

## Abū Ḥafs ‘Umar al-Nasafī (1068-1142) as a Codifier of Texts of Islamic Sciences for Students of the Transoxiana Madrasahs, on the Example of his Collection *Maṭla’ Al-Nujūm wa Majma’ Al-‘Ulūm*

Maveraünnehir Medreselerinde Okuyan Talebeler İçin İslami İlimler Metinlerinin Bir Derleyicisi Olarak Ebū Ḥafs Ömer El-Nesefī (1068-1142), *Matla’u’n-nücûm ve mecma’u’l-ulûm* Koleksiyonu Örneği

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### ABSTRACT

The present article will dwell upon a unique manuscript, the *Maṭla’ al-nujūm wa majma’ al-‘ulūm* (“The Place of the Ascension of Stars and Collection of Sciences”) Abū Ḥafs ‘Umar al-Nasafī (1068-1142). At present, there are two copies of manuscripts in this composition. One copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Beruni Institute for Oriental Studies of Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences (Tashkent). This manuscript is considered complete. The other manuscript is kept in the Rampur collection. The Rampur manuscript is considered incomplete. The Tashkent manuscript deals with various subjects and topics covered within fifty-six sections. Each section can be regarded as an independent piece of writing. It is worth noting that the majority of the topics covered in the collection were compiled by the author himself. Moreover, al-Nasafī re-worked (i. e. compiled) works by other authors and included abridged versions thereof in the *Maṭla’ al-nujūm*. Forty topics were compiled by al-Nasafī himself, whereas the remaining sixteen sections were adopted from other authors. The collection contains records made by copyists who more than once remarked that the manuscript was a copy made off the records dictated by the author himself. The pieces in the collection were a course of lectures given by al-Nasafī in the Tabgach-khan *madrasa* and the Samarqand mosques; they were a collection of manuals or study books in the various fields of knowledge taught within the Qarakhanid education system.

**Keywords:** Karakhanid, Mawarannahr, Madrasa, Mosque, Manuscript, Collection, Course programs

### Öz

Mevcut makale emsalsiz bir yazma eser olan Ebū Ḥafs Ömer en-Nesefi'nin (1068-1142) *Maṭla’ al-nujūm wa majma’ al-‘ulūm*'u (Yıldızların Yükselme Yerleri ve İlimler Koleksiyonu) üzerinde durmaktadır. Günümüzde ilgili yazma eserin bu haliyle iki nüshası bulunmaktadır. Bu nüshalardan biri Özbekistan Bilimler Akademisi Biruni Doğubilimleri Enstitüsü'nde (Taşkent) bulunmaktadır. Bu yazma eser, tüm eserin tamamı olarak kabul edilmektedir. Eserin diğer nüshası ise Rampur Koleksiyonu'nda muhafaza edilmektedir. Rampur Koleksiyonu'nda bulunan nüsha ise eksik kabul edilmektedir. Taşkent'te bulunan nüsha, 56 bölüm altında çeşitli konu ve başlıkları incelemektedir. Her bir bölüm, birbirinden bağımsız yazımlar olarak düşünülebilir. İlginç bir nokta da şudur ki koleksiyondaki başlıkların çoğunluğu eserin müellifi tarafından derlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, El-Nesefi başka müellifler tarafından yazılmış eserler üzerinde de yeniden çalışmış (örn. derleme, vb.) ve bu eserlerin özetlenmiş versiyonlarını da *Maṭla’ al-nujūm* adlı eserine dâhil etmiştir. Eserdeki kırk başlık El-Nesefi'nin kendisi tarafından derlenmiş olmasına rağmen geri kalan 16 bölüm ise başka yazarların eserlerinden uyarlanarak bu esere eklenmiştir. Eser ayrıca, birçok kez bu eserin yazarı tarafından söylenen sözlerin kaydedilmesi ile ortaya çıkmış bir nüsha olduğunu belirten müstensihlerin yorumlarına da yer vermektedir. Eserdeki parçalar en-Nesefi tarafından Tabgach Han Medresesi ve Semerkant'taki camilerde verilen derslerden oluşmaktadır; bunlar Karahanlı eğitim sisteminde çeşitli ilim dallarında okutulan kitapçık ya da ders kitaplarında yer almaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Karahanlılar, Maveraünnehr, Medrese, el Yazması, Koleksiyon, Ders Programları

