



Between Aleppo and Ṣa‘da: The Zaydī Reception of the Imāmī Scholar Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī

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Abstract

Departing from a collective manuscript copied partly in the hand of the renowned Yemenī scholar ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī (d. 667/1268) and partly in the hand of his nephew, Muḥammad b. A‘ṣad, that contains three works concerned with Qur’ānic passages taken to support ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the *ahl al-bayt* and pro-‘Alid traditions culled from of Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections, the reception of the *Kitāb al-‘Umda* of the Twelver Shī‘ī author Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600/1203–1204 or 601/1204–1205)—one of three works contained in the codex—among the Zaydīs of Yemen is analyzed in detail. It is shown that this work, together with Ibn al-Maghāzilī’s (d. 483/1090) *Manāqib ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, were the principal available sources for the Zaydīs of Yemen up until the time of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (d. 614/1217) for the Sunnī canonical *ḥadīth* collections.

Keywords

Yemen; Zaydīs; Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī; ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī; al-Manṣūr bi-llāh; Ibn al-Maghāzilī

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I.

By the beginning of the early 6th/12th century, a rapprochement between the two Zaydī states in the mountainous Northern Highlands of Yemen and in the Caspian region of Northern Iran, that have been politically and culturally separated for nearly three centuries, began that eventually resulted in the political unification of the two communities. In 502/1108 Abū Ṭālib, a great-grandson of the Imām al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh (d. 411/1020), rose in Gilān claiming the Zaydī imamate. A few years later, in 511/1117, he was endorsed by the Yemenī Zaydīs as well. Abū Ṭālib was eager to unite the two Zaydī communities not only politically but also culturally and religiously. Although Abū Ṭālib *al-akhīr* died in 520/1126, his legacy was continued beyond his death. In 532/1137, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (b. 500/1106, d. 566/1170) successfully rose in Yemen as al-Imām Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh, expressly acknowledging the equality of the Zaydī imāms of the Caspian region and maintaining the unity of the Zaydīs. In addition to this, he intensified the knowledge transfer from Iran to Yemen. His successor, the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), whose claim to the Zaydī imamate in 593/1197 was acknowledged by the Zaydīs of Yemen and the Caspian region, further intensified the process of transfer of religious literature to Yemen. Moreover, he founded a library in Ḥafār, his residential town, for which he had a wealth of textual sources copied by a team of scholars and scribes. The scope of literary sources that were transferred during this process from Northern Iran to Yemen is well known with respect to the Muʿtazilite and the Zaydī literature. In addition, there were also Twelver Shīʿī sources that reached Yemen during this period, despite the inimical relations between the two communities. Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh himself was engaged in the controversy with the Imāmiyya, whose basic tenets of the imamate he refuted in his *Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-thamīn*.¹ At the same time, he cherished a number of Twelver Shīʿī writings that had reached Yemen during this period. A promi-

¹ See Maher Jarrar, “Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh’s controversy with Twelver Shīʿites concerning the occultation of the Imam in his *Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-thamīn*,” *Arabica* 59 (2012): 319–331. For a brief history of the polemical exchanges between the two communities, see Hossein Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shīʿite Islam: Abū Jaʿfar ibn Qība al-Rāzī and His Contribution to Imāmite Shīʿite Thought* (Princeton NJ: The Darwin Press, 1993), 169 ff. On the Imāmī sources that were available to Zaydī authors of Northern Iran, see Ḥasan Anṣārī, “Zaydiyya u manābiʿ-ya maktūb-i Imāmiyya,” *Ulūm-i ḥadīth* 5/2 (2001): 149–161.

nent example is the *Kitāb al-ʿUmda fī ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akḥbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* by the Imāmī scholar Abu l-Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (“Ibn al-Biṭrīq”) (d. 600/1203–1204 or 601/1204–1205).² Ibn al-Biṭrīq was a prominent scholar of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *kalām* who hailed from al-Ḥilla and who had studied with the leading Imāmī scholars of his time, among them ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abi l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī (d. after 553/1158), Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) and Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204). While he spent his later life between al-Wāsiṭ and al-Ḥilla, he is known to have sojourned for some time in Aleppo, one of the leading centers of Twelver Shīʿī learning during his time.³ Ibn al-Biṭrīq was closely familiar with the Sunnī *ḥadīth* tradition on the basis of which he composed his *ʿUmda*, containing numerous pro-ʿAlid traditions culled from Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections,⁴ followed by a supplement entitled *al-Mustadrak al-mukhtār fī manāqib waṣī al-mukhtār* (extant in manuscript). He also wrote the *Kitāb Khaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn fī manāqib Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, which is concerned with pro-ʿAlid Qurʾānic passages.⁵ While the latter two works apparently did not reach Yemen (see

² On him, see Ḥasan Anṣārī, “Ibn al-Biṭrīq,” *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-islāmīyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2: 483–485. Additional biographical information on Ibn al-Biṭrīq is included in Kamāl al-Dīn Abu l-Barakāt al-Mubārak Ibn al-Shaʿār al-Mawṣilī, *Qalāʾid al-jumān fī farāʾid shuʿarāʾ ḥādḥā l-zamān al-mashhūr bi-ʿUqūd al-jumān fī shuʿarāʾ ḥādḥā l-zamān* 1–9, ed. Kāmil Salmān al-Jabbūrī (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1426/2005), vol. 7: 219–222 no. 914. A *balāgh* note in the hand of Ibn al-Biṭrīq is found in a copy of *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl (Rijāl al-Kashshī)* of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, that was completed on 14 Rabīʿ I 577/28 July 1181 = *nuskha alif* according to the edition of Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī (Mashhad: Dānīshgāh, 1348[1970]). An image of the relevant page is to be found on p. 22 of the introduction.

³ Cf. the introduction to our *The Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s Theological Writings in 6th/12th century Syria. Facsimile Edition of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī’s Commentary on al-Ṭūsī’s Muqaddama* (MS Atif Efendi 1338/1) (Tehran: Mīrāth-i maktūb, 2013).

⁴ The work has been published repeatedly: (i) [lithograph] Tabriz 1309/1891; (ii) Qum: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī al-tābiʿa li-Jamāʿat al-mudarrisīn, 1407[1986–1987]; (iii) eds. Ibrāhīm al-Bahādūrī al-Marāghī and Mālik al-Maḥmūdī al-Bihbahānī (Qum: Mumaththaliyyat al-Imām al-Qāʾid al-Sayyid al-Khāmīnāʿī fī l-Ḥajj, 1412[1991–1992]).

⁵ The work has been published twice: (i) Tehran 1311[1893] (with al-Dawānī’s *Nūr al-hidāya*); (ii) ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī (Qum: Dār al-Qurʾān al-karīm, 1417[1996–1997]). On the work, see Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa* 1–26 (Beirut: Dār al-aḍwāʿ, 1403/1983), vol. 7: 175 no. 907.

below), the significance of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda* for the Zaydīs of Yemen, including al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, was tremendous as it served them as a principal source for Sunnī traditions supporting the cause of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the *ahl al-bayt* in their battle against the Shāfi'īs in Yemen who were polemicizing against Shī'ism in a time when the Zaydīs had hardly any independent access to Sunnī works of *ḥadīth*.⁶

II.

When discussing the renowned 7th/13th century Yemeni Zaydī *mutakallim* and legal scholar 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī (b. 593/1196–1197, d. Sha'bān 667/April 1268)⁷ in his *Majmū' al-ijāzāt*, Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Miswarī (b. 1007/1598, d. 1079/1668) describes in some detail a collective volume transcribed by this scholar.⁸ Al-Miswarī explains that the codex contained 'Abd Allāh's transcriptions of Abū Sa'd al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawghanī's ("al-Ḥākīm al-Jishumī", d. 494/1101) *Kitāb Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn 'an faḍā'il al-ṭālibiyyīn*, completed on 2 Rabī' II 644/17 August 1246, and of the *Kitāb al-'Umda fi 'uyūn shiḥāḥ al-akhbār fi manāqib imām al-abrār*

⁶ It should be noted, however, that al-Manṣūr bi-llāh had also received an *ijāza* by Sadīd al-Dīn 'Amr b. Jamīl [Jumayl] for the transmission of several Sunnī *ḥadīth* works, among them most importantly the *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhārī (see our "Mu'tazilism after 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025): Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī's *Kitāb Masā'il al-khilāf fi l-uṣūl*, (Studies on the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th c. I)," *Studia Iranica* 39 (2010): 227–278; cf. also 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān, *al-Shāfi'ī* 1–4, ed. Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Mu'ayyadī (Ṣa'da: Maktabat Ahl al-bayt, 1430/2009), vol. 1: 149–156) although it seems that it was only through Ibn al-Biṭrīq that he had immediate access to this work and to the other Sunnī canonical sources.

⁷ All Islamic dates have been converted to the Gregorian calendar, with the use of the tool offered at <http://www.oriold.uzh.ch/static/hegira.html>.

⁸ A copy of the *Majmū' al-ijāzāt* is preserved in the private library of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāyim; the relevant entry is to be found in pp. 470–476. Cf. 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir al-turāth fi l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fi l-Yaman* 1–2 (McLean, VA: IZbACF, 1422/2002), vol. 2: 127 f. no. 178. For al-Miswarī, see our "The literary-religious tradition among 7th/13th century Yemeni Zaydīs: The formation of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258)," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 2 (2011), Appendix no. 7 (with further references). For 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī, see our forthcoming monograph *Zaydī Mu'tazilism in 7th/13th century Yemen: The theological thought of 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī* (d. 667/1268).

by Abu l-Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (“Ibn al-Biṭriq”), completed on 7 Jumādā II 644/20 October 1246, both in Ṣa‘da. Wedged in between these two writings, al-Miswarī continues, was a copy of the Ḥanafī scholar al-Ḥāfiẓ ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥākīm al-Ḥaskānī al-Nīsābūrī’s (d. after 470/1077–1078) *Kitāb Shawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawā‘id al-tafḍīl fi l-āyāt al-nāzila fī ahl al-bayt*, transcribed by ‘Abd Allāh’s nephew, Muḥammad b. As‘ad, except for the first part of the work, up to *Sūrat al-Ḥajj*, which is in the hand of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd. Al-Miswarī adds that the codex contained an *ijāza* issued in Rajab 644/November 1246 by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwa‘ (“Shu‘la al-Akwa’”) ⁹ for ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Anṣī in Ḥūth, ¹⁰ which he quotes in full in his *Majmū‘ al-ijāzāt*. ¹¹

A collective manuscript that nowadays belongs to the Maktabat Āl al-‘Anṥarī in Ṣa‘da can safely be identified as the codex described by al-Miswarī. ¹² The *majmū‘a* consists of 299 leaves, is incomplete in the beginning and particularly towards the end, with numerous leaves being misplaced. The *ijāza* mentioned by al-Miswarī is no longer included.

Ff. 1a–6b, 15a–41b ¹³ contain ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Anṣī’s copy of al-Ḥākīm al-Jishumī’s *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*. ¹⁴ Some lines at the beginning of the text, as

⁹ For him, see Ibn Abi l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 1: 454 f. no. 224. See also our “Transmission of Knowledge in 7th/13th century Yemen: The case of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Anṣī”.

¹⁰ Ḥūth, located in the territory of Ḥāshid, was one of the important centres of learning at the time; cf. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥajrī al-Yamānī, *Majmū‘ buldān al-yaman wa-qabā‘ilihā* 1–4, ed. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī al-Akwa‘ (Ṣan‘ā: Wizārat al-A‘lām wa-l-thaqāfa, ⁴1430/2009), vol. 1: 213–226, 300; Abū Firās b. Dī‘tham, *al-Sīra al-sharīfa al-Mansūriyya: Sīrat al-Imām ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza*, 593–614 1–2, ed. ‘Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-‘Āṭī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-mu‘āṣir, 1414/1993), *passim*.

¹¹ An annotated edition of the *ijāza* with an analysis is given in our “Transmission of Knowledge in 7th/13th century Yemen: The case of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Anṣī” (forthcoming).

¹² For this library, see Geoffrey Roper, *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts. Volume II* (London: Furqān Foundation, 1994), 659 f.

¹³ The foliation is ours.

