

# The literary-religious tradition among 7th/13th century Yemenī Zaydīs: The formation of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258)\*

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## Abstract

The rich *sīra* literature relating to the careers of imāms is a genre characteristic for the Zaydī communities in Yemen and in Iran. These documents were composed by close companions, secretaries or other personnel in their vicinity, often inspired in structure and terminology by the *sīra* of the Prophet Muḥammad. Their primary function was to legitimize the imāms, and describing their merits therefore formed an important element of such documents. The *sīra* of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 656/1258) was composed by Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥamzī (d. 677/1278-9). The primary significance of the section of the *sīra* that is devoted to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's formation, which is edited and analysed in the article, is that it provides a detailed picture of the intellectual scene in Yemen during the 7th/13th century and informs us about the characteristics of the formation of scholars during this period. Moreover, the document informs us about the works that were part of the transfer of knowledge from Iran to Yemen that began with the unification of the Caspian Zaydiyya and the Zaydīs in Yemen during the imamate of Abū Ṭālib *al-akhīr* (d. 520/1126) and gradually increased throughout the 6th/12th century until the death of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh in 614/1217.

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\* This is the third in a series of studies dealing with the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries. "Studies on the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen I and II" were published in *Studia Iranica* 39 (2010), pp. 227-78 ("Mu'tazilism after 'Abd al-Jabbār: Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī's *Kitāb Masā'il al-khilāf fī l-uṣūl*") and *Studia Iranica* [in press] ("Mu'tazilism in Rayy and Astarābād: Abū l-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. Sharwīn").—This publication was prepared within the framework of the European Research Council's FP 7 project "Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam". We take the opportunity to thank Camilla Adang, Wilferd Madelung and Gregor Schwarb for helpful remarks on an earlier draft of this paper.

**Keywords**

Zaydiyya, Mu'tazila, *sīra* literature, Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, Yemen, transmission of knowledge, education

**I.**

The rich *sīra* literature relating to the careers of imāms is a genre characteristic for the Zaydī communities in Yemen and in Iran. These documents were composed as a rule by close companions, secretaries or other personnel in their vicinity, often inspired in structure and terminology by the *sīra* of the Prophet Muḥammad. Their primary function was to legitimize the imāms, and describing their merits therefore formed an important element of such documents. Regular components were sections on their religious education praising the imām's mastery of the various branches of knowledge as well as the formal proclamation of the imām's claim to the imamate (*da'wa*) and the pledge of allegiance (*ahd*). In addition, documentary sources such as official correspondences, treaties, decrees and letters of instruction, as well as personal memories etc. often form part of the *sīras*. As such, they constitute valuable contemporary witnesses of the imāms' respective reigns containing detailed chronicles of the political and military as well as the tribal and at times social history and administrative practice of the time.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest *sīra* was that of the Imām al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (b. 245/859, d. 298/911), the founder of the Zaydī imamate in Yemen, composed by his companion 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī al-'Alawī.<sup>2</sup> Among the earliest biographies of an imām from the Caspian region was that of al-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥaqq al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917), composed by Isfandiyār b. Mihrnūsh al-Naysabūrī (fl. presumably early 5th/11th century). This document is exclusively known on the basis of the Imāmī scholar Ibn Ṭāwūs (b. 589/1193, d. 664/1266).<sup>3</sup> Among Ibn Mihrnūsh's sources is *Akhhbār al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq* by a certain Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Zāhid al-Khaṭīb (he was not a Zaydī), one of Ibn

<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the genre, see Madelung, "al-Hamdānī's description of Northern Yemen"; Gochenour, "A Revised Bibliography," pp. 312ff; al-Rabā'i, *Sirat al-amīrayn al-jalīlayn al-sharifayn*, introduction, pp. 31-36.

<sup>2</sup> The *sīra* was the principal source of van Arendonk's *De opkomst van het zaiditische imamaat in Yemen* and has been edited as al-'Abbāsī al-'Alawī, *Sirat al-Hādī ila l-ḥaqq*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut 1392/1972.—On this document see also Madelung, "Land Ownership and Land Tax in Northern Yemen and Najrān," pp. 189-207; GAS, pp. 346-47 # 9; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 82-3 # 1; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 115 # 1828; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> *Kitāb Siyar [or: Sirat] al-Fāṭimī alladhī malaka Ṭabaristān al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-ma'rūf bi-l-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq*; cf. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 335-36 # 553.

Mihrnūsh's transmitters.<sup>4</sup> The latter work is also mentioned in the *Amālī* of Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Bilāl quotes in his *Tatimmat al-Maṣābiḥ* (see below) from the *Akhhbār al-Nāṣir*,<sup>6</sup> and it is uncertain whether this title refers to Ibn Mihrnūsh's *sīra* of al-Nāṣir li-l-Ḥaqq al-Uṭrūsh or to Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Akhhbār al-Nāṣir*.<sup>7</sup> The *sīra* of the Imām al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 322/934) by his active and prominent supporter 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Hamdānī is included in the *Kitāb Akhhbār al-Zaydiyya min abl al-bayt 'alayhim al-salām wa-shī'atihim bi-l-Yaman* of Musallam b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Laḥjī (d. 545/1150 or 552/1157).<sup>8</sup> Two biographies are attested for the Caspian Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020), one composed by Abū Ṭālib al-Fārisī<sup>9</sup> and the other from the pen of al-Murshad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl al-Jurjānī al-Shajarī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086-7 or 499/1106).<sup>10</sup> Other examples of this genre from Yemen were the *sīra* of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-'Iyānī (b. between 310/922 and 340/951, d. 393/1003) by his secretary Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb al-Hamdānī;<sup>11</sup> the *sīra* of the son of al-Manṣūr al-'Iyānī, al-Mahdī al-Ḥusayn, by an anonymous author;<sup>12</sup> the *sīra* of al-Manṣūr al-'Iyānī's two grandsons, sons of his elder son Ja'far b. al-Qāsim al-'Iyānī (d. 450/1059), al-Sharīf al-Fāḍil al-Qāsim (d. 468/1075) and Dhū l-Sharafayn Muḥammad (d. 477/1084), composed by the *amīr*'s secretary, *qāḍī*, *khaṭīb* and official poet Mufarriḥ

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ibn Ṭawūs, *Faraj al-mahmūm*, Qum: Manshūrāt al-Riḍā, 1363/1984, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Qāḍī Ja'far, *Taysīr al-maṭālib min [fi] Amālī Abi Ṭālib*, p. 290.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. al-Wajīh, Amman 2002, p. 605.

<sup>7</sup> This is also the case with al-Muḥallī's *al-Ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya*, vol. 2, p. 79, where the author refers to an *akhhbār* work relating to al-Uṭrūsh ("*wa-dhakara ba'du man ṣannafa akhhbārahu*"), with Abū Ṭālib's *Ifāda* (p. 118) where the author quotes from the *Akhhbār al-Nāṣir*, and with Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Daylamī al-Jilānī's biography of the Caspian Zaydī community and its imāms who also refers to a work entitled *Siyar al-Nāṣir*; cf. Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, p. 139.

<sup>8</sup> Madelung (ed.), *The Sira of Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn*. For a description of the *sīra*, see also Gochenour, "A Revised Bibliography," pp. 315ff. Cf. also al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 473; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, p. 606 # 619; Anṣārī, "Tārīkh-i Musallam Laḥjī".

<sup>9</sup> Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 108 # 1812. This work is lost.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Ṣāliḥ 'Abd Allāh Qurbān, Ṣan'ā' 1424/2003; ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim Raḥmatī in *Mīrāth-i Bahārīstān (Majmū'a-yi 13 risāla)*, Tehran 1388/[2009], pp. 305-88.

<sup>11</sup> The text has been published as al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb, *Sirat al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-'Iyānī*, Ṣan'ā' 1996. Cf. also GAS, p. 347 # 10; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 83-4 # 3; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 474; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 471-2 # 468. Cf. also W. Madelung, "Al-Manṣūr bi'llāh," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 6, pp. 435-36.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. al-Rabā'ī, *Sirat al-amīrayn al-jalīlayn*, introduction, pp. 36-7.

b. Aḥmad al-Raba'ī;<sup>13</sup> the *sīra* of the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar (b. 500/1106, d. 566/1170) by Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Thaqafi (fl. 6th/12th century);<sup>14</sup> the *sīra* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217) by his chief secretary Abū Firas b. Dī'tham, Fāḍil b. 'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim;<sup>15</sup> and the *sīra* of the Imām al-Mahdī Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (d. 656/1258) by Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥamzī (d. 677/1278-9), which is dealt with in some detail in the present article.

The biographies of the imāms continued to be a popular literary genre among later generations of Yemeni Zaydīs. Examples are the *sīras* of the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī (d. 697/1297-8), of his son al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar (b. 660/1261-2, d. 729/1328-9) and of his grandson al-Wāthiq bi-llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad (b. 702/1302-3, d. 793/1390-1 or 802/1400) by al-Nāṣir b. Aḥmad b. al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥasanī (d. 802/1400);<sup>16</sup> the *sīras* of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620), the eponymous founder of the Qāsimī dynasty, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī (b. 982/1564, d. 1055/1646) and by al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jurmūzī

<sup>13</sup> The *sīra*, of which we only have a *mukhtaṣar* as the original text is lost, was first analysed by Madelung, "The *Sirat al-Amīrayn al-Ajallayn al-Sharīfayn al-Fāḍilayn*," pp. 69-87. See also Gochenour, "A Revised Bibliography," pp. 312-13; al-Ḥibshī, *Masādir*, p. 474. The document has been edited as Mufarrīḥ b. Aḥmad al-Raba'ī, *Sirat 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 Yamānī min al-qarn al-khāmis al-Hijrī*, eds. Riḍwān al-Sayyid and 'Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd 'Abd al-'Āḡī, Beirut 1413/1993.

<sup>14</sup> Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Thaqafi, *Sirat al-Imām Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, 532-566 H*, al-Haram [Giza] 2002. Cf. also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 110 # 1815. Cf. also al-Ḥibshī, *Masādir*, p. 476; al-Wajih, *A'lām*, pp. 471-2 # 468; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 406 # 11; al-Ḥibshī, *Mu'allafāt*, pp. 31-35 # 9.

<sup>15</sup> Volumes Two and Three of the *sīra* have been published as *al-Sīra al-sharīfa al-Manṣūriyya: Sirat al-Imām 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, 593-614*, ta'līf Abī Firas b. Dī'tham, ed. 'Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd 'Abd al-'Āḡī, Beirut 1414/1993. On the work, see also al-Ḥibshī, *Masādir*, p. 479; al-Wajih, *A'lām*, p. 749 # 811.—Another copy of Volume Two that was not consulted by the editor is preserved as MS Vatican ar. 1061; cf. Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, vol. 1, p. 131. Hassan Ansari has identified a copy of Volume Four of the *sīra* that had so far been presumed lost; cf. "Nāme-hā-yi beh Gilān".

<sup>16</sup> *Sirat al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā wa-awlādihī*; cf. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 157 # 1; al-Ḥibshī, *Masādir*, p. 488; al-Wajih, *A'lām*, pp. 1057-8 # 1139. A fragment of this *sīra* is preserved in the Ambrosiana library, # A 55/2, ff. 96a-106a; cf. Löfgren/Traini, *Catalogue*, p. 28 # 55. For al-Mutawakkil, al-Mahdī and al-Wāthiq, see al-Ḥibshī, *Mu'allafāt*, pp. 60-1 # 17; 64-67 # 19; 86-90 # 24.

(d. 1076/1666) who gleaned most of his material from al-Sharafi's biography;<sup>17</sup> the *sira* of the latter's two sons, the Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (b. 990/1582, d. 1054/1644) by al-Jurmūzī,<sup>18</sup> and the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (b. ca. 1019/1610, d. 1079/1665-6), again by al-Jurmūzī;<sup>19</sup> the *siras* of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 1322/1904) by 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iryānī (d. 1323/1905);<sup>20</sup> the *sira* of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (b. 1285/1869, d. 1367/1948) by 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Muṭahhar al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 1366/1947-8).<sup>21</sup>

*Siras* also constituted the primary sources for another related literary genre: collective biographical works that were exclusively dedicated to the lives of the imāms. These works often include materials from individual biographies that are otherwise lost. Prominent examples of this genre are *al-Maṣābiḥ* of Abū

<sup>17</sup> For al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim and the Qāsimī dynasty, see Klarić, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der qāsimidischen Dynastie*. We thank Damaris Pottek for having brought this study to our attention. Cf. also J. R. Blackburn, "al-Manṣūr bi-llāh," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 6, pp. 436-7; Tritton, *The rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, which is based on a partial manuscript copy of al-Sharafi's *sira* preserved in Edinburgh. On al-Sharafi's *al-La'ālī al-muḍī a fi akhbār al-a'imma al-zaydiyya* see also Klarić, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der qāsimidischen Dynastie*, pp. 36-37. A facsimile of a manuscript of al-Jurmūzī's *sira*, *al-Durra al-muḍī a fi l-sira al-qāsimiyya*, has been published under its alternative title, *Kitāb al-Nubdha al-mushira ilā jumal min 'uyūn al-sira. Fī akhbār Mawlānā Amīr al-mu'minīn wa-Sayyid al-Muslimīn al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh rabb al-'ālamīn al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Ṣan'ā* 1982.

<sup>18</sup> Entitled *al-Jawhara al-muḍī a fi tārikh al-khilāfa al-mu'ayyadiyya* and, alternatively, *al-Jawhara al-munīra min 'uyūn akhbār al-sira*. An edition of the text is included in the study by al-Nūr, *Binā' al-dawla al-qāsimiyya*.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad al-Jurmūzī, *Tuhfat al-asma' wa-l-abṣār bi-mā fi l-sira al-Mutawakkiliyya min gharā'ib al-akhbār: Sirat al-Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim, 1019-1087 H* 1-2, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Hajarī, Ṣan'ā 1423/2002. Cf. also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 109 # 1814; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 1035-6 # 1113; J. R. Blackburn, "Al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 7, pp. 778-79.—Cf. also al-Ghālībī, *al-Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh*, esp. pp. 201ff for al-Jurmūzī's historical writings, including the *Tuhfa*. On al-Jurmūzī's three *siras*, see also Klarić, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der qāsimidischen Dynastie*, pp. 37ff.

<sup>20</sup> This *sira* has been published repeatedly: (i) 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iryānī, *Sirat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, al-musammā bi-l-Durr al-manthūr fi sirat al-Imām al-Manṣūr* 1-2, ed. Muḥammad 'Isā Ṣāliḥiyya, Amman[Beirut] 1996; (ii) *al-Mawqif al-yamanī min al-ḥukm al-'Uthmānī al-thānī, mā'a taḥqīq makhṭūṭat al-Durr al-manthūr fi sirat al-imām al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamīd al-Dīn*, ed. Amat al-Malik Ismā'īl Qāsim al-Nūr, Damascus 2008.

<sup>21</sup> 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Muṭahhar, *Sirat al-Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn, al-musammā Katībat al-ḥikma min sirat Imām al-umma* 1-2, ed. Muḥammad 'Isā Ṣāliḥiyya, Amman 1998. Cf. also al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 557-58 # 562. On Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, see also A. Rouad, "Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 11, pp. 247-48 (with further references).

l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī (d. 352/963), as well as its continuation, *Tatimmat al-Maṣābiḥ*, by Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī’s student Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Bilāl al-Āmulī.<sup>22</sup> The *Maṣābiḥ* also served as one of the main sources for the *Kitāb al-Ifāda fī tārikh al-a’imma al-sāda* by the Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033).<sup>23</sup> The next important work within this genre is *al-Ḥadā’iq al-wardiyya fī manāqib a’immat al-Zaydiyya* of Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254) who, in turn, made extensive use of al-Ḥasanī’s *al-Maṣābiḥ* and of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq’s *K. al-Ifāda*. He also adds other valuable material that is otherwise lost.<sup>24</sup> The sources also mention *Sīrat* (or: *Siyar*) *al-a’imma* of the Zaydī scholar Bahā’ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī al-Jilānī.<sup>25</sup> Also within this genre falls the latter’s epistle addressed to ‘Imrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-‘Udhri al-Hamdānī (→ 18) who received this in 607/1210-11. The document, which may perhaps be identical with his *Sīrat* (or: *Siyar*) *al-a’imma* mainly contains information on the Caspian Zaydī imāms and the Zaydī community after Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiq until the time of Yūsuf’s writing.<sup>26</sup> Al-Muḥallī’s *Ḥadā’iq* was later continued by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Yūnus al-Zaḥif (or al-Zuḥḥayf) al-Ṣa’dī Ibn Fand with his *al-Lawāḥiq al-nadiyya li-l-Ḥadā’iq al-wardiyya*, written in 916/1510,

<sup>22</sup> Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 246 # 675; vol. 3, p. 22 # 2899; Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 84 # 4; GALS, vol. 1, p. 556 # 1a. A partial edition of the two works is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, pp. 53-75. Both works in their entirety have been published as Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī, *al-Maṣābiḥ fī l-sira wa-l-tārikh*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥūthī, Amman 2002. On the author of the *Maṣābiḥ*, see also W. Madelung, “Ḥasanī, Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ebrāhīm,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 12, p. 41. On Ibn Bilāl, see Anṣārī, “Kitābī ḥadīthī”.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 140 # 361; Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 91-2. A partial edition is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, pp. 77-118; the complete text has been edited by Ibrāhīm b. Majd al-Dīn al-Mu’ayyadī (Ṣa’da 2001) and again by Muḥammad Kāẓim Raḥmatī (Tehran 2009). On the contents of the *Ifāda*, see also Anṣārī, “Kitābī ardheshmand”.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 420 # 1231; Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 127-28 # 1; GAL, vol. 1, p. 397 # 9; GALS, vol. 1, p. 560 # 9. A facsimile of a manuscript of the work (transcribed by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ṣa’dī, copy completed in Muḥarram 1357/March 1938) has been published in Ṣan’ā’ 1982 [repr. Damascus 1405/1985<sup>2</sup>]. A partial edition is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, pp. 171-349. An edition of the work by al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaḥwārī Ḥasanī was published in Ṣan’ā’ 2002. A critical edition of Part Two of the work, containing the biography of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, with translation into English, is included in Abdulla al-Shamahī, *Al-Imam al-Manṣūr ‘Abdullah b. Ḥamzah b. Sulayman (d. 614/1217). A biography by his disciple Al-Faqīh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254) in his work al-Ḥadā’iq al-Wārdiyyah fī Manāqib A’immah al-Zaydiyyah. A Critical Edition 1-2*, Dissertation Glasgow 2003.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 106 # 1804.