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## Introduction

The Karakhanid epoch (382–607/992–1211) was the time of the outstanding ḥanafī theologians whose heritage is still being studied to day (Muminov, 2003, p. 46). The first *madrasas* of the Muslim world emerged in *Khurasan* and *Mawarannahr* no later than the early 4th/10th century. The main subject was *fiqh* (Makdisi, 1971, p. 81), which by then had already taken shape as an independent branch of knowledge (Khalidov, 1991, p. 150). In the meantime, the history of confessional education remains virtually unstudied, in particular, the activities of the *mudarris*, as well as the principles of the teaching process or the contents and specifics of the manuals used. Researchers are well aware, from sources of that time, of some madrasas that functioned in the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara (Kamaladdinov, 1993, pp. 79–80). We know a lot about the *ʿulamā* who lived in the Karakhanid period and created their best work (Muminov, 2018). But, unfortunately, we are completely unaware of what was studied and read within the walls of these *madrasas* and mosques in the Karakhanid period. Perhaps, you can find information about this from sources such as *Tabākāt Ḥanafīya* and from the *ijāzatname*, that is, the diplomas of the students with which they were awarded in order to share the knowledge that they received. However, the collections still give us very important information about containing codified texts that were read within the walls of the madrasas, thereby being transmitted from generation to generation. The available medieval sources, mainly biography collections, generally contain very scarce and fragmented data on education, i.e. limited to the subjects taught at the time. In addition to interpreting religious dogmas or establishing legal norms of social life, Muslim scholars of *Mawarannahr* were actively involved in education and enlightenment, spreading religious knowledge in mosques, *madrasas*, *ribāṭ*, housing provided to *ʿulamā* or *mudarris*es to conduct education sessions (*tadrīs*) therein.

Medieval manuscripts that we can describe as a collection of lectures or, quite nominally, as “course programs” or “syllabi” are relatively rare. Why studying them is valuable? First, they reveal how education systems were being formed in certain regions. Secondly, through the prism of the subjects studied, we can trace how outlook and social life developed. Thirdly, this could give us a chance to restore the ways of teaching and learning religious sciences and determine the role of the *mudarris* and his influence over the community. Unfortunately, the medieval manuscripts that have survived until our time do not contain too many substantial materials of the kind.

### 1. Copy of “*Maṭlaʿ al-nujūm wa majmaʿ al-ʿulūm*” from Tashkent of the Beruni Institute for Oriental Studies of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences

*Maṭlaʿ al-nujūm wa majmaʿ al-ʿulūm* (“The Place of the Ascension of Stars and Collection of Sciences”, further referred to as *Maṭlaʿ al-nujūm*), was first mentioned in the article by P. G. Bulgakov (1976, pp. 57–61). As remarked by Bulgakov, the book is a collection of lectures dictated by the author. It contains numerous texts of varying size. Essentially, all of these texts are quite laconic manuals on particular topics. As we shall further demonstrate, the manuscript includes texts by other authors as well, borrowed by al-Nasafī, edited and then included into his collection. We shall see below that the majority of the materials were recorded by al-Nasafī’s students and followers.

The manuscript of *Maṭlaʿ al-nujūm* is large: the paper size is 27.5×33.0 cm with texts occupying a space of 20.5×22.5 cm, totaling 355 folios. The manuscript is written in a small-hand *naskh*. It was sequentially copied by two copyists who left their own records at the end of some of the manuscript’s sections. Judging by the handwriting, there were only two copyists re-writing the manuscript. The first one, Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid b. ʿAlī, had the laqab of Sharaf al-Bukhārī. He left his records in two sites only (al-Nasafī, Tashkent, fol.42a, 162a). One of them is at the end of the *uṣūl al-fiqh* section where the copying declares that the section was copied in on the 20<sup>th</sup> of Jumādā al-ūlā 764 / March 7, 1363 (al-Nasafī, Tashkent, fol.42a). His second record is found at the end of the *Mashāriʿ al-sharāʿi* section. It states that the text was finished in the month of Rajab of 765/April 1364 (al-Nasafī, Tashkent, fol. 162a). Judging by his handwriting, he copied the manuscript from the beginning to folio 162a, while the rest of the manuscript (starting from folio 163 to the end) was copied by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Usmānī, who had the laqab of Najm al-Dīn al-Kūfī (al-Nasafī, Tashkent, fol.280a). His part was made in a more cursive version of *naskh* compared to the first copyist. Najm

al-Dīn al-Kūfī remarks that he has been copying the manuscript from early March until October 3 765/1364, i.e. it suffices him some seven months to complete the task. It is in his records, found in more than twelve sites, that we see multiple indications showing that this copy was copied off the manuscript written down off the author's dictation (imlā) (al-Nasafī, Tashkent, 198b, 214a, 225b, 249b, 275b 290b, 302a). Moreover, this copyist's remarks let us know that the book by al-Nasafī is a collection of his lectures in various fields of knowledge which were read or, rather, dictated, by al-Nasafī to his students and "non-matriculating students" in various mosques and madrasas. For instance, the scholar organized such "hearings" in his own mosques (Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī mosques named after him) located in the *Sikkat al-muqātil* (The Warriors Street) and in *Sikkat al-labbādīn* (The Felters street) in Samarqand. Al-Nasafī held similar lectures in the Samarqand *madrasa* of *Ṭabghach-khān* (Khadr, 1967, pp. pp. 305–334; Nemcova & Shvab, 1979, pp. 41–61). As for the location of the mosque in the Quarter of warriors (*Kūy-i muqātil*), where al-Nasafī also taught (al-Nasafī, Tashkent, fol. 275b), it remains yet unknown. The other mosque was in the Quarter of felters (*Kūy-i namadgarān* or *sikka al-labbādīn*) (al-Nasafī, Tashkent, fol. 225b, 302a); according to Sh. S. Kamaladdinov, the "Felters street" was probably situated in the southern suburb of Samarqand, because in the 4th/10th century this area was a large centre of trade and crafts, where the centre of urban life migrated as well over the following centuries (Kamaladdinov, 1993, p. 85).

