# Chapter III

# Waqf as a Device for Sustaining and Promoting Education: A Case from Pre-modern Central Asia

ISOGAI Ken'ichi

## Introduction

As in other regions of the pre-modern Islamic world, the institution of waqf played a considerable role in Central Asian history. As an institution which enables the accumulation of a vast amount of immovable properties intact without any risk of their being scattered into small pieces, waqf prompted the concentration of capital in specific religious institutions, thus making a significant contribution to developing social infrastructure, forming the city landscape, and, of course, sustaining centres of piety.

This characteristic of waqf also offered a chance for local noble families to gain an economic basis for long-term prosperity spanning generations, which consequently enhanced their reputation among the indigenous population. Converting family estates into waqf for some religious institution with the stipulation that excluded non-family members as candidates for future *mutawallī* (waqf administrators), they could use these estates, immune from break up, as a fund providing constant income for their family members.[1] We can even find a case where waqf prompted a large investment in the reviving of deserted land, unowned by anyone, who was expected to pay land tax (*iḥyā al-mawāt*). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Pāyanda Bī Atālīk Turkmān, a member of the military elite active during the reign of the Janid ruler Imām Qulī Khān (r. 1612–1642), built a congregational mosque and madrasa in the immediate vicinity of the fortress of Bukhara [CSARUz F. I-323, Op. 1, Ed. Khr. 144]. What is noteworthy is that shortly before the construction of those two religious institutions he had embarked on the revivification of deserted land in Nasaf district, located to the south-east of Bukhara, with the special intention of its future conversion into waqf [CSARUz F. I-323, Op. 1, Ed. Khr. 7].[2]

---

[1]  [McChesney 1996: 69–115] gives a detailed description about how a lineage of *mutawallī* obtained both economic and religious prestige in local society through waqf.

[2]  [Isogai 1999] offers the original Persian text of [CSARUz F. I-323, Op. 1, Ed. Khr. 7] with Japanese translation, and interprets it in the context of Islamic jurisprudence.

As described above, the socio-economic impact of the institution of waqf on Central Asian society was certainly striking. However, while the socio-economic functions of the institution have already been amply stressed by researchers,[3] its contributions to the cultural sphere, such as education and scholarship, are yet to receive proper attention. Educational activities performed at madrasas in pre-modern Central Asia were heavily dependent upon, and sustained by, the institution, for they were funded by revenues generated from the madrasas' waqf properties. Moreover, if we take into account that madrasas may have served as a depository of numerous textbooks and their commentaries prepared for students' daily use, and thus had taken on the role of preserver of the traditional knowledge considered suitable to be taught there, scholarship itself may also have owed much to the institution that enabled constant provision of a large number of manuscripts.

This essay aims, first, to give an overall view of the knowledge accumulated at, and transmitted through, one of the largest madrasas still existing in Bukhara, the Kukeldash madrasa, by making a brief survey of its waqf deed, which includes a list of manuscripts donated and preserved there. Second, we will also attempt to reconfigure the curriculum implemented there in the second half of the sixteenth century and demonstrate the long-range durability and broad-scale popularity it enjoyed in the region by comparing the aforementioned list of manuscripts with another historical document offering valuable information about the madrasa curriculum in mid-nineteenth century Central Asia. The Kukeldash madrasa was founded by Qulbābā Kūkaltāsh, a prominent military leader who served the famous Shaibanid ruler ʿAbdallāh Khān II (r. 1583–1598), and was named after its founder. Though the madrasa has not served as an educational facility for many years, its building still stands in the area called Lyabi Hauz, which constitutes a part of the old city of Bukhara, not far from the Ark, the city fortress. The original waqf deed was created in 1594, according to the date found in its text. However, the document we consult here is apparently a copy said to date from the early nineteenth century. This copy is now preserved in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan with the inventory number F. I-323, Op. 1, Ed. Khr. 1.[4]

To date, not a few researchers have attempted to make an overall sketch of the edifice of knowledge which was built in pre-modern madrasas of different

---

[3]   For examples of socio-economic studies on Central Asian waqf, see [Chekhovich 1974] which depicts how a large amount of capital was accumulated by Khwāja Aḥrār, a leading figure of the local Naqshbandi order exclusively influential in both religious and political spheres at that time, and [McChesney 1991] which deals with waqf founded for the benefit of the shrine of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in northern Afghanistan.

[4]   For a brief account of the document, see [Djuraeva and Isogai 1997]. I would like to express my cordial gratitude to Dr. Galiba Djuraeva, senior research fellow of the Oriental Manuscript Center of the Tashkent State Institute of Oriental Studies, who kindly gave me information about this document and encouraged me to embark on its study.

regions in the Islamic world, often relying mainly upon either scattered information found in personal memoirs, certificates for teaching a specific textbook (*ijāza*), or official documents issued in the name of certain rulers.[5] Owing to these studies we have, even if somewhat fragmented, a certain degree of information about the textbooks and their commentaries once taught at madrasas in different periods and regions. In fact, as to the question about what textbooks may have been taught at madrasas of a region where the Hanafite school of law was predominant, our list of manuscripts only adds the slightest amount of information to existing knowledge, rather than offering any new findings that may persuade researchers to change their perspective on the issue. However, the greatest merit in using this list lies in the fact that we can estimate the position each textbook occupied in the madrasa curriculum of the time by counting its manuscripts, for what are listed there are not titles, but the manuscripts themselves, which are often of the same title. Besides that, this list also tells us about the way knowledge concentrated at the Kukeldash madrasa was classified, since it basically arranges each manuscript entry according to the genre to which it belongs. Though the waqf deed we rely on here is not the original one, our list may well reflect the initial state of the collection of books donated to the Kukeldash madrasa at the time of its foundation. Among the 133 titles we have identified out of the 194 listed in it, there seems to be no work which was created after 1594.

