

Traditional Yemeni Scholarship amidst Political Turmoil and War



Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. al-Muṭahhar al-
Manṣūr (1915-2016) and His Personal Library

Sabine Schmidtke

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Cover illustration: The undated picture shows Muḥammad al-Manṣūr as a young man. It was apparently taken in a photo studio which would suggest that it was taken during one of al-Manṣūr's sojourns outside of Yemen in the service of Imām Aḥmad since there were no photo studios in Ṣan'ā' during the first six decades of the twentieth century. The picture was displayed in Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's private home in Ṣan'ā' (e-mail communication Gabriele vom Bruck, 27 January 2018) where it was most probably photographed. Source: <https://www.facebook.com/m.almnasoor/> (accessed February 28, 2018).

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Preface

The present study evolved as a side product of the “Zaydi Manuscript Tradition” (ZMT) project, a collaborative undertaking by the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS), Princeton, New Jersey, in partnership with the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML) at Saint John’s University, Collegeville, Minnesota. The ZMT aims at bringing together the widely dispersed Zaydī manuscript culture in its entirety in a single repository, thus providing comprehensive and systematic open access to its literary tradition to scholars worldwide. When preparing the digital surrogates of manuscripts from the private library of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr for inclusion in the project, I was struck by the unusual number of paratexts throughout the collection in the hand of the owner, and this prompted me to delve deeper into the material. The numerous purchase notes opened a window into the gradual growth of al-Manṣūr’s personal collection, and the additional information included in these notes provided insights into the ways in which manuscript codices changed hands during his lifetime. Another striking feature of the collection are the codices al-Manṣūr had copied in his own hand—while he had produced some during his student days, he copied out others decades later as a pious exercise. Moreover, with respect to al-Manṣūr’s intellectual biography and his education, the information contained in the paratextual materials often corroborates or even supplements what is known on the basis of other sources.

The material brought together in this volume traces a trajectory that touches upon a variety of scholarly interests. Though not intended as a catalogue of the collection, it nevertheless provides information about the contents of parts of al-Manṣūr’s manuscript collection. Moreover, the book hopes to add some insights to the study of twentieth-century Yemen’s intellectual and social history, and it immediately relates to recent work of historical anthropologists specializing in Yemen.¹

I would like to thank Hassan Ansari for having provided me with his collection of digital surrogates of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s manuscripts and for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of the present study. I also

¹ E.g. Messick, *Transactions in Ibb* (1978); Messick, *The Calligraphic State* (1993); vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen* (2005); Messick, *Sharī’a Scripts* (2018); vom Bruck, *Mirrored Loss* (2018).

thank the members of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's family for providing me with additional information about their father's/father-in-law's/grandfather's immediate relatives, especially Ġafūra al-Manṣūr, Amat al-Laṭīf bt. 'Abd Allāh al-Wazīr, and Bušrā Mutawakkil. Thanks are also due to Gabriele vom Bruck for having established the contact with al-Manṣūr's family and for having provided me with additional photographic material. Moreover, Camilla Adang, Gabriele vom Bruck, and Jan Thiele, as well as the two anonymous readers, were kind enough to read the book manuscript and to provide valuable comments and corrections. A special word of thanks is due to Linda George for her careful copyediting of the entire volume and to Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala and Maribel Fierro for having accepted the study for publication in the Series Arabo-Islamica of UCOPress.

Chapter One
Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's Intellectual Biography: A Sketch

Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl b. Muṭahhar b. Ismā'īl b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad was one of the coterie of prominent scholars, bureaucrats, and politicians of twentieth-century Yemen. He was born on 8 Ġumādā II 1333/23 April 1915 in Šahāra (Šuhāra)¹ where he spent the first five years of his life.² Among his siblings, we know of a sister, Fāṭima, who died at the age of four.³ His genealogy traces back to Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620), the eponymous founder of the Qāsimī dynasty.⁴ Among his ancestors were a number of renowned Zaydī scholars, such as Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Yamanī (b. 999/1591, d. 1050/1640) who was mainly known for his *Ġāyat al-su'l fī 'ilm al-uṣūl*, a work on legal theory, together with his autocommentary, *Hidāyat al-'uqūl ilā Ġāyat al-su'l*.⁵ The latter's son, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Yamanī al-Šan'ānī (b. 1035/1625, d. after 1099/1688), was renowned mostly for his writings on biography and history, among them the biographical dictionary *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāğim*

¹ A mountain town in the district of al-Ahnūm and for centuries an important center of learning. See al-Akwa', *Hiğar al-'ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 1061-1137 no. 245; al-Ḥağarī, *Mağmū'*, pp. 95-99; EI2, vol. 9, p. 201 (G. R. Smith).

² In Šahāra the family resided in Bayt al-Dūr where Muḥammad al-Manṣūr was also born; see Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, pp. 56, 113, 194 n. 1. An image of the building is included in "Milaff 'an ḥayāt al-faqīd al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr".

³ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, p. 204 n. 1.

⁴ For al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim and the Qāsimī dynasty, see Klarić, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*; Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 25-46; Mohamed, *État*. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, p. 161 n. 17 for further references. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr composed a poem in praise of Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim, see his *Lawāmi'*, pp. 57-59.

⁵ See al-Wağih, *A'lām*, pp. 388-389 no. 386; Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 246-249; GAL, vol. 2, p. 406; GALS, vol. 2, p. 559. For details on the history of its composition, see Quiring-Zoche, "The Colophon in Arabic Manuscripts," pp. 57-65; Mohamed, *État*. The work was published (Beirut 1401/1981) together with glosses by later scholars, namely al-Ḥusayn [al-Ḥasan] b. Yaḥyā al-Saylān (d. 1110/1698-99), Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr al-Šan'ānī (b. 1099/1688, d. 1182/1768), al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāğī al-Ḥaymī al-Šan'ānī (b. 1180/1766, d. 1221/1806), al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl al-Mağribī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Šawkānī (d. 1250/1834), and al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Mağribī (d. 1119/1707).

riġāl al-Zaydiyya al-ṭyāb,⁶ *Anbā' al-zaman fī tārīḥ al-Yaman*, the “single most valuable general history of Yemen,”⁷ and *Bahġat al-zaman fī ḥawādīt al-Yaman*.⁸ Yaḥyā’s grandson, al-Muṭahhar b. Ismā’īl b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Ṣan’ānī (b. 1132/1719, d. 1207/1793), was a learned man and had gained some prominence as a warrior and public figure.⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s father, Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Manṣūr, worked in the service of the state as a governor in different regions and he was repeatedly reposted over the course of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s childhood. He died in 1363/1944. His mother, Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Manṣūr, had died some time between 1348/1929 and 1351/1932, when the family sojourned in Hiġrat al-Ḍārī.¹⁰ Over the course of his life, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr was

⁶ A manuscript copy of this important work (still unpublished) is preserved in the private library of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT 01339; see also below).

⁷ Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*, p. 314. A partial edition of an abridgment of the work, by Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Māḍī, was published in 1936. On the author, see also al-Ḥibṣī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 517-518; Gochenour, “A Revised Bibliography,” pp. 313-315. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥusayn al-Ānisī (fl. fourteenth/nineteenth-twentieth century) had summarized the work in his *Ithāf dawī l-ḥan bi-muḥṭaṣar Anbā' al-zaman*; see Traini, *I manoscritti*, p. 106 (MS Rome, Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (BANLC), Or. 361).