Now back to the manuscript. Copyist's records demonstrate that it contains information on various spheres of knowledge and, as noted above, consists of written-down lectures that al-Nasafī held for his students in the said locations. We may presume that the copyists collected records and notes made by students during lectures and put them together in one copy (*nuskha*). It is also worth noting that the introduction contains digressions on behalf of the author. This may mean that the book was compiled by al-Nasafī himself. The book begins with a traditional praise to Allah, followed by an introductory explanation from the author, "Feeling the end of my life approaching, I have collected in this book various sciences for all of those wishing to gain some knowledge at some time and I have arranged these texts in a concise way (*wajīz*)...". Then follows the table of contents (*fihris*t). The book contains 56 parts. The first three sections refer to *kalām*. Section 1 (2b–3b): *Uṣūl al-dīn 'alā i'tiqād al-muhtadīn* ("Principles of religion and faith for the rightly guided (people)") deals with the main principles of faith. Research has shown that this section is identical to another widely known composition by the same author, *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* ("The [Islamic] Dogma by al-Nasafī"). Section 2 (3b–4a): *Ta'dād al-khiṣāl allatī ja'alahā al-nabiyy 'alayh al-salām min sh'ub wa al-īmān wa al-islām* ("The number of distinctive peculiarities as defined by the Prophet (PBUH) from among the branches of faith and Islam") is the author's own commentary on the Prophet's ḥadīth on religion and faith. Section 3 (4a–5a): *Tasmīya al-shī'a al-ahawā' wa al-bid'a* ("Names of sects [given to partiality of] beliefs and [introducing] unacceptable innovations"), mainly sourced from the work by the theologian 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 428/1037) *Kitāb al-farq bayn al-firāq* ("Book of Muslim Schisms and Sects"). The end of the section contains the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa on various "sects". The following two sections refer to *sufism*: for instance, in Section 4 (5a–6b): *Tartīb al-manāzil al-muḥaqqiqīn min ahl al-ma'rifat fī ta'rīf kull ṣinf minhum bimā takhtaṣṣ min al-ṣiffa* ("Order of stations for those seeking truth from among the ṣūfīs when acquainting by the feature of the category of each of them") contains a series of "stations" of ṣūfīs compiled by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Sulamī (d. 421/1021) (Brockelmann, 1943, 432; Supplementband, 1937, pp. 361–362). In Section 5 (6b–9b): *Manthūr al-khiṭāb fī mashhūr al-abwāb* ("A speech written in prose, in certain parts") al-Nasafī quotes a simplified version of the *Risāla* text by Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (376–465/986–1072-73) (Brockelmann, 1943, p. 432; Supplementband, 1937, 770–772) alongside with the author's translation of the text into Farsi. Section 6 (9b–10a): *Ḥadīth fī ḥuqūq al-muslim 'alā al-muslim* ("Ḥadīth on the rights of a Muslim towards his brother in faith") contains the author's commentary on the Prophet's ḥadīth on the rights and obligations of Muslims. Section 7 (10a–12a): *Kitāb al-ḥuqūq al-khamsīn* ("Book on the fifty duties") lists the sayings by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (38–92-99/658–710-17) on the rights of the believers and the praising of the moral qualities that each righteous believer should have. The following three sections are devoted to the Qur'ān, with Section 8 (12a–14b): *Mukhtaṣar al-bayān wa al-faḥṣ 'an qirā'a 'Āṣim bi riwāyat Ḥafs* ("An abridged account and learning according to riwāyāt to read Ḥafs from 'Āṣim") providing certain rules on Qur'ānic recitations. Section 9 (15a–17b): *Kitāb uṣūl al-wuqūf 'alā mawāḍi' al-wuqūf* ("Book on the foundations of pauses at the places of pauses")

