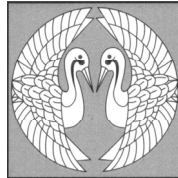


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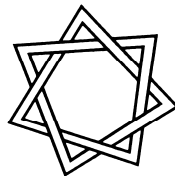
PETER THE GREAT MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 28 No. 2 December 2022



Thesa
St. Petersburg

Manuscripta Orientalia

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The journal is registered by North-Western regional office of the RF State Committee for Press. Date of registration: March 24, 2000. Registration number: II 4312.

Founder and publisher: Thesa Publishers. Address: 26 Moskovsky Prospect, of. 101, 190013, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Phone (subscription): +7 (921) 637 9163. E-mail (subscription): mirt@thesa.ru

ISSN 1238-5018

Printed in Russia

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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ĀYINA-YI HAQQ-NAMĀ, A PERSIAN-LANGUAGE TREATISE BY JEROME XAVIER, AND ITS MANUSCRIPTS IN ST. PETERSBURG COLLECTIONS

Abstract. The article discusses *Ayina-yi Haqq-nama* (“Mirror Showing the Truth”), a Persian-language apologetic treatise by Jerome Xavier (1549—1617), a Jesuit missionary at the court of the Great Mughals, who was in communication with the emperors Akbar and Jahangir. The article focuses mainly on the manuscripts in St. Petersburg collections that have been little-studied, although they contain very important data on the textual history of the work in question.

Keywords: Jesuit mission, Great Mughals, Jerome Xavier, apologetic treatise, Christian-Muslim controversy

Acknowledgements. I am grateful to Olga V. Vassilieva and Dr. Francis Richard for their help in this study.

Introduction: Jerome Xavier and His Missionary Activities at the Court of the Great Mughals [1]

A Catholic priest, a Navarre, a distant relative of the famous missionary Francis Xavier, Jérôme (Father Jerome) Xavier (1549—1617) joined the Jesuit order in 1581, where after he had left Lisbon for Goa [2]. In 1584, he took up the post of head of the college at Bassein, then at Cochin (Kochi). When, after repeated invitations from Emperor Akbar (1556—1605), it was decided to send a mission to India, Xavier was appointed its head [3]. Father Jerome arrived in Lahore in 1595 and stayed at the Mughal court for about twenty years. There he took up the study of the Persian language, which, apparently after a few years, he was already fluent in [4]. This fact of his biography is evidenced by a passage from *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā*, usually quoted by the researchers in translation [5]. We cite it by the St. Petersburg manuscript C 271 (the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts) that is discussed in the current article (see below):

روزها بسر آمد و شبهای دراز بروز آوردیم چه‌ها کردیم و محتنتهای
بخرج رفت که چندین چیزها از دینهای مختلف با دلایل فراهم آوردیم بطوری
شایسته ترتیب یافت بیشتر در گذارش آن به زبان فارسی که مرا بدان
بیگانگی است و آن را از سر نو چون خوردسالان از حروف بتهی

آغاز نمودم تا این خدمت بجا آید روش گفتار و ادای این که از منست در
نهایت زیونی شاید چون در همه چیز خاصه در آن زبان بیمایه و ناتوانم.

Days have passed as we sat all nights long, sparing no efforts; and efforts have been expended to collect something about various faiths with arguments and to give a proper arrangement; And most of all in expounding it in Persian, because I am not at all expert in it, and have learned it at an old age, starting from the alphabet, like little children, so that this service might be done; and the way of saying and doing it, which is proper mine, must be very feeble, for in everything, especially in this language, I am unsound and helpless (C 271, fol. 8r—8v).

However, Xavier's “way of speaking” and knowledge of the Persian language were praised by his contemporaries as well as by some later researchers, though Europeans [6]. He is also known to have consulted with native speakers while working on some of his treatises [7].

Xavier's preaching activities were facilitated by the situation at Akbar's court. The emperor, who was interested in religious and philosophical doctrines, encouraged theological disputes and discussions. Xavier took

took part in them, which could not but contribute to his exposure to Persian language and Muslim culture [8]. The result of such religious and philosophical “quests” of Akbar was the religion of *dīn-i Ilāhī*, an attempt to create a syncretic doctrine [9]. Under this ruler a school of translation was established, which, among other things, translated some classical works of Indian literature into Persian [10].

Xavier accompanied the Emperor's troops during the fighting in Deccan. When Akbar moved his residence to Agra, he followed him and remained there until the emperor's death in 1605 [11]. Akbar's son and successor Jahāngīr (1605—1627) temporarily returned the residence to Lahore, from where it moved again to Agra in 1608. During all these removals, Fr. Jerome was remaining at court. In 1614, he was sent to Goa to restore peace between the Mughals and Portugal. In 1615, Xavier was appointed Rector of St. Paul's College. His last appointment was that of coadjutor-archbishop of Cranganore. Jerome Xavier died in 1617 before he could take up the post [12].

During his twenty years of missionary work in India, Xavier produced many works in Persian. In addition to the works safely attributed to Xavier, there are several ones ascribed to him occasionally. The literary and missionary activity of Jeronimo Xavier is the subject of a work by Maclagan, which contains letters and accounts by Xavier and his fellow Jesuits [13]. The most comprehensive and detailed study of Xavier's writings is published by Arnulf Camps [14]. Later on, a few articles were published about his missionary treatises, including several essays in the multivolume compendium “Christian Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History” edited by David Thomas, especially the one by Hugues Didier [15].

Many of the works are dedicated to the emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr, to whom the author also presented the manuscripts. A list of his works occurs in various collections around the world [16].

One of Xavier's dogmatic writings is *Bayān-i imān-i 'īṣawiyān* (“Exposition of the Christian Faith”). Its autograph manuscript by Xavier in Portuguese exists as well. The Persian text dates back to 1599. The work represents an explanation of the twelve members of the Creed [17].

The same author wrote a didactic work called *Ādāb al-saltanat* (“Rules of Kingship”), which was presented to Jahāngīr in 1609 [18]. The work was apparently meant to be guide for a ruler; it explains what virtues he should possess and how to perform his duties [19].

A few works by Xavier were dedicated to the New Testament, rendering its contents in a form that was suitable for medieval oriental readers. The earliest known to us is *Mir'at al-quds* (“Mirror of Sanctity”). It was completed no later than 1602, as evidenced by the colophons of the manuscripts [20]. At least seventeen copies of it are known in various collections around the world [21]. The translation of the work involved 'Abd al-Sattār b. Qāsim Lāhūrī, which also follows from the colophon [22]. Some information about the translator has been preserved. The latter learned the Spanish language by the order of Akbar to translate European books into Persian. The colophon also informs us that this work by Xavier was compiled by the order of Emperor Ak-

bar [23], to whom it was presented [24]. The use of not only the New Testament narrative, but also the apocrypha and legends is characteristic of the work. The work begins with the well-known legend of the Unmade Image of Christ and King Abgar of Edessa [25].

Another work by Xavier based on the New Testament narrative is *Dāstān-i aḥwāl-i Havāriyān-i ḥazrat-i 'Isā wa dhikri-i manāqib-i 'īshān* (“Story of the Lives of the Apostles of the Lord Jesus and Account of Their Gifts”). At least eleven manuscripts of the work are in various collections [26]. It is believed that the work was written following the *Mir'at al-quds*, also commissioned by Akbar [27]. However, the emperor could get acquainted only with the first three sheets of the work presented to him in 1605 [28]. The work was completed after the ruler's death and was dedicated to his successor Jahāngīr, who received the manuscript in 1607 [29]. 'Abd al-Sattār b. Qāsim Lāhūrī was also involved in the translation [30].

