

Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril



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Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril

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TOWARD A RECONSTRUCTION OF ‘ABD ALLĀH B. ZAYD AL-‘ANSĪ’S OEUVRE AND THOUGHT¹

HASSAN ANSARI AND SABINE SCHMIDTKE

The extant works of Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Khayr al-‘Ansī al-Madhḥijī (593–Sha‘bān 667/1196 or 1197–April 1269), a towering figure in seventh/thirteenth-century Yemen, illustrate the importance of the collections of manuscripts of Yemeni provenance in European libraries and the significance of the digital repatriation of this heritage, as well as the at times precarious situation of private manuscript collections in Yemen during the second half of the twentieth century. Besides al-‘Ansī’s popular work on asceticism and morality, the *K. al-Irshād ilā najāt al-‘ibād*, which is preserved in countless manuscripts in the public and private libraries of Yemen as well as elsewhere (→ inventory, item 4), only a fraction of his oeuvre has come down to us. According to the later biographical tradition, this oeuvre originally comprised 105 titles.² The Berlin State Library holds three multitext volumes containing several writings attributed to al-‘Ansī, and for the majority of these works, the Berlin copy constitutes the only witness. All three codices are part of the collection of manuscripts that Eduard Glaser (1862–1919)

¹ The present study continues our series of studies devoted to al-‘Ansī. For previous studies in the series, see Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2017, chapters 9, 10, 11, 12; Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Zaydī Theology in 7th/13th Century Yemen: Facsimile Edition of “Kitāb al-Mahajja al-Bayḍā fī Uṣūl al-Dīn” of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī (d. 667/1269)* (MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286), Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 2016; Sabine Schmidtke, “Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydis of Yemen (6th/12th and 7th/13th Centuries),” *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 293 (2013), pp. 221–240. Thanks are due to the following libraries for providing us with digital copies of the codices referred to in this study and for granting us permission to include reproductions of selected images: in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz; in Cairo, the Ma‘had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-‘Arabiyya; in Munich, the Bavarian State Library; in Sa‘da, Maktabat Āl al-Antharī; in Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf and Mu‘assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Thaqāfiyya (Imam Zayd bin Ali Cultural Foundation, IZBACF); in Vienna, the Austrian National Library.

² Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr wa-majma‘ al-buḥūr fī tarājim rijāl al-Zaydiyya*, ed. Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Mu‘ayyadī, 4 vols., Sa‘da: Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 2004, vol. 3, p. 82; Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā (al-qism al-thālith) wa-yusammā Bulūgh al-murād ilā ma‘rifat al-isnād*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abbās al-Wajīh, 3 vols., McLean, VA: Mu‘assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Thaqāfiyya, 1421/2001, vol. 2, p. 612.

sold to the State Library in February 1887: MS Glaser 79 (on which see below), MS Glaser 111 (→ inventory, items 1, 3), and MS Glaser 123 (→ inventory, items 6, 8, 10, 17). The Bavarian State Library in Munich holds two precious partial copies of al-ʿAnsī’s magnum opus in theology, *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʾ* (→ inventory, item 9), which were brought to Europe by Giuseppe Caprotti (1862–1926) and purchased by the library in 1902. These are, again, the only extant witnesses of those parts of the book. Another comprehensive work by al-ʿAnsī is his *K. al-Tamyīz* (→ inventory, item 20), his most detailed refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya,³ which he wrote toward the end of his life. A unique manuscript of the book was kept in the personal library of Muḥammad al-Sārī in Sanaa and at some point came to the attention of ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī.⁴ At the latter’s initiative, the codex was included among the manuscripts that were microfilmed by one of the Egyptian missions to Yemen, which took place in 1951–1952, 1964, and 1974. Since that time, the physical original has been destroyed, and all that remains is the microfilm surrogate of the book. Over the past two decades, the writings attributed to al-ʿAnsī that are preserved in European collections have increasingly come to the attention of scholars worldwide. Several refutations of the Muṭarrifiyya that are preserved in two of the Berlin codices (MSS Glaser 79, 111) have been published by ʿAbd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī in his 2002 study on the Muṭarrifiyya (→ inventory, item 3, and the discussion on MS Glaser 79 below). Al-ʿAnsī’s *al-Jawāb ʿalā l-fa-qīh Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shāfiʿī* (→ inventory, item 6) and *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* (→ inventory, item 17) were published in 2016 and 2017 (2nd. ed. 2022) by Jamāl al-Shāmī as private publications. The two Munich codices containing significant portions of al-ʿAnsī’s *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʾ* have been consulted for a number of publications, and the more complete of the two, Cod. arab. 1286, was published as facsimile with introduction and indices.⁵ An edition of al-ʿAnsī’s collected epistles, currently under preparation by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan al-Sarrājī, has been announced,⁶ and it is likely that Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī’s recently published *Maṣādir ʿilm al-kalām al-zaydī* contains further information on al-ʿAnsī’s dogmatic writings.⁷ A thorough analysis of al-ʿAnsī’s doctrinal thought remains, however, a desideratum, and the identity and authenticity of some of the writings that are attributed to him still need to be established.

³ For the Muṭarrifiyya, see below.

⁴ ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman*, Abu Dhabi: al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfi, 2004, p. 124. Nothing is known about the holdings of this library, which is known only by name; see Sabine Schmidtke, “Preserving, Studying, and Democratizing Access to the World Heritage of Islamic Manuscripts: The Zaydī Tradition,” *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 23 [n.s., 4] (2017), pp. 103–166, here p. 157.

⁵ See above, n. 1. The first scholar to have consulted al-ʿAnsī’s *Maḥajja* in the Bavarian State Library was Wilferd Madelung, who briefly mentions the work and its author in his 1965 monograph as an example of a later Zaydi theologian who occasionally preferred the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) over those of the Bahshamiyya; see Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965, pp. 222, 254.

⁶ See ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʿallifin al-Zaydiyya*, 2nd enl. and rev. ed., 2 vols., Sanaa: Dār al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī, 1439/2018, vol. 1, p. 572.

⁷ Sharaf al-Dīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, *Maṣādir ʿilm al-kalām al-zaydī: Bibliyūghrāfiyya li-l-maṭbūʿ wa-l-makḥṭūʿ ḥattā q[arn] 9h/15m*, Kuwait: Dār Fāris, 2021. We were unable to consult this publication.



Figure 1. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1273 (title page of volume two of al-'Ansi's *al-Mahajja al-baydā*).

الضراط المستقيم وقد هداه ولم يؤمن بان تولى ولا حملنا ما لا طاقة لنا به وهو لا يفعل
 ذلك وما لالف اياه في جعله الدنيا والاخرة وهذا يدخل الجميع الجنة لا يكلف
 ولم يكلف فحزون وقد علم انه لا يؤمن ولا خلق من يقربه ونسبه وما زاد الخلق
 عنقه لو حذبه الحرس لا يشامه وبلد الابهام وهذا الاخرجه لئنه اللهم
 باسم نفسه القوا على صلاح اخرجه فاما من لم يرضه الا افسا الياه عبد العوام
 والرضي بالفسر من الشا من الطعام فمما حمل على ذلك لئلا يهتبه وهو نظره لاخره
 وهذا انك على عظم الشرف في علم الاصول وانه القوا عليه عدد روي العقول
 وليس ملحسوز من جمع من الخرس ولا من المنقوص من العمل او في الخرس وبما بالجنس
 القسيز همد الاخر ما ذكرناه في هذا والله الهادي به ثم القسيز الزايع من اصول
 الدين وهو التسريع وهو تمام الخرز الماني من الضباب وقوعه يوم الخميس الثالث
 للثهار العشر ليلة خلت من شهر ربيع الاخر من شهر سنة اربعين وستمائة سنة من الهجرة
 والحمد لله وحده وصاوايته على رسوله العزري الهاشمي الاطير والله وسالعه
 وكان القرائع من تسليحه بعد صاوه الظهور يوم الخميس العشر لله ط من شهر ربيع الاخر
 تنازع مفسده طول الله عليه مائة صفة في قوله المشاهدة القديسه
 لحظ القعير الزوجه الله العلي الصبر محمد بن اسعير بن ربه العشر المدحج عفر الله له
 واولاديه والمسلمين امين وصل الله على محمد النبي وعلى اله وسلم
 وبقاؤه في الخرز الثالث الامامه ان شاء الله تعالى

Figure 2. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 152v (final page of volume two of al-'Ansi's al-Mahajja al-bayda', with colophon).

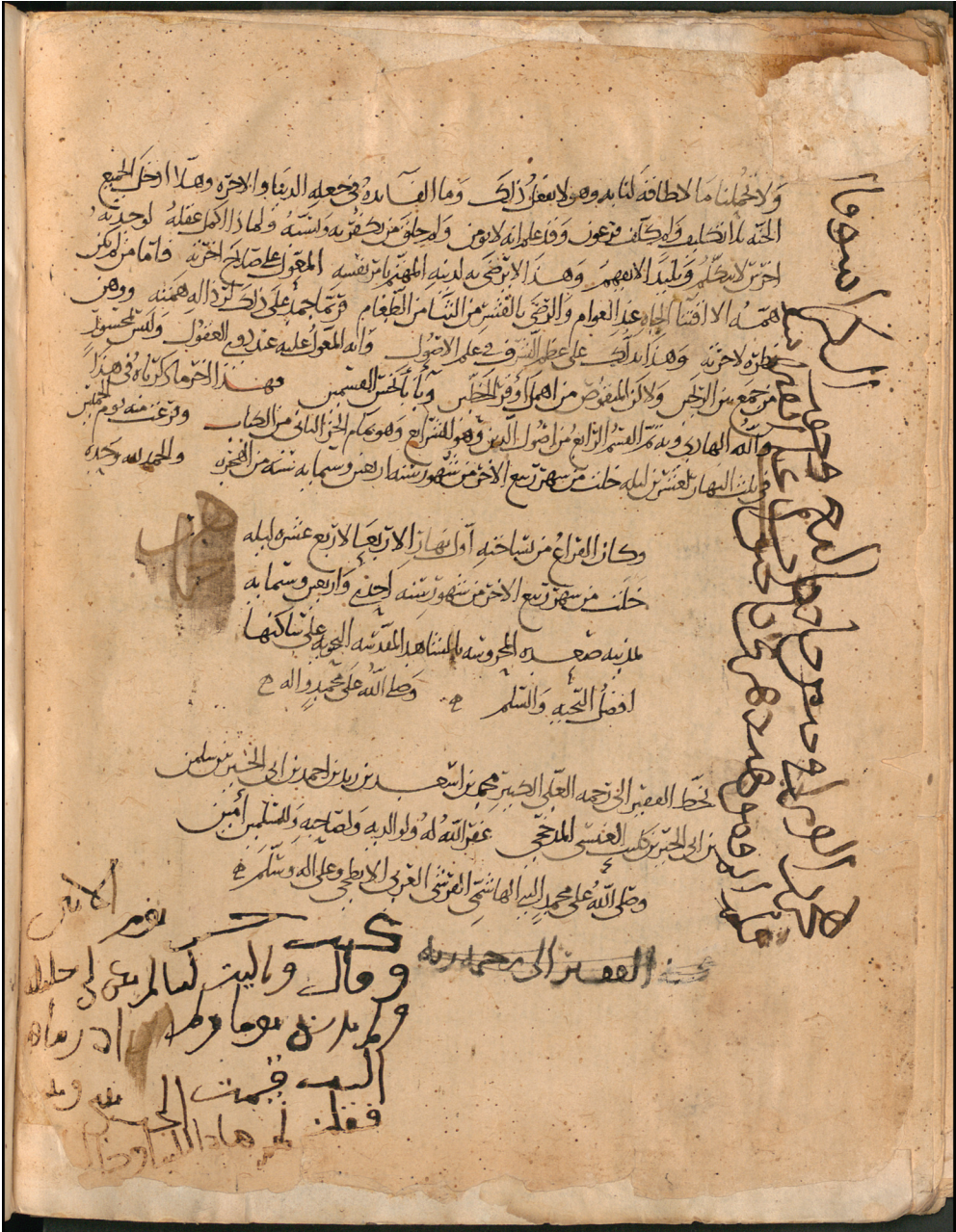


Figure 3. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Arab. 1286, fol. 225v (final page of volume two of al-'Ansi's *al-Mahajja al-bayḍā'*, with colophon).

SOURCES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AL-‘ANSĪ’S OEUVRE

The earliest attested instances of reception of al-‘Ansī’s works date back to the generation of his immediate students. Al-‘Ansī’s nephew, Muḥammad b. As‘ad b. Zayd al-‘Ansī, transcribed the two Munich copies of al-‘Ansī’s *Maḥajja*. Cod. arab. 1273, comprising parts 2, 3, and 4, is dated 20 Rabī II 640/17 October 1242 (figs. 1, 2), the same day given by al-‘Ansī as the date of the work’s completion. This indicates that al-‘Ansī dictated the work to his nephew. A year later, on 14 Rabī II 641/1 October 1243, Muḥammad b. As‘ad completed another copy of parts 1 through 4 of the *Maḥajja* (Cod. arab. 1286; fig. 3). In view of the close relationship between uncle and nephew, it is likely that Muḥammad b. As‘ad studied with al-‘Ansī.⁸ Muḥammad b. Jābir al-Rāī was another pupil of al-‘Ansī. He is credited with two works on legal theory, *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn* and *Taḥrīr al-uṣūl*, both of which seem to be lost. In his *Hidāya* Muḥammad b. Jābir is said to have relied heavily on al-‘Ansī’s writings (most probably his *K. al-Taḥrīr* [→ inventory, item 18] and/or his *al-Durra al-manzūma* [→ inventory, item 2]) and to have included numerous quotations from them.⁹ The brothers al-Mufaḍḍal b. Maṣṣūr b. al-‘Afīf (d. 682/1283)¹⁰ and Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr b. al-‘Afīf, who were descendants of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq (d. 304/916), are also mentioned among the pupils of al-‘Ansī. Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr is credited with several dogmatic works, most importantly the popular *Jumal al-Islām fi uṣūl al-dīn*, on which he wrote an autocommentary, *Nihāyat al-uqūl al-kāshifa li-ma‘ānī al-Jumal fi l-uṣūl*.¹¹ Like his teacher al-‘Ansī,

⁸ Muḥammad b. As‘ad was otherwise mostly known as a scribe. For copies of manuscripts in his hand that have come down to us, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 234–235 and passim. Al-‘Ansī’s son, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh (fl. 689/1290), who is said to have been a scholar (*‘ālim*), also studied with his father; on him, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 2, p. 57 no. 400. See also below.

⁹ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *al-Mustaṭāb fi tarājim rijāl al-Zaydiyya al-atyāb*, MS Sanaa, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, fol. 83v (a digital surrogate is accessible through the Zaydi Manuscript Tradition Project, ZMT [= ZMT 01339] at Hill Museum & Manuscript Library; <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/144249> [accessed 25 January 2022]). See also Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 4, p. 230 no. 1120; vol. 4, pp. 513–514 no. 1369; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 942 no. 587; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 179; al-Wajīh, *Alām*, vol. 2, pp. 227–228 no. 1110. For the Āl al-Rāī, see also Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘at al-aḥqāb al-yamaniyya*, 7 vols., Beirut: al-Mu‘assasa al-Jāmi‘iyya li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘, 1431/2010, vol. 2, pp. 381–382.

¹⁰ On him, see Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fols. 84r–v; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 425–426 no. 1262.

¹¹ According to Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (*Mustaṭāb*, fols. 84v–85r), Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr also composed a comprehensive book entitled *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, containing a refutation of the Mu‘tazila. See also Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī fi l-‘aṣr al-abbāsī 132–656h/750–1259m*, 4 vols., Beirut: Manshūrāt al-‘Aṣr al-Ḥadīth, 1407/1987, vol. 4, p. 126 no. 98; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 125. Al-Murtaḍā’s son, Muḥammad b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 732/1331–32), is also related to have written a commentary on Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr’s *Jumal al-Islām*. See Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fol. 84v; al-Wajīh, *Alām*, vol. 2, p. 337; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 127. For Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr b. al-‘Afīf, see Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fols. 84v–85r; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 513–515 no. 1369; see also ‘Abd al-Malik b. Aḥmad b. Qāsim Ḥamid al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aḡhann fi ma‘rifat al-mu‘allifīn bi-l-Yaman wa-muṣannafātihim fi kull fann*, 3 vols., n.p.: Dār al-Ḥārīthī, 1415/1994–95, vol. 3, pp. 173–174 no. 928; al-Wajīh, *Alām*, vol. 2, p. 482. Jamāl al-Shāmī has published an uncritical edition of the *Jumal* on the basis of a single witness of the text, copied by Ḥasan b. Mahdī b. Muḥammad al-Muhallā and dated 2 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1063/24 October 1653 (Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr b. al-‘Afīf, *Jumal al-Islām wa-uṣūl dīn Muḥammad ‘alayhi aḥḍal al-ṣalāt wa-l-salām*, ed. Jamāl al-Shāmī, [private publication], 1438/2016); for a surrogate of the manuscript, MS Mecca, Maktabat Jāmi‘at Umm al-Qurā‘ 13613, pp. 77–96, see <https://dorar.uqu.edu.sa/uquui/handle/20.500.12248/105653> (accessed 2 January 2022). The physical codex is kept

in the library of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr in Sanaa; the multitext volume comprises nine texts, eight of which are briefly described in the unpublished list of manuscript surrogates that were prepared for Riḍwān al-Sayyid during his sojourn in Sanaa, 1989 through 1991; see “al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya: Hiya majmūʿa min al-rasāʾil al-khaṭṭiyya allatī qāma bi-taṣwīrihā al-Duktūr Riḍwān al-Sayyid athnāʿa tadrīsihi fī Jāmiʿat Ṣanʿā fī tisʿiniyyāt al-qarn al-māḍī min maktabāt khāṣṣa,” nos. 1, 23, 79, 166, 213 (*Jumal*), 295, 319, 359. The list is accessible at <https://baroudipublishing.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/d985d8b5d988d8b1d8a7d8aad8a7d984d985d8aed8b7d988d8b7d8a7d8aad8a7-d984d98ad985d98ad986d8a921-10-2015.pdf> (accessed 6 January 2022). Another copy of the *Jumal al-Islām* is preserved as MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf, *majāmiʿ* 49, fols. 21–24, copied by al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muhallā (d. 1070/1659) and dated Shawwāl 1063/August–September 1653; see Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayhī, ʿAbd al-Allāh al-Ḥibshī, and ʿAlī Wahhāb al-ʿAnīsī, *Fihrist makḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr Ṣanʿā*, [Sanaa]: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Irshād, 1404/1984, vol. 2, pp. 738–739. It is possible that the two copyists, al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad and Ḥasan b. al-Mahdī, are father and son and that the two copies are also related to each other. For al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad al-Muhallā, see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 2, pp. 388–389 no. 1340. A particularly precious copy that seems to date to 725/1325 is part of a multitext volume that also includes the autocommentary, *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl*. The codex, which was not accessible to us, is held in Maktabat al-Murtaḍā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān al-Wazīr in Hijrat al-Sirr; see ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt baʿḍa l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*, London: Muʿassasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1994, p. 49; ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir al-turāth fī l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*, 2 vols., McLean, VA: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 1422/2002, vol. 2, p. 382; see also al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 2, p. 482. Another witness of the *Jumal al-Islām* is preserved as MS Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya 3096, fols. 107–113, transcribed by Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd b. Fayṣal b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ward al-Sūdī al-Ḥimyarī al-Wasīlī (or al-Washilī) and dated 9 Jumādā I 1035/6 February 1626. For a description of the manuscript, see Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿIsawī et al., *Fihris al-makḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Dār al-makḥṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr, Ṣanʿā*, Qum: Maktabat Samāḥat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā al-Marʿashī al-Najafī al-Kubrā, 1426/1384/2005, vol. 1, p. 286. The same codex (fols. 115–136) also contains Yaḥyā’s autocommentary, *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl al-kāshifa li-maʿāni al-Jumal fī l-uṣūl* (in contrast to the *Jumal*, we were unable to consult this copy of the *Nihāya*); see ʿIsawī et al., *Fihris* (2005), vol. 1, p. 412; see also al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 125 (citing an older shelf mark, 1328); al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 2, p. 482 (citing yet another shelf mark, 169 *majāmiʿ*). MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf, *majāmiʿ* 10, fols. 1r–18v contains some kind of *taʿlīq* on the *Jumal al-Islām*. According to the title page, the codex was part of the library of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, and it is possible that he was also the copyist of the *taʿlīq*, which is identified on the title page as *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar fī maʿrifat dīn al-Islām jāmiʿ li-l-jumal wa-l-uṣūl min millat Muḥammad ʿalayhi al-salām taʿlīf al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma al-Fāḍil Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-ʿAffif*. The text concludes with *tamma Kitāb Jumal al-Islām li-l-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma | Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr b. al-ʿAffif | nuqila ʿalā nuskhāt al-Sayyid Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr | al-muṣannif*. Compared with the text of *Jumal al-Islām*, the *Mukhtaṣar* is clearly more detailed. The title page as well as the final words of the text point to Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr as its author. Moreover, paragraphs are regularly introduced by *qāla raḥimahu llāh*, clearly an addition by a later scribe rather than a commentator, since this formula is never followed by *aqūlu*. The text is therefore either identical with Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr’s *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl* or it represents an expanded version of his *Jumal al-Islām*.

The son of al-ʿAnīsī’s own teacher Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-amīr* al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (599–663/1202 or 1203–1264 or 1265), was likewise a student of al-ʿAnīsī. This renowned jurist and theologian wrote the popular *Yanābīʿ al-naṣiḥa fī l-ʿaqāʾid al-ṣaḥiḥa* in the field of *kalām* (ed. al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭṭawarī al-Ḥasanī, Sanaa: Dār al-Ḥikma al-Yamaniyya, 1418/1998; 2nd ed. Sanaa: Maktabat Badr, 1422/2001), and in the area of *fiqh*, his *Shifāʿ al-uwām fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām li-l-tamyīz bayna l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* (Sanaa: Jamʿiyyat ʿUlamāʾ al-Yaman, 1416/1996) was widely read. He specifically states that he received an *ijāza* from al-ʿAnīsī for the transmission of *Zawāʾid al-Ibāna*, a set of glosses by various scholars from northern Iran on the *Ibāna fī l-fiqh*, a collection of *fatāwā* of al-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥaqq al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) compiled by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hawsamī (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century; see al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 386). Al-ʿAnīsī,

Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr is said to have endorsed the doctrinal views of the *ahl al-bayt*, which he considered to be largely in agreement with those of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, and to have opposed those who followed the teachings of the Bahshamiyya.¹² Al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Wazīr (d. 732/1331), the son of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Maṣṣūr,¹³ and ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Salāma al-Ṣuraymī, the redactor of the legal *fatāwī* of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (“Abū l-Ṭayr,” d. 656/1258),¹⁴ transcribed in 718/1318–19 a copy of volume three of al-‘Anṣī’s most comprehensive theological summa, *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā’* (→ inventory,

in turn, transmitted al-Hawsamī’s *lbāna* and one of his commentaries on the work through the prominent Zaydi scholar and transmitter Aḥmad b. al-Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwa’ (Shu’la al-Akwa’), who in Rajab 644/November 1246 granted him an *ijāza* that includes “*K. al-lbāna wa-sharḥuhu*”; see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 9. Al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad was also a supporter of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, as is indicated by a poem he composed in praise of the latter (quoted in Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 215–217 no. 490, here p. 216). Moreover, in response to a question posed by al-Muṭaḥhar b. Yaḥyā and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Rijāl (on whom see below), al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn wrote a detailed account of the dispute between Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn and his opponents, especially Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ. This unique and so far unpublished source (figs. 6, 7) is preserved at the end of a copy of al-Ḥusayn’s *Shifā’ al-uwām* and is dated 1032/1622–23 (fig. 5). The same copy includes on its title page (fig. 4) a list of al-Ḥusayn’s writings containing some titles that are not mentioned elsewhere, including two refutations of the Muṭarrifiyya, entitled *Kitāb al-Barāhīn al-qawīyya fī l-radd ‘alā l-Muṭarrifiyya al-shaqīyya* and *Kitāb Niẓām durar al-aqwāl al-nabawīyya fī bayān kufr al-Muṭarrifiyya al-shaqīyya*. This copy of the *Shifā’* (among the numerous extant manuscripts of the text) was not consulted by any of the Zaydi biobibliographers, none of whom lists all the titles mentioned on its title page.

Information about al-‘Anṣī’s study with Badr al-Dīn in Rabī’ II 615/June–July 1218 is provided in a note include in al-Maswarī’s *Majmū’ al-ijāzāt* (p. 469) on al-‘Anṣī’s transmission of the *ḥadīth al-ṣamṣama*:

حديث الصمصمة ذكره الفقيه العلامة نضر الدين عمدة الموحدين عبد الله بن زيد بن أبي الخير بن أحمد العنسي رحمة الله عليه في ما رواه عن شيخه السيد الشريف الأمير العالم الورع الزاهد عضد الخلافة النبوية وشيخ العترة الفاطمية بدر الدين الداعي إلى الحق المبين محمد بن أحمد بن يحيى بن يحيى بن الحسين الهادي إلى الحق عليهم السلام فيما قرأه عليه وناوله بهجرة قطار حرسها الله تعالى من يده الطاهرة إلى يده يوم الثلاثاء لسبع ليال خلون من شهر ربيع الآخر من شهر سنة خمس عشرة وستمائة قال عبد الله بن زيد رحمه الله وقد عدت هنا ما لفظه ومنها خير المسلسلات قرأه عليه . . .

For Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 624/1227), see also Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 4, p. 174 no. 1082; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 909–912 no. 560.

¹² See Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 4, p. 515. See also below for a discussion of the doctrinal views of al-‘Anṣī and his followers.

¹³ On al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal, see Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fol. 84r; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 407–409 no. 1241; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 1118–1120 no. 701; al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 2, pp. 366–367 no. 1302; al-Ḥībshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 127. For the members of the Āl al-Wazīr, see al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Wazīr al-Ṣan’ānī, *Thabt (or Thabat) Banī l-Wazīr*, ed. Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Wazīr, Sanaa: Markaz al-Turāth wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamanī, 1441/2020. This work is crucial for an in-depth analysis of the development of doctrinal thought among the members of the al-Wazīr family, as well as their biographies. The edition, which is based on a unique copy in the Maktabat al-Awqāf in Sanaa, was not accessible to us during the preparation of this study.

¹⁴ *Al-Mufīd al-jāmi’ li-manẓimāt gharā’ib al-sharā’i’*. The work was accessible to us through MS London, British Library, Or. 3811, dated Jumādā II 688/June–July 1289; see Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1894, pp. 221–222 no. 346. For the work, see also al-Ḥībshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 631. For Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, see below. ‘Alī b. Salāma al-Ṣuraymī also transcribed in 659/1260–61 a copy of *al-Qamar al-munīr fī uqūd al-Taḥrīr* of Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā. For a surrogate of the manuscript (held in the Maktabat al-Awqāf) in the Ma’had al-Makḥṭūtāt al-‘Arabiyya, see <http://196.218.25.164/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=116983> (accessed 7 January 2022).

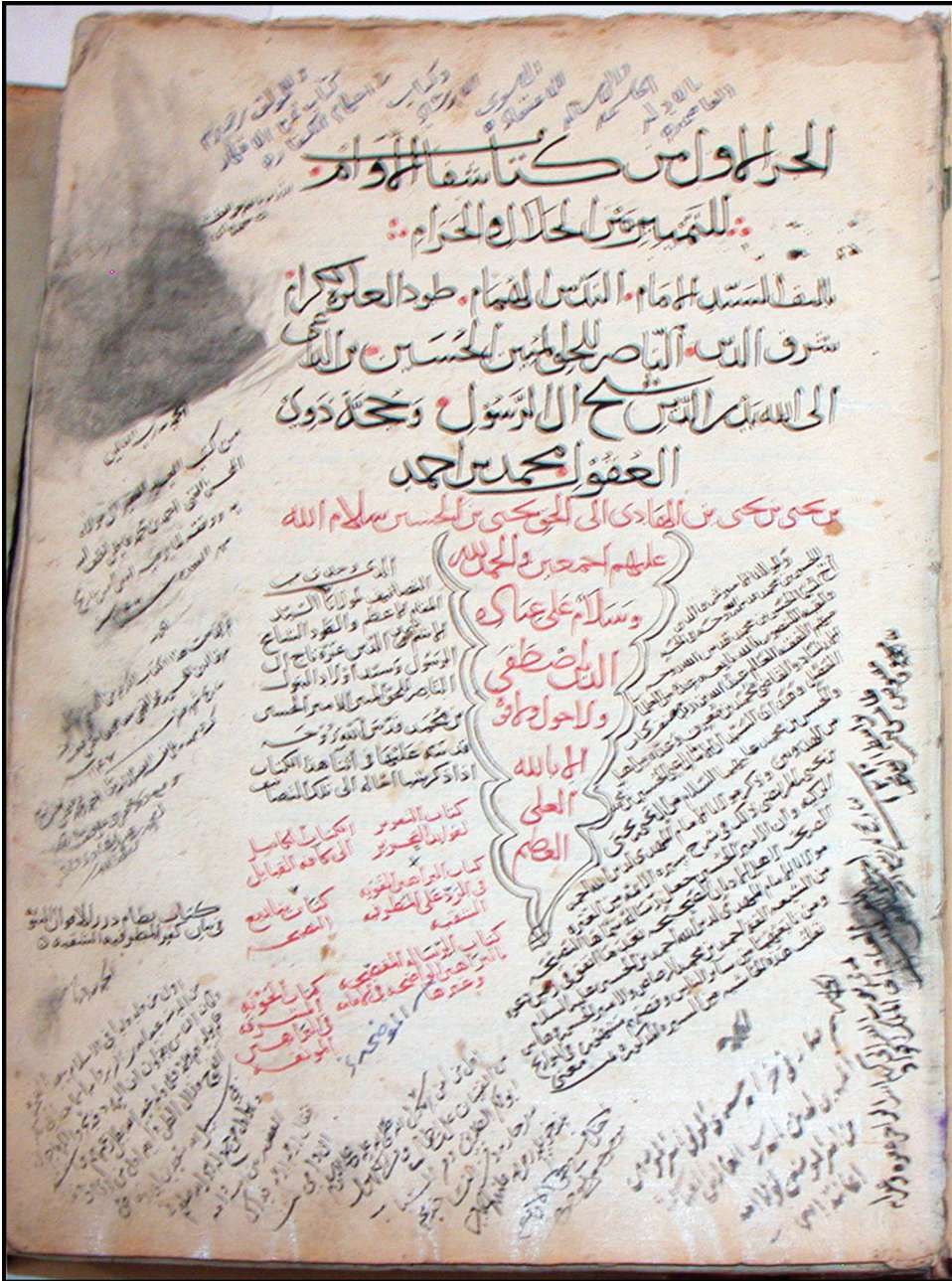


Figure 4. MS Yemen, private library (al-Husayn b. Badr al-Din, *Shifā' al-uwām*; title page).

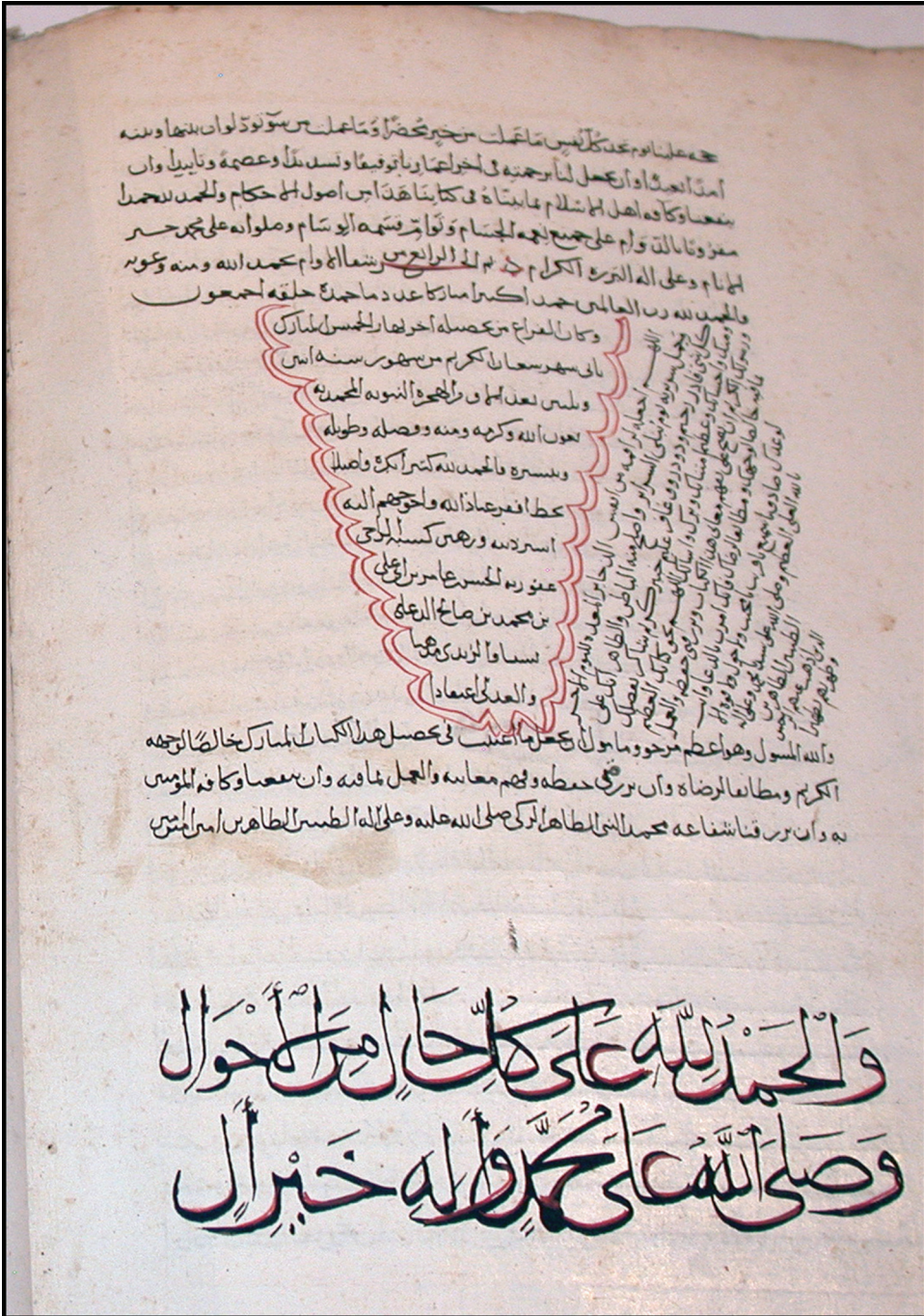


Figure 5. MS Yemen, private library (al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn, *Shifā' al-uwām*; end of text).

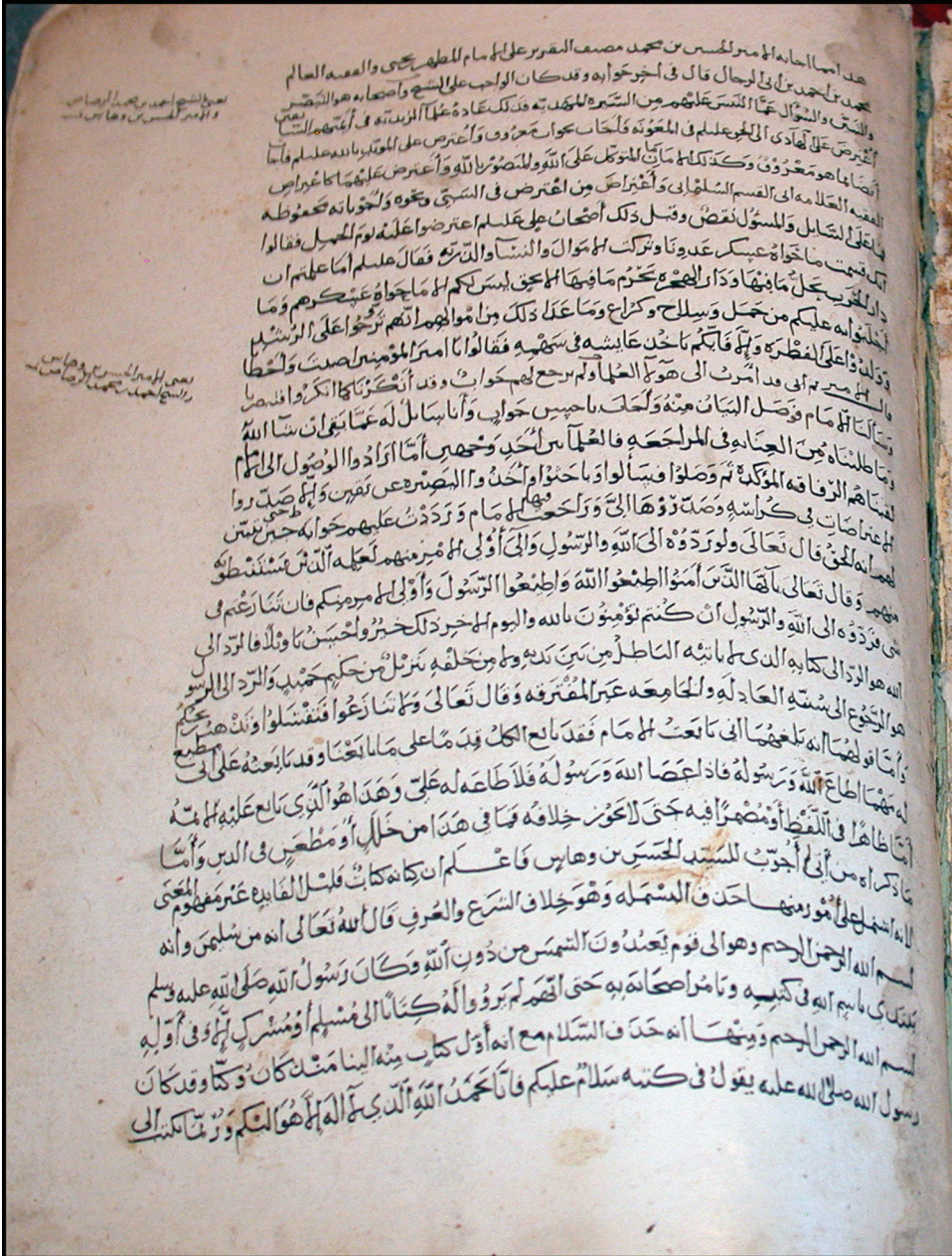


Figure 6. MS Yemen, private library (al-Husayn b. Badr al-Dīn, *Shifā' al-uwām*; addition at the end of the codex).

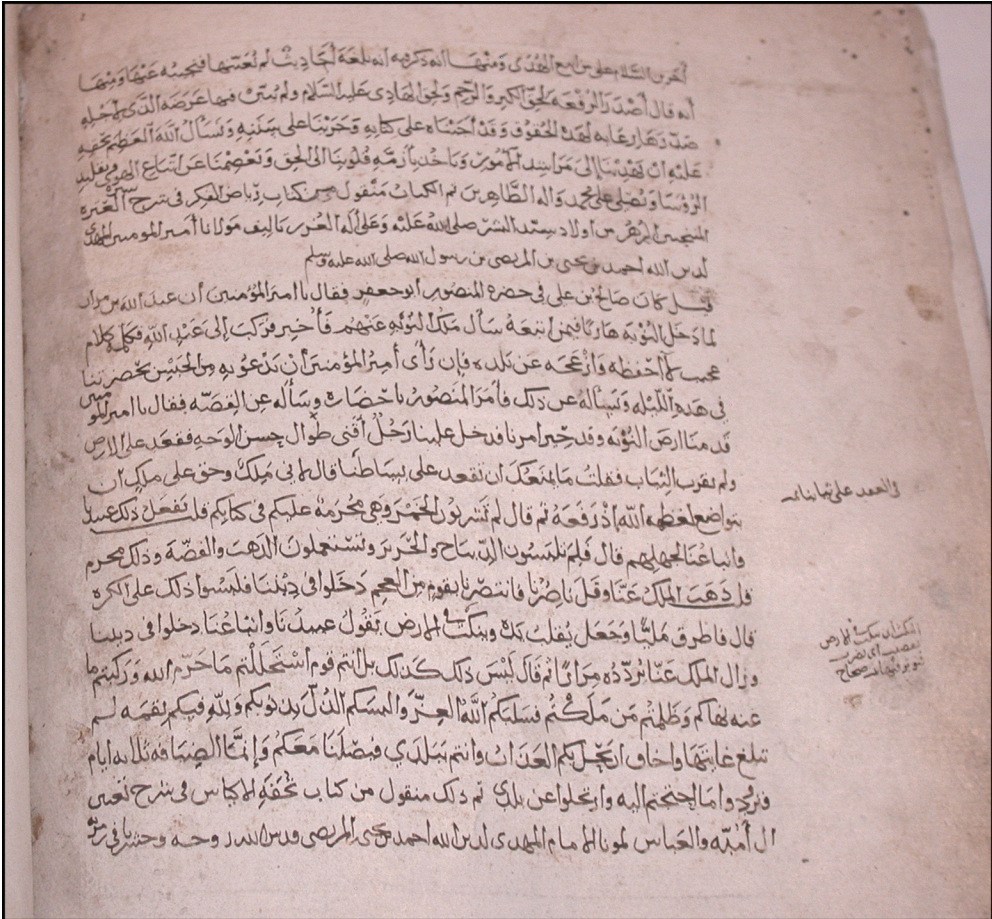


Figure 7. MS Yemen, private library (al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn, *Shifā' al-uwām*; addition at the end of the codex [cont.]).



Figure 8. Microfilm, Cairo, Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, 32
(*Ishrāq al-iṣbāḥ fī faḍā'il al-khamsa al-ashbāḥ*, by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Nizār al-Ṣan'ānī, title page).

ونحوه من لحمه وهذا اللحم من شغل بعض ما يخرج من الاستعجال ثم الورد العالي
 باعد المجبة تعدنا الاحبة وعند السور تصعب فقولك لذو فصلوا اليه علمه قوله
 تفضي لهم الرسول ولهم صحوا الى الزم الخليله لودلوا الدهور والارواح وهو
 اللذان المشا والصابح وعين اخره المواتن الاشغال المصالح الياس وحفظها
 علاق الخلود بكاف عظام الخيطون حتى يظفون من الله احرا وتروروا
 واعضا وليرتفعوا الى حازف الدنيا الدالية ولا الى جسم الاوظان والعاله
 الكجواع النعم الاخر وفي الذي لا يزول والحي الذي لا يموت والحي الذي لا يموت
 في حجاز الحجاز وما بعده من الفخر والارواح واليهان وهم كادوا
 وستك ما صرعه النبوة في الجواع الزورده
 منبأ له لودتسوا اهل الاسلام وعينهم مع رفاه الامام وانتموا بوله المجامعي
 والناصر ولعظمتهم الماخروهم بحمد الله عنهم الرسوز واصدق من فالو فكل
 اطراذ الحزب والعلانه ورفاه الاسلام وقوامه سفنه الحاه وذيها السراواه
 وزيه علم الله وحفظه سبحانه فاذا كانت الحزب الدنيا وبعثت ان والمضايق
 الادميه عليهم ذارا قبا لربنا ساعدنا الامير وزوز من الماده الكختياره
 تعريهم الاذ انهم وذيهم كذا في وشر وذكركم وله عاده الامور وهاده
 عذبات من الماخروه وظانق ذباه وصفه من ظله لئلا تتعمد الياس او كثره
 التعظم من الياس والمخالفة السازع او ملاحظه المصالح والمساق والنواع
 اللذات انواع السراوات حكاية الكلام في غير حازف الصراطى لاسير وعين
 مكتوبه عند الله من العاين من المبع مواء وكان فيهم وظكلا والله ليرحم الله
 ما اخبرنا ونفضل علينا الاجاز للبعد من حط السراوات لاه سال المعصنا
 عن ان كان المحضروا في حيلنا سناكمه وبعينا المجدور وهما الحزب
 عند جمعهم من الماد حيز حازف الله ليعا كلاج الحزب والواجح الياس المحمده
 اسان فقلنا حاسنه من الكمال العيون ومن شبه المصنفات الوحش باعدله
 واهجه من قاصد الفاره ونواله في انا المعونه والجاهه ومن غير مدقول
 الشاه ايضا عد من تعاد المصنفه حظه بعد كحصيل الكهها على طر الواه والجماع

Figure 9. Microfilm, Cairo, Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, 32
 (Ishraq al-īshbāh fī faḍā'il al-khamsa al-ashbāh, by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b.
 Yaḥyā b. Nizār al-Ṣan'ānī, end of text).