delves on the pausing in the recitation of the Holy Qur’ân, which is one of the most important aspects in the science of recitations (tajwîd). In Section 10 (17b–35b): *Tahdhîb al-bayân ‘an gharîb al-Qur’ân* (“A manner of explaining difficult-to-understand verses of the Qur’ân”) the author provides an extensive commentary on certain words or verses from the Qur’ân. Sections 11 to 19 cover Islamic law. Section 11 (36a–44a): *Tahşîl usûl al-fîqh wa tafşîl al-maqâlât fihâ ‘alâ al-wajh* (“Learning the foundations of fiqh and views embodied therein”) discusses the principles of the Muslim law as well as disagreements on certain principles among groups within religious communities. Section 12 (44b–162a): *Mashârî ‘al-sharâyi’* (“Laws of the lawmaker”), is worthy of particular attention as it is central to the whole book and consists of 118 folios, i.e. one third of the book. This part contains the Ḥanafî interpretation of the sharî‘a norms and includes 50 books (kitâb). Section 13 (163b–169a): *Kitâb al-mudhākara wa al-imtihân fî al-masâyl al-ḥisân* (“Book of good questions to discuss and test”) includes tasks similar to examination questions on legal norms from the manual by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Damaghānî (d. 478/1085). Section 14 (169a–170b): *Naẓm al-farâyiḍ* (“Poetic presentation of the rules of inheritance”) was compiled by the secretary of the Sāmānids (875-999) Abū Maṣṣūr Maḥmūd b. ‘Alî al-Muhallabî. Section 15 (170b–171b): *al-Masâyl al-mu‘âyât fî al-farâyiḍ* (“Poetic presentation of difficult issues in inheritance law”) is a poetic treatise on the categories of kinship compiled by some Muḥammad b. Muṭahhir b. ‘Ubayd al-Fārid. Section 16 (171b–173a): *Masâyl min ḥubsihâ* (“On the rules of dividing property”), composed in a poetic form, is borrowed from a manual by an ‘Alî b. Muḥammad al-Nasaf. Section 17 (173a–79a): *Kitâb al-tahārîr al-mukhtâra fî khilâfiyât al-riwāya* (“A book of selected texts on the riwāyât of controversies”) deals with selected collections of sayings of *Mujtahid imāms* on sharî‘a norms and controversies among them. Section 18 (177a–177b): *Kitâb ‘idd al-masâyl al-ḥisân allatî akhadha fihâ aṣḥabūnâ bi al-qiyās dūn al-istiḥsân* (“Book on a few issues where decision was made based on analogy (qiyās) and not of the ‘approval’ (istiḥsân) affirms that in the said 22 questions resolution based on analogy is preferable (akhadha bi al-qiyās) rather than that based on “approval” (bi dūn istiḥsân). Section 19 (179b–181a): *Kitâb al-malāhin* (“Book on the meaning of sayings and sentences”) is thematically related to jurisprudence and philology. It contains interpretations of various little known or polysemantic words and expressions from *Maqāmât al-Ḥarîrî* (“al-Ḥarîrî Assemblies”) by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ‘Alî b. ‘Uthmān al-Ḥarîrî al-Baṣrî (d. 516/1122) (Rieu, 1894, pp. 635–638) and *Malāhin* (“On the Meanings of Sayings”) compiled by the poet Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd (223-321/837-934) (Brockelmann, 1943, pp. 111–112, Supplementband, 1937, pp. 172-173). Sections 20 to 24 (181a–200a) are on the history (*tawārîkh*) and genealogy (anşâb) of the followers of Prophet Muhammad. For instance, Section 20 is titled (181a–183a): *Min tawārîkh al-anbiyā wa al-‘umam al-sālifa* (“From the history of the prophets and the generations long gone”). It includes a chronology and genealogy of the prophets as well as some Babylonian and Egyptian rulers, the biography and genealogy of prophet Muḥammad and information about his relatives, wives, children and freedmen. There is also extensive information on the first four caliphs. Section 21 (183b–196a): *Ism tasmiya aṣḥāb al-mukarrama ‘alâ tartîb al-ḥurūf al-mu‘jama* (“[Collection of] names of venerable companions (aṣḥāb) in the alphabetical order) consists of 2870 names of male companions of prophet Muḥammad in a strictly alphabetical order, followed by 211 *kunya* names of companions at the end of the section. Section 22 (196a–198b): *Bāb dhikr al-nisā* (“Information on the female companions”) enumerates 342 names of female companions, with 145 famous female *kunya* names at the end of the section. Section 23 (198b–199b): *Tārîkh al-khulafā’ al-qā’imîn ba’d al-khulafā’ al-rāshidîn* (“The history of the caliphs ruling after the righteous caliphs”) provides information on the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsîd caliphs. Section 24: *Nisba mashāhîr a’imma al-dîn wa tawārîkhahum* (“The origins of famous imāms and their history”) also provides information about well-known scholars of law, founders of law schools, and some Baṣra and Kufa scholars. Section 25 (200a–216a): *al-Sab‘iyyāt al-sam‘iyyāt* (“The heard [ḥadīths]”) from among the seven [righteous muḥaddith] is devoted to the ḥadīths, comprised thematically, with seven narrators including the author of this collection of ḥadīths participating in the narration of the texts (matn). Section 26 (216a–227a): *Kitâb al-khuṭṭab al-jiyād li al-juma’ wa al-‘a‘ayād* (“Book on selected sermons on Fridays and on the days of the main holidays”) includes texts of preaching and sermons, alphabetically. Section 27 (227a–251a): *Tadhkira usûl al-tadhkir wa tabşira wujūh al-taqdîr* (“Notification on the basis for reminder and thoughts on the type of determination”) includes the author’s sermons (wā‘ẓ) and preaching recited while giving classes in one of Samarqand’s mosques. Of Sections 28 and 29, the first one (251a–256b): *Muḥtaṣar al-ṣukuk ‘alâ al-nahj al-maslūk fî al-shirā* (“Short samples of legal documents for