¹⁴ The work has been edited repeatedly, although none of the editors has consulted the present codex: (i) ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Chāp u Intishārāt | Wizārat-i Farhang u Irshād-i islāmī, 1378[1999–2000]); (ii)

well as the title page, are missing.¹⁵ The text is concluded with a colophon (f. 41b:28–29 [PLATE TWO]) dated 13 Rabīʿ II 644/28 August 1246. This agrees with the date provided by al-Miswarī (2 Rabīʿ II 644) except for the day of the month:

تم كتاب تنبيه الغافلين عن فضائل الطالبين | والصلوة على محمد وآله يوم ثالث
عشر من شهر ربيع الآخر الذي هو من شهور سنة أربع وأربعين وستمئة سنة

Ff. 42a–174a contain a copy of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥaskānī’s *Shawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawāʿid al-tafḍīl fi l-āyāt al-nāzila fi ahl al-bayt* that is partly written in the hand of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī (ff. 42a–93a) and partly in the hand of his nephew, Muḥammad b. Asʿad (ff. 93b–174a).¹⁶ At the beginning of the work, ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī states (f. 42a [PLATE ONE]):

كتاب شواهد التنزيل لقواعد التفضيل جمعه الحاكم الإمام العالم أبو القاسم الحسكاني
المحدث النيسابوري | رحمة الله عليه ورضوانه قنية (؟) الفقير إلى رحمة ربه الهارب
إليه من ذنبه عبد الله بن زيد بن أحمد غفر الله له ولوالديه | وتقبل منه عمله
وحشره في زمرة النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم

This note is followed by two brief texts of a few lines each, apparently copied in a different hand. These are identified as (i) *Nuskhat Kitāb al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī ʿalayhumā l-salām ilā ahl Baṣra fi l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar wa-huwa l-kitāb alladhī*

ed. Taḥsīn Āl Shabīb al-Mūsawī (Beirut: Markaz al-Ghadīr li-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 2000); (iii) ed. Ibrāhīm Yahyā al-Darsī (Ṣaʿda: Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 2000); (iv) ed. Ḥusayn Dargāhī (Tehran: Muʿassasat al-Ḍuḥā al-thaqāfiyya, 1381/2002).

¹⁵ The beginning of the text corresponds to ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Qummī An-ṣārī, 4:3.

¹⁶ The work has been edited twice by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī, who did not consult the present manuscript: (i) Beirut: Muʿassasat al-ʿAlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1974 (2 vols. in one); (ii) Tehran: Muʿassasat al-ṭabʿ wa-l-nashr | Majmaʿ Iḥyāʿ al-thaqāfa al-islāmiyya, 1990 (a revised edition in 3 vols.). For this work, see also Eitan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and his Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 330 f. no. 542. For the author, see Richard Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 229 f.

raja'a ilayhi jamī' ahl al-'ilm bi-l-Baṣra (f. 42a:6–15) and (ii) *Asmā' ahl al-kaḥf* (f. 42a:15–19). In the margin of the title page, there are three 20th century *samā'āt*, respectively dated Jumādā II 1337/December 1957–January 1958, 1377/1957–1958, and 1338/1958–1959, testifying the popularity of the codex in the study of *ḥadīth*. The text of the *Shawāhid* ends with a colophon by Muḥammad b. As'ad (dated 2 Shawwāl 644/10 February 1247) in which he states (f. 174a [PLATE THREE]).¹⁷

وكان تمام كتاب شواهد التنزيل | القواعد التفضيل | بخط الفقير إلى رحمة ربه محمد
بن أسعد بن زيد العنسي المذحجي | بعد صلوة الظهر نهار الأحد ثاني عيد الفطر
من شوال سنة أربع وأربعين وستائة | بمدينة صعدة المحروسة بالمشاهد المقدسة
النبوية | على ساكنها أفصل السلام والتحية | وصلّى الله على محمد خير البرية وعلى
عترته الطاهرة المرضية | وسلم وشرف وكرم

Muḥammad b. As'ad b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abi l-Ḥusayn (?) b. Sulaymān b. Abi l-Ḥusayn (?) b. Kulayb al-'Ansī al-Midhḥajī is mostly known as a scribe. Twice he had transcribed the *Kitāb al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā' fī usūl al-dīn*, the *opus magnum* of his uncle 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd in Ṣa'da. A copy comprising Parts Two, Three and Four of the work was completed on 20 Rabī' II 640/17 October 1242, the same day given by the author as date of completion, which suggests that 'Abd Allāh had dictated the work, possibly from a *muswadda*, to his nephew reflecting their close working relationship.¹⁸ Another copy, comprising Parts One through Four, was completed on 14 Rabī' II 641/1 October 1243.¹⁹ From Muḥammad b. As'ad's pen we also have a copy of Volumes One and Five of al-Ḥākīm al-Jishumī's *al-Tahdhīb fī l-tafsīr*, transcribed in 644/1246–1247 (Volume Five), that are preserved in the private library of Āl

¹⁷ On the final page of the text, there are again numerous *samā'āt* and readers' notes, most of them dating from the 20th century.

¹⁸ MS Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Cod. arab. 1273, f. 152b [PLATE SEVEN]. Cf. Florian Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften*. Bd. 1, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), 406–408 no. 214.

¹⁹ MS Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Cod. arab. 1286, f. 224b [PLATE EIGHT]. Cf. Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 433 f. no. 226. A facsimile edition of this codex, with introduction and indices by the present authors, is currently in press (Tehran: Mirāth-i maktūb).

Wazīr in Hijrat al-sirr.²⁰ In the same year, Muḥammad transcribed a collective manuscript comprising *Miftāḥ al-fāʾid fi ʿilm al-farāʾid* by al-Faḍl b. Abi l-Saʿd al-ʿUṣayfirī (ff. 600/1203) (ff. 3–28a; incomplete in the beginning) and *al-Muhadhdhab fi fatāwā al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza ʿalayhi l-salām* by Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Murādī (ff. 28b–127; incomplete in the end), that is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan.²¹

Ff. 175a–282b [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 1–351:4], 7 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 351:4–354:9], 9 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 354:9–357:14], 298 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 357:14–361:3], 284–285 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 361:3–368:11], 283, 286–287 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 374:5–383:1], 299 [ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 383:1–386:3], 8 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 386:2–389:6], 14 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 389:6–392:15], 10 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 392:15–395:19], 288–297 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 395:19–431:8], 11 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 431:8–434:13], 13 [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 437:19–440:16], 12b–a [= ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 458:19–463:2] contain an incomplete copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *al-ʿUmda fi ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fi manāqib imām al-abrār*, again in the hand of

²⁰ Cf. al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2: 365f.

²¹ MS Ambrosiana H 70. Cf. Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana: Nuovo fondo, series F (nos. 1296–1778)* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2011, 244 f. no. 1692). On f. 28a Muḥammad b. Asʿad adds the following note, dated Rajab 644/November–December 1246, concluding *al-Miftāḥ* and announcing *al-Muhadhdhab*:

فرغ من نساخته الفقير إلى رحمة ربه محمد بن أسعد بن زيد المذحجي | وفقه الله للخير
 وختم له به ولوالديه ولمن قال آمين | يوم الثلاثاء الثاني من شهر رجب المعظم سنة أربع
 وأربعين وستمائة | بمدينة صعدة المحروسة والحمد لله وحده | وصلواته على رسوله سيدنا
 محمد النبي وآله الطاهرين وسلامه | يتلو ذلك كتاب المهذب في فتاوى أمير المؤمنين |
 وإمام المسلمين أبي محمد عبد الله بن حمزة بن سليمان بن حمزة بن علي (+ بن أبي هاشم،
 إضافة بين السطور) | بن رسول الله | صلواته عليه وعليهم أجمعين | تأليف القاضي الأجل
 الفاضل الكامل العالم العامل داعي أمير المؤمنين محمد بن أسعد بن إبراهيم المرادي
 طوّل الله عمره رحمه الله

The work has been edited by ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh (Amman: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-thaqāfiyya, 2001).

‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ansī (with the exception of f. 289b that is in the hand of his nephew Muḥammad b. As‘ad). At the beginning of the text (f. 175a [PLATE FOUR]), al-‘Ansī names himself as the owner of the copy of the text:

مالكه عبد الله بن زيد بن أحمد غفر الله له ولوالديه وصلى الله على محمد وآله

‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd had completed the transcription of Part One of the *‘Umda* in Jumādā I 644/September 1246. This is in agreement with the information provided by al-Miswarī that the transcription of the entire text was completed on 7 Jumādā II 644/20 October 1246; the final colophon is missing in the present codex. The colophon concluding Part One of the work and announcing Part Two (written in alternating black and red lines) (f. 243b [PLATE SIX]) reads as follows:²²

نجز الجزء الأول من عيون صحاح الأخبار في مناقب إمام الأبرار علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه وسلامه والحمد لله وحده وصلواته | على سيدنا محمد النبي وآله وسلامه وافق الفراغ منه يوم الخميس | أول خميس في شهر جمادى الأولى من شهور سنة أربع وأربعين وست مائة | ويتلوه الجزء الثاني أوله قوله صلى الله عليه وسلم لعلي عليه السلام خاصف النعل | الجزء الثاني من العمدة في عيون صحاح الأخبار | في مناقب إمام الأبرار أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب صلى الله عليه وعلى ذريته الأطهار وسلم | تصنيف الشيخ الإمام الأجل الأوحى العالم الفاضل الفقيه | شمس الدين نجم الإسلام تاج العلماء سديد النطق مفتي آل الرسول عليهم السلام أبي الحسين يحيى بن الحسن ابن الحسن (كذا) بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق | الأسدي الحلي ضاعف الله مجده وسدده | والحمد لله وصلواته علي سيدنا محمد وآله وسلامه

The dates of the various colophons suggest that ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd had first transcribed the *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* (13 Rabī‘ II 644), followed by the *Shawāhid* of which he copied only the first part leaving a sufficient number of leaves blank for his nephew to complete the task (on 2 Shawwāl

²² The beginning of Part Two corresponds to ed. Qum 1407[/1986–1987], 224 (*al-faṣl al-thāmin wa-l-‘ishrūn*).

644), jumping immediately to the *ʿUmda* which he finished transcribing on 7 Jumādā II 644. It is noteworthy that ʿAbd Allāh had transcribed these works at an age when he had already established himself as a scholar. This confirms the characteristic phenomenon of the scholar-*cum*-scribe that is encountered frequently in Yemen during this period.²³

III.

The inclusion of Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *ʿUmda* in the present codex is particularly noteworthy. While the two other works, al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī’s *Tanbīh* and al-Ḥaskānī’s *Shawāhid*, discuss Qurʾānic passages that were taken to support ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the *ahl al-bayt*, Ibn al-Biṭrīq is concerned in his *ʿUmda* with pro-ʿAlid traditions culled from Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections, while relevant Qurʾānic passages are dealt with in one chapter only.²⁴ It would have been more apt to include Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn*, which is exclusively concerned with pro-ʿAlid Qurʾānic passages and is as such much closer to the theme of the two other works. That this was not the case is an indication that the *Khaṣāʾiṣ* was not available to the scholars of Yemen.²⁵

The present copy of Ibn Biṭrīq’s *ʿUmda*, which was not consulted by the editors of the text,²⁶ predates most (if not all) manuscripts of the work that have been transmitted in Twelver Shīʿī circles.²⁷ The title page of the work

²³ See our “Muʿtazilism after ʿAbd al-Jabbār”.

²⁴ A complete list of his Sunnī sources, together with Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s chains of transmission, is given at the beginning of the *ʿUmda*; ed. Qum 1407[1986–1987], 18–23 (*Faṣl fī dhikr turuq asānīd ḥādthā l-Kitāb*).

²⁵ This is also suggested by the general absence of references to the work in any of the preserved *ijāzas* by Yemeni scholars since the 6th/12th century. See, for example, our “The literary-religious tradition”.

²⁶ See above, n. 4.

²⁷ Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī (*Fihristvāra-yi dastnīvisht-hā-yi Īrān (Dinā)* 1–12 (Tehran: Kitābkhāna u mūze-yi markazi asnād-i majlis-i shūrā-yi islāmī, 1389[2010], vol. 7: 627 nos. 194797–194818)) lists 22 manuscripts of the text in Iranian libraries, the earliest ones being dated 7th/13th century (Majlis library no. 8981; the manuscript seems to be of Yemeni provenience [PLATES TWELVE-FOURTEEN]), 5 Rajab 867/26 March 1463 and 10 Shawwāl 982/23 January 1575 (both held in Shirāz, Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, nos. 951, 952), respectively. MS Marʾashī 2997, another collective manuscript of Yemenite origin, contains, among other writings, Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *ʿUmda* (ff. 69b–144b) and al-Ḥaskānī’s *Shawāhid al-tanzīl* (ff. 1b–68a). It was copied by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Suhayl, com-

(f. 175a [PLATE FOUR]) contains the text of an *ijāza* issued by Ibn al-Bīṭrīq in Aleppo for ‘Afif al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣan‘ānī and his “son” Yāqūt in Jumādā I 596/February 1200. This is followed by another *ijāza* issued in turn by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid for ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak al-Akwa‘, dated 17 Dhu l-ḥijja 598/7 September 1202. The full title page reads as follows:

كتاب العمدة في عيون صحاح الأخبار في مناقب إمام الأبرار أمير المؤمنين علي بن
 أبي طالب وصي المختار صلى الله عليه وعلى ذريته الأئمة الأطهار تصنيف الشيخ
 الإمام الأجلّ الأوحّد العالم الفاضل الفقيه شمس الدين نجم الإسلام تاج العلماء
 سديد النطق مفتي آل الرسول عليهم السلام أبي الحسين يحيى بن الحسين (?) بن
 الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي ضاعف الله مجده وجدّد سعده
 وفي الأصل أيضاً قرأ عليّ هذا الكتاب من أوله الى آخره الشيخ الأجلّ العالم
 عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني أيدّه الله وسمع إبقرائته ولده
 الموفق ياقوت وأجزتّ لها روايته عني متى يشاء (?) كنبه يحيى بن الحسن بن
 الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي بحروسة احلب في غرة جادى
 الاولى من سنة ست وتسعين وخمسمائة والله المنّة والحمد وفي الأصل أيضاً
 ناولتّ علي بن أحمد بن الحسين بن المبارك الأكوّع هذا المجلد وأخاه²⁸ وهما
 يشتملان على مناقب أهل البيت عليهم السلام وأجزتّ لها (كذا) روايتها عني
 عن المصنف وكتب علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني في سابع عشر من
 ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة والحمد لله وحده وصلواته على محمد
 وآله

pleted 13 Sha‘bān 1381/20 January 1962. Cf. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥadrat Āyat Allāh al-‘Uẓmā Najafī Mar‘ashī* (Qum: Chāpkhāna-yi Mihr-i Ustuvār, 1354–[1975–1976–]), vol. 8: 169–171. For manuscripts of the *‘Umda* in Iran, see also al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-‘arabī al-makḥṭūṭ fī maktabāt Irān al-‘amma* 1–14 (Qum: Manshūrāt Dalīl Mā, 2010), vol. 9: 137. For the two Shīrāz manuscripts, cf. Muḥammad Barakat, “Fihrist alifbā‘ī-yi nuskha-hā-yi tak kitābī kitābkhāna-yi ‘Allāma Ṭabātabā‘ī Shīrāz,” *Nuṣṣeh Pazūhī. A Collection of Essays and Articles on Manuscripts Studies and Related Subjects* 2 (1384/2005): 196f. MS Shīrāz no. 951 also seems to be of Yemeni origin.

