

**Zeitschrift:** Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques : revue de la Société Suisse-Asie

**Herausgeber:** Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft

**Band:** 47 (1993)

**Heft:** 2

**Artikel:** Some lights on an early Zaydite manuscript : Akhbr Fakhkh wa-khabar Yahy b. 'Abdallh

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**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-147013>

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SOME LIGHTS ON AN EARLY ZAYDITE MANUSCRIPT:  
AKHBĀR FAKHKH WA-KHABAR YAḤYĀ B. 'ABDALLĀH

Maher Jarrar, Beirut

Among the recently catalogued manuscripts of the *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin*, there appeared a volume containing various works and epistles all of which belong to the Zaydite historiographical literature. The scribe of the entire volume is the celebrated Zaydite scholar Humayd b. Aḥmad al Muḥallī (d. 652/1254)<sup>1</sup>. Professor G. Schoeler, who described this volume in his catalogue<sup>2</sup>, kindly drew my attention to it in November 1991. Upon studying it more closely<sup>3</sup>, I became convinced of the importance of its content, especially the section entitled "*Akhbār Fakkh wa-khābar Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh*" (fols. 154b-184a) by Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, who was still alive in the first quarter of the fourth/tenth century<sup>4</sup>.

This work under discussion was one of the sources of al-Muḥallī's *al-Ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya*. al-Muḥallī never gives his chains of transmitters, and although he occasionally mentions his sources such as the *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* of Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī (d. 356/967) and *al-Ifāda* of al-Nāṭiq bil-Ḥaqq (d. 424/1032)<sup>5</sup>, he never mentions this work.

In preparing the edition I compared it with the *Maqātil* and the *Ifāda*. It became obvious, that 1) Abū l-Faraj and al-Nāṭiq bil-Ḥaqq did not know this work; and 2) that both Abū l-Faraj and the author of this work, who belongs to the preceding generation, have a common source; 3) and that even al-Muḥallī did not make use of all its material. The second step was to compare the material contained in this work with that of early historians like al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī and with Imāmī sources, especially *al-Irshād* of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd and *al-Kāfi*

1 Cf. R. Strothmann, in: *Der Islam* 1/1910/361-362; A.F. al-Sayyid, *Maṣādir* 127f.

2 *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*. Arabische Handschriften, Teil II., no. 322, 323, 106-108.

3 My thanks go to the following: Dr. H.-D. Feistel, the director of the *Orient Abteilung* at the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*, Dr. H. Kurio of the above mentioned library and to the director of the *Bayrische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich for their friendliness and help. I would like to thank, too, Dr. J. Strauß (Freiburg i.Br.) who read the final version of this article.

4 Cf. p. 275f. below.

5 Cf. A.F. al-Sayyid, *Maṣādir* 91f.

of al-Kūlaynī. At this stage I was certain of the originality of this book, which not only preserves unique information going back to early Zaydite transmitters and narrators, but moreover sheds new light on the material already available in other sources.

In the present article I am not going to deal with all the questions involved, but will rather limit my presentation to the content of this manuscript. A critical edition and a study are already in preparation and are due to appear in Beirut.<sup>5a</sup>

The text of Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī is divided into three parts:

1. Part one (fols. 154a-160a) deals with the accounts leading to the battle of Fakhkh (154a-155b), the events of the battle (155b-159a) and its aftermath (159a-160a). The author follows up the lot of some 'Alides who took part in these events. The material of this first part goes back to eight sources<sup>6</sup>:

1.1. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdalwāḥid al-Kūfī. He is quoted three times and the bulk of the main report is given on his account. His *isnād* reads: Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm<sup>7</sup> > Bakr b. Ṣāliḥ al-Rāzī<sup>8</sup> > 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī

5a It has come to my attention recently that another manuscript of the same work (copied in 1305/1887) exists at the library of the great mosque in Ṣan'ā', cf. *Fihrist makhtūṭat al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr-Ṣan'ā'* 4/1731, no. 2347 (ed. A. 'A. al-Ruqayḥī and 'A. a.-Ḥusayn. Ṣan'ā' 1404/1984).

6 In this short article I am going to treat the *isnāds* only cursorily. Due to the lack of Zaydite biographical works it is difficult to identify the early Zaydite transmitters. I have ordered the *Matla' al-budūr* of Ibn Abī l-Rijāl from the Ambrosiana library but I was told that the library is under repair now. I therefore tried to make use of the work of R. Traini, *Sources Bibliographiques des Zaidites, alif-hā'*.

7 He is likely to be identified with al-Hamdānī, who was like his father in charge of the province of Hamdān apparently as a deputy of the Zaydite Imams. He was there at the time of al-Qāsim (presumably al-Rassī d. 246/860). One of the reports taken from him goes back to 279/892. He appears in the *Maqātil* once as Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm and once as 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (cf. p. 404, 443; (ed. Najaf) 270, 296) and even the sources were not sure of the order of the name (cf. Najāshī, *Rijāl* 242f.; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi'* 1/596, 2/150).

8 A client of Dabba, he is said to have transmitted from the seventh Imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm (d. 183/799). The Imami scholars regard him as untrustworthy (cf. Najāshī, *Rijāl* 79; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi'* 1/127; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim* 24, no. 142; Prozorov, *Arabskaia Istoricheskaia* 69, 103, 143). Some of his reports are varified in *Bihār al-anwār* 13/392, 14/132, 460, 17/88, 18/409.

b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Tālib. The name of this Ja‘farī as it appears here is difficult to identify but we find in the Shiite sources two possibly identical names:

1.1.1. ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Tālib who is the author of two books, one of which is directly connected to the topic of our book “*K. khurūj ṣāhib Fakhkh wa-maqtalih*”. The other one deals with the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya “*K. Khurūj Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh wa-maqtalih*”<sup>9</sup>. The main transmitter from him is Bakr b. Sāliḥ to whom these books were later attributed<sup>10</sup>. In our case Bakr b. Sāliḥ is also the main transmitter. Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī mentions in his *Maqātil* two reports dealing with the battle of Fakhkh, on the authority of ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ja‘farī. His *isnāds*, too, go back to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm › Bakr b. Sāliḥ › ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ja‘farī<sup>11</sup>.

