

# Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions

Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke

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# STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS

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# STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS

Hassan Ansari
*and*
Sabine Schmidtke

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# STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL TRADITION

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# Series Editors' Preface

Until the 1980s, research on the history of Shiism was carried out by a few isolated scholars, such as Rudolph Strothman, Gianroberto Scarcia, and Dwight Donaldson. The Iranian revolution of 1979 ushered in a wave of new interest, spurred by the realization that Twelver Shiite jurists possessed enormous social capital that could, in the right circumstances, be wielded as political power. Since the 1979 revolution a relatively large and productive group of specialists in Shiism have established themselves in the academy, both in the Middle East and the West, and have begun to write on various aspects of Shiite Islam. This critical scholarly interest has been facilitated by access to manuscript collections in the libraries of Europe and North America with significant holdings of Shiite works as well as by increased access to manuscript collections in Iran. Nonetheless, a tremendous amount of work remains to be done on the intellectual and institutional history of Shiism.

Shiism is itself a broad category, one that includes Twelver, Zaydī, Ismāʿīlī, and "extremist" and other sectarian strands. Together, these various currents cover the entire geographical and temporal expanse of the Islamic world. They reach back to the very first Islamic centuries and have made significant contributions to each and every of the various religious sciences developed in Sunni Islam. Yet, overall there remain far fewer scholars working on the Shiite traditions than on the Sunni ones.

We are delighted, therefore, to include this volume in our series. It presents the work of Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, two outstanding scholars of the Shiite tradition whose work is characterized by the ability to identify, locate, and rely on crucial unpublished manuscripts and by assiduous investigation of textual transmission as well as the transmission of ideas. Both have made important contributions to the study of Shiite Islam, including Sabine Schmidtke's *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī* (d. 726/1325) (1991) and *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Ǧumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (um 838/1434-35 - nach 906/1501)* (2001) and Hassan Ansari's *L'imamat et l'Occultation selon l'imamisme* (2017), among scores of other studies. Those included in this volume focus primarily on theology and on the reception of Muʿtazilī thought in the Zaydī and Twelver traditions, and are exceedingly important for Islamic studies generally. Whereas the Muʿtazilī movement died out ca. 1100 CE, both the Twelver Shiites and the Zaydī Shiites have adapted and preserved Muʿtazilī theology from the ninth century right up to the present day.



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Drawing on manuscript collections in Yemen, Europe, and elsewhere, the studies gathered in this volume bring to light a number of works heretofore literally or virtually unknown, and uncover entire traditions of study and transmission. They not only add to our knowledge of Twelver and Zaydī intellectual traditions but also provide the most accurate assessments to date of the relations between Iranian and Yemeni Zaydism as well as the Muʿtazilī legacy within Zaydī and Twelver Shiism.

We are grateful to Professors Ansari and Schmidtke for having offered RAIS this important collection of studies on Islamic intellectual history, and to our publisher, Billie Jean Collins, for her continued support of Arabic and Islamic Studies.

Joseph E. Lowry
Devin J. Stewart
Shawkat M. Toorawa

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# Preface

Most of the articles included in the present volume revolve around Muʿtazilism and Zaydism, both constituting fields that are "latecomers" to scholarship in Islamic studies. Their exploration among Western scholars dates back to the turn of the twentieth century, when several European libraries purchased significant collections of manuscripts of Yemeni provenance—among them the collections brought together by Eduard Glaser (1855–1908), which he sold to libraries in Berlin, London, and Vienna, and those collected by Giuseppe Caprotti (1862–1919), purchased by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan and the Bavarian State Library in Munich. The early scholarship on Muʿtazilism was initiated by Martin Schreiner (1863–1926) and his student Arthur Biram (1878–1967), who had access to the Muʿtazilite materials of the Berlin Glaser collection. The study of Muʿtazilism was resumed only decades later, when significant numbers of Muʿtazilite works became available as a result of two Egyptian scholarly expeditions to Yemen (1951–52, 1964), during which numerous manuscripts were microfilmed and subsequently published, most important among them the extant parts of the comprehensive Muʿtazilite *summa*, the *K. al-Muġnī fī abwāb al-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd* of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025). The scholarly exploration of Zaydism likewise began during the early twentieth century with Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960), who began to study the rich holdings of the Berlin Glaser collection during a visit to the city on October 5–17, 1908. Over the next couple of years he spent extended periods of time in the Berlin State Library studying a large number of Zaydī manuscripts, and his extensive scholarly output on Zaydism (published between 1910 and 1923) laid the foundation for this, at the time, entirely new field of study. Dutch scholars were also engaged in Zaydī studies, as were Italian arabists, who had the largest collections of Yemeni manuscripts at their disposal (in Milan, the Vatican, and Rome). In addition, researchers from Yemen produced important scholarship on the political and intellectual history of Zaydism, as did Egyptian scholars beginning in the 1950s. More recently, it has been Strothmann's erstwhile student Wilferd Madelung who has made major contributions to the study of Muʿtazilism and Zaydism alike.

Alongside scholarly studies, there have been numerous endeavors over the past decades to catalogue the manuscript holdings of Yemen and to preserve the material through the production of surrogates—measures that render the relevant manuscripts increasingly accessible and at the same time enhance awareness of the quantity of source texts that remain to be explored and studied. The contributions brought together in this



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volume focus on a number of selected manuscripts that are currently held by libraries in Yemen, Iran, and Europe, and their analysis provides new insights into the historical connections between Muʿtazilism and Zaydism, in Iran and in Yemen, as well as other aspects of the intellectual history of Zaydism.

Manuscripts are also the point of departure for the remaining studies included in this volume, which deal with Imāmite Šīʿism, mysticism, and bibliographical practices. The three chapters on Twelver Šīʿism focus on its doctrinal history during the period between al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and the emergence of the School of al-Ḥilla—a period during which Imāmite theologians replaced the teachings of Bahšamite Muʿtazilism by those of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) and his followers. Chapter 16 focuses on a manuscript owned by the Vatican Library of Abū Saʿd al-Ḫargūšī's *K. al-Lawāmiʿ*, which has been overlooked by earlier scholars for the simple reason (so it would seem) that Fuat Sezgin did not include the holdings of the Vatican Library in his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. The volume concludes with a chapter discussing some of the prevalent bibliographical practices and traditions among Muslim scholars during the premodern period, together with an analysis of a mid-eighteenth-century endowment deed, now owned by the Berlin State Library, that records the donation of a substantial private book collection.

The chapters of this book are derived from the following articles, which have been revised and updated:

Chapter 1: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilism after ʿAbd al-Jabbār: Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī's *Kitāb Masāʾil al-Khilāf fī l-Uṣūl* (Studies on the Transmission of Knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th c., I)," *Studia Iranica* 39 (2010), 227–278.

Chapter 2: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilism in Rayy and Astarābād: Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Sharwīn (Studies on the Transmission of Knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th c., II)," *Studia Iranica* 41 (2012), 57–100.

Chapter 3: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Muʿtazilī and Zaydī Reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*: A Bibliographical Note," *Islamic Law and Society* 20 (2013), 90–109.

Chapter 4: Hassan Ansari, Wilferd Madelung, and Sabine Schmidtke, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Rebuttal of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in a Yemeni Zaydī Manuscript of the 7th/13th Century," in *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, ed. David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch, and Sabine Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill, 2015, 28–65.

Chapter 5: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Zaydī Reception of Ibn Khallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*: The *Taʿlīq* of Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār," *Journal Asiatique* 298 (2010), 275–302.

Chapter 6: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Iranian Zaydism during the 7th/13th Century: Abū l-Faḍl b. Shahrdawīr al-Daylamī al-Jīlānī and His Commentary on the Qurʾān," *Journal Asiatique* 299 (2011), 205–211.

Chapter 7: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Cultural Transfer of Zaydī and non-Zaydī Religious Literature from Northern Iran to Yemen, Sixth/Twelfth Century

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through Eighth/Fourteenth Century," in *Globalization of Knowledge in the Post-Antique Mediterranean, 700–1500*, ed. Sonja Brentjes and Jürgen Renn, London/New York: Routledge, 2016, 141–165.

Chapter 8: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "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)," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 2 (2011), 165–222.

Chapter 9: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Literary-Religious Tradition among 7th/13th Century Yemeni Zaydīs (II): The Case of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1269)," in *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, ed. David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch, and Sabine Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill, 2015, 101–154.

Chapter 10: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Between Aleppo and Ṣaʿda: The Zaydī Reception of the Imāmī Scholar Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 4 (2013), 160–200.

Chapter 11: Hassan Ansari, Sabine Schmidtke, and Jan Thiele, "Zaydī Theology in Yemen," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 473–493.

Chapter 13: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Shīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II): Twelver Shīʿīs," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 196–214.

Chapter 14: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī: His Writings on Theology and Their Reception," in *The Study of Shiʿi Islam: History, Theology and Law*, ed. Farhad Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda, London: I. B. Tauris, 2014, 475–497.

Chapter 16: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Abū Saʿd al-Ḫargūšī and his *Kitāb al-Lawāmiʿ*: A Ṣūfī Guide Book for Preachers from 4th/10th Century Nīšāpūr," *Arabica* 58 (2011), 503–518.

Chapter 17: Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Bibliographical Practices in Islamic Societies, with an Analysis of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Hs. or. 13525," in "Histories of Books in the Islamicate World, Part I," ed. Maribel Fierro, Sabine Schmidtke, and Sarah Stroumsa, special issue, *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 4 (2016), 102–151.

Chapter 12 is a revised version of the introduction to our *Zaydī Theology in 7th/13th Century Yemen: Facsimile Edition of "Kitāb al-Maḥağğa al-Bayḍāʾ fī Uṣūl al-Dīn" of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1269)* (MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286), Tehran: Mīrāṯ-i maktūb, 2016, while Chapter 15 was previously published as part of our *The Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's Theological Writings in 6th/12th Century Syria: Facsimile Edition of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's Commentary on al-Ṭūsī's "Muqaddama" (MS Atıf Efendi 1338/1)*, Tehran: Mīrāth-i maktūb, 2013.

The articles have been updated, the transliteration and annotation systems have been unified, and the references have been brought together into a unified bibliography at the end of this volume.

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We wish to thank Brill, Oxford University Press, I. B. Tauris, Peeters, and the Société Asiatique, as well as Routledge, for granting us permission to include these articles in the present volume. We also express our gratitude to the Berlin State Library, the Bavarian State Library in Munich, the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, and the Maktabat al-awqāf, the Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt (al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya), and the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Cultural Foundation (IZbACF) in Sanaa, as well as the Library of the Iranian Parliament in Tehran, for their kind permission to reproduce the images of the manuscripts published here. We also thank Wilferd Madelung and Jan Thiele for their permission to include Chapters 4 (W. M.) and 11 (J. T.) in the present volume. A special word of thanks is due to Hanna Siurua for her careful copy editing of the entire volume. We are grateful to Joseph Lowry, Devin Stewart, and Shawkat Toorawa, the editors of the Resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies series, for having agreed to publish this volume in the series, and to Billie Jean Collins of Lockwood Press for having seen it through the press.

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# Muʿtazilism

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# Chapter One
# Muʿtazilism after ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār: Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī's *K. Masāʾil al-Ḫilāf fī l-Uṣūl*

## I.

The beginning of the scholarly investigation of Muʿtazilism dates back to the last decade of the nineteenth century. Its primary textual foundation was the collection of manuscripts that had been brought together by Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) during his repeated journeys to Yemen in 1882–84, 1885–86, 1887–88, and 1892–94, consisting mostly of Zaydī works and numerous Muʿtazilite *kalām* writings. Glaser had sold the manuscripts purchased during his first and second journeys to the Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin (nowadays the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).[1] During his subsequent trips, he continued to purchase manuscripts, offering them again to the Berlin library. After fruitless negotiations between the Königliche Bibliothek and Glaser regarding the sale of the third collection,[2]

1. The collection assembled during his first journey comprises 23 manuscripts; see Vollers, "Mittheilung." During his second journey, Glaser purchased another 242 manuscripts, which he offered in May 1886 to the Königliche Bibliothek; see Eduard Glaser's letter to the Oberbibliothekar der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin dated May 2, 1886 in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, *Acta betreffend der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften No. III.C.51* [abbreviated in the following as Acta IIIC51], ff. 7–9. Following the positive assessment of Wilhelm Ahlwardt (1828–1909) (see his "Bericht über die Glaser'sche Sammlung arabischer Handschriften," dated June 10, 1886 [Acta IIIC51, f. 26, ad 26]), the collection was bought in February 1887 for the price of 20,000 Reichsmark. Both collections are described in Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*; see also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 10/89–92.

2. Glaser offered the collection of 341 manuscripts for the price of 36,000 Reichsmark to the Königliche Bibliothek. See Glaser's letter to the Generaldirector dated September 28, 1888, together with "Verzeichnis meiner arabischen Handschriften (von Eduard Glaser)" [Acta IIIC51, ff. 99–101]. Ahlwardt was asked to assess the collection and advised the library to purchase only a select number of manuscripts or the entire collection for a lower price. In his "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Glaser'sche Sammlung," dated February 2, 1889, Ahlwardt writes: "Besonders hervorragende Werke sind nicht dabei und diese sind meistens schon vorhanden in den Berliner Sammlungen. Von Interesse ist aber doch immerhin eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Schriften, insofern sie sich bisher weder in Berlin, noch in einer anderen europäischen Bibliothek befinden. Dieselben gehören hauptsächlich in die Fächer Jura und Zeiditische Werke.... Nach meinem Dafürhalten würden etwa 170 Handschriften, also die Hälfte der angebotenen Sammlung, der Königl. Bibliothek etwas Neues bieten. Sie sind in Südarabien verfaßt und abgeschrieben. Sie sind größtentheils eine Vervollständigung der bereits erworbenen eigenartigen Glaser'schen Sammlung. Die übrigen 170 Hsn sind ja auch (zum größten Theil) nicht werthlos, es sind sogar zum Theil alte Abschriften, aber es sind theils wirkliche Dubletten, theils ihrem Inhalt nach



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it was purchased by the British Museum (328 MSS).[3] Glaser sold the fourth collection to the Austrian National Library (282 MSS).[4]

It was particularly the Berlin collection that had an immediate impact on scholarship. Among the first researchers to make use of its manuscripts was Martin Schreiner (1863–1926), a scholar of Jewish and Islamic studies who from 1894 onwards taught at the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin.[5] For his studies on Muʿtazilite *kalām*, Jewish and Muslim, viz. his "Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Literatur" (1895)[6] and "Jeschuʿa ben Jehuda" (1900),[7] Schreiner consulted some of the Muʿtazilite materials of the collection, namely, Abū Muḥammad Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ* (MS Glaser 52), a paraphrastic commentary of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī's (d. 415/1025) *al-K. al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*,[8] *al-Baḥr al-zaḫḫār* of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37) (MS Glaser 230),[9] and the *K. al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn* by Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī (MS Glaser 12).[10] It was this last text that attracted the attention of some of Schreiner's younger contemporaries. In 1902 Arthur Biram (1878–1967), Schreiner's student at the Lehranstalt, submitted his doctoral dissertation including an edition and analysis of the first part of the *Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf* dealing with substances

unbedeutend... . Von einem Preis von 36000 Mark kann, denke ich, nach Obigem schwerlich die Rede sein. Rechnen wir 170 Hsn à 60 M. = 10200 M und 175 zu 10 M. = 1750 im Ganzen nur 12000 M... . Ich glaube nicht, dass E. Glaser mit diesem Preis einverstanden sein wird; vielleicht versucht er, seine Sammlung anderswo zu verkaufen, wenn er erfährt, welchen Werth dieselbe allenfalls für K. Bibliothek in Berlin hat ..." [Acta IIIC51, ff. 111ff.]. On April 23, 1889, Ahlwardt submitted his final report on the collection with the same unenthusiastic assessment of the manuscripts, suggesting 20,000 Reichsmark as the highest possible offer [Acta IIIC51, ff. 155ff.]. The following negotiations between Glaser and the Königliche Bibliothek came to nought.

3. Or. 3717-4044. See Rieu, *Supplement*, vii, 925–928; ʿAmrī, *Maṣādir*.

4. In February 1894, Glaser offered the fourth collection again to the Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin. The few letters that were exchanged suggest that the parties did not enter into serious negotiations [see Acta IIIC51]. The Glaser collection at the Austrian National Library has been catalogued only insufficiently. A brief appraisal is offered by Grünert, "Über Ed. Glasers jüngste arabische Handschriftensammlung." See also Grünert, *Kurzer Katalog*; Ripper, *Sammlung Glaser*. An overview of the history of the different Glaser collections is given in Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, xxi–xxii. On Eduard Glaser, see also Dostal, *Eduard Glaser*; Schmidtke and Thiele, *Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) and His Collections*.

5. A biographical sketch is given by Moshe Perlmann in his introduction to Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*. See also Turán, "Martin Schreiner and Jewish Theology"; Schmidtke, *The Study of Islam and the Science of Judaism at the turn of the 20th Century*.

6. Repr. in Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 280–340.

7. Repr. in Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 503–619, esp. 505–525 ("Zur Geschichte des Muʿtazilismus").

8. On this manuscript, see Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, 10; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 4/459f. no. 5149.

9. On this manuscript, see Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, 38f.; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 4/301–304 no. 4894.

10. On this manuscript, see Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, 4; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 4/448 no. 5125. See also below, Appendix III.

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(*al-kalām fī l-ǧawhar*).[11] In 1910, Max Horten (1874–1945) presented a paraphrastic summary of the complete work,[12] followed, in 1911, by a study on the section *al-kalām fī l-ʿulūm wa-l-iʿtiqādāt* of the *Masāʾil*.[13] An edition of the entire text on the basis of MS Glaser 12 was published in 1979 by Maʿn Ziyāda and Riḍwān Sayyid.

## II.

As had already been noted by Biram and Horten, Abū Rašīd specifically refers in his *Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf* to other works of his, namely, his *K. al-Ǧuzʾ* (MS Glaser 12, f. 42a:2 = ed. Biram, 86; ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 96), *al-Naqḍ ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ* (f. 61b:10 = ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 139), *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ* (f. 112b:8 = ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 219), *al-Taḏkira* (f. 112b:8 = ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 219), and *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mušabbiha wa-l-muǧbira wa-l-ḫawāriǧ wa-l-murǧiʾa* (f. 211a:8f. = ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 375). The later biographical literature of the Muʿtazilites provides additional information on the biography and literary output of Abū Rašīd. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) reports that Abū Rašīd first adhered to the school of Baghdad but then moved to Rayy, where he became a student of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī, whom he succeeded as head of the Basran school following the latter's death in 415/1025. Of Abū Rašīd's works al-Ǧišumī specifically names *Dīwān al-uṣūl*, dealing with substances and accidents (*ǧawāhir wa-aʿrāḍ*) and God's unicity and justice (*tawḥīd wa-ʿadl*). He mentions two recensions: during his time in Rayy Abū Rašīd composed a first recension, in which the discussion of substances and accidents preceded that of God's unicity and justice ("*al-nusḫa al-rāziyya*"); during a later visit to Ǧurǧān he rewrote the work, reversing the order of the two parts ("*al-nusḫa al-ǧurǧāniyya*").[14] Moreover, al-Ǧišumī twice quotes from Abū Rašīd's *K. al-Tanbīh*,[15] both times in *al-qism al-ṯānī: al-kalām fī firaq ahl al-qibla* of al-Ǧišumī's *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*. This suggests that the *K. al-Tanbīh* was a heresiographical work. Moreover, on one occasion he quotes a statement of Abū Rašīd in which the latter refers to his *taʿlīq* on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *Aǧwibat al-sāʾil ʿan muškilāt al-Muġnī*.[16] An additional title is known through a refutation by Abū Rašīd's younger Twelver Šīʿī contemporary, al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044). In the introduction to this epistle, al-Murtaḍā refers to Abū Rašīd Saʿīd b. Muḥammad's *Ḏikr anwāʿ*

11. Biram, *Atomistische Substanzenlehre*.

12. Horten, *Philosophie*.

13. Horten, "Erkenntnistheorie," 433–448. See also GALS 1/344. The three studies by Biram and Horten have been republished in Sezgin, *Studien zur Philosophie des Abū Rašīd an-Nīsābūrī*.

14. See Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 382f. (= al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ*, MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Or. 2584A [= Ar. 1942a], ff. 128b:20–129a:13). See also Ibn al-Murtaḍā's entry in his *Ṭabaqāt*, 116.

15. See al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ*, MS Leiden Or. 2584A, ff. 40a:4f., 41a:2f. Al-Ǧišumī also attributes to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār a work entitled *Ǧawābāt masāʾil Abī Rašīd*; see Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 368 (= al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ*, MS Leiden Or. 2584A, f. 124b:10f.).

16. See al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *ʿilm al-kalām* 99, f. 182a:19f.

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*al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*.[17] Moreover, in an anonymous *taʿlīq* on Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* that had been composed or copied by one Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār in 670/1271, reference is made to Abū Rašīd's *Taʿlīq al-taqrīb*. This may have been a commentary on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *K. Taqrīb al-uṣūl*.[18]

In 1969, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda published an edition of MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 541 under the title *Fī l-tawḥīd*. The editor decided that the fragment was a commentary (*taʿlīq*) on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* that he identified as a portion of Abū Rašīd's *Dīwān al-uṣūl*.[19] A second fragment (incomplete in beginning and end) of the same commentary containing most of the chapters dealing with prophecy is preserved in the British Library (Or 8613). It was first described by A. S. Tritton[20] and later partly edited by Richard C. Martin.[21] Martin questioned Abū Rīda's identification of the fragment found in Yemen as being part of Abū Rašīd's *Dīwān al-uṣūl*, arguing that it belonged to the same supercommentary on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* as the British Library manuscript. Both manuscripts, he maintained, constituted fragments of Abū Rašīd's *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ* that may have been written down by one of his pupils.[22] Daniel Gimaret later argued that the work was composed neither by Abū Rašīd nor by any of his students, but by an anonymous later author.[23] Apart from the frequent references to Abū Rašīd throughout the

17. Al-Murtaḍā's tract is available in two editions: in his *Rasāʾil* 4/307–315, and in his *Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā*, 208–217. The tract is mentioned by Ibn Šahrāšūb (*Maʿālim*, 70f.) as *Tatimmat anwāʿ al-aʿrāḍ min ǧamʿ Abī Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī*. See also al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal*, 2/183; Ǧaʿfarī, "al-Kalām ʿinda l-Imāmiyya," 99f.

18. The manuscript is part of the library of the ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī in Shiraz. See chapter 5 in the present volume.

19. See the editor's detailed description of the manuscript in the introduction to *Fī l-tawḥīd*. The manuscript is also described in al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/759, and is misidentified there as being volume 1 of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *al-Muġnī*.

20. Tritton, "Some Muʿtazilī Ideas" [repr. in *The Teachings of the Muʿtazila*, 2/262–272], containing also an edition of ff. 29b:18–34b of the manuscript.

21. Martin, *Muʿtazilite Treatise* [includes an edition of ff. 2b:5–69b of the manuscript]. See also Martin, "Role of the Basrah Muʿtazilah," 175–189. For a critical edition of ff. 69b–85b (*bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-yahūd fī imtināʿihim min nasḫ al-šarāʾiʿ*) of the British Library manuscript, see Adang and Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilī Discussions."

22. Martin, *Muʿtazilite Treatise*, 11ff.; Martin, Identification," 389–393. See also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 4/768 n. 2. Martin expresses here the intention to publish an edition of the entire British Library manuscript Or 8613, but so far this has not materialized.

23. Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*," 73: "Reste la question de savoir qui est l'auteur de cet autre commentaire. Abū Rīda, et de même R. Martin, croient pouvoir l'identifier à Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī. Je pense en réalité qu'il s'agit d'un auteur plus tardif. Je pense d'autre part que le commentaire porte non pas directement sur les *Uṣūl* d'Ibn Ḫallād (comme semble le croire Martin), mais sur son *Šarḥ al-uṣūl*. Je m'en expliquerai dans un prochain article." The announced study has not been published.

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two fragments,[24] references to Abū Rašīd's younger contemporaries al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā[25] and Ibn Mattawayh (esp. his *Taḏkira*)[26] strongly suggest that these two manuscripts are not part of Abū Rašīd's *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ*. It seems plausible that they constitute a later redaction of Abū Rašīd's supercommentary on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* and on Ibn Ḫallād's autocommentary and ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *Takmila* to this *Šarḥ*. In the curriculum of studies of Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 656/1258), the Zaydī author ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān] is credited with a work entitled *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*. It may well be that the two manuscripts are in fact portions of this *Šarḥ*.[27]

## III.

In his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Fuat Sezgin lists a second manuscript of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī's *al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn*, viz. "Ṣanʿāʾ, uṣūl 208,"[28] and in his introduction to *Studien zur Philosophie des Abū Rašīd an-Nīsābūrī* (published in 1986) he writes: "Das 'Buch der Streitfragen' von Abū Rašīd wurde im Jahre 1979 lediglich auf Grund der Handschrift der Berliner Bibliothek ediert, bei der jedoch nach Ansicht von Biram und Horten einige Blätter fehlen. Wahrscheinlich wird man mit der Handschrift Ṣanʿāʾ die Lücken schließen oder den Tatbestand erklären können."[29] Two years prior to the publication of this statement, the new catalogue of the Maktabat al-awqāf of the Great Mosque in Sanaa had been published. Although the information provided is scant, the *incipit* and *explicit* of MS 696 (formerly *uṣūl* 208) are quoted. These, as

24. MS London, British Library, Or 8613, ff. 42a:1, 47a:3, 62b:10, 62b:18f., 63a:6, 64a:4, 67a:9, 81b:20, 101a:6f., 133b:19, 135b:16; *Fī l-tawḥīd*, 14, 149, 215, 229, 231, 280, 301, 445, 471.

25. MS British Library Or 8613, f. 19a:1.

26. MS British Library Or 8613, f. 136a:2; *Fī l-tawḥīd*, 14.

27. See chapter 8 in the present volume. Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān] is otherwise well known for his *K. al-Muḥīṭ bi-uṣūl al-imāma ʿalā maḏāhib al-Zaydiyya*, a commentary on the *K. al-Diʿāma fī taṯbīt al-imāma* of Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033). A fragment of the original *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ* seems to have been preserved in MS Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library (RNL), Firk Arab 403.

28. GAS 1/626f. no 22. The shelfmark he provides is the former number of MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 696, as given in *Fihrist kutub al-Ḫizāna al-mutawakkiliyya,* published in 1942. Margaretha T. Heemskerk also takes this manuscript to be a second copy of the text preserved in Berlin; see Heemskerk, *Suffering*, 57 n. 178.

29. Sezgin, *Studien*, viii. A brief lacuna occurs at the end of *al-ǧuzʾ al-ṯānī ʿašar* (following f. 156b). See also Biram, *Atomistische Substanzenlehre*, 5 n. 1. Horten assumed on the basis of the statement on f. 197b:2f. (= ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 353), "*wa-sa-nataqaṣṣā al-qawl fī ḏālika ʿinda ḏikrinā al-kalām fī l-aḥwāl*," that the original text included a chapter on the states (*aḥwāl*) that is missing in the present codex. See Horten, *Philosophie*, iv: "Leider ist sie uns unvollständig überkommen, da die einzige berliner Handschrift die Abhandlung über die Modustheorie, den wichtigsten Streitpunkt zwischen Basra und Baghdad, nicht enthält."

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well as the title, "*Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī l-uṣūl*," reveal that the Sanaa manuscript contains a different text than MS Glaser 12.[30] However, with the exception of Daniel Gimaret who refers to the Sanaa codex in his "Matériaux pour une bibliographie des Jubbaʾi: Note complémentaire" (published in 1984),[31] this codex seems to have gone unnoticed in the scholarly community.[32]

## IV.

MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 696[33] consists of 297 folios, 16 × 24 cm. The author and title of the work are indicated on f. 1a as *K. Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī l-uṣūl min taṣnīf al-Šayḫ al-Saʿīd Abī Rašīd Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Nīsābūrī raḥimahu llāh taʿāla* (see also fig. 1.1). The title page has a library stamp of al-Maktaba al-ʿāmma al-mutawakkiliyya al-ǧāmiʿa li-kutub al-waqf al-ʿumūmiyya fī Ǧāmiʿ Ṣanʿāʾ al-maḥmiyya,[34] followed by a note stating that the manuscript was copied for the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (r. 593/1197 to 614/1217).[35] The brief colophon at the end of the text (f. 297a; see also fig. 1.2) indicates neither the scribe nor the date or place of completion.[36] In the margin of f. 3a, there is a note recording the transfer of the codex from Ẓafār into the Awqāf library in Sanaa, dated Rabīʿ I 1348/August 1929.[37] Throughout the manuscript, there are several

30. See al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/745.

31. Gimaret, "Note complémentaire," 31–38: Gimaret's microfilm copy is now part of the Fonds Gimaret (CNRS, Institut de Récherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Section arabe), no. R00713.

32. See, e.g., EI2 Supplement fasc. 1–2, 31f. (R. Frank); al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 464f. no. 458; EncIran 1/367f. (W. Madelung); EncIslam 2/466–470 (Department of Theology), where no mention is made of this manuscript. See also Mayhūb, *Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī*.

33. During a visit to Yemen in August 2009, Schmidtke was able to consult and photograph the original codex, for which she expresses her gratitude to the Ministry of Religious Endowments. Microfilm copies of the manuscript are held by the Maʿhad al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya in Cairo, the Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt in Sanaa, the Āstān-i Quds library in Mashhad, and the Fonds Gimaret in Paris. See "al-Maḫṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿṯat al-Maʿhad," 24 no. 145; al-Mašriqī and al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs yamānī*, 459; see also above, n. 31.

34. Al-Ḫizāna al-mutawakkiliyya (which is now Maktabat al-awqāf, "al-Šarqiyya") was founded by Imam al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (d. 1367/1948). See Sayyid, "Maḫṭūṭāt al-Yaman," 195–209; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 420. On Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, see Muṭahhar, *Sīra*; EI2 11/247f. (A. Rouad).

35. The note reads as follows:

مما نسخ لخزانة مولانا ومالكنا الإمام الأجل / المنصور بالله أمير المؤمنين أبي محمد عبد الله / بن حمزة الجواد بن سليمان البرّ بن حمزة النجيب / بن علي الزاهد بن حمزة الشهيد بن الإمام القائم / بأمر الله أبي هاشم الحسن بن عبد الرحمن / الفاضل بن يحيى نجم آل الرسول بن أبي محمد / عبد الله العالم بن الحسين الحافظ بن الإمام / ترجمان الدين القاسم بن إبراهيم الغمر طباطبا بن / إسماعيل الديباج بن إبراهيم الشبه بن الحسن / الرضي بن الحسن السبط بن علي أمير المؤمنين / بن أبي طالب سيد قريش سلام الله عليهم أجمعين.

36. The colophon reads as follows:

تم ذلك والسلام ورحمة الله وبركته وصلواته على رسوله / سيدنا محمد النبي وعلى آله الطاهرين الأخيار المنتجبين وسلم.

37. The note reads as follows:

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collation (*muʿāraḍa*) notes by Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226), who together with Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh is the recipient of an *iǧāza* issued by Sadīd al-Dīn ʿAmr b. Ǧamīl [Ǧumayl][38] (dated 3 Rabīʿ II 606/ October 5, 1209) that is found at the end of the codex (ff. 297a–b; see below, Appendix II).[39] Two collation notes (ff. 234a, 243a) suggest that Ibn al-Walīd had an additional copy of the text at his disposal, which he considered as unsatisfactory as the present copy.[40] The

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الحمد لله هذا من كتب الوقف منقولًا من ظفار بأمر مولانا أمير المؤمنين المتوكل على الله رب العالمين حفظه الله وأحيا به معالم الدين / وأمر بوضعه / في المكتبة العامة / الجامعة لكتب / الوقف التي / أمر بعمارتها / بإزاء الصومعة / الشرقية با/لجامع المقدس / بمحروس مدينة / صنعاء / بتاريخه / ربيع الأول / سنة 1348.

On al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's library in Ẓafār, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/609; al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 3/1283–1311.

38. On him, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/840–842 no. 529; Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/379–382 no. 967.

39. The document is written in a different hand from the main text, possibly by Ibn al-Walīd. The *iǧāza* is explicitly mentioned in al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/841, and has evidently served as a source for various entries of *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* and *Ṭabaqāt*. It is also mentioned by al-Manṣūr bi-llāh in his *K. al-Šāfī* (1/155ff.). See below, Appendix II. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254) states in his *Maḥāsin al-azhār fī manāqib imām al-abrār wa-walīd al-aʾimma al-aṭhār al-imām amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, 379, that he was granted the same *iǧāza* by ʿAmr b. Ǧumayl in 606/1209.

40. The note on f. 234a reads as follows: *balaġa muʿāraḍatan wa-taṣḥīḥan bi-ḥasab al-imkān maʿa ḍuʿf al-nusḫatayn maʿan wa-llāh walī al-tawfīq*. The note on f. 243a states: *balaġa bi-ḥasab al-imkān bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-mannihi ʿalā nusḫa ġayr muhaḏḏaba maʿa l-istiqṣāʾ*. See also ff. 7a, 20b, 28a, 37b, 43b, 44b, 46a, 48a, 62b, 64a, 70a, 77a, 82b, 108a, 112b, 119b, 127b, 140a, 141a, 149a, 151b, 154a, 161b, 165b, 171a, 183b, 194a, 202a, 206b, 208b, 212a, 218a, 222b, 225b, 238b, 244a, 257a, 267b, 277a, 289a, where the simple note "*balaġa*" is found in the margin. On f. 262a there is note that reads *balaġa bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-mannihi*. Nota bene notes (indicated as "*unẓur*") are found on ff. 28b, 254b, 256a, 256b, 257a (for this use of *unẓur*, see Gacek, *Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, 142). Additional notes in the same hand containing corrections (all concluded by *ṣaḥīḥ*, abbreviated as *ṣḥ*) are found on ff. 1b (partly damaged), 2a, 3b, 5b, 6a, 6b, 11b, 12a, 12b, 15a, 17a, 18a, 18b, 19b, 20a, 20b, 21a, 21b, 23b, 24a, 26b, 29b, 30a, 31a, 31b, 32a, 34a, 35a, 37b, 39a, 41a, 44a, 46a, 46b, 47a, 48b, 49a, 49b, 51a, 54b, 55a, 58a, 59b, 62b, 65a, 65b, 66b, 70a, 72a, 73b, 75a, 76b, 77b, 78a, 79a, 80b, 81b, 83b, 84a, 84b, 89a, 89b, 92b, 93a, 94a, 94b, 101b, 102a, 104b, 105b, 107b, 108a, 108b, 111b, 112a, 112b, 113b, 116a, 119a, 119b, 120a, 121b, 122a, 122b, 127b, 128b, 129a, 132b, 133a, 135b, 138a, 142b, 143a, 146b, 148a, 149b, 150b, 151a, 151b, 152a, 154a, 156a, 156b, 157a, 157b, 158a, 159a, 163b, 166b, 168a, 171b, 172a, 173b, 174b, 175a, 178a, 181b, 183b, 187b, 191b, 192a, 194a, 194b, 195a, 198b, 200b, 201b, 202a, 205b, 206a, 207a, 208a, 208b, 209a, 209b, 211a, 211b, 213b, 214a, 215a, 215b, 216a, 216b, 217b, 219b, 220a, 222b, 225b, 226a, 227a, 229a, 229b, 230b, 233a, 234a, 235b, 237a, 238a, 239a, 239b, 240a, 241b, 242a, 242b, 243b, 244b, 246a, 247a, 248a, 248b, 249b, 250a, 252a, 254a, 257b, 258b, 259a, 259b, 260b, 261a, 262a, 263a, 271a, 271b, 272b, 273a, 273b, 274a, 274b, 275a, 282b, 284a, 285b, 288a, 289a, 291a, 291b, 292b, 293a, 295b. 296a, 296b. See also ff. 4b, 5a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 7a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 9a, 11a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 19a, 21b, 22b, 23a, 25a, 38a, 44b, 52b, 55b, 56a, 58a, 63b, 69b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 73a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 74a, 76a, 81b, 86a, 96b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 97a, 99a, 100b, 104a, 117b, 119a, 121a, 122a, 127b, 141b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 154b, 162b, 172a, 177a (introduced by *[a]ẓ[unnu]*), 178a, 179a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*, entire margin note crossed out), 179b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*, entire margin note crossed out), 180a, 188b, 190b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 191a, 193b, 194b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 196b, 198a, 199a, 199b, 201a, 204b, 211a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 212a, 215b

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last note on f. 297a is dated Ǧumādā II 606/December 1209 and signed by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd (see also fig. 1.2).[41]

Ibn al-Walīd is otherwise known to have written a refutation of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's positions with regard to the status of the first three caliphs in his *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, titled *Minhāǧ al-salāma fī masāʾil al-imāma*;[42] a refutation of the section on the imamate in Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārazmī's (d. 536/1141) *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, titled *al-Ǧawāb al-nāṭiq al-ṣādiq bi-ḥall šubah K. al-Fāʾiq*;[43] and a refuta-

(introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 218a, 218b, 220b, 225a, 226a, 229a (introduced by *aẓunnhu*), 229b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*, entire margin note crossed out), 230a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 231a (note crossed out), 231b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 232a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*, one of the two notes crossed out), 233a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*, entire note crossed out), 233b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*, entire note crossed out), 234b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*, entire note crossed out), 238b, 241a, 243b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 244b, 246a (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 246b, 260a, 261a, 262b, 267b, 268b, 269a, 274b (introduced by *aẓunnuhu*), 281b, 287a. On one occasion (f. 22b) Ibn al-Walīd adds a comment (*ḥāšiya ... intahā*). For interlinear corrections in the same hand, see ff. 4a, 7b, 9b, 10b, 11a, 13b, 14a, 17b, 18a, 18b, 20a, 20b, 21b, 24a, 24b, 26a, 31b, 32a, 44b, 47a, 51a, 52b, 55a, 56a, 58a, 58b, 66b, 70a, 74a, 76a, 81b, 82a, 86b, 87a, 93a, 94a, 95b, 113a, 141b, 142a, 143a, 144b, 145b, 148b, 150a, 157a, 158b, 162b, 164a, 164b, 166a, 167a, 174b, 180a, 181b, 185b, 188a, 191b, 193b, 195b, 197a, 199b, 201b, 203a, 213a. There are additional marginal notes that are possibly by a different hand; see, e.g., ff. 169b, 170b, 178b, 179a, 182a, 186b, 188b, 192b, 195b, 198a, 203b, 205b, 207a, 207b, 208a, 209b, 210a, 210b, 212a, 212b, 213a, 216b, 217a, 217b, 218b, 240a, 250a, 260a, 269b, 288a, 289a, 293b, 294b, 295a.

41. The note on f. 297a reads as follows:

تمّت المعارضة بحسب الإمكان بحمد الله ومنّه مستهلّ جمادى الآخرة من سنة ست وستمائة بعناية محمد بن أحمد بن الوليد بالمدرسة المنصورية بحوث أحسن الله ايامه مقيمها وكتب محمد بن أحمد بن الوليد بتاريخه.

Ibn al-Walīd collated other codices that had been copied for the *ḫizāna* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, among them a copy of volumes 1 and 3 of al-Ǧišumī's *Šarḥ al-ʿUyūn* (see below, n. 42) and volume 2 of al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh's (d. after 420/1029) *K. al-Iḥāṭa*, preserved as MS Leiden Or. 8409 [= Ar. 1942b]; see his collation note on f. 249b, dated Šawwāl 605/April–May 1209. The transcription of the codex was completed in Šaʿbān 605/February–March 1209 (see the colophon on f. 249b). On Ḥūṭ, see al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 1/490–536.

42. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 3/76 no. 3071. MSS Leiden Or. 2584A and 2584B contain a nearly complete copy of Ǧišumī's *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, comprising *qism* 1–4 [*al-muǧallad al-awwal*] and 7–9 [*al-muǧallad al-ṯāliṯ*], which had been copied for the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān (volume 1 completed on 7 Ramaḍān 608/February 12, 1212, and volume 3 completed in Ǧumādā II 608/November–December 1211) and which had been collated by Ibn al-Walīd; see MS Leiden Or. 2584A [= Ar. 1942a], f. 283a, containing his last collation note in this codex, dated Muḥarram 609/June–July 1212, and Or. 2584B [= Ar. 1942c], f. 270b, dated Ǧumādā II 608/November–December 1211. MS Leiden Or. 2584B, ff. 271a–285b, contains a copy of his *Minhāǧ al-salāma fī masāʾil al-imāma*, transcribed in Ramaḍān 608/February–March 1212 and collated by the author in the same year. See Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts* (1980), 214, 395; Witkam, *Inventory*, 164f. On Ibn al-Walīd's refutation, see also Ansari, *Miyān-i kalām wa falsafa*, 297-306.

43. Both refutations were composed in Ramaḍān 608/February–March 1212. *Al-Ǧawāb al-nāṭiq* is extant at the end of two manuscripts of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *al-Fāʾiq*, MSS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 557, ff. 282b–293 (incomplete in the end) and no. 558, ff. 222–244; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 587,

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tion of the section on the imamate in ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *al-Muġnī*, entitled *al-Ǧawāb al-ḥāsim al-mufnī bi-ḥall šubah al-Muġnī*.[44] From his pen, we also have *al-Ǧawāhir wa-l-durar al-mustaḫraǧa min Šarḥ Abī Muḍar*, a summary of Abū Muḍar Šurayḥ b. al-Muʾayyad's (fl. fifth/eleventh century) *Asrār al-ziyādāt wa-lubāb al-maqālāt li-qamʿ al-ġahālāt*;[45] *Sīrat al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza*;[46] *Taḥrīr zawāʾid al-Ibāna*, a redaction of glosses of various scholars from Iraq on the *Ibāna fī l-fiqh* of al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūš (d. 304/917);[47] a recension of the *Amālī* of al-Muršad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī (d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106), entitled *Tartīb al-Amālī al-ḫamīsiyya*;[48] a summary (*muḫtaṣar*) of al-Ǧišumī's *Ǧalāʾ al-abṣār*;[49] and *Hidāyat al-mustaršidīn*, a collec-

693f. (that the tract is extant at the end of no. 557 remains unmentioned in the catalogue). See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/378 no. 1093. On this tract, see also Ansari, *Miyān-i kalām wa falsafa*, 331-335.

44. The text is incompletely preserved in MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 550; for the extant parts, see ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *Muġnī*, 20/262–264; see also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/370 no. 1066; Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 121.

45. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/384 no. 1111; cf. 2/159 no. 1931, where Ibn al-Walīd is said to have composed a *Šarḥ al-Ziyādāt*. This may be a conflation with his *Muḫtaṣar*, especially since no extant manuscript is mentioned. A manuscript of Ibn al-Walīd's text is preserved in the Maktabat Šaraf b. Qāsim al-Waǧīh; see al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/659. Another copy is preserved in Munich (MS Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1193); see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 288–290 no. 135. Abū Muḍar's *Asrār al-ziyādāt* is preserved in two copies in the Maktabat al-awqāf in Sanaa, nos. 1137, 1139; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/899f. On Abū Muḍar, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/395–398 no. 662; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/485f. no. 284; Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, English introduction, 19f.

46. According to ʿAbd al-Salām al-Waǧīh, a manuscript of the text is preserved in the library of the Great Mosque in Sanaa, together with the *K. al-Šāfī* of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (d. 614/1217); see his edition of al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/696 (footnote). This information could not be confirmed on the basis of the published catalogues. On Ibn al-Walīd, see also Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/243–245 no. 519, 3/234–238 no. 881, 4/184–188 no. 1093; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāǧim riǧāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb [K. al-Ṭabaqāt fī ḏikr faḍl al-ʿulamā wa-ʿilmihim wa-muṣannafātihim]*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr [a printout of the manuscript is preserved at the library of the Centre français d'archéologie et des sciences sociales de Sanaa (CEFAS)], ff. 66b–67a; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/417–421 no. 246, 2/912–916 no. 561; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 844f. no. 901; al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 1/492. Some members of Ibn al-Walīd's family were Ismāʿīlī Ṭayyibī *dāʿī*s, among them the renowned ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872/1468). On the genealogy of Idrīs, see the introduction to Sayyid, *Fatimids*. See also Hamdani, "Ḥātim ibn Ibrāhīm," 258–300, and Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, 118–121, for other possible members of the same family.

47. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/914. The *K. al-Ibāna* is preserved together with the commentary of Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hawsamī al-Nāṣirī al-Qāḍī (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century); see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 502f. no. 268 (= Cod. Arab. 1329).

48. This text has been published repeatedly; see bibliography.

49. *Masālik al-abrār al-manẓūm min Ǧalāʾ al-abṣār*; see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 844. A manuscript of this text is preserved in al-Maktaba al-nāṣiriyya of Lucknow; see Amīnī, *Mawsūʿat al-ġadīr*, 4/21.

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tion of *fatāwā* of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh.[50] In addition, Ibn al-Walīd composed a refutation (entitled *al-Risāla al-rādiʿa*) of a polemical tract against the Zaydiyya and al-Manṣūr in particular by the Šāfiʿite-Ašʿarite *faqīh* Abū l-Qabāʾil/Abū l-Faḍāʾil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Manṣūr b. Abī l-Qabāʾil (d. 609/1212–13 in Ḏī Ǧibla), which in turn was a refutation of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *al-Risāla al-nāfiʿa bi-l-adilla al-wāqiʿa*, entitled *al-Risāla al-dāmiġa*.[51] Abū l-Qabāʾil reacted with a counterrefutation, *al-Risāla al-ḫāriqa li-ahl al-milla al-māriqa*. Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh responded by writing his *K. al-Šāfī*, in which he usually quotes Ibn al-Walīd's text, which is not independently preserved.[52]

The text of the *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī l-uṣūl* displays some of the characteristic features of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī's writings as known from his *al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn* as well as from the two preserved fragments of the later redaction of his *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ*. As is the case with these two works, the present work bears witness to the author's proficiency in and predilection for poetry (see ff. 25a, 30b, 31a, 45b, 49a, 49b, 50a, 50b, 53a, 88a, 88b, 113a, 188a). As regards its structure, it closely resembles the text preserved in MS Glaser 12. In both *Masāʾil* works the chapters open with *al-kalām fī* and are further divided into sections invariably introduced as *masʾala fī …*.[53] Moreover, in both works Abū Rašīd devotes the first part of each section as a rule to arguments supporting his own view, followed in the second part by a critical assessment of the counterarguments of the opponents. These sections are introduced in the present codex with titles such as *ḏikr ǧumla min šubahihim fī hāḏihi l-masʾala wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (e.g., f. 78a; see also below, Appendix I). Typical titles for these sections in MS Glaser 12 are *ḏikr* [*ǧumla min*] *asʾilatihim* (or *asʾilat man ḫālafanā*) [*fī hāḏihi l-masʾala*] (or *allatī yumkin īrāduhā fī nuṣrat qawl man ḫālafanā*] *wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 15b:2f. = ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 51; f. 27a:12f. = 72; f. 31b:6 = 79; f. 40b:2f. = 95; f. 50a:18f. = 121; f. 52a:8f. = 124; f. 86b:5f. = 179; f. 142b:19f. = 265; f. 148b:11f. = 274; f. 212a:20 = 378).

As to the identity of the Sanaa codex, there are a number of indications that suggest that it can be identified as the *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mušabbiha wa-l-muǧbira*

50. Al-Waǧīh mentions a copy of the text in the private library of Āl Taqī in the village of Šibām; see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/420 n. 4. In addition, the work has been preserved in the redaction (*ǧamʿ wa-tahḏīb*) of Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Murādī, *al-Muhaḏḏab fī fatāwā al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza ʿalayhi al-salām* (ed. al-Waǧīh).

51. An edition of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *al-Risāla al-nāfiʿa* is included in al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, *Maǧmūʿ rasāʾil*, 1/381–481. Abū l-Qabāʾil's *al-Risāla al-dāmiġa* is lost.

52. On this work, see Plato, *Identitätskonstruktion in der jemenitischen Zaidīya*. The identity of the Šāfiʿite-Ašʿarite author is revealed by Yāqūt in his *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, 2/106; al-Ǧanadī, *Sulūk*, 2/193; al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 1/492, 3/1296, 3/1415f.; Yaḥya b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ġāyat al-amānī*, 1/406; al-Ḫazraǧī, *ʿUqūd* (1911–14), 1/233f. Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *al-Šāfī* is available in a publication of 1406/1986. Altogether, Ibn al-Walīd is said to have composed 27 writings; see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/238.

53. The division of *al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn* in the Ziyāda/Sayyid edition into two *aqsām* (*al-qism al-awwal: qism al-ǧawāhir*, and *al-qism al-ṯānī*) was made by the editors and has no foundation in the manuscript. See also fig. 1.5.

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*wa-l-ḫawāriǧ wa-l-murǧiʾa* to which Abū Rašīd refers in his *Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn*. The reference to it in the latter work (f. 211a:8f. = ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 375:24f.) clearly relates to f. 32a:5–11 of *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī l-uṣūl:*

| *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī l-uṣūl*, MS Maktabat al-awqāf 696, f. 32a:5ff. | *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn*, ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 375:24f. |
|---|---|
| قيل له: إن هذا العلم الضروري لا بد من أن يكون له طريق يستند إليه وأنتم قد أفسدتم على أنفسكم طريقه بتجويز ما جوّزتموه وذلك أن طريق العلم بأنه ليس بحضرتنا أجسام عظيمة هو العلم بأنها مهما كانت رأيناها فإذا جوزنا أن تكون ولا نراها وجب أن لا نثق بانتفائها، ويبين ذلك أن الأعمى إذا جوز أن يكون بحضرته جسم عظيم ولا يراه لم يثق بانتفائه وأحدنا إذا جوز أن يكون بحضرته أجسام رقيقة كأجسام الملائكة ولا يراها لم يثق بانتفائها فكذلك لو جوّزنا أن يكون بحضرتنا أجسام عظيمة ولا نراها وجب أن لا نثق الان بانتفائها وأن يكون [بحضرتنا ... يكون: إضافة في هامش الأصل] البصير منا كالضرير في هذا التجويز ... | ألا ترى أنا نثق بما ندركه متى حصل فينا ما ذكرناه من العلم بأنه مهما كان بين أيدينا جسم وحالتنا هذه رأيناه وإن لم نعلم تفصيل ما ينفصل من الشعاع عن العين. وليس كذلك سبيل ما قاله من خالفنا في الرؤية لأن العلم بأنه ليس بحضرتنا جسم عظيم لشاهدناه مستندًا إلى العلم بأنه مهما كان رأيناه بدلالة أن الأعمى لما جوز أن يكون ولا يراه لم يثق بانتفائه، وكذلك لما جوزنا أن يكون بين أيدينا ملائكة ونحن لا نراهم لم نثق بانتفائهم، وإمارة أن يكون أحد الأمرين مستندًا إلى الآخر أن ما يستند إليه متى زال فعلى طريقة واحدة يزول الثاني، وإذا حصل صح أن يحصل الثاني. وقد تقصينا الكلام في هذه المسألة في مسائل الخلاف بيننا وبين المشبهة والمجبرة والخوارج والمرجئة فلا وجه لإعادته. |

A further indication is that the structure of the present work (see also the detailed table of contents in Appendix I) reflects the title, *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mušabbiha wa-l-muǧbira wa-l-ḫawāriǧ wa-l-murǧiʾa*. Abū Rašīd arranged the topics discussed according to the groups he intended to refute: The first chapter, which is devoted to qualifications that are to be denied of God (ff. 1b–55a), addresses positions that are usually associated with the "anthropomorphists" (*al-mušabbiha*). The following chapters, on justice (ff. 55aff.), will (ff. 70aff.), the Qurʾān (ff. 101bff.), the created (ff. 127bff.), generated actions (ff. 192bff.), capability, moral obligation (*taklīf*), and divine assistance (*luṭf*) (ff. 213aff.), are primarily directed against the *muǧbira*. With respect to both groups, Abū Rašīd has specifically the Kullābiyya and the Ašʿariyya in mind. The chapters on the threat (*al-kalām fī l-waʿīd*, ff. 268bff.) and on the intermediary position (*al-kalām fī l-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*, ff. 288bff.) are directed against the *muǧbira*, the Murǧiʾites and the Ḫāriǧites.[54] The work ends with a brief chapter on commanding the good and prohibiting the reprehensible (*al-kalām fī l-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*), which is directed against the Twelver Šīʿīs and Ḫāriǧites (ff. 295bff.).[55] Occasionally Abū Rašīd refers to spe-

54. See specifically ff. 178b:19, 192a:13 (*al-mušabbiha*); 113b:13, 168b:7, 255b:6, 255b:10 (*al-kullābiyya*); ff. 52b:17, 54a:7, 189b:25, 208a:8, 290a:1, 291a:9, 296b:14 (*al-ḫawāriǧ*); 55a:15, 57a:17, 64a:8, 68b:8, 69a:12, 87b:7, 91b:11, 93a:1, 134b:1, 148b:6, 172a:20, 185b:16, 186a:12, 189a:17, 189a:20, 189b:20, 189b:21, 190a:18, 190a:19, 190a:21, 190a:23, 190b:6, 190b:8, 190b:10, 190b:14, 190b:15, 190b:17, 190b:19, 190b:21, 190b:24, 191a:2, 191a:4, 191a:8, 191a:10, 192a:13, 192a:15, 192a:20, 192b:3, 230b:11, 232a:18, 249b:14, 258b:13, 259b:14f., 264b:10, 283a:13 (*al-muǧbira*); 291a:9 (*al-murǧiʾa*); see also ff. 62a:12, 236a:9 (*al-mulḥida*); 63b:6f. (*aṣḥāb al-tanāsuḫ*); 111b:8 (*al-karrāmiyya*); 189b:20, 190a:5, 190a:21, 191a:9f., 249b:14 (*al-qadariyya*); 196b:11f., 213a:10f., 222b:4 (*aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*).

55. See also f. 293a:11 (*wa-ḏahaba qawm min al-imāmiyya ...*).

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cific opponents, such as Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Qalānisī al-Rāzī (f. 42b:12, *baʿḍ al-ǧuhhāl min al-kullābiyya wa-huwa al-maʿrūf bi-l-Qalānisī*),[56] Ibn Kullāb (d. 241/855?) (ff. 85b:10, 107b:9), al-Aš$^{c}$arī ("Ibn Abī Bišr," d. 324/936) (ff. 44b:14f., *Ibn Abī Bišr al-ǧāhil*; 85b:10; 101b (margin); 112b:5; 177b:3, *aṣḥāb Ibn Abī Bišr*; 186b:2), al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Naǧǧār (d. ca. 220/835) (ff. 55a:14f., *al-Naǧǧār wa-sāʾir al-muǧbira*; 85b:12; 107b:8; 167b:10; 167b:20; 181a:6; 225b:25),[57] Burġūṯ (d. 240/855 or 241/856) (ff. 88b:18, 138b:6),[58] Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. ca. 200/815) (ff. 54a:12, 54b:18), and Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. between 270/883–84 and 280/893–94) (f. 222a:5).

It seems that the text of the *Masāʾil* is incompletely preserved in the present manuscript. Unlike Abū Rašīd's *al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn*, the text has no *ḫuṭba* or any other kind of introduction but opens immediately with a *masʾala fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yakūna ʿāliman bi-ʿilm qadīm* (f. 1b:2) following the *basmala*. Moreover, in contrast to the remaining chapters of the text, the first chapter dealing with qualifications that are to be denied of God is not introduced by a chapter heading (*al-kalām fī*). From f. 234 onward, there are regular notes indicating that a fascicle (*ǧuzʾ*, pl. *aǧzāʾ*) ends (f. 234b, *yatlūhu fī l-ǧuzʾ al-sābiʿ ʿašar dalīl āḫar*; see also ff. 243a, 251a, 262a, 270b, 287b), suggesting that the text was originally divided into 21 fascicles. As is common practice in medieval Arabic manuscripts,[59] the division into fascicles is independent of the division into chapters in the present codex. Comparison with MS Glaser 12 shows that a similar codicological division into fascicles runs through the entire manuscript with no connection to the chapter division.[60] These are invariably concluded with the same formulae that can be encountered throughout the last 63 leaves of the present manuscript.[61] The evidence of the two codices suggests that the division into *aǧzāʾ* originated with Abū Rašīd in both cases. It thus seems that for most of the present codex, notes indicating the beginning and end of the fascicles were dropped by the copyist of no. 696, if not already by the copyist of the antegraph at his disposal.

56. On al-Qalānisī, see Gimaret, "Cet autre théologien," 227–262.

57. On him, see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 4/147–170.

58. On him, see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 4/162–166.

59. See Humbert, "Les guzʾ," 77–86; Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 69, 79; Gacek, *Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, 23.

60. See also Horten, *Philosophie*, iv: "Das Prinzip für die Abteilung der Bücher muß ein ganz äußerliches gewesen sein, da es vielfach enge Zusammenhänge durchbricht. Vielleicht war der Abschluß eines Buches durch die Größe des Umfanges bestimmt, oder jedes Buch ist das, was abu Raschid auf einmal diktierte."

61. See MS Glaser 12, ff. 13b (end of fasc. 1), 27a (end of fasc. 2), 40b (end of fasc. 3), 54a (end of fasc. 4), 68a (beginning of fasc. 6), 80a (end of fasc. 6), 81a (beginning of fasc. 7), 93b (beginning of fasc. 8), 106a (end of fasc. 8), 107a (beginning of fasc. 9), 120a (beginning of fasc. 10), f. 132a (end of fasc. 10), 133a (beginning of fasc. 11), 145a (beginning of fasc. 12), 157a (beginning of fasc. 13), 168b (end of fasc. 13), 169a (beginning of fasc. 14), 180b (end of fasc. 14), 181a (beginning of fasc. 15), 193a (beginning of fasc. 16), 204b (end of fasc. 16), 205a (beginning of fasc. 17).

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Twice, Abū Rašīd mentions titles of other works of his in the present codex. On f. 8b:16 he refers to something he has explained in his *al-Masāʾil al-kabīra*, and on f. 119a:17f. he speaks of his addendum to his *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf* (by which he means most likely his *al-Masāʾil al-kabīra*), *innā qad bayyannā fī Kitāb mā yulḥaq bi-Masāʾil al-ḫilāf....*[62] Together with the additional reference to his *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mušabbiha wa-l-muǧbira wa-l-ḫawāriǧ wa-l-murǧiʾa* in his *al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn*, the following chronological order of his *Masāʾil* works can be established:

*al-Masāʾil al-kabīra* (= *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf*)
↓
*Kitāb mā yulḥaq bi-Masāʾil al-ḫilāf*
↓
*Masāʾil al-ḫilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mušabbiha wa-l-muǧbira wa-l-ḫawāriǧ wa-l-murǧiʾa* (= *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī l-uṣūl)* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf 696)
↓
*al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn* (MS Glaser 12)

Throughout the text, Abū Rašīd refers to numerous earlier scholars, indicating at times specific titles. Among his own teachers in *kalām*, he mentions *šayḫunā Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Qarmīsīnī raḥimahu llāh* [*fī Naqḍ al-lumaʿ*] (f. 50b:1). This theologian, who is not known on the basis of any other source, was possibly a descendant of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qarmīsīnī, to whom Abū Rašīd refers in his *al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn*[63] and whom al-Ǧišumī describes as one of the followers of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī (d. 319/931) in Ḫurāsān.[64] It may well be that Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Qarmīsīnī was likewise an adherent of the

62. In addition, Abū Rašīd repeatedly refers his readers to earlier writings of his in a less specific manner, e.g., ff. 22b:7 (*qad bayyannā fī l-kutub*), 157b:7 (*qad bayyannā fī l-kutub*), 282b:7 (*wa-qad bayyannā fī ġayr mawḍiʿ min al-kutub*), 283a:21f. (*wa-qad bayyannā annahu dalīl fī l-kutub*), 157b:7 (*qad bayyannā fī l-kutub*), 215b:2f. (*wa-qad bayyannā fī l-kutub*), 282b:7 (*wa-qad bayyannā fī ġayr mawḍiʿ min al-kutub*), 283a:21f. (*wa-qad bayyannā annahu dalīl fī l-kutub*). In addition, he repeatedly uses similar phrases that may refer to earlier writings of his own or of his Muʿtazilite predecessors; e.g., ff. 22b:2 (*qad buyyina fī l-kutub*), 35a:5f. (*wa-qad buyyina ḏālika fī l-kutub*), 63a:2 (*bi-mā buyyina fī l-kutub*), 74a:19 (*wa-qad buyyina ḏālika fī l-kutub*), 84a:8 (*bi-mā buyyina fī l-kutub*); 103a:9f. (*kamā yaǧrī fī kaṯīr min al-kutub*), 120a:15f. (*li-anna hāḏā mimmā yubayyanu ṣiḥḥatuhu fī ġayr mawḍiʿ min al-kutub*), 123b:3 (*wa-qad buyyina fī l-kutub*), 131b:11 (*wa-qad buyyina fī l-kutub*), 133a:22 (*wa-qad ḏukira ḏālika fī l-kutub*), 139a:11 (*li-mā buyyina fī l-kutub*), 139b:12 (*fa-huwa maḏkūr fī l-kutub*), 139b:14 (*ʿalā mā buyyina fī l-kutub*), 200b:16 (*wa-qad buyyina ḏālika fī l-kutub*), 280b:18f. (*wa-qad buyyina fī l-kutub*), 287b:3 (*wa-qad buyyina fī l-kutub*), 295b:17f. (*ʿalā mā buyyina* [?] *min al-šarāʾiṭ fī l-kutub*).

63. MS Glaser 12, f. 28b:20 = ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 74:18.

64. See Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 320. See also Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaqāt*, 101f.; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft,* 4/255; el Omari, *Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī*, 130. *Naqḍ al-lumaʿ* may be a refutation of al-Ašʿarī's (d. 324/935–36) *K. al-Lumaʿ fī uṣūl al-dīn*; another refutation of the same work was authored by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī. See Gimaret, "Document majeur," 186ff.

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school of Baghdad with whom Abū Rašīd had studied before he moved to Rayy, where he became a student and follower of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī. Abū Rašīd also refers to two men from whom he transmits *ḥadīṯ*, namely, Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Nīsābūrī (d. 376 or 378/986–87 or 988–89)[65] and Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Muqrī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 381/991),[66] who both transmit from Abū Yaʿlā Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Muṯannā b. ʿĪsā b. Hilāl al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919–20)[67] (f. 53b:11f.).[68] The *Masāʾil* also attest that Abū Rašīd had attended sessions devoted to *kalām* in which the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) had actively participated (f. 181b:1f., *wa-qad samiʿtu l-Ṣāḥib raḍiya llāh ʿanhu yaqūlu …*).[69] Apart from single references to Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. ca. 244/858) and his *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* (f. 25a:3), to the grammarian Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987)[70] (f. 25a:11, *al-šayḫ Abū ʿAlī al-naḥwī raḍiya llāh ʿanhu*), and to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) (f. 99b:14), Abū Rašīd occasionally refers to Baġdādī theologians, viz. Bišr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. between 210/825 and 226/840) (f. 259b:13, *Bišr b. al-Muʿtamir … wa-kāna raʾīs al-Muʿtazila wa-šayḫ al-Baġdādiyyīn*), Ǧaʿfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850)[71] (f. 101b:14), and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī's *Naqḍ al-Sirǧānī* (f. 52b:14f.).[72] The majority of references are to earlier representatives of the Basran school, viz. Abū l-Huḏayl (d. 227/841–42) (ff. 46a:2, 148b:1, 149b:16f.); Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 303/915–16) (ff. 45b:8, 48b:10, 78a:3, 81b:9, 82a:2, 98b:7, 100a:15, 100b:5, 126a:12, 128a:14, 131a:21, 134a:14, *Abū ʿAlī fī kutubihi wa-ġayruhu min al-šuyūḫ al-mutaqaddimīn*; 180b:4, 181a:6, 183b:2f., 184a:13, 187a:14, 188a:8, 211b:4, 224b:5, 232a:18, 236b:9, 247a:12, 252a:6, 273a:15, 275a:5, 278b:16, 286a:12,

65. On him, see GAS 1/204 no. 242. Abū ʿAmr is also explicitly mentioned as Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī's teacher by Muntaǧab al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his lost *Tārīḫ al-Rayy*; see Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 3/42. The manuscript (f. 53b:11) erroneously has Abū ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. al-Nīsābūrī.

66. On him, see GAS 1/205 no. 245; DMB 4/658–660 (Hassan Ansari).

67. On him, see Schützinger, *Das Kitāb al-muʿǧam*; Schützinger, "Abū Yaʿlā al-Mauṣilī"; EncIslam 2/714-717 (M. Sadeghi). A new edition of Abū Yaʿlā's *K. al-Muʿǧam* has been published by Ḥusayn Salīm Asad (1989). Abū Yaʿlā's chain of transmission is indicated by Abū Rašīd as follows (f. 53b:12–14): Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī ← Muḥammad b. al-Minḥal [al-Tamīmī al-Baṣrī al-Ḍarīr] (d. 231/845–46) ← ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb [b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdawī] (d. 206 or 207/821 or 822) ← Ḫālid b. Mihrān al-Ḥaḏḏāʾ (d. 141/758–59 or 142/759–60) ← Abū Qallāba ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd (d. between 104/722–23 and 107/725–26) ← Abū Ḏarr [al-Ġifārī] (d. 31 or 32/651–52 or 652–53). The tradition cited here by Abū Rašīd (f. 53b:11–15) is not included in the *Musnad Abī Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī*, but it is found in *al-Kāmil li-bn Adī*, 5/39 (with some slight differences in the *isnād*).

68. There is also an unspecific reference to *baʿḍ al-mutaʾaḫḫirīn min al-muḥaddiṯīn* (f. 49b:2f.).

69. Ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 285 (= MS Glaser 12, f. 155a:14): *wa-la-qad samiʿtu kāfī l-kufāt yaqūlu …* That Abū Rašīd attended the circle of Ibn ʿAbbād is also attested in al-Muḥallī, *Maḥāsin al-azhār*, 2/126. Al-Muḥallī's statement is gleaned from *Sīrat al-Imām al-Muʾayyad* of al-Muršad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Šaǧarī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106) (al-Muršad bi-llāh, *Sīra* [2003], 38).

70. On him, see EncIslam 1/457–467 (E. Fatehi Nezhad).

71. On him, see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 4/68–76.

72. On this work (the title is erroneously given in the manuscript as *ʿalā "l-Marḥānī"*), see el Omari, *Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī*, 104.

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289b:13, 290a:5, 292a:15, 294a:7, 295b:3, 296a:18) and specifically his *K. al-Asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt* (f. 46a:3),[73] his *Ǧawābāt masāʾil al-Ḫurāsāniyya* (ff. 74a:21f., 286b:5, *fī baʿḍ al-nusaḫ min Ǧawābāt li-l-Ḫurāsāniyyīn*),[74] and his *Tafsīr* (f. 98b:8);[75] Abū ʿAlī's son Abū Hāšim (d. 321/933) (ff. 40a:7, 74a:20, 82a:4f., 92a:10f., 96b:1, 100b:5, 100b:9, 100b:15, 108b:1, 114a:9, 122a:17, 128a:14, 131a:21, 131b:7, 131b:13, 134a:15, 139a:18, 177b:13, 179a:5, 179a:10, 184a:15, 184b:8, 185a:6, 185b:11, 187a:6, 199b:13, 208a:17, 209a:9f., *inna qawl šayḫinā Abī Hāšim qad iḫtalafa fī kutubihi*; 210b:14, 210b:17, 211b:14, 224b:5, 225a:5, 225a:15, 227a:15, 228b:5, 231b:4, 232a:6, 235b:18, 237a (margin), 237b:9, 238a:2f., 241b:17, 245b:3, 246a:2, 246b:22, 250b:19, 251b:8, 261a:6, 261a:11, 273b:19, 279a:16, 286b:2f., 286b:23, 289a:25, 289b:14, 295a:1, 295a:11, 295b:6, 296a:18) and specifically his *Naqḍ al-irāda* (f. 155a:11f.),[76] his *al-Baġdādiyyāt* (f. 200b:17),[77] his *al-Ǧāmiʿ* (f. 134a:17), and, more specifically, his *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr* (f. 228b:5);[78] Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980) (ff. 75a:21, 134a:19) and specifically his *Naqḍ al-mūǧiz* (f. 125a:2); and, toward the end of the text, *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (ff. 269b:10, 270a:11, 272a:4) and specifically his *K. al-Muġnī* (f. 271a:20f., *qāla fī mawḍiʿ min bāb al-tawba min K. al-Muġnī …*).[79]

Comparison with ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *K. al-Muġnī* shows that this book constituted Abū Rašīd's principal source, the main difference between the two being that the latter selected and rearranged the material from the *Muġnī* according to his own book's characteristic structure and at times added some details that are not found in ʿAbd al-

73. On this work, see Gimaret, "Matériaux," 280f. no. 3; Gimaret, "Note complémentaire," 32 no. 3.

74. On this work, see Gimaret, "Matériaux," 286 no. 15; Gimaret, "Note complémentaire," 33 no. 15.

75. On his *Tafsīr*, see Gwynne, *The "Tafsir" of Abu ʿAli*; Gimaret, *Tafsīr*; Nabhā (ed.), *Tafsīr Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī*.

76. On this work, see Gimaret, "Matériaux," 325 no. 30; Gimaret, "Note complémentaire," 38 no. 30.

77. On this work, see Gimaret, "Matériaux," 308ff. no. 10; Gimaret, "Note complémentaire," 36f. no. 10.

78. On Abū Hāšim's *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr* and his *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr*, see Gimaret, "Matériaux," 313ff. nos. 14 and 15; Gimaret, "Note complémentaire," 37f. nos. 14 and 15. Occasionally the author refers to Abū ʿAlī and Abū Hāšim as *al-šayḫān* (ff. 128a:14, 211a:9, 296a:18).

79. Abū Rašīd here quotes *K. al-Muġnī*, 14/319:10–14. Throughout the text, there are also unspecific references to *šuyūḫunā* (ff. 29b:15, 42b:19, 45b:3, 51a [margin], 92b:4, 101a:10, 152a:5, 158b:19, 160a:17, 169b:18, 175a:1, 186b:8, 224a:11, 249b:14, 286a:4, 295b:17), *mašāyiḫunā* (f. 277a:11), *al-šuyūḫ* (f. 134a:21), *šuyūḫunā al-Baġdādiyyūn* (f. 48b:7f.), *al-Baġdādiyyūn* (f. 65b:4), *aṣḥābunā* (ff. 51b:9, 111b:8, 115b:8, 136a:1, 136b:17, 181a:6, 259b:12, 261b:4), *ahl al-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd* (f. 191a:22), *ahl al-luġa* (ff. 24b:17, 25b:2, 45b:5, 45b:14, 51a:1, 52b:21, 97b:5, 103a:20, 103b:18, 106b:5, 106b:21, 113a:14 [*ḏakarahu ahl al-luġa fī kutubihim*], 173b:15, 175a:10f., 175a:19, 175b:1, 176a:13f., 176b:17, 177a:14, 186b:9, 279a:17, 279b:3f., 284b:15, 288b:17f.), *al-muslimūn* (ff. 30b:7, 42b:9, 42b:21, 96a:4, 101a:4, 101a:7, 167a:17, 167a:18, 183b:10, 271b:14, 272a:13, 293a:13, 293a:21, 295b:7), *ǧamāʿa min al-muslimīn* (f. 89b:6), *al-salaf* (ff. 44b:15, 50a:6), *al-mufassirūn* (f. 44b:17), *al-fuqahāʾ* (f. 52a:15), *al-ṣahāba* (ff. 53b:21, 267b:10, 290a:7), *aṣḥāb al-aṣlaḥ* (ff. 60a:9, 263b:19, 265b:1), *al-ʿuqalāʾ* (ff. 93a:15, 188a:3), *ahl al-ʿilm* (ff. 100b:4, 268a:5), *al-mutakallimūn* (ff. 109a:19, 127a:5, 281a:16), *ahl al-ʿarabiyya* (ff. 112a:15, 278a:22 [*inna ahl al-ʿarabiyya qad bayyanū fī kutubihim*]), *al-ʿarab* (f. 124b:19), *ahl al-lisān* (f. 174a:21), *ahl al-naḥw* (f. 283a:14), *ahl al-ṣināʿāt* (f. 288b:21), *ahl al-ḥadīṯ* (293b:5).

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Ǧabbār's *Muġnī*.[80] The following sample illustrates Abū Rašīd's dependence on his source and shows that he retained some degree of independence from it. It is possible that the *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fi l-uṣūl* was written as a summary of the *Muġnī*.

| *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf fī l-uṣūl*, no. 696, ff. 134a:13–134b:13 (from *Masʾala fī anna l-ʿibād muḥdiṯūn li-taṣarrufihim*) | *K. al-Muġnī*, vol. 8 (*al-kalām fī l-maḥlūq*), 25:4–26:12 |
|---|---|
| دليل آخر: وقد استدل عليه بالمدح والذم واعتمد على ذلك شيخنا أبو علي في كتبه وغيره من الشيوخ المتقدمين: | فأما الاستدلال على أن تصرف العبد فعله بالذم والمدح وحسن الأمر والنهي فقد **اعتمد** عليه **شيخنا أبو علي** رحمه الله **في كتبه، وغيره من الشيوخ المتقدمين.** |
| وذكره أبو هاشم إلا أنه انما أتبعه بأن قال: وإن كان الذي نعتمده هو وقوع تصرفه بحسب قصده وإرادته وعلمه وقدره، وربما مضى عليه ولم يعترضه. وقد ذكر في الجامع أن الاستدلال على أن المتولد فعله فذلك لا يصح لأنه يجب أن يعلم أن فعله أو لا. ثم يحكم بحسن الأمر به أو النهي عنه أو المدح عليه أو الذم. | **وذكره** شيخنا **أبو هاشم** رحمه الله أيضًا **إلا أنه ربما أتبعه بأن قال: وإن كان الذي نعتمده هو وقوع تصرفه بحسب قصده وإرادته وعلمه وقدره، وربما مضى عليه ولم يعترضه. وقد ذكر في الجامع أن الاستدلال على أن المتولد فعله** بذلك **لا يصح لأنه يجب أن يعلم** أنه **فعله أو لا. ثم نحكي بحسن الأمر به والنهي عنه** والذم **والمدح عليه**. |
| وقال الشيخ أبو عبد الله: يمكن أن يستدل به ثانياً. فأما في الابتداء الاستدلال على أن تصرف زيد فعله فلا يمكن ولا يقدح ذلك في إحتجاج الشيوخ بذلك على المجبرة لأنهم قصدوا به إلى إبطال قولهم أن تصرف العبد فعل لله تعالى لأنه لا بدّ من القول بأن فعل الغير لا يحسن أن يؤمر به وينهى عنه. وما علم أنه ليس بفعل له لا يحسن مدحه ولا ذمه عليه | والشيخ **أبو عبد الله** رحمه الله يقول: أنه **يمكن أن يستدل به ثانيًا. فأما في** ابتداء **الاستدلال على أن تصرف زيد فعله فلا يمكن ولا يقدح ذلك في احتجاج الشيوخ بذلك على المجبرة. لأنهم قصدوا به الى إبطال قولهم أن تصرف العبد فعل لله لأنه لا بد من القول بأن فعل الغير يحسن أن يؤمر به وينهى عنه. وما علم أنه ليس بفعل له لا يحسن** ذمه ومدحه **عليه**.<br>وإنما النظر في التصرف الذي نحن فيه واقفون، هل يجوز أن يعلم أنه فعل لزيد بالأمر والنهي والذم والمدح، أم لا؟ فأما مع القطع على أنه ليس بفعل له فلا إشكال أنه لا يحسن ذلك فيه. |
| وقد قيل أن العلم بحسن الأمر والنهي والمدح والذم لا يحصل الا وقد حصل العلم بتعلق تصرف العباد بهم ووقوعها بحسب قصدهم ودواعيهم لأن من لم يعلم ذلك أولًا لم يعلم أنه فعلهم ومتى علم الحوادث على طريق الجملة وعلم وقوعها بحسب قصد العباد ودواعيهم صحّ أن يعلم حسن الأمر والنهي والذم والمدح فلهذا وجب تقدم ذلك العلم عليه ومتى علم ذلك عليه صحّ أن يستدل على أنه حادث من جهتهم بحسن الأمر والنهي والمدح والذم كما يصح أن يستدل عليه بوجوب وقوعه بحسب قصدهم لأنه كما يعلم مفارقة تصرفه لتصرف غيره في وقوعه بحسب قصده فكذلك يعلم مفارقته له في حسن ذمه ومدحه ونهيه وأمره فيصح الاستدلال ب٠<br>ه، قيل له: لا يعقل للكسب معنى ما سنبينه من بعد... | واعلم أن **حسن الأمر والنهي والمدح والذم لا يحصل** العلم به، **إلا وقد حصل العلم بتعلق تصرف العباد بهم** ووقوعه **بحسب قصدهم ودواعيهم، لأن من لم يعلم ذلك أولًا لم يعلم** حسنها **ومتى علم الحوادث على الجملة وعلم وقوعها بحسب قصد العباد ودواعيهم** من نفسه وغيره **صحّ أن يعلم حسن الأمر والنهي والذم والمدح فلهذا وجب تقدم ذلك العلم عليه. ومتى علم ذلك صحّ أن يستدل به على أن حادث من جهتهم بحسن الأمر والنهي** والذم والمدح، **كما يصح أن يستدل عليه بوجوب وقوعه بحسب قصدهم، لأنه كما يعلم مفارقة تصرفه لتصرف غيره في وقوعه بحسب قصده فكذلك يعلم مفارقته له في حسن ذمه ومدحه** وأمره ونهيه. **فيصح الاستدلال بكل واحد من**<br>على ما حكيتموه عن أبي هاشم رحمه الله وصحة ذلك تبطل ما ذكرتموه من صحة الاستدلال به، لأنه يؤدي الى أن يستدل بالشيء على ما يعلم قبله ... |

The present manuscript therefore constitutes the second extant work by Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī whose authenticity is firmly established. Unlike his *al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn*, it covers a much wider range of theological issues and can rightly be considered a systematic theological *summa*. As such, not only can it provide additional insights into Abū Rašīd's theological thought, as it is based in significant parts

80. See, e.g., ff. 45bff. = *Muġnī*, 4/162ff.; 46a:16ff. = 4/176ff.; 49a:9ff. = 4/197ff.; 49b:10ff. = 4/199ff.; 50aff. = 4/207ff.; 52b = 4/226;154bff. = 8/143ff.; 155aff. = 8/144ff.

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on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *K. al-Muġnī*; it may also help add to our knowledge of the contents of those parts of the *Muġnī* that are no longer extant.

## Appendix I: Table of contents of MS Maktabat al-awqāf 696

***Mas'ala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yakūna ʿāliman bi-ʿilm qadīm* (f. 1b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 4a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 5b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 8b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 8b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 9a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 10a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 11a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 11a)
*Ḏikr al-kalām fī ǧumla min šubahihim wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 11a)
*Šubha uḫrā* (f. 13a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 14a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 16a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 16b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 17a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 17a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 18a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 18a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 18a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 18b)

***Mas'ala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā laysa bi-ǧism* (f. 19b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 21a); *Dalīl āḫar* (ff. 21b–22a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 22a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 22b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 22b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 25b)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 25b)

***Mas'ala*** *fī anna l-qadīm taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yakūna fī makān* (f. 27b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 28a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 28a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 28b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 30b)
*Ḏikr al-kalām ʿalā šubha lahum* (f. 30b)

***Mas'ala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yurā bi-l-baṣar* (f. 31b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 37b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 39a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 41b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 45b)
*Ḏikr al-kalām fī ǧumla min šubahihim fī hāḏihi l-masʾala wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 46a)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 46a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 47a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 48a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 49a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 51a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 51b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 52a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 52a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 52b)

***Mas'ala*** *fī anna llāh lā yaǧūzu an yudraka bi-ḥāssa sādisa ʿalā mā yuḥkā ʿan Ḍirār* (f. 54a)

***Mas'ala*** *fī ibṭāl mā ḏahaba ilayhi Ḍirār anna li-llāh taʿālā māʾiyya lā yaʿlimuhā illā huwa* (f. 54b)

***al-Kalām fī l-taʿdīl wa-l-taǧwīr*** (f. 55a)

***Mas'ala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā qādir ʿalā mā law faʿalahu kāna qabīḥan* (f. 55a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 55b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 56a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 56a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 56b)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 56b)

***Mas'ala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yaḫtāra l-qabīḥ* (f. 57a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 60a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 61a)

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***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-qabīḥ lā yaǧūzu an yaqbuḥa li-ḥāl tarǧaʿu ilā fāʿilihi min kawnihi muḥdiṯan wa-mūǧiban* (?) *wa-lā yaqbuḥu li-wuǧūd al-nahy* (f. 61a)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yuʾlima l-aṭfāl illā wa-yuḍamminu l-ʿiwaḍ ʿalayhi* (f. 62b)
***Masʾala*** *ʿalā aṣḥāb al-tanāsuḫ fī qawlihim anna l-ālām lā taḥsunu illā iḏā kānat mustaḥaqqa* (f. 63b)

***Masʾala*** *fī ḥusn taklīf man yuʿlamu annahu yakfuru* (f. 64a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 64b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna taklīf man yuʿlamu annahu yakfuru niʿma wa-iḥsān kamā annahu ḥusn wa-ḥikma* (f. 68b)

***al-Kalām fī l-irāda*** (f. 70a)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yakūna murīdan li-nafsihi* (f. 70a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 73a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 76a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 77a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 77a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 77b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 77b)
*Ḏikr ǧumla min šubahihim fī hāḏihi l-masʾala wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 78a)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 78a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 79a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 80a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 80b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 81a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 82a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 82b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-irāda wa-l-karāha lā tataʿallaqān bi-an lā yakūnu l-šayʾ wa-anna irādat al-šayʾ lā takūnu karāha li-ḍiddihi wa-lā karāha lahu an lā takūna* (f. 82b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 83b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 83b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 83b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yurīda l-qabīḥ wa-l-mubāḥ* (f. 84b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 85a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 86a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 86a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 86a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 86a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 86b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 87a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 87b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 88b)
*Ḏikr ǧumla min šubahihim wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 88b)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 88b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 93a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 94a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 94b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 95a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 95b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 96a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 96b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 97a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 97a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 98a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 98b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 99a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 101a)

***al-Kalām fī l-Qurʾān*** (f. 101b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-kalām mā lahu niẓām maḫṣūṣ min al-ḥurūf* (f. 101b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 102a)

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***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-mutakallim innamā yakūnu mutakalliman li-annahu faʿala l-kalām* (f. 104b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yakūna mutakalliman li-nafsihi* (f. 108a)

***Masʾala*** *fī ibṭāl al-qawl bi-annahu taʿālā mutakallim bi-kalām qadīm* (f. 111a)
*Ḏikr ǧumla min šubahihim wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 114b)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 114b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 119b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 123b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 124b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 126b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 127a)

***al-Kalām fī l-maḫlūq*** (f. 127b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-ʿibād muḥdiṯūn li-taṣarrufihim* (f. 127b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 133b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 134a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 136b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna taṣarruf al-nāʾim fiʿluhu* (f. 139a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 139a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 139a); *Waǧh āḫar* (f. 140b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-qudra lā tataʿallaqu bi-l-šayʾ illā ʿalā waǧh al-iḥdāṯ* (f. 141a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 142a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 142a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 142b)

***Masʾala*** *fī istiḥālat kawn al-maqdūr al-wāḥid maqdūran li-qādirayn* (f. 143a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 144b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 146b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 147a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 149a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 150a)
*Ḏikr ǧumla šubahihim fī hāḏihi l-masʾala wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 150a)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 150a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 154a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 154b)

***Masʾala*** *fīmā yulzimu man aḍāfa afʿāl al-ʿibād ilā llāh taʿālā min al-fasād* (f. 155a)
*Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 158a); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 159b); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 160a); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 161b); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 167b); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 169b); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 171b); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 172a); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 172b); *Waǧh āḫar min al-ilzām* (f. 173b)
*Ḏikr ǧumla min šubahihim fī l-maḫlūq wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 177b)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 177b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 179b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 180a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 181a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 181b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 182a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 182b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 183b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 183b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 184a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 184a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 186a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 187a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 187b); *Šubha lahum* (f. 187b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 187b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 188a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 188a)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-qadariyya hum al-muǧbira* (f. 189b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 190a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 191a)

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*Šubha ~~uḫrā~~ lahum* (f. 191b)

***al-Kalām fī l-tawlīd*** (f. 192b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna aḥadanā yaǧūzu an yafʿala fī ġayrihi* (f. 192b)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 193a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 199a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 199a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 199a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 199a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 199b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 199b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 200a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 200b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 203a)
*Ḏikr ǧumla min [al-kalām fī] šubahihim wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (f. 203a)
*Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 207b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 208a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 208b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 209b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 210a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 212a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 213a)

***al-Kalām fī l-istiṭāʿa*** (f. 213a)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna min ḥaqq al-qādir ʿalā l-šayʾ an yakūna qādiran ʿalā ǧins ḍiddihi iḏā kāna lahu ḍidd* (f. 213a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 214a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 214b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 217b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 219a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 219b)
*Ḏikr al-kalām fī šubahihim* (f. 220a)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 220a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 222b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 223b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 223b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 224b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 224b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-qudra lā yaǧūzu an takūna mūǧiba* (f. 225b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-qudra mutaqaddima li-maqdūrihā* (f. 226a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 227a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 227a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 227a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 231b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 232a); ~~*Dalīl āḫar*~~ ***yatlūhu fī l-ǧuzʾ al-sābiʿ ʿašar*** (f. 234a); ***bi-sm Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm al-ḥamd li-llāh al-wāḥid al-ʿadl*** | *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 234b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 234b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 234b)
*Ḏikr šubahihim* (f. 235a)
*Šubha uḫrā* (f. 236a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 236a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 237a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 237b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 238a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 238a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 238b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 238b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 240a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 240b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 240b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 241a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 241a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 241a) | ***wa-yatlūhu fī l-ǧuzʾ allaḏī yalīhi faṣl yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh waḥdihi wa-ṣallā Allāh ʿalā rasūlihi sayyidinā Muḥammad al-nabī wa-ālihi al-ṭayyibīn al-ṭāhirīn wa-l-salam*** (f. 243a) | ***Faṣl*** *yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika* (f. 243a)

***Masʾala*** *fī qubḥ taklīf mā lā yuṭāqu* (f. 244a)

***Masʾala*** *fī ibṭāl mā yaḏhabūna ilayhi fī l-badal* (f. 249b)

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*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 250a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 250a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 250a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 250a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 250b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 250b) | ***yatlūhu ḏikr ǧumla min šubahihim wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh waḥdihi wa-ṣalāt Allāh ʿalā Muḥammad wa-ʿalā ālihi al-ṭāhirīn wa-salam ʿalayhi wa-ʿalayhim aǧmaʿīn*** (f. 251b)

*Ḏikr ǧumla min šubahihim* (f. 251b)

*Šubha uḫrā* (f. 253a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 257a)

***Masʾala** fī l-arzāq* (f. 257b)

***Masʾala** fī taḥlīl al-makāsib* (f. 258a)

***Masʾala** fī l-āǧāl* (f. 258b)

***Masʾala** fī wuǧūb al-luṭf ʿalā llāh taʿālā* (f. 259b)

*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 262a) | ***yatlūhu fī l-ǧuzʾ alladī yalīhi min al-kalām fī l-luṭf fa-in qīla wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh waḥdihi wa-ṣallā llāh ʿalā rasūlihi sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-salam*** (f. 262a)

***al-Kalām fī šubahihim wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā*** (f. 263b)

*Šubha lahum* (f. 263b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 266a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 266a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 266b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 267a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 267b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 267b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 267b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 268a)

***al-Kalām fī l-waʿīd*** (f. 268b)

***Masʾala** fī anna l-ʿiqāb yustaḥaqqu ʿalā l-maʿāṣī ʿalā sabīl al-dawām* (f. 268b)

***yatlūhu fī l-ǧuzʾ alladī yalīhi dalīl āḫar*** (f. 270b) | ***bi-sm Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm al-ḥamd li-llāh al-wāḥid al-ʿadl*** | *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 270b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 271b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 272b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 273a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 273a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 273a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 273b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 274a)

***Masʾala** fī anna l-fussāq yadḫulūn al-nār* (f. 277a)

*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 278b): *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 278b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 278b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 279a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 279a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 279a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 279b)

*Ḏikr al-kalām fī šubah al-muḫālifīn fī hāḏihi l-masʾala wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā* (ff. 279b–280a)

*Šubha uḫrā* (f. 280a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 280b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 281a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 281b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 282b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 283b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 284a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 285a); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 285b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 286a) | ***yatlūhu faṣl yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika wa-llāh aʿlam bi-l-ṣawāb wa-ilayhi al-marǧiʿ wa-l-maʾāb wa-l-salām wa-raḥmat Allāh wa-barakātuhu*** (f. 287b)

***Masʾala** fī ʿaḏāb al-qabar* (f. 287b)

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***al-Kalām fi l-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*** (f. 288b)

***Masʾala*** *fī ǧawāz naql al-ism min luġa ilā dīn* (f. 288b)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-naql qad waqaʿa* (f. 289a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 289b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 289b); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 289b)

***Masʾala*** *fī ibṭāl qawl al-ḥawāriǧ* (f. 290a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 290a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 290a); *Dalīl āḫar* (f. 290a)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 290a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 290a); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 290b); *Šubha uḫrā* (f. 291a)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna fussāq ahl al-ṣalāt lā yaǧūzu an yūṣafū bi-l-nifāq* (f. 291b)
*Šubha* (f. 291b)

***Masʾala*** *fī ibṭāl al-qawl bi-anna man yartakibu al-kabāʾir min ahl al-ṣalāt kāfir* (f. 292a)

***Masʾala*** *fī anna l-īmān wa-l-dīn sawāʾ wa-ka-ḏālika l-islām* (f. 293a)
*Dalīl āḫar* (f. 293a)

***Masʾala*** *iḏā lam naʿlam ḏālika hal naqūlu anā muʾmin in šāʾ Allāh* (f. 293a–b)

***Masʾala*** *fī ṣiḥḥat al-qawl bi-anna l-īmān yazīdu wa-yanquṣu* (f. 294b)
*Šubha lahum* (f. 294b); *Šubha uḫrā lahum* (f. 295b)

***al-Kalām fi l-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*** (f. 295b)

***Masʾala*** *fī ḥukm al-dārayn* (f. 296a)

## Appendix II: Edition of *iǧāza*, f. 297a–b

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

[1] قال الشيخ العالم الفقيه سديد الدين عمرو بن جميل بن ناصر النهدي أدام الله سعادته:

[2] استخرتُ الله سبحانه وأجزتُ لمولانا أمير المؤمنين وإمام المسلمين عليه وعلى آبائه السلام، وكذلک أجزتُ لمحمد بن أحمد بن علي بن الوليد ولغيره من المسلمين أن يرووا عني ما يجوز لي روايته سماعًا وإجازةً ومناولةً وقراءةً على الشيوخ ومكاتبةً، وجميع ما لي فيه حقّ الرواية من ذوي العلم على اختلاف أصنافها بالشرائط المرعية المأخوذة في هذا الباب على أرباب الرواية والنقل، وتلفظتُ لهم بالإجازة مفتوحًا على كرمهم العميم وخلقهم الكريم أن يمدّوني بالدعوات الصالحة، حاضراً كنتُ عندهم أو غائبًا، وأن لا[81] ينسوني عند بعد العميد (؟) ولا يطرحوني

81. وأن لا: ولا، + أن، إضافة فوق السطر.

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جانبًا والله تعالى يُمنحني بقبولهم إيّايّ وإقبالهم عليّ وإسدائهم الجميل إليّ.

[3] واتفق للمملوك الداعي عمرو بن جميل بن ناصر النهدي تحرير هذه الأسطر ضحوة النهار من يوم الإثنين الثالث من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ست وستمائة بهجرة قَطَابر[82] حرسها الله تعالى بالصالحين من عباده.

[4] [83] فمن جملة ما حصل سماعه لعمرو بن جميل بن ناصر النهدي أصلح الله شأنه **كتاب جلاء الأبصار في تأويل الأخبار**[84]. قال عمرو بن جميل: هذا قرأتُه بتمامه ببلدة شاذياخ بنيسابور[85] على أستاذي وشيخي السيد الإمام مفخر الأنام الصدر الكبير العالم[86] مجد الملة والدين افتخار[87] آل[88] طه ويس ملك الطالبية شمس آل رسول الله أستاذ[89] جميع الطوائف الموافق منهم والمخالف قبلة الفرق تاج الشرف **يحيى بن إسماعيل بن علي الحسيني**[90] برّد الله مضجعه ونوّر مهجعه. قال: أخبرنا به عمي السيد الإمام الزاهد **الحسن بن علي العلوي**[91] رحمه الله[92] قال: أخبرنا به الشيخ الإمام **علي بن حَمَك المغيثي**[93] رحمه الله عن مصنّفه، في أوائل جمادي الأولى سنة سبع وتسعين وخمسمائة.

[5] [94] ومنها **كتاب الأمالي للسيد الإمام الناطق بالحق أبي طالب الهاروني**[95] قدّس الله روحه. قال عمرو بن جميل: هذا قرأتُه بتمامه على أستاذي وشيخي المقدم ذكره بشاذياخ نيسابور في غرة المحرم سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة، وهو يروي عن عمه السيد الإمام الزاهد الحسن بن علي الحسيني الجُوَيني.

[6] [96] ومنها **الصحيفة الكاملة المنسوبة إلى زين العابدين**[97] عليه السلام. قال عمرو بن جميل: هذا قرأتُها بتمامها على أستاذي بشاذياخ نيسابور، وهي سماع له عن أبيه في غرة شهر المحرم سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة.

[7] [98] ومنها **الصحيفة الرضوية المنسوبة إلى علي بن موسى الرضى**[99] عليه السلام، وهي سماع له عن عمه السيد الإمام الزاهد **الحسن**

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82. For Qaṭābir, located in the vicinity of Ṣaʿda, see al-Ḥaǧarī, *Maǧmūʿ*, 2/655; al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 3/1688–1692.

83. Parts of paragraph 4 are quoted in al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/840:5–7; 3/1210:3–6.

84. *Ǧalāʾ al-absār fī taʾwīl* (or *mutūn*) *al-aḫbār*, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī. See Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, English introduction, 18 no. 4.

85. For Šāḏyāḫ, see Bulliet, *Patricians of Nishapur*, 79f., 127.

86. العالم: + العامل، مطلع البدور.

87. افتخار: وافتخار، مطلع البدور.

88. آل: -، مطلع البدور.

89. أستاذ: إسناد، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.

90. Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (d. after 600/1203–4); see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1209f. no. 768.

91. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/65 no. 404; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/309f. no. 170.

92. رحمه الله: + عليه (مشطوب).

93. ʿAlī b. Ḥamak b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamak al-Bayhaqī al-Muġīṯī; see al-Bayhaqī, *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaq*, 151.

94. Parts of paragraph 5 are quoted in al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/840:7f.

95. *K. al-Amālī* of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033); see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 110f. no. 29.

96. Parts of paragraph 6 are quoted in al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/840:8f.

97. *Al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila* (or *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-saǧǧādiyya*) of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (d. 94/712 or 95/713); see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 322f. no. 522; Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 34f.

98. Parts of paragraph 7 are quoted in Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/381; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/309:5f., 2/840:9f.

99. *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā* of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203/818); see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 323 no. 523.

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**بن علي الحسيني** أيضًا بروايته عن الشيخ الإمام **عثمان بن إسماعيل**[100] عن الشيخ الإمام الزاهد **علي بن الحسن الصندلي**[101] رحمهم الله في تاريخ شهر المحرم سنة ثمان[102].

[8] [103] ومنها **كتاب نهج البلاغة**[104] وكذلك **خطبة الوداع**[105]. ومات رحمه الله ولم يكتب السماع فكان أمر الله هو المطاع. وكان سماع هذين الكتابين أيضًا ببلدة شاذياخ بنيسابور في مدرسة الصدر المقدّم ذكره في الصُفّة الشرقية في شهر رمضان سنة ستمائة بقراءة الإمام الأجل الأعلم الأفضل معين الدين تاج الإسلام والمسلمين افتخار الأفاضل والأماثل في العالمين **أحمد بن زيد بن علي الحاجّي البيهقي**[106] بحضور الشيخ الإمام العالم[107] الفاضل البارع منتجب الدين تاج الإسلام والمسلمين سيّد النحاة القراء **سالم بن أحمد بن سالم البغدادي**[108] والشيخ الإمام العالم نجيب الدين جمال الإسلام افتخار التُجار **الحسين بن محمد الواسطي** وجماعة غيرهم وفقهم الله وإيّانا لسلوك منهاج الدين والاقتداء بالأبرار والصالحين بحقّ محمد وآله أجمعين.

[9] [109] ومنها **كتاب الأمالي لأبي سعد إسماعيل بن علي بن الحسين السمان**[110]. قال عمرو بن جميل: هذا قرأته بتمامه على الإمام العالم العابد[111] الزاهد الورع التقي النقي[112] شهاب الدين عماد الإسلام والمسلمين مفتي الشريعة مقتدى علماء الشيعة **إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن إبراهيم الجياني** بقرية الجي من رستاق الري [٧٩٢ب] سنة خمس وتسعين وخمسمائة. قال: أخبرنا به الشيخ الإمام العالم الزاهد تاج الدين **علي بن أبي طالب الأسداباذي**. قال: أخبرنا به الشيخ الإمام العالم الزاهد **أحمد بن حسكا بن بابا الأذوني**[113]. قال: أخبرنا به الشيخ الإمام العالم **أبو الحسن طاهر بن الحسين السمّان**[114]، قال: أخبرنا الشيخ الإمام العم **أبو سعيد إسماعيل بن علي بن الحسين السمان** المصنِّف رحمهم الله أجمع.

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100. Nothing else is known about this person. According to Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/381, his name is ʿUmar b. Ismāʿīl or ʿAmr b. Ismāʿīl.

101. الصندلي: الصيدلي، مطلع البدور؛ العبدلي، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.

Al-Zāhid ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṣandalī al-Nīsābūrī al-Ḥanafī (d. 384/994–95); see al-Ṭabarī, *Bišārat al-muṣṭafā*, 69; al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak*, 1/220; Ibn Abī l-Wafā al-Qurašī, *al-Ǧawāhir al-muḍiyya*, 1/357–359; al-Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ al-islām*, 33/129f.; ʿAbd al-Ġāfir al-Fārisī, *Muḫtaṣar*, 305f.; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntaḫab*, no. 1324.

102. ثمان: ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.

103. Parts of paragraph 8 are quoted in Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/316; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/840:10–13.

104. *Nahǧ al-balāġa* of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015); see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 295 no. 461; Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 13–15.

105. See Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Hayṯamī, *Buġya*, 79f.; al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, 13/223; see also ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad*, 1/33.

106. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/299f. no. 119; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/103f. no. 34, 1/120f. no. 47.

107. العالم: + العامل، مطلع البدور.

108. Died 611/1214–15; see al-Munḏirī, *Takmila*, 2/1371; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maǧmaʿ al-ādāb*, 5/509f. no. 5592.

109. Parts of paragraph 9 are quoted in Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/138 no. 17; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/67 no. 6, 2/841:1–3.

110. *Amālī* of Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. between 440/1048 and 447/1056); see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/575f. no. 340; al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 17/55–60; Ansari, "Un *muḥaddiṯ* muʿtazilite zaydite."

111. العابد: -، مطلع البدور وطبقات الزيدية الكبرى.

112. النقي: -، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.

113. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Qāsim Bābā; see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/292 no. 104; Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, 4/353f.

114. Died after 482/1089–90 in Rayy; see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/535 no. 318; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 3/293.

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[10] [115] ومنها **كتاب الشهاب في الأخبار للإمام أبي عبد الله القضاعي**[116] بإسناده إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه. قال عمرو بن جميل: هذا سمعتُه بإسناده مع[117] الإمام العالم الأجلّ الأعزّ الأخصّ الأشرف ركن الملة والدين شيخ الإسلام والمسلمين اختيار الملوك والسلاطين مفتي الفريقين أقضى القضاة شرقًا وغربًا بعدًا وقربًا رحمه الله رحمة واسعة وجزاه عنّا وعن كافة المسلمين خيرًا بشاذياخ نيسابور، وهو القاضي بها يومئذ وكان رحمه الله أستاذي في فنون شتّى على[118] الإمام الأجل الصدر العالم الكامل شمس الدين شيخ الإسلام والمسلمين وارث الأنبياء والمرسلين ذي البلاغات افتخار العالم رسول دار الخلافة العباسية **عمر بن إبراهيم بن عثمان الواسطي التركستاني**[119] رحمه الله رحمة الأبرار ووقاه برحمته عذاب النار، وهو يرويه عن شيخه **أبي الفتوح**[120] **سعد بن أحمد البغدادي ثم الإسفرايني**[121] عن **إبن الخشاب**[122] عن **القضاعي**، وكذلك سمعتُ عنه **الأربعين التي جمعها في فضائل أهل البيت** و**أربعين أخرى في نوع آخر** و**أربعين البلدان** أيضاً **التي جمعها شيخه أبو طاهر أحمد بن محمد بن سلفة حافظ الإسكندرية** رضي الله عنه[123]، وذلك في سلخ شهر رمضان المبارك من شهور سنة سبع وتسعين وخمسمائة وباقي مسموعاته ومؤلفاته ومناولاته ومكاتباته ومنقولاته إجازةً. ذكر مشايخه[124] المشهورين: يروي **جميع مصنفات أبي حامد الغزالي** عن **سعيد بن أحمد بن علي البغدادي** عن **الغزالي**، ويروي **البخاري** عن خمسة طرق[125]، منها الطريق المشهورة عن **أبي الوقت**[126] رحمه الله، والطريق الأخرى عن **أبي الفضل محمود (كذا) بن أحمد**[127] شيخه قدس الله روحه عن **طراد الزينبي**[128] عن **الكُشميهني**[129] عن **الفربري**[130] عن **البخاري**، ويروي **جميع مصنفات ابن سلفة أحمد بن محمد بن ابراهيم الإصبهاني حافظ الإسكندرية** عنه. وشيوخه ومسموعاته أكثر من أن يحصى، ويروي عن سيد الآفاق ومقدم العراق **أبي العلاء الحافظ العطار**[131] جميع رواياته ومؤلفاته

115. Parts of paragraph 10 are quoted in al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, *Šāfī*, 1/157.

116. *K. al-Šihāb* of Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍāʿī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 454/1062); see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 332f. no. 546.

117. مع: كذا في الأصل.

118. على: كذا في الأصل.

119. Died 602/1205; see Ibn al-Naǧǧār al-Baġdādī, *Ḏayl tārīḫ Baġdād*, 5/7f.; see also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maǧmaʿ al-ādāb*, 2/47 no. 1009, 5/84 no. 4686.

120. أبي الفتوح، مكرر في الأصل.

121. Saʿd b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Isfarāyīnī al-Ṣūfī (d. 563/1167–68 in Egypt); see al-Ḏahabī, *Muḫtaṣar*, 189f.

122. The identity of Ibn al-Ḫaššāb is unclear. A possible candidate would be Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḫaššāb (d. 567/1172). However, the gap between him and al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454/1062) hardly allows for this. It is possible, however, that one link is missing in the *isnād*.

123. *K. al-Arbaʿīn al-mustaġnī bi-taʿyīn mā fīhi ʿan al-muʿīn al-maʿrūf bi-l-Arbaʿīn al-buldāniyya, imlāʾ Abī Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī al-Iṣbahānī*. On *al-Arbaʿīn al-buldāniyya*, see also al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, 1/111f. no. 15. On Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576/1180), see EI2 9/607–609 (Cl. Gilliot).

124. I.e., Turkistānī's teachers.

125. For the transmission of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Buḫārī's (d. 256/870) *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-muḫtaṣar*, see Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 120ff.

126. Abū l-Waqt al-Siǧzī (d. 553/1158–59), see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 10/303–311.

127. Ḫaṭīb al-Mawṣilī Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī al-Baġdādī al-Mawṣilī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 578/1182–83); see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 21/87–89.

128. Ṭirād b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī (d. 491/1097–98); see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 19/37–39.

129. Abū l-Hayṭam Muḥammad b. Makkī al-Kušmīhanī (d. 389/999); see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 16/491f.; al-Silafī, *Waǧīz*, 79, 124f.; see also Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 121.

130. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firabrī (d. 320/932); see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 4/359; al-Silafī, *Waǧīz*, 79, 125; see also Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 86 and passim.

131. Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl al-ʿAṭṭār al-Hamaḏānī (d. 569/1173); see GALS 1/724, 2/975, 2/981; DMB 6/25–27 (Aḥmad Pākatčī).

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عنه ولم يسمع ولم يجمع قبله مثله أحد. ويروي **جميع مصنفات الإمام أبي سعد السمعاني**[132] ورواياته رضي الله عنه، عنه إجازةً ومكاتبةً. ويروي **جميع مسموعات إبن شاتيل البيّع البغداذي**[133] وكان قد نيّف على المائة في العمر وروى قبل الخمس المائة بعشر سنين. ويروي **مجموعات الحميدي**، منها **الجمع بين الصحيحين**[134] عن شيخه القاضي **أبي طالب المحتسب**[135] عنه. ويروي **جميع مصنفات ابن سوار في القراءات والحديث**[136] عن شيخه صدر الدين **أبي الفتوح بن أحمد الإسفرايني** رضي الله عنه. ويروي عن والده قدس الله روحه وهو يروي عن **أبي سعيد الخشاوندي** و**الأستاباذي** و**أحمد الحُلواني** وسمع قبل الخمسمائة. هذا الذي ذكره قدّس الله روحه ونوّر ضريحه ولقد كان علامة في هذا الفن وفي غيره من الفنون.

[11] [137] ومنها **جميع مسموعات** العالم العامل الزاهد الصدر الفاضل الكامل عماد الملة والدين شيخ الإسلام والمسلمين وارث الأنبياء والمرسلين بقية المشايخ سلطان المذكورين أفضل العصر **أبو بكر بن علي بن أبي بكر بن عبد الجليل بن الخليل الفرغاني**[138]، نزيل سمرقند والخطيب بها يديم الله علاه، ومستجازاته ومناولاته وقراءته على الشيوخ ومكاتباته وجميع ما له فيه حق الرواية من فنون العلم وجميع ما اتفق له نظمه وإسناده وجمعه وإملاؤه، كل ذلك إجازةً لعمرو بن جميل هذا. فمن ذلك **كتاب الصحيح للبخاري**. قال أبو بكر الفرغاني هذا: قرأتها[139] بسمرقند على **والدي** شيخ الإسلام برهان الأئمة عماد الدين سيد الخطباء[140] **أبي الحسن علي بن أبي بكر بن عبد الجليل**[141] تغمده الله برحمته. قال: أخبرنا به الإمام الزاهد **أبو الفتح محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر بن عبد الله بن محمد بن أبي توبة الخطيب الكُشميهني الصوفي**[142] في خانقاهه بمرو، في رجب سنة خمس وأربعين وخمسمائة. قال: أخبرنا الشيخ الصالح **أبو الحسين محمد بن أبي عمران موسى بن عبد الله الصفّار المروزي**[143]. قال: أخبرنا **أبو الهيثم**[144] **محمد بن المكي بن محمد بن أبي زارع الكُشميهني**، قال: أخبرنا **أبو عبد الله محمد بن يوسف بن مطر الفربري**، قال: حدثنا ...

While the text of the *iğāza* breaks off here in the manuscript, both Ibn Abī l-Riğāl's *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* (3/381f.) and al-Šahārī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā* (3/1210:7–11) transmit an additional paragraph from Ibn Ǧumayl's *iğāza*. In the following, the reading of *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* is given, and the variants in al-Šahārī's *Ṭabaqāt* are mentioned in the annotation.[145]

132. Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166); see EI2 8/1024f. (R. Sellheim).

133. Abū l-Fatḥ ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Nağāt b. Šātil (d. 581/1185–86); see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 21/117f.

134. *Al-Ǧamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Naṣr Futūḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095); see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 200f. no. 225.

135. Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kattānī *al-maʿrūf bi-*Ibn Abī l-Azhar al-Muʿaddil al-Wāsiṭī (d. 579/1183–84); see al-Ḏahabī, *Muḫtaṣar*, 52f.

136. Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Siwār al-Baġdādī (d. 496/1103); see GALS 1/722 no. 6a; DMB 3/720f. (Ḥasan Ṣafarī Nādirī).

137. Parts of paragraph 11 have been incorporated in al-Muḥallī, *Maḥāsin*, 379ff.

138. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl al-Farġānī *ḫaṭīb* Samarqand (killed 616/1219–20); see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maǧmaʿ al-ādāb*, 2/47f. no. 1010; al-Ḏahabī, *Muḫtaṣar*, 219f.

139. قرأتها: قرأ به تها (؟).

140. سيد الخطباء: سيد الخطب.

141. Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl al-Farġānī al-Marġīnānī (d. 593/1197); see EI2 6/557f. (W. Heffening).

142. Died 548/1153–54; see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 20/2051f.; al-Samʿānī, *Taḥbīr*, 2/150–152.

143. In the Sunnī sources, his name is invariably given as *Abū l-Ḫayr* Muḥammad b. Abī ʿImrān (d. 471/1078–79); see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 20/252; al-Ḏahabī, *Mīzān*, 4/52.

144. الهيثم: القاسم، الأصل.

145. Otherwise, Ibn Ǧumayl is reported by Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī (d. 1079/1668) to have died before he was able to complete his *iğāza*; see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/309. On al-Miswarī, see al-Akwaʿ,

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[12] قال عمرو بن جميل بعد كلام من نحو هذا أعذب من الزلال وهو السحر إلا أنه حلال يدعو لشيخه الصدر يحيى بن إسماعيل جزاه الله خيراً[146]:

ما أعظم شأنه في العلم وفي أمر الدين، ولقد استفدنا منه أشياء أخر ما لم نستفده[147] من غيره، فجزاه الله أحسن جزاء[148]، وكان إتقان[149] ما أثبته رضي الله عنه وأرضاه من كتبه لهذه الإجازة آخر يوم الاثنين[150] لأواخر ذي القعدة سنة ستمائة بظاهر شاذياخ بنيسابور حرسها الله[151] في خانقاة القباب عمرها الله تعالى[152]، وهذه الإجازة التي تلفّظ بها ليست مقصورة على بعض دون بعض، بل هي لجميع من رغب فيها من المسلمين والأشراف، وصلى الله على خير مبعوث من آل عبد مناف، وهذه زبد من كلام عمرو رحمه الله تعالى[153].

Another portion of the original *iǧāza* is preserved in al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *K. al-Šāfī* (1/155:19–156:3); this passage is also quoted in al-Šahārī's *Ṭabaqāt* (2/840 no. 529):

[13] ... ونحن نروي أيضاً **البخاري** بطريق تتّصل بخمس طرق، فنقول: أخبرنا الفقيه العالم الموفق سديد الدين **عمرو بن جميل النهدي**، قال: أخبرنا السيد الإمام مفخر الأنام الصدر الكبير العالم العامل مجد الملة والدين، افتخار آله وياسين، ملك الطالبية، شمس آل الرسول، أستاذ جميع الطوائف، الموافق منهم والمخالف، قبلة الفرق، تاج الشرف، **يحيى بن إسماعيل بن علي الحسيني** برّد الله مضجعه ونوّر مهيعه [كذا]، قال: أخبرنا عمي السيد الإمام الزاهد **الحسين بن علي العلوي** رحمه الله تعالى، قال: أخبرنا السيد الإمام **علي بن حمك** ورفعه إلى نهايته، وكذلك **مجموعات الحميدي** ...

An additional portion is incorporated in al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1209 and 1/309 no. 170:

[41] ... **يحيى بن إسماعيل بن علي بن أحمد** [...] **الحسيني العلوي النيسابوري**، السيد الإمام العلامة. يروي عن عمه العلامة **الحسين بن علي بن أحمد الجويني** كثيرًا من كتب الأئمة وغيرهم فمما سمعه عليه كتب **الحاكم الجشمي كتنبيه الغافلين** و**جلاء الأبصار** و**السفينة** وسمع عليه من كتب الأئمة **أمالي أبي طالب** و**صحيفة زين العابدين علي بن الحسين** و**صحيفة علي بن موسى الرضا** و**نهج البلاغة** و**أمالي السمّان** و**صحيح البخاري** و**مجموعات الحميدي** وعمه أسند كل كتاب إلى مؤلفه

## Appendix III: Codicological Characteristics of MS Glaser 12

To the brief descriptions of this codex given by Wilhelm Ahlwardt (in *Verzeichnis*, 4/448 no. 5125) as well as by the editors of the text (ed. Ziyāda/Sayyid, 6–22), the following details should be added.

The title page of the manuscript (f. 1a) reads as follows: *Kitāb al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn imlāʾ al-Šayḫ Abī Rašīd Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Nīsābūrī raḥmatu llāh ʿalayhi* (see also fig. 1.4); the identical title is given on f. 193a. Throughout the

*Hiğar al-ʿilm*, 2/1081–1083 no. 32; al-Wağīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 108–111 no. 82; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 238 no. 23; Mūsawī-Niğād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 185.

146. قال عمرو بن جميل ... الله خيرًا: ثم قال بعد ذكر كلام كثير، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.
147. ما لم نستفده: لم نستفد، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.
148. فجزاه الله أحسن جزاء: -، طبقات الزيدة الكبرى.
149. إتقان: اتفاق، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى (لكن في نسخة ب: اتقان).
150. آخر يوم الاثنين: -، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى (لكن في نسخة ب: في العشر الأواخر).
151. حرسها الله: -، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.
152. عمرها الله تعالى: -، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.
153. وصلى الله على خير مبعوث من آل عبد مناف، وهذه زبد من كلام عمرو رحمه الله تعالى: انتهى، طبقات الزيدية الكبرى.

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codex, the title of the work varies: *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf bayn Abī Hāšim wa-bayn al-Baġdādiyyīn* (ff. 41a, 107a, 120a), *al-Ḫilāf bayn Abī Hāšim wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn* (ff. 54b, 68a, 81a, 181a); *al-Ḫilāf bayn al-Baġdādiyyīn wa-l-Baṣriyyīn* (ff. 93b, 133a, 157a); *al-Ḫilāf bayn Abī Hāšim wa-bayn Abī l-Qāsim wa-aṣḥābihi* (f. 145a); *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf bayn Abī Hāšim wa-Abī l-Qāsim* (f. 169a); *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf bayn al-Baġdādiyyīn wa-l-Baṣriyyīn* (f. 205a).

The title page also has the following note:

نسخ لخزانة الفقيه العالم الفاضل جمال الدين / عمران بن الحسن بن ناصر العُذْري الهمداني / الزيدي وفقه الله توفيق الصالحين بحق محمد وآله

On the Yemenite Zaydī scholar ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-ʿUḏrī al-Hamdānī, who had corresponded with the Zaydī scholar Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Ǧīlānī of Lāhīǧān and who had died in the 630s/1230s, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/395–397 no. 976; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/833–839 no. 527; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 736f. no. 801; see also Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 18f. His father, al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿĀmir al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī (fl. late sixth/twelfth century), had served as the secretary to Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. His brother, Masʿūd b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-ʿUḏrī, is known to have copied some works, such as *Ibānat al-manāhiǧ fī naṣīḥat al-ḫawāriǧ*, of Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām "Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar" (d. 573/1177); the copy was completed on 15 Ǧumādā I 633/January 26, 1236; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/515.

The transmission of the codex is indicated by the following ownership statements to be found on f. 1a of MS Glaser 12 (rendered in the following in chronological order) (see also below, fig. 1.4):

[1] مالكه العبد الفقير إلى كرم الله / عمران بن الحسن بن ناصر بن يعقوب بن عامر / بن نحسم (؟) بن محمد بن طاهر بن حبر (؟) العذري الهمداني

[2] ثم صار إلى الفقير إلى كرم الله محمد بن الحسن بن الرين (؟) / بالشراء الصحيح واللفظ الصريح ونسأل الله المغفرة والرضوان

[3] ثم صار باللفظ الصحيح إلى بنته / سكينة [...]

[قيمته ثمانية حروف]

[4] الحمد لله وحده / ثم صار إلى سيدنا / العلامة الفهامة يحيى بن يحيى بن محمد / بن حنش بالشراء الصحيح من / السيد جمال الدين علي بن الحسين بن علي بن الحسن / بما معه من الوكالة من الشريفة المطهرة / شكينة بنت حي السيد العلامة محمد بن / الحسن رحمه الله بثمن أقر الدافع بعضه (؟) قدره أربعة حروف بتاريخ شهر ربيع الآخر / عام اثنين وتسعين وألف سنة / وكتب وشهد الفقير إلى الله تعالى صلاح بن علي / الجرباني وفقه الله تعالى شهد بذلك / محمد بن هادي مطر / شهد بما ذكر الفقير إلى الله سبحانه / أحمد بن عبد الله بن حنش وفقه الله

On the Banū Ḥanaš, see al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 2/1003f., 3/1309, 3/1311; DMB 3/376 (ʿAlī Rafīʿī).

[5] ثم صار في ملك الفقير عز الإسلام / محمد بن الحسين بن حنش تغمّده الله تعالى / بالشراء الصحيح واللفظ الصريح بتأريخ جمادى الآخر سنة 1132 سنة

[6] الحمد لله / من فضل الله تعالى ملك هذه النسخة / عبد الله وابن عبده المعول عليه / على بن هادي (؟) عز الدين (؟) لطف الله / بحق محمد وآله صلى الله وسلم عليه وعلى آله / آمين

*This last ownership statement (6) is crossed out.*

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F. 214b of the codex has the following colophon:

فرغ من نساخته العبد الفقير إلى الله عز وجل الراجي / يوسف بن عواض بن عبد الله بن الحسين بن زعكم بن الخزرج في شهر / ربيع الآخر من شهور سنة سبع وعشرين وستمائة سنة / حامدًا لله تعالى ومصليًا على رسوله محمد النبي وآله وسلم تسليمًا كثيرًا / وهو يسأل الله تعالى المغفرة وحسن الخاتمة له ولوالديه وأصحابه / ولكافة المؤمنين والمؤمنات الأحياء والأموات إنه غفور رحيم / نسخته من نسخة وردت من الدَيْلَم[154] كتبت في ذي القعدة من سنة ثلث / وستين وأربعمائة بخطّ علي بن الحسن بن علي الزيدي العدلي / رحمة الله عليه ورضوانه

The copyist of MS Glaser 12 has also transcribed *K. al-Muḥīṭ bi-uṣūl al-imāma ʿalā maḏāhib al-Zaydiyya* of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīğān [Sarbīğān], a commentary on the *K. al-Diʿāma fī taṯbīt al-imāma* of Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033) (see below, figs. 1.3 and 1.6); this copy is held in a private library in Yemen (dated Ramaḍān 628/July 1231).[155] Moreover, both manuscripts have *balaġa* notes in the same hand (see figs. 1.3 and 1.6). It is possible that the scribe of the antegraph from which MS Glaser 12 was transcribed, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Zaydī al-ʿAdlī, may in fact be ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Šāh Sar[b]īğān. At least two additional manuscripts of *K. al-Muḥīṭ bi-uṣūl al-imāma ʿalā maḏāhib al-Zaydiyya* are known to be extant: MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. A 23 (see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/12; see also GALS 1/698f. no. 1c) and MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 645 (dated 18 Ṣafar 1065/December 28, 1654; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/737, where the text is erroneously attributed to Ibn Mattawayh). Yūsuf b. ʿIwāḍ b. Zaʿkam has also transcribed *Taysīr al-maṭālib min/fī Amālī al-Imām Abī Ṭālib al-Hārūnī* for the *ḫizānat al-Manṣūr bi-llāh*; the copy was completed in Ḏū l-Qaʿda 600/July 1204.[156]

154. The editors erroneously read السلم (p. 381).

155. Digital images of this manuscript were made available to us through the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Cultural Foundation (IZbACF). We have no information about the location of the original codex. On the author, see Ibn Abī l-Riğāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/230f. no. 878.

156. The codex belongs nowadays to the private library of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Šāyim in Hiğrat Fallala in the vicinity of Ṣaʿda.

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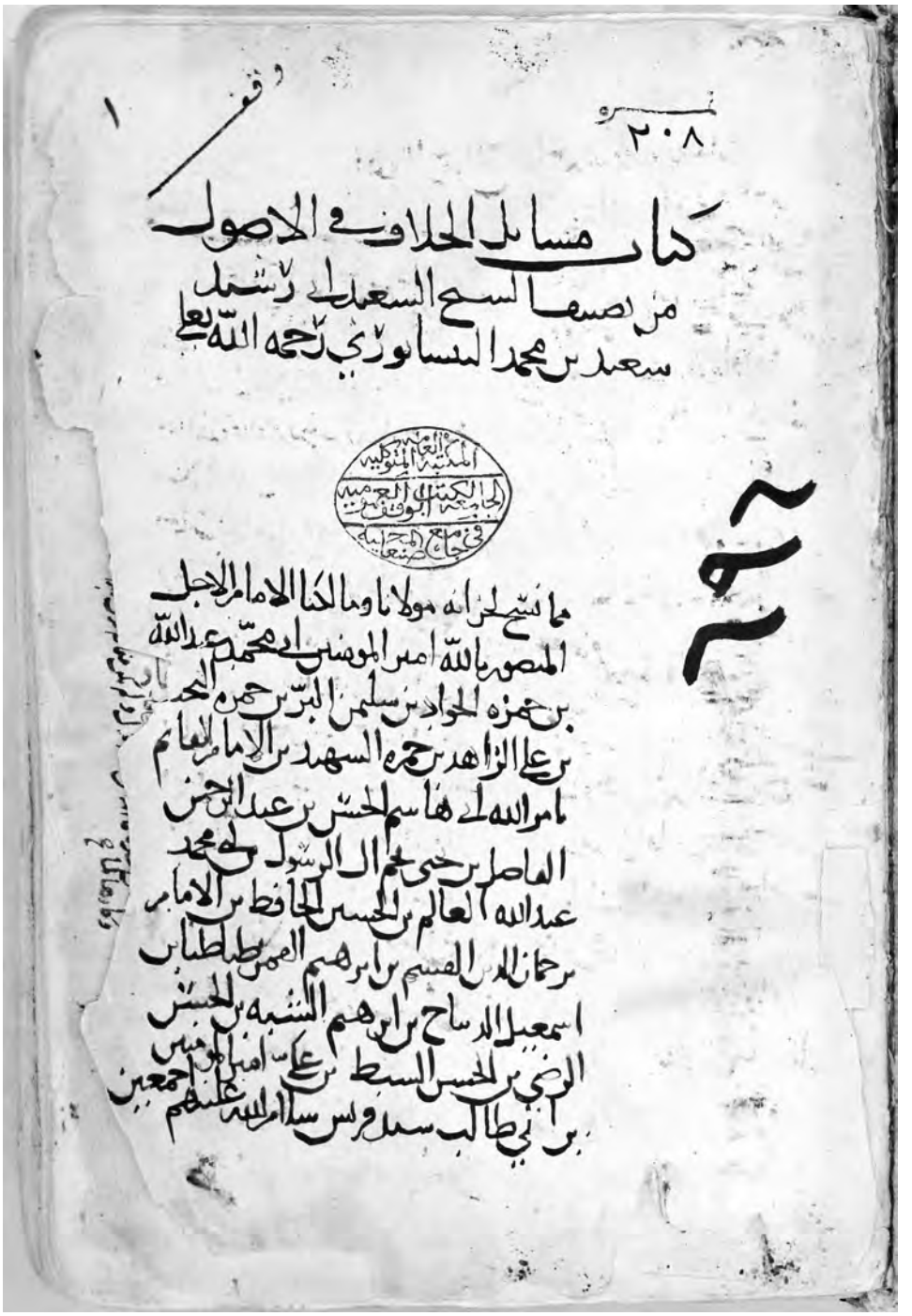


Figure 1.1. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 696, f. 1a.

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Figure 1.2. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 696, f. 297a.

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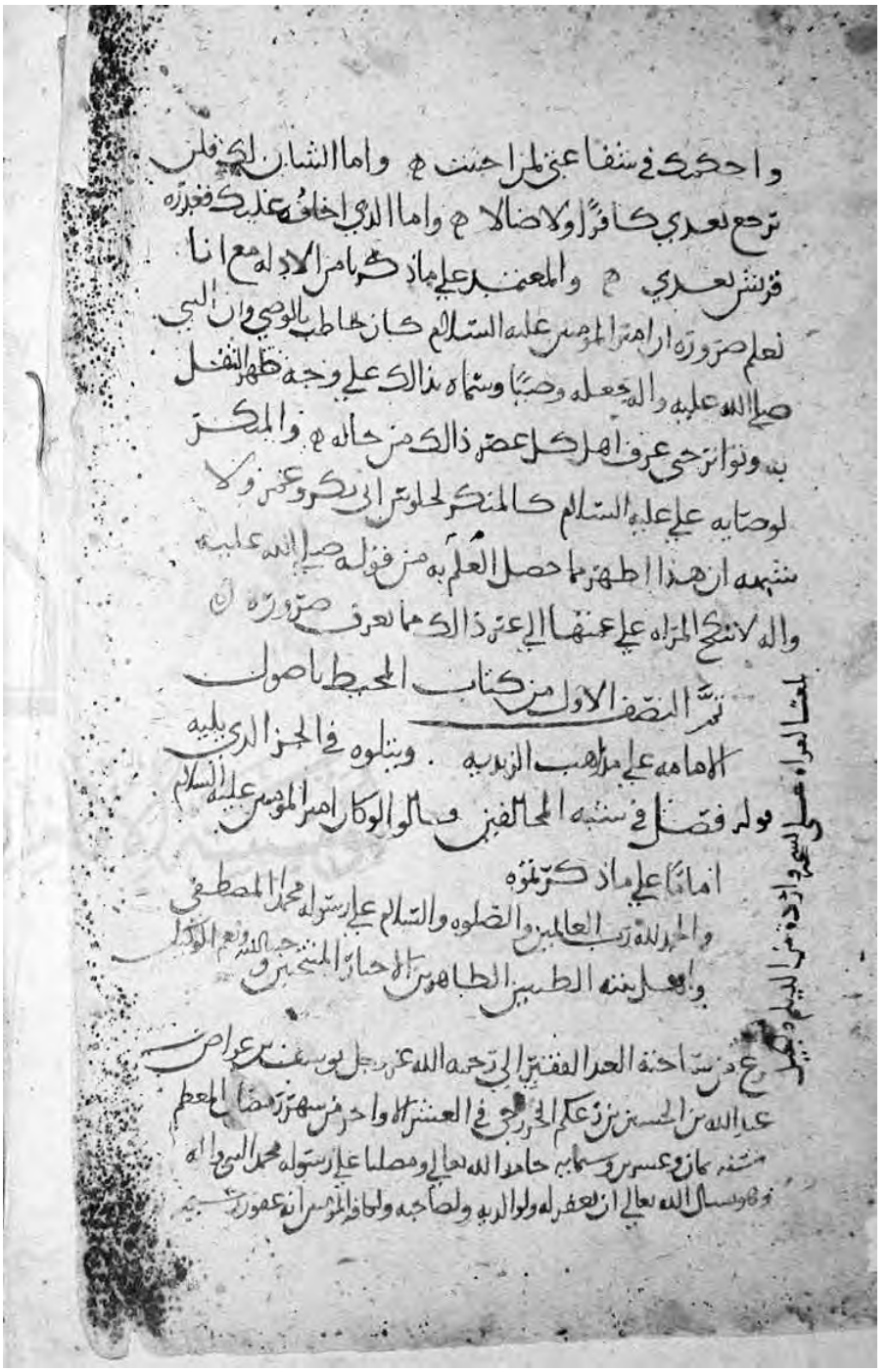


Figure 1.3. MS private library (IZbACF), end of *al-niṣf al-awwal* of *al-Muḥīṭ fī l-imāma*.

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Figure 1.4. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 12, f. 1a.

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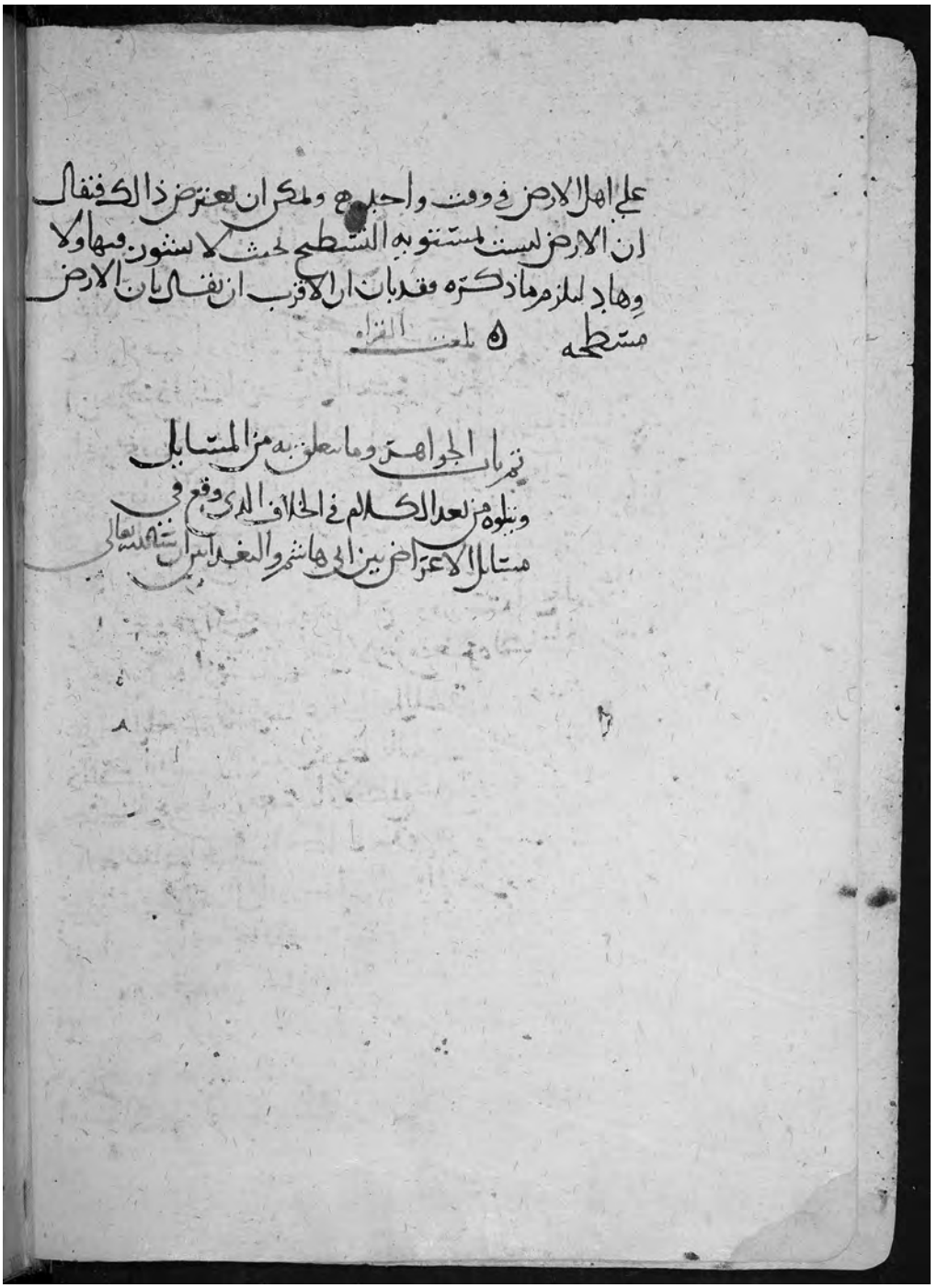


Figure 1.5. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 12, f. 46b.

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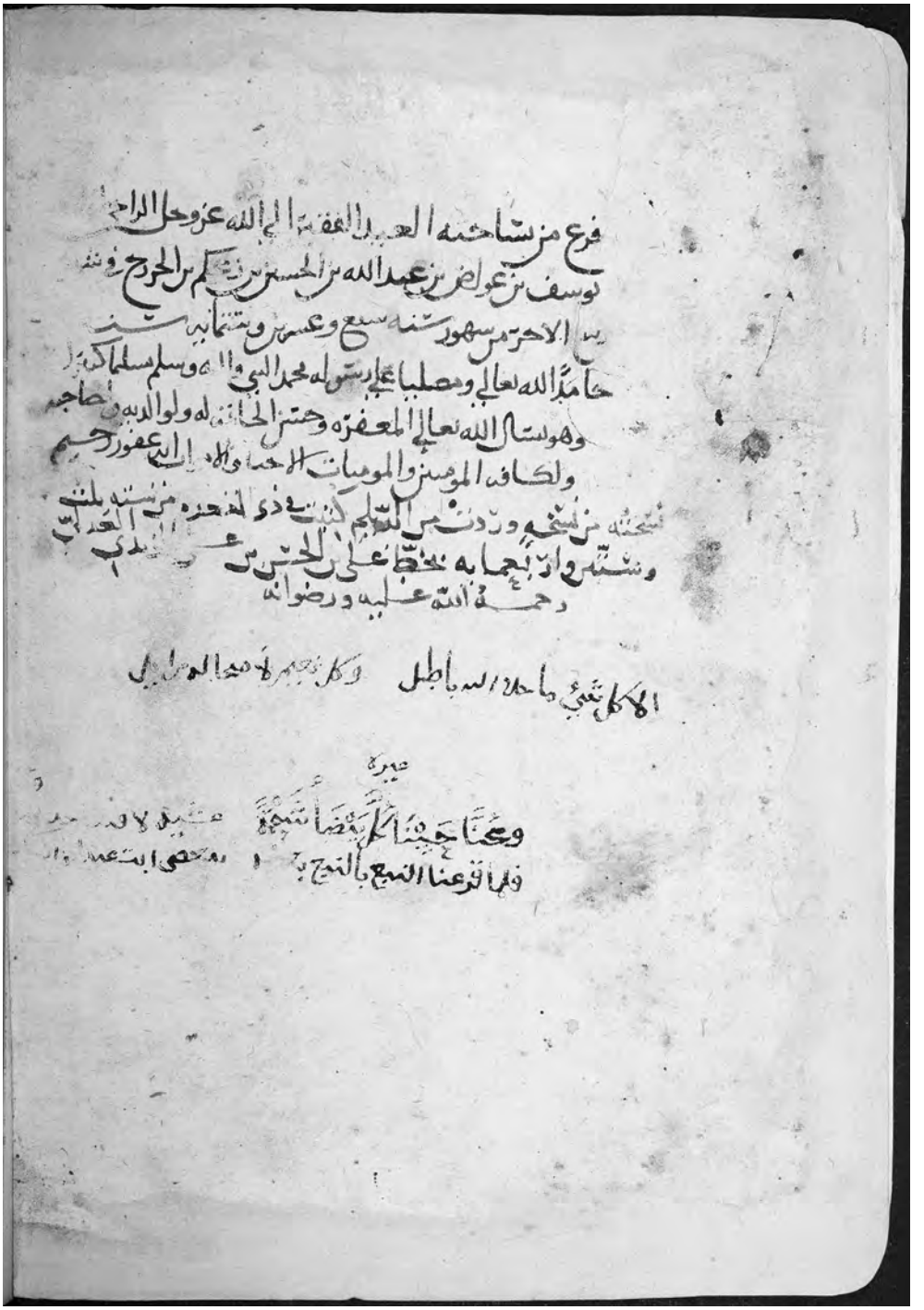


Figure 1.6. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 12, f. 214b.

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# Chapter 2
# Muʿtazilism in Rayy and Astarābād: Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Šarwīn

One of the less well-known students of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025),[1] the head of the Bahšamiyya of his time, is Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Šarwīn. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) reports that he hailed from Astarābād,[2] where he returned after he had studied with ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār in Rayy. He adds that apart from being a scholar and a theologian (*ʿālim mutakallim*), Ibn Šarwīn was also a skilled man of letters (*adīb faṣīḥ*) and an ascetic (*zāhid*), and that he excelled as a poet.[3] As for his works, al-Ǧišumī writes without further specification that he had not only composed exhortations (*mawāʿiẓ*) comparable to those of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) but that he had also written valuable books in the field of *kalām* (*lahu kutub fī l-kalām ḥisān*).[4]

While al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī does not mention Ibn Šarwīn's affiliation with Zaydism, the Zaydī biographical tradition emphazises this.[5] Ibn Šarwīn was a companion of the Zaydī Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020),[6] and in the later Zaydī literature Ibn Šarwīn's views are regularly adduced.[7] In addition, he is

1. The primary source of information on the students and companions of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār is al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, in which they are discussed as the twelfth generation of the Muʿtazila within *al-kalām fī ḏikr al-Muʿtazila wa-riǧālihim*; see al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ*, ff. 128b–146a [= Sayyid (ed.), *Faḍl*, 382–393].

2. For Astarābād, see EncIran 2/838–840 (C. E. Bosworth/S. Blair); DMB 8/175–179 (Ǧawād Nayastānī); Ḍabīḥī, *Astarābādnāma*.

3. According to al-Ǧišumī, he knew 100,000 lines of poetry by heart. A brief mention of Ibn Šarwīn's predilection for poetry is included in the commentary on Ibn Mattawayh's *K. al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*; see *Anonymous Commentary*, f. 150b:7ff. On this work, see also below, n. 60.

4. Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 386 [= al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ*, f. 129b:16–22]; see also Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaqāt*, 117.

5. See Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāǧim riǧāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb [K. al-Ṭabaqāt fī ḏikr faḍl al-ʿulamā wa-ʿilmihim wa-muṣannafātihim]*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, f. 30b; Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 4/28–30 no. 1006; al-Ǧundārī, "Tarāǧim" (1332/1958), 1/28:25–29; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 530f. no. 524.

6. See al-Muršad bi-llāh, *Sīra* (1424/2003), 48. The wording suggests that al-Muršad bi-llāh considered Ibn Šarwīn his *šayḫ*. See also Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāǧim riǧāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb [K. al-Ṭabaqāt fī ḏikr faḍl al-ʿulamā wa-ʿilmihim wa-muṣannafātihim]*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, f. 30b; al-Ǧundārī "Tarāǧim" (1332/1958), 28:25.

7. See, e.g., ʿAlī b. Pīrmard al-Daylamī (fl. late fifth/eleventh, early sixth/twelfth century), *Muġnī*, f. 149a; al-Šarafī (d. 1055/1646), *ʿUdda*, 2/335; al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn, *Šifāʾ*, 3/507; Ibn Miftāḥ, *Šarḥ al-Azhār*, 4/160, 527. On ʿAlī b. Pīrmard, see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tāriḫī*, 583-596. The Zaydī sources also



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reported to have composed a *K. al-Madḫal ilā maḏhab al-Hādī ʿalayhi l-salām*, which seems to be lost,[8] and he is quoted as an authority on the issue of the *imāma*.[9] Whether he had written an independent treatise on the topic or whether these references refer to a *summa*-style work of his (see below) that included a chapter on the *imāma* cannot be decided.

In the field of *kalām*, three titles can safely be attributed to Ibn Šarwīn. In an *iǧāza* issued by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwaʿ, better known as Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ, in Raǧab 644/November 1246 for ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1268), Šuʿla mentions a *K. al-Madḫal fī uṣūl al-dīn li-Ibn Šarwīn*.[10] Hassan Ansari has suggested in an earlier publication that an incomplete manuscript of a comparatively brief theological treatise, copied in Rabīʿ I 499/December 1105 by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Fālit b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qaḥṭān al-Ḏuhalī al-Šaybānī in Ṣaʿda[11] and now preserved in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan

report that Ibn Šarwīn was renowned for his view (*wa-lahu al-maqāla al-mašhūra fī l-siyar*) that in the absence of an *imām* any believer of impeccable conduct (*man ṣaluḥa min al-muslimīn*) can execute the *ḥudūd*. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1268) is known to have reported the following regarding Ibn Šarwīn's view on this issue (see, e.g., al-Ǧurmūzī, *Tuḥfa*, 2/572):

وهذا فصل عجيب نقلته من خط القاضي العلامة فخر الدين سيد الشيعة المطهرين عبد الله بن زيد العنسي رضوان الله عليه ولفظه. فصل منقول من شرح القاضي أبي مضر وهو هذا: فصل: قال القاضي يوسف: كتب إليَّ الشيخ الأستاذ أبو القاسم بخط نفسه أن الشيخ أبا الفضل ابن شروين قال: ومن انتصب من عرض الناس ممن يكون له استطلاع بالأمر بالمعروف وإزالة المنكر وإرغام الظلمة من البلاد وجبت معونته على ذلك إذا كان رشيدًا سديدًا، فإن تمكّن من بعض البلاد أعانه المسلمون أيضًا لئلا يعود الظلمة ثانيًا، لأن الغرض الأول باق في هذه الحالة أيضًا، وإن كان يقيم الحدود وينفّذ الأحكام ويستوفي الحقوق، ويضعها في مستحقّها ويأخذها قهرًا كان له ذلك ولم يمتنعوا عن معونته، والحال هذه وإن كان للأئمة ذلك كان لغيرهم أن ينهضوا بها إذا عُدم الإمام، ولا يتمكن من نصبه كما يقول في القضاء وذلك لحفظ الإسلام وأحكامه وإلّا تعطّل جميع ذلك، وإلى هذا أشار المؤيد بالله قدس الله روحه في باب القضاء في كتاب الزيادات يقول عبد الله بن زيد، وهذا مذهب قاضي القضاة وذكره في المختصر المكي، ومذهب غيره من علماء المعتزلة، وروى الفقيه جمال الدين صالح بن سليمان أن الفقيه الزاهد علي بن أحمد الأكوع الحوالي الحميري قال: هذا الفصل مما قرأتُه على الإمام المنصور بالله عبد الله بن حمزة وكنت أعلم على ما يختاره ويذهب إليه خ وما لا يراه لا، فوجدتُ على هذا الفصل أنه مذهبه واختياره، وعند ذكر الحدود فوجدتُ العلامة عليه أنه لا يرى ذلك، ولا يجوز له عنده إقامتها، هذه الرواية إلى الفقيه علي الأكوع، وكتب عبد الله بن زيد حامدًا لله ومصليًا على نبيه محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم.

For this quotation, see also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydi Muʿtazilism*. Moreover, as was the case with Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī, Ibn Šarwīn is also reported to have refused *takfīr bi-l-ilzām*; see Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāǧim riǧāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb [K. al-Ṭabaqāt fī ḏikr faḍl al-ʿulamā wa-ʿilmihim wa-muṣannafātihim]*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, f. 30b.

8. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/453 no. 2807. The title is regularly mentioned in the Zaydī biographical and bibliographical literature.

9. The anonymous Zaydī author of a brief outline of the Zaydī doctrine on the imamate (*muḫtaṣar fī l-imāma*) that is preserved at the end of MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Or. 2949 [= Ar. 2307] (ff. 204b–215a), containing the *K. Ziyādāt Šarḥ al-Uṣūl* by the Zaydī *imām* al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033), quotes Ibn Šarwīn (f. 213a) on the issue of the imamate. Hassan Ansari has argued elsewhere for Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī (d. ca. 551/1156) as a possible author of the *Muḫtaṣar*; see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 381–402. For an *editio princeps* of the *Ziyādāt* (not including the *Muḫtaṣar fī l-imāma*), see Adang et al., *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology*. Quotations from Ibn Šarwīn on the issue of the imamate are also included in ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Daylamī Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān]'s *K. al-Muḫīṭ fī l-imāma ʿalā maḏāhib al-Zaydiyya*. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilism in Daylam."

10. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydi Muʿtazilism*, Appendix A, § 9. This is so far the only known source in which this title is attested.

11. The colophon reads as follows (f. 67b:19–23):

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(MS Ambrosiana ar. X 96 Sup., ff. 1–67), may in fact be a copy of Ibn Šarwīn's *al-Madḫal fī uṣūl al-dīn*.[12] It would thus have been one of the first Bahšamite works to reach Yemen. Although the beginning of the text is missing, the anonymous author regularly refers to it throughout the text as *al-Madḫal*.[13] This suggestion contested an alternative identification formulated by Wilferd Madelung, who tentatively identified the manuscript as the *Mabādiʾ al-adilla* of the Zaydī Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033).[14]

While the identification of the Ambrosiana manuscript with Ibn Šarwīn's otherwise lost *al-Madḫal fi uṣūl al-dīn* cannot be decided at present, a second treatise of his of certain authorship in the discipline of *kalām* is preserved in a unique manuscript. The brief treatise is entitled *Ḥaqāʾiq al-ašyāʾ* and belongs to the literary genre of definitions, explaining 122 terms. The text is preserved in a *maǧmūʿa* owned by the Maktabat al-awqāf ("al-Šarqiyya") of the Great Mosque in Sanaa,[15] and a critical edition of the text is included in

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تم الكتاب بعون الله ومنّه يوم السبت آخر شهر ربيع الأول سنة تسع وتسعين | وأربع مائة سنة بصعدة حرسها الله والحمد لله أولًا وآخرًا وصلواته على سيدنا محمد (؟) | وآله وسلم وما كان من خطاء أو زلل فمن النسخة لا منا فليعلم ذلك القاري | وذلك بخط أبي محمد الحسن بن فالت بن عبد الله بن قحطان الذهلي ثم الشيباني | وصلواته على سيدنا محمد النبي وآله وسلم

For the scribe, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/89f. no. 422.

12. See Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 301-312. For a description of the manuscript, see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 1/156f. no. 290. We thank Gregor Schwarb for providing us with a copy of the manuscript.

13. See MS Ambrosiana ar. X 96 Sup., ff. 5a:12, 67b:16.

14. Madelung, "Zu einigen Werken," esp. 8ff. See also Cook, *Commanding Right*, 203 n. 44. Gregor Schwarb followed Madelung's identification of the text in a presentation delivered at the Reunion Conference on Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism, July 12–13, 2009, held at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem (Schwarb, "*K. Mabādiʾ al-adilla*"). Ansari's arguments for Ibn Šarwīn's authorship were the following: Madelung's main argument for al-Nāṭiq's authorship was the observation that the latest authority mentioned in the text was *al-Šayḫ al-muršid* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, al-Nāṭiq's teacher in *kalām*. Ansari maintains that it was common for students of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār not to mention the latter or to do so only occasionally. Morever, in his other writings al-Nāṭiq invariably calls Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī *šayḫunā Abū ʿAbd Allāh* or *al-šayḫ al-ǧalīl*. In addition, it is uncertain whether al-Nāṭiq had indeed written a work entitled *Mabādiʾ al-adilla*. The first to ascribe this title to him seems to have been the modern scholar Maǧd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Muʾayyadī in his *al-Tuḥaf šarḥ al-Zulaf*, while the earliest source attesting a similar title is the *K. al-Šāfī* of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (r. 593/1197 to 614/1217) (al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, *Šāfī*, 1/908), where it is given as *K. al-Mabādiʾ fī ʿilm al-kalām*; according to al-Muḥallī (*Ḥadāʾiq*, 2/166), the title is *al-Mabādiʾ wa-Ziyādāt šarḥ al-Uṣūl* (this may refer to one or rather two titles). Moreover, if indeed this work had been by al-Nāṭiq, it would have been referred to by the Yemenī Zaydīs, as was the case with his other writings.

15. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 589/1, ff. 1b–4a, copy dated 931/1524–25; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/597f. The text of Ibn Šarwīn is followed by *Zubad al-adilla fī maʿrifat Allāh* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 1/642; the work has been published in al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, *Maǧmūʿ rasāʾil*, 2/553–560), *Nukat al-farāʾiḍ fī maʿrifat Allāh al-malik al-wāḥid* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37) (ed. in Nāṣir Ḥaǧǧāf, *Manhaǧ Ibn al-Murtaḍā*; see also the forthcoming edition by ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad al-Ḥūṯī that includes Ibn Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā's autocommentary *Ġurar al-fawāʾid šarḥ Nukat al-farāʾiḍ*), and *Šarḥ al-Qalāʾid fī taṣḥīḥ al-ʿaqāʾid* of Faḫr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Naǧrī

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the present publication.[16] Ibn Šarwīn defines in his *Ḥaqāʾiq al-ašyāʾ* the following terms, which he has arranged in four sections:

[1] *al-šayʾ*; [2] *al-mawǧūd*; [3] *al-maʿdūm*; [4] *al-bāqī*; [5] *al-muḥdaṯ*; [6] *al-qadīm*; [7] *al-ǧawhar*; [8] *al-ḥaṭṭ*; [9] *al-saṭḥ*; [10] *al-ǧism*; [11] *al-makān*; [12] *al-zamān*; [13] *al-ʿaraḍ*; [14] *al-ʿālam*; [15] *al-kawn*; [16] *al-ḥaraka*; [17] *al-mutaḥarrik*; [18] *al-sukūn*; [19] *al-muǧāwara*; [20] *al-iǧtimāʿ*; [21] *al-ḏāt*; [22] *al-nafs wa-l-ʿayn*;

Ḍarb āḫar min al-ḥaqāʾiq: [23] *al-qādir*; [24] *al-qudra*; [25] *al-ʿālim*; [26] *al-ʿilm*; [27] *al-ʿaql*; [28] *al-ʿāqil*; [29] *ʿilm al-kalām*; [30] *al-fiqh*; [31] *al-ḥayy*; [32] *al-ḥayāt*; [33] *al-rūḥ*; [34] *al-ǧahl*; [35] *al-ǧāhil*; [36] *al-šakk*; [37] *al-ʿaǧz*; [38] *al-ʿāǧiz*; [39] *al-mawt*; [40] *al-mayyit*; [41] *al-miṯlān*; [42] *ṣifat al-ḏāt*; [43] *al-muḫtalifān*; [44] *al-ḍiddān*; [45] *al-ġayrān*; [46] *al-ʿilla*; [47] *al-ʿilla fī ṭarīqat al-fuqahāʾ*; [48] *al-muqtaḍī*; [49] *al-muṣaḥḥiḥ*; [50] *al-sabab*; [51] *al-fiʿl al-mutawallid*; [52] *al-fiʿl al-mubāšir*; [53] *al-dalīl*; [54] *al-madlūl*; [55] *al-mustadill*; [56] *al-mustadall bihi*; [57] *al-ʿilm al-istidlālī wa-l-iktisābī wa-l-muktasab*; [58] *al-ʿilm al-ḍarūrī*; [59] *al-naẓar*; [60] *al-munāẓara*; [61] *al-ǧadal*; [62] *al-suʾāl*; [63] *al-ǧawāb*; [64] *al-muʿāraḍa*;

Ḍarb āḫar min al-ḥaqāʾiq: [65] *al-fiʿl*; [66] *al-fāʿil*; [67] *al-maqdūr*; [68] *al-fiʿl al-ḍarūrī*; [69] *al-fiʿl al-iḫtiyārī*; [70] *al-muktasab wa-l-kasb*; [71] *al-maḫlūq*; [72] *al-fiʿl al-ḥasan*; [73] *al-fiʿl al-mubāḥ*; [74] *al-fiʿl al-qabīḥ*; [75] *al-fiʿl al-wāǧib*; [76] *al-nadb*; [77] *al-farḍ*; [78] *al-sunna*; [79] *al-maʿṣiya*; [80] *al-kabīra*; [81] *al-ṣaġīra*; [82] *al-ṭāʿa*; [83] *al-tawba*; [84] *al-ḥaqq*; [85] *al-bāṭil*; [86] *al-ẓulm*; [87] *al-tafaḍḍul*; [88] *al-niʿma*; [89] *al-munʿim*; [90] *al-ʿiwaḍ*; [91] *al-ṯawāb*; [92] *al-ʿiqāb*; [93] *al-šukr*;

Ḍarb āḫar: [94] *al-kalām*; [95] *al-mutakallim*; [96] *al-sukūt*; [97] *al-sākit*; [98] *al-ḫaras*; [99] *al-ṣifa*; [100] *al-amr*; [101] *al-nahy*; [102] *al-ʿumūm*; [103] *al-ḫuṣūṣ*; [104] *al-kāḏib*; [105] *al-ṣidq*; [106] *al-kiḏb*; [107] *al-ṣādiq*; [108] *al-tawḥīd*; [109] *al-ʿadl*; [110] *al-īmān*; [111] *al-muʾmin*; [112] *al-fisq*; [113] *al-fāsiq*; [114] *al-kufr*; [115] *al-kāfir*; [116] *al-waʿd*; [117] *al-waʿīd*; [118] *al-luṭf*; [119] *al-tawfīq*; [120] *al-ʿiṣma*; [121] *al-qadarī*; [122] *al-muǧbir*.

The genre of definitions is common in the fields of law, grammar, *taṣawwuf*, philosophy, logic, and the sciences,[17] as well as *kalām* (often also including *uṣūl al-fiqh*). The

(d. 877/1472–73) (copy dated 920/1514; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/665; on this work, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/174 no. 1971; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 616–618 no. 635). During a visit to Yemen in August 2009, Schmidtke was able to consult and photograph the original codex, for which she expresses her gratitude to the Ministry of Religious Endowments.

16. See below, Appendix.

17. Examples are al-Kindī's *Fī ḥudūd al-ašyāʾ wa-rusūmihā* (Stern, "Notes on al-Kindī's Treatise"), Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ḥudūd* (Ibn Sīnā, *Livre des définitions*), Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's *al-Muqābasāt* (no. 81, pp. 308–319), Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn's (d. 495/1101) *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-furūq* (for the author, see Graf, *Geschichte*, 197–199 no. 58; Ismāʿīl al-Baġdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, 1/390; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, 3/103), Ǧābir b. Ḥayyān's *K. al-Ḥudūd*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḫʷārazmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī's *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya* (on this work, see Pourjavady, "Sayr-i iṣṭilāḥāt-i ṣūfiyān"), and al-Ǧurǧānī's *K. al-Taʿrīfāt* (see al-Ǧurǧānī, *Livre des définitions*). Al-Ǧurǧānī also has a work entitled *Maqālīd al-ʿulūm* (the

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following texts by Aš<sup>ʿ</sup>arite authors are extant:[18] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Fūrak's (d. 406/1015) *K. al-Ḥudūd fī l-uṣūl*,[19] Abū l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Ḫalaf al-Bāǧī al-Mālikī's (d. 474/1081–82) *al-Ḥudūd fī l-uṣūl*,[20] the latter's student Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sābiq al-Ṣiqillī's (d. 493/1099–1100) *K. al-Ḥudūd al-kalāmiyya wa-l-fiqhiyya ʿalā raʾy ahl al-sunna al-ašʿariyya*,[21] and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī's (d. 631/1233) *al-Mubīn fī šarḥ maʿānī alfāẓ al-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-mutakallimīn*.[22] Among the Imāmites, al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022),[23] al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044),[24] al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067),[25] Qāḍī Ašraf/Šaraf al-Dīn Ṣāʿid b. Abī Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Ṣāʿid al-Barīdī al-Ābī (fl. sixth/twelfth century),[26] Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Nīsābūrī al-Muqriʾ (fl. sixth/twelfth century),[27]

work has been erroneously attributed to al-Suyūṭī). For the philosophical works within this genre, see also al-Aʿsam, *Muṣṭalaḥ* (containing editions of the texts by al-Kindī, Ibn Sīnā, and Abū Ḥayyān; of *al-Ḥudūd* of al-Ġazālī [being of part of his *Miʿyār al-ʿilm*], and a partial edition of al-Ḫʷārazmī's *Mafātīḥ*), and Kennedy-Day, *Books of Definition*. The works of al-Ḫʷārazmī and al-Ǧurǧānī (*Maqālīd*) include a variety of disciplines and are arranged accordingly. They have thus a more "encyclopaedic" character than do the works specifically devoted to definitions. For this genre, see also van Ess, "Encyclopædic Activities." A work containing definitions of theological terms was likewise composed by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), entitled *Tafsīr alfāẓ taǧrī bayn al-mutakallimīn fī l-uṣūl* (Ibn Ḥazm, *Rasāʾil*, 4/409–416. Another work of Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* (see Puerta Vílchez, "Ibn Ḥazm," 413–415 no. 38), contains a similar chapter, entitled *Fī l-alfāẓ al-dāʾira bayn ahl al-naẓar*. This is characteristic of many works on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. We thank Camilla Adang for having brought these tracts by Ibn Ḥazm to our attention.

18. Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) is also credited with a *K. al-Ḥudūd* which is lost. See ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, "Muḥāwala bīblūġrāfiyya," 483 no. 16 (with further references).

19. The work has been published twice: by Abdel Haleem in "Early Islamic Terminology" (1991) and on its own (1999).

20. The text has been published repeatedly, including in 1973 and 2008.

21. Published in 2008.

22. The work has been published repeatedly, in 1983 and 1987, and in al-Aʿsam's *Muṣṭalaḥ*.

23. The first chapter of his *al-Nukat fī muqaddamāt al-uṣūl* contains definitions: *Bāb al-ibāna ʿan maʿānī l-alfāẓ fī muqaddamāt al-naẓar wa-māhiyyat al-aʿrāḍ* (in *Muṣannafāt al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd*, 10[2]/21–30).

24. *Al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq*, of which there are two versions, which were published by Dānišpažūh, "Čahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī." Dānišpažūh considers the second version (pp. 721–741) to be of certain authorship while the first (pp. 149–181) is not in his view. The first version was published again in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Rasāʾil*, 2/261–289. See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 6/301 no. 1611; MTK 3/92 no. 5164.

25. *Al-Muqaddama fī l-madḫal ilā ṣināʿat ʿilm al-kalām*. The text has been published twice: in Dānišpažūh, "Čahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī," 183–214, and in al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, *Rasāʾil*, 63–87. For a new critical edition, see chapter 15 in the present volume. See also MTK 5/231f. no. 11376. Al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī may also be the author of another brief tract on definitions, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-mutakallimīn*. See Dānišpažūh, "Čahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī," 148 no. 4, 236–240.

26. *Al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq fī šarḥ al-alfāẓ al-muṣṭalaḥa bayn al-mutakallimīn min al-imāmiyya*. The text has been published repeatedly, on its own in 1970 and by Dānišpažūh in "Čahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī," 218–235. See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 6/301 no. 1612; MTK 3/92 no. 5165.

27. *Al-Ḥudūd: al-Muʿǧam al-mawḍūʿī li-l-muṣṭalaḥāt al-kalāmiyya*.

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and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Šahrāšūb al-Māzandarānī (d. 588/1192)[28] have written works of definitions.

Most Muʿtazilite authors, by contrast, do not seem to have contributed to this genre. We only know of a *K. al-Ḥudūd* of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī[29] and another of Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 536/1141),[30] both of which are lost. Ibn al-Malāḥimī also consecrated a separate chapter at the beginning of his *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* to definitions, *bāb fī ḥudūd hāḏihi l-ašyāʾ*.[31] Moreover, Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, the Karaite Muʿtazilite author of the eleventh century CE, likewise included separate chapters containing definitions of theological terms at the beginning of his *al-K. al-Muḥtawī*[32] and his *K. al-Tamyīz*.[33] Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī also included a *bāb al-ḥudūd* in part 10 of his *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, as did Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37) in his *al-Baḥr al-zaḫḫār*.[34] Ibn Šarwīn's *Ḥaqāʾiq al-ašyāʾ* is thus so far one of the most extensive extant works within this genre written by a Muʿtazilite author. Moreover, at the end of the tract the author offers theoretical remarks on the notions of *ḥaqīqa* (there is a major lacuna in this part), *ḥadd*, and *maǧāz*, as well as on various categories of *ism*, which is unusual for this type of work and is in fact more typical for the discipline of *adab*.

As far as we know, the most comprehensive work of Ibn Šarwīn is the one entitled *Yāqūtat al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān fī uṣūl al-dīn*. Except for seven folios (undoubtedly a fragment) held by the private library of the Āl Wazīr in Hiǧrat al-Sirr in Yemen,[35] the work itself appears to be lost. It is possible that a copy will surface in one of the librar-

28. *Aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq fī l-ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq*. An early manuscript of the text is preserved in the library of Ḥusayn Čelebi in Bursa, no. 1184. For a description of the manuscript and an analysis of the text, see Ansari, "Aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq." See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 2/239 no. 950, 6/301. For additional Imāmite works of definitions, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 6/298–301 ("*al-Ḥudūd wa-l-taʿrīfāt*").

29. See Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 369.

30. Ibn al-Malāḥimī mentions this work in his *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, 80, 396, 557. A quotation from it is included in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl fī dirāyat uṣūl*, 3/239 („*ṯumma ḏakara ṣāḥib al-Muʿtamad fī kitābihi fī l-ḥudūd* ...").

31. See Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Muʿtamad*, 12–28. The chapter contains definitions of the following terms: *al-ʿilm*, *al-ǧahl*, *al-ẓann*, *al-šakk*, *al-taqlīd*, *al-naẓar*, *al-dalāla*.

32. Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, *Muḥtawī*, 32–64, 643–656 (*Bāb fī mā yaǧibu taqdīm maʿrifat ḥaqāʾiqihi min al-asmāʾ ʿalā dalālat ḥudūṯ al-aǧsām*). Yūsuf al-Baṣīr includes definitions of the following terms: *al-šayʾ*, *al-mawǧūd*, *al-maʿdūm*, *al-qadīm*, *al-muḥdaṯ*, *al-ǧawhar*, *al-ǧism*, *al-ʿaraḍ*, *al-iǧtimāʿ*, *al-iftirāq*, *al-ḥaraka*, *al-sukūn*, *al-muǧtamaʿ*, *al-muftariq*, *al-mutaḥarrik*, *al-sākin*, *al-šāġil*, *al-ḫālī*. See also Vajda, "Definitions."

33. See Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, *Buch der Unterscheidung*, 114–123 (*Faṣl fī ḥudūd ǧumla min al-asmāʾ*). Here, definitions of the following terms are given: *al-šayʾ*, *al-mawǧūd*, *al-qadīm*, *al-muḥdaṯ*, *al-ǧawhar*, *al-ʿaraḍ*, *al-muftariq*, *al-mutaḥarrik*, *al-sākin*.

34. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā, *Baḥr*, 1/188f.

35. See al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 2/397 no. 99:4 and al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, 49 no. 87. We were unable to inspect these leaves. It may well be that they belong to al-Raṣṣāṣ' recension of the work (see below) rather than to the original *Yāqūta*.

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ies with Twelver Šīʿī holdings, as the book circulated in Iran during the tenth/sixteenth century. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā al-Tabrīzī al-Afandī (b. 1066/1655–56, d. ca. 1130/1718) reports in his *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ* that one of the students of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī (b. ca. 870/1465, d. ca. 940/1533) mentioned the *K. Yāqūt* [*sic*] *al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān*.[36] Al-Afandī had gleaned this information from Šaraf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAšīra b. Nāṣir al-Muftī Baḥrānī al-Yazdī's (still alive in 970/1562–63) *Asāmī mašāyiḫ al-Šīʿa*.[37] Al-Afandī further reports that according to another source from Siğistān the *K. Aqwiyat* [*sic*] *al-īmān* was by a certain Abū l-Faḍl al-Šīʿī (al-Šʿbī in the published text), and that "*Aqwiya*" is obviously a misreading. Al-Afandī is also aware that the book contained a particularly detailed discussion of the imamate, as it was included in a list of books on this issue by the same informant. Al-Afandī knows nothing about the identity of the author, nor does he seem to be aware of his Zaydī allegiance, but rather takes him to be a Twelver Šīʿī.[38]

On the basis of Ibn Šarwīn's *Yāqūtat al-īmān*, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 584/1188)[39] wrote his *al-Tibyān li-Yāqūtat al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān*, in the course of which he regularly refers to Ibn Šarwīn as *al-Šayḫ al-ğalīl al-zāhid al-saʿīd Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Šarwīn raḍiya llāh ʿanhu*,[40] *al-Šayḫ al-ğalīl raḍiya llāh ʿanhu*,[41] *al-Šayḫ raḍiya llāh ʿanhu*,[42] or

36. Al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 5/490.

37. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 2/10f. no. 24, 4/46f. no. 182, 4/60f. no. 249. The text was published by Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh in "Du risāla," pt. 1 (*Mašāyiḫ al-Šīʿa yā asmāʾ al-muğtahidīn*, p. 312 no 48: *al-Šayḫ Abū l-Faḍl ṣāḥib K. al-Yāqūta wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān*). Another edition of the text was published as Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAšīra al-Salamābādī al-Baḥrānī, *Risālat mašāyiḫ al-Šīʿa taštamilu ʿalā asmāʾ baʿḍ al-ruwāt wa-ʿulamāʾ al-šīʿa wa-muṣannafātihim ilā sanat 965*, no 50: *wa-minhum al-Šayḫ Abū l-Faḍl al-Sabīʿī* [*sic*] *ṣāḥib K. Aqwiyat al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān*. Dānišpažūh has published a similar text from the same period that also includes a reference to Ibn Šarwīn; see Dānišpažūh, "Du risāla," pt. 2 (*Asmāʾ al-mašhūrīn min al-ʿulamāʾ*, p. 416 no. 47: *al-Šayḫ Abū l-Faḍl al-Šīʿī ṣāḥib K. Yāqūtat al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān wa-laʿallahu huwa al-Baġdādī*). On Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, see also ʿAbd al-Kāẓim Ğāsim, "Qirāʾa."

38. See also al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Šīʿa*, 2/399a; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 25/272 no. 69; MTK 5/532 no. 12818; MṬM 2/213 no. 181.

39. On him, see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism"; Thiele, *Kausalität in der muʿtazilitischen Kosmologie*.

40. See MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 2401, f. 116a (see also below, Fig. 2.1):

الثاني من كتاب التبيان | لياقوتة الإيمان وواسطة البرهان | التي ألّفها الشيخ الجليل الزاهد السعيد | أبو الفضل العباس بن شروين رضي الله عنه | جمعه الشيخ الجليل العالم الحسن بن محمد بن الحسن | بن محمد بن أبي بكر الرصاص رضي الله عنه | وأرضاه

And similarly MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. E 208, f. 61a:

الثالث من كتاب التبيان | لياقوتة الإيمان | وواسطة البرهان التي ألّفها | الشيخ الجليل الزاهد السعيد أبو | أبو [كذا] الفضل العباس بن شروين رضي | الله عنه تصنيف الشيخ الأجلّ العالم | حسام الدين وزين الموحّدين الحسن بن | محمد بن الحسن بن محمد بن أبي بكر محمد الرصاص | رضي الله عنه وارضاه | للفقير إلى رحمة ربه يحيى بن جابر

See also MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, ff. 76b:8f., 95a:4f., and 116b:4f., where the full name is given.

41. See MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, ff. 237a:22f. [= MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 43a:15], 238a:3f., 15f. [= 44a:9, 19], 238a:19, 21 [= 44b:4f., 8]; MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, ff. 86a:18, 113b:23, 116b:9, 133a:1.

42. See MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 43a:18 (the parallel passage in MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 237a:26, reads instead *al-Šayḫ al-ğalīl raḍiya llāh ʿanhu*).

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simply *raḍiya llāh ʿanhu*,[43] or, at one instance, as *ṣāḥib al-Yāqūta*.[44] Al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Tibyān*, which was written still during the lifetime of al-Raṣṣāṣ' teacher *Qāḍī* Šams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Buhlūlī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177),[45] is incompletely preserved in two manuscripts: (1) MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. E 208, ff. 9a–160b, copied in Rabīʿ I 620/April–May 1223 by an unknown scribe, which was partially collated with the autograph;[46] and (2) MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 2401,

43. See MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 86b:4.

44. MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 132a:15.

45. See MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 79a:15, where Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar's name is followed by the eulogy *adāma llāh ʿizzahu*. For references to the *Tibyān* in al-Raṣṣāṣ' later writings, see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism."

46. See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 3/92 no. 1038. For the colophon, see below, n. 50. The first two leaves of the text (ff. 9 and 10) are misplaced. Their correct location is between ff. 67b and 68a. The owner of the manuscript, Yaḥyā b. Ǧābir, discloses his identity on f. 61a, the title page of volume 2 of the text: *li-l-faqīr ilā raḥmat rabbihi Yaḥyā b. Ǧābir*, as well as on f. 161a:16: *mālikuhu Yaḥyā b. Ǧābir*. The possibility that Yaḥyā was also the scribe of the manuscript cannot be excluded. On f. 61a, Yaḥyā b. Ǧābir adds the following note, stating the books that were likewise in his possession. The note reads as follows:

جملة الكتب التي ليحيى بن جابر: <1> الجزء الأول والثاني من شرح | التحصيل تصنيف حسين بن مسلّم، <2> وصفوة الاختيار في أصول الفقه | <3> والجزء الثاني من شرح التحصيل من شرح الخراشي، <4> وتفسير غريب القرآن | لمعاذ بن أبي الخير السجستاني، <5> ومعه جزء من تفسير ابن قتيبة | <6> ومقدمة ابن باب شاذ النحوي، <7> وتحكيم العقول | للحاكم، <8> وكتاب جواب الأشعري للفقيه حسين، ومعه | <9> كتاب المؤثرات للشيخ العالم الحسن بن محمد بن أبي بكر الرصاص | <10> وكتاب واسطة الهدى ومعها <11> الإحياء على الشهادة | للقاضي شمس الدين، <12> ونهج العلوم <13> وكتاب جلاء الأبصار ومعه | <14> الأربعين الحديث السيلقية <15> والأربعين النوع في فضائل | أمير المؤمنين علي عليه السلام <16> وتفسير الخلال <17> والكاشف للبصائر

<1> For Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī's commentary on al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *al-Taḥṣīl*, *al-Iklīl šarḥ maʿānī al-Taḥṣīl*, see Thiele, "Theological Compendia." <2> *Ṣafwat al-iḫtiyār*, by al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, on legal methodology (published; see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/229 no. 2116). <3> Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥurāšī's (alive in 610/1214) commentary on al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *al-Taḥṣīl*, *al-Tafṣīl li-ǧumal al-Taḥṣīl* (published; see also Thiele, "Theological Compendia"). <4> *Tafsīr ġarīb al-Qurʾān*, also known as *Nuzhat al-qulūb fī tafsīr ġarīb al-Qurʾān*, by Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siǧistānī (d. 330/942) (published repeatedly); see DMB 5/254 (Aḥmad Pākatčī). It is not clear why al-Siǧistānī is called here Muʿāḏ b. Abī l-Ḫayr, a name that is not attested in any other source. <5> Referring either to Ibn Qutayba's *K. Taʾwīl muškil al-Qurʾān* (published; see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 140–143 no. 13) or to his *K. Tafsīr ġarīb al-Qurʾān* (published; see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 134–137 no. 11). <6> *Al-Ǧumal al-hādiya fī šarḥ al-Muqaddima al-kāfiya*, by Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābšād (d. 469/1076); see DMB 3/56f. (Īrān Nāz Kāšiyān). <7> Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *Taḥkīm al-ʿuqūl fī taṣḥīḥ al-uṣūl* (published). <8> Another work by the above-mentioned Ḥusayn b. Musallam. <9> See Thiele, *Kausalität in der muʿtazilitischen Kosmologie*. <10> Referring most likely to *al-Wāsiṭa fī masāʾil al-iʿtiqād al-hādiya ilā sabīl al-rašād* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224); see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 3/142 no. 3262. <11> By Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Salām; see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/623. <12> *Nahǧ al-ʿulūm* by Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar. <13> For *Ǧalāʾ al-abṣār fī taʾwīl* [or *mutūn*] *al-aḫbār*, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, see Madelung, English introduction to *Arabic Texts*, 18 no. 4. <14> *Al-Arbaʿūn al-saylaqiyya* of Zayd b. Rifāʿa al-Hāšimī (fl. fourth/tenth century), published repeatedly; see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 215. <15> The identity of this book is uncertain. It

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which was transcribed by one (or two) anonymous scribe(s).[47] Both manuscripts are incomplete in the beginning, and MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401 is so also in the end. However, with the exception of the beginning of the text, these two manuscripts together cover the first three volumes (*aǧzāʾ*, sg. *ǧuzʾ*) of the work, with considerable overlap, containing the first and major parts of the second book (*aṣl*, pl. *uṣūl*) of the text.[48] The Ambrosiana manuscript was written for the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, which is possibly also the case with the Sanaa fragment of the *Tibyān*.

The manuscripts of al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Tibyān* contain the following chapter headings:

[*al-Aṣl al-awwal*: *al-Kalām fī l-tawḥīd*]
[*Bāb fī ḥudūṯ al-ǧism*

may possibly be identical with *al-Aḫbār al-arbaʿūn al-wasīla ilā rabb al-ʿālamīn min faḍāʾil Amīr al-muʾminīn* by Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak al-Akwaʿ (alive in 627/1229–30); see Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 128. For this work, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/172 no. 74, 2/619 no. 373, 2/973 no. 615. <16> On this work, see Mourad, "Ibn al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī." <17> By al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ; see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism." The identity of Yaḥyā b. Ǧābir cannot be established at present as he is not mentioned in any of the relevant Zaydī biographical works; he is certainly to be distinguished from his ninth/fifteenth-century homonym mentioned in al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1094f. no. 1171. He does appear, however, in a codex containing *ʿUlūm āl Muḥammad*, i.e., the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd* (d. 247/861) in the transmission of al-Murādī (on this work, see DMB 7/2–4 [Hassan Ansari]; Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 80–84), and in *Maǧmūʿ al-fiqh* of Imam Zayd b. ʿAlī, collected by Abū Ḫālid al-Wāsiṭī (see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 54ff.) and containing, among other things, a reader's note in the hand of "al-faqīh Yaḥyā b. Ǧābir"; see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/1089.

47. During a visit to Yemen in August 2009, Schmidtke was able to consult and photograph the original codex, for which she expresses her gratitude to the Ministry of Religious Endowments. Although this manuscript is undated, it was certainly transcribed for the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. The handwriting resembles that of at least some volumes of the unique copy of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *al-Muġnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* that were copied for the *imām*'s library (MSS Maktabat al-awqāf, nos. 542, 543, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550). In the margin of f. 1a, there is a note recording the transfer of the codex from Ẓafār into the Awqāf library in Sanaa, dated Rabīʿ I 1348/August 1929. While the text was correctly identified in "al-Maḫṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿṯat al-Maʿhad," 9 no. 39, al-Ruqayḥī et al. (in *Fihrist*, 2/715) label the manuscript as anonymous and untitled. Microfilm copies of the codex are preserved in Cairo, Sanaa (Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt), and Iran; see al-Mašriqī and al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs yamānī*, 409. On al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's library in Ẓafār, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/609.

48. The fragment of MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208 starts on f. 11a = MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 204a:16. The preceding leaves (ff. 9f.) of MS Ambrosiana are misplaced; see above, n. 46. The end of the text preserved in MS Maktabat al-awqāf corresponds to MS Ambrosiana, f. 58b:24 (*ʿalayhi wa-ālihi*). It is likely that MS Maktabat al-awqāf originally contained volumes 1 and 2. Comparison with MS Ambrosiana shows that at its end two leaves must be missing, while at the beginning of MS Maktabat al-awqāf around twenty folios are missing. The division of the work into volumes (*aǧzāʾ*, sg. *ǧuzʾ*; see MS Ambrosiana, f. 60a:20–22) is in both manuscripts a merely codicological division with only some relation to the division of the work into parts (*uṣūl*). Volume 1 is devoted to *tawḥīd* (divine unicity), while volumes 2 and 3 both cover *ʿadl* (divine justice). It is likely that the division into volumes originated with al-Raṣṣāṣ.

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*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-daʿwā al-ūlā . . .*
*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-daʿwā al-ṯāniyya . . .*]49
*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-daʿwā al-ṯāliṯa wa-hiya anna l-ǧism lam yataʿarra min ǧins hāḏihi l-maʿānī al-muḥdaṯa wa-lam yasbiqhā* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 5b)
*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-daʿwā* [*al-rābiʿa*] *wa-hiya anna l-ǧism iḏā lam yataʿarra min hāḏihi l-maʿānī wa-lam yasbiqhā wağaba an yakūna muḥdaṯan miṯlahā* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 6a)

*Bāb al-qawl fī iṯbāt al-ṣāniʿ taʿālā* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 9a)

*Bāb al-kalām fī ṣifātihi taʿālā* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 13a)

*Faṣl wa-mimmā yağibu an yuṯbata lahu subḥānahu min al-ṣifāt huwa annahu subḥānahu ʿālim* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 14b)
*Faṣl wa-mimmā yağibu an yuṯbata lahu subḥānahu huwa annahu ḥayy* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 15b)
*Faṣl wa-min ǧumlat mā yatbaʿ kawnahu taʿālā ḥayyan huwa annahu samīʿ baṣīr* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 17b)
*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā qādir ʿālim ḥayy samīʿ baṣīr fīmā lam yazal* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 18a)
*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā lā yağūzu an yastaḥiqqa hāḏihi l-ṣifāt ʿalā ṭarīq al-wuǧūb baʿda l-istiḥāla* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 18a)
*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā lā yağūzu an yastaḥiqqa hāḏihi l-ṣifāt bi-l-fāʿil* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 20a)
*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā lā yağūzu an yakūna qādiran ʿāliman ḥayyan li-maʿānin maʿdūma* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 25b)
*Faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā lā yağūzu an yastaḥiqqa hāḏihi l-ṣifāt li-maʿānin mawǧūda* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 28a)
*Faṣl ṯumma ḏakara raḥimahu llāh min baʿdi ḏālika l-kalām fī annahu taʿālā mawǧūd* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 35b)
*Faṣl wa-lammā faraġa raḥimahu llāh min al-dalāla ʿalā anna l-bāriʾ taʿālā mawǧūd takallama min baʿdi ḏālika fī annahu taʿālā qadīm* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 42a)
*Faṣl ṯumma ḏakara raḥimahu llāh min baʿdi ḏālika al-dalāla ʿalā annahu taʿālā mudrik* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 46b)
*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā qādir ʿālim ḥayy mawǧūd li-ḏātihi* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 52a)
*Faṣl wa-min tawābiʿ kawnihi taʿālā qādiran ʿāliman ḥayyan mawǧūdan li-ḏātihi annahu taʿālā yastaḥīlu ʿalayhi ḍidd hāḏihi l-ṣifāt min al-ʿağz wa-l-ǧahl wa-l-mawt wa-l-ʿadam* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 60a)
*Faṣl wa-min tawābiʿ kawnihi taʿālā bi-hāḏihi l-ṣifāt li-ḏātihi huwa annahu taʿālā qādir ʿalā ǧamīʿ aǧnās al-maqdūrāt wa-min kull ǧins ʿalā mā lā yatanāhā wa-annahu ʿālim bi-ǧamīʿ*

49. The title of *Bāb fī ḥudūṯ al-ǧism* in mentioned in MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 9a:2.

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*al-maʿlūmāt ʿalā kull al-wuǧūh allatī yaṣiḥḥu an yuʿlama ʿalayhā wa-annahu subḥānahu mudrik li-ǧamīʿ al-mudrakāt* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 61a)

*Faṣl ṯumma ḏakara raḥimahu llāh min baʿdi ḏālika mā yaǧibu an yunfā ʿanhu taʿālā min al-ṣifāt allatī lā yalīqu bihi fa-minhā annahu taʿālā laysa bi-ǧawhar* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 71b)

*Faṣl ṯumma ḏakara raḥimahu llāh min baʿdi ḏālika l-kalām fī annahu taʿālā laysa bi-ǧism* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 73a)

*Faṣl ṯumma ḏakara raḥimahu llāh baʿda l-dalāla ʿalā annahu taʿālā laysa bi-ǧism al-dalāla ʿalā annahu laysa bi-ʿaraḍ* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 74b)

*Faṣl wa-iḏā ṯabata annahu taʿālā laysa bi-ǧawhar wa-lā ǧism wa-lā ʿaraḍ lam yaǧuz ʿalayhi šayʾ min ḫaṣāʾiṣ al-aǧsām wa-tawābiʿihā naḥwa l-tanaqqul fī l-ǧihāt wa-l-nuzūl wa-l-ṣuʿūd wa-l-ziyāda wa-l-nuqṣān wa-l-kawn fī l-amākin wa-lam yaǧuz ʿalayhi šayʾ min tawābiʿ al-aʿrāḍ min al-ḥulūl wa-l-taǧaddud wa-l-buṭlān* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 76b)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā yastaḥīlu ʿalayhi l-intiqāl* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 76b)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yakūna kāʾinan fī makān* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 78a)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā lā yaǧūzu ʿalayhi l-ḥulūl* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 81b)

*Faṣl wa-lammā faraġa raḥimahu llāh min al-dalāla ʿalā annahu lā yušbihu l-aǧsām wa-l-aʿrāḍ wa-l-ǧawāhir takallama min baʿdi ḏālika fī annahu taʿālā wāḥid lā ṯāniya lahu fī l-qidam wa-l-ilāhiyya* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 92a)

*Faṣl wa-iḏā thabata annahu taʿālā waḥid lā ṯāniya lahu fī l-qidam wa-l-ilāhiyya ṯabata anna mā siwāhu min kalāmihi wa-ġayrihi muḥdaṯ* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 95a)

*Faṣl wa-lammā faraġa raḍiya llāh ʿanhu min al-kalām fī waḥdāniyyat Allāh taʿālā wa-nafy al-qadīm al-ṯānī takallama min baʿdi ḏālika fī annahu taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yurā bi-l-abṣār fī l-dunyā wa-lā fī l-āḫira* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 102b)

*Faṣl wa-lammā faraġa raḥimahu llāh min al-kalām fī annahu taʿālā lā yaǧūzu ruʾyatuhu fī ḥāl min al-aḥwāl takallama min baʿdi ḏālika fī annahu taʿālā lā yaǧūzu ʿalayhi l-ḥāǧa fī ḥāl min al-aḥwāl* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 111a)

[End of volume 1, beginning of volume 2 (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 116a)]

[*al-Aṣl al-ṯānī:*] *al-Kalām fī l-ʿadl* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 116b)

*al-Faṣl al-awwal al-kalām fī annahu llāh subḥānahu lā yafʿalu l-qabīḥ wa-lā yuḫillu bi-l-wāǧib wa-anna afʿālahu kullahā ḥasana* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 121a)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī anna llāh subḥānahu lā yafʿalu l-qabīḥ wa-lā yuḫillu bi-l-wāǧib wa-anna afʿālahu kullahā ḥasana* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 126a)

*Faṣl iʿlam anna min tawābiʿ al-faṣl al-mutaqaddim al-kalām fi wuǧūh al-muḥsināt wa-wuǧūh al-wāǧibāt wa-l-kalām fiman yaṣiḥḥu fihi hāḏihi l-aḥkām allatī hiya aḥkām al-afʿāl wa-man yataʿaḏḏaru fīhi wa-l-kalām fīmā yaṣiḥḥu min al-qadīm taʿālā min hāḏihi l-afʿāl wa-aḥkāmihā li-annahu yaḥtāǧu ilā ḏālika fī mawāḍiʿ min*

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*abwāb al-ᶜadl* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 145b)

*al-Faṣl al-ṯānī wa-huwa al-kalām fī anna llāh subḥānahu lā yaḫluqu afᶜāl al-ᶜibād wa-annahum hum al-fāᶜilūn lahā* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 156a)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar wa-l-kalām fī l-qadariyya man hum* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 176b)

*al-Faṣl al-ṯāliṯ wa-huwa al-kalām fī l-istiṭāᶜa* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 179b)

*al-Kalām fī iṯbāt aḥadinā qādiran* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 180a)

*al-Kalām fī annahu qādir li-maᶜnā ġayrihi* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 186a)

*al-Faṣl al-awwal fī bayān taᶜalluq al-qudra* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 188b)

*al-Faṣl al-ṯānī wa-huwa al-kalām fī annahā li-māḏā tataᶜallaqu* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 189a)

*al-Faṣl al-ṯāliṯ wa-huwa annahā innamā tataᶜallaqu bi-l-maqdūr ᶜalā ṭarīqat al-iḥdāṯ* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 189b)

*al-Faṣl al-rābiᶜ wa-huwa anna l-qudra lā yaṣiḥḥu taᶜalluquhā bi-maqdūrihā illā ᶜalā waǧh takūnu mutaqaddima ᶜalayhi* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 190a)

*al-Faṣl al-ḫāmis wa-huwa al-kalām fī anna l-qudra mutaᶜalliqa bi-l-ḍiddayn* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 195a)

*al-Faṣl al-rābiᶜ wa-huwa al-kalām fī l-taklīf* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 217b / MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 21b)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī waǧh al-ḥikma fī l-taklīf* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 220a / MS Ambrosiana, f. 24a)

*Faṣl wa-ttaṣala bi-hāḏihi l-ǧumla al-kalām fī taklīf man al-maᶜlūm min ḥālihi annahu yakfuru* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 225b / MS Ambrosiana, f. 30b)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī šurūṭ ḥusn al-taklīf* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 236a / MS Ambrosiana, f. 42a)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fīmā yataᶜallaqu bihi l-muǧbira min al-āyāt allatī fīhā ḏikr al-ḍalāl wa-l-hudā wa-l-ṭabᶜ wa-l-ḫatm* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 247b / MS Ambrosiana, f. 55b)

[End of volume 2 (MS Ambrosiana, f. 60a)]

[Beginning of volume 3 (MS Ambrosiana, f. 61a)]

*al-Faṣl al-ḫāmis al-kalām fī l-irāda* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 61b)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-bāb al-awwal wa-huwa iṯbātuhu taᶜālā murīdan* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 64a)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-bāb al-ṯānī wa-huwa l-kalām fī ḥukmihā bayn al-ṣifatayn wa-kayfiyyat taʾṯīrihimā wa-mā yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 78a)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-bāb al-ṯāliṯ wa-huwa l-kalām fī kayfiyyat istiḥqāqihi subḥānahu lahā bayn al-ṣifatayn* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 84a)

*Faṣl al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī l-bāb al-rābiᶜ wa-huwa al-kalām fīmā yurīduhu l-qadīm subḥānahu min fiᶜlihi wa-fiᶜl ġayrihi wa-mā lā yurīduhu wa-bayān mā yakrahuhu wa-mā lā yakrahuhu wa-mā yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 104a)

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*al-Faṣl al-sādis wa-huwa al-kalām fī anna llāh taʿālā lā yaǧūzu an yuʾaḍḍiba aṭfāl al-mušrikīn bi-ḏunūb ābāʾihim* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 132a)
*al-Faṣl al-sābiʿ wa-huwa al-kalām fī l-luṭf wa-l-aṣlaḥ* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 137a)
*al-Bāb al-awwal fī ḥaqīqat al-luṭf wa-maʿnāhu wa-mā yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 138a)
*al-Bāb al-ṯānī fī l-dalāla ʿalā wuǧūb al-luṭf wa-ḏikr al-ḫilāf fīhi wa-mā yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 140a)
*al-Bāb al-ṯāliṯ fī l-ālām allatī yūṣiluhā llāh taʿālā ilā l-ḫalq* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 151a)

While al-Raṣṣāṣ never went beyond the first two parts of the book,[50] he states that Ibn Šarwīn's original *Yāqūtat al-īmān* had comprised eight parts (*uṣūl*).[51] Al-Raṣṣāṣ does not provide any information on the contents of these parts beyond the two he adapted, and compared with earlier extant works produced by adherents of the Bahšamiyya the division into eight parts is unusual. It is possible that Ibn Šarwīn employed the mode of division that we find later in the theological writings of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī, who invariably arranges his material into eight parts: (1) divine unicity (*tawḥīd*); (2) justice (*ʿadl*); (3) prophecy (*nubuwwa*); (4) revealed legislation (*šarāʾiʿ*); (5) imamate; (6) commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*); (7) the promise and the threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*); and (8) attributes and characteristics (*al-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām*).[52] A slightly different pattern that may alternatively

50. See MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 151a:14–21:

هذا آخر ما صنّفه رحمه الله في التبيان وكان الفراغ من | نساخة هذا الجزء نهار الربوع أول دواخل ربيع الأول | من شهور سنة عشرين وستمائة مالكه يحيى بن جابر | حامدًا لله تعالى ومصليًا على نبيه محمد المصطفى وأهل بيته | الطيبين الطاهرين وسلم تسليمًا كثيرًا | يتلو ذلك مسائل | فيها طرائق مستحدثة تأليف الشيخ الأجل العالم حسام الدين وزين الموحدين الحسن بن محمد | الرصاص رحمه الله

Next to the colophon there is a collation note that reads as follows:

بلغت النسخة مقابلةً على نسخة الشيخ العالم حسام الدين رحمه الله من أول الكلام في الإرادات إلى آخر الكلام في الأصلح في الدين

The text ends abruptly towards the end of the second part on justice (*ʿadl*) at the beginning of chapter 3 (*al-bāb al-ṯāliṯ*) on pains (*ālām*) after the first sentence; it is followed by the abovequoted scribe's note. At the beginning of chapter 7 (*al-faṣl al-sābiʿ*) (MS Ambrosiana, f. 137a) it is stated that this *faṣl* will consist of four *abwāb*. Apart from most of the third *bāb*, al-Raṣṣāṣ also omitted all of the fourth *bāb* (*al-kalām fī aḥkām al-aʿwāḍ al-mustaḥaqqa ʿalayhā wa-kayfiyyat ittiṣālihā ilā mustaḥiqqīhā wa-mā yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika*), with which Ibn Šarwīn had possibly concluded the part on justice. In the introduction to part 2 al-Raṣṣāṣ states that Ibn Šarwīn had seven chapters in the corresponding chapter of the original work (MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, ff. 120b:17–121a:9). Strangely enough, al-Raṣṣāṣ refers repeatedly to his *Tibyān* in his *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-fiqh* for issues of legal methodology; see, e.g., Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ, *Ǧawharat al-uṣūl*, 552. While it is possible that Ibn Šarwīn's *Yāqūtat al-īmān* included a part on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the scribe's note at the end of MS Ambrosiana seems to exclude the possibility that al-Raṣṣāṣ ever covered this part.

51. See MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 116a:2f.: *fa-hāḏihi ǧumlat al-qawl fī l-aṣl al-awwal min al-uṣūl al-ṯamāniya wa-huwa l-tawḥīd . . .*; see also below, Fig. 2.1.

52. This is the case in his *al-Sirāǧ al-wahhāǧ al-mumayyiz bayn al-istiqāma wa-l-iʿwiǧāǧ*, in his *al-Maḥaǧǧa*

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have served as a model for Ibn Šarwīn is offered in the *Taʿlīq* on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl/Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, dictated or noted down by a certain Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār.[53] While the Muʿtazila, the author explains, maintain five principles in theology (viz., divine unicity, justice, the promise and the threat, commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible, and the intermediate position of the grave sinner), the Zaydiyya have eight principles instead: *al-tawḥīd*, *al-ʿadl*, *al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*, *al-nubuwwa*, *al-imāma*, *al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, *al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*, and *al-tawallī wa-l-tabarruʾ*. Another characteristic of Ibn Šarwīn's *Yāqūta* and/or al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Tibyān* is that the author(s) discuss(es) God's attribute of being willing and loathing exclusively in part 2, devoted to justice; it is not addressed in part 1, dealing with divine unicity. Although this was not unusual among the generation of students of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and beyond,[54] al-Raṣṣāṣ, following most likely Ibn Šarwīn, seems to have considered it an irregularity, as the chapter on volition (MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 61b: *al-Faṣl al-ḫāmis wa-huwa al-kalām fī l-irāda*) opens with a lengthy justification of its position.[55]

The exact relation between Ibn Šarwīn's *Yāqūtat al-īmān* and al-Raṣṣāṣ' adaptation cannot be established as long as we do not possess portions of the original text. Al-Raṣṣāṣ

*al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, and in the *ḫātima* of his *al-Tamyīz bayn al-islām wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya al-ṭaġām*. See Chapter 12 in the present volume.

53. MS owned by the library of the University of Shiraz (ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī Library), ff. 60b–61a. On this manuscript, see Chapter 5 in the present volume.

54. While Ibn Ḫallād (Adang et al., *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology*, 197ff.) and Mānkdīm ([*Taʿlīq*] *Šarḥ al-uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, 431ff., most likely following ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār) address the issue exclusively in the chapter devoted to divine justice, Ibn Mattawayh (again following ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār) discusses God's volition both in the part on divine unicity and in the one on justice (Ibn Mattawayh, *Muḥīṭ*, 151ff., 263ff.). This is also the case with Ibn al-Malāḥimī in his *Fāʾiq*, 42ff., 169ff. In the *Muġnī*, the topic of God's volition is discussed in detail under the rubric of God's justice (6/2: *al-Irāda*); whether ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār had addressed it also in his discussions on divine unicity is unclear, as those parts of the *Muġnī* are lost.

55. See MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, ff. 61b:10–62a:6:

ووجه اتصال هذا الفصل بباب العدل ظاهر وذلك أن الإرادة والكراهة لما كانت فعلين من الأفعال وكانت الأفعال قد تقبح تارةً وتحسن أخرى وكان عدل الله سبحانه يقتضي تنزيهه عن جميع القبائح احتجنا أن نبين ما يجوز أن يريده سبحانه وما لا يجوز أن يريده وما يجوز أن يكرهه وما لا يجوز أن يكرهه ولما كان ذلك لا يتم إلّا ببيان كونه سبحانه مريدًا وكارهًا لأنه لم يثبت أنه سبحانه مريد وكاره وأن هاتين الصفتين مما يصحّ عليه سبحانه استحال أن نتكلم فيما يجوز أن يريده وما لا يجوز أن يريده وفيما يجوز أن يكرهه وما لا يجوز أن يكرهه احتجنا أن نبين أنه سبحانه مريد وكاره ...

The issue us addressed again at the end of the introduction to the chapter on God's being willing and loathing; see MS Ambrosiana, f. 64a:8–10:

... ولهذه القضية أيضًا وجب أن يكون الكلام في كونه تعالى مريدًا داخلًا في أبواب العدل ولم يقدم ذلك في باب التوحيد وإن كان كلامًا في صفة من صفاته

At the end of the chapter on *irāda*, Ibn Šarwīn and/or al-Raṣṣāṣ again justify its inclusion in this part of the book; see MS Ambrosiana, f. 132a:6–14:

وهذه خاتمة القول في الفصل الخامس من فصول العدل وهو الكلام في الإرادة والذي دعا إلى بسط القول فيه أن بعض الإخوان لما رأى الكلام في الإرادة في الكتب لا يكاد يشفي عليل الصدور عول عليّ في تحقيق القول في ذلك فأجبتُه إلى ملتمسه قضاءً لحق أخوته في الدين وإن كان ذلك لا يليق بترتيب هذا الكتاب وقد أتينا على الغرض في ذلك بعون الله سبحانه ومشيئته وتوفيقه وهدايته ونسأله أن يوفقنا لإتمام هذا الكتاب على أحسن حال وأن يسددنا نحو مكارم الأخلاق ومحاسن الخلال ويعصمنا عن إحباط الثواب المستحقّ على ذلك أو نقصه بمساوي الأعمال بمنّه ولطفه

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describes his *Tibyān* on one occasion as a *šarḥ*.[56] According to MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, al-Raṣṣāṣ' role is described as *ǧamʿ* (as against Ibn Šarwīn's *taʾlīf* of *Yāqūtat al-īmān*), while in MS Ambrosiana al-Raṣṣāṣ is credited with the *taṣnīf* of the *Tibyān*.[57] Al-Raṣṣāṣ' references to the original work and its author[58] throughout the *Tibyān* suggest that his work shares the characteristics of the genre of "recension" or "paraphrase" (*maǧmūʿ*), as exemplified by Ibn Mattawayh's paraphrastic rendering of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *al-Muḥīṭ*, *al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ*,[59] or perhaps a commentary on Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ* that had possibly been dictated by Ibn Mattawayh's Zaydī student Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Mazdak/Mardak.[60] This is indicated by formulae such as *al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl al-kalām fī . . .* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, ff. 5b:6, 6a:15, 18a:6f., 20a:2, 25b:2f., 52a:15, 76b:12f., 78a:11f., 81b:18f., 126a:9f., 17b:3f., 220a:18, 236a:22f., 247b:23 . . .) or *ṯumma ḏakara raḥimahu llāh min baʿdi ḏālika* [*al-kalām fī . . .*] (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, ff. 25b:3f., 71b:18, 73a:2f., 74b:16f.) that open individual chapters,[61] or *wa-lammā faraġa al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl al-zāhid al-saʿīd Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Šarwīn raḍiya llāh ʿanhu min al-kalām fī l-aṣl al-awwal min uṣūl al-dīn wa-huwa l-tawḥīd takallama fī l-aṣl al-ṯānī wa-huwa al-ʿadl fa-qāla . . .* at the beginning of part 2 of the text (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 116b:4–7), or redactional statements such as *lammā faraġa raḥimahu llāh min al-kalām fī l-dalāla ʿalā ḥudūṯ al-aǧsām takallama min baʿdi ḏālika fī l-dalāla . . .* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, ff. 9a:4f., 92a:5f., 102b:5f.,

56. See MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 81a:3f.: *fa-innahā* [= *al-irāda*] *ʿindanā mawǧūda lā fī maḥall ʿalā mā nubayyinuhu fī āḫar hāḏā l-šarḥ*. This phrase is problematic, as it is unlikely that "volition" would have been discussed at the end of the work. "*Šarḥ*" should possibly be emendated here to "*faṣl*."

57. See above, n. 40.

58. See above, nn. 40–44.

59. Ibn Mattawayh, *Muḥīṭ* (containing volume 1 only); Ibn Mattawayh, *Maǧmūʿ* (volumes 1–3 to date). Margaretha Heemskerk is currently preparing an edition of volume 4 of Ibn Mattawayh's *Maǧmūʿ*. Most of the text of the original *al-K. al-Muḥīṭ* of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār is preserved among the various Genizah holdings, and a critical edition has been announced by Omar Hamdan and Gregor Schwarb.

60. *Anonymous Commentary*. Ibn Mazdak/Mardak has been suggested as a possible author of the commentary by Ansari, "Kitābī az maktab-i mutakallimān." On the commentary, see also Schmidtke, "MS Mahdawi 514"; Gimaret, "Commentaire récemment publié." Ibn Mattawayh's *Taḏkira* is available in critical edition by Daniel Gimaret. The genre of *maǧmūʿ* differs from that of *taʿlīq*, another common literary genre among the Zaydīs of the post-ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār period, exemplified by Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī's ("Mānkdīm Šašdīw", d. ca. 425/1034) and Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Farrazāḏī's (fl. late fifth/eleventh and early sixth/twelfth centuries) *taʿālīq* on the *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār (see Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*"), the anonymous *taʿlīq* on the *K. al-Iḥāṭa* of al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī (d. after 420/1029) (see Ansari and Schmidtke, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Zayd al-Ǧurǧānī (al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh) and His Writings" ), or the various supercommentaries on Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl*; see Adang et al., *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology*; see also Chapter 5 in the present volume. On this specific type of commentaries in the post-ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār period, see Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*."

61. Similar formulae are employed by Ibn Mazdak/Mardak in his commentary on Ibn Mattawayh's *Taḏkira*; see Schmidtke, "MS Mahdawi 514."

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111a:19f.), *wa-naḏkuru fī hāḏā l-kitāb ṭarīqayn ǧaryan ʿalā ṭarīqat ṣāḥib al-Yāqūta* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 132a:14f.), *wa-qad ḏakara al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fī l-kašf ʿan ḏālika ṭarīqayn iḥdāhumā . . .* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 237a:23f. / MS Ambrosiana, f. 43a:15f.), *ṯumma ḏakara al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl raḍiya llāh ʿanhu mā yadullu ʿalā buṭlān qawlihim annahu . . .* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 238a:3f. / MS Ambrosiana, f. 44a:9f.), *wa-qad ḏakara al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fī buṭlān qawlihim hāḏā ṭarīqayn iḥdāhuma . . .* (MS Ambrosiana, f. 113b:23f.), or *wa-amma al-ṭarīqa al-ṯāniya allatī ḏakara al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fī l-dalāla ʿalā anna . . .* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 163b:21–23). At the same time, there are remarks indicating that al-Raṣṣāṣ' contribution occasionally went beyond the original text. At one instance there is a reference to Ibn Šarwīn's (presumably younger) contemporary Ibn Mattawayh, followed by a reference to al-Raṣṣāṣ' teacher Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar and to al-Raṣṣāṣ' own work *al-Ṭarāʾiq al-mustaḥdaṯa*,[62] all clearly being additions by al-Raṣṣāṣ to the text. At the beginning of chapter 7 of part 2 of the book,[63] *al-Faṣl al-sābiʿ wa-huwa l-kalām fī l-luṭf wa-l-aṣlaḥ*, al-Raṣṣāṣ outlines the four chapters (*abwāb*) included in this *faṣl*, namely, (1) the meaning of divine grace (*fī ḥaqīqat al-luṭf wa-maʿnāhu*), (2) that it is obligatory upon God (*fī l-dalāla ʿalā wuǧūb al-luṭf wa-ḏikr al-ḥilāf fīhi wa-mā yattaṣilu bi-ḏālika*), (3) pains (*fī l-ālām allatī yūṣiluhā llāh taʿālā ilā l-ḫalq*), and (4) recompense (*fī aḥkām al-aʿwāḍ al-mustaḥaqqa ʿalayhā wa-kayfiyyat ittiṣālihā ilā mustaḥiqqīhā*). He concludes his introductory remarks by stating that Ibn Šarwīn did not discuss these issues in his *Yāqūtat al-īmān* beyond what he stated in the introduction to part 2 of the book devoted to justice and that he, al-Raṣṣāṣ, will be discussing them in detail.[64] At the beginning of the *faṣl* that opens with *wa-iḏā ṯabata annahu taʿālā laysa bi-ǧawhar wa-lā ǧism wa-lā ʿaraḍ lam yaǧuz ʿalayhi šayʾ min ḫaṣāʾiṣ al-aǧsām wa-tawābiʿihā naḥwa l-tanaqqul fī l-ǧihāt wa-l-nuzūl wa-l-ṣuʿūd wa-l-ziyāda wa-l-nuqṣān wa-l-kawn fī l-amākin wa-lam yaǧuz ʿalayhi šayʾ min ḫaṣāʾiṣ tawābiʿ al-aʿrāḍ min al-ḥulūl wa-l-taǧaddud wa-l-buṭlān* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 76b), al-Raṣṣāṣ states that this had been addressed by Ibn Šarwīn on a later occasion. Since he deemed it more appropriate to discuss the topic here, al-Raṣṣāṣ explains why he placed the chapter at this earlier

62. MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 79a:9–16. On al-Raṣṣāṣ' *al-Ṭarāʾiq al-mustaḥdaṯa*, see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism." An incomplete copy of the *Ṭarāʾiq* is also included in MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208 (ff. 151b–160b). By contrast, a reference in the text to Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī ("al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl Abū Rašīd," MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 120a:19) certainly originated with Ibn Šarwīn, who was one of the later students of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and as such certainly younger than Abū Rašīd. On Abū Rašīd, see Chapter 1 in the present volume.

63. MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, ff. 137a:4–138a:5.

64. See MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, ff. 137b:22–138a:5, where al-Raṣṣāṣ writes:

... فلذلك احتجنا إلى ذكر هذه الأبواب مكملةً لأبواب العدل وإن كان الشيخ الجليل رضي الله عنه لم يتكلم في ذلك في ياقوتة الإيمان على جملة ولا على تفصيل سوى ما أشار إليه في مقدمة أبواب العدل من أنه تعالى يفعل بنا ما هو أصلح لنا في ديننا بل صار الكلام في هذه الأبواب من أهمّ ما يذكر في أبواب العدل لأن معظم شبه المخالفين في أبواب العدل هو ما يتعلق بالآلام فيجب أن يشتدّ العناية في ذلك وسنذكر من ذلك في هذا الموضع جملًا وجيزةً نافعة إن شاء الله وبه الثقة والحول والقوة وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكيل.

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location.[65] The same applies to the *faṣl* that opens with *wa-iḏā ṯabata annahu taʿālā waḥid lā ṯāniya lahu fī l-qidam wa-l-ilāhiyya ṯabata anna mā siwāhu min kalāmihi wa-ġayrihi muḥdaṯ* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 102b), where al-Raṣṣāṣ again explains that Ibn Šarwīn had relegated the discussion to a later occasion but that he himself deemed it right to discuss it here in greater detail.[66] Occasionally al-Raṣṣāṣ replaces Ibn Šarwīn's argumentation with his own when he thinks this appropriate, stating, for example, *wa-hāḏā l-taḥqīq allaḏī ḥaqqaqnāhu bi-hāḏihi l-ṭarīqa awlā mimmā ḥaqqaqahu al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl raḍiya llāh ʿanhu min qawlihi . . .* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 202b:16f.) and again *fa-li-ḏālika qulnā anna taḥqīqahā bimā qaddamnā awlā min taḥqīqihā bimā ḏakara al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl raḍiya llāh ʿanhu wa-arḍāhu* (MS Maktabat al-awqāf, f. 203b:8f.). Such explicit remarks indicating changes of or additions to the original text suggest that elsewhere in this work al-Raṣṣāṣ did not go beyond what had already been laid down by Ibn Šarwīn in his *Yāqūtat al-īmān*.

One of the noteworthy characteristics of the work is that the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) are occasionally mentioned, at times accompanied by quotations without specification from which works of his these are taken.[67] The references to Abū l-Ḥusayn throughout the work could very well originate with Ibn Šarwīn, who must have been aware of the views and possibly some of the writings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, although the latter had been ostracized by his fellow students and later Bahšamite Muʿtazilites because of his criticism of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. Ibn Šarwīn would thus be the first Bahšamite theologian to relate some of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's views. The alternative, namely, that these were added by al-Raṣṣāṣ, seems less likely, as none of the references and quotations are clearly characterized as additions to the text on the part of al-Raṣṣāṣ. Moreover, although in his later works al-Raṣṣāṣ shows familiarity with some of the writings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī,[68] the main source through which the Zaydīs of Ye-

65. See MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 76b:3–12:

فصل وإذا ثبت أنه تعالى ليس بجوهر ولا جسم ولا عرض لم يجز عليه شيء من خصائص الأجسام وتوابعها نحو التنقّل في الجهات والنزول والصعود والزيادة والنقصان والكون في الأماكن ولم يجز عليه شيء من توابع الأعراض من الحلول والتجدّد والبطلان ويجب أن نبيّن ذلك لأن (لأن: مكرر) الشيخ الجليل أبا الفضل العباس بن شروين رضي الله عنه وإن أخّره في الياقوتة على هذا الموضع إلّا أنا رأينا تقديمه في هذا الموضع أولى وأليق بالترتيب من حيث هو تابع لهذه الفصول التي قدّمناها وداخل فيها والله ولي التوفيق.

66. See MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 95a:2–7:

فصل وإذا ثبت أنه تعالى واحد لا ثاني له في القدم والالهية ثبت أن ما سواه من كلامه وغيره محدَث فيجب أن نزيد الآن في كشف ذلك وإيضاحه لأن الشيخ الجليل أبا الفضل العباس بن شروين رضي الله عنه وإن أخّر ذلك عن هذا الموضع إلا أنا رأينا تقديمه في هذا الموضع أولى لأنه أليق به من حيث هو داخل في نفي القديم الثاني.

67. See MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2401, f. 124a:10; MS Ambrosiana ar. E 208, ff. 67b:16, 9b:6 [on the correct location of ff. 9f., see above, n. 46], 74a:10, 76b:2, 106a:3. For Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see EI3 2007-1/16–19 (W. Madelung) (with further references).

68. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Walīd reports, in his refutation of the section on the imamate in ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *al-Muġnī*, which is entitled *al-Ǧawāb al-ḥāsim al-mufnī bi-ḥall šubah al-Muġnī* and was written in 606/1209–10, that al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ had written a refutation (*radd*) of the "*K. al-Madḫal ilā Ġurar al-adilla li-l-Šayḫ Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī naqḍan šāfiyan kāfiyan*," which is not known to be extant. See ʿAbd al-

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men became acquainted with Abū l-Ḥusayn's theological views was the writings of Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārazmī, a contemporary and associate of Ǧār Allāh al-Zamaḫšarī (d. 538/1144) and the chief representative of Abū l-Ḥusayn's thought a century after the latter's death. Al-Raṣṣāṣ wrote a refutation of the criticism launched by Ibn al-Malāḥimī against the philosophers' view that the existence (*wuǧūd*) of a created being is additional to its essence (*māhiyya*), *al-Barāhīn al-ẓāhira al-ǧaliyya ʿalā anna l-wuǧūd zāʾid ʿalā l-māhiyya*, quoting extensively from Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa* though without ever mentioning the work's title,[69] and al-Raṣṣāṣ' student Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫurāšī used both Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *al-Fāʾiq* and his *al-Muʿtamad* for his commentary *al-Tafṣīl li-ǧumal al-taḥṣīl*, in which he regularly refers to and quotes from both works.[70] However, none of the referenced views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī have parallels either in Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Fāʾiq* or in the extant parts of his *Muʿtamad*. This would seem to indicate that they were gleaned directly from one or several of Abū l-Ḥusayn's theological works, namely, his *Ġurar al-adilla*, his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, or his *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, none of which reached Yemen, at least during the lifetime of al-Raṣṣāṣ.[71]

## Appendix: Critical edition of Ibn Šarwīn's *Ḥaqāʾiq al-ašyāʾ*

<١ب> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله ربّ يسّر وأعن يا كريم

**كتاب حقائق الأشياء**
**تأليف الشيخ الجليل أبي الفضل رحمه الله العباس بن شروين**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله وحده

Ǧabbār, *Muġnī*, 20(2)/263f. Since al-Raṣṣāṣ was apparently concerned with the section on the imamate in particular, it is likely that *K. al-Madḫal ilā Ġurar al-adilla* was the title under which Abū l-Ḥusayn's *al-Ġurar* was known among the Zaydīs of Yemen. In addition, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh* was available to al-Raṣṣāṣ. See Chapter 3 in the present volume.

69. Ansari, "*Al-Barāhīn al-ẓāhira*."

70. See MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 51, passim. The anonymous author of another commentary on al-Raṣṣāṣ' *K. al-Taḥṣīl* also refers occasionally to Ibn al-Malāḥimī; see MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 2318, passim. See also Thiele, "Theological Compendia."

71. On the reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī among the Zaydīs of Yemen, see also Ansari, "Maḥmūd al-Malāḥimī"; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 1. The Glaser collection in the Austrian National Library, Vienna has a partial manuscript of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* (Glaser 114, ff. 1–39b: *Faṣl muntazaʿ min K. Šarḥ al-Uṣūl fī l-imāma*). It is unknown, however, when this manuscript, which is clearly of Yemeni provenance, was transcribed and whether other parts of his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* ever reached Yemen.

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[1] حقيقة **الشيء** ما صحّ العلم به والخبر عنه موجودًا كان أو معدومًا، والذي يدلّ على أن المعلوم يسمّى شيئًا قول الله تعالى ﴿وَلَا تَقُولَنَّ لِشَيْءٍ إِنِّي فَاعِلٌ ذَلِكَ غَدًا إِلَّا أَن يَشَاءَ اللهُ﴾ [18 (الكهف): 23–24] وقال أيضًا تعالى ﴿إِنَّ زَلْزَلَةَ السَّاعَةِ شَيْءٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾ [22 (الحج): 1]. ويدلّ على صحة ذلك أيضًا أن من علم ما يخلقه الله تعالى ويحدثه من أحوال البعث والنشور ونعيم أهل الجنة وعقاب أهل النار جاز أن يقول: علمتُ أشياء وهي الآن معدومة.

[2] وحقيقة **الموجود** الكائن الثابت، ومن أصحابنا من قال في حقيقة الموجود أنه الحاصل على الوجه الذي به يعلم وجوده. ألا ترى أن الجوهر إنما يكون موجودًا إذا حصل متحيّزًا وبتحيّزه يعلم وجوده. وكذلك الأعراض المدركة أو الموجِبة للغير حالًا أو حكمًا إما تحصل موجودة إذا حصلت على الصفة التي عليها تدرك أو لأجلها تتعلق، وهذا هو طريق العلم بوجودها. وقد نجد الموجود بأنه الحاصل على الفرق المعلوم ضرورةً وهو مثل من قاس أمس الماضي واليوم الحاصل، وإنما نحدّ إلى هذا الحدّ لأنه لا لفظ للموجود أوضح منه فيحدّ[72] به.

[3] وحقيقة **المعدوم** بالضدّ مما قلنا في الموجود على الوجوه الثلاثة، وحقيقة المعدوم ما ليس بكائن ولا ثابت.

[4] وحقيقة **الباقي** الذي لم يتجدّد وجوده عند الإخبار عنه بأنه باقٍ.

[5] وحدّ **المحدث**[73] وتحقيقه الموجود الذي لوجوده أول.

[6] وحدّ **القديم** حقيقةً عند أبي علي ما لا أول لوجوده، وعند شيخنا أبي هاشم ما تقادم وجوده على جهة المبالغة. وقد قيل أن حقيقته في اللغة ما قاله أبو هاشم لأنهم يقولون: بناء قديم، يريدون به هذا المعنى وحقيقته في عرف المتكلمين ما قاله أبو علي لأنهم إذا قالوا: القول بأن القرآن قديم فاسد، إنما يريدون هذا المعنى. والأزلي هو الذي لا أول له. فإذا قيل موجود أزلي فمعناه أنه لا أول لوجوده وإذا قلنا أن الله لم يزل عالمًا فالمراد به أنه لا أول لكونه عالمًا وكذلك في كل موضع قيل: لم يزل، فإنما يراد به لا أول له سواء عُلّق بالقديم أو الوجود.

[7] وحقيقة **الجوهر** ما إذا وُجد كان له حيزه ومعنى الحيز أنه يحوز المكان أو ما يجري مجراه يراد به جهة[74] ومنع غيره من حصوله فيه وهذا من مواضعة المتكلمين.

[8] وحقيقة **الخطّ** الجوهران أو الجواهر[75] المؤتلفة طولًا فقط، وهذا أيضًا من مواضعتهم واصطلاحهم[76].

[9] وحقيقة **السطح** الجواهر المؤتلفة طولًا وعرضًا من قولهم: سطحت الشيء إذا سطحته.

[10] وحقيقة **الجسم** الطويل العريض العميق، ومن شيوخنا من قال: هو المؤتلف طولًا وعرضًا وعمقًا، ومنهم من قال: هو الذاهب في جهة الطول والعرض والعمق وهذه الحقيقة تقويةً بقولهم: الفيل أجسم من الإبل، لأنه أطول منه وأعرض وأعمق وقد أنشد العامر بن الطفيل:[77]

وقد علم الحيّ من عامر  بأن لنا ذروة الأجسم

[11] وحقيقة **المكان** ما اعتمد عليه الجوهر والجسم، وقال بعض البغداذيين: المكان ما أحاط بالجسم من جوانبه الستة.

[12] وحقيقة **الزمان** الوقت الحادث الذي يجعل أمارة لحدوث شيء آخر كقولهم: جاء فلان وقت طلوع الشمس، فجعل حدوث الطلوع أمارة لمجيئه والزمن والزمان واحد. قال الأعشى:[78]

لعمرك ما طول هذا الزمن  على المرء إلا عناء معن

والساعة والمدّة يقاربان الوقت والزمان.

[13] وحقيقة **العرض** ما لا حيّز له إذا أُحدث، ومعنى لا حيّز له أي لا يشغل مكانًا أو ما يجري مجراه، وهذا كالسواد والبياض وغيرهما من الطعوم والروائح والألوان والحركات والسكون. والذي يدلّ على أن هذه الأشياء لا حيّز لها في الوجود أن الأجزاء الكثيرة منها تحصل في محلٍّ واحد. ألا ترى أن كل بعض من المُشْك وكل قدر منه فيه اللون والطعم والرائحة والسكون أو الحركة وكذلك حبة الرمان، ولو كان لهذه الأشياء حيّز لم يجز اجتماع الكثير منها في محلٍّ واحد كما لا يجوز اجتماع الجواهر الكثيرة في مكانٍ واحد. والمعنى يستعمل عند المتكلمين

72. فيحد: مكرر في الأصل.
73. وحد المحدث: اضافة فوق السطر.
74. يراد به جهة: إضافة فوق السطر.
75. الجواهر: الجوهر.
76. مواضعتهم واصطلاحهم: مواضعهم، مع تصحيح فوق السطر.
77. قارن ديوان العامر بن الطفيل، ص. 121.
78. قارن ديوان الأعشى، ص. 15.

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على الوجه الذي يُستعمل العرض، لأنهم يقولون: الحركة معنى والسواد معنى، ويجوز أن يقال: حقيقة العرض ما يصحّ وجوده في الجواهر والأجسام على طريقة من أخرج من شيوخنا إرادة الله تعالى وكراهته وفناء الأجسام من أن تكون عرضًا، وهو المحكي عن أبي علي وحكي عن أبي هاشم أنها أعراض.

[14] وحقيقة **العالم** في مواضعة المتكلمين الأجسام[79] والأعراض الموجودة على الترتيب المشاهد مثل السموات والأرضين وما بينهما، وهذا المراد بقولنا: العالم محدَث، وأصل العالم في اللغة الخلق الكثير. قال الله تعالى ﴿وَلَقَد اخْتَرْنَاهُمْ عَلَى عِلْمٍ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ﴾ [44 (الدخان): 32].

[15] وحقيقة **الكون** المعنى الذي لأجله يختصّ الجسم والجواهر بمكانٍ دون مكان أو ما يجري مجراه، والكون في اللغة مصدر كان يكون كونًا، فسمّى المتكلّمون ما به يكون الجسم في المكان كونًا.

[16] وحقيقة **الحركة** هو الكون الحادث عقيب ضدّه بلا فصل.

[17] وحقيقة **المتحرّك** الكائن في مكانٍ أو ما يجري مجراه عقيب كونه في غيره بلا فصل، <٢أ> ومن الشيوخ من قال: الحركة نقلة المتحرّك المتنقّل.

[18] وحقيقة **السكون** الكون الباقي أو الحادث عقيب مثله بلا فصل، وقد يقال في حقيقة السكون أنه اللبث في مكان أكثر من وقتٍ واحد.

[19] وحقيقة **المجاورة** الكونان الحاصلان في الجسمين أو الجوهرين إن[80] لم يكن بينهما مشافهة، وهذا من مواضعات المتكلمين، وإن كانا على وجه بينهما مشافهة فهو المفارقة.

[20] وحقيقة **الاجتماع والتأليف والمماسّة** هو المعنى الذي يوجب تصعيب تفكيك المحلّ مع رطوبته أو يبوسته على وجهٍ مخصوص، وقد يُستعمل الاجتماع بمعنى المجاورة فيقال: الأجسام لا يخلو[81] من الاجتماع والافتراق.

[21] وحقيقة **الذات** ما[82] يستحقّ صفةً أو حكمًا، ولهذا لا يجوز[83] أن يقال: فعلت هذا الذات والله تعالى [كذا].

[22] وحقيقة **النفس والعين** كحقيقة الذات، ولهذا يقولون: نفس الجوهر وعين الجوهر، وقال الله تعالى كحكاية عيسى صلوات الله عليه ﴿تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي وَلَا أَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِكَ﴾ [5 (المائدة): 116].

**ضرب آخر من الحقائق**

[23] حقيقة **القادر** الحاصل على صفة[84] لكونه عليها يصحّ الفعل منه مع ارتفاع الموانع.

[24] وحقيقة **القدرة** المعنى الموجب بصفته التي ذكرناها، والقوة والاستطاعة كالقدرة والقوي والمستطيع كالقادر. قال الله تعالى ﴿إِنَّ اللهَ قَوِيٌّ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ﴾ [8 (الأنفال): 52] وقال الله أيضًا ﴿هَلْ يَسْتَطِيعُ رَبُّكَ أَن يُنَزِّلَ عَلَيْنَا مَائِدَةً مِنَ السَّمَاءِ﴾ [5 (المائدة): 112].

[25] وحقيقة **العالم** الحاصل على صفة لكونه عليها[85] يصحّ إيقاع مقدوراته محكمةً متقنةً.

[26] وحقيقة **العلم** اعتقاد الشيء على وجهٍ يسكن النفس إلى معتقده، ومعنى تسكين النفس أن الشكوك لا تُهجم عليه ولا تزيله. ومن الشيوخ من قال: حقيقة العلم هو[86] إثبات الشيء على ما هو به والعلم والمعرفة واحد، وكذلك العالم والعارف.

[27] وحقيقة **العقل** التي بحصولها[87] يحسن الذمّ على المقبّحات والمدح على المحسّنات.

[28] وحدّ **العاقل** مَن حصلت فيه هذه العلوم، وقال بعض مشايخنا البغداذيين: هو المعنى الذي يعقل عن القبيح ويدعو به[88] إلى

79. الأجسام: والاجسام.
80. إن: اذ.
81. يخلو: يخلوا.
82. ما: اما.
83. لا يجوز: لا يخلو يجوز؛ لا يخلو يبدو كأنها مشطوبة.
84. صفة: صفته.
85. عليها: إضافة فوق السطر مع إشارة صح.
86. هو: إضافة فوق السطر.
87. بحصولها: لحصولها.
88. ويدعو به: ويدعى به، مع تصحيح فوق السطر: ويدعوا به.

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الحسن. ومن شيوخنا من قال في حقيقة العقل أنه العلوم التي ما يصحّ معها[89] الاستدلال والتكليف، ولهذا يحدّ العاقل فيقال: مَن حصلت فيه العلوم التي معها يصحّ الاستدلال والتكليف[90] ولهذا لا يجوز أن يقال: الله تعالى عاقل، وإن كان عالمًا بكل معلوم.

[29] وحقيقة **علم الكلام** العلم الذي به يميّز بين الصحيح والفاسد، ما يتعمل من أصول الدين هذا وما يتعمل أو يتعلق بها.

[30] وحقيقة **الفقه** الاستدراك للعلم بجمل مخصوصة من أحكام الشرع في الحلال والحرام، ولهذا لا يعدّ الحافظ الذي لا يعرف أدلّة الفقه فقيهًا على الحقيقة، ولهذا لا يجوز أن يوصف الله تعالى بأنه فقيهٌ وإن كان عالمًا بما يحلّ ويحرّم، ولهذا لا يوصف العامي بأنه فقيه وإن عرف طرفًا من الأحكام.

[31] وحقيقة **الحيّ** الحاصل على صفةٍ لكونه عليها يصحّ أن يقدر ويعلم.

[32] وحقيقة **الحياة** هو المعنى الذي يوجب هذه الصفة.

[33] وحقيقة **الروح** أجسام لطيفة بحصولها يبقى الحياة في الحيّ.

[34] وحقيقة **الجهل** اعتقاد الشيء على ما ليس به.

[35] وحقيقة **الجاهل** المعتقد للشيء على ما ليس هو به، ويقال جاهل لمن لم يعرف الشيء أصلًا على التوسّع.

[36] وحقيقة **الشكّ** أن يخطر شيء بالقلب، فيجوز كونه على كل واحدة من الصفتين ولا يرجّح كونه على إحداهما دون الأخرى كمن خطر في قلبه حال ارتحال زيد فيجوز أن يكون مُقيمًا وإن كان ظاعنًا فهذا يُنكر في المُقام. وحقيقة الشاكّ من حصل على هذا الحكم، فإن رُجّحت إحدى الصفتين على الأخرى وهو مع ذلك يجوز خلافها فهو الظنّ. وحقيقة الظانّ من حصل على هذا الحكم، وحقيقة الظنّ ما يوجب هذا الحكم المعقول.

[37] وحقيقة **العجز** انتفاء القدرة عن الحيّ.

[38] وحقيقة **العاجز عن الشيء** من انتفت القدرة عنه، وعلى قول شيوخنا المتقدّمين هو المعنى الذي بحصوله يتعذر وقوع الفعل منه مع جواز صحّته.

[39] وحقيقة **الموت** انتفاء الصفة المصحّحة لكون القادر قادرًا والعالم عالمًا بعد حصولها.

[40] وحقيقة **الميّت** من انتفت عنه هذه الصفة بعد حصولها على[91] مذهب أبي علي وغيره. فمن شيوخنا ممن أثبت الموت معنىً منافيًا للحياة، فقال: حقيقة الموت المعنى الذي بوجوده يستحيل وجود الحياة من غير واسطة.

[41] وحقيقة **المثلين** كل ذاتين سدّ أحدهما مسدّ الآخر في صفة ذاته، وهذا عند أصحابنا كالسوادين والجوهرين، وهذا من مواضعاتهم.

[42] وحقيقة **صفة الذات** كل صفة يجب للموصوف لا لمعنى ولا بالفاعل ولا يتعلق بشرطٍ، ومعنى الصفة هاهنا هي الحالة التي تحصل للشيء مثل كون الجوهر جوهرًا أو متحيّزًا.

[43] وحدّ **المختلفين** كل ذاتين لم يسدّ أحدهما مسدّ الآخر في ما يخصّ ذاته كالسواد والطعم.

[44] وحقيقة **الضدّين** ما لا يصحّ أحدهما مع وجود الآخر من غير واسطةٍ إذا وُجدا على وجهٍ آخر كالسواد والبياض إذا اختصّا بمحلٍّ واحد، وكل ضدّين فهما مختلفان وليس كل مختلفين ضدّين.

[45] <2ب> وحقيقة **الغيرين** كل مذكورين صحّ اختصاص أحدهما دون الآخر بصفةٍ أو حكمٍ إذا لم يكونا أو لم يكن أحدهما جملةً مثل السواد والطعم. ومن شيوخنا البغداذيين من قال في حقيقة الغيرين: ما جاز وجود أحدهما مع عدم الآخر، إما في مكانٍ أو زمانٍ أو على وجهٍ من الوجوه.

[46] وحقيقة **العلة** الموجبة لغيرها صفة مثل الحركة التي توجب التحرّك والعلم الذي يوجب كون الواحد منا عالمًا، وهذا من المواضعات، وأصلها في اللغة ما به يتغيّر حال المعتلّ.

[47] وحقيقة **العلة في طريقة الفقهاء** الوصف أو الحكم أو الاسم[92] الذي به يتعلّق التحليل أو التحريم أو الوجوب. ولهذا يقال: الزنا علة في وجوب الحدّ أو انتقاض الطهارة بالمني علةٌ في نجاسته، والمعلول هو الصفة الحاصلة عن العلة[93]. وقد يقال للعليل: علة، وقد يقال

89. معه: معها، مع تصحيح فوق السطر.
90. التكليف: التلطيف.
91. على: وعلى.
92. الاسم: الأسلم.
93. وفي ما بين السطور في نسخة البدل: والعليل علة تمت (؟).

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للمستدلّ: اعتلّ بكذا.

[48] وحقيقة **المقتضي** الصفة التي تحصل لأجلها صفة أخرى مثل صفة الحيّ التي تحصل لأجلها صفة المدرك عند انتفاء الآفات والموانع مع حصول المدرَك، وكذلك الصفة التي لأجلها يحصل حكم من الأحكام كصفة التحيّز التي يحصل لأجلها احتمال الأعراض فالتحيّز[94] صفةٌ واحتمال العرض حكم حاصل عنها وهو المقتضى، وكذلك كون الحيّ مدرِكًا مقتضى كونه حيًّا بالشروط التي ذكرنا عنهم.

[49] وحقيقة **المصحّح** الصفة أو الحكم الذي يخرج لحصولها صفة أخرى أو حكم آخر من الاستحالة. مثال ذلك ما يقول أصحابنا أن كون الحيّ حيًّا يصحّح[95] كونه عالمًا قادرًا، لأنه إذا حصل حيًّا خرج كونه قادرًا عالمًا من أن يستحيل كما استحال قبل كونه حيًّا، وكذلك صفة القادر يخرج عند حصولها وقوع الفعل من أن يستحيل كما استحال قبل حصولها.

[50] وحقيقة **السبب** الفعل الذي يجب بحصوله حصول فعل آخر إذا لم يمنع منه مانع نحو الضرب الشديد الذي يحصل عنده الألم، فالضرب سبب والألم مسبَّب، والمولد بمعنى السبب والمتولد بمعنى المسبب، ولهذا قال المتكلمون: الضرب يولّد الألم.

[51] وحقيقة **الفعل المتولَّد** ما حصل في غير محلّ القدرة عينه أو في محلّها بواسطة كالعلم الذي يحصل في محلّ النظر وهو متولّد عنه، والنظر يحصل في محلّ القدرة عليه من غير واسطة كالحركة التي تحصل في محلّ القدرة عليها[96].

[52] وحقيقة **الفعل المباشر** كل فعل حصل في محلّ القدرة عليه.

[53] وحقيقة **الدليل** ما يحصل العلم بمتعلّقه عند النظر فيه، وكذلك الدلالة. وقد يقال: فاعل[97] الدلالة دليل كما يقال لله تعالى: يا دليل المتحيّرين. ومن شيوخنا من قال: الدلالة ما يؤدّي إلى العلم بما هو دلالةٌ عليه إذا قصد فاعلها إلى ذلك.

[54] وحقيقة **المدلول** ما يحصل العلم به من جهة الدليل. مثال ذلك إنا إذا علمنا بالفعل المحكم الواقع من زيد أنه عالم فالفعل المحكم دليلٌ ودلالةٌ، وكونه عالمًا مدلولٌ.

[55] وحقيقة **المستدلّ** الناظر في الدليل طلبًا للعلم.

[56] وحقيقة **المستدَلّ به** ما يطلب بالنظر فيه العلم، ولهذا يقال: استدللتُ بكتابة زيد على فصاحته فأنا مستدِلّ به والكتابة مستدَلّ بها والفصاحة مستدَلّ عليها.

[57] وحقيقة **العلم الاستدلالي والاكتسابي والمكتسب** ما يمكن نفيه بشبهة أو شكّ إذا انفرد، والأقوى فيه أن يقال: هو العلم الحاصل من النظر.

[58] وحقيقة **العلم الضروري** ما لا يمكن نفيه بشبهة أو شكّ إذا انفرد كالعلم بما نشاهد وبعلمنا بأن الجسم الواحد في وقتٍ واحد لا يحصل في مكانين. والأقوى فيه أن يقال: هو العلم الحاصل من غير نظر.

[59] وحقيقة **النظر** إذا عُلّق بالقلب التفكّر، وإذا عُلّق بالعين تقليب الحدقة، وإذا أُستعمل مطلقًا الانتظار وقد يكون بمعنى الرحمة.

[60] وحقيقة **المناظرة** تكلُّم المتخاطبين في مسألة على وجه الفكر فيها و[إن] لا يكون الاثنين اثنين.

[61] وحقيقة **الجدل** طلب أحد المتكلمين إسقاط كلام صاحبه من قولهم: جدلتُه أي صرعتُه[98] على الأرض، والجدالة الأرض. ويجوز أن يقال في حدّه: طلب[99] كل واحد منهما تقوية كلامه من قولهم: جدلتُ الحبل، أي قتلته، والجديل الزمام ورجل مجدول الخلق وممسود الخلق مفتول الخلق.

[62] وحقيقة **السؤال** هو الاستخبار عن حال الشيء أو حكمه على طريق المتكلمين، ومن شيوخنا من قال: أن السؤال والمسألة طلب أمرٍ وإرادته منه من جهة الغير، وقد يؤثر في إطلاقه الرتبة، والسؤال والمسألة في اللغة الطلب.

[63] وحقيقة **الجواب** الإخبار عن حال الشيء أو حكمه، لا على وجه الابتداء، لأنه لو أخبر ابتداءً لم يكن مجيبًا.

[64] وحقيقة **المعارضة** الأخذ بطرد العلة في حمل الشيء على غيره في حكم من الأحكام لشبه بينهما.

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94. فالتحيز: في التحيز.
95. يصحح: يصح.
96. عليها: مع تصحيح فوق السطر: عليه صح.
97. فاعل: الفاعل.
98. صرعته: مع إضافة فوق السطر: جدعته.
99. طلب: اضافة في الحاشية مع: أظنه.

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**ضرب آخر من الحقائق**

[65] حقيقة **الفعل** الموجود الذي كان مقدورًا لقادر. فمعنى قولنا: هذا فعل زيد، أي وجد وكان زيد قادرًا عليه.

[66] وحقيقة **الفاعل** الذي أوجد بعض ما كان قادرًا عليه من مقدوراته.

[67] وحقيقة **المقدور** ما يصحّ من القادر عليه إيجاده على بعض الوجوه.

[68] وحقيقة **الفعل الضروري** <3أ> ما حصل في القادر من غير فعله وكان من جنس ما يقدر عليه، والمضطرّ إلى الفعل ما حصل الفعل منه على هذا الوجه.

[69] وحقيقة **الفعل الاختياري** ما وُجد من جهة قادر وكان قاصدًا إليه.

[70] وحقيقة **المكتسب والكسب** الفعل الحاصل لاكتساب[100] نفع أو دفع ضرر مع العلم به أو الظنّ، ولذلك لا يقال لأفعال الله تعالى: كسب، ولا يقال لأفعال البهائم: مكتسبة ولا كسب.

[71] وحقيقة **المخلوق** الفعل المقدّر والخلق التقدير من قولهم: خلقتُ الأديم، أي قدّرتهُ. ويروى لزهير:[101]

فلأنت تفري ما خلقت وبعض القوم يخلق ثم لا يفري

وقد قيل فيه: إنه الفعل المخترع وأن الخلق هو الاختراع وقد قيل فيه أيضًا أنه الفعل الواقع بغير جارحةٍ وآلةٍ. فقد قيل فيه أيضًا أنه الفعل الواقع ممن لا يصحّ عليه السهو والتبخيت.

[72] وحقيقة **الفعل الحسن** ما لفاعله فعله ولا يستحقّ ذمًّا.

[73] وحقيقة **الفعل المباح** الذي لا يستحقّ به مدحًا ولا ذمًّا وكان فاعله قد دلّ على حسنه، ولا يقال لأفعال الله تعالى: مباح، وكذلك لا يقال لأفعال البهائم: مباح.

[74] وحقيقة **الفعل القبيح** ما يستحقّ به الذمّ على بعض الوجوه.

[75] وحقيقة **الفعل الواجب** ما يستحقّ بتركه الذمّ على بعض الوجوه.

[76] وحقيقة **الندب** ما يستحقّ بفعله المدح ولا يستحقّ بتركه الذمّ، وكذلك النافلة في الشرع والنفل التطوّع.

[77] وحقيقة **الفرض** الواجب المقدّر من قولهم: فرضت الشيء إذا قدرته، ويجوز أن يكون من قولهم للترس: فرض[102]، لأنه يقي صاحبه كما أن القيام بالفرض ينتفي به من العقاب.

[78] وحقيقة **السنة** ما داوم عليه النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم قولًا أو فعلًا، [و]لم يكن واجبًا من قولهم: سننت الماء إذا واليت من صبّه، ويجوز أن يكون من قولهم: سننت الإبل إذا أحسنت رِعيتها ويعقدها (كذا: والقيام عليها)، فكان السنة ما يعقده النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله قولًا أو فعلًا لم يثبت وجوبه، ويجوز أن يكون من قولهم: سننت الحديد إذا صقّلتها وجلوتها، وكأن السنة ما كشف النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله ولم يوجب.

[79] وحقيقة **المعصية والذنب** الفعل القبيح الواقع من المكلَّف.

[80] وحدّ **الكبيرة** المعصية التي تستحقّ عليها العقاب مع كل وجهٍ.

[81] وحدّ **الصغيرة** المعصية التي تقع مكفرة بطاعات صاحبها.

[82] وحقيقة **الطاعة** الفعل الذي أريد من فاعله، فقولنا: هذا طاعة الله، معناه أن الله كلّفه وأراده.

[83] وحقيقة **التوبة** الندم على القبيح لأنه قبيح أو على ترك الواجب لأنه ترك الواجب، والعزم على أن لا يعود إلى مثله في كونه قبيحًا أو تركًا للواجب، ولا يكون[103] ترك المعصية والكفّ عنها توبة إلاّ على هذا الوجه الذي ذكرناه، ولهذا لا يصحّ عندنا التوبة من قبيح مع إصرار على قبيحٍ آخر مع العلم به فأما إذا لم يعلم فإنه يصحّ.

[84] وحقيقة **الحقّ** ما لا يحسن تركه أو ترك التزامه.

[85] وحقيقة **الباطل** ما يجب تركه أو ترك التزامه.

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100. لاكتساب: لاختلاف.
101. قارن ديوان زهير بن أبي سلمى، بيروت، ص. 31.
102. فرض: افرض.
103. يكون: إضافة فوق السطر.

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[86] وحقيقة **الظلم** الضرر الذي لا يستحقّه من يصل إليه، ولا يكون فيه دفع ضرر أو جرّ نفع أعظم منه معلومًا أو مظنونًا.

[87] وحقيقة **التفضُّل** فعل النعمة ابتداءً.

[88] وحقيقة **النعمة** المنفعة الحسنة إذا قصد فاعلها وجه الإحسان.

[89] وحقيقة **المنعم** فاعل النعمة أو ما جرى مجراها، يريد به التكليف، لأنه يؤدّي إلى النفع [104] إذا قصد بها الإحسان.

[90] وحقيقة **العوض** المنافع التي توصل إلى المؤلَم لأجل الألم، ومن شرطه في الآلام التي يفعلها الله تعالى له عوض يوفي عليها.

[91] وحقيقة **الثواب** الملاذّ التي توصَل إلى المكلَّف على وجه التعظيم.

[92] وحقيقة **العقاب** الآلام التي توصَل إلى المكلَّف على وجه الاستخفاف وكذلك العذاب.

[93] وحقيقة **الشكر** الاعتراف بالنعمة مع ضرب من التعظيم.

**ضرب آخر**

[94] حقيقة **الكلام** الحروف المنظومة والأصوات المقطّعة ضربًا مخصوصًا من التقطيع.

[95] وحقيقة **المتكلّم** فاعل الكلام.

[96] وحقيقة **السكوت** كفّ اللسان عن الكلام.

[97] وحقيقة **الساكت** من كفّ لسانه عن فعل الكلام.

[98] وحقيقة **الخرس** آفة في اللسان يخرجه من أن يكون آلةً يصحّ بها إحداث الصفة.

[99] وحقيقة **الصفة** هو قول القائل: هو أديب أو عالم أو ما أشبه ذلك، والصفة والوصف واحد كالزنة والوزن والعدة والوعد والشية والوشي. وقد يقال: الحال للشيء صفة ككون الجوهر متحيّزًا وكون السواد سوادًا، وقال المخالف: الصفة ما قام بالواصف ولم يتعدّه.

[100] وحقيقة **الآمر** قول القائل لمن دونه: إفعل إذا أراده، أو ما ينوب عنه. قال: فإن لم يرده لم يكن آمرًا، كقول الله تعالى ﴿وَاسْتَفْزِزْ مَنِ اسْتَطَعْتَ مِنْهُم بِصَوْتِكَ وَأَجْلِبْ عَلَيْهِم بِخَيْلِكَ وَرَجِلِكَ﴾ [17 (الإسراء): 64].

[101] وحقيقة **النهي** قول القائل لمن دونه: لا تفعل، أو ما ينوب عنه إذا كره ذلك.

[102] وحقيقة **العموم** اللفظ المستغرق لجميع ما يحصل إليه كقول الله تعالى ﴿إِنَّ الْأَبْرَارَ لَفِي نَعِيمٍ وَإِنَّ الْفُجَّارَ لَفِي جَحِيمٍ﴾ [٢٨ (الانفطار): 13–14].

[103] وحقيقة **الخصوص** ما تناوله بعض ما يصلح له كقول الله تعالى ﴿وَأُوتِيَتْ مِن كُلِّ شَيْءٍ﴾ [27 (النمل): 23] وقال بعض الفقهاء: العموم ما يتناول جميعًا من الأسماء والمعاني.

[104] وحقيقة **الكاذب** فاعل الكذب.

[105] وحقيقة **الصدق** الخبر عن الشيء على ما هو به.

[106] وحقيقة **الكذب** الخبر عن الشيء على غير ما هو به.

[107] وحقيقة **الصادق** فاعل الصدق.

[108] وحقيقة **التوحيد** العلم بالله تعالى وبأنه لا ثاني له في صفاته التي يستحقّها في الأزل، والموحّد هو العالم بهذا، وهذا في عرف العلماء وعادة المسلمين. وقيل: إن أصل التوحيد ما به يصير الواحد واحدًا كما أن التحريك <3ب> ما به يصير المتحرّك متحرّكًا.

[109] وحقيقة **العدل** هو العلم بتنزيه الله تعالى عن فعل القبيح وترك ما يجب في الحكمة، ولهذا يقال لأهل الحق: العدلية، لأنهم نزّهوا الله تعالى عن فعل المقبّحات في العقل.

[110] وحقيقة **الإيمان** اجتناب الكبائر وأداء الفرائض، وهذه الحقيقة شرعية وأصل الإيمان في اللغة التصديق. وعند شيخينا[105] أبي علي وأبي هاشم أن الإيمان اسم لأداء كل واجب وترك كل قبيح، ولا يعدّان النوافل في حقيقة الإيمان. وذكر قاضي القضاة في شرح المقالات أن الإيمان اسم لكل طاعة. وما ذكرناه ابتداءً مذهب بعض الشيوخ المتقدّمين وهو الأظهر عند التحقيق، لأن الأنبياء عليهم السلام لا بدّ أن يكونوا كاملي الإيمان وإن وقع منهم الصغائر، والإيمان والإسلام واحد عند أصحابنا.

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104. يريد به التكليف لأنه يؤدي إلى النفع: إضافة فوق السطر.

105. شيخينا: شيخنا.

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[111] وحقيقة **المؤمن** من يستحقّ ضربًا من الثواب والتعظيم، وهذا الحدّ عندهم شرعي. والمؤمن في اللغة المصدّق أو من أعطى غيره الأمان [و]المؤمن المسلم عند أصحابنا في الشريعة.

[112] وحقيقة **الفسق** القبيح الذي يستحقّ عليها العقاب على كل وجهٍ.

[113] وحقيقة **الفاسق** من فعل القبيح على هذا الوجه، ولهذا لا نقول لذنوب[106] الأنبياء فسق، لأنهم عليهم السلام لا يستحقّون بها عقابًا.

[114] وحقيقة **الكفر** القبيح الذي يستحقّ عليه العقاب العظيم مع أحكام مخصوصة، مثل تحريم الصلاة عليه وتحريم دفنه في مقابرنا.

[115] وحقيقة **الكافر** فاعل الكفر، والكفر في اللغة التغطية. يقال: يكفِّر بالسلاح إذا يغطّى به، ويقال للّيل كافر وللزارع كافر وللبحر كافر. وأصل الفسق في اللغة من قولهم: فسقت الرطبة إذا خرجت من قشرها، وفسقت الفأرة إذا خرجت من حجرها. وحقيقة الكفر والشرك واحد في الشرع عند أصحابنا، وكل كافر مشرك. ومعنى الشرك في اللغة الاستواء في تملك الأشياء وما يحصل عنها وقولهم اشتركا في بناء الدار على هذا توسع.

[116] وحقيقة **الوعد** الإخبار عن منافع يوصل في المستقبل إلى المخبر أو ما يؤدّي إلى المنافع. ولهذا يقال: وعد الله المؤمنين الجنة، وقد يقال ذلك في الآلام مجازًا. قال الله تعالى ﴿وَعَدَهَا اللهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ﴾ [22 (الحج): 72].

[117] وحقيقة **الوعيد** الإخبار عن فعل الآلام أو ما يحصل عنها الآلام في المستقبل، ولهذا يقال: توعّد الله الكفار والفساق.

[118] وحقيقة **اللطف** ما يختار المكلَّف عنده فعل الطاعات أو ترك القبيح أو يكون أقرب عنده إليه.

[119] وحقيقة **التوفيق** اللطف الذي يتّفق عنده اختيار الطاعة أو ترك القبيح وما لا يتّفق ذلك عنده لا يكون توفيقًا.

[120] وحقيقة **العصمة**[107] المنع عن القبيح بالألطاف لا بالإكراه. ولهذا يقال في الأنبياء عليهم السلام أنهم معصومون لامتناعهم من الكبائر بتوفيق الله. وقد يقال في حدّ العصمة أنها ما يمتنع المكلَّف عندها من فعل القبيح. وأصل العصمة في اللغة المنع، يقال: عصم الطعام بطنه إذا عقله والعصام الذي يشدّ به رأس القربة.

[121] وحقيقة **القدري** من يزعم أن القبائح يحصل بقدر الله وقضائه، وروي في الخبر: القدرية مجوس هذا الأمة، وروي أيضًا المجوس خصماء الله وشهداء إبليس.

[122] وحقيقة **المجبر** من يزعم أن الله يخلق الإيمان في المؤمن والكفر في الكافر وأن المؤمن والكافر لا يقدران على إحداث كفر ولا إيمان.

فإن قال: فما معنى الحدّ[108] والحقيقة، قيل له: الحقيقة هو اللفظ المنبيء عما يعبرّ عنه على وجهٍ لا يخرج منه ما حقّه أن يدخل فيه ولا يدخل فيه ما حقّه أن يخرج منه. مثال ذلك ما نقوله في حدّ القادر أنه الحاصل على صفةٍ لأجلها يصحّ الفعل منه مع ارتفاع الموانع، فليس يدخل فيه إلّا مَن كان قادرًا ولا يشذّ منه قادر. مثاله أيضًا ما نقوله في حقيقة الجسم هو الطويل العريض العميق، فليس يخرج من هذا الحدّ جسم ولا يدخل فيه ما ليس بجسم، وقد يقال في معنى الحقيقة بأنه اللفظ الجامع المانع.

**فصل**

واعلم أن الحقائق على ثلاثة أقسام، فقسم حقيقة لغوية يجب أن يصحّ من طريق اللغة، كقولنا في حقيقة الجسم الطويل العريض العميق وفي حقيقة الشيء ما صحّ العلم به والخبر عنه. والقسم الثاني حقيقة شرعية يجب أن يصحّح من طريق الشرع، كقولنا حقيقة الإيمان أنها اجتناب الكبائر وأداء الفرائض كالصلاة والزكاة والصيام والحجّ. والقسم الثالث أن تكون الحقيقة من مواضعات المتكلّمين والعلماء بالرجوع إليهم، كقولنا في حقيقة الجوهر أنه ما يجب تحيّزه عند وجوده وفي حقيقة العرض أنه ما لا حيّز له في حدوثه وحقيقة الهواء هو الجسم الرقيق المنبث في الجوّ وغيره فإذا تحرّك سمي ريحًا وإذا كان في مخارق الحيّ مع الحاجة سمي روحًا.

وتقاسم قولهم إفعل: هذه الصيغة تنقسم على وجوه كثيرة، منها معنى الندب نحو قول الله تعالى ﴿وَافْعَلُوا الْخَيْرَ﴾ [22 (الحج): 77] وهذا هو حقيقة هذه الصيغة عند أصحابنا. والوجه الثاني مع الإيجاب كقوله تعالى ﴿أَقِمِ الصَّلَوةَ﴾ [11 (هود): 114 وغيرها]. والوجه الثالث

106. لذنوب: الذنوب، ولكن يبدو أن الألف مشطوبة.

107. العصمة: العظيمة.

108. الحدّ: الحق، مع تصحيح فوق السطر.

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مع الإباحة كقوله تعالى ﴿وَإِذَا حَلَلْتُمْ فَاصْطَادُوا﴾ [5 (المائدة): 2]. والوجه الرابع الرشاد إلى الأحوط كقوله تعالى ﴿إِذَا تَدَايَنتُم بِدَيْنٍ إِلَى أَجَلٍ مُسَمًّى فَاكْتُبُوهُ﴾ [2 (البقرة): 282]. والوجه الخامس التفريغ مع (كذا: مثل) قوله تعالى ﴿فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِن مِثْلِهِ﴾ [2 (البقرة): 23]. والوجه السادس التحيّز مثل قوله تعالى ﴿كُونُوا قِرَدَةً خَاسِئِينَ﴾ [2 (البقرة): 65 وغيرها]. والوجه السابع الوعيد مثل قوله تعالى ﴿وَاسْتَفْزِزْ مَنِ اسْتَطَعْتَ مِنْهُم بِصَوْتِكَ﴾ [17 (الإسراء): 64] ...[109] والخامس عشر الإيناس[110] والتطيّب بالقلب كقولنا للصبي: ادخل واقبل وتعلل، ومما يقارب هذا من قول الله تعالى ﴿سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ طِبْتُمْ فَادْخُلُوهَا خَالِدِينَ﴾ [39 (الزمر): 73]. والسادس عشر أن يقال على وجه التصغير والتحقير وكقول خزنة النار لأهلها ﴿أَدْخُلُوا أَبْوَابَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا﴾ [39 (الزمر): 72 وغيرها] وكما يقال في الشاهد لمن يراد معاقبته وضربه: انبطح، وكما يقال في الشاهد لمن يطرد: إخس. <4أ> والسابع عشر الدعاء لصاحبك كقولك[111]: أنعم صباحًا.

**فصل في تقاسم الأسامي على ثلاثة أقسام شرعي ولغوي ووضعي**

فأما الشرعي فهو ما نُقل في الشرع عن موضوعه، وهو عند أصحابنا كالصلاة والزكاة والصوم، لأن الصلاة في أصل اللغة الدعا. قال الأعشى:[112]

وصلّى على دنها وارتسم

ثم صار في الشرع اسم الصلاة يتناول فعلًا مخصوصًا والزكاة في اللغة النمي، يقال: زكا الزرع، وصار في الشرع هذا الاسم موضوعًا لإخراج حقٍّ مقدّرٍ من المال على وجهٍ مخصوص. والصيام أصله في اللغة الإمساك. يقال: صام عن الكلام، إذا أمسك عنه وصار في الشرع اسمًا لترك الطعام والشراب والجماع مع نيةٍ مخصوصة. فأما اللغوي فهو كل اسم وُضع في اللغة لمعنى ولم ينقله الشرع إلى غيره. وأما الوضعي فهو ما تواضع عليه المتكلمون وغيرهم مثل قولنا: جوهر وعرض، ولا بدّ لهذا الجنس من الأسماء من شبهٍ بما وُضع له في اللغة. وقد تنقسم الأسماء على وجه آخر، فمنها ما يكون حقيقة، ومنها ما يكون مجازًا ومعنى الحقيقة ما تفيد ما وُضع له في الأصل من غير زيادة ولا نقصان ولا نقل. والمجاز ما يفيد غير ما وُضع له في الأصل لزيادة أو نقصان أو نقل. فأما الحقيقة، فهي على أقسام، فمنها ما وُضع لإفادة الجنس كقولنا: حيوان وإنسان، ومنها ما وُضع لإفادة معنى من جنسٍ مخصوص كقولنا: جلد، ومنها ما وُضع لإفادة معانٍ مختلفة كقولنا: عين لعين الشيء ولعين الرُكبة والرِّكية أيضًا والدينار ولحياز الشيء ولطليعة الحسّ، ومنها ما وُضع لإفادة معنيين متضادّين كقولنا: قرء للطهر والحيض وجون للسواد والبياض وصريم للصبح والليل ومسجور للفارغ والملآن. والذي وُضع لمعاني مختلفة على قسمين، منه ما يفيد ذلك والأصل يرجع إلى معنى واحد كقولنا للفكر نظر وللحدقة نظر وللانتظار نظر، وأصل هذا من جهة المعنى راجع إلى شيءٍ واحد، لأن الناظر يطلب بفكره ونظره العلم بشيء ما وتقليب الحدقة نحو الذي يطلب رؤيته والمنتظر لشيء يطلب حصوله، فكان مرجع هذه المعاني وإن اختلفت وجوهها إلى شيءٍ واحد في التحقيق. ومنه ما يفيد المعاني المختلفة لا على هذا الوجه، وهو ما قدّمنا في العين وسائر ما شاكله من الأسماء. ومن أقسام الحقائق ما يتغيّر بتغيّر صفة المسمى وما لا يتغير بذلك. والذي يتغير هو كقولنا للحنطة: برّ وقمح، وإذا طُحن سمي دقيقًا وطحينًا وإذا عجن سمي عجينًا وإذا خبز سمي رغيفًا فبتغيّر أسمائها تتغيّر صفاتها ويزول عنها الاسم الأول وهو قولنا: برٌ وقمحٌ وحنطةٌ. وأما ما لا يتغير فهو قولنا: إنسان وشخص وجثة، فإذا شبّ[113] وترعرع لم يزل عنه هذا الاسم، وكذلك إذا ثقل وجهه واكتمل وكذلك إن مات جاز أن يسمى إنسانًا عند أصحابنا. وقد ينقسم الأسماء على وجهٍ آخر، منها ما يفيد وهو ما قدّمنا من الحقائق أو من المجاز على ما نذكره، ومنها ما لا يفيد كأسماء الألقاب مثل زيد وعمرو، لأن هذا لا يفيد في المسمى صفةً ولا حكمًا وإنما وُضع ليقوم للغائب مقام الإشارة للحاضر. والذي يدلّ على أنه لا يفيد[114] أنه مع بقاء اللغة على حالها يجوز أن يسمى زيدًا مرةً وعمرًا أخرى، وليس كذلك قولنا: قرؤ وعين، لأن تغيرّهما لا يصحّ مع بقاء اللغة على حالها بما تأوّل فإنّ الحضر دون السفر.

فأما المجاز فعلى أقسام، فمنه ما يكون مجازًا بنقصان شيء كقول الله تعالى ﴿وَجَاءَ رَبُّكَ﴾ [89 (الفجر): 22] معناه وجاء أمر ربّك

109. هنا سقطت قطعة من المتن.
110. الإيناس: الاناس.
111. كقولك: تصحيح فوق السطر.
112. قارن ديوان الأعشى، ص. 64.
113. شبّ: شبب.
114. لا يفيد: لا يفيد الا.

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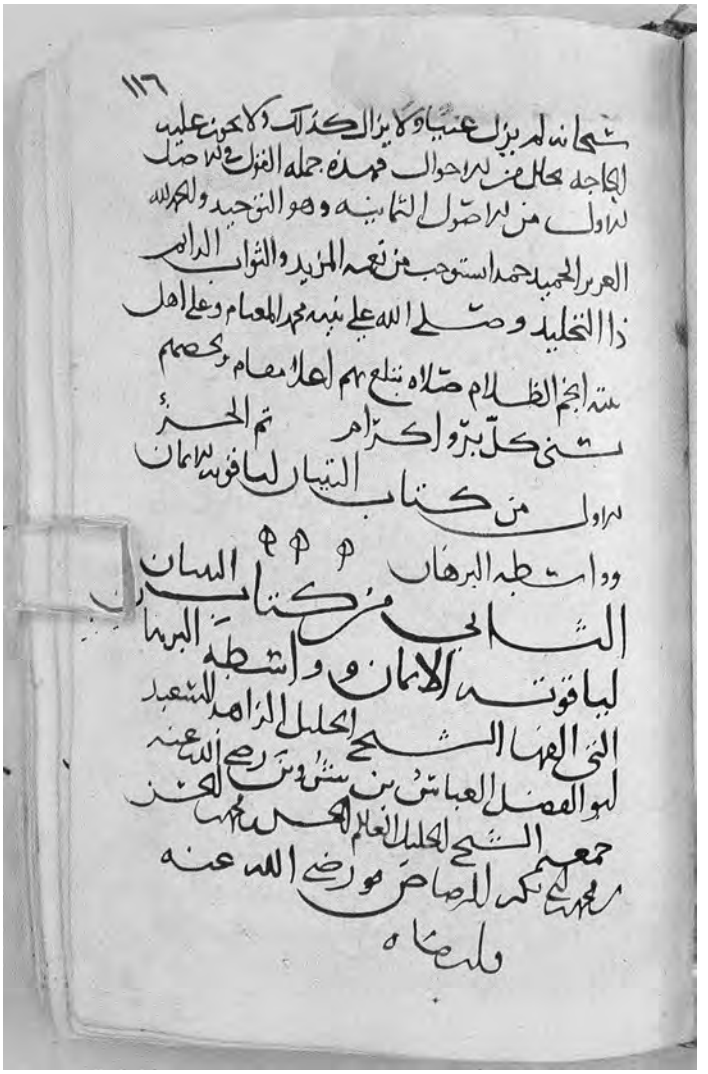


Figure 2.1: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 2401, f. 116a.

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وحكم ربّك، ومنه ما يكون مجازًا بزيادة شيء كقوله تعالى ﴿لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ﴾ [42 (الشورى): 11] ومنه ما يكون مجازًا لنقله عما وضع له واستعماله على معنى آخر على وجه التشبيه. وهذا قد يظهر ويخفى. فأما الذي يظهر فقولنا أسد للشجاع وحمار للبليد، وأما الذي يخفى وهو مستحسن جدًّا فمثل قول الله تعالى ﴿فَأَذَاقَهَا اللهُ لِبَاسَ الْجُوعِ وَالْخَوْفِ بِمَا كَانُوا يَصْنَعُونَ﴾ [16 (النحل): 112] وليس الجوع والخوف يلبسان وإنما المراد أن الجوع عمّهم وشملهم وضمّ أطرافهم كما أن اللباس يشمل[115] الجسد، ومثل ذلك قول الله تعالى [و] عزّ وجلّ ﴿وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَعْمَالُهُمْ كَسَرَابٍ بِقِيعَةٍ﴾ [24 (النور): 39] ووجوه التشبيهات في اللغة كثيرة.

تمّ كتاب حقائق الأشياء بمنّ الله ولطفه وكرمه فله الحمد كثيرًا بكرة وأصيلًا.

115. يشمل: يشتمل، مع تصحيح فوق السطر.

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# Chapter 3
# The Muʿtazilite and Zaydī Reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. al-Muʿtamad fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*: A Bibliographical Note

## I. Muʿtazilite Contributors to *uṣūl al-fiqh* before Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī

From the very beginning, *mutakallimūn*, specifically the Muʿtazilites among them, took a leading role in developing theories of legal theory, and their treatment thereof was intimately linked with their respective theological notions and considerations.[1] Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748) is reported to have composed a *K. al-Sabīl ilā maʿrifat al-ḥaqq*. The title suggests that the work was concerned with epistemological issues that are of immediate relevance both to legal theory and to theology.[2] Questions relating to authoritative sources of law are also dealt with in detail by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. ca. 200/815) in his *K. al-Taḥrīš*[3] and by al-Naẓẓām (d. 221/845), whose *K. al-Nakṯ* was particularly influential.[4] Im-

1. The history of *uṣūl al-fiqh* has been explored only rudimentarily so far. Relevant studies are EI2 10/931–934 (N. Calder); DMB 9/289–306 (Aḥmad Pākatčī); Zysow, *Economy of Certainty*; Hallaq, *History of Islamic Legal Theories*; Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*; Weiss, *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*; Krawietz, *Hierarchie der Rechtsquellen*; van Ess, *Flowering of Muslim Theology*, 153ff.; al-Ḍuwayḥī, *Ārāʾ al-Muʿtazila al-uṣūliyya*; Ansari, "Islamic Juristic Terminology"; Bedir, *Early Development*; Vishanoff, *Formation of Islamic Hermeneutics*; and numerous works on individual legal theorists or the history of specific topics, including studies by Camilla Adang, Roger Arnaldez, Murteza Bedir, Marie Bernand, Robert Brunschvig, John Burton, Norman Calder, Éric Chaumont, Ahmed El Shamsy, Josef van Ess, Mohammed Fadel, Robert Gleave, Ignaz Goldziher, Wael Hallaq, Ahmad Hasan, Wolfhart Heinrichs, Sherman Jackson, Joseph Lowry, Christopher Melchert, Ebrahim Moosa, Aisha Yusef Musa, Abd al-Rafiʿi Oyewumi Omotosho, Felicitas Opwis, Amr Osman, Kevin Reinhart, Joseph Schacht, Gregor Schwarb, Nabil Shehaby, Devin Stewart, Hans-Thomas Tillschneider, Abdel Magid Turki, Jeanette Wakin, Judith Romney Wegner, Bernard Weiss, and Aron Zysow.

2. See van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft, 2/268*, 5/137 no. 10. Some of Wāṣil's views are reported by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī in his *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl* and by Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī in his *K. al-Awāʾil*. See van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 2/276–280, 5/161–163, text 21; see also van Ess, *Flowering of Muslim Theology*, 155ff.

3. The work was mostly concerned with the authority of prophetic traditions as a legal source. On the *K. al-Taḥrīš*, see Ansari, "Kitābī kalāmī"; van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, 1/132ff. A critical edition of the *K. al-Taḥrīš* is currently being prepared by Hassan Ansari and Wilferd Madelung.

4. Josef van Ess has published fragments of the work as preserved in Ǧāḥiẓ's (d. 255/868–69) *K. al-Futyā*; see his "Ein unbekanntes Fragment" and *Das Kitāb an-Nakṯ*. Subsequently, additional extensive



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portant contributions to the development of the discipline were also made by Abū Mūsā al-Murdār (d. 226/840), who wrote a *K. ʿalā aṣḥāb iǧtihād al-raʾy*;[5] Ǧaʿfar b. Mubaššir (d. 234/849), who wrote extensively on legal issues;[6] Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ḫayyāṭ (d. ca. 300/913), who composed a tract against the *ḫabar al-wāḥid* (*al-Radd ʿalā man aṯbata ḫabar al-wāḥid*);[7] and, during the scholastic phase of the Muʿtazilite movement, Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 303/915–16)[8] and Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 321/933).[9] Although none of their writings is extant, their views are regularly mentioned in the later Muʿtazilite literature.

An important shift occurred with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balḫī (d. 319/931), who, in his homeland of Ḫurāsān, was under predominantly Ḥanafī influence, which had an immediate impact on his thought relating to *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Al-Kaʿbī, who was a student of al-Ḫayyāṭ, criticized his teacher's rejection of *ḫabar al-wāḥid* in his *Qabūl al-aḫbār wa-maʿrifat al-riǧāl*.[10] This is one example of the Ḥanafization of *uṣūl al-fiqh* among the Muʿtazilites, who have accepted *ḫabar al-wāḥid* ever since. The close relation between Muʿtazilism and Ḥanafism continued for most of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, during which many leading Ḥanafīs of Iraq were Muʿtazilites in theology and vice versa.[11] This was the case with the renowned Ḥanafī legalists Abū l-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karḫī (b. 260/873, d. 340/952)[12] and his student Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī "al-

fragments have been identified in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *Maḥṣūl*, and in the writings of Ibn Šahrāšūb (d. 588/1192) and of Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266); see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 6/1–2 no. 19. See also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 3/380–392 for an analysis of Naẓẓām's views on issues of legal theory, with 6/176–195 (Naẓẓām: Erkenntnislehre und Hermeneutik).

5. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1(2)/574; see also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 5/331 no. 30.

6. Several of Ǧaʿfar b. Mubaššir's writings are specifically concerned with central notions of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, including *K. ʿalā aṣḥāb al-raʾy wa-l-qiyās*, *K. al-Iǧtihād*, and *K. al-Iǧmāʿ mā huwa*; see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 6/274–275 nos. 18, 19, 20. See also 4/65–68. See also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1(2)/577.

7. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1(2)/17, 610.

8. Several of his writings, such as *K. al-Iǧtihād* and *K. al-Aḫbār*, are specifically concerned with central notions of legal theory; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1(2)/607; see also Gimaret, "Matériaux," 280 no. 1. His *K. al-Iǧtihād* is also mentioned in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 2/722.

9. Abū Hāšim is known to have written a *K. al-Iǧtihād* and a *K. al-Awāmir*; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1(2)/627; Gimaret, "Matériaux," 305 no. 3, 307–308 no. 9. In addition, he integrated discussions on legal theory into his *summae*, as in his *al-Baġdādiyyāt*; see Gimaret, "Matériaux," 308–312 no. 10.

10. *Qabūl al-aḫbār*, 1/17f. See el Omari, *Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī*, 16 and passim; el Omari, "Accommodation and Resistance."

11. See Madelung, "Spread of Māturidism"; Zysow, "Muʿtazilism and Māturidism."

12. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 2(1)/34–35; GAS 1/444 no. 22. For an analysis of al-Karḫī's views in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, see al-Ǧubūrī, *Aqwāl*; see also Zysow, "Muʿtazilism and Māturidism," 236. His *K. al-Uṣūl* was published as *Uṣūl al-Karḫī*, together with *Uṣūl al-Bazdawī*: *Kanz al-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl*. The publication also contains a commentary on the *Uṣūl al-Karḫī* by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142).

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Ǧaṣṣāṣ" (b. 305/917, d. 370/981),[13] who had Muʿtazilite tendencies in theological matters. Al-Karḫī, in turn, had a strong influence on Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980), the head of the Bahšamiyya during his time and also a Ḥanafī. Abū ʿAbd Allāh was instrumental in setting the Muʿtazilite treatment of *uṣūl al-fiqh* on a new basis, and his views remained authoritative among subsequent generations of Muʿtazilites.[14] While none of his writings is extant,[15] his positions are attested in the works of two prominent students of his, namely, *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025) and the Zaydī Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033).[16] Abū Ṭālib recorded the teachings on legal theory of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī in two of his works that are specifically devoted to this discipline: his *al-Muǧzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh*[17] and his more concise *Ǧawāmiʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. The latter was composed at the request and during the lifetime of Abū ʿAbd Allāh ("*al-šayḫ al-ǧalīl*") and particularly reflects the latter's views.[18] ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, who was Abū ʿAbd Allāh's successor as head of the Bahšamiyya, dedicated part 17 of his *summa*, *al-Muġnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*, to legal theory ("*al-Šarʿiyyāt*").[19] In addition, he com-

13. See Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1(2)/35; GAS 1/444f. no. 23; Bernand, "Ḥanafī *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*." Al-Ǧaṣṣāṣ' *K. al-Fuṣūl fī l-uṣūl* has been published repeatedly. The views of al-Karḫī and al-Ǧaṣṣāṣ are regularly cited by later Muʿtazilites as well as non-Muʿtazilite Ḥanafites.

14. Ibn al-Nadīm devotes two entries to Abū ʿAbd Allāh, one in his section on the Muʿtazilites (*Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1[2]/628–629: *fāḍilan faqīhan mutakalliman*), and another when discussing the Ḥanafīs (*Fihrist*, 2[1]/36). See also EncIslam 1/417-423 (M. J. Anvari).

15. For Abū ʿAbd Allāh's writings on *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, see EncIslam 1/422 (M. J. Anvari).

16. On the development of *uṣūl al-fiqh* among the Muʿtazilite Zaydīs, see also Schwarb, "Zaydī-Muʿtazilī Traditions of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*."

17. The second part of the work has erroneously been edited as Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad* by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAlī Abū Zunayd. Part 1 is preserved in MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. E 409, 286 ff., containing a complete copy of the text. The manuscript was copied in 1028/1619 by Ṣalāḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥabūrī al-Qāsimī from a manuscript dated 544/1150 in the handwriting of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḫurāsānī al-Bayhaqī (d. ca. 551/1156), who arrived in Yemen in 541/1146–47 following an invitation from ʿUlayy b. ʿĪsā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās and there became a teacher of Imam al-Mutawakkil bi-llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (b. 500/1106, d. 566/1170). For a description of the manuscript, see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 3/165f. no. 1239. For al-Bayhaqī, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 211f. Another complete manuscript of the work is preserved in the Maktabat al-aḥqāf in Tarīm (no. 98 *fiqh*), copied in the seventh/thirteenth century, 217 ff.; see al-ʿAydarūs et al., *Fihris*, 1/471 no. 1052. In 2013, ʿAbd al-Karīm Ǧadbān (1965–2013) has published the work in its entirety on the basis of the Tarīm manuscript, as well as another incomplete manuscript of the work from the Maktabat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī, while he lacked access to the Ambrosiana manuscript.

18. See Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 179f.; Madelung, "Zu einigen Werken." The earliest extant copy of *Ǧawāmiʿ al-adilla*, as yet unpublished, is preserved in MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Glaser 205 [old number: Glaser 106], ff. 2b–63b. The codex was copied in 507/1113–14, apparently in Baghdad, and was subsequently brought to Yemen. See Grünert, *Kurzer Katalog*, 22 no. 56. Another manuscript is preserved as MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. B 49; see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/84 no. 173.

19. *Al-Muġnī*: *al-ǧuzʾ* 17: *al-Šarʿiyyāt* (ed. Amīn al-Ḫūlī). A lengthy discussion of *uṣūl al-fiqh* issues is

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posed several works devoted to this discipline that are lost, including the well-known *K. al-ʿUmad* and his autocommentary (*Šarḥ al-ʿUmad*).[20] ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār is reported to have taught the *ʿUmad* and to have added much material during his lessons. Throughout his *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh* his student Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) repeatedly refers to statements made by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār in the course of his lessons (*dars*).[21] However, neither the *ʿUmad* nor the *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad* seems to have reached Yemen in the course of the transfer of religious literature from Iran to Yemen during the sixth/twelfth century, which may explain why neither has been preserved. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār is also known to have composed a *K. al-Nihāya* in this discipline, which is likewise lost.[22]

## II. Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. al-Muʿtamad* and Its Reception

ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's work was continued by his Ḥanafite student Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, who taught the *K. al-ʿUmad* and wrote his own commentary on it, no longer extant.[23] Subsequently, he composed the *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*.[24] When explaining in the introduc-

found in volume 4 of Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Maǧmūʿ*, a paraphrastic commentary of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*. A critical edition of this volume is currently being prepared by Margaretha Heemskerk.

20. On his *K. al-ʿUmad* and the autocommentary, see ʿUṯmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt*, 61 nos. 12, 13. Al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī (d. 459 or 460/1006–7) frequently mentions ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *ʿUmad* in his *al-ʿUdda fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, 1/56, 2/426, 2/443, 2/502, 2/528.

21. See GAS 1/626 no. 13, where the references to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *dars* have erroneously been taken to represent an independent work.

22. See ʿUṯmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt*, 62 no. 15. The work is mentioned only twice by Abū l-Ḥusayn in his *Muʿtamad*, 2/494, 2/749. It seems that the *Nihāya* was less important than the *ʿUmad* with the *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad*. As for the relative chronology of the three works, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār mentions both the *ʿUmad* and the *Nihāya* as among the works he wrote before completing his *K. al-Muġnī* (see *Muġnī*, 20(2)/258; see also 5/165 and 17/102, where he also cites the *Nihāya*), and his wording suggests that the *ʿUmad* was written prior to the *Nihāya*. The fact that he does not mention his *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad* in this context indicates that it was composed after the completion of the *Muġnī*. While Abū l-Ḥusayn's references to the *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad* and the *Nihāya* in his *Muʿtamad* (e.g., 2/749) do not indicate a relative chronology, the manner in which al-Ǧišumī refers to the *Nihāya*, the *ʿUmad*, and the *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad* throughout his *Šarḥ al-ʿUyūn* suggests that the *Nihāya* was composed before both the *ʿUmad* and the *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad* (we thank Gregor Schwarb for sharing with us his observation about al-Ǧišumī's references to the three works). See also Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 368.

23. EI3, s.v. "Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī" (W. Madelung). The Zaydī scholar of northern Iran, Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hawsamī (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century), wrote a *Taʿlīq al-ʿUmad* [or *al-ʿUmda*, according to some manuscripts] *fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, which was likely a commentary on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *ʿUmad*. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1114.

24. The work has been published twice: (1) in an edition by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh in cooperation with Muḥammad Bakr and Ḥasan Ḥanafī, Damascus 1964; and (2) with a preface by Ḫalīl al-Mays, Beirut 1983. The second publication seems to be based heavily on Ḥamīd Allāh's edition of the text. In the following, reference will be made to Ḥamīd Allāh's edition only. For a French translation of the section

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tion what prompted him to compose another work in this discipline, Abū l-Ḥusayn mentions ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *K. al-ʿUmad*. He states that it includes discussions on issues which, strictly speaking, do not belong to *uṣūl al-fiqh* but rather to the subtleties of *kalām*, such as the different categories of knowledge (*aqsām al-ʿulūm*), and that it is a very comprehensive work containing numerous redundancies. Such shortcomings, he continues, are avoided in the *Muʿtamad*.[25] The work's success far beyond Muʿtazilite circles can hardly be overestimated. Particularly in Baghdad, Šāfiʿites and Ḥanbalites began to use the *Muʿtamad* as an important source at a very early stage.[26] Moreover, Ibn Ḫaldūn (d. 808/1406) lists it as one of the four books on *uṣūl al-fiqh* that he considers to be "the basic works and pillars of this discipline"—the other three being ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *K. al-ʿUmad*, al-Ǧuwaynī's (d. 478/1085) *K. al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiqh*,[27] and al-Ġazālī's (d. 505/1111) *al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*.[28] On the basis of these works, Ibn Ḫaldūn continues, Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) later composed his *K. al-Maḥṣūl*,[29] and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233) his *K. al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*.[30] The reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Muʿtamad* well beyond Muʿtazilism is also suggested by the manuscripts of the work that that are preserved in Sunnī collections.[31]

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on *iǧmāʿ*, see Bernard, *L'Accord unanime*. See also Tobgui, "Epistemology of *Qiyās* and *Taʿlīl*" (based on an MA thesis submitted to McGill University, Montreal 2000).

25. Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *Muʿtamad*, 1/7.

26. Examples of the Šāfiʿite reception of the work are Abū l-Muẓaffar Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Samʿānī al-Tamīmī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 489/1096), *Qawāṭiʿ al-adilla fī l-uṣūl*, 1/204, 1/295, 1/358, 1/360, and al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111), *K. al-Manḫūl*, 533. Examples of the Ḥanbalite reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (it is not always clear whether they had his *Muʿtamad* or his *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad* at their disposal) include Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḫalaf b. al-Farrāʾ al-Baġdādī (d. 458/1065), *K. al-ʿUdda fī uṣūl al-fiqh*; see the editor's introduction (1/43). Moreover, the editor regularly identifies Abū Yaʿlā's use of the *Muʿtamad* thoughout the edition. In one instance (2/687), Abū Yaʿlā explicitly identifies Abū l-Ḥusayn as his source. Other Ḥanbalite examples are Abū l-Ḫaṭṭāb Maḥfūẓ b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Kalwaḏānī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 510/1116), *K. al-Tamhīd fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, 3/360, and Abū l-Wafāʾ ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl al-Ḥanbalī al-Baġdādī (d. 513/1119), *K. al-Wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, 498.

27. The work has been edited by ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Maḥmūd al-Dīb (reprinted repeatedly).

28. On the work, see Ḥammād, *Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's Juristic Doctrine*.

29. Of the several editions of the work, the edition by Ṭāhā Ǧābir Fayyāḍ al-ʿAlwānī (Beirut 1992) is the most reliable. The significance of Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* as Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's principal source on *uṣūl al-fiqh* for his exegetical work *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb* is specifically mentioned by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Šāṭibī al-Andalusī (d. 790/1388) in his *K. al-Ifādāt wa-l-inṣādāt*, 100f.

30. See Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 3/28f. It is noteworthy that Ibn Ḫaldūn here evidently takes Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* to be a commentary on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *ʿUmad*. Al-Āmidī's *Iḥkām* has been published repeatedly. On this work, see Weiss, *Search for God's Law*; see also the review by Krawietz, "Zum Verhältnis."

31. See Ḥamīd Allāh's introduction to his edition of the *Muʿtamad*, 2/30ff., where the following manuscripts from Sunnī collections are described: (1) MS Istanbul, Topkapı, Sultan Ahmed III, no. 1318, containing volume 1 of the work; copy completed on 27 Šaʿbān 751/October 30, 1350 by a certain Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Kāfī b. ʿUṯmān al-Marāġī. A microfilm copy of this manuscript is included in the

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Within Muʿtazilism, the influence of the work is visible in Ḫʷārazm.[32] This is suggested by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 536/1141), another Ḥanafite, who taught the work[33] and for this purpose wrote a summary of it, *Taǧrīd al-Muʿtamad*, which is discussed in detail below. Ibn al-Malāḥimī's exclusive reliance on Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* throughout his *Taǧrīd* suggests that it was perhaps the only work in the discipline that was available to him.[34] By contrast, the *Muʿtamad* was completely ignored by the Bahšamite al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) in his treatment of legal theory in his *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* and in his autocommentary *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*. Although al-Ǧišumī frequently cites the views of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Karḫī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, and Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī, he makes no mention whatsoever of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.[35]

Fonds Gimaret (CNRS, Institut de Récherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Section arabe), pochette no. 6488 archivage (positif). This manuscript once belonged to the Šāfiʿite scholar Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Šāfiʿī al-Zarkašī (d. 794/1392) (on him, see Wiederhold, *Das Rechtslexikon "Qawāʿid al-fiqh" und sein Autor*); see the facsimile reproduction of the title page of this manuscript in volume 2 of the *Muʿtamad*, plate 1. (2) MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli, no. 788, containing volume 2 of the text that had also belonged to al-Zarkašī. The manuscript includes two other works by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, viz. *Ziyādāt al-Muʿtamad* and *K. al-Qiyās al-šarʿī*. Both are included in Ḥamīd Allāh's edition of the *Muʿtamad*. On Abū l-Ḥusayn's *al-Qiyās al-šarʿī*, see also Hallaq, "Tenth-Eleventh Century Treatise." Ḥamīd Allāh was unaware of yet another manuscript of the *Muʿtamad*, which also includes Abū l-Ḥusayn's two other works on legal theory, *Ziyādat al-Muʿtamad* and *K. al-Qiyās al-šarʿī* and which is preserved in the Ḫizāna al-Ḥasaniyya in Rabat (*raqm al-ḥifẓ* 13491). See Zahrī and Būkārī, *Fihris*, 281–283, 374–376, 414–416. We thank Jan Thiele for having alerted us to the existence of this manuscript and for having provided us with scans of the relevant catalogue entries.

32. Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī remarks on the heavy reliance on the *Muʿtamad* by the little-known Muʿtazilite author Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿĪsā "Ibn al-ʿĀriḍ" in his *K. al-Nukat* and his *K. al-Masāʾil fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (both are lost); see his *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa*, 297. Ibn al-ʿĀriḍ's *K. al-Nukat* is regularly mentioned by Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkašī in his *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* (1/17, 1/346, 2/377, 3/116), as is Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad*. According to Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), Ibn al-ʿĀriḍ's name was al-Ḥusayn b. ʿĪsā. He also remarks that the Šāfiʿite scholar Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Šahrazūrī (d. 643/1245) compiled selections (*muntaḫab*) of Ibn al-ʿĀriḍ's *Nukat*; see *al-Ibhāǧ fī šarḥ al-Minhāǧ* by al-Subkī and his son, 2/168.

33. See below, n. 64.

34. It should be noted, however, that Ibn al-Malāḥimī refers to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *ʿUmad* in his *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (1991), 20. It is unclear whether Ibn al-Malāḥimī had the *ʿUmad* at his disposal or whether he used an intermediary source. Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* was also used by Māturīdite Ḥanafites, such as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Šams al-Naẓar Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Samarqandī (d. 539/1144), *Mīzān al-uṣūl fī natāʾiǧ al-ʿuqūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, 1/367 and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad al-Buḫārī (d. 730/1329–30), who frequently refers to the work in his *Kašf al-asrār ʿan uṣūl Faḫr al-Islām al-Bazdawī*, 1/108, 2/149, 2/271, 2/360, 2/362, 2/377, 3/66. The *Kašf* was a commentary on ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bazdawī's (d. 482/1089–90) *Kanz al-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl*; see ǦŠḪ 1/224–227.

35. Legal methodology is dealt with in part 7 (*al-qism al-sābiʿ*), *al-Kalām fī adillat al-šarʿ*, of *al-ʿUyūn* and *Šarḥ al-ʿUyūn*.

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Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* was very popular among the Zaydīs of Yemen. The earliest extant copy that has been found in Yemen is dated 550/1155–56, the probable *terminus ante quem* of the arrival of the work in Yemen.[36] In view of this early date, it is astonishing that *qāḍī* Šams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Buhlūlī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177) was apparently unfamiliar with the *Muʿtamad* or for some reason unwilling to use it. Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar composed two works on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, for which he used al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* as his exclusive source. His *K. al-Bayān fī uṣūl al-fiqh* is a detailed paraphrase of part 7 of al-Ǧišumī's *ʿUyūn*, which is devoted to legal theory, and his concise *K. al-Taqrīb fī uṣūl al-fiqh* served as an introduction (*madḫal*) to his *K. al-Bayān*.[37] It is noteworthy that Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar completely ignored Abū Ṭālib's works,

36. MS Ambrosiana ar. F 183, 278 ff., missing the beginning and the end, copied in 550/1155–56; see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 4/89 no. 1478. We have not had an opportunity to examine the manuscript and were thus unable to verify whether it was indeed transcribed in Yemen or perhaps copied elsewhere and subsequently transferred to Yemen. A preliminary description of the codex is given in Ḥamīd Allāh's introduction to his edition of the *Muʿtamad*, 2/35ff. However, because the manuscript came to the editor's attention only at a very late stage, he could not consult it for the edition of the *Muʿtamad*. Another manuscript from Yemen that was used by Ḥamīd Allāh is MS Ṣanʿā', Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 1508 (undated). The entire codex originally consisted of twenty-one quires, of which only quires 12 through 21 are preserved, containing volume 2 of the work. For a description of the manuscript copied for the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, see also al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/857. A microfilm copy is preserved in the Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt in Sanaa, and in the Āstān-i quds library in Mashhad (and other Iranian libraries); see al-Mašriqī and al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs yamānī*, 63. Subsequent to the publication of Ḥamīd Allāh's edition, an additional manuscript of the *Muʿtamad* has surfaced in Yemen, viz. MS Ṣaʿda, Maktabat al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq, containing part 2 of the work, beginning with *al-iǧmāʿ*; see al-ʿIzzī, *Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī*, 30 no. 15, and al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/455 no. 22.

37. Both works are preserved in two collective manuscripts copied during the lifetime of the author: (1) MS Ambrosiana ar. D 544, which contains different works by Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar, including his *Taqrīb fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (ff. 109a–126a) and his *Bayān fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (ff. 127a–214a), dated Šawwāl 555/October–November 1160 (f. 214a). In the margins there are notes that may have been written by Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar himself. See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/406f. (2) MS Vatican ar. 1165, ff. 1–29a (*Taqrīb*), ff. 29b–157 (*Bayān*). See Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 176 (here, only the *Taqrīb* is mentioned; the *Bayān* was omitted by the cataloguer). At the end of this text (ff. 157b–158a), there is a colophon dated Wednesday at the end of Rağab 564/April 1169 in the *masǧid* of Sanāʿ, i.e., Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar's place of residence at the time. At the beginning of his *Taqrīb* the author explains the relationship between the two works as follows (ff. 1b–2a):

... أما بعد فاني كنت شرحت مسائل أصول الفقه التي أودعها الحاكم أبو سعيد [كذا] رحمه الله في كتابه المسمى بعيون المسائل وكنتُ قد اقتصرتُ من ذلك على شرح أدلتها التي أوردها في كتابه وذكرت ما يحتاج اليه من التحقيق. ثمّ سألني بعد ذلك بعض الإخوان الذين اشتدت في العلم رغبتهم وحمد فيه سعيهم أن أفرد في هذه المقدمة ذكر المذاهب في تلك المسائل وأدلتها وأجرد ذلك عمّا عداه من اختلاف الناس في الأقاويل وعن التحقيق للأدلة إلا ما لا بدّ من ذكره في بعض المسائل ليكون ذلك تقريبًا للمبتدين وتسهيلًا لمسالك الراغبين ووسيلة إلى معرفة ما في كتاب البيان الذي هو شرح هذه المسائل من التفصيل والتحقيق فانه كالمدخل الى ذلك. فأجبتهم الى ما سألوه رغبة فيما يصل اليهم من النفع ويقسم لي عليه من الأجر ومن الله أستمد المعونة على ما قرب منه وأدنى من رضاه بمنه ولطفه.

At the beginning of his *Bayān* the author explains his procedure in this work as follows (f. 30a):

... أما بعد فان بعض الإخوان الراغبين في اكتساب العلم النافع المهتمين باقتناء العمل الصالح المسارعين في الخيرات، سألني شرح جملة من مسائل أصول الفقه كان الحاكم أبو سعد محمد (كذا في الأصل) بن كرامه الجشمي رحمه الله أودعه كتابه الموسوم بعيون المسائل في الأصول وأذكر أدلة تلك المسائل التي

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although the latter's *Muǧzī* had reached Yemen even before Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad*.[38] Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar's restricted approach may have prompted his student Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 584/1188) to compose his *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, in which he adduces Abū l-Ḥusayn's positions as they are expressed in his *Muʿtamad*, followed by the views of Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar as laid down in his *K. al-Bayān*. Occasionally he refers to the views of Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī.[39] Another student of Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar, Sulaymān b. Nāṣir al-Suḥāmī (d. after 600/1203–4), took a different approach in his *Muḫtaṣar al-Muʿtamad*, which, as the title indicates, is a summary of Abū l-Ḥusayn's work.[40] In his introduction (ff. 3b/4a) al-Ṣuḥāmī explains that in addition to summarizing the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn in his *Muʿtamad*, he added whatever he considered relevant from Abū Ṭālib's *Muǧzī* and *Ǧawāmiʿ*

ذكرها صاحب الكتاب مع تهذيب ما يحتاج الى التهذيب منها وتحقيق تلك الأدلة على وجه الاختصار الموصل الى الفائدة فأجبته الى ذلك اشعافًا للطلبة وتعرضًا لثواب الله تعالى باجابة مسألته وسلكت في الاستدلال منهاج صاحب الكتاب وجعلت ما أضمه الى كلامه اما مقدمة له أو وتهذيبًا لعبارات أدلته أو تحقيقًا لها كيلا يخرج الكلام عن قانونه الذي وضع كتابه عليه . فأما ما أورد صاحب الكتاب في صدور المسائل من ذكر الاختلاف في المذاهب فرأيت نقله على وجهه وأن لا أتعرض لغير الأدلة التي تعلق الغرض بها . وأنا أستمدّ من الله تعالى التوفيق والتسديد والمعونة والتأييد بمنه ورحمته.

Prior to Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar, al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (b. 500/1106, d. 566/1170) seems to have been the first Zaydī scholar of Yemen to compose comprehensive writings specifically devoted to *uṣūl al-fiqh*, viz. a *K. al-Madḫal fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, which is lost (see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 115; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/453 no. 2805), and *K. al-Ẓāhir fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, which is extant in manuscript (MS Ambrosiana ar. C 47/4, ff. 104–202b; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/150 no. 303/4; see also al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 115; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/73 no. 1697). To judge from the latter, his thought was significantly less advanced than that of Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar. Moreover, his *K. al-Ẓāhir* is based mostly on earlier Sunnī sources and manifests no clear traces of influence of Muʿtazilite works in this discipline.

38. See above, n. 17.

39. The text is preserved in MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Glaser 157, dated 607/1210–11; see Grünert, *Kurzer Katalog*, 37 no. 136. Among the digitized manuscripts of the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Cultural Foundation (IZbACF) there is a copy of another partial copy of the text that may predate the Vienna manuscript. The whereabouts of the original are unknown. See also Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism," 551.

40. On the author and his *Muḫtaṣar al-Muʿtamad*, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/375–377 no. 642; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/478–481 no. 281; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 470f. no. 466. Al-Suḥāmī also wrote *Šams šarīʿat al-islām fī fiqh Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām wa-huwa masāʾil al-taḥrīr wa-akṯar masāʾil al-ziyādāt wa-l-ifāda wa-adillatihā muštamilan ʿalā fiqh Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām illā mā šaḏḏa minhu wa-fīhi fawāʾid min al-muhaḏḏab ḥasana*; the work contains two brief introductory sections on *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, though the bulk of it is devoted to *fiqh*. A manuscript of volume 1 of this work, transcribed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ṣabra al-Aslamī and dated Ǧumādā II 682/August–September 1283 (see the colophon on f. 439a), is preserved in the library of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Qāsim al-Ḥūṯī. On the title page the author and his role in the compilation of the work are indicated as follows: *naqalahu min hāḏihi l-kutub al-faqīh al-aǧall Sulaymān b. Nāṣir b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad b. Kaṯīr al-Suḥāmī*. The part dealing with *uṣūl al-fiqh* begins on f. 11b of the manuscript. In the introduction to this part, the author states that his work is based on Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Muʿtamad* and al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Fāʾiq*. For this and other manuscripts of the work, see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 470f.; al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/196. Al-Suḥāmī also composed *al-Niẓām fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, which is lost.

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*al-adilla*. The work is preserved in a manuscript that was completed in 571/1175, the *terminus ante quem* for its composition.[41] Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* remained part of the standard curriculum of Yemeni Zaydīs during the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries.[42]

Using the *Fāʾiq* as his main source, al-Raṣṣāṣ's student, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, who would become the later Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (r. 593/1197–614/1217), composed *Ṣafwat al-iḫtiyār fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, the first deliberate attempt by an *imām* to formulate a specifically Zaydī legal theory. The number of extant manuscripts and the frequent references to the work by later authors point to its lasting popularity.[43] Al-Raṣṣāṣ' grandson Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ ("al-Ḥafīd," d. 656/1258) later composed *Ǧawharat al-uṣūl wa-taḏkirat al-fuḥūl*, also based on al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Fāʾiq*. The *Ǧawhara* subsequently became the most authoritative work in legal theory.[44]

41. Ff. 247ff. Part 1 (*al-niṣf al-awwal*) was copied by the brother of the redactor of the *Muḫtaṣar*, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, and completed in Rabīʿ II 571/October–November 1175 in Hiǧrat al-šarīf al-ağall Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (f. 130b); part 2 (*al-niṣf al-ṯānī*) was copied by Sulaymān b. Muẓaffar b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Tanūḫ b. Abī l-Qāsim b. Abī Bakr b. Wāʿil al-Bakrī al-Rāzī and completed on 12 Ramaḍān 571/March 25, 1176, in the *masǧid* of Hiǧrat Qaṭābir (f. 242a). See Ḥamīd Allāh's introduction to his edition of the *Muʿtamad*, 2/37–39. At the time the manuscript belonged to the private library of Sayf al-Islām ʿAbd Allāh. At present, the manuscript is held by al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya (Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt) in Sanaa, under shelfmark no. 886 (former shelfmark: *uṣūl al-fiqh* no. 63); see ʿĪsawī [et al.], *Fihris*, 1/460f. A microfilm copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Dār al-kutub in Cairo; see *Qāʾima bi-l-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muṣawwara*, 45 (microfilm no. 106). We thank Eva-Maria Lika and Gregor Schwarb for making a copy of this microfilm available to us.

42. See Chapter 8 in the present volume, Appendix, no. 81.

43. See the editors' introduction to the work.

44. Aḥmad also wrote an autocommentary on the *Ǧawhara*, *Ġurar al-ḥaqāʾiq šarḥ Ǧawharat al-uṣūl*, which is lost; see the editor's introduction to *Ǧawharat al-uṣūl*. Among the works on legal theory written during the seventh/thirteenth century in Yemen, mention should also be made of the following: (1) The anonymous *uṣūl al-fiqh* work preserved in MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 171, apparently copied during the early seventh/thirteenth century. The work is missing the beginning. At the end, the text is described as a *muḫtaṣar* (*tammat masāʾil hāḏā l-muḫtaṣar*; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 4/462 no. 5155). Moreover, the manner in which the anonymous author refers to al-Raṣṣāṣ' student Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫurāšī (alive in 610/1214) suggests that the latter was his teacher. On this manuscript, see also the Persian introduction by Hassan Ansari to al-Ḫurāšī, *K. al-Tafṣīl*. (2) Al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥasan Yaḥyā *al-dāʿī* b. al-Muḥsin b. Abī l-Fawāris Maḥfūẓ (d. 636/1238–39), *al-Muqniʿ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, a work that was completed by *al-amīr* Muḥammad b. al-Hādī b. Tāǧ al-Dīn (extant in manuscript; see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1146f.). (3) *Al-Ḥāṣir fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Aḥmad b. ʿUzayw b. ʿAlī b. ʿAmr al-Ḥawlānī (d. ca. 650/1252–53). On this work, which is lost, see also the Persian introduction by Ansari to al-Ḫurāšī, *K. al-Tafṣīl*. See also Chapter 8 in the present volume, Arabic text, § 8, where it is stated that the work was based on Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad*, the *Ṣafwat al-iḫtiyār* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, and al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Fāʾiq*. (4) Al-Amīr al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 662/1263–64 or 663/1264–65), *al-Madḫal fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. (5) *Al-Durar al-manẓūma fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1268), which is lost. (6) *Taḥrīr adillat al-uṣūl*,

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At the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century, Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348–49) composed a work on *uṣūl al-fiqh* based primarily on Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Muʿtamad*, viz. *al-Ḥāwī li-ḥaqāʾiq al-adilla al-fiqhiyya wa-taqrīr al-qawāʿid al-qiyāsiyya*.[45] Later he summarized the *Ḥāwī* in his *al-Miʿyār li-qarāʾiḥ al-anẓār fī šarḥ al-adilla al-fiqhiyya wa-taqrīr al-qawāʿid al-qiyāsiyya*.[46] In the introduction to *al-Ḥāwī*, Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza praises Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Muʿtamad* as the best work in this discipline[47] and refers to Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Taǧrīd*, criticizing the work in an attempt to explain his own endeavor.[48] In addition to the *Muʿtamad*, Yaḥyā uses both al-Ġazālī's *Mustaṣfā* and Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*, albeit in a critical manner.[49]

## III. Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Taǧrīd al-Muʿtamad*

MS Arab. e. 103 was purchased in June 1918 at Sotheby's by the Bodleian Library in Oxford. There is no description of the manuscript in any of the published catalogues, all

also by al-ʿAnsī and likewise lost. For the latter two works, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, nos. 2, 25.

45. The work consisted of three volumes (*sifr*), with volume 3 apparently being lost. Volume 2 is preserved in a copy dated 715/1315–16. A reproduction of this codex is preserved in the Markaz Badr al-ʿilmī wa-l-ṯaqāfī in Sanaa; see al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 1/256 (here, the date of completion is erroneously given as 710); see also al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1127. The current whereabouts of the original codex are unknown. A copy of volume 1 is likewise preserved in one of the private libraries in Yemen (a digital copy was made available to us through the IZbACF; it is not mentioned by al-Waǧīh). The manuscript was also copied during the lifetime of its author.

46. The *Miʿyār* was composed between Ǧumādā I and Raǧab of 715/August–October 1315. It is preserved in three manuscripts, of which the two listed first were copied during the lifetime of the author: (1) MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 1506, ff. 1–111, dated 7 Šaʿbān 726/September 9, 1326; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/860; (2) MS Maktabat al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma al-Murtaḍā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Wazīr, 104 ff., copied by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Mufaḍḍal in 746/1345–46; see al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/375f.; (3) MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 1487, 141 ff., dated 766/1364–65; al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/860.

47. See *al-Ḥāwī*, 1/3:

وأحسن ما وجدتُه من المصنّفات فيه لأصحابنا الفئة العدلية من المعتزلة والزيدية هو كتاب المعتمد للشيخ العالم النحرير الحبر علم المحقّقين أبي الحسين محمد بن علي البصري فإنه كتابٌ لا تشقّ عبارةً ولا ينحصر على ما ممرّ الدهر عجائبه وأسراره ورتّب فيه الأصول وحصّلها وجمع فيه المسائل النفيسة وفصّلها وضمنه من فنون الغرائب وأوضعه من الأسرار والعجائب فصار إمامًا للكتب وواسطةً لعقدها ومتقدمًا بالفضل عليها وإن بلغت كل مبلغ في حدّها وجهدها بيد أنه أطال فيه ذيول الكلام فانتشرت أطرافه وطالت حواشيه فاتسعت آفاقُه لم ينظّم بالعقود اللائقة ولا حصره بالضوابط الفائقة بل أرسل الأبواب وأتى فيها بكلامٍ بسيطٍ فيكاد أن ‡...‡ (؟) لطوله إلا لذكي بسيط

48. See *al-Ḥāwī*, 1/4:

نعم قد كان سبق من الشيخ العالم محمود بن محمد الملاحمي تأليف كتابٍ سماه تجريد المعتمد وما زاد فيه إلا أن قطع سلكه فانتثرت عقوده وحلّ نظامه فبدّدت شذوره فأورث ذلك في لفظه التعقيد والإبهام واكتسب معناه الصعوبة والإعجام ...

49. It should be noted that Twelver Šīʿī authors also used Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's writings on *uṣūl al-fiqh* extensively. See, for example, the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī's (d. 726/1325) *Nihāyat al-wuṣūl ilā ʿilm al-uṣūl*, passim.

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of which predate its purchase.[50] It was only some two decades ago that the manuscript, which is defective at the beginning and thus without a title page, was identified as a copy of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Tağrīd al-Muʿtamad.*[51] It is still considered the only extant copy of the text. The manuscript was copied in 575/1179, i.e., less than forty years after Ibn al-Malāḥimī's death in 536/1141, apparently in Ḫʷārazm, and thus is particularly valuable. At present, it is the only extant copy of a Muʿtazilite work that was transcribed there at a time when Muʿtazilism was still a living tradition in that region.

In the colophon, the scribe, a certain Abū l-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, gives the date when he completed transcribing the work (5 Rabīʿ I 575/August 10, 1179) and remarks that his *Vorlage* contained a note in Ibn al-Malāḥimī's hand in which the latter attests that a certain Abū Saʿīd Ǧunayd b. Muḥammad b. ‡...‡ al-Dihistānī read the work to him and that the reading was completed during Ḏū l-Qaʿda 534/June–July 1140. This date is the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Tağrīd*. The scribe also remarks that he transcribed the work for his own use, an indication that he was a scholar himself.[52] The colophon is followed by a collation (*balāġ*) note dated 19 Rabīʿ I 578/July 23, 1182.[53] At the beginning of the codex there are glosses written in a different hand, and on f. 78b there is an undated ownership statement by a certain Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Šāṭirī.[54] The manuscript contains many collation notes in different hands,[55] including, on

50. See Roper, *World Survey*, 3/515–519.

51. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arab. e. 103. The manuscript is briefly mentioned in the editors' introduction to Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, iv. A facsimile edition of the manuscript was published as Ansari and Schmidtke, *Legal Methodology in 6th/12th Century Khwārazm*.

52. F. 141b:

والحمد لله وصلواته على محمد النبي (الى؟) وآله الطاهرين وسلم وكرم | تم كتاب التجريد بحمد الله وعونه يوم الخامس من ربيع الأول من سنة خمس وسبعين وخمس مائة كتبه لنفسه أبو العز محمد بن علي بن محمد بن علي | من نسخة عليها خط مجرِّد الكتاب حكايته يقول مجرِّد هذا الكتاب | وهو محمود بن عبد الله الأصولي الخوارزمي قرأ عليّ هذا الكتاب قراءة فهم | وإحكام الشيخ الإمام الجليل الصائن صفي الأئمة أبو سعيد جنيد بن محمد بن باسان (?) الدهستاني | ووافق الفراغ من قرائته (قراته، الأصل) يوم الأربعاء غرة ذي القعدة سنة أربع وثلاثين وخمس مائة

53. F. 141b:

بلغ ولله الحمد والمنّة يوم (؟) تاسع عشر ربيع الآخر ثمان وسبعين وخمسمائة

54. The note reads as follows:

في نوبة أفقر عباده محمد بن حسن بن محمد الشاطري عفي عنه

55. Collation (*balāġ*) notes are to be found on ff. 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 10a, 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 17b (*balaġa ʿirāḍan wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna*), 18b, 20b, 28a, 28b, 33b (*balaġa ʿirāḍan wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna*), 39a (*ʿūriḍa*), 41b (*balaġa ʿirāḍan wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna*), 45b (*ʿūriḍa*), 49b (*ʿūriḍa*), 53b (*balaġa ʿirāḍan wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna*), 55b (*ʿūriḍa*), 58a (*ʿūriḍa*), 60b (*ʿūriḍa*), 64a (*ʿūriḍa*), 67a (*ʿūriḍa*), 68b (*ʿūriḍa*), 72a (*ʿūriḍa*), 74a (*ʿūriḍa*), 74b (*ʿūriḍa*), 77b (*balaġa al-ʿarḍ wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna*), 79b (*ʿūriḍa*), 80b (*ʿūriḍa*), 85b (*ʿūriḍa*), 88b (*ʿūriḍa*), 89b (*balaġa ʿarḍan wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh wa-minna*), 96 (*ʿūriḍa*), 98b (*ʿūriḍa*), 99b (*ʿūriḍa*), 101b (*balaġa ʿarḍan wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh wa-minna*), 104b (*ʿūriḍa*), 107b (*balaġa ʿarḍan*), 110b (*ʿūriḍa*), 112b (*ʿūriḍa*), 114a (*ʿūriḍa*), 117b (*ʿūriḍa*), 121a (*ʿūriḍa*), 125a (*ʿūriḍa*), 125b (*balaġa ʿarḍan wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh wa-minna*), 129a (*ʿūriḍa*), 132b (*ʿūriḍa*), 136a (*ʿūriḍa*), 137b (*balaġa ʿarḍan wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh wa-minna*).

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f. 141b, a final collation note by one reader.[56] On one occasion (f. 11b:7) the text contains a reference to "our *šayḫ*" (*šayḫunā*) that clearly refers to Ibn al-Malāḥimī. This suggests that the text as preserved in the manuscript may constitute a *taʿlīq* of the original *Taǧrīd* as penned by one of the students of Ibn al-Malāḥimī.

As noted, the manuscript is defective at the beginning,[57] and quires 1, 2, and 4 are only partly preserved. Quire 3 is completely lost. From quire 5 onwards, most of the text is preserved, with a few lacunae. Numerous leaves within quires 5 through 9 were misplaced in the original manuscript.[58]

That Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Taǧrīd* was available in Yemen as early as the seventh/thirteenth century is attested by the list of works that were studied by Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258).[59] Moreover, the work continued to be studied in Yemen, as it is explicitly mentioned by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza in his *al-Ḥāwī* (see above) and by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šarafī (d. 1055/1646) in his *Šarḥ al-Asās al-kabīr*.[60] Despite these references, no manuscript of the text has so far come to light in any collection of Yemeni manuscripts. However, the editor of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Muʿtamad*, Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, reports that he consulted a summary of the work, entitled *Taǧrīd al-Muʿtamad*, by an anonymous author.[61] He remarks that the work is not so much a summary but rather an improved version of the *Muʿtamad* and suggests that it was written by one of the students of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, whose identity is unknown. According to Ḥamīd Allāh, the manuscript, which consists of 312 folios (250 x 180 mm, 18 lines per page), apparently was copied in the sixth/twelfth century and originally belonged to a private library in Ahdal in southern Yemen. In 1946 it was presented to him as a gift by the *qāḍī* of the Bayt al-faqīh of Ahdal. Its current whereabouts are unknown.[62] Ḥamīd Allāh includes a facsimile of an unfoliated double page from the text that apparently was chosen at random. Comparison of the text of this double page with the Bodleian manuscript shows that the two texts are identical.[63] The Ahdal manuscript is therefore most likely a second copy of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Taǧrīd*. Ḥamīd Allāh quotes a few lines from

56. See above, n. 53.

57. The beginning of the text corresponds to vol. 1, p. 22 of Ḥamīd Allāh's edition of Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad*.

58. See also Table 3.1 below.

59. See Chapter 8 in the present volume, Appendix, no. 103.

60. Al-Šarafī, *Šarḥ al-Asās al-kabīr*, 2/15.

61. See also GAS 1/627, where the manuscript is likewise described as "eine anon. Bearbeitung."

62. The information provided by Ḥamīd Allāh on the manuscript is insufficient. While he states that only the first leaf is missing (introduction, 40f.) and that the introduction is partially extant on f. 2, the concordance of manuscripts (introduction, 43ff.) suggests that the first eleven leaves of the text are missing. This must be a mistake.

63. The text reproduced in plate 6 included in Ḥamīd Allāh's edition of the work corresponds to MS Bodleian Arab. e. 103, ff. 115b:25–116a:20.

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the introduction to the Ahdal manuscript. As the beginning of the Bodleian copy of the *Taǧrīd* is lost, this quotation is precious, because it informs us about Ibn al-Malāḥimī's approach to the text that he composed mainly for teaching purposes.[64] Moreover, a close reading of the *Taǧrīd* shows that Ibn al-Malāḥimī not only summarized Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* but also was a critical reader, as indicated by numerous critical remarks about what Abū l-Ḥusayn had written.[65]

In view of this precious manuscript and the three manuscripts from Yemen and Morocco that could not be taken into account by Ḥamīd Allāh for his edition of the *Muʿtamad*, a revised edition of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Muʿtamad*, together with a detailed comparative study of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Taǧrīd* and all other Zaydī adaptations of Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* that have been discussed, is a desideratum. Moreover, it is hoped that the Ahdal manuscript will resurface. If it does, scholars will be able to produce a critical edition of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Taǧrīd al-Muʿtamad*.

64. Ḥamīd Allāh's introduction to the *Muʿtamad*, 1/40f.:

... لأنه رحمه الله بالغ في أداء المعاني بعبارات تقع الغنية ببعضها في أداء المعنى مع أني لا أخل لما لا بدّ منه في إيضاح المعنى وعباراتي عن المعاني تقرب من عباراته لأنها عُلِّقَت بحفظي لتدريس هذا الكتاب وأول كتابه هذا رحمه الله يخالفه آخره لأن النصف الآخر أشدّ تخليصًا وأخصّ عبارةً من النصف الأول فكذلك هذا المجرّد منه أوله أكثر اختصارًا من النصف الأخير لأني حذفت منه أكثر من النصف الأخير لأنه أورد في الأول أكثر زيادةً من الأخير ...

65. See, e.g., ff. 6b, 14a, 22a, 72b (31b), 122b.

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Table 3.1: Physical characteristics of MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arab. e. 103.

| Number of quire | | | | | | | | | | | | | [Number of folios per quire] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| awwal ǧuzʾ | - | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | - | | 5 | [12/14/16] |
| ṯānī ǧuzʾ | 6 | 7 (7b/a) | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | - | | [12/14/16] |
| ṯāliṯ ǧuzʾ | - | | | | | | | | | | | | [12/14/16] |
| rābiʿ ǧuzʾ | - | | | | | | | | | | 16 | 17 | [12/14/16] |
| ḫāmis ǧuzʾ | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 41 | [12] |
| sādis ǧuzʾ | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | [12] |
| sābiʿ ǧuzʾ | 54 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | [12] |
| ṯāmin ǧuzʾ | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 33 | [12] |
| tāsiʿ ǧuzʾ | 34 | 35 \| - | 36 | 77 \| - | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 \| - | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 \| - | [16] |
| ʿāšir ǧuzʾ | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | [12] |
| ḥādī ʿašar ǧuzʾ | 90 | 91 | 92 | 93 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 | 100 | 101 | [12] |
| ṯānī ʿašar ǧuzʾ | 102 | 103 | 104 | 105 | 106 | 107 | 108 | 109 | 110 | 111 | 112 | 113 | [12] |
| ṯāliṯ ʿašar ǧuzʾ | 114 | 115 | 116 | 117 | 118 | 119 | 120 | 121 | 122 | 123 | 124 | 125 | [12] |
| rābiʿ ʿašar ǧuzʾ | 126 | 127 | 128 | 129 | 130 | 131 | 132 | 133 | 134 | 135 | 136 | 137 | [12] |
| ḫāmis ʿashar ǧuzʾ[1] | - | 138 | 139 | 140 | 141 | 142 | | | | | | | |

1. In view of the missing leaf between ff. 137 and 138, it is not certain whether the codex contained fifteen quires or whether quire 14 contained eighteen leaves rather than twelve, although there is no precedent for this in the codex.

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# Chapter 4
# Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Rebuttal of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in a Yemeni Zaydī Manuscript of the Seventh/Thirteenth Century

*Hassan Ansari, Wilferd Madelung, and Sabine Schmidtke*

Some years ago, two of the present authors published critical editions of two refutations directed against Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044).[1] Abū l-Ḥusayn had studied *kalām* with the leading Muʿtazilite theologian of the time, *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025), but he challenged some of the views of his teacher during his lectures and subsequently revised central positions of Bahšamite *kalām* in his own theological writings. Among other positions, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī denied the Bahšamite view that accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) are entitative beings (*maʿānī* or *ḏawāt*) that inhere in bodies and produce their qualities. For him, accidents constituted mere descriptive attributes (*ṣifāt*), characteristics (*aḥkām*), or states (*aḥwāl*) of the body. The notion of the reality of accidents was vital for the Bahšamites' proof for the existence of God: they argued that knowledge of the temporality of bodies—which contrasted with the eternity of the Creator—was based on the temporality of accidents. Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's denial of the reality of entitative accidents led him to put the traditional Muʿtazilite proof for the existence of God into doubt and to formulate a revised proof for the temporality of the world that came to be known as *ṭarīqat al-aḥwāl*, in contrast to the *ṭarīqat al-maʿānī* of the Bahšamites. There were other points of conflict between Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his Bahšamite fellow students of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, but it was evidently Abū l-Ḥusayn's questioning of the traditional *kalām* proof for the existence of God that scandalized many Bahšamites and evoked their sharp rejection of his theological thought.[2]

1. Madelung and Schmidtke, *Rational Theology*; Madelung and Schmidtke, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's First Refutation." MS Yevr.-Arab. I 3100 at the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg was first discovered by G. Schwarb, who erroneously identified it as containing Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's *Naqḍ K. Ġurar al-adilla*. He kindly placed at Madelung and Schmidtke's disposal electronic versions of the text in Arabic and Hebrew script.

2. Madelung, "Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Proof"; see also EI3 2007-1/16–19 (W. Madelung), with further references. A detailed study of the doctrinal views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī is still a desideratum.



