MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 51: A Unique Manuscript from the Early 7th/13th-Century Bahšamite Milieu in Yemen

*Hassan Ansari and Jan Thiele*¹

The former Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin—today the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—was the first Western library to acquire an important collection of Yemeni manuscripts. In 1884 and 1887, the library purchased 264 manuscripts that had been assembled by the Austrian scholar Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) during his journeys to Yemen between 1882–1884 and 1885–1886.² The Berlin collection comprises several manuscripts of significant value, which bear witness to an important chapter in the intellectual history of Yemen in general and its Zaydī community in particular. Between the sixth/twelfth and the seventh/thirteenth centuries, Yemen became an important centre of Mu‘tazilī theology. Under the reign of the Imāms al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1170) and al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), the doctrines of the Baṣran Mu‘tazilite school were officially promoted, while, at the same time, other forms of Zaydī theology were increasingly marginalised. At the initiative of the two *imāms*, numerous books, including many Mu‘tazilite texts, were transmitted to Yemen, thus laying the foundation for some of the country’s richest manuscript collections.

Among the manuscripts of the Berlin collection that date back to this period is the codex Glaser 51.

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² Eduard Glaser acquired two further collections of manuscripts during his third and fourth journeys to Yemen, in 1887–1888 and 1892–1894, which he sold to the British Museum in London and the Austrian National Library in Vienna. For further details see Sabine Schmidtke, “The History of Zaydī Studies: An Introduction”, *Arabica* 59 (2012), p. 187.

It contains the third volume of a work entitled *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl li-ḡumal al-Taḥṣīl*, written by Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥurāṣī.³ The *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* is the earliest of at least three commentaries on the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl fi-l-tawḥīd wa-l-ta’dīl*,⁴ a comparatively short theological compendium written by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 584/1188). Al-Raṣṣāṣ was one of the most important Zaydī theologians of sixth/twelfth-century Yemen, who followed Bahṣamite doctrines.⁵ Apparently the copy of the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* that is preserved in Berlin is a unique manuscript and also the only part of the work that has survived. Through analysing the notes on the manuscript, written by a scribe and its original owner, we can gain new insights into the milieu of early seventh/thirteenth-century scholarship in Yemen. The text of the *Taḥṣīl* ends with a colophon by the copyist—who gives his name as Ḥusayn b. ‘Awād b. ‘Alī—in which says he completed this volume sometime between the tenth and twentieth of Dū al-Qa‘da 610/1214.⁶

The title page contains a note, possibly written by another hand, stating that the copy was made

³The manuscript was published as Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥurāṣī, *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl li-ḡumal al-Taḥṣīl*. Facsimile Edition of MS Berlin, Glaser no. 51. With Introductions and Indices by Hassan Ansari and Jan Thiele, Tehran, Mīrāt-i maktūb and Freie Universität Berlin, 2013.

⁴For the commentaries on al-Raṣṣāṣ’s *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*, see Jan Thiele, “Theological Compendia in Late 6th/12th and Early 7th/13th Century Zaydism: al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ’s *K. al-Taḥṣīl* and Its Commentaries”, in *Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam: New Texts and Perspectives*, ed. G. Schwarb, S. Schmidtke, and L. Mühlethaler, Leuven, Peeters [in press].

⁵For al-Raṣṣāṣ, see Hassan Ansari, “*Al-Barāhīn al-zāhira al-jaliyya ‘alā anna l-wujūd zā’id ‘alā l-māhiyya*”, by Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ”, in *A Common Rationality: Mu‘tazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. C. Adang, S. Schmidtke, and D. Sklare, Würzburg, Ergon, 2007, p. 337–48; Jan Thiele, “Propagating Mu‘tazilism in the VIth/XIIth Century Zaydiyya: The Role of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ”, *Arabica* 57 (2010), p. 536–558; idem, *Kausalität in der mu‘tazilitischen Kosmologie: Das Kitāb al-Mu‘attirāt wa-miftāḥ al-muškilāt des Zayditen al-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣāṣ (st. 584/1188)*, Leiden, Brill, 2011; idem, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya: Die naturphilosophischen Überlegungen des al-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣāṣ*, Leiden, Brill, 2013.