²⁸ “*wa-akhāhu*” most likely refers to Volume Two of the *‘Umda*.

The formula *nāwaltu* as well as the fact that the two *ijāzas* had been copied from the original (*wa-fi l-aṣḥaydan ...*) indicate that the codex, on the basis of which ‘Alī b. Muḥammad had studied the work with Ibn al-Biṭrīq in Aleppo, eventually reached Yemen and served ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ansī as *Vorlage*.

‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid is mentioned in the Zaydī *ṭabaqāt* literature among the Sunnī scholars who were consulted by the Zaydīs.²⁹ Nothing else is known about his religious identity which remains uncertain. While his affiliation with Ibn al-Biṭrīq in Aleppo may also suggest that ‘Alī b. Muḥammad was a Twelver Shī‘ī, MS Atif Efendi 2421 points to his affiliation with (Ḥanbalī) Sunnism. The codex contains two works of Ibn al-Mi‘mār al-Baghdādī, *Mukhtaṣar Nihāyat al-amal fī ‘ilm al-jadal* and *Risāla fī l-farq bayn al-ḥaqīqa wa-l-majāz*, that were copied in Ramaḍān 605/March–April 1209 by Yāqūt b. ‘Abd Allāh, the servant (*ghulām*) of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Ṣan‘ānī al-Hamdānī (f. 156b), followed by an *ijāza* issued by Ibn al-Mi‘mār to Yāqūt at the beginning of Shawwāl 606/end of March 1210. Again, Yāqūt’s relation to ‘Alī b. Muḥammad is clearly defined here as *al-muḍāfilā mawlāhu al-sayyid al-awḥad al-ṣadr al-kabīr ‘Afīf al-Dīn Abi l-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Yamanī* (f. 159b).³⁰ Ibn al-Biṭrīq was evidently wrong when he assumed that Yāqūt was ‘Alī b. Muḥammad’s son (see above).

Additional pieces of information on ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid are included in a Yemeni manuscript containing Ibn al-Maghāzili al-Wāsiṭī’s (d. 483/1090) *Manāqib ‘Alī b. Abi Ṭālib* that was (indirectly) based on a *Vorlage* transcribed by the Twelver Shī‘ī scholar Abu l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Nizār Ibn al-Sharafīyya al-Wāsiṭī in 585/1189–1190 in Wāsiṭ.³¹ The transmitter of the text, ‘Imrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Shatawī

²⁹ Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā (al-qism al-thā-lith) wa-yusammā Bulūgh al-murād ilā ma‘rifat al-isnād* 1–3, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abbās al-Wajīh (McLean, VA: Mu‘assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-thaqāfiyya, 1421/2001), vol. 3: 1523–1527 no. 864.

³⁰ For a brief description of the manuscript, see Ramaḍān Shīshīn (Ramazan Şeşen), *Mukhtār min al-makhtūṭāt al-‘arabiyya al-nādīra fī maktabāt Turkiyā* (Istanbul: İsar, 1997), 158 f. no. 222; Shīshīn, “Esquisse d’une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits musulmans,” *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, ed. François Deroche (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 200 no. 21.—The manuscript has been consulted by Larry B. Miller, *Islamic Disputation Theory: A study of the development of dialectic in Islam from the tenth through fourteenth centuries* (PhD thesis, Princeton, 1984), 170 ff.

³¹ The manuscript of Yemeni origin was part of the Kitābhāna-yi islāmī, Teh-

al-'Udhri (d. after 630/1232–1233), a prominent 7th/13th century Zaydi scholar of Yemen³² who had studied Ibn al-Maghazili's *Manāqib* with Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Akwa' on the basis of Ibn al-Sharafīyya's copy of the work in 599/1203 and had transcribed his own copy of the text in 623/1226,³³ specifies his *isnād* for the *Manāqib* at the beginning of the text ('Imrān being the subject of *akhbaranā* that opens the phrase):

ran. The current status of this library is unclear and the current whereabouts of the codex are unknown. Copies of the original manuscript are preserved in the Mar'ashī library, Qum (MS 'aksī 187; cf. Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥā'irī, *Fihrist-i nuskhā-hā-yi 'aksī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Ḥadrat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī* (Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ḥadrat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī, 1369/1411 [1990]), vol. 1: 170 f.), and in the Central Library of Tehran University (cf. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mikrūfilmhā-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihirān* (Tehran: Dānishgāh, 1348–1363 [1969–1984]), vol. 3: 31). Cf. also 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Ahl al-bayt fi l-maktaba al-'arabiyya* (Qum: Mu'assasat Āl al-bayt, 1417 [1996]), 578–584 no. 720; Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra*, vol. 10: 69 no. 273574. The codex also contains the text of the *ijāza* issued by Ibn al-Bitriq to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid and his "son" Yāqūt for the *'Umda*, followed by the other *ijāza* issued by 'Alī b. Muḥammad to 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Akwa' (in the margin of p. 1, written in a different hand [PLATE FIFTEEN]).—On the basis of the Yemeni manuscript, Ibn al-Maghazili's *Manāqib* has been edited by Muḥammad Bāqir Bihbudī (Tehran 1394 [1974]) who describes its transmission in detail (pp. 32 ff.). This edition has been reprinted repeatedly in Beirut with parts of the editor's introduction usually being omitted. Another edition of the text, based on another Yemeni manuscript (dated 16 Ramaḍān 1288/29 November 1871), was later on produced by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Turkī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Wādī'ī (Ṣan'ā': Dār al-āthār, 1424/2003).—On Ibn al-Sharafīyya, erroneously considered as the author of *'Uyūn al-ḥikam wa-l-mawā'iz*, containing utterances of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (ed. Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī al-Birjandī (Qum: Dār al-ḥadīth, 1376 [1997])), see Ḥasan Anṣārī, "Ibn al-Sharafīyya wa Kitāb 'Uyūn al-ḥikam wa-l-mawā'iz," *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 35 (1376/1997): 12–15.—On Ibn al-Maghazili, see "Ibn al-Maghazili al-Wāsiṭī," *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 4: 647 f.

³² On him, see Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ Ibn Abi l-Rijāl, *Matla' al-budūr wa-majma' al-buḥūr fi tarājim rijāl al-zaydiyya* 1–4, ed. Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Mu'ayyadī (Ṣā'da: Markaz ahl al-bayt li-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 2004), vol. 3: 395–397 no. 976; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2: 833–839 no. 527; 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Wajīh, *A'lām al-mu'allifīn al-zaydiyya*, (McLean, VA: Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī al-thaqāfiyya, 1420/1999), 736 f. no. 80i; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane = Maṣādir tārikh al-Yaman fi l-'aṣr al-islāmī* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1974), 126 no. 12.

³³ Cf. Ibn al-Maghazili, *Manāqib*, ed. Bihbudī, 329; see also MS Mar'ashī 'aksī 187 [PLATE SIXTEEN].

... أخبرنا الفقيه الأجل الزاهد بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين الأوكوع قراءةً عليه وأنا أسمع في جمادى الآخرة من سنة تسع وتسعين وخمس مائة بمسجد المدرسة المنصورية بقرية حوث، قال: أخبرنا علي بن محمد بن حامد الصنعاني اليمني بمكة حرسها الله تعالى في العشر الوسطى من شهر ذي الحجة آخر شهور سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمس مائة مناولةً قال: أخبرنا أبو الحسن علي بن أبي الفوارس بن أبي نزار ابن الشرفية، قال: أخبرنا الشيخ المعتمر صدر الدين المقرئ صدر الجامع بواسط أبو بكر ابن الباقلاني المقرئ، والقاضي جمال الدين نعمت الله بن العطار، والقاضي الأجل العدل عز الدين هبة الكرم ابن الحسن بن الفرج بن علي بن حبانس رحمه الله رواه في شهر الله الأصم رجب من سنة إحدى وتسعين وخمسةائة قال: أخبرنا القاضي الأجل أبو عبد الله محمد بن محمد بن الطيب الجلابي رحمه الله تعالى قال: أخبرني أبي العدل أبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن الجلابي الخطيب المصنف رحمه الله المعروف بابن المغازلي قال: ...

‘Imrān’s chain of transmission complements the information provided by the *ijāzāt* of Ibn al-Biṭrīq and ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid. ‘Imrān explains that he had studied the text of Ibn al-Maghāzili with his teacher Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Akwa’ in the Madrasa al-Manṣūriyya in Ḥūth in Jumādā II 599/February–March 1203, and that the latter had studied the text with ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid in Mecca (where the latter evidently sojourned before he went to Baghdad; see above). It can therefore safely be assumed that it was also in Mecca that Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Akwa’ had studied Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *‘Umda* with ‘Alī b. Muḥammad and that it was Bahā’ al-Dīn who brought the *‘Umda* and the *Manāqib* from Mecca to Yemen transmitting them to his students. Moreover, according to ‘Imrān, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad had studied the text of Ibn al-Maghāzili with Ibn al-Sharafiyya, possibly in al-Wāsiṭ.

Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akwa’ (alive in 627/1229–1230)³⁴ was one of the com-

³⁴ On him, see Ibn Abi l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 3: 194–198 no. 581; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2: 698–703 no. 416. His father Aḥmad and his son, ‘Abd Allāh, were also renowned scholars. For the family of al-Akwa’, see al-Qāḍī Ismā’īl b. ‘Alī al-Akwa’, *Hijar al-‘ilm wa-ma’āqiluhu fi l-Yaman* 1–6 (Beirut | Damascus: Dār al-fīkr [al-mu’āṣir], 1416/1995), vol. 4: 2110–2127 no. 403.—The Staats-

panions of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, who had studied with the latter while also serving as a transmitter for him. When studying with al-Manṣūr Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān b. al-Nāṣir al-Suḥāmī's (d. after 600/1203–1204) *Shams sharī'at al-islām fī fiqh ahl al-bayt 'alayhim al-salām*³⁵ from Rabī' II 601/December 1204 onwards, Bahā' al-Dīn noted down al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *fatāwā*, which the latter had issued while reading *Shams al-sharī'a*. These notes, which reach up to the *Kitāb al-Kaffāra*, are known as *al-Ikhtiyārāt al-manṣūriyya*.³⁶ It was al-Manṣūr bi-llāh who had dispatched Bahā' al-Dīn to Mecca where the latter met 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid, and it is therefore through Bahā' al-Dīn that al-Manṣūr transmits from 'Alī b. Muḥammad.³⁷ Apart from the *Ikhtiyārāt al-manṣūriyya*, Bahā' al-Dīn also composed *al-Akḥbār al-arba'ūn al-wasīla ilā rabb al-'ālamīn min faḍā'il Amīr al-mu'minīn*, clearly an extract of Ibn al-Maghāzilī's *Manāqib Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*.³⁸

bibliothek zu Berlin holds a collective manuscript containing writings of the Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (MS Glaser 101, copied in Sha'bān 544/1149) that had been studied by Bahā' al-Dīn; the manuscript contains several *balāgh* notes in his hand. For a brief description of the codex, see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* 1–10 (Berlin: A.W. Schade, 1887–1899 [repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1980–1981]), vol. 4: 290 f. no. 4876.

³⁵ For the work and its author, see Ibn Abi l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2: 375–377 no. 642; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1: 478–481 no. 281; al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-zaydiyya* 1–3 (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, 1413/1992–1993), vol. 2: 213 f. no. 2071. For extant manuscripts of this text, see al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, 470–471 no. 466.

³⁶ The work is extant in manuscript. Cf. al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, 653 f. no. 680.

³⁷ Cf. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *al-Shāfi*, vol. 1: 149 and *passim*.