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Evidence for this rejection is provided by two treatises that were published in 2007 on the basis of partly preserved Geniza fragments of manuscripts in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection at the Russian National Library (RNL) in Saint Petersburg. Although the extant parts of neither of the two texts contain any explicit indication as to the identity of their author, the authorship of the leading Jewish Karaite scholar of the fifth/eleventh century, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. between 428/1037 and 430/1039), can be established.[3] In the course of one of the two treatises—possibly his *Aḥwāl al-fāʿil*[4]—the author refers to his own *K. al-Tamyīz*; this is a clear indication that the treatise was composed by Yūsuf al-Baṣīr.[5] Moreover, the author of this treatise repeatedly refers to an earlier refutation (*naqḍ*) of his in which he had refuted the principles set forth by Abū l-Ḥusayn. These references appear to relate to the second treatise criticizing Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, which thus represents an earlier and more specific refutation of Abū l-Ḥusayn's doctrine.

Recently, an additional fragment of the earlier refutation, preserved in the Maktaba al-ġarbiyya of the Great Mosque of Sanaa (now the Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt), has come to our attention.[6] The manuscript consists of eight leaves (see Figs. 4.1 through 4.8), and it contains the complete introduction to the treatise (starting on f. 2b) as well as considerable parts of the first chapter, establishing "that the states cannot be known in detail through necessary knowledge" (*faṣl fī anna l-aḥwāl lā yaṣiḥḥu an tuʿlama ḍarūratan ʿalā sabīl al-tafṣīl*; ff. 3bff.). The text of the last two leaves (ff. 7a:4–8a) overlaps with the beginning of the Firkovitch fragment (MS RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 3100, ff. 1a–4a). In a margin note on f. 2b of the Sanaa manuscript (Fig. 4.3), a tentative—and evidently erroneous—identification of the author as the Yemeni Zaydī scholar ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣīr al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī al-Hamdānī (d. after 630/1232–33) is offered by a later anonymous reader, probably of the eighth/fourteenth century. During the time of ʿImrān, the adherents of the Bahšamiyya and those of Abū l-Ḥusayn were opposed to each other in Yemen. In this conflict, ʿImrān was a follower of the doctrines of Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 321/933).[7] The note reads as follows:

هذا الجامع لهذه | الألفاظ المتضمنة | للاعتراض وللمباهاة | ‡...‡ العلم غير مصيب | لا في اعتقاده ولا
في | ألفاظه الاعتراضية | فلينصف الناظر وأظنه | عمران بن الحسن[8] بن الناصر الشتوي | والله أعلم

3. On him, see now EJIW 4/651–655 (G. Schwarb).

4. See Sklare, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr," 256 no. 2.

5. The *K. al-Tamyīz* has been partly edited as Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, *Buch der Unterscheidung*.

6. We thank Damaris Wilmers for her help in obtaining digital images of the manuscript.

7. On ʿImrān, see Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 18f. (introduction); see also Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/395–397 no. 976; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/833–839 no. 527; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 736f. no. 801. For the conflict between the adherents of the Bahšamiyya and those of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in seventh/thirteenth- and eighth/fourteenth-century Yemen, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*.

8. الحسن: إضافة في هامش الأصل.

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This tentative identification is reproduced in the catalogue of the library's holdings, where the margin note is taken as the basis for giving the title of the work as *Baḥṯ yataḍammanu iʿtirāḍāt wa-intiqādāt ʿalā baʿḍ kutub fī uṣūl al-dīn*. Towards the end of the catalogue entry, the contents of the text are further described as *maḍmūn al-baḥṯ yataʿallaqu fī adilla bi-iṯbāt al-aʿrāḍ wa-l-ḏawāt*.[9]

Folios 1 and 2 of the Sanaa manuscript (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2) contain several ownership statements and notes that provide information about the whereabouts of the manuscript since the early ninth/fifteenth century.

F. 1a contains a note, dated Ramaḍān 871/April 1467, that reports the birth of a child whose name has been effaced:

وُلِد الولد المبارك ‡... ...‡ أربعة أيام من رمضان المعظم سنة | إحدى وسبعين وثمان مائة بلغه الله الآمال
وصلّى محمد وآله جزى الله | ونفع به مجيئه وبارك فيه وهداه بحق محمد وآله

On the same leaf, there are two ownership statements that were apparently written by two different hands. The first one reads *min kutub Ṣaʿda*, suggesting that the volume was kept in one of the libraries of Ṣaʿda, while the second one states:

هذا الكتاب المبارك من جملة الكتب [التي] | دخل عليّ بوجه الشراء وكتب | الفقير إلى الله سبحانه
**الحسن بن محمد بن صلاح | بن محمد بن صلاح الشرفي** لطف الله به ووفّقه لصالح العمل آ[مين]

Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šarafī, who purchased the manuscript, was, according to al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ǧurmūzī (d. 1076/1666 or 1077/1667), a prominent scholar during the time of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620), the eponymous founder of the Qāsimī dynasty.[10] His full genealogy is given in al-Šahārī's entry for Šaraf al-Dīn's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ (d. 1095/1684).[11]

On the same leaf (f. 1a), the current shelfmark of the manuscript is given in green (كلام 797), while an earlier shelfmark, written in black (م 557), has been crossed out by the same hand. This notation corresponds to that found in other manuscripts in the Ġarbiyya library, such as MS al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya *ʿilm al-kalām* 800 (formerly *ʿilm al-kalām* 219) (Fig. 4.9).

Ff. 1b–2a contain a prayer (*duʿāʾ*) whose anonymous author clearly identifies himself here as a follower of the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya:

9. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797. For a brief description of the manuscript, see ʿĪsawī [et al.], *Fihris*, 1/267.

10. See al-Ǧurmūzī, *Nubḏa*, 55:19–21.

11. Al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/950f. no. 592.

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حمد[12] الله وحده قيل ‡... ... ... ... ... ... ...‡ إذا صلى قال | أعبد خالق الأجسام والأعراض والجواهر الذي ليس بجسمٍ ولا عرضٍ ويستحيل عليه | ما يجوز على الأجسام والجواهر والأعراض مما يُخرجه من العظمة والحكمة من | الأعضاء والجواهر واللمس والرؤية والشهوة والنفار والصعود والنزول | والتنقّل واللبث والكون في الأماكن والجهات دون الجهات مختصّ بصفة نفسه | ملازمةً أبدًا محالٌ أن يخلو عن تلك الصفة ومحال أن يشاركه فيها أحد وهي صفة | مقتضية لسائر الصفات بلا فصلٍ ولا شرط القادرية [و]العالمية والحيية والموجودية | والسمعية والمبصرية والمدركية إذا وُجد المدرَكات والغنيية خالقنا وخالق | آبائنا وأمهاتنا ورازقنا ورازق آبائنا وأمهاتنا مُحيينا ومُميتنا ومحيي ومُميت آبائنا وأمهاتنا | مُنعم ومتفضّل علينا وعلى آبائنا وأمهاتنا نحن عبيده وهو مستحَقّ للعبادة آمنتُ به | وهو على هذه الصفات وآمنتُ برسله وكتبه وباليوم الآخر والبعث والنشور | والجنة والنار خاصّةً محمدًا[13] صلى الله عليه آمنتُ به [و]تمسّكت بشريعته | أشهد أن كل ما جاء به صلى الله عليه من الله عز وجل فهو حقٌّ وصواب وهو على ما أخبر[نا] | به من الوجوب والندب والإباحة ومن جملة ما جاء به النبي صلى الله عليه مصلحةً لنا | ونعمةً علينا صلاةً كذا أصليها عبادةً لله تعالى خالصًا وتقربًا إليه والتماسًا | للثواب العظيم الذي لا أستغني عنه واحترازًا من العقاب العظيم الذي لستُ بآمن منه | ولأن الله تعالى أمرني بها وأراد مني فعلها وأقصد بفعلها موافقة أمر الله عز وجل | ومبايعة أمر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ومخالفة الشيطان ومراغمته ولوجوبها عليّ | ومن حيث كان الكافي في أداء الواجبات العقلية وأتشرّف بعبادة الله عز وجل[14] | وباستعمال شريعة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله والله أكبر كتبتُه | من كتابٍ بخط الفقيه **يوسف بن أبي الحسن الجيلاني** قال كتبتُه من خط أئمة الفقيه | **حَرْبي دوسْت** رحمه الله

Muḥyī al-Dīn (also known as Bahāʾ al-Dīn) Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Daylamī al-Ǧīlānī al-Mirkālī (al-Mirqālī), the scribe of the copy of this text from which our manuscript was transcribed, was a prominent Zaydī scholar of Lāhīǧān and a supporter of the Yemeni imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (b. 561/1166, d. 614/1217). He died sometime between 607/1210–11 and 614/1217.[15] Yūsuf in turn had copied the text from Ḥarbī Dūst, whose full name is given in an anonymous biographical work on Caspian Zaydī scholars as *al-ustāḏ al-faqīh* Ḥarbī Dūst b. Dam[a]ka al-Malātī.[16] Although the copyist of the *duʿāʾ* remains unknown, the chain of transmission suggests that the text originated from Iran.

F. 2a contains two additional ownership statements. The one at the bottom of the page reads as follows:

انتقل إلى ملك أسير ذنبه الراجي لعفو ربّه **أحمد بن محمد بن عثمان** بحق الشراء الصحيح | بلغ الله ما

12. حمد: حسب، ص.
13. محمدًا: + مت (؟) (مشطوب)، ص.
14. وجل + (هامش): اظنه ... لطفا، ص.
15. On Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/29f., 1/543 no. 309, 2/408 no. 672, 4/523f. no. 1376; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1282 no. 809. See also Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 339-356; Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 18f. (introduction), 137–161 (Arabic text). See also Chapter 5 in the present volume
16. See Ansari and Schmidtke, "New Source on Zaydī Scholarship".

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قصد بذلك ولا خيّب رجاه بحقّ محمد وآله وهو يسأل الله ما نقص من حظّه | في الأولى أن يجعله زيادةً
في الأخرى فنعوذ بالله أن نكون ممن نقص حظّه في الدارين

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUṯmān[17] was the father of the renowned Zaydī jurist Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUṯmān al-Ṯulāʾī (d. 1 Ǧumādā II 832/March 8, 1429), who is known to have composed several legal works, among them *al-Riyāḍ al-ẓāhira ʿalā l-taḏkira al-fāḫira, al-Ṯamarāt al-yāniʿa al-muqtaṭafa min āy al-Qurʾān al-muǧtanāh min kalām al-ilāh al-raḥmān, al-Ẓuhūr al-mušriqa ʿalā Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fī fiqh Ahl al-Bayt*,[18] and *Taʿlīq šarḥ ʿalā l-Ziyādāt*.[19]

The ownership statement at the top of f. 2a reads as follows:

وهذا الكتاب توهّمتُ أنه للولد | **أحمد بن يحيى بن سالم** فذكر أنه ليس له | فيكون من جملة كتبي

While the author of this note remains anonymous, the contemporary of his to whom he refers here is well known. Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Sālim al-Ḏuwayd b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ṣaʿdī (d. 1020/1611) was a teacher of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī.[20] He was exceptionally learned and had assembled a large private library (*ḫizāna mulūkiyya*) in Ṣaʿda that is reported to have contained rarities and that was dispersed following his death on 5 Ǧumādā I 1020/July 16, 1611.[21] The note confirms that during the time of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā the manuscript was in Ṣaʿda.

In the center of f. 2a there is a circular seal that is illegible. It can, however, be identified on the basis of other manuscripts of the Ġarbiyya library that bear the same seal (see Figs. 4.10 and 4.11). This seal reads as follows: *min ḫizānat al-madrasa al-ʿilmiyya al-mutawakkiliyya bi-Ṣanʿāʾ*. To the right of the circular seal there is a library stamp that reads thus: *min kutub al-madrasa al-ʿilmiyya al-mutawakkiliyya bi-Ṣanʿāʾ*. And to the left of the stamp there is another stamp that states the following: *min kutub al-madrasa al-ʿilmiyya al-mutawakkiliyya*. Beneath the latter stamp, two earlier shelfmarks for the manuscript are indicated, namely, "*numra ḫāṣṣa* 28" and "*numra musalsala* 728." Both the stamps as well as the numbering system are familiar from other manuscripts of the Maktaba al-ġarbiyya (see Fig. 4.11).

17. On him, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/460 no. 235.

18. A manuscript of this work is preserved in the Bavarian State Library in Munich; see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 497f. no. 264 (Cod.arab. 1325).

19. On Yūsuf b. Aḥmad, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 4/521–523 no. 1374; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1172–1174 no. 1230.

20. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Sālim issued an *iǧāza* for Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, a copy of which is preserved in a collective manuscript that is nowadays owned by the Maktabat al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma al-Murtaḍā ʿAbd Allāh al-Wazīr; see al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/373.

21. On him, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/233f. no. 116; Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/506–509 no. 265; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 204f. no. 197.

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The additional portions of the text that are contained in the Sanaa fragment allow further insights into the text and its genesis, and although the author does not disclose his identity in the course of the introduction, there is no reason to doubt Madelung and Schmidtke's earlier identification of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr as the author. Our author opens the text with an invocation of God without invoking blessings on Muḥammad, in typical practice for a non-Muslim author. In the course of the introduction, he then explains (§ 2) that he was asked by an anonymous questioner to "pursue a saying attributed to one of my [i.e., the author's] acquaintances to whom I am linked in friendship" (*suʾiltu tatabbuᶜ kalām mansūb ilā baᶜḍ maᶜārifinā ayyadahu llāh lahu ḥaqq mawadda ᶜalaynā*) "so as to unveil the doubts this person [i.e., Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī] raised regarding the theologians' proofs that prompted him to compose a book that he entitled *Revision of the proofs*" (*irādat al-intifāᶜ bi-kašf mā daḫala ᶜalayhi min al-šubah al-qādiḥa* [*fī*] *adillat al-mutakallimīn daᶜathu ilā taṣnīf kitāb laqqabahu bi-Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*). Despite the personal relationship between the author of our treatise and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, the author of *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, they evidently lived far from each other. Our author relates a brief polemical exchange between Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and another unidentified person that had been witnessed by a direct student of Abū l-Ḥusayn—our author evidently never enjoyed this privilege—who later, directly or indirectly, informed our author about the exchange (*balaġanī min baᶜḍ man qaraʾa ᶜalayhi ᶜalā qawlihi annahu qīla lahu . . .* ) (§ 2). Moreover, our author states (§ 3) that he made great efforts to get hold of at least a partial copy of *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* but that he managed to find only one quire from the beginning of the work containing discussion of the claim that the nonexistent is not a thing (*kurrāsa min awwalihi taḍammanat al-kalām fī nafy l-maᶜdūm*). Since Abū l-Ḥusayn is known to have spent substantial parts of his life in Baghdad, it would be plausible that our author was based elsewhere. Although information is scarce about the early decades of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's life—he may have hailed from Persia or Iraq—it is well known that he joined the Karaite academy in Jerusalem around the turn of the fourth/tenth century and that he composed most of his literary work there.[22] It may well be that the *naqḍ* was also written in Jerusalem. Our author goes on to explain (§ 3) that he wrote a letter to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, in two copies, relating the concerns about his views and asking for a reply (*wa-qad katabtu ilayhi kitāban ᶜalā nusḫatayn ḏakartu lahu fīhi mā ᶜalayhi fī ḏālika multamisan minhu l-ǧawāb*). Abū l-Ḥusayn replied with an epistle detailing his proof for the temporality of bodies and for the existence of the Creator (*wa-l-ān kitābuhu hāḏā yataḍammanu l-dalāla ᶜalā ḥudūṯ al-aǧsām wa-iṯbāt al-muḥdiṯ*). This epistle is evidently the *kalām* of Abū l-Ḥusayn referred to in § 2 of the present treatise, and it served as the point of departure for the treatise. Our author adds that Abū l-Ḥusayn's epistle also addressed the disagreements between him and the Bahšamites that had been raised by the anonymous questioner (*wa-mā anta taqifu ᶜalayhi mimmā ḫālafa fīhi aṣḥāb al-Šayḫ Abī Hāšim*) (§ 3). He explains that the reason

22. See Schwarb, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr."

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for Abū l-Ḥusayn's differences with the Bahšamites is that Abū l-Ḥusayn leans towards the doctrines of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī (d. 319/931) (*nāḥiyan naḥwa Abī l-Qāsim al-Balḫī*). In more general terms, the author continues, all that is attributed to Abū l-Ḥusayn has in fact already been formulated by earlier thinkers, such as the notorious deniers of accidents (*fa-ǧamīʿ mā nusiba ilayhi fa-huwa qawl li-ġayrihi li-anna nufāt al-aʿrāḍ maʿrūfūn*) or Abū Isḥāq al-Naṣībī (fl. 370/980), who maintained that a substance becomes a real entity only when brought into existence by an agent (*wa-kawn al-ǧawhar ḏātan bi-l-fāʿil fa-huwa qawl li-Abī Isḥāq al-Naṣībī*) and who composed a book in which he denied the reality of the nonexistent (*K. fī nafy l-maʿdūm*) (§ 3).[23] In the later *kalām* tradition, specifically among the Imāmites and Zaydīs, the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī are regularly identified with those of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī, and the reproach that Abū l-Ḥusayn had gleaned his doctrinal notions from others, especially philosophers, is a common charge in the later literature.[24] The latter charge is already heralded in the present text as the author contrasts the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn regularly with those of the *kalām* theologians (*mutakallimūn*). This seems to suggest that he does not consider Abū l-Ḥusayn to be a *mutakallim* himself. In the remaining sections of the introduction (§§ 4–5), our author outlines the structure of his treatise.

It is noteworthy that no mention is made of the correspondence between Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and the author of our treatise in the later treatise. At the beginning of chapter 5 of the later treatise, the author relates the chronology of his engagement with Abū l-Ḥusayn's doctrinal thought as follows: "When Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī doubted these matters and composed a book that he entitled *Revision of the proofs*, the *kalām* theologians accused him of unbelief. According to what has reached me, he responded thus (*qāla ʿalā mā balaġanī*): 'Even though the well-known proofs are false, there are [other] proofs of which you are not aware.' He was then told: 'If there were something you believe to be sound, you would present it and support it.' He thus needed to compose [a reply specifying his] proximate principles, which I have refuted (*fa-ḥtāǧa ilā taṣnīf uṣūl qarība naqaḍtuhā ʿalayhi*)."[25]

Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's renown as a theologian extended well beyond the Karaite community: besides the transmission of his œuvre within Rabbanite and Samaritan circles, he is also mentioned, for example, by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) as a leading representa-

23. According to al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Naṣībī(nī), like ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, had studied with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, and he was also one of the teachers of the Imāmite theologian al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044). See al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, in Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 378, 383, where he is listed among the Muʿtazilites of the eleventh generation; see also EncIran 1/792 (W. Madelung).

24. Particularly famous are the statements of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101), al-Šahrastānī (d. 548/1153), and Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248), who charged that Abū l-Ḥusayn was really a philosopher who concealed his views behind the language of *kalām*.

25. Madelung and Schmidtke, *Rational Theology*, 37 (Arabic text); Madelung and Schmidtke, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's First Refutation," 279f.

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tive of Jewish Muʿtazilism.[26] The Sanaa manuscript provides positive evidence that some of his writings circulated among Muslim representatives of the Muʿtazila, possibly in Rayy. From there, his treatise could have been transferred to Yemen together with a large corpus of other Bahšamite literature following the political unification of the two Zaydī states on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea and the mountainous highlands of Yemen during the imamate of Abū Ṭālib *al-aḫīr* (d. 520/1126). As we do not know of any specific title by a Muslim Bahšamite author during this period polemicizing against Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, the popularity of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's comprehensive refutation(s) among Muslim Bahšamite readers does not come as a surprise.

The following is an edition of the text as preserved in the two manuscripts.[27] The paragraphs have been renumbered consecutively throughout the text. Folio numbers are given in brackets, while paragraph numbers of the earlier edition of the Firkovitch fragment are given in parentheses.

26. Ibn Taymiyya, *Darʾ taʿāruḍ al-ʿaql*, 3/340f.; see Schwarb, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr."

27. MS al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya *kalām* 797 is abbreviated as (ص), while MS RNL Yevr.-Arab. I 3100 is abbreviated as (ر).

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## Edition

**[ص 2ب] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على محمد وآله**

1 الحمد لله رب العالمين وبه نستعين، على نصرة الدين، ودَحْض قول المبطلين، سائلين منه تعالى العصمة من الزلل والخلل والتوفيق إلى صواب العلم والعمل بجوده.

2 أما بعد، فإني سُئِلتُ تتبّع كلام منسوب إلى بعض معارفنا أيّده الله له حقّ مودّة علينا[28] إرادة الانتفاع بكشف ما دخل عليه من الشُّبه القادحة في أدلّة[29] **المتكلّمين** دعتْه إلى تصنيف كتابٍ لقّبه **بتصفّح الأدلّة**، بلغني مِن بعض مَن قرأ عليه على قوله أنه قيل له: ما دعاك فيما طعنتَ عليه؟ فقال: إن الدليل سوى ما قلتموه، فقيل له: لو كان لك فيما طعنتَ عليه دليل لأوردتَه في كتابك، والذي كنتُ أسمع منه القدحُ في أدلّة إثبات الأعراض وفي قولنا أن الذوات ذوات فيما لم يزل، ويطعن فيما نقوله أن الذات لا يجوز أن تكون ذاتًا بالفاعل، وهو لعمري جيد المطالبة قويّ الحجة في الاستنكار والسؤال لا في الجواب، وهذه طريقة من ينحو نحوه من المشكِّك للحقّ في دلالةٍ[30]، [ص 3أ] قد يقوى كلامُه لحاجة خصمه إلى شدّة إيضاح وبيانٍ لقوله ودلالته.

3 وقد اجتهدتُ في أن يَحصل عندي شيء من **التصفّح** فأتبعه، فلم يمكن إلا كرّاسة من أوّله تضمّنت الكلام في نفي المعدوم، وقد كتبتُ إليه كتابًا على نسختين ذكرتُ له فيه ما عليه في ذلك ملتمسًا منه الجواب، والآن **كتابه** هذا يتضمّن الدلالة على حدوث الأجسام وإثبات المحدِث وما أنت تقف عليه مما خالف فيه **أصحاب الشيخ أبي هاشم** ناحيًا[31] نحو **أبي القاسم البلخي**، فجميع ما نُسب إليه فهو قولٌ لغيره، لأن نفاة الأعراض معروفون، وكون الجوهر ذاتًا بالفاعل فهو قول **لأبي إسحاق النصيبي** وله **كتاب في نفي المعدوم**.

4 فالذي ينبغي أولًا أن نبيّن أن هذا القائل لا يمكنه أن يدلّ على حدوث الأجسام ولا على ما يترتّب على معرفة ذلك من غير أن يكون الغرض بما نذكره الآن إيضاحَ ما يذهب إليه، بل إفسادَ قوله وتشكيكه فيما يجعله دالًّا على حدوث الأجسام وإثبات المحدِث بأن نبيّن أنه لا يصحّ القطع على حدوث الجسم مع اعتقاد نفي الأعراض، وأن القاطع على ذلك مع هذا[32] الاعتقاد في حكم المبخِّت والمقلِّد.

5 واعلم أن **أوّل** ما نتتبّع في هذا[33] الباب أن نشكّك في إثبات الأحوال التي زعم أن تجدّدها يدلّ على تجدّد الجسم من حيث أنه لم يسبقها، ونثنّي[34] بتشكيكه في تجدّدها بحيث نبيّن أنه لا يمتنع أن تكون الصفة الحاصلة لم يزل يخرج الموصوفُ عنها في المستقبل، وأنه لا يصحّ أن يُقطع على أن القديم لا يُعلم إلا من بعد إثبات الأعراض التي إيجابها ما توجب يرجع إلى ذواتها، ونُثلّث[35] بأن نبيّن أن قوله: إن الجسم إذا لم يتقدّم الصفات المتجدّدة يجب أن يكون متجدّدًا كهي، لا يصحّ. فهذه الثلاثة الوجوه الشكّ فيها يُخِلّ[36] بدلالته، وذلك أن الأعراض إذا ثبتت وثبت وجودها وأن الجسم لم يخلُ منها [و]لم يسبقها وجب أن يكون الجسم محدَثًا كهي، فإجراؤه الأحوال مجرى الأعراض، واستدلالُه بها على حدّ ما استدللنا [ص 3ب] بالأعراض يَفسُد متى شكّكناه في ما ذكرناه.

**فصل في أن الأحوال لا يصحّ أن تُعلم ضرورةً على سبيل التفصيل**

6 اعلم أن **المتكلّمين** قد بيّنوا أن الأحوال لا يصحّ أن تُعلم البتّة ضرورةً ولا استدلالًا جملةً ولا تفصيلًا، بل الذات تُعلم على الحال التي تتميّز بها، فالجسم يُعْلَم على حال التحرّك جملةً لا تفصيلًا، وقد صحّ أن يُعتقد[37] أن العلم بأن المتحرّك متحرِّكٌ علمٌ بحركته إما لإدراكنا إياها

28. علينا: علتها، ص.
29. في أدلّة: وادلة، ص.
30. دلالةٍ: دلالته، ص.
31. ناحيًا: فاحيا + (تصحيح في الهامش) أظنه ناحيا، ص.
32. هذا: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.
33. هذا: هذه، ص.
34. ونثني: ويثنى، ص.
35. ونثلث: ويثلث، ص.
36. يخل: يو بحلُّ، ص.
37. أن يُعتقد: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.

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وإما لأن العلم بها[38] يقع ضرورةً تبعًا لإدراك[39] الجسم. فالأوّل قول **الشيخ أبي علي**، والثاني قول **الشيخ أبي هاشم** أوّلاً حسب ما قد ذكر ذلك في [كتاب] الأبواب الصغير،[40] وقد حُكي رجوعه إلى أن قال: إن العلم بأن المتحرّك متحرّكٌ علمٌ باختصاصه [بحركةٍ] متجددة عقيب ضدّها.

7 و**الكرّامية** و**الكلّابية** قولهم قول **أبي هاشم** أوّلًا حتّى أنهم يقولون أن إثبات عالمٍ لا علمَ [له] متناقض[41] وإثبات قادر لا قدرة له كمثله[42]، فأثبتوا له قدرةً وعلمًا فيما لم يزل، فمن أين لك أن تحكم بأن العلم بالفصل بين المتحرّك والساكن علم بالحال لا بالحركة؟ وما أنكرتَ أن يكون العلم بذلك علمًا بالحركة حسب قول **أصحاب أبي علي** و**الكرّامية** وغيرهم وأن تكون الحركة هي الواقعة بالفعل دون الحال التي تثبتها وتضيفها إلى الفاعل؟

8 فإن قال: إني أعلم تعلّق المتحرّك بالفاعل ضرورةً، وإثبات حركةٍ تعسّفٌ لا وجه له، قيل له: إنك قلتَ في نفي صفة القادر والعالم ما هذا سبيله، فقلتَ: إثبات صفة للعالم وللقادر[43] تعسّف، ونفيتَ الأحوال التي نُثبتها من حيث أن إثباتها تعسّفٌ على قولك، فما أنكرتَ على من قال: إن إثبات أحوال المتحرّك تعسّف وإن إثبات الحركات والسكون ليس بتعسّف، بل هو صحيح؟ وهل لك طريق إلى ترجيح أحد القولين على الآخر؟ أوليس هذا يوجب عليك الشكّ في القولين، لأنك لا تعوّل في[44] إثبات الحال على أمرٍ له مزيةٌ على إثبات الحركة؟

9 يبيّن ذلك أنك لما نفيتَ أحوال الجملة من نحو كونها قادرةً وعالمةً قلتَ: إن إثبات الأحوال تعسّفٌ، وليس به إلا صحّة الفعل وصحّة إحكامه، فمثل ذلك أن يقال لك: إنّ إثبات حالٍ سوى الحركة [ص 4ا] تعسّفٌ وليس إلا الحركة، إذ لا يمكنك أن تدّعي العلم بالحال ضرورةً على سبيل التفصيل كما لم يمكنّا أن ندّعي العلم على سبيل التفصيل ضرورةً لما بين الناس من الاختلاف في كلا[45] القولين، فإن ساغ لك أن تقول: إنّ في إثبات الحركة تعسّفًا[46]، قلنا لك مثلَه: إثبات الحال تعسّفٌ.

10 فإن قلتَ: إنكم موافقون لي في إثبات الحال، فإذا أثبتُّها للدليل الذي أثبتّموها وأُنازعكم في الحركة من حيث أنه لا دليل على إثباتها، وقد أفسدتُ أدلّتكم عليها في **تصفّحي**، قيل له: إنّ موافقتنا لك في الحال لا يجعل قولك صحيحًا، لأن الاعتراض كما صحّ منك على أدلّتنا في إثبات الحركة يصحّ من مخالفك في إثبات الحال مثل ذلك، إذ علوم الاستدلال لا بدّ من صحّة دخول الشبهة عليها، وإلا صارت ضروريةً، وليس موضوع كلامنا في هذا الكتاب نصرةَ مذاهبنا فنتكلّم في إثبات الاعتراض عليها، بل قد تكلّمتَ على ما سمعتُ أوّلًا في اعتراض الدلالة في أن القادر على جعل الذات على صفةٍ من غير إيجاد معنى فيها يجب أن يكون قادرًا على إيجادها ككلامنا الذي لما قدرنا على إيجاده قدرنا على جعله خبرًا، فقلتَ: إن الكلام ليس بذاتٍ إذ لا ذات سوى الجوهر والقديم، فنَثبتُ في أحوال الفاعل على صحّة هذه الدلالة مع ترك الكلام في أن الصوت ذاتٌ غير الجسم والجوهر بما أنت تجده هناك إلى غير ذلك من الأدلّة، بل في **المحيط** الأدلّة المشهورة المعروفة. ويقال له: إنّ غلطنا لا يدلّ على أنك محِقّ، وأنت لم تدلّ على إثبات الأحوال، بل نفيتَ[47] الأعراض، ولم تعرض إلى إثبات الأحوال وقد كان من حقّك أن تدلّ على إثباتها، ألا ترى أنا استدللنا على إثبات معانٍ[48] لما استدللنا بحدوث الأعراض على حدوث الجسم؟ ويقال له: إن نفاة الأحوال احتجّوا علينا بأن قالوا: إن الاتّفاق منا ومنكم على إثبات الأعراض، أكان يكون احتجاجهم بموافقتنا لهم[49] على إثبات الأعراض ينفعهم في نفي الأحوال؟ فإن قلتَ: نعم، قيل لك: فالأعراض إذًا ثابتةٌ، لأنهم ما احتجّوا إلا بالاحتجاج الصحيح، وإن كانوا غير مصيبين في هذا الاحتجاج فيجب[50] أن لا

38. بها: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.
39. لإدراك: ولادراك، ص.
40. [كتاب] الأبواب الصغير: ابواب الصغيره، ص.
Referring to the *K. al-Abwāb al-ṣaġīr* of Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 321/933); see Gimaret, "Matériaux," 304f. no. 2.
41. متناقض: مناقض به، ص.
42. كمثل: مثله، ص.
43. وللقادر: والقادر، ص.
44. في: على (مع تصحيح)، ص.
45. كلا: كلي، ض.
46. تعسفًا: تعسف، ص.
47. الأحوال بل نفيت: إضافة في هامش ص.
48. معانٍ: معاني، ص.
49. بموافقتنا لهم: نحو... (؟)، ص.
50. فيجب: فيجيب، ص.

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تكون مصيبًا في احتجاجك بموافقتنا لك على إثبات الأحوال، فبك إذًا حاجةٌ إلى الدلالة على إثبات الأحوال.

11 فإن قال: إنّ شكّي في الأحوال لا يؤثّر فيما أردتُ إثباتَه من حدوث الأجسام، وذلك أني علمتُ ضرورةً تحرّك الجسم متجدّدًا وكان لا يخلو من أن يكون ذلك الأمر [ص 4ب] إما حركةً وإما حالًا، وأيّهما ثبت، صح أن يُستدلّ بالتجدّد واستحالة خلو الجسم من الأمر المتجدّد على حدوثه، قيل له: إن الغرض بما ذكرناه تشكيكٌ فيما تُظهر القطع عليه على الحدّ الذي شكّكتَ عليه **المتكلّمين** فيما قطعوا عليه[51] من إثبات الأعراض، فإن كنتَ شاكًّا في الجميع فقد كان من حقّك أن تصرّح بذلك في أوّل هذا **الكتاب** بأن تقول: لستُ أدري بأن العلم بأن المتحرّك متحرّكٌ علمٌ بحركته أو علمٌ به على حالٍ، ثم تُبيّن صحّة الاستدلال مع الشكّ في كلا[52] الوجهين، ولم تفعل شيئًا من ذلك. على أن إثبات الحال تفصيلًا <لا يمكن> إلا بأن تبيّن أن الإدراك يجوز[53] أن يتناول كون الجسم متحرّكًا وأن العلم بكون المتحرّك متحرّكًا لا يجوز أن يكون علمًا بحركته إلا بأن تُدركه، فإذا استحال إدراكها ولا بدّ من أن يكون لها تأثيرٌ في كون الجسم متحرّكًا لينفصل به وجودها من عدمها فذلك[54] التأثير هو طريق معرفتها. فلو كان لا حال للجسم ولا حركة فيه لاستحال العلم بالفصل، فنفي الأمرين لا يصحّ، وليس أحدهما بالإثبات أولى من الآخر، فواجب إثباتهما[55]، بل القصد والداعي ينبغي أن يتعلّقا بذات الحركة، ولهذا نقول: إن العلم بالحركة فيما يُقصد تحريكه ضرورةٌ على سبيل الجملة، لأن العلم يتعلّق بالذوات والحال غير معلومة وغير مقصودة، بل المقصود ذات الحركة دون الجسم.

12 فإن قال: من قولكم أن الجسم إذا لم يخلُ من أن يكون متحرّكًا لنفسه أو لوجوده إلى سائر الأقسام المعقولة وفسد جميعها إلا إثبات معنى وجب أن يكون ذلك لعلّةٍ هي الحركة، فقد صار العلم بحال المتحرّك هي الطريق إلى معرفة حركته، فما أنكرتم من صحّة الاستدلال بالحال المذكورة على حدوث الجسم مع الجهل بالحركة؟ وذلك يُسقط قولكم في أن الحاجة[56] داعيةٌ إلى إثبات الحال إلى سائر ما ذكرتموه من الخلاف فيها، قيل له: إن العلم بالحركة وبما تقتضيه من كون محلّها متحرّكًا يحصلان معًا على سبيل الجملة اضطرارًا [و]يلتبس معلوم أحد العلمين بمعلوم الآخر، فإذا أستُدلّ حصل كلا[57] العلمين تفصيلًا معًا بأن نقول: إن العلم الضروري بأن الفصل بين المتحرّك والساكن لا يخلو من أن يكون علمًا بحركته عن الفاعل أو علمًا بحالٍ حصلت لأجله لأنه يُعلم تأثير الفاعل اضطرارًا، ويجوز أن يكون الحاصل من قِبل الفاعل حركةً لا حالًا ويجوز حصول حالٍ من قِبله [ص 5ا] دون الحركة، ويجوز كلا[58] الأمرين، ولا بدّ للناظر من تجويز الوجوه الثلاثة، فإذا عُلم بالأدلّة أن الجسم لا يجوز أن يتحرّك بالفاعل إلا[59] بحيث أن يوجد حركةً وجب أن نعلمها وكون الجسم متحرّكًا لأجلها على سبيل التفصيل، وذلك علمٌ باختصاص الجوهر بصفة المتحرّك.

13 وكذلك الكلام في الساكن والمجتمع والمفترق، فمن اعتقد أن للجسم بكونه متحرّكًا حالٌ على الوجه الذي ذكرناه اعتقادُه في حكم المقلّد والمبخِّت، ومحال أن يكون ما تُرتّب عليه من الاعتقادات علومًا. وكذلك من اعتقد أن الفصل المعلوم ضرورةً بين المتحرّك والساكن يرجع إلى الحركة حسب قول **أبي علي** وغيره أن العلم بكون المتحرّك متحرّكًا علمٌ بحركته هو غير عالمٍ بالحركة، فيجب أن لا يصحّ ما يرتّب على ذلك.

14 فإن قال: إن اعتقاد **الشيخ أبي علي** هذا يجب أن نصرفه عن النظر في إثبات الحركة، وإذا لم يكن عالمًا بها لم يصحّ أن يعلم حدوثها تفصيلًا، والصحيح أن يعلم حدوث الجسم. وهذا إن جوّزتموه عليه ولا بدّ لكم من تجويزه لم يحسن منكم تعظيمه، قيل له: إن **قاضي القضاة** قد سأل نفسه هذا السؤال وأجاب نفسه بأن[60] الداعي يدعو[61] إلى النظر في كون ما اعتقده من الحركة غيّرا لمحلّها كما يدعونا الداعي مع علمنا بالسواد على سبيل الجملة ضرورةً إلى النظر في كونه غير[62] محلّه، وما يدلّ على كونه غير المحلّ[63] يدلّ على إثباته، والحال في الحركة

51. فيما قطعوا عليه: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.
52. كلا: كلي، ص.
53. يجوز: لا يجوز، ص.
54. ذلك: فذلك، ص.
55. إثباتهما: اثباتها، ص.
56. الحاجة: + (حاشية) اظنه، ص.
57. كلا، كلي، ص.
58. كلا: كلي، ص.
59. إلا: لا، ص.
60. بأن: + هذا (مشطوب)، ص.
61. يدعو: يدعوا، ص.
62. كونه غير: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.
63. المحل: المحله، ص.

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يجري هذا المجرى، مع أنّ من اعتقد إثباتها وقد استدلّ على كونها غيرًا للمحلّ بما دلّه على إثباتها [مخطئ] لاستحالة أن يَعلمها غيرًا للمحلّ وهو ساكن النفس إلى إثباتها.

15 فإن قال: من نحا نحو **صاحب هذا الكتاب** فنحن ننظر في كون ما اعتقدناه من الحال غيرًا للمحلّ فنعلمها بما يدلّ على أن المتحرّك غير الجسم، بل قد فعل ذلك **صاحب الكتاب**، قيل له: إن الحال محال أن يُعلم، فكيف يصحّ أن يُعلم كونها غيرًا للموصوف بها؟ بل الموصوف يُعلم على الصفة التي يتميّز بها. وقد شُرح ذلك وبُيّن في **شروح الجمل والعقود**[64] بما لا حاجة بنا إلى ذكره، لأن التغاير لا يصحّ إلا بين ذاتين معلومتين مستقلّتين بأنفسهما، فإن عنى بالحال ذات الحركة التي يصحّ أن تُعلم مخالفة[65] للعلم بذات الجسم فهو إذًا مخالف في عبارةٍ والمعنى صحيح، ولا مُعتبر بالاختلاف فيما هذا سبيله.

16 فإن قال: إن العلم بتجدّد أمرٍ حاصلٍ اضطراريٌّ[66]، فتجويزنا فيه كونه ذاتًا غير الجوهر وتجويزنا تجدّد[67] كون الجوهر لا يُؤثر في صحة العلم بحدوث الجسم بأن نقول: إني قد علمتُ أن ما لم يسبق المحدَث محدَثٌ مثله، [ص 5ب] فإن كان المتحرّك ذاتًا سوى الجوهر فالعلم بأن الجسم لم يسبقه يتضمّن العلم بحدوثه، وإن كان تجدّد حال لا ذات فالعلم بأن الجسم لم يسبقه يقتضي العلم بمشاركته في التجدّد، وقد صحّ لي العلم بحدوث الجسم على هذا الترتيب وإن لم أعلم الحركة تفصيلًا ولا الحال الواجبة عنها على سبيل التفصيل. وذلك ينقض ما قرّرتموه من وجوب[68] الحاجة إلى العلم بالحركة أو بتأثيرها، وهي الحال الواجبة على سبيل التفصيل، في معرفة حدوث الجسم، فكيف يسوغ لكم أن تقولوا: إن نافي الأعراض لا يصحّ أن يعلم حدوث الجسم؟ فهل تثبتون[69] بين اعتقاد نفي الأعراض وبين تجويز نفيها فرقًا في صّحة الاستدلال على حدوث الجسم بالأمر المعلوم تجدّده على سبيل الجملة بالاضطرار أم لا؟ قيل له: إن تجويز إثبات الأعراض كاعتقاد نفيها في أنه لا يصحّ أن يُستدلّ بها، وذلك لأن المجوِّز لا بدّ أن يكون استدلاله في حكم المقدَّر المشروط، كأن يقول: إن كان هاهنا أعراضًا [لا] يسبقها الجسم فهو محدَث كهي، مع اعتقاده أو تجويزه نفي ذلك، فيصير هذا العلم غيرَ مطلق، بل مشروطًا أو مقدَّرًا. وكذلك إذا جوّزنا أن المعلوم تجدّده باضطرارٍ حالٌ[70] يُعلم الجسم[71] عليها لا ذات سواه، فلا بدّ من التقدير، لأنه نحتاج إلى أن نُقدّر في الحال أن حكمها حكمُ الذات في أن الجسم إذا لم يسبقها ولم يتجرّد عنها فيجب أن يكون حكمه في التجدّد كحكمها، فيصير التقدير من هذا الوجه يترتّب على تقديره، والكلام في الذات إذا جوّزها كان علمه مقدَّرًا من وجهٍ واحد. والحال إذا جوّزها وقدّرها كان العلم بحدوث الجسم مقدّرًا من وجهين، أحدهما بأن يقدّر أن المعلوم على سبيل الجملة حالٌ لا ذات، والثاني أن يقدّر أن حكم الأحوال حكم الذوات في الأحكام حسب قولنا أن حال القادر تقتضي صحّة الفعل، فيفرضها مفرّض المعلوم وإن لم يصحّ أن يُعلم. فالفعل[72] لما[73] بان عماً لم يسبق المحدَث يجب أن يكون محدَثًا، فأما الحال التي لا يصحّ أن يُعلم ولا أن يُجدّد في التحقيق فلا، لأن وصف الشيء بالتجدّد يقتضي إثبات ذاته، فإذا لم يكن الحال ذاتًا يصحّ أن يُعلم[74] لم يصحّ أن يوصف بالتجدّد. فجميع ما يُذكر في هذا الباب يجب أن يكون مجوَّزًا، فإذا كنّا إذًا أردنا ‹تحقيق حدوث الجسم بالحال[75]›، وجب أن يكون التطرّق بها إلى العلم بحدوث الجسم تقديرًا لا تحقيقًا[76] على ما مضى شرح ذلك.

17 والضرب الأول [ص 6ا] فأحرى وأجدر في الحال التي يستحيل أن تُعلم على كلّ وجهٍ وسببٍ، فالعلم بحدوث الجسم، إذا ثبت الحال

64. The *K. al-Ǧumal wa-l-ʿuqūd* was a doctrinal work by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. Two commentaries are known to have been written on the work: an autocommentary by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār himself and a commentary (*taʿlīq*) by his student Ibn Mattawayh. See Thiele, "Jewish and Muslim reception."

65. مخالفة: مخالف، ص.

66. اضطراري: اضطراريا، ص.

67. تجدّد: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.

68. وجوب: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.

69. تثبتون: تبينوا، ص.

70. باضطرار حال: حال باضطرار، + (فوق السطر) مؤخر مقدم، ص.

71. يعلم الجسم: الجسم يعلم، ص.

72. فالفعل: + (حاشية) ×، ص.

73. لما: كما، ص.

74. يصحّ أن يُعلم: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.

75. تحقيق حدوث الجسم بالحال: إضافة تقديرية، والظاهر أن بعض نص الرسالة سقط عن مخطوطة ص.

76. لا تحقيقًا: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.

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وعُلم أنّ الجسم يتجدّد كونه عليها، يجب أن يكون علمُه بحدوث الجسم يترتّب على فرضِ مفرّض الذات الحال[77]، فيَحكم للجوهر في التجدّد[78] الحال، بل الأحوال المتجدّدة عليه، فمتى سُلّم ذلك وجب أن يكون العلمُ بحدوث الجسم، ولم يُثبت الحال، علمُ تقديرٍ على تقدير ما بيّناه. فإذا لم يَعلم الذات تفصيلًا ولا الحال تفصيلًا لم يكن عالمًا[79] في حدوث الجسم إلا على سبيل التقدير الذي لو قدّرناه في القديم كان يقول: لو أنه سبحانه لم يسبق الحوادث لكان محدَثًا، وليس علمنا بأنه قد سبق الحوادث يمنع من هذا التقدير، فنجعل فرقًا بين ما قدّرناه في الجسم لأنا جمعنا بينهما من وجهٍ، وهو ما استقرّ في العقل من أي شيء علمنا أنه [إذا] لم يسبق المحدَث وجب أن يكون محدَثًا مثله، فنحتاج أن نعلم المحدَث أوّلًا لنعلم أنّ حكم ذلك الشيء حكمه. ونحن قد بيّنّا أن الحركة غير معلومة، وإنما قدّر المقدِّر كونها معلومة، والنزاع فيها والكلام في الحال امتدّ نزاعًا، وقد بيّنّا أن التقدير فيها يترتّب على تقدير سواه، فكيف[80] يصحّ والحال هذه أن يكون المستدلّ عالمًا بحدوث الجسم تفصيلًا، وهل هو إلّا كمَن اعتقد أن للجسم حركةً تبخيتًا؟

18 ثم دلّ على أن الجسم، إذا لم يسبقها، وجب أن يكون الجسم محدَثًا كهي. فالعلم مترتّب على اعتقاد تبخيت، وكذلك إذا اعتقد أن للجسم حالًا يتجدّد كونه عليها تبخيتًا، ثم فرضها مفرّض الذات في كونها معلومةً مفروضةً، ثمّ حكم للجسم بحكمها في الحدوث، فعِلمه مبنيّ على تبخيتٍ وتقديرٍ ويستند إلى تبخيت وتقدير[81]. وأرى أن أثبت **كلامه** فصلًا فصلًا وأتْبع من ذلك ما يمكن تتّبعه مضافًا إلى الثلاثة الوجوه[82] التي صدّرنا بذكرها في دلالة حدوث الأجسام، فالوجه الأوّل قد مضى القول فيه، ونحن نذكر الآخرين في موضعهما.

19 قال:[83] «وينبغي قبل الدلالة على حدوث الأجسام ونفي قِدمها أن نبيّن ما الجوهر وما الجسم وما القديم وما المحدَث، لأنه لا يصحّ إثبات صفة لشيء ونفي[84] صفة عنه إلا وقد عرفنا صفة ذلك الشيء والصفة التي نُثبتها له والصفة التي ننفيها عنه، ولما كان الطريق إلى حدث الجواهر هي الأعراض التي هي الحركات والسكنات والاجتماع والافتراق، ولم يصحّ أن نتوصّل بما لا نعرفه، وجب أن نبيّن ما العرض وما الحركة وما السكون وما الاجتماع وما الافتراق. فالجوهر هو الذي يشغل [ص 6ب] الحيّز في وجوده ويصحّ أن تحلّه الأعراض، والجسم هو الطويل العريض العميق، والقديم هو الذي لا أوّل لوجوده، والمحدَث هو الذي لوجوده أوّل[85]، والعرض هو ما يعرض في الوجود ولا بقاء له كبقاء الجواهر والأجسام، أو نقول: ما يوجد في الأجسام من غير مجاورة، والحركة هي زوال الجسم من مكانٍ إلى مكان، والسكون هو حصول الجسم في مكان أزيد من وقتٍ واحد، والاجتماع هو تماسّ الجوهرين، والافتراق حصول جوهرين لا تماسّ بينهما، والكون حصول الجسم في مكانٍ. وعند **أصحاب شيخنا أبي هاشم** أن الكون والحركة والسكون معانٍ توجب هذه الأحوال، والكون معنى يوجب حصول الجسم في مكانٍ، والحركة معنى يوجب التحرّك.»

20 اعلم أنه[86] أيّده الله ينفي الأعراض ولا يثبت للجوهر صفة وجودٍ سوى تحيّزه على الكون من حاله، لأنه إذا كان ذاتًا بالفاعل متحيّزًا فصفة وجود لا وجه لإثباتها، فيجب على أصله نفيها. فيجب أن يكون قوله أن الجوهر هو ما يشغل حيّزًا في وجوده، فقد كان من حقّه أن يقول: هو ما يشغل الحيّز، و**أصحاب شيخنا أبي هاشم** وإن ذكروا شُغل الحيّز فهو بشرط الوجود، لأن عندهم أنه في حال عدمه معلوم على ما هو عليه في ذاته من حقّه إذا وُجد أن يتحيّز. وقوله: وتحلّه الأعراض، وأعراض ليس، فمن عجيب الأمر أنه لو ساغ أن يسمّي الأحوال أعراضًا لم يسُغ له إطلاق الحلول عليها، بل **المتكلّمون** وإن أطلقوا ذلك اصطلاحًا فمن حيث أثبتوا أعراضًا موجودةً بحيث الجوهر أطلقوا[87] نسبتها بالحالّ في المكان. فمن أين له إطلاق مثل ذلك على الأحوال، وهل هذا منه[88] إلا ابتداء مواضعة؟ فكأنه قال: واضعوني على أن الجوهر

77. فرضِ مفرّض الذات الحال: فرضه الحال مفرض الذات، ص.
78. التجدد: + حكم (؟) (مشطوب)، ص.
79. عالمًا: علما، ص.
80. فكيف: وكيف، ص.
81. وتقدير: + (حاشية) ×، ص.
82. الثلاثة الوجوه: الوجوه الثلاثة، + (إضافة فوق كلمة الوجوه) موخر، ص.
83. قارن المعتمد لابن الملاحمي، ص 80–81.
84. ونفي: ونفه، ص.
85. أول: اوال (مع تصحيح)، ص.
86. أنه: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.
87. أطلقوا: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.
88. منه: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.

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[الذات] الحاصلة له حالةٌ فيه، فيقال له: وما الذي دعاك إلى ذلك؟ فكأنك حدّدتَ الجوهر بحدّ مخالفيك وأنت مخالف لهم في المعنى، وهل هذا إلا توهيم للمبتدئ أنك قائلٌ بمذهب **الشيخ أبي هاشم** في إثبات الأعراض وحلولها في المحلّ؟ فأما قولك: «إن المحدَث هو ما لوجوده أوّل والقديم ما لا أوّل لوجوده»، فذلك يتضمّن معرفة الوجود، وقد كان مِن حقّك أن تبيّن حقيقة الوجود لتتمّ بمعرفتها معرفة القديم والمحدَث، فحينئذ كان يفيد ما ذكرتَه من هذين الحدّين.

21 قال:[89] «والدلالة على حدوث الأجسام هي أنها لم تسبق[90] الحركات والسكنات المحدَثة، وكل ما لم يسبق المحدَث فهو محدَث مثله، [ص 7ا] وهذا الدليل مشتمل على أصلين، أحدهما أن الجسم لم يسبق الحركات والسكنات المحدَثة، والآخر أن ما لم يسبق المحدَث فهو محدَث، والأوّل يشتمل على ثلاث دعاوٍ، إثبات الحركة والسكون، وأن الجسم لم يسبقهما، وأنهما محدَثان. والأصل الآخر لا يشتمل إلا دعوى واحدة وهي أن ما لم يسبق المحدَث محدَثٌ، فصارت الدعاوي أربعًا، ونحن نبيّنها ليصحّ حدوث الجسم. أما إثبات الحركة فظاهرٌ، لأنا لا نعني بالحركة سوى [ر 1ا] تحرّك الجسم وليس أحد يشكّ في تحرّك الجسم. **(1)** فإن قيل: فما الدليل على أن تحرّكه غيره؟ قيل له: لو كان تحرّك الجسم هو الجسم لكان إذا بطل تحرّك الجسم بطل الجسم، ولو كان تحرّك الجسم هو الجسم لكانت الدلالة على حدوث التحرّك الدلالة على حدوث[91] الجسم، وكان ذلك أسهل في الدلالة على حدوثه، والدلالة على استحالة سبق[92] الجسم لجنس الحركة والسكون هي أنه لو سبقها لكان لا واقفًا ولا قارًّا[93] ولا حاصلًا في مكانٍ لأنه جرم متحيّز، والعلم باستحالة ذلك ضروريٌّ».

22 (2) الكلام عليه[94]: اعلم أنه[95] قد نسق دلالة حدث الأجسام نسقًا حسنًا[96]، لكنه لا يصحّ إلا بعد[97] إثبات الأعراض إثباتًا[98] محقَّقًا لا مقدّرًا على ما سنبيّن. قال: «ولا يشكّ أحد في تحرّك الجسم»، فيقال له: إن عنيتَ بذلك الحال الواجبة عن الحركة عندنا،[99] وهي الحاصلة بالفاعل عندك بغير واسطةٍ، ففي الناس مَن اعتقد نفيها. وإن عنيتَ بذلك الحركة التي تُثبتها وتنفيها نفاة الأعراض، فهاهنا أيضًا مَن[100] اعتقد نفيها، وظاهر كلامك قد دلّ على نفيها، لأنك قلتَ: «أعني بال[ر 1ب]حركة تحرّك الجسم»، فكيف لا يشكّ أحدٌ في ما تعنيه مع مخالفة كثير من الناس لك؟ وقلتَ: «إن إثبات الحركة ظاهر»، فإن عنيتَ أن الفصل[101] بين المتحرّك والساكن معلوم، فذلك علم جملةٍ لا ينفعُك فيما تريد إثباته، لأن الذي استقرّ في العقل أن ما لم يسبق المحدَث يجب أن يكون محدَثًا ما هو من ذلك[102] ذات لا صفة، على ما سيأتي الكلام فيه. ودللتَ[103] على أن التحرّك غير الجسم بأن ما دلّ على حدوث الحركة لا يدلّ على حدوث الجسم، فظاهر قولك[104] أن الحركة معلومةٌ استدلالًا، والعاقل[105] يفصل ضرورةً بين الساكن والمتحرّك[106]، فإن كان ليس هناك معنى فينبغي أن يُعلم تحرّك الجسم اضطرارًا، وفي ذلك

89. قارن كتاب المعتمد لابن الملاحمي، ص 80.
90. الأجسام هي أنها لم تسبق: إضافة من تحت السطر، ص.
91. حدوث المتحرك دلالة على حدوث: حدث التحرّك الدلالة على حدث ، ر.
92. سبق: خلو مع إصلاح: سبق، ص.
93. قارًّا: مارا، ص.
94. الكلام عليه: -، ص.
95. أنه: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.
96. نسقًا حسنًا: -، ص.
97. بعد: בחית، ر.
98. إثباتًا: اما، ص.
99. عندنا: ענהא، ر.
100. من: + קד، ر.
101. الفصل: אלעלם באלפצל، ر.
102. من ذلك: -، ص.
103. ودللت: دللت، ص.
104. قولك: مكرر في ص.
105. والعاقل: ואלעקל، ر.
106. الساكن والمتحرك: المتحرّك والساكن، ر.

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استحالة الاستدلال الذي أثبتَّ، بل قد قلتَ من بعد[107]: «والدلالة على حدوث[108] الحركة جواز العدم عليها»، فكيف يصحّ على قولك هذا الاستدلال؟ فقلتَ أيضًا: «لو كان تحرّك الجسم هو الجسم لكان[109] إذا بطل تحرّكه بطل»، فاستدللتَ [ص 7ب] بذلك على أن التحرّك غير الجسم، وأنت تعلم أن من قول مخالفيك أن صفة الشيء ليست غيرًا له، وأن التغاير لا يقع [ر 12ا] إلا بين ذاتين معلومتين مستقلّتين بأنفسهما في الثبات، وأن الصفة لا يصحّ أن تُعلم، بل ثباتها مضافٌ إلى الموصوف، يُعلم عليها متميّزًا بها مما خالفه، فمِن أين أن التحرّك، إذا لم يكن هو[110] الجسم، فيجب أن يكون غيرًا؟ وما أنكرتَ على من قال لك: إن التحرّك غير الجسم، إنما يصحّ[111] متى عني[112] بذلك الحركة الموجبة كون الجسم متحرّكًا، لأنها معلومة مستقلّة بنفسها؟ فأما إذا لم تكن الحركة معنى حالًّا في الجسم، بل هو تفرقة بين المتحرّك والساكن، فذلك مما لا يصحّ أن يُعلم، بل لا يصحّ أن يكون هو الجسم ولا غيره.

23 (3) يبين ذلك أنا لما قلنا **للصفاتية**: إن الله، لو كان عالمًا بعلمٍ، لوجب أن يكون علمه غيره، **والكرّامية**[113] صرحوا بكون العلم غير الله وحياته وقدرته، لأنهم أثبتوا مذكورَيْن متميزٌ كلّ واحد منهما بالذكر من الآخر، فحقيقة التغاير ثابتة، وقلنا[114] لهم: يجب أن تثبتوا التغاير بين الله وبين علمه لأنه علّة في كونه عالمًا، بل قد قلتم: إن العلم بأن الله عالم علمٌ يعلمه، فلو[115] كان غيرًا له ما زادت الحال، فلما قال من عكس علينا[116] هذا [ر 2ب] الكلام في الأحوال قال له **المتكلّمون** من **أصحاب الشيخ أبي هاشم**: إن الفرق بيننا وبين **الكلابية** أنا لم نثبت ذاتين معلومتين متميّزتين بالذكر موصوفتين بما به تتميز إحداهما[117] من الأخرى، ولو[118] أثبتنا ذلك للزمنا ما لزمكم، بل نحن نتوسع في العبارة في هذا الموضع لضيقها علينا[119] ليعلم السامع مرادَنا. فإن عنت **الكلابية** ما نعنيه فهم مخالفون في العبارة، ومعناهم صحيح، لكنا قد علمنا أن غرضهم في وصف الله تعالى[120] بأنه عالم[121] مخالف لغرضنا في الأحوال، فلذلك لزمهم إثبات التغاير دوننا. وأنت إذا كنتَ تعني بتحرّك الجسم ما نعنيه من وصف الله تعالى[122] بأنه عالم، لأنك لا تثبت ذاتًا سوى الجسم حالّةً فيه، فينبغي أن لا تثبت[123] تحرّك الجسم غيرًا له، لأن التحرّك لا يُعلم، وإنما يُعلم كون الجسم متحرّكًا تفصيلًا استدلالًا، ونعلم وجود الحركة فيه استدلالًا أيضًا، فالحركة إذن[124] هي غير الجسم دون تحرّكه.

24 (4) ثم قال أيده الله[125]:[126] «والدلالة على حدث الحركة والسكون هي [ص 8ا] أن كل حركة وسكون يجوز عليها العدم، والقديم لا يجوز عليه العدم. وإنما قلنا بجواز العدم على الحركات والسكنات لأنه ما من جسمٍ متحرّكٍ إلا ويمكن أن يسكن أو يخرج من حركةٍ إلى حركة كخروج الفلك من دورةٍ إلى دورة، وما من جسم ساكنٍ إلا ويمكننا تحريكه، إما بجملته وإما بأجزائه، كالأجسام العظام. وإنما قلنا:

107. قد قلت من بعد: قلت، ص.
108. حدوث: حدث، ر.
109. لكان: لوجب أن يكون، ر.
110. هو: هذا، ص.
111. إنما يصح: -، ص.
112. عني: يعنى، ر.
113. فالكرامية: والكرامية، ص.
114. وقلنا: فقلنا، ر.
115. فلو: بل قد، ص.
116. علينا: -، ص.
117. إحداهما: אחדתהמא، ر.
118. ولو: فلو، ر.
119. علينا: + פי (مشطوب)، ر.
120. تعالى: -، ر.
121. عالم: + بعلم، ص.
122. تعالى: -، ر.
123. تثبت: יתבת، مع تصحيح فوق السطر، ر.
124. إذن: اذا، ص.
125. أيده الله: -، ر.
126. قارن كتاب المعتمد لابن الملاحمي، ص 83.

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إن القديم لا يجوز عليه العدم، لأن القديم واجب الوجود في كلّ حال، وما وجب وجوده في كل حال استحال عدمه. وإنما قلنا: إنه واجب الوجود، لأنه موجود فيما لم يزل، فإما أن يكون موجودًا على طريق الجواز وإما أن يكون موجودًا على طريق الوجوب، ولو كان موجودًا على طريق الجواز لم يكن بالوجود أولى منه بالعدم إذ لا فاعل. ويستحيل أن يكون القديم بالفاعل، لأن المعقول من الفاعل هو المحصِّل للشيء عن عدم، وليس للقديم حالة عدمٍ، فصحّ أن وجوده واجب، وليس بأن يجب وجوده[127] في حالٍ أولى من حالٍ، فصحّ أنه واجب الوجود في كل حالٍ، فاستحال عدمه.»

25 (5) اعلم أنا قد بيّنّا أن من أثبت كون المتحرّك متحرّكًا لا عن حركة لا يعلم[128] كونه كذلك اضطرارًا عند المشاهدة، خاصّةً على[129] دعواك أن العلم بأن المتحرّك متحرّكٌ علمٌ بالحال التي تُثبتها[130] من غير إفساد قول مخالفه [ر 3ب] أن العلم بأن المتحرّك متحرّكٌ علمٌ بحركته، فمحالٌ أن يُستدلّ على تجدّد تحرّكه. وقلتَ في الفصل في الدلالة[131] على حدوث[132] الحركة والسكون ما يجب أن تكون[133] متوسّعًا فيه على أصلك، لأن هذه العبارة إطلاقُها حقيقةٌ على مذهب من يثبت الحركة معنى سوى الجسم حالًّا[134] فيه، فيصحّ أن يُستدلّ على حدوثه لما جاز أن تكون موجودةً غير موجِبة، وجاز أيضًا عند العاقل انتقالها. فاحتاج أن يبيّن أن خروج الجسم عن كونه متحرّكًا من جهةٍ إلى جهة لعدمها بحيث أن يبيّن أنه محال أن تكون موجودة فيه غير موجِبة وغير منتقلة، لأن الانتقال لا يصحّ إلا على المتحيز[135]، ليُثبت بذلك[136] عدمها، فيضمّ[137] إلى هذا العلم العلم باستحالة عدم[138] القديم، فيعلمها محدثة. فأما من يشاهد الجسم متحرّكًا في جهةٍ بعد أن كان في سواها فهو مضطرّ إلى العلم بذلك، فعلى ماذا[139] يستدلّ[140]؟ فقد بان لك أنه لا يصحّ أن يستدلّ على جواز عدم كون الجسم متحرّكًا وساكنًا ومجتمعًا ومفترقًا، لأن خروج الجسم عن ذلك معلوم باضطرار للرائي[141]، وفي ذلك بطلان ما [ر 4ا] عقدتَ دلالةً على[142] حدث ما سمّيتَه حركةً وسكونًا[143] لجواز[144] العدم عليه وأن القديم لا يجوز عليه العدم.

26 (6) فإن قال: إن الأمر كما ذكرتم من كوني مستغنيًا[145] عن الدلالة على جواز عدم ما سمّيتُه اجتماعًا وافتراقًا وحركةً وسكونًا لعلمي ضرورةً بصحة خروج الجسم عن جميع ذلك، لكنّني، وإن علمتُ هذا، فلتجويزي أن يكون الجسم لم يزل ساكنًا وإن تحرك في المستقبل، وتجويزي أن يكون مجتمعًا لم يزل وإن صار مفترقًا، لم يصح أن أعلم تجدّدهما[146] وأن أستدلّ بتجددهما[147] على تجدّد ما لم يسبقهما،

127. وجوده: إضافة فوق السطر، ص.
128. لا يعلم: يعلم، + (فوق السطر) أظنه لا، ص.
129. على: + דוא (مشطوب)، ر.
130. تُثبتها: בינתה، مع تصحيح في هامش ر بخط عربي؛ نسها، ص.
131. في الدلالة: والدلالة، ر؛ -، ص.
132. حدوث: حدث، ر.
133. تكون: יכון، ر.
134. حالًّا: חאל، ر؛ حال، ص.
135. المتحيز: المتحرك، ر.
136. بذلك: -، ص.
137. فيضم: פנטם، ر.
138. عدم: إضافة في هامش ر.
139. ماذا: מה הדא، ر؛ ما هذا، ص.
140. يستدل: + עלי גואז (مشطوب)، ر.
141. للرائي: ללראי، ر؛ الراى، ص.
142. على: -، ر.
143. وسكونًا: וסכון، ر.
144. لجواز: بجواز، ر.
145. هنا انقطع نص مخطوط صنعاء.
146. تجددهما: תגדדהא، ر.
147. بتجددهما: בתגדדהא، الأصل، والـ"מ": إضافة فوق السطر، ر.

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فاحتجتُ[148] أن أبنيه على هذه المقدّمة وأن أقرن إليها الدلالة على أن القديم لا يجوز عدمه، لينتج[149] عن[150] هاتين المقدّمتين العلم بتجدد الصفة التي علمتُ خروج الموصوف عنها، وإن كنتُ لم أشاهد إلا خروج الموصوف عنها لا تجددها، قيل له: فقد كان من حقّك أن تقول: إن إحدى المتقدمتين ضرورة على قولي، وهي جواز خروج الجسم عن كلّ صفة شاهدتُ الجسم عليها، فلم[151] أعلم تجددها، وإذا انضاف إليها المقدمة الاكتسابية، وهي العلم بأن الا[ر 4ب]قديم محال عدمه، علمتُ تجدد[152] كل صفاته من كونه ساكنًا ومتحرّكًا ومجتمعًا ومفترقًا، ولم تفعل ذلك. بل قد كان من حقّك أن تقول: إن المقدمتين المذكورتين على مذهب من يثبت المعاني مفتقرتان إلى الاستدلال دوني، لتبيين الفرق بينك وبينهم. فجرى الأمر على ضرب من الالتباس، وهو أن حالك كحالهم في الاستدلال على كلتا[153] المقدمتين، وأطلقت القول إطلاقًا كإطلاقهم أن دلالة حدوث المعاني مبنيّة من أصلين، أحدهما جواز العدم عليها والثاني أن القديم محالٌ عدمه، ودلّوا على صحّة كلا[154] الأمرين بما دللتَ، وعلى قولك جميع ذلك معلوم ضرورةً إلا استحالة عدم القديم، وذلك مما لا يصحّ أيضًا أن تدلّ عليه على أصلك على ما سأبيّنه، فالأحوال من تحرّك الجسم وسكونه واجتماعه وافتراقه معلومة باضطرار، واستحالة خلوّ الجسم من ذلك أيضًا معلوم باضطرار، وزوال هذه الصفات كمثل <ذلك> على قولك، فلا معنى لما ذكرتَه.

27 (7) فأما قولك: إن القديم واجب الوجود، واستدلالك بوجوب وجوده لم يزل على وجوب وجوده في المستقبل، [ر 5أ] فذلك مما لا يصحّ، لأنك لم تُشر إلى علة تجمع بين الزمانين في الحكم فيجب التساوي[155] لأجلها، بل قلتَ: وليس وجوده في أحد الوقتين أولى من الآخر، وذلك دعوى. وقد كان من حقّك أن تشير إلى موجب تُبيّن حصوله في الوقتين على حدّ يجب لأجله أن يكون في جميع الأوقات على سواء[156]، يوجب[157] في أحدهما كما أوجب في الآخر.

28 (8) فإن قال: إن غرضي بوجوب الوجود فيما لم يزل أن نفسه أوجبت ذلك، ونفسه حاصلة في الأوقات كلها، فلذلك قلتُ: إن المحدَث، لما كان وجوده بالفاعل، وجب أن يكون وجوده من باب الجائز وأن يكون فاعله قبله، وليس كذلك حال القديم، فواجب أن يكون موجودًا في كل حال على ما بينتُه في أول **كلامي**، قيل له: إن قولك: إن القديم واجب الوجود في كل حال، هو مجرّد الدعوى، وليس يخلو أن تكون[158] عالمًا بذلك اضطرارًا أو استدلالًا[159]، فالضرورة لا يمكنك أن تدّعيها لأن ذلك أمر غائب غير معلوم، والدلالة فعلى أصلك مرتفعة إذ فرقُك بين القديم وبين المحدَث الذي وجودُه من باب الجائز احتاج إلى فاعل سابق له لا يؤثّر، لأن أكثر ما في ذلك أن القديم استغنى بقِدمه عن فاعل، مع ما [ر 5ب] بين الناس في ذلك من الخلاف حسبما أنت عالم به من[160] قول **بعض الفلاسفة** أن العالم قديم بالفاعل، فتسليمنا أن القديم لا يفتقر إلى فاعل، بل المحدَث هو المفتقر إليه دونه، لا يؤثّر فيما نريد إلزامَك إياه من منعك من القطع على أن القديم لا يجوز عدمه، بل قد بلغني من **بعض الثقات** أنك تقول: إن الاستطاعة مع الفعل، فما المانع من كون القديم قديمًا بالفاعل فلا يسبقه فاعله، كما لم تسبق[161] الاستطاعة مقدورها، وإن كان المحدَث مفتقرًا إلى محدِث، فلولا المحدِث لما حدث الفعل، ولولا الفاعل لم يكن القديم موجودًا، لأنك زعمتَ أن القدرة قدرة على الموجود، فالقادر لم يزل قادرًا[162] على موجود لم يسبقه ولم يتقدّمه؟

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148. فاحتجت: **אחתגת**، ر.
149. لينتج: **לתנתג**، ر.
150. عن: إضافة فوق السطر، ر.
151. فلم: **לם**، ر.
152. بتجدد: **תגדד**، ر.
153. كلتا: **כלי**، ر.
154. كلا: **כלי**، ر.
155. فيجب التساوي: إضافة في هامش ر بخط عربي.
156. يكون في جميع الأوقات على سوا: إضافة في هامش ر بخط عربي.
157. يوجب: **תוגב**، ر.
158. تكون: **נכון**، مع تصحيح فوق السطر، ر.
159. أو استدلالًا: **ואסתדלאלא**، مع تصحيح فوق السطر، ر.
160. من: + **ב** (مشطوب)، ر.
161. تسبق: **יסבק**، ر.
162. قادرًا: **קאדר**، ر.

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29 (9) فإن قال: إن وجود القديم أولى من عدمه لا لوجه يقتضي التخصيص ببعض الأوقات، فواجب أن لا يتخصص وجوده بالبعض دون ما عداه، قيل له: ما أنكرتَ أن نفسه توجب وجوده فيما لم يزل بشرط ألّا يطرأ عليه ما يوجب خروجه عن ذلك، فلطروء ما يوجب خروجه عن صفة الوجود يجب عدمه مع كونه قديمًا [ر 16] وهو الفاعل المقتضي عدمه خاصّةً؟ وكلامُنا في كون الساكن ساكنًا فيما لم يزل وكون المجتمع مجتمعًا، وقد ثبت أن الفاعل يؤثّر في خروج الموصوف عن هذه الصفة إلى ضدّها، فيصير الجسم مجتمعًا أو مفترقًا[163] بالفاعل بعد ما كان مجتمعًا أو مفترقًا لم يزل. يُبين ذلك أن **المتكلّمين** قد احتاجوا إلى أن[164] يبيّنوا أن القديم لا ضدّ له، ومتى لم يثبت استحالة[165] الضد لم يكن لهم سبيل إلى القطع على أن القديم لا يصحّ أن يعدم إلا ببيان أن في الصفات ما يرجع إلى النفس وأن <يكون> محالًا[166] خروجُ الموصوف عما هذا سبيله. وأنت فلا يمكنك أن تبيّن أن المجتمع لا ضدّ لكونه مجتمعًا لعلمنا ضرورةً بكون الجسم مفترقًا بعد كونه مجتمعًا، ولم تبيّن أن هاهنا صفة للنفس فضلًا عن أن تبيّن استحالة خروج الموصوف عنها. يبيّن ذلك أن صفات الأجسام بأسرها عندك بالفاعل، ومعاني سوى الجسم ليس، وهو تعالى إنما يصحّ إثباته بعد ما يعلم حدوث الجسم، وأنت مستدلّ على ذلك، فمن أين أن هاهنا صفة ترجع إلى الذات حتّى يُحكَم [ر 6ب] باستحالة خروج الموصوف عنها؟

30 (10) فإن قال: إن في **المتكلّمين** من استدلّ على حدوث الجسم بوجوب اختصاصه بجهة فيما لم يزل متى كان قديمًا على وجه كان يستحيل خروجه عنها، وفي انتقاله عن كل جهة يشار إليها دليلٌ على حدوثه، إذ لو كان قديمًا لكان اختصاصه بالجهة راجعًا إلى ذاته، فكان لا يصحّ انتقاله، وذلك يحقّق ما قلتُه من أن القديم لا يعدم، قيل له: إن هذه الدلالة وما جرى مجراها من أدلّة نفاة الأعراض على حدث الجسم قد بين فسادها في أوّل **المحيط**، وأنا أشير إلى الوجه في ذلك حسب ما هو مبيَّن هناك، وذلك مما يُسقِط قولَك: إنني أستدلّ على أن القديم لا يعدم بما مثله يستدلّون على أن الصفة المستحقّة فيما لم يزل محالٌ خروج الموصوف عنها، فأقول: إن المعاني من نحو الاجتماع والافتراق وغيرهما يوجِب ما يوجِب من هذه الصفات لنفسه، إذ لو أوجب ما يوجب من ذلك لعلّة أو بالفاعل لتسلسل، فكان يجب أن يكون للعلّة علّة وللفاعل فاعل. وإن كان الفاعل يصحّح ذلك من غير إيجاب انتقض [ر 17] إثبات المعاني ورجعت الحال إلى أن المجتمع يجتمع بالفاعل من غير معنى يوجب ذلك، فيؤدّي إلى نقض ما أثبتناه من الاجتماع والافتراق. فليس إلا أحدُ وجهين، إما إثبات اجتماع وافتراق موجبين كون الجسم مجتمعًا ومفترقًا، فيعود إيجابها إلى النفس، وإما أن يجتمع ويفترق بالفاعل لا بواسطة، ولا يكون سبيل إلى العلم بأن هاهنا موجبًا[167] البتّة. فكيف يصحّ والحال هذه أن يقال: إن الجسم، لو كان قديمًا، لوجب أن يكونَ مجتمعًا لنفسه، فكان لا يفترق، بل الجسم مجتمع لم يزل لا لأمرٍ ويصير مفترقًا لأجل الفاعل، لأنا نعلم ضرورةً على سبيل الجملة أن للفاعل تأثير في كون الجسم مفترقًا، فلا يوجب ذلك حدوثه، بل هو قديم.

31 (11) واعلم أن تأثير الفاعل، إذا كان تأثيرَ تصحيحٍ لا تأثير إيجاب، ولم يُعقل إثبات موجب سواه، فواجبٌ افتقار الفاعل إلى فاعل وأن يتسلسل ذلك على حدٍّ ما إذا جُعل إيجاب الاجتماع كونَ الجسم مجتمعًا راجعًا إلى علّة وجب تسلسل العلل إلى ما لا غاية، ولم يلزم مَن قال بأن وجود المحدَث إذا كان حاصلًا بالفاعل [ر 7ب] إثباتُ فاعل إلى ما لا نهاية من حيث أن وجود الفاعل الأول واجب للنفس. وقد مضى الكلام في أنّ من نفى المعاني لا يصحّ له إثبات موجب على وجه من الوجوه، لأنه لا يُعقل كون النفس موجبة إلا من بعد إثبات المعاني الموجبة لإيجابها صفاتٍ زائدة على الوجود، فما يجب للموصوف لا على الحدّ الذي يوجبه المعنى له هو الذي ينبغي أن يُردّ إلى النفس تفرقةً بينه وبين ما يردّ إلى معنى منفصل، فإذا استحال إثبات المعنى المنفصل لم يصح أن يُعقل عكس ذلك إلا بكون الصفة راجعة إلى الفاعل، وإنه لم يصحّ ممن نفى المعاني أن يردّ شيئًا من الصفات إلى أمر سوى الفاعل، حتى أن **المتكلمين**، وإن ذكروا في دليل إثبات الأعراض قسمة الموجب إلى النفس والوجود وغيرهما، فمن حيث شاع في كلامهم وكثر أنّ في[168] الصفات ما يرجع إلى النفس، ذكروا ذلك في هذه الدلالة ليتكامل للمبتدئ العلم بإثبات الأعراض عند إبطال كونه متحركًا بالفاعل وما[169] جرى مجراه، إذ لو لم يفعلوا ذلك لكان المخالف[170] لهم، إذا سمع

163. أو مفترقًا: **ומפתרקא**، مع تصحيح في هامش ر.
164. أن: + **יתבתו** (مشطوب)، ر.
165. استحالة: ال"**ה**" مضاف فوق السطر، ر.
166. محالًا: **מחאל**، ر.
167. موجبًا: **מוגב**، ر.
168. في: إضافة فوق السطر، ر.
169. وما: إضافة في هامش ر.
170. المخالف: **אלמכאלט**، ر.

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منهم أن في الصفات ما يرجع إلى النفس، يجوّز أن[171] يكون[172] الجسم [ر 8ا] مجتمعًا لنفسه حتّى أنه قد يصعب تفهيمُه ما المعنى بقولهم: إنه محال أن يكون مجتمعًا لنفسه.

32 (12) وأيضًا، إن نفس الجسم الذي يَعقل[173] خاصّة المبتدئ كونه جثّةً وجرمًا متحيّزًا، فإذا قيل له: إن تحيّزه يصحّح كونه مجتمعًا ومفترقًا على سواء، فلا بدّ من أمر يوجب أحد المجوّزين، فقد نُبّه على أن نفسه غير موجبة كونه مجتمعًا، ولهذا يقال له: لو كان كذلك لنفسه لم يُجز أن يفترق، لأن نفسه في الحالين حاصلة في الوقتين على سواءٍ، وهو كونه جثّة متحيّزة.[174] يبين ذلك أن كونه جوهرًا الموجب كونه متحيّزًا لا يُعلم إلا بأدقّ نظر، ولا يصحّ أن يعتقده إلا من قد علم حدوث الجسم، فكيف يصحّ أن يبطل كونه مجتمعًا لأجل ذلك وهو غير معقول؟ فصار يُذكر من ذلك على سبيل التقريب لما بيّناه، على أن صفة النفس، لو عُقلت من دون إثبات المعاني، لم يمتنع أن يقال: إن صفة النفس تصحّح كما أن الفاعل يصحّح إذ موجبٌ ليس. وهذا يقتضي أن يكون وجود القديم الراجع إلى ذاته من باب الصحّة، فهو في كل وقت يصح ويصح خلافه، لكن هذه الصحّة تزول [ر 8ب] إلى خلاف ذلك لمكان الفاعل المقتضي لإعدامه، فيكون موجودًا فيما لم يزل، ثم يعدم بالفاعل، وهذا في كون الجسم ساكنًا فيما لم يزل وكونه متحركًا بالفاعل أبْين، فنفسه صحّحت سكونه فيما لم يزل، والفاعل صحّح من بعد تحريكه.

33 (13) يبيّن ذلك أن الثابت ثبوتُه يتضمّن الصحة وأزيد وإن لم يكن واجبًا، كالحال الثابتة[175] بالفاعل، إذ قد ثبت أن تأثير الفاعل لا يجوز أن يكون للإيجاب، ولو كان الفاعل موجبًا لوجب أن يكون موجبًا للضدّين، إذ حالته مع تحرّك الجسم يمنة ويسرة على سواء، وذلك لا بدّ منه على كلا[176] القولين، أحدهما قول مثبتي الأعراض والآخر قول نفاتها. ألا ترى أن الحركة يمنة ويسرة الموجبتين كون الجسم متحركًا في الجهتين تصحّان[177] منه على سبيل البدل من غير مخصّص لما في ذلك من إثبات ما لا نهاية له، وما يجب عنهما، إذا حصل بالفاعل مع نفيهما، فأحرى أن يصحّا على سبيل البدل، وثبت من ذلك ما ثبت من غير مخصّص سواه؟ وإذا كان على القولين الفاعل يصحح الأمرين الضدّين، وثبت أحدهما من غير مخصّص سواه[178]، فما الذي ينكر كون [ر 9ا] الذات فيما لم يزل مصححة كونَ الجسم مجتمعًا ومفترقًا، وأن يكون الثابت أحدهما فيما لم يزل من غير وجه معقول سوى الذات، كما ثبت إحدى الصفتين بالفاعل من غير وجه معقول ولا فصل؟ وفي ذلك صحّة خروج الموصوف عن الصفة المستحقّة لم تزل إلى ضدّها وخلافِها[179]، وفي ذلك فساد ما عوّل عليه من القول بأن الصفات، إذا جاز عدمها بمعنى صحة خروج الموصوف عنها، فاستحال عدم القديم بمعنى أن الصفة الحاصلة للموصوف لم يزل يستحيل خروج الموصوف عنها، فلا بدّ من القول بتجدّدها، وعبّر عن ذلك بحدوث الأعراض، وقد مضى ما في إطلاق هذه العبارة من اللبس مع نفيه الأعراض.

34 (14) وفيما ذكرناه أيضًا إسقاط دلالة نفاة الأعراض الدالّة[180] على حدث الأجسام، وهي قولهم: إن الجسم، لو كان قديمًا، لوجب أن يتخصّص بإحدى الجهات لا لوجه معقول، إذ تحيّزه يصحّح كونه في سائر الجهات على سبيل البدل، فإذا استحال إثبات مخصّص أدّى ذلك إلى إثبات أحد أمرين فاسدين، إما أن تكون متحيّزة في سائر الجهات، وإما أن تكون [ر 9ب] متحيّزة لا في جهة. قيل لهم: إذا كان حكم الفاعل مع الجهات كلّها على سواءٍ، وقد اختصّ بإحدى الجهتين لا لوجه معقول، فما أنكرتم من أن يختصّ فيما لم يزل بجهة لا لوجه معقول[181] زائد على تحيّزه، وأن يخرج أيضًا عن الجهة <لا> لوجه معقول؟ فإن قيل: إن ذلك يلزمكم في إثبات الأكوان، وذلك أنه قد صحّ حصول أحدهما دون ضده من الفاعل لا لوجه معقول، فما أنكرتم من مثل ذلك في كون الجسم مختصًّا بإحدى الجهتين؟ وفي ذلك نفي الأكوان، قيل له: إن الكونين[182] يوجبان ما يوجبانه لذاتيهما، والقادر قادرٌ على إيجادهما، فوقوع أحدهما من قبله لا لأمر زائد على كونه قادرًا لا بدّ منه من

171. يجوّز أن: **אן**، مع تصحيح في هامش ر.
172. يكون: **יכן**، ر.
173. يعقل: **יעקלה**، ر.
174. هنا ملاحظة في هامش ر بخط عربي: بلغ المقابلة.
175. الثابتة: **אלתאניה**، ر.
176. كلا: **כלי**، ر.
177. تصحان: **יצחאן**، ر.
178. سواه: إضافة في هامش ر.
179. وخلافها: **ופסאדהא**، مع تصحيح في ر.
180. الدالة: **אלתאניה**، مع تصحيح في هامش ر.
181. فما أنكرتم ... لوجه معقول: إضافة في هامش ر.
182. الكونين: **אלכונאן**، ر.

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حيث أن إثبات ما زاد على ذلك ينقض حقيقة كون القادر قادرًا وينقض حصوله بالقادر، ويوجب غناه[183] عنه على حدّ ينقض إثبات الفاعل، وقد ثبت.

35 (15) ألا ترى أنّا نقول لمن خالفنا: ليس يخلو من أن تُثبت[184] في الشاهد فاعلًا قادرًا على الضدّين أو تنفي[185] ذلك، فإن نفى الفاعل أو نفى كونه مصحّحًا لتحرّك الجسم بمنة أو يسرة بأن يقول: إنه يصحّح كون الجسم بمنة [ر 10ا] فقط لاختصاصه بصفة في حكم الضدّ لكونه قادرًا على تحرّكه في الجهة الأخرى، فهذا كلام في تضادّ القُدر. فإذا بيّن إسقاط قول القائلين بذلك بما بيّن أن الكافر قادر على الإيمان حسبما هو[186] مسطور **للمتكلمين**، وجب، إذا كان القادر قادرًا على التحرّك بمنة، <أنه> قدر على التحرّك يسرة، ووجب إثبات الواسطة، وهي الأعراض على ما قد دلّت عليه الأدلّة. وإذا كان ذلك كذلك، وجب صحة وجود كل واحد من الضدّين من القادر عليهما لا لوجهٍ أزيد من[187] ذلك، فلم يكن كون المتحرّك متحرّكًا بمنة يحصل لأمرٍ حكمه مع التحرك يسرة على سواء، بل لا بدّ من إثبات ذاتين ضدّين يوجبان الصفتين الضدّين، وأن يكون حصولهما بالفاعل لا يؤدّي إلى نقض ما قد عُلم، ولا يشكّك في حدوث الجسم الذي الغرض بما أنا ذاكره تشكيكٌ من نفى الأعراض في حدوث الأجسام. على أن هذا السؤال لا يصحّ إلا بإثبات ما الغرض به الطعن فيه، فإن كان السؤال صحيحًا، وهو رجوع صفتي الكائن إلى الفاعل من غير مخصّص قياسًا على رجوع الكونين إلى الفاعل [ر 10ب] من غير مخصّص، فذلك يتضمّن إثبات الكونين، فكيف يصح أن يُجعل طريقًا إلى نفيهما؟

36 (16) على أن الغرض بهذا **الكتاب** القدح في قول من استدلّ على حدوث الأجسام وإثبات الصانع بالصفات لا بالمعاني، وليس الغرض نصرة مثبتي الأعراض، بل إفساد الاستدلال المذكور، ولذلك لم أتقصَّ[188] الكلام في هذا السؤال، على أن الفرق بين القولين واضح، وذلك أن من قول **المتكلّمين** وجوبَ تعليل كلّ ما يصحّ تعليله، على ما سيرد الكلام في ذلك في إثبات المحدِث إن اقتضاه الكلام، وليس كذلك قولك، والدلالة على تصحيح هذا الأصل تُخرجنا عن الغرض. فلهذا لم يكن انتقال الجوهر إلى إحدى الجهتين أولى من الأخرى إلا لأمر زائد على حكم الفاعل الراجع إليهما على سواءٍ، فوجب لذلك إثبات كونين [ضدّ]ين، وتعليلُ حصول أحدهما من دون الآخر با[لاتّفاق] لا يصحّ، لأنه يؤدّي إلى الفساد. فإن سلّمتَ هذا الأصل فقد حصل الجواب عما سألتَ [وز]ال الخلاف عن كثير من الأصول. وإن خالفتَ[189] فيه فواجب أن يكون الكلام بينك وبين خصومك [على خلاف ما] يعتمدونه في أكثر المواضع وأن[190] [...]

183. غناه: مضاف فوق الـ"ג" بخط عربي "غ"، ر.
184. تثبت: **יתבת**، ر.
185. تنفي: **ינפי**، ر.
186. هو: + **מסקט** (مشطوب)، ر.
187. من: مكرر في ر.
188. أتقصَّ: **אתקצא**، ر.
189. خالفت: **כלף**.
190. هنا انقطع نص المخطوط من روسيا.

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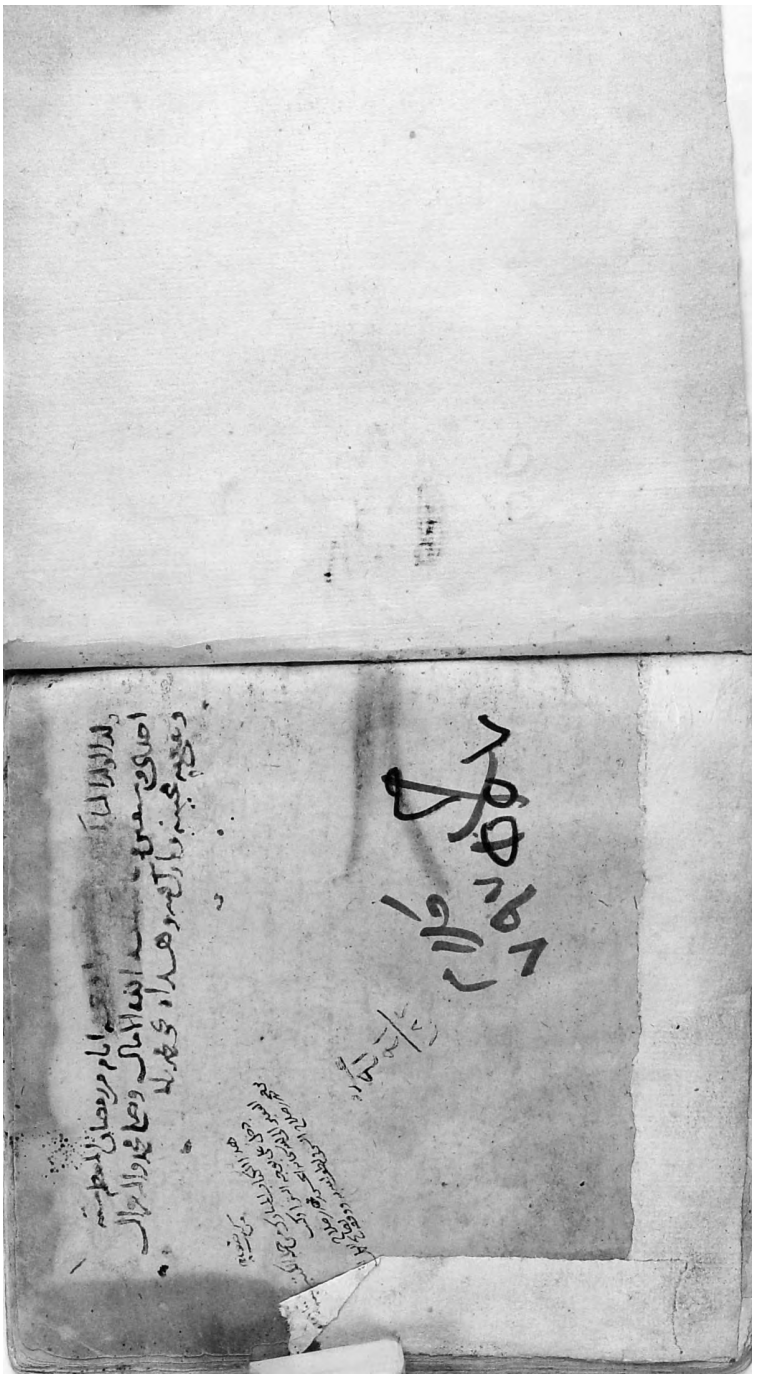


Figure 4.1: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797, f. 1a.

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Figure 4.2: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797, f. 1b–2a.

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Figure 4.3: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797, f. 2b–3a.

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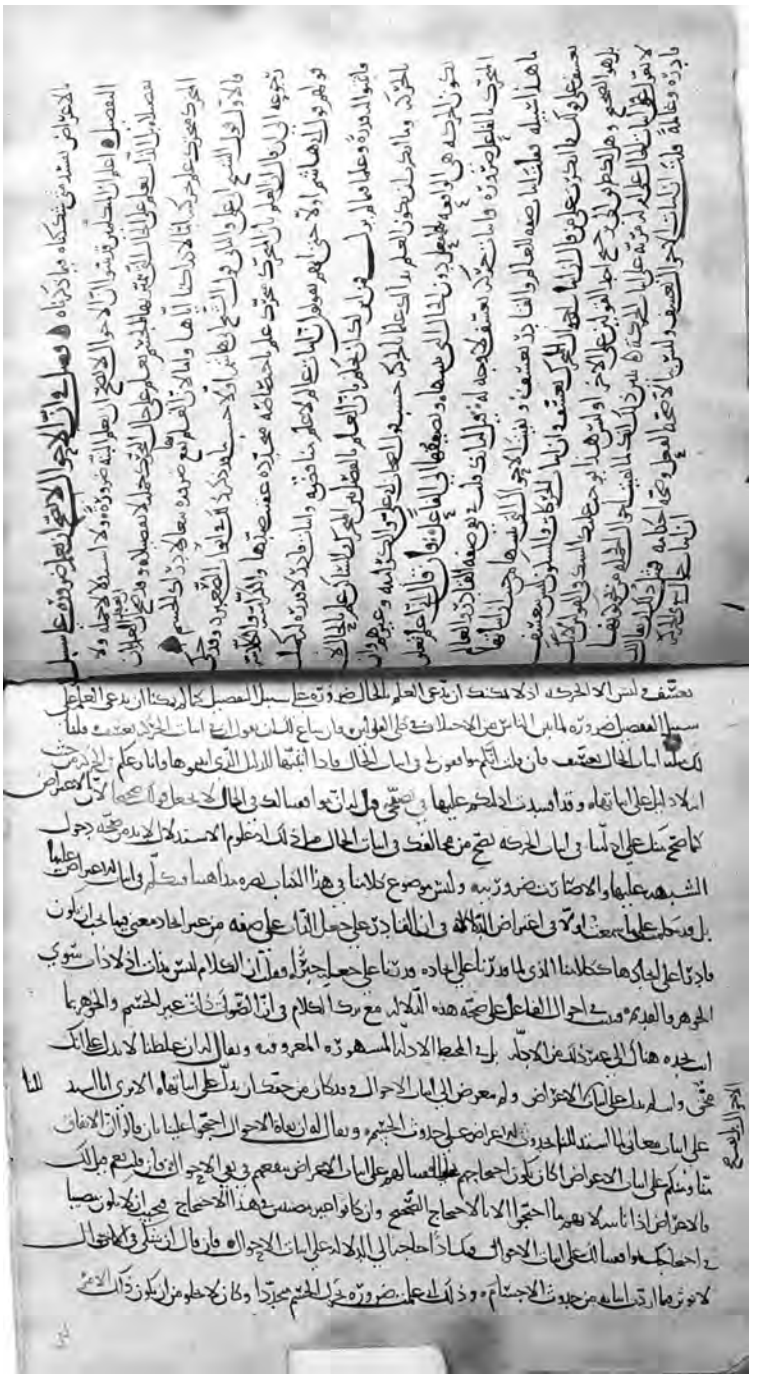


Figure 4.4: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797, f. 3b–4a.

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Figure 4.5: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797, f. 4b–5a.

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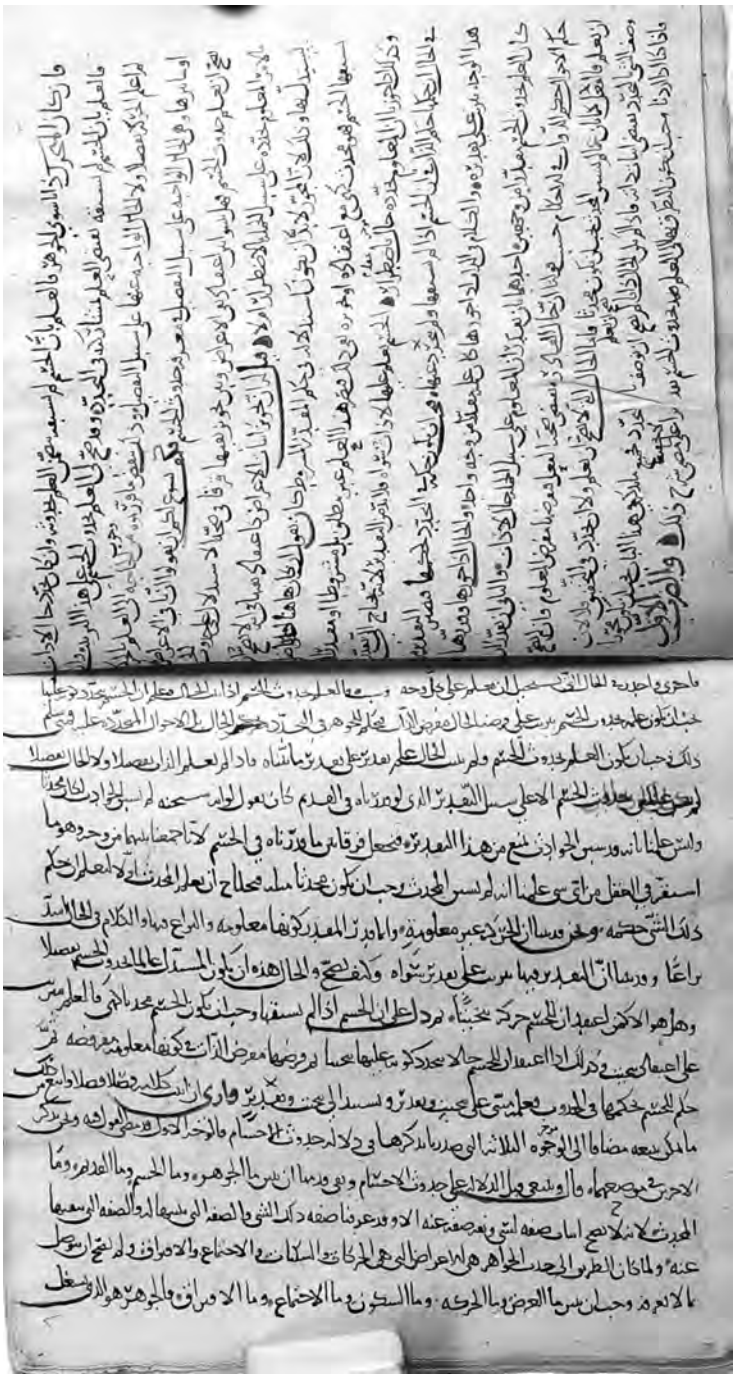


Figure 4.6: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797, f. 5b–6a.

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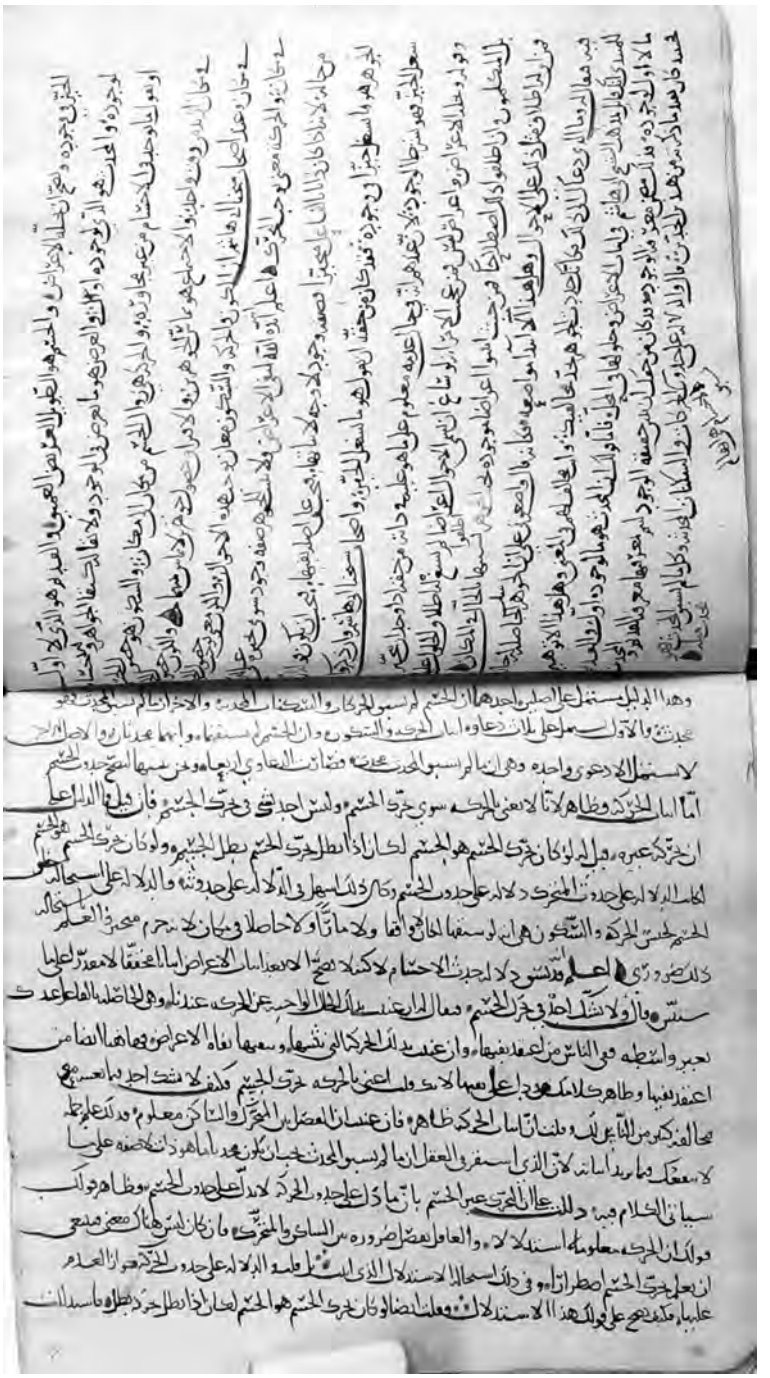


Figure 4.7: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797, f. 6b–7a.

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Figure 4.8: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 797, f. 7b–8a.

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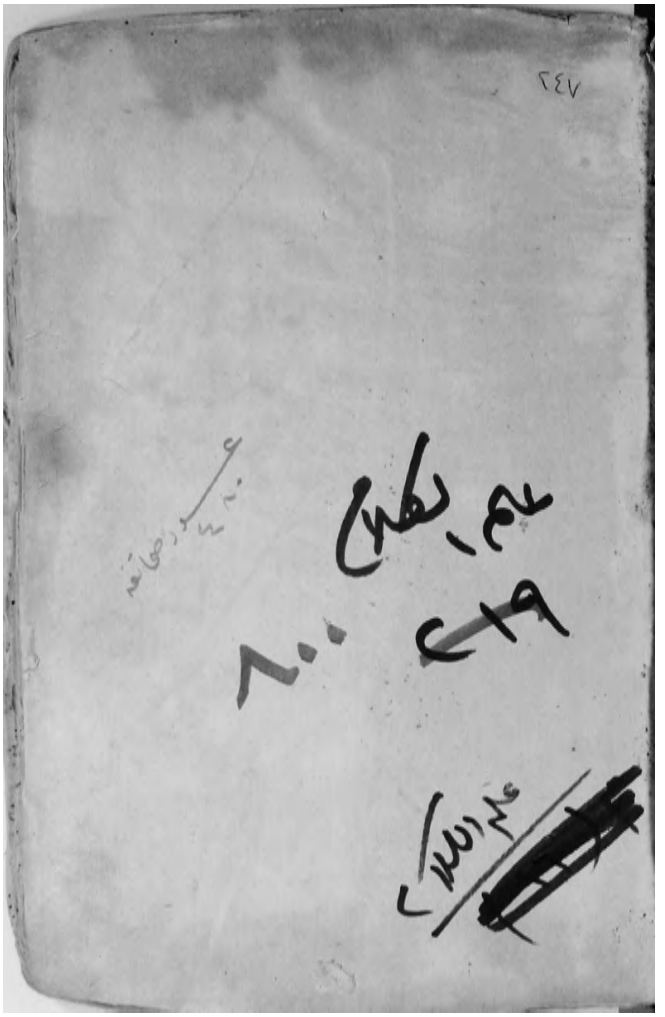


Figure 4.9: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 800, f. 1a.

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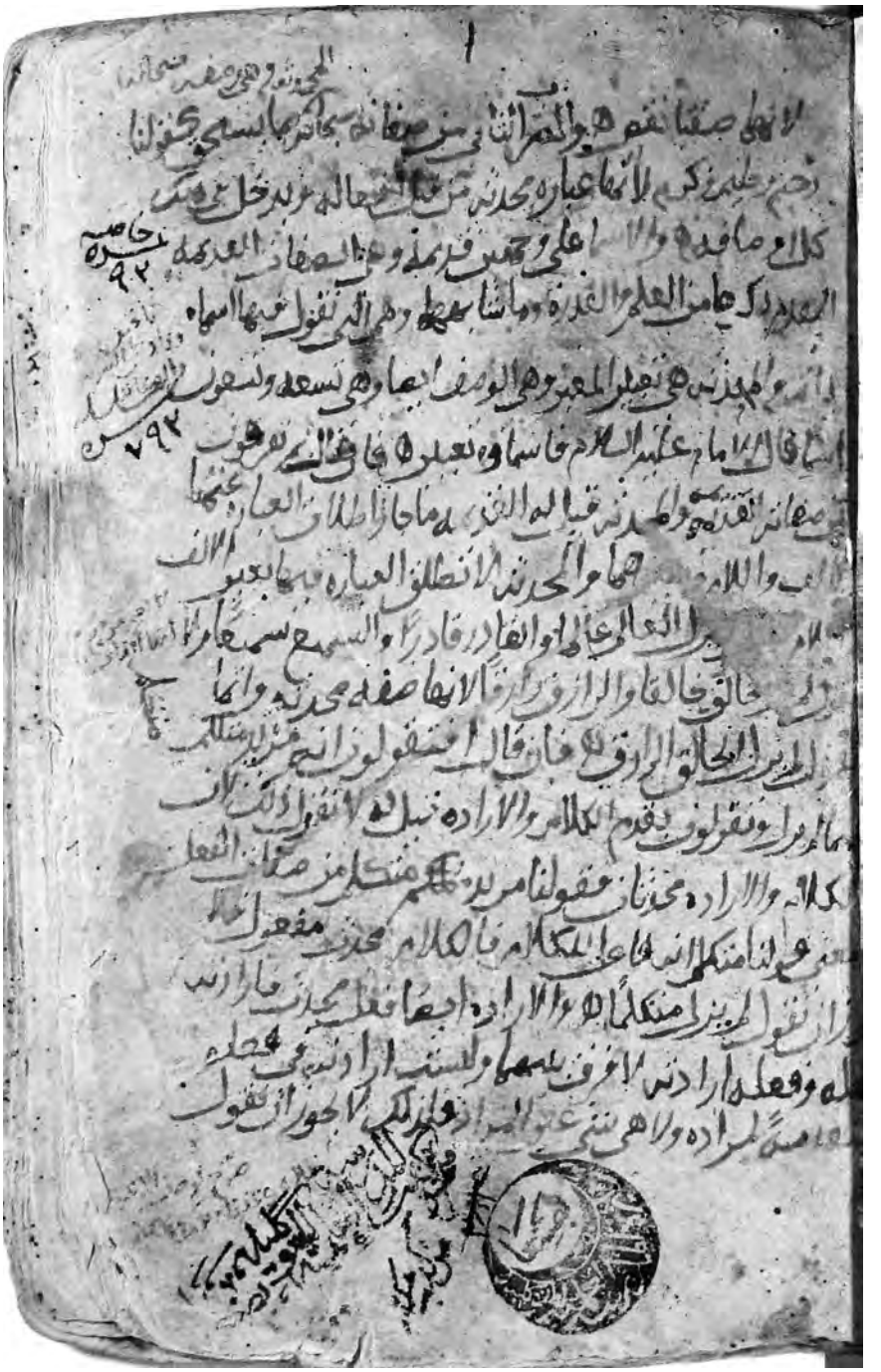


Figure 4.10: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *kalām* 800, f. 1b.

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Figure 4:11: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *maǧmūʿa* 3189/1, f. 1b.

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# Zaydism in Iran

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# Chapter 5
# The Zaydī Reception of Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl*: The *Taʿlīq* of Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār

Iranian libraries hold only few manuscripts that testify to the extended and intensive Muʿtazilite past in the various centers of Zaydī scholarship in Ṭabaristān, Daylamān, and Gīlān in the Caspian region, in Bayhaq, and, most importantly, in Rayy. With *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī's move to the capital of the Iranian province of Ǧibāl in Muḥarram 367/August–September 977, Rayy largely replaced Baghdad as the main intellectual center of Muʿtazilism. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār taught there even after his dismissal from office in 385/995 until his death in 415/1025,[1] and the city continued to be an important center of Zaydī Muʿtazilites during the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries.[2] Gradually, the Zaydī communities in Iran experienced a decline, and most of their literary legacy was lost. Had it not been for the massive transfer of Zaydī religious literature from Iran to Yemen following the political unification of the Caspian and Yemeni Zaydīs that began by the end of the fifth/eleventh century, most of the Muʿtazilite and Zaydī literary heritage from the time of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār onwards would have been lost.

Among the few Muʿtazilite Zaydī works preserved in Iranian libraries is a commentary on Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*, possibly by Ibn Mattawayh's student Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī [b.] Mazdak, a Zaydī scholar of the late fifth/eleventh century who was active in Rayy.[3] The manuscript, dated 26 Šawwāl 570/May 19, 1175, is preserved in an apparently unique copy housed at the Aṣġar Mahdawī Library in Tehran.[4] Moreover, a late and incomplete copy of *Iṯbāt nubuwwat al-nabī* by Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad al-Hārūnī al-Buṭḥānī (d. 411/1020) is preserved in MS Tehran, Mağlis, no. 4247, a *mağmūʿa* that was copied around Šawwāl 993/Septem-

1. See the biographical account of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār in Reynolds, "Rise and Fall"; Reynolds, *Muslim Theologian*, 44ff. Some of Reynolds's conclusions are far-fetched.

2. See Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 88–92; Anṣārī, "Maktab-i mutakallimān."

3. Ibn Mazdak is mentioned in an *isnād* given on the title page (f. 1) of a copy of Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Farrazāḏī's *Taʿlīq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 599, which was transcribed by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Isḥāq al-Farrazāḏī in Rayy. The copy is dated Muḥarram 543/May–June 1148 (see the colophon on f. 173a). The *isnād* runs as follows: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Isḥāq ← Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farrazāḏī ← Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Farrazāḏī ← Muḥammad b. Mazdak/Mardak ← al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh ← Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī ← *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār.

4. *Anonymous Commentary*. See also Ansari, "Kitābī az maktab-i mutakallimān"; Schmidtke, "MS Mahdawi 514"; Gimaret, "Commentaire récemment publié."



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ber–October 1585 and is clearly of Iranian provenance.[5] The Mağlis Library also holds a three-volume *tafsīr* by the seventh/thirteenth-century Zaydī Iranian scholar Abū l-Faḍl b. Šahrdawīr b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī al-Ǧīlānī.[6]

Another important multitext codex containing theological works by Zaydī theologians both from Iran and from Yemen (see below, items 3 and 6) that were copied during the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century is held by the library of the University of Shiraz (ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī Library).[7] The codex was written by one (or several) anonymous scribe(s), among them possibly a Twelver Šīʿī (see below, item 2), between 673/1274–75 and 676/1277, perhaps in Iran (see below, items 1 and 5), and there are numerous marginal notes by one or several later readers throughout.[8] The different texts contained in the present *mağmūʿa* were possibly only at a later stage combined into one codex. From f. 100 onwards, quire signatures are placed in the left-hand (outer) corner of the first leaf of each quire. Rather than following the common *abǧad* system, these follow the *ḥiǧāʾī* order: *ḥāʾ* (f. 67) . . . *rāʾ* (f. 100), *zayn* (f. 108), *sīn* (f. 116), *šīn* (f. 124), *ṣād* (f. 132), *ḍād* (f. 139), *ṭāʾ* (f. 147), *ẓāʾ* (f. 155), *ʿayn* (f. 163). The physical structure of the last third of the codex is accordingly as follows: Q VIII[9] (100–107) | Q VIII (108–115) | Q VIII (116–123) | Q VIII (124–131) | Q VII (132–138) | Q VIII (139–146) | Q VIII (147–154) | Q VIII (155–162) | Q VIII (163–170). The regular physical unit in this part of the codex is the standard quire, the quaternion, with the exception of Q VII (132–138), which consists of seven leaves only. Since the text is interrupted neither within the quire nor at its end, it is possible that the scribe simply had an incomplete quire at his disposal. Another irregularity must

5. For a description of the manuscript, see al-Ḥāʾirī, *Fihrist*, 11/262f. no. 4247.

6. The manuscript is now available as a facsimile publication: Abū l-Faḍl b. Šahrdawīr al-Daylamī, *Tafsīr-i kitāb-i Allāh*. See also Chapter 6 in the present volume. For the commentary as well as some additional Zaydī works that circulated in Iran between the seventh/thirteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries, see Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, introduction, 12–14; see also Dānišpažūh, "Dū mašīẖa-yi Zaydī." In the introduction to his *al-Kawākib al-marḍiyya fī l-ḥuǧağ al-imāmiyya ʿalā iẖwānihim min al-firqa al-zaydiyya*, the thirteenth/nineteenth-century scholar from Shiraz, Šayẖ Muḥammad Ǧawād al-Šīrāzī, reports that in the year 1251/1835–36 the Shirazi *al-aḫ* al-Ḥāǧǧ Ǧaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh returned from Mecca after also having visited Sanaa, from where he had brought along 120 Zaydī books. Nothing is known about the current whereabouts of this collection. See Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīẖī*, 865-874.

7. See al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Min turāṯinā al-ẖālid fī Šīrāz," 411 no. 534; Barakat, "Fihrist-i nusẖa-hā-yi ẖaṭṭī," 30f. no. 91; Barakat, "Fihrist-i mağmūʿa-yi ẖaṭṭī," 104f. no. [8987] *mağmūʿa* 102 (all three containing an incomplete description of the codex—only items 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 are mentioned). On the library, see also Roper, *World Survey*, 1/503; Muttaqī, *Kitābšināsī-yi fahāris*, 1/500f. See also below, n. 8.

8. The manuscript had been presented by Muḥammad Ḥasan Imāmī as a gift to the University of Shiraz in H̱urdād 1355/June 1976, as indicated by a stamp on one of the first blank pages of the codex. Muḥammad Ḥasan Imāmī and his father Šayẖ ʿAbd al-Nabī Imāmī (b. 1266/1849–50, d. 1354/1935–36), two scholars of Shiraz, had donated their entire private library to the University of Shiraz. See Barakat, "Fihrist alifbāʾī-yi nusẖa-hā," 99–101.

9. Q VIII signifying a quire of eight leaves.

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have occurred in the case of one of the preceding quires in view of a new quire beginning with f. 67 (*ḥāʾ*). If indeed the regular physical unit of the entire codex is the quaternion, the leaves preceding quire *ḥāʾ* are too numerous to have formed part of the original codex. This suggests that the former items, possibly items 1 through 6 (see below), were only at a later stage united with item 7 into one codex. An alternative explanation would be that the quaternion is the standard physical unit only for the later part of the codex, and that its first third consists rather of quinions. Given the absence of quire signatures prior to quire *ḥāʾ* and the fact that we were unable to inspect the original manuscript, this question must remain undecided at this stage.

The codex contains the following items:

1. (ff. 1a–2a) Various notes in Persian, including some poetry.
2. (ff. 2b–10a) A brief Twelver Šīʿī theological tract of unclear authorship, in the course of which Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī is mentioned.[10]

10. Barakat states that the tract was composed by an unidentified *Zaydī* Šīʿī ("Fihrist-i mağmūʿa-yi ḫaṭṭī," 104), which is wrong. A second copy of this tract forms part of a collective manuscript transcribed by Mahdī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nayramī al-Ǧurǧānī in Sabzawār in the years 657/1259 and 658/1260; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 2/195 no. 741, 11/86 no. 530; Āġā Buzurg was unable to identify its author. On the scribe and the codex, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 3(1)/186f. Āġā Buzurg, who has inspected and described the codex in detail, states that it belonged to the library of al-Sayyid Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Hamadānī al-Iṣfahānī al-Naǧafī in Najaf. The codex has an earlier ownership statement by al-Sayyid Abū l-Riḍā Muḥammad b. Mubārakšāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Abarqūhī and was part of the *waqf* (since 1276/1859–60) of al-Sayyid al-Hamadānī's father al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Hamadānī (*Ḏarīʿa*, 6/301 no. 1611). Its current whereabouts are unclear. A copy of this *mağmūʿa* was later transcribed by al-Šayḫ al-Samāwī and is now preserved in the library of al-Sayyid al-Ḥakīm (see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 6/301; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 117 no. 13). Apart from the present tract the codex contains the following items (the relative order of these cannot be determined on the basis of Āġā Buzurg's information, which is scattered throughout his *Ḏarīʿa*): (1) *Al-Ǧumal wa-l-ʿuqūd* of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī (on this work, see Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 63f.; Āġā Buzurg, *Zindigīnāma-yi Šayḫ Ṭūsī*, 46f. no. 13. (2) On the back of the *Ǧumal*, an *iǧāza* issued by Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Barzaḫī to Ǧamīl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir al-Warāmīnī in 661/1262–63; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 3(1)/186. For an edition of the *iǧāza*, see Mağīd al-Ḥillī, "Iǧāza-yi Bayhaqī Barzaḫī dar sāl-i 661," 379–383. (3) *Al-Farāʾiḍ al-naṣīriyya* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/150 no. 390. (4) *Al-Marāsim al-ʿalawiyya fī l-fiqh wa-l-aḥkām al-nabawiyya* of Abū Yaʿlā al-Sallār; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 3(1)/186 (on this work, see also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 63). (5) *Ġusl al-ǧanāba* by Muʿīn al-Dīn Sālim b. Badrān al-Miṣrī al-Māzinī; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/55 no. 262; on Sālim b. Badrān, see also Mudarris Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl wa āṯār*, 161–167 no. 20. (6) *Ḥurmat al-ʿaṣīr al-zabībī* of one Maǧd al-Dīn al-Sarawī; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 15/276 no. 1797. (7) *Iṯbāt imkān kull mutaḥayyiz "li-baʿḍ qudamāʾ al-aṣḥāb"*; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 1/85 no. 404. (8) *Al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq* of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 6/301 no. 1611. (9) *Al-Ḫulāṣa fī uṣūl al-dīn* of uncertain authorship; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 7/208 no. 1023. On this work, see also Schmidtke, "Doctrinal Views," 395 no. 17 (with further references). (10) *Al-Šakk wa-l-sahw wa-l-talāfī wa-l-ǧubrān* of unclear authorship; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 14/213 no. 2244. (11) *Masʾalat Ibn al-Sabīl*, an excerpt from the *Amālī* of Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-

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3. (ff. 10a–19b) *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm fī maʿrifat al-ḥayy al-qayyūm* (alternatively known as *al-Ṭalāṭūn al-masʾala fī uṣūl al-dīn*), a popular tripartite theological tract discussing divine unicity (*tawḥīd*), divine justice (*ʿadl*), and the promise and the threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*), each part containing ten questions, by the Yemeni Zaydī scholar Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224).[11] The text concludes with a colophon dated 673/1274–75.[12]
4. (ff. 20a–21b) A brief piece, possibly an extract from a larger theological text, written in the style of *fa-in qīla . . . qīla lahu . . .* It opens with the question *fa-in qīla: al-Qurʾān qadīm am maḫlūq*? The text is preceded by a *basmala* (f. 20a:1) and ends with the formula *tamma wa-ṣallā llāh ʿalā Muḥammad wa-ālihi aǧmaʿīn* (f. 21a:18). It is followed by a brief note (on f. 21a) on various moral issues.
5. (ff. 21b–22a) Various items of poetry by al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955), Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058) and al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), as well as some notes, both in Arabic and in Persian.
6. (ff. 22b–32b) *al-Risāla al-nāṣiḥa bi-l-dalāʾil al-wāḍiḥa fī maʿrifat rabb al-ʿālamin*, a popular metrical tract on theology from the pen of the Zaydī *imām* al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (b. 561/1166, d. 614/1217) with some interlinear translations into Persian.[13]
7. (ff. 33a–169b) A theological *summa*, written in the style of *fa-in qīla . . . qīla lahu . . . / . . . fa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhu . . .* , with numerous margin glosses throughout the first third of the text by several later readers.[14] While the beginning of the text is missing, the work concludes with a colophon dated 1 Rabīʿ II 676/September 1, 1277, followed by a note providing further information on its identity: *wa-hāḏā āḫir al-taʿlīq allaḏī ʿallaqahu l-Šayḫ al-Imām Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār raḥimahu llāh wa-ayyadahu.*[15] The relevant historical and biographical sources provide no information on Abū Ṭāhir b.

Ḫaṭīb al-Bazūfarī; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 20/382 no. 3536. (12) A *Risāla fī uṣūl al-dīn* of unclear authorship; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 11/85f. no. 529.

11. The text has been edited twice: by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām al-Kafāfī (Beirut 1971, reprinted in 1408/1987), and by al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭwarī al-Ḥasanī (Sanaa 1424/2003).

12. F. 19b:14–16:

وقع الفراغ من انتساخ | هذا الكتاب يوم الخميس وقت الضحى بتاريخ | سنة ثلث وسبعين وستمائة من هجرة نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه

13. Published together with al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's autocommentary *Šarḥ al-Risāla al-nāṣiḥa*.

14. These as a rule open with *iʿlam . . .* ; see, e.g., ff. 34a, 66a (that al-Ṣaffār is mentioned here shows that this gloss originated with a later reader: *iʿlam anna l-ǧawhar min ḥayṯu kawnihi ṯaqīlan lā yaḥtāǧu ilā makān wa-qawl al-Ṣaffār . . .* ), 70b. One gloss is introduced as *fāʾida*, f. 67a. Other margin notes throughout the text are mostly corrections, usually concluded with the formula صح. One later reader repeated most of the chapter headings in red ink in the margins of the text.

15. F. 169b:11–15:

يصادف فراغه يوم الأحد وقت | الظهر في أول شهر الله المبارك ربيع | الآخر سنة ست وسبعين وستمائة | من هجرة النبي صلى الله عليه وآله أجمعين | وهذا آخر التعليق الذي علقه الشيخ الإمام أبو طاهر بن علي الصفار رحمة الله عليه

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ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār. He may be a relative or later descendant of Abū l-Fatḥ al-Ṣaffār, who belonged to the circle of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār,[16] and/or of Abu ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār al-Rāzī, author of *al-Arbaʿūn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-muʾminīn*[17] who also transmitted from ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and who, in turn, was the teacher of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Daylamī Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān], the author of *K. al-Muḥīṭ bi-uṣūl al-imāma ʿalā maḏāhib al-Zaydiyya*, a commentary on the *K. al-Diʿāma fī taṯbīt al-imāma* of Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033).[18] The wording of the colophon leaves open whether Abū Ṭāhir al-Ṣaffār was the author of the present *taʿlīq* or merely the one who had written it down.[19] A later reader who added some glosses evidently takes al-Ṣaffār to be the author.[20]

The text contains repeated references to the Zaydī *imām*s al-Nāṣir *al-kabīr* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūš (b. 230/844, d. 304/917)[21] and al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad al-Hārūnī al-Buṭḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020),[22] as well as to the second/eighth-century Zaydī scholar Sulaymān b. Ǧarīr[23] and to Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī (fl. first half of the fourth/tenth century),[24] and throughout the text and particularly in the chapter on the imamate the author's allegiance to Zaydism is evident. Twice he refers to his teacher, *ustāḏunā ayyadahu llāh*,[25] whose identity is uncertain—depending on whether al-Ṣaffār was the author of the *Taʿlīq* this may refer either to him (in case the *Taʿlīq* was written down by one of his students) or to al-Ṣaffār's teacher (provided that al-Ṣaffār had only written down the text).

References to numerous Muʿtazilite authorities provide a *terminus post quem*. Apart from theologians such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728),[26] Ǧahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/746),[27]

16. See Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 390; see also Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaqāt*, 118:15f.

17. The work has been published as *al-Arbaʿūn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-muʾminīn al-maʿrūfa bi-Amālī al-Ṣaffār*.

18. For al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/321f. no. 181; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 337f. no. 322. For Šāh Sarbīǧān, see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 671f. no. 708; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/732–734 no. 447. In his *al-Muḥīṭ*, Šāh Sarbīǧān occasionally refers to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār as his transmitter. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilism in Daylam."

19. For the possible meanings of *ʿallaqa*, see Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 50ff.; Gacek, *Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, 201.

20. See above, n. 14.

21. Ff. 121b:10, 124b:5, 7, 155a:15.

22. Ff. 42a:1, 44a:9, 124b:6, 7.

23. Ff. 97a:12, 97b:9, 14, 17f. In the manuscript, he is invariably named Abū Sulaymān b. Ǧarīr. On him, see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 2/472ff. and passim.

24. F. 168a:12. He is the author of *al-Maṣābīḥ fī l-sīra wa-l-tārīḫ*. The edition includes the *Tatimmat al-Maṣābīh* by his student ʿAlī b. Bilāl. On al-Ḥasanī, see EncIran 12/41 (W. Madelung).

25. F. 66b:2, 8.

26. F. 121b:4.

27. Ff. 97a:10f., 143a:16.

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Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767),[28] Hišām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795–96),[29] al-Aṣamm (d. 200/816 or 201/817),[30] al-Naǧǧār (fl. first half of the third/ninth century),[31] Burġūṯ (d. 240/855 or 241/856),[32] Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. between 270/883–84 and 280/893–94),[33] Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq (d. 247/861 or later),[34] Ibn Kullāb (d. 241/855?),[35] al-Aš'arī (d. 324/936),[36] and earlier Muʿtazilite thinkers, such as Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748–49),[37] Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. 200/815),[38] Abū l-Huḏayl (d. 226/840),[39] al-Naẓẓām (d. between 220/835 and 230/845),[40] Ǧaʿfar b. Mubaššir (d. 234/848–49),[41] ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān (d. ca. 250/864),[42] al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–69),[43] Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ḫayyāṭ (d. ca. 300/913),[44] Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 303/915),[45] Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 321/933),[46] Abū l-Qāsim al-Wāsiṭī,[47] and Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī (d. 319/931),[48] the views of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980);[49] *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār (b. ca. 325/935–36, d. 415/1024–25)[50] with specific reference to his *K. al-Muġnī*,[51]

28. F. 102a:4.
29. Ff. 65a:15, 102a:4.
30. F. 65a:15.
31. Ff. 82b:14, 97a:10, 135b:6, 136a:10f., 143a:21.
32. Ff. 129a:9, 130b:12.
33. Ff. 65b:7, 72a:13 (referring to his *K. al-Tāǧ*), 127a:20–127b:4 (referring to his *al-Dāmiġ*, his *al-Farīd*, his *al-Tāǧ*, and his *al-Zumurrud*), 127a–b.
34. F. 127b:1f.
35. F. 128b:19.
36. Ff. 82b:13, 129a:5, 137b:12.
37. F. 149b:15.
38. Ff. 96b:10f., 20, 97a:2, 104b:18, 110b:1.
39. Ff. 69a:2, 5, 70b:4, 108b:18, 133a:7, 155a:16, 156b:7, 12.
40. Ff. 39a:9, 112b:12, 134b:8, 11, 135a:4.
41. F. 149a:10.
42. Ff. 112b:6, 140a:10.
43. Ff. 39a:17, 41b:18, 158a:6.
44. F. 152b:7.
45. Ff. 39b:6, 41a:8, 9, 54a:6, 54b:3, 6, 56a:14, 76a:1, 80a:12, 87a:7f., 108b:20, 110b:17, 116a:10, 11, 119a:8, 121a:11, 127a:14, 135a:8, 9, 13, 141a:4, 149a:13, 14, 149b:2, 6, 151a:3f., 9, 10, 151b:9, 152a:3, 154a:14.
46. Ff. 34a:1, 36a:15, 36b:7, 41a:8, 10, 48b:5, 51a:19, 54a:7, 56a:13, 67a:1f., 80a:12, 84a:3f., 87a:12, 96b:19, 20f., 108b:22, 116a:10, 116b:2, 130b:12, 135a:9, 18, 140a:13, 141a:6, 149a:13, 16, 149b:3, 5, 8, 151a:5, 6, 9, 12, 152a:4.
47. Ff. 65b:19, 94a:20.
48. Ff. 39b:12, 41b:19, 47a:10, 49b:2, 56b:4, 6, 11, 80a:11, 86b:5, 111b:3, 114a:7, 135b:5f., 11f., 149a:10, 149b:10, 18, 150b:15, 152a:2, 155a:16, 156b:8. The reference to his *K. Naqḍ al-sunna wa-l-iǧmāʿ* on f. 111b:3f. refers, no doubt, to his *K. al-Sunna wa-l-ǧamāʿa*, which is identical with his *Naqḍ al-Sirǧānī*. See el Omari, *Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī*, 104 nos. 34 and 35.
49. Ff. 42a:7, 67b:11, 94b:10f.
50. Ff. 35b:12, 13, 15, 41a:13, 51a:13, 51b:11, 62a:3, 77a:10, 88a:14, 109a:1, 140a:13, 140b:17, 146a:2.
51. Ff. 33b:3, 87b:3.

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his *Muḫtaṣar al-Ḥasanī*,[52] and *al-dars* [*sic*] *Abī Bakr al-Daylamī*;[53] al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995);[54] ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's foremost student and successor as head of the Bahšamiyya, Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī,[55] with specific reference to his *Taʿlīq al-taqrīb*;[56] and Abū Rašīd's younger contemporary Ibn Mattawayh[57] are regularly mentioned. These references suggest that the *Taʿlīq* was written during the second half of the fifth/eleventh century.[58] Its author would thus be a contemporary of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Mazdak, the commentator of Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Taḏkira* (see above), and of the latter's student Ismāʿīl b ʿAlī al-Farrazāḏī, who wrote a *taʿlīq* on the *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār.[59]

Apart from the above-quoted statement at the end of the text, the *Taʿlīq* bears no indication as to the original work on which it comments. Its identity can be established, however, by comparing it with two other (partially) extant supercommentaries on the *K. al-Uṣūl* by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ḫallād al-Baṣrī, the distinguished disciple of the Muʿtazilite theologian and founder of the Bahšamiyya, Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī.[60] The biographical tradition provides somewhat conflicting information as to his literary out-

52. F. 59a:12. A parallel reference is given by Mānkdīm in his *Taʿlīq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, 122:15f. It is likely that the author of the present *Taʿlīq* took this reference from Māndkīm. The treatise has been edited by Muḥammad ʿImāra under the title *al-Muḫtaṣar fī uṣūl al-dīn*, in *Rasāʾil al-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd*. It was also known under the titles *K. fīhi uṣūl al-dīn ʿalā maḏhab ahl al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* and *Risālat al-Ḥasanī*. See also ʿUṭmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, 69 no. 52. The question of whether *al-Muḫtaṣar fī uṣūl al-dīn* is indeed ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *Muḫtaṣar al-Ḥasanī* is discussed by Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong*, 202 n. 43. See also Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 293-300; Ansari and Schmidtke, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Zayd al-Ǧurǧānī (al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh) and His Writings".

53. F. 48a:5f. This passage is clearly corrupted. It should perhaps read *mā ḏakarahu qāḍī l-quḍāt fī l-dars* ʿan *Abī Bakr al-Daylamī*. He may be Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Marzubān *al-maʿrūf bi-*bn al-Ustāḏ Abū Bakr al-Daylamī (d. 371/981–82), a scholar who was active in Qazwīn. He was a student of Muḥammad b. Ǧumʿa b. Zuhayr and a teacher of Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī. On him, see al-Rāfiʿī, *al-Tadwīn fī aḫbār Qazwīn*, 2/204; al-Ḫalīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫalīlī, *al-Iršād fī maʿrifat ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīṯ*, 2/762; Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Taysīr al-maṭālib fī Amālī Abī Ṭālib*, 245, 247, 313, 327, 369, 394, 417, 440, 462, 463, 472, 532, 548, 592.

54. F. 68b:18: *dalīl āḫar ḏakarahu al-Ṣāḥib al-Kāfī . . .*

55. Ff. 33b:3, 36a:16, 36b:9, 39b:4, 40a:13, 41a:13f., 65a:4, 66a:9, 84a:14, 87b:9, 94b:8, 98b:10, 107b:4.

56. F. 65a:4. This title is not attested in any other source as being a work by Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī. It may be a commentary on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *K. Taqrīb al-uṣūl*; the latter refers to this work in the autobibliographical note at the end of his *al-Muġnī*, 20(2)/258:12; see also ʿUṭmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, 64 no. 22.

57. F. 124b:3.

58. The fact that the author of the *Taʿlīq* does not mention al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101), whose writings became very popular throughout the sixth/twelfth century, also points to the fifth/eleventh century.

59. See above, n. 3.

60. On him, see EI2 3/832 (J. Schacht); EncIran 8/35f. (D. Gimaret); DMB 3/439f. (Sayyid Ǧaʿfar Saǧǧādī).

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put. Whereas Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990) reports only that he wrote a *K. al-Uṣūl*,[61] ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār adds that he also wrote a commentary, apparently on this *K. al-Uṣūl*, as well as some further unspecified writings: *ṣāḥib Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa-l-Šarḥ wa-ġayrihimā*. He further states that when Ibn Ḫallād was about to complete his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, he happened to be in Basra, where he met the Murǧiʾite al-Ḫālidī.[62] As a result he gave priority to writing the section on the threat.[63] Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī mentions Ibn Ḫallād and his *œuvre* on various occasions throughout part 3 of his *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*: *al-Kalām fī ḏikr al-Muʿtazila wa-riǧālihim*. While he restates ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's wording in his entry on Ibn Ḫallād,[64] al-Ǧišumī explains in his entry on al-Ḫālidī that Ibn Ḫallād had died before he could complete his *Šarḥ* and that later on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār completed it with his *Takmilat al-Šarḥ*.[65] A further piece of information is given in the entry on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. Here al-Ǧišumī ascribes to him a work bearing the same title as Ibn Ḫallād's second work, viz. *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, as well as a *Takmilat al-Šarḥ*.[66] This suggests that in addition to his *Takmilat al-Šarḥ* and presumably after having completed this work, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār had written his own commentary on the entire *K. al-Uṣūl* by Ibn Ḫallād.[67]

Neither Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* nor his commentary with ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's supplement, nor in fact the latter's *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, has been preserved, so nothing is known about

61. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1(2)/627.

62. This is Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḫālidī. On him, see Gimaret, "Bibliographie d'Aš'arī," 245–247 nos. 22–26. See also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 4/266.

63. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, in Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 324:

فأوّلهم أبو علي ابن خلّاد، صاحب كتاب الأصول والشرح [ط: الشرع] وغيرهما، فإنه كان من المتقدّمين درس عليه بالعسكر ثم ببغداد، فيقال إنه كان يحب منه العود إلى ناحية العسكر وينفرده عن المقام عنده ببغداد. ومما يذكر من أمره أنه كان في الابتداء بعيد الفهم فكان ربّما يبكي لما يجد نفسه عليه فلم يزل مجاهدًا لنفسه حتى تقدّم كل التقدّم. وكان على إتمام كتاب الشرح فاتّفق له بالبصرة المقام وهناك الخالدي، وهو أصل في الإرجاء، فقدّم الكلام في الوعيد لأجل ذلك وبلغ فيه الغاية وكل ذلك كان بمسألة [كذا] وكان يرجع إلى أدب ومعرفة، ومات رحمه الله ولم يبلغ حدّ الشيخوخة.

64. See al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Or. 2584A [= Ar. 1942a], ff. 119b:20–120a:2:

فأوّلهم أبو علي بن خلّاد صاحب كتاب الأصول والشرح، وكان من المتقدّمين درس على أبي هاشم بالعسكر ثم ببغداذ. ومما يذكر من أمره أنه كان في الابتداء بعيد الفهم فربّما بكى لما يجد نفسه عليه، فلم يزل مجاهدًا لنفسه حتى تقدّم كل التقدّم. قال: وكان على إتمام كتاب الشرح فاتّفق له المقام بالبصرة وهناك الخالدي وهو أصل في الإرجاء فقدّم الكلام في الوعيد لأجل ذلك وكان يملّه وبلغ فيه الغاية وكان يرجع إلى أدب ومعرفة ومات ولم يبلغ حدّ الشيخوخة.

This information is repeated by Ibn al-Murtaḍā in his *Ṭabaqāt*, 105. See also Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 181; Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 69.

65. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, f. 123a:11–18:

ومن هذه الطبقة الخالدي بالبصرة وكان يميل إلى الإرجاء ويتشدد فيه وقدم أبو علي بن خلّاد البصرة وهو يملي شرح الأصول وبها الخالدي فسئل أن يقدّم الكلام في الوعيد ففعل وتوفي ولم يتم الشرح ثم أملى قاضي القضاة التكملة. قال القاضي وهو أصل في الإرجاء وكان مذهبه أن الطاعة تؤثر في العقوبة حتى تصيرها منقطعة.

66. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, f. 124b:4, 6 (=Sayyid, *Faḍl*, 367f.).

67. Neither of the two titles is mentioned in the autobibliographical note at the end of his *Muġnī*, 20(2)/257f. This may suggest that he wrote them after he had completed the *Muġnī*. Cf. also ʿUṯmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, 65 no. 24 (*Takmilat al-Šarḥ*), 66 no. 36 (*Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, which ʿUṯmān takes to be the same as his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*).

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the respective characters of these works or about the relations between the various layers. However, substantial portions of the *K. al-Uṣūl* have reached us embedded in two works by later Muʿtazilite authors. The first work is the *K. Ziyādāt Šarḥ al-Uṣūl* by the Zaydī *imām* al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq in the recension of one Sayyid Abū l-Qāsim, who has been tentatively identified as al-Nāṭiq's student Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Ḥasanī.[68] The *Ziyādāt* are preserved in what seems to be a unique manuscript, owned by Leiden University Library.[69] While the text of the *Ziyādāt* is completely preserved, a second supercommentary or *taʿlīq* on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* is only partially extant. A unique manuscript held in the library of the Great Mosque in Sanaa is incomplete at the beginning but covers most of the first chapters of the work, viz. those dealing with the temporality of accidents and bodies leading up to the proof of the existence of the Creator, and with God's attributes, ending with the section devoted to God's being existent.[70] An edition of this fragment was published in 1969 unter the title *Fī l-tawḥīd* by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda. He assumed that the text was a *taʿlīq* on Ibn Ḫallād and identified it as a portion of the *Dīwān al-uṣūl* of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī.[71] A second fragment (incomplete in the beginning and the end) of the same commentary, containing most of the chapters dealing with prophecy, is preserved in the British Library. It was first described by A. S. Tritton[72] and later partly edited by Richard C. Martin.[73] Martin questioned Abū Rīda's identification of the fragment found in Yemen, arguing that it belonged to the same supercommentary on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* as the British Library manuscript. Both manuscripts, he argued, constituted fragments of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī's *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ* that may have been written down by one of his pupils.[74] Gimaret also maintained that the work was not composed by Abū Rašīd but by an anonymous later author.[75] Apart from the frequent references to Abū Rašīd throughout the two fragments,[76] references to Abū

68. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 180. See also Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 71.

69. MS Leiden Or. 2949 [= Ar. 2307]. For an *editio princeps* of the text, see Adang et al., *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology*.

70. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 541, ff. 199 ff., copy dated Ramaḍān 607/February–March 1211. In al-Ruqayhī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/759, the manuscript is erroneously identified as part 1 of the *K. al-Muġnī* by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār.

71. See the editor's detailed description of the manuscript in the introduction to *Fī l-tawḥīd*.

72. MS London, British Library, Or 8613. Tritton, "Some Muʿtazilī Ideas," contains also an edition of ff. 29b:18–34b of the manuscript. See also Peters, *God's Created Speech*, 24 n. 101.

73. Martin, *Muʿtazilite Treatise* (includes an edition of ff. 2b:5–69b of the manuscript). See also Martin, "Role of the Basrah Muʿtazilah." For a partial edition of ff. 69b–85b (*Bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Yahūd fī imtināʿihim min nasḫ al-šarāʾiʿ*), see Adang and Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilī Discussions."

74. Martin, *Muʿtazilite Treatise*, 11; Martin, "Identification of Two Muʿtazilite MSS," 391.

75. Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 73: "Je pense en réalité qu'il s'agit d'un auteur plus tardif."

76. See MS British Library Or 8613, ff. 42a:1, 47a:3, 62b:10, 62b:18f., 63a:6, 64a:4, 67a:9, 81b:20, 101a:6f., 133b:19, 135b:16; *Fī l-tawḥīd*, 14, 149, 215, 229, 231, 280, 301, 445, 471.

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Rašīd's younger contemporaries, al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā[77] and Ibn Mattawayh (especially his *Taḏkira*),[78] strongly suggest that these two manuscripts are not part of Abū Rašīd's *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ*. In the curriculum of studies of Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 656/1258), the Zaydī author Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīğān [Sarbīğān] is credited with a work entitled *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*.[79] It may well be that the two manuscripts, MS British Library Or 8613 and MS Maktabat al-awqāf 541, are in fact portions of this *Šarḥ*.[80]

A comparison of the present *Taʿlīq* with these two works shows that it is also based on the *K. al-Uṣūl*, with an unknown number of commentary layers in between. The *Taʿlīq* shows the same peculiarities with regard to its structure as al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's completely preserved *Ziyādāt*, which convey an impression of the original structure of Ibn Ḫallād's work. Following preliminary discussions on man's duty to use his faculty of reason to arrive at the knowledge of God,[81] the structure of the two texts runs largely parallel. Most notably, the chapter on prophecy follows directly upon the discussion on *tawḥīd* and the divine attributes, as was characteristic for some early Muʿtazilite treatises.[82]

| *Taʿlīq* of al-Ṣaffār (MS ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī) | *Ziyādāt* of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (MS Leiden Or. 2949) |
|---|---|
| *Bāb al-qawl fī ḥudūṯ al-aǧsām* (f. 64a) | [*al-Kalām fī ḥudūṯ al-aǧsām* (f. 1b)] |
| *Masʾala fī iṯbāt al-ṣāniʿ* (f. 73b) | *Bāb fī iṯbāt al-muḥdiṯ* (f. 32a) |
| *Bāb al-qawl fī l-ṣifāt* (f. 86b) | *Bāb al-ṣifāt* (f. 38a) |
| *Bāb al-qawl fī nafy l-tašbīh* (f. 103a) | *Bāb fī l-tašbīh* (f. 66b) |
| *Bāb al-qawl fī l-nubuwwa* (f. 115b) | *Bāb al-radd ʿalā l-Barāhima wa-l-kalām fī l-nubuwwāt* (f. 93b) |
| *Masʾala fī anna llāh taʿālā ʿadl* (f. 134a) | |
| *Masʾala fī l-irāda* (f. 137b) | *Bāb al-irāda* (f. 138a) |
| *Masʾala fī l-istiṭāʿa* (f. 147a) | *Bāb al-istiṭāʿa* (f. 177a) |
| *Bāb al-qawl fī l-waʿīd* (f. 150a) | *Bāb al-waʿīd* (f. 182b) |
| | *Bāb al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* (f. 203b) |
| *Bāb al-qawl fī l-imāma* (f. 159b) | |

77. See MS British Library Or 8613, f. 19a:1.
78. See MS British Library Or 8613, f. 136a:2; *Fī l-tawḥīd*, 14.
79. On Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīğān [Sarbīğān], see above, n. 18.
80. For a more detailed argument, see Chapter 8 in the present volume.
81. *Taʿlīq al-Ṣaffār*, ff. 35a–64a.
82. See Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī und die sunnitische Theologie*, 240ff.

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Towards the end, the structure of the two texts differs. The *Bāb al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* is included in the *Ziyādāt* of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq only, while the *Bāb al-qawl fī l-imāma* in the present *Taʿlīq* has no parallel in the *Ziyādāt*. Neither chapter was apparently part of Ibn Ḫallād's original text. The *Bāb al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* closes with a statement by either the scribe of the Leiden manuscript or the scribe of his *Vorlage* to the effect that the positioning of this chapter is odd, and that it should rather have been placed near the *Bāb ḫalq al-afʿāl*. However, the note continues, since his antegraph (*aṣl al-nusḫa*) placed it here, he left the order unchanged.[83] This, together with the chapter's absence in al-Ṣaffār's *Taʿlīq*, suggests that it had been added by a later commentator. Alternatively, the position of the *Bāb al-waʿīd* before the *Bāb al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* may have originated with Ibn Ḫallād himself: as mentioned earlier, he had chosen this order following his encounter with al-Ḫālidī. The *Taʿlīq*'s last chapter, *Bāb al-qawl fī l-imāma*, is certainly an addition to the text that originated either with its author or with the author of an earlier commentary layer of the text. This is confirmed by the Leiden codex: At the end of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *Ziyādāt*, a later anonymous Zaydī author added a brief outline of the Zaydī doctrine on the imamate (*muḫtaṣar fī l-imāma*), a topic, the anonymous author explains, that had not been dealt with by Ibn Ḫallād and was therefore not covered by al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq in his *Ziyādāt*.[84] It is uncertain whether the first part of the present *Taʿlīq* (ff. 33a–64a) discussing *naẓar* and *taklīf* is based on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* or was added by its author or an earlier commentator. The section has no parallel in al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *Ziyādāt* nor in MS Maktabat al-awqāf, which begins only in the middle of the discussion on the proposition that bodies cannot be devoid of accidents; this discussion forms part of the argument that bodies are temporal, which runs parallel to both al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *Ziyādāt* and the *Taʿlīq*. By contrast, the *Taʿlīq*'s section runs largely parallel to the first part of Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī's ("Mānkdīm Šašdīw", d. ca. 425/1034) *Taʿlīq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*,[85] which suggests that Mānkdīm's text also served as a major source for the author of the *Taʿlīq*.[86]

The numerous references throughout the present *Taʿlīq* to Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī[87] suggest that it is related to Abū Rašīd's *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ*, like the remnants of the supercommentary preserved in MS Maktabat al-awqāf and MS BL but unlike the *Ziyādāt* of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq, which contains not a single reference to Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī. That the

83. MS Leiden Or. 2949, f. 204b: *wa-ʿlam anna hāḏā l-bāb kāna yaǧibu an yakūna bi-ǧanb bāb ḫalq al-afʿāl ġayr annahu fī aṣl al-nusḫa kānat maktūba hāhunā fa-katabnāhu ka-ḏālika*.

84. MS Leiden Or. 2949, ff. 204b:9–212a:19. Leiden University Library also owns a copy transcribed by C. van Arendonk of most of the chapter on the imamate (Or. 8301r). See Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, 407. Hassan Ansari has argued for al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ as a possible author of the *Muḫtaṣar*; see Ansari, *Miyān-i kalām wa falsafa*, 321-326.

85. Published as Mānkdīm Šašdīw, *Taʿlīq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, 39–92.

86. See also above, n. 52.

87. See above, n. 55.

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two *taʿālīq* are somehow related is also suggested by a sample comparison of the beginning of the text of the *Bāb al-qawl fī l-ṣifāt* as it appears in the two supercommentaries.[88]

Apart from the similarities mentioned, the present *Taʿlīq* clearly differs from the two other supercommentaries. The anonymous author of MS Maktabat al-awqāf/MS BL regularly cites Ibn Ḫallād at the beginning of each chapter, whereas al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq refers to him only occasionally throughout the *Ziyādāt*. The extant parts of the present *Taʿlīq*, by contrast, include not a single reference to or any other hint of Ibn Ḫallād as the author of the original work.[89] An additional characteristic of the *Taʿlīq* is that, although it is considerably shorter than the other supercommentaries,[90] it contains numerous references and quotations that have no equivalent either in al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *Ziyādāt* or in MS Maktabat al-awqāf/MS BL. This suggests that the author of the *Taʿlīq* had somewhat different material at his disposal than did the authors of the other supercommentaries.

## Appendix 1: Comparison of *Bāb al-qawl fi l-ṣifāt* in MS Maktabat al-awqāf (= *Fī l-tawḥīd*, ed. Abū Rīda, 457–492) and the *Taʿlīq* of Abī Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār

| *Fī l-tawḥīd* | *Taʿlīq* of Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār |
|---|---|
| **باب القول في الصفات** (457:1–2) | **باب القول في الصفات** (86b:11) |
| ثم قال: فإن قال قائل: ما الدليل على أن محدثه قادر إلى قوله في فصل آخر: فما الدليل على أنه عالم؟ (457:3–5) | |
| **اعلم أنه لما كان طريق العلم بالقديم تعالى فعله فكذلك طريق العلم بأوصافه يجب أن يكون فعله إما بنفسه وإما بواسطة.** فكل صفة لا يدل عليها فعله لا بنفسه ولا بواسطة ولا بواسطتين وجب نفيها، وكل صفة يدل عليها فعله إما بنفسه وإما بواسطتين وجب إثباتها (457:6–9) | **اعلم أنه لما كان الطريق إلى إثبات القديم تعالى فعل من أفعاله كذلك الطريق إلى إثبات صفاته وهو فعل من أفعاله، إما بنفس الفعل أو بواسطة** (86b:11–13) |

88. See below, Appendix 1. For a sample comparison of MS Maktabat al-awqāf 541/MS British Library Or 8613 against the *Ziyādāt* of al-Nātiq bi-l-ḥaqq, see Adang and Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilī Discussions."

89. The author may, of course, have mentioned the history of the original text he was commenting on in the introduction to the *Taʿlīq* that is not preserved.

90. For an approximate ratio between the length of al-Ṣaffār's *Taʿlīq* and that of the supercommentary MS Maktabat al-awqāf 541/MS British Library Or 8613, see the Appendix 1. The ratio between the *Ziyādāt* of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (96,224 words) and al-Ṣaffār's *Taʿlīq* (32,000 words at a rough estimate) is 3:1.

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**هذا كما أن الجوهر لما كانت الطريق إلى إثباته هو الإدراك فكذلك الطريق إلى إثبات صفاته هو الإدراك، إما بنفس الإدراك أو بواسطة. أما بنفس الإدراك نعلم كونه متحيزاً وبكونه متحيزاً[91] نعلم كونه جوهراً** (86b:13–16)

**هذا كما أن لما كان الإدراك طريقًا إلى العلم فالطريق إلى أوصافه أيضًا يجب أن يكون الإدراك إما بنفسه وإما بواسطة فكل صفة لا يدل عليها الإدراك لا بنفسه ولا بواسطة وجب نفيها، وكل صفة يدل عليها الإدراك إما بنفسه وإما بواسطة وجب إثباتها. وعلى هذا أبطلنا أن يكون للجوهر حال لا يتعلق به الإدراك وما لا يتعلق الإدراك به طريقًا إليه كالتحيز ولا كان العلم به يحصل على سبيل التبع لما يتعلق الإدراك به كما نقول في الوجود.**

وهذا أصل كبير وهو أن كل أمر من الأمور يكون طريقًا إلى إثبات أمر من الأمور فالطريق إلى إثباته يجب أن يكون ذلك الأمر إما بنفسه وإما بواسطة. فعلى هذا لما كان الطريق إلى إثبات المعنى حكمًا صادرًا من قبله فالطريق إلى إثبات صفاته يجب أن يكون ذلك الحكم إما بنفسه وإما بواسطة (457:10–458:2)

قسمة أخرى

**اعلم أن صفات الله على ضربين، منها ما نعلم بنفس الفعل وهو كونه قادرًا، ومنها ما نعلم بأن يكون الفعل واقعًا على وجه ككونه مريدًا أو كارهًا، فإن الفعل إذا كان واقعًا على وجه الإحكام نعلم كونه عالمًا، وإذا كان واقعًا على وجه الأمر نعلم كونه مريدًا، وإذا كان نهيًا وتهديدًا ووعيدًا نعلم كونه كارهًا** (86b:16–21)

فإذا ثبتت هذه الجملة **فالذي يدل على الفعل من أوصافه إنما هو على ضربين، أحدهما أن يدل عليه بنفسه من دون واسطة، والثاني أن يدل الفعل عليه لا بنفسه. والذي يدل عليه الفعل بنفسه ضربان أيضًا، أحدهما ما يكفي فيه مجرد الفعل وهو كونه قادرًا، والثاني ما لا يكفي فيه مجرد الفعل وهو على ضربين أيضًا، أحدهما أن يدل الفعل عليه وهو على وجه الإحكام والاتساق وهو كونه عالمًا، والثاني أن يدل عليه وقوع الفعل على [وجه] دون وجه وهو كونه مريدًا أو كارهًا.** فالأول والثاني يؤثران في الفعل على حد التصحيح والثالث يؤثر فيه على حد الإيجاب (458:3–14)

قسمة أخرى

**اعلم أن صفات الله تعالى على ضربين، منها ما نعلم بنفس الفعل وهو كونه قادرًا، ومنها ما نعلم بواسطة وذلك على ضربين، منها ما نعلم بواسطة واحدة، ومنها ما نعلم بواسطتين. أما ما نعلم بواسطة واحدة وهو كونه حيًا وموجودًا فإنا بنفس الفعل نعلم كونه قادرًا وبكونه قادرًا نعلم كونه حيًا وموجودًا. وأما ما نعلم بواسطتين وهو كونه مدركًا فبنفس الفعل نعلم كونه [قادرًا] وبكونه قادرًا نعلم كونه حيًا وموجودًا وبكونه حيًا وموجودًا نعلم كونه مدركًا** (86b:21–87a:7)

**وأما الذي يدل عليه الفعل بواسطة واحدة والثاني أن يدل عليه الفعل بواسطتين. فالذي يدل عليه الفعل بواسطة واحدة فنحو كونه موجودًا حيًا فإن الفعل يدل على كونه قادرًا وكونه قادرًا يدل على كونه موجودًا حيًا. ويدخل في هذا الباب ما عليه القديم تعالى في ذاته فإن الذي يدل عليه إنما هو وجوب هذه الصفات التي يدل الفعل عليها إما بنفسه وإما بواسطة. والذي يدل عليه الفعل بواسطتين فنحو كونه مدركًا، فإن الفعل يدل على كونه قادرًا وكونه قادرًا يدل على كونه موجودًا حيًا وكونه حيًا يدل على كونه مدركًا.**

فهذه [هي] الصفات التي تدل عليها أفعاله، إما بنفسها وإما بواسطة أو بواسطتين. وعلى هذا أبطلنا قول من يقول بالمائية وقول من يقول بأن الله تعالى جسم أو عرض أو بصفة الأجسام والأعراض من كونه متحيزًا أو كائنًا أو حالًا أو هيئة للمحل، فإن الفعل لا يدل على شيء من ذلك.

وكذلك أبطلنا قول من يقول بأن الله تعالى متكلم فيما لم يزل أو مريد فيما لم يزل أو مشتهٍ أو نافر. وهذا أصل كبير تجب مراعاته. (458:15–459:14)

91. متحيزاً: + نعلم كونه متحيزاً، الأصل.