<sup>26</sup> An edition is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, pp. 135-61. See also our “Iranian Zaydism during the 7th/13th century”.

which is also known as *Ma'āthir al-abrār fi tafṣīl mujmalāt jawāhir al-akhbār*,<sup>27</sup> and by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafi (d. 1055/1645-6) in his *al-La'ālī al-muḍiyya fi akhbār 'immat al-zaydiyya*.<sup>28</sup> One of the most recent examples is *al-Tuḥaf Sharḥ al-Zulaf*, or *al-Tuḥaf al-fāṭimiyya 'alā l-zulaf al-imāmiyya*, by Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr al-Mu'ayyadī (d. 1428/2007).<sup>29</sup>

A third related genre are works containing biographies of *sādāt* and members of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) who had been killed. This genre constitutes an amalgamation of the two genres introduced before and the *maqṭal* literature.<sup>30</sup> Prime examples of this genre are *Akhhbār Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm wa-Abī l-Sarāyā* of Abū l-Faḍl Naṣr b. Muzāḥim (d. 212/827),<sup>31</sup> 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī's (fl. second half of 3rd/7th century) *Kitāb al-Akhhbār*,<sup>32</sup> Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī's (fl. end of 3th/9th century) *Akhhbār Fakhh wa-khābar Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh*,<sup>33</sup> Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār al-Thaqafī *al-Kātib*'s (d. ca. 314/926) *al-Mubayyada fi akhhbār maqātil āl Abī Ṭālib*,<sup>34</sup> and Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 356/967)

<sup>27</sup> Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 411 # 2675; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 196 # 4. The work has been published as Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Fand, *Ma'āthir al-abrār fi tafṣīl mujmalāt jawāhir al-akhhbār, wa-yusammā al-Lawāḥiq al-nadiyya bi-l-ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya: Sharḥ Bassāmat al-Sayyid Ṣarīm al-Dīn al-Wazīr* 1-3, eds. 'Abd al-Salām 'Abbās al-Wajih and Khālid Qāsim Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil, Amman 2002.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. GAL, vol. 1, p. 397 # 9; GALS, vol. 1, p. 560 # 9.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 255 ## 707, 708. The work has been published repeatedly.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Günther, "Maqātil literature"; Modarressi, *Tradition and survival*, pp. 101 (*Kitāb maqṭal Amīr al-Mu'minīn* of Jābir al-Ju'fī, d. 128/745-6), 102 (*Kitāb maqṭal al-Ḥusayn* by the same author), 144 (*Kitāb khurūj Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh wa-maqṭalibi* and *Kitāb khurūj Ṣāhib Fakhh wa-maqṭalibi* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ja'fari, fl. late 2nd/8th century), 230 (*Maqṭal Amīr al-mu'minīn* of Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm); Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen, passim*. For a list of *sādāt* who had been killed, see Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-ansāb wa-l-alcāb wa-l-a'qāb*, ed. Mahdī Raja'i, Qum 1428/2007, vol. 1, pp. 395-431. On Abū Mikhnaf's (b. ca. 70/689, d. 157/775) *Maqṭal al-Ḥusayn*, see Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Anṣārī, "Dū nuskha-yi".

<sup>32</sup> The work has been reconstructed on the basis of later sources as Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Nawfalī, *Kitāb al-akhhbār*, ed. and introd. Rasūl Ja'fariyān, Qum 1387/[2009 or 2010]. On al-Nawfalī, see also Günther, "al-Nawfalī's Lost History". Günther also discusses related *Akhhbār* works.

<sup>33</sup> For this work, see Jarrar, "Some Lights on an Early Zaydite Manuscript," pp. 279-97. M. Jarrar has published an edition of the work as *Akhhbār Fakhh wa-Khabar Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh, by Ahmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī (d. first quarter of the 4th/10th century)*. Beirut 1995. See also his "Arba' rasā'il Zaydiyya mubakkira," pp. 267-304. On the approximate dates of life of Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, see Modarressi, *Maktab*, p. 262 n.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tajaddud, p. 166; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādādī, *Tārikh Baghdād*, vol. 7, p. 4; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, vol. 1, pp. 364-67. On al-Thaqafī, see also Günther, "al-Nawfalī's Lost History," pp. 251 # 1, 252 n. 52 (specifically on his *al-Mubayyada*) and *passim*.

*Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*.<sup>35</sup> These works, together with al-Ḥasanī's *Maṣābiḥ* and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *al-Ifāda* constituted the main sources for the *Ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya* of al-Muḥallī.

## II.

The *sīra* of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim “*ṣāhib Dhībīn*”<sup>36</sup> (b. Dhū l-Qa‘da 612/February-March 1216, d. Ṣafar 656/February-March 1258) was composed by Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Ḥamzī (d. 677/1278-9),<sup>37</sup> who recorded the events of al-Mahdī's imamate up to the latter's death in 656/1258. Sharaf al-Dīn began writing the document in Rabī‘ I 646/June-July 1248, as he explains in the *khuṭba*, which coincides with Aḥmad's proclamation of his imamate in the fortress of Thulā in Ṣafar 646/May-June 1248. From the very beginning, Aḥmad's reign was contested as a result of the conflict that had split the Zaydī community of Yemen following the death of the Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza in 614/1217. While his proclamation was initially supported by the Banū Ḥamza, the descendants of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, and the Banū l-Hādī, the Rasūlids in the south of Yemen oscillated between toleration and opposition. From the point of view of genealogy, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn was not connected either to the Banū Ḥamza, nor to the founder of the Zaydī imamate in Yemen, al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq, nor to Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī al-‘Iyānī (d. 393/1003),<sup>38</sup> but

<sup>35</sup> On this work, see Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen*; idem, “... nor have I learned it from any book of theirs”; idem, “Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Three, 2007-3, pp. 51-55; idem, “al-Nawfalī's Lost *History*”.

<sup>36</sup> For Dhībīn, a settlement 20 km away from Raydat al-bawn, see al-Akwa‘, *Hijār al-‘ilm*, vol. 2, p. 740; al-Ḥajarī, *Mu‘jam buldān al-Yaman*, vol. 1, pp. 351-53.

<sup>37</sup> This is the form of his name as given in the consulted manuscripts. On him, see GAL, vol. 1, p. 388 # 6; GALS, vol. 1, p. 551 # 6 (Brockelmann erroneously gives his name as Yaḥyā b. Abī l-Qāsim); Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 129; al-Wajih, *A‘lām*, pp. 1143-44 # 1206; Ibn Abi l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 4, p. 505 # 1354; cf. also at the end of MS Ambrosiana C 178/1 containing the text of the *sīra*, f. 126b for a lengthy note concerning his biography. According to Miswarī (*Majmū‘ al-ijzāt*, MS held in an unknown library of Yemen, pp. 419-20. A copy of the MS is preserved in the private library of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāyim (see below, n. 48)), Yaḥyā was also the author of *al-Radd ‘alā l-Bāṭiniyya* (alternatively known under the title *Kashf al-asrār wa-hatka al-astār min mahjūb al-Bāṭiniyya al-kuffār*; cf. Ibn Fand, *Mā‘āthir al-abrār*, vol. 2, p. 608), of *al-Risāla al-hādima li-asās al-dā‘wa al-zālīma* (a refutation of the opponents of the Imām al-Mahdī, specifically of al-Ḥasan b. Wāḥḥās al-Ḥamzī; for a manuscript of the text in the Maktabat Āl al-Wazīr, cf. al-Ḥibshī, *Fibris*, p. 65; for the work, see also al-Akwa‘, *Hijār al-‘ilm*, vol. 3, p. 1303) and of a *Sharḥ qaṣīdat al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh*.

<sup>38</sup> On him, see above n. 11.

only to the Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860),<sup>39</sup> and he initially set out to heal the long-standing rift within the dynasty. The conflict between Abū Ṭayr and the Banū Ḥamza began in 647/1249. Things got worse when in 651/1253 the Banū Ḥamza openly opposed him with support of the Rasūlids. While the Banū Ḥamza were supported in their opposition by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's former teacher and initial supporter Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāš *al-Ḥafīd* (d. 656/1258),<sup>40</sup> Abū Ṭayr enjoyed in turn the support of two prominent Zaydī scholars, Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Muḥallī (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254) and 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī (b. 593/1196-97, d. 667/1269). Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn was eventually killed in 656/1258 during fights with his opponents. It has been this fierce opposition against the Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh from virtually all factions within the Zaydī camp at one stage or another of his reign which is the background of the *sīra* by Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā—this document clearly had the purpose to support his claim to the imamate and to refute his opponents' arguments. This is evident from the description of its contents given by its author in the course of one of the earlier chapters of the work. There he states that he will describe the imam's virtues in general and will then specifically discuss his noble descent, his birth and early

<sup>39</sup> His genealogy is usually given as follows: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Barakāt Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim [al-Raṣṣī] b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan al-sibt Ibn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.—On Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, see al-Khazrajī, *al-'Iqd al-fākhīr*, vol. 1, pp. 270-79 # 74; idem, *al-'Uqūd al-lu'lu'liyya*, vol. 1, pp. 76ff; Ibn al-Daybā', *Qurraṭ al-'uyūn*, vol. 2, pp. 13-34; al-Shāmī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman al-fikrī*, vol. 3, pp. 182-229; Zabāra, *A'immat al-Yaman*, vol. 1, pp. 152-76; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 429-45; Ibn Fand, *Ma'āthīr al-abrār*, vol. 2, pp. 867-86; al-Ḥibshī, *Mu'allafāt* pp. 50-51 # 13; al-Akwa', *Hijār al-'ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 741-44; GAL, vol. 1, p. 510 # 12; GALS, vol. 1, p. 702 # 12; R. Strothmann [G.R. Smith, J.R. Blackburn], "al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, vol. 5, p. 1240. See also the detailed account of his life given in the editor's introduction to *Majmū' rasā'il al-Imām al-shahīd al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Aḥmad Jadbān, pp. 3-85. For 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī and the political and theological conflict between him and al-Raṣṣāš, see our forthcoming monograph *Zaydī Mu'tazilism in 7th/13th century Yemen*. For al-Muḥallī, see Schwarb, *Handbook*, # 373 (with further references).—Among the writings of Abū Ṭayr, special mention should be made of his *Ḥalīfat al-Qur'ān fī nukat min aḥkām ahl al-zamān*, *al-Risāla al-zājira li-ṣāliḥi al-umma 'an isā'a al-zann bi-l-'imma*, and *Risālat jawāb 'alā l-Shaykh 'Atīyya al-Najrānī* (→ 12), in which he justifies his claim to the imamate against his opponents. Editions of these tracts are included in his *Majmū' rasā'il al-Imām al-shahīd al-Mahdī*, pp. 91-121, 125-40, 151-76. A manuscript codex entitled *Majmū' rasā'il wa-fatāwā al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn* (dated Jumādā II 688/June-July 1289), including his *al-Mufīd al-jāmi' li-manzūmāt gharā'ib al-sharā'ī*, is preserved in the British Library (Or. 3811 = formerly Glaser # 98); see al-'Amrī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 169-71; Rieu, *Supplement*, pp. 221-22 # 346.

<sup>40</sup> *Al-Ḥafīd* had initially sent a letter to the Zaydīs of Gilān and Daylamān supporting the imamate of al-Mahdī. The text is included in Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 421-30.

youth, his formation, followed by descriptions of his piety, his worship of God and his ascetism, his noble-mindedness and his courage, his physical beauty, the quality of his judgment and his intelligence, his virtues in knowledge, in steadfastness and eloquence. This will be followed by descriptions of his goodness towards the people of his time, of his grace and his kindness and the blessings he bestowed. Thereupon, the author of the *sīra* continues, the events during his reign and his affairs will be discussed year after year.<sup>41</sup>

### III.

The primary significance of the section of the *sīra* that is devoted to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's formation, which is edited below, is that it provides a detailed picture of the intellectual scene in Yemen during the 7th/13th century and informs us about the characteristics of the formation of scholars during this period. Moreover, the document informs us about the works that were part of the massive transfer of knowledge from Iran to Yemen that began with the unification of the Caspian Zaydiyya and the Zaydis in Yemen during the imamate of Abū Ṭālib *al-akhīr* (d. 520/1126) and gradually increased throughout the 6th/12th century until the death of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh in 614/1217.

As is typical in Muslim education, Aḥmad began at the age of five or shortly afterwards with the study of the Qurʾān (§ 2) which he mastered at the age of seven (§ 1). This coincided with the death of his father, after which he came under the tutelage of his paternal uncle, Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim (→ 31),<sup>42</sup> who henceforth took care of his education (§ 1). Aḥmad stayed with his uncle during the following years, continuing his study of the Qurʾān, as well as some poetry, until he reached the age of twelve or shortly afterwards.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. MS Ambrosiana, C 178/1, f. 3b (additions from other manuscripts are given in square brackets):

فصل ونحن نذكر جملاً من مناقبه وخصائصه التي تفرّد بها وبرز على غيره في مضمارها فنبداً بنسبه الشريف ثم مولده عليه السلام ثم صفته ثم نشأته ثم خصائصه في العبادة والورع والزهد ثم خصائصه في الكرم والسخاء ثم خصائصه في حسن الخلق ثم في جودة رأيه وتوقد المعية ثم نذكر مناقبه في العلم ثم مناقبه في ثبات القلب ثم نذكر مناقبه في البلاغة ثم نذكر حسن معاشرته لأهل زمانه حتى غلب على قلوبهم حبه [ثم نذكر جملاً من فضائله وبركاته] ثم نذكر السبب الداعي له إلى القيام ثم نذكر دعوته العامة وبعيته ثم تتكلم في سيرته على وجه الإجمال نبداً بأول سنة نذكر حوادثها فإذا انقضت ذكرنا السنة التي بعدها وحوادثها سنة سنة حتى نأتي على مدة دولته إلى أن مضى شهيداً فائزاً يحصل السبق مؤدياً لما أمره الله به في أمر الأمة لا نستتي في ذلك إلا مشيئة الله ولطفه وامتنانه.

<sup>42</sup> The numbers given in brackets refer to the Appendix below.

His uncle then enrolled him in Madrasat Mislit (→ 116) in the region of the Banū Qays where a number of prominent scholars of the time resided: Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (→ 17), ‘Imrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Shaṭawī al-‘Udhri (→ 18), the latter’s brother As‘ad b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir (→ 11), al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Shākiri (→ 26), Aḥmad b. ‘Uzayw b. ‘Awād al-Ḥimyarī (→ 8), Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ya‘ish al-Ṣan‘ānī (→ 22), al-Ḥasan b. al-Baqā’ al-Tihāmī al-Qaysī (→ 15), Zayd b. Ja‘far al-Bāqiri (→ 32), al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-‘Ansī (→ 14), and Sa‘īd b. Ḥanzala (→ 29). Among these, Aḥmad was particularly close to Aḥmad b. ‘Uzayw with whom he studied some basic works of *fiqh* (§ 3). The next step of his formation took place at the same location with al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Shākiri (→ 26) as his main teacher (§ 4). Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn is reported to have focussed on *tawḥīd* and to have studied various works of theology, all written by Yemeni scholars, viz. *al-Khulāṣa al-nāfi‘a* of Aḥmad al-Raṣṣās (→ 64), *al-Mu‘aththirāt* of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās (→ 71) and the *Kitāb al-Īdāh* of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, a commentary on Aḥmad al-Raṣṣās’ *Miṣbāḥ al-‘ulūm* (→ 50). Among these, *al-Khulāṣa al-nāfi‘a* and *al-Īdāh* are *summa*-type works of theology, both certainly above the level of real beginner’s works, whereas al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās’ *Mu‘aththirāt* is a more specialized treatise on causality. Next (§ 5), Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn is reported to have studied with his teacher al-Shākiri (→ 26) al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās’ brief theological *summa al-Taḥṣīl* (→ 102). To make Aḥmad understand al-Raṣṣās’ text better, al-Shākiri explained its contents to him by using the commentary by al-Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī, *al-Iklīl sharḥ ma‘ānī al-Taḥṣīl* (→ 53), al-Raṣṣās’ *al-Tibyān*, which was based on Ibn Sharwīn’s *Yāqūtāt al-īmān wa-wasītat al-burhān* (→ 110), and two comprehensive *summae* by earlier representatives of the Bahshami branch of the Mu‘tazila, namely ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s *al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* and one of the works of the latter’s student and successor as head of the Bahshamiyya, Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī, *al-Khilāfiyya*, the first referring most likely to Ibn Mattawayh’s recension of ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s *Muḥīṭ*, entitled *al-Majmū‘ fi l-muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* (→ 74), and the second title referring most likely to Abū Rashīd’s *Masā’il al-khilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mushabbihā wa-l-mujbira wa-l-khawārij wa-l-murjī‘a* (→ 69) (§ 5). As was mentioned before, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn’s exclusive teacher at this stage was al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Shākiri (→ 26) (§ 5).