## 1. Contents of the Waqf Deed of the Kukeldash Madrasa

As is so often the case with Central Asian waqf deeds of that period, the waqf deed created for the Kukeldash madrasa begins with sentences praising God, His prophet, and the latter's family members and companions, followed by a description of both the *wāqif*, i.e. Qulbābā Kūkaltāsh, and the beneficiary of the waqf, i.e. his

---

[5]   [Isogai Masumi 2012] gives a full account of the titles studied by Rizaeddin Fakhreddinov, one of the most renowned Muslim intellectuals in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Russia, in a madrasa located in the Volga-Ural region, based on his autobiography. The list of books studied by Rizaeddin is also given in [Isogai Masumi 2013], a Russian digest version of [Isogai Masumi 2012] originally published in Japanese. The full text of Rizaeddin's autobiography is published in [Riḍāʾ al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn 2016]. For an example of studies making an attempt to reproduce the madrasa curriculum on the basis of *ijāza*, see [Subtelny and Khalidov 1995] which deals with *ijāza*s issued in Timurid Iran. [Shahab 2004] describes the content of the official curriculum for the highest level madrasa stipulated by the Ottoman emperor Suleiman the Magnificent, relying on an imperial decree issued by him in 1565. On the other hand, [Robinson 1997] clearly shows the commonality of the major textbooks which were used in madrasas in the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires after the sixteenth century, based mainly on secondary works.

madrasa. The text then enumerates 31 immovable properties that were converted into the status of waqf to generate revenues for financing the madrasa, according to the prescription of Islamic law, until the end of this world. These properties consist mainly of arable lands, commercial facilities, and water mills. After that, the afore-mentioned list of manuscripts, which also constituted a part of the waqf properties, is inserted. We will give a description about this list below. The text then moves to stipulations made by that *wāqif* which are to be fulfilled by the two *mutawallī*s of the madrasa. According to the text, one of these *mutawallī*s was responsible for administering the madrasa as well as managing its immovable properties, while the other was expected to serve as a librarian, responsible for the safekeeping of man-uscripts. The text ends with the closing formula shared by almost all Central Asian waqf deeds created after the second half of the sixteenth century, legal formulae necessary for the contract of the waqf to be valid and binding in accordance with the teachings of the Hanafite school of law.[6]

This waqf deed is accompanied by four other documents. The first and sec-ond documents by chronological order are the rulings in the fabricated lawsuits that were specially filed to invalidate future claims of third parties to the properties converted into waqf. Both rulings are dated March 1594, which indicates that they were originally produced approximately at the same time as the waqf deed itself. The third document is dated February or March 1692, i.e. almost 100 years after the waqf's creation. It certifies the sale of a part of the waqf properties, whose price was to be used for purchasing another property to be incorporated into the waqf. The fourth document has an even later date, July or August 1786. It records the acknowledgment of a person who denied his right to a piece of landed property, admitting its status as the waqf of Kukeldash madrasa. The latter two documents therefore give us some information about events experienced by this waqf at con-siderably later times.


## 2. A Picture of Scholarly Knowledge Accumulated at the Kukeldash Madrasa

As mentioned above, the list of manuscripts donated to the madrasa is inserted between the sections counting and specifying immovable waqf properties and explaining requirements imposed on the two *mutawallī*s of the madrasa. However, we also find a supplementary list of 15 manuscripts beneath the last part of the main text of the deed. We also consider it an integral part of the list of manuscripts.

The list consists of 341 entries, each of which corresponds to a single man-uscript. With a few exceptions, the text of each entry begins with the title of the work included in the manuscript. Titles are always given by a specific appellation

---

6    On the meaning and functions of these legal formulae, see [Isogai 2003].

which appears to have been shared by contemporary scholars and students. Along with the title, information about the paper size of the manuscript, the style of writing adopted in it, and the shape of its cover are also given in the text. For example, the entry for a manuscript of the widely known Koranic exegesis, *al-Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanzīl* of Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), reads: "*Kashshāf*, all chapters included in a single manuscript, paper size—half fold, style of writing—*ghubār*, bound by black goatskin."

It seems to be quite natural for the author of the deed, who was required to specify the entire waqf property so as to preserve it from unlawful possession in the future by a third party, to focus almost exclusively on the external characteristics of the manuscript, while giving no bibliographical information except for the title of the work included in it. Indeed, the *wāqif* paid special attention to preserving the manuscripts he had made waqf. According to the waqf deed, every manuscript had to bear the seal on which *wāqif*'s name was carved. Moreover, when someone borrowed a manuscript belonging to the madrasa, he was required to give the *mutawallī* another manuscript worth twice the price as a deposit. On the other hand, due to the fact that the list offers no bibliographic information other than the title given by the specific appellation common only to intellectuals of that time, unfortunately nearly one-third of all the titles found in the list have yet to be identified.[7]

The list is divided into 11 sections by genre: Koranic exegesis (*tafsīr*), hadithology (*ḥadīth*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh* and *uṣūli fiqh*), Arabic rhetoric (*ʿarabīya*), Islamic theology (*kalām*), the dictionary (*lughat*), Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), Arabic grammar (*naḥw*), logic (*manṭiq*), philosophy (*ḥikmat*), and medicine (*ṭibb*). The heading of each section is written in relatively large-sized letters with frequently overextended strokes acting as a dividing line between two adjacent sections. Though each section must have been allocated to a single genre, this principle is not strictly observed and we sometimes encounter an entry which is located in a wrong section.

Table 1 shows the number of titles, the number of manuscripts, and the total number of works they include by genre.[8]

In the list there are nine works whose titles are given as "ghair mashhūr," i.e. "unknown." This means that the titles of these works were unknown even to the author of the waqf deed. Among them seven works are attributed to certain genres by the author, while other two are not so identified. We must also explain here the reason why the total number of manuscripts is 343 in Table 1, though the actual total number is 341. The list enumerates 12 manuscripts containing more than a

---

[7]  Out of 194 titles encountered in the list, 61 titles remain unidentified.

[8]  It should be noted that the total number of works included in the manuscripts may be larger than that of the manuscripts themselves, which sometimes contain more than a single work.

Table 1: Number of Titles, Mss., and Works by Genre

|                   | Titles | Mss. | Works |
|-------------------|--------|------|-------|
| Koranic Exegesis  | 28     | 56   | 57    |
| Hadithology       | 14     | 31   | 34    |
| Jurisprudence     | 49     | 112  | 114   |
| Rhetoric          | 10     | 25   | 26    |
| Theology          | 16     | 24   | 29    |
| The Dictionary    | 10     | 12   | 12    |
| Sufism            | 24     | 28   | 28    |
| Grammar           | 11     | 15   | 15    |
| Logic             | 15     | 19   | 20    |
| Philosophy        | 11     | 13   | 13    |
| Medicine          | 6      | 6    | 6     |
| Unknown           |        | 2    | 2     |
| Total             | 193    | 343  | 356   |

single work, of which two include works of two different genres. We counted these two manuscripts for each genre separately. Thus, the total number of manuscripts surpasses their actual number.

The statistics given in Table 1 tell many things. They clearly show the position each genre occupied in the curriculum implemented in a Central Asian madrasa at the end of the sixteenth century. Jurisprudence's sway over the madrasa curriculum is undeniable, whereas philosophy and medicine, representatives of the rational sciences, played just a minor role. On the other hand, the disproportionally small number of titles belonging to Koranic exegesis, hadithology, jurisprudence, and rhetoric as compared to those of their manuscripts implies that, especially for these genres, authoritative textbooks or commentaries were amply available in more than a few manuscripts in the madrasa's library.