³⁸ Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Akwa', *al-Akḥbār al-arba'ūn al-wasīla ilā Rabb al-'ālamīn min faḍā'il Amīr al-mu'minīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Wajīh (Am-mān: Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī al-thaqāfiyya, 2003). At the beginning of the text (13 f.) he mentions his chain of transmission in detail:

فقد أخبرني الشيخ الأجل النجيب عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني أيده الله بمكة حرسها الله في شهر ذي الحجة من شهر سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسةائة، قال: أخبرنا الشيخ الإمام الأجل الأوحى العالم الفقيه شمس الدين نجم الإسلام تاج العلماء سديد النطق أبو الحسين يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي ضاعف الله مجده قراءة عن الشيخ المعمر صدر الدين المقرئ صدر الجامع بواسط أبو بكر بن عبد الله بن منصور بن عمران الباقلائي

‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Anṣī opens the main text of the *‘Umda* indicating his own chain of transmission linking him to the author of the work. From this it is evident that Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Akwa’ had in turn transmitted the work to his student Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Shu’la (“Shu’la al-Akwa’”) who had then taught it to his student ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd, the copyist of the present copy of the text who thus had the original Aleppo codex as his immediate *Vorlage*. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Anṣī’s *isnād* (f. 175b2–8 [PLATE FIVE]) reads as follows:

أخبرنا الشيخ الأجل الفاضل العالم الكامل أحمد بن محمد المعروف بشعلة كتابةً وإجازةً | قال أخبرنا الفقيه الفاضل بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين المعروف بالأكوع | قال أخبرنا عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعائي مناولةً في سابع عشر من ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمس مائة قال أخبرني يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي بمحروسة حلب في غرة إجمادى الأولى من سنة ست وتسعين وخمس مائة قراءةً وهو المصنف لهذا الكتاب

The Ambrosiana Library in Milan possesses another manuscript of Ibn al-Bīṭrīq’s *‘Umda* that adds additional information on the transmission of the work among the Zaydis of Yemen.³⁹ The title page (f. 2a [PLATE NINE]) indicates title and author in the same way as in ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Anṣī’s copy of the text:

المقري عن القاضي العدل أبي عبد الله محمد بن علي بن محمد بن محمد الجلابي رحمه الله تعالى عن أبيه القاضي العدل أبي الحسين علي بن محمد بن محمد بن الجلابي الخطيب الشافعي المعروف بابن المغازلي الواسطي قال ...

This chain of transmission shows that al-Akwa’ had decided to compose an extract of the traditions adduced by Ibn al-Maghāzili as these have been collected in the *‘Umda*, and this despite the *isnād* that links him directly to Ibn al-Maghāzili’s text.

³⁹ C 96. Cf. Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. Vol. II: Nuovo Fondo: Series A–D (Nos. 1–830) (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1981), 170 no. 352.

كتاب العمدة في عيون صحاح الأخبار | في مناقب إمام الأبرار أمير المؤمنين | علي بن أبي طالب وصي المختار | صلى الله عليه وعلى ذريته الأئمة الأطهار | تصنيف الشيخ الإمام الأجل الأوحد العالم | الفاضل الفقيه شمس الدين نجم الإسلام | أتاح العلماء سديد النطق مفتي آل الرسول عليهم السلام أبي الحسين | يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسن (كذا) | بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد بن البطريق الأسدي الحلبي ضاعف الله مجده

Moreover, the text opens with the same *isnād* as given by ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ansī, indicating that the work had been transmitted from the author Ibn al-Biṭrīq → ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣan‘ānī → ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak al-Akwa’ → Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Shu‘la (“Shu‘la al-Akwa’”) (f. 2b [PLATE TEN]):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين أخبرنا الشيخ الأجل العالم الفاضل أحمد بن محمد بن القسم الأكوخ قراءة عليه قال أخبرنا الفقيه الفاضل الإمام بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين المعروف بالأكوخ (+ رضي الله عنه، إضافة في الهامش) مناولة قال أخبرنا عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني مناولة في سابع عشر من ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمس مائة قال أخبرنا يحيى بن الحسين بن الحسن بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي بحروسة حلب في غرة جادى الأولى من سنة ست وتسعين وخمسائة قراءة وهو المصنف لهذا الكتاب ...

The copy of the text is also divided into two volumes and the wording at the end of Volume One (f. 137b [PLATE ELEVEN]) is identical with the one given in the codex transcribed by ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ansī. While the copyist of the Ambrosiana manuscript is unknown, there is an additional note on f. 137b in the hand of ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ansī’s older contemporary Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Ṣan‘ānī (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254), another prominent Yemeni Zaydī scholar,⁴⁰ stating that he had collated the

⁴⁰ On him, see Ibn Abi l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 2: 245–251 no. 520; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1: 421–424 no. 247; al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, 407–410 no. 408; Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Sources*, 127 f. no. 13.

copy with the one that was read to Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak al-Akwa', a task he had completed on 1 Sha'bān 640/24 January 1243. Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī further mentions that he had studied the *Umda* with 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Akwa' and that he had received an *ijāza* from his teacher for the work. The complete note reads as follows:

نجز الجزء الأول من عيون صحاح الأخبار في مناقب إمام الأبرار علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه وسلامه | يتلوه في الجزء الثاني قوله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لعلي عليه السلام خاصف النعل والمحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على سيد المرسلين محمد وعلى أهل بيته الطيبين وصحبه المكرمين وسلامه | اقوبل على النسخة الواردة من الشبام وهي النسخة المسموعة لمن روينا عنه وأجازها لنا وهو الفقيه الفاضل بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد رضي الله عنه وصحح ذلك بقدر الإمكان وفرغ منه في أول شعبان سنة أربعين وستائة وكتب مالك الكتاب حميد بن أحمد بن محمد المحلي حامداً لله تعالى على عميم نواله ومصلياً على سيدنا محمد وآله.⁴¹

The wording of this note and the similarities between the two copies indicate that both 'Abd Allāh al-'Ansī's copy and the one in the possession of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī had been transcribed from the original Aleppo codex of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda*—al-Muḥallī's some time before 640/1243 by an unknown scribe, and al-'Ansī's in 644/1246. Moreover, while al-Muḥallī had studied the work directly with Bahā' al-Dīn al-Akwa', 'Abd Allāh al-'Ansī, who was some ten to fifteen years younger than al-Muḥallī, had an additional intermediary, namely Shu'la al-Akwa'.

The Maktabat Āl al-Wazīr in Hijrat al-Sirr holds another copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda* transcribed in the 7th/13th or 8th/14th century, comprising the two volumes of the text. At the end of Volume One Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ijāza* for 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamid al-Yamanī al-Ṣan'ānī "copied from the autograph" (*fi nuskha 'alayhā khatṭ al-muṣannif Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan*) is found. It is evident that this copy also originated (directly or indirectly) from the Aleppo codex.⁴²

⁴¹ See also the title page (f. 2a [PLATE NINE]) where al-Muḥallī is identified as the owner of the codex.

⁴² Cf. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris makhtūṭāt ba'da l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fi l-Yaman* (London: Furqān Foundation, 1994), 67 no. 121; al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*,

Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda* and/or Ibn al-Maghāzilī's *Manāqib* were widely transmitted among the scholars of Yemen through Bahā' al-Dīn al-Akwa'. Apart from al-Manṣūr bi-llāh,⁴³ Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Shu'la

vol. 2: 370 f. no. 23. The manuscript was inaccessible to the present authors. Al-Ḥibshī's assumption that the manuscript had been copied in 596AH is clearly mistaken, as is evident on the basis of the more detailed description of the manuscript given by al-Wajīh.—The libraries of Yemen possess additional copies of the work, most of which have been copied at a later stage: (i) MS al-Maktaba al-Sharqiyya no. 446, copy dated 17 Rajab 1086/7 October 1675; cf. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayhī, 'Abd al-Allāh al-Ḥibshī and 'Alī Wahhāb al-Ānsī, *Fihrist Makhtūṭāt Maktabat al-Jāmi' al-kabīr Ṣan'ā'* 1–4 ([Ṣan'ā':] Wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-irshād, 1404/1984), vol. 1: 413; cf. also *Qā'ima bi-l-makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyya al-muṣawwara bi-l-mikrūfilm min al-Jumhūriyya al-'arabiyya al-yamaniyya* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-kutub, 1967), 30 (MF 2192); (ii) MS al-Maktaba al-gharbiyya no. 2664, dated Muḥarram 1052/April–May 1642; cf. Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Īsawī, [et al.], *Fihris al-makhtūṭāt al-Yamaniyya li-Dār al-Makhtūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, Ṣan'ā'* 1–2 (Qum: Maktabat Samāhat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī al-Kubrā | al-Khizāna al-'ālamīyya li-l-makhtūṭāt al-islamiyya | Markaz al-wathā'iq wa-l-tārīkh al-diblūmāsī | Wizārat al-Khārijīyya li-l-Jumhūriyya al-islamiyya al-Īrāniyya, 1426/2005), vol. 2: 1518; (iii) MS Maktabat Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Wajīh, undated codex that also contain *Jawāhir al-'iqdayn fi faḍā'il al-sharafayn* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 911/1505–1506) (published in 2 vols., Baghdad: Wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-shu'ūn al-dīniyya, 1984–1987); the codex was available at the time of al-Miswārī and al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī and his son al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad, with a *balāgh* note of al-Miswārī. cf. al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2: 629; (iv) MS 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shāyim, a codex containing al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī's *Tanbih al-ghāfilīn* (copied in 1051/1641–1642) and Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda*; cf. al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2: 97. Initially the codex also contained *Shawāhid* and may very well have been copied from the al-'Ansī codex. Moreover, (v) another old, though undated manuscript of Volume Two of the text of Yemenite origin is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library, MS F245; cf. Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana: Nuovo fondo, series F*, 123 no. 1538. It is unclear whether it had been copied in Yemen or elsewhere. (vi) The Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin also holds a manuscript of Yemeni provenance (MS Glaser 24) containing excerpts of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda* that was compiled in 1149/1736; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 9: 220 f. no. 9687. The manuscript has been edited as "Ibtāl shubah al-muta'awwilīn li-naṣṣ wilāyat Amīr al-mu'minin li-mu'allif majhūl," ed. Muḥammad al-Kāzim, *Mirāth-i ḥadīth-i shī'a*, eds. Mahdī Mīhrīzi and 'Alī Ṣadrāyī Khūyī (Qum: Markaz Taḥqīqāt Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1380[/2001]), vol. 6: 83–104. On this edition, see also Ḥasan Anṣārī, "Abu l-Qāsim al-Bustī u Kitābī mansūb beh Ibn Biṭrīq," *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 53–54 (1380–1381[/2001–2002]): 68.

⁴³ According to Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh al-Muṭaḥhar b. Yahyā b.

(to whom he issued an *ijāza* in 627/1229–1230),⁴⁴ and ‘Imrān b. al-Ḥasan al-Shatawī al-‘Udhri, Bahā’ al-Dīn is known to have taught the work(s) to his son, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad⁴⁵ and to ‘Alī b. Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Qurashī (d. 635/1237–1238).⁴⁶ He also taught Ibn al-Maghāzilī’s *Manāqib* to Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad (or: Ḥumayd) b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Walīd al-Qurashī al-Anf (d. 623/1226),⁴⁷ to al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar

al-Muṭahhar b. al-Qāsim (d. 728/1327–1328), he transmits the *Manāqib Ibn al-Maghāzilī* through his father who in turn transmits from al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. See al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2: 1072 f. no. 678.

⁴⁴ Cf. al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2: 698–703 no. 416. Both works are also explicitly mentioned by Shu‘la al-Akwa’ in his *ijāza* for ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ansī. See also our forthcoming “Transmission of Knowledge in 7th/13th century Yemen: The case of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī”. Moreover, the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258) had also studied the *‘Umda* with Shu‘la; cf. our “The literary-religious tradition,” § 7 (Arabic text).

⁴⁵ ‘Abd Allāh, in turn, transmitted the *‘Umda* to his student Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan *al-ma‘rūf bi-bn Abi l-Rijāl* (d. 730/1329–1330), one of the prominent Zaydī scholars during his lifetime. Cf. al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2: 972 f. no. 615; cf. *ibid.*, vol. 2: 618 f. no. 373.

⁴⁶ He is the son of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī al-Anf (d. 623/1226) (cf. al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, 677 f. no. 713) and author of *Shams al-akhbār al-muntaqā min kalām al-Nabī al-mukhtār*, a work in which he includes his chain of transmission for this work as follows (cf. our forthcoming *Licence to transmit. The spread of Mu‘tazilī and Zaydī thought as documented in ijāzas*. Volume Two: Yemen up to the Imām Yahyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348–1349), Text 4):

ومن ذلك كتاب العمدة في عيون صحاح الأخبار تصنيف الشيخ الإمام الأجل الأوح
العالم الفاضل الفقيه شمس الدين فخر الإسلام أبي الحسين يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين
بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي والطريق في ذلك هو ما أخبرني الفقيه الأجل
الفاضل بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين المعروف بالأكوع مناولة في مدة من سنة
تسع وتسعين وخمسة بالمدرسة المنصورية ببحوث قال أخبرنا عفيف الدين علي بن
محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني مناولة في سبع عشر من ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان
وتسعين وخمسة قال أخبرنا يحيى بن الحسين المصنف يبلغ به النبي صلى الله عليه
وعلى آله وسلم.

