

Tarih Dergisi

Turkish Journal of History

Research Article | Araştırma Makalesi

Open Access | Açık Erişim

Unveiling a Lost Heritage: Tracing Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī's Intellectual Profile through a Newly Identified Example of His *Kitābhāna* Seal



Yitik Bir Mirasın Peşinde: Reşidüddîn Fazlullāh-ı Hemedānî'nin *Kitābhāne* Mührünün Yeni Keşfedilen Bir Örneği Üzerinden Entelektüel Profilinin İzini Sürmek

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Abstract The intellectual legacy of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī (d. 718/1318) extends beyond works he authored to encompass the Rab'-i Rashīdī complex, a multifaceted institution he founded near Tabriz in the early 14th century. This institution, which functioned as an intellectual hub, comprised numerous components, including two significant libraries, *Dār al-maṣāḥif wa kutub al-ḥadīth* and *Kitābhāna/Bayt al-kutub*, which also housed their own ateliers for book production. Following Rashīd al-Dīn's tragic death, both libraries, along with the rest of the complex, were looted. After centuries of quietude, researchers have identified some manuscripts from one of these libraries, *Kitābhāna*, on the basis of a distinctive seal designed by Rashīd al-Dīn. This study expands the current corpus of manuscripts bearing this seal through a newly identified example. In the study, along with the manuscript bearing the seal, the other manuscripts constituting the corpus were subjected to thematic classification. Furthermore, the manuscript at the center of the study was contextualized within a historical-geographical framework through the provenance evidence it contains. The study employs a methodological framework frequently used to reconstruct historical libraries through the analysis of provenance evidence, such as ownership statements and seal impressions. This research contributes to understanding Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual legacy through the study of his own manuscripts, while simultaneously shedding light on processes of knowledge transmission in the medieval Islamic world.

Öz Reşidüddîn Fazlullāh-ı Hemedānî'nin (ö. 718/1318) entelektüel mirası, kaleme aldığı eserlerin ötesine uzanarak 14. yüzyıl başlarında Tebriz yakınlarında inşa ettirdiği çok yönlü bir kurum olan Rab'-i Reşidî Külliyesi'ni de kapsamaktadır. Bir ilim merkezi işlevi gören bu külliye'nin en önemli bileşenleri arasında, bünyelerinde kendi kitap atölyelerini barındıran *Dârü'l-mesâḥif ve kütübü'l-ḥadīs* ile *Kitābhāne/Beytü'l-kütüb* adlı iki kütüphane de bulunmaktaydı. Reşidüddîn'in trajik ölümünün ardından külliye'nin diğer bölümleriyle birlikte yağmalanan bu kütüphanelerden *Kitābhāne*'ye ait bazı yazmalar günümüze ulaşmıştır. Bu yazmalar, araştırmacılar tarafından, Reşidüddîn'in bizzat tasarladığı bir mühür vasıtasıyla *Kitābhāne*'ye atfedilmiştir. Bu çalışma, Reşidüddîn'in söz konusu mührünün yeni bir örneğine ve bu yeni örneği taşıyan yazma esere odaklanmakta ve böylece mevcut külliye'yi genişletmektedir. Çalışmada, mezkûr mühür taşıyan yazma ile birlikte, külliye'yi oluşturan diğer yazmalar tematik sınıflandırmaya tâbi tutulmuş, bunun yanında çalışmanın odağındaki yazma, taşıdığı diğer mülkiyet beyanları üzerinden, tarihî-coğrafi zeminde bir bağlama oturtulmuştur. Çalışmada, temellük kaydı ve mühür gibi provenansın analizi ile tarihî kütüphaneleri yeniden yapılandırmak için sıklıkla başvurulan metodolojik bir çerçeveye kullanılmaktadır. Böylece çalışma, Reşidüddîn'e ait yazma eserlerin incelenmesi üzerinden onun kültürel mirasının anlaşılmasına önemli bir katkı sağlarken, aynı zamanda Orta Çağ İslam dünyasındaki bilgi aktarım süreçlerine ışık tutmaktadır.

Keywords History · Library and Information Studies · Islamic Manuscript Tradition · Seal Impressions · Ownership Statements · Ilkhanids · Rab'-i Rashīdī Complex · Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī



“ Citation | Atf: Fener, Alpaslan. "Unveiling a Lost Heritage: Tracing Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī's Intellectual Profile through a Newly Identified Example of His *Kitābhāna* Seal." *Tarih Dergisi-Turkish Journal of History* 88 (2026): 76-100. <https://doi.org/10.26650/iutd.1684854>

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Anahtar Kelimeler Tarih · Kütüphane ve Bilgi Çalışmaları · İslam Yazma Eser Kültürü · Mühürler · Temellük Kayıtları · İlhanlılar · Rab'ı Reşidî Külliyesi · Reşidüddin Fazlullāh-ı Hemedānî

1. Introduction

In the field of historical inquiry, studies of intellectual biography offer indispensable avenues for probing the intellectual milieus and scholarly pursuits of figures from the past. The Islamic tradition, in particular, presents a rich and heterogeneous corpus of sources for such biographical studies. This corpus comprises numerous literary genres, each of which constitutes a distinct branch of biographical literature. The process of reconstructing a historical figure's intellectual profile conventionally draws upon data from these primary sources and the individual's own written corpus. Despite this abundance of material, writing intellectual biography poses significant methodological difficulties. The hurdles, stemming primarily from the frequent absence or inadequacy of sources or the fragmentary nature of the extant record, substantially hinder research progress.¹ Among the most robust strategies for mitigating these constraints is examination of the subject's personal library.²

To apprehend an intellectual's framework of thought and scholarly inclinations, their personal library, where available, offers crucial evidence. It reveals which texts they engaged with, which authorities they held in esteem and by extension, which domains of knowledge captured their attention. Within Islamic societies, such personal libraries can often be partially reconstituted through the analysis of the provenance of manuscripts.³ These elements serve as paramount sources for intellectual biography within Islamic studies, permitting investigators to delineate not only personal reading habits but also wider social, cultural and political affiliations. To illustrate, the existence of multiple ownership marks within a single manuscript, especially when cross-referenced with biographical information, enables scholars to chart the book's transmission among various owners, thereby shedding light on intellectual and socio-political networks. Discoveries of this nature provide a foundation for both focused biographical studies and broader prosopographical research into learned communities across diverse social strata.

Examining this body of evidence through an intellectual-historiographical lens enables a more comprehensive contextualization of individual scholarly trajectories within Islamic societies. For example, reconstructing the contents of an Islamic scholar's library on the basis of provenance evidence can reveal not only his professional formation but also his intellectual preoccupations and position within contemporary scholarly and socio-political structures. Consequently, this line of inquiry deserves special attention, since research on the private libraries of learned elites in Muslim contexts has coalesced into a rapidly expanding subfield, characterized by growing methodological sophistication and a substantial enlargement of the corpora under analysis.⁴

¹ Ali Akyıldız, *Tarihçilik ve Yöntem Üzerine*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul 2021, p. 31.

² Berat Açı, "Edebiyatın İlmi veya İlmin Edebiyatı: Cârullah Efendi'nin Edebiyat Koleksiyonunu Kenardan Okumak", *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Nottarı*, ed. Berat Açı, İlem Yayınları, İstanbul 2020, p. 65-72.

³ Ali Aslan, *Yazma Eserlerde Mülkiyet Tezâhürleri ve Temellük Kayıtları*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, İstanbul 2024, p. 43-53.

⁴ *The Library of Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzār: Book Culture in Late Ottoman Palestine*, eds. Aljoumani, Saïd et al., Brill, Leiden 2025; Berat Açı, "Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Koleksiyonu ve İlimler Tasnifi: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Değerlendirme", *Darulfunun İlahiyatı*, XXXV/1 (2024), p. 129-152; M. Fatih Çalışır, "Osmanlı Kültür Tarihine Bir Katkı: Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Koleksiyonu", *Osmanlı Tarihinde Köprülüler Dönemi (1656-1710): Yeni Kaynaklar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, ed. M. Fatih Çalışır, İbn Haldun Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul 2024, p. 383-414; Saïd Damin Aljoumani - Konrad Hirschler, *Owning Books and Preserving Documents in Medieval Jerusalem: The Library of Burhan al-Din*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2023; *Osmanlı Kitap Koleksiyonerleri ve Koleksiyonları: İtibar ve İhtiras*, eds. Tülay Artan - Hatice Aynur, Dergâh Yayınları, İstanbul 2022; Boris Liebrecht, "What's in a Seal?: Identification and Interpretation of 'Abd al-Bâqī Ibn al-'Arabī's (d. 971/1564) Seal and Its Function," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, XIII/1 (2022), p. 55-80; Christoph Rauch, "Place Names in Colophons and Notes of Yemeni Manuscripts," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, XIII/1 (2022), p. 81-116; Kristof D'hulster, *Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves: Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of the Mamluk Sultan Qānişawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906-922/1501-1516)*, V&R unipress Göttingen, Bonn 2021; Ahmet Altay, "Pazvantoğlu Osman ve Vidin'de Kurduğu Kütüphane", *Bilgi Yönetimi*, III/2 (2020), p. 185-199; *Taşradan Merkeze Bir Osmanlı Ulema Ailesi: Taşköprülüzadeler ve İsamüddin Ahmed*, eds. Mustakim Arıcı - Mehmet Arıkan, İlem Yayınları, İstanbul 2020; Tülay Artan, "On Sekizinci Yüzyıl Başında Osmanlı Bilgi Üretimi ve Dağılımı: Yazma Eser Koleksiyonları ve Koleksiyonerler Arasında Şehid Ali Paşa'nın Yeri", *Müteferrika: Kitabiyat Dergisi*, LVII (2020), p. 5-40; İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik: Tarihi Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu*, Timaş Yayınları, 2. Basım, İstanbul 2020; *In the Author's Hand: Holograph and Authorial Manuscripts in*



A focused case study can operationalize the claim that personal libraries, reconstructed on the basis of provenance evidence such as ownership statements and seal impressions, shed light on individual reading practices and the institutional ecology that sustained knowledge production. In precisely this regard, the manuscripts belonging to the Ilkhanid scholar-bureaucrat Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī constitute a paradigmatic case, since the paratexts they preserve function as diagnostic provenance evidence. Accordingly, the examination of surviving manuscripts associated with Rashīd al-Dīn enables a move beyond abstract principles toward the concrete reconstruction of a specific historical actor's library on paper, the delineation of his intellectual interests and an analysis of its role within broader networks of production and circulation.

Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī was a prominent figure of the Ilkhanid period, recognized not only for his political career but also for his intellectual context. He played a pivotal role in the production and circulation of knowledge in the Islamic world through the establishment of two libraries, *Dār al-maṣāḥif wa kutub al-ḥadīth* and *Kitābkhāna/Bayt al-kutub* within the Rab'-i Rashīdī complex, which he had constructed near Tabriz in the early 14th century.⁵ It is thought that these libraries were primarily stocked with books endowed by Rashīd al-Dīn himself.⁶ Beyond their function as repositories of books, these libraries also served as ateliers. One of these ateliers was dedicated to duplicating the books in the *Dār al-maṣāḥif wa kutub al-ḥadīth*.⁷ The *Kitābkhāna's* atelier carried out the translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's works from Arabic into Persian and vice versa and the copied manuscripts were subsequently distributed to various cities.⁸ This arrangement illustrates Rashīd al-Dīn's commitment to the dissemination of knowledge as an integral aspect of his intellectual and cultural legacy and underscores the libraries' role not only in preserving knowledge but also in actively disseminating it across the Islamic world. However, following his tragic death, both libraries, along with the Rab'-i Rashīdī complex, were subjected to looting, which resulted in the dispersal of numerous valuable manuscripts.⁹ Despite this devastation, researchers have identified some surviving manuscripts that originated in one of these libraries, namely the *Kitābkhāna*. The identification is based on a distinct seal impression inscribed with the phrase *Waqf-i Kitābkhāna-i Rashīdī* and designed by Rashīd al-Dīn, which appears on the folios of certain surviving manuscripts.

The seal impression of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī was first introduced to the academic community by Francis Richard. He identified this seal impression in two manuscript copies held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The first example appears on multiple folios of *Latā'if al-Ḥikma*, authored in Persian by the 13th-century scholar Abū al-Sanā

the Islamic Handwritten Tradition, eds. Bauden, Frédéric - Elise Franssen, Brill, Leiden 2020; Michal Biran, "Libraries, Books, and Transmission of Knowledge in Ilkhanid Baghdad", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, LXII/2-3 (2019), p. 464-502; Dünder Alikılıç - Malik Yılmaz, "Kaçanıklı Mehmed Paşa Vakfıyesi ve Kütüphanesi", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, XXII/2 (2018), p. 1845-1860; Akram Khabibullaev, "Scattered Manuscripts: Some Notes on Muḥammad Pārsā's (d. 822/1420) Library", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, IX/2-3 (2018), p. 176-189; Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2016; Boris Liebrecht, *Die Rifā'iya Aus Damaskus: Eine Privatbibliothek Im Osmanischen Syrien Und Ihr Kulturelles Umfeld*, Brill, Leiden 2016; İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul 2013; Murat Candemir, "Yıldız Saray Kütüphanesi: Saraydan Üniversiteye", *Tarih Dergisi*, XLV (2012), p. 123-154; *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources*, eds. Andreas Görke - Konrad Hirschler, Ergon Verlag in Kommission, Würzburg 2011; Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*, Brill, Leiden 2009; Annabel Teh Gallop, "Exceptions to the Rule: Malay Seals in Manuscript Books", *Archipel*, LXXIV/1 (2007), p. 139-164; François Déroche, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, trans. Deke Dusinberre - David Radzinowicz, Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, London 2005; Ulrich Haarmann, "The Library of a Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem Scholar", *Der Islam: Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Und Kultur Des Islamischen Orients*, LXI (1984), p. 327-333; Müjgan Cünbur, "I. Abdülhamid Vakfıyesi ve Hamidiye Kütüphanesi", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, XXII/1-2 (1964), p. 17-68; Müjgan Cünbur, "Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi ve Kütüphane Vakfıyesi", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, I/1 (1963), p. 203-217.

⁵Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh ibn Abī al-Khayr ibn 'Āli al-Hamadānī, *Waqf-nāma-yi Rab'-i Rashīdī*, ed. Mojtaba Minovi - Iraj Afshar, Intishārāt-i Anjumān-i Āthār-i Millī, Tehran 1972, p. 133-134, 197-198, 237-241 (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Waqf-nāma*); Sheila S. Blair, "Rab'-e Rašīdī", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/rab-e-rashidi> accessed: 11.03.2024; Osman G. Özgüdenli, "Bir İlhanlı Şehir Modeli: Rab'-i Reşīdī'de Meslekler, Görevliler ve Ücretler", *Osmanlı Öncesi ile Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Esnaf ve Ekonomi Semineri*, 9-10 Mayıs 2002, *Bildiriler*, I, "Globus" Dünya Basımevi, İstanbul 2003, p. 114 (Özgüdenli, "Bir İlhanlı Şehir Modeli").

⁶Rashīd al-Dīn, *Waqf-nāma*, p. 133-134, 197-198, 237-241; Blair, "Rab'-e Rašīdī", accessed: 11.03.2024.

⁷Rashīd al-Dīn, *Waqf-nāma*, p. 237-241; Nourane Ben Azzouna - Patricia Roger-Puyo, "The Question of the Formation of Manuscript Production Workshops in Iran According to Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allah al-Hamadānī's *Majmū'a Rashīdiyya* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, VII/2 (2016), p. 154-156; Blair, "Rab'-e Rašīdī", accessed: 11.03.2024.

⁸Rashīd al-Dīn, *Waqf-nāma*, p. 237-241; Ben Azzouna - Roger-Puyo, op. cit., p. 154-156; Blair, "Rab'-e Rašīdī", accessed: 11.03.2024.

⁹Hāfız Abrū, *Zayl-i Jāmi' al-Tawārīh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Khānbābā Bayānī, Chapkhāna-i 'İlmī, Tehran 1317, p. 79; Özgüdenli, "Bir İlhanlı Şehir Modeli", p. 125-126; Javad Bashiari, "Ash'ār-i Fārsī dar Jung-i Khaṭṭī-yi Qutb-i Shirāzī (Nuskahā-yi Bāzmānda az Kitābkhāna-yi Rashīdī-yi Tabriz)", *Nushka Pezhūhī* II (1384 sh.), p. 523-534.

Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥāmid al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283).¹⁰ The second example is found on the final folio of a manuscript copy of *Majmū'at al-Rashīdiyya*, a compilation of Rashīd al-Dīn's works.¹¹ However, the seal impression in this manuscript was obscured by a piece of paper, rendering its inscription unreadable.¹² Richard likely deduced the seal's association with Rashīd al-Dīn based on its dimensions and the organic connection between the compilation and the author. Francis Richard interpreted the inscription on the seal impression as *Mulk-i Kitābkhāna-i Rashīd*.¹³ But Iraj Afshar, in a prefatory note to Richard's publication, corrected the reading of the inscription on the seal impression. Afshar argued that the first word was not *Mulk* but *Waqf*, suggesting that the text should be read as *Waqf-i Kitābkhāna-i Rashīd*.¹⁴

Another researcher, Osman G. Özgüdenli, in his study on the autograph copy of a volume of *Tajziyat al-Amṣār wa Tajziyat al-Aṣār*, written by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Izz al-Dīn Faḍlallāh ibn Abī Na'īm al-Yazdī (d. 730/1329-30), more commonly known as Waṣṣāf, also pointed to Rashīd al-Dīn's seal impression.¹⁵ Özgüdenli noted the presence of the seal impression on various folios of this manuscript, reiterating Richard's earlier findings and Afshar's corrections.¹⁶ Nevertheless, he remarked that the seal impression should essentially be read as *Waqf-i Kitābkhāna-i Rashīdī*. This interpretation conclusively finalized the reading of the seal impression's inscription and firmly established its attribution to Rashīd al-Dīn.¹⁷

Another manuscript bearing Rashīd al-Dīn's seal is a *majmū'a* preserved at the Āyat Allāh al-'Uzma Mar'ashī Najafī Library in Iran. This *majmū'a*, which was copied by the renowned philosopher, astronomer, mathematician, and medical scholar Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), contains fourteen works on kalām and history, and is also referred to as the *Shīrāzī Codex*.¹⁸ Javad Bashaṛī and Reza Pourjavady, together with Sabine Schmidtke, have published two separate articles on the *Shīrāzī Codex*.¹⁹

Finally, Muhammad Husayn Hakīm published two significant works on this seal impression. In his initial study, he identified six additional manuscripts bearing this seal, bringing the total number of known examples to ten, compared to the four previously identified by other researchers.²⁰ Approximately two years later, Hakīm published another article introducing three more manuscript copies featuring Rashīd al-Dīn's seal impression, bringing the total number to thirteen.²¹

This study investigates a newly identified example of Rashīd al-Dīn's seal impression, thereby contributing to the quantitative expansion of the corpus. It also moves beyond mere quantification. In light of the expanded corpus, which now includes this newly identified seal-bearing copy alongside previously attested examples, the study draws on the collective evidence to reconstruct Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual and disciplinary profile, delineating the contours of his

¹⁰Francis Richard, "Mohr-i Kitābkhāna-yi Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh-i Hamadānī?", *Āyanda VIII/6* (1361 sh.), p. 343-346. As Osman G. Özgüdenli notes, Richard initially discussed this topic in a letter he sent to Muhammad Taqī Danishpajouh, later published among Danishpajouh's correspondences. Osman G. Özgüdenli, "İlhanlı Tarihine Ait Yeni Bir Kaynak: Tarih-i Vassāf'ın Müellif Nüshası", *Belleten LXX/258* (2006), p. 510 (Özgüdenli, "Tarih-i Vassāf'ın Müellif Nüshası").

¹¹Richard, op. cit., p. 343.

¹²Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh b. Abī al-Khayr b. 'Āli al-Hamadānī, *Majmū'at al-Raṣīdiyya*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 2324, 376r (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Majmū'at al-Raṣīdiyya*).

¹³Richard, op. cit., p. 343.

¹⁴Richard, op. cit., p. 343. Afshar referred to this correction again in his own research. Iraj Afshar, "Mālikiyat wa kharīd wa furūkht-i noskhakhā-yi khattī dar-gozasht", *Nāma-yi Bāharistān I/2* (1379 sh.), p. 50.

¹⁵Özgüdenli, "Tarih-i Vassāf'ın Müellif Nüshası", p. 509-512.

¹⁶Özgüdenli, "Tarih-i Vassāf'ın Müellif Nüshası", p. 509-12.

¹⁷Özgüdenli, "Tarih-i Vassāf'ın Müellif Nüshası", p. 510.

¹⁸Bashaṛī, op. cit., p. 523-534; Reza Pourjavady - Sabine Schmidtke, "The Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311) Codex (Ms. Mar'ashī 12868): [Studies on Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, II]", *Studia Iranica XXXVI/2* (2007), p. 279-301.

¹⁹Bashaṛī, op. cit., p. 527-528; Pourjavady - Schmidtke, op. cit., p. 284-285.

²⁰Muhammad Husayn Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude ber-Kitābkhāna-yi Rab'-i Rashīdī", *Nāma-yi Bāharistān V/24* (1397 sh.), p. 35-60 (Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude").

²¹Muhammad Husayn Hakīm, "Se noskha-yi dīgar ber-Kitābkhāna-yi Rab'-i Rashīdī", *Āyina-yi Pajūhash XXXI/185* (1399 sh.), p. 113 (Hakīm, "Se noskha-yi dīgar").

scholarly interests as reflected in his library's holdings. Furthermore, by tracing specific nodes in the newly identified manuscript's chain of custody, it aims to illuminate the pathways of its circulation.

