

manuscript cultures

Hamburg | Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures

ISSN 1867-9617



Publishing Information

A Multiple-text Collection by Ẓahīr al-Dīn Mirzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm

Edited by Sonja Brentjes

Every volume of *manuscript cultures* has been subjected to a double-blind peer review process and is openly accessible at no cost on the CSMC website <<https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/publications/mc.html>>. We would like to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for its generous support of the Cluster of Excellence EXC 2176 ‘Understanding Written Artefacts’, which has made the publication of this journal volume possible.

Editors

Prof. Dr Michael Friedrich
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Warburgstraße 26
D-20354 Hamburg
Tel. no. +49 (0)40 42838 7127
Fax no. +49 (0)40 42838 4899
michael.friedrich@uni-hamburg.de

Prof. Dr Jörg H. Quenzer
Universität Hamburg
Asien-Afrika-Institut
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 / Flügel Ost
D-20146 Hamburg
Tel. no. +49 (0)40 42838 7203
Fax no. +49 (0)40 42838 6200
joerg.quenzer@uni-hamburg.de

Translations and Copy-editing

Carl Carter, Amper Translation Service

Print

BEISNER DRUCK GmbH & Co. KG, Buchholz i. d. Nordheide
Printed in Germany

www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de

Funded by
 Deutsche
Forschungsgemeinschaft
German Research Foundation

Editorial Office

Dr Irina Wandrey
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Warburgstraße 26
D-20354 Hamburg
Tel. No.: +49 40 42838 9420
Fax No.: +49 40 42838 4899
irina.wandrey@uni-hamburg.de

Layout

Nora Harms

Cover

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Philip Hofer, MS 1984.463, fol. 61r: This folio shows in the middle at the right the riddle text in large letters in *thulūth* calligraphy. Between the five lines of this riddle is a part of an Arabic philosophical work in *naskhī* comprising three lines in each piece. In red, numbers and words are placed mostly below individual words of the riddle referring to letter magic. Around this centre piece, two brief Persian texts in *nasta‘līq*, an Arabic table, and a triangular diagram between lines of an Arabic explanation can be found. Both Arabic pieces are written in *naskhī*. The Persian text above the table introduces the lunar mansions, which the table enumerates. The Persian text in the left margin, entitled „A gem on theoretical philosophy about true speech“, deals with themes from *kalām*. The triangular diagram with its surrounding Arabic text treats the cosmological division of the universe in Muslim terms, beginning with God’s throne and descending through the Ptolemaic planetary sphere to the four Aristotelian spheres of the sublunar world to the underworld.

ISSN (Print) 1867-9617

ISSN (Online) 2749-1021

© 2024

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Universität Hamburg
Warburgstr. 26
20354 Hamburg

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

2 | A Multiple-text Collection by Ṣahīr al-Dīn Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm

Sonja Brentjes

ARTICLES

5 | The Late Safavid Riddle Codices: Portrayals of Ṣahīr al-Dīn Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's World View

Reza Pourjavady and Ahmad-Reza Rahimi-Riseh

27 | A Safavid Multiple-text Compendium: Formal Contents and Visual Conundra

Christiane Gruber

51 | Technical Notes on the Illustrated Manuscript of a *Jung* (Multiple-text Manuscript) from the Harvard Art Museums

Penley Knipe, Katherine Beaty, Georgina Rayner, and Katherine Eremin

63 | Color in the Illustrated Manuscript of a *Jung* (Multiple-text Manuscript) from the Harvard Art Museums

Katherine Eremin, Penley Knipe, and Georgina Rayner

101 | Art Historical and Technical Examination of the Cover of a *Jung* (Multiple-text Manuscript) from the Harvard Art Museums

Katherine Eremin, Mary McWilliams, and Georgina Rayner

127 | Adjunct Texts: Five Glosses on a Page in a Safavid Collection

Chad Kia

137 | The Mathematical Sciences in Ṣahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibrāhīm's Collection of Riddles from 1070 H/1660 CE

Sonja Brentjes

155 | Manifestation in the One: Singularity of Knowledge in Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Numerical Riddle* (*Lughaz-i marqūm*)

Razieh S. Mousavi and Hamid Bohloul

169 | Contributors

Article

The Late Safavid Riddle Codices: Portrayals of Ṣahīr al-Dīn Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's World View

Reza Pourjavady and Ahmad-Reza Rahimi-Riseh | Frankfurt am Main and Tehran

1. Introduction

Between 1085 H/1674 CE and 1098 H/1687 CE, several illuminated codices containing scholarly material were produced at the request of a Safavid official, Ṣahīr al-Dīn Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (d. 1102 H/1691 CE) or Mīrzā Ibrāhīm for short. These codices, which are the subject of this article, all share a similar structure and contents.¹ A single scribe, Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī (d. after 1098 H/1686–87 CE), wrote them all, mostly in Nasta'liq and occasionally in Naskh.² The main text in these codices is a Persian treatise by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, which is considered to be a riddle. Several writings were inserted in the margins of the codices to clarify this particular text. The compiler of the material appears to have been Mīrzā Ibrāhīm himself.

Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was one of the prominent bureaucrats employed during the reign of the Safavid Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1077–1105 H/1666–1694 CE).³ Shortly after the shah ascended the throne in 1077 H/1666 CE, he was appointed as the vizier of Azerbaijan.⁴ He held this position until 1095 H/1683 CE. At the same time, he was also the custodian of the tomb of Shāh 'Abbās II (r. 1052–1077 H/1642–1666 CE) in Qom.⁵ In 1095 H/1683 CE, the shah appointed him as

mustawfī al-mamālik, the chief accountant for the Safavid empire.⁶ Mīrzā Ibrāhīm held this position until his death in 1102 H/1691 CE.⁷

While serving as vizier of Azerbaijan, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm constructed a complex around a local shrine in Tabriz, the shrine of Sayyid Ḥamza (son of the seventh Shī'ī Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim). The complex included a madrasa and a mosque with a library. Its construction was completed in 1089 H/1679 CE. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm then supported the complex with a generous endowment, as is evident from its *waqfnāma* (endowment deed).⁸ Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was also the patron of various scholarly projects. Among other things, he ordered a scholar to translate Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qifī's (d. 642 H/1248 CE) *Ikhbār al-'ulamā' bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā'* ('Informing the Learned Men about the Accounts of the Philosophers') into Persian. This anonymous translation was completed in 1099 H/1688 CE.⁹

The title of the so-called 'riddle' by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm is *Nihāyat al-aqdām fī ṭawr al-kalām* ('The Final Steps in Evolving Speech'). This title is also the work's chronogram, which indicates that it was completed in 1070 H/1659–60 CE. The work does not have any subsections. It is written in rhymed Persian prose, occasionally embellished with a

¹ We know of five surviving multiple-text manuscript containing this compilation: (1) MS Tehran, Malik Library, 868, (2) MS Tehran, Malik Library, 1517, (3) MS Istanbul, Süleyman ye Library, Ayasofya 4785, (4) MS London, British Library Or. 12974 and (5) MS Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1984.463 (from now on MS Sackler 1984.463). See below for a description of these manuscripts.

² Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī, the scribe who produced these codices, copied several other works as well (see Appendix 1 for a list of them).

³ The significant role of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm at the Safavid court is evident from the account about him given by Jean Chardin (d. 1713 CE). According to Chardin, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm even dreamed of being a grand vizier when the first grand vizier of Shāh Sulaymān, Muḥammad Mīrzā Mahdī Karakī, died in 1080 H/1669 CE. However, the Shah favoured Shaykh 'Alī Zangana (d. 1100 H/1689 CE) over him. See Chardin, *Travels*, 1686, 104–105.

⁴ According to Chardin, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was appointed vizier of Azerbaijan before the death of the grand vizier, Muḥammad Mīrzā Mahdī Karakī (d. 1080 H/1669 CE). See Chardin, *Travels*, 1686, 104–105.

⁵ The fact that Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was the custodian (*khādim*) of the tomb of Shāh 'Abbās II is mentioned in several places, including *Nihāyat al-aqdām's*

title piece in the codices. See MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 12a, for example. It was also indicated in Shāh Sulaymān's *raqam* (decree) appointing Mīrzā Ibrāhīm as the *mustawfī*. See n. 8 on the decree (below).

⁶ In 1095 H/1683 CE, Shāh Sulaymān issued a *raqam* appointing Mīrzā Ibrāhīm *mustawfī al-mamālik*. The *raqam* was published as Appendix 1 of *Dastūr-i Shahriyārān*. See Naṣīrī, *Dastūr-i Shahriyārān*, ed. Naṣīrī-Muqaddam 1373 HS/1994, 296. The editor of *Dastūr-i Shahriyārān*, Nādir Naṣīrī-Muqaddam (Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam), wrongly assumed the appointment was for Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Zayn al-'Abidīn Naṣīrī, the author of *Dastūr-i Shahriyārān*.

⁷ He died on Monday 8 Sha'bān 1102 H/7 May 1691 CE. See Khātūnābādī, *Waqāyi' al-sinīn wa-l-a'wām*, ed. Biḥbūdī 1352 HS/1973, 547.

⁸ For more on the *waqfnāma* of this madrasa, see Hāshimiyān 1393 HS/2014–2015. Cf. Werner 1999, 233–248.

⁹ See *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. Dārā'ī 1347 HS/1968–69, 4.

few lines of poetry.¹⁰ This puzzling text is abstruse and incomprehensible at times. It was meant to be understood with the help of the marginal and interlinear texts and diagrams in the codices.

The treatise explains that all multiplicities are different expressions of the One. By performing a Pythagorean analysis, the author first argues that one is the origin of all things since all numbers are created from it by adding sufficient copies of it.¹¹ The discussion then widens to include other disciplines. In geometry, the author maintains that a point represents one, which is the source of all lines, surfaces and dimensions. In physics, one is the prime matter (*hayūlā*), which is formed into celestial and elemental bodies. In logic, one is the highest genus (*jins-i 'ālī*), and in metaphysics, it is the absolute existence (*ḥastī-i iṭlāqī*), which manifests itself in various existents. In morphology, it is *kalima*, which is subdivided into three constituents: the conjunction (*ḥarf*), noun (*ism*) or verb (*fi'l*). Time is merely an overflow of one moment (*ān*). In music, all musical ratios are created from the moving unit of air (*wāḥid-i sayyāla-yi ḥawā' iyya*).¹² Likewise, the figures of geomancy and various poetic forms discussed in prosody are all created from one, and finally, in theology, the most fundamental discussion is God's unicity (*al-tawḥīd*).¹³

The author then seeks to explain how multiplicity in all forms and various disciplines is derived from one. Towards the end of the treatise, the discussion of one is overshadowed as the author speaks about various disciplines, highlighting aspects of each field using its specific terminology. Moreover, the text loses the logical links between paragraphs, sentences and sometimes between two consecutive words. The subject of the discussion keeps changing without conveying any coherent meaning, while the text is overloaded with scholarly terms. Somewhat surprisingly, this perplexing structure seems to be deliberate. Understanding the intention of the author in the concise and puzzling text of the treatise

requires lengthy consideration, which must be why Mīrzā Ibrāhīm regarded the treatise as a riddle (*luḡḥaz*).

2. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's other works

Besides *Nihāyat al-aqdām*, which is an extensive 'riddle', Mīrzā Ibrāhīm also wrote the following Persian works included or cited in the codices:

2.1 A Summary (Talkhīṣ) of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's (d. 672 H/1274 CE) *Asās al-iqtibās* ('The Ground for the Acquisition of Knowledge')¹⁴

Mīrzā Ibrāhīm composed this summary in 1086 H/1675–76 CE. The extensive introduction to it includes a discussion on the origination of letters (*fī ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*), the emergence of words, and the diversity of languages (*ẓuhūr al-kalām wa-khtilāf al-alsina*), as well as the organisation of terms and the expansion of disciplines (*tadwīn al-luḡḥāt wa-khurūj al-ṣinā'āt*). At the end of the introduction, the author presents a classification of subjects.¹⁵ The introduction is followed by twenty-eight chapters, each marked by a letter. The work was meant to make the contents of *Asās al-iqtibās* more readily accessible to contemporary readers. On one occasion in his introduction, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm referred to the work as *Qabasāt-i asāsiyya* ('Fundamental Acquisitions of Knowledge').¹⁶ The summary is included in only two of the riddle codices (MS Ayasofya 4785 and MS British Library Or. 12974), and no independent manuscript of it is known to exist.

