

The Reproduction and Circulation of Knowledge in Islamic Civilization: An Example from Fifteenth-Century Samarqand^{*}

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Abstract: “History begins with writing,” because writing is the most important and reliable tool for transmitting knowledge to future generations. It has made use of various materials for this very purpose for centuries and one of these materials is paper. The transmission of paper to the Islamic world and its subsequent vast production allowed books to become widespread and made paper the most important medium for written transmissions. We do not have a great deal of first-hand information on how books were prepared other than the compilation process which we know due to the presence of some compilers’ anecdotes regarding the characteristics of the compilation which is an aspect of its meaning. However, producing a book as a commodity is just as important as compilation in the sense of reproduction and circulation of knowledge. This article introduces the accounts of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Tirmidhi, a copyist who was fully engaged in the copying stage of book production. The intellectual and scientific life of the period will be discussed based on his list, which was recorded on the last page of a copy of the *Mathnawī* written in Samarqand in 1417. Several questions will also be raised for future studies.

Keywords: ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Tirmidhi, manuscript, copy, copyist, Samarqand, Ulugh Beg.

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In his famous work *al-Maṭālib al-ilāhiyya fī mawdū‘at al-‘ulūm al-lughawiyya*, Molla Luṭfi of Tokat, a remarkable scholar who lived during the reigns of Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446 and 1451-1481) and Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512), clarifies the transmission process of the verbal expression to the written text with the help of two major concepts, namely, *mukhātab* and *ghāib*, following the mainstream view in Islamic intellectual history. While verbal expression is eligible for *mukhātab* (present), written text is more suitable for *ghayr-i maḥṣūs* (non-sensible), *ghāib* (non-present), *mukhayyal* (imaginary), or *ma’qūl* (intelligible). *Ghāib* is also divided into the horizontal and vertical planes: the people with whom one may share the same time and place and those with whom one do not (i.e., the future generations), respectively. In this frame, the act of writing seeks to transmit knowledge and thought to both *ghāibs*.¹ By relating the text and its structures to the theory that he sets up for the discipline of *wad'*, Molla Luṭfi evaluates all linguistic branches and literary arts. As a result, all of the procedures formed around the act of writing soon come to rely on the request of notification (*i'lām*) and information (*isti'lām*).

In terms of the history of sciences, -either in Islamic civilization or humanity in general-, this frame of Molla Luṭfi can be considered the fundamental reason for creating a book (i.e. the written text), that means recording of knowledge for the *ghāib* (non-present) and making it an object of both horizontal and vertical transmission. As a result, through the process of embodying the written text in Islamic civilization, the emergence of paper and other book-related crafts made knowledge an indispensable value in both material and spiritual terms. In other words, the introduction of paper and the emergence of the book and crafts related to the written text endowed the act of writing and its components with economic and financial value. Due to the subsequent transmission and circulation procedures, knowledge production became a scientific and literary activity in addition to its political, governmental, economic, technical, and esthetic aspects. As these points are very serious in terms of Islamic civilization, scholarly analyses of copying and transmitting books should be regarded as crucial to understanding the history of philosophy and sciences in the Islamic world.

¹ Tokath Hasanoğlu Lütfullah (Molla Luṭfi), *Dil Bilimlerin Sınıflandırılması (el-Metālib el-ilāhiyye fi mevzuuat el-‘ulūm el-lugavīyye)*, critical edition and research: Şükran Fazlıoğlu (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2012), 66-67 (in Arabic part: 214-215).

The book, as a representation of writing for this manuscript-based civilization, identifies the production and circulation of knowledge. Therefore, researching the continuity and prevalence of knowledge in the hand-written culture of Islamic civilization is a very important undertaking. Some special questions may arise in our general problematic: Who produced the books? How and why did they produce them? How did they direct the production process? What was the social status of those involved in this process? How did they create a book in line with the existing individual, institutional, religious, or political procedures? Then, how did it survive by reading and being transformed into financial and moral values? How did the methods of production and reading determine a book's form? What did "book" mean in the oral culture of that time? What were the relationships of booksellers, authors, copyists, owners, patrons, illuminators, and bookbinders to the books, given that they were the ones who formed its internal and external parts? Especially, how did readers accept and adopt a book?

Beside the problems on the production and writing process, those following questions are also important: What did "book reading" mean at different times and in the various regions of the Islamic world? What about the values of learning and teaching "the process of reading" and the positions of institutions in terms of reading and writing a special book? What kinds of relationships existed between producing and consuming a book? Were there specific places and times for reading? Did individual or collective reading styles/manners develop? What about the roles of libraries in this process and the value of records such as recitation (*al-qirā'a*), audition note (*simā'*), and collation (*al-muqābala*) in terms of a reading culture?

The number of questions derived from the works on the history of writing, books, reading, and other related issues can surely be increased.² However, we

2 Various contemporary works pay attention to the writing, books, reading culture, and circulation of knowledge in a specific city, region, country, or era, or by a person. Some important works are George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1981); Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Gregor Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written in Early Islam*, trans. Uwe Vagelpohl, ed. James E. Montgomery (London: Routledge, 2010); Gregor Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam from the Aural to the Read*, trans. Shawkat M. Toorawa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011); Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, trans. Geoffrey French (Princeton: Princeton University, 1984); Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Bayard Dodge, *Muslim Education in Medieval Times* (Washington, DC: The Middle East Institute, 1962); Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); and Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler, ed., *Manuscripts Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut; Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2011). Besides İsmail Erünsal's work on the topic, see a recently published work directly based upon the analysis of manuscripts: Berat Açıł, ed., *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Carullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları*, (Ankara: İlem Kitaplığı, 2014).

would like to answer such questions by presenting a striking example of a copying process that we found recently. As far as we know, these kinds of examples are very scarce in the history of Islamic civilization.³

I. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Tirmidhī and His Copying Activities

Niżām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr al-Khaṭīb al-Tirmidhī⁴ lists all of the books that he copied throughout his life, at the end of a manuscript of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, which he copied on 6 Jumādā II 820/21 July 1417 at Samarqand for a statesman whom we know nothing but his name: Sayyid Amīr Dāwūd ibn al-Amīr al-Mu'azzam Sayyid Amīr Muḥammad al-Samarqandi al-Darghamī⁵. According to the information provided at the beginning of the list, the copyist was sixty-six years old when he produced it. He started his career very early and by the age of seven had become a *ḥāfiẓ* (someone who has memorized the Qur'an). He studied some books on Arabic language, literature, and logic; learned calligraphy; and clearly stood out among his peers. Our copyist finished his statements by stressing that he had done this type of work for fifty-eight years, thereby indicating that he had been doing since he was just eight years old. He ended his list by asking God to help him to maintain the same activities for the rest of his life.

Before analyzing Niżām al-Dīn al-Tirmidhī's list, we should emphasize the following point: Afore writing this list, al-Tirmidhī copied al-Bayḍāwī's *Minhāj* and *Tavālī'* on 9 Ramaḍān 803/23 April 1401⁶. Because he was still copying in the later years of his life, his prayer must have been answered: Four years after writing the list, in Rajab 824/July 1421, he copied the section of *Asmā'* from Zamakhshari's *Muqaddima*, which deals with Arabic nouns⁷. Further research will help us determine if other manuscripts were recorded in al-Tirmidhī's list.

