

Grant Proposal  
Fritz Thyssen Stiftung

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§ 2 Project title: Mu‘tazilite Manuscripts Project

### § 3 Abstract:

The Mu‘tazila was a rationalist school of Islamic theology and one of the important streams of Islamic thought. Mu‘tazilites stressed the primacy of reason and free will and developed an epistemology, ontology and psychology which provided a basis for explaining the nature of the world, God, man and the phenomena of religion such as revelation and divine law. In their ethics, Mu‘tazilites maintained that good and evil can be known solely through human reason.

The beginnings of the Mu‘tazila were in the eighth century and its classic period of development was from the latter part of the ninth century until the middle of the eleventh. While it briefly enjoyed the status of an official theology, over the centuries the Mu‘tazila fell out of favor in Sunnite Islam and had largely disappeared by the fourteenth century. Its influence, however, continued to be felt in two groups: Shi‘ite Islam and Karaite Judaism. Within Shi‘ite Islam in particular, the influence of the Mu‘tazila continued through the centuries and can be felt even today. There has been a trend in the twentieth century to rehabilitate the Mu‘tazila, particularly in Egypt. The Neo-Mu‘tazilites are attracted by the Mu‘tazilite affirmation of reason and free will and see in it a basis for intellectual liberty and modernity.

Mu‘tazilite works were evidently not widely copied and relatively few manuscripts have survived. So little authentic Mu‘tazilite literature was available, that until some publications in the 1960’s, Mu‘tazilite doctrine was mostly known through the works of its opponents. While Mu‘tazilite manuscripts have not been preserved in large quantities, most of the material which has survived has not yet even been utilized or published. It is therefore essential to collect together information on what has survived and to publish the texts.

Mu‘tazilite manuscripts have survived largely in two sources: Yemenite public and private manuscript collections and in the Firkovitch collection in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg which came mostly from the manuscript storeroom of the Karaite synagogue in Cairo. Other manuscripts can be found scattered in libraries in Europe and elsewhere. In the early 1950’s a number of manuscripts were discovered in Yemen which contained works of various representatives of the Mu‘tazilite school of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā’ī (d. 321/933), the Bahshamiyya. These included most of the twenty-volume *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawhīd wa-l-‘adl* of ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) which was subsequently edited in Egypt between 1960 and 1969.

Mu'tazilite thought also had a major impact on Jewish theologians, both Rabbanite and Karaite, from the tenth through the twelfth centuries. Jewish scholars both composed original works along Mu'tazilite lines and made copies of Muslim books, often transcribed in Hebrew characters. A number of such manuscripts have been preserved in the Firkovitch collection and a few can be found in the British Library. Small manuscript fragments are also to be found in the various collections stemming from the hoard of manuscript fragments found in the genizah of the Ben Ezra synagogue in Cairo. The full study of these materials will reveal an important aspect of the intellectual interaction between Jews and Muslims in the Middle Ages.

The proposed project aims to accomplish the following goals:

- To prepare a global detailed handlist of all Mu'tazilite manuscripts and to collect images of the unpublished material. The focus will be on the unexploited collections in St. Petersburg, Yemen, India, Oman and the various collections of Genizah fragments. The manuscript collections of other libraries such as the British Library, Leiden, the Vatican and those in Istanbul will also be examined for Mu'tazilite material.

- To identify as many manuscripts as possible and to prepare scientific editions of selected treatises from among the entire material.

#### § 4 Detailed Project Description:

##### 1. Background: What was the Mu‘tazila?

The Mu‘tazila was a rationalist school of Islamic theology and one of the important streams of Islamic thought. Mu‘tazilites stressed the primacy of reason and free will and developed an epistemology, ontology and psychology which provided a basis for explaining the nature of the world, God, man and the phenomena of religion such as revelation and divine law. In their ethics, Mu‘tazilites maintained that good and evil can be known solely through human reason.