The author did not provide his name in the work. However, he did indicate that he had an administrative position.¹⁷ At one point, he refers to the *waqfnāma* of the madrasa and mosque of Imāmzāda Ḥamza in the Surkhāb district of Tabriz.¹⁸ Since Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was the author of the *waqfnāma*, the reference supports our assumption that the compiler of the codex was indeed him.¹⁹

¹⁰ Several lines from 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's 'silsilat al-dhahab' are quoted in the treatise, for instance. See MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 28b–29b. These lines of poetry can be found in *Mathnawī Hafī Awrang*, ed. Dād-'Alīshāh et al. 1378 HS/1997, vol. 1, 63–64.

¹¹ MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 16a. Following Pythagoreans, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm maintained that one is not a number. See 'Bayān ẓuhūr al-waḥda fī l-mawjūdāt wa-taqṣīmuḥā 'alā maslak al-Fīthāghūrīyīn', MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 15a.

¹² MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 21b.

¹³ For more on this treatise, see the contribution of Mousavi and Bohloul in this volume.

¹⁴ This work is extant in two manuscripts: (1) MS Ayasofya 4785, which runs from the verso of the third unfoliated folio at the beginning of the manuscript to fol. 11a and then continues on the margin of fols 11b–12a, on the margin and between the lines of fols 12b–18a and between the lines of fols 109–120a and 121b–193a; (2) MS British Library Or. 12974, fols 1b–11a, 11b–12a (on the margin), 12b–18a (on the margin and between the lines), 113b–123a (between the lines) and 123a–204a.

¹⁵ On this classification of sciences, see below.

¹⁶ MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 6b, upper ruling.

¹⁷ MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 1b, lines 4–6.

¹⁸ MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 178a.

¹⁹ For more on this *waqfnāma*, see n. 8 above.

2.2 *Al-Surūr al-qudsiyya fī ba‘ḍ nawādir al-mūsīqiyya* (*‘The Holy Joy about Some Rarely Discussed Matters Concerning Music’*)²⁰

This work is a short Persian treatise on music by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, which as he says, is ‘min ta’līfīnā’ (‘from our composition’).²¹ Its inclusion in the margin of the codices was meant to clarify a passage of his *Nihāyat al-aqdām* in which a subject relating to music is discussed. The treatise consists of twelve chapters, which the author called *maqāms* (systems of modes used in traditional music). *Al-Surūr al-qudsiyya* also includes two diagrams, a rectangle regarding rhythmic cycles and a circular one regarding the canonical system of modes. This work was not included in MS Malik 868 and MS Malik 1517. However, the circular diagram is included in these two manuscripts, which may indicate that the diagram is not by the author.²²

2.3 *Al-Risāla al-‘ishqiyya* (*‘The Treatise on Love’*)²³

Al-Risāla al-‘ishqiyya is another composition by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm. He refers to it as ‘from our noble composition’ (‘min ta’līfīnā al-sharīfa’). The title of this work is different in the table of contents and includes more details: *Bayān māhiyyat al-‘ishq wa-ḥāl al-‘ushshāq, ṣafwat taqrīrāt al-Ikhwān al-ṣafā’* (‘On the Nature of Love and the State of Lovers: A Selection of the Writings of the Brethren of Purity’). As its title indicates, the work is a summary of *Epistle Thirty-Seven* of the *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*, entitled *Fī māhiyyat al-‘ishq* (‘On the Nature of Love’),²⁴ and is mainly written in Arabic. However, on some occasions, the author adorned his text with Persian poems. *Al-Risāla al-‘ishqiyya* is extant in MS British Library Or. 12974 and MS Sackler 1984.463. Initially, it may also have been in MS Ayasofya 4785, but the folios where this work would be expected to be found are missing.

²⁰ This work is included in three of the codices: (1) MS Ayasofya 4785, fols 28b–33b; (2) MS British Library Or. 12974, fols 28a–32b (on the margin and mostly between the lines of the main text); and (3) MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 20b–25a.

²¹ See the contents of the verso of the first unfoliated folio of MS British Library, Or. 12974 and MS Sackler 1984.463.

²² See MS Malik 868, p. 18 (upper margin); MS Malik 1517, p. 23 (upper margin).

²³ This work is included in two of the codices: (1) MS British Library Or. 12974, fols 20b–24a; and (2) MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 13b–14b.

²⁴ See *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*, ed. al-Bustānī 1377 H/1957 CE, vol. 3, 269–286.

2.4 *Sabaḥāt-i qudsiyya* (*‘The Holy Places of Adoration’*)²⁵

This treatise must have been composed in 1098 H/1686–87 CE or shortly before that. In its introduction, the author dedicates it to Safavid Shāh Sulaymān.²⁶ He also reveals that he has been in the shah’s service ever since his youth. He then adds that *Sabaḥāt-i qudsiyya* was composed after the production of most of the manuscripts of *Nihāyat al-aqdām*, meaning Mīrzā Ibrāhīm’s ‘riddle’.²⁷ By mentioning this additional information, the author explains why other codices of the riddle do not include this work. It consists of an extensive introduction, which is divided into four sections (*lāyiḥa*) and twelve chapters (*sabaḥāt*). Only two fragments of it are left in MS Sackler 1984.463, which is the only surviving copy of the work we know of: the introduction and chapters seven to twelve.

Sabaḥāt-i qudsiyya is perhaps the most revealing work by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm in terms of his philosophical views. In the introduction, the author defines terms commonly used in various sciences, those specific to logic and syllogism, and explains the division of entities into necessary, contingent and impossible existents.²⁸ The subjects of the last six chapters are as follows: (7) On the rational principles of Pythagoreans, Peripatetics, *Ishrāqīs* and theologians; (8) on the rejection of circular argument and infinite regress; (9) on subjects which should be discussed before prophethood and *imāma*; (10) on prophethood; (11) on *imāma* and (12) on resurrection.²⁹

2.5 *Gul-dasta* (*‘The Minaret’*)³⁰

This treatise is included in only one of the riddle codices, namely MS Sackler 1984.463. Also dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān, it is a short treatise on rational theology. As stated explicitly in the introduction, it was composed to fill in the margins of some of the folios of the codex, which would otherwise have remained blank.³¹ Therefore, its composition

²⁵ This work is included in MS Sackler 1984.463, starting from the verso of the third unfoliated folio at the beginning of the manuscript to folio 3a. It then continues on fols 4b–10b (between the lines of the main text) and on fols 112b–125b (in the margins).

²⁶ MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 1b (upper ruling).

²⁷ MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 1b (upper ruling).

²⁸ MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 1b–3a and 4b–10b (between the lines of the main text).

²⁹ MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 112b–125b.

³⁰ This work is included in the margin of fols 3b–10b in MS Sackler 1984.463.

³¹ See MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 3b.

date must be shortly before the codex's production in 1098 H/ 1686–87 CE. The treatise contains twelve chapters: Chapter 1 on proof of the existence of the Necessary Existent, Chapter 2 on the necessity of an All-Powerful and Wise Creator for the world, Chapter 3 on His eternity, Chapter 4 on His existence by essence and His distinction from the world, Chapter 5 on His independence of place, Chapter 6 on His uniqueness, Chapter 7 on the fact that He is free of any change, yet the changes of the world subsist in Him, Chapter 8 on proof of His attributions of being All-powerful and All-Knowing, Chapter 9 on His promise and threat, Chapter 10 on the necessity of praising Him, Chapter 11 on the prophethood and Chapter 12 on the necessity of the existence of imam.

2.6 al-Jāmi'a al-qudsiyya or al-Jāmi'a al-mubāraka ('The Blessed Summa')

On the margin of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's 'riddle', there are at least eighteen items (texts and diagrams), which the compiler described as 'from our *Summa*' ('min ta'lifinā al-Jāmi'a') and on one occasion 'from our *Blessed Summa*'.³² These references suggest that Mīrzā Ibrāhīm had compiled another work with the title of *al-Jāmi'a*, from which all these pieces were extracted. The reference is, in all likelihood, to *al-Jāmi'a al-qudsiyya* (otherwise known as *al-Jāmi'a al-mubāraka*), a work on invocation (*du'ā*) written by an unknown author. Three copies are known to be extant,³³ all of which seem to have been produced during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān. The handwriting and style of these manuscripts are similar to the codices of the 'riddle', which suggests that Mīrzā Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī likewise scribed these codices under Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's supervision.³⁴

In the introduction to the *Jāmi'a*, the author recommends the reader to invoke God assiduously day and night, both when he is alone and when he is present in public, because remembrance and repetition are effectual in opening the door of divine mercy as regards accomplishing goals. The author

maintains that if the Indian mantra (*manṭar-i hindī*) and the Babylonian chant (*afsūn-i Bābīlī*) with no particular meaning could protect the practitioner from harm and favour his benevolent efforts, why should we doubt the effectiveness of complete words (*kalimāt-i tāmmāt*) and Holy names (*asmā'-i muqaddasāt*) conveyed in some of the most eloquent phrases and the most subtle expressions?

Following the introduction, the work contains twelve chapters. The chapters include discussions on the conditions for performing invocations, the appropriate time for doing them, philosophers' opinions on the effects of immaterial things, the direction of prayer and the conduct required when performing the Pilgrimage. The longest chapter is Chapter 8, which contains twenty-four invocations.

3. Reflections on Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's thinking

In the introduction to his summary of *Asās al-iqtibās*, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm presented a classification of sciences, which deserves particular attention as it helps us understand his philosophical thoughts. He first divided the sciences into six categories: natural philosophy (*al-ṭabī'īyyāt al-falsafīyya*), mathematical sciences (*al-riyāḍīyyāt al-naẓariyya*), logic (*al-manṭiqīyyāt al-qānūniyya*), the art of management and government (*al-siyāsiyyāt al-ḍarūriyya*), metaphysics (*al-ilāhiyyāt al-ḥikmiyya*), and religious learning (*al-shar'īyyāt al-nāmūsiyya*).

The scholar then divided each of these categories into four sciences:

a) Natural philosophy contains sciences (1) on general matters (*fī l-umūr al-āmma*), (2) on heaven and the world (*fī l-samā' wa-l-ālam*), (3) on medicine (*ilm al-abdān*) and (4) on employing matter according to its capacities (*fī l-taṣarruf 'alā wifq al-imkān*).

b) Mathematics is divided into (1) geometry (*al-handasa*), (2) arithmetic (*arithmāṭīqī*), (3) astronomy (*uṣṭrulumiyā [sic]*) and (4) music (*al-mūsīqā*).

c) Logic is divided into (1) philosophical logic (*al-manṭiq al-falsafī*), (2) semantic logic (*al-manṭiq al-lughawī*), (3) logic of syntax (*al-manṭiq al-naḥwī*) and (4) logic of prosody (*al-manṭiq al-'arūḍī*).

³² *Jadwāl shurūṭ al-'ashara allatī awradnāhā li-l-du'ā' fī ta'lifinā al-Jāmi'a al-qudsiyya*. See the contents of MS Sackler 1984.463, esp. the verso of the second unfoliated folio at the beginning of the manuscript.

³³ These three manuscripts are (1) MS Tehran, Gulistān Palace Library, Saṭṭanātī 11, 356 pages, illuminated and gilded, 20.5 × 13.0 cm, copied for the *Kitābkhāna-yi Mubāraka*. According to the catalogue, the completion date is 1282 H (1865–1866 CE). However, we believe the correct date is 1082 H (1671–1672 CE). (2) MS Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī Library 565, 115 fols, illuminated and gilded. (3) MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library 3407, 113 fols, illuminated and gilded. 21 × 13 cm. See Dirāyatī, *Fihristgān* 1390–1394 HS/2011–2015, vol. 9, 1012.

³⁴ This work is preserved in (1) MS Gulistān Palace, Saṭṭanātī 11, (2) MS Marwī 565 and (3) MS Raḍawī 3407.

d) The art of management and government (*al-siyāsiyyāt al-darūriyya*) is divided into (1) ethics (*akhlāq*), (2) economy (*tadbīr al-manāzil*, lit. 'household management'), (3) politics (*fī ta'sīs al-mudun*, lit. 'on establishing cities') and (4) essential matters for keeping order (*fī ma'rifat al-umūr al-muntaẓima li-ḥifẓ bayḍa*).

e) Metaphysics includes (1) the 'highest part' (*al-a'lā*) in the ranking, which is on the Necessary Existent (*wājib al-wujūd*), (2) the 'noble part' (*al-ashraf*), which is on the intellects and their emanation from the Necessary Existence and (3) the 'honourable part' (*al-akram*), which deals with the celestial souls, while (4) the 'lowest part' (*al-anzal*) deals with the human soul.

f) Religious learning consists of (1) rational theology (*kalām*), (2) the discipline of exegesis and reading the Qur'ān (*fī ma'rifat al-tafsīr wa-l-qirā'a*), (3) the discipline of verifying narrated traditions (*fī taṣḥīḥ al-aḥādīth al-marwiyya*) and (4) Islamic jurisprudence and its methodology (*fī uṣūl al-fiqh wa-furū'ihī*) (see Table 1).³⁵

The author admitted to having consulted Shams al-Dīn Āmulī's (d. 753 H/1352 CE) *Nafā'is al-funūn fī 'arā'is al-'uyūn* regarding this classification. Nevertheless, he believed he deserved credit for condensing the 160 divisions of learning in the *Nafā'is* into twenty-four disciplines.³⁶ Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's classification was indeed innovative in terms of categorising the sciences into six main groups and subdividing each one into four disciplines.

