

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-Tirmidhī, 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-Tirmidhī, manuscript, copy, copyist, Samarqand, Ulugh Beg.

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In his famous work *al-Maṭālib al-ilāhiyya fī mawḍū'āt 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 maḥsūs* (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 Tokatlı Hasanoglu Lütfullah (Molla Lütfi), *Dil Bilimlerin Sınıflandırılması (el-Metâlib el-ilâhiyye fî mevzûât el-ulûm el-lughâviyye)*, 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 Açı, 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

Nizām 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-Samarqandī 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 Nizām al-Dīn al-Tirmidhī's list, we should emphasize the following point: Afore writing this list, al-Tirmidhī copied al-Bayḍāwī's *Minhāj* and *Ṭavālī'* 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 Zamakhsharī'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, Nizām 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 Mustaqimzāda Suleymān Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi (d. 1202/1788) gives the names and numbers of books that a scribe copied in his work *Tuḥfa-i Khaṭṭāṭīn* (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 Amīr Timur's son Shāhrukh (820/1417), who had conquered Samarqand in 811/1409. During the year in which al-Tirmidhī wrote his list, Ulugh Beg, the grandson of Timur (and son of Shāhrukh), established the Madrasa of Ulugh Beg. In addition, the construction of Samarqand Observatory began in 827/1424⁸. In light of this data, al-Tirmidhī'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 Samarqand.

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

Al-Tirmidhī'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-Tirmidhī 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-Tirmidhī'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-Dīn 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 Samarqand 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 Samarqand Observatory, see Aydın 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 Zamakhshari’s (d. 538/1144) *Kashshāf*, al-Bayḍāwī’s (d. 685/1286) *Anwār* and *Ṭawālī’*, Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. 749/1349) *Maṭālī’* (his commentary on *Ṭawālī’*), 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 *furū’*. Three books on *uṣūl* were copied 12 times, 5 books on *furū’* 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 Farīd 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-Sharīf 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 Najīb 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 Samarqand 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: Tūsi's *Tahrīrāt* project¹⁶ (compiled between 644-663/1247-1265), the works of Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311) or Niẓām al-Dīn Nisābūrī (d.730/1329) on *riyāḍiyyāt* (mathematical sciences), the commentaries by Qāḍizāda al-Rūmī (d. after 844/1440) on the *Mulakkhhas* (compiled in 814/1412) and *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* (compiled in 815/1413) which he completed at Samarqand 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 Samarqand 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 Nasīrūddīn Tūsi, *Tahrīru Usūli'l-Hendese ve'l-Hisāb: Euklides'in Elemanlar Kitabının Tahriri*, prepared by İhsan Fazlhoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2012), 38-39.

17 Aydın Sayılı, *Uluğ Bey ve Semerkanddaki İlim Faaliyeti Hakkında Gıyasüddin-i Kāshī'nin mektubu = Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī's letter on Ulugh Bey and the Scientific Activity in Samarqand* (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 'Alī Efendi's (d. 979/1572) *Akhlāq-i 'Alā'i* forty times and was nicknamed "Akhlāqī" (one who is related to the book of *Akhlāq*). See Şevket Rado, *Türk Hattatları: XV. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Kadar Gelmiş Ünlü Hattatların Hayatları ve Yazılarından 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-Tirmidhī'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-Tirmidhī's list and similar ones might be considered a vital sign of the strength of scientific activities in a given region.

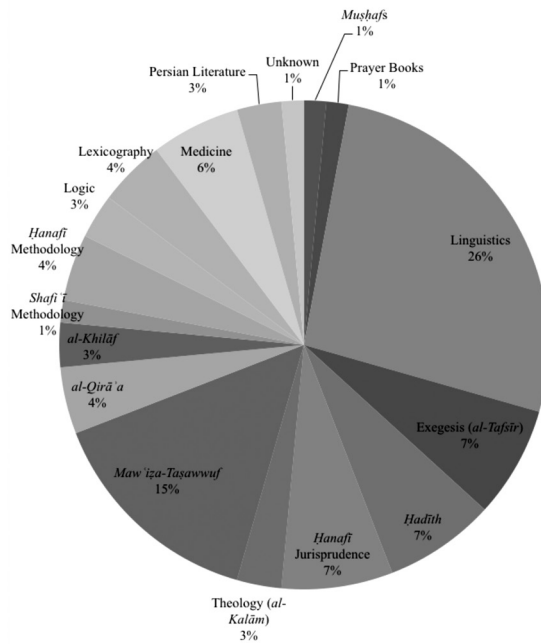


Figure 1. The distribution of sciences, considering number of works (over sixty-eight works)