1.1.2. ‘Umar b. Shabba (d. 263/876)<sup>12</sup> is quoted six times in *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*<sup>13</sup> giving reports on the authority of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn Abī l-Kirām al-Ja‘farī<sup>14</sup>. Ibn Shabba introduces these reports with the formulae: *ḥaddathanī*, *ḥaddathanā* and *akhbaranī*. It is unlikely that Ibn Shabba could have heard directly from him<sup>15</sup>. Obviously, he is taking his material from a written source which is not known to us<sup>16</sup>. All these reports deal with the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya

9 Najāshī, *Rijāl* 149f.; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘* 1/464; Āghā Buzurg, *Dharī‘a* 7/150f., no. 817, 818. Majlisī quotes in *Bihār al-anwār* (48/160f., his source is *Ikmāl al-dīn*) a report on the battle of Fakhkh going back to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Hakam al-Armanī › ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Ibrāhīm al-Ja‘farī. This Armanī is mentioned in the sources as the main transmitter from ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ja‘farī.

10 This could indicate that he was the main *rāwī* who put the written notes of his master in the form of a book and transmitted them further.

11 *Maqātil* 404, 443; (ed. Najaf) 270, 296. In both cases Abū l-Faraj is deriving his material from ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-‘Alawī, who wrote two books on the same subject as ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ja‘farī: “*Akhbār ṣāhib Fakhkh*” and “*Akhbār Yahyā b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Hasan*” (cf. Najāshī, *Rijāl* 186; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘* 1/544; Āghā Buzurg, *Dharī‘a* 1/337 (1760), 1/354 (1864); S. Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen* 141-144).

12 Cf. 1.3. below.

13 *Maqātil* 206, 255, 270, 334f., 345, 348, cf., too, 343 and 406 both referring to the report given on p. 334f.; (ed. Najaf) 143, 177, 187, 226, 233, 235 and 232, 270; S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 221.

14 Cf. Najāshī, *Rijāl* 16; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 13 (11); Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘* 1/17, 28, 32; Dāwūdī, ‘*Umda* 45f.

15 I could not find this chain, either in the newly edited *Akhbār al-Madīna* of ‘Umar b. Shabba or in other sources available to me.

16 Cf. on the sources of Ibn Shabba regarding the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, T. Nagel, in: *Der Islam* 46/1970/227-262.

and his brother Ibrāhīm. It is probable that this Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī l-Kirām al-Ja‘farī is the father of the above mentioned Ja‘farī who appears in our manuscript and whom we identified with the person mentioned by al-Najāshī, especially because Ibn Abī l-Kirām<sup>17</sup> is the common link in the genealogical line of the three of them, i.e. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ja‘farī (*ms.* fol. 154a), ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ja‘farī (Najāshī, *Rijāl* 149f.) and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ja‘farī (Najāshī, *Rijāl* 16) and furthermore because the above mentioned Ja‘farī wrote a book on *Khurūj Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh wa-maqtaluh*. The Shiite sources suggest that as early as the fourth/tenth century the genealogists were not any more sure about the identity of the *Tālibiyyīn* and were mixing them together (no wonder because most of them and their descendants had identical names)<sup>18</sup>. It is not possible to give a final word on the identity of these authors given the lack of sources dealing with Zaydite historiography which have come down to us.

Al-Hasan b. ‘Abdalwāhid (1.1.), the main source of Aḥmad b. Sahl, appears five times in *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, i.e. in *isnāds* of accounts dealing with the revolts of Zayd b. ‘Alī, al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother Ibrāhīm and once in a short report on Fakhkh<sup>19</sup>. In four of these *isnāds* he is the second transmitter in the chain. Abū l-Faraj transmits from him through two authorities: ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥātim and ‘Alī b. al-‘Abbās al-Muqāni<sup>20</sup>. In the fifth report he appears as the third member of the *isnād*: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd<sup>21</sup> > Muḥammad<sup>22</sup> b. Mansūr al-Murādī > al-Hasan b. ‘Abdalwāhid. al-Murādī, a Kufan, is one of the well known and highly estimated Zaydite scholars, who died in 290/903<sup>23</sup>. In our manuscript al-Murādī appears, like al-Hasan b. ‘Abdalwāhid, as a direct

17 Ibn Abī l-Kirām was on the side of the ‘Abbasids during the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and is said to be the one who brought his head to Egypt, though other reports mention that it was the head of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh, the brother of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (cf. *Maqātil* 275, 350; (ed. Najaf) 191, 236; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh* 6/21; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi’* 2/143; Dāwūdī, *Umda* 45).

18 In our case cf. al-Abtahī, *Tahdhīb* 303-306 and the sources mentioned in fn. 9.

19 *Maqātil* 132, 354, 388, 436, 524; (ed. Najaf) 96, 240, 261, 290, 343.

20 Cf. S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 136ff. (al-Hasan b. ‘Abdalwāhid is not mentioned here), and 139f; cf., too, Ardabīlī, *Jāmi’* 1/588.

21 Abū l-‘Abbās b. ‘Uqda, d. 333/944, *GAS* 1/182; R. Traini, *Sources biographiques*, no. 167; S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 127ff.

22 He appears once in our manuscript and twice in *Maqātil* (ed. Najaf) 270, 365 as Ḥamdān b. Mansūr, cf. Schoeler, *Op. Cit.* 382.