2. Adding a Link to the Chain: A Newly Identified Example of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Kitābkhāna* Seal

Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī stipulated in his *waqfiyya* that every book in the *Kitābkhāna* should bear a seal of his own design as a safeguard against loss or theft.²² It is highly likely that the seal mentioned in Rashīd al-Dīn's *waqfiyya* is the one bearing the inscription *Waqf-i Kitābkhāna-i Rashīdī*. This seal, inscribed in Kufic script, aligns with the *tamghas* commonly employed during the Mongol era and features a rectangular (four-sided) design consistent with Mongol stylistics.²³ Furthermore, the seal is considered to be one of the earliest known examples of a Persian *waqf* seal.²⁴

The seal impression presented in this study appears on multiple folios of a manuscript of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id fī al-Amthāl*, a book on classical Arabic proverbs composed by Abī Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ṭāhir al-Khūyī (d. 549/1154-1155), a scholar of Arabic language and literature. This manuscript of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, which was copied by Ibrāhīm ibn Faḍlallāh ibn 'Alī al-Qazvīnī, is housed in the Beyazit Manuscript Library.²⁵ Based on a poem interpreted as a copying on-demand (*istiktāb*) record, found at the end of the manuscript, the copying process was completed in 630/1233 in an unspecified location.²⁶ The manuscript was likely prepared for Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd (d. after 630/1233), who was presumably one of the statesmen of the period.²⁷ This copy of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* consists of 172 folios, but it should be noted that the copy lacks folio numbers; the numbering provided here has been deduced based on the Islamic manuscript tradition, which assumes foliation begins with *basmala* on folio 1r.

The seal impression measures 13×74 mm and is vertically impressed on folios 1r, 4r, 5r, 9r, 14r, 37r, 62r, 97r, 128r, 148r, 161r, 165r, 169r, 170r and 171r. Among these samples, those on folios 161r and 169r are the most legible and distinct (see fig. 1). Moreover, they stand out as the clearest and most readable examples compared to seal impressions documented in previously published studies.

²²Rashīd al-Dīn, *Waqf-nāma*, p. 198.

²³Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220-1350*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1955, p. 293; Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude", p. 36; David M. Farquhar, "The Official Seals and Ciphers of the Yüan Period", *Monumenta Serica* XXV/1 (1966), p. 362-393; Gerhard Doerfer, "Al Tamgā", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/al-tamga-red-seal> accessed 03.10.2024.

²⁴Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude", p. 36.

²⁵Abī Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Khūyī was a student of Abu'l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124), who, like his pupil, was a scholar of Arabic language and literature and is the author of the *Majma' al-Amthāl*, which is on classical Arabic proverbs, like *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*. Abī Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ṭāhir al-Khūyī, *Farā'id al-Kharā'id fī al-Amthāl*, Beyazit Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazit B5574, 2r.

²⁶al-Khūyī, *op. cit.*, 172v.

²⁷al-Khūyī, *op. cit.*, 172v.

Figure 1

Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī's seal impression. *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, f. 161r (left), 169r (right)
 Beyazıt Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazıt B5574



Additionally, it has been observed that the seal impressions have left traces on nearly all the verso sides of the corresponding folios (see fig. 2). The title and author of the book are recorded on folio 1v as *Kitāb Farā'id al-Kharā'id fī al-Amthāl al-'Arab* [authored by] *al-Shaykh al-Imām al-Ajall al-'Ālim al-Bārī' Yūsuf ibn Ṭāhīr al-Khūyī*. On the same folio, there are multiple ownership statements and a *waḥq* (a square-shaped talismanic inscription). Apart from Rashīd al-Dīn's seal impression, three other seal impressions appear in the manuscript. The subsequent sections will offer a comprehensive explanation of the ownership statements and the other seal impressions. With the example in *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, the number of extant manuscripts bearing Rashīd al-Dīn's seal increases to fourteen, thereby expanding the quantitative scope of the corpus. By contextualizing the books containing examples of the seal impression identified to date, the study provides a deeper understanding of Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual legacy.

Figure 2

The traces of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī's seal impression. *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, f. 161v (left), 169v (right)
 Beyazıt Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazıt B5574



3. Mapping the Intellectual Terrain of the *Kitābkhāna*: An Inventory and Thematic Classification of the Surviving Corpus

Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual profile can be traced in both the principal sources that record his biography and in his own writings. A further line of evidence for reconstructing his intellectual profile and orientations or tendencies, lies in manuscript copies bearing his seal, once housed in the *Kitābkhāna* of the Rab'ī Rashīdī complex. Identifying the disciplines represented in the extant manuscripts marked with Rashīd al-Dīn's seal helps clarify the contours of his intellectual interests. By drawing on the surviving corpus, this chapter seeks to delineate the scope of Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual interests.

As previously noted, fourteen manuscript copies bearing Rashīd al-Dīn's seal have been identified to date. While some of these are *majmū'as* containing multiple books or treatises (*risālas*), others are discrete single-text codices. The first *majmū'a* is *Majmū'at al-Rashīdiyya*, which contains four of Rashīd al-Dīn's own books, all related to *kalām*: *Kitāb al-Tawḍīḥāt*,²⁸ *Miftāḥ al-Tafāsīr*,²⁹ *Kitāb al-Sulṭāniyya*³⁰ and *Laṭā'if al-Ḥaqā'iq*.³¹

The second *majmū'a*, also referred to as the *Shīrāzī Codex*, comprises six individual books. The first book of the *Shīrāzī Codex* is a fragment from *Majlis-i Maktūb-i Khwārazm* by Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), which pertains to *kalām*. The second book is an anonymous *Chronicle of Mongols* in Persian. The third and fourth are books of 'Izz al-Dawla Sa'd ibn Mansūr ibn Sa'd al-Isrā'īlī al-Baghdādī (d. 683/1284), more commonly known as Ibn Kammuna, on *kalām*, one is *al-Lam'a al-Juvayniyya (Risāla fī al-'Ilm wa al-'Amal)* and the other is *Tankīḥ al-Abḥāth fī Baḥth 'an al-Milal al-Thalāth*. The fifth and sixth books are *lḥām al-Yahūd* and *al-Aṣ'ila wa al-Ajwiba*, both authored by Samaw'āl ibn Yahyā ibn 'Abbās al-Maghribī (d. circa 570/1175) focusing on *kalām*.³²

The third *majmū'a* contains three books related to medicine³³ and can thus be called the *Medical Codex*. The first book in the *Medical Codex* is the anonymous *Sharḥ Fusūl Buqrāt*. The second is *Kitāb al-Bawl* by Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (d. after 341/953). The third is *Ma'ānī Istikhrajuha Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq min Kutub al-Buqrāt wa Jālīnūs fī al-Bawl alā Ṭarīq al-Mas'ala wa al-Jawāb*, attributed to Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d. 260/873).³⁴

The fourth *majmū'a* includes six books authored by Athīr al-Dīn Mufaḍḍal ibn 'Umar al-Samarqandī al-Abharī (d. 663/1265 [?]) in the fields of philosophy and logic and it can be named the *Abharī Codex*. The first book in the *Abharī Codex* is *Kashf al-Ḥaqā'iq fī Tahḥīr al-Daqā'iq*, which is divided into three main sections: logic (*manṭiq*), natural philosophy (*ṭabī'iyyāt*) and metaphysics (*ilāhiyyāt*). The second book is *Muntahā al-Afkār fī Abānat al-Asrār*, also structured into three sections on logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics and both books addressing foundational issues in philosophy. The third book appears to be a revised and later version of the logic section of *Muntahā al-Afkār*, reflecting additional modifications by the author. The fourth and fifth books, *Khulāṣat al-Afkār wa Naqāwat al-Asrār* and *Daqā'iq al-Afkār*, are both focused on logic. The sixth and final book, *Unwān al-Ḥaqq wa Burhān al-Ṣidq*, like the first two books, is organized into three main sections (logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics) and similarly explores fundamental philosophical issues.³⁵

²⁸Rashīd al-Dīn, *Majmū'at al-Rašīdiyya*, 54r-167v.

²⁹Rashīd al-Dīn, *Majmū'at al-Rašīdiyya*, 168r-206v.

³⁰Rashīd al-Dīn, *Majmū'at al-Rašīdiyya*, 207r-286v.

³¹Rashīd al-Dīn, *Majmū'at al-Rašīdiyya*, 287r-386v.

³²Pourjavady - Schmidtke, op. cit., p. 285-299.

³³Hakīm, "Se noskha-yi dīgar", p. 113-120.

³⁴Hakīm, "Se noskha-yi dīgar", p. 113-120.

³⁵Hakīm, "Se noskha-yi dīgar", p. 113-120.

Apart from these, Ibn Sīnā's (Avicenna) (d. 428/1037) *al-Najāt* is also included in a *majmū'a* along with *Bustān al-Atibbā' wa Rawdat al-Alibbā'* written by Abū Nasr As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn Jirjīs ibn Mitrān al-Dīmashqī (d. 587/1191).³⁶ However, within the scope of this study, it seems more reasonable to treat *al-Najāt* individually (single-text codex) for various reasons. As Muhammad Husayn Hakīm also pointed out, Rashīd al-Dīn's seal impression is found on the folios 101v, 108r, 109r of *al-Najāt*. Additionally, on folios 5v and 6r, as in the case of *Majmū'at al-Rashīdiyya*, there are areas overpasted with paper.³⁷ It is highly probable that these folios also bear Rashīd al-Dīn's seal. It appears that Muhammad Husayn Hakīm overlooked these examples.³⁸ The companion copy within the *majmū'a*, however, lacks Rashīd al-Dīn's seal impression. Moreover, the differences in physical characteristics such as script (*khatt*) and paper between the two books further reinforce the idea that these books may not be part of the same *majmū'a* from the very beginning. Instead, it is thought that *al-Najāt* was present in the *Kitābkhāna* on its own and was combined with the other copy at a later stage.³⁹ *al-Najāt* was authored in 417/1026 or 418/1027 with the aim of providing readers with knowledge on fundamental philosophical topics and preparing those interested in this field.⁴⁰ The book, which serves as a significant summary of the logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics sections of *al-Shifā'*, also includes a section on mathematics (*riyāḍīyyāt*) prepared by Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī (d. 11th century), his pupil, based on Ibn Sīnā's writings.⁴¹

The first physically single-text codex bearing Rashīd al-Dīn's seal is *Latā'if al-Ḥikma*, written in Persian by the 13th-century scholar Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī on essential *kalām* and ethics issues. *Latā'if al-Ḥikma* consists of two main sections with an introduction.⁴² The first section is titled *ḥikmat-i 'ilmī* and the second is *ḥikmat-i 'amalī*. Under the title *ḥikmat-i 'ilmī*, al-Urmawī discusses fundamental topics related to *kalām*⁴³ and in the second section, *ḥikmat-i 'amalī*, following an introduction (*muqaddimāt*), addresses subjects commonly discussed in Islamic *akhlaq* literature, including ethics, economics and politics.⁴⁴

The second is the autograph copy of the renowned Ilkhanid historian Waṣṣāf, titled *Tajziyat al-Amṣār wa Tajziyat al-Aṣār*. The author composed this book as a *zayl* to *Tārīkh-i Jihān-gushā*, written by 'Atā Malik Juvaynī (d. 681/1283), another prominent historian of the Ilkhanid period.⁴⁵ Accordingly, *Tajziyat al-Amṣār* begins where Juvaynī's *Tārīkh-i Jihān-gushā* ends, covering events starting from 656/1258 and concluding with the events of 728/1328.⁴⁶

The third is *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabā' wa Muḥāwarāt al-Shu'arā'*, authored by Abū al-Qāsim Husayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mufaḍḍal al-Raghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. early 11th century). As the title suggests, it is a book in the *muḥāḍarāt* genre within Islamic literature.⁴⁷ Although *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabā'* is categorized under a distinct subgenre, its content and purpose align with works on *amthāl*, as *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* by al-Khūyī. Both demonstrate similarities in their approach to compiling and presenting educational and cultural knowledge.⁴⁸

The fourth is an anonymous *Sharḥ al-Qānūn*, focused on medicine. Unfortunately, neither an opportunity to examine the physical copy of the manuscript nor access to its digital copy has been possible. Additionally, since the author of

³⁶Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude", p. 44-46.