purchase and sale processing”) refers to Muslim diplomacy and contains samples of main types of legal documents for private affairs, while Section 29 (256b–260a) *Multaqîât min al-rusûm li al-quzzât wa al-khuşûm* (“Document samples for judges and suitors”) provides several forms for judges’ record keeping. Section 30 (260a–264a): *al-Faşl al-khamsûn fî rusûm al-kitāba wa abwāb al-balāgha* (“Fifty sections on the rules of composing letters and on rhetoric chapters”) covers rules for composing letters with fifty letter samples for various cases and situations. Section 31 (264a–268b): *Fuşûl al-mashāhid li huşûl al-maqāsîd* (“Collection of items to achieve appointments”) contains expressions and forms of address to use when speaking with sultans, wazires, judges, scholars and the like. The nine sections that follow are on philology. Section 32 (268b–274a): *Kitāb ma ‘duba al-adîb wa ma ‘ruba al-arîb* (“Book, a treat for the enlightened and an aspiration of the capable”) provides sets of semantically assembled words: a poetic list of feminine nouns compiled by al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Naţanzî al-Işbahānî (d. 499/1106), broken plurals of nouns, verb conjugations and noun declinations, again referencing al-Naţanzî. Then follow the special sections 33 and 34: (274a–276a): *Faşl fî al-şilât wa mā lahā min al-wujûh wa al-şifât* (“Section on conjunctions, their types and attributes”) and (276b–277b) *Kitāb al-naḥw* (“Book on grammar”), –these are specialized sections on particles, phonetics of the Arabic language as well as basics of syntax. Section 35 (277b–280a): *al-Jawāmi‘ al-lawāmi‘* (“Collection of rays”) contains collections of metaphors, lists of names used in the dual, describing the meaning of the pair notions they denote, etc. Section 36 (280a–292a): *Kitāb al-ash ‘ār bi qadri al-ish ‘ār* (“Book of notification in the assessment of poetry”) has some excerpts from poems written by the prophet’s companions, caliphs, scholars, imāms and some Arab poets. The value of this section is in containing poems by little known or completely unknown Central Asian poets and scholars of the Qarakhanid time. Section 37 (292a–b): *Qaşîda mujānasa lanā awāyiluhā al-ḥurûf al-mu‘jama* (“Qaşîda created by us according to the tajnîs principle in alphabetic order”). Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafî dedicates this qaşîda to his son. It employs the principle of tajnîs (consonance of words), where every bayt begins with a new letter of the alphabet and ends only in letter “T”. Section 38 (293b–304a): *Kitāb al-şana ‘ât wa al-ibdā ‘ât* (“Book of arts and stylistics”) is on categories and figures of poetry. Section 39 (304a–309b): *Mukhtaşar al-‘arûd ‘alā al-uşûl al-ma ‘rûd* (“Short [book] on the rules of metrics”) discusses foundations of metrics (‘arûd) followed by poetic examples for specific meters arranged in such a way that the first hemistich begins with a word hinting at the name of the meter. It also contains drawings of metric circles indicating the origins of poetic meters, one from the other. Section 40 (310a–315b): *Kitāb al-amthāl al-muḥkama ‘alā tartîb al-ḥurûf* (“Book about proverbs arranged alphabetically”) contains proverbs listed alphabetically according to the initial letters of the first words. Section 41 (315b–316a): *Qaşîda li al-Bādhanî yajma ‘a amthāl al-‘ajam* (“Collection of non-Arabic proverbs in the qaşîda al-Badhanniyya”). Section 42 (316a–321b): *Kitāb al-jābir al-‘ābir muqaddîma jāmia ‘* (“Satisfying book of the dream reader. A general overview”). Section 43 (321a–325b): *Kitāb îrād al-awrād* (“Book of reading prayers”) is a collection of prayer books (*awrād*) containing, mainly, prayers pronounced, as legend has it, by the prophet or his companions (for example, prayers read before sleep). Section 44 (325b–330a): *Madkhal fî ‘ilm al-tanjîm wa ma ‘rifā al-taqwîm* (“Introduction into astrology and determination of calendar”) described astrologia iudiciaria, of the astrology of predictions and destinies. Section 45 (330a–335b): *Kitāb mukhtaşar al-ḍarb wa al-qisma wa ma ‘rifā al-tashābuh bayn al-‘idād wa makhārij al-kusūr al-nisba* (“A short book on multiplication and division, determining equality of numbers, and arithmetics of fractions”) contains several short examples clarifying how to solve mathematical tasks (for instance, on decomposition and multiplication of fractions) borrowed from the book by Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Farsî. Section 46 (335b–340a): *Kitāb istikhrāj al-khabiyy ‘bi al-ḥisāb al-sawiyy* (“Book on determining hidden numbers by way of proper calculation”) Sections 47 and 48 are devoted to medicine. The first one (340a–341a): *Kitāb hadiyya al-ḥubb fî ‘ilm al-ṭibb* (“Book giving attention to the science of healing”) compared the four “juices” with the four seasons, and the structure of the human body –with the structure of a city, while the second one (341a–344a): *Kitāb manāfi‘ al-‘aghdiyya wa maḍārruhā wa bāriduhā wa ḥārruhā* (“Book on the use and harm and on the cold and hot nature of food”) describes general medicine, diet, usefulness and / or harmfulness of some types of food, with borrowings from the work by Abū Bakr al-Rāzî (ca. 250-313/854-925 or 323/935) [24]. Section 49 (344a–344a): *Dalālāt al-‘ayyām ‘alā bidāyāt al-asqām* (“Defining days of early illness”) contains a medico-fortune-telling chart with days, weeks and months when recovery should be expected or life-threatening events may occur with the patient. Section 50 (344a–b): *Madākhil al-sana fî awwal yawm min al-muḥarram* (“Entering