23 al-Jandārī, *Tarājim* 36; R. Strothmann, in: *Der Islam* 13/1923/6; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 80ff, 95; *GAS* 1/563; S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 202-204.

authority of Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, mainly transmitting directly from the Zaydite Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860). The fact that al-Murādī, in the *isnād* of Abū l-Faraj, relates directly from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdalwāhid suggests that Ḥasan was a little younger than him.

1.2. ‘Īsā b. Mihrān. The author relates one report from him concerning the allegiance pledge of al-Husayn al-Fakhkhī with the *isnād* ‘Īsā b. Mihrān› Muḥammad b. Marwān<sup>24</sup> > Artāt b. Ḥabīb<sup>25</sup>. ‘Īsā, known as Abū Mūsā al-Musta‘ tīf, is the author of several books<sup>26</sup>. The Sunnite sources accuse him of being a *Rāfidite* for his writing a book cursing the companions of Muḥammad<sup>27</sup>. Abū l-Faraj gives four reports where ‘Īsā is the second chain in the *isnād*<sup>28</sup>.

Artāt b. Ḥabīb, to whom this report goes back, is a Kufan who is supposed to have transmitted from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq<sup>29</sup>. He appears another time in *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*<sup>30</sup> relating from Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā, the famous traditionist who was a *dā‘ī* of Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh<sup>31</sup>. Our manuscript mentions a certain Ḥabīb b. Artāt among Yaḥyā’s *du‘āt*<sup>32</sup>; most likely we have to do here with a scribe’s error which is to be emended in Artāt b. Ḥabīb.

1.3. ‘Umar b. Shabba (d. 263/876). The author transmits from him, directly, three times in this part quoting al-Madā‘inī (‘Alī b. Muḥammad, d. 235/850<sup>33</sup>). It is difficult to establish from which of Ibn Shabba’s books this material originates. It is neither found in the edited part of his *Akḥbār*

24 I have not been able to identify him yet.

25 The same report is given by Abū l-Faraj on the account of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muzanī› Muḥammad b. Marwān› Artāt b. Ḥabīb (*Maqātil* 449f.; (ed. Najaf) 301).

26 Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 269; al-Tūsī, *Fihrist* 142; Najāshī, *Rijāl* 210f; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘* 1/654; Prozorov, *Arabskaia Istoricheskaia* 129f. and index 223.

27 al-Khatīb, *Ta’rīkh Baghdād* 11/167 (5866); Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* 11/239; Dhahabī, *Mizān* 3/324 (6613). al-Khatīb mentions that he is one of the sources of al-Ṭabarī, but I could not find any report by al-Ṭabarī going back to him.

28 *Maqātil* 69, 78, 561; (ed. Najaf) 47, 51, 368; See other reports in: Majlisī, *Bihār* 15/7; 16/143.

29 He is the author of a book, cf. Najāshī, *Rijāl* 78; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘* 1/78.

30 251; (ed. Najaf) 174; cf., too, Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh* 5/34.

31 See below (2.1.) and fn. 48 and 49.

32 Fol. 168a. He is mentioned neither in *K. al-Maṣābīh* of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Ḥasanī, nor in *al-Ḥadā‘iq al-wardiyya* by Muḥallī; cf. W. Madelung, *Akḥbār* 55f., 175.

33 *GAS* 1/314f; G. Rotter, in: *Oriens* 23-24/1974/103-133; S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 147f. al-Madā‘inī has a book entitled *Kitāb man quṭila min al-Tālibiyyīn*.

*al-Madīna*, by al-Ṭabarī. Abū l-Faraj mentions Ibn Shabba in a collective *isnād* dealing with the battle of Fakhkh, whereby it is difficult to separate his wording from that of the other authorities<sup>34</sup>.

In his history of this battle Abū l-Faraj mentions reports going back to al-Madā'inī<sup>35</sup> but he relates them on the authority of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Kharrāz<sup>36</sup> and they do not occur in our manuscript.

1.4. Aḥmad b. Ḥamza al-Rāzī. I still could not identify him. He transmitted once from Aḥmad b. Rāshid Sa'īd b. Khuthaym al-Kūfī, and once from Hārūn al-Washshā'. Aḥmad b. Rāshid (in some sources Rushd, Rashīd or Rushayd)<sup>37</sup>, a Zaydite, is the main transmitter from his uncle Sa'īd b. Khuthaym (in some sources Khaytham) Abī Ma'mar al-Hilālī<sup>38</sup>, who was one of the *du'āt* of Zayd b. 'Alī and took part in his revolt as well as in the revolts of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh and al-Ḥusayn al-Fakhkhī. He is supposed to have transmitted from Aṣbagh b. Nubāta<sup>39</sup>, a companion of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The Sunnite sources speak positively of him and Aḥmad b. Hanbal transmitted from him<sup>40</sup>. Abū l-Faraj gives ten reports on his account<sup>41</sup> dealing with the three Zaydite revolts already mentioned.

1.5. Hārūn al-Washshā' is still unidentified<sup>42</sup>.

1.6. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Murādī (already mentioned in 1.1.2.).

34 *Maqātil* 442; (ed. Najaf) 295; cf., too, 459; (ed. Najaf) 308.

35 *Maqātil* 456, 457, 459; (ed. Najaf) 305, 306, 307.

36 D. 258 Or 259/871 or 872, *GAS* 1/518f.; Prozorov, *Arabskaia Istoricheskaia* 116ff.

37 Cf. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarh wal-ta'dīl* 2/51 (Rushd); Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 10/413 (Rushd); Majlisī, *Bihār* 18/1f. (Rushayd).

38 D. between 180/796 and 190/805, Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 456; Najāshī, *Rijāl* 128; Ardabīlī, *Jām'* 1/359f.; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 10/413-416; Dhahabī, *Mizān* 2/133 (3162); C. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 284f., 291; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 72. In *Maqātil* 152 (ed. Najaf) 111 his nephew Aḥmad calls him Ibn Abī l-Hādiya al-'Abdī.

