



Tracing al-Dawānī in Ottoman Lands: Mu’ayyadzāda ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and His Natural Theology

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Research Article

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Abstract: It is generally considered and widely accepted that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī School to be effective in the formation and development of Ottoman intellectual life. However, there are some ‘ulamā’ such as Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, who influenced the Ottoman mindset with both their works and ideas and beyond, they create distinct traditions. Present outline aims to draw attention to this issue through Mu’ayyadzāda ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Efendi, who is a famous disciple and representative of al-Dawānī perspective in Anatolia. In this respect, it introduces the two risālas belongs to him that are important in terms of his theory of nature, and by moving here it points to some questions that need to be answered here and some issues that need to be addressed.

Keywords: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, Mu’ayyadzāda ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Dawānī School, Ottoman thought, natural theology.

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Introduction

The Ottoman State, as an important representative of the Islamic thought heritage and a powerful conveyer of it, became the locomotive of Islamic civilization immediately after its appearance on the historical stage and continued its scientific opportunities with making new compositions (*tarkīb*) almost until the last century. By courtesy of its political and scientific power, the Ottomans have inflamed not only the intellectual activities around Istanbul and Anatolia but also all scientific activities produced in the Islamic lands. So much so that, after a stage, thanks to the strong political and administrative structure, this land became the gravitational focus of scholars and ideas. Even with the contribution of this geography, the mainstream formed an upper-constitutions and meta-synthesis. To determine the Ottoman theoria, especially the notion of kalām, it is necessary to consider all the traditional elements that affect the formation of this thought and the contribution of this soil itself.

Although it is accepted that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and his followers are influential on Ottoman thought, many authors influenced this conception both with their works and ideas. To emphasize it with a metaphor; the Ottoman period can be likened to a deep and colorful lake where many rivers may have fallen. For this reason, all these branches should be reviewed for a detailed analysis of Ottoman thought. In this context, the importance of al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502) and Mu'ayyadzāda 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 922/1516) who has been considered his important intellectual follower in the Ottoman basin should be revealed. This article aims to share as a research note the first results of a project that we have been working on for a while. For this reason, it plans to illuminate the natural theory of Mu'ayyadzāda at first sight and to compare the early data with the system of al-Dawānī.¹ As a result, some opinions on the impact of al-Dawānī

¹ Between the years October-2018 and October-2019, I launched to work on this topic as a post-doc fellow by the support of the University of Bonn. First of all, I would like to point out my gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt Founda-

will be stated in the Ottoman geography and some ideas about the circulation of knowledge at the turning point of the 16th century will come up.

Scholarly Effect of al-Dawānī on Anatolia

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502) was a prominent philosopher and theologian from Shiraz, whose ideas spread to Anatolia in various ways and provided a cultural vitality between the Ottomans and Persians. His works are syncretic in character (*mamzūj*) that contain overtones of new Ash'arism, Ishrāqī philosophy, and theory of the *unity of existence* (*waḥdat al-wujūd*). Jalāl al-Dīn's scholarly activities caught many student's eyes on Shiraz from the different reigns of Anatolia, Khorasan, and Transoxania. Thus, those disciples contributed to the spread of his ideas and writings in their lands.²

Al-Dawānī's impact to Ottoman intellectual ethos manifested itself mostly with his treatises on proving God's existence (*al-ithbāt al-wājib*) and also with his ḥāshiya on the text of 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's (d. 756/1355) *al-'Aqāid. Risālāt al-Qadīma fī al-Ithbāt al-Wājib* is a treatise that addresses the major proofs of God's existence under two arguments: The argument from temporality (*ḥudūth*) and that from possibility (*imkān*) of the universe. The treatise in question has over a hundred commentaries and glosses in Turkish libraries³. His commentary on al-Ījī's *'Aqāid* known as *Ḥāshiya al-Jalāl* initiated an individual tradition of writing many commentaries and glosses on it.⁴

tion for Islamicate Intellectual History and it's precious adviser and administrator Judith Pfeiffer.

² About al-Dawānī's life and theology, see Harun Anay, *Celâleddin Devvânî, Hayatı, Eserleri, Ahlak ve Siyaset Düşüncesi*, PhD Dissertation (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1994).

³ Hülya Terzioğlu, "Celâleddin ed-Devvânî'nin İsbât-ı Vâcib Anlayışı ve Osmanlı Düşünce Dünyasına Etkileri," *Osmanlı Düşüncesi: Kaynakları ve Tartışma Konuları*, eds. Fuat Aydın, Metin Aydın and Muhammet Yetim (İstanbul: Mahya Yayıncılık, 2019), 177-190.