⁶Cf. the colophon on f. 186b (see also below PLATE TWO):

فرغ من نساخته الفقير إلى رحمة ربّه حسين بن عواض بن علي يوم الخميس بواقي عشر واثنين (كذا: الإثنين) من ذي
القعدة سنة عشر وستمائة سنة وصلى الله على رسوله سيدنا محمد النبي وآله الطاهرين

for the library of Tāğ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 644/1247).⁷ The said Tāğ al-Dīn belonged to a noble Zaydī family.⁸ He succeeded his brother Mağd al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad (d. 607/1210–1) as *amīr* of Ṣa‘da and Nağrān, a position he held even beyond the death of Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, in 614/1217. His father, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 624/1227), and his uncle, Šams al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 606/1209–10), had already supported al-Manṣūr bi-llāh’s claim to the imamate. Tāğ al-Dīn’s brother al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 670/1272) was eventually recognised as *imām*, taking the title of al-Manṣūr.

In addition to the family’s political role, several of its members were renowned scholars. Tāğ al-Dīn’s third brother, al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 662/1264 or 663/1265), was a prolific author of works on religious scholarship. Among his most important works are *Šifā’ al-awāmm fi aḥādīt al-aḥkām*⁹ and *Yanābī‘ al-naṣiḥa fi l-‘aḳā’id al-ṣaḥiḥa*.¹⁰ Tāğ al-Dīn himself reportedly wrote several

⁷ See f. 1a (see also below PLATE ONE):

نسخ لخزانة مولانا ومالكا الأمير الأجل عز الدين الخطير (؟) المعظم الأمير تاج الدين عميد المجاهدين مرتضى أمير المؤمنين أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد بن يحيى بن الهادي إلى الحق عليه السلام.

⁸ Information on some prominent members of the family is found in Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī, *al-Ḥadā’iq al-wardiyya fi manāqib a’immat al-Zaydiyya* [Facsimile Edition], Ṣan‘ā’, Tawzī‘ al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Sayyānī al-Ḥasanī, 1982, vol. 2, p. 195; Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Yūnis al-Zaḥīf Ibn Fand, *Ma‘ātir al-abrār fi tafṣil muğmalāt ġawāhir al-aḥbār: Wa-yusammā l-Lawāḥiq al-Nadiyya bi-l-Ḥadā’iq al-wardiyya* 1–3, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abbās al-Wağīh, Ṣan‘ā’, Mu’assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-ṭaqāfiyya, 1423/2002, vol. 2, p. 817–818, 823–834, 887–898; Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ Ibn Abī l-Riğāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr wa-mağma‘ al-buḥūr fi tarāğim riğāl al-Zaydiyya* 1–4, ed. ‘Abd al-Raqīb Muṭahhar Muḥammad Ḥağar and Mağd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Mu‘ayyidī, Ṣa‘da, Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 2004/1425, vol. 1, p. 408, vol. 2, p. 215–217, vol. 4, p. 174–175, 483–484, 511; and Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā (al-qism al-ṭālīt) wa-yusammā Bulūğ al-murād ilā ma‘rifat al-isnād* 1–3, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abbās al-Wağīh, McLean, VA, Mu’assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-ṭaqāfiyya, 1421/2001, p. 327–329, 383–388, 909–912, 1201–1203.

⁹ Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Šifā’ al-awāmm fi aḥādīt al-aḥkam* 1–3, Ṣan‘ā’, Ġam‘iyyat ‘Ulamā’ al-Yaman, 1416/1992–3.

¹⁰ Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Yanābī‘ al-naṣiḥa fi l-‘aḳā’id al-ṣaḥiḥa*, ed. al-

works on legal methodology and theology, none of which, however, are known by title.¹¹

Very little is known about the author of the *Tafṣīl*, which is preserved in MS Glaser 51. Al-Ḥurāšī's *nisba* derives from the name of a small village called Ḥurāša, which is situated to the west of 'Ans, in the province of Ḍamār. The Banū al-Ḥurāšī clan was renowned for the many prominent judges it produced.¹² In the bio-bibliographical literature, only Ibn Abī l-Riḡāl's *Maṭla' al-budūr* contains a short entry on Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥurāšī. All it reveals is that he was an important scholar of his time and the teacher of a certain 'Alī b. Ḥamīs.¹³

In addition, al-Ḥurāšī is briefly mentioned in the entry on Muḥammad b. al-Amīr al-Muqtadir (d. 720/1320) in *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā*. Along with other scholars of his time, he is reported to have left his notes (*ḥaṭṭ*) in a manuscript containing *Maḡmū' al-fiqh li-Zayd b. 'Alī* and *Ulūm Āl Muḥammad [=Amālī Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Zayd]*.¹⁴ Some of the personalities listed in this note are among the most important scholars of late sixth/twelfth and early seventh/thirteenth-century Yemen, including al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ, al-Amīr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, al-Hādī b. Tāḡ al-Dīn (d. 7th/13th c.), and Yaḥyā b. Ḡābir (alive 620/1223).

