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ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS OF SCHOLARS FROM THE KAZAKH STEPPE IN LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: AN INVENTORY AND A CASE STUDY OF AL-ITQĀNĪ'S WORKS

This article examines manuscript copies of Arabic-language works by scholars associated with the Kazakh Steppe preserved in the manuscript collections of Leiden University Libraries. The designation "scholars of the Kazakh Steppe" is not intended as a retrospective national attribution; rather, it refers to an important component of the regional intellectual history of Central Asia and the Steppe and reflects the historical, cultural, and geographical continuities inherited by present-day Kazakhstan. The study aims to assess the role and distinctive significance of Leiden University Libraries in preserving and transmitting the scholarly and cultural legacy of these scholars. Manuscripts were identified through a combined examination of catalogues and de visu verification. The electronic catalogue was searched using approximately 30–40 nisbas in multiple orthographic variants in Arabic and Latin scripts. This procedure made it possible to supplement the codicological description of each manuscript and to propose corrections to discrepancies in the catalogue records. In addition, extensive textual verification was undertaken for autograph manuscripts by Qawām al-Dīn al-Itqānī. The findings indicate that the scholarly legacy of figures associated with the Kazakh Steppe contributed to the early development of Islamic and Oriental studies in Europe and provide evidence for a distinctive scholarly milieu within Islamic civilization that produced works in linguistics, music theory, political thought, philosophy, fiqh, and ʿaqīda.

Keywords: Kazakh steppe scholars, Arabic-language manuscripts, Leiden University Library, culture, scientific heritage.

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Қазақ даласы ғұламаларының Лейдендегі араб тіліндегі қолжазбалары: реестр және әл-Итқани мұрасы мысалында

Бұл мақалада Лейден университеті кітапханасының қолжазбалар қорында сақталған қазақ даласы ғалымдарына тиесілі арабтілді шығармалардың қолжазба нұсқаларына анализ жасалған. Қазақ даласы ғалымдары ұғымына қатысты нақтылайтын нәрсе, бұл ұлттандыру емес, Орталық Азия мен Дала аймағының өңірлік интеллектуалдық тарихының аса маңызды бөлігі ретінде қарастырылып, бүгінгі Қазақстанның тарихи-мәдени және географиялық мұрагерлігін білдіреді. Зерттеу мақсаты – Лейден кітапханасының қазақ даласы ғалымдарының ғылыми мәдени мұрасын сақтап жеткізуде алатын орны мен ерекшелігін анықтау. Ол үшін Лейден кітапханасындағы қолжазбалар каталогтар және де вису верификация арқылы анықталды, электронды каталогтан 30-40 нисбаларды араб, ағылшын графикасына сай әртүрлі формаға салып іздеу жасалды. Сол арқылы әр қолжазбаның кодикологиялық сипаттамасы толықтырылды, каталогта кеткен сәйкессіздіктердің түзу нұсқасы ұсынылды. Оған қоса, Қауамуддин әл-Итқанидың өзі жазып қалдырған қолжазбалардың текстуал верификация кеңінен жүргізілді. Зерттеу нәтижесінде қазақ даласы ғалымдарының ғылыми мұрасының Еуропадағы исламтану мен шығыстану бастауына әсері анықталды, және жалпы ислам өркениетінде тіл білімі, музыка теориясы, саясаттану, философия, фиқһ пен ақида салалары бойынша жеке ғылыми орталық болғанына дәлел болады.

Түйін сөздер: қазақ даласы ғалымдары, арабтілді қолжазбалар, Лейден университеті кітапханасы, мәдениет, ғылыми мұра.

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Арабоязычные рукописи учёных казахской степи в библиотеке Лейденского университета: инвентаризация и исследование трудов аль-Иткани

В статье рассматриваются рукописные экземпляры арабоязычных трудов учёных, связанных с Казахской степью, которые хранятся в рукописных фондах библиотеки Лейденского университета. Обозначение «учёные Казахской степи» не предполагает ретроспективного приписывания им современной национальной идентичности; напротив, оно относится к важной составляющей региональной интеллектуальной истории Центральной Азии и Степи и отражает историческую, культурную и географическую преемственность, унаследованную современным Казахстаном.

Цель исследования – определить роль и особое значение библиотеки Лейденского университета в сохранении и передаче научного и культурного наследия этих учёных. Рукописи были выявлены посредством комплексного изучения каталогов и их проверки de visu. Поиск в электронном каталоге осуществлялся примерно по 30–40 нисбам в различных орфографических вариантах на арабском и латинском письме. Данная процедура позволила дополнить кодикологическое описание каждой рукописи и предложить исправления выявленных расхождений в каталожных записях.

Кроме того, была проведена обширная текстологическая проверка автографических рукописей Кавам ад-Дина аль-Иткани. Результаты исследования показывают, что научное наследие деятелей, связанных с Казахской степью, внесло вклад в раннее развитие исламоведения и востоковедения в Европе и свидетельствует о существовании особой научной среды в рамках исламской цивилизации, в которой создавались труды по лингвистике, теории музыки, политической мысли, философии, фикху и акиде.

Ключевые слова: учёные Казахской степи, арабоязычные рукописи, библиотека Лейденского университета, культура, научное наследие.

Introduction

The study of manuscript collections outside Kazakhstan and the systematic identification of manuscripts of works by scholars originating from the Kazakh Steppe constitute an important area of manuscript studies. Works by these scholars continue to be identified in libraries across neighboring countries and farther abroad and are being introduced into scholarly circulation. Existing research may broadly be divided into two approaches. The first consists of reference and encyclopedic surveys that describe scholars and their works according to chronological or geographical criteria. Such studies commonly refer to ṭabaqāt and other biobibliographical sources, identify the collections in which manuscripts are preserved, and provide general descriptions of their contents. For example, the volume Sayin dalanyn sanlaq ghulamalary [Outstanding Scholars of the Great Steppe] surveys scholars originating from different regions and their works (Zhamashev, 2022). The second approach comprises in-depth comparative studies of one or more works, often published as dissertations or monographs; nevertheless, many works still lack detailed analysis. The present article seeks to bridge these two approaches by identifying works of particular scholarly value and preparing the ground for their detailed study and incorporation into wider scholarly discourse.

Leiden University Libraries in the Netherlands constitute one of the major European repositories preserving the intellectual legacy of scholars associated with the Kazakh Steppe. Its holdings include manuscript and printed works by al-Itqānī, al-Fārābī, and scholars bearing the nisba al-Kardarī. Founded in 1575, Leiden University Library became one of the principal centers of Oriental studies in Europe (Leiden University Libraries, n.d.-a).

The aim of this study is to establish, on the basis of bibliographical analysis, the place and significance of Leiden University Libraries in preserving the scholarly legacy of scholars associated with the Kazakh Steppe. To this end, the Leiden catalogue was re-examined, revealing discrepancies in the foliation or pagination assigned to several manuscripts. These findings demonstrate

that catalogue consultation alone is insufficient for reliable manuscript identification and that direct, careful examination of the physical manuscripts is essential.