³⁷Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn ibn Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Sīnā el-Buhārī, *al-Najāt*, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, Ms. Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 903-001, 5v, 6r.

³⁸Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude", p. 44-46.

³⁹It should also be noted that, to strengthen and perhaps even to definitively confirm this conclusion, certain physical analyses need to be undertaken. Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude", p. 44-46.

⁴⁰Ömer Mahir Alper, "İbn Sīnā", *DİA*, XX, p. 319-322.

⁴¹Alper, *op. cit.*, p. 319-322.

⁴²Sirāj al-Dīn Mahmūd al-Urmawī, *Latā'if al-Ḥikma*, ed. Ghulam-Husayn Yusufi, Intishārāt-i Bunyād ü Farhang-i Īrān, Tehran 1340 sh., p. 5-158, p. 159-290.

⁴³Urmawī, *op. cit.*, p. 5-158.

⁴⁴Urmawī, *op. cit.*, p. 159-290.

⁴⁵Özgüdenli, "Tārīh-i Vassāf'ın Müellif Nüshası", p. 504.

⁴⁶Özgüdenli, "Tārīh-i Vassāf'ın Müellif Nüshası", p. 504.

⁴⁷Hüseyn Yazıcı, "Muḥāḍarāt", *DİA*, XXX, p. 391-392.

⁴⁸Yazıcı, *op. cit.*, p. 391-392.

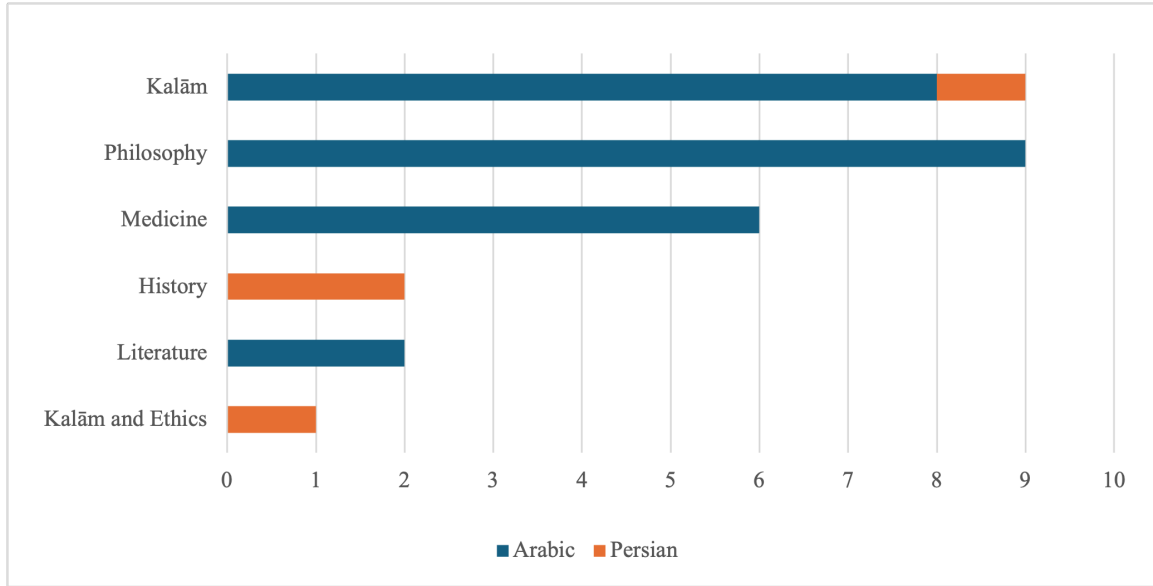
the article on the subject, Hakīm, offers no detailed or comprehensive account of the book in his study, the content of the *Sharḥ al-Qānūn* could not be determined.⁴⁹ However, it is evident that the book is a commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb*.

The fifth is *Kitāb al-Mi'ah fī al-Şinā'ah al-Ṭibbiyah*, a medical encyclopedia written by Abū Sahl 'Īsā ibn Yaḥyā al-Masīhī al-Jurjānī (d. 401/1010-11 [?]), organized into one hundred sections (*kitāb*).⁵⁰ The sixth and seventh books are two commentaries on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt wa al-Tanbīhāt*, a book that contains his latest views on logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics. The first commentary is *Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* by Abū Ja'far Naşīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Hasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), commonly known as Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and the other is *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa al-Tanbīhāt* written by an Ash'arite dialectical theologian (*mutakallim*) Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Abd al-Raḥmān al-Işfahānī (d. 749/1348).⁵¹ The eighth is Ibn Sīnā's prominent medical compendium, *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb*, which consists of five sections.⁵²

The ninth and final work is Abī Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ṭāhir al-Khūyī's *Farā'id al-Kharā'id fī al-Amthāl*, the central focus of this study. In this copy of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, which comprises thirty sections, the number of headings remains consistent, with no omissions or additions. Each section is designated as *bāb* and enumerated as *al-awwal*, *al-thānī*, *al-thālith*, *al-rābi'*, etc. The content corresponding to each heading is organized alphabetically according to the Arabic script, from *hamza* to *yā'*. The thirtieth and final *bāb* concentrates on various pieces of advice and wisdom. In *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, al-Khūyī compiles an extensive range of literary, ethical, religious and historical material, thereby reflecting the religious, social and cultural knowledge of his era, similar to *muḥāḍarāt* books, despite the difference in genre.⁵³

Graph 1

The distribution of the twenty-nine books according to disciplines.



Based on the available data, Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual interests appear to span *kalām*, medicine, sub-disciplines of Aristotelian philosophy such as logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics and ethics; in addition, history and specific

⁴⁹Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude", p. 44-46.

⁵⁰Hakīm, "Kitābkhā-yi waqf-shude", p. 44-46; Ömer Mahir Alper, "Mesîhî, Ebû Sehl", *DİA*, XXIX, p. 313-314.

⁵¹Robert Wisnovsky, "Towards a Genealogy of Avicennism", *Oriens* XLII/3-4 (2014), p. 353-356; Agil Şirinov, "Tūsî, Nasîrüddin", *DİA*, XLI, p. 437-442.

⁵²Hakīm, "Se noskha-yi dîgar", p. 113-120.

⁵³Ömer Kara, "Râgîb el-İsfahânî", *DİA*, XXXIV, p. 398-401.

genres of Islamic literature like *muḥāḍarāt* and *amthāl* (which resemble 'aphorisms'). *Kalām*, philosophy⁵⁴ and due to his profession, medicine occupied prominent positions in Rashid al-Din's intellectual engagement (see Graph 1). When the manuscripts bearing Rashid al-Din's seal and once housed in the *Kitābkhāna* within the Rab'-i Rashidī complex are examined individually as single-text codices, the corpus is revealed to contain twenty-nine distinct books (see Table 1).

Table 1

List of books bearing Rashid al-Din's seal impression.

Quantity	Book	Author	Manuscript Type	Subject Matter	Language	Ms. Information
1	<i>Laṭā'if al-Ḥikma</i>	Sirāj al-Din al-Urmawī	Individual	Kalām/Ethics	Persian	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Persane 121
2	<i>Kitāb al-Tawḍīḥāt</i>	Rashid al-Din Faḍlallāh Hamadānī	Majmū'at al-Rashidiyya	Kalām	Arabic	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 2324
3	<i>Miftāḥ al-Tafāsīr</i>	Rashid al-Din Faḍlallāh Hamadānī	Majmū'at al-Rashidiyya	Kalām	Arabic	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 2324
4	<i>Kitāb al-Sultāniyya</i>	Rashid al-Din Faḍlallāh Hamadānī	Majmū'at al-Rashidiyya	Kalām	Arabic	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 2324
6	<i>Tajziyat al-Amṣār</i>	Waṣṣāf, Sharaf al-Din 'Abd Allāh al-Yazdī	Individual	History	Persian	Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, Ms. Nuruosmaniye 3207
7	<i>Majlis-i Maktūb-i Khwārazm</i>	Tāj al-Din Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī	Shirāzī Codex	Kalām	Persian	Āyat Allāh al-'Uzma Mar'ashī Najafī, Ms. 12868
8	<i>Chronicle of Monogols</i>	Anonymous	Shirāzī Codex	History	Persian	Āyat Allāh al-'Uzma Mar'ashī Najafī, Ms. 12868
9	<i>al-Lam'a al-Juvayniyya</i>	Ibn Kammuna	Shirāzī Codex	Kalām	Arabic	Āyat Allāh al-'Uzma Mar'ashī Najafī, Ms. 12868
10	<i>Tankīḥ al-Abḥāth</i>	Ibn Kammuna	Shirāzī Codex	Kalām	Arabic	Āyat Allāh al-'Uzma Mar'ashī Najafī, Ms. 12868
11	<i>Ifhām al-Yahūd</i>	Samaw'āl ibn Yahyā ibn 'Abbās al-Maghribī	Shirāzī Codex	Kalām	Arabic	Āyat Allāh al-'Uzma Mar'ashī Najafī, Ms. 12868
12	<i>al-Aṣ'ila wa al-Ajwiba</i>	Samaw'āl ibn Yahyā ibn 'Abbās al-Maghribī	Shirāzī Codex	Kalām	Arabic	Āyat Allāh al-'Uzma Mar'ashī Najafī, Ms. 12868
13	<i>Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabā'</i>	Raghib al-Iṣfahānī	Individual	Literature	Arabic	Āstān-i Quds-i Radawī, Ms. 4403
14	<i>Sharḥ al-Qānūn</i>	Anonymous	Individual	Medicine	Arabic	Special Collection of Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq

⁵⁴At this juncture, it is imperative to rectify a misunderstanding based on the available data. Osman G. Özgüdenli asserts that, according to Rashid al-Din's *waqfiyya*, the teaching of philosophy was categorically prohibited in the educational institutions within the Rab'-i Rashidī complex. However, this interpretation stems from a misreading of the original text. Contrary to Özgüdenli's assertion, Rashid al-Din appears to address a different issue in the relevant section. He sought to prevent *faqīhs* from engaging in philosophical pursuits beyond their specialization, teaching philosophy in their classes, or conflating *fiqh* with philosophy. In essence, the pertinent passages in the *waqfiyya* should be understood not as a blanket prohibition of philosophy in the educational institutions within the Rab'-i Rashidī complex, but rather as a narrowly tailored warning (or stipulation) aimed at preventing the amalgamation of *fiqh* and philosophy, for reasons that remain unclear. This interpretation is further substantiated by the fact that Rashid al-Din maintained a collection of philosophical works in his *Kitābkhāna* for the benefit of scholars, including students and addressed philosophical topics in his own writings. Therefore, the allegation put forward by Özgüdenli regarding Rashid al-Din's attitude towards philosophy is unfounded. Özgüdenli, "Bir İlhanlı Şehir Modeli", p. 117; Rashid al-Din, *Waqf-nāma*, p. 173; Reşidüddin, *Beyānu'l-Hakāik*, p. 27, p. 30-31, p. 50.