In the *Tafṣīl*, al-Ḥurāšī refers to al-Raṣṣāṣ as his teacher, whose lessons he attended.¹⁵ These are clear indications that al-Ḥurāšī attended al-Raṣṣāṣ's study circles in Hiḡrat Sanā', which is a small village that has now become a suburb of the modern capital, Ṣan'ā'. Al-Ḥurāšī was still alive in 610/1214, when the Berlin manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Tafṣīl* was copied, as the scribe commends al-Ḥurāšī with the phrase "*waḥḏaḥu llāh bi-ṭā'atihi*".¹⁶

Murtaḏā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭṭwarī, Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Badr li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-naṣr wa-l-tawzī', 1422/2001.

¹¹ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsimī, *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāḡim riḡāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyab* (*Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-ṣuḡrā*), MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr, f. 71b.

¹² Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Akwa', *Hiḡar al-'ilm wa-ma'āqiluhu fī l-Yaman* 1–6, Beirut/Damascus, Dār al-fikr al-mu'āṣir, 1416–1424/1995–2003, vol. 1, p. 570–571; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaḡarī, *Maḡmū' buldān al-Yaman wa-qabā'ilihā* 1–4, ed. Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Akwa', Ṣan'ā', Maktabat al-irṣād, 1430/2009, vol. 1, p. 305.

¹³ Ibn Abī l-Riḡāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, p. 357.

¹⁴ See al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 1088f.

¹⁵ See f. 74a and f. 147b.

¹⁶ See f. 1a.

Some further information on al-Ḥurāṣī is provided by a yet unidentified manuscript on legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), which is also found in the Berlin Glaser collection (no. 171).¹⁷ This manuscript was possibly written by the same scribe who copied al-Ḥurāṣī's *Tafṣīl*. The text, incomplete at the beginning and therefore lacking the title and attribution to the author, largely reproduces the text of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza's *Ṣafwat al-iḥtiyār*, together with further comments.¹⁸ It therefore fits a historical description of the presumably lost *Kitāb al-Ḥāṣir fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Aḥmad b. 'Uzayyiw b. 'Alī al-Ḥuwālī al-Ḥimyarī (d. ca. 650/1252), which is said to be a text on legal methodology based on al-Manṣūr bi-llāh's *Ṣafwat al-iḥtiyār*.¹⁹ Nonetheless, we have to be cautious about identifying our manuscript with al-Ḥimyarī's work. According to Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Miswārī's *Maḡmū' al-iḡāzāt*,²⁰ the colophon of the *Kitāb al-Ḥāṣir* should read as follows:

قال الفقيه أحمد بن عزيو رحمه الله في آخر هذا الكتاب: تم ذلك بحمد الله ومنه وتوفيقه ولطفه في شهر رمضان المعظم سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وستائة. واعلم أن الذي دعا إلى كتابته تعويل من يجب امتثال رسمه في تعليق باب من أبوابه فرغب ذلك في سائره وقد توخيت في ذلك طريقة الاختصار واجتهدت في جمعه وترتيبه وقسمته أبوابه المناسبة ليكون ذلك أقرب إلى فهم معانيه وحفظ ألفاظه مع اعترافي بقصور الحال وخمود الخاطر وفتور البال. انتهى

MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 171, f. 197a ends, however, with a different wording²¹:

¹⁷ See for the manuscript, see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* 1–10, Berlin, Schade, 1887–1899, vol. 4, p. 462; and idem, *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, Berlin, Unger, 1887, p. 29–30. He erroneously identifies the text as al-Ḥurāṣī's *al-Tafṣīl*.

¹⁸ al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *Ṣafwat al-iḥtiyār fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. Ibrāhīm Yaḥyā al-Darasī al-Ḥamzī and Hādī b. Ḥasan b. Hādī al-Ḥamzī, Ṣa'da, Markaz Ahl al-Bayt li-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 1423/2002.

