The name of the author reads as 'Alī b. Muḡammad ḡadīd al-Islām (fol. 101v:1). Unlike 'Alī-Qulī, the author does not identify himself as a former missionary. For a description of this manuscript, see Munzavi & Dānišpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣahā-yi ḡaṭṭī*, vol. 6, p. 2254.

15. For the approximate dates of composition, see Pourjavady, 'Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām', p. 3–4; and the editor's introduction in 'Alī-Qulī, *Sayf al-mu'minīn*, R. ḡa'fariyān (ed.), p. 28–31, 53. Since *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) is referenced in *Radd-i ḡamā'at-i* (or 'aqā'id-i) *Ṣūfiyān*, it can be dated before ca. 1121/1709 (see 'Alī-Qulī, "Risāla dar radd-i ḡamā'at-i Ṣūfiyān", R. ḡa'fariyān (ed.), p. 17, 46–47).

16. For references to the *Dictionarium septem linguarum*—which must not be confounded with Calepio's *Dictionarium latinum*—in 'Alī-Qulī's *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*), see Tihrān, Malik, MS 5438, p. 172:1, 173:3 and 11, 180:14. For his edited works, see 'Alī-Qulī, "Risāla dar radd-i ḡamā'at-i Ṣūfiyān", R. ḡa'fariyān (ed.), p. 19, 25, 41–42; and *Sayf al-mu'minīn*, R. ḡa'fariyān (ed.), p. 124, 196, 258, 351–352, 597. The multi-lingual *Dictionarium* was accessible to me in a copy printed in Venice in 1689 and preserved under the shelf mark 2 Polygl. 20 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (see Calepio, *Dictionarium*). On Calepio and his works, see Soldi Rondinini & De Mauro, "Calepio, Ambrogio".

17. Tiburcio Urquiola, 'Convert Literature', p. 84.

18. For what follows, see 'Alī-Qulī, *Sayf al-mu'minīn*, R. ḡa'fariyān (ed.), p. 351–352.

is to be understood instead as equivalent to the Greek/Roman deity Jupiter.<sup>19</sup> Hence, he accuses the scholar Jerome (347–420 CE), the assumed translator of the Bible into Latin, of being “a liar” (*durūġ-gū*) and rejects the Vulgate as unreliable.<sup>20</sup>

This etymological approach, which is typical for ‘Alī-Qulī, also appears in this treatise on *Itbāt-i nubuvvat*. The unnamed author draws not only on Calepio’s *Dictionarium*,<sup>21</sup> but also on the *Gazophylacium linguae Persarum*, the first Persian dictionary based on a European language, by the French Carmelite missionary Ange de Saint-Joseph (Angelus a Sancto Joseph, ca. 1636–1696, active in Persia 1664–1678).<sup>22</sup> After quoting Matthew 10:23, he claims that both dictionaries support a literal interpretation of the “Son of Man” (*Ibn-i umīnis* [Filius hominis]) as purely “human” (*mard*).<sup>23</sup> Throughout the treatise, other European dictionaries (*kutub-i luġat-i Farangiyyān*) and theological books (*kutub-i tiyūlūġiyya*) are mentioned,<sup>24</sup> but only the multi-volume lives of saints, known as *Flos sanctorum*, by the Spanish hagiographer Alonso de Villegas (1533–1603) is explicitly identified.<sup>25</sup> The author argues against Matthew 16:28 that all the disciples of Jesus died, as illustrated in the *Flos sanctorum*, without having seen the Messiah returning to earth.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps most importantly, the same etymological argument on the alleged misreading of Hebrew and Arabic letters and words characterizes ‘Alī-Qulī’s

19. See the entry on “Ammon” in Calepio, *Dictionarium*, p. 42.

20. For a discussion of other examples for ‘Alī-Qulī’s use of the *Dictionarium*, see Tiburcio Urquiola, ‘Convert Literature’, p. 84 (“angelus”), 165–168 (“sophista/sophistes”).

21. For references to the *Dictionarium* (*kitāb-i Kalūpīnu*), see Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 22v:14, 52v:12; and Tihṙān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 22r:1, 57v:10.

22. For references to the *Gazophylacium* (*kitāb-i Gazfilās*) by “Pādri Anġilū”, see Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 52v:12; and Tihṙān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 57v:10. For the *Gazophylacium*, printed in Amsterdam in 1684, see Ange de Saint-Joseph, *Gazophylacium*. On him and his work, see Bastiaensen, “La Persia safavide”; and Windler, *Missionare in Persien*, p. 230–231, 574–581.

23. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 52v:13; and Tihṙān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 57v:11. For the entries on “filius/figlio”, see Calepio, *Dictionarium*, p. 281; and Ange de Saint-Joseph, *Gazophylacium*, p. 122.

24. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 7r:3–4, 7v:4 and 12, 14r:5, 19r:6 and 8, 20r:1–2, 22v:15, 65r:2–3, 65v:2–3, 68v:6, 72v:8, 80r:1; and Tihṙān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 5v:5, 6r:5 and 12, 12v:14, 18r:14, 18v:2, 19r:10, 22r:2, 71v:6, 72r:8–9, 75v:2, 80r:9, 89r:12–13.

25. For references to the *Flos sanctorum* (*kitāb-i Fulus-santurum*), see Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 56v:14; and Tihṙān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 62r:12. There are various editions of the *Flos sanctorum*, printed from the late 16th century onwards. On Alonso de Villegas and his work, see Rodríguez de Gracia, “Villegas, Alonso de”.

26. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 56v:12–57r:2; and Tihṙān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 62r:9–14.

works as well as this treatise. Its author claims that European lexicographers did not distinguish between the letters 'ayn and *alif*, resulting in a (false) transcription of 'alay (Heb. "against me") as *ulī* [*oleum*] (Lat. "olive oil").<sup>27</sup> Instead, he suggests reading 'alay (cf. Psalm 54:5) as the proper name 'Alī, and thus as direct reference to the first Imām, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This very same argument on the confusion between the words 'alay and *ulī* appears in 'Alī-Qulī's *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*).<sup>28</sup> Similarly, in his *Radd-i ḡamā'at-i* (or 'aqā'id-i) *Ṣūfiyān*, 'Alī-Qulī criticizes Calepio for not distinguishing between the letters *sīn* and *ṣād*.<sup>29</sup> As a result, the terms Sufi (*ṣūfi*) and sophist (*sūfi*) became mingled together into one single entry in the *Dictionarium*.<sup>30</sup> On the structural level, these examples show that 'Alī-Qulī and the author of this treatise employ the same etymological strategy, based on the use of European dictionaries, for demonstrating the 'falsity' of the arguments of other traditions, whether Christian or Sufi.

While different Šī'ī authors of Catholic background could theoretically have drawn on the same European books and employed the same arguments (or borrowed from each other's works), the most logical conclusion is that Qum, Mar'ašī, MS 614 and Tih-rān, Malik, MS 6348 contain a treatise by 'Alī-Qulī, most likely his hitherto unidentified *Iṭbāt-i nubuvvat*. Taken together, the argument and sources of the work, as well as the historical circumstances of its composition at the very beginning of the 18th century, produce a strong case for the authorship of this former Augustinian missionary. If this is the case, then this untitled treatise on the biblical 'proofs of prophethood' is 'Alī-Qulī's hitherto earliest-known Persian work, composed only five to eight years after his conversion to Šī'ism. Yet, he may have authored an even earlier work (*kitāb-i dīgar*) on the same topic, which the author briefly references at

27. For what follows, see Qum, Mar'ašī, MS 614, fols. 13v:13–14 (partly illegible), 20v:1–5; and Tih-rān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 12v:6–9, 19v:8–11. See the entry on "oleum" in Calepio, *Dictionarium*, p. 556.

28. "If they want to transcribe 'alay from Hebrew into Latin [script], *alifis* put instead of 'ayn [and] they read *ulī* [*oleum*]" (*agar ḥ'āhand 'alay rā az 'ibrī bi lātīn tarḡuma kunand, bi-ḡā-yi 'ayn alif guzāšta ulī mī-gūyand*). Quoted in Ğā'fariyān, "Pidar-i Āntūniyū du Zhizū", p. 98 (without indicating the folio of the manuscript consulted).

29. For what follows, see 'Alī-Qulī, "Risāla dar radd-i ḡamā'at-i Ṣūfiyān", R. Ğā'fariyān (ed.), p. 19–20.

30. See Tiburcio Urquiola's discussion of this passage in his 'Convert Literature', p. 165–166; and the entry on "sophista/sophistes" in Calepio, *Dictionarium*, p. 766. For a similar argument in 'Alī-Qulī's *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*), see Richard, "Un Augustin portugais renégat", 76–77.

the end of Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ašī, MS 614.<sup>31</sup> To fully appreciate ‘Alī-Qulī’s œuvre, this newly discovered treatise needs to be studied more closely, together with his later polemical works.

## Structure and Contents

Following the prologue, the treatise consists of a single chapter (*bāb*), divided into 23 sections (*faṣl*, pl. *fuṣūl*).<sup>32</sup> There is no indication that it was part of a larger, multi-volume work, such as *Hidāyat al-ḏāllīn* (or *al-muḏillīn*).<sup>33</sup> Each section is predominantly devoted to a particular biblical book, introduced by the formula “on the proof [or proofs] extracted [or made evident] from the Book [or the Gospel] of...”.<sup>34</sup> All biblical citations are given in a Persian translation of the Latin, probably by the author himself.<sup>35</sup> As in his later anti-Christian works, ‘Alī-Qulī offers a ‘positive’ Šī‘ī exegesis of the Bible through an allegorical reading of selected passages from the First/Old Testament and the Second/New Testament, as well as extra-canonical material, in favor of Muḥammad and the imāms.<sup>36</sup> In contrast, the common Muslim accusation of Christian (and Jewish) tampering (*taḥrīf*) with the Scriptures is not addressed, with the exception of the author’s attacks on Jerome’s Latin translation.

