The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition

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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. This codex contains ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Naḡrī’s as yet unedited K. Mirqāt al-anẓār which for almost three centuries constituted the backbone of Zaydī kalām-studies. The body of the text is surrounded by extensive marginal notes (ḥawāšī) which mostly consist of quotations from a wide variety of Zaydī and Sunnī sources dating from

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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.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00038600/images/ [consulted 30/11/2013].

3. According to ʿAlī al-Mūsawī Naḡād, Turāṭ al-Zaydiyya, Qum, Maʿhad Dirāsāt al-Adyān wa-l-Maḏāhib al-Islāmiyya, 2005, p. 156, n. 2, an edition of this seminal text was announced about ten years ago by Markaz al-Turāṭ wa-l-Buḥūṭ al-Yamānī in Ṣanʿāʾ.—A separate study will have to determine the exact relationship between the curricular status of K. Mirqāt al-anẓār and the status of the other major manual of uṣūl al-dīn during the early Qāsimī period, K. al-Asās li-taṣḥīḥ ʿaqāʾid al-Akyās by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620), both with regard to their respective position in Zaydi curricula of uṣūl al-dīn and with regard to differences in doctrinal matters. K. al-Miʿrāǧ fī šarḥ al-Minhaǧ by Imām al-Hādī ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan (d. 900/1494–1495) was usually studied alongside K. Mirqāt al-anẓār.
Figure 6.1 Ms Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294, f. 30v
the 4th/10th century up to the copy date of the manuscript in 1108/1696. 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, the subsequent periods remain largely unexplored. 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 Zaydi scholars applied themselves to studying Sunnī literature in addition to the traditional Zaydī school texts. This assessment tends to discount the numerous examples

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4 See below, section 3.2., for a list of the works quoted or paraphrased in the ḥawāšī of ms Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294.
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 Zaydi-Mu’tazili tradition in Yemen between the 7th/13th and the 15th/21st centuries. For a convenient periodisation of Zaydi kalām literature see my “Mu’tazilism in a 20th century Zaydi Qurʾān commentary”, Arabica 59 (2012), pp. 395–402.
of Yemenite Zaydi scholars from the 6th/12th to 8th/14th centuries who devoted themselves to the study of Sunnī hadīth and fiqh literature.

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

in the level of interaction between Zaydī scholars in Upper Yemen and Šāfī’ī Sunnis in Lower Yemen and exposed much larger segments of Zaydī scholars to diverse strands of Sunni scholarship. 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. 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, Zaydīsm had a long tradition of assimilating components of Sunnī law, and several eminent Zaydī imāms had studied Ḥanafī law. 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.

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

The reception of an Avicennised Aş'arite *kalām* was not new to Zaydī scholars of the Ṭāhirid and Qāsimī periods. From the early 7th/13th century onwards, Yemenite Zaydi *mutakallimūn* started to grapple with the massive impact of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s (d. 606/1210) works. The writings of Yahyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348–1349), ʿĪmād al-Dīn al-Qurašī (d. 780/1378–1379), Ahmad b. Yahyā l–Murtadaṭ (d. 840/1436–1437) and other eminent Zaydi 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 Aş'arī doctrines. Zaydi scholars learned to read the major *summae* and manuals of post-Avicennian Aş'arism “against the grain” and to play one Aş'arī scholar against another; selected passages in the works of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īǧī, Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, al-Šarīf al-Ǧurğānī and other authors of influential Sunnī *kalām* compendia were adduced whenever their positions were deemed to be reconcilable with Zaydi theological doctrine or useful to clarify its exposition. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muhammad al-Naǧrī was a key figure and model for his successful negotiation between Zaydī *uşūl* (*al-dīn/al-fiqh*) and non-Mu’tazī Sunnī *kalām*.

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

According to most sources, Faḫr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Naḡrī was born in 825/1422 in Ḥūṯ, the well-known urban settlement situated at an important crossroads halfway between Ṣanʿāʾ and Ṣa’da. Other sources

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13 This does not imply that *uşūl al-dīn* is beyond the realm of *iǧtihād.* Quite the contrary, according to Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yahyā l-Murtadaṭ ʿīlīn *uşūl al-dīn* is “*al-ḥāmis min al-ʿulām al-muṭabara fi l-iǧtihād* [...] wa-huwa ahamm al-muṭabarat 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. The various biographical accounts usually state that he began his education in ṇahw, fiqh and the uṣūlān (scil. uṣūl al-dīn and uṣūl al-fiqh) with his father and his elder brother ‘Alī in Ḥūṯ where he spent his youth. Next, they mention his ḥaǧǧ to Mecca in Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 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-ʿilm to Mamlūk Cairo where he arrived three months later, in Rabi‘ 1 849/June 1445. On account of this riḥla, he is commonly referred to as al-faqīh al-raḥḥāl al-mutakallim allaḏī raḥala ilā l-bilād wa-laqiya l-šuyūḥ.
Some sources stress that he was hiding his Zaydi identity during his stay in Cairo and purported to be a Ḥanafī scholar (wa-tasattara muddata baqāʾihi bi-Miṣr, fa-lam yantasib ilā l-Zaydiyya wa-ntasaba ilā l-Ḥanafiyya). This in turn would explain the oddity that al-Naǧrī figures in the biographical dictionaries of Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480) and Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Al-Saḫāwī (d. 902/1497) (wa-li-hāḏā tarǧamahu al-Biqāʿī wa-l-Saḫāwī).  

