

An earlier witness of the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'* (but not that early): MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3620 – Cécile Bonmariage (chercheur qualifié FRS-FNRS)

MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3620 seems to have escaped the attention of scholars so far. This manuscript has some significance however, as it is dated, and its copy date is earlier than the earliest known copy of the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'*, that is, MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Atif Efendi 1681. The fact is that previous scholarship on the manuscript tradition of the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'* focuses on complete copies, as testified by the list of dated manuscripts given by Omar Alí-de-Unzaga in his recent piece on MS. London, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1040,¹ while MS. Esad Efendi 3620 is a copy of a small portion of the *Epistles*. The significance of MS. Esad Efendi 3620 should not be overestimated either. It would be nice if this earlier copy would date to a period closer to what is thought to be the time of composition or compilation of the *Rasā'il*, but it only dates roughly thirty years before MS. Atif Efendi 1681, dated Šammāhiyya, 13 Šafar 578 [June 25, 1182],² which makes this finding a somewhat underwhelming discovery.

MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3620 contains the following epistles, identified in the text by their order in part II of the *Rasā'il* (dealing with physical natural <sciences>, من الجسمانية الطبيعية): II.4-10 and 15. But these epistles do not appear here in this order. What we find is thus, using the general numbering used in the Institute of Ismaili Studies and earlier editions (the text proper starts on the verso of a folio with the title on the recto):

· ff. 1r-23r: Epistle 18 (= II.4) – فى الاثار العلوية –

¹ Omar Alí-de-Unzaga, "The Missing Link? MS 1040: An Important Copy of the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'* in the Collection of The Institute of Ismaili Studies," in *Texts, scribes and transmission. Manuscript cultures of the Ismaili communities and beyond*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2022, p. 81-136 (list of dated mss. in table 4.1, p. 85-87).

² Date and place from final colophon f. 578r. Other dates appear in MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Atif Efendi 1681. At the end of Epistle II.8, the copyist states that he completed his copy during the night of Friday, beginning of Ramadan 577 [Jan. 8, 1182] (f. 256v). Again, at the end of this section on natural sciences, the copyist tells us that he completed his work during the first ten days of Ramadan 577 (f. 322r). The copyist, Mawdūd b. 'Uṭmān b. 'Umar al-ṭabīb al-Širwānī (name from final colophon, f. 578r), has several copies in front of him and gives at times different versions he finds in them. A longer alternative text is given at the end of the copy, after the final colophon (ff. 578v-581v). Other shorter variants are found throughout the copy (see for instance f. 325v, in Epistle III.1). On f. 446r (in Epistle IV.2), a note by the copyist explains what he thinks should be the proper division and order of the text. For a description of the orthographic peculiarities of this copy, see C. Baffioni (ed.), *The Natural Sciences. Epistles 15–21*, London, IIS, 2013, Technical introduction, p. 61-62. This ms. was once in the possession of Abū Bakr b. Rustam al-Širwānī, a 12th/18th c. collector of manuscripts known for the quality of his library (a number of early copies of various texts as well as autographs, including by Šafādī, have been identified as belonging to his collection). It bears several inscriptions by former readers and owners, including an ownership statement by a Aḥmad b. Muḥammad dated Wednesday 7 Ramadan 984 [Nov. 28, 1576] (f. 1r), a reading statement by a Ḥusayn b. ---? (f. 199r) and notes by a Rağab b. Ḥasan (see f. 1r), specified once as "*min fuqarā' Ibn Nūr al-Dīn*" (f. 256v). Another ms. bearing Aḥmad b. Muḥammad's ownership statement is MS. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 2105. A number of notes, starting with the note by Rağab b. Ḥasan on f. 1r, reflect a concern for the compatibility of the contents with the Muslim creed. See for instance f. 33v (another such note appears on f. 184r and on f. 247v):

هذا الكلام من المؤلف يدل على سلامة عقيدته حيث اتى بمواجب العقائد على مذهب اهل السنة والجماعة

