The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition

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MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294: A Guide to Zaydī *Kalām*-Studies during the Ṭāhirid and Early Qāsimite Periods (Mid-15th to Early 18th Centuries)¹

Gregor Schwarb

Introduction

This article offers a bibliographical aperçu of Zaydī *kalām*-studies in the period between the Banū Ṭāhir (middle of the 9th/15th century) and the end of the first century of the Qāsimī dynasty (early 12th/18th century) based on MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294.² This codex contains ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nağrī’s as yet unedited *K. Mirqāt al-anzār* which for almost three centuries constituted the backbone of Zaydī *kalām*-studies.³ The body of the text is surrounded by extensive marginal notes (*ḥawāṣī*) which mostly consist of quotations from a wide variety of Zaydī and Sunnī sources dating from

- 1 This study was prepared within the framework of the ERC Advanced Grant Project “Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam”. It is a revised version of a paper read at the International Workshop of *The Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative* (YMDI), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 9–10 May 2012.
- 2 For a brief description of the manuscript see Florian Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften, Band 1*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2007, pp. 445–446 no. 234. The manuscript may be viewed at <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00038600/images/> [consulted 30/11/2013].
- 3 According to ‘Alī al-Mūsawī Nağād, *Turāt al-Zaydiyya*, Qum, Ma’had Dirāsāt al-Adyān wa-l-Maḍāhib al-Islāmiyya, 2005, p. 156, n. 2, an edition of this seminal text was announced about ten years ago by Markaz al-Turāt wa-l-Buḥūt al-Yamanī in Ṣan‘ā’.—A separate study will have to determine the exact relationship between the curricular status of *K. Mirqāt al-anzār* and the status of the other major manual of *uṣūl al-dīn* during the early Qāsimī period, *K. al-Asās li-taṣḥīḥ ‘aqa’id al-Akyās* by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620), both with regard to their respective position in Zaydī curricula of *uṣūl al-dīn* and with regard to differences in doctrinal matters. *K. al-Mi’rāj fī ṣarḥ al-Minhāj* by Imām al-Hādī ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan (d. 900/1494–1495) was usually studied alongside *K. Mirqāt al-anzār*.

FIGURE 6.1 MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294, f. 30^v

the 4th/10th century up to the copy date of the manuscript in 1108/1696.⁴ In contrast to the early reception of Bahšamī *kalām* among the Zaydīs in Yemen during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, which has been the focus of several studies over the last few decades,⁵ the subsequent periods remain largely unexplored.⁶ The sources of this period, which have yet to be investigated, provide a window into an important moment in the history of Muslim *kalām*. They are remarkable for their intellectual vitality, their engagement with and critical reception of multiple rival intellectual traditions and contemporaneous scholarly trends and the accordingly dense network of intertextualities they display. This article represents the first step toward filling this lacuna in the intellectual history of the Islamic world in general and of Yemen in particular.

The early 9th/15th century—with the weakened Rasūlid state abandoning its effort to control Upper Yemen and retrenching to the south, and the Ṭāhirid successor state being occupied with defending coastal towns against Portuguese incursions—has at times been described as the starting point of a gradual process during which a growing number of Yemenite Zaydī scholars applied themselves to studying Sunnī literature in addition to the traditional Zaydī school texts.⁷ This assessment tends to discount the numerous examples

4 See below, section 3.2., for a list of the works quoted or paraphrased in the *hawāšī* of MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294.

5 See Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1965; Gregor Schwarb, “Mu‘tazilism in the Age of Averroes”, in *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the Sixth/Twelfth Century*, ed. P. Adamson, London, The Warburg Institute, 2011, pp. 251–282; Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “The literary-religious tradition among 7th/13th century Yemenite 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), pp. 165–222; Jan Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya: Die naturphilosophischen Überlegungen des al-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣāṣ*, Leiden, Brill, 2013, pp. 6–7.

6 There are a few studies in Arabic and Persian dedicated to the later period. My *Handbook of Mu‘tazilite Authors, Works and Manuscripts* records roughly 750 *kalām*-treatises belonging to the Zaydī-Mu‘tazilī tradition in Yemen between the 7th/13th and the 15th/21st centuries. For a convenient periodisation of Zaydī *kalām* literature see my “Mu‘tazilism in a 20th century Zaydī Qur‘ān commentary”, *Arabica* 59 (2012), pp. 395–402.

7 See Nağād, *Turāt al-Zaydiyya*, pp. 145–146 (“*al-qarn al-tāsi‘: al-īnfitāḥ al-madhabī wa-l-ittitāḥ naḥwa ahl al-Sunna*”). This verdict is mostly due to the education, the doctrinal stance and the literary output of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436; Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. al-Imām al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Šahārī (d. 1152/1739–1740), *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya [al-Kubrā]* (*wa-yusammā Nasamāt al-aṣḥār fi ṭabaqāt ruwāt al-aḥbār*), part III (*Bulūğ al-murād ilā ma‘rifat al-isnād*), ed.

of Yemenite Zaydī scholars from the 6th/12th to 8th/14th centuries who devoted themselves to the study of Sunnī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* literature.⁸

It was the first Ottoman occupation (945 [954]/1538 [1547]–1038 [1045]/1629 [1636]), and, especially, the territorial expansion of the Qāsimī state after the final eviction of the Ottomans in 1636, which brought about a massive increase

‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abbās al-Waḡīh, 3 vols, Amman, Mu’assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Ṭaqāfiyya, 2001 [hereafter ṬZK], pp. 896–902 no. 556; for his Sunnī teachers and his *riḥalāt fī ṭalab al-‘ilm* see ṬZK, p. 899, 1367, 1458, 1514, 1586, 1595). He has been described as “the first Traditionist scholar” in the lineage of Sunnī Traditionists of highland Yemen, i.e. “scholars who argued that the Sunnī canonical *ḥadīth* collections were unconditionally authoritative in matters of religion.” (see Bernard Haykel, *Revival and Reform: The legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkānī*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 10–12, 41–46 [10]). Note, however, that Ibn al-Wazīr also had a very thorough education in Zaydī-Mu’tazilī *uṣūl*. See the chapter dedicated to ‘Ibn al-Wazīr’ in Aḥmad Maḥmūd Ṣubḥī, *Fī ‘ilm al-kalām: Dirāsa falsafīyya li-‘ārā’ al-firaq al-Islāmiyya fī uṣūl al-dīn*, vol. 3: *al-Zaydiyya*, Beirut, Dār al-Nahḍa al-‘Arabiyya, 1411/1991, pp. 347–395 (378 ff.) and Aḥmad b. (al-Imām al-Hādī) al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā l-Qāsimī (d. 1375/1956), *al-‘Ilm al-wāṣim fī l-radd ‘alā ḥafawāt al-rawḍ al-bāsim*, Ṣan‘ā’, Mu’assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī l-Ṭaqāfiyya, 2008.

- 8 In ṬZK, pp. 1309–1735 (see below n. 12), the following pre-9th/15th-century Zaydī scholars (up to Ibn al-Wazīr) are mentioned to have studied with Sunnī teachers: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Ulayy b. ‘Isā b. Ḥamza Ibn Wahhās (d. 556/1161; ṬZK, pp. 105–106 no. 689), a teacher of the Qāḍī Ġāfar b. Aḥmad in 555/1160, with Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḥwārazmī (d. 536/1141) (p. 774, 1651); ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Akwa’ (ṬZK, pp. 698–703 no. 416) with ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣan‘ānī (d. after 600/1204) in 598/1202 (p. 1523); Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254; ṬZK, 421–424 no. 247) with Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 676/1277–1278) (p. 1434); Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Ṣawarī (d. 690/1291; ṬZK, pp. 477–478 no. 279) with ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd al-Kuṭbī (d. 650/1252) (p. 1536); Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Sirāḡī (d. 690/1291; ṬZK, pp. 1252–1253 no. 791) and other Zaydī scholars with the Yemenite Ṣāfi‘ī Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. ‘Uḡayl al-Ṣaḡīr (d. 690/1291) (p. 1430); Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abī l-Riḡāl (d. 730/1330; ṬZK, pp. 972–981 no. 615) with the ‘Irāqī Ṣāfi‘ī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārūṭī (d. 694/1295) in Mecca 688/1289 (p. 1345); Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar (d. 728/1328; BT, p. 825 ff. no. 526) with the Ṣāfi‘ī ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣaḡḍarī (d. 719/1319) (p. 1483); Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ilhānī (ṬZK, pp. 476–477 no. 278), a teacher of Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza, with Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥayr al-Ṣammāḥī (d. 729/1329) (p. 1351); Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh ‘al-Ḡazzāl’ (d. ca. 740/1339; ṬZK, pp. 1001–1006 no. 631) with the ‘Irāqī Ṣāfi‘ī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ġarabardī (d. 746/1346) (p. 1348); Imām Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348–1349; ṬZK, pp. 1224–1232 no. 780) with the Meccan Ṣāfi‘īs Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. 722/1322) (p. 1315) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. 730/1330) (p. 1641); Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Awzarī al-Ṣa’dī (d. 810/1407–1408; ṬZK, pp. 135–137 no. 51) with the Ṣāfi‘īs Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥikmī (d. 793/1391) (p. 1319) and Muḥammad b. Munīr al-Zayla‘ī (d. 739/1339) (p. 1650); Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436; ṬZK, pp. 226–232 no. 115) and al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 822/1419; ṬZK, pp. 1181–1185 no. 748), with the Yemenite Ḥanafī Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Ulwī (d. 825/1422) (p. 1458).

in the level of interaction between Zaydī scholars in Upper Yemen and Šāfiʿī Sunnīs in Lower Yemen and exposed much larger segments of Zaydī scholars to diverse strands of Sunnī scholarship.⁹ From this point, some Zaydis even adopted Sunnī positions wholesale. This gradual convergence between Zaydism and Sunnism triggered debates among Zaydī scholars over which sources were to be considered authoritative and which sources undermined the status of established Zaydī educational curricula.¹⁰ These debates had particularly profound bearings on the theological and political constituents of Zaydism and affected its legal tradition to a lesser extent.

In the realm of positive law, the doctrine of *taṣwīb*—which states that in situations of conflicting legal opinions among qualified scholars, all opinions must be considered correct—was widely accepted among Zaydī scholars and facilitated the amalgamation of multiple legal traditions and schools of law. Indeed, even prior to this point, Zaydism had a long tradition of assimilating components of Sunnī law, and several eminent Zaydī imāms had studied Ḥanafī law.¹¹ Even less problematic was the adoption of works by Sunnī authors in seemingly ‘innocuous’ ancillary disciplines such as lexicography, grammar or logic. A good deal of information about the frequency and continuity of interaction between Zaydī and Sunnī scholars may be gleaned from the second chapter of the third part of *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā* dedicated to this very topic and from Sunnī texts recorded in catalogues of Zaydī manuscript collections.¹²

9 The Qāsimī imamate was established in 1598 by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (d. 1029/1620). See Ismāʿīl Qāsim al-Ṭawr, *Binā’ al-dawla l-qāsimiyya fī l-Yaman fī ‘ahd al-Muʿayyad Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim*, 990/1582–1054/1644, *ma’a taḥqīq maḥṭūṭat al-Ġawhara l-munīra fī ġumal min ‘uyūn al-sira li-l-Muṭaḥhar b. Muḥammad al-Ġurmūzī*, Ṣanʿā, Muʿassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī l-Ṭaqāfiyya, 2008; Robert W. Stookey, *Yemen: The Politics of the Yemen Arab Republic*, Boulder, Westview, 1978, pp. 127–166. G. Rex Smith, *Studies in the Medieval History of the Yemen and South Arabia*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1997, articles nos. xv–xvi. idem, “Al-Yaman”, *EI*², vol. 11, p. 273.

10 Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 194–197. The debates about character and identity of the Zaydī *maḏhab* and questions of legal authority in the early 12th/18th century are part of this process; see Bernard Haykel and Aron Zysow, “What makes a *Maḏhab* a *Maḏhab*: Zaydī debates on the structure of legal authority”, *Arabica* 59 (2012), pp. 332–371.

11 See Schwarb, “Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes”, p. 256 with n. 26.

12 ṬZK, vol. 3, pp. 1309–1735: *fī ḍikr man rawā ‘anhu a’immatunā aw š’atuhum ‘an aḥad min ‘ulamā’ al-fuqahā’ min ahl al-sunna al-rāġi’īn ilā l-fuqahā’ al-arba’a wa-mā iṭṭala’nā ‘alayhi min asānīdihim*. Another seminal source abounding with information about the relation between Zaydī and Šāfiʿī-Ašʿarī scholars in the early Qāsimī State is Muṭaḥhar b. Muḥammad al-Ġarmūzī’s (d. 1077/1666) *Tuḥfat al-asmā’ wa-l-abṣār bi-mā fī l-sira al-Mutawakkiliyya min ġarāʾib al-aḥbār* (ed. ‘Ammān: IZbACF 2002) which contains the *sira* of Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim (d. 1087/1676).

In the domain of *uṣūl al-dīn*, however, *taṣwīb* was applicable neither to Zaydī-Muʿtazilī nor Sunnī-Aṣʿarī doctrine.¹³ Hence, attempts to accommodate Zaydī *uṣūl al-dīn* to Sunnī Aṣʿarism presented Zaydī scholars with a far more serious challenge. It potentially threatened the core of Zaydī identity, which is based on theological and political convictions rather than legal authority or a homogeneous body of law. Assimilating Zaydī *uṣūl al-dīn* and *ʿilm al-kalām* to Aṣʿarī theological doctrines would therefore be tantamount to relinquishing Zaydī identity.

The reception of an Avicennised Aṣʿarite *kalām* was not new to Zaydī scholars of the Ṭāhirid and Qāsimī periods. From the early 7th/13th century onwards, Yemenite Zaydī *mutakallimūn* started to grapple with the massive impact of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) works. The writings of Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348–1349), ʿImād al-Dīn al-Quraṣī (d. 780/1378–1379), Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437) and other eminent Zaydī scholars abound with references to Rāzī's œuvre and critical discussions of his theologico-philosophical positions.

What was new was the scale and the intensity of Zaydī exposure to Sunnī *kalām* literature. It called for new resources to steer Zaydī *mutakallimūn* safely between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aṣʿarī doctrines. Zaydī scholars learned to read the major *summae* and manuals of post-Avicennian Aṣʿarism “against the grain” and to play one Aṣʿarī scholar against another; selected passages in the works of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īǧī, Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, al-Šarīf al-Ġurġānī and other authors of influential Sunnī *kalām* compendia were adduced whenever their positions were deemed to be reconcilable with Zaydī theological doctrine or useful to clarify its exposition. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Naǧrī was a key figure and model for his successful negotiation between Zaydī *uṣūl (al-dīn/al-fiqh)* and non-Muʿtazilī Sunnī *kalām*.

1 ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Naǧrī: Life and Work

According to most sources, Faḥr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Naǧrī was born in 825/1422 in Ḥūt, the well-known urban settlement situated at an important crossroads halfway between Ṣanʿā and Ṣaʿda. Other sources

13 This does not imply that *uṣūl al-dīn* is beyond the realm of *iǧtihād*. Quite the contrary, according to Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā *ʿilm uṣūl al-dīn* is “*al-ḥāmis min al-ʿulūm al-muʿtabara fi l-iǧtihād* [...] *wa-huwa aḥamm al-muʿtabarāt ʿindanā*” (MS London, British Library, Or. 3937, f. 8b–9a).

claim that he was born in al-Qābil, a small village in Wādī Ḍahr, approximately 20 kilometers south of Ṣa'da where he was buried in 877/1472–1473.¹⁴ The various biographical accounts usually state that he began his education in *naḥw*, *fiqh* and the *uṣūlān* (scil. *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*) with his father¹⁵ and his elder brother 'Alī¹⁶ in Ḥūt where he spent his youth. Next, they mention his *ḥaġġ* to Mecca in Dū l-Ḥiġġa 848/March 1445 emphasizing the fact that he did not return to Yemen. Instead, he boarded a ship and embarked on a *riḥla fī ṭalab al-'ilm* to Mamlūk Cairo where he arrived three months later, in Rabī' 1 849/June 1445. On account of this *riḥla*, he is commonly referred to as *al-faqīh al-rahḥāl al-mutakallim alladī rahala ilā l-bilād wa-laqiya l-ṣuyūḥ*.¹⁷

- 14 The main sources for his life are: Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim (d. 1100/1688), *K. al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāġim 'ulamā' al-Zaydiyya al-ṭyāb* (= *K. al-Tabaqāt fī dīkr (faḍl) al-'ulamā' wa-'ilmihim* = *Tabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-Ṣuġrā*) [hereafter TṬṢ], MS (microfilmed) Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm al-Hādī; see 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Waġīh, *Maṣādir al-turāt fī l-maktabāt al-ḥāṣa fī l-Yaman*, Amman, Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī al-Ṭaqāfiyya, 2002 [hereafter MTMḤY], vol. 1, p. 514 no. 408; vol. 2, pp. 67–68; Ṣihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Abī l-Riġāl (d. 1092/1681), *Maṭla' al-budūr wa-maġma' al-buḥūr (fī tarāġim riġāl al-Zaydiyya)* [hereafter MB], ed. 'Abd al-Raḥīb Muṭahhar Muḥammad Ḥaġar, 4 vols, Ṣan'a', Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 1425/2004, vol. 3, pp. 129–133 no. 805; TṬZK, pp. 635–639 no. 383 (with further literature on p. 635, n. 5); Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Šawkānī (d. 1250/1835), *al-Badr al-Ṭālī bi-maḥāsin man ba'd al-qarn al-sābi'*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḥallāq, Damascus/Beirut, Dār Ibn Kaṭīr, 1427/2006 [hereafter BṬ], vol. 1, pp. 436–438 no. 272; 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibši, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman*, Abu Dhabi, al-Maġma' al-Ṭaqāfi, 2004² [hereafter MFY], pp. 29, 137 f., 226, 385, 425, 586; 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Waġīh, *A'lām al-mu'allifin al-Zaydiyya*, 'Ammān, Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī al-Ṭaqāfiyya (IZbACF), 1420/1999 [hereafter AMZ], pp. 616–618 no. 635; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Supplementbände 1–3, Leiden, Brill, 1937–1942 [hereafter GALS], vol. 2, p. 247 no. 8c. 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'ġam al-mu'allifin: tarāġim muṣannifi al-kutub al-'arabiyya*, Damascus, Maṭba'at al-Taraqqi, 1957–1961 [hereafter MM], vol. 6, p. 137; Qāsim b. Ḥasan al-Sarrāġi, *Rawā'i' al-buḥūt fī tāriḥ madīnat Ḥūt*, n.p., n.d., [http://www.imamzaid.com/books/hoth.chm (accessed 30/11/2013)], no. 167; Schwarb, "Mu'tazilism in a 20th Century Zaydī Qur'ān commentary", p. 400.
- 15 For his father, Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Naġrī (d. 852/1448), see TṬZK, no. 666; *Rawā'i' al-buḥūt fī tāriḥ madīnat Ḥūt*, no. 314.
- 16 For his brother, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Naġrī (d. 844/1441), who was himself a legal scholar of some standing, see *Rawā'i' al-buḥūt fī tāriḥ madīnat Ḥūt*, no. 219; MB, vol. 3, p. 329 no. 932; TṬZK, pp. 789–790 no. 490; AMZ, pp. 716–717 no. 770. He was apparently considerably older than 'Abd Allāh. He studied with Imām al-Mahdī from whom he received an *iġāza* in 822/1419.
- 17 MB, vol. 3, p. 129; TṬZK, p. 638.

