



# JORJĀNI, ZAYN-AL-DIN ABU'L- ḤASAN 'ALI

---

**JORJĀNI, ZAYN-AL-DIN ABU'L-ḤASAN 'ALI** B. MOḤAMMAD B. 'ALI AL-ḤOSAYNI (b. in the village of Ṭāḡu near Astarābād in Gorgān, whence “Jorjāni,” on 22 Ša'bān 740/22 February 1340; d. Shiraz, 6 Rabi' II 816/6 July 1413), prolific author and scholar of the early Timurid period.

Jorjāni was allegedly a distant descendant (14th generation) of Moḥammad b. Zayd ... b. 'Ali b. Abi Ṭāleb, a Zaydi prince, known as *al-dā'i al-ṣaḡir*, who, like his elder brother Ḥasan b. Zayd (*al-dā'i al-kabir*), ruled over Ṭabarestān and Gorgān for a short period of time and died there in 900 (*EI* 2 VII, 1993, pp. 417-18). The details of the genealogy are unknown, but it is for that reason that Jorjāni is called in sources “al-Sayyed al-Šarif.” In Persian works, and especially in India, he also receives the title *Mir*.

The data on Jorjāni's early studies have to be treated with caution. Arab authors of the late Mamluk period ('Ayni, Saḡāwi, Soyūṭi, Dāwudi), who included entries about him in their biographical works, were not particularly well informed about his scholarly life outside their area. Persian sources (*Mirḡvānd*, *Ḳvāndamir*, and, in Arabic, *Ḳvānsāri* and *Šuštari*) are relatively late, and the Ottoman authors (especially *Ṭašköprüzade*) rely on a legendary tradition which came up among Jorjāni's Turkish students. Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956, q.v.), who was the first to combine scattered data into a coherent picture (*GAL* S II, p. 305), had to leave many questions open. Jorjāni's own



biographical comments (in the prolegomena to his works, etc.) have not yet been systematically collected.

The education which Jorjāni received in his homeland was Mu'tazilite-oriented. He studied Zamaḳṣari's (d. 1144) *al-Kaššāf*, especially with regard to the Qur'ānic suras 2 and 3, and Sakkāki's (d. 1229) *Meftāḥ al-'olum* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 328). In his twenties he started traveling in order to get teaching licenses (*ejāza*, q.v.). His first destination was Herat, not only because this town—ruled by the Kart dynasty (1245-1389) at that time—seemed to offer some personal safety (and perhaps better libraries) after the destructions in Persia caused by the Mongol invasion, but also because he hoped to meet a renowned teacher there, a certain Qoṭb-al-Din whose identity is never fully disclosed in sources. It was possibly not Qoṭb-al-Din Rāzi Taḥtāni who was meant (as assumed by Tritton, p. 602), for he lived in Damascus during his last years and died there in 1365 (*GAL S II*, p. 293), but rather Qoṭb-al-Din Rāzi Bowayhi, who died ten years later, in 1375 (Sellheim, I, p. 303; cf. *Ḳvānsāri*, VI, pp. 38 ff., especially p. 45). Bowayhi had written a commentary to Sakkāki's *Meftāḥ al-'olum*, and the confusion may have been caused by the fact that later, for his own courses, Jorjāni used commentaries written by Taḥtāni, for which, however, he got an *ejāza* not in Herat but in Cairo (see works H a-b in the list below, with respect to Kātebi's *Šamsiya* and Ormawi's *Maṭāle' al-anwār*). But the facts are still not sufficiently clear, and we cannot yet even be sure that the two Rāzis were really different persons.

The story itself is based on Taṣḳöprüzade (1985, p. 150), where the context is legendary, and we are perhaps simply dealing with an attempt at explaining Jorjāni's further search of knowledge (*ṭalab al-'elm*), which led him—somewhat unusual for an Iranian—to Mamluk territory. For “Qoṭb-al-Din” is said to have advised Jorjāni to go to Egypt where a former student of his, a certain Mobā-rakšāh, was teaching. As a matter of fact, Jorjāni went to Anatolia first, obviously in search for a job at one of the madrasas in this developing area. We know about him staying at Konya, where he studied the works of Ebn al-'Arabi and Ṣadr-al-Din Qonawi (Bayram, p. 180). He ended up in Qarāmān in southern Turkey, which was still the seat of an independent principality, where he hoped to meet (and perhaps replace) Šams-al-Din Moḥammad b. Aḥmad Niksāri (from Niksār, the old Neo-Caesarea in Bithynia) who, like himself, had been a specialist of Sak-kāki's *Meftāḥ al-'olum* (Sellheim, I, p. 311). But Niksāri had already died, and Jorjāni joined Jamāl-al-Din Moḥammad Āqsarā'i (d. 1378?; cf. Sellheim, I, pp. 310 f., where Jalāl-al-Din should



be changed to Jamāl-al-Din; see also *GAL* S II, p. 328; the report in Taşköprüzade, 1985, p. 19 is unreliable), a remote descendant of Faḡr-al-Din Rāzi (1150-1210, q.v.), who taught there at the al-Madrasa al-Musalsala.

The most important person for Jorjāni's further career was, however, Āqṣarā'i's pupil, Mollā Šams-al-Din (b.) al-Fanāri, who, in spite of being ten years younger (Sellheim, I, pp. 325 f.), persuaded Jorjāni to accompany him to Egypt. There Jorjāni could finally consult Mobārak-šāh "the logician" (*al-manteqi*), as he was called there, who still remains a mysterious person, and, besides him, a Hanafite jurist Akmal-al-Din Moḡammad Bābarti (d. 1384; cf. *GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 97, S II, pp. 89 f., and *IA2* IV, pp. 337 f.), who, like Mobārakšāh, was a foreigner in Cairo and yet had become, together with him, the mentor of a number of students from the young Ottoman Empire, who included, besides Mollā Fanāri, the physician Ḥājji Pāša, the poet Aḡmadi, and Badr-al-Din b. Qāzi Si-māwnā (*EI*<sup>2</sup> I, pp. 299 and 869, III, p. 45; *IA2* II, p. 165, V, p. 332, and XIV, pp. 492 ff.). Allegedly brought up in Qoṭb-al-Din Taḡtāni's household in Herat (Taşköprüzade, 1985, p. 151), Mobārakšāh was never considered worthy of an entry in any of the Mamluk biographical sources. He left for the *ḥājj* shortly after Jorjāni had arrived and seems not to have come back (Taşköprüzade, 1985, p. 50). Turkish scholars tend to identify him with the amir Sayf-al-Din Mobārakšāh al-Ṭāzi (d. 1378), a member of the Mamluk aristocracy (cf. *IA2* XIV, p. 493a). But this still needs further support; the source quoted (Ebn Qāzi Šohba, III, p. 585) does not mention any scholarly activities of this person.

For Jorjāni himself the stay in Cairo may have meant a further encouragement to adopt the Hanafite *madhab*, to which his Ottoman colleagues and his teacher Bābarti adhered. He also found Ash'arite theology important now, for he studied Iji's *Mawāqef* with Mobārakšāh who is said to have acquired this work from Iji himself (Saḡāwi, V, p. 329). Besides, Jorjāni seems to have had contacts with Sufi circles, for he is reported to have lived for four years in the Sa'id al-so'adā', an old Fatimid palace converted to *kānqāh* (q.v.) in Cairo, which had been dedicated by Saladin (Šalāḡ-al-Din Yusof b. Ayyub, d. 1193) as a hostel where migrating dervishes could stay free of charge (Denoix, p. 861). Jorjāni was in his early thirties then, and still a poor student. Bābarti, on the other hand, was suspected to be an adherent of Ebn al-'Arabi's (1165-1240, q.v.) doctrine (at least according to Ebn Ḳaldun who met him shortly before his death; cf. Ebn Ḥajar, V, p. 18).