Aḥmad subsequently moved to Ḥūth (→ 115) where he enrolled in the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya*, one of the most important *madrasas* at the time where some of the prominent scholars of his time taught: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās *al-Ḥafīd* (→ 5), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Akwa‘ (“al-Shu‘la al-Akwa‘”) (→ 4), Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḍamīmī (→ 2), Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣan‘ānī (→ 23) and al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. Abī

Yaḥyā (→ 13) being the most important ones (§ 6). The focus of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's training continued to be theology. In contrast to his earlier studies of theology, most of the works he studied at this stage were from the pen of 'Abd al-Jabbār and the following generations of Mu'tazilites from Rayy and elsewhere in Iran. With Aḥmad al-Raṣṣās, he studied the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* and the *Muḥiṭ* of 'Abd al-Jabbār, presumably in the recensions of Mānakdim (*Tā'liq Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*) (→ 92) and Ibn Mattawayh (*al-Majmū' fi l-muḥiṭ bi-l-taklīf*) (→ 74), and on natural philosophy the *Tadhkira fi aḥkām al-jawābir wa-l-a'nād* of Ibn Mattawayh (→ 98) and al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās' *al-Kayfiyya fi l-ṣifāt wa-l-aḥkām* (→ 61). He then studied Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Mu'tamad fi uṣūl al-dīn* (→ 80) and his shorter *K. al-Fā'iq fi uṣūl al-dīn* (→ 45), both reflecting the doctrinal views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, followed by Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī's "*al-Khilāfiyya*" (→ 69), and *al-Khilāfiyya bayna l-Baghdādhīyīn wa-l-Baṣriyyīn* (→ 70), and by two works by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Shāh] Sarījān [Sarbījān], viz. his commentary on al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *al-Dī'ama, al-Muḥiṭ* (→ 75), and a "*Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*", possibly a supercommentary on Ibn Khallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* (→ 91). At this stage Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn also studied the *Iḥāta* of al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl al-Shajarī al-Jurjānī (d. after 420/1029) (→ 52) as well as a "*Kitāb al-Sayyid Abī Ṭālib fi l-laṭīf*" (→ 66). It is unclear which work by the Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib is intended. Among the *kalām* works by Yemeni authors that he studied at this stage of his formation were an anonymous commentary on al-Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī's *al-Iklīl* (→ 53) and al-Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī's *al-Kawākib al-durriyya* (→ 60) (§ 6). While still continuing his formation in theology, he proceeded to study with al-Shu'la al-Akwa' (→ 4) *ḥadīth* and *siyar*, among other works the *K. Uṣūl al-aḥkām fi l-halāl wa-l-ḥarām* by the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (→ 112), the *Amālī* of the Imām Aḥmad b. 'Īsā (d. 247/861) (→ 36) and the *sīra* of the Prophet Muḥammad by Ibn Hishām (→ 94). The latter work, it is stated, he had already studied before with 'Imrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir (→ 18). Most other works included in this section are composed by Caspian Zaydīs, viz. *Tartīb al-amālī al-khamīsiyya*, a recension of the *Amālī* of al-Murshad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl al-Shajarī (→ 40, 108), his *al-Amālī al-ithnayniyya* (or: *al-Anwār*) (→ 39), the *K. al-Itibār wa-salwat al-'arīfīn* by al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh (→ 54), the *Taysīr al-maṭālib min* (or: *fi*) *Amālī Abī Ṭālib* in the recension of Shams al-Dīn Qaḍī Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 573/1177-78) (→ 109), the *Amālī* of Abū Sa'd Ismā'īl al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 445/1053-4) (→ 37), as well as the *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ* of al-Hamdūnī (→ 87). Included in this section are also some Imāmī *ḥadīth* works that were popular among the Zaydīs, such as *Nahj al-balāgha* of

al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) (→ 84), a commentary on the latter work by al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, *A'lām nahj al-balāgha* (→ 35) and *al-'Umda* of Ibn Bīrīq (→ 111). The oddity within this section is "*al-Muṣṭasfā li-l-Shāfi'iyya*", which would seem to refer to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *al-Muṣṭasfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl*, which, as the title indicates, was a work on legal methodology (→ 78). It is possible that the reading of the different manuscripts should be emended rather into *al-Shifā' fi aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā* of Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149) (→ 93) (§ 7). For his study of legal methodology (§§ 8-9), the following titles are mentioned in particular: among the works by Yemeni scholars he studied *al-Ḥāṣir fi uṣūl al-fiqh* by his teacher Aḥmad b. al-'Uzayw al-Ḥimyarī (→ 48) which was based on Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *al-Mu'tamad fi uṣūl al-fiqh*, *Ṣafwat al-ikhtiyār* by the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (→ 88) and *al-Fā'iq* by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (→ 46). This was followed by three additional comprehensive works on *uṣūl al-fiqh* by earlier scholars: the *K. al-Mu'tamad* of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (→ 81), the *K. al-Tajrīd* of Ibn al-Malāḥimī (→ 103) and the *K. al-Mujzī* of the Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (→ 76) (§ 8). The author of the *sīra* adds that Aḥmad also studied "*al-Mu'tamad*" of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* on legal methodology. 'Abd al-Jabbār is not known to have written a work with this title. It may be a mistake for *Kitāb al-'Umad* or *Sharḥ al-'Umad* although there is no other source known so far confirming that the latter work(s) had reached Yemen (→ 79) (§ 9). It is only when he had reached the age of twenty-four that Aḥmad turned to *fiqh*,<sup>43</sup> his main teachers now being Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sa'ādāt (→ 20) and 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-amīr (→ 9). The titles mentioned in this section indicate that he studied all three major categories of Zaydī law: (i) *fiqh al-Hādī*, represented by *al-Aḥkām* by al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq (→ 34), *al-Tahrīr* of Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī (→ 101) together the commentary by Qāḍī Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Kalārī (→ 55), *al-Wāfi* by 'Alī b. Bilāl al-Āmulī (→ 113), *Shams al-sharī'a* of Sulaymān b. Nāṣir (→ 89), an unidentified work by 'Alī b. Sulaymān (→ 67), and the works of Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (→ 9), as well as the writings of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm and his descendants that were the basis for *al-madhbhab al-hādawī*; (ii) *fiqh Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh*, represented by *al-Ibāna* by Abū Ja'far al-Hawsamī together with his autocommentary (→ 49), as well as his *al-Kāfi* (→ 58), and (iii) the legal doctrines of Abū Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh, known as *fiqh al-Mu'ayyidī*, represented by the *Tā'liq* by al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh (→ 105), the *Tā'liq* of Abū Muḍar (→ 41), and *Majmū'* 'Alī Khalīl

<sup>43</sup> This disagrees with the established curriculum of the *madrasa* in contemporary Baghdad where *fiqh* was studied before other disciplines such as theology and legal methodology; cf. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges*.

(→ 68). In addition, he studied the *fatāwā* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, such as his *al-Muhadhdhab* (→ 72) and his *rasā'il* (→ 86) (§ 10). During the last stage of his formation between the years 637 through 646, i.e. when he was between twenty-five and thirty-four years old, Aḥmad continued his legal studies, including Shāfi'ite law, and otherwise focussed on the various Qur'ānic sciences. In addition to the exegetical works of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī (→ 100) and *Tafsīr al-Bulgha* of al-Ṭūsī (→ 42) he studied the works of 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (→ 83) and the little known al-Turaythīthī (→ 82) on the *mutashābihāt*. He also studied a number of unidentified Zaydī *tafsīr* works (*tafsīr ahl al-bayt 'alayhim al-salām*). His main teachers in this discipline was Aḥmad b. Ḥanash (→ 3) (§ 11). The last year of this stage of his formation, 646/1248, coincides with Aḥmad's proclaiming himself imām. The section continues with additional paragraphs detailing his formation in the fields of *naḥw* and *luḡha* (§ 12), as well as additions to his study of *ḥadīth* and Qur'ānic sciences (§ 13) and *fiqh* (§§ 14-15). It is likely that the author of the *sīra* added these disciplines and works that Aḥmad had in fact studied at earlier stages of his formation. The chapter ends with an extended section listing the *sīra* works relating to the earlier imāms (§§ 16, 17). The purpose of this last section seems to be primarily apologetic as it is unlikely that this genre was part of formal education. This is also the case with the closing sentence where again his qualifications for the imamate are stressed.

#### IV.

The following critical edition of the chapter of the *sīra* of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, composed by Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim b. Ḥamza al-Ḥamzī, that is devoted to the imām's formation is based on the following manuscripts of the *sīra*:

- (1) MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin ms. or. fol. 1303 [acc. 11272].<sup>44</sup> Copied partly by 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ in 1097/1686 and by 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Wajīh in ca. 1151/1738.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, vol. 9, pp. 249-50 # 9741. See also GAL, vol. 1, p. 388 # 6; GALS, vol. 1, p. 551 # 6; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 129 # 16; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 481. The manuscript is part of the "first" Glaser collection (comprising 23 manuscripts) that Eduard Glaser had collected during his first trip to Yemen (1882-84) and subsequently sold to the Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin (nowadays Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). Cf. Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, p. 44 # 248. On the history of the Glaser collection, see our "Mu'tazilism after 'Abd al-Jabbār," *passim*.

The text of the *sīra* is incompletely preserved and the leaves are in disorder. The correct sequence of the text is as follows: 1-12 [6ff], 241-246 [3ff], 31-100 [46ff], [lacuna], 101-238 [67ff], [lacuna], 247-248 [1f], 13-30 [9ff], 249-292 [22ff], 239-240 [1f]; 293-298 [3ff]. The relevant section is to be found on pp. 7:24-11:4 of the manuscript.

- (ب) MS Ambrosiana C 178/1, ff. 2b-126, copied by ‘Abd al-Rabb b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Aḥmad.<sup>45</sup> The relevant section is to be found on ff. 4b-6a.
- (ج) MS held in an unknown private library in Yemen [a copy of the manuscript is held in the Dār al-makhṭūṭāt, Ṣan‘ā’. No shelfmark is given on the biographical sheet added to the manuscript on the microfilm, and the manuscript is not included in any of the published catalogues of the library], 185 ff., copy completed on 29 Sha‘bān 1098/10 July 1687. The relevant section is to be found on ff. 4b:30-6b:10.
- (د) MS held in an unknown private library in Yemen [a digital copy was provided to us by the Imam Zayd b. ‘Alī Cultural Foundation], copy completed on Friday, 14 Sha‘bān 1310/3 March 1893. The relevant section is to be found on ff. 4b:29-7b:11.

The following manuscripts of the *sīra* were not available to us:

- MS al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr (“al-Gharbiyya”), *tārikh* 116 [or 2571], undated manuscript (169 ff).<sup>46</sup>
- MS al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr, 210 ff; copied in 1066/1655-56. The manuscript, which is not included in any of the published catalogues of the Jāmi‘ al-kabīr of Ṣan‘ā’, has been microfilmed by the Egyptian scientific mission [microfilm # 2163, Dār al-kutub in Cairo].<sup>47</sup>

An extract of the *sīra* containing the section on the Imām’s curriculum of studies is included in Aḥmad b. Sa‘d al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Miswarī’s (b. 1007/1598, d. 1079/1668) (→ 7) *Majmū‘ al-ijzāt* (also known as *Ijzāt al-Miswarī*) that was available to us in the following manuscripts copies:

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Löfgren/Traini, *Catalogue*, p. 214 # 434. See also GAL, vol. 1, p. 388 # 6; GALS, vol. 1, p. 551 # 6; Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 129 # 16; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 481.

<sup>46</sup> The manuscript is described in the two catalogues of the library, each of them indicating a different shelfmark: ‘Isawī/al-Maliḥ, *Fibris*, p. 675 (*tārikh* 116); ‘Isawī [et al.], *Fibris*, vol. 2, p. 1495 (# 2571). See also al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 481 where a manuscript in the “Jāmi‘ Ṣan‘ā’ Gharbiyya” is mentioned without indication of shelfmark or any other information.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Qā’ima bi-l-makhṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya*, p. 23 # 216. Cf. also Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 129 # 16.

- (هـ) MS held in an unknown library of Yemen. A copy of the MS is preserved in the private library of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāyim.<sup>48</sup> The relevant section is to be found on pp. 421-33.
- (و) MS held in an unknown private library in Yemen [a digital copy was provided to us by the Imam Zayd b. 'Alī Cultural Foundation]. The relevant section is to be found on pp. 356-62.

### فصل في نشأته عليه السلام<sup>49</sup>

1 نشأ في حجر أبيه سنين<sup>50</sup> قرية<sup>51</sup>، «د 5» واختار الله لوالده رضي الله عنه ما هو أصلح من الانتقال إلى دار رحمته<sup>52</sup> وهو ابن سبع سنين بعد أن<sup>53</sup> كان قد أكمل كتاب الله تعالى. ثم كلفه<sup>54</sup> عمه السيد<sup>55</sup> الشريف<sup>56</sup> الزاهد الطاهر سليمان بن أحمد بن القاسم (← 31) وكان رحمه الله<sup>57</sup> «ج 4ب» أحد الزهاد في زمانه رفض<sup>58</sup> كثيراً من ملاذ الدنيا من مناكحها وملابسها ولازم الزهد والعزلة عن<sup>59</sup> الناس. فعني في تعليمه وتهذيبه وتأديبه وكان عليه السلام ممن شهدت له الفراسة رضيعاً أن لا يكون رضيعاً، وحُكمت له الشمائل غلاماً أن يكون قرماً<sup>60</sup> هماماً، تحيل فيه مخائل الإمامة، وتلوح<sup>61</sup> على غرته أنوار الزعامة.

2 وكان ابتداءه بالقرآن الكريم<sup>62</sup> وهو ابن خمس سنين أو يزيد<sup>63</sup> قليلاً، ولقد روى لنا عن نفسه عليه السلام<sup>64</sup> من عجيب الفطنة، وروى غيره من الثقات ممن كانوا يشاهدونه من توقُّد فطنته وألمعيته ما لم تجر العادة بمثله فيمن هو في سنه<sup>65</sup>.

3 ولم يزل في دراسة القرآن العظيم<sup>66</sup> وتلاوته<sup>67</sup>، والتعلم<sup>68</sup> في غيره لما<sup>69</sup> يصلح لمن هو في سنه من الشعر، وما يجري مجراه من الأراجيز والحكم<sup>70</sup> حتى بلغ اثنتي عشرة سنة أو يزيد<sup>71</sup> قليلاً، ونقله عمه الطاهر من الهجرة «أ 8» المباركة إلى مدرسة مسلت<sup>72</sup> (← 116) ببلد بني<sup>73</sup> قيس من ظاهر همدان، وكانت المدرسة في ذلك الأوان نظام عقد العلم، وقبلة

<sup>48</sup> Cf. al-Wajih, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, pp. 127-28 # 178.

<sup>49</sup> عليه السلام: -، أ. <sup>50</sup> سنين: سنيئاً، ب. <sup>51</sup> فصل في ... قرية: -، هـ. <sup>52</sup> رضي الله ... رحمته: عليه السلام ما عنده، هـ. <sup>53</sup> أن: + قد، د. <sup>54</sup> بعد أن كان ... كلفه: فكلفه، هـ. <sup>55</sup> السيد: -، هـ. <sup>56</sup> السيد الشريف: الشريف السيد، ب. <sup>57</sup> وكان رحمه الله: -، و؛ وكان رحمة الله عليه، ب. <sup>58</sup> رفض: ورفض، هـ. <sup>59</sup> عن: من، هـ. <sup>60</sup> قرماً: قرنا، هـ. <sup>61</sup> وتلوح: ويلوح، و. <sup>62</sup> الكريم: -، هـ. <sup>63</sup> يزيد: تزيد، و. <sup>64</sup> عليه السلام: سلام الله عليه، ب هـ. <sup>65</sup> سنه: مثله، و. <sup>66</sup> العظيم: الكريم، ب. <sup>67</sup> العظيم وتلاوته: الكريم، هـ. <sup>68</sup> والتعلم: والتعليم، أ ب ج د. <sup>69</sup> لما: لمن، أ. <sup>70</sup> والحكم: -، هـ. <sup>71</sup> يزيد: تزيد، و. <sup>72</sup> مسلت: مسلب، هـ. <sup>73</sup> بني: -، ج.

أهل الإسلام والفضل<sup>74</sup>، كان سكانها<sup>75</sup> في ذلك العصر<sup>76</sup> الفقيه الإمام الألمي ترجمان المتكلمين وعمدة<sup>77</sup> المجتهدين والمتهجدين<sup>78</sup> حميد بن أحمد المحلي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الواحد بن عبد الرزاق<sup>79</sup> بن إبراهيم بن أبي القاسم بن علي المحلي الصنعاني<sup>80</sup> (← 17) رحمه الله تعالى<sup>81</sup>، وكان يسكن حيناً في الشاهل غربي بلد<sup>82</sup> بني شاور السّود (← 117)، والفقيه العالم الفاضل<sup>83</sup> الحافظ<sup>84</sup> المحمّد الكامل<sup>85</sup> ترجمان القرآن جمال الدين<sup>86</sup> عمران بن الحسن بن ناصر<sup>87</sup> (← 18)، وأخوه الفقيه العالم شرف الدين أسعد بن الحسن بن ناصر (← 11)، والفقيه العلامة اللسان المنطبق<sup>88</sup> نظام الدين القاسم بن أحمد الشاكري (← 26)، والفقيه الزاهد الورع قدوة الزهاد فخر الدين أحمد بن عزيو<sup>89</sup> بن عواض الحميري<sup>90</sup> (← 8)، والفقيه العالم الأديب إمام الأدب<sup>91</sup> سابق الدين<sup>92</sup> محمد بن علي بن أحمد<sup>93</sup> بن يعيش الصنعاني<sup>94</sup> (← 22)، والفقيه العلامة شرف الدين الحسن بن البقاء التهامي القيسي (← 15)، والفقيه العالم اللسان زيد بن جعفر الباقري (← 32)، والقاضي العالم الحسن بن أحمد العنسي<sup>95</sup> (← 14)، والفقيه الطاهر العالم<sup>96</sup> سعيد بن حنظلة (← 29)، وغير هؤلاء من عيون أهل الدين المتمسكين بالعلم. فاختص<sup>97</sup> به ليلاً ونهاراً الفقيه<sup>98</sup> الزاهد المطهر<sup>99</sup> فخر الدين «دب» أحمد بن عزيو<sup>100</sup> (← 8) فكان سميره وقرينه والمتولي لتهديبه وتأديبه وتعليمه طرائق<sup>101</sup> الأدب والطهارة حتى لقد<sup>102</sup> كان<sup>103</sup> الناظر يعجب من أدبه وطهارته مع صغر سنه.

4 ثرأبتأ بعد ذلك<sup>104</sup> من الفنون بعد معرفته لأبواب<sup>105</sup> في<sup>106</sup> الطهارات، ونكت في<sup>107</sup> العبادات، وجمل من أصول الشرعيات بالتوحيد<sup>108</sup>، فكانت قراءته أولاً على الفقيه

<sup>74</sup> والفضل: -، ه. و. <sup>75</sup> سكانها: سكنها، أ. <sup>76</sup> العصر: -، و. <sup>77</sup> وعمدة: عمدة، أ. ج. د. <sup>78</sup> والمتهجدين: + حسام الدين أبا عبد الله، ه. و؛ حسام الدين أبا عبد الله، ب. <sup>79</sup> الرزاق: الرزاق، أ. <sup>80</sup> بن محمد بن أحمد... الصنعاني: -، ب. ه. و. <sup>81</sup> رحمه الله تعالى: رحمة الله عليه، ج. د. ه. و. <sup>82</sup> بلد: -، ه. و. <sup>83</sup> الفاضل: -، ب. <sup>84</sup> العالم الفاضل الحافظ: الحافظ العالم، ه. و. <sup>85</sup> الكامل: -، ه. و. <sup>86</sup> جمال الدين: -، ه. و. <sup>87</sup> ناصر: + العندي، ب. <sup>88</sup> المنطبق: المنطق، أ. و. <sup>89</sup> عزيو: غزيو، أ؛ غريق، ج؛ غريف، د؛ غزيو، ه؛ غريق، و. <sup>90</sup> الحميري: الشاكري، ج. <sup>91</sup> إمام الأدب: -، ج؛ إمام الدين، ب. <sup>92</sup> سابق الدين: -، ب. <sup>93</sup> بن أحمد: -، ب. ه. و. <sup>94</sup> الصنعاني: -، ب. و. <sup>95</sup> والفقيه العالم اللسان... العنسي: -، ج. <sup>96</sup> الطاهر العالم: العالم الطاهر، ه. و. <sup>97</sup> فاختص: واختص، ب. <sup>98</sup> الفقيه: + الطاهر، ب. <sup>99</sup> المطهر: + بن، أ. <sup>100</sup> عزيو: غويو، أ؛ غريق، ج؛ غريف، د؛ غزيو، ه. <sup>101</sup> طرائق: طرائف، ج. <sup>102</sup> لقد: -، ه. و. <sup>103</sup> كان: -، أ. <sup>104</sup> بعد ذلك: هنالك، ب. ه. و. <sup>105</sup> لأبواب: + الكتب، ب. <sup>106</sup> في: -، ه. و. <sup>107</sup> في: -، ه. و. <sup>108</sup> بالتوحيد: بالتوحيد، ه.