39 Barqī, *Rijāl* 50; Najāshī, *Rijāl* 6; Ardabīlī, *Jāmī'* 1/106f.

40 When Ibn Ma'in was reminded that Ibn Khuthaym was a Shiite and a Qadarite, he answered: "*Shī'ī thiqa wa-qadarī thiqa*".

41 S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 215f.

42 It may be far-fetched to identify him with Abū Bishr Hārūn b. Ḥātim al-Kūfī al-Bazzāz (d. 249/868, Bazzāz has the same meaning as Washshā'), a Zaydite who is one of the sources of Abū l-'Abbās Ibn 'Uqda (*Mizān* 4/282 (9152); *GAS* 1/316). In another *isnād* in our manuscript, Hārūn al-Washshā' transmits from 'Abdal'azīz b. Yahyā al-Kinānī, most probably the traditionist who died in 240/860 (cf. 3.7. below).

1.7. Muhammad b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī, the son of the Zaydite Imam<sup>43</sup>. The author relates from him directly twice.

1.8. Sulaymān b. Mūsā. The author transmits from him one report on the authority of his father Mūsā who relates from his relatives (*mashā'ikh ahl baitih*). This Sulaymān b. Mūsā is most probably the son of Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā al-Jūn who was killed in 256/869 during the reign of al-Muhtadī<sup>44</sup>. Sulaymān outlived his father but did not have any male descendants<sup>45</sup>.

2. Part two (fols. 160a-166b) starts with a report following up the narration on the flight of Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh and his brother Idrīs to Abyssinia after the defeat of Fakhkh. This chapter is mainly devoted to the story of Idrīs, his flight to Egypt and his career in North Africa. The reports of this part originate from three different sources:

2.1. Idrīs's flight to Egypt is given according to a certain Hārūn (most probably al-Washshā' mentioned in part one 1.5.). The author mentions that it is likely that this Hārūn was one of the *du'āt* of Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh. On his authority, Aḥmad b. Sahl, gives the text of the letter which Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yahyā wrote on behalf of Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥadramī in Egypt. Ibn Abī Yahyā (d. 184/800), a Madinan, was a client (*mawlā*) of the tribe Aslam, and Ibn al-Murtadā puts him in the fifth generation of the Mu'tazila<sup>46</sup>. He was one of the teachers of al-Shāfi'ī<sup>47</sup> but was not held in any esteem among the Sunnite sources which accused him of having been a Qadarite<sup>48</sup>. Though the later twelver

43 W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 98f., 121ff., and index, p. 266.

44 Ibn Tabātiba, *Muntaqila* 170 (He gives 255/868 as his death date); *Maqātil* 678; (ed. Najaf) 425f; K. Öhrnberg, *The Offspring*, table 32, 33, 40.

45 Dāwūdī, 'Umda 102; K. Öhrnberg, *The Offspring*, table 40.

46 *Tabaqāt* 134; *Qalā'id* 54.

47 The Zaydite sources claim that al-Shāfi'ī was a supporter of Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh and one of his *du'āt* (al-Jandārī, *Tarājim* 33) and that he had studied with him when Yahyā was hiding himself in Yemen during the time when al-Shāfi'ī held the post of a judge there (see 3.2. below); on al-Shāfi'ī's (trip(s) to Yemen, cf. J. Schacht, in: *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* 320; W. al-Qādī, in: *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul* 127-141. al-Shāfi'ī's relation to the Zaydites still needs more attention.

48 Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt* 5/314; Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa* 3/33, 55, 132; Abū l-Shaykh, *Tabaqāt* 1/395f.; Abū Nu'aym, *Tabaqāt* 1/171; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb* 2/184-191; Dhahabī, *Siyar* 8/450-454; J. van Ess, *Zwischen Hadīth und Theologie* 120.

Shiites adopted him since he was an expert on the traditions of both the fifth Imam al-Bāqir and the sixth Imam al-Sādiq<sup>49</sup>, he rather seems to have been a Zaydite, a follower of Yahyā b. ‘Abdallāh<sup>50</sup>. The Zaydite sources quote him (on the account of Artāt b. Ḥabīb 1.2. above) preferring al-Nafs al-Zakiyya to Ja‘far al-Sādiq<sup>51</sup>. The letter which Ibn Abī Yahyā wrote on behalf of Yahyā b. ‘Abdallāh appears in al-Muḥallī’s *Hadā’iq*<sup>52</sup>, though he neither gives the reason of its writing nor does he mention his source.

2.2. al-Madā’inī (cf. above 1.3.). He is mentioned once continuing the report given in part one. Most probably the author is relying here on Ibn Shabba. Curiously enough the *mawlā* of Idrīs who is supposed to have accompanied Idrīs to Egypt and to have had played a decisive role in Idrīs’s career in North Africa and taken over his office after his death, occurs in the sources under the name of Rāshid, but is named in this report of al-Madā’inī: Ishāq b. Rāshid (cf. below 2.5.).

2.3. Idrīs’s career in North Africa is quoted after an *isnād* which is rather difficult to identify: *haddathanī* Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Khālīd, Abū ‘Ulātha > Abū Khaythama, ‘Alī b. ‘Amr b. Khālīd<sup>53</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ayyūb.

2.4. In this report, the author quotes a letter of Idrīs addressed to the Berber tribes, on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ja‘far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan<sup>54</sup>, a grandson of Muḥammad al-Saylaq<sup>55</sup>.

49 Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 17; Tūsī, *Fihrist* 16; Najāshī, *Rijāl* 11; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘* 1/33f.; Ibn Shahrāshūb; *Ma‘ālim* 3; Abtahī, *Tahdhīb* 240ff. The Imami sources make the unfounded claim that al-Wāqidī used his books without mentioning him.