The beginnings of the Mu‘tazila were in the eighth century and its classic period of development was from the latter part of the ninth century until the middle of the eleventh. While it briefly enjoyed the status of an official theology, over the centuries the Mu‘tazila fell out of favor in Sunnite Islam and had largely disappeared by the fourteenth century. Its influence, however, continued to be felt in two groups: Shi‘ite Islam and Karaite Judaism. Within Shi‘ite Islam in particular, the influence of the Mu‘tazila continued through the centuries and can be felt even today. There has been a trend in the twentieth century to rehabilitate the Mu‘tazila, particularly in Egypt. The Neo-Mu‘tazilites are attracted by the Mu‘tazilite affirmation of reason and free will and see in it a basis for intellectual liberty and modernity.

By the latter part of the ninth century, the Mu‘tazilite movement had coalesced into two main schools: the “Baghdadi” school and that of Basra. (Although there was not necessarily any connection between these cities and the members of either school.) The dominant figures of the Basran school were Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā‘ī (d. 303/916) and his son Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933). The students and followers of Abū Hāshim formed an important sub-school known as the Bahshamiyya. Of the various members of this school, one can mention the following: Abū Hāshim’s disciple, Abū ‘Alī ibn Khallād. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980) and Abū Ishāq ibn ‘Ayyāsh were students of Ibn Khallād. The *qāḍī* ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) was a student of these latter two and was a very prolific author. A number of his works have survived (see below). ‘Abd al-Jabbār had a number of disciples. One of these, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 426/1044), established the last creative school of thought among the Mu‘tazila.

Mu‘tazilite thought also had a major impact on Jewish theologians, both Rabbanite and Karaite, from the tenth through the twelfth centuries. Jewish scholars both composed original works along Mu‘tazilite lines and made copies of Muslim books, often transcribed in Hebrew characters. A prime example of an original Jewish Mu‘tazilite work is the Karaite Yūsuf al-Baṣīr’s *Kitāb al-Muḥtawī* published by Georges Vajda largely from a manuscript in the Kaufmann collection in Budapest (Leiden 1985). Indeed, the influence of the Mu‘tazila found its way to the very center of Jewish religious and intellectual life in the East. Several of the Heads of the ancient Academies (Yeshivot) of Sura and Pumbedita (located by the tenth century in Baghdad) adopted the Mu‘tazilite worldview. One of them, Samuel ben Hofni Gaon (d. 1013) evidently also had direct contact with Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (Sklare 1996). Further, the Mu‘tazilite doctrines and terminology provided a basis for discussion and polemical exchanges between Jewish and Muslim scholars (Sklare 1999). The full study of the extant materials will reveal an important aspect of the intellectual interaction between Jews and Muslims in the Middle Ages.

Mu‘tazilite works were evidently not widely copied and relatively few manuscripts have survived. So little authentic Mu‘tazilite literature was available, that until some publications in the 1960’s, Mu‘tazilite doctrine was mostly known through the works of its opponents. While Mu‘tazilite manuscripts have not been preserved in large quantities, most of the material which has survived has not yet even been utilized or published. It is therefore essential to collect together all information on what has survived and to publish the texts so that they will be widely accessible to scholarship.

## 2. State of Research.

The study of Mu‘tazilite thought has made slow but steady progress throughout the twentieth century. Being virtually banned from the Sunnite world from about the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, Mu‘tazilite thinking was considered to have not been an integral part of Islamic intellectual history. Given the rationalistic approach of the Mu‘tazila towards theological issues, nineteenth-century historians of thought generally considered the Mu‘tazilites to have been “free thinkers” within Islam who had been deeply influenced by Greek philosophical thought and thus constituted an anomaly within Islamic intellectual history (Steiner 1865; Spitta 1875).