Some sources stress that he was hiding his Zaydī identity during his stay in Cairo and purported to be a Ḥanafī scholar (*wa-tasattara muddata baqā'ihī bi-Miṣr, fa-lam yantasib ilā l-Zaydiyya wa-ntasaba ilā l-Ḥanafīyya*).¹⁸ This in turn would explain the oddity that al-Nağrī figures in the biographical dictionaries of Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Biqā'ī (d. 885/1480)¹⁹ and Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saḥāwī (d. 902/1497)²⁰ (*wa-li-hādā tarǧamahu al-Biqā'ī wa-l-Saḥāwī*).²¹

According to all biographical accounts, al-Nağrī studied a wide range of disciplines during his stay in Cairo. Al-Aḏud 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Šayrāmī (d. 880/1474)²² and Amīn al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Aqṣarā'ī (d. 880/1475) are mentioned as his teachers in Ḥanafī law. Consequently, both were included in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā* in the afore-mentioned section on Sunnī teachers of Zaydī scholars.²³ The same holds for Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šumunnī (d. 872/1468), an Alexandria born Ḥanafī scholar from a Mālikī family of Mağribī origin with whom al-Nağrī studied *'ilm al-ma'anī wa-l-bayān*.²⁴ Besides, he studied grammar (*naḥw wa-šarf*) with Abū Ḥaḥṣ 'Umar Ibn Qadīd al-Qalamṭā'ī (d. 856/1452)²⁵ and Abū l-Qāsim al-Nuwayrī (d. 857/1453), *manṭiq* (i.e. al-Kātibī's *Šamsīyya* and commentaries) with Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Taqī al-Ḥiṣnī (d. 881/1476),²⁶ *'ilm al-waqt* with 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Wafā'ī al-Miqāṭī (d. 876/1471), and *handasa* with Abū l-Faḍl al-Mağribī (d. 864/1460).²⁷ Al-Saḥāwī highlights al-Nağrī's study of al-Šarīf al-Ğurğānī's (d. 816/1413)²⁸ *Šarḥ al-Mawāqif* with the

18 BṬ, vol. 1, p. 437; *Rawā'ī' al-buḥūṭ* (above n. 14).

19 *Iḏḥār al-ʿaṣr li-asrār ahl al-ʿaṣr* (= *Tārīḫ al-Biqā'ī*), written as a *dayl* to Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī's (d. 852/1449) *Inbā' al-Ğumr bi-abnā' al-ʿumr*, covering the years 853/1449–879/1474–1475, under the year 853/1449. The edition in three volumes by Muḥammad Sālīm b. Šadīd al-ʿAwfī (Cairo/Giza, 1412/1992–1414/1993) only comprises the years Muḥarram 855/Feb 1451–Dū l-Ḥiğga 865/Sep 1461. Walid Saleh has kindly checked the extant *musawwada*-manuscript of the first part of the *Iḏḥār*, but was unable to find the entry on al-Nağrī.

20 *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahlī l-qarni l-tāsi'*, ed. Cairo, Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1354/1935, vol. 5, p. 62.

21 BṬ, p. 437; MB, vol. 3, pp. 130–131.

22 Misspelled as 'al-Šayrāfi' in ṬZK, p. 636.

23 ṬZK, pp. 1708–1709 no. 898 (al-Šayrāmī). ṬZK, p. 1705 no. 894 (al-Aqṣarā'ī). See above n. 12.

24 ṬZK, pp. 1706–1708 no. 897.

25 ṬZK, p. 1701 no. 893.

26 Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. 11, pp. 76–77 no. 212.

27 Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. 9, pp. 180–188 no. 466.

28 On him see now Josef van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit: Leben und Werk des 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ğurğānī* (gest. 816/1413), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2013. 70 years before al-

above-mentioned al-Taḳī al-Ḥiṣnī²⁹ and Ġābir b. Aflah's *K. al-Tabṣira* with al-Ġaḡmīnī.³⁰

For our purposes, al-Nağrī's studies with al-Taḳī al-Ḥiṣnī deserve particular attention. According to al-Saḥāwī,³¹ al-Taḳī al-Ḥiṣnī spent five years in Herat studying at the newly built Timurid *madrassa* inaugurated by Šāh-Ruḥ in 813/1410–1411.³² With Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ġāḡarmī (d. 864/1459), a student of Ġalāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥallāḡ (d. 823/1420) (a student of al-Šarīf al-Ġurḡānī), he studied the works of 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Īǧī, al-Šarīf al-Ġurḡānī's *Šarḥ al-Mawāqif* and a commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *Ṭawālī' al-anwār*, most probably Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 749/1348) *Maṭālī' al-anzār 'alā Ṭawālī' al-anwār*.³³ In 845/1441–1442, only four years before al-Nağrī's arrival in Cairo, al-Taḳī al-Ḥiṣnī returned to Egypt and took up a teaching position at al-Azhar.³⁴

It is unclear how long al-Nağrī stayed in Cairo. Judging from what al-Biqā'ī writes under the year 853AH, al-Nağrī was still in Cairo at the beginning of that year (February 1449). He probably returned to Yemen later that year, after more than four years of study in Cairo. *Maṭla' al-budūr* and *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-ṣuġrā/al-kubrā* all mention that he was the first to introduce certain books into Yemen, and specifically refer to Ġamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh

Nağrī, al-Ġurḡānī had himself spent four years studying in Cairo between 776/1374 and 779/1377 (see *ibid.*, pp. 22–25). *Šarḥ al-Mawāqif* was completed in 807/1405 in Samarqand.

- 29 The names of al-Nağrī's teachers got mixed up in the sources: according to al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmī'*, al-Nağrī studied *Šarḥ al-Mawāqif* with al-Ġaḡmīnī who was, however, an astronomer. According to ṬZK he studied the book with "al-Ḥuqaynī" which should be read as "al-Ḥiṣnī" (see below).
- 30 He likely is a descendant of the famous 14th century astronomer Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Ġaḡmīnī.
- 31 See above n. 26.
- 32 See Maria Eva Subtelny and Anas B. Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995), pp. 210–236 (212–214).
- 33 Al-Ġāḡarmī and al-Taḳī al-Ḥiṣnī also appear in *isnāds* of the Šāfi'ī-Aṣ'arī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567; ṬZK, pp. 1370–1428 no. 845) who is said to have transmitted the works of al-Taftāzānī and al-Šarīf al-Ġurḡānī to some Zaydī scholars (see ṬZK, p. 1372, 1412–1413, where al-Taḳī al-Ḥiṣnī is referred to as "Šayḥ al-Šāfi'iyya al-Taḳī b. Šāḍī"). In the *isnād* relating to the works of al-Šarīf al-Ġurḡānī his name is misspelled as 'al-Taḳī al-Ḥifṣkī', in the *isnād* relating to al-Īǧī's influential commentary on Ibn al-Ḥāḡib's *Muḥtaṣar Muntahā al-su'l* as 'al-Taḳī b. Sādī al-Ḥuqayfakī' (*ibid.*).
- 34 On the way back he was robbed of all the books he had acquired during his *riḥla*.

b. Yūsuf Ibn Hišām's (d. 761/1360) *Muġnī l-labīb* ('an kutub al-a'arīb) (*huwa awwal man qaddama bi-Muġnī l-labīb min Miṣr ilā l-Yaman, tumma wašala bihi al-Rīmī al-Šāfi'ī ba'dahu ilā Šan'a*).³⁵ It is likely that he was also the first to introduce al-Šarīf al-Ġurġānī's *Šarḥ al-Mawāqif*, Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī's (d. 792/1390) *Šarḥ al-'Aqā'id al-nasaḥiyya* and similar works to Upper Yemen.³⁶ Both are repeatedly quoted in *K. Mirqāt al-anzār* and later became important reference texts in Zaydī theological works of the Qāsimī period. According to some reports, al-Naġrī wrote his *Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Baḥr [al-zaḥḥār]* (= *K. Mirqāt al-anzār*) on his way back from Cairo to Yemen (*šannaftuhu fī safarī qāfil^{an} min Miṣr*).³⁷

After his return from Egypt, al-Naġrī attached himself to Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Muṭaḥhar b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (d. 879/1474), an eminent student of Imām al-Mahdī.³⁸ Al-Mutawakkil's intellectual profile and the range of *uṣūl*-works he studied and taught share many commonalities with al-Naġrī's formation in the *uṣūl*-sciences.³⁹ During this period, al-Naġrī forged a close collaboration with 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bukurī (d. 882/1478).⁴⁰ Together with Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥālidī (d. 880/1475; ʾZK, p. 203f. no. 96), they formed the scholarly core group in the entourage of al-Mutawakkil.⁴¹ Al-Naġrī and al-Bukurī co-authored a commentary on the introduction

35 ʾZK, p. 639. For *Muġnī l-labīb* see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* 1–2. Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage, Leiden, Brill, 1943–1949 [hereafter GAL], vol. 2, p. 23; GALS, vol. 2, p. 17.

36 I am not aware of any reference to these works in Zaydī literature prior to al-Naġrī's *Mirqāt al-anzār*.

37 ʾZK, p. 637.

38 On al-Mutawakkil see ʾZK, pp. 1130–1134 no. 712; BT, pp. 865–866 no. 556. Al-Mutawakkil's imāmate was rivalled by al-Naṣīr b. Muḥammad. In the 860s the ʾTāhirid took full advantage of this rivalry and temporarily even gained control over Šan'a as they did later on from 910/1505 till 923/1517.

39 His study of Zaydī literature was based on the works of Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā. Among the Sunnī works which he studied figure three commentaries on al-Qazwīnī's *Talḥiṣ al-Miftāḥ*, including al-Taftāzānī's *Muṭawwal*, al-Īǧī's commentary on Ibn al-Ḥāǧib's *Muḥtaṣar Muntahā al-su'l* and several supercommentaries, al-Subkī's *Raf' al-Ḥāǧib*, al-Iṣbahānī's *Bayān al-Muḥtaṣar*, and so forth (ʾZK, pp. 1131–1132). Ibn al-Ḥāǧib's *Muḥtaṣar* and its commentaries became a mainstay of Zaydī *uṣūl al-fiqh* in the 9th/15th century in addition to the earlier Zaydī-Mu'tazilī tradition.

40 ʾZS, vol. 2, p. 73; MB, vol. 3, pp. 330–334 no. 935; BT, pp. 531–532 no. 333; AMZ, pp. 709–710 no. 760; MM, vol. 7, pp. 180–181; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 441.

41 *Wa-kānā ma' al-Ḥālidī quṭb dawlatihi* (MB, vol. 3, p. 331).

of *al-Bayān al-šāfi*⁴² by Yahyā b. Aḥmad Ibn Muẓaffar (d. 875/1470), another notable student of Imām al-Mahdī,⁴³ and a widely read treatise on the imāmate.⁴⁴

Apart from his *uṣūl*-works, al-Nağrī also wrote on grammar (*Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Tashīl li-bn Mālik*)⁴⁵ and logic (*Hidāyat al-mubtadi' wa-bidāyat al-muhtadī*).⁴⁶ First and foremost, however, he is known for his legal treatises which have attracted much attention beyond the narrow confines of Zaydī scholarship: *Šāfi al-'alīl fī šarḥ al-ḥamsimī'ati āya min al-tanzīl*⁴⁷ and the unfinished⁴⁸ *K. Mi'yār aḡwār al-aḡḥām fī l-kašf'an munāsabāt al-aḡkām* which both betray distinctive marks of his studies in Cairo.⁴⁹

42 MFY, p. 218, 227, gives the title of *Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Bayān al-šāfi* as *al-Bustān al-ḡāmi' li-l-fawākih al-ḥisān*.

43 MB, vol. 4, pp. 486–487 no. 1325; TZK, pp. 1205–1206 no. 764; AMZ, pp. 1092–1093 no. 1168; GALS, vol. 2, p. 244 no. 5. Muḥammad b. Šalāḥ al-Falakī al-Farā'īdī (d. 1073/1662–1663) is quoted as saying that al-Bukurī excelled al-Nağrī in the domain of *uṣūl al-dīn*, while al-Nağrī excelled al-Bukurī in *uṣūl al-fiqh*: *Wa-šannaḡā ḡamī'an šarḥan li-Muqaddimat al-Bayān, fa-l-Bukurī šaraḡa uṣūl al-dīn wa-l-Nağrī šaraḡa uṣūl al-fiqh* (MB, vol. 3, p. 330; TZK, p. 638). *Al-Bayān al-šāfi* is a multi-volume legal work based on Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muẓaffar's (d. 796/1394) *al-Burḥān al-kāfi* with an *uṣūl*-introduction. TZK, p. 638 and MB, vol. 3, p. 130, erroneously attribute *Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Baḡr al-zahḡār* to al-Nağrī and al-Bukurī due to a confusion with *Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Bayān*.

44 *Wa-qad taḡārā al-Fāḡilān ḡādān fī miḡmār wāḡid fī mas'alat al-imāma wa-ḡiya mas'āl dā'ira bayna l-nās* (MB, vol. 3, pp. 330–331). See Muḥammad Yahyā Sālim 'Azzān, "Qirā'a fī naẓariyyat al-imāma 'inda l-Zaydiyya", *al-Masār* 9 (1423/2002), pp. 1–49 (<http://yemenhrc.info/Files/ALMasarArticles/77.pdf>) [consulted 30/11/2013]; idem (ed.), *Ḥiwār fī l-imāma*, Šan'a', Markaz al-Turāt wa-l-Buḡūt al-Yamanī, 1424/2003 (with texts by al-Nağrī, al-Bukurī, 'Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan, and Šārim al-Dīn Ibrāḡim al-Wazīr). 'Azzān was imprisoned during the Ša'da wars after 2004 because of the political sensitivity of his research.

45 ḡamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāḡ Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274), *Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa-takmil al-maḡāšid*. MFY, p. 385.

46 MFY, p. 586.

47 Ed. (first part only) Aḡmad b. 'Alī b. Aḡmad al-Šāmī, Šan'a'/Beirut, Maktabat al-ḡil al-ḡadid/Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Taḡāfiyya, 1986. This edition has been severely criticised as "pro-Sunni" and "anti-Zaydi". The remaining parts of the book have been edited in various M.A. and doctoral theses (see <http://www.yemen-nic.info/contents/studies/detail.php?ID=23703> and <http://www.quran-c.com/display/Disptitle.aspx?UID=5912&CID=177> [consulted 30/11/2013]). MFY, p. 29.

48 According to a note at the end of MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1282, f. 75b, al-Nağrī died soon after completing *bāb al-ibāḡa (waṡala l-Faḡih fī ta'līf ḡādā l-kitāb ilā ḡādā l-mawḡi' wa-tuwuffiyya)*.

49 *K. Mi'yār aḡwār al-aḡḥām* (a manuscript of which may be viewed at <http://makhtota.ksu>

2 K. Mirqāt al-anzār

Al-Nağrī's principal *uṣūl*-work, written in 853/1449–1450, is known under various titles:

- *K. Mirqāt al-anzār al-muntaza' min Ġāyāt al-afkār al-kāšif li-ma'ānī muqaddimat* (/dībāğat) *al-Baḥr al-zahḥār* [‘alā tawḥīdāt al-Wāḥid al-Qaḥḥār]
- *Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Baḥr* [al-zahḥār]
- *Šarḥ al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aqā'id*
- *Šarḥ al-Qalā'id al-muntaza' min al-Durar al-farā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aqā'id*
- *Šarḥ al-Nağrī*⁵⁰
- *Šarḥ al-Nağrī 'alā Muqaddimat al-Baḥr* / *Šarḥ al-Nağrī 'alā l-Qalā'id*

Mirqāt al-anzār is a commentary on the second introductory section (*K. al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aqā'id*) of *K. al-Baḥr al-zahḥār al-ğāmi' li-maḍāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā's (d. 840/1436–1437) comprehensive digest of Zaydī-Hādawī law preceded by six introductory sections (*dībāğā/muqaddima*).⁵¹ It is not, however, excerpted (*muntaza'*) from the second book (*K.*

.edu.sa/makhtota/3138/1 [consulted 30/11/2013]) was the subject of two M.A. theses submitted at Egyptian universities: 'Abd Allāh 'Umar Aḥmad al-Ğurūw, *K. Mi'yār aġwār al-afḥām fī l-kašf 'an munāsabat al-aḥkām, ta'lif 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nağrī al-Yamānī al-mutawaffī* 877h: *taḥqīq wa-dirāsa*, Cairo University, Kulliyyat Dār al-'Ulūm, Qism al-Šarī'a al-Islāmiyya, 1992 (<http://www.islamfeqh.com/Kshaf/List/ViewRasaelDetails.aspx?RasaelID=992>) [consulted 30/11/2013]; 'Abd al-Ḥafīz 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Rumayma, *Maqāsid al-šarī'a 'ind al-Zaydiyya: Dirāsa taṭbīqīyya fī fiqh al-'Allāma 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nağrī al-Yamānī*, University of Alexandria, 2010 (http://marebpress.net/news_details.php?sid=24208&lng=arabic) [consulted 30/11/2013]. According to al-Rumayma al-Nağrī's *Mi'yār* was influenced by two of the most prominent precursors of the *maqāsid al-šarī'a* and *maṣāliḥ al-qawā'id* tradition, namely 'Izz al-Dīn ('Abd al-'Azīz) b. 'Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1263) and the latter's student Šihāb al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285). MFY, p. 226.