15	<i>al-Najāt</i>	Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)	Individual	Philosophy	Arabic	Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, Ms. Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 903-001
16	<i>Kitāb al-Mi'ah</i>	Abū Sahl 'Īsā al-Masīhī al-Jurjānī	Individual	Medicine	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Ms. 6335
17	<i>Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa al-Tanbihāt</i>	Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣ-fahānī	Individual	Philosophy	Arabic	Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, Ms. Turhan Valide Sultan 206
18	<i>Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Ishārāt</i>	Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī	Individual	Philosophy	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Milli-yi Irān, Ms. 2316
19	<i>Sharḥu Fusūl Buqrāt</i>	Anonymous	Medical Codex	Medicine	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Milli-yi Irān, Ms. 1142
20	<i>Kitāb al-Bawl</i>	Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī	Medical Codex	Medicine	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Milli-yi Irān, Ms. 1142
21	<i>Mā'ānī Istikhrajuha Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq</i>	Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq	Medical Codex	Medicine	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Milli-yi Irān, Ms. 1142
22	<i>Kashf al-Ḥaqā'iq</i>	Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī	Abharī Codex	Philosophy	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Ms. 2752
23	<i>Muntahā al-Afkār</i>	Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī	Abharī Codex	Philosophy	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Ms. 2752
24	<i>Revised logic section of Muntahā al-Afkār</i>	Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī	Abharī Codex	Philosophy	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Ms. 2752
25	<i>Khulāṣat al-Afkār</i>	Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī	Abharī Codex	Philosophy	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Ms. 2752
26	<i>Daqā'iq al-Afkār</i>	Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī	Abharī Codex	Philosophy	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Ms. 2752
27	<i>'Unwān al-Ḥaqq</i>	Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī	Abharī Codex	Philosophy	Arabic	Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, Ms. 2752
28	<i>al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb</i>	Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)	Individual	Medicine	Arabic	Uncertain
29	<i>Farā'id al-Kharā'id</i>	Abī Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Khūyī	Individual	Literature	Arabic	Beyazit Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazit B5574

4. The Missing Link in the Chain: Tracing Rashīd al-Dīn's Intellectual Profile

The classification of the books once held in the *Kitābkhāna* indicates that Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual interests were not only confined to his individual scholarly curiosity, but also encompassed those disciplines that attracted the attention of contemporary sovereigns. Some evidence suggests that the needs of the political elites may have lain at the very center of his scholarly inquiries, potentially with his own intellectual interests forming a concentric layer around that core.⁵⁵ Within this framework, the interplay between Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual interests and the political order to which he was attached merits closer scrutiny.

This configuration can be associated with the fact that, beginning with the Sāmānids, intellectual production, particularly in Eastern Islamicate polities, derived its orientation not only from the individual motivations of scholarly

⁵⁵Rashīd al-Dīn, *Waqf-nāma*, p. 242-243.

circles but also from the requirements of rulers.⁵⁶ Given that, in the Eastern Islamic world, scholarly activity and its literary content were shaped not solely by scholarly endeavors but also by the inclinations of courtly elites and those connected to the palace, it follows that scholarly activity was expected to address the religious, political and practical needs of these circles, which had emerged in this region at a relatively early date.⁵⁷

This phenomenon can be attributed to the patronage system in the Islamic world. That system fostered a relatively secure and sustainable environment in which scholars could pursue their work and obtain the requisite resources.⁵⁸ For their part, patrons actively sought out scholars who maintained strong social connections, since such intellectuals played a crucial role in transmitting to the public, whether through written or oral discourse, the political narratives that patrons aimed to embed within sponsored literary production. Serving as bureaucratic intermediaries between ruling elites and broader society, scholars wielded significant influence in disseminating, legitimizing and securing societal acceptance for the political agendas advanced by their patrons across multiple social strata.⁵⁹ It is plausible that this symbiotic relationship between power and knowledge production contributed to shaping scholarly priorities, potentially orienting intellectual endeavors toward fields that promised greater prospects for securing patronal favor.

For instance, a comparable dynamic is evident in the intellectual interests of Shaykh al-Islām Esîrî Meḥmed Efendi, who is mentioned in the pages that follow and his brother, the Qāḍî'asker Muştafâ Efendi. A dedicated study of these two Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats' personal libraries has yielded similar conclusions. Specifically, the study found that the administrative-political order to which the brothers belonged played a central role in shaping their personal libraries which were subsequently transformed, through *waqf*, into a *madrassa* library, while their individual intellectual interests and the intellectual circle constituted a secondary layer surrounding this central configuration.⁶⁰

This dynamic is likewise evident in the intellectual interests of the Ottoman scholar-bureaucrat Cârullah Efendi. Several studies of his personal library, later converted into a *madrassa* library through *waqf*, corroborate the dynamic in an analogous center-periphery configuration. The findings indicate that his collection was shaped primarily by the needs of the administrative-political order, while his individual intellectual interests and scholarly milieu constituted a secondary layer surrounding this core.⁶¹

Ultimately, this multilayered framework can arguably be traced through Rashīd al-Dīn's own writings. In his *waqfiyya*, he noted that during his tenure, issues thought to arise from the needs of the sultans, especially Uljaytu, steered the shaping of his scholarly activities:

Thereafter, in our own time, the King of Islam, the king of the kings who rules over the seven climes... Uljaytu Sulṭān Muḥammad, "may God perpetuate his kingship and kingdom", exalted [this servant] with multiplied affections, mercies, and tax-exempt benefices, drew him into his own Presence, and granted him abundant shares of dignity, wealth, dominion, and manifold bounties, such as no king has ever extended to any servant to that degree, as is patent to the observation and senses of all the world.

⁵⁶ Julie Scott Meisami, "Genres of Court Literature", *General Introduction to Persian Literature*, ed. Johannes Thomas Pieter de Bruijn, I.B. Tauris, London 2009, p. 233-269; Şükran Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Medrese Müfredatına Dair Çalışmalar: Nereden Nereye?", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi [Türk Eğitim Tarihi Özel Sayısı]* VI/12 (2008), p. 593.

⁵⁷ Meisami, op. cit., p. 233-269; Fazlıoğlu, op. cit., p. 593.

⁵⁸ Meisami, op. cit., p. 233-269; Fazlıoğlu, op. cit., p. 593.

⁵⁹ İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamic Republic of Letters*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2016, p. 20.

⁶⁰ Alpaslan Fener, "Osmanlı Âlim-Bürokratı İki Kardeşin Entelektüel Mirası: Şeyhülislām Esîrî Mehmed Efendi ile Esîrî Birâderi Kazasker Mustafa Efendi'nin Şahsî Kütüphaneleri", *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi* XV/2 (2025), p. 563-605.

⁶¹ Muhammed Usame Onuş, "Bir Osmanlı Âlimi Cârullah Efendi'nin Terceme-i Hâli", *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları*, ed. Berat Açıl, İlem Yayınları, İstanbul 2020, p. 7-22; Pehlül Düzenli, "Veliyyüddin Cârullah Efendi'nin Fıkıh Kütüphanesi ve Notları", *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları*, ed. Berat Açıl, İlem Yayınları, İstanbul 2020, p. 269-285; Mustakim Arıcı, "Osmanlı'da Kelam ve Felsefe Müfredatları Üzerine Bir Modelleme: Cârullah Efendi Koleksiyonu Örneği", *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları*, ed. Berat Açıl, İlem Yayınları, İstanbul 2020, p. 361-412; Hasan Umut, "Matematik Bilimlerine Meraklı Bir Âlim: Cârullah Efendi Koleksiyonu'nun Söyledikleri", *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları*, ed. Berat Açıl, İlem Yayınları, İstanbul 2020, p. 413-429.



In sum, since His Auspicious Majesty has ever devoted his time to teaching and learning, and has honored and cherished the scholars, philosophers, and men of art, this servant, because it is said that “people follow the religion, that is, the way, of their kings” by the Highest Indication also inclined thereto. Whenever an opportunity arose, in the watches of the night he would string together a few words from diverse sciences, according to his station, broken and stitched, as it were, especially at times when the King of Islam, may his kingdom be everlasting, would ask a question or request a benefit in that regard, or when friends, out of favorable opinion, would pose a query, and these were written down. And whenever those meanings reached his noble hearing, he approved and declared: our fair renown should be secured by chronicles, by the various sciences, and by ongoing charities, that they might remain and be established and spread through the world, and that their reward might reach our auspicious days; and that you, too, should not be without a share and portion. If you possess some fame and good name, that shall also revert to us, for you are the planting of our fortune and the handiwork of our beneficence...

Although this weak servant possessed no great aptitude, and, because of preoccupation with affairs of the realm which, by the imperial *yarlīgh*, had been entrusted to him, lacked leisure and opportunity to compose more in an orderly fashion, still, since it is said “he who is commanded is excused,” to the extent of his ability he complied with that august command. From the subtleties of the exegesis of the divine verses and the explication of prophetic *ḥadīths*, about which friends would inquire from time to time, and from the resolution of difficult problems in the principles of religion, the obscure secrets of philosophy, the chief rules of medicine, and the like, he wrote down a few scattered words, according to the friends’ questions and the exigencies of circumstance; and, from the histories and reports of the peoples of the world, whatever lay within his power he committed to writing. Earlier, when some of these compositions, a number of sections on history and other sciences, had been completed, he presented them in humble service to the august Presence, and they attained the honor of his perusal. He approved them and, out of the utmost elevation of aspiration, breadth of knowledge, and nurture of servants, bestowed upon this servant devoted to the state such bounty, favor, and compassion...⁶²

Further light on this dynamic can be gleaned from the intellectual scope of Rashīd al-Dīn’s other works. The breadth of themes and focal issues in his theoretical writings seems to underline his role as an intermediary between the Mongol ruling elite and the Islamic scholarly tradition. These texts seem primarily to have served as instructional guides for newly converted Mongols to Islam, acquainting them with the foundational principles of Islamic beliefs and scholarly traditions rather than serving as comprehensive summae of Islamic sciences. Unlike the works of Ghazālī, Rāzī, or Ṭūsī, which became cornerstones of Islamic intellectual thought, Rashīd al-Dīn’s theoretical writings therefore did not, it seems, leave a lasting impact or attained comparable canonical status. This outcome can be ascribed to their highly contextual character, being closely tied to the immediate needs of the Ilkhanid court.⁶³

Rashīd al-Dīn’s historical writings, together with his practical and other scientific works, were likely composed chiefly to introduce the Mongols and their past to Islamic society and to their Muslim subjects. In effect, these texts appear to have sought to confer legitimacy upon the Mongols in the eyes of the broader populace, thereby likely facilitating their acceptance within that society. That process may, in the end, have facilitated their integration into the Islamic world as a Muslim dynasty.⁶⁴ In other words, his approach, which prioritizes practical needs over purely scholarly objectives, appears to reflect a pragmatic and relatively superficial engagement with scientific topics, rather than the in-depth knowledge typically associated with scholarly endeavors.⁶⁵ Ultimately, it can be argued that Rashīd al-Dīn’s intellectual interests, as reflected in his own works, were shaped by the practical needs of the Ilkhanid court. Moreover, the partial inventory of the books formerly housed in his *Kitābkhāna* likewise suggests that these needs significantly shaped

⁶²Rashīd al-Dīn, *Waqf-nāma*, p. 242-243.