⁸ Edited by ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥibṣī and published under the title *Yawmiyyāt Ṣan’ā’ fī l-qarn al-ḥādī ‘aṣar* (Abu Dhabi 1996). Another edition was published by Amat al-Ġafūr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Alī al-Amīr as *al-Awḍā’ al-siyāsiyya fī l-Yaman fī l-niṣf al-tānī min al-qarn al-ḥādī ‘aṣar al-ḥiġrī, al-sābi’ ‘aṣar al-milādī, 1054-1099 H/1644-1688 M: ma’a taḥqīq Bahġat al-zaman fī tārīḥ al-Yaman li-l-mu’arriḥ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad* (Ṣan’ā’ 2008). The Maktabat al-awqāf, located on the premises of the Great Mosque in Ṣan’ā’, holds an exceptionally large number of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn’s holographs; these include MSS Maktabat al-awqāf, 467 (see al-Ruqayḥī [et al.], *Fihrist*, pp. 453-454), 482 (ibid., pp. 451-452), 497 (ibid., p. 453), 510 (ibid., p. 403), 692 (ibid., p. 744), 1283 (ibid., pp. 323, 1037), 1312 (ibid., p. 886), 1319 (ibid., pp. 1184-1185), 1347 (ibid., pp. 308, 692, 1029, 1055), 1531 (ibid., p. 877), 1593 (ibid., p. 28), 2195 (ibid., pp. 1754-1755), 2204 (ibid., pp. 502-503), 2262 (ibid., p. 1934), 2372 (ibid., pp. 721-722), 2386 (ibid., pp. 413-414), *maġāmi’* 43 (ibid., pp. 457, 530, 560, 565-566, 575, 600-601, 605, 645, 685, 931, 1006, 1309, 1386-1387, 1388-1389, 1400, 1830), *maġāmi’* 46 (ibid., pp. 268-269, 353, 524, 571-572, 627, 643, 670, 670-671, 692, 782-783, 783, 801, 818-819, 952-953, 1038, 1045, 1154-1155, 1409-1410), *maġāmi’* 61 (ibid., pp. 531, 537, 574, 670, 766, 853-854, 922, 1106, 1405), *maġāmi’* 70 (ibid., pp. 967, 1026, 1149, 1332, 1807-1808), *maġāmi’* 108 (ibid., pp. 769-770, 953, 1181), *maġāmi’* 121 (ibid., pp. 265, 929, 1000, 1139, 1301, 1383).

⁹ On him, see Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, vol. 1, pp. 356-358 no. 507. On the Āl al-Manṣūr, see also al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū’a*, vol. 5, pp. 826-828.

¹⁰ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr wrote a poem in her memory, see his *Lawāmi’*, p. 276. The name was kindly given to me by Gabriele vom Bruck, e-mail communication (5 February 2018).

married with Ḥurriyya bt. Muḥammad al-Dārī (d. 1366/1946-47),¹¹ Ḥadīġa Aḥmad al-Šāmī, and ‘Aliyya bt. al-Šarīf ‘Alī al-Dumayn, and he was father to four sons, Muḥammad, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Ibrāhīm, and Yūnus,¹² and ten daughters, Amat al-Raḥmān, Amat al-Ġaffār, Amat al-Ġāfir, Ruqayya, Rayā, Ġafūra, Alṭāf, Amat Allāh, Ḥusnā, and Yusrā.¹³



Fig. 1a: Al-Manṣūr's father, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (d. 1944), Ethiopia ca. 1920 during the time when he served as governor of Tihāma (unknown photographer)

* * * * *

¹¹ The name was kindly given to me by Gabriele vom Bruck, e-mail communication (31 January 2018); for the year of death of his first wife, see below, n. 12.

¹² “Nubḍa ‘an al-mu‘allif,” in Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Ḥikmat al-ḥiġāb*, p. 2. See also Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi‘*, pp. 5 (for Ibrāhīm and Yūnus), 214 no. 3 (for Muḥammad al-Rašīd). On the occasion of the death of Umm Muḥammad al-Rašīd, the mother of Muḥammad's first son, in 1366/1946-47, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr composed a poem in her memory; Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi‘*, p. 242. His son Muḥammad had in turn (at least) two sons, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, who was the father of ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Mutawakkil, and Zayd b. Muḥammad; see the editors' introduction to *Lawāmi‘*, p. 16, and *ibid.*, p. 291 n. 1.

¹³ The names of the daughters were kindly given to me by Gabriele vom Bruck, e-mail communication (29 January 2018).

There are several sources that provide information about Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's scholarly formation and intellectual biography. The first and foremost source is Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's *iğāza ʿamma* which includes detailed information about his teachers and the works he had read with each one of them.¹⁴ Secondly, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr wrote an autobiographical account of his life (*tarğama*), which is preserved in a manuscript that was not available to the present author. However, an entry on Muḥammad al-Manṣūr in the internet-based biographical dictionary *Rābiṭat ʿulamāʾ al-Yaman* was compiled on the basis of this document.¹⁵ An additional account, with details about Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's teachers and the works he studied with them, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ānisī remains unpublished (and was again not available to the present author), but a succinct version is included in the online dossier, *Milaff ʿan ḥayāt al-faqīd al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr*. This dossier was released on 7 December 2016, three months after Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's demise on 7 Dū l-Ḥiğga 1437/10 September 2016, again in *Rābiṭat ʿulamāʾ al-Yaman*.¹⁶ The *iğāza* and the summary of al-Ānisī's account complement each other, as their arrangement differs: while al-Ānisī's account proceeds in chronological order, this is not the case with Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's *iğāza*, where he places his most important teachers at the beginning of his list. Additional data on Muḥammad's formation can be gleaned from other internet sites devoted to his life and work,¹⁷ from biographical dictionaries,¹⁸ and from his poetry, which often relates to incidents and memories from his early youth onwards.¹⁹ In many cases al-Manṣūr introduces the individual poem by relating the occasion on which he wrote it as well as his intention in

¹⁴ The text of the *iğāza* is quoted in the editors' introduction to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's *Lawāmiʿ*, pp. 23-28. The *iğāza* is neither dated nor is a specific recipient (*muğāz*) mentioned. It can be assumed that al-Manṣūr used the text of the *iğāza* as a template whenever he issued a licence to a new recipient. On the usage of template formats for issuing *iğāzas*, see also Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, p. 198.

¹⁵ "Al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr." The entry ends with a statement that it is based on an autobiographical account by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, which is preserved in manuscript form (*tarğama katabahā bi-ḥaṭṭihi*).

¹⁶ Al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya."

¹⁷ See also <https://www.facebook.com/m.almnasoor/> (accessed February 28, 2018), in addition to the sites already mentioned.

¹⁸ See, e.g., al-Wağīh, *A'lām*, pp. 987-988, no. 1059; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 627-628.

¹⁹ His poetry has been gathered in Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmiʿ* (see also below). Composing poetry was highly prestigious and an indication of scholarship and social status in Yemen

doing so. Moreover, the holdings of his library constitute another important source that sheds additional light on his biography.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr spent the first years of his life in his native town of Ṣahāra with his immediate male relatives as his first teachers: his father **Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Manṣūr** (d. 1363/1944),²⁰ his paternal uncle **Muṭahhar b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Manṣūr** (d. 1373/1954),²¹ and his maternal uncle, **Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Manṣūr**.²² In his *iğāza*, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr also lists the most important teachers of his father and his paternal uncle²³—they had both studied with Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (r. 1890-1904 CE), ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Muğāhid al-Šamāḥī al-Ḍamārī, the latter’s nephew ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Šamāḥī (b. 1289/1872-73, d. 1357/1938),²⁴ and with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥbašī al-Šahārī (b. 1264/1848, d. 1346/1927).²⁵

In Ṣawwāl 1338/June 1920, at the age of five, Muḥammad left Ṣahāra²⁶ with his family for Ṣanʿā where he was enrolled in the *madrassa* of *al-ustād*

during the first half of the twentieth century; see Taminian, “Persuading the Monarchs,” pp. 203-219.