As his *nisba* (i.e., an adjective designating one's place of origin) indicates, Niżām al-Dīn must have been from Tirmidh. The reference to his father and grandfather in his *laqab* (i.e., epithet), such as *imām* and *khaṭīb*, shows that he was born into

³ Mustaqimzâda Suleymân Sa'd al-Din Efendi (d. 1202/1788) gives the names and numbers of books that a scribe copied in his work *Tuhfa-i Khaṭṭatîn* (Süleymaniye Library, Murad Molla 1448, pp. 28 in the margin). The manuscript is numbered in pages instead of folios.

⁴ Appendix 3 (Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, 299a).

⁵ Appendix 4 (Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, 1a—"frontispiece").

⁶ Qum-Mar'ashi Library, Ms 509.

⁷ Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 5274.

a family of scholars during 754/1353-54, taking the date of the list into consideration. Therefore, he must have experienced his best years during the Timurid era, which Timur had initiated in 771/1370. At this copyist's time, the Timurid Empire was being governed by Amir Timur's son Shāhrukh (820/1417), who had conquered Samarcand in 811/1409. During the year in which al-Tirmidhi wrote his list, Ulugh Beg, the grandson of Timur (and son of Shāhrukh), established the Madrasa of Ulugh Beg. In addition, the construction of Samarcand Observatory began in 827/1424⁸. In light of this data, al-Tirmidhi's copying activity took place primarily during the Timurid era around Turkistan and Iran, even though he had started a little bit earlier. Perhaps he undertook this activity to meet the needs of scholars and pupils at the *madrasas* located around Herat and Samarcand.

II. A Short Evaluation of al-Tirmidhī's Copying Activities

Al-Tirmidhi's list shows us how much one copyist could do in terms of transmitting knowledge and its influence. It also indicates this activity's economic value, as well as the density and depth of scientific activities in that region. According to the law of supply and demand, the production and acceptance of the books must fulfill a gap in the scientific environment as well as in the market. Of course, the techniques of calligraphy and the book's ornamentations and bindings indicate the depth of writing and reading activities, along with the background of the region in which they were produced. During fifty-eight years, al-Tirmidhi made 714 copies of sixty-eight different books mentioned in his list. We believe that these numbers provide a sufficient framework for what we have written up to now.⁹

In addition to these general conclusions on al-Tirmidhi's list, we also want to share some of our findings as regards the content so that scholars can evaluate the statistical data related to the branches of sciences, the number of manuscripts, and their compilation dates. They also can read and inspect this list from different perspectives.

It is noteworthy that the list contains many works from the post-Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) era, including thirty books written between 600/1204 and 750/1350, which were copied 217 times. Another noticeable point is that eleven books written between 700/1300 – 750/1350 were copied 109 times, perhaps

⁸ For further information, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "The Samarcand Mathematical-Astronomical School: A Basis for Ottoman Philosophy and Science", *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, XIV/1, 2 (2008): 3-68. For the Samarcand Observatory, see Aydin Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam*, 2d ed. (Ankara: TTK, 1988), 260 ff.

⁹ See Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2.

because they were compiled relatively shortly before the aforementioned period. They were also preferred probably due to the influence of Shanb-i Ghāzān and Rab‘-i Rashīdī in Tabriz.¹⁰ The list includes the common features of cultural basins in Islamic civilization along with local qualities. As an example, we can find commonly followed works such as Zamakhsharī’s (d. 538/1144) *Kashshāf*, al-Bayḍāwī’s (d. 685/1286) *Anwār* and *Tawālī*, Shams al-Dīn al-İsfahānī’s (d. 749/1349) *Maṭālī* (his commentary on *Tawālī*), and the commentary on *Shamsiyya* (on logic), all of which were circulating in various regions of the Islamic world. The list includes also some Sanskrit medical works translated into Persian.

If we examine the list closely, we can detect Ḥanafī *fiqh* works both in *uṣūl* and *furu‘*. Three books on *uṣūl* were copied 12 times, 5 books on *furu‘* were copied 28 times, and 2 books on *khilāf* were copied 5 times. Sufi works occupied 15 percent of the list, among them those by Farid al-Dīn al-‘Aṭṭār (d. 589/1221), al-Rūmī (d. 672/1273), Khwāja ‘Abdullah Harawī (d. 481/1089) and Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111).¹¹ Also mentioned are Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390) and al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), remarkable rivals who were that era’s predominant intellectuals. We can observe that the recent (or “updated”) works achieved a wide circulation and became goods of supply and demand in a very short time: Nine works and forty-eight copies were completed after 750/1350.¹²

After the Qur’ān (copied 180 times), the most copied books were those on the Arabic language and rhetoric. Al-Tirmidhī produced 264 copies of eighteen works written in different branches of linguistics. Because some of the entries were mentioned under general titles like “linguistics” and “grammar”, one might think that the number would be higher. If we take into consideration that three dictionaries were copied thirteen times a significant number of copies comes up as total. It indicates the need for such books in the Persian- and Turkish-speaking lands and emphasizes the vital position of the instrumental disciplines (i.e., language textbooks) in *madrasa* education. No classical well-known medical books appear in the list. Only four medical works were copied eighteen times: the first was a work by Najib al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 619/1222); the other three were of Indian origin. Surprisingly, the medical books of Indian tradition (translated from Sanskrit to Persian) were copied fifteen times, whereas one medical work of Islamic culture was copied just three times.¹³

10 See Table 2.

11 See Figure 1.

12 See Table 2 and Figures 3 and 4.

13 See the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh articles in Appendix 1 and 2.

The absence of *quadrivium* books of mathematics¹⁴ is also notable, for al-Tirmidhī was active in Samarcand and its surrounding areas at a time when scientific activity was reaching its peak. In fact, the key works of the mathematical sciences for the next century were produced there. Even though 53 percent of the works listed were compiled after 650/1252,¹⁵ the following works were not listed: Tūsī's *Tahrīrāt* project¹⁶ (compiled between 644-663/1247-1265), the works of Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī (d. 710/1311) or Niẓām al-Dīn Nisābūrī (d. 730/1329) on *riyāḍiyāt* (mathematical sciences), the commentaries by Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī (d. after 844/1440) on the *Mulakhkhas* (compiled in 814/1412) and *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* (compiled in 815/1413) which he completed at Samarcand while al-Tirmidhī was preparing his list, or the works by al-Jurjānī such as *Sharḥ al-tadhkira* (compiled in 811/1409). On the other hand, our copyist did mention nine copies of *Hāshiya* (a supercommentary on *Kashshāf*), a far more voluminous work by Jurjānī.

We have a few possible explanations for this phenomenon: (1) there was no strong interest on the mathematical sciences in his region, especially in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. However, this opinion seems very weak because Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī (d. 832/1429), who was in Samarcand during the same period, refers in one of his letters to the presence of sixty or seventy people engaged in those sciences¹⁷; (2) al-Tirmidhī's education and experience had not prepared him to comprehend mathematical texts with their notations and drawings on the mathematical sciences.¹⁸ This seems more plausible, for geometric and astronomical drawings were especially indispensable for gaining the most benefit from such books; and (3) some special copyists already dominated (or maybe monopolized) copying books dealing with certain branches of the sciences.¹⁹

¹⁴ Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.