Y. Paltore's (2023) study of materials preserved in Leiden focuses on al-Fārābī studies. The author reports twelve treatises by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī in the library, discusses three of them individually, and situates them in relation to holdings in other libraries worldwide. One entry, however, is duplicated as part of the composite manuscript Or. 1002. The present study increases the number of identified Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī manuscript items to seventeen, a result reached through de visu verification of catalogue data and a systematic re-examination of the manuscripts. In addition, the manuscript collection containing works by Qawām al-Dīn al-Itqānī is provided with a detailed codicological description. Previous discussions of his Leiden manuscripts have generally remained at the level of overview. The approach adopted here offers a model for moving from the inventory and descriptive cataloguing of manuscript materials dispersed across international collections toward substantive and in-depth analysis.

Literature review

Among the scholars, Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī has received the most extensive attention in manuscript collections worldwide. His treatises occur both together in composite volumes and as separately transmitted texts, and scholarship has addressed them both at the level of individual library holdings and as discrete works. Studies of collections outside Kazakhstan include research on al-Fārābī materials in Türkiye (Khavan et al., 2023) and Leiden (Paltore, 2023). The article by A. Khavan and A. Mustafayeva (2022) is devoted specifically to the treatise Risāla fī al-siyāsa. Such work reflects a broader shift toward direct engagement with original manuscripts rather than reliance on translations from other languages, with increasing attention to content and textual criticism. Because al-Fārābī studies have understandably centered on the legacy of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, other scholars represented in the same library collections have received comparatively less attention. The distinctive contribution of the present study lies in its inclusion of manuscripts by other scholars bearing the nisba al-Fārābī as well as works by al-Itqānī, thereby highlighting the broader significance of the Leiden collections in which these manuscripts are preserved.

The second objective of the study concerns the history of scholarship on al-Itqānī's works. Critical editions (taḥqīq) of his al-Tabyīn (al-Itqānī, 1999) and Ghāyat al-bayān (al-Itqānī, 2023) were prepared under the auspices of Kuwait's Ministry of Awqaf and a research center; in other words, the manuscripts were subjected to scholarly critical editing and published. Although the critical edition of Ghāyat al-bayān appeared only three years ago, it gives the author's name as Qiwām al-Dīn al-Atqānī. The manuscript evidence, however, more strongly supports the form Qawām al-Dīn al-Itqānī, as indicated by the name recorded in manuscripts of his works. The Leiden manuscripts discussed below provide further support for this reading.

Among Kazakhstan-based researchers, A. Derbisali and Sh. Kerim have published articles and studies on al-Itqānī's scholarly legacy. Their work contributed substantially to bringing Qawām al-Dīn al-Itqānī's writings into scholarly circulation by providing references that facilitate the location of manuscripts and by offering translations of his works. The specific issues concerning al-Itqānī's Leiden manuscripts are examined in detail in the Discussion section below.

The expression "scholars of the Kazakh Steppe" is used here to denote the cultural and geographical continuity linking the intellectual history of Central Asia with the territory of present-day Kazakhstan. This framing is consistent with approaches found in international scholarship on Central Asian historiography, including the works of D. DeWeese, A. Muminov and others. Devin DeWeese's Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition (DeWeese, 1994) demonstrates continuities in Islamic literary and scholarly traditions between the nomadic steppe and sedentary centers of learning and culture. Muminov (2015), in turn, historically documents the contribution of scholars originating from territories that form part of present-day Kazakhstan to the medieval Ḥanafī school through their writings and the scholarly training they transmitted to their students.

Table 1
Codicological Description of Manuscripts Identified in Leiden University Libraries

Shelfmark	Author	Corrected Title	Folio Range	Date of Copying (AH/CE); Place	Script & Copyist	Incipit & Explicit	Completeness & Attribution Status	Notes
Or. 14 : 9	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Kitāb al-Mūsīqā Corr. from *Kitab al-Musiqi*	pp. 237-240	1036/1626-1627	al-Darwīsh Aḥmad al-ʿAkalshānī		Fragment of Kitāb al-Mūsīqā: Verified Attribution	Collection Jacobus Golius (1629)
Or. 133 : 1	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Talkhīṣ Nawāmīs Aflāṭūn	pp. 1-28	692/1292-1293; Balkh	Naskh	Inc.: [Basmala] Lammā kāna al-shayʾ al-ladhī yufaḍḍalu al-insān ʿalā sāʾir al-ḥayawān… Exp.: qaddasa Allāhu rūḥahu al-ʿazīz fī asraʿi waqtin wa-sāʿatin… balaġa	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Jacobus Golius (1629). Contains collation mark (balaġa) at the end
Or. 184: 7	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Fī mā yanbaghī an yuqaddama qabla taʿallum al-falsafa	ff. 42r.-47r.	514/1120-1121	Naskh; Fayrūz b. Rūzbihān		Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Jacobus Golius (1629)
Or. 184: 13	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil	ff. 96-103r.	515/1121-1122	Naskh; Fayrūz b. Rūzbihān		Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Jacobus Golius (1629)
Or. 820 : 1	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil	ff. 2v.-10r.	515/1121-1122	Naskh		Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)
Or. 1002 : 1	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	al-Fuṣūṣ fī al-ḥikma	ff. 1v.-9r. Corr. from pages 1-16 (Leiden University Libraries, n.d.-a)	Undated, but likely 16th century, as the copyist was active in the 15th–16th centuries	Nastaʿlīq; Chivīzāde Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed b. Ilyās (d. 954/1547)	Inc.: [Basmala] al-Umūr al-latī qablanā li-kullin minhā māhiyya wa-huwiyya… Exp.: …wa-kullu shayʾin hālikun illā wajhahu, wa-lahu al-ḥamdu ʿalā mā hadānā min sabīli taʾwīlinā min tafṣīl. Tamma [ʿayn].	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665). Explicit features the formula "tamma" with an end-of-text marker (ʿayn).
Or. 1002 : 2	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	al-Ashyāʾ al-muḥtāj ilā taʿallumihā wa-maʿrifatihā qabla taʿallum al-falsafa In catalog: Fī mā yanbaghī an yuqaddama qabla taʿallum al-falsafa (Witkam, 2007b)	folios 11v.-14v. Corr. from ff. 64v.-69r.	Undated, but likely 16th century	Nastaʿlīq; Chivīzāde Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed b. Ilyās (d. 954/1547)	Inc.: [Basmala] Qāla Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī: al-ashyāʾ al-muḥtāj ilā taʿallumihā wa-maʿrifatihā qabla taʾallum al-falsafa al-latī ukhidhat ʿan Arisṭū wa-hiya tisʿat ashyāʾ… Exp.: …fa-inna al-shābb law kāna hākadhā thumma sharaʿa fī an yataʿallama al-ḥikma amkana an lā yaṣīra faylasūfa zūr wa-lā ḥakīma buhtān wa-lā bāṭil. Wa-aqūlu wa-hākadhā nuqila ʿan al-Muʿallim al-	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665). Although cataloged as Fī mā yanbaghī…, in the manuscript al-Ashyāʾ al-muḥtāj ilā taʿallumihā...; both titles are semantically identical despite different phrasing.