This evaluation, which was based on the virtual lack of any texts authored by Mu‘tazilites and having heresiographies as the only available source, was proven to be wrong

at the beginning of the twentieth century both in the Islamic world as well as in Western scholarship due to the publication of two significant texts. In 1925 the Swedish scholar Henrik Samuel Nyberg edited the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* of the Bagdadī Mu‘tazilite Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāt, a refutation of the polemical treatises of Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 298/910) which in turn were directed against al-Jāhiz’s (d. 255/868) *Kitāb Fādilat al-Mu‘tazila*. Although al-Khayyāt’s work does not contain extensive information on the views of the Mu‘tazilites due to its apologetical character, it was the first work authored by a Mu‘tazilite available in print. Of much higher significance for the subsequent study of Mu‘tazilism was Hellmut Ritter’s edition of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī’s (d. 324/926) *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyin wa-ikhtilāf al-muṣallīn* published in 1929-1930 (Ritter 1929-1930). This work provided reliable insights into the positions of the Mu‘tazilites as the author had originally been a student of the Baṣran Mu‘tazilite Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā‘ī (although he went on to establish his own theological school) and was familiar of the Mu‘tazilite writings of his time.

The next decisive step in the study of Mu‘tazilite thought occurred when in the early 1950’s a number of manuscripts were discovered in Yemen during the expedition of a group of Egyptian scholars. These manuscripts contained mostly works of various representatives of the Mu‘tazilite school of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā‘ī, the “Bahshamiyya”. These included fourteen out of twenty volumes of the encyclopaedic *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-‘adl* of ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (namely vols. 4-9, 11-17, 20) which were subsequently edited in Egypt between 1961 and 1965 (‘Abd al-Jabbār 1961-1965) although not in a satisfactory manner (cf. e.g. Elshahed 1984; Hecker 1980). Further writings of adherents of the Bahshamiyya were found in the various libraries of Yemen which were also edited during the 1960’s, among them *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, a recension of the *Uṣūl al-khamsa* of ‘Abd al-Jabbār by one of his followers, Mānakdīm (Mānakdīm 1965), as well as the recension of Abd al-Jabbār’s *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* by another follower of his, Ibn Mattawayh (d. 429/1076), *Kitāb al-Majmū‘ fī l-muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* (Ibn Mattawayh 1965-1981).

However, despite these rich finds, there still remain numerous lacunae. On the one hand, no texts by thinkers earlier than ‘Abd al-Jabbār were discovered. The same applies to rival groups of the Bahshamiyya such as the Ikhshīdiyya. On the other hand, quite significant parts of the works by adherents of the Bahshamiyya were still lacking. For example, volumes 1-3, 10 and 18-19 of the *Mughnī* were not found, as well as other works by ‘Abd al-Jabbār, such as the original version of the *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* or his *Sharḥ Kashf al-a‘rād*.

Moreover, the finds of the 1950’s suggested that the Bahshamiyya constituted the last innovative and lively school within Mu‘tazilism. This was proved to be wrong only some

decades later when Wilferd Madelung and Martin D. McDermott discovered and edited the extant fragments of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Kitāb al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*. Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī (d. 536/1141) was a follower of the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), the founder of the last innovative school within the Mu'tazila. Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī was a student of 'Abd al-Jabbār while at the same time also trained in philosophy. From the *Kitāb al-Mu'tamad* it is evident that Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī significantly differed from the views of his teacher 'Abd al-Jabbār and that he formulated new innovative positions in a number of central theological issues. Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Kitāb al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* was published in 1991, and the shorter *Kitāb al-Fā'iq fī uṣūl al-dīn* (manuscripts of which have also been preserved in Yemen) is about to be published (edited by W. Madelung and M.D. McDermott).

Other texts were made available in recent years through editions and studies that shed further light on the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, such as the *Kāmil fī l-istiḡṣā' fīmā balaghanā min kalām al-quḍamā'* by the otherwise unknown Taqī al-Dīn al-Baḥrānī (or: al-Najrānī) al-'Ajālī (end of 6th/12th century or early 7th/13th century) (Elshahed 1983; Taqī al-Dīn al-Baḥrānī 1999). Further, one of the present applicants showed in a number of studies the deep influence Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī had on the theological thinking of the Imamite Shi'ites from the 6th/12th century onwards (Schmidtke 1991 & 2000).