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قسمة أخرى

اعلم أن عدد صفات الله تعالى على مذهب أبي علي تسعة كونه قادرًا وعالمًا وحيًا وموجودًا وسميعًا وبصيرًا ومدركًا ومريدًا وكارهًا. أما كونه قادرًا وعالمًا وحيًا وموجودًا صفاته ذاتية وكونه سميعًا وبصيرًا مقتضى كونه حيًا وكذلك كونه مدركًا مقتضى عن صفة كونه حيًا بشرط وجود المدرك ويكون مريدًا بإرادة وكارهًا بكراهة. وأما على مذهب أبي هاشم صفات الله تعالى ثمانية، أولها صفته الذاتية التي لا اسم لها، وكونه قادرًا وعالمًا وحيًا وموجودًا مقتضى عن تلك الصفة، وكونه مدركًا هو مقتضى عن صفة كونه حيًا بشرط وجود المدرك، ويكون مريدًا بإرادة وكارهًا بكراهة. وأما كونه سميعًا وبصيرًا ليستا صفتان زائدتان على كونه حيًا عند أبي هاشم وعند أبي علي هما صفتان زائدتان على كونه حيًا (87a:7–18)

قسمة أخرى

اعلم أن صفات الله تعالى على ضربين، منها ما يكون صفة على الحقيقة، ومنها ما لا يكون صفة على الحقيقة. أما ما يكون صفة على الحقيقة هي ما ذكرناها وحصرناها. وأما ما لا يكون صفة على الحقيقة فهو ككونه خالقًا ورازقًا ومحسنًا ومتفضلًا ومنعمًا ومتكلمًا وصادقًا، فإن هذه الصفات ليست بصفة على الحقيقة وإنما هي صفة الفعل، فليس للفاعل بكونه فاعلًا حالٌ وصفةٌ (87a:18–87b:2)

فإن قيل: فما حدّ القادر؟

قيل له: ذكر قاضي القضاة في المغني: هو المختصّ بحالٍ لكونه عليها يصح منه الفعل إذا لم يكن هناك منع ولا ما يجري مجرى المنع (87b:2–5)

فإن قيل: ما حد المنع؟

قيل له: هو ما لأجله تعذر الفعل ولولاه لم يتعذر (87b:5–6)

اعلم أن على التحقيق في الصفة الذاتية للقديم تعالى إنما هي صفة واحدة، وبها تقع المخالفة والموافقة إن كان له موافق، وهكذا كل ذات صفتها الذاتية إنما هي صفة واحدة وما عداها فمقتضى أو موجب عن معنى. أما كونه موجودًا حيًا عالمًا فإنما هو مقتضى عن تلك الصفة وأما كونه مدركًا فمقتضى عن كونه حيًا، وأما كونه مريدًا كارهًا فموجبان عن معنيين، وهما إرادة وكراهة. وأما وجود الشرط في صفاته فيجب أن يفصل القول في ذلك: إن كان صفة لا تجب له في كل حال وفي كل وقت فلا بد من وجود الشرط عليه، وذلك نحو كونه مدركًا فإنه مشروط بوجود المدرَك ويكون الشرط حقيقة فيه. وكذلك كونه مريدًا وكارهًا فإنه مشروط بكونه حيًا وبكونه عالمًا فصحة حدوث المراد، وإن كان صفة واحدة في كل حال وفي كل وقت، فإنه لا يطلق إدخال الشرط فيه، لأن حدوثه يقتضي أن يكون المشروط إنما يكون موجودًا والشرط حتى إن كان الشرط كان المشروط وإن لم يكن الشرط لم يكن المشروط. وذلك إنما يتصور فيما لا يكون واجبًا على كل حال ولكن بعلة فيها ما يدخل فيه ما يجري مجرى الشرط وإن لم يكن شرطًا على وجه الحقيقة وفيها ما لا يدخل فيه أيضًا ما يجري مجرى الشرط. أما ما هو عليه القديم في ذاته من الصفة فإنه لا يدخل فيه ما يجري مجرى الشرط فكونه حيًا في حكم المشروط بكونه موجودًا وكونه عالمًا في حكم المشروط بكونه حيًا موجودًا (459:15–460:16)

+ فإن قيل ... هذه الجملة مقدمة هذا الباب فالآن نرجع إلى ما هو مقصود بالباب (460:17–469:1)

92. صفاته: صفته، الأصل.
93. قاضي: القاضي، الأصل.
94. مجرى: مكرر في الأصل.

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فإن قيل: وما مثال ما يكون جارياً مجرى المنع؟ قيل له: الخرس والسكوت لأنهما جاريا مجرى المنع لأن الكلام لا ضد له والمنع أن الشيء يكون ضدًا له ولكن لما تعذر إيجاد الكلام مع الخرس والسكوت أجريناه مجرى المنع. والشيخ أبو رشيد رحمه الله اعترض على هذا الحلّ وقال: إيراد المنع جاريًا مجرى المنع لنا عنه غنية وذلك لأن الفعل يصح من الممنوع وإن تعذر الوقوع فالوجه أن يقتصر على قولنا هو المختصّ بحال لكونه عليها يصح منه الفعل (87b:6–12)

فإن قيل: أليس أن القديم تعالى كان قادرًا فيما لم يزل ومع ذلك لم يحصل منه الفعل؟ والجواب: نحن اعتبرنا في حد القادر صحة الفعل لا الوقوع، وقد صح من الله تعالى الفعل فيما لم يزل وإن كان الوقوع محال (87b:12–15)

**فإن قيل: ما الدليل على أن الله تعالى قادر؟**

**قيل له: الدليل على ذلك قد صح منه الفعل وصحة الفعل يدل على كونه قادرًا** (87b:15–17)

**فإن قيل: ولِمَ قلتم ذلك؟**

**قيل له: لأنا وجدنا في الشاهد جملتين قد صح الفعل من أحدهما وتعذر على الأخرى ومن صح منه الفعل فارق من تعذر منه الفعل بصحة،** وكل من كان على تلك الصفة فإن أهل اللغة سموه قادرًا وقد صح من الله تعالى فيجب أن يكون قادرًا (87b:17–20)

**فإن قيل: صحة الفعل يدل به على كونه قادرًا أو وقوع الفعل؟**

**قلنا: لا، بل صحة الفعل يدل على كونه قادرًا والوقوع طريق لنا إلى صحة الفعل، وذلك لأن الفعل إذا وقع بأمر موجب كما ذهب إليه أهل الطبائع لا يدل على كونه قادرًا. يبين ذلك أن حركة المرتعش لا يدل على كونه قادرًا لأنه مضطر إليها** (87b:20–88a:5)

**فإن قيل: فما الدليل على أن الله تعالى قادر؟**

**قيل له: الدليل على ذلك صحة وقوع الفعل** (469:2–3)

**فإن قيل: فلم قلتم أن صحة وقوع الفعل تدل على كونه قادرًا؟**

**قيل له: نردّ بذلك إلى الشاهد فنقول: إنا وجدنا في الشاهد جملتين صح من أحدهما الفعل وتعذر على الآخر مع تساويهما في سائر الصفات فكان يجب أن يكون من صح منه الفعل مفارقًا لمن تعذر عليه بأمر من الأمور، لولاه لم يكن هو بأن يصح منه الفعل أولى من أن يتعذر ولا صاحبه بأن يتعذر عليه أولى من أن يصح** وهذا الموضع هو الذي به نعلم المؤثر بأدنى التأمل. فمن نازع في ذلك فإنه لا يستحق الجواب بل يجب أن يرجع إلى رأس النظر والتأمل فإنا قد نبهناه على طريق النظر، وهذا هو طريقنا في إثبات الأعراض (469:4–11)

**فإن قيل: فما الدليل في الحقيقة، الوقوع أو الصحة؟**

**قيل له: بل بالصحة، لأن الصحة لا يمكن أن نتوصل إليها إلا بالوقوع فاعتبرنا الوقوع حتى لو أمكننا الرجوع إلى العلم بالصحة لكان ذلك كافيًا. والذي يدل على أن الدليل هو الصحة لا الوقوع هو أن الفعل لو وقع في حال يجب وقوعه لما دل على كونه قادرًا بل بأن يدل على أنه ليس بقادر أولى وأنه في حكم العلة مع المعلول** (469:12–17)

95. جاريًا: وجاريا، الأصل.

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فإن قيل: ما قلتم: إنا وجدنا في الشاهد جملتين، وهلا قلتم: إنا وجدنا في الشاهد ذاتين، كما قلتم في مسألة كونه حيًا؟

قيل: إنما كان كذلك، لأن كونه قادرًا صفة راجعة إلى الجملة فكانت ينبغي أن نقول: وجدنا جملتين، ولا كذلك في مسألة كونه حيًا لأن هناك إنما تصير جملة بالحياة فما لم نثبت كونه حيًا لا يمكننا أن نقول: وجدنا جملتين، واجتماع الأجزاء كافتراقها عند أهل الكلام إذا لم يكن بها حياة والجملة عبارة عندهم عن الحي، فلو قلنا في المثال: وجدنا جملتين يتنزل منزلة قول من يقول: وجدنا حيين، فيكون ذلك بمنزلة تعليل الشيء والاستدلال بنفسه وذلك محال (88a:5–13)

فإن قيل: وما المراد بالجملتين؟

قيل له: لأصحابنا في تفسيره طرق ولكن الأصحّ ما ذكره قاضي القضاة المراد بذلك الصحيحين الكبيرين فإنه يتأتى من أحدهما ما لا يتأتى من الآخر (88a:13–15)

فإن قيل: هذا المثال نقيض أن يكون أحدهما أقدر ولا يدل على أن أحدهما قادرًا.

والجواب: لولا أن لكونه تأثيرًا في صحة الفعل وإلا مما كان له تأثيرًا في زيادة الفعل فلما استند زيادة الفعل إلى كونه قادرًا فأصل الفعل وجملته أولى أن يستند إلى كونه قادرً (88a:15–19)

فإن قيل: هذا المثال وإن تأتى في الشاهد فإنه لا يتأتى في الغائب، لأن القديم تعالى ذات واحدة وليس بجملة.

والجواب قلنا: الغرض بالتمثيل بالجملتين أن نبين أن صحة الفعل يستند إلى كونه قادرًا ولا يمكننا أن نعلم ذلك إلا بعد أن نصور في الجملتين فمتى ثبتناها في الشاهد قسنا عليه الغائب، فنقول: إن القديم تعالى لما صح منه الفعل وجب أن يكون طريق الأدلة بمدلولاتها لا تختلف شاهدًا وغائبًاً (88a:19–88b:6)

فإن قيل: كيف يمكنكم أن تعلموا تساوي الجملتين في سائر الصفات ... وهذه الطريقة في الجواب معتبرة (469:18–476:14)

ولا يُرد على هذا إلا أن يقول السائل: إنهما افترقا في الجثّة والبنية في القلة والكثرة وكثرة ما فيها من المعاني وقلته.

فالجواب أن صغر البنية وكبرها لا تأثير لهما في هذا الباب إذا لم يعتبر أمر زائد على ذلك وقد علمنا أن [من] يكون كبير الجثة لا يتأتى منه الفعل ومن يكون صغير الجثة فإنه يتأتي منه الفعل فربما يتأتى منه أكثر مما يتأتى من الكبير وربما لا يتأتى من الكبير شيء من الأفعال بأن يكون مريضًا مدنفًا. فإذن مجرد الكبر والصغر لا تأثير لهما في هذا الباب (476:15–477:3)

+ فإن قيل: ما ذكرتموه من اعتبار المفارقة ... فلا بد من أن يكون ذلك لأمر مخصص (477:4–486:9)

96. إلى كونه: لكونه، مع تصحيح في الهامش، الأصل.

97. يكون: + للا ان، ولعله مشطوب، الأصل.

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**فإن قيل: ما أنكرتم أن المؤثر في صحة الفعل إنما هو صحة البنية واعتدال المزاج فمتى كانت البنية صحيحة والمزاج معتدلًا صح الفعل وإن لم يكن قادرًا؟**

**والجواب أن هذا لا يصح، وذلك لأن صحة البنية واعتدال المزاج حكمها مقصورة على محلها ولا يجوز أن يؤثر في حكم راجع إلى الجملة وهو صحة الفعل ولا كذلك كونه قادرًا فإن كونه قادرًا صفة راجعة إلى الجملة وجب أن يكون هو المؤثر في حكم راجع إلى الجملة وهو صحة الفعل** (88b:6–13)

فإن قيل: أليس أن العلم موجود في بعض الجملة وهو القلب، ومع ذلك يؤثر في صفة راجعة إلى الجملة وهو كونه عالمًا فكذلك ما أنكرتم أن صحة البنية وإن كانت مقصورة على محلها فإنها مؤثرة[98] في حكم راجع إلى الجملة؟

والجواب قلنا: العلم علة ومن حق العلة أن توجب الصفة للذات، ولا توجب صفة الذات إلا إذا كانت لها بالذات نهاية الاختصاص ولا يكون للعلة بالذات نهاية الاختصاص إلا إذا كانت حالة فيه أو في بعضه، وليس كذلك صحة البنية فإن صحة البنية ليست بعلة ولا سبب، فلا يجوز أن يقاس على العلة (88b:13–89a:2)

فإن قيل: أليس أن كونه قادرًا صفة راجعة إلى الجملة ومع ذلك يؤثر في كونه موجودًا والوجود راجع إلى كل جزء؟

والجواب قلنا: إن هاهنا اقتضاء الدلالة لا اقتضاء التأثير لأنه كونه قادرًا يدل على كونه موجودًا ولا يؤثر فيه ولا كذلك كونه قادرًا مع صحة الفعل فإنه كونه قادرًا يؤثر في صحة الفعل ولا يدل عليه وصحة الفعل يدل على كونه قادرًا (89a:2–7)

**فإن قيل: فلم لا يجوز أن يقال أن الفعل ممن صح إنما صح لمكان صحة البنية واعتدال المزاج بدليل أن البنية لو كانت صحيحة معتدلة لصح الفعل ولو لم تكن كذلك لما صح**، فلا بد من أن تكون صحة الفعل لمكان الصحة والاعتدال إذ لو كانت لأمر زائد على ذلك لكان لا بد أن يصح انفكاك ذلك الأمر عن صحة البنية واعتدال المزاج فيتأتى من الجملة لو كان لا يتأتى منها الفعل أصلًا وبتّةً، وإن كان صحيح البنية معتدل المزاج إذ لا علقة بين ذلك. ومعلوم أن أحدنا إذا كان صحيح البنية معتدل المزاج يتأتى منه التصرف وأنه إذا لم يكن كذلك لم يتأت منه التصرف وكان زمِنًا ذا آفة.

**فالجواب أن الفعل صح من الجملة فإذا كان دليلًا فلا بد من أن يدل على أمر يرجع إلى الجملة وصحة البنية واعتدال المزاج تختص ببعض الجملة فكان في حكم الغير فكما أن صفة راجعة إلى الغير لا تقتضي حكمًا لغيرها فكذلك ما يختصّ ببعض الجملة لا يقتضي حكمًا يرجع إلى الجملة.** فأما قول السائل أن مع صحة البنية واعتدال المزاج لا بد من أن يتأتي منه التصرف ولا يجوز ألا يتأتي من التصرف فإنه لا يصح، فإنا نقول أن صحة الفعل لو كانت مقصورة على صحة البنية واعتدال المزاج دون شيء آخر لكان يجب أن تتأتي من كل عضو صحيح مع وجود المفصل فيه. وقد علمنا خلاف ذلك وأن شحمة الأذن عضو صحيح وفيه مفصل، ومع ذلك لا يمكن الفعل بها أصلًا. (487:8–486:10)

فإن قيل: فلم لا يجوز أن يقال: الأمر المقصور على بعض الجملة فإنه يؤثر في الأمر الراجع إلى الجملة، كما تقولون أنتم في الحياة والقدرة وغيرهما من المعاني التي ترجع الصفات الصادرة عنها إلى الجملة ... فبأن يعلل الثابت بالثابت والمنفى بالمنفى أولى من خلافه (487:9–492:9)

98. مؤثرة: مؤثر، الأصل.

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**فإن قيل: ما أنكرتم أن المؤثر في صحة الفعل إنما هو الطبع؟**
والجواب قلنا: إن هذا لا يصح لأن الطبع غير معقول وقد مضى الكلام فيه (89a:7–9)

**فإن قيل: لم لا يجوز أن يقال أن الفعل إنما يصح لمكان الطبع؟**
قلنا: ما تريد بالطبع؟ إن أردتم به أمرًا يرجع إلى الجملة فهو الذي نقول [و]يكون الخلاف خلافًا في العبارة. وإن أردتم به أمرًا يختص ببعض الجملة فقد بينا أن ما يرجع إلى البعض لا يجوز أن يؤثر فيما يرجع إلى الجملة.
وبهذا أبطلنا قول الكلابية حيث قالوا أن الفعل يدل على القدرة. هذا هو الكلام في هذا الفصل. (492:10–17)

واعلم أن صفات الجملة عشرة كونه قادرًا وحيًا ومعتقدًا ومدركًا ومشتهيًا ونافرًا ومريدًا وكارهًا وظانًا وناظرًا (89a:9–11)

## Appendix 2: Table of Contents of *Taʿlīq* Abī Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār

*Faṣl fī taqsīm al-wāǧibāt* (f. 37a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-hal min ǧumlat al-wāǧibāt mā yataḍayyaqu wuǧūbuhā ʿalā Allāh taʿālā ...* (f. 37b)
*Faṣl wa-ʿlam anna tark al-wāǧib iḏā muniʿa min fiʿl al-wāǧib ʿalā ḍarbayn ...* (f. 38a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-mā ḥadd al-qabīḥ ...* (f. 38a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-mā ḥadd al-mukallaf ...* (f. 38a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-ʿalā ayy ṣifa yaǧibu an yakūna l-mukallif ḥattā yaḥsuna minhu an yukallifa l-ġayr ...* (f. 39b)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla wa-mā al-naẓar ...* (f. 39b)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla wa-mā al-fikr ...* (f. 40a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-mā al-ṭarīq ...* (f. 40a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-mā al-maʿrifa ...* (f. 40b)
*Faṣl iʿlam anna l-ʿulūm ʿalā ḍarbayn ḍarūrī wa-muktasab* (f. 42a)
*Faṣl wa-ʿlam anna l-ʿulūm al-ḍarūriyya ʿalā ḍarbayn baʿḍuhā min kamāl al-ʿaql wa-baʿḍuhā laysa min kamāl al-ʿaql ...* (f. 42b)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿāla lā yuʿrafu ḍarūratan* (f. 43b)
*Masʾala fī anna l-naẓar yuwallidu l-ʿilm* (f. 46a)
*Masʾala fī anna l-taqlīd bāṭil* (f. 49a)
*Masʾala uḫrā iʿlam anna ʿindanā al-mukallaf maʿa mā yumkinu min al-iktisāb* [sic] *al-ʿilm bi-llāh taʿālā la yaǧūzu an yaqtaṣira ʿalā l-ẓann ...* (f. 51 b)
*Masʾala fī anna l-naẓar wāǧib* (f. 52b)
*Masʾala fī anna l-naẓar awwal al-wāǧibāt* (f. 54b)
*Masʾala fī waǧh wuǧūb maʿrifat Allāh taʿālā* (f. 56a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla mā awwal mā anʿama Allāh ʿalayka ...* (f. 56b)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla wa-mā ḥadd al-šukr ...* (f. 57b)
*Faṣl wa-ʿlam anna l-manāfiʿ allatī yafʿaluhā Allāh taʿālā binā ḍarbān wāǧib wa-tafaḍḍul fa-l-wāǧib ḍarbān ṯawāb wa-ʿiwaḍ* (f. 58a)
*Faṣl fī uṣūl al-dīn* (f. 60b)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-mā al-dalāla allatī iḏā naẓarnā fīhā ʿarafnā rabbanā* (f. 64a)

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*Faṣl fī l-maqdūrāt* (f. 64a)
***Bāb al-qawl fī ḥudūṯ al-aǧsām*** (f. 66a)
*Masʾala fī iṯbāt al-ṣāniʿ* (f. 73b)
*Faṣl ḏahaba firqa tusammā mufawwiḍa ilā anna Allāh taʿālā yaǧūzu an yufawwiḍa ḫalq al-ʿālam ilā qādir bi-qudra min malik aw ǧinnī aw insī* (f. 77b)
*Faṣl wa-lā yaǧūzu an yakūna al-māniʿ min īǧād al-ǧism innamā huwa anna bi-l-ʿālam malaʾ* (f. 80a)
*Masʾala fī ibṭāl al-ṭabʿ* (f. 82a)
***Bāb al-qawl fī l-ṣifāt*** (f. 86b)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā ʿālim* (f. 89a)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā ḥayy* (f. 90b)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā samīʿ baṣīr* (f. 92a)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā mudrik* (f. 92b)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā mawǧūd* (f. 94b)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā qadīm* (f. 95b)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā ġanī* (f. 96a)
*Faṣl ḏahaba Ḍirār b. ʿAmr ilā anna li-llāh taʿālā māʾiyya lā yaʿlimuhā illā huwa ...* (f. 96b)
*Masʾala ḏahaba aṣḥābunā ilā anna Allāh qādir li-ḏātihi wa-ʿālim li-ḏātihi wa-ḥayy li-ḏātihi wa-mawǧūd li-ḏātihi wa-l-Naǧǧār yuwāfiqunā fī ḏālika wa-yuḫālifunā fī l-irāda wa-qāla Allāh taʿālā murīdun bi-irāda mawǧūda lā fī maḥall ...* (f. 97a)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā ʿālim bi-ǧamīʿ al-maʿlūmāt* (f. 101a)
***Bāb al-qawl fī nafy al-tašbīh*** (f. 102a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla mā al-dalīl ʿalā anna Allāh taʿālā lā yakūna ʿaraḍan ...* (f. 104b)
*Masʾala fī nafy al-ruʾya ʿan Allāh taʿālā* (f. 104b)
*Faṣl āḫar iʿlam anna ʿindanā lā yurā al-qadīm taʿālā ka-ḏālika lā yarā huwa nafsahu* (f. 112a)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā wāḥid* (f. 112b)
***Bāb al-qawl fī l-nubuwwa*** (f. 115b)
*Faṣl iḫtalafa al-šayḫān Abū ʿAlī wa-Abū Hāšim hal yaǧūzu an yaqūla qāʾil nabīʾ Allāh bi-l-hamz am lā* (f. 116a)
*Faṣl wa-ʿlam anna l-nabī ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam lā yaǧūzu an yakūna kāfiran wa-lā ḫilāf fīhi wa-innamā l-ḫilāf hal yaǧūzu an yakūna fāsiqan* (f. 119a)
*Masʾala fī tafḍīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ* (f. 121b)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-mā allaḏī yadullu ʿalā l-nubuwwa qīla lahu al-muʿǧiz* (f. 124a)
*Faṣl iʿlam anna l-yahūd ʿalā ṯalāṯ firaq* (f. 125a)
*Masʾala fī l-kalām* (f. 128b)
*Masʾala fī anna Allāh taʿālā ʿadl* (f. 133a)
*Faṣl wa-ʿlam anna ʿindanā al-ḥasan innamā yakūnu ḥasanan li-wuqūʿihi ʿalā waǧh wa-l-qabīḥ innamā yakūnu qabīḥan li-wuqūʿihi ʿalā waǧh* (f. 134a)
*Faṣl ḏahaba l-Naẓẓām ilā anna Allāh taʿālā lā yakūnu qādiran ʿalā l-ẓulm wa-ḏahabat al-Naǧǧāriyya wa-l-Ašʿariyya ilā anna Allāh yakūnu qādiran ʿalā l-ẓulm wa-lākin law faʿalahu lā yakūn qabīḥan wa-ʿindanā anna Allāh taʿālā qādir ʿalā l-ẓulm wa-law faʿala yakūn qabīḥan* (f. 134b)

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*Masʾala fī l-irāda* (f. 135b)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-mā allaḏī yurīdu al-qadīm taʿālā ...* (f. 137b)
*Faṣl fī l-ālām* (f. 140a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla al-ʿiwaḍ hal yustaḥaqqu dāʾiman aw munqaṭiʿan* (f. 14la)
*Masʾala fī anna l-ʿibād muḥdiṯūn li-taṣarrufihim wa-anna taṣarrufātihim min qibalihim lā min qibal Allāh taʿālā* (f. 143a)
*Faṣl fī ibṭāl al-kasb* (f. 145a)
*Masʾala fī l-istiṭāʿa* (f. 147a)
***Bāb al-qawl fī l-waʿīd*** (f. 149a)
*Faṣl wa-ʿlam anna fī l-maʿāṣī mā hiya ṣaġīra wa-fīhā mā hiya kabīra* (f. 152a)
*Faṣl fa-in qīla fa-mā taqūlūn fī aṭfāl al-mušrikīn hal yuʿaḏḏibuhum Allāh taʿālā bi-ḏunūb ābāʾihim am lā* (f. 154b)
*Faṣl fī ʿaḏāb al-qabr* (f. 155a)
*Faṣl fī l-šafāʾa* (f. 155b)
*Faṣl [fī] l-āǧāl* (f. 156a)
*Faṣl fī l-rizq* (f. 157a)
*Faṣl fī l-siʿr* (f. 157b)
***Bāb al-qawl fī l-imāma*** (f. 157b)
*Faṣl fī imāmat al-Ḥasan wa-l-Ḥusayn ʿalayhimā al-salām* (f. 167a)
*Faṣl fī imāmat Zayd b. ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām* (f. 167a)
*Faṣl iʿlam anna l-imāma lā budda lahā min manṣib maḫṣūṣ wa-huwa an yakūna l-imām min baṭn Fāṭima ʿalayhā al-salām* (f. 167b)
*Faṣl iʿlam annahu lā yaǧūzu an yakūna fī zamān wāḥid imāmayn* (f. 168a)
*Faṣl iʿlam anna l-imām iḏā ẓahara minhu l-daʿwa wa-ntaṣaba li-l-amr waǧaba ʿalā l-muslimīn aǧmaʿ iǧābatuhu wa-iṭāʿatuhu* (f. 168b)
*Faṣl iʿlam an lā yaǧūzu an yaḫlū zaman min al-azmina min al-imām* (f. 169a)
*Faṣl fī šarāʾiṭ al-imām wa-awṣāfihi* (f. l 69b)
*Faṣl iʿlam anna l-Imāmiyya wa-baʿḍa l-Zaydiyya ḏahabū ilā anna l-imām yaǧibu an yakūna maʿṣūman* (f. 170a)

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# Chapter 6
# Iranian Zaydism during the Seventh/Thirteenth Century: Abū l-Faḍl b. Šahrdawīr al-Daylamī al-Ǧīlānī and His Commentary on the Qurʾān

From the third/ninth through the late sixth/twelfth century, the leading intellectual centers of Zaydism were located in northern Iran, namely, in Ṭabaristān, Daylamān, and Gīlān in the Caspian region, as well as in Rayy during and after the Būyid age, and in Bayhaq in Ḫurāsān. Gradually, the Zaydī communities in Iran experienced a decline, and most of their literary legacy was no longer transmitted. Had it not been for the massive transfer of Zaydī religious literature from Iran to Yemen following the political unification of the Caspian and Yemeni Zaydīs that began by the end of the fifth/eleventh century, most of the Iranian Zaydī literary heritage would have been lost. Following the death in 614/1217 of the Yemenite Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, during whose reign the cultural transfer from Iran to Yemen reached its peak, relations between the Iranian and Yemenite Zaydī communities became more tenuous and the transfer of literary sources from Iran to Yemen, which had by now replaced northern Iran as the intellectual center of Zaydism, mostly ceased.[1]

That the tradition of Zaydī learning continued in Iran at least until the tenth/sixteenth century is confirmed by scattered documents attesting the scholarly tradition of Zaydism of the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries,[2] as well as by a number of manuscripts transcribed in the Caspian Zaydī community between the seventh/thirteenth and the tenth/sixteenth centuries. MS Laleli 3314 (held in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul) is a *maǧmūʿa* copied in the Zaydī community of northern Iran during the seventh/thirteenth century containing two works on grammar (*naḥw*).[3] Another collective manuscript, transcribed during the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century and containing theological works by Zaydī scholars both from Iran and from Yemen, is held by the library of the University of Shiraz (ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī Library).[4] In

1. For the history of Zaydism in Iran, see the groundbreaking studies by Madelung: *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, passim; "Alid Rulers"; "Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī"; "*Minor Dynasties*"; *Arabic Texts*; *Religious Trends*, 86–92.

2. See Dānišpažūh, "Du mašīḥa-yi Zaydī"; Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, introduction; al-Ḥāʾirī et al., *Fihrist*, 7/384–388.

3. For a description of this codex, see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 373-380.

4. For a description of this codex, see Chapter 5 in the present volume.



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addition, the Maǧlis Library in Tehran owns a multitext codex (MS Maǧlis 10727), copied around 732/1332 in Zaydī circles, that contains various tracts in Arabic and Persian, including Abū Muḍar Šurayḥ b. al-Muʾayyad's (fl. end of fifth/eleventh, early sixth/twelfth century) *Lubāb al-maqālāt li-qamʿ al-ǧahālāt* and al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's (d. 494/1101) *Risālat al-Iblīs ilā iḫwānihi al-manāḥīs*.[5]

Iranian libraries also hold copies of Zaydī manuscripts dating from the eighth/fourteenth century. Among these manuscripts are several partial copies of the comprehensive commentary on the Qurʾān by Abū l-Faḍl b. Šahrdawīr b. Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī al-Ǧīlānī al-Mirkālī, one of the most impressive testimonies to Zaydī learning in seventh/thirteenth century Iran. Apart from two volumes of the work copied in 871/1467 and 876/1472 covering the complete *tafsīr* that are preserved in a private library in Najaf,[6] partial copies of the text are preserved in the Maǧlis Library (MSS Maǧlis 4028, 12278, 17982) and the Malik Library (MS Malik 227) in Tehran, and in Manisa in Turkey (MS Manisa 127). These manuscripts testify to the popularity of the commentary in ninth/fifteenth- and tenth/sixteenth-century Iran. Some of these manuscripts also contain valuable biographical information on the Zaydī scholars of Iran during the ninth/fifteenth century. The two volumes that together cover the *tafsīr* in its entirety, with the exception of some leaves missing at the beginning and the end of the first volume, are now available in a facsimile publication, published with an introduction by Sayyid Muḥammad ʿImādī Ḥāʾirī by the Maǧlis Library.[7] Volume 2, which was commissioned by a certain Ḥāǧǧī b. *faqīh* Muḥammad b. Namāwar Tanhaǧānī Miyāndihi, concludes with a scribe's colophon (MS Maǧlis 17892, f. 386a) dated 15 Ramaḍān 890/September 25, 1485, and signed by Aḥmad b. Nāʾib Sallār b. Muḥammad Kīnārudī. At the beginning of volume 2 (f. 1a), there is a note stating that the book, together with some additional Zaydī and non-Zaydī works, was part of the inheritance left by Sayyid Hādī Kiyāʾ, a member of the Āl-i Kiyāʾ dynasty of Gīlān, who died in Rabīʿ I 968/November–December 1560.[8]

Abū l-Faḍl al-Šahrdawīr, the author of the *tafsīr*, descended from a family of Zaydī scholars of Gīlān who were adherents of the Nāṣiriyya branch of Zaydism. His grandfather, Bahāʾ al-Dīn (also known as Muḥyī al-Dīn) Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Daylamī al-Ǧīlānī al-Mirkālī (al-Mirqālī), was a contemporary of Imam al-Manṣūr billāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza and had corresponded with the Yemeni Zaydī scholar ʿImrān b.

5. For a description of this codex, see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 361-372. Hossein Modarressi consulted this manuscript for his edition of al-Ǧišumī's *Risālat al-Iblīs*. For other known Zaydī manuscripts from northern Iran, see Ansari and Schmidtke, "New Source on Zaydī Scholarship".

6. The manuscripts are described in detail in Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 4/256–258 no. 1213.

7. Abū l-Faḍl b. Šahrdawīr al-Daylamī, *Tafsīr-i kitāb-i Allāh*.

8. For the dynasty, see Rabino, "Dynasties locales"; Rabino, *Dūdmān-i ʿalawī*, 69ff.; Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, introduction, 12–14; EncIran 10/634f. (W. Madelung); *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i tašayyuʿ*, 1/211, s.v. "Āl Kiyāʾ"; Melville, "Caspian Provinces," passim. The Najaf manuscripts of the *tafsīr* had also belonged to members of Āl-i Kiyāʾ; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 4/256–258 no. 1213.

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al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-ʿUḏrī al-Hamdānī.[9] In a letter written in 607/1210–11, Yūsuf provided ʿImrān with detailed information on the Caspian Zaydī community and its *imām*s since the time of Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (d. 424/1033).[10] Moreover, Yūsuf is reported to have supported Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh in the latter's fight against the Muṭarrifiyya in Yemen.[11] Yūsuf also wrote another letter to al-Manṣūr bi-llāh and composed a commentary on the Qurʾān,[12] a work entitled *Simṭ al-durar* [*fī šarḥ al-Taḥrīr*],[13] and another one entitled *ʿUmdat al-wāfī*.[14] With the exception of his letters to ʿImrān and al-Manṣūr bi-llāh,[15] none of his works is extant. Yūsuf must have died sometime between 607/1210–11 and 614/1217 as he is known to have died before al-Manṣūr. Yūsuf had a son, Šahrdawīr, who is credited with a theological work entitled *Lawāʾiḥ al-iḫtiyār* (or *al-aḫbār*) *fī baḥṯ al-rūḥ wa-l-nūr wa-ʿaḏāb al-qabr*, which is lost.[16] Šahdawīr had two sons: Ismāʿīl, about whom nothing further is known except that he was a very learned man, and Abū l-Faḍl, the author of the present *tafsīr*. Āġā Buzurg's dating of Abū l-Faḍl as being a scholar of the later eighth/fourteenth century is to be corrected in view of our precise knowledge about Abū l-Faḍl's grandfather[17]—Abū l-Faḍl must have flourished around the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century. Apart from his *tafsīr*, Abū l-Faḍl wrote a work on theology, *Dalāʾil al-tawḥīd*, which is lost.[18]

9. For ʿImrān, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/395–397 no. 976; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/833–839 no. 527; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 736f. no. 801. See also Chapter 1 in the present volume.

10. An edition of the letter is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 135–161 [Arabic part], 18f. [introduction]. This letter is possibly identical with *Siyar al-aʾimma*, which is attributed to Yūsuf; see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/106 no. 1804.

11. On Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan, his works, and his family, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/29f., 1/543 no. 309, 2/408 no. 672, 4/523f. no. 1376; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1282 no. 809. See also Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 339-356.

12. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 4/314 no. 1330; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/314 no. 897.

13. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/101 no. 1786.

14. Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/285 no. 2296. On Yūsuf, see also al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1175f. no. 1234; cf. 482 no. 479, where al-Waǧīh erroneously ascribes *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, *Simṭ al-durar*, *ʿUmdat al-wāfī*, and *Siyar al-aʾimma* to Yūsuf's son, Šahrdawīr.

15. For Bahāʾ al-Dīn's letter to al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 339-356.

16. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/408 no. 672; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 18/373 no. 512; MTK 4/575 no. 10212; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/406 no. 2665; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 482 no. 479.

17. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 4/256–258 no. 1213. Āġā Buzurg's dating was adopted by Madelung (*Arabic Texts*, introduction, 13 n. 6) and by Muḥammad ʿImādī Ḥāʾirī, the editor of the facsimile publication discussed in the present chapter. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/307 no. 870, where no date is given. Cf. Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3(1)/131f., where Āġā Buzurg places him in the correct period but contests that Abū l-Faḍl was a Zaydī, arguing instead that he was an Imāmite; see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 18/62 no. 678, where he also states that Abū l-Faḍl was a scholar of the seventh/thirteenth century.

18. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/408 no. 672; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 8/249 no. 1024; MTK 3/286 no. 6085; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/472 no. 1392.

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Throughout his commentary, Abū l-Faḍl relies heavily on a wide range of earlier *tafsīr* works by Sunnī, Zaydī, and Imāmite authors, viz. al-Ṯaʿlabī's (d. 427/1035) *al-Kašf wa-l-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, Ǧār Allāh al-Zamaḫšarī's (d. 538/1144) *al-Kaššāf*, Bayān al-ḥaqq Naǧm al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Nīsābūrī al-Ġaznawī's (d. second half of the sixth/twelfth century) *Īǧāz al-bayān* (composed in 553/1158),[19] Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*, al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's (d. 494/1101) *al-Tahḏīb fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, and Faḍl b. Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī's (d. 548/1153) *Maǧmaʿ al-bayān* and *Ǧawāmiʿ al-ǧāmiʿ*. Of particular significance are Abū l-Faḍl's references to Nāṣir al-Uṭrūš's otherwise lost *tafsīr* and to the *tafsīr* of his grandfather Bahāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf. Abū l-Faḍl also displays an intimate familiarity with the earlier Muʿtazilite traditions and refers explicitly to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025) (including his *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad*, which is otherwise lost) and to Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 536/1141). And, of course, he is familiar with the full range of the earlier Zaydī tradition of northern Iran, Ḫurāsān, and Rayy, and also gives some quotations from earlier Yemenite Zaydīs, such as Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh.

The codicological features of the two-volume *Tafsīr* agree with the known characteristics of Zaydī manuscripts from eighth/fourteenth- to tenth/sixteenth-century Iran. The Qurʾānic text, in large script, is placed at the inner center of each page, surrounded by the text of the commentary in smaller script on the upper, lower, and outer margins. The three sides of the outer margin of each page are filled with glosses that refer partly to the Qurʾānic text and partly to the commentary. These are connected with a line to the relevant word or passage. In many cases, interlinear translations have been added by later readers to the Qurʾānic text and at times to the commentary in the Ṭabarī dialect. Many of the glosses are likewise composed in Ṭabarī.

The initiative of the authorities of the Maǧlis Library to make this important work testifying to the later Zaydī tradition of learning in Iran available to a wider audience is to be applauded, and it is to be hoped that its publication will further the scholarly investigation of this so far mostly neglected aspect of Zaydism.

19. On him, see Gilliot, "Kontinuität und Wandel," 93f. no. 94.

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# Zaydism in Yemen

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# Chapter 7
# The Cultural Transfer of Zaydī and Non-Zaydī Religious Literature from Northern Iran to Yemen, Sixth/Twelfth through Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries

## I. Historical background

The Zaydī community is a branch of Šīʿī Islam that has flourished mainly in two regions: the mountainous northern highlands of Yemen and the Caspian regions of northern Iran. It has survived mainly in the modern state of Yemen. The community's historical roots can be traced back to the second/eighth century, when Zayd b. ʿAlī (d. 122/740)—a great-great-grandson of the prophet Muḥammad—was killed during a Šīʿī uprising in Kufa, in Iraq. By recognizing Zayd b. ʿAlī as the fifth *imām* (after ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), the Zaydiyya seceded from the rest of the Šīʿī community. During its formative phase the group was located in Kufa, and it was there that the earliest scholars laid the foundations for the emerging Zaydī legal tradition, as reflected in the works attributed to Zayd b. ʿAlī.[1] Gradually, several legal schools arose within Zaydism, although historically the school founded by Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860) remained the most influential. In theology, his views deviated from earlier Zaydī dogma, as he advocated human free will and the absolute otherness of God from His creation, as opposed to predeterminism and anthropomorphism.[2] In the third/ninth century, Zaydī activity shifted to northern Iran. During the lifetime of al-Qāsim, his legal doctrine was brought to Ṭabaristān by some of his followers, and a first Zaydī state was established in 250/864 on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. From the third/ninth through the early seventh/thirteenth century, the leading intellectual centers of Zaydism were located in Ṭabaristān, Daylamān, and Gīlān in the Caspian region, as well as in Rayy and in Bayhaq in Ḫurāsān. In these regions, the teachings of Imam al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūš (d. 304/917), who emphasized the early Kūfan tradition in his teaching, became dominant. His followers were called Nāṣiriyya, after him. A second Zaydī state

1. Haider, *Origins*; Haider, "Kūfan Jurist in Yemen." Cf. Madelung's critical review on Haider, *Origins*.

2. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*. Binyamin Abrahamov's studies on al-Qāsim's doctrinal thought should be treated with caution since they are partly based on works that have been falsely attributed to al-Qāsim. See his *Al-Kāsim ibn Ibrāhīm on Proof* and *Anthropomorphism and Interpretation*. Cf. Madelung, "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Muʿtazilism"; Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology."



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was founded by al-Qāsim's grandson al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq (d. 298/911), who rejected the Caspian model, in the tribal region of the mountainous northern highlands of Yemen, with Ṣaʿda as its capital. Al-Hādī, who hailed from Ǧabal al-Rass in the Ḥiǧāz, brought the Zaydī *daʿwa* ("summons to allegiance") to Yemen in 284/897 and was accompanied by a sizeable group of ʿAlid and Zaydī Ṭabarī immigrants. He systematized his grandfather's doctrines in several seminal works, and although he deviated in some respects from al-Qāsim's legal and doctrinal thought, the Yemeni Zaydīs principally identified the Hādawī legal tradition with the Qāsimī one.[3]

The two Zaydī states that were established in Yemen and northern Iran constituted separate political and cultural entities. As a result of their geographical remoteness and political isolation, during the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries the Zaydīs of Yemen became increasingly isolated from their coreligionists in Iran. While the Zaydīs outside Yemen were exposed during this period to the flourishing intellectual life that was unfolding in their immediate vicinity and took an active part in its development, the Zaydīs of Yemen continued to be confined to the religious legacy of Imams al-Qāsim and al-Hādī and the latter's two sons, al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh (d. 310/922) and al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (d. 322/934). Moreover, in addition to facing internal strife and the rise of sectarian movements such as the pietist Muṭarrifiyya (mid-fourth/tenth century), they were increasingly under threat of extinction during the reign of the Ismāʿīlī Ṣulayḥids, who captured Sanaa in 446/1054, making it the capital of their state, which encompassed most of Yemen. The situation changed radically in the early sixth/twelfth century with the beginning of a rapprochement between the two Zaydī communities that eventually resulted in their political unification. In 501/1108 Abū Ṭālib, a great-grandson of Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh (d. 411/1020), successfully rose up in Gīlān, claiming the Zaydī imamate. A few years later, in 511/1117, he was endorsed by the Zaydīs of Yemen as well. In addition, he was able to restore the sovereignty of the Zaydī state in Yemen, defeating the Ṣulayḥids. Although Abū Ṭālib *al-aḫīr* died in 520/1126, his political legacy continued after his death. In 531/1137, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1170) rose up in Yemen as Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh, expressly acknowledging the legitimacy of the Zaydī *imām*s of the Caspian region and maintaining the unity of the Zaydīs. With the rise of al-Mutawakkil's successor, the Yemeni Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (r. 593/1197–614/1217), who claimed the Zaydī imamate following an interim period after the death of his predecessor and was endorsed by the Zaydīs of Yemen and those of the Caspian region alike, the political center of Zaydism eventually shifted from Iran to Yemen, with Iranian Zaydism gradually falling into oblivion.[4]

3. For al-Hādī's biography and political career, see the *sīra* composed by his companion ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-ʿAlawī. The *sīra* was the principal source of van Arendonk's *De opkomst*. On this document, see also Madelung, "Land Ownership."

4. Madelung's *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm* remains the authoritative study on the evolution of Zaydism

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## II. The knowledge transfer from northern Iran to Yemen (sixth/twelfth through eighth/fourteenth centuries) and its intellectual repercussions

The political unification of the two Zaydī states was accompanied by a transfer of knowledge from northern Iran to Yemen that comprised nearly the entire literary and religious legacy of Caspian Zaydism. Moreover, in view of the intimate involvement of Iranian Zaydī scholarship in the intellectual life of the time, this transfer included also other religious traditions and literary sources, including a wealth of Sunnī, Imāmite, and Ismāʿīlī works. Most of this legacy is preserved until today in the private and public libraries of Yemen as well as in the various European collections of manuscripts of Yemeni provenance. The transfer of knowledge was initiated by Abū Ṭālib *al-aḫīr*, who dispatched the learned Caspian *qāḍī* Abū Ṭālib Naṣr b. Abī Ṭālib b. Abī Ǧaʿfar to Ṣaʿda to introduce the rich religious legacy of northern Iran to the Zaydīs of Yemen. During the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the knowledge transfer from Iran to Yemen intensified further. Additional scholars were invited to come to Yemen, among them the renowned Faḫr al-Dīn Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī, who arrived in 541/1146, bringing along numerous books by Ḫurāsānian and northern Iranian authors and acting as a teacher to the *imām* and to other scholars of Yemen. At the same time, Zaydī scholars of Yemen left for Iran and Iraq to study, the most renowned being Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī (d. 573/1177), who left Yemen in 544/1149. The available sources provide a detailed picture of the journey that led him to Mecca, Iraq (particularly Kufa), and Iran. One of Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar's most influential teachers was Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kanī al-Ardastānī (d. ca. 565/1169–70), with whom he studied in Rayy, one of the most important centers of Zaydī and non-Zaydī scholarship at the time. With his return to Yemen, around 553/1158, Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar brought with him a large number of literary sources, Zaydī and non-Zaydī, that were subsequently transmitted through him.[5]

During the reign of al-Manṣūr, the knowledge transfer to Yemen reached its peak. The *imām* founded a library in Ẓafār, his town of residence, for which he had a wealth of textual sources copied by a team of scholars and scribes. In 1929 the rich holdings of his library, which continued to grow under his successors, were transferred from Ẓafār to the newly founded al-Ḫizāna al-mutawakkiliyya in Sanaa, which had been established by Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1904–1948). The library, which is housed even today in the complex of the Great Mosque of Sanaa, is also known as al-Maktaba al-šarqiyya (and since 1984 as Maktabat al-awqāf).[6] During al-Manṣūr's reign

in Yemen up until the seventh/thirteenth century. For the political and social history of Yemen during this period, see also Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam* and "Revised Bibliography."

5. For Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 212–218 and passim; EI2 12/236 (W. Madelung)

6. A brief sketch of the history of the library is given in Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 420. The

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the intellectual dependence of Yemeni Zaydism on the northern Zaydī state was inverted, and the relationship became the opposite. This is suggested by the fact that the *imām* dispatched Yemeni scholars abroad not only for the purpose of learning but also in order to teach, and by the recent discovery of some texts from Yemen in Iranian libraries.[7]

There are sufficient indications that the Zaydīs of Yemen continued to travel abroad to seek knowledge at least until the time of Imam Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348–49), bringing additional literary sources back to Yemen.[8] There is also the fact that the Sunnī environment in the coastal regions of Yemen, which presented a constant challenge to the Zaydī community, changed significantly during the period under consideration, namely, from traditionalism to Šāfiʿism/Aš<sup>ʿ</sup>arism, a development that also left its mark on the intellectual evolution of Zaydism in Yemen. Al-Manṣūr, for example, is known not only to have engaged in polemical exchanges with Sunnī scholars in his immediate locale, but also to have studied with a fair number of them.[9] Moreover, since the time of al-Hādī, the Zaydīs had been confronted with a strong Ismāʿīlī presence, which constituted not only a military and political challenge but also an intellectual one, a situation that also left its mark on Zaydī, particularly Muṭarrifī, thought as it evolved over time.

Intellectually, Yemeni Zaydism underwent dramatic changes during this period, prompted by the knowledge transfer described above. Theology was clearly the most fiercely contested discipline during this period. For centuries, the Zaydīs of Yemen adhered to a rather limited canon of doctrinal texts from the pen of the early Imams al-Qāsim and al-Hādī and the latter's descendants. At the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century, the Muṭarrifiyya—named after Muṭarrif b. Šihāb (d. mid-fifth/eleventh century)—emerged and became the most important school of Zaydism in Yemen during the fifth/eleventh and early sixth/twelfth centuries. Its adherents insisted on following the Hādawī doctrine while at the same time developing a cosmology and natural philosophy of their own. Most renowned among their teachings was their view that God had created the world out of three or four elements, namely, water, air, wind, and fire. Changes in the world result from the interaction of these constituents of the physical world rather than from God's acting upon it directly.[10] Imam al-Mutawakkil initially seems to have adhered

holdings of the library have been catalogued twice during the twentieth century: *Fihrist kutub al-Ḫizāna al-mutawakkiliyya* and al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*.

7. See Chapter 5 in the present volume.

8. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Licence to Transmit*, for a study and collection of relevant material.

9. See Chapter 10 in the present volume.

10. For an outline of their doctrinal views, based on the analysis of an authentic Muṭarrifī work by Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (fl. second half of the sixth/twelfth century), *al-Burhān al-rāʾiq*, see Madelung, "Muṭarrifī Manuscript"; see also Madelung, "Origins of the Yemenite Hijra"; EI2 7/772f. (W. Madelung); Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 202f. See also Zayd, *Tayyārāt*. There are a few dogmatic works by Muṭarrifī authors that still await thorough analysis, for example Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Buḥayrī (or: al-Yaḥīrī), *Šarḥ ʿalā faṣl al-Imām al-Murtaḍā Muḥammad*

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to Muṭarrifī doctrines, especially during the first decades of his reign, when he depended on the movement's political and military support, but later he turned towards the doctrines of the Caspian Zaydīs, who were faithful followers of the rival Bahšamite strand of the Muʿtazila. During his reign, Yemen was exposed to the doctrinal literature of the Bahšamiyya, and in their sophistication the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya clearly eclipsed those of the Muṭarrifiyya, particularly in the crucial areas of ontology and causality.[11] The conflict between the two strands intensified during the interregnum between al-Mutawakkil and al-Manṣūr, when the Muṭarrifiyya were able to regain ground. Most of the (few) Muṭarrifī texts that are still extant were apparently written during this period.[12] Their respective authors were well acquainted with the recently imported theological literature. In their fight against the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya they refined their initially rather simple doctrines and argumentation by employing the writings of representatives of the school of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī (d. 319/931), an important rival strand to the Bahšamiyya within the Muʿtazila, some knowledge of which had also reached Yemen during this period.[13] With al-Manṣūr's rise to the imamate, Bahšamite doctrines finally gained the upper hand and an all-out war was waged against the Muṭarrifiyya.[14] While countless refutations of the Muṭarrifiyya are preserved that were written during al-Manṣūr's reign and the following decades of the seventh/thirteenth century,[15] we possess only a few fragments of Muṭarrifī works from this period.[16]

The Bahšamite trend had to face other challenges during the seventh/thirteenth and particularly the eighth/fourteenth centuries: opposition arose during the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century, led by scholars such as Ḥumaydān b. Yaḥyā (d. mid-seventh/thirteenth century), who sought to weaken the influence of Muʿtazilite doctrine and methodology on Zaydī theology, emphasizing the latter's independence.[17] His younger contemporary, ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1269), shared Ḥumaydān's desire to return to the early Zaydī doctrines, but at the same time he supported the meth-

*b. al-Imām al-Hādī fī l-tawḥīd*. The text is extant in two manuscripts; see al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/87, 2/137. See also Madelung, *Religious Schools and Sects*, part 19 (addenda), for another relevant manuscript in the British Library (MS London, British Library, Or 4009).

11. Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya*.

12. See above, n. 10, for details.

13. For al-Balḫī's doctrines, see el Omari, *Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī*.

14. The principal historical source for al-Manṣūr's fight against the Muṭarrifiyya is the *sīra* of the *imām* by his chief secretary Abū Firās b. Diʿṭam. Volumes 2 and 3 have been published in the edition of ʿAbd al-Ġanī Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī. Another copy of volume 2 that was not consulted by the editor is preserved as MS Vatican ar. 1061; see Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 1/131. Ansari has identified copies of volumes 1 and 4 of the *sīra*, which previously had been presumed lost; see his *Az ganǧīna-hā-yi nusaḫ-i ḫaṭṭī*, 157-172.

15. ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, *al-Ṣirāʿ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman*.

16. See above, n. 10.

17. For his writings and thought, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Imām Ḥumaydān*.

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odology of *kalām*. In his eyes, the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044)—a former student of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025), the head of the Bahšamiyya, who in many ways departed from the Bahšamite doctrine of his teacher—were much closer to the teachings of the early Zaydī *imām*s than to Bahšamite doctrines, and he formulated a doctrinal approach that can in many ways be considered original.[18] The rival strands continued to exist during most of the seventh/thirteenth century and beyond, with their respective adherents fiercely polemicizing against each other. In many cases they also represented the rival political factions that evolved during this period.

The field of prophetic traditions (*ḥadīṯ*) likewise underwent dramatic changes during this period. Zaydī scholars compiled comprehensive collections of *ḥadīṯ*. In contrast to Twelver Šīʿīs, who consistently rejected any non-Šīʿī traditions, the Zaydīs of Iran included both Sunnī and Šīʿī traditions. Among the earliest comprehensive Zaydī *ḥadīṯ* collections that are extant and that comprise both Sunnī and Šīʿī traditions are *Šarḥ al-Taǧrīd* by the Caspian Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh (d. 411/1020), the *Amālī* by al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (d. 424/1033),[19] the *Amālī* by Abū Saʿd al-Sammān (d. 445/1053),[20] and the *Amālī* by al-Muršad bi-llāh (d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106).[21] In contrast to their Iranian coreligionists, the Zaydīs of Yemen were unfamiliar with Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* material prior to the unification of the two communities. In the course of the transfer of knowledge to Yemen, works such as the *Šarḥ al-Taǧrīd* and the various *Amālī* books arrived in Yemen. Moreover, the Zaydīs of Yemen were now increasingly keen on using Sunnī pro-ʿAlid traditions in their battle against the Šāfiʿites in Yemen, who were polemicizing against Šīʿism. During the time of al-Manṣūr, when the Zaydīs of Yemen did not yet have independent access to Sunnī collections, they also used Ibn al-Maġāzilī's (d. 483/1090) *Manāqib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* and Twelver Šīʿī works such as Ibn al-Biṭrīq's (d. 600/1203–4 or 601/1204–5) *ʿUmda*—that is, works containing numerous pro-ʿAlid traditions culled from Sunnī canonical *ḥadīṯ* collections.[22] Although the corpus of Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* collections—the consultation of which grew rapidly over time—was used primarily to bolster the Šīʿī perspective against Sunnī opponents, this development helped to pave the way for the eventual "Sunnification" of Zaydism, a process that is usually said to have started with Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr ("Ibn al-Wazīr," d. 840/1436) and to have reached its peak with Muḥammad al-Šawkānī

18. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Theology*, and our *Transmission of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Thought and Writings*. On Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see EI3 2007-1/16–19 (W. Madelung) (with further references).

19. See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 110f. no. 29. The work was repeatedly published in the recension of Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar, entitled *Taysīr al-maṭālib min [fī] Amālī Abī Ṭālib*.

20. On the work and its author, see Ansari, "Un *muḥaddiṯ* muʿtazilite zaydite."

21. His *al-Amālī al-ḫamīsiyya* in the recension of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 1226) were published repeatedly. In addition, he compiled *al-Amālī al-iṯnayniyya*, or *al-Anwār*. These are likewise published. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Ǧurǧānī al-Šaǧarī (al-Muršad bi-llāh) as a Collector of *ḥadīṯ*."

22. See Chapter 10 in the present volume.

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(d. 1250/1834).[23] However, this important trend had in fact started centuries before and was the immediate result of the transfer of religious literature to Yemen. The successive stages of this process can be traced in detail on the basis of the available manuscripts, *iǧāza*s, chains of transmission, and kindred (documentary) material.[24] Similar processes can be observed in other disciplines of learning during this period, such as legal methodology, Qurʾānic exegesis, and law, to name only the most prominent fields of inquiry.

The transfer of a massive body of religio-cultural knowledge from northern Iran and Iraq to Yemen stretched over a period of nearly three centuries and is without parallel in its intensity and comprehensiveness. The intellectual environment in which it initially began continually evolved and was subject to dramatic transformations as time went on. The mechanisms at work were highly variegated, as were the modes of preserving, transmitting, and consuming an ever-growing corpus of "old" and "new" texts. Although the basic historical facts as outlined above are relatively well known, to date the details of the chronological dynamics of the extended and comprehensive process of knowledge transfer and its implications for the intellectual development of Yemeni Zaydism have been determined with respect to just a few case studies, which only scratch the surface of the rich and diverse source materials that are available for a more comprehensive study of the entire process in all its complexity.

Importing and dispatching scholars, establishing libraries, and systematically transcribing literature are known to have been among the important vehicles of the transfer, but none of these has been studied so far in any detail, neither from a diachronic perspective nor as phenomena of social and institutional history. The role of libraries established during the period under investigation may serve as one example to highlight the many issues to be addressed. While it is well known that al-Manṣūr founded a library in Ẓafār, the town where he resided, and that he engaged a team of scholar-*cum*-scribes to transcribe a wealth of texts,[25] no attempt has been made to reconstruct the holdings of the library during al-Manṣūr's lifetime or at any later stage. We still lack sufficient information about the process of selecting titles for transcription or any other criteria that were formulated in the course of the formation of the library and its subsequent development. Moreover, the exact mode of operation of the team(s) also still needs to be analyzed. A first handlist of the Ḫizāna al-mutawakkiliyya was published in 1942,[26] but it

23. Haykel, *Revival and Reform*. For the thought of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr, see Wilmers, *What Do We Need to Know?*

24. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Licence to Transmit*.

25. A prominent role was played by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226), a close companion of Imam al-Manṣūr and a prominent scholar in his own right, who transcribed and/or collated many of the manuscripts that became part of al-Manṣūr's library. On him, see Chapter 1 in the present volume.

26. See above, n. 6.

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is well known that by the end of the nineteenth century numerous codices that originally belonged to the *imām*'s library had already been removed from the collection.[27]

Little is known about the functionality and accessibility of al-Manṣūr's library during his lifetime and beyond. Many of the manuscripts that are held at the Maktaba al-šarqiyya today appear not to have been used extensively, if at all. A prominent example is the multivolume copy of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī's extensive theological *summa*, *K. al-Muġnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*, the only extant copy of the text in Yemen.[28] The sixteen (out of an original twenty) preserved volumes of the work are completely free of margin notes, such as readers' notes, corrections, collation notes, etc. That the *Muġnī* was evidently inaccessible and thus completely unknown to the majority of scholars in Yemen is further confirmed by the lack of references to it in the theological literature by Yemeni theologians. A telling exception is Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Yaḥya b. Ḥamza (d. 745/1344), who quotes from the *Muġnī* extensively in his comprehensive theological *summa*, the *K. al-Šāmil li-ḥaqāʾiq al-adilla al-ʿaqliyya wa-uṣūl al-masāʾil al-dīniyya*—in his function as *imām* he evidently did have access to the holdings of the library.[29] By contrast, references to and quotations from other books that are known to have been easily accessible and preserved in numerous manuscripts are legion, as is the case, for example, with ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's more concise doctrinal work, *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*. The text was usually read together with the *taʿlīq* of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's student Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī ("Mānkdīm Šašdīw", d. ca. 425/1034)[30] and/or possibly with the *taʿlīq* of Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b ʿAlī al-Farrazāḏī, who wrote two generations after Mānkdīm. Both commentaries were evidently in wide circulation, as is suggested by the dozens of extant manuscripts of Yemeni provenance. Observations such as these suggest that only a restricted audience had access to the *imām*'s library, which was a typical "central ruler library,"[31] not meant to serve a wider audience.

From pertinent statements on the title pages of several codices it is equally evident that numerous representatives of the social and political elites were actively involved in the knowledge transfer process. Among other "private" initiatives, we know of manu-

27. This is suggested by the fact that numerous codices from the *imām*'s library were sold to European collectors such as Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and can nowadays be found in the Berlin State Library, the Austrian National Library, the British Library, and Leiden University Library, as well as the Ambrosiana in Milan. For an overview of the European collections of Yemeni manuscripts, see Schmidtke and Thiele, *Preserving Yemen's Cultural Heritage*. See also Schmidtke and Thiele, *Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) and His Collections*; Schmidtke, "Preserving, Studying, and Democratizing Access to the World Heritage of Islamic Manuscripts: The Zaydī Tradition."

28. On the transmission of the work, see the editors' introduction to Hamdan and Schmidtke, *Nukat al-Kitāb al-Muġnī*.

29. See Schmidtke, "Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh."

30. Edited (as a work by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār) by ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUṯmān.

31. See Hirschler, *Written Word*.

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script collections belonging to individual scholars and notables, many of which remain in family possession today, as is the case with the library of the Āl Wazīr at Hiğrat al-Sirr, located in the vicinity of Sanaa. Few of these historical private libraries have been documented so far, let alone studied with respect to their holdings, their history and organization, or their accessibility and social function(s).[32] In addition to the central ruler library and the many private collections, there also existed "public" libraries, such as those known to have been established in other parts of the Islamic world from the Middle Period (fifth/eleventh to early tenth/sixteenth century) onwards. These were attached to some of the renowned academic institutions that were founded at the time (for example, the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūṯ, a town in the territory of Ḥāšid between Ṣaʿda and Sanaa[33]) or located in the many retreats (*hiğra*s) that were originally founded by representatives of the Muṭarrifiyya and often continued by "orthodox" Zaydīs as centers of learning.[34]

The paucity of attention paid so far to the social and intellectual aspects of the described process of knowledge transfer and the mechanisms involved is all the more astonishing in view of the relatively advanced state of research, particularly on the social aspects of the transmission of knowledge in some of the central regions of the Islamic world during the Middle Period.[35] Moreover, the fact that the library established by al-Manṣūr has survived until today and that ample material is available to study it in depth makes it largely unique among the "central ruler libraries" that were founded during the Middle Period. From comparable libraries established in earlier periods next to no remnants are left.[36]

32. Brief sketches of their respective histories are included in the relevant entries in al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, and al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*.

33. See al-Ḥaǧarī, *Maǧmūʿ*, 1/213–226, 300.

34. See al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, passim. On the *hiğra*s see also Madelung, "Origins of the Yemenite Hijra"; Rauch, "Die jemenitischen *hiğra*s."

35. Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*; Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi*; Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*; Leder et al., *Muʿğam al-samāʿāt al-dimašqiyya*; Leder et al., *Waṯāʾiq al-samāʿāt*; Ephrat, *Learned Society*; Lowry et al., *Law and Education*; Hirschler, *Written Word*.

36. Stroumsa, *Al-Andalus und Sefarad*; Hirschler, *Written Word*. In later centuries, Mamlūk, Tīmūrid, Ottoman, and Ṣafavid rulers and high-ranking officials also established palatial libraries, of which we possess traces, but little systematic effort has been made to obtain a comprehensive picture of their holdings; the same applies for remnants of Maghribi palatial libraries as well as various Indian rulers' libraries. For Ottoman libraries, see the studies by Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi*; İhsanoğlu, *Bibliography on Manuscript Libraries in Turkey*; *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*. For the fate of the library of the Moroccan sultan Mūlāy Zīdān (r. 967/1560–1036/1627), see Hershenzon, "Travelling Libraries." There is also a fair number of studies devoted to the reconstruction of the holdings of the library of the Bukharan Ḫʷāğa Muḥammad Pārsā (b. 756/1355, d. 822/1420), an important Naqšbandī scholar. See, for example, Dodkhudoeva, "Rukopisi s pechat'ju vakfa"; Dodkhudoeva, "La bibliothèque de Khwâja Mohammad Pârsâ"; Khalidov, "Rukopisi iz biblioteki Muḥammada Pārsā"; Muminov and Zijadov,

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Much of the religious legacy that was brought to Yemen during the sixth/twelfth through eighth/fourteenth centuries from the central Islamic lands, and particularly Iran, was lost in Iran and Iraq for a number of reasons. While the center of Zaydism gradually shifted from northern Iran to Yemen, Zaydism in Iran fell into oblivion; consequently, the erstwhile flourishing intellectual life of the Iranian Zaydī community came to an end and the transmission of its cultural and literary legacy ceased.[37] Moreover, significant parts of the "Sunnī" Muʿtazilite intellectual legacy were destroyed there during the post-Būyid age. The significance of Yemen as a unique treasury of manuscripts in virtually all historical disciplines of learning is well known and widely acknowledged.[38] Although little effort has been made until now to produce a comprehensive systematic and diachronic overview of the religio-literary canon in the various disciplines that reached Zaydī Yemen during this period—with the exception of some works belonging to the literary legacy of the Muʿtazila, the most significant strand of rational theology from the third/ninth through the sixth/twelfth century, which was transferred to Yemen during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries[39]—case studies touching upon works that belong to other scientific fields, such as legal theory, *ḥadīṯ*, and history, suggest that in virtually all domains Yemeni collections hold unique copies of countless Zaydī and non-Zaydī works. These significantly enrich and complement the holdings of manuscript collections originating in the central lands of the Muslim world, and a detailed study of their transmission to Yemen will yield important results relevant to intellectual history far beyond Yemen.

## III. Methodological considerations for future research

In view of the increased accessibility of a critical number of collections of manuscripts of Yemeni provenance (in Yemen and in Europe) and significant advances in Zaydī studies over the past decades (with major contributions by Western, Egyptian, Iranian, and Yemeni scholars), the conditions are now ideal for an in-depth study of the knowledge

"L'Horizon intellectuel"; Richard, "Manuscrits persans"; Subtelny, "Making of Bukhārā-yi Sharīf"; Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, 248; Bahrāmiyān, "Aṯarī nā-šināḫta az Maqrīzī"; Schmidtke, "Early Aš$^{c}$arite Theology."—Noteworthy are also the still extant Ḥanbalite libraries of Damascus, such as the *Madrasa al-$^{c}$Umariyya* or the *Madrasa al-Ḍiyāʾiyya*, that were founded during the time when al-Manṣūr billāh established his library in Ẓafār. The relevant manuscripts are nowadays housed by the Asad library in Damascus. See, e.g. Sawwās, *Fihris maǧāmi$^{c}$ al-Madrasa al-$^{c}$Umariyya*; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus*, 51ff.; Muṭī$^{c}$ al-Ḥāfiẓ, *al-Madrasa al-$^{c}$umariyya*.

37. Madelung, *Arabic Texts*; see also Chapter 6 in the present volume.

38. See, most recently, Regourd, "Introduction."

39. See the editors' introduction to Adang et al., *Common Rationality*.

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transfer process described here and the resulting intellectual development of Yemeni Zaydism in the sixth/twelfth through eighth/fourteenth centuries and beyond.[40]

Such an inquiry should focus on (1) analyzing the diachronic development of the process, the mechanisms and persons involved and their respective social settings, and the geographical routes by which scholars and books traveled to Yemen, as well as institutions of learning (*madrasa*s, libraries, *hiǧra*s, and mosques), reading practices, and other modes of transmission; (2) reconstructing the literary "canon" (to use this elusive notion) as it evolved over time, providing for each discipline a detailed picture of which titles reached Yemen when and through which channels, and how and through what means and transmitters they became part of the canon; and (3) analyzing the ways in which the "new" and "old" texts were put to use by Yemeni scholars in their respective disciplines during the period under investigation.

The various aspects of such an inquiry can be pursued on the basis of a broad range of pertinent genres of documentary sources as well as literary texts (the boundaries between the two often being blurred). The main genres of sources are the following.

1. Comprehensive biographical dictionaries: It was only during the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century that Yemeni authors began to compile comprehensive biographical dictionaries, collecting all known information on the earlier Zaydī *imām*s, *sayyid*s, *qāḍī*s, and scholars and providing comprehensive repositories of the scholarly and political elite(s). The earliest among these works is *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* by the *qāḍī* of Sanaa, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abī l-Riǧāl (d. 1092/1690), followed by *al-Mustaṭāb* by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī (d. after 1099/1688) (preserved in several manuscript copies). The latter's nephew, Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim al-Šahārī (d. 1152/1739), compiled *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā*, which is based primarily on Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl's *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*. During the same period, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1121/1709) completed another biographical dictionary of Yemeni scholars and poets, *Nasmat al-saḥar bi-ḏikr man tašayyaʿa wa-šaʿar*. These works constitute the most extensive source for our knowledge of the Zaydī scholarly tradition of northern Iran up to the seventh/thirteenth century and of Yemen until the eleventh/seventeenth century. At the same time, the distance in time between the compilation of these works and the period under investigation is immense, and although the respective authors culled their information from a wealth of sources, such as earlier Zaydī historiographical and biographical literature, documentary materials (for example, *iǧāza*s), and manuscripts, the preserved manuscripts and

40. See also Schmidtke, "History of Zaydī Studies"; Schmidtke, "Preserving, Studying, and Democratizing Access to the World Heritage of Islamic Manuscripts: The Zaydī Tradition"; Messick's *Calligraphic State* though focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, also offers some relevant leads for such an inquiry.

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available editions contain numerous mistakes and inaccuracies, particularly when it comes to personal names (especially those of Iranian scholars that are not attested elsewhere) and other details that have been lost (or forgotten) over time.

We possess only a single contemporary biographical dictionary from the sixth/twelfth through eighth/fourteenth centuries, namely, *Aḫbār al-Zaydiyya bi-l-Yaman* by the Muṭarrifī author Musallam b. Muḥammad al-Laḥǧī (d. ca. 552/1157), which included biographies of Zaydī rulers and scholars of Yemen, arranged in five generations.[41]

It is particularly the information on the fifth generation, to which the author himself belonged, that is of special significance for the first decades of this period, while the material on earlier generations reflects the intellectual, religious, and societal situation of the Zaydī community prior to the arrival of the new textual sources from Iran.[42]

In addition to works by representatives of Zaydism, Šāfiʿite/Sunnī scholars of Yemen also composed biographical dictionaries and historiographical works. Although these are mostly concerned with the Šāfiʿite/Sunnī scholarly tradition, they provide at times valuable complementary information. For the period under investigation, the most important such works are *al-Sulūk fī ṭabaqāt al-ʿulamāʾ* of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ǧanadī (d. ca. 732/1332) and *al-ʿIqd al-fāḫir al-ḥasan* of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḫazrağī (d. 811/1409–10). Additional valuable sources are the *Ṭabaqāt ṣulaḥāʾ al-Yaman* by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Burayḥī (d. 904/1499) and al-Šawkānī's *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*.

2. Biographies: A genre that is characteristic for the Zaydī communities both in Iran and in Yemen is biographical literature relating to the careers of individual *imām*s (*sīra*, pl. *siyar*). These documents were composed as a rule by close companions, secretaries, or other personnel in the *imām*s' circles, and they were often inspired in structure and terminology by the *sīra* of the prophet Muḥammad. As their primary function was to legitimize the *imām*s, describing the latter's merits was an important element of such documents. In addition to documentary material such as official correspondence, treaties, decrees, and letters of instruction, as well as personal memoirs and the like, sections detailing the *imām*'s religious education and praising his proficiency in various branches of knowledge were regular components of such works. They often include accounts of the academic training of a later *imām*, with details about his curriculum and his teachers. Only a few of these documents have been studied in detail,[43] mostly for the political information they convey, and only a fraction of the material is available in print. A systematic analysis of the data they

41. Partially edited in Madelung, *Sīra*. See also Ansari, "Tārīḫ-i Musallam Laḥǧī."

42. Since the various parts of al-Laḥǧī's work are preserved in unique manuscripts only, some of the information provided cannot be retrieved with certainty (personal names that are not attested elsewhere constitute a major challenge).

43. See Madelung, *Religious and Ethnic Movements*, and Chapter 8 in the present volume.

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contain with respect to the transmission of knowledge in the sixth/twelfth through eighth/fourteenth centuries is still a desideratum.

For the period under investigation, the following works are immediately relevant: the *sīra* of Imam al-Mutawakkil by Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ṯaqafī (fl. sixth/twelfth century); the *sīra* of Imam al-Manṣūr by his chief secretary, Abū Firās b. Diʿṯam; and the *sīra* of Imam al-Mahdī Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 656/1258) by Šaraf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥamzī (d. 677/1278–79). Although hagiographical tendencies can often be discerned and need to be taken into consideration when using the *siyar*, they offer valuable information that is unparalleled in any other type of source. The *sīra* of Abū Ṭayr, for example, contains a comprehensive chapter devoted to his scholarly training. It not only lists his teachers and the works he studied with each one of them; it also informs us about the age at which he studied each field and work, something that is apparently not attested in other sources from this period.[44]

3. Comprehensive biographical works drawn from *siyar*: On the basis of the *sīra* literature, comprehensive biographical works concerned with the Zaydī *imām*s (a genre labeled *ǧawāmiʿ al-siyar*) were composed. For the period under investigation, *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya fī manāqib aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya* of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254) is relevant. It is concerned with the biographies of the Zaydī *imām*s up to al-Manṣūr. The work was later continued by Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Fand with his *al-Lawāḥiq al-nadiyya*, written in 916/1510, and by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šarafī (d. 1055/1646) in his *al-Laʾālī al-muḍiyya*, providing additional data for the periods following the completion of the *Ḥaqāʾiq*.
4. Histories: Closely linked to the *sīra* and biographical literature are chronicles and historiographical works. Here again, both Zaydī and non-Zaydī works need to be taken into consideration. Among the relevant works by Zaydī authors, mention should be made of *Rawḍat al-aḫbār* by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaǧūrī (d. after 627/1230) and *Anbāʾ al-zaman fī tārīḫ al-Yaman* by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. after 1099/1688), the "single most valuable general history of Yemen."[45] Among the non-Zaydī chronicles, those covering the Rasūlid period (626/1229–858/1454) are the most relevant for this period, as well as works of the Ismāʿīlī-Fāṭimid historical tradition. In addition, works on the history of northern Iran by Zaydī and non-Zaydī authors alike provide valuable information on the Zaydīs of the region, often complementing what is known on the basis of historiographical works by Yemeni Zaydīs, such as works on the history of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān, and Gīlān, as well as Ibn Funduq's (d. 565/1169) *Tārīḫ Bayhaq*.
5. Letters: An important genre of contemporary documentary material that sheds light

44. See Chapter 8 in the present volume.

45. Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*, 314. A partial edition of the text, by Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Māḍī, was published in 1936.

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on the period under investigation is the correspondence between Zaydī scholars or rulers of northern Iran and Yemen. So far only a few such documents have been studied.[46] We possess, for example, several letters by the prolific Caspian Zaydī scholar Bahāʾ al-Dīn (also known as Muḥyī l-Dīn) Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Daylamī al-Ǧīlānī al-Mirkālī (al-Mirqālī) addressed to Imam al-Manṣūr and to the Yemeni Zaydī scholar ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-ʿUḏrī al-Hamdānī.[47] A systematic search for similar documents in the various manuscript collections as well as in the biographical and historiographical literature into which correspondence has often been integrated will shed further light on the evolving relations between scholars and rulers of the two main regions of Zaydism during this period. While the majority of relevant documents relate to the sixth/twelfth to eighth/fourteenth centuries, correspondence between the Zaydīs of Yemen and their coreligionists in Iran (and with non-Zaydīs elsewhere) are also preserved for the ninth/fifteenth century and beyond.[48]

6. *Iǧāza*s: The most valuable, and to date the least explored, genre of sources consists of the many *iǧāza* documents that were issued by scholars to their students, granting them permission to transmit what they had read with their teacher. Both the recipients and the issuers represent virtually all strata of the society involved in the knowledge transfer process. The documents range from fairly brief *iǧāza*s attesting the transmission of a specific work and detailing, as a rule, the manner through which the teacher received the work in question, to comprehensive *iǧāza*s granting right of transmission to a whole range of titles in various disciplines; the latter provide precious glimpses into the curriculum a given person was acquainted with. These documents are particularly valuable, as they constitute contemporary testimonies of the knowledge transmission process. Taken together, they allow for a reconstruction of the network(s) of scholars in the period under investigation. Moreover, since such documents are generally dated or can be dated exactly by other means, they enable a detailed diachronic analysis of the religio-literary "canon" that was available to the Zaydīs in Yemen over time.[49]

These documents are dispersed in thousands of preserved manuscripts and remain often unmentioned in catalogues. Later scholars have collected some such documents in so-called *maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt*. This was done, for example, by Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī (d. 1079/1668), who in his *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt* assembled dozens of *iǧāza* documents that he had culled from the manuscripts available to him. Several

46. Madelung, *Arabic Texts*; Ansari, "Nāma-hā-yi bih Gīlān."

47. See Chapter 6 in the present volume.

48. Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *Maǧmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh.*

49. For a detailed study of these documents, including critical editions of a large corpus of *iǧāza*s together with an in-depth analysis, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Licence to Transmit*.

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copies of the work, which has been neither edited nor analyzed, are preserved in various libraries in Yemen. Another, comparable collection lists the chains of transmission of Imam al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā Šaraf al-Dīn (d. 964/1557), the founder of the local dynasty of the Šaraf al-Dīn family in and around Kawkabān, and comprises the entire texts of numerous *iǧāzāt* of earlier scholars. It was compiled by one ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Muẓaffar (alive in 969/1562) and is preserved in the Eduard Glaser collection in the Berlin State Library (MS Glaser 16). A similar work is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library under the title *K. Musalsalāt ʿulamāʾ al-riwāya* (MS Ambrosiana ar. B 17).

7. *Isnāds*: The data contained in *iǧāza* documents are complemented by the chains of transmission (*isnād*, *sanad*) quoted at the beginning of a given work or with a quotation culled from another work. As in the case of the *iǧāza*s, such chains of transmission, which end with the transmitter of the text at hand, constitute contemporary testimonies to the transmitter's placement in the network of scholars, relating that person back to the earlier generations of Zaydīs in Iran and elsewhere (or to Sunnīs or Twelver Šīʿīs, depending on the nature of the work in question). However, in contrast to *iǧāza* documents, which were issued for books of all disciplines of knowledge, chains of transmission, as a rule, were given only at the beginning of *ḥadīṯ* works or when citing quotations gleaned from such works. Another important methodological consideration applies to *ḥadīṯ* works. While works belonging to most disciplines mentioned in an *iǧāza* were generally available, this is not necessarily the case with *ḥadīṯ* collections. The six Sunnī canonical *ḥadīṯ* works, for example, for which Imam al-Manṣūr provides detailed chains of transmission at the beginning of his *al-Šāfī*, were available to him and his contemporaries primarily through the *ʿUmda* of the Twelver Šīʿī scholar Ibn al-Biṭrīq (see above). Moreover, given the particular prestige works of *ḥadīṯ* enjoyed, it is not surprising that transmitters made efforts to obtain permission to transmit the same works through as many chains as possible, but again, this phenomenon has no implications for the factual availability of a given book.[50]
8. Manuscripts. Another source of primary significance is the tens of thousands of manuscripts of Yemeni provenance that are preserved either in the libraries of Yemen or in the various European collections of Yemeni manuscripts. These provide definitive evidence that a given work was in fact available in Yemen. In many cases, the colophons and ownership and reading statements (and other margin notes throughout a manuscript) inform us about the *Vorlage* from which the text was copied, often attesting when and how a certain work had reached Yemen, and how and by whom it was studied. Taken together, these manuscripts provide the most detailed and reliable information for reconstructing the evolution and diachronic

50. See Chapter 10 in the present volume.

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development of the religio-literary "canon" of Yemeni Zaydism. Moreover, it is exclusively through a close study of manuscripts that historical libraries can be reconstructed. Usually, since the information included in the available manuscript catalogues is not sufficiently detailed, direct inspection of all codices of Yemeni provenance within reach is indispensable.[51] Despite their superior value, manuscripts need to be studied in close correspondence with other sources. It needs to be borne in mind that a significant number of the manuscripts that were available in Yemen during the period under consideration are no longer extant. It is surprising, for example, that only a few manuscripts that were copied outside Yemen and subsequently taken there have survived. Considering the numbers of manuscripts that, according to the historical sources, were brought to Yemen, this is striking.

The fact that any given work was available in Yemen does not necessarily imply that it had an (immediate) impact on the scholars of Yemen. For example, adherents of different doctrinal camps used the works of the various branches of Muʿtazilism selectively for their respective purposes, to mention only the example of theology. Moreover, the mere presence of a given work in Yemen does not imply its availability to the "average" scholar, as suggested above with regard to the holdings of the *imām*'s library. There are cases in which scholars may have been prevented from using a specific work for other reasons. In the field of legal theory, for example, it has been shown that Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *al-Muʿtamad* had apparently already reached Yemen during the lifetime of Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar (and perhaps even earlier than that); the work became one of the most popular and influential works in this discipline among the scholars of Yemen. However, for some reason Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar chose to ignore the *Muʿtamad* when writing his own works on legal theory, favoring other books that had also been imported to Yemen from northern Iran.[52] These examples demonstrate that a close investigation of the scholarly production of the Zaydīs of Yemen in the various disciplines during the period under investigation is required in order to determine which of the available textual sources they actually used in their own works, either citing them explicitly or using them quietly without attribution.

## IV. Conclusion

Research on the intellectual development of Yemeni Zaydī scholarship before, during, and after these three important centuries (the sixth/twelfth through eighth/fourteenth centuries) is in its infancy. Except for some advances that have been made in the fields of theology and legal theory during the time of al-Manṣūr (and beyond),[53] little is known

51. See, for example, Chapter 4 in the present volume.
52. See Chapter 3 in the present volume.
53. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*; Haykel and Zysow,

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about the intellectual development of Yemeni Zaydism from the eighth/fourteenth century up until the twelfth/eighteenth century, and fields such as law, exegesis, and *ḥadīṯ* are still uncharted territory. The case studies we possess suggest, however, that the Zaydīs of Yemen used the rich legacy they were exposed to in an innovative and original manner, and that through an analysis of the works belonging to those disciplines the gradual "Sunnification" of the Zaydiyya and its effects on Yemen in the contemporary period can be studied in detail. Moreover, in conjunction with the rich documentary material at our disposal, study of the intellectual development of Yemeni Zaydism from the sixth/twelfth century onwards can be complemented by a study of the sociopolitical conditions and mechanisms at work.

"What Makes a *Maḏhab* a *Maḏhab*"; Schwarb, "MS Munich"; Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism"; Thiele, *Kausalität in der muʿtazilitischen Kosmologie*; Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya.*

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# Chapter 8
# The Literary-Religious Tradition among Seventh/Thirteenth-Century Yemenī Zaydīs (I): The Formation of Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim

## I.

The rich *sīra* literature relating to the careers of *imām*s is a genre characteristic of 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 *imām*s, and describing their merits therefore formed an important element of such documents. Regular components included a section on the *imām*'s religious education that praised his mastery of the various branches of knowledge as well as a formal proclamation of the *imām*'s claim to the imamate (*daʿwa*) and a pledge of allegiance (*ʿahd*). In addition, documentary sources such as official correspondence, treaties, decrees, and letters of instruction, as well as personal memories and similar texts, often formed part of *sīra*s. As such, they constitute valuable contemporary witnesses of the *imām*s' respective reigns, containing detailed chronicles of political, military, tribal, and at times social history as well as the administrative practices of the time.[1]

The earliest *sīra* is that of Imam 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 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-ʿAlawī.[2] Among the earliest biographies of an *imām* from the Caspian region is that of al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq al-Uṭrūš (d. 304/917), composed by Isfandiyār b. Mihrnūš al-Naysabūrī (fl. presumably early fifth/eleventh century). This document is exclusively known on the basis of the work of the Imāmite scholar Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b.

1. For an overview of the genre, see Madelung, "Al-Hamdānī's Description"; Gochenour, "Revised Bibliography," 312ff.; al-Rabaʿī, *Sīrat al-amīrayn*, introduction, 31–36.

2. The *sīra* was the principal source of van Arendonk's *De opkomst* and has been edited as al-ʿAbbāsī al-ʿAlawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq*. On this document, see also Madelung, "Land Ownership," 189–207; GAS 1/346f. no. 9; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 82f. no. 1; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/115 no. 1828; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 473.



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Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (b. 589/1193, d. 664/1266).[3] Among Ibn Mihrnūš's sources was *Aḫbār al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq* by a certain Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Zāhid al-Ḫaṭīb (who was not a Zaydī), one of Ibn Mihrnūš's transmitters.[4] The latter work is also mentioned in the *Amālī* of Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī.[5] Ibn Bilāl quotes in his *Tatimmat al-Maṣābīḥ* (see below) from the *Aḫbār al-Nāṣir*,[6] and it is uncertain whether this title refers to Ibn Mihrnūš's *sīra* of al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq al-Uṭrūš or to Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Aḫbār al-Nāṣir*.[7] The *sīra* of Imam al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 322/934) by his active and prominent supporter ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Hamdānī is included in the *K. Aḫbār al-Zaydiyya min Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām wa-šīʿatihim bi-l-Yaman* of Musallam b. Muḥammad b. Ǧaʿfar al-Laḫǧī (d. ca. 552/1157).[8] Two biographies are attested for the Caspian Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020), one composed by Abū Ṭālib al-Fārisī[9] and the other by al-Muršad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Ǧurǧānī al-Šaǧarī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106).[10] Other examples of this genre from Yemen are the *sīra* of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿIyānī (b. between 310/922 and 340/951, d. 393/1003) by his secretary Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hamdānī;[11] the *sīra* of the son of al-Manṣūr al-ʿIyānī, al-Mahdī al-Ḥusayn, by an anonymous author;[12] the *sīra* of al-Manṣūr al-ʿIyānī's two grandsons, sons of his elder son Ǧaʿfar b. al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī (d. 450/1059), al-Šarīf al-Fāḍil al-Qāsim (d. 468/1075) and Ḏū l-Šarafayn Muḥammad (d. 477/1084), composed by the *amīr*s' secretary, *qāḍī*, *ḫaṭīb*, and official poet, Mufarriḥ b. Aḥmad al-Rabaʿī;[13] the *sīra* of Imam al-Mutawakkil

3. *K. Siyar* [or *Sīrat*] *al-Fāṭimī allaḏī malaka Ṭabaristān al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-maʿrūf bi-l-Nāsir li-l-ḥaqq*; see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 335f. no. 553.

4. See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraǧ al-mahmūm*, 175.

5. See Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar, *Taysīr al-maṭālib*, 290.

6. Ibn Bilāl al-Āmulī, *Tatimmat al-Maṣābīḥ*, 605.

7. This is also the case with al-Muḥallī's *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya*, 2/79, where the author refers to an *aḫbār* work relating to al-Uṭrūš ("*wa-ḏakara baʿḍu man ṣannafa aḫbārahu*"); with Abū Ṭālib's *Ifāda*, 118, where the author quotes from the *Aḫbār al-Nāṣir*; and with Bahāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Daylamī al-Ǧīlānī's biography of the Caspian Zaydī community and its *imams*, which also refers to a work entitled *Siyar al-Nāṣir*; see Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 139.

8. Madelung, *Sīra of Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā*. For a description of the *sīra*, see also Gochenour, "Revised Bibliography," 315ff. See also al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 473; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 606 no. 619; Ansari, "Tārīḫ-i Musallam Laḫǧī."

9. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/108 no. 1812. This work is lost.

10. Al-Muršad bi-llāh, *Sīrat al-Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh*.

11. The text has been published as al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb, *Sīrat al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh*. See also GAS 1/347 no. 10; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 83f. no. 3; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 474; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 471f. no. 468. See also EI2 6/435f. (W. Madelung).

12. See al-Rabaʿī, *Sīrat al-amīrayn al-ǧalīlayn*, introduction, 36f.

13. The *sīra*, of which we only have a *muḫtaṣar* as the original text is lost, was first analysed by Madelung, "*Sīrat al-Amīrayn al-Ajallayn*," 69–87. See also Gochenour, "Revised Bibliography," 312f.; al-

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ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar (b. 500/1106, d. 566/1170) by Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ṯaqafī (fl. sixth/twelfth century);[14] the *sīra* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217) by his chief secretary Abū Firās b. Diʿṯam, Fāḍil b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim;[15] and the *sīra* of Imām al-Mahdī Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (d. 656/1258) by Šaraf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥamzī (d. 677/1278–79), which is dealt with in some detail in the present chapter.

The biographies of the *imām*s continued to be a popular literary genre among later generations of Yemeni Zaydīs. Examples are the *sīra*s of Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī (d. 697/1297–98), of his son al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar (b. 660/1261–62, d. 728/1327–28), and of his grandson al-Wāṯiq bi-llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad (b. 702/1302–3, d. 793/1390–91 or 802/1400) by al-Nāṣir b. Aḥmad b. al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥasanī (d. 802/1400);[16] the *sīra*s of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620), the eponymous founder of the Qāsimī dynasty, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šarafī (b. 982/1564, d. 1055/1646) and by al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ǧurmūzī (d. 1076/1666), who gleaned most of his material from al-Šarafī's biography;[17] the *sīra*s of Imam al-Manṣūr's two sons, Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (b. 990/1582, d. 1054/1644) by al-Ǧurmūzī,[18] and Imam al-Mut-

Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 474. The document has been edited by Riḍwān al-Sayyid and ʿAbd al-Ġanī Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī.

14. Al-Ṯaqafī, *Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad b. Sulaymān*. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/110 no. 1815; al-Ḥibšī, *Masādir*, 476; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 471f. no. 468; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 406 no. 11; al-Ḥibšī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, 31–35 no. 9.

15. Volumes 2 and 3 of the *sīra* have been published as Ibn Diʿṯam, *al-Sīra al-šarīfa al-manṣūriyya*. On the work, see also al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 479; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 749 no. 811. Another copy of volume 2, which was not consulted by the editor, is preserved as MS Vatican ar. 1061; see Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 1/131. Ansari has identified a copy of volume 4 of the *sīra* that had been presumed lost; see Ansari, *Az ganǧīna-hā-yi nusaḫ-i ḫaṭṭī*, 157–172.

16. *Sīrat al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā wa-awlādihi*; see Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 157 no. 1; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 488; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1057f. no. 1139. A fragment of this *sīra* is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library, ar. A 55/2, ff. 96a–106a; see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/28 no. 55. For al-Mutawakkil, al-Mahdī, and al-Wāṯiq, see al-Ḥibšī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, 60f. no. 17, 64–67 no. 19, 86–90 no. 24.

17. For al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim and the Qāsimī dynasty, see Klarić, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*. We thank Damaris Wilmers for having brought this study to our attention. See also EI2 6/436f. (J. R. Blackburn); Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, which is based on a partial manuscript copy of al-Šarafī's *sīra* preserved in Edinburgh. On al-Šarafī's *al-Laʾālī al-muḍiyya fī aḫbār al-aʾimma al-Zaydiyya*, see also Klarić, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*, 36f. A facsimile of a manuscript of al-Ǧurmūzī's *sīra*, *al-Durra al-muḍiyya fī l-sīra al-qāsimiyya*, has been published under its alternative title, *K. al-Nubḏa al-mušīra*. The first scholar to discuss the *sīra* of al-Ǧurmūzī was Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, "Jemen im XI. (XVII.) Jahrhundert."

18. Entitled *al-Ǧawhara al-muḍiyya fī tārīḫ al-ḫilāfa al-muʾayyadiyya* and, alternatively, *al-Ǧawhara al-*

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awakkil ʿalā llāh Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (b. ca. 1019/1610, d. 1079/1665–66), again by al-Ǧurmūzī;[19] the *sīra* of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 1322/1904) by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iryānī (d. 1323/1905);[20] and the *sīra* of Imam al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (b. 1285/1869, d. 1367/1948) by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Muṭahhar al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1366/1947–48).[21]

*Sīra*s also constituted the primary sources for another related literary genre: collective biographical works that were exclusively dedicated to the lives of the *imām*s. These works often include material from individual biographies that are otherwise lost. Prominent examples of this genre are *al-Maṣābīḥ* of Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī (fl. first half of the fourth/tenth century), as well as its continuation, *Tatimmat al-Maṣābīḥ*, by Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī's student Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Bilāl al-Āmulī.[22] The *Maṣābīḥ* also served as one of the main sources for the *K. al-Ifāda fī tārīḫ al-aʾimma al-sāda* by Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033).[23] The next important work within this genre is *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya fī manāqib aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya* of Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254), who, in turn, made extensive use of al-Ḥasanī's *Maṣābīḥ* and of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *K. al-Ifāda*. He also added other valuable material that is otherwise lost.[24] The sources also mention *Sīrat* (or *Siyar*) *al-aʾimma* of the Zaydī scholar Bahāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī l-Ḥasan

*munīra min ʿuyūn aḫbār al-sīra*. An edition of the text is included in the study by al-Nūr, *Bināʾ al-dawla al-qāsimiyya*.

19. Al-Ǧurmūzī, *Tuḥfat al-asmāʾ wa-l-abṣār*. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/109 no. 1814; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1035f. no. 1113; EI2 7/778f. (J. R. Blackburn). See also al-Ġālibī, *al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh*, esp. 201ff., for al-Ǧurmūzī's historical writings, including the *Tuḥfa*. On al-Ǧurmūzī's three *sīra*s, see also Klarić, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*, 37ff.

20. This *sīra* has been published repeatedly, as *Sīrat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn* and as *al-Mawqif al-yamānī min al-ḥukm al-ʿUṯmānī al-ṯānī*.

21. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Muṭahhar, *Sīrat al-Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn*. See also al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 557f. no. 562. On Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, see also EI2 11/247f. (A. Rouad), with further references.

22. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/246 no. 675, 3/22 no. 2899; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 84 no. 4; GALS 1/556 no. 1a. A partial edition of the two works is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 53–75. Both works have been published in their entirety as al-Ḥasanī, *Maṣābīḥ*. On the author of the *Maṣābīḥ*, see also EncIran 12/41 (W. Madelung). On Ibn Bilāl, see Ansari, "Kitābī ḥadīṯī."

23. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/140 no. 361; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 91f. A partial edition is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 77–118; the complete text has been edited by Ibrāhīm b. Maǧd al-Dīn al-Muʾayyadī and again by Muḥammad Kāẓim Raḥmatī. On the contents of the *Ifāda*, see also Ansari, "Kitābī arzišmand."

24. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/420 no. 1231; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 127f. no. 1; GAL 1/397 no. 9; GALS 1/560 no. 9. A facsimile of a manuscript of the work (transcribed by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaʿdī, copy completed in Muḥarram 1357/March 1938) has been published. A partial edition is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 171–349, and a full edition by al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭwarī Ḥasanī has also been published. A critical edition of part 2 of the work, containing the

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al-Daylamī al-Ǧīlānī.[25] Also within this genre falls the latter's epistle addressed to ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-ʿUḏrī al-Hamdānī, who received it in 607/1210–11. The document, which may perhaps be identical with his *Sīrat* (or *Siyar*) *al-aʾimma*, mainly contains information on the Caspian Zaydī *imām*s and the Zaydī community after al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq until the time of Yūsuf's writing.[26] Al-Muḥallī's *Ḥadāʾiq* was later continued by Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūnus al-Zaḥīf (or al-Zuḥayf) al-Ṣaʿdī Ibn Fand with his *al-Lawāḥiq al-nadiyya li-l-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya*, written in 916/1510, which is also known as *Maʾāṯir al-abrār fī tafṣīl muǧmalāt ǧawāhir al-aḫbār*,[27] and by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šarafī in his *al-Laʾālī al-muḍiyya fī aḫbār aʾimmat al-Zaydiyya*.[28] One of the most recent examples is *al-Tuḥaf šarḥ al-zulaf*, or *al-Tuḥaf al-fāṭimiyya ʿalā l-zulaf al-imāmiyya*, by Maǧd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr al-Muʾayyadī (d. 1428/2007).[29]

A third related genre is works containing biographies of *sādāt* and members of the family of the Prophet (*Ahl al-Bayt*) who were killed. This genre constitutes an amalgamation of the two genres introduced before and the *maqtal* literature.[30] Prime examples of this genre are *Aḫbār Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm wa-Abī l-Sarāyā* of Abū l-Faḍl Naṣr b. Muzāḥim (d. 212/827),[31] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī's (fl. second half of the third/seventh century) *K. al-Aḫbār*,[32] Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī's (fl. end of the third/ninth century) *Aḫbār Faḫḫ wa-ḫabar Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh*,[33] Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār al-Ṯaqafī *al-kātib*'s (d. ca. 314/926) *al-Mubayyaḍa fī aḫbār maqātil āl Abī Ṭālib*,[34] and

biography of Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, with translation into English, is included in al-Shamahi, *AI-Imam al-Manṣūr ʿAbdullah b. Ḥamzah*.

25. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/106 no. 1804.

26. An edition is included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 135–161. See also Chapter 6 in the present volume.

27. Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/411 no. 2675; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 196 no. 4. The work has been published as Ibn Fand, *Maʾāṯir al-abrār*.

28. See GAL 1/397 no. 9i; GALS 1/560 no. 9.

29. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/255 nos. 707, 708. The work has been published repeatedly.

30. See Günther, "*Maqātil* Literature"; Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 101 (*K. Maqtal Amīr al-muʾminīn* of Ǧābir al-Ǧuʿfī, d. 128/745–46), 102 (*K. Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* by the same author), 144 (*K. Ḫurūǧ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh wa-maqtalihi* and *K. Ḫurūǧ Ṣāḥib Faḫḫ wa-maqtalihi* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ǧaʿfarī, fl. late second/eighth century), 230 (*Maqtal Amīr al-muʾminīn* of Ġiyāṯ b. Ibrāhīm); Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen*, passim. For a list of *sādāt* who were killed, see Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-ansāb*, 1/395–431. On Abū Miḫnaf's (b. ca. 70/689, d. 157/775) *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, see Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*.

31. See Ansari, *al-Mutabaqqī min kutub mafqūda*, 547-591.

32. The work has been reconstructed on the basis of later sources as al-Nawfalī, *K. al-Aḫbār*. On al-Nawfalī, see also Günther, "Al-Nawfalī's Lost *History*." Günther also discusses related *aḫbār* works.

33. For this work, see Jarrar, "Some Lights," 279–297. Maher Jarrar has also published an edition of the work. See also his "Arbaʿ rasāʾil zaydiyya mubakkira," 267–304. On the approximate dates of the life of Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, see Modarressi, *Maktab dar farāyand-i takāmul*, 262 n.

34. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Taǧaddud, 166; al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, 7/4; Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ*, 1/364–367. On al-Ṯaqafī, see also Günther, "Al-Nawfalī's Lost *History*," 251 no. 1, 252 n. 52 (specifically on his *al-Mubayyaḍa*), and passim.

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Abū l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 356/967) *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*.[35] These works, together with al-Ḥasanī's *Maṣābīḥ* and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *al-Ifāda*, constituted the main sources for the *Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya* of al-Muḥallī.

## II.

The *sīra* of Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim "*ṣāḥib Ḏībīn*"[36] (b. Ḏū l-Qaʿda 612/February–March 1216, d. Ṣafar 656/February–March 1258) was composed by Šaraf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Ḥamzī (d. 677/1278–79),[37] who recorded the events of al-Mahdī's imamate up to the latter's death in 656/1258. Šaraf al-Dīn began writing the document in Rabīʿ I 646/June–July 1248, as he explains in the *ḫuṭba*, a date that coincides with Aḥmad's proclamation of his imamate in the fortress of Ṯulā 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 Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd 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 connected neither 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. ʿAlī al-ʿIyānī (d. 393/1003), but only to Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860),[38] and he initially

35. On this work, see Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen*; Günther, "'Nor Have I Learned It'"; Günther, "Al-Nawfalī's Lost *History*"; EI3 2007-3/51–55 (S. Günther).

36. For Ḏībīn, a settlement 20 km away from Raydat al-Bawn, see al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 2/740; al-Ḥaǧarī, *Muʿǧam*, 1/351–353.

37. This is the form of his name as given in the consulted manuscripts. On him, see GAL 1/388 no. 6; GALS 1/551 no. 6 (Brockelmann erroneously gives his name as Yaḥyā b. *Abī* l-Qāsim); Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 129; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1143f. no. 1206; Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 4/505 no. 1354. See also at the end of MS Ambrosiana ar. C 178/1 containing the text of the *sīra*, f. 126b for a lengthy note concerning his biography. According to al-Miswarī (*Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt*, manuscript held in an unknown library in Yemen; a copy of the manuscript is preserved in the private library of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim [see below], 419f.), Yaḥyā was also the author of *al-Radd ʿalā l-Bāṭiniyya* (alternatively known under the title *Kašf al-asrār wa-hatk al-astār min maḫǧūb al-Bāṭiniyya al-kuffār*; see Ibn Fand, *Maʾāṯir al-abrār*, 2/608), of *al-Risāla al-hādima li-asās al-daʿwa al-ẓālima* (a refutation of the opponents of Imam al-Mahdī, specifically of al-Hasan b. Wahhās al-Ḥamzī; for a manuscript of the text in the Maktabat Āl al-Wazīr, see al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, 65; for the work, see also al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 3/1303), and of a *Šarḥ Qaṣīdat al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh*.

38. His genealogy is usually given as follows: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Barakāt Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim [al-Rassī] b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Muṯannā b. al-Ḥasan al-sibṭ Ibn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. On Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, see al-Ḫazraǧī, *al-ʿIqd al-fāḫir*, 1/270–279 no. 74; al-Ḫazraǧī, *al-ʿUqūd*

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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 the 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-Raṣṣāṣ "al-Ḥafīd" (d. 656/1258),[39] Abū Ṭayr enjoyed in turn the support of two prominent Zaydī scholars, Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Muḥallī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (b. 593/1196–97, d. 667/1269). Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn was eventually killed in 656/1258 in fights with his opponents. This fierce opposition to Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh from virtually all factions within the Zaydī camp at one stage or another of his reign forms the background to the *sīra* by Šaraf al-Dīn Yaḥyā: the document clearly had the purpose of supporting his claim to the imamate and of refuting 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 *imām*'s virtues in general and will then specifically discuss his noble descent, his birth and early youth, and 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, and his virtues in knowledge, steadfastness, and eloquence. This will be followed by descriptions of his goodness towards the people of his time, 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.[40]

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*al-luʾluʾiyya*, 1/76ff.; Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Qurrat al-ʿuyūn*, 2/13–34; al-Šāmī, *Tārīḫ al-Yaman al-fikrī*, 3/182–229; Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, 1/152–176; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, *Ġāyat al-amānī*, 1/429–445; Ibn Fand, *Maʾāṯir al-abrār*, 2/867–886; al-Ḥibšī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, 50f. no. 13; al-Akwaʿ, *Hiğar al-ʿilm*, 2/741–744; GAL 1/510 no. 12; GALS 1/702 no. 12; EI2 5/1240 (R. Strothmann[, G. R. Smith, J. R. Blackburn]). See also the detailed account of his life given in the editor's introduction to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, *Maǧmūʿ rasāʾil al-Imām al-šahīd al-Mahdī*, 3–85. For ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī and the political and theological conflict between him and al-Raṣṣāṣ, see our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*. Among the writings of Abū Ṭayr, special mention should be made of his *Ḥalīfat al-Qurʾān fī nukat min aḥkām ahl al-zamān*, *al-Risāla al-zāǧira li-ṣāliḥī l-umma ʿan isāʾat al-ẓann bi-l-aʾimma*, and *Risālat ǧawāb ʿalā l-Šayḫ ʿAtiyya al-Naǧrānī* (→ 12), in which he justifies his claim to the imamate against his opponents. Editions of these tracts are included in his *Maǧmūʿ rasāʾil al-Imām al-šahīd al-Mahdī*, 91–121, 125–140, 151–176. A manuscript codex entitled *Maǧmūʿ rasāʾil wa-fatāwā al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn* (dated Ǧumādā II 688/June–July 1289), including his *al-Mufīd al-ǧāmiʿ li-manẓūmāt ġarāʾib al-šarāʾiʿ*, is preserved in the British Library (Or. 3811 = formerly Glaser no. 98); see al-ʿAmrī, *Maṣādir*, 169–171; Rieu, *Supplement*, 221f. no. 346.

39. Al-Ḥafīd had initially sent a letter to the Zaydīs of Gīlān and Daylamān supporting the imamate of al-Mahdī. The text is included in Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/421–430.

40. See MS Ambrosiana ar. C 178/1, f. 3b:

فصل ونحن نذكر جملًا من مناقبه وخصائصه التي تفرّد بها وبرز على غيره في مضمارها فلنبدأ بنسبه الشريف ثم مولده عليه السلام ثم صفته ثم نشأته ثم خصائصه في الورع والعبادة والزهد ثم خصائصه في الكرم والسخاء ثم خصائصه في حسن الخلق ثم في جودة رأيه وتوقد ألمعيته 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 حبّه ثم نذكر جملًا من فضائله وبركاته

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III.

The primary significance of the section of the *sīra* that is devoted to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's formation, edited below, is that it provides a detailed picture of the intellectual scene in Yemen during the seventh/thirteenth century and informs us about the characteristics of the formation of scholars during this period. Moreover, the document provides information 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-aḫīr* (d. 520/1126) and gradually accelerated throughout the sixth/twelfth century until the death of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh in 614/1217.

As is typical in Muslim education, Aḥmad began his studies at the age of five or shortly afterwards with 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),[41] 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 the age of twelve or shortly thereafter. 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), ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī (→ 18), the latter's brother Asʿad b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir (→ 11), al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Šākirī (→ 26), Aḥmad b. ʿUzayw b. ʿAwāḍ al-Ḥimyarī (→ 8), Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿīš al-Ṣanʿānī (→ 22), al-Ḥasan b. al-Baqāʾ al-Tihāmī al-Qaysī (→ 15), Zayd b. Ǧaʿfar al-Bāqirī (→ 32), al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-ʿAnsī (→ 14), and Saʿīd b. Ḥanẓala (→ 29). Among these, Aḥmad was particularly close to Aḥmad b. ʿUzayw, 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-Šākirī (→ 26) as his main teacher (§ 4). Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn is reported to have focused on *tawḥīd* and to have studied various works of theology, all written by Yemeni scholars, viz. *al-Ḫulāṣa al-nāfiʿa* of Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ (→ 64), *al-Muʾaṯṯirāt* of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (→ 71), and the *K. al-Īḍāḥ* of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, a commentary on Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm* (→ 50). Among these, *al-Ḫulāṣa al-nāfiʿa* and *al-Īḍāḥ* are *summa*-type works of theology, both certainly above the level of real beginner's works, whereas al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Muʾaṯṯirāt* is a more specialized treatise on causality. Next (§ 5), Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn is reported to have studied with his teacher al-Šākirī (→ 26) al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' brief theological *summa al-Taḥṣīl* (→ 102). To make Aḥmad understand al-Raṣṣāṣ' text better, al-Šākirī explained

ثم نذكر السبب الداعي له إلى القيام ثم نذكر دعوته العامة وبيعته ثم نتكلم في سيرته على وجه الإجمال نبدأ بأول سنة نذكر حوادثها وإذا انقرضت ذكرنا السنة التي بعدها وحوادثها سنة سنة حتى نأتي على مدة دولته إلى أن مضى شهيدًا فائزًا يحصل السبق مؤدّيًا لما أمره الله به في أمر الأمة لا نستثني في ذلك إلّا مشيئة الله سبحانه ولطفه وتوفيقه.

41. The numbers in parentheses refer to the listing of individuals, titles, and places in the Appendix below.

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its contents to him by using the commentary by al-Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī, *al-Iklīl šarḥ maʿānī al-Taḥṣīl* (→ 53), al-Raṣṣāṣ' *al-Tibyān*, which was based on Ibn Šarwīn's *Yāqūtat al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān* (→ 110), and two comprehensive *summae* by earlier representatives of the Bahšamī branch of the Muʿtazila, namely, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* and one of the works of the latter's student and successor as head of the Bahšamiyya, Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Ḫilāfiyya*. The first refers most likely to Ibn Mattawayh's recension of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *Muḥīṭ*, entitled *al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* (→ 74), and the second title refers most likely to Abū Rašīd's *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mušabbiha wa-l-muǧbira wa-l-ḥawāriǧ wa-l-murǧiʾa* (→ 69) (§ 5). As mentioned earlier, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's exclusive teacher at this stage was al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Šākirī (→ 26) (§ 5).

Aḥmad subsequently moved to Ḥūṯ (→ 115), where he enrolled in the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya*, one of the most important *madrasa*s at the time and one in which prominent scholars of his time taught; his most important teachers were Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ "al-Ḥafīd" (→ 5), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Akwaʿ ("Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ") (→ 4), Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḍamīmī (→ 2), Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣanʿānī (→ 23), and al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaḥyā (→ 13) (§ 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 ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and the following generations of Muʿtazilites from Rayy and elsewhere in Iran. With Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ, he studied the *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* and the *Muḥīṭ* of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, presumably in the recensions of Mānkdīm (d. ca. 425/1034) (*Taʿlīq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*) (→ 92) and Ibn Mattawayh (*al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ*) (→ 74), and in the field of natural philosophy he studied the *Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ* of Ibn Mattawayh (→ 98) and al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *al-Kayfiyya fī l-ṣifāt wa-l-aḥkām* (→ 61). He then studied Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Muʿtamad fi uṣūl al-dīn* (→ 80) and his shorter *K. al-Fāʾiq fi uṣūl al-dīn* (→ 45), both reflecting the doctrinal views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, followed by Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī's "*al-Ḫilāfiyya*" (→ 69), and *al-Ḫilāfiyya bayn al-Baġdādiyyīn wa-l-Baṣriyyīn* (→ 70), as well as two works by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān], viz. his commentary on al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *al-Diʿāma*, *al-Muḥīṭ* (→ 75), and a "*Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*," possibly a supercommentary on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl* (→ 91). At this stage Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn also studied the *Iḥāṭa* of al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (d. after 420/1029) (→ 52) as well as a "*Kitāb al-Sayyid Abī Ṭālib fī l-laṭīf*" (→ 66). It is unclear which work by Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq this refers to. 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 education in theology, he proceeded to study *ḥadīṯ* and *siyar* with Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ (→ 4), reading, among other works, the *K. Uṣūl al-aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* by Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (→ 112), the *Amālī* of Imam Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā (d. 247/861) (→ 36), and the *sīra* of the prophet Muḥammad by Ibn

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Hišām (→ 94). The latter work, it is stated, he had already studied earlier with ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Nāṣir (→ 18). Most other works included in this section were composed by Caspian Zaydīs, viz. *Tartīb al-Amālī al-ḫamīsiyya*, a recension of the *Amālī* of al-Muršad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šağarī (→ 40, 108), his *al-Amālī al-iṯnayniyya* (or *al-Anwār*) (→ 39), the *K. al-Iʿtibār wa-salwat al-ʿārifīn* by al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh (→ 54), the *Taysīr al-maṭālib min* (or *fī*) *Amālī Abī Ṭālib* in the recension of Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī, (d. 573/1177) (→ 109), the *Amālī* of Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 445/1053–54) (→ 37), and the *K. al-Riyāḍ* of al-Ḥamdūnī (→ 87). Included in this section are also some Imāmite *ḥadīṯ* works that were popular among the Zaydīs, such as *Nahǧ al-balāġa* of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) (→ 84), a commentary on the latter work by al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Saraḫsī, *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa* (→ 35), and *al-ʿUmda* of Ibn Biṭrīq (→ 111). The oddity within this section is "*al-Mustaṣfā li-l-Šāfiʿiyya*," which would seem to refer to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī's (d. 505/1111) *al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*, which, as the title indicates, is a work on legal theory (→ 78). It is possible that the reading of the different manuscripts should be emended to *al-Šifāʾ fī aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā* of Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149) (→ 93) (§ 7).

For Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's study of legal theory (§§ 8–9), the following titles are mentioned in particular. Among works by Yemeni scholars, he studied *al-Ḥāṣir fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by his teacher Aḥmad b. al-ʿUzayw al-Ḥimyarī (→ 48), which was based on Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, *Ṣafwat al-iṯtiyār* by Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (→ 88), and *al-Fāʾiq* by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (→ 46). This was followed by three additional comprehensive works on *uṣūl al-fiqh* by earlier scholars: the *K. al-Muʿtamad* of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (→ 81), the *K. al-Taǧrīd* of Ibn al-Malāḥimī (→ 103), and the *K. al-Muǧzī* of Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (→ 76) (§ 8). The author of the *sīra* adds that Aḥmad also studied "*al-Muʿtamad*" of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* on legal theory (→ 79) (§ 9); however, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār is not known to have written a work with this title. It may be a mistake for *K. al-ʿUmad* or *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad*, although no other source is so far known to confirm that either of the latter works had reached Yemen. It was only when he reached the age of twenty-four that Aḥmad turned to *fiqh*,[42] his main teachers now being Muḥammad b. Abī l-Saʿādāt (→ 20) and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn *al-amīr* (→ 9). The titles mentioned in this section indicate that he studied all three major categories of Zaydī law: (1) *fiqh al-Hādī*, represented by *al-Aḥkām* of al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq (→ 34), *al-Taḥrīr* of Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī (→ 101) with the commentary by Qāḍī Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Kalārī (→ 55), *al-Wāfī* by ʿAlī b. Bilāl al-Āmulī (→ 113), *Šams al-šarīʿa* of Sulaymān b. Nāṣir (→ 89), an unidentified work by ʿAlī b. Sulaymān (→ 67), and the works of Ǧamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (→ 9), as well as the writings of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm and his descendants that were the basis for *al-maḏhab al-*

42. 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, *Rise of Colleges*.

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*hādawī*; (2) *fiqh Nāṣir al-Uṭrūš*, represented by *al-Ibāna* by Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Hawsamī together with his autocommentary (→ 49), as well as his *al-Kāfī* (→ 58); and (3) the legal doctrines of Abū Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, known as *fiqh al-Muʾayyadī*, represented by the *Taʿlīq* of al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh (→ 105), the *Taʿlīq* of Abū Muḍar (→ 41), and *Maǧmūʿ* ʿAlī Ḫalīl (→ 68). In addition, he studied the *fatāwā* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, such as his *al-Muhaḏḏab* (→ 72) and his *rasāʾil* (→ 86) (§ 10).

During the last stage of his formation between the years 637 AH through 646 AH, that is, when he was between twenty-five and thirty-four years old, Aḥmad continued his legal studies, including Šāfiʿite law, and otherwise focused on the various Qurʾānic sciences. In addition to the exegetical works of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (→ 100) and *Tafsīr al-Bulġa* of al-Ṭūsī (→ 42), he studied the works of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (→ 83) and the little known al-Ṭurayṯīṯī (→ 82) on the *mutašābihāt*. He also studied a number of unidentified Zaydī *tafsīr* works (*tafāsīr Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām*). His main teachers in this discipline was Aḥmad b. Ḥanaš (→ 3) (§ 11). The last year of this stage of his education, 646/1248, coincides with Aḥmad's proclaiming himself *imām*. The section continues with additional paragraphs detailing his studies in the fields of *naḥw* and *luġa* (§ 12), as well as additions to his study of *ḥadīṯ* and Qurʾānic 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 his formal education. This is also the case with the closing sentence, where again his qualifications for the imamate are stressed.

## IV.

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

(i) MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, ms. or. fol. 1303.[43] Copied partly by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ in 1097/1686 and again by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Waǧīh in ca. 1151/1738. The text of the *sīra* is incompletely preserved and the leaves are in disorder. The correct sequence of the text is as

43. See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 9/249f. no. 9741. See also GAL 1/388 no. 6; GALS 1/551 no. 6; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 129 no. 16; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 481. The manuscript is part of the "first" Glaser collection (comprising twenty-three 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). See Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, 44 no. 248. On the history of the Glaser collection, see Chapter 1 in the present volume.

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follows: 1–12 [6 folios], 241–246 [3 folios], 31–100 [46 folios], [lacuna], 101–238 [67 folios], [lacuna], 247–248 [1 folio], 13–30 [9 folios], 249–292 [22 folios], 239–240 [1 folio]; 293–298 [3 folios]. The relevant section is to be found on ff.. 7:24–11:4 of the manuscript.

(ب) MS Ambrosiana ar. C 178/1, ff. 2b–126, copied by ʿAbd al-Rabb b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Aḥmad.[44] The relevant section is found on ff. 4b–6a.

(ج) MS held in an unknown private library in Yemen, 185 ff., copy completed on 29 Šaʿbān 1098/July 10, 1687. A copy of the manuscript is held in the Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt in Sanaa. 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. The relevant section is to be found on ff. 4b:30–6b:10.

(د) MS held in an unknown private library in Yemen, copy completed on Friday, 14 Šaʿbān 1310/March 3, 1893. A digital copy was provided to us by the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Cultural Foundation. 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 Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *tārīḫ* 116 [or 2571], 169 ff., undated manuscript.[45]
- MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, 210 ff., copied in 1066/1655–56. This manuscript, which is not included in any of the published catalogues of the Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr of Sanaa, has been microfilmed by the Egyptian scientific mission (microfilm no. 2163, Dār al-kutub in Cairo).[46]

An extract of the *sīra* containing the section on the *imām*'s curriculum of studies is included in Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Miswarī's (b. 1007/1598, d. 1079/1668) (→ 7) *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt* (also known as *Iǧāzāt al-Miswarī*), which was available to us in the following manuscript copies:

(هـ) MS held in an unknown library in Yemen. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the private library of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim.[47] The relevant section is to be found on pp. 421–433.

44. See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/214 no. 434. See also GAL 1/388 no. 6; GALS 1/551 no. 6; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 129 no. 16; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 481.

45. The manuscript is described in the two catalogues of the library, each of them indicating a different shelfmark: ʿĪsawī and al-Malīḥ, *Fihris*, 675 (*tārīḫ* 116); ʿĪsawī [et al.], *Fihris*, 2/1495 (no. 2571). See also al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 481, where a manuscript in the "Ǧāmiʿ Ṣanʿāʾ ġarbiyya" is mentioned without indication of shelfmark or any other information.

46. See *Qāʾima bi-l-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, 23 no. 216. See also Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 129 no. 16.

47. See al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/127f. no. 178.

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(و) MS held in an unknown private library in Yemen. A digital copy was provided to us by the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Cultural Foundation. The relevant section is to be found on pp. 356–362.

### فصل في نشأته عليه السلام[48]

1 نشأ في حجر أبويه سنين[49] قريبة[50]، <د 5أ> واختار الله لوالده رضي الله عنه ما هو أصلح من الانتقال إلى دار رحمته[51] وهو ابن سبع سنين بعد أن[52] كان قد أكمل كتاب الله تعالى. ثم كفّله[53] عمه السيد[54] الشريف[55] الزاهد الطاهر سليمان بن أحمد بن القاسم (← 31) وكان رحمه الله[56] <ج 4ب> أحد الزهّاد في زمانه رفض[57] كثيرًا من ملاذ الدنيا من مناكحها وملابسها ولازم الزهد والعزلة عن[58] الناس. فعني في تعليمه وتهذيبه وتأديبه وكان عليه السلام ممن شهدت له الفراسة رضيعًا أن لا يكون وضيعًا، وحُكمت له الشمائل غلامًا أن يكون قرمًا[59] همامًا، تخيل فيه مخائل الإمامة، وتلوح[60] على غرته أنوار الزعامة.

2 وكان ابتداؤه بالقرآن الكريم[61] وهو ابن خمس سنين أو يزيد[62] قليلًا، ولقد روى لنا عن نفسه عليه السلام[63] من عجيب الفطنة، وروى غيره من الثقات ممن كانوا يشاهدونه من توقُّد فطنته وألمعيته ما لم تجر العادة بمثله فيمن هو في سنه[64].

3 ولم يزل في دراسة القرآن العظيم[65] وتلاوته[66]، والتعلّم[67] في غيره لما[68] يصلح لمن هو في سنه من الشعر، وما يجري مجراه من الأراجيز والحكم[69] حتى بلغ اثنتي عشرة سنة أو يزيد[70] قليلًا، ونقله عمه الطاهر من الهجرة <أ8> المباركة إلى مدرسة مسلت[71] (← 116) ببلد

48. عليه السلام: -، أ.
49. سنين: سنينًا، ب.
50. فصل في ... قريبة: -، ه و.
51. رضي الله ... رحمته: عليه السلام ما عنده، ه و.
52. أن: + قد، د.
53. بعد أن كان ... كفله: فكفله، ه و.
54. السيد: -، ه و.
55. السيد الشريف: الشريف السيد، ب.
56. وكان رحمه الله: -، و؛ وكان رحمة الله عليه، ب.
57. رفض: ورفض، ه.
58. عن: من، ه و.
59. قرماً: قرنا، ه.
60. وتلوح: ويلوح، و.
61. الكريم: -، ه و.
62. يزيد: تزيد، و.
63. عليه السلام: سلام الله عليه، ب ه و.
64. سنه: مثله، و.
65. العظيم: الكريم، ب.
66. العظيم وتلاوته: الكريم، ه و.
67. والتعلّم: والتعليم، أ ب ج د.
68. لما: لمن، أ.
69. والحكم: -، ه و.
70. يزيد: تزيد، و.
71. مسلت: مسلب، ه.

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بني[72] قيس من ظاهر همدان، وكانت المدرسة في ذلك الأوان نظام عقد العلم، وقبلة أهل الإسلام والفضل[73]، كان سكّانها[74] في ذلك العصر[75] الفقيه الإمام الألمعي ترجمان المتكلمين وعمدة[76] المجتهدين والمتهجدين[77] حميد بن أحمد المحلي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الواحد بن عبد الرزاق[78] بن إبراهيم بن أبي القاسم بن علي المحلي الصنعاني[79] (← 17) رحمه الله تعالى[80]، وكان يسكن حينًا في الشاهل غربي بلد[81] بني شاور السَّود (← 117)، والفقيه العالم الفاضل[82] الحافظ[83] المحدّث الكامل[84] ترجمان القرآن جمال الدين[85] عمران بن الحسن بن ناصر (← 18)، وأخوه الفقيه العالم شرف الدين أسعد بن الحسن بن ناصر[86] (← 11)، والفقيه العلامة اللسان المنطيق[87] نظام الدين القاسم بن أحمد الشاكري (← 26)، والفقيه الزاهد الورع قدوة الزهاد فخر الدين أحمد بن عزيو[88] بن عواض الحميري[89] (← 8)، والفقيه العالم الأديب إمام الأدب[90] سابق الدين[91] محمد بن علي بن أحمد[92] بن يعيش الصنعاني[93] (← 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[94] (← 14)، والفقيه الطاهر العالم[95] سعيد بن حنظلة (← 29)، وغير هؤلاء من عيون أهل الدين المتمسّكين بالعلم. فاختصّ[96] به ليلًا ونهارًا الفقيه[97] الزاهد المطهر[98] فخر الدين <د5ب> أحمد بن عزيو[99] (← 8) فكان سميره وقرينه والمتولي لتهذيبه وتأديبه وتعليمه طرائق[100]

72. بني: -، ج.
73. والفضل: -، ه و.
74. سكانها: سكنها، أ.
75. العصر: -، و.
76. وعمدة: عمدة، أ ج د.
77. والمتهجدين: + حسام الدين أبا عبد الله، ه و؛ حسام الدين أبا عبد الله، ب.
78. الرزاق: الرازق، أ.
79. بن محمد بن أحمد ... الصنعاني: -، ب ه و.
80. رحمه الله تعالى: رحمة الله عليه، ج د ه و.
81. بلد: -، ه و.
82. الفاضل: -، ب.
83. العالم الفاضل الحافظ: الحافظ العالم، ه و.
84. الكامل: -، ه و.
85. جمال الدين: -، ه و.
86. ناصر: + العندي، ب.
87. المنطيق: المنطق، أ و.
88. عزيو: غزيو، أ؛ عريق، ج؛ غريف، د؛ غزيو، ه؛ غريق، و.
89. الحميري: الشاكري، ج.
90. إمام الأدب: -، ج؛ امام الدين، ب.
91. سابق الدين: -، ب.
92. بن أحمد: -، ب ه و.
93. الصنعاني: -، ب و.
94. والفقيه العالم اللسان ... العنسي: -، ج.
95. الطاهر العالم: العالم الطاهر، ه و.
96. فاختص: واختص، ب.
97. الفقيه: + الطاهر، ب.
98. المطهر: + بن، أ.
99. عزيو: غويو، أ؛ غريق، ج؛ غريف، د؛ غريو، ه.
100. طرائق: طرائف، ج.

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الأدب والطهارة حتى لقد[101] كان[102] الناظر يعجب من أدبه وطهارته مع صغر سنه.

4 ثم ابتدأ بعد ذلك[103] من الفنون بعد معرفته لأبواب[104] في[105] الطهارات، ونكت في[106] العبادات، وجمل من أصول الشرعيات بالتوحيد[107]، فكانت قراءته أولًا على الفقيه العلامة اللوذعي قاسم بن أحمد الشاكري (← 26)، إذ كان في ذلك الفنّ خليجًا يطمو مدوده[108]، فقرأ عليه مختصًرا مفيدًا. ثم قرأ كتاب[109] الخلاصة النافعة (← 64) بشرح[110] واسع، ثم قرأ المؤثرات للشيخ الإمام حسام الدين الحسن بن محمد الرصاص (← 71)، <ب5أ> كل ذلك يضبطه غيبًا، ثم قرأ شرح الإيضاح الذي وضعه الإمام الفقيه[111] حسام الدين حميد بن أحمد (← 50). كل هذه الكتب يضبطها غيبًا ويعقل[112] معانيها، وتعجب[113] العلماء[114] من حسن لهجته[115] وبراعته.

5 ثم قرأ مذاكرةً عقودًا[116] على كتاب التحصيل للشيخ الإمام[117] الحسن بن محمد الرصاص (← 102)، وكانت هذه المذاكرة من العجائب، أُخذت معانيها من كتاب المحيط <ج5أ> بالتكليف[118] لقاضي القضاة عبد الجبار بن أحمد (← 74)، ثم من كتاب الإكليل في[119] شرح معاني التحصيل للفقيه العلامة الحسين[120] بن مسلم التهامي (← 53)، ثم من[121] كتاب التبيان[122] شرح[123] ياقوتة الإيمان للحسن[124] الرصاص (← 110)، ثم من[125] خلافية أبي رشيد (← 69) وغيره[126] من[127] الكتب المعيّنة، كان الفقيه[128] القاسم بن أحمد الشاكري[129]

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101. لقد: -، ه و.
102. كان: -، أ.
103. بعد ذلك: هنالك، ب ه و.
104. لأبواب: + الكتب، ب.
105. في: -، ه و.
106. في: -، ه و.
107. بالتوحيد: باالتوحيد، ه.
108. مدوده: الدودة، أ ب د؛ قدوده، ج.
109. قرا كتاب: -، ب.
110. بشرح: شرح، أ ب.
111. الإمام الفقيه: الفقيه الإمام، ج د ه و؛ الامام، ب.
112. ويعقل: وينتقل، و.
113. وتعجب: ويعجب، أ.
114. العلماء: الناس والعلماء، د.
115. لهجته: بهجته، أ ج و.
116. عقوداً: موسومة بكتاب الحاضر، ب.
117. الإمام: + محمد، ه.
118. بالتكليف: -، ب.
119. في: -، أ ج.
120. الحسين: الحسن، أ ب ج د.
121. من: في، ب.
122. التبيان: البيان، أ.
123. شرح: بشرح، ج.
124. للحسن: + بن محمد، ب.
125. من: -، ب.
126. وغيره: وغير، و.
127. من: + هذه، أ ج و ه.
128. كان الفقيه: -، ب.
129. الشاكري: -، ب ه و.

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(← 26) يترجم هذه المذاكرة ويضبط معانيها[130] من الكتب المذكورة وغيرها، ثم يلقي[131] عليه الصفحتين[132] والثلاث[133] وربمّا أكثر من ذلك، فأكثر ما يقرأ[134] عليه شرفين أو ثلاثة، ثم يضبطها غيبًا ويحفظها، ولعلّ هذه المذاكرة تمت في قريب من مئتي[135] عشر[136]، ولعل نساختها[137] في ثلاثين سلطانية أو نحو ذلك[138]، وكان عليه السلام في خلال[139] قراءته يقرأ عليه عدة من الدرسة وهو في وقت القيلولة[140] وفراغ الخاطر لا يشتغل بغير النظر في الكتب والمراجعة حتى أتمّ المذاكرة، وهو معدود من العلماء في ذلك الفنّ.

6 ثم انتقل إلى المدرسة المنصورية بحوث (← 115)، وفيها عدّة من عيون العلماء كالشيخ العلامة المصقع ترجمان الكلام جمال الدين أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن[141] الرصاص (← 5)، والشيخ الطاهر بقية الحفّاظ محيي الدين[142] أحمد بن محمد الأكوع المعروف بشعلة (← 4)، والفقيه العالم أحمد بن علي الضميمي[143] (← 2)، والقاضي الفاضل محمد بن يحيى[144] الصنعاني (← 23)، والقاضي العلامة الفضل[145] بن يحيى <د6أ> بن القاضي[146] جعفر بن أحمد بن أبي[147] يحيى (← 13)، وعدة من العلماء والفضلاء غاب عني[148] تعيينهم لكثرتهم لا لقصور[149] في[150] 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[151] الكلام كتاب تذكرة ابن متوية (← 98)، وأخذ عنه[152] كتاب جدّه أبي محمد، شيخ الإمام المنصور بالله عليه السلام، المعروف بالكيفية في الصفات والأحكام (← 61)، وهو من لطيف كتب الكلام[153] حتى لقد كان يحفظه غيبًا كما يحفظ الناس السورة[154] من القرآن الكريم، ثم قرأ كتاب ابن الملاحمي المعتمد (← 80)، والفائق

130. ويضبط معانيها: ويضبطها + (حاشية) أي معانيها، ب.
131. يلقي: تلقي، و.
132. الصفحتين: النفحتين، ب.
133. والثلاث: مكرر في ه و.
134. يقرأ: وفق، ب.
135. مئتي: ثماني، ب.
136. عشر: معشر، ج؛ + لعل نسا، د.
137. نساختها: -، ه.
138. ولعله هذه ... أو نحو ذلك: حاشية في هامش ه؛ -، و.
139. خلال: حال، أ ج.
140. القيلولة: المقبولة، ج.
141. بن الحسن: -، ب.
142. محيي الدين: -، د.
143. علي الضميمي: عيسى التميمي، ب.
144. يحيى: حسين، ب.
145. الفضل: الفضيل، أ ج د.
146. القاضي: -، أ ج د ه و.
147. أبي: -، أ ب.
148. عني: عين، د.
149. لقصور: للغفول، ب.
150. في: -، د.
151. لطيف: -، ج.
152. عنه: عليه، ه و.
153. لطيف كتب الكلام: الطف كتب الفن، و ه.
154. السورة: المتلو، ب.

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(← 45) وغيرهما[155]. ثم قرأ[156] كتاب سياه[157] سربيجان[158] شرح الأصول الكبير (← 91)، وقرأ كتاب أبي رشيد المعروف بالخلافية (← 69) وأتقن ذلك معرفةً، وكتابه [كذا] المعروف بالمحيط[159] المعروف[160] بشرح الدعامة[161] (← 75) وفيما أحسب أنه قرأ تعليق الإكليل (← 53) وقرأ شرح النفحات المسكية (← 60) للفقيه الشهيد[162] حميد بن أحمد المحلي، ثم قرأ كتاب الإحاطة (← 52)، ثم قرأ[163] كتاب السيد أبي طالب في اللطيف (← 66)، ثم قرأ[164] الخلافية بين البغداذيين[165] والبصريين (← 70).

7 هذا ما ذكرته من ذلك[166] عند التعليق وما غاب عني من ذلك فليس بالقليل إلا أنه على الجملة لم يدع كتابًا مشهورًا مما يزداد بقراءته فائدة إلا أتى عليه، وهو في تلك الحال تنتهي إليه[167] الغوامض، وبه يحلّ المشكل[168] ويفتح[169] المقفل[170]، ثم في خلال قرائته[171] سمع[172] على الشيخ الحافظ المحدّث محيي الدين أحمد بن محمد المعروف بشعلة (← 4) الأخبار والسير، فقرأ عليه كتاب أصول الأحكام للإمام المتوكل على الله[173] أحمد بن سليمان سلام الله عليه[174] (← 112)، وضبط شطرًا منه غيبًا، والباقي[175] كرره حتى كاد أن يتلوه غيبًا. وقرأ عليه أمالي أحمد بن عيسى[176] (← 36)، وقرأ عليه سيرة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم[177] (← 94)، وقد كان قرأها على الفقيه العلامة الحافظ[178] عمران بن الحسن[179] بن ناصر[180] (← 18)، وقرأ أمالي <ج5ب> المرشد (← 39، 108) وكتاب السيد[181] الجرجاني (← 54)، وكتاب الرياض (← 87)، وكتاب الأنوار (← 39)، وأمالي أبي سعد[182] السمان (← 37)، وسمع كتاب المستصفى للشافعية (←

155. وغيرهما: -، د.
156. ثم قرأ: وقرأ، ه و؛ وفي، ب.
157. سياه: -، و؛ لسياه، ب.
158. سياه سربيجان: + (حاشية) شاه سريجان، ج.
159. وكتابه المعروف بالمحيط: وكتابه المحيط، أ ج د؛ وكتابه المعروف المحيط، و.
160. المعروف: -، و.
161. وقرأ كتاب أبي رشيد المعروف بالخلافية وأتقن ذلك معرفةً، وكتابه المعروف بالمحيط بشرح الدعامة: وكتابه المحيط المعروف، ب.
162. الشهيد: السيد العلامة، ه و؛ العلامة الشهيد، ب.
163. قرأ: -، ج د.
164. قرأ: فن، ج؛ في، د.
165. البغداذيين: البغداديين، ه.
166. من ذلك: -، د.
167. تنتهي إليه: إليه تناهي، أ ج د.
168. المشكل: المشاكل، أ ه.
169. ويفتح: يفتح، ب.
170. المقفل: المكفل، د.
171. قراءته: ذلك، ج د؛ قرائته تلك، أ.
172. سمع: يسمع، أ ب د ه و.
173. على الله: -، أ.
174. سلام الله عليه: عليه السلام، ب د.
175. والباقي: + منه، ه و.
176. عيسى: + عليه السلام، ب.
177. رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: النبي صلى الله عليه وآله، ب.
178. العلامة الحافظ: الحافظ العالم، ه و.
179. الحسن: الحسين، ب.
180. ناصر: + العذري، ب.
181. وكتاب السيد: والسيد، ج؛ السيد: + الامام، ب.
182. سعد: سعيد، أ ب ج د.

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78)، وقرأ كتاب تيسير المطالب للسيد أبي طالب (← 109)، وقرأ كتاب نهج البلاغة (← 84) وأعلامها (← 35) حتى كاد أن يتقن ذلك[183] غيبًا، وقرأ كتاب العمدة من صحاح الأخبار (← 111). وعلى الجملة فإن سماعات الكتب المشهورة من طريق الإمام المنصور بالله عليه السلام[184] (← 1) والشيخ محيي الدين حميد بن أحمد بن الوليد (← 21) رضي الله عنه[185] صحّت له سماعًا، وتعيين ما قرأ في السير[186] والأخبار أكثر من أن تحصى[187].

8 ثم قرأ في أصول الفقه، فأوّل[188] ذلك قرأ مذاكرةً عقودًا موسومة بكتاب الحاصر[189] على الفقيه العالم الزاهد فخر الدين[190] أحمد بن عزيو[191] الحميري (← 48) رحمه الله تعالى[192] يشتمل[193] <د6ب> على عيون كتاب أبي الحسين البصري رحمه الله[194] المعروف بالمعتمد (← 81)، وكتاب الإمام[195] <ب5ب> المنصور بالله[196] المعروف بصفوة الاختيار (← 88) وكتاب الرصاص المعروف بالفائق (← 46) وغيرها[197] من كتب الفقهاء فأتقن ذلك غيبًا، ثم قرأ كتاب المعتمد (← 81) حتى كاد أن يأتي عليه[198] غيبًا، ثم قرأ[199] كتاب التجريد لابن الملاحمي (← 103) وقرأ كتاب أبي طالب المجزي (← 76) وكان معجبًا به.

9 قال المصنّف[200]: ثم المعتمد لقاضي القضاة (← 79)، وغير ذلك من الكتب الموجودة في اليمن مما أُمكن[201] تحصيله، لأن الكتب كثيرة في الأقطار، وإنما الكتب المشهورة عند الزيدية في اليمن[202] حتى كان المشار إليه في ذلك الأوان بالتحصيل في الأصول[203] الفقهية ومعرفته في ذلك أشهر من نار على علم:

وهل تُجْحَد[204] الشمسُ المنيرةُ ضَوْءَها ويُسْتَرَ نور البَدْرِ والبَدْرُ زاهرُ[205]

10 ثم التفت إلى الدرس في فروع الفقه من سنة سبع وثلاثين وستمائة، فأول كتاب قرأه كتاب التحرير لأبي طالب عليه السلام (← 101) وحفظه غيبًا بعد[206] أن كان قبل ذلك يحفظ معانيه وأصوله وأدلّته قراءةً على الفقيه العالم التقي محمد بن أبي السعادات (← 20)، وكان

183. يتقن ذلك: يضبطها، د.
184. عليه السلام: -، ه و.
185. الإمام المنصور ... رضي الله عنه: -، أ.
186. السير: السنن، و.
187. تحصى: يحصى، أ.
188. فأول: أول، ه و.
189. الحاصر: الخاص، ب.
190. العالم الزاهد فخر الدين: الفاضل العالم، ه و.
191. عزيو: عريق، ج؛ عريف، د.
192. تعالى: -، أ د؛ الحميري رحمه الله تعالى: -، ه و؛ رحمة الله تعالى: -، ب.
193. يشتمل: يشمل، ب.
194. رحمه الله: -، ب و.
195. الإمام: -، ه و.
196. بالله: + عليه السلام، د و.
197. وغيرها: وغيرهما، ه.
198. عليه: غلبه، و.
199. قرأ: -، ه و.
200. قال المصنف: -، ب ه و.
201. أمكن: امكنه، ب.
202. في اليمن: باليمن، أ ج؛ مما أمكن تحصيله ... في اليمن: -، ه و؛ لأن الكتب كثيرة في الأقطار، وإنما الكتب المشهورة عند الزيدية في اليمن: -، ب.
203. الأصول: اصول، ب.
204. تجحد: يجحد، و.
205. زاهر: ازهر، د؛ ديوان أبي فراس، ص 148.
206. بعد: قبل، و.

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أوحد عصره[207] في معرفة ذلك[208] ومعتادًا، فلقد كان يغرق[209] في حسن معرفته وذكائه، ويقول: إنه استفاد عليه أكثر[210] مما أفاده أو كما قال في ذلك[211]. وقرأ[212] عليه جماعة من العلماء فرأوا[213] منه ما لم يسمعوا[214] شيخًا يمليه ويتحدث كذلك[215]. ثم قرأ[216] كتاب شمس الشريعة للفقيه العلامة الحافظ المجتهد سليمان بن ناصر[217] (← 89) وكرر ذلك، ودرس[218] وقرأ[219] شرح[220] التحرير[221] للقاضي زيد (← 55) وتعليق السيد المؤيد بالله (← 105)، ثم تعليق أبي مضر (← 41) حتى لقد كنا نسمعه ويسمعه غيرنا أنه لقد كان يتصور[222] صفحاته[223] ومسائله غيبًا، 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) كرره مرارًا[224]، وقرأ كتاب الإمام المنصور[225] بالله[226] (← 65) وكان معجبًا بفقهه، وأراد أن يشرح المهذّب المنصوري[227] (← 72)، وقرأ مسائله الفقهية في رسائله[228] (← 86)، وقرأ كتاب الهادي عليه السلام[229] الأحكام[230] (← 34)، وقرأ عدة من كتب[231] القاسم عليه السلام[232] (← 28) وأولاده المفردة (← 25)، وكان شديد الحرص في نصرة أقوالهم، وأطل على شيء من تعليقات السيد العلامة جمال الدين <ج6أ> علي بن الحسين بن يحيى بن يحيى بن الهادي عليهم السلام[233] (← 9)، وأجاز له كتاب[234] القمر المنير (← 85) وأمره بتصحيح[235] ما غُيّر[236] عليه. <د7أ> وكان السيد علي

207. عصره: -، أ ج د؛ منه، ب.
208. معرفة ذلك: معرفته، د؛ -، و.
209. يغرق: يعرف، ج د؛ تعرف، و.
210. أكثر: بأكثر، و.
211. ذلك: + ويضرب فيه أمثالًا معجبة، ب.
212. وقرأ: ثم قرا، ب ه و.
213. فرأوا: قرؤوا، ه و.
214. يسمعوا: يرو، ه و؛ يسمع، أ ج د.
215. وقرأ عليه ... ويتحدث كذلك: -، ج؛ يمليه ويتحدث كذلك: يتحدث كذلك، ب ه و؛ كذلك: بذلك، أ د.
216. قرا: + عليه السلام، ب.
217. ناصر: بن سعيد السحامي، ب.
218. وكرر ذلك ودرس: -، ب.
219. ودرس وقرأ: ورتّبه ثم قرأ، ه؛ ودرسه ثم قرأ، و؛ وقرأ: ثم قرأ، ب.
220. شرح: شروح، أ ج د.
221. التحرير: التجريد، و.
222. يتصور: + صفا، د.
223. صفحاته: + وربما اكثر من ذلك فاكثر ما يقرأ عليه شرفين او ثلاثة ثم يضبطها غيبًا ويحفظها، د.
224. كرره مرارًا: -، ه و.
225. الإمام المنصور: التهذيب للمنصور، ب.
226. بالله: + الفتاوى، ه و.
227. المنصوري: للمنصور، ه؛ للمنصور بالله، و.
228. رسائله: مسائله، ه.
229. السلام: + المصنّف، ب.
230. الأحكام: + وقواعده، أ؛ وقرأ مسائله ... الأحكام: -، و.
231. كتب: كتاب، ه و.
232. عليه السلام: -، أ.
233. عليهم السلام: عليه السلام وعليهم السلام، د؛ عليه السلام، ب.
234. كتاب: -، و.
235. وأمره بتصحيح: وأذن له في إصلاحه وتصحيح، ب.
236. غير: عثر، ب ج و.

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بن الحسين يقول: إنه لا يشكّ[237] في بلوغه رتبة[238] الاجتهاد، وما أنسيته مما قرأه من كتب الفروع وغيرها فليس[239] بالقليل إلا أنه غاب عني[240] ذكره والله الموفق للصواب.

11 ولم يزل عليه السلام[241] في القراءة والاستمرار في قراءة الفروع وعلوم القرآن من سنة سبع وثلاثين إلى أول سنة[242] ست وأربعين وستمائة، ثم[243] قرأ كتاب الحاكم التهذيب في تفسير القرآن (← 100) على الفقيه أحمد بن حنش (← 3)، فلقد كنا نسمعه يطرئ عليه ويثني، ويظهر أنه يستحقر نفسه[244] أن يغري[245] مثله وما أراه ينكر ذلك، فلما ختم قراءته أقرأ هذا الكتاب جماعة من العلماء وكانوا[246] يشاهدون منه ما لم يسمع من غيره في معرفة كتاب الله تعالى[247] وما يشتمل عليه من الأحكام، ثم قرأ كتاب الطوسي (← 42). ثم قرأ[248] في[249] كتب المتشابه ككتاب الطريثيثي[250] (← 82)، وكتاب قاضي القضاة (← 83). وقرأ[251] تفاسير أهل البيت عليهم السلام[252] وسيرهم[253]، وقرأ[254] في فقه الشافعية وكان يتعجب من حسن تصانيفهم في الفقه وفيما أحسب أنه قرأ كتاب[255] الثعالبي (← 59) أو شطرًا منه قبل قيامه، فأما[256] بعد قيامه فذلك ظاهر، وقرأ على الفقيه الإمام العلامة حسام الدين حميد بن أحمد المحلي[257] (← 17) عدة[258] كتب بعد قيامه في السير وغيرها.

12 وقرأ في النحو واللغة. أول قراءته[259] في النحو الملحة وشرحها (← 77)، ثم كتاب التهذيب للفقيه العلامة محمد بن علي بن يعيش[260] (← 99)، ثم كتابه المحيط (← 73)، ثم كتاب طاهر بن أحمد شرح المقدمة (← 57)، ثم شرح الجمل (← 90) حتى صار من أهل

237. يشك: شك، ه و.
238. رتبة: درجة، أ ج د.
239. فليس: وليس، أ ج ه؛ لا يشك في بلوغه رتبة الاجتهاد وما أنسيته مما قرأه من كتب الفروع وغيرها فليس: لا قلين (؟)، ب.
240. غاب عني: عني، ج د.
241. عليه السلام: -، ب ه و.
242. سنة: -، ه و.
243. ثم: -، ه و.
244. يستحقر نفسه: ليستحقر، ب.
245. يغري: يقرى، ب ه.
246. وكانوا: فكانوا، ب.
247. تعالى: -، ه و.
248. قرأ: -، و.
249. في: -، د.
250. الطريثيثي: الطريثيني، ج؛ الطربيثي، ب.
251. وقرأ: ثم قرأ، ه و؛ ثم قرأ في، ب.
252. البيت عليهم السلام: مكرر في و.
253. وسيرهم: -، ه و.
254. وقرأ: فقرأ، ب.
255. كتاب: -، ب.
256. فأما: من ما (؟)، و.
257. المحلي: -، ه و.
258. عدة: + من، ب.
259. قراءته: قراءة، و.
260. يعيش: حنش، أ.

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المعرفة في ذلك الفنّ. وقرأ في كتب اللغة على التعيين كتاب محمد[261] بن[262] نشوان (← 24) على الفقيه العلامة[263] الحسن بن[264] البقاء التهامي (← 15). ثم قرأ ديوان الأدب (← 44) وكتاب ابن قتيبة أدب الكاتب (← 33) على الفقيه اللسان ترجمان الأدب صالح بن سليمان بن الحويب[265] (← 30)، وقرأ عليه كتابه المشهور بالزبد الضربية (← 114)، وكان حسن المعرفة شديد العناية في تعليم أهل البيت، ولقد كان هذا الفقيه يتعجب ويعجب[266] من معرفة الإمام المهدي سلام الله عليه[267] ويشهد باجتهاده بعد بلوغ الدعوة[268].

13 وقرأ غريب أبي عبيد[269] (← 47) وغيره من غريب القرآن والسنة، وحفظ من عيون الشعر <ب6أ> لفحول الجاهلية[270] والمخضرمين ما فيه كفاية للشواهد والحجج.

14 وقرأ في الفرائض كتاب الوسيط وغيره على الفقيه[271] أحمد بن نسر[272] العنسي (← 6).

15 وقرأ في الوصايا ودقيقها على الفقيه العالم علي بن[273] يحيى بن[274] خشيم[275] (← 10) وغيره، وكانت له صنعة[276] حسنة[277] في فروع الفرائض وكيفية إعمالها.

16 وقرأ في السير والتواريخ، قرأ سيرة رسول الله[278] صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم[279] (← 94)، وكتاب الدولتين[280] (← 43) وشطرًا من كتاب الطبري (← 107) وغير ذلك[281]، كسيرة[282] الإمام[283] القاسم بن إبراهيم وسيرة أولاده[284] ومصنّفاتهم (← 25، 28)، وسيرة الإمام[285] القاسم بن علي (← 96) وولده الحسين[286] (← 27)، وسيرة الهادي عليه السلام وولديه (← 95)، وسيرة الإمام أحمد بن سليمان (←

261. محمد: -، ب.
262. بن: -، د.
263. العلامة: محمد بن، و.
264. بن: -، ه.
265. الحويب: الحويت، ب د.
266. ويعجب: وتعجب، و.
267. سلام الله عليه: -، ه و؛ عليه السلام، ب.
268. بعد بلوغ الدعوة: -، ه و.
269. عبيد: عبيدة، ج و.
270. لفحول الجاهلية: للجاهلية، ب.
271. الفقيه: + العالم، و.
272. نسر: بشر، أ.
273. بن: -، د.
274. بن: -، و.
275. خشيم: جشم، ه.
276. صنعة: قراءة، ب.
277. حسنة: وحسنة، ه.
278. رسول الله: النبي، ب ه و.
279. وسلم: -، أ ب.
280. الدولتين: + (حاشية) وهو مروج الذهب، ب.
281. وغير ذلك: وغيره، ب.
282. كسيرة: وكتب، أ ج د ه و.
283. الإمام: + المعظم، ب.
284. وسيرة أولاده: وأولاده، أ ج د.
285. الإمام: -، ب ه و.
286. الحسين: -، أ ج د ه و.

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97)، وكان له في آخر <د7ب> الدرس إطلال كثير[287] وقراءة[288] في السير.

17 ولم يدع فنًّا يشار إليه مما يفتقر إليه المجتهد[289] في كمال الاجتهاد إلا وقد[290] 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[291]، فكان[292] سلام الله عليه يفتح المقفل[293] ويحلّ[294] المشكل، ويأتي بالبيان ويوضح البرهان. وعلى الجملة فإن المشكّ في علمه[295] مكابر[296] أو مشكوك في عقله[297]، لأن ذلك من المشهورات التي[298] اجتمع عليها[299] المخالف والمؤالف[300]، وكذلك فإنَّ من ادّعى قصورًا في فضله وأنه كان أفضل أهل زمانه فإنه مطعون في دينه <أ11> إن كان سالمًا في عقله[301]. ومما يدلّ على سعة علمه[302] وكماله ما أجاب به على[303] الشيخ العالم عطية بن محمد النجراني (← 12) بالمسائل المركّبة في الفروع التي[304] تشتمل على مئتين من المسائل[305] قريب من ألف مسألة[306]، فأجاب عنها بنهاية الإرشاد[307] وبغية المراد[308]، وكذلك المسائل التي وردت من الجهات الحرازية وغيرها من الفتاوى[309] في الفروع التي تبهر[310] من رآها.

## Appendix

*Persons*

1. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh **ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān** (b. 561/1166, d. 614/1217). See GAL 1/403f. no. 9; EI2 6/433f. (E. van Donzel).
2. **Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḍamīmī**, one of the prominent scholars who taught at the *Madrasa*

287. إطلال كثير: إطلالًا كثيرًا، أ ج د.
288. وقراءة: وقرأ، أ ج د.
289. المجتهد: -، ه و. ؛ مما يفتقر إليه المجتهد في كمال الاجتهاد إلا وقد: حتى، ب.
290. إلا وقد: حتى، ه و.
291. أو الاسترشاد: والاسترشاد، أ ج د ه و.
292. فكان: وكان، ب.
293. المقفل: المكفل، د.
294. ويحل: ويحلل، ب.
295. علمه: كلمه، ج.
296. مكابر: مكابرا، أ د ه.
297. عقله: علمه، ج د.
298. التي: الذي، أ.
299. عليها: عليه، أ ج د؛ فيها، ه و.
300. المخالف والمؤالف: المؤالف والمخالف، أ.
301. في عقله: -، ب.
302. علمه: -، ه و.
303. على: -، ه و.
304. التي: -، ه و.
305. مئتين من المسائل: -، ه.
306. مسألة: + والله اعلم، ب.
307. الإرشاد: الاشاد، ه.
308. المراد: المرتاد، أ ج د؛ وبغية المراد: -، ب.
309. الفتاوى: + التي، ب.
310. تبهر: يبهر، أ ج د؛ يروع وتبهر، ب.

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*al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūṯ (→ 115) during the lifetime of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/366f. no. 156; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/174f. no. 75.

3. **Aḥmad b. Ḥanaš al-Kindī al-Šihābī** (d. ca. 670/1271–72), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/297 no. 113; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/119f. no. 45.

4. **Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwaʿ**, *al-maʿrūf bi*-Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ (d. ca. 640/1242–43). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/454f. no. 224; al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 1/496 no. 7; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/194–496 no. 90. For an *iǧāza* issued by Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ in Raǧab 637/February 1240 for Manṣūr b. Masʿūd b. ʿAbbās b. Abī ʿAmr [not ʿUmra] and Sulaymān b. Šurayḥ, who had studied *Nahǧ al-balāġa* with him, preserved in the library of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim in Ṣaʿda, see Ansari, "Nahǧ al-balāġa dar miyān-i Zaydiyya." A copy of this *iǧāza* is preserved in MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB), Cod.arab. 1252, ff. 160b–161a; see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 374 no. 193. Moreover, MS BSB Cod.arab. 1266/4, containing Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍāʿī's *K. al-Šihāb muštamil ʿalā ǧawāmiʿ al-kalim wa-maḥāsin al-ādāb min kalām Sayyid al-mursalīn* (= *K. Šihāb al-aḫbār*), has at its beginning an *isnād* linking Šuʿla to the following earlier scholars: Šuʿla ← Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. al-Anf ← Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177) ← Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Mulāʿib al-Asadī ← Tāǧ al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī ← Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl. See Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 397f. no. 207. On Šuʿla, see also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, passim; and Chapter 9 in the present volume.

5. Safī l-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan **Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ** "al-Ḥafīd" (d. 656/1258), grandson of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (→ 16). On him, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/420–432 no. 210; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/196–198 no. 91; Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 124.

6. al-Qāḍī Šihāb al-Dīn **Aḥmad b. Nasr b. al-Masʿūd al-ʿAnsī** (d. ca. 670/1271–72), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/488 no. 253; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/223f. no. 112; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 193f. no. 185, 303f. no. 282. Al-ʿAnsī is the author of *K. al-Wasīṭ*. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 3/148 no. 3284. According to Carl Brockelmann (GALS 2/111 no. 22b), al-ʿAnsī was a Šāfiʿite. We have inspected MS Vatican ar. 1130 (see Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 160–162) and have found no confirmation of this claim. The author frequently refers to earlier Zaydī authorities.

7. **Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī** (d. 1079/1668), author of *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt*. On him, see al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 2/1081–1083 no. 32; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 108–111 no. 82; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 238 no. 23; Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 185; GALS 2/560 no. 7b; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 67f., 101, 148, 432; Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/302–314 no. 122; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/121–131 no. 48; al-Ǧurmūzī, *Bināʾ al-dawla al-Qāsimiyya*, 1/194, 196f., 331; al-Šawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 1/58; al-Muḥibbī, *Ḫulāṣat al-aṯar*, 1/204–206.

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8. **Aḥmad b. ʿUzayw b. ʿAwāḍ al-Ḥimyarī** (d. ca. 650/1252–53), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/364 no. 153; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/162f. no. 63; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 143 no. 117.
9. Al-Amīr **ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Muḫtār b. Aḥmad b. al-Imām al-Hādī** (fl. seventh/thirteenth century). His most important work is his *K. al-Lumaʿ fī fiqh Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām*, in four volumes. The identity of the *Taʿlīqāt* is not clear. On him, see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 675–677 no. 712.
10. **ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Ḫušaym**. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/170, which mentions a certain Yaḥyā b. Ḫušaym who lived during the time of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. He may possibly be the father of the otherwise completely unknown ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā.
11. **Asʿad b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir**, brother of ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī (d. after 630/1232–33) (→ 18) and of Masʿūd b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir (→ 19). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/537 no. 297.
12. **ʿAṭiyya b. Muḥammad al-Naǧrānī** (b. 603/1206–7, d. 665/1266–67). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/176f. no. 833; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/680f. no. 402.
13. **al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaḥyā**, one of the prominent scholars at the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūṯ during the lifetime of Imam al-Mahdī. He is a grandson of Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 4/35 no. 1013.
14. **al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-ʿAnsī**. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/9 no. 374; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 303f. no. 282 (containing several mistakes).
15. **al-Ḥasan b. al-Baqāʾ al-Tihāmī al-Qaysī** (d. ca. 670/1271–72), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/293–295 no. 156, where his name is given as al-Ḥasan b. *Abī* l-Baqāʾ b. Ṣāliḥ b. Yazīd b. Abī l-Ḥayāʾ al-Tihāmī al-Qaysī. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/29–32 no. 380, where his name is given as al-Ḥasan b. al-Baqāʾ al-Tihāmī. See also al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 293f. no. 272.
16. **al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ** (b. 546/1152, d. 584/1188). On him, see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism"; Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya*.
17. **Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Ṣanʿānī** (b. 582/1186–87, d. 652/1254). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/245–251 no. 520; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/421–424 no. 247; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 407–410 no. 408; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 127f. no. 13.
18. **ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāsir al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī al-Hamdānī** (d. after 630/1232–33). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/395–397 no. 976; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/833–839 no. 527; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 736–737 no. 801; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 126 no. 12. See also Chapter 1 in the present volume.
19. **Masʿūd b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-ʿUḏrī**, brother of ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan (→ 18).