Table continued

Shelfmark	Author	Corrected Title	Folio Range	Date of Copying (AH/CE); Place	Script & Copyist	Incipit & Explicit	Completeness & Attribution Status	Notes
						Thālith al-Imām al-Rāzī fī awwali kitābihi al-musammā bi-al-Sirr al-maktūm.		
Or. 1002 : 3	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya	folios 21v.-50v.	Undated, but likely 16th century	Nastaʿlīq; Chivīzāde Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed b. Ilyās (d. 954/1547)	Inc.: al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya wa-yulaqqabu bi-mabādiʾ al-mawjūdāt. [Basmala... ḥamdala... ṣalawāt]... Qāla Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fārābī: al-mabādiʾ al-latī bihā qiwām al-ajsām wa-al-aʿrāḍ sittat aṣnāf... Exp.: ...fī al-umūri kullihā, wa-baʿḍuhum kharrağahu dhālika ilā an yarā annahu laysa fīmā yudriku shayʾun ṣādiqan aṣlan, wa-anna kulla mā ẓanna ẓānnun annahu adraka shayʾan fa-huwa kādhib. Tammat.	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665). On f. 21v, the heading immediately introduces the alternative title of the treatise as Mabādiʾ al-mawjūdāt ("The Principles of Beings").
Or. 1002 : 4	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Fī mabādiʾ ārāʾ ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila	folios 51v.-60v.	Undated, but likely 16th century	Nastaʿlīq; Chivīzāde Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed b. Ilyās (d. 954/1547)	Inc.: [Basmala] al-Milla hiya ārāʾ wa-afʿāl muqaddara muqayyada bi-sharāʾiṭ… Exp.: …wa-ʿinda dhālika tataʿāḍadu afʿāluhum wa-tataʿāwanu ḥattā yablughū al-gharaḍ al-multaḥaq wa-huwa al-saʿāda al-quṣwā.	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)
Or. 1002 : 5	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Jawāmiʿ al-siyar al-marḍiyya fī iqtināʾ al-faḍāʾil al-insiyya	folios 61v.-62r.	Undated, but likely 16th century	Nastaʿlīq; Chivīzāde Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed b. Ilyās (d. 954/1547)	Inc.: [Basmala] Jawāmiʿ al-siyar al-maḥḍiyya fī iqtināʾ al-faḍāʾil al-insiyya. Tashtamilu hādhihi al-jawāmiʿ ʿalā dhikri quwā al-nafs al-latī bihā taḥṣulu li-l-insān al-faḍāʾil… Exp.: …wa-jimāʿ hādhihi al-faḍāʾil mā turwā ʿan al-nabī ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam: urid li-al-nās min nafsika mā turīdu minhum laka. Tamma bi-ḥamdi Allāh wa-al-ṣalātu ʿalā rasūlihi wa-ālihi.	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)
Or. 1002 : 6	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Aghrāḍ ʿilm mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa	folios 62v.-64r.	Undated, but likely 16th century	Nastaʿlīq; Chivīzāde Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed b. Ilyās (d. 954/1547)	Inc.: [Basmala] rabbi yassir wa-lā tuʿassir. Aghrāḍ ʿilm mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa li-Arisṭūṭālīs, kalām Abī Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fārābī. Exp.: …wa-hādhihi hiya al-ibāna ʿan gharaḍ hādhā al-kitāb wa-ʿan aqsāmihi. Wa-hādhā ākhiruhu, wa-al-ḥamdu li-	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)

Table continued

Shelfmark	Author	Corrected Title	Folio Range	Date of Copying (AH/CE); Place	Script & Copyist	Incipit & Explicit	Completeness & Attribution Status	Notes
						Wāhib al-ʿaql wa-mufīḍ al-ʿadl, wa-ṣallā Allāhu ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi ajmaʿīn.		
Or. 1002 : 7	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil	folios 64v.-69r.	Undated, but likely 16th century In catalog: 515/1121-1122 (Witkam, 2007b)	Nastaʿlīq; Chivīzāde Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed b. Ilyās (d. 954/1547)	Inc.: [Basmala] ʿUyūn al-masāʾil li-Abī Naṣr al-Fārābī. al-ʿIlm yanqasimu ilā taṣawwur muṭlaq kamā yataṣawwur al-shams wa-al-qamar wa-al-ʿaql wa-al-nafs… Exp.: …yaṣilu ilā dhālika al-shayʾ li-ajli al-yasīr min al-sharr al-ladhī lā budda minhu kāna al-sharr ḥīnaʾidhin akthar wa-aslam. Wa-ṣallā Allāhu ʿalā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-sallam.	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665). On f. 64v. A comma-like punctuation mark (or text division mark) appears immediately after the title.
Or. 1002 : 8	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Fī wujūb ṣināʿat al-kīmiyā	folios 69v.-70v.	Undated, but likely 16th century	Nastaʿlīq; Chivīzāde Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed b. Ilyās (d. 954/1547)	Inc.: [Basmala] Qāla al-Fārābī raḥimahu Allāh: qaṣdunā fī hādhihi al-qawl an naḍaʿa fī wujūb ṣināʿat al-kīmiyāʾ wa-dhikr al-sabab fī al-aghālīṭ al-wāqiʿa… Exp.: … wa-qad iddaʿā man lā riyāḍata lahu bi-al-ʿilm ilā tazyīnihā, wa-kilā al-qawlayn khārij ʿan al-ṣawāb. Wa-al-ḥamdu li-Llāhi waḥdahu, wa-ṣallā Allāhu ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-sallam.	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)
Or. 2844	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Risāla fī al-mizāj wa-al-awzān	12 folios	515/1121-1122	Naskh	Inc.: [Basmala... ḥamdala... ṣalawāt]... Ammā baʿdu: fa-hādhihi risālatun fī al-mizāj wa-al-awzān ʿalā mā dhahaba ilayhi al-jumhūr... Exp.: …Wa-qad ʿarafta annahu bi-al-tarkīb wa-al-mādda wa-izālat al-māniʿ wa-al-shurūṭ tamma dhālika bi-ḥamdi Allāh wa-ʿawnihi wa-ḥusn tawfīqihi. [taṣwīb, ṣalawāt]... Intahā. Tamma.	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665). On the title page (f. 1r), beneath the library stamp, the former shelfmarks are recorded as Ms. Ar. 2202 and (Amin 484).
Or. 2930	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Kitāb al-maqālāt al-rafīʿa fī uṣūl ʿilm al-ṭabīʿa In catalog without Kitāb	12 folios	514/1120-1121	Naskh	Inc.: [Basmala... ḥamdala... ṣalawāt]... Iʿlam hadāka Allāhu subḥānahu wa-taʿālā anna al-ʿaql wa-al-rūḥ wa-al-nafs thalāthatu arwāḥ laṭāʾif...	Complete; Verified Attribution	