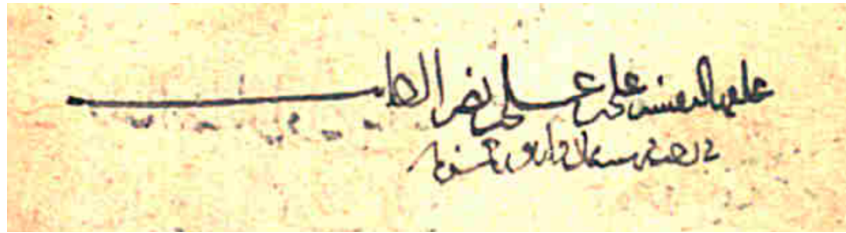
The same concern by an Ottoman reader is found in a note on MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3638, f. 1v. See Markus Ritter, "The Frontispiece as Patron's Statement. Re-examining and Contextualizing the 686/1287 *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'* from Early Ilkhanid Baghdad (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3638)," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 15 (2022), p. 25 and note 13 (art. p. 21-53). Another manuscript copied by Mawdūd b. 'Uṭmān, here said to be "al-mutaṭabbib," is MS. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Landberg 33 (described in Ahlwardt 566g), a copy of *Muntahā al-adrāk fī taqāsīm al-aflāk* by 'Abd al-Ğabbār al-Ḥaraqī (477-553/1084-1158), that he wrote for himself in a hurry (see note f. 1r and colophon f. 66r).

- ff. 24r-41v: Epistle 23 (= II.9) – فى ذكر تركيب الجسد والبيان بانه عالم صغير –
- After the end of the text, there is a list of the المناسبات بين النفس والجسد (ff. 41v-42r)
- ff. 43r-61v: Epistle 24 (= II.10) – رسالة الحاس والمحسوس –
- ff. 62r-83v: Epistle 22 (= II.8) – فى اصناف الحيوانات –
- ff. 84r-98r: Epistle 29 (= II.15) – فى ماهية الموت والحياة وما الحكمة فيهما –
- ff. 99r-134v: Epistle 19 (= II.5) – فى كيفية تكوين المعادن وكمية الجواهر المعدنية وعلة اختلاف جواهرها –
- ff. 135r-150r: Epistle 20 (= II.6) – فى ماهية الطبيعة وكيفية افعالها –
- ff. 151r-165v: Epistle 21 (= II.7) – فى اجناس النبات –

The text ends abruptly at the end of the folio, the last words being: وليست شيئا سوى
غبار يتلبد على الارض (ed. IIS, p. 453, l. 7)

The name of the copyist and the date of copy appears on the title page of Epistle 8 (= 22), f. 62r. The text reads as follows:

علقها لنفسه على بن على بن نصر الطبيب(?) فى رجب من سنة ثمان واربعين وخمسمائة
'Alī b. 'Alī b. Naṣr the physician(?) copied the <risāla> for himself in Raḡab
548 [Sept.-Oct. 1153].



I did a quick attempt at determining to which family of manuscripts Esad Efendi 3620 belongs but with no success. I started by collating the text in Esad Efendi with that in Atif Efendi 1681, the manuscript taken as basis for the IIS edition. One thing is certain: it is not used by the copyist of Atif Efendi 1681. The bulk of variants found in Esad Efendi 3620 does not appear in the apparatus of the edition though, thus preventing to situate this copy.³ One element could be of interest, that is the presence of dividers in the text not mentioned in the IIS edition.⁴

³ It may be noted that in Epistle 22, the addition mentioned in the IIS edition, p. ٤٢, note ١٧٢, appears in MS. Esad Efendi 3620.