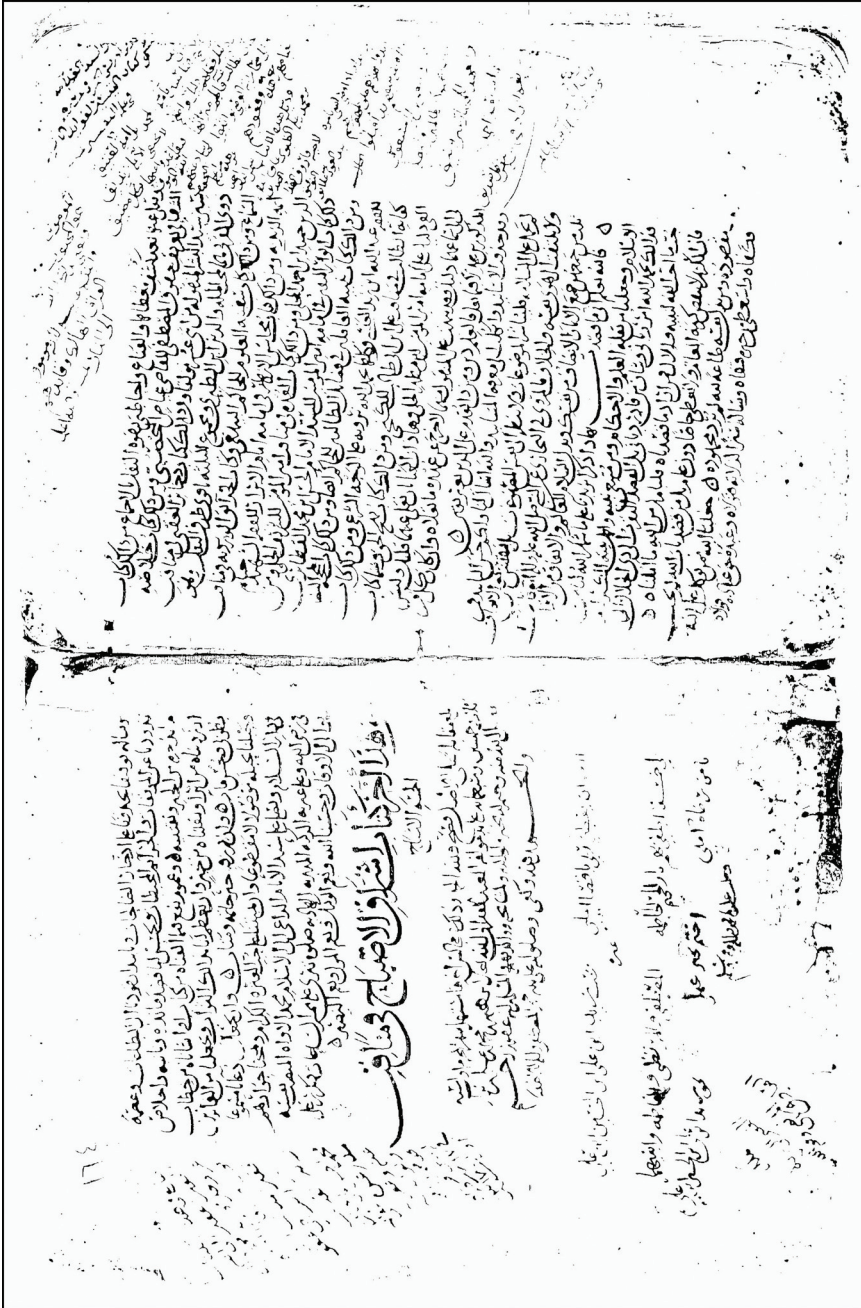


Figure 10. Microfilm, Cairo, Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, 32 (*Ishrāq al-īshbāh fi faḍā'il al-khamsa al-ashbāh*, by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Nizār al-Ṣan'ānī, end of text [cont.]).

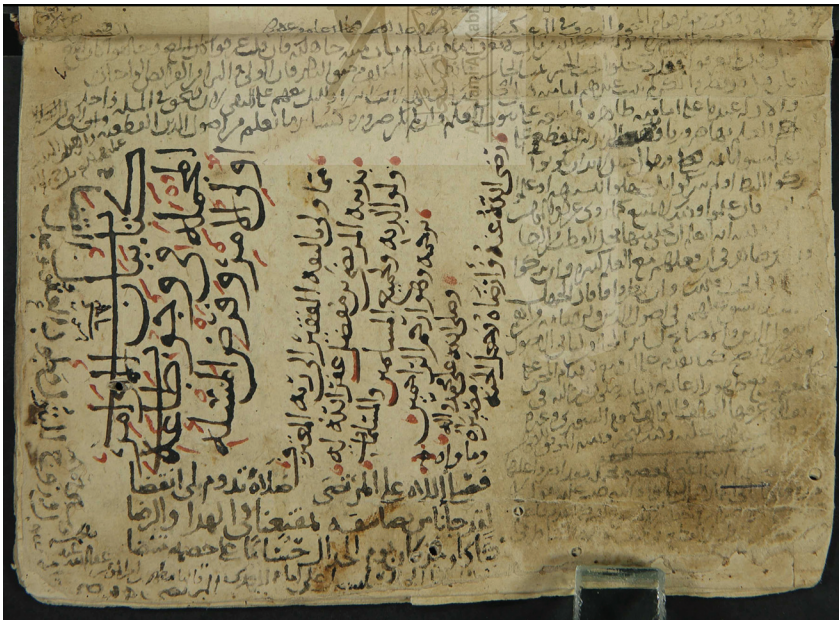


Figure 11 (left). MS Şan'ā, Maktabat al-Awqāf 768, fol. 1r (title page of al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal's *Bayān al-awāmir al-mujmala fi wujūb ṭā'at ulī l-amr*). Figure 12 (right). MS Şan'ā, Maktabat al-Awqāf 768, fol. 55v (final page of al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal's *Bayān al-awāmir al-mujmala fi wujūb ṭā'at ulī l-amr*).



Figure 13. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 225 (Muhammad Jawād al-Shirāzī's *al-Kawātib al-muqī'a*, title page).

item 9). Al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal also consulted al-ʿAnsī’s most comprehensive refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya, the *K. al-Tamyīz*, when writing his *Bayān al-awāmir al-mujmala fi wujūb ṭāʿat ulī l-amr wa-farḍ al-masʿala*.¹⁵ That some of al-ʿAnsī’s works, including *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā*, remained in the possession of a branch of the Āl al-Wazīr is indicated by regular references to the *Maḥajja* and to al-ʿAnsī’s otherwise lost work on legal theory, *al-Durra al-manzūma fi uṣūl al-fiqh*, in some of the writings of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (775–840/1374–1436).¹⁶ Moreover, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr’s teacher ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya al-Dawwārī (715–800/1315–1379)¹⁷ added a margin note to one of the two Munich codices of the *Maḥajja* (Cod. arab. 1286), and there is additional evidence that the codex remained in the possession of the Dawwārī family in Saʿda for several generations. The twelfth/eighteenth-century scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Wazīr (d. 1147/1735), who mentions al-ʿAnsī in his *Ṭubuq al-ḥalwā wa-ṣaḥāʾif al-mann wa-l-salwā*, praises him as *ʿallāmat al-Zaydiyya wa-shīʾatihā* and labels him *ṣāḥib al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā*, yet another indication that al-ʿAnsī’s *Maḥajja* continued to be available to some of the members of the Āl al-Wazīr.¹⁸ That al-ʿAnsī’s *Maḥajja* also circulated beyond the Āl al-Wazīr is indicated by the *Ishrāq al-iṣbāḥ fi faḍl il al-khamsa al-ashbāḥ* by the eighth/fourteenth-century Zaydi scholar Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Nizār al-Ṣanʿānī.¹⁹ At the end of the work, which is preserved in two manuscripts (including his holograph; **figs. 8, 9, 10**), the author lists his sources, which include al-ʿAnsī’s *Irshād* and *Maḥajja*. Since the *Ishrāq al-iṣbāḥ* is concerned with the *imāma*, it is possible that Ibn Nizār had access only to the

¹⁵ See al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 2, p. 367; al-Ḥibshī, *Fihrist*, p. 42; and al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 127 for copies of the *K. al-Bayān*. Extensive quotations from the *K. al-Bayān* are included in al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr’s (758–822/1357 or 1358–1419) *Hidāyat al-rāghibīn ilā madhhab al-ʿitra al-ṭayyibīn*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismāʿīl, Beirut: n.p., 2007, pp. 18–22, 25–26, 28–34, 34–35, 46–48. The quotations include references to al-ʿAnsī (p. 47) and, on one occasion, to his *Tamyīz* (p. 25). The *K. al-Bayān* was accessible to us as MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 768 (dated Rabīʿ II 717/June–July 1317), a holograph that was part of al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal’s library and later passed to his son ʿAlī b. al-Murtaḍā (see colophon and ʿAlī’s ownership statement on fol. 55v; **figs. 11, 12**). The references to al-ʿAnsī and his *Tamyīz* in the *Bayān* as quoted in al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr’s *Hidāya* are found in the margin glosses of this manuscript at fols. 28r, 47v. The relation between the main text and the margin glosses still needs to be investigated in depth. Another manuscript of a work by al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal that was transcribed during his lifetime and may also constitute a holograph is a copy of his *al-Naṣīḥa al-fakhriyya wa-l-mawʿiẓa al-durriyya*, dated 711/1311–12, which is kept in the library of a branch of the Āl al-Wazīr in Hijrat al-Sirr; see al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris*, p. 61 no. 111; al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 402. Al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr also refers in his *Nihāyat al-tanwīh fi izhāq al-tamwīh* (p. 81) to *al-juzʿ al-thālith* of al-ʿAnsī’s *Maḥajja*, evidently a reference in this context to the book’s section on the *imāma*.

¹⁶ On him, see Damaris Wilmers, *Beyond Schools: Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr’s (d. 840/1436) Epistemology of Ambiguity*, Leiden: Brill, 2018. On one occasion, Ibn al-Wazīr (in *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlā al-Dīn al-Miṣrī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1419/1999, p. 41) praises al-ʿAnsī as *ʿālim al-Zaydiyya wa-muṣannifuhum wa-ʿābiduhum wa-thiqatuhum ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zayd al-Ansī*.

¹⁷ On him, see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 1, pp. 549–550 no. 696; Wilmers, *Beyond Schools*, pp. 21ff. and passim.

¹⁸ ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Wazīr, *Tārīkh ṭubuq al-ḥalwā wa-ṣiḥāf al-mann wa-l-salwā al-maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh al-Yaman khilāl al-qarn al-ḥādīʾ ashar al-hijrī (1045h/1090m)*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Jāzim, Sanaa: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamanī, 1428–29/2007–2008, p. 295.

¹⁹ For this scholar, about whom not much is known, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 187–188 no. 56; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 80 no. 37.

part of the *Maḥajja* that addresses this topic.²⁰ Numerous references to and quotations from the *Maḥajja* are also included in the *K. al-Shams al-munira al-zahrāʾ fī taḥqīq baḥth mā adkhalahu l-kuffār dārahum qahran wa-mā yattaṣilu min farāʾid al-fawāʾid* by al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muhallā al-Sharafī (d. 1111/1699).²¹ Al-ʿAnṣī's *K. al-Irshād* (→ inventory, item 4) remained popular until the contemporary period, as indicated by the numerous manuscript copies of the work produced until the twentieth century. Moreover, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (1173/1759–1255/1839) included the book in his *Ithāf al-akābir bi-Isnād al-dafātir* among the titles that he considered part of the Zaydī curriculum and that he himself transmitted,²² and it is regularly studied in religious seminaries in Yemen until today.²³ The thirteenth/nineteenth-century Iranian Imami scholar Muḥammad Jawād al-Shīrāzī, author of a refutation of Zaydism from an Imāmī perspective entitled *al-Kawākib al-muḍīʾa li-l-shīʾa al-marḍiyya fī qiyām al-ḥujaj al-Imāmiyya ʿalā firaq al-Zaydiyya* consulted al-ʿAnṣī's *Irshād*, suggesting that a copy of the work was accessible in Iran already in the nineteenth century. In one of the extant witnesses of the *K. al-Kawākib*—MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 225—the *Irshād* is mentioned

²⁰ The holograph, which was microfilmed by members of the delegation of the Maḥad al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya to Yemen on 3 September 1974, was at the time part of the Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Muṭaḥhar in Sanaa; see the brief handwritten description at the beginning of the microfilm. For the work and its author, see Hassan Ansari, “Yik kitāb wa yik ijāza,” *Barrasi-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3509> (accessed 25 January 2022). It is noteworthy that Ibn Nizār also lists among his sources the *K. Nahj al-ḥaqq* by the Imāmī scholar al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭaḥhar al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), which he erroneously assumes to be an alternative title for the latter's *K. al-Alfayn*.

²¹ We consulted the work through a surrogate, MS Mecca, Maktabat Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurāʾ 13613, pp. 36, 46, 51, 52, 58, 60. For the codex, which also contains Yaḥyā b. Mufaḍḍal's *Jumal al-Islām*, see <https://dorar.uqu.edu.sa/uquui/handle/20.500.12248/105653> (accessed 2 January 2022); here, selected images from the *K. al-Shams al-munira* are accessible. For al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir al-Muhallā al-Sharafī, see al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 395–397 no. 465; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 153–154; see also ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥūthī's introduction to his edition of al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir al-Muhallā's *Maṭmaḥ al-āmāl fī iqāz jahalat al-ummāl min sinat al-ḍalāl*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥūthī, Sanaa: Maktabat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī, 1422/2002. For the al-Muhallā family, which hailed from Shīʿa, see also Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʾ, *Hijar al-ilm wa-mā ʿaqiluhu fi l-Yaman*, 6 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Muʾaṣṣir, 1424/2003, vol. 2, pp. 1028ff.

²² Ed. Khalīl b. ʿUthmān al-Jabūr al-Sabī, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1420/1999, p. 71 no. 19. Al-Shawkānī provides the following *isnād* for the book: al-Imām al-Muṭaḥhar b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭaḥhar “al-Wāthiq” (d. 802/1329–30) ← his father, al-Imām Muḥammad b. al-Muṭaḥhar b. Yaḥyā “al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh” (d. 728/1327–28) ← his father, al-Imām al-Muṭaḥhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā “al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh” (d. 697/1298) ← *al-amīr* al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn ← al-ʿAnṣī. For the transmission of the book from al-Imām al-Muṭaḥhar to al-Shawkānī, the latter refers to his earlier *isnād* (see *ibid.*).

²³ The *K. al-Irshād* is discussed in detail in Hassan Ansari, “Kitāb-hā-yi ṣūfiyāna-yi Zaydiyān-i īrānī wa yamanī,” *Āyina-yi mirāth* 4, no. 3 (1380sh/2001), pp. 24–28, an overview of Zaydī literature on Sufism. It should be noted that the work is not discussed in Wilferd Madelung, “Zaydī Attitudes to Sufism,” *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, ed. I. J. F. de Jong and Bernd Radtke, Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp. 124–144, beyond a brief reference to the work as one of the sources cited by Imam al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620) in his *K. Ḥaṭf an fī jawābihi ʿalā l-Kāmil al-mutadārik* (*ibid.*, p. 140).

on the book's title page in a list of the author's sources (**fig. 13**).²⁴ Traces of al-'Ansī's books can also be encountered in historical library inventories. A historical catalog of the holdings of the library of Imam al-Mutawakkil Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Shams al-Dīn (d. 965/1558) lists two codices containing several unspecified short writings by al-'Ansī (*Rasā'il nāfi'a li-l-faqīh* 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd ṣāḥib al-Irshād [title 176b] and *Kitāb rasā'il li-'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī* [title 182a]).²⁵ An inventory of books dated Rabī' II 1101/January–February 1690 and compiled at the behest of or in the environment of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn that had belonged to the Āl al-Wazīr also includes *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā'*.²⁶

Among the Zaydī biographers, Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maswarī (d. 1079/1668) provided a detailed note on 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī,²⁷ which partly served as the basis for Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī l-Rijāl's (d. 1092/1690) entry on al-'Ansī in his *Maṭla' al-budūr*.²⁸ The latter's entry was consulted by Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim al-Shahārī (d. 1152/1739) for his entry on al-'Ansī in *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā* and by Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jundārī (1279/1863–1337/1919) for the relevant entries in his *Tarājim al-rijāl al-madhkūra fī Sharḥ al-Azhār* and *al-Jāmi' al-wajīz*.²⁹ Al-Maswarī describes al-'Ansī's *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā'* as a comprehensive work in four volumes (*kitāb ḥāfil basīṭ arba'a mujal-lada*), and he praises al-'Ansī's *al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-fiqh* as "precious" (*kitāb nafīs*). In addition, he mentions al-'Ansī's *al-Lā'iq bi-l-afḥām fī ma'rifat ḥudūd al-kalām*, of which he had seen

²⁴ For this work, see Hassan Ansari, "Mu'arrifi-yi nuskhā-yi shumāra-yi 91 majmū'a-yi Glāzir-i kitābkhāna-yi dawlati-yi Birlīn," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1641> (accessed 25 January 2022). A critical edition of the work is currently in preparation by Hassan Ansari and Rouhalla Foroughi on the basis of three witnesses that were all transcribed in Yemen: MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 225 (see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=644674652> [accessed 25 January 2022]); MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 91 (see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=644674318> [accessed 25 January 2022]); and MS Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 374Y (see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9962645753506421> [accessed 25 January 2022]). Another copy of the work was held in Āghā Buzurg's lifetime in the library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī al-Sabzawārī in al-Kāzimiyya; see Āghā Buzurg, *Dharrā'a*, vol. 18, p. 181 no. 1293.

²⁵ See Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Library of Imām al-Mutawakkil Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā (d. 995/1558)" [in preparation].

²⁶ See Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "A Family Library in the Hands of the Qāsimīs at the Turn of the Twelfth/Eighteenth Century" [in preparation]. See also al-Akwa', *Hijar al-'ilm*, vol. 1, p. 177b. Today the library of one of the branches of the Āl al-Wazīr holds only part 5 of the work, on the *imāma*. See below.

²⁷ For an edition of al-Maswarī's note on al-'Ansī, see below, Appendix 2. For al-Maswarī, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 7.

²⁸ Ibn Abī l-Rijāl may also have consulted another note by al-Maswarī about al-'Ansī when he adduces verbatim quotations from his *shaykh*, i.e., al-Maswarī; see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 3, pp. 83 (*wa-hādhā mā katabahu shaykhunā min tarjamatihi wa-lafzuhu . . .*), 88 (*raja'nā ilā kalām shaykhinā qāla . . .*).

²⁹ See Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jundārī, *Tarājim al-rijāl al-madhkūra fī Sharḥ al-Azhār*, published in the introduction to 'Abd Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim Ibn Miftāḥ, *al-Muntaza' al-mukhtār min al-Ghayth al-midrār al-ma'rūf bi-Sharḥ al-Azhār*, Sanaa, 1341/1922–23, p. 21, and Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jundārī, *al-Jāmi' al-wajīz bi-dhikr al-'ulamā' dhawī l-tabrīz min sanat 532–858*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Ṭāhir al-Ḥājī, PhD dissertation, Jāmi'at Ṣan'ā', 1428/2007, pp. 320–321 [our pagination; the entry is under the date 667 AH]. In *al-Jāmi' al-wajīz* (ibid.) it is further reported that al-'Ansī was well versed in astrology and able to operate an astrolabe; see also 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Wazīr, *Tārikh ṭubuq al-ḥalwā wa-sihāf al-mann wa-l-salwā*, p. 295.

a holograph transcribed in 659/1260–61. On the basis of the information provided by al-ʿAnsī in the preface to the 659 AH holograph, al-Maswarī (or his source) concludes that al-ʿAnsī was born in 594/1197–98 or 593/1196–97.³⁰ Al-Maswarī mentions three additional works by al-ʿAnsī: *al-Risāla al-munqidha min al-aṭab al-sālika bi-l-naṣiḥa ilā ahl Shazab*, a refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya, of which he had seen a holograph copied in Kuḥlān and dated Rabī II 660/November–December 1261; *al-Risāla al-dāʿiyya ilā l-īmān*, which may also be a refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya; and the *K. al-Irshād*. Finally, al-Maswarī adds that al-ʿAnsī addressed some *rasāʾil* to the Rasulid sultan al-Muzaffar (r. 647–694/1249–1295), but nothing further is known about these epistles. The note concludes with quotations of some of al-ʿAnsī's poetry.

The most detailed description of some of al-ʿAnsī's most comprehensive writings is provided by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī (1035–after 1099/1625–1688) in his *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarājim rijāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb*.³¹ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn begins the list of al-ʿAnsī's writings with *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʾ*, which he describes as al-ʿAnsī's best work on theology (*lahu muʿallafāt fī uṣūl al-dīn min aḥsanihā Kitāb al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʾ*), and he quotes several lines from volume 4 (*al-juzʾ al-rābiʾ*) of the book, which was evidently available to him. He further lists *K. al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* and *al-Shihāb al-thāqib ʿalā madhāhib al-ʿitra al-aṭāyib*³² as well as the *K. al-Tamyīz* among al-ʿAnsī's writings. Although it is uncertain whether Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn had access the *Sirāj* and the *Shihāb*, since he has nothing to say about them, his comments on the *Tamyīz* suggest that he had seen this book, or at least a portion of it. He further lists a “*Kitāb fī l-radd ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya*,” which he describes as having consisted of one volume (*mujallad*) and from which he provides a brief quotation. The wording of the quoted passage is identical with a passage in the introduction to the *khātima* of al-ʿAnsī's *Tamyīz* (MS Maktabat Muḥammad al-Sārī, fol. 149r:1–3). It is not clear why Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn considered the work distinct from the *Tamyīz*—it is possible that the *khātima* also circulated independently—but the congruence of the quotation in the *Mustaṭāb* and the introduction to the *khātima* shows that the “*Kitāb fī l-radd ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya*” is in fact the *Tamyīz* (or at least its *khātima*). The introduction to the *khātima* of the *Tamyīz* also includes autoreferences to al-ʿAnsī's *Sirāj* and his *Shihāb* (see below), and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn may have learned the titles of those two works through this introduction. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn further relates that al-ʿAnsī had written yet another refutation, “*Risāla ukhrā qaraʿtu fī l-jawāb ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya wa-takfirihim fī maqālatihim*,” from which he again quotes a few lines. As shown below, this *risāla* can be identified as *al-Risāla al-munqidha min al-aṭab al-sālika bi-l-naṣiḥa ilā ahl Shazab* (→ inventory, item 15). Yaḥyā concludes his list with al-ʿAnsī's *K. al-Irshād ilā najāt al-ʿibād*, which he describes as “*mujallad wa-huwa kitāb jāmiʿ nāfiʿ*,” indicating that he had seen the book, and *K. al-Durra al-manzūma fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, which he may not have seen. He further mentions al-ʿAnsī's legal work, *al-Istibṣār* (→ inventory, item 5), saying that it consisted of five volumes and that al-ʿAnsī wrote a twenty-volume autocommentary on it. Yaḥyā's wording leaves no doubt that he had seen neither the work nor the autocommentary himself. The information Yaḥyā

³⁰ For an abbreviated version of this account, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 3, pp. 88–89.

³¹ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fols. 82r–83v.

³² For the variations in the title of this book, see below, inventory, item 16.

shares about the work partly disagrees with a comprehensive list of Zaydi legal literature compiled by the renowned jurist ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muẓaffar (d. 875/1470–71), who specifies that the *Istibṣār* consisted of two volumes and the autocommentary comprised six volumes.³³ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn adds that Imam al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza’s (669–745/1270–1344) *K. al-Intiṣār ‘alā ‘ulamā’ al-amṣār* was said to be heavily based on al-‘Ansī’s *Istibṣār*, though he seems to doubt the claim.³⁴

In addition to the information provided by the Zaydi biobibliographical literature, al-‘Ansī made numerous cross-references in his writings to his other books, both lost and still extant. These prove the authenticity of works of uncertain authorship and allow us to establish a relative chronology of at least some of his writings. In parts 2 (*‘adl*), 3 (*nubuwwāt*), and 4 (*sharā’ī*) of the *Maḥajja*, which he completed in 640/1242, al-‘Ansī regularly refers to more detailed discussions in his *K. al-Takmil* (→ inventory, item 19), indicating that the latter work, which is lost, must have been fairly comprehensive. The lack of references to the *Takmil* in part 1 (*tawḥīd*) of the *Maḥajja* suggests that al-‘Ansī had started the *Maḥajja* before the *Takmil* and that he later continued writing both works in tandem. Of his dogmatic works, al-‘Ansī refers in the *Maḥajja* to his *K. al-Shihāb al-thāqib* (→ inventory, item 16), which has not come down to us. Another title al-‘Ansī cites throughout his *Maḥajja* is the *K. al-Taḥrīr* (→ inventory, item 18), a comprehensive work on legal theory that clearly also antedates the *Maḥajja*. The *K. al-Tamyīz*, a comprehensive refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya, was one of al-‘Ansī’s later works. The precise date of the book’s completion is unknown, since the extant surrogate of the sole witness to the work suggests that the witness is missing the end and thus is undated. In the course of his introduction to the *khātima*,³⁵ which constitutes a theological summa in its own right, al-‘Ansī explains that he has already written numerous works (*taṣānīf kathīra*) on theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*) before this work, and he specifically mentions the following among them: *K. al-Shihāb (al-thāqib) ‘alā madhāhib al-‘itra al-atyāb [al-aṭayib]* (→ inventory, item 16); *K. al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* (→ inventory, item 17); *K. Mudhākarat [sic] al-Sirāj*, which is an autocommentary on *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* (→ inventory, item 11); and *K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā’* (→ inventory, item 9). Of these four, *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj*, *Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj*,³⁶ and *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā’* have come down to us; however, their relative chronology remains unclear. We know that al-‘Ansī completed part 4 of the *Maḥajja* (on *sharā’ī*) in 640/1242, but whether he wrote the *Sirāj* and the *Mudhākarāt* before or after

³³ The list, which also mentions the legal portions of al-‘Ansī’s *Irshād*, is included in MS Vienna, Österreichische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Glaser 41, fol. 322v. For an editio princeps of the list, see Hassan Ansari, “Yik yād-dāsht-i arzashmand dar mu‘arrifi-yi mutūn-i fiqh-i zaydī,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/4435> (accessed 25 January 2022). The *K. al-Istibṣār*, as well as al-‘Ansī’s autocommentary, is also mentioned in one of the documents edited in Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, “Du mashīkha-yi Zaydī,” *Nāma-yi Mīnuwī: Majmū‘a-yi sī wa hasht guftār dar adab wa farhang-i īrānī bih pās-i panjāh sāl taḥqīqāt wa muṭāli‘āt-i Muḥtabā Mīnuwī*, ed. Īrāj Afshār, Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Kāwīyān, 1350sh/1971, pp. 179–188, here p. 172 no. 21, although the work’s title is here given erroneously as *al-Intiṣār*.

³⁴ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn also quotes al-‘Ansī, without specifying the work, in his *Ṣawārim al-yaqīn li-qaṭ’ shukūk al-qāḍī Aḥmad b. Sa’d al-Dīn*. We consulted the text through MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmī’ al-Kabīr 3024; see fol. 30r lines 11ff. for the quotation. See also below, n. 145.

³⁵ For an edition of the introduction, see below, Appendix 3.

³⁶ The work was available to us through MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 758, the single extant witness.

the *Maḥajja* is unknown. In his *K. al-Sirāj* al-ʿAnsī lists al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza as the last imam,³⁷ suggesting that he wrote the *Sirāj* before the ascension of Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (612–656/1216–1258), whom al-ʿAnsī supported (see below), in Ṣafar 646/May–June 1248. Unlike the *Maḥajja* and the *Tamyiz*, the *Sirāj* and the *Mudhākarāt* contain no cross-references to any of al-ʿAnsī's other books. However, given the more concise character of those two works the absence of such references does not necessarily mean that they predate the *Maḥajja*. What is certain is that the *Sirāj* antedates the *Mudhākarāt*, which is a commentary on the *Sirāj*, and that both predate the *Tamyiz*.

According to the Dāʿūdī Bohra scholar Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Majdūʿ (d. 1183/1769 or 1184/1770), *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaq* Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd (d. 667/1268–69) wrote a tract entitled *Māḥiyat al-zūr wa-dāmighat al-kufūr*, a refutation directed against “*al-Muʿtazilī ṣāhib ḥiṣn Kuḥlān*.”³⁸ Ibn al-Walīd, since 627/1230 the leader of the Ismāʿīlī Ṭayyibī community in Yemen, was a contemporary of al-ʿAnsī, and it is known that al-ʿAnsī spent the final years of his life in Kuḥlān.³⁹ It is thus possible that Ibn al-Walīd's tract was aimed at al-ʿAnsī. Polemical exchanges between Zaydis and Ismāʿīlīs were common during this period in Yemen.⁴⁰ Moreover, MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 122 (fols. 60r–108v; **fig. 14**) includes a lengthy text entitled *al-Kāshifa li-dhawī l-ʿuqūl ʿan fasād mukhtaṣar al-uṣūl*, a refutation by an unidentified Zaydī author that is directed against the *dāʿī muṭlaq* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd's (d. 612/1215) *Mukhtaṣar al-uṣūl wa-zubdat al-maḥṣūl*.⁴¹ Hassan Ansari, who has devoted a study to this text, proposes several possible authors, including al-ʿAnsī.⁴² If it indeed is by al-ʿAnsī, this tract may have prompted Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Walīd to write a refutation of al-ʿAnsī.

³⁷ MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fol. 210r.

³⁸ Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Majdūʿ, *Fahrasat al-kutub wa-l-rasāʾil*, ed. ʿAlī Naqī Munzawī, Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1344sh/1966, p. 98. See also al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124. For Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd, see Sulaymānjī Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār fi akhbār al-duʿāh al-akhyār: Min al-dāʿī al-Dhuʿayb b. Mūsā al-Wādiʿ ilā l-dāʿī Dāʿūdī b. Quṭb Shāh*, ed. Samer Traboulsi, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999, pp. 95–106 (here the title is not mentioned).

³⁹ For Kuḥlān Tāj al-Dīn, see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥajrī, *Majmūʿ buldān al-Yaman wa-qabāʾilihā*, ed. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, 4 vols., Sanaa: Maktabat al-Irshād, 1430/2009, vol. 4, p. 663; Robert T. O. Wilson, *Gazetteer of Historical North-West Yemen*, Hildesheim: Olms, 1989, p. 281.

⁴⁰ For an overview, see Hassan Ansari, “Silsila-i az raddiyya nawīsī-hā miyān-i zaydiyān wa ismāʿīliyān,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2042> (accessed 25 January 2022).

⁴¹ Ibn al-Walīd's work has been published (ed. ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarb Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī, Sanaa: al-Dār al-Muḥammadiyya al-Hamdāniyya li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāth, n.d.)

⁴² Hassan Ansari, “Raddiyya-yi nū yāfta bar Ismāʿīliyya,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1914> (accessed 25 January 2022). For Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Walīd, see Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār*, pp. 83–92. For the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in Yemen, see also Samer Traboulsi, “The Formation of an Islamic Sect: The Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in Medieval Yemen,” PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005.

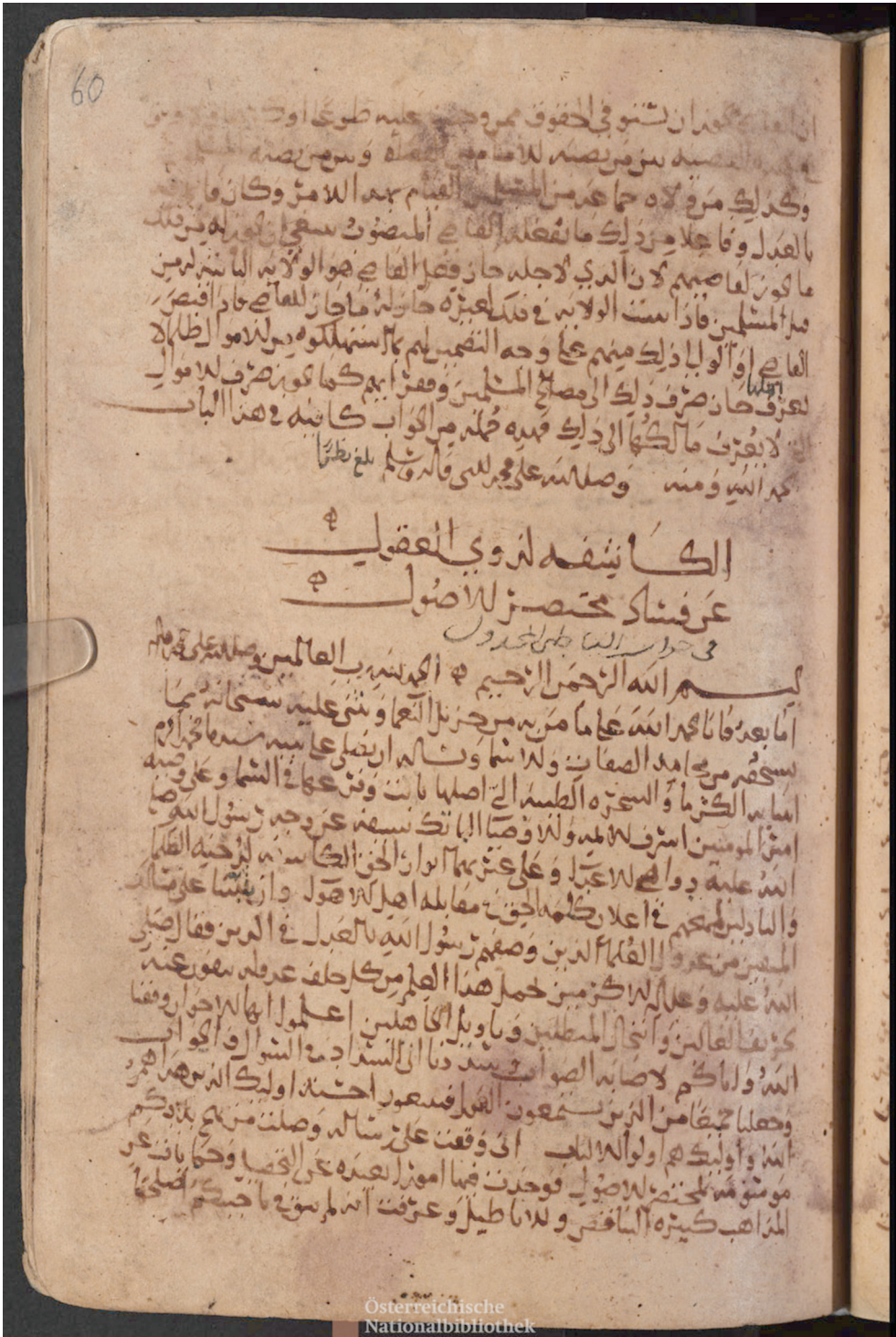


Figure 14. MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 122 (title page of *al-Kāshifa li-dhawī l-‘uqūl ‘an fasād mukhtaṣar al-uṣūl*).

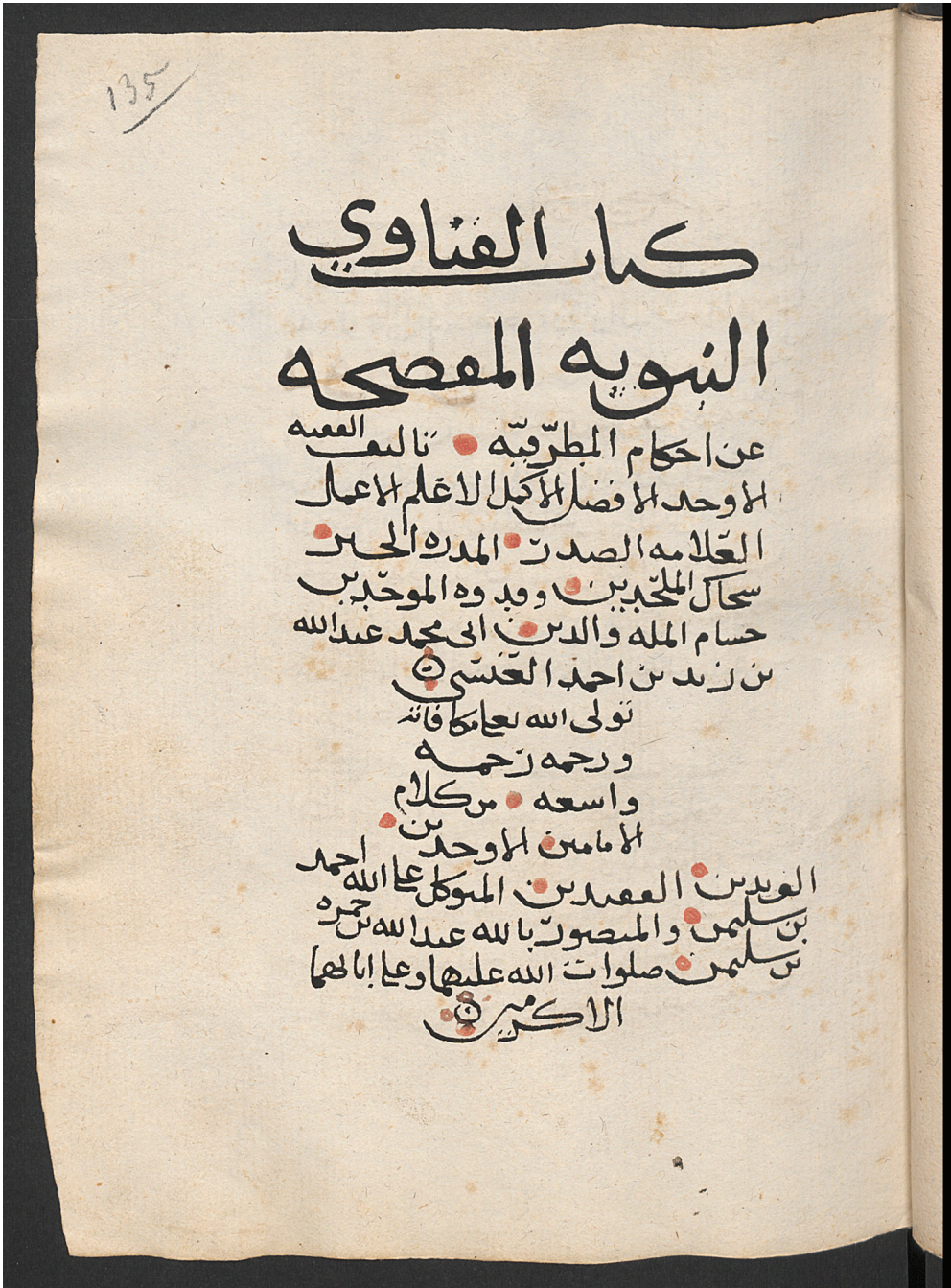


Figure 15. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111, fol. 135r
 (beginning of al-'Anṣī's *al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya*).

خطاهو لا المطرفته اعظم من خطا الخواتج
 بدت جات كسره وقد ودمنا ما يكسف
 عن عظم خالهم ووقوعهم في الكفر ليس
 مجانبوهم اسد المجانبه وباينوهم اسد
 المبايه ان لا مغلوه يكن فيه في الارض
 وفساد كسر **وهذا كلام**
 الامام العالمين الراهدين الموكل على الله
 والمصون بالله عليها السلام قضا كسر
 هو لا المطرفته وتكون ديارهم التي سموا بها
 هجرات حرب نازل منزله ديار المسكين
 ومثل ذلك شهد سائر الملوك الامم
 الهادي صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين
 ثم ذلك من الله
 بعنا وعونه وصلى الله
 على محمد بنه ورسوله
 وحبر خلقه وعلى آل آلهم
 ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم

Figure 16. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111, fol. 163v
(end of al-Ansī's *al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya*).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ولله الحمد ^{صلى}
 الحمد لله الذي نور قلوب عباده الموحدين
 بعرفه • وسرخ صدور المهديين بهدائه
 وضلواته على سوله وعلى عترته • وعلى آله
 المهادين من ذريته • وسلامه عليه
 وعليم اجمعين **اما بعد** ايها
 الاخوان وقفنا الله واباكم لطاعته وقضيا
 وعقلم من مخالفته • فقد بلغنا رسالتكم
 على السنة اخوانكم المومنين • ومكانكم
 المستدعيه لا يضح الحق المسين وطلب
 الحقى لما يحب من اصول الدين والسعهم
 لما يلزم من مفارقتة من مذاهب
 المسدعين • من المطرفته الطبيعيين
 وشايت اخوانهم المجددين • لسع الاعصام
 بالحيل المتبين • والاسمسال ما امر به رب
 العالمين • والامد ابان عليه سد
 المرسلين • صلى الله عليه وعلى آله
 الطيبين • ولاهتد الى مذاهب الامم

• الهادي

Figure 17. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111, fol. 164v (beginning of “*Aqā'id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd 'alā l-Muṭarrifiyya*”).

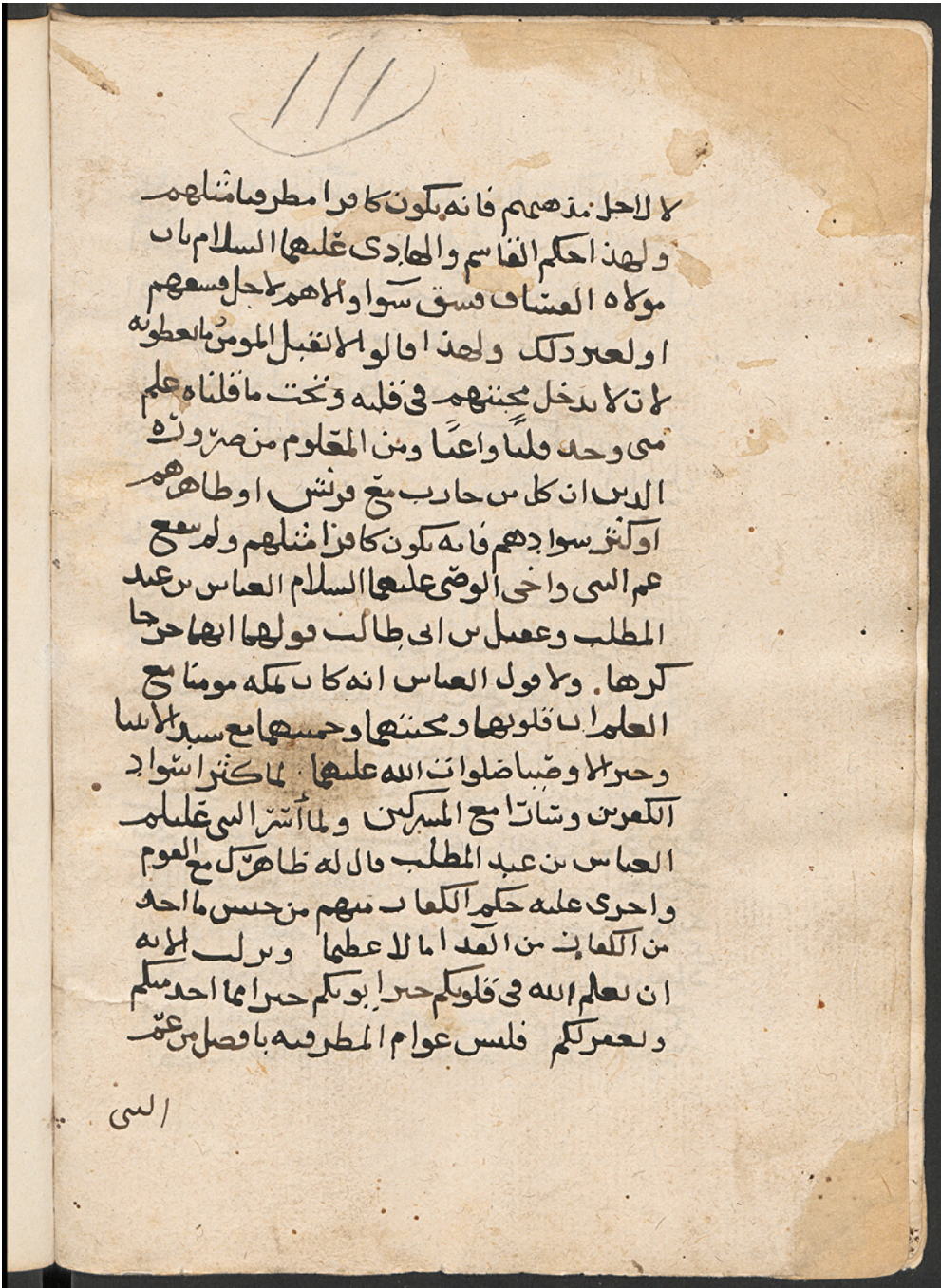


Figure 18. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111, fol. 222v
(end of "Aqā'id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd 'alā l-Mu'tarrifiyya").