31. See Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ašī, MS 614, fols. 84r:12–84v:1. However, this reference does not appear in Tihirān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 95v.

32. For the structure of the treatise, see below, Appendix II.

33. In the prologue, as extant in Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ašī, MS 614, fol. 2r:13–14, the author states explicitly that “this treatise comprises one chapter with several sections” (*īn risāla muštamilā [sic] bar yak bāb va taḥṭavī bar čand faṣl kardīd*). In the colophon of Tihirān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 95v, the scribe makes clear that he copied the entire treatise (*tammāt hāḏīhi al-risāla*). For the structure of *Hidāyat al-ḏāllīn* (or *al-muḏillīn*), see below, Appendix I.

34. *Dar dalilī* (or *dalā‘ilī*) *ki az Kitāb-i* (or *Inḡīl-i*) [...] *istiḥrāḡ* (or *zāhir* or *istinbāt*) *šuda...*

35. Verses are quoted according to the Vulgate chapter divisions; biblical proper names and theological terms are indicated in a Persian transcription of the Latin (e.g. *Firaziyyīn* [Pharisæi]; *Kristūs* [Christus]; *Pidrūs* [Petrus]; *sīnbulu/sīnbulū* [symbolum]). For an explicit reference to Latin as the “language of the Franks” (*zabān-i farangī*), see Qum, Mar<sup>c</sup>ašī, MS 614, fol. 37v (margin); and Tihirān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 40r:12–13.

36. For other examples of a ‘positive’ Muslim exegesis, see, e.g. Mir-Kasimov, “Jesus as Eschatological Saviour”, as well as Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi’s essay in this issue.

‘Alī-Qulī quotes, *inter alia*, from the comparatively little-known Book of 5 Ezra (=2 Esdras 1–2),<sup>37</sup> a Christian text in two chapters, most likely authored by a Jewish Christian sometime between 130 and 250 CE, that has come to be attached to the pseudepigraphic Jewish apocalypse of 4 Ezra (=2 Esdras 3–14).<sup>38</sup> Some of these citations also appear, albeit in a slightly revised form, in ‘Alī-Qulī’s *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) and *Sayf al-mu’minīn*.<sup>39</sup> He probably had access to 5 Ezra (as well as the canonical books) through the Sixto-Clementine edition of the Vulgate (1592, corrected in 1593 and 1598), in which 5 Ezra is printed for the first time in a separate appendix, along with other extra-canonical texts.<sup>40</sup> By quoting from this printed edition in a Persian translation, ‘Alī-Qulī was likely the first to introduce 5 Ezra to Šī‘ī scholarship.

The theological intention of 5 Ezra is to strengthen the faith of the Christian community of the 2nd or 3rd century by arguing that God transferred His blessings to the Church as a result of Israel’s ‘unfaithfulness’ to the Mosaic law.<sup>41</sup> In a Muslim reading of the text, ‘Alī-Qulī refutes the Christian claims on thirty points, and considers Muḥammad’s community as God’s elected people.<sup>42</sup> The “other nation” (cf. 5 Ezra 1:24), to which God has turned and which Ezra asks to “wait for [its] shepherd” (cf. 5 Ezra 2:34), is identified as the Muslim people, with Muḥammad as their “own prophet” (*payğambar-i ḥ’yud*).<sup>43</sup> To prove Imāmī Šī‘ī doctrine, the author interprets the metaphors of “twelve trees” (*davāzdah dirāht*) and “twelve springs” (*davāzdah čašma*), mentioned in 5 Ezra 2:19, as

37. In section 23, the author quotes verbatim 5 Ezra 1:24–27a, 30b–32, and 35–36; 2:10–12, 14b–15a, 16–19a, 23b, 29–31a, and 33–34, as extant in Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 78r:6–11, 78r:12–78v:1, 2–5, 6–11, 11–13, 78v:13–79r:3, 4–5, 5–9, 9–14; and Tihirān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 87r:8–14, 87v:1–5, 7–10, 87v:11–88r:2, 3–4, 5–10, 11, 88r:12–88v:2, 3–7.

38. See Longenecker, *2 Esdras*, p. 112, 115–116, and 120. For a translation of 5 Ezra (=2 Esdras 1–2), see, e.g. the New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha. For a general introduction to 4 Ezra—which is not quoted in the treatise—see Gore-Jones, “Unity and Coherence”, and the literature cited there.