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-Tafsir</i>)	5	26
<i>Ḥadith</i>	5	15
<i>Ḥanafī</i> Jurisprudence	5	28
Theology (<i>al-Kalām</i>)	2	2
<i>Maw'īza-Taṣawwuf</i>	10	22
<i>Al-Qirā'a</i>	3	19
<i>Al-Khilāf</i>	2	5
<i>Shafī'ī</i> Methodology	1	2
<i>Ḥanafī</i> Methodology	3	12
Logic	2	8
Lexicography	3	13
Medicine	4	18
Persian Literature	2	9
Unknown	1	1
Total	68	714

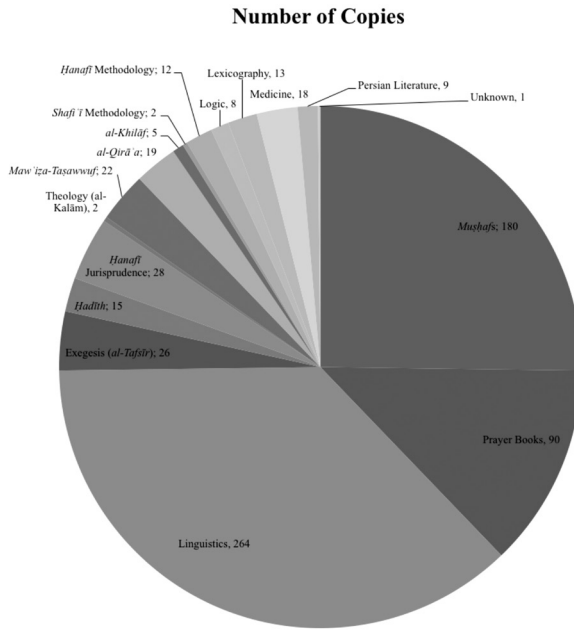


Figure 2. The number of copies in the various scientific disciplines (714 copies)

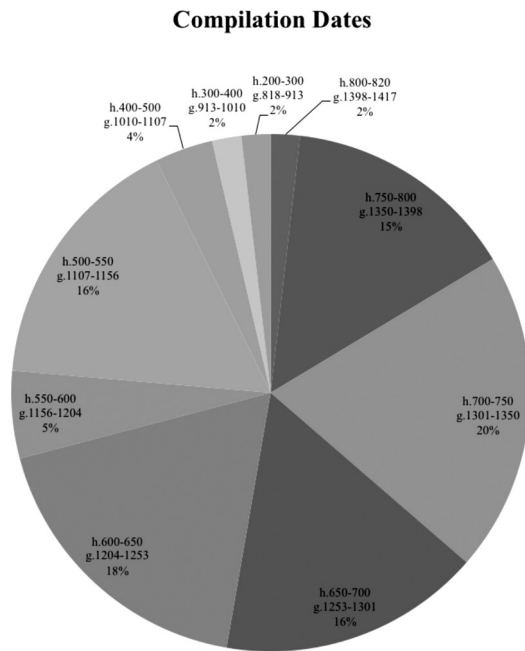


Figure 3. The percentage of works according to their compilation dates (sixty-eight works): h = Hijri; g = Gregorian

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>Muṣḥaf</i>	1	180
Total	68	714

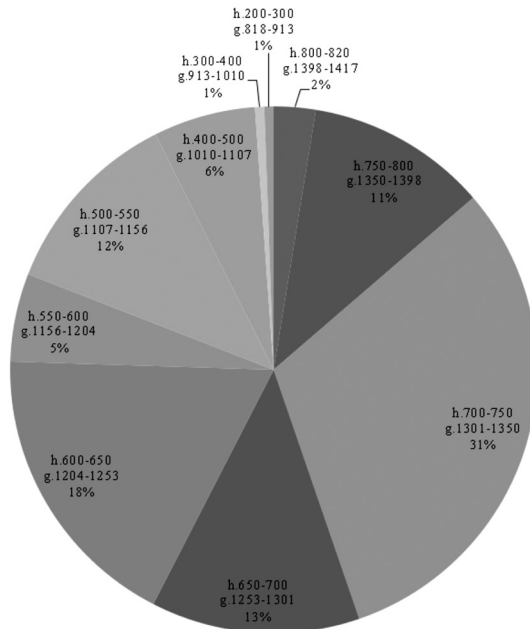


Figure 4. Distribution of copies according to the compilation date ranges (714 copies): h = Hijri; g = Gregorian