What was not found, however, were theological writings by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī himself. Nor were any contemporary texts of adversaries of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī discovered that might have given evidence of the harsh disagreements that took place between the adherents of the Bahshamiyya on the one hand and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the other. It is only known from later sources that the animosities between the two groups must have been very harsh indeed.

[Note: Further, detailed information on the current state of research in Mu'tazilism can be found in Schmidtke 1998.]

One of the present applicants, Sabine Schmidtke, together with one of the proposed collaborating scholars, Wilferd Madelung, were fellows of a research group dedicated to Shi'ite Islam during winter term 2002-2003 at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. During our work on other projects, we became acquainted with the rich material of the Firkovitch collection of Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts (microfilm copies of which are available at the Jewish National and University Library). We spent countless mornings at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts examining at least a

hundred fragments of theological and philosophical treatises, some of them authored by Muslim scholars, others by Karaite Jews. During our work we experienced breath-taking moments when discovering fragments of Muslim writings which were either believed to be lost or which were even not known before to exist, shedding light in particular on the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.

One of the most spectacular findings we made is an extensive fragment of the *Kitāb Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, whose own theological writings were believed until now to be lost. We consequently became aware of another fragment of the same work in St. Petersburg and have already started to edit the extant fragments. Another spectacular find was a fragment of a refutation of the doctrine of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, apparently authored by the Karaite Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, who was al-Baṣrī's contemporary. We have prepared a critical edition and translation of the latter treatise which, we hope, will very soon appear in print.

The study of Jewish Mu'tazilism began a century ago with the work of Martin Schreiner (Schreiner 1900). Schreiner, however, was not aware of the primary sources to be found in the manuscripts in the Firkovitch collection and in the Cairo Genizah. Only in the 1960's did research based on primary texts in Judeo-Arabic begin to appear. Most notable are the publications of George Vajda concerning Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (Vajda 1976; many of his earlier publications are collected in Vajda 1985) and those of Moses Zucker concerning Saadya ben Joseph al-Fayyūnī Gaon (Zucker 1984). Haggai Ben-Shammai has studied Mu'tazilite influence on the early Karaite authors, Yaqūb al-Qirqisānī and Yefet ben 'Elī (Ben-Shammai 1978). David Sklare has reconstructed some of the Mu'tazilite writings of Samuel ben Hofni Gaon (Sklare 1996) and investigated the impact of Mu'tazilite thought on the legal writings of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (Sklare 1995). Much of the basic work of reconstructing both Rabbanite and Karaite Mu'tazilite texts from manuscript fragments still remains to be done.

### 3. Sources of Mu'tazilite Manuscript to be explored.

Mu'tazilite manuscripts have survived largely in two places: 1) Yemenite public and private manuscript collections, and 2) in the Firkovitch collection preserved in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg. Yemen has been an important source of Mu'tazilite manuscripts due to the Zaydiyya who established itself politically in Yemen. The Zaydīs adopted Mu'tazilism as the basis of their theology and while they developed their own theological literature (which often contains quotations from earlier works), works of the

Bahshamiyya were also copied. As mentioned above, most of the available published Mu'tazilite literature was found in Yemenite manuscripts. Numerous Mu'tazilite writings which had been believed to be lost were recently found in Yemen and India by the Iranian scholar Ḥasan Anṣārī al-Qummī, including the extensive work by Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd 'alā l-falāsifa* (Anṣārī 2001).