العلامة اللوذعي قاسم بن أحمد الشاكري (← 26)، إذ كان في ذلك الفن خليجاً يطمو<sup>109</sup> مدوده<sup>110</sup>، فقرأ عليه مختصراً مفيداً. ثم قرأ كتاب<sup>111</sup> الخلاصة النافعة (← 64) بشرح<sup>112</sup> واسع، ثم قرأ المؤثرات للشيخ الإمام حسام الدين الحسن بن محمد الرصاص (← 71)، «ب5» كل ذلك يضبطه غيباً، ثم قرأ شرح الإيضاح الذي وضعه الإمام الفقيه<sup>113</sup> حسام الدين حميد بن أحمد (← 50). كل هذه الكتب يضبطها غيباً ويعقل<sup>114</sup> معانيها، وتعجب<sup>115</sup> العلماء<sup>116</sup> من حسن لهجته<sup>117</sup> وبراعته.

5 ثم قرأ مذاكرةً عقوداً<sup>118</sup> على كتاب التحصيل للشيخ الإمام<sup>119</sup> الحسن بن محمد الرصاص (← 102)، وكانت هذه المذاكرة من العجائب، أخذت معانيها من كتاب المحيط «ج5» بالتكليف<sup>120</sup> لقاضي القضاة عبد الجبار بن أحمد (← 74)، ثم من كتاب الإكليل في<sup>121</sup> شرح معاني التحصيل للفقيه العلامة الحسين<sup>122</sup> بن مسلم التهامي (← 53)، ثم من<sup>123</sup> كتاب التبيان<sup>124</sup> شرح<sup>125</sup> ياقوتة الإيمان للحسن<sup>126</sup> الرصاص (← 110)، ثم من<sup>127</sup> خلافة أبي رشيد (← 69) وغيره<sup>128</sup> من<sup>129</sup> الكتب المعينة، كان الفقيه<sup>130</sup> القاسم بن أحمد الشاكري<sup>131</sup> (← 26) يترجم هذه المذاكرة ويضبط معانيها<sup>132</sup> من الكتب المذكورة وغيرها، ثم يلقي<sup>133</sup> عليه الصفحتين<sup>134</sup> والثلاث<sup>135</sup> وربما أكثر من ذلك، فأكثر ما يقرأ<sup>136</sup> عليه شرفين أو ثلاثة، ثم يضبطها غيباً ويحفظها، ولعل هذه المذاكرة تمت في قريب من مئتي<sup>137</sup> عشر<sup>138</sup>، ولعل نساختها<sup>139</sup> في ثلاثين سلطانية أو نحو ذلك<sup>140</sup>. وكان عليه السلام في خلال<sup>141</sup> قراءته يقرأ عليه عدة من الدراسة وهو في وقت القيلولة<sup>142</sup> وفراغ الخاطر لا

<sup>109</sup> يطمو: تطمو، <sup>110</sup> أب ج هـ مدوده: الدودة، أدب قدوده، ج. <sup>111</sup> قرأ كتاب: -،  
ب. <sup>112</sup> بشرح: شرح، أ ب. <sup>113</sup> الإمام الفقيه: الفقيه الإمام، ج د هـ و؛ الإمام،  
ب. <sup>114</sup> ويعقل: وينقل، و. <sup>115</sup> وتعجب: ويعجب، أ. <sup>116</sup> العلماء: الناس والعلماء،  
د. <sup>117</sup> لهجته: بهجته، أ ج و. <sup>118</sup> عقوداً: + موسومة بكتاب الحاضر، ب. <sup>119</sup> الإمام: +  
محمد، هـ. <sup>120</sup> بالتكليف: -، ب. <sup>121</sup> في: -، أ ج. <sup>122</sup> الحسين: الحسن، أ ب ج  
د. <sup>123</sup> من: في، ب. <sup>124</sup> التبيان: البيان، أ. <sup>125</sup> شرح: بشرح، ج. <sup>126</sup> للحسن: + بن  
محمد، ب. <sup>127</sup> من: -، ب. <sup>128</sup> وغيره: وغير، و. <sup>129</sup> من: هذه، أ ج و هـ. <sup>130</sup> كان  
الفقيه: -، ب. <sup>131</sup> الشاكري: -، ب هـ و. <sup>132</sup> ويضبط معانيها: ويضبطها (حاشية) أي  
معانيها، ب. <sup>133</sup> يلقي: تلقي، و. <sup>134</sup> الصفحتين: النفتين، ب. <sup>135</sup> والثلاث: مكرر في هـ  
و. <sup>136</sup> يقرأ: وفق، ب. <sup>137</sup> مئتي: ثمانين، ب. <sup>138</sup> عشر: معشر، ج؛ + لعل نسا،  
د. <sup>139</sup> نساختها: -، هـ. <sup>140</sup> ولعله هذه... أو نحو ذلك: حاشية في هامش هـ؛ -،  
و. <sup>141</sup> خلال: حال، أ ج. <sup>142</sup> القيلولة: المقبولة، ج.

يشغل بغير النظر في الكتب والمراجعة حتى أتمّ المذاكرة، وهو معدود من العلماء في ذلك الفنّ.

6 ثمّ انتقل إلى المدرسة المنصورية بحوث (← 115)، وفيها عدّة من عيون العلماء كالشيخ العلامة المصنّف ترجمان الكلام جمال الدين أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن<sup>143</sup> الرصاص (← 5)، والشيخ الطاهر بقية الحقاظ محيي الدين<sup>144</sup> أحمد بن محمد الأكوخ المعروف بشعلة (← 4)، والفقير العالم أحمد بن علي الضميري<sup>145</sup> (← 2)، والقاضي الفاضل محمد بن يحيى<sup>146</sup> الصنعاني (← 23)، والقاضي العلامة الفضل<sup>147</sup> بن يحيى «دأ» بن القاضي<sup>148</sup> جعفر بن أحمد بن أبي<sup>149</sup> يحيى (← 13)، وعدة من العلماء والفضلاء غاب عني<sup>150</sup> تعيينهم لكثرتهم لا لقصور<sup>151</sup> في فضلهم وعلمهم، فقرأ على الشيخ العلامة أحمد بن محمد (← 5) في الكتب المبسوطة في علم الكلام كشرح الأصول الخمسة (← 92)، والمحيط (← 74) وغيره، وقرأ عليه «أ9» في لطيف<sup>153</sup> الكلام مآب تذكرة ابن متوية (← 98)، وأخذ عنه<sup>154</sup> كتاب جدّه أبي محمد، شيخ الإمام المنصور بالله عليه السلام، المعروف بالكيفية في الصفات والأحكام (← 61)، وهو من لطيف كتب الكلام<sup>155</sup> حتى لقد كان يحفظه غيباً كما يحفظ الناس السورة<sup>156</sup> من القرآن الكريم، ثمّ قرأ كتاب ابن الملاحي المعتمد (← 80)، والفائق (← 45) وغيرهما<sup>157</sup>. ثمّ قرأ<sup>158</sup> كتاب سياه<sup>159</sup> سريجان<sup>160</sup> شرح الأصول الكبير (← 91)، وقرأ كتاب أبي رشيد المعروف بالخلافية (← 69) وأتقن ذلك معرفة، وكتبه [كذا] المعروف بالمحيط<sup>161</sup> المعروف<sup>162</sup> بشرح الدعامه<sup>163</sup> (← 75) وفيما أحسب أنه قرأ تعليق الإكليل (← 53) وقرأ شرح النفحات المسكية (← 60) للفقير الشهيد<sup>164</sup> حميد بن أحمد المحلي، ثمّ قرأ كتاب الإحاطة (← 52)، ثمّ قرأ<sup>165</sup>

<sup>143</sup> بن الحسن: -، ب. <sup>144</sup> محيي الدين: -، د. <sup>145</sup> علي الضميري: عيسى التميمي، ب. <sup>146</sup> يحيى: حسين، ب. <sup>147</sup> الفضل: الفضيل، أ ج د. <sup>148</sup> القاضي: -، أ ج د ه. <sup>149</sup> أبي: -، أ ب. <sup>150</sup> عني: عين، د. <sup>151</sup> لقصور: للفقول، ب. <sup>152</sup> في: -، د. <sup>153</sup> لطيف: -، ج. <sup>154</sup> عنه: عليه، ه و. <sup>155</sup> لطيف كتب الكلام: أطف كتب الفنّ، و ه. <sup>156</sup> السورة: المتلو، ب. <sup>157</sup> وغيرهما: -، د. <sup>158</sup> ثمّ قرأ: وقرأ، ه و؛ وفي، ب. <sup>159</sup> سياه: -، و؛ لسياه، ب. <sup>160</sup> سياه سريجان: + (حاشية) شاه سريجان، ج. <sup>161</sup> وكتبه المعروف بالمحيط: وكتبه المحيط، أ ج د؛ وكتبه المعروف المحيط، و. <sup>162</sup> المعروف: -، و. <sup>163</sup> وقرأ كتاب أبي رشيد المعروف بالخلافية وأتقن ذلك معرفة وكتبه المعروف بالمحيط المعروف بشرح الدعامه: وكتبه المحيط المعروف، ب. <sup>164</sup> الشهيد: السيد العلامة، ه و؛ العلامة الشهيد، ب. <sup>165</sup> قرأ: -، ج د.

كتاب السيد أبي طالب في اللطيف (← 66)، ثم قرأ<sup>166</sup> الخلافة بين البغداديين<sup>167</sup> والبصريين (← 70).

7 هذا ما ذكرته من ذلك<sup>168</sup> عند التعليق وما غاب عني من ذلك فليس بالقليل إلا أنه على الجملة لم يدع كتاباً مشهوراً مما يزداد بقراءته فائدة إلا أتى عليه، وهو في تلك الحال تنتهي إليه<sup>169</sup> الغوامض، وبه يحل المشكل<sup>170</sup> ويفتح<sup>171</sup> المقفل<sup>172</sup>، ثم في خلال قراءته<sup>173</sup> سمع<sup>174</sup> على الشيخ الحافظ المحدث محيي الدين أحمد بن محمد المعروف بشعلة (← 4) الأخبار والسير، فقرأ عليه كتاب أصول الأحكام للإمام المتوكل على الله<sup>175</sup> أحمد بن سليمان سلام الله عليه<sup>176</sup> (← 112)، وضبط شرطاً منه غيباً، والباقي<sup>177</sup> كرره حتى كاد أن يتلوه غيباً. وقرأ عليه أمالي أحمد بن عيسى<sup>178</sup> (← 36)، وقرأ عليه سيرة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم<sup>179</sup> (← 94)، وقد كان قرأها على الفقيه العلامة الحافظ<sup>180</sup> عمران بن الحسن<sup>181</sup> بن ناصر<sup>182</sup> (← 18)، وقرأ أمالي 'ج5ب' المرشد (← 40، 108) وكتاب السيد<sup>183</sup> الجرجاني (← 54)، وكتاب الرياض (← 87)، وكتاب الأنوار (← 39)، وأمالي أبي سعد<sup>184</sup> السمان (← 37)، وسمع كتاب المستصفي للشافعية (← 78)، وقرأ كتاب تيسير المطالب للسيد أبي طالب (← 109)، وقرأ كتاب نهج البلاغة (← 84) وأعلامها (← 35) حتى كاد أن يتقن ذلك<sup>185</sup> غيباً، وقرأ كتاب العمدة من صحاح الأخبار (← 111). وعلى الجملة فإن سماعات الكتب المشهورة من طريق الإمام المنصور بالله عليه السلام<sup>186</sup> (← 1) والشيخ محيي الدين حميد بن أحمد بن الوليد (← 21) رضي الله عنه<sup>187</sup> صحت له سماعة، وتعيين ما قرأ في السير<sup>188</sup> والأخبار أكثر من أن تحصى<sup>189</sup>.

<sup>166</sup> قرأ: فن، ج؛ في، د. <sup>167</sup> البغداديين: البغداديين، ه. <sup>168</sup> من ذلك: -، د. <sup>169</sup> تنتهي إليه: إليه تنهي، أ ج د. <sup>170</sup> المشكل: المشاكل، أه. <sup>171</sup> ويفتح: يفتح، ب. <sup>172</sup> المقفل: المكفل، د. <sup>173</sup> قراءته: ذلك، ج د؛ قراءته تلك، أ. <sup>174</sup> سمع: يسمع، أ ب د ه. <sup>175</sup> على الله: -، أ. <sup>176</sup> سلام الله عليه: عليه السلام، ب د. <sup>177</sup> والباقي: + منه، ه. <sup>178</sup> عيسى: + عليه السلام، ب. <sup>179</sup> رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: النبي صلى الله عليه وآله، ب. <sup>180</sup> العلامة الحافظ: الحافظ العالم، ه. <sup>181</sup> الحسن: الحسين، ب. <sup>182</sup> ناصر: + العذري، ب. <sup>183</sup> وكتاب السيد: والسيد، ج؛ السيد: + الإمام، ب. <sup>184</sup> سعد: سعيد، أ ب ج د. <sup>185</sup> يتقن ذلك: يضبطها، د. <sup>186</sup> عليه السلام: -، ه. <sup>187</sup> الإمام المنصور... رضي الله عنه: -، أ. <sup>188</sup> السير: السنن، و. <sup>189</sup> تحصى: يحصى، أ.

8 ثم قرأ في أصول الفقه، فأول<sup>190</sup> ذلك قرأ مذاكرةً عقوداً موسومة بكتاب الحاصر<sup>191</sup> على الفقيه العالم الزاهد فخر الدين<sup>192</sup> أحمد بن عزيب<sup>193</sup> الحميري (← 48) رحمه الله تعالى<sup>194</sup> يشتمل<sup>195</sup> «دك» على عيون كتاب أبي الحسين البصري رحمه الله<sup>196</sup> المعروف بالمعتمد (← 81)، وكتاب الإمام<sup>197</sup> «ب5» المنصور بالله<sup>198</sup> المعروف بصفوة الاختيار (← 88) وكتاب الرصاص المعروف بالفائق (← 46) وغيرها<sup>199</sup> من كتب الفقهاء فأتقتن ذلك غيباً، ثم قرأ كتاب المعتمد (← 81) حتى كاد أن يأتي عليه<sup>200</sup> غيباً، ثم قرأ<sup>201</sup> كتاب التجريد لابن الملاحي (← 103) وقرأ كتاب أبي طالب المجزي (← 76) وكان معجباً به.

9 قال المصنف<sup>202</sup>: ثم المعتمد لقاضي القضاة (← 79)، وغير ذلك من الكتب الموجودة في اليمن مما أمكن<sup>203</sup> تحصيله، لأن الكتب كثيرة في الأقطار، وإنما الكتب المشهورة عند الزيدية في اليمن<sup>204</sup> حتى كان المشار إليه في ذلك الأوان بالتحصيل في الأصول<sup>205</sup> الفقهية ومعرفته في ذلك أشهر من نار على علم:

وهل يُجحد<sup>206</sup> الشمسُ المنيرةُ ضوءاً  
ويُسّرُ نور البدرِ والبدرُ زاهر<sup>207</sup>

10 ثم التفت إلى الدرس في فروع الفقه من سنة سبع وثلاثين وستمائة، فأول كتاب قرأه كتاب التحرير لأبي طالب عليه السلام (← 101) وحفظه غيباً بعد<sup>208</sup> أن كان قبل ذلك يحفظ معانيه وأصوله وأدلته قراءةً على الفقيه العالم التقي محمد بن أبي السعادات (← 20)، وكان أوحد عصره<sup>209</sup> في معرفة ذلك<sup>210</sup> ومعتاداً، فلقد كان يغرق<sup>211</sup> في حسن معرفته وذكائه، ويقول: إنه استفاد عليه أكثر<sup>212</sup> مما أفاده أو كما قال في ذلك<sup>213</sup>. وقرأ<sup>214</sup> عليه

<sup>190</sup> فأول: أول، ه. و. <sup>191</sup> الحاصر: الخاص، ب. <sup>192</sup> العالم الزاهد فخر الدين: الفاضل العالم، ه. و. <sup>193</sup> عزيب: عريق، ج؛ عريف، د. <sup>194</sup> تعالى: -، أ؛ الحميري رحمه الله تعالى: -، ه؛ رحمه الله تعالى: -، ب. <sup>195</sup> يشتمل: يشمل، ب. <sup>196</sup> رحمه الله: -، ب. و. <sup>197</sup> الإمام: -، ه. و. <sup>198</sup> بالله: + عليه السلام، د. و. <sup>199</sup> وغيرها: وغيرهما، ه. <sup>200</sup> عليه: غلبه، و. <sup>201</sup> قرأ: -، ه. و. <sup>202</sup> قال المصنف: -، ب. ه. و. <sup>203</sup> أمكن: أمكنه، ب. <sup>204</sup> في اليمن: باليمن، أ؛ مما أمكن تحصيله... في اليمن: -، ه. و؛ لأن الكتب كثيرة في الأقطار، وإنما الكتب المشهورة عند الزيدية في اليمن: -، ب. <sup>205</sup> الأصول: أصول، ب. <sup>206</sup> تجحد: يجحد، و. <sup>207</sup> زاهر: ازهر، د؛ ديوان أبي فراس، تحقيق خليل الدويهي، بيروت 1414/1994، ص 148. <sup>208</sup> بعد: قبل، و. <sup>209</sup> عصره: -، أ؛ د؛ منه، ب. <sup>210</sup> معرفة ذلك: معرفته، د؛ -، و. <sup>211</sup> يغرق: يعرف، ج؛ د؛ تعرف، و. <sup>212</sup> أكثر: بأكثر، و. <sup>213</sup> ذلك: + ويضرب فيه أمثلاً معجبة، ب. <sup>214</sup> وقرأ: ثم قرأ، ب. ه. و.