According to all biographical accounts, al-Naǧrī studied a wide range of disciplines during his stay in Cairo. Al-Aḍud ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣayrāmī (d. 880/1474) and Amīn al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Aqṣarāʾī (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 Ṣunni teachers of Zaydi scholars. The same holds for Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Šumunnī (d. 872/1468), an Alexandria born Ḥanafī scholar from a Mālikī family of Maġribī origin with whom al-Naǧrī studied ʿilm al-maʿānī wa-l-bayān. Besides, he studied grammar (naḥw wa-ṣarf) with Abū Ḥaʃf ʿUmar Ibn Qadid al-Qalamṭāʾī (d. 856/1452) and Abū l-Qāsim al-Nuwayrī (d. 857/1453), manṭiq (i.e. al-Kātibī’s Šamsiyya and commentaries) with Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Taqī al-Ḥiṣnī (d. 881/1476), ʿilm al-waqt with ʿIzz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Wafāʾī al-Mīqātī (d. 876/1471), and ḥan-dasa with Abū l-Faḍl al-Maġribī (d. 864/1460). Al-Saḫāwī highlights al-Naǧrī’s study of al-Šarīf al-Ǧurǧānī’s (d. 816/1413) Šarḥ al-Mawāqif with the
above-mentioned al-Taqī al-Ḥiṣnī and Ğābir b. Aftāḥ’s *K. al-Tabṣira* with al-Ğaḡmīnī.\(^{30}\)

For our purposes, al-Naḡrī’s studies with al-Taqī al-Ḥiṣnī deserve particular attention. According to al-Saḥāwī,\(^{31}\) al-Taqī al-Ḥiṣnī spent five years in Herat studying at the newly built Timurid *madrasa* inaugurated by Šāh-Ruḫ in 813/1410–1411.\(^{32}\) With Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ğaḡmīnī (d. 864/1459), a student of Ğalāl al-Dīn Yūṣūf b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥallāḡ (d. 823/1420) (a student of al-Šarīf al-Ğurğānī), he studied the works of ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ĭḡī, al-Șarīf al-Ğurğānī’s *Šarḥ al-Mawāqif* and a commentary on al-Bayḍāwī’s *Tawālīʾ al-anwār*, most probably Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. 749/1348) *Maṭālīʾ al-anẓār ʿalā Tawālīʾ al-anwār*.\(^{33}\) In 845/1441–1442, only four years before al-Naḡrī’s arrival in Cairo, al-Taqī al-Ḥiṣnī returned to Egypt and took up a teaching position at al-Azhar.\(^{34}\)

It is unclear how long al-Naḡrī stayed in Cairo. Judging from what al-Biqāʾī writes under the year 853 Ah, al-Naḡrī 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. *Maṭlaʿ 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 Ğamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh

\(^{29}\) The names of al-Naḡrī’s teachers got mixed up in the sources: according to al-Saḥāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmiʿ*, al-Naḡrī studied *Šarḥ al-Mawāqif* with al-Ğaḡmīnī 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-Ğaḡmīnī.

\(^{31}\) See above n. 26.


\(^{33}\) Al-Ğaḡmīnī and al-Taqī al-Ḥiṣnī also appear in *isnād* of the Šāfīʿī-Ašʿarī Ahmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytami (d. 974/1567; ṭzk, pp. 1370–1428 no. 845) who is said to have transmitted the works of al-Taftāzānī and al-Șarīf al-Ğurğānī to some Zaydī scholars (see ṭzk, p. 1372, 1412–1413, where al-Taqī al-Ḥiṣnī is referred to as “Ṣayḥ al-Šāfīʿiyya al-Taqī b. Șāḏī”). In the *isnād* relating to the works of al-Șarīf al-Ğurğānī his name is misspelled as ‘al-Taqī al-Ḥifškī’, in the *isnād* relating to al-Ĭḡī’s influential commentary on Ibn al-Ḥāḡib’s *Muḫtaṣar Muntahā al-suʿl* as ‘al-Taqī b. Șāḏī 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) Muğnī l-labīb (‘an kutub al-a’ārīb) (huwa awwal man qaddama bi-Muğnī l-labīb min Miṣr īlā l-Yaman, ṭumma wasala bihi al-Rīmī al-Šāfiʿī ba’dahu īlā Šanīʿa’). It is likely that he was also the first to introduce al-Šarīf al-Ǧurǧānī’s Šarḥ al-Mawāqif, Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī’s (d. 792/1390) Šarḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-nasafiyya and similar works to Upper Yemen. Both are repeatedly quoted in K. Mirqāt al-anẓār and later became important reference texts in Zaydi theological works of the Qāsimī period. According to some reports, al-Naḡrī wrote his Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Baḥr [al-zaḫḫār] (= K. Mirqāt al-anẓār) on his way back from Cairo to Yemen (ṣannaftuhu fī safarī qāfilan min Miṣr). After his return from Egypt, al-Naḡrī attached himself to Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Muṭahhar b. Muhammad b. Sulaymān (d. 879/1474), an eminent student of Imām al-Mahdī. Al-Mutawakkil’s intellectual profile and the range of uṣūl-works he studied and taught share many commonalities with al-Naḡrī’s formation in the uṣūl-sciences. During this period, al-Naḡrī forged a close collaboration with ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Bukurī (d. 882/1478). Together with Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḫālīdī (d. 880/1475; ṭzk, p. 203 f. no. 96), they formed the scholarly core group in the entourage of al-Mutawakkil. Al-Naḡrī and al-Bukurī co-authored a commentary on the introduction

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36 I am not aware of any reference to these works in Zaydi literature prior to al-Naḡrī’s Mirqāt al-anẓār.

37 ṭzk, p. 637.

38 On al-Mutawakkil see ṭzk, 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 Ṭāhirid took full advantage of this rivalry and temporarily even gained control over Šanīʿa’ as they did later on from 910/1505 till 923/1517.

39 His study of Zaydi literature was based on the works of Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yahyā l-Muṭaḍārā. Among the Sunni works which he studied figure three commentaries on al-Qazwīnī’s Talḥīṣ al-Miftāḥ, including al-Taftāzānī’s Muṭawwal, al-Īǧī’s commentary on Ibn al-Ḥāǧib’s Muṭaṣar Muntahā al-suʿl and several supercommentaries, al-Subkī’s Rafʿ al-Ḥāǧib, al-Iṣbahānī’s Bayān al-Muṭaṣar, and so forth (ṭzk, pp. 1131–1132). Ibn al-Ḥāǧib’s Muṭaṣar and its commentaries became a mainstay of Zaydi uṣūl al-fiqh in the 9th/15th century in addition to the earlier Zaydi-Muʿtazili tradition.


of al-Bayān al-šāfī⁴² by Yahyā b. Ahmad 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-Naǧrī also wrote on grammar (Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Tashīl li-bn Mālik)⁴⁵ and logic (Hidāyat al-mubtadiʾ 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: Šāfī al-ʾalīl fī šarḥ al-ḫamsīati āya min al-tanzīl⁴⁷ and the unfinished⁴⁸ K. Miʿyār aġwār al-afhām fī l-kašfʾan munāsabāt al-ahkām which both betray distinctive marks of his studies in Cairo.⁴⁹

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⁴⁶ MFY, p. 586.