The author also expressed his ambition to write a treatise on each of these twenty-four disciplines, which shows that he felt competent enough to do so.³⁷ This aspirational remark goes along with what Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Khātūnābādī (d. 1105 H/1693–94 CE) stated about Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, namely that the latter used to claim to be familiar with every branch of learning.³⁸

³⁵ See the introduction to the summary of *Asās al-iqtibās* in MS Ayasofya 4785, fols 7a–9b.

³⁶ MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 6b. For more on Shams al-Dīn Āmulī's classification of sciences in his *Nafā'is al-funūn*, see Vesel 1986, 38–42.

³⁷ See the introduction to the summary of *Asās al-iqtibās* in MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 6b.

³⁸ See Khātūnābādī, *Waqāyi' al-sinīn wa-l-a'wām*, ed. Bihbūdī 1352 HS/1973 CE, 547.

By going through the explanatory notes on the fields of learning in Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's classification, one realises he was particularly interested in the occult sciences and divination. First, in natural philosophy, the sciences of 'employing matter according to its capacities' refers to alchemy and *sīmiyā'* (lit., 'white magic' or 'enchantment'). In mathematics, under arithmetic, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm discussed certain relevant, semi-independent subjects such as *jafr*, the science of letters and talismans. Finally, under astronomy, he included astrology, geomancy, physiognomy and oneiromancy (the interpretation of dreams).³⁹ The compiler's immense interest in occult sciences is evident in his inclusion of several texts, diagrams and images relating to these subjects in the margins of the codices (see Appendix 2).

His *Nihāyat al-aqdām*, bears witness to Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's belief in the Pythagorean idea of the One being the principle of numbers. The marginal notes also confirm that numerology and arithmetic were essential for understanding the universe for Mīrzā Ibrāhīm (and for Pythagoreans) because the universe, he argued, follows the same rules as numbers do.⁴⁰ His primary source for the views of the Pythagoreans was the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. Apart from Pythagorean ideas, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm also adopted certain other ideas from the *Rasā'il*, which were not particularly Pythagorean. For instance, he subscribed to the idea that the human being is a microcosm ('*ālam-i ṣaghīr*'), while the cosmos is a 'macro-human' ('*insān-i kabīr*').⁴¹ He also endorsed Ikhwān's view of cosmic love, according to which love is the inherent power shared between all the elements of the universe.⁴² Besides the

³⁹ On Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's interest in mathematical sciences, see the contribution of Brentjes in this volume.

⁴⁰ MS Sackler 1984.463 contains three marginal texts that deal with Pythagoreans' views: (1) a piece in the margin of fol. 15a, which was described as *Bayān zuḥūr al-waḥda fī l-mawjūdāt wa-taqṣīmuhā 'alā maslak al-Fīthāghūrīyīn* in the table of contents ('How the One Emerged from the Existents and Its Division According to the Pythagoreans'); (2) a note on fols 17a–18b (interlinear in the main text), which is referred to in the table of contents as *Ishāra ilā l-mabādī 'alā za'm al-Fīthāghūrīyīn* ('A Remark on the Principles According to the Views of the Pythagoreans'); (3) a remark on fols 28b–29b (interlinear in the main text), entitled *Khulāṣa mā qāla l-Fīthāghūrīyīn: Al-waḥda al-maḥḍa al-mutaqaddima 'alā l-marātib al-'adadiyya* ('A Summary of the View of the Pythagoreans that Absolute Unity Comes before the Grades of the Numbers'). The third remark is adopted from *Epistle One (On Arithmetic)* of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. See *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, ed. El-Bizri 2012, 17, 20, 33–39.

⁴¹ Zāhīr al-Dīn Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, *Talkhīṣ-i Asās al-iqtibās*, MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 9a (at the bottom of the lower left ruling). On *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*'s support of this view, see Maukola 2009, 229–256.

⁴² Mīrzā Ibrāhīm maintained this view in his *al-Risāla al-'Ishqiyya*. Regarding this work and its connection to the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, see the contribution of Kia in this volume.

Table 1: Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's classification of the sciences.

Categories	Sciences			
Natural Philosophy	On General Matters	On Heaven and the World	Medicine	Employing Matter According to Its Capacities
Mathematics	Geometry	Arithmetic	Astronomy	Music
Logical Sciences	Philosophical Logic	Semantics	Syntax	Prosody
Management and Politics	Ethics	Economy	Politics	Essential Matters for Keeping Order
Metaphysics	On the Necessary Existent	On the Intellects and Emanation	On the Celestial Souls	On the Human Soul
Religious Sciences	Rational Theology	Exegesis and Reading of the Qur'ān	Verification of the Narrated Traditions	Islamic Jurisprudence and Its Methodology

Rasā'il itself, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm also used the Persian translation of selections of the work, known as *Mujmal al-ḥikma*, which was produced sometime before 667 H/1288 CE.⁴³ Moreover, he benefited from the Pythagorean account in Tāj al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī's (d. 548 H/1153 CE) *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*.⁴⁴ For Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, Pythagorean numerology was compatible with Sufism. He clearly supported Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī's (d. 638 H/1240 CE) doctrine of the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wujūd*)⁴⁵ and the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*).⁴⁶ The combination of Pythagorean numerology with Akbarian

mysticism was first developed in certain cities in the Mamluk Empire in the late eighth/fourteenth and early ninth/fifteenth century h/ce respectively, where prominent figures such as Timurid philosopher Šā'in al-Dīn Turka (d. 835 H/1432 CE),⁴⁷ the Mamluk-Ottoman occultist 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 858 H/1454 CE)⁴⁸ and the Timurid historian and poet Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 858 H/1454 CE)⁴⁹ studied occult sciences. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm seems to have been influenced by these scholars not only when engaging in the science of letters but also when combining it with Akbarian mysticism.

In one of his marginal comments, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm adopted passages from Šā'in al-Dīn Turka's *Maḥāḥiṣ* ('Inquiries') without referring to the author explicitly.⁵⁰ In another marginal comment, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm referred to Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, calling him 'knowledgeable in the scientific stations and enlightened on the unveiling and theoretical knowledge' (*wāqif al-mawāqif al-'ilmī wa-'arīf al-ma'arīf al-kashfī wa-l-naẓarī*). He then cited an unspecified work

⁴³ For the edition of this book, see *Mujmal al-ḥikma*, eds Dānishpazhūh and Afshār 1375 HS/1996.

⁴⁴ A piece in the margin of fol. 15a is actually a quotation from *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*. This quote was described in the table of contents as *Bayān ṣūhūr al-waḥda fī l-mawjūdāt wa-taqṣīmuhā 'alā maslak al-Fīthāghūrīyīn* ('How the One Emerged in the Existents and Its Division According to the Pythagoreans'). On Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's usage of *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, also see the contribution of Mousavi and Bohloul in this volume.

⁴⁵ Regarding Ibn 'Arabī's doctrines of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the compiler partly quotes from Dāwūd al-Qaysarī's (d. 751 H/1350 CE) introduction to his commentary on Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, entitled *Maṭla' Fuṣūṣ al-Qaysarī fī sharḥihi 'alā l-Fuṣūṣ bi-naḥw al-Nuṣūṣ* ('Qaysarī's Introduction to the Commentary on *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* in the Style of [Šadr al-Dīn Qūnawī's] *Nuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*'). See MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 17b. The passage can be found in Dāwūd Qaysarī's *Maṭla' Khuṣūṣ al-kilām fī ma'ānī Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, see Qaysarī, *Maṭla' Khuṣūṣ al-kilām*, ed. al-Kayyālī 2012, 37–41.

⁴⁶ On the author's support of Ibn 'Arabī's theory of 'the perfect man', see the marginal remark entitled *maḥāṭih abwāb al-janna wa-ṭabaqātuhā*, MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 15a.

⁴⁷ On Šā'in al-Dīn Turka, see Melvin-Koushki 2012; Melvin-Koushki 2014, 247–276.

⁴⁸ On 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī, see Gardiner 2017, 3–38.

⁴⁹ On Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, see Binbaş 2016.

⁵⁰ *Faḥṣ ḥikmī fī naẓm naẓarī* ('A Philosophical Inquiry in Rational Terms'), MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 12a. Melvin-Koushki edited the *Maḥāḥiṣ* in Melvin-Koushki 2012, 533–557. The passages adopted by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm are found on pp. 534, 536–537 and 541–542 of this edition; cf. the contribution of Mousavi and Bohloul in this volume.

by him.⁵¹ Mīrzā Ibrāhīm also referred to al-Bisṭāmī in his *Jāmi'ā*, calling him 'the one who sets the pure pearl' and 'the divine gnostic' (*muraṣṣi'ī durra-yi nāṣi'ā* and *'arīf-i rabbānī*), before quoting from him what he had narrated from Aḥmad al-Būnī's (d. 622 H/1225 CE or 630 H/1232–33 CE) *Shams al-ma'arīf wa-laṭā'if al-'awārif* on 'the features of letters' (*khawāṣṣ al-ḥurūf*).⁵²

Unfortunately, there is no information about Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's education. However, his reference to the prominent Safavid Shaykh al-Islām, Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī (d. 1030 H/1621 CE), aka Shaykh Bahā'ī, as 'the perfect gnostic of a certainty and our master' (*al-kāmil al-'arīf bi-l-yaqīn shaykhunā* Bahā' al-Milla wa-Ḥaqq wa-l-Dīn) might be a clue in this regard.⁵³ Because of the long interval between the career of Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī and that of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, the latter could not possibly have studied with the former. However, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was possibly an indirect student of 'Āmilī. Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī's interests overlapped significantly with those of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm. 'Āmilī was highly interested in the mathematical sciences, as is evident from his *Khulāṣat al-ḥisāb* in arithmetic and his *Tashrīḥ al-aflāk* in astronomy.⁵⁴ He also showed some interest in the occult sciences.⁵⁵

Moreover, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm quoted from the works of a few other seventeenth-century Safavid scholars, namely Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1045 H/1635–36 CE),⁵⁶ 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhijī (d. 1072 H/1662 CE)⁵⁷ and Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1091 H/1680–81 CE). Mīrzā Ibrāhīm seems to have been

personally familiar with Fayḍ, who was incidentally one of Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī's students.⁵⁸ Mīrzā Ibrāhīm referred to Fayḍ as 'our master Muḥsin' (*Mawlānā Muḥsin*) when citing a verse from him.⁵⁹ He also took passages from Fayḍ's *'Ayn al-yaqīn* as well as his exegetical work *al-Ṣāfi* for the margins of the codices.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm summarised Fayḍ's *Āyina-yi shāhī* (or *Mir'āt-i shāhī*) under the title of *Mujallā-yi Mir'āt-i shāhī*.⁶¹ Fayḍ's views were similar to those of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm in several ways: (1) Fayḍ was an adherent of Akbarian mysticism; (2) Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and Fayḍ both argued for the unity of the intellect and the intelligible;⁶² (3) in his writing, Fayḍ emphasised the significance of invocation⁶³ and (4) he was also involved with occult sciences, including talismans, at least to some extent.⁶⁴ All these similarities raise the possibility of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm having studied with Fayḍ and that the latter's teachings shaped Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's own thoughts.

Many of the philosophical positions that Mīrzā Ibrāhīm adopted appear to be Avicennian; Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's work shows an awareness of Avicenna's ideas as well as the exegetical discussions related to his position on topics

⁵¹ MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 89b–90a.

⁵² Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, *al-Jāmi'ā al-qudsiyya*, MS Marwī 565, fol. 109a.

⁵³ MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 15a. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm mentioned Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī at least three times in the codices. He narrated some of his Persian poems twice (MS Sackler 1984.46, fols 15a, 25a–26b), and the third time, he quoted from *al-Wajīza fī dirāyat al-ḥadīth* (MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 64b).

⁵⁴ On Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī, see Kohlberg 1988, 429–430; Mullāzāda 1377 HS/1999, 661–673.

⁵⁵ Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī's interest in occult sciences is indicated in several places in his *Kashkūl*; see 'Āmilī, *al-Kashkūl* 1403 H/1983, vol. 1, 313, vol. 2, 188, 309, vol. 3, 321. Cf. Mullāzāda 1377 HS/1999, 668. Regardless of the degree of his engagement in occult sciences, later generations of scholars considered him a prominent practitioner. See Melvin-Koushki 2020, 263–272.