²⁰ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ʿamma,” pp. 23-24; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 1.

²¹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ʿamma,” p. 24; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 2. The dates of death for his father and his paternal uncle are related by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr in a note added to a holograph codex in his personal library (ZMT 01495). See below, Chapter Four. Muṭahhar had a son, Yaḥyā b. Muṭahhar (b. 1324/1906, d. 1394/1974). See below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01458.

²² Muḥammad al-Manṣūr provides his full lineage in his “Iğāza ʿamma,” p. 24: “Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Qāsim b. al-Imām al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad”; see also al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 20. While both Muḥammad al-Manṣūr in his *iğāza* and al-Ānisī mention him, together with Muḥammad’s father and paternal uncle, he is relegated to no. 20 in the entry in *Rābiṭat ʿulamāʾ al-Yaman*. This suggests that in his *tarğama*, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr considered this uncle to have been less important as a teacher than his paternal uncle and his father.

²³ See Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ʿamma,” p. 24.

²⁴ On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 437-439.

²⁵ On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), p. 374.

²⁶ Muḥammad did not return to Ṣahāra until 65 years later, when he visited the town together with the prime minister ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Iryānī. On this occasion, he composed a poem in

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī ‘Umar, from al-Ḥayma,²⁷ who was known as “al-Ḥūḡa/al-Ḥ^wāḡa ‘Umar.” The *madrasa* was attached to the *masḡid* al-Tawfiq in Bīr al-‘Azab, in Ṣan‘ā.²⁸ Here Muḥammad was introduced to the alphabetical order of the letters and the five last sections (*aḡzā*) of the Qur’ān, as well as to rules of ritual purification and formal prayer. About a year later, in 1339/1920-21, the family moved to Ḍamār²⁹ and during the journey the son of al-Ḥūḡa/al-Ḥ^wāḡa ‘Umar accompanied the family, so that Muḥammad’s study of the Qur’ān could continue uninterrupted. In Ḍamār Muḥammad was enrolled in one of the town’s elementary schools (*madrasa ibtidā’iyya*), where he was instructed in the basic principles of Qur’ān recitation (*mabādi’ fann al-taḡwīd*), theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), ethics (*aḡlāq*), writing (*ḥaṭṭ*), and calculation (*ḥisāb*).³⁰ It was also towards the end of his sojourn in Ḍamār, in 1344/1925-26, when Muḥammad was eleven years old, that he wrote his first poem, a foray into a skill in which he eventually excelled.³¹

In 1345/1926-27 Muḥammad, together with some members of his family, moved back to Ṣan‘ā, where he enrolled in the recently founded mosque university, *al-madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*. Muḥammad being circa eleven or twelve years at the time must have been one of the youngest students in the *madrasa*, if not the youngest.³² Here, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm

praise of his birthplace. See Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi’*, pp. 56-57, 113-120.

²⁷ For al-Ḥayma, see al-Ḥaḡarī, *Maḡmū’*, p. 302.

²⁸ “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr.” For Bīr al-‘Azab both before and after the revolution of 1962, see vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality*, pp. 39-40; cf. also Pino (ed.), *Inventory of the Historic City*, pp. 73-89; al-Khamerī, *Intraurban Residential Preferences*, passim; Lamprakos, *Building a World Heritage City*, passim.

²⁹ Ḍamār, which is located to the south of Ṣan‘ā, was another important center of Zaydī learning at the time. See al-Ḥaḡarī, *Maḡmū’*, pp. 341-350; EI2, vol. 2, p. 218 (J. Schleifer [O. Löfgren]). For the scholars of Ḍamār particularly during the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, see al-Qāsimī, *Maṭla’ al-aqmār*.

³⁰ Al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya.”

³¹ See the editors’ introduction to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi’*, p. 11.

³² For the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*, which was founded in 1926 by Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn and closed in 1963, see al-Wāsiī, *Tārīḡ al-Yaman*, pp. 274-275, al-Akwa’, *Madāris*, pp. 400-434; al-Baradūnī, “Dār al-‘ulūm: al-Madrassa al-‘ilmiyya”; Messick, *The Calligraphic State*, pp. 107-114; Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, p. 217; vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality*, pp. 51-52, 239-240; Würth, *Aṣ-Ṣarī’a fī Bāb al-Yaman*, pp. 60-62; cf. also the memories of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Iryānī (b. 1910, d. 1998), who served as President of the Yemen Arab Republic from 1967 to 1974, of his studies at the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya* between 1925 and 1929, al-Iryānī, *Muḏakkirāt*, vol. 1, pp. 71-73.

(b. 1307/1889-90, d. 1379/1960)³³ served as his principal teacher. With him Muḥammad studied law by reading the *Kitāb al-Azhār fī fiqh al-ʿimma al-aṭhār* by Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37), this being the most authoritative introductory manual to Zaydī-Hādawī *fiqh* from the ninth/fifteenth century up until the twentieth century.³⁴ In the field of grammar Muḥammad was introduced by his teacher to two works: *Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā*, a book on syntax by Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Naḥwī (“Ibn Hišām,” b. 708/1310, d. 761/1360), together with the author’s autocommentary,³⁵ and Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Mubārak al-Ḥimyarī al-Ḥaḍramī al-Šāfiʿī’s (“Baḥraq,” b. 869/1465, d. 930/1524) commentary on Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī’s (b. ca. 446/1054, d. 516/1122) didactic poem on grammar, *Mulḥat al-i-rāb*, entitled *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*, or *Šarḥ Baḥraq*.³⁶

At the beginning of 1346/1927, at the age of thirteen, Muḥammad returned to Ḍamār.³⁷ It was most likely in that year that he studied with **Šāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. Muḥsin al-Ḥūdī [al-Ḥawdī]** (b. 1281/1864-65, d. 1362/1943),³⁸ one of the teachers at the *madrasa al-šamsiyya* in the town specializing in *qirāʾāt* and theology. With him Muḥammad studied the Qurʾān in the reading of Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 169/785) in the transmission

³³ Al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya.” This teacher is not mentioned in “al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr.” On ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, see al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, p. 422; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), p. 380.

³⁴ See al-Kuḥlānī, *al-Imām al-Mahdī*, pp. 121ff.; Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 215ff.; Messick, *Sharīʿa Scripts*, pp. 62ff.; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 662-664. The *Azhār* was first published in the edition of ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī (Cairo, 1913-14).

³⁵ On this work (published repeatedly) and commentaries on it, see al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmiʿ al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 2, pp. 1608-1618. On Ibn Hišām as a grammarian, see also Sadan, *Subjunctive Mood*, Appendix B, 229 (pp. 328-329).

³⁶ On the *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* (published repeatedly) and its author, see EI2, vol. 1, p. 938 (Oscar Löfgren); al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 386, 139-140; al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmiʿ al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 3, p. 2151. On al-Ḥarīrī as a grammarian, see Sadan, *Subjunctive Mood*, Appendix B, 2.18 (p. 325).

³⁷ The family resided in Dafīna, a village located to the west of Ḍamār; see Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmiʿ*, p. 104.