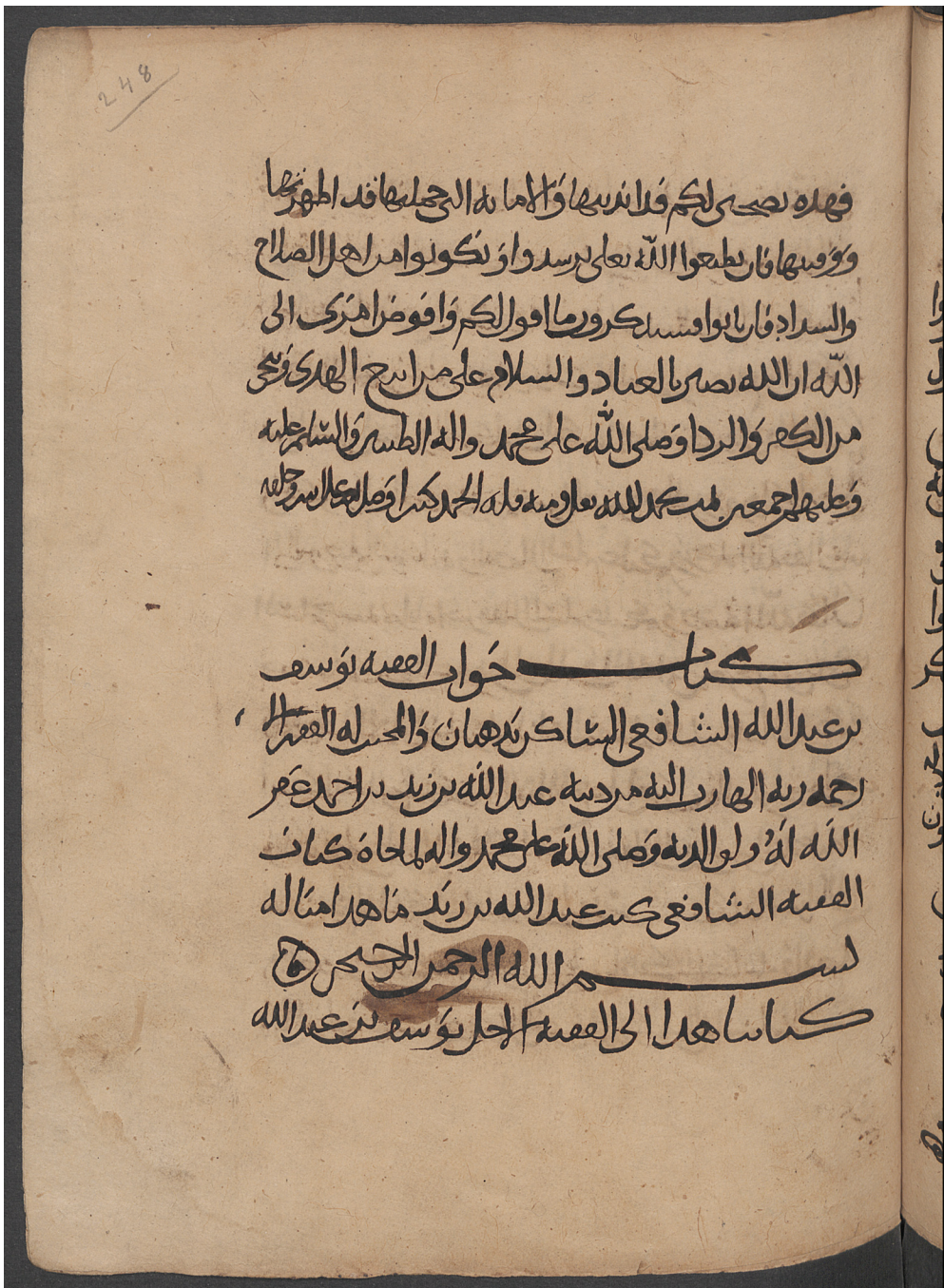


Figure 19. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fol. 248r (title page of al-'Anṣī's *Jawāb al-fāqih Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shāfi'ī al-Sākin bi-Dhahbān*).

من كلمه حكيمه نريد الله بها هذا ويرد عن رد او انها المعدل الحيا
 نفس ومزاجها وكما يما احنا الناس جميعا **واعلم** يدى الله
 الى من وردا والكمه واقام في مكه مدته وصرح بالسنه الشاه
 زمان القمه الرهان وهو الس مال كنه مدته من الرهان
 وفر او سمع على كبر ميهن وعزوا فوا المهن واعفادهم وخرى
 يدى وبنهم من اجعات وفرا ت على عصم في تالف الى عبد الله
 الحوى الكتاب المعروف بالاسادى والاعفاد وعزوا ما كنى
 افر جماعه ميهن انها والا الذين نريد عن اهل السنه عليهم السلام
 هو الحق وان فاعه معدل والعاقله يدعى ان يظهر عن البصره
 ويعمل بعينه في هذه الامم العيزه وتروى الابعه والمحمد وطرح
 الكبر والعصه ويعرفونه وما معه في الرسا الى وال وفتا
 في العمل لاجرتة والامال على الله تعالى بطاعه ولا يما الى احدا
 في بحانه ولباحر لوفاته من حمانه بهذا الذى يدعى للعاقلة يطرح
 عليه بنسه وان تمرن عليه الفقه وحسه في هذا المساله
 الثامه واما المساله الثالثه وهي فواك وتعلمى بطلاو الدرعه
 وطاق

Figure 20. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fol. 263v
 (al-'Ansi's *Jawāb al-faqīh Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shāfi'ī al-sākin bi-Dhahbān*).

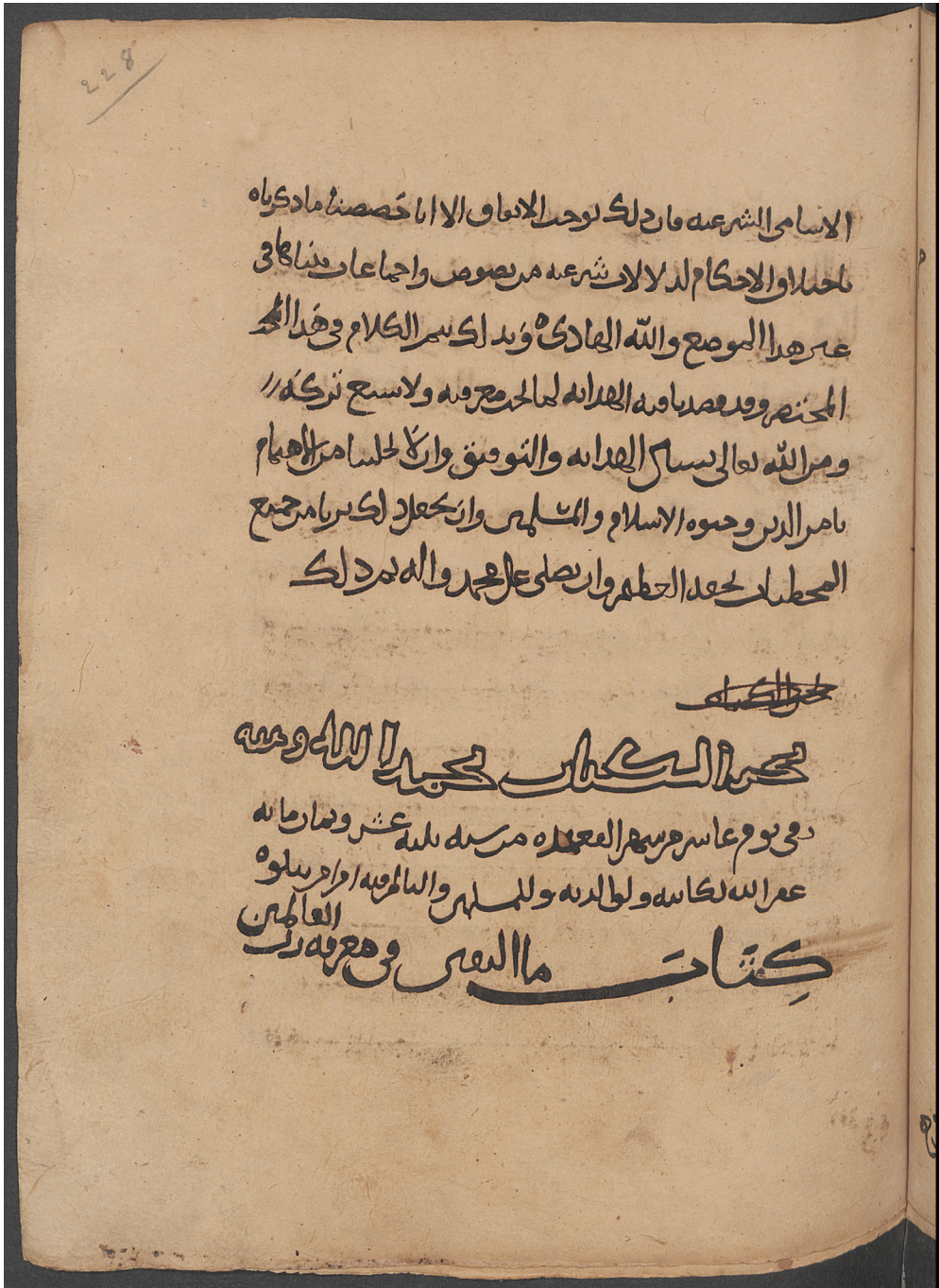


Figure 21. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fol. 228r (final page of al-'Ansi's *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* and title page of al-'Ansi's *Mā' al-yaqīn fī ma'rīfat rabb al-'ālamīn*).

الا ما سعامه فليده وكره بطهره وعسائه بما
 النوبة في كل وقت بما النوبة في كل وقت ولو ان من
 الذي يرسل الله الرزاق كون الانسان حسر العقل
 كسر الدنوب والقامر ادمي اوله خطانا وادب
 نصرها من كل سجده العمل وعزيرة العفن
 لم نصره ذنوبه من كل ذكرك با رسول الله قال انه
 اذا اخطا لم يلبس ان سدا ركب ذلك سونه ونداه
 على ما كان منه فمحمود ذلك ذنوبه وسعاه فعل
 بدحاره الحنة والحسن يسأل الله ان يلبس على طاعته وان
 يصغ فلو بنا الحسنة وان نوسنا بمرجه وان يعصنا
 عن معصية وان يصلي على محمد وعمره وسلمنا
 الله والحمد لله ولا اله الا الله والله اكبر ولا
 حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم

Figure 22. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fol. 241v
(final page of al-'Ansi's *Mā' al-yaqīn fī ma'rifat rabb al-'ālamīn*).

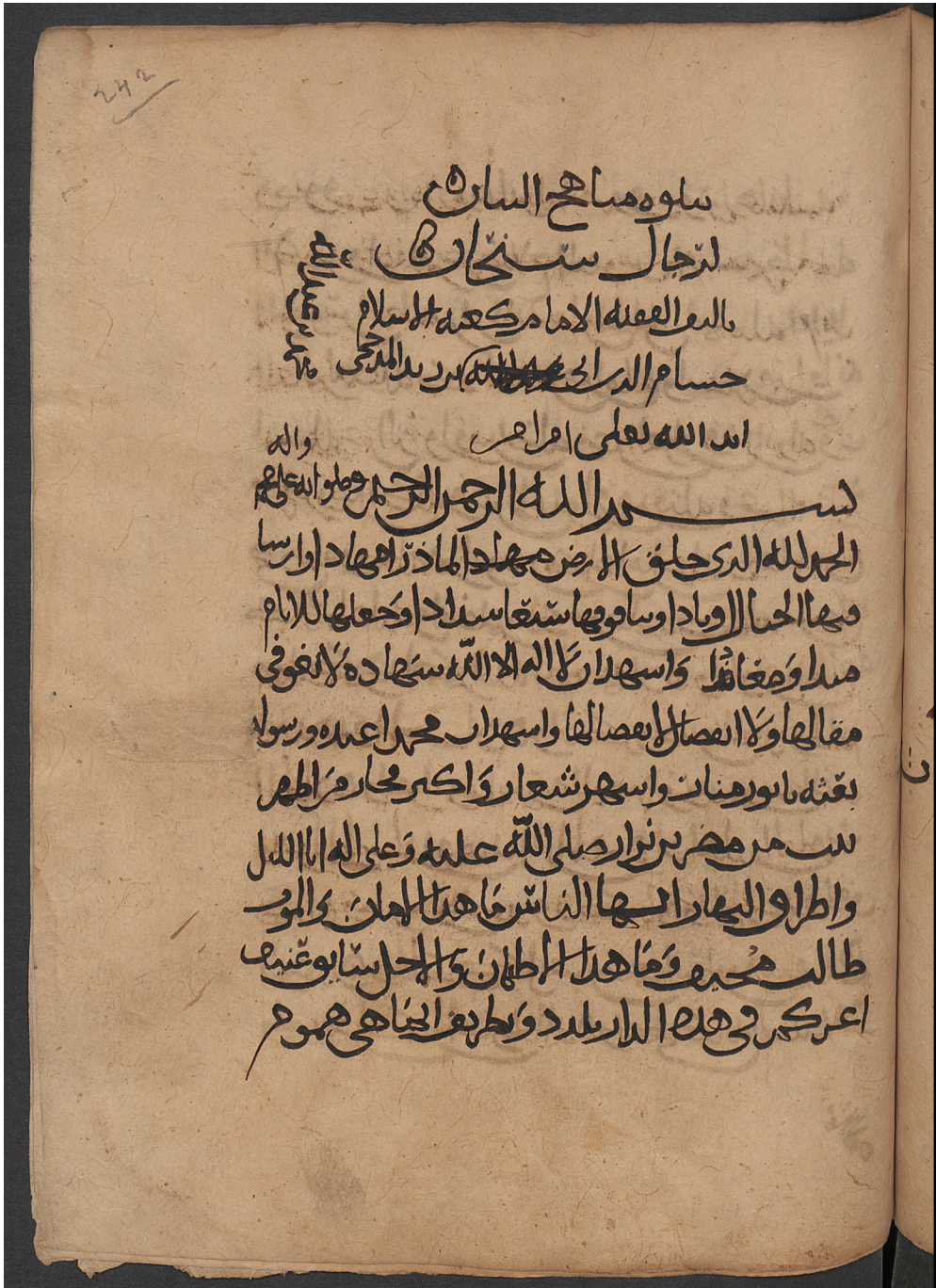


Figure 23. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fol. 242r (title page of al-'Ansi's *Manāḥij al-bayān li-riǧāl Sanǧān*).

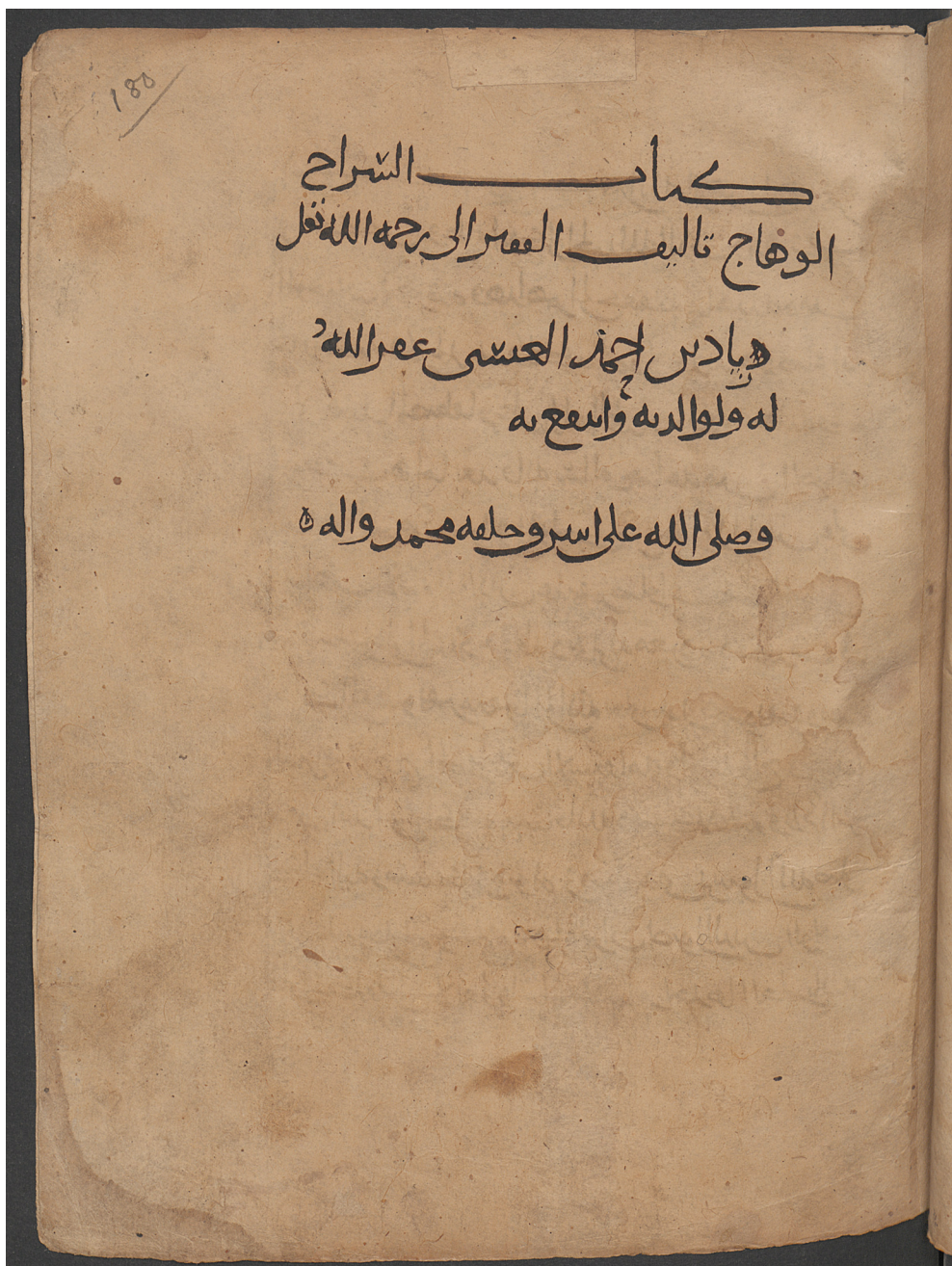


Figure 24. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fol. 180r
(title page of al-'Ansi's *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj*).

فان لا تعلم اصغر على الاسلام منهم ^و ابد لا هم مستوا في الطاهر
 باعمال الشروع السوي من الصلوة والطهارة وغيرهما من الاعمال
 الشرعية تركوا وان وجوده لا يحصر في مثل هذا الكتاب حتى
 ان الامام المصطفى ^{عليه السلام} ذكر ان المطر فيه فذكرت
 ما رويها به وسير وشم ان صرخه لا حملها اول ولا من
 الامه في كثر من رايه واجده وكلف مجموع ذلك كله وليعلم
 من تاب منهم انه احق بالسر لا ختها في بكائهم والشفقة
 عظم فرتهم وغولتهم ^ذ لهم قد كانوا قاده الى البار لولا لطف
 العزيز الجبار فليشبهتهم ^{وهو} ومترهم ومجالهم فان
 ذكر الجهاد العظيم الذي سار العوزجات كنعم
 اسعدنا الله وايكم والمهمات والحياء وصلى على محمد حاتم
 الانبياء واله الشاكره الاولين ^{مردت محمد بن سفيان}
 وصلى على سائر اولادهم وسلم عليهم وسلم
 يا فادك اليطا بالانسين ^{لا} لا شق ^{كاتبه} بالخير ^{تذكره} ه
^{مكتوبه} ^{الذهر} تنفقه ه
^{مكتوبه} ^{الذهر} تنفقه ه
^{مكتوبه} ^{الذهر} تنفقه ه



Figure 26. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 79, fol. 161v (final page of *Risālat al-Tawqīf alā tawbat ahl al-taṭrīf*).

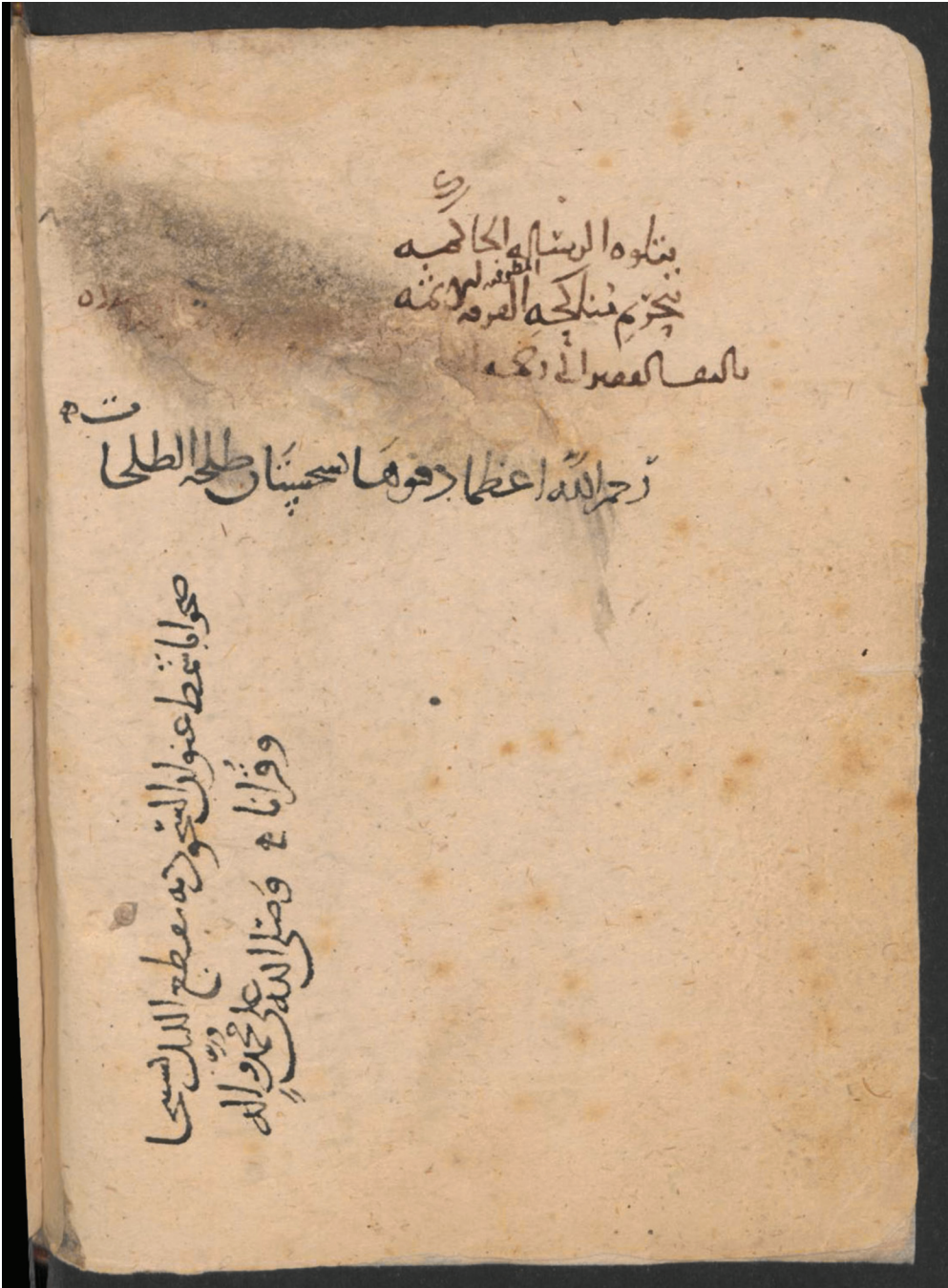


Figure 27. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 79, fol. 120v (title page of *al-Risāla al-ḥakima bi-taḥrīm munākhat al-firqa al-muṭarrifiyya al-āthima*).

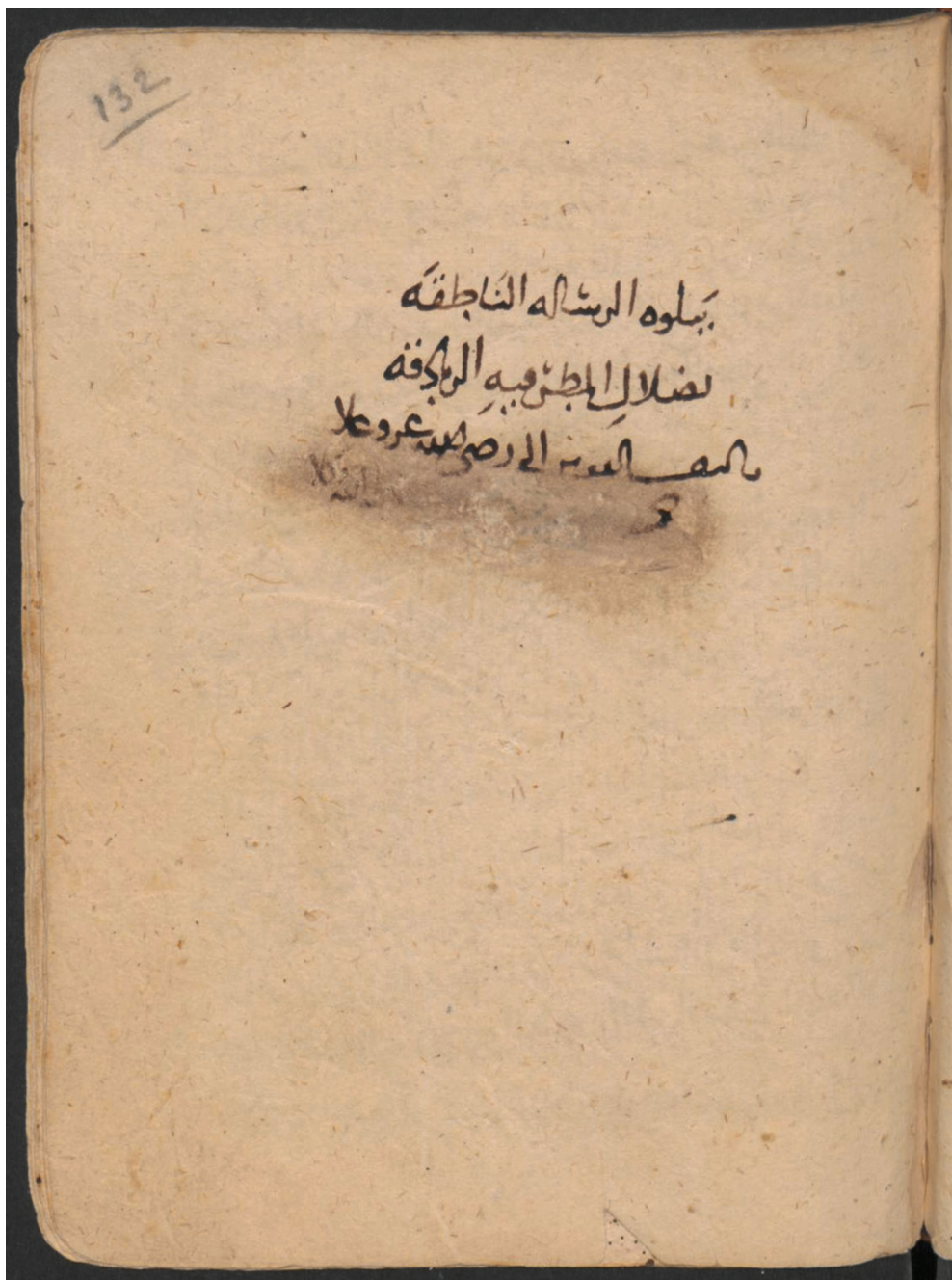


Figure 28. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 79, fol. 132r
(title page of *al-Risāla al-nāṭiqā bi-ḍalāl al-muṭarrifiyya al-zanāqida*).

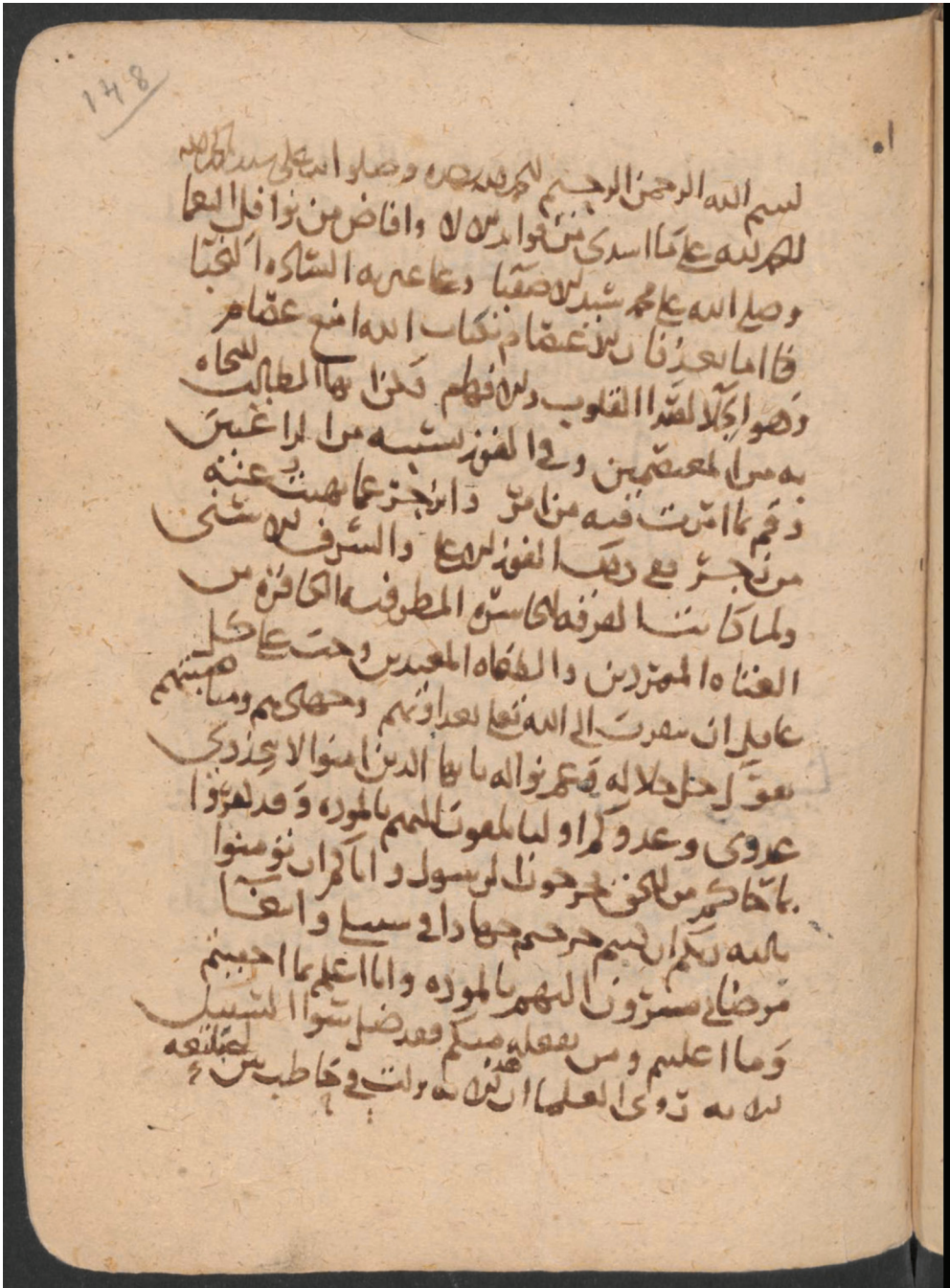


Figure 29. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 79, fol. 148r (first page of *al-Risāla al-nā'iya 'alā muṣāramat al-kuffār min al-muṭarrifiyya al-kafara al-ashrār*).

The first Western scholar to take notice of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī was Wilhelm Ahlwardt (1828–1909), who cataloged the manuscripts that had been assembled by Eduard Glaser during his second trip to Yemen in 1885–1886 and subsequently purchased by the Berlin State Library in February 1887. Ahlwardt provided descriptions of works by al-‘Ansī found in these manuscripts in the addenda (*Nachträge*) to volume 9 of his *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, published in 1897. These texts invariably represent shorter tracts attributed to al-‘Ansī, and they are for the most part not explicitly mentioned in the aforementioned Zaydi biobibliographical sources. With the exception of al-‘Ansī’s *Irshād*, which is preserved as MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Landberg 179 (purchased by the library a few years earlier, in 1884⁴³), Ahlwardt was unaware of al-‘Ansī’s remaining oeuvre and the comprehensive works it included. The first relevant manuscript described by Ahlwardt is MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111, an undated multitext volume consisting of seventeen tracts on a variety of theological topics written by Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī al-‘Iyānī (d. 404/1013).⁴⁴ The two final texts in the codex are rebuttals of the Muṭarrifiyya: al-‘Ansī’s *al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya al-muḥṣiḥa ‘an aḥkām al-Muṭarrifiyya* (figs. 15, 16) and another, untitled refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya whose unidentified author discusses eighty issues (*ma’rifa*), contrasting the views of the *ahl al-Islām* with those of the Muṭarrifiyya (figs. 17, 18). Ahlwardt assumed the latter tract, too, to be by al-‘Ansī, an assumption that was perhaps caused by the tract’s position in the codex. This final tract, for which Ahlwardt coined the title *‘Aqā’id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd ‘alā l-Muṭarrifiyya*, is incompletely preserved, as it breaks off at the end of the codex (fig. 18); however, not much seems to be missing in the end, since *ma’rifa* 80 starts on fol. 200v and the text breaks off at the end of fol. 222v. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, another multitext volume, contains three texts whose respective title pages identify al-‘Ansī as the author: *Jawāb al-faqīh Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shāfi‘ī al-sākin bi-Dhahbān* (figs. 19, 20) (→ inventory, item 314), *Mā’ al-yaqīn fī ma’rifat rabb al-‘ālamīn* (figs. 21, 22) (→ inventory, item 315), and *Manāhij al-bayān li-rijāl Sanḥān* (fig. 23) (→ inventory, item 320). The codex also includes *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj*, which is attributed on the tract’s title page (fig. 24) to “Diyād” (corrected into “Ziyād” [sic], possibly meaning Zayd) b. Aḥmad al-‘Ansī, the

⁴³ For a brief history of the Landberg collection in the Berlin State Library, see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Landberg’schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, Berlin: A. W. Schade, 1885. See also Christoph Rauch’s contribution to this volume.

⁴⁴ His collected writings were published as al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-‘Iyānī, *Min majmū’ kutub wa-rasā’il al-Imām al-‘Iyānī*, Sanaa: Markaz al-Turāth wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamanī, 2006. On him, see also Mufarriḥ b. Aḥmad al-Raba‘ī, *Sīrat al-amīrayn al-jalīlayn al-sharīfayn al-fāḍilayn al-Qāsim wa-Muḥammad ibnay Ja’far b. al-Imām al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī al-‘Iyānī: Naṣṣ tārikhī yamanī min al-qarn al-khāmis al-hijrī*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid and ‘Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-‘Āṭī, Beirut: Dār al-Muntakhab al-‘Arabī, 1413/1993; Wilferd Madelung, “The *Sīrat al-Amīrayn al-Ajallayn al-Sharīfayn al-Fāḍilayn al-Qāsim wa-Muḥammad ibnay Ja’far ibn al-Imām al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī al-‘Iyānī* as a Historical Source,” *Studies in the History of Arabia, I: Sources for the History of Arabia*, part 2, *Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia, Riyadh, April 1977*, Riyadh: University of Riyadh Press, 1977, pp. 69–87; see further Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 265 and passim.

father of al-ʿAnsī.⁴⁵ In view of al-ʿAnsī's explicit reference to the work in his *Tamyīz* (see above), the work's attribution to al-ʿAnsī's father must be an error, but Ahlwardt did not know this. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 79 includes four refutations of the Muṭarrifiyya: These are *al-Risāla al-ḥākima bi-taḥrīm munākaḥat al-firqa al-Muṭarrifiyya al-āthima* (fols. 120v–131),⁴⁶ *al-Risāla al-nāṭiqā bi-ḍalāl al-Muṭarrifiyya al-zanādiqa* (fols. 132r–147v),⁴⁷ *al-Risāla al-nā'iya ʿalā muṣāramat al-kuffār min al-Muṭarrifiyya al-kafara al-ashrār* (fols. 148r–157r),⁴⁸ and *Risālat al-Tawqīf ʿalā tawbat ahl al-taṭrīf* (fols. 157v–161v).⁴⁹ In all four cases, the author's name is either fully or partly erased on the respective title page, but Ahlwardt assumed al-ʿAnsī to be the author of all four. The grounds for his assumption are unclear, but there are several reasons to exclude the possibility of al-ʿAnsī's authorship. At the end of *al-Risāla al-nā'iya* (fol. 157r; **fig. 25**), the final tract in the codex, *Risālat al-Tawqīf ʿalā tawbat ahl al-taṭrīf*, is announced, and the name of the author is still partly legible: *yatlūhu al-risāla al-mawsūma bi-l-tawqīf ʿalā tawbat ahl al-taṭrīf | min taʿlīf al-Faqīh al-Ajall al-ʿAllāma al-Imām | Husām al-Dīn ʿUmdat al-Muwaḥḥidīn Abī ʿAbd Allāh | . . . b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī tawallā Allāh mukāfatahu*.⁵⁰ Both “Abū ʿAbd Allāh” and “b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī” are incompatible with Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī as the tract's author. Instead, what is visible of the author's name clearly points to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (killed in 652/1254).⁵¹ Moreover, at the end of *Risālat al-Tawqīf ʿalā tawbat ahl al-taṭrīf* (fol. 161v; **fig. 26**) there is a signature by Qāsim b. Aḥmad b.

⁴⁵ Ahlwardt does not comment on the reading of the name in the manuscript and simply renders it as Zayd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAnsī; see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin: A. W. Schade, 1887–1899, vol. 9, p. 591.

⁴⁶ See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 592 no. 10288. For a brief description and a digital surrogate of the tract, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=73539248X> (accessed 25 January 2022).

⁴⁷ See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 592 no. 10289. For a brief description and digital surrogate, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735402922> (accessed 25 January 2022).

⁴⁸ See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 592 no. 10290. For a brief description and digital surrogate, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735408041> (accessed 25 January 2022).

⁴⁹ See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 593 no. 10291. For a brief description and a digital surrogate, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735408246> (accessed 25 January 2022). The first two tracts in MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 79 are *al-Jawāb li-l-Sayyid al-Fāḍil Niẓām al-Dīn Idrīs b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sulaymānī* (fols. 1r–78v) (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 4, p. 362 no. 5008), which is concerned with the question of *aḥkāma al-kufr* and *dār al-Islām* versus *dār al-ḥarb* (the author explicitly supports the position of al-Manṣūr against that of the Muṭarrifiyya), and *Mukhtaṣar fī l-farāʿid* by Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn Qarīḥ (or Farīj) (fols. 81–118r) (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 4, p. 218 no. 4747; Ahlwardt reads the name as “ben Foreih”). For the little known Ibn Qarīḥ, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 429–430 no. 1271 (Ibn Abī l-Rijāl has him as Ibn Badīḥ). Idrīs b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sulaymānī al-Tihāmī was a scholar and a contemporary of al-ʿAnsī and an opponent of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (on whom see below); on him, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 530–533 no. 290; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 225. That the codex includes a text by Idrīs b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sulaymānī also speaks against al-ʿAnsī's authorship of the four refutations against the Muṭarrifiyya included in the codex.

⁵⁰ Our reading is based on our consultation of the original codex in 2011.

⁵¹ On him, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 245–251 no. 520.

Ḥumayd, who was a grandson of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī.⁵² This indicates that the codex remained in the family of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī for at least two generations—plausible if it included some of al-Ḥumayd’s tracts, but unlikely if it consisted primarily of works by al-‘Anṣī. In the remaining three tracts, which are all written by the same hand, the author’s name has been completely erased (**figs. 27, 28, 29**). But there are also other reasons to doubt al-‘Anṣī’s authorship of the tracts. Unlike the *K. al-Tamyīz*, al-‘Anṣī’s last major refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya, which was certainly written by him, and in contrast to what we know about al-‘Anṣī’s position regarding the Muṭarrifiyya and Imam al-Manṣūr’s policy in fighting them, the tracts included in MS Glaser 79 show their author to have been a faithful follower and staunch supporter of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh and his harsh persecution of the adherents of the Muṭarrifiyya (discussed further below). Unlike al-‘Anṣī, Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī is known to have supported al-Manṣūr’s policy against the Muṭarrifiyya,⁵³ and this again points to al-Muḥallī rather than al-‘Anṣī as the tracts’ author.⁵⁴

Ahlwardt’s catalog of the Berlin collection and his descriptions of the three above-mentioned codices provided the basis for Carl Brockelmann’s (1868–1956) entries on al-‘Anṣī, father and son, in volumes 1 and 2 of his *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, which were published in 1898 and 1902. Following Ahlwardt, Brockelmann names Zayd b. Aḥmad al-‘Anṣī as the author of *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj*:⁵⁵

⁵² For al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, who wrote a commentary on the *Ta’līq Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa* entitled *al-Ghurur wa-l-ḥujūl fī kashf asrār al-uṣūl*, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 64–65 no. 1027; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 131. For his father, Aḥmad b. Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (d. 701/1301), see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 295–296. Aḥmad b. Ḥumayd is also mentioned among the transmitters of *Uṣūl al-aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* by Imam al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1170); see MS Milan, Ambrosiana, H 123 ar, fol. 299r.

⁵³ See al-Muḥallī’s biography of al-Manṣūr in his *al-Ḥadā’iq al-wardiyya*, where he discusses favorably the latter’s treatment of the Muṭarrifiyya. See al-Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, *al-Ḥadā’iq al-wardiyya fī manāqib a’immat al-Zaydiyya*, ed. al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭṭawī al-Ḥasanī, 2 vols., Sanaa: Maktabat Markaz Badr al-‘Ilmī wa-l-Thaqāfī, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 247–354, esp. 309, 324. See also Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, *Maḥāsin al-azhār fī manāqib imām al-abrār wa-wālid al-a’imma al-aṭḥār al-imām amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī, Qum: Majma’ lḥyā’ al-Thaqāfa al-Islāmiyya, 1422/2001–2, pp. 356–358, where he is also outspoken in his support of al-Manṣūr’s position toward the Muṭarrifiyya.

⁵⁴ ‘Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-‘Āṭī, who included these four tracts in his *al-Ṣirā’ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman bayna l-Zaydiyya wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya: Dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ* (al-Haram [Giza], 2002), pp. 274–314, alongside *al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya* (included in MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111), seemed unconcerned about their authenticity and also does not provide any information on the antigraph he consulted. Following Ahlwardt, the four tracts are regularly listed among the writings of al-‘Anṣī; see, e.g., al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 1, p. 571; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Akwa’, *Hijār al-‘ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811a; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62; see also below. See further al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, p. 309 no. 3 for *al-Risāla al-ḥākima*; al-Shāmī includes only one refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya, *Ḍalāl al-Muṭarrifiyya*, in his list of al-‘Anṣī’s doctrinal writings, but it is unclear which work he has in mind, as the title is not mentioned elsewhere. Besides al-Muḥallī, another possible author of some of the tracts included in MS Glaser 79 might be al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn, who also composed several refutations against the Muṭarrifiyya, which seem not to have come down to us. See above, n. 11.

⁵⁵ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1, Weimar: Emil Felber, 1898; vol. 2, Berlin: Emil Felber, 1902, vol. 1 (1898), p. 402. See also Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 258, where *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* (MS Glaser 123) is likewise attributed to Zayd b. Aḥmad al-‘Anṣī.

4. Zaid b. A. al-‘Ansī ca. 600/1203. *k. as sirāğ al wahnâğ al mumaijiz bain al istiğâma wal i’wiğâğ*, über das Wesen Gottes, Berl. 10284.

Brockelmann devotes a separate entry to his son, ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī, and in it he lists one of the tracts of MS Glaser 111 that names al-‘Ansī as its author (*al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya al-mufsiḥa ‘an aḥkām al-Muṭarrifiyya*), one out of the three texts by al-‘Ansī included in MS Glaser 123 (*Manāḥij al-bayān li-rijāl Sanḥān*), and all four tracts of MS Glaser 79 that Ahlwardt attributed to al-‘Ansī. Brockelmann adds MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Landberg 179, which contains a copy of al-‘Ansī’s *Irshād*:⁵⁶

5. Sein Sohn ‘Abdallāh b. Zaid b. A. al-‘Ansī ca. 630/1233. 1. *Al Fatāwī an nabawīje al mufsiḥa ‘an aḥkām al muṭarrifiye*, Nachweiss, dass die Muṭarrifiten Ketzer seien, Berlin 10286. 2. *manāḥiğ al bajān liriğâl Sinḥân*, Warnung vor Ketzereien, mit bes. Rücksicht auf die Muṭarrifiten, an die Bewohner des Distriktes Sinḥân, ib. 10287. 3. *ar r. al ḥâkima bitaḥrîm munâkaḥat al firqa al Muṭarrifiye*, ib. 10288. 4. *ar r. an nâṭiqa biğdalâl al Muṭarrifiye as zanâdiqa* ib. ‘9. 5. *ar r. an nâ’ija ‘alâ muşâramat al kuffâr min al Muṭarrifiye al kafara al aşrâr* ib. 10290. 6. *r at taufiq ‘alâ taubat al taṭrîf* ib. ‘1. 7. *K al irşâd ilâ ṭarîq annağât*, verf. 632/1234, Berlin. 3134.

While Brockelmann does not mention “‘Aqā’id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd ‘alâ l-Muṭarrifiyya” (MS Glaser 111) here or anywhere else in his *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, he has another entry for ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī in volume 2 of the *Geschichte* (published 1902), and in that entry he lists the two remaining works by al-‘Ansī included in MS Glaser 123, *Mā’ al-yaqîn fi ma’rifat rabb al-‘âlamîn* and *Jawāb al-faqîh Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shāfi’ al-sâkin bi-Dhahbān*. That he here dates al-‘Ansī about a century later than he did in his earlier entry suggests that he overlooked the fact that the two entries relate to the same person:⁵⁷

1. ‘Abdallāh b. Zaid b. A. al-‘Ansī al Mağḥiğī, um 748/1347. 1. *K mâ al jaqîn fi ma’rifat rabb al ‘âlamîn* Berl. 10323. 2 Antworten auf theologische Fragen, ib. 10325.

Ismā’îl Bāshā al-Bābānī al-Baghdādī (1839–1920) consulted Ahlwardt for the list of works that he cites in the following entry in his *Hadiyyat al-‘arîfin*.⁵⁸ Unlike Brockelmann, Ismā’îl al-Baghdādī included all tracts composed by or attributed to ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī

⁵⁶ Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1 (1898), p. 402.