¹⁵ See Figure 3.

¹⁶ For the books and their compilation dates in the *Tahrīrāt* Project, see Nasırüddin Tūsī, *Tahrīrāt Usūl-i-Hendese ve'l-Hisāb: Euklides'in Elemanlar Kitabının Tahrīri*, prepared by İhsan Fazlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2012), 38-39.

¹⁷ Aydin Sayılı, *Uluğ Bey ve Semerkanddaki İlim Faaliyeti Hakkında Giyasüddin-i Kâşî'nin mektubu = Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī's letter on Ulugh Bey and the Scientific Activity in Samarcand* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1960), 68, 86.

¹⁸ This opinion is supported by the fact that al-Tirmidhī does not refer to any mathematical sciences at the beginning of the list, where he talks about his education in detail. (See Appendix 1 and 2).

¹⁹ Here is a nice example of sixteenth-century copy activity: Mehmed Efendi (d. 1020/1611) copied Qinalizāda 'Ali Efendi's (d. 979/1572) *Akhlaq-i 'Alā'i* fourty times and was nicknamed "Akhlaqî" (one who is related to the book of *Akhlaq*). See Şevket Rado, *Türk Hattatları: XV. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Kadar Gelmiş Ünlü Hattatların Hayatları ve Yazılılarından Örnekler* (İstanbul: Yayın-Matbaacılık Ticaret Limited Şirketi, nd.), 85. Mehmed Efendi's fourtieth (and the last) copy of this book is dated 14 Ramadan 1007/10 April 1599. It is now in Esad Efendi collection in the Süleymaniye Library, number 1804.

In this study, we tried to analyze al-Tirmidhi's list as a remarkable booklet in terms of copying texts as well as of producing books, reading, and writing. Undoubtedly, the reproduction and circulation of knowledge are important for the history of sciences. Copying as an "institution", the copyists, and the works they copied indicate that knowledge has material and financial value, as well as spiritual tenets. In addition to the general principles mentioned above, the cultural environment that created al-Tirmidhi's list and similar ones might be considered a vital sign of the strength of scientific activities in a given region.

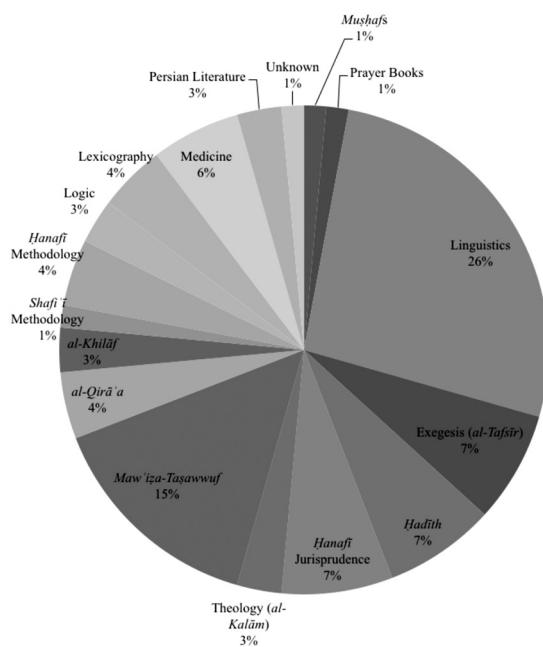


Figure 1. The distribution of sciences, considering number of works
(over sixty-eight works)

Table 1. Table of Sciences

This table shows the number of works and copies produced in the various scientific disciplines

Science	Number of Works	Number of Copies
<i>Muṣḥafs</i>	1	180
Prayer books	1	90
Linguistics	18	264
Exegesis (<i>al-Tafsīr</i>)	5	26
<i>Hadīth</i>	5	15
<i>Hanafī Jurisprudence</i>	5	28
Theology (<i>al-Kalām</i>)	2	2
<i>Maw’iza-Taṣawwuf</i>	10	22
<i>Al-Qirā'a</i>	3	19
<i>Al-Khilāf</i>	2	5
<i>Shafi’ī Methodology</i>	1	2
<i>Hanafī Methodology</i>	3	12
Logic	2	8
Lexicography	3	13
Medicine	4	18
Persian Literature	2	9
Unknown	1	1
Total	68	714

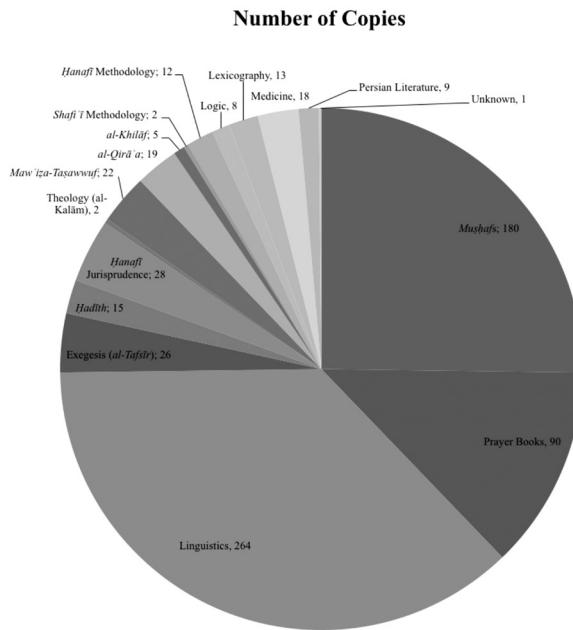


Figure 2. The number of copies in the various scientific disciplines (714 copies)

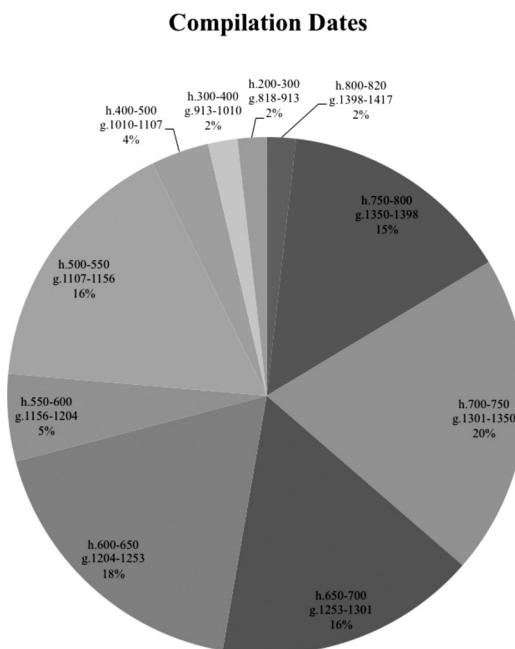


Figure 3. The percentage of works according to their compilation dates (sixty-eight works): h = Hijrī; g = Gregorian

Table 2. Compilation date ranges

Figure 3 provides the compilation date percentages of the works. Here, Table 2 shows the number of the works and copies, along with the works with unknown compilation dates:

Compilation Dates (Approximately)	Number of Works	Number of Copies
800-820/1398-1417	1	9
750-800/1350-1398	8	39
700-750/1301-1350	11	109
650-700/1253-1301	9	45
600-650/1204-1253	10	63
550-600/1156-1204	3	19
500-550/1107-1156	9	41
400-500/1010-1107	2	22
300-400/913-1010	1	2
200-300/818-913	1	2
Unknown date	12	183
<i>Muṣṭaf</i>	1	180
Total	68	714