⁴ Thus for instance, in Risāla 18 (II.4), MS. Esad Efendi 3620 adds a “faṣl” at the beginning of the text (f. 2r, l. 2, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ١٨٦, l. 9, before واعلم منه a; واعلم يا اخي اينك الله واينا بروح منه a at the beginning of the faṣl fi māhiyyat al-ṭabī'a (f. 2r, l. 8–9, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ١٨٧, l. 6–7); a “faṣl” starting with the same expression at the beginning of the exposition of the doctrine of those who deny the action of nature, where the IIS edition has اعلم (f. 2v, l. 9–10, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ١٨٩, l. 1). It but does not have the “faṣl” present in the IIS edition p. ١٩٢, l. 6 (f. 4, l. 5) nor the two following “faṣl” (IIS edition, p. ١٩٣, l. 6 corresponding to f. 4v, l. 1 and IIS edition, p. ١٩٨, l. 1, 5v, last line). It adds again a “faṣl” on f. 7r, l. 4, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ٢٠٠, l. 7 (before واذا قد فرغنا من ذكر), and again on f. 7v, l. 2, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ٢٠١, l. 9, (before واعلم يا اخي), f. 8r, l. 5, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ٢٠٣, l. 9 (before اعلم يا اخي), and f. 8v, l. 2, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ٢٠٤, l. 7 (before واذا قد فرغنا). Only on f. 9r, l. 2, a “faṣl” is found that is also in the IIS edition (p. ٢٠٦, l. 1) as is “faṣl <7>” of the edition p. ٢٠٩, corresponding to f. 9v, l. 12. After a gap in the copy between f. 9v and 10r (corresponding to IIS edition, p. ٢٠٩, l. 2 – p. ٢١١, l. 6), MS. Esad Efendi 3620 adds yet another “faṣl” before واذا قد اخبرنا عن ماهية الرياح, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ٢١١, l. 7. Faṣl <8> of the IIS edition

A last point worth mentioning here on the contents: the reader should not get too excited by the comparatively few folios used for the text of Epistle 22. This is not an as yet unidentified short version of the famous epistle on animals in the *Rasā'il*. The small number of folios can be explained by a gap between ff. 62v and 63r (the text wanting corresponds to the IIS edition from p. 4, l. 6 to p. 40, l. 18) and by the fact that the text stops early (the last line of the text here corresponds to p. 82 in the IIS edition). This happens at the bottom of a verso, but this time, the ending does seem to be intentional, with an apparently added last line by the same hand as the main text, reading: *وانا قد بلغنا الغرض من ذكر الحيوانات والله الحمد والـ*⁵

Other elements can be mentioned to describe MS. Esad Efendi 3620. At the end of a number of epistles in the main text, a later hand adds a line or two making the junction with the next text in the form: *يتلوها رسالة الخ.* (see ff. 23r, 42r, 61v, 98r, 134v, 150r). The information given there matches the actual order of the epistles but not always that in the copy. Thus for instance the *Risālat al-ma'ādīn* (= II.5, corresponding to Epistle 19) is announced at the end of the *Risāla fī l-āthār al-'ulwiyya* (II.4, corresponding to Epistle 18) on f. 23r, but does not follow in the manuscript in its present form (Risāla II.5 comes later, f. 99r, with title *Fī kayfiyyat takwīn al-ma'ādīn*). A similar annotation by the same hand is found on f. 61v, at the end of the *Risāla fī l-hāss wa-l-maḥsūs* (II.10), announcing the epistle on the drop of the sperm (*Fī masqaṭ al-nuṭfa*), described to be the 11th of the epistles on natural sciences, but this text does not follow. The same happens on f. 98r, at the end of the *Risāla fī māhiyyat al-mawt wa-l-ḥayāh wa-l-ḥikma fī-himā* (II.15), where a *رسالة في ماهية* اللذات والالام وعلّة كراهة الحيوان الموت (II.16) is said to follow but does not.

A few notes in Hebrew characters are found on the margins (see f. 25r; f. 96r, with the word *'adw* that needs to be added in the text; f. 97r and 99r). Ff. (i)r-v are covered with inscriptions, including ownership statements, one dated 971 [1563–1564] in the name of 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Ḥ--ī; followed by one in the name of "ḥādīm al-fuqarā' al-Naqšbandī," al-šayḥ al-sayyid Sulaymān Sāmān(?) al-Uskudārī; followed by another one dated 1134 [1721–1722] with no name mentioned. Inscriptions including a table of contents and another ownership statement in the name of Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kīlānī (*nasab^{am}*) al-Ḥamawī (*muwallad^{am}*) al-Rūmī (*waṭan^{am}*) dated 1169 [1755–1756],⁶ are found on f. 1r.

The analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Šafā'*, including copies containing only parts of the text, will bring other discoveries in the future. A number of manuscripts with only a portion of the text dated to the 7th/13th c. are known, including MS. Tehran, Maḡlis 5255, dated 11

(p. ٢١٥) appears also in the manuscript, but with another title given as a variant in note ٣, reading here: *فصل في الغيوم والامطار* (f. 11v, l. 1–2). A "faṣl" is added on f. 13r, corresponding to IIS edition, p. ٢١٩, l. 2 (before *واما البروق*) but "faṣl <9>" in the edition does not appear in the manuscript (IIS edition, p. ٢٢١ corresponding to f. 13v, l. 7 in Esad Efendi 3620). "Faṣl <10>" "faṣl <11>" and "faṣl <12>" in the edition are in the manuscript (IIS edition, p. ٢٢٣ corresponding to f. 14r, l. 12; p. ٢٢٤, corresponding to f. 14v, l. 13; p. ٢٢٧, corresponding to f. 16r, l. 9), as well as "faṣl <13>," with the same title (edition p. ٢٢٩, corresponding to f. 16v–17r), but not "faṣl <14>" (p. ٢٣١, this time with variants mentioned note ٢, corresponding to f. 17v, l. 8) nor "faṣl <15>" (p. ٢٣٤, corresponding to f. 18v, l. 10). "Faṣl <16>" is in the manuscript, but starts with a *اعلم يا* instead of the shorter *واعلم يا اخي* in the edition (p. ٢٣٥, corresponding to f. 19r, l. 8). "Faṣl <17>" has no counterpart in the manuscript (IIS edition, p. ٢٣٦, corresponding to f. 20r, l. 2). Finally, "faṣl <18>" (IIS edition, p. ٢٤٢) appears f. 22r, l. 5.

⁵ This is before the point in the text where different endings happen as discussed by Omar Alí-de-Unzaga, "The Missing Link?," p. 102–103 and Guillaume de Vaulx d'Arcy, "The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity edited by the Institute of Ismaili Studies. When the re-edition of a text can be its destruction," *MIDEO*, 34 (2019), p. 288–292.

⁶ This name also appears in MS. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann II, 65.

Rağab 607 [Dec. 29, 1210]; MS. Tehran, Mağlis 1831, dated 621 [1224]⁷ and MS. Tabriz, Ḥādīm-i Ḥusaynī 30, dated Ġumādā I 670 [Dec. 1271].⁸

Manuscripts where the epistles are copied with other texts are also crucial to understand which epistles circulate separately, and with what, in which context. One such witness is MS. Tehran, Mağlis 9469, a notebook collecting numerous short texts written on the turn of the 11th/17th c. and 12th/18th c. where the *Risāla fī māhiyyat al-mawt* (II.15) has attracted the attention of the compiler. Another such copy, dating to the 7th-8th/13th-14th c. (one text is dated 695 [1295], another Šawwāl 706 [1307]), is MS. Tehran, Dānišgāh, Adabiyāt 90D, where a short extract from the *Rasā'il* is found in between exegetical texts by Ibn Sīnā, Zanğānī's *al-Maḍnūn bi-hi 'alā ghayr ahlih*, commentaries on the *Qaṣīdat al-'ayniyya* attributed to Ibn Sīnā, the *Aḥbār al-Ḥallāğ*, extracts from the *Tahḍīb al-aḥlāq* by Miskawayh, texts by 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī, etc.⁹

But the best example I know of an important manuscript to illustrate the significance of co-circulation is not directly related to the *Rasā'il*, but to one of its connected texts, *al-Risāla al-Ġāmi'a*.¹⁰ We know MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3642 as a hitherto single 8th/14th c. witness of a number of short texts by Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284), due to the research by Schmidtke and Pourjavady on Ibn Kammūna's oeuvre.¹¹ This copy, dated Hilla, 752 [1351] and 753 [1352],¹² already identified as crucial for the understanding of the transmission of Ibn Kammūna's texts, bears also significance for scholars interested in the *Ġāmi'a*. In fact, the *Ġāmi'a* is the main text in this copy and takes up ff. 1v–134v. The copyist notes at the end that he thinks his exemplar does not contain a complete text, which is accurate if one looks at the text as edited by Ġālib (the text ends at ed. Ġālib, end of p. 385). Another copy must have been found later, as the text continues in another script on ff. 134v–135v, ending abruptly with the text corresponding to ed. Ġālib, p. 389, l. 10 (after وهب النسيم, the catchword on f. 135v).