⁶³Judith Pfeiffer expresses a similar idea in the introduction to her edition of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Bayān al-Hakā’iḳ*. On the other hand, the plundering of the Rab’-i Rashīdī, which hosted Rashīd al-Dīn’s intellectual legacy, after his death, may also contributed to the limited impact of his intellectual heritage. Reşīdüddīn, *Beyānu’l-Hakā’iḳ*, p. 51-53; Abrū, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁶⁴Stefan Kamola, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jami’ al-Tawarikh*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2019, p. 59-91; Reşīdüddīn, *Beyānu’l-Hakā’iḳ*, p. 51-53.

⁶⁵Reşīdüddīn, *Beyānu’l-Hakā’iḳ*, p. 51-53.



the constitution of his personal library. Therefore, data drawn from the “small” surviving subset of volumes from his *Kitābkhāna* may be interpreted with these contextual factors in view.

5. *Ex Bibliotheca Rashidiana: The Post-Kitābkhāna Journey of Farā'id al-Kharā'id*

Following Rashīd al-Dīn's death, the Rab'-i Rashīdī complex, which he established in the early 14th century, was looted, including its libraries.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the manuscripts in question somehow survived this plunder and have endured to the present day. The survival and dissemination to various regions of these manuscripts played a crucial role in preserving and extending Rashīd al-Dīn's intellectual contributions. One such intermediary is the *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* manuscript copy.

The manuscript of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, copied by Ibrāhīm ibn Faḍlallāh ibn 'Alī al-Qazvīnī in 630/1233, once resided in the *Kitābkhāna* of the Rab'-i Rashīdī complex near Tabriz. After its removal from the plundered complex with *Kitābkhāna*,⁶⁷ the manuscript passed through various hands. Eventually, in the late 19th century, it reached the Kütüb-hāne-i Umūmī, now known as Beyazıt Manuscript Library. The manuscript's journey over the centuries can be traced, at least in part, through ownership statements and seal impressions found on it.

The manuscript contains sixteen provenance marks, including one poem interpreted as a copying on-demand (*istiktāb*) record, twelve ownership statements and four seal impressions, one belonging to Rashīd al-Dīn. The copying on-demand (*istiktāb*) record is associated with Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd, the first owner of this copy. The situation is somewhat complex regarding the ownership statements. Because some ownership statements remain unidentified. Among those identified, some are fully legible, while others are only partially readable (see fig. 3).⁶⁸ Information has been found about some individuals mentioned in the fully legible ownership statements, while other individuals remain unknown.

For instance, the names of 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī Jihāngīr (d. [?]), Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muzaffarī (d. [?]) (see fig. 4), Meḥmed ibn Receb al-Bosnevī (d. after 1046/1636-1637) are fully legible. The ownership statement of Meḥmed ibn Receb al-Bosnevī is dated 1046/1636-1637 (see fig. 5). However, information regarding these names is currently unavailable. Additionally, the complete texts of ownership statements belonging to Meḥmed ibn 'Abdülḥalīm al-Burūsī (d. 1092/1681) (see fig. 6) and Mollacızkāde İshāk Efendi (d. 1195/1781) have been identified. Mollacızkāde İshāk Efendi's ownership statement is dated 1164/1750-1751. (see fig. 8) The ownership statement of Meḥmed ibn 'Abdülḥalīm al-Burūsī does not include a date. Information has been obtained about Meḥmed ibn 'Abdülḥalīm al-Burūsī and Mollacızkāde İshāk Efendi.

Meḥmed ibn 'Abdülḥalīm al-Burūsī, commonly known as Esīrī Meḥmed Efendi, was a distinguished scholar-bureaucrat who rose to the position of *shaykh al-Islām* in the Ottoman Empire. He was born in Bursa, received his initial education there and subsequently moved to İstanbul. In İstanbul he studied with several teachers, most notably Zekeriyāzāde Yaḥyā Efendi (d. 1053/1644) and upon completing his education, became his *mülāzım*. During the tenure of Yaḥyā Efendi as a *shaykh al-Islām*, at an unspecified time, he served as the *fetvā emīnī*. Subsequently, Esīrī Meḥmed Efendi was appointed as a *müderris* and served in various *madrasas* between 1037/1627 and 1054/1644. In 1054/1644, he was assigned as the *qāḍī* of Mecca. However, en route to his post, the ship he boarded was attacked by pirates, leading to his capture. After being freed from captivity, he returned to İstanbul, earning the epithet “Esīrī” (the Captive) due to this experience. After that, he served as the *qāḍī* of Cairo in 1059/1649 and was finally nominated as *shaykh al-Islām* in 1069/1659. He held this position until 1072/1661, after which he was dismissed and following brief assignments, settled in

⁶⁶Abrū, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Özgüdenli, “Bir İlhanlı Şehir Modeli”, p. 125-126; Bashaḥarī, *op. cit.*, p. 523-534.

⁶⁷Abrū, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Özgüdenli, “Bir İlhanlı Şehir Modeli”, p. 125-126; Bashaḥarī, *op. cit.*, p. 523-534.

⁶⁸For example, according to partially decipherable statements, the manuscript once belonged to Sharīf ibn Shīrū al- [...]. Similarly, other owners of the manuscript were Ḥusayn ibn Ḥabīb ibn Muḥammad al- [...] and Muḥammad ibn Uqayl ibn Aḥmad ibn Uqayl al- [...].



Bursa, where he passed away in 1092/1681. His tomb, which he commissioned, is adjacent to the *Khwāja Sungur Masjid*, near the *Pirinç Hanı* (caravanserai) in Bursa.⁶⁹

Figure 3

The ownership statements and two seal impressions. Farā'id al-Kharā'id, f. 1v, Beyazıt Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazıt B5574.



⁶⁹Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *Vekâyi'ü'l-Fuzalâ: Şeyhî'nin Şakâ'ik Zeyli*, II, ed. Ramazan Ekinci, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul 2018, p. 1201-1204; Suat Donuk, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtname ve İsmail Belîğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı*, Gece Kitaplığı, Ankara 2017, p. 601-604; Mehmet İpşirli, "Esîrî Mehmed Efendi", *DİA*, XI, p. 390-391.

Figure 4

The ownership statements of Muḡammad ibn Aḡmad al-Muzaffarī (top) and Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī Jihāngīr (bottom). Farā'id al-Kharā'id, f. 1v, Beyazıt Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazıt B5574.

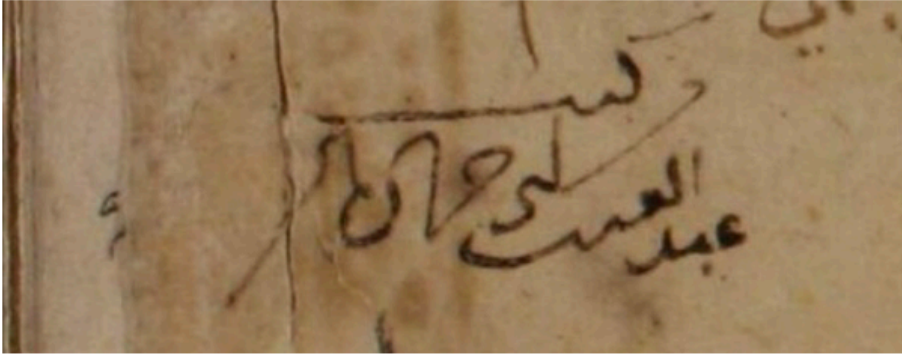
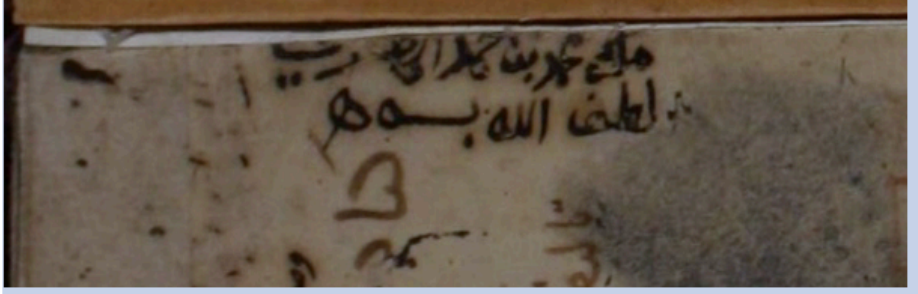


Figure 5

The ownership statement of Meḡmed ibn Receb al-Bosnevī. Farā'id al-Kharā'id, f. 1v, Beyazıt Manuscript Library,

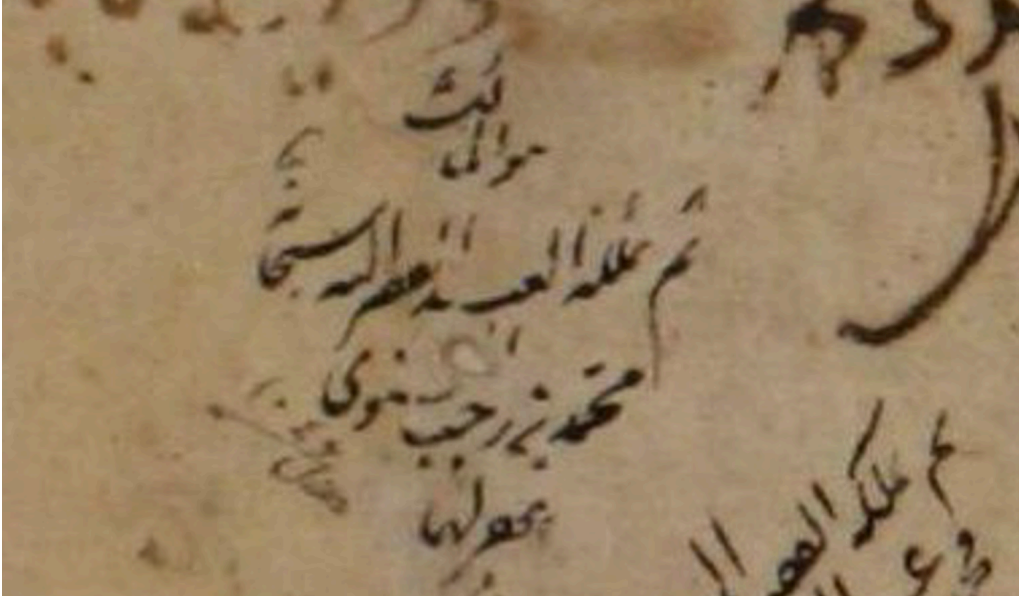
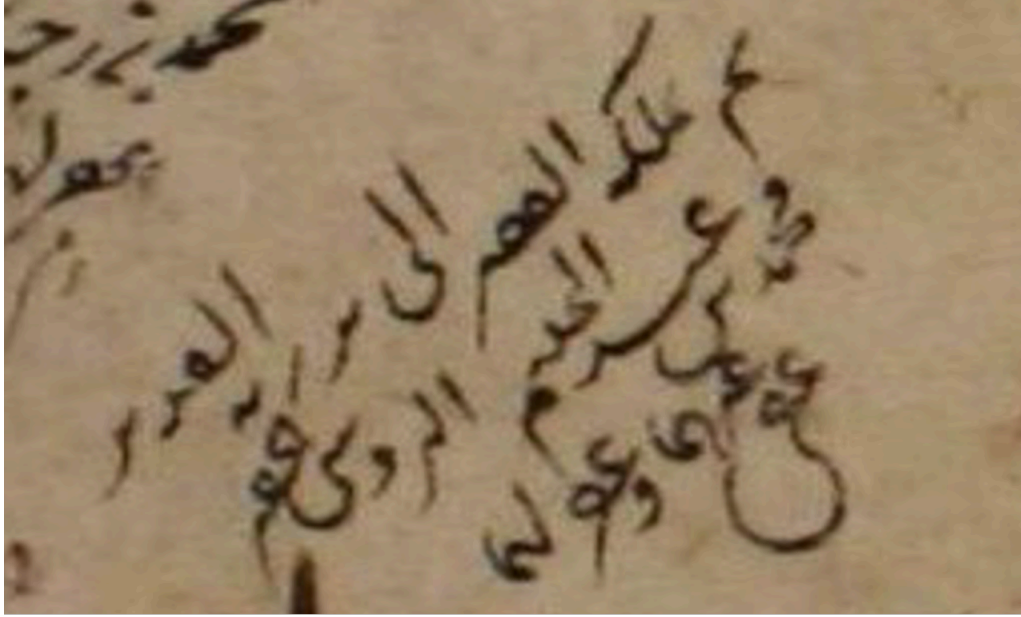