In 1374 Jorjāni tried his luck in Asia Minor (*belād al-Rum*), although not in



Constantinople as Brockelmann states (*GAL S II*, p. 305), since this town was still Christian, but perhaps in Bursa or even in far-away Edirne which had become the capital under Morād I (r. 1360-89) in 1366. In 1377 or 1378, Jorjāni was already back in Gorgān, where—at the advice of a certain Sa'd-al-Din Mas'ud al-Onsi, a local scholar who in later (especially Ottoman) sources is confused with Sa'd-al-Din Mas'ud b. 'Omar Taftāzāni (cf. Madelung, p. 89)—he succeeded in winning the attention of the Mozaffarid ruler Šāh Šojā' (r. 1358-64 and 1366-84), who had been fighting his nephew Amir Yaḥyā and was now encamped on a plain near Astarābād. Jorjāni could only approach Šāh Šojā' under false pretences and in military disguise, but he then impressed the ruler so much by his scholarly proficiency that Šāh Šojā' asked Jorjāni to accompany him to Shiraz where Jorjāni was offered a position in a madrasa connected with a newly-founded hospital (*dār al-šefā*).

At least this is how the situation is presented in Persian sources (Mirkvānd, IV, p. 555, followed by Navā'i, p. 69 and Kḅānsāri, V, p. 302, though in both sources the dates are wrong). One may, however, also venture the hypothesis that Jorjāni pleased Šāh Šojā' by presenting to him a book on musical theory—a commentary on Ṣafi-al-Din Ormawi's *Ketāb al-adwār* (Rieu, no. 823, work 5; cf. below, "Works," O g), which Mobārakšāh had finished in 1375 and which is explicitly dedicated to Šāh Šojā'. In Shiraz, Jorjāni probably still met Ḥāfeẓ (d. 1390, q.v.), for he started teaching there in 1377. In 1380-81 or slightly later, he wrote a contribution to a *jong* (Tāj-al-Din Aḥmad Vazir, p. 36), but the pages, originally fols. 20-26, were removed from the manuscript and have been lost. Generally speaking, one may also assume that he had to take into account the tradition of 'Azod-al-Din Iji (d. 1355) who had lived in the town and died only some twenty-five years ago.

With Taftāzāni, on the contrary, Jorjāni had no personal contacts until ten years later, when Timur (d. 1405, q.v.), during his first, still somewhat short-lived victory over the Mozaffarids, conquered Shiraz in 1387. Jorjāni's house had been declared out of bounds when Timur's troops started looting the town, but then he had to follow the conqueror to Samarqand, where Taftāzāni had been teaching with great success since 1385 (Tašköprüzade, 1985, p. 44; Yazdi, p. 193a). All of a sudden, Jorjāni found himself in the embarrassing situation of showing up as a competitor, but the two scholars differed with regard to insignificant details only. In theology, Taftāzāni followed the Central Asian Maturidite tradition, whereas Jorjāni, by his upbringing, was rather a Mu'tazilite who had adjusted to the Ash'arite doctrine. In jurisprudence, Taftā-



zāni had the advantage of being an expert not only in the Hanafite but also in Shafi'ite law. Nevertheless, the rivalry between Jorjāni and Taftāzāni gave occasion to frequent public discussions which seem to have pleased the audience, even when they merely focused on ludicrous minutiae like the hadith “Love of the cat is a part of the Faith” (*ḥobb al-herra men al-imān*; cf. Rex Smith, p. 141). The situation changed when Timur, who was normally absent from his capital because of numerous military campaigns, insisted on an arbitration and decided in favor of Jorjāni. Timur is said to have been influenced in his judgment by an old Mu'tazilite theologian of Khwarazmian origin, whose son was (later on?) Timur's personal imam (Taškö-prüzade, 1985, p. 43; cf. Ebn 'Arabšāh, p. 467). However, not being a scholar himself, Timur may have been ultimately rather impressed by Jorjāni's *nesba*, that is, his descent from the Prophet (Tašköprüzade, 1985, p. 43). The questions discussed continued to instigate the ambition of later experts, especially in the Ottoman Empire (cf. Tašköprüzade's *Masālek al-ḳalāṣ fi mahālek al-ḳawāṣṣ* or his *Moḥākama bayna Sa'd-al-Din wa al-Sayyed al-Šarif*, GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 561, nos. 17 and 19; for further texts see Gümüš in IA2 VIII, p. 135b).

Jorjāni never dissimulated his respect for Taftāzāni who was almost twenty years older. In 1379, having just established himself in Shiraz, Jorjāni published his notes to the *Moṭawwal*—the “long” commentary of Sakkāki, which Taftāzāni had written in 1347, at the age of 26 (Sellheim, I, p. 312). Jorjāni also wrote a commentary of his own to Sakkāki's *Meftāḥ al-'olum*, but this work, entitled *al-Meṣbāḥ*, did not come out until after Taftāzāni's death in 1401-02 and after Jorjāni had finished collecting all his materials in Šawwāl 803/May 1401 (Monzavi and Dānešpažuh, II, p. 416; Sellheim, I, p. 308). Most of Jorjāni's large works seem to have been finished in Samarqand, for example, his famous commentary to Ijī's *Mawāqef*, which belongs to the year 1404 (van Ess, p. 270). Yet Jorjāni does not seem to have been happy in Samarqand (cf. his remark in the preface to *al-Meṣbāḥ* mentioned in Tašköprüzade, 1985, p. 44). The decisive debate with Taftāzāni apparently focused on the beginning of sura 2 (verses 2-5)—a passage that could be understood as supporting illuminative knowledge vs. rational theology (Laknawi, p. 128). In the long run, Jorjāni seems to have established contacts with Sufi masters, first with K̄vāja 'Alā'-al-Din 'Aṭṭār, who had come to Samarqand and died there in 1400 (cf. IA2 II, pp. 319 f.) and then with the latter's disciple Nežām-al-Din K̄amuš. This is why he is claimed by the later Naqšbandi tradition (Šafi-Kāšefi, pp. 106 ff., Ar. tr., pp. 87 ff.). Sufis who were affiliated to this brotherhood, like Ebrāhim Šāši, also came to study with him at the madrasa which Timur had founded in



Samarqand (Şafi-Kāšefi, p. 216, Ar. tr. p. 165). The town was full of deported scholars (the Qur'ān specialist Ebn al-Jazari being one of them; cf. the list in Ebn 'Arabšāh, p. 467), and for a short moment it seemed to be the hub of the world. Jorjāni certainly witnessed the Mamluk delegation sent by Faraj b. Barquq (r. 1399-1405 and 1405-07), as well as the embassy of Clavijo (d. 1412, q.v.) who visited the “world-conqueror” in 1404.

Nevertheless, like many other deportees, Jorjāni left Samarqand immediately after Timur's death on 17 Ša-bān 807/18 February 1405 and returned to Shiraz (Ebn 'Arabšāh, p. 440). His family seems to have still lived there, and he found other Sufis to consult, especially Ne'mat-Allāh Kermāni (d. 1430-31), but little is known about this period of his life. In 1407 Jorjāni finished one of his astronomical works there (see list of works below, L a). Close to the Old Mosque, apparently on the ground of the madrasa, he built himself a tomb (Saḳāwi, V, pp. 329-30), and shortly before his death he answered a religious questionnaire which Eskandar Solṭān b. 'Omar-Šayḳ (d. 1415, q.v.), Timur's grandson and ruler of Fārs since 815/1412, had sent to him (and also separately to Ne'mat-Allāh Kermāni; see below, O b).