50 As our ms. ascertains, cf., too, C. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 290.

51 *Maqātil* 251; (ed. Najaf) 174; Muḥallī, *Hadā’iq* (ms. München, Glaser 86) 1/92a, 22-28.

52 Cf. W. Madelung, *Akhbār a’immat al-Zaydiyya* 175-178.

53 It is difficult to substantiate my hunch that we are dealing here with two brothers who could be the sons of the well known Kufan Jārūdite ‘Amr b. Khālīd, Abū Khālīd al-Wāsītī, the main transmitter of the Corpus Juris Zayd b. ‘Alī’s (cf. R. Strothmann, in: *Der Islam* 13/1923/23ff.; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 44, 48, 54f., 57).

54 Dāwūdī, *‘Umda* 151; K. Öhrnberg, *The Offspring* 18; ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Saylaq is not known to have a son called al-Ḥasan.

55 Bukhārī, *Sirr al-silsila* 19, 74f.; Dāwūdī, *‘Umda* 151.

2.5. The last report in this part deals with the wars between Idrīs and the Ibādīte Imam, ‘Abdalwahhāb b. Rustam, with the following *isnād*: *akhbarānī* ‘Īsā b. Idrīs> abīh> Ishāq b. Rāshid, *mawlāhum*.

One is inclined to think that this ‘Īsā b. Idrīs mentioned here could refer to the son of Idrīs II.<sup>56</sup>, i.e. the grandson of Idrīs b. ‘Abdallāh. But one wonders where the author, Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, could have met him. Furthermore, even if the name Ishāq b. Rāshid refers to Rāshid, the *mawlā* of Idrīs I., it remains improbable that ‘Īsā b. Idrīs II. had heard from him since Rāshid died either in 184/800, 186/802 or 188/804<sup>57</sup>. In any case when he died, Idrīs II. is said to have been eleven years old<sup>58</sup>. This *isnād* seems to me somewhat suspicious. The author could have derived his material from a written source still unknown to me.

This long report which occupies fols. 165a-166a is devoted more to the inner political and military situation in North Africa at that time than to the career of Idrīs who is hardly mentioned any more. It adds new details to the material already available in other sources dealing with the career of ‘Abdalwahhāb b. Rustam, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd and others. It would be interesting to compare this Zaydite material with the reports which appear in the Ibādīte sources dealing with the history of the early community in North Africa. As far as Idrīs is concerned we are confronted here with three questions: 1- how long did his stay in North Africa last, 2- when did he die and 3- who was his alleged murderer?<sup>59</sup>

Although our manuscript does not give a date for Idrīs’s arrival in North Africa, it provides us with a clue for it. The other sources give dates varying between 170/786-87 and 172/788-89<sup>60</sup>. We read in the manuscript that Idrīs arrived in Egypt occurred during the government of Mūsā b. ‘Īsā. Mūsā took over the government of Egypt in 171/787 and was granted leave in Ramaḍān 172/February 788 after having governed for one year and five and a half months<sup>61</sup>. This indicates that Idrīs had left

56 Cf. H. Beck, *Idris de kleine* 26, 35, 88, 89, 114; K. Öhrnberg, *The Offspring*, table 30.

57 Cf. M. Talbi, *L’Emirat Aghlabide* 347; H. Beck, *Idris de kleine* 67f., 80ff., 96ff. and see index 371.

58 H. Beck, *Op. Cit.* 65f. The history of Idrīs I. and Idrīs II. is based on contradictory and mostly legendary reports.

59 I am not going here to discuss these problems in detail, cf. M. Talbi, *L’Emirat Aghlabide* 362ff.; H. Beck, *Op. Cit.* 15ff.

60 M. Talbi, *Op. Cit.* 366f.; M. Ismā‘īl, *Adārisa* 55ff.

61 Kindī, *Wulāt Misr* 132; at the same time Wāḍih was in charge of the post. Kindī mentions that Idrīs entered Egypt under the government of ‘Alī b. Sulaymān, who overlooked him so he could leave to North Africa (*Wulāt* 131f.).

Egypt before Ramaḍān 172, a fact that is confirmed by some other sources<sup>62</sup>.

In the report of 'Īsā b. Idrīs, it is said that Idrīs had stayed in Tangier for seven years and that he was killed there after Harthama b. A'yan<sup>63</sup> took over Kairouan in Jumāda 179/May-June 795<sup>64</sup>. In his discussion, M. Talbi argues that this year most probably coincides with that of Idrīs' death<sup>65</sup>. The report passes over the personality of the man who is supposed to have poisoned him in silence (he speaks of a group and uses the verb in the plural: *...ilā l-naḥar alladhīn kāna Hārūn wajjahahum ilā Idrīs ilā tanja li-yasqūh al-sūm hattā fa'alū*)<sup>66</sup>. A few pages earlier the author mentions on the authority of Abū Ulatha, Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Khālīd (cf. 2.3) that Shammākh al-Yamāmī was appointed by Hārūn al-Rashīd to the post office of Egypt, instead of Wādīh who had helped Idrīs to flee from Egypt, under the government of Mūsā b. 'Īsā. al-Shammākh was given the instruction either to kill Idrīs or to send someone to do the job, if Idrīs had left for North Africa. At any rate this report does not suggest that al-Shammākh himself was the murderer, but only that he was instructed to invigilate the case. The oldest report on this case is referred to by Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/859) who, however gives no source<sup>67</sup>, but mentions that the assassination was carried out during the government of Harthama by a Medinan (*rajul min ahl al-Madīna*) who poisoned him with a fish. Two other versions of his assassination found circulation in the sources<sup>68</sup>: The first mentions al-Shammākh al-Yamāmī to have poisoned Idrīs, either with tooth powder or with a water-melon. This version is

62 Cf. M. Talbi, *Op. Cit.* 366ff.

63 Ch. Pellat, in: *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> 3/1971/231.

64 Most of the sources agree that Idrīs I. died in Walīla. Walīla is in the province of Tangier.

65 *Op. Cit.* 371f.; but cf. Abū Zakariyyā' Ibn Khaldūn, *Bughya* 1/79 (French translation 1/101f.), who dates his death in the year 175; Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident* 14 dates his death even earlier; M. Ismā'īl, *Adārisa* 59.