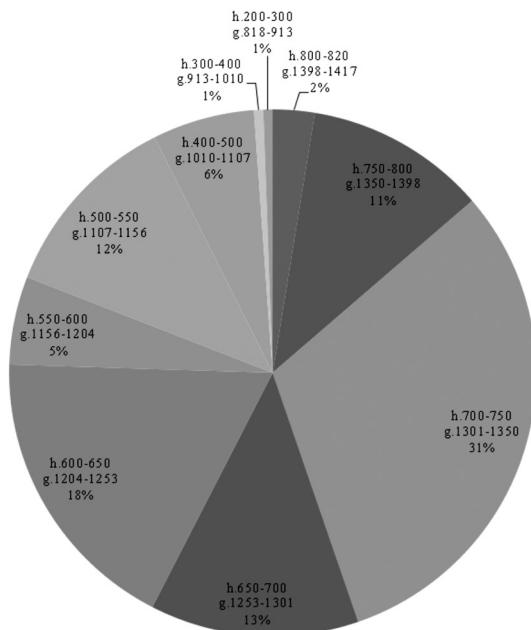


Figure 4. Distribution of copies according to the compilation date ranges (714 copies): h = Hijri; g = Gregorian

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Appendix 1. The list of books copied by al-Tirmidhi (edition)

Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, f. 299b

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين ولا عدوان إلا على الظالمين والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله أجمعين. اعلموا يا معاشر إخواني وفرقه خلاني - غفر الله لكم وإيتانا - إن الكاتب قد مضى من عمره ستة وستون سنة ومتى صرت سبع سنين قرأت جميع القرآن وحفظته والمقدمة والقصائد العربية وكتاب النجديات للأبيوردي والطراائف والمواعظ ووظائف المنطق وغيرها. وتعلمت الخط وقرأت كتب الصرف والنحو والمقامات وفقط جميع الأقران في مدة عشر سنين وشغلت بالكتابة في مدة ثانية وخمسين سنة من فنون العلوم وأفضلها على هذا التفصيل:

كتب من المصاحف: مائة وثمانون حفظاً.

ومن كتب اللغة ومعالم الأسماء والدواوين اللغة والعربية: أربعون.

ومن الكشاف: اثنان.

ومن التفسير شرح البيضاوي: اثنان.

ومن شرح الكشاف لمولانا سعد الدين التفتازاني: اثنا عشر.

ومن صحيح البخاري في علم الحديث: اثنان.

ومن المصايب: اثنان.

ومن مشارق الأنوار في الأحاديث: سبع.

ومن كيماء السعادة: اثنان.

ومن كتب القراءة والشاطبي وشرحه: تسعة عشر.

ومن شرح الكشاف للسيد الشريف: تسعة.

ومن شرح الكشاف لمولانا علي البهلوان: أحد.

ومن اليواقين في الأحاديث: اثنان.

ومن مرصاد العباد: ثلاثة.

ومن إحياء العلوم: أحد.

ومن المنظومة: أربع.

ومن المختلف في شرحها: أحد.

ومن المنهاج: اثنان.

ومن التوضيح: ثلاثة.

ومن الأدعية المكتملة: تسعون.

ومن خلاصة الفتاوي: ثلاثة.

ومن فصول العيادي: اثنان.

ومن التحقيق لمولانا عبد العزيز البخاري في أصول الفقه: سبع.
 ومن المفصل: خمس عشرة.
 ومن الكافية: عشرون.
 ومن اللبّ واللباب: سبع عشرة.
 ومن شرح اللباب المعروف بالفالي: ثلاثون.
 ومن الخافي(؟): أحد.
 ومن المنطق شرح الشمسية والقسطناس: ثمانية.
 ومن كتاب الهدایة في الفقه: إثنتا عشر.
 ومن شرح الهدایة لمولانا شرف الدين الطويل وشرح سيد جلال الخوارزمي رحمهما الله: ست.
 ومن شرح الوقاية في الفقه: سبع.
 ومن مقامات الحريري: ثلاثة.
 ومن صحاح اللغة: اثنان.
 ومن الصراح؛ مختصره: مثله.
 ومن كتب الطبّ في مُلك الهند مثل البنكسين والستّررت والباهر المترجمة بلسان الفارسي: خمس عشرة.
 ومن الأسباب والعلامات في الطبّ: ثلاثة.
 ومن كتب الصرف: اثنان وأربعون.
 ومن المصباح والجمل: خمس وثلاثون.
 ومن علم العروض: ثمانية.
 ومن المفتاح: أحد عشر مع أقسامها.
 ومن شروح القصائد: ست عشرة.
 ومن أسماء المقدمة: تسع.
 ومن منازل السائرين في علم التصوف: خمس.
 ومن المطول والمختصر: إحدى عشرة.
 ومن المشكاة: اثنان.
 ومن الضوء: خمس.
 ومن شرح الشافية: اثنان المعروف بالحاربردي.
 ومن المتوسط: ثمانية.
 ومن شرح الرضي: أحد.
 ومن الطوالع في علم الكلام ومن المطالع: اثنان.
 ومن دواوين الفارسية مثل ديوان حافظ الشيرازي ومن ديوان مولانا جلال الدين الرومي: تسع.
 ومن المنشوي له: ست.
 ومن عطّاريات مثل إلهي نامه وأسرار نامه ومصبيت نامه وأشتر نامه ومنطق الطير: خمس
 اللهم وفق لنا في بقية العمر مثلها.

Appendix 2. The list of books copied by al-Tirmidhi (translation)

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds. The end is (best) for the righteous. Let there be no hostility, except to those who practise oppression. Blessings upon His messenger Muhammad and his family.

O brothers and friends! May God have mercy upon you and me! You must know that this copyist has spent sixty-six years of his life. At the age of seven I read and memorized the whole Qur'an. I also read and memorized *al-Muqaddima*²⁰, Arabic poems²¹ (*al-qasā'id al-arabiyya*), al-Abiwardi's *Kitāb al-Najdiyyāt*²², selected texts, preaching works (*al-mawā'iz*), *Waṣa'if al-manṭiq*²³, and etc. I learned Arabic calligraphy (*al-khatṭ*) and read grammar books (morphology and syntax) and *al-Maqāmāt*²⁴. I overcame all my peers in ten years. I have been busy with scribing [texts belonging to] different branches of sciences (*funūn al-'ulūm*) for fifty-eight years.

Here the details:

- [1] Books of *al-Maṣāḥif*²⁵: hundred and eighty copies by heart.
- [2] Of linguistics and *ma'ālim al-asmā'* and collected booklets on language (*dawāwīn al-lugha*), [especially] Arabic: fourty copies.
- [3] Of *al-Kashshāf*²⁶: two copies
- [4] Of *Sharḥ al-Baydāwī*²⁷ on exegesis (*al-tafsīr*): two copies

20 Many well-known works bear this title. As far as I understand, the book mentioned here is an introduction to Arabic. Among those that were compiled on linguistics before the list are (i) Zamakhshari's (d. 538/1144) *Muqaddima al-Adab* (Hajji Khalifa Muṣṭafā b. Abū Allāh Kātib Chalabi, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmi al-kutub wa al-funūn*, corr. M. Şerefettin Yaltkaya (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1941) [hereinafter *Kashf*], 1798) (ii) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Sanhājī, known as Ibn Ājurru'm's (d. 723/1323) *Muqaddima* (*Kashf*, 1796) and (iii) Abū Mūsa 'Isā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yalalbakht al-Jazūlī's (d. 607/1210) *al-Muqaddima al-Jazūliyya* (*Kashf*, 1800).