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20. **Muḥammad b. Abī l-Saʿādāt**, one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 4/309 no. 1161.
21. **Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad (or Ḥumayd) b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf** (d. 623/1226). On him, see Chapter 1 in the present volume.
22. **Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿīš al-Ṣanʿānī** (d. 680/1281–82), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See GALS 1/528. For the Āl Yaʿīš, see also al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsūʿat al-alqāb al-yamaniyya*, 7/588f.; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir* (1st ed.), 373; al-Wağīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 943f. no. 1019.
23. **Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣanʿānī**, one of the prominent scholars who taught at the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūṯ during the lifetime of Imam al-Mahdī. He is not included in any of the relevant biographical dictionaries.
24. **Muḥammad b. Našwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī**, who wrote a summary of his father's (d. 573/1178) *Šams al-ʿulūm wa-dawāʾ kalām al-ʿArab min al-kulūm*, entitled *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm*. The *Šams al-ʿulūm* has been published repeatedly. See GAL 1/364; GALS 1/528; see also Persenius, *Manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 of "Shams al-ʿulūm."* For Muḥammad b. Našwān and extant manuscripts of his *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm*, see also al-Wağīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1005f. no. 1076.
25. **Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Rassī** (d. 279/892–93), the son of Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) (→ 28). His writings have been published in *Maǧmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil*.
26. **al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Šākirī** (d. after 653/1255–56), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 4/60–64 no. 1026; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/853–855 no. 537.
27. **al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿIyānī** (d. 393/1003). See above, nn. 11, 12 and 13.
28. **al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm** (d. 246/860). The writings of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm have been published in *Maǧmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī*. On al-Qāsim, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*; Madelung, "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Muʿtazilism"; Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology."
29. **Saʿīd b. Ḥanẓala**, son of ʿAfīf al-Dīn Ḥanẓala b. al-Ḥasan b. Šabʿān (or Šaʿbān) and one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/252f. no. 524; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/424f. no. 249.
30. **Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥuwayb** (d. after 625/1228), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/412–418 no. 681 (here he is named Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān al-Ḥuwayt); al-Wağīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 489f. no. 487.
31. **Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim**, paternal uncle of Imam al-Mahdī. See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/349 no. 621.
32. **Zayd b. Ǧaʿfar al-Bāqirī** (fl. seventh/thirteenth century). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/297f. no. 575.

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*Titles*

33. ***Adab al-kātib***, by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889). The work has been published; for edition information for this and other published works, see the bibliography.
34. ***al-Aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām***, by Imam al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911). See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/80f. no. 174. The work has been published repeatedly.
35. ***Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa***, a commentary on *Nahǧ al-balāġa* by al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Saraḫsī (published repeatedly). See Ansari, "Aḫbār al-dawla al-salǧūqiyya"; Ansari, "Faḫr-i Rāzī wa mukātaba-yi ū."
36. ***Amālī Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā***, i.e., the *Amālī* of Imam Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī (b. 157/773, d. 247/861). On Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, see EncIslam 3/249-252 (H. Ansari). The work has been published twice, under the titles *K. al-ʿUlūm* and *K. Raʾb al-ṣadʿ*. See also Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 51f. For Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Yazīd al-Murādī's (alive in 252/866) recension of the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā*, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim*, 80ff. On Muḥammad al-Murādī, see also GAS 1/563 no. 6.
37. ***Amālī*** of Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 445/1053–54). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/575f. no. 340; al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 17/55–60. On the work, see also Ansari, "Un *muḥaddiṯ* muʿtazilite zaydite."
38. ***K. al-Amālī*** of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033). See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 110f. no. 29.
39. ***al-Amālī al-iṯnayniyya***, or *al-Anwār*, by Imam al-Muršad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106). The work has been edited by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamūd al-ʿIzzī.
40. ***al-Amālī al-ḫamīsiyya***, or *Amālī al-Šaǧarī*, of Imam al-Muršad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106). The recension of the *Amālī* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226) has been published. On al-Muršad bi-llāh, see also Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 184f. See also below, → 108.
41. ***Asrār al-ziyādāt***, by Abū Muḍar Šurayḥ b. al-Muʾayyad (fl. fifth/eleventh century). The text is preserved in two copies in the Maktabat al-awqāf in Sanaa, nos. 1137, 1139; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/899f. On Abū Muḍar, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/395–398 no. 662; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/485f. no. 284; Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, English introduction, 19f.; Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 361-372. Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226) wrote a summary of Abū Muḍar's *Asrār al-ziyādāt* entitled *al-Ǧawāhir wa-l-durar al-mustaḫraǧa min Šarḥ Abī Muḍar*. See Chapter 1 in the present volume. See also below, → 56.
42. ***al-Bulġa fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm***, by Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥakam al-Ṭūsī. See Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Mustaṭāb*

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*fī tarāğim riğāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb [K. al-Ṭabaqāt fī ḏikr faḍl al-ʿulamā wa-ʿilmihim wa-muṣannafātihim]*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, f. 211a. See also al-Mašriqī and al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs yamānī*, 159f., where three manuscripts of this otherwise unknown commentary are listed.

43. ***K. al-Dawlatayn***, either by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr al-Kūfī (see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1[2]/597) or by Abū l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1[2]/468).
44. ***Dīwān al-adab***, by Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī/al-Fāryābī (d. ca. 350/961). The text has been published repeatedly.
45. ***K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn***, by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārazmī (published).
46. ***al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-fiqh***, by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ. On this work, see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism," 551. The *Fāʾiq* was in turn the main source for al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *Ṣafwat al-iḫtiyār* (→ 88).
47. ***K. Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ***, by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838); published. On Abū ʿUbayd, see DMB 5/703–711 (A. Pāktčī); EI3 2008-1/55–58 (R. Weipert).
48. ***al-Ḥāṣir fī uṣūl al-fiqh***, by Aḥmad b. ʿUzayw b. ʿAwāḍ al-Ḥimyarī (→ 8). See Ibn Abī l-Riğāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/364 no. 153; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 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. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūš (d. 304/917) that have been collected and commented upon (*Šarḥ al-Ibāna*) by Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hawsamī al-Nāṣirī al-Qāḍī (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century). See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/914. For a manuscript of the *K. al-Ibāna* together with the commentary in Munich (MS BSB Cod.arab. 1329), see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 502f. no. 268. For additional manuscripts of the commentary in Iran, see Dānišpažūh, "Dū mašīḫa-yi Zaydī," 179–188; Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, introduction, 13. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/31 no. 15; Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 159ff.
50. ***K. al-Īḍāḥ li-fawāʾid al-Miṣbāḥ*** (at times also called *Šarḥ al-Ṭalāṭīn al-masʾala*) of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī (→ 17), a commentary on *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm fī maʿrifat 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 (MS BSB Cod.arab 1271); see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 404f. no. 212.
51. ***al-Ifāda fī tārīḫ al-aʾimma al-sāda***, by Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 340/951, d. 424/1033); see GAL 1/402; GALS 1/698. The work has been published in the edition of Ibrāhīm b. Maǧd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Muʾayyadī and Hādī b. Ḥasan b. Hādī al-Ḥamzī.
52. ***K. al-Iḥāṭa*** of al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (d. after 420/1029). Only the second volume of this work is extant in a single manuscript held by the Leiden University Library, MS Leiden Or. 8409 [= Ar. 1942b]. For a description of the manuscript, see Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts* (1957), 124. A later anonymous author wrote a paraphrastic commentary on the

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work, *Taʿlīq al-Iḥāṭa*, which is preserved in manuscript. See also our "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Zayd al-Ǧurǧānī (al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh) and His Writings".

53. ***K. al-Iklīl šarḥ maʿānī al-Taḥṣīl*** of al-Ḥusayn (erroneously al-Ḥasan) b. Musallam al-Tihāmī, a commentary on al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Taḥṣīl*. See Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism," 545. See also Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/142f. no. 440 (Ḥasan b. Musallam), 220f. no. 494 (Ḥusayn b. Musallam); al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/347f. no. 201 (Ḥasan b. Musallam), 400f. no. 233 (Ḥusayn b. Musallam), 3/1294 (Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī); al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/149 no. 390. The reading al-Ḥusayn b. Musallam seems more appropriate. See Chapter 2 in the present volume. In the chapter on the formation of Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh, an anonymous commentary on the *Iklīl* is mentioned as *Taʿlīq al-Iklīl*.

54. ***K. al-Iʿtibār wa-salwat al-ʿārifīn*** by al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (d. after 420/1029); published. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/133 no. 340. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Zayd al-Ǧurǧānī (al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh) and His Writings."

55. ***al-Ǧāmiʿ fī l-šarḥ*** (also known as *Šarḥ al-Taḥrīr* or *Taʿlīq al-Qāḍī Zayd*), by Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Kalārī (fl. fifth/eleventh century); see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/309–312 no. 587; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 449f. no. 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; see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 279f. no. 129.

56. ***al-Ǧawāhir wa-l-durar al-mustaḫraǧa min Šarḥ Abī Muḍar***, a summary of Abū Muḍar Šurayḥ b. al-Muʾayyad's (fl. fifth/eleventh century) *Asrār al-ziyādāt wa-lubāb al-maqālāt li-qamʿ al-ǧahālāt*, by Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226). See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/384 no. 1111. A manuscript of the text is preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 288–290 no. 135. See also above, → 41.

57. ***al-Ǧumal al-hādiya fī šarḥ al-muqaddima al-kāfiya***, by Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābšād (d. 469/1076). See DMB 3/56f. (Īrān Nāz Kāšiyān).

58. ***al-Kāfī*** of Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hawsamī, which is extant in manuscript. Although al-Hawsamī was a follower of the legal doctrine of al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūš, the work is more comprehensive in that it contains the doctrines of the various legal traditions of Zaydism. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/371 no. 2554; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1023f. no. 1095.

59. ***al-Kašf wa-l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān***, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṯaʿlabī (al-Ṯaʿālabī) (d. 427/1035). On this commentary, see Saleh, *Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition.* A partial edition of the *tafsīr* has been published as *Muqaddimat al-Kašf wa-l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān*. An edition of the complete work has been published in 10 volumes.

60. ***K. al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tafṣīl al-Nafaḥāt al-miskiyya***, an autocommentary by Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (→ 17) on his *al-Nafaḥāt al-miskiyya fī l-masāʾil al-*

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*kalāmiyya*. An apparently incomplete manuscript of the *Kawākib* is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library (MS ar. F 177/1, ff. 1–76, 178–184a). See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 4/84f. no. 1472.

61. ***Kayfiyyat kašf al-aḥkām wa-l-ṣifāt ʿan ḫaṣāʾiṣ al-muʾaṯṯirāt wa-l-muqtaḍiyāt*** of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (→ 16). On this work and on al-Raṣṣāṣ' relation to Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism," 547f.
62. ***al-Ḫilāfiyya*** → 69
63. ***al-Ḫilāfiyya bayn al-Baġdādiyyīn wa-l-Baṣriyyīn*** → 70.
64. ***al-Ḫulāṣa al-nāfiʿa bi-l-adilla al-qāṭiʿa fī fawāʾid al-tābiʿa*** of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224); see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/444 no. 1306. The work has been published.
65. ***"Kitāb al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh."*** This refers most likely to al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *al-Muhaḏḏab* (→ 72).
66. ***"Kitāb al-Sayyid Abī Ṭālib fī l-laṭīf."*** It is unclear which work by Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033) is intended.
67. ***"Kitāb al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. Sulaymān."*** This refers possibly to a work by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥasanī al-Rassī (fl. fifth/eleventh century), who was a *faqīh*; see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/777f. no. 482. Alternatively, the author may be ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. Abī l-Riǧāl (d. after 681/1282–83); on him, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/257f. no. 891.
68. ***al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-fiqh*** of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḫalīl (fl. fifth/eleventh century). On the author and extant manuscripts of his *Maǧmūʿ*, see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 710f. no. 762 (with further references). A manuscript of the text is preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 280–282 no. 130.
69. ***Masāʾil al-ḫilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-mušabbiha wa-l-muǧbira wa-l-ḫawāriǧ wa-l-murǧiʾa*** of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī. On this work, see Chapter 1 in the present volume.
70. ***al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdāḏiyyīn*** (also known as *al-Ḫilāfiyya bayn al-Baġdādiyyīn wa-l-Baṣriyyīn*) of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī; the published edition by Maʿn Ziyāda and Riḍwān Sayyid is based on the single extant manuscript of the text, owned by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (MS Glaser 12). See also Chapter 1 in the present volume.
71. ***al-Muʾaṯṯirāt wa-miftāḥ al-muškilāt***, by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (b. 546/1151–52, d. 584/1188). The work has been edited by Jan Thiele (*Kausalität in der muʿtazilitischen Kosmologie*); see also Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism," 547f.
72. ***al-Muhaḏḏab min al-fatāwā***, by Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217). The work has been preserved in the redaction (*ǧamʿ wa-tahḏīb*) of Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Murādī and published as *al-Muhaḏḏab fī fatāwā al-Manṣūr bi-llāh*. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 3/87 no. 3103.
73. ***al-Muḥīṭ***, a work on grammar by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿīš al-Ṣanʿānī (→ 22). According to al-Waǧīh (*Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 944), the text has been edited as a doctoral dissertation in Yemen.
74. ***al-Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ*** of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī. There is no evidence that this

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book had reached Yemen by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's time. References to this work may refer to the paraphrastic commentary on it by Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*. Volume 1 has been edited twice, by ʿUmar al-Sayyid ʿAzmī and by J. J. Houben; volume 2 has been edited by J. J. Houben and Daniel Gimaret; and volume 3 has been edited by Jan Peters. Margaretha T. Heemskerk is currently preparing a critical edition of the fourth volume. Whereas the original *al-K. 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 Geniza in Cairo. See Ben-Shammai, "Note on Some Karaite Copies," 295–304.

75. ***K. al-Muḥīṭ bi-uṣūl al-imāma ʿalā maḏāhib al-Zaydiyya***, by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān], a commentary on the *K. al-Diʿāma fī taṯbīt al-imāma* of Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033). The *K. al-Diʿāma* has been edited by Nāǧī Ḥasan, who falsely identified the work as *Nuṣrat maḏāhib al-Zaydiyya* of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād; see also Madelung, "Zu einigen Werken," 5–10; Ansari, "Zaydiyya wa-manābiʿ-i maktūb-i Imāmiyya," 149–161. The *K. al-Muḥīṭ* is preserved in (at least) three manuscripts: (1) MS Ambrosiana ar. A 23 (see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/12; see also GALS 1/698f. no. 1c); (2) MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 645 (dated 18 Ṣafar 1065/December 28, 1654; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 2/737, where the text is erroneously attributed to Ibn Mattawayh); (3) a copy held in a private library in Yemen (transcribed by Yūsuf b. ʿIwāḍ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zaʿkam b. Ḫazrağ, dated Ramaḍān 628/July 1231). Digital images of this manuscript were made available to us through the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Cultural Foundation. We have no information about the location of the original codex. See also our "Muʿtazilism in Daylam."

76. ***K. al-Muǧzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh***, by Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033). The second half of the work has erroneously been edited as Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Šarḥ al-ʿUmad*.

77. ***Mulḥat al-iʿrāb***, by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), which has been commented upon by numerous authors, including the author himself. See GAL 1/328; GALS 1/488f. The text itself as well as the autocommentary have been published repeatedly. The *šarḥ* of ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. Asʿad al-Ḥāriṯī *al-maʿrūf bi*-bn al-Ḥaydara (d. 599/1202–3) was certainly known among the Zaydīs and may be meant here; see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 682 no. 722.

78. ***al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*** of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111).

79. ***"Al-Muʿtamad li-Qāḍī l-quḍāt."*** ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī is not known to have written a work with this title. It may be a mistake for his *K. al-ʿUmad*. This would then be the only indication that this work of his had reached Yemen. On his *K. al-ʿUmad*, see ʿUṯmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt*, 61.

80. ***K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*** of Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārizmī; published.

81. ***K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*** of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The work has been published twice. See also Chapter 3 in the present volume.

82. ***K. Mutašābih al-Qurʾān*** of Rukn al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir al-Ṭurayṯīṯī. On this work and its

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author, see Ansari, "Tuḥfa-yi girān qadr"; al-Sālimī, "al-Mutašābih li-l-Qurʾān li-l-Ṭurayṯīṯī." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sālimī has also edited the text. Although virtually all extant 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 *Yanābīʿ al-naṣīḥa fi l-ʿaqāʾid al-ṣaḥīḥa* of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Hādawī (d. 662/1263–64 or 663/1264–65) (p. 330).

83. ***Mutašābih al-Qurʾān*** of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī. The work has been published twice.
84. ***Nahǧ al-balāġa*** of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015); see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 295 no. 461; Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 13–15.
85. ***al-Qamar al-munīr fī ʿuqūd K. al-Taḥrīr***, by *al-amīr* ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (fl. seventh/thirteenth century); see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/354 no. 2501.
86. ***Rasāʾil al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza*** (→ 1). These have been published as *Maǧmūʿ rasāʾil al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza*.
87. ***K. al-Riyāḍ*** of Abū Saʿd al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdūnī. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/1141 no. 716.
88. ***Ṣafwat al-iḫtiyār***, by Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān, on legal theory; published. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/229 no. 2116.
89. ***Šams šarīʿat al-islām fī fiqh Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām***, by Sulaymān b. Nāṣir al-Suḥāmī (d. after 600/1203–4). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/375–377 no. 642; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/478–481 no. 281; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/213f. no. 2071. For extant manuscripts of this text, see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 470f. no. 466.
90. ***Šarḥ al-Ǧumal al-kabīra***, a commentary by Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābšād (→ 57) on the *K. al-Ǧumal* of Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zaǧǧāǧī (d. 337/949 or 339/951); see GALS 1/170f.
91. ***Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*** of Siyāh Sarbīǧān. This title for ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān] is not attested elsewhere. The title suggests that the work may be a (super)commentary on Ibn Ḫallād's *K. al-Uṣūl*, which served as a basis for various *taʿālīq* among later Zaydī authors; it may well be that two manuscripts—MS London, British Library, Or 8613 and MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 541 (the latter edited by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda as *Fi l-tawḥīd*)—are in fact portions of this *Šarḥ*. See also Chapter 5 in the present volume.
92. ***Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*** of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī. The text was usually read together with the *taʿlīq* by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's student Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī ("Mānkdīm Šašdīw", d. ca. 425/1034) (the work was wrongly attributed to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār by its editor ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUṯmān) and/or possibly with the *taʿlīq* of Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b ʿAlī al-Farrazāḏī.
93. ***K. al-Šifāʾ fī aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*** (or *bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*), by Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149). See GAL 1/455f.; GALS 1/630–632; EI2 4/289f. (M. Talbi); Daub, *Formen und Funktionen*.

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94. ***Sīra*** of the prophet Muḥammad by Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār (b. 85/704, d. 151/768) in the recension of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hišām al-Ḥimyarī al-Baṣrī (d. 218/833 or 213/828). See GAL 1/135 no. 3; GALS 1/205ff.; GAS 1/288–290 no. 1, 297–301 no. 11. See also Rubin, *Life of Muhammad*; Motzki, *Biography of Muḥammad*; al-Ṭarābīšī, *Ruwāt Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq*.
95. ***Sīrat al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn***, written down by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbīd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī al-ʿAlawī. See above, n. 2. The *Sīrat Aḥmad al-Nāṣir* has been published by Madelung, *The "Sīra" of Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh.*
96. ***Sīrat al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿIyānī*** (d. 393/1003), composed by his secretary Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hamdānī. See above, n. 11.
97. ***Sīrat al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān*** (d. 566/1170), written by Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ṯaqafī. See above, n. 14.
98. ***al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*** of Ibn Mattawayh. A partial edition was published in 1975. This has now been replaced by a critical edition of the complete text by Daniel Gimaret. One of the manuscripts consulted by Gimaret for his edition (ḥ), which contains only the first part of the work, was copied in 605/1209 in Ḥūṯ (→ 115); this is misread in the edition as Ḥūf or Ǧūf (see Ibn Mattawayh, *Taḏkira*, ed. Gimaret, 1/367 n. 57).
99. ***al-Taḥḏīb al-wasīṭ al-muǧarrad min al-ifrāṭ wa-l-tafrīṭ fī l-naḥw***, by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿīš al-Ṣanʿānī (→ 22). The work has been published by Faḫr Ṣāliḥ Sulaymān Qaddāra; see also al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 177, 943f. no. 1019. For a manuscript of the work preserved in the British Library, see GALS 1/528.
100. ***al-Taḥḏīb fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān***, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, Abū Saʿd al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Karāma al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī (b. 413/1022, d. 494/1101). On this work, see Zarzūr, *al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī*; Mourad, "Revealed Text."
101. ***al-Taḥrīr fī l-kašf ʿan nuṣūṣ al-aʾimma al-naḥārīr***, by Imam 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 ʿAzzān. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/253 no. 701.
102. ***K. al-Taḥṣīl fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-taʿdīl***, a theological *summa* by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ; see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism," 549.
103. ***K. al-Taǧrīd*** of Ibn al-Malāḥimī, an abridgment of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. The work is preserved in a single manuscript (MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arab. e. 103). See the editors' introduction to Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Madelung and McDermott (→ 80), iv. A facsimile, together with an introduction, has been published by Ansari and Schmidtke as *Legal Methodology in 6th/12th-Century Khwārazm*.
104. ***Taʿlīq al-Iklīl*** → 53
105. ***"Taʿlīq al-Sayyid al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh."*** This may refer to the *Ziyādāt* of Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 411/1020), consisting of *fatāwā* of al-Muʾayyad that were collected by Abū l-Qāsim b. Tāl al-Hawsamī *al-maʿrūf bi-*l-Ustāḏ. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/83 no. 1732; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-*

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*muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 101. On al-Ustāḏ, see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 312f. no. 291.

106. ***"Taʿlīqāt ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. al-Imām al-Hādī"*** → 9
107. ***Tārīḫ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*** of Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ǧarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). For recent scholarship on this work, see Rydving, *Al-Ṭabarī's History.*
108. ***Tartīb al-Amālī al-ḫamīsiyya***, a recension of the *Amālī* of al-Muršad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī (d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106). This text has been published repeatedly.
109. ***Taysīr al-maṭālib min [fi] Amālī Abī Ṭālib***, a recension of the *Amālī* of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī by Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177). See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/347f. no. 1005. The work has been published repeatedly.
110. ***K. al-Tibyān šarḥ Yāqūtat al-īmān***, by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ, a paraphrastic work that is based on Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Šarwīn's *Yāqūtat al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān*. See Chapter 2 in the present volume.
111. ***al-ʿUmda fī ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-aḫbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār***, by Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī al-Asadī Ibn al-Biṭrīq (d. 600/1203-4 or 601/1204-5). See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 376f. no. 633. For the popularity of this work among the Zaydīs, see DMB 2/483–485 (H. Ansari); Ansari, "Ibn al-Šarafiyya"; Ansari, "Tāza-hā-yi dar bāra-yi Ibn al-Biṭrīq." See also Chapter 10 in the present volume.
112. ***K. Uṣūl al-aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām***, by Imam al-Mutawakkil bi-llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī (d. 566/1170). See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/126f. no. 318; GALS 1/699 no. 2a. The work has been published as *Uṣūl al-aḥkām al-ǧāmiʿ li-adillat al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*.
113. ***al-Wāfī ʿalā maḏhab al-hādī*** of Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Bilāl al-Āmulī. See al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 662 no. 695. Ibn Bilāl is mostly known for having supplemented the *Maṣābīḥ fī sīrat al-aʾimma* of Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ḥasanī (fl. first half of the fourth/tenth century).
114. ***al-Zubad al-ḍarbiyya***, by Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥuwayb (→ 30). See al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 490; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/73 no. 1700.

*Places*

115. **Ḥūṯ**, located in the territory of Ḥāšid. See al-Ḥaǧarī, *Maǧmūʿ*, 1/213–226, 300; Ibn Diʿṯam, *al-Sīra al-manṣūriyya*, passim.
116. **Mislit**, a village located within the territory of the Banū Qays (of the Banū Ṯuraym) in the region of *bilāḍ al-ẓāhir* of the Ḥāšid territory. See al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 4/2050–2054.
117. **al-Šāhil**, located in the region of Ḥaǧūr, northwest of Sanaa. See al-Ḥaǧarī, *Maǧmūʿ*, 2/240ff. [Ḥaǧūr]; 3/441. For Banū Šāwur, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsūʿat al-alqāb al-yamaniyya*, 3/66–68.

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# Chapter 9
# The Literary-Religious Tradition among Seventh/Thirteenth-Century Yemeni Zaydīs (II): The Case of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī

One of the leading figures of seventh/thirteenth-century Zaydī scholarship in Yemen was the *mutakallim* and legal scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (b. 593/1196–97, d. Šaʿbān 667/April 1268). Al-ʿAnsī was a prolific author in a variety of fields: according to the later biographical tradition, he wrote a total of 105 works.[1] Of these, the most popular, judging by the number of extant manuscripts, appears to have been *al-Iršād ilā naǧāt al-ʿibād*, a work with Ṣūfī tendencies that was completed in Rabīʿ II 632/January 1235.[2] Al-ʿAnsī's magnum opus was the *K. al-Maḥaǧǧa al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a comprehensive theological *summa*, which he finished on 14 Rabīʿ II 641/October 1, 1243.[3] Although the conflict with the Muṭarrifiyya was much less a living reality at the time of al-ʿAnsī, since Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh had waged an all-out war against the Muṭarrifīs, it still plays a significant role in al-ʿAnsī's writings. He mentions and criticizes their views regularly in his *al-Maḥaǧǧa*. Moreover, among his last writings, al-ʿAnsī composed *al-Tamyīz bayn al-islām wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya al-ṭaġām*, a detailed refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya.[4] In addition to his *Tamyīz*, he is credited with several refutations of the Muṭarrifiyya, although his authorship cannot be ascertained in all cases.[5]

Among the extant dated writings of al-ʿAnsī is *Ǧawāb al-faqīh Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Šāfiʿī al-sākin bi-Ḏahbān*, completed in Raǧab 648/November–December 1250 and containing his replies to four theological and legal questions raised by a certain Šāfīʿite scholar, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh.[6] Al-ʿAnsī mentions in the tract that he had read with one of his teachers in Mecca the *K. al-Iršād* of Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ǧuwaynī (d. 478/1085).[7] This is

1. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/82; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/612. For a full study on ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī and an analysis of his doctrinal thought, see our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*.

2. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5 ("Inventory of the Writings of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī"), no. 4.

3. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 9. See also nos. 7, 8, 14, 15, 23, 24, and 26 for other works of his in the field of theology.

4. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 27.

5. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, nos. 1, 3, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

6. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 6.

7. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123/5, f. 263b:2–7.



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noteworthy because during the time of al-ᶜAnsī, it was still unusual for Zaydī scholars to study Aš<sup>ᶜ</sup>arite *kalām* literature, which was unavailable in Yemen.

In the field of legal theory, al-ᶜAnsī composed two works. The first is *Taḥrīr adillat al-uṣūl*—also known under the titles *Taḥrīr al-adilla*, *al-Taḥrīr li-adillat al-uṣūl*, and *al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-fiqh*—which is incompletely preserved in the library of the Great Mosque (al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya) in Sanaa. References to it throughout the *Maḥaǧǧa* suggest that it was written prior to the latter work, that is, before 641/1243.[8] Al-ᶜAnsī also wrote *al-Durar al-manẓūma fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, which seems to be lost, except for numerous quotations in the works of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr al-Yamānī (d. 840/1436).[9] In addition, preserved in manuscript is a brief tract entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-maḥaǧǧa al-dāll ᶜalā anna iǧmāᶜ āl al-nabī ḥuǧǧa* on this specific issue of legal methodology.[10]

In the field of law, al-ᶜAnsī is reported to have composed a *K. al-Istibṣār*, a work of five volumes, on which he later wrote a commentary of about twenty volumes. This work, which allegedly served as the basis for al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza's (d. 745/1344) *K. al-Intiṣār ᶜalā ᶜulamāʾ al-amṣār*, is not known to be extant.[11] The only extant legal work from al-ᶜAnsī's pen is his *Risāla fī l-ǧamᶜ bayn al-ṣalawāt*.[12]

In his entry on al-ᶜAnsī in his *Maǧmūᶜ al-iǧāzāt*, Aḥmad b. Saᶜd al-Dīn al-Miswarī (b. 1007/1598, d. 1079/1668) (→ 13)[13] describes a collective volume transcribed by al-ᶜAnsī. Al-Miswarī explains that the codex contained al-ᶜAnsī's transcriptions of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's (d. 494/1101) *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn ᶜan faḍāʾil al-ṭālibiyyīn* (→ 133), completed on 2 Rabīᶜ II 644/August 17, 1246, and of *al-ᶜUmda fī ᶜuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-aḫbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* by Abū l-Ḥusayn Šams al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadī al-Ḥillī ("Ibn al-Biṭrīq") (→ 138), completed on 7 Ǧumādā II 644/October 20, 1246, both in Ṣaᶜda. Wedged in between these two writings, al-Miswarī continues, was a copy of the Ḥanafite scholar al-Ḥāfiẓ ᶜUbayd Allāh b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī al-Nīsābūrī's (d. after 470/1077–78) *Šawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawāᶜid al-tafḍīl fī l-āyāt al-nāzila fī Ahl al-Bayt* (→ 119) (partly transcribed by al-ᶜAnsī's nephew, Muḥammad b. Asᶜad (→ 23), and partly by al-ᶜAnsī). Al-Miswarī adds that the codex contained an *iǧāza* issued in Raǧab 644/November 1246 by the prominent Zaydī scholar and transmitter Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwaᶜ ("Šuᶜla al-Akwaᶜ") (→ 11) for al-ᶜAnsī in Ḥūṯ (→ 146); al-Miswarī quotes the *iǧāza* in full in his *Maǧmūᶜ al-iǧāzāt* (see also § 15 of the Arabic text below).

A collective manuscript that is incompletely preserved and nowadays belongs to the Maktabat Āl al-ᶜAnṯarī in Ṣaᶜda has been identified by the present writers as the co-

8. See our *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 25.
9. See our *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 2.
10. See our *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 12.
11. See our *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 5.
12. See our *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 17.
13. The numbers in parentheses refer to Appendix I below.

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dex described by al-Miswarī.[14] The *iǧāza* mentioned by al-Miswarī is no longer included. The following edition of the *iǧāza* relies therefore exclusively on al-Miswarī's *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt*, which was available to us in two manuscripts:

(هـ) MS Hiǧrat Fallala, Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim. The relevant section is found on pp. 471–476.[15]

(و) MS held in an unknown private library in Yemen (a digital copy was provided to us by the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Cultural Foundation). The relevant section is found on pp. 410–417.

The *iǧāza* provides a comprehensive picture of the religious-literary heritage that was available to the Zaydī scholars of Yemen at the time when al-ʿAnsī studied with Šuʿla. As such, it complements the data provided by the *mašīḫa* included in the *sīra* of Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (b. 612/1216, d. 656/1258) and affords a detailed view of the intellectual scene during Abū Ṭayr's youth and early adulthood.[16] Moreover, as is the case with the *mašīḫa*, the *iǧāza* provides valuable insights into earlier stages of Zaydī scholarship in Yemen: Šuʿla quotes extensively from the *iǧāza*s he had received from his own teachers, all dating back to the early seventh/thirteenth century. The first of these *iǧāza*s (§§ 4–5) was issued by Imam al-Mansūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217) (→ 2) in Šaʿbān 608/January 1212, in Ḥūṯ, for Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Akwaʿ (→ 14) and Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ. The second *iǧāza* (§§ 6–10) covered everything that Šuʿla was granted permission to transmit by his teacher Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Ṣanʿānī (→ 22). This portion of the document also contains a lengthy quotation from an earlier *iǧāza* issued by the Ḫurāsānian scholar Tāǧ al-Dīn Zayd (or Aḥmad) b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqānī al-Ḥāǧǧī (→ 31) to Ibn al-Walīd, in Šawwāl 610/February–March 1214, shortly after Tāǧ al-Dīn had arrived in Yemen (§ 9). The quotation offers a rare glimpse of the intellectual scene of the Zaydīs of Ḫurāsān towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century. It also explains why the present *iǧāza* contains numerous titles that are not included in comparable documents of the period that rely exclusively on Yemeni scholarship. The third *iǧāza* (§ 11) details what Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ transmitted through his teacher Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akwaʿ (alive in 627/1229–30) (→ 14). Here, the *K. al-ʿUmda* of Ibn al-Biṭrīq (→ 138) takes center stage.[17] And finally, the fourth *iǧāza* (§ 12) contains a list of works that Šuʿla transmitted from his teacher Šaraf al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang(k) b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī al-Marʿašī (→ 28), who arrived in Yemen from Iran in 624/1215–16. This section also contains some Persian titles

14. See Chapter 10 in the present volume.
15. See al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/127f. no. 178.
16. For an analysis of the *mašīḫa*, see Chapter 8 in the present volume.
17. See also Chapter 10 in the present volume.

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("*Ḫuṭbat al-widāʿ bi-tafsīrihā al-ʿaǧamī*") (→ 69; see also 114) and again provides an insight into Iranian Zaydī scholarship during the early seventh/thirteenth century.

Both Abū Ṭayr's *mašīḫa* and Šuʿla's *iǧāza* to al-ʿAnsī reflect a far more diversified curriculum than is attested in the *iǧāza* issued about four decades earlier, on 3 Rabīʿ II 606/October 5, 1209, by Sadīd al-Dīn ʿAmr b. Ǧamīl [Ǧumayl] to Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226) (→ 22) and Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (→ 2).[18] An analysis of all of the relevant documents will eventually provide a detailed and chronologically nuanced picture of the expanding religious-literary curriculum that was available to Yemeni Zaydī scholarship from the sixth/twelfth century onwards and its modifications over time.[19]

Among the most striking characteristics of Šuʿla's *iǧāza* is the virtual lack of references to the early *imām*s of Yemen and their works; this omission contrasts with the plethora of works by Zaydī authors from Iran that are included. Mention should be made of the *Amālī* of Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 445/1053–54) (→ 39) and the works of al-Muršad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106) (→ 44, 45) and his father, al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (→ 76), as well as the *Amālī* of the two Hārūnī brothers, al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (d. 424/1033) (→ 41) and al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh (d. 411/1020) (→ 40), and the latter's *Siyāsat al-murīdīn* (→ 121). In addition, the *iǧāza* includes titles representing the early Zaydī Kūfī literature of Iraq, such as the *Amālī* of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd (d. 247/861) (→ 38), *al-Arbaʿūn al-fiqhiyya* of Ubayy al-Narsī (d. 510/1116) (→ 49), and *al-Arbaʿūn al-saylaqiyya* (→ 67). These testify to the immense influence of Iranian Zaydism in Yemen during this period in particular, which was significant for the fierce conflict—during the early seventh/thirteenth century—between the Zaydīs and the Muṭarrifīs, who claimed to be faithful heirs of the earlier Zaydī *imām*s of Yemen, whereas Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh presented himself as the heir of the *imām*s of Iran.[20]

Another remarkable feature of Šuʿla's *iǧāza* is the wide range of works by Sunnī authors that are cited in the text—a tendency that had likewise begun with Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (→ 2), who was eager to gain access to Sunnī religious literature and traditions to use as intellectual ammunition in his battle against the Šāfiʿites in Yemen who were polemicizing against Šīʿism. At this time the Zaydīs had hardly any independent access to Sunnī works of *ḥadīṯ*.[21] These works include the *Sīra* of the prophet Muḥammad by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/768) in the recension of Ibn Hišām (d. 213/828 or 218/833) (→ 120); prominent Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* collections such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buḫārī (d. 256/870) (→ 112), the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (d. 261/875) (→ 113), and the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) (→ 100),

18. For an analysis of the *iǧāza*, see Chapter 1 in the present volume.
19. See our *Licence to Transmit, which includes a collection of relevant material.*
20. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapters 1 and 4.
21. See Chapter 10 in the present volume.

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as well as works synthesizing some of the canonical Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* collections, such as *al-Ǧamᶜ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn* of Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Naṣr Futūḥ al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095) (→ 61) and the *Kitāb al-ᶜUmda* of the Twelver Šīᶜī Ibn al-Biṭrīq (→ 138).[22] Within the genre of *ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*, Šuᶜla also includes the *K. Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ* of Abū ᶜUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) (→ 63).

The *iǧāza* also lists the titles of numerous Sunnī works in the fields of law and legal theory as well as theological doctrine, among them several works by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) (→ 25), namely, his *K. al-Mustaṣfā min ᶜilm al-uṣūl* (→ 102) and *K. al-Manḫūl min taᶜlīqāt al-uṣūl* (→ 85) on legal theory as well as his magnum opus, the *K. al-Iḥyāʾ fī ᶜulūm al-dīn* (→ 73), his *K. Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (→ 126), his *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* (→ 89), the two versions of his *al-Maḍnūn* (→ 83), and his *K. al-Iqtiṣād fī l-iᶜtiqād* (→ 74). Further included works by al-Ġazālī are *Ǧawāhir al-Qurʾān* (→ 64) and *K. Miškāt al-anwār* (→ 94). Works by Šāfiᶜite authors reached the Zaydīs of Yemen through Ašᶜarite-Šāfiᶜite scholars hailing from the south of Yemen, some of whom acted as teachers to Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh and other Yemeni Zaydīs (→ 8, 18, 29). Among these works are several titles by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābāḏī al-Šīrāzī (d. 476/1083), viz. *K. al-Muhaḏḏab fī l-maḏhab* (→ 95) and *K. al-Tanbīh fī l-fiqh ᶜalā maḏhab al-Imām al-Šāfiᶜī* (→ 132). The *iǧāza* also includes various titles by Ǧār Allāh Maḥmūd b. ᶜUmar al-Zamaḫšarī (d. 538/1144), namely, *Asās al-balāġa* (→ 54), *al-Fāʾiq fī ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ* (→ 59), and possibly *Ruʾūs al-masāʾil fī l-fiqh* (→ 108), which may have reached Yemen together with the bulk of the Zaydī and non-Zaydī Muᶜtazilite literature that was transferred from northern Iran and Ḫurāsān to Yemen. In addition, several works by Sunnī Muᶜtazilites are listed, most prominently those of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (→ 27): *al-Risāla al-tāmma fī naṣīḥat al-ᶜāmma* (→ 107), *Ǧalāʾ al-abṣār fī taʾwīl al-aḫbār* (→ 60), *Taḥkīm al-ᶜuqūl fī taṣḥīḥ al-uṣūl* (→ 128), *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn ᶜan* [*min*] *faḍāʾil al-ṭālibiyyīn* (→ 133), *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma* (→ 134), *al-Safīna al-ǧāmiᶜa li-anwāᶜ al-ᶜulūm* (→ 109), and *al-ᶜUyūn fī l-radd ᶜalā ahl al-bidaᶜ* (→ 140), as well as an otherwise unknown work by him entitled "*al-Nāsiḫ wa-l-mansūḫ*" (→ 105) and his Qurʾān exegesis, *al-Tahḏīb fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (→ 127), which reached Yemen through various channels, including through Zayd (or Aḥmad) b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqānī (→ 31), one of Šuᶜla's teachers. In addition, the Sunnī Muᶜtazilite theologian ᶜAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī is mentioned with his *Amālī* (→ 42). Among the works of Iranian Zaydī Muᶜtazilite authors are those by Abū l-Faḍl al-ᶜAbbās Ibn Šarwīn (→ 82) and Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī (→ 91, 103), as well as a Zaydī refutation of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Muqniᶜ fī l-ġayba* by one of the students of Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (d. 424/1033) (→ 97). Noteworthy are also the numerous literary works by Sunnī authors (→ 33, 57, 58, 75, 80, 87, 88, 96, 142), as well as books on *ǧadal* (→ 10, 98) and works in the fields of history (→ 136), mysticism (→ 106), medicine (→ 68, 86, 135), astronomy (→ 81), and alchemy (→ 55). Many titles on Qurʾānic exegesis and variant readings (*qirāʾāt*) are also included in the *iǧāza*, and, again, Sunnī authors are well

22. For more detail, see Chapter 10 in the present volume.

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represented. Apart from al-Ǧišumī's Qurʾānic exegesis, mentioned earlier (→ 127), the *iǧāza* includes the *Tafsīr* of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 69/687–88) (→ 122), *al-Kašf wa-l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṯaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) (→ 78), *Zād al-masīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr* by Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1201) (→ 143), and the little-known *al-Bulġa fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm* of Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥakam al-Ṭūsī (→ 124). For the discipline of *qirāʾāt*, the *K. Maqraʾ* of ʿĀṣim b. Abī l-Naǧūd Bahdala al-Kūfī al-Asadī (d. 127/745 or 128/746) is mentioned (→ 90).

The *iǧāza* also includes numerous Twelver Šīʿī works, most prominently the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (→ 104) and related works and commentaries (→ 37). While this text was evidently unknown to earlier generations of Yemeni Zaydīs, it became extremely popular, as indicated by the numerous extant copies and commentaries written on it. As indicated in the *iǧāza*, al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang al-Marʿašī (→ 28) brought the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* to Ẓafār from Ḫurāsān, in addition to Zayd (or Aḥmad) b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqānī (→ 31), who had brought the work from Bayhaq to Yemen (see also below, Appendix II).

The legal titles mentioned in the *iǧāza* represent all three major categories of Zaydī law: (1) *fiqh al-Hādī*, represented by the *K. al-Taḥrīr* of Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī, together with Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Kalārī's commentary on this work (→ 117), and by the *Uṣūl al-aḥkām* by Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (→ 139); (2) *fiqh Nāṣir al-Uṭrūš*, represented by the *K. al-Ibāna* by Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Hawsamī (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century) and his autocommentary (→ 70); and (3) the legal school of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, known as *fiqh al-Muʾayyadī*, represented by al-Muʾayyad's *K. al-Ifāda fī l-fiqh* (→ 71) and his *Ziyādāt* (→ 144), as well as by Abū Muḍar's *Šarḥ al-Ziyādāt* (→ 118) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurašī's (d. 623/1226) *al-Ǧawāhir wa-l-durar* (→ 65).

The present *iǧāza* is one of the earliest extant documentary sources in which the Zaydīs sought to show themselves well versed in a wide array of disciplines, including the exact sciences. It is unlikely that scholars such as Šuʿla, who is primarily known as a transmitter of *ḥadīṯ*, had in fact mastered all the disciplines covered in the document and in the specific books mentioned within the respective fields. Rather, the broad range of disciplines and book titles indicates the Zaydīs' eagerness to cover as wide a spectrum as possible and to portray themselves as an integral part of the wider Muslim community rather than as a sect with its own literary tradition. It is this integrative approach towards the religious-literary tradition of the wider Muslim community that marks the beginning of a century-long process that eventually became known as the "Sunnification" of Zaydism.[23]

23. See, for more detail, our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 4; see also Chapter11 in the present volume.

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## Text Edition[24]

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذه إجازة شعلة (← 11) للفقيه عبد الله بن زيد العنسي (← 5) رحمهما الله تعالى من خطّ شعلة بيده.
2 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين وسلامه. يقول العبد الضعيف الفقير إلى رحمة الله عزّ وجلّ أحمد بن محمد بن قاسم الأكوع الحوالي الحميري (← 11) أعانه الله على طاعته وتقواه ونظم أمور دينه ودنياه: لما وصله كتاب من الفقيه الأجل العالم الفاضل الكامل حسام الدين عمدة الموحّدين عبد الله بن زيد العنسي (← 5) حرس الله[25] الإسلام ببقائه وصرف الأسواء عن حوبائه وأيده وكلاه ومن توفيقه لا أخلاه، يطلب منه الإجازة فيما له من السماعات وذكر طرقها، وإن كانت معرفة المملوك[26] يسيرة وهمته في العلوم حقيرة، لكن المأمور معذور والمملوك بالامتثال محمود مأجور ثم المملوك أحمد بن محمد (← 11) يقول:

3 استخرتُ الله سبحانه وأجزتُ للفقيه السند العالم الصدر الكامل حسام الدين عمدة الموحدين عبد الله بن زيد العنسي (← 5) ولمن أحبَّ ذلك من الإخوان عمّر الله ببقائهم ذمار الدين وكثّرهم في العالمين جميع مسموعاتي اللاتي تأتي ذكرها من جميع من أذكره من الأئمة والعلماء رحمة الله على ماضيهم ونسأل <الله> أن يحسن مكافاتهم ويُجزيهم أفضل ما جازى به محسنًا على إحسانه بحقّ محمد صلى الله عليه وآله.

4 فأول ما أذكره من ذلك من جهة مولانا الإمام الأجل المنصور بالله عزّ وجلّ أمير المؤمنين وإمام المسلمين وقامع الكفرة المتمردين عبد الله بن حمزة بن سليمان (← 2) سلام الله عليه ورضوانه، فمنها سيرة النبيّ (← 120) صلى الله عليه وآله مجلدان إلى أول غزوة الطائف فإنه مستثنى في الأصل مناولةً من يده عليه السلام يرويها مناولةً من الفقيه الفاضل شرف العلماء الحسن بن عيسى بن قُبّ بن ليث الأسلمي الشافعي (← 18) بمحروس صعدة (← 147) لستّ مضت من صفر سنة ستمائة بمنزل مولانا عليه السلام. قال: قرأتُ على شيخنا مرشد الدين شرف النحاة شيخ الرواة أحفظ الحفاظ فقيه السلف أبي الحسين محمد بن أحمد بن أبي نوح النحوي المالكي (← 21) غفر الله له بزبيد (← 148) بالمسجد المعروف بمسعود الزيدي وذلك لإحدى عشرة ليلة بقيت من ذي الحجة سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة سنة. قال: أخبرنا الشيخ العدل الفقيه الفرضي الشافعي أبو محمد عبد الله بن رفاعة بن غدير السعدي (← 4) بمصر بمسجد الغيم (العبشم؟)، وذلك بالسادس من ذي الحجة سنة ست وخمسين وخمسمائة. قال: أخبرني القاضي الفقيه الشافعي أبو الحسن علي بن الحسن بن الحسين[27] المعروف بالخَلْعي (← 15) سماعًا عليه وهو يضبط[28] من أصله وذلك بمسجده بقرافة فسطاط مصر (← 145) في سنة سبع وثمانين وأربعمائة. قال: أخبرنا الشيخ الفقيه أبو محمد عبد الرحمن بن عمر بن [محمد بن] سعيد النحاس البزاز التجيبي[29] (← 9) بمنزله بمصر وذلك في سنة سبع وعشرين وأربعمائة. قال: أخبرنا أبو محمد عبد الله بن جعفر بن الورد (← 1) عن أبي سعيد عبد الرحيم بن عبد الله البرقي (← 7) عن مؤلفه أبي محمد عبد الملك بن هشام (← 6) رحمة الله عليه. وذكر في ترجمة الأصل أنه من كتب محمد بن إسحاق بن يسار المطلبي (← 24) برواية عبد الملك بن هشام البصري النحوي (← 6) عن زياد بن عبد الله البكائي (← 32) عنه ومما[30] رواه محمد بن عبد الرحيم (← 20) أنبأ [أبو] عبد[31] الله [محمد بن عبد الله] بن عبد الرحيم بن سعيد بن أبي زرعة الزهري البرقي (← 19) رحمة الله عليهم أجمعين[32].

5 ومنها كتاب صفوة الاختيار[33] في أصول الفقه (← 110) وكتاب حديقة الحكمة النبوية في تفسير الأربعين السيلقية (← 67)، كلاهما

24. We thank Hossein Modarressi for his help in deciphering three words in this text.

25. الله: -، و.
26. معرفة المملوك: معرفته، ه.
27. الحسن بن الحسين: الحسين بن الحسن في الأصلين. والتصحيح عن السير للذهبي.
28. يضبط: + عليه، ه.
29. التجيبي: النجيبي في الأصلين.
30. ومما: مما، ه.
31. عبد: عبيد، ه.
32. أجمعين: -، و.
33. الاختيار: الأخبار، الأصلين.

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تصنيفه عليه السلام مناولةً منه عليه السلام، وأجاز لي رواية جميع ما ثبت عندنا من تصانيفه في أنواع العلوم وخطه عليه السلام عند المملوك في أول كتاب الأنوار، أمالي المرشد بالله بن الموفق بالله أبي عبد الله الحسين بن إسماعيل بن زيد بن الحسن بن جعفر بن الحسن بن محمد بن جعفر بن عبد الرحمن بن القاسم بن الحسن بن زيد بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب عليهم السلام (← 45) نسخة خطه عليه السلام منقولة[34] من الأصل. قال عليه السلام: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل استخرتُ الله وتوكلتُ عليه وأجزتُ للإخوان الفضلاء الفقيه بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد (← 14) والشيخ الموفق شعلة بن محمد (← 11) رواية ما ثبت عندهم من تصانيفي في أنواع العلوم وما رويتُ فيها من الآثار والأشعار وما وُجد من أشعاري[35] وجعلتُ ذلك لهم فيما قد وُجد وفيما يوجد إن شاء الله تعالى[36]، وكذلك أجزتُ لمن أحبّ ذلك من الإخوان كثّر الله عددهم على هذا الوجه ولا أشرط[37] إلا ما اشترط العلماء والمشايخ في هذا الشأن وكتبتُ بقرية حوث (← 146) في شهر شعبان سنة ثمان وستمائة والحمد لله أولًا وآخرًا وصلى الله على رسوله النبي[38] الأمين وآله الطاهرين. فهذه طريق الرواية للمملوك من جهة الإمام المنصور بالله (← 2) عليه السلام.

6 وأما طريق رواية المملوك من جهة الشيخ العالم الفاضل محيي الدين عمدة الموحدين محمد بن أحمد بن علي بن الوليد القرشي الصنعاني (← 22) رحمة الله عليه ورضوانه، فالمملوك يذكر الكتب بأعيانها. فأما الطرق في سماعاتها فهي مذكورة[39] في كتاب شمس الأخبار (← 115) الذي جمعه الشيخ الطاهر العالم سديد الدين شيخ المريدين علي بن محمد بن[40] أحمد بن الوليد (← 16) رحمة الله عليه[41]، فمن أحبّ مشاهدة ذلك فليطالعه هنالك موفّقاً إن شاء الله.

7 فمنها كتاب أصول الأحكام تأليف الإمام المتوكل على الله أحمد بن سليمان (← 139) سلام الله عليه قراءةً، ومنها كتاب أمالي أحمد بن عيسى بن زيد بن علي عليهم السلام تصنيف محمد بن منصور بن يزيد المقري (← 38) قراءةً، ومنها كتاب أمالي المرشد بالله عليه السلام (← 44) قراءةً، ومنها كتاب أمالي السمّان (← 39) قراءةً، ومنها كتاب أمالي السيد أبي طالب يحيى بن الحسين الهاروني عليه السلام (← 41) قراءةً، ومنها كتاب الأنوار للسيد المرشد بالله عليه السلام (← 45) قراءةً، ومنها كتاب سلوة العارفين للسيد أبي عبد الله الجرجاني عليه السلام (← 76) قراءةً، ومنها الأربعون السيلقية (← 51) والأربعون الفقهية (← 49) والأربعون النوع في فضائل علي عليه السلام (← 50) والأربعون العلوية (← 48) كلها قراءةً وخطبة الوداع (← 69) ومسند أنس بن مالك (← 101) وأمالي السيد المؤيد بالله (← 40) وأمالي السيد ظفر بن داعي (← 46) وخبر عابد بني إسرائيل (← 66) وكتاب المصابيح لأبي العباس أحمد بن إبراهيم الحسني (← 92) وأمالي قاضي القضاة عبد الجبار بن أحمد (← 42) وأمالي قاضي القضاة البلخي (← 43) والأحاديث المنتقاة (← ٤٣) وأخبار الأشجّ (← 35) والمسلسل (← 99) وشرح النكت والجمل (← 116) وكتاب شمس[42] الأخبار (← 115) وكتاب جلاء الأبصار (← 60)، جميع ذلك قراءةً. ومنها كتاب المنتزع المسمى الجواهر والدرر المستخرجة من شرح أبي مضر انتزعه الشيخ محيي الدين هذا (← 65) وقرأتُه عليه جميعه. فهذه جملة ما سمعتُه عليه قراءةً بقرائتي وقراءة غيري من الإخوان الذين كانوا بحضرته رحمة الله عليه. وأخذتُ أيضًا الجميع مما ذكرتُه من الكتب مناولةً منه احتياطًا[43] لئلا يقع سهو في القراءة.

8 وأما ما أخذتُه مناولةً، فمنها كتاب تهذيب تفسير القرآن الكريم تصنيف[44] الحاكم (← 127) رحمة الله عليه، ومنها كتاب شرح الزيادات (← 118)، ومنها شرح التحرير للقاضي زيد بن محمد الكلاري (← 117) رحمة الله عليه، ومنها كتاب تنزيه الأنبياء والأئمة (← 134)، وكتاب تنبيه الغافلين في فضائل الطالبيين (← 133) وكتاب الإفادة في الفقه للسيد المؤيد بالله (← 71) وكتاب الزيادات (← 144)

34. عليه السلام منقولة: -، و.

35. A collection of poetry (*Dīwān*) by al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza was published as *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār wa-mašāriq al-šumūs wa-l-aqmār*.

36. تعالى: -، ه.

37. أشرط: شرط، ه.

38. النبي: -، و.

39. مذكورة: + لمن أراد، ه.

40. بن: -، ه.

41. رحمة الله عليه: رحمه الله، و.

42. شمس: شرح (مع تصحيح)، و.

43. احتياطاً: واحتياطاً، ه و.

44. في ه هناك تفسير بدل تصنيف ولكنه شطب وأضيف في الفوق تصنيف، صح.

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ورؤوس المسائل في الفقه (← 108)، ومنها كتاب تفسير الطوسي (← 124) وكتاب المراتب (← 91) وكتاب المعتمد (← 103)، كل ذلك مناولةً منه رحمه الله.

9 وأجاز هذا الشيخ المذكور رحمة الله عليه للمملوك جميع مسموعاته من جميع شيوخه على ما هو مذكور عنده في توقيع مسموعاته، منها من طريق الفقيه الأجلّ الحافظ تاج الدين زيد وإسمه أحمد أيضًا بن أحمد بن الحسن البيهقي البروقاني (← 31) تولى الله توفيقه[45] كتاب السفينة (← 109) وكتاب الناسخ والمنسوخ (← 105) وكتاب تحكيم العقول (← 128) وكتاب عيون المسائل وشرحه (← 140) وكتاب جلاء الأبصار (← 60) وكتاب نصيحة العامة (← 107) وكتاب تنزيه الأنبياء والأئمة (← 134) وكتاب تنبيه الغافلين في فضائل الطالبيين (← 133) ، كل ذلك تصنيف الحاكم (← 27) رحمه الله. ومنها كتاب غريب الحديث لأبي عبيد (← 63)، ومنها كتاب الإفادة في تواريخ الأئمة السادة لأبي طالب (← 72) عليه السلام، ومنها كتاب تاريخ ابن جرير الطبري (← 136) وكتاب أدب الكتّاب (← 33) وكتاب إصلاح المنطق (← 75) وكتاب التحرير (← 129) كاملًا ومقامات البديع (← 88) ومقامات الحريري (← 87) وكتاب سياسة المريدين للمؤيد بالله عليه السلام (← 121) وكتاب تهذيب تفسير القرآن للحاكم (← 127) وكتاب شرح أبي مضر (← 118) والأخبار اللؤلؤية (← 36) وكتاب محاورات الملوك والأدباء (← 96) وكتاب محنة المذكرين[46] ومنحة المتذكرين في الوعظ (← 93) وسواه، وكتاب الإفادة (← 71) وكتاب الزيادات للمؤيد بالله (← 144) وكتاب الإبانة وشرحه (← 70) وكتاب البلغة وشرحه[47] (← 56) وتفسير عبد الله بن العباس (← 122) رضي الله عنه وكتاب قوت القلوب أربعة أجزاء في الوعظ لأبي طالب المكي (← 106). ويروي ديوان الصاحب بن عباد (← 57) وكتاب الفائق للزمخشري (← 59) وكتاب الأساس للزمخشري (← 54). ويروي لإبن الجوزي الياقوتة في الوعظ (← 142) والتلخيص (← 131) وتفسيره له ستة مجلدة (← 143)، والتحفة له[48] (← 137)، وثلاثين خطبة له (← 130) في كل واحدة حذف حرفٍ[49] من حروف الهجاء، ويروي كتاب الإحياء[50] للغزالي (← 73) وكتاب الاقتصاد في الاعتقاد للغزالي (← 74) وكتاب المستصفى[51] للغزالي (← 102) في أصول الفقه[52]، وكتاب المنخول له (← 85) وكتاب جواهر القرآن (← 64) وكتاب مشكاة الأنوار (← 94) والمقاصد (← 89) والتهافت (← 126) والمضنون به على غير أهله والمضنون (← 83)، كل ذلك للغزالي (← 25). ويروي ديوان دعبل بن علي (← 58). ويروي من فقه الشافعي التنبيه (← 132) والمهذّب للشيرازي (← 95) واللمع (← 79)، ويروي القدوري وشرحه على مذهب أبي حنيفة (← 12). ويروي في الطبّ كتاب تقاسيم العلل لمحمد بن زكريا (← 135) وكتاب المنصوري (← 86) والكتاب المعروف بالحاوي أربعة مجلدة (← 68) وكتاب أسرار الحكمة (← 55) والإثنا[53] عشر لمحمد بن زكريا (← 77). ويروي كتاب المدخل في اللغة للمبرد (← 80) والمدخل في النجوم لابن القم[54] [كذا] (← 81)، ويروي كتاب الوجيز لابن بَرهان في أصول الفقه (← 141) وكتاب اللمع في أصول الفقه (← 79) وكتاب المقترح لفخر الدين البروي[55] الطوسي في الخلافيات في الجدل (← 98) وكتب الجدل لركن[56] الدين القزويني (← 10) وكتاب الأربعين السيلقية وسماها الودعانية[57] (← 53) وأربعين أخرى[58] وأربعين الأخرى (← 52) وأربع أربعينيات في الخلفاء الأربعة (← 47) وكتاب التجريد وتعليق شرحه تصنيف الفقيه دانشي[59] الديلمي (← 125) يرويه عن بهاء الدين (← 30)، وكتاب المدخل في

45. تولى الله توفيقه: تولى الله مكافاته الله توفيقه ولكن الله مكافاته مشطوبة في ه.
46. المذكرين: المدبرين، و.
47. وكتاب البلغة وشرحه: -، ه.
48. والتحفة له: وله، ه.
49. حرفٍ: احرف، ه.
50. كتاب الإحياء: مكرر في ه.
51. في المخطوطة مكتوب فوق كلمة المستصفى: المستقصى ظ، الأصلين.
52. وكتاب المستصفى للغزالي: مكرر في و.
53. في المخطوطة، فوقه: ثني ظ، ه.
54. لابن قم: القم (ابن)، و.
55. البروي: البربري، و.
56. لركن: لمجد، و.
57. الودعانية: الوداعنية، و.
58. وأربعين أخرى: بياض في ه و + (حاشية في و) كذا في الأصل وقال إنقطع في الأصل منه؛ + (حاشية في ه) في الأم وقال قطع في الأصل.
59. دانشي: دافشين، ه؛ دانشين، و.

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أصول الدين لابن شروين (← 82). وكانت هذه الإجازة من الفقيه تاج الدين (← 31) للشيخ محي الدين[60] محمد بن أحمد (← 22) ولمن أحبّ ذلك في شهر شوال سنة عشر[61] وستمائة .

10 ومن جملة ما أجازه للمملوك الشيخ محيي الدين محمد بن أحمد (← 22) رحمة الله عليه ما رواه عن الفقيه عبد الرحمن بن محمد الحصكفي (← 8) قراءةً صحيح مسلم (← 113) والبخاري (← 112) جمع الشيخ أبي عبد الله محمد بن [أبي] نصر الحميدي (← 61) وكتاب التنبيه في الفقه (← 132) وكتاب سيرة النبيّ (← 120) صلى الله عليه وآله قراءةً، وكتاب المهذّب (← 95) إجازةً له من القاضي سري بن إبراهيم (← 29).

11 وسمع المملوك من جهة الفقيه العالم بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين الأكوع الحوالي الحميري (← 14) رحمة الله عليه كتاب تفسير الشهاب (← 123) مناولةً وكتاب نهج البلاغة (← 104) مناولةً وكتاب المناقب في فضائل أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب (← 84) مناولةً وكتاب عمدة الصحاح في مناقب أمير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه ومناقب أمه وزوجته سيدة نساء العالمين وولديه على كافتهم أفضل السلام، وهذا الكتاب المسمى العمدة في عيون الصحاح (← 138) مشتمل على سماع كتب الصحاح الستة، صحيح مسلم (← 113) والبخاري (← 112) وكتاب الجمع بينهما لأبي عبد الله محمد بن أبي نصر الحميدي (← 61) وكتاب الجمع بين الصحاح الستة من موطأ مالك بن أنس الأصبحي [و]صحيح مسلم والبخاري وكتاب السنن لأبي داود السجستاني وصحيح الترمذي والنسخة الكبيرة من صحيح النسائي من جمع الشيخ أبي الحسن رزين بن معاوية بن عمار العبدري إمام الحرمين السرقسطي الأندلسي[62] (← 62) ومسند أبي عبد الرحمن عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد[63] بن حنبل الشيباني (← 100) وتفسير القرآن الكريم للأستاذ أبي إسحاق أحمد بن محمد بن إبراهيم الثعلبي (← 78) وما صحّ أيضًا لي به من مناقب الفقيه أبي الحسن علي بن محمد الطيب الجلابي المعروف بابن المغازلي (← 84). فهذه طرق سماع هذه الكتب على ما ذكره صاحب العمدة (← 138) وأجاز لي رواية غريب الحديث لأبي عبيد القاسم بن سلام الجمحي (← 63).

12 وسمع المملوك من الشريف السيد العالم الفاضل شرف الدين أبي طالب المرتضى بن السيد سراهنك المرعشي (← 28) الواصل من بلاد الديلم في سنة أربع وعشرين وستمائة ثم مات رحمه الله في محروس ظفار[64] (← 149) حماه الله وقبر قريبًا من مشهد أمير المؤمنين عبد الله بن حمزة سلام الله عليه، كتاب نهج البلاغة (← 104) قراءةً وناولني كتاب جلاء الأبصار في الأخبار (← 60) وكتاب أعلام نهج البلاغة (← 37) وكتاب السامي في الأسامي (← 114) وكتاب الشجرة في أنساب الطالبيين (← 111) وخطبة الوِدَاع بتفسيرها[65] العجمي (← 69) وكتاب المكتفي في النقض على من يقول بالإمام المختفي (← 97) ، يروي جميع ذلك بإسناده إلى شيوخه المذكورين في كل كتاب منها. وقرأت عليه كتاب مقرآ عاصم بن أبي النجود الحناط[66] الكوفي الأسدي (← 90) رحمة الله عليه برواية حفص بن سليمان الأسدي (← 17) رحمة الله عليه. فهذه جميع ما سمعتُه على من ذكرتُه.

13 أجزتُ للفقيه السند العالم حسام الدين عمدة الموحدين عبد الله بن زيد العنسي (← 5) ولمن أحبّ رواية ذلك من الإخوان أعانهم الله وحاباهم[67] وأيّدهم وكلاهم على الوجه الصحيح إن شاء الله تعالى والمسئول من الجميع الدعاء للمملوك[68] بخاتمة الخير في جميع الأوقات المستجاب فيها الدعاء فالمملوك يفعل ذلك لهم إن شاء الله مستعينًا بالله ومتوكلًا عليه.

14 كتب ذلك العبد الفقير إلى رحمة[69] الله تعالى شعلة أحمد بن محمد بن قاسم الأكوع الحُوالي الحميري (← 11) في العشر الأول من شهر الله الأصم رجب عظّم الله حرمته سنة أربع وأربعين وستمائة بقرية حوث (← 146) عمّرها الله بالصالحين من عباده بمنّه ورحمته

60. محي الدين: مكرر في ه.
61. فوقه: صح، ه.
62. الأندلسي: الاسدي، و.
63. محمد: أحمد، فوقه في المخطوطة محمد ظ، وهو الصحيح، ه؛ احمد، و.
64. ظفار: -، و.
65. بتفسيرها: بتفسير بها، ه.
66. الحناط: الحياط، و.
67. وحاباهم: وحاطبهم، و ه.
68. للمملوك: + الدعاء، و.
69. رحمة: إضافة فوق السطر مع كلمة صح

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إنه قريب مجيب والحمد لله أولًا وآخرًا وصلى الله على رسوله سيدنا محمد النبي والطاهرين من آله وسلم[70].

15 فرغ من نقله العبد الفقير إلى الله أحمد بن سعد الدين بن الحسين المسوري (← 13) غفر الله له ولوالديه وللمؤمنين ورحمهم[71] حامدًا لله مصليًا مسلمًا على محمد وآل محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم في آخر الثلث[72] الأول من الليلة الغير المسفرة من[73] يوم النحر الكريم من عام اثنتين وخمسين وألف بمنزل أمير المؤمنين المؤيد بالله عليه السلام (← 26) من خط شعلة (← 11) رحمه الله[74] من الإجازة التي كتبها لعبد الله بن زيد (← 5) رحمه الله في مجلد كتب فيه بخطه كتاب تنبيه الغافلين للحاكم (← 133) وكتاب العمدة في صحاح الأخبار (← 138) وفيما بين الكتابين كتاب شواهد التنزيل (← 119) بخطٍ ابن أخيه محمد بن أسعد بن زيد العنسي (← 23) فرغ منه بعد صلاة ظهر يوم الأحد ثاني عيد الفطر سنة أربع وأربعين وستمائة، وأول الكتاب إلى سورة الحج بخط عبد الله بن زيد نفسه. وفرغ عبد الله بن زيد من كتابة[75] تنبيه الغافلين ثاني شهر ربيع الآخر من العام المذكور، وفرغ من العمدة في سابع جمادى الآخرة من ذلك العام بصعدة (← 147) حرسها الله تعالى[76].

## Appendix I

*Persons*

1. **Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ǧaʿfar b. al-Ward al-Baġdādī** *naẓīl Miṣr* (d. 351/962–63). See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīḫ*, 36/196; al-Ḏahabī, *Taḏkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 3/882.
2. Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh **ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān** (b. 561/1166, d. 614/1217). His claim to the Zaydī imamate in Ḏū l-Qaʿda 593/September–October 1197 was acknowledged by the Zaydīs of Yemen as well as those of the Caspian region. On him, see GAL 1/403f. no. 9; EI2 6/433f. (E. van Donzel). The *imām*'s chief secretary, Abū Firās b. Diʿṭam Fāḍil b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim, composed the *sīra* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. Volumes 2 and 3 of the *sīra* have been published as Ibn Diʿṭam, *al-Sīra al-šarīfa al-manṣūriyya*. On the work, see al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 479; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 749 no. 811. Another copy of volume 2 that was not consulted by the editor is preserved as MS Vatican ar. 1061; see Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 1/131. Hassan Ansari has identified copies of volumes 1 and 4 of the *sīra* that previously had been presumed lost; see his *Az ganǧīna-hā-yi nusaḫ-i ḫaṭṭī*, 157-172.
3. al-Qāḍī Taqī l-Dīn Abū Muḥammad **ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Abī l-Naǧm** (d. 647/1256), "the *qāḍī* of Ṣaʿda," one of the teachers of Šuʿla (→ 11). He is the author of *al-Tibyān fī l-nāsiḫ wa-l-mansūḫ fī l-Qurʾān*. For further details about the author, see the editor's introduction.

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70. وسلم: + (حاشية في الأصلين) أخذ شعلة في هذه السنة عن القاضي تقي الدين أبي محمد عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله بن حمزة بن أبي النجم قاضي صعدة بصعدة (← 3).
71. ورحمهم: رحمهم الله، ٥.
72. الثلث: الثلاث، و.
73. من: عن، ٥.
74. في المخطوطة: الله، في الحاشية مع علامة ظ
75. كتابة: وكتاب، و.
76. تعالى: -، ٥.

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4. Abū Muḥammad **ʿAbd Allāh b. Rifāʿa b. Ġadīr al-Saʿdī** (b. 467/1074–75, d. 561/1165–66). See al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 20/435–438.
5. Ḥusām al-Dīn **ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḫayr al-ʿAnsī al-Maḏḥiǧī** (b. 593/1196–97, d. Šaʿbān 667/April 1268). On him, see the present chapter as well as Chapter 13.
6. Abū Muḥammad **ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hišām** (d. 218/833 or 213/828), the editor of Ibn Isḥāq's biography of the prophet Muḥammad (→ 120). See EI2 3/800f. (W. Montgomery Watt).
7. Abū Saʿīd **ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Barqī** (d. 286/899), a student of Ibn Hišām (→ 6) and the chief transmitter of the latter's redaction of Ibn Isḥāq's biography of the prophet Muḥammad. See al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 13/48f.
8. **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣkafī.** One of the Šāfiʿite teachers of Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurašī (→ 22), about whose identity nothing is known.
9. **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Tuǧībī** (d. 416/1025–26). See al-Samʿānī, *Anṣāb*, 5/465f.; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 7/373; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, 3/319; see also Quḍāʿī, *Musnad al-Šihāb*, 1/180.
10. Rukn al-Dīn **Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿIrāqī b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿIrāqī al-Qazwīnī** *al-maʿrūf bi*-l-Ṭāwūsī (d. 600/1203–4), one of the founders of the discipline of *ǧadal*. On him, see al-Ḏahabī, *Taḏkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 4/1369; Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 3/258f. Alternatively, Imām Maǧd al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī is meant, if the reading of MS *wāw* is correct. On him and his role in *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, see al-Qummī, *Ḏayl naḏṯat al-maṣdūr*, 304f.; see also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maǧmaʿ al-ādāb*, 4/433 no. 4149.
11. **Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwaʿ**, *al-maʿrūf bi*-Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ (d. after 644/1246). Apart from the present study, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/454f. no. 224; al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 1/496 no. 7; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/194–196 no. 90.

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1266/4 contains Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍāʿī's (d. 454/1062) *K. al-Šihāb al-muštamil ʿalā ǧawāmiʿ al-kalim wa-maḥāsin al-ādāb min kalām Sayyid al-mursalīn* (→ 123). The manuscript opens with an *isnād* linking Šuʿla to the following earlier scholars: Šuʿla ← Muḥyī l-Dīn Ḥumayd (or Muḥammad) b. Aḥmad b. al-Anf (→ 22) ← Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177) ← Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Mulāʿib al-Asadī ← Tāǧ al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī ← Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Muḥammad al-Sāwī ← Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍāʿī.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه أستعين فهو نعم المعين قال الشيخ العالم الزاهد أحمد المعروف بشعلة بن محمد بن القاسم الأكوع قراءة عليه بحوث قال أخبرنا الشيخ العالم العامل محي الدين حميد بن أحمد بن الأنف رضي الله عنه قال أخبرنا القاضي الأكمل السيد الفاضل شمس الدين جمال الإسلام والمسلمين جعفر بن أحمد بن عبد السلام بن أبي يحيى طوّل الله مدته قال أخبرنا الشيخ الفاضل أبو علي الحسن بن علي بن ملاعب الأسدي أسعده الله قال أخبرنا الشريف الأجل تاج الدين أبو البركات عمر بن إبراهيم العلوي الحسيني قال أخبرنا أبو سعيد عبد الجليل بن محمد الساوي قال قرأت على القاضي محمد بن سلامة بن جعفر بن علي القضاعي الشافعي في منزله بفسطاط مصر غير مرة ومن أصله كتبت وبه عارضت.

See also Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 397f. no. 207.

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12. Abū l-Ḥusayn **Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baġdādī** (b. 362/972, d. 428/1037), author of *Muḫtaṣar al-Qudūrī*, a popular handbook of Ḥanafite *furūᶜ*. See GAL 1/174f. The work has been published repeatedly (in some cases together with commentaries on the text). For an English translation, see al-Qudūrī, *Muḫtaṣar of Imām al-Qudūrī*. It is unclear which *šarḥ* on the work is intended here, as there are many; see Wheeler, "Identity in the Margins."
13. **Aḥmad b. Saᶜd al-Dīn al-Miswarī** (d. 1079/1668), author of *Maǧmūᶜ al-iǧāzāt*. On him, see al-Akwaᶜ, *Hiǧar al-ᶜilm*, 2/1081–1083 no. 32; al-Waǧīh, *Aᶜlām al-muᵓallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 108–111 no. 82; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 238 no. 23; Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 185; GALS 2/560 no. 7b; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 67f., 101, 148, 432; Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaᶜ al-budūr*, 1/302–314 no. 122; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/121–131 no. 48; al-Ǧurmūzī, *Bināᵓ al-dawla al-qāsimiyya*, 1/194, 1/196f., 1/331; al-Šawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliᶜ*, 1/58; al-Muḥibbī, *Ḫulāṣat al-aṯar*, 1/204–206.
14. Bahāᵓ al-Dīn **ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akwaᶜ** (alive in 627/1229–30). On him, see Chapter 10 in the present volume, with further references. See also → 50.
15. Abū l-Ḥasan **ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn *al-maᶜrūf bi-l-Ḫalᶜī*** (b. 405/1014–15, d. 492/1099). See al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 19/74–79; al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, 2/612 no. 214.
16. **ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad** (or **Ḥumayd**) **b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī**, the son of Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad (or Ḥumayd) b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226) (→ 22). See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/737–743 no. 452; Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaᶜ al-budūr*, 3/234–238 no. 881.
17. **Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Asadī**, i.e., Abū ᶜUmar b. Abī Dāwūd al-Asadī al-Kūfī, transmitter of the reading of ᶜĀṣim (→ 90). On him, see EI2 3/63 ([ed.]).
18. **al-Ḥasan b. ᶜĪsā b. Qubb b. Layṭ al-Aslamī al-Šāfiᶜī**, one of the Šāfiᶜite teachers of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (→ 2). Nothing else is known about this person at present.
19. Abū ᶜAbd Allāh **Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm b. Saᶜīd b. Abī Zurᶜa al-Zuhrī al-Barqī al-Miṣrī** (d. 249/863–64). See al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 13/46f.; Yāqūt, *Muᶜǧam al-buldān*, 1/389; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 1/480; Ibn al-ᶜImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Šaḏarāt al-ḏahab*, 3/228.
20. **Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm**. Nothing is known about this person at present. He presumably belonged to the same family as al-Zuhrī al-Barqī (→ 19). See Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 1/480; Yāqūt, *Muᶜǧam al-buldān*, 1/389.
21. Abū l-Ḥusayn **Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Nūḥ al-Naḥwī al-Mālikī**. See al-Ǧanadī, *Sulūk*, 2/173.
22. Muḥyī l-Dīn **Muḥammad** (or **Ḥumayd**) **b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf** (d. 623/1226). On him, see Chapter 1 in the present volume.
23. **Muḥammad b. Asᶜad b. Zayd al-ᶜAnsī**, a nephew of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ᶜAnsī (d. 667/1268) (→ 5). On him, see also Chapter 12 in the present volume.
24. Abū ᶜAbd Allāh **Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār al-Muṭallabī** (b. ca. 85/704, d. 151/768),

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the author of the *sīra* of the prophet Muḥammad (→ 120).

25. Abū Ḥāmid **Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazālī** (d. 505/1111). Among the most recent studies on him are Griffel, *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology*; Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought*.
26. Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh **Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī** (b. 945/1538, d. Rağab 1054/September 1644), one of the teachers of al-Miswarī (→ 13). It was during his reign that the Ottoman Turks were expelled from Yemen. See EI2 7/270 (J. R. Blackburn); al-Nūr, *Bināʾ al-dawla al-qāsimiyya*.
27. Abū Saʿd **al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī** ("al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī," d. 494/1101). On him, see EI2 Suppl./343 (W. Madelung); Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 187–191; van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, 2/761–763; Thiele, "Causalité selon al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī."
28. al-Šarīf Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib **al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang(k) b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī al-Marʿašī** (fl. early seventh/thirteenth century), a Zaydī scholar from Ḫurāsān who came to Ẓafār shortly after the death of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (→ 2). He was one of the teachers of Šuʿla (→ 11). On al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 4/409f. no. 1242; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/1116f. no. 699. Al-Murtaḍā played an important role in the transfer of literature from Ḫurāsān to Yemen—he was evidently among the first scholars to introduce the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* (→ 104) to Yemen, a work that later on became extremely popular there. See below, Appendix II.
29. al-Qāḍī **Sariyy al-Dīn (**or **Sariyy b.) Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAlī b. Maʿādd b. Mubārak al-ʿAršānī** (d. 626/1228–29), a Šāfiʿite-Aš'arite scholar who served as *qāḍī* of Sanaa. On him, see al-Ḫazrağī, *al-ʿUqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Akwaʿ, 1/76f.; al-Ḫazrağī, *al-ʿIqd al-fāḫir*, 2/947–949 no. 398; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 479; al-Ǧanadī, *Sulūk*, 1/367; Bā Maḫrama, *Qalādat al-naḥr*, 3/2750f. no. 2928; al-Ahdal al-Yamanī, *Tuḥfat al-zaman*, 1/294f.
30. Bahāʾ al-Dīn **Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī**. It is likely that the Iranian Zaydī scholar Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan is meant in one instance of § 10, rather than ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (→ 14) as given in both manuscripts. On Bahāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf, see Chapter 6 in the present volume.
31. Tāǧ al-Dīn **Zayd (**or **Aḥmad) b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī al-Ḥāǧǧī**. Originally from Ḫurāsān, where he had studied with al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Saraḫṣī, the author of *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa* (→ 37), al-Bayhaqī was instrumental in bringing the writings of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (→ 27) and the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* (→ 104) to Yemen. On him, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/445 no. 259, 1/103f. no. 34; Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/245 no. 91, 2/296 no. 573; van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, 2/903–905. There is some divergence in the sources about his name and genealogy. See also below, Appendix II.
32. **Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakkāʾī** (d. 183/799), a transmitter of Ibn Isḥāq's biography of the prophet Muḥammad (→ 120) to Ibn Hišām (→ 6). See GAL 1/135.

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*Titles*

33. ***K. Adab al-kuttāb***, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/947 or 336/948). The work has been published repeatedly; see the bibliography for edition details for this and other published works. On the work and its author, see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 99 no. 4; EI2 9/846–848 (S. Leder).
34. ***al-Aḥādīṯ al-muntaqā***, by *qāḍī l-quḍāt* Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad al-Ṣāʿidī al-Nīsābūrī al-Ḥanafī (d. 482/1089). On the author, see al-Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ al-islām*, 33/75f.; al-Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntaḫab*, 112–114 no. 246; DMB 2/41f. no. 7 (Sayyid ʿAlī Āl Dāwūd). On the text, see also ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār*, 1/33; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/108 no. 36 (in the entry on Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Kanī [d. ca. 565/1169–70]). On the *al-Aḥādīṯ al-muntaqā* that are not mentioned in Sunnī sources, see also Ansari, "Nāgufti-hā-yi az ǧāmiʿa-yi Rayy."
35. ***Aḫbār al-Ašaǧǧ***, also known as *Ṣaḥīfat Abī l-Dunyā* or *al-Ašaǧǧiyyāt*. On the legendary Abū l-Dunyā ʿAlī b. ʿUṯmān al-Ašaǧǧ al-Muʿammar, who is said to have been born around 600 CE and to have died in 316/928, 327/938–39, or even 476/1083–84, see EI2 1/117 (Ch. Pellat); EncIslam 1/703–707 (A. Pakatchi); see also Ansari, "Nāgufti-hā-yi az ǧāmiʿa-yi Rayy." On the text, see also ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār*, 1/33.
36. ***al-Aḫbār al-luʾluʾiyya***, most likely referring to *al-Luʾluʾiyyāt* of Abū Muṭīʿ Makḥūl al-Nasafī (d. 318/930). See GALS 1/293 no. 6a; GAS 1/501f. no. 9. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Zayd al-Ǧurǧānī (al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh) and His Writings".
37. ***Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa***, a commentary on the *Nahǧ al-balāġa*, by al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Saraḫṣī (fl. late sixth/twelfth and early seventh/thirteenth centuries). The author is reported to have studied with the renowned philosopher Afḍal al-Dīn al-Ġaylānī and corresponded with Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210). Among the students of al-Saraḫṣī were a number of Zaydīs, one of whom, namely, Tāǧ al-Dīn Zayd (or Aḥmad) b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqānī al-Ḥāǧǧī (→ 31), brought both the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* and the *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa* to Yemen; see Ansari, "Aḫbār al-dawla al-salǧūqiyya"; Ansari, "Faḫr-i Rāzī." See also below, Appendix II. The work has been edited by ʿAzīz Allāh al-ʿAṭārudī.
38. ***Amālī Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā***, i.e., the *Amālī* of Imam Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī (b. 157/773, d. 247/861). On Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, see EI2 12/48f. (W. Madelung); EncIslam 3/249–252 (H. Ansari). The *Amālī Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā* were published twice, as *K. al-ʿUlūm* and as *K. Raʾb al-ṣadʿ*. See also Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 51f. For Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Yazīd al-Murādī's (alive in 252/866) recension of the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā*, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 80ff. On Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Murādī, see also GAS 1/563 no. 6.
39. ***Amālī*** of Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 445/1053–54). See Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/575f. no. 340; al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 17/55–60. On the work and its author, see Ansari, "Un *muḥaddiṯ* muʿtazilite zaydite."

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40. ***K. al-Amālī*** of al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020). See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/152 no. 402. The work has been published repeatedly.
41. ***K. al-Amālī*** of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 340/951, d. 424/1033). See GAL 1/507; GALS 1/697f.; Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 110f. no. 29. The work, in the recension of Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177) with the title *Taysīr al-maṭālib min* [*fī*] *Amālī Abī Ṭālib*, has been published repeatedly.
42. ***K. al-Amālī*** of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025). See Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 215; Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 565–578; Ansari, "Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār-i muʿtazilī."
43. ***al-Amālī*** of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* al-Balḫī. See ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār*, 1/33. On this work and its chain of transmission, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/107f. no. 36 (as part of the entry on Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Kanī [d. ca. 565/1169–70]). On the author, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Balḫī, see also al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/887 no. 553 (in the entry on his student Mubārak b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-ʿAnsī al-Tirmiḏī).
44. ***al-Amālī al-ḫamīsiyya***, or *Amālī al-Šaǧarī*, of Imam al-Muršad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106). The recension of the *Amālī* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226) has been published repeatedly. On al-Muršad bi-llāh, see also Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 184f.
45. ***al-Amālī al-iṯnayniyya***, or *al-Anwār*, of Imam al-Muršad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106). The work has been edited by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamūd al-ʿIzzī.
46. ***Amālī al-Sayyid Ẓafar b. Dāʿī***. On the author, Abū l-Faḍl Ẓafar b. al-Dāʿī b. Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, see al-Silafī al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Waǧīz*, 159–161 no. 46; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/593 no. 320. See also Ansari, *Tašayyuʿ-i imāmī*, 237-244; al-Fahdāwī, "Maʿa *Amālī* al-Sayyid Ẓafar b. Dāʿī."
47. ***Arbaʿa Arbaʿīniyyāt fī l-ḫulafāʾ al-arbaʿa***, most likely referring to the following four works by Abū l-Ḫayr Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Qazwīnī al-Ṭālaqānī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 590/1193): *al-Arbaʿūn al-muntaqā min Manāqib al-Murtaḍā*, *al-Burhān al-anwar fī manāqib al-Ṣiddīq al-akbar*, *Hadiyat ḏawī l-albāb fī faḍāʾil ʿUmar b. al-Ḫattāb*, and *Qurbat al-dārayn fī manāqib Ḏī l-nūrayn*. On these works, see Karabulut, *İstanbul ve Anadolu*, 1/100. On the author, see DMB 5/442–444 (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ṭabāṭabāʾī).
48. ***al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿalawiyya*** of Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177). The work has been published repeatedly. See Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 106f.
49. ***al-Arbaʿūn al-fiqhiyya*** of Abū l-Ġanāʾim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Narsī al-Kūfī ("Ubayy al-Narsī," d. 510/1116), a Zaydī scholar from Kufa. See al-Samʿānī,

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*Ansāb*, 13/76f. He is also the author of *Ṯawāb qaḍāʾ ḥawāʾiǧ al-iḫwān wa-mā ǧāʾa fī iġāṯat al-lahfān*; see also GALS, 2/1006 no. 94. A manuscript of the *Arbaʿūn al-fiqhiyya* is preserved in the Maktabat al-awqāf of the Great Mosque in Sanaa; see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 974 no. 1044; al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 1/276 (*maǧāmiʿ* 80). For this work, see also ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār*, 1/33.

50. ***"al-Arbaʿūn al-nawʿ fī faḍāʾil ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām."*** Possibly referring to several works with the title "*al-Arbaʿūn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-muʾminīn*" (*nawʿ* signifiying "genre" in this context), one of them being *al-Aḫbār al-arbaʿūn al-wasīla ilā Rabb al-ʿālamīn min faḍāʾil Amīr al-muʾminīn* by Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak al-Akwaʿ (alive in 627/1229–30) (→ 14). See Mūsawī-Niǧād, *Turāṯ al-Zaydiyya*, 128; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/172 no. 74, 2/619 no. 373, 2/973 no. 615.
51. ***al-Arbaʿūn al-saylaqiyya*** → 53 and 67
52. ***Arbaʿīn uḫrā***, possibly referring to one of the famous *Arbaʿūn* works that circulated among the Zaydīs of Yemen, namely, *Silsilat al-ibrīz bi-l-sanad al-ʿazīz*, by Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī al-Balḫī (d. 532/1137–38), which has been published repeatedly. On this work, see also al-Fahdāwī, "al-Qawl al-waǧīz." See also → 99.
53. ***al-Arbaʿūn al-wadʿāniyya*** of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī *al-maʿrūf bi-*bn Wadʿān (d. 494/1101); the work is a redaction (*taḫrīǧ*) of *al-Arbaʿūn al-saylaqiyya* (→ 51) by Ibn Wadʿān. On the work and its author, see GAL 1/435 no. 6; GALS 1/602 no. 6; DMB 5/76f. ([ed.]). See also EI2 12/82f. (Abdülkadir Karahan).
54. ***Asās al-balāġa***, by Ǧār Allāh Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamaḫšarī (d. 538/1144). See GAL 1/292 no. 8; GALS 1/511 no. 8. The work has been published repeatedly.
55. ***Asrār al-ḥikma***, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (b. 251/865, d. 313/925). The title probably refers to his *Asrār* or *Sirr al-asrār*; see Ruska, "Übersetzung und Bearbeitungen"; Naǧmābādī, *Muʾallafāt wa muṣannafāt*, 261 no. 218. See also GAL 1/267–271 no. 9/1; GALS 1/417–421 no. 9/1.
56. ***al-Bulġa fī l-fiqh ʿalā maḏhab al-Hādī***, by al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020), which is apparently lost. For the work, see al-Muršad bi-llāh, *Sīra*, ed. Qurbān, 42. A commentary on the work (*Šarḥ al-Bulġa*) by a certain *al-qāḍī* Abū ǂ . . . ǂ b. Muḥammad b. Mahdī al-Ḥasanī *al-madfūn fī balad* Bakšā is mentioned by Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl in his *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/311.
57. ***Dīwān*** of Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād al-Ṭālaqānī ("al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād," d. 385/995), published as *Dīwān al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād*. On al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, see also Naaman, *Literature and the Islamic Court*; Pomerantz, *Licit Magic*; Madelung and Schmidtke, *Al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād Promoter of Rational Theology*.
58. ***Dīwān*** of Diʿbil b. ʿAlī al-Ḫuzāʾī. See GALS 1/121f.; Zolondek, *Diʿbil b. ʿAlī*; EI2 2/248f. (L. Zolondek).
59. ***al-Fāʾiq fī ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ***, by Ǧār Allāh Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamaḫšarī (d. 538/1144). See GAL 1/292 no. 7; GALS 1/511 no. 7. The work has been published.
60. ***Ǧalāʾ al-abṣār fī taʾwīl*** (or ***mutūn***) ***al-aḫbār***, a work on *ḥadīṯ* by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī

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(d. 494/1101) (→ 27). See Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, English introduction, 18 (no. iv); Ansari, "Karrāmiyya."

61. ***al-Ǧamᶜ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn*** of Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Naṣr Futūḥ b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (b. before 420/1029, d. 488/1095), a student of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). See al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 20/204–206; GAL 1/413 no. 3; GALS 1/578f. no. 3; Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 200f. no. 225; Adang, "Spread of Ẓāhirism," 313ff.; BA 1/460–464 no. 162 (G. Rossselló Bordoy). The work has been published. For manuscripts of it in Iranian libraries—the book was highly popular among Twelver Šīᶜīs as well—see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 3/706 nos. 79153–79155.
62. ***al-Ǧamᶜ bayn al-ṣiḥāḥ al-sitta***, also known as *Taǧrīd al-ṣiḥāḥ al-sitta*, by Abū l-Ḥasan Razīn b. Muᶜāwiya b. ᶜAmmār al-ᶜAbdarī al-Saraqusṭī al-Andalusī (d. 524/1129 or 535/1140). See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 201 no. 226. For manuscripts of the work in the Great Mosque of Sanaa, see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 1/310f. On the author, see al-Mintawī, *Fahrasat al-Mintawī*, 277 no. 471; BA 2/116f. (J. M. Asensio Galve). According to the Mālikite tradition, the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) is one of the six canonical Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* works, taking the place of the *Sunan* of Ibn Māǧa al-Qazwīnī in the Mašriqī tradition.
63. ***K. Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ***, by Abū ᶜUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838). On Abū ᶜUbayd, see EncIslam 2/677–686 (A. Pakatchi); EI3 2008-1/55–58 (R. Weipert).
64. ***Ǧawāhir al-Qurʾān***, by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111). The work has been published and translated into English. On the work, see also Whittingham, *Al-Ghazālī and the Qurʾān*, chapter 4.
65. ***al-Ǧawāhir wa-l-durar al-mustaḫraǧa min Šarḥ Abī Muḍar***, by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226), a summary of Abū Muḍar Šurayḥ b. al-Muʾayyad's (fl. fifth/eleventh century) *Asrār al-Ziyādāt*, which is in turn a commentary on the *Ziyādāt* (→ 118); see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/384 no. 1111. A manuscript of the text is preserved in the Bavarian State Library in Munich; see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 288–290 no. 135.
66. ***Ḫabar ᶜĀbid Banī Isrāʾīl***. For this text, see ᶜAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār*, 1/33 and 2/46–49, for the complete wording of the *ḫabar* and its chain of transmission.
67. ***Ḥadīqat al-ḥikma al-nabawiyya fī tafsīr al-Arbaᶜīn al-saylaqiyya***, by al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (→ 2), a commentary on the *ḥadīṯ* collection *al-Arbaᶜūn al-saylaqiyya* of Abū l-Qāsim Zayd b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Masᶜūd al-Hāšimī (fl. fourth/tenth century), transmitted by ᶜAlī b. Mahdī al-Saylaqī. See GALS 1/701 no. 9/16; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/422 no. 1238; Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 318f. no. 156. See also GALS 1/699 no. 5/8, where *Ḥadīqat al-ḥikma* is mentioned as a work of ᶜAbd Allāḥ b. Zayd al-ᶜAnsī, a clear misattribution. *Ḥadīqat al-ḥikma* has been published, as has *al-Arbaᶜūn al-saylaqiyya*. *Al-Arbaᶜūn al-saylaqiyya* was very popular among the Zaydīs and has been commented upon repeatedly, among others by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (under the title *al-Anwār al-muḍiyya fī šarḥ al-aḫbār al-nabawiyya*), but also by Sunnī

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authors (→ 53). See Ansari, "Guzār az Iḫwān al-Ṣafā"; Ansari, "Nusḫa-yi kāmil." On the *Arbaʿūn al-saylaqiyya*, see also Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 215.

68. ***K. al-Ḥāwī*** of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (b. 251/865, d. 313/925). See GAL 1/267–271 no. 9/1; GALS 1/417–421 no. 9/1; Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam*, 130f.; Naǧmābādī, *Muʾallafāt wa muṣannafāt*, 9ff., 301ff. no. 1.
69. ***Ḫuṭbat al-widāʿ***. See Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Hayṯamī, *Buġyat al-bāḥiṯ*, 79f.; al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, 13/223; see also ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār*, 1/33. *Ḫuṭbat al-widāʿ bi-tafsīrihā al-ʿaǧamī* refers to a Persian commentary on the book that cannot be further identified.
70. ***al-Ibāna fī l-fiqh***, referring to the *fatāwā* of al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūš (d. 304/917) that were collected and arranged according to the established rubrics of *fiqh* works by Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hawsamī al-Nāṣirī al-Qāḍī (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century). The *K. al-Ibāna* became the most significant text for the legal tradition of the Nāṣiriyya and served as the point of departure for an entire genre of commentaries, supercommentaries, and glosses among the Zaydīs of northern Iran. Al-Hawsamī himself wrote three commentaries on it, described as concise (*ṣaġīr*), medium-sized (*mutawassiṭ*), and comprehensive (*kabīr*), respectively. Of these, only the latter, *al-Šarḥ al-kabīr*, is extant in several manuscripts. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/914. A manuscript of the *K. al-Ibāna*, together with al-Hawsamī's commentary, is preserved in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Cod.arab. 1329); see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 502f. no. 268. For additional manuscripts of the commentary in Iran, see Dānišpažūh, "Dū mašīḫa-yi zaydī"; Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, introduction, 13; Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 159ff.; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/31 no. 15. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "New Source on Zaydī Scholarship."
71. ***K. al-Ifāda fī l-fiqh*** of al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020). See GALS 1/317f. no. 9; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/138 no. 357; Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 178.
72. ***al-Ifāda fī tārīḫ al-aʾimma al-sāda***, by al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 340/951, d. 424/1033). See GAL 1/507 no. 1/2; GALS 1/698 no. 1/2. The work has been published repeatedly.
73. ***K. al-Iḥyāʾ fī ʿulūm al-dīn***, by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111). See Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie*, 41–44 no. 28, and passim; Badawī, *Muʾallafāt al-Ġazālī*, 98–125 no. 28. See also www.ghazali.org/site/ihya.htm (accessed February 3, 2017) for editions, translations, and studies.
74. ***K. al-Iqtiṣād fī l-iʿtiqād***, by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111). For a recent English translation, see *Al-Ghazālī's "Moderation in Belief."*
75. ***K. Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq***, by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244/858). The work has been published repeatedly. On the author, see EI2 3/940f. ([ed.]).
76. ***K. al-Iʿtibār wa-salwat al-ʿārifīn***, by al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Šaǧarī al-Ǧurǧānī (d. after 420/1029); published. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/133 no. 340. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh

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al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Zayd al-Ǧurǧānī (al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh) and His Writings."

77. ***al-Iṯnā ʿašar*** of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (b. 251/865, d. 313/925). The identity of this work remains unclear. It is not mentioned in Nağmābādī, *Muʾallafāt wa muṣannafāt*.
78. ***al-Kašf wa-l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān***, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṯaʿlabī (d. 427/1035); published. On this commentary, see Saleh, *Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition*.
79. ***K. al-Lumaʿ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*** of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābāḏī al-Šīrāzī (b. 393/1003, d. 476/1083). The work has been published repeatedly, and al-Šīrāzī's autocommentary has also been edited. See also → 132.
80. ***K. al-Madḫal fī l-luġa*** of al-Mubarrad Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Akbar al-Ṯumālī al-Azdī (b. 210/826, d. 286/900). See GAL 1/109f. no. 18; GALS 1/168f. no. 18; EI2 7/279–282 (R. M. Burrell).
81. ***K. al-Madḫal fī l-nuǧūm*** of Ibn al-Qumm. Ibn al-Qumm was an *adīb* and *šāʿir* of the Fāṭimid period, his full name being Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qumm al-Zabīdī al-Yamanī (d. ca. 490/1097). On him, see al-Ḥamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 130; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, 2/246. What is possibly meant here is the *K. al-Madḫal* (or *al-Bāriʿ*) *ilā ʿilm aḥkām al-nuǧūm* by Abū Naṣr Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Munaǧǧim al-Qummī (d. after 366/976–77). An early Persian translation of the text has been published as *Tarǧama-yi al-Madḫal ilā ʿilm-i aḥkām al-nuǧūm*. Of the original Arabic version (as well as an abridgment, *muḫtaṣar*, of the text), which still awaits critical edition, numerous manuscripts have been preserved. See GAL 1/253 no. 10; GALS 1/398 no. 10. On the author, see DMB 6/321 (Yūnis Karamatī).
82. ***K. al-Madḫal fī uṣūl al-dīn*** of Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās Ibn Šarwīn. On this work and its author, see Chapter 2 in the present volume.
83. ***al-Maḍnūn***. On the corpus of *Maḍnūn* texts by al-Ġazālī, see al-Akiti, *"Madnun" of al-Ghazali*.
84. ***Manāqib Ibn al-Maġāzilī***, that is, *Manāqib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* of Ibn al-Maġāzilī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 483/1090). On Ibn al-Maġāzilī, see DMB 4/647f. For the reception of the work among the Zaydīs of Yemen, see Chapter 10 in the present volume.
85. ***K. al-Manḫūl min taʿlīqāt al-uṣūl*** of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111); published. For this work, see also Hassan, "Analytical Study."
86. ***K. al-Manṣūrī*** of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (b. 251/865, d. 313/925). See GAL 1/267–271 no. 9/1; GALS 1/417–421 no. 9/1; Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam*, 132f.; Nağmābādī, *Muʾallafāt wa muṣannafāt*, 43ff. no. 2.
87. ***Maqāmāt*** of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d. 516/1122). On him, see EI2 3/221f. (D. S. Margoliouth and Ch. Pellat). On the genre of the *maqāma* and its reception beyond the boundaries of Islam, see Itzhaki, "La *maqāma*."
88. ***Maqāmāt*** of Badīʿ al-zamān Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamaḏānī (d. 398/1008). On him, see GAL 1/93f. no. 3; GALS 1/150–152 no. 3; EI2 3/106f. (R. Blachère); EncIslam 4/76–80 (E. Fatehi-Nezhad).

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89. ***Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*** of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111). For editions and translations into various languages, see www.ghazali.org/site/oeuvre-p.htm (accessed February 3, 2017).
90. ***K. Maqra'*** of ʿĀṣim b. Abī l-Naǧūd Bahdala al-Kūfī al-Asadī (d. 127/745 or 128/746). On him, see EI2 1/706f. (A. Jeffery); EI3 2013-1/30 (A. Neuwirth). A facsimile of a Yemeni manuscript based on one of the versions of this work has been published under the title *al-Qurʾān al-karīm: Ǧamʿan bayn qirāʾatay Nāfiʿ wa-ʿĀṣim ʿan nusḫa farīda bi-l-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr fī Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Yaman*.
91. ***K. al-Marātib fī manāqib Amīr al-muʾminīn wa-sayyid al-waṣiyyīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib***, by Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Ǧīlī al-Bustī (fl. late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh centuries), edited by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Anṣārī al-Qummī. On Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī, see the editors' introduction to his *K. al-Baḫṯ ʿan adillat al-takfīr wa-l-tafsīq*. See also below → 103.
92. ***K. al-Maṣābīḥ*** of Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī (fl. first half of the fourth/tenth century), a work that Ḥasanī's student, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Bilāl al-Āmulī, later supplemented. The work has been published as *al-Maṣābīḥ fī l-sīra wa-l-tārīḫ*. A partial edition was already included in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, Arabic section, 53–75; see also the English introduction, 17f.; EncIran 12/41 (W. Madelung).
93. ***K. Miḥnat al-muḏakkirīn wa-minḥat al-mutaḏakkirīn fī l-waʿẓ***. Nothing is known about the identity of this work.
94. ***K. Miškāt al-anwār*** of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111). See Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie*, 65f. no. 52; see also Landolt, "Ghazālī und *Religionswissenschaft*." The work has been published repeatedly. See also www.ghazali.org/site/on-mishkat.htm (accessed February 3, 2017) for additional references.
95. ***K. al-Muhaḏḏab fī l-maḏhab*** of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābāḏī al-Šīrāzī (b. 393/1003, d. 476/1083). See GAL 1/387. The book has been published repeatedly. For the author, see also → 79, 132.
96. ***K. Muḥāwarāt al-mulūk wa-l-udabāʾ***. Nothing is known about the identity of this title. It may refer to *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa-muḥāwarāt al-šuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaġāʾ* of al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī (fl. early fifth/eleventh century). See GAL 1/343 no. 8. These *Muḥāḍarāt* have been published repeatedly, e.g. Beirut, Dār maktabat al-ḥayāt, 1961. On him, see Key, *Linguistic Frame of Mind*.
97. ***K. al-Muktafī fī l-naqḍ ʿalā man yaqūlu bi-l-imām al-muḫtafī***, a Zaydī refutation by Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī al-Ḥasanī of the *K. al-Muqniʿ* of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. The work was brought to Yemen by al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang (→ 28). See al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 120, and ʿĪsawī et al., *Fihris*, 1/411 and 2/1846 (*maǧmūʿa* 3189/1, ff. 1–103), both referring to the only extant manuscript of the text, which was copied by al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang and is nowadays preserved in the Maktaba al-ġarbiyya of the Great Mosque of Sanaa. Here the title of the book is given as *al-Naqḍ al-muktafī ʿalā man yaqūlu bi-l-imām al-muḫtafī*. The author is Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī al-Ḥasanī, a student of Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b.

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Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033). Muḥammad b. Aḥmad's recension of al-Nāṭiq's *K. Ziyādāt Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, a supercommentary on the *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl* of the fourth/tenth-century Muʿtazilite theologian Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad Ibn Ḫallād al-Baṣrī, is preserved as MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Or. 2949 (= Ar. 2307). An *editio princeps* of this recension has been published as Adang et al., *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology*. For Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī and this work, see also Ansari, "Yik raddiyya-yi kuhansāl-i zaydī." See also Chapter 5 in the present volume.

The title page of MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *maǧmūʿa* 3189/1, reads as follows (see also Fig. 9.6):

النقض المكتفي على من يقول بالإمام المختفي عن السيد الإمام أبي القاسم محمد بن أحمد بن المهدي الحسني سقى الله ثراه وطيّب مثواه

مالكه العبد ...

أعانه الله على حفظ معانيه وغفر له ولوالديه آمين.

الحسيني المرعشي الرازي تاب الله عليه بتاريخ منتصف ربيع الآخر سنة خمس ستمائة [كذا] بحضرة شاذياخ حامدًا لربّه ومصليًا على نبيّه خاتم الأنبياء وعلى آله وأصحابه

On f. 103a the work concludes as follows:

تمّت الرسالة بتوفيق الله وعونه ببلدة شاذياخ عمّرها الله في مدرسة السيد الإمام مجد الدين يحيى بن إسماعيل الحسيني قدّس الله روحه سابع من جمادى الأولى سنة خمس ستمائة [كذا] على يد العبد المذنب المرتضى بن سراهنک الحسيني الرازي تجاوز الله عن سيئاته كتبه حامدًا لله عز وجل على آلائه ومصليًا على محمد خير أنبيائه وعلى آله وأصحابه

98. ***K. al-Muqtaraḥ fī l-ǧadal*** of Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Barawī al-Ṭūsī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 567/1171–72). The work has been published as *al-Muqtaraḥ fī l-muṣṭalaḥ*. For the author, see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 20/577; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam*, 11/279. On the work, see Miller, *Islamic Disputation Theory*, 163ff. Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ Muẓaffar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Miṣrī *al-maʿrūf bi*-l-Muqtaraḥ (d. 612/1215–16) later commented on the work (this being the reason why he is called "al-Muqtaraḥ"). The latter's *Šarḥ al-Iršād* was edited and studied in a doctoral dissertation by Fatḥī Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq (*Šarḥ Iršād al-Imām al-Ǧuwaynī li-Taqī al-Dīn al-Muqtaraḥ*).

99. ***"al-Musalsal."*** The term *musalsal* is used in *ḥadīṯ* transmission when all transmitters share a specific characteristic; for example, they use the same words or come from the same place. See Ibn Ṣalāh al-Šahrazūrī, *Muqaddima*, 165f. As a literary genre, *musalsal* works group together *ḥadīṯ* material with chains of transmitters to whom the same characteristic applies; see, e.g., al-Kattānī, *Fihris*, 2/655–666. Within this genre, *Silsilat al-ibrīz bi-l-sanad al-ʿazīz* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī al-Balḫī (d. 532/1137–38) was very popular among the Zaydīs and is most likely intended here. The work has been published repeatedly. On the transmission of this text among the Zaydīs, see ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār*, 1/33; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/173 no. 74. On the work, see also Ansari, "Kitābī az muʾallifī."

100. ***Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal***, dictated by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) to his son ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903), one of the largest of the third/ninth-century collections of *ḥadīṯ*

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to survive. On the work, see Melchert, "*Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal."

101. ***Musnad Mālik b. Anas*** (d. 179/796). Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177) transmitted the *Musnad* from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muẓaffar al-Rāzī; see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 215; see also ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd al-Qurašī, *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār*, 1/30. On one of the versions of the *Musnad*, see Muranyi, "*Kitāb Musnad ḥadīṯ*."
102. ***al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*** of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111). On the work, see Ḥammād, *Al-Ghazālī's Juristic Doctrine*.
103. ***K. al-Muʿtamad fī l-imāma*** of Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Ǧīlī al-Bustī (fl. late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh centuries). A partial manuscript of this work was discovered by Hassan Ansari; see his "Abū l-Qāsim-i Bustī wa-kitāb-i mansūb bih Ibn Biṭrīq," 68; Ansari, *Az ganǧīna-hā-yi nusaḫ-i ḫaṭṭī*, 187-192. See also above → 91.
104. ***Nahǧ al-balāġa*** of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015). See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 295 no. 461; Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 13–15. For the transmission of this work among the Zaydīs of Yemen, see Ansari, "Aḫbār al-dawla al-salǧūqiyya"; Ansari, "Nahǧ al-balāġa dar miyān-i Zaydiyya," See also below, Appendix II.
105. ***"al-Nāsiḫ wa-l-mansūḫ"*** of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) (→ 27). Al-Ǧišumī is not known to have written a work with this title.
106. ***Qūt al-qulūb fī muʿāmalat al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd***, by Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī (d. 386/996). See GAL 1/200; GALS 1/359 no. 8. For an annotated translation of the work, see *Die Nahrung der Herzen*. On the work, see also Khalil, "Abū Tālib al-Makkī."
107. ***al-Risāla al-tāmma fī naṣīḥat al-ʿāmma***, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) (→ 27). The work was originally composed in Persian and only posthumously translated into Arabic. See Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 190; Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 553–564.
108. ***Ruʾūs al-masāʾil fī l-fiqh*** of Ǧār Allāh Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamaḫšarī (b. 467/1075, d. 538/1144). The work has been published as *Ruʾūs al-masāʾil (al-Masāʾil al-ḫilāfiyya bayn al-Ḥanafiyya wa-l-Šāfiʿiyya)*. If indeed this work is intended here, this would be the earliest attestation of its availability in Yemen. Another possibility is that the reference is to *K. al-Muġnī fī ruʾūs masāʾil al-ḫilāf bayn al-Imām al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq ʿalayhi al-salām wa-sāʾir fuqahāʾ Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām wa-fuqahāʾ al-ʿāmma*, by ʿAlī b. Pīrmard al-Daylamī, which is preserved in two Yemeni manuscripts: MS Vatican ar. 1036, copied in Ǧumādā II 670/January 1272, and a manuscript in an unknown private library in Yemen. See Ansari, *Barrasī-hāyi tārīḫī*, 583-596; Ansari, "Nusḫa-yi tāza."
109. ***al-Safīna al-ǧāmiʿa li-anwāʿ al-ʿulūm***, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) (→ 27). See al-Wağīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 822. See also Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 507–522.
110. ***Ṣafwat al-iḫtiyār***, by al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (→ 2), on legal methodology; published. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/229 no. 2116.

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111. ***al-Šağara fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn***, published as a work of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) with the title *al-Šağara al-mubāraka fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyya*. Its authenticity as a work by Faḫr al-Dīn has been questioned by Hassan Ansari in *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 463–476.
112. ***Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī***, that is, *al-Ğāmiʿ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Buḫārī (b. 194/810, d. 256/870). See EI3 2012-2/54–58 (C. Melchert); Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*.
113. ***Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim***, that is, *al-Ğāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Abū l-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥağğāğ b. Muslim al-Qušayrī al-Naysābūrī (d. 261/875). See EI2 7/691f. (G. H. A. Juynboll); Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.*
114. ***K. al-Sāmī fī l-asāmī*** of Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124). See GAL 1/344 no. 9 (10); GALS 1/506; EI2 6/913f. (R. Sellheim). Several commentaries have been written on this Arabic-Persian dictionary of terms and words, among them an autocommentary entitled *al-Ibāna fī šarḥ al-Sāmī fī l-asāmī*. The *K. al-Sāmī* has been published repeatedly in lithograph edition during the second half of the nineteenth century; two more recent editions appeared in 1967. Al-Maydānī's son authored *al-Asmā fī l-asmāʾ*. A facsimile edition of the *Ibāna* was published by Muḥammad Dabīr Sīyāqī in his *Fihrist-i ālifbāʾī*. See also the edition of ʿAlī Ašraf Ṣādiqī in *Tarğuma-yi fārsī-yi al-Ibāna*.
115. ***Šams al-aḫbār al-muntaqā min kalām al-Nabī al-muḫtār***, by ʿAlī b. Muḥyī l-Dīn Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī (→ 16), composed in 610/1213. The work has been published as *Musnad Šams al-aḫbār al-muntaqā min kalām al-Nabī al-muḫtār*. On the work, see GALS 1/609 no. 15b; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/212f. no. 2069; Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 214ff.
116. ***Šarḥ al-Nukat wa-l-ğumal***, an autocommentary on *Nukat al-ʿibādāt wa-ğumal al-ziyādāt*, the renowned Zaydī work on *fiqh* by Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ğaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ğaʿfar," d. 573/1177). See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/62, 2/198 no. 2032. The work has been published repeatedly.
117. ***Šarḥ al-Taḥrīr***, also known under the title *al-Ğāmiʿ fī l-Šarḥ*, by Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Kalārī (fl. fifth/eleventh century), a commentary on the *K. al-Taḥrīr* of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 340/951–52, d. 424/1033). The *K. al-Taḥrīr* has been published. On the *Taḥrīr*, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 178f.; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/253 no. 701. On the author of *al-Ğāmiʿ fī l-Šarḥ* and extant manuscripts of the work, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/453f. no. 263; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 449f.
118. ***Šarḥ al-Ziyādāt***. Abū l-Qāsim b. Ṯāl al-Ustāḏ al-Hawsamī al-Daylamī collected the legal responsa and *fatāwā* of his teacher, the Zaydī *imām* al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020), into the *K. al-Ziyādāt*. Qāḍī Abū Muḍar Šurayḥ b. al-Muʾayyad later on wrote a commentary (*šarḥ*) on the *Ziyādāt*. See Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 214; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, p. 312f. no. 291, 478f. no. 474. See also → 65.
119. ***K. Šawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawāʿid al-tafḍīl fī l-āyāt al-nāzila fī Ahl al-Bayt***, by the Ḥanafite

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scholar ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī (d. after 470/1077–78). The work has been edited twice by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī. For this work, see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 330f. no. 542. On the author, see Bulliet, *Patricians of Nishapur*, 229f.; Chapter 10 in the present volume.

120. ***Sīra*** of the prophet Muḥammad by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār (b. 85/704, d. 151/768) in the recension of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hišām al-Ḥimyarī al-Baṣrī (d. 218/833 or 213/828). See GAL 1/141 no. 3; GALS 1/205ff.; GAS 1/288–290 no. 1, 1/297–301 no. 11. See also al-Ṭarābīšī, *Ruwāt Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq*; Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*; Rubin, *Life of Muḥammad*; Motzki, *Biography of Muḥammad*; Wim Raven, "Sīra and the Qurʾān."
121. ***Siyāsat al-murīdīn***, by al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020); published. On this work of mysticism, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 177; Madelung, "Zaydi Attitudes to Sufism." See also Ansari, "Waṣiyyat-i Ğunayd-i Baġdādī."
122. ***Tafsīr*** of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 69/687–88); see Rippin, "*Tafsīr* Ibn ʿAbbās"; Motzki, "Dating the So-Called *Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās*"; EI3 2012-1/30–43 (Cl. Gilliot).
123. ***Tafsīr al-Šihāb***, that is, *Šihāb al-aḫbār fī l-ḥikam wa-l-amṯāl wa-l-ādāb min al-aḥādīṯ al-marwiyya ʿan al-Rasūl al-muḫtār* of Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454/1062), which has been published repeatedly. Several commentaries have been written on the work; see GAL 1/418f. no. 3; GALS 1/584f. *Šihāb al-aḫbār* was popular among the Zaydīs, and there are several manuscripts of the work preserved in the libraries of Yemen. See al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 1/388–390, listing nine manuscripts of the text, among them a copy transcribed in Rayy in 554 AH. Upon personal inspection, this manuscript turned out in fact to be a commentary on the *Šihāb*, possibly by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, known as Ibn Funduq al-Bayhaqī (b. 490/1097, d. 565/1169). This may be the *tafsīr* that is meant here, as no other commentary on the work is known to have circulated among the Zaydīs. See Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 442–445. On the *Šihāb*, see also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 332f. no. 546. See also → 11.
124. ***Tafsīr al-Ṭūsī***, or *al-Bulġa fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm*, of Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥakam al-Ṭūsī. See Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāğim riğāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb [K. al-Ṭabaqāt fī ḏikr faḍl al-ʿulamā wa-ʿilmihim wa-muṣannafātihim]*, MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, f. 211a. See also al-Mašriqī and al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs yamānī*, 159f., where three manuscripts of this commentary are listed. On this work, see also Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫ*, 483–492.
125. ***K. al-Taǧrīd fi fiqh al-imāmayn al-aʿẓamayn al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm wa-ḥafiduhu al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn*** of al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020); published. Al-Muʾayyad also composed an autocommentary (*šarḥ*) on the work, which had been published twice. According to the text of the *iǧāza* (§ 9), a certain *al-faqīh* Dānišī al-Daylamī composed a *taʿlīq* on Abū l-Ḥusayn's *šarḥ*. Possibly

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the *Taʿlīq al-Taḥrīr* (*al-Taḥrīr fī l-kašf ʿan nuṣūṣ al-aʾimma al-naḥārīr* → 129) of *al-faqīh* Aḥmad b. Dāʿī al-Daylamī al-Tanhağānī *al-maʿrūf bi*-l-Dānišī is meant. On Dānišī, see Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, Arabic section, 170:5f. (Madelung erroneously refers to him as "Dābisī"). Dānišī is the author of a book titled *K. al-Ḥuğağ wa-l-burhān*. A work titled *Taʿlīq al-Tağrīd* was also composed by both Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fawāris and a certain Abū Yūsuf. For the two works, see Ibn Abī l-Riğāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/310f. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "New Source on Zaydī Scholarship".

126. ***Tahāfut al-falāsifa*** of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111). The work has been translated into English as *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*. For other editions and translations in various languages, see www.ghazali.org/site/oeuvre-p.htm (accessed February 3, 2017).
127. ***al-Tahḏīb fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān***, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) (→ 27). On the commentary, see Zarzūr, *al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī*; Mourad, "Revealed Text"; Mourad, "Towards a Reconstruction."
128. ***Taḥkīm al-ʿuqūl fī taṣḥīḥ al-uṣūl***, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) (→ 27). The work has been published in the edition of ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Waǧīh.
129. ***al-Taḥrīr fī l-kašf ʿan nuṣūṣ al-aʾimma al-naḥārīr***. See above → 117, 125.
130. ***Ţalāṭūn ḫuṭba***, referring to *ʿAǧab al-ḫuṭab* by Abū l-Faraǧ Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1201). See Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf al-ẓunūn*, 2/2128; GAL 1/505 no. 75y; Ismāʿīl al-Baġdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, Beirut ed., 1/522.
131. ***K. al-Talḫīṣ***. According to § 9 of the *iǧāza*, Abū l-Faraǧ Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1201) composed a work with this title. No other source confirms this information.
132. ***K. al-Tanbīh fī l-fiqh ʿalā maḏhab al-Imām al-Šāfiʿī*** of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābāḏī al-Šīrāzī (b. 393/1003, d. 476/1083). See GAL 1/484–486 no. 9; GALS 1/670. For the author, see EncIslam 2/158-164 (N. Kasa'i). See also → 79, 95. The work has been published repeatedly.
133. ***Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn ʿan [min] faḍāʾil al-ṭālibiyyīn***, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) (→ 27). The work has been published repeatedly.
134. ***Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma***, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) (→ 27). On the work, see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 477-482.
135. ***Taqāsīm al-ʿilal***, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (b. 251/865, d. 313/925). The work has been published as *Taqāsīm al-ʿilal = Kitāb al-Taqsīm wa-l-tašǧīr*. For this work, see also GAL 1/267–271 no. 9/1; GALS 1/417–421 no. 9/1; Nağmābādī, *Muʾallafāt wa muṣannafāt*, 80f., 309 no. 7.
136. ***Tārīḫ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*** of Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ǧarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). For recent scholarship on this work, see Rydving, *Al-Ṭabarī's History*.
137. ***K. al-Tuḥfa*** of Abū l-Faraǧ Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1201). Nothing is known about this work.
138. ***K. al-ʿUmda fī ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-aḫbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār***, by Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī al-Asadī Ibn al-Biṭrīq (d. 600/1203–4 or 601/1204-5). For the author and the work, as well as the latter's reception among the Zaydīs of

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Yemen, see Chapter 10 in the present volume.

139. ***K. Uṣūl al-aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām***, by al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī (d. 566/1170). See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/126f. no. 318; GALS 1/699 no. 2. The work has been published as *Uṣūl al-aḥkām al-ǧāmiʿ li-adillat al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*.
140. ***K. al-ʿUyūn fī l-radd ʿalā ahl al-bidaʿ***, by al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) (→ 27), together with his autocommentary, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*. The present writers are currently preparing critical editions of both works.
141. ***K. al-Waǧīz*** of Abū l-Fatḥ Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Wakīl, known as Ibn Barhān al-Šāfiʿī (b. 479/1087, d. 518/1124). He also wrote a *K. al-Wuṣūl ilā l-uṣūl* (published). On the author, see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 19/456f.; DMB 3/102f. (Kāẓim Mūsawī Buǧnūrdī); George Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, s.v. "Abū 'l-Fatḥ b. Barhān."
142. ***al-Yāqūta fī l-waʿẓ***, by Abū l-Faraǧ Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1201). See GAL 1/505 no. 47; GALS 1/919 no. 47. The work has been published repeatedly.
143. ***Zād al-masīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr***, by Abū l-Faraǧ Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1201). See GAL 1/504 no. 33; GALS 1/918 no. 33. The work has been published repeatedly.
144. ***al-Ziyādāt*** → 118

*Places*

145. **Fusṭāṭ**, the first city founded in Egypt by the Muslims, which served as Egypt's capital until it burned down in 1168 CE. When the Fāṭimids founded Cairo as their new capital, the remains of Fusṭāṭ were absorbed into the new city. See Kawatoko and Shindo, *Artifacts of the Medieval Islamic Period*; Muḥammad, *al-Ḥaraka al-ʿilmiyya wa-l-adabiyya*; Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Egypte*. For Qarāfa, see EI2 4/424b, 425a–b, 428b, 429b (J. M. Rogers).
146. **Ḥūṯ**, located in the territory of Ḥāšid, an important center of learning during the period. See al-Ḥaǧarī, *Maǧmūʿ*, 1/213–226, 1/300; Ibn Diʿṯam, *al-Sīra al-šarīfa al-manṣūriyya*, passim.
147. **Ṣaʿda**, located about 250 kilometers north of Sanaa and situated on the southern edge of the Ṣaʿda plain. When Imam al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq (d. 298/911) established the Zaydī state in northern Yemen, he chose the city as its capital. Ṣaʿda subsequently developed into an important political and economic center and a focal point of Zaydī scholarship, a status it holds until today; see EI2 8/705f. (G. R. Smith); Niewöhner-Eberhard, *Ṣaʿda*.
148. **Zabīd**, located in the Tihāma coastal plain of Yemen. See al-Ḥaǧarī, *Maǧmūʿ*, 1/381ff.; EI2 11/370f. (N. Sadek); Croken, *Zabîd under the Rasulids*; see also al-Ḥaḍramī, *Zabīd*; al-Yamanī, *Tārīḫ al-Yaman*; Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Buġyat al-mustafīd*.
149. **Ẓafār**, located about 130 kilometers south-southeast of Sanaa, the ancient capital of the South Arabian kingdom of Ḥimyar. During the reign of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (→ 2), the city served as a fortress, and it was here that the *imām* founded his library.

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It was only in the 1920s that the holdings of the *imām*'s library were transferred from Ẓafār to Sanaa, into the Ḫizāna al-mutawakkiliyya (now the Maktabat al-awqāf, "al-Šarqiyya," of the Great Mosque), which was founded by Imam al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (d. 1367/1948). For the early history of the city, see EI2 11/379f. (W. W. Müller); Yule, *Late Antique Arabia: Ẓafār*.

## Appendix II

The *Nahǧ al-balāġa*, the renowned collection of speeches and sayings by Imam ʿAlī b. Ṭālib compiled by al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) (→ 104), was mostly unknown among the Zaydīs in Yemen prior to the seventh/thirteenth century. Thereafter it became extremely popular there, as indicated by the numerous commentaries on the work by Yemeni Zaydī authors over the following centuries: (1) *al-Dībāǧ al-waḍī fī l-kašf ʿan asrār kalām al-Waṣī* by Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (b. 669/1270–71, d. 749/1348–49); (2) *al-ʿIqd al-naḍīd al-mustaḫraǧ min Šarḥ Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd* by Faḫr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Hādī b. al-Imām Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī al-Zaydī al-Yamanī (d. end of eighth/fourteenth century); and (3) Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Ǧaḥḥāf's (d. 1102/1690–91) *Iršād al-muʾminīn ilā maʿrifat Nahǧ al-balāġa al-mubīn*.

The following channels of transmission of the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* to Yemen can be identified. Some of these are attested in Šuʿla's *iǧāza* for al-ʿAnsī as well as in other *iǧāza*s; others can be gleaned from the data contained in the various extant manuscripts of the work that are of Yemeni provenance.

1. The Yemeni scholar **Sadīd al-Dīn ʿAmr b. Ǧumayl** transmitted the work from his teacher **Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧuwaynī al-Nīsābūrī** (d. after 600/1203–4), with whom he had studied in Šāḏyāḫ in Nīsābūr. Ibn Ǧumayl included the work and his *isnād* for it in an *iǧāza* he issued on 3 Rabīʿ II 606/October 5, 1209, to **Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf** (d. 623/1226) (→ 22) and to **Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza** (d. 614/1217) (→ 2). In the same year, Ibn Ǧumayl granted an identical *iǧāza* to **Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Ṣanʿānī** (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254) (for Ibn Ǧumayl and his *iǧāza*s, see Chapter 1 in the present volume; for al-Muḥallī, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/395–397 no. 976; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/833–839 no. 527; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 736f. no. 801; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 126 no. 12). Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ, in turn, studied with both Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī, as he indicates in the present *iǧāza* (§§ 4–5, 6–10).
2. The Ḫurāsānian Zaydī scholar **Tāǧ al-Dīn Zayd (or Aḥmad) b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī al-Ḥāǧǧī** (→ 31) came to Yemen in 610/1213–14, and in the same year (Šawwāl 610/February–March 1214) he issued an *iǧāza* to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd (→ 22), Šuʿla's teacher, which is quoted in § 9 of the present *iǧāza*. It includes numerous titles by al-Ġazālī, al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, and al-

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Zamaḫšarī as well as other works by Šīʿī and Sunnī authors. Although neither the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* nor its commentary, the *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa*, are mentioned in this context, Aḥmad al-Ḥāǧǧī was the second transmitter of the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* and the *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa* to Yemen, as he was a direct student of **al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Saraḫṣī** (fl. late sixth/twelfth and early seventh/thirteenth centuries), the author of the *Aʿlām*, as well as of Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl al-Ǧuwaynī al-Nīsābūrī.

3. In § 11 of the present *iǧāza*, Šuʿla further states that he studied the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* with his teacher Bahāʾ al-Dīn **ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akwaʿ** (alive in 627/1229–30) (→ 14).
4. **Al-Šarīf Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī al-Marʿašī** (→ 28) had likewise studied with Tāǧ al-Dīn Zayd (or Aḥmad) b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī al-Ḥāǧǧī (→ 31) in Ḫurāsān and, like his teacher, came to Yemen (in 624/1327) (see § 12 of the present *iǧāza*), also bringing along the two works, *Nahǧ al-balāġa* and *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa*. Al-Miswarī, in his *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt* (MS al-Šāyim, p. 491), cites an *iǧāza* issued by al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang for Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza in Rabīʿ II 637/November 1239, allowing the latter to transmit the *Nahǧ al-balāġa*. In this document he provides his own *isnād* for the work:

[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وهذه إجازة من السيد العلامة المرتضى بن سراهنك رضي الله عنه من خط يده:] سمع الأمير الشريف السيد الأجلّ العالم الورع الكامل الرضي عز الملة والدين شمس الإسلام والمسلمين نظام الملة شرف العترة ذخر الأنام تاج الطالبية افتخار الأمراء السادة محمد بن أحمد بن أمير المؤمنين المنصور بالله عبد الله بن حمزة عليه السلام أعلى الله قدره وضاعف مجده كتاب نهج البلاغة من كلام أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام من أوله إلى آخره جمعه الشريف الرضي ذو الحسبين أبو الحسن محمد بن الطاهر ذي المناقب أبي أحمد الحسين بن موسى الموسوي رضي الله عنه وأجزتُ له روايته عني وكذلك الفقيه الأجل سديد الدين محمد بن أسعد بن المنعم الصعدي وأنا أروي عن الشيخ الأجلّ العالم معين الدين أحمد بن زيد الحاجي البيهقي البروقني وهو يرويه عن السيد الإمام مجد الدين يحيى بن إسماعيل الحسيني الجويني رضي الله عنه بشاذياخ وأنا بريء من التصحيف والتحريف بالمشهد المقدس المنصور بالله (تصحيح في الهامش: مشهد المنصور بالله، ظ) عليه السلام في ربيع الآخر سنة سبع وثلاثين وستمائة كتبه المرتضى بن سراهنك المرعشي الحسيني تم والحمد لله على جوده

Šuʿla, who studied with al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang, states that he also transmits these works from his teacher (§ 12). Moreover, Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī is known to have studied the *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa* with him in Ḏū l-Qaʿda 638/May–June 1241. Al-Muḥallī cites the *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa* in his *Maḥāsin al-azhār fī manāqib imām al-abrār*, 196.

Moreover, a collective manuscript preserved in the private library of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim in Hiǧrat Fallala contains two works, the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* (Fig. 9.1) and the *Aʿlām nahǧ al-balāġa* (Fig. 9.5) (see al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/82 no. 33; the editor of the *Aʿlām*, ʿAzīz Allāh al-ʿAṭārudī, did not consult this manuscript when preparing his edition). The codex contains an *iǧāza* Šuʿla issued for Manṣūr b.

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Masʿūd b. ʿAbbās b. Abī ʿAmr, the scribe of the manuscript, and for Sulaymān b. Šurayḥ, dated Rağab 637/January–February 1240. Šuʿla explains that while Manṣūr was reading the text, Sulaymān was listening (*wa-ḥaḍara l-samāʿ*). Šuʿla then compared the reading to his own copy (*nusḫa ṣaḥīḥa*) that had been collated with a copy of the text transcribed by al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang.

On p. 195 of the codex (Fig. 9.2), the text of *Nahǧ al-balāġa* ends as follows, indicating that the present codex has been transcribed from a copy produced by al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang:

تم كتاب نهج البلاغة بلطف الله تعالى وعونه فله الحمد. ونُقل من نسخة بخط **السيد الشريف | الفاضل شرف الدين أبي طالب المرتضى بن سراهنك المرعشي الحسيني** والحمد لله وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وآله | يتلو ذلك شرح نهج البلاغة إن شاء الله تعالى | وهو المعروف بالأعلام

On the left margin of the same page, there is the following *balāġ* note:

بلغ معارضة وتصحيحًا وحراسةً على نسخة الأصل بحمد الله تعالى ومنه

And at the bottom of that page is the *iǧāza* issued by Šuʿla to his students Manṣūr and Sulaymān for the *Nahǧ al-balāġa*:

سمع هذا الكتاب المسمى بنهج البلاغة قراءة من أوله الى آخره الشيخ الفاضل الكامل **منصور بن مسعود بن عباس** وحضر السماع الفقيه السيد العالم **سليمان بن شُريح** وأنا أنظر في نسخة صحيحة معارضة بنسخة السيد الفاضل الشريف العالم شرف الدين شيخ العترة الطاهرة التي قرأتُها عليه وهو **المرتضى بن سراهنك الحسيني المرعشي** وأجزتُ لهما رواية ذلك ولمن أحبّ من الإخوان أيد الله بهم الدين وكثّرهم في العالمين وكتب العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله **أحمد بن محمد الأكوع** في شهر الله الأصم رجب سنة سبع وثلاثين وستمائة والحمد لله حقّ حمده وصلواته على رسوله سيدنا محمد وآله وسلامه وهو حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

Page 196 of the codex (Fig. 9.3) contains two additional *iǧāza*s that attest to the transmission of the work over the following centuries. The first of the two *iǧāza*s (dated Ǧumādā I 789/May–June 1387) is placed in the center of the page. In it, the *muǧīz*, al-Muṭahhar b. Amīr al-muʾminīn al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Muḥammad b. Amīr al-muʾminīn al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā (d. late eighth/fourteenth century), declares that he studied the work with Aḥmad b. Ḥumayd b. Saʿīd al-Ḥāriṯī, a Zaydī *faqīh*:

حسبي الله وحده سمع عليّ الولد الفقيه الطاهر الجواد التقي جمال الدين **بشر بن محمد بن علي الغطوفي** كتاب نهج البلاغة وأنا أرويه من طريق حي سيدنا جمال الدين **أحمد بن حميد** نفع الله به بطريق السماع عليه رحمه الله وكذلك أرويه من طريق سيدي ووالدي أمير المؤمنين في مواقف شتى وقد أجزتُه أن (؟) يرويه على طريق أهل السماع ‡...‡ في مواقف آخرها يوم الثلاثاء في العشر الأخرى من جمادى الأولى من سنة تسع وثمانين وسبعمائة وكتب **المطهّر بن أمير المؤمنين** عفا الله عليه بحقّه العظيم (+ [بخط آخر] الواثق بالله)

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At the top of the same page there is another *iǧāza* (dated 1050/1640–41), which reads as follows:

لما كان من تفضلات الله على عبده الفقير إلى الله ‡...‡ بالمقابلة في هذا الكتاب الجليل على نسخة صحيحة على (؟) يد سيدنا القاضي العلامة شمس الدين أحمد بن سعد الدين المسوري عافى الله تعالى ‡...‡ قواه ذلك نسخة سامية صحيحة لمولانا أمير المؤمنين المؤيد بالله حفظه الله تعالى وكانت النسخة هي النسخة المرجوع إليها لصحتها وضبطها وكونها أصحّ النسخ في هذه الديار في آخر شهر الحجة الحرام سنة خمسين وألف [بمدرسة الأمير صح] كتب علي بن داوود بن الهادي وفّقه الله تعالى ‡...‡ وذلك بحضرة الإمام عليه السلام (+ [إضافة في خط آخر] وقد تداولتها أيدي العلماء وخطوطهم شاهدة بذلك والله الموفّق)

Page 197 of the codex (Fig. 9.4) has two additional *iǧāza*s, issued in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

Page 199 (Fig. 9.5) contains the title page of the *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa*, and it reads as follows:

كتاب اعلام نهج البلاغة تأليف السيد الامام الامجد الاطهر المرتضى حسيب الأبوين وأفضل من في الخافقين ملك السادة والنقباء علي بن ناصر الحسيني السرخسي أطال الله بقاه وكبت بالذل حسدته وأعداه

In the middle of the same page, the following note indicates that Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī had a copy of the *Aʿlām Nahǧ al-balāġa* in his library:

نُقلت هذه الترجمة بلفظها من نسخة خزانة حي الفقيه حميد بن أحمد المحلي الشهيد رحمه الله تعالى نُسخ (أو: بتأريخ) شهر ربيع الآخر من سنة ثلاثين وألف سنة من الهجرة النبوية المحمدية على صاحبها أفضل الصلوات والسلام وعلى آله الطيبين الطاهرين ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم

On the final page of the codex (Fig. 9.6), the text of the *Aʿlām* concludes with the following colophon by the scribe of the manuscript, Šuʿla's student Manṣūr b. Masʿūd b. ʿAbbās b. Abī ʿAmr, dated Šaʿbān 635/March–April 1238:

تمّ الكتاب بعون العزيز الوهّاب وكان تمامه يوم السبت لثلاث خلون من شهر شعبان سنة خمس وثلاثين وستمائة بخطّ منصور بن مسعود بن عباس بن أبي عمرو والحمد لله وصلواته على سيدنا المصطفى وعترته وسلامه عليه وعليهم أجمعين

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1252, ff. 160b–161a contains a copy of the same *iǧāza* issued by Šuʿla in Raǧab 637/February 1240 to Manṣūr b. Masʿūd b. ʿAbbās b. Abī ʿAmr and Sulaymān b. Šurayḥ, who had studied the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* with him (see Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 374 no. 193; see also Ansari, "Nahǧ al-balāġa dar miyān-i Zaydiyya").

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Figure 9.1: MS Hiğrat Fallala, Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim, title page of the *Nahğ al-balāġa.*

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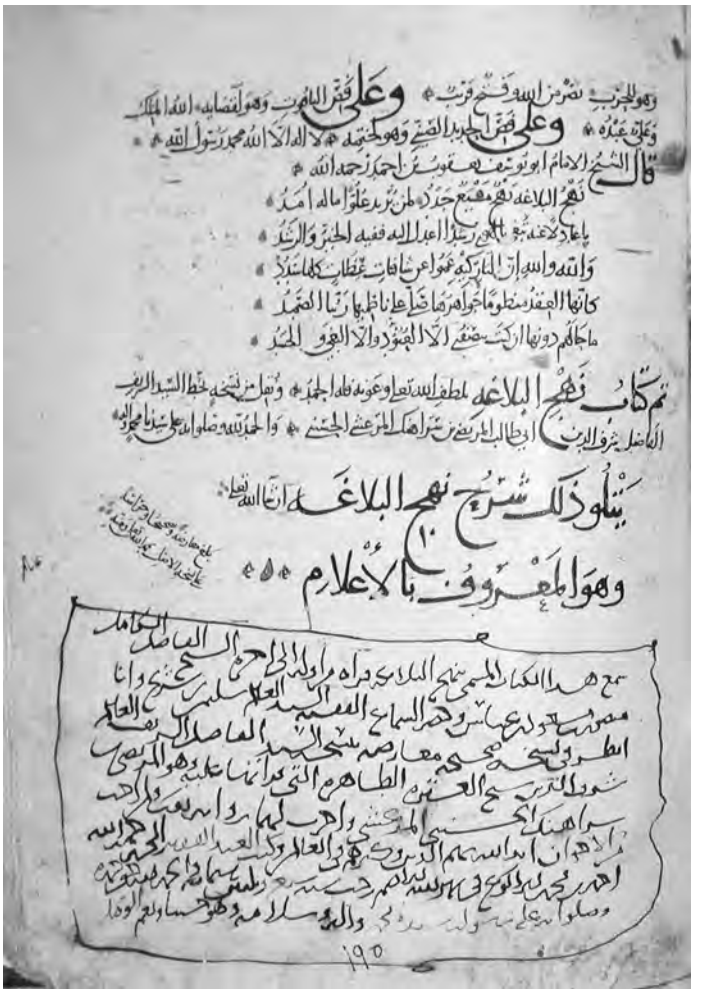


Figure 9.2: MS Hiğrat Fallala, Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim, p. 195.

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Figure 9.3: MS Hiğrat Fallala, Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim, p. 196.

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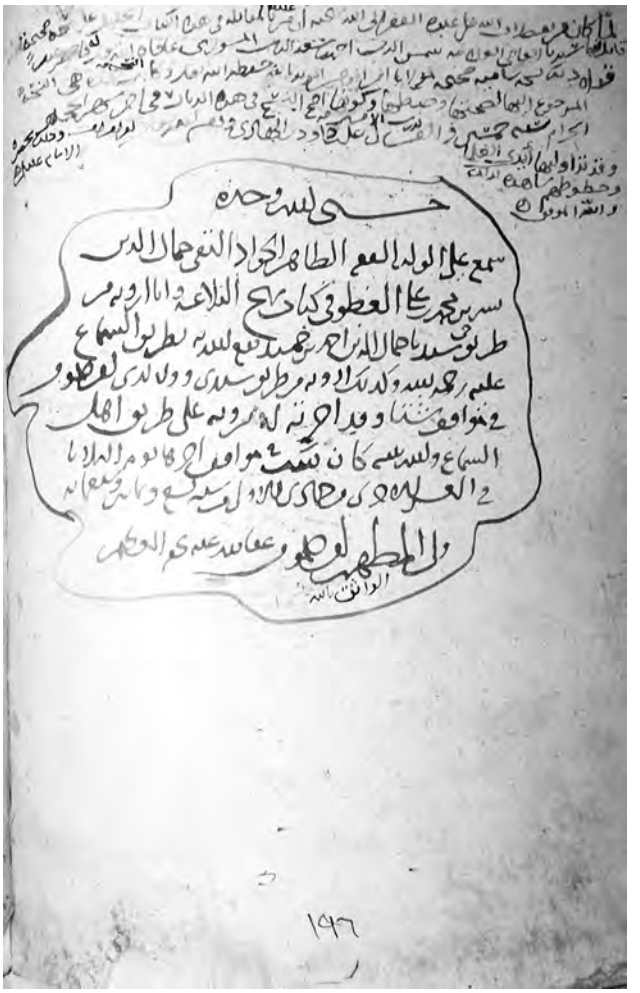


Figure 9.4: MS Hiğrat Fallala, Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim, p. 197.

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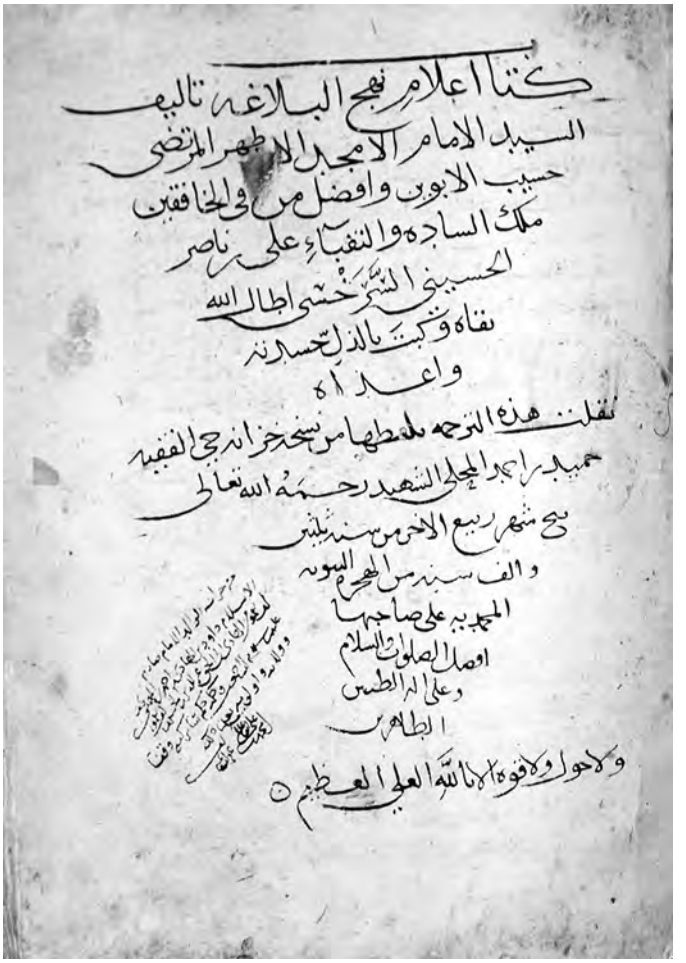


Figure 9.5: MS Hiğrat Fallala, Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim, p. 199.

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Figure 9.6: MS Hiğrat Fallala, Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim, final page.

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Figure 9.7: MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, *maǧmūʿa* 3189/1, f. 1a.

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# Chapter 10
# Between Aleppo and Ṣaʿda: The Zaydī Reception of the Imāmite Scholar Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī

## I.

At the beginning of the early sixth/twelfth century, a rapprochement began between the two Zaydī states in the mountainous northern highlands of Yemen and in the Caspian region of northern Iran, which had been politically and culturally separated for nearly three centuries. This rapprochement eventually resulted in the political unification of the two communities. In 502/1108 Abū Ṭālib, a great-grandson of Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh (d. 411/1020), rose in Gīlān, claiming the Zaydī imamate. A few years later, in 511/1117, he was endorsed by the Yemenī Zaydīs as well. Abū Ṭālib was eager to unite the two Zaydī communities not only politically but also culturally and religiously. Although Abū Ṭālib *al-aḫīr* died in 520/1126, his legacy continued beyond his death. In 532/1137, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (b. 500/1106, d. 566/1170) successfully rose in Yemen as al-Imam Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh, expressly acknowledging the equality of the Zaydī *imām*s of the Caspian region and maintaining the unity of the Zaydīs. In addition, he encouraged the transfer of knowledge from Iran to Yemen. His successor, Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), whose claim to the Zaydī imamate in 593/1197 was acknowledged by the Zaydīs of Yemen and the Caspian region alike, further intensified the transfer of religious literature to Yemen. Moreover, he founded a library in Ẓafār, his town of residence, for which he had a wealth of textual sources copied by a team of scholars and scribes. The scope of the literary sources that were transferred during this process from northern Iran to Yemen is well known with respect to the Muʿtazilite and Zaydī literature. But there were also Twelver Šīʿī sources that reached Yemen during this period, despite the inimical relations between the two communities. Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh himself was engaged in the controversy with the Imāmiyya, whose basic tenets regarding the imamate he refuted in his *K. al-ʿIqd al-ṯamīn*.[1] At the same time, he cherished a number of Twelver Šīʿī writings that had reached Yemen during this period. A prominent example is the *K. al-ʿUmda fī ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-aḫbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* by the Imāmite

1. See Jarrar, "Al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh's Controversy." For a brief history of the polemical exchanges between the two communities, see Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 169ff. On the Imāmite sources that were available to Zaydī authors of northern Iran, see Ansari, "Zaydiyya wa manābiʿ-yi maktūb-i Imāmiyya."



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scholar Abū l-Ḥusayn Šams al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Ḥillī ("Ibn al-Biṭrīq," d. 600/1203–4 or 601/1204–5).[2] Ibn al-Biṭrīq was a prominent scholar of *ḥadīṯ*, *fiqh*, and *kalām* who hailed from al-Ḥilla and who had studied with the leading Imāmite scholars of his time, among them ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī (d. after 553/1158), Ibn Šahrāšūb (d. 588/1192), and Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204). While he spent his later life between al-Wāsiṭ and al-Ḥilla, he is known to have sojourned for some time in Aleppo, one of the leading centers of Twelver Šīʿī learning in his time.[3] Ibn al-Biṭrīq was closely familiar with the Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* tradition, on the basis of which he composed his *ʿUmda*, containing numerous pro-ʿAlid traditions culled from Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* collections,[4] followed by a supplement entitled *al-Mustadrak al-muḫtār fī manāqib waṣī al-muḫtār* (extant in manuscript). He also wrote the *K. Ḫaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn fī manāqib Amīr al-muʾminīn*, which is concerned with pro-ʿAlid Qurʾānic passages.[5] While the latter two works apparently did not reach Yemen (see below), the significance of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* for the Zaydīs of Yemen, including al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, was tremendous, as it served them as a principal source of Sunnī traditions supporting the cause of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the *Ahl al-Bayt* in their battle against the Šāfiʿites in Yemen who were polemicizing against Šīʿism at a time when the Zaydīs had hardly any independent access to Sunnī works of *ḥadīṯ*.[6]

## II.

When discussing the renowned seventh/thirteenth-century Yemeni Zaydī *mutakallim* and legal scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (b. 593/1196–97, d. Šaʿbān 667/April 1268) in his *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt*, Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Miswarī (b. 1007/1598, d. 1079/1668) describes in some detail a collective volume transcribed by this scholar.[7] Al-Miswarī explains that the codex contained ʿAbd Allāh's transcriptions of Abū Saʿd al-

2. On him, see DMB 2/483–485 (H. Ansari). Additional biographical information on Ibn al-Biṭrīq is included in Ibn al-Šaʿʿār al-Mawṣilī, *Qalāʾid al-ǧumān*, 7/219–222 no. 914. A *balāġ* note in the hand of Ibn al-Biṭrīq is found in a copy of *Iḫtiyār maʿrifat al-riǧāl* (*Riǧāl al-Kaššī*) of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī that was completed on 14 Rabīʿ I 577/July 28, 1181 = *nusḫa alif* in the edition of Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī. An image of the relevant page is to be found on p. 22 of the introduction.

3. See Chapter 13 in the present volume.

4. The work has been published repeatedly.

5. This work has been published twice. On the work, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 7/175 no. 907.

6. It should be noted, however, that al-Manṣūr bi-llāh also received an *iǧāza* from Sadīd al-Dīn ʿAmr b. Ǧamīl [Ǧumayl] for the transmission of several Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* works, most importantly the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buḫārī (see Chapter 1 in the present volume; see also al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *Šāfī*, 1/149–156). However, it seems that it was only through Ibn al-Biṭrīq that he had immediate access to this work and to the other Sunnī canonical sources.

7. A copy of the *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt* is preserved in the private library of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim; the relevant entry is to be found on pp. 470–476. See al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/127f. no. 178. For al-Miswarī, see

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Muḥassin b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī's ("al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī," d. 494/1101) *K. Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn ʿan faḍāʾil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, completed on 2 Rabīʿ II 644/August 17, 1246, and of the *K. al-ʿUmda* of Ibn al-Biṭrīq, completed on 7 Ǧumādā II 644/October 20, 1246, both in Ṣaʿda. Wedged in between these two writings, al-Miswarī continues, was a copy of the Ḥanafite scholar al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī al-Nīsābūrī's (d. after 470/1077–78) *K. Šawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawāʿid al-tafḍīl fī l-āyāt al-nāzila fī Ahl al-Bayt*, transcribed by ʿAbd Allāh's nephew, Muḥammad b. Asʿad, except for the first part of the work, up to *Sūrat al-Ḥaǧǧ*, which was in the hand of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd himself. Al-Miswarī adds that the codex contained an *iǧāza* issued in Raǧab 644/November 1246 by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwaʿ ("Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ")[8] for ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī in Ḥūṯ;[9] he quotes the *iǧāza* in full in his *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt*.[10]

A collective manuscript that nowadays belongs to the Maktabat Āl al-ʿAnṯarī in Ṣaʿda can safely be identified as the codex described by al-Miswarī.[11] The *maǧmūʿa* consists of 299 leaves and is incomplete in the beginning and particularly towards the end, with numerous leaves misplaced. The *iǧāza* mentioned by al-Miswarī is no longer included. The following is an outline of the contents of the codex.

1. Ff. 1a–6b, 15a–41b[12] contain ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī's copy of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn*.[13] Some lines at the beginning of the text, as well as the title page, are missing.[14] The text concludes with a colophon (f. 41b:28–29, Fig. 10.1) dated 13 Rabīʿ II 644/August 28, 1246. This agrees with the date provided by al-Miswarī (2 Rabīʿ II 644) except for the day of the month:

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

2. Ff. 42a–174a contain a copy of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥaskānī's *Šawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawāʿid al-tafḍīl fī l-āyāt al-nāzila fī Ahl al-Bayt* that is partly written in the hand of ʿAbd Allāh al-

Chapter 7 in the present volume, Appendix, no. 7 (with further references). For ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī, see our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*.

8. For him, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/454f. no. 224. See also Chapter 8 in the present volume.

9. Ḥūṯ, located in the territory of Ḥāšid, was an important center of learning at the time; see al-Ḥaǧarī, *Maǧmūʿ*, 1/213–226, 300; Ibn Diʿṯam, *al-Sīra al-šarīfa*, passim.

10. An annotated edition of the *iǧāza*, with analysis, is provided in Chapter 8 in the present volume.

11. For this library, see Roper, *World Survey*, 2/659f.

12. The foliation is ours.

13. The work has been edited repeatedly, although none of the editors has consulted the present codex.

14. The beginning of the text corresponds to p. 4:3 in Anṣārī Qummī's edition.

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ʿAnsī (ff. 42a–93a) and partly in the hand of his nephew, Muḥammad b. Asʿad (ff. 93b–174a).[15] At the beginning of the work (f. 42a, Fig. 10.2), ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī states:

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

This note is followed by two brief texts of a few lines each, apparently copied in a different hand. These are identified as (1) *Nusḫat Kitāb al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī ʿalayhimā l-salām ilā ahl Baṣra fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar wa-huwa l-kitāb allaḏī raǧaʿa ilayhi ǧamīʿ ahl al-ʿilm bi-l-Baṣra* (f. 42a:6–15) and (2) *Asmāʾ ahl al-kahf* (f. 42a:15–19). In the margin of the title page, there are three twentieth-century *samāʿāt*, respectively dated Ǧumādā II 1377/December 1957–January 1958, 1377/1957–58, and 1378/1958–59, testifying to the popularity of the codex in the study of *ḥadīṯ*. The text of the *Šawāhid* ends with a colophon (f. 174a, Fig. 10.3) by Muḥammad b. Asʿad (dated 2 Šawwāl 644/February 10, 1247), in which he states:[16]

> وكان تمام كتاب شواهد التنزيل | لقواعد التفضيل | بخط الفقير إلى رحمة ربه محمد بن أسعد بن زيد العنسي المذحجي | بعد صلوة الظهر نهار الأحد ثاني عيد الفطر من شوال سنة | أربع وأربعين وستمائة | بمدينة صعدة المحروسة بالمشاهد المقدسة النبوية | على ساكنها أفضل السلام والتحية | وصلّى الله على محمد خير البرية وعلى عترته الطاهرة المرضية | وسلّم وشرّف وكرّم

Muḥammad b. Asʿad b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥusayn (?) b. Sulaymān b. Abī l-Ḥusayn (?) b. Kulayb al-ʿAnsī al-Maḏḥiǧī is mostly known as a scribe. He twice transcribed the *K. al-Maḥaǧǧa al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, the magnum opus of his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd in Ṣaʿda. A copy comprising parts 2, 3, and 4 of the work was completed on 20 Rabīʿ II 640/October 17, 1242, the same day given by the author as the date of completion, which suggests that ʿAbd Allāh dictated the work, possibly from a *muswadda*, to his nephew, reflecting their close working relationship.[17] Another copy, comprising parts 1 through 4, was completed on 14 Rabīʿ II 641/October 1, 1243.[18] From Muḥammad b. Asʿad's pen we also have a copy of volumes 1 and 5 of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *al-Tahḏīb fī l-tafsīr*, tran-

15. The work has been edited twice by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī, who did not consult the present manuscript. For this work, see also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 330f. no. 542. For the author, see Bulliet, *Patricians of Nishapur*, 229f.

16. On the final page of the text, there are again numerous *samāʿāt* and readers' notes, most of them dating from the twentieth century.

17. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1273, f. 152b (Fig. 10.7). See Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 406–408 no. 214. See also Chapter 11 in the present volume.

18. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286, f. 224b (Fig. 10.8). See Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 433f. no. 226. See also Chapter 11 in the present volume.

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scribed in 644/1246–47 (volume 5), preserved in the private library of the Āl Wazīr in Hiğrat al-sirr.[19] In the same year, Muḥammad transcribed a collective manuscript comprising *Miftāḥ al-fāʾiḍ fī ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* by al-Faḍl b. Abī l-Saʿd al-ʿUṣayfirī (fl. 600/1203) (ff. 3–28a; incomplete in the beginning) and *al-Muhaḏḏab fī fatāwā al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza ʿalayhi l-salām* by Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Murādī (ff. 28b–127; incomplete in the end), which is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan.[20]

3. Ff. 7–14, 175a–299 contain an incomplete copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *al-ʿUmda fī ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-aḫbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār*, again in the hand of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī (with the exception of f. 289b, which is in the hand of his nephew Muḥammad b. Asʿad). The leaves are misplaced; the correct order is as follows (with the corresponding pages in the Muʾassasat al-našr al-islāmī edition of the *ʿUmda* given in brackets): ff. 175a–282b [=1–351:4], 7 [= 351:4–354:9], 9 [= 354:9–357:14], 298 [= 357:14–361:3], 284–285 [= 361:3–368:11], 283, 286–287 [= 374:5–383:1], 299 [= 383:1–386:3], 8 [= 386:2–389:6], 14 [= 389:6–392:15], 10 [= 392:15–395:19], 288–297 [= 395:19–431:8], 11 [= 431:8–434:13], 13 [=437:19–440:16], 12b–a [= 458:19–463:2]. At the beginning of the text (f. 175a, Fig. 10.4), al-ʿAnsī names himself as the owner of the copy of the text:

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

ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd completed the transcription of part 1 of the *ʿUmda* in Ğumādā I 644/September 1246. This is in agreement with the information provided by al-Miswarī that the transcription of the entire text was completed on 7 Ğumādā II 644/October 20, 1246; the final colophon is missing in the present codex. The colophon concluding part 1 of the work and announcing part 2, written in alternating black and red lines (f. 243b, Fig. 10.6), reads as follows:[21]

نجز الجزء الأول من عيون صحاح الأخبار في مناقب إمام الأبرار علي بن | أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه وسلامه والحمد لله وحده وصلواته | على سيدنا محمد النبي وآله وسلامه وافق الفراغ منه يوم الخميس |

19. See al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/365f.

20. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. H 70. See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 4/244f. no. 1692. On f. 28a Muḥammad b. Asʿad adds the following note, dated Raǧab 644/November–December 1246, concluding *al-Miftāḥ* and announcing *al-Muhaḏḏab*:

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

The work has been edited by ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Waǧīh.

21. The beginning of part 2 corresponds to Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *ʿUmda*, Muʾassasat al-našr al-islāmī ed., 224 (*al-Faṣl al-ṯāmin wa-l-ʿišrūn*).