جماعة من العلماء فأوا<sup>215</sup> منه ما لم يسمعوا<sup>216</sup> شيخاً يمليه ويتحدث كذلك<sup>217</sup>. ثم قرأ<sup>218</sup> كتاب شمس الشريعة للفقير العلامة الحافظ المجتهد سليمان بن ناصر<sup>219</sup> (← 89) وكرر ذلك، ودرس<sup>220</sup> وقرأ<sup>221</sup> شرح<sup>222</sup> التحرير<sup>223</sup> للقاضي زيد (← 55) وتعليق السيد المؤيد بالله (← 105)، ثم تعليق أبي مضر (← 41) حتى لقد كنا نسمعه ويسمعه غيرنا أنه لقد كان يتصور<sup>224</sup> صفحاته<sup>225</sup> ومسائله غيباً، وقرأ كتاب الإبانة وشرحها (← 49) وكررها، وقرأ كتاب الكافي للناصرية (← 58)، وكتاب الوافي لابن بلال (← 113)، وكتاب السيد علي بن سليمان (← 67)، «أ10» ومجموع علي خليل (← 68) كرهه مراراً<sup>226</sup>، وقرأ كتاب الإمام المنصور<sup>227</sup> بالله<sup>228</sup> (← 65) وكان معجباً بفقها، وأراد أن يشرح المهذب المنصوري<sup>229</sup> (← 72)، وقرأ مسائله الفقهية في رسائله<sup>230</sup> (← 86)، وقرأ كتاب الهادي عليه السلام<sup>231</sup> الأحكام<sup>232</sup> (← 34)، وقرأ عدة من كتب<sup>233</sup> القاسم عليه السلام<sup>234</sup> (← 28) وأولاده المفردة (← 25)، وكان شديد الحرص في نصره أقوالهم، وأطل على شيء من تعليقات السيد العلامة جمال الدين «ح6» علي بن الحسين بن يحيى بن يحيى بن الهادي عليهم السلام<sup>235</sup> (← 9)، وأجاز له كتاب<sup>236</sup> القمر المنير (← 85) وأمره بتصحيح<sup>237</sup> ما غير<sup>238</sup> عليه. «د7» وكان السيد علي بن الحسين يقول: إنه لا يشك<sup>239</sup> في بلوغه رتبة<sup>240</sup> الاجتهاد، وما أنسيته مما قرأه من كتب الفروع وغيرها فليس<sup>241</sup> بالقليل إلا أنه غاب عني<sup>242</sup> ذكره والله الموفق للصواب.

<sup>215</sup> فأوا: قرؤوا، هـ و. <sup>216</sup> يسمعوا: يرو، هـ و؛ يسمع، أ ج د. <sup>217</sup> وقرأ عليه... ويتحدث كذلك: -، ج؛ يمليه ويتحدث كذلك: يتحدث كذلك، ب هـ و؛ كذلك: بذلك، أ د. <sup>218</sup> قرأ: + عليه السلام، ب. <sup>219</sup> ناصر: بن سعيد السحامي، ب. <sup>220</sup> وكرر ذلك ودرس: -، ب. <sup>221</sup> ودرس وقرأ: ورتبه ثم قرأ، هـ؛ ودرسه ثم قرأ، و؛ وقرأ: ثم قرأ، ب. <sup>222</sup> شرح: شروح، أ ج د. <sup>223</sup> التحرير: التجريد، و. <sup>224</sup> يتصور: + صفا، د. <sup>225</sup> صفحاته: + وربما أكثر من ذلك فأكثر ما يقرأ عليه شرفين أو ثلاثة ثم يضبطها غيباً ويحفظها، د. <sup>226</sup> كرهه مراراً: -، هـ و. <sup>227</sup> الإمام المنصور: التهذيب للمنصور، ب. <sup>228</sup> بالله: + الفتاوى، هـ و. <sup>229</sup> المنصوري: للمنصور، هـ؛ للمنصور بالله، و. <sup>230</sup> رسائله: مسائله، هـ. <sup>231</sup> السلام: + المصنف، ب. <sup>232</sup> الأحكام: + وقواعده، أ؛ وقرأ مسائله... الأحكام: -، و. <sup>233</sup> كتب: كتاب، هـ و. <sup>234</sup> عليه السلام: -، أ. <sup>235</sup> عليهم السلام: عليه السلام وعليهم السلام، د؛ عليه السلام، ب. <sup>236</sup> كتاب: -، و. <sup>237</sup> وأمره بتصحيح: وأذن له في إصلاحه وتصحيح، ب. <sup>238</sup> غير: عثر، ب ج و. <sup>239</sup> يشك: شك، هـ و. <sup>240</sup> رتبة: درجة، أ ج د. <sup>241</sup> فليس: وليس، أ ج هـ؛ لا يشك في بلوغه رتبة الاجتهاد وما أنسيته مما قرأه من كتب الفروع وغيرها فليس: لا قلين (؟)، ب. <sup>242</sup> غاب عني: عني، ج د.

11 ولم يزل عليه السلام<sup>243</sup> في القراءة والاستمرار في قراءة الفروع وعلوم القرآن من سنة سبع وثلاثين إلى أول سنة<sup>244</sup> ست وأربعين وستمائة، ثم قرأ كتاب الحاكم التهذيب في تفسير القرآن (← 100) على الفقيه أحمد بن حنبل (← 3)، فلقد كنا نسمعه يقرأ عليه ويثني، ويظهر أنه يستحقر نفسه<sup>246</sup> أن يغري<sup>247</sup> مثله وما أراه ينكر ذلك، فلما ختم قراءته أقرأ هذا الكتاب جماعة من العلماء وكانوا<sup>248</sup> يشاهدون منه ما لم يسمع من غيره في معرفة كتاب الله تعالى<sup>249</sup> وما يشتمل عليه من الأحكام، ثم قرأ كتاب الطوسي (← 42). ثم قرأ<sup>250</sup> في<sup>251</sup> كتب المتشابهة لكتاب الطريثي<sup>252</sup> (← 82)، وكتاب قاضي القضاة (← 83). وقرأ<sup>253</sup> تفاسير أهل البيت عليهم السلام<sup>254</sup> وسيرهم<sup>255</sup>، وقرأ<sup>256</sup> في فقه الشافعية وكان يتعجب من حسن تصانيفهم في الفقه وفيما أحسب أنه قرأ كتاب<sup>257</sup> الثعالبي (← 59) أو شرطاً منه قبل قيامه، فأما<sup>258</sup> بعد قيامه فذلك ظاهر، وقرأ على الفقيه الإمام العلامة حسام الدين حميد بن أحمد المحلي<sup>259</sup> (← 17) عدة<sup>260</sup> كتب بعد قيامه في السير وغيرها.

12 وقرأ في النحو واللغة. أول قراءته<sup>261</sup> في النحو الملححة وشرحها (← 77)، ثم كتاب التهذيب للفقيه العلامة محمد بن علي بن يعيش<sup>262</sup> (← 99)، ثم كتابه المحيط (← 73)، ثم كتاب طاهر بن أحمد شرح المقدمة (← 57)، ثم شرح الجمل (← 90) حتى صار من أهل المعرفة في ذلك الفن. وقرأ في كتب اللغة على التعيين كتاب محمد<sup>263</sup> بن<sup>264</sup> نشوان (← 24) على الفقيه العلامة<sup>265</sup> الحسن بن<sup>266</sup> البقاء التهامي (← 15). ثم قرأ ديوان الأدب (← 44) وكتاب ابن قتيبة أدب الكاتب (← 33) على الفقيه اللسان ترجمان الأدب صالح بن سليمان بن الحويب<sup>267</sup> (← 30)، وقرأ عليه كتابه المشهور بالزبد الضريبة (← 114)، وكان حسن المعرفة شديد العناية في تعليم أهل البيت، ولقد كان هذا الفقيه يتعجب ويعجب<sup>268</sup> من معرفة الإمام المهدي سلام الله عليه<sup>269</sup> ويشهد باجتهاده بعد بلوغ الدعوة<sup>270</sup>.

<sup>243</sup> عليه السلام: -، ب ه و. <sup>244</sup> سنة: -، ه و. <sup>245</sup> ثم: -، ه و. <sup>246</sup> يستحقر نفسه: ليستحقر، ب. <sup>247</sup> يغري: يقرى، ب ه. <sup>248</sup> وكانوا: فكانوا، ب. <sup>249</sup> تعالى: -، ه و. <sup>250</sup> قرأ: -، و. <sup>251</sup> في: -، د. <sup>252</sup> الطريثي: الطريثي، ج؛ الطريثي، ب. <sup>253</sup> وقرأ: ثم قرأ، ه و؛ ثم قرأ في، ب. <sup>254</sup> البيت عليهم السلام: مكرر في و. <sup>255</sup> وسيرهم: -، ه و. <sup>256</sup> وقرأ: فقرأ، ب. <sup>257</sup> كتاب: -، ب. <sup>258</sup> فأما: من ما (؟)، و. <sup>259</sup> المحلي: -، ه و. <sup>260</sup> عدة: + من، ب. <sup>261</sup> قراءته: قراءة، و. <sup>262</sup> يعيش: حنبل، أ. <sup>263</sup> محمد: -، ب. <sup>264</sup> بن: -، د. <sup>265</sup> العلامة: محمد بن، و. <sup>266</sup> بن: -، ه. <sup>267</sup> الحويب: الحويب، ب. <sup>268</sup> ويعجب: وتعجب، و. <sup>269</sup> سلام الله عليه: -، ه و؛ عليه السلام، ب. <sup>270</sup> بعد بلوغ الدعوة: -، ه و.

- 13 وقرأ غريب أبي عبيد<sup>271</sup> (← 47) وغيره من غريب القرآن والسنة، وحفظ من عيون الشعر «ب6» لفحول الجاهلية<sup>272</sup> والمخضرمين ما فيه كفاية للشواهد والحجج.
- 14 وقرأ في الفرائض كتاب الوسيط وغيره على الفقيه<sup>273</sup> أحمد بن نسر<sup>274</sup> العنسي (← 6).
- 15 وقرأ في الوصايا وديقيها على الفقيه العالم علي بن<sup>275</sup> يحيى بن<sup>276</sup> خشيم<sup>277</sup> (← 10) وغيره، وكانت له صنعة<sup>278</sup> حسنة<sup>279</sup> في فروع الفرائض وكيفية إعمالها.
- 16 وقرأ في السير والتواريخ، قرأ سيرة رسول الله<sup>280</sup> صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم<sup>281</sup> (← 94)، وكتاب الدولتين<sup>282</sup> (← 43) وشرطاً من كتاب الطبري (← 107) وغير ذلك<sup>283</sup>، كسيرة<sup>284</sup> الإمام<sup>285</sup> القاسم بن إبراهيم وسيرة أولاده<sup>286</sup> ومصنفاتهم (← 25، 28)، وسيرة الإمام<sup>287</sup> القاسم بن علي (← 27، 96) وولده الحسين<sup>288</sup> (← 27)، وسيرة الهادي عليه السلام وولديه (← 95)، وسيرة الإمام أحمد بن سليمان (← 97)، وكان له في آخر «د7ب» الدرس إطلال كثير<sup>289</sup> وقراءة<sup>290</sup> في السير.
- 17 ولم يدع فتناً يشار إليه مما يفتقر إليه المجتهد<sup>291</sup> في كمال الاجتهاد إلا وقد<sup>292</sup> أخذ منه بنصيب حتى كان «ج6ب» المشار إليه بالبنان في الفضل والعلم، واشتهر أمره وسار في الأقطار ذكره، ووردت عليه المسائل من الأقطار للاختبار أو الاسترشاد<sup>293</sup>، فكان<sup>294</sup> سلام الله عليه يفتح المقفل<sup>295</sup> ويحل<sup>296</sup> المشكل، ويأتي بالبيان ويوضح البرهان. وعلى الجملة فإن المشك في علمه<sup>297</sup> مكابر<sup>298</sup> أو مشكوك في عقله<sup>299</sup>، لأن ذلك من المشهورات التي<sup>300</sup> اجتمع عليها<sup>301</sup> المخالف والمؤلف<sup>302</sup>، وكذلك فإن من ادعى

<sup>271</sup> عبيد: عبيدة، ج و. <sup>272</sup> لفحول الجاهلية: للجاهلية، ب. <sup>273</sup> الفقيه: العالم، و. <sup>274</sup> نسر: بشر، أ. <sup>275</sup> بن: -، د. <sup>276</sup> بن: -، و. <sup>277</sup> خشيم: جشم، ه. <sup>278</sup> صنعة: قراءة، ب. <sup>279</sup> حسنة: وحسنة، ه. <sup>280</sup> رسول الله: النبي، ب ه و. <sup>281</sup> وسلم: -، أ ب. <sup>282</sup> الدولتين: + (حاشية) وهو مروج الذهب، ب. <sup>283</sup> وغير ذلك: وغيره، ب. <sup>284</sup> كسيرة: وكتب، أ ج د ه و. <sup>285</sup> الإمام: + المعظم، ب. <sup>286</sup> وسيرة أولاده: وأولاده، أ ج د. <sup>287</sup> الإمام: -، ب ه و. <sup>288</sup> الحسين: -، أ ج د ه و. <sup>289</sup> إطلال كثير: إطلا لا كثيرا، أ ج د؛ إطلا لا كبيرا، ب. <sup>290</sup> وقراءة: وقرأ، أ ج د. <sup>291</sup> المجتهد: -، ه و. <sup>292</sup> إلا وقد: حتى، ه و؛ مما يفتقر إليه المجتهد في كمال الاجتهاد إلا وقد: حتى، ب. <sup>293</sup> أو الاسترشاد: والاسترشاد، أ ج د ه و. <sup>294</sup> فكان: وكان، ب. <sup>295</sup> المقفل: المكفل، د. <sup>296</sup> ويحل: ويحلل، ب. <sup>297</sup> علمه: كلمه، ج. <sup>298</sup> مكابر: مكابر، أ د ه. <sup>299</sup> عقله: علمه، ج د. <sup>300</sup> التي: الذي، أ. <sup>301</sup> عليها: عليه، أ ج د؛ فيها، ه و. <sup>302</sup> المخالف والمؤلف: المؤلف والمخالف، أ.

قصوراً في فضله وأنه كان أفضل أهل زمانه فإنه مطعون في دينه «11» إن كان سالمًا في عقله<sup>303</sup>. ومما يدل على سعة علمه<sup>304</sup> وكماله ما أجاب به على<sup>305</sup> الشيخ العالم عطية بن محمد النجراي (← 12) بالمسائل المركبة في الفروع التي<sup>306</sup> تشتمل على مئتين من المسائل<sup>307</sup> قريب من ألف مسألة<sup>308</sup>، فأجاب عنها بنهاية الإرشاد<sup>309</sup> وبغية المراد<sup>310</sup>، وكذلك المسائل التي وردت من الجهات الحرازية وغيرها من الفتاوى<sup>311</sup> في الفروع التي تبهر<sup>312</sup> من رآها.

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<sup>303</sup> في عقله: -، ب. <sup>304</sup> علمه: -، ه. و. <sup>305</sup> على: -، ه. و. <sup>306</sup> التي: -، ه. و. <sup>307</sup> مئتين من المسائل: -، ه. <sup>308</sup> المسألة: + والله أعلم، ب. <sup>309</sup> الإرشاد: الاشاد، ه. <sup>310</sup> المراد: المراد، أ. ج. د؛ وبغية المراد: -، ب. <sup>311</sup> الفتاوى: + التي، ب. <sup>312</sup> تبهر: يبهر، أ. ج. د؛ يروّع وتبهر، ب.

## Appendix

### Persons

- 1 Al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘**Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān** (b. 561/1166, d. 614/1217); cf. GAL, vol. 1, pp. 403-4 # 9; E. van Donzel, “al-Manṣūr bi-llāh,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 6, pp. 433-34. See also above, p. 168.
- 2 **Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḍamīmī**, one of the prominent scholars who taught at the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūth (→ 115) during the lifetime of the Imam al-Mahdī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 366-67 # 156; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 174-75 # 75.
- 3 **Aḥmad b. Ḥanash al-Kindī al-Shihābī** (d. ca. 670/1271-2), one of the teachers of the Imam al-Mahdī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 297 # 113; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, p. 119-20 # 45.
- 4 **Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwa’**, *al-ma’ ruf bi-Shu’la al-Akwa’* (d. ca. 640/1242-3); see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 454-55 # 224; al-Akwa’, *Hijar al-‘ilm*, vol. 496 # 7; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 194-96 # 90. For an *ijāza* issued by Shu’la al-Akwa’ in Rajab 637/February 1240 for Manṣūr b. Mas’ūd b. ‘Abbās b. Abī ‘Amr [not: ‘Umra] and Sulaymān b. Shurayḥ who had studied *Nahj al-balāgha* with him that is preserved in the Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Shāyim in Ṣa’da, see Anṣārī, “Nahj al-balāgha dar miyān-i Zaydiyya”. A copy of this *ijāza* is preserved in MS Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich Cod. Arab. 1252, ff. 160b-161a; see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, p. 374 # 193. Moreover, MS Munich Cod. Arab. 1266/4, containing Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍā’ī’s *Kitāb al-Shihāb mushtamil ‘alā jawāmi’ al-kalim wa-maḥāsin al-ādāb min kalām Sayyid al-mursalīn* (= *Kitāb Shihāb al-akhbār*), has in its beginning an *isnād* linking Shu’la to the following earlier scholars: Shu’la ← Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥumayd [not: Ḥamīd] b. Aḥmad b. al-Anf ← al-Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja’far b. Aḥmad b. Abī Yahyā (“Qāḍī Ja’far”, d. 573/1177) ← Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Mulā’ib al-Asadī ← Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī ← Abū Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Jalīl. See Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 397-98 # 207.—On Shu’la, see also our *Zaydī Mu’tazilism in 7th/13th century Yemen, passim*.
- 5 Safī al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan **Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣās al-Ḥafīd** (d. 656/1258), grandson of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās (→ 16); on him, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla’ al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 420-32 # 210; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 196-98 # 91; Mūsavī Najād, *Turāth*, p. 124; Schwarb, *Handbook*, # 374.