Jorjāni died on 6 Rabi' II 816/7 July 1413. The less precise date of 1411-12, given by the Mamluk historian al-'Ayni in his *'Eqd al-jomān fi tārik ahl al-zamān* (which in principle is our oldest source), is ruled out by the fact that the aforementioned correspondence of Jorjāni with Eskandar Solṭān b. 'Omar-Šayḳ took place in 1412-13 (Taşköprüzade, 1968, I, p. 208).

Like Taftāzāni, Jorjāni excelled as a scholar less by his originality than by his didactic skill. His works reflect the educational program of his time. Since he had difficulties to make a career (he was not born into a madrasa like many of his colleagues of earlier and more peaceful generations), he seems to have kept the notes of his courses and disputations in order to present them as a kind of diploma whenever he applied for a job (Kvānsāri, V, p. 303); later on he would make them available to public. This is why most of his works have the form of commentaries and glosses. He is said to have disliked the books which were so clear that they could not offer him any opportunity to explain something (Taşköprüzade, 1985, p. 19). Since he worked in different places and at different institutions, he had to teach on the basis of the texts which were available there and which corresponded to the local intellectual climate; this explains why he approached the same subject from different angles, by way of contrasting handbooks. Yet, he always respected the tradition; most of the school texts commented by him had been in use for generations. The



“progressive” side of his program consisted of the “new” logic and an advanced disputational training. The collapse of the urban societies in Persia due to the political circumstances resulted in his having students from different social classes; some of them were poor and spoke only their native language. This is why some of Jorjāni’s primary texts are composed in Persian. The great number of grammatical works also suggests that he had to teach Arabic to the administrative staff at Timur’s court. His own command of the Arabic language was a matter of praise by the Yemeni scholar Šawkāni, who considered Jorjāni’s style as being less clumsy than what would usually be expected from an Iranian (*‘ajami*), obviously because of Jorjāni’s long stay in Egypt (Šawkāni, I, p. 489).

Mobility was nothing new for an Islamic scholar, but in Persia during Jorjāni’s time a career could only be made under the protection of a prince. By going to Egypt Jorjāni followed a trend which had come up two or three generations before, when central and western Persia had come under the domination of nomad dynasties which did not care much for urban civilization (Petry, pp. 61 ff.). He then tried to make himself known as an all-round expert, by advertising himself in the old disciplines of the religious syllabus (including mathematics and astronomy which were important in some legal issues and for the determination of the *qebla* direction), as well as for the new “meta-sciences” (*adab al-baḥt*, *‘elm al-waḥ*) which had become a favorite playground of late scholasticism.

Sometimes Jorjāni encountered criticism from experts, e.g., from Musā b. Moḥammad b. Maḥmud Qāzizāda-ye Rumi (1360-1437), who was one of his students and then concentrated on mathematics (Taşköprüzade, 1985, p. 16). But there were topics which Jorjāni never touched: ethics, for instance, in contrast to Naşir-al-Din Ṭusi (1201-74, q.v.); or astrology, in contrast to Faḫr-al-Din Rāzi (1150-1210, q.v.) and in spite of the fact that Timur appears to have favored it. In theology, he commented upon Sunnite as well as Shi’ite and on Mu’tazilite as well as Ash’arite works. The only commitment he did keep was in law, to the Hanafite *madḥab*. But even there his personal predilection may have gradually shifted from jurisprudence to Sufism. In this respect, he was an “ecumenical” type; he responded to the religious pluralism that prevailed in Persia up to the Safavid period.

Some of Jorjāni’s commentaries deal only with the beginning of the original text; the course did not get any further. On the other hand, digressions that originally formed a part of one of his commentaries were later on published



by him as separate treatises (cf. below G, e and I, f). Many of his books are of small size, kinds of concise manuals, apt for memorizing, but they fitted their didactic purpose (like those of Moṣannefak, the “little Moṣannef,” an Iranian scholar of the next generation who owed his nickname to this kind of production), and they were used for centuries, not only in the Timurid educational system, but even more so in the Ottoman Empire and in India. There is no comprehensive study of his oeuvre. The list of works given below is of preliminary character; *GAL* is neither complete nor entirely reliable. Jorjāni may sometimes be confused with later members of his family, and the same work may appear under different titles. The new catalogues which appeared after *GAL* have to be consulted, especially those of the Iranian collections.

Among Jorjāni's students one can mention the historian Ebn 'Arabšāh (1389-1450, q.v.), the Ottoman mufti Faḡr-al-Din 'Ajami (Taşköprüzade, 1985, pp. 59 ff.), a certain 'Ali 'Ajami (d. 1456) who became a teacher in Edirne and was then employed by Meḡmet (Moḡammad) II (r. 1444-46 and 1451-81) at his court in Constantinople (Taşköprüzade, pp. 101 f.), the religious scholar 'Alā'-al-Din 'Ali b. Musā Rumi who remained the last living witness of Jorjāni's disputations with Taftāzāni (Taşköprüzade, 1985, p. 47; cf. Saḡāwi, V, p. 329, and *GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 137, no. 17, S II, p. 139, no. 19), the mathematician Qāzizāda-ye Rumi (Taşköprüzade, 1985, pp. 14 ff. and *GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 275 S I, p. 865), the two Shafī'ite jurists 'Afif-al-Din Moḡammad b. 'Abd-al-Raḡim Jerehi (d. 1435-36; cf. Saḡāwi, VIII, pp. 50 f., no. 57) and Abu'l-Fotuḡ Aḡmad b. 'Abd-Allāh Ṭāwusi (b. ca. 1388, d. ca. 1466; cf. Saḡāwi, I, pp. 360 f.), both of whom lived in Shiraz and were quoted, by way of their *maşyakaş*, as witnesses for Jorjāni's correct date of death.

Jorjāni's courses seem to have been taken over by members of his family. Reports about that, however, are obfuscated by denominational prejudice. Jorjāni himself, coming from an Alid background, seems to have had Shi'ite leanings originally, which he gave up only when he had to teach in Shiraz (Jāmi, p. 389, followed by Şafi-Kāşefi, pp. 106 and 88). Late Shi'ite sources (Şuštari, II, pp. 220 f.; K̄vānsāri, V, p. 305) mention a son of Jorjāni, named Şams-al-Din Moḡammad, who was a committed Shi'ite. In contrast to this, Sunnite authors also mention a son of Jorjāni by the name of Nur-al-Din Moḡammad (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 271, S II, p. 294). Both persons may be identical; at least they are both said to have completed their father's gloss to Astarābādi's *Şarḡ al-motawasset* (see below N, b), and to have translated the two logical



treatises originally written in Persian (see below H f-g). But a better solution might be to assume that Jorjāni had two families, one in Shiraz and the other in Samarqand. Saḳāwi mentions a son of Jorjāni by the name of Šams-al-Din Moḥammad, who had a post in Samarqand at the same madrasa where Jorjāni himself had been teaching. He was the one who completed the father's gloss to the *Hedāya* (see below, C b), and Ebn 'Arabšāh studied with both the father and the son alike (Saḳāwi, IX, p. 22, no. 62; cf. Idem, II, p. 127). Nur-al-Din, on the contrary, may have lived in Shiraz where the family retained their influence at the hospital (*dār al-šefā*). He had the nickname (*laqab*) Šams-al-Ma'āli (Matvievskaia and Rozenfel'd, II, pp. 476, no. 424a) and may be identical with the son mentioned by Saḳāwi (V, p. 330) in the biography of the father—the one who died at the early age of less than forty years in 1434 and was buried next to his father in Shiraz (cf. *GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 271). The same date of death is, however, also connected with Šams-al-Din, erroneously as it seems (Kvānsāri, V, p. 305; Dehḳodā, XI, p. 328). Brockelmann ascribes one of the Arabic versions of the logical treatises not to the son but to a grandson called Moḥammad (*GAL* S II, p. 306, no. 35a), and he also mentions a great-grandson named Šams-al-Din Moḥammad Ḥosayni (*GAL* S I, p. 840) who, by the similarity of his name, may have contributed to the confusion created in the Safavid texts. He was the person whom Saḳāwi met at Mecca in 1481 and from whom he got a list of Jor-jāni's writings, which has been used in most of the later sources (Saḳāwi, V, pp. 328 and 329). He was, however, a member of the Ebn 'Arabšāh family and was related to Jorjāni through maternal line only (Saḳāwi, VII, p. 210, no. 516; cf. Idem, II, pp. 126 ff.). He was born in Shiraz, but since his father, Ja'far b. 'Ali, had the same mixed genealogy as himself, both families seem to have intermarried already in Samarqand. Saḳāwi noted that the son did not remember Jorjāni's name correctly.