⁴⁸ According to a note at the end of MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1282, f. 75b, al-Naḡrī died soon after completing bāb al-ibāḥa (waṣala l-Faqqī fī taʿlīf hāḏā l-kitāb ilā hāḏā l-mawdūʾ wa-tawuffiya).

⁴⁹ K. Miʿyār aġwār al-afhām (a manuscript of which may be viewed at http://makhtota.ksu
Al-Naǧrī’s principal *uṣûl*-work, written in 853/1449–1450, is known under various titles:

- *Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Bahr [al-zaḥḥār]*
- *Šarḥ al-Qalāʿīd fi tašīḥ al-ʿaqāʾīd*
- *Šarḥ al-Qalāʿīd al-muntazaʿ min al-Durar al-farāʾīd fi tašīḥ al-ʿaqāʾīd*
- *Šarḥ al-Naǧrī*[^50]
- *Šarḥ al-Naǧrī ʿalā Muqaddimat al-Bahr / Šarḥ al-Naǧrī ʿalā l-Qalāʿīd*

*Mirqāt al-anẓār* is a commentary on the second introductory section (*K. al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār al-ǧāmiʿ li-maḏāhib ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Murtaḍā’s (d. 840/1436–1437) comprehensive digest of Zaydi-Hādawī law preceded by six introductory sections (*dībāǰa/muqaddima*)[^51]. It is not, however, excerpted (*muntazaʿ*) from the second book (*K.

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[^50]: “*Šarḥ al-Naǧrī*” is an ambiguous reference, because it is also used to designate ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Naǧrī’s commentary on al-Mahdī’s *K. al-Azhār* (*Šarḥ al-Naǧrī ʿalā l-Azhār = *Mirqāt al-anẓār fī šarḥ muqaddimat al-Azhār*). The fact that Šālāh b. ʿAli al-Miḏwāḥī (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-anẓār fī šarḥ muqaddimat al-Azhār*” has further contributed to the confusion in the catalogues.

[^51]: For al-Mahdī see ṭzk, pp. 226–233 no. 115; bt, pp. 155–159 no. 77; AMZ, pp. 206–213 no. 199;
al-Durar al-farāʾid) of Ġayāt al-afkār as some title variants would seem to suggest. Because of its intermediary size between the very concise K. al-Qalāʾid 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-Qalāʾid within al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār and of K. al-Durar within Ġayāt al-afkār can be gleaned from the following synoptic table. Ġayāt al-afkār consists of an introduction and nine disciplinary sections (funūn).52 Funūn 1–6 are commentaries on the six parts of the Dībāġa of K. al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār (ed. Tāmir, vol. 1), while funūn 7–9 are commentaries on its principal legal part (K. al-Aḥkām al-mutaḍammin li-fiqh aʾimmat al-Islām) and two of its appendices (ed. Tāmir, vols 2–6). In the general introduction to Ġayāt al-afkār, Ibn al-Murtaḍā describes the encyclopaedic Ġayāt-project as Kitāb laṭīf yataḍammanu l-iḥāṭa bi-ʿulūm al-islām ǧamīʿihā, uṣūlihā wa-furūʿihā, wa-stiqṣāʾ masāʿil al-ḫilāf bayna firaq al-ummat wa-qawāʿidihā allatī taṯbutu ʿalayhā furūʿihā.53


See MS London, British Library [hereafter BL], Or. 3937, f. 2a: iʾlam anna hāḏā l-kitāb al-ǧalīl qad ištamala ʿalā tisʿa mutūn fi tisʿa funūn. The same terminology is also used in the author’s introduction, Or. 3937, f. 3a, ll. 4–12. The general introduction to Ġayāt al-afkār is extant in MS BL Or. 3937, ff. 2b–22a. Sifr/fṣfūr, by contrast, is used as a codicological unit.

52 See MS London, British Library [hereafter BL], Or. 3937, f. 2a: iʾlam anna hāḏā l-kitāb al-ǧalīl qad ištamala ʿalā tisʿa mutūn fi tisʿa funūn. The same terminology is also used in the author’s introduction, Or. 3937, f. 3a, ll. 4–12. The general introduction to Ġayāt al-afkār is extant in MS BL Or. 3937, ff. 2b–22a. Sifr/fṣfūr, by contrast, is used as a codicological unit.

53 MS BL Or. 3937, f. 2b.
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<td>8</td>
<td>K. al-Rawḍa al-naḍīra fī šarḥ K. al-Durra al-munīra fi l-ĝarīb min fiqḥ al-sīra</td>
<td>K. al-Durra al-munīra fi l-ĝarīb min fiqḥ al-sīra [vol. 6, pp. 701–718]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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54 *Al-Baḥr al-zāḥhār, Gāyāt al-āfār,* and many manuscripts of *Miqrāt al-anṭār* use acronyms (*rumūz*) to refer to the most important scholars (see ed. Tāmir, vol. 1, pp. 7–24).

55 See above n. 52.

56 Ed. Muḥammad Ǧawād 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 ḏikr al-Muʿtazila wa-ṭaḥqaṭīḥīm*).

57 See the synoptic table of contents below.

58 See the synoptic table of contents below.


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

2.1 **Manuscripts of K. Mirqāt al-anẓār**

The central position of *K. Mirqāt al-anẓār* in the curriculum of Zaydi *uṣūl al-dīn* studies is reflected in the significant number of extant manuscript copies. 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).


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 Rabi’ 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.


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

63 Significantly shorter lists are given in gal, vol. 2, p. 239; gals, vol. 2, p. 245; mfy, pp. 137–138; and the various manuscript catalogues.