Table continued

Shelfmark	Author	Corrected Title	Folio Range	Date of Copying (AH/CE); Place	Script & Copyist	Incipit & Explicit	Completeness & Attribution Status	Notes
						Exp.: yakhdumuhu bi-quwwatin li-al-khilṭ al-radī ʿanhu li-yakūna dhālika ḥifẓan li-jismihi wa-māddatan li-baqāʾi shakhṣihi muddati ʿumrihi. Wa-Allāhu aʿlam.		
Or. 2931	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950)	Ittifāq raʾy al-ḥakīmayn Aflāṭūn wa-Arisṭūṭālīs	14 folios	596/1199-1200	Naskh	Inc.: [Basmala]... Innī lammā raʾaytu akthara ahli zamāninā qad khāṣamū wa-tanāzaʿū fī ḥudūth al-ʿālam wa-qidamihi, wa-iddaʿaw anna bayna al-ḥakīmayn… Exp.: ..al-qawlu fīmā rumnā bayānahu min al-jamʿ bayna raʾyay al-ḥakīmayn Aflāṭūn wa-Arisṭū. [Ḥamdala... ṣalawāt... ḥamdala]. Tammat al-risāla.	Complete; Verified Attribution	The text ends with Tammat al-risāla and a finis mark, followed by scribal notes (fawāʾid) explaining names of ancient philosophers.
Or. 473	Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (d. 350/961)	Dīwān al-adab	237 folios	596/1199-1200			Fragment of Dīwān al-adab; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)
Or. 2391	Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (d. 350/961)	Dīwān al-adab	168 folios	651/1253-1254			Verified Attribution	
Or. 500: 3	Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī al-Fārābī (d. 400/1009)	al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-mukhtaṣar	folios 176v-220r.	Undated, but likely 17th century			Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)
Or. 716	Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī al-Fārābī (d. 400/1009) (Author of al-Sihah)	Tarjumān al-Ṣiḥāḥ Corr. from Targuman al-Sahah	ff. 2 + 329 + 7 (blank)	969/1562	Naskh script; Yusuf b. Turmush b. Yusuf	Inc.: [Ḥamdala... ṣalawāt] Ammā baʿdu: bilgil ki ʿulūm-i dīniyye ve aḥkām-ı sharʿiyye ʿArab luġatı üzerine vārid olmışdur, pes bu ecilden... Exp.: kathīr al-ʿiṣyān al-rājī ilā raḥmati Rabbihi al-Laṭīf Yūsuf b. Ṭūrmush b. Yūsuf, ghafara Allāhu lahum wa-li-wālidayhim wa-li-jamīʿ al-muʾminīn wa-al-muʾmināt wa-al-muslimīn wa-al-muslimāt bi-raḥmatika yā arḥam al-rāḥimīn, fī shahri Ramaḍān min sanati 969. Tamm.	Anonymous translation of al-Sihah	Collection Levinus Warner (1665). The manuscript is written in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish.
Or. 11.549: 8	ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad	Kitāb Akhlaṣ al-khāliṣa (or	ff. 96v.-102v.	1128/1716; Asbadun			Complete; Verified Attribution	This is a compendium prepared in 854/1450

Table continued

Shelfmark	Author	Corrected Title	Folio Range	Date of Copying (AH/CE); Place	Script & Copyist	Incipit & Explicit	Completeness & Attribution Status	Notes
	Zāʾir al-Badakhshānī; Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Fārābī	Khulāṣat al-khāliṣa)						by ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Badakhshānī, based on the Kitāb Khāliṣat al-ḥaqāʾiq of Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Fārābī (d. 607/1210).
Or. 706 : 1	Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib al-Ītqānī (d. 758/1357)	Risāla fī rafʿ al-yad fī al-ṣalāt	folios 1v.-21v.	747/1347; Damascus	Naskh script; Autograph	Inc.: [Basmala... taṣliya... ḥamdala... ṣalawāt]... Wa-baʿdu, yaqūlu al-ʿabd Abū Ḥanīfa Qawām al-Dīn… Exp.: … sanata sabʿin wa-arbaʿīn wa-sabʿimiʾah bi-Dimashqa al-maḥrūs wa-Allāhu aʿlam	Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665). On f. 21v, the letter nūn appears as a palaeographical completion mark.
Or. 706 : 2	Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib al-Ītqānī (d. 758/1357)	Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya In catalog: al-Risāla al-ʿAlāʾiyya	folios 21v.-29r.	750/1349; Damascus	Naskh script; Autograph	Inc.: Hādhihi Risālatun ʿAlāʾiyya. Allafahā al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf Qawām al-Dīn al-Utrārī… Exp.: … bi-Dimashq al-maḥrūs ḥarasahā Allāh.	Autograph copy; Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)
Or. 706 : 3	Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib al-Ītqānī (d. 758/1357)	Raddādat al-bidaʿ	folios 29r.-34r.	751/1350; Cairo	Naskh script; Autograph	Inc.: Hādhihi Risālatun Raddādat al-bidaʿ… Exp.: … sanata 751 bi-al-Qāhira al-maḥrūsa ḥarasahā Allāh taʿālā.	Autograph copy; Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)
Or. 706 : 4	Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib al-Ītqānī (d. 758/1357)	Shaddākhat al-Muʿtazila In catalog: Risāla al-shaddakhat al-Muʿtazila (Witkam, 2007a)	folios 34v.-38r.	753/1352-1353; Cairo	Naskh script; Autograph	Inc.: Hādhihi Risālatun wa-Shaddākhat al-Muʿtazila ʿamilahā al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf… Exp.: … bi-al-Qāhira al-maḥrūsa fī awākhir al-Muḥarram al-ḥarām min sanati 753.	Autograph copy; Complete; Verified Attribution	Collection Levinus Warner (1665)

Note. Data were obtained from the Leiden University Libraries catalogue

Methodology

First of all, a preliminary screening of the Leiden University Libraries online catalogue was conducted, identifying the locations of approximately fifteen manuscript works. Searches in the electronic catalogue were performed using scholars' nisbas – that is, names indicating places of origin or association. Drawing on an earlier biographical reference work (Zhamashev, 2022), approximately 30–40 nisbas associated with scholars from the same localities were compiled in advance and searched in multiple Arabic- and Latin-script variants. Examples included Farabi, Itqani, Itkani, Jawhari, Yasawi, Balasaguni, etc. Searches of electronic and printed catalogues, combined with physical examination, increased the corpus to twenty-five manuscript items. The codicological description of each work was then supplemented and refined.

A notable common feature of the scholars identified is their association with the nisba al-Fārābī. Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib al-Itqānī, although originating from Itqān, likewise belongs to the broader group of scholars associated with Farab. Accordingly, the article considers works by five scholars connected with Farab. Owing to time constraints during research in Leiden, the paper and material features of seventeen manuscripts were examined; many of the works are preserved within composite volumes. For example, eight treatises by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī are contained in Or. 1002, while four works by al-Itqānī are preserved in Or. 706. Physical examination made it possible to establish the correct folio ranges of the works and to rectify discrepancies, as presented in the table below.

For Arabic titles, personal names, and technical terms, the study employs the IJMES transliteration system, widely used in international academic publishing, including by Cambridge University Press and other leading scholarly presses (Cambridge University Press, n.d.). Authorship and dating were assessed through close attention to the manuscript texts and marginalia.

Results and discussion

The data were compiled through de visu examination of the manuscripts and cross-referenced with the printed catalogues (Witkam, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008) and the Leiden University Libraries digital catalogue. Particular attention is given to discrepancies between the physical manuscripts and their catalogue records.