21 It may mean heuristic, didactic poems on Arabic grammar.

22 Abū al-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Umawi al-Mu'āwi al-Abiwardi's (d. 507/1113) *Dīvān* consist of three chapters: *Irāqiyāt*, *Najdiyyāt*, and *Wajdiyyāt*. Kātib Chalabi mentions another work of Abiwardi on genealogy (*ilm al-nasab*): *Najdiyyat* (*Kashf*, 1930).

23 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Maghribī's (d. 683/1284) work on logic (*Kashf*, 2015).

24 Most probably al-Harīrī's *al-Maqāmāt* (see below).

25 *Al-Maṣāḥif*, the plural form of *al-Muṣḥaf*: "copies of the Qur'an".

26 Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī al-Zamakhshari's (d. 538/1144) exegesis on the Qur'an, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzil wa 'uyūn al-aqāwil fi wujūh al-ta'wil* (Ali Özak, "el-Keşşaf", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (*DİA*), v. XXV, 329-330).

27 The title of *Sharḥ al-Baydāwī* means that this work is a commentary on Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Baydāwī's (d. 685/1286) famous exegesis *Anwār al-tanzil wa asrār al-ta'wil*. However, the compiler's name is not given. The well-known commentaries written before the list are as follows:

- [5] Of *Sharḥ al-Kashshāf*²⁸ of Mawlānā Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftazānī: twelve copies
- [6] Of *Şahih al-Bukhārī*²⁹ on ‘ilm al-ḥadīth: two copies
- [7] Of *al-Maṣābiḥ*³⁰: two copies
- [8] Of *Mashāriq al-Anwār*³¹ on *al-ahādīth*: seven copies
- [9] Of *Kimyā’ al-Sa‘āda*³²: two copies
- [10] Of books of *al-qirā'a* (science of reciting the Qur'an) and *al-Shāṭibī*³³ and its *Sharḥ*³⁴: nineteen copies
- [11] Of *Sharḥ al-Kashshāf*³⁵ of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf: nine copies
- [12] Of *Sharḥ al-Kashshāf*³⁶ of Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Bahlawān: one copy
- [13] Of *al-Yawāqīt fī al-ahādīth*³⁷: two copies

(i) Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Šā’igh al-Ḥanbali’s (d. 714/1314) *al-Husām al-mādi fī idāh gharib al-qādī* (*Kashf*, 190); (ii) Abū Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Umawi al-Isnawī’s (d. 772/1370) *Sharḥ Anwār al-tanzil*; (iii) Abū ‘Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Kirmānī’s (d. 786/1384) super-commentary *Hāshiya ‘alā Anwār al-tanzil* (*Kashf*, 189). Given its reputation, the most probable one among these works is Isnawī’s work.

- 28 Sa‘d al-Dīn Maśūd b. Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Harawī al-Khurasānī al-Taftazānī’s (d. 792/1390) super-commentary on *al-Kashshāf* of Zamakhshārī, which is known as *Hāshiya ‘alā al-Kashshāf* and *Sharḥ al-Kashshāf* (*KZ*, 1478).
- 29 Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il b. Ibrāhīm al-Ju‘fī al-Bukhārī’s (d. 256/870) well-known collection, that he compiled authentic hadiths organized them according to *fiqh* subjects. Its full name is *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣahīl al-muṣnad min ḥadīth rasūl Allāh sallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam wa sunanīhī wa ayyāmih* (M. Yaşar Kandemir, “el-Cāmiu’s-sahīl”, *DIA*, v. VII, 114–123).
- 30 Abū Muḥammad Muhyī al-Sunna al-Husayn b. Maśūd al-Farrā’ al-Baghawī’s (d. 516/1122) *Masābiḥ al-Sunna* on hadith. (İbrahim Hatipoğlu, “Mesābihu’s-sünne”, *DIA*, v. XXIX, 258–260).
- 31 Even though there are two well-known hadith works with this title, the most famous one is Abū al-Faḍā’il Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Sāghānī’s (d. 650/1252) *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawiyya min ṣīḥāḥ al-akhbār al-Muṣṭafawiyya* (İbrahim Hatipoğlu, “Meşāriku'l-envârı'n-nebeviyye”, *DIA*, v. XXIX, 361–362).
- 32 Hujjat al-Islām Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī al-Tūsī’s (d. 505/1111) Persian work as a summary of *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*
- 33 Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. Firruh al-Shaṭibī’s work in verse on *qirā'a*. Even though the book is titled *Hirz al-amāni wa wajh al-tahāni*, it became famous under the name *al-Shaṭibiyā*, with reference to the author. (Fatih Collak, “es-Şāṭibiyye”, *DIA*, v. XXVIII, 377–379).
- 34 The most well-known commentary on *Hirz al-amāni* is Burhān al-Dīn Abū Iṣhāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar al-Ja’barī’s (d. 732/1332) commentary: *Kanz al-ma’āni*. For *Hirz al-amāni* and commentaries, see *Kashf*, 646–649.
- 35 Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī’s (d. 816/1413) super-commentary on *al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhshārī. Al-Jurjānī’s work is known as *Hāshiya ‘alā al-Kashshāf* and *Sharḥ al-Kashshāf* (*Kashf*, 1479).
- 36 There is no information on the dates of birth and death of al-Bahlawān, who authored a super-commentary on *al-Kashshāf*. Since he uses the term “*raḥimahū Allāh*” for Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 766/1365), it is understood that he was alive after Quṭb al-Dīn’s death. See ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabashi, *Jāmi‘ al-shurūḥ wa-al-hawāshi* (Abu Dhabi: al-Majma‘ al-Thaqafī, 2004, III, 1464).
- 37 I could not find any information on this book.

- [14] Of *Mirsād al-‘ibād*³⁸: three copies
- [15] Of *Iḥyā al-‘ulūm*³⁹: one copy
- [16] Of *al-Manzūma*⁴⁰: four copies
- [17] Of its commentary, *al-Mukhtalif*⁴¹: one copy
- [18] Of *al-Minhāj*⁴²: two copies
- [19] Of *al-Tawdīh*⁴³: three copies
- [20] Of *al-Ad’iya al-mukammala*⁴⁴: ninety copies
- [21] Of *Khūlāṣa al-fatāwā*⁴⁵: three copies
- [22] Of *Fuṣūl al-‘imādī*⁴⁶: two copies
- [23] Of *al-Tahqīq*⁴⁷ of Mawlānā ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bukhārī on *uṣūl al-fiqh*: seven copies
- [24] Of *al-Mufaṣṣal*⁴⁸: fifteen copies

38 Abū Bakr Najm al-Din-e Dāya ‘Abd Allāh b. Muhammād al-Asādi al-Rāzī’s (d. 654/1256) Persian-language book on *taṣawwuf*. The original title of the book is *Mirsād al-‘ibād min al-mabda’ ilā al-ma’ād* (*Kashf*, 1655).