Before making a brief survey of the major titles having multiple entries in the list to clarify what textbooks formed the core of the madrasa curriculum, it seems quite meaningful to answer a question concerning the way these genres or, more precisely, disciplines related to one another. If we take into account that an educational curriculum is nothing more than an integrated learning system of different disciplines, answering this question appears to be unavoidable. As to the interrelationship between the disciplines, the following curious remarks by Faḍlallāh ibn Rūzbhihān Khunjī, a famous Shafiʿite scholar who served the Shaibanid rulers in the first half of the sixteenth century, are worth noting:

> It is known to scholars what are considered sacred law-related sciences (ʿulūmi sharʿīya). To sum up, sacred law-related sciences are divided into the following three categories:

The first category, which is called the science of the sacred law (*ʿilmi shar ʿ*), consists of hadithology (*ḥadīth*), Koranic exegesis (*tafsīr*), and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

The second category is called sacred law-related sciences (*ʿulūmi shar ʿīya*), for the sacred law relies on it. In relation to the sciences of the sacred law [mentioned above], this category occupies the position of being fundamental (*uṣūl*) to them. It contains two disciplines, that is, basic theory of Islamic theology (*ʿilmi uṣūli kalām*), that of Islamic jurisprudence (*ʿilmi uṣūli fiqh*), and the like.

The third category is what is indispensable for studying all the previously mentioned sciences, from the standpoint that the *sharīʿa* is rendered in Arabic, while the Koran and Sunna have also come down in this language. Those which belong to this category are like tools for study and consist of the sciences of literary Arabic (*ʿulūmi ʿarabīyai adabīya*), such as syntax (*naḥw*), morphology (*ṣarf*), derivation (*ishtiqāq*), rhetoric (*maʿānī wa bayān wa badīʿ*), and the like.

What is located outside these three categories belongs to the domain of the philosophical sciences (*ʿulūmi falāsifa*). From among them, it is necessary to study medicine (*ṭibb*) and some parts of both mathematics (*ḥisāb*) and logic (*manṭiq*). The study of medicine, which is aimed at realizing physical soundness, is necessary, for treatment is a tradition of the Prophet. Mathematics is also needed to be studied, because algebra (*jabr wa muqābala*) and some kinds of mathematical procedures are regarded as indispensable for learning several fields of Islamic jurisprudence. Logic is indispensable when one needs to examine some theory and know whether it is true or false.

Theologians had included the minimum amount of logic that had seemed to them necessary in the learning system of Islamic theology to make the sacred law-related higher sciences self-sufficient. Therefore, one has to be content with studying some brief works on logic written by theologians, whereas indulging in logic more than necessary is considered prohibited and unsuitable. Thus, it is obligatory to forbid overlearning it. On the other hand, it is not forbidden to engage in medicine to the degree necessary for acquiring enough knowledge about medical treatment. Meanwhile, what is considered necessary to learn in the field of mathematics has already been explained by scholars in some places of their works on Islamic jurisprudence.

As is shown in the foregoing, we have no need for books on philosophy. However, some scholars say that learning some portions of philosophy is unavoidable to refute and nullify heretical doctrines produced by philosophers, for refuting heretical doctrine is the collective duty imposed on *muslim*s and success in fulfilling this duty depends on the ability of conceptualizing those portions. All those things one had better to learn about in

the field of philosophy to accomplish this duty have already been explained by theologians in their works.

Now, it has become clear that there is no need to study specifically philosophical sciences, which are outside what scholars of the *sharīʿa* consider part of the knowledge they have to acquire. Thus, it is a duty for the *Shaikh al-Islām* to prohibit studying philosophy and never to let anyone learn and teach it, for each corruption that emerged in Islam was caused by the spread of the philosophical sciences [Khunjī 1984: 97–98].

This section is found in one of Khunjī's major works, entitled *Sulūk al-Mulūk*, written with the intention of giving his patron ʿUbaidallāh Khān instructions about how to govern his dominion in accordance with *sharīʿa*, the sacred law of Islam. His remarks on the interrelationship between different disciplines constitute a part of a somewhat lengthy description about the office of *Shaikh al-Islām*, the highest position available to ʿulamās in pre-modern Central Asia, whose occupant was considered responsible for the overall education system.

Khunjī divides disciplines into two categories apparently based on their suitability for madrasa education. Those disciplines classified as sacred law-related sciences are obviously regarded by him as suitable to be taught at the madrasa, whereas the others are labelled as philosophical, a word, as seen from the citation, bearing a negative meaning for Khunjī. In addition it is noteworthy that disciplines forming the sacred law-related sciences are arrayed in hierarchical order, with science of the sacred law, consisting of jurisprudence, Koranic exegesis, and hadithology,[9] at the top. This hierarchical structure may well reflect the essential nature inherent in the interrelationship between these disciplines. As far as we may rely on what Khunjī wrote, the nature of this relationship can be defined as unilaterally dependent rather than mutually complementary. For instance, whereas learning Arabic grammar and rhetoric is supposed to be indispensable for moving to other disciplines, the opposite is not true. This unilateral dependency is also seen clearly in the relationship between the higher two categories. While learning jurisprudence, Koranic exegesis, and hadithology presumes the acquisition of knowledge about the basic theory of both jurisprudence and theology, the reverse is not true.

---

[9]   The Koran and Sunna, which came down to us in the form of *ḥadīth*, constitute the first and second sources of the sacred law. This may be the reason why Koranic exegesis and hadithology together with jurisprudence are classified as the "science of the sacred law."
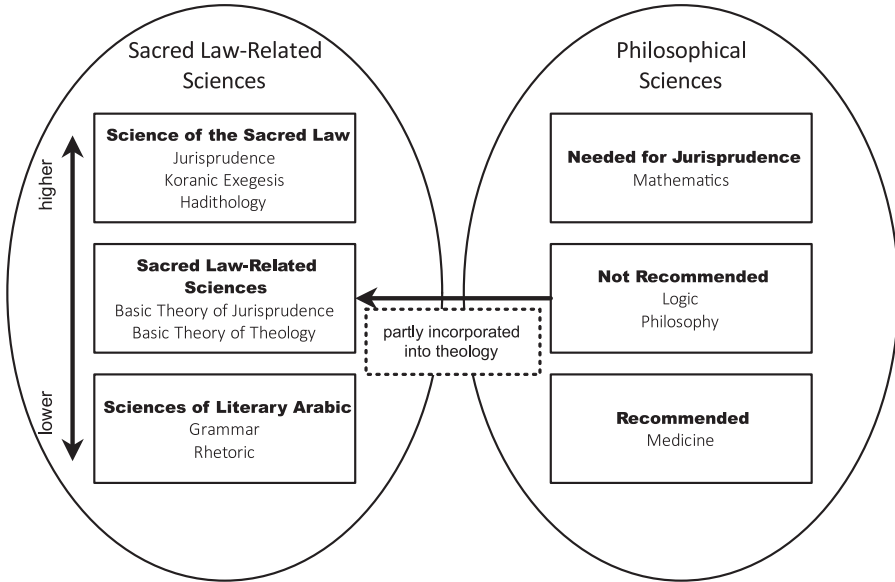
**Sacred Law-Related Sciences**