64 See below n. 87.

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

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.
19. MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294 (formerly Cod. arab. Glaser 78); 11 ff.; date: 1108/1696; cat. Sobieroj, pp. 445–446 no. 234.
23. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ǧarbiyya 696; ff. 7–239; date: 1100/1689; cat. ‘Īsawi, p. 392.
27. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ǧarbiyya 702; 264 ff.; date: 1061/1651; cat. ‘Īsawi, p. 393.
28. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ǧarbiyya 706; 115 ff.; date: 1103/1691; cat. ‘Īsawi, p. 393.
31. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ǧarbiyya 709; ff. 6–112; date: 1154/1741; cat. ‘Īsawi, p. 393 f.
32. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ǧarbiyya 710; 216 ff.; date: 1345/1926; cat. ‘Īsawi, p. 394.
33. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ǧarbiyya 711; ff. 11–243; cat. ‘Īsawi, p. 394.
34. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Ǧarbiyya 695; 146 ff.; date: 1023/1614; cat. ‘Īsawi, p. 394.
35. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 177; ff. 75–290; date: 958/1551; cat. Ruqayḥi, p. 665.
36. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 589; ff. 5–150; date: 920/1514; cat. Ruqayḥi, p. 665.
40. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya, Mağāmiʿ no. 2; ff. 1–87; date: 1014/1605; cat. Ruqayḥi, p. 741.
42. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 737; 243 ff.; date: 1051/1642; cat. Ruqayḥi, p. 742.
43. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat al-Ḡāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 591; 151 ff.; date: 1170/1756; cat. Ruqayḥī, p. 742.
44. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat al-Ḡāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 592; 139 ff.; date: 1051/1641; cat. Ruqayḥī, p. 742.
45. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat al-Ḡāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya 593; 130 ff.; cat. Ruqayḥī, 743.
47. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat al-Ḡāmiʿ al-Kabīr al-Šarqiyya, Maǧāmīʿ no. 65; ff. 1–61; cat. Ruqayḥī, p. 743.
48. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl Ġimḍān; cat. fmmḫ, p. 13 no. 12.
49. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Ḍārī 81; date: 1075/1664–1665; cat. FMMH, p. 326 no. 786.
52. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsī; date: 1070/1660; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 196 no. 13.
53. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsī; date: 1025/1616; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 196 no. 14/1/67 = (?) IzbaCF CD no. 279/3; 232 ff.
54. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsī; date: 1062/1652; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 198 no. 18/1.
55. MS Ṣaʾnāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsī; date: 1095/1684; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 239 no. 100.
57. MS Șaʿda, Maktabat ʿAl b. al-Hašimi; date: 1172/1759; cat. MTMḤY, vol. 1, p. 349 no. 98/2.

The catalogue gives the title as Mīrqāt al-anẓār al-muntazaʿ min Ġāyat al-afkār al-kāšīf li-maʿānī 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 “Mīrqāt al-anẓār” was authored by Ṣalāḥ b. Ṣaʿd b. Miḍwāḥī (d. after 1007/1598–1599; MB, vol. 2, p. 491). See above n. 50.
The location of the original manuscripts of the following reproductions has not yet been ascertained.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{68} Over the last decades and especially during the Sa’da wars hundreds of Zaydi 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 Zaydi 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/).
Structure of *K. al-Qalāʾid*, *K. al-Durar al-farāʾid* and *K. Mirqāt al-anẓār*

---

**K. al-Qalāʾid fī taṣḥīh al-ʿaqāʾid**
- *Muqaddimat K. al-Durar al-farāʾid* (4 fuṣūl)
- *Bayān mā warada fī l-Kitāb wa-l-Sunna min al-ḫawḍ fī ʿilm al-kalām wa-l-ḥaṯṭ ʿalayhi*

**K. al-Durar al-farāʾid**
- *Faṣl al-ʿilm ʿalā sabīl al-ǧumla*
- *Faṣl hāḏā al-fann ʿalā sabīl al-ḫuṣūṣ*

**Mirqāt al-anẓār**
- *Bayān mā warada fī l-Kitāb wa-l-Sunna min al-ḫawḍ fī ʿilm al-kalām wa-l-ḥaṯṭ ʿalayhi*

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<td>bl. Or. 6266, f. 224b–225b&lt;br&gt;Munich 1294, f. 54a–54b</td>
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71 **MS BL Or. 3956, f. 243a:** tamma al-sifr al-awwal min Kitāb al-Durar al-farāʾid fi šarḥ Kitāb al-Qalāʾid. Sifr is here a codicological unit [al-sifr al-awwal min Kitāb al-Durar = al-sifr al-tānî min Gāyāt al-afkār].

72 **MS BL Or. 3937, f. 221a:** tamma al-ḡuzʾ al-awwal min ḡuzʾayn min Kitāb al-Durar al-farāʾid fi šarḥ Kitāb al-Qalāʾid [...]. Yatlūhu faṣlun fī l-alṭāf.


74 The section on ʿiwaḍ is introduced as a separate faṣl ([MS BL Or. 6266, f. 221b = MS Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294, f. 52a]).
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75 ms bl. Or. 3840 (= Glaser 128); 177 ff.; date: 1174/1760; cat. Rieu, p. 250 no. 417; MṬY, pp. 209–210 no. 417.

76 ms taḥtim.

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77 MS BL Or. 3840, f. 177a: tamma šarḥ al-muqaddimātayn al-anwalaṭayn min muqaddimāt Kitāb al-Baḥr al-zāhīr al-ṣāmiʿ li-maḏāhib ʿulamāʾ al-ansār [...]. wa-lammā farāqānā min šarḥ masāʿīl usūl al-dīn, aḥādīnā fī šarḥ masāʾīl Kitāb Riyāḍat al-afhām fī latif al-kalām.
2.2.2 Structure of K. Riyāḍat al-afhām, K. Dāmiġ al-awhām, Ibn Mattawayh’s K. al-Taḏkira and al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī’s Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾīl (part x)

The structure of K. Dāmiġ al-awhām and K. Riyāḍat al-afhām fī laṭīf al-kalām reflects the convergence of two distinct Bahšamī traditions of laṭīf al-kalām, one represented by Ibn Mattawayh’s K. al-Taḏkira fī aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ, the other by the tenth part of al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī’s Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾīl. While the main part of K. Dāmiġ al-awhām (up to the end of Bāb al-idrāk) is named “Šarḥ al-Taḏkira”, it follows the chapter order of Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾīl.