⁴ About the impact of *Ḥāshiya al-Jalāl*, see Muhammed Ali Koca "el-Akâ'idü'n-Nesefiyye ve el-Akâ'idü'l-Adudiyye Örneğinde Osmanlı'da Akaid Risaleleri: Problemler, Özellikler ve Literatür," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 28

Al-Dawānī's glosses on 'Ali Qūshjī's (d. 879/1474) commentary on *at-Tajrīd* (*Sharḥ al-Jadīd 'alā at-Tajrīd*) also received considerable feedbacks. The polemics with Şadr al-Dīn al-Deshtakī (d. 903/1497) on some issues related to this book had an impact quite a long time on the Ottoman thought. In the light of these disputes, the works were written titled *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Jalāliyya wa aṣ-Şadriyya* and it can be alleged that Ottoman thought is close to al-Dawānī's line of thought, based on his copies happen to be in majority in Turkey's Manuscript Libraries⁵. Famous biography author Tashkūbrizādā (d. 968/1561) referred to him many times in his *ash-Shaqāiq* as an indication of his influence on Ottoman thought.⁶

It is asserted that the ideas of al-Dawānī came to be known in the Ottoman scholarly environment through his disciple al-Mu'ayyadzāda 'Abd al-Raḥmān who was appointed as the military judge (*qādi al-askar*) of Anatolia and Rumelia regions during the reign of Bayazid II (1481-1512).⁷ His close relationship with Jalāl al-Dīn in this period and his place in the Ottoman educational system (*'ilmīyya*) and also, to these, training many important scholars (*'ulamā'*), among them Kemalpaşazāda (d. 940/1534) and Ebussuud Efendi (d. 1490/1574), were all aroused interest as to whether the existence of Dawānī School is like Rāzī School in Ottoman State.

Mu'ayyadzāda, who took lessons from al-Dawānī for seven

(2016), 41-97.

⁵ Salih Günaydın, "Nasīruddīn et-Tūsī'nin *Tecrīdu'l-İ'tikād*'ı Üzerine Oluşan Şerh-Hāşiye Literatürü: Türkiye Yazma Eser Kütüphanelerinden Bir Bakış," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 28 (2016), 264-265.

⁶ For instance, see Tashkūbrizādā Ahmed Efendi, *ash-Shaqāiq an-Nu'māniyya fī 'Ulamā' ad-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyya* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2019), 234, 254, 468.

⁷ To obtain general knowledge about Mu'ayyadzāda's life, see Taşköprülüzāde, *ash-Shaqāiq an-Nu'māniyya fī 'Ulamā' ad-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*, 466-72; Maḥmūd b. Sulaymān al-Kafawī, *Katāib A'lām al-Aḥyār min Fuqahā' Madhhab al-Nu'mān al-Mukhtār*, eds. Saffet Köse and Others (Istanbul: Maktabat al-Irshād, 2017), IV, 419-24; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949), II, 657-60.

years in Shiraz,⁸ presented his important pupils and followers, such as al-Dawānī's groom, Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Shirāzī and the glosser of *Sharḥ al-'Aqāid al-'Aḍudiyya*, Ḥakīm Shāh Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 926/1521) to the Bayazid II after his return to Anatolia. It is known that Ismail al-Shirwānī (d. after the second quarter of the 10/16th century) moved to Anatolia after learning lessons from al-Dawānī whether his relationship with Mu'ayyadzāda is not clear. Ibn al-Katkhudā al-Garmiyānī (d. after the second quarter of the 10/16th century) who was of Anatolian origin, had taken lessons from al-Dawānī for many years, even so, that al-Dawānī sent him on his way back to Anatolia for delivering his treatise titled *Ithbāt al-Wājib* to Mulla Luṭfī or Izārī (d. 901/1495). He was very pleased with his interest and taught this textbook despite all the challenges and oppression he faced. As one can see, al-Dawānī's books arrived at Anatolia and were studied by 'ulamā' while he was in life.