Another late descendant of Jorjāni, by the name of Šarif-al-Din 'Ali Šadr, was killed in the battle of Čālderān (q.v.) in 1514, when he fought on the Persian side against the Ottomans (Navā'i, pp. 227 f.; quoted as Sayyed Šarif Širāzi by Savory, pp. 103 f.). He had the title Amir (Mir), like his brother Ḥabib-Allāh who was a judge (*qāzi*) in Shiraz (Navā'i, pp. 245 f.). Jorjāni's library still existed at that time, for we hear that it was looted later on under Shah Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524-76, q.v.), when its owner, a descendant of Šarif-al-Din by the name of Mirzā Maḳdum b. Mo'in-al-Din Ašraf, who also had Ne'mat-Allāh Ker-māni among his ancestors, was thrown into jail because of his Sunnite convictions. He was set free when Ṭah-māsp I's successor Esmā'il II (r. 1576-78) initiated a Sunnite reaction and invited him to his court, but after Esmā'il II's



assassination in 1578 he had to take refuge in Istanbul where he dedicated two books to Morād III (r. 1574-95), one of them entitled *al-Nawāqēz le-bonyān al-rawāfēz* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, pp. 586 f., S II, p. 658, where “al-Ḥasani” has probably to be changed to “al-Ḥosayni”; cf. Ḥājjī Kalifa, p. 823). The book (wrongly attributed to Jorjāni’s son Nur-al-Din in *GAL* S II, p. 294) was finished in 1580, and Mirzā Maḳḳum died in Mecca in 1587 (cf. Eberhard, pp. 47, 56 ff., 65 f., and 180 ff.). His son, Mir Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ḥosayni 'Arabšāhi Šarafi, who died rather early in 1568-69, had supported Ṭahmāsp I’s policy and was sponsored by the shah because of his scholarly proficiency. He wrote, among other things, a Qur’ānic commentary entitled *Tafsir-e Šāhi* (cf. Monzavi and Dāneš-pažuh, I, p. 60) and, like his ancestor, a commentary to Ijī’s *Adab al-baḥṭ* (Ṭehrāni, XIII, p. 54, no. 173; cf. also *GAL* S I, pp. 707 and 322). The *nesba* 'Arabšāhi shows that Mirzā Maḳḳum, in spite of living in Shiraz, ultimately belonged to the Samarqandi branch of the family. Two late descendants of his, Abu Jamil 'Abd-al-Karim (d. 1726) and his son, are mentioned in a manuscript of the British Library (Rieu, p. 465). 'Ešām-al-Din Ebrāhim b. Moḥammad b. 'Arabšāh Esfarā'eni (*GAL* S II, p. 571; cf. below H j) was probably also a distant relative of Jorjāni. The history of the family requires further research.

*Works*, arranged in order of disciplines:

A. Qur’ān:

a) *Tafsir al-Zahrāwayn* (suras “al-Baqara” and “Āl 'Emrān”), on the basis of Zamaḳšari’s *Kaššāf* (cf. Saḳāwi, V, p. 328; Ḥājjī Kalifa, p. 448); = *GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 346, S I, p. 508 no. 9?

b) *Ḥāšiya 'alā awā'el al-Kaššāf*, different from a) (cf. Šawkāni, I, p. 488) and not pursued beyond sura 2:25 (published in the margins of *Kaššāf*, Cairo 1948, vol. I; cf. Nowayhež, I, p. 381a).

c) *Ḥāšiya 'alā awā'el al-Bayzāwi* (Šawkāni, I, p. 488 = Saḳāwi, V, p. 329, followed by Ḥājjī Kalifa, p. 193?).

d) *Resāla fi al-āfāq wa al-anfos* (= Qur’ān 41:53); cf. Saḳāwi, V, p. 329.

e) *Tarjomān al-Qor’ān*, Persian dictionary of the Qur’ān (Storey, I, pp. 36 f.), put into alphabetical order (without consideration of the Arabic roots) by 'Adel b. 'Ali b. 'Adel al-Ḥāfež (9th/15th century?) and edited in this form by Moḥammad Dabir-Siāqi (Tehran, 1954).



f) *Tajwid al-Qor'ān*, in Persian (printed 1284/1905).

B. Rhetoric: For his entire life, Jorjāni taught rhetoric on the basis of Sakkāki's *Meftāḥ al-'olum*, the third part of which is dedicated to it.

a) *Hāšiya* to Taftāzāni's *Moṭawwal* which is a commentary to Qazwini's abridgment of this third part of Sakkāki's work, finished in 781/1379; *GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 354, S I, p. 516, no. 4a.

b) *Al-Meṣbāḥ*, Jorjāni's own commentary to part III (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 353, S I, p. 515, no. 5; Sellheim, I, p. 308) which continued to be used besides Taftāzāni's work (cf. Subtelny and Khalidov in *JAOS* 115 [1995], p. 226, no. 1.10) and attracted many supracommentaries (Sellheim, II, pp. 77 ff.). The Ottoman sultan Bayazid II (r. 1481-1512) allowed a prize to every scholar who treated this text (Ġazzi, I, p. 122).

c) The commentary to Iji's *Fawā'id al-Ġiāṭiya* attributed to Jorjāni (*GAL* S II, p. 292, no. IX 1b), but it is perhaps a work of his son Nur-al-Din (cf. Tašköprüzade, 1968, I, p. 213).

C. Jurisprudence:

a) Supracommentary to the *Weqāya* (= *Weqāyat al-rewāya fi masā'el al-Hedāya*, cf. Sellheim, I, pp. 115) of Borhān-al-šari'a Maḥmud al-Maḥbubi (d. ca. 690/1291), which is a commentary to Marġināni's *Hedāya* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329).

b) *Hawāši* to Marġināni's (d. 593/1197) *Hedāya* itself (Saḳāwi, p. 329). Jorjāni seems to have composed them when he taught in Samarqand, for they were finished after his death (or departure ?) by one of his sons who lived there (Saḳāwi, IX, p. 22, no. 62).

c) *Al-Šāfi fi al-feqh* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, no. 12).

d) A Commentary to the *Farā'eż Serājiya*, the Hanafite manual of law of succession written by Serāj-al-Din al-Sajāwandi (late 12th century; *GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, pp. 470 f., S I, p. 650, no. 5; Sellheim, I, p. 103). Also called *al-Hawāši al-šarifiya fi al-farā'eż* (*GAL* S I, p. 306, no. 37).

e) *Hawāši* to Našir-al-Din Ṭusi's *Jawāher al-farā'eż* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 670).