66 *Akhbār Fakhh* 166b, 21.

67 *Asmā' al-muḡhtālīn* 197f.

68 Both appearing with variations, cf. M. Talbi, *L'Emirat Aghlabid* 369ff.; H. Beck, *Idris de kleine* 18-56. The late sources made a synthesis between the two reports and added to the legendary features, cf. Ibn Abī Zar', *al-Anīs al-mutrib* 22ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar* 4/24f.; al-Himyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'tār* 610; Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwa* 22f.; al-Salāwī, *Istiḡṣā* 1/142-144.

transmitted on the account of four authorities: Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī<sup>69</sup>, Aḥmad b. al-Hārith b. 'Ubayda<sup>70</sup>, the Zaydite Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim<sup>71</sup> and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Barbarī<sup>72</sup>. The second version goes back to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Nawfalī (d. 204/819)<sup>73</sup>. He identifies the murderer with the Zaydite theologian and one of the *du'āt* of Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh (according to the ms. 167b)<sup>74</sup>, Sulaymān b. Jarīr<sup>75</sup> al-Jazarī<sup>76</sup>, who poisoned him with perfume (*qārūrat ghāliya*; some reports have a fish instead)<sup>77</sup>. However, the originator of this report was an Imāmī, who is accused by the Zaydite Abū l-Faraj of being prejudiced in what he reports about the Zaydites and of telling lies<sup>78</sup>. Although this report is isolated<sup>79</sup>, the fact that it found circulation in Zaydite literature indicates that it was accepted to a certain extent among them<sup>80</sup>. We also may have to take into consideration the controversies among the Zaydites themselves which could have led to the adop-

69 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān* 81f. (tooth powder), on Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī, cf. H. Beck, *Idris de kleine* 18; H. Masse, *Abrégé du Livre des pays* 99, he identifies him wrongly (index 428) with Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās who died in 151/768.

70 Bakrī, *Masālik* 121 (tooth powder).

71 Bakrī, *Masālik* 121 (water-melon).

72 Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 490 (tooth powder), on Muḥammad b. Mūsā (d. 294/906), cf. S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 205f. Abū l-Faraj's source is 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī, who wrote a book on "*Akhbār ṣāhib Fakḥkh*" and another on "*Akhbār Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh*" (fn. 11 above).

73 Ardabīlī, *Jāmi'* 1/598; Prosorov, *Arabskaia Istoriceskaia* 181; Günther, *Op. Cit.* 151-152.

74 C. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 73. Yaḥyā and Sulaymān could have met during Yaḥyā's short stay in al-Jazīra before Yaḥyā entered Baghdad (cf. fol. 166b).

75 In some sources the name is distorted into Ḥurayz.

76 Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, index 636; C. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 73f., 82ff.; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 61ff.; M. Watt, *Formative Period* 162ff. (German version *Der Islam* II, 165ff.).

77 *Maqātil* 489; Bukhārī, *Sirr al-silsila al-'alawiyya* 12; Bakrī, *Masālik* 118ff. (*Istibṣār* 194-196); Abū Zakariyyā' Ibn Khaldūn, *Bughya* 1/79.

78 *Maqātil* 518; (ed. Najaf) 238f.

79 A shorter but similar report (*Maqātil* 490) is given on the authority of Yaḥyā b. al-Hasan (d. 277/890, S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 226ff.) › Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim al-Ja'farī (d. 261/875, Tūsī, *Fihrist* 131; *Najāshī*, *Rijāl* 113; al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baghdad* 8/369).

80 Cf. C. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 73; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim* 62; Turjumān 78b, 13-23; Muḥallī mentions in *al-Ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya* (ms. München, Glaser 86, fol. 110b) the version which names Sulaymān b. Jarīr, he then adds that some reports mention instead a man who was wearing like the Jews (most probably al-Muḥallī is depending on Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, cf. fol. 162a) and others mention a barber. Strangely enough, al-Muḥallī gives Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī as his source. In his history (*Ta'riḥ* 3/561f.; (ed. Ibrāhīm) 8/198f.; (Engl. transl.) 30/29). Ṭabarī gives only the version with al-Shammākh without naming his source (*wa-qīla*).

tion of this version. Our manuscript, on the contrary, confirms the early reports which put Idrīs's death in relation with al-Shammākh al-Yamānī.

3. Part three (fols. 166b-184b) follows the career of Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh and his fate in the jail of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The *isnāds* in this part are the following:

3.1. al-Ḥasan ḥb. 'Abdalwāḥid (cf. 1.1. above). He relates a report on Yaḥyā's sojourn in Baghdad during his concealment and his flight afterwards. This is reported with the following *isnād*: al-Ḥasan ḥ Ibrāhīm b. Yūnus (?) ḥ his father(?) ḥ Fulayt 'an Sulaymān. The 'an mentioned after Sulaymān seems to be a slip of the pen which has to be corrected to Fulayt ibn Sulaymān who is mentioned fol. 161b and 167b among the *du'āt* of Yaḥyā, and who accompanied his brother Idrīs to Egypt<sup>81</sup>.

3.2. Sa'īd b. Buhlūl *min* abnā' Fāris bi-Ṣan'ā' (?). He relates a report on Yaḥyā's eight months' stay in Yemen, where al-Shāfi'ī<sup>82</sup> and others are said to have studied by him.