higher ↑

**Science of the Sacred Law**
Jurisprudence
Koranic Exegesis
Hadithology

**Sacred Law-Related Sciences**
Basic Theory of Jurisprudence
Basic Theory of Theology

lower ↓

**Sciences of Literary Arabic**
Grammar
Rhetoric

partly incorporated into theology

**Philosophical Sciences**

**Needed for Jurisprudence**
Mathematics

**Not Recommended**
Logic
Philosophy

**Recommended**
Medicine

Figure 1: Interrelationship of Disciplines According to Khunjī

This nature of their relationship may provide a valuable clue when attempting to reproduce the curriculum implemented at the Kukeldash madrasa. Within the framework of this type of interrelationship, those disciplines allocated to a lower place in the aforementioned hierarchical structure must have been learned earlier than those given a higher place. It also implies that the pre-modern Central Asian madrasa curriculum may have been organized in the form of a tandem arrangement which arrayed different disciplines in a series, a striking feature compared with the modern education system where students learn different disciplines in parallel. If that be true, pre-modern madrasa students of the region must not have been permitted to move to higher disciplines until they had mastered the textbooks for the lower ones.

Thus, the order of learning different disciplines may be reproduced as follows: students started out on their academic path by learning Arabic grammar and, through the basic theory of theology and jurisprudence, including some logic and philosophy, reached higher disciplines like hadithology, Koranic exegesis, and jurisprudence. Below, we will indicate the major textbooks and commentaries found in the waqf deed of the Kukeldash madrasa which may have formed the core of the curriculum implemented there, along with the course of study reconfigured by us based on Khunjī's remarks.

## 2.1. Arabic Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Dictionary

In this section we will refer to three genres relating to Arabic language, i.e. grammar, rhetoric, and the dictionary collectively. These three genres cover 31 titles, which constitute 52 manuscripts. The total number of works included in these 52 manuscripts is 53.

The learning system of Arabic grammar put *al-Kāfiya* of Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥājib (d. 1249) [G I, 303] at its centre. Although *al-Kāfiya* itself counts as only a single manuscript, its commentaries, including the very popular *al-Fawāʾid al-Ḍiyāʾīya* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 1492) [G I, 304], known as *Sharḥi Mullā*, are found in 11 manuscripts.

On the other hand, the core of rhetoric learning was formed by an excerpt from and commentaries on *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* of Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī (d. 1229) [G I, 294], which constitute 26 manuscripts, though *Miftāḥ* itself is not found in the list. Among them, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1338) [G I, 295], an excerpt from *Miftāḥ* found in three manuscripts, and *al-Sharḥ al-Muṭawwal* of Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Taftāzānī (d. 1389) [G I, 295], a commentary on *Talkhīṣ* found in seven manuscripts, may have occupied a dominant position for learning *Mihtāḥ* according to the number of their manuscripts.

Of the total of 53 works belonging to the three genres referred to here, those related to either *al-Kāfiya* or *Miftāḥ* account for 72 percent (38 works).

## 2.2. Theology, Logic, and Philosophy

Here, we refer to theology and two other disciplines which, according to Khunjī, are supposed to be partly incorporated into it.

The genre of theology is represented by 16 titles found in 24 manuscripts, while the total number of works they include amounts to 29. The core of the theology learning system was formed by different commentaries on the following three major works: (a) *Tawāliʿ al-Anwār min Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār* of Abū Saʿīd ʿAlī Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Baiḍāwī (d. 1286?) [G I, 418], (b) *al-ʿAqāʾid* of Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 1142) [G I, 427], and (c) *Kitāb al-Mawāqif fī ʿIlm al-Kalām* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ījī (d. 1355) [G II, 208]. It should be noted that these three titles themselves are not mentioned at all in the list.

Of a total of seven commentatorial works on *Tawāliʿ* found in the list those written by Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1348), entitled *Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār* [G I, 418–419], and by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Farghānī (d. 1342) [G I, 418–419] are referred to three times respectively. Whereas we encounter no title referred to more than two times among the total of six commentatorial

works on *al-ʿAqāʾid*, *al-Mawāqif* appears to have been learned mainly through a commentary written by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413) [G II, 208] which is found in five out of a total of eight manuscripts containing commentatorial works on it. Of a total of 29 works belonging to theology, those identified as commentaries on the aforementioned three titles account for 72 percent (21 works).

The genre of logic is represented by 15 titles which are found in 19 manuscripts. The total number of works contained in these manuscripts is 20. The learning system for logic was centred on two major titles, *Maṭāliʿ al-Anwār fī al-Manṭiq* of Sirāj al-Dīn Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (d. 1283) [G I, 467] and *al-Risāla al-Shamsīya fī al-Qawāʿid al-Manṭiqīya* of Najm al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī (d. 1276?) [G I, 466]. The former, *Maṭāliʿ*, can be found only in a single manuscript, while the latter, *al-Shamsīya*, is not included at all in the list. Thus, as with the case of theology, students learned logic mainly through different commentaries on these two titles, whose total number reaches 12. Among commentaries on *Maṭāliʿ*, that of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Taḥtānī al-Rāzī (d. 1364), entitled *Lawāmiʿ al-Asrār* [G I, 467], which is found in five manuscripts, may have played a prominent role. Of a total of 20 works belonging to logic, those related to the aforementioned two titles account for 65 percent (13 works).

The relatively small number of manuscripts containing works on philosophy reminds us of Khunjī's negative remarks on this discipline. The genre of philosophy is represented by 11 titles found in 13 manuscripts. The total number of works included in these manuscripts is also 13. Among them, five works are commentaries on *Tajrīd al-ʿAqāʾid* of Abū Jaʿfar Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274) [G I, 509]. In addition, *Kitāb Ḥikmat al-ʿAin* of Najm al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī (d. 1276?) [G I, 466] and its commentary by Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī (d. 1312) [S I, 847] are referred to three times altogether.