Although the influence of al-Dawānī's works on Ottoman intellectual life is admitted by everyone, the scholarly effect of his idea is not elucidated in-depth yet. For such a study, first of all, the main and distinctive features of al-Dawānī's theoría must be determined by comparison with other Schools. Then, the people who belong and track to the Dawānī school, the chains of scholars ('ulamā'), given diplomas (*ijāzah*), and citations must be identified regarding bio-bibliographical sources. Thus, the mutual understandings and tendencies of the people who followed al-Dawānī's methodology would be manifested. Scholars have long since known that the accepted and mainstream theoretical perspective in Ottoman lands pertains to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, so the obtained outcomes need to be compared in particular with the

⁸ The *ijāzatnāma* which was given by al-Dawānī to him just published by Judith Pfeiffer, "Teaching the Learned: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī's *Ijāza* to Mu'ayyadzāda 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendi and the Circulation of Knowledge between Fārs and the Ottoman Empire at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, eds. Maurice A. Pomerantz and Aram Shanin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 285-332. Pfeiffer also wrote some articles relating to the library of Mu'ayyadzāda and its contention.

Rāzi School. This effort also requires the detection of the geographical region under the effect of al-Dawānī between the 16th and 18th centuries; and a consideration of social, cultural and political changes experienced in that zone; and an analysis of the cultural relations in conjunction with the circulation of knowledge.

Two Risāla of Mu'ayyadzāda Relating to the Physical Theory

This project, which I started with the support of the University of Bonn, in first place focuses on analyzing and comparing these two authors' natural theory. This issue of nature is important in terms of the fact that it points out the scholars' basic methodology relating to the metaphysics. Fortunately, the works of al-Dawānī and Mu'ayyadzāda directly allow us to understand their views on physical phenomena. In this respect, first, we identified the two important treatises of the Mu'ayyadzāda concerning to the subject: *Risāla fī al-Juz' Alladhī lā Yatajazzā'* (A) and *Risāla fī ash-Shubha al-'Āmma* (B).⁹

After completing our study on the first treatise last year, we published it in the form of *editio princeps* and translation with a middle-size analysis relating it's content by the introduction (*dirāsa*). In here, we discussed the first grasps and observations taken from it.¹⁰ Mu'ayyadzāda primarily refutes Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) thesis about the touch (*tamās*) between two points/instants is perpetual in time with eight geometric evidence and then concentrates the matter he calls well-known "suspicion/ash-shubha al-mashhūra". This issue is a major and famous problem that has been discussed from the time of Plato (427-347 BCE) including the Islamic era that is named; the relation of continuous and discontinuous quantity or relation of time

⁹ From here onwards, both treatises will be followed by these capital letters, A and B.

¹⁰ Osman Demir and Mehmet Arıkan, "Touching the Point: Mu'ayyadzāda 'Abd Al-Raḥmān Efendi's Treatise on *Juz' Alladhī Lā Yatajazzā'*: An Analyses, Critical Edition, and Translation," *Nazariyat: Journal for the History of Islamic Philosophy and Science* 5, no. 1 (2019), 135-94.

and instant. More specifically, it is a discussion between the two opposing movements about whether the moment of rest (*sukūn*) exists between them (*quia media*).¹¹ Giving a concrete example, a stone that climbs up will stop after a while as a result of the pressure of the air from the outside and turn the direction of movement downwards. Ibn Sīnā handled it in his *Ishārāt* and after that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Qutb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 766/1365) tracked his words and discussed it widely in their commentaries. The risālā of Mu'ayyadzāda is the part of that literature. After rejecting the perpetually of contact (*baqā at-tamās*) in time, he explains the topic around the concepts temporal occurrence (*ḥusūl az-zamānī*), arrival (*wuṣūl*) and separation (*zawāl*). Accordingly, a moment of arrival is also a moment of separation for a point of an object moving in a limited space and distance. To him, the moment of rest here is realized by the continuity of the arrival. Although Mu'ayyadzāda accepts the moment of rest by the atomic theory, it builds it on the concept of the moment (*ān*), not time. Here, it is required to what extent this theory is affected by al-Dawānī. Because Mu'ayyadzāda uses expertly philosophical and theological arguments. In particular, the ontological category of *naḥs al-amr* (fact of matter) to prove the existence of the point may have influenced al-Dawānī, which he has a treatise in this regard.¹²

The risālā that we consider secondly about Mu'ayyadzāda is titled *al-Shubha al-Āmma*. As a matter of fact, that risālā is the ḥāshiya of the *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, one of the strongest texts containing theoretical physics among the kalām works. Hereby, it focuses on the concept of time and space as an extension for the

¹¹ In this subject, see Tzvi Lengerman, "Quies Media: A Lively Problem on the Agenda of Post-Avicennian Physics," *Uluslararası İbn Sīnâ Sempozyumu: Bildiriler*, eds. Mehmet Mazak and Nevzat Özkaya (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2009), II, 53-67.