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

Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, f. 299b

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقة للمتقين ولا عدوان إلا على الظالمين والصلاة على رسوله محمد وآله أجمعين. اعلّموا يا معاشر إخواني وفرقة خلّائي - غفر الله لكم وإيّانا - إنّ الكاتب قد مضى من عمره ستة وستون سنة ومتى صرّت سبع سنين قرأت جميع القرآن وحفظته والمقدّمة والقصائد العربية وكتاب النجديات للأبيوردي والطرائف والمواعظ ووظائف المنطق وغيرها. وتعلّمت الخطّ وقرأت كتب الصرف والنحو والمقامات وفقّت جميع الأقران في مدّة عشر سنين وشغلّت بالكتابة في مدّة ثمانية وخمسين سنة من فنون العلوم وأفضّلها على هذا التفصيل:

كُتِبَ مِنَ الْمَصَاحِفِ: مائة وثمانون حفظاً.

ومن كتب اللغة ومعالم الأسماء والدواوين اللغة والعربية: أربعون.

ومن الكشّاف: اثنان.

ومن التفسير شرح البيضاوي: اثنان.

ومن شرح الكشّاف لمولانا سعد الدين التفتازاني: اثنا عشر.

ومن صحيح البخاري في علم الحديث: اثنان.

ومن المصاييح: اثنان.

ومن مشارق الأنوار في الأحاديث: سبع.

ومن كيمياء السعادة: اثنان.

ومن كتب القراءة والشاطبي وشرحه: تسعة عشر.

ومن شرح الكشّاف للسيد الشريف: تسع.

ومن شرح الكشّاف لمولانا علي البهلوان: أحد.

ومن اليواقيت في الأحاديث: اثنان.

ومن مرصاد العباد: ثلاث.

ومن إحياء العلوم: أحد.

ومن المنظومة: أربع.

ومن المختلف في شرحها: أحد.

ومن المنهاج: اثنان.

ومن التوضيح: ثلاث.

ومن الأدعية المكّملة: تسعون.

ومن خلاصة الفتاوى: ثلاث.

ومن فصول العمادي: 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 والقسطاس: ثمانية.
- ومن كتاب الهداية في الفقه: اثنتا عشر.
- ومن شرح الهداية لمولانا شرف الدين الطويل وشرح سيد جلال الخوارزمي رحمهما الله: ست.
- ومن شرح الوقاية في الفقه: سبع.
- ومن مقامات الحريري: ثلاث.
- ومن صحاح اللغة: اثنان.
- ومن الصراح؛ مختصره: مثله.
- ومن كتب الطبّ في مُلك الهند مثل البنكسين والسُّسرت والباهر المترجمة بلسان الفارسي: خمس عشرة.
- ومن الأسباب والعلامات في الطبّ: ثلاث.
- 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 المقدّمة: تسع.
- ومن منازل السائرين في علم التصوف: خمس.
- ومن المطوّل والمختصر: إحدى عشرة.
- ومن المشكاة: اثنان.
- ومن الضوء: خمس.
- ومن شرح الشافية: اثنان المعروف بالجاربردي.
- ومن المتوسّط: 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 المثنوي له: ست.
- ومن عطاريات مثل إلهي نامه وأسرار نامه ومصيبت نامه وأشتر نامه ومنطق الطير: خمس
- اللهم وقلّ لنا في بقية العمر مثلها.

Appendix 2. The list of books copied by al-Tirmidhī (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-Abīwardī's *Kitāb al-Najdiyyāt*²², selected texts, preaching works (*al-mawā'iz*), *Waza'if al-mantiq*²³, and etc. I learned Arabic calligraphy (*al-khatt*) and read grammar books (morphology and syntax) and *al-Ma-qāmāt*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 (*dawāwin al-luḡha*), [especially] Arabic: forty copies.
- [3] Of *al-Kashshāf*²⁶: two copies
- [4] Of *Sharḥ al-Bayḍāwī*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* (Ḥajji Khalifa Muṣṭafa b.'Abd Allāh Kātib Chalabī, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī 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-Sanhāji, known as Ibn Ājurrūm's (d. 723/1323) *Muqaddima* (*Kashf*, 1796) and (iii) Abū Mūsā 'Isā b. 'Abd al-'Aziz 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-Umawī al-Mu'āwī al-Abiwardī's (d. 507/1113) *Divān* consist of three chapters: *Irāqiyyāt*, *Najdiyyāt*, and *Wajdiyyāt*. Kātib Chalabī mentions another work of Abiwardī on genealogy (*'ilm al-nasab*): *Najdiyyāt* (*Kashf*, 1930).
- 23 Shams al-Din Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Maghribī's (d. 683/1284) work on logic (*Kashf*, 2015).
- 24 Most probably al-Ḥariri'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-aqāwīl fi wujūh al-ta'wīl* (Ali Özek, "el-Keşşâf", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (DİA), v. XXV, 329-330).
- 27 The title of *Sharḥ al-Bayḍāwī* means that this work is a commentary on Nāṣir al-Din Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī's (d. 685/1286) famous exegesis *Anwār al-tanzil wa asrār al-ta'wīl*. 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-Taftāzānī: twelve copies
 [6] Of *Şaḥiḥ al-Bukhārī*²⁹ on *‘ilm al-ḥadīth*: two copies
 [7] Of *al-Maşābīḥ*³⁰: two copies
 [8] Of *Mashāriq al-Anwār*³¹ on *al-aḥādīth*: seven copies
 [9] Of *Kimyā' al-Sa'āda*³²: two copies
 [10] Of books of *al-qir'a* (science of reciting the Qur'an) and *al-Shāṭibi*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 fi al-aḥādīth*³⁷: two copies