D. Hadith:



a) Commentary to Moḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Ḳaṭīb al-Tabrizi's *Meškāt al-maṣābiḥ*, composed in 737/1336, a revised edition of Baḡawi's (d. 1117) *Maṣābiḥ al-sonna* (GAL<sup>2</sup> I, p. 449, S I, p. 621 b). According to Laknawi (p. 131) simply an abridgment of Ṭibi's (d. 1343) commentary, with a few additions.

b) Epitome of Ṭibi's *Kolāṣa fi oṣul ma'refat al-ḥadiṯ* (GAL S II, p. 67).

c) *Moḳtaṣar fi oṣul al-ḥadiṯ* (GAL S II, p. 306, no. 10; ed. Fo'ād 'Abd-al-Mon'em Aḥmad, Mecca, 1403/1983) = *Moḳtaṣar jāme' le-ma'refat 'elm al-ḥadiṯ* (Quiring-Zoche, pp. 56 f., no. 56). Possibly commented upon by his son Moḥammad (GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, no. 10).

d) *Al-Dibāj al-modahhab fi moṣtalaḥ al-ḥadiṯ*, printed Cairo in 1931 with a commentary. Identical with c) or with a manuscript in Princeton (Mach, p. 51, no. 568?).

#### E. Theology:

a) Commentary to 'Azod-al-Din Ijī's (d. 1355) *Mawāqef fi 'elm al-kalām* (GAL<sup>2</sup> I, p. 269, no. 1, S I, pp. 289 f., no. 1a). Printed in Istanbul (1867-68), in India (1877), in Cairo (1907), etc.

b) *Ḥawāṣi* to Maḥmud Eṣfahāni's (d. 1348) commentary to Bayzāwi's *Ṭawāle' al-anwār* (GAL<sup>2</sup> I, p. 533, no. VI 2a).

c) *Ḥawāṣi* to Maḥmud Eṣfahāni's "old commentary" to Nāṣir-al-Din Ṭusi's *Tajrid al-'aqā'id* (GAL<sup>2</sup> I, pp. 670 f., S I, p. 926). Jorjāni leans heavily on a *Ḥāṣiya* written by Naṣir-al-Din 'Ali b. Moḥammad Kāṣi (d. 1373-74; cf. Monzavi and Dānešpažuh, III, p. 231, no. 178). Jorjāni's notes were used in the lowest type of *madrasa* founded in the Ottoman Empire by Meḥ-met (Moḥammad) II. The "new commentary" by 'Ali Qušči (d. 1474) did not yet exist.

d) *Ta'liqāt* to a few passages from Mayṭam al-Baḥrāni (d. 1300; cf. Ḳvānsāri, V, p. 301).

e) *Ketāb dalā'el al-e'jāz* (GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, no. 45).

f) *Resāla fi kalemāt Lā elāha ellā Allāh = Resālat al-tawḥid* (GAL S II, p. 306, no. 14).

g) *Resāla fi 'adam kawn af'āl Allāh mo'allalatan be al-aḡrāz* (GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, no. 46) = *Resāla fi al-ḡaraż wa al-ḡāya* (Mach, p. 267, no. 3118)?



h) *Resāla fi al-af'āl al-ektiāriya* (Mach, p. 215, no. 2510); mentioned without title in *GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, no. 14; identical with *Resālat al-qadar* (mentioned by Bagdatlı, p. 729)?

i) *Resāla dar oşul-e din*, in Persian (*GAL* S II, p. 306, no. 44).

j) *Resāla fi bayān al-ferqa al-nājiya*; Istanbul, MS. Fatih 5436/10.

#### F. Oşul works:

a) *Al-Tawziḥ* = *Ḥawāšī 'alā awā'el al-talwiḥ*, explanatory notes to the *Talwiḥ fi kaşf ḥaqā'eq al-tanqih* of Taftāzāni's commentary to Maḥbubi's (d. 1347) *Tanqih al-oşul* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 278c).

b) *Al-Ḥāšiya al-Şarifiya* = *Ḥawāšī* to the *Awā'el* of Ijī's commentary of Ibn al-Ḥājeb's (d. 1249) *Montahā (al-woşul elā 'elmay al-jadal wa al-oşul)* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 372, S I, p. 538, no. VIII 3b), published Cairo, 1973.

c) *Resālat al-tanāqoż*, a short note on a problem concerning inference by analogy; MS. Baghdad, Makt. al-Awqāf (Cat. Joburi II, p. 166, no. 2849).

#### G. New methodological sciences:

a) Commentary to Ijī's *Resāla fi adab al-baḥṭ* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 267, S II, p. 287 II, no. 1). The science of *adab al-baḥṭ* deals with the art of disputation and was established as an independent discipline in Samarqand, by Şams-al-Din Samarqandi (d. 1303; cf. L. B. Miller in *EI*<sup>2</sup> VIII, p. 1038).

b) *Al-Resāla al-Şarifiya fi qawā'ed al-baḥṭ* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 280, S II, p. 305, no. 7), identical with *Al-Ādāb al-şarifiya*, ed. 'Ali Moştafā Ğorābi (Cairo, 1949), a concise treatise on the terminology and rules of disputation, which was heavily used and commented upon in India.c

c) Commentary to Ijī's *Resāla waż'iya*, on semiotics (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 268, S II, p. 288 III, no. 1).

d) Gloss to the same text, different from c); cf. Mach, p. 293, nos. 3422-23.

e) *Al-Resāla al-ḥarfiya*, on the semantic function or the *modus significandi* (*waż'*) of the particle (*ḥarf*; *GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, S II, p. 309, no. 9). Cf. B. Weiss in *Arabica* 23, 1976, pp. 26 ff. The same text also in Jorjāni's *Ḥāšiya* to Taftāzāni's *Moṭawwal* (cf. Mach, pp. 295 f., no. 3444).



H. Logic:

a) *Al-Ḥāšiya al-šağira*, also called *Kuček* = Gloss to Qoṭb-al-Din Rāzi Taḥṭāni's commentary of the first part (= *al-Taṣawwurat*) of Najm-al-Din Kātebi's (d. 1276 ?) *Resāla šamsiya* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 612, S I, p. 845, no. 1a); printed in Istanbul (1844), Lucknow (1876), Tehran (1878), etc.

b) Gloss to Taḥṭāni's commentary of Ormawi's (d. 682/1283) *Maṭāle' al-anwār fi al-manṭeq* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 614, S I, p. 848, no. 2a).

c) Gloss to the *Lawāme' al-maṭāle'*, Ormawi's own commentary to his *Maṭāle'* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 614, no. 1).

d) Commentary to Abhari's (d. 1225) *Isāğūji* (*GAL* S I, p. 842 g).

e) *Ḥawāši* for a commentary to Abhari's *Hedāyat al-ḥekma* (only attested in Šawkāni, I, p. 488; confused with *GAL* S I, p. 840, no. 4a?).

f) *Ta'liq al-qiās* = note to *Analytica Priora* (Dānešpažuh, *Manṭeqiyāt* III, pp. 221 ff.).

g) *Resāla fi al-moğālaṭāt*; Princeton (Mach and Ormsby, p. 280, no. 1236).

h) *Jāme' al-moqaddemāt* (?); printed Tehran, 1868, etc.; identical with the *Kalām fi ektesāb al-moqaddemāt* (Dānešpažuh, *Manṭeqiyāt* III, pp. 266 ff.)?

i) *Al-Resāla al-kobrā fi al-manṭeq*; ed. Modarres Čahārdehi (Tehran, 1955).

j) *Al-Resāla al-šoğrā fi al-manṭeq*; ed. Moḥyi-al-Din Šabri Kordi (Cairo, 1910), in *Majmu'at al-rasā'el* (pp. 281-91, under the title *Al-Oṣul al-manṭeqiya*, and then in Cairo in 1917, together with Sohrawardi's *Hayākel al-nur*); ed. A. N. Nader, Beirut, 1983. Treatises i) and j) were originally written in Persian and then translated into Arabic; they were afterwards known as *al-Dorra* and *al-Ġorra* respectively (*GAL* S II, p. 306, nos. 35 and 35a). *Al-Resāla al-šoğrā* had originally been written by Jorjāni for his little son Moḥammad, obviously as a text which the boy had to learn by heart; Jorjāni's son later on also translated it into Persian. The same may have been true for *al-Resāla al-kobrā*, for it sometimes bears the title *Al-Resāla al-waladiya* (Mach, p. 279, no. 3258). There is, however, a second translation of it by 'Ešām-al-Din al-Esfarā'eni (d. 1537), a pupil of Jāmi (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, S II, p. 306, no. 8), in which *Al-Resāla al-waladiya* is treated as a separate work.



k) *Resāla fī al-tardīd al-enfeṣāli* (GAL S II, p. 306, no. 36), a short note (9 lines only) on disjunctive judgments.