¹² Al-Dawānī, *Risālā fī Naḥs al-Amr* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Cârullah Bölümü, No. 1159). For an article analyzing it, see Hacer Ergin, "Celâleddin Devvânî'nin Nefsü'l-Emr Anlayışı," *Osmanlı Düşüncesi: Kaynakları ve Tartışma Konuları*, 87-99.

link of continuity and discontinuity that is mentioned in *Risāla A*. The main problem being discussed on (*shubha*) is whether the sphere, which moves at a certain distance, proceeds this distance through a single or adjacent space.

Al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413) argues that, for an object moving at a certain distance, there is only one common space (*makān*) between the beginning and the endpoints. However, his location (*kawn*) is constantly being renewed, and his relation varies according to the limits of the distance. Therefore, that limit multiplies in the assumption, as well as these places multiply according to the assumption. Thus, it is possible to assume two adjacent spaces in this continuous space.¹³ Mu'ayyadzāda interprets at the beginning the al-Jurjānī's answer to this classic problem, known as "public doubt/ash-shubha al-‘amma", and then reasonably sorts the parties he finds right and wrong. As a result, as per his concept of physics, he tries to explain how objects move in basic categories such as space (*makān*), quality (*kayf*), quantity (*kamm*), and disposal (*vaḍ'*).

After illuminating *Risāla B* by the project, then, it would be appropriate to return to the problem of the first one. Because both *risāla* implicitly discuss a theological topic within the possibilities of theoretical physics. This case can be very natural due to the period and ecological conditions they are written in. It makes it difficult to understand these texts because of their focus on abstract problems and using a theoretical language. Besides, the *risālas* stipulate a certain level of equipment -as per the periods- in almost all historical sciences, such as mathematics, physics, logic, philosophy and astronomy.¹⁴ Therefore, it will be inevi-

¹³ For the relevant chapter, see al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, ed. and Tr. trans. Ömer Türker (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2013), II, 634-64.

¹⁴ The *ijāzatnāma* obtained by Muayyadzāda from al-Dawānī indicates that he is at a serious level in these disciplines. Mu'ayyadzāda's famous library proves to have a broad interest in these fields. See Pfeiffer, "Mü'eyyedzade Abdurrahman'ın Kütüphanesinin Peşinde: Amasyalı Bir Âlimin Kitap Toplama İştiyâkı," *Uluslararası Amasya Âlimleri Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı*, eds. Şuayip Özdemir and Ayşegül Gün (Ankara: Kibatek Yayınları, 2017), II, 399-404.

table to treat both risālas together. The fact that these risālas are followed by each other in the copy of Suleymaniye, reveals the condition of priority and posteriority between them.¹⁵ So that they can be compared as such generally:

Risāla A has generally discussed the relationship of time and moment, in the context of the problem of contact (*tamās*) which is defined by the terms of *wuṣūl* and *zawāl* under the title of “public doubt”. In contrast, the problem of *makān* is mentioned as the extent of this subject in *Risāla B*. The latter gives a more specific image than previous one with the holistic approach.¹⁶ The prior target of the *Risāla A* is the Aristotelian tradition represented by Ibn Sīnā. In this way, after criticizing the perpetuity of the contact in time, it put forward the temporal occurrence to conclude the aforementioned knot. But in *Risāla B* it seems that the essential respondent is al-Jurjānī and his comment on the nature of space which was preceded by the body transiting between two distance. Both risāla focuses on universal matters that cannot be solely limited to the history of Islamic thought and try to untie it using the local instruments inspired by Islamic theorica. The reference frame in *Risāla A* is quite extensive from the other; that is to say, it cited from the ancient philosophers such as Autolycus (360-290 BCE), Theodosius (160-100 BCE) and Euclid (third century BCE) to important authors of Islamic thought such as al-Jurjānī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Qutb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and al-Ṭūsī; while in the latter, the issue is mainly examined in opposition to al-Jurjānī. *Risāla A* is also larger in terms of volume, which is divided into two sub-chapter respectively; the cancel of the perpetuity of touch contiguity in time and the well-known doubt, after the entrance that the problem exhibited there, whereas *Risāla B* just handles the category of movement within the sample of the space. In the upcoming phases of our study, these for-

¹⁵ See Mu'ayyadzāda, *Risāla fī al-Juz' Alladhī lā Yatajazzā'* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Fatih Bölümü, No. 5414), vr. 31-45.