⁵⁶ In MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 27b–28b (interlinear in the main text), there is a quotation from Mullā Ṣadrā's *al-Hikma al-'arshīyya* entitled *Nubadha min ḥikma 'arshīyya fī taqṣīm al-wujūd*. It corresponds to Mullā Ṣadrā's *al-Hikma al-'arshīyya*, see Mullā Ṣadrā, *al-Hikma al-'arshīyya*, ed. al-Ḥusaynī 1437 H/2016, 35–39.

⁵⁷ MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 18b–20a.

⁵⁸ Fayḍ Kāshānī himself said that he had studied with Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī. See Fayḍ Kāshānī's 'Sharḥ-i ṣadr', in Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Majmū'a-yi rasā'il*, ed. Ja'farī 1387 HS/2008–09, vol. 1, 122.

⁵⁹ MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 32a (inside the ruling at the end). The poem can be found in Fayḍ's *Dīvān*. See Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kullīyyāt-i ash'ār*, ed. Piyman 1366 HS/1987–88, 40.

⁶⁰ One marginal remark was extracted from *'Ayn al-yaqīn*, with the title *'Ayn al-yaqīn*. See MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 36a. This passage can be found in Fayḍ Kāshānī's *'Ayn al-yaqīn al-mulaqqab bi-l-anwār wa-l-asrār*, see Fayḍ Kāshānī, *'Ayn al-yaqīn*, ed. al-'Abīdī 1428 H/2007, vol. 1, 59–60. The quotation from *al-Ṣāfi* is entitled *al-Ish'ār bi-mawāzīn al-qisṭ* ('Acquaintance with the Balances of Justice'). See MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 15b–16b. The passage can be found in Fayḍ Kāshānī's *al-Ṣāfi fī tafṣīr al-Qur'ān*, see Fayḍ Kāshānī, *al-Ṣāfi fī tafṣīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. Amīnī 1377 HS/1998–99, vol. 1, 67–69.

⁶¹ This work is included in the margin of MS Ayasofya 4785 on fols 77[1]a–77[2]b (note that the manuscript contains three folios numbered 77; see below). For the edition of Fayḍ Kāshānī's *Āyina-yi shāhī*, see his *Majmū'a-yi rasā'il*, ed. Ja'farī 1387 HS/2008–09, vol. 1, 347–377.

⁶² See MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 9a, upper left ruling. For Fayḍ Kāshānī's support of this idea, see his *'Ayn al-yaqīn*, ed. al-'Abīdī 1428 H/2007, vol. 1, 83, for instance.

⁶³ See Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Āyina-yi shāhī*, in *Majmū'a-yi rasā'il*, ed. Ja'farī 1387 HS/2008–09, vol. 1, 376–377.

⁶⁴ This involvement is evident from a treatise he wrote on treating various illnesses with special supplications and talismans, entitled *'Da'f-i āfāt u raf'-i baliyyāt*. See Fayḍ Kāshānī, *'Da'f-i āfāt u raf'-i baliyyāt*, in *Majmū'a-yi rasā'il-i Mawlā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī*, ed. Ja'farī 1387 HS/2008–09, vol. 1, 379–461.

such as time,⁶⁵ place,⁶⁶ motion,⁶⁷ matter and form,⁶⁸ stages of the human intellect,⁶⁹ the emanation of the first celestial intellect,⁷⁰ the role of the Active Intellect,⁷¹ God's knowledge of particulars,⁷² causality⁷³ and the afterlife.⁷⁴

4. Description of the five codices

4.1 MS Malik 868

4.1.a General description

The codex contains 52 folios, paginated (probably in the twentieth century) and with catchwords, 157 × 259 mm in size,⁷⁵ and sealed by Hājji Husayn Malik (pp. 3 and 106; Fig. 1) and Millī Malik Library (pp. 3 and 106). The manuscript contains ruled borders (*jadval*) which distinguish the main text from the marginal ones. The manuscript is complete and has been preserved without any apparent damage.

4.1.b Date of completion

Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī finished copying out the codex in 1085 H/1674–75 CE. Tabrīzī wrote the chronogram in the colophon of the first treatise on page 95: *qad tammat kalām al-wāḥid* (see Fig. 2).

4.1.c Main texts

1. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's extensive riddle (*lughaz*; pp. 7–95). The work does not have a title in this manuscript. However, there is a chronogram of the work, which appears on the first



Fig. 1: A seal used by Hājji Husayn Malik (MS Malik 868, p. 3).

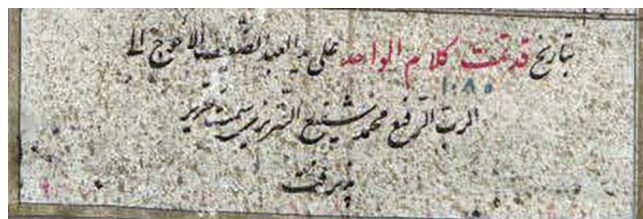


Fig. 2: Colophon of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *lughaz* (MS Malik 868, p. 95): *Bi-tārīkh-i qad tammat kalām al-wāḥid* (1080) 'alā yad al-'abd al-ḥa'if al-aḥwaj ilā al-rabb al-rafi' Muḥammad Shafī' al-Tabrīzī samt-i tahrīr padhīruft.

page and runs as follows: *Nihāyat al-aqdām fī ṭawr al-kalām* = 1070 H [1659–60 CE].

2. The Shī'ī invocation (*du'ā*) of *Samāt* (aka *Shubbūr*), entitled *Miftāḥ al-abwāb-i 'ālam-i 'ilwī u siflī* ('The Key of the Doors of the Higher and Lower World'; pp. 96–105). This invocation is attributed to the fifth Shī'ī Imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir. It was also included in Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *al-Jāmi'a*⁷⁶ and it was probably copied to this manuscript directly from a copy of *al-Jāmi'a*. The earliest Shī'ī work in which this invocation is included is Shaykh Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī's (d. 460 H/1067 CE) *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.⁷⁷ However, the recension of this work in this codex (and *al-Jāmi'a*) is different to the one in *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*. The precise source for this version is unknown.

4.1.d Marginal and interlinear items

The codex contains numerous marginal and interlinear texts, diagrams and drawn images, many of which are meant to clarify the matters discussed in Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām*. Some of the others, however, including those that appear at the beginning and end of the codex, are not directly related to the treatise; their inclusion is only due to the compiler's interest in them. Most of these texts are in

⁶⁵ See his marginal remark on time, 'Ḥaqīqat al-zamān', in MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 39b–41a.

⁶⁶ See his marginal remark on place, 'Fī māhiyyat al-makān 'alā aḍwāq al-ḥukamā', in MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 41a–42a.

⁶⁷ See his marginal remark on motion, 'Ḥaqīqat al-ḥaraka', in MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 55a–56b.

⁶⁸ See his marginal remark on matter and form, 'Min ta'liqāt Shaykh al-Ra'īs', in MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 16b–17a.

⁶⁹ See his marginal remark on the stages of the human intellect, 'Mafātīḥ abwāb al-janna wa-ṭabaqātuhā', in MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 15a.

⁷⁰ See MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 9a, upper left ruling.

⁷¹ See the marginal remark entitled 'Mafātīḥ abwāb al-janna wa-ṭabaqātuhā', MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 15a.

⁷² See his marginal remark on God's knowledge, under the title 'ālam al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda al-kabīr al-muta'āl', in MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 20a (between the lines of the main text and in the margin).

⁷³ See his marginal remark on causality and various kinds of causes, 'Min ta'liqāt Shaykh al-Ra'īs Abū 'Alī Sīnā', in MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 75b–81a (between the lines of the main text).

⁷⁴ See Chapter 12 of his *Sabahāt al-qudsiyya* in MS Sackler 1984.463, fols 123a–125b.

⁷⁵ See Afshār and Dānishpazhūh 1352–1363 HS/1973–1984, vol. 1, 455.

⁷⁶ Zahr al-Dīn Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, *al-Jāmi'a al-qudsiyya*, MS Marwī 565, fols 89b–91a.

⁷⁷ See al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, ed. Murvārdī 1411 H/1991, 416–420. On this invocation and its Jewish origin, see Modarressi 2003, vol. 1, 226, n. 8.

Persian, and a few are in Arabic. The subject matter of the marginal and interlinear items varies. It covers all kinds of disciplines: logic, semantics, natural philosophy, psychology, metaphysics, ethics, economics, politics, history, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, rational theology, Islamic jurisprudence, legal methodology, Qur'ānic reading and exegesis, and the occult sciences (geomancy, the science of letters and others). Many of these remarks are meant to introduce the disciplines as they expound basic discussions. The diagrams were also meant to be used when required. These marginal and interlinear items give the codex the added feature of a handbook.

4.1.e Decoration of the manuscript

Apart from its first two pages, the manuscript contains decorative double-page frames throughout. There are eight-contour rulings on pages 4 and 5 and only three-contour rulings on the other pages. The two main treatises in the codex are located inside the internal ruling. The marginal notes are located between the internal ruling and the decorative frame. The manuscript contains a headpiece on page 3 at the beginning of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (Fig. 3) and has a smaller headpiece for the quotation from *al-Jāmi'a* (Fig. 4). The texts in the manuscripts were written in black ink, except for some important words, subtitles, Qur'ānic verses and traditions of the Imams, which were written in red ink. On some occasions where several Qur'ānic verses were quoted consecutively, the scribe used blue and green ink to distinguish one verse from another. Blue, green and red inks were also used for the ruling.

4.2 MS Malik 1517

4.2.a General description

This codex contains 59 folios, is 150 × 260 mm in size, is paginated (probably done in the twentieth century) and contains catchwords.⁷⁸ The manuscript is complete and has been preserved without any particular damage. The name of the scribe is not mentioned. However, being similar to MS Malik 868 in its form and structure, it must have been produced by the same Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī. The date of its completion is not mentioned either. Again, because of its similarity to MS Malik 868, we believe the codex was produced sometime after that but before the other codices. There is an undated ownership note on the front page with

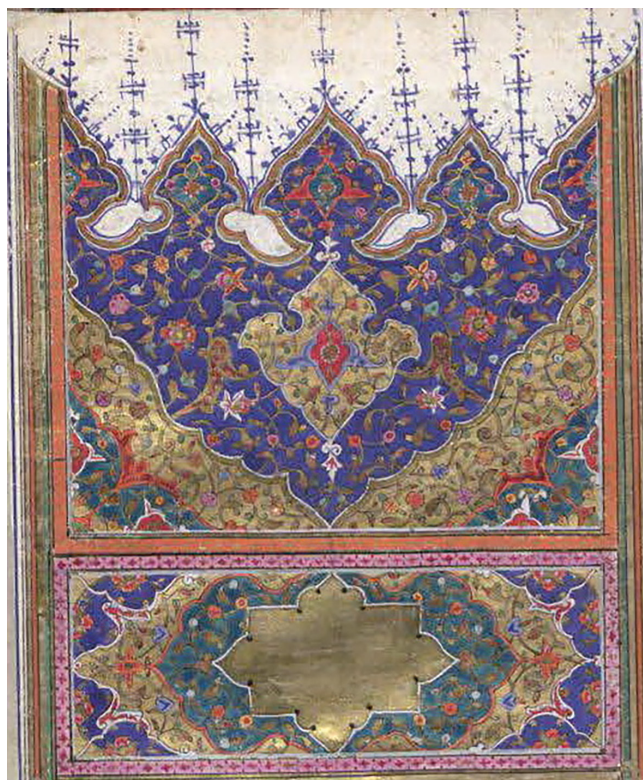


Fig. 3: The headpiece of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (MS Malik 868, p. 3).



Fig. 4: The headpiece of a quotation from *al-Jāmi'a* (MS Malik 868, p. 3).

an oval seal stamp that belonged to a certain 'Alī Akbar b. Ḥusayn Nakhshabī (Fig. 5). There are also two other seal stamps, one on the same page and another on page 17, which were made by a certain Muḥammad Ḥusayn (Fig. 6).

⁷⁸ See Afshār and Dānishpazhūh 1352–1363 HS/1973–1984, vol. 5, 282–283.

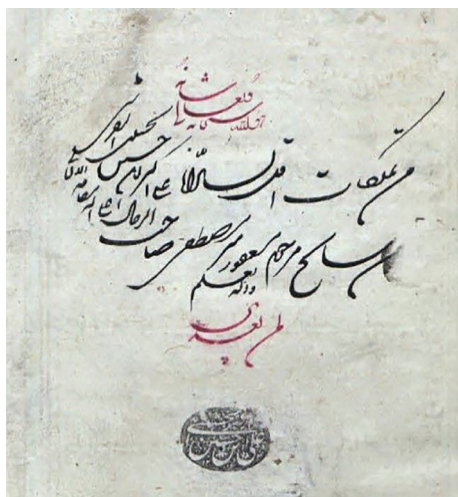


Fig. 5: An ownership note and a seal in MS Malik 1517 (front page).