⁴⁷ Cf. the *isnād* for Ibn al-Maghāzilī’s *Manāqib* as given in Ibn al-Walīd’s *al-*

al-‘Alawī al-‘Abbāsī (p. 330 f.) and to *al-qāḍī* Maṣṣūr b. Ismā‘īl b. Qāsim al-Ṭā‘ī (p. 330 f.).⁴⁸

Among Bahā’ al-Dīn’s contemporaries and students, the impact of Ibn al-Bīṭrīq as a transmitter of Sunnī *ḥadīths* and specifically of his *‘Umda* is most visible in al-Manṣūr bi-llāh’s works. In his *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-nāfi‘a bi-l-adilla al-wāqi‘a fī tabyīn al-Zaydiyya wa-madhāhibihim*, al-Manṣūr quotes 180 Sunnī traditions from Ibn al-Bīṭrīq’s *‘Umda*, so that the work may in fact be considered an extract of the *‘Umda*.⁴⁹ The *‘Umda* also had significant impact on al-Manṣūr’s *Kitāb al-Shāfi*. This is evident from al-Manṣūr’s presentation of his chains of transmission for the various Sunnī sources⁵⁰ that

Jawāb al-nātiq al-ṣādiq bi-hall al-shubah Kitāb al-Fā‘iq fīmā khālaḥa fīhi Ibn al-Malāḥimī madhāhib al-Zaydiyya fī l-imāma, ed. Fayṣal ‘Awn (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-‘arabiyya, 2010), 122 (we thank Gregor Schwarb for having made this edition available to us). For evidence that Ibn al-Walīd had his own copy of the *Manāqib*, see Ibn al-Maghāzili, *Manāqib*, 330; MS Mar‘ashī ‘aksī 187, p. 157 [PLATE SIXTEEN]. On Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī, see our “Mu’tazilism after ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025): Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī’s *Kitāb Masā’il al-khilāfi l-uṣūl*”.

⁴⁸ Cf. the following two *ijāzas* as quoted in Ibn al-Maghāzili’s *Manāqib*, 330 f.; see also MS Mar‘ashī ‘aksī 187, p. 157 [PLATE SIXTEEN] The text here is given according to the manuscript:

الله حسبي قد أجزت للأمير الأجل السيد الأمير نظام الدين ولي أمير المؤمنين
المفضل بن علي بن المظفر العلوي العباسي كتاب المناقب لابن المغازلي، أن يرويه
عتي على الوجه الصحيح بشروط السماع، وناولته ذلك، وكتبه علي بن أحمد بن
الحسين الأكوخ في شهر الحجة من شهور سنة اثني عشر وستمئة وكذلك أجزت ذلك
للقاضي الأجل منصور بن إسماعيل بن قاسم الطائي على الوجه الصحيح في الوقت
المؤرخ والسلام وصلى الله على محمد وآله.

⁴⁹ *Kitāb al-Risāla al-nāfi‘a bi-l-adilla al-wāqi‘a fī tabyīn al-Zaydiyya wa-madhāhibihim wa-dhikr faḍā’il Amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām wa-taqrīr adilla ‘alā l-Imāmiyya wa-sunan man kharaja ‘an al-Shī‘a al-muḥiqqīn min al-Imāmiyya wa-l-Bāṭiniyya wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya*, in *Majmū‘ rasā’il al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abbās al-Wajīh (McLean, VA: Mu’assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-thaqāfiyya, 1422/2002), vol. 1: 381–491. The editor traces each *ḥadīth* in Ibn al-Bīṭrīq’s *‘Umda* in the annotation.

⁵⁰ *Al-Shāfi*, vol. 1: 149–179 (as a rule al-Manṣūr refrains from explicitly mentioning the *‘Umda*); vol. 3: 392. Here al-Manṣūr states:

not only go in each case through Ibn al-Biṭrīq but is also modelled on the latter's presentation of his *asānīd* at the beginning of the *ʿUmda*.⁵¹ Ibn al-Biṭrīq also serves al-Manṣūr as a principal source in his *al-Iqd al-thamīn*, a book that is directed against the Imāmiyya. Despite its polemical character, al-Manṣūr referred to Ibn al-Biṭrīq whenever he mentions Sunnī sources about the *faḍāʾil* of the imams.⁵² The transmission through Ibn al-Biṭrīq is also sig-

وأخبرني الفقيه بهاء الدين أسعده الله مناولةً ثم قراءةً قال: أخبرنا علي بن محمد بن حامد مناولةً في سابع عشر ذي الحجة سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسة؛ قال: أخبرنا يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي بجلب سنة ست وتسعين وخمسة قراءة، وهو المصنف للكتاب كله ...

Specifically for Ibn al-Maghāzīlī's *Manāqib*, al-Manṣūr also mentions the alternative *isnād* via Ibn al-Sharafīyya (*al-Shāfi*, vol. 1: 172 f.):

ومن ذلك إسناد كتاب المناقب لابن المغازلي: أخبرنا الفقيه الأجل الزاهد بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين الأكوخ مناولةً في شهر جمادى الأولى سنة تسع وتسعين وخمسة، قال: أخبرنا علي بن محمد بن حامد الصنعاني اليميني بمكة حرسها الله في العشر الوسطى من شهر ذي الحجة آخر شهور سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسة مناولة، قال: أخبرنا أبو الحسن علي بن أبي الفوارس بن الشرفية، قال: أخبرنا الشيخ المعمر صدر الدين المقرئ صدر الجامع بواسط أبو بكر بن الباقلاني المقرئ، والقاضي جمال الدين نعمة الله بن العطار، والقاضي العدل عز الدين هبة الكريم بن الحسن بن الفرج بن علي بن حبان ش رحمه الله تعالى رواه في شهر الله الأصب رجب سنة إحدى وسبعين وخمسة، قالوا: أخبرنا القاضي أبو عبد الله محمد بن علي بن محمد بن الطيب الجلابي رحمه الله تعالى قال: أخبرني أبي العدل أبو الحسن علي بن محمد الجلابي الخطيب المصنف رحمه الله تعالى.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *ʿUmda*, ed. Qum 1407/[1986–1987], 18–24.

⁵² See, e.g., *al-Iqd al-thamīn fī aḥkām al-aʾimma al-hādūn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh (McLean, VA: Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-thaqāfiyya, 1421/2001), 71 f. where he provides the following *isnād*:

أخبرنا الفقيه الأجل الفاضل بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين المعروف بالأكوخ في مدة من سنة تسع وتسعين وخمسة مناولةً قال: أخبرنا عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن

nificant in the chapter devoted to *al-aḥādīth fi l-Mahdī ‘alayhi al-salām*⁵³ where al-Manṣūr’s principal source is Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s otherwise lost *Kashf al-makhfī fi manāqib al-Mahdī*.⁵⁴ Another Yemenī scholar to use Ibn al-Biṭrīq extensively is Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī in his *Maḥāsīn al-azhār fi manāqib imām al-abrār wa-wālid al-a’imma al-aṭhār al-Imām Amūr al-mu’minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ‘alayhi al-salām*.⁵⁵ The author indicates his chain of transmission for Sunnī materials as Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī ← Bahā’ al-Dīn Abu l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn ← ‘Afīf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣan‘ānī ← Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Biṭrīq al-Asadī al-Ḥillī ...⁵⁶ Ḥumayd also transmits Ibn al-Maghāzilī’s *Manāqib* using

حامد اليمني الصنعاني مناولةً في سابع عشر من ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسةائة قال: أخبرنا يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي بحروسة حلب في غرة جمادى الأولى من سنة ست وتسعين وخمسةائة قراءة قال ...

⁵³ *Al-Iqd al-thamīn*, 204–217.

⁵⁴ Cf. Anṣārī, “Zaydiyya,” 156f. On Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *Kashf*, see also Kohlberg, *A Medieval Scholar*, 213f. no. 258. On the basis of the quotations of the work in al-Manṣūr’s *al-Iqd al-thamīn*, Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī has reconstructed the work (“al-Ṭarīq ilā istikhraj kitāb mafqūd li-bn al-Biṭrīq,” *Ulūm al-ḥadīth* 13 (1425[2004–2005]): 177–228).

⁵⁵ Ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī (Qum: Majma‘ iḥyā’ al-thaqāfa al-islāmiyya, 1422[2001–2002]).

⁵⁶ *Maḥāsīn*, 96 f. (see also *ibid.*, 305):

وأخبرنا الفقيه الفاضل بهاء الدين أبو الحسن علي بن أحمد بن الحسين رضي الله عنه إجازةً ومناولةً، قال: أخبرنا عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني مناولةً في سابع عشر من ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمس مائة، قال: أخبرنا يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي بحروسة حلب في غرة جمادى الأولى من سنة ست وتسعين وخمس مائة قراءةً عليه، قال: أخبرنا الشيخ السيد الاجلّ محمد بن يحيى بن محمد بن أبي السطّين ابن الواعظ البغدادي في صفر سنة خمس وثمانين وخمس مائة عن الفقيه أبي الخير أحمد بن اسماعيل بن يوسف القزويني الشافعي المدرّس بمدينة النظامية ببغداد في شعبان من سنة سبعين وخمس مائة ...

the alternative chain of transmission through Ibn al-Sharafiyya: Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī ← Bahā' al-Dīn Abu l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Akwa' ← 'Afif al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣan'ānī ← 'Alī b. Abi l-Fawāris Ibn al-Sharafiyya ...⁵⁷ Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad⁵⁸ also quotes both Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda* and Ibn al-Maghāzili's *Manāqib* extensively in his *Kitāb Anwār al-yaqīn fī imāmat Amūr al-mu'minīn*, composed in 638/1240–1241. Ibn al-Biṭrīq's impact remains significant over the following centuries, as is visible in the *Kitāb al-I'tiṣām bi-ḥabl Allāh al-matīn wa-ḥurmat al-tafarruq fī l-dīn* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥasanī al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 1029/1620) where he is widely cited.⁵⁹ Moreover, al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh (d. 1156/1743) is also known to have studied the work.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *Maḥāsīn*, 44 f. (cf. also *ibid*, 75 f.):

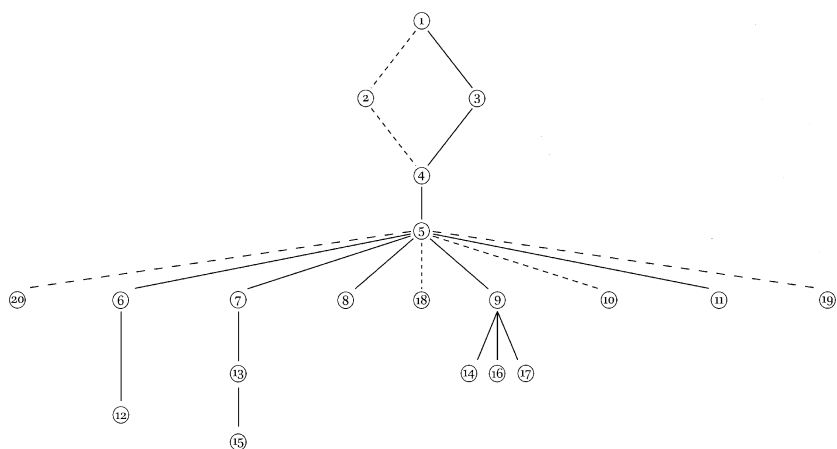
أخبرنا به الفقيه الأجلّ الزاهد العالم المجاهد بهاء الدين أبو الحسن علي بن أحمد بن الحسين الأكوخ رضي الله عنه مناولة وإجازة قال: حدّثنا عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني قال حدّثنا أبو الحسن علي بن أبي الفوارس بن أبي نزار بن الشرفية قال: حدّثنا القاضي الأجلّ العدل عزّ الدين هبة الكريم بن الحسن بن الفرج بن حبان بن رحمه الله في شهر الله الأصمّ رجب في سنة إحدى وسبعين وخمسائة، قال: أنبأني جدّي القاضي أبو عبد الله محمد بن علي بن محمد بن الطيب الجلابي رحمه الله قال: أخبرني أبي العدل أبو الحسن علي بن محمد الجلابي الخطيب ...

Cf. also Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, *al-Ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya fī manāqib a'immat al-Zaydiyya*, ed. al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭṭawī Ḥasanī (Ṣan'ā': Maktabat Markaz Badr al-'ilmī wa-l-thaqāfī, 2002), vol. 1: 8, 20 f.

⁵⁸ He is the brother of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 663/1264–1265), the author of *Kitāb Yanābi' al-nasiḥa fī l-'aqā'id al-ṣaḥiḥa* (Ṣan'ā': Dār al-ḥikma al-yamaniyya, 1418/1998). For *Anwār al-yaqīn*, which is extant in manuscript, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 1: 176 no. 474.

⁵⁹ Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *al-I'tiṣām bi-ḥabl Allāh al-matīn wa-ḥurmat al-tafarruq fī l-dīn bi-mā shara'ahu Subḥānahu wa-Ta'ālā fī Kitābihi al-Dhikr al-mubīn wa-'alā lisān Rasūlihi Muḥammad Khātām al-Nabīn ... wa-yalīhi Kitāb Anwār al-tamām fī tatimmat al-I'tiṣām li-Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf Zabāra* (Ṣan'ā': Maktabat al-Yaman al-Kubrā, 1987), vol. 1: 45, 144. On the author, a Zaydī imām and founder of the Qāsimī dynasty, see al-Wajīh, *Al'ām*, 777–782 no. 839.