50 “*Šarḥ al-Nağrī*” is an ambiguous reference, because it is also used to designate 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nağrī's commentary on al-Mahdī's *K. al-Azhār* (*Šarḥ al-Nağrī 'alā l-Azhār = K. al-Anwār wa-ğalā' al-athmār al-mufattiḥ li-kamā'im al-Azhār al-muntaza' min al-Ghayth al-midrār*). The fact that Ṣalāḥ b. 'Alī al-Miḍwāḥī (d. after 1007/1598–1599; MB, vol. 2, p. 491) also wrote a commentary on the *muqaddima* of *K. al-Azhār* with the title “*Mirqāt al-anzār fī šarḥ muqaddimat al-Azhār*” has further contributed to the confusion in the catalogues.

51 For al-Mahdī see ẖZK, pp. 226–233 no. 115; BT, pp. 155–159 no. 77; AMZ, pp. 206–213 no. 199;

al-Durar al-farā'id) of *Ġāyāt al-afkār* as some title variants would seem to suggest. Because of its intermediary size between the very concise *K. al-Qalā'id* and the lengthy *K. al-Durar*, al-Nağrī's *Mirqāt al-anẓār* served both as an explanatory elucidation of the first and as an access gate to the second.

The position of *K. al-Qalā'id* within *al-Baḥr al-zahḥār* and of *K. al-Durar* within *Ġāyāt al-afkār* can be gleaned from the following synoptic table. *Ġāyāt al-afkār* consists of an introduction and nine disciplinary sections (*funūn*).⁵² *Funūn* 1–6 are commentaries on the six parts of the *Dibāġa* of *K. al-Baḥr al-zahḥār* (ed. Tāmir, vol. 1), while *funūn* 7–9 are commentaries on its principal legal part (*K. al-Aḥkām al-mutaḍammīn li-fiqh a'immat al-Islām*) and two of its appendices (ed. Tāmir, vols 2–6). In the general introduction to *Ġāyāt al-afkār*, Ibn al-Murtaḍā describes the encyclopaedic *Ġāyāt*-project as *Kitāb laṭīf yataḍammanu l-iḥāṭa bi-'ulūm al-islām ġamī'ihā, uṣūlihā wa-furū'ihā, wa-stiqṣā' masā'il al-ḥilāf bayna firaq al-umma wa-qawā'idihā allatī taṭbutu 'alayhā furū'uhā*.⁵³

GALS, vol. 2, pp. 244–246 no. 6; MFY, pp. 583–594; MTY, pp. 192–217. *K. al-Baḥr al-zahḥār* has been reprinted several times (Baghdād, Maktabat al-Muṭannā, 1947–1949; Beirut, Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1975). In the following I will quote according to ed. M.M. Tāmir, 6 vols, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1422/2001.—Other glosses and commentaries on *K. Qalā'id* are mostly dependent on *K. Mirqāt al-anẓār*: 1) Ġamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Dāwūd b. Aḥmad al-Ḥayyī (d. after 920/1514), *Šarḥ al-Qalā'id* (MB, vol. 3, pp. 238–239; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 444/1); 2) al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā Saylān al-Sufyānī (d. 1110/1698–1699), *Ḥāšiya 'alā l-Qalā'id fi taṣḥīḥ al-'aḳā'id* (TZK, pp. 350–351 no. 204; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 498/1); 3) Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Qāsim (d. 1099/1688), *al-Fawā'id 'alā l-Qalā'id* (MS Šan'ā, MJK(Š) 753, date: 1096/1685; Aḥmad 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayḥī, 'Abd al-Allāh al-Ḥibšī and 'Alī Wahhāb al-Ānsī, *Fihrist Maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Ġāmi' al-kabir Šan'ā*, 4 vols, Šan'ā, Wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-irṣād, 1404/1984 [hereafter cat. Ruqayḥī], p. 699; AMZ, pp. 1111–1118 no. 1187. MFY, p. 720 no. 89; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 491/1–2).

52 See MS London, British Library [hereafter BL], Or. 3937, f. 2a: *i'lam anna hādā l-kitāb al-ḡalīl qad ištamala 'alā tis'a mutūn fi tis'a funūn*. The same terminology is also used in the author's introduction, Or. 3937, f. 3a, ll. 4–12. The general introduction to *Ġāyāt al-afkār* is extant in MS BL Or. 3937, ff. 2b–22a. *Sifr/asfār*, by contrast, is used as a codicological unit.

53 MS BL Or. 3937, f. 2b.

<i>Ġāyāt al-afkār wa-nihāyāt al-anzār al-muḥīṭa bi-aḡā'ib al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār</i>	Underlying sections of <i>al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār</i> , ⁵⁴ [ed. M.M. Tāmīr, 6 vols, Beirut 1422/2001]
<i>Muqaddima</i> ⁵⁵	
1 <i>K. al-Munya wa-l-amal fī šarḥ K. al-Milal wa-l-niḥāl</i> ⁵⁶	<i>K. al-Milal wa-l-niḥāl</i> [vol. 1, pp. 26–51]
2 <i>K. al-Durar al-farā'id fī šarḥ K. al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aḡā'id</i> ⁵⁷	<i>K. al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aḡā'id</i> [vol. 1, pp. 52–113]
3 <i>K. Dāmiḡ al-awḥām fī šarḥ K. Riyādat al-afḥām fī laṭīf al-kalām</i> ⁵⁸	<i>K. Riyādat al-afḥām fī laṭīf al-kalām</i> [vol. 1, pp. 114–189]
4 <i>K. Minhāḡ al-wuṣūl fī šarḥ (/ilā taḥqīq) K. Mi'yār al-'uqūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl</i> ⁵⁹	<i>K. Mi'yār al-'uqūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl</i> [vol. 1, pp. 190–399]
5 <i>K. Yawāqūt al-siyar fī šarḥ K. al-Ġawāhir wa-l-durar fī Sīrat Sayyid al-bašar wa-aṣḥābihi al-'ašara al-ḡurar wa-'itratihi l-a'imma al-muntaḥabīn al-zuhar</i>	<i>K. al-Ġawāhir wa-l-durar fī sīrat Sayyid al-bašar wa-aṣḥābihi al-'ašr al-ḡurar wa-'itratihi al-a'imma al-muntaḥabīn al-zuhar</i> [vol. 1, pp. 400–455]
6 <i>K. al-Mustaḡād fī Šarḥ K. al-Intiqād li-l-āyāt al-mu'tabara fī l-iḡtihād</i>	<i>K. al-Intiqād li-l-āyāt al-mu'tabara fī l-iḡtihād</i> [vol. 1, pp. 456–504]
7 <i>K. Imād al-Islām fī šarḥ ḥadīṭ K. al-Aḥkām al-mutaḍammīn li-fiqh a'immat al-Islām</i>	<i>K. al-Aḥkām al-mutaḍammīn li-fiqh a'immat al-Islām</i> [vol. 2, p. 5 ff.]
8 <i>K. al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī šarḥ K. al-Durra al-munīra fī l-ḡarīb min fiqh al-sīra</i>	<i>K. al-Durra al-munīra fī l-ḡarīb min fiqh al-sīra</i> [vol. 6, pp. 701–718]
9 <i>K. Šifā' al-asqām</i> ⁶⁰ <i>fī šarḥ K. al-Takmila li-l-aḥkām wa-l-taṣfiya min bawāṭin al-ātām</i>	<i>K. al-Takmila li-l-Aḥkām wa-l-taṣfiya min bawāṭin al-ātām</i> [vol. 6, pp. 719–765] ⁶¹

54 *Al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār*, *Ġāyāt al-afkār*, and many manuscripts of *Mirqāt al-anzār* use acronyms (*rumūz*) to refer to the most important scholars (see ed. Tāmīr, vol. 1, pp. 7–24).

55 See above n. 52.

56 Ed. Muḥammad Ġawād Maškūr, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, 1979; besides, there are several independent editions of the well-known third part of *K. al-Munya wa-l-amal* (*Bāb ḍikr al-Mu'tazila wa-ṭabaqātihim*).

57 See the synoptic table of contents below.

58 See the synoptic table of contents below.

59 Ed. Aḥmad 'Alī Muṭaḥhar al-Māḥidhī, Ṣan'a', Dār al-Ḥikma al-Yamaniyya, 1412/1992.

60 Some manuscripts give the title as *Tamarāt al-akmām*.

61 Ed. 'Abd Allāh Hammūd Dirham al-'Izzī, 'Ammān, Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd ibn 'Alī al-Taḡāfiyya, 2002.

2.1 *Manuscripts of K. Mirqāt al-anzār*⁶²

The central position of *K. Mirqāt al-anzār* in the curriculum of Zaydī *uṣūl al-dīn* studies is reflected in the significant number of extant manuscript copies.⁶³ Only one manuscript dates from the 9th/15th century (MS no. 2), six others from the 10th/16th century (all dating before 959/1552). The vast majority (48) of the extant manuscripts date from the 11th/17th century, the first century of the Qāsimī dynasty, up to the copy date of MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294 (1108/1696). Three manuscripts were copied around the middle of the 12th/18th century. No copy is extant from the period between 1172/1759 (MS no. 57) and 1316/1898 (MS no. 66), followed by a copy from 1345/1926 (MS no. 32).⁶⁴

1. MS Berlin, State Library, Landberg 883, ff. 1a–232b; date: ca. 1100/1688; W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Siebenter Band: Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, Berlin, A.W. Schade, 1887 ff. [hereafter cat. Ahlwardt], vol. 4, p. 311 no. 4911; W. Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, Berlin 1887 [hereafter cat. KV], p. 33.⁶⁵
2. MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 151; ff. 3a–198a; date: 877/1472; cat. Ahlwardt, vol. 4, p. 311 no. 4912/1; cat. KV, p. 27.
3. MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 194/5; ff. 33b–164b; date: Thur, 12 Rabīʿ 11 1044/5 Oct 1634; cat. Ahlwardt, vol. 4, p. 312 no. 4912/2; cat. KV, p. 33.
4. MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 76; ff. 1a–144a; date: 1057/1647; cat. Ahlwardt, vol. 4, p. 312 no. 4912/3; cat. KV, p. 15.
5. MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 201/1; ff. 2a–115b; date: 1067/1657; cat. Ahlwardt, vol. 4, p. 312 no. 4912/4; cat. KV, p. 34.
6. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. A 40; ff. 146–233; date: 1042/1633; cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 2, p. 22 no. 40/11.⁶⁶

62 This list of manuscripts is based on my *Handbook*, no. 435/1.

63 Significantly shorter lists are given in GAL, vol. 2, p. 239₁₁; GALS, vol. 2, p. 245₁₁; MFY, pp. 137–138; and the various manuscript catalogues.

64 See below n. 87.

65 The colophon on f. 232b (Raḡab 1159/July 1746) refers to the last four folios of the manuscript only.

66 Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 4 vols, Vicenza, Neri Pozza Editore (vols 1–3), Cinisello Balsamo (Milano), Silvana Editoriale (vol. 4, ed. by R. Traini only) [vol. I: Antico Fondo and Medio Fondo, 1975; vol. II: Nuovo Fondo: Series A–D (Nos. 1–830), 1981; vol. III: Nuovo Fondo: Series E (Nos. 831–1295), 1995; vol. IV: Nuovo Fondo: Series F–H (Nos. 1296–1778), 2011.

7. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. B 56; ff. 2–109; date: 1071/1661; cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 2, p. 85 no. 180.
8. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. D 303; 173 ff.; date: 1001/1593; cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 2, p. 280 no. 559.
9. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. D 489/I; ff. 2–210; date: 1003/1594; cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 2, p. 374 no. 745/I.
10. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. E 132; ff. 4–65; date: 1043/1633; cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 3, p. 64 no. 962/I.
11. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. E 371/Add.a; ff. 224a–225a; date: 1077/1666; small extract only; cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 3, p. 150 no. 1201/Add.a.
12. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. E 407/II; ff. 99–282; date: 1041/1632; cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 3, p. 165 no. 1237/II.
13. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. F 11; 121 ff.; date: 1083/1672; cat. Traini, vol. 4, p. 7 no. 1306.
14. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. F 53; ff. 92–331; date: 1050/1640; cat. Traini, vol. 4, p. 21 no. 1348/II.
15. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. F 77; ff. 1–205a; date: 1067/1656; cat. Traini, vol. 4, p. 33 no. 1372/I.
16. MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. F 113; ff. 1–206; date: 1024/1615; cat. Traini, vol. 4, p. 53 no. 1408.
17. MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 6355/2; ff. 17–139a; date: 1054/1644–1645; Petrus Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands*, Leiden, Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1957, p. 39; Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden; Volume 7: Manuscripts Or. 6001–7000*, Leiden 2007, p. 139.
18. MS London, British Library, Or. 6266/4; ff. 132–323; date: 1035/1626; extensive marginal glosses; A.G. Ellis and E. Edwards, *A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts Acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894*, London 1912, p. 14.
19. MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294 (formerly Cod. arab. Glaser 78); 111 ff.; date: 1108/1696; cat. Sobieroj, pp. 445–446 no. 234.
20. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 704; 208 ff.; date: 1040/1631; cat. A.M. ʿĪsawī et al., *Fihris al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya li-Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya bi-l-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr, Ṣanʿāʾ*, Qum 1384š/2005, p. 391f.
21. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 683; ff. 27–159; date: 1044/1635; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 392.
22. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 700; 173 ff.; date of restoration: 1370/1951; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 392.

23. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 696; ff. 7–239; date: 1100/1689; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 392.
24. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 705; 131 ff.; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 392.
25. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 703; 311 ff.; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 393.
26. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 701; 146 ff.; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 393.
27. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 702; 264 ff.; date: 1061/1651; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 393.
28. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 706; 115 ff.; date: 1103/1691; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 393.
29. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 707; 108 ff.; date: 1086/1675; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 393.
30. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 708; 143 ff.; date: 1047/1637; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 393.
31. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 709; ff. 6–112; date: 1154/1741; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 393 f.
32. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 710; 216 ff.; date: 1345/1926; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 394.
33. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 711; ff. 11–243; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 394.
34. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya 695; 146 ff.; date: 1023/1614; cat. ʿĪsawī, p. 394.
35. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 177; ff. 75–290; date: 958/1551; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 665.
36. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 589; ff. 5–150; date: 920/1514; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 665.
37. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 719; 200 ff.; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 665.
38. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 723; 214 ff.; date: 1047/1637; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 740.
39. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 722; 165 ff.; date: 1001/1593; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 741.
40. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya, *Mağāmiʿ* no. 2; ff. 1–87; date: 1014/1605; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 741.
41. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 590; 199 ff.; date: 1057/1647; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 741.
42. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ġāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 737; 243 ff.; date: 1051/1642; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 742.

43. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat al-Ġāmi‘ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 591; 151 ff.; date: 1170/1756; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 742.
44. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat al-Ġāmi‘ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 592; 139 ff.; date: 1051/1641; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 742.
45. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat al-Ġāmi‘ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 593; 130 ff.; cat. Ruqayhī, 743.
46. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat al-Ġāmi‘ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 588; 195 ff.; cat. Ruqayhī, 743.
47. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat al-Ġāmi‘ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya, *Mağāmīr* no. 65; ff. 1–61; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 743.
48. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh b. Ismā‘īl Ġimḍān; cat. FMMḤ, p. 13 no. 12.
49. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Dārī 81; date: 1075/1664–1665; cat. FMMḤ, p. 326 no. 786.
50. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra; cat. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī, “Maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-mu‘arriḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra bi-Šan‘ā’”, *RIMA (Mağallat ma‘had al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya)* 19 i (1393/1973), p. 14 no. 40; cat. FMMḤ p. 206 no. 510.
51. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Muṭahhar (/al-Manšūr); 107 ff.; date: 925/1519; cat. “al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī šawwarathā bu‘ṭat al-Ma‘had ilā l-Ġumhūriyya al-‘Arabiyya al-Yamaniyya, 29/07–2/12/1974,” *RIMA (Mağallat ma‘had al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya)* 22 i (1396/1976), p. 54 no. 341; cat. FMMḤ, p. 378 no. 903.
52. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsi; date: 1070/1660; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 196 no. 13.
53. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsi; date: 1025/1616; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 196 no. 14/1;⁶⁷ = (?) IZbACF CD no. 279/3; 232 ff.
54. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsi; date: 1062/1652; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 198 no. 18/1.
55. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsi; date: 1095/1684; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 239 no. 100.
56. MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-Mutawakkil; date: 1094/1683; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 284 no. 14; IZbACF CD no. 431/2.
57. MS Ša‘da, Maktabat Āl al-Hāšimī; date: 1172/1759; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 349 no. 98/2.

67 The catalogue gives the title as *Mirqāt al-anzār al-muntaza‘ min Ġāyat al-afkār al-kāšif li-ma‘ānī muqaddimat al-Azhār*. This is likely to be a cataloguing error. A *Šarḥ* on the *muqaddima* of al-Mahdī’s *K. al-Azhār* with the title “*Mirqāt al-anzār*” was authored by Šalāḥ b. ‘Alī al-Miḍwāhī (d. after 1007/1598–1599; MB, vol. 2, p. 491). See above n. 50.