⁵⁷ Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2 (1902), p. 186. The three cited entries are repeated in Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943–1949, vol. 1, p. 508 nos. 4 and 5, and vol. 2, p. 237 no. 1. See also Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur: Supplementband I*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937, p. 699 no. 5, where he lists MS London, British Library OR 3926 as an additional copy of al-‘Ansī’s *Irshād*, as well as MS London, British Library OR 3835, *Ḥadiqat al-ḥikma sharḥ al-Arba’in al-Saylaqiyya*. The latter is clearly an error, since Rieu, to whose catalog Brockelmann refers here (Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 91 no. 156), identified al-Manşūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (561–614/1166–1217) as the commentary’s author; Brockelmann’s error is also noted in al-Akwā’, *Hijar al-‘ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1812a. Brockelmann’s three entries in *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, as well as the additional one (including his misattribution) in *Supplementband I*, are included, in Arabic translation, in Carl Brockelmann, *al-Adabiyāt al-yamaniyya fi l-maktabāt wa-l-marākiz al-thaqāfiyya al-‘alamiyya*, trans. Şāliḥ b. al-Shaykh Abū Bakr, Sanaa: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamaniyya, 1985, pp. 51–52 nos. 9 and 10.

⁵⁸ Ismā’îl Bāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arîfin: Asmā’ al-mu’allifin wa-āthār al-muşannifin min Kashf al-zunūn*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā’, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 2008, vol. 1, column 460.

according to Ahlwardt's catalog.⁵⁹ However, he disagreed with Ahlwardt's identification of the works' author. On the basis of 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh Bā Makhrama's (884–952/1479–1546) *Qilādat al-naḥr*, his principal source for the literary heritage of southern Arabia, he identified 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Maḥdī al-'Arīqī (d. 640/1242–43)⁶⁰ rather than 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad al-'Ansī as the author:

العريقي—عبد الله بن زيد بن مهدي حسام الدين العريقي (أعروق قرية باليمن) من علماء الزيدية توفي سنة 640 أربعين وستمائة قال صاحب قلادة النحر: "كان محدثاً فقيهاً، له تصانيف في الفقه والأصول"، منها الإرشاد إلى طريق النجاة، التوقيف على توبة أهل التطريف، الرسالة الحاكمة بتحريم مناقحة الفرقة المطرفية الظالمة، الرسالة الناطقة بضلال المطرفية الزنادقة، الرسالة الناعية على مصارمة الكفار من المطرفية الكفرة الأشرار، عقائد أهل البيت والرد على المطرفية، الفتاوى النبوية المفصحة عن أحكام المطرفية، ما [كذا] اليقين في معرفة رب العالمين، مناهج البيان لرجال سنجان [كذا].

Two of the works listed above, namely, *Manāhij al-bayān li-rijāl Sanḥān* and *al-Risāla al-nā'iya 'alā muṣāramat al-kuffār min al-muṭarrifiyya al-kafara al-ashrār*, are also discussed in Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī's *Īdāḥ al-maknūn*. In the case of *al-Risāla al-nā'iya*, it is again evident that his information is based on the relevant entry in Ahlwardt's *Verzeichniss*, where the *incipit* is quoted in the same manner. Unlike the entry in *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn*, the entry in *Īdāḥ al-maknūn* correctly identifies the (alleged) author of both texts, although the year given for his death, 640 AH, points again to confusion between al-'Ansī and al-'Arīqī:

مناهج البيان لرجال سنجان (كذا)—لحسام الدين عبد الله بن زيد بن أحمد المدحجي المتوفى سنة 640 أربعين وستمائة.⁶¹

⁵⁹ That Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī must have consulted Ahlwardt's catalog directly is corroborated by other entries in his *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn*, in which he explicitly refers to manuscripts of the Berlin State Library; see, e.g., vol. 1, column 787, in his entry "Ibn al-'Adīm, 'Umar b. al-Qāḍī Majd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Hibat Allāh," where he remarks at the end of the list of Ibn al-'Adīm's writings, in parentheses, "*mawjūd fī Dār al-Kutub Birlīn*"; and vol. 2, column 110, in his entry "al-Nu'mānī, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr," where he mentions, following the work title *Ibrīz al-dhahab fī lughat al-'Arab*, "*mawjūd fī Birlīn*."

⁶⁰ See Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī Bā Makhrama, *Qilādat al-naḥr fī wafayāt a'yān al-dahr*, ed. Bū Jum'a Makrī and Khālid Zawārī, Jeddā: Dār al-Minhāj, 1428/2008, vol. 5, p. 164 no. 2957. For Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Maḥdī al-'Arīqī, see also 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazrajī's (d. 812/1410) *al-'Aqd al-fākhīr al-ḥasan fī ṭabaqāt akābir ahl al-Yaman wa-huwa Ṭirāz a'lām al-zaman fī ṭabaqāt a'yān al-Yaman*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Qā'id al-'Abbādī et al., Sanaa: Maktabat al-Jīl al-Jadīd, 2009, pp. 1212–1213 no. 553, where in turn some earlier sources are quoted; see further 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazrajī, *al-'Uqūd al-lu'ū'iyya fī tārikh al-dawla al-rasūliyya*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥibshī, 2 vols., Sanaa: Maktabat al-Irshād, 1430/2009, vol. 1, pp. 108–109. For Bā Makhrama and his *Qilādat al-naḥr*, see Oscar Löfgren, "Über Abū Maḥrama's *Kilādat al-naḥr fī wafayāt a'yān al-dahr*," *Le Monde Orientale* (Uppsala) 25 (1931), pp. 120–139; idem, "Abū Maḥrama's *Kilādat al-naḥr*: Ergänzungen zum Aufsatz Mos XXV, 120–139," *Le monde orientale* 26–27 (1932–33), pp. 227–228; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane = Maṣḥādir tārikh al-Yaman fī l-'aṣr al-islāmī*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1974, pp. 206–208. The work also served as one of the principal sources for Oscar Löfgren's *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1936.

⁶¹ Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb Īdāḥ al-maknūn fī l-dhayl 'alā Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltqāyā and Rifāt Bīlka al-Kilīsi, Istanbul: Milli Eđitim Basimevi, 1945–1947, column 563.

التاعية على مصارمة الكفار من المطرفية الكفرة الأشرار—تأليف عبد الله بن زيد بن أحمد المدحجي العنسي الزيدي المتوفى سنة 640 أولها الحمد لله على ما اسدى من فوائد الآلاء اعط.⁶²

Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī also devotes an entry to al-‘Ansī’s father, Zayd b. Aḥmad al-‘Ansī, in his *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn*; the entry parallels that of Ahlwardt (and that of Brockelmann):⁶³

العنسي—زيد بن أحمد العنسي اليماني المتوفى في حدود سنة 600 ستمائة. صنف السراج الوهاج المميز بين الاستقامة والاعوجاج في الأصول.

Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī’s fictitious entry on al-‘Arīqī, an amalgam of Ahlwardt and Bā Ma-khrama, is regularly cited in Sunni sources, as, for example, in ‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla’s (1905–1987) *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn*,⁶⁴ in the metadata for a surrogate of a copy al-‘Ansī’s *K. al-Irshād* held in the library of Jāmi‘at Umm al-Qurā’ in Mecca,⁶⁵ in Shu‘ayb al-Arnā‘ūṭ’s (1928–2016) edition of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr’s *al-Awāṣim wa-l-qawāṣim*,⁶⁶ and in Muḥammad ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Miṣrī’s edition of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr’s *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*.⁶⁷ In its electronic catalog of manuscript surrogates, the Jum‘at al-Mājid Center in Dubai lists al-‘Ansī as “al-‘Arīqī: ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad al-‘Ansī al-Midhhajī, Abū Muḥammad, 667H.”⁶⁸

The next Western scholar to take notice of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī and his works as preserved in European collections was Wilferd Madelung in his 1965 monograph *Der Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*. Madelung consulted the tract Ahlwardt had tentatively titled “*Aqā'id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd ‘alā l-Muṭarrifiyya*,” and he remains careful about its identity and author, describing the text as “Bruchstück eine Widerlegung der Muṭarrifiten . . . , in der Ahlwardt, Katalog Nr. 10292, ein Werk des ‘Abd Allah b. Zaid al-‘Ansī vermutet.”⁶⁹ Aware of the merely descriptive character of the title coined by Ahlwardt, Madelung avoids it and rather

⁶² Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī, *Ṭiqāḥ al-maknūn*, column 616.

⁶³ Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn*, vol. 1, column 377.

⁶⁴ ‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn: Tarājim muṣannifī l-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, Damascus: Maṭba‘at al-Taraqīqī, 1957–1961, vol. 6, p. 55.

⁶⁵ <https://dorar.uqu.edu.sa/uquui/handle/20.500.12248/112937> (accessed 25 January 2022). The author is correctly identified in the case of two other surrogates of witnesses of the *Irshād* in the same library; see <https://dorar.uqu.edu.sa/uquui/handle/20.500.12248/109562> (accessed 25 January 2022) and <https://dorar.uqu.edu.sa/uquui/handle/20.500.12248/103892> (accessed 25 January 2022).

⁶⁶ Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr al-Yamānī, *al-Awāṣim wa-l-qawāṣim fī l-dhabb ‘an sunnat Abī l-Qāsim*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arnā‘ūṭ, Amman: Dār al-Bashīr, 1405–1412/1985–1992, vol. 1, p. 33 n. 1.

⁶⁷ Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Miṣrī, p. 41 n. 2.

⁶⁸ <http://www.almajidcenter.org/> (accessed 25 January 2022). See, by contrast, al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘at al-alqāb al-yamaniyya*, vol. 4, p. 337 (al-‘Urayqī [sic], no. 1), for a proper identification of al-‘Arīqī; and likewise al-Ḥībshī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 123 (al-‘Ansī), 199–200 (al-‘Arīqī). See also Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, pp. 61–63 nos. 463 (‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Arīqī), 464 (‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī); although ‘Abd al-Malik Ḥamīd al-Dīn is aware of the confusion between al-‘Arīqī and al-‘Ansī among some of the earlier biographers, his own entry on al-‘Arīqī also confuses the two, although his entry on al-‘Ansī is correct throughout. Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī’s conflation between al-‘Ansī and al-‘Arīqī is also pointed out in Ja‘far al-Ṣubḥānī (ed.), *Mu‘jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn: Yataḍammanu tarjamat rijālāt al-‘ilm wa-l-fikr ‘abra arba‘a ‘ashar qarnan*, Qum: Mu‘assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 1424/2003–4, vol. 2, p. 391 n. 2; and Ja‘far al-Ṣubḥānī (ed.), *Mawsū‘at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā’*, 14 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Adwā’, 1999, vol. 7, p. 139 nos. 2499 and 2500.

⁶⁹ Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 202 n. 315.

lists the tract in his bibliography as “Titelloses Bruchstück einer Widerlegung der Muṭarrifiten.”⁷⁰

Over the past decades, additional titles attributed to al-Ansī have come to light in some of the private libraries of Yemen. These are regularly added to al-Ansī’s list of writings without scrutiny of their authenticity and precise identity. For example, a multitext volume preserved in the library of a branch of the Āl al-Wazīr in Hijrat al-Sirr contains a text entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-maḥajja al-dāll ‘alā anna ijmā’ āl al-nabī ḥujja*, which was copied, according to al-Ḥibshī, in 972/1564–65. In his brief description of the text in his *Fihris*⁷¹ al-Ḥibshī identifies al-Mu’ayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 421/1030) as its author. Al-Wajīh, who saw the same copy (according to al-Wajīh the copy is dated Sha’bān 772/February–March 1371), disagreed with al-Ḥibshī’s identification and identified al-Ansī as its author. In view of the scant information provided by al-Wajīh, it is unclear how he arrived at this conclusion. However, the individual headings of the two *masā’il* included in the text as well as the chapter (*faṣl*) headings in both *masā’il* as recorded by al-Wajīh precisely match those of the following two tracts: *Risāla fī anna ijmā’ ahl al-bayt ḥujja* by Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033) and *Mas’ala fī anna ijmā’ ahl al-bayt ḥujja* by al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā’īl al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī (fl. early fifth/elev-enth century). The overlaps indicate that these two tracts are in fact behind “*Miṣbāḥ al-maḥajja al-dāll ‘alā anna ijmā’ āl al-nabī ḥujja*.”⁷² Another example is the list of al-Ansī’s writings that the editor of al-Ansī’s *al-Risāla al-badī’a al-mu’līna* (→ inventory, item 12) includes in the introduction to his edition (p. 22 no. 24). Here, he lists “*Mansak al-ḥajj*” as an

⁷⁰ Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 254. Madelung also consulted al-Ansī’s *al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya al-muṣṣiḥa ‘an aḥkām al-Muṭarrifiyya* (MS Glaser 111); see *ibid.* It is possible that ‘Abd al-‘Āṭī also had some reservations about the attribution of “*Aqā’id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd ‘alā l-Muṭarrifiyya*” to al-Ansī. Whereas he included in his *al-Ṣirā’ al-fikrī* all four tracts in MS Glaser 79 that Ahlwardt had attributed to al-Ansī, of the tracts in MS Glaser 111 he included only *al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya*, not “*Aqā’id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd ‘alā l-Muṭarrifiyya*.” But since he does not explain his rationale, he may have had other reasons not to include the latter text.

⁷¹ Al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris*, p. 49 no. 84.

⁷² Al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, pp. 364, 391–392. The two tracts were accessible to us through MS Milan, Ambrosiana F 29 ar., fols. 290v–308r. Al-Wajīh’s description of the *Miṣbāḥ* reads as follows (the parallel locations in the Ambrosiana manuscript are given in parentheses): *awwaluhu Mas’ala fī anna ijmā’ ahl al-bayt ḥujja min imlā’ al-Imām Abī Ṭālib al-Hārūnī* (= fol. 290v), *thumma faṣl fī dhikr shubah yumkin irāduhā fī hādhihi l-mas’ala wa-bayān ajwibatihā* (= fol. 294r), *thumma mas’ala fī anna ijmā’ ahl al-bayt ḥujja min imlā’ al-Sayyid Aḥmad [sic] b. Ismā’īl al-Jurjānī* (= fol. 295v), *thumma faṣl fī l-adilla allatī istadalla bihā* (= fol. 297v), *wa-akhīran faṣl fī l-adilla allatī tudhkar fī hādihā l-bāb* (= fol. 305v), *wa-akhīran faṣl fī ḥukm ijmā’ihim ‘alayhim al-salām* (= fol. 306r, here *faṣl fī aḥkām ijmā’ihim*). For an edition and study of Abū Ṭālib’s tract, see Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033) on the Consensus of the Family of the Prophet: An *Editio Princeps* of His *Risāla fī anna ijmā’ Ahl al-Bayt Ḥujja* (Ms Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. F 29/4, fols. 290v–295v),” *Shii Studies Review* 3 (2019), pp. 249–269; for an edition and study of al-Muwaffaq’s tract, see Hassan Ansari, ‘Ammār Jum’a, and Sabine Schmidtke, “Al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh on the Consensus of the Family of the Prophet: An *Editio Princeps* of His *Mas’ala fī anna ijmā’ Ahl al-Bayt Ḥujja* (Ms Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. F 29/5),” *Shii Studies Review* 6 (2022) [forthcoming]. Al-Wajīh mentions another copy of the *Mas’ala fī anna ijmā’ ahl al-bayt ḥujja* by al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā’īl al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī, transcribed by Ṣalāḥ b. Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn, which, al-Wajīh reports, is kept in the Maktabat al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Yaḥyā Rāwiya; see al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 1, p. 365. It is unclear why al-Wajīh did not recognize that the same text is also included in the manuscript in the Hijrat al-Sirr library.

independent title among al-ʿAnṣī's works, and he adds that a manuscript of the text is held in Hijrat Suwaydān, in the Maktabat al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn al-Muʿayyadī. Comparison with al-Wajīh's *Maṣādir*, which includes a catalog of this library, shows that this text in fact constitutes an excerpt from al-ʿAnṣī's *K. al-Irshād*.⁷³ Moreover, in his *Hijar al-ilm* Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ attributes to al-ʿAnṣī a work entitled *al-Miṣbāḥ al-lāʾih fi l-radd ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya*.⁷⁴ None of the earlier biobibliographical sources record this title, but it is also mentioned by al-Wajīh in his *Aʿlām al-muʿallifin al-Zaydiyya* (with reference to *Hijar al-ilm*)⁷⁵ and in the introduction to al-Wajīh and al-Hāshimī's edition of al-ʿAnṣī's *Irshād*.⁷⁶ In the latter publication, the editors refer to "*Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya*," that is, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's *Mustaṭāb*, as their source; however, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's work does not mention the title. Finally, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid misidentifies MS Milan, Ambrosiana, D 352 ar. as "*Kitāb fi l-fiqh*" by ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Khayr al-ʿAnṣī.⁷⁷ This misidentification is corrected by Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini in volume 2 their catalog of the Arabic manuscripts of the Ambrosiana, where they describe its contents as "Torso of (*Ṣams al-akhbār al-muntaqā min kalām an-nabī l-muḥtār*, by Ibn al-Walīd al-Quraṣī)."⁷⁸

An analysis of al-ʿAnṣī's legal theory, another desideratum in the study of al-ʿAnṣī's thought, will be possible on the basis of what has come down to us from his *Taḥrīr adillat al-uṣūl* (→ inventory, item 18) in the *Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya*, if and when the manuscript becomes available. In conjunction with the numerous quotations from al-ʿAnṣī's *al-Durra al-manẓūma* in Ibn al-Wazīr's books, it may also be possible to establish the relative chronology of the two works.

⁷³ Al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, pp. 261–262 (*majmūʿa* 86/2). *Mansak al-ḥajj* is also listed as an independent title by al-ʿAnṣī in al-Ṣubḥānī (ed.), *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391.

⁷⁴ Al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811b.

⁷⁵ Al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 571. By contrast, al-Ḥibshī does not include this title in his *Maṣādir*.

⁷⁶ ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnṣī, *K. al-Irshād ilā najāt al-ibād*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wajīh and Muḥammad Qāsim al-Hāshimī, Saʿda: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1421/2000–2001, p. 8. The title is also listed among al-ʿAnṣī's works in al-Ṣubḥānī (ed.), *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391, and in Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Darsī al-Ḥamzī, "al-Qāḍib li-shubah al-munazzihīn li-l-Muṭarrifiyya," unpublished book manuscript, <http://althaqaleen.com/Upload-edBooks/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A8%20%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%A8%D9%87%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B2%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%86%20%D9%84%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B7%D8%B1%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A9%D9%85%D9%86%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B5%D8%A8%20%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%B3%D9%8A.pdf> (accessed 25 January 2022), p. 129 no. 10. Neither of the two mention a source for this title.

⁷⁷ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Fihrist al-makḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī l-Ambrūziyānā bi-Mīlānū: Al-juzʿ al-thānī = Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de l'Ambrosienne de Milan: 2ème partie, D No. 220–420*, Cairo: Maʿhad al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya, 1960, p. 74 no. 132.

⁷⁸ Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, vols. 1–3, Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1975–1995; vol. 4, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2011, vol. 2, p. 305 no. 608. It should be noted that *Shams al-akhbār* is not by Ibn al-Walīd but by his son, ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurashī (d. mid-seventh/thirteenth century); see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 216 no. 115. Hassan Ansari also inspected the original codex, confirming that al-Munajjid has misidentified the work.

MANUSCRIPT CODICES COPIED BY AL-‘ANSĪ

In his *Majmū‘ al-ijāzāt*, al-Maswarī mentions three codices that were transcribed by ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī.

On one occasion,⁷⁹ al-Maswarī describes a codex that al-‘Ansī completed at the end of Jumādā I 626/April 1229 and another that he completed one a month later, in Jumādā II 626/April–May 1229. The first codex contained the *K. Uṣūl al-aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar (500–566/1106–1170), who rose up in Yemen as Imam al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh in 531/1137.⁸⁰ The second codex contained *Majmū‘ al-fiqh* attributed to Zayd b. ‘Alī (d. 122/740).⁸¹ Both codices were in the possession of al-‘Ansī’s son al-Ḥasan, who appears to have taken them to Imam al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (616–697/1219 or 1220–1298),⁸² asking the latter to issue an *ijāza* to him for both texts. Although neither of the two codices seems to have come down to us, al-Maswarī’s account includes the text of the two *ijāzas*.⁸³

Al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā adduces the following two chains of transmission for Aḥmad b. Sulaymān’s *Uṣūl al-aḥkām*, both through his immediate teacher Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Rijāl (d. 730/1329–30):⁸⁴

- (1) al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā ← Taqī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Rijāl ← al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258) ← Shu‘la b. Muḥammad al-Ḥiwālī, i.e., Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwa‘ “Shu‘la al-Akwa’” (d. ca. 640/1242–43) ← Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī ← Aḥmad b. Sulaymān⁸⁵
- (2) al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā ← Taqī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Rijāl ← Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Baqā’ b. Ṣālīḥ al-Tihāmī (d. after 670/1271–72)⁸⁶ ← Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (killed in 652/1254) ← Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī ← Aḥmad b. Sulaymān

For the *Majmū‘ al-fiqh*, which al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā read to both Ṣalāḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. Tāj al-Dīn (alive in 702/1302–3) and al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ansī, he mentions the following chain of transmission:

⁷⁹ See below, Appendix 5 for an edition of the relevant account.

⁸⁰ Al-Maswarī also describes the codex elsewhere in his *Majmū‘ al-ijāzāt* (margin note on p. 159), quoting its beginning, where al-‘Ansī mentions the number of Prophetic *ḥadīths* in each chapter of the book:

تفصيل هذه الأخبار ما ذكره الفقيه العلامة نضر الدين عبد الله بن زيد العنسي رحمه الله في ديباجة نسخته التي فرغ منها في جمادى الأولى سنة ست وعشرين وستمائة. . .

⁸¹ For the *K. Uṣūl al-aḥkām*, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 191 no. 112, 219 no. 139. For an overview of scholarship on the works attributed to Zayd b. ‘Alī since 1919, including the *Majmū‘ al-fiqh*, see Harald Motzki (with Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort and Sean W. Anthony), *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 281–285.

⁸² On him, see al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 2, pp. 378–379.

⁸³ See also Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 2, p. 57 no. 400, where the same codices are mentioned.

⁸⁴ On him, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 191–192 no. 1095; al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 2, p. 196 no. 196.

⁸⁵ For Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn’s having studied the *Uṣūl al-aḥkām* with Shu‘la al-Akwa’, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 8.

⁸⁶ On him, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 29–32 no. 380; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, pp. 293–295 no. 156. His name is given differently in the two sources (al-Ḥasan b. al-Baqā’ vs. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Baqā’). See also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 182 no. 15.

al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā ← Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Akwa⁸⁷ ← Shu‘la, i.e., Shu‘la al-Akwa⁸⁷
 ← Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī ← Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja‘far
 b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī (“Qāḍī Ja‘far,” d. 573/1177–78).

Above the latter *ijāza*, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ansī added a note stating that he had finished his *samā’* sessions for both books with al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā by the end of Rabī‘ I 689/April 1290. That al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh and Ṣalāḥ b. Ibrāhīm studied together under al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā is plausible, as both were, directly or indirectly, students of ‘Abd ‘Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī: whereas it can be taken for granted that al-Ḥasan studied under his father, Ṣalāḥ b. Ibrāhīm studied *kalām* under al-‘Ansī’s pupil Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr, and the historical sources stress that Ṣalāḥ endorsed the doctrinal views of Yaḥyā as well as those of the Zaydi imams (*wa-kāna ‘alā raṭhi wa-raṭi a’immat ahl al-bayt*). Ṣalāḥ also studied under al-‘Ansī’s student al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, and he completed the latter’s *Shifā’ al-uwām fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām*. With al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā, Ṣalāḥ studied, in addition to the *Majmū’ Zayd b. ‘Alī, ‘Ulūm Āl Muḥammad*, that is, the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ‘Isā b. Zayd* (d. 247/861), and *Sharḥ al-Ibāna*.⁸⁸

On another occasion,⁸⁹ al-Maswarī describes a codex that contained al-‘Ansī’s transcriptions of Abū Sa‘d al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawghanī’s (“al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī,” d. 494/1101) *K. Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn ‘an faḍā’il al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, completed on 2 Rabī‘ II 644/17 August 1246, and of the *K. al-‘Umda fī ‘uyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* of Abū l-Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (“Ibn al-Biṭrīq,” d. 600/1203–4 or 601/1204–5), completed on 7 Jumādā II 644/20 October 1246 in Sa‘da. Wedged in between these two writings in the codex, according to al-Maswarī, was a copy of the *K. Shawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawā’id al-tafḍīl fī l-āyāt al-nāzila fī ahl al-bayt* by the Ḥanafī scholar al-Ḥāfiṣ ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī al-Nīsābūrī (d. after 470/1077–78). This had been transcribed by ‘Abd Allāh’s nephew Muḥammad b. As‘ad with the exception of the first part of the work, up to *Sūrat al-Ḥajj*, which was in the hand of al-‘Ansī. Al-Maswarī 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’”) for al-‘Ansī

⁸⁷ On him, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 159 no. 37.

⁸⁸ See Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 438–440 no. 696; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, pp. 504–507 no. 301. Ṣalāḥ’s *Tatimmat Shifā’ al-uwām* has been published together with the latter work. Another published work of his is Ṣalāḥ b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī l-nuṣūṣ ‘alā imāmat khayr al-bariyya wa-dhikr najāt atbā’ al-dhurriyya*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ghufrānī, Mashhad: ‘Urūj Andīsha, 1423/1381sh/2002. For the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ‘Isā*, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 184 no. 36. A multixtext volume of several writings by Ṣalāḥ b. Ibrāhīm is preserved in the private library of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Kibsi. For a digital surrogate of the codex at Princeton University Library, see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9978495353506421> (accessed 25 January 2022). For a brief, incomplete description of the codex, see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 216 no. 42.

⁸⁹ A copy of the *Majmū’ al-ijāzāt* is preserved in the private library of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāyim in Hijrat Fallala; the relevant entry is to be found on pp. 470–476.

in Hūth, and he quotes it in full in his *Majmū‘ al-ijāzāt*.⁹⁰ A collective manuscript that nowadays belongs to the Maktabat Āl al-Anṯarī in Sa‘da can safely be identified as the codex described by al-Maswarī (figs. 30, 31).⁹¹

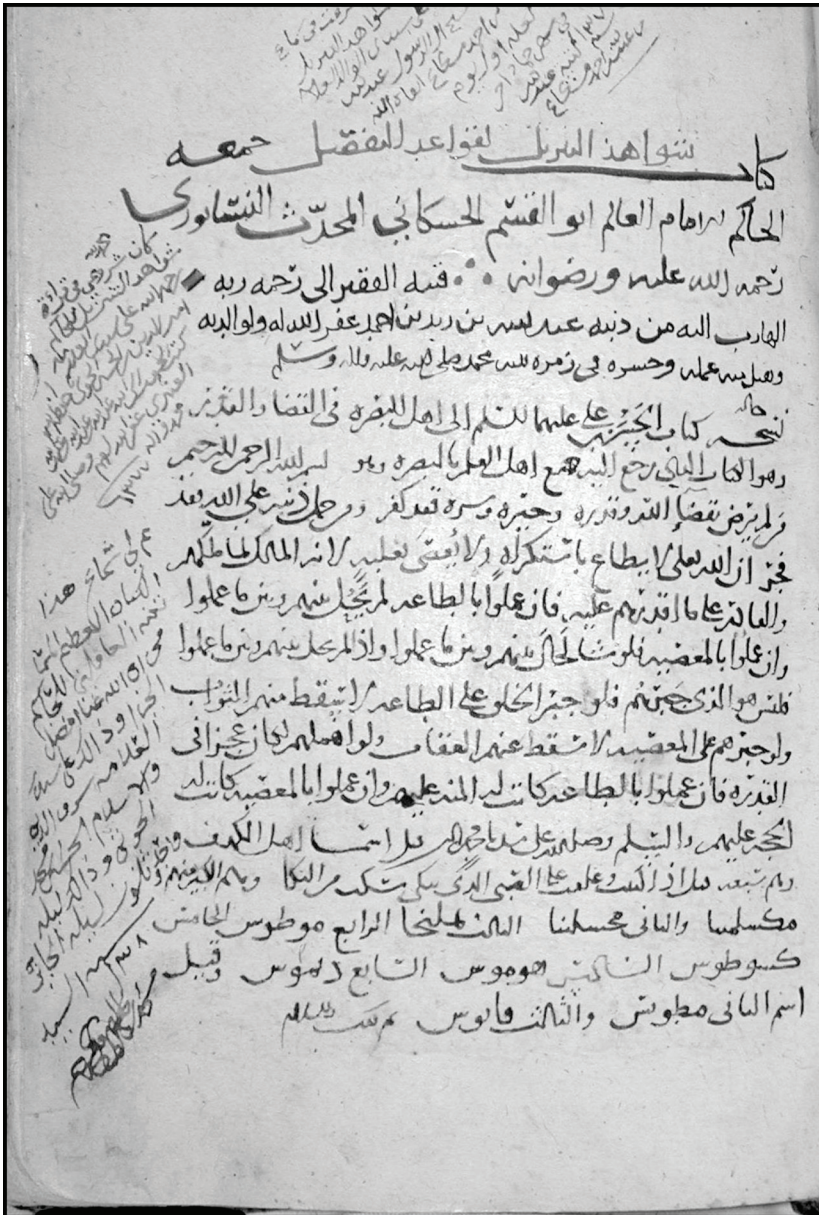


Figure 30. MS Sa‘da, Maktabat Āl al-Anṯarī (al-Anṯarī codex), fol. 41v.

⁹⁰ For an annotated edition of the *ijāza*, with analysis, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 8.

⁹¹ For a study of the codex, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 10.

كتاب العمدة في عبون صحاح الاخبار في مناقب
 امام الاثني عشر ائمة المومنين علي بن ابي طالب وصي المختار
 صل الله عليه وعلى رتبته الائمة الاطهار نقض
 السخ لرامام الهجلا الواحد العالم الفاضل الفقيه شمس
 الدين نجم الاسلام فاح العلي اسدي بطريق مع الرسول
 عليهم السلام الى الحسين بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق
 الاسدي الخي صانعت الله بحده وحده شعبة ه ه ه
 وفي الاصل ايضا من اعلي هذه الكاف من اوله الى اخره الشيخ الاجل العالم
 عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد الخي الصنعاني البراهيمي وسعه
 لقراءة ولله الموفق باقوت واجزت لهماز وابنه عنه في شأ كتابه
 في بن الحسين بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الاسدي الخي المومنين
 جلب في غزه حمادي الاولى من سنة مئتين وتسعين وخمسين لله
 وفي الاصل ايضا ناولت علي بن احمد بن الحسين بن الماسك بن ابي
 المجدل واخاه وهما اسملان علي منا واهل البيت عليهم السلام واحر اليها وانما
 عن من المصنف وكتب علي بن محمد بن اسدي الخي الصنعاني في سنة
 من ذي الحجة سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمستائه والجزء وحده
 وصلوات على خير الله
 مالك محمد بن عبد الله بن احمد بن عبد الله بن ابي طالب
 في سنة
 في صاحب الامام محمد بن عبد الله
 واي واركت الامام محمد بن عبد الله بن ابي طالب
 للاذاريك

Figure 31. MS Şa'da, Maktabat Āl al-Antharī (al-'Ansī codex), fol. 175r.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON AL-‘ANSĪ’S DOCTRINAL THOUGHT

Zaydī Shī‘ism initially developed and flourished in two regions, the southern shore of the Caspian Sea in northern Iran and the northern highlands of Yemen. Al-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥaqq al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) founded a Zaydī imamate in Gīlān, while Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq (d. 298/911), a grandson of Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860), established a Zaydī state in Yemen in 284/897. Although the majority of Yemeni theologians remained faithful to the teachings of the early Zaydī imams, al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, the Caspian Zaydīs increasingly adopted the doctrinal teachings of the Bahshamī school of the Mu‘tazila.⁹² Zaydī Bahshamī Mu‘tazilism flourished especially with the imams al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 411/1020) and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn (d. 424/1033). The two brothers had studied *kalām* in Baghdad with Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980), the leading authority on Bahshamī Mu‘tazilism at the time. Later they joined the circle of the Buyid vizier al-Šāḥib b. ‘Abbād (d. 385/995) in Rayy. The latter actively promoted Mu‘tazilī theology and appointed the then head of the Basran school, ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1024), chief judge of Rayy. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, in turn, attracted numerous additional Zaydī students. Bahshamī Mu‘tazilism continued to be upheld by the Zaydīs of northern Iran, especially those of Rayy, in the following generations.

The Zaydīs of Yemen seem to have mostly ignored the intellectual developments among their Iranian coreligionists. In the fifth/eleventh century, a pietist movement emerged in Yemen that was later named Muṭarrifiyya, after the eponym Muṭarrif b. Shihāb b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abbād al-Shihābī (d. mid-fifth/eleventh century). Taking the teachings of al-Hādī as their point of departure, the movement’s adherents developed a cosmology and natural philosophy of their own that deviated from the tenets of traditional Mu‘tazilism. During most of the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, this strand dominated the intellectual landscape of Yemeni Zaydism.⁹³

⁹² At the same time, the Caspian Zaydīs continued to adhere partly to the legal doctrines of al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh and partly to those of al-Hādī.

⁹³ On the Muṭarrifiyya, see also Wilferd Madelung, “A Muṭarrifi Manuscript,” *Proceedings of the Vth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975, pp. 75–83; Wilferd Madelung, “Origins of the Yemenite Hijra,” *Arabicus Felix: Luminosus Britannicus. Essays in Honour of A. F. L. Beeston on his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Alan Jones, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 25–44; David Thomas Gochenour, “The Penetration of Zaydī Islam into Medieval Yemen,” PhD diss., Harvard University, 1984, passim; ‘Abd al-‘Āṭī, *al-Širā’ al-fikrī*; Hassan Ansari, “Yād dāshī dar bāra-yi Muṭarrifiyya wa raddiyya-yi Qāḍī Ja‘far b. ‘Abd al-Salām,” *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 49–50 (1380 [2001]), pp. 112–126; Hassan Ansari, “Falsafa-yi ṭabī‘ī-yi mu‘taziliyān-i muṭarrifi,” *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 103–104 (1385 [2006]), pp. 4–17. Johann Heiss and Eirik Hovden argue in their “Competing Visions of Community in Medieval Zaydī Yemen,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59 (2016), pp. 366–407, that there existed a “proto-Muṭarrifiyya,” a local network of Zaydīs opposing al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī al-‘Iyānī (d. 393/1003) that prepared the ground for the Muṭarrifiyya to envisage a decentralized community that “was used to operating without an imam” (ibid., p. 367, and similarly pp. 369, 373), even “leaving no place for an imam as a ‘commander of the faithful’” (ibid., p. 400); by contrast, the doctrinal idiosyncrasies of the Muṭarrifiyya were formulated much later and are not constituent of the movement in its “proto” form. Some of their ideas are also mentioned in Hovden’s entry in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573->

3912_ei3_COM_41004 (accessed 25 January 2022). However, Heiss and Hovden's analysis is problematic in several respects. They critique, for example, "many historians [who] consider it important to understand the beginning of the Muṭarrifiyya as a school of thought ("*madhhab*")—as a beginning of a distinct set of ideas" (p. 387). But the few extant primary Muṭarrifi sources do suggest that Muṭarrifiyya endorsed a set of idiosyncratic doctrines that had developed before the arrival of Muʿtazili Baṣran doctrines in Yemen, although these doctrines are only rudimentarily known. Heiss and Hovden's argument rests on a highly selective approach to the available sources. They pick three accounts, one from the *sīra* of al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī, written by the secretary Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hamdānī, and two other accounts from volume 4 of the *Akhhbār al-Zaydiyya min ahl al-bayt ʿalayhim al-salām wa-shīʿatihim bi-l-Yaman* by the Muṭarrifi author Musallam b. Muḥammad al-Laḥjī (d. ca. 552/1157). The passage from the *sīra* mentions a *shaykh* Aḥmad b. al-Rayyān, who declared that he and his community would not pay *zakāt* to the imam. Another account from al-Laḥjī's work is concerned with Aḥmad b. al-Rayyān and his brother Ibrāhīm (who became the father-in-law of Muṭarrif b. Shihāb) and describes aspects of communal worship and study in the circle of the two brothers. The final account, also from al-Laḥjī, concerns one Ismāʿīl al-Muzayyin, who like the Banū l-Rayyān lived in Madar, and it describes the community's habits at harvest time. According to Heiss and Hovden, these three randomly chosen accounts prove that there was a "proto-Muṭarrifiyya" before Muṭarrif that was characterized by rejection of the notion of the imamate and that was not primarily concerned with doctrinal questions. This analysis rests on several misinterpretations. For example, Heiss and Hovden argue that in the account of Ismāʿīl al-Muzayyin the term *khums* refers to the technical legal term, even though the text discusses the division of the harvest of grapes into two parts and the subsequent division of one of them into five parts, and *khums* is not used in the legal sense here. They further claim that the term *awliyāʾ Allāh* designates a group of people who are to be distinguished from the *ashrāf*, although there is nothing in the text to support this interpretation. It is astonishing that in their discussion of the notions of *khums* and *zakāt* Heiss and Hovden refer to only one Zaydi legal work, without any analysis of the issue at hand. In "Competing Visions of Community," p. 400 n. 123 they refer only to a study by Norman Calder on *khums* in Imāmī *fiqh*, which is irrelevant for the context at hand, while ignoring all more relevant studies, such as Hossein Modarressi's *Kharāj in Islamic Law* (Tiptree: Anchor Press, 1983). Furthermore, it remains unclear how and why the early group of opponents of al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim should have later evolved into the Muṭarrifiyya; the designation of the former as "proto-Muṭarrifiyya" has no justification in the evidence presented or in any of the available sources. The authors also fail to reflect on how a community can define itself as Zaydi without believing in the notion of the imamate—they apparently confuse rejection of the legitimacy of an imam (which was very common) with rejection of the very notion of the imamate. It is noteworthy that they also refer, through ʿAbd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd-ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, to al-ʿAnṣī's *K. al-Tamyīz* (pp. 385–386), which they did not consult directly. On the Muṭarrifiyya during the time of al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza and their interpretation of a natural disaster that occurred sometime around 601/1205 and 606/1210, see also Johann Heiss and Eirik Hovden, "Zaydī Theology Popularised: A Hailstorm Hitting the Heterodox," *Cultures of Eschatology*, vol. 1: *Empires and Scriptural Authorities*, ed. Veronika Wieser, Vincent Eltschinger, and Johann Heiss, Oldenburg: de Gruyter, 2020, pp. 415–440. Here, too, their approach is selective, and their analysis is based on a single incident. More studies on the Muṭarrifis are certainly a desideratum. However, the available source material should be considered in its entirety—al-Laḥjī's *Akhhbār* amounts to several hundred pages and is replete with material, much of which points to the centrality of doctrinal disputes. Moreover, besides the *K. al-Burhān al-rāʿiq* and some other theological works, we now possess a new comprehensive primary source that informs us about the theological thought of the Muṭarrifiyya. The text was discovered a few years ago by Wilferd Madelung and was identified by Hassan Ansari; see Hassan Ansari, "Yik manbaʿ-ī jadīd-ī kalāmī-yi zaydiyān-ī muṭarrifi," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3491> (accessed 25 January 2022). Another text, *Sharḥ al-Faṣl* by the sixth/twelfth-century Muṭarrifi author Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yaḥīrī, was discovered by Hassan Ansari (see his "Falsafa-ī ṭabīʿī" and "Yik manbaʿ-ī jadīd"). An edition

Around the turn of the sixth/twelfth century, a rapprochement began between the Zaydis of Yemen and those of northern Iran that eventually resulted in the political unification of the two Zaydi states. In 531/1137, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (500–566/1106–1170) successfully established himself in Yemen as Imam al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh and was also acknowledged as the imam by the Zaydis of Iran. He promoted the transfer of Caspian Zaydi religious literature to Yemen, invited numerous Zaydi scholars from Iran to Yemen, and furthered the teaching careers of Yemeni scholars who had studied in Iran and Iraq. Aiming to establish an intellectual counterweight to the Muṭarrifī community, he specifically encouraged the spread of Bahshamī teachings. His successor, al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), who led an all-out war against the Muṭarrifiyya, further intensified the import of religious literature, particularly Bahshamī books, to Yemen and encouraged its dissemination. A leading part in promoting Caspian Zaydi and (Bahshamī) Mu‘tazilī teaching was played by the prominent Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī. At the latter’s death in 573/1177–78, he was succeeded by his former student Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad (or Abū ‘Alī) al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (546–584/1151 or 1152–1188). Al-Raṣṣāṣ acted as the teacher of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, later Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, and he wrote numerous substantial works on *kalām* and natural philosophy, thus further establishing the Bahshamī doctrine as the “official” theology of the Zaydis of Yemen. Al-Raṣṣāṣ not only disregarded the earlier Yemeni Zaydi theological tradition but also refrained from referring to any earlier Zaydi authorities in his discussions on *laṭīf al-kalām*. Prompted by their opponents’ focus on doctrinal issues, the Muṭarrifīs countered the attack: they insisted that they were faithful followers of the teachings of the early imams and argued that it was in fact the adoption of Bahshamī Mu‘tazilism that constituted a deviation from the truth and thus an illegitimate innovation. Moreover, faced with the new arrival of Mu‘tazilī works, the Muṭarrifīs seem to have increasingly used the doctrines of the Baghdādī Mu‘tazilīs to refine their own *kalām* in their intellectual battles with their opponents.⁹⁴ Consequently, the conflict took on the dynamics of the old opposition within the Mu‘tazila between the Baghdādīs and the Bahshamīs.

When al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ died in 584/1188, the religious and political leadership of the Zaydi community was still vacant after the death of Imam al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh. It

was published by Jamāl al-Shāmī in 1441/2019 (Markaz al-Turāth wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamanī). The edition was reviewed by Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Wazīr (“Al-Jadīd min turāth al-Muṭarrifiyya,” *al-Masār* 61 (2020), pp. 15–27), who erroneously assumes (*ibid.*, p. 26) that it was al-Shāmī who first discovered the text. Heiss and Hovden are apparently unaware of this newly discovered material.

⁹⁴ The doctrines of the Baghdādī Mu‘tazila could be gleaned from works such as the *Maqālāt* of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī al-Ka‘bī (d. 319/931) or the *K. al-Masā’il fi l-khilāf bayna l-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādiyyīn* of Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī, which was a systematic comparison between the doctrines of the adherents of the two Mu‘tazilī schools. Both works were available in Yemen since the late sixth/twelfth or early seventh/thirteenth century. For the *Maqālāt*, see Ansari and Schmidtke, “The Fate of Yemeni Manuscripts” in this volume; for the *Masā’il al-khilāf*, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 1. The influence of Baghdādī doctrines among the representatives of the Muṭarrifiyya during this period is evident, for example, in the *K. al-Burhān al-rā’iq* by the Muṭarrifī theologian Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, who flourished in the second half of the sixth/twelfth century and who regularly refers to al-Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* in his work. See Madelung, “Muṭarrifī Manuscript.”

was only in 593/1197 that al-Raṣṣāṣ’s former student ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza rose as Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. Under his reign, the Bahshamī strand irrevocably overcame its ideological detractors: the imam, who himself wrote a number of important theological works, declared the adherents of the Muṭarrifiyya to be unbelievers (*kuffār*) and even legitimized in his treatises the killing and enslaving of their adherents and the use of military force against them. Their persecution and the destruction of their *hijras* under al-Manṣūr eventually led to the extinction of the sect.

Al-Manṣūr’s reckless oppression of the Muṭarrifis evoked criticism among some of the Zaydi elite of Yemen, and as a result the Zaydi community was divided between those who approved and those who criticized al-Manṣūr’s conduct in the conflict—a situation that also affected the development of doctrinal thought among the Zaydis.⁹⁵ The theological approach of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ and his adherents continued to set the tone during the seventh/thirteenth century, with al-Raṣṣāṣ’s grandson, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (“*al-Ḥafīd*”) (d. 656/1258), being one of the most prominent representatives of the Zaydi Bahshamiyya. Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ *al-Ḥafīd* is otherwise particularly known for his *Jawharat al-uṣūl wa-tadhkirat al-fuḥūl*, which became the most authoritative Zaydi work on legal theory.⁹⁶ Another representative of the Bahshamī strand during the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century was Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī *al-shahīd*. Ḥumayd had studied, among other teachers, with Imam al-Manṣūr ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, and he is primarily renowned as the author of the *siyar* work *al-Ḥadā’iq al-wardiyya*. That he was an accomplished theologian is shown by his comprehensive works on *kalām*; his *‘Umdat al-mustarshidīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a theological summa in four parts in which he comments on a credal work by al-Manṣūr bi-llāh;⁹⁷ and his *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tafṣīl al-nafaḥāt al-miskiyya*,

⁹⁵ Among the opponents of al-Manṣūr’s policy against the Muṭarrifiyya was the latter’s contemporary Muḥammad al-‘Affī b. al-Mufaḍḍal, the forefather of the Banū l-Wazīr, and some of his relatives; see al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, pp. 58–60. An example of a work directed against al-Manṣūr and his policy may possibly be the lost tract *al-Taṣfiyya fī l-radd ‘alā l-Ḥamziyya wa-shī’atihim al-shatawiyya* (or *al-shatwiyya*) by the seventh/thirteenth-century Zaydi jurist *al-amīr* ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir, author of the renowned *K. al-Luma’ fī fiqh ahl al-bayt*; see Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Siyāghī, *al-Manhaj al-munīr tamām al-rawḍ al-naḍīr* (we consulted the book through Shamela). For *al-amīr* ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā, see also Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budur*, vol. 3, pp. 227–228 no. 876; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 725–728 no. 443; al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 2, pp. 52–53 no. 848; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 182 no. 9 (with further references). Moreover, a short text by Ḥumaydān, *Jawāb al-masā’il al-shatawiyya* (or *al-shatwiyya*) *wa-l-shubah al-ḥashawiyya* (or *al-ḥashwiyya*), could be a refutation directed at some Bahshamī Zaydis among the followers of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. The text is published in *Majmū’ al-Sayyid Ḥumaydān*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Ḥamzī and Hādī Ḥasan Hādī al-Ḥamzī, Sa’da: Manshūrāt Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 1424/2003, pp. 481–505.