#### I. Metaphysics:

a) *Hawāṣi* to Ṭusi's Commentary on Ebn Sinā's *Al-Eṣārāt wa al-tanbihāt* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329; Šawkāni, I, p. 477; GAL S I, p. 816).

b) *Hawāṣi* to Najm-al-Din Kātebi's commentary to his own *Ketāb ḥekmat al-'ayn* (GAL<sup>2</sup> I, pp. 613 f., S I, p. 847, no. 1a.7).

c) *Hawāṣi* to Sohrawardi's *Ḥekmat al-eṣrāq* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329, 16).

d) Commentary to Ebn Sinā's *Qaṣīdat al-naḳṣ?*; cf. Princeton (Mach and Ormsby, p. 212, no. 2482).

e) *Bayān tamṭīl al-mawjudāt be-al-aṣyā' al-nuriya* (GAL S II, p. 306, no. 41). f) *Resāla fī taḥqīq naḳṣ al-amr* (GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 280, no. 6). Probably inspired by a passage in Jorjāni's gloss to Ṭusi's *Tajrid* (cf. Flūgel, III, pp. 215 f.); edited by Recep Duran in *AÜDTCF Araştırma Dergisi* 14, 1992, p. 97 ff.

g) *Resāla fī taḥqīq al-wāqe'* (GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, no. 47); identical with f)?

h) *Resāla fī taḥqīq al-kolliyāt* (GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 280, S II, p. 305, no. 4). However, a work under the same or a similar title (*Resāla fī al-kolliyāt wa taḥqīqehā*) is also attributed to Taḥtāni (GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 271, no. 2).

i) *Al-Resāla al-mer'ātiya* = *Resāla fī taḥqīq al-'elm be wajh wa al-'elm be al-ṣay' men dāleka al-wajh*; Princeton (Mach, p. 280, no. 3261). Identical with h)? Note that the title *Al-Resāla al-mer'ātiya* seems to have been used for different works (cf. Joburi, Cat. Bagdad, Makt. al-Awqāf II, p. 270, nos. 3326-28 and III, p. 206, no. 5079).

j) *Resāla dar marāteb-e mowjudāt*, in Persian; translated into Arabic by Kamāl-al-Din Naysāburi in 1471 in Damascus under the title *Resāla fī taḥqīq al-mabāheṭ al-mowjudiya wa al-maqāṣed al-oṣuliya* (GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, no. 11; cf. Cat. Munich, p. 296, no. 659); edited by Recep Duran in *AÜDFD* 35, 1992, fasc. 2, pp. 61 ff. The Persian text is also available in Munich, Pers. Mss. (Cat., p. 20, no. 61); the Arabic version is also mentioned in GAL<sup>2</sup> II, p. 280, no. 5, but under the title *Marāteb al-mowjudāt*.

#### K. Mathematics:



a) *Ḥawāšī* to Euclid's *Elements* which he used in the "Recension" established by Naṣir-al-Din Ṭusi in *Taḥrīr oṣul al-handasa le-Oqlides* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329; for MSS see Matvievsckaya and Rozenfel'd, II, p. 476, M1). The *Taḥrīr* existed in two different versions (Youschkevitch, pp. 120 ff.; cf. Murdoch in *DSB* IV, pp. 453 f.).

b) *Ḥawāšī* to Šams-al-Din Samarqandi's (see above, G a)) *Aškāl al-ta'sis*, a treatise on 35 fundamental positions in the first book of Euclid's *Elements* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329, taken over [?] by Šawkāni, I, p. 488). The main commentary on this work was written by Jorjāni's disciple, Qāzizāda-ye Rumi (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 616, S I, p. 850; cf. L. B. Miller in *EI*<sup>2</sup> VIII, p. 1038). Matvievsckaya and Rozenfel'd also mention (II, p. 476, M2) Jorjāni's commentary on Sajāwandi's manual of law of succession (C d)) under "mathematics."

#### L. Astronomy:

a) Commentary to Naṣir-al-Din Ṭusi's *Tadkera fi 'elm al-hay'a* (*GAL* I, p. 675, S I, p. 931, no. 40c; Matvievsckaya and Rozenfel'd, II, p. 476, A1), completed in 1409 in Shiraz (Ragep, I, p. 62).

b) Commentary to Čaḡmini's (d. 1345 ?) *Molaḳkaṣ fi al-hay'a* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 624, S I, p. 865, no. 2; Matvievsckaya and Rozenfel'd, II, p. 476, A2).

#### M. Optics (?):

*Resāla fi bayān nesbat al-bašira elā modrakātehā* (*GAL* S II, p. 306, no. 34).

#### N. Grammar.

a) *Ḥawāšī* to Rażi-al-Din Astarābādi's (d. 1287) commentary of Ebn al-Ḥājeb's *Kāfiya* on syntax (cf. *GAL* S I, p. 532, no. 5).

b) *Ḥawāšī* to Rokn-al-Din Astarābādi's (d. 1315 ?) "Middle Commentary" (*al-Šarḥ al-motawasset*) of the same work (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 368, S I, p. 532, no. 8b). Incomplete, finished by Jorjāni's son Moḡammad.

c) *Ḥawāšī* to Kaḳbiši's (d. 1398) commentary (*al-Mowaš-šah*) of the same work (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 368).

d) *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*, in Persian; printed in Calcutta in 1862. The work was called *Gipāyi*, allegedly because Jorjāni had once taught Arabic grammar to the son of a cook on the basis of the *Kāfiya*, and the cook, by way of remuneration, every day offered to Jorjāni a *gipā* (a popular dish made of rice stuffed into a mutton



paunch; Monzavi and Dānešpažuh, III/4, p. 2302).

e) *Ḥawāši* to Rażi-al-Din Astarābādi's *Šāfiya*, on morphology (*GAL* S I, p. 535).

f) Commentary to 'Abd-al-Qāhir Jorjāni's (d. 1078) *Ketāb al-'awāmel al-me'a* (= *E'rāb al-'awāmel*; *GAL* S I, p. 504, no. 17); printed in Tehran in 1891.

g) *Šarḥ Noqrakār* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329, 15). Commentary to Noqrakār's (d. 1374) commentary of Abarquhi's (late 7/13th century) *Lobb al-albāb fi 'elm al-e'rāb* ? (Sellheim, I, pp. 251, 273, and 278 ff.).

h) Commentary to 'Ezz-al-Din Zanjāni's (d. 1262) *Mabāde' al-taṣrif* (= *al-Taṣrif al-Ezzi*; *GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 336, S I, p. 498, no. 2a).

i) *Šarf-i Mir*, in Persian (known as *Bedān* after its introductory formula *fa-a'lam*) = *Taṣrif al-Sayyed al-Šarif* (*GAL* S II, p. 306, no. 38; Storey, III, pp. 156 f.). Printed in India many times.

j) *Naḥw-i Mir*, in Persian (*GAL* S II, p. 306, no. 39; Storey, III, pp. 157 f., no. 2).

k) Adapted version (*ta'liqa*) of Abu Naṣr Mas'ud b. Abi Bakr Farāhi's (d. 1243 ?) *Neṣāb al-šebyān* (= *al-Neṣāb fi loġat al-'ajam*), an Arabic-Persian vocabulary in verse (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329; Ḥājjī Ḳalifa, p. 1954; cf. *GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 246, S II, p. 258).