(i) Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Şā'igh al-Ḥanbalī's (d. 714/1314) *al-Ḥusām al-māḍī fi idāḥ gharib al-qāḍī* (*Kashf*, 190); (ii) Abū Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Umawī 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 Mas'ūd b. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Umar al-Harawī al-Khurasānī al-Taftāzānī's (d. 792/1390) super-commentary on *al-Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī, 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-Şaḥiḥ al-musnad min ḥadīth rasūl Allāh sallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam wa sunanihi wa ayyāmih* (M. Yaşar Kandemir, "el-Câmiu's-sahih", *DİA*, v. VII, 114-123).
- 30 Abū Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Sunna al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd al-Farrā' al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) *Masābih al-Sunna* on hadith. (İbrahim Hatiboğlu, "Mesābīhu's-sünne", *DİA*, 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-nabawīyya min şīḥāh al-akhbār al-Muştafawīyya* (İbrahim Hatiboğlu, "Meşâriku'l-envârî'n-nebeviyye", *DİA*, v. XXIX, 361-362).
- 32 Ḥujjat al-Islām Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī al-Ṭūsī's (d. 505/1111) Persian work as a summary of *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
- 33 Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. Firruḥ al-Shāṭibi's work in verse on *qir'a*. Even though the book is titled *Ḥīrz al-amānī wa wajh al-tahānī*, it became famous under the name *al-Shāṭibiyya*, with reference to the author. (Fatih Çollak, "eş-Şātibiyye", *DİA*, v. XXVIII, 377-379).
- 34 The most well-known commentary on *Ḥīrz al-amānī* is Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ishāq İbrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Ja'barī's (d. 732/1332) commentary: *Kanz al-ma'ānī*. For *Ḥīrz al-amānī* 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-Zamakhsharī. 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-Ḥabashī, *Jāmi' al-shurūḥ wa al-ḥawāshī* (Abu Dhabi: al-Majma' al-Thaqāfi, 2004, III, 1464).
- 37 I could not find any information on this book.