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

The dates of the various colophons suggest that ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd had first transcribed the *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* (13 Rabīʿ II 644), followed by the *Šawāhid*, of which he copied only the first part, leaving a sufficient number of leaves blank for his nephew to complete the task (on 2 Šawwāl 644), and continuing immediately to the *ʿUmda*, which he finished transcribing on 7 Ǧumādā II 644. It is noteworthy that ʿAbd Allāh transcribed these works at an age at which he had already established himself as a scholar. This confirms the characteristic phenomenon of the scholar-*cum*-scribe that is encountered frequently in Yemen during this period.[22]

## III.

The inclusion of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* in the present codex is particularly noteworthy. While the two other works, al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *Tanbīh* and al-Ḥaskānī's *Šawāhid*, discuss Qurʾānic passages that were taken to support ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the *Ahl al-Bayt*, Ibn al-Biṭrīq is concerned in his *ʿUmda* with pro-ʿAlid traditions culled from Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* collections, dealing with relevant Qurʾānic passages in one chapter only.[23] It would have been more apt to include Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Ḫaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn*, which is exclusively concerned with pro-ʿAlid Qurʾānic passages and is as such much closer to the theme of the two other works. That this was not the case is an indication that the *Ḫaṣāʾiṣ* was not available to the scholars of Yemen.[24]

The present copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*, which was not consulted by the editors of the text, predates most (if not all) manuscripts of the work that have been transmitted in Twelver Šīʿī circles.[25] The title page of the work (f. 175a, Fig 10.4) contains the text of

22. See Chapter 1 in the present volume.

23. A complete list of his Sunnī sources, together with Ibn al-Biṭrīq's chains of transmission, is given at the beginning of the *ʿUmda*, Muʾassasat al-našr al-islāmī ed., 18–23 (*Faṣl fī ḏikr ṭuruq asānīd hāḏā l-Kitāb*).

24. This is also suggested by the general absence of references to the work in any of the preserved *iǧāza*s by Yemeni scholars since the sixth/twelfth century. See, for example, Chapter 7 in the present volume.

25. Dirāyatī (*Fihristwāra*, 7/627 nos. 194797–194818) lists twenty-two manuscripts of the text in Iranian libraries, the earliest one dating to the seventh/thirteenth century (MS Tehran, Mağlis, no. 8981; the manuscript seems to be of Yemeni provenance [see Figs. 10.12–14], followed by manuscripts copied on 5 Rağab 867/March 26, 1463, and 10 Šawwāl 982/January 23, 1575, respectively (both held in

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an *iǧāza* issued by Ibn al-Biṭrīq in Aleppo for ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī and his "son" Yāqūt in Ǧumādā I 596/February 1200. This is followed by another *iǧāza* issued in turn by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid for ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak al-Akwaʿ, dated 17 Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa 598/September 7, 1202. The full title page reads as follows:

> كتاب العمدة في عيون صحاح الأخبار في مناقب | إمام الأبرار أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب وصي المختار | صلى الله عليه وعلى ذريته الأئمة الأطهار تصنيف | الشيخ الإمام الأجلّ الأوحد العالم الفاضل الفقيه شمس | الدين نجم الإسلام تاج العلماء سديد النطق مفتي آل الرسول | عليهم السلام أبي الحسين يحيى بن الحسين (؟) بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق | الأسدي الحلي ضاعف الله مجده وجدّد سعده | وفي الأصل أيضًا قرأ عليّ هذا الكتاب من أوله الى آخره الشيخ الأجل العالم | عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني أيده الله وسمع | بقرائته ولده الموفّق ياقوت وأجزتُ لهما روايته عني متى يشاء (؟) كتبه | يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلي بمحروسة | حلب في غرة جمادى الاولى من سنة ست وتسعين وخمسمائة ولله المنة والحمد | وفي الأصل أيضًا ناولتُ علي بن أحمد بن الحسين بن المبارك الأكوع هذا | المجلد وأخاه[26] وهما يشتملان على مناقب أهل البيت عليهم السلام وأجزتُ لهما (كذا) روايتهما | عني عن المصنف وكتب علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني في سابع عشر | من ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة والحمد لله وحده وصلواته على محمد وآله

The formula *nāwaltu* as well as the fact that the two *iǧāza*s were copied from the original (*wa-fī l-aṣl ayḍan . . .*) indicate that the codex, on the basis of which ʿAlī b. Muḥammad had studied the work with Ibn al-Biṭrīq in Aleppo, eventually reached Yemen and served ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī as *Vorlage*.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid is mentioned in the Zaydī *ṭabaqāt* literature among Sunnī scholars who were consulted by the Zaydīs.[27] Nothing else is known about his religious identity, which remains uncertain. While his affiliation with Ibn al-Biṭrīq in Aleppo could also suggest that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was a Twelver Šīʿī, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Atıf Efendi 2421 points to an affiliation with (Ḥanbalite) Sunnism. The codex contains a copy of Ibn al-Miʿmār al-Baġdādī's *Muḫtaṣar Nihāyat al-amal fī ʿilm al-ǧadal* that was copied in Ramaḍān 605/March–April 1209 by Yāqūt b. ʿAbd Allāh, the servant (*ġulām*) of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Ṣanʿānī al-Hamdānī (f. 156b), followed by an *iǧāza* issued by Ibn

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the ʿAllāma al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī Library in Shiraz, nos. 951, 952). MS Qum, Marʿašī, no. 2997, another collective manuscript of Yemeni origin, contains, among other writings, Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* (ff. 69b–144b) and al-Ḥaskānī's *Šawāhid al-tanzīl* (ff. 1b–68a). It was copied by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Suhayl and completed on 13 Šaʿbān 1381/January 20, 1962. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist*, 8/169–171. For manuscripts of the *ʿUmda* in Iran, see also al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāṯ al-ʿarabī*, 9/137. For the two Shiraz manuscripts, see Barakat, "Fihrist alifbāʾī," 196f. MS Shiraz 951 also seems to be of Yemeni origin.

26. "*Wa-aḫāhu*" most likely refers to volume 2 of the *ʿUmda*.

27. Al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1523–1527 no. 864.

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al-Miʿmār to Yāqūt at the beginning of Šawwāl 606/end of March 1210. Again, Yāqūt's relation to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad is clearly defined here as *al-muḍāf ilā mawlāhu al-sayyid al-awḥad al-ṣadr al-kabīr ʿAfīf al-Dīn Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Yamanī* (f. 159b).[28] Ibn al-Biṭrīq was evidently wrong when he assumed that Yāqūt was ʿAlī b. Muḥammad's son (see above).

Additional pieces of information on ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid are included in a Yemeni manuscript containing Ibn al-Maġāzilī al-Wāsiṭī's (d. 483/1090) *Manāqib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* that was (indirectly) based on a *Vorlage* transcribed by the Twelver Šīʿī scholar Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Nizār Ibn al-Šarafiyya al-Wāsiṭī in 585/1189–90 in Wāsiṭ.[29] The transmitter of the text, ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī (d. after 630/1232–33), was a prominent seventh/thirteenth-century Zaydī scholar of Yemen[30] who had studied Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib* with Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Akwaʿ on the basis of Ibn al-Šarafiyya's copy of the work in 599/1203 and had transcribed his own copy of the text in 623/1226.[31] He specifies his *isnād* for the *Manāqib* at the beginning of the text (ʿImrān being the subject of *aḫbaranā*, which opens the passage):

> ... أخبرنا الفقيه الأجل الزاهد **بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين الأكوع** قراءةً عليه وأنا أسمع في جمادى الآخرة من سنة تسع وتسعين وخمس مائة بمسجد المدرسة المنصورية بقرية حوث، قال: أخبرنا **علي بن محمد بن حامد الصنعاني اليمني** بمكة حرسها الله تعالى في العشر الوسطى من شهر ذي الحجة آخر شهور سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمس مائة مناولةً قال: أخبرنا **أبو الحسن علي بن أبي الفوارس بن أبي نزار**

28. For a brief description of the manuscript, see Şeşen, *Muḫtārāt min al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, 158f. no. 222; Şeşen, "Esquisse d'une histore," 200 no. 21. The manuscript was consulted by Miller, *Islamic Disputation Theory*, 170ff.

29. The manuscript of Yemeni origin was part of the Kitābḫāna-yi islāmī, Tehran. The current status of this library is unclear, and the current whereabouts of the codex are unknown. Copies of the original manuscript are preserved in the Marʿašī Library in Qum (MS Marʿašī *ʿaksī* 187; see Ḥāʾirī, *Fihrist-i nusḫahā-yi ʿaksī*, 1/170f.), and in the Central Library of Tehran University (see Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfīlmhā*, 3/31). See also al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Ahl al-Bayt*, 578–584 no. 720; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 10/69 no. 273574. The codex also contains the text of the *iǧāza* issued by Ibn al-Biṭrīq to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid and his "son" Yāqūt for the *ʿUmda*, followed by the other *iǧāza* issued by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad to ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Akwaʿ (in the margin of p. 1, written in a different hand; see Fig. 10.15). Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib* was edited on the basis of the Yemeni manuscript by Muḥammad Bāqir Bihbūdī, who describes its transmission in detail (pp. 32ff.). This edition has been reprinted repeatedly in Beirut with parts of the editor's introduction usually being omitted. Another edition of the text, based on another Yemeni manuscript (dated 16 Ramaḍān 1288/November 29, 1871), was later produced by Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Wādiʿī. On Ibn al-Šarafiyya, erroneously considered the author of *ʿUyūn al-ḥikam wa-l-mawāʿiẓ*, which contains utterances of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, see Ansari, "Ibn al-Šarafiyya." On Ibn al-Maġāzilī, see DMB 4/647f.

30. On him, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/395–397 no. 976; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/833–839 no. 527; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 736f. no. 801; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 126 no. 12.

31. See Ibn al-Maġāzilī, *Manāqib*, ed. Bihbūdī, 329; see also MS Marʿašī *ʿaksī* 187 (Fig. 10.16).

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**ابن الشرفية**، قال: أخبرنا الشيخ المعمّر صدر الدين المقرىء صدر الجامع بواسط **أبو بكر ابن الباقلاني المقرىء**، والقاضي **جمال الدين نعمت الله بن العطّار**، والقاضي الأجل العدل **عزّ الدين هبة الكريم ابن الحسن بن الفرج بن علي بن حبانش** رحمه الله رواه في شهر الله الأصمّ رجب من سنة إحدى وتسعين وخمسمائة قال: أخبرنا القاضي الأجل **أبو عبد الله محمد بن محمد بن الطيب الجلّابي** رحمه الله تعالى قال: أخبرني أبي العدل **أبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن الجلابي** الخطيب المصنف رحمه الله المعروف **بابن المغازلي** قال: ...

ʿImrān's chain of transmission complements the information provided by the *iǧāzāt* of Ibn al-Biṭrīq and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid. ʿImrān explains that he studied the text of Ibn al-Maġāzilī with his teacher Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Akwaʿ in the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūṯ in Ǧumādā II 599/February–March 1203, and that the latter had studied the text with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid in Mecca (where the latter evidently sojourned before he went to Baghdad; see above). It can therefore safely be assumed that it was also in Mecca that Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Akwaʿ had studied Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad and that it was Bahāʾ al-Dīn who brought the *ʿUmda* and the *Manāqib* from Mecca to Yemen, subsequently transmitting them to his students. Moreover, according to ʿImrān, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad had studied the text of Ibn al-Maġāzilī with Ibn al-Šarafiyya, possibly in al-Wāsiṭ.

Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akwaʿ (alive in 627/1229–30)[32] was a companion of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh who had studied with the latter while also serving as a transmitter for him. When studying with al-Manṣūr Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān b. al-Nāṣir al-Suḥāmī's (d. after 600/1203–4) *Šams šarīʿat al-islām fī fiqh Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām*[33] from Rabīʿ II 601/December 1204 onwards, Bahāʾ al-Dīn noted down al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *fatāwā*, which the latter had issued while reading *Šams al-šarīʿa*. These notes, which continue until the *K. al-Kaffāra*, are known as *al-Iḫtiyārāt al-manṣūriyya*.[34] It was al-Manṣūr bi-llāh who had dispatched Bahāʾ al-Dīn to Mecca, where the latter met ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid, and it is therefore through Bahāʾ al-Dīn that al-Manṣūr transmits from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad.[35] Apart from the *Iḫtiyārāt al-manṣūriyya*, Bahāʾ al-Dīn also composed *al-Aḫbār al-arbaʿūn al-wasīla ilā Rabb*

32. On him, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/194–198 no. 581; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/698–703 no. 416. His father, Aḥmad, and his son ʿAbd Allāh were also renowned scholars. For the family of al-Akwaʿ, see al-Akwaʿ, *Hiǧar al-ʿilm*, 4/2110–2127 no. 403. The Berlin State Library holds a collective manuscript containing writings of Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (MS Glaser 101, copied in Šaʿbān 544/1149) that had been studied by Bahāʾ al-Dīn; the manuscript contains several *balāġ* notes in his hand. For a brief description of the codex, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 4/290f. no. 4876.

33. For the work and its author, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/375–377 no. 642; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/478–481 no. 281; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 2/213f. no. 2071. For extant manuscripts of this text, see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 470f. no. 466.

34. The work is extant in manuscript. See al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 653f. no. 680.

35. See al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *Šāfī*, 1/149 and passim.

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*al-ʿālamīn min faḍāʾil Amīr al-muʾminīn*, clearly an extract of Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib Amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*.[36]

ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī opens the main text of the *ʿUmda* with his own chain of transmission linking him to the author of the work. From this, it is evident that Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Akwaʿ had in turn transmitted the work to his student Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Šuʿla, who had then taught it to his student ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd, the copyist of the present copy of the text, who thus had the original Aleppo codex as his immediate *Vorlage*. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's *isnād* (f. 175b2–8, Fig. 10.5) reads as follows:

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

The Ambrosiana Library in Milan possesses another manuscript of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* that adds additional information on the transmission of the work among the Zaydīs of Yemen.[37] The title page (f. 2a, Fig. 10.9) indicates title and author in the same way as does ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's copy of the text:

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

Moreover, the text opens with the same *isnād* as that given by ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī, indicating that the work was transmitted from the author Ibn al-Biṭrīq → ʿAlī b. Muḥammad

36. Published as al-Akwaʿ, *al-Aḫbār al-arbaʿūn*. At the beginning of the text (13f.), al-Akwaʿ mentions his chain of transmission in detail:

فقد أخبرني الشيخ الأجل النجيب **عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني** أيده الله بمكة حرسها الله في شهر ذي الحجة من شهور سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة، قال: أخبرنا الشيخ الإمام الأجل الأوحد العالم الفقيه شمس الدين نجم الإسلام تاج العلماء سديد النطق أبو الحسين **يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلّي** ضاعف الله مجده قراءةً عن الشيخ المعمر صدر الدين المقري صدر الجامع بواسط **أبو بكر بن عبد الله بن منصور بن عمران الباقلاني المقري** عن القاضي العدل أبي عبد الله **محمد بن علي بن محمد بن محمد الجلابي** رحمه الله تعالى عن أبيه القاضي العدل أبي الحسين **علي بن محمد بن محمد بن الجلابي الخطيب الشافعي المعروف بابن المغازلي الواسطي** قال ...

This chain of transmission shows that al-Akwaʿ had decided to compose an extract of the traditions adduced by Ibn al-Maġāzilī as collected in the *ʿUmda*, and this despite the *isnād* that links him directly to Ibn al-Maġāzilī's text.

37. MS Ambrosiana ar. C 96. See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/170 no. 352.

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b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī → ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak al-Akwaʿ → Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Šuʿla (f. 2b, Fig. 10.10):

> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين أخبرنا الشيخ الأجل العالم الفاضل **أحمد بن محمد بن القسم الأكوع** قراءةً عليه قال أخبرنا الفقيه الفاضل الإمام **بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين المعروف بالأكوع** (+ رضي الله عنه، إضافة في الهامش) مناولةً قال أخبرنا **عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني** مناولةً في سابع عشر من ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمس مائة قال أخبرنا **يحيى بن الحسين بن الحسن بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلّي** بمحروسة حلب في غرّة جمادى الأولى من سنة ستّ وتسعين وخمسمائة قراءة وهو المصنّف لهذا الكتاب...

The copy of the text is also divided into two volumes, and the wording at the end of volume 1 (f. 137b, Fig. 10.11) is identical with that given in the codex transcribed by ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī. While the copyist of the Ambrosiana manuscript is unknown, there is an additional note on f. 137b in the hand of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's older contemporary Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Ṣanʿānī (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254), another prominent Yemeni Zaydī scholar,[38] stating that he had collated the copy with the one that was read to Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak al-Akwaʿ and that he had completed this task on 1 Šaʿbān 640/January 24, 1243. Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī further mentions that he had studied the *ʿUmda* with ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Akwaʿ and that he had received an *iǧāza* from his teacher for the work. The complete note reads as follows:

> نجز الجزء الأول من عيون صحاح الأخبار في مناقب إمام الأبرار علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه وسلامه | يتلوه في الجزء الثاني قوله صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم لعلي عليه السلام خاصف النعل والحمد لله ربّ العالمين وصلواته على سيد المرسلين محمد وعلى أهل بيته الطيبين وصحبه المكرمين وسلامه | قوبل على النسخة الواردة من الشبام وهي النسخة المسموعة لمن روينا عنه وأجازها لنا وهو الفقيه الفاضل بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد رضي الله عنه وصحح ذلك بقدر الإمكان وفرغ منه في أول شعبان سنة أربعين وستمائة وكتب مالك الكتاب حميد بن أحمد بن محمد المحلي حامدًا لله تعالى على عميم نواله ومصليًا على سيدنا محمد وآله.[39]

The wording of this note and the similarities between the two copies indicate that both ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's copy and the one in the possession of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī had been transcribed from the original Aleppo codex of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*—al-Muḥallī's some time before 640/1243 by an unknown scribe, and al-ʿAnsī's in 644/1246. Moreover, while al-Muḥallī had studied the work directly with Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Akwaʿ, ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī,

38. On him, see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2/245–251 no. 520; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/421–424 no. 247; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 407–410 no. 408; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 127f. no. 13.

39. See also the title page (f. 2a, Fig. 10.9), where al-Muḥallī is identified as the owner of the codex.

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who was some ten to fifteen years younger than al-Muḥallī, had an additional intermediary, namely, Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ.

The Maktabat Āl al-Wazīr in Hiğrat al-Sirr holds another copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* transcribed in the seventh/thirteenth or eighth/fourteenth century, comprising two volumes. The end of volume 1 contains Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *iğāza* for ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, "copied from the autograph" (*fī nusḫa ʿalayhā ḫaṭṭ al-muṣannif Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan*). It is evident that this copy also originated (directly or indirectly) from the Aleppo codex.[40]

Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* and Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib* were widely transmitted among the scholars of Yemen through Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Akwaʿ. Apart from al-Manṣūr bi-llāh,[41] Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Šuʿla (to whom Bahāʾ al-Dīn issued an *iğāza* in 627/1229–30),[42] and ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn is known to have taught the work(s) to his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad[43] and to ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd b.

40. See al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, 67 no. 121; al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/370f. no. 23. The manuscript was inaccessible to the present authors. Al-Ḥibšī's assumption that the manuscript had been copied in 596 AH is clearly mistaken, as is evident from the more detailed description of the manuscript given by al-Waǧīh. The libraries of Yemen possess additional copies of the work, most of which have been copied at a later stage: (1) MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, no. 446, copy dated 17 Raǧab 1086/October 7, 1675; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, 1/413; see also *Qāʾima bi-l-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muṣawwara*, 30 (MF 2192). (2) MS Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, no. 2664, dated Muḥarram 1052/April–May 1642; see ʿĪsawī [et al.], *Fihris*, 2/1518. (3) MS Maktabat Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Waǧīh, an undated codex that also contains *Ǧawāhir al-ʿiqdayn fī faḍāʾil al-šarafayn* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 911/1505–6) (published); the codex was available at the time of al-Miswarī and al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and his son al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad, with a *balāġ* note of al-Miswarī. See al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/629. (4) MS Maktabat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Šāyim, a codex containing al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* (copied in 1051/1641–42) and Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*; see al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/97. Initially the codex also contained *Šawāhid* and may very well have been copied from the al-ʿAnsī codex. (5) Another old, though undated manuscript of volume 2 of Yemenite origin is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library, MS Ambrosiana ar. F 245; see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 4/123 no. 1538. It is unclear whether it was copied in Yemen or elsewhere. (6) The Berlin State Library also holds a manuscript of Yemeni provenance (MS Glaser 24) containing excerpts of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* that was compiled in 1149/1736; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 9/220f. no. 9687. The manuscript has been edited as "Ibṭāl šubah al-mutaʾawwilīn li-naṣṣ wilāyat Amīr al-muʾminīn li-muʾallif maġhūl" by Muḥammad al-Kāẓim. On this edition, see also Ansari, "Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī," 68.

41. According to Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Muṭahhar b. al-Qāsim (d. 728/1327–28), he transmitted the *Manāqib Ibn al-Maġāzilī* through his father who in turn transmitted from al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/1072f. no. 678.

42. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/698–703 no. 416. Both works are also explicitly mentioned by Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ in his *iğāza* for ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī. See also Chapter 8 in the present volume. Moreover, Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258) had also studied the *ʿUmda* with Šuʿla; see Chapter 8 in the present volume, § 7 (Arabic text).

43. ʿAbd Allāh, in turn, transmitted the *ʿUmda* to his student Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan *al-maʿrūf bi-*bn Abī l-Riǧāl

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Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī (d. 635/1237–38).[44] He also taught Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib* to Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad (or Ḥumayd) b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226),[45] to al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAlī b. al-Muẓaffar al-ʿAlawī al-ʿAbbāsī, and to *al-qāḍī* Manṣūr b. Ismāʿīl b. Qāsim al-Ṭāʾī.[46]

Among Bahāʾ al-Dīn's contemporaries and students, the impact of Ibn al-Biṭrīq as a transmitter of Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* and specifically of his *ʿUmda* is most visible in al-Manṣūr billāh's works. In his *al-Risāla al-nāfiʿa bi-l-adilla al-wāqiʿa fī tabyīn al-Zaydiyya wa-maḏāhibihim*, al-Manṣūr quotes 180 Sunnī traditions from Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*, so that the work may in fact be considered an extract of the *ʿUmda*.[47] The *ʿUmda* also had a significant impact on al-Manṣūr's *K. al-Šāfī*. This is evident from al-Manṣūr's presentation of his chains of transmission for the various Sunnī sources:[48] not only do these go in each case through Ibn

(d. 730/1329–30), one of the prominent Zaydī scholars of his lifetime. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/972f. no. 615; cf. 2/618f. no. 373.

44. He is the son of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226) (see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 677f. no. 713) and the author of *Šams al-aḫbār al-muntaqā min kalām al-Nabī al-muḫtār*, in which he provides the following chain of transmission for this work (see also our *Licence to Transmit*, volume 2, text 4):

ومن ذلك كتاب العمدة في عيون صحاح الأخبار تصنيف الشيخ الإمام الأجل الأوحد العالم الفاضل الفقيه شمس الدين فخر الإسلام أبي الحسين يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلّي والطريق في ذلك هو ما أخبرني الفقيه الأجل الفاضل **بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين المعروف بالأكوع** مناولةً في مدة من سنة تسع وتسعين وخمسمائة بالمدرسة المنصورية بحوث قال أخبرنا **عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني** مناولةً في سابع عشر من ذي الحجّة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة قال أخبرنا **يحيى بن الحسين المصنّف** يبلغ به النبي صلّى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلّم.

45. See the *isnād* for Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib* as given in Ibn al-Walīd's *al-Ǧawāb al-nāṭiq al-ṣādiq*, 122. For evidence that Ibn al-Walīd had his own copy of the *Manāqib*, see Ibn al-Maġāzilī, *Manāqib*, 330; MS Marʿašī *ʿaksī* 187, p. 157 (Fig. 10.16). On Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurašī, see Chapter 1 in the present volume.

46. See the following two *iǧāza*s quoted in Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib*, 330f.; see also MS Marʿašī *ʿaksī* 187, p. 157 (Fig. 10.16). The text here is given according to the manuscript:

الله حسبي قد أجزت للأمير الأجل السيد الأمير نظام الدين ولي أمير المؤمنين المفضّل بن علي بن المظفّر العلوي العباسي كتاب المناقب لابن المغازلي، أن يرويه عنّي على الوجه الصحيح بشروط السّماع، وناولته ذلك، وكتبه علي بن أحمد بن الحسين الأكوع في شهر الحجّة من شهور سنة اثني عشر وستمائة وكذلك أجزت ذلك للقاضي الأجل منصور بن إسماعيل بن قاسم الطائي على الوجه الصحيح في الوقت المؤرّخ والسلام وصلّى الله على محمد وآله

47. *K. al-Risāla al-nāfiʿa bi-l-adilla al-wāqiʿa fī tabyīn al-Zaydiyya wa-maḏāhibihim wa-ḏikr faḍāʾil Amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām wa-taqrīr adilla ʿalā l-Imāmiyya wa-sunan man ḫaraǧa ʿan al-Šīʿa al-muḥiqqīn min al-Imāmiyya wa-l-Bāṭiniyya wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya*, in *Maǧmūʿ rasāʾil al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza*, 1/381–491. The editor traces each *ḥadīṯ* in Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* in the annotation.

48. Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, *Šāfī*, 1/149–179 (as a rule al-Manṣūr refrains from explicitly mentioning the *ʿUmda*), 3/392. Here al-Manṣūr states:

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

Specifically for Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib*, al-Manṣūr also mentions an alternative *isnād* via Ibn al-Šarafiyya (*Šāfī*, 1/172f.):

**ومن ذلك إسناد كتاب المناقب لابن المغازلي**: أخبرنا الفقيه الأجل الزاهد **بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين الأكوع** مناولةً في شهر جمادى الأولى سنة تسع وتسعين وخمسمائة، قال: أخبرنا **علي بن محمد بن حامد الصنعاني اليمني** بمكة حرسها الله في العشر الوسطى من شهر ذي الحجة آخر شهور سنة ثمان

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al-Biṭrīq, but their presentation is also modeled on the latter's presentation of his *asānīd* at the beginning of the *ʿUmda*.[49] Ibn al-Biṭrīq also serves al-Manṣūr as a principal source in his *al-ʿIqd al-ṯamīn*, a book that is directed against the Imāmiyya. Despite its polemical character, al-Manṣūr refers to Ibn al-Biṭrīq whenever he mentions Sunnī sources about the *faḍāʾil* of the *imām*s.[50] The transmission through Ibn al-Biṭrīq is also significant in the chapter devoted to *al-aḥādīṯ fī l-Mahdī ʿalayhi l-salām*,[51] in which al-Manṣūr's principal source is Ibn al-Biṭrīq's otherwise lost *Kašf al-maḫfī fī manāqib al-Mahdī*.[52] Another Yemeni scholar to use Ibn al-Biṭrīq extensively is Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī in his *Maḥāsin al-azhār fī manāqib imām al-abrār wa-wālid al-aʾimma al-aṭhār al-Imām Amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib ʿalayhi l-salām*. The author gives his chain of transmission for Sunnī materials as Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī ← Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn ← ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī ← Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Biṭrīq al-Asadī al-Ḥillī. . . .[53] Ḥumayd also transmits Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib* using the alternative chain of transmission through Ibn al-Šarafiyya: Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī ← Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Akwaʿ ← ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī ← ʿAlī b. Abī l-Fawāris Ibn al-Šarafiyya. . . .[54] Al-Manṣūr

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وتسعين وخمسمائة مناولة، قال: أخبرنا **أبو الحسن علي بن أبي الفوارس بن الشرفية**، قال: أخبرنا الشيخ المعمر صدر الدين المقري صدر الجامع بواسط أبو بكر بن الباقلاني المقري، والقاضي جمال الدين نعمة الله بن العطار، والقاضي العدل عز الدين هبة الكريم بن الحسن بن الفرج بن علي بن حبانش رحمه الله تعالى رواه في شهر الله الأصب رجب سنة إحدى وسبعين وخمسمائة، قالوا: أخبرنا القاضي أبو عبد الله محمد بن علي بن محمد بن الطيب الجلّابي رحمه الله تعالى قال: أخبرني أبي العدل أبو الحسن علي بن محمد الجلّابي الخطيب المصنف رحمه الله تعالى.

49. Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *ʿUmda*, Muʾassasat al-našr al-islāmī ed., 18–24.

50. See, e.g., *al-ʿIqd al-ṯamīn*, 71f., where he provides the following *isnād*:

أخبرنا الفقيه الأجل الفاضل **بهاء الدين علي بن أحمد بن الحسين المعروف بالأكوع** في مدة من سنة تسع وتسعين وخمسمائة مناولةً قال: أخبرنا **عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني** مناولةً في سابع عشر من ذي الحجة من سنة ثمان وتسعين وخمسمائة قال: أخبرنا **يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد البطريق الأسدي الحلبي** بمحروسة حلب في غرة جمادى الأولى من سنة ست وتسعين وخمسمائة قراءةً قال ...

51. *Al-ʿIqd al-ṯamīn*, 204-17.

52. See Ansari, "Zaydiyya wa manābiʿ-i maktūb-i Imāmiyya," 156f. On Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Kašf*, see also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 213f. no. 258. On the basis of the quotations of the work in al-Manṣūr's *al-ʿIqd al-ṯamīn*, Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧalālī has reconstructed the work ("al-Ṭarīq ilā istiḫrāǧ kitāb mafqūd li-bn al-Biṭrīq").

53. Al-Muḥallī, *Maḥāsin*, 96f. (see also 305):

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

54. Al-Muḥallī, *Maḥāsin*, 44f. (see also 75f.):

أخبرنا به الفقيه الأجلّ الزاهد العالم المجاهد **بهاء الدين أبو الحسن علي بن أحمد بن الحسين الأكوع** رضى الله عنه مناولةً وإجازةً قال: حدّثنا **عفيف الدين علي بن محمد بن حامد اليمني الصنعاني** قال حدّثنا **ابو الحسن علي بن أبي الفوارس بن أبي نزار بن الشرفية** قال: حدثنا القاضي الأجلّ العدل **عزّ الدين هبة الكريم بن الحسن بن الفرج بن حبانش** رحمه الله في شهر اللّه الأصمّ رجب في سنة إحدى وسبعين وخمسمائة، قال: أنبأني جدّي القاضي **أبو عبد اللّه محمد بن علي بن محمد بن الطيب الجلاّبي** رحمه الله قال: أخبرني أبي العدل **أبو الحسن علي بن محمد الجلاّبي الخطيب** ...

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bi-llāh al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad[55] also quotes both Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* and Ibn al-Maġāzilī's *Manāqib* extensively in his *K. Anwār al-yaqīn fī imāmat Amīr al-muʾminīn*, composed in 638/1240–41. Ibn al-Biṭrīq's impact remains significant over the following centuries, as is visible in the *K. al-Iʿtiṣām bi-ḥabl Allāh al-matīn wa-ḥurmat al-tafarruq fī l-dīn* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1029/1620), where he is widely cited.[56] Moreover, al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh (d. 1156/1743) is also known to have studied the work.[57]

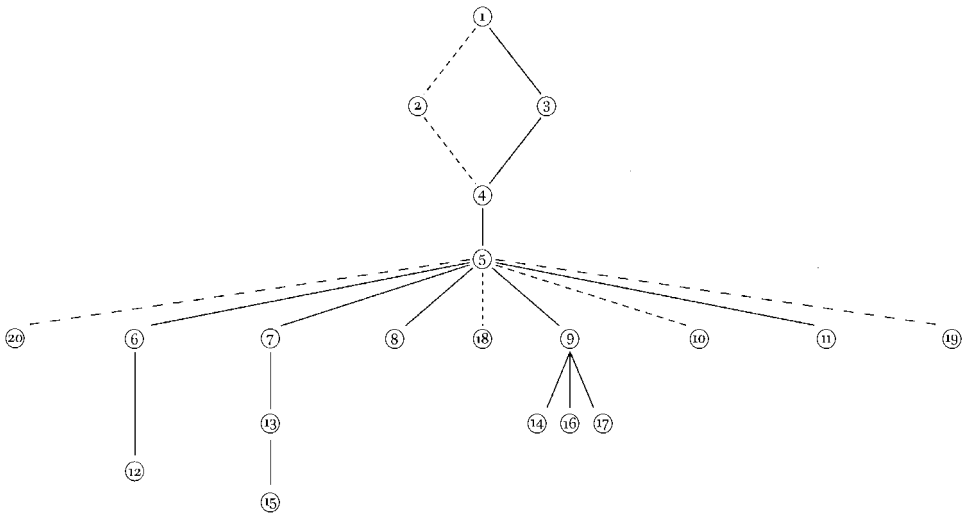
See also al-Muḥallī, *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya*, 1/8, 1/20f.

55. He is the brother of Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 662/1263–64 or 663/1264–65), the author of *K. Yanābīʿ al-naṣīḥa fī l-ʿaqāʾid al-ṣaḥīḥa*. For *Anwār al-yaqīn*, which is extant in manuscript, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/176 no. 474.

56. Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *Iʿtiṣām*, 1/45, 1/144. On the author, a Zaydī *imām* and founder of the Qāsimī dynasty, see al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 777–782 no. 839.

57. See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/325f. no. 184.

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1 = Ibn al-Maġāzilī (d. 483/1090) (author of *Manāqib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*)
2 = Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Nizār Ibn al-Šarafiyya al-Wāsiṭī
3 = Abū l-Ḥusayn Šams al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Ḥillī ("Ibn al-Biṭrīq") (d. 600/1203–4 or 601/1204–5) (author of *ʿUmdat ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-aḫbār*)
4 = ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī
5 = Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mubārak b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akwaʿ (alive in 627/1229–30)
6 = ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Akwaʿ (son of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Akwaʿ)
7= al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217)
8= Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Ṣanʿānī (b. 582/1186, d. 652/1254)
9= Aḥmad b. Muhammad Šuʿla (Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ)
10 = ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī (d. after 630/1232–3)
11 = ʿAlī b. Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī (d. 635/1237–8)
12 = Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan *al-maʿrūf bi*-bn Abī l-Riǧāl (d. 730/1329–30)
13 = al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Muṭahhar b. al-Qāsim
14 = ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (b. 593/1196–7, d. Šaʿbān 667/April 1268)
15 = Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Muṭahhar b. al-Qāsim (d. 728/1327–8)
16 = Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258)
17 = the unknown scribe of MS Ambrosiana C 96.
18 = Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad (or: Ḥumayd) b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226)
19 = al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAlī b. al-Muẓaffar al-ʿAlawī al-ʿAbbāsī
20 = *al-qāḍī* Manṣūr b. Ismāʿīl b. Qāsim al-Ṭāʾī

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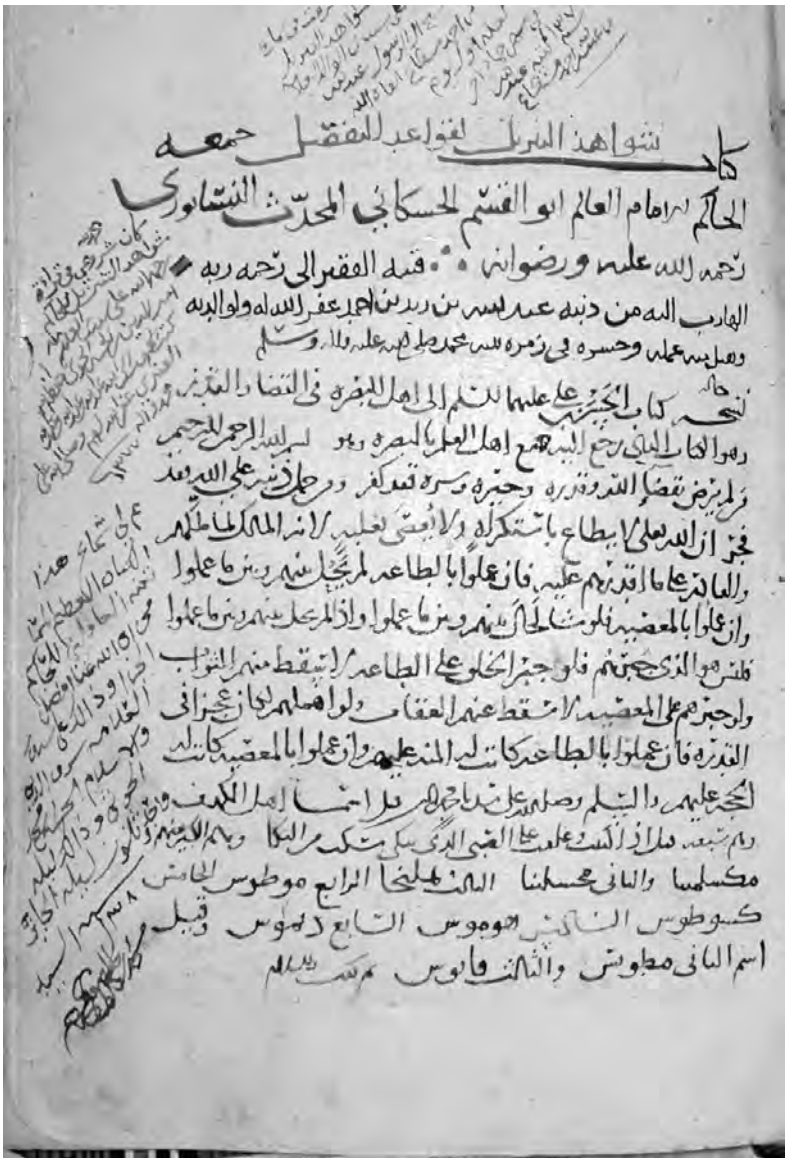


Figure 10.1: MS Ṣaʿda, Maktabat Āl al-Anṭarī (al-ʿAnsī codex), f. 41b: the last page of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī's copy of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn*, ending in a colophon (lines 28–29) dated 13 Rabīʿ II 644/August 28, 1246.

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Figure 10.2: MS Ṣaʿda, Maktabat Āl al-Anṭarī (al-ʿAnsī codex), f. 42a: the beginning of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's copy of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥaskānī's *Šawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawāʿid al-tafḍīl fī l-āyāt al-nāzila fī Ahl al-Bayt*. The text of the *Šawāhid* ends with a colophon by Muḥammad b. Asʿad dated 2 Šawwāl 644/February 10, 1247.

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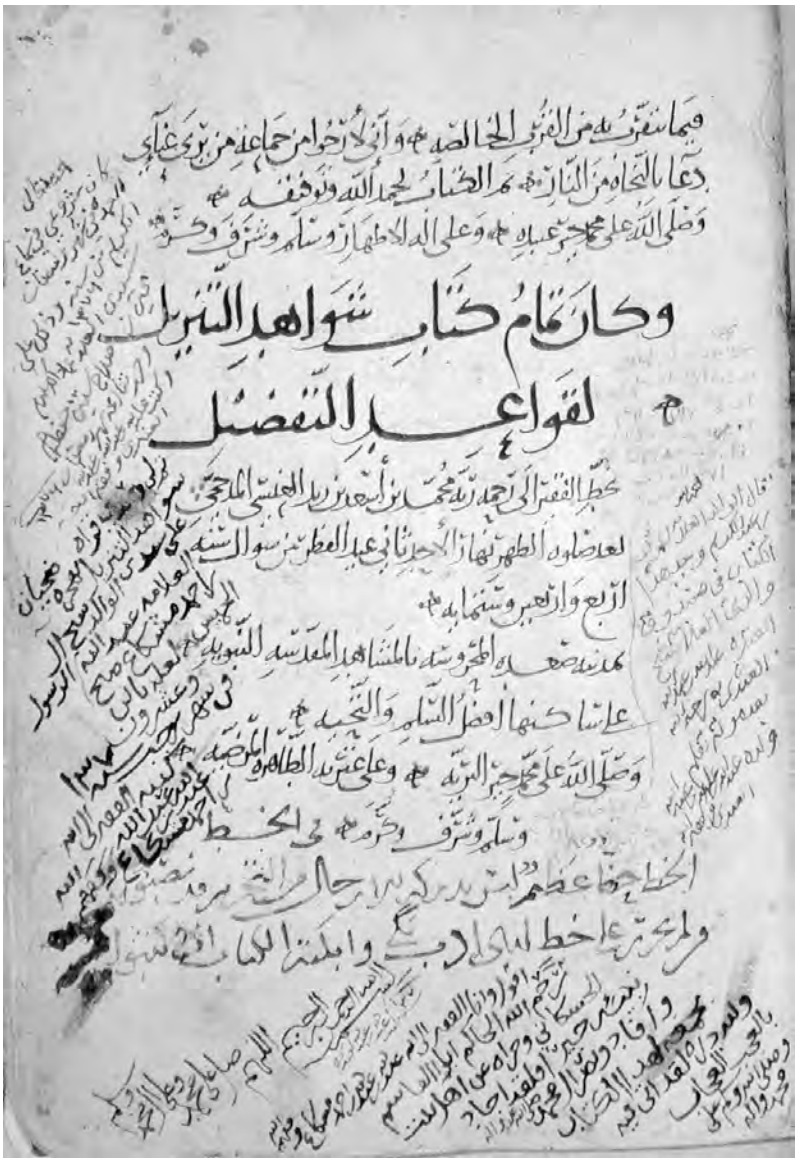


Figure 10.3: MS Ṣaʿda, Maktabat Āl al-Anṭarī (al-ʿAnsī codex), f. 174a: the end of the copy of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥaskānī's *Šawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawāʿid al-tafḍīl fī l-āyāt al-nāzila fī Ahl al-Bayt*, with a colophon by Muḥammad b. Asʿad dated 2 Šawwāl 644/February 10, 1247.

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Figure 10.4: MS Ṣaʿda, Maktabat Āl al-Anṭarī (al-ʿAnsī codex), f. 175a: the title page of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *al-ʿUmda fī ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-aḫbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār*. Here, al-ʿAnsī names himself as the owner of this copy of the text.

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Figure 10.5: MS Ṣaʿda, Maktabat Āl al-Anṭarī (al-ʿAnsī codex), f. 175b: the opening of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *al-ʿUmda*, where ʿAbd Allāh gives his own chain of transmission linking him to the author of the work.

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Figure 10.6: MS Ṣaʿda, Maktabat Āl al-Anṭarī (al-ʿAnsī codex), f. 243b: the colophon concluding part 1 of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *al-ʿUmda* and announcing part 2, written in alternating black and red lines.

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Figure 10.7: MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1273, f. 152b: the end of Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-ʿAnsī's copy of the *K. al-Maḥağğa al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, the magnum opus of his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd, with a colophon dated 20 Rabīʿ II 640/ October 17, 1242.

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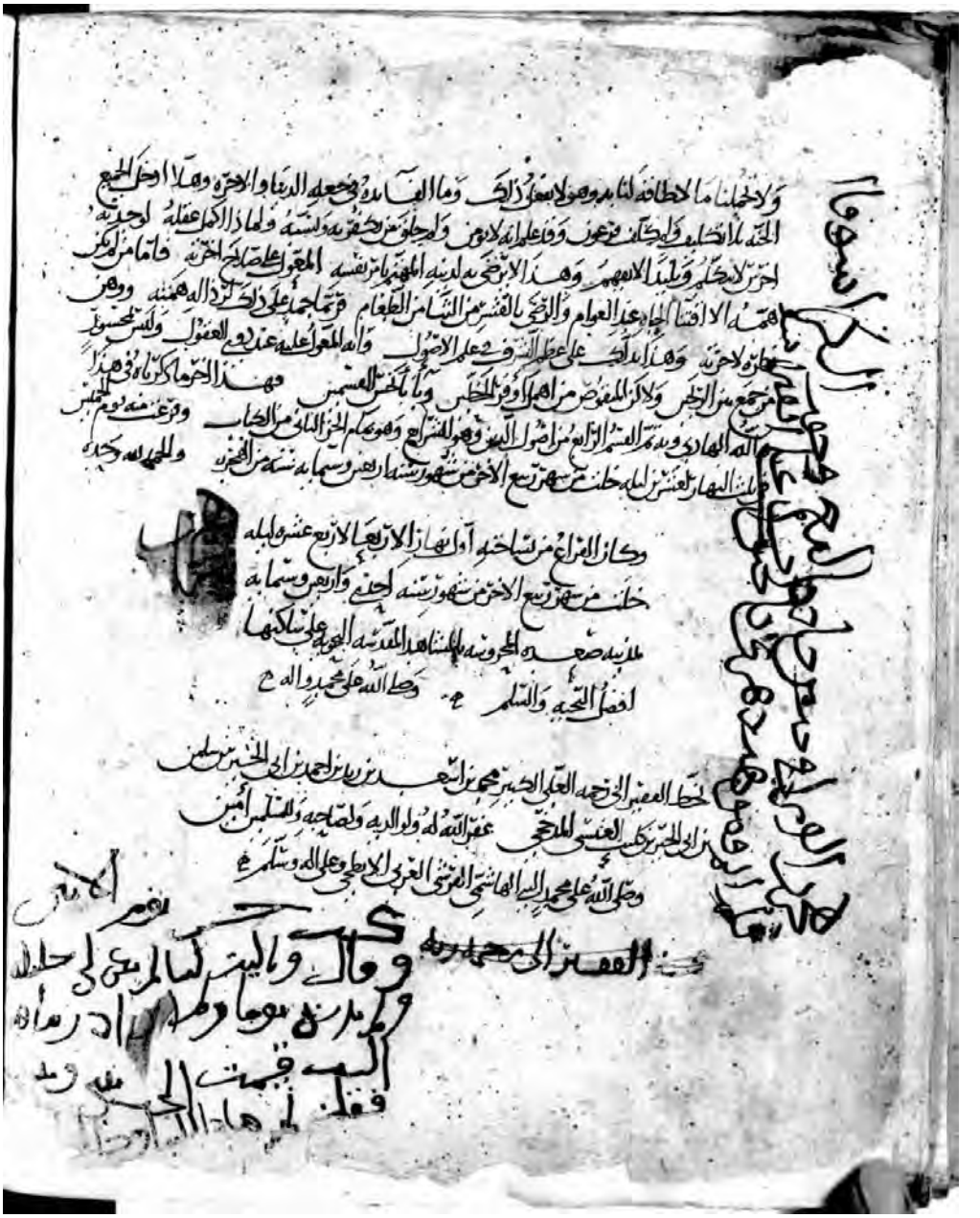


Figure 10.8: MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286, f. 224b: the end of Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-ʿAnsī' copy of the *K. al-Maḥağğa al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, with a colophon dated 14 Rabīʿ II 641/ October 1, 1243.

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Figure 10.9: MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. C 96, f. 2a: the title page of a Yemeni manuscript of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*.

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Figure 10.10: MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. C 96, f. 2b: the opening of the text of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*.

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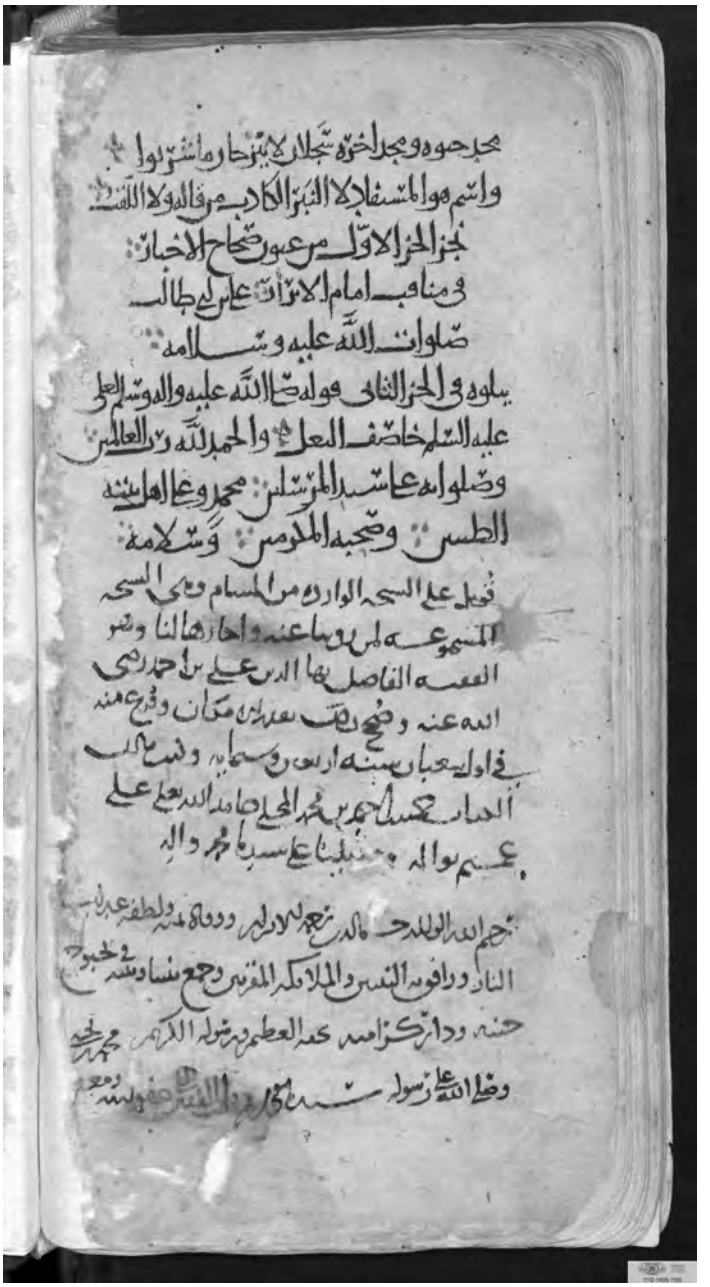


Figure 10.11: MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. C 96, f. 137b: the end of volume 1 of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*, containing a collation note by Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī with the date 1 Šaʿbān 640/January 24, 1243.

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Figure 10.12: MS Tehran, Maǧlis, no. 8981, title page: copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*.

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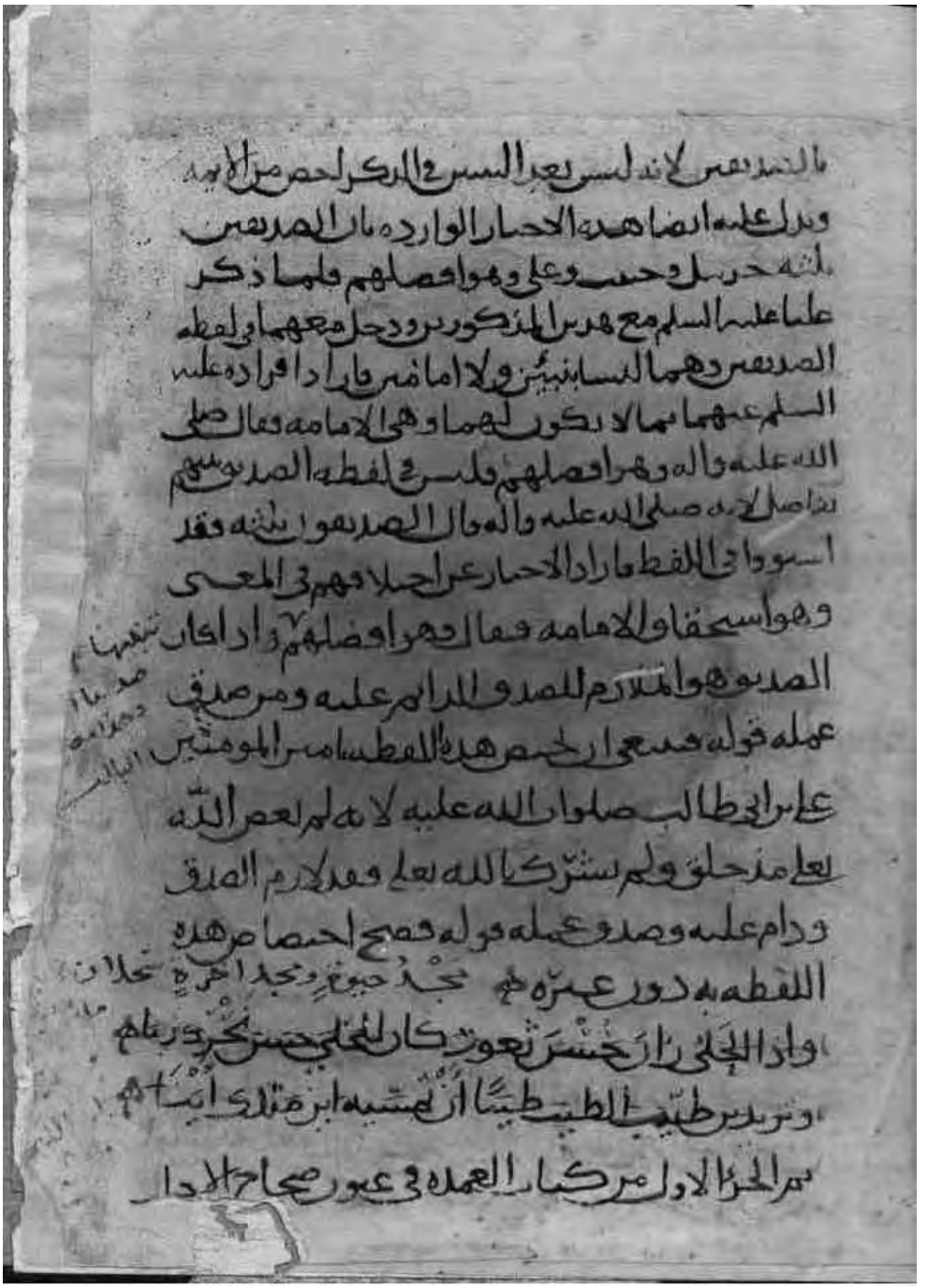


Figure 10.13: MS Tehran, Mağlis, no. 8981, p. 245: copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*, end of text.

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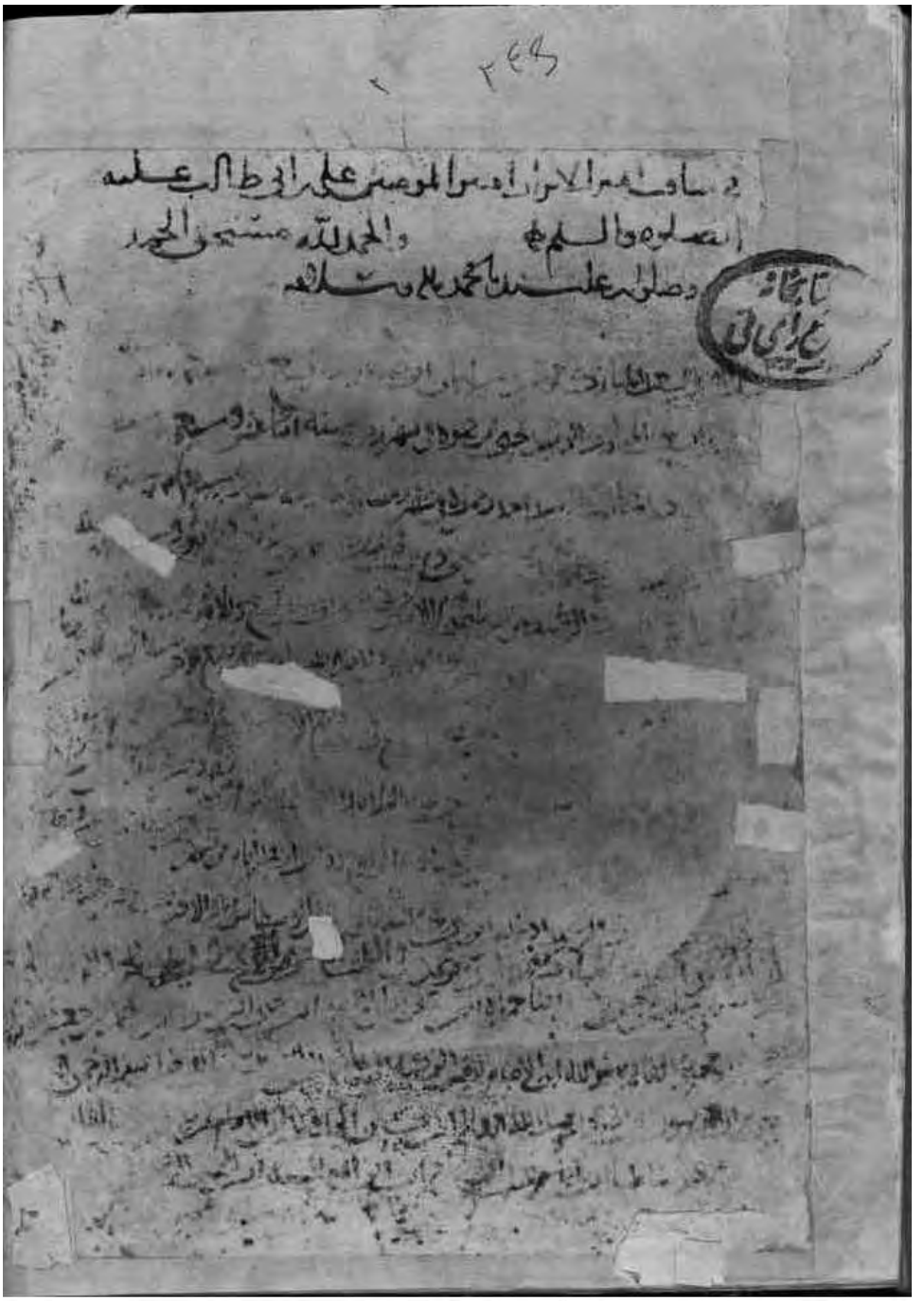


Figure 10.14: MS Tehran, Mağlis, no. 8981, p. 246: copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda*, end of text with a barely readable *isnād*.

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Figure 10.15: MS Qum, Marʿašī, *ʿaksī* 187, p. 1: Ibn al-Maġāzilī al-Wāsiṭī's *Manāqib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, with the text of an *iǧāza* issued by Ibn al-Biṭrīq to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid and his "son" Yāqūt, followed by another *iǧāza* issued by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad to Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Akwaʿ.

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Figure 10.16: MS Qum, Marʿašī, *ʿaksī* 187, p. 157: Ibn al-Maġāzilī al-Wāsiṭī's *Manāqib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, with a chain of transmission for the transmitter of the text, ʿImrān b. al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Šatawī al-ʿUḏrī.

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# Chapter 11
# Zaydī Theology in Yemen, Third/Ninth through Ninth/Fifteenth Centuries

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For most of its history, Zaydī theology was heavily influenced by Muʿtazilite doctrines. Yemen is the only region with a significant Zaydī community until the present day. It is therefore in the country's historical libraries that thousands of Muʿtazilite manuscripts have survived. These collections include both texts that were lost in majoritarian Sunnī lands as well as many other theological works written by members of the Zaydī community themselves. This chapter provides a survey of theological trends and movements from the beginnings of the Zaydī imamate in Yemen over its political unification with the Caspian Zaydiyya down to theologians from the ninth/fifteenth century. Theologians in Yemen were inclined towards various sub-schools of Muʿtazilism from as early as the beginnings of the imamate, and the impact of Muʿtazilism became even more important when intellectual exchanges with their Caspian co-religionists increased during the sixth/twelfth century. Yet there was always a lively theological trend that was skeptical about or even completely rejected the adoption of Muʿtazilism and stressed the independent nature of Zaydī doctrines.

## I. Zaydī theology before and after the unification of the Yemeni and Caspian imamates

Since the foundation of the Zaydī imamate in the northern mountainous highlands of Yemen by Imam al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq (d. 298/911), the Zaydīs of Yemen developed a canon of doctrinal writings of the *imām*s that remained authoritative over the coming centuries. First and foremost among these was a collection (*maǧmūʿ*) of epistles by Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860), which is preserved in numerous collective manuscripts, among them an early copy that may possibly be dated to the fourth/tenth century.[1] While al-Qāsim advocated in his authentic writings human free will and the absolute otherness of God from His creation, he was clearly not influenced by Muʿtazilism but

1. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 96 n. 1.



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rather informed by *kalām* debates among his Christian contemporaries whom he encountered while residing in Egypt—Wilferd Madelung has shown the striking structural resemblances between al-Qāsim's writings and those of Theodore Abū Qurra.[2] However, later on a number of epistles were ascribed to al-Qāsim that were clearly written at a stage when the Zaydīs were already under the influence of Muʿtazilite thought. These are included in the majority of collective manuscripts of al-Qāsim's epistles that circulated in Yemen. The literary and doctrinal legacy of al-Qāsim as it was perceived by the Yemeni Zaydīs was therefore somewhat different from that of the authentic al-Qāsim.[3] The collection of writings of his son Muḥammad (d. 279/892–93) also became part of the canon.[4] As was the case with his father al-Qāsim, Muḥammad's thought shows affinities with cognate Muʿtazilite doctrines, but he can certainly not be described as having endorsed Muʿtazilite thought.[5] Al-Qāsim's grandson, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, the later Imam al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq (d. 298/911) and founder of the Zaydī imamate in Yemen, is reported to have studied during his sojourn in northern Iran with Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balḫī (d. 319/931);[6] if this is true, he was in fact the first Zaydī *imām* to study with a representative of the Muʿtazila. As a result, his doctrinal thought was deeply influenced by the theological views of the Muʿtazilite school of Baghdad, although al-Hādī refrained from expressly stating his agreement with their doctrines or even identifying himself with the

2. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*; Madelung, "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Muʿtazilism"; Madelung, "Origins of the Yemenite Hijra." As a result, al-Qāsim's doctrinal views differed from those of prominent representatives of the early Kufan Zaydiyya, esp. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd (d. 247/861), his companion Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Murādī (alive in 252/866), and the latter's younger contemporary al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd; for example, the earlier Zaydīs were proponents of divine determinism. See Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 80–85; Madelung, "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Muʿtazilism"; EncIslam 3/249–252 (H. Ansari).

3. Madelung has distinguished in detail the authentic from the unauthentic works of al-Qāsim (Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 97ff.). Binyamin Abrahamov, by contrast, considers authentic most of the works that were classified by Madelung as inauthentic and concludes that al-Qāsim endorsed Muʿtazilite thinking at a later stage of his life (see Abrahamov, "Al-Ḳāsim ibn Ibrāhīm's Theory," *Al-Ḳāsim ibn Ibrāhīm on Proof*, and *Anthropomorphism and Interpretation*). For a critical discussion of his conclusions, see Madelung, "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Muʿtazilism" and "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology." At some stage the Zaydīs of Yemen, following the Kufan tradition, also added a collection allegedly containing the doctrinal writings of Imam Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (b. 75/694–95, d. 122/740) (Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Maǧmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil*). These are evidently not authentic and rather originate partly with the early Kufan Zaydiyya and partly with the Yemeni Zaydiyya, who claimed that Zayd b. ʿAlī's theological thought agreed with the views of the Muʿtazila; see EI2 11/473f. (W. Madelung).

4. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, *Maǧmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil*.

5. A thorough investigation of his writings, as well as the writings of the Zaydī *imām*s of Yemen of the fourth/tenth to sixth/twelfth centuries, is still a major desideratum. Moreover, the authenticity of the writings included in the respective *maǧāmīʿ* collections still needs to be established.

6. Al-Ǧundārī, "Tarāǧim al-riǧāl," 41; *EncIslam* 1/418–419 (A. Zaryab).

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Muʿtazila.[7] His literary legacy was likewise transmitted among the Zaydīs of Yemen in a popular *maǧmūʿ* of epistles.[8] Among the Yemeni Zaydīs of later centuries, the teachings of al-Hādī and his grandfather al-Qāsim were largely identified with each other. Canonical status was also accorded to the writings of al-Hādī's sons Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh (d. 310/922)[9] and Imam Aḥmad al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (301/913–322/934).[10]

With Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿIyānī (b. between 310/922 and 340/951, d. 393/1003),[11] a great-grandson of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm's son Muḥammad, the doctrinal development of the Zaydiyya entered a new phase. Unlike earlier *imām*s, al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī addressed in his writings philosophical notions and issues belonging to the subtleties of *kalām*,[12] and the same applies to his son, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh al-Ḥusayn (d. 404/1013), who wrote a book on the nature of beings, *K. al-Ṭabāʾiʿ*.[13] Other than this, both *imām*s remained by and large faithful to the doctrines of al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq. Their works were referred to by the adherents of a theological doctrine that evolved among the Zaydīs of Yemen during the fifth/eleventh century who otherwise took the teachings of the early *imām*s as their starting point.[14]

A major role in formulating and systematizing this new tradition was played by Muṭarrif b. Šihāb b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbbād al-Šihābī (d. mid-fifth/eleventh century). It was after him that this strand was retrospectively labeled the "Muṭarrifiyya." Muṭarrif b. Šihāb also founded the first *hiǧra* ("abode of emigration"), in the village of Sanāʿ, south of Sanaa (Ṣanʿāʾ).[15] *Hiǧra*s were a characteristic institution of the Muṭarrifī community that

7. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 164–167; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Imām Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn*.

8. Al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq, *Maǧmūʿa fāḫira*; al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq, *Maǧmūʿ rasāʾil*.

9. Al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh, *Maǧmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil*.

10. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 169–174, 191–193; Madelung, *Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams*; Madelung, *The Sīra of Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā*.

11. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 194–198; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 773–775 no. 833.

12. Al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī, *Maǧmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil*.

13. Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī, *Min maǧmūʿ kutub wa-rasāʾil*; on him, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 198–200; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 384–388 no. 385.

14. Again, the authenticity of the various epistles still needs to be verified in detail. Since none of the *imām*s' writings has been studied in any detail, it cannot be ruled out at present that some epistles might have been ascribed to one of the *imām*s by later adherents of the Muṭarrifiyya. After al-Ḥusayn was killed in Ṣafar 404/September 1013, his followers believed in his imminent return as the Mahdī—the adherents of this belief later became known as the Ḥusayniyya. As a result, his successors refrained from using the title of *imām* for themselves but rather called themselves *amīr*s—viz. his oldest brother Ǧaʿfar b. al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī (d. 450/1059) as well as his sons al-Šarīf al-Fāḍil al-Qāsim (d. 468/1075) and Ḏū l-Šarafayn Muḥammad (d. 477/1084) (al-Rabaʿī, *Sīrat al-amīrayn al-ǧalīlayn*; Madelung, "*Sīrat al-Amīrayn al-Ajallayn*"). The followers of the Ḥusayniyya also developed their own peculiar doctrinal views, which were later criticized by the Zaydīs. See, for example, al-Rabaʿī, *Sīrat al-amīrayn al-ǧalīlayn*, 345–365.

15. Madelung, "Origins of the Yemenite Hijra."

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considerably helped it to spread and establish its teaching over wide parts of the country. While the adherents of this doctrine claimed to cling fervently to the theological teachings of al-Hādī and the latter's sons Muḥammad and Aḥmad, they actually developed a cosmology and natural philosophy of their own. Most renowned among their doctrines was their view that God had created the world out of three or four elements, viz. water, air, wind, and fire. They claimed that changes in the world result from the interaction of these constituents of the physical world—in other words, from a natural causality—rather than from God's directly acting upon it.[16]

During the reign of Imam Abū Ṭālib *al-aḫīr* Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 520/1126),[17] the Yemeni and Caspian Zaydīs were eventually unified for the first time in history under a common political and religious leadership. After many years of quasi-isolation, the change of the politico-religious framework exposed the Yemeni Zaydīs to new theological influences. In order to strengthen the authority of the *imām* in both communities, the intellectual gap between them was supposed to be bridged by a harmonization of their respective scholarly traditions. Unlike their Yemeni coreligionists, the Zaydīs of Rayy and northern Iran had embraced Bahšamite theology as early as the fourth/tenth century. The Bahšamiyya was a branch of Basran Muʿtazilism named after Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 321/933), a towering figure of Muslim theology, who had, in many respects, redefined the doctrinal foundations of the school. Bahšamite theology experienced a flowering in Rayy and in the Caspian region under the reign of the Būyids, who made the city of Rayy the center of the Bahšamiyya's chief theologians. This also affected Zaydī thought in the region: many scholars were attracted by the study circles of such eminent thinkers as ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025) and al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh.

Some information about the doctrinal developments among the Iranian Zaydīs may have reached Yemen as early as during the time of Imam al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Abū l-Fatḥ al-Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn al-Daylamī, who hailed from the Caspian region and arrived in al-Bawn in Yemen in 430/1039, one year after claiming the Zaydī imamate in 429/1038.[18] Abū l-Fatḥ engaged in combat with the local descendants of al-Hādī and with Ǧaʿfar b. al-Qāsim al-ʿIyānī, the leader of the Ḥusayniyya. He also waged war on the Ismāʿīlī al-Ṣulayḥī, who killed Abū l-Fatḥ in 444/1052–53. Reportedly, Abū l-Fatḥ wrote a refutation of the local Zaydī doctrines, *al-Risāla al-mubhiǧa fī l-radd ʿalā l-firqa al-ḍālla al-mutalaǧliǧa* (lost[19]), which may have been the first refutation of what later came

16. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 202f.; Madelung, "Muṭarrifī Manuscript"; Madelung, "Origins of the Yemenite Hijra"; Ansari, "Falsafa-yi ṭabīʿī."

17. Al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1088f. no. 1163.

18. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 203, 205; EI2 Suppl./22 (W. Madelung); *EncIslam* 1/756–758 (S. Mohaqqeq).

19. According to *EncIslam* 1/758 (S. Mohaqqeq), a manuscript of the tract is preserved in a manuscript

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to be called "Muṭarrifiyya," suggesting that already at this time the political conflict had doctrinal dimensions as well.

The attempts to introduce the Caspian intellectual tradition into Yemen and to establish it among local scholars gradually gained strength under Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (r. 532/1137–566/1170).[20] During his reign, the dissemination of Bahšamite *kalām* by traveling scholars increased significantly, and Yemeni students in theology undertook extended visits to the Caspian region. Al-Mutawakkil himself studied with several of these scholars, the most illustrious theologian of whom was Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī (d. ca. 545/1150–51). Al-Bayhaqī had studied with the Muʿtazilite theologian Abū Saʿd al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Karāma al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī ("al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī," d. 494/1101) and might consequently have contributed to the transmission of al-Ǧišumī's writings and their high popularity in Yemen. During his first years in Yemen, al-Bayhaqī taught at the heavily symbolic al-Hādī Mosque in Ṣaʿda, which houses the tombs of the founder of the Yemeni imamate and several of his successors. He then relocated his teaching activities southwards and settled in the Muṭarrifiyya's oldest *hiǧra*, Sanāʿ—a choice that was certainly well considered.[21] Al-Bayhaqī succeeded in convincing a number of students of the superiority of Bahšamite doctrines over Muṭarrifī theology. Credibility for the imported doctrinal notions was provided by the authority they received through the *imām*s of northern Iran, the Buṭḥānī brothers al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 411/1020) and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 424/1033), who both espoused Bahšamite *kalām* and whose writings became available in Yemen during this period. This development ushered in an unprecedented "Muʿtazilization" of the Zaydīs of Yemen. The impact of Muʿtazilite *kalām* is already visible in the doctrinal works of Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh, such as in his comprehensive *Ḥaqāʾiq al-maʿrifa fī ʿilm al-kalām*. In its structure, the book resembles the *maǧāmīʿ* of the earlier *imām*s; yet in doctrine, al-Mutawakkil endorses as a rule the positions of the Muʿtazila, siding at times with the Bahšamiyya and at times with the school of Baghdad.[22]

Among al-Bayhaqī's successors was Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī ("Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar," d. 573/1177), who would play an important role in the future intellectual development of Yemen's theological landscape. Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad came from an influential Ismāʿīlī family of judges. Before he attended al-Bayhaqī's lectures, he had followed Muṭarrifī teachings. The fact that he eventually migrated to the opposing camp and ap-

at the State Library in Berlin, "Ahlwardt, no. 4950." This information, which is incorrect, is based on a misunderstanding of Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 4/331.

20. For his biography, see al-Ṭaqafī, *Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad b. Sulaymān*.

21. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 210–212; Schwarb, "Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes," 268–270.

22. Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 195–211; for similar observations regarding his works on legal theory, see Chapter 3 in the present volume, n. 37.

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proved al-Mutawakkil's imamate was officially acknowledged: in 545/1150–51 he was appointed judge (*qāḍī*) of Sanaa, and still in the same year he was selected to accompany his teacher on his travels in order to seek further instruction outside Yemen. Shortly after their departure, al-Bayhaqī died still on Yemeni soil, and so Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad continued his journey alone. He spent about eight years at several centers of learning in Iraq and northern Iran. When he eventually sojourned in Rayy, he studied with Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Kanī (d. ca. 565/1169–70), al-Bayhaqī's former student, and he is known to have likewise been taught by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farrazāḏī, one of the members of the renowned Farrazāḏī family in this town. Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad also spent some time in Kufa and in Mecca, where he studied with the eminent Zaydī scholar Abū l-Ḥasan ʿUlayy b. ʿĪsā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās al-Sulaymānī (d. 556/1161–62).[23]

Upon his return to Yemen, Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad brought along many Muʿtazilite works—many of which were later on copied for the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (on whom see section II)—and he settled again in Hiǧrat Sanāʿ and established his *madrasa* next to the village's Muṭarrifī *madrasa*. His teachings laid the basis for the emergence of a new generation of scholars. This new theological movement was given the label "al-Muḫtariʿa." The description was derived from the notion of *iḫtirāʿ*, a term that refers to the idea that God spontaneously creates accidents (*aʿrāḍ*, sing. *ʿaraḍ*). Following Bahšamite theory, Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad and his followers believed accidents to be the grounds of such changing qualities of bodies as motion and rest, color, and annihilation. For them, God's omnipotence necessarily implied that He is able to create such accidents ex nihilo. This position consequently contradicted the Muṭarrifī doctrine that events and changes in the created world are the result of a natural causality that is inherent to bodies.

In public disputations and in his writings, Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad attacked not only his Muṭarrifī detractors but also the Sunnīs of Yemen. A number of polemical tracts from his pen have survived in manuscript form. In addition, he was the author of a doctrinal *summa*, titled *K. Miškāt al-miṣbāḥ wa-ḥayāt al-arwāḥ*,[24] and of some shorter theological manuals, in which he embraces Bahšamite doctrines. However, his subscription to their teaching explicitly excluded their theory of the imamate. Ǧaʿfar therefore wrote a refutation of Ibn Mattawayh's chapter on the imamate in *al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*. Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad survived Imam al-Mutawakkil and still experienced the beginning of the vacancy of the Zaydī imamate—a period that lasted about twenty-seven years. Ǧaʿfar died in 573/1177–78 and was buried in Hiǧrat Sanāʿ.[25]

It was one of Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad's students, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (b. 546/1152, d. 584/1188), who then gave a lasting intellectual impetus to the Yemeni ap-

23. On him, see Lane, *Traditional Muʿtazilite Qurʾān Commentary*, 26–29, 48–53, 251.

24. Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 285f. no. 133.

25. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 212–216; Zayd, *Tayyārāt Muʿtazilat al-Yaman*; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 278–282 no. 257; Schwarb, "Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes," 270–273.

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propriation of Bahšamite theology. Still during his teacher's lifetime, al-Raṣṣāṣ started writing his first works on theology and legal theory. Following his teacher's death, he succeeded Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar as the new head of the school and continued the latter's teaching activities in Hiǧrat Sanāʿ. Al-Raṣṣāṣ wrote extensively on theological topics, putting much emphasis on the subtle questions (*daqāʾiq* or *laṭāʾif*). He was also most probably motivated by a desire to disprove the teachings of the Muṭarrifiyya: although al-Raṣṣāṣ rarely mentions his detractors and their doctrines explicitly, it was precisely the subtle questions related to natural philosophy over which the two schools were deeply divided. The reason behind their fierce mutual opposition was that the conceptual construct of God and His relation to the created world was built upon these very questions. Therefore, challenges to such fundamental assumptions threatened to pull the rug out from under the entire theological system. It is consequently not surprising that the two schools quarreled so harshly over rather specific issues while agreeing on such central principles as the existence of free will and the rejection of anthropomorphism.

Al-Raṣṣāṣ' doctrines in theology and natural philosophy stand fully in the tradition of Bahšamite teaching and, at the same time, set some new tones. With regard to the basic concepts of ontology, his ideas about "things" or "entities" (*ašyāʾ*, *ḏawāt*) follow the axioms of earlier representatives of the school. He adopts their definition of a thing as that which can become an object of knowledge and of predication. The generic term "things" encompasses God, atoms (*ǧawāhir*)—that is, indivisible particles of which created bodies are made up—and accidents (*aʿrāḍ*). In this context, it is of some historical importance that al-Raṣṣāṣ refuted a passage from Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Malāḥimī's (d. 536/1141) *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*. In his treatise, al-Raṣṣāṣ argues, against Ibn al-Malāḥimī, that predications about the very nature of things (such as "The atom is an atom") are not identical with descriptions of them as existing. Al-Raṣṣāṣ' defense of the classical Bahšamite distinction between existence and that which things are in themselves is one of the oldest testimonies to the Yemenite reception of the school founded by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044).[26]

Al-Raṣṣāṣ did not add anything substantial to the Bahšamite theories of atoms and accidents. These topics had already been comprehensively covered in fundamental works by theologians of the fifth/eleventh century. Among these works are al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh's extensive *K. al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*. Al-Raṣṣāṣ was familiar with this text and used it as a reference in several of his works.

Later generations of Zaydī theologians attached great importance to al-Raṣṣāṣ' treatise on "effectors" (*K. al-Muʾaṯṯirāt*).[27] This concise text has survived in a significant number of manuscripts, dating up to the middle of the eleventh/seventeenth century. Al-Raṣṣāṣ wrote the work in an attempt to formulate a comprehensive theory of causation.

26. Ansari, "*Al-Barāhīn al-ẓāhira*."
27. Thiele, *Kausalität in der muʿtazilitischen Kosmologie*.

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He possibly relied on al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's earlier, in some respects inconsistent thoughts about this matter.[28] In the framework of Bahšamite teaching, al-Raṣṣāṣ developed a taxonomy of what are labeled "effectors" (*muʾaṯṯirāt*) and "analogous phenomena" (*mā yaǧrī maǧrā l-muʾaṯṯir*). He furthermore sought to explain theoretically why some of these "effectors" are necessarily effective and others only contingently so.

Another work, entitled *Kayfiyyat kašf al-aḥkām wa-l-ṣifāt ʿan ḫaṣāʾiṣ al-muqtaḍiyāt wa-l-muʾaṯṯirāt*, offers rare insight into the historical development of the Bahšamite teaching on attributes. In this text, al-Raṣṣāṣ elaborates his approach to the theory of states, that is, the theory introduced by Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī. In addition to exploring the *ṣifāt*, which is usually translated from the Arabic as "attributes," al-Raṣṣāṣ opens his analysis to broader considerations on the concept of *aḥkām*—a term that might be rendered as "characteristics" but actually denotes an ontological category distinct from the attributes. Earlier Bahšamite theologians already made a conceptual distinction between *ṣifa* and *ḥukm*. However, their understanding of the latter remained to some extent vague. It was only with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's revision of the Muʿtazilite theory of attributes that the term *ḥukm* was eventually used in a more formal sense.[29] It seems that al-Raṣṣāṣ' usage of the term was shaped by this angle, since he adopted a definition of *ḥukm* that is known only from the writings of Ibn al-Malāḥimī. According to this understanding, the distinction between *ṣifāt* (or *aḥwāl*, which is used as a synonym) and *aḥkām* is an epistemological one: in order to gain knowledge about things, we have to consider two objects qualified by the same *ḥukm*, whereas a *ṣifa* can specify only one object.

The *Kayfiyya* is divided into chapters devoted to four categories of *ṣifāt* and three categories of *aḥkām*. This classification is made in an introductory chapter according to the manner or modality (*kayfiyya*) by which the properties of things become actual (*ṯabata*). As expressed in the title of the book, one of the author's main interests consists of the question what each category of properties reveals about the very nature of its object of qualification. This particular approach can be seen as a corollary of the Bahšamite theory that things are known by virtue of their properties. The purpose of al-Raṣṣāṣ' raising this question consequently derives from a central theological problem: if we describe God and His creatures by univocal properties, how then can His absolute transcendence be preserved?[30]

Al-Raṣṣāṣ wrote a number of additional works on *laṭīf al-kalām* that have as yet not been found in manuscript form and appear to be lost. Only some self-quotations provide selective insight into their contents and reveal that he discussed the nature of attributes, of accidents, and of "things" (*ḏawāt*) in general.[31]

28. Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 313–28; Thiele, "Causalité selon al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī."
29. Schmidtke, *Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 174–177.
30. Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya*, 131–200.
31. Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism," 549; Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya*, 37–39.

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Prompted by their opponents' focus on doctrinal issues, the Muṭarrifīs in turn countered the attack: they claimed that they were faithful followers of the teachings of the early *imām*s and argued that it was in fact the adoption of Basran Muʿtazilism that constituted a deviation from the truth and as such an illegitimate innovation. Moreover, with the new arrival of Muʿtazilite works, the Muṭarrifīs apparently used increasingly the doctrines of the Baghdadi Muʿtazilites to refine their own *kalām* in their intellectual conflict against their opponents. These doctrines could be gleaned from the *Maqālāt* of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931) as well as the *K. al-Masāʾil fī l-ḫilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baġdādiyyīn* of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, a systematic comparison between the respective doctrines of the adherents of the two Muʿtazilite schools.[32] The influence of the Baghdadi doctrines among the representatives of the Muṭarrifiyya during this period is evident in, for example, the *K. al-Burhān al-rāʾiq* by the Muṭarrifī theologian Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, who flourished during the second half of the sixth/twelfth century.[33] Consequently, the conflict took on the dynamics of the old opposition between the Baghdadis and the Basrans. However, whereas the conflict between the two Muʿtazilite systems remained a purely theological one, the confrontation between the rival Zaydī groups of Yemen eventually led to an open war between the two. There are some indications that the Muṭarrifī theologians also made use of the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his followers, who in many ways had departed from the theology of the Bahšamites. The few Muṭarrifī theological texts that were written during the sixth/twelfth century testify to the development of Muṭarrifī doctrine at the time.[34]

## II. The continuity of Bahšamite theology from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards

When al-Raṣṣāṣ died in 584/1188, the religious and political leadership of the Zaydī community was still vacant. It was only in 593/1197 that al-Raṣṣāṣ' former student ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217) rose as Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. It was under his reign that the Bahšamite strand irrevocably overcame its ideological detractors: the *imām*, who himself left a number of important theological works, led a merciless war against the Muṭarrifiyya. Their persecution and the destruction of their *hiǧra*s during al-Manṣūr's reign eventually led to the extinction of the sect.[35] Many of al-Manṣūr's doctrinal writ-

32. See Chapter 1 in the present volume.

33. Madelung, "Muṭarrifī Manuscript."

34. ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, *al-Ṣirāʿ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman*; Ansari, "Yād-dāštī dar bāra-yi Muṭarrifiyya."

35. The principal historical source for al-Manṣūr's fight against the Muṭarrifiyya is the *sīra* of the *imām* by his chief secretary Abū Firās b. Diʿṭam. Volumes 2 and 3 have been published as Ibn Diʿṭam, *al-Sīra al-šarīfa al-manṣūriyya*. Another copy of volume 2, which was not consulted by the editor, is preserved as MS Vatican ar. 1061; see Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 1/131. Ansari has identified copies of volumes 1 and 4 of the *sīra* that had previously been presumed lost; see Ansari, *Az ganǧīna-hā-yi nusaḫ-i ḫaṭṭī*, 157-172.

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ings are refutations of the Muṭarrifiyya (as well as justifications of the *imām*'s merciless persecution of the sect's followers, for which he faced severe criticism). Beyond these, he composed *Šarḥ al-Risāla al-nāṣiḥa bi-l-adilla al-wāḍiḥa*, a detailed theological compendium with a particular focus on the concept of the imamate, in which he endorses Bahšamite theological notions. In its overall structure, however, the book resembles the writings of the earlier *imām*s rather than the theological *summae* of professional theologians (such as his teacher al-Raṣṣāṣ), and it is replete with quotations from the writings of the Zaydī *imām*s, a characteristic that ensured the work's lasting popularity in the Zaydī community. Al-Manṣūr's *K. al-Šāfī* is a refutation directed against the Aš$^{c}$arites of Yemen, focusing specifically on the notion of the imamate. Moreover, it is noteworthy that al-Manṣūr was one of the first Yemeni Zaydī authors to cite Sunnī traditions supporting the cause of $^{c}$Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the *Ahl al-Bayt* in his battle against the Šāfi$^{c}$ites in Yemen, who were polemicizing against Ši$^{c}$ism.[36] Doctrinal issues are also discussed in his *al-$^{c}$Iqd al-ṯamīn*, a book that is directed against the Imāmiyya,[37] as well as in his numerous responsa.[38]

At the turn of and during the first decades of the seventh/thirteenth century, a number of other theologians who had studied with al-Raṣṣāṣ gained some scholarly prominence. Among them was Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Qurašī al-Anf (d. 623/1226), author of *al-Ǧawāb al-ḥāsim bi-ḥall šubah al-Muġnī*, a critical response to $^{c}$Abd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī's account of the imamate in his voluminous *K. al-Muġnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-$^{c}$adl*. Apart from being a scholar in his own right, Ibn al-Walīd also belonged to the staff of professional scribes who were instrumental in the establishment of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's library in his town of residence, Ẓafār. The foundation of this library can be regarded as the culmination of the endeavor to transmit as many books as possible from northern Iran to Yemen. Many of the texts copied for al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's library have survived as unique manuscripts.[39]

Another of al-Raṣṣāṣ' students, Sulaymān b. $^{c}$Abd Allāh al-Ḫurāšī (alive in 610/1214), wrote a commentary on his teacher's *al-Taḥṣīl fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-ta$^{c}$dīl*, a short theological compendium. The third volume of this commentary has been preserved in manuscript form and shows al-Ḫurāšī's remarkably close familiarity with the works of Ibn al-Malāḥimī.[40] Al-Ḫurāšī's text is only the first in a chronology of several commentaries on the *K. al-Taḥṣīl* that were written within a period of thirty years after al-Raṣṣāṣ' death. Consequently, it appears that the *K. al-Taḥṣīl* was a popular work among this generation of theologians. The commentaries on al-Raṣṣāṣ' theological manual include one in sev-

36. See Chapter 9 in the present volume.

37. Jarrar, "Al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh's Controversy."

38. See al-Waǧīh, *A$^{c}$lām al-mu$^{ɔ}$allifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 578–586 no. 592; al-Manṣūr bi-llāh $^{c}$Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *Maǧmū$^{c}$ rasā$^{ɔ}$il*.

39. See Chapter 1 in the present volume.

40. Al-Ḫurāšī, *K. al-Tafṣīl li-ǧumal al-Taḥṣīl*; Ansari and Thiele, "MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 51."

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eral volumes by Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī, who studied with al-Raṣṣāṣ' own student Abū l-Qāsim b. Šabīb al-Tihāmī. Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī's text appears to be partially preserved and is related in structure and content to the third and shortest commentary on the *K. al-Taḥṣīl*, by al-Raṣṣāṣ' son Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224).[41]

Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ' historically most influential work was a brief introduction to the fundamentals of Bahšamite doctrine. This text, entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm fī maʿrifat al-ḥayy al-qayyūm* (also known as *al-Ṭalāṭūn masʾala*), was widely read among the Zaydīs of Yemen and still serves as a textbook in contemporary circles of religious learning. In addition, *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm* was subject to several commentaries, one of them being *al-Īḍāḥ li-fawāʾid al-Miṣbāḥ* by his student Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī *al-šahīd* (killed in 652/1254).[42] Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī had studied with ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, Ibn al-Walīd, and Zayd b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī, who arrived in Yemen from Iran in 610/1213–14, and he is primarily known as the author of the biographical work *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-wardiyya*. That he was also a well-versed theologian is shown by his comprehensive works on *kalām*, namely, his *ʿUmdat al-mustaršidīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a theological *summa* in four parts in which the author comments upon a creedal work by al-Manṣūr bi-llāh,[43] and his *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tafṣīl al-nafaḥāt al-miskiyya*.[44] The latter work is not a conventional *summa* but rather encompasses all major aspects of the subtleties of theology. The first part of the work discusses logical and epistemological questions. The second and longest chapter then deals with the definition of things or entities (*ḏawāt*), followed by a comprehensive exposition of the basic constituents of the world, namely, atoms (*ǧawāhir*) and accidents (*aʿrāḍ*). Finally, the last part addresses the topic of attributes (*ṣifāt*) and characteristics (*aḥkām*). Ḥumayd's work highlights how centrally theologians of this time were concerned with the field of *laṭīf al-kalām*.

Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī resided in Mislit, located in Banū Qays, where he taught along with other prominent scholars of his time. The village's *madrasa* had built up a considerable reputation as a center of learning, and so the later Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Abū Ṭayr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1285) studied theology and legal theory there, as reported in his biography (*sīra*), which contains a detailed chapter on his formation.[45] A further center of theological teaching was the *Madrasa al-manṣūriyya* in Ḥūṯ, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's next station. Although the detailed report about Aḥmad's studies is only a snapshot of the Zaydīs' educational culture during the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century, it allows us to catch a glimpse of the period's intellectual mi-

41. Thiele, "Theological Compendia."
42. See Chapter 8 in the present volume, Appendix, no. 50.
43. Al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 408.
44. See Chapter 8 in the present volume, Appendix, no. 60.
45. See Chapter 8 in the present volume.

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lieu and the texts that were considered fundamental to scholarly instruction in the science of *kalām*. Alongside writings by such leading (Sunnī-Muʿtazilite) authorities as Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, Ibn Mattawayh, and Ibn al-Malāḥimī, many Yemeni-Bahšamite authors are prominently represented in the curriculum: the textbooks include several writings by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ, Ḥusayn b. Musallam al-Tihāmī's commentary on al-Raṣṣāṣ' *al-Taḥṣīl*, and Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī's *al-Kawākib al-durriyya*.[46] Another influential theologian during this period was al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 662/1263–64 or 663/1264–65), author of *Yanābīʿ al-naṣīḥa fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a theological *summa* with Bahšamite tendencies that again resembles in its structure and its reliance on the Qurʾān and *ḥadīṯ* the doctrinal works of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. Al-Ḥusayn also wrote a concise creedal work, titled *al-ʿIqd al-ṯamīn fī maʿrifat Rabb al-ʿālamīn*, which enjoyed immense popularity over the centuries. From his pen we also have numerous refutations directed against the Muṭarrifiyya.[47] Similar tendencies can be found in *Qawāʿid ʿaqāʾid Āl Muḥammad* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī (d. 711/1311–12), who wrote about the same time.

Over the course of several centuries, we can identify several important scholarly families that brought forth a number of prominent theologians: alongside the descendants of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ, a number of members of Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī's family were reputed theologians and authors. One of them was Ḥumayd's grandson al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, who lived in the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century. The dictation of his critical remarks on, and corrections to, al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Kayfiyya*, that is, the latter's treatise on the Bahšamite theory of attributes, is recorded in manuscript form.[48] Al-Qāsim's main work in theology is, however, *al-Ġurar wa-l-ḥuǧūl*, an important supercommentary on Mānkdīm Šašdīw's (d. ca. 425/1034) *Taʿlīq Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*. This text is a rich source on earlier Zaydī and non-Zaydī theologians and is in several respects fairly independent of the *Taʿlīq*. Al-Qāsim al-Muḥallī takes a greater interest in the topics of the preliminaries and the section on God's unity (*tawḥīd*): the two parts together make up more than the half of the whole text and consequently represent a significantly larger portion than in Mānkdīm's work. On specific questions, al-Qāsim was apparently influenced by the teachings of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ: he applies the same taxonomy to the effectors (*muʾaṯṯirāt*) and also follows al-Raṣṣāṣ' conceptual distinction between attributes (*ṣifāt*) and characteristics (*aḥkām*).[49]

Less than a century later, we see the rise of what might be called an encyclopedic attempt to canonize Zaydī teachings in theology and jurisprudence. Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37) wrote several works that became

46. See Chapter 8 in the present volume.

47. Al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 390–393 no. 388.

48. Thiele, "A propos de l'attribution."

49. Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 63–65; al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 765f.; Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya*, 75, 134.

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standard texts in Zaydī curricula and, in addition, attracted much attention from later commentators. His major work is *al-Baḥr al-zaḫḫār al-ǧāmiᶜ li-maḏāhib ᶜulamāᵓ al-anṣār*, a multivolume encyclopedia of *fiqh*. The first, introductory part of the work contains several textual units devoted to doctrine, viz. *K. al-Qalāᵓid fī taṣḥīḥ al-ᶜaqāᵓid*, *K. Riyāḍat al-afhām fī ᶜilm al-kalām*, and *Miᶜyār al-ᶜuqūl fī ᶜilm al-uṣūl*. These were later supplemented by Ibn al-Murtaḍā's own commentaries.[50] Ibn al-Murtaḍā's doctrinal works are largely based on al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī's *K. ᶜUyūn al-masāᵓil* and his autocommentary, *Šarḥ al-ᶜUyūn*, respectively. With regard to some subtle questions, Ibn al-Murtaḍā modifies al-Ǧišumī's positions according to the revisions suggested by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ.[51]

One of the most prolific theologians of the following generation was ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukurī (d. 882/1478).[52] He authored a very popular commentary on al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' treatise on causation, which was read until the eleventh/seventeenth century.[53] Numerous copies of the text with extensive glosses provide us with further details on the ongoing theological tradition of Bahšamite teaching in Yemen. They also reveal some details about treatises that were transmitted and read by scholars in theology; from these bits of text, we can distill a list of quoted works by such theologians as al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (his *Kayfiyya*), Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī (*al-Kawākib al-durriyya*), al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (*al-Ġurar wa-l-ḥuǧūl*), Ibn al-Murtaḍā (*al-Baḥr al-zaḫḫār*), and, as the most important non-Zaydī authority, Ibn Mattawayh, with many references to his *Taḏkira*.

## III. Counterreactions

While the theological approach of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ and his adherents continued to set the tone during the seventh/thirteenth century, growing opposition emerged among the Zaydīs of Yemen to Muᶜtazilism in general and the theological views of the Bahšamiyya in particular. The most outspoken opponent of Muᶜtazilite *kalām* was Nūr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Ḥumaydān b. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥumaydān (d. mid-seventh/thirteenth century), who sought to weaken its influence on Zaydī theology and to emphasize the latter's independence. For this purpose, he took recourse to the *maǧāmīᶜ* literature of the earlier *imām*s.[54] Moreover, the Zaydīs of Yemen were also introduced during this period to the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, a former student of ᶜAbd al-Ǧabbār. Abū l-Ḥusayn,

50. Al-Kamālī, *al-Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā*, 105ff.; al-Waǧīh, *Aᶜlām al-muᵓallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 206–213 no. 199; van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, 2/986–995; Zysow, "*Kalām* Works by Ibn al-Murtaḍā."

51. Thiele, *Kausalität in der muᶜtazilitischen Kosmologie*, 82f.; Schwarb, "MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294."

52. Al-Waǧīh, *Aᶜlām al-muᵓallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 709f. no. 760; Schwarb, "MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294," passim.

53. Thiele, *Kausalität in der muᶜtazilitischen Kosmologie*, 10f.

54. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 218ff.; ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Imām Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn*; Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 179–194; see also above, section I.

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who had also been trained in medicine and philosophy, had criticized the principles of the Bahšamiyya in an attempt to correct some of their concepts and arguments in order to defend Muʿtazilite notions more effectively against the objections of their opponents. While there is no indication that Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad had known any of Abū l-Ḥusayn's works, his student Sulaymān b. Nāṣir al-Suḥāmī (d. after 600/1203–4), who had also studied with Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh, wrote a *Muḫtaṣar al-Muʿtamad*, a summary of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh* on legal theory.[55] The numerous manuscript copies of Yemeni provenance of Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad* also indicate that it was widely read among Zaydī scholars.[56] This is not the case with Abū l-Ḥusayn's theological works. Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Šabīb al-Tihāmī (d. after 600/1203–4), al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' student and a follower of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, is reported to have defended some specific views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī against the Bahšamiyya.[57] There is no indication that Abū l-Ḥusayn's most comprehensive *kalām* work, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, ever reached Yemen. Yet although no manuscript has surfaced so far of Abū l-Ḥusayn's other important work, *K. Ġurar al-adilla*, there are some indications that this text may have been accessible to Zaydī scholars in Yemen and Mecca. Ibn al-Walīd reports that al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ wrote a refutation (*radd*) of the "*K. al-Madḫal ilā Ġurar al-adilla li-l-Šayḫ Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī naqḍan šāfiyan kāfiyan*," which is not known to be extant. Since al-Raṣṣāṣ was apparently concerned with the section on the imamate in particular, it is likely that "*K. al-Madḫal ilā Ġurar al-adilla*" was the title under which Abū l-Ḥusayn's *K. al-Ġurar* (or perhaps only a section of it) was known among the Zaydīs of Yemen.[58] Moreover, the seventh/thirteenth-century Yemeni author ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī quotes from the *Ġurar* in his *al-Maḥaǧǧa*,[59] and the above-mentioned Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī explicitly refers to the *Madḫal al-Ġurar* on numerous occasions throughout his *Qawāʿid ʿaqāʾid Āl Muḥammad*.

The principal sources through which the Zaydīs of Yemen became acquainted with Abū l-Ḥusayn's doctrines were the writings of Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 536/1141), as well as the *K. al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* by one Abū l-Maʿālī Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-ʿUǧālī al-Uṣūlī—possibly a student of Ibn al-Malāḥimī. The latter was a contemporary and associate of Ǧār Allāh al-Zamaḫšarī (d. 538/1144) and the chief representative of Abū l-Ḥusayn's thought a century after his death.[60] Several partial

55. Al-Suḥāmī also wrote *Šams šarīʿat al-islām fī fiqh Ahl al-Bayt ʿalayhim al-salām*, containing two brief introductory sections on *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, respectively; the majority of the work is devoted to *fiqh*. A manuscript of volume 1 of this work, transcribed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ṣabra al-Aslamī and dated Ǧumādā II 682/August–September 1283, is preserved in the library of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Qāsim al-Ḥūṯī. See al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 470f.

56. See Chapter 3 in the present volume.

57. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 222.

58. Ansari, "Maḥmūd al-Malāḥimī," 50.

59. Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad."

60. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Transmission of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Thought and Writings*.

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copies of his *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* are preserved in the libraries of Yemen, and the Maktabat al-awqāf of the Great Mosque in Sanaa also holds three copies of his *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, an abridged version of his *Muʿtamad*, among them one copy that is dated 630/1232–33. There is documentary evidence that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ "al-Ḥafīd" taught Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Muʿtamad*, and his grandfather's student Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫurāšī regularly refers to and quotes from Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *al-Fāʾiq* and his *al-Muʿtamad* in his *al-Tafṣīl li-ǧumal al-Taḥṣīl*.[61] Al-Ḫurāšī's contemporary Ibn al-Walīd wrote (in Ramaḍān 608/February–March 1212) a refutation of the section on the imamate in Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *al-Fāʾiq*, entitled *al-Ǧawāb al-nāṭiq al-ṣādiq bi-ḥall šubah kitāb al-Fāʾiq*.[62] Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa* was likewise known to Yemeni scholars of the sixth/twelfth century. Al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ wrote a refutation of the criticism that had been launched by Ibn al-Malāḥimī against the philosophers' view that the existence (*wuǧūd*) of created beings is supplemental to their essence (*māhiyya*); the refutation is titled *al-Barāhīn al-ẓāhira al-ǧaliyya ʿalā anna l-wuǧūd zāʾid ʿalā l-māhiyya*, and it quotes extensively from Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Tuḥfa*.[63] The collection of the Maktabat al-awqāf of the Great Mosque in Sanaa contains a manuscript of the *K. al-Kāmil* by the above-mentioned Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad. This work systematically compares the teachings of the Bahšamiyya with those of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The manuscript suggests that the *K. al-Kāmil* was one of the earliest sources of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's doctrinal views for the Zaydīs of Yemen. The colophon states that it was collated with a *Vorlage* transcribed from a copy of Sadīd al-Dīn ʿAmr b. Ǧamīl [Ǧumayl], a teacher of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh.[64] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436) also quotes extensively from the *K. al-Kāmil*, although indirectly via the *K. al-Muǧtabā fī uṣūl al-dīn* of the Ḫʷārazmian Ḥanafite scholar Naǧm al-Dīn Muḫtār b. Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī al-Ġazmīnī (d. 658/1260).[65]

A leading figure of seventh/thirteenth-century Zaydī scholarship in Yemen was the *mutakallim* and legal scholar Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḫayr al-ʿAnsī (b. 593/1196–97, d. Šaʿbān 667/April 1268), a prolific author in a variety of fields. According to the later biographical tradition, he has 105 titles to his

61. Ansari and Thiele, "MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 51."

62. Ansari, *Miyān-i kalām wa falsafa*, 331-335.

63. Ansari, "*Al-Barāhīn al-ẓāhira*."

64. The work has been partly edited on the basis of a second copy of the text, MS Leiden Or. 487, by Elsayed Elshahed as *Problem der transzendenten sinnlichen Wahrnehmung*; see the critical review by Wilferd Madelung. Elshahed has meanwhile published a full edition of the text (al-Naǧrānī, *Kāmil*), again on the basis of the Leiden manuscript only. As in the earlier edition, the introduction and edition are marred by glaring errors and misidentifications, including the author's *nisba* "al-Naǧrānī." See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Transmission of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Thought and Writings*.

65. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Transmission of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Thought and Writings*.

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credit.[66] To judge from the number of extant manuscripts, his most popular work was *al-Iršād ilā naǧāt al-ʿibād*, a work with Ṣūfī tendencies, which al-ʿAnsī finished in Rabīʿ II 632/January 1235. His magnum opus was the *K. al-Maḥaǧǧa al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a comprehensive theological *summa* he completed on 14 Rabīʿ II 641/October 1, 1243. The *K. al-Maḥaǧǧa* consists of eight parts (*aqsām*, sing. *qism*), a division that is characteristic of most of al-ʿAnsī's theological works. The parts address (1) divine unicity (*tawḥīd*); (2) justice (*ʿadl*); (3) prophecy (*nubuwwa*); (4) revealed legislation (*šarāʾiʿ*); (5) the imamate; (6) commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*); (7) the promise and the threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*); and (8) attributes and characteristics (*al-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām*).

Al-ʿAnsī was a severe critic of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ and his followers on both doctrinal and political questions. Like Sayyid Ḥumaydān, al-ʿAnsī attempted to strengthen the influence of the doctrines of the earlier *imām*s, particularly those of al-Hādī, while reducing the influence of the Bahšamiyya. However, al-ʿAnsī did not share Ḥumaydān's critical attitude towards Muʿtazilite *kalām* in general. Al-ʿAnsī was familiar with a wide spectrum of Muʿtazilite *kalām* literature: in addition to the theological writings of the earlier *imām*s al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, al-ʿAnsī was well acquainted with the theological literature of the Bahšamiyya and more specifically with texts written by students and companions of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. He explicitly refers to the *K. al-Muḥīṭ* of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār—no doubt meaning the paraphrastic commentary on the work by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Maǧmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*—and he regularly mentions the views of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, Ibn Mattawayh, and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq. Moreover, al-ʿAnsī was also familiar with the theological writings of Ibn al-Malāḥimī. Throughout the *Maḥaǧǧa*, the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī are regularly cited and discussed, and it seems that al-ʿAnsī gleaned the relevant information primarily from Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Muʿtamad*. As mentioned above, al-ʿAnsī also quotes repeatedly from Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *K. Ġurar al-adilla* throughout the *Maḥaǧǧa*, although it remains unclear whether he had the work at his disposal or was quoting from an intermediate source.[67] In many respects, al-ʿAnsī preferred the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī, which, in his view, were often closer than the views of the Bahšamiyya to the doctrines of the earlier Zaydī *imām*s and which he largely identified with those of the school of Baghdad. His approach towards their doctrinal thought is nevertheless critical, and al-ʿAnsī follows their views only as long as they fit his overall agenda of formulating a theology that remains faithful to the teachings of the *imām*s.[68]

At a later stage of his life, al-ʿAnsī composed the *K. al-Tamyīz*, a refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya that consists of three parts. The first is an introduction divided into the

66. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*.
67. Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad."
68. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 3.

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same eight fields of theology as found in the *Maḥaǧǧa*: divine unicity, justice, prophecy and revealed laws, the imamate, commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible, the promise and the threat, and attributes and characteristics. For each domain, al-ᶜAnsī first presents the beliefs of the "*ahl al-islām*," followed by those of the Muṭarrifiyya, which he then refutes. A second introduction, by far the most extensive portion of the text, contains a detailed refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya arranged in eighty questions (*maᶜārif*, sing. *maᶜrifa*). The work is concluded by a *ḫātima* in which the author explains his own theological positions. This third section of the text constitutes a theological *summa* in its own right and has the same structure of eight parts (*aqsām*) as the *Maḥaǧǧa*. The work represents an important cornerstone in the development of al-ᶜAnsī's thought: while the theological doctrine in the *ḫātima* of this work fully corresponds to what he maintained in his *Maḥaǧǧa*, he now refrains from pointing out his agreement with either the Baghdadis or Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī (these two are mentioned on one single occasion only throughout the entire *ḫātima*). Instead, he strongly and repeatedly insists on his agreement with the theological views of *imām*s al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, while his opposition against the Basran and, more specifically, Bahšamite doctrine remains unstated in this work.[69]

Al-ᶜAnsī's doctrinal outlook also manifested itself in a conflict with the Banū Raṣṣāṣ, particularly Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ "al-Ḥafīd," who, like his ancestors, was a staunch supporter of the Bahšamiyya. Apart from occasional critical remarks against al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ throughout the *Maḥaǧǧa*, the later biographical tradition reports that al-ᶜAnsī's conflict with the Ḥafīd was focused on the issue of whether a grave offender (*fāsiq*) holds an intermediary position (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*) between a believer and an unbeliever: whereas Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ supported the Muᶜtazilite doctrine of the intermediary position, al-ᶜAnsī completely rejected it. While the relevant part of his *Maḥaǧǧa* (the issue would have been addressed within part 8 on *al-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām*) is not preserved, al-ᶜAnsī discusses the issue in his brief tract *Māʾ al-yaqīn*. Here, he states that the grave offender (*al-fāsiq*) is an unbeliever by virtue of ingratitude (*kāfir al-niᶜma*).[70] Al-ᶜAnsī thus opted for the traditional Zaydī doctrinal notion that had been favored by al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm.[71] According to Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riǧāl (d. 1092/1690), the author of the bibliographical encyclopedia *Maṭlaᶜ al-budūr*,[72] the conflict gradually escalated. Al-ᶜAnsī corresponded on the issue with ᶜAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Fuḍaylī and subsequently wrote a tract against the doctrine of the intermediate position. Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ then

69. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 3 and chapter 5, no. 27; for an edition of the text, see chapter 6, text 6.

70. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123/3, ff. 235a–b; for an edition, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 6, text 3.

71. Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 60ff., 121ff., 164ff.

72. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaᶜ al-budūr*, 1/421, 3/364 no. 957.

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intervened and composed a refutation of this tract, entitled *Manāhiǧ al-inṣāf al-ʿāṣima ʿan šabb nār al-ḫilāf*, to which he later added a *Muqaddimat al-Manāhiǧ*. None of these writings has been preserved.[73]

Over the following generations, the tendency to prefer the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī to those of the Bahšamiyya continued and even gained strength among the Zaydīs of Yemen, and the conflict between the two groups seems to have become harsher. For example, al-ʿAnsī's student Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr b. al-ʿAfīf is specifically reported to have adopted the entire theological system of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.[74] Moreover, Yaḥyā disputed and corresponded with some "*ʿulamāʾ al-ẓāhir*" who followed the doctrines of Abū Hāšim, with the specific aim of defending the views of the family of the Prophet (*Ahl al-Bayt*) and of Abū l-Ḥusayn.[75] ʿAlī b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal (b. 704/1304–5, d. 784/1382–83) was another renowned adherent of the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī who wrote a *qaṣīda* in support of Abū l-Ḥusayn. According to the later biographical tradition, he also corresponded and disputed with a number of scholars described as Bahšamites, such as Aḥmad b. Ṣalāḥ b. al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm b. Tāǧ al-Dīn, while maintaining the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī.[76] ʿAlī also disputed and subsequently corresponded with the jurist Ibrāhīm al-ʿArārī (d. ca. 794/1391–92).[77] The latter so staunchly supported the Bahšamiyya that he is reported to have stated that Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī and his son Abū Hāšim were preferable to *imām*s al-Qāsim and al-Hādī.[78] Word about this conflict spread and other scholars got involved, writing refutations of Ibrāhīm al-ʿArārī's unacceptable statement.[79] These scholars included Imam al-Mahdī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. al-Mufaḍḍal (b. 705/1305–6, d. 773/1371–72) (*al-Namraqa al-wusṭā fī l-radd ʿalā munkir āl al-Muṣṭafā*), Imam al-Wāṯiq bi-llāh (d. 802/1400) (*al-Naṣr al-ʿazīz ʿalā ṣāḥib al-taǧwīz*), and ʿAlī b. al-Murtaḍā's sister, Ṣafiyya bt. al-Murtaḍā (*al-Ǧawāb al-waǧīz ʿalā ṣāḥib al-taǧwīz*), who all supported the doctrinal views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The evolution of the conflict between the two strands supports the assumption that the positive appreciation of the doctrinal views of Abū l-Ḥusayn as against those of the school of Basra and, more specifically, the Bahšamiyya was founded mostly on their identification as being closer to, or perhaps even identical with, the traditional theology of the earlier Zaydī *imām*s.[80]

73. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 3.

74. Al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3/1263f. no. 800.

75. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 4/515.

76. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/351.

77. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/351, 1/159 no. 36; see also al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 722f. no. 778.

78. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/351.

79. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/352.

80. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 4.

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In this context, the case of Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī (b. 669/1270, d. 749/1348–49) seems to be an exception: in his encyclopedic *K. al-Šāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* (or *li-ḥaqāʾiq al-adilla al-ʿaqliyya wa-uṣūl al-masāʾil al-dīniyya*), written in 711–12/1311–12, he adopted virtually the entire doctrinal system of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Moreover, he was the first to study in depth Sunnī-Aš$^{c}$arite works. Throughout his *Šāmil*, he regularly refers to Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ǧuwaynī (d. 478/1085), Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111), and Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209)—explicitly citing the latter's *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*—and refutes their positions. The popularity of his writings is indicated by the numerous extant manuscript copies as well as the fact that most of his theological works have been published.[81]

Both traditions, the Bahšamite strand as well as the more conservative strand whose representatives sought to cling closely to the teachings of the *imām*s, continued over the centuries up until the modern period.[82]

81. Schmidtke, "Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh."
82. Schwarb, "Muʿtazilism in a 20th-Century Zaydī Qurʾān Commentary."

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# Chapter 12
# Zaydī Theology in Seventh/Thirteenth-Century Yemen: ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī and His *Kitāb al-Maḥağğa al-Bayḍāʾ fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*

## I. Introduction

Zaydī Šīʿism initially developed and flourished in two regions, the southern shore of the Caspian Sea in northern Iran and the northern highlands of Yemen: al-Nāṣir li-l-ḥaqq al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūš (d. 304/917) had founded a Zaydī imamate in Gīlān, while Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq (d. 298/911), a grandson of Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860), had established in 284/897 a Zaydī state in Yemen. The two states constituted separate political and cultural entities. Whereas the majority of Yemeni theologians remained faithful to the teachings of the early Zaydī *imām*s, viz. al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, the Caspian Zaydīs adhered partly to the legal doctrines of al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūš and partly to those of al-Hādī and, in terms of theology, increasingly adopted the teachings of the Basran school of the Muʿtazila. Zaydī Muʿtazilism flourished especially with the *imām*s al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 411/1020) and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn (d. 424/1033). The two brothers had studied theology in Baghdad with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980), the leading authority on Basran Muʿtazilism at the time. When al-Muʾayyad and al-Nāṭiq came to Rayy, they joined the circle of the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995). The latter actively promoted Muʿtazilite theology and appointed the then head of the Basran school, ʿAbd al-Ğabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1024), as chief judge of Rayy. ʿAbd al-Ğabbār in turn attracted numerous additional Zaydī students, among them Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī ("Mānkdīm Šašdīw", d. ca. 425/1034), Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Ğīlī al-Bustī (fl. late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh centuries), Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās Ibn Šarwīn, and al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī al-Šağarī al-Ğurğānī (d. after 420/1029). In the succeeding generations, the Basran Muʿtazilite scholarly tradition continued to be upheld by the Zaydīs of northern Iran, especially those of Rayy.

The Zaydīs of Yemen, by contrast, remained faithful during those centuries to the doctrinal thought of al-Hādī and mostly ignored, it seems, the intellectual developments of their Iranian coreligionists. In the fifth/eleventh century, a pietist movement emerged in Yemen that was later on named Muṭarrifiyya, after the eponym Muṭarrif b. Šihāb b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbbād al-Šihābī (d. mid-fifth/eleventh century). Taking the teachings of al-Hādī as their point of departure, its adherents developed a cosmology and natural philosophy



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of their own that deviated from the tenets of traditional Muʿtazilism. During most of the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, this strand dominated the intellectual landscape of Yemeni Zaydism.[1]

Around the turn of the sixth/twelfth century, a rapprochement began that eventually resulted in the political unification of the two Zaydī states. In 502/1108 Abū Ṭālib, a great-grandson of Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, rose in Gīlān, claiming the Zaydī imamate. A few years later, in 511/1117, he was endorsed by the Yemeni Zaydīs as well. Abū Ṭālib *al-aḫīr* was eager to unite the two Zaydī communities not only politically but also culturally and religiously. Although he died in 520/1126, his legacy continued beyond his death. In 532/1137, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (b. 500/1106, d. 566/1170) successfully ascended in Yemen as Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh, expressly acknowledging the legitimacy of the Zaydī *imām*s of the Caspian region and maintaining the unity of the Zaydīs. He promoted the transfer of Caspian Zaydī religious literature to Yemen, invited numerous Zaydī scholars from Iran to Yemen, and furthered the teaching careers of Yemeni scholars who had studied in Iran and Iraq. Aiming to establish an intellectual counterweight to the Muṭarrifī community, he specifically encouraged the spread of Basran Muʿtazilite teachings. His successor, Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), whose claim to the Zaydī imamate in 593/1197 was acknowledged by the Zaydīs of Yemen and northern Iran alike, further intensified the import of religious literature to Yemen. As a result of this religio-cultural transfer, the intellectual center of Zaydism gradually shifted from the coastal regions south of the Caspian Sea, from Rayy, and from Kufa to Yemen, where Bahšamite theology was now blossoming.

A leading part in promoting Caspian Zaydī and (Bahšamite) Muʿtazilite teaching was played by the *qāḍī* Šams al-Dīn Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī (d. 573/1177), a descendant of a family of Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*s who had at first converted to the Muṭarrifiyya but then turned to Zaydī "orthodoxy."[2] Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar had studied with the Ǧurāsānian scholar Abū l-Ḥusayn Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ǧurāsānī al-Bayhaqī, who had arrived in Yemen in about 541/1146–47, and he had accompanied his teacher when the latter left Yemen around 544/1149–50 to return to his homeland. Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar continued traveling after al-Bayhaqī's death to pursue his theological education in Iran and Iraq and to gather books on behalf of the Zaydī community of Yemen. In Rayy, he studied with Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kanī (d. ca. 565/1169–70), who in turn was a student of al-Bayhaqī, and he is also known to have been taught by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farrazāḏī, one of the members of the renowned Farrazāḏī family in this town. Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar also spent some time in Mecca, where he studied with the eminent Zaydī

1. On the Muṭarrifiyya, see Madelung, "Muṭarrifī Manuscript"; Madelung, "Origins of the Yemenite Hijra"; Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*, passim.

2. On him, see EI2 Suppl./236 (W. Madelung).

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scholar Abū l-Ḥasan ʿUlayy b. ʿĪsā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās al-Sulaymānī (d. 556/1161–62),[3] and in Kufa. Through his various teachers, Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar received authorization for the transmission of books back to Yemen, where he returned sometime in 553/1158. His primary importance thus lay in his role as a transmitter of Iranian Zaydī literature and as a propagator of the doctrines of the Caspian Zaydiyya in Yemen. In addition to being appointed *qāḍī* of Sanaa (in 545/1150–51), he opened his own *madrasa* in nearby Sanāʿ, where he engaged in a prolonged confrontation with the local Muṭarrifīs, and he composed mostly introductory works to the various disciplines of religious learning, espousing the Bahšamite Muʿtazilite doctrine in *kalām* and legal methodology. Qāḍī Ǧaʿfar was succeeded after his death in 573/1177–78 by his student Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad (or Abū ʿAlī) al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (b. 546/1151–52, d. 584/1188) as head of the school in Sanāʿ. Al-Raṣṣāṣ acted as the teacher of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, later Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, and he wrote numerous substantial works on the subtleties (*daqāʾiq*) of *kalām* as well as a theological *summa*, *K. al-Taḥṣīl fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-taʿdīl*, thus further establishing the Bahšamite doctrine as the "official" theology of the Zaydīs of Yemen. Al-Raṣṣāṣ not only disregarded the earlier Yemeni Zaydī theological tradition, he also avoided—with some exceptions, such as his *K. al-Taḥṣīl*—topics such as the imamate, and he refrained from referring to any of the earlier Zaydī authorities.[4] The exclusively Bahšamite trend was perhaps the result of a fascination with the new doctrinal thought that in its sophistication surpassed the prevalent theological discourse in Yemen up to this point. Moreover, during the imamates of both al-Mutawakkil and, in much sharper form, al-Manṣūr, the conflict between the new Zaydī "orthodoxy" and the Muṭarrifiyya reached its peak, and the opponents of the Muṭarrifiyya found the Bahšamite doctrine a suitable tool in their fight against the latter. This prompted the Muṭarrifīs to further refine their own doctrines, taking recourse to the teachings of the school of Baghdad.[5]

While the theological trend of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ and his adherents continued to set the tone during the seventh/thirteenth century,[6] growing opposition emerged among the Zaydīs of Yemen against Muʿtazilism in general and the theological views of the Bahšamiyya in particular. The most outspoken opponent of Muʿtazilite *kalām* was Nūr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥumaydān b. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥumaydān (d. mid-seventh/thir-

3. On him, see Lane, *Traditional Muʿtazilite Qurʾān Commentary*, 26–29, 48–53, 251.

4. For al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ, see Thiele, "Propagating Muʿtazilism"; Thiele, *Kausalität in der muʿtazilitischen Kosmologie*; Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya*.

5. For an outline of their doctrinal views, based on an analysis of an authentic Muṭarrifī work by Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (fl. second half of the sixth/twelfth century), *al-Burhān al-rāʾiq*, see Madelung, "Muṭarrifī Manuscript"; EI2 7/772f. (W. Madelung). See also Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 202f.

6. See Thiele, "Theological Compendia." See also the English and Persian introductions to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫurāšī, *Kitāb al-Tafṣīl li-ǧumal al-Taḥṣīl*; Ansari and Thiele, "MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 51"; and Chapter 11 in the present volume.

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teenth century), who sought to weaken its influence on Zaydī theology and to emphasize the latter's independence.[7]

## II. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī

A leading figure of seventh/thirteenth-century Zaydī scholarship in Yemen was the *mutakallim* and legal scholar Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḫayr al-ʿAnsī (b. 593/1196–97, d. Šaʿbān 667/April 1268). Al-ʿAnsī was a prolific author in a variety of fields: the later biographical tradition credits him with a total of 105 titles.[8] His most popular work, if judged on the basis of the number of extant manuscripts, was *al-Iršād ilā naǧāt al-ʿibād*, a work with Ṣūfī tendencies, completed in Rabīʿ II 632/January 1235.[9] His magnum opus was the *K. al-Maḥaǧǧa al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a comprehensive theological *summa*, which al-ʿAnsī finished on 14 Rabīʿ II 641/October 1, 1243.[10] Although the conflict with the Muṭarrifiyya had waned by the time of al-ʿAnsī as a consequence of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's all-out war against the Muṭarrifīs, it still plays a significant role in al-ʿAnsī's writings. He mentions and criticizes their views regularly in his *al-Maḥaǧǧa*, and he composed, among his last writings, *al-Tamyīz bayn al-islām wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya al-ṭaġām*, a detailed refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya.[11] In addition to his *Tamyīz*, he is reported to have written several other refutations of the Muṭarrifiyya, although his authorship cannot be ascertained in all cases.[12]

Among the extant dated writings of al-ʿAnsī is his *Ǧawāb al-faqīh Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Šāfiʿī al-sākin bi-Ḏahbān*. Al-ʿAnsī completed the work in Raǧab 648/November–December 1250, and it consists of his replies to four theological and legal questions raised by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh, a Šāfiʿite scholar.[13] In the tract, al-ʿAnsī mentions that he had read with one of his teachers in Mecca the *K. al-Iršād* of Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ǧuwaynī (d. 478/1085).[14]

7. On him, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 218ff. His writings have been published as *Maǧmūʿ al-Sayyid Ḥumaydān*. For an assessment of his theological views, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Imām Ḥumaydān*; Ansari, "Ǧaryān-i siwwum," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 179–194.

8. Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 3/82; al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/612. See also Chapters 9 and 10 in the present volume. For a full study of al-ʿAnsī and an analysis of his doctrinal thought, see our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*.

9. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5 ("Inventory of the Writings of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī"), no. 4.

10. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 9.

11. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 27.

12. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, nos. 1, 3, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

13. See our *Zaydī Muʿtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 6.

14. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 123/5, f. 263b:2–7. The work has been edited by Ǧamāl al-Šāmī in the basis of MS Glaser 123/5. Al-Šāmī also recently published another brief tract by al-ʿAnsī, viz. his *al-Sirāǧ al-wahhāǧ*, again in the basis of a manuscript from the Berlin Glaser collection.

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At this time, it was still unusual for Zaydī scholars to study Aš$^{c}$arite *kalām* literature, which was unavailable in Yemen.

Al-$^{c}$Ansī composed two works on legal theory: *Taḥrīr adillat al-uṣūl* (also known as *Taḥrīr al-adilla*, *al-Taḥrīr li-adillat al-uṣūl*, and *al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-fiqh*), which is incompletely preserved in the library of the Great Mosque (al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya) in Sanaa,[15] and *al-Durar al-manẓūma fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, which seems to be lost beyond the numerous quotations that appear in the works of Abū $^{c}$Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436).[16] In addition, a brief tract entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-maḥağğa al-dāll $^{c}$alā anna iğmā$^{c}$ āl al-nabī ḥuğğa* on this specific issue of legal theory is preserved in manuscript form.[17]

In the field of law, al-$^{c}$Ansī is credited with a five-volume *K. al-Istibṣār*, on which he later wrote a commentary of about twenty volumes. This work allegedly served as the basis for al-Mu$^{ɔ}$ayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza's (d. 745/1344) *K. al-Intiṣār $^{c}$alā $^{c}$ulamā$^{ɔ}$ al-amṣār*. It appears to be lost.[18] The only legal work by al-$^{c}$Ansī that remains extant is his *Risāla fī l-ğam$^{c}$ bayn al-ṣalawāt*.[19]

Al-$^{c}$Ansī was an opponent of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ and his followers, doctrinally as well as politically. Like Sayyid Ḥumayḍān, al-$^{c}$Ansī attempted to strengthen the influence of the doctrines of the earlier *imām*s, particularly those of al-Hādī, while reducing the influence of the Bahšamiyya. However, al-$^{c}$Ansī did not share Ḥumayḍān's critical attitude towards Mu$^{c}$tazilite *kalām* in general. Al-$^{c}$Ansī was familiar with a wide spectrum of Mu$^{c}$tazilite *kalām* literature: in addition to the theological writings of the earlier *imām*s al-Qāsim and al-Hādī, he was well acquainted with the theological literature of the Bahšamiyya. He explicitly mentions the *K. al-Muḥīṭ* of $^{c}$Abd al-Ǧabbār (no doubt referring to the paraphrastic commentary on the work by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Mağmū$^{c}$ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*), and he regularly cites the views of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, Ibn Mattawayh, and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq among the students and companions of $^{c}$Abd al-Ǧabbār. Al-$^{c}$Ansī was also familiar with the theological writings of Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫ$^{w}$ārazmī (d. 536/1141), an adherent of the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), whose writings had reached Yemen by the late sixth/twelfth century but had exerted only limited influence. Throughout the *Maḥağğa*, al-$^{c}$Ansī regularly mentions and discusses the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Malāḥimī. He seems to have gleaned the relevant information primarily from Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Mu$^{c}$tamad fī $^{c}$ilm al-kalām*, which was available in Yemen. Throughout the

15. MS Ṣan$^{c}$ā$^{ɔ}$, al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya, no. 838; see $^{c}$Īsawī [et al.], *Fihris*, 1/424f. This manuscript was not available to us. MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. D 479/4, f. 235a contains a small extract from the work; see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, 2/371 no. 735/IV.

16. See our *Zaydī Mu$^{c}$tazilism*, chapter 5, no. 2.

17. See our *Zaydī Mu$^{c}$tazilism*, chapter 5, no. 12.

18. See our *Zaydī Mu$^{c}$tazilism*, chapter 5, no. 5.

19. See our *Zaydī Mu$^{c}$tazilism*, chapter 5, no. 17.

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*Maḥağğa*, al-ᶜAnsī also quotes repeatedly Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's lost *K. Ġurar al-adilla*, although it remains unclear whether he had the work at his disposal or is quoting from an intermediary source.[20] In many respects, al-ᶜAnsī preferred the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī, seeing them as often closer than the views of the Bahšamiyya to the doctrines of the earlier Zaydī *imām*s. His approach to their doctrinal thought is nevertheless critical, and al-ᶜAnsī follows their views only insofar as they fit his overall agenda of formulating a theology that is faithful to the teachings of the *imām*s.

### *1. K. al-Maḥağğa al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*

The *K. al-Maḥağğa* consists of eight parts (*aqsām*, sing. *qism*), a division that is characteristic of most of al-ᶜAnsī's theological works. The eight parts address the following topics: (1) divine unicity (*tawḥīd*); (2) justice (*ᶜadl*); (3) prophecy (*nubuwwa*); (4) revealed legislation (*šarāʾiᶜ*); (5) the imamate; (6) commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi-l-maᶜrūf wa-l-nahy ᶜan al-munkar*); (7) the promise and the threat (*al-waᶜd wa-l-waᶜīd*); and (8) attributes and characteristics (*al-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām*). The work is incompletely preserved in three manuscripts, which cover parts 1 through 5:

1. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1273. The codex, which is incomplete in the beginning, was transcribed by ᶜAbd Allāh b. Zayd's nephew, Muḥammad b. Asᶜad b. Zayd al-ᶜAnsī, in Ṣaᶜda. The manuscript comprises parts 2 (beginning with *al-kalām fī l-maṣāliḥ*), 3, and 4. It was completed on 20 Rabīᶜ II 640/October 17, 1242, the same day given by the author as the date of completion, suggesting that he dictated the work to his nephew.[21]
2. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286, again transcribed by the author's nephew, comprising parts 1 through 4. The copy was completed on 14 Rabīᶜ II 641/October 1, 1243 in Ṣaᶜda.[22]
3. MS Hiğrat al-Sirr, Maktabat Āl al-Wazīr, containing part 5, on the imamate. This manuscript was transcribed in 718/1318–19 partly by al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Wazīr (d. 732/1331), the author of *Bayān al-awāmir al-muğmala fī wuğūb ṭāᶜat ulī l-amr wa-farḍ al-masʾala* and the son of al-ᶜAnsī's student al-Mufaḍḍal b. Manṣūr b. al-ᶜAfīf (d. 682/1283–84), and partly by ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. Salāma al-Ṣuraymī, one of the scholars of the period of Imam al-Maḥdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn

20. See Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad." See also our *Transmission of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Thought and Writings*, as well as *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 5, no. 9.

21. See Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 406–408 no. 214. The manuscript is available online at goo.gl/pwRs0g.

22. See Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 433f. no. 226.

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(d. 656/1258). All three scholars were devout followers of al-ᶜAnsī.[23] This manuscript was not available to us.[24]

While no manuscript covering parts 6 through 8 of the *Maḥaǧǧa* is known to be extant, there can be no doubt that al-ᶜAnsī completed the work. In the introduction to the third part of his *al-Tamyīz*, al-ᶜAnsī's most comprehensive tract against the Muṭarrifiyya written during the later period of his life (see also above), the author mentions his earlier works on theology.[25] His wording indicates that the *Maḥaǧǧa* was his most authoritative work in this domain and allows no reason to doubt that the work had been completed.[26] Numerous references to discussions in later parts of the *Maḥaǧǧa*, most likely in parts 7 and/or 8 of the work, in the *K. al-Šams al-munīra al-zahrāʾ fī taḥqīq baḥṯ mā adḥalahu al-kuffār dārahum qahran wa-mā yattaṣilu min farāʾid al-fawāʾid* by al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir b. ᶜAbd al-Ḥafīẓ b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Muhallā al-Šarafī (d. 1111/1699–1700) also confirm that al-ᶜAnsī had completed the *Maḥaǧǧa*.[27]

Throughout the extant parts of his *Maḥaǧǧa*, al-ᶜAnsī refers to earlier writings of his, two of which seem to be lost: *K. al-Šihāb*, or alternatively *K. al-Šihāb al-ṯāqib*,[28] referring to his *K. al-Šihāb al-ṯāqib ᶜalā maḏāhib al-ᶜitra al-aṭāyib*, and *K. al-Takmīl*. The *K. al-Šihāb* is also mentioned in the introduction to his *K. al-Tamyīz* among his earlier works in the field of theology. Al-ᶜAnsī adds that it consisted of one volume (*muǧallad wāḥid*).[29] By contrast, the *K. al-Takmīl* is not mentioned in the introduction. References to the *Takmīl* occur mostly in part 2 (*ᶜadl*) of the *Maḥaǧǧa*,[30] and occasionally in parts 3 (*nubuwwāt*)[31] and 4 (*šarāʾiᶜ*),[32] but not in part 1 (*tawḥīd*). This suggests that the work was not a systematic theological *summa* but rather was concerned with issues relevant to parts 2, 3, and 4 of

23. See our *Zaydī Muᶜtazilism*, chapter 4.

24. It is briefly described in al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, 48 no. 80; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 124; al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir*, 2/385. It is evidently this manuscript that is referred to in al-Akwaᶜ, *Hiǧar al-ᶜilm*, 1/177.

25. *Al-Tamyīz*, MS Ṣanᶜāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad Sārī, f. 149a:5–10. While the original manuscript (originally preserved in the personal library of Muḥammad al-Sārī in Sanaa) is apparently no longer extant (for a description, see al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 124), a digital copy of a microfilm copy was available to us.

26. Here, al-ᶜAnsī describes the *Maḥaǧǧa* as follows (f. 149a):

كتاب المحجة البيضاء فيه | النهاية في الدقيق والجليل والخلاف والتفضيل وصحة المذهب | والردود على المخالفة في علم الكلام وهو الجُمانة الكبرى على | أهل الإسلام كافّة

27. MS Ṣanᶜāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, *uṣūl* 129, pp. 36, 46, 51, 52, 58, 60 [manuscript paginated, not foliated]

28. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286, ff. 8b, 18a, 19a, 35b, 80a, 91b, 126b, 139b, 150b.

29. *Al-Tamyīz*, f. 149a. Here, al-ᶜAnsī also gives the full title of the work.

30. MS BSB Cod.arab. 1286, ff. 68b, 86a, 86b, 88b, 108b, 119b, 155a.

31. MS BSB Cod.arab. 1286, ff. 199a, 201a.

32. MS BSB Cod.arab. 1286, f. 204a.

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the *Maḥağğa*. On various occasions throughout part 4, al-ᶜAnsī refers to his *K. al-Taḥrīr* on legal theory (see above).

## III. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1286 comprises parts 1 (*tawḥīd*) through 4 (*al-šarāᵓiᶜ*) of al-ᶜAnsī's *Maḥağğa*, the most comprehensive partial copy of the work. As mentioned above, the codex was transcribed by ᶜAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ᶜAnsī's nephew, Muḥammad b. Asᶜad b. Zayd al-ᶜAnsī, with the exception of f. 1b, which is written in a different, later hand. Muḥammad completed the copy on 14 Rabīᶜ II 641/October 1, 1243, in Ṣaᶜda (f. 224b). The text has been collated by different hands (see the margin corrections on ff. 5b, 7a, 8b, 11b, 12a, 18a, 20b, 21a, 33b, 35b, 43b, 50a, 66a, 79a, 83a, 132b, 135b [opening with the remark "*hāḏā fī nusḫatihi al-muqābala wa-huwa qalīl al-ğadwā*"], 141a, 160b, 206b, 207b). The margin correction on f. 83a concludes with the statement "*katabahu muᵓallif al-kitāb . . .*," which suggests that this correction and possibly some others were perhaps done by al-ᶜAnsī himself. Following f. 177, there is an additional page added to the codex containing a commentary that was gleaned from the original copy of the text, most likely an autograph (*qawluhu wa-llāh aᶜlam bi-tafṣīlihi fī l-umm nasaḫtuhu fī l-ḥāšiya . . .*). It is possible that some of the other margin additions to the text were taken from the same *umm*.

The codex also has a margin note in the hand of ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAṭiyya al-Dawwārī (b. 715/1315, d. 800/1397–78) (f. 2a), the author of several works on theology and one of the teachers of the above-mentioned Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr.[33] That the volume evidently remained with the Dawwārī family in Ṣaᶜda for many generations is suggested by reading notes throughout the codex in the hand of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad (b.) Ḥābis al-Dawwārī al-Ṣaᶜdī (d. 1061/1651),[34] who is the author of two works: *K. al-Anwār al-hādiya li-ḏawī l-ᶜuqūl ilā maᶜrifat maqāṣid al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-sūᵓl fī ᶜilm al-uṣūl*, a commentary on the *K. al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-suᵓl fī ᶜilm al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Bahrān (d. 957/1550) on legal theory, and *K. al-Īḍāḥ ᶜalā l-Miṣbāḥ*, a commentary on the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224)[35] (f. 2a and passim).

33. On him, see al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 131, 180, 214; al-Waǧīh, *Aᶜlām al-muᵓallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 571–573 no. 585 (with further references).

34. On him, see Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 234f. no. 19; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 145, 185, 248, 345, 392; al-Waǧīh, *Aᶜlām al-muᵓallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 199–201 no. 193 (with further references).

35. Published as *K. al-Īḍāḥ šarḥ al-Miṣbāḥ al-šahīr bi-šarḥ al-ṯalāṯīn al-masᵓala*.

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# Twelver Šīʿism

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# Chapter 13
# The Twelver Šīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism

## I. Šīʿī theology during the lifetime of the *imām*s

The history of rational theology among the Twelver Šīʿīs between the mid-third/ninth and seventh/thirteenth century passed through a series of phases, each one characterized by distinct doctrinal features. Šīʿī (proto-Imāmite) theology began to evolve already during the lifetime of the *imām*s (*ʿaṣr al-ḥuḍūr*). It is particularly since the time of Imam Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) that the extant biographical and doxographical literature testifies to a lively scene of *mutakallimūn* among the companions of the *imām*s.[1] The attitude of the *imām*s towards their followers' engagement in *kalām* was ambiguous. Numerous preserved accounts report that they condemned manifestations of speculative reasoning in doctrinal questions, while other reports attest to disputations on theological issues between the *imām*s and their companions.[2] There is also evidence that the *mutakallimūn* enjoyed the encouragement and explicit support of the *imām*s, who appreciated their ability to aptly defend Šīʿī doctrines in disputations with non-Šīʿī opponents, both Muslim and non-Muslim.[3] Moreover, the *imām*s unambiguously affirmed the primacy of reason over revelation.[4] The *mutakallimūn*'s engagement in defense of Šīʿī notions is reflected by the many titles of works preserved in the biographical and bibliographical literature that are concerned with the imamate and related Šīʿī doctrines.[5] These also demonstrate that the early Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* were at the same time concerned with other theological issues that went beyond the narrow thematic confines of the notion of the imamate and that were hotly debated.[6] Moreover, they testify to the wide intellectual spectrum that

1. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 24ff.; Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 109ff.; Kohlberg, "*Barāʾa* in Shīʿī Doctrine"; Kohlberg, "Imām and Community"; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 1/272–403.

2. Kohlberg, "Imām and Community"; Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 110ff.; Abrahamov, "Attitude of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq"; Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology."

3. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 25–32; Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 115; Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology," 468.

4. Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology," 466f.

5. The earliest extant Šīʿī biographical literature comprises the *K. al-Riǧāl* attributed to al-Barqī (d. 274/887–88 or 280/893), the *K. al-Riǧāl* of al-Kaššī (fl. early fourth/tenth century), the *K. al-Riǧāl* of Ibn al-Ġaḍāʾirī (fl. early fifth/eleventh century), the *K. al-Riǧāl* of al-Naǧāšī (d. 450/1058), and the *K. al-Riǧāl* of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), as well as the latter's *K. al-Fihrist*.

6. For the first two centuries, see Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*; for the Šīʿī *kalām* literature until the end of the third/ninth century, see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 5/66–103. Bio-bibliographical



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the early Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* had mastered—they not only were extremely well versed in *kalām* and took an active part in the theological discussions of their times but also engaged in other disciplines such as philosophy. Additional information on the doctrinal views of the early Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* can be gleaned from the early heresiographical and doxographical literature, most importantly the *K. al-Intiṣār* of al-Ḫayyāṭ (d. ca. 300/913) and the *K. al-Maqālāt* of al-Ašʿarī (d. 324/936). These, however, need to be used with some caution, given the agenda of their authors. More reliable information about the theological views of early Šīʿī *mutakallimūn*, as well as the doctrines of the *imām*s themselves, can be found in the Imāmite literature of later centuries.[7]

As a result of the ambiguous attitude of the *imām*s towards their engagement in speculative theology, the early Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* were constantly challenged by the overwhelming majority of their coreligionists, who defined their role as unquestioningly receiving and transmitting what they learned from the *imām*s alone and thus refrained from engaging in theological debates.[8] The traditionists blamed the *mutakallimūn* for challenging the authority of the *imām*s by expressing independent views. This being said, it is important to note that in contrast to Sunnism, where *mutakallimūn* and *muḥaddiṯūn* as a rule opposed each other in the evaluation of *aḥādīṯ*, early Šīʿism did not feature such a split. The Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* were at the same time disciples and companions of the *imām*s as well as their faithful transmitters,[9] and they derived their doctrinal notions by and large from the teachings of the *imām*s, whom they considered the ultimate source of knowledge. They relegated reason to the role of a means in dialectic and in delving into the subleties of *kalām* (*laṭīf al-kalām*).[10] Doctrinally, the *mutakallimūn* were thus in basic agreement with their opponents among the traditionists.

The teachings of the *imām*s can be gleaned from the Imāmite *ḥadīṯ* literature. In his analysis of Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī's (d. 329/941) *K. al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, Wilferd Madelung has shown that the *imām*s "progressively came to endorse Muʿtazilite perspectives,"[11] thus paving the way for the later reception of Muʿtazilite thought among the Imāmites during the Occultation (see below, section II). They not only affirmed the primacy of reason over prophetic tradition, but their notions of the reality of God as a transcendent immaterial being and of His unicity as well as their distinction between God's essential and originated attributes were also very much in line with the doctrines

reference works for Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* and their writings from the third/ninth century onwards are MTK and MṬM, as well as, more generally, Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*.

7. Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology."

8. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 110ff., 114ff.

9. Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*.

10. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 112f.; see also the relevant in-depth studies by Madelung, "Imamism and Muʿtazilite Theology," "Shiite and Khārijite Contribution," and "Early Imāmī Theology," as well as van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 1/272–403; see also Bayhom-Daou, "Imam's Knowledge."

11. Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology," 468.

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of the Muʿtazila.[12] With respect to man's actions, the *imām*s upheld an intermediary position between the opposing views of constraint (*ǧabr*) and empowerment (*tafwīḍ*), a position that is expressed in the famous saying of Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, "*Lā ǧabr wa-lā tafwīḍ wa-lākin amr bayn al-amrayn*"—essentially an attempt to combine the notions of a God who creates and controls everything and of a God who is a just judge who rewards and punishes human beings on the basis of their actions. This was, it seems, also the *imām*s' motivation in formulating the doctrine of *badāʾ*, which implies that God can suspend or change His decision when circumstances change.[13]

This general tendency notwithstanding, various distinct circles of theologians emerged among the Šīʿīs during this period, with numerous differences in the minutiae of their argumentation and in their doctrinal conclusions, although a comprehensive picture is still a desideratum. Arguably the most renowned theologian was Abū Muḥammad Hišām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795–96). Unlike most Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* of his time, Hišām had converted to Šīʿism later in life, apparently under the influence of Imam Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. Prior to this, he had apparently been introduced to dualist notions by the *zindīq* Abū Šākir al-Dayṣānī, and he leaned towards the thought of Ǧahm b. Ṣafwān. This explains some of the disputes on doctrinal matters that occurred specifically between Hišām b. al-Ḥakam and Imam Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, and it is also the reason for doctrinal disagreements between Hišām and some of the other Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* of the time.[14] Among his pupils, Abū Muḥammad Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qummī was the most prominent representative of his circle.[15] Yūnus in turn was succeeded by Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḫalīl al-Sakkāk, another student of Hišām b. al-Ḥakam. The next in line to continue this tradition was Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl b. Šāḏān al-Nīšābūrī (d. 260/873).[16] Ibn Šāḏān is one of the earliest Šīʿī *mutakallimūn* from whom a work has been preserved: his *K. al-Īḍāḥ*.[17] Moreover, it is noteworthy that he is the earliest author to have written a refutation of Muḥammad Ibn Karrām (or Kirām) (d. 255/869), the eponymous founder of the Karrāmiyya, most likely still during the latter's lifetime.[18]

12. Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology," 468–472.

13. Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology," 473f.

14. Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology"; see also al-Ḥusaynī, "Maqūlat 'ǧism lā ka-l-aǧsām'"; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 1/349–382; Bayhom-Daou, "Hishām b. al-Ḥakam."

15. Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 1/387–392.

16. Al-Naǧāšī, *Riǧāl*, 306–308 no. 840.

17. The authenticity of the work is still disputed; see Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, xvii; Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 685–691.

18. See the editor's introduction to al-Faḍl b. Šāḏān, *Īḍāḥ*; Bayhom-Daou, "Imam's Knowledge"; DMB 4/50–52 (Aḥmad Pākatčī).

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## II. Šīʿī theology during the Minor Occultation

During the brief interim period of the so-called Minor Occultation (*al-ġayba al-ṣuġrā*) (260/874–329/941),[19] Twelver Šīʿism experienced a greater turn towards Muʿtazilism, with major consequences not only for the *mutakallimūn* among the Imāmites but also for the traditionists. With the *imām* no longer immediately available as the ultimate source of knowledge, the *mutakallimūn* now attributed an even larger role to reason as a source of knowledge, and they employed Muʿtazilite notions—most importantly, the concept of divine justice—to bolster the doctrine of the imamate conceptually.[20] Earlier characteristic Šīʿī doctrinal notions, such as the intermediate position with respect to man's actions, were now replaced by the Muʿtazilite idea of man's autonomy to act. When discussing the ontology of God and His attributes, Imāmite theologians increasingly adopted Muʿtazilite terminology and concepts. This new trend was initiated by a number of theologians within Šīʿism, and it was further supported by others who had formerly been associated with the Muʿtazilites and now joined the ranks of the Imāmites. Among the first group mention should be made of two early fourth/tenth-century scholars, Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Bišr al-Sūsanǧirdī and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Ǧabrawayh al-ʿAskarī.[21] Among the most prominent Šīʿī theologians during the Minor Occultation were two members of the Nawbaḫt family of Baghdad, the sociopolitical center of Šīʿism, where rational sciences, including *kalām*, thrived; these members were Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī (b. 237/851, d. 311/924) and his nephew Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Mūsā (d. between 300/912 and 310/922). They not only were engaged in the doctrinal conceptualization of the doctrine of the imamate and the notion of occultation (*ġayba*) employing Muʿtazilite notions but also played an active role in the sociopolitical sphere, following a long family tradition.[22] Together with Ḥusayn Ibn al-Rawḥ al-Nawbaḫtī (d. 326/938), the third *wakīl* of the Hidden *imām*,[23] Abū Sahl al-Nawbaḫtī was arguably the most outstanding representative of the family during the Minor Occultation. He was renowned both as a *mutakallim* and as a poet and patron of literature, and he seems to have held a secretarial position for most of his life. The titles of Abū Sahl's works as transmitted in the biographical literature indicate the wide scope of his intellectual pursuits. They covered a broad range of themes: the imamate; critique of non-Šīʿī sects, including the Muʿtazila; legal theory; refutations against the Jews and others who rejected the Prophet's call; specific themes of theology; and critiques of other theologi-

19. For a general characterization, see Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*; Hayes, *Envoys of the Hidden Imam*; Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*.

20. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 115ff.; Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*.

21. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 116, 118f.

22. Iqbāl, *Ḫānadān-i Nawbaḫtī*; EncIran, s.v. "Nawbaḵti Family" (S. A. Anthony).

23. Klemm, "Vier *sufarā'*."

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cal matters.[24] Ḥasan b. Mūsā, in turn, was most renowned for his *K. Firaq al-Šīʿa*, our most important source for the early sects of the Šīʿa. Like Abū Sahl, he accepted numerous Muʿtazilite positions, while rejecting those that were not in line with the general views of the Šīʿa in the domains of the imamate, the divine threat of eternal punishment for the unrepentant grave sinner (*al-waʿīd*), and the intermediate position (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*). In addition, he was intimately familiar with Aristotelian philosophy, as is evident from his lost *K. al-Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt*, numerous quotations of which are preserved in the works of later authors.[25] While none of their theological writings is extant, extensive excerpts are preserved in the writings of al-Šayḫ al-Ṣadūq (on whom see below, section III) and others,[26] and the doctrinal positions of the Banū Nawbaḫt are regularly referred to by later Šīʿī and non-Šīʿī authors such as al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd (see below, section III), who regularly mentions the doctrinal positions of the Banū Nawbaḫt in his doxographical work *Awāʾil al-maqālāt fī l-maḏāhib al-muḫtārāt*.[27] Meanwhile, the Muʿtazilite author Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 536/1141) relies heavily on Ḥasan b. Mūsā's *K. al-Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt* in his *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*.[28]

Prominent Muʿtazilite converts to Twelver Šīʿism during the Minor Occultation included Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mumlak (or Mamalak) al-Iṣbahānī,[29] Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbdakī ("Ibn ʿAbdak," who apparently remained between Šīʿism and Muʿtazilism),[30] and, most prominently, Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Qiba al-Rāzī.[31] Ibn Qiba, who lived during the second half of the third/ninth century in Rayy, which was, alongside Baghdad, one of the leading intellectual centers of Twelver Šīʿism during this period, is renowned as the author of "books on theology" (*lahu kutub fī l-kalām*), including some titles devoted to the imamate. He was a contemporary of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī (d. 319/931), with whom he engaged in a written disputation on the issue of the imamate, and he is credited with a refutation (*radd*) of Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 303/916). His engagement with al-Balḫī and al-Ǧubbāʾī indicates his influence beyond Rayy, as does his correspondence with al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbaḫtī as well as the impact his writings made on al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (see below, section III). In addition to Ibn Qiba, the biographical sources mention the following scholars during the period of the Minor Occultation and beyond: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Wandak al-Rāzī,[32] Abū

24. Al-Naǧāšī, *Riǧāl*, 31f. no. 68: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 1(2)/634f.; EncIran 1/20 (W. Madelung); EncIslam 2/180–182 (H. Ansari).
25. Madelung, "Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī"; see also Rashed, *Al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbaḫtī*.
26. EncIslam 2/180–182 (H. Ansari).
27. McDermott, *Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, 22–25.
28. Madelung, "Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī."
29. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 116f.
30. Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 229 no. 906; DMB 8/310f. (H. Ansari).
31. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, 117ff.
32. Al-Naǧāšī, *Riǧāl*, 122 no. 316.

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Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḫalaf al-Rāzī,[33] Abū Ṭayyib al-Rāzī,[34] and Abū Manṣūr al-Ṣarrām, who was active in Nishapur,[35] as well as the following three scholars, all of whom acted as direct or indirect teachers of al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd: Abū l-Ǧayš al-Balḫī (d. 367/978);[36] Ṭāhir Ġulām Abī l-Ǧayš,[37] and Ibn Abī ʿAqīl al-ʿUmānī.[38]

## III. Šīʿī theology during the Major Occultation

The first centuries of the so-called Major Occultation (*al-ġayba al-kubrā*), which began in 329/941, may aptly be characterized as a period of consolidation. This period witnessed the heyday of "Muʿtazilization" among the Imāmiyya, heralded by the work of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥāriṯī al-ʿUkbarī ("al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd," b. 336/948, d. 413/1022)[39] and culminating in the work of his student, al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī ("ʿAlam al-Hudā," b. 355/967, d. 436/1044).[40] Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā was the brother of the renowned al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016), the compiler of *Nahǧ al-balāġa*.

Muʿtazilism also left its mark on Imāmite traditionists during this period, as is evident in the work of Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Bābūya (Bābawayh) al-Qummī ("al-Šayḫ al-Ṣadūq," d. 381/991). Ibn Bābūya was the most prominent representative of Imāmite traditionalism of his generation; at the same time, he was well aware of the doctrinal developments among the *mutakallimūn*, both within Imāmism and beyond. He hailed from Qum but spent most of his life in Rayy—the intellectual center of Muʿtazilism during the vizierate of Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād ("al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād," b. 326/938, d. 385/925)—where he also died.[41] Although categorically opposed to *kalām*, he nevertheless rejected any move to assimilate God to created beings (*tašbīh*). In the introduction to his *K. al-Tawḥīd*, a traditionist theological *summa* that Ibn Bābūya compiled while residing in Rayy, he explains his motivation for composing the work. Twelver Šīʿīs had been accused of accepting anthropomorphism and predetermination (some of the Imāmite

33. Al-Naǧāšī, *Riǧāl*, 381 no. 1034.
34. Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 225 no. 874.
35. Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 225 no. 873.
36. EncIslam 2/180–182 (H. Ansari).
37. EncIslam 2/181 (H. Ansari).
38. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 35–37.
39. Sourdel, "Conceptions imamites"; Sourdel, "L'Imamisme vu par le Cheikh al-Mufīd"; McDermott, *Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*; EncIran 3/112f. (M. McDermott); Sander, *Zwischen Charisma und Ratio*; al-Ǧaʿfarī, "al-Kalām ʿinda l-Imāmiyya"; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd*; Bayhom-Daou, *Shaykh Mufīd*; Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*, 94-98.
40. On his life, see Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*; Maʿtūq, *al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*. See also Stewart, "Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā."
41. For his biography, see Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*, 65-76.

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*muḥaddiṯūn* of his time did in fact believe in these tenets). His intention, then, is to defend the Imāmiyya against this reproach and to show the Imāmite doctrine's compatibility with the Muʿtazilite notions of *tanzīh* and divine justice. Though the work is based primarily on *ḥadīṯ* rather than reason, Ibn Bābūya treats in it some of the topics that were typically discussed by the Muʿtazilites, and the structure of the work echoes that of contemporary *kalām* works.[42] He displays a similar approach in his brief creedal work, *Iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*.[43]

Al-Mufīd departed from the traditionist outlook of Ibn Bābūya, his *šayḫ* in *ḥadīṯ*, and refuted the latter's methodology in his critical commentary on Ibn Bābūya's *K. Iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*, entitled *Taṣḥīḥ* ("rectification") *Iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*. In the process, al-Mufīd formulated a new type of theological thought for the Twelver Šīʿīs, and this work was thus a refutation of the Imāmite *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṯ*.[44] In his work, he drew in particular on the doctrinal system of the school of Baghdad and Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī. However, al-Mufīd refrained from identifying himself with the school, stressing rather the distinctive character of the Imāmiyya against the Muʿtazila. In his *Awāʾil al-maqālāt* he lists the differences between the Imāmiyya and other groups, especially the Muʿtazilites, and a work of his that was published under the title *al-Ḥikāyāt fī muḫālafāt al-Muʿtazila min al-ʿadliyya wa-l-farq baynahum wa-bayn al-Šīʿa al-imāmiyya* is devoted, as its title indicates, to the differences between the Muʿtazilites and the Imāmites. Al-Mufīd's criticism is primarily aimed at Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 321/933) and his followers.[45] Among the particularly objectionable doctrines of the Bahšamiyya, al-Mufīd singles out the following: the notion of "states" (*aḥwāl*) as a conceptual framework for the ontological foundation of the attributes of God and created beings,[46] the related issue of the thingness of the nonexistent (*šayʾiyyat al-maʿdūm*), and the doctrine that God's attribute of willingness is an originated attribute (*ṣifa ḥādiṯa*) that is subject to change and that His will subsists in no substrate (*lā fī maḥall*).[47] On many issues he identifies the views of the Baghdadis and of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī with those of the *imām*s. The Imāmiyya and the Muʿtazila (Basrans and Baghdadis alike) further disagree, in his view, on the issue of the imamate and related questions, such as the definition of belief (*īmān*), which leads him to reject the Muʿtazilite ideas of

42. See McDermott, *Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, 13, 315–369; Sander, *Zwischen Charisma und Ratio*, passim.

43. Fyzee, *Shiite Creed*.

44. McDermott, *Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, 313–369; Sander, *Zwischen Charisma und Ratio*, 82–122. All extant works of al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd were republished in 1413/1993 to celebrate his millenary; al-Mufīd, *Muṣannafāt*.

45. McDermott, *Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, 47–311.

46. Al-Mufīd, *Ḥikāyāt*, 49ff.; al-Mufīd, *Awāʾil*, 52, 56.

47. Al-Mufīd, *Awāʾil*, 53.

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the promise and the threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*) and of the intermediary position of the grave sinner (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*).[48]

Al-Murtaḍā diverged from the theological views of his teacher al-Mufīd in favor of those of the Bahšamiyya, the only exceptions being, again, the concept of the imamate and related issues (especially the definition of belief, and the promise and the threat) with respect to which al-Murtaḍā continued to maintain the characteristic Imāmite positions.[49] Quṭb al-Dīn Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177) enumerates more than ninety doctrinal differences between al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā in his lost work *al-Ḫilāf allaḏī taǧaddada bayn al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd wa-l-Murtaḍā*.[50] Al-Murtaḍā's predilection for the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya reflects the predominance of this school within the Muʿtazila during his lifetime. It was mostly during the vizierate of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād that the teaching of Muʿtazilī theology, and primarily its Bahšamite brand, were promoted throughout Būyid territories and beyond.

The intellectual center for *kalām* among the Imāmites during the late fourth/tenth century until the Seljuk invasion of the city in 447/1055 was Baghdad, marked by the presence of prominent scholars such as al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā, and their most prominent student Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī ("al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī," b. 385/995, d. 460/1067).[51] As was the case with al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, virtually all leading Twelver Šīʿī scholars who flourished during the first half of the fifth/eleventh century had studied with either al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā, or both.[52] They include Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Busrawī (d. 443/1051), author of *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf*, a work that presumably dealt with theology and legal issues (now lost); Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī b. Naǧm b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī (d. 447/1055), author of *al-Kāfī fī l-taklīf* on theology and legal issues and *Taqrīb al-maʿārif* on theology; Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (d. 448/1057?), who composed *al-Taḏkira fī ḥaqīqat al-ǧawhar wa-l-ʿaraḍ* and apparently a work entitled *Tatmīm al-Mulaḫḫaṣ*, completing al-Murtaḍā's *al-Mulaḫḫaṣ* (both are lost); Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUṯmān al-Ḫaymī al-Karāǧikī (d. 449/1057), who wrote extensively on theology, including a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ǧumal al-ʿilm*; Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ǧaʿfarī (d. 463/1070?); and *qāḍī* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Niḥrīr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Barrāǧ al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400/1009, d. 481/1088–89). Mention should also be made of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Muʿallim al-Ḥalabī (d.