#### O. Miscellanea:

a) *Resāla dar mo'ammā*, in Persian; MS Columbia University, OR 300 (Cat. p. 34, no. 39; cf. Shams Anwari-Alhosseyni, *Loġaz und Mo'ammā*, Berlin, 1986, pp. 57 and 259). Persian sources also speak of a "big book" on this subject, apparently in Arabic (Ḳvānsāri, V, p. 301; Dehḳodā, XI, p. 323c no. 4) = *Al-Alfiya fi al-mo'ammā wa al-alġāz* (Bagdatlı, p. 728).

b) Answers to some questions concerning popular religion asked by Eskandar b. 'Omar-Šayḳ, in Persian; MSS in Monzavi and Dānešpažuh, III/1, p. 193 no. 128 and p. 266, no. 225; summary in Ḳvānsāri, V, p. 306; cf. Aubin, pp. 78 f. The Timurid Eskandar is confused by Saḳāwi (V, p. 329) with a homonymous Qarā Qoyunlu ruler (r. 1420-38) and therefore erroneously located in Tabriz.

c) A commentary to Ka'b b. Zohayr's *Borda* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329).

d) A commentary on the *Ḳoṭbat al-bayān* attributed to 'Ali, probably apocryphal (Monzavi and Dānešpažuh, II, p. 114; cf. MS Najaf 1031 in *Torātonā* 21, 2005,



nos. 81-82, p. 199).

e) Occasional poetry (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 281, no. 15; a few Persian verses mentioned in *Ḳvānsāri*, V, p. 307).

f) *Resāla fi al-ṣawt* (Saḳāwi, V, p. 329).

g) H. G. Farmer, in his preface to Manubi's French translation of Mobārakšāh's (see above) commentary of Ormawi's (d. 1294) *Ketāb al-adwār*, tentatively attributed the text to Jorjāni instead (cf. R. d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, vol. III, Paris, 1938 p. xiii). He repeated this in his *The Sources of Arabian Music* (Leiden, 1965, p. 58, no. 295), and it was taken over in *GAL*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 653. However, he does not give any reasons, and the text is clearly called *Šarḥ Mawlānā Mobārakšāh* (cf. *GAL* S I, p. 907; Matvievskaia and Rozenfel'd II, p. 464, no. 416b; and Neubauer in *EI*<sup>2</sup> VIII, p. 806b, s. v. Šafi-al-Din).

P. Encyclopedic works:

a) *Maqālid al-'olum fi al-ḥodud wa al-rosum*, a "pocket encyclopedia of 21 sciences" (Farmer, p. 58, no. 296; *GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 280, no. 3).

b) *Resāla fi taqsim al-'olum/al-'elm* (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 280, no. 1; Mach, p. 280, no. 3262; Ormsby and Mach, p. 268, no. 1175).

Q. Reference Works:

a) *Ketāb al-ta'rifāt*, dictionary of the technical terms used in the madrasa-disciplines (*GAL*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 280, S II, p. 305, no. 2; ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1845; repr. Beirut, 1969, Tunis, 1971; tr. M. Gloton, Teheran, 1994; source analysis by J. L. Janssens in *BPhM* 39, 1997, pp. 131 ff.).

b) *Eṣṭelāḥāt al-šayḳ Moḥyi-al-Din Ebn al-'Arabi* (*GAL* S II, p. 306, no. 32); ed. Flügel (together with a)), pp. 283-98. Identical with *Eṣṭelāḥāt al-Šufiyya* (Cairo, 1866 and 1938)? The work is sometimes said to be written by Ebn al-'Arabi himself; the *Ta'rifāt* also contains mystical terms.

R. Mysticism:

a) *Ta'liqa* to 'Omar Sohrawardi's *'Awāref al-ma'āref* (Ḥājji Ḳalifa, p. 1177).

b) *Resāla-ye šowqiya*, in Persian; MS Istanbul, Esad Efendi 1755/4.



c) *Resāla fi al-wojud 'alā aṣl al-ṣufiyya* (Laknawi, p. 130). Apparently identical with the *Resāla-ye Hast o nist* mentioned by Saḳāwi (V, p. 329) and printed in Tehran in 1903 (cf. Monzavi and Dānešpažuh, III/1, pp. 514 f., no. 577).

d) Ḥājji Kalifa states (p. 851) that Jorjāni participated in the composition of the *Resāla-ye Bahā'īya*. Saḳāwi mentions (V, p. 329) a treatise of Jorjāni entitled *Fi manāqeb al-ḳvāja Bahā'-al-Din al-molaqqab be Naqš-band*, but the Naqšbandi sources do not say anything about this (cf. Paul, pp. 5 ff.). They hint, however, at the fact that Jorjāni was approached by Bahā'-al-Din's disciples for historical advice (Ṣafi-Kāšefi, p. 5 [Pers.], p. 14 [Ar.] with regard to the chronology of Ja'far al-Ṣādeq); he may therefore have contributed some scholarly or stylistic assistance. He does not seem to have met Bahā'-al-Din personally (who died already in 1389, and in Bokārā at that; cf. H. Algar in *EIr* III, p. 434).

e) Two letters addressed to 'Alā'-al-Din 'Aṭṭār (Ṣafi-Kāšefi, pp. 107 and 88).]

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources: Aḥmad b. 'Ali b. Ḥajar 'Asqa-lāni, *al-Dorar al-kāmena fi a'yān al-me'a al-tāmena*, ed. M. S. Jādd-al-Ḥaqq, 5 vols., Cairo, 1966.

İsmail Paṣāa Bagdatlı, *Hadiyat al-'ārefin: asmā' al-mo'allefin wa ātār al-mošannefin*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1951-55, pp. 728 f.

Moḥammad b. 'Ali Dāwudi, *Ṭabaqāt al-mofasserin*, ed. 'A. M. 'Omar, 2 vols., Cairo, 1972; vol. I, no. 371, pp. 428 ff.

Ebn 'Arabšāh, *Ajā'eb al-maqdur fi nawā'eb Teymur*, ed. F. al-Ḥemṣi, Beirut, 1986.

Ebn Qāzi Šohba, *Ta'rikò*, ed. 'A. Darviš, 3 vols., Damascus, 1994.

Najm-al-Din Moḥammad Ġazzi, *Al-Kawākeb al-sā'era be a'yān al-me'a al-'āšera*, ed. J. S. Jabbur, 3 vols., 2nd ed., Beirut, 1979.



Ḥājjī Ḳalīfa, *Kašf al-ḡonun 'an asāmi al-kotob wa al-fonun*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1941.

'Abd-al-Raḥmān Jāmi, *Nafahāt al-ons men ḥaḡarāt al-qods*, ed. M. Towḥīdipur, Tehran, 1958, p. 389.

'Abd-al-Majīd b. Moḡammad Ḳāni, *al-Hadā'eq al-wardiya*, [Damascus], 1890-91, p. 149.