58. MS Ša'da, Maktabat Āl al-Hāšimī; date: 1075/1664–1665; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 364 no. 176/5; MF Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm al-Hādī; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 541 no. 504/1; MF Šan'ā', Maktabat Markaz Badr al-'Ilmī wa-l-Ṭaqāfī; date: 1075/1664–1665; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 256 no. 14; IZbACF CD no. 375/4.
59. MS Ša'da, Maktabat Āl al-Hāšimī; date: 953/1546; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 365 no. 177/2.
60. MS Ša'da, Maktabat Āl al-Hāšimī; date: 1062/1652; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 368 no. 188/1.
61. MS Ša'da, Maktabat Āl al-Hāšimī; date: 949/1542; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 385 no. 267/6; IZbACF CD no. 178/3.
62. MS Hiğrat Falalla, Maktabat Sirāğ al-Dīn 'Adlān; microfilm; date: 1084/1673; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 2, p. 55 no. 1.
63. MS Ḍaḥyān, Maktabat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāsimī; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 2, p. 186 no. 46.
64. MS Ša'da, Maktabat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥūtī; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 2, p. 197 no. 27.
65. MS Ša'da, Maktabat Mazār al-Imām Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq; 117 ff.; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 2, p. 454 no. 21; cat. 'Izzī, p. 27 no. 12.
66. MS Damāğ, Maktabat 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥūtī; 117 ff.; date: 1316/1898; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 2, p. 559 no. 10; IZbACF CD no. 361/2.
67. MS Šahāra, Maktabat Madīnat Šahāra; date: cat. MTMḤY, vol. 2, p. 617 no. 70.
68. MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. ar. 126 (formerly Glaser 183); date: 1050/1640–1641; cat. Grünert, p. 36 no. 128.
69. MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. ar. 187 (formerly Glaser 13); date: 1048/1638–1639; cat. Grünert, p. 36 no. 129.
70. MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. ar. 177 (formerly Glaser 84); date: ca. 1050/1640; cat. Grünert, p. 30 no. 94.

The location of the original manuscripts of the following reproductions has not yet been ascertained:⁶⁸

68 Over the last decades and especially during the Ša'da wars hundreds of Zaydī manuscripts have found their way to private and public collections in Saudi Arabia, often by way of illicit trading. Public libraries and research institutes with Zaydī manuscripts include the King Abdullah Ibn Abdulaziz Library at the Umm al-Qura University in Mecca (uqu.edu.sa/lib/digital_library/), the King Saud University (<http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa>), the Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University (<http://library.imamu.edu.sa/>), and the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies (<http://www.kff.com/>).

71. MS Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 13727-1; date: Jumādā I 1073/Dec 1662.
72. MS Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 13253.
73. MS Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 13772-1.
74. MS IZbACF CD no. 95/5; 121 ff.; date: 1077/1667.
75. MS IZbACF CD no. 239/3; n.d.
76. MS IZbACF CD, no. 395/3; 217 ff.; date: 921/1515; = Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 13251.
77. MS IZbACF CD no. 576/2; date: 1074/1664.

2.2.1 Structure of *K. al-Qalā'id*, *K. al-Durar al-farā'id* and *K. Mirqāt al-anzār*

Chapter headings ⁶⁹	<i>K. al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aḳā'id</i>		
	[ed. M.M. Tāmīr, Beirut 1422/2001, vol. 1, pp. 52–113]	<i>al-Durar al-farā'id</i> (= <i>al-fann al-tānī min Kitāb Ġāyāt al-afkār</i>)	<i>Mirqāt al-anzār</i> [MSS BL Or. 6266; Munich, Cod. arab. 1294]
<i>Muqaddimat K. al-Durar al-farā'id</i> (4 fuṣūl)		BL Or. 3956, f. 1b–4b BL Or. 3937, ⁷⁰ f. 64a–66a	
<i>Faṣl al-'ilm 'alā sabīl al-ḡumla</i>		BL Or. 3956, f. 1b–2b BL Or. 3937, f. 64a–65a	
<i>Faṣl ḥādā al-fann 'alā sabīl al-ḥuṣūṣ</i>			
<i>Bayān mā warada fī l-Kitāb wa-l-Sunna min al-ḥawḍ fī 'ilm al-kalām wa-l-ḥaṭṭ 'alayhi</i>		BL Or. 3956, f. 2b–3a BL Or. 3937, f. 65a	

69 312 *masā'il* in total. According to MS Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. E 407/11; ff. 97a and 98a–b, cat. Löfgren, vol. 3, p. 165 no. 1237/11, *K. Mirqāt al-anzār* comprises 183 *masā'il* only.

70 Cat. Rieu, p. 246f. no. 410; Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh al-'Amrī, *Maṣādir al-turāt al-yamanī fī l-Mathāf al-Barīṭānī*, Damascus, Dār al-Muḥtār, 1400/1980 [hereafter MTY], pp. 215–217 no. 410.

Chapter headings	<i>K. al-Qalā'id fī taṣṣiḥ al-'aḳā'id</i> [ed. M.M. Tāmir, Beirut 1422/2001, vol. 1, pp. 52–113]		
	<i>al-Durar al-farā'id</i> (= <i>al-fann al-tānī min Kitāb Ġāyāt al-aḳkār</i>)		<i>Mirqāt al-anzār</i> [MSS BL Or. 6266; Munich, Cod. arab. 1294]
<i>Mā warada 'an al-Ṣaḥāba</i>		BL Or. 3956, f. 3a–4a	
<i>fī l-'adl wa-l-tawḥīd</i>		BL Or. 3937, f. 65a–65b	
<i>wa-l-wa'd wa-l-wa'd</i>			
<i>wa-damm al-mubtadi'a</i>			
<i>wa-ta'yīnihim</i>			
<i>Ta'yīn al-qadr al-wāğib</i>		BL Or. 3956, f. 4a–4b	
<i>ma'rifatuhu min hādā l-'ilm</i>		BL Or. 3937, f. 65b–66a	
<i>Kitāb al-Tawḥīd</i> (45 masā'il)	52–61	BL Or. 3956, f. 4b–117a BL Or. 3937, f. 66a–138a	BL Or. 6266, f. 132b–176b Munich 1294, f. 1b–25a
<i>Muqaddima</i> (7 masā'il)	52–54	BL Or. 3956, f. 4b–30a BL Or. 3937, f. 66a–82a	BL Or. 6266, f. 132b–144a Munich 1294, f. 1b–5b
<i>Faṣl fī ṣiḳātihi</i> (23 masā'il)	54–59	BL Or. 3956, f. 30a–105b BL Or. 3937, f. 82a–130b	BL Or. 6266, f. 144a–167a Munich 1294, f. 5b–19b
<i>Faṣl fī l-asmā'</i> <i>wa-ma'āniḥā</i> (15 masā'il)	59–61	BL Or. 3956, f. 105b–117b BL Or. 3937, f. 130b–138a	BL Or. 6266, f. 167a–176a Munich 1294, f. 19b–25a
<i>Kitāb al-'Adl</i> (103 masā'il)	62–80	BL Or. 3956, f. 117b–end BL Or. 3937, f. 138a–end	BL Or. 6266, f. 176b–225b Munich 1294, f. 25a–54b
<i>Muqaddima</i> (7 masā'il)	62–63	BL Or. 3956, f. 117b–135b BL Or. 3937, f. 138a–150b	BL Or. 6266, f. 176b–181b Munich 1294, f. 25a–28a
<i>Faṣl fī l-irāda</i> (6 masā'il)	63–64	BL Or. 3956, f. 135b–147b BL Or. 3937, f. 150b–158b	BL Or. 6266, f. 181b–184b Munich 1294, f. 28a–30a

(cont.)

Chapter headings	<i>K. al-Qalā'id fi taṣḥīḥ al-'aḳā'id</i> [ed. M.M. Tāmir, Beirut 1422/2001, vol. 1, pp. 52–113]		
	<i>al-Durar al-farā'id</i> (= <i>al-fann al-tānī min Kitāb Ġāyāt al-afkār</i>)		<i>Mirqāt al-anzār</i> [MSS BL Or. 6266; Munich, Cod. arab. 1294]
<i>Faṣl fi l-kalām</i> (4 <i>masā'il</i>)	64–65	BL Or. 3956, f. 147b–156a BL Or. 3937, f. 158b–164a	BL Or. 6266, f. 184b–187a Munich 1294, f. 30a–31b
<i>Faṣl fi ḥalq al-af'āl</i> (22 <i>masā'il</i>)	65–68	BL Or. 3956, f. 156a–195b BL Or. 3937, f. 164a–189b	BL Or. 6266, f. 187a–196b Munich 1294, f. 31b–38a
<i>Faṣl fi l-aḡal wa-l-rizq</i> (29 <i>masā'il</i>)	68–74	BL Or. 3956, f. 195b–243a ⁷¹ BL Or. 3937, f. 189b–221a ⁷²	BL Or. 6266, f. 196b–211a Munich 1294, f. 38a–46b
<i>Faṣl fi l-altāf</i> (15 <i>masā'il</i>)	75–77	[MĜK(š) 585, 586, 576] (not seen) ⁷³	BL Or. 6266, f. 211a–218b Munich 1294, f. 46b–50b
<i>Faṣl fi l-ālām</i> (17 <i>masā'il</i>) [<i>Faṣl fi l-īwaḍ</i>]	78–80	MĜK(š) 585 (not seen)	BL Or. 6266, f. 218b–224b Munich 1294, f. 50b–54a ⁷⁴
<i>Faṣl fi masā'il mutaḡarriqa</i> (3 <i>masā'il</i>)	80	MĜK(š) 585 (not seen)	BL Or. 6266, f. 224b–225b Munich 1294, f. 54a–54b

71 MS BL Or. 3956, f. 243a: *tamma al-sifr al-awwal min Kitāb al-Durar al-farā'id fi šarḥ Kitāb al-Qalā'id*. *Sifr* is here a codicological unit [*al-sifr al-awwal min Kitāb al-Durar* = *al-sifr al-tānī min Ġāyāt al-afkār*].

72 MS BL Or. 3937, f. 221a: *tamma al-ġuz' al-awwal min ġuz'ayn min Kitāb al-Durar al-farā'id fi šarḥ Kitāb al-Qalā'id* [...]. *Yatlūhu faṣḥun fi l-altāf*.

73 Here starts the third *sifr* resp. the second part of *al-Durar al-farā'id*. See Maktabat al-Ġāmi' al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 585, cat. Ruqayhī, pp. 612–613; al-Kamālī, ed. *Imām al-Mahdī*, pp. 131–133.

74 The section on *īwaḍ* is introduced as a separate *faṣl* (MS BL Or. 6266, f. 221b = MS Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294, f. 52a).

Chapter headings	<i>K. al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥiḥ al-'aḳā'id</i> [ed. M.M. Tāmir, Beirut 1422/2001, vol. 1, pp. 52–113]			<i>al-Durar al-farā'id</i> (= <i>al-fann al-tānī min Kitāb Ġāyāt al-afkār</i>)	<i>Mirqāt al-anzār</i> [MSS BL Or. 6266; Munich, Cod. arab. 1294]
<i>Kitāb al-Nubuwwāt wa-mā yata'allaqu bi-hā</i> (29 masā'il)	81–86	MĠK(Ġ) 747 (not seen)	BL Or. 6266, f. 225b–239a Munich 1294, f. 54b–63a		
<i>Kitāb al-Wa'd wa-l-wa'id</i> (68 masā'il)	87–99	MĠK(Ġ) 747 (not seen)	BL Or. 6266, f. 239a–281a Munich 1294, f. 63a–87a		
<i>Muqaddima</i> (11 masā'il)	87–88	MĠK(Ġ) 747 (not seen)	BL Or. 6266, f. 239a–243b Munich 1294, f. 63a–65b		
<i>Faṣl fī l-muwāzana wa-l-iḥbāṭ wa-mā yata'allaqu bi-himā</i> (46 masā'il)	89–96	MĠK(Ġ) 747 (not seen)	BL Or. 6266, f. 243b–271a Munich 1294, f. 65b–81b		
<i>Faṣl fī l-asmā' al-šar'iyya wa-mā yata'allaqu bi-hā</i> (11 masā'il)	97–99	MĠK(Ġ) 747 (not seen)	BL Or. 6266, f. 271a–281a Munich 1294, f. 81b–87a		
<i>Kitāb al-Taḥqīq fī l-ikfār wa-l-tafsiq</i> (29 masā'il)	100–104	BL Or. 3840, ff. 1b–55a ⁷⁵	BL Or. 6266, f. 281a–295b Munich 1294, f. 87a–95b		
<i>Muqaddima</i> (3 fuṣūl)		BL Or. 3840, ff. 1b–4a			
<i>al-Kalām 'alā masā'il hādā l-kitāb</i> (—masā'il)		BL Or. 3840, ff. 4a–52b			
<i>Ḥātima yuḥtam</i> ⁷⁶ <i>bi-hā hādā l-kitāb</i> (—masā'il)		BL Or. 3840, ff. 52b–55a			

75 MS BL Or. 3840 (= Glaser 128); 177 ff.; date: 1174/1760; cat. Rieu, p. 250 no. 417; MTY, pp. 209–210 no. 417.

76 MS *taḥtim*.

(cont.)

Chapter headings	<i>K. al-Qalā'id fi taṣḥīḥ al-'aḳā'id</i> [ed. M.M. Tāmir, Beirut 1422/2001, vol. 1, pp. 52–113]		
	<i>al-Durar al-farā'id</i> (= <i>al-fann al-tānī min Kitāb Ġāyāt al-afkār</i>) <i>Mirqāt al-anzār</i> [MSS BL Or. 6266; Munich, Cod. arab. 1294]		
<i>Kitāb al-Imāma</i> (38 masā'il)	105–113	BL Or. 3840, ff. 55a–176b	BL Or. 6266, f. 295b–323b Munich 1294, f. 95b–111a
<i>Muqaddima</i> (27 masā'il)	105–110	BL Or. 3840, ff. 55a–160a	BL Or. 6266, f. 295b–315a Munich 1294, f. 95b–106b
<i>Faṣl fi l-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-naḥy 'an al-munkar</i> (7 masā'il)	111–112	BL Or. 3840, f. 160a–167b	BL Or. 6266, f. 315a–319b Munich 1294, f. 106b–108b
<i>Faṣl fi l-dār wa-aḥkāmiḥā</i> (4 masā'il)	112–113	BL Or. 3840, ff. 167b–176b ⁷⁷	BL Or. 6266, f. 319b–323b Munich 1294, f. 108b–111a

Other manuscripts of *K. al-Durar* include (selection only): (a) Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. E 54; ff. 51b–183; the first section only: *K. al-Tawḥīd* (53b–), *K. al-'Adl* (112b–); cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 3, p. 26 no. 884.—(b) Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. E 60; ff. 52b–178; date: 866/1462; the first section only: *K. al-Tawḥīd* (53b–), *K. al-'Adl* (109a–); cat. Löfgren/Traini, vol. 3, p. 29 no. 890.—(c) London, BL, Or. 3956 (= Glaser 250); 243 ff.; date: 836/1433; the first section only: *K. al-Tawḥīd* (4b–), *K. al-'Adl* (117b–); cat. Rieu, pp. 249–250 no. 415; MTY, p. 208 no. 415.—(d) London, BL, Or. 4020 (= Glaser 322); 207 ff.; date: 10th/16th cent.; the first section only: *K. al-Tawḥīd* (3b–), *K. al-'Adl* (104a–); cat. Rieu, p. 250 no. 416; MTY, pp. 208–209 no. 416.—(e) London, BL, Or. 3840 (= Glaser 128); 177 ff.; date: 1174/1760; comprises *K. al-Taḥqīq fi l-ikfār wa-l-taḥsīq* (1–54), and *K. al-Imāma* (55–177); cat. Rieu, p. 250 no. 417; MTY, pp. 209–210 no. 417.—(f) Ṣan'ā', MĠK(š) 2400; 397 ff.; vol. 2 (beginning with *faṣl fi ḥalq al-af'āl*); date: 1090/1679; cat. Ruqayḥi, p. 691.—(g) Ṣan'ā', MĠK(š) 578; ff. 81–232; vol. 1; date: 895/1490; cat. Ruqayḥi,

77 MS BL Or. 3840, f. 177a: *tamma šarḥ al-muqaddimatayn al-awwalatayn min muqaddimāt Kitāb al-Baḥr al-zahḥār al-ġami' li-maḍāhib 'ulamā' al-amšār [...]. wa-lammā faraġnā min šarḥ masā'il uṣūl al-dīn, aḥaḍnā fi šarḥ masā'il Kitāb Riyāḍat al-afḥām fi laṭīf al-kalām.*

p. 612.—(h) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 585; 204 ff.; vol. 2; date: 1014/1605; cat. Ruqayhī, pp. 612–613.—(i) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 581; ff. 63–190; vol. 1; date: ca. 9th/15th cent.; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 613.—(j) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 577; 170 ff.; vol. 2 (beginning with *faṣḥ fī l-altāf*); date: 867/1463; cat. Ruqayhī, pp. 613–614.—(k) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 579; ff. 81–84; fragment of vol. 1; n.d.; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 614.—(l) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 586; 182 ff.; vol. 2; date: 887/1482; cat. Ruqayhī, pp. 614–615.—(m) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 580; ff. 174–269; vol. 1; date: 882/1478; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 615.—(n) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 576; ff. 174–269; vol. 2 (beginning with *faṣḥ fī l-altāf*); date: 1068/1657; cat. Ruqayhī, pp. 615–616.—(o) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(ġ) 746 (formerly *Uṣūl al-dīn* no. 112); ff. 62–254; vol. 1; date: 872/1467; cat. ʿIsawī, pp. 305–306; cat. *RIMA* 22 (1976), p. 34 no. 211.—(p) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(ġ) 616; ff. 73–187; date: 830/1427; cat. ʿIsawī, p. 306.—(q) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(ġ) 747; ff. 68–490; vols 1–2 (a complete copy of *K. al-Durar*); cat. ʿIsawī, p. 306.—(r) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(ġ) 744; ff. 74–299(?); vol. 1 (to the end of *K. al-ʿAdl*); cat. ʿIsawī, p. 306.—(s) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(ġ) 615; 253 ff.; vol. 2; cat. ʿIsawī, p. 306.—(t) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(ġ) 614; 200 ff.; cat. ʿIsawī, p. 306.—(u) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(ġ) 613; 264 ff.; vol. 2; date: 1064/1654; cat. ʿIsawī, p. 307.—(v) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(ġ) 612; 225 ff.; vol. 1; date: 980/1573; cat. ʿIsawī, p. 307.—(w) Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsi; date: 1034/1625; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 223 no. 59/2.—(x) Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 12041; date: 1078/1667; IZbACF CD no. 165/2.