¹⁹ See the relevant passage in the *sīra* of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258), edited and commented upon in Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Literary-Religious Tradition among 7th/13th Century Yemeni 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* 2/2 (2011), p. 177, 185. Gregor Schwarb has also suggested that the manuscript should be identified as al-Ḥimyarī's *al-Ḥāṣir* (personal communication).

²⁰ Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Miswārī, *Maḡmū' al-iḡāzāt*, scan in ~~MS~~ Maktabat 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šāyim, p. 424.

²¹ See also below PLATE FOUR.

تمت مسائل هذا المختصر | والحمد لله وحده وصلواته | على رسوله سيدنا محمد وآله | حسبنا الله وكفى

Therefore, another possible hypothesis for the identity of the fragment could be that MS Glaser 171 is in fact Tāğ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Badr al-Dīn's abovementioned work on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Ḥusayn b. 'Awāḍ b. 'Alī, who copied the manuscript of the *Taḥṣīl* for Tāğ al-Dīn, could then have also been commissioned by his patron to produce this fair copy of this work.

Our particular interest in this text on *uṣūl al-fiqh* consists in the fact that the anonymous author states that he attended the classes taught by *al-faqīh* Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥurāšī.²² The title *al-faqīh* suggests that al-Ḥurāšī was also an authority on juridical questions. With regard to al-Ḥurāšī's identity, the anonymous text raises additional questions, however. The author repeatedly refers to *al-faqīh* Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī, whose lessons he claims to have attended as well.²³ Further references in the manuscript are made to *ṣayḥunā l-faqīh* Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh,²⁴ or simply Nūr al-Dīn.²⁵ In these cases, it remains unclear to which of

²² See f. 20b: *huwa l-ladī kāna yaqūl bihi ṣayḥunā al-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥurāšī raḥimahu llāh fī waqt al-dars.*

²³ See f. 38a: *wa-huwa l-ladī rağğahahu l-ṣayḥ Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ raḍya llāh 'anhu wa-dakara l-faqīh Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī raḥimahu llāh anna dālika huwa l-ṣaḥīḥ;* ff. 39b–40a: *wa-kāna al-ṣayḥ Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ raḍya llāh 'anhu yaḍhabu ilā l-qawl al-awwal fī mā ḥakāhu l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī raḥimahu llāh wa-yaqūlu dālika huwa l-ṣaḥīḥ;* f. 64a: *wa-hādā huwa l-ladī kāna yurağğihuhu ṣayḥunā l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī raḥimahu llāh;* f. 70a-b: *wa-ḥtārahu l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī raḥimahu llāh;* ff. 73b-74a: *'alā mā kāna yaḥkīhu l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī 'an al-ṣayḥ Abī 'Alī l-Raṣṣāṣ raḍya llāh 'anhu wa-yuḥkā 'an Abī Rašīd wa-l-Ṣāḥib...;* f. 80b: *wa-l-ladī ḥakaynāhu 'an ṣayḥinā Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī wa-ra'aynāhu bi-ḥaṭṭihi fī ba'd taṣānīfihi...;* f. 85a: *wa-l-ladī kāna yaqūl bihi l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī wa-ḥaṣṣalahu lanā fī l-dars.*

²⁴ See f. 3a: *huwa l-ladī ḥtārahu al-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh wa-ḥakāhu 'an al-ṣayḥ Abī 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ raḍya llāh 'anhu;* f. 26b: *wa-hādā l-qawl alladī kāna yaqūlu bihi ṣayḥunā l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh raḥimahu llāh waqt al-dars;* f. 35b: *hādā l-ladī ḥafaẓnāhu 'an ṣayḥunā l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh raḥimahu llāh waqt al-dars;* f. 86b: *fī mā dakarahu ṣayḥunā l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh.*