Ġiāt-al-Dīn Moḡammad b. Homām-al-Dīn Ḳvāndamīr, *Tāriḡ-e ḡabīb al-siar fī aḡbār-e afrād-e bašar*, ed. J. Homā'i, 4 vols., Tehran, 1945.

Moḡammad-Bāḡer Ḳvānsāri, *Rawḡāt al-jannāt fī aḡwāl al-'olamā' wa al-sādāt: zendegāni-e mašāhir wa dānešmandān-e Eslāmi az šadr-e Eslām tā zamān-e mo'allef*, 8 vols., Qom, 1970-72; vol. V, no. 522, pp. 300 ff.

Moḡammad b. 'Abd-al-Ḥayy Laknawī, *al-Fawā'ed al-baḡiya fī tarājem al-ḡanafiya*, ed. M. B. A. al-Na-'sāni al-Ḥalabī, Cairo, 1906, pp. 125 ff.

Moḡammad b. Ḳāvandšāḡ Mirḡvānd, *Rawḡāt al-šafā'*, 10 vols., Tehran, 1960.

Moḡammad-'Alī Modarres, *Reyḡānat al-adab fī tarājem al-ma'rufīn be al-konya wa laḡab yā konā wa alqāb*, 4th ed., 8 vols. in 4, Tehran, 1995, vol. II, no. 646, pp. 322 ff.

Faḡr-al-Dīn 'Alī Šafī-Kāšefī, *Rašahāt 'ayn al-ḡayāt*, lithogr. ed., Lucknow, 1897; Ar. tr. by M. M. al-Qāzāni al-Manzalāwi, Cairo, 1883.

Moḡammad b. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān Saḡāwi, *Al-Žaw' al-lāme' le-ahl al-qarn al-tāse'*, ed. Ḥosām-al-Dīn al-Qodsi, 12 vols., Cairo, 1934-36; vol. V, no. 1078, pp. 328 ff.

Moḡammad b. 'Alī Šawkāni, *Al-Badr al-ḡale' be maḡāsen man ba'd al-qarn al-sābe'*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1929-30; vol. I, no. 237, pp. 488 ff.

Abu'l-Faḡl Soyūḡī, *Boḡyat al-wo'āt fī ḡabaḡāt al-loḡawīyyīn wa al-noḡāt*, ed. M. A. Ebrāḡīm, 2 vols., Cairo, 1964; vol. II, no. 1777, pp. 196 f.

Nur-Allāḡ Aḡmad Šuštari, *Majāles al-mo'menin*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1955-56; vol. II, pp. 217 ff.

Tāj-al-Dīn Aḡmad Vazīr, *Bayāž-e Tāj-al-Dīn Aḡmad Vazīr*, ed. I. Afšār and M. Teymuri, Isfahan, 1974.



Aḡ-mad b. Moṣṭafā Taṣkōprüzade (Tāṣkopruzāda), *Meftāḥ al-sa'āda wa meṣbāḥ al-seyāda fī mowzu'āt al-'olum*, ed. K. Bakri and 'A. Abu'l-Nur, 3 vols., Cairo, 1968.

Idem, *Al-Šaqā'eq al-no'māniya fī 'olamā' al-dawla al-'Oṭmāniya*, ed. A. Şobḥi Forāt, Istanbul, 1985.

Āqā Bozorg Ṭehrāni, *Al-Dari'a elā taṣānif al-šī'a*, 24 vols. in 27, Najaf and Tehran, 1936-78.

Şaraf-al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafar-nāma*, ed. A. Urunbaev, facs. ed., Tashkent, 1972.

*Studies*. J. Aubin, "Le mécénat timouride à Chiraz," *Stud. Isl.* 8, 1957, pp. 71-88.

M. Balivet, *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans Ottomans. Vie du Cheikh Bedreddin, le "hallāj des Turcs"*, Istanbul, 1995, p. 43.

M. Bayram, "The Library of Sadr-al-Din Qunavī and Its Books," in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts*, ed. J. Pfeiffer and M. Kropp, Beirut, 2007, pp. 177-83.

H. Daiber, *of Islamic Philosophy*, 3 vols., Leiden, 1999-2007; vol. II, p. 103.

S. Denoix, "Sa'īd al-Su'adā'," *EI* <sup>2</sup> VIII, 1995, p. 865.

E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg, 1970.

G. Flügel, *Katalog der arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlichen-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 3 vols., Vienna, 1865-67.

Sadreddin Gümüş, "Seyyid Şerīf Cürcānī ve Arap Dilindeki Yeri," Ph.D. diss., Istanbul University, 1984.

Idem, "Cürcānī," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islām Ansiklopedisi* VIII, 1993, pp. 134-36.

A. D. Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition*, Albany, N.Y., 1999, pp. 143 f.

R. Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library*, Princeton, 1977.



R. Mach and E. Ormsby, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (New Series) in the Princeton University Library*, Princeton, 1987.

W. Madelung, "Al-Taftāzānī, Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh," *EI* 2 X, 2000, pp. 88-89.

G. P. Matvievskaia and B. A. Rozenfel'd, *Matematiki i astronomy musul'manskogo srednevekov'ya i ikh trudy* (Mathematicians and astronomers of Islamic Middle Ages and their works), 3 vols., Moscow, 1983; vol. II, no. 424, pp. 475 f.

'Ali-Naqi Monzavi and Moḥammad-Taqi Dānešpažuh, *Fehrest-e ketābkāna-ye ehdā'i-e Moḥammad Meškāt*, 3 vols., Tehran, 1951-56.

'Abd-al-Ḥosayn Navā'i, *Rejāl-e ketāb-e Ḥabīb al-siar az ḥamla-ye moḡol tā marg-e Šāh Esmā'il-e awwal*, Tehran, 1945, pp. 69 f.

'Adel Noweyhiž, *Mo'jam al-mofasserin men šadr al-islām ḥattā al-'ašr al-ḥāzer*, 2 vols., Beirut, 1984; vol. I, pp. 380 f.

J. Paul, *Doctrine and Organization. The Khwājagān/Naqshbandiya in the First Generation after Bahāḍuddin*, Halle and Berlin, 1998.

C. F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1981.

R. Quiring-Zoche, *Arabische Handschriften*, pt. 5, Stuttgart, 2000. F. J. Ragep, ed., *Našīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy*, 2 vols., New York, 1993.

G. Rex Smith, "Al-Birrah fi hubb al-hirrah," in *Arabian and Islamic Studies Presented to R. B. Serjeant on the Occasion of his Retirement from the Sir Thomas Adam's Chair of Arabic at the University of Cambridge*, ed. R. Bidwell and G. R. Smith, London, 1983, pp. 134-45.

Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1894.

Moḥammad-Ḥosayn Ruḥāni, "Jorjāni, Sayyed Šarīf-al-Dīn," *Dā'erat al-ma'āref-e tašayyo'* V, 1996, pp. 332-33.

R. M. Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Safavid State," *BSOAS* 23, 1960, pp. 91-105.



R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1976-87. H. Shushud, *Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia*, Oxford, 1983, pp. 70 and 77.

A. S. Tritton, "Al-Djurdjānī, 'Ali b. Muḥammad," *EI*<sup>2</sup> II, 1965, pp. 602-3.

A. Youschkevitch, *Les mathématiques arabes*, Paris, 1976.

Muhammad Halil Yınanç, *İcazetnâmeler ve Seyyid Şerîf Cürcânî*, Istanbul, 1944.

For Jorjānī's role in the curriculum of Ottoman, Safavid, and Indian madrasas cf. F. Robinson, "Ottomans–Safavids–Mughals. Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, 1997, pp. 151 ff.; also Sh. Ahmed and N. Filipovic, "The Sultan's Syllabus. A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses," *Stud. Isl.* 98-99, 2004, pp. 183-218.