The rest of the copy contains the following texts, written in the same hand as the main text: 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī's prolegomena to his commentary on Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ*, texts on *'ilm al-hurūf* (including a commentary on the *al-Durr al-Munazzam* by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Nuṣaybīnī), texts by Suhrawardī (including a section of what appears to be his *Qawānīn al-ḥaqā'iq*)¹³ and by Naṣīr al-

⁷ Copyist: Mubārak pesar-i 'Abd Allāh Ġulām Nağīb al-Dīn Mazīdī (from description in *Fihrist-vārah-yi dastnivišt-hā-yi Īrān (Dīnā)*, Mashhad, 2019, 5:756).

⁸ Information from *Dīnā*, 5:756. A manuscript auctioned by Oriental Art Auctions in The Netherlands (under no. ART3004459) is another 7th/13th c. complete copy only preserved in part. Its two volumes contain the second half of book 3 and the whole of book 4 according to the online description, and are dated 683 [1284–85]. The copyist is Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāzin al-Tustarī. The online description identifies important former owners. See <https://www.orientalartauctions.com/object/art3004459-rasail-ikhwan-al-safa-signed-by-muhammad-ibn-umar-ibn-muhammad-al-khazan-al-tasri-dated-683-ah-1284-ad>. The same manuscript appears on the Sotheby's website, under no. 27 in the catalogue of an auction in 2017: <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/arts-of-the-islamic-world-17220/lot.27.html>

⁹ There are apparently more than one copyist involved in the copy, one of them, who wrote the bulk of the texts, named Maḥmūd b. Karam b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Šabistārī(?).

¹⁰ On manuscripts of the *Ġāmi'a*, see Ehud Krinis, "Al-Risāla al-Jāmi'a and Its Judeo-Arabic Manuscript," in *Islam: Identité et Altérité. Hommage à Guy Monnot*. Sous la direction de Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Turnhout, Brepols, 2013, p. 311–329, on a Judaeo-Arabic copy in the Firkovitch manuscripts collection in St Petersburg.

¹¹ See R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad. 'Izz al-Dawla Ibn Kammuna (d. 683/1284) and his writings*, Leiden, Brill, 2006.

¹² Date on f. 134v: 22 (28?) Rabī' I 752 [May 1351]; and on f. 153r: 3 Ša'bān 753 [Sept. 14, 1352], bi-baldat Hilla.

¹³ Title from the *'ahd* on f. 156r. This title is referred to by Suhrawardī in his *Lamaḥāt*. See Mağmū'eh-ye Muṣannafāt-e šayḥ-e iṣrāq, v. 4: *Seh risālah*. Ed. Nağafqulī Ḥabībī, p. 167. In the *Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt*, Suhrawardī writes: "We hinted at

Dīn al-Ṭūsī, texts on questions on logic, particularly syllogisms (one being answers to questions by Kamāl al-Dīn Mayṭam al-Baḥrānī said to be copied from the hand of Ibn Muṭaḥḥar [al-Ḥillī]), plus two texts on definitions, one by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the other by Ibn Kammūna, and other short texts by Ibn Kammūna described by Pourjavady and Schmidtke.¹⁴

The connection between Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (but the Ṭūsī of the *Aḥlāq-i naṣīrī*) and the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'* in the 7th/13th c. was already attested by Buzurgmihr b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (or by his patrons), who wrote a complete copy of the *Rasā'il* in Bagdad in 686 [1287]¹⁵ and copied Ṭūsī's *Aḥlāq-i naṣīrī* twenty years earlier, in 666 [1267].¹⁶ MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3642 shows that during the 8th/14th c., in Ḥilla, in a milieu where one reads 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāšānī, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Kammūna, and technical texts on logic, the *Ġāmī'a* is read.

some of this in the book *Qawānīn al-ḥaqā'iq*, called *al-Mašārī' wa-l-mutāraḥāt*." See *Maǧmū'eh-ye Muṣannafāt-e šaykh-e iṣrāq*, Tehran, 1372/1993, v. 1, p. 59. I could not find the portion of text in the edition of the *Mašārī'*.