39. For 5 Ezra 1:24–27, for instance, compare Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 78r:6–11, and Tihirān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 87r:8–14, with ‘Alī-Qulī’s *Hidāyat al-dāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*), as it appears in Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 3651, fols. 77v:13–78r:9, and Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 12021/1, fol. 78r:6–78v:2, as well as his *Sayf al-mu’minīn*, R. Ğā‘fariyān (ed.), p. 250.

40. The fact that the section dealing with 5 Ezra is placed last in the treatise suggests that ‘Alī-Qulī adopted the arrangement of the Sixto-Clementine edition. See *Biblia sacra vulgata*, Appendix, Liber Quartus Esdræ, chapters 1–2.

41. For details, see Longenecker, *2 Esdras*, p. 114–121, and the literature cited there.

42. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 79r:15–85r:11; and Tihirān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 88v:10–95v:13.

43. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 80v:14–81r:8 (incomplete); and Tihirān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 90v:1–12.

predicting the mission of the twelve Imāms.<sup>44</sup> ‘Alī-Qulī combines these metaphors with Qur’ānic and Šī‘ī *ḥadīṭ* material that associates the imāms with the tree of Ṭūbā in paradise (cf. Q XIII, 29), arising from the house (*ḥāna*) of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>45</sup> God’s “servants Isaiah and Jeremiah”, mentioned in 5 Ezra 2:18, are interpreted as references to ‘Alī’s sons, the Imāms Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.<sup>46</sup>

This strategy of interpreting the Bible through a cross-scriptural reading is employed throughout the treatise. ‘Alī-Qulī frequently references Šī‘ī *ḥadīṭ* collections,<sup>47</sup> among them Ibn Bābawayh’s (“Šayḥ al-Šadūq”, d. 381/991) *‘Uyūn aḥbār al-Riḍā*, which is devoted to reporting the sayings and deeds of the eighth imām, ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, he appears to draw on Muḥammad Bāqir Maḡlisī’s (d. between 1110/1699 and 1111/1700) *Ḥayāt al-qulūb (Life of hearts)*, as suggested by textual parallels in the above-mentioned report on the tree of Ṭūbā.<sup>49</sup> As we know from ‘Alī-Qulī’s *Radd-i ḡamā‘at-i (or ‘aqā‘id-i) Šūfiyān*, the ex-missionary studied Šī‘ī *ḥadīṭ* intensely and was deeply influenced by Maḡlisī, who died only a few years after ‘Alī-Qulī’s conversion to Islam.<sup>50</sup> Hence, ‘Alī-Qulī’s strategy of reading biblical passages allegorically and in combination with Šī‘ī traditions, also figures prominently in his later polemical works. *Itbāt-i nubuvvat* is an early example of this cross-scriptural approach.

## Conclusion

As a missionary convert to Islam, ‘Alī-Qulī was familiar with both Christian and Muslim traditions. Having access to Latin books printed in Europe and

44. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 84r:2–7; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 94r:12–94v:2.

45. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 82r:12–83r:4; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 92r:14–93r:10.

46. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 83v:3–84r:2; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 93v:12–94r:11.

47. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 7v:6–7, 19r:9–10, 20r:9, 21v:5–6, 22r:2–3 and 12–13, 22v:11, 24r:2, 25r:7, 35r:14, 39r:14, 45v:9–10, 58v:8; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 6r:7, 18v:3, 19v:2, 20v:8, 21r:5–6 and 14, 21v:12, 23r:4, 24r:7–8, 37v:7, 42v:6, 50r:4, 64r:12.

48. See Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fol. 66r:10; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 73r:3. For Ibn Bābawayh’s *‘Uyūn*, see, for instance, the edition by Ḥ. al-A‘lamī.

49. Compare Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614, fols. 82r:12–83r:4, and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 92r:14–93r:10, with Maḡlisī’s *Ḥayāt al-qulūb*, vol. 3, p. 774–775, and *Life and Religion*, p. 207 (translation). Other Muslim sources used by the author still remain to be researched and identified.

50. See ‘Alī-Qulī, “Risāla dar radd-i ḡamā‘at-i Šūfiyān”, R. Ğa‘fariyān (ed.), p. 35; and Pourjavady, “‘Alī Qulī Jadid al-Islām”, p. 1.

available in the Christian convents in Isfahan, he generated supplementary arguments against his former beliefs and in favor of Imāmī Šī'ī doctrines, and thus expanded and enriched the Muslim polemical debate. Although only partially preserved, this treatise, which should likely be identified as his *Iṭbāt-i nubuvvat*, is important for our understanding of the history of inter-religious controversies in Iran. 'Alī-Qulī's cross-scriptural reading of the Bible, in which he combined materials from both Šī'ī and Christian traditions, testifies to his significant role as an intermediary between early-modern Europe and Safavid Iran. Still, further research on apologetic and polemical works in Persian is required to fully assess the originality of his approach and his importance for the transfer of religious knowledge, both within Šī'ī-Catholic as well as in comparison to (later) Šī'ī-Protestant interaction. Likewise, the possible impact of 'Alī-Qulī's *Iṭbāt-i nubuvvat* on works by indigenous Muslim scholars of the 18th and 19th century has yet to be determined.