## 2.3. Hadithology

The genre of hadithology is represented by 14 titles found in 31 manuscripts. The total number of works contained in them is 34. Hadithology learning seems to have been based upon the following three major titles: (a) *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 870) [G I, 158], found in seven manuscripts, (b) *Kitāb Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusain al-Baghawī (d. 1122?) [G I, 363], found in six manuscripts, and (c) *Kitāb al-Shamāʾil* of Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī (d. 892) [G I, 162], found in five manuscripts. Among them, *Maṣābīḥ* may have been learned mainly with the help of its commentary by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (14c.), entitled *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* [G I, 364]. Of a total of 34 works belonging to hadithology, these three titles with their commentaries account for 82 percent (28 works).

## *2.4. Koranic Exegesis*

This genre is represented by 28 titles found in 56 manuscripts. The total number of works included in them is 57. The core of learning system in this area was formed by two hugely popular titles, *al-Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanzīl* of Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144) [G I, 290] and *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Taʾwīl* of Abū Saʿīd ʿAlī Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Baiḍāwī (d. 1286?) [G I, 417]. Of a total of 57 works belonging to Koranic exegesis, these two titles together with their commentaries account for 47 percent (27 works).

## *2.5. Jurisprudence*

In this section we refer to both basic theory (*uṣūl*) and positive law (*furūʿ*) together. The genre of jurisprudence is represented by 49 titles found in 112 manuscripts. These manuscripts contain a total of 114 works.

   The learning system for the basic theory of jurisprudence was centred on *Tanqīḥ al-Uṣūl* of ʿUbaidallāh b. Masʿūd Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī al-Maḥbūbī (d. 1346) [G II, 214]. Though *Tanqīḥ* itself does not appear in the list, the total number of its commentatorial works is 10, mostly consisting of *Tauḍīḥ fī Ḥall Ghawāmiḍ al-Tanqīḥ* of the author of original work [G II, 214] and *al-Talwīḥ fī Kashf Ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanqīḥ* of Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Taftāzānī (d. 1389) [G II, 214].

   On the other hand, the core of the positive law learning system was undoubtedly formed by *al-Hidāya* of ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī (d. 1197) [G I, 376], one of the most prominent titles of the Hanafite school of law, which is represented

Table 2: Main Components of the Hidāya Family Found in the List

| Author and Title with Total Number of References in the List | Relationship with *al-Hidāya* |
|---|---|
| Maḥmūd b. ʿUbaidallāh b. Tāj al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī (d. 1344), *al-Kifāya* [G I, 376] (4 times) | Commentary on *al-Hidāya* |
| Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Humām (d. 1457), *Fatḥ al-Qadīr li al-ʿĀjiz al-Faqīr* [G I, 376] (5 times) | Commentary on *al-Hidāya* |
| Commentary by ʿUbaidallāh b. Masʿūd Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī al-Maḥbūbī (d. 1346) [G I, 377] (10 times) | Commentary on *al-Hidāya*'s excerpt, *Wiqāyat al-Riwāya fī Masāʾil al-Hidāya* [G I, 377] |
| ʿUbaidallāh b. Masʿūd Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī al-Maḥbūbī, *al-Nuqāya* (known as *Mukhtaṣar Wiqāya*) [G I, 378] (5 times) | Excerpt of *Wiqāya* |
| Commentary by ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Barjandī (d. 1525) [G I, 378] (6 times) | Commentary on *al-Nuqāya* |

by 19 manuscripts in the list. In addition, *al-Hidāya* together with its commentaries, excerpts, and commentaries on the latter formed quite a large group, which can be called the "Hidāya family." The total number of works belonging to the whole Hidāya family, including *al-Hidāya* itself, amounts to 57. Table 2 shows the main components of the Hidāya family with their total number of references in the list.

Of a total of 114 works belonging to jurisprudence, *Tanqīḥ*'s commentaries together with whole Hidāya family account for 59 percent (67 works).

## 2.6. Medicine and Sufism

Khunjī's attitude to medicine seems to be somewhat ambivalent. The discipline is allocated by him to the domain of philosophical sciences which are supposed to be outside the madrasa curriculum, whereas learning it is recommended, in contrast to the other disciplines belonging to this domain. However, since medicine is not given any place in the hierarchical order of sacred law-related disciplines, we may consider it was not included in the formal curriculum. This hypothesis may be confirmed by the scant number of manuscripts containing works on medicine. In the list, this discipline is represented by only six titles, in the same number of manuscripts, including the renowned *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusain b. Sīnā (d. 1037) [G I, 457].

Among disciplines which are given a corresponding section in the list, Sufism was apparently located outside the madrasa curriculum. The political and religious influence enjoyed by Sufism at that time appears to be well reflected in the fact that the number of manuscripts dedicated to it surpasses that of theology, a formal component of the madrasa curriculum. On the other hand, except for *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111) [G I, 422] which has three manuscripts, there is no title referred to more than two times in the list, a striking feature compared to the disciplines forming the madrasa curriculum whose learning system was built up on the basis of fundamental textbooks and their commentaries, each of which often constituted a considerable number of manuscripts.

Thus, the curriculum implemented at the Kukeldash madrasa at the end of the sixteenth century can be reproduced more concretely as follows: The first discipline to be learned was Arabic grammar whose learning system was centred on *al-Kāfiya* and *al-Miftāḥ*. After finishing Arabic grammar, students moved to "sacred law-related sciences" which consisted of basic theory of both theology and jurisprudence. Theology was learned mainly through *Tawāliʿ*, *ʿAqāʾid* of Nasafī, and *al-Mawāqif*, while the learning system for the basic theory of jurisprudence was centred on *Tanqīḥ*. Together with these disciplines, students engaged in *Maṭāliʿ* and *al-Shamsīya*-based logic and *Tajrīd* and *Ḥikmat al-ʿAin*-based philosophy, which were incorporated into the theology learning system. Next to be learned

was "science of the sacred law"—i.e. hadithology, Koranic exegesis, and posi-
tive law. The hadithology learning system was built up on the basis of *Ṣaḥīḥ* of
Bukhārī, *Maṣābīḥ*, and *al-Shamāʾil*, while the main textbooks of Koranic exegesis
were *al-Kashshāf* and *Anwār*. On the other hand, positive law was mainly learned
through *al-Hidāya*. Obviously, these 16 titles formed the core part of the Central
Asian madrasa curriculum of that time.

In the next section we will demonstrate the long-term durability of this cur-
riculum, relying upon a historical document which may be attributed to mid-nine-
teenth century Central Asia.