Other manuscripts of K. Dāmiġ al-awhām 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, MGBK(š) 571; 327 ff.; date: 870/1465–1466; cat. Ruqayhi, p. 608.—(d) Ṣanʿāʾ, MGBK(š) 572; 190 ff.; date: 881/1476–1477; cat. Ruqayhi, p. 608; cat. RIMA 22 (1976), p. 14 no. 76 [with old no. "221"].—(e) Ṣanʿāʾ, MGBK(š) 573; 341 ff.; date: 850/1446–1447; cat. Ruqayhi, p. 609.—(f) Ṣanʿāʾ, MGBK(š) 574; 146 ff.; date: 877/1472–1473; cat. Ruqayhi, p. 609.—(g) Ṣanʿāʾ, MGBK(š) 575; 200 ff.; date: 9th/15th cent.; cat. Ruqayhi, p. 609.—(h) Qum, Marʿašī 11913; date: 887/1482; cat. vol. 30, pp. 196–197 no. 196.—(i) Mecca, Umm al-Qura University 12041; date: 1078/1667; IZbACF CD no. 165/2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K. Riyāḍat al-affām (442 masāʾil)</th>
<th>K. Dāmiġ al-awhām</th>
<th>Ibn Mattawayh, Šarḥ al-Taḏkira</th>
<th>[MSS Riyadh, Gāniʿat al-Malik Saʿūd 7783; (IZbACF CD no. 362:2)]</th>
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<td>Muqaddima [—]</td>
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<td>1b</td>
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<td>Bāb al-ḡawāhir (45 masāʾil)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāb al-fanāʾ (8 masāʾil)</td>
<td>33b–38a</td>
<td>33b[66]–39a[77]</td>
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<td>[122–123]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāb al-aʿrāḍ ʿalā l-ḡumla (9 masāʾil)</td>
<td>38a–40b</td>
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<td>[124–126]</td>
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<td>Bāb al-alwān (11 masāʾil)</td>
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<td>Bāb al-ṭuʿūm wa-l-rawāʾiḥ (1 masʿala)</td>
<td>47a–48b</td>
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<td>Bāb al-ḥarāra wa-l-burūḍa (4 masāʾil)</td>
<td>48b–50a</td>
<td>46b[92]–48a[95]</td>
<td>58b(10b)</td>
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<td>[129]</td>
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</table>


79 K. Dāmiği al-awhām is at times introduced as al-sifr al-ḫāmis 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.
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<td>Bāb al-‘aʃwāt (18 masā’il)</td>
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<td>Bāb al-alam wa-l-lāḏda (8 masā’il)</td>
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<td>48a[95]–53a[105]</td>
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<td>Bāb al-ruṭūba wa-l-yabūsa (3 masā’il)</td>
<td>68b–71a</td>
<td>359–367</td>
<td>99a[197]–100b[200]</td>
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<td>Bāb al-akwān (25 masā’il)</td>
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<td>Bāb al-i’timād (18 masā’il)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāb al-ḥayāt (24 masā’il)</td>
<td>100a–110b</td>
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<td>Bāb al-qudra (35 masā’il)</td>
<td>110b–135a</td>
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<td>Bāb al-i’tiqād (22 + 37 masā’il)</td>
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<td>Bāb al-naẓar wa-l-ḥāṭir (25 masā’il)</td>
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<td>Bāb al-irāda wa-l-kirāha (35 masā’il)</td>
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<td>Bāb al-šahwa wa-l-nifār (10 masā’il)</td>
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<td>11b[222]–11b[234]</td>
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<td>[171–173]</td>
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<td>Bāb al-nadam (15 masā’il) [178–180]</td>
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<td>Bāb al-laṭāfa (7 masā’il) [180–182]</td>
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<td>253a</td>
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<td>Bāb masā’il mutafarriqa (5 masā’il) [182–183]</td>
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<td>255a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāb fi masā’il al-ḥilāf wa-l-wifāq (7 masā’il) [183–184]</td>
<td>243b–247a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāb al-‘ilal wa-sāʾir al-muʾaṯṯirāt (20 masā’il) [184–187]</td>
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<td>259a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāb al-ǧidāl (8 masā’il) [187–188]</td>
<td>252b–255a</td>
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<td>264b</td>
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<td>Bāb al-ḥudūd (6 masā’il) [188–189]</td>
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<td>267a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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⁸¹ MS Bl Or. 3807, f. 232b: ḥāḍā ʾāḫir Kitāb al-Taḏkira wa-qad istaṣṣaṣynā masā’il abwābihi fi ḥāḍā l-Šarḥ al-mubārak, wa-qad zidnāʿalā l-abwāb allati ḡama ahā ʿIbn Mattawayh fi Taḏkīratihī abwāb-un ʾāḫar, fa-ʿa-lān ʿuḥud al-ʿān fi šarḥīhi. These additional topics are dependent on al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumīʾs Šarḥ ‘Uyūn al-masā’il.
2.3 Reception History

Some important ḥawāšī on Mirqāt al-anẓār have subsequently been transmitted as independent works:

1. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ǧalāl (d. 1084/1673), al-Nukat al-farāʾid fī Šarh Muqaddimat al-Qalāʾid (= Ḥāšiya ‘alā Šarh al-Qalāʾid fī tašīḥ al-ʿaqāʾid, Šarh Šarh al-Qalāʾid or simply Šarh al-Ǧalāl). These glosses, completed in 1046/1636, were frequently studied in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and are regularly quoted in the ḥawāšī of ms Munich Cod. arab. 1294 (see below).