## Appendix I

‘Alī-Qulī’s *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) *wa-taqwiyat al-mu’minīn* (*Guidance for those who are led [or who lead] astray and strengthening for the believers*, composed before ca. 1121/1709) is extant in eight manuscripts known so far, all of which are held by libraries in Iran and India. Since neither the union catalogues of manuscripts in Iran nor recent entries published elsewhere list all extant copies of the work, they are indicated below.<sup>51</sup> The undated manuscript preserved in Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 11479, 67 fols., which is listed in the catalogues, has been misidentified.<sup>52</sup> It contains, in fact, ‘Alī-Qulī’s *Radd-i ḡamā‘at-i* (or *‘aqā’id-i*) *Šūfiyān* (*Refutation of the community [or beliefs] of Sufis*, composed ca. 1121/1709) and is thus the second known copy of this anti-Sufi work.<sup>53</sup>

‘Alī-Qulī’s *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*) is laid out in 4 volumes (*ḡild*, pl. *ḡulūd*). All manuscripts indicated below contain a part of Volume One, entitled *Radd-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Naṣārā va iṭbāt-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Islām az rū-yi kitābhā-yi iṣān* (*Refutation of the principles of Christianity and proof of the principles of Islam according to their books*).<sup>54</sup> Until today, no manuscript of volume two, three or four of ‘Alī-Qulī’s work has been identified. Volume One is structured in two chapters (*bāb*, pl. *abwāb*). The first chapter is entitled *Radd-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Naṣārā* (*Refutation of the principles of Christianity*) and is divided into 14 sections (*faṣl*, pl. *fuṣūl*). They discuss issues related to the oneness of God, the sacred Scriptures, the unity of the Father and the Son, the Trinity, God’s attributes, and the Incarnation. The title of the second chapter reads *Tubūt-i uṣūl-i dīn-i mubīn-i Muḥammadī* (*Proof of the principles of Muḥammad’s true religion*). It is

51. See DINĀ, vol. 10, p. 1151–1152; FANĤĀ, vol. 34, p. 670–671; Ğa‘fariyān & Šiddiqī, *Az Darband tā Qaṭif*, p. 77; and Tiburcio, “‘Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām”, p. 268–269.

52. See Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna*, vol. 29, p. 106, no. 119; DINĀ, vol. 10, p. 1151, no. 298403; and FANĤĀ, vol. 34, p. 671.

53. Compare Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 11479 with the edition based on Tihrān, Millī, MS 1623/3, fols. 209–277, and published in ‘Alī-Qulī, “Risāla dar radd-i ḡamā‘at-i Šūfiyān”, R. Ğa‘fariyān (ed.).

54. As mentioned in the prologue of Volume One, the titles of the 4 volumes are as follows (see also Pourjavady & Schmidtke, “‘Alī Qulī Jadīd al-Islām”): (1) *Radd-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Naṣārā u iṭbāt-i uṣūl-i dīn-i Islām az rū-yi kitābhā-yi iṣān* (*Refutation of the principles of Christianity and proof of the principles of Islam according to their books*); (2) *Radd-i furū‘-i dīn-i Naṣārā u iṭbāt-i furū‘-i dīn-i Islām az rū-yi kitābhā-yi iṣān* (*Refutation of the branches of Christianity and proof of the branches of Islam according to their books*); (3) *Iṭbāt-i payāmbarī u ḥātamiyyat az kitābhā-yi iṣān* (*Proof of the prophethood of Muḥammad and that he is the seal of prophethood according to their books*); and (4) *Iṭbāt-i imāmat u mahdaviyyat az kitābhā-yi iṣān* (*Proof of the Imāmate and the Mahdism according to their books*).

structured in 5 sections (*faṣl*, pl. *fuṣūl*), which are arranged according to the principles of Islam, namely divine unicity (*tawḥīd*), the justice of God (‘*adl*), Muḥammad’s prophethood (*nubuvvat*), the Imāmate (*imāmat*), and resurrection (*ma‘ād*).