## 3. Madrasa Curriculum in Mid-nineteenth Century Central Asia

To verify the durability of the Central Asian madrasa curriculum reconfigured in
previous section, a document which is preserved in the manuscripts department of
the National Library of Russia, with inventory number Kaufman 144, serves us as
a unique and powerful informant.[10] Unfortunately, we have no concrete and precise
information about the date and place of its creation.[11] However, as it belongs to
the Kaufman collection, which consists of manuscripts and various kinds of mate-
rials collected by Konstantin von Kaufman, the first governor-general of Russian
Turkestan (1867–1882), in the course of his campaign of conquest in Central Asia
[Yastrebova 1999: 10], its Central Asian origin is uncontestable. On the other hand,
the date of its creation must be earlier than the 1870s, since all the materials form-
ing the Kaufman collection were accepted by the library between 1870 and 1878
[Yastrebova 1999: 10]. Besides that, it is also noteworthy that the paper used for it
clearly shows external characteristics common to Central Asian documents created
after the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, Kaufman 144 may be attribut-
ed to the mid-nineteenth century, i.e. the period immediately before, or perhaps
shortly after, the Russian invasion of the region which began in 1865.

The document is written in Persian. What makes it unique is that it enu-
merates 44 titles of textbooks and their commentaries which appear to have been
taught at madrasas in the region. The text begins with the following: "Our way to
learn difficult things is as follows. First, we read *Awwali ʿIlm*, then *Ba-Dān*, then
*Muʿizzī*, then *Zanjānī*…" All these four titles are elementary textbooks on either
the basic doctrine of Islam or on Arabic grammar, which were very popular in the

---

[10]   The following discussion on the durability of the Central Asian madrasa curriculum has
already been presented in [Isogai 2009: 106–112] in a succinct manner, without giving
detailed information about the content of [MDNLR Kaufman 144].
[11]   [Yastrebova 1999], a catalog of Persian documents preserved in the National Library of
Russia, gives no information about the date and place of its creation, while annotating that
the document deals with the learning program at a madrasa.

region. The enumeration of book titles ends with the following passage: "…After that they read the holy *Hidāya* with the help of commentaries, *Kifāya* and *Nihāya*.[12] [Engaging] questions and [learning] difficult things results in the mastery of all those [titles enumerated here]."

It is quite natural to assume from the context that the subject of the text, appearing in either first-person plural or third-person plural, must be students of a madrasa. Indeed, this hypothesis may well be confirmed by the fact that the titles enumerated in Kaufman 144 largely overlap with those mentioned by Fitrat,[13] a famous Central Asian reformist executed in 1938, in his novel *Munāẓara* (Debate) published around 1911.[14] As a harsh critic of the backward education system of the region, Fitrat negatively portrays the learning path followed by madrasa students of Bukhara, using the words of an imaginary personage who explains what was to be taught annually by a madrasa teacher: "In the first year, [he teaches] *Awwali ʿIlm* and *Ba-Dān*. In the second year, [he teaches] *Muʿizzī* and *Zanjānī* …" [Fiṭrat 1327: 15] Though the learning process described by Fitrat does not fully fit with that shown in Kaufman 144,[15] the similarity between the two materials cannot be contested. In addition, if we assume that what Fitrat wrote about the madrasa learning system was not substantially different from what it really was, his remarks may confirm another hypothesis we proposed in the previous section that, within the framework of the madrasa curriculum, students could move to higher disciplines only after finishing the textbooks for the lower ones. On the other hand, what is not at all clear is the purpose for which the document was created. Perhaps it was passed out to a newly enrolled student to show him the course of study he would follow. Alternatively, it seems also to be quite likely that the document was prepared to be read out by a teacher or his assistant with the intention of informing students about what they would learn in the years to come. If we consider that the traditional teaching method in the madrasa was based on the oral transmission of knowledge, the latter case appears to be more possible. If that were so, what was read out by a teacher may have been repeated aloud by students to fix it firmly in mind.

Table 3 shows the textbooks and their commentaries enumerated in Kaufman 144. Major textbooks are indicated by the Arabic number only, while their com-

---

[12]  For full titles and authors' names of those named in the citation, see Table 3 below.

[13]  I am grateful to Hisao Komatsu for offering me this valuable information.

[14]  Komatsu Hisao convincingly asserts that the date of its publication must be 1911, based on the year "1327" found in the first edition of the book as being the date according to the Maliyya calendar, which was used in the Ottoman Empire, as opposed to other specialists who attribute its publication date to 1909, considering the year "1327" to be the date according to the Islamic calendar [Komatsu 1996: 95].

[15]  For instance, the learning process portrayed by Fitrat ends with Koranic exegesis, not reaching jurisprudence [Fiṭrat 1327: 16].

Table 3: Learning Process in the Mid-nineteenth Century Central Asian Madrasa
Shown in MDNLR Kaufman 144