There are also several non-extant writings attributed to Xavier. Not having the archival documents and letters of Fr. Jerome, we cannot draw any definite conclusions about them. Arnulf Camps in his article points out the following works: a Persian translation of some hagiographic works, a book of aphorisms by European philosophers and accounts of curiosities [31]. According to this scholar, Xavier mentions these works in his letters. The second of those two works presented to the emperor Akbar in 1596 was not devoted to the questions of faith, because the author was not yet sufficiently versed in Persian; the first one was composed at Akbar's request in 1604 [32]. In the early eighteenth century, the missionary Fr. Ippolito Desideri, who lived for some time in the Mughal Empire, compiled a list of Xavier's works, only those which he himself had seen [33]. In addition, he cites the following titles: “Life of the Blessed Virgin”, several books on prayer and piety, “Large and Small Catechisms” [34]. Another list of Xavier's works was compiled around 1649 by Fr. Francesco Morandi, who collected the works of this missionary in Agra. This list is placed at the end of the manuscript *Ādāb al-saltanat*, preserved in London [35]. Beside those mentioned above, another title occurs there: *Intikhāb-i 'aqāyid-i dīn-i 'īṣawiyān* (“Selection from the Rules of the Christian Faith”). According to Camps, this work may be identical with the small catechism mentioned by Fr. Desideri (see above) [36]. Morandi also mentions many works of various content written by Jesuit missionaries in Agra; the authors were not known to the list-maker [37]. Similar works are reported by Fr. Ignatio Gomez in a letter written from Agra in 1686. For the most part, they were not of a religious character and do not belong to the subject of this study.

Xavier played an important role in the preservation and dissemination of pre-existing local Christian translations of Scripture into Persian, many of which have survived only in copies made under his direction [38].

Nevertheless, his most fundamental work is *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* (“The Mirror Showing the Truth”), to which the current article is devoted. The treatise in question exists in two versions, a full and a short one, both represented in numerous manuscripts.

Āyina-yi Haqq-namā: the Existing Versions and Their Contents Features

The Full Version

As follows from the available references to this work, its final title did not emerge immediately. According to Fr. Pierre Jarric, a work named *Fons Vitae* (“The Fountain of Life”) was composed by Xavier while he was staying in Deccan together with Akbar. From the further description of the work, it becomes clear that it is his work *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* (Lat. *Speculum Veritatis*) [39]. Fr. Pimenta in his report referring to the work given to him by Xavier calls it the “Tree of Life” (*Lignum Vitae*) [40]. The only extant manuscript with the original text in Spanish (Castilian) and incorporated Portuguese passages called *Fuente de vida* (“Source of Life”) is held in the Rome Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome. It was critically edited by Didier in 2007 [41].

The full version of the Persian text of the work consists of an introduction and five chapters that are divided into subsections. It is composed in the form of a conversation between a Catholic missionary — Padre (*pādrī*), and a Thinker (*hakīm*), who wishes to learn the basics of Christian doctrine, with occasional rejoinders from a Mulla, mainly in connection with the discussion of the provisions of Islam [42].

The author makes a brief explanation of the way of presentation he chose for the work in question:

روش ادای این مطالب همچون گفت و گوئی در میان دو کس خواهد بود که خوانندگان را لذیذتر شود و یا قامت دلیل ... روشن تر گردد و بغرض این یک طرف بحث بادری که استاد دین حق انجیل است و طرف دیگر حکیم دانائی حکمت علمی و تهی از هر جنس دین الهی که هیچ دین را در کار نمیداند و بر تقدیر بودن نمیداند که از این دین دینهای کوناگون کدام بر گیرد هر کدام برای باستانی راه خویش دلیلی دارد و این را آینه حق نما نامیده شد چراکه همچنانکه در آینه چیزهای محسوس روشن دیده میشود اینچنان در این کتاب دین حق و معقول بر وجه احسن مشاهده عقلا و دانایان حق درست میکرد.

The manner of performing these tasks (i. e. explanation of the advantages of Christianity — *A. P.*) will be in the form of a conversation between two interlocutors, so that it will be more pleasant to the readers, and the arguments given become clearer. As intended, one side of the argument will be Padre, a preacher of the doctrine of the Gospel, and the other side will be Thinker, an expert in scientific thought, alien to any faith in God, who considers no doctrine necessary, and [does not believe] in Providence, does not know which one to choose from among various doctrines; and each one of them shall bring argumentation, defending his own way; and this is called “Mirror Showing the Truth”, for as in a mirror visible things are clearly seen, in this book the true and reasonable doctrine is best presented before reasonable and knowledgeable lovers of the truth (C 271, fol. 7v).

Apart from presenting the basics of Christianity, the work aims at refuting the Muslim doctrine. The fourth chapter of the work is devoted to polemic with Islam [43], but this discussion is central throughout the treatise. This focus is not surprising, since Islam was the

official religion of the Mughals, who were the primary audience of Xavier's work.

The author himself states this in the introduction; he mentions his intention to “dig deeper” in order to combat the “false doctrine” (apparently, Islam), which should be understood as the author's desire to prepare himself thoroughly for the written discussion by studying the religion in question [44].

The contents of the work may be summarized as follows: Chapter 1, on the necessity of true doctrine in general [45]; Chapter 2, on the Christian doctrine of the Divinity [46]; Chapter 3, on the Divinity of Jesus Christ [47]; Chapter 4, on the superiority of Christianity over Islam (a refutation of Muslim doctrine) [48]; Chapter 5, on the practices of the Christian Church [49].

It is difficult to give an unequivocal answer to the question, if the dispute between the respective interlocutors of the work actually took place, or they are just the characters used for polemical purposes (except for the Padre, whose identification with the author is unquestionable). According to Fr. Pierre Jarric, the prototype of the Thinker was Akbar himself, whose interest in the questions of religion and philosophy is well known [50]. We have not been able to find a direct reference to this by Xavier himself, but the work is likely to have been influenced by the debates at the Mughal court. The identification of the Thinker with Akbar seems to be unequivocally refuted by the passage cited above. It is certainly possible that we are dealing with a special literary device. It should not be forgotten that it was Akbar who commissioned the *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā*, and he was supposed to be its main reader. Therefore it is possible that the author, wishing to provoke a lively response from the monarch, outwardly “framed” this dispute by the arrival of the wanderer (i. e. Padre) and the conversation with him [51] by using some of his actual conversations with the monarch in his work. Such a technique seems very possible for Xavier, who used a variety of allusions. An example is an account of Abgar, the legendary ruler of Edessa, in the above-mentioned *Mir'āt al-quds* [52].

In general, the use of dialogues for apologetic purposes by Christian theologians goes back to the dawn of Christian apologetic literature. The latter adopted this form, of course, from the ancient philosophical tradition. This borrowing is quite understandable, since this form is the best in terms of clarity and dynamism for refuting the worldview of opponents. It was used in particular by Aphraates and Ephrem the Syrian (4th century) against the Jews, and by the Great Cappadocians against Arianism [53]. For anti-Islamic polemics, it was first used by the Theodore Abū Qurra (ca. 750 — ca. 830), the famous Arabic Christian Orthodox theologian [54], a disciple of John of Damascus. This prominent Eastern Christian author, who wrote some of his works in Syriac, was also one of the founders of Arabic-language Christian literature [55]. However, the situation and historical context in

which he worked is very different from that of Xavier. The Arab theologian was writing at the time of Islamic expansion, when the wide dissemination of Christian knowledge was forbidden. Therefore, his aim was rather to deter his flock and compatriots from apostasy [56]. It is known, however, that it was possible to defend the Christian creed as a religious disputation. It was in the famous disputation, officially arranged by the Caliph in 829, where Abū Qurra participated. The dispute is thought to have been the basis of a very famous polemical dialogue among Christian Arabs. In this work, the interlocutor of the Arab theologian was a Muslim politician in whom readers saw the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813—833) [57].

In Xavier's work, however, the disputation does not appear as a literary convention, but as a lively discussion. The respective characters make vivid arguments characteristic of such people's views [58].