2.2.2 Structure of *K. Riyāḍat al-afḥām*, *K. Dāmiġ al-awḥām*, Ibn Mattawayh's *K. al-Taḍkira* and al-Ḥākim al-Ġišumī's *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* (part x)

The structure of *K. Dāmiġ al-awḥām* and *K. Riyāḍat al-afḥām fī laṭīf al-kalām* reflects the convergence of two distinct Bahšamī traditions of *laṭīf al-kalām*, one represented by Ibn Mattawayh's *K. al-Taḍkira fī aḥkām al-ġawāhir wa-l-aʿrād*, the other by the tenth part of al-Ḥākim al-Ġišumī's *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*. While the main part of *K. Dāmiġ al-awḥām* (up to the end of *Bāb al-idrāk*) is named “*Šarḥ al-Taḍkira*”, it follows the chapter order of *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*.

Other manuscripts of *K. Dāmiġ al-afḥām* include (selection only): (a) Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. ar. 79 (= Glaser 165); date: 838/1434–1435; cat. Grünert, p. 19 no. 42.—(b) Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. ar. 1249; ff. 64b–183b; date: 1206/1792; cat. Sobieroj, pp. 369–370 no. 190/3.—(c) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 571; 327 ff.; date: 870/1465–1466; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 608.—(d) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 572; 190 ff.; date: 881/1476–1477; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 608; cat. *RIMA* 22 (1976), p. 14 no. 76 [with old no. “221”].—(e) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 573; 341 ff.; date: 850/1446–1447; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 609.—(f) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 574; 146 ff.; date: 877/1472–1473; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 609.—(g) Ṣanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 575; 200 ff.; date: 9th/15th cent.; cat. Ruqayhī, p. 609.—(h) Qum, Marʿašī 11913; date: 887/1482; cat. vol. 30, pp. 196–197 no. 196.—(i) Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 13065, 2 vols, date: 910/

<i>K. Riyādat al-afhām</i> (442 <i>masā'il</i>) [ed. M.M. Tāmir, Beirut 1422/2001, vol. 1, pp. 114–189]	<i>K. Dāmiġ</i> <i>al-awhām</i> ⁷⁸ [MS BL Or. 3807] ⁷⁹	Ibn Mattawayh, <i>K. al-Taḍkira</i> [ed. D. Gimaret]	<i>Šarḥ al-Taḍkira</i> [MS Tehran, Mahdavi 514] ⁸⁰	[MSS Riyadh, Ġāmi'at al-Malik Sa'ūd 7783; (IZbACF CD no. 362:2)]
<i>Muqaddima</i> [—]	1b–5b	1–8	1b[2]–3b[6]	1b
<i>Bāb al-ġawāhir</i> (45 <i>masā'il</i>) [114–122]	5b–33b	9–73	3b[6]–27b[54]	3a
<i>Bāb al-fanā'</i> (8 <i>masā'il</i>) [122–123]	33b–38a	101–123	33b[66]–39a[77]	40a
<i>Bāb al-a'rāq 'alā l-ġumla</i> (9 <i>masā'il</i>) [124–126]	38a–40b	125	39a[77]	46b(1b)
<i>Bāb al-ahwān</i> (11 <i>masā'il</i>) [127–128]	40b–47a	127–152	39a[77]–45b[90]	49a(3b)
<i>Bāb al-ṭu'um wa-l-rawā'iḥ</i> (1 <i>mas'ala</i>) [128]	47a–48b	153–155, 157	45b[90]–46b[92]	57a(9b)
<i>Bāb al-ḥarāra wa-l-burūda</i> (4 <i>masā'il</i>) [129]	48b–50a	159–161	46b[92]–48a[95]	58b(10b)

78 In MS BL Or. 3807 (cat. Rieu, 250–251 no. 418; MTY, p. 210 no. 418), f. 256b the end date of composition (*ta'rif*) of *K. Dāmiġ al-awhām* was Friday, 8 Raġab 828 (26 May 1425). According to MB Ibn Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā completed *K. al-Durar* and wrote *K. Dāmiġ al-awhām* up to *Bāb al-i'tiqād* during his stay in Miswar, and completed the work in Qal'at Abī Yazīd. See Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Ḥāġġ Ḥasan al-Kamālī, *al-Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā wa-aṭaruḥu fi l-fikr al-islāmī siyāsīyyan wa-'aqa'idīyyan*, Ṣan'ā', Dār al-Ḥikma al-Yamāniyya, 1411/1991, p. 115.

79 *K. Dāmiġ al-awhām* is at times introduced as *al-sifr al-ḥāmis min Ġāyāt al-afkār*. In these cases *K. al-Munya* comprises one *sifr* (1), *K. al-Durar* three *asfār* (2–4). Just as in MS BL Or. 3956 *sifr* refers to a codicological unit.

80 A facsimile edition of the manuscript was published by the Iranian Institute of Philosophy and the Institute of Islamic Studies at Freie Universiät Berlin, Tehran 2006.

<i>K. Riyāḍat al-afhām</i>	<i>K. Dāmiḡ al-awhām</i>	<i>Taḍkira</i>	<i>Šarḥ al-Taḍkira</i>	<i>Šarḥ Uyūn al-Masā'il</i>
<i>Bāb al-aṣwāt</i> (18 <i>masā'il</i>) [129–132]	50a–64a	177–236	53a[105]–68b[136]	63b(13b)
<i>Bāb al-alam wa-l-ladḡa</i> (8 <i>masā'il</i>) [132–133]	64a–68b	163–176	48a[95]–53a[105]	75a(23a)
<i>Bāb al-ruṭūba wa-l-yabūsa</i> (3 <i>masā'il</i>) [133–134]	68b–71a	359–367	99a[197]– 100b[200]	81b(27b)
<i>Bāb al-akwān</i> (25 <i>masā'il</i>) [134–136]	71a–81a	237–288	68b[136]–83b[166]	83b(29a)
<i>Bāb al-ta'liḡ</i> (11 <i>masā'il</i>) [137–138]	81a–89b	289–307	83b[166]–89b[178]	99b(40b)
<i>Bāb al-i'timād</i> (18 <i>masā'il</i>) [138–140]	89b–100a	309–358	89b[178]–99a[197]	105b(49a)
<i>Bāb al-ḡayāt</i> (24 <i>masā'il</i>) [141–144]	100a–110b	369–409	100b[200]– 111b[222]	115a(55b)
<i>Bāb al-quḡra</i> (35 <i>masā'il</i>) [144–149]	111b–135a	433–521	117b[234]– 138b[276]	133b(67a)
<i>Bāb al-i'tiqād</i> (22 + 37 <i>masā'il</i>) [150–161]	135a–178a	579–662	150a[299]– 169b[338]	160a(85b)
<i>Bāb al-naẓar wa-l-ḡāṭir</i> (25 <i>masā'il</i>) [162–166]	178a–193a	663–696	169b[338]– 177b[354]	201b(114b)
<i>Bāb al-irāda wa-l-kirāha</i> (35 <i>masā'il</i>) [167–171]	193a–210a	523–577	138b[276]– 150a[299]	217b(126a)
<i>Bāb al-šahwa wa-l-niḡār</i> (10 <i>masā'il</i>) [171–173]	210a–216b	411–432	111b[222]–117b[234]	230b(135b)

(cont.)

<i>K. Riyāḍat al-afhām</i>	<i>K. Damiġ al-awhām</i>	<i>Taḍkira</i>	<i>Šarḥ al-Taḍkira</i>	<i>Šarḥ 'Uyūn al-Masā'il</i>
<i>Bāb al-idrāk</i> ⁸¹ (25 <i>masā'il</i>) [173–177]	216b–232b	697–743	177b[354]– 188a[375]	233b(137b)
<i>Bāb al-nadam</i> (15 <i>masā'il</i>) [178–180]	232b–237a			245a(146a)
<i>Bāb al-laṭāfa</i> (7 <i>masā'il</i>) [180–182]	237a–242b			253a
<i>Bāb masā'il mutaḥarriqa</i> (5 <i>masā'il</i>) [182–183]	242b–243b			255a
<i>Bāb fī masā'il al-ḥilāf wa-l-wifāq</i> (7 <i>masā'il</i>) [183–184]	243b–247a			256a
<i>Bāb al-'ilal wa-sā'ir al-mu'attirāt</i> (20 <i>masā'il</i>) [184–187]	247a–252b			259a
<i>Bāb al-ġidāl</i> (8 <i>masā'il</i>) [187–188]	252b–255a			264b
<i>Bāb al-ḥudūd</i> (6 <i>masā'il</i>) [188–189]	255a–			267a

1504.—(j) Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 13063-4 (= nos. 12241, 12468), 2 vols, date: Raġab 1049/Nov 1639.—(k) Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 12252,

81 MS BL Or. 3807, f. 232b: *hādā āḥir Kitāb al-Taḍkira wa-qad istaqṣaynā masā'il abwābihi fī hādā l-Šarḥ al-mubārak, wa-qad zidnā 'alā l-abwāb allatī ġama'ahā Ibn Mattawayḥ fī Taḍki-ratihi abwāb^{an} āḥar, fa-la-na'ḥuḍ al-ān fī šarḥihi*. These additional topics are dependent on al-Ḥākim al-Ġišumī's *Šarḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il*.

2 vols, date: 838/1435 (possibly = (a)).—(l) Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 12140.—(m) Maktabat Āl al-Wazīr; cat. FMMḤ, p. 44 no. 71; date 823/1420.—(n) Maktabat ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm 63; *al-ğuz’ al-tālīt*; cat. FMMḤ, p. 85 no. 164.—(o) Maktabat Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Dārī 1; cat. FMMḤ, p. 320 no. 767; date: 914/1508.—(p) Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsi; date: 1034/1625; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 223 no. 59/3.—(q) Hiğrat Falalla, Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ṣāyim; microfilm; 3 vols; date: 1077/1666–1667; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 2, pp. 103–104 nos. 58–60.

2.3 Reception History

The most important testimonies for the reception history of *Mirqāt al-anzār* are the manuscripts listed above in section 2.1. Most of these manuscripts contain extensive marginal glosses. Additional information may be gleaned from the biographical literature. According to ẖZK, for instance, the following scholars are recorded to have studied *K. Mirqāt al-anzār*: Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. al-Imām al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh (d. 1152/1739–1740), the author of ẖZK; al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. al-Imām al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad (d. 1131/1719), ẖZK, pp. 379–383 no. 221; Aḥmad b. Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Miswarī (d. 1079/1668–1669), ẖZK, pp. 121–131 no. 48; Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abī l-Riğāl (d. 1029/1620), ẖZK, pp. 137–147 no. 52; Aḥmad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dawwārī (d. 1018/1609), ẖZK, pp. 148–151 no. 55; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Ayyānī (d. 1136/1724), ẖZK, pp. 189–190 no. 86; Sa‘īd b. ‘Aṭf al-Qidārī (d. 1023/1614), ẖZK, pp. 468–471 no. 271; Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad al-Sirāğī (d. 1084/1673), ẖZK, pp. 493–496 no. 291; ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mahlā al-Nisā‘ī (d. 1028/1619), ẖZK, pp. 642–648 no. 387; ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz b. al-Mahlā al-Nisā‘ī (d. 1077/1666–1667), ẖZK, pp. 551–555 no. 328; ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Quraṣī (d. 1108/1696–1697), ẖZK, pp. 577–580 no. 348; ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Wardasār (d. 975/1567–1568), ẖZK, p. 585 no. 355; ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Wazīr (d. 1147/1734–1735), ẖZK, pp. 620–624 no. 374; ‘Alī b. ‘Aṭf Allāh al-Ṣāwarī (fl. 10th/16th cent.), ẖZK, pp. 772–773 no. 477; ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Salāma (d. 1090/1679), ẖZK, pp. 785–787 no. 485 (*sama‘a Ṣarḥ al-Nağrī ‘alā l-Qalā‘id ‘alā l-Faqīh ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarbī*); ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu‘ayyad (d. 1120/1708), ẖZK, pp. 801–802 no. 502 (*sama‘a ‘alā l-Sayyid Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*); al-Muḥsin b. al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh (d. 1141/1728–1729), ẖZK, pp. 888–890 no. 554; al-Imām al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (d. 1054/1644), ẖZK, pp. 1049–1061 no. 664; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Bahrān (d. 957/1550), ẖZK, pp. 1103–1109 no. 694; al-Murtaḍā b. Qāsim al-Quṭābarī (d. 931/1525), ẖZK, pp. 1117–1118 no. 700 (student of al-Nağrī); al-Hādī b. al-Waṣlī (d. 10th/16th cent.), ẖZK, pp. 1188–1189 no. 751; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥīmī (d. 1003/1595), ẖZK, pp. 556–558 no. 331 (*‘alā l-faqīh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Ṣinānī*); al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh (d. 1131/1719); ẖZK, pp. 379–383 no. 221.

Some important *hawāšī* on *Mirqāt al-anzār* have subsequently been transmitted as independent works:

1. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ġalāl (d. 1084/1673), *al-Nukat al-farā'id fi Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Qalā'id* (= *Hāšiya 'alā Šarḥ al-Qalā'id fi taṣḥīḥ al-'aqā'id*, *Šarḥ Šarḥ al-Qalā'id* or simply *Šarḥ al-Ġalāl*).⁸² These glosses, completed in 1046/1636, were frequently studied in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and are regularly quoted in the *hawāšī* of MS Munich Cod. arab. 1294 (see below).
2. al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā Silān al-Sufyānī al-Ša'dī (d. 1110/1699), *Ta'līq 'alā Šarḥ al-Qalā'id*.⁸³
3. al-Ḥasan (/al-Ḥusayn) b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-Maġribī (d. 1142/1729–1730), *Hāšiya 'alā Šarḥ al-Qalā'id*.⁸⁴
4. Hāšim b. Yaḥyā al-Šāmī (d. 1158/1745) wrote superglosses on al-Ġalāl's aforementioned *Hāšiya*.⁸⁵ These superglosses also circulated as independent work entitled *Šiḡānat al-'aqā'id bi-taġwīd al-naẓar fi šarḥ al-Qalā'id* or *Šiḡānat al-'aqā'id, hāšiya 'alā Šarḥ al-Naġrī li-l-Qalā'id* or simply *Ta'līq 'alā Hāšiyat al-Ġalāl*. This is the last substantial Zaydī *uṣūl al-dīn* composition following the template of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Qalā'id* and al-Naġrī's *Mirqāt al-anzār* which shaped Zaydī *uṣūl al-dīn* studies for more than three centuries.⁸⁶ Beginning with the late 11th/17th century and until the late 13th/19th century, this tradition of *uṣūl al-dīn* was progressively marginalised. On the one hand, the dynasty of Qāsimī imāms gradually turned from a charismatic meritorious leadership into a hereditary dynasty devoid of scholarly aspiration and distinction. On the other hand the traditional Zaydī curriculum was thrown

82 BṬ, pp. 225–227 no. 124; MṬY, pp. 274–279; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 482; for manuscripts of al-Ġalāl's *Hāšiya* see, for instance, MJK(Ġ) 597–600, 710, *Maġmū'* no. 3131, ff. 160–220; cat. 'Īsawī, pp. 292–293; MFY, p. 149.

83 ṬZK, pp. 350–351 no. 204; BṬ, p. 249 no. 141; AMZ, p. 356 no. 350; MFY, p. 153; MṬY, pp. 286–287.

84 BṬ, pp. 269–270 no. 154; AMZ, pp. 346–347 no. 335; MFY, p. 156; al-Laġna al-'ilmiyya fi Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Šādiq, *Muġam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, 5 vols, Qum 1423/2002 [hereafter MTK], vol. 3, p. 38 no. 4897; Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 3 vols, Qum, Maktabat A. al-Mar'ašī al-Naġafi, 1413/1992 [hereafter MZ], vol. 1, p. 405 no. 1185; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 505.

85 AMZ, pp. 1076–1077 no. 1155; MFY, pp. 156–157; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 509/1.

86 Manuscripts of the *Šiḡāna* include: Šan'a', MĠK(Ġ) 597–600, 685, 710 (cat. 'Īsawī, pp. 351–352); a microfilm of al-Šāmī's autograph-copy (MS MĠK(Ġ) 600) is found in Maktabat Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Hādī 166 (MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 478); MS BL Or. 4027 (= Glaser 349), ff. 1–186b, likely contains the *Šiḡāna* (see MṬY, p. 217 no. 411).

into disarray by al-Šawkānī's (d. 1250/1834) comprehensive reform project.⁸⁷ Attempts to restore this tradition to its former glory over the course of the 20th century resemble desperate efforts to reconstitute a lost treasure.⁸⁸

As an exception that proves the rule, we may consider:

5. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Šalāh b. 'Alī al-Kastabān (d. after 1248/1832–1833),⁸⁹ *Ithāf al-naẓẓār bi-l-kašf 'an asrār Mirqāt al-anẓār al-muntaza' min Ġāyāt al-afkār al-kāšif li-ma'ānī muqaddimat al-Baḥr al-zahḥār fī tawḥīd dāt al-'azīz al-qahḥār al-ḥākim bi-'adlihi 'alā kulli mutakabbir ḡabbār*.⁹⁰

3.1 MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294⁹¹

According to the colophon (f. 111a), the manuscript was copied by Šaraf al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. Ġaḥḥāf with the financial support and under

87 See Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, p. ix, 25–75 (36 f.); idem, "Reforming Islam by Dissolving the *Madhāhib*: Shawkānī and his Zaydī Detractors in Yemen", in *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, ed. B.G. Weiss, Leiden, Brill, 2002, p. 339: "[T]he eighteenth-century Imāms (of the Qāsimī dynasty) [...] progressively distanced themselves from Hādawī teachings and promoted and patronized Sunnī Traditionist scholars. Some of the reasons for the shift in *madhhab* orientation (never formally declared however) are the following: accommodating the sentiments of a large number of Sunnī Šāfi'ī subjects in the tax-generating areas of Lower Yemen; legitimizing the dynastic ambitions of the eighteenth-century Qāsimī Imāms who did not live up to the ideal posited in Zaydī political doctrine; and deligitimizing Zaydism, in particular its political doctrine advocating the rejection of oppressive rule in the form of armed rebellion (*ḥurūġ*) or migration (*hiġra*). I am not aware of any copy of *Mirqāt al-anẓār* between 1172/1759 and 1316/1898 (then again 1345/1926). On this hiatus of more than a century in Zaydī-Hādawī scholarship see Schwarb, "Mu'tazilism in a 20th century Zaydī Qur'ān commentary", p. 396, 402.