The margins of many of the pages in this manuscript were left blank (pp. 1–9, 98, 102 and 113–116), and the margins of others are partially blank (pp. 12, 14, 22, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 44, 47, 48, 50, 59, 61, 62, 69, 74, 75, 77, 78, 82, 83, 86, 88, 94 and 101). The blank parts may indicate that the manuscript is incomplete.

4.2.b Date of completion

This manuscript is closer to MS Malik 868 than the other three. The only difference is that it includes a work containing the riddles of the two former Safavid viziers Khalīfa Sultān (d. 1064 H/1654 CE) and Muḥammad Beg (d. 1083 H/1672 CE), together with an introduction by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm. In the introduction, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm explained why he decided to compose a riddle following the examples of the viziers.⁷⁹ Since MS Malik 868 does not include this work, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm presumably wrote the introduction after compiling MS Malik 868 in or shortly before 1085 H/1674–75 CE. Therefore, MS Malik 1517, which is the first codex containing this work, must have been completed after MS Malik 868 in 1085 H/1674–75 CE, but before the completion of MS Ayasofya 4785 in 1086 H/1675–76 CE.



Fig. 6: A seal in MS Malik 1517 (front page).



Fig. 7: The first foliation of MS Ayasofya 4785 (fol. 1a, middle left).

4.2.c Main texts

The manuscript contains the following works:

1. The Riddles of the Two Former [Safavid] Viziers, Khalīfa Sultān⁸⁰ and Muḥammad Beg,⁸¹ together with an introduction by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm (pp. 1–9)
2. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (pp. 12–106)
3. The Invocation of *Samāt* (pp. 106–116).

4.2.d Marginal and interlinear items.

The marginal and interlinear items, including their positions, are almost identical to those in MS Malik 868.

4.2.e Decoration of the manuscript

The decoration of this manuscript is almost identical to that of MS Malik 868. The main texts are inside the internal ruling. The marginal notes are placed between the decorative frame and the internal ruling. The manuscript contains two main headpieces: on page 1 at the beginning of the first treatise (The Riddles of the Two Former Viziers) and on page 13 at the beginning of the third treatise (Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām*). It also contains a small headpiece on the same page at the beginning of a citation from *al-Jāmi'a*.

4.3 MS Ayasofya 4785⁸²

4.3.a General description

MS Ayasofya 4785 contains 199 folios. It has three types of foliation. The first one, which seems to be from the time of its production, can be found in the middle of the outer margin on the odd pages. The numbers appear in circles (as shown in Fig. 7). In this foliation, the first three folios containing the table of contents were not counted, so the fourth folio was numbered as folio one. Thus, a total of 196 folios were

⁷⁹ For more on Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's introduction to this work, see Mousavi and Bohloul 2023.

⁸⁰ The riddle of Khalīfa Sultān was about the number 55. Sayyid 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Mar'ashī, known as Khalīfa Sultān, was grand vizier under Shāh 'Abbās I (r. 996–1038 H/1588–1629 CE) and then again under Shāh 'Abbās II. For more on Khalīfa Sultān, see Matthee 2010, 382–384.

⁸¹ The riddle of Muḥammad Beg was about the number 100. Muḥammad Beg, who was referred to in the codex as Muḥammad Khān I'timād al-Dawla, was grand vizier under Shāh 'Abbās II. On Muḥammad Beg, see Matthee 1991.

⁸² The authors would like to thank Ali Safari Aq-qale for bringing this manuscript to their attention.



Fig. 8: MS Ayasofya 4785, fols 14b–15a.

foliated with Eastern Arabic numbers. The second foliation (located on the upper left of the odd pages) starts from the middle of the manuscript and continues to the end. Many of these numbers were struck through in the third foliation of the manuscript, which is the most recent one. Thus, the first two folios have Roman numbers. From the third folio onwards, the numerals change to Western Arabic ones, starting with the number 1.

This manuscript contains three types of catchwords. The first type was written outside the frame of the verso of the folios in the same hand as the main text, using a thick pen. These catchwords cover the first main treatise of the codex. The second type of catchword is likewise in the outer ruling and written by the same hand but with a thin pen to indicate the continuation of the marginal text between the lines of the main text. The third type of catchword can be found inside the ruling and at the end of the interlinear text, written in the

same hand with a thin pen to indicate the continuation of the interlinear text on the recto of the next folio. The sequence of the transcription of the marginal text on the verso and recto of the folios is as follows: first, the text was transcribed in the margin of the verso of a folio. It continues inside the ruling between the lines of the main text on that side of the folio. Then it continues on the recto of the next folio inside the ruling and between the lines of the main text. Finally, it continues in the margin of the recto of the folio (Fig. 8). The third type of catchword was only used for long texts, which continue for several folios. Some of them, laid out in two columns (fols 31–34, 100–101 and 121–124), do not have any catchwords. In fact, the first eleven folios do not have any catchwords at all; these only start to be used from fol. 11b onwards.

The manuscript contains a table of contents, which makes it distinct from the two manuscripts in the Malik Library described above. Moreover, it shows a development in the production process, which continued to be implemented in the manuscripts copied after this one. However, the table of contents is incomplete. A table for forty items was drawn up on each of the four pages following the front page. In other words, the compiler expected the codex to have 160 items. Nevertheless, the table on page two is blank, and the tables on pages three and four are filled only partially. Altogether, the table of contents contains 112 items.

Eight consecutive folios in the manuscript are missing: fols 18–25. Furthermore, the manuscript has three folios paginated with the same number, 77. The reason for this is that after completing the manuscript, the scribe decided to add *Risāla-yi Mujallā-yi Mir'āt-i shāhī* to it. Therefore, adding two folios after folio 77 was the solution the scribe came up with.⁸³ He copied this treatise in the margin of the repeated folio. The manuscript is otherwise undamaged.

Since we did not have access to the manuscript itself, its exact size is unknown to us. However, the size must be close to that of MS Malik 868 (157 × 259 mm) and MS 1517 (150 × 260 mm).

4.3.b Date of completion

The name of the scribe, Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī, and the date of completion of the codex, 1086 H/1675–76 CE, are specified in the colophon in Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (fol. 109a; see Fig. 9).

4.3.c Main texts

These contain the following four works:

1. The summary of *Asās al-iqtibās* (between the lines of the main text and in the margins, starting from the verso of the third unfoliated folio at the beginning of the manuscript to fol. 19a, continuing on fols 109b–193a)
2. The riddles of the two former Safavid viziers (fols 11a–18a)
3. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (fols 26a–109a; eight folios of this work are missing)
4. The Invocation of *Samāt* (fols 109b–120a).

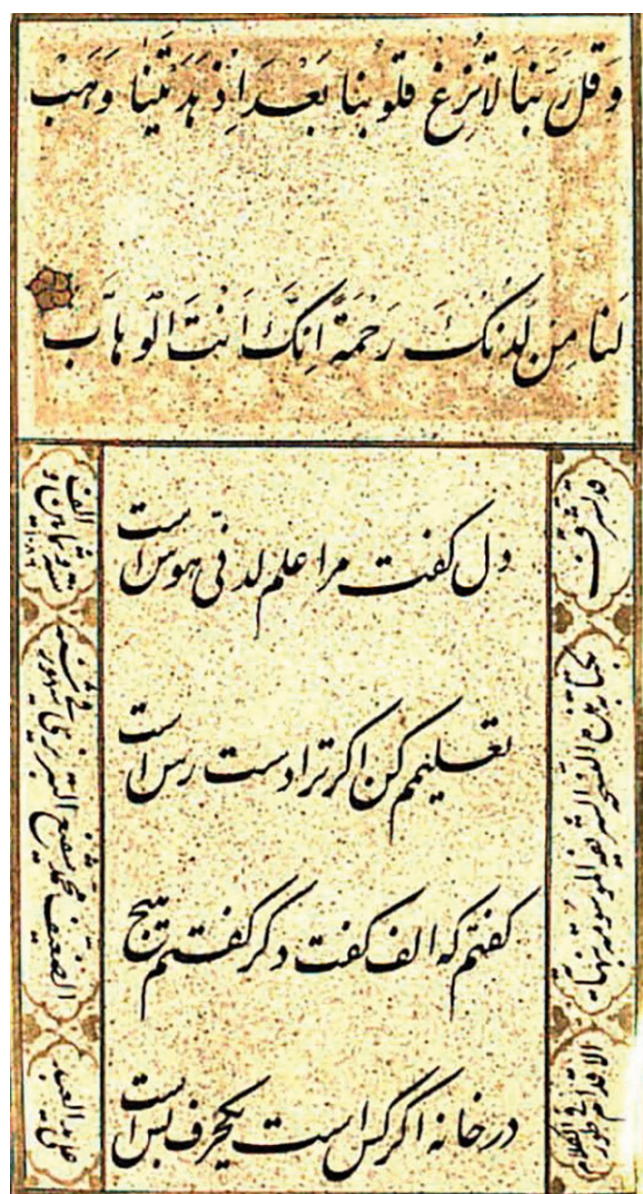


Fig. 9: The colophon in Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (MS Ayasofya 4785, fol. 109a).

4.3.d Marginal and interlinear items

This manuscript's marginal and interlinear items are written in the same style as in the two previous manuscripts. However, some short texts were added in the margins, which cannot be found in the two Malik Library manuscripts. These texts can also be found in the copies of the collection produced later, namely MS British Library Or. 12974 and MS Sackler 1984.463. In other words, while the codex was being produced, the compiler, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, decided to add some more items to it. He also added them to the codices produced after this one. Here are some of the items which were added to the collection in this manuscript:

⁸³ See below.

1. *al-Surūr al-qudsiyya fī ba‘d nawādir al-mūsīqiyya* ('The Holy Joy on Some Rarely Discussed Matters Concerning Music'), fols 28b–33b⁸⁴

2. *Mujallā-yi Mir‘āt-i shāhī* (a summary of Fayḍ Kāshānī's *Mir‘āt-i shāhī*; fols 77[1]a–77[2]b⁸⁵

3. *al-Ṣuwar al-ḥāmīmiyya al-mutakhayyila* ('Images of the Constellations of the Fixed Stars'; fols 194b–196a).

Forty-eight paintings of astronomical constellations were put on a table at the end of the codex. There is no title above the first one. It appears to be incomplete and is presumably damaged (MS Ayasofya, fol. 1a of the modern foliation). The full name appears in MS Sackler 1984.463 (fol. 4a of the Harvard online foliation).

4.3.e Decoration of the manuscript

The decoration of the manuscript bears some similarity to what was employed in the manuscripts in the Malik Library. However, the similarity is more marked with those of MS British Library Or. 12974 and MS Sackler 1984.463.

The manuscript has two headpieces, one on the page preceding fol. 1a at the beginning of the summary of *Asās al-iqtibās* and the other on fol. 11b at the beginning of Khalīfa Sulṭān's riddle. It includes lettering pieces for the shorter marginal texts (examples: fols 26a and 27b).

4.3.f The binding

The manuscript has an epigram on its front, back and cover flap.⁸⁶ It is a 16-line poem in the form of a *qit‘a* and was written by Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Sharīf, who was also known as Najīb Kāshānī (d. 1123 H/1711–12 CE), a poet laureate (*malik al-shu‘arā*) at the court of Shāh Sulṭān Sulaymān and his successor, Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1105–1135 H/1694–1722 CE). After thanking God, the poet praises the shah and his *mustawfī al-mamālik* (i.e. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm). He then praises the manuscript. At the end of the epigram, he refers to his pen name (*takhalluṣ*) of Najīb. Evidently, he was asked to compose the poem specifically for this book. The poem is not included in his published *Dīvān*, though.⁸⁷ As his *Tārīkh-i kishīkkhāna-yi humāyūn* attests, Najīb was a genuine admirer of Mīrzā

Ibrāhīm, who had introduced him to the Safavid court.⁸⁸ The binding seems to have been added several years after the manuscript's production in 1086 H/1675–76 CE. The reference to the *mustawfī al-mamālik* in the poem indicates that the poem was composed after Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was appointed to this post in 1095 H/1683 CE. Hence, the binding production must also have occurred after this date.