the [new] year on the first day of [the month of] Muḥarram”). A fortune-telling manual allowing to predict weather, harvest, diseases and so on for the year to come based on which day of the week the new year begins according to the Islamic calendar. Section 51 (344b–345b): *Nutaf min tabāyi ‘al-ḥaywān* (“Little things on the natures of animals”) contains various curious observations on the life of some animals. The final sections of the book refer to the “hidden sciences”. Section 52 (345b–346b): *Kitāb al-ibtihāj bi ma ‘rifā al-ikhtilāj* (“Satisfaction from the knowledge of shaking”) describes how to predict sickness and illness by involuntary shaking of different parts of the body. Section 53 (346b–350a): *Kitāb al-farāsa fī maydān al-firāsa* (“Book on hysionomics in the field of observations”) explains a way to know a person’s character based on body parts and features (hairiness of the shoulders, stomach and so on, eyes, ears and others). Section 54 (350a–351b): *Kitāb al-‘alāmāt li al-khīlān wa al-shāmāt* (“Book on the features of birthmarks [on the person’s body]”) describes a way to predict events in a person’s life depending on the location of birthmarks on his body. Section 55 (351a–352b): *Kitāb istikhrāj al-ḥāl al-ālīfayn wa al-khaṣmayn bi muḥāsibah ḥurūf al-ismayn* (“Determining happy and unhappy couples by calculating letters in both names [according to abjad]”). Section 56 (352a–355a): *Kitāb al-fāl ‘an Ja ‘far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq* (“Book on the remarkable fortune-telling of Ja ‘far b. Muḥammad”) provides also fortune-telling techniques based on the interpretation of certain āyāt of the twenty sūras of the Qur’ān, describes a magic circle with the titles of *sūrāt*, the *āyāt* from which are written separately.

As noted above, the enumerated sections are records of lectures given in the 6th/12th century in various mosques and madrasas of Samarqand. The content of the manuscript is a practical manual in all areas of religious science and other sciences of the time.

## 2. Copy of Maṭla‘ al-nujūm wa majma‘ al-‘ulūm from the Rampur Raza Library

The Indian scientist Imtiyaz Ali Arshi was the first to discover the manuscript *Maṭla‘ al-nujūm wa majma‘ al-‘ulūm*, which is now stored in the Rampur Raza library. The discovery of this manuscript was sensational at that time. In 1946, the scientist published an extensive article on the scientific heritage of Abū Ḥafsa al-Nasafī, which contained information about the copy of this work (Imtiyaz Ali Arshi, 1946, pp. 174–177, 438–453).

The manuscript *Maṭla‘ al-nujūm wa majma‘ al-‘ulūm* from the Rampur Raza library was rewritten in 646/1248 and is considered to be the earliest one. P.G. Bulgakov did not know about the existence of another list from the Rampur Raza library. The two scholars have discovered these manuscripts, which undoubtedly can be called the scientific discovery in the history of Central Asia. Thus, currently, we have information about two copies of this work. The Tashkent one turned out to be complete and well preserved, thanks to the manuscript owners’ careful handling; their names are listed on the prints of the bookend sheet and on the Khan’s seal stamped on each sheet.

The Rampur copy turned out to be very defective, but a very early one. It was rewritten almost a hundred years before the Tashkent copy. Both scientists under these two lists did not focus on the fact that precisely these codified texts the author Abū Ḥafsa al-Nasafī used to teach students in the madrasas and mosques were included in the collection.

Let us return to the manuscript from Rampur. Unfortunately, this manuscript is defective: there is no beginning in it, some sections are missing. The table shows the sections of the Tashkent and Rampur copies. The Tashkent copy is complete, while the Rampur one lacks many sections, which is also indicated in the table.