The manuscripts of the Firkovitch collection were collected by the Crimean Karaite Abraham Firkovitch (1787-1874) during his travels in the Crimea and Caucasus and then later in the Middle East. Firkovitch purchased manuscripts in Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem, and evidently also received a consignment of manuscripts from Hit in Iraq. His major source, however, was the manuscript storeroom (genizah) of the Karaite synagogue in Cairo. The manuscripts which Firkovitch collected in the Middle East (the so-called Second Firkovitch Collection) were sold after his death to the Czarist Imperial Library in 1876. The Firkovitch collection contains thousands of manuscripts in Arabic (mostly in Hebrew characters, but also a good number in Arabic characters) and opens up a large window into the rich world of the tenth and eleventh-century Karaite Jerusalem community. During the Soviet period, these collections were essentially closed to scholars from outside the Soviet Union and have become accessible only in recent years.

The Mu'tazilite manuscripts found in the Firkovitch collection include both Karaite works and copies of Muslim works which presumably were kept in Karaites' libraries. A few such manuscripts are also found in the British Library which evidently derived from the same source as the Firkovitch collection. Thirteen of the Mu'tazilite manuscripts found in the Firkovitch collection were described in detail by A. Borisov (Borisov 1935). On the basis of Borisov's descriptions of the Firkovitch Mu'tazilite manuscripts and from fragments in the British Library, Haggai Ben-Shammai was able to draw additional conclusions regarding the identity of some of the Mu'tazilite materials preserved by the Karaites, showing in particular that the Karaites had preserved the original version of 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* which we now possess only in the shortened version by Ibn Mattawayh. (Ben-Shammai 1974).

Small manuscript fragments of both Muslim and Jewish works are also to be found in the various collections stemming from the hoard of manuscript fragments found in the genizah of the Ben Ezra synagogue in Cairo. The largest part of this material is now preserved in Cambridge, England, but important collections are found in Oxford, the British Library, the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, the library of the Alliance Israelite in Paris and elsewhere. It is sometimes possible to reconstruct parts of unknown or lost Mu'tazilite works from these genizah fragments.

A small number of Mu'tazilite manuscripts are also to be found scattered in various European libraries, such as that of the Vatican and the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden. It is also to be presumed that some Mu'tazilite works are to be found in Indian libraries which are generally poorly cataloged and which will have to be examined on site.

#### 4. Preparatory Research.

One of the applicants, David Sklare, has examined at least cursorily almost all of the Firkovitch manuscripts and has taken notes on the Mu'tazilite material. In addition, he has scanned most of the genizah collections and collected extensive information on possible Mu'tazilite fragments. A systematic survey of genizah fragments of philosophical, theological and polemical works has been recently begun under the direction of Sarah Stroumsa (one of the collaborating scholars of this project) which will also aid in the identification of Mu'tazilite fragments.

The other applicant, Sabine Schmidtke, has over a period of five months inspected Mu'tazilite material written in Hebrew characters of the Firkovitch collection together with another envisaged collaborating scholar, Wilferd Madelung. Moreover, they have already edited a fragment of a refutation of the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in ten chapters, authored apparently by the Karaite scholar Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, which will soon appear in print (see above). Sabine Schmidtke and Wilferd Madelung furthermore intend to scan the Mu'tazilite material in Arabic characters of the Firkovitch collection (the Arabskii-Arabskii section which has not been microfilmed) in August 2003 in St. Petersburg. In addition they have started editing the extant fragments of the *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.

One of the envisaged research assistants of this project, Ḥasan Anṣārī, has collected during several trips to Yemen in 2001 and 2002 (sponsored by The Center for Documents and Diplomatic History (CDDH) of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) about 3.000 manuscripts and documents on Zaydī history. These include several hundreds of Mu'tazilite manuscripts that were in part believed to be lost, some of which he has already described in his publications. Would the project be approved, he would catalogue these Mu'tazilite materials in detail and prepare editions of the most significant texts he discovered. In addition he has discovered in India a complete manuscript of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd 'alā l-falāsifa* which was also believed to be lost (Anṣārī 2001) which would be among the most significant texts to be edited in the course of the project.

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## § 5 Goals and Work Plan of the Project.