4.4 MS British Library Or. 12974

4.4.a General description

This manuscript seems to be similar to the three other manuscripts. However, it is superior to them in terms of its gilding and artwork. The date of its completion is still unknown. The structure and script are similar to those of the three previous manuscripts. A note on the inner right-hand side of the codex's binding shows that it was in Iran until 1337 HS/1958 CE. Another note (on fol. 200b) indicates that it was at the British Library in 1965 CE. The manuscript must therefore have been transferred to the British Library sometime between 1958 and 1965 CE. The seal of the previous owner, Dr Ḥusayn Miftāḥ, can be found on fol. 2a.⁸⁹

The manuscript contains 200 folios. It was foliated twice. The first foliation, added at the time of production, can be seen in a circle and red ink in the middle of the margin of the odd pages (like the first foliation of MS Ayasofya 4785 (Fig. 7). The first three folios were left without a number in this foliation. Altogether, 204 folios were numbered, beginning with the fourth folio.

Following the manuscript's transfer to the British Library, the second foliation was added. It is in Western Arabic numerals, from the first folio and up to the last one (fol. 200), without taking into account the missing folios.⁹⁰

The catchwords are employed similarly to MS Ayasofya 4785 (see above).

The following folios of the manuscript are missing: 27, 44, 48, 74, 75, 78, 88, 89, 90, 101, 103 and 104, and the order of

⁸⁴ See chapter 2.2.

⁸⁵ See chapter 3.

⁸⁶ Regarding the development of epigrams on bindings, see Afshār 1380 HS/2001–2002, 21–44.

⁸⁷ See Najīb Kāshānī, *Dīvān*, ed. Dādbih and Ṣadrī 1382 HS/2003.

⁸⁸ Najīb Kāshānī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Dādbih and Ṣadrī 1394 HS/2015–2016, 13–15. Cf. Ḥusayn Ṣabā, *Tadhkira*, ed. Ruknāda Ādamiyyat 1343 HS/1964–1965, 807–808. It should be noted that the author of the *Tadhkira* mistakenly said that Mīrzā Ibrāhīm introduced Najīb to the court of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. However, it is evident from some of the eulogies he composed that Najīb was first connected with the court of his predecessor, Sulaymān.

⁸⁹ For a catalogue of Dr Ḥusayn Miftāḥ's manuscript collection, see Dānishpazhūh 1353 HS/1975, 95–511. Since this catalogue was prepared in 1969, a description of the aforementioned manuscript (MS British Library Or. 12974) cannot be found in it.

⁹⁰ The person who foliated the manuscript wrote the date, 29.07.1965, and their initials at the end of the manuscript (on fol. 200b).

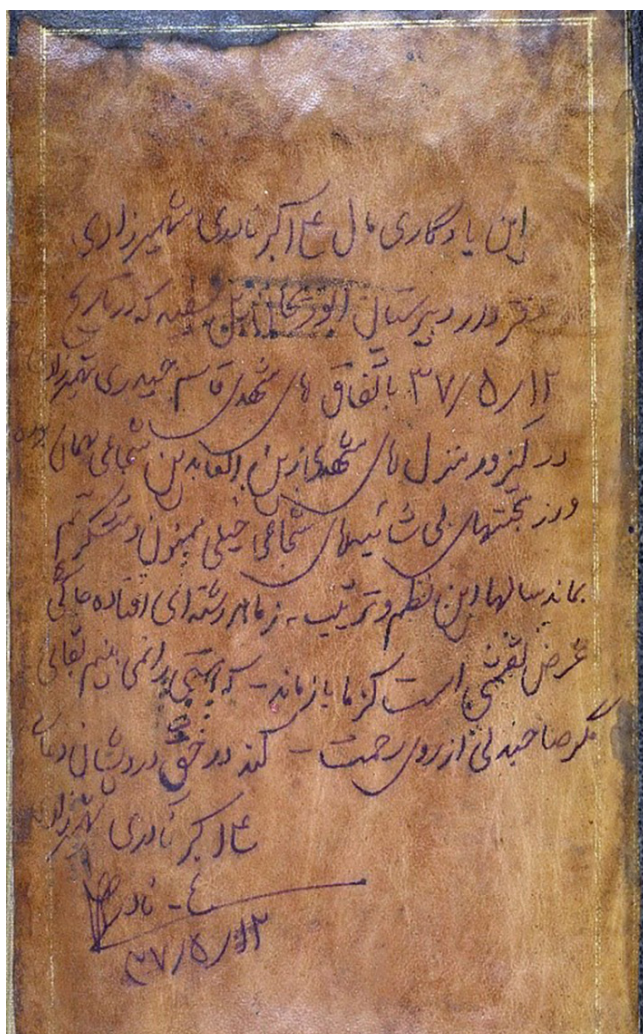


Fig. 10: A keepsake note by a certain 'Alī Akbar Nādiri Shahmīrzādī dated 1337 HS/1958 CE (MS British Library Or. 12974, the inner right-hand side of the binding).

the folios is incorrect. The present sequence is as follows: 1–7, 10, 8, 9, an unfoliated folio, 11–26, 28–43, 45–47, 49–60, 61 (unfoliated), 62 (1), 62 (2), 63–73, 76–77, 79–87, 91–100, 102, 105–155 (1), 155 (2), 156–204. Furthermore, the manuscript was damaged by water. As a result, many of the folios are affected by feathering and bleeding, which has made some texts hard to read (see Fig. 11 for some examples).

Since we do not have access to the manuscript itself, its size is unknown to us. However, we believe it must be close to that of MS Malik 868 (157 × 259 mm) and MS Malik 1517 (150 × 260 mm).

4.4.b Date of completion

The date of completion, 1089 H/1678–1679 CE, and the name of the scribe, Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī, are mentioned in the colophon of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (Fig. 11).

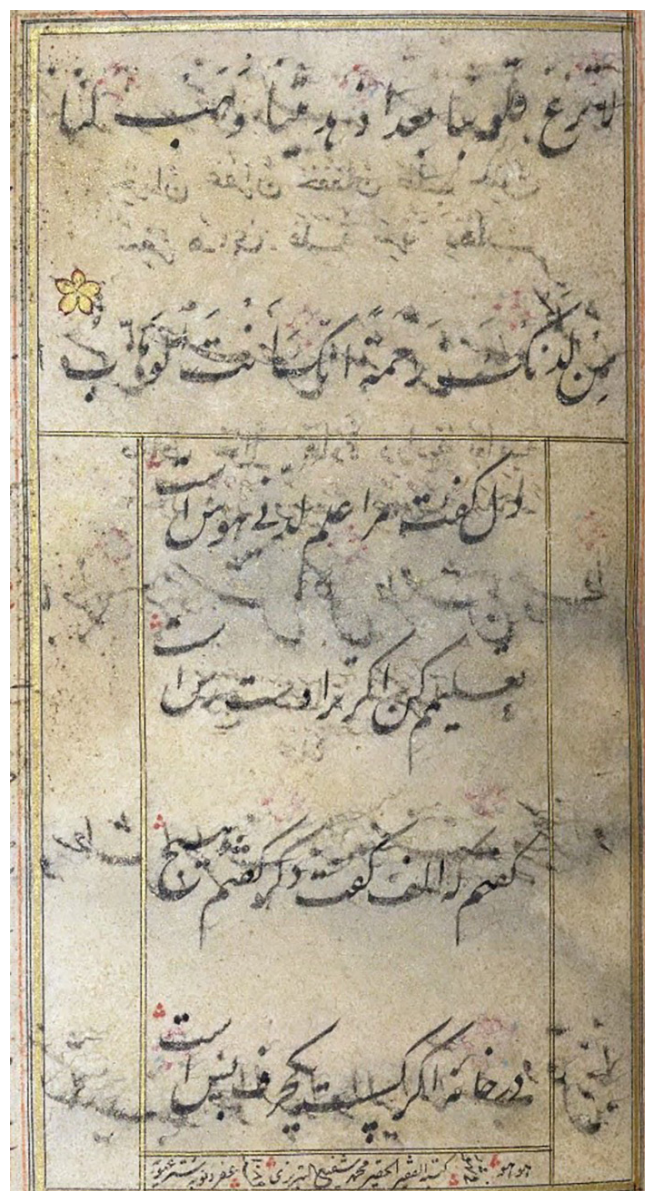


Fig 11: Water damage on the colophon of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (MS British Library Or. 12974, fol. 112a).

4.4.c Main texts

The codex contains four main works:

1. The summary of *Asās al-iqtibās* (fols 1b–18a and 113b–204a between the lines of the main text and in the margins)
2. The riddles of the two former Safavid viziers (fols 11b–18a)
3. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (fols 19a–112a)
4. The Invocation of *Samāt* (fols 112b–123a).



Fig. 12: Headpiece of the summary of *Asās al-iqtibās* (MS British Library Or. 12974, fol. 1b).

4.4.d Marginal and interlinear items.

The marginal and interlinear items are identical to MS Ayasofya 4785. They were written in the same style as the three previous manuscripts. According to the table of contents, the work contains 193 items. The first four are part of the introduction to the summary of *Asās al-iqtibās*, so the correct number of items is actually 190. If we subtract 4 (the number of main texts) from 190, we get 186 items appearing in the margins or between the lines of the main text. These items are of different kinds: some are texts, and others are tables or diagrams.

4.4.e Decoration of the manuscript

The decoration of this manuscript is like that of MS Ayasofya 4785. The manuscript contains three headpieces: at the beginning of the summary of *Asās al-iqtibās* (fol. 1b, Fig. 12), at the beginning of the riddles of the two former Safavid viziers (fol. 11b) and at the beginning of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (19b). There are also lettering pieces for the shorter texts in the margins (e.g. on fols 11b, 19b, 28a and 37b).

4.5 MS Sackler 1984.463

4.5.a General description

The manuscript is complete, and it is not damaged. The codex contains 132 folios. It has only been foliated once. The first three folios are not foliated, but the following 129 folios are. These numbers in red ink appear on the recto of the folios. Unlike MS Ayasofya 4785 and MS British Library Or. 12974, the numbers are not enclosed in circles, however.

A seal on the first page of this manuscript, stating ‘murāji‘a va taftīsh shud sana-yi 1313’ (‘Revisited and investigated in the year 1313’), shows that the item was in Iran until 1313 HS/1939 CE when its owner chose to move it out of the country (Fig. 13). The same seal can also be found on the very last folio. Other seals at the beginning and end of the manuscript belong to previous owners.

The catchwords on the folios of the manuscript are comparable in form and style to those in MS Ayasofya 4785 and MS British Library Or. 12974. The exact size of the manuscript is unknown, but we estimate it to be close to that of MS Malik 868 (157 × 259 mm) and MS Malik 1517 (150 × 260 mm).

4.5.b Date of completion

The name of the scribe, Muḥammad Shaft' Tabrīzī, and the date of completion of the codex (1098 H/1686–87 CE) are both specified in the colophon of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (fol. 112a, Fig. 14). According to the compiler's remark in the introduction to the treatise *Gul-dasta* (fol. 3b, margin), the codex was designed to be presented to the Royal Library of the Safavids (*bi-qaṣd-i ḍamīma-yi Kitābkhāna-yi qibla-yi 'ālamīyān u khudāyigān-i jahān taḥrīr shuda*). No seal confirms that the manuscript was placed in the Royal Library. Nevertheless, a note at the bottom of folio 67a beneath the frame (Fig. 15) indicates that it was included in an exhibition of books in the Royal Library arranged for the shah in 1098 H/1686–87 CE (*'arḍ-i khazāna*).

4.5.c Main texts

The manuscript contains the following works:

1. *Sabaḥāt-i qudsiyya* (between the lines of the main text, starting from the verso of the third unfoliated folio at the beginning of the manuscript up to fol. 3a, it continues on fols 4b–10b and in the margin of fols 112b–125b)
2. The riddles of the two former Safavid viziers (fols 3b–10b)
3. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (fols 12a–112a)
4. The Invocation of *Samāt* (fols 112b–125a).

In this work, the extensive summary of *Asās al-iqtibās*, which covers almost a third of MS Ayasofya 4785 and MS British Library Or. 12974, was replaced by two shorter treatises. For this reason, the number of folios in this manuscript is substantially smaller than in the other two manuscripts. Whereas MS Ayasofya 4785 contains 199 folios and MS British Library Or. 12974 contains 200, MS Sackler 1984.463 has only 132.

4.5.d Marginal and interlinear items

Most of this manuscript's marginal and interlinear items are identical to those of the four previous manuscripts. According to the table of contents, the work contains 117 items. If we subtract 4 (the number of main texts) from 117, we get 113 items, which appear in the margin or between the lines of the main



Fig. 13: The seal on the front page of MS Sackler 1984.483 (a custom permit issued by the Iranian authorities in 1313 HS [1934–35 CE]).