⁶⁰ Cf. al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1: 325 f. no. 184.



- ① = Ibn al-Maghazili (d. 483/1090)
(author of *Manāqib ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*)
- ② = Abu l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Nizār Ibn al-Sharafiyya al-Wasīṭī
- ③ = Abu l-Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (“Ibn al-Biṭrīq”) (d. 600/1203–1204 or 601/1204–1205)
(author of *‘Umdat ‘uyūn shīḥah al-akhbār*)
- ④ = ‘Afif al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣan‘ānī
- ⑤ = Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akwa’ (alive in 627/1229–1230)
- ⑥ = ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Akwa’ (son of Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Akwa’)
- ⑦ = al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217)
- ⑧ = Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Ṣan‘ānī (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254)
- ⑨ = Aḥmad b. Muhammad Shu‘la (Shu‘la al-Akwa’)
- ⑩ = ‘Imrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Shatawī al-‘Udhri (d. after 630/1232–1233)
- ⑪ = ‘Alī b. Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. al-Walid al-Qurashī (d. 635/1237–1238)
- ⑫ = Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan *al-marūf bi-bn* Abi l-Rijāl (d. 730/1329–1330)
- ⑬ = al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Muṭahhar b. al-Qāsim
- ⑭ = ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī (b. 593/1196–1197, d. Sha‘bān 667/April 1268)
- ⑮ = Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Muṭahhar b. al-Qāsim (d. 728/1327–1328)
- ⑯ = Imām al-Mahdi li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258)
- ⑰ = the unknown scribe of MS Ambrosiana C 96.
- ⑱ = Muḥyi al-Dīn Muḥammad (or: Ḥumayd) b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Walid al-Qurashī al-Anf (d. 623/1226)
- ⑲ = al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Alī b. al-Muzaffar al-‘Alawī al-‘Abbāsī (p. 330 f.)
- ⑳ = *al-qādi* Manṣūr b. Ismā‘il b. Qāsim al-Ṭāī (p. 330 f.)

عليهم السلام انه قال من رآه صلى الله عليه ان تدخل اهل بيته لحضرته
 بن عباس بن محمد لا تدخل اهل بيته النار وقد هو مقام السقاغة وقيل هو
 الدماء البصر والفتوح وفي الاخره الثواب والجنة **سوره لم يكن قوله تعالى**
 الذين امنوا وعملوا الصالحات اولئك هم خير البرية الى اخر السوره حملا لبريه خير البرية
 لانه صلوات الله عليهم **روي حديثه** عن النبي صلى الله عليه قال على خير البرية
 من الى فقد كفر **وعن** عظمه بن سعد قال دخلنا على حازم بن عبد الله وفيه
 كثير فعلمنا له امرنا عن هذا الرجل على بن ابي طالب قال فرجع حازم بن عبد الله
 ذلك وحمل النبي **وعن بن عباس** قال اسكنت فاطمه الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه
 ما يعير بها نساء فربن ان اناك روي عن ابي امانه قال قال لها النبي صلى الله عليه
 اما ترى ان الله يعطى اهل بيته من اهل بيته ولما روي عن ابي امانه
 وعملوا الصالحات **سوره العنقره قوله تعالى** الى الذين امنوا وعملوا الصالحات
 بالحق ونواصوا بالصبر هل هو على بن ابي طالب وقيل الذين امنوا او بكر وعملوا
 الصالحات وعملوا الصالحات عمر ونواصوا بالحق عثمان ونواصوا بالبر علي بن
 بن عباس وروي من قول **سوره الكثر قوله تعالى** انا اعطيتك الكثر وقيل لربك
 والخزان ساسك هو لربك نسب نورا السوره ان قرنتها والوا ان يجزا
 لمضمون **لصبر** لا اوله بقوم فقام بعد موته منقطع اسرع فمرات السوره بكثر
 اللهم واعطاه من لبر لا د ما لخصته العر وقيل يوتي له اس سبع عشر سمه
 درس ابتر وقيل قال عفته بن ابي عطاء الله عليه ابتر وقيل في العار
 بن ابي سايع عن النبي صلى الله عليه فقال **لكن هو لبر** فتر لبره فامسا
 الكثر هل يبره الجنة وقيل الخير الكثير وقيل العران وقيل لبره وقيل لبره
 وقيل العفة وقيل المعجزات وقيل السقاغة وقيل الشرايع وقيل المشرك الكثير الطيب
وقيل الصيغ الريع **وجب ان يحمل على الكل** لانه تعالى اعطاه جمع ذلك وانقل
 سئله الى يوم القيمة وكذا جازي لاني علمهم الاحصاء والعقد وجمع سله ولعل وفان
 عليها السله وروى انه صلى الله عليه قال **لكن** كل له انما التوهم
 غضبتهم الامسسين **لكن** بابا التوهم او عصمتها وروى الساعلي حمله ما وعظما
 واسألهم بعد ان جعلنا من شجره المسجد وان لمخفناه ونبتلنا سقاغتهم
 برحمته ومنه انه يجمع ارجح الراحمين لم كتاب نفسه العاهل عن فضائل الطالبين
 والعلق على محمد ولله يوم بالمشرك من روي لبر الذي هو يومه اربع واربعين

Plate 2: al-ʿAnsī Codex, f. 41b. Last page of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī’s copy of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī’s *Tanbih al-ghāfilīn*, concluded with a colophon (lines 28–29) dated 13 Rabi’ II 644/28 August 1246.

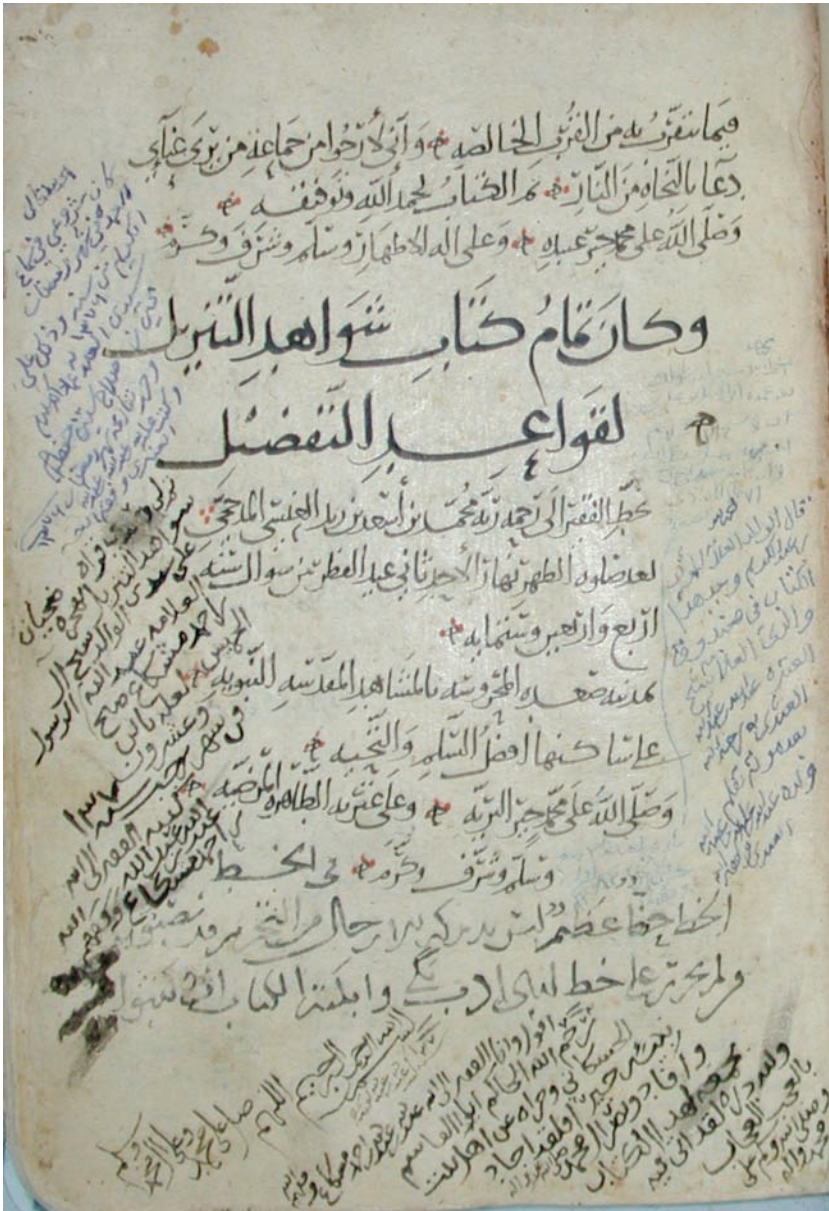


Plate 3: al-'Ansī Codex, f. 174a. End of copy of 'Ubayd Allāh al-Haskānī's *Shawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawā'id al-tafḍīl fi l-āyāt al-nāzila fi ahl al-bayt*, with a colophon by Muḥammad b. As'ad dated 2 Shawwāl 644/10 February 1247.

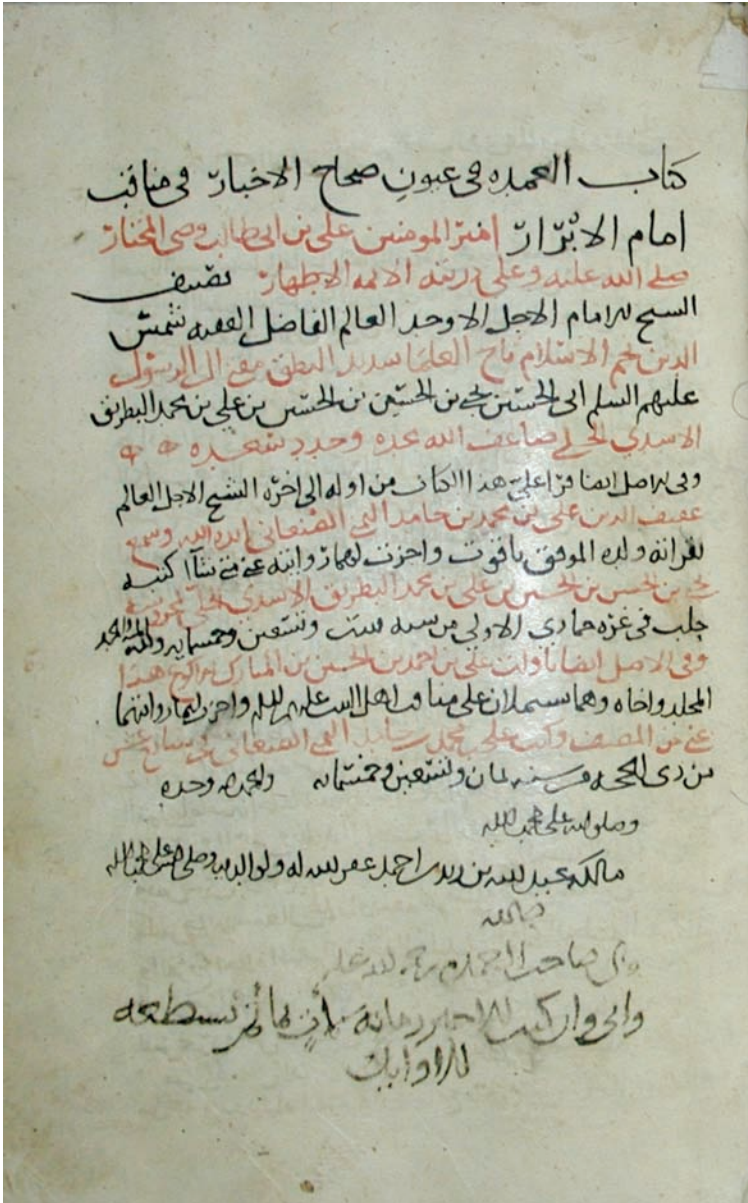


Plate 4: al-'Ansī Codex, f. 175a. Title page of 'Abd Allāh al-'Ansī's copy of Ibn al-Bīṭrīq's *al-'Umda fī 'uyūn shihāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār*. Here, al-'Ansī names himself as the owner of the copy of the text.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب زدني علماً وحكماً ووفى لحسن الدين
 احبر السح لفاضل العالم الكامل احمد بن محمد المعروف بشيخ كناه واجازته
 قال احبرنا الفقيه الفاضل بها الدين علي بن احمد بن الحسين المعروف بالاكوي فضايله
 قال احبرنا عمده الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد المصعاني مناو له وسامع
 بحسن من دي الحمر من سنة هان وسبعين ومستماني قال احبرني محمد بن الحسين
 بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الاسدي الجلي لبحر وسنه جلب في عزه
 جهادي الاولى من سنة ست وسبعين ومستماني فراه وهو المصنف لهذا
 الكتاب قال الحمد لله سكر الخليل الاله واسدينا لم يدعنا في . وتنا على
 حسن بلايه . ودفعه الى الواجب من كتابه . ونخبره معده لوم لقائه . القادر
 لقائه بنينا عن ارباب القدره العالم لنفسه . ندرتها عن علوم البشر الى المجرود
 ازلا وابد التوفيق عن سوا العبر . وصل الله على سيدنا محمد خيره الخيره وسعيه
 المحسن وعلى اله من الله الامم من الاله الامم الزهر . مطلع صباح ونوره . ونف كتابه
 لما اكثر اختلاف الناس والعام في منافع امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب صلوات الله
 عليه وسلامه . وذهب الناس في ذلك كله ذهب وصنف كل فرق من مناقه
 على قدر وسعه وطافته . وما وصل اليه من طرقة وروايه وان اختلفت
 في الاعتقاد الامانه من عدمه وتلخص مع ان سائر اهل الاسلام مجمعون على
 القول بامامته اجماعا لا يدخله شوب عزام . ولا يعتبره خوب انام بل يشوعاه
 المؤيد في الزمى ونهايه الباحث في الروي اذ وجوهها عن وحجج هو في
 وبن نبوي واتباع من عدو وفي . ورايت كثر طلبه العلم الا من علم الله
 مكين على امر استفعال على ما وضعه لهم مستلخهم من المصنفين في الاصول
 والفروع اجلاذ امتهم الى اجه التقليد واطرو احوال وطفه النظر في موضع
 الدليل من المصلين الذين هما شيخ اصول الهدى والسيد اجمع الدين
 لسر محمد فناس ولا تخمين بل هو موسس علمه كتاب السبع وما يصح من
 الرسول الحسن ان من لا يراعيها طالب للمعلم من غير سبيله . ومفاتيح ولونه
 من غير يابده وديله انا في ذلك عرقا مع ما كان يسبق من سوال العصر السابق

Plate 5: al-'Ansi Codex, f. 175b. Opening of 'Abd Allāh al-'Ansi's copy of Ibn al-Bīṭrīq's *al-'Umda* where 'Abd Allāh indicates his own chain of transmission linking him to the author of the work.