4. Hāšim b. Yaḥyā al-Šāmī (d. 1158/1745) wrote superglosses on al-Ǧalāl’s aforementioned Ḥāšiya. These superglosses also circulated as independent work entitled Ṣiyānat al-ʿaqāʾid bi-taḡwīd al-naẓar fī šarḥ al-Qalāʾid or Ṣiyānat al-ʿaqāʾid, ḥāšiya ʿalā Šarh al-Naǧrī li-l-Qalāʾid or simply Taʿlīq ʿalā Ḥāšiyat al-Ǧalāl. This is the last substantial Zaydī uṣūl al-dīn composition following the template of al-Murtaḍā’s K. al-Qalāʾid and al-Naǧrī’s Mirqāt al-anẓār which shaped Zaydī uṣūl al-dīn studies for more than three centuries. 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 Zaydi curriculum was thrown
into disarray by al-Šawkānī’s (d. 1250/1834) comprehensive reform project. Attempts to restore this tradition to its former glory over the course of the 20th century resemble desperate efforts to reconstitute a lost treasure.

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


3.1  
According to the colophon (f. 111a), the manuscript was copied by Šaraf al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. Ǧaḥḥāf with the financial support and under

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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 Šāfiʿī subjects in the tax-generating areas of Lower Yemen; legitimizing the dynamic ambitions of the eighteenth-century Qāsimī Imāms who did not live up to the ideal posited in Zaydi political doctrine; and deligitimizing Zaydism, in particular its political doctrine advocating the rejection of oppressive rule in the form of armed rebellion (ḫurūǧ) or migration (hiǧra). 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 Zaydi-Hādawī scholarship see Schwarb, “Muʿtazilism in a 20th century Zaydi Qurʾān 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 Mudāʿis al-Ṣanʿānī’s (d. 1351/1932–1933) K. al-Kāšif al-amīn ʿan ḡawāhir al-ʿIqd al-ṯamīn or ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAǧrī’s Miftāḥ al-saʿāda. See my “Muʿtazilism in a 20th century Zaydi Qurʾān commentary”.

89 Amz, p. 636 no. 660; Rawāʾiʿ al-buḥūṯ fi tārīḫ madīnat Ḥūṭ, no. 184. He is the scribe of numerous extant Zaydi manuscripts.

90 ms Ṣaʿda, Maktabat Ǧāmiʿ al-Imām al-Hādī, Maǧmūʿ no. 209; 128 ff.; autograph copy written between 1235/1819–1820 and 1239/1823–1824, i.e. during the lifetime of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī 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 Rabi‘ ii 1108 (12 November 1696).

A number of prominent Zaydī scholars are mentioned to have studied Mirqāt al-anẓār with Zayd b. Muḥammad: 1) ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿayyad (d. 1120/1708; ṭzk, pp. 801–802 no. 502); 2) Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim Luqmān (d. 1133/1721); 3) Hāšim b. Yaḥyā al-Šāmī (d. 1158/1745), the afore-mentioned author of Siyānat al-ʿaqāʾid bi-taǧwīd al-naẓar fī šarḥ al-Qalāʾid; 4) Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāmī (d. 1172/1759; bṭ, pp. 105–106 no. 43); 5) Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl 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-anẓār 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 usūl al-dīn studies. In addition to K. al-Durar (“Ḡāyat”), one or two other Zaydī usūl al-dīn treatises are usually used as basic reference works. In ms Berlin, State Library, Landberg 883 this is Ibn Ḥanaš’s K. al-Ḡiyāṣa,


93 See, among many other examples, ms Berlin, State Library, Landberg 883: Šarḥ mafāṭīh al-guyāb; min al-Saḥfa; Gawābāt al-faṣiq Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmiʾ ʿalā l-Raṣṣāṣ (44b); Muʿaṭṭirāt, Šarḥ al-Muʿaṭṭirāt (79a); Mustaṣfā li-l-Ḡazālī (83b), etc.
in MS Berlin Glaser 201/1 al-Qurašī’s Minhāġ, in MS Bl Or. 6266/4 ‘Īzz al-Dīn’s Mi‘rāḡ, 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-Hāḍī), dictation (imlā‘) [e.g. 16a, 33b (with reference to al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī’s Šarḥ al-‘ayūn), 42b (mīlā‘ Sayyidinā ‘Abd al-Hāḍī), 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‘rāḡ), 6b (Wasīt), 9a (al-Šayḫ Maḥmūd fī l-Fā’iq), 18b] and quotations ad sensum (bi-ma‘nāhī and ma‘nān) [e.g. 6a (Šarḥ al-Uṣūl), 18b, 47a (Gāyāt ma‘nān)]. 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


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 Mānkdīm (Šešdīv) (al-Imām al-Mustaẓhir bi-llāh) Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī (d. ca. 425/1034; AMZ, p. 104 no. 74), [Ta’līq ‘alā] Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa (GAS, vol. 1, p. 562 no. 27; Schwarcb, 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 “ʿAbd al-Hāḍī” refers to ‘Abd al-Hāḍī b. Aḥmad b. Ṣalāḥ ‘al-Ḥasūsa’ (d. 1048/1638); see below no. 34.
Figure 6.2  *ms Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294, f. 37v* (extract)

5. Šarḥ al-Faqīh Ismāʿīl (al-Rāzī) ‘alā l-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa and Šarḥ Ismāʿīl al-Rāzī li-(l)-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa (lī-l-Qādi ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Muṭaṭiḥu) and Šarḥ (al-)Rāzī (al-ʿadli) and al-Rāzī al-ʿadli [8a, 8b, 12b, 15a, 28b, 29a, 30a, 55b, 56a, 67b, 70a, 97a]: Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Farrazāḏī (fl. late 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries; ṭzk, p. 252 no. 134), Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa (Schwarz, Handbook, no. 333/1); commentary on Mānkdīm Šešdīv’s Taʿlīq (see above no. 3).


8. al-Wasīṭ and Wasīṭ lil-faqīh Ḥumayd [2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4b, 5a, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 9a, 9b, 13a, 15a, 15b, 18b, 25b, 32a, 32b, 34a, 37a, 37b, 39a, 39b, 40b, 41a, 42b, 51a, 54a, 65a, 65b, 66b, 69a, 79a]: Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd 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-ǧāmiʿ bayna l-Īḍāḥ wa-l-ʿIqd al-farīd (Schwarz, Handbook, no. 374/2); autocommentary on K. al-Īḍāḥ li-fawāʾid al-Miṣbāḥ and K. al-ʿIqd al-farīd fī uṣūl al-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd.