- 6 Al-Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn **Aḥmad b. Nasr b. al-Mas'ūd al-'Ansī** (d. ca. 670/1271-72), one of the teachers of the Imam al-Mahdī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 488 # 253; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 223-24 # 112; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 193-94 # 185, 303-4 # 282. Al-'Ansī is the author of the mentioned *K. al-Wasīf*. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 3, p. 148 # 3284. According to C. Brockelmann (GALS, vol. 2, p. 111 # 22b), al-'Ansī was a Shāfi'ite. We have inspected MS Vatican ar. 1130 (cf. Levi della Vida, *Elenco*, pp. 160-62) and have found no confirmation for this claim. The author frequently refers to earlier Zaydī authorities.
- 7 **Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Miswarī** (d. 1079/1668), author of *Majmū' al-ijāzāt*.—On him, see al-Akwa', *Hijar al-'ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 1081-83 # 32; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 108-11 # 82; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 238 # 23; Mūsavī Najād, *Turāth*, p. 185; GALS, vol. 2, p. 560 # 7b; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 67-68, 101, 148, 432; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 302-14 # 122; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 121-31 # 48; al-Jurmūzī, *Binā' al-dawla al-Qāsimiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 194, 196-97, 331; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī'*, vol. 1, p. 58; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-aḥar fi 'āyān al-qarn al-ḥādī' ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 204-6.
- 8 **Aḥmad b. 'Uzayw b. 'Awād al-Ḥimyarī** (d. ca. 650/1252-3), one of the teachers of the Imam al-Mahdī; cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 364 # 153; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 162-63 # 63; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, p. 143 # 117.
- 9 Al-Amīr **'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad b. al-Imām al-Hādī** (fl. 7th/13th century). His most important work is his *Kitāb al-Luma' fi fiqh ahl al-bayt 'alayhim al-salām*, in four volumes. The identity of the *Tā'liqāt* is not clear. On him, see al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 675-77 # 712.
- 10 **'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Khushaym**; cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 3, p. 170 where a certain Yaḥyā b. Ḥushaym is mentioned who lived during the time of the Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. He may possibly be the father of the otherwise completely unknown 'Alī b. Yaḥyā.
- 11 **As'ad b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir**, brother of 'Imrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Shaṭawī al-'Udhri (d. after 630/1232-3) (→ 18) and of Ma'sūd b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir (→ 19). Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 537 # 297. See also our "Mu'tazilism after 'Abd al-Jabbār," p. 261.
- 12 **'Atīyya b. Muḥammad al-Najrānī** (b. 603/1206-7, d. 665/1266-7). Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 3, pp. 176-77 # 833; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2, pp. 680-1 # 402.
- 13 **al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaḥyā**, one of the prominent scholars at the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūth during the lifetime of the

- Imam al-Mahdī. He is a grandson of the *qāḍī* Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Buhlūlī (“Qāḍī Jaʿfar”, d. 573/1177-8); cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 4, p. 35 # 1013.
- 14 **al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-ʿAnsī**, cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 2, p. 9 # 374; al-Wajih, *Aʿlām*, pp. 303-4 # 282 (containing several mistakes).
- 15 **al-Ḥasan b. al-Baqāʾ al-Tihāmī al-Qaysī** (d. ca. 670/1271-2), one of the teachers of the Imam al-Mahdī. See al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 293-95 # 156, where his name is given as al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Baqāʾ b. Šālīḥ b. Yazīd b. Abī l-Ḥayāʾ al-Tihāmī al-Qaysī. Cf., by contrast, Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 29-32 # 380 where his name is given as al-Ḥasan b. al-Baqāʾ al-Tihāmī. Cf. also al-Wajih, *Aʿlām*, pp. 293-94 # 272.
- 16 **al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās** (b. 546/1152, d. 584/1188); on him, see Thiele, “Propagating Muʿtazilism”.
- 17 **Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Šanʿānī** (b. 582/1186-7, d. 652/1254). Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 245-51 # 520; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 421-24 # 247; al-Wajih, *Aʿlām*, pp. 407-10 # 408; Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 127-28 # 13.
- 18 **ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāsir al-Shaṭawī al-ʿUdhri al-Hamdānī** (d. after 630/1232-3). Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 3, pp. 395-97 # 976; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2, pp. 833-39 # 527; al-Wajih, *Aʿlām*, pp. 736-37 # 801; Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 126 # 12. See also our “Muʿtazilism after ʿAbd al-Jabbār,” p. 261.
- 19 **Masʿūd b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāsir al-ʿUdhri**, brother of ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan (→ 18).
- 20 **Muḥammad b. Abī l-Saʿādāt**, one of the teachers of the Imam al-Mahdī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 4, p. 309 # 1161.
- 21 Muḥyī al-Dīn **Muḥammad** (or: **Ḥumayd**) **b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurashī al-Anf**, d. 623/1226. On him, see our “Muʿtazilism after ʿAbd al-Jabbār,” pp. 233ff.
- 22 **Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿīsh al-Šanʿānī** (d. 680/1281-2), one of the teachers of the Imam al-Mahdī. Cf. GALS, vol. 1, p. 528. For the Āl Yaʿīsh, see also al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsūʿat al-alqāb al-yamaniyya*, vol. 7, pp. 588-89; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir* [1st ed], p. 373; al-Wajih, *Aʿlām*, pp. 943-44 # 1019.
- 23 **Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Šanʿānī**, one of the prominent scholars who taught at the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūth during the lifetime of the Imam al-Mahdī. He is not included in any of the relevant biographical dictionaries.

- 24 **Muḥammad b. Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī** has written a summary of his father's (d. 573/1178) *Shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'Arab min al-kulūm*, entitled *Ḍiyā' al-ḥulūm*. The *Shams al-'ulūm* has been published repeatedly: (i) Oman 1983 [an incomplete edition as it seems that was not available to us]; (ii) ed. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Amrī, Muṭahhar b. 'Alī al-Iryānī, Yūsuf Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, Beirut 1999. Cf. GAL, vol. 1, p. 364; GALS, vol. 1, p. 528; see also Mikael Persenius, *The manuscripts of parts 1 and 2 of Shams al-'ulūm by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī: A study of their relationship*, Uppsala, Uppsala University Library, 1997. For Muḥammad b. Nashwān and extant manuscripts of his *Ḍiyā' al-ḥulūm*, cf. also al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 1005-6 # 1076.
- 25 **Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Rassi** (d. 279/892-3), the son of the Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860-1) (→ 28). His writings have been published in *Majmū' kutub wa-rasā'il*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Aḥmad Jadbān, Ṣa'da 1423/2002.
- 26 **al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Shākiri** (d. after 653/1255-6), one of the teachers of the Imam al-Mahdī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 4, pp. 60-64 # 1026; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2, pp. 853-55 # 537.
- 27 al-Manṣūr **al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-'Iyānī** (d. 393/1003). See above, nn. 12 and 13.
- 28 al-Imām **al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm** (d. 246/860-1). The writings of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm have been published in *Majmū' kutub wa-rasā'il al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassi, 169-246 H*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Aḥmad Jadbān, Ṣan'ā' 2001. On al-Qāsim, see Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*; idem, "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Mu'tazilism"; idem, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology".
- 29 **Sa'īd b. Ḥanzala**, son of 'Afif al-Dīn Ḥanzala b. al-Ḥasan b. Shab'an (or: Sha'bān) and one of the teachers of the Imām al-Mahdī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 252-53 # 524; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 424-5 # 249.
- 30 **Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥuwayb** (d. after 625/1228), one of the teachers of the Imam al-Mahdī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 412-18 # 681 (here he is named Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān al-Ḥuwayt); al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 489-90 # 487.
- 31 **Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim**, paternal uncle of the Imam al-Mahdī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, p. 349 # 621.
- 32 **Zayd b. Ja'far al-Bāqiri** (fl. 7th/13th c.); cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 297-98 # 575.

## Titles

- 33 *Adab al-kātib* of ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889); ed. Muḥammad al-Dālī, Beirut <sup>2</sup>1986.
- 34 *Al-Aḥkām fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, by al-Imām al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911); cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt*, vol. 1, pp. 80-1 # 174. The work has been published repeatedly.
- 35 *A‘lām Nahj al-balāgha*, a commentary on *Nahj al-balāgha* by al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Naṣīr al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakḥṣī (published repeatedly); cf. Anṣārī, “Akḥbār al-dawla al-saljuqiyya”; idem, “Fakhr-i Rāzī u mukātabayi u”.
- 36 *Amālī Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā*, i.e., the *Amālī* of the Imām Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī (b. 157/773, d. 247/861). On Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā, see Ḥasan Anṣārī, “Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā b. Zayd,” *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, vol. 7, pp. 2-4. The *Amālī Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā* were published twice: (1) *Kitāb al-‘ulūm* 1-2, [n.p.] 1401/1981, and (2) as *Kitāb Ra‘b al-ṣaḍf* 1-3, ed. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Mu‘ayyad al-Ṣan‘ānī, Beirut 1410/1990. Cf. also Mūsavī Najād, *Turāth*, pp. 51-52.—For Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Yazīd al-Murādī’s (d. 290/903) recension of the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā*, see Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim*, pp. 80ff. On Muḥammad al-Murādī, see also GAS, vol. 1, p. 563 # 6.
- 37 *Amālī* of Abū Sa‘d Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 445/1053-4); cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlā‘ al-budūr*, vol. 1, pp. 575-56 # 340; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā*, vol. 17, pp. 55-60; see also Schwarb, *Handbook*, # 321. On the work, see also Anṣārī, “Mu‘arrifi-yi amālī-yi yek muḥaddith-i mu‘tazilī madhhab”; idem, “Matn-i waṣīyatnāma-yi az yek mutakallim”.
- 38 *K. al-Amālī* of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥḥānī (d. 424/1033); cf. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 110-11 # 29.
- 39 *Al-Amālī al-ithnayniyya*, or *al-Anwār*, of the Imām al-Murshad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl al-Shajarī al-Jurjānī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086-7 or 499/1105-6). The work was edited by ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamūd al-‘Izzī (Ṣa‘da 1429/2008).
- 40 *Al-Amālī al-khamisiyya* or *Amālī al-Shajarī*, of the Imām al-Murshad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl al-Shajarī al-Jurjānī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086-7 or 499/1105-6). The recension of the *Amālī* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Walīd al-Qurashī al-Anf (d. 623/1226) has been published as *Kitāb al-Amālī: Wa-ḥiya al-Shahīra bi-l-Amālī al-Khamisiyya li-l-murshad bi-Allāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Shajarī ratta-*

*bahu Muḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī ibn al-Walid al-Qurashī thumma al-‘Abshamī wa-kāna qabla dhālika rattabahu Shams al-Dīn Jamāl al-Muslimīn Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. Abī Yahyā fī sab‘a wa-‘ishrīn bāban*, Cairo 1957 [repr. Beirut 1983; ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismā‘īl, Beirut: ‘Ālam al-kutub, 1422/2001]. On al-Murshad bi-llāh, see also Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 184-85. See also below → 108.

- 41 ***Asrār al-ziyādāt*** of Abū Muḍar Shurayḥ b. al-Mu‘ayyad (fl. 5th/11th c.). The text is preserved in two copies in the Maktabat al-Awqāf, Ṣan‘ā’, ## 1137, 1139; cf. Ruqayḥī, *Fihrist*, vol. 2, pp. 899-900. On Abū Muḍar, see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 395-98 # 662; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 485-86 # 284; Madelung, *Arabic texts*, English introduction, pp. 19-20; see Anṣārī, “Mīrāth-i zaydiyān-i Īrān (1)”.—Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Walid al-Qurashī al-Anf (d. 623/1226), in turn, has written *al-Jawābir wa-l-durar al-mustakhrāja min Sharḥ Abī Muḍar*, a summary of Abū Muḍar’s *Asrār al-ziyādāt*. See our “Mu‘tazilism after ‘Abd al-Jabbār,” p. 236. See also below → 56.
- 42 ***Al-Bulgha fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-karīm***, of Abū l-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥakam al-Ṭūsī; cf. *al-Mustaṭāb*, MS Maktabat al-Manṣūr, f. 211a. See also al-Mashriqī/al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs yamānī*, pp. 159-60 where three manuscripts of this otherwise unknown commentary are listed.
- 43 ***K. al-Dawlatayn***, either by Dīrār b. ‘Amr al-Kūfī (*al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, London 2009, vol. 1 ii, p. 597) or by Abū l-‘Anbas al-Ṣaymarī (*al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, vol. 1 ii, p. 468).
- 44 ***Dīwān al-adab***, of Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī / al-Fāryābī (d. ca. 350/961). The text has been published repeatedly: (1) *Dīwān al-adab. Awwal mu‘jam ‘Arabī murattab bi-ḥasab al-abniya* 1-5, ed. Aḥmad Mukhtār ‘Umar, Cairo 1974-79; (2) *Dīwān al-adab. Mu‘jam lughawī turāthī*, ed. ‘Ādil ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Shāṭī, Beirut 2003.
- 45 ***K. al-Fā‘iq fī uṣūl al-dīn*** of Rukn al-Dīn b. al-Malāḥimī al-Kh‘ārazmī, eds. Wilferd Madelung and Martin McDermott, Tehran 2007.
- 46 ***al-Fā‘iq fī uṣūl al-fiqh***, by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ. On this work, see Thiele, “Propagating Mu‘tazilism,” p. 551. For extant manuscripts of the text, see Schwarb, *Handbook*, # 356 (12). The *Fā‘iq* was in turn the main source for al-Manṣūr bi-llāh’s *Ṣafwat al-ikhtiyār* (→ 88).
- 47 ***K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth***, by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838), ed. Ḥusayn Muḥammad Muḥammad Sharaf, Cairo 1984. On Abū ‘Ubayd, see Aḥmad Pākātshī, “Abū ‘Ubayd Qāsim b. Sallām al-Khuzā‘ī,”

- Dā'irat al-mā'arif-i buzurǧ islāmī*, vol. 5, pp. 703-11; Reinhard Weipert, "Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three*, Leiden 2008, fasc. 2008-1, pp. 55-58.
- 48 ***Al-Ḥāṣir fī uṣūl al-fiqh*** of Aḥmad b. 'Uzayw b. 'Awāḍ al-Ḥimyarī (→ 8); see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 1, p. 364 # 153; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, p. 143. This work seems to be lost.
- 49 ***Al-Ibāna fī l-fiqh***, referring to the *fatāwā* of al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) that have been collected and commented upon (*Sharḥ al-Ibāna*) by Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Hawsamī al-Nāṣirī al-Qāḍī (fl. 5th/11th c.). Cf. al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 914. For a manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Ibāna* together with the commentary in Munich see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 502-3 # 268 (Cod. Arab. 1329). For additional manuscripts of the commentary in Iran, see Dānishpazhūh, "Dū makhikha-yi Zaydi," pp. 179-88; Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, introduction p. 13.—See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 31 # 15; Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 159ff.
- 50 ***K. al-Īdāh li-fawā'id al-miṣbāḥ*** (at times also called *Sharḥ al-Īdāh*) of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī (→ 17), a commentary on *Miṣbāḥ al-'ulūm fī mā'rifat al-ḥayy al-qayyūm* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224). An apparently unique manuscript of the commentary is preserved in Munich; cf. Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 404-5 # 212 (Cod. arab 1271).
- 51 ***Al-Ifāda fī tārikh al-'imma al-sāda***, by the Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 340/951, d. 424/1033); cf. GAL, vol. 1, p. 402; GALS, vol. 1, p. 698. The work was published in the edition of Ibrāhīm b. Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Mu'ayyadī and Hādī b. Ḥasan b. Hādī al-Ḥamazī, Ṣa'da 1422/2001.
- 52 ***K. al-Iḥāṭa*** of al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl al-Shajarī al-Jurjānī (d. after 420/1029). On the second volume of this work is extant in a single manuscript held by the University Library Leiden, MS Leiden Or. 8409 [= Ar 1942b]. For a description of the manuscript, see Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts*, p. 124. A later anonymous author wrote a paraphrastic commentary on the work which is preserved in manuscript, *Tā'liq al-iḥāṭa*. See also our *Mu'tazilism after 'Abd al-Jabbār*, Chapter Seven.
- 53 ***K. al-Iklīl sharḥ ma'ānī al-taḥṣīl*** of al-Ḥusayn (or: al-Ḥasan) b. Musallam al-Tihāmī, a commentary on al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Taḥṣīl*. See Thiele, "Propagating Mu'tazilism," p. 545. See also Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 142-43 # 440 (Ḥasan b. Musallam), pp. 220-21 # 494 (Ḥusayn b. Musallam); al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 347-48 # 201 (Ḥasan b. Musallam), pp. 400-1 # 233 (Ḥusayn b. Musallam), vol. 3, p. 1294 (Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī); al-Ḥusaynī,

- Mu'allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 149 # 390. The reading al-Ḥusayn b. Musallam seems more appropriate; see our "Mu'tazilism in Rayy and Astarābād: Abū l-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. Sharwīn". In the chapter on the formation of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, an anonymous commentary on the *Iklīl* is mentioned as *Tā'liq al-Iklīl*.
- 54 **K. *al-ʿItibār wa-salwat al-ʿarīfīn*** by al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl al-Shajarī al-Jurjānī (d. after 420/1029); ed. 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Wajīh, Ṣan'ā' 2008. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 133 # 340.
- 55 ***Al-Jāmi' fī l-sharḥ*** (also known as *Sharḥ al-Taḥrīr* or *Tā'liq al-Qāḍī Zayd*) by Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Kalārī (fl. 5th/11th century); cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 309-12 # 587; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 449-50 # 438 (with a list of the extant manuscripts of the text). A manuscript of the text is also preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; cf. Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 279-80 # 129.
- 56 ***Al-Jawābir wa-l-durar al-mustakbraja min Sharḥ Abī Muḍar***, a summary of Abū Muḍar Shurayḥ b. al-Mu'ayyad's (fl. 5th/11th c.) *Asrār al-ziyādāt*, by Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Walīd al-Qurashī al-Anf (d. 623/1226); see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 384 # 1111. A manuscript of the text is preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; cf. Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 288-90 # 135. See also above → 41.
- 57 ***Al-Jumal al-bādiya fī sharḥ al-muqaddima al-kāfiya***, by Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābshād (d. 469/1076); cf. Irān Nāz Kāshiyān, "Ibn Bābshādḥ," *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 3, pp. 56-57.
- 58 ***Al-Kāfi*** of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Hawsamī which is extant in manuscript. Although al-Hawsamī was a follower of the legal doctrine of al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh, the work is more comprehensive in that it contains the doctrines of the various legal traditions of Zaydism. Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 371 # 2554; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 1023-24 # 1095.
- 59 ***al-Kashf wa-l-bayān 'an tafsīr al-Qur'ān*** by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tha'labī (al-Tha'ālabī) (d. 427/1035). On this commentary, see Saleh, *The Formation of the classical tafsīr tradition*. A partial edition of the *tafsīr* was published as Abū Ishāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tha'labī, *Muqaddimat al-Kashf wa-l-bayān 'an tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. Khālīd b. 'Awn al-'Anazī, Riyadh 2008. An edition of the complete work was published in 10 vols. In Beirut: Dar ihyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1422/2001.
- 60 **K. *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tafṣīl al-nafaḥāt al-miskiyya***, an autocommentary by Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī on his *al-Nafaḥāt al-miskiyya fī l-mas'ā'il al-kalāmiyya*. An apparently incomplete manuscript of the *Kawākib* is preserved in the Ambrosiana library (F 177/1, ff. 1-76,