- [14] Of *Mirşād al-‘ibād*³⁸: three copies
 [15] Of *Ihyā al-‘ulūm*³⁹: one copy
 [16] Of *al-Manzūma*⁴⁰: four copies
 [17] Of its commentary, *al-Mukhtaliḥ*⁴¹: one copy
 [18] Of *al-Minhāj*⁴²: two copies
 [19] Of *al-Tawḍīḥ*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-Taḥqīq*⁴⁷ of Mawlānā ‘Abd al-‘Aziz 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. Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Rāzī’s (d. 654/1256) Persian-language book on *taṣawwuf*. The original title of the book is *Mirşād al-‘ibād min al-mabda’ ilā al-ma’ād* (*Kashf*, 1655).
- 39 Al-Ghazzālī’s well-known *Ihyā ‘ulūm al-dīn* (Mustafa Çağrıncı, “Ihyāü Ulūmī’d-dīn”, *DİA*, v. XXII, 10-13).
- 40 Abū Hafş Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī al-Samarqandī’s (d. 537/1142) work in verse on *‘ilm al-khilāf*, known as *al-Manzūma al-Nasafīyya*, *Manzūma al-Nasafī fi al-khilāf*, or *Manzūma fi al-khilāf*. See Ferhat Koca, “el-Manzūmetü’n-neseḫīyye”, *DİA*, v. XXVIII, 34-35.
- 41 Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid al-Usmāndī al-Samarqandī’s (d. 552/1157[?]) commentary *Mukhtaliḥ al-rīwāya* on *al-Manzūma al-Nasafīyya*. It is also known as *Ḥaşr al-masā’il* or *Qaşr al-Dalā’il* or *‘Awn al-Dirāya*.
- 42 Many works have this title. A miscellaneous (*majmū‘a*) in Qum-Mar‘ashī library (Ms 509) copied by al-Tirmidhī on 9 Ramaḍān 803/23 April 1401 includes Qāḍī 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 Şadr al-Sharī‘a al-Thānī ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī’s (d. 747/1346) self-commentary: *al-Tawḍīḥ fi ḥall ghawāmiḍ 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 İftikhār al-Dīn Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad 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-iḥkām fi uṣūl al-aḥkām*. As regards the author’s name, *Kashf* gives two possibilities: (i) Jamāl al-Dīn b. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī or (ii) Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Marghinānī (d. 651/1253). According to *Kashf*, Çivizāde Mehmed Efendi relates the work to the second author (*Kashf*, 1270). Kātib Chalabī also narrates that Nizām al-Dīn b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghinānī, the author of *Jawāhir al-Fiqh*, is mentioned as “my uncle” by the author of *Fuṣūl* (*Kashf*, 615). In this case, Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Marghinānī must be the author of this work.
- 47 ‘Alā al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī’s (d. 730/1330) commentary on Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥusām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Akhsikathī’s (d. 644/1246) *al-Muntakhab fi uṣūl al-madhhab*. Al-Bukhārī’s commentary *al-Taḥqīq* is also known as *Ghayat al-taḥqīq* and *Sharḥ al-Muntakhab al-ḥusāmī* (*Kashf*, 1849).
- 48 Zamakhsharī’s work on Arabic grammar, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi ṣan‘at al-i‘rāb*, is also known as *al-Mufaṣṣal* or *al-Mufaṣṣal fi al-naḥw*. See Mehmet Sami Benli, “el-Mufasssal”, *DİA*, 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-Qiṣṭās*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-Ṭawīl 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-Ḥariri*⁵⁹: three copies
 [34] Of *Ṣiḥāḥ al-lughā*⁶⁰: two copies
 [35] Of its epitome *al-Ṣurāḥ*⁶¹: same (two copies)

- 49 Ibn al-Ḥājib Abū ‘Amr Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar b. Abi Bakr’s (d. 646/1249) work on Arabic syntax. Hulusi Kılıç, “el-Kāfiye”, *DİA*, 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-Isfarāyīnī’s (d. 684/1285) *Lubb al-albāb fi ‘ilm al-i-rāb* (*Kashf*, 1545) and *al-Lubāb fi al-naḥw* (*Kashf*, 1543) on Arabic syntax.
- 51 Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas’ūd b. Muḥammad al-Sirāfi al-Fālī’s (d. after 712/1312) commentary on *al-Lubāb fi al-naḥw* of Isfarāyīnī (*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-Ḥasan Najm al-Dīn Dabirān ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Kātibi al-Qazvīnī’s (d. 675/1277) work on logic: *al-Risālat al-Shamsiyya fi al-qawā’id al-mantiqiyya* before the list: (i) Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī’s (d. 766/1365) *Tahrīr qawā’id al-mantiqiyya fi 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-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī’s (d. 722/1322) *Qisṭās al-afkār fi taḥqīq al-asrār* on logic (*Kashf*, 1326). Kātib Chalabī mentions the book as *Qisṭās al-mizān*.
- 55 Abū al-Ḥasan Burhān al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abi Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghinānī’s (d. 593/1197) work on Ḥanafī jurisprudence. Cengiz Kallek, “el-Hidāye”, *DİA*, v. XVII, 471-473.
- 56 I could not find any commentator of *al-Hidāya* called Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl in my research.
- 57 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khwārizmī al-Kurlānī’s (d. 767/1366) commentary on *al-Hidāya*: *al-Kifāya fi sharḥ al-Hidāya* (*Kashf*, 2034, footnote 1).
- 58 Many commentaries were written on Burhān al-Sharī’a Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-Sharī’a al-Awwal ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī’s (d. 7-8/13-14c.) *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fi masā’il al-Hidāya* (*al-Wiqāya*). When we consider the list’s date, we can say that this commentary was authored by Ṣadr al-Sharī’a al-Thānī (*Kashf*, 2020 ff.; al-Ḥabashī, *Jāmi’ al-Shurūḥ*, III, 2149 ff.).
- 59 Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥariri’s (d. 516/1122) *al-Maqāmāt* (*Kashf*, 1787).
- 60 Abū Naṣr Ismā’il b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī’s (d. before 400/1009) lexicon known as *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* or *Ṣiḥāḥ al-lughā*. The book’s full name is *Tāj al-lughā wa ṣiḥāḥ al-‘Arabiyya*. Hulusi Kılıç, “Tācu’l-luga”, *DİA*, v. XXXIX, 356-357.
- 61 Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Khālīd al-Qarshī (d. after 702/1303), also known as Jamāl al-Qarshī, translated al-Jawharī’s *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* into Persian. He completed his work in 681/1282 under the title *al-Ṣurāḥ min al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (*Kashf*, 1077).