³⁸ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iḡāza ʿamma,” p. 25; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 5. On him, see al-Akwaʿ, *Hiḡar al-ʿilm*, vol. 2, pp. 764-765; al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, pp. 386-387. See also *ibid.*, pp. 370-393 no. 183 on the *madrasa al-šamsiyya* in Ḍamār. Cf. also Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 334-335 where his name is given as follows: “Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad al-Ḥūdī [al-Ḥawdī] al-Ḍamārī.”

of Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. Mīnāʾ Qālūn (d. 220/835),³⁹ as well as Qurʾān recitation. In addition, Muḥammad studied theology with him by reading Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Šaḡarī al-Saḥūlī's (b. 987/1579-80, d. 1060/1650) commentary on the *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿulūm fī maʿrifat al-ḥayy al-qayyūm* (alternatively known as *al-Ṭalātūn al-masʿala fī uṣūl al-dīn*), *al-Durr al-manẓūm fī maʿrifat al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm*.⁴⁰ The *Miṣbāḥ* is a popular tripartite theological tract of Muʿtazilite theology discussing divine unicity (*tawḥīd*), divine justice (*ʿadl*), and the promise and the threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*), each part containing ten questions, by the Yemeni Zaydī scholar Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224). During the same period, Muḥammad read with his father as well as with his paternal and maternal uncles parts of the following works, covering the fields of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and Ṣūfism: *al-Azhār fī fiqh al-aʿimma al-aṭḥār* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (see above); *Šams al-aḥbār al-muntaqā min kalām al-Nabī al-muḥtār*, a *ḥadīth* work by ʿAlī b. Muḥyī l-Dīn Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Quraṣī, composed in 610/1213;⁴¹ *al-Irṣād ilā naǧāt al-ʿibād*, a popular work with Ṣūfī tendencies, completed in Rabīʿ II 632/January 1235, by ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥayr al-ʿAnsī (b. 593/1196–97, d. 667/1268),⁴² as well as some unspecified works on grammar and some books by Zaydī *imāms* (*wa-fī l-naḥw wa-ḡayr dālīka min kutub al-āl wa-ḡayrihim*).⁴³

Muḥammad studied with three additional teachers during his time in Damār: **ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Suwsuwa al-Šarafī** (b. 1318/1900, d. ?),⁴⁴ with whom he read the following works in the *madrasa*

³⁹ See *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, vol. 4, pp. 353-362 (Frederik Leemhuis).

⁴⁰ Published, see bibliography. On the work and its author, see al-Waǧīh, *A lām*, pp. 75-76 no. 39; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʿallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 452 no. 1330.

⁴¹ Published, see bibliography. On the work, see GALS, vol. 1, p. 609 no. 15b; Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 214ff.; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, p. 49; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʿallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, pp. 212-213 no. 2069. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, p. 286 and passim.

⁴² Published, see bibliography. On the work and its author, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, chapters 9 and 12. The popularity of the work up until the twentieth century is indicated by the numerous extant manuscripts, most of which date to the eleventh/seventeenth century. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Zaydī Muʿtazilism in 7th/13th-Century Yemen*, Chapter Five, no. 4.

⁴³ Al-ʿAnīsī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya.” The information about the disciplines and specific works Muḥammad al-Manṣūr had studied with those three male relatives is also included in his *iǧāza*, see Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iǧāza ʿamma,” p. 24.

⁴⁴ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iǧāza ʿamma,” p. 25; al-ʿAnīsī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 7. On him, see al-Akwaʿ,

al-šamsiyya: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Luqmān b. ‘Alī b. Šams al-Dīn b. al-Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā’s (“Ibn Luqmān,” d. 1039/1629-30) *al-Kāšif li-dawī l-‘uqūl ‘an wuḡūh masā’il al-Kāfil*, a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su’l fi ‘ilm al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bahrān (d. 957/1550), on legal theory;⁴⁵ *Hāšiya ‘alā Šarḥ Mulḥat al-i’rāb li-Baḥraq* by ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī (d. 972/1564),⁴⁶ a supercommentary on the afore-mentioned didactic poem on grammar by al-Ḥarīrī, *Mulḥat al-i’rāb*; as well as further unspecified works (*wa-ḡayrihimā*). Muḥammad also studied with ‘**Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Akwa’** (b. 1303/1885-86, d. 1371/1951-52)⁴⁷ who taught in the Ġilānī mosque in the town. With him, Muḥammad read again the *Šarḥ Baḥraq* (see above), and a section (*šaṭran*) of the *Kitāb al-Azhār* by Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (see above). And lastly **Ismā’īl b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Suwsuwa al-Šarafī** (b. 1310/1892-93, d. 1381/1961),⁴⁸ with whom Muḥammad read in the Imām al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān mosque in the al-Ḥūṭa district of Ḍamār the following works: the popular commentary on al-Faḍl b. Abī al-Sa’d al-‘Uṣayfirī’s (fl. seventh/thirteenth century) *Miftāḥ al-fā’id fi ‘ilm al-farā’id* by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nāzirī (d. 920/1514), entitled *Ġawharat al-farā’id al-kāšifli-ma’ānī Miftāḥ al-fā’id*, on inheritance law;⁴⁹ the afore-mentioned *Qaṭr al-nadā* of ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Naḥwī (“Ibn Hišām”), together with the author’s autocommentary; the *Hāšiya ‘alā Šarḥ Mulḥat al-i’rāb li-Baḥraq* of ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī (see above); and a portion (*šaṭran*) of ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim Ibn Miftāḥ’s (d. 877/1472)

Madāris, pp. 389-390; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 414-417.

⁴⁵ Both Ibn Bahrān’s *al-Kāfil* and Ibn Luqmān’s commentary have been published repeatedly, see bibliography. On Ibn Luqmān’s commentary, see also al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmi’ al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 2, p. 1643.

⁴⁶ On the work and its author, see al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmi’ al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 3, p. 2150; GAL, vol. 2, p. 380; GALS, vol. 2, p. 512.

⁴⁷ Muḥammad al-Manšūr, “Iḡāza ‘amma,” pp. 24-25; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manšūr,” no. 4. On him, see al-Akwa’, *Madāris*, p. 387.

⁴⁸ Muḥammad al-Manšūr, “Iḡāza ‘amma,” p. 25; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manšūr,” no. 6. On him, see al-Akwa’, *Madāris*, p. 388; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 203-207. According to Zabāra, he was born around 1316 AH. On Ismā’īl, his immediate ancestors and, more generally, the Āl al-Suwsuwa, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū’a*, vol. 2, pp. 1071-1072.

⁴⁹ On the commentary (published repeatedly), see al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, p. 315.

al-Muntaza' al-muhtār min al-Ġayt al-midrār, also known as *Šarḥ al-Azhār*, a work that is based on Ibn al-Murtaḍā's commentary on his *al-Azhār*, *al-Ġayt al-midrār al-mufattiḥ li-kamā'im al-Azhār fī fiqh al-a'imma al-aṭḥār*.⁵⁰

In 1348/1929—Muḥammad was by now fourteen years old—he moved to Hiğrat al-Ḍārī in the district of Yarīm⁵¹ where he spent the following three years. It seems that those years were the happiest and the most decisive period of his childhood,⁵² and one of the reasons for that was Muḥammad's teacher **Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-'Ansī** (b. 1311/1893, d. 1392/1972) who hailed from Ḍamār and taught in Hiğrat al-Ḍārī between the years 1339/1920-21 and 1352/1933-34.⁵³ Muḥammad singles him out as his most important teacher, after his father and paternal uncle, and adds that he studied with him first in Hiğrat al-Ḍārī in 1348/1929 and again a decade later, around 1358/1939, in Ṣan'ā', both in the Ġāmi' al-kabīr and in his home.⁵⁴ In addition to studying Qur'ān and Qur'ān recitation, Muḥammad read with him the following works: a section of Ibn Miftāḥ's afore-mentioned *al-Muntaza' al-muhtār min al-Ġayt al-midrār* and *al-Azhār fī fiqh al-a'imma al-aṭḥār* by Ibn al-Murtaḍā (see above); in grammar, Muḥammad again read with him the *Ḥāšiya 'alā Šarḥ Mulḥat al-i'rāb li-Baḥraq* by 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī (see above), and *Mūšil al-tullāb ilā qawā'id al-i'rāb* by Ḥālid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Azharī (b. ca. 838/1434, d. 905/1499), a didactic commentary on the popular grammar textbook, *Qawā'id al-i'rāb* by Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad ("Ibn Hišām," b. 708/1310, d.