48. Al-Mufīd, *Ḥikāyāt*, 63–65.

49. For al-Murtaḍā's doctrinal thought, see Madelung, "Imamism and Muʿtazilite Theology," 25ff.; McDermott, *Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, 373ff.; al-Ǧaʿfarī, "al-Kalām ʿinda l-Imāmiyya"; Abdulsater, *Climax of Speculative Theology*; Abdulsater, "To Rehabilitate a Theological Treatise"; Abdulsater, *Shiʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology*. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī reports (in his *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil = Ṭabaqāt*, 383) that al-Murtaḍā had studied with ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. This is not confirmed by any Imāmite source.

50. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 217 no. 264.

51. See Chapter 14 in the present volume.

52. See Chapter 14 in the present volume.

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after 453/1061), who was a student of Abū l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī and wrote a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Mulaḫḫaṣ*. While al-Karāǧikī, Abū Yaʿlā al-Ǧaʿfarī, and possibly Abū l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī remained faithful to al-Mufīd, maintaining as a rule the Baghdadi positions, all other theologians of this generation apparently followed al-Murtaḍā in their preference for the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya.

Some of these theologians were also familiar with at least some aspects of the theological thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), a former student of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamadānī who disagreed with most of his teacher's specifically Bahšamite teachings, albeit in a negative manner. It was mostly Abū l-Ḥusayn's criticism of the Twelver Šīʿī notion of the imamate, expressed, for example, in his refutation (*naqḍ*) of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Šāfī*, that was known to and refuted by Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[53] and by al-Karāǧikī.[54] None of these refutations is extant.

The later Imāmite literature offers a few glimpses that seem to suggest that in some of his lost writings al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī departed from the doctrines of the Bahšamites, presumably because of the influence of the doctrinal views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Our knowledge of al-Ṭūsī's doctrinal views is based only on his commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ǧumal al-ʿilm* and on his briefer writings in this discipline; in these writings al-Ṭūsī shared al-Murtaḍā's preference for the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya. All of al-Ṭūsī's more comprehensive works on theology are lost, and it is unclear to what extent he maintained Bahšamite positions in them, particularly in those works that he composed at a more advanced stage of his life.[55] In a *fatwā* by Šaraf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-ʿAwdī al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (fl. first half of the eighth/fourteenth century) concerning the status of someone who upholds the doctrine that the nonexistent (*maʿdūm*) is "stable" (*ṯābit*), Šaraf al-Dīn rejects the Bahšamite position that the nonexistent is stable and constitutes a "thing" (*šayʾ*).[56] To support his argument, he refers to al-Ṭūsī, who, Šaraf al-Dīn claims, maintained the same view in his *Riyāḍat al-ʿuqūl*. This implies that al-Ṭūsī had criticized or even rejected the Bahšamite theory of states in its entirety in this (lost) work, no doubt due to the influence of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.

During the early sixth/twelfth century, Bilād al-Šām (Tripoli and Aleppo) emerged as a significant center of Twelver Šīʿī learning alongside Rayy and Ǧurāsān in Iran, as well as Iraq. Mention should be made of Abū l-Faḍl Asʿad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulusī (d. early sixth/twelfth century), who composed a number of works on theology, among them *ʿUyūn al-adilla fī maʿrifat Allāh* and *al-Bayān fī ḥaqīqat al-insān*.[57] The Imāmite theologian Rašīd al-Dīn Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Šahrāšūb al-Māzandarānī, who hailed

53. *Al-Radd ʿalā Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī Naqḍihi Kitāb al-Šāfī*; see MTK 3/366 no. 6477.
54. *Risālat al-Tanbīh ʿalā aġlāṭ Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī faṣl fī ḏikr al-imāma*; MTK 2/333f. no. 4022.
55. See Chapter 14 in the present volume.
56. Schmidtke, "Doctrinal Views."
57. DMB 8/310f. (H. Ansari).

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from Sārī in Māzandarān (b. 489/1096) and had been educated in Rayy and Ǧurāsān, later went to Aleppo, where he died on 16 Šaʿbān 588/August 27, 1192. Among his writings, *K. Aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq fī l-ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq* is partly concerned with theology.[58] One of the most prominent members of the Banū Zuhra, the leading family of the Imāmite community in Aleppo,[59] was Abū l-Makārim ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (b. Ramaḍān 511/1117, d. 585/1189–90), author of *Ġunyat al-nuzūʿ ilā ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*. In the first part of his *Ġunya*, which is devoted to theology, he adheres to the doctrinal views of al-Murtaḍā. Abū l-Makārim's brother, Ǧamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (b. 531/962–63, d. after 597/1200), is known to have composed several works on doctrinal questions, viz. *Ǧawāb suʾāl warada min Miṣr fī l-nubuwwa*, *K. al-Tabyīn li-masʾalatay al-šafāʿa wa-ʿuṣāt al-muslimīn*, *Tabyīn al-maḥağğa fī kawn iğmāʿ al-Imāmiyya ḥuğğa*, *Masʾala fī nafy al-taḥābuṭ* (or *Masʾala fī nafy al-taḫlīṭ*), *Ǧawāb suʾāl warada ʿan al-Ismāʿīliyya*, and *Ǧawāb sāʾil saʾala ʿan al-ʿaql*.[60] Among Abū l-Makārim's students, we know of Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Sālim b. Badrān al-Māzinī al-Miṣrī (alive in 629/1232),[61] who later became a teacher of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and issued to the latter an *iğāza* for Abū l-Makārim's *Ġunya* (dated 18 Ǧumādā II 629/April 1232).[62] In Aleppo, another Imāmite theologian, Naǧīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 582/1186), commented on the *Muqaddama* of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī.[63]

## IV. Šīʿī theology since the sixth/twelfth century

Over the course of the first half of the sixth/twelfth century and especially during the century's second half, growing reservations about the controversial doctrines of the Bahšamiyya can be observed among the Imāmite *mutakallimūn*. These went hand in hand with a slow—real or imagined—"return" towards the early doctrines of the *imāms*. While the beginnings of this "imāmization" of Muʿtazilite theology are still unclear, the most prominent (though not the earliest) representative of the new trend was Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, who flourished during the second half of the sixth/twelfth century and completed his comprehensive theological *summa*, *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*, on 9 Ǧumādā I 581/August 8, 1185, in al-Ḥilla. In this work, al-Ḥimmaṣī departed from the doctrinal views of al-Murtaḍā and his followers by adopting the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, which he apparently considered to be closer

58. DMB 4/50–52 (Aḥmad Pākatčī); Ansari, "Aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq."

59. Salati, *Ascesa e caduta*; Salati, "Note in margine"; Eddé, *Principauté ayyoubide*, 438ff.

60. MṬF 6/162f.; Salati, *Ascesa e caduta*, 130 no. 4.

61. MṬM 2/381f. no. 263.

62. Mudarris Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl wa āṯār*, 161–167.

63. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's Theological Writings*; see also Chapter 14 in the present volume.

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than the Bahšamite teachings to those of the *imām*s. Although this is historically inaccurate, al-Ḥimmaṣī held the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn and his followers to be essentially in agreement with those of the school of Baghdad. This identification, which pre-dates al-Ḥimmaṣī[64] and can also be observed among Zaydī theologians,[65] may be interpreted as an attempt to reestablish the theological system of al-Mufīd, who had argued that his doctrine was in basic agreement with the teachings of the *imām*s. Later Imāmite theologians shared this perception of al-Mufīd's doctrines as congruent with those of the *imām*s, while they opposed al-Murtaḍā, who had diverged from them by adopting Bahšamite concepts. Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), for example, rejected *kalām* and was particularly critical of the Muʿtazila; he harshly criticized al-Murtaḍā while praising al-Ḥimmaṣī and his theological thought.[66]

Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's theological notions were known to and had apparently been controversially discussed among the Imāmite theologians of Rayy (and, to a lesser extent, of Ǧurāsān) over most of the late fifth/eleventh and early sixth/twelfth centuries. During the Seljuk period, 434/1042–600/1203, Imāmite *kalām* seems to have flourished in Rayy, in contrast to the situation in Baghdad, whose most prominent theologian of the time, al-Ṭūsī, had fled to Najaf after his home and library had been looted and burned during the Seljuk invasion of the city in 447/1055 and where Twelver Šīʿīs' scholarly and other activities were significantly restricted.[67] This renewed flourishing of Imāmite theological thinking in Rayy came to an end as a result of the civil war between Ḥanafites, Šāfiʿites, and Šīʿīs at the turn of the seventh/thirteenth century. The final blow for the city came with the Mongol occupation.[68] This led to the virtual destruction of the literary legacy of Šīʿī *kalām* in the city, and it is exclusively the bio-bibliographical literature that provides us with some information on the protagonists and their respective doctrinal views. The following Imāmite theologians are mentioned in the sources as having been active in Ǧurāsān (Nishapur and Bayhaq) and in Rayy during the Seljuk period (434/1042–600/1203):

- al-Faqīh Abū l-Ḥasan Amīrkā b. Abī l-Luǧaym b. Amīra al-Maṣdarī al-ʿIǧlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 514/1120),[69] the author of several works on theology and/or legal theory ("*wa-lahu taṣānīf fī l-uṣūl minhā al-Taʿlīq al-kabīr, al-Taʿlīq al-ṣaġīr, al-Ḥudūd, masāʾil šattā*").

64. See Chapter 4 in the present volume.
65. See Chapter 10 in the present volume.
66. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraǧ*, al-Maṭbaʿa al-ḥaydariyya ed., 146.
67. Van Renterghem, "Baghdad."
68. Ansari, "Čand pāra matn."
69. Muntaǧab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 15f. no. 15; ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl Rāzī, *Naqḍ*, 46, 226; Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," no. 23.

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- al-Šayḫ Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl al-Bayāḍī *al-mutakallim*,[70] another supporter of Bahšamite doctrine, as suggested by the title of the work mentioned by his student Muntağab al-Dīn: *Masāʾil fī l-maʿdūm wa-l-aḥwāl* (lost). Al-Šayḫ Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Rāzī transmitted from him at the beginning of Rağab 544/November 1149.
- Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqriʾ al-Nīsābūrī (d. mid-sixth/twelfth century), another Imāmite *mutakallim* in Ḫurāsān and the author of the *Taʿlīq fī ʿilm al-kalām*, a partly preserved work that was evidently intended as a paraphrase of al-Murtaḍā's *Mulaḫḫaṣ* as well as his *Ḏaḫīra*.[71] Al-Muqriʾ also composed a work of definitions, *al-Ḥudūd*, which has been published. Throughout both works, he endorses the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya and refrains, as a rule, from even mentioning the alternative views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his followers. However, when discussing whether God is distinct from other essences by virtue of His essence (*ḏāt*) or because of an additional attribute of essence (*ṣifat al-ḏāt*), al-Muqriʾ states that the two positions are compatible, although the majority of Imāmite scholars tend to affirm the latter.[72] Al-Muqriʾ was, in turn, the teacher of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177) (see below) in *kalām*.
- Zayn al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Rāzī, a *mutakallim* with several unspecified doctrinal writings to his credit ("*lahu taṣānīf uṣūliyya*").[73] He was the teacher of Abū l-Makārim Saʿd b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿĪsā *al-mutakallim* al-Rāzī (see below), but otherwise nothing is known about him.
- Rašīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Abī l-Fatḥ Masʿūd b. ʿĪsā *al-mutakallim* al-Rāzī (d. mid-sixth/twelfth century),[74] a pupil of Amīrkā al-Qazwīnī and the author of a *Naqḍ Kitāb al-Taṣaffuḥ li-Abī l-Ḥusayn*, apparently a (lost) refutation of Abū l-Ḥusayn's doctrinal views as laid down in his *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*. According to Muntağab al-Dīn,[75] he also wrote a *Masʾala fī l-maʿdūm* (lost). The title suggests that the work dealt with the Bahšamite notion of *šayʾiyyat al-maʿdūm*, possibly defending it against Abū l-Ḥusayn, who denied that the nonexistent can be real. Rašīd al-Dīn also wrote refutations directed against the Aš'arites and the Zaydīs.

70. Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 114 no. 236; Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," no. 71; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 2(2)/193, 2(2)/302f.

71. See the editor's introduction to al-Muqriʾ, *Taʿlīq* (the beginning of the text is missing).

72. Al-Muqriʾ, *Taʿlīq*, 49.

73. Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 111 no. 227.

74. Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 2(2)/155.

75. Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 110 no. 226.

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- Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū l-Makārim Saʿd b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿĪsā *al-mutakallim* al-Rāzī ("al-Nağīb," d. mid-sixth/twelfth century),[76] the author of a *K. al-Mūğaz fī l-uṣūl* and a *K. ʿUlūm al-ʿaql*. He also composed a *Masʾala fī l-aḥwāl* and a *Safīnat al-naǧāt fī taḫṭiʾat al-nufāt* (all lost). The latter two titles suggest that the author was an adherent of the Bahšamite notion of states (*aḥwāl*). This is corroborated by the fact that al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, a follower of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's doctrines, wrote a refutation of the *K. al-Mūğaz* entitled *Naqḍ al-Mūğaz* (see below). Abū l-Makārim also composed a book directed against the Aššʿarites, *Naqḍ Masʾalat al-ruʾya li-Abī l-Faḍāʾil al-Maššāṭ*. Abū l-Makārim was a student and nephew of Zayn al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Rāzī, who was also a *mutakallim* (see above).
- Abū l-Futūḥ al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī (b. ca. 480/1087, d. after 552/1157),[77] the author of a Persian commentary on the Qurʾān, entitled *Rawḍ al-ǧinān wa-rawḥ* (or: *rūḥ*) *al-ǧanān*. Throughout the commentary, Abū l-Futūḥ regularly discusses theological questions, opting as a rule for the Bahšamite position.[78] His pupils include well-known Šīʿī authors such as Ibn Šahrāšūb (see section III) and the bio-bibliographer Muntağab al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Rāzī (b. 504/1110–11, d. after 600/1203), the author of *Fihrist asmāʾ ʿulamāʾ al-Šīʿa wa-muṣannafihim*.
- Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh "Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī" (d. 573/1177), the author of *al-Ḫilāf allaḏī taǧaddada bayn al-Mufīd wa-l-Murtaḍā* (see section III) and a commentary on the *Muqaddama* by al-Ṭūsī, *Ǧawāhir al-kalām fī šarḥ Muqaddamat al-kalām* (likewise lost). He hailed from Rāwand in the vicinity of Kāšān and spent an extended period of time in Rayy.[79] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqriʾ (see above) was one of his teachers in *kalām*. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, in turn, was the teacher of Ibn Šahrāšūb and Muntağab al-Dīn, the author of the *Fihrist*. Quṭb al-Dīn was familiar with some of the writings of a later follower of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī, as is evident from his *al-Farq bayn al-ḥiyal wa-l-muʿǧizāt*, which is based heavily on a work by Ibn al-Malāḥimī, most probably his *K. al-Fāʾiq*. Quṭb al-Dīn's son, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh al-Rāwandī, composed a short theological tract, entitled *ʿUǧālat al-maʿrifa fī uṣūl al-dīn*, in which he generally endorses the positions of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.[80]

76. Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 2(2)/121; Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, no. 185; Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," no. 62.

77. EI3 2007-3/55f. (R. Gleave); Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 2(2)/79f.; Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 45 no. 78.

78. Ansari, "Čand pāra matn."

79. See the editor's introduction to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, *Lubb al-lubāb*, 1/8f.

80. See MTK 4/215 no. 8517 (with further references).

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- Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī (d. mid-sixth/twelfth century), whose family hailed from Qazwīn; he spent most of his life in Rayy,[81] where he authored the *K. al-Naqḍ*. The full title of the work, *Baʿḍ maṭālib al-nawāṣib fī naqḍ baʿḍ faḍāʾiḥ al-rawāfiḍ*, reflects its origin as a refutation of a polemical attack on Imāmism composed by an anonymous author who claimed to have converted from Imāmism to Sunnism. Hassan Ansari has suggested that this anonymous opponent was in fact Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, the father of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210).[82] Throughout the work, the author regularly sides with the moderate rationalists and repudiates the traditionists, which indicates ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl's predilection for *kalām* in general.[83]
- Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Šāriḥī al-Mašhadī ("Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī"), from Ḫurāsān. He was a pupil of Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (see above). Ibn Ḥamza is the author of *K. al-Wāfī bi-kalām al-muṯbit wa-l-nāfī*. In this tract, Naṣīr al-Dīn critically discusses the Bahšamite notion that the nonexistent is a thing (*šayʾiyyat al-maʿdūm*) and the arguments of its proponents (*aṣḥāb al-iṯbāt*), siding with the opposing camp, *aṣḥāb al-nafy*. He is one of the earliest Imāmite theologians to endorse the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī while rejecting the Bahšamite notion of states and the related doctrine of the thingness of the nonexistent.[84]
- Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (b. ca. 500/1106–17, d. after 600/1204),[85] the author of the *K. al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd wa-l-muršid ilā l-tawḥīd al-musammā bi-l-Taʿlīq al-ʿirāqī*, completed in 581/1185 in al-Ḥilla. In this work al-Ḥimmaṣī fully endorses the doctrine of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his school. Al-Ḥimmaṣī's support for the latter's doctrines is corroborated by the title of his (lost) *Naqḍ al-Mūǧaz*, a refutation of the *K. al-Mūǧaz fī l-uṣūl* of Abū l-Makārim (see above), a follower of Bahšamite doctrine. In the introduction to the *Munqiḏ*, al-Ḥimmaṣī relates that after returning from the Ḥaǧǧ, he passed through Iraq, where some Imāmite scholars of al-Ḥilla invited him to stay with them for several months. Al-Ḥimmaṣī accepted the invitation and during his sojourn in the city engaged in scholarly discussions and teaching. He was also asked to dictate summaries of his lessons in theology, a request he eventually accepted, at first aiming at a rather slim volume. However, when touching upon

81. EncIran 1/120 (W. Madelung).

82. Ansari, "Čand pāra matn."

83. With his usage of the term *uṣūlī* (as against the *aḫbārī* tendency), he is the earliest Imāmite author to employ the term, although its meaning later changed during the Ṣafavid period.

84. Ansari and Schmidtke, "Philosophical Theology."

85. Muntaǧab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 164 no. 389; ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl Rāzī Qazwīnī, *Naqḍ*, 227; Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," n. 68.

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> central theological issues he felt the need to expand on them, so the various sections of the eventual book, he explains, are not entirely harmonized with respect to their length. Moreover, since he saw the work only after it had been completed, repetitions and redundancies were unavoidable. He apparently used al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ḏaḫīra* and *al-Mulaḫḫaṣ*, with some variations, as a model for the structure of the *Munqiḏ*.[86]

Further details about al-Ḥimmaṣī are given in the extant fragments of *K. al-Ḥāwī fī riǧāl al-Imāmiyya* of Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī (d. 630/1232–33), who quotes Muntaǧab al-Dīn—probably from his lost *Tārīḫ al-Rayy*. According to this source, it was only at the age of fifty that al-Ḥimmaṣī turned to scholarship; until then he earned his living as a seller of chickpeas (*ḥimmiṣ*/*ḥimmaṣ*), which is the reason for his *nisba* "al-Ḥimmaṣī."[87] Since he was already an accomplished scholar in 560 AH, he must have been born around 500/1106–7. He must therefore have been around eighty when he sojourned in al-Ḥilla and dictated his *Munqiḏ*.

Al-Ḥimmaṣī is credited with a number of other works in the two disciplines of *kalām* and legal theory, none of which remains extant: (1) *Al-Taʿlīq al-kabīr*. The genre of *taʿlīq* was a typical one during his lifetime for the disciplines of *kalām* and legal theory. (2) *Al-Taʿlīq al-ṣaġīr*. (3) *Al-Maṣādir fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, an important book on legal theory. Numerous quotations are preserved in the *K. al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī uṣūl al-fiqh* of the Šāfiʿite scholar Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Šāfiʿī al-Zarkašī (d. 794/1392).[88] In the development of legal theory among the Imāmites, the work apparently constituted an important incentive for the subsequent development of the discipline of *uṣūl al-fiqh* among the scholars of al-Ḥilla. (4) *Al-Tabyīn wa-l-tanqīḥ fī l-taḥsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ*. The title suggests that this work was concerned with ethical objectivism. (5) *Bidāyat al-hidāya*. Nothing is known about this work, although the title suggests that it dealt with *kalām*.[89] It is likely that al-Ḥimmaṣī's theological works, with the exception of the *Munqiḏ*, the only work of his that seems to have been available in al-Ḥilla, fell prey to the virtual destruction of Rayy around the turn of the seventh/thirteenth century.

This brief overview of Imāmite *kalām* in Rayy and Ḫurāsān during the Seljuk period suggests that the doctrinal writings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī were available in Rayy and Ḫurāsān. This was clearly the case for the *Taṣaffuḥ*, his most comprehensive theological work, which remained incomplete. Moreover, al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ* contains numerous extensive quotations from Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar al-adilla*, which must likewise have been

86. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *Munqiḏ*, 1/17f.

87. Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Līsān al-mīzān*, 5/317.

88. Al-Wāṭiqī, "al-Mutabaqqī?."

89. A brief extant theological text, published by the editor as *al-Muʿtamad min maḏhab al-Šīʿa al-imāmiyya*, is also ascribed to al-Ḥimmaṣī (published in *Mīrāṯ-i islāmī-yi Īrān*; see also MTK 5/180 no. 11094). In fact, however, this is a text written by a later anonymous author.

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available in Rayy.[90] This contrasts strikingly with the pre-Seljuk period, during which, to judge from the evidence of the Muʿtazilī and Zaydī sources, Abū l-Ḥusayn's works were unavailable (and perhaps not welcome) in Rayy and in Bayhaq. In addition, al-Ḥimmaṣī frequently refers to the *K. al-Fāʾiq* of Ibn al-Malāḥimī, while Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī seems to have had Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa* and/or his *K. al-Fāʾiq* at his disposal. There is no indication that Ibn al-Malāhimī's comprehensive *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* was available to the Imāmite scholars discussed in this section.

For the period following al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī until the time of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), who "modernized" Twelver Šīʿī theology, very little is known about Imāmite theology—most theologians from this period are known by name only. During the lifetime of al-Ḥimmaṣī, al-Ḥilla emerged as an important center of Twelver Šīʿism, along with Baḥrayn and Aleppo. Al-Ḥimmaṣī's teaching activities in al-Ḥilla were clearly instrumental in setting the tone for the subsequent doctrinal developments in the city. The generally positive attitude towards *kalām* in al-Ḥilla is indicated by the number of prominent figures who engaged in *kalām*, such as Nağm al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Ǧaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd ("al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī," d. 676/1277),[91] the author of *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a concise theological book that endorses the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The Muḥaqqiq is also the author of a *fatwā* regarding the status of someone who upholds the Bahšamite doctrine that the nonexistent is stable, a doctrine he rejects. However, he maintains that the holder of such a view is not to be charged with unbelief (*kufr*) or grave sin (*fisq*).[92]

A number of additional texts of unclear authorship are known to have been written during this interim period. A comprehensive Imāmite work on *kalām* and *fiqh*, written in Persian, has been ascribed by the editor of the first part of the book, on *kalām*, to a certain Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ǧurǧānī, a ninth/fifteenth-century author.[93] This attribution is evidently erroneous—the anonymous author of the book invariably endorses Bahšamite doctrines and is clearly unaware of competing theological views such as those formulated by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The book was most likely composed towards the end of the fifth/eleventh century, possibly in Rayy. *Ḫulāṣat al-naẓar*, a work by an anonymous author and preserved in a single manuscript, was evidently composed during the late sixth/twelfth or early seventh/thirteenth century, as the anonymous author endorses the doctrinal positions of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and explicitly refers to al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī.[94] A work entitled *K. al-Yāqūt* was composed by a certain Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbaḫt. ʿAbbās Iqbāl argued that the work was composed during the fourth/tenth century, but it has meanwhile been established that it should rather be dated to

90. Adang, "Rare Case."
91. Al-Ustāḏī, *Aḥwāl wa āṯār*.
92. Schmidtke, "Doctrinal Views," 388f.
93. Ǧurǧānī, *Rasāʾil*, 45–132.
94. The work has been published as *Khulāṣat al-naẓar: An Anonymous Imāmī-Muʿtazilī Treatise*.

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the early seventh/thirteenth century. Like the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), who commented on the book in his *Anwār al-malakūt fī šarḥ al-Yāqūt*, Abū Isḥāq fully endorsed the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and was also intimately familiar with some of the writings of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.[95]

95. Schmidtke, *Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 48; Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 797–804.

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# Chapter 14
# Al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī: His Writings on Theology and Their Reception

## I.

While Twelver Šīʿī theological thought during the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries has been studied relatively well (as much as is possible on the basis of the few, mostly secondary sources that are preserved),[1] little is known about its doctrinal developments from the early fifth/eleventh century onwards. Whereas most of the theological works by al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (b. 355/967, d. 436/1044) have been preserved, are by now available in critical editions, and have partly been studied,[2] only some of the *kalām* writings by his most prominent student, the *Šayḫ al-ṭāʾifa* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), are extant.[3] Al-Murtaḍā departed from the theological views of his teacher al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd, who had maintained on many issues the doctrines of the Muʿtazilite school of Baghdad over those of the Bahšamiyya. Quṭb al-Dīn Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177) enumerates more than ninety doctrinal differences between al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā in his lost work *al-Ḫilāf allaḏī taǧaddada bayn al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd wa-l-Murtaḍā*.[4]

As was the case with al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, virtually all leading Twelver Šīʿī scholars who flourished during the first half of the fifth/eleventh century had studied with the Šayḫ al-Mufīd, with al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, or with both. They include Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Buṣrawī (d. 443/1051), the author of *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf*, a work that presumably dealt with theology and legal issues (lost);[5] Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī b. Naǧm b.

1. See Chapter 13 in the present volume (with further references).

2. For his doctrinal thought, see Abdulsater, *Shiʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology*. Generally on his life and work, see Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*; Maʿtūq, *al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*.

3. See below, section II.

4. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 1/361f. no. 1901; MTK 1/203 no. 645; Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 217 no. 264. For al-Mufīd's theological views, see McDermott, *Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*; Sander, *Zwischen Charisma und Ratio*; Ǧaʿfarī, "al-Kalām ʿinda l-Imāmiyya"; Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*, 94-98; Bayhom-Daou, *Shaykh Mufid*.

5. On him, see DMB 12/193f. (Ḥusayn Farhang Anṣārī); Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 43. Al-Buṣrawī compiled a list of al-Murtaḍā's writings. The latter issued an *iǧāza* for al-Buṣrawī (dated Šaʿbān 417/September–October 1026) allowing him to transmit all works included in that list. The text of the *iǧāza*, including the list of al-Murtaḍā's writings, is quoted by al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 4/38f., 5/158. See also Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, 131ff. (where the list and the *iǧāza* have also been edited). Al-Buṣrawī apparently also assembled al-Murtaḍā's statements on definitions (*ǧamʿ al-Šayḫ al-ǧalīl al-*



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ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī (d. 447/1055), the author of *al-Kāfī fī l-taklīf* on theology and legal issues[6] as well as *Taqrīb al-maʿārif*;[7] Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (d. 448/1057?), who wrote *al-Taḏkira fī ḥaqīqat al-ǧawhar wa-l-ʿaraḍ* and apparently a work entitled *Tatmīm al-Mulaḫḫaṣ*, completing al-Murtaḍā's *al-Mulaḫḫaṣ* (both are lost);[8] Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUṯmān al-Ḥaymī al-Karāǧikī (d. 449/1057), who wrote extensively on theology, including a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ǧumal al-ʿilm* (apparently lost);[9] Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ǧaʿfarī (d. 463/1070?);[10] and *qāḍī* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Niḥrīr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Barrāǧ al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400/1009–10, d. 481/1088–89).[11] Mention should also be made of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Muʿallim al-Ḥalabī (d. after 453/1061), who was a student of Abū l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī and wrote a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Mulaḫḫaṣ*.[12] While al-Karāǧikī, Abū Yaʿlā al-Ǧaʿfarī, and possibly Abū l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī remained faithful to al-Mufīd, maintaining

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*ʿālim Abī l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī* [not "al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī"] *Ibn Qārūra* [not "Mārūra"] *raḥimahu llāh . . .* ); see Dānišpažūh, "Čahār farhangnāma," 728ff. ("Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī" as given here must certainly be read as "Abū l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī").

6. Published; see the bibliography. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 43, 63.

7. The work has been published twice; see the bibliography for details. According to Ibn Šahrāšūb (*Maʿālim*, 29 no. 155), Abū l-Ṣalāḥ wrote a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ḏaḫīra* (lost); see also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 1/100; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 13/277 no. 1011; MTK 4/68 no. 7856. For Abū l-Ṣalāḥ and his writings, see also MṬM 2/196f. no. 170; DMB 5/601–611 (Aḥmad Pakatčī); MMI 7/396f.; Ḥāʾirī, "Kitābšināsī-yi Abū l-Ṣalāḥ-i Ḥalabī."

8. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 3/343f. no. 1236, 4/24 no. 75; MTK, 2/160 no. 3223. He is mostly known for his legal work *K. al-Marāsim*, which has been published repeatedly. See also Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Maʿālim*, 135f.; Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 84 no. 183; al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 2/438–440; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 2(1)/86; MṬM 2/210f. no. 179; Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 14, 43, 63; Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," 17f. no. 12.

9. The Abraham Firkovitch collection at the Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg, has at least three fragments of an unidentified Muslim commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ǧumal al-ʿilm*, which may possibly belong to al-Karāǧikī's commentary; see Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī," 79*. Ansari has suggested that *Šarḥ Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*, which has been published as a work by al-Murtaḍā, was in fact written by al-Karāǧikī; see his *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 733-736. Some of al-Karāǧikī's writings were published in his *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, an anthology consisting mostly of theological works that has been published repeatedly (see the bibliography for details). Most recently, *al-Asbāb al-ṣādda ʿan idrāk al-ṣawāb* has been published in the edition of Maḥmūd Naẓarī; the editor argues convincingly that this text is by al-Karāǧikī. On al-Karāǧikī's life and work, see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Karāǧikī"; Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 44; Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*, 109-114; see also Stewart, "Eleventh-Century Justification."

10. See DMB 6/434f. (Hassan Ansari); Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," 17 no. 10.

11. On him, see DMB 3/95–97 (Sayyid Muḥammad Baḥr al-ʿulūm); MṬM 2/217f.; Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 43, 63, 121.

12. See Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġyat al-ṭalab*, 5/2276–2284; "*wa-lahu kitābun fī l-uṣūl šaraḥa fīhi l-Mulaḫḫaṣ*" (see 5/2276).

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as a rule the Baghdadi positions,[13] all other theologians of this generation apparently followed al-Murtaḍā in their preference for the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya. Some of these theologians were also familiar with at least some aspects of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's (d. 436/1044) theological thought, albeit in a negative manner. It was mostly the latter's criticism of the Twelver Šīʿī notion of the imamate, expressed for example in his refutation (*naqḍ*) of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Šāfī,* that was known to and refuted by Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[14] and al-Karāğikī.[15] None of these refutations is extant.

During the early sixth/twelfth century, Bilād al-Šām (Tripoli and Aleppo) emerged as a significant center of Twelver Šīʿī learning, alongside Rayy and Ḫurāsān in Iran.[16] Noteworthy scholars from the region include Abū l-Faḍl Asʿad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulusī (d. early sixth/twelfth century), who composed a number of works on theology, among them *ʿUyūn al-adilla fī maʿrifat Allāh* and *al-Bayān fī ḥaqīqat al-insān*.[17] The Imāmite theologian Rašīd al-Dīn Abū Ğaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Šahrāšūb al-Māzandarānī (b. 489/1096), who hailed from Sārī in Māzandarān, later on went to Aleppo, where he died on 16 Šaʿbān 588/August 27, 1192. Among his writings, his *K. Aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq fī l-ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq* is partly concerned with theology.[18] One of Ibn Šahrāšūb's students was Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zuhra al-Ḥalabī (d. 639/1241–42), the author of *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīṯan fī ḥuqūq al-iḫwān*.[19] The latter belonged to the leading family of the Imāmite community in Aleppo, the Banū Zuhra,[20] and one of its most prominent members was Abū

13. That Abū l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī adhered to the views of al-Mufīd is suggested by Nağīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's commentary on al-Ṭūsī's *Muqaddama* (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Atıf Efendi 1338, ff. 18b, 39b). Whenever his views are mentioned, they agree with those of al-Šayḫ al-Mufīd. On this commentary, see below, section III.

14. *Al-Radd ʿalā Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī naqḍihi Kitāb al-Šāfī*; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 3/344, 10/179f. no. 378; MTK 3/366 no. 6477.

15. *Risālat al-Tanbīh ʿalā aġlāṭ Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī faṣlin fī ḏikr al-imāma*; see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Karāğikī," 393; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 4/437 no. 1943; MTK 2/333f. no. 4022. During the sixth/twelfth century, a *Naqḍ K. al-Taṣaffuḥ li-Abī l-Ḥusayn*, a refutation of Abū l-Ḥusayn's doctrinal views as laid down in his *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, is moreover known to have been composed by Rašīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ğalīl b. Abī l-Fatḥ Masʿūd b. ʿĪsā *al-mutakallim* al-Rāzī (fl. early sixth/twelfth century). On the *Naqḍ al-Taṣaffuḥ*, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 24/286 no. 1466; MTK 5/410 no. 12248. On its author, see Ibn Funduq, *Maʿārif*, 36; Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 110 no. 226; see also Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Maʿālim*, 144f.; Ansari, "ʿIlm al-kalām al-imāmī"; Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," 22 nos. 44f.

16. The doctrinal and cultural situation of Twelver Shīʿism during this period in Iran is evident from ʿAbd al-Ğalīl Qazwīnī's *K. al-Naqḍ*, written around 560/1164. On this work, see Capezzone, "Maestri e testi"; Calmard, "Chiisme imamite."

17. See DMB 8/310f. (Hassan Ansari).

18. See DMB 4/90–92 (Aḥmad Pakatčī). On the work, *Aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq*, and extant manuscripts, see Ansari, "Aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq"; *Fihris al-kutub al-mawğūda bi-l-Maktaba al-azhariyya*, 6/182f.

19. This work has been published; see the bibliography.

20. For the Banū Zuhra, see DMB 2/15–19 (Ṣādiq Sağğādī); Salati, *Ascesa e caduta*; Salati, "Note in margine"; al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Šīʿa*, 6/249f.; Eddé, *Principauté ayyoubide*, 438ff.

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l-Makārim ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (b. Ramaḍān 511/1117, d. 585/1189–90), the author of *Ġunyat al-nuzūʿ ilā ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*.[21] In the first part of his *Ġunya*, which is devoted to theology, Abū l-Makārim adheres to the doctrinal views of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.[22] Of Abū l-Makārim's students, we know of Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Sālim b. Badrān al-Māzinī al-Miṣrī (alive in 629/1232), who later became a teacher of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), to whom he issued an *iǧāza* for Abū l-Makārim's *Ġunya* (dated 18 Ǧumādā II 619/July 30, 1222).[23]

An important shift in the development of Imāmite doctrinal thought occurred with Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204), who completed his comprehensive theological *summa*, *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*, on 9 Ǧumādā I 581/August 8, 1185, in al-Ḥilla.[24] Al-Ḥimmaṣī's work is apparently the earliest testimony for the Imāmite reception of the theological thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, whose views al-Ḥimmaṣī adopted whenever these disagreed with those of the Bahšamiyya.[25]

21. Among his other works (all lost) are *Naqḍ šubah al-falāsifa*, *Masʾala fī l-radd ʿalā l-munaǧǧimīn*, *Masʾala fī anna naẓar al-kāmil al-ʿaql ʿalā infirādihi kāf fī taḥṣīl al-maʿārif al-ʿaqliyya*, *Masʾala fī nafy l-ruʾya wa-iʿtiqād al-Imāmiyya wa-muḥālifīhim mimman yunsab ilā l-sunna wa-l-ǧamāʿa*, *Masʾala fī kawnihi taʿālā ḥayyan*, *al-Masʾala al-šāfiya fī l-radd ʿalā man zaʿama anna l-naẓar ʿalā infirādihi ġayr kāf fī taḥṣīl al-maʿrifa bihi taʿālā*, and *Masʾala fī l-radd ʿalā man ḏahaba ilā anna l-wuǧūb wa-l-qubḥ lā yuʿlamān illā samʿan*; see al-Maǧlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 106/24f.; al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, 2/105f. His brother, Ǧamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (b. Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa 531/December 962–January 963, d. after 597/1200), is known to have composed *Ǧawāb suʾāl warada min Miṣr fī l-nubuwwa*, *K. al-Tabyīn li-masʾalatay al-šifāʿa wa-ʿuṣāt al-muslimīn*, *Tabyīn al-maḥaǧǧa fī kawn iǧmāʿ al-Imāmiyya ḥuǧǧa*, *Masʾala fī nafy l-taḥābuṭ* (or *Masʾala fī nafy l-taḥlīṭ*), *Ǧawāb suʾāl warada ʿan al-Ismāʿīliyya*, and *Ǧawāb sāʾil saʾala ʿan al-ʿaql*. See al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, 2/163f.; al-Maǧlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 106/25; al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 3/227f.; MṬF 6/162f.; Salati, *Ascesa e caduta*, 130 no. 4.

22. The *Ġunya* has been published twice: (1) A partial edition, comprising the second and third parts of the work (on legal methodology and law), is included in *al-Ǧawāmiʿ al-fiqhiyya* (lithograph); see also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 65. (2) All three parts—on *uṣūl al-dīn*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and *fiqh*—were published by Ibrāhīm al-Bahādurī. A Persian paraphrase of the *Ġunya*, most likely by ʿImād al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (alive in 701/1301), was published as *Muʿtaqad al-Imāmiyya*. See Modarressi, *Kitābiyyāt*, 32 n. 6. On ʿImād al-Dīn, see Ǧaʿfariyān, "Fawāʾid-i tārīḫī."

23. For a facsimile reproduction of the autograph *iǧāza*, see Mudarris Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl wa āṯār*, 161–167, esp. 164. On Sālim b. Badrān, see also MṬM 2/381f. no. 263.

24. Published. A theological text entitled *al-Muʿtamad min maḏhab al-Šīʿa al-imāmiyya* has been edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī. See also MTK 5/180 no. 11094. The editor suggests that this text is also by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. On the life and work of al-Ḥimmaṣī (with further references), see the editors' introduction to Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Muʿtamad*, ed. McDermott and Madelung, viii, and the editors' introduction to *Khulāṣat al-naẓar*, xf.; see also Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," 25 no. 68.

25. Al-Ḥimmaṣī evidently had immediate access to Abū l-Ḥusayn's theological writings, notably his *K. al-Ġurar* (see al-Ḥimmaṣī, *Munqiḏ*, 1/203, 1/504f.; see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 23/151ff.; Adang, "Rare Case") and possibly his *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* (see, e.g., al-Ḥimmaṣī, *Munqiḏ*, 1/63), and he regularly refers to the *K. al-Fāʾiq* of Ibn al-Malāḥimī, the chief representative of Abū l-Ḥusayn's doctrine a century after his death (al-Ḥimmaṣī, *Munqiḏ*, 1/56f., 1/208, 1/344).

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For the period following al-Ḥimmaṣī until the time of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, who "modernized" Twelver Šīʿī theology, little is known about Imāmite theology—most theologians who lived during this period are known by name only.[26] At the time of al-Ḥimmaṣī, al-Ḥilla had emerged as an important center of Twelver Šīʿism, and a number of renowned theologians were active there during the seventh/thirteenth century. These included, in particular, Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630/1232);[27] al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277), the author of *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn*;[28] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn Ǧuhaym (d. 680/1282), who was one of the teachers of the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325);[29] the ʿAllāma's father, Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ʿAlī (alive in 665/1267);[30] and the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī himself.[31] It was also during this period that the Banū l-ʿAwdī, a family of several generations of theologians, emerged in al-Ḥilla.[32] Apart from al-Ḥilla, Baḥrayn developed into an important center of Twelver Šīʿī learning, and numerous theologians are known to have been active there during the seventh/thirteenth century, notably Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. Saʿāda al-Baḥrānī,[33] his student ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (fl. first half of the seventh/thirteenth century),[34] and Kamāl al-Dīn Mayṯam b. ʿAlī b. Mayṯam al-Baḥrānī (d. 699/1299–1300), the author of *Qawāʿid al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām*.[35] A number of additional texts of unclear authorship are also known to have been written at the beginning of this period, viz. the *K. al-Yāqūt* by a certain Abū

26. See Chapter 13 in the present volume; see also Ansari and Schmidtke, "Philosophical Theology."

27. He was also the teacher of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī and ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266). On him, see al-Ṣadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, 3/106f.; MṬM 2/383f. no. 264.

28. This work has been published. He also wrote a brief *ʿaqīda* that has been published repeatedly (see MTK 5/7f. no. 10225), and a *fatwā* concerning the status of someone who upholds the doctrine that the nonexistent (*maʿdūm*) is stable (*ṯābit*); see Schmidtke, "Doctrinal Views," 388f. nos. 8 and 9 (with further references). On al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, see also al-Ustāḏī, *Aḥwāl wa āṯār*.

29. On him, see MṬM 2/408f. no. 278.

30. On him, see Schmidtke, *Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 10 (with further references).

31. Cf. Schmidtke, *Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*.

32. See Schmidtke, "Doctrinal Views," 357–382; Modarressi, "Mufāwaḍa-yi dar masʾala-yi šayʾiyyat-i maʿdūm."

33. See DMB 11/383f. (ʿAlī Riḍā Sayyid Taqawī).

34. See Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 779-786; EncIran 3/529 (W. Madelung); EI3 2009-3/151f. (R. Gleave).

35. Published; see the bibliography. See also DMB 4/716f. (Sayyid Ǧaʿfar Sağğādī); *Kitābšināsī-yi āṯār-i dastniwīs-i ʿAllāma Kamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī Mayṯam b. ʿAlī Baḥrānī*. Most of the theological writings by Mayṯam al-Baḥrānī were commissioned by the *amīr* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ǧaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Nīsābūrī (b. 626/1228–29, d. 672/1274); see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 787-796. On the scholars of Baḥrayn during this period in general, see al-Oraibi, *Shiʿi Renaissance*; al-Oraibi, "Rationalism in the School of Bahrain." The rich Twelver Šīʿī scholarship of Baḥrayn during the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries is documented in the chains of transmission of Ibn Abī Ǧumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (d. after 906/1501); many scholars are known by name only. See Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik*, 282ff. (Anhang 3: Die Überliefererketten des Ibn Abī Ǧumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī).

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Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbaḫt,[36] *Ḫulāṣat al-naẓar* by an unknown author,[37] and a brief anonymous Twelver Šīʿī theological tract in which Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī is mentioned.[38]

## II.

Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī ("Šayḫ al-ṭāʾifa," b. Ṭūs Ramaḍān 385/September–October 995, d. Naǧaf 22 Muḥarram 460/December 2, 1067) began his scholarly career in his homeland, Ḫurāsān, and specifically in multicultural Nishapur, where he grew up and received his initial education.[39] Apart from Šīʿī doctrine, he probably studied Šāfiʿite law in Nishapur[40] and was exposed to the doctrinal thought of the Muʿtazilite school of Baghdad that was predominant in Ḫurāsān at the time. During this period he specifically studied Abū Manṣūr al-Ṣarrām's *Bayān al-dīn*[41] with his Imāmite teacher Abū Ḥāzim al-Nīsābūrī, and according to al-Ṭūsī's student al-Ḥasan b. Mahdī al-Saylaqī, al-Ṭūsī upheld the Muʿtazilite notion of the threat (*al-waʿīd*), most likely due to al-Ṣarrām's influence.[42] When he came to Baghdad in 408/1017–18, al-Ṭūsī studied first with al-Mufīd, who died in 413/1022, and subsequently with al-Murtaḍā. It was undoubtedly the latter's influence that caused al-Ṭūsī to renounce the notion of *al-waʿīd* and to accept the demarcation lines between Muʿtazilism and Imāmism as they had been formulated particularly by al-Murtaḍā.[43]

36. Following Muḥammad Ḫān Qazwīnī, Ansari has shown that the work was most probably written at the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century; see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 797–804. For earlier scholarship on the work and its author, see Schmidtke, *Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 48f. (with further references).

37. Published in the edition of Ansari and Schmidtke.

38. Preserved in a collective manuscript (ff. 5b–12a) that was copied during the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century and is held by the library of the University of Shiraz (ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī Library). See Chapter 5 in the present volume.

39. For his teachers during this period, see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Ḥayāt al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī" (the original Persian version was published as "Šaḫṣiyyat-i ʿilmī"); Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tārīḫī*, 841-846. A comprehensive study on the life and writings of al-Ṭūsī is that by Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī in his introduction to the edition of al-Ṭūsī's Qurʾān commentary, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, 1/1–74. For a Persian translation of the introduction, see Āġā Buzurg, *Zindigīnāma-yi Šayḫ Ṭūsī*. See also EI2 10/745f. (M. A. Amir-Moezzi); Wāʿiẓ-Zāda Ḫurāsānī, "Ḥayāt al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī"; *al-Ḏikrā al-alfiyya li-l-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī*; Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*, 114–119.

40. See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4/126, where it is stated that he had Šāfiʿite tendencies (*kāna yantamī ilā maḏhab al-Šāfiʿī*).

41. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 225 no. 873. See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 1/16.—For Abū Manṣūr al-Ṣarrām, see al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabaṭabāʾī, 537.

42. The first to report this was the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī in his *Ḫulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 250. On al-Saylaqī, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 2(1)/56. See also Ansari, "Guzār az Iḫwān al-Ṣafā."

43. See al-Ḥillī, *Ḫulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 250; see also al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtiṣād*, Najaf ed., 193ff., where the author denies the notion of mutual cancellation (*iḥbāṭ*) that is founded on the notion of the threat.

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Following the latter's death in 436/1044, al-Ṭūsī became the most authoritative Imāmite theologian in Baghdad.

During the Seljuk invasion of Baghdad in 447/1055, al-Ṭūsī's home and library were burned down; al-Ṭūsī himself managed to flee to Najaf, where he spent the rest of his life. As a result, many of his writings were destroyed, including some of his most important theological works. In his *Fihrist*, he lists the following writings of his on theology; the order of titles in the autobibliography (which is retained in the following list) possibly reflects their relative chronology. Since all of the other titles are mentioned after the *Fihrist* in the autobibliographical list, it is likely that they were all written after he had completed an initial version of that work (most likely around 415/1025), in most, if not all, cases perhaps even after the death of al-Murtaḍā in 436/1044:[44]

- *K. Mā yuʿallal wa-mā lā yuʿallal* (lost).[45] The title suggests that the work was concerned with the notion of *ʿilla* in theology and legal methodology.[46] This is noteworthy because there are no other works exclusively on this topic known to have been written by Imāmite theologians prior to al-Ṭūsī. With the exception of al-Naǧāšī's *Riǧāl*, the work is not cited by any later Twelver Šīʿī author, and it is possible that is was destroyed during the Seljuk invasion of Baghdad.[47]
- *Muqaddama fī l-madḫal ilā* [*ṣināʿat*] *ʿilm al-kalām*, an introductory work in which the author discusses the theological notions of being existent (*mawǧūd*), accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) and substances (*ǧawāhir*), attributes (*ṣifāt*), reason (*ʿaql*) and the nature of reasoning (*naẓar*), and actions (*afʿāl*), taking into consideration the views of the Bahšamiyya and rival strands within Muʿtazilism. Despite its brevity, al-Ṭūsī evidently considered the work an important one, as he characterized it as without precedent (*lam yuʿmal miṯluhu*).[48] This high esteem was shared by al-Naǧāšī, who

44. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 192–194. The process of the *Fihrist*'s compilation still needs to be investigated in detail, but the date suggested is based on al-Ṭūsī's remark in his entry on Ibn Nūḥ al-Sīrāfī (*Fihrist*, 37) that the latter had died only a few years earlier. See DMB 5/61f. (Hassan Ansari); see also Šubayrī Zanǧānī, "Abū l-ʿAbbās-i Naǧāšī," 99. It should be noted, however, that the order of the titles given differs slightly in some of the manuscripts. This is reflected in the two published editions of the *Fihrist* by al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī and Baḥr al-ʿUlūm. There is so far no study on the chronology of al-Ṭūsī's entire literary œuvre. A preliminary study addressing this issue is Riḍā-Dād and Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Gāhšumārī-yi āṯār-i Šayḫ-i Ṭūsī."

45. In the edition of Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, the *K. Mā yuʿallal wa-mā lā yuʿallal* is mentioned as the first among the theological writings. In several manuscripts consulted by Ṭabāṭabāʾī the *K. Mā yuʿallal* follows *al-Masʾala fī l-aḥwāl*.

46. For a contemporary Ašʿarite discussion of *ʿilal* in theology and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, see al-Ǧuwaynī, *Šāmil*, 629ff. (*K. al-ʿIlal*).

47. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 193:11; al-Naǧāšī, *Riǧāl*, 403 no. 1068. See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 19/36 no. 185.

48. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 193:11f.

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included the title in his list of al-Ṭūsī's writings, which otherwise contains only the more comprehensive works.[49] Its popularity is also indicated by the various commentaries that were written on it later on (see below, section III) and by the numerous extant manuscripts of the *Muqaddama*.[50] Moreover, al-Ṭūsī refers to the *Muqaddama* later on in his *K. al-Iqtiṣād*.[51] The *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the work is the year of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's death, 436/1044, as indicated by the eulogy *raḥimahu llāh/raḍiya llāh ʿanhu* whenever al-Murtaḍā is mentioned in the text.

- An autocommentary on the *Muqaddama* entitled, according to al-Naǧāšī, *Riyāḍat al-ʿuqūl* (lost).[52] It is possible that the commentary was completed soon after the

49. See al-Naǧāšī, *Riǧāl*, 403 no. 1068. The work is also listed by Ibn Šahrāšūb in his *Maʿālim*, 115:4.

50. According to Āġā Buzurg, the earliest extant manuscript of the text, copied by Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Ḥʷārazmī and dated 26 Raǧab 444/November 21, 1052 (together with an *iǧāza* issued by al-Ṭūsī on 26 Muḥarram 445/May 18, 1053), was held in the private library of Faḫr al-Dīn Naṣīrī in Tehran. The current whereabouts of the manuscript are unknown. See Āġā Buzurg's introduction to al-Ṭūsī's *Tibyān*, 31f.; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 2(1)/191; Dānišpažūh, "Čahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī," 145 n. 1. (Dānišpažūh did not consult the manuscript himself; the authenticity of the manuscript is therefore not confirmed, and it may have been forged. On the Faḫr al-Dīn Naṣīrī collection, see the various articles included in *Nāma-yi Bahāristān*, vol. 5 (1381/2003), 165–198; Ṣafī Pūr, "Raddi-bandī.") A second manuscript is held at the British Library, MS Or. 10968/1, ff. 1a–17b, copied by ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. al-Raḍī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī and completed on 1 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 716/February 14, 1317, with numerous collation notes and comments in the margin in the same hand. For a brief description of the codex, see Naǧaf, "Min al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya," 277. The British Library purchased the manuscript on January 12, 1929, from Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970), who had acquired the codex in October 1928 in Shiraz. On the title page of the manuscript there is an (illegible) library stamp dated 1307/1889–90. A reproduction of this manuscript is preserved in the Markaz-i iḥyāʾ-i mīrāṯ-i islāmi in Qum (shelfmark 403/1) and in the Marʿašī Library in Qum (shelfmark 1257, *maǧmūʿa*); see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī and Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ʿaksī*, 2/7–9; Ḥāfiziyān Bābulī, *Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ʿaksī*, 3/575. A third manuscript, from the eighth/fourteenth century, is housed at the Malik Library in Tehran, MS 458; see Afšār and Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i kitāb-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī*, 1/532; al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāṯ al-ʿarabī*, 12/205. It seems that a reproduction of this manuscript is held by the Marʿašī Library in Qum; see Ḥāfiziyān Bābulī, *Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ʿaksī*, 4/56f. no. 1334. A fourth manuscript is likewise found at the Malik Library, MS 5712/8 (copied between 990 and 995/1582–87); see Afšār and Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i kitāb-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī*, 8/475; MTK 5/231 no. 11376. Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī (in *Fihristwāra*, 2/11f.) has mixed up several of al-Ṭūsī's epistles. The information he provides on the extant manuscripts is therefore of no use. Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh has published an edition of the *Muqaddama* on the basis of the third and fourth manuscripts in "Čahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī," 183–217. A new edition of the *Muqaddama* based on the second manuscript, including the numerous marginal commentaries on the text, and on the copy of the text as preserved in MS Atıf Efendi 1338 (see below, section III, for a detailed description of this manuscript), is given in Chapter 15 in the present volume.

51. See al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtiṣād*, ed. Saʿīd, 48.

52. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 193:12; al-Naǧāšī, *Riǧāl*, 403 no. 1068; similarly Ibn Šahrāšūb,

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*Muqaddama*, since the two works are mentioned next to each other in al-Ṭūsī's autobibliography.

- *Masʾala fī l-aḥwāl* (lost), a work that al-Ṭūsī praises in his *Fihrist* as "*malīḥa*."[53] Apart from al-Ṭūsī's autobibliography and al-Nağāšī's and Ibn Šahrāšūb's references to the work,[54] no later author seems to cite it. The title suggests that it was concerned with the Bahšamite notion of "states" (*aḥwāl*).
- *K. Šarḥ mā yataʿallaq bi-l-uṣūl min Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* [*K. Tamhīd al-uṣūl/al-Tamhīd fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*], a commentary on the first part of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* that is concerned with theology.[55] The *terminus post quem* for this commentary is 436/1044, the year al-Murtaḍā died.[56] Throughout the work, al-Ṭūsī faithfully explains al-Murtaḍā's views and refrains from voicing his own opinions. The work is preserved in three manuscripts[57] and has been edited by ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Miškāt Dīnī.[58]

All the titles mentioned up to this point are included in al-Nağāšī's list of al-Ṭūsī's writings in his *Riǧāl*. Since al-Nağāšī died in 450/1058, this year is the *terminus ante quem* for all of them.

- *Al-Masāʾil al-rāziyya fī l-waʿīd* (lost),[59] a collection of responsa evidently concerned with the threat.
- *K. al-Iqtiṣād fīmā yaǧibu ʿalā l-ʿibād* [*al-Iqtiṣād al-hādī ilā ṭarīq al-rašād/al-Iqtiṣād fīmā yataʿallaq bi-l-iʿtiqād*], a concise *summa* of theological and legal doctrines that is extant in several manuscripts and has been published repeatedly.[60] Throughout the work al-Ṭūsī shows himself to be a close follower of the views of al-Murtaḍā, and the numerous references to al-Ṭūsī's *Tamhīd*[61] suggest that the *Iqtiṣād* was

*Maʿālim*, 115:4f. See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 14/85. The title *Riyāḍat al-ʿuqūl* is also given in the margins of one of the extant manuscripts of al-Ṭūsī's *Fihrist*; see al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 448 (*ḥāšiya* no. 8).

53. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 193:13.

54. See al-Nağāšī, *Riǧāl*, 403 no. 1068; Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Maʿālim*, 115:5f.

55. Al-Ṭūsī's student and colleague Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Niḥrīr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Barrāǧ al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400/1009–10, d. 481/1088–89) wrote a commentary, *Šarḥ Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal li-Ibn al-Barrāǧ*, on the *ʿamal* part of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *Ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* that is concerned with legal issues. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 121; DMB 3/95–97 (Muḥammad Baḥr al-ʿUlūm).

56. See the eulogy for al-Murtaḍā mentioned in the introduction to the *Tamhīd*, 1:8f.

57. See MTK 2/328 no. 3999; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 3/321.

58. Miškāt Dīnī has also prepared a Persian translation of the text, *Tamhīd al-uṣūl dar ʿilm-i kalām-i islāmī*.

59. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 450.

60. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 193:20. The *Iqtiṣād* was first published by Ḥasan Saʿīd; a second edition was subsequently published in Najaf. A Persian translation of the work was published as *Tarǧuma-yi al-Iqtiṣād ilā ṭarīq al-rašād*. For manuscripts of the text, see MTK 1/414f. no. 1738.

61. See al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtiṣād*, Najaf ed., 52, 68, 86, 99, 124, 127, 184, 197, 211, 215, 219, 231, 233, 237, 247, 257,

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in fact based on this earlier work. Its *terminus post quem* is indicated by references to al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahaǧǧid*,[62] which is known to have been composed towards the end of al-Ṭūsī's stay in Baghdad.[63] Thus the *Iqtiṣād* was completed either during the same period or when al-Ṭūsī was already in Najaf.

- Towards the end of his autobibliography, al-Ṭūsī lists a comprehensive work on theology that he describes as *Kitāb fī l-uṣūl kabīr ḫaraǧa minhu l-kalām fī l-tawḥīd wa-baʿḍa l-kalām fī l-ʿadl*.[64] The title suggests that this work, which is lost, was his most comprehensive book in this discipline and that he may not have completed it. The fact that it is placed at the end of his autobibliography indicates that al-Ṭūsī composed it at an advanced stage of his life, certainly after 448 AH when he was in Najaf. The work may be identical with his *al-Kāfī fī l-kalām*, which is listed by Ibn Šahrāšūb among al-Ṭūsī's writings—Ibn Šahrāšūb remarks that it had remained incomplete (*al-Kāfī fī l-kalām ġayr tāmm*).[65] Since al-Ṭūsī's "*Kitāb fī l-uṣūl kabīr*" is listed in the *Fihrist* after two other works of his that can be dated, viz. his *K. Iḫtiyār maʿrifat al-riǧāl* (completed in 456/1064) and his *K. al-Maǧālis* (*al-Amālī*) *fī l-aḫbār* (completed between 455/1063 and 458/1066),[66] these dates suggest a *terminus post quem* for the compilation of his "*Kitāb fī l-uṣūl kabīr*."
- Al-Ṭūsī's student al-Ḥasan b. Mahdī al-Saylaqī has seemingly added an additional title by al-Ṭūsī to his copy of the *Fihrist*; according to the information provided, this work had likewise remained incomplete: *wa-min muṣannafātihi allatī lam yaḍkurhā fī l-Fihrist* ***Šarḥ al-šarḥ fī l-uṣūl****, kitāb mabsūṭ amlā ʿalaynā minhu šayʾan ṣāliḥan wa-māta wa-lam yutimmhu wa-lam yuṣannaf miṯluhu*.[67] It is likely that this was a commentary on his *Riyāḍat al-ʿuqūl* and that al-Ṭūsī began to compose it after starting to write the above-mentioned "extensive work on theology" (*kitāb fī l-uṣūl kabīr*). Al-Saylaqī's characterization of the work as comprehensive (*mabsūṭ*), together with the fact that al-Ṭūsī dictated it at at a late stage in his life, leave no

272, 278, 301, 303, 333, 343, 352, 358.

62. See, e.g., al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtiṣād*, Najaf ed., 417.

63. See Šubayrī Zanǧānī, "Abū l-ʿAbbās-i Nağāšī," 100.

64. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 194:3f. In one of the manuscripts of the *Fihrist* this phrase reads as follows: *wa-lahu K. al-Kāfī kabīr fī l-kalām mā tamma*. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 451 n. 5.

65. See Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Maʿālim*, 115:16. It remains unclear to what extent this work was related to the commentary al-Ṭūsī had intended to write either on his *Tamhīd* or on al-Murtaḍā's *Ḏaḫīra*. Al-Ṭūsī stated in his *Tamhīd* that he planned to write a commentary on either of the two works; see *Tamhīd*, 1:

فإني إن شاء الله في ما بعد أستأنف شرحًا مستوفى لهذا الشرح أو الذخيرة فإن الذخيرة أيضًا محتاجة إلى الشرح وخاصة النصف الأول منه وأذكر هناك الأدلة المعتمدة والمعترضة وقوي شبه المخالفين في كل فصل وأسأله تعالى أن يعين على عمل هذين الكتابين فإنهما إذا خرجا إلى الوجود لم يبق ورائهما شيء يُذكر إلا ما لا فائدة في ذكره لوهنه وضعفه أو في ما ذُكر يكون دليل عليه أو بينة عليه.

66. For these dates, see Šubayrī Zanǧānī, "Abū l-ʿAbbās-i Nağāšī," 100.

67. Quoted in "Ḥāšiyat Ḫulāṣat al-aqwāl" by al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 966/1558); see al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī *Rasāʾil*, 2/1053.

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doubt that this supercommentary, together with the above-mentioned *summa* that also remained incomplete, constituted important testimonies of the most advanced developmental phase of al-Ṭūsī's doctrinal thought.

This list makes it clear that our knowledge of al-Ṭūsī's doctrinal views is based only on his commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ǧumal al-ʿilm* and on his briefer writings in this discipline, viz. his *Muqaddama* and his *K. al-Iqtiṣād*. In these works, al-Ṭūsī shares al-Murtaḍā's preference for the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya. By contrast, all of al-Ṭūsī's more comprehensive works on theology are lost, and it is unclear to what extent he maintained Bahšamite positions in them, particularly in those works that he composed at a later stage in his life. Both al-Ṭūsī's "*Kitāb fī l-uṣūl kabīr*" and his *Šarḥ al-šarḥ* seem to have been beyond the reach of later Imāmite theologians, although both works were evidently composed when al-Ṭūsī was already in Najaf. Al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, for example, who used al-Ṭūsī's *Tamhīd* and al-Murtaḍā's *Ḏaḫīra*[68] extensively throughout his *Munqiḏ*, evidently had neither of the former two works at his disposal. The later Imāmite literature contains only a few hints that seem to suggest that in some of his lost writings al-Ṭūsī departed from the doctrines of the Bahšamites, presumably due to the influence of the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. One indication that suggests that al-Ṭūsī did adopt at least some doctrinal aspects of Abū l-Ḥusayn's thought is found in a *fatwā* by Šaraf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-ʿAwdī al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (fl. first half of the eighth/fourteenth century) concerning the status of someone who upholds the doctrine that the nonexistent (*maʿdūm*) is stable (*ṯābit*). Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī had denied the Bahšamite notion of states (*aḥwāl*) and thus the claim founded on this notion that an essence (*ḏāt*) is distinguished from all other essences and stable (*ṯābit*) by virtue of an attribute of essence (*ṣifat al-ḏāt*) that is necessarily attached to every essence, independently of whether it is existent. Following Abū l-Ḥusayn, Šaraf al-Dīn rejected the Bahšamite position that the nonexistent is stable and constitutes a thing (*šayʾ*), and he concluded that any upholder of this position is an unbeliever. To support his argument, Šaraf al-Dīn referred, among other earlier theologians, to al-Ṭūsī, who, according to Šaraf al-Dīn, had in his *Riyāḍat al-ʿuqūl* maintained the same view as Šaraf al-Dīn himself.[69] This would imply that in his autocommentary (or perhaps rather his supercommentary)[70] on the *Muqaddama* al-Ṭūsī had criticized or even rejected the Bahšamite notion of states in its entirety.

68. See al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 2/213, 2/220, 2/222, 2/377.

69. See Schmidtke, "Doctrinal Views," 383, 389 no. 9 (with further references).

70. It is likely that Šaraf al-Dīn had al-Ṭūsī's *Šarḥ Riyāḍat al-ʿuqūl* in mind, rather than his *Riyāḍat al-ʿuqūl*.

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A second indication suggesting that al-Ṭūsī's doctrinal thought had undergone significant developments is included in his more concise epistles devoted to *kalām*,[71] particularly his *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyya*. In this text, which cannot be dated,[72] al-Ṭūsī adduces the earlier definition of the *mutakallimūn* of God as eternal (*qadīm azalī*), whose existence has no beginning (*anna wuǧūdahu lam yasbiqhu l-ʿadam*) alongside the alternative notion of God being the necessary existent (*wāǧib al-wuǧūd*), that is, whose non-existence is impossible (*lā yaǧūzu ʿalayhi l-ʿadam*) and who is not dependent in His existence on anything else (*annahu lā yaftaqiru fī wuǧūdihi ilā ġayrihi*).[73] Earlier Bahšamite authors, such as ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār,[74] the latter's Zaydī student Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī ("Mānkdīm Šašdīw", d. ca. 425/1034),[75] and al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,[76] had already started to replace the traditional *kalām* notion of eternality (*qidam*), which refers to "beforeness" or to having an existence that has no beginning and is thus uncaused, by the notion of necessity (*wuǧūb al-wuǧūd*), but they still refrained from defining God as the necessary existent by virtue of Himself (*wāǧib al-wuǧūd li-ḏātihi*) and from using the ma-

71. Editions of these epistles are included in al-Ṭūsī, *al-Rasāʾil al-ʿašar li-Šayḫ al-ṭāʾifa*. An edition by Dānišpažūh of another tract, *Šarḥ al-ʿIbārāt al-muṣṭalaḥa bayn al-mutakallimīn*, which in the view of the editor is also by al-Ṭūsī, is included in *al-Ḏikrā al-alfiyya li-l-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī*, 1/236–240; see *al-Ḏikrā al-alfiyya*, 1/148, for a description of the single extant manuscript of the text (Sipahsālār); see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1/1051 no. 26349. This text is identical in Dānišpažūh's view with the *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-mutakallimīn* mentioned by Āġā Buzurg in his *Ḏarīʿa*; see below, n. 83.

72. We do not have any reason to doubt the authenticity of *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyya*, but that of the *Risāla fī l-iʿtiqādāt* is less certain. The edition of *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyya* is based on five manuscripts (the earliest having been copied in the tenth/sixteenth century), while the edition of *Risāla fī l-iʿtiqādāt* is based on a single manuscript copied in 948/1541. For the extant manuscripts of *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyya*, the commentaries on the text, and the extant manuscripts of *Risāla fī l-iʿtiqādāt*, among them one (preserved in Najaf) that apparently contains an indication that the text had been composed by al-Ṭūsī, see Rawḍātī, "Du risāla-yi kalāmī"; Rawḍātī, "Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā"; Dānišpažūh, "Čahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī," 142–144.

73. See al-Ṭūsī, *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyya*, 93:

(3) مسألة: اللّٰه تعالى واجب الوجود لذاته بمعنى أنه لا يفتقر في وجوده إلى غيره ولا يجوز عليه العدم بدليل أنه لو كان ممكن الوجود لافتقر إلى صانع كافتقار هذا العالم وذلك محال على المنعم المعبود. (4) مسألة: الله تعالى قديم أزلي بمعنى أن وجوده لم يسبقه العدم، باق أبدي بمعنى أن وجوده لم يلحقه العدم بدليل أنه واجب الوجود لذاته، فيستحيل سبق العدم عليه وتطرقه إليه.

See also *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyya*, 96 (*masʾala* 21). See also his *Risāla fī l-iʿtiqādāt*, 104, where this notion is more advanced. However, the authenticity of this tract is uncertain (see above, n. 72):

(4) والدليل على أن اللّٰه تعالى واجب الوجود: لأنا نقسم الموجود إلى قسمين، واجب الوجود وممكن الوجود، فواجب الوجود هو الذي لا يفتقر في وجوده إلى غيره ولا يجوز عليه العدم، وهو الله تعالى. وممكن الوجود هو الذي يفتقر في وجوده إلى غيره ويجوز عليه العدم، وهو ما سوى الله تعالى وهو العالم. فلو كان البارئ تعالى ممكن الوجود لافتقر إلى مؤثر، والمفتقر ممكن فيكون البارئ تعالى واجب الوجود بهذا المعنى وهو المطلوب. (5) والدليل على أن الله تعالى قديم أزلي: لأن معنى القديم والأزلي هو الذي لا أول لوجوده فلو كان البارئ تعالى لوجوده أولًا لكان محدثًا وقد ثبت أنه تعالى واجب الوجود فيكون قديمًا أزليًا.

74. See ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, *Muġnī*, 4/250, 6/54, 11/433.

75. See Mānkdīm Šašdīw, [*Taʿlīq*] *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, 128.

76. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḫḫaṣ*, 217.

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trix of necessary existent (*wāǧib al-wuǧūd*) versus contingent (*mumkin al-wuǧūd*), by virtue of itself (*li-ḏātihi*) or by virtue of another (*li-ġayrihi*), as fully formulated by Ibn Sīnā and commonly used in *kalām* from the sixth/twelfth century onwards.[77] In his *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyya*, al-Ṭūsī is thus one of the earliest *mutakallimūn* to employ the more progressive matrix.[78] Again, he may have done so partly because of the influence of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Although the latter apparently avoided the philosophical terminology,[79] his notion of *muḥdaṯ* clearly departed from that of the earlier Muʿtazilite theologians and agreed in substance with Ibn Sīnā's notion of the contingent (*mumkin al-wuǧūd*).[80]

## III.

Apart from al-Ṭūsī's autocommentaries on his *Muqaddama*, several additional commentaries are known to have been written on the text, al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī's (d. 573/1177) lost *Ǧawāhir al-kalām fī šarḥ Muqaddamat al-kalām* being the earliest one.[81] The numerous marginal comments included in MS London, British Library, Or 10968/1 constitute another commentary on the text. These may have originated with the copyist of the manuscript, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Raḍī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, who wrote in 716/1317, or perhaps with an earlier Imāmite scholar, as suggested by the clearly Bahšamite tendencies expressed throughout the *ḥawāšī*.[82] Moreover, it is likely that Qāḍī Saʿīd al-Qummī (d. 1107/1696)

77. The matrix and the Avicennan terminology are commonly used in Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Fāʾiq* and in his *Muʿtamad*. On the development of the notion of eternality (*qidam*) towards necessity (*wuǧūb*) among the *mutakallimūn*, see Wisnovsky, *Avicenna's Metaphysics*, 223ff.; Wisnovsky, "One Aspect." Wisnovsky was unaware of the important developments in Muʿtazilite *kalām* that were due to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.

78. By contrast, he does not do so in either his *Iqtiṣād* or his *Tamhīd*.

79. However, like already ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār before him, Abū l-Ḥusayn used the notion of *wuǧūb al-wuǧūd*; see Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, 5, 13.

80. See Madelung, "Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Proof," 275. It was most likely due to the influence of Abū l-Ḥusayn that the notions of necessary existent (*wāǧib al-wuǧūd*) and contingent (*ǧāʾiz al-wuǧūd*) were also employed by al-Ǧuwaynī; see his *Šāmil*, 111, 116.

81. See Muntaǧab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 87–89 no. 186; Āġā Buzug, *Ḏarīʿa*, 5/277 no. 1298, 14/85; MTK 2/478 no. 4692. For Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī and his writings, see the editor's introduction to his *Lubb al-lubāb*, 1/5–57; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Nahǧ al-balāġa," 254ff.; Capezzone, "Maestri e testi," 24f. no. 67. According to Āġā Buzurg, another commentary on the *Muqaddama* was composed by Sayyid ʿAzīz Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Ardabīlī in 967/1559–60. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 14/85f. no. 1839; MTK 4/91 no. 7960, with reference to a manuscript in the Āstān-i Quds Library that was not available to us; for a description of this manuscript, see *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḫaṭṭī-yi kitābḫāna-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī*, 1/58 no. 194. Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawḍātī, who has inspected the Mashhad manuscript, has established, however, that it is a commentary on al-Ṭūsī's *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyya*; see his "Du risāla-yi kalāmī." Al-Afandī mentions a commentary by ʿAzīz Allāh on an unspecified work of al-Ṭūsī; see his *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 3/314f.; see also al-Ṣadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, 3/419.

82. For an edition of these comments, see Chapter 15 in the present volume.

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also commented on the work.[83] Another commentary (*taʿlīq*) on al-Ṭūsī's *Muqaddama* is preserved as MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Atıf Efendi 1338/1 (ff. 1a–110a).[84] The author is identified on the title page (written in a different hand than the text) as Nağīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, and the wording of the title indicates that the commentary was noted down (*ʿulliqa*) by someone else, most likely a student of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[85] This is corroborated by a reference to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān on f. 64a:4ff. that clearly originates with his otherwise unknown student (*wa-stadalla sayyidunā al-šarīf al-ağall Nağīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim b. . . .* [word missing] *waffaqahu llāh*). The fact that the scribe of the title page was evidently unable to recognize Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, whose name he rendered erroneously as Abū Ǧaʿfar *al-Ṭabarī*, as the author of the *Muqaddama*[86] suggests that he was not well versed in Twelver Šīʿī literature. The copyist of the text itself, possibly an Imāmite, seems not to have been familiar with the author of the *taʿlīq*. This is suggested by the above-quoted reference to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (f. 64a:4f.), which omits the name of the latter's father, certainly because the scribe ignored it. It should also be noted that the scribe erroneously gives al-Ṭūsī's name as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (in-

83. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 2/123 no. 495, 13/93 no. 298, according to which al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī composed a tract entitled *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-mutakallimīn*, information that is not confirmed elsewhere. It may well be that this title rather refers to his *Muqaddama ilā ʿilm al-kalām*. The only extant manuscript is preserved in the private library of Rāğa Muḥammad Mahdī al-Fayḍābādī in India, whose holdings have not yet been catalogued. For Qāḍī Saʿīd, see also Rawḍātī, *Duwwumīn dū guftār*; Rizvi, "(Neo)Platonism Revived." Rawḍātī suggests that most works attributed to Saʿīd al-Qummī in fact originated with his contemporary Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ḥakīm.

84. Published as Ansari and Schmidtke, *Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's Theological Writings*. Incomplete and mostly erroneous descriptions of the manuscript are included in Şeşen, *Nawādir al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, 1/224; Şeşen, *Muḫtārāt min al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, 197; Şeşen, "Esquisse d'une histoire," 200. See also the entry in the electronic manuscript catalogue of the Turkish ministry of culture and tourism: goo.gl/5I3zss (accessed February 6, 2017) and Karabulut, *İstanbul ve Anadolu kütüphanelerinde*, 1175 no. 3833/9; here the text is described as "Šarḥ muqaddamat Abī Ǧaʿfar al-ʿAbdalī al-Ṭabarī" and the work is listed among the works of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (Karabulut clearly used Şeşen as his source for this manuscript, and he failed to distinguish between the Šayḫ al-ṭāʾifa and Naṣīr al-Dīn). See also MTK 4/91 no. 7958, where the text is misattributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). In modern scholarship, Josef van Ess seems to have been the only one to consult the text; see his *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 6/25, 6/27. He incorrectly identifies its author as "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī [*sic*]."

85. The title reads as follows:

عُلِّق من كلام السيد الأجل الشريف الطاهر نجيب الدين أبي القاسم عبد الرحمان بن علي بن محمد الحسيني أكرم الله مثواه | شرح لمقدمة أبي جعفر الطبري [كذا] مسكنًا العدلي مذهبًا رحمة الله عليه

The top of the title page also has the following note, which suggests that the manuscript had circulated mostly if not exclusively in Sunnī circles: *hāḏā l-kitāb min kutub al-Muʿtazila fī l-kalām fa-lā taġfal*. In addition, there is an ownership note that is crossed out. The note reads as follows:

ملك العبد الفقير سالم بن محمد بن علي رزقه الله معرفته.

86. See above, n. 85.

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stead of al-Ḥasan) (f. 1b:1).[87] Throughout the text, numerous *balāġ* notes can be found[88] as well as some corrections and glosses in the margin,[89] possibly written by the same hand as the title page. On f. 23b there is a *ḥāšiya* signed by a certain Raḍī b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim. The text ends with a colophon (f. 110a) in which the copyist identifies himself as Salmān b. Masʿūd b. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hawbal. The date given, end of Ṣafar 590/February 1194, shows that the copy was completed only some eight years after the author of the commentary died (in 582/1186; see below).[90] The colophon is followed by a collation note dated two months later, 11 Rabīʿ II 590/April 5, 1194.[91] Apart from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's *taʿlīq* on the *Muqaddama*, the codex contains a copy of *al-Mulaḫḫaṣ fī l-ǧadal* by the renowned Šāfiʿite scholar Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī (d. 476/1083),[92] copied by a different scribe, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr, and completed in Rabīʿ I 590/March 1194.[93] The second text begins still within the same quire in which the copy of the *taʿlīq* ends.[94] This, as well as the fact that both texts were transcribed in 590/1194,

87. The same mistake is attested in the manuscripts used by Dānišpažūh; see his edition of the *Muqaddama* in *Rasāʾil al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī*, 87.

88. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Atıf Efendi 1338/1, ff. 17b, 24a, 32a, 33b, 35a, 41a, 43a, 46b, 58b, 60b, 66b, 67b, 70b, 71a, 72a, 72b, 88b, 92a, 93a, 101b, 102b, 103b.

89. Ff. 3a, 6a, 8b, 9b, 10b, 11b, 13b, 14b, 15b, 16a, 16b, 22b, 25a, 27a, 27b, 28b, 29a, 30a, 31a, 32b ("Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī al-Manṭiqī"), 33b, 35b, 37b, 43a, 44a, 48b, 50a, 50b, 51a, 51b, 52a, 54a, 55a, 56a, 58b, 64a, 68b, 69b, 71b, 72b, 73a, 73b, 74a, 75a, 75b, 82a, 84a, 94a, 95b, 97a, 98a, 101a, 102a, 103b, 105b, 107a, 108a, 110a.

90. The colophon reads as follows:

فرغ من نساخة هذا الكتاب الفقير إلى رحمة الله تعالى سلمان بن مسعود بن علي بن سعيد بن عبد الله الهوبل في العشر الآخر من شهر صفر من شهور سنة تسعين وخمسمائة غفر الله له ولوالديه ولصاحبه ولجميع المسلمين والمسلمات إنه هو الغفور الرحيم وحسبنا الله وكفى ونعم الوكيل وصلى الله على رسوله سيدنا محمد خاتم النبيين وعلى آله الطيبين الطاهرين وسلم عليه وعليهم أجمعين.

91. The note reads as follows:

كمل قصاصة ومعارضة على الأصل المنقول منه بمن الله وعونه يوم الاثنين لإحدى عشرة ليلة خلت من شهر ربيع الآخر من شهور سنة تسعين وخمسمائة سنة.

92. For a brief description of the manuscript, MS Atıf Efendi 1338/2, see the catalogue entry at goo.gl/bGLXXO (accessed February 6, 2017). The title page reads as follows (f. 111a):

الملخص في الجدل صنفه الشيخ الإمام العالم أبو اسحاق ابراهيم بن علي الفيروزآبادي الشيرازي رحمة الله عليه

This book was apparently edited as part of a PhD dissertation submitted by Muḥammad Yūsuf Āḫand Čīyāzī. On the author, see DMB 5/167–171 (Nūr Allāh Kasāʾī); Chaumont, *Question de l'ijtihād*; Chaumont, "Encore au sujet de l'ashʿarisme." Among the extant manuscripts of *al-Mulaḫḫaṣ* there is a copy preserved in al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya (Dār al-maḫṭūṭāṭ) in Sanaa, no. 886; see ʿĪsawī [et al.], *Fihris*, 1/63.

93. See the colophon on f. 198b:

وفرغ من نسخته هذا الكتاب الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن أبي الحسين بن منصور (؟) في شهر ربيع الأول من سنة تسعين وخمسمائة وهو يسأل الله طالبًا في المغفرة له ولوالديه ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات ... والحمد لله حمد الشاكرين وصلواته على رسوله الأمي وعلى أهل بيته الطيبين وسلامه

The colophon is followed by a *waqf* statement:

هذا الكتاب يوقف على ابراهيم بن قدمه (؟) من مالكه رحمة الله عليه وهو معي بالولاية لي وكتب موسى بن عطية بن محمد حامدًا لله تعالى رحم الله تعالى الكاتب والمصنف والناظر والمتأمل بإمعان النظر السديد ولا يسوء الظن بالمسلمين

94. The codex consists of quinions, senions, and septions: 1 V (10), 8 VI (106), 1 V (117), 2 VII (145),

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suggests that the owner of the codex, without any doubt a Twelver Šīʿī, had first commissioned Ibn al-Hawbal to copy the *taʿlīq* on the *Muqaddama* and then Ibn Manṣūr to transcribe Abū Isḥāq's *Mulaḥḥaṣ*.

While the Imāmite biographical sources ignore the author of the *taʿlīq*, the Šāfiʿite author ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Munḏirī (b. 581/1185, d. 656/1258) includes an entry on him in his *al-Takmila li-Wafayāt al-naqala*, providing the following genealogy: *al-šarīf al-aǧall al-fāḍil Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-šarīf al-aǧall Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad* [*b. Muḥammad*] *b. Qāsim al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī*.[95] The fact that both ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his father ʿAlī are characterized as *al-šarīf al-aǧall* suggests that both were scholars in their own right. Al-Munḏirī adds that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was born around 520/1126 in Damascus, that he lived in Aleppo, and that he died in Cairo on 13 Šawwāl 582/December 27, 1186. It is noteworthy that al-Munḏirī provides no details about ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's literary œuvre, nor does he mention his affiliation with Twelver Šīʿism, although the *taʿlīq* places this affiliation beyond doubt.

Al-Ḏahabī (d. 748/1348) includes the same information among the events for the year 582/1186–87 in his *Tārīḫ al-islām*,[96] adding that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the grandfather of the renowned al-Šarīf ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓ, whose biography is well known. The Šāfiʿite scholar al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿIzz al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī (b. Cairo 636/1238, d. Cairo 695/1295) was a student of his compatriot al-Munḏirī, whose *Takmila* he later continued in his *Ṣilat al-Takmila li-Wafayāt al-naqala*.[97] ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī states that his genealogy goes back to ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Saǧǧād (d. 95/713) and adds that his family was of Kufan origin: *ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī*

2 VI (169), 1 V (189), 1 V-1 (198). We are using the method for describing the composition of quires established by Jan Just Witkam; see his *Arabic Manuscripts*, 14; see also Déroche [et al.], *Islamic Codicology*, 71. Both scribes provide quire signatures in the outer corner of the upper margin of the recto of the first leaf of the quire. However, while Ibn Hawbal gives the numbers in ordinal form (*ṯāniya*, *ṯāliṯa*, *rābiʿa*, *ḫāmisa*, *sādisa*, *sābiʿa*, *ṯāmina*, *tāsiʿa*, *ʿāšira*), the copyist of the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* employs numerals (11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17).

95. Al-Munḏirī, *Takmila*, 1/72 no. 5. The only Imāmite biographer who has taken notice of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān so far is ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in *Muʿǧam aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 243, who mentions ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's biography as stated by al-Munḏirī.

96. Al-Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ al-islām*, 12/751.

97. On ʿIzz al-Dīn, see the editor's introduction to the *Ṣila*, 1/5–54 (with further references); Sellheim, "ʿIzzaddīn al-Ḥusainī's Autograph." ʿIzz al-Dīn also compiled a work entitled *al-Aḥādīṯ al-ṯamāniya al-asānīd al-muntaqāt*, which is preserved in an apparently unique manuscript (MS Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 371, ff. 105–202); for a brief description of the manuscript, see Karabulut, *İstanbul ve Anadolu kütüphanelerinde*, 1/229. Details on the transmission of the work and the material it contains are given on the title page as follows:

الأحاديث الثمانية الأسانيد المنتقاة من سماعات الشيخ الجليل مسند الوقت نجيب الدين أبي الفرج عبد المنعم بن علي بن نصر بن منصور الحراني خرجها له السيد الإمام عز الدين أبو القاسم أحمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن علي الحسيني رضي الله عنهما آمين رواية الشيخ الإمام صدر الدين أبي الفتح محمد بن محمد بن ابراهيم الميدومي عنه

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*l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. . . .*[98]

About his father, Muḥammad, ʿIzz al-Din al-Ḥusaynī reports the following details:[99] Šaraf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad was born in Cairo on 26 Ramaḍān 573/March 18, 1178, and he also died there on 6 Ṣafar 666/October 27, 1267. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī's grandfather, must therefore have left Aleppo prior to 573/1178 when his son was born, and he had died when his son was only nine years old. It is possible that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was forced to flee from Aleppo as a result of the growing oppression of Šīʿīs under the Zangids and the Ayyūbids.[100] Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad apparently grew up as a Sunnī, as his main education took place after his father's death, and the teachers Šaraf al-Dīn is known to have studied with were exclusively Sunnīs.[101] It is possibly from his father that ʿIzz al-Dīn inherited the prestigious position of *naqīb al-ašrāf*,[102] and it is plausible that the father, in turn, had already inherited the office from his father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, although the biographical sources are silent about this. When talking about his grandfather ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, it is noteworthy that, in contrast to al-Munḏirī and al-Ḏahabī, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī explicitly refers to his grandfather's literary œuvre, albeit in a general manner, and that he states that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had for some time taught Arabic grammar and *uṣūl*, referring either to theology or to legal methodology, or to both.[103] Like al-Munḏirī and al-Ḏahabī, ʿIzz al-Dīn refrains from mentioning his grand-

98. ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Ṣila*, 2/558; see also the editor's introduction, 1/7. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī apparently had two sons. The first, *al-qāḍī* Šaraf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, studied the *Ṣilat al-Takmila* with his father (the autograph manuscript of the *Ṣila*, MS Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1101, has seventeen *samāʿāt*, and in most of them Muḥammad is mentioned as *sāmiʿ*; see Sellheim, "'Izzaddīn al-Ḥusainī's Autograph," 165ff.; see also the editor's introduction to the *Ṣila*, 1/25f. and 1/50, for a facsimile reproduction of the *samāʿ* dated Rabīʿ I 685/April 1286). The second son, Badr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (b. ca. 676/1277–78, d. Ǧumādā I or Rabīʿ II 743/1342), inherited from his father the office of *naqīb al-ašrāf*; see the editor's introduction to ʿIzz al-Dīn's *Ṣila*, 1/17.

99. ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Ṣila*, 2/558f. See *Mašīḫat qāḍī l-quḍāt Šayḫ al-islām Badr al-Dīn*, 2/496; al-Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ al-islām*, 15/137; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 3/235; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, 6/22; al-Yūnīnī, *Ḏayl*, 2/403.

100. On the situation of Twelver Šīʿīs under the rule of the Zangids and the Ayyūbids, see Ansari, "Dīn wa dawlat"; Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*; Madelung, "Spread of Māturidism"; Eddé, *Principauté ayyoubide*, 436ff. See also Hillenbrand, "Shīʿīs of Aleppo."

101. See ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Ṣila*, 2/559.

102. This office is mentioned in a *samāʿ* issued for *Ṣilat al-Takmila* (quoted in the editor's introduction to the *Ṣila*, 1/25). Note also that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is characterized in the following *samāʿ* as *al-muftī*:

سمع جميع هذه المجلدة والمجلدة قبلها على مصنفها سيدنا وشيخنا الفقيه الإمام العالم الحافظ ناصر السنة السيد عز الدين أبي القاسم أحمد بن الإمام العلامة شرف الدين أبي عبد الله محمد ابن الإمام المفتي نجيب الدين أبي القاسم عبد الرحمان الحسيني الشافعي نقيب النقباء فسح الله في مدته ونفع المسلمين ببركته ...

103. ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Sila*, 2/559:

وأبوه أبو القاسم عبد الرحمن كان أحد الفضلاء المشهورين وله تصانيف حسنة وطريقة جميلة وأقرأ العربية والأصول وغيرهما مدة وانتفع به

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father's Imāmite affiliation.[104] Moreover, neither ʿIzz al-Dīn nor any other biographer provides any details as to the teachers of his grandfather ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Throughout the *taʿlīq* the author regularly refers, apart from some earlier Muʿtazilite thinkers and al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī, to the Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, whose *K. al-Ḏaḫīra* he explicitly names on one occasion,[105] and to al-Murtaḍā's student Abū l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī.[106] On one occasion he also explicitly mentions al-Ṭūsī's autocommentary on the *Muqaddama*, which he must have had at his disposal.[107] It is possible that the present *taʿlīq* is primarily a paraphrastic commentary on al-Ṭūsī's *Šarḥ al-Muqaddama*. Towards the end of the text the author includes to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (f. 95a) "and his followers" (*wa-man qāla bi-qawlihi*) among those who rejected the Bahšamite notion of states (*aḥwāl*). If indeed the present *taʿlīq* is based on al-Ṭūsī's *Šarḥ al-Muqaddama*, this reference may have originated with al-Ṭūsī rather than with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. This would be another indication that al-Ṭūsī had discussed some of the doctrinal views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in his autocommentary. Be that as it may, the commentator clings to the doctrines of the Bahšamites throughout the *taʿlīq*, as seems to have been characteristic for Twelver Šīʿī theologians of Aleppo during his time. He may very well have been under the influence of, and perhaps even closely connected to, Abū l-Makārim ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Zuhra (see above). On various occasions ʿAbd al-Raḥmān explicitly remarks that his only intention is to explain the views of al-Ṭūsī in his *Muqaddama*.[108]

The text of the commentary begins without any introductory remarks that would provide information about the circumstances that led to the compilation of the *taʿlīq*. Moreover, it neither quotes al-Ṭūsī's *ḫuṭba* in full nor includes his final remark, and the commentary ends with only a brief concluding statement (f. 115a). Some information as to why the *taʿlīq* was compiled is given on f. 53b of the text. Here ʿAbd al-Raḥmān re-

104. The extant biographical works on the scholars of Aleppo also convey no information on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The only extant biographical work that is devoted to the history of Twelver Šīʿīs in Aleppo, Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī's (d. ca. 630/1232–33) *al-Ḥāwī fī riǧāl al-Imāmiyya*, is preserved only incompletely, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is not mentioned in the preserved parts of the work. He is also not mentioned in the various Sunnī biographical dictionaries specifically devoted to Aleppo, viz. *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīḫ Ḥalab* and the incompletely preserved *Buġyat al-ṭalab fī tārīḫ Ḥalab*, both by Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262). On Ibn al-ʿAdīm's works, see also Morray, *Ayyubid Notable*.

105. See MS Atıf Efendi 1338/1, f. 14a:16.

106. See ff. 18b, 39b.

107. See f. 14a:17 (discussing al-Ṭūsī's notion of annihilation).

108. See f. 96b:17–20:

واعلم بأنّ معظم هذا الفصل مبني على القول بإثبات الأحوال واثبات المعدوم وفيه بعد ذلك ما فيه خلاف بين أهل النظر ونحن نذكر مسألة مسألة منه فنبين ماهيتها بحول الله وقوته على حسب ما يليق بهذا الكتاب.

F. 97a:15:

وتحقيق هذه الأقوال وبيان الصحيح منها تقصر عنه رتبة هذا التعليق فلا وجه لذكره.

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marks, among other things, that the preceding discussion relates to a query, possibly by a student (*iǧābatan li-suʾāl al-sāʾil wa-muwāfaqatan li-ġaraḍ al-tālib*).[109]

109. See f. 53b:3–9 (here the work is also explicitly qualified as a *taʿlīq*):

واعلم بأنا وإن أشبعنا في هذا الفصل ما لم نتشبع في باقي فصول هذا الكتاب فإنما كان ذلك إجابة لسؤال السائل وموافقة لغرض الطالب ومن أراد انتزاع هذا الفصل من جملة تعليق هذا الكتاب وجعله كتابًا مفردًا بذاته كان مصيبًا في إرادته مسددًا في قصده فإنه يطلع به على جلّ العلوم التي لها تعلق بالكلام والألفاظ بحول الله وقوته

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# Chapter 15
# Al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī's *Muqaddama fī l-Madḫal ilā ʿIlm al-Kalām*: A Critical Edition

The following edition is based on MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Atıf Efendi 1338/1, ff. 1a–110a (ا) (for a description, see Chapter 14 in the present volume, section III), and MS London, British Library (BL), Or 10968/1, ff. 1a–17b (ب). MS BL Or 10968/1 was copied by ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. al-Raḍī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī and completed on 1 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 716/February 14, 1317, with numerous collation notes and comments in the margin in the same hand. For a brief description of the codex, see Naǧaf, "Min al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya," 277. We thank ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabāʾī Yazdī for having made a copy of the British Library manuscript available to us.

**كتاب المقدمة في الكلام تصنيف الشيخ السعيد موفق الدين ضياء الإسلام أبي جعفر محمد بن الحسن بن علي الطوسي قدّس الله روحه العزيز ورضي عنه وأرضاه**[1]

[ا 1ب:1–16 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قال الشيخ الأجلّ الأوحد الفقيه أبو جعفر محمّد بن الحسين [كذا[2]] الطوسي رحمه الله:]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه ثقتي. الحمد لله حق حمده والصلاة على خير خلقه محمد وآله الطاهرين. سألتم أيدكم الله إملاء مقدمة تشتمل على ذكر الألفاظ المتداولة بين المتكلمين وبيان أغراضهم منها فإن لهم مواضعات[3] مخصوصة ليست على موجب اللغة ومن نظر في كلامهم ولا يعرف مواضعتهم لم يحظ نظائر من ذلك وإذا وقف على مرادهم ثم نظر بعد ذلك في ألفاظهم تحصلت بغيته وتمت منيته وأنا مجيبكم إلى ما سألتم مستعينًا بالله ومتوكلًا عليه وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل، ثم أذكر بعد ذلك حصر الأجناس التي تكلموا في إثباتها ما اتّفقوا فيه وما اختلفوا وأذكر جملًا من أحكامها وأعقّب بذكر جمل تشتمل على حقيقة الصفات وبيان أقسامها وكيفية استحقاقها وبيان أحكامها على غاية من الإيجاز والاختصار ما يصغر حجمه وتكثر منفعته إن شاء الله تعالى.[4]

1. كتاب ... وأرضاه: -، ا.
2. قارن أيضًا تحقيق دانش پژوه، ص 87.
3. مواضعات + (حاشية) موضوعات خ.
4. بسم الله ... الله تعالى: أما بعد خطبة الكتاب، ا.



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## فصل في ذكر أعمّ الأسماء الجارية بينهم وأخصّها وما يتبع ذلك[5]

أعمّ الأسماء في موضوعاتهم قولهم معتقد أو مخبر[6] عنه أو مذكور، ويعنون بذلك أنه مما يصح أن يُعتقد أو يُخبر عنه أو يُذكر، وإنما كان ذلك أعمّ[7] الأسماء[8] لأنه يقع على ما هو [ب 12] صحيح في نفسه وما هو فاسد، ثم بعد ذلك قولهم: معلوم[9]، وهو أخصّ من الأول[10] لأن كل معلوم معتقد ويصحّ ذكره والخبر عنه، وليس كل ما يُعتقد يكون معلومًا لجواز أن يكون الاعتقاد جهلًا. وقولهم: شيء[11]، عند من قال بالمعدوم يجرى مجرى قولهم: معلوم، ومن لم يقل بالمعدوم يفيد عنده[12] أنه موجود. ثم بعد ذلك قولهم: موجود، فإنه أخصّ من المعلوم[13] لأن المعلوم قد يكون معدومًا والموجود لا يكون إلا معلومًا[14]، وحدّ الموجود هو الثابت العين والمعدوم[15] هو المنتفي[16] العين. ومن[17] الناس من قال[18]: حدّ الموجود ما يظهر معه مقتضى صفة النفس، ومنهم[19] من قال: حدّ الموجود ما صحّ التأثير به[20] أو فيه على وجهٍ. ثمّ النوع[21] فإنه أخصّ من الموجود، لأن الموجود يشتمل على أنواع[22] كثيرة. ثمّ الجنس[23] فإنه أخصّ من النوع لأن الجنس لا يقع إلا على المتماثل والنوع

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5. ذلك: + (حاشية) اعلم أن بناء هذا على الأعم والأخص والعام والخاص فإذا علمت أحكام جميعها حصل لك العلم بهذا أما الأعم كلفظة الذات والأخص كلفظة الله والعام كقوله تعالى ﴿يا أيها الناس﴾ والخاص كقوله تعالى ﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا﴾. اعلم أن ﴿يا أيها الناس﴾ ربما يصير خاصًا وربما يصير عامًا وأما ما يكون خاصًا ففي قوله تعالى ﴿أيها الثقلان﴾ فإن قوله ﴿يأ أيها الثقلان﴾ عام لإضافته إلى ﴿يا أيها الناس﴾ و﴿يا أيها الناس﴾ عام فيهما وما يكون خاصًا فهي كقوله تعالى ﴿يا أيها الرسل﴾ فإنها بالإضافة إلى ﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا﴾ خاص و﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا﴾ عام فيها فأما قوله تعالى ﴿يا أيها الرسول﴾ فإنه أخص بأن هذا اللفظ والخطاب لا يعني بها إلا النبي صلى الله عليه وآله والله أعلم بحقائق الأشياء.

6. أو مخبر. ومخبر، ا.

7. أعم: غير واضح في ا.

8. الأسماء: + (حاشية) مثال لفظة أعم كلفظة الذات لأنها تقع على سائر المعلومات ومثال الأخص فهي كلفظة الله فإنها لا تقع إلا على ذات الله جل وعز ومثال العام كـ﴿يا أيها الناس﴾ ومثال الخاص كـ﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا﴾ وأما العام والخاص فإنهما مختلفان بإضافتين مختلفتين ولهذا من اللفظين أمثلة كثيرة لا يحتمل ذكره هذا الموضع.

9. معلوم. + (حاشية) المعلوم أخص من المعتقد لأن المعلوم لا يقع إلا على الصحيح والمعتقد يقع على الصحيح والفاسد ه، ب.

10. الأول: الأولين، ا.

11. شيء: + (حاشية 1) حقيقة الشيء ما يصح أن يعلم ويخبر عنه عند المتكلمين والنحويين وأهل اللغة ه؛ + (حاشية 2) لفظة الشيء عند من قال بالمعدوم كالمعلوم فإنه أخص من المعتقد ومن لم يقل بالمعدوم قال إنه أخص من المعلوم لأن المعلوم يقع على الموجود والمعدوم والشيء لا يقع إلا على الموجود، ب.

12. عنده: عندهم، ا.

13. المعلوم: معلوم، ب.

14. الموجود: + (حاشية) على الصحيح من المذهب ليس للموجود حدّ لأن الحدّ إنما يوضع للكشف والإيضاح وكل كلمة يحدّ به الموجود فالموجود أبين منه ه، ب.

15. والمعدوم + (حاشية) المعدوم كل معلوم ليس له صفة الوجود وهذا الحدّ من أصحّ الحدود ه، ب.

16. المنتفى: + (إضافة فوق السطر) ثابتا، ب.

17. ومن: وفي، ب.

18. قال: -، ا.

19. ومنهم: وفيهم، ب.

20. به: فيه، ا.

21. النوع: + (حاشية) النوع أخصّ من الموجود لأن النوع يقع على المحدث والموجود يقع على القديم والمحدث ه، ب.

22. أنواع: اشيا، مع تصحيح فوق السطر، ا.

23. الجنس: + (حاشية) الجنس أخص من النوع لأن الجنس لا يقع إلا على المتماثل كالسواد والسواد والبياض والبياض والنوع يقع على المتماثل والمختلف والمتضاد كالسواد والبياض والحمرة والصفرة والخضرة مثال النوع كاللون ومثال الجنس كالسواد والسواد وقد ذكر هذا ه، ب.

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يقع على المتماثل والمختلف والمتضادّ، فمثال النوع قولنا: لون[24]، فإنه يقع على المتماثل والمختلف[25] والمتضادّ، ومثال[26] قولنا: اعتقاد، فإنه يقع على المتماثل والمختلف والمتضادّ، ومثال الجنس قولنا: سواد أو بياض[27]، فإنه لا يقع إلّا على المتماثل.

[ا 2ب:12–3أ:11 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:]

## [ب 2ب] فصل في ذكر أقسام الموجود

الموجود ينقسم إلى قديم ومحدَث[28]، فالقديم هو الموجود فيما لم يزل[29] أو الموجود الذي لا أول لوجوده[30]، هذا في عرف المتكلمين. فأما في عرف اللغة فإنه يفيد كل متقدم الوجود ولهذا يقولون: بناء قديم ودار قديمة ورسم قديم. قال الله تعالى ﴿حتى عادَ كَالْعُرْجُونِ الْقَدِيمِ﴾ [36 يس 39]. والمحدَث هو الكائن بعد أن لم يكن، وإن شئتَ قلت: هو المتجدد الوجود، وهو ينقسم إلى[31] قسمين، جواهر وأعراض. فحدّ الجوهر هو[32] ما له حيّزٌ في الوجود[33]، وإن شئتَ قلت: هو ما يمنع بوجوده من وجود مثله بحيث هو[34]، [ا 3أ] وإن شئتَ قلت: هو ما له قدر من المساحة لا يكون أقلّ منه[35]، وإن شئتَ قلت: هو الجزء الذي لا يتجزأ[36]. والجواهر كلّها متماثلة[37] لا مختلف[38] فيها ولا متضادّ[39]، وليست تدخل[40] تحت[41] مقدور القُدَر، وهي مدرَكة بحاسة البصر من غير مماسّة لها[42] وبمحلّ الحياة إذا جاورتها[43] والبقاء جائز عليها.

24. لون: + (حاشية) أصل الألوان خمسة السواد والبياض والحمرة والصفرة والخضرة والباقي مركبة من هذه الأجناس والله أعلم ه، ب.
25. والمختلف: -، ا.
26. ومثال: ومثل، ا.
27. أو بياض: وبياض، ا.
28. فالقديم: + (حاشية) القديم هو الذي لا ابتداء لوجوده والمحدث هو الذي لوجوده ابتداء أو أول وأيضًا المحدث هو الموجود فيما لا يزال ه، ب.
29. يزل: + (حاشية) الأزل عبارة عن تقدير أوقات لا ابتداء لها ولا يزال عبارة عن تحقيق أوقات لها ابتداء والفرق بين تقدير أوقات لم تزل وتحقيق أوقات لا تزال هو أنه ليس لتقدير أوقات لم تزل ابتداء ولها انتهاء ولتحقيق أوقات لا تزال ابتداء ولا انتهاء لها، ب.
30. أو الموجود الذي لا أول لوجوده: -، ا.
31. إلى: -، ب.
32. هو: -، ا.
33. الوجود: + (حاشية) باطل بالجسم فإن للجسم أيضًا حيز في الوجود، ب.
34. هو: + (حاشية) باطل أيضًا بالجسم لما ذكرت أولًا، ب.
35. منه: + (حاشية) هذا هو الحد الصحيح مع أنه من قبيل ما يصح التجزء فيه، ب.
36. يتجزأ: + (حاشية) باطل أيضًا بالعرض فإن العرض أيضًا هو الجزء لا يتجزأ، ب.
37. متماثلة: + (حاشية) الجواهر متماثلة كلها لاشتراكها في صفة النفس وهي توجب التماثل ولأن ما يجب على الواحد منها يجب على غيرها وما يستحيل على الواحد منها يستحيل على غيرها وما يجوز على الواحد منها يجوز على غيرها كالتحيز والكون في مكانين في حالة واحدة والانتقال من جهة إلى غيرها وغير ذلك من حلول الأعراض فيها، ب.
38. مختلف: حعلف (؟)، مع تصحيح في الهامش، ا.
39. المتضاد: + (حاشية) المتماثلان هما المتحدان على أخص ما يمكن ومعناه أن يتحد في الذات والوقت والوجه والطريقة وهذا يتّضح في الاعتقادات إذا كان المعتقد واحدًا ووقته أيضًا ووجهه أيضًا وهما راجعان إلى المعتقد وطريقه أيضًا والطريقة كناية عن الجمل والتفصيل وهي راجعة إلى الاعتقاد لا إلى المعتقد، ب.
40. وليست تدخل: وليس يدخل، ا.
41. تحت: في، ب.
42. لها: إضافة فوق السطر، ب.
43. جاورتها: جاوره، ب.

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والجوهر إذا[44] تألّف مع مثله سمُّي مؤلّفًا، فإن[45] تألّف مع أمثاله في سمتٍ واحدٍ سُمي خطًّا، [ب 3ا] وربمّا كان قائمًا فيسمّى منتصبًا[46] وربما كان مسطّحًا فيسمّى طويلًا أو عريضًا. فإن تألّف خطّان متلاصقان يسمّى سطحًا، لأنه صار له طولٌ وعرضٌ، فإن تألّف مثل ذلك عمقًا سمّي جسمًا لأنه صار له طول وعرض وعمق[47]، وحدّ الجسم[48] هو الطويل العريض العميق بدلالة قولهم: هذا أجسم من هذا، وهذا جسيم[49]، إذا زاد في الصفات التي ذكرناها على غيره.

[ا 12ب:17–22 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] فأما العرض فهو ما عُرض[50] في الوجود[51] ولم يكن له لبث كلبث الأجسام، ولا يجوز أن يقال: حدّ العرض ما احتاج في وجوده إلى غيره، لأن ذلك ينتقض بإرادة القديم تعالى وكراهته عند من قال بهما. فإن[52] قلنا تحرّزًا من ذلك[53]: إنه ما احتاج في قبيله إلى المحلّ، انتقض[54] بالفناء عند من قال به، لأنه ينفي المحالّ وهو عرض، فالأسلم ما قلناه.

[ا 13أ:19–13ب:2 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وإذ قد بيّنّا حقيقة الجوهر والعرض فالعالم[55] عبارة في عرف المتكلّمين عن السماء والأرض وما بينهما من هذين النوعين، فأما في اللغة فهو عبارة عن العقلاء دون ما ليس بعاقل. [ا 13ب] ألا ترى أنهم يقولون: جاءني عالَم من الناس، ولا يقولون: جاءني عالم من البقر، فعُلم بذلك صحة ما قلناه.

[ا 13ب:5–8 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:]

## [ب 3ب] فصل في ذكر أقسام العرض

العرض على ضربين، ضرب لا يحتاج في وجوده إلى محلّ وضرب لا بدّ له من محلّ، فالأول هو الفناء عند من أثبته وحدّه ما تنتفي بوجوده الجواهر.

[ا 17ب:7–8 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وهو كله متماثل لا مختلف فيه ولا متضادّ[56].

[ا 71ب:14–15 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] ولا يقدر عليه غير الله تعالى.

[ا 71ب:21–22 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] ولا يصح عليه البقاء.

[ا 18أ:15–17 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] ولا يصح منّا إدراكه وفي كونه مدرَكًا لله تعالى خلاف.

[ا 18ب:3–4 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وإرادة القديم تعالى وكراهته عند من أثبتهما وسنذكر أحكامهما.

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44. إذا: + كان (مشطوب)، ا.
45. فإن: فإذا، ب.
46. منتصبًا: + (حاشية) وصورته في الأصل هكذا ... [ثلاث نقاط فوقه خط وبجانبه عمرو]، ب.
47. وعمق: + (حاشية) إذا كان بين زيد وعمرو على أن يكون طرفاه إليهما يسمى طويلًا وصورته في الأصل هكذا ... [ثلاث نقاط فوقه خط وبجانبه عمرو] وإن لم يكن طرفاه إليهما يسمى عريضًا وصورته في الأصل هكذا ... [ثلاث نقاط فوقه خط وفوق الخط عمرو]، ب.
48. الجسم: + (حاشية 1) وصورة الجسم في الأصل هكذا .... [أربع نقاط تشكل مربعًا] مع هذا .... [أربع نقاط مربع] فوقه أو تحته؛ (حاشية 2) عند الأشعري الجسم ما كان مؤلفًا وهذا ممكن في الجوهرين وعند المشبهة الجسم ما كان قائمًا بنفسه ولهذا يقولون في القديم تعالى أنه جسم وكذلك يقولون في حد الجسم وربما يقول هذا أيضًا الأشعري وغيره من المخالفين وعند أبي الهذيل الجسم ما كان مركبًا من ستة أجزاء وعندنا أن الجسم ما كان مركبًا من ثمانية أجزاء إذا حصل له العرض والطول والعمق من جوانبه الأربعة ولا يحصل على هذه الأوصاف إلا إذا كان ثمانية أجزاء، ب.
49. جسيم: حصم، مع تصحيح فوق السطر، ا.
50. عرض: بعرض + (حاشية) عرض، ب.
51. ما عرض في الوجود: + (حاشية) ما حدث في الوجود أصحّ لأن هذا العرض ما حدث في الوجود ولم يكن له لبث كلبث الأجسام ه، ب.
52. فإن: وإن، ب.
53. من ذلك: إضافة في الهامش، ب.
54. انتقض: يُنتقض، ب.
55. فالعالم: + (حاشية) العالم عبارة عن المخلوقات وفعلنا ليس بمخلوق ولا يقال فيه هذا ه، ب.
56. متضادّ: + (حاشية) المثلان ما يسدّ أحدهما مسدّ صاحبه فما يرجع إلى ذاتهما من الاستحالة والجواز والوجوب كالجوهرين والسوادين والمختلفان ما لا يسدّ أحدهما مسدّ صاحبه فيما ذكرناه ويصح اجتماعهما على وجه كالسواد والحلاوة والضدّان ما يمتنع وجود كل واحد منهما لوجود الآخر وكان موجب كل واحد منهما على العكس من موجب ضدّه كالسواد والبياض والجهل والعلم والإرادة والكراهة، ب.

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[ا 22أ:18–22ب:2 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وما يحتاج في وجوده إلى محل على ضربين، أحدهما يحتاج في وجوده إلى محلّين والآخر يحتاج إلى محلٍّ واحدٍ، فالأول هو التأليف[57] فإنه لا يوجد إلا في محلّين، وحدّه ما صار به الجوهران متألّفين، وهو كلّه متماثل لا مختلف فيه ولا متضاد، ويدخل تحت مقدور [ا 22ب] القُدَر ولا يصح منا فعله إلا متولدًا، ولا سبب له إلا الكون الذي يسمّى مجاورة وهو غير مدرَك. ومتى تألفت الجواهر على وجه لا تضريس فيها يسمى ما فيها[58] من التأليف لينًا وإذا كان فيها تضريس[59] تسمى خشونة[60] وفي جواز البقاء على التأليف خلاف[61].

[ب 4ا | ا 24أ:10–24ب:8 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وما يحتاج إلى محل واحدٍ على ضربين، أحدهما لا يخلو الجوهر منه والآخر يصحّ[62] خلوه منه، فالأول هو الكون[63] فإنه لا يصح خلوّ الجوهر[64] مع وجوده من الكون على حالٍ، والكون على ضربين، متماثل ومتضاد وليس فيه مختلف وليس بمتضادّ[65]، فالمتماثل ما اختصّ بجهةٍ واحدةٍ والمتضاد ما اختصّ بجهتين، والجهة[66] عبارة عن اليمين أو اليسار أو فوق أو أسفل أو قدّام أو خلف ويعبّر عنها بالمحاذاة، ومعناها إنا إذا فرضنا آجرةً على أربع زواياها أربع نملات، ثم توهّمنا[67] عدم الآجرة وبقاء النمل لكانت[68] النمل بحيث لو أعاد[69] الله تعالى الآجرة لكانت النمل على أربع زواياها[70]، فهذا معنى قولهم: محاذاة أو جهة.

واعلم أن الكون[71] يقع على وجوه فتختلف عليه الأسماء[72]، فإذا وُجد ابتداءً في أول حال وجود الجوهر سمّي كونًا لا[73] غير، فإن وُجد عقيب غيره فهو على ضربين، أحدهما يوجد عقيب مثله فيسمى سكونًا، والآخر يوجد عقيب ضدّه فيسمى حركةً، ويسمّى نقلة وزوالًا أيضًا. والكون المبتدأ[74] إذا بقي وكذلك الحركة إذا بقيت سُميّا سكونين عند من قال ببقاء الأكوان[75]، ومتى وجد الجوهر منفردًا سمّي ما فيه كونًا [ا 24ب] لا غير، فإن وُجد معه جوهر آخر، فإن كان متلاصقًا[76] له سمّي ما فيهما من الكونين مجاورةً، وإن لم يكن الجوهران متلاصقين [ب

57. التأليف: + (حاشية 1) من حكم التأليف أن يصير به الجوهران متألّفين وطريقة التأليف صعوبة التفكيك؛ + (حاشية 2) التأليف هو المعنى الذي يوجب كون المحلين متألفين ويجعلهما كالمحلّ الواحد ومن شأنه أن يوجب صعوبة تفكيك أحد المحلين عن الآخر إذا كان في أحد المحلين رطوبة وفي الآخر يبوسة ه، ب.

58. فيها: + (حاشية) هذا كيفية التأليف، ب.

59. التضريس: + (حاشية) كالسيف والمرآة، ب.

60. خشونة: + (حاشية) كالكاغذ الذي ليس بمرونة (؟)، ب.

61. متى تألفت ... خلاف: -، ا.

62. يصح: إضافة فوق السطر، ب.

63. الكون: + (حاشية 1) وحدّ الكون وحقيقته ما يوجب كون الجسم كائنًا في جهة معينة؛ + (حاشية 2) اعلم أن الكون يقع على خمسة أوجه إذا وقع مختلفًا فيختلف عليها الاسم فإذا خلق الله جوهرًا منفردًا في جهة معينة في وقت واحد سمي ما فيه من المعنى كونًا قط فإذا بقي في تلك الجهة وتبين سمي ما فيها من المعنى سكونًا وكذلك لو بقي فيها أوقاتًا كثيرة فإذا انتقل من تلك الجهة إلى جهة أخرى يسمى حركة ونقلة وزوالًا وإن خلق الله تعالى جوهرًا آخر في جنبه سمي ما فيها من المعنى مجاورة وإن كان بينهما بُعد سمي مفارقة والله أعلم، ب.

64. الجوهر: + (حاشية) وهذا يعلم ضرورةً لأن المتحيز لا يخلو من الكون على حالٍ إما متحركًا أو سكونًا أو مجتمعًا أو متفرقًا وتحيزه يقتضى ذلك، ب.

65. وليس بمتضاد: -، ا.

66. والجهة: + (حاشية) الجهة هي الفراغ الذي يصح أن يشغله أو نقول هو الخلو الذي يصح أن يكون فيه جوهر، ب.

67. ثم توهمنا: وتوهمنا ، ا.

68. لكانت: لكان، ا.

69. أعاد: عاد، ب.

70. أربع نملات ... على أربع زواياها: إضافة في الهامش، ب.

71. الكون: + (حاشية) الكون ما يختص الجوهر في جهة من الجهات، ب.

72. الأسماء: الاسم، ب.

73. لا: إضافة فوق السطر، ا.

74. المبتدأ: + (حاشية) والكون المبتدأ والسكون يصيران حركتين إذا انتقل المحل ولعلّ الشيخ ‡...‡، ب.

75. الأكوان: + (حاشية) أبو علي، ب.

76. متلاصقًا: ملاصقًا، ب.

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4ب] وكان بينهما بُعد سمّي ما فيهما مفارقة، وأما[77] الاجتماع فمن الناس من قال: هو عبارة عن المجاورة، ومنهم من قال: هو عبارة عن التأليف.

والأكوان على تضادها وتماثلها[78] في مقدورنا ويصح منّا فعلها مباشَرا ومتولّدًا، وفي جواز البقاء عليها وكونها مدركة خلاف، ولنا فيه[79] نظر، والكون إذا كان مجاورةً ولّد التأليف وقد بيّنا حقيقته، فإن تألّفت الجواهر في خطٍّ واحدٍ سمّي ما فيها من التأليف طولًا أو عرضًا بحسب ما يضاف إليه.

[ا 31ب:21–32أ:6 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:]

وأما ما يجوز خلوّ الجوهر منه[80] مما يحتاج إلى المحل فعلى ضربين، أحدهما يحتاج في وجوده إلى المحل لا غير والآخر يحتاج [ا 32أ] إلى بنية زائدة[81] على وجود المحل، فالأول مثل الألوان والطعوم والأراييح والحرارة والبرودة والرطوبة واليبوسة والاعتماد والصوت وجنس الألم عند من أجاز[82] وجودها[83] في الجماد[84]. وأما الألوان فعلى ضربين، متماثل ومتضادّ ليس فيها مختلف ليس بمتضاد[85]، فالمتماثل مثل السواد والبياض[86]، فإنّ كل جنس منهما متماثل، وهو ضدّ الجنس الآخر، وليس شيء منها في مقدورنا، وفي جواز [ب 5ا] البقاء عليها خلاف، وهي مدركة بحاسة البصر في محلها[87].

[ا 33ب:16–19 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:]

وأما الطعوم والأراييح فمثل الألوان في أنه مختلف ومتماثل ومختلفه كلّه متضاد، وليس شيء منها[88] في مقدورنا، وفي بقائها خلاف، وهما مدركان، أما الطعوم بحاسّة الذوق، وأما الأراييح[89] بحاسّة الشّم، ومن شروط[90] إدراكهما مماسّة محلّهما للحاسة.

[ا 33ب:21–34أ:3 ثم قال رحمه الله:]

وأما الحرارة[91] فكلّها متماثلة، وليس فيها مختلف [ا 34أ] ولا متضاد، وكذلك البرودة، وكل واحد منهما يضاد صاحبه، وهما مدركان بمحلّ الحياة في محلّهما بشرط المماسة، وفي جواز بقائهما[92] خلاف.

[ا 34أ:5–8 ثم قال رحمه الله:]

وأما الرطوبة[93] فكلّها متماثلة[94]، وكذلك اليبوسة، وليس فيهما[95] مختلف ولا متضاد، وكل جنس منهما يضاد صاحبه، وليس شيء من هذه الأجناس في مقدورنا، وفي بقائهما خلاف وفي كونهما مدركين أيضًا خلاف.

[ا 34أ:17–34ب:1 قال رحمه الله:]

77. وأما: فأما، ب.
78. تضادها وتماثلها: تماثلها واختلافها، ب.
79. فيه: فيها، ا.
80. منه: -، ب.
81. زائدة: + (حاشية) المراد بالبنية الزائدة هاهنا اللحمية والدمية ومخاريق الريح والروح وغير ذلك، ب.
82. أجاز: + (حاشية) هو أبو هاشم لأن عنده حقيقة الألم تفرق الأجزاء فقط، ب.
83. وجودها: وجوده، ب.
84. الجماد: + (حاشية) الجماد هو الجسم الكثيف الذي لا توجد فيه الحياة، ب.
85. ليس فيها مختلف ليس بمتضاد: -، ا.
86. والبياض: أو البياض، ب.
87. وهي مدركة بحاسة البصر في محلها: -، ا.
88. منها: منهما، ب.
89. الأراييح: والأراييح، ب.
90. شروط: شرط، ب.
91. الحرارة: + (حاشية) صفة ذات الحرارة ما يدرك بمحلّ الحياة في غير محلّ الحياة وصفة ذات الألم ما يدرك بمحلّ الحياة في محلّ الحياة، ب.
92. بقائهما: بقائها، ا.
93. الرطوبة: + (حاشية) صفة ذات الرطوبة ما يكون على صفة لكونه عليها ينغمر وصفة اليبوسة بالعكس منها، ب.
94. متماثلة: متماثل، ا ب.
95. فيهما: فيها، ا.

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وأما الاعتماد[96] فعلى ضربين، متماثل ومختلف، فالمتماثل ما اختصّ بجهة واحدة والمختلف ما اختصّ بجهتين، وليس فيه متضاد، وعدد أجناسه ستّة بعدد الجهات، ويصح على ما يختص بجهة السفل البقاء إذا صادف حدوثه حدوث الرطوبة عند من قال ببقائه، وعلى ما يختصّ[97] [ب 5ب] بجهة[98] العلو إذا صادف حدوثه حدوث اليبوسة، والأجناس الأخر لا يصح عليه البقاء بلا خلاف، وهي أجمع في مقدورنا ويصح منّا فعلها [ا 34ب] مباشرًا ومتولّدًا.

[ا 37أ:17–37ب:9 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والاعتماد[99] يولّد على وجهين، أحدهما في جهته والآخر في خلاف جهته، فما يولّد في جهته على وجهين، أحدهما يولّده[100] بشرط والآخر يولّده[101] بغير[102] شرط[103]، فالذي يولّده بشرط الصوت فإنه لا يولّده إلا بشرط المصاكة، وما يولّده من غير شرط فالكون واعتماد آخر إلا[104] أنه لا يولّدهما إلا بعد أن يكون محلّه في حكم المدافع لما يلاقيه. فمتى خرج من أن يكون في حكم المدافع إما بالتسكين حالًا بعد حالٍ [ا 37ب] أو بالتعليق أو بأن يكون في ذلك المحلّ اعتماد آخر في خلاف جهته يكافئه فإنه لا يولّد على حالٍ ومتى لم يحصل في المحل أحد ما ذكرناه ولّد.[105] وما يولّده في خلاف جهته فلا يولّده إلا بشرط المصاكّة وهو الاعتماد والكون والصوت، فإنه[106] لا يولّد هذه الأجناس في خلاف جهته إلا بشرط المصاكّة[107]. ومتى ولّد الاعتماد اعتمادًا آخر، فلا بدّ من أن يولّد معه الكون [ب 6ا] أيضًا. وكذلك لا يولّد الكون إلا ويولّد معه الاعتماد، والاعتماد يولّد الحركة في محلّه وغير محلّه، ولا يولّد السكون في محله وإنما يولّده في غير محله، ولا يولّده إلا بأن يكون ممنوعًا من توليد الحركة[108] في غير محلّه.

[ا 37ب:16–*20* قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والاعتماد غير مدرَك بشيء من الحواس على خلاف فيه، والاعتماد اللازم سفلًا يسمّى ثقلًا[109] وما يختصّ بجهة العلوّ يسمى خفّةً، ويعبّر عما لا اعتماد فيه أصلًا بأنه خفيفٌ. وفي الناس من قال: إن الثقل يرجع إلى تزايد الجواهر وإن الخفّة ترجع إلى تناقصها.

[ا 38أ:15–38ب:2 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما الصوت فعلى ضربين، متماثل[110] ومختلف، ومختلفه هل هو متضادّ أم لا فيه خلاف وفيه نظر[111]، وهو في مقدورنا[112] ولا يمكننا أن نفعله إلا متولدًا. والكلام هو ما انتظم من حرفين فصاعدًا من الحروف المعقولة إذا وقع ممن يصحّ منه[113] أو من قبيله الإفادة، والمتكلّم من وقع منه ما سمّيناه كلامًا بحسب[114] دواعيه وأحواله، وإنما ذكرناه هاهنا لأن الحروف هي الأصوات

96. الاعتماد: + (حاشية) صفة الاعتماد ما إذا وُجد أوجب كون محله مدافعًا أو في حكم المدافع لما يماسّه مماسّة مخصوصة، ب.
97. ما يختص: مكرر في ا.
98. بجهة: به، مع تصحيح فوق السطر، ا.
99. والاعتماد: + (حاشية) صفة ذات الاعتماد ما يكون على صفة لكونه عليها يكون مدافعًا أو في حكم المدافع في جهة معينة، ب.
100. يولّده: -، ا.
101. يولّده: يولد، ا.
102. بغير: من غير، ب.
103. شرط: + (حاشية) غرضه رحمه الله تولّده بشرط المصاكّة وبغير شرط المصاكّة، المصاكّة هي مماسّة بين جسمين بقي صلبين عقيب حركات متوالية أو حركات يقلّ السكون بينهما، ب.
104. إلا: إضافة في الهامش، ا.
105. ومتى ... ولد: -، ا.
106. فإنه: إلا أنه، ب.
107. المصاكّة: + وفيه نظر، ومتى لم يحصل في المحلّ أحد ما ذكرناه ولّده، ا.
108. من توليد الحركة: من توليده الحركة + (حاشية) من توليد الحركة صح، ب.
109. ثقلاً: + (حاشية) ألم تروا إلى الطير مسخراته في جو السماء، ب.
110. متماثل: + (حاشية) بالتقويت (؟)، ب.
111. وفيه نظر: -، ا.
112. مقدورنا: + (حاشية) كضرب على الطفل، ب.
113. منه: إضافة فوق السطر، ا.
114. بحسب: + (حاشية) ‡...‡.

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المتقطّعة. والحروف على ضربين، متماثل ومختلف، وفي تضادّ مختلفها[115] نظر كما قلناه في [ب 6ب] الصوت[116]. ولا يجوز على الصوت البقاء بلا خلاف[117]، [ا 38ب] وهو مدرك بحاسّة السمع في محلّه من غير شرط مماسّة محلّه الحاسّة.

[ا 53ب:9–18 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما الضرب الآخر من الأعراض التي تحتاج إلى أمرٍ زائدٍ على المحل ولا بدّ له من بنية مخصوصة حتى يصح وجوده فيها فهو على ضربين، أحدهما أنه لا بدّ أن يوجد في كل جزء من تلك البنية أجزاء مثله حتى يصحّ وجوده في بعض، والآخر لا[118] يجب ذلك فيه بل لا يمنع[119] إذا كانت البنية حاصلة أن يوجد في بعض البنية[120] دون بعضٍ، فالأول هو الحياة، فإنها لا[121] يصح أن توجد فيما هو بنية الحياة[122] إلا بأن توجد في كل جزء من تلك البنية حياةٌ ولا توجد في بعض تلك البنية دون بعضٍ، والحياة[123] جنسٌ واحدٌ متماثل كلّه[124] ليس فيه مختلف ولا متضاد، ولا يدخل تحت مقدور القُدَر وهي غير مدركة أصلاً.

[ا 57أ:11–21 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والقسم الآخر هو ما لا يصحّ وجوده إلا في بنية الحياة إذا كانت الحياة[125] موجودةً فيها، وهو كل[126] ما يختصّ الحيّ من المعاني وهو على ضربين، ضرب يكفي في وجوده محلّ الحياة من غير زيادة عليه وهو الألم[127] عند من قال: إن جنسه لا يصح وجوده في الجماد، فإن عنده يكفي في صحة وجوده [ب 7ا] محلّ الحياة وهو كلّه متماثل ليس فيه مختلف ولا متضاد، وهو في مقدورنا غير أنه[128] لا يمكننا فعله إلا متولّدًا، وسببه تفرقة الأجزاء التي فيها حياة وإبطال الصحّة منها فإنه يولّد عند ذلك الألم، والقديم تعالى يصحّ أن يفعله مبتداءً ومتولّدًا، ونفس ما يقع ألمًا يصحّ أن يقع لذّةً بأن يصادف شهوةً له ومتى صادف نفارًا كان ألمًا، ولا يصحّ على الألم[129] البقاء بلا خلاف، وهو مدرك بمحلّ الحياة في محلّها.

[ا 59أ:14–18 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والقُدَر فيها خلاف، فإن في الناس من يقول: إن وجودها يحتاج إلى أمرٍ زائدٍ على بنية الحياة من الصلابة وغير ذلك، ولا يصح وجودها في مجرد[130] بنية الحياة[131] من الصلابة وغير ذلك[132]، ومنهم من قال: إن ذلك إنما يحتاج إليه لتزايدها لا لوجود شيء منها، وفي ذلك نظرٌ والقدر[133] كلّها مختلفة ليس فيها متماثل ولا متضادّ ولا يدخل تحت مقدور القدر ولا يجوز عليها الإدراك وفي بقائها خلاف.

[ا 66أ:15–66ب:16 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والضرب الآخر يحتاج إلى بنيةٍ زائدةٍ على بنية الحياة مثل بنية القلب، وهو جميع أفعال القلوب من الاعتقادات والظنون والإرادات [ب 7ب] والكراهات والنظر والشهوة والنفار والتمنّي لو كان معنى. فأما الاعتقادات[134] ففيها

115. مختلفها: مختلفه، ا.
116. الصوت: الأصوات، ب.
117. خلاف: + (حاشية) خلافًا للكرامية، ب.
118. لا: + يو (مشطوب)، ا.
119. يمنع: يمتنع، ب.
120. حاصلة أن يوجد في بعض البنية، إضافة في الهامش، ب.
121. لا: لا ما، ا.
122. الحياة: + و (مشطوب)، ا.
123. والحياة: + (حاشية) صفة ذات الحياة هي التي لمكانها تصير الأجزاء الكثيرة في حكم الشيء الواحد، ب.
124. كله: + (حاشية) الحياة متماثلة كلها لأنها مشاركة في صفة ذاتها والمثل يوجب التماثل، ب.
125. إذا كانت الحياة: -، ب.
126. كل: -، ا.
127. الألم: + (حاشية) صفة ذات الألم هي التي لمكانها يدرك بمحلّ الحياة في محلّ الحياة، ب.
128. غير أنه: مكرر في ب.
129. الم + (حاشية) الالم، ب.
130. في مجرد: بالمجرد، ا.
131. من الصلابة وغير ذلك ولا يصح وجودها بالمجرّد بنية الحياة: إضافة في الهامش، ا.
132. ذلك: + إلا، إضافة من تحت السطر، ب.
133. والقدر: + (حاشية) صفة ذات القدرة هي أنها لمكانها يتعلّق بمتعلّق معين، ب.
134. الاعتقادات: + (حاشية 1) معتقده على ما اعتقده مع سكون النفس؛ + (حاشية 2) الاعتقاد على ستة أوجه علم وجهل وتقليد وتبخيت وغمّ وسرور فالعلم ما كان معلومه معتقد والجهل ما كان متعلقه على خلاف ما اعتقده والتقليد قبول قول الغير من غير حجة والتبخيت ربما يكون كذلك وربما

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متماثل ومختلف ومتضاد، فالمتماثل ما تعلّق بمتعلّقٍ واحدٍ على[135] وجهٍ واحدٍ في وقتٍ واحدٍ على طريقة[136] واحدةٍ، فمتى تغيّر شيء من هذه الأوصاف الأربعة، مثل أن يتغاير المعتقدان أو يتغاير وجوههما أو يختلف وقتهما أو كان أحدهما على طريق الجملة والآخر على طريق[137] التفصيل، كان الاعتقادان [ا 66ب] مختلفين. وأما المتضادّ فهو ما جمع الشروط الأربعة وكان بالعكس من متعلّق صاحبه، فإنه يكون ضدًّا له، وقد يقع الاعتقاد على وجهٍ فيكون علمًا[138] وهو إذا كان معتقده على ما يتناوله الاعتقاد مع سكون النفس، ولأجل ذلك يحدّ العلم بأنه ما اقتضى سكون النفس، ومعنى سكون[139] النفس هو أنه متى شكّك فيما يعتقده لا يشكّ ويمكنه دفع ما يورد عليه من الشبهة. والمعرفة هو العلم عينًا، ومتى خلا الاعتقاد من سكون النفس وإن كان معتقده على ما تناوله فإنه لا يكون علمًا بل ربّما يكون[140] [ب 8ا] تقليدًا أو تبخيتًا. وأما الجهل فهو الاعتقاد الذي لا يكون معتقده على ما تناوله.

وفي جواز البقاء على جنس الاعتقاد خلاف، والصحيح أنه لا يجوز عليه البقاء، وجميع أنواع الاعتقاد في مقدورنا ويصح منّا أن نفعله متولّدًا ومباشرًا إلا أن ما نفعله متولدًا لا يكون إلا علمًا ولا سبب له إلا النظر، ومن شرطه أن يكون الناظر عالمًا بالدليل على الوجه الذي يدلّ حتى يولّد نظره العلم، فمتى لم يكن كذلك فإن نظره لا يولّد العلم[141]. والنظر لا يولّد الجهل أصلاً ولا اعتقادًا ليس بجهل ولا علم، سواء كان النظر في دليلٍ أو شبهةٍ، وإنما يفعله[142] الواحد منّا ذلك مبتدءًا.

[ا 70ب:13–15 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] ومتى تعلّق الاعتقاد بوصول ضرر إليه أو فوت منفعةٍ عنه سمّي غمًّا، وإذا[143] تعلّق بوصول منفعة إليه أو دفع ضرر عنه سمّي سرورًا.

[ا 71أ:9–12 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما الظنّ[144] فهو ما قوي عند الظانّ أن المظنون على ما ظنّه مع تجويزه أن يكون على خلافه، وليس من قبيل الاعتقادات على الصحيح من المذهب، وفي الناس من قال أنه من قبيل الاعتقادات.

[ا 71أ:19–23 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والظّن فيه متماثل ومختلف [ب 8ب] ومتضادّ، فالمتماثل منه ما تعلّق بمظنونٍ واحدٍ على وجهٍ واحدٍ في وقتٍ واحدٍ على طريقةٍ[145] واحدةٍ، ومتى[146] اختلّ شيء من هذه الأوصاف كان مختلفًا، ومتى كان بالعكس من متعلّق صاحبه مع الشرائط التي ذكرناها كان متضادًّا.

[ا 71ب:2–4 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وقد يضادّ الظنّ العلم والاعتقاد بالشرائط التي قدّمنا ذكرها، كما يضادّ ظنًا آخر.

[ا 71ب:7–8 وقال رحمه الله:] ولا يصحّ على الظنّ البقاء.

[71ب:16–19 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والظنّ على اختلافه وتماثله وتضادّه في مقدورنا، ولا يصح أن نفعله إلا مبتدءًا لأنه لا سبب[147] يولّده إلا أنه لا يكون له حكم إلا إذا كان حاصلًا عن[148] أمارة.

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لا يكون والغمّ اعتقاد بوصول ضرّ أو فوت منفعة عنه في المستقبل والسرور بالعكس من ذلك؛ + (حاشية 3) الاعتقاد ارتباط الشيء بالقلب إما بشهوة أو دليلٍ، ب.

135. على: وعلى، ب.
136. على طريقة: وطريقة، ا.
137. طريق: سبيل، ب.
138. علماً: + (حاشية) صفة ذات العلم هي أنه لمكانها يتعلق بمتعلق واحد في وقت واحد على وجه واحد وطريقة واحدة، ب.
139. ومعنى سكون: ونعني بسكون، ا.
140. يكون: كان، ب.
141. فمتى لم يكن كذلك فإن نظره لا يولّد العلم: إضافة في الهامش، ب.
142. يفعله: يعقل، ا.
143. وإذا: وإن، ب.
144. الظن: + (حاشية 1) الظن هو ما يوجب كون الواحد منا على حالةٍ مهما حصل عليها وجد من نفسه التقوية والترجيح؛ + (حاشية 2) الظن ما يوجب ترجيح أحد الجوّزين، ب.
145. على طريقةٍ: وطريقة، ب.
146. ومتى: متى، ا.
147. سبب: + له، ب.
148. عن: عند، ب.

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[ا 72أ:16–20 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما النظر[149] فهو الفكر والاعتبار وهو على ضربين، متماثل ومختلف وليس فيه متضادّ، فالمتماثل ما تعلّق بشيءٍ واحدٍ على وجهٍ واحدٍ وفي[150] وقتٍ واحدٍ وطريقةٍ واحدةٍ، ومتى اختلّ شيء من هذه الشروط كان مختلفًا، وهو في مقدورنا، ولا يصح عليه البقاء بلا خلاف[151].

[ا 72أ:22–72ب:5 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما الإرادات[152] فعلى ضربين، متماثل ومختلف وليس فيها متضادّ. فالمتماثل ما تعلّق بمرادٍ واحدٍ على وجهٍ واحدٍ في [ا72 ب] وقتٍ واحدٍ وطريقةٍ واحدةٍ، ومتى اختلّ [ب 9ا] شيء من هذه الأوصاف كان مختلفًا. والإرادة تضادّ الكراهة بهذه الشروط الأربعة إذا كانت متعلقة بالعكس من متعلّق[153] الإرادة، وتعلّق الإرادة[154] لا يكون إلا بالحدوث، وكذلك تعلّق الكراهة لا يكون إلا بالحدوث[155].

[ا 73أ:20–73ب:1 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والكراهة مثل الإرادة في أن فيها مختلف ومتماثل، وليس في نوعها متضادّ بل هي تضادّ الإرادة على الشرائط التي ذكرناها، والإرادة والكراهة جميعًا في مقدورنا ونفعلهما مبتدأً لأنه لا سبب لهما [ا 73ب] يولّدهما، ولا يصحّ عليهما البقاء بلا خلاف.

[ا 74أ:6–25 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والإرادة والمشيئة عبارتان عن أمرٍ واحدٍ، وقد تقع الإرادة على وجوه فيختلف عليها الاسم وكذلك الكراهة. فالإرادة إما أن تتعلّق بفعل غير المريد أو تتعلّق بفعل المريد، فإن تعلّقت بفعل غير المريد فإنها تسمى إرادة لا غير وتوصف أيضًا بأنها رضاء غير أنها لا توصف بذلك إلا إذا وقع مرادها، ولا تتوسّط بينهما وبين الفعل كراهةً لأن من أراد من غيره شيئًا ثم كرهه ووجد الفعل فإن[156] الإرادة المتقدّمة لا توصف بأنها رضاء، ومتى تعلّقت بمنافع تصل إلى الغير سميت محبّة، وإذا تعلقت بمضارّ تلحق الغير سميت[157] بغضًا، وكذلك تسمّى الكراهة بوصول[158] المنافع [ب 9ب] إلى الغير بأنها بغض، وتسمّى كراهة وصول مضرة إليه بأنها محبّة، ومتى تعلّقت بعقاب يصل إلى الغير ولعنه سميت غضبًا، وليس الغضب تغيُّر حال الغضبان[159] بل هو ما قلناه. ومتى كانت الإرادة متعلّقة بفعل المريد فإن تقدّمت عليه إن كان مبتداءً أو لسببه إن كان مسببًا وكانت الإرادة من فعله سميت عزمًا[160] وتوطينًا للنفس، وإن كانت الإرادة مصاحبة للفعل سُميت قصدًا واختيارًا وإيثارًا ولا تسمى بذلك إلا إذا كانت من فعل المريد، وقد يسمى قصدًا وإن تقدمت على[161] الفعل، وشروط

149. النظر: + (حاشية 1) حقيقة النظر تأمّل الأشياء ليعلم حقيقتها إما على جملة أو على تفصيل؛ + (حاشية 2) صفة ذات النظر هي أنه لمكانها متى كان حاصلًا في الواحد منا جعله على صفة يجدها من نفسه، ب.

150. وفي: في، ب.

151. بلا خلاف: -، ا.

152. الإرادات: + (حاشية 1) صفة ذات الإرادة هي التي لمكانها تتعلق بمرادٍ معينٍ؛ + (حاشية 2) اعلم أن الإرادة على ثلاثة عشر وجهًا الإرادة والمحبة والرضا والبغض والغضب والعزم وتوطين النفس والقصد والاختيار والإيثار والنية والضمير والانطواء (؟) إلا نظرًا ‡...‡؛ + (حاشية 3) وإنما تسمى إرادةً إذا تعلق بفعل غير المريد وتسمى رضا إذا لم يكن بينها وبين الفعل كراهة وإذا تعلق بمنافع بل [كذا] إلى الغير تسمى محبة وإذا تعلقت بمضارّ ‡...‡ إلى الغير تسمى بغضًا وكذلك إذا تعلق [عدم] وصول مضرة إلى الغير تسمى محبة [وإ]ذا تعلقت بكراهة وصول منفعة إلى الغير تسمى بغضًا ومتى تعلقت بعقاب و‡...‡ قصد إلى الغير تسمى غضبًا وحقيقة غضب هذا لا تغير حال الغضبان ‡...‡ لقد تمّ غضبًا لقوله ﴿وغضب الله عليهم﴾ [4 النساء 93] تغير عن حاله وإذا كانت متعلقة ‡...‡ المريد فإن كان متقدمًا على الفعل ‡...‡ وتوطينًا للنفس وإذا كانت ‡...‡ للفعل سميت قصدًا واختيارًا ‡...‡ ولا تسمى بذلك إلا إذا كانت من المريد وإذا كانت مجعولة في القلب ‡...‡ ضميرًا أو انطواءً ومنه ومن شرطها ‡...‡ الإيحاء أو وصول التخلية ‡...‡ وقع على هذه الوجوه بهذه الأسامي والله أعلم بحقيقته، ب.

153. متعلّق: + (حاشية) متعلقها، ب.

154. وتعلق الإرادة: -، ب.

155. وكذلك ... بالحدوث: -، ب.

156. فإن: بأن، ا.

157. محبّة وإذا تعلقت بمضارّ تلحق الغير سميت: إضافة في الهامش، ا.

158. بوصول: لوصول، ا.

159. الغضبان: للغضبان، ا؛ + (حاشية) ليس الغضب تغيرّ حال الغضبان لأن الله تعالى أثبت الغضب لنفسه وذاته كما قال الله تعالى ﴿وغضب الله عليهم﴾ [4 النساء 39] ولا يجوز [له] التغيير جلّ وعزّ بل المراد بغضبه تعالى أنه يريد اللعنة والعقاب بالكافرين والله أعلم بصحة ذلك، ب.

160. عزمًا: غرضًا، ب.

161. على: -، ا.

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كونها قصدًا شروط كونها اختيارًا وإيثارًا، وهي زوال الإلجاء وحصول التحلية ومتى كانت الإرادة في القلب ومفعولة به وُصفت بأنها نيّة وانطواء وضمير. وأما الكراهة فتسمّى أيضًا سخطًا إذا تعلقت بفعل القبيح من المكلَّف غير أنها لا توصف بذلك إلا إذا وقع ما كرهه.

[ا 74ب:25–75أ:5 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما الشهوة والنفار[162] فكل واحد منهما فيه متماثل ومختلف ولا متضاد فيهما، فالمتماثل منه ما تعلّق بشيءٍ واحدٍ والمختلف ما تعلّق بشيئين، وكل واحد من الشهوة والنفار يضادّ صاحبه [ب 10ا] إذا كان متعلقهما واحدًا، وتعلّق كل واحد منهما[163] بالعكس من تعلّق صاحبه، ولا يتعلّقان إلا بالمدركات، ولا يجوز عليهما البقاء، وليسا[164] في مقدور العباد.

[75ب:19–76أ:1 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما التمنّي فالصحيح فيه أنه من جنس الكلام، وقد بيّنّا أن الكلام جنسه الصوت[165] وأنه يقع على المتماثل والمختلف وليس فيه متضادّ، ولو كان معنى في القلب لكان أيضًا متماثلًا ومختلفًا ولا متضادّ فيه[166]. وحقيقة التمنّي هو قول القائل لما كان ليته لم يكن أو لما لم يكن [ا 76أ] ليت أنه كان.

[ا76 ب:3–5 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وجميع أفعال القلوب لا خلاف بين أهل العدل في[167] أنها غير مدركة بشيءٍ من الحواس أصلاً، وشكّ سيدنا الأجلّ[168] المرتضى رحمه الله في جواز رؤيتها.

[ا 77أ:2–6 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] فهذه الأجناس التي ذكرناها من الأعراض لا خلاف فيها إلا التأليف والفناء فإن فيهما خلافًا، وهاهنا أمور أخر وفيها خلاف[169] وهي على ضربين، أحدهما يختصّ المحلّ[170] والثاني يختصّ الحيّ[171]، فما يختصّ المحل[172] أشياء، منها الحدوث، فإن في الناس من قال أنه معنى يكون به الجوهر محدثًا.

[ا 77ب:2–5 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] ومنها البقاء، وفيه خلاف بين البغداذيين والبصريين، ومنها الخشونة [ب 10ب] واللين، فإن في[173] الناس من قال إنهما معنيان، والبصريون ذهبوا إلى أنهما كيفية في التأليف على ما بيناه.

[ا 77ب:7–11 ثم قال رحمه الله:] ومنها الكلام، فإن في الناس من ذهب إلى أنه جنس مخالف للصوت. ثمّ اختلفوا، فمنهم من قال أنه يحتاج إلى بنية مخصوصة وإلى وجود صوت في محلّه، وجوّز عليه البقاء وأن يوجد في محالّ كثيرة، ومنهم من قال: لا يصح وجوده إلا في الحيّ وهو يوجب حالًا له[174]، والصحيح ما قدّمناه.

[ا 81أ:14–17 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] ومنها الدُهنية والدسمية والزنبقية والصلابة، فإن في الناس من قال: هي معانٍ، ومنهم من قال: هذه كيفيات في الرطوبات واليبوسات.

[ا 81ب:4–5 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وما يختصّ البنية فنحو الموت، فإن فيه خلافًا.

[ا 82أ:12–15 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وما يختصّ الحيّ فنحو[175] العجز والإدراك والسرور والغمّ والمحبّة والرضا والغضب والبغض والعزم وتوطين النفس، فإن في الناس من قال أنها معانٍ زائدة على ما قدمناه[176].

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162. والنفار: + (حاشية) حقيقة الشهوة ما يوجب كون الحي شهيًا وكذلك النفرة ما يوجب كون الحي نافرًا ه، ب.
163. منهما: إضافة فوق السطر، ا.
164. وليسا: وليستا، ب.
165. جنسه الصوت: جنس الصوت + (حاشية) خ جنسه الصوت، ب.
166. ولا متضادّ فيه: + (حاشية) خ ولم يكن فيه متضاد، ب.
167. في: -، ب.
168. وشك ... الأجل: وتوقّف، ب.
169. خلاف: + (حاشية) الأمور التي فيها خلاف بين المتكلمين في أهاذا [كذا] مقال أم لا عشرون أمرًا الحدوث والبقاء والخشونة واللين ‡...‡ والكلام والدهنية والدسمية والزنبقية والصلابة والموت والعجز والإدراك والشهوة والغمّ والمحبة والرضا والغضب والبغض والعزم وتوطين النفس، ب.
170. المحلّ: بالمحل + (حاشية) المحل، ب.
171. الحيّ: بالحي، ب.
172. المحلّ: الحيّ، ا.
173. في: -، ب.
174. له: إضافة من تحت السطر، ب.
175. فنحو: نحو، ب.
176. قدمناه: + من المعاني، ب.

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[ا 85ب:7–17 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وجميع ما قدمناه من المعاني المتّفق عليها على ضربين، أحدهما يوجب حالًا عند من قال بالأحوال، والآخر لا يوجب [ب 11ا] حالًا، فما يوجب حالًا على ضربين، أحدهما يوجب حالًا[177] للمحلّ، والآخر يوجب حالاً للجملة، فما لا يوجب حالًا[178] للمحل كلّ ما لا يختصّ الحيّ إلا الكون، فإنه يوجب حالاً للمحلّ، وما عداه لا يوجب حالاً، وهو على ضربين، أحدهما يوجب حكماً لمحلّه والآخر لا يوجب ذلك، فالأول هو التأليف إذا كان التزاقًا والاعتمادات، وما لا يوجب حكمًا ما عدا ما ذكرناه وهي الطعوم والأراييح والحرارة والبرودة[179] والألوان والأصوات والآلام، وكل ما يختص[180] الحيّ فإنه يوجب حالًا له عند من قال بالأحوال.

[ا 87ب:7–88أ:2 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والأعراض على ضربين، أحدهما له تعلّق بالغير والآخر لا تعلّق له، فالأول كل ما يختصّ[181] الجملة، فإن له تعلّقًا إلا الحياة فإنه لا تعلّق لها، والآخر ما لا يختصّ الحي فإنه لا تعلّق له. وما له تعلّق على ضربين، أحدهما في قبيله ما لا متعلّق[182] له على خلاف فيه، وهو الاعتقادات[183] والظنون والإرادات والكراهات والنظر، فإن الاعتقاد متى تعلّق بوجود البقاء أو نفي ثان للقديم تعالى، فإن على مذهب بعضهم لا متعلّق له. وقال سيدنا الأجلّ[184] المرتضى رضي الله عنه أن له متعلقًا، وهو هذا [ب 11ب] النفي والإثبات وإنما لا يوصف بأنه موجود أو معدوم. والقول فيما عدا الاعتقاد مثل القول فيه، والآخر لا بدّ له من متعلّق وهو القدرة والعجز، لو كان معنى، والشهوة والنفار. وهذه المتعلقات بأغيارها على ضربين، أحدهما يتعلق بعين واحدة تفصيلًا من غير تجاوز له، والآخر يتعلق بما لا نهاية له[185]. فالأول مثل الاعتقاد والظنّ والإرادة والكراهة والنظر، والآخر الشهوة والنفار والقدرة والعجز لو كان معنى، وينقسم قسمين آخرين، أحدهما يتعلّق بمتعلّقه على الجملة والتفصيل، والآخر لا يتعلّق إلا على طريق التفصيل، فالأول [ا 88أ] الاعتقادات والكراهات والإرادات والظنّ والنظر[186]، والثاني القدرة والعجز والشهوة والنفار.

[ا 88ب:13–89أ:19 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:]

## فصل في ذكر حقيقة الصفات وأقسامها وبيان أحكامها

الصفة هي قول الواصف، وهي والوصف بمعنى واحد، وهما مصدران يقولون: وصفتُ الشيء أصفه صفةً ووصفًا كما يقال[187] في وزن زنة ووزنٍ وعدة ووعد[188]، هذا في أصل اللغة. فأما في عرف [ب 12ا] المتكلّمين، فإنهم قد[189] يعبّرون بالصفة عن الأمر الذي يكون عليه الموصوف وربّما سمّوا ذلك حالًا وربما امتنعوا منه على خلاف بينهم. والصفات على[190] ضربين، واجبة وجائزة[191]، فالواجبة على ضربين، أحدهما يجب بلا

177. حالاً: + للحمل (مشطوب)، ا.
178. حالاً: + للحمله (مشطوب)، ا.
179. والبرودة: + والرطوبة واليبوسة، ب.
180. يختص: اختص، ا.
181. يختص: اختص، ا.
182. متعلّق: تعلق + (حاشية) متعلق، ب.
183. الاعتقادات: الاعتقاد + (حاشية) الاعتقادات، ب.
184. سيدنا الأجل: -، ب.
185. نهاية له: يتناهى، ب.
186. والنظر: -، ا.
187. كما قال: -، ا.
188. وعدة ووعد: وفي وعد عدة، ب.
189. قد: -، ب.
190. على: + زجهين (مشطوب)، ا.
191. جائزة: + (حاشية) الأوصاف على ضربين واجب وجائز والواجب أيضًا على ضربين أحدهما يجب على الإطلاق وهو صفة الذات في سائر الذوات مثل كون الجوهر جوهرًا و[كون] السواد سوادًا والثاني يجب عند الو[جود] وهو مقتضى صفة الذات كالتحيّز في الجهة والمعية في السواد والجائز أيضًا على ضربين أحدهما يرجع إلى الفاعل من غير توسط معنى وهو الحدوث وما يتبعه والثاني يرجع إلى المعنى وهو كل ما يتجدّد من الأوصاف على سبيل الجواز مع استمرار حال الموصوف مثل كون الجوهر ساكنًا ومتحركًا ومجتمعًا ومفترقًا، ب.

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شرطٍ على الإطلاق، والثاني يجب بشرطٍ. فما يجب بالإطلاق هي صفات النفس مثل كون الجوهر جوهرًا والسّواد سوادًا [I 89أ] والبياض بياضًا وغير ذلك من الأجناس، وهذه الصفات تحصل في حال العدم وحال الوجود عند من قال بالمعدوم، ومن لم يقل بالمعدوم فإنها عنده تلزم مع الوجود. وما يجب بشرطٍ على ضربين، أحدهما يجب بشرط وجود الموصوف لا غير، والثاني يجب عند حصول شرطٍ منفصلٍ عنه، فالأول مثل كون الجوهر متحيّزًا والسواد قابضًا للبصر والبياض ناشرًا له وتعلّق ما يتعلّق بالغير. وتسمّى هذه الصفات مقتضى صفة النفس عند من قال بالمعدوم، ومن لم يقل بذلك يسمّيها صفة النفس، ولا بدّ من حصول هذه الصفات مع الوجود[192]. [ب 12ب] وما يجب عند حصول شرطٍ[193] منفصلٍ فكون المدرِك مدرِكًا فإنه لا يحصل إلا عند وجود المدرَك، وتسمّى هذه الصفة لا للنفس ولا للمعنى عند من أسندها إلى كونه حيًّا، ومن أسندها إلى معنى جعلها من صفات العلل. وأما الجائزة فعلى ضربين، أحدهما يتعلق بالفاعل والآخر يتعلّق بالمعنى، فما يتعلّق بالفاعل على ضربين، أحدهما يتعلّق بكونه قادرًا، وهو الحدوث لا غير، والآخر يتعلّق بصفات له أخر مثل كونه[194] عالمًا ومريدًا وكارهًا، وذلك مثل كون الفعل محكمًا وكونه واقعًا على وجهٍ دون وجه[195]، وكون الكلام خبرًا أو أمرًا أو نهيًا[196]. وما يتعلّق بالمعنى فقسم[197] واحد، وهو كل صفة تتجدّد على الذات في حال بقائها مع جواز ألا تتجدّد وأحوالها على ما كانت عليه، فإنها لا تكون إلا معنوية.

[I 90ب:8–20 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والصفات على ضربين، أحدهما يرجع إلى الآحاد كما يرجع إلى الجمل، والثاني لا يرجع إلا إلى الجمل. فما يرجع إلى الآحاد مثل صفات النفس[198] ككون [ب 13I] الجوهر جوهرًا والسواد سوادًا، فإنه تستحقّ هذه الصفة الآحاد كما تستحقّها الجمل، ومثل الوجود فإنه يوصف به كل جزء كما توصف به الجملة وما أشبه ذلك. وأما ما يرجع إلى الجمل فعلى ضربين، أحدهما يرجع إلى الجملة لشيء يرجع إلى المواضعة، والآخر يرجع إليها لأن رجوعه[199] إلى الآحاد مستحيل، فالأول مثل كون الكلام خبرًا وأمرًا ونهيًا، فإن هذه الصفات ترجع إلى الجمل لشيء يرجع إلى المواضعة إلا أنه يستحيل ذلك فيه، والثاني ما لا يوصف به إلا[200] الحيّ، وذلك نحو قولنا: حيّ وقادر وعالم ومعتقد ومريد وكاره ومدرك وسميع وبصير وغني وناظر وظانّ ومشتهي[201] ونافر.

[I 93أ:9–20 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وكل صفة من الصفات، فلا بدّ[202] لها من حكم، ذاتيةً كانت الصفة أو معنويةً، فحكم صفة النفس أن يماثل بها الموصوف ما يماثله ويخالف بها[203] ما يخالفه ويضادّ بها[204] ما يضادّه، والمثلان ما سدّ أحدهما مسدّ صاحبه، وقام مقامه فيما يرجع إلى ذاتيهما[205]، والمختلفان ما لا يسدّ أحدهما [ب 13ب] مسدّ صاحبه، ولا يقوم مقامه فيما يرجع إلى ذاتيهما[206]، والضدّان ما كان كل واحد منهما بالعكس من صفة صاحبه فيما يرجع إلى ذاتيهما[207]. والتضادّ على ثلاثة أضرب، تضادّ على الوجود وتضادّ على المحلّ وتضادّ على

192. الوجود: وجوده، ب.
193. شرطٍ: بشرط، ب.
194. مثل كونه: مكرر مشطوب، ب.
195. وجه: + (حاشية) الفعل إذا كان مجردًا تكفيه القادرية وإذا كان محكماً يحتاج إلى القادرية والعالمية وإذا كان على وجه دون وجه يحتاج إلى القادرية والعالمية والمريدية وكل صفة تتجدد على الذات مع الجواز تحتاج إلى معنى كالمتحركية والحركة والعالمية والعلم والمريدية والإرادات وما أشبه ذلك، ب.
196. أو أمرًا أو نهيًا: وأمرًا ونهيًا، ب,
197. فقسم: بقسم، ب.
198. النفس: الأجناس، ب.
199. رجوعه: رجوعهما، ب.
200. إلا: إضافة فوق السطر، ا.
201. ومشتهي: ومشتي، ا.
202. فلا بدّ: إضافة فوق السطر، ا.
203. بها: -، ب.
204. بها: -، ب.
205. ذاتيهما: ذاتهما، ب.
206. ذاتيهما: ذاتهما، ب؛ والمختلفان ما لا يسدّ أحدهما مسدّ صاحبه ولا يقوم مقامه فيما يرجع إلى ذاتيهما: إضافة في الهامش، ا.
207. ذاتيهما: ذاتهما، ب.