⁹⁶ For the work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 75. For Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budur*, vol. 1, pp. 420–432 no. 210; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, pp. 196–198 no. 91.

⁹⁷ A partial copy of the work, dated 631/1234, is preserved in Princeton University Library; see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9938632163506421> (accessed 25 January 2022). Other partial copies of the *‘Umda* are preserved in the Maktabat al-Awqāf in Sanaa and the library of the shrine of Imam al-Hādī in Sa’da; see al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 1, p. 409. For the Sa’da copy, see also Sabine Schmidtke, “The Intricacies of Capturing the Holdings of a Mosque Library in Yemen: The Library of the Shrine of Imām al-Hādī, Ṣa’da,” *Manuscript Studies* 3 (2018), pp. 220–237, here p. 232. Another copy of the work (part 3) is preserved in Istanbul (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye

an autocommentary on his *al-Nafaḥāt al-miskiyya fī l-masāʾil al-kalāmiyya*,⁹⁸ which encompasses all major aspects of the subtleties of theology. In both works, Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī endorses the teachings of the Bahshamiyya.

On the other hand, growing opposition emerged among the Zaydis of Yemen to Muʿtazilism in general and the theological views of the Bahshamiyya in particular, as they were perceived as one of the principal causes for the division between the Muṭarrifīs and their opponents, and attempts were made to overcome the divide within the Zaydī community. The most outspoken opponent of Muʿtazilī *kalām*, writ large, was Nūr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥumaydān b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥumaydān b. al-Qāsim (d. mid-seventh/thirteenth century), who sought to weaken its influence on Zaydī theology and to emphasize the latter’s independence. In his doctrinal works, al-Sayyid Ḥumaydān strove to systematically replace *kalām* by relevant statements from the early imams.⁹⁹

ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī was a contemporary of Aḥmad al-Raṣṣās *al-Ḥafīd*, Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, and Ḥumaydān. Like Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī and Ḥumaydān, al-ʿAnsī devoted several works to the refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya.¹⁰⁰ Like Ḥumaydān, and in contrast to the Banū Raṣṣās and other proponents of Bahshamī theology, al-ʿAnsī sought to strengthen the influence of the doctrines of the early imams, particularly those of al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, and to reduce the influence of the Bahshamiyya, which, according to al-ʿAnsī, diverged in many areas from the imams’ positions. However, al-ʿAnsī did not share Ḥumaydān’s critical attitude toward *kalām* and its methodology in general. For him, the doctrines of ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s former student Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), who disagreed with his teacher on a number of fundamental issues and founded his own school of thought,¹⁰¹ and those of Abū l-Ḥusayn’s principal follower, Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141), which he considered, by and large, to agree

Kütüphanesi, Ali Paşa Hekimoğlu 375); see Hassan Ansari, *Az ganjīna-hā-yi nusakh-i khattī: Muʿarrif-i dast niwisht-hā-yi arzišmand az kitābkhāna-hā-yi buzurg-i jahān dar ḥawza-yi ulūm-i islāmī*, Isfahan: Daftar-i tablighāt-i islāmī ḥawza-yi ʿilmiyya-yi Qum, 2015, p. 357.

⁹⁸ A manuscript of the *Kawākib* is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library (MS Milan, Ambrosiana, F 177 ar., fols. 1–76, 178–184r). See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, pp. 84–85 no. 1472. For al-Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, see also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 273–274.

⁹⁹ On him, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, pp. 218ff. His writings have been published as *Majmūʿ al-Sayyid Ḥumaydān*. For an assessment of his theological views, see Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Imām Ḥumaydān b. Ḥumaydān wa-ārāʾuhu al-kalāmiyya wa-l-falsafiyya*, Alexandria: Dār al-Wafāʾ li-Dunyā l-Ṭibāʾa wa-l-Nashr, 2003; Hassan Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī dar ḥawza-yi islām wa-tashayyuʾ*, Tehran: Kitābkhāna, Mūzih wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1390/2011, pp. 179–194 (“Jaryān-i siwwum”).

¹⁰⁰ See, e.g., Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, *al-Masālik fī dhikr al-nāji min al-firaq wa-l-hālik*, ed. Ibrāhīm Yaḥyā Muḥammad Qays, Beirut/Damascus: Muʿassasat al-Risāla, 1433/2012, p. 353. Al-Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī wrote *K. al-Radd ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya* (see Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fol. 75v); al-Sayyid Ḥumaydān wrote *Risāla fī l-Radd ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya = Taʾrīf al-taṭrīf* (see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 411). For an edition of what remains of the latter work, see *Majmūʿ al-Sayyid Ḥumaydān*, pp. 353–411, and ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, *al-Širāʾ al-fikrī*, pp. 256–274.

¹⁰¹ For Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his doctrinal views, see Sabine Schmidtke, “The Muʿtazilite Movement (III): The Scholastic Phase,” *Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 159–180, here pp. 169–175 (with further references).

with the views of the earlier Zaydi imams, particularly al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, presented an alternative to the doctrinal system of the Bahshamiyya.¹⁰² In some of his theological works, al-ʿAnsī avoided discussions of the subtleties of *kalām* and limited himself to the basic tenets maintained by the early imams. He thus launched a new theological trend among the Zaydis of seventh/thirteenth-century Yemen, which had a long-lasting influence on Zaydi doctrinal thought in subsequent generations (see below).¹⁰³ It is possible that al-ʿAnsī had direct or indirect access to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's theological summa, *K. Ghurar al-adilla*,¹⁰⁴ but what is certain is that he consulted Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* as his principal source for the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī. This is shown by a reference to the *Mu'tamad* in his *Maḥajja*¹⁰⁵ and regular parallels between the wordings in the two works. A future in-depth study of the sources al-ʿAnsī used across his entire oeuvre may yield additional insights into what was available to him.

Al-ʿAnsī's doctrinal outlook and his approach to the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī can best be probed through his comprehensive *Maḥajja*. Al-ʿAnsī regularly mentions

¹⁰² Al-ʿAnsī's identification of some of the ideas of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his school with the doctrines of the early imams is the principal difference between him and al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Yahyā b. Ḥamza (669–749/1270–1348 or 1349), who had endorsed the doctrine of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, as is evident from his comprehensive summa, the *K. al-Shāmil li-ḥaqāʾiq al-adilla al-aqliyya wa-uṣūl al-masāʾil al-dīniyya*. Yahyā b. Ḥamza was primarily a *mutakallim* who preferred the thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī over that of the Bahshamiyya but did not share al-ʿAnsī's view that the doctrines of the early imams should take center stage. Moreover, unlike al-ʿAnsī, Yahyā b. Ḥamza had access to a wide spectrum of Ash'arī works, notably Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl*, *K. al-Arbaʿīn*, and *K. al-Maḥṣūl*, as well as al-Ghazālī's *K. al-Mustaṣfā* and *K. al-Iqtīṣād*. We consulted the *K. al-Shāmil* through MSS Tehran, Majlis 86223, 86224, and 86225, which contain volumes 2 through 4 of the work, as well as MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya 88, a surrogate of volume 1 of the *Shāmil* that was kept in a private library in Yemen. Autographs of volumes 2 and 4 are preserved in a private library in Yemen and at Leiden University Library, respectively. For an overview of the extant manuscripts, see Hassan Ansari, "Nuskhā-hā-yi āthār-i zaydiyya dar Īrān (1): *al-Shāmil*-yi Yahyā b. Ḥamza," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1894> (accessed 25 January 2022).

¹⁰³ Nothing is known about the relationship between al-ʿAnsī and Ḥumaydān, nor do we know whether either was familiar with the work of or influenced the other. Al-ʿAnsī's perception of agreement between the thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and that of the early Zaydi imams and his endorsement of this doctrine in his writings was paralleled by a similar development in Imami Shī'ism a few decades earlier. Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204) had likewise endorsed the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn and his followers in his *al-Munqadh min al-taqlid* in an attempt to replace Bahshamī thought with doctrines that were in agreement with the teachings of the imams. For details, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 13.

¹⁰⁴ See Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad."

¹⁰⁵ See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Theology in 7th/13th-Century Yemen*, p. 456 (s.v. "*al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*"). For the reception of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's works among the Zaydis of Yemen, see Wilferd Madelung's introduction to his revised and enlarged edition of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Mu'tamad* (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1390sh/2012), as well as Hassan Ansari's comprehensive Persian introduction to this edition; Wilferd Madelung and Martin McDermott's introduction to their edition of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Fāʾiq* (Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2007); and Hassan Ansari and Wilferd Madelung's introduction to their edition of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn* (Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 1387sh/2008).

the views of these two authorities in it,¹⁰⁶ and on many issues he endorses their positions. His approach to their thought is nevertheless critical, and he follows their views only insofar as they fit his overall agenda of formulating a theology that is faithful to the teachings of the imams. Al-ʿAnsī presents in his *Maḥajja* the proof for the existence of God as it was commonly formulated by *kalām* theologians prior to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī when he argues with the temporality of accidents for the temporality of substances and bodies.¹⁰⁷ However, he sides explicitly with Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī against the Bahshamiyya when he defines positions in space (*jihāt*), such as being (*kawn*), movement (*ḥaraka*), rest (*sukūn*), contiguity (*ijtimāʿ*), and separation (*iftirāq*), as attributes (*ṣifāt*) that are generated by an agent (*bi-l-fāʿil*), not as separate entities (*dhawāt*) in the sense of entitative determinants that necessitate these attributes (*al-maʿānī al-mūjjiba li-hādhihi l-ṣifāt*).¹⁰⁸ Al-ʿAnsī also rejects the Bahshamī notion of states (*aḥwāl*) in his discussion of existence (*wujūd*). He explains that Abū Hāshim and his followers hold existence to be an attribute additional to the essence of the existent being, whereas in fact existence is identical with the existent being (*al-wujūd huwa nafs al-mawjūd*). This, he states, was also the view of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī, as well as of Abū l-Qāsim b. Shabīb al-Tihāmī.¹⁰⁹ Accordingly, al-ʿAnsī maintains that the nonexistent is neither a thing (*shayʾ*) nor an entity (*dhāt*), again in agreement with these theologians and against the view of the Bahshamiyya.¹¹⁰ Al-ʿAnsī explains his view on the notion of states in detail when discussing the nature of the divine attributes. He rejects the concept of states with respect to God, arguing that the ontological basis for God’s being omnipotent, omniscient, and living is His essence (*dhāt*). With respect to created beings, however, al-ʿAnsī affirms the notion of states. They are generated by an agent, which are the accidents.¹¹¹ Al-ʿAnsī explicitly distinguishes between his position and that of Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī, who, he claims, negated the notion of states with respect to God as well as created beings and instead spoke of “characteristics” (*aḥkām*). According to

¹⁰⁶ See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Theology in 7th/13th-Century Yemen*, pp. 451 (s.v. “Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī”), 454 (s.v. “Maḥmūd b. al-Malāḥimī”).

¹⁰⁷ MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 5rff.; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 758, fols. 5r–v, 7v–9r.

¹⁰⁸ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 6vff.; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 9v–11r.

¹⁰⁹ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 17v; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 19r–v. Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Shabīb al-Ḥasanī al-Tihāmī al-Sulaymānī (d. after 600/1203–4) was a student of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ and is reported to have defended some specific views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī; see Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 222. However, since none of his original doctrinal writings have come down to us, al-ʿAnsī’s comment on him is particularly valuable. Ibn Shabīb’s student al-Ḥusayn b. Musallam wrote a commentary on the *K. al-Taḥṣīl fi l-tawḥīd wa-l-taʿdīl* by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ under the title *al-Iklīl sharḥ maʿānī l-Taḥṣīl*. Two portions of the commentary have tentatively been identified by Jan Thiele; see Jan Thiele, “Theological Compendia in Late 6th/12th and Early 7th/13th Century Zaydism: al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ’s *K. al-Taḥṣīl* and Its Commentaries,” *Theological Rationalism in Medieval Islam: New Sources and Perspectives*, ed. Lukas Mühlethaler and Gregor Schwarb, Leuven: Peeters, 2018, pp. 23–57, here pp. 41–48. However, although the *Iklīl* is said to contain regular references to Ibn Shabīb, these portions have none, suggesting that they are perhaps not part of al-Ḥusayn b. Musallam’s *Iklīl*; see Hassan Ansari, “Muqaddima,” in Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khurāshī, *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl li-jumal al-Taḥṣīl: Sharḥ kitāb al-Taḥṣīl li-muʿallifihī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ*, Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1392sh/2013, pp. *hāʾ hāʾ-zā zāʾ*. Be that as it may, al-ʿAnsī’s references to Ibn Shabīb are clearly important.

¹¹⁰ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 19rff.; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 19r–21r.

¹¹¹ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 28vff.; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 24rff.

al-ʿAnsī, God's characteristic of being omnipotent, for example, consists in their view in His being able to generate an act, and this is the relation between the omnipotent essence and that which is the object of omnipotence (*fa-kawnuhu qādiran huwa tamakkunuhu min al-fil wa-huwa l-taʿalluq bayna l-dhāt al-qādira wa-l-maḡdūr*).¹¹² In agreement with the Baghdādīs, al-ʿAnsī maintains that God's being hearing and seeing can be reduced to His being knowing.¹¹³ On the issue of God's being willing al-ʿAnsī endorses the view that with regard to divine acts, God's will is identical with the acts' creation, whereas with regard to the acts of others, His will is identical with His command.¹¹⁴ By contrast, al-ʿAnsī sides with the Bahshamiyya when he maintains that God does not have power over the specific acts that are subject to man's capability (*aʿyān al-afāl*), thus contradicting Abū l-Hudhayl, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, and Ibn al-Malāḡimī, who had affirmed this power.¹¹⁵ On the subject of man's free will, al-ʿAnsī holds that it is necessary knowledge (*ilm ḡarūrī*) that man is the author of his actions.¹¹⁶ He defines man's capability as a characteristic of the parts of the body and not of the body in its entirety (*inna l-quḡra fil-shāhid min qabīl al-aḡkām wa-annahā rājiʿa ilā l-ajzāʿ dūna l-jumla*),¹¹⁷ against the view of the Bahshamiyya, who define it as a state of the entire body¹¹⁸ and against the view of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his followers, who define capability as an attribute of the entire body.¹¹⁹ The same doctrinal positions, though without detailed discussions of the relevant questions that pertain to natural philosophy, can be found in the *Sirāj* and the *Tamyīz*.

To understand al-ʿAnsī's doctrinal stance in its wider sociopolitical context, we must keep in mind that al-ʿAnsī belonged to the opponents of the Banū l-Raṣṣāṣ in the political rift that split the Zaydis of Yemen in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. Following the demise of Imam al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza in 614/1217, Yemeni Zaydis were divided. On the one hand, al-Imām al-Dāʿī al-Muʿtaḡid bi-llāh Yaḡyā b. al-Muḡassin b. Maḡfūz (d. 636/1238–39),¹²⁰ a descendant of al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq, ascended to the imamate in Saʿda, but on the other, al-Manṣūr's descendants asserted their right to the imamate further south. In Ṣafar 646/May–June 1248 Aḡmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḡmad b. al-Qāsim (612–656/1216–1258) proclaimed his imamate as Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh in the fortress of Thulā¹²¹ in an attempt to heal this rift.¹²² From the very beginning, however, Imam al-Mahdī's reign was contested. From a genealogical perspective, al-Mahdī was connected neither to the Banū Ḥamza, nor to the founder of the Zaydī imamate in Yemen, al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq, nor to al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿIyānī (d. 393/1003), but only to al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm,

¹¹² MS Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 28v.

¹¹³ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 25vff.; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 28rff.

¹¹⁴ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 89rff.; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 32rff.

¹¹⁵ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 38rff.; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 27rff.

¹¹⁶ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 65v, 71v; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 42r–v, 43r.

¹¹⁷ Al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 43v–44r; see also MS Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 78r–v.

¹¹⁸ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 80r; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fol. 44r.

¹¹⁹ MS Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 81r; see also al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, fols. 44r–v.

¹²⁰ On him, see al-Shāmi, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, pp. 162–166; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 2, pp. 470–471 no. 1431.

¹²¹ For Thulā, see Wilson, *Gazetteer of Historical North-West Yemen*, p. 111.

¹²² See *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0619 (R. Strothmann, G. R. Smith, and J. R. Blackburn) (accessed 25 January 2022).

and he initially set out to heal the long-standing rift within the dynasty. Al-Mahdī's proclamation was at first supported by the Banū Ḥamza, the descendants of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, and the Banū l-Hādī. But in 647/1249 conflict erupted between the imam and the Banū Ḥamza, and things got worse in 651/1253, when the Banū Ḥamza openly opposed al-Mahdī with the support of the Rasulids and eventually backed the claim of the *amīr* al-Ḥasan b. Wahnās al-Ḥamzī (d. 683/1285),¹²³ a former ally of al-Mahdī, to the imamate. While the Banū Ḥamza were joined in their opposition by the imam's former teacher and initial supporter Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ *al-Ḥafīd*, al-Mahdī enjoyed the support of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī (who was killed as a result of the conflict in 652/1254), al-Sayyid Ḥumaydān, and 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī. Imam al-Mahdī was eventually killed in 656/1258 in a battle with his opponents.¹²⁴ The principal source for al-'Ansī's involvement in the conflict and for his relation with Imam al-Mahdī is an account provided by al-Maswarī (see below, Appendix 2). The document testifies to al-'Ansī's support of the imam, who appointed him *amīr* or *qāḍī* of Sa'da in 654/1256–57. When the imam's adversaries began to oppose him, al-'Ansī left Sa'da to join him and to write a *risāla* in defense of Aḥmad's imamate, addressed to the imam's opponents. In 656/1258–59, after al-Mahdī was killed, al-'Ansī had to flee persecution at the hands of the imam's victorious opponents, who strove to kill him as well; as a result, al-'Ansī spent some time at Fallala.¹²⁵ During this time, al-'Ansī supported the imamate of al-Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn (r. 657–659/1258–1259), a brother of al-'Ansī's student al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn, and he joined the imam in Ḍamad.¹²⁶ Since al-'Ansī was heavily indebted, having spent enormous sums in support of Imam al-Mahdī, and still feared for his life, he escaped in 659/1261–62 to the court of the Rasulid ruler Muẓaffar in Ta'izz, passing through several cities, including Zabid. In Rabī II 660/November–December 1261 al-'Ansī was in Kuḥlān, where he completed his *al-Risāla al-munqidha min al-'aṭab al-sālika*

¹²³ On him, see al-Khazrajī, *al-Uqūd al-lu'lu'yya*, vol. 2, p. 965 (s.v. "al-Ḥasan b. al-Wahnās al-Ḥamzī"); al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, p. 211.

¹²⁴ Among the principal sources on the conflict during the reign of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn is his *sīra* by Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥamzī (d. 677/1278–79); see also below, n. 139. A detailed account of the conflict before, during, and after Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's lifetime is provided by 'Abd al-Karīm Aḥmad Jadbān in the introduction to his edition of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, *Majmū' rasā'il al-Imām al-Shahīd al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Aḥmad Jadbān, Sa'da: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1424/2003, which seems to be primarily based on Muḥammad b. Ḥatīm al-Yāmī al-Hamdānī's (d. 705/1305) *al-Simṭ al-ghālī al-thaman fī akhbār al-mulūk min al-Ghuzz bi-l-Yaman*, ed. Gerald Rex Smith, 2 vols., London: Luzac, 1974–1978. Jadbān did not include any of the information related by al-Maswarī regarding al-'Ansī's role during the conflict. See also Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra, *Khulāṣat al-mutūn fī abnā' wa-nubalā' al-Yaman al-maymūn*, Richmond: Markaz al-Turāth wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamanī, 1419/1999, vol. 2, pp. 203–224; Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Sa'īd Sālim al-Maysarī, "al-Zaydiyya fī l-Yaman: Dirāsa fī aḥwālīhim al-siyāsiyya wa-l-ḥaḍāriyya (636–858h/1229–1454m)," PhD thesis, Aden University, 1428/2007, especially chapter 1, which is concerned with the period of the imamate of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn.

¹²⁵ For Fallala, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 4, p. 639; al-Akwa', *Hijaz al-'ilm*, vol. 3, pp. 1618–1638 no. 323.

¹²⁶ For al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn, who was also the author of the renowned work *Anwār al-yaqīn fī l-ḥujaj wa-l-barāhīn 'alā imāmat amīr al-mu'minīn*, see al-Wajīh, *Alām*, vol. 1, pp. 313–314. For Ḍamad, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 3, pp. 553–554.

bi-l-naṣīḥa ilā ahl Shazab, and it was in this city that he spent the final seven years of his life.¹²⁷ It is interesting to note that despite their agreement in politics, the three prominent supporters of Imam al-Mahdī—Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, al-Sayyid Ḥumaydān, and al-ʿAnsī—each represented a different doctrinal predilection. A study of the political conflict of the time and its individual players, as well as of the doctrinal strands represented by these three personalities, remains a desideratum.

According to the later biographical tradition, al-ʿAnsī as well as ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Fuḍaylī,¹²⁸ who was another supporter of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn and who endorsed the Muʿtazilī assertion of the intermediary position (*al-manzila bayna l-manzilatayn*), and the aforementioned Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ controversially discussed whether the grave sinner (*fāsiq*) holds an intermediary position between the believer and the unbeliever. Al-ʿAnsī, who rejected this notion, discusses the issue at length in his *Māʾ al-yaqīn*. He states that the grave sinner is an unbeliever through his ingratitude (*kāfir al-nīʿma*).¹²⁹ Al-ʿAnsī thus endorses the traditional Zaydi doctrinal notion of unbelief by ingratitude that seems to have been favored by al-Qāsim.¹³⁰ In his *Sirāj* and his *Mudhākarāt*, al-ʿAnsī avoids the Muʿtazilī notion of an intermediary position without explicitly referring to it. According to Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, the conflict over this notion escalated gradually. Al-ʿAnsī corresponded on the issue with ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Fuḍaylī and subsequently wrote a tract against the notion. Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ then intervened and composed a refutation of al-ʿAnsī's tract, entitled *Manāhij al-inṣāf al-ʿāšima ʿan shabb nār al-khilāf*, to which he later added a *Muqaddimat al-manāhij*.¹³¹ None of these writings has apparently been preserved.

THE RECEPTION AND IMPACT OF AL-ʿANSĪ'S THOUGHT

As has previously been mentioned, al-ʿAnsī's principal concern throughout his extant oeuvre was to heal the rift within the Zaydī community of Yemen by defining common ground between the opposing camps, the Bahshamī *mutakallimūn* and the Muṭarrifīs. His point of departure was the teachings of the early Zaydi imams, primarily al-Qāsim and al-Hādī. At the same time, al-ʿAnsī was a *mutakallim*. In order to remain faithful to what he perceived to be the belief of the *ahl al-bayt*, he adopted a modified approach toward *kalām*: in his more comprehensive summae (*Mudhākarāt*, *Maḥajja*) he identified some of the positions of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī as largely compatible with those of the early Zaydi imams, while in other works (*Sirāj*, *Tamyīz*) he refrained from entering into disputes concerning the subtleties of *kalām* and instead focused on the doctrines that all Zaydis could agree on.¹³²

¹²⁷ Al-ʿAnsī's closeness to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn is corroborated by MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, which contains not only four of al-ʿAnsī's writings but also the *daʿwat* al-Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (fols. 266r–270v). See <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/SET=4/TTL=6/SHW?FRST=2> (accessed 25 January 2022).

¹²⁸ On him, see al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 820–821 no. 519.

¹²⁹ MS Glaser 123, fols. 235r–v.

¹³⁰ See Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 60ff., 121ff., 164ff.

¹³¹ Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʾ al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 421; vol. 3, p. 364 no. 957.

¹³² See also below, Appendix 1. In one of his works he also explicitly states that *taqlīd* of the *ahl al-bayt* is preferable to *taqlīd* of any other authority. The passage, which is quoted by al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr in his *Hidāyat al-rāghibīn ilā madhhab al-ʿitra al-ṭayyibīn*, p. 47, runs as follows:

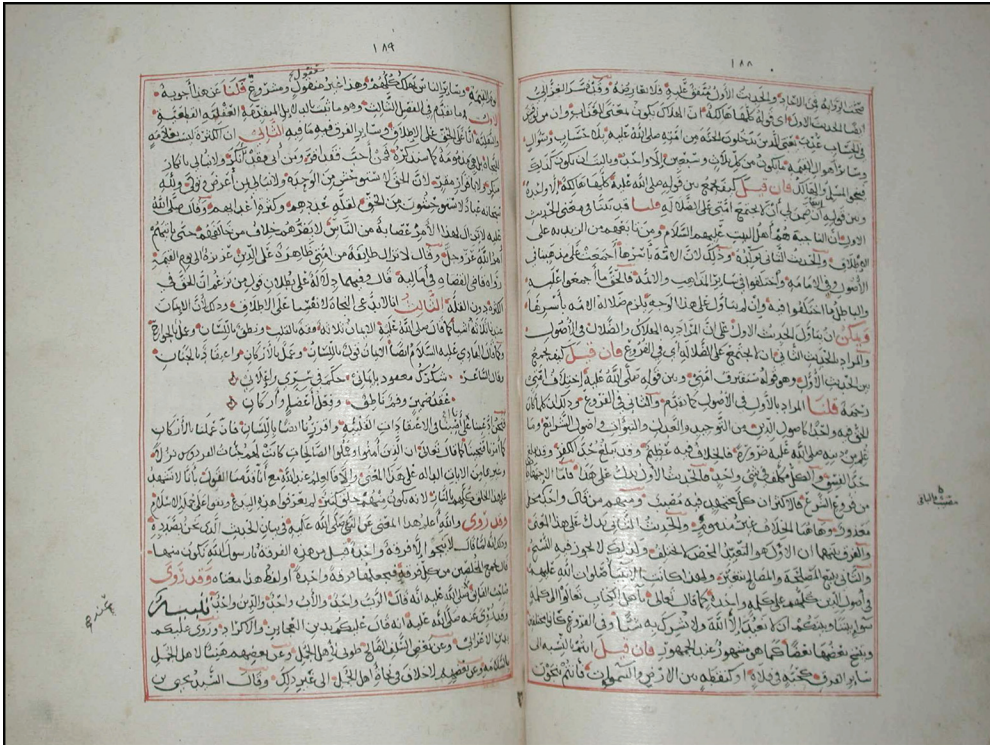


Figure 32. MS Yemen, Maktabat Majd al-Dīn al-Mu‘ayyadī (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Daylamī’s *Qawā’id ‘aqā’id Āl Muḥammad*, pp. 188–189).

Al-‘Ansī’s emphasis on the doctrines of the early Zaydi imams,¹³³ which was in full agreement with the thought of Ḥumaydān, laid the foundation for a new type of theology among the Zaydis—one focused on the *‘aqīda* of the *ahl al-bayt*, reduced to the general tenets (*jumal*) on which all Zaydis could agree. One of the earliest manifestations of this trend is the popular *Jumal al-Islām fi uṣūl al-dīn* by al-‘Ansī’s student Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr.¹³⁴ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Daylamī (d. 711/1311–12), who cites al-‘Ansī’s *Tamyīz*

وذكر سيدنا العلامة نضر الدين [عبدالله بن زيد العنسي] قدس الله روحه أن تقليد أهل البيت أولى من تقليد غيرهم لوجه، أحدها أن الله تعالى أثنى عليهم في محكم كتابه بأية التطهير وآية القرني، وثانيها ما اقتصروا به من العصمة عند إجماعهم وأنه حجة، وثالثها أن الترتيب بين العلماء يكون من جهة العلم والدين والورع وهم في هذه الحال لا يلحق بهم لاحق، ولا يسبقهم سابق، وذلك معلوم عند بحث أحوالهم وأقوالهم.

¹³³ See al-‘Ansī’s statement on the *‘aqīda* of the *ahl al-bayt* in the introduction to the *khātima* of his *Tamyīz* in Appendix 3 below.

¹³⁴ For the *Jumal*, see above, n. 11. Two other works that were composed by later members of the Āl al-Wazīr and that should likewise be seen in the wider context of this focus on the tenets of the *ahl al-bayt* are *Bayān al-awāmīr al-mujmalā fi wujūb ṭā‘at ulī l-amr wa-farḍ al-mas‘ala* by al-Murtaḍā b. Mufaḍḍal (on which see above) and *al-Namraqa al-wuṣṭā fi l-radd ‘alā munkir faḍl Āl al-Muṣṭafā* by a descendant of Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr, namely Imam al-Mahdī ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr b. al-Mufaḍḍal (b. 705/1305–6 or 707/1307–8, d. 773/1371; for the author and the work, see al-Shahārī, *Tabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 780–784; al-Wajīh, *Alām*, vol. 2, pp. 87–88 no. 912). Both works emphasize the religious authority of the *ahl al-bayt*.

among his sources in his *Qawā'id ‘aqā'id Āl Muḥammad*,¹³⁵ also subscribed to the notion of the general tenets (*jumal*), and he adduces in this context some lines from one of Yaḥyā b. Maṣnūn's *qaṣīdas* in which the latter stresses this notion (pp. 189–190, **figs. 32, 33**).¹³⁶

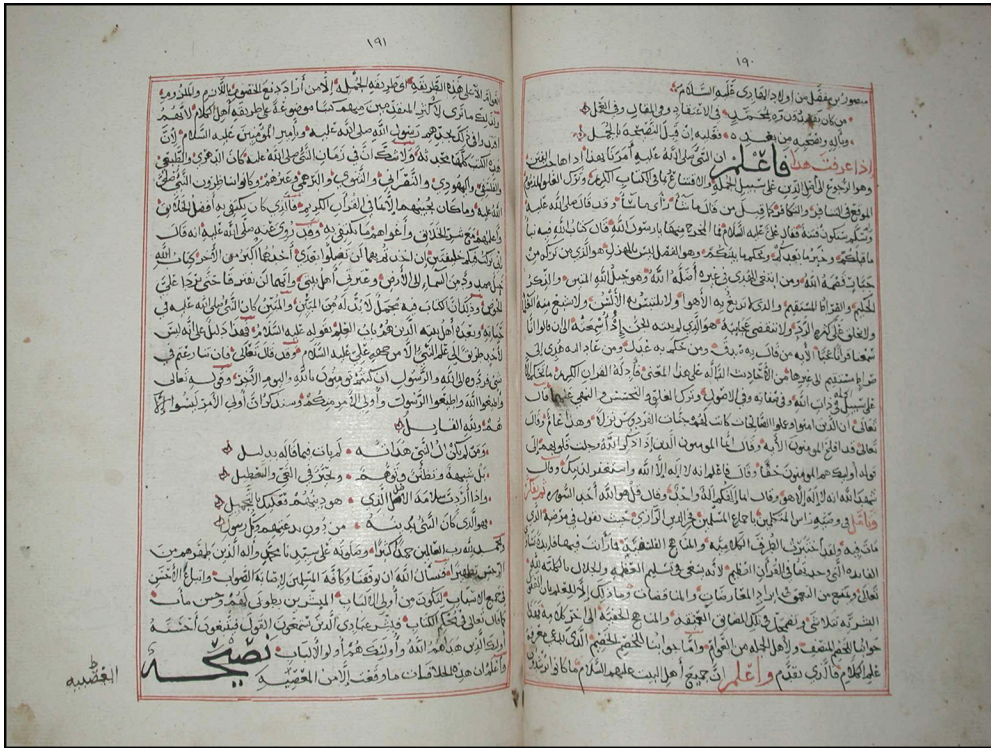


Figure 33. MS Yemen, Maktabat Majd al-Dīn al-Mu‘ayyadī (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Daylamī’s *Qawā'id ‘aqā'id Āl Muḥammad*, pp. 190–191).

Another prominent example of the focus on the *‘aqīdat ahl al-bayt* is *al-La‘ālī al-durriyya* (or *al-Kawākib al-mudhiyya*) *sharḥ al-Abyāt al-fakhriyya* by the eighth/fourteenth-century

¹³⁵ We consulted the work through a manuscript in the private library of Majd al-Dīn al-Mu‘ayyadī; see MS Hijrat Suwaydān, Maktabat al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn al-Mu‘ayyadī, [no shelfmark], p. 187 for the quotation from al-‘Ansi’s *Tamyiz*. For the author, see Ibn Abī I-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 258–260 no. 1138; al-Wajīh, *Al‘ām*, vol. 2, pp. 232–233. One section of the book, entitled “Bayān madhhab al-Bāṭiniyya wa-buṭlānihi,” is available in critical edition by Rudolf Strothmann: *Die Geheimlehre der Batiniten nach der Apologie “Dogmatik des Hauses Muhammed” von Muhammed ibn al-Hasan ad-Dailami*, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1939. Strothmann had no information about the author beyond the *nisba* al-Daylamī, which pointed to Daylam (see the editor’s introduction, p. ṭā). The section was republished in 1950 (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda) by ‘Izzat al-‘Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, with an introduction by Muḥammad Zāhid b. al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī (1296–1371/1879–1952).

¹³⁶ For a more extensive quotation from this *qaṣīda*, including the lines adduced by al-Daylamī, see Ibn al-Wazīr, *Awāsim*, vol. 3, pp. 409–411.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāsimī.¹³⁷ The work is a commentary on a *qaṣīda* known as *al-Abyāt al-fakhrīyya* by Imam al-Wāthiq bi-llāh al-Muṭahhar b. al-Imām al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh (702–after 780/1303–1378 or 1379).¹³⁸ Al-‘Ansī’s works were for the most part transmitted among his followers, who included several members of the Banū l-Wazīr (Āl al-‘Afif/Āl al-Mufaḍḍal) who also supported the imamate of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn.¹³⁹ Focusing on the ‘*aqīda*’ of the *ahl* al-bayt and a set of *jumal* all Zaydis can agree on, became a characteristic of the al-Wazīr family’s doctrinal tradition. It is noteworthy that the differences between Ḥumaydān and al-‘Ansī played little to no role for their contemporaries and later generations alike—what counted most was their shared intention to return to the doctrines of the early imams.¹⁴⁰ Al-Shahārī, for example, names among the followers of Ḥumaydān listed in his *Ṭabaqāt* al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn, al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā,¹⁴¹ and the latter’s son Imam al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar (665–728/1266 or 1267–1327 or 1328),¹⁴² and he relates that al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn praised Ḥumaydān’s writings as representing the beliefs of the family of the Prophet and that al-‘Ansī pursued the same goal. Al-Shahārī continues the list of representatives of this trend with the names of other Zaydis who are known to have endorsed some of the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, notably Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza in his *K. al-Shāmil* and Ibn al-Shabīb al-Tihāmī, as well as individuals known generally as followers of the doctrines of the early imams, such as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī in his *Qawā'id ‘aqā'id Āl Muḥammad* and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Qāsimī in his commentary on the *Qaṣīdat* al-Imām al-Wāthiq, without distinguishing between the two categories.¹⁴³

This development opened the door for a new tendency that eventually led to the abolishment of *kalām*, which was perceived as a source of disagreement and friction

¹³⁷ On Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Qāsimī and his work, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 396–397 no. 1226; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 1110–1112 no. 696; see also al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, vol. 2, pp. 351–352 no. 1283; Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 3 vols., Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, 1413/1992, vol. 2, pp. 395–396. The author regularly refers to Ḥumaydān. The work was accessible to us through a manuscript in a private library in Yemen.

¹³⁸ On al-Wāthiq, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 4, p. 422 no. 1253; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 1127–1130 no. 711.

¹³⁹ It is noteworthy that the library of a branch of the Banū l-Wazīr in Hijrat al-Sirr holds a copy (dated 900/1494–95) of *al-Risāla al-hādima li-asās al-da'wā al-zālima*, a refutation of al-Ḥasan b. Wahhās’s claim to the imamate, by Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥamzī (d. 677/1278–79), who also recorded the *sīra* of Imam al-Mahdī (see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 153, 164, and passim); see al-Ḥībshī, *Fihris*, p. 65 no. 116.

¹⁴⁰ One branch of the family holds in its library what seems to be the oldest copy of the *Majmū' Sayyid Ḥumaydān*, containing eight of his tracts. The codex, which dates to the seventh/thirteenth century, was first kept in the Khizānat Āl al-Mufaḍḍal (i.e., the descendants of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Manṣūr) and nowadays belongs to the library of a branch of the Banū l-Wazīr in Hijrat al-Sirr. See al-Ḥībshī, *Fihris*, p. 47 no. 79; al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 384 no. 66.

¹⁴¹ On him, see above.

¹⁴² On him, see al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 1072–1080 no. 678.

¹⁴³ Al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, pp. 413–416 no. 245. Al-Shahārī also includes Ṣā'id b. Aḥmad al-'Ujalī and his *K. al-Kāmil*, although the author was not a Zaydī. For the *K. al-Kāmil* and its author, see our introduction to this volume.

within the community. At the same time, the emphasis on the teachings of the *ahl al-bayt* resulted in a turn toward *ḥadīth* as a privileged source of doctrine. The development culminated in the thought of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436), who, however, departed from the earlier approach of al-‘Ansī and the majority of his ancestors in several respects. Unlike Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr and other proponents of the adherence to the general tenets of the *ahl al-bayt*, Ibn al-Wazīr sought to formulate a doctrine that would be acceptable to all Muslim believers, not only the Zaydis, and to harmonize the doctrines of the rival schools of Mu‘tazilism and Ash‘arism.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, since *kalām* no longer played a role in his methodology, Ibn al-Wazīr privileged Prophetic *ḥadīth* as another element that connected all Muslim believers, and Sunni *ḥadīth* collections were thus as authoritative for him as were Zaydi collections.¹⁴⁵ To the same end, he condemned *taqlīd* of earlier religious authorities and called instead for *ijtihād* by the believers, with Prophetic *ḥadīth* serving as its principal source. Time and again, Ibn al-Wazīr referred to the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī; however, unlike al-‘Ansī, who deemed some of Abū l-Ḥusayn’s doctrines to agree with those of the early imams, Ibn al-Wazīr employed Abū l-Ḥusayn to show that some of the points of controversy between the Mu‘tazilīs and the Ash‘arīs could easily be harmonized. This is the case, for example, with the issue of man’s actions, on which, according to Ibn al-Wazīr, the Mu‘tazilīs and the Ash‘arīs essentially agree, even though their explanations may differ.¹⁴⁶ Unlike al-‘Ansī, Ibn al-Wazīr perceived Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī not only through the writings of the latter’s followers but also through the writings of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), who drew on Abū l-Ḥusayn extensively and adapted many of his doctrines to his own Ash‘arī perspective.¹⁴⁷ To legitimize his approach, Ibn al-Wazīr referred to earlier adherents of the ‘*aqīdat ahl al-bayt* and the notion of *jumal* among his ancestors and to other Zaydi representatives of this trend, including al-‘Ansī and Ḥumaydān.¹⁴⁸ On

¹⁴⁴ See Wilmers, *Beyond Schools*, pp. 198–220.

¹⁴⁵ The acceptability of Sunni *ḥadīth* collections was already endorsed by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Maṣṣūr al-Qāsim in his *Ṣawārim al-yaqīn li-qaṭ’ shukūk al-Qādī Aḥmad b. Sa’d al-Dīn* (for the work, see above, n. 34), a refutation of al-Maswarī’s position that Zaydis should refrain from consulting Sunni collections. For *ḥadīth* among the Zaydis, see Hassan Ansari and Jan Thiele, “Zaydite Ḥadīth Literature and Thought,” *The Oxford Handbook of Hadīth Studies*, ed. Mustafa Shah, Oxford: Oxford University Press, [forthcoming].

¹⁴⁶ See, e.g., Ibn al-Wazīr, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*, ed. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-‘Imrān, Mecca: Dār ‘Ālam al-Fawā’id, 1419/1998–1999, pp. 354–364; see also Ibn al-Wazīr, *‘Awāṣim*, vol. 6, pp. 117–120; vol. 7, pp. 32ff. See also Wilmers, *Beyond Schools*, pp. 247–249.

¹⁴⁷ For Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s interpretation of Abū l-Ḥusayn’s doctrine of man’s actions, see Wilferd Madelung, “The Late Mu‘tazila and Determinism: The Philosophers’s Trap,” *Yād-nāma in memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, vol. 1: *Islamistica*, ed. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti and Lucia Rostagno, Rome: Bardi Editore, 1991, pp. 245–257. For Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s adaptations of Abū l-Ḥusayn’s doctrines, see also Sabine Schmidtke, *The Theology of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)*, Berlin: Schwarz, 1991, passim.

¹⁴⁸ For Ibn al-Wazīr’s reference to al-‘Ansī, see his *Qaṣīda dāliyya*, an important text testifying to Ibn al-Wazīr’s doctrinal thought. Ismā‘īl al-Akwa’ included an edition of the *Qaṣīda* in his introduction to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr’s *K. al-‘Awāṣim*, entitled “al-Imām Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm wa-kitābuhu *al-‘Awāṣim wa-l-qawāṣim*,” pp. 7–100, here pp. 32–37. The *Maḥajja* and its author (“Ibn Zayd”) is referred to in the last line of p. 36; see also *ibid.*, p. 34:14, where “Ibn Zayd” is likewise mentioned. Al-Akwa’ does not specify on the basis of which manuscript(s) he edited the *Qaṣīda*. For references to the *Maḥajja* in other works of Ibn al-Wazīr, see below, inventory, item 9.

the other hand, Ibn al-Wazīr had a more comprehensive understanding of the *ahl al-bayt* than did al-ʿAnsī or Ḥumaydān. When al-ʿAnsī and Ḥumaydān talk about the early imams, they mean mostly al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, as well as al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh. By contrast, Ibn al-Wazīr also includes in his definition of *ahl al-bayt* the early Zaydi authorities of the school of Kufa, who were adherents of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and thus represent an entirely different strand than do al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, who subscribed to *kalām*.¹⁴⁹ For the school of Kufa, Ibn al-Wazīr names Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Murādī al-Kūfī's (alive in 252/866) *K. al-Jumla wa-l-ulfa* as a prominent representative of this tendency to focus on the general tenets of Islam.¹⁵⁰ The *K. al-Jumla* has survived in quotations in *al-Jāmi' al-kāfi* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī (d. 455/1053–54), a collection of the teachings of early Kufan Zaydis.¹⁵¹ This work reached Yemen at a relatively late stage, after the lifetimes of al-ʿAnsī and Ḥumaydān.¹⁵² Ibn al-Wazīr's quest to eradicate divisions between schools and *madh-habs* and the fact that he felt authorized to consult Sunni *ḥadīth* compilations more extensively than his forebears had have led scholars to argue that Ibn al-Wazīr should be considered the first prominent representative of a tendency that has often been labeled “sunnization” of the Zaydiyya, which is said to have culminated in the thought of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834). However, in her analysis of Ibn al-Wazīr's thought, Damaris Wilmers has shown that the label “sunnization” is ill suited to apply to the case of Ibn al-Wazīr and that using his views only to determine the school to which he may have belonged fails to do justice to his thought.¹⁵³ But Wilmers was largely unaware of al-ʿAnsī's

For Ḥumaydān and other earlier representatives of this trend, see Ibn al-Wazīr, *ʿAwāṣim*, vol. 3, pp. 409–418; his list of representatives largely overlaps with that provided by al-Shahārī in his entry on Ḥumaydān (see above).

¹⁴⁹ For the doctrines of the early Zaydis of the school of Kufa and the differences between them and the Hādawī school, see Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, passim; Wilferd Madelung, “Introduction [to Part VI: Theology],” *The Study of Shīʿi Islam: History, Theology and Law*, ed. Farhad Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda, London: I. B. Tauris, 2014, pp. 455–463, here pp. 456–457.

¹⁵⁰ See Wilmers, *Beyond Schools*, pp. 144–145.

¹⁵¹ For a reconstruction of the *K. al-Jumla* on the basis of the quotations from the book in *al-Jāmi' al-kāfi*, see Hassan Ansari, “Mabānī-yi uṣūlī/kalāmī-yi zaydiyān-i maktab-i qadīm (1): Bāz sāzi-yi *Kitāb al-Ulfa wa-l-jumla* taʿlīf-i Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Murādī (d. baʿd az 290q),” *Barrasi-hā-yi tārikhi*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1850> (accessed 25 January 2022). For other examples of the *jumal* tendency in general among earlier generations of Muslims, see Hossein Modarressi, “Essential Islam: The Minimum that a Muslim Is Required to Acknowledge,” *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfir*, ed. Camilla Adang, Hassan Ansari, Maribel Fierro, and Sabine Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 395–412.

¹⁵² For a study of the arrival and reception of *al-Jāmi' al-kāfi* in Yemen, see Ansari, “Mabānī-yi uṣūlī/kalāmī-yi zaydiyān-i maktab-i qadīm”; and Hassan Ansari, “*Al-Jāmi' al-kāfi* wa asānīd-i kūfī-yi riwāyat-i ān,” *Barrasi-hā-yi tārikhi*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3496> (accessed 27 January 2022). Ansari's analysis is based on MS Milan, Ambrosiana C 168. For this copy, see also Eugenio Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano,” *Rivista degli studi orientali* 8, no. 1/4 (1919/1920), pp. 241–367, here pp. 249–262. An edition of the *Jāmi' al-kāfi* was published by ʿAbd Allāh Ḥamūd al-ʿIzzī (8 vols., Saʿda: Muʿassasat Muṣṭafā al-Thaqāfiyya, 2014). Al-ʿIzzī's edition did not include the portions of the work that address *ʿaqida* (“*ziyādāt*”). These were recently published by Jamāl al-Shāmī as *Ziyādāt al-Jāmi' al-kāfi* (Yemen: [private publication], 2021).