⁵⁰ On these two works, see al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, pp. 226 (*al-Muntaza'*), 671 (*al-Ġayt*); al-Kuḥlānī, *al-Imām al-Mahdī*, pp. 122ff. Ibn Miftāḥ's commentary was published repeatedly, see bibliography.

⁵¹ See al-Ġarāš, "Lamaḥāt." For Hiğrat al-Ḍārī and its scholars, see al-Akwa', *Hiğar al-'ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 645-686 no. 131.

⁵² See the editors' introduction to Muḥammad al-Manšūr, *Lawāmi'*, pp. 19-20. Muḥammad devoted some poems to Hiğrat al-Ḍārī and his childhood experiences there, see *Lawāmi'*, pp. 70-74, 75-78, 104ff., 158-162.

⁵³ On him, see al-Akwa', *Hiğar al-'ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 650-651 no. 11, vol. 3, p. 1456 no. 7.

⁵⁴ Muḥammad al-Manšūr, "Iğāza 'amma," p. 24. In "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manšūr," Ismā'īl is also listed in third position, right after Muḥammad's father and his paternal uncle. See also al-Ġarāš, "Lamaḥāt," where he is the only one of Muḥammad's teachers who is specifically mentioned. In al-Ānisī's account, Ismā'īl is mentioned after the afore-mentioned teachers of al-Manšūr in Ḍamār, following their chronological order. See al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya." Generally for the Āl al-'Ansī, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 4, pp. 728-732. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ansī's importance for Muḥammad is also discussed in the editors' introduction to Muḥammad al-Manšūr, *Lawāmi'*, pp. 19-20.

761/1360);⁵⁵ a portion of the *Īsāğūğī* of Aṭīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1264) on logic, together with an unspecified commentary on the work,⁵⁶ most probably *al-Maṭla‘ ‘alā Īsāğūğī fī l-mantiq* by Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad Anṣārī (b. 823/1423-24, d. 926/1520-21), which was part of the curriculum of the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*,⁵⁷ the section relating to the biography of the Prophet of the annalistic history of the world by ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn al-Aṭīr (b. 555/1160, d. 630/1233), *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīḥ*; and numerous other works on disciplines related to the Prophet’s biography.

Between 1351/1932 and 1360/1941 Muḥammad sojourned in Ṣan‘ā’, where he studied with various scholars, in the Great Mosque, in the al-Filayḥī and al-Wuṣālī mosques, and in other locations.⁵⁸ Al-Ānisī mentions the following teachers for this period of Muḥammad’s formation:

Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Iryānī al-Ṣan‘ānī (b. 1299/1882, d. 1362/1943), a second-generation student of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šawkānī (b. 1173/1760, d. 1255/1834), with clear “traditionist,” anti-Hādawī leanings,⁵⁹ with whom Muḥammad studied Ġār Allāh al-Zamaḥṣarī’s (b. 467/1075, d. 538/1144) exegetical work *al-Kaššāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-tanzīl* in its entirety,⁶⁰ together with commentaries on the work by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sayyid

⁵⁵ Published, see bibliography. On the *Mūṣil al-tullāb* and its author, see also EI3, Fasc. 2008-1, pp. 176-178 (Thomas Bauer); Sadan, *Subjunctive Mood*, Appendix B 2.6 (p. 321). For Ibn Hišām as a grammarian, see also Sadan, *Subjunctive Mood*, Appendix B 2.29 (pp. 328-329). An autograph of the commentary is preserved in the Maktabat al-Aḥqāf in Tarīm; cf. al-Ḥibṣī, *Maṣādir*, p. 403.

⁵⁶ While al-Ānisī (“Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”) relates that al-Manṣūr studied both al-Abharī’s work and a commentary, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr mentions only the *Īsāğūğī* in his *iğāza*. See Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ‘amma,” p. 24.

⁵⁷ See al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 405 (“al-mantiq no. 2”). An edition of the commentary is included in *Šarḥ Īsāğūğī fī l-mantiq, wa-yalihi Ḥāšiyat Qalyūbī ‘alā l-Maṭla‘ Šarḥ Īsāğūğī li-Šayḥ al-Islām Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī*, taṣnīf al-‘Allāma Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Qalyūbī (Beirut 2017).

⁵⁸ For these mosques, see Kopp and Wirth, *Beiträge zur Stadtgeographie von Sana‘a*, pp. 88-89; al-Ḥağarī, *Masāğid Ṣan‘ā’*, pp. 99, 138.

⁵⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ‘amma,” p. 25; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 8. On him, see al-Wağīh, *A‘lām*, pp. 1152-1153 no. 1217; al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, pp. 418-420; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 690-699; Messick, *Sharī‘a Scripts*, pp. 96-97; Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 199-200; for the Āl al-Iryānī, including a list of Yaḥyā’s sons, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 1, pp. 56-59.

⁶⁰ For al-Zamaḥṣarī’s *al-Kaššāf*, see Lane, *A Traditional Mu‘tazilite Qur‘ān Commentary*; Ullah, *Al-Kashshāf*.

al-Šarīf al-Ğurġānī (d. 816/1413),⁶¹ Sa‘d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390),⁶² and al-Sirāġ al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Fārisī al-Qazwīnī (d. 745/1344).⁶³ He also read with his teacher a portion of a commentary on the afore-mentioned *Ġāyat al-su‘l fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, a work on legal theory by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (b. 999/1591, d. 1050/1640) that was widely read among the Zaydīs of Yemen. The commentary in question may have been the author’s autocommentary, entitled *Hidāyat al-‘uqūl ilā Ġāyat al-su‘l fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl* (see above).⁶⁴ In addition, he studied with him portions of *Subul al-salām šarḥ Bulūġ al-marām*, a commentary by the Yemeni “traditionist” Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Amīr al-Šan‘ānī (b. 1099/1688, d. 1182/1768) on Ibn Ḥaġar al-‘Asqalānī’s (b. 773/1372, d. 852/1449) *Bulūġ al-marām min adillat al-aḥkām*, a collection of *ḥadīṭs* with legal content;⁶⁵ portions of *Nayl al-awṭār šarḥ Muntaqā al-aḥbār* by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šawkānī, another comprehensive manual of *ḥadīṭ*-based legal rulings which the author had completed in 1210/1795;⁶⁶ portions of *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr šarḥ al-Maġmū‘ al-kabīr* by Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāġī al-Ḥaymī al-Šan‘ānī (b. 1180/1766, d. 1221/1806), a commentary on the *Maġmū‘* Zayd b. ‘Alī.⁶⁷ The three works by Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Šan‘ānī, al-Šawkānī and al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāġī epitomize the anti-Hādawī outlook of Yemeni traditionalism. Additional titles Muḥammad al-Manṣūr studied with Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Iryānī were Ibn Miftāḥ’s afore-mentioned *al-Muntaza‘*

⁶¹ See Lane, *A Traditional Mu‘tazilite Qur’ān Commentary*, pp. 308-309.

⁶² See Lane, *A Traditional Mu‘tazilite Qur’ān Commentary*, pp. 306-307.

⁶³ *Al-Kašf ‘an muškilāt al-Kaššāf*; see Lane, *A Traditional Mu‘tazilite Qur’ān Commentary*, p. 303.