The interlocutors are portrayed in dynamic rather than simply frozen in their views. The Thinker's attitude to Christianity dramatically changes over the course of the discussion. Therefore, it does seem unconvincing that at the end of it he agrees to accept Christianity [59].

Quite often, the Qur'ān and *hadīth* are cited in Xavier's work. The Qur'ānic quotations are referred to by the number of the *juz'* (Pers. *sīpāra*) and *sūra*, but al-

ways in Persian translation. This indicates that the author became acquainted with it not only from conversations with knowledgeable interlocutors, but also from the text itself. Since there are no original Arabic quotations in the work, and we have no evidence of Xavier's knowledge of this language. It is likely that Xavier was acquainted with the text of the Qur'ān from one of the Persian-language *tafsīrs*.

The influence of Persian classical literature on Xavier's work is obvious, for example, in the composition of the introduction: (i) an address to the monarch (the commissioner); (ii) praise to God in the form of a prayer; (iii) an address to readers on the reason for writing this book; (iv) the table of contents integrated in the text. All these parts are almost obligatory components of any major work of Persian classical prose texts. These parts are present — in the same or in similar order — in Sa'dī's famous works *Būstān* [60] and *Gulistān* [61].

As for the consideration of Akbar's personal tastes, this is evidenced by the two accounts of ancient philosophers placed in the introduction of the work. One is about Anaximenes, and the other is a story told by Demosthenes about the need for philosophers [62]. Akbar's interest in European — particularly antique — philosophy is well known [63].

The Short Version

We cite this version according the St. Petersburg manuscript that is discussed here below (MS Dorn 249). Unlike the full one, the version in question was not composed in form of a dispute; it is a much shorter treatise consisting of an introduction (Dorn 249, fols. 1v—10v) and four chapters: (i) "On the Knowledge of the Nature of the Divinity" (Dorn 249, fol. 10v); (ii) "On Jesus, Our Lord" (Dorn 249, fol. 27v); (iii) "On the Ten Commandments" (Dorn 249, fol. 45v); (iv) "On God's Help" (Dorn 249, fol. 60v) [64].

Despite the loss of the dialogue form, it retains the general contents of the work. The form of a treatise seems very good for such a concise account, while the form of a dialogue, on the contrary, would not be quite acceptable. On the whole, the short version correlates with the full version in terms of contents as follows (see also the contents of the full version above):

Table 1

Short version	Full version
Introduction	Introduction and chapter 1
Chapter 1	Chapter 2
Chapter 2	Chapter 3
Chapter 3	Chapter 4
Chapter 4	Chapter 5

Thus, the previous division into chapters is to an extent retained, though reduced, which may be said also about the subsections. In particular, the anti-Islamic focus of the work remains unchanged. Thus, the second section shows the advantages of the Gospel over the Qur'ān (see Dorn 249, fol. 45v). From the standpoint of form, this version is also undoubtedly adapted to the tra-

ditions of Persian classical literature. An example is the beginning of the work:

حمد بیحد و ثنای بی احصاء خداوندی که...

Infinite glory and unbounded praise to the Lord, who...;

then a list of God's bounties follows, as well as thanksgiving for them (Dorn 249, fol. 1v). Such a beginning is traditional — if not obligatory — for Islamic Persian-language prose works.

The features of the genre may also have influenced the style of presentation: in the full version, it seems closer to the colloquial, while in the short version it is more detailed and even scholarly. For example, here are two similar passages in both versions. It is interesting that with the same contents, verbally these passages are very different. The latter also seems to be a characteristic feature of Persian literature, in particular, of theological character. An excerpt from the full version:

دین سلامتی و حق سه چیز خواهد داشت اول معرفت خدا چه انصافی نیست که صاحب معبود خود را نشناسیم دوم رضا و اراده خدا بر ما ظاهر خواهد کرد چه خدمتکار برضای محبوب خدمت خواهد کرد نه بطور خویش یا باراده دیگری سیم یابوری کردن بضعت بشری و هدایت نمودن که چه طور زندگانی بصلح و آشتی که مقتضای دین است و فرموده خدا چرا که کار به ناتوان فرمودن و او را یابوری نکردن چیز است که از خدا نتوان تصور کرد.

The true and saving doctrine would have three features; the first is knowing God, because it is wrong for us not to consider the Lord as an object of worship; the second is that [such doctrine] would reveal to us the way of pleasing and the will of God, so that the servant will serve to please the beloved (God — *A. P.*) not arbitrarily or by the other's

will; the third is to help to human infirmity and to instruct what life in truth and peace is like, which is the requirement of the doctrine and the command of God, for to entrust a work to the infirm one and not to help him is a case which cannot be imagined from God (C 271, fol. 66b).

The short version reads:

دین بر حق سه چهار چیز را مقتضی است اول آنکه مخابر صادق باشد از خدا تا بی غلط و شبهه شناسائی خدا یم دوم آنکه رضا و خشنودی (!) خدا را به تفصیل بیان نماید تا بر حسب آن در آنچه اراده صاحب ما باشد مشغول باشیم سیم آنکه در بجای آوردن اوامر الهی معاون باشد و در تحصیل صلاح کاری توفیق خود بخشد و برای آسمانی حکمت پیدا آرد.

Three or four features are obligatory for the true faith; first — that it should be a faithful messenger from God, so that without errors and doubts we comprehend God; second — that it gives instructions about pleasing and propitiation of God, so that according to it we should strive about that which is the will of our Lord; third — that in fulfilling God's commands it should be an aid, and in gaining

righteousness it grants success, and for easing it shows wisdom (Dorn 249, fol. 10a).

Xavier's mastery of literary Persian obviously considerably improved over the years while his main work was being written. Therefore, the style of the abridged version seems smoother than in the full one, as can be seen in the above passages.

The manuscripts of both versions occur in St. Petersburg libraries. These two copies of *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* — namely one of each version — have been less studied than those in other collections, despite their being of much importance for the studies of the work in question. The following sections of this article focus on these manuscripts, discussing their features in the context of the textual history of the treatise.

Nevertheless, we recognize that they need a further fundamental research that would include comparative analysis of the entire text of all the extant manuscripts.

St. Petersburg Manuscript of the Full Version (MS C 271)

A manuscript of the full version of *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* with the shelf number C 271 is owned by the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. It was first mentioned in the catalogue by Rousseau [65], and its brief description is included in the general catalogue of Persian manuscripts of the institute [66].

Brief description: 538 fols.; dimensions: 25.5×19.5 cm; text-block: 17.5×11.5 cm; 13 lines per page. Oriental paper. Black ink, red for titles, subtitles and names.

The text is written in two different hands; *nasta'liq* script, the first: fols. 1r—76v (*fig. 1*), the second — further to the end (*fig. 2*). European foliation. A red leather

binding of Indian type varnished on card boards with an embossed central panel, two medallions (one above the central panel and the other below it) and quadrants. Binding covers have holes from bindings.

Damages: stains on fols. 318r—319v, 350r—351v; both covers were fractured.

The manuscript is among those acquired in 1819 from Jean Rousseau, a French diplomat active in the Middle East [67].

Apart from the Petersburg one, a few copies of the complete version of *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* occur in several collections in various degrees involved in scholarly discourse (see *Table 1*).

Table 2

Location, Institution Title, Shelf-number	Number of folia	Dimensions (cm)	Script	Dedication	Dating (AD)
London, the British Library, Harl. 5478 [68]	525	24.8×14.6	<i>Nasta'liq</i> with the elements of <i>shekaste</i>	To Jahāngīr	1610
Vatican, the Vatican Library, Vat. Pers. 44 [69]	348	23.0×17.5	<i>Naskh</i>		1609
Rome, Casanatense Library, Ms. 2014 [70]	356	23.5×14.5	<i>Nasta'liq</i>		
Edinburgh, the University Library, No. 68 (?) [71]	127	29.8×22.9	<i>Nasta'liq</i> with the elements of <i>shekaste</i>		
Cambridge, Queens College Library, Queens, No. 1 [72]	400—450 (?) [73]	?	?		
Tehran, the Library of Majlis, No. 10351 [74]	336	20.0×13.0	<i>Nasta'liq</i>		

The extant manuscripts of the full version known to us (see *Table 2*) have the following incipit [75]:

آینه حق نما که در آن کذارش می یابد آنچه دین عیسویان میاموزد و اسرار خاص انجیل بیان میشود.