№	Name of the sections	Rampur Manuscript	Tashkent Manuscript
0	<i>Muqaddima</i>	Missing	Exists
0	<i>Fihrist</i>	Missing	Exists
1	<i>Usûl al-dîn 'alâ i 'tiqâd al-muhtadîn</i>	Missing	Exists
2	<i>Ta'dâd al-khişâl allatî ja'alahâ al-nabiyy 'alayh as-salâm min sh'ub wa al-îman wa al-islâm</i>	Missing	Exists
3	<i>Tasmiya al-shî'a al-ahawâ' wa al-bid'a</i>	Missing	Exists
4	Âbû Âbd al-Rahmân Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn Sullamî (ym. b 421/1021r.) <i>Tartîb al-manâzil al-muḥaqqiqîn min ahl al-ma'rifât fî ta'rîf kull şînf minhum bimâ taḥtişş min al-şiffâ</i>	Missing	Exists
5	Abû al-Qâsim al-Qushayrî (376/986-465/1072-73). <i>Manthûr al-khiṭâb fî mashhûr al-abwâb.</i>	Missing	Exists
6	<i>Ḥadîs fî huquq al-muslim 'alâ al-muslim</i>	Missing	Exists
7	"Alî b. al-Ḥusyan b. 'Alî b. Abû Tâlib <i>Kitâb al-huquq al-khamsîn</i>	Missing	Exists
8	<i>Mukhtaşar al-bayân wa al-faḥş 'an qirâ'a 'Aşim bi riwâya Ḥaḥş</i>	Missing	Exists
9	<i>Kitâb uşûl al-wuquf 'alâ mawâdi' al-wuquf</i>	Exists	Exists
10	<i>Al-Qur 'ân tahdhîb al-bayân 'an gharîb</i>	Exists	Exists
11	<i>Taḥşil usûl al-fiqh wa taḥşil al-maqâlât fihâ 'alâ al-wajh</i>	Exists	Exists
12	<i>Mashâri' al-sharâyi'</i>	Exists	Exists
13	Abû 'Abdullah al-Damaghânî (ym. b 478/1085r.). <i>Kitâb al-mudhâkara wa al-imtiḥân fî al-masâyl al-ḥasan.</i>	Exists	Exists
14	Abû Mansûr Maḥmûd ibn 'Alî al-Muhallibi. <i>Nazm al-farâyd.</i>	Exists	Exists
15	Muḥammad bin Muṭahhir bin 'Ubayd al-Fârid. <i>Nazm al-masâyl al-mu'âyât fî al-farâyiz</i>	Exists	Exists
16	'Alî b. Muḥammad al-Nasawiy. <i>Masâyl min hubsihâ</i>	Exists	Exists
17	<i>Kitâb al-tahârîr al-mukhtâra fî khilâfiyât al-riwâya</i>	Exists	Exists
18	<i>Kitâb 'idd al-masâyl al-ḥisân allatî akhadha fihâ aşhabunâ bi al-qiyâs dun al-istiḥsân</i>	Exists	Exists
19	Abû Bakr Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan bin Durayd (223/837-321/934). <i>Kitâb al-Malâhin.</i>	Exists	Exists
20	<i>Min tawârîkh al-anbiyâ wa al-'umam as-sâlifa</i>	Missing	Exists
21	<i>Ism tasmiya aşḥâb al-mukarrama 'alâ tartîb al-hurûf al-mu'jama,</i>	Missing	Exists
22	<i>Bâb dhikr al-nisâ</i>	Missing	Exists
23	<i>Târîkh al-khulafâ al-qâ'imîn ba'd al-khulafâ al-râshidîn</i>	Missing	Exists
24	<i>Nisba mashâhîr 'a'imma al-dîn wa tawârîkhahum</i>	Missing	Exists
25	<i>Al-sab' iyyât al-sam' iyyât</i>	Missing	Exists
26	<i>Kitâb al-khuṭab al-jiyâd li al-juma' wa al-'a' ayâd</i>	Exists	Exists
27	<i>Tadhkira uşûl al-tadhkir wa tabşira wujûh al-taqdîr</i>	Exists	Exists
28	<i>Muḥtaşar al-şukûk 'alâ al-nahj al-maslûk fî al-shirâ</i>	Exists	Exists
29	<i>Multaqîât min al-rusûm lil quddât wa al-khuşûm</i>	Exists	Exists
30	<i>al-Faşl al-khamsûn fî rusûm al-kitâba wa abwâb al-balâgha</i>	Exists	Exists
31	<i>Faşûl al-mashâhid li huşûl al-maqâsid</i>	Exists	Exists
32	<i>Kitâb ma'duba al-adîb wa ma'ruba al-arîb.</i>	Exists	Exists
33	<i>Faşl fî al-şilât wa mâ lahâ min al-wujûh wa al-şifât</i>	Exists	Exists
34	<i>Kitâb al-naḥw</i>	Exists	Exists
35	<i>al-Jawâmi' al-lawâmi'</i>	Exists	Exists
36	<i>Kitâb al-ash'âr bi qadri al-ish'âr</i>	Exists	Exists
37	<i>Qaşıda mujânasa lanâ awâyluhâ al-hurûf al-mu'jama</i>	Exists	Exists
38	<i>Kitâb al-şana'ât wa al-ibdâ'ât</i>	Exists	Exists
39	<i>Mukhtaşar fî al-'arûḍ 'alâ al-uşûl ma'rûḍ</i>	Exists	Exists
40	<i>Kitâb al-amthâl al-muḥkama 'alâ tartîb al-hurûf</i>	Exists	Exists
41	<i>Qasîda li al-Bâdhanî yajma'a amthâl al-'ajam</i>	Exists	Exists
42	<i>Kitâb al-jâbir al-'âbir muqaddima jâmia'</i>	Exists	Exists
43	<i>Kitâb îrâd al-awrâd</i>	Exists	Exists
44	<i>Madkhal fî 'ilm al-tanjîm wa ma'rifa al-taqwîm</i>	Exists	Exists
45	<i>Kitâb mukhtaşar al-ḍarb wa al-qisma wa ma'rifa al-tashâbuh bayn al-'idâd wa makhârîj al-kusur al-nisba</i>	Exists	Exists
46	<i>Kitâb istikhrâj al-khabiyy' bi al-ḥisâb al-sawîyy</i>	Missing	Exists
47	<i>Kitâb hadiyya al-ḥubb fî 'ilm al-ṭibb</i>	Exists	Exists
48	<i>Kitâb manâfi' al-'aghdîyya wa maḍârruhâ wa bâriduhâ wa ḥârruhâ</i>	Missing	Exists
49	<i>Dalâlât al-'ayyâm 'alâ bidâiyât al-asqâm</i>	Missing	Exists
50	<i>Madâkhal al-sana fî awwal yawm min al-muharram</i>	Missing	Exists
51	<i>Nutaf min tabâyi' al-ḥaywân Kitâb al-ibtihâj bi ma'rifa al-ikhtilâj</i>	Missing	Exists
52	<i>Kitâb al-ibtihâj bi ma'rifa al-ikhtilâj</i>	Missing	Exists
53	<i>Kitâb al-farâsa fî maydân al-firâsa</i>	Missing	Exists
54	<i>Kitâb al-'alâmât li al-khilân wa al-shâmât</i>	Missing	Exists
55	<i>Kitâb istikhrâj al-ḥâl al-âlifayn wa al-khasmayn bi muḥâsibah hurûf al-ismayn.</i>	Missing	Exists
56	<i>Kitâb al-fâl 'an Ja'far bin Muḥammad al-Şâdiq</i>	Exists	Exists