¹⁵³ Wilmers, *Beyond Schools*. After the publication of Wilmers's study, Mufti Ali published an article entitled “The Opposition of the Shīʿites towards Kalām: With Particular Reference to *Tarjih Asālib al-Qurʿān* and *al-Rawḍ al-*

and Ḥumaydān's role as the founders of the tendency that would characterize the thought of several members of the Āl al-Wazīr since the seventh/thirteenth century and would culminate with Ibn al-Wazīr.¹⁵⁴ Observing Ibn al-Wazīr's usage of elements of doctrine as formulated by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, she proposed, for example, that "[a] comprehensive comparison between the thought of Ibn al-Wazīr and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī would have to include an investigation of Imam Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥamza's teaching. . .".¹⁵⁵ However, as already mentioned,¹⁵⁶ Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza was a *mutakallim* who did not share al-ʿAnsī's goal of emphasizing the early Zaydi imams. Such an investigation should thus take into consideration the doctrinal works of al-ʿAnsī and Ḥumaydān, as well as those of the later representatives of the *jumal* trend among the Zaydis up to the time of Ibn al-Wazīr.

THE INVENTORY

The purpose of the following inventory of al-ʿAnsī's writings is to serve as a reference for future research on al-ʿAnsī. Included are all works of which he is known to be the author or that are likely to have been composed by him. Each entry includes a brief description of the work's contents (if known), followed by references to relevant bibliographical sources. The date of composition, as far as it can be established, is also mentioned, and details on available editions and manuscripts of extant works are provided.

1. "Aqā'id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd 'alā l-Muṭarrifiyya"

The author of this text discusses eighty issues (*ma'rifa*), contrasting the views of the *ahl al-Islām* with those of the Muṭarrifiyya. In MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111 the work is untitled and contains no indication of its author (**fig. 17**). The title *'Aqā'id ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd 'alā l-Muṭarrifiyya* was coined by the cataloger, Wilhelm Ahlwardt. The text is incompletely preserved, as it breaks off at the end of the codex (**fig. 18**). Ahlwardt assumed the work to have been composed by al-ʿAnsī, perhaps because of the tract's position in the codex: it is preceded by another tract by al-ʿAnsī, *al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya al-muḥṣiḥa 'an aḥkām al-Muṭarrifiyya* (→ 3). Ahlwardt's assumption of al-ʿAnsī's authorship is corroborated by the similarity between this work and al-ʿAnsī's *Tamyīz*. The text's arrangement evokes the second introduction (*al-muqaddima al-thāniya*) to the otherwise more detailed *K. al-Tamyīz* (→ 20), which is structured in a similar manner, although only some of the topics discussed in this text have an immediate equivalent in the parallel section of the *Tamyīz*. The following sections of the text have direct parallels in the second introduction to the *Tamyīz*:

Bāsim by the Zaydite Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Wazīr al-Sanʿānī (d. 840/1436)," *Hamdard Islamicus* 42 (2019), pp. 181–198. Ali was, however, unaware of Wilmers's study, and his elaborations are not helpful.

¹⁵⁴ Wilmers mentions both occasionally in her study but is evidently unaware of their influence on Ibn al-Wazīr's thought.

¹⁵⁵ Wilmers, *Beyond Schools*, p. 364 n. 6; see also p. 361.

¹⁵⁶ See above, n. 102.

“‘Aqā’id”		Tamyīz, al-muqaddima al-thāniya
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 3	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 2
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 4	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 8
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 6	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 7
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 7	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 28
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 13	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 9
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 17	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 6
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 20	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 57
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 21	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 58
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 22	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 59
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 23	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 60
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 24	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 63
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 26	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 66
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 27	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 49
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 28	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 50
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 30	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 69
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 32	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 70
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 36	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 31
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 37	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 33
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 38	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 34
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 39	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 35
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 41	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 36
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 42	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 37
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 43	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 38
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 47	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 16
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 49	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 40
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 50	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 41
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 51	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 32
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 54	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 42
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 55	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 43
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 56	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 44
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 58	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 45
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 61	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 47
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 62	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 12
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 63	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 68
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 66	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 23
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 68	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 48
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 72	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 52
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 73	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 51
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 76	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 53
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 77	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 54
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 79	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 67
<i>maṣ’ala</i> 81	=	<i>maṣ’ala</i> 64

The many parallels between the two texts not only support Ahlwardt’s assumption of al-‘Anṣī’s authorship of the “‘Aqā’id” but also suggest that the works need to be studied together; close consultation of both texts will also be helpful in the preparation of a critical

edition of either. A final verdict on the work's authenticity will have to await a close analysis of the "ʿAqāʿid" and the *Tamyīz*.

(ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām al-muʿallifin al-Zaydiyya*, 2nd enl. and rev. ed., 2 vols., Sanaa: Dār al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī, 1439/2018, vol. 1, p. 571 [no manuscript listed]; ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman*, Abu Dhabi: al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfi, 2004, p. 124 [no manuscript listed]; ʿAbd al-Malik b. Aḥmad b. Qāsim Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann fī maʿrifat al-muʿallifin bi-l-Yaman wa-muṣannafātihim fī kull fann*, 3 vols., n.p.: Dār al-Ḥārithī, 1415/1994–95, vol. 2, p. 62; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī fī l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī 132–656h/750–1259m*, 4 vols., Beirut: Manshūrāt al-ʿAṣr al-Ḥadīth, 1407/1987, vol. 3, p. 310 no. 7; Jaʿfar al-Ṣubḥānī [ed.], *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn: Yataḍammanu tarjamat rijālāt al-ʿilm wa-l-fikr ʿabra arbaʿa ʿashar qarnan*, Qum: Muʿassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 1424/2003–4, vol. 2, p. 391)

Manuscripts

- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111, fols. 164v–222v; see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin: A. W. Schade, 1887–1899, vol. 9, p. 593 no. 10292. A digital surrogate of the manuscript can be accessed through <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=787955892> (accessed 25 January 2022). A digital surrogate of a microfilm of MS Glaser 111, fols. 164v–222v, provided by the IZbACF, also includes the final page of al-ʿAnsī's *al-Fatāwī al-nabawīyya*, i.e., MS Glaser 111, fol. 163v.¹⁵⁷
- MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 8266/3, an unfinished apograph of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111, fols. 164v–222v, transcribed in 1929 by Cornelis van Arendonk, is preserved in *al-Radd ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya*; see https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/o03ulj/UBL_ALMA71324051620002711 (accessed 25 January 2022); Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden. Volume 9: Manuscripts Or. 8001-Or, 9000*, Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2019, apud Or. 8266.

"Edition"

An uncritical draft transcription, accessible at <http://www.anazaidi.com/play.php?catsmktba=565> (accessed 25 January 2022),¹⁵⁸ reflects the surrogate of MS Glaser 111 provided by the IZbACF. This is indicated by the final portion of the text, which the scribe gleaned from al-ʿAnsī's *al-Fatāwī al-nabawīyya* as found on the last, isolated page from this work included in the surrogate. In the uncritical draft transcription, this final part of the *Fatāwī* is made an integral part of the "ʿAqāʿid" to make up for the latter's missing end, without any notification of the transposition. The draft edition is therefore an amalgam of two works rather than an edition of the "ʿAqāʿid ahl al-bayt wa-l-radd ʿalā l-Muṭarrifiyya."

¹⁵⁷ A copy of this surrogate was also produced for Riḍwān al-Sayyid in the 1990s and is now part of his personal library; see "al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya," no. 211.

¹⁵⁸ The same draft transcription is also accessible elsewhere on the internet, e.g., at https://archive.org/details/love_731 (accessed 25 January 2022).

2. *al-Durra [al-Durar] al-manzūma fī uṣūl al-fiqh*

This work on legal methodology is lost. The book was consulted by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436), who refers to it repeatedly and occasionally quotes from it in his *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* (ed. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-‘Imrān, Mecca: Dār ‘Ālam al-Fawā’id, 1419/1998–99, vol. 1, pp. 56, 71, 161, 207; vol. 2, pp. 482, 483; for references to al-‘Ansī without mention of a specific title, see also vol. 1, pp. 99, 105, 180, 193, 195) as well as in his *al-‘Awāṣim wa-l-qawāṣim fī l-dhabb ‘an sunnat Abī l-Qāsim* (ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arnā’ūt, 9 vols., Amman: Dār al-Bashīr, 1405–1412/1985–1992, vol. 1, pp. 308, 319, 339, 371, 372–373; vol. 2, pp. 326, 374; vol. 3, pp. 95, 96; for references to al-‘Ansī without mention of a specific title, see also vol. 1, pp. 272, 378, 392; vol. 2, pp. 91, 135, 145, 149, 226, 312, 313, 349, 356, 403, 404; vol. 3, p. 83; vol. 8, pp. 261, 334).

(Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jundārī, *Tarājim al-rijāl al-madhkūra fī Sharḥ al-Azhār*, published in the introduction to ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim Ibn Miftāḥ, *al-Muntaza‘ al-mukhtār min al-Ghayth al-midrār al-ma‘rūf bi-Sharḥ al-Azhār*, Sanaa, 1341/1922–23, p. 21; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 179; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 63; Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī al-Akwa‘, *Hijar al-‘ilm wa-ma‘āqiluhu fī l-Yaman*, 6 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu‘āṣir, 1424/2003, vol. 4, p. 1811a; al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, vol. 1, p. 571)

3. *al-Fatāwī al-nabawiyya al-muṣṣiḥa ‘an aḥkām al-Muṭarrifiyya*

In the single extant copy of the text (see below), the tract is preceded by a title page (**fig. 15**) indicating the work’s title and author. According to Ahlwardt, this refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya was composed around 630/1233, although there is nothing in the text to support his tentative dating.

(al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62; al-Akwa‘, *Hijar al-‘ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811b)

Manuscript

- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 111, fols. 135r–163v; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, pp. 591–592 no. 10286. A digital surrogate is accessible through <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=787955868> (accessed 25 January 2022).

Edition

Ed. in ‘Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-‘Āṭī, *al-Ṣirā‘ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman bayna l-Zaydiyya wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya: Dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ*, al-Haram [Giza], 2002, pp. 314–334.

4. *al-Irshād ilā najāt al-‘ibād*

This work with Sufi tendencies on ascetism and morality was completed on the last Friday of Rabī II 632/January 1235 (see the author’s colophon at the end of the work). Throughout the work, al-‘Ansī regularly refers to and quotes from al-Ghazālī’s *Ihyā‘ ulūm al-dīn* (see, e.g., pp. 387, 388, 390, 391), which may have served as a model for him when composing the book. The numerous extant witnesses indicate the book’s lasting popularity. Yaḥyā b.

Muḥammad b. Luṭf b. Muḥammad Shākīr (1295–1370/1878 or 1879–1950 or 1951) compiled a work entitled *Subul (or Sabīl) al-rashād ilā maʿrifat maʿānī al-Irshād* on the basis of al-ʿAnṣī's *Irshād*, apparently an extract of all Prophetic traditions cited in the *Irshād* (see al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 4, p. 2093; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 92 [citing the work as *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Kitāb al-Irshād fī l-taṣawwuf*]; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 2, pp. 476–477 no. 1440; ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir al-turāth fī l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*, 2 vols., McLean, VA: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 274–275 [see also below]).

(al-Maswarī, *Majmūʿ al-ijzāt* [see below, Appendix 2]; Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr wa-majmaʿ al-buḥūr fī tarājim rijāl al-Zaydiyya*, ed. Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Muʿayyadī, Saʿda: Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 2004, vol. 3, p. 89; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 323; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 63; Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī, *Muʿallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, Qum: Ismāʿiliyān, 1413 [1992–93], vol. 1, p. 103 no. 248; al-Ṣubḥānī, *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391)

Editions

Ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Wajīh and Muḥammad Qāsim al-Hāshimī, Saʿda: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1421/2000–1 [reprinted repeatedly].

Manuscripts

- MS Beirut, Maktabat Riḍwān al-Sayyid, copied by Maḥdī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ, dated 1099/1687–88. For a microfilm surrogate in the Maʿhad al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya in Cairo, see <http://alnadeem-mss.mal-ecso.org/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=120069> (accessed 7 January 2022).
- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, ms. or. quart. 2039, copied by ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Ḥusaynī at the behest of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Rabīʿī *nasaban* al-Zaydī *madhhaban*, completed 9 Shawwāl 915/20 January 1510. The manuscript was part of the *Nachlass* of the photographer Hermann Burchardt, who was killed in Yemen on 18 December 1909, and it was purchased by the Berlin State Library in 1939.¹⁵⁹ During World War II the manuscript was temporarily transferred to Tübingen.¹⁶⁰ For the codex, see *Arabische und persische Handschriften: Aus dem Besitz des verstorbenen Reisenden Dr. Burchardt*, foreword A. Fischer, Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1921, p. 47 no. 38. A digital surrogate is accessible through <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=167881296X> (accessed 25 January 2022). See also Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān: Nuskhā-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi ʿIrān (Fankhā)*, Tehran: Sāzmān-i Asnād wa Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-yi Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi ʿIrān, 1390/2011, vol. 3, p. 78 no. 1; Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra-yi dastniwisht-hā-yi*

¹⁵⁹ For the history of the Burchardt collection, see Christoph Rauch's contribution to this volume.

¹⁶⁰ Communication from Dr. Walter Werkmeister (29 June 2010), custodian of the Oriental collection at Tübingen University Library: "...dass es sich um eine Handschrift aus der Berliner Staatsbibliothek handelt, deren Bestände während des Krieges in einen Stollen im Schwarzwald ausgelagert waren und bis zu ihrer Rückführung Anfang der siebziger Jahre von unserer Bibliothek verwaltet wurden."

Īrān (Dinā), 1st ed., Tehran: Kitābkhāna, Mūzih wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389/2010, vol. 1, p. 675 no. 17711. For a detailed description of the codex, see Hassan Ansari, “Mu‘arrafi-yi ta‘dādī az nuskha-hā-yi Berlīn,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2103> (accessed 25 January 2022).

- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Landberg 179, copied by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Suhayl and dated 1060/1650; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 3, pp. 139–140 no. 3134. A digital surrogate of the codex is accessible at https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN1666184829&PHYSID=PHYS_0005&DMDID=&view=overview-toc (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣa‘dī, copied by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī Wahrān and dated 1082/1671–72; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 135 no. 17.
- MS Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm, copied by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan al-Ḍaḥyānī and dated 1336/1917–18; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 435 no. 40; al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, vol. 1, p. 570.
- MS Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm, copied by Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh Ḥasana and dated 1381/1961–62; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 435 no. 40; al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, vol. 1, p. 570.
- MS Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Ijrī, “*faṣl fī dhikr al-jihād ma‘a ahl al-bayt manqūl min Irshād al-‘Ansī*,” included as item 2 in a multitext volume transcribed in 1030/1820–21; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 302 no. 45.
- MS Hijrat Suwaydān, Maktabat al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn al-Mu‘ayyadī, *majmū‘a* 86/2, containing a portion from the *K. al-Irshād* that in this codex is entitled *Mansak al-ḥajj*; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, pp. 261–262. The editor of al-‘Ansī’s *al-Risāla al-badī‘a al-mu‘līna* (→ 12) mistakenly lists the *Mansak al-ḥajj* as an independent title among al-‘Ansī’s writings in the introduction to his edition (p. 22 no. 24).
- MS Leiden, Leiden University Library OR 6699, dated 1058/1648; see https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/a8bnm1/UBL_ALMA21323573880002711. A facsimile is accessible via <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/2433369> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Leiden, Leiden University Library OR 23447, fols. 4r–222r, dated Rabī I 1357/May–June 1938, copied by Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl Suhayl.
- MS London, British Library OR 3926 [= Glaser no. 220], completed on 16 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1068/14 September 1658; see Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 221 no. 345. This is an incomplete copy covering only the final portion of the work (*al-Irshād ilā l-taqrīb ilā llāh bi-l-ḥajj*).
- MS Mecca, Jāmi‘at Umm al-Qurā’, copied by Zayd b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh at the behest of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-Jabrī and dated 26 Dhū l-Qa‘da 1341/15 October 1663. For a brief description and a digital surrogate of selected pages of the codex, see <https://dorar.uqu.edu.sa/uquui/handle/20.500.12248/112937> (accessed 2 January 2022).

- MS Qum, Mar‘ashī 7274, copied by Sa‘īd b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Wāḥidī and dated 10 Jumādā II 1067/26 March 1657; see Maḥmūd Mar‘ashī et al., *Fihrist-i nuskhā-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Najafī-yi Mar‘ashī*, vol. 1–, Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Najafī-yi Mar‘ashī, n.d., vol. 19, p. 62; see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, vol. 1, p. 675 no. 17713; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 3, p. 78 no. 3.
- MS Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’ 2681, copied by Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥuraymī and dated 18 Rabī’ II 1053/6 July 1643; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, vol. 1, p. 675 no. 17712; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 3, p. 78 no. 2.
- MS Riyadh, King Saud University 7887, dated 13 Rabī’ I 1074/15 October 1663. For a description and a digital surrogate of the manuscript, see <http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/makhtota/8559/4> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Sa‘da, Maktabat al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Aḥsan al-Mutamayyiz, copied by Sa‘īd b. Qāsim al-Ānisī and dated 1061/1650–51; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 171.
- MS Sa‘da, Maktabat Āl al-Hāshimī, dated 5 Dhū l-Qa‘da 1013/25 March 1605 (**fig. 7**); see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 380; al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 1, p. 570.
- MS Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya 1653, copied at the behest of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Dāyanī [*sic*], dated 11 Shawwāl 1089/26 November 1678. The codex was part of the personal library of Imam Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (ownership note dated 1353/1934–35); see Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṭsawī et al., *Fihris al-makḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Dār al-makḥṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr, Ṣan‘ā’*, Qum: Maktabat Samāḥat Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā al-Mar‘ashī al-Najafī al-Kubrā, 1426/1384/2005, vol. 1, p. 851.
- MS Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya 1654, undated copy; see Ṭsawī et al., *Fihris* (2005), vol. 1, p. 851.
- MS Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya 1658, copied by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Sa‘īd b. Ibrāhīm “al-Zaylā’ī” and dated 29 Rabī’ II 1084/13 August 1673; see Ṭsawī et al., *Fihris* (2005), vol. 1, p. 852.
- MS Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya 1663, copied at the behest of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥūthī, dated 21 Ṣafar 1062/2 February 1652; see Ṭsawī et al., *Fihris* (2005), vol. 1, pp. 851–852; cf. also al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 323 (no shelf mark indicated); Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 63 (no shelf mark indicated).
- MS Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya 2880, undated copy transcribed by Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-‘Ansī. The codex was purchased in 1353/1934–35 by Imam Yaḥyā’s son Sayf al-Islām Aḥmad from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Ansī; see Ṭsawī et al., *Fihris* (2005), vol. 1, p. 852.
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2015, undated copy; see Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayḥī, ‘Abd al-Allāh al-Ḥibshī, and ‘Alī Wahhāb al-Ānisī, *Fihrist makḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr Ṣan‘ā’*, [Sanaa:] Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Irshād, 1404/1984, vol. 3, p. 1297.

- MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2017 (old shelf mark: 43 *kalām*), dated Rajab 1353/October–November 1934. The copy belonged to Imam Yaḥyā’s personal library; see *Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, p. 109; al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 3, pp. 1296–1297; cf. also al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 323, where a copy in the Maktabat al-Awqāf with the old shelf mark “108 *kalām*” is mentioned. According to *Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, p. 109, there is no copy of the *Irshād* with this shelf mark, and it is likely that al-Ḥibshī refers here to MS Maktabat al-Awqāf 2017. The same codex seems to be meant in Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 63 (the shelf mark is given as “*Jāmi’ 108 raqm 17 kalām*”).
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2018, copied by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Qāsim al-Ahnūmī and dated 1182/1768–69; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 3, p. 1297.
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2022 (old shelf mark: 42 *kalām*), undated copy (*naskhī qadīm*), with the end missing. The copy belonged to Imam Yaḥyā’s personal library; see *Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, p. 109; al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 3, p. 1296. Cf. al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 323, where it is stated that the copy is dated 620 AH. In view of the book’s completion in 632 AH this date is clearly an error; the same error is found in Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 63. Moreover, according to *Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, p. 109, “620” refers to the number of pages in the copy.¹⁶¹
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2035, undated copy, transcribed by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Shaqqāqī; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 3, p. 1297.
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Alī al-Marwanī, copied by Ḥasan b. Ismā’īl b. Ṣāliḥ al-Mu’adhdhin and dated 1293/1876; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 548 no. 6.
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm 71, dated 1068/1657–58; see ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt ba’da l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*, London: Mu’assasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1994, p. 108 no. 236.
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Kibṣī [no shelf mark], dated 1068/1658. A digital surrogate was prepared within the framework of the Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative; see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9978493943506421> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Kibṣī [no shelf mark], part of a multitext volume, dated between 1068/1658 and 1101/1690. A digital surrogate was prepared within the framework of the Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative; see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9978493923506421> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Kibṣī [no shelf mark], copied by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Qāsim al-Ahnūmī and dated 1069/1659; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 231. Cf., however, the aforementioned MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2018, copied by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Qāsim al-Ahnūmī and dated 1182/1768–69. If indeed both

¹⁶¹ A copy of this manuscript seems to have been produced for Riḍwān al-Sayyid in the 1990s and is now part of his personal library; see “al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya,” no. 209.

copies were transcribed by the same scribe, the date provided in one of the catalogs is probably incorrect.

- MS Sanaa, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Kibṣī [no shelf mark]. A digital surrogate was prepared within the framework of the Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative; see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9978495303506421> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr 61, undated copy; see al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris*, p. 386 no. 923; Sabine Schmidtke, *Traditional Yemeni Scholarship Amidst Political Turmoil and War: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Muṭahhar al-Manṣūr (1915–2016) and His Personal Library*, Cordoba: UCOPress, 2018, pp. 84–85. A digital surrogate is accessible through the Zaydi Manuscript Tradition Project (ZMT) [= ZMT 01311] at Hill Museum & Manuscript Library; see <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/144225> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Sayyid Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbās ʿĀmir [no shelfmark], copied by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Jarād and dated 1331/1912–13; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 260 no. 2.
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Mutawakkil [no shelfmark], copied by ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Mawṣimī al-Miḥrābī, dated 1346/1927–28. The copy includes in the margins *Sabīl al-rashād ilā maʿrifat maʿānī al-Irshād*. See al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, pp. 274–275; see also al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 570.
- MS Sanaa, unidentified private library, copied in 1073/1662–63 and apparently entitled *K. al-Hādī ila nājāt al-ʿibād*. A copy of this manuscript (or of a surrogate of it) was produced for Riḍwān al-Sayyid in the 1990s and is now part of his personal library; see “al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya,” no. 208.
- MS Shahāra, Maktabat Jāmiʿ Mudān; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, pp. 405, 409. Al-Wajīh states that the copy was produced in 632 AH. This is doubtful; the date 632 AH is probably just mentioned in the author’s colophon.
- MS Shahāra, Maktabat al-Sayyid Sharaf b. Qāsim al-Wajīh, undated; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 657 no. 17.
- MS Taʿizz (or possibly Thulā), Maktabat al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Muṭahhar, copied by al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr and dated 1068/1657–58; al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, pp. 285–286 no. 20; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 570.
- MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 111, dated 901/1495–6; see Max Grünert, *Kurzer Katalog der Glaser’schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften* [unpublished manuscript, ca. 1894], p. 17 no. 30; <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00161435> (accessed 25 January 2022). A digital surrogate is accessible through the ZMT [= ZMT 00360]; see <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/140443> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Yemen (Bāqim and Ḍaḥyān), Maktabat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāsimī, undated; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 183.

5. *al-Istibṣār*

This lost work on law consisted of five volumes, and according to Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn (*Mustaṭāb*), al-ʿAnṣī composed an autocommentary of about twenty volumes on it. The *Istibṣār* allegedly served as the basis for al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh Yahyā b. Ḥamza's (d. 745/1344) *K. al-Intiṣār ʿalā ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār* (partly published in an edition prepared by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī al-Muʿayyad and ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Mufaḍḍal, 6 vols., Amman: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 2002). Whether indeed there is a relation between al-ʿAnṣī's *Istibṣār* and Yahyā b. Ḥamza's *Intiṣār* still needs to be investigated in depth. For a legal opinion of al-ʿAnṣī's that may have been gleaned from the *Istibṣār*, see below, Appendix 4.

(Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fol. 82r; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 202; al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 1, p. 504b; vol. 4, p. 1810b; see also Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, "Dū mashīkha-yi Zaydī," *Nāma-yi Mīnuwī: Majmūʿa-yi sī wa hasht guftār dar adab wa farhang-i īrānī bih pās-i panjāh sāl taḥqīqāt wa muṭālīʿāt-i Muṭabā Mīnuwī*, ed. Īrāj Afshār, Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Kāwiyān, 1350sh/1971, pp. 179–188, here p. 172 no. 21, where the work's title is erroneously given as *al-Intiṣār*; al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 4, p. 1810b)

6. *Jawāb al-faqīh Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shāfiʿī al-sākin bi-Dhahbān*

This tract, written during the imamate of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn and completed in Rajab 648/November–December 1250, contains al-ʿAnṣī's responsa to four questions raised by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh, a Shāfiʿī scholar who was based in Dhahbān and had been appointed by Imam al-Mahdī to the position of *muḥtasib*. The responsa address pre-determination versus free will (*qaḍāʾ Allāh taʿālā wa-qaḍarihi*) (MS Glaser 123, fols. 252vff.), the relation between the will of God and that of man (fols. 257vff.), the difference between *ṭalāq al-bidʿa* and *ṭalāq al-sunna* (fols. 263vff.), and other questions related to the legal issue of *ṭalāq* (fols. 265rff.). Al-ʿAnṣī is identified as the *mujīb* on the tract's title page (fig. 19). On one occasion, al-ʿAnṣī also provides some autobiographical details that are not recorded elsewhere: he states that he spent some time in Mecca, where he attended the *majālis* of Shāfiʿī and Mālikī scholars and engaged in discussion with them. He mentions, in particular, a certain "*al-faqīh al-Burhān*" (most likely Burhān al-Dīn). He adds that he read with one of his teachers in Mecca the *K. al-Irshād* of Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085).¹⁶² At this time, it was still unusual for Zaydi scholars to study Ashʿarī *kalām* literature.¹⁶³

¹⁶² MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fol. 263v:3–7 (fig. 20): *innī mimman qad jāwara l-Kaʿba wa-aqāma fī Makka muddatan wa-naẓara majālis al-Shāfiʿiyya zamān al-faqīh al-Burhān wa-majālis al-Mālikīyya muddatan min al-zamān wa-qaraʾa wa-samaʾa ʿalā kathīr minhum wa-ʿarafa aqwālahum wa-iʿtiqādahum wa-jarā baynī wa-baynahum murājaʿāt wa-qaraʾtu ʿalā baʿḍihim fī taʿlīf Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Juwaynī al-kitāb al-maʾrūf bi-l-Irshād fī l-iʿtiqād wa-ʿarafū maqālatī (wa-)jaqarra jamʿa minhum anna hāʾulāʾ alladhīna [sic] narwīhu ʿan ahl al-bayt ʿalayhim al-salām huwa l-ḥaqq . . .*

¹⁶³ For al-ʿAnṣī's debates in Zabid with Sunni scholars including the Ḥanafī Ashʿarī scholar Ibn Ḥankāsh, see below, Appendix 2. For the reception of Ashʿarī works among later Zaydis, see Gregor Schwarb, "Ms Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294: A Guide to Zaydī *Kalām*-Studies during the Ṭāhirid and Early Qāsimitic Periods (Mid-15th to Early 18th Centuries)," *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, ed. David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch, and Sabine Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill, 2015, pp. 155–202.

Manuscripts

- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fols. 248r–266r; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 602 no. 10325. For a brief description and a digital surrogate, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735444900> (accessed 25 January 2022).

Edition

Al-Jawāb ʿalā l-faqīh Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shāfiʿī li-l-faqīh al-ʿallāma ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAnsī al-mutawaffā sanat 667h, ed. Jamāl al-Shāmī, [Saʿda]: [private publication], 1438 [2016].

7. *al-Lāʾiq bi-l-afhām fī maʿrifat ḥudūd al-kalām*

The title suggests that this lost work contained definitions of theological terms. Al-Maswarī mentions an autograph of this tract written in 659 [1260–61] when al-ʿAnsī was sixty-six years old, and he cites the author's introduction to the 659 AH copy, in which al-ʿAnsī mentions that he wrote the tract at a very young age (*fī ḥāl al-dars wa-qabla nabāt al-liḥya*).

(al-Maswarī, *Majmūʿ al-ijāzāt* [see below, Appendix 2]; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 3, pp. 88–89; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, p. 310 no. 9; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, pp. 62–63; al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811b; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Muʿallafāt*, vol. 2, p. 339 no. 2639; al-Ṣubḥānī, *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391)

8. *Māʿ al-yaqīn fī maʿrifat rabb al-ʿālamīn*

This concise credal tract is based primarily on *ḥadīth* material and is mostly concerned with the categories of believer, unbeliever, and grave sinner. The title and author are identified on the tract's title pages (fols. 228r–v; **fig. 21**).

(al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, p. 590; al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, p. 310 no. 8; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62; al-Ṣubḥānī, *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391)

Manuscripts

- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fols. 228r–241v; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 602 no. 10323. For a brief description and a digital surrogate of the tract, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735444595> (accessed 25 January 2022).

9. *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*

Al-ʿAnsī's comprehensive theological summa consists of eight parts (*qism*, pl. *aqsām*) arranged in four codicological units (*juzʿ*, pl. *ajzāʾ*). The topics of the eight parts are [1] divine unicity (*tawḥīd*); [2] justice (*ʿadl*); [3] prophecy (*nubuwwa*); [4] revealed legislation (*sharāʾī*); [5] the imamate; [6] commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*); [7] the promise and the threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿd*); and [8] nouns and rulings (*al-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām*). Part (*qism*) 4 of the *Maḥajja*

was completed on 20 Rabī II 640/17 October 1242, and this date provides a rough indication when the work was composed. Al-ʿAnsī considered the *Maḥajja* the most important and detailed of his works in the field of theology, as shown by his description of the work in his *Tamyiz* (fol. 149r:9–12) (→ 20): *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʾ fiḥi l-nihāya fi l-daḡiq wa-l-jalīl wa-l-khilāf wa-l-tafḍīl wa-ṣiḥḥat al-madhhab wa-l-rudūd ʿalā l-mukhālafa fi ʿilm al-kalām wa-huwa l-khātima al-kubrā ʿalā ahl al-islām kāffatan*. Although no witness of parts 6, 7, and 8 survives, there is no reason to doubt that al-ʿAnsī completed the work. Numerous references to and quotations from discussions in later parts of the *Maḥajja*, most likely in parts 7 and/or 8, are included in the *K. al-Shams al-munīra al-zahrāʾ fi taḥqīq baḥth mā adkhalahu al-kuffār dārahum qahran wa-mā yattaṣilu min farāʾid al-fawāʾid* by al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muhallā al-Sharafī (d. 1111/1699–1700). (We consulted this work through a surrogate: MS Mecca, Maktabat Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurāʾ 13613, pp. 36, 46, 51, 52, 58, 60.) Moreover, an apparent reference to part 5 (on the *imāma*) is included in Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr’s *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim* (ed. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿUmrān, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Ibn al-Wazīr also cites the *Maḥajja* in his *al-Awāṣim wa-l-qawāṣim* (vol. 3, p. 33; vol. 6, p. 40). Further, al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr refers in his *Nihāyat al-tanwīh fi izhāq al-tamwīh* (ed. Aḥmad b. Dirham b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥuriyya and Ibrāhīm b. Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Muʿayyadī, Saʿda: Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 2000, p. 81) to *al-juzʾ al-thālith* of the *Maḥajja*, referring to the book’s section on the imamate.

(Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fol. 82r:15; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʾ al-budūr*, vol. 3, p. 83; Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā (al-qism al-thālith) wa-yusammā Bulūgh al-murād ilā maʿrifat al-isnād*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, McLean, VA: Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Thaqāfiyya, 1421/2001, vol. 2, p. 612; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, p. 309 no. 4; Ḥamid al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62; al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811b; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī, *Muʿallafāt*, vol. 2, p. 433 no. 2744; al-Ṣubḥānī, *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391)

Manuscripts

- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1286, comprising parts 1 through 4, transcribed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd’s nephew, Muḥammad b. Asʿad b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (with the exception of fol. 1v, which is written in a different, later hand) in Saʿda and completed on 14 Rabī II 641/1 October 1243 (see colophon on fol. 225v). The codex also has a marginal note (in the upper margin of fol. 2r) in the hand of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya al-Dawwārī (715–800/1315–1397 or 1378), the author of several works on theology and one of the teachers of the aforementioned Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr. That the volume remained with the Dawwārī family in Saʿda for many generations is suggested by reading notes throughout the codex (e.g., on fol. 2r) in the hand of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad (b.) Ḥābis al-Dawwārī al-Ṣaʿdī (d. 1061/1651).¹⁶⁴ For a description of the codex,

¹⁶⁴ He is the author of two works: *K. al-Anwār al-hādiya li-dhawī l-ʿuqūl ilā maʿrifat maqāṣid al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-suʾl fi ʿilm al-uṣūl*, which is a commentary on the *K. al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-suʾl fi ʿilm al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Bahrān (d. 957/1550) on legal theory, and *K. al-Ṭdāḥ ʿalā l-Miṣbāḥ*, a commentary on the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224) (published as *K. al-Ṭdāḥ sharḥ al-Miṣbāḥ al-shahīr bi-sharḥ al-*

see Florian Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007, pp. 433–433 no. 226. For a digital surrogate of the codex, see <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00036424/images/index.html> (accessed 25 January 2022). A facsimile edition of the codex has been published as Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Zaydī Theology in 7th/13th Century Yemen: Facsimile Edition of “Kitāb al-Maḥajja al-Bayḍā fī Uṣūl al-Dīn” of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī (d. 667/1269)* (MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286), Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 2016.

- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1273, comprising parts 2 (beginning with *al-kalām fī l-maṣāliḥ*), 3, and 4, transcribed by Muḥammad b. As‘ad b. Zayd al-‘Ansī and completed on 20 Rabī‘ II 640/17 October 1242, the same day that the author gives as the date of the work’s completion, which suggests that al-‘Ansī dictated the work to his nephew (see colophon, fol. 152v). At the end of the codex (fol. 152v), al-‘Ansī announces that volume 3 (*al-juz’ al-thālith*) will begin with part 5, dealing with the *imāma*. For a description of the codex, see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 406–408 no. 214. For a digital surrogate, see <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00038411/images/index.html> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Hijrat al-Sirr, Maktabat al-Murtaḍā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān al-Wazīr [no shelf mark], containing part 5 on the imamate, dated 718/1318–19; the first portion was transcribed by al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Wazīr (d. 732/1331) and the remaining portion by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Salāma al-Ṣuraymī. The codex represents the third codicological unit (*al-juz’ al-thālith*) of the work, and its end carries an announcement of the next unit (*al-juz’ al-rābi‘*), to begin with part 6 of the work, on *al-amr bi-l-ma‘rūf wa-l-nahy ‘an al-munkar*. That part 5 takes up the entire third unit indicates that the part covering the imamate must be very comprehensive. At the end of the codex, there are excerpts from two other works, which al-Wajīh describes as *nuqūl min K. al-Mughnī li-l-qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad [al-Hamadhānī] wa-aqāwīl al-Zaydiyya fī l-imāma*, and *majmū‘a awrāq manzū‘a min K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-lughā* (by al-Jawharī). See al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris*, p. 48 no. 80; and, with more details, al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 385. This manuscript was not accessible to us.

Thalāthīn al-mas‘ala [sic]). See Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Sources de l’histoire du Yémen à l’époque musulmane = Maṣādir tārikh al-Yaman fī l-‘aṣr al-islāmī*, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1974, pp. 234–235 no. 19; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 145, 185, 248, 345, 392; al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, vol. 1, pp. 208–221 no. 231.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَهُوَ السَّعِيدُ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي تَوَدَّ قُلُوبَ الْبُرْجِدِينَ مَعْرِفَةً وَهَيْدًا لِيُخَفِّقَهُ مَا هَيْدَ
 مِنْ غَيْرِ تَشْبِيهِ وَلَا خَيْرَ وَلَا نِعْمَةَ وَلَا تَعْبُدُ وَلَا مَوْلَاهُ عَلَى مِجْرَاهِ
 الْجِبَالِ وَيَسْأَلُهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ لِمَا عَدُوَانَا نَبِيٍّ جَامِعٍ مِنْ الْأَخْرَانِ
 أَنْ تَدْخُلَ لَمْ يُخَصَّرْ لَفِي الْوَالِجِ مِنْ أَسْوَدِ الْبُرْجِدِينَ عَلِيٍّ فِي الْأَخْرَانِ عَلَيْهِ
 صَلَوَاتُ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ مَا يَسْهَلُ عَلَى الْمُسْتَدْرِ يَعْطُهُ وَيَحْلِي بِهِ مَعْرِفَتَهُ فَقَصِدَتْ
 فِي ذَلِكَ إِلَى مَطْلُوبِهِمْ تَعَزُّبًا إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى بِرَبِّهِمْ وَاسْمِهِ السَّلَامُ الْبَرَّاجِ
 لِمَنْ يَرَى الْأَسْتِقَامَةَ وَالْأَجْوَادَ جَمْعًا فِي مَا زَانِيَهُ بِالْعَالِيَةِ لِقَدَمِ الْبُرْجِدِينَ
 فِي هَذَا الْعَرَضِ الْمَطْلُوبِ زَانِيَةً أَنْ لَوْ بَدَّ مِنْ إِكْرَاهِهِ عَلَيْهِ تَكْوِينُهُ وَالْأَعْرَابِ
 عَلَى الْعَرَضِ وَالْفَصَاحَةِ وَزِيَادَهُ فِي مَانِيَةٍ وَيُضَاحِجُهُ اسْمُهُ بِمُقَرَّبِهِ لِأَبِيهِ لَهَا كَيْفَ
 عَلَيْهِمْ جَاءَتْ الْعَالَمِينَ وَسَهْلًا ذَلِكَ الْبَلُوغُ إِلَى مَقْصُودِهِ عَلَى الْخَالِئِينَ
 وَأَعْلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لَأَسْمَى مَا قَصِدَتْ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْبُرْجِدِينَ وَبَعْدَ لَهْ شَهَادَةٍ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ يَا أَيُّهَا الْقَصِدُ
 وَعَلَيْهِ غَوْلَتْ لِيْلِهِ لَيْتَ وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ وَنَعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ أَعْلَمُ أَنْ أَصُولَ الْبُرْجِدِينَ الرَّحِيمِ
 عَلَى الْمَكْلُوفِينَ لَا تَعْبُدُوا مَا يَدْعُوا أَقْسَامَ وَالْكَلَامِ مِنْهَا يَتَعَبَقُ فِي رَيْبِهِ سَوَاضِعُ إِجْرَاهَا
 فِي قِسْمَتِهَا وَتَانِيَةً بِالْكَلامِ وَخَيْرٌ لِلْعَلَمِ ذَلِكَ وَالنَّهْيَ وَجَوَابَ الْإِحْتِجَاجِ لِرَأْيِ
 الْأَجْلِ وَالزَّمَانِ وَرَأْيِهَا الْكَلَامِ فِي طَلْقِهَا مِنْهَا **أَمَّا الْمَوْضِعُ**
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Figure 36. MS Şan'ā', Maktabat al-Awqāf 758, fol. 2r (beginning of al-'Ansi's Mudhakarāt al-Sirāj).

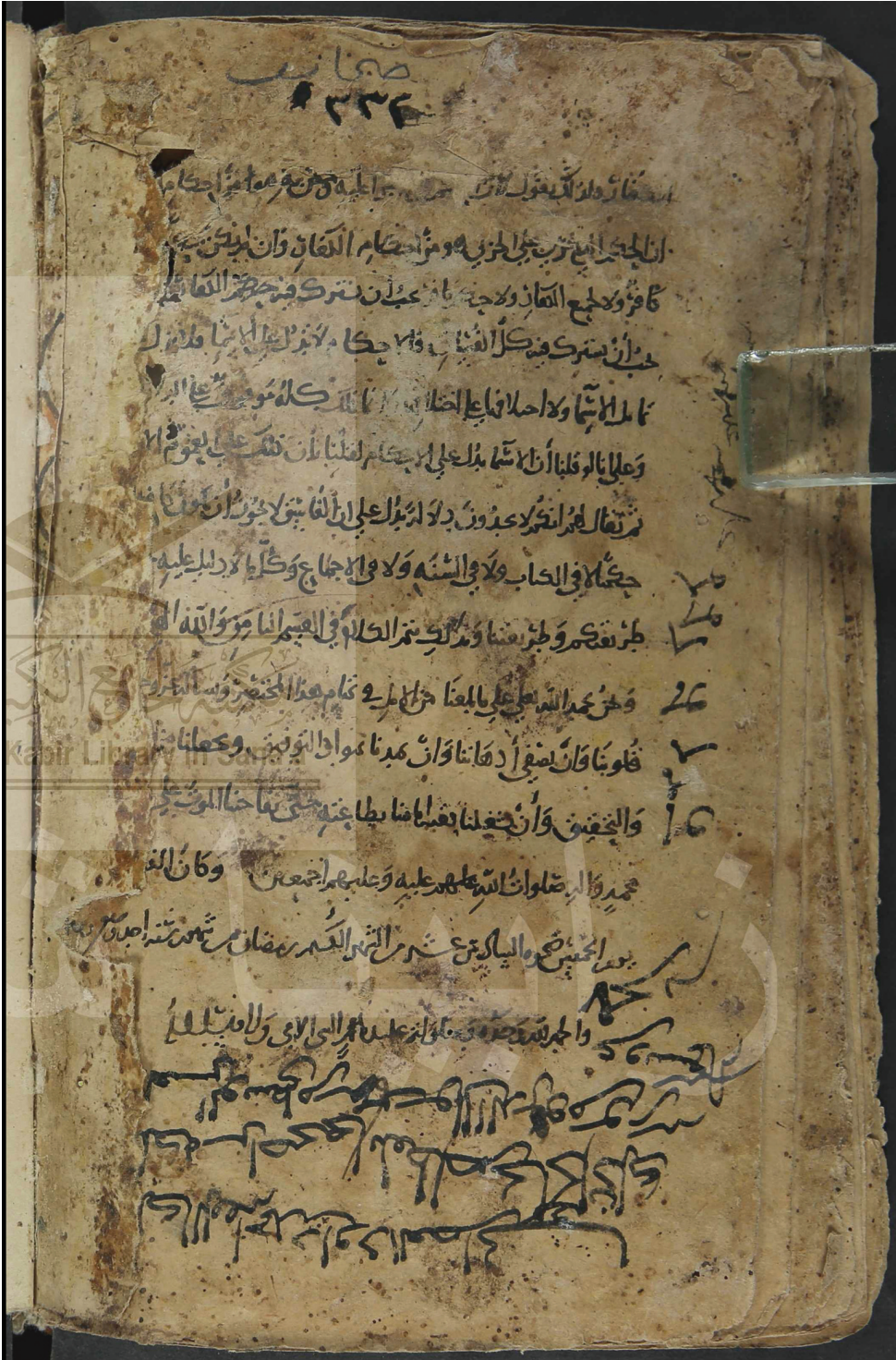


Figure 37. MS Şan'ā', Maktabat al-Awqāf 758, fol. 166v (final page of al-'Anṣī's *Mudhakarāt al-Sirā*).

10. *Manāhij al-bayān li-rijāl Sanḥān*

This refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya is addressed to the people of Sanḥān. The title of the tract is identified on the opening page in the single extant witness of the tract (see below), and so is the name of the author, although the scribe was evidently uncertain about his identity and/or precise name. This is indicated by the correction of the author's name to "Abū Muḥammad b. [sic] 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-Midḥājī" (**fig. 23**). In the tract, the author mentions having written earlier on another text, which he had sent to the Banī Sharīf through (*alā yad*) *al-qāḍī al-fāḍil* Futayṣ b. Yaḥyā (fol. 247r).

(Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn: Asmā' al-mu'allifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn min Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2008, vol. 2, column 563; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Akwa', *Hijar al-'ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811b)

Manuscript

- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fols. 242r–248r; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 592 no. 10287. For a brief description and a digital surrogate, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735444781> (accessed 25 January 2022).

11. *Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj*

This is an autocommentary on *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* (→ 17). Al-'Ansī lists the work among his earlier writings on theology in the beginning of the *khātima* to his *K. al-Tamyīz* (→ 20) (fol. 149a:7–8), where he describes it as *kifāyatan fī ma'rifat al-khilāf wa-l-madḥab wa-l-dalāla*. In the *khātima* the title is given as *Mudhākarat al-Sirāj*, whereas in the introduction to the commentary (**fig. 36**), al-'Ansī calls it *Mudhākarāt*. It is noteworthy that the term *mudhākara* or *mudhākarāt* is often employed among the Zaydis of Yemen in the sense of *ta'līq*.