The “Mirror Showing the Truth” that demonstrates the teaching of the Christian faith and reveals the hidden mysteries of the Gospel... [76]

The St. Petersburg manuscript has no title at the beginning of the work, and the words cited above are missing as well. It also has a number of other serious discrepancies from the others listed here (see *Table 1*). They all have a dedication to the emperor Jahāngīr. The Petersburg manuscript however is dedicated to his predecessor Akbar; the words of dedication to him open the text of the manuscript, immediately following the usual Muslim *basmala*:

فهرست کتب

این فهرست با فهرست نام
بی اثرش در خوانند

اعتقاد را می شناسد یعنی مردم خدا را در این که است اولی
باشند که مردم هستند که که خبر خدمت آفریننده که زودش در سالانی را در آن
پادشاهش که در این جهان بخواند این است زاری می خوانند و خدا را
و حق جوی که بخواند سخن سخن آن رو کند و اندک نابل و حق نابل و اندک
در کار و اندک که کند تا آنکه نصیبی کامل بآن هم رسد و پس آنرا کند
بیک سوز که آتش است هم عرض و نصیب و طرح بسیار که با آنکه
باشن حق در کار می فرمایند و اگر در بعضی چیزها از بعضی حق انجلی می آید و در
باشند که در آن لحظه خود میگویند و در هر چیز با این خدمت می فرمایند
و موافقت میجویم یعنی با کسی که می آید هر چه را با این خدمت می فرمایند
میفرمایند آنچه در این کتاب مذکور می شود در این فهرست در کتاب
فهرست اینهاست که برای

این مطالب ۱۳۰ و مفاد اقصی در پنج باب که از سخن می باید و در باب
اول در این باب اصحاب آفرینان برین حکم و موجب است این فصل

انجلی

Fig. 1

که طبیعت این آدمی چنین خواهد بود و مزاجش چنین
مشکل در دست خوبی یا شهودت دوست یا طالب
دارش یا خشکی زیرا که بطریق خصوص اکثر مرتبه بازمی خورد
خصوصاً آنانی که حکم میکنند در کارهای مردم از معرفت
ساعت و ولادت آنها هر که اینها را می بیند در دست گرفته
اند که خوبی و مزاج و طبیعت که آدمی دارد بیشتر فاسق
دارد پس عتیقه که در شکم ما در وجود گرفت و بیست معنی که
طفل در آن ظاهر شد با خط خوش و مزاج طبع خود را
چون پیدا این ساعت در شکم چند آن شخص خواهد بود
ساعت نو در میکند بنا بر این که در دست میگویند که
اگر ساعت پیدا این شخص خوان در یافت حکم میکند و اگر
آرزوی آن حکم میکند هنوز شخص تکلفند هر که از قدرت
محمود میشود و از علتها می خاص مشکل از حالتی که مبد و مادران