Figure 6

The ownership statement of Meḥmed ibn 'Abdülḥalīm al-Burūsī. *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, f. 1v, Beyazıt Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazıt B5574.



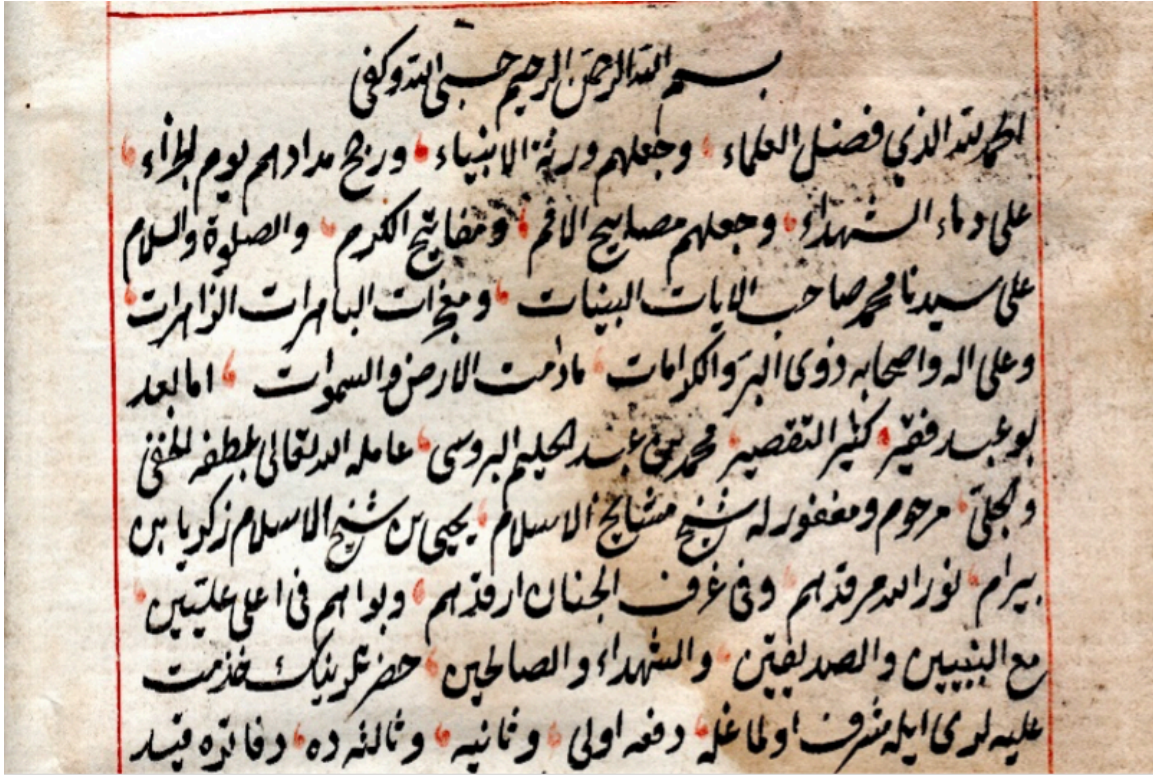
Esīrī Meḥmed Efendi compiled a collection of *fetvās* by Shaykh al-Islām Zekerıyyāzāde Yaḥyā Efendi, titled *Fetāvā-yi Yaḥyā Efendi*. In the preface of *Fetāvā-yi Yaḥyā Efendi*, Esīrī Meḥmed Efendi states that he compiled the *fetvās* issued by Yaḥyā Efendi during his three terms in office as a *shaykh al-Islām* (see fig. 7).⁷⁰

Mollacıkzāde Ishāq Efendi, in the early stages of his career, was appointed as *mudarris* at an unknown *madrassa* in 1143/1730-31. Unfortunately, no information is available regarding his early life. He was nominated as the *qāḍī* of Yenişehir-i Fenār, a city in the Ottoman Greece, in 1170/1756-57. He subsequently served as *qāḍī* in Egypt (probably Cairo) in 1175/1761-62; Mecca, in 1176/1763 and İstanbul, in 1183/1769. Later, in 1189/1775, he ascended to the position of *Anadolu qāḍī'askeri* and ultimately, in 1194/1780, he was appointed as *Rumili qāḍī'askeri*.

⁷⁰Şeyhülislām Yaḥyā Efendi, *Fetāvā-yi Yaḥyā Efendi*, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, Ms. Serez 1116, 1r; Şükrü Özen, "Osmanlı Döneminde Fetva Literatürü", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, III/5 (2005), p. 291-292.

Figure 7

The preface of *Fetāvā-yi Yahyā Efendi*, f. 1r, Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, Ms. Serez 1116, compiled by Mehmed ibn 'Abdülhalīm al-Burūsī.



According to the date in his ownership statement, the copy of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* was in Mollacızkāde İshāk Efendi's possession in 1164/1750-1751 (see fig. 8). Mollacızkāde İshāk Efendi passed away in 1195/1781. His grave is located very close to the Beyazıt Manuscript Library, where *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* is currently housed. He is interred in the courtyard of the Grand Vizier Kaptān-i Deryā Basmacızkāde İbrāhīm Paşa Mosque adjacent to the Istanbul University Rare Books Library building (see fig. 9).⁷¹

⁷¹Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, III, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1996, p. 805; Beyhan Keskin, "İshak, Mollacızkāde İshak Efendi", *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, <https://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/ishak-mollacikzade-ishak-efendi> accessed 03.10.2024.

Figure 8

The ownership statement of Mollacıkzāde İshāk Efendi. Farā'id al-Kharā'id, f. 1v, Beyazıt Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazıt B5574.

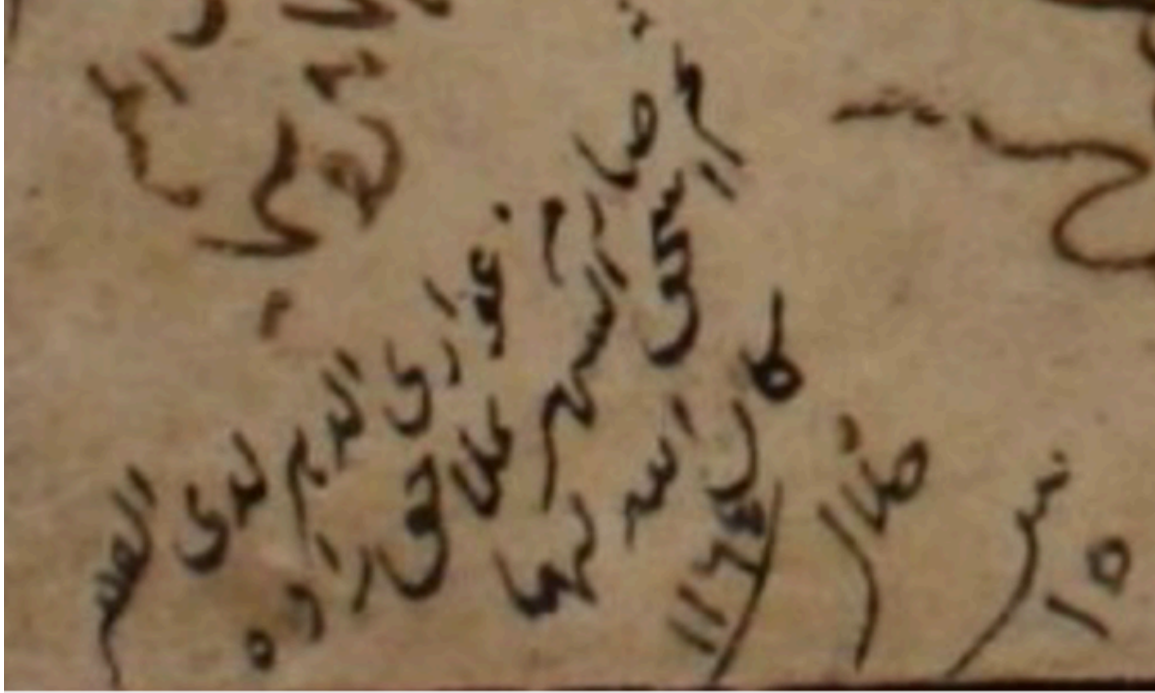


Figure 9

The grave and tombstone of Mollacıkzāde İshāk Efendi in the courtyard of the Grand Vizier Kaptān-i Deryā Basmacızāde İbrāhīm Paşa Mosque. Photographed by author.



6. *Habent sua fata libelli*: The Trajectory of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* after Two Episodes of Plunder

The journey of this manuscript can be traced not only through ownership statements but also via seal impressions. As noted above, there are four seal impressions on the copy of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*. One belongs to Rashīd al-Dīn, the other one an unknown person on folio 1v and the other to the Beyazit Manuscript Library on folios 1v and 1r. Finally, another seal impression, inscribed with *Waqafa hāzā al-kitāb Ömer Ağā al-mashhūr [bi-]Pاسبānzāde*, is located on folios 1r, 85v and 171r of the manuscript (see fig. 10).