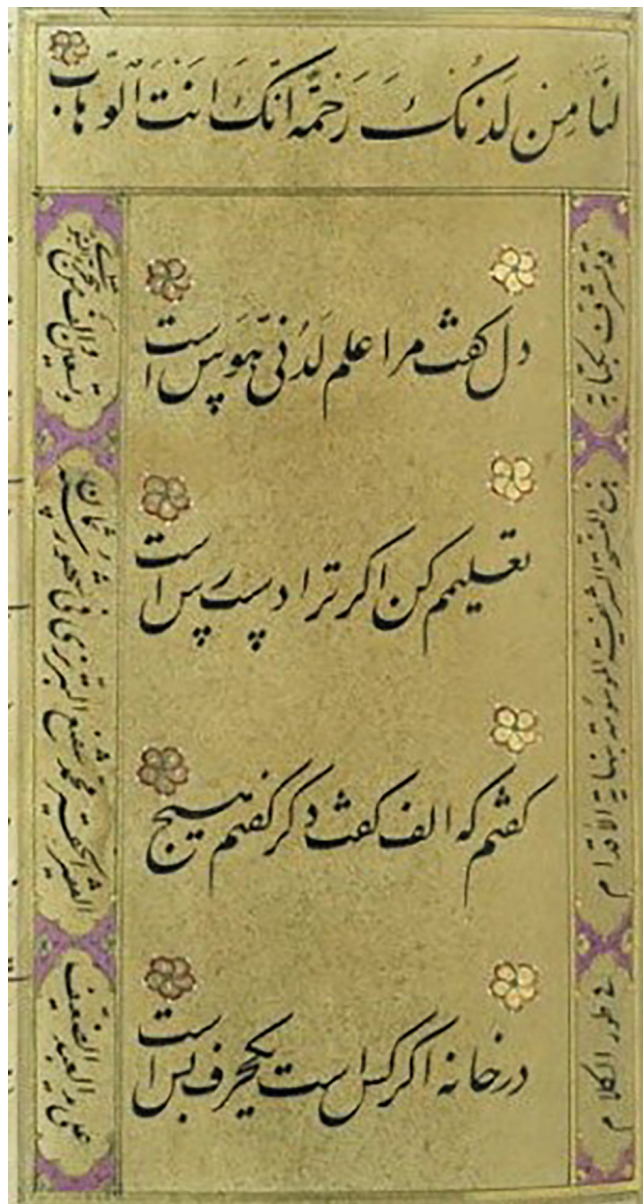


Fig. 14: The colophon of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (MS Sackler 1984.483, fol. 112a).

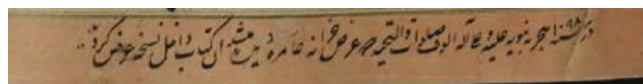


Fig. 15: A note on the manuscript's inclusion in the book exhibition for the shah at the Royal Library in 1098 H/1686–87 CE (MS Sackler 1984.483, fol. 67a, at the bottom): *Dar sana-yi 1098 hijryya nabawiyya 'alayhi wa-'alā ālihi ulūf-i ṣalawāt wa-l-taḥiyya ki 'arḍ-i khazāna-yi 'āmira dīda mīshud, ān kitāb dākhil-i nuskhā 'arḍ gardid.*



Fig. 16: The cover flap of MS Sackler 1984.483.

texts. This number is considerably less than 186, the number of marginal/interlinear items in MS British Library Or. 12974.

4.5.e Decoration of the manuscript

The manuscript contains four headpieces at the beginning of the following texts: (1) *Sabahāt al-qudsiyya* (on the verso of the third unfoliated folio at the beginning of the manuscript); (2) Khalīfa Sulṭān's riddle (fol. 3b); (3) Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Nihāyat al-aqdām* (fol. 12b); (4) The Invocation of *Samāt* (fol. 112b). Furthermore, small headpieces and letter pieces were also provided for the marginal texts (see fols 3b, 12b, 16b, 20a and 32a, for example).

4.5.f The binding

The binding is well preserved. On its sides, there is the same poem by Najīb Kāshānī as the one found

on the binding of MS Ayasofya 4785. It also includes the signature of Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī (*bi-sa'y-i dharra-yi bī miqdār Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī*) with the date and place of its production, Isfahan, 1097 H [1685–86 CE] (*bi-dār al-salṭana-yi Isfahān bi-zīvar-i itmām rasīd fī sana-yi 1097*) (Fig. 16). Significantly, the date of the binding's production was a year before that of the manuscript.

5. Conclusion: Reflection on the production of the codices

The above description of the five codices shows they were produced with great care, particularly the last two manuscripts containing several gilded illuminations. After the completion of the first three codices, the compilation process became more or less fixed; the compiler merely tried to use additional artistic tools to heighten the quality of the codex. Some of the marginal/interlinear texts start in the margin and then continue between the lines of the main texts. The compiler expected the reader to go up and down the pages, find the catchwords and even turn the codex around to read it as the directions of the lines of text changed. Sometimes there are even some interval pages between the two fragments of the texts, adding

to the reader's perplexity. Throughout the production process, the compiler, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, clearly had the opportunity to revise the layout of the codices, making them more reader friendly. It seems he had no intention of doing so, however. Apparently, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm wanted to engage readers not only with the riddle itself, but also with the form of its presentation. In other words, the codices were meant to be perplexing to the extent that the reader could follow them only by paying close attention. Perhaps Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was making an inference to this confusing characteristic when he referred to the codex as 'the work of bewilderment' (*athar-i ḥayrat*).⁹¹

The contents of the riddle codices can be divided into three parts, which are all different. The first type consists of works by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm himself. This group of works represents his way of thinking. The second type consists of works he adopted from other sources, which can help us to track his line of thought. The third type consists of diagrams, figures, maps and other scientific 'tools' taken from additional sources. Some of these items are scientifically significant. Although we do not know their origin, they reveal scientific developments in various fields which would otherwise have been unknown. By compiling all these works in one volume, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm wanted his readers to regard the collection as a single work, despite the diversity of its contents.

The codices' compilation process went through three stages: in the first stage (c.1085 H/1674–75 CE), represented by MS Malik 868 and MS Malik 1517, marginal comments are not in all the margins of the pages. In the second stage (c. 1086–1089 H/1675–78 CE), some items were added to the codices. The additional materials include an extensive summary of *Asās al-iqtibās*. Hence, all the manuscripts' margins were filled, and the collection became more extensive than at the previous stage. MS Ayasofya 4785 and MS British Library Or. 12974 represent this production stage. In the final stage (1098 H/1686–1687 CE), represented in MS Sackler 1984.463, the manuscript was prepared with special care and with fewer folios and slightly different contents, in order to be gifted to the Safavid Royal Library of Shāh Sulaymān.

Apart from Muḥammad Shafī' Tabrīzī who was the scribe and the 'project manager', a gilder (*mudhahhab*), an illuminator (*naqqāsh*) and a bookbinder (*ṣaḥḥāf*) may have been involved in the production of these manuscripts as well. During the production of the codices, the scribe seems to have consulted

⁹¹ See the introduction of *Gul-dasta* in the margin of MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 3b.

with the producer and compiler of the codices, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, on a regular basis. One occasion was reported in MS Sackler 1984.463.⁹²

Because of several references to Tabriz in the codices,⁹³ it seems that early copies of the book, including MS Malik 868 and MS Malik 1517, were produced in this city. However, it is evident from the place where its binding was produced that MS Sackler 1984.463 was made in Isfahan. Perhaps Mīrzā Ibrāhīm took the workshop with him to Isfahan after he was appointed as *mustawfī al-mamālik* in 1095 H/1686 CE.

APPENDIX 1

A list of other works copied by Muḥammad Shafī Tabrizī

1076 H/1665–1666 CE: The *Dīvān* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naẓīrī Nīshābūrī (d. 1021 H/1612 CE), MS Qom, Gulpāyghānī 3/48–428/4, 80 fols.

1078 H/1667–1668 CE: The *Dīvān* of Muḥammad Riḍā Majdhūb-i Tabrizī (d. 1093 H/1682 CE), MS Tehran, University of Tehran 3919, 186 fols.

1079 H/1668–1669 CE: A multiple-text manuscript, MS Tehran, Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī 8834, with the following items:

1. A collection of letters and creative writing (*munsha'āt*) by an anonymous author, pp 1–122.
2. *Maḥmūd u 'Ayāz* by Muḥammad-Ḥasan Zulālī Khwānsārī (d. 1031 H/1622 CE), pp. 9–79, in the margins.
3. A poem on the Divine decree and predestination (*qaḍā' u qadar*) by Salīm Ṭīhrānī (d. 1057 H/1647 CE, pp. 79–82, in the margins).
4. A poem in the style of *Tarjī'*-band by an anonymous poet (pp. 83–86 in the margins).
5. *Sāqī-nāmah* by Mīrzā Adham (d. 1060 H/1650 CE, pp. 86–92, in the margins).
6. *Ghazāliyyāt* of Abū l-Faḍl Dakanī (d. 1004 H/1595–1596 CE, pp. 92–94, in the margins).
7. A poem on the Divine decree and predestination (*qaḍā' u qadar*) by Salīm Ṭīhrānī (d. 1057 H/1647 CE, pp. 95–106, in the margins).
8. A poem on the Divine decree and predestination (*qaḍā' u qadar*) by Maṣṣīḥ Kāshānī (d. 1066 H/1656 CE, pp. 106–107, in the margins).
9. A poem in the style of *Tarjī'*-band by Salīm Ṭīhrānī (d. 1057 H/1647 CE, pp. 109–112 in the margins).
10. A poem in the style of *Tarjī'*-band by Mīrzā Šāliḥ Shaykh al-Islām Tabrizī (fl. 1093 H/1682 CE, pp. 112–114 in the margins).

⁹² The scribe's consultation with Mīrzā Ibrāhīm is indicated in the introduction to *Gul-dasta*.

⁹³ For instance, the manuscript includes a figure pointing in the direction of Mecca from the point of Tabriz. See MS Sackler 1984.463, fol. 108b (in the margin).

APPENDIX 2

Marginal items on occult sciences in MS Sackler 1984.463

Astrology:

- *Takhṣīṣ al-buyūt wa-tahdīd al-burūj ‘alā shuhūd arbāb al-‘urūj* (‘On the Signs of the Zodiac’), fol. 31b.
- *al-Ishāra ilā ayyām al-mushawwasha wa-l-mukaddara wa-l-nāqīsha wa-l-madhūma wa-l-manḥūsa* (‘On Unlucky, Auspicious, Malignant and Difficult Days’), fol. 37b.
- *Dā’irat al-qirānāt wa-l-ishāra bimā yaliq min al-nukāt wa-l-tabṣīrāt* (‘The Circle Diagram of the Conjunctions and Its Explanation’), fols 42b–44a.
- *Jadwal al-sa’āda wa-nuḥūsa al-‘arīḍa li-l-aḥwāl al-qamar fī l-ikhtiyārāt* (‘The Table for Determining Lucky and Unlucky Times for Carrying Out Activities Based on the Lunar Stations’), fol. 71a.

Geomancy:

- *Jadwal al-munāsibāt al-ramliyya* (‘Table for Interpreting Figures of Geomancy’), fol. 38b.
- *Tawzi’ mā fī l-‘ālam ilā l-darārī al-sab’a* (‘The Division of Everything in the World into Seven Groups’, in Arabic), fols 38b–39a, in the margin and between the lines.

Science of Letters:

- *Taqrīr sharīf fī kayfiyya anwā’ al-basā’it al-ḥarfīyya min al-ishārāt al-‘arīfīn* (‘A Valuable Remark on the Divisions of Things Based on the Simple Forms of Letters According to the Views of the Gnostics’), fols 40b–41b.
- *Jadwal istikhrāj al-natā’ij al-ḥarfīyya bi-l-kusūr al-tis’a wa-l-ishāra ilā nisab al-wāqī’a* (‘A Diagram on the Letter-based Results from the Nine Fractions together with an Indication of Their Relations to Reality’), fol. 41b.
- *Jadwal makhrūṭī fī taqṣīm al-ḥurūf ‘alā l-qawā’im al-lāhūtiyya ilā al-nāsūtiyya* (‘A Conic Diagram on the Division of the Letters from the Divine Realm to Human Nature’), fol. 57a.

- *Tabṣīra laṭīfa nūriyya tu’raf bihā ṭabā’i’ al-ḥurūf wa-awzān al-zurūf* (‘A Delicate and Enlightening Remark on the Nature of Letters’, in Arabic), fol. 80b.