- [36] Of the medicine books of India such as *al-Banksin* 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*): forty-two copies
- [39] Of *al-Maṣābih*⁶⁴ and *al-Jumal*⁶⁵: thirty-five copies
- [40] Of the prosody (*ilm al-'arūḍ*): eight copies
- [41] Of *al-Miftāh*⁶⁶: eleven copies (including all chapters of the book)
- [42] Of commentaries of poems (*shurūh al-qaṣā'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

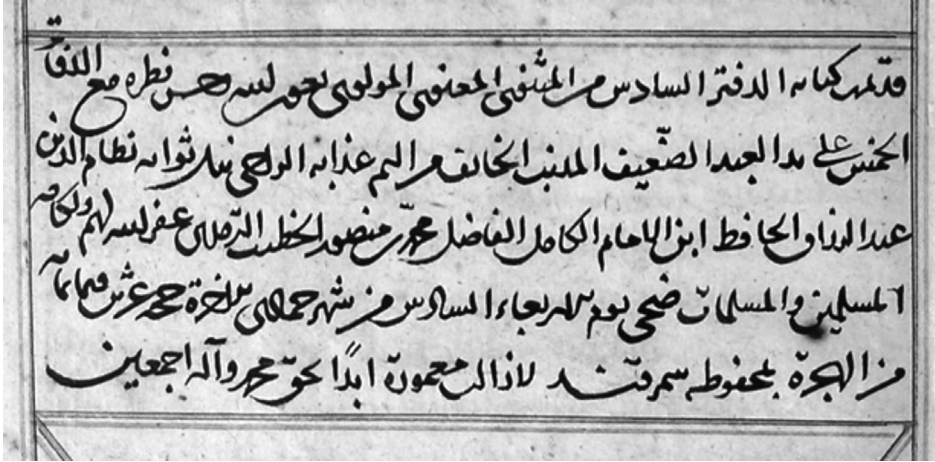
- 62 This must be the translation of the six-chapter *Susrutāsamhitā*, one of the classical India's main medical texts. G. Jan Meulenbeld, *A History of Indian Medical Literature*, V. IA (Groningen: Forsten, 1999), 201ff. I could not find any more information about the other books mentioned in this article.
- 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-Muṭarrizī 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-Muṭarrizī 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-Nihāwandī al-Zajjāji's (d. 337/949) *al-Jumal al-Kubrā* and (ii) Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Jurjāni's (d. 471/1078) *al-Jumal fi al-naḥw* (*Kashf*, 602-603).
- 66 *Miftāh al-'ulūm* is Abū Ya'qūb Sirāj al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abi Bakr al-Khwārizmī al-Sakkāki's (d. 626/1229) three-chapter book on the Arabic language. The third chapter (contains *ma'āni*, *bayān* and *badī*) 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-asma'* (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'il '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-sāirin", *DĪA*, XXIX, 122-123.
- 69 A *Talkhis al-Miftāh* was written by Abū al-Ma'ālī Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qazwīnī as an epitome of the third chapter of Sakkāki's *Miftāh al-'ulūm*. Taftāzānī wrote two commentaries 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 mostly circulated ones are: (i) al-Ghazzālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār* (*Kashf*, 1693) and (ii) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-'U-mari al-Tabrizī's (d. 741/1340) work, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābih* on *Maṣābih al-sunna* of Farrā al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122).