The eight manuscripts of Volume One of *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (or *al-muḍillīn*), listed here in chronological order, are as follows:

1. Mumbai, K.R. Cama, MS 85 [not seen by me], number of folios unknown, no dedication mentioned in the library catalogue, completed in 1222/[1807–1808]. The title reads as follows: *Hidāyat al-muḍillīn wa-taqwiyat al-mu‘minīn*. It is unclear from the catalogue whether the manuscript contains the complete text of Volume One, i.e. the first and second chapter, or the first chapter only.<sup>55</sup>
2. Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 12021/1, fols. 1–128 (defective at the beginning, the title of the work and the name of its author are not indicated), completed (in Karbala?) on 9 Ša‘bān 1234/[3 June 1819] by ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn [Dihdaštī], who is also the copyist of Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 12021/2, fols. 128–163, completed in Karbala on 10 Šafar 1234/[9 December 1818]. The manuscript contains parts of the second chapter of Volume One, beginning in the middle of the first section.<sup>56</sup> The title mentioned in the library catalogue, *Radd-i Našārā*, was chosen by the editor and does not correspond to the manuscript.<sup>57</sup>
3. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds, MS 12116, 302 fols., dedicated to Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1105/1694–1135/1722), undated copy, with an endowment note on the last folio, dated to Ša‘bān 1250/[December 1834–January 1835], along with a seal impression, dated 1227/[1812–1813]. The title reads as follows: *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn wa-taqwiyat al-mu‘minīn* (fol. 3v:12). The manuscript contains the entire first chapter of Volume One.<sup>58</sup>
4. Tihrān, Maḡlis, MS 2089, 307 fols. (paginated), dedicated to Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn, undated copy, with an ownership statement on the last folio, dated 1 Rabī‘ I 1260/[21 March 1844], and another ownership statement on the front page, dated 18 Ğumādā I 1281/[19 October 1864]. The title reads as follows: *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn wa-taqwiyat al-mu‘minīn*

55. For a description of this manuscript, see Rehatsek, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 214, no. 85.

56. Compare Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 12021/1 with Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 3651 (see below, no. 7).

57. For a description of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna*, vol. 30, p. 373, no. 389.

58. For a description of this manuscript, see Āstān-i Quds-i Ražavī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i Kitābhāna*, vol. 11, p. 426–427.

- (p. 6:5–6). The manuscript contains the entire first chapter of Volume One. Photographs of the manuscript are available in Qum, Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī, MS 864 (ʿaksī).<sup>59</sup>
5. Patna, Khuda Bakhsh, MS 1318 [not seen by me], 433 fols., dedicated to Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn, completed on 14 Dū al-Ḥiġġa 1266/[21 October 1850] at the request of Navvāb Akbar ʿAlī Ḥān, son of Navvāb Fayyāz ʿAlī Ḥān b. Navvāb Ḥayāt Ṣāhib. The title reads as follows: *Hidāyat al-muḍillīn wa-taqwiyat al-muʾminīn*. It is unclear from the library catalogue whether the manuscript contains the complete text of Volume One, i.e. the first and second chapter, or the first chapter only.<sup>60</sup>
  6. Qum, Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī, MS 2895, 348 folios (paginated), dedicated to Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn, completed in 1325/[1907–1908] by Ṣādiq b. Maḥdī b. ʿAbbās-Qulī Naḥġavānī. The title reads as follows: *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn wa-taqwiyat al-muʾminīn* (p. 7:12). The manuscript contains the entire first chapter of Volume One. It used to be preserved in the private collection of Ġalāl Muḥaddīṭ in Tīhrān, as suggested by his seal impression on the last folio, dated 1319/[1359–1360]/[1940–1941].<sup>61</sup>
  7. Qum, Marʿašī, MS 3651, 135 fols. (defective at the beginning), undated copy, with a marginal note on the last folio, dated to Rabīʿ II 1339/[December 1920–January 1921]. The title reads as follows: *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn* (fol. 1r, margin). The manuscript contains parts of the second chapter of Volume One, beginning with the third section.<sup>62</sup>
  8. Tīhrān, Malik, MS 5438, 376 fols. (paginated), dedicated to Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn, undated copy. The title reads as follows: *Hidāyat al-ḍāllīn wa-taqwiyat al-muʾminīn* (p. 8:7). The manuscript contains the entire first chapter of Volume One.<sup>63</sup>

59. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Iʿtišāmī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣahā-yi ḥaṭṭī*, vol. 6, p. 75–76; Ḥusaynī Iškivārī, Ġ. & Ḥusaynī Iškivārī, Ṣ., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣahā-yi ʿaksī*, vol. 3, p. 53–54.

60. For a description of this manuscript, see Ross, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*, vol. 14, p. 157–158.

61. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Darīʿa, vol. 25, p. 179, no. 142; Ḥusaynī Iškivārī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣahā-yi ḥaṭṭī*, vol. 7, p. 332–333.

62. For a description of this manuscript, see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna*, vol. 10, p. 47.

63. For a description of this manuscript, see Afšār & Dānišpazhūh, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi ḥaṭṭī*, vol. 4, p. 844.