انجلی

Fig. 2

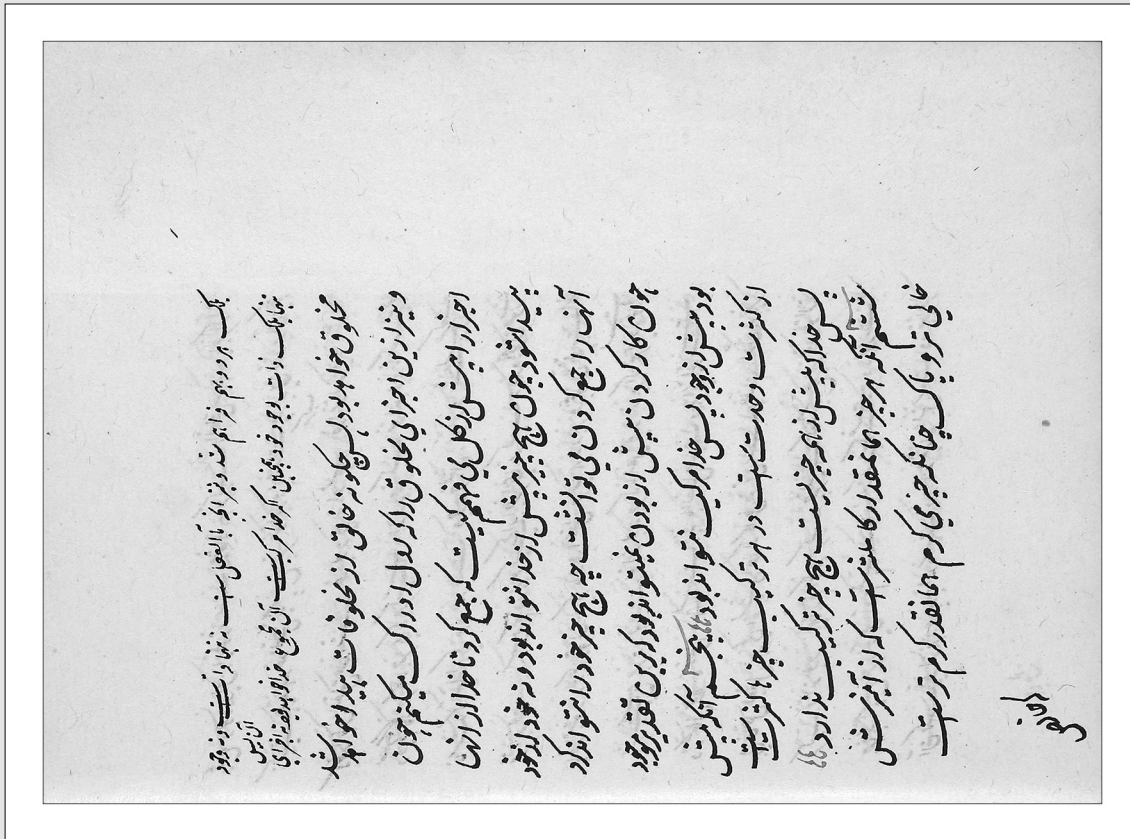


Fig. 3

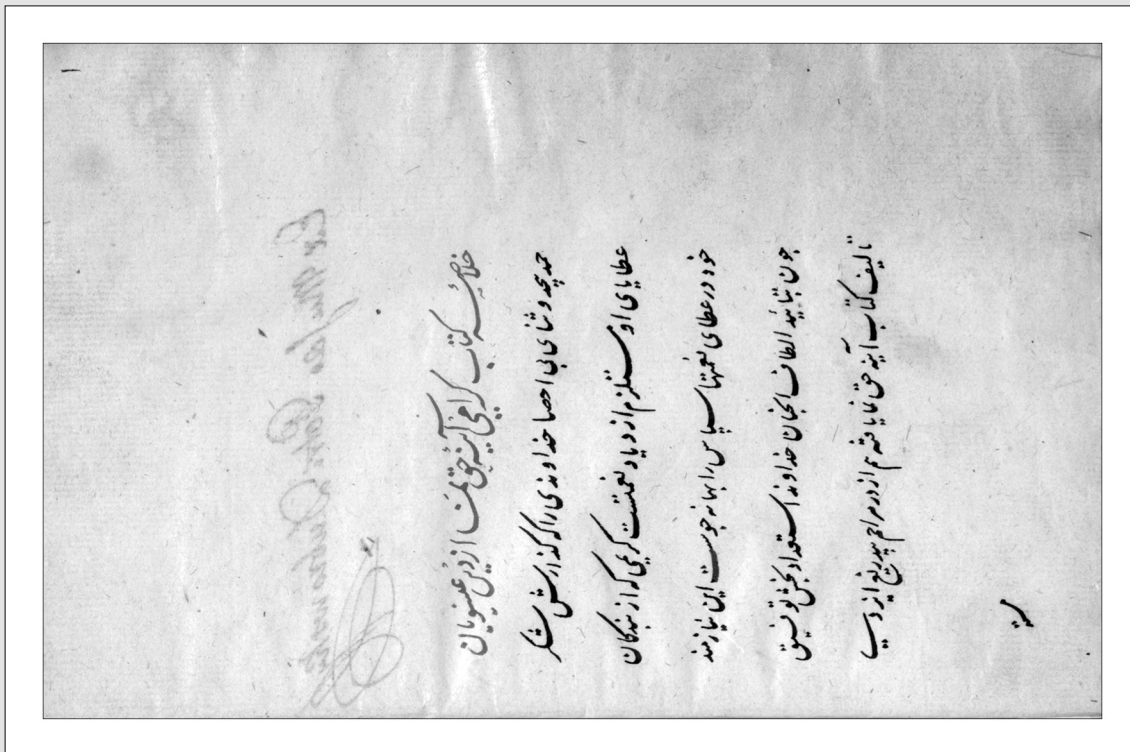


Fig. 4

در خطاب ظل الهی بناهی خلافت شاهنشاه بزرگ جلال الدین و دنیا
اکبر بادشاه خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه.

An appeal to the shadow of Allah, the haven of power, the great *shāhinshāh*, the glory of faith and world, *pādīshāh* Akbar — may Allah exalt his kingdom and dominion! (C 271, fol. 1v).

The introduction of the St. Petersburg manuscript is divided into several sub-sections with headings in red ink in the margins. It is just here that the title of the work appears, — also in red ink — and its meaning is explained (C 271, fol. 8r). The dedication mentions a date at the very end that could be assumed to refer to the moment the author — but not the copyist, as it is a part of the main text — composed the passage.

تا بروند بتمام طاعت خالق خویش تا بدست قدرت او در آسمان ها مثناب
دائمی باشند چنانچه این بندها میخوانند و بیوسته از خدا میطلبند در سال
هزار و بانصد و نود و نه از تولد حضرت عیسی کریستس صاحب ما در
این گاه.

...In order [Your Majesty] hastens in full obedience to the will of his Creator, so that by means of his omnipotence he may be forever graced with heavenly abodes, so that these counsels he will demand and constantly pray to God. In the year **one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine** from the manifestation of Jesus Christ our Lord in this world (C 271, fol. 9r).

As mentioned above, manuscript was scribed in two different handwritings. The first one, small and beautiful *nasta'liq* is seen from the beginning of the manuscript to fol. 71v, from where on a large and clumsy kind of *nasta'liq* appears. It is retained until the end of the manuscript (except for fol. 72r—76v, where the original hand reappears again for a while). The colophon located at the end of the manuscript is written in the second hand and contains the date of finalizing the book:

این کتاب خطاب حقانی همه دقیقه و کمال کرمه (!) در سنه هزار
ششصد و نه از تولد حضرت عیسی مسیح صاحب ما باتمام انجامید بعون
المجید تم شد.

This book of preaching the Divine in all details and fullness of grace (?) was completed with the help of the Glorious one in the year **one thousand six hundred and nine** from the Birth of Jesus Christ our Lord (C 271, fol. 538).

In the preface to *Mir'āt al-quds* ("Mirror of Sanctity"), his other work (see above), Xavier reports that *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* is nearing completion [77]. This preface is dated 1602, and the message obviously refers to the Persian translation of the work, since the Spanish original was completed by December 1600. Scribing the manuscript could have started even before the completion of the Persian translation, when being conducted in parallel with it. However, the above evidence suggests that much of the translation was completed as early as 1602. The possibility that the St. Petersburg manuscript is a Xavier's autograph should be ruled out: given the calligraphic accuracy and elegance of the first handwriting, the hand of a professional calligrapher can be assumed. On the other hand, the first part of the text con-

tains a dedication to Emperor Akbar and therefore could not have been written later than his death. Therefore, the dating of this part of the text is limited to the chronological framework of 1602—1605.

The second handwriting, as mentioned earlier, is quite different from the previous one. It is much bigger, not quite smooth, and even the ink colour differs. What was the purpose of the manuscript, even though it had a calligraphic beginning? Given the latest possible starting date of the manuscript (i. e. Akbar's death), it was written for four years: 1605—1609, which seems to be too long for one manuscript, even so voluminous one. A simultaneous copying of different notebooks by two different persons should also be excluded: the second handwriting, having replaced the first, continues the text on the same page (C 271, fol. 76v; fig. 3). It should also be noted that the inserts in red ink, starting from fol. 16v are in the second hand, which looks odd, surrounded by a small and neat lines in a first hand. All this suggests that the work of the first scribe was suddenly interrupted.

The most plausible explanation is that the original copying of the manuscript was interrupted by Akbar's death in 1605. It is not known whether the manuscript was meant as a gift to the emperor — which cannot be ruled out given the elegance of the first handwriting — but it is clear that there was no point in continuing the scribing it with that dedication to the deceased monarch. The book needed a new revision due to the changed situation.

In any case, St. Petersburg manuscript is the only extant fragment of an early recension that originates from the time of Akbar's reign. The extensive preface by Samuel Lee to Henry Martin's treatises, which contains a detailed table of contents and many excerpts from the Cambridge manuscript of *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* with a dedication to Jahāngīr [78] and other publications [79] allow us to compare the St. Petersburg manuscript with the other recension of the work. The manuscript in question starts directly with an address to Akbar (C 271, fol. 1v) that is followed by a *munājāt* (prayer) (C 271, fol. 9r). In the Cambridge manuscript, on the contrary, the text begins with a prayer followed by an address to Jahāngīr. In the first paragraph of the appeal (see above) only the emperor's name and the wordplay connected with it were removed, everything else remains unchanged [80]. Judging from a number of quotations in these publications, both the prayer and the text of the address in the two recensions are very similar [81].

The St. Petersburg manuscript also contains a table of contents for the entire work (C 271, fol. 15v) that is incorporated in the introduction. The chapter titles are written in red ink. It is only the title of the first one that was scribed in first hand; the subsections of the chapters are all in first hand in black ink. Comparing this title with the Cambridge and Edinburgh manuscripts, a slight difference can be seen. In the Petersburg list:

باب اول در بیان احتیاج آدمیان بدین خدا... این پنج فصل است

First chapter. This chapter [narrates] the need for people to have Faith in God... in five sections (C 271, fol. 15b).

In Cambridge and Edinburgh:

باب اول در بیان احتیاج آدمیان بدین خدا

First chapter, narrating the need for people to have Faith in God [82].

The same can be said of other titles: in the St. Petersburg manuscript they are often longer (e. g. the title of the fifth and sixth sections of the second chapter (cf. C 71r, 16v)) [83]. Thus, one can assume that the change of the dedication was accompanied by a general revision of the work, though apparently a minor one.

Samuel Lee (on the Cambridge manuscript) and Charles Rieu (on the manuscript from the British Museum) cite a passage from the address to the emperor Jahāngīr in which the author states his reasons for composing the work. In this passage, he notes that he had been at the imperial court for twelve years [84]. Given that Xavier arrived at the Mughal court in 1595 [85], we get the date of the beginning of the revision, around 1607. In the St. Petersburg manuscript there is a similar passage in the address to Akbar about the reason for composing the book: to present a gift to the master, but the dates present in the later recession are certainly missing (C 271, fol. 1v).