Talismans:

- *al-Īmā’ bimā yurā’i aṣḥāb al-ṭilismāt* (‘An Allusion to the Things Taken into Consideration by Practitioners of Talismans’), fol. 37a.
- *Kayfiyya da’wat al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā al-ilāhiyya ‘alā wifq mukāshifāt al-‘irfāniyya* (‘How to Invoke the Most Beautiful Names of God in Accordance with the Mystical Unveilings’), fols 49a–49b.
- *Jadwal asmā’ al-‘izām al-ilāhiyya ‘alā tartīb al-khāṣ min dhawī l-ikhtiyās* (‘The Table of the Great Names of God in a Particular Order Prepared by the Experts’), fol. 58a.
- *Jadwal shurūṭ al-‘ashara allatī awradnāhā li-l-du’ā* (‘The Table of the Ten Conditions Provided for Invocation’), fol. 69a.
- *Lawḥ ḥayāt wa-mamāt* (‘Table of Life and Death’), fol. 73b.
- *Baḥṭh ‘adadī wa-faḥṭh raqamī min ifādāt waqīf al-mawāqif al-‘ilmī Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī* (‘A Discussion on “Number” by Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī’), fols 89b–90a.

Physiognomy:

- *Bayān shamā’il al-ḥasana li-dhawī l-aqṭār* (‘An Exposition of Beautiful Physical Features’), fol. 45a.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- ‘Āmilī, Bahā’ al-Dīn, *al-Kashkūl*, 3 vols, Beirut: Mu’assasat al-A‘lamī li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 1403 H/1983.
- Āmulī, Shams al-Dīn, *Nafā’is al-funūn fī ‘arā’is al-‘uyūn*, ed. Abū l-Ḥasan Sha‘rānī, 3 vols, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Islāmiyya, 1377–1379 HS/1957–1959.
- Chardin, Jean, ‘The Coronation of Solyman III. The Present King of Persia’, in *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies, The First Volume: Containing the Author’s Voyage from Paris to Ispahan, To Which Is Added, The Coronation of This Present King of Persia, Solyman the Third*, London: Moses Pitt, 1686.
- Epistles of the Brethren of Purity on Arithmetic and Geometry: An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translations of Epistles 1 & 2*, ed. and tr. Nader El-Bizri, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2012.
- Fayḍ Kāshānī, Muḥsin, *Kullīyāt-i ash‘ār-i Mawlānā Fayḍ-i Kāshānī*, ed. Muḥammad Paymān, 2nd edn, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Sanā’ī, 1366 HS/1987–88.
- , *al-Ṣāfi fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, ed. Sayyid Muḥsin Amīnī, 7 vols, Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1377 HS/1998–99.
- , Muḥsin, *Ayn al-yaqīn al-mulaqqab bi-l-anwār wa-l-asrār*, ed. Fātiḥ ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-‘Abīdī, 2 vols, Qom: Anwār al-Hudā, 1428 H/2007.
- , Muḥsin, ‘Āyina-yi shāhī’, in *Majmū‘a-yi rasā’il-i Mawlā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī*, ed. Bihrād Ja‘farī, 4 vols, Tehran: Madrasa-yi ‘Ālī Shahīd Muṭahharī, 1387 HS/2008–09, vol. 1, 347–377.
- , Muḥsin, ‘Daf’-i āfāt u raf’-i baliyyāt’, in *Majmū‘a-yi rasā’il-i Mawlā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī*, ed. Bihrād Ja‘farī, 4 vols, Tehran: Madrasa-yi ‘Ālī Shahīd Muṭahharī, 1387 HS/2008–09, vol. 1, 379–461.
- , ‘Sharḥ-i ṣadr’, in *Majmū‘a-yi rasā’il-i Mawlā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī*, ed. Bihrād Ja‘farī, 4 vols, Tehran: Madrasa-yi ‘Ālī Shahīd Muṭahharī, 1387 HS/2008–09, vol. 1, 93–139.
- Ḥusayn Ṣabā, Mawlawī Muḥammad Muẓaffār, *Tadhkira-yi Rūz-i rawshan*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruknzāda Ādamiyyat, Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi Rāzī, 1343 HS/1964–65.
- Jāmī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Silsilat al-dhahab’, in *Mathnawī Haft Awrang*, ed. Jābulqā Dād-‘Alīshāh, Aṣghar Jānfadā, Zāhir Aḥrārī, and Ḥusayn Aḥmad Tarbiyat, 2 vols, Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1378 HS/1997.
- Khātūnābādī, Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn, *Waqāyi‘ al-sinīn wa-l-a‘wām yā guzārishhā-yi sāliyāna az ibtidā-yi khilqat tā sāl-i 1195 hijrī*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Biḥbūdī, Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Islāmiyya, 1352 HS/1973.
- Mujmal-ḥikma tarjuma-gūna’ī az Rasā’il-i Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, eds Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh and Īraj Afshār, Tehran: Pazhūhishgāh-i ‘Ulūm-i Insānī u Mūṭāla‘āt-i Farhangī, 1375 HS/1996.
- Mullā Ṣadrā, *Risāla al-Ḥikma al-‘arshiyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Jawād al-Ḥusaynī, Beirut: Maktaba Mu‘min Quraysh wa-Dār al-Ḥikmiyya, 1437 H/2016.
- Najīb Kāshānī, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Sharīf, *Dīvān-i Najīb Kāshānī*, ed. Aṣghar Dādbih and Mahdī Ṣadrī, Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1382 HS/2003.
- , *Tārīkh-i kishīkkhāna-yi humāyūn*, ed. Aṣghar Dādbih and Mahdī Ṣadrī, Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1394 HS/2015–16.
- Naṣīrī, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, *Dastūr-i Shahriyārān*, ed. Nādir Naṣīrī-Muqaddam, Tehran: Bunyād-i Mawqūfāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār, 1373 HS/1994.
- Qayṣarī, Dāwūd, *Maṭla‘ Khusūṣ al-kilām fī ma‘ānī Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. ‘Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī al-Ḥusaynī al-Shādhilī al-Darqāwī, Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilmiyya, 2012.

- Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā' wa-khullān al-wafā'*, ed. Buṭrus Bustānī, Beirut: Dar Ṣādir / Dār Bayrūt, 1377 H/1957.
- Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'-i Qifṭī, Tarjuma-yi Fārsī az qarn-i yāzdahum-i hijrī*, ed. Bihīn Dārā'ī, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihṙān, 1347 HS/1968–69 [3rd edn: 1395 HS/2016–17].
- al-Ṭūsī, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid wa-silāḥ al-muta'abbid*, ed. 'Alī Aṣghar Murvārīd, Beirut: Mu'assasa Fiqh Shī'a, 1411 H/1991.
- Secondary Literature
- Afshār, Īraj (2001–02/1380 HS), 'Kitāba-sāzī bar jild-i nuskhā-yi khaṭṭī', *Nāma-yi Bahāristān*, 2/1: 21–44.
- and Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh (1973–1984/1352–1363 HS), *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malīk*, Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malīk.
- Binbaş, İlker Evrim (2016), *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brentjes, Sonja (2023), 'The Mathematical Sciences in Zāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibrāhīm's Riddle Collection of 1070/1660', *manuscript cultures*, 22: ??–??.
- Dānishpazhūh, Muḥammad Taqī (1975/1353 HS), 'Kitābkhāna-yi Duktur Ḥusayn Miftāḥ dar Tihṙān', *Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī*, 7: 95–511.
- Dirāyatī, Mustafā (2011–2015/1390–1394 HS), *Fihristgān-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Īrān (Fanḥā)*, Tehran: Sāzmān-i Asnād u Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Jumhūrī-i Islāmī-i Īrān.
- Gardiner, Noah (2017), 'The Occultist Encyclopedism of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 20: 3–38.
- Hāshimiyān, Hādī (2014–15/1393 HS), *Imāmzāda Sayyid Ḥamza-yi ('a) Tabrīz u vaqf-nāma-yi Zāhūrīyya*, Tabriz: Idāra-yi Kull-i Awqāf u Umūr-i Khayriyya-yi Ādharbāyjān-e Sharqī.
- (2014–2015/1393 HS), *Tabrīz u farhang-i tashayyu'*, Tabriz: Intishārāt-i Uswa.
- Kohlberg, Etan (1988), 'Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmelī', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3, 429–430; available online at <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/baha-al-din-ameli-shaikh-mohammad-b>> (last accessed 4 July 2024).
- Matthee, Rudi (1991), 'The Career of Mohammad Beg, Grand Vizier of Shah 'Abbas II (r. 1642–1666)', *Iranian Studies*, 24/1.4: 17–36.
- (2010), 'Ḳalīfa Soltān', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 15, 382–384 available online at <<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kalifa-soltan>> (last accessed 4 July 2024).
- Maukola, Inka (2009), 'Creation in Miniature: Varieties on the Microcosm in the Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'', *Studia Orientalia*, 107: 229–256.
- Melvin-Koushki, Matthew (2012), 'The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣā' in Al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369–1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran', PhD thesis, Yale University.
- (2014), 'The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism as a New Metaphysics', in Orkhan Mir-Kasimov (ed.), *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, Leiden / Boston: Brill, 247–276.
- (2020), 'Pseudo-Shaykh Bahā'ī on the Supreme Name: A Safavid-Qajar Lettrist Classic', in Jamal J. Elias and Bilal Orfali (eds), *Light upon Light: Essays in Islamic Thought and History in Honor of Gerhard Bowering*, Leiden / Boston: Brill, 256–290.
- Modarressi, Hossein (2003), *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī'ite Literature*, Oxford: Oneworld.
- Mousavi, Razieh S. and Hamid Bohloul (2023), 'Manifestation in the One: Singularity of Knowledge in Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's *Lughaz-i marqūm*', *manuscript cultures*, 22: 155–168.

Mullāzāda, Muḥammad Hānī (1999/1377 HS), ‘Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Āmilī’, in Ghulām-‘Alī Haddād ‘Ādil (ed.), *Dānishnāma-yi jahān-i Islām*, vol. 4, Tehran: Bunyād-i Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif-i Islāmī, 661–673.

Vesel, Živa (1986), *Les Encyclopédies persanes: Essai de typologie et de classification des sciences*, Paris: Recherches sur les civilisations.

Werner, Christoph (1999), ‘A Safavid Vaqf in Qajar Times: The Ṣāhīrīya in Tabriz’, *Studia Iranica*, 21: 233–248.

PICTURE CREDITS

Figs 1–6: © Malik Library, Tehran.

Figs 7–9: © Süleyman ye Library, Istanbul.

Figs 10–12: © British Library, London.

Figs 13–16: Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Philip Hofer, MS 1984.463. Harvard Art Museums Collections Online, <<https://hvrd.art/o/215600>> (last accessed 4 July 2024).

Katherine Beaty

Book Conservator for Special Collections
Weissman Preservation Center
Harvard Library
90 Mt. Auburn St.
Cambridge, MA 02140, USA

email: katherine_beaty@harvard.edu

Hamid Bohloul

Iranian Institute of Philosophy
Science Studies
Krampasplatz 7
14199 Berlin, Germany

email: bohlulh@gmail.com

Sonja Brentjes

Bergische Universität Wuppertal
Interdisziplinäres Zentrum für Wissenschafts- und Technikforschung – IZWT
Gaußstr. 20
42119 Wuppertal

email: brentjes@uni-wuppertal.de

Katherine Eremin

Patricia Cornwell Senior Conservation Scientist
Straus Center for Conservation and Technical Studies
Harvard Art Museums
32 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138, USA

email: katherine_eremin@harvard.edu

Christiane Gruber

University of Michigan
History of Art
10A Tappan Hall
855 South University Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1357, USA

email: cjgruber@umich.edu

Chad Kia

Harvard University (emeritus), Brown University (emeritus)
Persian and Arabic Literatures, Islamic Art, Intellectual History
Cambridge, Mass. USA

email: chad.kia@me.com

Penley Knipe

Philip and Lynn Straus Senior Conservator of Works of Art
on Paper and Head of Paper Lab
Straus Center for Conservation and Technical Studies
Harvard Art Museums
32 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138, USA

email: penley_knipe@harvard.edu

Mary McWilliams

Norma Jean Calderwood Curator of Islamic and Later Indian Art, retired (1998–2021)
Division of Asian and Mediterranean Art
Harvard Art Museums
32 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138, USA

email: mmcwill@comcast.net

Razieh S. Mousavi

Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte
Boltzmannstraße 22
14195 Berlin, Germany

email: mousavi@mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de

Reza Pourjavady

Goethe University Frankfurt
Religionswissenschaft
Norbert-Wollheim-Platz 1
60323 Frankfurt am Main, Germany

email: r.pourjavady@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Ahmad-Reza Rahimi-Riseh

Independent scholar
Tehran, Iran

email: rahimi.riseh@gmail.com

Georgina Rayner

Conservation Scientist
Straus Center for Conservation and Technical Studies
Harvard Art Museums
32 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138, USA

email: georgina_rayner@harvard.edu

ISSN 1867–9617

© 2024

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)

Universität Hamburg

Warburgstraße 26

D-20354 Hamburg

www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de