88 Among many other desperate attempts to safeguard this lost tradition and to restore its former strength one may mention Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Aḥmad b. Muḥsin Mudā'is al-Šan'ānī's (d. 1351/1932–1933) *K. al-Kāšif al-amīn 'an ḡawāḥir al-Iqd al-ṭamīn* or 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Aġrī's *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*. See my "Mu'tazilism in a 20th century Zaydī Qur'ān commentary".

89 AMZ, p. 636 no. 660; *Rawā'i' al-buḥūt fī tāriḥ madīnat Ḥūt*, no. 184. He is the scribe of numerous extant Zaydī manuscripts.

90 MS Ša'da, Maktabat Ġāmi' al-Imām al-Hādī, *Maġmū'* no. 209; 128 ff.; autograph copy written between 1235/1819–1820 and 1239/1823–1824, i.e. during the lifetime of Muḥammad b. 'Alī l-Šawkānī (d. 1250/1834); cat. MTMḤY, vol. 2, p. 499; IZbACF CD no. 360/2; Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 12102-12.

91 A brief description of the manuscript is found in Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 445–446 no. 234.

the supervision of Abū Muḥammad Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim (d. 1123/1711), a great-grandson of Imām al-Manṣūr (d. 1029/1620) and a nephew of Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim (d. 1092/1681).⁹² The copy was completed on 16 Rabīʿ 11 1108 (12 November 1696).

وافق الفراغ من رسم هذه النسخة وقت الضحي من يوم الأحد سادس عشر شهر ربيع الآخر ١١٠٨ من هجرة نبينا محمد، صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم تسليماً، بعناية سيدي المولى ضيا الإسلام والمسلمين زيد بن محمد بن الحسن ابن أمير المؤمنين حماد الله وأطال بقاءه آمين، بقلم الفقير إلى عفور ربه السيد شرف الدين بن عبد الرحمن محمد بن جحاف، وفقه الله وختم له بالحسن.

A number of prominent Zaydī scholars are mentioned to have studied *Mirqāt al-anzār* with Zayd b. Muḥammad: 1) ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu’ayyad (d. 1120/1708; ТЗК, pp. 801–802 no. 502); 2) Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim Luqmān (d. 1133/1721); 3) Hāšim b. Yahyā al-Šāmī (d. 1158/1745), the afore-mentioned author of *Šiyānat al-‘aḡā’id bi-taḡwīd al-naẓar fī šarḥ al-Qalā’id*; 4) Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šāmī (d. 1172/1759; БТ, pp. 105–106 no. 43); 5) Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Amīr (d. 1182/1769).

3.2 *Works Quoted in the Margins of MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294*

Almost all manuscripts of *Mirqāt al-anzār* contain marginal notes, but MS Munich Cod. arab. 1294 appears to be the most lavishly annotated among them. Even though the margins of other manuscripts contain quotations from works not cited in the margins of the Munich manuscript,⁹³ the latter may serve as a reliable guide to the hitherto unexplored landscape of Zaydī *kalām*-studies during the Ṭāhirid and early Qāsimī periods. Indeed, the *ḥawāšī* of each manuscript reveal a particular network of reference texts which constitute the respective syllabus of *uṣūl al-dīn* studies. In addition to *K. al-Durar* (“*Ġāyāt*”), one or two other Zaydī *uṣūl al-dīn* treatises are usually used as basic reference works. In MS Berlin, State Library, Landberg 883 this is Ibn Ḥanaš’s *K. al-Ġiyāša*,

92 ТЗК, pp. 456–458 no. 264; БТ, pp. 293–296 no. 176; АМЗ, pp. 447–449 no. 436; МҒҮ, p. 155, 349, 395. Another manuscript, dated 1111/1699–1700, written *bi-‘ināyat* Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan is mentioned in МТМҒҮ, vol. 2, p. 345 no. 121/3 (*Šarḥ ‘alā Muḥtaṣar al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr wa-mustadrakuhu ‘alā Nuḥbat al-fikr*).

93 See, among many other examples, MS Berlin, State Library, Landberg 883: *Šarḥ mafātīḥ al-ḡuyūb; min al-Safīna; Ġawābāt al-faqīh Husayn al-Hāmī ‘alā l-Raṣṣāš* (44b); *Mu’attirāt, Šarḥ al-Mu’attirāt* (79a); *Mustaṣfā li-l-Ġazālī* (83b), etc.

in MS Berlin Glaser 201/1 al-Qurašī's *Minhāğ*, in MS BL Or. 6266/4 'Izz al-Dīn's *Mi'rāğ*, etc.

The vast majority of the marginal notes in MS Munich Cod. arab. 1294 are numbered and labeled. The specific arrangement and the geometry of the *ḥawāšī* in this manuscript follows Iranian and/or Ottoman models. Their precise origin will have to be determined in future studies.⁹⁴

Besides quotations from and paraphrases of specific works, we find references to teaching sessions (*samā'*) [e.g. 1b, 2a, 17b, 45a, 51b (*samā' ... 'Abd al-Hādī*), dictation (*imlā'*) [e.g. 16a, 33b (with reference to al-Ḥākim al-Ġišumī's *Šarḥ al-ʿuyūn*), 42b (*min imlā' Sayyidinā 'Abd al-Hādī*), and notes by the scribe (*li-l-Kātib*) [82a, 83b].⁹⁵ The scribe regularly distinguishes between quotations *ad litteram* (*bi-lafẓihi*) [e.g. 6a (*Mi'rāğ*), 6b (*Wasīf*), 9a (*al-Šayḥ Maḥmūd fī l-Fā'iq*), 18b] and quotations *ad sensum* (*bi-ma'nāhi* and *ma'n^{an}*) [e.g. 6a (*Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*), 18b, 47a (*Ġāyāt ma'n^{an}*)]. On some pages we find additional notes in a later hand (e.g. 10a, 62a*).

The following list of works quoted in the margins of MS Munich Cod. arab. 1294 is arranged in chronological order.

3.2.1 Works by Zaydī Authors

1. *Maṣābiḥ li-Abī l-'Abbās* [105a, 105b]: Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī (d. 353/964; AMZ, pp. 78–79 no. 42), *K. al-Maṣābiḥ fī l-sīra* (MTMHY, vol. 1, p. 543 no. 514/2; ed. 'Ammān, Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd ibn 'Alī al-Ṭaqāfiyya, 2002).
2. *Ziyādāt* [65b]: al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 411/1020; *Enclr*, vol. 1, p. 884; AMZ, pp. 100–103 no. 72), *K. al-Ziyādāt*; influential collection of responsa and *fatwās*.
3. *Šarḥ (al-)Uṣūl (li-l-Sayyid Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn)* and *Šarḥ al-Sayyid (li-l-uṣūl)* [1b, 2a, 3b, 4a, 6a, 8a, 11a, 11b, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14b, 15a, 15b, 20a, 25a, 25b, 27a, 28b, 29b, 31b, 37a, 41a, 41b, 42a, 46b, 47a, 47b, 53a, 54b, 59a, 63a, 63b, 64a, 64b, 65a, 65b, 66a, 66b, 67b, 69b, 79a, 79b, 82b, 83a, 84b, 86a*, 92b, 107b, 110b]: al-Sayyid Mānkdim (Šešdīv) (al-Imām al-Mustazhir bi-llāh) Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī (d. ca. 425/1034; AMZ, p. 104 no. 74), [*Ta'liq 'alā*] *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa* (GAS, vol. 1, p. 562 no. 27; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 318/1).

94 My colleague Hassan Ansari suggested to me that the layout, arrangement and annotation of the *ḥawāšī* may point to a specific Iranian influence.

95 "*'Abd al-Hādī*" refers to 'Abd al-Hādī b. Aḥmad b. Šalāḥ 'al-Ḥasūsa' (d. 1048/1638); see below no. 34.

4. *al-Šayḥ al-Murtaḍā ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā, [...] wa-huwa šinw al-Šarīf al-Raḍī* [16b]: al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā (d. 436/1044).
5. *Šarḥ al-Faqīh Ismā‘īl (al-Rāzī) ‘alā l-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa* and *Šarḥ Ismā‘īl al-Rāzī li-l-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa (li-l-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Ġabbār al-Mu‘tazilī)* and *Šarḥ (al-)Rāzī (al-‘adlī)* and *al-Rāzī al-‘adlī* [8a, 8b, 12b, 15a, 28b, 29a, 30a, 55b, 56a, 67b, 70a, 97a]: Abū Muḥammad Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī al-Farrazāḍī (fl. late 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries; ṬZK, p. 252 no. 134), *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 333/1); commentary on Mānkdim Šešdiv’s *Ta‘līq* (see above no. 3).
6. *Šams al-‘ulūm* [48a]: Našwān b. Sa‘īd b. Našwān al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178; ṬZK, pp. 1173–1174 no. 745; AMZ, pp. 1060–1064 no. 1144), *K. Šams al-‘ulūm wa-dawā’ kalām al-‘Arab min al-kulūm* (GAL, vol. 1, p. 301; GALS, vol. 1, p. 528).
7. *Tadkira*: Šams al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raššās (d. 621/1224; ṬZK, p. 109 no. 37), *K. al-Tadkira li-fawā'id al-Taḥṣīl fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-ta'dīl* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 364/6); commentary on his father’s (Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raššās, d. 584/1188) *K. al-Taḥṣīl fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-ta'dīl* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 357/3).
8. *al-Wasīṭ* and *Wasīṭ li-l-faqīh Ḥumayd* [2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4b, 5a, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 9a, 9b, 13a, 15a, 15b, 18b, 25b, 32a, 32b¹, 34a, 37a, 37b, 39a, 39b, 40b, 41a, 42b, 51a, 54a, 65a, 65b, 66b, 69a, 79a]: Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254; ṬZK, pp. 421–424 no. 247; AMZ, pp. 407–410 no. 408), *al-Wasīṭ al-mufīd al-ġāmī‘ bayna l-Īdāḥ wa-l-‘Iqd al-farīd* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 374/2); autocommentary on *K. al-Īdāḥ li-fawā'id al-Miṣbāḥ* and *K. al-‘Iqd al-farīd fī uṣūl al-‘adl wa-l-tawḥīd*.
9. *al-Taṣfiya* [82b]: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī (d. 711/1311; MB, vol. 4, pp. 258–260 no. 1138; AMZ, pp. 883–884 no. 947), *K. al-Taṣfiya ‘an al-mawānī‘ al-muhlika al-murdiya*.
10. *Šarḥ alā l-Ḥulāša* and *Šarḥ Ḥulāša* and *Šarḥ al-Ḥulāša li-l-Faqīh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥanaš* and *Ġiyāša* [3a, 3b, 4a, 6b, 13a, 14a]: Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Ḥanaš (d. 719/1319; ṬZK, pp. 1098–1103 no. 692; AMZ, pp. 1008–1009 no. 1081), *K. al-Anwār al-muta‘alliqa al-sāti‘a fī taḥlīs fawā'id al-Ḥulāša al-nāfi‘a* (= *K. Yāqūt al-Ġiyāša al-ġāmī‘a li-ma‘ānī l-Ḥulāša*, *K. al-Ġiyāša fī šarḥ al-Ḥulāša*) (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 398/1); commentary on Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raššās (d. 621/1224), *K. al-Ḥulāša al-nāfi‘a bi-l-adilla al-qāti‘a fī fawā'id al-Tābi‘a* (MFY, p. 118; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 364/3) which in turn is based on Qāḍī Ġa‘far b.

- Aḥmad al-Buhlūlī (d. 573/1177–1178), *K. al-Tābi'a bi-l-adillati l-qāṭi'a* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 355/4).⁹⁶
11. *Ġurar* and *Ġurar wa-ḥuḡūl* [4b, 12b, 13a, 27a, 28a, 29b, 31b, 32a, 34a, 40b, 47a, 48a, 52b, 70b, 71a, 85a]: al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (also known as 'Rāzī al-Zaydiyya', 1st half of 8th/14th cent.; grandson of Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muḥallī (above no. 8); ṬZK, pp. 855–856 no. 538.; AMZ, pp. 765–766 no. 823), *K. al-Ġurar wa-l-ḥuḡūl fī kašf asrār al-uṣūl* (= *K. al-Ġurar wa-l-ḥuḡūl fī bayān fawā'id Šarḥ al-uṣūl*) (MFY, p. 131; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 400/2); superglosses on Mānkdim's *Ta'liq 'alā Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa* (see above no. 3).
 12. *Minhāġ* and *Minhāġ (al-)Qurašī* and *Qurašī* [1b, 2b, 4a, 5b, 7b, 8a, 11a, 12b, 14b, 16b, 18b, 19a, 19b, 25a, 27a, 27b, 28a, 28b, 29a, 29b, 31a, 35b, 36b, 40b, 42a, 42b, 45b, 46a, 46b, 47a, 47b, 50b, 51a, 51b, 53a, 54b, 64b, 65a, 65b, 66a, 66b*, 67a, 67b, 68a, 70a, 70b, 71a, 71b, 76b, 85b, 89a, 95b, 96a, 97a, 97b, 100a, 101a, 101b, 102a, 107b]: 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan al-Qurašī l-Ša'dī (d. 780/1378–1379; ṬZK, pp. 1215–1216 no. 772; ṬZŠ, vol. 2, pp. 16–20; AMZ, 1097–1098 no. 1176), *K. Minhāġ al-taḥqīq wa-maḥāsīn al-talfiq fī uṣūl al-dīn* (= *K. al-Minhāġ li-taqwīm al-i'wāġāġ = Minhāġ al-muttaqīn fī ma'rifat rabb al-'ālamīn*) (MFY, p. 129; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 411/1).
 13. *Šarḥ al-Dawwārī 'alā l-uṣūl al-ḥamsa* and *al-Qāḍī 'Abd Allāh al-Dawwārī* [8a, 11a, 12b, 31b]: Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭīya l-Ša'dī al-Dawwārī (d. 800/1397–1398; ṬZK, pp. 589–594 no. 361; AMZ, pp. 571–573 no. 585), *Šarḥ 'alā l-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa*; superglosses on Mānkdim Šešdīv's *Ta'liq* (above no. 3), also known under the title *Ḥadiqat riḡād al-'uqūl fī ta'liqat al-Qāḍī al-Dawwārī 'alā Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*. Dependent on al-Muḥallī's *K. al-Ġurar wa-l-ḥuḡūl* (above no. 11).
 14. *Ta'liq al-Ḥulāša* [13b, 26a, 35b, 48b]: Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭīya l-Ša'dī al-Dawwārī (above no. 13), *K. Ġawharat al-ġawwāš wa-šarīdat al-qannāš fī šarḥ Ḥulāšat al-Raššāš*; commentary on Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raššāš (d. 621/1224), *K. al-Ḥulāša al-nāfi'a bi-l-adilla al-qāṭi'a fī fawā'id al-Tābi'a* (MFY, p. 118; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 364/3) which in turn is based on Qāḍī Ġa'far b. Aḥmad al-Buhlūlī (d. 573/1177–1178), *K. al-Tābi'a bi-l-adillati l-qāṭi'a* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 355/4). Al-Dawwārī's *Ta'liq* depends on the aforementioned commentary by Ibn Ḥanaš (see above no. 10).

96 There are several other commentaries on the *Ḥulāša*, but the above-listed quotations in the *ḥawāšī* of MS Munich Cod. arab. 1294, all refer to Ibn Ḥanaš's commentary. See also al-Dawwārī's *Ta'liq al-Ḥulāša* mentioned below.