- [47] Of *al-Ḍaw'*⁷²: five copies
 [48] Of *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*⁷³ known as *al-Jārbardī*: two copies
 [49] Of *al-Mutawassit*⁷⁴: eight copies
 [50] Of *Sharḥ al-Raḍī*⁷⁵: one copy
 [51] Of *al-Ṭawālī*⁷⁶ on 'ilm al-kalām and of *al-Maṭālī*⁷⁷: two copies
 [52] Of Persian *diwāns* such as the *Dīwān*⁷⁸ of Ḥāfiẓ al-Shirāzī 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*, *Asrār-nāma*, *Muṣibatnāma*, *Ushturnāma*, and *Mantiq 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-Isfarāyīnī's *Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ*, a self-epitome of his commentary *al-Miftāḥ* that he had written on Muṭarrizī's *al-Miṣbāḥ* (*Kashf*, 1708) and (ii) Abū al-'Alā Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abi Bakr al-Bukhārī al-Kalābādhi's (d. 700/1300) commentary *Ḍaw' al-Sirāj*, written on Abū Ṭāhir Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sajawandi's (d. after 596/1200) well-known *al-Farā'id al-sirājiyya* on inheritance ('ilm al-farā'id) (*Kashf*, 1249).
- 73 Abū al-Makārim Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Charpardī's (d. 746/1346) commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib'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-Ḥājjib's *al-Kāfiya*, all of which became famous: *al-Kabīr*, *al-Mutawassit*, and *al-Saghīr* (*Kashf*, 1370).
- 75 Najm al-A'imma Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī's (d. after 688/1289) commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's *al-Kāfiya* (*Kashf*, 1370).
- 76 Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī's work on theology ('ilm al-kalām). The full name of the book is *Ṭawālī' al-anwār min maṭālī' al-anzār*. See Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Tavāliu'l-envār", *DĪA*, v. XL, 180-181. The manuscript, which al-Tirmidhī copied on 9 Ramaḍān 803/23 April 1401, contains one of those *Ṭawālī'* copies. (Qum-Ma'āshī Library Ms 509).
- 77 Abū al-Thana Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 749/1349) commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawālī' al-anwār*. He named his commentary *Maṭālī' al-anzār*.
- 78 One of the greatest Persian poets, Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shirāzī (d. 792/1390). See Tahsin Yazıcı, "Ḥāfiẓ-ı Şīrāzī", *DĪA*, v. XV, 103-106.
- 79 'Aṭṭāriyyāt must be the common name of the *mathnawīs* of Abū Ḥāmid Farid al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūrī (d. 618/1221), because all of the mentioned works belong to Farid al-Dīn al-'Attār. See M. Nazif Şahinoğlu, "Attār, Feridüddin", *DĪA*, v. IV, 95-98.

Appendix 3. The colophon of al-Tirmidhī at the end of al-Rumī's *Math-nawī*

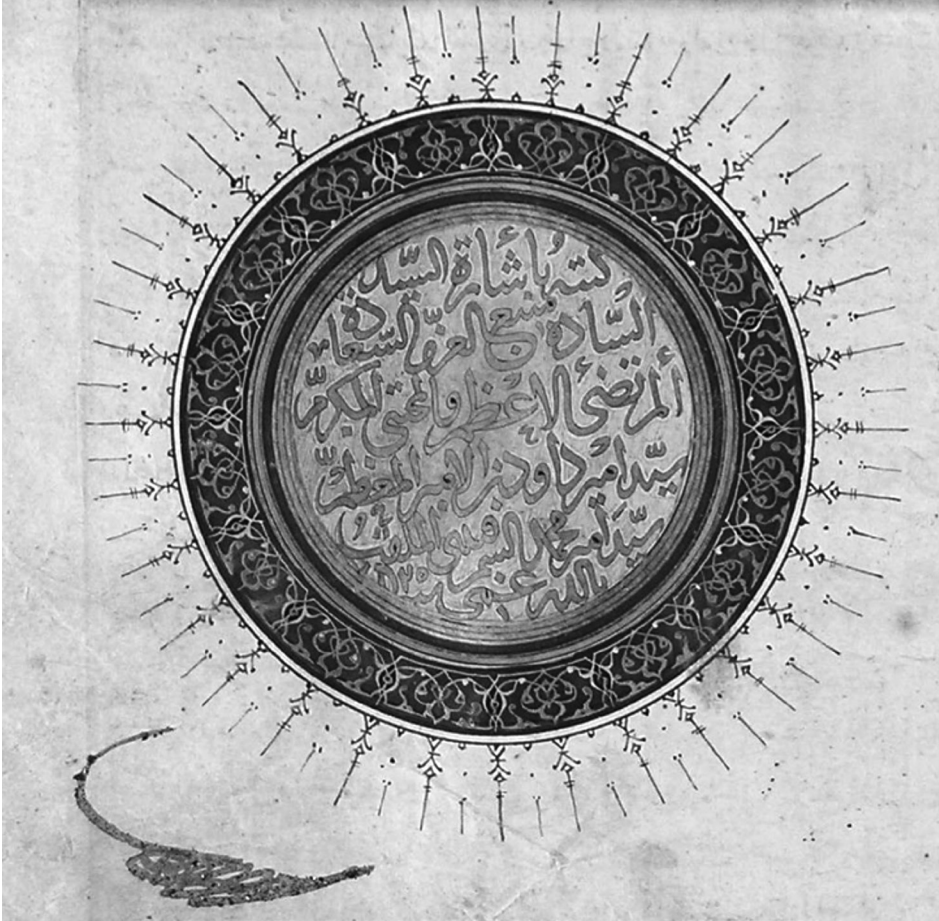
Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, f. 299a