3.3. Abū Zayd (i.e. 'Umar b. Shabba). On his authority originates the bulk of the material dealing with Yaḥyā's stay in Daylam, his imprisonment by Hārūn al-Rashīd and his death in jail (fols. 167b-183b). Ibn Shabba's main source here is al-Madā'inī who is quoted eight times without raising the transmitters chain after him. Although we find in the sources reports with similar content, this material, derived from Ibn Shabba ḥ al-Madā'inī, is new and quite original. On one occasion, Ibn Shabba relates a report from Ibn Zabāla<sup>83</sup>.

81 Both Abū l-'Abbās al-Husaynī in *K. al-Maṣābīh* and Muḥallī in *al-Ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya* have instead: Fulayt b. Ismā'īl (W. Madelung, *Akhbār* 56, 175; cf., too, C. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 291). I could not identify this name in the available sources. Possibly, Fulayt, could be a misspelling of Talīd!; a certain Talīd b. Sulaymān (d. 190/805) attested in the Imāmī sources (Najāshī, *Rijāl* 83; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi'* 1/132). He transmitted from Ja'far al-Sādiq. He appears once in Abū l-Faraj's *Maqātil* (p. 181 *ilmūdh* instead of *Talīd* which is clearly an error; (ed. Najaf) 129) transmitting from 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's father). This report by Abū l-Faraj is taken from Talīd on the authority of 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb (d. 250/864, Najāshī, *Rijāl* 208; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi'* 1/431; S. Günther, *Op. Cit.* 112f.) who else appears in *Maqātil* (ed. Najaf, 174) as a transmitter from Artāt b. Ḥabīb (1.2. above).

82 Cf. fn. 46 above.

83 GAS 1/343f.; G. Schoeler, *Verzeichnis* 382.

An account of the clash between Yaḥyā and Bakkār al-Zubayrī at al-Rashīd's court is introduced with this short *isnād*: *wa-haddathanī Abū l-Nattāḥ 'an al-Madā'inī qāl wa-haddathanī al-Dabbī 'an bā'd al-Nawfaliyyīn*. G. Schoeler suggested, quite rightly, Abū l-Nattāḥ to be emended in Ibn al-Nattāḥ<sup>84</sup>. Ibn al-Nattāḥ (d. 252/866) is Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, from whom Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, the author of our manuscript, could not have transmitted directly<sup>85</sup>. He is a historian with 'Abbāsīd sympathies on whose authority al-Ṭabarī relies in reporting certain accounts on Yaḥyā's career. He is also the alleged author of "*Akhbār al-'Abbās wa-wuldih*"<sup>86</sup>. al-Ṭabarī's material on Yaḥyā is clearly anti-Ṭalibide and characterized by Abbasid tendencies. This report is also found in al-Ṭabarī (*wa-dhakara al-Dabbī anna shaykhan min al-Nawfaliyyīn qāl.*)<sup>87</sup>. Most probably, the author takes this report from the same book by Ibn Shabba from which he derives the remaining material<sup>88</sup>, and Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ appears as a source of Ibn Shabba elsewhere<sup>89</sup>. al-Dabbī, mentioned here, is al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad the famous scholar who is said to have been a Zaydite<sup>90</sup>.

3.4. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm <al-Rassī> (1.7. above). Three reports quoted in this part are based on his account.

3.5. Abū Hāshim Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Hasan b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The author transmits from him directly another report on the confrontation between al-Zubayrī and Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh at the court of al-Rashīd (cf. 3.3.). His father 'Alī died in 264/877<sup>91</sup>. Abū Hāshim Ismā'īl is transmitting from Ḥamza b. al-Qāsim,

84 *Verzeichnis* 382.

85 Cf. fn. 88 below.

86 Cf. The editor's preface 15ff.

87 *Ta'riḫ* 3/616f.; (ed. Ibrāhīm) 8/244f.; (Engl. transl. 30/120).

88 Else, is Ibn al-Nattāḥ two generations elder than Aḥmad b. Sahl the author of this manuscript, and thus he could not have transmitted directly from him; hereto, cf. p. 275f. and fn. 95-97 of this article.

89 Cf., eg., *Akhbār al-Madīna* 1270.

90 Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 338, 372; (ed. Najaf) 251; I. 'Abbās's preface on: Dabbī, *Amthāl al-'Arab* 18-20 where he discusses the date of his death (thus Bosworth's fn. 458 (Ṭabarī, Engl. transl. vol. 30) is to be revised).

91 Dāwūdī, *Umda* 286f.; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab Quraysh* 79; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 67.

most probably a descendant from Ḥamza b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. Abī Tālib, who studied by Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq<sup>92</sup>.

3.6. Abū ‘Alī al-Bustānī (?) › Ibn Sammā’a sāhib Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī<sup>93</sup>. He tells the story of al-Rashīd’s infringement of the indemnity he had granted Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh (through al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā). al-Shaybānī refused to give a legal judgment (*fatwā*) which could have enabled Hārūn al-Rashīd to infringe the indemnity, thus causing al-Rashīd to harbor ill will against him. Such a legal opinion was given then by Abū l-Bakhtarī<sup>94</sup>. The story is verified also in other sources with some variations<sup>95</sup>. Only Abū l-‘Abbās al-Ḥasanī gives at the end of the report an account transmitted by Muḥammad b. Sammā’a showing that al-Rashīd used to favour al-Shaybānī thereafter<sup>96</sup>. The Zaydite sources claim that al-Shaybānī had good relations to their Imams and that he relied in his *K al-Siyar al-kabīr* mainly on *K al-Siyar* of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya without mentioning him<sup>97</sup>.