The proposed project will be an international, cooperative effort to accomplish the following goals:

1) To prepare a global detailed handlist of all Mu'tazilite manuscripts and to collect images (microfilms or digital scans) of the unpublished material. The focus will be on the unexploited collections in St. Petersburg, Yemen, India, Oman and the various collections of Genizah fragments (the bulk of which are held by the Cambridge University Library). The manuscript collections of other libraries such as the British Library, the Vatican, Leiden and those in Istanbul will also be examined for Mu'tazilite material. (Year One)

2) To identify and catalogue the manuscripts. The Firkovitch and Cairo Genizah materials in particular are fragmentary and will require intensive work in order to identify them. It is expected that manuscripts from Yemenite sources will aid in identifying the fragmentary materials. (Years One and Two)

3) To prepare scientific editions of as many as possible of these works. (Years Two and Three). Among the most significant treatises to be edited by the group will be:

- (1) the *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* by 'Abd al-Jabbār of which at least five extensive fragments are extant in the Firkovitch collection and the Geniza collection in Cambridge;
- (2) fragments of the *Kitāb al-Mughnī* by 'Abd al-Jabbār that were not found among the manuscripts in Yemen yet are preserved in the Firkovitch collection, belonging to volumes 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of that work;
- (3) the extant fragments of the *Kitāb Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī – so far two large fragments could be identified in the Firkovitch collection;
- (4) *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd 'alā l-falāsifa* by Ibn al-Malāḥimī, which was recently discovered in India;
- (5) the highly significant *Kitāb al-mutashābihāt* by the otherwise unknown Mu'tazilite Abū Ṭāhir al-Turaythīthī of which two manuscript copies were recently found in Oman.

Most of the work in the first stage of the project will be done by the two applicants and a small research staff, although information on manuscripts will also be gathered from the collaborating scholars. For the second and third stages, subgroups will be formed consisting

of the applicants, the research staff and collaborating scholars who will work on selected material.

The editing and preparation of the texts for publication will clearly take longer than the initial three-year period of intensive work outlined here. This period will, however, provide a firm basis for continuing work and it is hoped that after the first three years a way will be found to maintain the project's editing activity in a systematic, ongoing fashion.

§ 6 Research staff.

Germany: two 1/2 BAT II positions, to be filled by Ḥasan Anṣārī and Gregor Schwarb.

Israel: two 1/2 research assistant positions, doctoral candidate or Ph.D. level, to be filled by Dr. Omar Hamdan and a PhD candidate not yet chosen.

§ 7 Collaborating Scholars.

Prof. emeritus Dr. Wilferd Madelung, Oxford.

Prof. Haggai Ben-Shammai, Jerusalem.

Prof. Sarah Stroumsa, Jerusalem.

Prof. Michael Cook, Princeton.

Assistant Prof. Bernard Haykel, New York.

Dr. Camilla Adang, Tel Aviv.

Dr. Abdurrahman al-Samili, Oman.

Dr. Aron Zysow, Harvard.

Mr. Wolfgang von Abel, Heidelberg.

[Note: The group of collaborating scholars may be enlarged as the project progresses.]

§ 8 Proposed Budget.

Salaries for research staff for a period of three years

Germany – according to the set amount for BAT II positions.

Israel - \$25,000 annually (This amount includes employer's taxes, social security, etc.)

Microfilms and microfilm enlargements from the various collections: \$10,000 - \$15,000

[This amount is only an estimate. The actual expense will depend on negotiations with the Russian and Yemenite authorities. It may also be necessary to use the services of a commercial company to make digital scans from microfilms.]

Notebook computers (4) : \$6,000

On-going expenses (paper, mail, telephone calls, etc): \$2000 each for Jerusalem and Berlin annually. [The distribution of images of the manuscripts by mail among the various participants will be rather expensive.]

Budget Summary:

Estimated one-time expenses: \$16,000 - \$21,000

Estimated annual expenses (for a period of three years): \$54,000 annually