⁶⁴ Another commentary on the *Ġāyat al-su‘l* which is also attested in several Yemeni libraries is *Ḍiyā‘ man rāma l-wuṣūl ilā tawḍīḥ ḥafīyyāt Hidāyat al-‘uqūl*, by Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad (d. 1158/1745). See al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmi‘ al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 2, p. 1480.

⁶⁵ Published, see bibliography. For Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl and his approach to the Sunnī *ḥadīṭ* tradition, see Brown, *Canonization*, pp. 314-318. Brown describes him as “one of the most fearlessly iconoclastic *ḥadīṭ* scholars in Islamic history” (ibid., p. 316). See also al-Ḥibšī, “Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Amīr al-Šan‘ānī”; Haykel and Zysow, “What Makes a *Maḏhab* a *Maḏhab*,” pp. 356-358 and passim. For Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl’s thought, see also Dallal, *Islam without Europe*, passim.

⁶⁶ The work has been published repeatedly. For those two rule-bearing *ḥadīṭ* collections, *Subul al-salām* and *Nayl al-awṭār*, see also Messick, *Sharī‘a Scripts*, p. 113.

⁶⁷ Published (see bibliography). On the work and its author, see al-Waġīḥ, *A‘lām*, pp. 362-363 no. 355; Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, vol. 1, pp. 366-374 no. 177; Messick, *Sharī‘a Scripts*, pp. 115, 437 n. 56.

al-muhtār min al-Ġayt al-midrār; the majority of Part One of Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā's (d. 840/1436–37) *al-Baḥr al-zahḥār al-ġāmi' li-madāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, a multivolume encyclopedia of *fiqh*.⁶⁸ The first, introductory part of the work contains several textual units devoted to doctrine, viz. *Kitāb al-Qalā'id fi taṣḥīḥ al-'aqā'id*,⁶⁹ to the subtleties of *kalām*, viz. *Kitāb Riyādat al-afḥām fi laṭīf al-kalām*,⁷⁰ and to legal theory, viz. *Mi'yār al-'uqūl fi 'ilm al-uṣūl*.⁷¹ All three works were also transmitted and commented upon independently.

'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Ġirāfi al-Ṣan'ānī (b. 1319/1901, d. 1397/1976 or 1401/1980–81),⁷² with whom Muḥammad studied the *Kitāb al-Amālī* by Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buḥḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020),⁷³ *Durar al-aḥādīṭ al-nabawīyya bi-l-asānīd al-yaḥyāwīyya*, compiled by the seventh/thirteenth-century scholar 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Abī l-Naḡm al-Ṣa'dī (d. 647/1249),⁷⁴ a portion of the *Kitāb al-Amālī* by Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 340/951–52, d. 424/1033),⁷⁵ about half of the *Amālī* Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī (b. 157/773, d. 247/861) in the

⁶⁸ Published repeatedly, see bibliography. For the present study, I have used the edition of Muḥammad Muḥammad Tāmīr (Beirut 1422/2001).

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zahḥār*, vol. 1, pp. 52–113. See also al-Kuḥlānī, *al-Imām al-Mahdī*, pp. 116–117.

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zahḥār*, vol. 1, pp. 114–189. See also al-Kuḥlānī *al-Imām al-Mahdī*, pp. 118–119.

⁷¹ Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zahḥār*, vol. 1, pp. 190–399. See also al-Kuḥlānī, *al-Imām al-Mahdī*, p. 121. Ibn al-Murtaḍā also wrote an autocommentary on the *Mi'yār*, *Minhāġ al-wuṣūl ilā Mi'yār al-'uqūl fi 'ilm al-uṣūl* which is published (see bibliography).

⁷² Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iġāza 'amma," p. 25 (the editors here mention 1397AH as his year of death); al-Ānīsī, "Ġānīb min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya"; "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 9. On him, see al-Akwa', *Hiġar al-'ilm*, vol. 1, pp. 368–369 no. 8 (9 Dū l-Qa'da 1397 AH is mentioned here as date of his death); al-Waḡīḥ, *A'lām*, p. 595 no. 604 (1401 AH is given as year of death); al-Akwa', *Madāris*, pp. 426–428; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-nazar* (2010), pp. 405–407 (no year of death mentioned). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfi is the author of some works on history, viz. *Min tāriḥ al-Yaman al-ḥadīṭ wa-l-mu'āṣir fi l-qarn al-sābi' 'aṣar* and *al-Muqtaṭaf min tāriḥ al-Yaman*, which are published (see bibliography). See also Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 366. For the Āl al-Ġirāfi, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 1, pp. 574–576.

⁷³ See al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 152 no. 402. The work has been published repeatedly.

⁷⁴ Published, see bibliography. On the work, see also al-Ḥibṣī, *Maṣādir*, p. 597 no. 24.

⁷⁵ The work, in the recension of al-Qāḍī Ṣams al-Dīn Ġa'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī ("Qāḍī Ġa'far," d. 573/1177) with the title *Taysir al-maṭālib min [fi] Amālī Abī Ṭālib*, has been

recension of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Yazīd al-Murādī (alive in 252/866),⁷⁶ and further, the *Kitāb al-Dīkr* by Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Yazīd al-Murādī,⁷⁷ the six major Sunnī *ḥadīṭ* collections in their entirety, and a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, *Bahğat al-maḥāfil wa-buğyat al-amātil fī talḥiṣ al-siyar wa-l-muğizāt wa-l-šamā'il*, by Abū Zakariyyā 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-'Āmirī al-Tihāmī al-Ḥanafī (d. 893/1488),⁷⁸ and this in addition to numerous other works by Šī'ī and non-Šī'ī authors, comprehensive works as well as shorter ones. 'Abd Allāh al-Ġirāfī is also reported to have issued an *iğāza āmma* to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr.

With **Muḥammad b. Šālih b. Šams al-Dīn al-Buhlūlī** (b. 1324/1906, d. 1404/1984)⁷⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr studied the following four commentaries and supercommentaries on Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī's (d. 739/1338) *Talḥiṣ al-miftāḥ fī l-ma'ānī wa-l-bayān*, the popular work on rhetoric, which in turn was based on Part Three of Sirāğ al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Sakkākī's (b. 555/1160, d. 626/1229) *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*, focussing on *'ilm al-ma'ānī wa-l-bayān*:⁸⁰ *Šarḥ Talḥiṣ al-miftāḥ (al-Muṭawwal)* by Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), the glosses by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 'Arafa al-Dasūqī (d. 1230/1815) on al-Taftāzānī's commentary on the *Talḥiṣ*;⁸¹ *Mawāhib al-fattāḥ fī šarḥ Talḥiṣ al-miftāḥ* by Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qūb al-Mağribī (d. 1128/1716),⁸² and *'Arūs al-afrāḥ šarḥ Talḥiṣ al-Miftāḥ*, by

published repeatedly. For the work, see also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 110-111 no. 29.

⁷⁶ On Aḥmad b. 'Isā, see EncIslam, vol. 3, pp. 249-252 (H. Ansari). The work has been published twice, under the titles *Kitāb al-'Ulūm* and *Kitāb Ra'b al-šad'* (see bibliography). See also Mūsawī-Niğād, *Turāt al-Zaydiyya*, pp. 51-52. For Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Yazīd al-Murādī, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 80ff.

⁷⁷ Published, see bibliography.

⁷⁸ Published, see bibliography. On the work, see also al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, p. 98; GAL, vol. 2, p. 225; GALS, vol. 2, p. 225; Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, p. 66.

⁷⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza āmma," pp. 25-26; al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya"; "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 10. On him, see al-Akwa', *Madāris*, pp. 430-431; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), p. 574.