## Appendix II

The 23 sections of 'Alī-Qulī's *Iṭbāt-i nubuvvat* (*Proof of prophethood*, ca. 1702), given here in order of appearance, are as follows:<sup>64</sup>

- Section 1: Pentateuch (*Tawrāt-i Mūsā*): Genesis (*Ġinizīs*), Numbers (*Tūmirī [sic]* [Numeri]), Deuteronomy (*Duturnāmī* [Deuteronomium]),<sup>65</sup> and 1 Chronicles (*Kitāb-i avval Paralipūminū* [Paralipomenon I])<sup>66</sup> [see Qum, Mar'āšī, MS 614, fols. 2v:4–6r:10/Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fols. 1r:1 (defective at the beginning)–4v:8];
- Section 2: Isaiah (*Ša'yā* [Isaias]) [see fols. 6r:10–9r:9/fols. 4v:8–7v:10];
- Section 3: Ezra (*Uzayr* [Esdras]) [see fols. 9r:9–10r:3/fols. 7v:10–8v:3];
- Section 4: Daniel (*Dāniyāl*) [see fols. 10r:4–11v:8/fols. 8v:3–10r:13];
- Section 5: Zechariah (*Zakariyyā* [Zacharias]) [see fols. 11v:8–15r:12/fols. 10r:14–14r:11];
- Section 6: Haggai (*Izhī* [Aggæus]) [see fols. 15r:12–16r:2/fols. 14r:11–15r:6];
- Section 7: Habakkuk (*Ḥayaqūq [sic]* [Habacuc]) [see fols. 16r:2–17r:5/fols. 15r:6–16r:13];
- Section 8: Psalms (*Zabūr* [Psalmi]) [see fols. 17r:6–24v:10/fols. 16r:13–23v:11];
- Section 9: The “books of Solomon” (*kutub-i Sulaymān*): Ecclesiastes (*ikliziyatistī [sic]*) and Proverbs (*Parūrpiyārum* [Proverbia])<sup>67</sup> [see fols. 24v:10–30r:16/fols. 23v:11–31r:8];
- Section 10: Jeremiah (*Irmiyā* [Jeremias]) [see fols. 30r:16–33v:9/fols. 31r:8–35v:6];
- Section 11: Micah (*Mīkayas* [Michæas]) [see fols. 33v:9–35r:8/fols. 35v:6–37r:14];
- Section 12: Nahum (*Nāhūm*) [see fols. 35r:8–35v:10/fols. 37v:1–38r:7];

64. In what follows I indicate, for each section, the name of the adduced biblical book/s, followed by a transcription of its/their Persian equivalent in parentheses and italics, as found in the manuscripts. The original Latin names, as they appear in the Vulgate, are indicated in square brackets, if different from the English.

65. The only reference to Exodus (*Īzūd*), Exodus 4:14–16, appears in section 22 (see Qum, Mar'āšī, MS 614, fol. 75r:13–75v:2; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 83v:7–13). The treatise makes no reference to Leviticus.

66. The author considers 1 Chronicles as one of the “books of the Torah” (*kutub-i Tawrāt*). See Qum, Mar'āšī, MS 614, fol. 5r:6; and Tihrān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 3v:3. *Tawrāt* might refer here to the First/Old Testament as a whole.

67. Ecclesiastes and Proverbs were traditionally attributed to King Solomon.

- Section 13: Amos (*Amus*) [see fols. 35v:10–36v:9/fols. 38r:7–39r:11];
- Section 14: Micah (*Mikayas*)<sup>68</sup> [see fols. 36v:9–38v:3/fols. 39r:11–41v:6];
- Section 15: Ezekiel (*Azikyāl* [Ezechielis]) [see fols. 38v:3–40v:2/  
fols. 41v:6–43v:14];
- Section 16: Zephaniah (*Sufuniyā* [Sophonias]) [see fols. 40v:3–43r:1/  
fols. 44r:1–46v:8];
- Section 17: Joel (*Ġūʿāl*) [see fols. 43r:1–50r:11/fols. 46v:8–54v:13];
- Section 18: Matthew (*Mattā* [Matthæus]) [see fols. 50r:11–58v:10/  
fols. 54v:13–64v:1];
- Section 19: Mark (*Marqus* [Marcus]) [see fols. 58v:10–59v:11/  
fols. 64v:1–65v:7];
- Section 20: Luke (*Lūqā* [Lucas]) [see fols. 59v:11–61v:4/fols. 65v:7–67v:9];
- Section 21: John (*Yūḥannā* [Ioannes]) [see fols. 61v:4–69v:10/  
fols. 67v:9–76v:11];
- Section 22: Revelation (*Apukalīpsī* [Apocalypsis]) [see fols. 69v:11–78r:2/  
fols. 76v:11–87r:4];
- Section 23: 5 Ezra (=2 Esdras 1–2) (*Izhdṛās* [Esdras]) [see fols. 78r:2–85r:11/  
fols. 87r:4–95v:13].

68. In fact, this section draws heavily on Malachi and quotes verbatim Malachi 4:1–2a (see Qum, Marʿašī, MS 614, fol. 36v:11–15; and Tihṛān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 39r:14–39v:4). In addition, it references Malachi 4:5 (see Qum, Marʿašī, MS 614, fols. 36v:15–37r:1; and Tihṛān, Malik, MS 6348, fol. 39v:4–5).