Now, we are turning to the part of the manuscript written in the second hand. Since the headings, in addition to the table of contents written in the first hand, appear once more at the beginning of the relevant sections — including the part written in the second handwriting — we can draw a comparison between them as well. It should be noted that many of these titles show almost complete coincidence with the Cambridge and Edinburgh manuscripts [86] (cf. C 271, fol. 149r, 149v) [87] and, consequently, the discrepancy with the table of contents in the first part of the St. Petersburg manuscript. The completion of the work itself is dated by above mentioned colophon — 1609 AD. This assumption is supported by the character of the second handwriting. With its roughness and bumpiness making a contrast with the first one, it could be applied only in the manuscript for “internal use”. This could have happened when it became clear that the part in the first handwriting was not suitable for official use, apparently with the change of the situation, i. e. probably after Akbar's death.

What could be the reason for continuing such a seemingly useless work? Judging by the lack of perfection of letter outlines and numerous slips of the pen, the second handwriting most likely belongs to a European and hardly could be the handwriting of a skilled native scribe, or an educated person. Perhaps the continuation of this work was warranted by the need to somehow complete an existing part of the manuscript, which was, moreover, written in calligraphic style. It may have also

been someone's desire to practice Persian calligraphy. An edited version may have been used to continue the work. Unfortunately, we do not have a sample of Xavier's Persian handwriting. It is possible that this manuscript was completed in the hand of this missionary or by one of his associates.

Olga V. Vassilieva — one of the leading Russia's experts in Middle Eastern manuscripts — noted during the discussion on the manuscript in question that it would have been enough to replace the corresponding sheets with Akbar's name for the relevant changes, because the stitching of quires takes place only after the transcription of the entire text [88]. Therefore, it seems reasonable to make a more detailed clarification on this issue. As we suggest, the initial writing was interrupted by Akbar's death, because he was the commissioner of the book, on whose order it was being written. Then only after a few years, his successor Jahāngīr expressed interest to this apologetic treatise. That means that initial beginning of the manuscript was abandoned for a rather long time, being later continued on a quite different purpose, as pointed out above. Fol. 76v provides us with substantial evidence that the two different handwritings appeared not in a parallel way in different quires, but — the second one after the first one was interrupted. One more confirmation to our suggestion is the rubrics in red are in the second hand, although they are located in the introduction written in the first hand. Since the passages in red ink are usually inserted after everything in black ink is finished, such insertions in the second hand can be explained by the fact that the work of the first person was terminated before that time.

Thus, as follows from the above mentioned peculiarities, C 271 is a unique manuscript that partly contains two different recessions of the work under discussion, being written by two different persons in different time points and on different purposes. This copy reflects the whole historical situation that accompanied composing and evolution of *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā*. As pointed out by Didier, the Spanish version presented in a single manuscript has the dedication to Akbar, unlike the Persian version in the manuscripts available to the scholar [89]. Based on this, he came to the conclusion that the treatise was translated into Persian in 1609 as the extant manuscripts tell us. In fact, the St. Petersburg one demonstrates that the Persian text existed earlier, at least before Akbar's death in 1605. This might mean at least that the translation was made much earlier than supposed, or even that the text in both languages were composed simultaneously. There is no doubt that the Persian text was done by the author himself (unlike *Mir'āt al-quds*), as he mentioned in his treatise (see above), and besides, its stylistic and even grammatical features exclude participation of a native speaker.

St. Petersburg Manuscript of the Short Version (MS Dorn 249)

A manuscript of the brief version of *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* with a shelf number Dorn 249 is owned by the National Library of Russia at St. Petersburg (further:

NLR). It was described in the catalogues of Boris A. Dorn [90] and Galina I. Kostygova [91].

Description: 77 fol. Dimensions: 18.5×11.5 cm;

text-block: 11.0×7.0 cm; 9 lines per page. European (fol. 1—64) and Oriental (fol. 65—77) paper. Written in elegant *nasta'liq*; black ink, red for the titles and subtitles (fig. 4). Oriental foliation. Binding of European type, but the brown leather with traces of “oriental” blind-embossed middle.

Acquired in 1805 as a part of the collection of Peter P. Dubrovsky, the Secretary of the Russian Embassy to France [92].

We were able to find information about the following extant manuscripts of the short version in different collections.

Table 3

Location, Institution Title, Shelf number	Number of folia	Dimensions (cm)	Script	Dating
London, British Library, Add. 23, 584 [93]	55	17.8×8.9	<i>Nasta'liq</i>	Zū-l-ḥijja 1152 / February 1740
Rome, Casanatense Library, Vat. Pers 47 [94]	129	22.2×16.0	European's hand	No date
Paris, National Library of France, Persan 130 (I) [95]	30 (together with other works)	20.0×16.5	European's hand	No date
Paris, National Library of France (together with other works) Persan 154 (III) [96]	No less than 32 (fols. 64—96 /?/, together with other works)	20.0×14.5	<i>Nasta'liq</i>	No later than 1629
Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Or. CXI (149) [97]	59 (fols. 53—111 /?/ [98], together with other works)	20.5×11.5	<i>Nasta'liq</i>	No late than 20 Muḥarram 1034 / 2 November 1624
Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Or. CX (124) [99]	35 (fols. 2—37; together with other works)	21.0×15.0	<i>Nasta'liq</i>	No later than 1045 / 1635—1636

In the extant manuscripts, several variants of the title of the abridged *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* version occur: “منتخب آینه حقما” (“Selection from the Mirror Showing the Truth”) [100] and “خلاصه آینه حقما” (“Exposition of ‘The Mirror Showing the Truth’”) [101]. The manuscript from the Vatican collection on the other hand has two titles: “خلاصه آینه حقما” (“Exposition of ‘The Mirror Showing the Truth’”) in the title and “مختصر آینه حقما” (“Summary of ‘The Mirror Showing the Truth’”) in the text itself [102]. The manuscript from St. Petersburg is entitled: “خلاصه کتاب کرامی آینه حقما از دین عیسویان” (“Exposition of the Venerable ‘Mirror Showing the Truth’ About the Christian Faith”) (Dorn 249, fol. 1v).

In the St. Petersburg version, the chapter headings are omitted. There are four extended interlinear intervals in the St. Petersburg manuscript (Dorn 249, fols. 10v, 27v, 45v, 60v) [103]. Olga Kostygova in her catalogue has correctly pointed out that they correspond to the division of the version into four sections, that are present in other manuscripts as well [104]. These spaces were apparently intended to inscribe the section titles in red ink, which was then not done. The general title of the work, however, is inscribed.

This abridged version of the work was composed by Xavier himself and alike the complete one was dedicated to the emperor Jahāngīr. It was completed no later than October 20, 1609. According to Arnulf Camps, this is the date of the letter, in which the author describes the completion of this work. This letter states the reason for the writing of the version, which is the author's desire to save the emperor's time when he was too busy to read the complete version [105]. The same reason is given by the author in the manuscript of the short version itself:

پس انصاف اینست که کمترین از کتاب آینه حق نما... انتخابی درست کرده بحضرت شاهنشاه که درمهمات فرمانروائی نهایت وقت بکار دارد بگذرانم.

So the truth is that, having chosen a small part of the book “Mirror Showing the Truth”,... I would present it to Your Royal Majesty, who is very busy with the important affairs of governing (Dorn 249, fol. 7v).

In the NLR manuscript, the colophon and the date of copying are missing, so the watermarks are of much importance for the dating. It is a cross set in a medallion pointed to the bottom with the letters I P. Several similar watermarks with various letters occur in a Sicilian book dated 1628 [106], and one of them completely overlaps with a watermark from the NLR manuscript, being superimposed, and has the same letters [107]. Thus, the manuscript of NLR can be dated to the late of 20ies or early 30ies of 17th century.

On the flyleaves of the manuscript, there are watermarks representing a grapevine of various kinds. This type of watermark has been in circulation for many decades and can hardly serve as a precise basis for the dating. Thus, in the watermarks album by Edward Heawood similar signs are testified on paper production from 1599 to 1629 [108]. It can be assumed that the current binding was made later than the manuscript itself, but no later than 1695 (the *ex libris* mark on it cited above is dated 1695).