Each volume of Jan Just Witkam's catalogue contains descriptions of approximately one thousand manuscripts, and the sequence of the volumes reflects the historical organization of the holdings. For example, eight of the twenty-five manuscript items identified in this study fall within the Or. 1–1000 range and belong to early private collections registered at Leiden University Library. The manuscripts examined in this article, with shelfmarks ranging from Or. 14 to Or. 1002, include historical materials collected by the scholars Jacobus Golius and Levinus Warner (Witkam, 2007a; 2007b).

The entries are arranged according to the scholars' dates of death; where several items are attributed to the same scholar, they are ordered by shelfmark. Dates of copying recorded in the manuscripts according to the Hijri calendar are accompanied below by their Gregorian equivalents. Because manuscripts are generally foliated, most entries give either the total number of folios or a folio range. Where a manuscript is paginated rather than foliated, the pagination has been retained as recorded.

Within the limitations of the study, incipit and explicit passages were recorded for the seventeen manuscripts available for direct examination and are presented in IJMES transliteration. This system, used by leading academic publishers such as Cambridge University Press, allows the relevant textual and phonetic features of Arabic-script material to be represented with precision. To avoid overloading the table, only transliterations are provided there. In the codicological descriptions of al-Itqānī's manuscripts, however, a two-tier presentation is used throughout: transliteration, and English translation.

The Leiden holdings are particularly significant for several reasons. First, they include a fourteenth-century autograph manuscript by Qawām al-Dīn al-Itqānī. In a single composite volume, as said J.J. Witkam (2007a), al-Itqānī copied four of his own works and, on ff. 39r.-63v. (Or. 706:5), theological work ʿAqīda marwiyya ʿan al-Imām al-Aʿẓam [A Creed Transmitted from al-Imām al-Aʿẓam] by Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Saʿīd b. Muḥammad's (Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, 14th century). Second, the library preserves manuscripts copied at still earlier dates. The earliest copies among the treatises of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and Isḥāq al-Fārābī's Dīwān al-adab date to the twelfth century. Thus, although Leiden's earliest manuscript collections were established in the

seventeenth century, they contain valuable witnesses copied several centuries earlier and subsequently preserved in the library. Of the fourteen manuscript codices containing the twenty-five items examined in this study, nine composite volumes belonged to the collections of Jacobus Golius and Levinus Warner. Their presence in these early collections indicates that the manuscripts entered Leiden at a relatively early date and consequently became accessible to scholars and part of scholarly circulation at an early stage.

The Leiden Legacy of Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib al-Itqānī

We begin by considering previous scholarship on al-Itqānī's legacy preserved in Leiden University Library. The following discussion examines the Leiden witnesses and reassesses previously published information. In his study of Qawām al-Dīn al-Itqānī, Derbisali A. (2013) presents findings concerning the scholar's biography and works and provides Kazakh translations of several of his writings; the manuscripts on which he relied were identified in Turkish libraries. In describing al-Itqānī's works, Derbisali lists four texts as preserved in Leiden and provides their shelfmarks. First, he gives the title as "al-Rawḍa al-Dimashqiyya" and the number as 1839 (Derbisali, 2013, p. 45). The Leiden witness, however, does not contain the title "Rawḍa," nor does the text state a specific title for the treatise. On the basis of its contents, the catalogue records it as Risāla fī rafʿ al-yad fī al-ṣalāt, and it is preserved as Or. 706:1. Second, Derbisali records "Qaddādat al-bidaʿ" under no. 227 (Derbisali, 2013, p. 44). The present examination establishes that the correct title is Raddādat al-bidaʿ (Ar. radda, "to repel/ward off") and that its shelfmark is Or. 706:3. Third, Derbisali states that "Shaddāḥat al-Muʿtazila" is preserved under no. 2028 (Derbisali, 2013, p. 44), whereas our examination identifies its shelfmark as Or. 706:4. Fourth, he notes that "al-Risāla al-ʿĀliyya" (actually Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya) is preserved in Leiden without giving a number (Derbisali, 2013, p. 46); examination of the manuscript shows the title Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya and the shelfmark Or. 706:2. Derbisali also discusses and translates the Risāla fī rafʿ al-yad fī al-ṣalāt [Treatise on Raising the Hands during Prayer] (Derbisali, 2013, pp. 114–138) and a "Brief Commentary on the Throne and the Pilgrimage" that he named (actually Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya) (Derbisali, 2013, pp. 139–148), the latter corresponding to the Turkish witness of Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya; he also provides biographical notices (tarājim) of scholars mentioned in the text and references to Qurʾānic verses. At the end of the book, he reproduces images of copies found in Turkish collections. Thus, although previous scholarship addressed the Leiden witnesses, the present study clarifies their titles and shelfmarks and provides a basis for comparing the Turkish and Leiden copies. Derbisali (2013) merely references "Turkey, the manuscript collection of the Süleymaniye Library" without providing specific shelfmarks or location details within the repository. Furthermore, our comprehensive search in the database of the Manuscript Institution of Türkiye yielded no records of such manuscripts (Manuscript Institution of Türkiye, n.d.).

Kerim Sh. (2017), in his monograph, examines several of al-Itqānī's works, including Ghāyat al-bayān, Shāmil, Risāla fī rafʿ al-yad, a treatise refuting the Muʿtazilites, and Lubāb, a work that has contributed to his characterization as a mathematician. A review of the scope and content of earlier studies indicates that al-Itqānī's Leiden manuscripts require further codicological, comparative, and critical analysis.

Four works by al-Itqānī are preserved in the Or. 706 composite manuscript at Leiden University Library. Of its 66 folios, 38 contain al-Itqānī's writings on matters of ʿaqīda and fiqh. Risāla fī rafʿ al-yad presents his position on the raising of the hands during ritual prayer, a question of Islamic jurisprudence, whereas Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya, Raddādat al-bidaʿ, and Shaddāḥāt al-Muʿtazila demonstrate his engagement with questions of creed. Witkam's catalogue (2007a) identifies the codex as an autograph copy, that is, a manuscript written by the author himself. Our de visu examination likewise found no indication that these texts had been copied by another scribe.

Codicological description of the Or. 706 composite manuscript: 66 folios; 15 lines per page. In the manuscript, the diacritical dots of some letters are omitted, while vowel signs (ḥarakāt) are supplied for certain words. The main text is written in black ink.

1. Risāla fī rafʿ al-yad fī al-ṣalāt (Qawām al-Dīn al-Ītqānī, 1347). Folios: 1v–21v. The script is clear. There are no marginal glosses (ḥāshiya), and the margins are blank. The text opens with the basmala and ṣalawāt, followed by a ḥamdala and another ṣalawāt. After the ḥamdala, four red comma-like marks separate semantic units within the ṣalawāt. At

page transitions, the first word of the following page is written diagonally in smaller script as a catchword. Where a word has been written incorrectly or requires clarification, its corrected form is entered in the blank margin alongside the corresponding line. Words introducing a new argument, naming a scholar, or marking the author's own scholarly position (e.g., "we say") are highlighted in red (see Figure 1a).