قد تمت كتابة الدفاتر 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 الترمذي غفر الله لهم ولكافة المسلمين والمسلمات، ضحى يوم الأربعاء السادس من شهر جمادى الآخرة حجة عشرين وثمانمائة من الهجرة بمحفوظة سمرقند لا زالت معمورة أبداً بحق محمد وآله أجمعين

Appendix 4. The frontispiece of the *Mathnawī*, which al-Tirmidhī copied

Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, f. 1a- “frontispiece”



كتبه بإشارة السيد السادة، منبع العزّ والسعادة، المرتضى الأعظم والمجتبى المكرّم، سيّد أمير داود بن
الأمير المعظّم سيّد أمير محمد السمرقندي الملقّب بالدرّغمي

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

Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 2810, f. 299b

اسم الكتاب الحجم الحسنة والخط والعام للمسنون والمعلقان للعلما والصلح على سفر محمد وال محمد
 اعلموا يا حبا شر الخواني وخرقة خلقي غير لسهكم وايا ما ان الكتاب وبعضه من سنة وستون سنة وحتى صرت
 سبع سنين فليجمع القرآن وحفظه والمعلمة والقصائد العربية وكما انجزها للابوردي والطراف الموطأ
 ووظائف المخطوط وغيرها وقيل الخط وقرأت كتب الصرف والنحو والمقامات وفتوح صحاح القرآن في حقه
 عشر سنين وشملت بالكتابة في حقه ثمانية وخمسين سنة من فنون العلوم وافصلها على هذا التفصيل
 كتب من المصاحف ثمانية وثلاثون حفظا وكتب اللغة وعلوم الاسماء والادب واللغة العربية والعين وما كتب وكتاب
 وما التفسير شرح المصاحف اسرار وشرح الكس والمولف جمال الدين السناد والاشعرى ومصحف الخليل في علم الحركات
 وما المصاحف اشار وقرأت وما نواريز الصلوات سبع وما كفا المسائل في الامانة وما كتاب الفراء والناظمي وسبعة
 وشرح الكشاف للسيد الشريف وشرح الكشاف لمؤلفه على الملوان هذه وما اليونانية الصادق اسرار وما مرصع البحار
 ملئت وما بعض العلوم لحدوم المخطوطه اربع وما الجملة شرحها لحدوم والمصاحف اشار وما التوضيح بلد وما اسرار
 المكمل لغز وما خلاص المعاني للملوك وما وصول العباد اسرار وما التمهيد لمؤلفه لحدوم العربية في اصول الفقه سبع
 وما المضارع عشر وما الكافي في عيون وما اللب الباسمعي وما شرح الكتاب في الفنون وما الخاتمة لحدوم
 وما المخطوط في الفقه القبطي ثمانية وما كتاب الهداية الفقه اشعار وما شرح الهداية للمؤلف والذليل الطويل
 وشرح سدك لحدوم الكواريزي ثمانية وما شرح الوقاية الفقه وما معاني الجواهر للملوك وما شرح الخليل اسان
 وما التوضيح مختصر مثله وما كتب الطب في كل الامم من الهند والبنكسيف والشمس والباقر المتجه لسان الفارسي
 وما كتاب الطماط الطب ملئت وما كتب الصرف اسان ولحدوم وما كفا في الجواهر والبلوز وما علم العروض لانه
 وما المصاحف لحدوم اثنا عشر وما شرح الفصائل لحدوم وما اسم المعلمة لحدوم وما حنازل السائير في علم الفقه
 خمس وما المخطوط والمختصر لحدوم وما المشكاة اسان وما الضوابط لحدوم وما شرح الاسرار المعروف بالجار برهان
 وما الموطأ لانه وما شرح الصفي لحدوم وما الطول في علم الكلام وما المطالع اسان وما دواوير الفارس
 ملء دوان حافظ الشيرازي وما دوان مولانا طاهر الدين الرفعي لحدوم وما المشتق لحدوم وما التواريخ
 عند آل ناه واسرار ناه وحيد ناه ولشتر ناه وخطوط الطبرستان اللهم وقولنا في بقايا لحدوم