¹⁶ The context that is criticized in *Risāla B* very much looks like the paradox of Zeno in which in the development process, hopefully, that point also will be excavated.

mal comparisons will be made on a content basis; however, after one stage, despite all its difficulty, it may be necessary to go to other works of Mu'ayyadzāda. Then, in his work on logic, as well as the ḥāshiya of *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* there is information that we need to consider. Moreover, the notes taken by the Mu'ayyadzāda on the compilation (*tahrīr*) of al-Ṭūsī will also be important in shedding light his theory of nature.¹⁷

After treating the Mu'ayyadzāda's treatises which were of our concern now, it will be essential to focus on al-Dawānī. Mu'ayyadzāda did not refer directly to him in both works. Undoubtedly there can be several reasons for this, it seems that both risāla appears to have been written after his turn to Anatolia from Shiraz, and the tradition that prevails here in that era was the Rāzī School.¹⁸ The fact that al-Dawānī did not touch immediately the "well-known" and "public" doubt debates in his works can be considered as a factor in this direction. In any case, extra information and further works will be needed to prove these hypotheses. For this purpose, firstly, the ideas of al-Dawānī about the structure and running of the universe and so his theory of nature will be determined. Therefore, his treatises on the *al-Ithbāt al-Wājib* and the glosses on *al-'Aqāid* and *at-Tajrīd* will be treated to grasp his ideas. Afterward, to trace the effects of those ideas in the Ottoman intellectual World, they will be compared with 'Abd al-Raḥmān's natural theology. Mu'ayyadzāda, in particular in his treatise on atoms (*Risāla A*) while he was trying to solve the problems that arose from the tension between Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā in physical matters; he asserted several different ideas from those signified by the Rāzī School. For understanding to what extent those ideas had been affected by al-Dawānī, we

¹⁷ His scribe Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's compilation (*tahrīr*) of Euclid by making some notes on the edge of the pages also shows his level and concern for that topic. For a related copy, see al-Ṭūsī, *Tahrīr Uqlīdis fī al-Uṣūl al-Handasa wa al-Ḥisāb* (Istanbul: Beyazıt Kütüphanesi Veliyyüddin Efendi Bölümü, No. 2304).

¹⁸ A detailed information about the Rāzī School in Ottoman, see Müstakim Arıcı, "İslām Düşüncesinde Fahreddin er-Rāzī Ekolü," *İslām Düşüncesinin Dönüşüm Çağında Fahreddin er-Rāzī*, eds. Ömer Türker and Osman Demir (Istanbul: İsam Yayınları, 2013), 167-202.

should compare the model suggested by them to explain the physical phenomena.

Taking these two treatises to the center and using advantage of his other works and notes additionally, Mu'ayyadzāda's views on the natural issues of the physical realm and the phenomena of time, space and motion can be evaluated. Based on this, al-Dawānī's position between the theories of atomism and hylomorphism and how he developed a method to solve the knot of contact, etc. can also be questioned. Of course, these questions can be extended, but in the first hand, they will allow us to make an entry-level comparison. At this point, some links can be established that will lead to subsequent studies rather than achieve extremely final and analytical results. Although the historical contact of these two authors is obvious, it is not easy to determine the intellectual transition. Moreover, it seems impossible to specify whether there is the Dawānī School in the Ottoman lands with the efforts of Mu'ayyadzāda, it will be the success of this study, of course, to raise questions that will keep this work on the agenda and inspire new researchs.

Final Remarks

Of course, in an attempt for hypostasis in a system of thought as an alternative model to the Rāzī School in Ottoman context considering the effects of al-Dawānī, it would be inadequate to focus only on opinions of Mu'ayyadzāda. How and in what dimension this interest proceeded and by whom effected in the following centuries is the point to be emphasized. In this context, some works of Kemalrashazāda, who was the student of Mu'ayyadzāda, on the theory of nature must be evaluated. Also, Ismā'īl al-Galanbawī (d. 1205/1791) who was a distinguished theologian of the 18th century, while discussing the proofs of invalidity of the infinite regress (*tasalsul*) he lined up with al-Dawānī and use his postulates instead of al-Rāzī's one; so that this fact is a very important clue to show the continuing efficacy of his ideas in the later years. No doubt the project, that I will try to under-

stand and bring to light the expression of the Dawānī School, requires a long-term study. In the ongoing process, as a later part of the project, I am planning to show how that influence proceeded for centuries; but in the first phase, it will be adequate to compare al-Dawānī and Mu'ayyadzāda's natural theologies.

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