Judging by the elegance and regularity of the script, the copyist of the NLR manuscript could have been of native, Middle-Eastern origin. As it seems, he did not know the proper name of the author of the work. Otherwise, it is hard to explain such a mistake: شیرونیمو شوی ابر: [109] instead of one of the following author's name versions: شیرونیمو شوایر [109], or شیرونیمو شویر [110] that one usually meets elsewhere. The identification of the personalities of Persian-language scribes in the Işfahān Catholic missions still requires a special study.

Although we have almost no information about the transmission of the full version of the book outside India, this is not the case with the brief version. In some manuscripts, there are notes mentioning Iṣfahān and its Armenian district of Julfa [111] and also India — there is an owner's note made by a resident of Akbarabad and Agra [112]. In addition, there is a manuscript scribed apparently in Bengal and dated Zū-l-ḥijja 1152 / February — March 1740 [113]. This is the latest dated copy of the work known to us. Rather informative is an ownership note in Latin in the manuscript from NLR men-

tioned in the catalogues [114]. The record relates that the manuscript formerly belonged to the “Carmelite Fathers” in the city of Aleppo. It also bears the date 1695. It cannot be excluded that the manuscript could have been brought there from Iṣfahān, which starting from the time of ‘Abbās I (late sixteenth to early seventeenth century) also had a Carmelite mission [115]. It is curious that, according to Camps, one of the copies of the *Mir’āt al-quds* comes from Aleppo as well. The latter was taken out no later than 1686 and currently is in the British Museum [116].

Conclusion: The Role of the *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* in Further Christian–Islamic Polemics

It is generally accepted that it was a short version of the treatise that reached Iran in 1621 and therefore became famous in this country [117]. A further course of events was as follows: in Iṣfahān the manuscript found its way to the famous Muslim theologian Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-‘Alawī al-Iṣfahānī (d. ca. 1650), who wrote a refutation on it. The latter came to the attention of Catholic theologians, who in turn wrote a number of refutations on the latter [118]. This issue was of such great concern to the Catholic Church that it attracted special attention of the Congregation Propaganda Fide, the missionary branch of the Roman Curia [119]. A Franciscan monk named Bonaventure Malvasia (1598—1666) was commissioned to write a rebuttal. This work, written in Latin, was published in 1628 [120]. Then, however, the congregation felt that the answer could not be called exhaustive and commissioned Philippus Guadagnoli (1596—1656) to write another refutation. This was published in 1631, in Latin as well; then an Arabic translation was made, and an edition containing the text in both languages appeared in 1637 [121].

This work gave rise to another Muslim polemic treatise composed by a former Augustinian, Fr. Antonio, who converted to Islam in 1697 [122].

Finally, three manuscripts of the Persian-language refutation of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn's work are known. One is in the library of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg State University [123], another one — in the National Library in Paris (shelf number: Suppl. Pers. 13) [124], the third manuscript is in the National Library in Naples (shelf number: III. F. 29) [125]. The St. Petersburg manuscript represents the first part, whereas Paris and Naples manuscripts represent the second part of the apologetic work *Ālāyishhā ki badīnhā ālūda shud Āyina-yi Haqq-namā* (“Contaminations with Which the ‘Mirror Showing the Truth’ Is Stained”). According to Fr. Richard, their author is Father Aimé Chézaud (d. 1664), a Jesuit missionary who was on a mission to Julfa in the 1650s. There are various accounts of this, including Chézaud's own testimony [126], as well as notes in the St. Petersburg manuscript.

The first part (manuscript from the collection of St. Petersburg State University) is dated by the colophon: Iṣfahān, the first day after Nawrūz, 1067, i. e. March 21, 1656 (fol. 16v) [127]. According to F. Ri-

chard, the St. Petersburg manuscript is the author's autograph [128].

This part is a more general apologetic work on the superiority of Christianity over Islam. It consists of three essays (*maqāla*), which in turn are divided into subsections (*faṣl*). The first part seems to prepare the reader for the second, which deals with the problems of discussion in the works of J. Xavier and Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, as reported by the author in the preface [129]. Like *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā*, it is written in the form of a conversation, the Padre (*pādrī*), the Thinker (*ḥakīm*) and the Mulla (*mullā*). The contents of this part are detailed in an article by Francis Richard [130]. The end of the manuscript with the conclusion (*khātama*) has been lost.

It is interesting that, unlike Xavier, the author of this work cites many quotations, including the Qur’ān (see fols. 57r, 58v) in the Arabic original. In general, he has a taste for the Arabic language and various Arabic forms. The latter probably could be explained by the fact that Aimé Chézaud worked at the Mission in Aleppo, where he studied Arabic well before coming to Iṣfahān [131]. Curiously, the manuscript in the Oriental Faculty Library is written in *naskh* rather than *nasta‘līq*, which would have been more typical of 17th-century Iran. This missionary was probably used to writing in *naskh*, as *nasta‘līq* is not common in Arabic countries.

The Paris manuscript (Suppl. Pers. 13), scribed in India in 1742, unlike the Petersburg one, is written in *nasta‘līq* [132]. This is the second part of the same work and is devoted exclusively to refuting the work of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn [133].

The manuscript from Naples (III. F. 29), also written in *nasta‘līq* is another copy of the second part; according to the colophon it was written in Iṣfahān on the 20th Ramaḍān in 1154 / 29th November 1741 [134].

Xavier's work thus marked a new milestone in Christian-Muslim disputes. These disputes, unlike those that had preceded them, were based on Europeans' direct knowledge of the Islamic doctrine and contacts with its adherents. It may be explained by the fact that these polemics took place in the 17th century, the time when Catholic missions were freely operating in the Islamic East.

The manuscripts of the St. Petersburg collections contain very important data for the textual history of the book in question, as well as for the history of its transmission and circulation.