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## Abstract / Résumé / ملخص

The Imāmī (Twelver) Šī‘ī polemicist ‘Alī-Qulī Ğadīd al-Islām (d. after 1123/1711), commonly identified as the ex-Augustinian missionary António de Jesus, is well-known for his Persian refutations of Christianity. The present study argues that his previously unidentified treatise on biblical ‘proofs’ of Muḥammad’s prophethood, *Iṭbāt-i nubuvvat*, is extant in the two fragmentary copies: Qum, Mar‘ašī, MS 614 and Tih-rān, Malik, MS 6348. Compared with ‘Alī-Qulī’s hitherto known works, the newly discovered treatise, dated ca. 1702, shows significant convergences regarding the argument (etymological inquiries), textual sources (European books and dictionaries), and biblical citations (extra-canonical material, 5 Ezra [=2 Esdras 1–2]). The author’s allegorical interpretation of the Christian Scriptures through Qur’ān and Šī‘ī *ḥadīṭ* represents a cross-scriptural Muslim exegesis that transcends linguistic, cultural, and religious boundaries to further authenticate Imāmī Šī‘ī doctrine with the help of the Bible.

**Keywords:** ‘Alī-Qulī Ğadīd al-Islām (d. after 1123/1711), Christian converts to Šī‘ī Islam, Muslim anti-Christian polemic, Muslim exegesis of the Bible, proofs of prophethood.



Le polémiste šī‘ite imāmīte (duodécimain) ‘Alī-Qulī Ğadīd al-Islām (m. apr. 1123/1711), communément identifié comme étant l’ancien missionnaire augustinien António de Jesus, est connu pour ses réfutations persanes du christianisme. La présente étude entend montrer que son traité sur les « preuves » bibliques de la prophétie de Muḥammad, *Iṭbāt-i nubuvvat*, qui n’avait jamais été identifié auparavant, existe dans les deux exemplaires fragmentaires Qum, Mar‘ašī 614 et Téhéran, Malik 6348. Ce traité nouvellement découvert, que l’on peut dater environ de 1702, montre des convergences significatives dans son argumentation (enquêtes étymologiques), ses sources textuelles (livres et dictionnaires européens), et ses citations bibliques (sources non-canoniques, 5 Ezra [=2 Esdras 1–2]) avec les œuvres connues de ‘Alī-Qulī. L’interprétation allégorique que fait l’auteur des Écritures chrétiennes à travers le Coran et le *Ḥadīṭ* šī‘ite témoigne d’une exégèse musulmane trans-scripturaire qui transcende les frontières linguistiques, culturelles et

religieuses en vue d'authentifier davantage la doctrine šī'ite imāmīte à l'aide de la Bible.

**Mots-clés:** 'Alī-Qulī Ġadīd al-Islām (m. apr. 1123/1711), chrétiens convertis à l'islam šī'ite, polémique musulmane anti-chrétienne, exégèse musulmane de la Bible, preuves de la prophétie.



اشتهر الجدائي الشيعي الإمامي (الاثنا عشري) علي قلي جديد الإسلام (ت بعد 1711/1123)، والذي غالبًا ما عُرف بأنه المبشر السابق الأوغسطيني أنطونيو دي خيسوس، بانتقاداته للمسيحية باللغة الفارسية. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إثبات أن كتابه حول «دلائل» نبوة النبي محمد في الكتاب المقدس وعنوانه اثبات نبوت، والذي كان في حكم المفقود حتى الآن، موجودًا في النسختين الناقصتين التاليتين: قم، مرعشي ٦١٤ وطهران، ملك ٠٦٣٤٨. يُشبه هذا الكتاب الذي أُكتشف حديثًا والذي يرجع تاريخه إلى حوالي عام ١٧٠٢ الأعمال المعروفة لعلي قلي جديد الإسلام، وهذا في أكثر من بُعد: الحجج عن طريق أصل الكلمات؛ المصادر (الكتب والقواميس الأوروبية)؛ الاقتباسات الكتابية (من الأسفار المنحولة مثل سفر عزرا الخامس وهو إسدراش الثاني ١-٢). يشهد التفسير المجازي الذي يقوم به المؤلف للنصوص المسيحية المقدسة من خلال القرآن والحديث الشيعي على تأويل إسلامي يتجاوز الحدود بين النصوص واللغات والثقافات والأديان، وذلك بهدف زيادة مصداقية مذهب الشيعة الإمامية بمساعدة الكتاب المقدس.

كلمات مفتاحية: علي قلي جديد الإسلام (ت بعد 1711/1123)، مسيحيون اعتنقوا الإسلام الشيعي، الجدل الإسلامي ضد المسيحية، التفسير الإسلامي للكتاب المقدس، دلائل أو أعلام النبوة.