⁸⁰ See GAL, vol. 1, pp. 353-354; GALS, vol. 2, pp. 516-517. On al-Qazwīnī's *Talḥiṣ al-miftāḥ*, see, e.g., Jensen, *Subtleties and Secrets*.

⁸¹ The two works have been published as *Hāqā l-ğild al-awwal min ḥāšiyat al-'allāma al-muḥaqqiq al-Šayḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 'Arafa al-Dasūqī alā Šarḥ al-'allāma Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī alā matn al-Talḥiṣ ma'a l-šarḥ al-madkūr fī ḥāmišihā 'alā l-tamām* (Istanbul 1301/[1884]).

⁸² Published, see bibliography. All four commentaries have been published together as *Muḥtaṣar al-'Allāma Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī 'alā Talḥiṣ al-miftāḥ li-l-Imām al-Ḥaṭīb al-Qazwīnī. Wa-Mawāhib*

Bahā' al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī (b. 719/1319, d. 772/1370-1).⁸³ Moreover, Muḥammad also studied with this teacher two commentaries on the afore-mentioned *al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su'l fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Bahrān al-Ṣa'dī (d. 957/1550),⁸⁴ namely *Ṣarḥ al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su'l* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Luqmān (see above), and *Ṣifā' al-ḡalīl al-sā'il bi-mā taḥmiluhu l-Kāfil* by 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī (d. 1071/1661).⁸⁵

With **Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra** (b. 1325/1908, d. 1421/2000),⁸⁶ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr read *Taysīr al-wuṣūl ilā Ḡāmi' al-uṣūl* by the Yemeni Ṣāfi'ī scholar 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Dayba' (b. 866/1461, d. 944/1537), a *ḥadīṭ* work based on the *Ḡāmi' al-uṣūl fī aḥādīṭ al-rasūl* by Maḡd al-Dīn Abū l-Sa'ādāt al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Aṭīr (b. 544/1149, d. 606/1209).⁸⁷ During the lessons, Aḥmad's father, the prominent historian **Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra** (b. 1301/1883, d. 1380/1961),⁸⁸ was also present, and both father and son respectively issued an *iḡāza 'amma* to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. With Aḥmad Zabāra,

al-fattāḥ fī ṣarḥ Talḥīs al-miftāḥ li-l-muḥaqqiq Ibn Ya'qūb al-Maḡribī. Wa-'Arūs al-afrāḥ fī ṣarḥ Talḥīs al-miftāḥ li-l-Imām Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī al-Miṣrī. Wa-bi-hāmišihī Kitāb al-Ḍāḥ fī 'ulūm al-balāḡa li-mu'allif al-Talḥīs, ḡa' alahu ka-l-ṣarḥ lahu. Wa-bi-l-hāmiš ayḍan Ḥāšiyat al-'Allāma al-Dasūqī 'alā ṣarḥ al-Sa'd al-maḍkūr (Būlāq 1317[/1899-1900]-1318[/1900-01]).

⁸³ Published, see bibliography.

⁸⁴ See GALS, vol. 2, p. 557.

⁸⁵ Published, see bibliography. On this commentary and its author, see al-Waḡīh, *A'lām*, pp. 686-687.

⁸⁶ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iḡāza 'amma," p. 26; al-Ānisī, "Ḡānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya"; "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 11. For Aḥmad Zabāra, who in 1967 was appointed to the newly created position of grand *muftī*, the chief religious authority in Yemen, see also <http://al-bab.com/albab-orig/albab/bys/obits/zabara.htm> (accessed February 28, 2018). Zabāra's *iḡāza 'amma*, issued to the Indian scholar Mohammad Akram Nadawi and dated 3 Raḡab 1418/4 November 1997, has been published in Haykel, *Order and Righteousness*, pp. 375-377. For an analysis, see also Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 197-200.

⁸⁷ The work has been published repeatedly. For the author and the work, see GAL, vol. 1, p. 357; vol. 2, p. 401; GALS, vol. 1, p. 608; Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 200-205; EI2, vol. 3, p. 746 (C. van Arendonk/[G. Rentz]).

⁸⁸ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iḡāza 'amma," p. 26; al-Ānisī, "Ḡānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya." On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 633-634; al-Akwa', *Hiḡar al-'ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 588-602 no. 12; Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 320-322. See also al-Ḥibšī, *Fihriṣ*, pp. 190-244, for a catalogue of Muḥammad Zabāra's personal manuscript library. For the Āl Zabāra, including Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, see also al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 2, pp. 596-600.

Muḥammad also studied, both in Ṣan‘ā’ and in Ta‘izz, numerous other works in the fields of prophetic tradition, exegesis and other disciplines. These included a portion of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīṣī’s (d. 801/1398) commentary on the *Kāfiya* by Ibn al-Ḥāḡib on grammar, entitled *al-Muwašṣaḥ*,⁸⁹ and major parts of *al-Aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, by Imām al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911).⁹⁰

Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Maḡribī (b. 1308/1890, d. 1367/1947-48)⁹¹ was a teacher with whom Muḥammad read the “*Maḡmū‘ Zayd b. ‘Alī*,” a collection allegedly containing the doctrinal writings of Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (b. 75/694–95, d. 122/740);⁹² also the *Uṣūl al-aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, by Imām al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī (r. 532/1138–566/1170);⁹³ the complete *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī* (twice) and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, that is, *al-Ġāmi‘ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* by Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Buḥārī (b. 194/810, d. 256/870) and *al-Ġāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Abū l-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Muslim al-Quṣayrī al-Naysābūrī (d. 261/875),⁹⁴ in addition to the collections of traditions (*Sunan*) of Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Tirmidī (d. 279/892) and Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī Ibn Māḡa (d. 273/886) in their entirety, as well as other works in various disciplines. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Maḡribī also issued an *iḡāza ‘amma* for Muḥammad al-Manṣūr.

⁸⁹ Published, see bibliography. For the work, see also GALS, vol. 1, p. 352. For Ibn al-Ḥāḡib as a grammarian, see Sadan, *Subjunctive Mood*, Appendix B, 2.28 (p. 328).

⁹⁰ See al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 80–81 no. 174. The work has been published repeatedly.

⁹¹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “*Iḡāza ‘amma*,” p. 26; al-Ānisī, “*Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya*”; “*al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr*,” no. 12. On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 248–250. For Ḥasan b. ‘Alī and his branch of the Āl al-Maḡribī, see also al-Maḡḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 6, pp. 627–629. His father, ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Maḡribī al-Ṣan‘ānī, had issued an *iḡāza* to ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi‘ī, see al-Wāsi‘ī, *al-Durr al-farīd*, pp. 33–34.

⁹² Published as Zayd b. ‘Alī, *Maḡmū‘ kutub wa-rasā’il* (see bibliography). These are evidently not authentic and rather originate partly with the early Kufan Zaydiyya and partly with the Yemeni Zaydiyya, who claimed that Zayd b. ‘Alī’s theological thought agreed with the views of the Mu‘tazila; see Strothmann, “*Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. ‘Alī*”; EI2, vol. 11, pp. 473–474 (W. Madelung).

⁹³ See al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 126–127 no. 318; GALS, vol. 1, p. 699 no. 2. The work has been published, see bibliography.

⁹⁴ On the two works and their later transmission, see Brown, *Canonization*. For the commentary tradition on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī*, see also Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God*.