15. *Ġāyāt* [1b, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 17b, 18a, 18b, 19a, 19b, 20a, 20b, 21a, 21b, 22a, 22b, 23a, 23b, 24a, 24b, 25a, 25b, 26a, 27a, 27b, 28a, 28b, 29a, 29b, 30a, 30b, 31a, 31b, 32a, 32b, 33a, 33b, 34a, 34b, 35a, 35b, 36a, 36b, 37a, 37b, 38a, 38b, 39a, 39b, 40a, 40b, 41a, 41b, 42a, 42b, 43a, 43b, 44a, 44b, 45a, 45b, 46a, 46b, 47a, 47b, 48a, 48b, 49a, 49b, 50a, 50b, 51a, 51b, 52a, 52b, 53a, 53b, 54a, 54b, 55a, 55b, 56a, 56b, 57a, 57b, 58a, 58b, 59a, 59b, 60a, 60b, 61a, 61b, 62a, 62b, 63a, 63b, 64a, 64b, 65a, 65b, 66a, 66b, 67a, 67b, 68a, 68b, 69a, 69b, 70a, 70b, 71a, 71b, 72a, 72b, 73a, 73b, 74a, 74b, 75a, 75b, 76a, 76b, 77a, 77b, 78a, 78b, 79a, 79b, 80a, 80b, 81a, 81b, 82a, 82b, 83a, 83b, 84a, 84b, 85a, 85b, 86a, 86b, 87a, 87b, 88b, 89a, 89b, 91a, 92a, 93b, 94a, 94b, 95a, 95b, 96a, 96b, 97a, 97b, 99a, 99b, 100b, 101a, 101b, 105b, 106a, 106b, 107a, 107b, 108a, 108b, 109a, 109b, 110a, 110b]: al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437), *K. Ġāyāt al-afkār wa-nihāyat al-anzār al-muḥīṭa bi-‘ağā’ib al-Baḥr al-zahḥār* (see above section 2.). *Ġāyāt* is here used as a *totum pro parte* referring to *K. al-Durar al-farā’id fī šarḥ K. al-Qalā’id fī tašḥīḥ al-‘aqā’id*, the second *fann* of *Ġāyāt al-afkār*.⁹⁷ The margins of MS Munich Cod. arab. 1294 comprise more than 1.200 (!) quotations from *K. al-Durar*. The scribe indicates when a quotation from the *Ġāyāt* is not taken from the parallel chapter of *K. al-Durar* (*al-Ġāyāt min ḡayri ḥādā l-maḥall*). Occasionally, there are unspecified references to *Ḥāšiyat al-Ġāyāt* [e.g. 20b].
16. *Dāmiğ* and *Šarḥ Riyāḍat (al-afḥām)* and *Riyāḍa wa-šarḥuhu* [6a, 30a, 35b, 39a, 76a (*Riyāḍa*)]: al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437), *K. Dāmiğ al-awḥām fī šarḥ Riyāḍat al-afḥām fī laṭīf al-kalām* (see above 2.2.1.). Occasionally, the margins also refer to unspecified *Ḥāšiyat Riyāḍa* [e.g. 39a].
17. *Šarḥ al-Milal li-l-Imām al-Mahdī* and *Šarḥ al-Milal wa-l-Niḥal* [16b, 17a, 82b]: al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437), *K. al-Munya wa-l-amal fī šarḥ K. al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* (see above n. 56).
18. *Šarḥ Nukat li-l-Imām al-Mahdī* and *Šarḥ Nukat al-farā’id* [50b, 51a]: al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437), *Ġurar al-fawā’id fī šarḥ Nukat al-farā’id*; autocommentary on *Nukat al-farā’id fī ma’rifat al-Malik* (/al-Ḥayy) al-wāḥid.
19. *Ġayt* [109a, 110b]: al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437), *K. al-Ġayt al-midrār al-mufattiḥ li-kamā’im al-Azhār*; autocommentary on *K. al-Azhār*.

97 The use of ‘*Ġāyāt*’ to refer to *K. al-Durar* is also attested in the biographical literature (see e.g. ṬZK, p. 786 no. 485).

20. *Ītār al-ḥaqq ‘alā l-ḥalq* [40b]: ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436–1437; ṬZK, pp. 896–902 no. 556; AMZ, pp. 825–831 no. 880), *K. Ītār al-ḥaqq ‘alā l-ḥalq fī radd al-ḥilāfāt ilā l-ḥaqq min uṣūl al-tawḥīd*. The quotation is said to be taken *min ḥaṭṭ Sayyidi Ṣalāh b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Wazīr* (d. 1044–1048/1634–1639), a great-grandson of Ibn al-Wazīr.
21. *al-Mağram* [2b]: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Mağram (d. 865/1461; ṬZK, pp. 1206–1207 no. 765; AMZ, pp. 1089–1090 no. 1165), *Šarḥ al-Baḥr al-zahḥār*.
22. *Bayān* [41a]: ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muẓaffar (d. 875/1470; ṬZK, pp. 1205–1206 no. 764; AMZ, pp. 1092–1093 no. 1168), *K. al-Bayān al-šāfi al-muntaza‘ min al-Burhān al-kāfi* (MFY, p. 225); extracts from *al-Burhān al-kāfi* by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muẓaffar (d. 796/1394; AMZ, pp. 895–897 no. 963; MTK, vol. 2, p. 59 no. 2765; MZ, vol. 1, p. 205 no. 557) with an introduction on the *uṣūlān*. (see above n. 42)
23. *Nağrī* [69a]: unspecified.
24. *Ḥālidi* [99a]: Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥālidi (d. 880/1475; ṬZK, pp. 203–204 no. 96; AMZ, pp. 166–167 no. 153; see above n. 41), unspecified work.
25. *Bukurī ‘alā l-Minhāğ* and *Šarḥ al-Minhāğ li-l-Bukurī* and *Bukurī* and *al-Kawkab al-wahhāğ* [1b, 3a, 12a, 14a, 14b, 16b, 22a, 26a, 29b, 36a, 40b, 42a, 45b, 50a, 59a, 65b, 66a, 70a*, 76b, 92b, 96a]: ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukurī (d. 882/1478; see above n. 40), *K. al-Kawkab al-wahhāğ fī kašf asrār al-Minhāğ* (= *al-Kawkab al-wahhāğ fī šarḥ al-Minhāğ* = *al-Sirāğ al-wahhāğ fī šarḥ al-Minhāğ* = *Šarḥ Minhāğ al-Qurašī*) (MFY, p. 138); commentary on al-Qurašī’s (d. 780/1378–1379) *K. al-Minhāğ* (see above no. 12).
26. *Šarḥ (al-Bukurī li-)Muqaddimat al-Bayān* and *Šarḥ al-Bukurī* [1b, 13a, 46b, 69a]: ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukurī (d. 882/1478; see above n. 40), *Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Bayān* (see above no. 22); commentary (co-authored with ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nağrī) on the *Muqaddima* of *K. al-Bayān al-šāfi al-muntaza‘ min al-Burhān al-kāfi* by ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muẓaffar (d. 875/1470; ṬZK, pp. 1205–1206 no. 764; AMZ, pp. 1092–1093 no. 1168; see above n. 43).⁹⁸
27. *al-Mi’rāğ* and *Izz al-Dīn* [1b, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5b, 6a, 6b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 10b, 11b, 13a, 13b, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 20b, 23b, 24a, 25a, 27a, 27b, 28a, 28b, 29a, 29b, 31b, 32a, 33a, 34b, 36b, 40a, 41a, 41b, 42b, 44a, 46b, 47a, 47b, 48a, 50b, 54a, 54b, 56a, 58a, 59a, 59b, 62a, 62b, 63a, 63b, 64b, 65b, 66a, 66b, 67a, 67b,

98 *Šarḥ al-Bukurī* is ambiguous and may refer to either *Šarḥ Minhāğ al-Qurašī* or *Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Bayān*.

- 69a, 70b, 71a, 71b, 78b*, 79a, 79b, 80a, 85a, 86a*, 87b, 88a, 88b, 89b, 90b, 96a, 96b, 97a, 97b, 98a, 98b, 100a, 100b, 104a, 107b, 110b]: al-Imām al-Hādī li-Dīn Allāh ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad (d. 900/1494–1495; ṬZK, pp. 670–673 no. 397; AMZ, pp. 641–645 no. 668), *K. al-Mi’rāğ fi Šarḥ al-Minhāğ* (= *K. al-Mi’rāğ ilā kašf (/istiḥrāğ) asrār al-Minhāğ al-muqawwima li-l-i’wiğāğ* = *Šarḥ Minhāğ al-Qurašī*) (MFY, p. 680; Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 443/1); commentary on al-Qurašī’s (d. 780/1378–1379) *K. al-Minhāğ* (see above no. 12).
28. *Šarḥ Fath* [99b]: Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Miqrā’ī al-Ḥārītī al-Maḍḥağī (d. 980/1572; ṬZK, pp. 1256–1260 no. 796; AMZ, pp. 1147–1159 no. 1211), *K. al-Šamūs wa-l-aqmār fi šarḥ Fath al-ğaffār li-muqfalāt al-aṭmār*.
29. *min ḥaṭṭ al-Ḥimī* [15b]: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥimī (d. 1003/1595; ṬZK, pp. 556–558 no. 331); possibly *ḥawāšī* in the handwriting of al-Ḥimī on *Mirqāt al-anzār*.⁹⁹
30. *al-Asās* [53b]: al-Imām al-Manšūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (d. 1029/1620; ṬZK, pp. 860–869 no. 543; AMZ, pp. 777–782 no. 839; MFY, pp. 610–617), *K. al-Asās li-taṣḥiḥ ‘aqā’id al-akyās fi ma’rifat rabb al-‘alamīn wa-‘adlihi ‘alā l-maḥlūqīn* = *al-Asās al-mutakaffil bi-kašf al-iltibās* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 462/1).
31. *Šarḥ al-Asās* [83b, 93b]: refers to one of the following *Šurūḥ* on *K. al-Asās*: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šalāḥ al-Šarafī (d. 1055/1646; ṬZK, pp. 179–182 no. 81; MB, vol. 1, pp. 441–445 no. 216; AMZ, pp. 171–173 no. 158), *Šifā’ šudūr al-nās bi-šarḥ ma‘ānī l-Asās* (= *Šarḥ al-Asās al-kabūr*) (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 471/2); *Uddat al-akyās al-muntaza‘ min Šifā’ šudūr al-nās fi šarḥ ma‘ānī l-Asās* (= *Šarḥ al-Asās al-šağūr*) (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 471/1); Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Luqmān (d. 1039/1629–1630; ṬZK, pp. 183–185 no. 82; MB, vol. 1, pp. 433–437 no. 214), *Kašf al-ilbās ‘an qawā’id al-Asās* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 465/1).
32. *Šarḥ al-Ġiyāt* [20a]: probably refers to Bahā’ al-Dīn Luṭf Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ġiyāt al-Zafīrī (d. 1035/1625–1626; AMZ, pp. 796–798 no. 853), *K. al-Manāhil al-šāfiya fi šarḥ/kašf ma‘ānī al-Šāfiya* (or, less likely, to his *Šarḥ al-fuṣūl al-lu’lu’iyya* or *Šarḥ ḥuṭbat/muqaddimat al-Asās*).
33. *Ḥawāšī al-šarḥ al-šağūr* [2b]: Bahā’ al-Dīn Luṭf Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ġiyāt al-Zafīrī (d. 1035/1625–1626), glosses on Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šalāḥ al-Šarafī (d. 1055/1646), *Uddat al-akyās al-muntaza‘ min Šifā’ šudūr al-nās fi šarḥ ma‘ānī l-Asās* (= *Šarḥ al-Asās al-šağūr*).

99 See ṬZK, pp. 556–558 no. 331, where his studies of *K. [al-Durar] al-farā’id*, *K. Damiğ al-awḥām* and *Šarḥ al-Qalā’id* (= *Mirqāt al-anzār*) are highlighted.

34. *qāla Sayyidunā ‘Abd al-Hādī b. Aḥmad* [6a]: ‘Abd al-Hādī b. Aḥmad b. Šalāḥ ‘al-Ḥasūsa’ (d. 1048/1638; ṬZK, pp. 575–577 no. 347; MB, vol. 3, pp. 61–63 no. 754), according to ṬZK, p. 557 the foremost student of the aforementioned ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥimī (see above no. 29).
35. *al-Badr al-sārī šarḥ wāsiṭat al-darārī li-l-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Muftī* and *Šarḥ al-Muftī* and *Badr sārī* and *Šarḥ al-Darārī*¹⁰⁰ [7a, 12b, 33a, 42b, 58a, 85b]: Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Muftī al-Mu‘ayyadī (d. 1049/1639–1640; ṬZK, pp. 1021–1022 no. 643; AMZ, pp. 940–942 no. 1016), *K. al-Badr al-sārī (fī) šarḥ Wāsiṭat al-darārī fī tawḥīd al-Bārī* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 469/1); autocommentary on his *K. Wāsiṭat al-darārī fī tawḥīd al-Bārī*?
36. *Šarḥuhu li-l-Takmila*, [85b]: Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Muftī al-Mu‘ayyadī (d. 1049/1639–1640), *Šarḥ Takmilat al-aḥkām*, a commentary on Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Takmila li-l-Aḥkām wa-l-taṣfiya min bawāṭin al-ātām* (see above section 2. for the structure of *al-Bahr al-zahḥār*).
37. *min ḥaṭṭ al-Muftī* [24a, 31b, 33a]: Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Muftī al-Mu‘ayyadī (d. 1049/1639–1640), possibly from an autograph of his *ḥawāšī* on *Mirqāt al-anzār*.
38. *Ġāya* and *Šarḥ Ġāya* and *Hidāyat al-‘uqūl* [30b, 31a, 37b, 38a, 54b (*Ġāya wa-šarḥuhā*), 58a, 59b, 60a, 60b, 61a, 61b, 81b, 82a (*Ġāya, Šarḥ Ġāya, Ġāya wa-šarḥuhā*), 82b, 86b, 98b (*intahā matn^{an} wa-šarḥ^{an} min Hidāyat al-‘uqūl bilafzihi*)]: Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1050/1640; ṬZK, pp. 370–377 no. 220; MB, vol. 2, pp. 179–188 no. 482; AMZ, pp. 388–389 no. 386), *K. Ġāyat al-su’l fī ‘ilm al-usūl* (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 470/1) and autocommentary *K. Hidāyat al-‘uqūl ilā Ġāyat al-su’l fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl* (= *Šarḥ al-Ġāya*) (Schwarb, *Handbook*, no. 470/2). Both texts are often mentioned together (*Ġāya wa-šarḥuhā*).
39. *mā nuqila min ḥaṭṭ Sayyidi al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim ‘alā Šarḥ al-Asās*: Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1050/1640; ṬZK, pp. 370–377 no. 220; MB, vol. 2, pp. 179–188 no. 482; AMZ, pp. 388–389 no. 386), autograph of his *ḥawāšī* on *Šarḥ al-Asās*.
40. *Šarḥ Ibn Ḥābis li-l-Talātīn mas’ala* and *Šarḥ Ḥābis* [6a, 19b (unmarked), 28a]: Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad (Ibn) Ḥābis al-Dawwārī al-Ša’dī (d. 1061/1651; ṬZK, pp. 234–237 no. 117; AMZ, pp. 199–201 no. 193), *K. al-Īdāḥ ‘alā l-Miṣbāḥ* (= *K. al-Īdāḥ al-kāšif li-ma’ānī l-Miṣbāḥ* = *Šarḥ Miṣbāḥ al-‘ulūm fī ma’rifat al-Ḥayy al-qayyūm* = *Šarḥ al-Miṣbāḥ*) (MTK, vol. 1, p. 548; Schwarb,

100 *Šarḥ al-Darārī* is easily confused with *Šarḥ al-Dawwārī* (above no. 13).

- Handbook*, no. 473/2); commentary on Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣās's (d. 621/1224) *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm fī maʿrifat al-Ḥayy al-qayyūm* (= *al-Talātūn al-masʿala*).
41. *Ḥāṣiyat al-Ġalāl* and *Ḥawāṣī l-Ġalāl ʿalā Ṣarḥ al-Naġrī hādā* and *Ġalāl* [1b, 15b, 20a, 21b, 22a, 22b, 23a, 23b, 30a, 30b, 31a, 50a, 50b, 61b, 62a, 63a, 72a, 92b]: al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ġalāl (d. 1084/1673; ṬZK, pp. 287–290 no. 152; BT, pp. 225–227 no. 124; AMZ, pp. 299–303 no. 280),¹⁰¹ *Ḥāṣiya ʿalā Ṣarḥ al-Qalāʾid*,¹⁰² glosses on *K. Mirqāt al-anzār* (see above n. 82).¹⁰³
 42. *Ṣarḥ al-Ġalāl* [14a, 22a]: In some contexts it likely refers to *Ṣarḥ al-Ġalāl ʿalā l-Tahdīb* (= *Taqrīb Tahdīb al-mantīq*).
 43. *Ḥāṣiyat Kaššāf al-Ġalāl* refers to al-Ġalāl's glosses on the *Kaššāf*.
 44. *Ḥāṣiyat al-Kaššāf* and *Ḥawāṣī l-Kaššāf* [20a, 33b]: usually refers to al-Taftāzānī's *Ḥawāṣī*, but at times it may also refer to one of the numerous Zaydī glosses on the *Kaššāf*, e.g. by Šāliḥ b. Dāʾūd al-Ānīsī (d. 1100/1688–1689) which in turn depend on Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-ʿUlwī (d. 753/1352), *Tuḥfat dawī al-ašrāf fī kašf jawāmīd al-Kaššāf* = *Durar al-aṣḍāf fī ḥall ʿuqad al-Kaššāf* = *Ḥāṣiyat al-ʿAlwī*.¹⁰⁴ Besides, there are also references to superglosses *Ḥāṣiyat ʿalā ḥāṣiyat al-Kaššāf* [21a].
 45. *Maġmūʿ al-Faqīh al-fāḍil al-ʿāmil Šāliḥ al-Maqbalī* [72a]: collection of writings by Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Maḥdī l-Maqbalī (d. 1108/1696; ṬZK, p. 502 no. 298; AMZ, pp. 491–493 no. 492).
 46. *min ḥaṭṭ al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Šalāḥ b. Aḥmad al-Rāziḥī* [61b]: Šalāḥ b. Aḥmad al-Rāziḥī (d. after 1115/1703; ṬZK, pp. 519–520 no. 306), possibly from an autograph of his *ḥawāṣī* on *Mirqāt al-anzār*. In ṬZK p. 189 no. 86 al-Rāziḥī is mentioned as teacher of *Ṣarḥ al-Muqaddima li-l-Naġrī*.
 47. *naqaltuhu min ḥaṭṭ al-Qāḍī al-ʿAllāma Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ b. Abī l-Riġāl* [92b]: Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ Ibn Abī l-Riġāl (d. 1092/1681; ṬZK, pp. 137–147 no. 52), the author of *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* (see above n. 14).

101 On al-Ġalāl see also the editor's introduction to *Niẓām al-fuṣūl*, i.e. al-Ġalāl's commentary *al-Fuṣūl al-luʿluʿiyya (fī uṣūl al-fiqh)*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAlī Nūr al-Dīn, Ṣanʿā, Markaz al-Turāt wa-l-Buḥūt al-Yamanī, (available @ <http://dc253.4shared.com/doc/ywD9NJVo/preview.html> [consulted 30/11/2013]).