The phrase wa-baʿd, which introduces the main text of the risāla, and the word lammā at the beginning of a new sentence are likewise written in red. Although the treatise does not bear an explicit title, it has become known as such because the primary issue addressed is the raising of the hands during prayer.

Arabic: «رسالة في رفع اليد في الصلاة»

Transliteration: "Risāla fī rafʿ al-yad fī al-ṣalāt."

Translation: "Treatise on the Raising of the Hands during Prayer."

This contemporary manuscript evidence definitively establishes the vocalization of his name as Qawām al-Dīn (with fatḥa on the qāf) and his nisba as al-Itqānī, refuting secondary variants such as Qiwām al-Dīn al-Atqānī.

The treatise is structured as al-Itqānī's narration of an episode centered on a debate between himself and a Shāfiʿī interlocutor. At the end of the text on f. 21v, the letter nūn appears as a palaeographical completion mark, an abbreviation of intahā ("it is finished"). Such a mark could also serve to prevent a later reader or scribe from adding material after the authorial or scribal ending (see Figure 1b).

Incipit (f. 1v):

Transliteration: "[Basmala... taṣliya... ḥamdala... ṣalawāt]... Wa-baʿdu, yaqūlu al-ʿabd Abū Ḥanīfa Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib ibn Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd al-Fārābī al-Īṭqānī: lammā qadimtu bilād al-anbiyāʾ wa-al-ṣāliḥīn balada al-Shām – bāraka Allāhu fīhā – sanata arbaʿīn wa-sabʿimiʾah, al-ʿāshir min shahri Rajab al-fard, tasharraftu fī Dimashq al-maḥrūsa baʿda ayyām bi-liqāʾ Sayf al-Dīn Amīr al-Muʾminīn Malik al-Umarāʾ – ayyadahu Allāhu taʿālā – fī al-layla al-sābiʿa wa-al-ʿishrīn min shahri Ramaḍān min al-sana al-madhkūr, fa-ṣallaynā ʿindahu al-maghrib, wa-rafaʿa al-imām yadayhi ʿinda al-rukūʿ wa-ʿinda rafʿ al-raʾs min al-rukūʿ, fa-aʿadtu ṣalātī..."

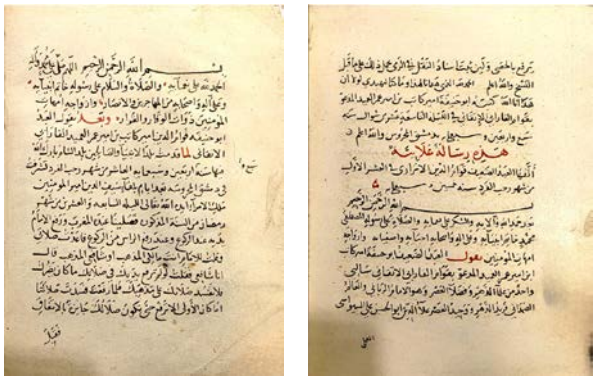
Translation: "In the name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful. May God bless Muḥammad and his family. Boundless praise be to God for the blessings He bestows. May God's blessings and peace be upon the Messenger of God, the Seal of the Prophets, upon his family, upon his Companions from among the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār, and upon his wives, the dignified and steadfast Mothers of the Believers. Thereafter, the servant [of God], Abū Ḥanīfa Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib ibn Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd al-Fārābī al-Itqānī, says: When I arrived on 10 Rajab 740 [AH] in the city of al-Shām, the city of prophets and righteous men – may God shower it with blessings – some days later, on the twenty-seventh night of Ramaḍān, I had the honor of meeting Sayf al-Dīn Amīr al-Muʾminīn Malik al-Umarāʾ in protected Damascus. We performed the sunset prayer together. When bowing and when rising from bowing, the imam raised both hands. I repeated my prayer…"

Explicit (f. 21v):

Transliteration: "...yarfaʿu bi-al-ḥaṣā wa-laʾin thabata isnādu al-naqli fī al-ramyi ḥumila dhālika ʿalā mā qabla al-naskhi wa-Allāhu aʿlam. Al-Ḥamdu li-Llāhi alladhī hadānā li-hādhā wa-mā kunnā li-nahtadiya lawlā an hadānā Allāh. Katabahu Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib ibn Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd al-madʿū bi-Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī fī al-laylati al-tāsiʿata ʿashara min Shawwāl sanata sabʿin wa-arbaʿīn wa-sabʿimiʾah bi-Dimashqa al-maḥrūs wa-Allāhu aʿlam."

Figure 1

Qawām al-Dīn al-Īṭqānī, Risāla fī rafʿ al-yad, Leiden, MS Or. 706:1. (a) f. 1v, incipit with basmala, ḥamdala, red rubrics, and catchword; (b) f. 21v, explicit, colophon dated 747/1347 (Damascus), scribal completion mark (nūn), and rubricated heading for al-Risāla al-ʿAlāʾiyya. Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries.



Note: Compiled by the author

Translation: "…If the isnād of the report concerning the casting of stones [during the pilgrimage] is established, it is to be understood as

belonging to the period before this ruling was abrogated (naskh). God knows best! Boundless thanks and praise be to God, who guided us to this. Had God not guided us, we would not have been guided. This was written on the night of 19 Shawwāl 747 [AH], in Damascus under God's protection, by Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib, son of Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd, known as Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī. God knows best."

2. Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya (Qawām al-Dīn al-Ītqānī, 1349). Folios: 21v–29r.

The title in Arabic: «رِسَالَةٌ عَلَائِيَّةٌ»

Transliteration: " Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya."

Translation: "A Treatise Dedicated to ʿAlāʾ [al-Dīn]."

In the second work, the title is written in large script in red ink. Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya means a treatise dedicated to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. Here al-Itqānī identifies himself by the nisba al-Utrārī. Utrār (Otrar) is known as another name associated with the city of Fārāb. The work was completed during the first ten days of Rajab 750 AH. Following the conventional opening of Islamic scholarly works – the basmala, ḥamdala, and ṣalawāt – al-Itqānī names the prominent scholar of the period ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Siwāsī and describes him in laudatory terms. Al-Siwāsī asks him to provide a concise explanation of the question of istiwāʾ. Al-Itqānī responds on the basis of al-Māturīdī's Kitāb al-Tawḥīd, adducing detailed arguments and citing the explanations of Abū al-Muʿīn al-Nasafī. The treatise thus develops in a question-and-answer format around a complex theological issue concerning the divine essence and related Qurʾānic verses, combining lexical and etymological analysis with Qurʾānic evidence, scholarly opinions, and logical argumentation.

Incipit (f. 21v):

Transliteration: "Hādhihi Risālatun ʿAlāʾiyya. Allafahā al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf Qawām al-Dīn al-Utrārī fī al-ʿashr al-awwal min shahri Rajab al-fard sanata khamsīn wa-sabʿimiʾah.