- 178-184a). See Löfgren, *Catalogo dei manoscritti arabi, serie F-H* [type-written volume], p. 288 # 1470. We thank Gregor Schwarb for making his copy of this unpublished volume available to us.
- 61 ***Kayfiyyat kashf al-ahkām wa-l-ṣifāt ‘an khaṣā’iṣ al-mu’aththirāt wa-l-muqtadiyāt*** of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās (→ 16). On this work and on al-Raṣṣās’ relation to the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, see Thiele, “Propagating Mu’tazilism,” p. 547f.
- 62 ***Al-Khilāfiyya*** → 69.
- 63 ***al-Khilāfiyya bayna l-Baghdādhīyīn wa-l-Baṣriyyīn*** → 70.
- 64 ***Al-Khulāṣa al-nāfi‘a bi-l-adilla al-qāṭi‘a fi fawā’id al-tābi‘a*** of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās (d. 621/1224); cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 444 # 1306. The work has been published as *al-Khulāṣa al-nāfi‘a* li-Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās, ed. Imām Ḥanafī Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh, Cairo 2002.
- 65 ***“Kitāb al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh”***. Referring most likely to al-Manṣūr bi-llāh’s *al-Muhadhdhab* (→ 72).
- 66 ***“Kitāb al-Sayyid Abī Ṭālib fi l-laṭīf”***. It is unclear which work by the Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥḥānī (d. 424/1033) is intended.
- 67 ***“Kitāb al-Sayyid ‘Alī b. Sulaymān”***. Referring possibly to a work by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥasanī al-Rassī (fl. 5th/11th c.), who was a *faqīh*; cf. al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 777-8 # 482. Alternatively, he may be identical with ‘Alī b. Sulaymān b. Abī l-Rijāl (d. after 681/1282-3); on him see Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 3, p. 257-58 # 891.
- 68 ***al-Majmū‘ fi l-fiqh***, of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl (fl. 5th/11th century). For the author and extant manuscripts of his *Majmū‘*, see al-Wajih, *A‘lām*, pp. 710-11 # 762 (with further references). A manuscript of the text is preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, cf. Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 280-82 # 130.
- 69 ***Masā’il al-khilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mushabbihā wa-l-mujbira wa-l-khawārij wa-l-murjī‘a*** of Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī. On this work, see our “Mu’tazilism after ‘Abd al-Jabbār”.
- 70 ***al-Masā’il fi l-khilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādhīyīn*** (also: *al-Khilāfiyya bayna l-Baghdādhīyīn wa-l-Baṣriyyīn*) of Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī; eds. Ma‘n Ziyāda and Riḍwān Sayyid, Beirut 1979 on the basis of the single extant manuscript of the text, owned by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Glaser 12). See also our “Mu’tazilism after ‘Abd al-Jabbār”.
- 71 ***Al-Mu’aththirāt wa-miftāḥ al-mushkilāt*** of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣās (b. 546/1151-52, d. 584/1188); The work has been edited by

Jan Thiele (*Kausalität in der mu'tazilitischen Kosmologie*); see also idem, "Propagating Mu'tazilism," p. 547f.

- 72 ***Al-Muhadhdhab min al-fatāwā***, by the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217). The work has been preserved in the redaction (*jam' wa-tahdhīb*) of Muḥammad b. As'ad al-Murādī, *al-Muhadhdhab fi fatāwā al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza 'alayhi al-salām*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām al-Wajīh, Ṣan'ā' 2001. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 3, p. 87 # 3103.
- 73 ***Al-Muḥīṭ***, a work on grammar by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ya'ish al-Ṣan'anī (→ 22). According to al-Wajīh (*A'lām*, p. 944), the text has been edited as a PhD thesis in Yemen.
- 74 ***Al-Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ*** of 'Abd al-Jabbār. There is no evidence that this book has reached Yemen. References to this work may refer to the paraphrastic commentary on the work by Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Majmū' fi l-muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*. Vol. 1 has been edited twice: (1) 'Umar al-Sayyid 'Azmī, Cairo [n.d.], (2) ed. J.J. Houben, Beirut 1965; vol. 2, eds. J.J. Houben and D. Gimaret, Beirut 1981; vol. 3, ed. Jan Peters, Beirut 1999. Margaretha T. Heemskerk is currently preparing a critical edition of the fourth volume.—Whereas the original *al-Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* seems to be lost in the Islamic world, extensive fragments of the work are extant in the various collections housing material from the Karaite Genizah in Cairo. See Ben-Shammai, "A note on some Karaite copies of Mu'tazilite writings," pp. 295-304. A critical edition of the extant fragments is currently being prepared by Omar Hamdan and Gregor Schwarb.
- 75 ***K. al-Muḥīṭ bi-uṣūl al-imāma 'alā madhāhib al-Zaydiyya*** of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Shāh] Sarījān [Sarbijān], a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Di'āma fi tathbīt al-imāma* of the Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Buḥānī (d. 424/1033). The *Kitāb al-Di'āma* has been edited by Nājī Ḥasan who falsely identified the work as *Nuṣrat madhāhib al-Zaydiyya* of al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (Baghdad 1977; repr. Beirut 1981); see also Madelung, "Zu einigen Werken," pp. 5-10; Anṣārī, "Zaydiyya wa-manābī-i maktūb-i Imāmiyya," pp. 149-61. The *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* is preserved in (at least) three manuscripts: (1) MS Ambrosiana A 23 (see Löfgren/Traini, *Catalogue*, p. 12; see also GALS, vol. 1, pp. 698-99 # 1c); (2) MS Maktabat al-awqāf, al-Jāmi' al-kabīr, Ṣan'ā' # 645 (dated 18 Ṣafar 1065/28 December 1654; see Ruqayḥī, *Fihrist*, vol. 2, p. 737 where the text is erroneously attributed to Ibn Mattawayh); (3) a copy held in a private library in Yemen (transcribed by Yūsuf b. 'Iwād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Za'kam b. Khazraj, dated Ramaḍān 628/July 1231). Digital images of this manuscript were made available to us through the

- Imam Zayd b. 'Alī Cultural Foundation (IZbACF). We have no information about the location of the original codex.
- 76 **K. *al-Mujzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh*** by the Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥḥānī (d. 424/1033). The second half of the work has erroneously been edited as Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Sharḥ al-'Umad* by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Alī Abū Zunayd (2 vols., Medina 1410/1989-90). For the work, see also Schwarb, *Handbook*, # 315 (6); idem, "Traditions of Zaydī-Mu'tazilī *uṣūl al-fiqh*".
- 77 ***Mulḥat al-i'rāb*** of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), which has been commented upon by numerous authors, including by the author himself. Cf. GAL, vol. 1, p. 328; GALS, vol. 1, pp. 488-89. The text itself as well as the autocommentary have been published repeatedly: (i) *Mulḥat al-i'rāb*, ed. 'Alī Ḥasan 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Amman 1988; (ii) *Sharḥ Mulḥat al-i'rāb*, ed. Fā'iz Fāris, Irbid 1991; (iii) *Sharḥ Mulḥat al-i'rāb*, ed. Barakāt Yūsuf Habbūd, Ṣaydā / Beirut 1997; (iv) *Sharḥ matn Mulḥat al-i'rāb*, Cairo 2009. The *sharḥ* of 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. As'ad al-Ḥārithī *al-ma'rūf bi-bn al-Ḥaydara* (d. 599/1202-3) was certainly known among the Zaydīs and may be meant here; see al-Wajih, *A'lām*, p. 682 # 722.
- 78 ***al-Mustafā min 'ilm al-uṣūl*** of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111).
- 79 "***Al-Mu'tamad li-Qāḍī l-quḍāt***". 'Abd al-Jabbār is not known to have written a work with this title. It may be a mistake for his *Kitāb al-'Umad*. This would then be the only indication that this work of his had reached Yemen. On his *Kitāb al-'Umad*, see 'Uthmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt*, p. 61.
- 80 **K. *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*** of Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārizmī, ed. Wilferd Madelung and Martin McDermott, London 1991.
- 81 **K. *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh***, of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The work has been published twice: (1) ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh in cooperation with Muḥammad Bakr and-Ḥasan Ḥanafī, Damascus 1964; (2) with preface by Khalīl al-Mays, Beirut 1983.
- 82 **K. *Mutashābih al-Qur'ān*** of Rukn al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir al-Ṭuraythīthī. On this work and its author, see Anṣārī, "Tuḥfa-yi girān qadr"; al-Sālimī, "al-Mutashābih li-l-Qur'ān li-l-Turaythīthī". Al-Sālimī is currently preparing a critical edition of this work.—Although virtually all manuscripts are preserved in Zaydī repositories, the work was relatively unknown among the Zaydīs. Apart from the present text, another reference to the work is to be found in the *Yanābī' al-naṣīḥa fī l-'aḡā'id al-ṣaḥīḥa* of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Hādawī (d. 662-3/1264-5) (ed. al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭṭawarī al-Ḥasanī, Ṣan'ā': Maktabat Badr, <sup>2</sup>1422/2001, p. 330).

- 83 ***Mutashābih al-Qurʾān*** of ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Asadābādī. The work has been published twice: (1) ed. ʿAdnān Muḥammad Zarzūr, Cairo [1969]; (2) Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Sāʾiḥ and Tawfiq ʿAlī Wahba, Cairo 1430/2009.
- 84 ***Nahj al-balāgha*** of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015); cf. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 295 # 461; Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, pp. 13-15.
- 85 ***Al-Qamar al-munīr fī ʿuqūd Kitāb al-Tahrīr***, by *al-amīr* ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (fl. 7th/14th c.); cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʿallafāt*, vol. 2, p. 354 # 2501.
- 86 ***Rasāʾil al-Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza*** (→ 1). These have been published as *Majmūʿ rasāʾil al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza* 1-2, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Wajīh, Amman 2002.
- 87 ***K. al-Riyād*** of Abū Saʿd al-Muzaffar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdūnī; cf. al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2, pp. 1141 # 716.
- 88 ***Ṣafwat al-ikhtiyār***, by the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān, on legal methodology; cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʿallafāt*, vol. 2, p. 229 # 2116. Eds. Ibrāhīm Yaḥyā al-Darsī al-Ḥamzī and Hādī b. Ḥasan b. Hādī al-Ḥamzī, Ṣaʿda 1423/2002.
- 89 ***Shams sharīʿat al-islām fī fiqh ahl al-bayt ʿalayhim al-salām*** by Sulaymān b. Naṣīr al-Suḥāmī (d. after 600/1203-4). Cf. Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 375-77 # 642; al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 478-81 # 281; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʿallafāt*, vol. 2, pp. 213-14 # 2071. For extant manuscripts of this text, see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, pp. 470-1 # 466.
- 90 ***Sharḥ al-jumal al-kabīra***, a commentary by Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābshād (→ 57) on the *Kitāb al-Jumal* of Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Iṣḥāq al-Zajjājī (d. 337/949 or 339/951); cf. GALS, vol. 1, pp. 170-71.
- 91 ***Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*** of Siyāh Sarbijān. This title for ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Shāh] Sarijān [Sarbījān] is not attested elsewhere. The title suggests that this may be a (super)commentary on Ibn Khallād’s *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* that had served as a basis for various *taʿāliq* among later Zaydī authors; it may well be that the two manuscripts, MS British Library OR 8613 and MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr (Sharqiyya), no. 541 (edited by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda as *Fi l-tawḥīd [Dīwān al-uṣūl li-Abī Rashīd Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī ?]*, Cairo 1969), are in fact portions of this *Sharḥ*; see our “Muʿtazilism in Daylam: ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Siyāh [Shāh] Sarijān [Sarbījān] and his writings”.
- 92 ***Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*** of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī. The text was usually read together with the *taʿliq* by the latter’s student Abū l-Ḥusayn

- Aḥmad b. Abū Hāshim Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī, known as Mānkdim Shashdīw (d. 425/1034) (the work was wrongly attributed to ‘Abd al-Jabbār, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm ‘Uthmān, Cairo 1384/1965 [numerous reprints]) and/or possibly with the *ta’liq* of Abū Muḥammad Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī al-Farrazādhi.
- 93 ***K. al-Shifā’ fī abwāl al-mustafā*** (or: *bī ta’rif huqūq al-mustafā*) by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149); cf. GAL 1/455-56; GALS 1/630-32; M. Talbi, “‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 4, pp. 289-90.
- 94 ***Sīra*** of the Prophet Muḥammad by Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār (b. 85/704, d. 150/767) in the recension of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām al-Ḥimyari al-Baṣrī (d. 218/833 or 213/828). Cf. GAL, vol. 1, p. 135 # 3; GALS, vol. 1, pp. 205ff; GAS, vol. 1, pp. 288-290 # 1, pp. 297-301 # 11. See also Rubin, *The Life of Muḥammad*; Motzki (ed.), *The Biography of Muḥammad*; al-Ṭarābīshī, *Ruwāt Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq*.
- 95 The ***Sīrat al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn*** had been written down by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abīd Allāh al-‘Abbāsī al-‘Alawī. See above, nn. 2 and 8. The *Sīrat Aḥmad al-Nāṣir* has been published by Wilferd Madelung; see above, n. 8.
- 96 ***Sīrat al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī al-‘Iyānī*** (d. 393/1003), composed by his secretary Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ya‘qūb al-Hamdānī. See above, n. 11.
- 97 ***Sīrat al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān*** (d. 566/1171), written by Yahyā b. Sulaymān al-Thaqafī. See above, n. 14.
- 98 ***Al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-‘rād*** of Ibn Mattawayh. In 1975, a partial edition was published: al-Ḥasan b. Mattawayh al-Najrānī al-Mu‘tazilī, *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-‘rād*, eds. Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf and Fayṣal Badīr ‘Awn, Cairo. This has now been replaced by a critical edition of the complete text: Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-‘rād* 1-2, ed. Daniel Gimaret, Cairo 2009.—One of the manuscripts consulted by Gimaret for his edition (l) that contains only the first part of the work was copied in 605/1209 in Ḥūth (→ 115) which is misread in the edition as Ḥūf or Jūf (cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 367 n. 57).
- 99 ***Al-Tabdhīb al-wasīṭ al-mujarrad min al-ifrāt wa-l-tafriṭ fī l-nahw***, of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ya‘īsh al-Ṣan‘ānī (→ 22). The work has been published by Fakhr Ṣāliḥ Sulaymān Qaddāra, Beirut 1411/1990-91; cf. al-Wajih, *A‘lām*, pp. 177, 943-44 # 1019. For a manuscript of the work that is preserved in the British Library see GALS, vol. 1, p. 528.
- 100 ***Al-Tabdhīb fī tafsiṭ al-Qur‘ān***, by al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, Abū Sa‘d al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Kirāma al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī (b. 413/1022, d. 494/1101); for manuscripts of the work, see Schwarzb,

- Handbook*, # 246. On Jishumī's commentary, see also Zarzūr, *al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī*; Mourad, "The Revealed Text and the Intended Subtext".
- 101 ***Al-Taḥrīr fī l-kashf an nuṣūṣ al-a'imma al-naḥārīr***, by the Imām Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Daylamī (d. 424/1033). The work has been published in the edition of Muḥammad Yaḥyā Sālim 'Azzān, Ṣan'ā' 1997. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 253 # 701.
- 102 ***K. al-Taḥṣīl fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-ta'dīl***, a theological *summa* by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās; see Thiele, "Propagating Mu'tazilism," p. 549.
- 103 ***K. al-Tajrīd*** of Ibn al-Malāḥimī, being an abridgement of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. The work is preserved in a single manuscript (Bodleian Library, MS Arab. e. 103). Cf. the editor's introduction to Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (→ 80), p. iv. A facsimile, together with an introduction by H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke, has been published in the "Muslim History and Heritage Series" (Tehran/Berlin 2011).
- 104 ***Ta'liq al-Iklīl*** → 53.
- 105 ***"Ta'liq al-Sayyid al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh"***. Possibly referring to the *Ziyādāt* of the Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 411/1020), consisting of *fatāwā* of al-Mu'ayyad that were collected by Abū l-Qāsim b. Tāl al-Hawsamī *al-ma'rūf bi-l-Ustādh*. Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 83 # 1732; al-Wajih, *A'lām*, p. 101. On al-Ustādh, see al-Wajih, *A'lām*, pp. 312-13 # 291.
- 106 ***"Ta'liqāt 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. al-Imām al-Hādī"*** → 9.
- 107 ***Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*** of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). For the recent scholarship on this work, see Rydving (ed.), *Al-Ṭabarī's history*.
- 108 ***Tartīb al-amālī al-khamīsiyya***, a recension of the *Amālī* of al-Murshad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl al-Shajāri (d. 479/1086-87 or 499/1106). This text has been published repeatedly: *Kitāb al-Amālī: Waḥīya al-Shabīra bi-l-Amālī al-Khamīsiyya li-l-Murshad bi-Allāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Shajāri rattabahu Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Walīd al-Qurashī thumma al-'Abshamī wa-kāna qabla dhālika rattabahu Shams al-Dīn Jamāl al-Muslimīn Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaḥyā fī sab'a wa-'ishrīn bāban* 1-2, Cairo 1957 [repr. Beirut 1983]; ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismā'īl, Beirut 1422/2001. See also above → 40.
- 109 ***Taysīr al-matālib min [fī] Amālī Abī Ṭālib***, a recension of the *Amālī* of al-Nāriq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī by Shams al-Dīn Qāḍī Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Sanā'ī (d. 573/1177-78); cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt*, vol. 1, pp. 347-48 # 1005. The work has been published repeatedly: (1) ed. Yaḥyā

- ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Faḍīl, Beirut 1975; (2) ed. ‘Abd Allāh Ḥammūd al-‘Izzī, Amman 2002.
- 110 **K. al-Tibyān sharḥ Yāqūt al-īmān** of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ, a paraphrastic work that is based on Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Sharwīn’s *Yāqūt al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān*, see our “Mu‘tazilism in Rayy and Astarābād”.
- 111 **al-‘Umda fi ‘uyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akḥbār fi manāqib imām al-abrār**, by Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī al-Asadī Ibn al-Biṭrīq (d. 600/1203 or 601/1204); cf. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 376-77 # 633.—For the popularity of this work among the Zaydīs, see Ḥasan Anṣārī, “Ibn Biṭrīq,” *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif al-islāmiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 2, pp. 483-85; idem, “Ibn al-Sharafīyya”; idem, “Tāze-hā-yi dar barāyi Ibn Biṭrīq”.
- 112 **K. Uṣūl al-aḥkām fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām**, by the Imām al-Mutawakkil bi-llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī (d. 566/1170); cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt*, vol. 1, pp. 126-27 # 318; GALS, vol. 1, p. 699 # 2a. The work has been published as *Uṣūl al-aḥkām al-jāmi‘ li-adillat al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, ta‘līf al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭaḥhar b. ‘Alī b. al-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. al-Ḥādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, ed. ‘Abd Allāh Ḥammūd al-‘Izzī, Ṣan‘ā’ 2003.
- 113 **al-Wāfi ‘alā madhhab al-bādī** of Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Bilāl al-‘Āmulī. Cf. al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, p. 662 # 695. Ibn Bilāl is mostly renowned for having supplemented the *Maṣābiḥ fi sirat al-‘imma* of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Ḥasanī (d. 352/963).
- 114 **Al-Zubad al-ḍarbiyya**, by Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥuwayb (→ 30); cf. al-Wajīh, *A‘lām*, p. 490; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt*, vol. 2, p. 73 # 1700.