39 Al-Ghazzālī’s well-known *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn* (Mustafa Çağrıcı, “İḥyā’ Ulûmi’d-dīn”, DIA, v. XXII, 10-13).

40 Abū Hafṣ Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Muhammād al-Nasafī al-Samarqāndī’s (d. 537/1142) work in verse on *ilm al-khilāf*, known as *al-Manzūma al-Nasafīyya*, *Manzūma al-Nasafī fī al-khilāf*, or *Manzūma fī al-khilāf*. See Ferhat Koca, “el-Manzūmetü’n-nesefiyeye”, DIA, v. XXVIII, 34-35.

41 Abū al-Fath ‘Alā al-Dīn Muhammād b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Uṣmāndī al-Samarqāndī’s (d. 552/1157[?]) commentary *Mukhtalif al-riwāya* on *al-Manzūma al-Nasafīyya*. It is also known as *Haṣr al-masa’il* or *Qaṣr al-Dalā’il* or ‘Awn al-Dirāya.

42 Many works have this title. A miscellaneous (*majmū’ā*) in Qum-Mar’ashi library (Ms 509) copied by al-Tirmidhi on 9 Ramadān 803/23 April 1401 includes Qādī Bayḍāwī’s *Minhāj al-wuṣūl ilā ‘il al-uṣūl*. Since no other book called *Minhāj* is mentioned, this one is clearly Bayḍāwī’s. *Minhāj al-wuṣūl ilā ‘il al-uṣūl* deals with Shafī’ī jurisprudential methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*).

43 The most famous work with this title is Ṣadr al-Shārī’s al-Thānī ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas’ūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī’s (d. 747/1346) self-commentary: *al-Tawdīh fī ḥall ghawāmid al-Tanqīḥ* on *Tanqīḥ al-uṣūl*.

44 In my research, I did not come across any book named *al-Ad’iya al-mukammala*. Considering its name, it is most probably a collection of prayers.

45 Iftikār al-Dīn Tāhir b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Rashīd al-Bukhārī’s (d. 542/1147) work on Ḥanafī *fiqh* (*Kashf*, 718).

46 The full name of the work is *Fuṣūl al-ihkām fī uṣūl al-ahkām*. As regards the author’s name, *Kashf* gives two possibilities: (i) Jamāl al-Dīn b. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī or (ii) Abū al-Fath ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Marghīnānī (d. 651/1253). According to *Kashf*, Çivizade Mehmed Efendi relates the work to the second author (*Kashf*, 1270). Kātib Chalabī also narrates that Niẓām al-Dīn b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī, the author of *Jawāhīr al-Fiqh*, is mentioned as “my uncle” by the author of *Fuṣūl* (*Kashf*, 615). In this case, Abū al-Fath ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Marghīnānī must be the author of this work.

47 ‘Alā al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Bukhārī’s (d. 730/1330) commentary on Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥusām al-Dīn Muhammād b. Muhammād al-Akhsikāthī’s (d. 644/1246) *al-Muntakhab fī uṣūl al-madhhab*. Al-Bukhārī’s commentary *al-Tahqīq* is also known as *Ghayat al-tahqīq* and *Sharḥ al-Muntakhab al-ḥusāmī* (*Kashf*, 1849).

48 Zamakhsharī’s work on Arabic grammar, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan’at al-i’rāb*, is also known as *al-Mufaṣṣal* or *al-Mufaṣṣal fī al-naḥw*. See Mehmet Sami Benli, “el-Mufassal”, DIA, v.XXX, 368-369.

- [25] Of *al-Kāfiya*⁴⁹: twenty copies
- [26] Of *al-Lubb* and *al-Lubāb*⁵⁰: seventeen copies
- [27] Of *Sharḥ al-Lubāb* as known as *al-Fālī*⁵¹: thirty copies
- [28] Of *al-Khāfi*⁵²: one copy
- [29] Of *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya*⁵³ and *al-Qistās*⁵⁴ on the logic: eight copies
- [30] Of *Kitāb al-Hidāya*⁵⁵ on *al-fiqh*: twelve copies
- [31] Of *Sharḥ al-Hidāya*⁵⁶ of Mawlānā Sharaf al-Dīn al-Tawil and *Sharḥ*⁵⁷ of Sayyid Jalāl al-Khwārizmī (May Allah have mercy on them): six copies
- [32] Of *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya*⁵⁸ on *al-fiqh*: seven copies
- [33] Of *Maqāmāt al-Harīrī*⁵⁹: three copies
- [34] Of *Şihāh al-lugha*⁶⁰: two copies
- [35] Of its epitome *al-Surāh*⁶¹: same (two copies)

- 49 Ibn al-Ḥājib Abū ‘Amr Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar b. Abī Bakr’s (d. 646/1249) work on Arabic syntax. Hulusi Kılıç, “el-Kāfiye”, *DIA*, v. XXIV, 153–154.
- 50 Since *Lubb* and *Lubāb* are mentioned together, also the following article mentions the commentary on *Lubāb*, these two, must be the works of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Isfārāyīnī’s (d. 684/1285) *Lubb al-albāb fī ilm al-i’rāb* (*Kashf*, 1545) and *al-Lubāb fī al-naḥw* (*Kashf*, 1543) on Arabic syntax.
- 51 Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maṣ‘ūd b. Muḥammad al-Sirāfi al-Fālī’s (d. after 712/1312) commentary on *al-Lubāb fī al-naḥw* of Isfārāyīnī (*Kashf*, 1544).
- 52 I could not locate any book entitled *al-Khāfi* in my research.
- 53 There are two well-known commentaries on Abū al-Hasan Najm al-Dīn Dabirān ‘Ali b. ‘Umar al-Kātibī al-Qazvīnī’s (d. 675/1277) work on logic: *al-Risālat al-Shamsiyya fī al-qawā‘id al-mantiqiyya* before the list: (i) Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī’s (d. 766/1365) *Tahrīr qawā‘id al-mantiqiyya fī sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* by and (ii) Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī’s *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* (*Kashf*, 1063).
- 54 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Husaynī al-Samarqandī’s (d. 722/1322) *Qistās al-afkār fī tāhqiq al-asrār* on logic (*Kashf*, 1326). Kātib Chalabī mentions the book as *Qistās al-mizān*.
- 55 Abū al-Ḥasan Burhān al-Dīn ‘Ali b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Jalil al-Farghānī al-Marghinānī’s (d. 593/1197) work on Ḥanafī jurisprudence. Cengiz Kallek, “el-Hidāye”, *DIA*, v. XVII, 471–473.
- 56 I could not find any commentator of *al-Hidāya* called Sharaf al-Dīn al-Tawil in my research.
- 57 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khwārizmī al-Kūrlānī’s (d. 767/1366) commentary on *al-Hidāya*: *al-Kifāya fī sharḥ al-Hidāya* (*Kashf*, 2034, footnote 1).
- 58 Many commentaries were written on Burhān al-Shari‘a Mahmūd b. Ṣadr al-Shari‘a al-Awwāl ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Mahbūbi al-Bukhārī’s (d. 7–8/13–14c.) *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā’il al-Hidāya (al-Wiqāya)*. When we consider the list’s date, we can say that this commentary was authored by Ṣadr al-Shari‘a al-Thānī (*Kashf*, 2020 ff.; al-Ḥabashi, *Jāmi‘ al-Shurūh*, III, 2149 ff.).
- 59 Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Harīrī’s (d. 516/1122) *al-Maqāmāt* (*Kashf*, 1787).
- 60 Abū Naṣr Ismā‘il b. Ḥammād al-Jawhārī’s (d. before 400/1009) lexicon known as *al-Şihāh* or *Şihāh al-lugha*. The book’s full name is *Tāj al-lugha wa şihāh al-‘Arabiyya*. Hulusi Kılıç, “Tācü'l-luga”, *DIA*, v. XXXIX, 356–357.
- 61 Abū al-Fadl Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Khālid al-Qarshī (d. after 702/1303), also known as Jamāl al-Qarshī, translated al-Jawhārī’s *al-Şihāh* into Persian. He completed his work in 681/1282 under the title *al-Surāh min al-Şihāh* (*Kashf*, 1077).