¹⁴ See R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, s.v. in Index of manuscripts. MS. Esad Efendi 3642 contains the following: f. 1v–134v: *al-Risāla al-Ġāmī'a*; f. 134v–135v: *al-Risāla al-Ġāmī'a* (addition); f. 136v–138r: prolegomena of 'Abd al-Razzāq [Kāšānī]'s commentary on Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ* (title by later hand f. 136r); f. 138v: fā'ida; f. 138v–139v: Text on alif-lām-mīm and 'ilm al-ḥurūf by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm الدسلي al-Mawṣilī with a diagram; f. 140r–153r: a commentary on the *al-Durr al-Munazzam fī l-sirr al-a'zam* by Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Sālim M. b. M. b. Ṭalḥa al-Nuṣaybī (usually spelled al-Naṣībī in catalogues; the title on f. 140r has "fī l-bayt al-a'zam"), entitled *al-Nahḡ al-aqwam fī šarḥ al-Durr al-munazzam fī al-sirr al-a'zam*, said to be by one of his disciples (*tilmīd*), with diagrams; f. 153v–156v: From the *Kitāb Qawānīn al-ḥaqā'iq* by Šihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (starts with al-mawqif al-rābī' fī maqāmāt ahl al-taǧrid); f. 156v–160v: Other portion of text by Suhrawardī, starting with al-mašra' al-sābi' fī tartīb al-wuǧūd wa-l-mabādī' (in three mawāqif); f. 161r–163v: Masā'il min imlā' Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; ff. 163v–164v: Kalām fī l-šakl alladhī sammāhu al-muta'aḥḥirūn al-rābī', starting with: اشكال القياس بالقسمة الصحيحة اربعة; ff. 165r–v: Answers by Ġamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Muṭaḥhar [al-Ḥillī], to problems raised by Kamāl al-Dīn Mayṭam al-Baḥrānī on logic; f. 166r–167v: Min ta'ālīq al-ḥakīm 'Izz al-Dawla Abī l-Riḍā Ibn Kammūna, on definition of words such as lafz, zann, quṭb, etc. (see R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 132, 2.2; edition, *ibid.*, p. 207–208, Text 4); f. 168r–169r: Su'āl Faḥr al-Dīn al-Kāšī min al-'allāma Ibn Kammūna (see R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, p. 126, 1.5.6; edition, *ibid.*, p. 222–223, Text 8); f. 169v–171r: min kalām Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, on jawhar, the difference between quwwa and isti'dād, kamāl, etc.; f. 171r–172r: Correspondance Naǧm al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī – Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; f. 172v–173v: Inscriptions, including verses of poetry and a list of titles of works by Suhrawardī.

Inscriptions, including description of contents by later hands and ownership statements on f. (i)r and 1r. An ownership statement in the name of Quyuṣaqlī-zādeh Muḥammad 'Āṭif, former qadi in Izmir, with an illegible date appears on f. (i)r. On this early 13th/19th c. owner, see Jawdath Jabbour, "The Reconstruction of the Circulation of Muḥammad al-Hindī's *Ġumal al-falsafa* Using Manuscript Notes," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 9 (2018), p. 169–170, where he is identified as Kuyucaklızāde Mehmed Atif bey (d. 1263/1847), a mathematician and astronomer who became qadi of Izmir in 1238/1823. Other manuscripts formerly in his possession include MS. New York City, Columbia University, Ms. or. 305 and MS. Paris, BNF, Arabe 5974, a copy of texts by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, dated Sulṭāniyya, 722 (copyist: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ba'dawī), where the name appears as Muḥammad 'Āṭif b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Walī al-Dīn b. 'Alī العرواحي, in an ownership statement dated 1216 [1801–2]. Other inscriptions, including reading statements and ownership statements appear on f. 1r, one in the name of Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Šāfi'ī, another dated 808 partially erased due to wear in the name of 'Abd al-Malik(?) --- b. Ibrāhīm b. Qūh-li.

¹⁵ MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3638, dated Madīnat al-Salām, Šawwāl 686 [Nov.–Dec. 1287]). This is the manuscript opening with the famous double-page frontispiece said to represent the Iḥwān. On this copy, see the recent article by Markus Ritter, "The Frontispiece."

¹⁶ MS. Lahore, Punjab University Library, MS. Shirani 1557. See A. Qurboniev and G. Van Den Bossche, "A scholarly copyist: Early Ilkhanid intellectual networks through the prism of two colophons," in G. A. Kiraz and S. Schmidtke (eds.), *Literary snippets. Colophons across space and time*, Piscataway (NJ), Gorgias Press, 2023, p. 431–455.

Appendix 1: MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 3620, f. 62r