#### Places

- 115 **Hūth**, located in the territory of Ḥāshid; cf. al-Ḥajarī al-Yamanī, *Majmū‘ buldān al-yaman*, vol. 1, pp. 213-26, 300; Abū Firas b. Dī‘tham, *al-Sira al-mansūriyya*, *passim*.
- 116 **Misliṭ**, a village located within the territory of the Banū Qays (of the Banū Thuraym) in the region of *bilād al-zāhir* of the Ḥāshid territory; see al-Akwa‘, *Hijaz al-‘ilm*, vol. 4, pp. 2050-54.
- 117 **al-Shāhil**, located in the region of Ḥajūr, north-west of Ṣan‘ā’; cf. al-Ḥajarī al-Yamanī, *Majmū‘ buldān al-yaman*, vol. 2, pp. 240ff [Ḥajūr]; vol. 3, p. 441. For Banū Shāwur, see al-Maqḥafi, *Mawsū‘at al-alqāb al-yamaniyya*, vol. 3, pp. 66-68.

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- Abū Firās b. Dī‘tham, *al-Sira al-sharīfa al-Manṣūriyya: Sirat al-Imām ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza*, 593-614 1-2, ed. ‘Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-‘Āṭī, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-mu‘āṣir, 1414/1993.
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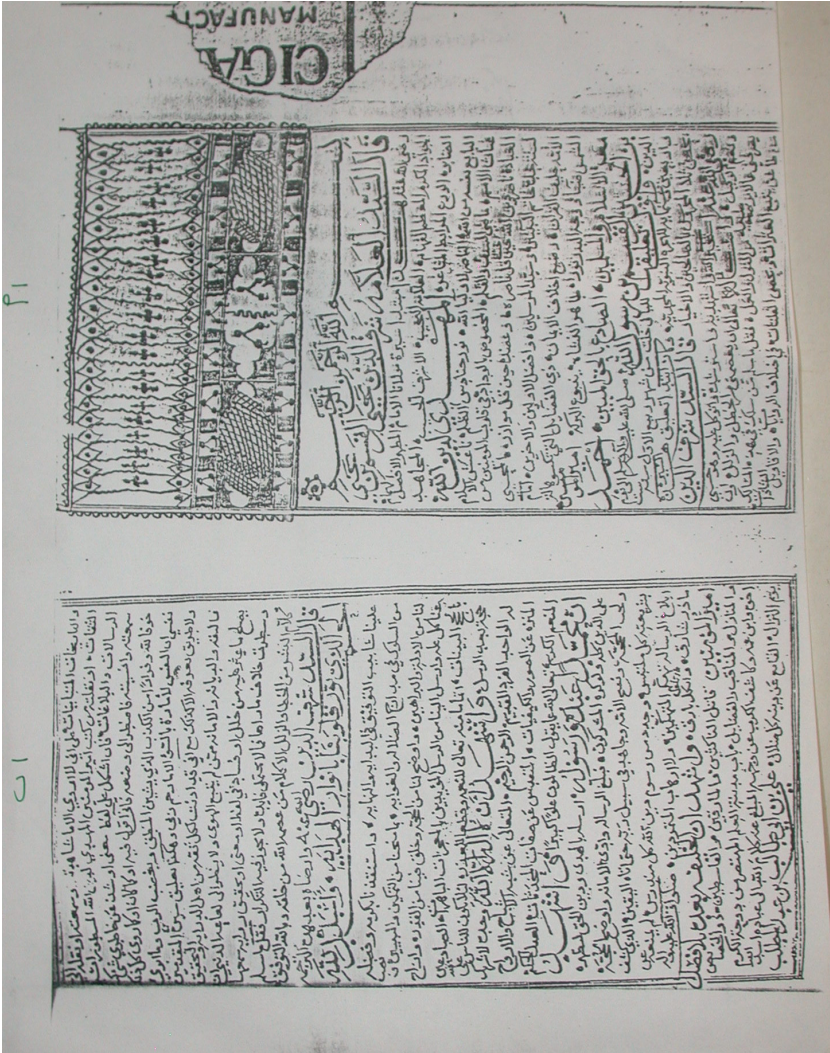
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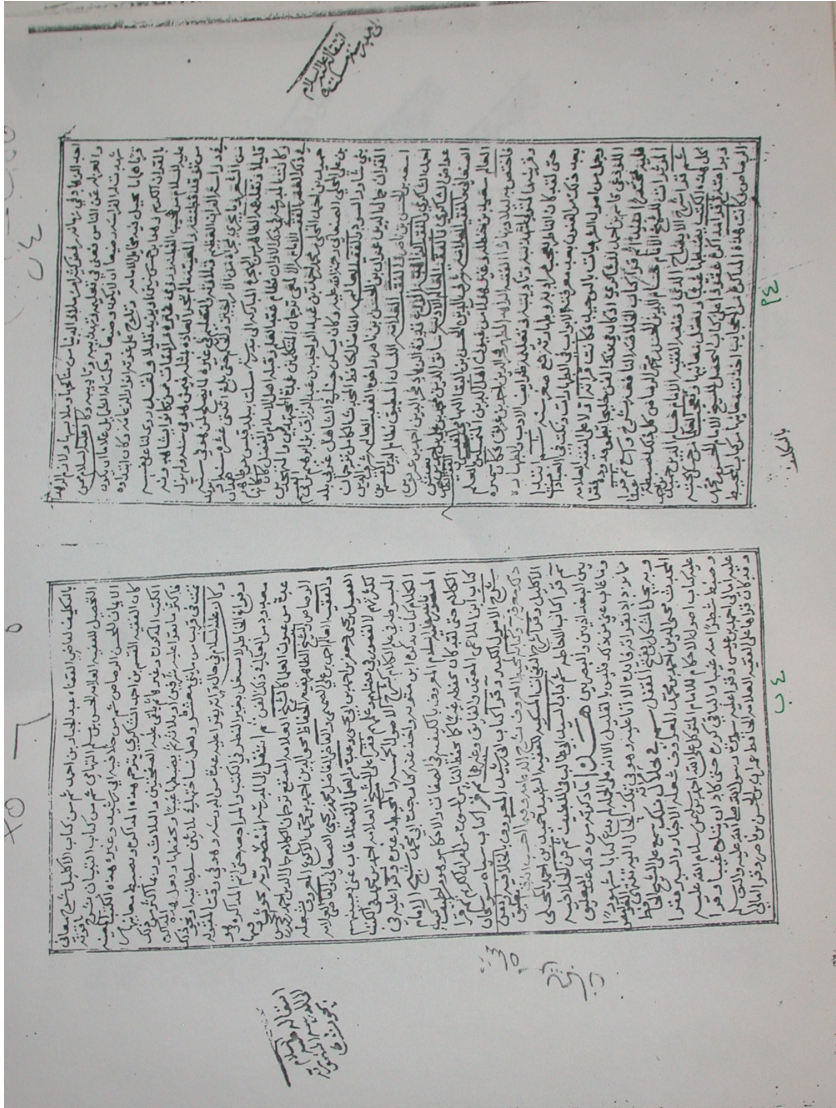
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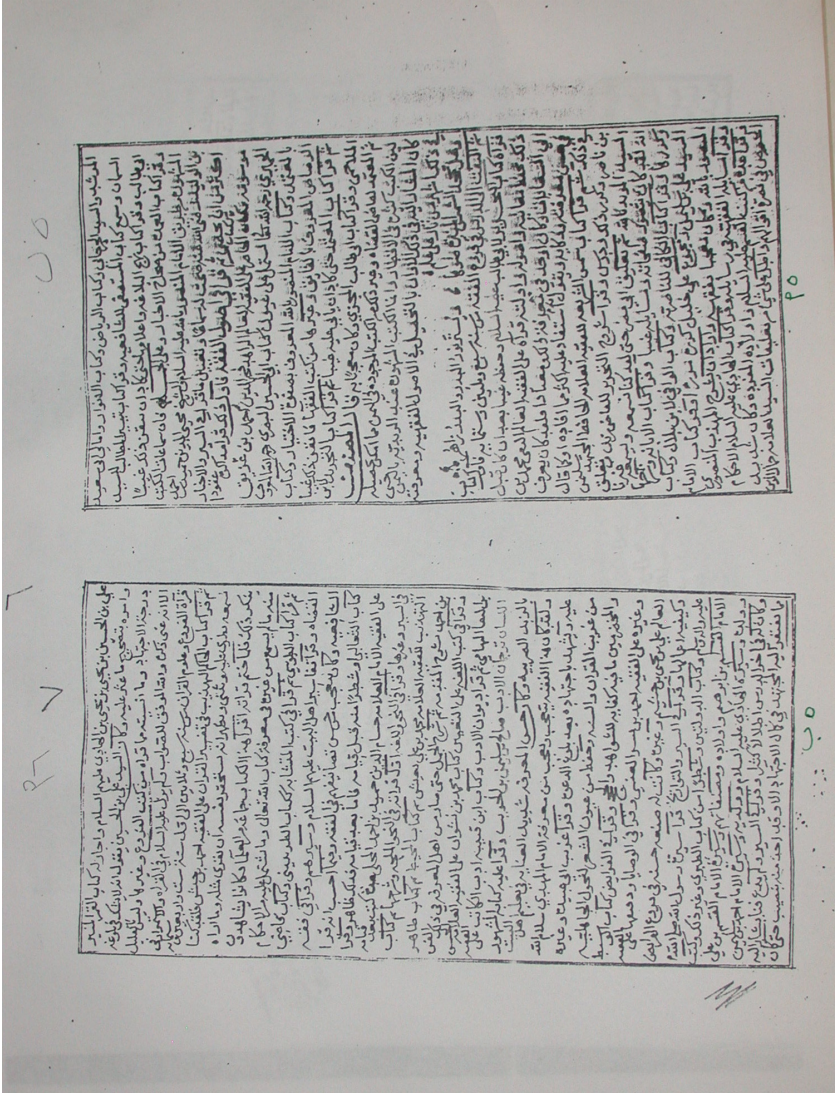


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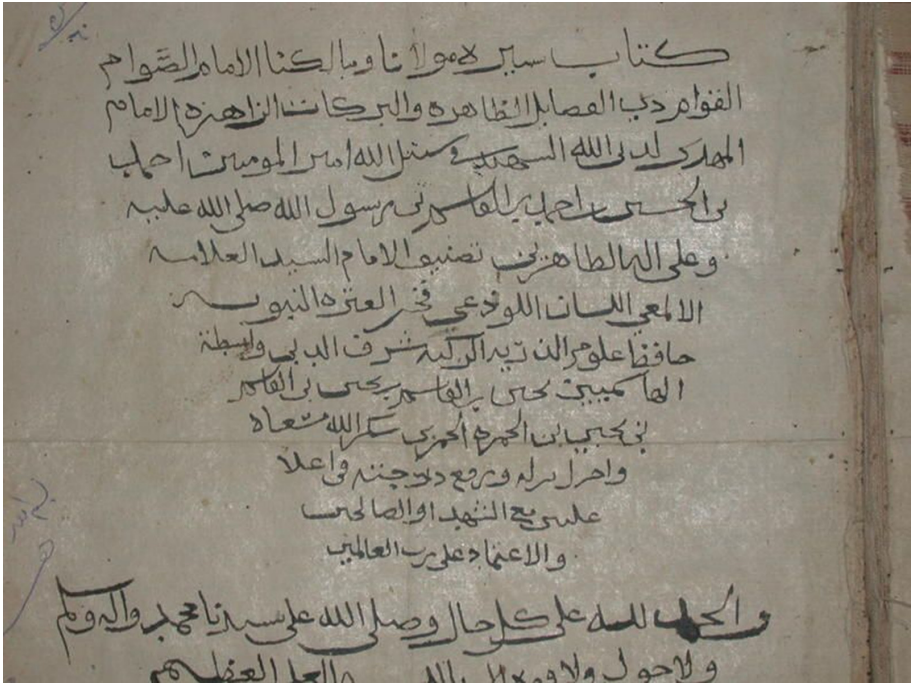


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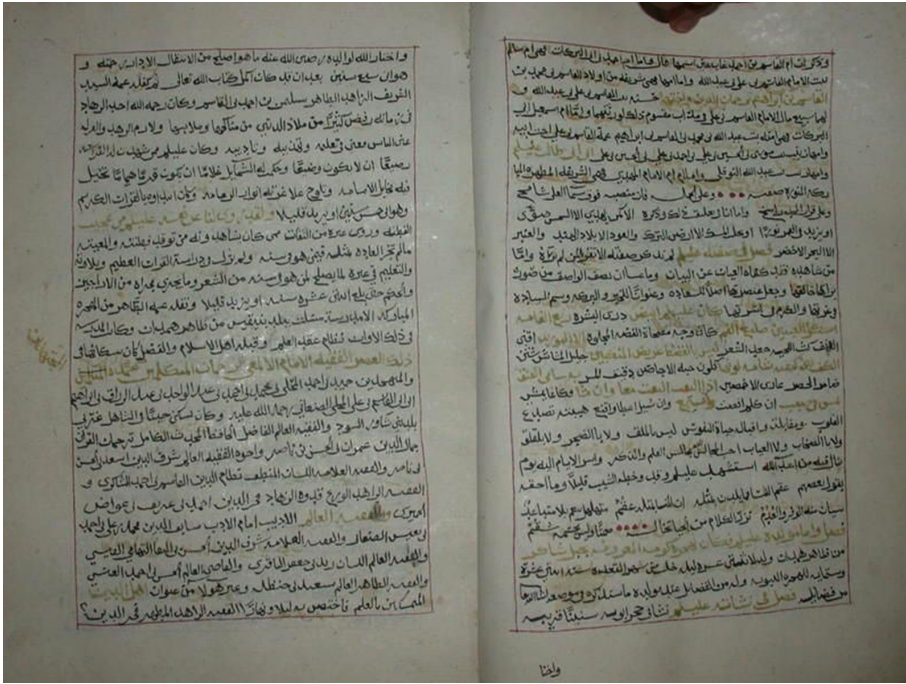


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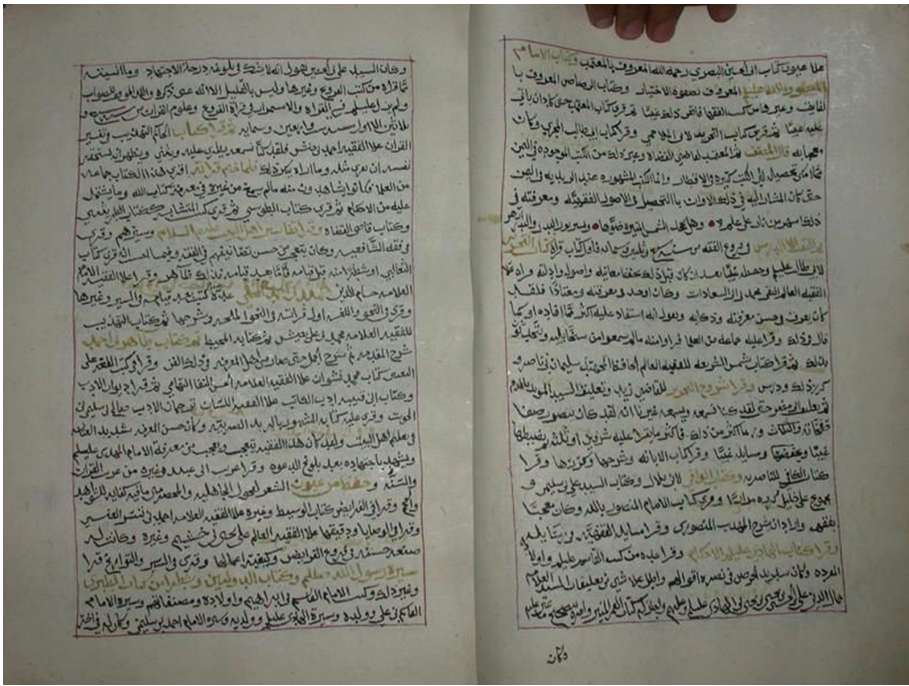


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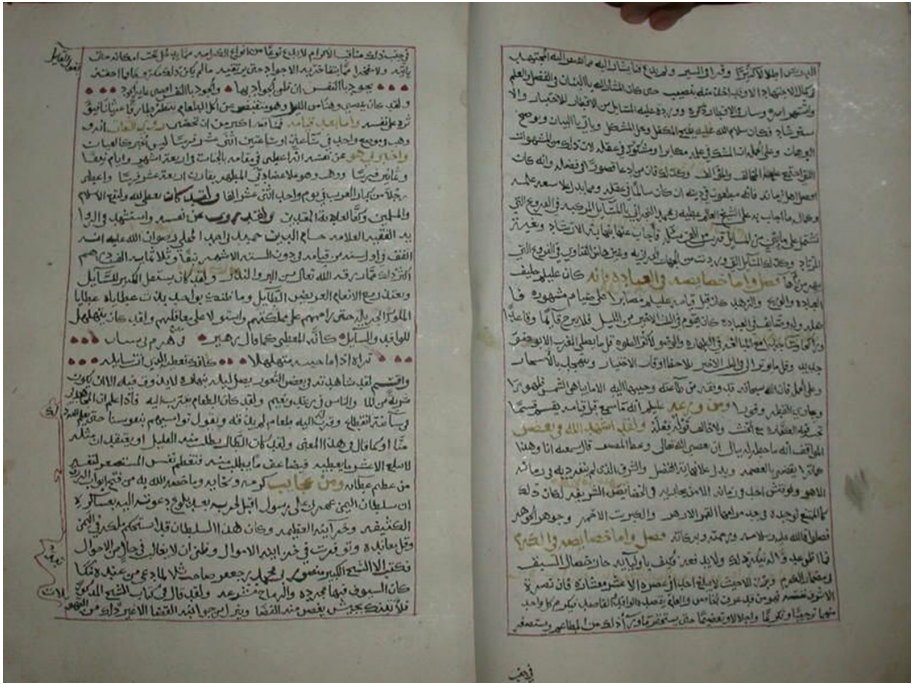


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