- [36] Of the medicine books of India such as *al-Banksīn* and *al-Susrut*⁶² and *al-Bāhar*, which was translated into Persian: fifteen copies
- [37] Of *al-Asbāb wa al-‘alāmāt*⁶³ on medicine: three copies
- [38] Of books on morphology (*al-ṣarf*): fourty-two copies
- [39] Of *al-Maṣābiḥ*⁶⁴ and *al-Jumal*⁶⁵: thirty-five copies
- [40] Of the prosody (*‘ilm al-‘arūd*): eight copies
- [41] Of *al-Miftāh*⁶⁶: eleven copies (including all chapters of the book)
- [42] Of commentaries of poems (*shurūh al-qasa’id*): sixteen copies
- [43] Of *Asmā’ al-Muqaddima*⁶⁷: nine copies
- [44] Of *Manāzil al-sā’irin*⁶⁸ on ‘ilm al-taṣawwuf: five copies
- [45] Of *al-Muṭawwal*⁶⁹ and *al-Mukhtaṣar*⁷⁰: eleven copies
- [46] Of *al-Mishkāt*⁷¹: two copies

- 62 This must be the translation of the six-chapter *Susrutāsamhitā*, one of the classical India's main medical texts. G. Jan Meulenbeld, *A History of Indian Medical Literature*, V. IA (Groningen: Forsten, 1999), 201ff. I could not find any more information about the other books mentioned in this article.
- 63 This work on diseases and syndroms belongs to Najib al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Samarqandi (d. 619/1222) (*Kashf*, 77).
- 64 Many works are titled *al-Miṣbāh*. The most famous one is Abū al-Faṭḥ Burhān al-Dīn Nāṣir b. ‘Abd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizi al-Khwārizmī's (d. 610/1213) book on grammar, written to teach Arabic to his son Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī (*Kashf*, 1708). Besides, the fact that this part of the list is mostly on books about grammar corroborates the idea that al-Muṭarrizi authored *al-Miṣbāh*.
- 65 *Al-Jumal* is a very popular title for books dealing with various scientific disciplines. But as the author mentions *al-Miṣbāh* and *al-Jumal* in the same article, it is highly possible that *al-Jumal* focuses on grammar. The most famous *al-Jumal* grammar books are as follows: (i) Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ishāq al-Nihāwandi al-Zajjājī's (d. 337/949) *al-Jumal al-Kubrā* and (ii) Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī's (d. 471/1078) *al-Jumal fi al-nahw* (*Kashf*, 602-603).
- 66 *Miftāh al-‘ulūm* is Abū Ya‘qūb Sirāj al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abi Bakr al-Khwārizmī al-Sakkākī's (d. 626/1229) three-chapter book on the Arabic language. The third chapter (contains *ma’āni*, *bayān* and *bādi’*) became especially popular, and many works were written on it (*Kashf*, 1762). Al-Tirmidhi indicates that he copied not only the third chapter, but the whole book by stating “including all chapters”.
- 67 The *Qism al-asmā’* (chapter of nouns) of Zamakhshari's *Muqaddimat al-adab*. One copy of the manuscript copied by al-Tirmidhi and completed four years after this list (Rajab 824/July 1421) is now in Fatih collection of Suleymaniye Library.
- 68 Abū Ismā’īl ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Harawī's (also known as Khwāja ‘Abd Allāh al-Harawī) work on *taṣawwuf*. Erhan Yetik, “Menāzilū’s-sāirīn”, *DIA*, XXIX, 122-123.
- 69 A *Talkhis al-Miftāh* was written by Abū al-Ma’āli Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Qazwīnī as an an epitome of the third chapter of Sakkākī's *Miftāh al-‘ulūm*. Taftāzānī wrote two commentries on the *Talkhis*. The long one is known as *al-Muṭawwal* or *al-Muṭawwal fi al-ma’āni wa al-bayān*.
- 70 Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī shortened his long commentary (*al-Muṭawwal*) on *Talkhis al-Miftāh* in 756/1355 as requested. This work is became famous as *al-Mukhtaṣar*, *Mukhtaṣar al-Muṭawwal*, *al-Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar* and *al-Mukhtaṣar al-ma’āni* (*Kashf*, 474).
- 71 Many works are titled *Mishkāt*, but the well-known and mosty circulated ones are: (i) al-Ghazzālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār* (*Kashf*, 1693) and (ii) Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-‘Umāri al-Tabrīzī's (d. 741/1340) work, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* on *Maṣābiḥ al-sunna* of Farrā al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122).

- [47] Of *al-Daw'*⁷²: five copies
- [48] Of *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*⁷³ known as *al-Jārbardī*: two copies
- [49] Of *al-Mutawassīt*⁷⁴: eight copies
- [50] Of *Sharḥ al-Rađī*⁷⁵: one copy
- [51] Of *al-Tawālī*⁷⁶ on ‘ilm al-kalām and of *al-Maṭālī*⁷⁷: two copies
- [52] Of Persian *dīwāns* such as the *Dīwān*⁷⁸ of Hāfiẓ al-Shīrāzī and the *Dīwān* of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī: nine copies
- [53] Of his *al-Mathnawī*: six copies
- [54] Of ‘Aṭṭāriyyāt⁷⁹, such as *Ilāhīnāma*, *Asrārnāma*, *Muṣībatnāma*, *Ushturnāma*, and *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*: five copies

72 Many works with this title are presented in the sources. However, the well-known and commonly circulated ones before the list were: (i) Tāj al-Dīn al-Isfarāyīni’s *Daw’ al-Miṣbāh*, a self-epitome of his commentary *al-Miftāh* that he had written on Muṭarrīzī’s *al-Miṣbāh* (*Kashf*, 1708) and (ii) Abū al-‘Alā Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Bukhārī al-Kalabādhī’s (d. 700/1300) commentary *Daw’ al-Sirāj*, written on Abū Ṭāhir Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sajawāndī’s (d. after 596/1200) well-known *al-Farā’id al-sirājīyya* on inheritance (*ilm al-farā’id*) (*Kashf*, 1249).

73 Abū al-Makārim Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Charpārdī’s (d. 746/1346) commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājīb’s *al-Shāfiya* (on Arabic morphology). (See *Kashf*, 1021; al-Ḥabashi, *Jāmi’ al-Shurūḥ*, II, 1070 ff.).