²⁵ See ff. 91b-92a: *ḥafaẓnāhu 'an ṣayḥunā l-faqīh Nūr al-Dīn raḥimahu llāh waqt al-dars;* f. 137a:

his teachers the author refers. It appears, however, unlikely that both mentions of Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh refer to one and the same person rather than to contemporary namesakes. As a member of the Sufyān tribe, Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sufyānī hailed from Bikīl. His hometown was Šuwāba which is situated north-west of Šan‘ā’, while Ḥurāša is situated in the south of Šan‘ā’.²⁶ Unlike al-Ḥurāšī, who harshly criticised al-Manšūr bi-llāh’s politics, al-Sufyānī is known to have been a follower of the Imām who appointed him governor of Bikīl, the region he came from.²⁷ Aside from this administrative position, al-Sufyānī is known as a scholar who taught the later Imām al-Dā‘ī al-Mu‘taḍid bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Muḥsin b. Abi l-Fawāris Maḥfūz (d. 636/1238–9) in *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*.²⁸ Al-Sufyānī was still alive in 600/1203.²⁹

Over the course of the time, al-Ḥurāšī’s *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl li-ḡumal al-Taḥṣīl* appears to have been forgotten by Zaydī scholars. Although his commentary was an extensive and sophisticated work, the title does not figure in the bio-bibliographical literature. As far as we know now, the only historical source that mentions the text is a list of titles possessed by a seventh/thirteenth-century

šayḥunā Nūr al-Dīn raḥimahu llāh; f. 137b: *wa-hādā ḥtiyār šayḥunā Nūr al-Dīn*.

²⁶ For the Sufyān tribe see al-Ḥaḡarī, *Maḡmū‘ buldān al-Yaman*, vol. 2, p. 424–426; Ibrāhīm al-Maḡhafī, *Mawsū‘at al-alqāb al-Yamaniyya* 1–7, Beirut, al-Mu‘assasa al-Ġāmi‘iyya li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-našr wa-l-tawzī‘, 1431/2010, vol. 2, p. 892–894.

²⁷ See Abū Firās Ibn Dī‘tam, *al-Sīra al-šarīfa al-manšūriyya. Sīrat al-imām ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza* 1–2, ed. ‘Abd al-Ġanī Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-‘Āṭī, Beirut, Dār al-fikr al-mu‘āšir, 1414/1993, p. 179–180, 306f.; al-Manšūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *Maḡmū‘ mukātabāt*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām ‘Abbās al-Waḡīh, ‘Ammān, Mu‘assasat al-imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-ṭaqāfiyya, 2008, p. 78f., 330f.; Ibn Abī l-Riḡāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 2, p. 357; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsimī, *Mustaṭāb*, f. 69a. For al-Ḥurāšī’s position towards al-Manšūr bi-llāh, see [al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr, Kāšifat al-ḡumma ‘an ḥusn sīrat imām al-a’imma](#), scan in Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Šāyim, p. 36.

²⁸ al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 1249.—For al-Sufyānī’s scholarly reputation see also Ibn Abī l-Riḡāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 2, p. 357, no. 634; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsimī, *Mustaṭāb*, f. 69a.

²⁹ Abū Firās Ibn Dī‘tam, *Sīra*, p. 306–307. The first part of Ibn Dī‘tam’s *al-Sīra al-manšūriyya* has been recently rediscovered by Hassan Ansari (cf. Hassan Ansari, “Du ḡild tāze-yāb-i sīre-ye Manšūr bi-llāh” [<http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2096.html>]); additional information on al-Sufyānī is found in these parts of the work.

collector of books, Yaḥyā b. Ġābir.³⁰

The extant third part of the *Tafṣīl*—comprising the last subheadings of the chapter on God's justice, the parts on prophecy and the Qur'ān, and the beginning of the chapter on the imamate—comments on the third quarter of al-Raṣṣāṣ's book. This suggests that the whole work was originally comprised of four parts. The fourth volume announced in the colophon (f. 186b) would thus be the last book of the text. Al-Ḥurāṣī's commentary must have exceeded by far the extent of the original text by al-Raṣṣāṣ. Comparable in size to Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Maǧmū' fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, the original *Tafṣīl* was likely the most extensive Bahṣamī compendium of al-Ḥurāṣī's time composed in Yemen. None of the previous representatives of the school had completed a theological *summa* of comparable size.

Almost the entire text of Raṣṣāṣ's *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* is embedded in the *Tafṣīl* and further elaborated on by al-Ḥurāṣī's explanations. The two layers of text are not, however, formally separated (e.g. by introductory formulas) and are therefore indistinguishable, unless examined side by side. As a typical pattern, the chapters of the *Tafṣīl* begin with an introductory formula such as *faṣl fī .../faṣl wa-ttaṣala bi-haḍihi l-ǧumla al-kalām fī .../faṣl wa-l-ǧaraḍ bihi l-kalām fī ...*, followed by the title as formulated in al-Raṣṣāṣ's text. Al-Ḥurāṣī usually tends to subdivide al-Raṣṣāṣ's original chapters into several *mawāḍi'* that are listed immediately after the chapter heading. Over the course of the text, verbatim quotes from the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* are interwoven with al-Ḥurāṣī's explanations.