| Nos. | Appellation in the Text | Author and Title | Genre | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Awwali ʿIlm | Anonym, *Awwali ʿIlm* | Basic doctrine | SVR IV, 398 |
| 2 | Ba-Dān | Anonym, *Ba-Dān* | Arabic grammar | SVR I, 184 |
| 3 | Muʿizzī | Anonym, *al-Muʿizzī* | Arabic grammar | SVR I, 182-3 |
| 4 | Zanjānī | ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Zanjānī (13c.), *Kitāb Taṣrīf al-Zanjānī* | Arabic grammar | G I, 283 |
| 5 | ʿAwāmil | ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (11c.), *Kitāb al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾa* | Arabic grammar | G I, 287 |
| 6 | Ḥarakāt | Not identified | Arabic grammar | |
| 7 | Kāfiya | Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥājib (d. 1249), *al-Kāfiya* | Arabic grammar | G I, 303 |
| 7-i | Sharḥi Mullā | ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 1492), *al-Fawāʾid al-Ḍiyāʾīya* | Arabic grammar | G I, 304 |
| 7-ii | Mullā ʿAbd al-Ghafūr | Commentary of ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī (d. 1506) on 7-i | Arabic grammar | G I, 304 |
| 8 | Shamsīya | Najm al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī (d. 1276?), *al-Risāla al-Shamsīya fī al-Qawāʿid al-Manṭiqīya* | Logic | G I, 466 |
| 8-i | Ḥāshiya | Not identified | Logic | |
| 8-ii | Mīr Sayyid Sharīf | al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413), *al-Kūchak* | Logic | G I, 466 |
| 8-iii | Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm | Commentary of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Sālikūtī (d. 1657) on 8-ii | Logic | G I, 466 |
| 8-iv | Qul Aḥmad | Commentary of Qul Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khiḍr (16c.) on 8 | Logic | S I, 847 |
| 8-v | Mullā Aḥmad | Not identified | Logic | |
| 9 | ʿAqāʾid | Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 1142), *al-ʿAqāʾid* | Theology | G I, 427 |
| 9-i | Mawlawī Khayālī | Supercommentary of Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Khayālī (15c.) on 9 | Theology | G I, 427 |
| 9-ii | Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm | Commentary of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Sālikūtī (d. 1657) on 9-i | Theology | G I, 427 |
| 9-iii | Mawlawī Aḥmad | Not identified | Theology | |
| 10 | Sharḥ bar Tahdhīb | Commentary of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dawwānī (d. 1501) on Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Taftāzānī's (d. 1389) *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wa al-Kalām* | Theology | G II, 215 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10-i | Mawlawī Khwāja Jamāl | Not identified | Theology | |
| 10-ii | Ākhund | Not identified | Theology | |
| 10-iii | Mīrzā Zāhid | Commentary of Mīr Zāhid al-Harawī (d. 1689) on 10 | Theology | G II, 215 |
| 10-iv | Qāḍī Mubārak Shāh | Not identified | Theology | |
| 11 | Ḥikmat al-ʿAin | Najm al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī (d. 1276?), *Kitāb Ḥikmat al-ʿAin* | Philosophy | G I, 466 |
| 11-i | Mīr Sayyid Sharīf | Supercommentary of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413) on 11 | Philosophy | G I, 467 |
| 11-ii | Ākhund | Not identified | Philosophy | |
| 11-iii | Mīrzā Jān | Supercommentary of Mīrzājān Ḥabīballāh al-Shīrāzī (d. 1586) on 11 | Philosophy | G I, 467 |
| 12 | Mullā Jalāl | Commentary of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dawwānī (d. 1501) on ʿAḍud al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ījī's (d. 1355) *al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿAḍudīya* | Theology | G II, 209 |
| 12-i | Khānqāʾī | Mullā Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Jān al-Qarābāghī al-Ḥasanshāhī, *al-Ḥāshiya al-Khānqāhīya* | Theology | S II, 291 |
| 12-ii | Tatimma | Yūsuf Kawsaj al-Qarābāghī, *Tatimmat al-Ḥawāshī fī Izālat al-Ghawāshī* | Theology | S II, 291 |
| 13 | Tauḍīḥ | ʿUbaidallāh b. Masʿūd Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī al-Maḥbūbī (d. 1346), *Tauḍīḥ fī Ḥall Ghawāmiḍ al-Tanqīḥ* | Basic theory of jurisprudence | G II, 214 |
| 13-i | Talwīḥ | Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Taftāzānī (d. 1389), *al-Talwīḥ fī Kashf Ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanqīḥ* | Basic theory of jurisprudence | G II, 214 |
| 14 | Mishkāt | Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (14c.), *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* | Hadithology | G I, 364 |
| 15 | Tafsīr | Not identified | Koranic exegesis | |
| 16 | Fiqhi Kaidānī | Luṭfallāh al-Nasafī al-Kaidānī, *Fiqh Kaidānī* | Jurisprudence | G II, 198 |
| 17 | Mukhtaṣari Wiqāya | ʿUbaidallāh b. Masʿūd Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī al-Maḥbūbī (d.1346), *al-Nuqāya* | Jurisprudence | G I, 378 |
| 17-i | Mawlawī Fakhr al-Dīn | Commentary of Fakhr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ilyās al-Rūmī (15c.) on 17 | Jurisprudence | S I, 648 |

| 17-ii | Mawlawī Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad | Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kūhistānī (d. 1534?), *Jāmiʿ al-Rumūz* | Jurisprudence | G I, 378 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | Sharḥi Wiqāya | Commentary of ʿUbaidallāh b. Masʿūd Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī al-Maḥbūbī (d. 1346) on Burhān al-Dīn Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Awwal ʿUbaidallāh al-Maḥbūbī's *Wiqāyat al-Riwāya fī Masāʾil al-Hidāya* | Jurisprudence | G I, 377 |
| 18-i | Mawlawī Chelebī | Yūsuf b. Junaid Akhī Chelebī al-Tūqātī (d. 1499), *Dhakhīrat al-ʿUqbā* | Jurisprudence | G I, 377 |
| 19 | Hidāya | ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī (d. 1197), *al-Hidāya* | Jurisprudence | G I, 376 |
| 19-i | Kifāya | Maḥmūd b. ʿUbaidallāh b. Tāj al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī (d. 1344), *al-Kifāya* | Jurisprudence | G I, 376 |
| 19-ii | Nihāya | Tāj al-Sharīʿa ʿUmar b. Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Awwal (13c.), *Nihāyat al-Kifāya li Dirāyat al-Hidāya* | Jurisprudence | G I, 376 |

mentaries are shown by a compound of the Arabic number with a small Roman number.

Table 3 eloquently tells us about the durability and stability of the curriculum once rooted in the region's madrasas. Of course, we can also find some considerable changes which may have occurred during the two and a half centuries after the Kukeldash madrasa's foundation. For instance, in the field of Arabic grammar, *Miftāḥ* may have lost its prominent position in the curriculum. Theology also may have seen a large shift in the major textbooks forming the core of its learning system. Instead of *Ṭawāliʿ* and *Mawāqif*, which evidently lost their prestige in theology learning, *ʿAqāʾid* of Ījī gained the status of a major textbook. Despite these differences, the learning of Arabic grammar was still centred on *al-Kāfiya*. *Al-Shamsīya* seems to have continued to be the most authoritative textbook on logic, while the same can be said for *ʿAqāʾid* of Nasafī for theology and *Ḥikmat al-ʿAin* for philosophy. The *Maṣābīḥ*-based hadithology learning system relying upon its commentary *Mishkāt* still remained. The basic theory of jurisprudence continued to be taught mainly based on commentaries on the *Tanqīḥ*, while various titles belonging to the Hidāya family were still used as major textbooks for positive law. In addition, the learning process described in Kaufman 144 also well accorded with that followed by students of the Kukeldash madrasa in the late-sixteenth century. The fact that titles belonging to logic, theology, and philosophy—those numbered 8 to 12-ii in Table 3—are set out without being put together by disci-

pline deserves special attention, as it strongly supports the authenticity of Khunjī's remark about the incorporation of parts of logic and philosophy into the theology learning system.