(al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62)

Manuscript

- MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 758, 166 fols. (rather than 342 fols. as indicated in the catalog; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 2, p. 645, where the work is also misidentified as *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj*). The work was copied by what seem to be two different hands, and the copy is dated 16 Ramaḍān 771/13 April 1370 (see colophon on fol. 166v; **fig. 37**).

12. *al-Risāla al-badī'a al-mu'lina bi-faḍā'il al-Shī'a*

This is a work on the merits of the family of the Prophet, written in response to a Shāfīī scholar, most likely the aforementioned Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh (→ 6).

(al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, p. 309 no. 2; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 403 no. 2656 [under the title *al-Lafẓa al-badī'a*, which is certainly a confusion between al-'Ansī's tract and Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ al-Samāwī's *al-Lafẓ al-badī' (or al-Lafẓa al-badī'a) fī l-radd 'alā al-sābb li-l-Shī'a* by the thirteenth/eighteenth-century scholar Muḥammad b.

Šāliḥ al-Samāwī, who also quotes al-‘Ansī¹⁶⁵]; al-Šubḥānī, *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391)

Manuscripts

- MS Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Hādī [under the title *al-Masā’il al-badī’a al-mu’līna bi-‘aḳā’id al-Shī’a*]; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 544.
- MS Hijrat Fallala, Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Shāyīm; part of a multitext volume, copied by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Shāyīm; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 86.
- MS Hijrat Fallala, Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Shāyīm; part of an undated multitext volume; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 125.
- MS Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥūthī, dated 9 Ramaḍān 1100/27 June 1689 (see the introduction to Ḥajar’s edition, p. 33).
- MS Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh Ḥamūd al-‘Izzī (see the introduction to Ḥajar’s edition, pp. 33–34); the copy was accessible to the editor through a surrogate held in the Maktabat Ibrāhīm al-Darsī (on the latter, see al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 1, p. 83 no. 42).
- MS Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya, *majāmi’* 3170; see Ṭsawī et al., *Fihris*, vol. 2, p. 1432; cf. also al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124 (citing an older shelf mark).
- MS Sanaa, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. A digital surrogate is accessible through the ZMT [= ZMT 01480]; see <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/reading-Room/view/144202> (accessed 25 January 2022).
- MS Sa’da, Maktabat Āl al-Hāshimī; part of a multitext volume copied in 1078/1667–68, which also includes *Risāla fī l-jam’ bayna l-ṣalawāt* (→ 14); see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 384.
- MS Sa’da, Maktabat Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh Rāwiya, dated 1348/1929–30 and copied by ‘Alī Šāliḥ al-Jamālī; see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 532.

Edition

Ed. ‘Abd al-Raḳīb b. Muṭahhar Muḥammad Ḥajar, Sa’da: Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 1423/2002 (prepared on the basis of two witnesses of the text in Maktabat al-Sayyid b. Muḥammad al-Ḥūthī and Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh Ḥamūd al-‘Izzī, respectively; see above).

¹⁶⁵ For Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ b. Hādī al-Samāwī “Ibn Ḥarīwa” (d. 1241/1825), the author of the *K. al-Ghaṭamṭam al-zakḥkhār al-muṭahhir li-ḥadā’iq al-azhār min nijāsāt al-sayl al-jarrār*, a refutation of al-Shawkānī, see al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 2, pp. 253–258 no. 1153; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar min tarājim rijāl al-Yaman fī l-qarn al-thālith ashār*, 2 parts, Sanaa: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāth al-Yamaniyya / Beirut: Dār al-‘Awda, [1983], vol. 2, pp. 274–279; Bernard Haykel, *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkānī*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 101, 102, and passim. Al-Wajīh mentions two copies of the tract (*A’lām*, vol. 2, p. 257), held in the private libraries of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhāriḥī and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Kibsi, respectively. Digital surrogates of both copies were prepared within the framework of the Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative and are accessible online; see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9978491383506421> and <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9978492103506421> (both accessed 25 January 2022).

13. *al-Risāla al-dā'iya ilā l-īmān*

This apparently lost text, possibly another refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya, is mentioned by al-Maswarī, who provides no further details.

(al-Maswarī, *Majmū' al-ijāzāt* [see below, Appendix 2]; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 3, p. 88; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Akwā', *Hijar al-'ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 30 no. 1563 [who reports a manuscript of the work at the Maktabat al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr under the shelf mark "90," but this could not be verified on the basis of the published catalogs]; al-Ṣubḥānī, *Mu'jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391)

14. *Risāla fī l-jam' bayna l-ṣalawāt*

The identity of this text, a unique witness of which is recorded by al-Wajīh (see below), remains uncertain. Whether it is a legal work in its own right or an excerpt from one of al-'Ansi's comprehensive writings cannot be decided on the basis of the scant information provided by al-Wajīh. It is possible that this text is identical to MS. Sanaa, al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya, *majmū' 120/3* (*Shams al-mashriqīn wa-l-maghribīn fī dalīl al-jam' bayna l-ṣalātayn*, by one 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. 'Uthmān al-Wazīr); see Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Īsawī and Muḥammad Sā'id al-Maliḥ, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi' al-kabīr bi-Ṣan'ā*, Alexandria: Mansha'at Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1978, vol. 2, p. 771. The author's name as given in the catalog is evidently wrong, since no such person is recorded in the sources.

Manuscript

- MS Sa'da, Maktabat Āl al-Hāshimī; part of a multitext volume copied in 1078/1667–68, which also includes *al-Risāla al-badī'a al-mu'lina bi-faḍā'il al-shī'a* (→ 12); see al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 384. It is possible that a surrogate of the manuscript is part of Riḍwān al-Sayyid's microfilm collection; see "al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya," no. 346.

15. *al-Risāla al-munqidha min al-'aṭab al-sālika bi-l-naṣiḥa ilā ahl Shazāb*

This is a refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya. Al-Maswarī had seen a holograph copy of the work, which concludes with an authorial colophon dated Rabī II 660/November–December 1261 in Kuḥlān.

(al-Maswarī, *Majmū' al-ijāzāt* [see below, Appendix 2]; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 3, p. 88; see also *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 56–57 no. 399; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 123; al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, p. 309 no. 1; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62; al-Akwā', *Hijar al-'ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 41 no. 1599. A lengthy quotation from the work, here entitled *al-Risāla al-munjiya min al-'aṭab*, is included in Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Darsī al-Ḥamzī, "al-Qāḍib li-shubah al-munaz-zihīn li-l-Muṭarrifiyya," unpublished book manuscript, <http://althaqaleen.com/UploadedBooks/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A8%20%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%A8%D9%87%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B2%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%86%20%D9%84%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B7%D8%B1%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A9%D9%85%D9%86%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B5%D8%A8%20%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%B3%D9%8A.pdf> (accessed 25 January

2022), pp. 110–111. Al-Darsī al-Ḥamzī specifies that the same passage was quoted by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn in his *Mustaṭāb* through al-‘Ansī’s *Risāla al-munqidha*. Indeed, the same passage can be found, nearly verbatim, in Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn’s entry on al-‘Ansī in his *Mustaṭāb* (fols. 82r:28–82v:3). Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn does not state which of al-‘Ansī’s works he is citing but only mentions *risāla ukhrā qara’tu fi l-jawāb ‘alā l-Muṭarrifiyya wa-takfīrihim fi maqālatihim*. Al-Darsī al-Ḥamzī’s reference makes it clear that Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn was referring to *al-Risāla al-munqidha min al-‘aṭab al-sālika bi-l-naṣīḥa ilā ahl Shazab*).

Manuscript

- MS Sanaa, al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya, *majāmi‘* 64, fols. 74–77, copied in 1091/1680–81; see Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṭsawī and Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-Malīḥ, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr bi-Ṣan‘ā*, Alexandria: Mansha‘at Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1978, vol. 1, p. 257; cf. al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 123, according to whom the shelf mark is *majāmi‘* 52, evidently an error; the shelf mark is given correctly as *majāmi‘* 64 in al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, vol. 1, p. 571.
- An excerpt of two pages included at the end of a multitext codex (IZbACF library, CD no. 468); see <https://al-majalis.org/books/wp-content/plugins/books-lib/readers/wp-text-reader-iframe.php?id=1042&perpage=50&page=536> (accessed 17 January 2022).

16. *al-Shihāb (al-thāqib) ‘alā madhāhib al-‘itra al-aṭyāb [al-aṭyāib]*

This lost theological summa was written before *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā’* (→ 9), as is indicated by the frequent references to it in the latter work. The work is mentioned as *K. al-Shihāb* in Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 18r (margin), 19r:13, 35v:11, 91v:5, 126v:13 [= Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 5v:3–4], and 139v:13 [= Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 23v:4], and as *K. al-Shihāb al-thāqib* in Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 8v:11, 35v:13, 80r:20–21, and 150v:19 [= Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 39b:3–4]. Al-‘Ansī also includes the book in the list of his earlier works on theology in the beginning of the *khātima* to his *K. al-Tamyīz* (fol. 149a:5f) (→ 20). In the list, the title is given as *K. al-Shihāb ‘alā madhāhib al-‘itra al-aṭyāb*. See also Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fol. 82r, where the title is given as *K. al-Shihāb al-thāqib ‘alā madhāhib al-‘itra al-aṭyāib*. Al-‘Ansī adds that the work consisted of a single volume (*mujallad wāḥid*).

(Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fol. 82r:22–23; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 202; al-Akwa‘, *Hijar al-‘ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811b; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Mu‘allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 219 no. 2088; al-Ṣubḥānī, *Mu‘jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391; in the published edition of Jundārī [*Tarājim al-rijāl*, p. 21] the title is erroneously given as *al-Najm al-thāqib*)

17. *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj al-mumayyiz bayna l-istiqāma wa-l-‘iwjāj*

This work is a concise (*mukhtaṣar*) theological summa. In the introduction, the author explains that he wrote the work at the request of *jamā‘a min al-ikhwān* who asked him to compose a *mukhtaṣar fi l-wājib min uṣūl al-dīn ‘alā madhāhib al-a‘imma al-hādīn mim mā yashal ‘alā l-mubtadī ḥifẓuhu wa-tatajallā lahu ma‘rifatuhu . . .* (MS Glaser 123, fol. 180v). The work’s authenticity is certain, as al-‘Ansī mentions the work among his earlier writings in his *Tamyīz* (→ 20), where he describes it as *mukhtaṣar ḥasan ḍābiṭ*. It is noteworthy, however, that the title page of MS Glaser 123 (**fig. 8**) ascribes the work to al-‘Ansī’s father, Ziyād [*sic*] b. Aḥmad

al-ʿAnsī. The text as preserved in MS Glaser 123 (see below) gives no date of completion. However, the fact that the author of *al-Sirāj* lists al-Manṣūr bi-llāh as the last imam (fol. 210r:11–13: ... *wa-sāʾir al-aʿimma ʿalayhim al-salām ākhiruhum al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān thumma al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza ʿalayhim al-salām wa-l-ṣalawāt*) suggests that he wrote the *Sirāj* before Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (612–656/1216–1258) rose to power in Ṣafar 646/May–June 1248. Al-ʿAnsī also wrote a commentary on the work, *Mudhākārāt al-Sirāj* (→ 11).

(al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, p. 309 no. 6; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62; al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811b; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Muʿallafāt*, vol. 2, p. 91 no. 1753; al-Ṣubḥānī, *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mu-takallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391)

Manuscripts

- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fols. 180r–228r. The text ends with a scribal colophon dated 10 [Dhū] al-Qaʿda 813/6 March 1411 (**fig. 21**). For a description, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 591 no. 10284; for a digital surrogate, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735444374> (accessed 25 January 2022). The table of contents prepared on the basis of this manuscript (Appendix 1) shows that the manuscript has lacunae throughout: certain sections announced in work are not found in the appropriate locations (such cases are indicated in square brackets in Appendix 1, with additional comments in the annotation). Since the codex seems undamaged, the lacunae must have been present in the antigraph. The division of the text into eight parts (*aqsām*) is explained in the introduction to the work (fols. 180v–181r).

Edition

Al-Sirāj al-wahhāj al-mumayyiz bayna l-istiqāma wa-l-iʿwijāj li-l-faqīh al-ʿallāma ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAnsī al-mutawaffā sanat 667h, ed. Jamāl al-Shāmī, [Saʿda]: [private publication], 1438/2017 (2nd. ed. 1443/2022). The edition was prepared on the basis of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123.

18. *Taḥrīr adillat al-uṣūl* (alternative titles: *Taḥrīr al-adilla*, *al-Taḥrīr li-adillat al-uṣūl*, *Taḥrīr al-uṣūl*, *Taḥrīr al-uṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, and *al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-fiqh*)

This is a comprehensive work on legal theory. References to it throughout al-ʿAnsī's *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʾ* (→ 9) indicate that it was written prior to the *Maḥajja*, that is, before 641/1243. For these references, see MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 16r:12 = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 135r:10 [*Taḥrīr al-uṣūl*]; Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 102r:14 = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 193v [*Taḥrīr al-adilla*]; Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 111r:4 = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 199r:9 [*Taḥrīr al-adilla*]; Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 132r:12–14 = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 212r:22–23 [*Taḥrīr al-uṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh*]; Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 140v:14–15 [*Taḥrīr al-uṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh*] = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 217r:20 [*Taḥrīr al-uṣūl fī l-fiqh*]; Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 143v:12 = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 219r:13–14 [*Taḥrīr al-uṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh*]; Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 144v:17 = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 219v:21 [*Taḥrīr al-uṣūl*]; Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 145r:5 = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 220r:4–5 [*al-Taḥrīr li-adillat al-uṣūl*]; Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 149v:1–2 = Cod. arab. 1286, fol. 222v:13 [*Taḥrīr al-uṣūl*].

(Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 3, p. 83; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 179 [no manuscript listed]; al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 4, p. 1811a [no manuscript listed]; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Muʿallafāt*, vol. 1, p. 253 no. 700 [no manuscript listed]; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 63; al-Ṣubḥānī, *Muʿjam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 391)

Manuscripts

- MS Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya 838 (215 fols.). The manuscript, which according to the catalogue is very old (*bi-khaṭṭ naskhī qadīm*), is incomplete at the end; see ʿIṣawī et al., *Fihris* (2005), vol. 1, pp. 424–425. We were unable to consult this manuscript.
- MS Milan, Ambrosiana, Nuovo Fondo, D 479 ar., fol. 235r, containing a one-page extract from the work; see Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, vols. 1–3, Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1975–1995; vol. 4, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2011, vol. 2, p. 371 no. 735/IV. We were unable to consult this copy.

19. *al-Takmīl*

This work on theology seems to be lost. References to it throughout al-ʿAnsī's *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʿ* (→ 9) indicate that parts of it were written prior to the *Maḥajja*, that is, before 641/1243; see MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 68v:20, 86r:2, 86v:2, 88v:3, 108v:5, 119v:3, 155r:15, 19 [= MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 45v:6, 12], 199r:9 [= Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 111r:4], 201r:10 [= Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 114r:10], 204r:11 [= Cod. arab. 1273, fol. 119r:1]. Since al-ʿAnsī in most cases refers readers to the *Takmīl* for more detailed discussions on the topic at hand, the work must have been a comprehensive one. It is noteworthy that the references to the *Takmīl* occur mostly in part 2 (*ʿadl*) and occasionally in parts 3 (*nubuwwāt*) and 4 (*sharāʿī*) of the *Maḥajja*, but not in part 1 (*tawḥīd*). The lack of references to the *Takmīl* in part 1 suggests that al-ʿAnsī had started the *Maḥajja* before the *Takmīl* and that he later continued writing the two works in parallel. Al-ʿAnsī also refers to the *Takmīl* in his *Irshād* for the definition of *tawba*; see al-ʿAnsī, *Irshād*, p. 286:4.

20. *al-Tamyīz bayna l-Islām wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya al-ṭughām*

This is al-ʿAnsī's most comprehensive tract against the Muṭarrifiyya. The text consists of three parts. The first introduction (*al-muqaddima al-ūlā fī tafṣīl madhāhib al-jamīʿ*) is arranged, with slight variations, according to the characteristic eight domains (*al-uṣūl al-thamāniya*) of theology: divine unicity (*tawḥīd*) (MS Muḥammad al-Sārī, fol. 1v), justice (*ʿadl*) (fol. 8v), prophecy (*nubuwwa*) and revealed laws (*sharāʿī*) (fol. 10v), the imamate (*imāma*) and holy war (*jihād*) (fol. 12v), the promise and the threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿd*) (fol. 13v), and commanding what is good and nouns and rulings (*al-asmāʿ wa-l-aḥkām*) (fol. 14v). For each domain, al-ʿAnsī presents first the beliefs of the *ahl al-islām* and then those of the Muṭarrifiyya, which he refutes. The second introduction (*al-muqaddima al-thāniya fī taḥqīq al-ḥaqq wa-ibṭāl al-bāṭil bi-irād al-ḥujaj wa-l-barāhīn*) (fol. 15r), which is by far the most extensive portion of the text, contains a detailed refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya organized in eighty sections (*maʿārif*, sg. *maʿrifa*). The work concludes with a *khātima* in which al-ʿAnsī explains his own theological positions. This third section of the text constitutes a

theological summa in its own right, divided into eight parts (*aqsām*, sg. *qism*). Although the work is undated, it clearly belongs to al-ʿAnṣī’s later period: he explains in the introduction that he has already written numerous works (*taṣānīf kathīra*) in the field of theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), and he specifically refers at the beginning of the *khātima* (fol. 149r:5–10) to the following earlier writings: *K. al-Shihāb (al-thāqib) ‘alā madhāhib al-ʿitra al-aṭāyib* (→ 16), *K. al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* (→ 17), *K. Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj* (→ 11), and *K. al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʿ* (→ 9). He also refers repeatedly in the *khātima* to the more detailed discussions provided in his *Maḥajja* (fols. 171r:9, 171v:21, 172v:8–9, 173r:17, 187r:10).

(Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mustaṭāb*, fol. 82a:23–24; David Thomas Gochenour, “The Penetration of Zaydī Islam into Medieval Yemen,” PhD diss., Harvard University, 1984, p. 234 n. 168; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 3, p. 1608b; vol. 4, p. 1811a; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Rawḍ al-aghann*, vol. 2, p. 62)

Manuscripts

- A copy of the text was preserved in the private library of Muḥammad al-Sārī in Sanaa and was located by al-Ḥibshī (see al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 124; see also al-Akwaʿ, *Hijar al-ʿilm*, vol. 3, p. 1608b). However, the holdings of the library, including the *K. al-Tamyīz*, have since been destroyed, and only a microfilm copy of the codex remains. The manuscript is incomplete at the end.¹⁶⁶ A digital surrogate of the microfilm is accessible through <https://elibrary.mara.gov.om/en/imam-zaid-library/cultural-foundation-library/book/?id=12734> (accessed 25 January 2022). The surrogate offers no confirmation that it is indeed a copy of the manuscript that was reportedly held in the library of Muḥammad al-Sārī, since it contains only the work itself, without a title page. Still, it is likely that the surrogate is based on the copy in al-Sārī’s library, since no other copy of the text is known to have existed (with the exception of a modern transcription, described below).
- A second, partial copy of the text was transcribed by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Luṭf al-Shāmī (1330–1407/1912–1986 or 1987) in 1393/1973, most likely from the above-mentioned original. The manuscript copy comprises the first *muqaddima* and the beginning of the second. For the copyist, see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 2, p. 316 no. 1232; his personal library seems to have been transferred to the Markaz Badr (**figs. 39, 40**).

Edition

See below, Appendix 3, for an edition of portions of al-ʿAnṣī’s introduction to the *khātima* of the *Tamyīz*.

¹⁶⁶ A copy of this manuscript (or a surrogate of it) was also produced for Ridwān al-Sayyid in the 1990s and is now part of his personal library; see “al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya,” no. 210.

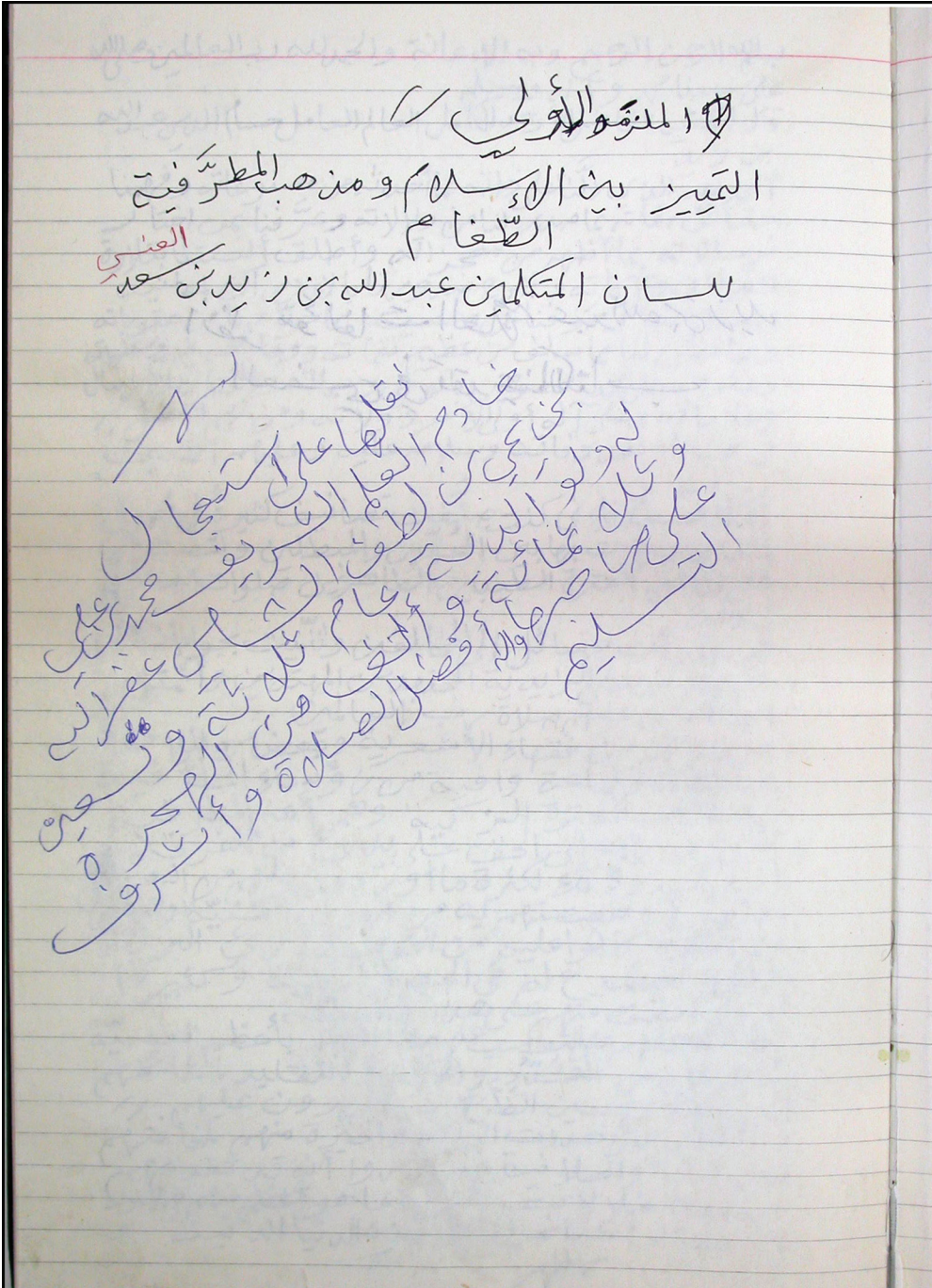


Figure 39. Copy of al-'Ansi's *K. al-Tamyiz* transcribed by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Luṭf al-Shāmī in 1393/1973 (first page).

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بِإِلَهٍ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَبِهِ الْإِعَانَةُ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ
 عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ
 قَالَ الْفَقِيهُ الْغَاضِلُ الْأَوْحَدُ الْكَامِلُ الْعَالِمُ الْعَامِلُ حَسَامُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ
 بْنِ زَيْدٍ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي دَلَّنَا عَلَى ذِيانِهِ بِمَا أَحَدْتُهُ مِنْ مَصْنُوعَاتِهِ وَفَرَمَانَا
 حَقَائِقَ صِفَاتِهِ بِمَا صَدَّرْنَا مِنْ دَلَالَاتِهِ وَعَرَّفْنَا مِنْ اخْتِيارِهِ
 لِرِسَالَاتِهِ بِمَا أَظْهَرَ مِنْ مَحْجَزَاتِهِ وَأَطْلَقَ أَلْسِنَتَنَا بِتَلَاوُةِ
 الْقُرْآنِ وَآيَاتِهِ وَشَرَحَ صِدْقَ وَرِنَا يَا إِيَادِي الرَّحْمَنِ الْمَعَانِيهِ
 بِهَدَايَاتِهِ وَصَرَّفْنَا عَنْ مَعْصِيَتِهِ بِمَا حَدَّثَنَا مِنْ عَقُوبَاتِهِ
 وَبِمَا قَصَّصَ لَنَا مِنْ أَسْلَفٍ مِنْ عَظَمَةِ نَفْسَاتِهِ وَوَقَاتِعِهِ فِيهِمْ مِنْ صُورَاتِهِ
 وَصَلَوَاتِهِ عَلَى عَمَدِ الْمُخْصُوصِينَ بِالْوَكْلِ وَسِمَاتِهِ وَالْمَخْتَارِ لِلْإِسْرَائِيلِ
 وَعِلَامَاتِهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ أَوْلِي الْأَرْضِ وَتَوْلَاتِهِ وَمَنْ أَمَّهُمُ الْفَضْلُ
 فِي مَحْيَاهُ وَبَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ وَسَلَامُهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ

أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَأَيُّ نَبِيٍّ كُنْتُ صَنَّفْتُ تَصَانِيفَ كَثِيرَةً فِي أُصُولِ
 الدِّينِ وَمِيزَاتِ بَهَائِنِ الْمُحَقِّقِينَ وَالْمُبْطَلِينَ وَنَقَصْتُ فِيهَا
 عَلَى مَنَاقِبِ الْعَتَرَةِ الطَّيِّبِينَ الطَّاهِرِينَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ
 أَجْمَعِينَ
 ثُمَّ ابْتَدَأْتُ بِرِسَائِلٍ إِلَى الْمُخَالَفِينَ وَتَشَبَّهْتُ بِجَوَابَاتِ عَلَى
 مَنْ يَعْتَرِضُ عَلَى الرَّايِدِيَةِ الْمُجْتَمِعِينَ الْمُهْتَدِينَ وَأُثْمَمْتُهُمْ
 الطَّاهِرِينَ عَلَيْهِمْ مَهْلَاةُ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
 فَرَجَعْتُ كَثِيرًا مِنْ فُقَهَاءِ الْأَشْعَرِيَّةِ وَبَعْضُ مِنَ الْمَلَاحِدَةِ
 الْبَاطِنِيَّةِ وَجَمَاعَةِ وَاغِيَّةٍ مِنْ رُؤَسَاءِ الْمَطْرُفِيَّةِ
 إِلَى مَذَاهِبِ الْعَتَرَةِ الزَّكِيَّةِ وَهُمْ أَعْنَى الْمَطْرُفِيَّةِ
 أَكْثَرُ مَنْ رَاجَعَ إِلَيَّ الْحَقَّ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ مِنَ الْفِرْقَةِ
 الْبِدْعِيَّةِ وَذَلِكَ لِكثْرَةِ مَا أَوْزَدَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ الرِّسَائِلِ
 التَّحْقِيقِيَّةِ وَخُصَّصْتُهُمْ بِهِ مِنْ الْهَدَايَا السَّنَنِيَّةِ وَأَعَانَتِي
 عَلَى ذَلِكَ مَا كَانَ نَوَاعِيهِ مِنَ الْخَوْفِ لِبَارِعِ الْبِرِّيَّةِ
 وَكثْرَةِ الْخُضُوعِ لَهُ فِي الْجَهْرِ وَالْخَفِيَّةِ وَكثِيرًا
 مِنْ وَافَقَتْ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى هَذِهِ الْقَضِيَّةِ
 إِلَّا أَنَّهُ حَمَلَهُمْ عَلَى التَّوَكُّفِ عَلَى مَذَاهِبِهِمْ بِأَعْظَمِ الْعَصْبِيَّةِ
 مَا هُوَ عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْعُسْطُورِيِّ وَالْحَمِيَّةِ وَالتَّقْلِيدِ لِمَا سَاطَعَتْ
 الْبِدْعَةُ وَتَحْسِنِ الظَّنِّ بِهِمْ مَا يَبْرُونَ عَلَيْهِمْ
 مِنْ آثَارِ التَّرَاهُتَاتِ الْجَلِيَّةِ وَالخَيْرَةِ مِنْهُمْ لِمَخَافَتِهِمْ
 لَهُ فِي السَّرِّ وَالْعِلَالِيَّةِ فَلَمْ يَدْرُوا أَنَّهُ قَدْ تَقَدَّمَ مِنْهُمْ
 مِنْ أَهْلِ الضَّلَالَةِ الْكُفْرِيَّةِ مَا هُوَ أَعْظَمُ مِنْهُمْ فِي الْأُمُورِ
 الزَّهْدِيَّةِ وَأَسَدًا خَرَّافًا عَنْ هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا الدُّنْيَةِ
 سَمَّا ظَهَرَ

Figure 40. Copy of al-'Ansi's K. al-Tamyiz transcribed by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Luṭf al-Shāmī in 1393/1973 (beginning of text).

APPENDIX 1: STRUCTURAL DIVISION OF AL-SIRĀJ AL-WAHHĀJ, MUDHĀKARĀT AL-SIRĀJ, AL-MAḤAJJA AL-BAYḌĀ', AND AL-TAMYĪZ (AL-KALĀM FĪ L-KHĀTIMA)

A comparison of al-Ansī's major extant *kalām* works—the *K. al-Sirāj*; his autocommentary on the latter, *Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj*; his *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā'*; and the *khātima* of the *K. al-Tamyīz*—reveals the remarkable consistency of his doctrinal thought over the course of his life. However, each of the four works has its own distinctive characteristics. Although their relative chronology can be only partly determined (see above), a close comparison reveals a symmetry between the *Sirāj* and the *khātima* of the *Tamyīz*, on the one hand, and between the *Mudhākarāt* and the *Maḥajja*, on the other. The structure of the *Sirāj* is identical with that of the *khātima*. Moreover, a closer examination shows that the *khātima* is essentially an enlarged version of the *Sirāj*; as a rule, the wording of the *Sirāj* is included verbatim in the corresponding segments of the otherwise much more detailed *khātima*. In both works, al-ʿAnsī refrains from entering into discussions on topics within the realm of *laṭīf al-kalām*. He also avoids references to earlier Muʿtazilī thinkers and instead regularly mentions the views of Imams al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, which he endorses. In his commentary on the *Sirāj*, the *Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj*, al-ʿAnsī follows, by and large, the structure found in the *Sirāj*, although he often diverges from it to cover topics that are typically discussed in works of *kalām* but are not addressed in the *Sirāj*. In the *Mudhākarāt*, he routinely relates and discusses the positions of earlier Muʿtazilīs and scholars of other strands whenever applicable. In both the *Mudhākarāt* and the *Maḥajja*, al-ʿAnsī refers to al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) as well as to *al-mutaʾakhhirīn min al-Ashʿariyya*.¹⁶⁷ In contrast to the *Sirāj* and the *Tamyīz*, al-ʿAnsī's discussions in the *Mudhākarāt* are invariably divided into two *mawāḍiʿ*, the first one *fi ḥikāyat al-madhhab wa-dhikr al-khilāf* and the second one *fi l-dalīl ʿalā ṣiḥḥat mā dhahabnā ilayhi wa-fasād mā dhahaba ilayhi l-mukhālif*. A similar but even more refined structural approach characterizes the *Maḥajja*, in which al-ʿAnsī generally divides his discussions into three *mawāḍiʿ*: (1) *fi ḥikāyat al-madhhab wa-dhikr al-khilāf*, (2) *fi l-dalīl ʿalā ṣiḥḥat mā dhahabnā ilayhi wa-fasād mā dhahaba ilayhi l-mukhālif*, and (3) *fi ibṭāl aqwāl al-mukhālifīn*. The main difference between the *Mudhākarāt* and the *Maḥajja* lies in their respective lengths—the *Maḥajja* is by far the more comprehensive of the two. Moreover, al-ʿAnsī includes in the *Maḥajja* numerous cross-references to other works of his (see above), but he does not do so in the *Mudhākarāt*. Finally, the *Mudhākarāt* has come down to us in its entirety, whereas only parts 1 through 5 of the *Maḥajja* are extant. The symmetry between the *Sirāj* and the *khātima* of the *Tamyīz*, on the one hand, and the *Mudhākarāt* and the *Maḥajja*, on the other, should be taken into consideration in the preparation of any future critical edition of these four works, especially since three of the works are preserved in only a single witness.

¹⁶⁷ MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1286, fols. 66v, 76v; al-ʿAnsī, *Mudhākarāt*, MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 758, fols. 40r, 42v.

Abbreviations: Q = *qism*, B = *bāb*, F = *faṣl*, M = *mawḍi‘*, J = *janba*, JH = *jiha*; Ḥ = *ḥaythiyya*

<i>al-Sirāj al-wahhāj</i> (MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123, fols. 180r–228r [the corresponding locations and any variations in <i>Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj</i> as preserved in MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 758 are mentioned in square brackets in blue])	<i>al-Maḥajja al-bayḍā‘</i> (MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1286)	<i>al-Tamyīz bayna l-Islām wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya al-ṭughām: al-Kalām fi l-khātima</i> (MS Sanaa, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Sārī, fols. 147v–200r)
Q1 wa-huwa fi l-‘ilm bi-llāh ta‘ālā wa-mā yastahiqqu min awṣāf al-kamāl (fol. 181r [fol. 5r])	Q1 al-tawḥīd (fol. 5r)	Q1 wa-huwa fi l-‘ilm bi-llāh ta‘ālā wa-mā yastahiqqu min awṣāf al-kamāl (fol. 149v)
<i>B1 fi ithbāt al-ṣānī‘ al-ḥakīm</i> (fol. 181r [fol. 5r])	<i>Bāb al-qawl fi ithbāt al-ṣānī‘ ta‘ālā</i> (fol. 5r)	<i>B1 wa-huwa fi ithbāt al-ṣānī‘ al-ḥakīm</i> (fol. 149v)
<i>B2 fi asmā‘ihi al-ḥusnā wa-awṣāfihi al-‘ulā</i> (fol. 184v [fol. 17v]) ¹⁶⁸	<i>Bāb al-qawl fi ṣifātihi ta‘ālā wa-asmā‘ihi al-ḥusnā</i> (fol. 16r)	<i>B2 fi asmā‘ Allāh al-ḥusnā wa-awṣāfihi al-‘ulā</i> (fol. 156r)
<i>B1 al-ithbāt li-awṣāf al-jalāl wa-l-kamāl</i> (fol. 184v [fol. 17v])	<i>al-Kalām fi ṣifāt al-ithbāt</i> (fol. 17r)	<i>B al-ithbāt li-awṣāf dhī l-jalāl wa-l-kamāl</i> (fol. 156r)
<i>F1 fi annahu qadīm</i> (fol. 184v [fol. 17v])	<i>Bāb fi anna ṣānī‘ al-‘ālam qadīm</i> (fol. 17r)	<i>F1 fi annahu ta‘ālā qadīm</i> (fol. 156v)
	<i>F1 wa-huwa fi ma’nā l-wujūd</i> (fol. 17v)	
	<i>F2 wa-huwa fi bayān ma’nā al-ma’dum</i> (fol. 19r)	
	<i>F3 wa-huwa fi bayān mā yadull ‘alā anna llāh ta‘ālā mawjūd</i> (fol. 22r)	
<i>F2 annahu ta‘ālā qādir</i> (fol. 185r [fol. 21v])	<i>Bāb al-qawl fi annahu ta‘ālā qādir</i> (fol. 23r)	<i>F2 fi annahu ta‘ālā qādir</i> (fol. 157v)
<i>F3 annahu ta‘ālā ‘ālim</i> (fol. 185r [fol. 22r])	<i>Bāb fi annahu ta‘ālā ‘ālim</i> (fol. 24r)	<i>F3 fi annahu ta‘ālā ‘ālim</i> (fol. 157v)
<i>F4 annahu ta‘ālā ḥayy</i> (fol. 185v [fol. 22v])	<i>Bāb fi annahu ta‘ālā ḥayy</i> (fol. 24v)	<i>F4 fi annahu ta‘ālā ḥayy</i> (fol. 158r)
	<i>Bāb fi annahu ta‘ālā samī baṣīr</i> (fol. 25r)	
	<i>Bāb fi kayfiyyat thubūt kawnihi ta‘ālā qādiran wa-‘āliman wa-ḥayyan</i> (fol. 28r)	

¹⁶⁸ On fol. 181r, *al-bāb al-thānī* was announced as *wa-thānīhā ithbāt mā yastahiqqu min awṣāf al-kamāl*.

	<i>Bāb fī kayfiyyat maqdūrātihi wa-ma'lūmātihi</i> (fol. 37v)	
	<i>Bāb fī annahu ta'ālā bāqin dā'imun</i> (fol. 40v)	
<i>B2 fī l-nafy wa-fīhi khamsa fuṣūl</i> (fol. 185v [fol. 22v])	<i>al-Kalām fī awṣāf al-nafy</i> (fol. 42r)	<i>B2 fī l-nafy wa-fīhi khamsa fuṣūl</i> (fol. 158r)
	<i>Bāb fī nafy mā lā yu'qal wa-l-dalīl 'alayhi</i> (fol. 42v)	
	<i>Bāb fī annahu ta'ālā lā yajūzu 'alayhi al-'ajz wa-l-jahl wa-l-mawt wa-l-'adam</i> (fol. 43v)	
<i>F1 annahu ta'ālā lā yushbihi l-ashyā' min al-jawāhir wa-l-ajsām wa-l-a'rāḍ</i> (fol. 185v [fol. 22v])	<i>Bāb fī nafy al-tashbīh 'anhu ta'ālā</i> (fol. 43v)	<i>F1 annahu ta'ālā lā yushbihi l-ashyā' min al-jawāhir wa-l-ajsām wa-l-a'rāḍ</i> (fol. 158r)
<i>F2 annahu lā yushbihi l-jawāhir wa-l-ajsām wa-l-a'rāḍ fī ṣifātihā wa-fīhi khamsa mawāḍi'</i> (fol. 185v [fol. 24r])		<i>F2 annahu lā yushbihi l-ashyā' min al-jawāhir wa-l-ajsām wa-l-a'rāḍ fī ṣifātihā wa-fīhi khamsa mawāḍi'</i> (fol. 158r)
<i>M1 annahu lā yajūzu 'alayhi al-a'ḍā' wa-l-ālāt wa-lā al-awqāt wa-l-jihāt</i> (fol. 186r [fol. 24r])		<i>M1 annahu lā yajūzu 'alayhi al-a'ḍā' wa-l-ālāt wa-l-awqāt wa-lā al-jihāt</i> (fol. 158v)
<i>M2 anna ṣifāt al-ithbāt fī llāh ta'ālā laysat ka-ṣifāt al-makhlūqīn min qudratihi wa-'ilmīhi wa-ḥayātihi wa-wujūdihi</i> (fol. 186r [fol. 24r])		<i>M2 wa-huwa anna ṣifāt al-ithbāt fīhi ta'ālā laysat ka-ṣifāt al-makhlūqāt min qudratihi wa-'ilmīhi wa-ḥayātihi wa-wujūdihi wa-qidamihi</i> (fol. 159r)
<i>M3 annahu qādir 'alā jamī' ajnās al-ma'qūrāt wa-'ālim bi-jamī' al-ma'lūmāt</i> (fol. 187r [fol. 27r])		<i>M3 wa-huwa annahu ta'ālā qādir 'alā jamī' ajnās al-ma'qūrāt wa-'ālim bi-jamī' al-ma'lūmāt</i> (fol. 160v)
<i>M4 fī kayfiyyat idrākihi li-l-mudrakāt</i> (fol. 187r [fol. 28r])		<i>M4 wa-huwa fī kayfiyyat idrākihi li-l-mudrakāt</i> (fol. 161v)
<i>M5 fī kayfiyyat irādātihi li-l-murādāt wa-kirāhatihi li-l-makrūhāt</i> (fol. 187v [fol. 30r])		<i>M5 wa-huwa fī kayfiyyat irādātihi li-l-murādāt wa-kirāhatihi li-l-makrūhāt</i> (fol. 162r)
<i>F3 annahu lā yajūzu 'alayhi al-ḥāja</i> (fol. 188v [fol. 31v])	<i>Bāb fī annahu ta'ālā ghaniy</i> (fol. 48v)	<i>F3 annahu lā yajūzu 'alayhi al-ḥāja</i> (fol. 163r)
<i>F4 annahu ta'ālā laysa min qabīl al-maḥsūsāt wa-annahu lā yudraku bi-l-abṣār lā fī l-ākḥira wa-lā fī hādhihi l-dār</i> (fol. 189v [fol. 33v])	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī l-ru'ya</i> (fol. 50v)	<i>F4 annahu ta'ālā laysa min qabīl al-maḥsūsāt lā al-masmū'āt wa-lā al-mubṣarāt wa-annahu lā yudraku bi-l-abṣār fī l-ākḥira wa-lā fī hādhihi l-dār</i> (fol. 163v)

<i>F5 annahu lā thānī fī ilāhiyyatihi wa-lā sharīk lahu fī qidamihi</i> (fol. 190v [fol. 35v]) ¹⁶⁹	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī l-waḥdāniyya</i> (fol. 56r)	<i>F5 annahu ta’ālā lā thānī lahu fī ilāhiyyatihi wa-lā sharīk lahu fī qidamihi wa-rubūbiyyatihi</i> (fol. 164v)
[<i>M1 annahu ta’ālā ilahun</i> (fol. 190v [<i>M1 fī ḥaqīqat al-wāḥid</i> , fol. 35v])]		<i>M1 wa-huwa annahu ta’ālā ilah</i> (fol. 164v)
[<i>M2 annahu lā sharīk lahu fī ilāhiyyatihi wa-lā fī qidamihi wa-lā fī rubūbiyyatihi</i> (<i>M2 wa-huwa annahu ta’ālā wāḥid fī ilāhiyyatihi wa-ṣifātihi wa-annahu lā sharīk lahu fī mujarrad dhātihi</i> , fol. 37r)]		<i>M2 wa-huwa annahu lā thānī lahu fī ilāhiyyatihi wa-lā sharīk lahu fī qidamihi wa-rubūbiyyatihi</i> (fol. 165r)
[Q2 fī l-‘adl (fol. 39r)] ¹⁷⁰	Q2 min uṣūl al-dīn: al-‘adl (fol. 65r)	Q2 fī l-‘adl wa-fihī khamṣa ab-wāb (fol. 165v)
[<i>B1 wa-huwa anna afālahu kull-uḥā ḥasana wa-fihī thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 39r)]	<i>al-Kalām fī anna llāh ta’ālā ‘adl ḥakīm lā yafalu l-qabīḥ wa-afālahu kullahā ḥasana</i> (fol. 65v)	[<i>B1 anna jamī‘ afālihi ta’ālā ḥasana wa-fihī thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 165v)]
[<i>F1 annahu ta’ālā lā yafalu l-qabīḥ</i> (fol. 39r)]		<i>F1 annahu ta’ālā lā yafalu l-qabīḥ</i> (fol. 165v) ¹⁷¹
[<i>F2 annahu ta’ālā lā yukhillu bimā yajibu ma’a l-ḥikma</i> (fol. 41r)]		<i>F2 annahu ta’ālā lā yukhillu bimā yajibu ma’a l-ḥikma</i> (fol. 165v)
[<i>F3 anna afālahu ta’ālā kullahā ḥasana</i> (fol. 41v)]	<i>Faṣl wa-ammā anna afālahu kullahā ḥasana</i> (fol. 70r)	<i>F3 anna afālahu ta’ālā kullahā ḥasana</i> (fol. 165v)
<i>B2 fī afāl al-‘ibād wa-fihī arba‘a fuṣūl</i> (fol. 191v [fol. 41v])	<i>al-Kalām fī afāl al-‘ibād wa-mā yata’allaqu bihā</i> (fol. 71r)	<i>B2 fī afāl al-‘ibād wa-fihī arba‘a fuṣūl</i> (fol. 166r)
	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī l-afāl</i> (fol. 71r)	
	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī l-istiṭā‘a</i> (fol. 76v)	
	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī l-kasb</i> (fol. 84v)	
<i>F1 fī l-dalāla ‘alā anna afāl al-‘ibād minhum lā min Allāh ta’ālā</i>		<i>F1 fī l-dalāla ‘alā anna afāl al-‘ibād minhum lā min Allāh ta’ālā</i> (fol. 166r)

¹⁶⁹ Neither of the two *mawāḍi‘* announced in the introduction to this *faṣl* in the *Sirāj* are in fact included in the text, and there seems to be a major lacuna that begins on fol. 190v:10 (after *rubūbiyyatihi*). The following *ammā l-mawāḍi‘ al-awwal* (fol. 190v:10ff.) must belong to the next part of the work, on ‘adl. The *Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj* contains the complete text here.

¹⁷⁰ The beginning of Q2 and B1, including all of F1 and F2 and the beginning of F3, is missing from the *Sirāj*. Fols. 190v:10–191v:10 constitute the concluding part of F3. The titles of Q2, B1, and F1 through F3 have been gleaned from *Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj*.