3.7. Another version of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s infringement is given on the authority of Hārūn al-Washshā’ (1.5. above) › ‘Abdal‘azīz b. Yaḥyā al-Kinānī, an eyewitness who took part in the occasion. al-Kinānī is mentioned elsewhere in this manuscript as one of the *du‘āt* of Yaḥyā<sup>98</sup>. Most likely, this ‘Abdal‘azīz is to be identified with ‘Abdal‘azīz b. Yaḥyā al-

92 Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘* 1/283.

93 D. 233/847 or 236/850, al-Khaṭīb, *Ta’rīkh* 5/3431-343; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* 15-19.

94 Wahb b. Wahb (d. 200/815), *GAS* 1/267; Wakī‘, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* 1/248f.; Najāshī, *Rijāl* 303; Kashshī, *Rijāl* 261f.; Muṣ‘ab, *Nasab Quraysh* 222; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 119; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma‘ālim* 114; C. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 62f.

95 Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh* 3/619f.; (ed. Ibrāhīm) 8/247, on the authority of: Abū l-Khattāb (Bosworth (Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, Engl. transl. 30/125, fn. 472) identifies him with Hamza b. ‘Alī, a *rāwī* frequently cited by Tabarī) › Ja‘far b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī; Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 479f., Abū l-Faraj relies on a collective *isnād* which he gave on page 465; Abū l-‘Abbās al-Ḥasanī, *K al-Masābīh*, in: (W. Madelung, *Akhbār* 61ff.); Nātiq bil-Haqq, *al-Ifāda*, in: (W. Madelung, *Akhbār* 81f.); Muḥallī, *al-Hada’iq al-wardiyya* (ms. München, Glaser 86) fol. and W. Madelung, *Akhbār* 204f., Muḥallī quotes here Abū l-Faraj’s version; cf., too, al-Kardārī, *Manāqib* 2/436-38; M. Kawtharī, *Bulūgh al-murām* 49-55; M. Khadduri, *The Law of Nations* 33ff.

96 *K al-Masābīh*, in: W. Madelung, *Akhbār* 63.

97 Hereto, cf. M. Jarrar, “Sīra, Mashāhid and Maghāzī”, fn. 184, in: *Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, vol. II (ed. L. Conrad).

98 Fol. 167b, cf., too, W. Madelung, *Akhbār* 56, 175; C. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 291.

Kinānī al-Makkī (d. 240/854)<sup>99</sup>, to whom *K. al-Hayda* is attributed<sup>100</sup>. It seems that the words *qāla al-Makkī*, which precede the ensuing report (fol. 171b) refer to the same ‘Abdal‘azīz as well.

3.8. The remaining four *isnāds* in this part are difficult to explore. Most of the *isnād* members are local authorities of al-Rayy. These reports deal with the different stories of Yahyā’s death and burial, and comprise clear legendary features (fol. 183a, 18-184a).

The study of the material and some of the main *isnāds* contained in this manuscript allow us to make certain observations on the milieu and the time in which the author, Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, lived. His surname (*kunya*) indicates that he was a native of Rayy, and is confirmed as well by some of the *isnāds*, whose material is derived directly from local authorities in Rayy. It can be established, too, that a remarkable number of his main transmitters were Kūfans<sup>101</sup>, a fact that points to the close links that existed between the Zaydite communities in both Kūfa and Rayy/Daylam.

When did the author live?<sup>102</sup> If we consider that the youngest authority from which he relates is al-Murādī (d. 290/902) and the oldest ‘Umar b. Shabba (d. 263/876)<sup>103</sup>, he should have been born at least twenty years before 263/876<sup>104</sup>, i.e. around 243/857, and should have died at least twenty years after his youngest authority, al-Murādī, i.e. around 315/928, especially if we take into account that he derived his materials directly from authorities which Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/ 967) quoted through an extra chain in the *isnād*. It seems strange that a transmitter

99 GAS 1/617; cf. fn. 42 above.

100 Cf. J. Salībā’s introduction to *K. al-Hayda*; J. van Ess, in: Owens 18-19/1967/101.

101 Except, ‘Isā b. Mihrān who is from Baghdad but could have visited Kūfa, and ‘Umar b. Shabba who is from Basra.

102 Cf. the attempt of G. Schoeler, *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Teil II, 382.

103 If we understand that the term *haddathanī*, which he uses when he is quoting Ibn Shabba, means that he is taking from him directly and not citing from a book by Ibn Shabba. Another one of his old authorities should be: Muhammad b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (cf. 1.7. and 3.4. above), the son of the Zaydī Imam (d. 246/860).

104 If we consider that the usual age of visiting lectures (*halaqāt al-‘ilm* or *majālis al-tadrīs*) were twenty years, though we hear of some scholars who started visiting these lectures earlier. Some reports show that some scholars used to take an *ijāza* for their sons as early as the son was five years of age. Cf. al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil* 190-192; ‘Iyād, *al-Ilmā’* 52ff.

could have taken directly from a late authority (i.e. al-Murādī) who died thirty years after the first authority this same transmitter relies upon (i.e. Ibn Shabba). Nevertheless we can conclude – considering the reservations we have just mentioned – that the author Aḥmad b. Sahl should have died during the first quarter of the fourth/ tenth century.

Considering the common sources used by both Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī and, one generation after him, Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī through different transmitters, it seems safe to suggest that both of them were using a written source which was already in circulation during the lifetime of al-Rāzī (i.e. the first quarter of the fourth/tenth century).

This manuscript which represents one of the earliest historiographic works of the Zaydites contains significant new information concerning the battle of Fakhkh, its aftermath and the career of both Idrīs and Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh. It not only sheds new light on the available historical works, their sources (some of which are lost) and the relation between them (through the study of the *isnāds*), but also helps us to clarify the relation of many celebrated scholars of the third/ninth century to the early Zaydite Imams.

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