Al-Ḥurāṣī's commentary has, with few exceptions, the same chaptering as al-Raṣṣāṣ's *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*. The rare changes introduced by al-Ḥurāṣī do not, however, affect the structure set by the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*. Rather, he follows the chronological order of the text being commented upon, adding—sometimes extensively—new aspects that were not covered in the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*. In al-Raṣṣāṣ's text, the chapter on prophecy (*al-qawl fī l-nubuwwa*) is subdivided into several *fuṣūl*, with the exception of the section on the proof for Muḥammad's prophecy, which is labelled as a

³⁰ An illustration of this list, contained in MS Milan, Ambrosiana ar. E 208, f. 61a (dated 620/1223), can be found in Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana* 1–4, Vicenza/Cinisello Balsamo, Neri Pozza/SilvanaEditoriale, 1975–2011 vol. 3 between p. 138 and 139. See also Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “Mu‘tazilism in Rayy and Astarābād: Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Sharwīn (Studies on the Transmission of Knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th C., II)”, *Studia Iranica* 41 (2012), p. 66 n. 48.

separate *bāb*. Al-Ḥurāṣī possibly intended to avoid potential misunderstandings and therefore renamed all subsections *mawāḍiʿ*, including the section on the proof for Muḥammad's prophecy, in order to indicate that it belongs thematically to the *bāb al-qawl fī l-nubuwwa* (see f. 37b: *bāb fī ṭibāt nubuwwat Muḥammad* [...] *wa-huwa l-mawḍiʿ al-rābiʿ min al-kalām fī l-nubuwwāt*). In the *Faṣl fī l-Qurʾān*, al-Ḥurāṣī introduces two new subsections (ff. 88b and 101a), which in al-Raṣṣāṣ's original text were interjections in the typical dialectic *fa-in qīla ... qulnā ...* style. In the chapter on the imamate, the content of al-Raṣṣāṣ's first subsection (*faṣl fī l-imāma wa-mā hiya wa-fī wuḡūbihā wa-fī bayān al-ḡaraḍ bihā*) is further divided by al-Ḥurāṣī into four subheadings (i.e. the first four *fuṣūl* of the chapter).

Al-Ḥurāṣī used for his commentary sources that had not been consulted by al-Raṣṣāṣ for the redaction of his *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*. Two of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's (d. 536/1141) works, the *Kitāb al-Fāʿiq*³¹ and the *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad*,³² are quoted only in the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*. Ibn al-Malāḥimī was a representative of the school of Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), who had studied with Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ḡabbār and who disagreed on various theological issues with Bahṣamī teachings. Al-Raṣṣāṣ was familiar with Abu l-Ḥusayn's thought, but there is no evidence that he knew Ibn al-Malāḥimī's writings, aside from his *Tuḥfat al-Mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*, a section of which he refuted in his *al-Barāhīn al-zāhira al-ḡaliyya ʿalā anna l-wuḡūd zaʿid ʿalā l-māhiyya*.³³ In various instances, al-Ḥurāṣī explicitly refers to Ibn al-Malāḥimī and/or his writings to highlight specific

³¹ Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Ḥwārazmī, *Kitāb al-Fāʿiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Wilferd Madelung and Martin McDermott, Tehran, Iranian Institute of Philosophy and Institute of Islamic Studies, Free University Berlin, 2007.

³² Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Ḥwārazmī, *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Wilferd Madelung, Tehran, Mirāt-i Maktūb and Freie Universität Berlin, 2012.