الصديقون بلنه فقد استنوا به اللقط فأذا اذ الاحار عن اختلافهم في اللغ
 وهو اسحق الامامه فعال وهو افضاهم بسبق على كونه صدقاً اماماً وهذا
 مع الوجه الثالث واذا كان الصديق هو الملازم للصدق الزلم عليه ومن صدق
 عمله قوله فيسبح ان خص هذه اللفظه بما هو المومنين على بن ابي طالب عليه السلام انه
 لم يعص الله على مخلوق ولم يشرك بالله تعالى في لازم الصديق ودام عليه وصدق
 عمله قوله في احصاء هذه اللفظه به دون غيره 4
 محمد محبوب ومحمد اخيه يتخللان لا ينزخان ما ينزبان
 واسم هو المستفاد لا الميز الكاذب من قاله ولا اللقب 5

خذ الخزان الاول من عمون صحاح لمرحله في مناقب امام الابرار علي بن
 ابي طالب صلوات الله وسلامه والحمد لله وحده وصلواته
 على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلامه وافق الفراع منه يوم الخميس
 اول حيسر شهر جمادى الاولى سنة ثمان مائة واربعمائة وخمسين في نجايه
 وسلوه الخزان الثاني اياه وله صلى الله عليه وسلم اعلى عليهم خالص النفل

الخزان الثاني من العمدة في عمون صحاح الاخبار
في مناقب امام الابرار امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب
الله عليه وعلى آله الطهاره وسلم
تصنيف الشيخ الاجل الأوحيد العالم الفاضل الفقيه
شعير الدين محمد بن ابي السلام تاج العلماء استند
النطق فقي الى الرسول عليهم السلام الى الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب
بن الحسين بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد بن ابي طالب
الاستدرك الخلق ضاعف الله محبه وسدده
والحمد لله وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلامه

Plate 6: al-'Ansī Codex, f. 243b. Colophon concluding Part One of 'Abd Allāh al-'Ansī's copy of Ibn al-Biṭriq's *al-'Umda* and announcing Part Two, written in alternating black and red lines.

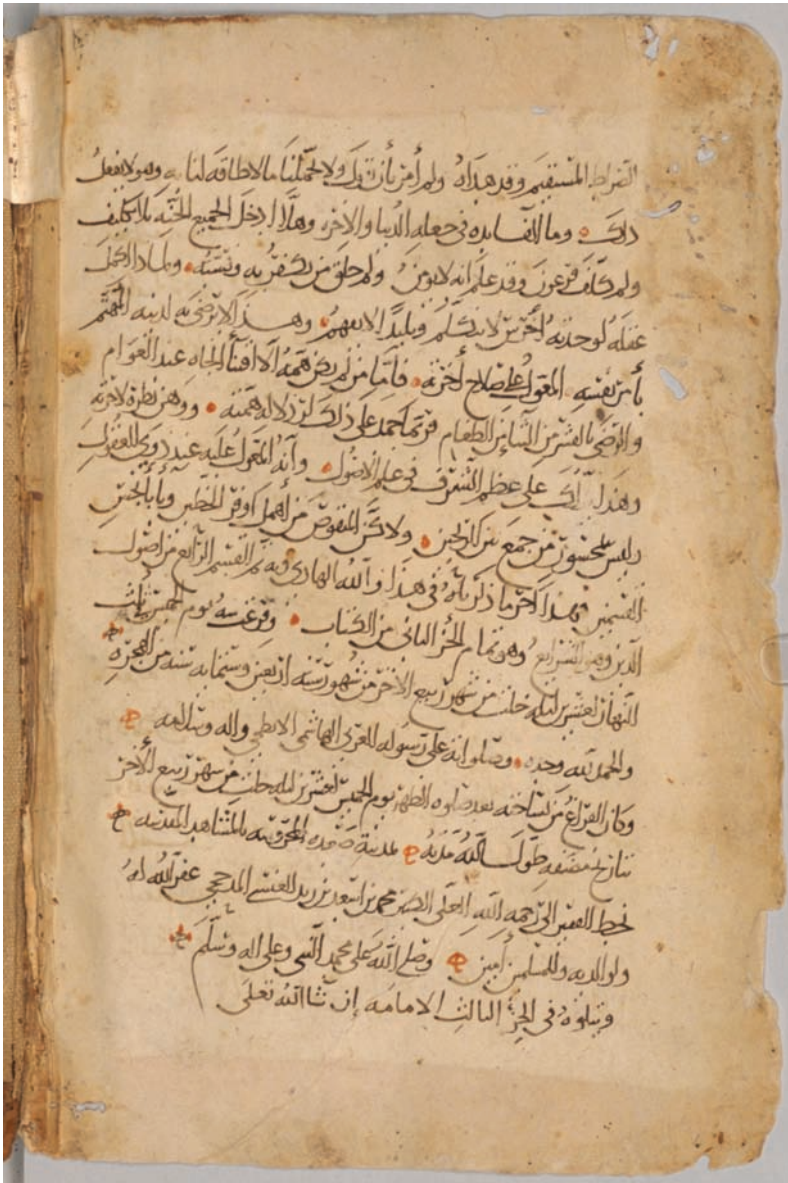


Plate 7: MS BSB, Munich, Cod. Arab. 1273, f. 152b. End of Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-ʿAnsī's copy of the *Kitāb al-Mahajja al-bayḍāʾ fi uṣūl al-dīn*, the *opus magnum* of his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd with colophon dated 20 Rabīʿ II 640/17 October 1242.

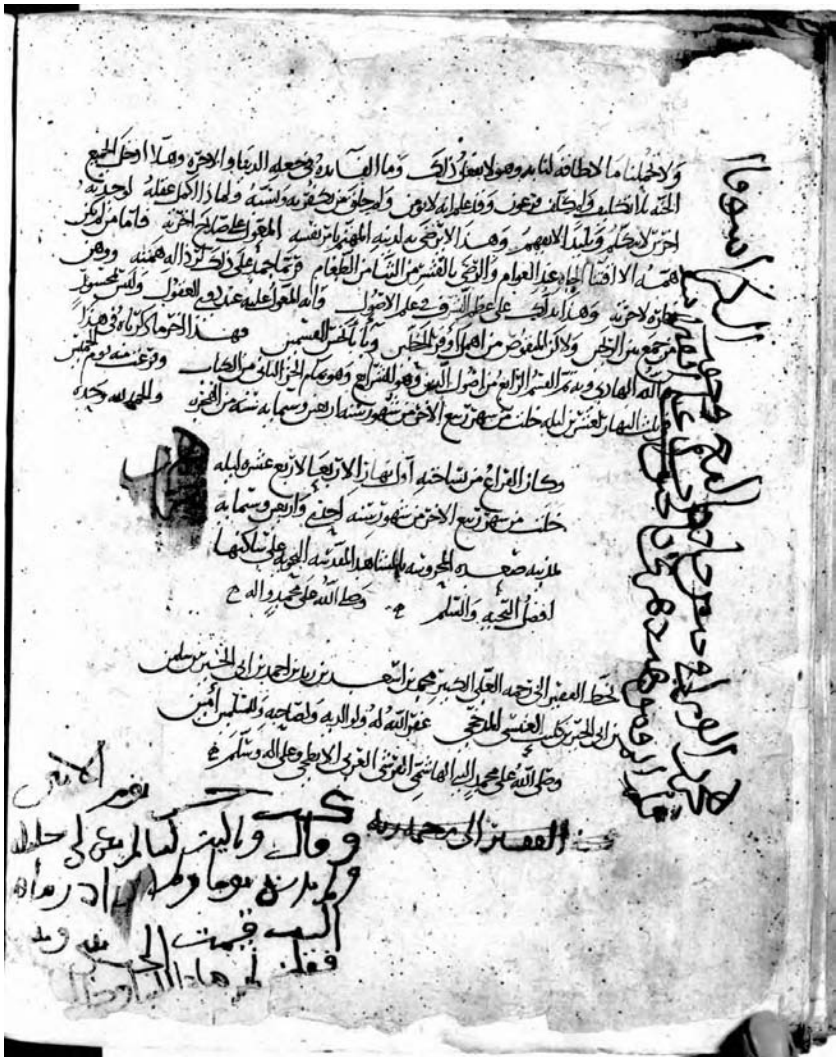


Plate 8: MS BSB, Munich, Cod. Arab. 1286, f. 224b. End of Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Ansī's copy of the *Kitāb al-Mahajja al-baydāʾ fi uṣūl al-dīn*, the *opus magnum* of his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd with colophon dated 14 Rabīʿ II 641/1 October 1243.

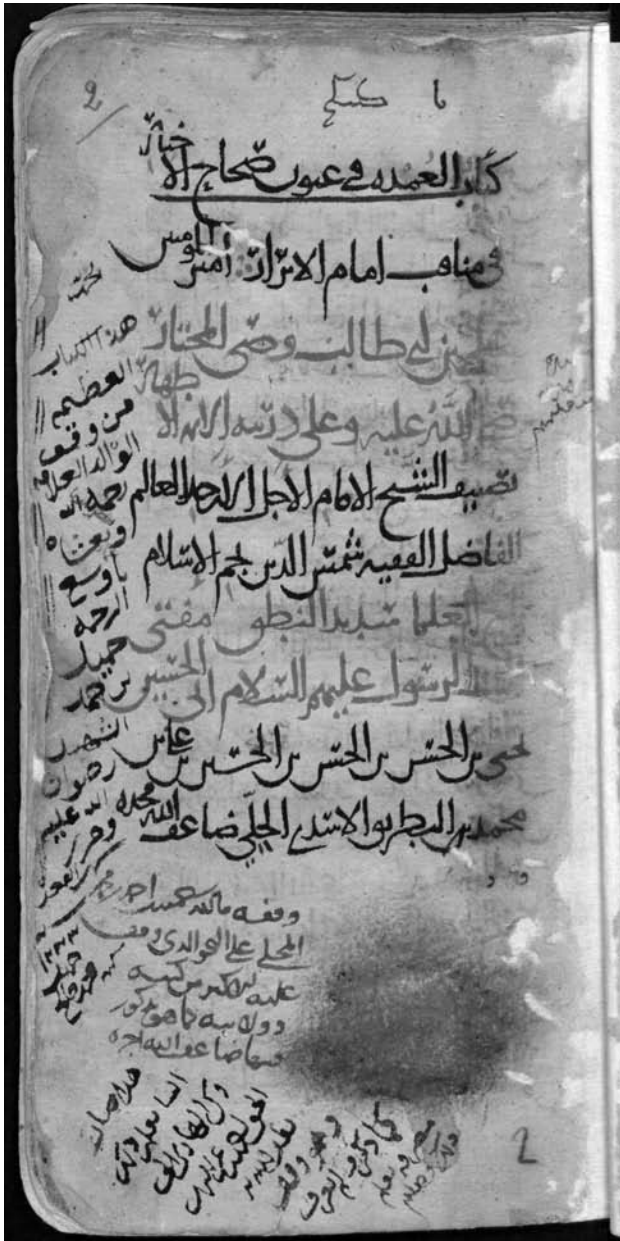


Plate 9: MS Ambrosiana, Milan, C 96, f. 2a. Title page of a Yemenite manuscript of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda*.