11. Ġurar and Ġurar wa-ḥuǧūl [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-ḥuǧūl fi kašf asrār al-uṣūl (= K. al-Ġurar wa-ḥuǧūl fi bayān fawāʾid Šarḥ al-uṣūl) (MFY, p. 131; Schwarb, Handbook, no. 400/2); superglosses on Mānkdīm’s Ṭaʿlīq ‘alā Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa (see above no. 3).

12. Minhāǧ and Minhāǧ (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-Ṣaʿdī (d. 780/1378–1379; ṭzk, pp. 1215–1216 no. 772; ṭzs, vol. 2, pp. 16–20; AMZ, 1097–1098 no. 1176), K. Minhāǧ al-taḥqīq wa-maḥāsin al-talfīq fī uṣūl al-dīn (= K. al-Minhāǧ li-taqwīm al-iʿwiǧāǧ = Minhāǧ al-muttaqīn fī maʿrifat rabb al-ʿālamīn) (MFY, p. 129; Schwarb, Handbook, no. 411/1).


96 There are several other commentaries on the Ḥulāṣa, 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 Ṭaʿlīq al-Ḥulāṣa mentioned below.
15. **Ǧāyāt** [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, 26b, 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, 88a, 89a, 89b, 91a, 92a, 93a, 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 Ahmad b. Yahyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437), K. Ġāyāt al-afkār wa-nihāyat al-anzār al-muḥīṭa bi-ʿaǧāʾib al-Baḥr al-zaḫḫār (see above section 2.). Ġāyāt is here used as a *totum pro parte* referring to K. al-Durar al-farāʾid fī šarḥ K. al-Qalāʾid fī taṣḥīḥ al-ʿaqāʾid.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 (ǧāyāt min ġayri ḥāḏā l-maḥall). Occasionally, there are unspecified references to Ḥāšiyat Ġāyāt [e.g. 20b].

16. **Ḏāmiġ** and **Ṣarḫ Riyādat (al-afhām)** and **Riyāda wa-ṣarḥuhu** [6a, 30a, 35b, 39a, 76a (Riyāda)]: al-Mahdi li-Dīn Allāh Āḥmad b. Yahyā l-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437), K. Dāmiġ al-awhām fī šarḥ Riyādat al-afhām fī latif al-kalām (see above 2.2.1.). Occasionally, the margins also refer to unspecified Ḥāšiyat Riyāda [e.g. 39a].


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


23. Naǧrī [69a]: unspecified.

24. Ḥālīdī [99a]: Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥālīdī (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-Minhāǧ and Šarḥ al-Minhāǧ li-l-Bukurī and Bukurī and al-Kawkab al-wahhāǧ [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-wahhāǧ fī kašf asrār al-Minhāǧ (= al-Kawkab al-wahhāǧ fī šarḥ al-Minhāǧ = al-Sīrāǧ al-wahhāǧ fī šarḥ al-Minhāǧ = Šarḥ Minhāǧ al-Qurašī) (MFY, p. 138); commentary on al-Qurašī’s (d. 780/1378–1379) K. al-Minhāǧ (see above no. 12).


27. al-Miʿrāǧ 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 Minhāǧ 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. ʿAlī b. al-Muʾayyad (d. 900/1494–1495; ṭzk, pp. 670–673 no. 397; AMZ, pp. 641–645 no. 668), K. al-Miʿrāǧ fi Šarḥ al-Minhāǧ (= K. al-Miʿrāǧ ilā kašf (/istiḥrāǧ) asrār al-Minhāǧ al-muqawwima li-l-iʿwiǧāḏ = Šarḥ Minhāǧ al-Qurašī) (MFY, p. 680; Schwarb, Handbook, no. 443/1); commentary on al-Qurašī’s (d. 780/1378–1379) K. al-Minhāǧ (see above no. 12).


29. min ḫaṭṭ al-Ḥīmī [15b]: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥīmī (d. 1003/1595; ṭzk, pp. 556–558 no. 331); possibly ḥawāšī in the handwriting of al-Ḥīmī on Mirqāt al-anẓār.99


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

41. Ḥāšiyat al-Ǧalāl and Ḥawāšī l-Ǧalāl ʿalā Šarḥ al-Naǧrī hāḍā and Ḥawāšī l-Ǧalāl [1b, 15b, 20a, 21b, 22a, 22b, 23a, 23b, 30a, 30b, 31a, 50a, 50b, 61b, 62a, 63a, 72a, 92b]: al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-Ǧalāl (d. 1084/1673; ṭzk, pp. 287–290 no. 152; bṭ, pp. 225–227 no. 124; AMZ, pp. 299–303 no. 280). Ḥāšiya ʿalā Šarḥ al-Qalāʾid glosses on K. Mirqāt al-anẓār (see above n. 82).

42. Šarḥ al-Ǧalāl [14a, 22a]: In some contexts it likely refers to Šarḥ al-Ǧalāl ʿalā l-Tahḏīb (= Taqrīb Tahḏīb al-manṭiq).

43. Ḥāšiyat Kaššāf al-Ǧalāl refers to al-Ǧalāl’s glosses on the Kaššāf.

44. Ḥāšiyat al-Kaššāf and Ḥawāšī l-Kaššāf [20a, 33b]: usually refers to al-Taftāzānī’s Hawāšī, but at times it may also refer to one of the numerous Zaydi glosses on the Kaššāf, e.g. by Šāliḥ b. Dāʾūd al-ʿĀnīsī (d. 1100/1689) which in turn depend on Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b.-ul-Wī (d. 753/1352), Tuḥfat ḏawī al-ašrāf fī kašf ġawāmiḍ al-Kaššāf = Durar al-aṣdāf fī hall ʿuqad al-Kaššāf = Ḥāšiyat al-ʿAlwī. Besides, there are also references to superglosses Ḥāšiyat ʿalā ḥāšiyat al-Kaššāf [21a].


47. naqaltuhu min ḥaṭṭ al-Qaḍī al-ʿAllāma Ahmad b. Šalīḥ b. Abī l-Riḡāl [92b]: Šihāb al-Dīn Ahmad b. Šalīḥ Ibn Abī l-Riḡāl (d. 1092/1681; ṭzk, pp. 137–147 no. 52), the author of Maṭlaʿ al-budūr (see above n. 14).