Notes

1. The current paper is based on the study conducted by myself as a chapter of my PhD dissertation many years ago, which was later published as book in Russian (see Pritula, 2004).
2. Story, 1972, vol. 1: 521. On Xavier's biography see also Didier, 2017: 84—87.
3. Camps, 1961: 167.
4. Story, 1972, vol. 1: 521.
5. Camps, 1961: 166.
6. *Ibid.*
7. See Pritula, 2004: 42—43.
8. Camps, 1961: 167.
9. Bossworth, 1971: 270; Prigarina, 1999: 45.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Camps, 1961: 167.
12. Story, 1972, vol. 1: 521; Camps, 1961: 167.
13. Maclagan, 1896.
14. Camps, 1961.
15. See Didier, 2017: 84—91.
16. See Pritula, 2004: 115—117.
17. Camps, 1961: 173.
18. *Ibid.*: 172.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Piemontese, 1989: 232.
21. Story, 1972, vol. 1: 522; Camps, 1961: 168.
22. Piemontese, 1989: 232; Camps, 1961: 167.
23. Piemontese, 1989: 232, No. 257.
24. Camps, 1961: 167.
25. *Historia Christi...*, 1639: 4.
26. Camps, 1961: 171.
27. Story, 1972, vol. 1: 523.
28. Camps, 1961: 171; Story, 1972, vol. 1: 523.
29. Camps, 1961: 171; Story, 1972, vol. 1: 523.
30. Story, 1972, vol. 1: 523.
31. Camps, 1961: 174.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*: 175.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. See Pritula, 2004: 43—44.
39. Jarric, 1926: 97, 248.
40. Maclagan, 1896: 82.
41. Didier, 2007.
42. Pritula, 2004: 133—139; on the contents of this work see also Didier, 2017: 87—91. On anti-Islamic polemics in this treatise see Didier, 2010.
43. Pritula, 2004: 139—143.
44. *Ibid.*: 125—126.
45. *Ibid.*: 126—129.
46. *Ibid.*: 129—133.
47. *Ibid.*: 133—139.
48. *Ibid.*: 139—143.
49. *Ibid.*: 143—147.
50. Jarric, 1926: 97.
51. Pritula, 2004: 143.
52. *Ibid.*: 39—40. In the Persian text the name of the ruler is rendered as “ک” (*kāf* and *gāf* are not distinguished). The similarity of this name with the name of the Mughal emperor is obvious. The story acts as a dedication in which the author uses such an allusion. Xavier then proceeds directly to the tasks of the book itself, which he likens to some attempt to create an image of Christ for the reader (primarily the emperor) (*Historia Christi...*, 1639: 7).
53. Rissanen, 1993: 62.
54. Griffith, 1996: 186.
55. Rissanen, 1993: 21—23; Griffith, 1996: 186—188.
56. Rissanen, 1993: 9.
57. Griffith, 1992: 102; idem, 1996: 187. On the Christian Nestorian polemic dialogues from the Caliphate period see Seleznyov, 2018.
58. For instance, see Pritula, 2004: 134—139.
59. *Ibid.*: 147.
60. *Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī*, 1378: 189—198.
61. *Ibid.*: 27—35.
62. Pritula, 2004: 125—126.
63. *Ibid.*: 39—41.
64. See also Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 5; Maclagan, 1896: 112; Camps, 1961: 171; Blochet, 1934, t. 4: 111.
65. Rousseau, 1817: 40, No. 384.
66. Akimushkin, Kushev & Salahetdiniva, 1964, vol. 1: 67, No. 283. The manuscript was also displayed and described by myself in a recent exhibition catalogue (see *Brush and Qalam*, 2018, vol. 1: 152, No. 74).
67. Akimushkin, 1987: 9, 11, 13, note 4.
68. Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 4. The dimensions in the catalogue were given in inches.
69. Rossi, 1948: 74, No. 44.
70. Piemontese, 1989: 233, No. 258.
71. Hukk, Herman & Robertson, 1925: 47, No. 68. The dimensions in the catalogue were given were given in inches.
72. Lee, 1824: 6. Many characteristics of the manuscript are not given. A brief mention of this the manuscript can be found also in the catalogue of the Cambridge colleges (Browne, 1900: 25, 307, No. 146).
73. Samuel Lee gives the following data: “...about eight or nine hundred leaves in small folio” (Lee, 1824: 41).
74. See the description and the complete manuscript representation at the library site: <https://ketabpedia.com/تحميل/آئینه-حق-نماز-روم-مگز-اویه/>.
75. The beginning of the Cambridge manuscript was not available to us.
76. Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1:4; Rossi, 1948: 74, No. 44; Piemontese, 1989: 233, No. 258; Hukk, Herman & Robertson, 1925: 47, No. 68.
77. *Historia Christi...*, 1639: 12.
78. Lee, 1824: 5—42.
79. Hukk, Herman & Robertson, 1925: 47—49, No. 68.
80. Lee, 1824: 10.
81. *Ibid.*: 10.
82. *Ibid.*: 8—10; Hukk, Herman & Robertson, 1925: 48, No. 68.
83. Lee, 1824: 15. In this case, however, it is only a comparison with the Cambridge manuscript; the Edinburgh catalogue lists only the chapters, and no subsection titles (Hukk, Herman & Robertson, 1925: 48, 49, No. 68).
84. Lee, 1824: 10; Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 4.
85. Camps, 1961: 166.

86. In the latter, only the chapter titles, but not the subsection headings were published.
87. Lee, 1824: 15; Hukk, Herman & Robertson, 1925: 48, No. 68.
88. At a scholarly discussion during the orientalist conference in St. Petersburg.
89. Didier, 2017: 27.
90. Dorn, 1852: 243, No. 249.
91. Kostygova, 1988, vol. 2: 227, No. 1260.
92. Lebedev & Vassilieva, 1990: 10, 11, 26.
93. Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 4. The dimensions in the catalogue were given in inches.
94. Rossi, 1948: 75, No. 47.
95. Richard, 1980: 153.
96. *Ibid.*: 173.
97. Piemontese, 1989: 354, No. 411.
98. There is one more Christian work in the manuscript that is written in a different hand though (fols. 1—52). Dated based on the owner's note.
99. Piemontese, 1989: 354, No. 412. There are two more Christian works in the manuscript (fols. 44—91, 38—43). Dated based on the owner's note.
100. Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 4.
101. Blochet, 1934, vol. 4: 111, No. 2152.
102. Rossi, 1948: 75, No. 4.
103. Kostygova, 1988, vol. 2: 226, No. 1260.
104. *Ibid.*; cf. Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 5; Maclagan, 1896: 112; Camps, 1961: 171; Blochet, 1934, t. 4: 111.
105. Camps, 1961: 170.
106. Heawood, 1950, vol. 1: 86, Nos. 979—983.
107. *Ibid.*: No. 981.
108. *Ibid.*: 298, 312—315, Nos. 2343—2387.
109. Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 4.
110. *Ibid.*: vol. 1: 3.
111. Piemontese, 1989: 354, Nos. 411, 412.
112. *Ibid.*: No. 412.
113. Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 5.
114. Dorn, 1852: 246, No. 249; Kostygova, 1988, vol. 2: 227, No. 1260.
115. *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 1967, vol. 11: 155.
116. Camps, 1961: 169.
117. Rieu, 1879—1883, vol. 1: 5, 29; Maclagan, 1896: 112; Camps, 1961: 171.
118. For more details see: Halft, 2017: 531—546.
119. Camps, 1961: 171.
120. Dorn, 1852: 244, No. 249.
121. *Ibid.*: 245, No. 249; Guadagnoli, 1631: 1—130.
122. Piemontese, 1989: 202, No. 234.
123. Romaskewicz, 1925: 3, No. 1121; Richard, 1980: 384.
124. Blochet, 1934, t. 1: 14, No. 23; Richard, 1980: 384.
125. Piemontese, 1989: 202, No. 234.
126. Richard, 1980: 385.
127. Manuscript description. The manuscript is listed in a catalogue by Alexander A. Romaskevich (Romaskewicz) (Romaskewicz, 1925: 3, No. 1121); see the description in Richard, 1980: 386. 213 fols. Dimensions: 9.0×14.0 cm; text-block: 14.0×9.5 cm to 15.5×10.0 cm; 14—19 lines per page — number increases toward the end of manuscript. European paper with watermarks. Black ink, red for titles, subtitles, names and punctuation (inverted comma). Beautiful *naskh*. Notes in Persian and Latin in the margins. European leather binding. Many of corrections. The title page has an inscription in black ink: “A. R. 7.X.13. اصفهان”. On fol. 1v. in black ink: “Mission Julf. Soc. Jesu”; below: “ex libris P. Amati Chez[aud]”. Below is an illegible inscription in Latin or Armenian script. Defects: yellow stains in margins, missing ending. Purchased in Persia by Alexander A. Romaskevich (Romaskewicz) on 7.10.1913 (Romaskewicz, 1925: 2).
128. Richard, 1980: 386.
129. *Ibid.*: 387.
130. *Ibid.*: 387—391.
131. *Ibid.*: 385, 394.
132. *Ibid.*: 391.
133. *Ibid.*: 385—394.
134. Piemontese, 1989, No. 234: 203. As Dr. Richard has kindly informed me, the Naples manuscript is in the same hand as the Paris manuscript, with which they are “twin copies”.

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Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā*, full version. Paper, 255.0×195.0 mm, 538 fols. Early 17th century. Institute of the Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academia of Science, St. Petersburg, call No. C 271, fol. 15v. Courtesy of the Institute.
- Fig. 2.** The same MS, fol. 178v. Courtesy of the Institute.
- Fig. 3.** The same MS, fol. 76v. Courtesy of the Institute.
- Fig. 4.** *Āyina-yi Haqq-namā*, short version. Paper, 185.0×115.0 mm, 77 fols. Early 17th century. National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, call No. Dorn 249, fol. 1v. Courtesy of the Library.