## Concluding Remarks

As is seen from the foregoing, the list of manuscripts included in the waqf deed for the Kukeldash madrasa clearly gives an overall picture of the knowledge accumulated there, which was arguably shared by contemporary intellectuals in Central Asia. Moreover, we may have succeeded, at least to a certain degree, in reproducing the curriculum implemented there by comparing the list with information offered by Khunjī about the interrelationship between the disciplines to be taught at the madrasa. Prolonged consistency of the core of this curriculum, which survived approximately two and a half centuries, tells us about the basic stance of local society to education and scholarship, which may be labelled a kind of conservatism. On the other hand, as we noted above, not a few major textbooks and commentaries referred to in either the list of manuscripts or Kaufman 144 overlap with those which were widely used in madrasas in various parts of the Islamic world, ranging from the territory of the Ottoman Empire to Mughal India, after the sixteenth century. For instance, *Tanqīḥ* and *al-Hidāya* with their major commentaries seem to have formed the core of the jurisprudence learning system in both the Ottoman and Mughal Empires where the Hanafite school of law occupied a paramount position, while *al-Kāfiya*, *al-Shamsīya*, and *Anwār* enjoyed a high reputation even in Shiite Iran, let alone in the domains of Sunnite political entities, as fundamental textbooks for Arabic grammar, logic, and Koranic exegesis respectively [Robinson 1997: 174–184]. Thus, the line up of the major textbooks included in our list of manuscripts shows rather the universality of the Central Asian madrasa curriculum or, in other words, the edifice of knowledge built up there, whereas its regional peculiarity may be reflected in the way commentaries were chosen to help with the learning of the major textbooks.[16]

  Finally, we return to the question about what function the institution of waqf fulfilled in sustaining and promoting educational activities in Central Asian history. Waqf played a fundamental role in accumulating large amounts of capital to be invested in the construction and maintenance of educational facilities. It also provided a fund to pay the salaries of madrasa staff, including teachers and their assistants, as well as offering scholarships to students. However, what was more important for implementing educational activities in the long run must have been

---

[16] Further study is needed for a detailed analysis of whole entries of the list of manuscripts as well as an assessment of the extent of its regional peculiarity.

a constant availability of manuscripts containing the titles necessary for students to follow the learning process at the madrasa. The list of manuscripts donated to the Kukeldash madrasa offers irrefutable evidence of the waqf's contribution to purchasing and accumulating a great amount of manuscripts, which may have been traded at high prices in the pre-modern world.

## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

CSARUz: Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan.
G: Brockelmann, Carl. 1943–1949. *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*. Vol. I–II. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
MDNLR: The Manuscripts Department of the National Library of Russia.
S: Brockelmann, Carl. 1937–1942. *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur Supplementband*. Vol. I–III. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
SVR: Semenov, Aleksandr A., et al. eds. 1952–1987. *Sobranie Vostochnykh Rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*. 11 vols. Tashkent: Izd-vo Akademii Nauk UzSSR.

### Primary Sources

Fiṭrat, Bukhārāyī. 1327. *Munāẓara*. Istanbul: Maṭbaʿai Islāmīya.
Khunjī, Faḍlallāh ibn Rūzbihān. 1984. *Sulūk al-Mulūk*. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Muwaḥḥid. Tihrān: Shirkati Sihāmīyi Intishārāti Khwārazmī.

### Secondary Works

Chekhovich, Ol'ga D. 1974. *Samarkandskie Dokumenty XV-XVI vv. (O Vladeniyakh Khodzhi Akhrara v Srednei Azii i Afganistane)*. Moskva: Nauka.
Djuraeva, Galiba A., and Isogai Ken'ichi. 1997. Vakf Document of Kulbaba Kukaldash Madrasah. In *Scientific and Cultural Heritage of Mankind: To the Third Millennium; Theses of Reports of the International Symposium Dedicated to the 2500 Anniversary of Bukhara and Khiva October 18–20 1997*. Tashkent: UNESCO.
Isogai Ken'ichi 磯貝健一. 1999. Jūnana seiki shotō Bukhara no shichi sosei monjo ni tsuite 一七世紀初頭ブハラの死地蘇生文書について [On the Iḥyā al-Mawāt Document from early seventeenth-century Bukhara]. *Shirin* 82(2).
―――. 2003. A Commentary on the Closing Formula Found in the Central Asian Waqf Documents. In *Persian Documents: Social History of Iran and Turan in 15th–19th Centuries*, ed. Kondo Nobuaki. London and New York: Routledge.
―――. 2009. Isurāmuhō to Perushiago: Zenkindai nishi-Torukisutan no hōsōkai イスラー

ム法とペルシア語：前近代西トルキスタンの法曹界 [Islamic law and Persian language: Judicial circles in Pre-modern Western Turkestan]. In *Perushiago ga musunda sekai —Mō hitotsu no Yūrashia-shi* ペルシア語が結んだ世界—もうひとつのユーラシア史 [A world connected through the Persian language—Another perspective on Eurasian history], ed. Morimoto Kazuo. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Daigaku Shuppankai.

Isogai Masumi 磯貝真澄. 2012. Jūkyū seiki kōhan Roshia teikoku Voruga-Uraru chiiki no madorasa kyōiku 19 世紀後半ロシア帝国ヴォルガ・ウラル地域のマドラサ教育 [Madrasa education in the Volga-Ural Region of the Russian Empire, the second half of the nineteenth century]. *Seinan-Ajia kenkyū* 76.

———. 2013. Opyt Rekonstruktsii Programmy Obucheniya v Traditsionnykh Medrese Uralo-Povolzh'ya po Svedeniyam Rizaeddina bin Fakhreddina. In *Aktual'nye Problemy Sovremennogo Literaturovedeniya i Literatury, Fol'kloristiki i Arkheografii: K 85-letiyu Akademika AN RB, Professora G. B. Khusainova/ Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi Nauchno-Prakticheskoi Konferentsii 10 Aprelya 2013 g., Ufa*. Ufa: Rossiiskaya Akademiya Nauk—Ufimskii Nauchnyi Tsentr—Institut Istorii Yazyka i Literatury—Akademiya Nauk Respubliki Bashkortostan—Soyuz Pisatelei Respubliki Bashkortostan.

Komatsu Hisao 小松久男. 1996. *Kakumei no chūō Ajia: Aru jadīdo no shōzō* 革命の中央アジア　あるジャディードの肖像 [Central Asia in revolution: Portrait of a Jadīd]. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

McChesney, Robert D. 1991. *Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889*. Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

———. 1996. *Central Asia: Foundation of Change*. Princeton and New Jersey: The Darwin Press.

Riḍāʾ al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn. 2016. *"My Biography" of Riḍāʾ al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn (Ufa, 1323 A.H.): With an Introductory Essay and Indexes*. Ed. Marsil Nurullovich Farkhshatov, Isogai Masumi, and Ramil Mahmutovich Bulgakov. Tokyo: NIHU Program Islamic Area Studies Department of Islamic Area Studies, Center for Evolving Humanities, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, The University of Tokyo.

Robinson, Francis. 1997. Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems. *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8(2).

Shahab, Ahmed, and Nenad Filipovic. 2004. The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a Fermān of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 (1565). *Studia Islamica* 98/99.

Subtelny, Maria E., and Anas B. Khalidov. 1995. The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in Light of the Sunni Revival under Shah-Rukh. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115(2).

Yastrebova, M. 1999. *Persidskie i Tadzhikskie Dokumenty v Otdele Rukopisei Rossiiskoi Natsional'noi Biblioteki*. St. Petersburg: Izd-vo Rossiiskoi Natsional'noi Biblioteki.