³³ Ansari, "*Al-Barāhīn al-zāhira*"; idem, "Maḥmūd al-Malāḥimī l-Muʿtazilī fī Yaman wa-taʾrīf bi-risāla fī l-radd ʿalayhi ḥawla ziyādat al-wuḡūd ʿalā l-māhiyya", *al-Masār* 11 (2010), p. 48–58. For the *Tuḥfa*, see Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Ḥwārazmī, *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*, ed. Hassan Ansari and Wilferd Madelung, Tehran, Iranian Institute of Philosophy and Institute of Islamic Studies, Free University Berlin, 2008; Wilferd Madelung, "Ibn al-Malāḥimī's Refutation of the Philosophers", in *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. C. Adang, S. Schmidtke, and D. Sklare, Würzburg, Ergon, 2007, p. 331–336.

disagreements with his school. In the chapters on prophecy and the imamate, however, al-Ḥurāṣī without comment inserts lengthy literal quotations from the *Kitāb al-Fā'iḳ*, with no mention of the fact that he had used the text as a source for this chapter.³⁴ Al-Ḥurāṣī's *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* is therefore one of the earliest known Zaydī sources attesting to the transmission of the *Kitāb al-Fā'iḳ* and *Kitāb al-Mu'tamad* to Yemen as well as to the impact of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's teachings on Zaydī theological thought.

The manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* was bound after it had been transferred to Berlin. The cover carries the Prussian eagle of the former Königlische Bibliothek zu Berlin. As already mentioned by Ahlwardt in the Berlin catalogue, leaves 59–70 are misplaced and have their correct location between ff. 130b and 131a.³⁵

Appendix

In the following table of contents of al-Ḥurāṣī's *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*, the chronological order of the text has been restored. It provides the folio numbers of the original manuscript and the corresponding pages in the facsimile edition in square brackets.

الجزء الثالث من كتاب التفصيل لمجل التحصيل	أ١ [١]
فصل في أحكام العوض وأقسامه	أ١ [٢]
الموضع الأول وهو الكلام في حد العوض وحقيقته	أ١ [٢]
الموضع الثاني وهو الدلالة على انقطاعه	أ٢ [٣]
الموضع الثالث وهو أن العوض قد يجب عليه تعالى وإن كان الألم من غيره	أ٥ [٩]
الموضع الرابع وهو في كمية العوض متى كان الألم من فعله ولم يكن في الحكم كأنه من جملة غيره وكان من فعل غيره وهو في الحكم كأنه من جمته	أ٦ [١١]
الموضع الخامس وهو الكلام في وجوب العوض على الظالم لمكان ظلمه	أ٦ [١١]
الموضع السادس وهو الكلام في كمية مقدار العوض متى كان من غيره وأنه يجب على الله تعالى إيصاله	أ١١ [٢١]
الموضع السابع وهو الكلام في كيفية إيصال العوض إلى مستحقه	أ١١ [٢٢]
الكلام في الآجال	أ١٢ [٢٤]
الموضع الأول وهو الكلام في حقيقة الأجل	أ١٢ [٢٤]
الموضع الثاني وهو الكلام في المقتول لو لم يقتل هل كان يجوز أن يبقى حياً أم لا	أ١٣ [٢٥]
فصل في الأسعار والغلاء والرخص	أ١٥ [٣٠]

³⁴ Al-Ḥurāṣī mentions the *Kitāb al-Fā'iḳ* only once (f. 127b), while most of the quotations are not marked as such; see Thiele, "Theological Compendia".

³⁵ See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 9, p. 588.

[الموضع الأول وهو الكلام في معاني السعر والغلاء والرخص] ١١٦ [٣١]

[الموضع الثاني وهو الكلام في إضافة الغلاء والرخص إلى فاعلها] ١٦ ب [٣٢]

فصل [في الأرزاق] ١٦ ب [٣٢]

[الموضع الأول وهو الكلام في حقيقة الرزق] ١١٧ [٣٣]

[الموضع الثاني وهو الكلام في أن الأرزاق كلها من الله تعالى دون غيره] ١٧ ب [٣٤]

[الموضع الثالث وهو الكلام في انقسام الأرزاق إلى ما يحصل بسبب وإلى ما يحصل من دونه] ١٨ أ [٣٥]

[الموضع الرابع وهو أن الله مخير عند حصول السبب في تحصيل الرزق] ١٩ أ [٣٧]

[الموضع الخامس وهو الكلام في أن الحلال يرزق لمن هو في يده دون الحرام] ٢٠ ب [٤٠]

[الموضع السادس وهو الكلام في أن الله تعالى مفاضل بين عباده في الأرزاق] ٢١ ب [٤٢]

فصل [في الألطاف التي من أفعال العباد] ٢٢ أ [٤٣]

باب القول في النبوات ٢٢ ب [٤٤]