Pاسبānzāde Ömer Ağā (d. circa 1202/ 1788) was a member of the eminent Pazvantoğlu family and the father of the famous Ottoman a'yān Pazvantoğlu (Pاسبānzāde) Osman (d. 1221/1807). He was executed on charges of organizing a rebellion against the Ottoman central administration.⁷² Another notable aspect of Pاسبānzāde Ömer Ağā is that he was a collector with a significant number of books for his time. It is known that a substantial portion of his collection, comprising over two thousand books, formed the core of a *waqf* library built by his son, Pاسبānzāde Osman, in Vidin in 1215/1800-1801.⁷³

However, after the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War, due to reports of plundering and destruction of some books in this library by Bulgarians, Ottoman authorities initiated efforts to transfer these books to the Kütübhāne-i Umūmī in İstanbul. These efforts, which began in the late 1870s, finally succeeded in the late 1880s, resulting in the transfer of a significant portion of the books to the Kütübhāne-i Umūmī.⁷⁴ It appears that among the books transferred from the Vidin Library to the Kütübhāne-i Umūmī were those belonging to Pاسبānzāde Ömer Ağā. One of these books is the copy of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, which once resided in the *Kitābhāna* within the Rab'-i Rashīdī complex and bears the seal of Rashīd al-Dīn.⁷⁵ Thus, it is understood that this manuscript copy survived two significant plundering attempts, first at the Rab'-i Rashīdī complex and later at the Vidin Library and has reached the present day.⁷⁶

⁷²Rossitsa Gradeva, *War and Peace in Rumeli: 15th to Beginning of 19th Century*, The Isis Press and Gorgias Press, İstanbul 2010, p.18; Fehim Bajraktarević, "Paswan-Oghlu", *El²*, VIII, p.284-285.

⁷³Gradeva, *op. cit.*, p.30; Altay, *op. cit.*, p.192-197. One of Pاسبānzāde Ömer Ağā's books was found in the library of a mosque in Adakale, where he served for a period. According to a study on the mosque's library in Adakale, a location on the Danube River ceded to Romania in 1923, one of the existing books bears Pاسبānzāde Ömer Ağā's previously mentioned seal inscribed with *Waqafa hāzā al-kitāb Ömer Ağā al-mashhūr [bi-]Pاسبānzāde*. This suggests that not all of his books were transferred to the Vidin Library; an unknown number were endowed to various libraries. Aurel Decei, "38 De Cărți Manuscrise Arabe Și Turcești În Arhivele Statului Din Craiova", *Revista Arhivelor* XII/1 (1969), p.5-6.

⁷⁴Altay, *op. cit.*, p. 192-197.

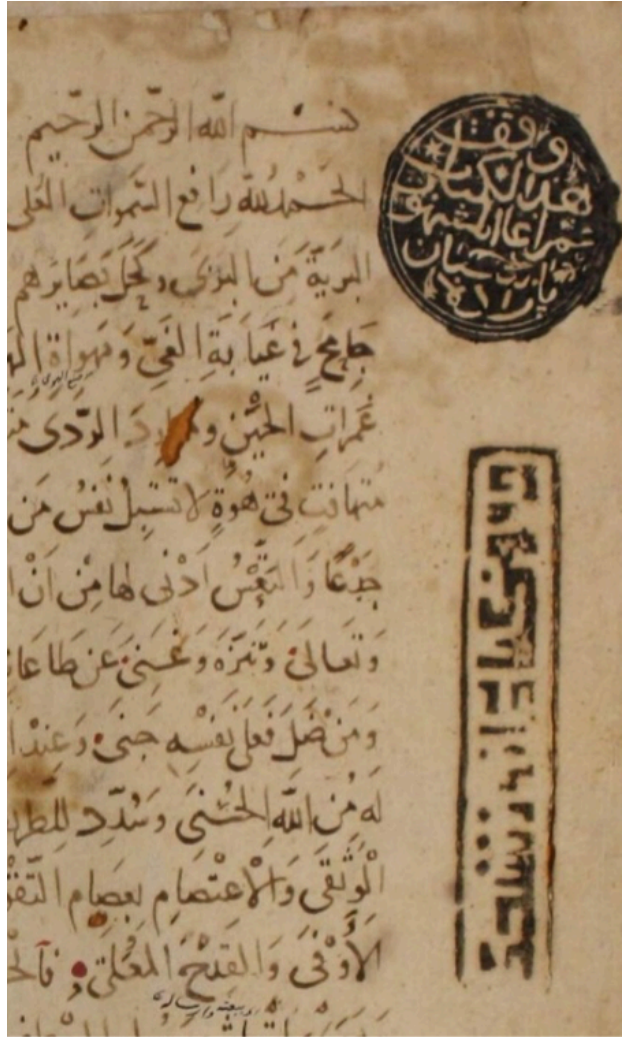
⁷⁵*Vidin Kütübhānesi'nden Kütübhāne-i Umūmī'ye Nakl Olunan Kitapların Defteri*, İstanbul University Rare Books Library, Ms. Türkçe T8966, 14r.

⁷⁶Abrū, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Özgüdenli, "Bir İlhanlı Şehir Modeli", p. 125-126; Basha'ri, *op. cit.*, p. 523-534; Altay, *op. cit.*, p. 189, p. 192-197.



Figure 10

The seal impressions of Pasbānzāde Ömer Ağa and Rashīd al-Dīn. Farā'id al-Kharā'id, f. 1r, Beyazıt Manuscript Library, Ms. Beyazıt B5574.



In conclusion, this copy of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* was copied at an unspecified location in the 13th century and journeyed from there to the *Kitābkhāna* within the Rab'ī Rashīdī complex near Tabriz at an unknown time. After its removal from the plundered *Kitābkhāna*, the manuscript's ownership history, affiliations and periods of many subsequent owners, remained unclear for several centuries. Nevertheless, it may have come to Ottoman lands in the 17th century, most likely arriving in İstanbul, a city that connects Meḥmed ibn Receb al-Bosnevī, Meḥmed ibn 'Abdülḥalīm al-Burūsī and Mollacıkzāde İshāk Efendi. Within this context, it seems that the copy of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* was in the possession of Meḥmed ibn Receb al-Bosnevī in 1046/1636-1637 and of Mollacıkzāde İshāk Efendi in 1164/1750-1751. At an unknown time between these dates, the copy came into the ownership of Meḥmed ibn 'Abdülḥalīm al-Burūsī. By the mid-18th century, it may have reached Ottoman *Rumili* via the personal library of Mollacıkzāde İshāk Efendi. Eventually, the copy entered the personal library of Pasbānzāde Ömer Ağa. Following its inclusion in Ömer Ağa's personal library, the copy of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id*, along with his other books, was transferred to the Vidin Library in 1215/1800-1801 (or shortly thereafter). Pasbānzāde Ömer Ağa may thus be called the last owner of the *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* manuscript as a *natural person*. Finally, in the late 1880s, the copy was moved to the Kütübhāne-i Umūmī, known today as the Beyazıt Manuscript Library in İstanbul.⁷⁷

⁷⁷Vidin Kütübhānesi'nden Kütübhāne-i Umūmī'ye, Ms. Türkçe T8966, 1r-15r; Altay, op. cit., p. 189, p. 192-197.

7. Conclusion

This study set out to contribute to the theoretical reconstruction of the *Kitābkhāna*, the historical library within the Rab'ī Rashīdī complex by describing a newly identified example of the seal of its founder, the Ilkhanid scholar-bureaucrat Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī. The analysis of the manuscript of *Farā'id al-Kharā'id fī al-Amthāl* by Abī Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Ṭāhir al-Khūyī not only expands the known corpus of surviving manuscripts from the *Kitābkhāna* but also provides some of the clearest examples of Rashīd al-Dīn's seal impression, thereby offering a more robust evidentiary basis for future codicological studies.

The thematic classification of this expanded corpus allows for a more nuanced understanding of the intellectual contours of Rashīd al-Dīn's library. A classification of the twenty-nine distinct texts reveals a collection heavily weighted towards *kalām*, philosophy, and medicine as well as history and *adab* literature. As can be traced from Rashīd al-Dīn's own works, this disciplinary focus is not merely a reflection of individual scholarly curiosity but appears to intersect with priorities and the socio-political needs of the Ilkhanid court.

Beyond these findings, this study demonstrates how a tightly integrated use of book history and codicology can turn scattered provenance evidence into evidence for intellectual biography and for mapping scholarly and institutional networks. The *Farā'id al-Kharā'id* copy bears a dense body of provenance evidence, including one poem interpreted as a copying on-demand (*istiktāb*) record, twelve ownership statements, and four seal impressions. These provenance marks collectively provide insight into the manuscript's journey, documenting its historical and geographical trajectory. By mapping its journey from the plundered *Kitābkhāna* in Tabriz to the hands of Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats such as Esīrī Meḥmed Efendi and Mollacızkāde İshāk Efendi, and ultimately to Pasbānzāde Ömer and, later, the Pasbānzāde family collection in Vidin, this study illuminates the dynamic and often precarious channels of manuscript transmission between the 14th and 19th centuries.

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. The conclusions regarding the intellectual scope of the *Kitābkhāna* are necessarily provisional, drawn from a small, fortuitously surviving sample of a library that was undoubtedly far larger and more diverse. The evidence from provenance evidence, while invaluable, is often fragmentary, leaving gaps in the historical trajectory of these manuscripts. Ultimately, despite unresolved issues and shortcomings, this research represents the initial phase of a broader, exemplary, independent, and individual research initiative, *Bibliotheca Rashidiana*,⁷⁸ which aims to map the historical and geographical journeys of manuscripts from the *Kitābkhāna* and to enrich scholarship on the Islamic world's intellectual heritage.

Consequently, future research should continue to pursue the identification of further manuscripts from the Rab'ī Rashīdī complex, as each new discovery refines our understanding of its holdings. A systematic, comparative analysis of the paratextual materials, including all ownership statements, seal impressions and annotations, across the entire known corpus could reveal deeper patterns of readership and usage both within the Ilkhanid realm and in the regions where many of these manuscripts eventually resided.





Peer Review	Externally peer-reviewed.
Conflict of Interest	The author has no conflict of interest to declare.
Grant Support	The author declared that this study has received no financial support.
Acknowledgements	I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Evrim Binbaş and my spouse Esra Fener for their valuable feedback on the final version of this study. I also wish to extend my deep thanks to the two anonymous reviewers who

⁷⁸*Bibliotheca Rashidiana* represents an independent and ongoing research initiative conducted by the author. Its principal objective is to create a comprehensive online inventory of manuscripts traceable to Rashīd al-Dīn's *Kitābkhāna*. Building upon the methodological approach utilized in the present study, further aims include: (1) reconstructing the historical trajectories and geographical circulation of these codices through material evidence, such as seal impressions, ownership statements and waqf statements and (2) developing an adaptable framework for application to analogous cases that may emerge in future research.



evaluated this manuscript for their careful reading and invaluable comments and suggestions. Needless to say, all remaining errors are solely mine.

Hakem Değerlendirmesi	Dış bağımsız.
Çıkar Çatışması	Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.
Finansal Destek	Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.
Teşekkür	Bu çalışmanın nihai versiyonuna ilişkin değerli geri bildirimleri için Evrim Binbaş'a ve eşim Esra Fener'e içten teşekkürlerimi sunarım. Ayrıca, bu yazmayı değerlendiren iki anonim hakeme, dikkatli okumaları ile kıymetli yorum ve önerileri için derin şükranlarımı ifade etmek isterim. Söylemeye gerek yok ki, geriye kalan tüm hatalar yalnızca bana aittir.

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