[Basmala…hamdala…salawat], yaqūlu al-ʿabdu al-ḍaʿīfu Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib ibn Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd al-madʿū bi-Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī: saʾalanī wāḥidun min ʿulamāʾi al-dahri wa-fuḍalāʾi al-ʿaṣri, wa-huwa al-imāmu al-rabbānī wa-al-ʿālimu al-ṣamadānī, farīdu al-dahri wa-waḥīdu al-ʿaṣri, ʿAlāʾu al-Dīni Abū al-Ḥasani ʿAlī al-Siwāsī..."

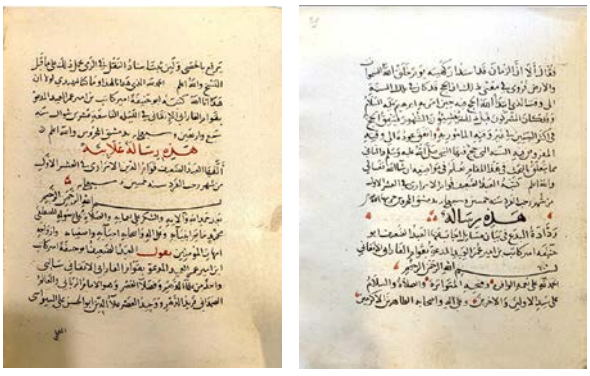
Translation: "This is the Risāla ʿAlāʾiyya. It was written by the weak and poor servant Qawām al-Dīn al-Utrārī during the first ten days of the sacred and distinguished month of Rajab in the year 750 [AH]. In the name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful. After praising God for His boundless blessings and giving thanks for His beneficence, and invoking blessings upon His chosen Prophet, Muḥammad, the Seal of the Messengers, as well as upon his beloved and chosen family and Companions and his pure wives, the Mothers of the Believers, the weak servant Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib, son of Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd, known as Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī, says: 'One of the scholars of the age, the most eminent man of his time, the divinely guided imam, the knower of mysteries, the peerless figure of his generation, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Siwāsī, asked me [about a scholarly question]…'"

Explicit (f. 29r):

Transliteration: "...fī akthar al-sinīn fī ghayr waqtihi al-maʾmūr bihi, wa-ittafaqa ʿawduhu ilā waqtihi al-mafrūḍ fīhi al-sanata allatī ḥajja fīhā al-nabī ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam. Wa-al-bāqī mimmā yataʿallaqu bi-al-baḥth fī hādhā al-maqām yuʿlamu fī mawāḍiʿihi in shāʾa Allāhu taʿālā, wa-Allāhu aʿlam. Katabahu al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf Qawām al-Dīn al-Utrārī fī al-ʿashr al-uwal min shahri Rajab al-fard sanata khamsīn wa-sabʿimiʾah bi-Dimashq al-maḥrūs ḥarasahā Allāh."

Figure 2

Qawām al-Dīn al-Ītqānī, al-Risāla al-ʿAlāʾiyya, Leiden, MS Or. 706:2. (a) f. 21v, incipit with rubricated title, author's nisba al-Utrārī, and dedication to al-Siwāsī; (b) f. 29r, explicit, completion formula, and colophon dated Rajab 750/September 1349, Damascus. Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries.



Note: Compiled by the author

Translation:"…for many years it occurred at a time other than its prescribed time, until, in the year in which our Prophet – may God's blessings and peace be upon him – performed the pilgrimage, it

coincided precisely with its established proper time. The remaining questions pertaining to the scholarly investigation of this subject will, God willing, be discussed in their appropriate places. God knows best! This was written by the weak servant Qawām al-Dīn al-Utrārī during the first ten days of the sacred and distinguished month of Rajab in the year 750 [AH], in Damascus under God's protection – may God preserve it under His protection."

3. Raddādat al-bidaʿ (Qawām al-Dīn al-Ītqānī, 1350). Folios: 29r–34r.

The title in Arabic: «رَدَّادَةُ الْبِدَعِ»

Transliteration: "Raddādat al-bidaʿ."

Translation: "Repeller of Innovations."

The risāla opens with the enlarged phrase hādhihi risālatun ("this is a treatise"), marking the beginning of a new work. Large red inverted comma-like signs appear beside this phrase on the first page and elsewhere in the text to indicate pauses that preserve the rhymed prose (sajʿ) when read aloud. These signs do not occur on every page; they are concentrated at the beginning and in the latter half of the final page. There are no marginalia (ḥāshiya), but the first word of the next folio is written beneath the text as a catchword. The author completed the work in Cairo on 13 Shaʿbān 751 AH. It is a concise polemical treatise written in response to Muʿtazilī doctrinal positions regarded as contrary to those of Ahl al-Sunna.

Incipit (f. 29r):

Transliteration: "Hādhihi Risālatun Raddādat al-bidaʿ fī bayān masāʾil ajāba ʿanhā al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib ibn Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd al-madʿū bi-Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī. [Basmala]... [Ḥamdala... ṣalawāt]..."

Translation: "This is the treatise entitled Raddādat al-bidaʿ ('Repeller of Innovations'), containing the responses of the weak servant Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib, son of Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd, known as Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī, to questions of religious law and doctrine. In the name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful. Praise be to God Most High for His abundant and boundless blessings and His unceasing gifts and favors. May blessings and peace be upon the master of the former and latter generations [the Prophet Muḥammad], and upon his pure and most honored family and Companions…"

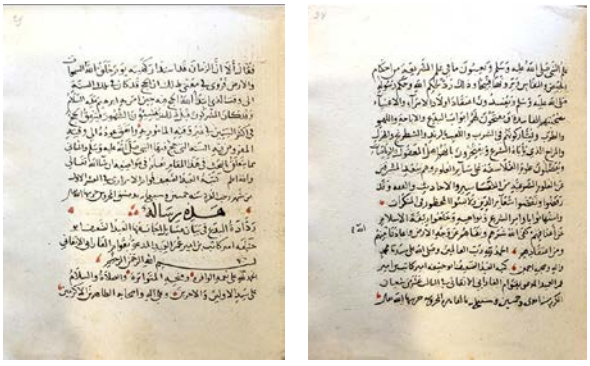
Explicit (f. 34r):

Transliteration: "...wa-labisū al-maḥẓūra fī al-munkarāt, wa-istahānū bi-awāmiri al-sharʿi wa-nawāhīhi, wa-khalaʿū ribqata al-Islāmi ʿan aʿnāqihim. Kafā Allāhu sharrahum, wa-nafāhum ʿan wajhi al-arḍ, wa-aʿādhanā [Allāhu] minhum wa-min iʿtiqādihim [Ḥamdala... salawat]... Katabahu al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib ibn Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd al-madʿū bi-Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī fī al-thālitha ʿashara min Shaʿbān al-mukarram sanata 751 bi-al-Qāhira al-maḥrūsa ḥarasahā Allāh taʿālā."

Translation: "They immersed themselves in forbidden evils and prohibited acts. They disregarded the commands and prohibitions of the Sacred Law and cast off from their necks the yoke of Islam. May God protect us from their harm, remove them from the face of the earth, and shelter us from them and from their erroneous beliefs! Praise be to God, Lord of all worlds. May God's blessings and peace be upon our master Muḥammad and upon all his family and Companions. This was written by the weak servant Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib, son of Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd, known as Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī, on the thirteenth day of the sacred month of Shaʿbān, in the year 751 AH, in Cairo under God's protection – may God preserve it under His protection."