[الموضع الأول وهو الكلام في معنى قولنا رسول الله ونبي الله وفي الصفات التي يجب أن يكون عليها النبي صلى الله عليه] ٢٣ أ [٤٥]

[الموضع الثاني وهو الكلام في حسن إرساله تعالى الرسل والكلام في الوجه الذي لأجله يحسن ويجب] ٢٥ ب [٥٠]

فصل [في أن المعجز هو الطريق إلى معرفة صدق النبي عليه السلام] ٢٨ أ [٥٥]

[الموضع الثالث وهو الكلام في شروط المعجز والفرق بينه وبين الحيل] ٣٠ أ [٥٩]

فصل [في أنه هل يجوز ظهور المعجز على الصالح وعلى من سيعث إرهاباً أم لا] ٣٣ أ [٦٥]

باب في إثبات نبوة محمد عليه السلام ٣٧ ب [٧٤]

فصل [في الدلالة على نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وفي أنه هل يجب بعثة النبي في كل حال وفي أنه هل يجوز بعثة رسول من غير شرع أم لا وهو الموضع الرابع من الكلام في النبوات] ٣٧ ب [٧٤]

[الموضع الخامس الكلام على اليهود في منعهم من نسخ الشرائع وفي الطريق إلى معرفة شرعه عليه السلام] ٧٤ ب [١٢٤]

فصل [في القرآن] ٨٦ أ [١٤٧]

الفصل الأول وهو أن هذا القرآن كلام الله تعالى ٨٦ أ [١٤٧]

فصل فأما قولهم بكلام ليس من قبيل الأصوات ولا الحروف ٨٨ ب [١٥٢]

[الموضع الأول] في حد الكلام وحقيقته ٨٩ أ [١٥٣]

الموضع الثاني وهو الكلام في إبطال قولهم بكلام [م] ليس من قبيل الأصوات ولا الحروف ٩٠ أ [١٥٥]

الموضع الثالث وهو الكلام في معنى وصفنا للقرآن بأنه كلامه تعالى ووصفنا له سبحانه بأنه متكلم ٩٥ أ [١٦٥]

فصل واتصل بهذه الجملة الكلام في أن الكلام من جنس الأصوات وأنه يصح أن يكون متكلماً به لأن ذلك كالمقدمة لما بعده من أن القرآن محدث مخلوق ١٠١ أ [١٧٧]

الفصل الثاني في الكلام في القرآن وهو أنه محدث مخلوق ١٠٦ أ [١٨٧]

الكلام في وصفه بأنه مخلوق ١٢٢ ب [٢٢٠]

[الموضع الأول] في معنى الخلق والمخلوق ١٢٢ ب [٢٢٠]

الموضع الثاني وهو الكلام في الدلالة على صحة وصف القرآن بأنه مخلوق ١٢٣ ب [٢٢٢]

باب القول في الإمامة ١٢٦ ب [٢٢٨]

الفصل الأول في حقيقة الإمامة ما هي ١٢٧ أ [٢٢٩]

الفصل [الثاني وهو الكلام في وجوب الإمامة] ١٢٧ ب [٢٣٠]

الفصل [الثالث وهو] الكلام في الطريق إلى وجوبها ١٢٧ ب [٢٣٠]

الفصل [الرابع وهو الكلام في] بيان الغرض بالإمامة ١٢٨ أ [٢٥٥]

الفصل [الخامس وهو] الكلام في الإمامة بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه من هو ٦٩ ب [٢٥٨]
[الموضع الأول وهو الكلام في أنه صلى الله عليه لم ينص على إمام بعده نصاً جلياً بحيث لا تلبس على أحد العلم (كذا: للعلم)
بقصد النبي صلى الله عليه فيه] ١٧٠ أ [٢٥٩]
[الموضع الثاني في] الكلام في أن أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب هو أولى الخلق بالإمامة بعده ١١٣٦ أ [٢٧١]
فصل ١٨٠ ب [٣٦٠]

[ADD PLATE ONE]

PLATE ONE: MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 51, f. 1a (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; with kind permission)

[ADD PLATE TWO]

PLATE TWO: MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 51, f. 186b (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; with kind permission)

[ADD PLATE THREE]

PLATE ~~THREE~~ ^{THREE}: MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 171, f. 197a (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; with kind permission)