74 Rukn al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Sharafshāh al-Astarābādī (d. 715/1315 [?]) wrote three commentaries on Ibn al-Ḥājīb’s *al-Kāfiya*, all of which became famous: *al-Kabīr*, *al-Mutawassīt*, and *al-Saghīr* (*Kashf*, 1370).

75 Najm al-‘Aimma Rađī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī’s (d. after 688/1289) commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājīb’s *al-Kāfiya* (*Kashf*, 1370).

76 Qādi al-Bayḍāwī’s work on theology (*ilm al-kalām*). The full name of the book is *Tawālī’ al-anwār min maṭālī’ al-anzār*. See Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, “Tawālī’l-envār”, *DīA*, v. XL, 180-181. The manuscript, which al-Tirmidhī copied on 9 Ramadān 803/23 April 1401, contains one of those *Tawālī’* copies. (Qum-Mar’ashi Library Ms 509).

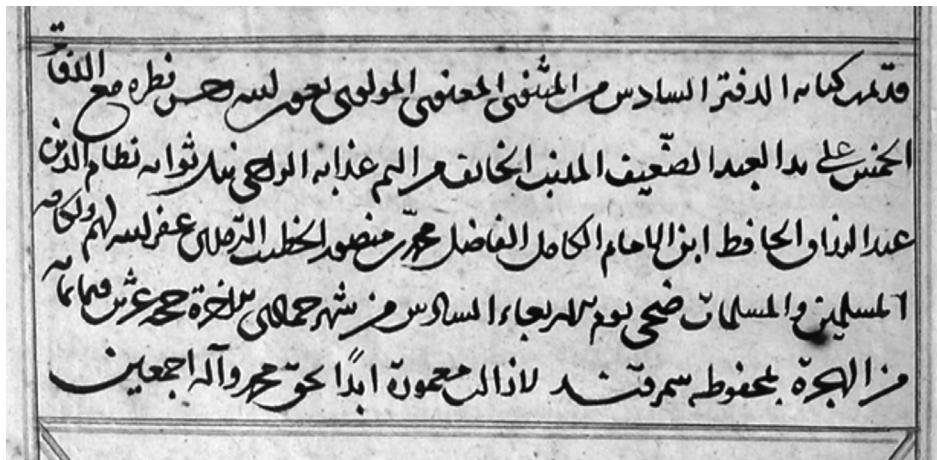
77 Abū al-Thanā Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-İsfahānī’s (d. 749/1349) commentary on al-Bayḍāwī’s *Tawālī’ al-anwār*. He named his commentary *Maṭālī’ al-anzār*.

78 One of the greatest Persian poets, Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī (d. 792/1390). See Tahsin Yazıcı, “Hāfiẓ-i Ṣīrāzī”, *DīA*, v. XV, 103-106.

79 ‘Aṭṭāriyyāt must be the common name of the *mathnawīs* of Abū Ḥāmid Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūrī (d. 618/1221), because all of the mentioned works belong to Farīd al-Dīn al-‘Attār. See M. Nazif Şahinoğlu, “Attār, Ferīdüddīn”, *DīA*, v. IV, 95-98.

Appendix 3. The colophon of al-Tirmidhī at the end of al-Rumi's *Mathnawi*

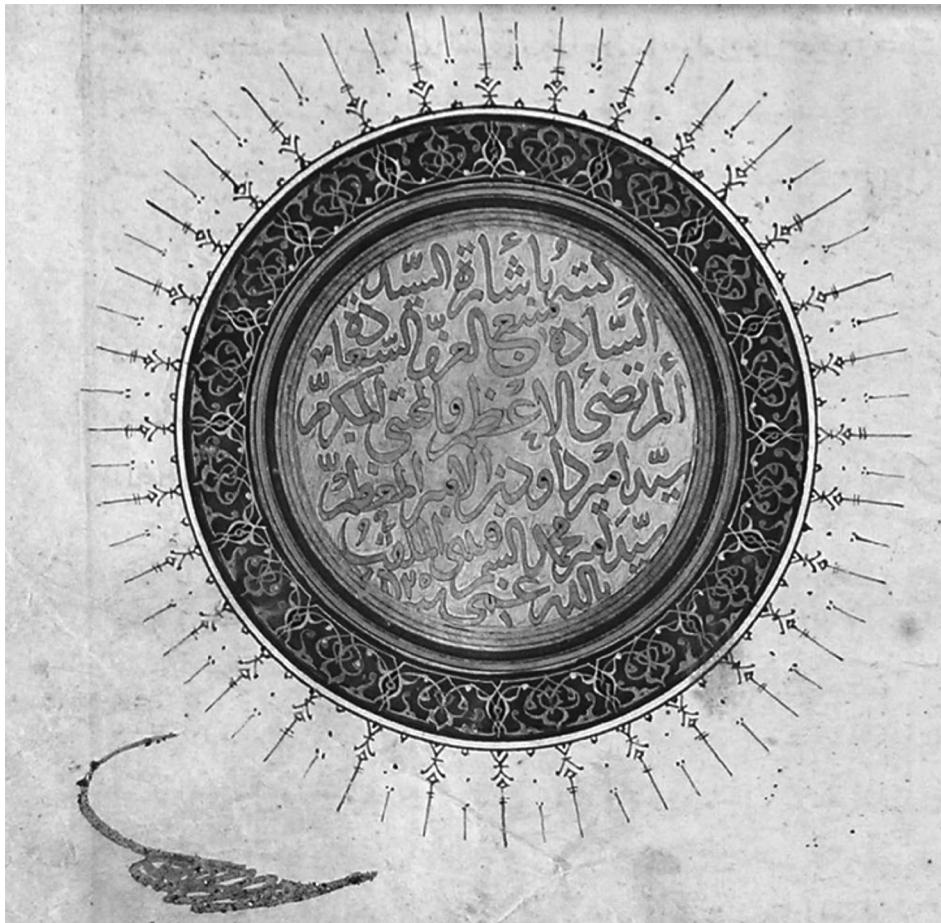
Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, f. 299a



قد تمت كتابة الدفتر السادس من المثنوي المعنوي المولوي بعون الله وحسن نظره مع الدفاتر الخمس على يد العبد الضعيف المذنب الخائف من أليم عذابه، الراجي نيل ثوابه، نظام الدين عبد الرزاق الحافظ ابن الإمام الكامل الفاضل محمد بن منصور الخطيب الترمذى غفر الله لهم ولكلامة المسلمين والمسلمات، ضحى يوم الأربعاء السادس من شهر جمادى الآخرة حجة عشرين وثمانمائة من الهجرة بمحفوظة سمرقند لا زالت معمورة أبداً بحق محمد وآلها أجمعين

Appendix 4. The frontispiece of the *Mathnawi*, which al-Tirmidhi copied

Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, f. 1a- "frontispiece"



كتبه بپاشارة السيد السادة، منبع العز والسعادة، المرتضى الأعظم والمجتبى المكرّم، سيد أمير داود بن
الأمير المعظم سيد أمير محمد السمرقندى الملقب بالدرّغمى

Appendix 5. The list of the books that al-Tirmidhī copied

Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, f. 299b