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الجملة، فالتضادّ على الوجود هو تضادّ الفناء والجواهر[208]، والتضادّ على المحلّ هو تضادّ الحركة والسكون والسواد والبياض وما أشبه[209] ذلك، والتضادّ على الجملة مثل تضادّ القدرة والعجز عند من أثبته معنى، وتضادّ العلم والجهل والإرادة والكراهة والشهوة والنفار.

[ا 96أ:19–96ب:17 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وحكم[210] مقتضى صفة النفس[211] التحيّز فحكمه صحّة التنقّل في الجهات[212] واحتمال الأعراض، وحكم ما له تعلّق هو التعلّق المخصوص الذي يحصل للاعتقاد أو الظنّ أو النظر أو الإرادة أو الكراهة. وحكم الوجود هو ظهور مقتضى[213] صفة النفس معه، وإن [ا 96ب] شئتَ قلتَ: إنه يصحّ التأثير به أو فيه على وجهٍ. وحكم الحيّ ألا يستحيل أن يكون عالمًا قادرًا. وحكم القادر صحّة الفعل منه على بعض الوجوه، وحكم العالم صحّة[214] إحكام ما وُصف بالقدرة عليه إما تحقيقًا[215] [ب 14ا] أو تقديرًا، وحكم المريد هو[216] صحّة تأثير أحد الوجهين اللذين يجوز أن يقع عليهما الفعل تحقيقًا وتقديرًا[217]، وكذلك حكم كونه كارهًا. فأما السميع والبصير فإنهما يرجعان إلى كونه حيًّا لا آفة به، وحكم كونه حيًّا حكمهما، فمعناهما أنه ممن يجب أن يسمع المسموعات ويبصر المبصرات إذا وُجدت[218]. فأما[219] السامع والمبصر فهو المدرك، وحكم كون المدرِك مدرِكًا هو حكم كونه حيًّا لأنه كالجزء منه. وقيل: إن حكمه أن الغنى[220] والحاجة يتعاقبان عليه لأن الغني هو الذي أدرك ما لا يحتاج إليه، وقيل: إن حكمه في الواحد منا أن يحصل عنده العلم بالمدرَك على طريق التفصيل. فأما الشامّ والذائق فمعناهما أنه قرّب جسم المشموم والمذوق إلى حاسّة الشمّ والذوق، وليس معناهما أنهما مدرِكان. وأما الغني فهو الحيّ الذي ليس بمحتاج، وهو راجع إلى النفي. وأما حكم الشهوة فهو أن[221] يجعل المشتهى لذّةً، وحكم النفار أن يجعله ألَمًا. وحكم الظنّ أن يقوى عند الظانّ كون المظنون على ما ظنّه [ب 14ب] مع تجويزه أن يكون على خلافه، وحكم الناظر أن يؤثّر في الاعتقاد الذي يتولّد عن النظر فيجعله علمًا[222].

[ا 100أ:9–20 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:]

## فصل في ذكر بيان[223] مائية العقل وجمل من قضاياه وبيان معنى[224] الأدلّة وما يتبع ذلك

العقل[225] عبارة عن مجموع علوم إذا اجتمعت سُميت عقلاً مثل العلم بوجوب واجبات كثيرة مثل ردّ الوديعة وشكر المنعم والإنصاف،

208. والجواهر: + (حاشية) المراد بالتضادّ على الوجود فتضادّ الفناء والجوهر لا الوجود على الإطلاق لأن الله تعالى موجود ولا ضدّ له، ب.
209. أشبه: شاكل، ب.
210. وحكم: وبحكم، ب.
211. النفس: + إما، ا ب.
212. الجهات: + (حاشية) كون الجسم متحيزًا يصحّ انتقاله إلى سائر الجهات على طريق البدل فإذا حصلت الحركة وجب الانتقال كما أن كون الحيّ حيًّا يصح كونه قادرًا عالمًا فإذا حصل العلم والقدرة وجب كونه قادرًا عالمًا فعلمتَ أن المصحّح غير الموجب، ب.
213. مقتضى: -، ب.
214. صحّة الفعل منه على بعض الوجوه وحكم العالم صحّة: إضافة في الهامش، ا.
215. تحقيقًا: -، ب.
216. هو: -، ب.
217. وتقديرًا: أو تقديرًا، ب.
218. وُجدت: وُجد، ب.
219. فأما: وأما، ب.
220. الغنى: الغني، ب.
221. فهو أن: فإنه، ا.
222. علماً: + (حاشية) بيان ذلك أن الناظر إذا نظر على وجهٍ فنظره يولّد العلم يعني (؟) الناظر الفاعل اعتقد في نفسه أن للعالم صانعًا لأن النظر يفعل فعلًا بل الأثر للناظر الفاعل وما قال الشيخ: فيجعله علمًا، يعني ذلك بأنه لو لم يكن كذلك لما كان للناظر أثر في تحصيل المعرفة، ب.
223. ذكر بيان: -، ب.
224. معنى: -، ب.
225. العقل: + (حاشية) العقل عبارة عن مجموع علوم إذا اجتمعت سميت عقلاً ويصح من البارئ تعالى أن يكلّف المعارف، ب.

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وقبح قبائح كثيرة مثل الكذب والظلم[226] والعبث، وحسن كثير من المحسّنات مثل التفضّل والإحسان والصدق، ومثل العلم بقصد المخاطبين وتعلّق الفعل بالفاعل ومثل العلم بالمدرَكات مع ارتفاع الموانع وزوال اللبس وغير ذلك. وسمّيت هذه العلوم عقلًا لأمرين، أحدهما أن لمكانها[227] يمتنع من القبائح العقلية ويفعل بها[228] واجباتها تشبيهًا بعقال الناقة، والثاني أن العلوم الاستدلالية لا يصحّ حصولها إلا بعد تقدّمها فهي مرتبطة بها، فسُمّيت عقلًا تشبيهًا أيضًا بعقال الناقة.

[ا 101ب:4–12 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وقضايا العقول ثلاثة، واجبٌ وجائزٌ ومستحيلٌ، فالواجب ما لا بدّ [ب 15ا] من حصوله على كل حال مثل وجود القديم في الأزل ومثل صفات الأجناس وغير ذلك، والجائز هو الذي يجوز حصوله وأن لا يحصل، وهو جميع الأمور المتجدّدة[229] فإنها يجوز أن لا تتجدد إما بأن لا يختارها فاعلها أو لا يختار[230] ما يوجبها، والمستحيل هو الذي لا يجوز حصوله على وجهٍ مثل انقلاب صفات[231] الأجناس ومثل اجتماع الضدّين على وجهٍ يتضادّان فيه[232] وكون الجسمين في مكانٍ واحدٍ في وقتٍ واحدٍ وكون الجسم[233] الواحد في مكانين في حالةٍ واحدةٍ.

[ا 102ب:6–14 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والموجبات على ضربين، معنى وصفة، فالمعنى[234] على ضربين، أحدهما يوجب صفةً لغيره فيسمّى علّة، والآخر يوجب ذاتًا أخرى فيسمى سببًا. وفي الناس من يسمي السبب علّةً[235] والعلّة معنى. والصفة على ضربين، أحدهما يوجب صفةً بشرط الوجود[236] وتسمى تلك صفة[237] الذات، والآخر يوجب صفةً أخرى بشرط أمرٍ منفصلٍ فيسمّى مقتضيًا، وذلك نحو كون الحيّ حيًّا فإنه يقتضي كونه مدركًا بشرط وجود المدرَك، وربّما عُبّر عن صفة الذات بأنها مقتضية [ب 15ب] أيضًا.

[ا 104أ:4–7 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والحقّ هو[238] ما عُلم صحّته سواء عُلم ذلك بدليل أو بغير دليل، والصحيح هو الحق بعينه، والباطل هو ما عُلم فساده، والفاسد هو الباطل بعينه.

[ا 104أ:13–21 ثم قال رحمه الله:] والحجّة هي الدلالة وتسمّى أيضًا برهانًا، والدلالة ما أمكن الاستدلال بها مع قصد فاعلها إلى ذلك، وتسمّى الشبهة دلالةً مجازًا، والدالّ من فَعل الدلالة، والمدلول هو الذي نُصبت له الدلالة، والمدلول عليه هو الحكم المطلوب بالدلالة، والدليل هو فاعل الدلالة وربّما عُبّر بالدليل عن الدلالة. والاستدلال يعبّر به عن شيئين، أحدهما عن طلب الدلالة والثاني[239] عن النظر في الدلالة طلبًا لما يفضى إليه. والمستدِل هو الناظر، والمستدَل به هو الدلالة، والمستدَل عليه هو الحكم المطلوب. ولا يطلق شيء من هذه الألفاظ إلا بعد حصول الاستدلال.

[ا 104ب:19–22 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والأمارة ما يقتضي غلبة الظنّ بضرب من اعتبار العادة أو غير ذلك وليست بموجبة[240] للظنّ. والشبهة ما يتصوّر بصورة الدلالة ولا تكون كذلك.

[ا 105أ:14–16 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والمحلّ لا يكون إلا جوهرًا، والحالّ لا يكون [ب 16ا] إلا عرضًا، وحدّ الحلول هو الموجود[241] بحيث

226. الكذب والظلم: الظلم والكذب، ب.
227. لمكانها: لما كانهما، ب.
228. بها: لها، ا.
229. المتجدّدة: المجددة، ب.
230. يختار: + صفات، إضافة فوق السطر، ا.
231. صفات: -، ا.
232. فيه: -، ب.
233. وكون الجسم: والجسم، ا.
234. فالمعنى: + (حاشية) وذلك مثل الحركة فإنه يوجب صفةً لغيره وهي كون الجسم متحركًا والفرق بينها وبين العلم ذلك، ب.
235. علةً: + (حاشية) من يسمي السبب العلة وهي في المعنى واحدة وهي المجاورة والتأليف فقط، ب.
236. الوجود: وجود الموصوف، ا.
237. صفة: صفة صفة، ا.
238. هو: إضافة فوق السطر، ب.
239. والثاني: والآخر، ب.
240. بموجبة: موجبة، ب.
241. الموجود: الوجود، ا.

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لو انتقل المحلّ لظنّ معه انتقال الحالّ.
[ا 105ب:20–106أ:8 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:]

## فصل في حقيقة الفعل وبيان أقسامه

الفعل ما وُجد بعد أن كان مقدورًا، والفاعل من وُجد مقدوره، والفعل على ثلاثة [ا 106أ] أقسام، مخترع وحدّه ما ابتدئ في غير محلّ القدرة عليه[242] ولا يقدر عليه غير الله تعالى، ومباشر وحدّه ما أبتدئ في محلّ القدرة عليه ولا يصحّ وقوعه من الله تعالى[243]، ومتولّد وحدّه ما وقع بحسب غيره ويصحّ وقوعه من القديم تعالى ومنا، وهو على ضربين، أحدهما يتولد[244] في حال وجود[245] السبب، والآخر يتأخر عنه، وينقسم قسمين آخرين، أحدهما يوجد في محلّ السبب[246] وهو كل ما يتولد عن سبب لا جهة له مثل الكون والنظر، والثاني يتعدّى محلّ السبب ولا سبب له إلا الاعتماد، ويصحّ وقوعه من القديم تعالى ومنا.

[ا 107أ:10–107ب:4 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] والفعل على ضربين، أحدهما لا صفة له زائدة على حدوثه، والآخر له[247] صفة زائدة على حدوثه، فالأول حركات الساهي والنائم وسكناتهما[248] التي لا يتعدّاهما[249] وفعل غير العقلاء عند من لم يصف أفعالهم بالحسن والقبح. وما له صفة زائدة على حدوثه على ضربين، حسن وقبيح، فالحسن [ب 16ب] على ضربين، أحدهما ليس له صفة زائدة على حسنه والآخر له صفة زائدة على حسنه، فالأول هو الموصوف بأنه مباح وحدّه ما لا يستحق به المدح ولا الذمّ، فعلًا كان أو تركًا، إلا أنه لا يوصف بذلك إلا إذا علم فاعله ذلك أو دلّ عليه، ويسمّى ذلك في الشرع حلالًا وطلقًا. وما له صفة زائدة على حسنه على ضربين، أحدهما يستحقّ المدح بفعله ولا يستحقّ الذمّ بتركه ويسمّى[250] ذلك ندبًا، ويسمّى أيضًا في الشرع[251] نفلًا وتطوعًا[252]، فإن كان[253] نفعًا واصلًا إلى الغير سمي تفضّلًا وإحسانًا ولا يسمّى ندبًا[254] إلا بشرط الإعلام والتمكين[255] حسب ما قلناه في المباح. والآخر يستحقّ المدح بفعله ويستحق الذمّ[256] بتركه، ويسمّى ذلك واجبًا، وهو على ضربين، أحدهما إذا لم يفعله بعينه استحقّ الذمّ، ويسمّى ذلك واجبًا معيّنًا[257] ومضيّقًا، والآخر إذا لم يفعله ولا[258] ما يقوم مقامه استحقّ الذم، فيسمّى ذلك واجبًا مخيّرًا فيه. وينقسم الواجب قسمين آخرين، أحدهما يقوم فعل غيره مقامه، [ا 107ب] والآخر لا يقوم فعل غيره مقامه، فالأول يسمّى من فروض الكفايات [ب 17ا] والآخر يسمّى من فروض الأعيان، ويسمّى الواجب مفروضًا وفرضًا

242. عليه: -، ا.
243. الله تعالى: القديم، ب.
244. يتولد: يوجد، ب.
245. حال الوجود: محل، ب.
246. والآخر ... السبب: -، ب.
247. له: إضافة فوق السطر، ا.
248. وسكناتهما: وسكناتها، ا؛ وسكناته، ب.
249. يتعدّاهما: يتعداه وكلامها، ب.
250. ويسمّى: فيسمى، ب.
251. في الشرع: إضافة في هامش ب.
252. وتطوعًا: أو تطوعًا، ب.
253. كان: كا، ب.
254. ويسمّى أيضًا في الشرع نفلاً وتطوعًا فإن كان نفعًا واصلاً إلى الغير سمي تفضلاً وإحسانًا ولا يسمّى ندبًا: إضافة في الهامش، ا.
255. والتمكين: أو التمكن، ب.
256. ويستحق الذمّ: والذم، ا.
257. معيّنًا: ومعينًا، ب.
258. ولا: فلا، ا.

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ومكتوبًا في الشرع، ولا يسمّى بذلك إلا بشرط الإعلام والتمكين[259] من العلم حسب[260] ما قدمناه[261].

[ا 109أ:12–16 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما القبيح فقسم واحد، وهو ما يستحق الذم بفعله، ويسمّى في الشرع محظورًا وممنوعًا منه، وفي الناس من قال: حدّ القبيح هو ما يُستحقّ[262] الذمّ بفعله على بعض الوجوه احترازًا مما يقع محبطًا، هذا على مذهب من قال بالإحباط، فأما على مذهبنا فلا يحتاج إليه.

[ا 109ب:4–6 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] فأما المكروه في موجب العقل فلا يسمّى به إلا القبيح، ويقال في الشرع لما الأولى تركه أنه مكروه وإن لم يكن قبيحًا.

[ا 109ب:14–16 قال الشيخ رحمه الله:] وأما المسنون فهو ما توالى فعله ممن سنّه أو أمر به ورغّب فيه وربما كان واجبًا أو نفلًا[263].

وهذه جملة كافية مما قصدناه فإن شرح ما أومأنا إليه وإيضاحه يطول وإنما حصرنا ما ذكرناه ليتأنس [المبتدئ[264]] بالألفاظ المتداولة بين المتكلمين فإذا آنس بها وتوسط علم الكلام لم يخف عليه شيء مما نظر فيه إن شاء الله تعالى[265].

259. والتمكين: أو التمكين، ب.

260. حسب: بحسب، ب.

261. قدمناه: قلناه، ب.

262. يُستحقّ: استحق، ب.

263. أو نفلاً: ونفلاً، ب.

264. المبتدئ: الإضافة عن مخطوط ملك، قارن تحقيق دانش پژوه.

265. وهذه الجملة ... إن شاء الله نعالى: -، ا؛ + وفرغ من تحريره علي بن الحسن بن الرضي العلوي الحسيني في غرة شهر ذي الحجة حجة ست عشر وسبعمائة حامدًا ومصليًا، ب.

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# Mysticism

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# Chapter 16
# Abū Saʿd al-Ḫargūšī and His *Kitāb al-Lawāmiʿ*: A Ṣūfī Guide Book for Preachers from Fourth/Tenth-Century Nishapur

The interest of modern scholarship in Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿUṯmān Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb al-Ḫargūšī al-Nīšābūrī ("*al-wāʿiẓ* al-Ḫargūšī," d. 406/1015–16 or 407/1016), a contemporary and compatriot of the well-known Ṣūfī Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), began shortly before World War II with Arthur J. Arberry's brief description of al-Ḫargūšī's *K. Tahḏīb al-asrār*, a Ṣūfī manual in the form of a collection of sayings of earlier Ṣūfī authorities arranged in seventy chapters, on the basis of a manuscript preserved in the Berlin State Library.[1] It was possibly due to Arberry's negative evaluation of al-Ḫargūšī's *Tahḏīb* that the work and its author have for a long time been largely ignored by later scholars of the formative period of Islamic mysticism. In 1972, Richard Bulliet included some information on al-Ḫargūšī's *madrasa* and hospital in Nishapur in his *The Patricians of Nishapur*,[2] and in 1982 Muḥammad Rawšan published an edition of Naǧm al-Dīn Maḥmūd Rāwandī's (fl. seventh/thirteenth century) Persian translation of al-Ḫargūšī's biography of the prophet Muḥammad, *Šaraf al-nabī*.[3] This was followed by a detailed bio-bibliographical study on al-Ḫargūšī by the Iranian scholar Aḥmad Ṭāhirī ʿIrāqī.[4] An extended version of Ṭāhirī ʿIrāqī's study was published posthumously in 1998.[5] In 1986 Dāwood Sulaymān ʿAbd al-Raḥman submitted a doctoral dissertation containing a critical edition of the original Arabic version of the work, *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā*, together

1. Arberry, "Khargūshī's Manual." Arberry considered MS Sprenger 832 (= Ahlwardt 2819) to be a unique manuscript of the text.

2. Bulliet, *Patricians of Nishapur*, 251f. no. 12.

3. Al-Ḫargūšī, *Šaraf al-nabī*. See also al-Ḫargūšī, *Manẓar-ī az Šaraf al-Nabī*. Prior to this, Uri Rubin dealt extensively with the work in his unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Muhammad the Prophet in the Early Muslim Tradition* (in Hebrew), written under the supervision of the late M. J. Kister. We thank Etan Kohlberg for having brought this to our attention. Al-Ḫargūšī's work was summarized by the Moroccan Mālikī scholar ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā ("al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ," d. 544/1149) in his *al-Šifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*. We thank Maribel Fierro for having pointed this out to us. On the latter work, see Daub, *Formen und Funktionen*.

4. Ṭāhirī ʿIrāqī, "Abū Saʿd [Saʿīd] Nīšābūrī wa Šaraf al-nabī."

5. Ṭāhirī ʿIrāqī, "Abū Saʿd Ḫargūšī."



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with an introduction to the life and work of its author.[6] In 1998, Nasrollah Pourjavady corrected Arberry's negative judgment of al-Ḫargūšī's *Tahḏīb al-asrār* in a larger study on the Malāmatiyya of Nishapur,[7] followed by another publication in the same year on the quotations from a lost work by al-Ḫargūšī, apparently entitled *K. al-Išāra wa-l-ʿibāra*, that are included in the *K. ʿIlm al-qulūb*, a work that was erroneously attributed to Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996).[8] In 1999, Bassām Muḥammad Bārūd's *editio princeps* of the *Tahḏīb al-asrār* was published on the basis of a single manuscript preserved in the Dār al-kutub al-waṭaniyya fī l-Maǧmaʿ al-ṯaqāfī of Abu Dhabi,[9] and another publication of the text recently came out in Cairo.[10] Meanwhile, the original Arabic version of al-Ḫargūšī's *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā* has also been published,[11] and in 2007, Akbar Ṯubūt studied the reception of the work among later Twelver Šīʿī authors.[12] Sara Sviri included an analysis of al-Ḫargūšī's *Tahḏīb al-asrār* and its significance in her study on the early mystical schools of Baghdad and Nishapur.[13] The most recent

6. ʿAbd al-Raḥman, *Critical Edition*. We thank Sara Sviri for providing us with a copy of volume 1 of the dissertation, containing the introduction.

7. Pourjavady, "Manbaʿī-yi kuhan."

8. Pourjavady, "Bāzmānda-hā-yi *Kitāb al-Išāra*." The *K. ʿIlm al-qulūb* has been edited by ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAṭāʾ (1964) as a work by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī. The misattribution was first pointed out in DMB 5/631 (Fatḥ Allāh Muǧtabāʾī). See also Pourjavady, "Bāzmānda-hā-yi *Kitāb al-Išāra*," 36ff.

9. MS *ḥ* 1163 (copy completed in Rabīʿ I 608/August–September 1211). According to "al-Maḫṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿṯat al-Maʿhad," 75 no. 477, the private library of al-Šayḫ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAqīl in Taʿizz, Yemen, has a manuscript of the text, copied in 608/1211–12. This is apparently the very same manuscript that is nowadays in the possession of the Maǧmaʿ al-ṯaqāfī in Abu Dhabi. On Bārūd's edition, see Pourjavady, "*Tahḏīb al-asrār-i* Ḫargūšī," 68, as well as the appendix to Sviri's "Early Mystical Schools," 476f. For two additional manuscripts in Istanbul libraries, see GAS 1/670 no. 52.1.

10. This publication was not available to us. According to Melchert ("Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb al-asrār*," 29), this publication "appears to be a simple retyping of the first edition with even fewer notes and still no index of names."

11. The publication also includes a detailed introduction to the life and work of al-Ḫargūšī.

12. Ṯubūt, "Riwāyāt-i Šaraf al-nabī."

13. Sviri, "Early Mystical Schools."

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contributions on al-Ḫargūšī's *Tahḏīb* were published by Christopher Melchert in 2010[14] and by Giuseppe Scattolin in 2013.[15]

Al-Ḫargūšī is known to have written another comprehensive work that is of utmost significance for the study of the formative period of mysticism, namely, *K. al-Lawāmiʿ*.[16] The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana owns a unique manuscript of the work (MS Vatican ar. 1642), which so far seems to have escaped the attention of modern scholars. The codex was copied by Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. *al-ḥāǧǧ* Ḥusayn al-Šāfiʿī al-Ašʿarī al-ʿAlwānī[17] and completed on 20 Ǧumādā II 948/November 11, 1541.[18] It consists of 422 leaves[19] and is divided into two volumes, the first ending on f. 206b (f. 207 being left blank) and the second (start-

14. Melchert, "Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb al-Asrār*." See also Ahmed, "Mapping the World," 36 no. 45, for al-Ḫargūšī's otherwise lost *K. Šiʿār al-ṣāliḥīn*, which is mentioned among the works read by the sixth/twelfth-century Ḥanafite scholar from Buḫāra, Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Faryābī. Al-Ḫargūšī also wrote a work entitled *Tārīḫ*, most likely on the history of Nishapur. See Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-ansāb*, 2/492; Ibn Funduq, *Tārīḫ Bayhaq*, 176. In addition to the historical sources on the life and work of al-Ḫargūšī that have been used by earlier scholars, mention should also be made of the *K. al-Yamīnī fī aḫbār Dawlat al-malik Yamīn al-dawla Abī l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Nāṣir al-dawla Abī Manṣūr Sabuktakīn*, by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-ʿUtbī (d. 427/1035–36), 497, presumably the earliest source on al-Ḫargūšī. Al-ʿUtbī was a contemporary of al-Ḫargūšī, whom he calls, in view of his engagement on behalf of the community, *aḥad al-ṣāliḥīn min ʿibād Allāh al-mūqinīn wa-al-sāʿīn fī maṣāliḥ al-muslimīn*. Moreover, of the two extant versions of ʿAbd al-Ġāfir al-Fārisī's (d. 529/1134–35) history of Nishapur, *Siyāq li-tārīḫ Nīšābūr*, only the first one has been consulted by earlier scholars: (1) *al-Muntaḫab min al-Siyāq*, published under the title *al-Ḥalqa al-ūlā min tārīḫ Nīsābūr*, 501f. no. 1075; (2) *al-Muḫtaṣar min Kitāb al-Siyāq li-tārīḫ Nīsābūr*, 220f. no 1997. In his *Tahḏīb al-asrār* (44), al-Ḫargūšī also refers to his apparently lost *al-Ḫalāṣ wa-l-naǧāḥ*, in which he apparently dealt with theological issues. The Karramite author Ibn Bisṭām al-Tuḥayrī (fl. first half of the fifth/eleventh century) mentioned another work by al-Ḫargūšī, entitled *Asbāb al-tawba*; cf. his *Zayn al-fatā fī šarḥ Sūrat Hal atā* that has been published as *al-ʿAsal al-muṣaffā min tahḏīb Zayn al-fatā fī šarḥ Sūrat Hal atā* [erroneously attributed to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀṣimī (d. 378/988-9)], 1/476. On Ibn Bisṭām, see also Ansari, "Mulāḥazāṭī čand dar bāra-yi mīrāṯ-i bar ǧāy mānd-i-yi Karrāmiyya."

15. Scattolin, "ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Kharkūshī." Together with his student Aḥmad Ḥasan Anwar, Scattolin also published in 2009 another study on the *Tahḏīb*, *al-Abʿād al-ṣūfiyya*. We thank Francesco Chiabotti for this reference.

16. In addition to the relevant biographical works quoted in early scholarship on al-Ḫargūšī that mention this title, it is also listed among the works read by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Faryābī; see Ahmed, "Mapping the World," 38 no. 65.

17. However, throughout the entire manuscript, two different hands seem to have been at work.

18. The colophon (f. 421b) reads as follows:

تمّ الكتاب بحمد الله وعونه وحسن توفيقه وصلواته على خير خلقه محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم ووافق الفراغ من تأليفه نهار الثلثاء عشرين جمادى الآخرة من شهور سنة ثمان وأربعين وتسعمائة على يد العبد الفقير المعترف بالذنب والتقصير حسين بن علي بن الحاج حسين الشافعي مذهبًا الأشعري اعتقادًا العلواني طريقةً غفر الله له ولوالديه ولمشايخه ولجميع المسلمين حامدًا مصليًا مسلمًا محسبلًا ومحوقلًا

For a description of the manuscript, see Levi Della Vida, *Secondo elenco*, 62 no. 1642.

19. The codex has been foliated twice. The apparently original foliation, with the numeral placed in the top left-hand corner of the outer margin of the recto of each leaf, begins on the first page of the text and thus excludes the preceding title page and the table of contents. A second, modern foliation (indicated in the lower left-hand corner of the other margin) begins with the title page. In the present article reference is given to the modern foliation only.

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ing with *maǧlis fī l-riḍā bi-qaḍāʾ Allāh ʿazza wa-ǧalla*) beginning on f. 208b. The integrity of the manuscript is affirmed by catchwords at the end of nearly all verso pages, with the exception of the last twenty leaves, which are partly worm-eaten and of loose binding and where some folios may be missing. Towards the beginning of the codex, one quire is misplaced; the correct order of leaves is as follows: ff. 1–19, 30–39, 20–29, 40ff. The title page (f. 1a) reads as follows: *Kitāb al-Lawāmiʿ taʾlīf al-ustāḏ al-zāhid | Abī Saʿīd* [*sic*] *ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUṯmān* [*sic*][20] *| al-wāʿiẓ al-mulaqqab bi-Ḫarkūšī | al-Maqdisī* [*sic*][21] *raḥimahu llāh taʿālā | wa-nafaʿa bihi amīn | al-ḥamdu li-llāh waḥdihi*. A more comprehensive title is given in the introduction as *Kitāb al-Lawāmiʿ wa-tartīb al-maǧālis* (f. 5a:6–7).

The work is arranged in *maǧālis*, and each session opens with a Qurʾānic verse that is then discussed in detail. The *Lawāmiʿ* therefore belongs to two literary genres: *maǧālis* and thematic exegesis (*tafsīr mawḍūʿī*).[22] Unlike al-Ḫargūšī's *Tahḏīb al-asrār*, which was a manual addressed exclusively to Ṣūfīs, the *Lawāmiʿ* was evidently written with a larger public in mind. *Maǧālis* works were extremely popular among the Ṣūfīs of Ḫurāsān, especially for the purpose of preaching (*waʿẓ*) to a wider public.[23] Such works were at times noted down by the *wāʿiẓ*, at other times by his students. Famous examples from later centuries are the *maǧālis* of Aḥmad al-Ġazālī (d. 517/1123 or 520/1126);[24] the *maǧālis* of Sayf al-Din Bāḫarzī, one of the successors of Naǧm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1221);[25] the *Maʿārif* by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad (d. 628/1231);[26] the *Seven Sessions* of Ǧalāl al-Dīn Mawlānā Rūmī (d. 671/1273)[27] as well as his *Fīhi mā fīhi*;[28] the *Čihil maǧlis* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (d.

20. The correct version of his name is Abū *Saʿd* b. *Abī* ʿUṯmān. The author's name is also given partly wrongly on f. 5a:14–15: *qāla l-ustāḏ Abū Saʿīd* [*sic*] *ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿUṯmān al-wāʿiẓ raḥmat Allāh ʿalayhi*.

21. Al-Maqdisī as *nisba* for al-Ḫargūšī is not attested in any other source.

22. While the specific genre of thematic exegesis was not predominant among the Ṣūfīs of Ḫurāsān, there are a number of important Ṣūfī exegetical works extant from this region. The most important are Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī's *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr* and his *Ziyādāt ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr*, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qušayrī's *Laṭāʾif al-išārāt*, and Rūzbihān al-Baqlī's *ʿArāʾis al-bayān fī ḥaqāʾiq al-Qurʾān*. See also Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*.

23. *Maǧālis* works were not, however, an exclusively Ḫurāsānī phenomenon: the Andalusian mystic Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 536/1141) also wrote a work belonging to this genre, entitled *Maḥāsin al-maǧālis*. See BA 2/335–343 no. 303 (J. Lirola Delgado) (with further references). We thank Camilla Adang for drawing our attention to this work. Ibn al-ʿĀrif's work has been shown to be based on the *Maǧālis* of Abū Ismāʿīl ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 481/1089); see Halff, "Le Maḥāsin al-maǧālis." We thank Maribel Fierro for having brought this study to our attention.

24. Al-Ġazālī, *Maǧālis: Taqrīrāt-i Aḥmad Ġazālī*. On this work and on the genre in general terms, see Pourjavady, "*Maǧālis-i* Aḥmad Ġazālī."

25. See Pourjavady, "Laṭāʾif-i qurʾānī."

26. On Bahāʾ al-Walad and his *Maʿārif*, see also Meier, *Bahā-i Walad*, 1ff.

27. These have been published repeatedly. The genre of *maǧālis* was likewise popular among the Karrāmiyya of Ḫurāsān; see Pourjavady, "Rawnaq al-maǧālis." A *maǧālis*-type work was also composed by the Muʿtazilite al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Ǧalāʾ al-abṣār*.

28. The work has been published repeatedly, the most reliable edition being that of Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar (1330[/1951]).

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736/1336);[29] and the *Malfūẓāt* of ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 895/1489–90).[30] Moreover, the *K. al-Lawāmiʿ* contains some indications that it also served its author as a guidebook for preaching.[31]

In the course of the introduction (ff. 4a–5a), al-Ḫargūšī elaborates on his method in each *mağlis*, explaining that he will first discuss the relevant Qurʾānic verses, followed by the pertinent *ḥadīṯ* material (f. 5a:6–13). His exegetical principles include the more general notions of *tanzīl* and *tafsīr* and the specifically mystical notions of *taʾwīl*, *ʿibāra*, and *išāra*.[32] The fact that the author as a rule provides full *isnād*s for the traditions he adduces gives the work additional value as a historical source for al-Ḫargūšī's transmitters and the wider network of transmitters of *ḥadīṯ* in Nishapur in general.

The topics addressed in the work include divine unicity (*tawḥīd*) (§§ 1ff.), followed by *mağālis* devoted to the creation of man and the world (§§ 9ff.), prophecy (§§ 19ff.), the *ṣaḥāba* (§§ 23ff.) and the *Ahl al-Bayt* (§§ 27ff.),[33] and the Qurʾān (§§ 30ff.). The remaining *mağālis* concern principal notions and mystical stations regularly included in Ṣūfī manuals: the virtues of knowledge and the modes of its transmission (§§ 34ff.), the soul (§ 39), the purity of the heart (§ 40), the difference between divine inspiration (*ilhām*) and devilish whispering (*waswasa*) (§ 41), reason (*ʿaql*) (§ 42), fear of God (*taqwā*) (§ 43), mystical

29. *Čihil mağlis, yā Risāla-yi iqbāliyya*; *Die Sitzungen des ʿAlāʾ al-dawla al-Simnānī*.

30. See Nawšāhī, *Aḥwāl wa suḫanān-i Ḫʷāğa ʿUbayd al-Allāh Aḥrār*.

31. See, e.g., the following phrase on f. 82b:18–20:

وقد ذكرنا صدرًا منها في كتاب شرف المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم إلا أنا نذكر ههنا مقدار ما يذكره المذكر في مجلسه ولا يملّه أهل المجلس

Prime examples of guidebook for preachers are Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *K. al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-l-muḏakkirīn* and his *al-Taḏkira fī l-waʿẓ*. See also EI2 11/56f. (B. Radtke and J. J. G. Jansen).

32. See *al-Lawāmiʿ*, f. 5a:6–13:

ثم استخرنا الله عزّ وجلّ في تصنيف كتاب جامع لمجالس مرتّبة في آيات معدودة من كتاب الله تعالى يشتمل كل مجلس منها على ما يليق بالآية المبني عليها المجلس من ذكر **التنزيل والتفسير والتأويل والعبارة والإشارة والأخبار والآثار** ليكون أكمل في بابه وأبعث للمذكِّر على الصفحة ودراسته حافزًا وأصحابه نفسه مسافرًا [كذا] وسميناه كتاب اللوامع وترتيب المجالس ونسأل الله عزّ وجلّ أن يبارك لنا ولكافّة المسلمين فيه وينفعنا جميعًا به ويجعلنا من ﴿الذين يستمعون القول فيتبعون أحسنه﴾ ويوفّقنا للتي هي أقوم إنه هو الأعزّ الأكرم.

On the Ṣūfī notions of *al-ʿibāra wa-l-išāra* in exegesis, see Pourjavady, "Laṭāʾif-i qurʾānī." Al-Ḫargūšī's methodology in the *Lawāmiʿ* is very similar to that in his *K. al-Išāra wa-l-ʿibāra*, at least judging on the basis of the quotations preserved in the *K. ʿIlm al-qulūb* (see above). The two works may well be related to each other.

33. It is this detailed treatment of the *Ahl al-Bayt* that explains the work's popularity among Imāmite readers, as indicated by the numerous quotations of the work in later Twelver Šīʿī literature. See Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib*, 1/11 (quoting *al-Ibāna* and *al-Lawāmiʿ*), 3/18 (quoting *al-Lawāmiʿ*), 3/101 (quoting *al-Lawāmiʿ* and *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā*), and 3/156 (quoting *al-Lawāmiʿ* and *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā*); the identity of *al-Ibāna* is still unclear. It might be another thus far unknown work by al-Ḫargūšī that Ibn Šahrāšūb refers to here. See also Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Šāmī, *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī manāqib al-aʾimma al-lahāmīm*, 40 (quoting *al-Lawāmiʿ* and *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā*), 797 (quoting *al-Lawāmiʿ* and *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā*). There are only a few cases showing the reception of the work among later Sunnī authors. For one such case, see above, nn. 14 and 16. Throughout his *Tahḏīb al-asrār* al-Ḫargūšī also has numerous quotations from Šīʿī authorities such as Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq concerning Qurʾānic exegesis. Generally on the popularity of al-Ḫargūšī's writings among Twelver Šīʿīs, see also Ṭubūt, "Riwāyāt-i Šaraf al-nabī."

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love of God (*maḥabba*) (§ 46) and fear of His wrath (*ḫawf*) (§§ 47ff.), satisfaction with the divine decree (*al-riḍā bi-qaḍāʾ Allāh*) (§ 50f.), sincerity before God (*iḫlāṣ*) (§ 52), trust in God (*tawakkul*) (§ 53f.), desire (*ḥirṣ*) (§ 55), felicity and misery (*saʿāda wa-šaqāwa*) (§§ 56ff.), the attributes and characteristics of believers, hypocrites, and unbelievers (§§ 65ff.), the prayer for rain (*istisqāʾ*) (§§ 82ff.), monopolizing (*iḥtikār*) (§ 94f.) and envy (*ḥasad*) (§§ 96ff.), and the nocturnal ascension (*miʿrāǧ*) (§ 99).

Throughout the work (and like in his *Tahḏīb al-asrār*), al-Ḫargūšī regularly refers to earlier Ṣūfī authorities, among them Maʿrūf al-Karḫī (d. 200/815–16), Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. 215/830), al-Ḥāriṯ al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857),[34] Ḏū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860), Yaḥyā b. Muʿāḏ al-Rāzī (d. 258/872), Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874–75?), Šāh b. Šuǧaʿ al-Kirmānī (d. 270/883–84), Abū Saʿīd al-Ḫarrāz (d. 277/890–91), Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), al-Ǧunayd (d. 297/910), Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmiḏī (third/ninth century),[35] Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 309/921–22),[36] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320/932),[37] Abū Bakr al-Šiblī (d. 334/946), and Abū l-Qāsim al-Naṣrābāḏī (d. 366/976–77). In addition, al-Ḫargūšī regularly reports the opinions of earlier Qurʾān commentators and discusses, whenever relevant, different readings (*iḫtilāf al-qirāʾāt*). Numerous pieces of poetry in Persian (e.g., f. 331a), as well as some prose and single words in Persian (e.g., f. 195a), are interspersed throughout the work.

The manuscript bears no date of compilation, but a reference to the author's *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā* (f. 82b) suggests that the latter predates the *Lawāmiʿ*. Ṭāhirī ʿIrāqī has suggested that *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā* was composed between 385 and 390 AH.[38]

The following Appendix provides a table of contents for al-Ḫargūšī's *Kitāb al-Lawāmiʿ*.[39]

## Appendix: Contents of al-Ḫargūšī's *Kitāb al-Lawāmiʿ*

مجلس [1] في قوله تعالى ﴿الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنةٌ ولا نومٌ﴾ الآية (2:255) [أ5]

مجلس [2] في قوله تعالى ﴿شهد الله أنه لا إله إلا هو والملائكة وأولوا العلم﴾ الآية (3:18) [ب9]

34. On him, see van Ess, *Gedankenwelt des Ḥāriṯ al-Muḥāsibī*; Picken, *Spiritual Purification*.

35. On him, see Radtke, *Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī*; Radtke, "Some Recent Research"; see also Sviri's study *Perspectives on Early Islamic Mysticism*.

36. On him, see Amir-Moezzi, "Ibn ʿAṭâ al-Adamî."

37. On him, see Silvers, *Soaring Minaret*.

38. Ṭāhirī ʿIrāqī, "Abū Saʿd Ḫargūšī," 23.

39. At the beginning of the codex (ff. 1–3) there is a table of contents that is not altogether reliable as it contains several errors (see below). The numbering of the *maǧālis* given in this article therefore differs from that given in the table of contents in the manuscript. Moreover, whereas the *maǧālis* are labeled *faṣl* throughout the table of contents, the more appropriate label *maǧlis*, as used throughout the text of the *Lawāmiʿ*, has been used in the table of contents given here. The number of the folio on which each *maǧlis* starts has been added to the present list in square brackets. Up until *maǧlis* 19, the majority of *maǧālis* are numbered either within the text or in the margin. In case a *maǧlis* in not numbered either in the text or in the margin, the number is given in square brackets in the present table of contents.

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مجلس [3] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿قل اللهم مالك الملك﴾ الآية (3:26) [13أ]
مجلس 4 في سورة الإخلاص [15أ]
مجلس 5 في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿طه ما أنزلنا عليك القرآن لتشقى﴾ الآية (20:1–2) [30أ]
مجلس 6 في قوله تعالى ﴿الرحمن على العرش استوى﴾ (20:5) [32أ]
مجلس 7 في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿الله نور السموات والأرض مثل نوره كمشكاة فيها مصباح﴾ (24:35) [34أ]
مجلس 8 في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿سنريهم آياتنا في الأفاق وفي أنفسهم حتى يتبين لهم أنه الحق﴾ (41:53) وفي قوله ﴿وفي أنفسكم أفلا تبصرون﴾ (51:21) [37أ]
مجلس 9 في ذكر بدء الخلق ومعنى قوله تعالى ﴿الله يبدأ الخلق ثم يعيده ثم إليه ترجعون﴾ (30:11) [22أ]
مجلس 10 في قوله تعالى ﴿إن ربكم الله الذي خلق السموات والأرض﴾ (7:54) [26أ]
مجلس 11 في قوله تعالى ﴿والجان خلقناه من قبل من نار السموم﴾ (15:27) [42ب]
مجلس 12 في قول الله تعالى ﴿وإذ قال ربك للملائكة إني جاعل في الأرض خليفةً﴾ الآية (2:30) [46ب]
مجلس 13 في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿وإذ أخذ ربك من بني آدم من ظهورهم ذريتهم وأشهدهم﴾ الآية (7:172) [50أ]
مجلس 14 في قوله تعالى ﴿إنا عرضنا الأمانة على السموات والأرض والجبال﴾ الآية (33:72) [53أ]
مجلس 15 في قوله تعالى ﴿فأكلا منها فبدت لهما سوءاتهما وطفقا يخصفان عليهما من ورق الجنة﴾ (20:121) [56ب]
مجلس 16 في قوله تعالى قال ﴿اهبطوا بعضكم لبعض عدوّ﴾ وفي ذكر إبليس لعنه الله (2:36 وغيرها) [61أ]
مجلس 17 في قوله تعالى ﴿إن أول بيت وضع للناس للذي ببكة مباركًا وهدًى للعالمين﴾ (3:96) [65أ]
مجلس [18] في قوله تعالى ﴿ولقد خلقنا الإنسان من سلالة من طين ثم جعلناه نطفةً في قرار مكين ثم خلقنا النطفة علقةً فخلقنا العلقة مضغةً فخلقنا المضغة عظامًا فكسونا العظام لحمًا ثم أنشأنه خلقًا آخر فتبارك الله الخالقين﴾ (14–23:12) [71أ]
مجلس 19 في ذكر صفات الأنبياء وأعمارهم والابتداء بقوله تعالى ﴿إن الله اصطفى آدم ونوحًا وآل إبراهيم وآل عمران﴾ الآية (3:33) [76أ]
مجلس [20] في قوله تعالى ﴿لقد جاءكم رسول من أنفسكم عزيز عليه﴾ الآية (9:128) [81ب] [40]
مجلس [21] في أسماء رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم [87أ]
[مجلس في] الفرق بين الحبيب والخليل [89ب]
مجلس [22] في قوله تعالى ﴿كنتم خير أمة أخرجت للناس﴾ الآية (3:110) [92أ] [41]
مجلس [23] في فضائل الصحابة رضي الله عنهم [98أ]
مجلس [24] في فضائل أبي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه [101ب]
مجلس [25] في فضائل عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه [105ب]
مجلس [26] في فضائل عثمان بن عفان رضى الله عنه [108ب]
مجلس [27] في فضائل أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه [111ب]
مجلس [28] في فضائل أهل البيت رضي الله عنهم [115ب]
مجلس [29] في فضائل الحسن والحسين رضي الله عنهما [119أ]
مجلس [30] في نزول القرآن [121ب]
مجلس [31] في فضائل القرآن [125ب]
مجلس [32] في حفظ حدود القرآن [130ب] [42]
مجلس [33] في معاني الحروف المقطّعة [134ب]

40. The chapter headings of *mağālis* 19 and 20 are erroneously given in reverse order in the table of contents (f. 1b:18–19).

41. The chapter headings of *mağālis* 21 and 22 are erroneously given in reverse order in the table of contents. Moreover, *al-farq bayn al-ḥabīb wa-l-ḫalīl* is listed in the table of contents as being a separate chapter (*faṣl ṯāmin wa-ʿišrīn*). In the main text, there is no indication that a new *mağlis* begins here.

42. According to the table of contents, this chapter is followed by a chapter entitled فصل الرابع والثلثون في معنى ابي جاد. This has no equivalent in the text.

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فصل في فضل العلم [140أ] [43]
مجلس [34] في آداب العلماء رضي الله عنهم [144أ]
مجلس [35] في صفة العالم [الحقيقي] قوله تعالى ﴿إنما يخشى الله من عباده العلماء﴾ الآية (35:28) [148ب] [44]
مجلس [36] في ذكر العالم الراغب [45][151ب]
مجلس [37] في فضل مجالس الذكر [156أ]
مجلس [38] في فضائل المساجد [159ب]
مجلس [39] في معرفة النفس ومخالفتها في هواها [164ب]
مجلس [40] في صفاء القلوب [167ب]
مجلس [41] في الفرق بين الإلهام والوسوسة [171ب]
مجلس [42] في ذكر العقل وفضله ومعناه [174أ]
مجلس [43] [في التقوى] في قوله تعالى ﴿يوم نحشر المتّقين إلى الرحمن وفدًا﴾ الآية (19:85) [178أ]
مجلس [44] في أكل الحلال [183أ]
مجلس [45] في قوله تعالى ﴿الذين يذكرون الله قيامًا وقعودًا وعلى جنوبهم ويتفكرون في خلق السموات والأرض﴾ الآية (3:191) [186ب]
مجلس [46] في المحبة قوله تعالى ﴿قل إن كنتم تحبّون الله فاتّبعوني يحببكم الله﴾ الآية (3:31) [192أ]
مجلس [47] في ذكر الخوف من الله [198أ]
مجلس [48] في قوله تعالى ﴿وإذا سمعوا ما أنزل إلى الرسول ترى أعينهم تفيض من الدمع مما عرفوا من الحق﴾ (5:83) [201ب]
مجلس [49] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿وقالوا الحمد لله الذي أذهب عنا الحزن﴾ الآية (35:34) [204ب]

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مجلس [50] في الرضا بقضاء الله عزّ وجلّ [208ب]
مجلس [51] في آفة العجب وشرّه [211أ]
مجلس [52] في مدح الإخلاص وذمّ الرياء [213أ]
مجلس [53] [في التوكّل] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿ومن يتوكّل على الله فهو حسبه﴾ (65:3) [216ب]
مجلس [54] في قوله تعالى ﴿وما من دابّةٍ في الأرض إلا على الله رزقها ويعلم مستقرّها ومستودعها﴾ الآية (11:6) [220أ]
مجلس [55] في ذمّ الحرص وكم فيه آفة [225أ]
مجلس [56] في السعادة والشقاوة [227ب]
مجلس [57] في قوله تعالى ﴿وتوبوا إلى الله جميعًا أيها المؤمنون﴾ الآية (24:31) [231أ]
مجلس [58] في ذكر قبول التوبة قوله تعالى ﴿وهو الذي يقبل التوبة عن عباده﴾ (42:25) [234ب]
مجلس [59] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا توبوا إلى الله توبةً نصوحًا﴾ (66:8) [237أ]
مجلس [60] في ترك الذنب في قوله تعالى ﴿وأنيبوا إلى ربكم واسلموا له﴾ الآية (39:54) [238أ]
مجلس [61] في قوله تعالى ﴿الله لطيف بعباده [يرزق من يشاء]﴾ (42:19) [241ب]
مجلس [62] في قوله تعالى ﴿ولله العزة ولرسوله وللمؤمنين﴾ (63:8) [245ب]
مجلس [63] في قوله تعالى ﴿وأسبغ عليكم نعمه ظاهرة وباطنة﴾ (31:20) [252أ]
مجلس [64] في ذكر معاني أصوات الطيور والوحوش والسباع والبهائم وغيرها [256أ]
مجلس [65] في صفات المؤمنين وعلاماتهم [260أ]

43. According to the table of contents, this chapter is equivalent to the other *mağālis* and is numbered *faṣl al-sādis wa-l-ṯalāṯūn*. In the main text, it is entitled "*faṣl*," in contrast to the other *mağālis*.

44. The chapter headings of *mağālis* 34 and 35 are erroneously indicated in the table of contents in reverse order.

45. According to the table of contents, this chapter is followed by a chapter entitled فصل الأربعين في فضل المتعلم وآدابه. This has no equivalent in the text; the *šarāʾiṭ al-mutaʿallim* are dealt with in the preceding chapter from f. 154b onwards.

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مجلس [66] في صفة المنافقين [263ب] [46]
مجلس [67] في صفات الكافرين [267أ]
مجلس [68] في قوله تعالى ﴿يمحو الله ما يشاء ويثبت وعنده أم الكتاب﴾ (13:39) [271ب]
مجلس [69] في قوله تعالى ﴿ثم أورثنا الكتاب الذين اصطفينا من عبادنا﴾ الآية (35:32) [274ب]
مجلس [70] في قوله تعالى ﴿وإن منكم إلا واردها﴾ (19:71) [281ب]
مجلس [71] في قوله تعالى ﴿وما الحياة الدنيا إلا متاع الغرور﴾ (3:185) [284ب] [47]
مجلس [72] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿من يعمل سوءًا يجز به﴾ الآية (4:123) [292ب]
مجلس [73] في قوله تعالى ﴿والذين إذا فعلوا فاحشةً أو ظلموا أنفسهم ذكروا الله﴾ الآية (3:135) [295ب]
مجلس [74] في قوله تعالى ﴿والتين والزيتون﴾ إلى قوله ﴿في أحسن تقويم﴾ (95:1–4) [300أ] [48]
مجلس [75] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿الذين إذا أصابتهم مصيبةٌ قالوا إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون﴾ الآية (2:156) [306أ]
مجلس [76] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿إن الله لا يغير ما بقومٍ حتى يغيروا ما بأنفسهم﴾ الآية (13:11) [311ب]
مجلس [77] في قوله تعالى ﴿إن الذين قالوا ربنا الله ثم استقاموا﴾ الآية (41:30) [314أ]
مجلس [78] في قوله تعالى ﴿الأخلاء يومئذ بعضهم لبعض عدوّ﴾ الآية (43:67) [317أ]
مجلس [79] في قوله تعالى ﴿إليه يصعد الكلم الطيب والعمل الصالح يرفعه﴾ الآية (35:10) [321أ]
مجلس [80] في قوله تعالى ﴿والله يدعو إلى دار السلام﴾ (10:25) [324ب]
مجلس [81] في قوله تعالى ﴿للذين أحسنوا الحسنى وزيادةٌ﴾ (10:26) [327ب]
مجلس [82] في الاستسقا قوله تعالى ﴿وإذ استسقى موسى لقومه فقلنا اضرب بعصاك الحجر﴾ الآية (2:60) [331أ]
مجلس [83] في الربيع قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿فانظر إلى آثار رحمة الله كيف يحيى الأرض﴾ الآية (30:50) [336أ]
مجلس [84] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿إن تجتنبوا كبائر ما تنهون عنه نكفر عنكم سيئاتكم﴾ (4:31) [340أ] [49]
مجلس [85] في القتل قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿ومن يقتل مؤمنًا متعمّدًا فجزاؤه جهنم خالدًا فيها﴾ (4:93) [348أ]
مجلس [86] في قوله تعالى ﴿ولا تحسبنّ الله غافلًا عما يعمل الظالمون﴾ الآية (14:42) [352ب]
مجلس [87] في المظالم والتبعات قوله تعالى ﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا لا تأكلوا أموالكم بينكم بالباطل إلا أن تكون تجارة عن تراضٍ منكم ولا تقتلوا أنفسكم إن الله كان بكم رحيمًا ومن يفعل ذلك عدوانًا وظلمًا﴾ (4:29–30) [358أ]
مجلس [88] في قوله تعالى ﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا إنما الخمر والميسر والأنصاب﴾ الآية (5:90) [363ب]
مجلس [89] في قوله تعالى ﴿إن الذين يرمون المحصنات الغافلات﴾ الآية (24:23) [368أ]
مجلس [90] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿ولا تقربوا الزنا إنه كان فاحشةً﴾ الآية (17:32) [372أ]
مجلس [91] في قوله تعالى ﴿يا أيها الذين آمنوا اتّقوا الله وذروا ما بقي من الربوا﴾ (2:278) [378ب]
مجلس [92] في قوله تعالى ﴿ولا يغتب بعضكم بعضًا أيحبّ أحدكم﴾ الآية (49:12) [381أ] [50]
مجلس [93] في قوله تعالى ﴿ولا تطع كل حلافٍ مهينٍ همّازٍ مشاء بنميم﴾ (68:10–11) إلى قوله ﴿زنيم﴾ (68:13) [386ب]
مجلس [94] في الاحتكار والتربّص بالطعام [390أ]
مجلس [95] في قوله عزّ وجلّ ﴿لا جرم أن الله يعلم ما يسرّون وما يعلنون﴾ الآية (16:23) [393أ]

46. This chapter heading is not included in the table of contents at the beginning of the codex.

47. According to the table of contents, this chapter is followed by an additional chapter (chapter 75) devoted to Qurʾān 30:41. However, in the text of the *Lawāmiʿ* the discussion of this verse (f. 291a:13ff.) is part of *mağlis* 71.

48. According to the table of contents, this chapter is followed by an additional chapter (chapter 79) devoted to Qurʾān 2:155. However, in the text of the *Lawāmiʿ* the discussion of this verse (f. 303b:4ff.) is part of *mağlis* 74.

49. According to the table of contents, this chapter is followed by an additional chapter (chapter 90), entitled *fī ḏikr al-kabāʾir ayḍan*. However, in the text of the *Lawāmiʿ* this is still part of *mağlis* 84.

50. The chapter headings of *mağālis* 91 and 92 are erroneously given in reverse order in the table of contents.

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مجلس [96] في ذكر الحسد وآفاته [397أ]
مجلس [97] في قوله تعالى ﴿ومن الناس من يشتري لهو الحديث﴾ (31:6) [401أ]
مجلس [98] في قوله تعالى ﴿ولتكن منكم أمةٌ يدعون إلى الخير ﴾ (3:104) [404ب]
مجلس [99] في المعراج [409ب]

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# Bibliographical Traditions

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# Chapter 17
# Bibliographical Practices in Islamic Societies, with an Analysis of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Hs. or. 13525

Despite the constantly growing research on the literary history of the Muslim world and related social practices, our knowledge of what was available, popular, or read in different periods and regions is still dismally patchy. There is hardly a period or a region in the long and diverse history of the Muslim world for which we can present a clear and detailed picture as to which books were accessible and common in any given discipline among the various circles, communities, and societies, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. Nor do we know much about the diffusion of books, the processes of survival, selection, and transmission of books, the mechanisms of including books in teaching curricula (the term "curriculum" itself carrying a rather vague meaning), or the ways in which books were excluded from such curricula or removed from library shelves. We do not know why, at certain stages, works by authors of earlier generations were considered to be outdated and were consigned to oblivion, while in other periods a clear preference for the more ancient literature prevailed. We are equally ill informed regarding the different ways of managing scholarly information at any given time, nor do we possess comprehensive studies discussing the theoretical and practical approaches Muslim scholars took to scholarship or their changing predilections for specific literary genres.

Bibliographical inventories such as the *K. al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), one of the most important bio-bibliographical compositions in Arabic, which covers the first four centuries of Arabic literary culture, constitute the exception,[1] as do inventories of libraries during premodern times. For most of the historical public, semi-public, or private libraries, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct their holdings in any satisfactory manner.[2]

1. For the rich scholarship on the *Fihrist*, see Toorawa, "Proximity, Resemblance, Sidebars and Clusters" (with further references).

2. Eche, *Bibliothèques arabes*, remains the seminal study on historical libraries in the premodern Islamic world.



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## I. Types of sources

An inquiry into the "curriculum" of a specific scholarly circle or the "canon" at any given time can be based on a broad range of pertinent genres of documentary sources as well as literary texts and, of course, the preserved books themselves. The following sections discuss the main genres of sources.

### *1. Inventories of transmitters and chains of transmission (mašīḫa / muʿǧam / fahrasa / fihrist / asānīd al-kutub / barnāmağ / ṯabat / iǧāza / kutub al-iǧāzāt)*

Within the larger context of Sunnism, a number of literary genres emerged, reflecting the changing landscape of traditional *ḥadīṯ* scholarship during the canonical and post-canonical periods and the related social practices. Among other purposes, they evolved into an efficient means for documenting the internal scholarly tradition, often including extensive booklists.[3]

The starting point in the organizational structure of such works was the list of transmitters a scholar or collector of *ḥadīṯ* had studied with over the course of his life. From the third/ninth century onwards, Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* scholars compiled catalogues of their *šayḫ*s, and the two genres that were most popular among scholars of the eastern and central lands of Islam were the *mašīḫa* (or *mašyaḫa*) and the *muʿǧam al-šuyūḫ*. The entries in this type of book characteristically consist of two core elements—the name of the transmitter with whom the author studied and some sample *ḥadīṯ* from the *šayḫ* in question. The foundational material on which such works are based comes from *samāʿāt* collections, as published, for example, in the *Muʿǧam al-samāʿāt al-dimašqiyya*.[4] Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī's (d. 307/919) *Muʿǧam* is one of the earliest extant representatives of this genre,[5] and a characteristic example from the seventh/thirteenth century is the *Mašīḫa* of Šihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234).[6] From about the fifth/eleventh century onwards, compilers of *mašīḫa*s and *muʿǧam*s increasingly focused on their transmitters and/or chains of transmission for the *books* they had studied, often going beyond the narrow

3. Postcanonical *ḥadīṯ* scholarship and the newly evolving literary genres have been studied in depth in Davidson's longue durée analysis, *Carrying on the Tradition*. Inventories of relevant works are included in the by now classical work *Fahras al-fahāris* by the *ḥadīṯ* scholar ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (d. 1382/1962), and in the recent study by Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*. A rich collection of relevant documents is also available through the website *Isnādunā: Ḫizānat al-aṯbāt wa-l-fahāris wa-l-mašīḫāt*, at isnaduna.blogspot.com (accessed February 7, 2017).

4. Leder et al., *Muʿǧam al-samāʿāt al-dimašqiyya*; Leder et al., *Muʿǧam al-samāʿāt al-dimašqiyya: Ṣuwar al-maḫṭūṭāt*. The classical study on *samāʿāt* is al-Munaǧǧid, "Iǧāzat al-samāʿ." See also Qara, "Iǧāzāt al-Samāʿ."

5. Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/176; see also Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 194.

6. Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/321; Arberry, "Teachers of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī."

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confines of *ḥadīṯ* literature and covering the whole array of disciplines of learning. Moreover, the authors now also began to include additional biographical information on the *šuyūḫ* beyond the mere mention of their names, as was typically done in earlier works. The structural arrangement of such books was sometimes according to book titles (*muʿğam al-kutub* / *ṯabat asmāʾ al-kutub* / *fihris al-kutub allatī rawāh*), sometimes according to the names of transmitters. The latter is the case in, for example, the *Mašīḫa* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāzī ("Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb," d. 525/1131).[7] Prominent *muʿğam al-šuyūḫ* works include ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī's (d. 562/1166) *Muntaḫab Muʿğam al-šuyūḫ*;[8] the *Muʿğam al-šuyūḫ* of Ibn al-ʿAsākir (d. 571/1175);[9] the *Mašīḫa* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Ğawzī (d. 597/1201);[10] the *Muʿğam al-safar* of Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī (d. 576/1180), in which he records the teachers and transmitters (as well as students) he met over the course of several decades (511/1117–560/1164)[11] but excludes those he met in Isfahan and Baghdad (these are dealt with in his *Muʿğam mašīḫat Iṣbahān*, or *al-Mašīḫa al-iṣbahāniyya*, and his *al-Mašīḫa al-baġdādiyya*); al-Silafī's *K. al-Wağīz fī ḏikr al-muğāz wa-l-muğīz*, an inventory of all those from whom he received an *iğāza* but whom he never met in person;[12] and the *Muʿğam al-šuyūḫ* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḏahabī (d. 748/1348).[13] Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) provides an inventory of his teachers and the books he studied in a series of works, viz. his *al-Muʿğam al-mufahris* (arranged according to book titles) and his *al-Maǧmaʿ al-muʾassis li-l-Muʿğam al-mufahris* (arranged by transmitters);[14] and Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) lists his teachers and the books he read with them in his autobiographical work, *al-Taḥadduṯ bi-niʿmat Allāh*.[15] A similar pattern can be observed in the extant parts of the autobiographical account (*sīra*) of the polymath and philosopher ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī (d. 629/1231).[16] An example of a Muʿtazilī scholar who compiled a *mašīḫa* is Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 445/1053), a *muḥaddiṯ* and *mutakallim* who studied with the prominent *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ğabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025). His *Muʿğam al-šuyūḫ* (or *Mašīḫa*), which

7. *Mašīḫat al-šayḫ al-aǧall Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāzī al-maʿrūf bi-bn al-Ḥaṭṭāb*. See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿğam al-maʿāğim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/259f.; Vajda, "Mašyaḫa d'Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Rāzī."

8. Marʿašlī, *Muʿğam al-maʿāğim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/277f.

9. Marʿašlī, *Muʿğam al-maʿāğim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/281–283.

10. *Mašīḫat Ibn al-Ğawzī*. See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿğam al-maʿāğim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/295f.

11. See Cortese, "Transmitting Sunnī Learning," n. 10 (with further references).

12. On the *Wağīz*, see Hashimi, *Critical Edition of "Kitab al-Wajiz."* See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿğam al-maʿāğim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/285–288; Zamān, *Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī*; Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 195ff.

13. *Muʿğam muḥaddiṯī al-Ḏahabī*. See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿğam al-maʿāğim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/442f.

14. Sublet, "Les maitres et les études." See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿğam al-maʿāğim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/519ff. Cf. Gharaibeh, "Brokerage and Interpersonal Relationships."

15. Edited in Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*. See also Bahl, "Preservation through Elaboration," 122–124.

16. Toorawa, "Portrait of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's Education."

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is lost, contained the names of more than a thousand transmitters.[17] With respect to the early modern period, mention should be made of the *Muʿǧam* by Šarīf Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), the author of the famous Arabic dictionary *Tāǧ al-ʿarūs*; this *Muʿǧam* contains 643 bibliographical entries on the author's teachers, students, friends, and acquaintances.[18] Another prominent example of the same period is *al-Nafas al-yamānī wa-l-rawḥ al-rayḥānī fī iǧāzāt Banī l-Šawkānī* by the Šāfiʿite scholar of Zabīd, in Yemen, Waǧīh al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal (d. 1250/1835), which details his teachers and the chains of transmission for the books he studied with them, with quotations of countless earlier *iǧāza*s. The overall structure of *al-Nafas al-yamānī* is based on an *iǧāza* issued by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal to members of the family of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Šawkānī (d. 1250/1834).[19] Al-Šawkānī in turn composed the *Itḥāf al-akābir bi-isnād al-dafātir*, in which he provides his chain of authority for each book title he mentions.[20]

Presenting chains of transmission for books became particularly popular among scholars in the Islamic West, with compilations that were typically referred to as *fihrist*, *fahrasa*, *barnāmaǧ*, or *ṯabat*. The beginnings of this genre can be dated to the late fourth/tenth century.[21] Among the earliest extant examples is Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Ibn ʿAtiyya's (d. 541/1147) *Fahrasa*,[22] followed by the *K. al-Ġunya* of the renowned Moroccan Mālikī scholar ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, ("al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ," d. 544/1149).[23] The *Fahrasat mā rawāhu ʿan šuyūḫihi min al-dawānīn al-muṣannafa fī ḍurūb al-ʿilm wa-anwāʿ al-maʿārif* of the Andalusī scholar Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ḫayr al-Išbīlī (d. 575/1179) is the first work in which the material is arranged according to disciplines.[24] The *Fihrist* by Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī al-Lablī (d. 691/1291), known as *Fihrist al-Lablī*, is an example of a work within this genre containing extensive material on the Aš'arite tradition.[25] Important examples from the early modern and modern periods are *Ṣilat al-ḫalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf*

17. See Ansari, "Un muḥaddiṯ muʿtazilite zaydite."

18. See Reichmuth, *World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī*, 118 (manuscripts and editions), 149–222 (analysis). See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 2/174–177.

19. Al-Ahdal, *al-Nafas al-yamānī*. See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 2/284f.

20. The work has been published repeatedly, most recently in the edition of Ḫalīl b. ʿUṯmān al-Ǧubūr al-Sabīʿī. See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 2/235f.

21. On the genre, see al-Taġrī's study *Fahāris ʿulamāʾ al-Maġrib*.

22. Fórneas Besteiro, *Elencos biobibliográficos*; Lenker, *Importance of the Rihla*, 26ff. and passim; Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/269; BA 2/409–414 (R. El Hour).

23. See Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/271f.; Gómez-Rivas, "Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ"; Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 212–219.

24. The work has been published repeatedly. For a detailed description, see BA 3/719–723 (J. M. Vizcaíno Plaza); see also Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/284f.; Lenker, *Importance of the Rihla*, 24ff. and passim; Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 218f.

25. *Fihrist al-Lablī*. See Roldán Castro, "*Fihrist* de Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī al-Lablī"; Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/366.

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by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī (d. 1094/1683)[26] and the *Fahrasa* of the prominent Moroccan scholar Abū ʿĪsā al-Mahdī al-Wazzānī (d. 1342/1923).[27]

Inventories arranged according to book titles started later in the central and eastern lands of Islam than was the case in the Islamic West, and the genre never reached the popularity there that it enjoyed among scholars of Islamic Spain and North Africa.[28] Representatives of this genre in the Islamic East were the *ṯabat* of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 646/1245), one of the earliest example of the genre,[29] or the above-mentioned *al-Muʿǧam al-mufahris* by Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī. Over time, *fahrasa*-style works documenting the books a scholar was entitled to transmit through correspondence became increasingly popular in the Islamic East—Sirāǧ al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī's (d. 750/1349) explicit distinction between works transmitted through *samāʿ* as opposed to *iǧāza* in his *mašīḫa* is noteworthy. Moreover, this work is an early case in which a scholar of Baghdad arranges his material by discipline, including fields such as mysticism.[30]

Although works labeled *muʿǧam*, *ṯabat*, or *barnāmaǧ* were less common among the Šīʿīs,[31] the *mašīḫa* did enjoy popularity, especially among some of the earlier Imāmite traditionists. Prominent examples include the *mašīḫa* of Abū Muḥammad Hārūn b. Mūsā b. Aḥmad al-Tallaʿukbarī (d. 385/995); the *mašīḫa* of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Bābawayh ("al-Šayḫ al-Ṣadūq," d. 381/991), which is appended to his *K. Man lā yaḥḍuruhu l-faqīh*; and two *mašīḫa*s of the *Šayḫ al-ṭāʾifa* Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī ("al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī," d. 460/1067), found at the end of his *Tahḏīb al-aḥkām* and *al-Istibṣār*, respectively.[32]

Two additional genres were particularly popular among Šīʿī scholars, viz. bibliographical inventories (*fihrist al-kutub*) and *iǧāza*s. Beyond Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, which is unparalleled in breadth and comprehensiveness, important inventories by Šīʿī scholars include al-Naǧāšī's (d. 450/1058) *Fihrist asmāʾ muṣannifī al-Šīʿa wa-muṣannafātihim*, or *Riǧāl al-Naǧāšī*, as it is more commonly known,[33] and the *Fihrist kutub al-Šīʿa wa-uṣūlihim wa-asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn wa-aṣḥāb al-uṣūl*, composed by al-Naǧāšī's contemporary, al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Šahrāšūb (d. 588/1192) later complemented al-Ṭūsī's work in his *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ fi fihrist kutub al-Šīʿa wa-asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn minhum*, as did Muntaǧab al-Dīn (d. after 600/1203–4) in his *Fihrist asāmī ʿulamāʾ al-Šīʿa wa-muṣannifīhim*. The genre

26. Al-Rūdānī, *Ṣilat al-ḫalaf*. See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 2/39f. For additional examples from seventeenth-century Maghrib, see Stearns, "'All Beneficial Knowledge,'" passim.

27. See Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 2/375; Terem, *Old Texts*.

28. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 227f.

29. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 220ff.

30. *Mašīḫat al-Imām Sirāǧ al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī*. See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašīḫāt*, 1/452.

31. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 5/6, nos. 10, 12.

32. For these and other *mašīḫa*s of Imāmite *ḥadīṯ* scholars, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 21/69–72, nos. 3991–4007; Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*, passim.

33. Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/376 no. 1746.

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has found its continuation in a modern guise among Imāmite scholars of the modern period, with Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī's (d. 1389/1970) *al-Ḏarīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Šīʿa* being the most comprehensive attempt to encompass the entire Twelver Šīʿī literary heritage.[34] Among the Ismāʿīlīs, an important work is the *Fahrasat al-kutub wa-l-rasāʾil* of the Dāʾūdī Bohra scholar Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Maǧdūʿ (d. 1183/1769 or 1184/1770).[35] An inventory of books by Ibāḍī authors was compiled by the ninth/fifteenth-century Ibāḍī scholar Abū l-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī.[36] Ottoman scholars of the late medieval and early modern period also contributed significantly to the bibliographical tradition. Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāda (d. 968/1561) compiled a comprehensive inventory of books arranged according to disciplines of learning, entitled *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*. His work served as a principal source for the *Kašf al-ẓunūn ʿan asmāʾ al-kutub* by the Ottoman polymath Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd Allāh ("Kātib Çelebi" or "Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa," d. 1067/1657), the first work of its kind arranged according to the alphabetical order of the book titles included.[37] Muḥammad b. Ǧaʿfar b. Idrīs b. al-Ṭāyiʿ al-Kattānī (d. 1345/1927) composed *al-Risāla al-mustaṭrafa li-bayān mašhūr kutub al-sunna al-mušarrafa*, a *muʿǧam* that is likewise arranged according to book titles.[38] For the Indian subcontinent, mention should be made of the *Muʿǧam al-muṣannifīn* by Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Tūnkī (d. ca. 1366/1947).

The *iǧāza* played a central role among both the Imāmites and the Zaydīs, and in many ways it resembles in structural organization and social functions the various genres for documenting transmission that prevailed among the Sunnīs. While the earliest extant *iǧāza*s date from the fourth/tenth century, an increasing number of more detailed *iǧāza*s were issued over the centuries up until the modern period.[39] Arranged as a rule according to transmitters, such documents include detailed bibliographical information on the books the *muǧāz* has studied in one or often several disciplines of learning, thus providing a comprehensive picture of the academic canon that was available to the scholar in question. Moreover, an essential function of comprehensive, text-independent *iǧāzāt* is the documentation of the scholarly tradition, first and foremost the scholars making up

34. See EncIran 7/35f. (E. Kohlberg).

35. See also Daftary, *Ismaili Literature*, 41.

36. See Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ al-Ḫawāriǧ al-kalāmiyya*, 2/281–294.

37. See also EI3 2015-2/50f. (B. Soravia).

38. This book has been published repeatedly. See also Marʿašlī, *Muʿǧam al-maʿāǧim wa-l-mašiḫāt*, 2/382f.; Dennerlein, "Asserting Religious Authority." For the author, see also Gril, "Muḥammadan Reality."

39. The majority of known *iǧāza*s issued by Imāmite scholars from the fourth/tenth to the fourteenth/twentieth century are listed in Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 1/131–266 nos. 619–1398; 11/13–29, nos. 58–170. See also al-Ḥusaynī, "Fawāt fihris al-fahāris." For the *iǧāza* among Twelver Šīʿīs, see also al-Raǧāʾī al-Mūsawī, *Iǧāzāt*, as well as the special issue of *Kitāb-i Šīʿa* 7–8 (1395/2015); for a table of contents, see goo.gl/IQCwdS (accessed February 7, 2017). For *iǧāza*s granted by Zaydī scholars, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Licence to Transmit*.

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the *muǧīz*'s chains of transmission. For the sake of documentation, a *muǧīz* often quotes complete *iǧāza*s by earlier scholars in his own licence. This type of *iǧāza* often fulfills functions similar to those of biographical dictionaries, and in many cases the boundary between the two genres is blurred. An example is the *iǧāza kabīra* granted by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī ("al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī," d. 726/1325) to the Banū Zuhra (dated 15 Šaʿbān 723/August 19, 1323);[40] an *iǧāza* granted by the Aḫbārī scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāhīǧī (d. 1135/1722) to Nāṣir al-Ǧārūdī al-Qaṭīfī (d. 1164/1751);[41] a comprehensive *iǧāza* issued by the Imāmite scholar Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Ǧazāʾirī al-Tustarī (d. 1173/1759) to four recipients;[42] *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn* by Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186/1772);[43] and al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣadr's (d. 1354/1935) *iǧāza kabīra* granted to Āġā Buzurg,[44] as well as his *Buġyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt mašāyiḫ al-iǧāzāt*, an *iǧāza* granted to al-Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ǧanfūrī (d. ca. 1333/1914–15).[45] Among Zaydī scholars of the modern period, two noteworthy works are Maǧd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Muʾayyadī's (d. 1428/2007) *al-Ǧāmiʿa al-muhimma li-asānīd kutub al-aʾimma*[46] and ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī's (d. 1381/1960) *al-Durr al-farīd al-ǧāmiʿ li-mutafarriqāt al-asānīd*.[47] Examples of similarly comprehensive *iǧāza*s issued by Sunnī scholars include the licence granted by Raḍī l-Dīn Abū l-Ḫayr Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī al-Ṭāliqānī al-Wāʿiẓ al-Ṣūfī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 590/1194), which contains 117 book titles with chains of transmission,[48] and the request to be granted an *iǧāza* (*istiǧāza*) addressed by an Abū l-Fayḍ Muḥammad b. Mardānšāh al-Daštbayāḍī "Faṣīḥ al-Fārisī" to the Ḥanafite scholar of Ǧurāsān, Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Qāyinī (d. 838/1434–35), which contains a list of fifty-nine works the *muǧāz* in question had studied with al-Qāyinī.[49] A modern example is Yūsuf al-Nabhānī's (d. 1932) *iǧāza*, entitled *Hādī l-murīd ilā ṭuruq al-asānīd*, which he completed in 1900.[50]

Imāmites and Zaydīs also compiled collections of *iǧāza*s (*kutub al-iǧāzāt* or *maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt*), many of which contain dozens and even hundreds of such documents that, taken together, provide detailed insights into the scholarly tradition and its literary output

40. Text included in al-Maǧlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 107/60–137.

41. See Schmidtke, "*Ijāza* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāhījī."

42. See Schmidtke, "Forms and Functions."

43. For additional examples, see Schmidtke, "Forms and Functions," 99 n. 9.

44. The text has been published in many editions, among them *Iǧāzat Ḥasan al-Ṣadr li-Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī ṣāḥib al-Ḏarīʿa*.

45. Published in *Kitāb-i Šīʿa*.

46. The work has been published twice; see the bibliography for details.

47. For additional examples, see Dānišpažūh, "Dū mašīḫa."

48. Edited by Arberry as *Twelfth-Century Reading List*.

49. Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning." In this study, an *iǧāza* granted by al-Qāyinī to another student of his is analyzed, as are the *mašīḫa*s of two of al-Qāyinī's teachers, Šams al-Dīn al-Ǧazarī and Tāǧ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Kirmānī.

50. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 128ff. Additional licences are listed in Aḥmad, *al-Iǧāzāt wa-l-tawqīʿāt*.

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over the course of several centuries. Important examples include the *K. al-Iǧāzāt* that makes up the last volume of the *Biḥār al-anwār* by the Imāmite traditionist Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maǧlisī (d. 1110/1698);[51] the collection of *iǧāza*s that were granted by al-Maǧlisī over the course of his life, compiled by the contemporary scholar al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškiwarī;[52] the collection of *iǧāza*s of the eighteenth-century scholar al-Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1212/1797), compiled by another contemporary scholar, Ǧaʿfar al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškiwarī;[53] and the collection of *iǧāza*s that were granted to Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Šihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿašī al-Naǧafī (d. 1411/1990) over his lifetime, compiled by his son al-Sayyid Maḥmūd al-Marʿašī.[54] Among the Zaydīs, *Maǧmūʿ al-iǧāzāt*, a collection of dozens of *iǧāza*s that Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī (d. 1079/1668) culled from the manuscripts available to him, is transmitted in several manuscripts.[55] A similar practice can also be encountered among Sunnī scholars, in, for example, the collection of *ṯabat*s and *iǧāza*s granted by various members of the Damascene family al-Kuzbarī, *Maǧmūʿ al-aṯbāt al-ḥadīṯiyya li-Āl al-Kuzbarī al-dimašqiyyīn wa-siyarihim wa-iǧāzātihim*;[56] two collections of *iǧāza*s granted to Usuman Dan Fodio (ʿUṯmān b. Fūdī) (d. 1232/1817), the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate in sub-Saharan West Africa;[57] and numerous compilations by the modern *ḥadīṯ* scholar Muḥammad Yāsīn b. Muḥammad ʿĪsā al-Fādānī al-Makkī (d. 1411/1991), which are relevant for the present context.[58]

### *2. Autobibliographical inventories*

Throughout the centuries, numerous scholars have prepared inventories documenting their own literary output. Examples include Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ašʿarī's (d. 324/936) auto-inventory of his works up until the year 320/932, which he included in his (now lost) *K. al-ʿUmad*. It was later expanded by Abū Bakr b. Fūrak (d. 406/1015), who added al-Ašʿarī's writings during the years 320/932 through 324/935–36.[59] Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 440/1048) concludes his inventory of the works of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 313/925) (see below) with a list of his own works. The Imāmite scholar al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī has an auto-

51. Al-Maǧlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vols. 107, 108, 109. For a survey of such collections among the Imāmites, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 1/123–131.

52. *Iǧāzāt al-ḥadīṯ allatī katabahā . . . Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maǧlisī.*

53. *Iǧāzāt al-ḥadīṯ li-l-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī.*

54. *Al-Musalsalāt fī l-iǧāzāt muḥtawiya ʿalā iǧāzāt ʿulamāʾ al-islām fī ḥaqq wālidī al-ʿAllāma Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā . . . al-Marʿašī al-Naǧafī.*

55. See Chapter 7 in the present volume.

56. Edited by ʿUmar b. Muwaffaq al-Nušūqātī.

57. *Asānīd al-faqīr* and *Asānīd al-ḍaʿīf*. See Nagar, "*Asānīd* of Shehu Dan Fodio."

58. On al-Fādānī and his writings, see al-Filimbānī, *Bulūġ al-amānī.*

59. See Gimaret, "Bibliographie d'Aš'arī."

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entry in his *Fihrist* with a list of his own writings,[60] and the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī has a similar auto-entry in his bio-bibliographical dictionary *Ḫulāṣat al-aqwāl*. The Sunnī scholar Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1170) includes an autobibliography of more than seventy titles in his *Mašārib al-taǧārib wa-ġawārib al-ġarāʾib*, a history of his own lifetime.[61]

Numerous scholars compiled autobibliographical inventories that constitute stand-alone works. Well known is the autobibliography of Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), the *Fihrist al-muʾallafāt* (dated 627/1230).[62] Examples from Imāmite scholars include the *Fihrist taṣānīf al-Mawlā Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ǧurǧānī*, who was a student of the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī,[63] and the three auto-*fahāris* of Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāšānī (d. 1091/1680).[64]

Autobibliographies are also characteristic building blocks of text-independent *iǧāza*s. Examples from the Twelver Šīʿī tradition include the *K. al-Iǧāzāt li-kašf ṭuruq al-mafāzāt* of Raḍī l-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), which contains a list of both his completed writings as well as those he was still working on at the time of his writing, together with his chains of transmission for a number of works by earlier authors;[65] the *iǧāza kabīra* issued in 719/1320 by the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī for Naǧm al-Dīn Muhannaʾ b. Sinān b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī, which contains no elements apart from an autobibliography arranged by discipline;[66] the *iǧāza* granted by Ibn Abī Ǧumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī on Monday, 10 Ǧumādā I 896/March 21, 1491, to Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ġarawī;[67] the *iǧāza kabīra* of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Ǧazāʾirī al-Tustarī (d. 1173/1759);[68] and the *igāza* of Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186/1772), known as *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*.[69] Examples from the Sunnī realm include Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī's *iǧāza* granted to the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ašraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn (dated 632/1234), which includes the titles of 290 works by Ibn al-ʿArabī, and the *iǧāza* issued by Ibn al-ʿArabī for Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī over several years, which includes an inventory of forty-three of his own works.[70] The

60. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, 192–194.

61. See Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ*, 4/1762f.

62. See Elmore, "Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Study-List," 162 (with further references).

63. See Ansari, "Fihrist-i taʾlīfāt-i Rukn al-Dīn Ǧurǧānī"; see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/381 no. 1769.

64. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/379 no. 1763, 16/393 no. 1837.

65. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 36f. no. 19. Apart from extensive quotations of the work in al-Maǧlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*, this work is lost.

66. The text is included in al-Maǧlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 107/143–146.

67. See Schmidtke, "New Sources."

68. See Schmidtke, "Forms and Functions," 121–124 (Appendix II: Autobibliographical list).

69. Al-Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, 442–451. On this work, see also Stewart, "Capital, Accumulation, and the Islamic Academic Biography."

70. See Elmore, "Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Study-List," 162 (with further references), 165–181.

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Egyptian ophtalmologist and encyclopaedian Ibn al-Afkānī (d. 749/1348) also composed a comprehensive autobibliographical *iǧāza*.[71]

Autobiographies, as a rule consisting of building blocks characteristic of earlier models such as the *mašīḫa* or *muʿǧam al-šuyūḫ* in addition to narrative elements, also often contain auto-inventories.[72] Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) integrated an autobiography with a list of his books into his *Rafʿ al-iṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr*, which in turn served his student Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saḫāwī (d. 902/1497) as a source for his *al-Ǧawāhir wa-l-durar fī tarǧamat Šayḫ al-islām Ibn Ḥaǧar*.[73] Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥanafī Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) authored one of the most comprehensive works in this genre, *al-Fulk al-mašḥūn fī aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn*,[74] which is at the same time a *mašīḫa*, an autobiography, and an auto-inventory of books. Ibn Ṭūlūn records in this work the scholars with whom he studied and the books he read in a large variety of disciplines, including disciplines such as medicine and astronomy, and he appends a detailed list of his writings—completed and uncompleted—numbering 750 titles, arranged in alphabetical order. The Imāmite scholar Niʿmat Allāh al-Ǧazāʾirī (d. 1112/1701) concluded his *al-Anwār al-nuʿmāniyya* with an autobiography that contains a list of works he completed while in Šūštar.[75] The eighteenth-century scholar al-Zabīdī included a list of his writings in his autobiographical letter to the Yemeni scholar Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal (d. 1197/1783).[76]

### *3. Bibliographical inventories of single authors*

Bibliographical inventories of individual scholars were also compiled by students or later followers of the scholar in question. Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, for example, compiled an inventory of the works of the physician and polymath Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, to which he added a list of his own writings.[77] A bibliography of the Imāmite theologian al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) was prepared by his student Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Buṣrawī (d. 443/1051), who was also granted an *iǧāza* by al-Murtaḍā, allow-

71. Witkam, "Lists of Books," 128 and passim; see also Witkam, *De egyptische arts*.

72. On the genre of autobiographies, see also Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*.

73. Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, 1/85–88. On al-Saḫāwī and his scholarly biography, *Iršād al-ġāwī bal isʿād al-ṭālib wa-l-rāwī li-l-iʿlām bi-tarǧamat al-Saḫāwī*, see Guérin du Grandlaunay, *Iršād al-ġāwī*. See also Guérin du Grandlaunay, "Liste d'autorités," and Guérin du Grandlaunay, "Milieu familial."

74. Edited by Muḥammad Ḫayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf.

75. See Stewart, "Humor of the Scholars," 80f.

76. Translated in Reichmuth, "Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī," 90–102.

77. Edited by Paul Kraus; edited with a Persian translation by Mahdī Muḥaqqiq. See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/381 no. 1767. Also noteworthy is the *Risālat Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq ilā ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā fī ḏikr mā turǧima min Kutub Ǧālīnūs bi-ʿilmihi wa-baʿḍ mā lam yutarǧam*, a survey by Ḥunayn of more than one hundred works by Galen translated into Syriac and/or Arabic either by himself or others; see Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, *Galen-Übersetzungen*.

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ing him to transmit all works included in that list.[78] A list of the writings of Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUṯmān al-Ḥaymī al-Karāğikī (d. 449/1057), another student of al-Murtaḍā, was assembled by an anonymous compiler, most likely one of al-Karāğikī's students.[79] Al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī's student al-Ḥasan b. Mahdī al-Saylaqī added some titles by al-Ṭūsī to his copy of the latter's auto-inventory on his *Fihrist*, information that was also passed down to later generations. An inventory of the writings of the Imāmite traditionist Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maǧlisī was prepared by his nephew Muḥammad Naṣīr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Maǧlisī.[80]

*4. Library inventories*

A further important genre of sources comprises catalogues of public and private libraries and book collections. One of the earliest extant library inventories is a catalogue of the holdings of the library of the Qayrawān Mosque that is dated to 693/1294,[81] followed by a manuscript dated to 694/1295 containing descriptions of a select number of works held in the libraries of Aleppo.[82] Among the libraries of Istanbul, the earliest extant catalogue covers the holdings of the Fatih Mosque library.[83] Mention should also be made of the catalogue, extant in manuscript, of the seventh/thirteenth-century library of the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Ašraf (r. 626/1229–635/1237) in Damascus, which lists some two thousand books.[84] Information about the holdings of library collections, public and private, can also be found in documentary material, such as inventories of property and records of sold objects, endowment deeds, inheritance inventories, confiscation registers, gift registers, court records, and account books.[85] Large parts of the private library

78. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/379f. no. 1764, 16/381 no. 1768, 16/392 no. 1832. The text of the *iğāza*, including the list of al-Murtaḍā's writings, is quoted by al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 4/38f., 5/158. Al-Buṣrawī's list itself has been published repeatedly.

79. Al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Karāğikī." On al-Karāğikī, see also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 44; Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*, passim.

80. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/380 no. 1765.

81. Šabbūḥ, "Siğill qadīm"; see also Voguet, "L'Inventaire des manuscrits." For mosque libraries in general, see Sibai, *Mosque Libraries*. See also Giladi, "Three *Fatāwā*".

82. *Al-Muntaḫab mimmā fī ḫazāʾin al-kutub bi-Ḥalab*; see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 74 n. 28.

83. See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 74 n. 28. For this and other Ottoman public libraries, see Erünsal, "Catalogues and Cataloguing."

84. *Fihrist kutub ḫizānat al-turba al-ašrafiyya* (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 5433, ff. 246b–270a). See Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus*. For an analysis of the exegetical works in this library, see Bauer, "'I Have Seen the People's Antipathy.'"

85. For the Ottoman context, see Uluç, "Ottoman Book Collectors"; Açıl, *Osmanlı kitap kültürü*; Heinzelmann, *Populäre religiöse Literatur*, 18–21 (with further references); Sievert, "Verlorene Schätze." For Mamlūk Egypt, see Haarmann, "Library of a Jerusalem Scholar"; Haarmann, "Mamluk Endowment Deeds." Court records as a source of information on book culture for Cairo during the Ottoman period

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of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), among them numerous works by Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), were endowed by al-Qūnawī and are nowadays housed in the Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi in Konya.[86] Moreover, MS Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī Malik, no. 4263, a *maǧmūʿa*, contains a list of book titles that were part of al-Qūnawī's personal library.[87] The Ottoman Muʾayyadzāda ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi (d. 922/1516), a close friend and confidant of the (soon-to-be) Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd II (r. 886/1481–922/1516), had assembled an impressive personal library containing an estimated seven thousand volumes. A six-folio partial inventory of his library, listing some 2,100 titles, is extant in manuscript.[88] An example from the early nineteenth century is the inventory of the private book collection (amounting to almost 1,200 volumes) of the founder of the Ḫālidiyya branch of the Naqšbandiyya order in Damascus, *šayḫ* Ḫālid al-Šahrazūrī al-Naqšbandī (d. 1242/1827), which was compiled on the occasion of a lawsuit involving the collection.[89] Among the few premodern private libraries that have come down to us in their entirety is the Rifāʿīyya, which was purchased in 1853 by Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905) and is now part of the manuscript collection of Leipzig University Library.[90]

The Imāmite traditionist Abū Ġālib Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī (d. Ǧumādā I 368/December 978) compiled an inventory of his personal collection of books that includes 130 titles, with details regarding with whom he had studied each work in his possession. The catalogue constitutes the second part of his *Risāla fī Āl Aʿyan*, his only extant work—part 1 being devoted to a description of his family, the Āl Aʿyan, and its members.[91] The seventh/thirteenth-century Imāmite scholar Raḍī l-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs compiled a catalogue of the holdings of his personal library, *al-Ibāna fī maʿrifat* (*asmāʾ*) *kutub al-ḫizāna* (lost), to which he later added as a supplement his *Saʿd al-suʿūd li-l-nufūs manḍūd*, which is only

(seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) play a significant role in Hanna, *In Praise of Books*. For examples of book endowments from seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Central Asia, see Liechti, *Books, Book Endowments, and Communities*. See also the contributions to *Patrimoine manuscrit et vie intellectuelle*. For material relevant for Iran, see Werner, *Vaqf en Iran*. For documentary sources on the curricula of Ottoman *medrese*s, see Ahmed and Filipovic, "Sultan's Syllabus."

86. See Chittick, "Last Will and Testament," 52f.; Elmore, "Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Study-List," 161f. and passim (with further references).

87. Afšār, "Fihrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī."

88. MS Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Archives, D 9291. See Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi*, 2/37f.; Pfeiffer, "Teaching the Learned," 286–293. For a survey of extant archival lists of the holdings of the private libraries of Ottoman intellectuals, elite bureaucrats, and members of the Ottoman royal family, see Uluç, "Ottoman Book Collectors"; see also Heinzelmann, *Populäre religiöse Literatur*, 25–30 and passim, for the different types of libraries of Istanbul and relevant archival documents. For an example from eighteenth-century Aleppo, see Salati, "Libri, lettori, bibliofili."

89. Witkam and de Jong, "Library of al-Šayḵ Ḵālid al-Šahrazūrī al-Naqšbandī"; see also Witkam, "Lists of Books," 130 and passim.

90. Liebrenz, *Rifāʿīya aus Damaskus*.

91. Al-Zurārī, *Risālat Abī Ġālib al-Zurārī*. On the work and its author, see Ansari, *L'Imamat et l'occultation*.

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partly preserved (and was perhaps never completed). The latter work contains further detailed information on the books Ibn Ṭāwūs owned, together with extensive quotations from those books.[92] The modern Šīʿī scholar al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣadr also compiled an inventory of his personal library, using a title similar to that of Ibn Ṭāwūs's catalogue, *al-Ibāna ʿan kutub al-ẖizāna*.[93]

Lists of smaller book collections are also often recorded in the margins of manuscript copies. This is the case, by way of example, in MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. E 208, f. 61a, in which the holdings of the library of a certain Zaydī scholar of Yemen, Yaḥyā b. Ǧābir, are recorded.[94]

Information on book collections and libraries can also be gleaned at times from other literary genres, such as travelogues. An example is ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī's (d. 1143/1731) *al-Tuḥfa al-nābulusiyya fī l-riḥla al-ṭarābulusiyya*, which contains occasional remarks on a number of libraries al-Nābulusī became acquainted with during his travels in Lebanon,[95] and the *Riḥlat al-munā wa-l-minna*, documenting the journeys of the Mauretanian scholar and bibliophile al-Ṭālib Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ibn Uṭwayr al-Ǧanna from 1829 until 1834, with detailed information on the books he collected during those years.[96]

Moreover, the holdings of historical libraries, particularly of the early modern period, can partly be reconstructed on the basis of the dispersed manuscripts from such collections. For example, there are a fair number of studies devoted to the reconstruction of the holdings of the library of the Bukharan Ḫʷāǧa Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420), an important Naqšbandī scholar.[97] Other than that, few attempts have been made to identify the remnants of the various libraries that are known from the Middle Period—traces of the libraries of Mamlūk, Tīmūrid, Ottoman, and Ṣafavid rulers, high-ranking officials, and elite scholars are dispersed among the various manuscript collections around the world. We also still lack a comprehensive picture of the holdings of the various Maghribi palatial libraries as well as various Indian rulers' libraries.[98]

92. On the work, see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 35 no. 15, 55 no. 44, 76ff. and passim; see also Schmidtke, "Notes on an Arabic Translation."

93. Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 1/56 no. 286; al-Karbāsī, *Muʿǧam*, 2/27.

94. See Chapter 2 in the present volume, n. 46; Thiele, introduction to al-Ḫurāšī, *Tafṣīl*, ixf.; d'Ottone, "Bibliothèque d'un savant yéménite." Another example can be found in MS Tehran, Maǧlis, no. 10564, f. 70b, on the title page of part 2 of Abū l-Makārim ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī's (d. 585/1189–90) *Ġunyat al-nuzūʿ ilā ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*. The manuscript is available in a facsimile edition (2011).

95. See Busse, "ʿAbd al-Ġanī an-Nābulusīs Reisen," 92–99.

96. Witkam, "Lists of Books," 123–126.

97. See, for example, Dodkhudoeva, "Bibliothèque de Khwâja Mohammad Pârsâ"; Muminov and Zijadov, "L'Horizon intellectuel"; Subtelny, "Making of Bukhārā-yi Sharīf"; Bahrāmiyān, "Aṯarī našināẖta"; Schmidtke, "Early Aš'arite Theology."

98. Stroumsa, *Al-Andalus und Sefarad*; Hirschler, *Written Word*. For Ottoman libraries, see Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi*. For the fate of the library of the Moroccan sultan Mūlāy Zīdān (r. 1560–1627), see

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*5. Lists of reference*

Authors' practice of indicating the sources they used in compiling a book, either in a separate bibliographical section or throughout the book and typically including chains of transmission, resulted in another type of source that allows mapping of the literary tradition that informed a particular author's scholarly production. This practice is encountered from very early on. The Sunnī scholar Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938) lists his sources at the beginning of his *Tafsīr*.[99] The Imāmite scholar al-Šayḫ al-Ṣadūq concluded his *ḥadīṯ* work *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu l-faqīh* with a chapter discussing his sources, and a similar chapter is also located at the end of al-Šayḫ al-Ṭūsī's *Tahḏīb al-aḥkām*. The Andalusī scholar Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Farağ Ibn al-Tallāʿ al-Qurtubī (d. 497/1104) appended to his *K. Aqḍiyat rasūl Allāh* a list of the books he had consulted.[100] Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṯaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) mentions in the introduction to his *K. al-Kašf wa-l-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* all the works he used in compiling his exegesis,[101] and a list of sources is also provided by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḏahabī (d. 748/1348) in his *Tārīḫ al-islām*.[102] Another example is the Ḥanafite scholar of Bukhara, ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Fāryābī (d. 607/1210–11), who completed in 597/1200 his *K. Ḫāliṣat al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-niṣāb ġāʾiṣat al-daqāʾiq*, a book on piety, ethics, and moral conduct, which he concluded with a bibliography of his sources—one of the earliest works in which the author does not indicate his chains of transmission for the named sources.[103] The Zaydī scholar Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī (d. 445/1053-4) added a chapter on his sources to his *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-kāfī*,[104] and the Zaydī *imām* al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217) has a long section at the beginning of his *K. al-Šāfī* devoted to his sources, indicating his chains of authority for each one of them.[105]

Hershenzon, "Traveling Libraries." For the case of the Ḥusaynābādī family during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Schwarz, "Writing in the Margins of Empires."

99. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr*.

100. See Fierro, "*Fahrasa* de Ibn al-Tallāʿ."

101. See Saleh, *Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition*, 67ff. The *Tafsīr* has been published repeatedly. The bibliographical introduction was also edited by Isaiah Goldfeld as *Mufassirū šarq al-ʿālam al-islāmī fī arbaʿat al-qurūn al-hiǧriyya al-ūlā* (we owe the reference to Ahmed, "Mapping the World," 24 n. 3). On that work, see also Ahmed, "Mapping the World," 38 no. 62. For the case of al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076), who opens his *al-Basīṭ* with a similar introduction, see Saleh, *Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition*, 30f.; Saleh, "Last of the Nishapuri School."

102. Al-Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ al-islām*, 1/23–26. For additional examples, see Ahmed, "Mapping the World," 24f. n. 3.

103. The bibliography has been analyzed by Ahmed, "Mapping the World." A summary of al-Fāryābī's work was published as *Tahḏīb Ḫāliṣat al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-niṣāb ġāyat al-daqāʾiq*.

104. Al-Waǧīh, *Aʿlām al-muʾallifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 946.

105. Al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, *Šāfī*, 1/149–156.

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The Imāmite *ḥadīṯ* scholar Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Biṭrīq (d. 600/1203 or 606/1210) provides throughout his *K. al-ʿUmda* and in his *K. al-Ḫaṣāʾiṣ* precise references, often mentioning not only the author and his work but also the volume and quire from which any given passage has been taken.[106] Ibn al-Biṭrīq was a student of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Šahrāšūb (d. 588/1192), who had spent some time in al-Ḥilla; he likewise opens his *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* with a detailed list of his sources and may have served as a model for Ibn al-Biṭrīq.[107] The latter's *ʿUmda* was popular both among the Twelver Šīʿī scholars of al-Ḥilla and among the Zaydīs of Yemen—they all emulated his methodology. This was done, for example, by Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh in his *K. al-Šāfī*, for which Ibn al-Biṭrīq served as a major source, as well as by Ibn Ṭāwūs, who was significantly influenced by Ibn al-Biṭrīq's example.[108] Following Ibn Ṭāwūs, this tradition of precisely identifying one's sources throughout the text continued, particularly among the scholars of al-Ḥilla.

### *6. Notebooks and anthologies*

Closely related to catalogues and inventories of library collections are notebooks containing detailed descriptions of works and quotations of selected passages gleaned from these works, many of which are otherwise lost. Compiling such notebooks was particularly popular among Iranian writers, and they circulate under titles such as *maǧmūʿ*, *ǧung*, *safīna*, *bayāḍ*, *sawād*, *taḏkira*, and *dustūr*.[109] This practice was particularly common among the scholars of al-Ḥilla following Ibn Ṭāwūs. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kafʿamī (d. 905/1499–1500), who had been close to Ibn Ṭāwūs in his doctrinal approach and who resided both in al-Ḥilla and in Najaf, compiled a *Maǧmūʿ al-ġarāʾib wa-mawḍūʿ al-raġāʾib*, listing the books he had access to and quoting from them extensively.[110] His brother, Šams al-Dīn al-Ǧubāʿī, did the same in his *Maǧāmīʿ al-Ǧubāʿī*.[111] Al-Ǧubāʿī was a student of al-Šahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384), who had also compiled a *maǧmūʿ*; this is lost, but portions of it are quoted in al-Ǧubāʿī's works.[112] Closely related is the genre of *kaškūl* works—an-

106. See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 82f. On Ibn al-Biṭrīq and his *ʿUmda*, see also Chapter 10 in the present volume.

107. Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1/7–15. On this work, see also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 249f. no. 355.

108. See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 82f.

109. E.g. *Ǧung-i Mahdawī*. Īraǧ Afšār has published and analyzed numerous works belonging to this genre, and his relevant publications have been collected in his *Safīna wa bayāḍ wa ǧung*. See also Dānišpažūh, "Sih ǧung." See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 3/166–171 nos. 590–601 (*bayāḍ*), 5/165–169 nos. 700–733 (*ǧung*).

110. The work has been edited by Mahdī al-Raǧāʾī.

111. For the genre of *maǧmuʿ* as "notebooks," see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 20/57–120. For the *maǧmūʿ Ǧubāʿī*, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 20/77–79 nos. 1995f.

112. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 20/112f. no. 2266 [the publication erroneously gives 1266].

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thologies or collections of anecdotes. The term was used predominantly by Arab writers, although this genre was also popular among Iranian scholars. The authors who produced such works include Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1621),[113] Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186/1772), and, from the modern period, Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1952).[114] Collections of selections gleaned from (now often lost) books and manuscripts also circulated under the title *fawāʾid*, as is the case with a notebook of ʿAbd Allāh al-Afandī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1130/1718), the author of *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*. The notebook provides information that often complements the data provided in the *Riyāḍ*.[115] An example from the Sunnī realm is Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿAdīm's (d. 660/1262) *Taḏkira*.[116] Mention should also be made of the various excerpts (*fawāʾid*) from earlier philosophical works that the Jewish philosopher ʿIzz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna (d. in or after 683/1284) compiled for his own study purposes.[117] A prominent example is also the above-mentioned *Saʿd al-suʿūd* of Ibn Ṭāwūs, a fusion between a catalogue raisonné and a notebook.

## II. Analysis of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Hs. or. 13525

The text reproduced[118] and analyzed here is an endowment deed recording the donation of a substantial private book collection of "more than one hundred volumes" (*zāʾidan min miʾa qiṭʿa min al-kutub al-maqbūla al-mutadāwala*) (line 14). The document, which is heavily damaged on the upper margin, is dated to Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1165/1751. The founder of the book endowment is identified as al-Ḥāǧǧ al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥāǧǧ Efendi (line 9), while Šayḫ al-Qurrāʾ al-Sayyid al-Ḥāǧǧ Muṣṭafā Efendī, resident of *Maḥallat Sayyid Faqīh* "in the above-mentioned city" (*bi-l-balda al-maḏkūra*—referring to a piece of information that is no longer preserved in the damaged document) is named as the trustee (*mutawallī*) of the *waqf* (line 12). It is noteworthy that the majority of the books listed were copied by the founder of the endowment himself (line 37), suggesting that the collection was assembled by him. Many of the codices are collective works (*maǧmūʿas*) containing several separate works, and occasionally the title of a book is followed by *wa-ġayruhu*, "including others," that is, smaller tracts that are not deemed worthy of precise identification. Other works are mentioned more than once. The list, which is arranged roughly according to the various disciplines of learning, reflects the characteristic cultural-religious inclina-

113. *Kaškūl al-Bahāʾī*. The work has been published repeatedly. It is analyzed in Bosworth, *Baha' al-Din al-ʿAmili*.

114. Al-ʿĀmilī, *Maʿādin al-ǧawāhir wa-nuzhat al-ḫawāṭir*. For a comprehensive list of *kaškūl* works by Twelver Šīʿī authors, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 18/70–83 nos. 722–782.

115. Published as *al-Fawāʾid al-ṭarīfa*.

116. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Literary Notebook*.

117. Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Jewish Philosopher*, passim. For *fawāʾid* works by Twelver Šīʿī authors, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḏarīʿa*, 16/318–364 nos. 1477–1692.

118. See also goo.gl/BxIwAM (accessed February 7, 2017).

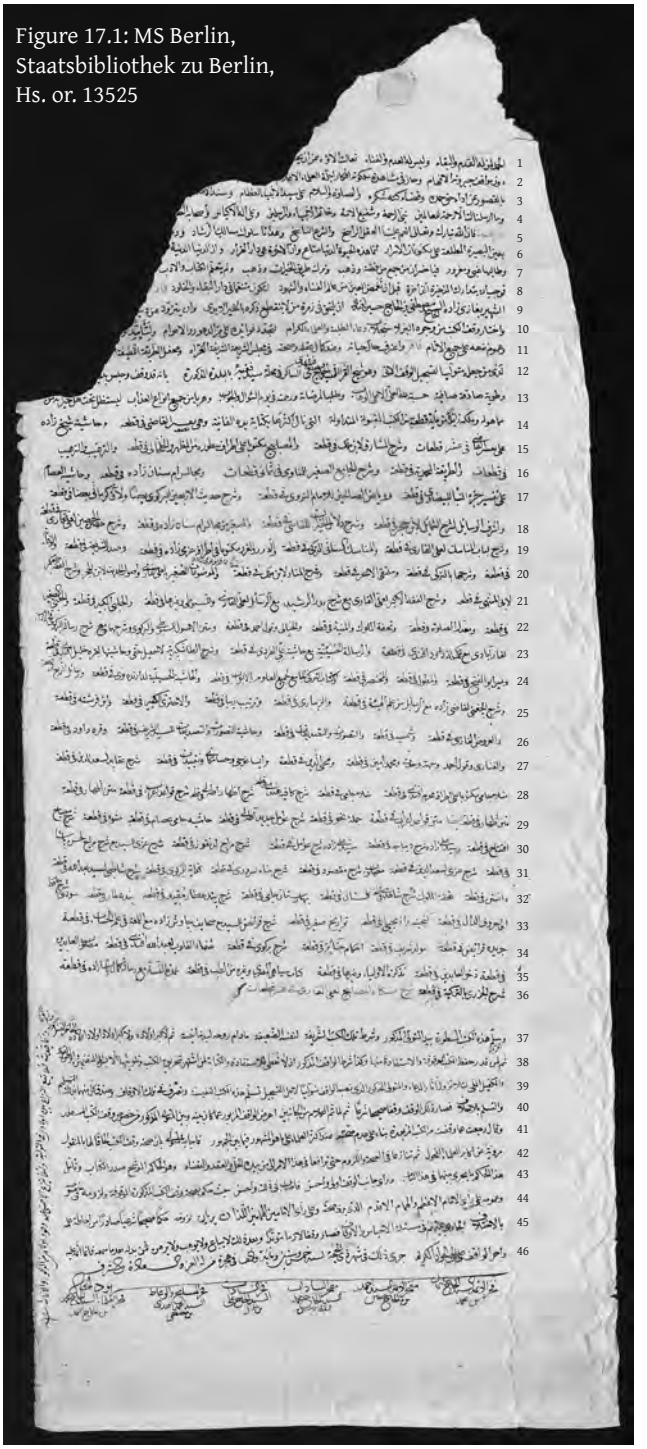
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tions of an Ottoman readership of the eighteenth century. The list contains numerous titles on Ḥanafite law (e.g., nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29, 81, 84), to the exclusion of works belonging to any of the other legal schools, including the Šāfiʿite *maḏhab*. The prominent title in exegesis is al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl*, with several commentaries by Ottoman scholars (nos. 1, 2, 9), as well as several books on variant Qurʾān readings (nos. 73, 92). The collection further encompasses a large number of books on grammar (*naḥw*) and morphology (*ṣarf*) (nos. 53 through 72), as well as books on logic (nos. 46 through 51). In addition, the list includes a number of titles of books on theology, again exclusively representing the Ḥanafite-Māturīdite school (nos. 24, 25). Works on *ḥadīṯ* are surprisingly few (nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 22a, 23), and the titles listed are mostly less significant works; the absence of any of the canonical Sunnī works is noteworthy. The list also features several popular collections of prayers, *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt* (no. 13) and *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn* (no. 15). Moreover, as is typical for Ottoman collections during this period, there are several titles of Persian literary classics (nos. 75, 76, 76a, 77, 78). In all disciplines, the collection has a significant number of commentaries, glosses, and superglosses, mostly by Ottoman scholars of the later centuries on a limited number of classical works in each field. The most frequently represented Ottoman authors in the collection are ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Amīn al-Dīn b. Malakšāh b. Firište ("Ibn Malak," d. after 824/1421) (nos. 3, 22, 44, 88) and Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (or Birgiwī, Birgili; d. 981/1573) (nos. 6, 11, 28, 31, 56, 58, 61, 72, 85). The majority of the works are in Arabic, and a few are in either Ottoman Turkish (nos. 17, 20, 37, 78, 92) or Persian (nos. 45, 75, 76, 76a, 77). In addition, there are two Arabic–Ottoman Turkish dictionaries (nos. 43, 44) as well as a Persian-Turkish dictionary (no. 73a).

| **line 14** | |
|---|---|
| **(1)** *niṣf Tafsīr al-Qāḍī fī qiṭʿa* | *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*, also known as *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286); see EncIslam 4/623–633 (F. H. Manouchehri and A. Mosallayi-Pour); ĞŠḤ 1/354–387. |
| **lines 14–15** | |
| **(2)** *Ḥāšiyat Šayḫzāda ʿalā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī fi ʿašar qiṭʿāt* | A commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl*, by Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Qūǧawī, known as Šayḫzāda (d. 951/1544), published as *Ḥāšiyat Šayḫzāda ʿalā Tafsīr al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī*. For a detailed description of a manuscript of the work, owned by Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Hs. or. 4772), see Quiring-Zoche, "Manuscript Copied in Teamwork?" See also Wust, *Catalogue*, p. 823 no. 539. |

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Figure 17.1: MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Hs. or. 13525



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| **line 15** | |
| **(3)** *Šarḥ al-Mašāriq li-bn Malak fī qiṭʿa* | *Mabāriq al-azhār fī šarḥ Mašāriq al-anwār*, by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Amīn al-Dīn b. Malakšāh b. Firište ("Ibn Malak," d. after 824/1421), a commentary on the *Mašāriq al-anwār al-nabawiyya min ṣiḥāḥ al-aḫbār al-muṣṭafawiyya* by Raḍī l-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣāġānī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī (d. 650/1252); see SW 2/300 no. 2715; GAL 1/361 no. 1; GALS 1/613f.; EI2 2/923f. (Ö. F. Akün); ĞŠḤ 3/1988f. Ibn Malak's commentary has been published in the edition of Abū Muḥammad Ašraf b. ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm. |
| **(4)** *al-Maṣābīḥ maktūban ʿalā aṭrāf suṭūrihi min al-Maẓhar wa-l-Ḫalḫālī fī qiṭʿa* | *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Farrāʾ al-Baġawī (d. 516/1122 or 510/1117); seeGAL 1/363–449 no. 6; GALS 1/620–622; ĞŠḤ 3/1996–2006; Ahmed, "Mapping the World," 39 no. 68. Two additional texts are included in the margin, both presumably being commentaries on the *Maṣābīḥ*: (1) *al-Mafātīḥ fī ḥall al-Maṣābīḥ* of Maẓhar al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Zaydānī (d. 727/1326–27) (see ĞŠḤ 3/1997f.; SW 2/57 no. 1516); and (2) *Tanwīr al-maṣābīḥ fī ḥall al-Maṣābīḥ* of Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar al-Ḥaṭībī al-Ḫalḫālī (d. 745/1344–45) (see SW 3/271 no. 4675; ĞŠḤ 3/2001f.). |
| **lines 15–16** | |
| **(5)** *al-Tarġīb wa-l-tarhīb fī qiṭʿāt* | *Al-Tarġīb wa-l-tarhīb fī l-ḥadīṯ*, by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Munḏirī (d. 656/1258), which has been published repeatedly; see GAL 1/367 no. 4; GALS 1/627; ĞŠḤ 1/661–63. |
| **line 16** | |
| **(6)** *al-Ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya fī qiṭʿa* | *Al-Ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya wa-l-sīra al-aḥmadiyya*, containing sermons and homilies by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573); see GAL 2/441; GALS 2/655f.; ĞŠḤ 2/1342–45; EI2 1/1235 (K. Kufrevī); TDVİA 6/193 (Mustafa Fayda). For the work and its author, see also Ivanyi, *Virtue, Piety and the Law*. |

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| **(7)** *Šarḥ al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr li-l-Munāwī fī ṯamānī qiṭʿāt* | ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. Tāǧ al-ʿĀrifīn al-Munāwī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 1031/1621) wrote a commentary on *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr* by Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), entitled *Fayḍ al-qadīr šarḥ al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr*; see SW 2/119 no. 1815; GALS 2/184, 2/417 no. 9; ǦŠḤ 2/825. The commentary has been published repeatedly; see the bibliography for details. Al-Munāwī also produced an abridgment of his commentary, *al-Taysīr muḫtaṣar Šarḥ al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr*. It was published as *al-Taysīr bi-šarḥ al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr fī aḥādīṯ al-Bašir al-Naḏīr*. |
| **(8)** *Maǧālis Umm Sinānzāda fī qiṭʿa* | *Al-Maǧālis al-sināniyya al-kabīra* of Ḥasan Ibn Umm Sinān Imāmzāda (d. 1088/1677), a commentary on the *mutašābih al-Qurʾān*; see the bibliography for publication details. See GALS 3/1304 (= N II 652). See also below, no. 14. |
| **lines 16–17** | |
| **(9)** *Ḥāšiyat al-ʿIṣām ʿalā Tafsīr ǧuzʾ al-nabaʾ li-l-Bayḍāwī fī qiṭʿa* | Gloss by ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabšāh al-Isfarāyīnī al-Šāfiʿī al-Samarqandī (d. 951/1538–39) on the 30th *ǧuzʾ* of al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl* (see above, no. 1); see SW 1/55f. no. 103; ǦŠḤ 1/362. |
| **line 17** | |
| **(10)** *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn li-l-Imām al-Nawawī fī qiṭʿa* | *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn* by Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Šaraf al-Nawawī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 676/1277); see SW 3/403 no. 5317; GAL 1/397 no. x; GALS 1/684; ǦŠḤ 2/1155–57. The work has been published repeatedly. |
| **(11)** *Šarḥ ḥadīṯ al-Arbaʿīn li-l-Birkawī baʿḍan wa-li-Āq Kirmānī baʿḍan fī qiṭʿa* | (1) Autocommentary on the *Arbaʿūn ḥadīṯan* of Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573). (2) A commentary on the *Arbaʿūn* of al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā Āq Kirmānī (d. 1174/1760), entitled *Nibrās al-ʿuqūl al-ḏakiyya šarḥ al-Arbaʿīn al-nabawiyya*. See GALS 2/654f.; ǦŠḤ 1/151; TDVİA 6/194 (Mustafa Fayda). Both have been published together with other texts belonging to the same genre. Generally on the "forty *ḥadīṯ*" genre, see Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, chapter 5. For Āq Kirmānī, see also Yakubovych, "Muḥammad al-Aqkirmānī." |

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| line 18 | |
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| **(12)** *Ašraf al-wasāʾil li-šarḥ al-Šamāʾil li-bn Ḥaǧar fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on the *Šamāʾil al-nabī* (*Šamāʾil al-nubuwwa / al-Šamāʾil al-muḥammadiyya*) of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmiḏī (d. 279/825), a collection of traditions focused solely on the prophet's characteristics (published repeatedly since 1851), by Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥaǧar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567); see GAL 2/388f.; GALS 2/528f.; GAS 1/156–159; ǦŠḤ 2/1285. The commentary has been published repeatedly. |
| **(13)** *Šarḥ Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt li-l-Fāsī fī qiṭʿa* | It is uncertain which among the numerous commentaries on Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ǧuzūlī al-Simlālī al-Fāsī's (d. 877/1472) *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt wa-šawāriq al-anwār fī ḏikr al-ṣalāt ʿalā l-nabī al-muḫtār* is meant here. See GAL 2/252f.; GALS 2/359f.; ǦŠḤ 2/1035–1040. |
| **(14)** *al-Ṣaġīr min Mağālis Umm Sinanzāda fī qiṭʿa* | Possibly referring to an abbreviated version of *al-Mağālis al-sināniyya al-kabīra* of Ḥasan Ibn Umm Sinān Imāmzāda (d. 1088/1677); see above, no. 8. |
| **(15)** *Šarḥ Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn li-ʿAlī al-Qārī fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn*, a collection of prayers drawn from *ḥadīṯ*, of Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Ǧazarī (d. 833/1429), by ʿAlī b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad al-Qāriʾ al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605), entitled *al-Ḥirz al-ṯamīn*; see SW 2/392 no. 3219; GAL 2/203 no. 19; GALS 2/277; ǦŠḤ 2/952f. On Ibn al-Ǧazarī, see also Binbaş, "Damascene Eyewitness." |
| **line 19** | |
| **(16)** *Šarḥ Lubāb al-manāsik li-ʿAlī al-Qārī fī qiṭʿa* | ʿAlī b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad al-Qāriʾ al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605) wrote a commentary entitled *al-Maslak al-mutaqassiṭ fī l-Mansak al-mutawassiṭ* on the *Lubāb al-manāsik wa-ʿibāb al-masālik*, known as *al-Mansak al-mutawassiṭ*, of Raḥmat Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sindī al-Ḥanafī (d. 993/1585); see GALS 2/524; ǦŠḤ 3/1773f. *Al-Maslak*, also known under the title *al-Manāsik* (ǦŠḤ 3/2177f.), has been published together with glosses by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī as *Iršād al-sārī ilā Manāsik al-Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī wa-hiya ḥāšiya ʿalā šarḥ al-ʿAllāma Mullā ʿAlī Qārī al-musammā al-Maslak al-mutaqassiṭ fī l-Mansak al-mutawassiṭ ʿalā Lubāb al-manāsik*. |

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| **(17)** *al-Manāsik li-Sinānī al-Turkī fī qiṭʿa* | A work in Ottoman Turkish on *aḥkām al-ḥaǧǧ*, as the title suggests, possibly by Ḥasan Ibn Umm Sinān Imāmzāda (d. 1088/1677). On him, see above, no. 8. |
| **(18)** *al-Durar wa-l-Ġurar maktūban fī aṭrāfihi ʿAzmī Zāda fī qiṭʿa* | *Ġurar al-aḥkām*, a work on Ḥanafī law, together with an autocommentary entitled *Durar al-ḥukkām fī šarḥ Ġurar al-aḥkām*, by Mullā (or Munlā) Ḫusraw al-Rūmī Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. ʿAlī (d. 885/1480); see SW 3/219 no. 4469; GAL 2/226f.; GALS 2/316f.; ǦŠḤ 2/1487–1491 (published repeatedly). In the margin there is an unspecified text by Muṣṭafā Afandī b. *qāḍī ʿaskar* Pīr Muḥammad ʿAzmī Afandī "ʿAzmī Zāda" al-Rūmī (d. 1040/1630), most likely the latter's commentary on the *Ġurar*; see SW 2/341 no. 6989; GAL 2/226; GALS 1/317; ǦŠḤ 2/1489. |
| **(19)** *Ṣadr al-šarīʿa fī qiṭʿa* | The most prominent representatives of this Ḥanafite family of scholars in Buḫārā, many of whom were given the honorary title "Ṣadr al-šarīʿa," were (1) Ṣadr al-šarīʿa al-awwal (or al-akbar) Aḥmad b. Ǧamāl al-Dīn ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (d. 673/1274–75) and (2) his grandson Ṣadr al-šarīʿa al-ṯānī (or al-aṣġar) ʿUbayd Allāh b. Masʿūd b. Tāǧ al-Šarīʿa (d. 747/1346), who was the author of the popular *Šarḥ al-Wiqāya* (see also below, no. 20), which is the work that is meant here; see GAL 2/213f.; GALS 2/300f. On the family and its representatives, especially Ṣadr al-šarīʿa al-ṯānī, see also Dallal, *Islamic Response*, 1–15. |
| **lines 19–20** | |
| **(20)** *al-Wiqāya fī qiṭʿa wa-šarḥuha bi-l-turkī fī qiṭʿa* | *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masāʾil al-Hidāya*, containing excerpts from the *Hidāya* by Burhān al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Farġānī al-Marġīnānī (d. 593/1197), a popular work on Ḥanafite law, by Burhān al-šarīʿa Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-šarīʿa al-akbar al-Ḥanafī al-Buḫārī (on the family, see also above, no. 19); see SW 3/314 no. 4873; GAL 1/377; ǦŠḤ 3/2492–2508; Dallal, *Islamic Response*, 8. It is unclear which commentary on the work in Ottoman Turkish is meant here. |
| **line 20** | |
| **(21)** *Multaqā al-abḥur fī qiṭʿa* | *Multaqā al-abḥur fī l-furūʿ*, a work on Ḥanafite law, by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549); see SW 1/46 no. 77; GAL 2/432; GALS 2/642f.; ǦŠḤ 3/2141–2147; see also Shahzada Khan, *"Multaqā al-Abḥur."* |

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| **(22)** *Šarḥ al-Manār li-bn Malak fī qiṭʿa maktūban fī aṭrāfihi ʿAzmī Zāda* | (1) A commentary on the *Manār al-anwār fī uṣūl al-fiqh* of Abū l-Barakāt ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad *al-maʿrūf bi-*Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310), by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Amīn al-Dīn b. Malakšāh b. Firište ("Ibn Malak," d. after 824/1421); see SW 2/300 no. 2715; GAL 2/196; GALS 2/263; EI2 2/923f. (Ö. F. Akün); ĞŠḤ 3/2162. The commentary has been published twice; see the bibliography. (2) *Natāʾiğ al-afkār* by Muṣṭafā Afandī b. *qāḍī ʿaskar* Pīr Muḥammad ʿAzmī Afandī "ʿAzmī Zāda" al-Rūmī (d. 1040/1630), a commentary on Ibn Malak's *Šarḥ al-Manār*; this, too, has been published. |
| **(22a)** *al-Mawḍūʿāt al-ṣaġīra li-ʿAlī al-Qārī* | *K. al-Mawḍūʿāt* or *al-Maṣnūʿ fī maʿrifat al-ḥadīṯ al-mawḍūʿ* of ʿAlī b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad al-Qāriʾ al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605); see SW 2/392 no. 3219; GAL 2/518 no. 11, and no. 12 for the author's *al-Mawḍūʿāt fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīṯ*. |
| **(23)** *Uṣūl al-ḥadīṯ li-bn Ḥağar* | Possibly referring to Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī's (d. 852/1449) *Nuḫbat al-fikar fī muṣṭalaḥ* [*iṣṭilāḥ*] *ahl al-āṯār*; see GAL 1/359; GALS 1/611; ĞŠḤ 3/2337–2347. |
| **lines 20–21** | |
| **(24)** *Šarḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar li-Abī l-Muntahā fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on *al-Fiqh al-akbar* attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) by Abū l-Muntahā Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maġnīsawī (d. 1090/1591–92); see OM 1/228; GALS 1/285f.; ĞŠḤ 2/1547. The commentary has been published repeatedly. In addition, a partial English translation has been published as *Imam Abu Hanifa's "al-Fiqh al-akbar" Explained by Abu al-Muntaha al-Maghnisawi.* |
| **line 21** | |
| **(25)** *Šarḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar li-ʿAlī al-Qārī maʿa Šarḥ Badr Rašīd maʿa l-rasāʾil li-ʿAlī al-Qārī wa-l-Suyūṭī wa-ġayrihā fī qiṭʿa* | (1) A commentary on *al-Fiqh al-akbar* attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) by ʿAlī b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad al-Qāriʾ al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605), entitled *Minaḥ al-rawḍ al-aẓhar*; see SW 2/392 no. 3219; GAL 2/395 no. 19; GALS 1/286; ĞŠḤ 2/1547f. The work has been published repeatedly; for a partial English translation, see above, no. 24. (2) A commentary by ʿAlī al-Qāriʾ on the well-known *Alfāẓ al-kufr* by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Maḥmūd, known as al-Badr al-Rašīd al-Ḥanafī (d. 768/1366); see SW 3/108 no. 3949; GAL 2/80 no. 7; GALS 2/88 no. 7. (3) The identity of the epistles by ʿAlī al-Qāriʾ and Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī cannot be established. For a list of al-Suyūṭī's epistles and manuscripts of them, see al-Šaybānī and Ḫāzindār, *Dalīl maḫṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī*. |

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| **(26)** *al-Ḥalabī al-kabīr fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), titled *Ġunyat al-mutamallī fī šarḥ Munyat al-muṣallī*, on the *Munyat al-muṣallī wa-ġunyat al-mubtadī* of Sadīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kāšġarī (d. 705/1305–6), a work on the Ḥanafite law of prayer. See GAL 1/383; GALS 1/659f.; ĞŠḤ 3/2268; see also below, nos. 27 and 29. The commentary has been published repeatedly; see the bibliography. |
| **lines 21–22** | |
| **(27)** *al-Ḥalabī al-ṣaġīr fī qiṭʿa* | Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549) produced an abridgment of his *Ġunyat al-mutamallī fī šarḥ Munyat al-muṣallī* (see above, no. 26), entitled *Muḫtaṣar Ġunyat al-mutamallī*; see ĞŠḤ 3/2268; SW 1/46 no. 77. The work has been published repeatedly; see the bibliography. |
| **line 22** | |
| **(28)** *Muʿaddil al-ṣalāt fī qiṭʿa* | *Muʿaddil al-ṣalāt* of Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573); see GAL 2/440f. no. 9; GALS 2/655. An edition of the text is included in *Rasāʾil al-Birkawī*. |
| **(29)** *Tuḥfat al-mulūk wa-l-Munya fī qiṭʿa* | (1) *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, a work on Ḥanafite law by Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Rāzī al-Ḥanafī (d. 666/1267–68); see GAL 1/383; GALS 1/658f.; ĞŠḤ 1/646–651. (2) *Munyat al-muṣallī wa-ġunyat al-mubtadī* by Sadīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kāšġarī (d. 705/1305–6), another work on Ḥanafite law; see GAL 1/383; GALS 1/659f.; ĞŠḤ 3/2268–2270; see also above, nos. 26 and 27). Both works have been published repeatedly. |

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| **(30)** *al-Ḫayālī wa-Qūl Aḥmad fī qiṭʿa* | (1) Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Rūmī al-Iznīqī al-Ḥanafī *al-maʿruf bi*-l-Ḫayālī (d. 862/1458) wrote glosses (*ḥawāšī*) on a number of works, among them glosses on *Šarḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-nasafiyya*, a commentary by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390) on the *ʿAqāʾid* of Nağm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142). These are possibly meant here; see SW 1/259 no. 726; GALS 1/759, 2/318 no. 10a; ĞŠḤ 2/1376. A French translation of al-Ḫayālī's glosses was published as *Religion, ou, Theologie des Turcs*. (2) Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḫiḍr al-ʿUmarī al-Ḥanafī ("Qūl Aḥmad," d. ca. 950/1543–44) in turn composed a *ḥāšiya* on al-Ḫayālī's *ḥāšiya*; see SW 1/211 no. 568; ĞŠḤ 2/1376. The work has been repeatedly published as *Mağmūʿat al-ḥawāšī al-bahiyya ʿalā šarḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-nasafiyya*. |
| **lines 22–23** | |
| **(31)** *Matn al-uṣūl li-l-Suyūṭī wa-l-Birkawī wa-šarḥuhumā maʿa Šarḥ Risālat al-Birkawī fī l-ādāb li-Qāzābādī maʿa Takmilat Dāwūd Afandī fī qiṭʿa* | (1) *Alfiyya fī muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīṯ* of Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), published repeatedly. (2) *Risāla fī uṣūl al-ḥadīṯ* of Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573); see GAL 2/440 no. 8. (3) It is uncertain which commentary on al-Suyūṭī's commentary is meant. On al-Birkawī's work, the popular commentary of Dāwūd b. Muḥammad al-Qāriṣī (d. 1160/1747–48) is most likely intended here. The most recent edition was published as *Šarḥ uṣūl al-ḥadīṯ li-Dāwūd al-Qāriṣī ʿalā Risālat al-Birkawī*. (4) *Šarḥ Ādāb al-baḥṯ* (or *Risālat al-ādāb*) by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq Qāzābādī (d. 1163/1749) on the *Ādāb al-baḥṯ* of Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573); see ĞŠḤ 1/79f. Published together with the commentary. |
| **line 23** | |
| **(32)** *al-Risāla al-ḥusayniyya maʿa ḥāšiyat ʿAlī al-Fardī fī qiṭʿa* | *Al-Risāla al-ḥusayniyya fī ādāb al-baḥṯ* (or *fī fann al-ādāb* or *fī ʿilm al-ādāb*) of Šāh Ḥusayn Afandī al-Anṭākī (d. 918/1512–13), together with glosses by ʿAlī b. Muṣṭafā al-Qayṣarī al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī *al-šahīr bi*-l-Fardī (d. 1127/1715–16), entitled *al-Ḥāšiya al-fardiyya ʿalā l-Risāla al-ḥusayniyya fī l-ādāb*; see ĞŠḤ 2/1113f. |

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| **(33)** *Šarḥ al-Ṭāškubriyya li-Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī wa-ḥāšiyatuhā li-Qara Ḫalīl Afandī fī qiṭʿa* | *Šarḥ Ādāb al-baḥṯ* by Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāda (d. 968/1561), with a commentary by Abū l-Fidā Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī b. Muṣṭafā al-Bursawī al-Istanbulī al-Ḥanafī al-Ḫalwatī (d. 1127/1715) and glosses by Ḫalīl b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Tīrāwī al-Rūmī ("Qara Ḫalīl Afandī," d. 1123/1711–12). |
| **line 24** | |
| **(34)** *Mīr Abū l-Fatḥ fī qiṭʿa* | Glosses by Mīr Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Amīn b. Abī Saʿīd al-Saʿīdī (d. 950/1543–44) on Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī's (d. 918/1512) commentary on Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī's (d. 793/1390) *Tahḏīb al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām*; see ǦŠḤ 1/791. |
| **(35)** *al-Muṭawwal fī qiṭʿa* | *Šarḥ al-Talḫīṣ al-muṭawwal*, a commentary by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390) on the *Talḫīṣ al-ǧāmiʿ* (or *Talḫīṣ al-miftāḥ* or *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr*) of Ǧalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *al-maʿrūf bi*-l-Ḫaṭīb al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338–39), which in turn is a digest of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229); see ǦŠḤ 1/717. All of these works have been published repeatedly. See also below, no. 36. |
| **(36)** *al-Muḫtaṣar fī qiṭʿa* | *Muḫtaṣar al-maʿānī* of Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), a *muḫtaṣar* of his *Šarḥ al-Talḫīṣ al-muṭawwal* (see above, no. 35); this has also been published repeatedly. |
| **(37)** *al-kitāb al-turkī al-Ǧāmiʿ li-ǧamīʿ al-ʿulūm bi-l-abwāb fī qiṭʿa* | The identity of this book in Ottoman Turkish was apparently unclear to the compiler of the present document. The title suggests that it is an encyclopaedic work. |
| **(38)** *al-Ḥāšiya al-ḥusayniyya li-Dārandawī fī qiṭʿa* | Possibly referring to the glosses, entitled *Šarḥ al-Risāla al-ḥusayniyya*, by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿUṯmān al-Dārandī (d. 1152/1739–40) on the *al-Risāla al-ḥusayniyya fī ādāb al-baḥṯ* (or *fī fann al-ādāb* or *fī ʿilm al-ādāb*) of Šāh Ḥusayn Afandī al-Anṭākī (d. 918/1512–13); see ǦŠḤ 2/1113. |
| **(39)** *Rasāʾil al-rubʿ fī qiṭʿa* | The identity of the epistles in the quarto-sized codex remains unclear. |
| **line 25** | |

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| **(40)** *Šarḥ Čaġmīnī li-Qāḍī Zāda maʿa rasāʾil min ʿilm al-hayʾa fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on *al-Mulaḫḫaṣ fī l-hayʾa* of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Čaġmīnī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 745/1344–45) by Ǧalāl al-Dīn Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Rūmī al-Bursawī al-Ḥanafī *maʿruf bi*-Qāḍī Zāda (d. after 835/1432), entitled *Šarḥ al-Mulaḫḫaṣ li-l-Čaġmīnī*; see SW 3/358 no. 5110; ǦŠḤ 3/2156; EI2 2/378 (H. Suter-[J. Vernet]). The identity of the additional epistles on astronomy cannot be established. |
| **(41)** *al-Zībārī fī qiṭʿa* | Presumably referring to the glosses (*ḥāšiya*) of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Zībārī al-Kurdī (d. 1078/1667–68) on ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabšāh al-Isfarāyīnī al-Samarqandī's (d. 943/1536) commentary (*šarḥ*) on *al-Risāla al-samarqandiyya fī ādāb al-baḥṯ* by Abū l-Qāsim b. Abī Bakr al-Layṯī al-Samarqandī (d. after 888/1483). See SW 4/482; ǦŠḤ 1/65–67; GAL 2/194; EI2 8/1038f. (L. B. Miller); Miller, *Islamic Disputation Theory*. ʿIṣām al-Dīn's commentary has been published as *Šarḥ al-Risāla al-samarqandiyya fī l-istiʿārāt li-ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabšāh al-Isfarāyīnī*. |
| **(42)** *Tartīb Zībā fī qiṭʿa* | *Tartīb ruʾūs al-Qurʾān* of Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmī al-Wārdārī al-Ḥanafī (d. ca. 1061/1644), a *fihrist* of the verses of the Qurʾān in alphabetical order. |
| **(43)** *al-Aḫtarī al-kabīr fī qiṭʿa* | *Al-Aḫtarī* or *Aḫtarī kabīr*, a dictionary for Arabic and Ottoman Turkish by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Šams al-Dīn al-Qaraḥiṣārī al-Aḫtarī al-Ḥanafī ("Umm al-fatāwā," d. 968/1560); see SW 3/330 no. 4951; GALS 2/630; EI2 1/311. |
| **(44)** *Ibn Firište fī qiṭʿa* | It is unclear which of the works of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Amīn al-Dīn b. Malakšāh b. Firište ("Ibn Malak," d. after 824/1421) is meant here. Given the context, it may well be his *K. al-Maẓāhir* (or *Firište-oġlu luġatī*), a rhyming Arabic-Turkish dictionary. On Ibn Malak, see also EI2 2/923f. (Ö. F. Akün). |
| **line 26** | |
| **(45)** *al-ʿArūḍ al-fārisī fi qiṭʿa* | An unspecified work on prosody in Persian, possibly *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān* of Badr al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Masʿūd b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ǧaʿfar al-Adībī al-Siǧzī al-Farāhī al-Ḥanafī (d. 640/1242–43), a popular text in the *madrasa* context; see SW 3/328 no. 4934; ǦŠḤ 3/2355f. |

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| **(46)** *Šamsiyya fī qiṭʿa* | *Al-Šamsiyya fī l-qawāʿid al-manṭiqiyya* of Naǧm al-Dīn Dabīrān al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī (d. 675/1277), a widely studied handbook of logic. See GAL 1:466; GALS 1:845–847; ǦŠḤ 2/1295–1307; see also Schmidtke, "Two Commentaries." |
| **(47)** *al-Taṣawwurāt wa-l-taṣdīqāt fī qiṭʿa* | Probably referring to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 766/1364) independent work *al-Risāla al-maʿmūla fī l-taṣawwur wa-l-taṣdīq* (known as *al-Risala al-quṭbiyya fī taḥqīq maʿnā l-taṣawwur wa-l-taṣdīq*) in *Risālatān fī l-taṣawwur wa-l-taṣdīq*. See also ǦŠḤ 1/691f. |
| **(48)** *Ḥāšiyat al-Taṣawwurāt wa-l-taṣdīqāt li-l-Sayyid al-Šarīf fī qiṭʿa* | Al-Sayyid al-Šarīf ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ǧurǧānī (d. 816/1413) wrote glosses on both sections of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Šarḥ al-Šamsiyya*; they have been published repeatedly. |
| **lines 26–27** | |
| **(49)** *Qara Dāwūd fī qiṭʿa* | Gloss of Qara Dāwūd b. Kamāl Afandī Qūǧawī (d. 948/1541–42) on al-Šarīf al-Ǧurǧānī's glosses on Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's commentary on al-Kātibī's *Šamsiyya* (see above, no. 48), on the section on *taṣawwurāt* only. This work has been published. |
| **(49a)** *al-Fanārī wa-Qūl Aḥmad wa-Ǧihat waḥdat wa-Muḥammad Amīn fī qiṭʿa* | (1) *Al-Fawāʾid al-fanāriyya*, a commentary on the *Īsāġūǧī* of Aṯīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1264) by Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-Fanārī (d. 834/1431), who was also the author of *Misbāḥ al-uns*; see SW 3/135 no. 4075. The *Fawāʾid* were recently published in the edition of ʿAbd al-Mannān Aḥmad al-Idrīsī. (2) Glosses by Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḫiḍr al-ʿUmarī al-Ḥanafī ("Qūl Aḥmad," d. ca. 950/1543–44) on *al-Fawāʾid al-fanāriyya*. All three works were published recently as *al-Fawāʾid al-fanāriyya wa-huwa šarḥ al-ʿAllāma Šams al-Dīn al-Fanārī ʿalā matn Īsāġūǧī fī l-manṭiq*. (3) *Risālat Ǧihat al-waḥda* (also known as *Ǧihat al-waḥda bayn al-mutaʿallimīn*) by Muḥammad Amīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Širwānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1036/1626). |
| **line 27** | |

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| **(50)** *Muḥyī l-Dīn fī qiṭʿa* | Glosses by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Tālišī (d. after 884/1479) on the *Šarḥ al-Īsāġūǧī* of Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Kātī ("Ḥisāmkātī," d. 760/1359). The latter was published recently in the edition of Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Fūda. |
| **(51)** *Īsāġūǧī wa-Ḥisāmkātī wa-Taqyīdāt fī qiṭʿa* | *Taqyīdāt ʿalā matn Īsāġūǧī*, by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Kīlānī al-Miṣrī; for a manuscript of the work, see goo.gl/EO2wao (accessed February 7, 2017). The codex also contained the text of al-Abharī's *Īsāġūǧī* as well as Ḥusām al-Kātī's commentary. See also above, no. 50. |
| **(52)** *Šarḥ ʿAqāʾid li-Saʿd al-Dīn fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on the *ʿAqāʾid* of Naǧm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), known as *al-ʿAqāʾid al-nasafiyya*, by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390); see ǦŠḤ 2/1375. The commentary has been published repeatedly; for an English translation, see al-Taftāzānī, *Commentary on the Creed of Islam*. |
| **line 28** | |
| **(53)** *Mullā Ǧāmī maktūban ʿalā aṭrāfihi Muḥarram Afandī fī qiṭʿa* | (1) A commentary entitled *al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya* or *al-Fawāʾid al-wāfiya bi-ḥall muškilāt al-Kāfiya* on the popular grammar work *al-Kāfiya* of Ǧamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUṯmān b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥāǧib al-Kurdī (d. 646/1249), by Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ǧāmī (d. 898/1492); see GAL 1/304; GALS 1/533; ǦŠḤ 2/1663. (2) Glosses on the latter's commentary by Muḥarram b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Zaylī (d. 1000/1591–92); see GAL 1/304; GALS 1/533; ǦŠḤ 2/1667. See also below, no. 54. |
| **(54)** *Mullā Ǧāmī fī qiṭʿa* | Presumably referring again to al-Ǧāmī's commentary on *al-Kāfiya* (see above, no. 53). |
| **(55)** *Šarḥ Kāfiyat Hindī fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on the *Kāfiya* (see above, no. 53) by Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī l-Qāsim ʿUmar al-Zāwalī al-Dawlatābādī al-Hindī (d. 849/1445–46), entitled *al-Muʿāfiyya šarḥ al-Kāfiya*, also known as *Šarḥ al-Hindī*; see ǦŠḤ 2/1661. |

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| **(56)** *Šarḥ Iẓhār Aṭa-lī fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on the *Iẓhār al-asrār fī l-naḥw* of Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573), by Muṣṭafā b. Ḥamza b. Ibrāhīm b. Walī l-Dīn b. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Rūmī *al-šahīr bi*-l-Aṭa-lī (composed in 1085/1674), entitled *Natāʾiğ al-afkār šarḥ al-Iẓhār*. See GAL 2/441; ĞŠḤ 1/232; TDVİA 6/193 (Mustafa Fayda); see also below, no. 58. |
| **(57)** *Šarḥ Qawāʿid iʿrāb fī qiṭʿa* | It remains unclear which among the many commentaries on the *Qawāʿid al-iʿrāb* by Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Hišām al-Miṣrī al-Naḥwī (d. 761/1359) is meant here; see ĞŠḤ 2/1625–1633. See also below, no. 59. |
| **(58)** *Matn Iẓhār fī qiṭʿa* | *Iẓhār al-asrār fī l-naḥw* of Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573). See GAL 2/441; GALS 2/656f.; TDVİA 6/193 (Mustafa Fayda); see also nos. 56 and 58a. |
| line 29 | |
| **(58a)** *Matn Iẓhār fī qiṭʿa ayḍan* | Another copy of *Iẓhār al-asrār* by al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili); see also above, no. 58. |
| **(59)** *Matn Qawāʿid al-iʿrāb fī qiṭʿa* | *Qawāʿid al-iʿrāb* by Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hišām al-Miṣrī al-Naḥwī (d. 761/1359); see ĞŠḤ 2/1625–1633. See also above, no. 57. |
| **(60)** *Ğumlat naḥw fī qiṭʿa* | Another unspecified work on grammar. |
| **(61)** *Šarḥ ʿAwāmil ğadīd Aṭa-lī fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on *al-ʿAwāmil al-ğadīda* of Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573), by Muḥammad b. Saʿīd Āqūš Aṭa-lī; see GAL 2/441; GALS 2/657; ĞŠḤ 2/1455; TDVİA 6/193 (Mustafa Fayda). |
| **(62)** *Ḥāšiyat Ğāmī ʿIṣām fī qiṭʿa* | Glosses by ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabšāh al-Isfarāyīnī al-Samarqandī (d. 951/1538–39) on Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ğāmī's (d. 898/1492) commentary on *al-Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥāğib (d. 646/1249). See also above, nos. 53 and 54. |

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| **(63)** *Ḍawʾ fī qiṭʿa* | *Ḍawʾ al-miṣbāḥ fī šarḥ al-Miṣbāḥ*, or *al-Ḍawʾ al-munīr*, by Tāǧ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 684/1285), a commentary on *al-Miṣbāḥ fī l-naḥw* by Abū l-Fatḥ Nāṣir b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. ʿAlī al-Muṭarrizī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 610/1213); see GAL 1/293f.; GALS 1/514f.; ǦŠḤ 3/2007. |
| **(64)** *Šarḥ Misbāḥ Iftitāḥ fī qiṭʿa* | *al-Iftitāḥ šarḥ al-Miṣbāḥ*, a commentary by Ḥasan Bāšā b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Aswad al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (d. 827/1424) on *al-Miṣbāḥ fī l-naḥw* by Abū l-Fatḥ Nāṣir b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. ʿAlī al-Muṭarrizī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 610/1213); see GAL 1/293f.; GALS 1/514; ǦŠḤ 3/2009. |
| **line 30** | |
| **(65)** *Sayyid ʿAlī Zāda Šarḥ Dībāǧa fī qiṭʿa* | *Šarḥ ʿalā awāʾil dībāǧat al-Miṣbāḥ*, a commentary on the preface of *al-Miṣbāḥ fī l-naḥw* by Abū l-Fatḥ Nāṣir b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. ʿAlī al-Muṭarrizī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 610/1213), by Yaʿqūb b. Sayyid ʿAlī al-Maymūnī al-Rūmī ("Sayyid ʿAlī Zāda," d. 931/1524–25); see GAL 1/294f.; GALS 1/514f.; ǦŠḤ 3/2011. |
| **(66)** *Sayyid ʿAlī Zāda Šarḥ ʿAwāmil fī qiṭʿa* | *Šarḥ ʿalā ʿawāmil al-Miṣbāḥ*, a commentary on the relevant section of *al-Miṣbāḥ fī l-naḥw* of Abū l-Fatḥ Nāṣir b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. ʿAlī al-Muṭarrizī al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. 610/1213), by Yaʿqūb b. Sayyid ʿAlī al-Maymūnī al-Rūmī ("Sayyid ʿAlī Zāda," d. 931/1524–25); see GAL 1/294f.; GALS 1/514f.; ǦŠḤ 3/2011. |
| **(67)** *Šarḥ Marāḥ li-Dunqūz fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary by Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī "Dunqūz" (or "Daykqūz") on *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ fī l-taṣrīf*, a popular work on morphology and grammar by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd; see GAL 2/21; GALS 2/14; ǦŠḤ 3/1922. See also below, no. 68. |
| **(68)** *Šarḥ ʿIzzī li-l-Sayyid maʿa Šarḥ Marāḥ li-Ḥasan Bāšā fī qiṭʿa* | (1) A commentary on the *Mabādiʾ al-taṣrīf* or *Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* or *al-ʿIzzī fī l-taṣrīf* (on morphology) of ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abī l-Maʿālī al-Ḫazraǧī al-Zanǧānī *al-maʿrūf bi*-l-ʿIzzī (d. 660/1262) by al-Sayyid al-Šarīf ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ǧurǧānī (d. 816/1413). See ǦŠḤ 1/684; see also van Ess, *Träume der Schulweisheit*, 81–83. (2) *Šarḥ al-Marāḥ* by Ḥasan Bāšā b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Aswad al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (d. 827/1424). See also above, no. 67. |

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| line 31 | |
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| **(69)** *Šarḥ ʿIzzī li-Saʿd al-Dīn fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on the *Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* or *al-ʿIzzī fī l-taṣrīf* of ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abī l-Maʿālī al-Ḫazrağī al-Zanǧānī *al-maʿrūf bi*-l-ʿIzzī (d. 655/1257) by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390); see GAL 1/283; GALS 1/497; ǦŠḤ 1/680. |
| **(70)** *Maṭlūb šarḥ Maqṣūd fī qiṭʿa* | Among the commentaries on *al-Maqṣūd fī l-ṣarf*, a work attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), there are two entitled *al-Maṭlūb šarḥ al-Maqṣūd*, one by a certain Walī l-Dīn b. Aḥmad and a second one by an anonymous author; see ǦŠḤ 3/2121. It is uncertain which one is meant here. |
| **(71)** *Šarḥ Bināʾ li-Surūrī fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on *Bināʾ al-afʿāl* (also known as *Amṭilat al-bināʾ*, *al-Amṭila al-muḫtalifa*, *K. al-Bināʾ*, and *Matn bināʾ al-afʿāl*) by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Šaʿbān al-Rūmī Surūrī (d. 969/1561), entitled *Šarḥ al-Amṭila*. See GAL 2/438; GALS 2/650; ǦŠḤ 1/570. |
| **(72)** *Kifāya li-l-Birkawī fī qiṭʿa* | *Kifāyat al-mubtadī fī l-taṣrīf* (or *fī l-ṣarf*), by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573); see GAL 2/441f.; ǦŠḤ 3/1719f.; TDVİA 6/193 (Mustafa Fayda). |
| **(73)** *Šarḥ Šāṭibī li-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary on Abū l-Qāsim b. Fīrruh b. Ḫalaf b. Aḥmad al-Ruʿaynī al-Šāṭibī's (d. 590/1194) *Ḥirz al-amānī fī waǧh al-tahānī*, a versification of Abū ʿAmr ʿUṯmān al-Dānī's (d. 444/1053) compendium of the seven variant Qurʾān readings; the commentary, by a certain ʿAbd Allāh, is entitled *al-Taysīr fī l-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ*. See ǦŠḤ 2/926–938, where several possible commentators are listed. |
| **line 32** | |
| **(73a)** *Dānistan fī qiṭʿa* | A Persian-Turkish dictionary. For a manuscript copy of the work with further details, see, e.g., goo.gl/JWwUfL (accessed February 7, 2017). |
| **(74)** *Tuḥfat al-mulūk Šarḥ Šāhidī fī qiṭʿa* | *Tuḥfat al-mulūk fī šarḥ Manẓūmat al-Šāhidī* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Šayḫ ʿAbd Allāh al-Maġnīsāwī al-Quddūsī al-Rūmī al-Ḫalwatī (d. 1080/1669–70), a work on philology. |

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| **(75)** *Gulistān fī qiṭʿa* | *Gulistān-i Saʿdī*, arguably the single most renowned prose work in Persian, by Mušarraf al-Dīn Muṣliḥ ("Šayḫ Saʿdī," d. 691/1292). See EncIran 11/79–86 (F. Lewis). For the popularity of Persian literature among Ottoman book collectors, see also Uluç, "Ottoman Book Collectors." |
| **(76)** *Bahāristān-i Ǧāmī fī qiṭʿa* | *Bahāristān*, the renowned anecdotal work of belles-lettres by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ǧāmī (d. 998/1492); see EncIran 3/479f. (G. M. Wickens). |
| (**76a**) *Šarḥ-i Panda-yi ʿAṭṭār mufīd fī qiṭʿa* | An unspecified commentary on the *Pand-nāma* that is attributed to the sixth/twelfth-century Persian mystical poet Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār; see also below, no. 77. |
| **(77)** *Panda-yi ʿAṭṭār fī qiṭʿa* | *Pand-nāma*, attributed to Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār. See EncIran, s.v. "Aṭṭār, Farīd-al-Dīn" (B. Reinert); see also above, no. 76a. |
| **lines 32–33** | |
| **(78)** *Sūdī Šarḥ-i Ḥāfiẓ ilā ḥurūf al-dāl fī qiṭʿa* | The renowned recension of the *Dīwān* of the Persian lyric poet Ḥāfiẓ (d. 792/1390) by the Ottoman scholar Aḥmad Sūdī (d. 1000/1592–93 or after 1006/1598). See EI2 9/762 (K. Burrill); EncIran, s.v. "Hafez" (multiple authors) |
| **line 33** | |
| **(79)** *Ganǧīna-yi Rāz-i Yaḥyā fī qiṭʿa* | *Ganǧīna-yi Rāz* by the prominent Ottoman poet Yaḥyā Beg (d. 990/1582); see Çinar, "Taşlicali Yahya'nin Gencîne-i râz"; goo.gl/eQPY14 (accessed February 7, 2017). On Yaḥyā, see also EI2 10/352 (K. R. F. Burrill). |
| **(80)** *Tawārīḫ saġīr fī qiṭʿa* | An unspeficied short text on history. |

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| **(81)** *Šarḥ Farāʾiḍ li-l-Sayyid maʿa Ṣaḥāʾif Čāwūšzāda maʿa l-Lumʿa fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb fī qiṭʿa* | (1) An unspecified commentary on the *Farāʾiḍ al-Ǧurǧānī* (or *al-Farāʾiḍ al-šarīfiyya* or *al-Ḥawāšī al-šarīfiyya fī l-Farāʾiḍ*), that is, on ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Šarīf al-Ǧurǧānī's (d. 816/1413) commentary on Sirāǧ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sağāwandī's *Farāʾiḍ* on inheritance law. See van Ess, *Träume der Schulweisheit*, 57f. (2) The *Ṣaḥāʾif* of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Rūmī *al-maʿrūf bi*-Čāwūšzāda (d. 1105/1693–94) on inheritance law. (3) *Al-Lumaʿ* [*al-yasīra*] *fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, on mathematics, by Šihāb al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Hāʾim al-Faraḍī al-Maʿarrī al-Maqdisī (d. 815/1412); see GAL 2/125; ĞŠḤ 3/1784. |
| **line 34** | |
| **(82)** *Ǧarīdat farāʾiḍ fī qiṭʿa* | A work by Ṣāliḥ Afandī (d. after 1043/1633–34) on inheritance law, published in 1269/1852. |
| **(83)** *Mawlid šarīf fī qiṭʿa* | Most likely *al-Mawlid al-nabawī al-šarīf* by Ibn Ḥağar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567), which has been published. |
| **(84)** *Aḥkām ǧanāʾiz fī qiṭʿa* | *Aḥkām al-ǧanāʾiz*, most likely a work on Ḥanafite law by the otherwise unknown Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Būlawī. See GALS 2/952 no. 49; see also Schubert and Würsch, *Handschriften des Orientalischen Seminars*, no. 28. |
| **(85)** *Šarḥ Birkawī fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573) on an unspecified text. |
| **(86)** *Šifāʾ al-qulūb li-ʿAbd Allāh Afandī fī qiṭʿa* | The identity of this work remains unclear. |
| **lines 34–35** | |
| **(87)** *Maṭlūb al-ʿābidīn fī qiṭʿa* | The identity of this work remains unclear. |
| **line 35** | |
| **(88)** *Ḏuḫr al-ʿābidīn fī qiṭʿa* | *Badr al-wāʿiẓīn wa-ḏuḫr al-ʿābidīn* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Amīn al-Dīn b. Malakšāh b. Firište (d. 854/1450); see GALS 2/315f. |

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| **(89)** *Taḏkirat al-awliyāʾ wa-ġayrihā fī qiṭʿa* | *Taḏkirat al-awliyāʾ* by the sixth/twelfth-century Persian mystical poet Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, with some further unspecified texts. See EncIran, s.v. "Taḏkerat al-Awliāʾ" (M. Esteʿlami). |
| **(90)** *Kitāb Sipāhī al-Miṣrī wa-ġayrihi min al-ṭibb fī qiṭʿa* | The identity of this work, like that of the other unspecified tracts on medicine, remains unclear. |
| **(91)** *ʿUmdat al-nisāʾ maʿa Risālat Kamāl Pāšā Zāda fī qiṭʿa* | Most likely a mistake for *ʿUmdat al-nussāk fī faḍl al-siwāk* by ʿAlī b. Taqī l-Dīn al-Ḥalīğī (d. after 1112/1700–1), with an unspecified epistle by Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad Kamāl Pāšā Zāda ("Ibn Kamāl Bāšā," d. 940/1534), most likely his *Ruğūʿ al-šayḫ ilā ṣibāh fī l-quwwa wa-l-bāh*. See GAL 2/601 no. 103. |
| **line 36** | |
| **(92)** *Šarḥ al-Ğazarī bi-l-turkiyya fī qiṭʿa* | A commentary, in Ottoman Turkish, on Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ğazarī's (d. 833/1429) popular work on the recitation of the Qurʾān, *al-Muqaddama al-ğazariyya*; see GAL 2/201ff. |
| **(93)** *Šarḥ Miškāt al-maṣābīḥ li-ʿAlī al-Qārī fī ʿašara qiṭʿāt* | *Miškāt al-maṣābīḥ* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫaṭīb al-Tabrīzī, a popular supplement to the *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, a *ḥadīṯ* collection composed in 737/1336 on the basis of seven earlier canonical collections; written by Muḥyī l-Sunna Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Farrāʾ al-Baġawī (d. 516/1122). See ĞŠḤ 3/1998; GAL 1/364; 2/195; GALS 1/620ff. ʿAlī b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad al-Qāriʾ al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605) wrote a supercommentary on the work, entitled *Mirqāt al-mafātīḥ šarḥ Miškāt al-maṣābīḥ*; see SW 2/392 no. 3219; ĞŠḤ 3/2000; GAL 1/364. All of these works have been published. |

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