Figure 3

Qawām al-Dīn al-Ītqānī, Raddādat al-bidaʿ, Leiden, MS Or. 706:3. (a) f. 29r, incipit with enlarged heading and red sajʿ pause marks; (b) f. 34r, explicit and colophon dated 13 Shaʿbān 751/October 1350, Cairo. Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries.



Note: Compiled by the author

4. Shaddāḥāt al-Muʿtazila (Qawām al-Dīn al-Ītqānī, 1352–1353). Folios: 34v–38r.

The title in Arabic: «شَدَّاخَةُ الْمُعْتَزِلَةِ»

Transliteration: "Shaddākhat al-Muʿtazila."

Translation: "Crusher of the Muʿtazila."

Here again the author begins a new work with the phrase hādhihi risālatun ("this is a treatise"), written prominently in red ink. The treatise is a

refutation of the Muʿtazilites composed in response to al-Zamakhsharī. The author completed it in Cairo in 753 AH.

Incipit (f. 34v):

Transliteration: "Hādhihi Risālatun wa-Shaddākhat al-Muʿtazila ʿamilahā al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf Abū Ḥanīfa Qawām al-Utrārī. [Basmala... taṣliya]... Yaqūlu al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib ibn Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd ibn al-ʿAmīd ibn Amīr Ghāzī, [duʿāʾ]...: qāla al-Zamakhsharī, [istighfār]... mā maʿnāhu fī qawlihi taʿālā: {Rabbi arinī anẓur ilayk...}: wa-ruwiya anna al-malāʾikata marrat ʿalayhi wa-huwa maghshiyyun ʿalayhi fa-jaʿalū yalkizūnahu bi-arjulihim wa-yaqūlūn: yā ibn al-nisāʾ al-ḥuyyaḍ! a-ṭamiʿta fī ruʾyati Rabb al-ʿizza?!"

Translation: "This is the treatise Shaddāḥāt al-Muʿtazila ('Crusher of the Muʿtazila'), written by the weak servant Abū Ḥanīfa Qawām al-Utrārī. In the name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful. May God's blessings and peace be upon our master Muḥammad, his family, and his Companions. The weak servant Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib, [grandson of] Amīr Ghāzī and son of Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd Sirr al-ʿAmīd – may God forgive him, his parents, and all Muslims – says: 'Al-Zamakhsharī – may God forgive him – said, in connection with the words of God Most High, "My Lord, show [Yourself] to me, that I may look at You." [God] said, "You shall not see Me [in this world], but look at the mountain; if it remains firm in its place, then you will see Me" (Qurʾān 7:143), words to the following effect: "It is related that, while [the Prophet Moses] lay unconscious after the mountain had been shattered, angels passed by him, nudged him with their feet, and said, 'O child of menstruating women! Did you aspire to behold your Lord, the Possessor of Majesty?!'…"'

Explicit (f. 38r):

Transliteration: "Tammat. [Ḥamdala... ṣalawāt]... Katabahu al-ʿabd al-ḍaʿīf Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib bin Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd al-madʿū bi-Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī, [duʿāʾ]... bi-al-Qāhira al-maḥrūsa fī awākhir al-Muḥarram al-ḥarām min sanati 753."

Translation: "Completed. Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds. May His blessings be upon our master Muḥammad, his family, his Companions, his wives, and all his descendants. This was written by the weak servant Abū Ḥanīfa Amīr Kātib, son of Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd, known as Qawām al-Fārābī al-Itqānī – may God forgive him, his parents, and all Muslims, Ameen – in protected Cairo, during the last ten days of the sacred month of al-Muḥarram, in the year 753 AH."

Figure 4

Qawām al-Dīn al-Ītqānī, Shaddākhat al-Muʿtazila, Leiden, MS Or. 706:4. (a) f. 34v, incipit with rubricated title in red ink, author's nisba al-Utrārī, and refutation of al-Zamakhsharī; (b) f. 38r, explicit and colophon dated late Muḥarram 753/March 1352, Cairo. Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries.



Note: Compiled by the author

Thus, based on the beginning (incipit) and ending (explicit) of the manuscripts, we can determine the correct form of the author's full name as he wrote it, the exact time and places he started and finished writing, and the main reason why the treatises was written. Furthermore, this manuscript was selected because it is an autograph copy penned by the author himself. Conducting a comprehensive codicological verification at this stage is essential for the preparation of a subsequent critical edition.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the initial survey and subsequent de visu examination identified 25 manuscript items and clarified discrepancies in the online and printed catalogues concerning dates, foliation, and titles. A codicological profile was prepared for the treatises written in al-Itqānī's own hand. The manuscripts identified in Leiden University Library range chronologically from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries. Given that the earliest relevant collections were registered in the library in the seventeenth century, these materials indicate that Central Asian intellectual heritage formed part of the corpus available during the formative period of European Islamic and Oriental studies. The fact that these manuscripts written by scholars themselves or

copied by scribes and preserved by libraries were gathered from such centers of the Islamic world as Damascus, Cairo, and Balkh further demonstrates that the Turkistan region was not isolated from wider intellectual networks but constituted an integral and significant part of the scholarly world.

Limitations of the study: Because the corpus was restricted to Arabic-language manuscripts of works by scholars associated with the Kazakh steppe, manuscripts in Turkic and Persian were not examined. The present study focuses primarily on textual-source analysis and codicology; comparative study and the preparation of comprehensive critical editions of the works are reserved for future research. We do not claim to have exhaustively covered the entire scholarly legacy of these authors. Rather, the study is offered as a source-critical contribution aimed at systematizing and clarifying one strand of their manuscript heritage.

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Author Contributions

A.Sh. Zhamashev: Conceptualization, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Data curation, Writing – original draft.

A.D. Kurmanaliyeva: Conceptualization, Methodology, Supervision.

M.R. Mohd Nor: Validation, Writing – review & editing.

List of Abbreviations/ Appendix

Abbreviation	Meaning / Description
AH	Anno Hegirae (Islamic Hijrī calendar)
b.	ibn (son of)
Basmala	The Islamic opening formula: Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm ("In the name of God, the Lord of Mercy, the Giver of Mercy")
CE	Common Era
Corr. from	corrected from
d.	Died
duʿāʾ	supplication / prayer formula
Exp.	Explicit (the concluding words of a text)
f. / ff.	folio / folios
Ḥamdala	The praise formula: al-Ḥamdu li-Llāh ("Praise be to God")
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies* transliteration system
Inc.	Incipit (the opening words of a text)
istighfār	formula asking for God's forgiveness
MS	Manuscript
Or.	*Codices Orientales* (Oriental manuscripts collection)
p. / pp.	Page / Pages
r / v	Recto (front side of a folio) / Verso (back side of a folio)
Ṣalawāt	The prayer of blessing and peace upon the Prophet Muḥammad, his family, and companions
Taṣliya	invocation of blessings upon the Prophet Muḥammad (ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam)
Taṣwīb	The pious closing formula affirming divine omniscience: wa-Allāhu aʿlam bi-al-ṣawāb ("and God knows best what is right")

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