102 Al-Ġalāl refers to it as *Ṣarḥ Ṣarḥ al-Qalāʾid* (e.g. *Niẓām al-Fuṣūl*, vol. 1, p. 14, 210, vol. 2, p. 1, 54–55).

103 At times (e.g. 62a) *Ṣarḥ al-Ġalāl* may also refer to his *ḥawāṣī* on Zamaḥṣārī's *Kaššāf*.

104 See Walid A. Saleh, "The Gloss as Intellectual History: The *Hāshiyahs* on *al-Kashshāf*", *Oriens* 41 (2013), pp. 217–259, pp. 236–238 for Taftāzānī's *Ḥawāṣī*. One should add here the rich tradition of glosses on the *Kaššāf* by Yemenite Zaydis and Šāfiʿīs. For some aspects of the early transmission of the *Kaššāf* in Yemen see <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2005.html> [consulted 08/04/2014].

3.2.2 Works by Non-Šīʿī Muʿtazilī Authors

1. *al-Šayḥ Maḥmūd fī l-Fāʾiq* and *Ibn al-Malāḥimī* and *al-Fāʾiq* [9a, 9b, 37a, 37b, 38b, 39a, 41a, 55a, 66b, 67b]: Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḥwārazmī (d. 536/1141), *K. al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*.
2. *qāla l-Šayḥ Maḥmūd* and *Muʿtamad* [7a, 67b (actually from the *Fāʾiq*)]: Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḥwārazmī (d. 536/1141), *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*.
3. *al-Kaššāf* and *Ġār Allāh* [1b, 3b, 4b, 10b, 12b, 14b, 21a, 23b, 30a, 39a, 39b, 40a, 40b, 41a, 42a, 55b, 56a, 57b, 60a, 61a, 62a, 62b, 63a, 65b, 66b, 67b, 68b, 69a, 70a, 72b, 73b, 74a, 76a, 77a, 79a, 80a, 80b, 81a, 82b, 83a, 83b, 84b, 85a, 94a, 96b, 97b, 100b, 106a, 107b]: Ġār Allāh Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Ḥwārazmī l-Zamahšarī (d. 538/1144), *K. al-Kaššāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wuḡūb al-taʾwīl* (GAL, vol. 1, p. 290; GALS, vol. 1, p. 507).¹⁰⁵

3.2.3 Works by non-Muʿtazilī Sunnī Authors

1. *qāla l-Imām al-Ḥaramayn Abū l-Maʾālī* [20b]: Abū l-Maʾālī al-Ġuwaynī (d. 478/1085; *ET*², vol. 2, pp. 605–606), *K. al-Iršād fī uṣūl al-dīn*.
2. *Maʾālim al-tanzīl* [38b, 39a]: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Farrāʾ al-Baġawī (d. 516/1122; *ET*², vol. 1, p. 893), *Maʾālim al-tanzīl* (GALS, vol. 1, p. 592, 622); extracts from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Taʾlabī's (d. 427/1035) *al-Kašf wa-l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, very popular among Šāfiʿīs in Yemen and elsewhere.
3. *Muḥaṣṣal* [29b]: Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), *K. Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-mutaʾaḥḥirīn min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-muta-kallimīn*.
4. *Šarḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal* or *Šarḥ al-Kātibī* [29b (*qāla Šāriḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal li-l-Rāzī [...] tammat Šarḥ al-Kātibī*)]: Naġm al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dabīrān al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī (*“Šāriḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal li-l-Rāzī”*) (d. 675/1277), *K. al-Muḥaṣṣal fī šarḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal* (MS Istanbul, Damad Ibrahim Pasha 821

105 The use of the *Kaššāf* in glosses to a work on *uṣūl dīn* (as is the case with Naġrī's *Mirqāt al-anzār*) sheds further light on the relevance of this commentary to theological issues, which has been doubted by some (A.J. Lane, “You can't tell a book by its author: A study of Muʿtazilite theology in al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *Kashshāf*”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75 (2012), pp. 47–86). For a more convincing alternative view see Kifayat Ullah, *Al-Kashshāf: al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) Muʿtazilite exegesis of the Qurʾān*, doctoral dissertation, Washington DC, 2013.

FIGURE 6.3

ms Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294, f. 37^r (hawāšī top margin, rotated)

- [autograph]); commentary on Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), *K. Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-mutaʾaḥḥirīn min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-mutakallimīn*.
5. *al-Raḍī* [7a]: Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī (d. 686/1287 or 688/1289), unspecified.
 6. *al-Bayḍāwī* and *al-Bayḍāwī fī l-tafsīr* [14b, 33a, 55b, 56a, 62a, 66b, 67b, 71b, 83b]: Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥayr (/ Abū Saʿīd) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316; *Enclr*, vol. 4, pp. 15–17), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*.
 7. *Mawāqif* and *al-Aḍud fī l-Muwāqafa*(!) [6b, 10a (in later hand)]: ʿAḍud al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ğaffār al-Īğī (d. 756/1355; *ET*², vol. 3, p. 1022), *K. al-Mawāqif fī ʿilm al-kalām* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 208 f.; GALS, vol. 2, p. 289; MS Šanʿāʾ, MĠK(š) 2315, cat. Ruqayḥī, p. 775).
 8. *al-Subkī fī tarğamat al-Ašʿarī* [33a]: Tāğ al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb b. Taqī l-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370; *ET*², vol. 9, p. 744), *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*.
 9. *Šarḥ al-ʿAqāʾid (al-Nasafiyya)* and *Šarḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Saʿdī* and (at times) *Saʿd al-Dīn* [20a, 30b, 31b, 32a, 33a, 33b, 37b, 39a, 69b, 70a, 71a, 87a, 96b, 97a, 97b, 98a, 99a]: Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390; *ET*², vol. 10, pp. 88–89), *Šarḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafiyya* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 216 no. 11).¹⁰⁶
 10. *Saʿd al-Dīn* and *Saʿd al-Dīn min Šarḥ al-Kaššāf* [23a, 23b, 39a(?), 63a, 69a, 81a, 85a]: Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390; *ET*², vol. 10, pp. 88–89), *Ḥāšiyat al-Kaššāf* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 216 no. 12); glosses on al-Zamaḥṣarī's *Kaššāf*.¹⁰⁷
 11. *Saʿd al-Dīn* [87a]: Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390; *ET*², vol. 10, pp. 88–89), *Šarḥ al-Maqāṣid* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 216 no. 10).
 12. *al-Zarkašī fī Šarḥ Ğamʿ al-Ğawāmiʿ* and possibly also *Šarḥ al-Ğamʿ* [37a, 67b, 86b]: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bahādur al-Zarkašī (d. 794/1392; *ET*², vol. 12, p. 842), *Tašnīf al-masāmiʿ fī Ğamʿ al-Ğawāmiʿ* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 89; GALS, vol. 2, p. 105); commentary on Tāğ al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) *Ğamʿ al-Ğawāmiʿ (fī uṣūl al-fiqh)* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 89; GALS, vol. 2, p. 105).¹⁰⁸
 13. *al-Nağm al-waḥḥāğ fī šarḥ al-Minhāğ li-l-Damīrī* [1b]: Abū l-Baqāʾ Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405; *ET*², vol. 2, pp. 107–108), *K. al-*

106 'Saʿd al-Dīn' is used to refer to either *Šarḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-nasafiyya* or *Šarḥ al-Maqāṣid* or *Ḥāšiyat al-Kaššāf*.

107 See above n. 104.

108 *Šarḥ al-Ğamʿ* may also refer to Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī's commentary on *Ğamʿ al-Ğawāmiʿ* (see below).

- Nağm al-wahhāğ fī šarḥ al-Minhāğ* (GALS, vol. 1, p. 681 no. 11), extracts from Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 756/1355) and Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī's (d. 772/1370) commentaries on Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn wa-maslak al-rāğibīn*.¹⁰⁹
14. *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* [20b, 71b]: Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405; *EI*², vol. 2, pp. 107–108), *K. Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 138; GALS, vol. 2, p. 171).
 15. *Šarḥ (al-)Mawāqif* and *al-Šarīf fī Šarḥihi (ba'd al-'Aḍud)* [6a, 10a, 56a, 59a]: al-Šarīf Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ğurğānī (d. 816/1413; *EI*², vol. 2, p. 602 f.; van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit* [above n. 28], p. 42, 60, 95), *Šarḥ al-Mawāqif*; commentary on 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ġī's (d. 756/1355) *K. al-Mawāqif fī 'ilm al-kalām* (see above).
 16. *Qāmūs* [1b, 3b, 10b, 12a, 16b, 31a, 34a, 39a, 39b, 51a, 52a, 52b, 54b, 57b, 75a, 79b, 80a, 86b, 87b, 92a, 93b, 95b, 96b, 97b, 98a, 100a, 101a, 107b, 108a, 110a]: Abū l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī (d. 817/1415; *EI*², vol. 2, pp. 926–927), *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa-l-qābūs al-waṣīṭ al-ğāmi' li-mā dahaba min luğat al-'Arab šamā'it* (GAL, vol. 2, pp. 181–183; GALS, vol. 2, pp. 234–236); al-Firūzābādī spent the last two decades of his life in Yemen and in 797/1395 became chief Qāḍī of Yemen.
 17. *al-Buḥārī* [54b]: This either refers to an unspecified work by 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buḥārī (d. 841/1438) or to Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad [al-Ḥāfizī] al-Buḥārī's [known as Ḥwāğā-yi Pārsā] (d. 822/1419) *Šarḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*.
 18. *al-Ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-ātār li-l-Maqrizī* or *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* [8b, 37b]: Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrizī (d. 845/1442; *EI*², vol. 6, pp. 193–194), *K. al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* (= *al-Ḥiṭaṭ al-Maqriziyya*) (GAL, vol. 2, pp. 38–39; GALS, vol. 2, p. 36).
 19. *Šarḥ al-Ğam'* [37a]: One of the more popular commentaries on Tāğ al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) *Ğam' al-Ğawāmi' (fī uṣūl al-fiqh)* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 89; GALS, vol. 2, p. 105), most likely by Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1460) or Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkašī (d. 794/1392).
 20. *Šarḥ Huṭbat al-Minhāğ* [5b, 7b ("mu'allif Šarḥ al-ḥuṭba, al-Ibšīṭi")]: Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Ibšīṭī (d. 883/1478; BT, pp. 67–69 no. 23; MM, vol. 1, p. 63), commentary on the preamble of Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Šaraf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278), *K. Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn wa-maslak al-rāğibīn* (GAL², p. 496 no. 29,1; GALS, vol. 1, p. 680).

109 Al-Damīrī's *al-Nağm al-wahhāğ* should not be confused with 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bukrī's *al-Kawkab al-wahhāğ fī šarḥ al-Minhāğ* (see above no. 25 under Zaydī compositions).

21. *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* [21b, 29b, 76b, 80b]: Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Īǧī (d. 905/1500), *Ġāmiʿ al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 203; GAL², vol. 2, p. 261; GALS, vol. 2, p. 278 no. 10,1; al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, vol. 8, p. 37).
22. *Ḥašīyat Ibn Abī Šarīf ʿalā Šarḥ al-Maḥallī* [67a]: Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī l-Šarīf al-Kawrānī al-Maqdisī (d. 906/1500), *al-Durar al-lawāmiʿ fī taḥrīr Šarḥ Ġamʿ al-Ġawāmiʿ* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 89; GALS, vol. 2, p. 944 no. 147), i.e. glosses on Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1460) *al-Badr al-tālī fī ḥall Ġamʿ al-Ġawāmiʿ*, a commentary on Tāǧ al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) *Ġamʿ al-Ġawāmiʿ (fī uṣūl al-fiqh)* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 89; GALS, vol. 2, p. 105).
23. *al-Durr al-naṭīr muḥtaṣar Nihāyat Ibn Aṭīr li-l-Suwāṭī* [63a]: Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *EI*², vol. 9, pp. 913–916), *al-Durr al-naṭīr fī talḥiṣ Nihāyat Ibn al-Aṭīr* (GAL, vol. 1, p. 357), i.e. Suyūṭī's *Talḥiṣ* of Maǧd al-Dīn al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Aṭīr's (d. 606/1210) *K. al-Nihāya fī ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ wa-l-aṭar* (GAL, vol. 1, p. 357).
24. *Faṭḥ al-mubīn fī-šarḥ al-Arbaʿīn li-bn Ḥaǧar* [110a]: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥaǧar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567; *EI*², vol. 3, pp. 778–779; *ṬZK*, pp. 1370–1428 no. 845; see above n. 33), *Faṭḥ al-mubīn fī šarḥ al-Arbaʿīn* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 387; GALS, vol. 1, p. 683).
25. *Tafsīr Abī Suʿūd* or *ʿAbī Suʿūd* [24a (ad Q 13[al-Raʿd]:31)]: Abū l-Suʿūd Muḥammad b. Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿImādī (d. 982/1574; *EI*², vol. 1, p. 152), *Iršād al-ʿaql al-salīm ilā mazāyā l-Qurʾān al-karīm* (GAL, vol. 1, p. 438f.). The *Tafsīr* by al-ʿImādī (“Hoca Çelebi”, “Ebussuud Efendi”), the ‘Šayḫ al-Islām’ of the Ottoman empire under Sulṭān Sulaymān I. (952/1545–), was introduced to Yemen during the first Ottoman occupation.
26. *al-Nibrās* [83a]: ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Ganǧ(aw)ī (MM, vol. 6, p. 224; *BṬ*, p. 166), *K. al-Nibrās li-kašf al-iltibās al-wāqīʿ fī l-Asās li-ʿaqāʾid qawm sammū anfusahum bi-l-Akyās* (GAL, vol. 2, p. 330; GALS, vol. 2, p. 457 no. 7).¹¹⁰ The *Nibrās* by the Damascene Ašʿarite-Šāfiʿite al-

¹¹⁰ GAL, vol. 2, p. 330, GAL², vol. 2, p. 433, GALS, vol. 2, p. 457 no. 7; MM, vol. 6, p. 224. See also the editor's introduction in Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šalāḥ al-Šarafi's (d. 1055/1646) *Šifāʾ šudūr al-nās bi-šarḥ maʿānī l-Asās* (= *Šarḥ al-Asās al-kabīr*), Šanʿa, Dār al-Ḥikma al-Yamāniyya, 1991, vol. 1, p. 21. Āǧā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā tašānīf al-Šīʿa*, Beirut, Dār al-Aḍwā, 1983, who—like al-Šawkānī—attributes the *Nibrās* to Šihāb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Kurdi (d. 1101/1690; *BṬ*, pp. 42–43 no. 6), refers to an additional copy of the *Nibrās* in Naǧaf. An identification ‘*al-Nibrās*’ with *K. al-Nibrās (Šarḥ šarḥ al-ʿaqāʾid)*, a commentary by the Ḥanafī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Farḥārī (d. ca. 1241/1825–1826) on al-Taftāzānī's *Šarḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-Nasafiyya*, must be excluded for chronological reasons.

FIGURE 6.4 MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294, f. 8r (upper half)

Gang(aw)ī, completed in 1062/1062, was written in refutation of *K. al-Asās li-taṣṣiḥ* 'aqā'id al-akyās by Imām al-Mansūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620; see above no. 30), the founder of the Qāsimī dynasty, and thus directed against the centre of power of the early Qāsimī state which after the end of the first Ottoman occupation in 1636 encompassed from 1670 onwards both Upper and Lower Yemen with its many Šāfi'ī-Aš'arī subjects. The *Nibrās* is an important piece of evidence for the early reception of *K. al-Asās* outside of Yemen, in Iraq and Syria. The *Nibrās* was in turn refuted by Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-'Abdī (d. 1115/1703; BT, pp. 166–167 no. 83) in the bulky *K. al-Iḥtirās 'an nār al-Nibrās al-tā'in fī qawā'id al-Asās*.¹¹¹ Another refutation of the *Nibrās*, entitled *al-Qusṭās fī l-radd*

111 Interestingly, al-Šawkānī, BT, pp. 166–167 (167, ll. 2–3) no. 83, notes that al-'Abdī resorted to

‘alā Šāhib al-Nibrās (unfinished), was written by Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim (d. 1123/1711) who—as mentioned above—sponsored and supervised the copy of MS Munich Cod. arab. 1294.¹¹²

Some sources erroneously give Šihāb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Šahrazūrī al-Kurdī (d. 1101/1690; GAL 11:385–866; GAL² 11:505–507; GALS 11:520 f.) as author of the *Nibrās*. This confusion may be due to the fact that al-Kurdī is the author of *K. Nibrās al-inās bi-ağwibat su‘ālāt ahl Fās* and of a commentary (see <http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/4x51hj43c>; I am grateful to Harith bin Ramli for this reference) on *al-Aqida al-ṣaḥiḥa wa-l-dīn al-naṣiḥa* (ed. Šan‘ā’: Dār al-Turāṭ al-Yamanī, 1995) by Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl b. al-Qāsim (d. 1087/1676) whose *sīra* is found in Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad al-Ġarmūzī’s (d. 1077/1666) *Tuḥfat al-asmā’ wa-l-abṣār bi-mā fī l-sīra al-Mutawakkiliyya min ġarā’ib al-aḥbār* (ed. ‘Am-mān: IZbACF 2002).

some of the main sources of the *Nibrās* such as al-Īǧī’s *K. al-Mawāqif*, al-Taftāzānī’s *K. al-Maqāṣid* and al-Samarqandī’s *Šarḥ al-Tağrīd* to prove the incoherence of the author’s arguments. For manuscripts of *K. al-Iḥtirās* see, for instance, Šan‘ā’, МСК(Ġ), cat. Īsawī, p. 241 f.; <http://libback.uqu.edu.sa/hipres/SCRIPT/ind1968.pdf>; <http://libback.uqu.edu.sa/hipres/SCRIPT/ind13636-2.pdf>; <http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/v405sb679> [consulted 30/11/2013]. I intend to dedicate a more detailed study to *K. al-Nibrās* and its Zaydī refutations in the future.

112 BT, pp. 293–296 (295) no. 176; MFY, p. 155.