When analyzing the tables, the question arises: were some sections really missing from the early Rampur cope or were the pages lost over time? Is the latter Tashkent copy really consistent with the original copy that the author dictated to his son? Although the scribes of both copies note at the end of some sections that this chapter was copied from a list dictated by the author Abū Ḥafsa al-Nasafī, at the end of other sections of the lists the scribes do not give any information whether these sections are also copied from the copy dictated by the author. Nevertheless, this issue requires a solution, and therefore, an additional careful codicological and textological study in order to determine the identity of the copy.

The Rampur manuscript, as noted, was rewritten by three scribes, judging by the records that appear at the end of some parts of the texts.

1. The main part of the manuscript was rewritten by the scribe Abū al-Maḥāmid Ḥāmid ibn Āṣim ibn Muḥammad ibn Iskhaq ibn Tāhir al-Majī nicknamed Hisām at the Tāj al-Madāris madrasa (!) In Bukhara, in the month of jumādā al-awwal 646/1248, in the month of August (Imtiyaz Ali Arshi, 1946, p. 175). According to the researcher Imtiyaz Ali Arsha, proceeding from the manuscript, Abū al-Maḥāmid Ḥāmid was not just a scribe, but he was also Kadi al-Kuzzāt and Shaikh al-Islām. His father was also Shaykh al-Islām (al-Nasafī, Rampur Raza: 303a). This scribe claims that the manuscript was copied from a copy dictated by Abū Ḥafsa al-Nasafī to his son Majiddin Abū al-Lays Aḥmad b. ‘Umar (al-Nasafī, Rampur Raza: 251a, 515a.) (*min khat ibn musannif*) in the mosque of the quarter called “Feltmen” (Sikkat al-labbādin) of the city of Samarkand.
2. Āṣim bin Muhammad bin Usman father of Abū al-Maḥāmid Ḥāmid ibn Ā ṣim rewrote his part at the end of the month of jumādā al-awwal in 646/1248 at the end of August (Imtiyaz Ali Arshi, 1946, p. 175).
3. The third scribe, Abū Sa’d Mas’ūd ibn Maḥmūd al-Najimi (!) nicknamed Kamāl, rewrote part of this manuscript at the end of the month of shawwal in February of 645/1248
4. In the city of Bukhara. He also rewrote the following parts of the manuscript: “*Kitāb al-tavārikh*”, “*Kitāb al-hitāb*”, “*Kitāb al-ahādīs*”. Interestingly, this scribe participated in the meetings of the senior scribe Abū al-Maḥāmid Ḥāmid ibn Āṣim, listing his magnificent titles and ranks. Abū Sa’d Mas’ūd attended his meetings and rewrote the above sections from his meetings.

As you can see, three scribes took part in the rewriting of the Rampur manuscript in the city of Bukhara, in the madrasa, in the same year, that is 645/1248. Two of them were father and son. The third scribe rewrote his sections and included in the collection as dictated by Abū al-Maḥāmid Ḥāmid ibn Āṣim himself.

It is still not clear whether a regular functional formation was formed in mosques or if it was more sporadic. We see that during the Karakhanids, the mosques organized a network of courses designed for a more prepared or “practicing” audience (custodians of notes, cadis, publishers of letters or charters, etc.). These manuscripts are one of the first and few collections that cover practically all the fields of knowledge taught in mosques and madrasas, covering the entire body of knowledge accumulated by them in Maverannahr, “*Matla al-nujūm wa majma al-ulūm*” is a valuable source in the history of the development of religious sciences, demonstrating their level of that time and testifying to the great contribution of Maverannahr scholars to the development of the educational system.

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