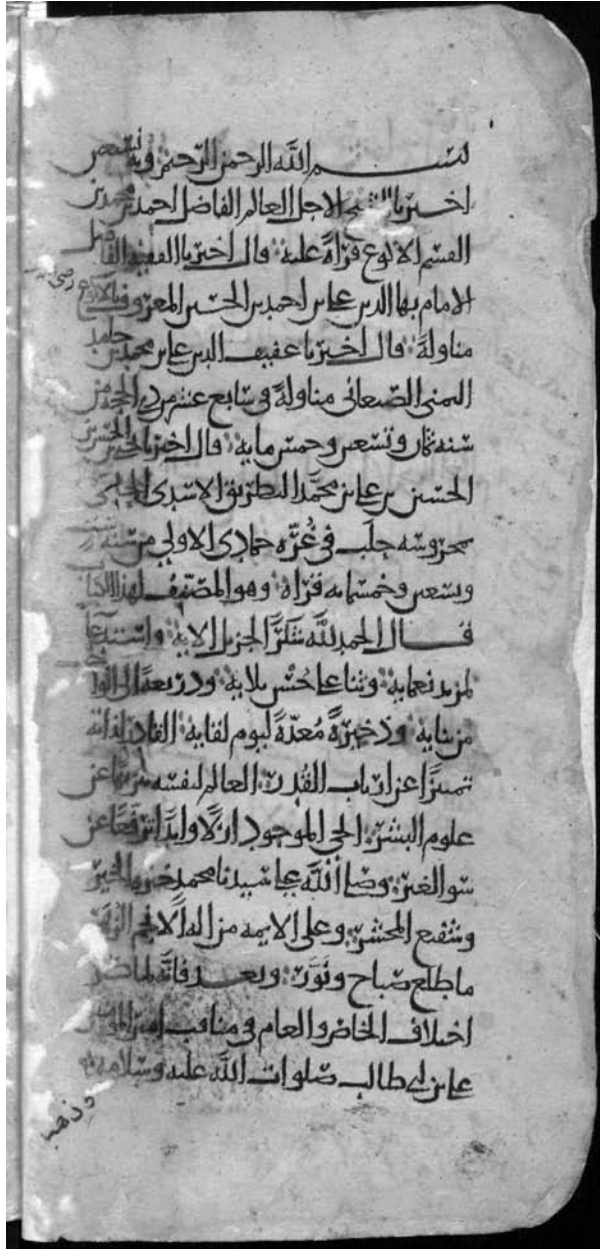


Plate 10: MS Ambrosiana, Milan, C 96, f. 2b.
Opening of the text of Ibn al-Bitriq's 'Umda.

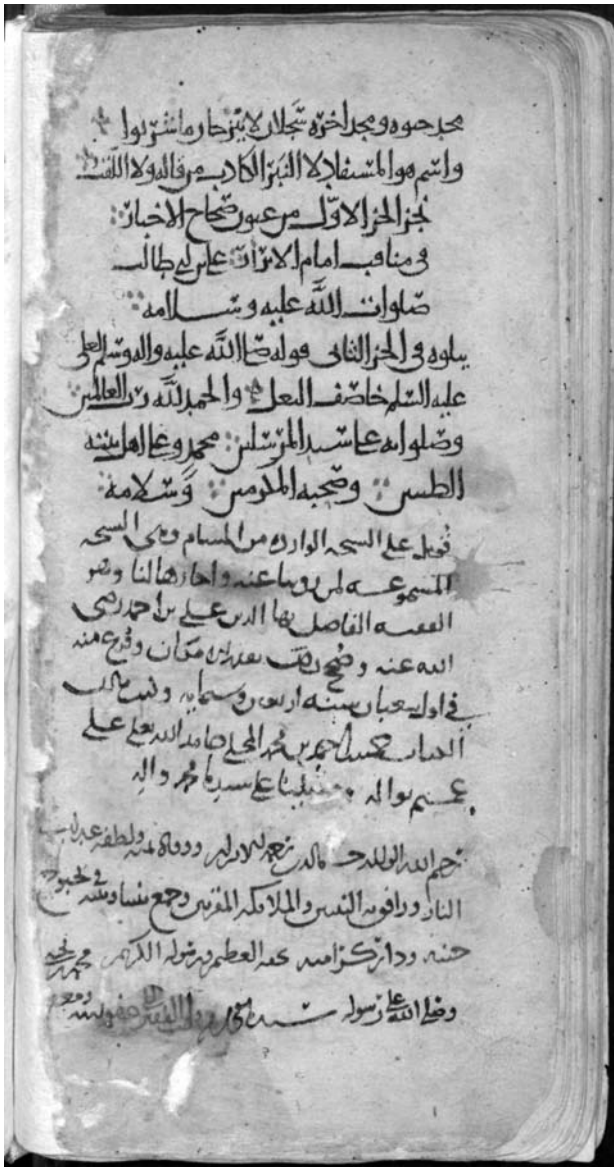


Plate 11: MS Ambrosiana, Milan, C 96, f. 137b. End of Volume One of Ibn al-Bitriq's *Umda*, containing a note in the hand of Humayd b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Muhalli al-Shan'ani (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254), stating that he had collated the copy with the one that was read to Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Akwa', a task he had completed on 1 Sha'bān 640/24 January 1243.

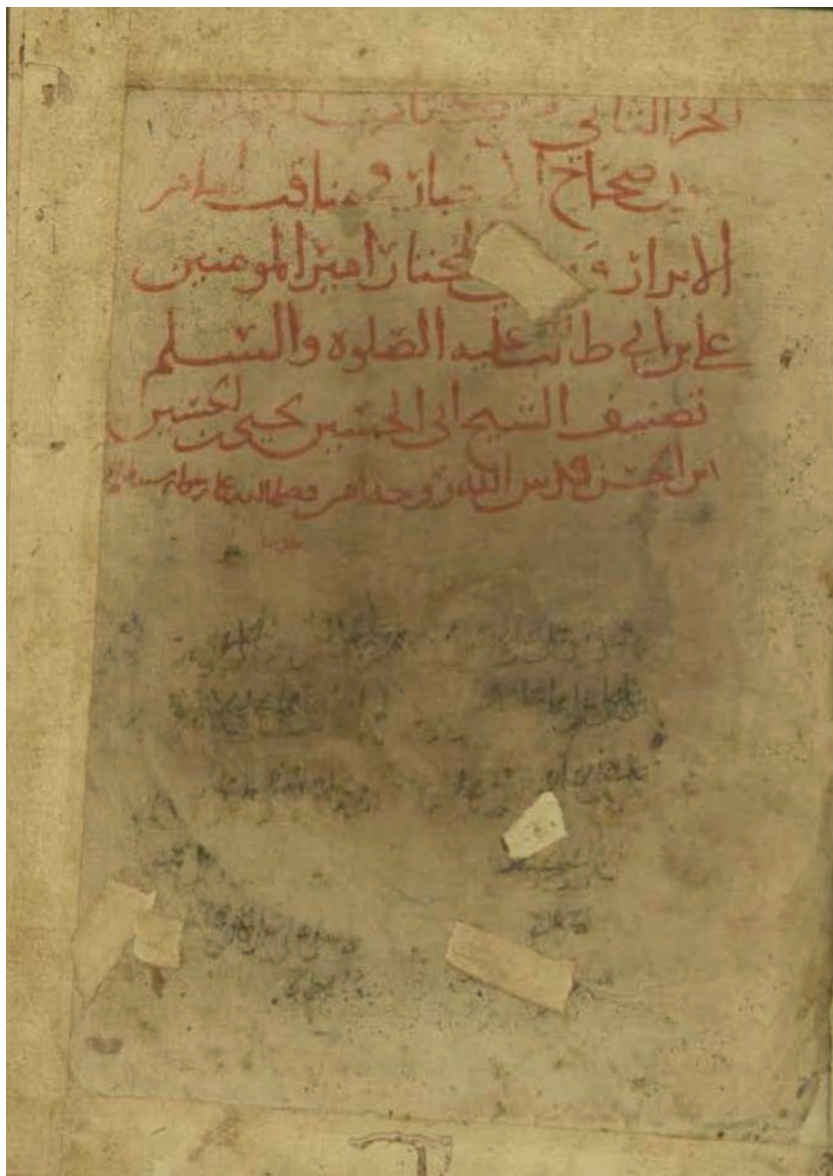


Plate 12: MS Majlis 8981, title page. Copy of Ibn Bitrīq's *Umda*.

بالتمتع في لا تدلس بعد السن والركر احصر من الامه
 ويدل عليه ايضا هذه الاحصار الواردة من المصنفين
 بله حريل وحسب وعلى وهو اصلهم فلما ذكر
 عليا عليه السلام مع هذين المذكورين ودخل في لفظه
 الصدقة وهما النسابتين ولا امام من اراد افراده عليه
 السلام عنهما بما لا يكون لهما وهي الامامة فقال صلى
 الله عليه واله وهو اصلهم فليس في لفظه الصدقة
 بقا اصل الا انه صلى الله عليه واله قال الصدقة هو بله وقد
 استودا في اللفظ ما اراد الاحصار عن اجلا في المعنى
 وهو اسحق والامامة فقال وهو اصلهم واد اثار
 الصدقة هو امتلازم للصدقة والام عليه ومصدق
 عمله قوله صدق في احصر هذه اللفظ ما من المومنين
 على ان يطالب صواب الله عليه لانه لم يعص الله
 بعد خلق ولم يسترك الله به في فعله الملق
 وادام عليه وصدقه عمله قوله فصيح احصا صفة
 اللفظ به دور غيره **م** نجد حيو ونجد اخرى **م** خلا
 واد الجلي ان خست تعوز كان المعاني حسن كور نام
 وتريد طيب الطيب طيبا ان تشبه ابن قتادة **م**
 ثم الحز الاول من كتاب العمل في عبور صحاح الادا

Plate 13: MS Majlis 8981, p. 245. Copy of Ibn Bitrīq’s ‘Umda, end of text.

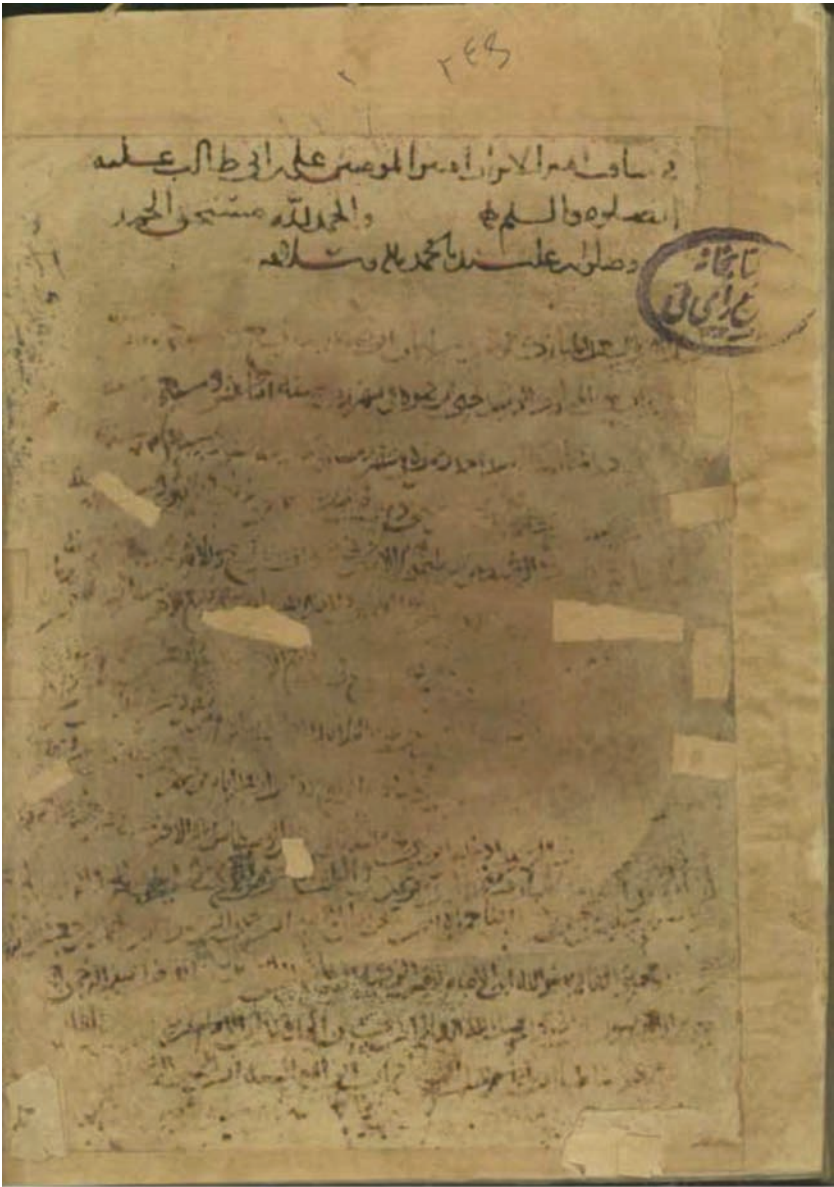


Plate 14: MS Majlis 8981, p. 246. Copy of Ibn Bīṭrīq's *ʿUmda*, end of text with barely readable *balāgh*.