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101 On al-Ǧalāl see also the editor’s introduction to Niẓām al-fuṣūl, i.e. al-Ǧalāl’s commentary al-Fuṣūl al-luʾluʾiyya (fi usūl al-fiqh), ed. Ahmad Ḍūr al-Dīn, Ṣanʿāʾ, Markaz al-Turāṯ wa-l-Buḥūṭ al-Yamānī, (available @ http://dc253.4shared.com/doc/ywD9NJV0/preview.html [consulted 30/11/2013]).


103 At times (e.g. 62a) Šarḥ al-Ǧalāl may also refer to his ĥawāšī on Zamaḫšarī’s Kaššāf.

3.2.2 Works by Non-Šīʿī Muʿtazilī Authors

1. *al-Šayḫ Mahmūd fi l-Fāʾiq* and *Ibn al-Malāḥīmī* and *al-Fāʾiq* [9a, 9b, 37a, 37b, 38b, 39a, 41a, 55a, 66b, 67b]: Rukn al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥīmī al-Ḥwārzmī (d. 536/1141), *K. al-Fāʾiq fi uṣūl al-dīn*.


3. *al-Kaššāf* and Ĝār 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]: Ĝār Allāh Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Ḫwārazmī l-Zamaḫšarī (d. 538/1144), *K. al-Kaššāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wuǧūb al-taʾwīl* (gals, vol. 1, p. 290; gals, vol. 1, p. 507).

3.2.3 Works by non-Muʿtazilī Sunnī Authors


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Figure 6.3

Ms Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294, f. 37r (ḥawāšī top margin, rotated)
[autograph]); commentary on Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), *K. Muḥaṣ-
šal aflkār al-mutaqqaddimīn wa-l-mutaʾāḥhirīn min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-ḥukamāʾ*
wa-l-mutakallīmīn.

5. **al-Raḍī** [7a]: Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābāḍī (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; *EnCl*, vol. 4, pp. 15–17), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-ṣrār al-taʿwil.*

7. **Mawāqīf** and **al-Adud fī l-Muwāqafa(!)** [6b, 10a (in later hand)]: ʿAdud
al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Abū Ġaffār al-Iǧī (d. 756/
1355; *ei²*, vol. 9, p. 744), *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfiʿīyya al-kubrā.*

8. **al-Subkī fī tarjamat al-ʿAšʿarī** [213a]: Tāǧ al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb
b. Taqī l-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370; *ei²*, vol. 10, pp. 88–89), *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfiʿīyya*
al-ṣaʿdī and *(at times)*

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;
no. 11).

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; *ei²*,
vol. 10, pp. 88–89), *Hašiyat al-Kaššāf* (gal, vol. 2, p. 216 no. 12); glosses on
al-Zamaḫšarī's *Kaššāf.*

11. **Saʿd al-Dīn** [87a]: Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390;

12. **al-Zarkašī fī Šarḥ Ǧamʿ al-Ǧawāmiʿ and possibly also Šarḥ al-Ǧamʿ** [37a,
67b, 68b]: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Baḏr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Allāh b. Bahā-
dur al-Zarkašī (d. 794/1392; *ei²*, vol. 12, p. 842), *Tašnīf al-masāmiʿ fī Ǧamʿ
al-Ǧawāmiʿ* (gal, vol. 2, p. 89; gals, vol. 2, p. 105); commentary on Tāḡ al-
Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) Ǧamʿ al-Ǧawāmiʿ (*fi uṣūl al-fiqh*) (gal, vol. 2,

13. **al-Naǧm al-waḥḥāǧ fī šarḥ al-Minhāǧ li-l-Damīrī** [1b]: Abū l-Baqāʾ Mu-
ḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405; *ei²*, 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
*Hašiyat al-Kaššāf.*

[107] See above n. 104.

[108] *Šarḥ al-Ǧamʿ* may also refer to Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī's commentary on Ǧamʿ al-Ǧawāmiʿ
(see below).
Naǧm al-wahhāǧ fi šarḥ al-Minhāǧ (GALS, vol. 1, p. 681 no. 11), extracts from Taqi al-Din al-Subki’s (d. 756/1355) and Gamal al-Din al-Asnawi’s (d. 772/1370) commentaries on Muhyi’l-Din al-Nawawi’s (d. 676/1277) Minhāǧ al-talibin wa-maslak al-rāġibin.109


15. Šarḥ (al-)Mawāqif and al-Šarīf fī Šarḥihi (ba’d al-ʿAḍud) [6a, 10a, 56a, 59a]: šarḥ Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muhammed al-Ǧurgānī (d. 816/1413; EI², vol. 2, p. 602f.; van Ess, Die Träume der Schulweisheit [above n. 28], p. 42, 60, 95), šarḥ al-Mawāqif; commentary on ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Iği’s (d. 756/1355) K. al-Mawāqifīfi ‘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. Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415; EI², vol. 2, pp. 926–927), al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa-l-qābūs al-waṣīṭ al-ǧāmiʿ li-mā ḍahaba min lujat al-ʿArab šamāṭīt (GAL, vol. 2, pp. 181–183; GALS, vol. 2, pp. 234–236); al-Fīrūzābādī spent the last two decades of his life in Yemen and in 797/1395 became chief Qāḍī of Yemen.

17. al-Buḫārī [54b]: This either refers to an unspecified work by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muhammad b. Muḥammad al-Buḫārī (d. 841/1438) or to Šams al-Dīn Muhammad al-Hāfizī al-Buḫārī’s [known as Ḫwāǧa-yi Pārsā] (d. 822/1419) šarḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar.


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Ganǧ(aw)i, completed in 1062/1652, was written in refutation of *K. al-Asās li-tašḥīḥ ‘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 Šāfī‘i-Aš‘āri 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 Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbdī (d. 1115/1703; bṬ, pp. 166–167 no. 83) in the bulky *K. al-Iḥtirās ‘an nār al-Nibrās al-ta‘īn fi qawā‘id al-Asās*. Interestingly, al-Šawkānī, bṬ, pp. 166–167 (167, ll. 2–3) no. 83, notes that al-ʿAbdī resorted to...