¹⁷¹ The title of B1 is mentioned among the five *abwāb* in the introductory text to Q2, but what is then presented as title of B1 is in fact F1.

(fol. 191v [<i>F1 wa-huwa l-kalām fī afāl al-‘ibād</i> , fol. 41v])		
<i>F2 fī kayfiyyat qudrat al-‘ibād ‘alā maqdūrātihim</i> (fol. 192r [<i>fol. 42v</i>])		<i>F2 fī kayfiyyat qudrat al-‘ibād ‘alā maqdūrātihim</i> (fol. 166r)
<i>F3 fī l-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar</i> (fol. 193r [<i>fol. 46v</i>])		<i>F3 fī l-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar</i> (fol. 166v)
<i>F4 fī l-hudā wa-l-ḍalāl</i> (fol. 193v [<i>fol. 48r</i>])	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī l-hudā wa-l-ḍalāl</i> (fol. 85r)	<i>F4 fī l-hudā wa-l-ḍalāl</i> (fol. 167r)
	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī l-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar</i> (fol. 86v)	
	<i>al-Kalām fī l-irādāt</i> (fol. 89r)	
	<i>F1 fī ma’nā kawnihi murīdan wa-kārihan</i> (fol. 89r)	
	<i>F2 [M] fī bayān mā yurīduhu al-qadīm ta’ālā wa-mā lā yurīduhu wa-mā yakrahuhu wa-mā lā yakrahuhu</i> (fol. 94r)	
<i>B3 fī l-taklīf wa-fīhi thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 195r [<i>B3 min abwāb al-‘adl wa-huwa l-taklīf wa-fīhi khamasa fuṣūl</i> , fol. 49v])	<i>al-Kalām fī l-taklīf</i> (fol. 96v)	<i>B3 fī l-taklīf wa-fīhi thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 168v)
<i>F1 fī ḥusn al-taklīf</i> (fol. 195r [<i>fol. 49v</i>])	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī annahu ta’ālā mun‘im bi-khalq al-‘ālam</i> (fol. 97r)	<i>F1 fī ḥusn al-taklīf</i> (fol. 168v)
<i>F2 annahu lā yukallifu ‘ibādahu mā lā yaṭīqūn</i> (fol. 196r [<i>F2 wa-huwa fī qubḥ taklīf mā lā yuṭāq</i> , fol. 54r])	<i>Bāb al-qawl fī l-taklīf</i> (fol. 98v)	<i>F2 annahu ta’ālā lā yukallifu ‘ibādahu mā lā yaṭīqūn</i> (fol. 169r)
	<i>F1 wa-huwa fī tamyīz mā yatanāwaluhu l-taklīf ‘ammā lā yatanāwaluhu</i> (fol. 110r)	
	<i>F2 wa-huwa anna l-‘ilm min fī linā yaftaqiru ilā l-naẓar wa-l-istidlāl</i> (fol. 111r)	
	<i>F3 wa-huwa anna l-naẓar fī ma’rifat Allāh ta’ālā awwal al-afāl al-wājiba ‘alā l-ṭlāq</i> (fol. 119r)	
<i>F3 annahu ta’ālā qad arāda l-ṭā’āt wa-shā’ahā wa-raḍīyahā wa-kariha l-ma’āṣī</i> (fol. 196v [<i>F3 wa-huwa annahu ta’ālā lā yujāzī aḥadan illā bi-‘amalihi</i> , fol. 54v])	<i>B3 wa-huwa annahu ta’ālā lā yu’adhhibu aḥadan illā bi-dhanbihi wa-lā yuthībuhu illā bi-‘amalihi</i> (fol. 123r)	<i>F3 annahu ta’ālā qad arāda al-ṭā’āt wa-shā’ahā wa-raḍīyahā wa-kariha al-ma’āṣī</i> (fol. 169r)

[—] ¹⁷² <i>F4 wa-huwa annahu ta’āla mun’im bi-khalq al-‘ālam</i> (fol. 55r)		
[—] ¹⁷³ <i>F5 wa-huwa fī irādātihi li-mā kallafa fī’lahi wa-kirāhatihī li-mā kallafa tarkahu</i> (fol. 55v)		
<i>B4 fī l-amrād wa-mā yajrī majrāhā wa-fihī thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 196v) [from here until the end of Q2 the structure of the <i>Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj</i> is largely independent from that of the <i>Sirāj</i>]		<i>B4 fī l-amrād wa-mā yajrī majrāhā wa-fihī thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 169v)
<i>F1 fī annahā min Allāh ta’ālā</i> (fol. 196v)		<i>F1 fī annahā min Allāh ta’ālā</i> (fol. 169v)
<i>F2 fī ḥusn al-amrād</i> (fol. 197r)		<i>F2 fī ḥusn al-amrād</i> (fol. 169v)
<i>F3 fī wajh ḥusnihā</i> (fol. 197v)		<i>F3 fī wajh ḥusnihā</i> (fol. 170r)
<i>B5 fī l-maṣāliḥ wa-fihī thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 198r [<i>B4 fī l-maṣāliḥ wa-fihī faṣlān</i> , fol. 56r])	<i>al-Kalām fī l-maṣāliḥ</i> (fol. 123v)	<i>B5 fī l-maṣāliḥ wa-fihī thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 171r)
<i>F1 fī l-maṣāliḥ al-dunyāwiyya</i> (fol. 198r [fol. 56r])	<i>Q1 min al-maṣāliḥ wa-huwa al-maṣāliḥ al-dunyāwiyya</i> (fol. 123v)	<i>F1 fī l-maṣāliḥ al-dunyāwiyya</i> (fol. 171r)
<i>F2 fī l-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya</i> (fol. 198v [fol. 57r])	<i>Q2 fī l-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya</i> (fol. 128v)	<i>F2 fī l-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya wa-hiya al-altāf</i> (fol. 171v)
	<i>al-naw’ al-awwal min al-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya: al-qawl fī l-amrād wa-l-ālām</i> (fol. 144v)	
	<i>al-naw’ al-thānī min al-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya: al-qawl fī l-ājāl</i> (fol. 162v)	
	<i>al-naw’ al-thālith min al-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya: al-ghalā’ wa-l-rukhaṣ</i> (fol. 163v)	
	<i>al-naw’ al-rābi’ min al-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya: fī l-rizq</i> (fol. 164r)	
<i>F3 fī bayān mā yata’allaqu bihi l-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya</i> (fol. 199v)		<i>F3 fīmā yata’allaqu bi-l-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya</i> (fol. 172v)

¹⁷² This chapter has no parallel in the *Sirāj*.

¹⁷³ This chapter has no parallel in the *Sirāj*.

[Q3 al-nubuwwat wa-fihī khamṣa fuṣūl (fol. 70v)]¹⁷⁴	Q3 min uṣūl al-dīn wa-huwa al-nubuwwāt (fol. 167v)	Q3¹⁷⁵ al-‘ilm bi-l-nubuwwāt wa-fihī khamṣa fuṣūl (fol. 173v)
<i>F1¹⁷⁶ fī ma‘nā al-nabī wa-l-rasūl (fol. 200v [fol. 70v])</i>	<i>M1 wa-huwa fī ma‘nā qawlinā rasul wa-nabī wa-ḥujjat Allāh ta‘ālā wa-mab‘ūth (fol. 167v)</i>	<i>F1 fī ma‘nā al-nabī wa-l-rasūl (fol. 173v)</i>
<i>F2 fī ḥusn irsāl Allāh ta‘ālā li-l-rusul (fol. 200v [fol. 71r])</i>	<i>M2 fī ḥusn irsāl Allāh ta‘ālā li-l-rusul (fol. 168r)</i>	<i>F2 fī ḥusn irsāl Allāh ta‘ālā li-l-rusul (fol. 173v)</i>
	<i>M3 fī ṣifat al-rasūl ‘alayhi l-salām (fol. 170v)</i>	
<i>F3 fīmā yakūnu ṭarīqan ilā ma‘rifat al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām (fol. 200v [F4 wa-huwa fī l-ṭarīq ilā ma‘rifat nubuwwat al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām, fol. 72v])</i>	<i>M4 fī l-ṭarīq ilā ma‘rifat nubuwwat al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām (fol. 172r)</i>	<i>F3 mimmā yakūnu ṭarīqan ilā ma‘rifat al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām (fol. 174r)</i>
<i>F4 fī nubuwwat Muḥammad ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-‘ālihi wa-sallam (fol. 201v [F5 wa-huwa fī ta’yīn rusul Allāh ṣalawāt Allāh ‘alayhim . . . M1 wa-huwa fī nubuwwat nabīyyinā Muḥammad, fol. 75r])</i>		<i>F4 fī nubuwwat Muḥammad ṣalā llāh ‘alayhi wa-‘ālihi wa-sallam (fol. 174v)</i>
<i>F5 nubuwwat sā’ir al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām (fol. 202v [M2 wa-huwa fī nubuwwat sā’ir al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām, fol. 77v])</i>	<i>M5 wa-huwa l-kalām fī nubuwwat rusul Allāh ṣalawāt Allāh ‘alayhim (fol. 181r)</i>	<i>F5 fī nubuwwat sā’ir al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām (fol. 176v)</i>
Q4 anna mā jā’a bihi Muḥammad ḥaqq wa-ṣawāb wa-fihī fuṣūl (fol. 203r [Q4 al-‘ilm bi-l-sharā’i’ wa-fihī arba’a fuṣūl, fol. 77v])	Q4 min uṣūl al-dīn: al-sharā’i’ (fol. 201v)	Q4¹⁷⁷ anna mā jā’a bihi Muḥammad ‘alayhi al-salām ḥaqq wa-ṣawāb wa-fihī fuṣūl (fol. 176v)
<i>F1 fīmā jā’a bihi Muḥammad ḥaqq wa-ṣawāb ‘alā l-jumla (fol. 203r [fol. 77v])</i>		<i>F1 anna mā jā’a bihi ‘alayhi al-salām ḥaqq wa-ṣawāb ‘alā l-jumla (fol. 176v)</i>
<i>F2 fī naskh al-sharā’i’ (fol. 203v [fol. 78r])</i>		<i>F2 fī naskh al-sharā’i’ (fol. 177r)</i>

¹⁷⁴ There is no formal beginning to the third part in the text, even though it was announced in the introduction (fol. 181r). Although the transition from the discussion of *al-maṣāliḥ al-dīniyya* to prophecy (at the bottom of fol. 200r) suggests at first sight that nothing is missing here, some portion of the text, including at least the title of this new part, has been left out in this copy or, perhaps more likely, in its antigraph.

¹⁷⁵ *Al-Qism: al-faṣl* in the manuscript.

¹⁷⁶ *Al-awwal: al-thālith* in the manuscript.

¹⁷⁷ The manuscript has *al-faṣl al-rābi’* rather than *al-qism al-rābi’*.

<i>F3 anna l-Qur‘ān kalām Allāh ta‘ālā</i> (fol. 203v [fol. 79v])		<i>F3 anna l-Qur‘ān kalām Allāh ta‘ālā</i> (fol. 177r)
<i>F4 anna l-Qur‘ān muḥdath ma-khlūq</i> (fol. 203v [fol. 85r])		<i>F4 anna l-Qur‘ān muḥdath</i> (fol. 177r)
Q5 al-imāma wa-fihī fuṣūl (fol. 204r [. . . <i>wa-fihī khamṣa fuṣūl</i> , fol. 87r])	[Q5 al-imāma]	Q5 al-imāma wa-fihī fuṣūl (fol. 177r)
<i>F1 fī ma‘nā al-imāma</i> (fol. 204r [fol. 87r])		<i>F1 fī ma‘nā al-imāma</i> (fol. 177r)
<i>F2 fī l-għaraḍ bi-l-imāma</i> (fol. 204r [fol. 87r])		<i>F2 fī l-għaraḍ bi-l-imāma</i> (fol. 177r)
<i>F3 fī wujūb al-imāma</i> (fol. 204v [fol. 88r])		<i>F3 fī wujūb al-imāma</i> (fol. 177v)
<i>F4 fīmā thabata li-l-imām</i> (fol. 204v [fol. 90r])		<i>F4 fīmā bihi tathbutu l-imāma</i> (fol. 177v)
<i>F5 fī ta‘yīn al-a‘imma ‘alayhim al-salām</i> (fol. 205r)		<i>F5 fī ta‘yīn al-a‘imma ‘alayhim al-salām</i> (fol. 178r)
Q6 fī l-amr bi-l-ma‘rūf wa-l-nahy ‘an al-munkar (fol. 213r [fol. 114r])	[Q6 al-amr bi-l-ma‘rūf wa-l-nahī ‘an al-munkar]	[Q6 al-amr bi-l-ma‘rūf wa-l-nahy ‘an al-munkar] ¹⁷⁸
<i>B1 fī wujūbihā</i> (fol. 213r [fol. 114r])		[B1 . . .]
<i>F1 fī ḥaḡiqatihā</i> (fol. 213r [fol. 114r])		
<i>F2 fī tamyīz mā yajibu ‘ammā lā yajibu</i> (fol. 213v [fol. 114v])		
<i>F3 fī l-dalāla ‘alā shar‘ihā</i> [sic; should be: <i>shar‘ihimā</i>] (fol. 213v [fol. 114v])		
<i>F4 fī ṭarīq wujūbihā</i> (fol. 214r [fol. 115r])		
<i>F5 fī kayfiyyat wujūbihā</i> (fol. 214v [fol. 116r])		
<i>B2 fī shurūṭ wujūbihimā wa-ḡusnihimā</i> (fol. 214v [fol. 116r])		<i>B2 fī shurūṭ wujūbihimā wa-ḡusnihimā</i> (fol. 186v)
<i>B3 fī kayfiyyat adā‘ihā</i> (fol. 215r [fol. 117v])		<i>B3 fī kayfiyyat adā‘ihā</i> (fol. 186v)
Q7 al-wa‘d wa-l-wa‘īd (fol. 215v [fol. 118v])	[Q7 al-wa‘d wa-l-wa‘īd]	Q7 al-wa‘d wa-l-wa‘īd (fol. 187r)

¹⁷⁸ Fols. 184v–186r are missing in the digital surrogate of the microfilm.

<i>B1 wa-fihī arbaʿa fuṣūl</i> [sic; the correct title should be, as in the <i>Tamyīz</i> , <i>fī bayān aḥkām al-afāl wa-māhiyyātihā wa-fihī thalātha fuṣūl</i> ; see also the title given in the corresponding position in the <i>Mudhākarāt al-Sirāj</i>] (fol. 215v) [<i>B1 fī bayān aḥkām al-afāl wa-l-kalām minhu yaqaʿu fī mawḍūʿayn</i> , fol. 118v]		<i>B1 fī bayān aḥkām al-afāl wa-māhiyyātihā wa-fihī thalātha fuṣūl</i> (fol. 187r)
<i>F1 fī bayān aqsām al-afāl</i> (fol. 215v)		<i>F1 fī bayān aḥkām al-afāl</i> (fol. 187r)
<i>F2 fī l-dalāla ʿalā thubūt aḥkām al-afāl</i> (fol. 216r)		<i>F2 fī l-dalāla ʿalā thubūt hādhihi l-aḥkām</i> (fol. 187v)
<i>F3 fī bayān maʿānī al-afāl wa-tawābiʿihā</i> (fol. 216v)		<i>F3 fī bayān maʿānī aḥkām al-afāl wa-tawābiʿihā</i> (fol. 188r)
<i>B2 fī kayfiyyat thubūt al-aḥkām wa-suqūṭihā</i> ¹⁷⁹ <i>wa-lahu ḥaythiyyātān</i> (fol. 217v [fol. 120r])		<i>B2 fī kayfiyyat thubūt al-aḥkām wa-istiḥqāqihā wa-lahu janbatān</i> [sic] (fol. 188v)
<i>H1 fī kayfiyyat thubūtiḥā</i> (fol. 217v [fol. 120r])		<i>J1 fī kayfiyyat thubūtiḥā</i> (fol. 188v)
<i>H2 fī kayfiyyat suqūṭ al-madḥ wa-l-dhamm wa-l-thawāb wa-l-ʿiqāb</i> (fol. 220r)		<i>J2 fī kayfiyyat suqūṭ al-madḥ wa-l-dhamm wa-l-thawāb wa-l-ʿiqāb</i> (fol. 190r)
<i>M1 fī suqūṭ al-aqall bi-l-akthar</i> (fol. 220r)		<i>M1 fī suqūṭ al-aqall bi-l-akthar</i> (fol. 190r)
<i>M2 fī annahu yasquṭ min al-akthar bi-miqdār al-aqall</i> (fol. 220v)		<i>M2 wa-huwa annahu yasquṭu min al-akthar bi-miqdār al-aqall</i> (fol. 190v)
<i>M3 fī ḥukmiḥā ʿinda l-tasāwī</i> (fol. 221r)		<i>M3 wa-huwa fī ḥukmihimā ʿinda l-tasāwī</i> (fol. 190v)
<i>M4 fī l-tawba</i> (fol. 221v)		<i>M4 wa-huwa fī l-tawba</i> (fol. 191r)
<i>F1 fī ḥaqīqatihā</i> (fol. 221v)		<i>F1 fī ḥaqīqatihā</i> (fol. 191r)
<i>F2 fī annahā musqīṭa li-l-dhamm wa-l-ʿiqāb</i> (fol. 221v)		<i>F2 fī annahā musqīṭa li-l-dhamm wa-l-ʿiqāb</i> (fol. 191r)
<i>F3 annahu baʿda l-tawba yaʿūdu taʿthīr asbāb al-madḥ wa-l-thawāb bi-afālihi</i> (fol. 222r)		<i>F3 annahu baʿda l-tawba yaʿūdu taʿthīr asbāb al-madḥ wa-l-thawāb bi-afālihi</i> (fol. 191r)
<i>M5 wa-huwa anna l-ʿafw yusqīṭu al-ʿiqāb dūn al-dhamm</i> (fol. 222r)		<i>M5 fī l-ʿafw fa-l-ʿafw yusqīṭu al-ʿiqāb dūn al-dhamm</i> (fol. 191r)
<i>B3 fī ḥukm al-dunyā wa-khātimat amriḥā</i> (fol. 223r [fol. 146r])		<i>B3 fī ḥukm al-dunyā wa-khātimat amriḥā</i> (fol. 192r)

¹⁷⁹ *Wa-suqūṭihā: w-s-q-ṭ-ū-h-ā* in the manuscript.

<i>B4 fī l-ḥukm mā baʿda l-mawt wa-aḥwāl al-ākḥira wa-ʿaqībatuhā</i> (fol. 224v [fol. 151v])		<i>B4 fī ḥukm mā baʿda l-dunyā wa-baʿda l-mawt wa-aḥwal al-ākḥira wa-ʿaqībatuhā</i> (fol. 193r)
Q8 fī ijrāʾ al-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām alā l-ʾibād (fol. 226r [fol. 159v])	[Q8 al-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām]	Q8 fī ijrāʾ al-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām alā l-ʾabīd (fol. 195r)
<i>M1 fī l-asmāʾ</i> (fol. 226r [JH1 fī l-asmāʾ al-dīniyya, fol. 159v])		<i>M1 fī l-asmāʾ</i> (fol. 195r)
<i>M2 wa-huwa fī l-aḥkām</i> (fol. 227v [JH2 al-aḥkām, fol. 165v])		<i>M2 fī l-aḥkām</i> (fol. 196r)

APPENDIX 2: AḤMAD B. SA'D AL-DĪN AL-MASWARĪ'S (D. 1079/1668) NOTE ON AL-'ANSĪ

The following edition is based on a witness of al-Maswarī's *Majmū' al-ijāzāt* that contains the note on pp. 27–28. The codex is held in an unknown library in Yemen, and a copy of it is preserved in the private library of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāyim in Hijrat Fallala. Another copy of al-Maswarī's *Majmū' al-ijāzāt*, which is held in an unknown private library in Yemen and was accessible to us through a digital copy provided by the Imam Zayd b. 'Alī Cultural Foundation, does not include this note. This suggests that it is not part of al-Maswarī's *Majmū' al-ijāzāt*.

[27] ذكر للفقير عبد الله بن زيد العنسي رحمه الله آمين

الحمد لله وحده

ذكر الفقيه العلامة نضر الدين عبد الله بن زيد بن أحمد بن أبي الخير العنسي رحمه الله تعالى في ديباجة مؤلفه الذي سماه اللاتق بالأفهام في معرفة حدود الكلام بخط يده ما لفظه: أله في حال الدرس وقبل نبات اللحية، وكتب هذه النسخة وقد بلغ ستة وستين سنة من العمر بكحلان المحروس سنة تسع وخمسين وستمئة والحمد لله وحده وصلواته على محمد وآله انتهى.

فولده رحمه الله على هذا سنة أربع أو ثلاث وتسعين وخمسمائة ووفاة المنصور بالله عليه السلام والفقير في نحو إحدى وعشرين سنة لأنها في سنة أربع عشرة وستمئة وهو أسن من الإمام أحمد بن الحسين سلام الله عليه بهذا القدر لأنه عليه السلام ولد سنة وفاة المنصور بالله عليهم السلام جميعاً ورحمة الله وبركاته أو في السنة التي قبلها على اختلاف الروايتين. كان الفقيه عبد الله بن زيد المذكور رحمه الله من أوعية العلم وأجل علماء الزيدية كثرتهم الله. وله المؤلفات الجليلة كتآب المحجة البيضاء في علم الكلام، كتاب حافل بسيط أربعة مجلدات وغيره، وله كتاب التحرير في أصول الفقه، كتاب نفيس، والرجل حافل الرواية متين الدراية رائق المباحث دقيق النظر أحد الزهاد المشهورين بالورع.

وله في نصرة الإمام الأعظم المهدي لدين الله أحمد بن الحسين سلام الله عليه اليد الطولى والسهم المعلى حتى روي أنه عليه السلام كان لا يعدل به أحداً ويسميه داعي أمير المؤمنين ويصفه بالدين الرصين والورع المتين وبعثه إلى صدقة حرسها الله تعالى سنة أربع وخمسين وستمئة وكتب إلى عماله أن يقفوا على رأيه فظهر بسعيه الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر وراسل بذلك عمال نجران وكتب رسالة جيدة إلى قاضيه الجليل محمد بن المؤيد الدواري¹⁸⁰ ولما كان من السيد الحسن بن وهاس¹⁸¹ والشيخ أحمد بن محمد الرصاص¹⁸² والفقير أحمد بن حنش¹⁸³ والفقير أحمد بن علي الضميري¹⁸⁴ والفقير حنظلة بن أسعد الحارثي والقاضي إبراهيم بن فليح¹⁸⁵ وغيرهم

¹⁸⁰ For the Banū l-Dawwārī, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 2, p. 333. For one of the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Dawwārī, see al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 148 no. 55.

¹⁸¹ On him, see above, n. 123.

¹⁸² On him, see above, p. 291.

¹⁸³ For Aḥmad b. Ḥanash al-Kindī al-Shihābī (d. ca. 670/1271–72), see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 297 no. 113; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 119; see also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 181 no. 3.

¹⁸⁴ For Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ḍamīmī, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 366–367 no. 156; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, pp. 174–175 no. 75; see also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 180–181 no. 2.

¹⁸⁵ For Ibrāhīm b. Fulayḥ b. As'ad b. Maṣūb b. al-Rāqī al-Murādī al-Jawfī, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 159–160 no. 38.

ما كان في حق الإمام المهدي سلام الله عليه¹⁸⁶ من الاعتراض عليه والمخالفة له خرج من صعدة إلى الإمام عليه السلام إلى مدع¹⁸⁷ ساعياً في إصلاح أمرهم وكتب إليهم رسالة بليغة. ولما كان ما كان من قتل الإمام المهدي عليه السلام لم يزل الفقيه يراجع الحسن بن وهّاس ويستظهر عليه بالحنج حتى فليحه. قيل أنه أورد عليه خمسمائة إشكال فأمر شمس الدين أحمد بن الإمام المنصور بالله من يتهدده مراراً ولم يجد سبيلاً إلى قتله بعلّة ظاهرة مع إرادته ذلك ففرج الفقيه رحمه الله تعالى إلى بلاد خولان سنة ست وخمسين وسمائة وهي السنة التي استشهد فيها الإمام المهدي عليه السلام فأقام بقلّة¹⁸⁸ ونشر العلم هنالك وكانت لزمته ديون في نصرة الإمام المهدي عليه السلام تقارب عشرة [28] آلاف درهم وتحوّف مع ذلك من الغيلة فاضطرّ به الحال إلى قصد سلطان اليمن المظفر¹⁸⁹ فتوجّه لذلك يوم عاشوراء من عام تسع وخمسين وسمائة وكانت طريقه من حرّض¹⁹⁰ فتلقاه عاملها الأمير فيروز بالقبول والإكرام فلم يأكل الفقيه من ذبائحهم وتقدّم إلى زيد فكانت بينه وبين علمائها كإبن حنكاش¹⁹¹ مراجعة كان الفلح له عليهم فيها ثم تقدّم إلى تعز وقد وصل إلى السلطان قبله كتاب من بعض أعدائه ينفره عنه فأمر بإكرامه ولم يتصل به ولا قضى له حاجة وأقام على ذلك مدّة يكتب السلطان بالنصائح الدينية وينبهه على العقائد الصحيحة وأجابه بجواب حسن فعاد الفقيه رحمه الله وقد ضاقت به الحال لدينه وكثرة عائلته فإنهم بلغوا نحو خمسة وعشرين وكانت له دار بصعدة خاف عليها ولده أن يأخذها الأشراف فهدمها من غير إذن أبيه وفارقه بسببها (؟) ولما قام الإمام الأعظم المنصور بالله الحسن بن بدر الدين محمد بن أحمد بن يحيى بن يحيى¹⁹² عليه السلام نهض الفقيه بدعوته الشريفة ونصرته ونزل معه إلى صمّد¹⁹³ ولعل عود الفقيه رحمه الله من اليمن كان إلى سكلان¹⁹⁴ كما يقتضيه تاريخ ما كتبه من خطه فإنها السنة التي نزل فيها إلى اليمن وتوفي [..] ¹⁹⁵ وقبره بكحلان تاج الدين قبلي البركة التي تسمى رحبة مشهور مزور.

وله رسائل عظيمة على المطرفية أقامهم الله تعالى وغيره، منها الرسالة المنقذة من العطب السالكة بالنصيحة إلى أهل شظب رأيتها بخطه وقال: فرغت منها في شهر ربيع الآخر من شهر سنة ستين وسمائة بالحصن المحروس سكلان. وله الرسالة الداعية إلى الإيمان وغيرهما. وله الإرشاد المشهور في علم الطريقة والزهد. ومن الشعر المشهور عنه قوله [..] ومن شيوخه في العلم الأمير الكبير شيخ آل الرسول بدر الدين محمد بن يحيى بن يحيى¹⁹⁶ عليهم السلام.

¹⁸⁶ سلام الله عليه: إضافة ما بين السطور.

¹⁸⁷ For Muda', see Wilson, *Gazetteer of Historical North-West Yemen*, p. 299.

¹⁸⁸ For Fallala, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 4, p. 639; al-Akwa', *Hijar al-'ilm*, vol. 3, pp. 1618–1638 no. 323.

¹⁸⁹ Referring to the second Rasulid sultan of Yemen, al-Muzaffar Yūsuf (r. 647–694/1249–1295).

¹⁹⁰ For Ḥaraḍ, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 2, pp. 256–257.

¹⁹¹ For the Ḥanafī Ash'arī scholar Abū Bakr b. 'Īsā b. 'Uthmān al-Ash'arī "Ibn Ḥankāsh" (d. 664/1265–66), see al-Khazrajī, *al-Uqūd al-lu'lu'iyya*, vol. 1, p. 201 and passim; Muḥyi l-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī l-Wafā' al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad Ḥilw, 5 vols., Cairo: Dār Hajar, 1413/1993, vol. 4, p. 22.

¹⁹² For al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn, see above, n. 126.

¹⁹³ For Ḍamad, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 3, pp. 553–554.

¹⁹⁴ For Kuḥlān Tāj al-Dīn, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 4, p. 663; Wilson, *Gazetteer of Historical North-West Yemen*, p. 281.

¹⁹⁵ Al-Maswarī left some blank space here to add the missing information later on, but this never happened.

¹⁹⁶ On al-'Ansi's teacher Badr al-Dīn, see above, n. 11.

APPENDIX 3: PORTIONS OF AL-'ANSĪ' INTRODUCTION TO THE KHĀTĪMA OF HIS K. AL-TAMYĪZ

الكلام في الخاتمة

فإن قيل: قد عرفنا¹⁹⁷ ما ذُكرتَ وفهمنا ما فصلتَ من مذاهب المطرفية وكفر هذه الفرقة الغوية وكون ديارهم دار حرب وكون أحكامهم أحكام الكفار، فبين لنا مذاهب الحق من العدالة وما تذهب إليه الزيدية وتقول العترة الزكية في أصول الدين وما يتركب على ذلك من الأدلة والبراهين مما يكون فيه كفايةً للمسترشدين وتذكيراً للعلماء الراشدين ليكون الإنسان على بينة من أمره وبصيرة فيما يُقدم عليه في معاده آمناً من أن يستزله عن الحق المبطلون.

قلنا: اعلم أيديك الله بتأييده وحماك بتوفيقه وتسديده أن الانتداب لما ذُكرتَ وبين صريح الحق فيما طلبتَ فقد أهمله كثير من المدّعين كونهم من الموحدين ومال عن إيضاح تحقيقه أكثر العلماء، منهم الموجودون¹⁹⁸ في قطرنا هذا في هذه الديار، وذلك لعلل مختلفة وأسباب غير مؤتلفة منها لُجج بعضهم بمذهب قد علق بقلبه واعتقاده لاعتقاده قد شغف بحبه، ومنها لاستيحاش بعضهم أن يميل عن مذاهب أسلافه وأن يفارق من يحسن به ظنه من أبائه ومنها¹⁹⁹ مخافة بعضهم أن يفارق دين بلده فيميل عنه من هو في جملة عدده، ومنها كثرة ميل بعضهم في الأديان إلى العصبية وميل قلبه إلى ما هو من قبيل الحمية حمية الجاهلية، ومنها إهمال بعضهم للنظر على الوجه الصحيح وطلب الدعة ولو بترك البيع الربيح، وكل ذلك زيغ في الدين والثفات إلى ما كان من سنن الماضين مع الأنبياء المرسلين عليهم صلوات رب العالمين. [٠٠٠]

وأما إهمال الأنظار على الوجه الصحيح فذلك دأب المبتدعين مثل الفلاسفة والذهرية والطائعية من كفار الأصل ومن أهل التأويل كالجبرية والمشبّهة والمطرفية. ولا بد في الأرض في كل زمان ﴿أُولُو بَقِيَّةٍ يَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْفَسَادِ فِي الْأَرْضِ﴾ (هود 116)، فالبقية في زماننا هذا وغيره²⁰⁰ مما²⁰¹ تقدمه في هذه الملة إنما هم أهل بيت محمد الطاهرين ومن تبعهم من شيعتهم الخيرين رضي الله عنهم أجمعين فهم التابعون للحق المبين والتابون على الصراط المستقيم والبرهان القويم. وأهل الإسلام المنتسبون إليه فرق كثيرة وكلهم جهال خارجون عن حقيقة ما انتسبوا إليه من الإسلام وماتلون عن عقيدة محمد عليه السلام إلا فرقان زيدية والمعزلة. والزيدية فرقان، منهم من سلك في العقيدة مسلك المعزلة ما عدا الإمامة وهم كثير من أصحابنا في هذه الديار، ومنهم من بقي على مذاهب الزيدية التابعين للعترة الزكية صلوات الله عليهم²⁰² إلا أن أكثرهم لم يكده يظهر أكثر مذهبه ولا بلغ فيه إلى غاية غرضه ومطلبه مخافة إحداث فرقة في بلده أو ما يقع من التقليل في عدده.

وقد صنفتُ تصانيف كثيرة بينتُ منهاج الحق وما يجب من اتباع أولي الصدق في قوله تعالى ﴿وَكُونُوا مَعَ الصَّادِقِينَ﴾ (التوبة 119) وإرادته أهل بيت محمد الطاهرين صلوات الله عليه وعليهم أجمعين بدلالة آية المباحلة على ذلك وشهادتها بما هنالك، وتلك التأليفات منها كتاب الشهاب على مذاهب العترة الأطياب مجلد واحد، ومنها كتاب السراج الوهاج مختصر حسن ضابط، ومنها كتاب مذاكرة السراج كفاية في معرفة الخلاف والمذهب والدلالة، ومنها كتاب المحجة البيضاء فيه النهاية في الدقيق والجليل والخلاف والتفضيل وصحة المذهب والردود على مخالفة في علم الكلام، وهو الحماية [كذا] الكبرى على أهل الإسلام كافة. وعيننا هذه الكتب لتكون هدايةً للمسترشدين إليها [و] متى طلب معرفة مذاهب العترة عليهم السلام على التفصيل قصد إليها لأن أئمتنا عليهم السلام وإن ذكروا مذاهب الحق فلم يتمكنوا لشغل الجهاد لهم من النقض على المخالفين في كل باب ولكن الملتفت إلى مذاهبهم والمتلين بدينهم

¹⁹⁷ عرفنا: علمنا (مع تصحيح).

¹⁹⁸ الموجودون: الموجودين (مع تصحيح).

¹⁹⁹ آياته: الآفة.

²⁰⁰ وغيره: مكرر في الأصل.

²⁰¹ مما: ممن (مع تصحيح).

²⁰² عليهم: + أجمعين + (حاشية) زائد.

يجد في كتبهم وتصانيفهم ما يعين على الحماية لمذهبهم والنقض على مخالفهم، هذا مع ما لنا من التعرض على مخالفهم والرسائل ابتداءً وجواباً فلم يتواجد ممن خالفهم في مبلغ علمنا إلا وقد نقضنا عليهم في جميع عقائدهم ومسائلهم وحمينا حوزتهم وذبينا عن دينهم فضلاً عن الله وهداية لنا بسبب محبتهم، ﴿وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَتَّبِعِيَ لَوْلَا أَنَّ هَدَانَا اللَّهُ﴾ (الأعراف 43).

وسبب هذا إنما هو اغتداؤنا بلبانهم وترتيبنا²⁰³ في حجورهم وامتناج لحومنا ودمائنا بحجبتهم ومودتهم وليس معنا عمل نرجو به الاتصال بالله تعالى في المحبوبات وغاية المطلوبات إلا هذا فهو أرجأ ما يتقرب به إلى الله تعالى، فالحمد لله حمداً نبلغ به الرضا لله ونسأله الاستقامة وحسن الخاتمة، فهو اللطيف الخليم الرؤوف الرحيم البرّ الكريم، ونستعين به في التوفيق والتسديد والهداية والتأييد، ونحن نأتي الآن ههنا من ترتيب أصول الدين وما يجب معرفته من توحيد رب العالمين على الترتيب ما يكون هداية للمسترشد وتذكرة للعالم المستفيد، ومن الله التوفيق وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكيل.

اعلم أيدك الله تعالى وهداك بأن أصول الدين الواجبة على جميع المكلفين على مذاهب الهادي والقاسم وسائر الأئمة الهادين عليهم السلام ثمانية أقسام، أحدها العلم بالله وما يستحق من أوصاف الكمال، وثانيها العلم بعدله وحكمته، وثالثها العلم بنبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم ورسالته، ورابعها العلم بصدقه فيما جاء به من عند ربه عز وجل، وخامسها العلم بالإمامة ومراتب أولي الزعامة، وسادسها العلم بما يجب من الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر، وسابعها العلم بالوعد والوعيد، وثامنها ما يلزم من إجراء الأسماء والأحكام على العبيد.

APPENDIX 4:

This text, which contains a legal opinion of al-'Ansi's that was perhaps gleaned from his *Istibṣār*, is preserved as an isolated item (fig. 38) in a codex in a private library in Yemen.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على محمد وآله وسلم
يقول صلاح بن أمير المؤمنين²⁰⁴: ناولت مولانا السيد الإمام المنصور بالله²⁰⁵ عليه السلام كتاب غريب حديث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وأله لأبي عبيد القاسم بن سلام²⁰⁶ وأنا أرويه عن مولانا أمير المؤمنين المتوكل على الله²⁰⁷ قدس الله روحه وعليه السلام وهو يرويه من طريقين، أحدهما عن الفقيه إبراهيم بن علي الأكوخ²⁰⁸ عن عمه [شعلة الأكوخ عن²⁰⁹ الشيخ محي الدين²¹⁰ عن القاضي شمس الدين عن القاضي قطب الدين الكني²¹¹ يرفعه إلى المصنف.

²⁰³ وترتيبنا: وترتيبنا (مع تصحيح).

²⁰⁴ For Ṣalāḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. Tāj al-Dīn, see above, n. 88.

²⁰⁵ We do not know of an Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh during the period in question, with the exception of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn (on whom see above). It seems that a correction was intended for the two words *al-Sayyid al-Imām* in the manuscript, and a possible emendation, which would fit into the chronology of the chain of transmission, would be *al-Sayyid walad al-Imām*, unless a different correction was intended.

²⁰⁶ K. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) (published).

²⁰⁷ For Imam al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh al-Muṭaḥhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 697/1298), see above.

²⁰⁸ On him, see above, p. 284.

²⁰⁹ Something is missing in the manuscript, and the addition was made on the basis of the chain of transmission as given, for example, in Ibn Abī I-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 159 no. 37; see also above.

²¹⁰ He is the aforementioned Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī.

²¹¹ Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kanī (d. ca. 565/1169–70), the renowned Iranian Zaydī scholar who was one of the teachers of Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī (d. 573/1177); see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, passim.

والطريق الأخرى عن السيد العلامة جمال الدين بقرية المحدثين علي بن أحمد بن عبد الله طميس²¹² عن الفقيه حسين بن محمد النحوي²¹³ عن أبيه²¹⁴ عن الشيخ محي الدين عن القاضي شمس الدين. وكذلك غريب ابن قتيبة الدينوري²¹⁵ بالسند الأول، وكذلك كتاب الفائق في الحديث²¹⁶، وأنا أرويه عن القاضي العالم ركن الدين سليمان بن يحيى²¹⁷ عن ابن²¹⁸ شافع²¹⁹ عن أبيه يرفعه بالسند المذكور في أول النسخة إلى المصنف. وأجزت له رواية ذلك على ما شرطه السلف الصالح رحمهم الله. ويقول صلاح بن أمير المؤمنين: سمعت حي السيدين العالمين الفاضلين شرف الدين وعماد الدين مفضل ويحيى ابني منصور بن العفيف²²⁰ يرويان عن الفقيه العلامة حسام الدين عبد الله بن زيد يروي عن الأمير الداعي إلى الحق بدر الدين محمد بن أحمد بن يحيى بن يحيى²²¹ عليهم السلام أن مذهب الهادي إلى الحق عليه السلام أنه يجوز صرف كفارة الأيمان في غير الأكل واحتج الفقيه حسام الدين لذلك بأن الأمة مجمعة على أن من صرفت إليه كفارة أيمان ثم مات قبل أكلها أنها تكون لورثته وإن لم يكونوا من أهل الكفارة فثبت أن الأكل ليس بشرط فيها، وأجزت لمولانا رواية ذلك عني على ما تقدم. وصلى الله على محمد وآله وسلم تسليماً.

APPENDIX 5:

The following edition is based on two witnesses of al-Maswarī's *Majmū' al-ijāzāt*. One witness is held in an unknown library in Yemen, and a copy of it is preserved in the private library of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāyim in Hijrat Fallala; the relevant passage is found on pp. 442–443 (abbreviated in the following as ه). The other copy is held in an unknown private library in Yemen and was accessible to us through a digital copy provided by the Imam Zayd b. 'Alī Cultural Foundation (abbreviated in the following as و); the relevant passage is found on pp. 381–382. For an analysis of the chains of transmission, see above.

كتب الإمام المطهر عليه السلام في نسخة حي الفقيه²²² العلامة عبد الله بن زيد العنسي التي كتبها بيده وفرغ منها في آخر جمادى الأولى سنة ست وعشرين وستمائة، وعلى نسخته أيضاً التي بخطه في مجموع زيد التي فرغ منها في جمادى الآخرة ما صورته حسناً الله²²³ وحده. وكتب عبد الله المتوكل على الله أمير المؤمنين المطهر بن يحيى بن الهادي إلى الحق عليه السلام:

²¹² For 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Ṭumays, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 3, p. 192 no. 846; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 694–695 no. 413.

²¹³ For Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Naḥwī, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 217–219 no. 492; see, however, al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, pp. 339–340 no. 194, where his name is given as "Ḥasan."

²¹⁴ He is Sābiq al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Alī b. Ya'īsh al-Naḥwī.

²¹⁵ *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth* by 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) (published).

²¹⁶ *Al-Fā'iq fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, by Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) (published repeatedly).

²¹⁷ He is *al-qāḍī* Abū Muṭaḥhar Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf; on him, see al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 481 no. 282. ²¹⁸ ابن: بن.

²¹⁹ His identity is unclear. Compare, however, al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 481, where his name is rendered as Ibn Shāyī'.

²²⁰ For Mufaḍḍal b. Maṣṣūr and his brother Yaḥyā, see above.

²²¹ On al-'Anṣī's teacher Badr al-Dīn, see above, n. 11.

²²² الفقيه: + العالم (مشطوب)، ه.

²²³ الله: + ونعم الوكيل (مشطوب)، و.

سمع عني بطريق القراءة الفقيه العالم الصدر شرف الدين الحسن بن عبد الله بن زيد العنسي أيدته الله كتاب أصول الأحكام بهذه²²⁴ النسخة وأنا أرويه بطريق القراءة عن الفقيه العالم تقي الدين محمد بن أحمد بن أبي الرجال رحمه الله وهو يرويه من طريقين قراءةً أحدهما²²⁵ على حي الإمام الشهيد المهدي أحمد بن الحسين بن القاسم عليه السلام يرفعه عليه السلام بطريق قراءته إلى حي الشيخ العالم بقية المحدثين شعله بن محمد الحوالي²²⁶ رضي الله عنه يرويه عن حي الشيخ العالم محي الدين محمد بن أحمد بن الوليد القرشي قراءةً عليه وهو يرويه رحمه الله عن مصنفه الإمام الأجل المتوكل على الله عز وجل أحمد بن سليمان عليه السلام مناولةً ثم قراءةً عليه إلى كتاب الوصايا.

والطريق الثاني²²⁷: لشيخني تقي الدين رحمه الله قراءةً على حي الفقيه شرف الدين الحسن بن البقاء رحمه الله يرويه بطريق القراءة على حي الفقيه²²⁸ علامة اليمن حميد بن أحمد المحلي قدس الله روحه يرويه بطريق القراءة على حي الشيخ محي الدين محمد بن أحمد الأنفي يعني ابن²²⁹ الوليد²³⁰ يرويه عن الإمام المتوكل على الله²³¹ عليه السلام قراءةً إلى كتاب الوصايا والباقي مناولةً. وكذلك سمع عني المقام الشريف العلامة الإمامي الصلاحي صلاح الملة والدين صلاح بن أمير المؤمنين إبراهيم بن تاج الدين والفقيه العالم شرف الدين الحسن بن عبد الله المقدم ذكره قراءةً كتاب مجموع الفقه لزيد بن علي عليه السلام، وأنا أرويه بطريق القراءة عن حي الفقيه العالم إبراهيم بن علي بن أحمد²³² الأكوخ وهو يرويه بطريق القراءة عن حي عمه شعلة رحمه الله²³³ عن الشيخ محي الدين محمد بن أحمد²³⁴ يرويه قراءةً عن القاضي شمس الدين يعني جعفر بن أحمد رضي الله عنه عن من أثبت سنده في هذا الكتاب. وأجزت لهما روايته على الحد الذي يشترطه العلماء الراشدون وصلى الله على محمد وآله انتهى. ثم كتب فوقه الفقيه حسن بن عبد الله المذكور ما صورته: كان تمام سماعي لهذين الكتابين على مولانا أمير المؤمنين سلام الله عليه في آخر شهر ربيع الأول سنة تسع وثمانين وستمائة سنة بالحجيمة²³⁵ بتنعيم²³⁶ الحروس ببقائه عليه السلام.

²²⁴ بهذه: هذه، و.

²²⁵ أحدهما: إحداهما، ه.

²²⁶ الحوالي: + رحمة الله عليه (مشطوب)، ه.

²²⁷ الثاني: الثانية، ه و.

²²⁸ الفقيه: + محي الدين (مشطوب)، و.

²²⁹ ابن: بن، ه و.

²³⁰ يعني ابن الوليد: إضافة في هامش و.

²³¹ على الله: -، ه.

²³² أحمد: + ابن، و.

²³³ الله: + وهو يرويه (مشطوب)، ه.

²³⁴ أحمد + وهو يرويه قراءة عن الشيخ (مشطوب)، ه.

²³⁵ بالحجيمة: بالحجيمة، ه.

For al-Ḥayma, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 2, p. 302.

²³⁶ بتنعيم: بتنعيم، ه؛ بينبع، و.

In view of the different readings in the two manuscripts, it is uncertain which location is meant here. For Tan'asim, see al-Ḥajrī, *Majmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā*, vol. 1, p. 156. For Tan'am/Tan'ima/al-Tanā'im, see Wilson, *Gazetteer of Historical North-West Yemen*, p. 109. No location by the name of Yanbagh is mentioned in al-Ḥajrī's *Majmū'*, and the possibility that Yanbagh in Ḥijāz is meant here can safely be excluded.