With **‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Yamānī** (b. 1301/1884, d. 1392/1972)⁹⁵ and **‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad [b.] Ibrāhīm** (b. 1302/1885, d. 1396/1976),⁹⁶ Muḥammad studied many of the “writings of the family [of the Prophet]” (*kutub al-āl*), i.e., of the Zaydī *imāms*, and both teachers respectively issued an *iğāza ‘amma* to him.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr also attended the lessons of **Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ġirāfi** (b. 1307/1889-90, d. 1405/1985),⁹⁷ during which the latter’s son, **Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ġirāfi** (b. 1339/1921 or 1349/1930-31, d. ?),⁹⁸ read aloud (*bi-implā’ waladihi*) the work that was being studied, namely al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāġī al-Ḥaymī al-Ṣan‘ānī’s (b. 1180/1766, d. 1221/1806) afore-mentioned commentary on the *Mağmū’* of Zayd b. ‘Alī (b. 75/694–95, d. 122/740), entitled *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr šarḥ al-Mağmū’ al-kabīr*. Father and son respectively issued an *iğāza ‘amma* to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr.

Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kuḥlānī (b. 1308/1890, d. 1386/1966)⁹⁹ was the teacher with whom Muḥammad al-Manṣūr studied Part One of *Šarḥ*

⁹⁵ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ‘amma,” p. 26; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 13. On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 403-405; al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 7, pp. 593-594 no. 4.

⁹⁶ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ‘amma,” p. 26; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 14. His full name is ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad; see below, Chapter Four. On him, see al-Akwa’, *Hiğar al-‘ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 961-962 no. 15. As had been the case with many other Yemeni scholars, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad bequeathed parts of his personal collection of manuscripts to the Maktabat al-awqāf. This is the case, for example, with MS Maktabat al-awqāf 442, which he presented as a *waqf* to the library in 1395/1975 (see al-Ruqayḥī [et al.], *Fihrist*, p. 240), and with MS Maktabat al-awqāf, 1303 (see *ibid.*, pp. 1224-1225).

⁹⁷ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ‘amma,” p. 26; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 15. On him, see al-Akwa’, *Hiğar al-‘ilm*, vol. 1, pp. 366-367 no. 7; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 56-58; al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 1, p. 576 no. 1.

⁹⁸ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ‘amma,” p. 26; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 16. On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 545-546; al-Akwa’, *Hiğar al-‘ilm*, vol. 1, pp. 370-371.

⁹⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ‘amma,” p. 27; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 18. On him, see al-Akwa’, *Madāris*, pp. 422-423; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 116-118; al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 5, p. 606.

al-Tağrīd fī fiqh al-imāmāyīn al-aḥḥamāyīn al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm wa-ḥafīdihī al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn by Imām al-Muʿaẓẓābi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buḥḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020)—both the *Tağrīd* as well as the commentary are composed by al-Muʿaẓẓābi;¹⁰⁰ *Šifāʾ al-awāmm fī aḥādīṯ al-aḥkām* of Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 662/1263–64 or 663/1264–65), the author of the renowned dogmatic work *Kitāb Yanābī al-naṣīḥa fī l-ʿaqāʾid al-ṣaḥīḥa*;¹⁰¹ al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Manšūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad’s afore-mentioned *Hidāyat al-ʿuqūl ilā Ġāyat al-suʿl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*; and significant portions of Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Baḥr al-zahḥār* (see above); as well as other unspecified works. Muḥammad al-Manšūr specifies that he studied with this teacher in the Great Mosque (*al-ġāmiʿ al-kabīr*), the *madrasa al-ʿilmiyya*, and the Wuṣālī mosque.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥsin b. Ḥusayn al-Sarḥī (b. 1318/1901, d. 1409/1989),¹⁰² an expert on grammar (“Sībawayh *zamānihi*,” as Muḥammad al-Manšūr refers to him¹⁰³), also taught Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Manšūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad’s *Hidāyat al-ʿuqūl ilā Ġāyat al-suʿl*, in addition to al-Zamaḥṣarī’s *al-Kaššāf*, and Luṭf Allāh Muḥammad al-Ġiyāṭ al-Zufayrī’s (d. 1035/1626) commentary on the *Šāfiya fī ʿilm al-taṣrīf* by Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUṭmān b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥāġib al-Kurdī (d. 646/1249), entitled *al-Manāhil al-šāfiya fī kašf maʿānī al-Šāfiya*.¹⁰⁴ Muḥammad al-Manšūr later composed a poem in praise of this teacher.¹⁰⁵

With Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Kibṣī (b. 1296/1878–79, d. 1366/1947),¹⁰⁶ Muḥammad al-Manšūr read al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāġī

¹⁰⁰ Both the *Tağrīd* and the *Šarḥ al-Tağrīd* have been published (see bibliography).

¹⁰¹ On the *Šifāʾ* and its author, see al-Waġīḥ, *Aʿlām*, pp. 390–392.

¹⁰² Muḥammad al-Manšūr, “Iġāza ʿamma,” p. 27; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manšūr,” no. 22. On him, see al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, pp. 425–426; al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsūʿa*, vol. 2, p. 832 no. 2.

¹⁰³ See also al-Iryānī, *Muḍakkirāt*, vol. 1, p. 72, where this teacher is similarly described as “*wa-kāna min aġwad al-asātiḍa ihāṭatan bi-ʿulūm al-ʿarabiyya*.”

¹⁰⁴ See al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmiʿ al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 2, p. 1245. Another manuscript copy of the work is preserved in a private library in Ṣanʿāʾ, and a digital surrogate is accessible at <http://publ.princeton.edu/objects/w66344377> (accessed February 28, 2018). For additional manuscripts of the work, see al-Waġīḥ, *Aʿlām*, pp. 796–798 no. 853, esp. p. 798. Both the *Manāhil* and *al-Šāfiya* have been published (see bibliography).

¹⁰⁵ Muḥammad al-Manšūr, *Lawāmiʿ*, pp. 209–210.

¹⁰⁶ Muḥammad al-Manšūr, “Iġāza ʿamma,” p. 27; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manšūr,” no. 21. On him, see al-Akwaʿ,

al-Ḥaymī's afore-mentioned *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr šarḥ al-Mağmū' al-kabīr* and other books of prophetic traditions; and with 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Fuḍḍa (b. 1299/1881-82 or 1301/1883-84, d. 1395/1975),¹⁰⁷ he studied al-Zamaḥṣarī's *al-Kaššāf* (see above), and other works. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ġindārī al-Šan'ānī (b. 1293/1876, d. 1376/1956)¹⁰⁸ was a teacher with whom Muḥammad al-Manṣūr read primarily theological works (*uṣūl al-dīn*), and with Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Maswarī (d. 1368/1949)¹⁰⁹ Muḥammad studied (both in the Great Mosque and in the *masǧid al-ilmī* in Šan'ā) the following works: an unspecified commentary on the concise credal work, *al-ʿIqd al-ṭamīn fī maʿrifat Rabb al-ʿālamīn* by Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 662/1263-64 or 663/1264-65).¹¹⁰ The commentary in question may have either been *Hāšiya ʿalā l-ʿIqd al-ṭamīn* by the "traditionist" scholar Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ġindārī (b. 1279/1863, d. 1337/1919),¹¹¹ or *Šarḥ al-ʿIqd al-ṭamīn* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Madā'is al-Šan'ānī (b. 1295/1878, d. 1351/1933);¹¹² an unspecified commentary on the theological work *Kitāb al-Asās li-ʿaqā'id al-akyās fī maʿrifat rabb al-ʿālamīn* by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's ancestor, Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī.¹¹³ Among the possible candidates, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šalāḥ al-Šarafī's (d. 1055/1646) *Šifā' ṣudūr al-nās bi-šarḥ al-Asās*

Madāris, p. 417; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 110-113; al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 5, pp. 576-577 no. 2; al-Iryānī, *Muḍakkirāt*, vol. 1, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza ʿamma," p. 27; al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ilmīyya"; "al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 30. On him, see al-Akwa', *Madāris*, p. 421; al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 5, p. 118 no. 1; al-Akwa', *Hiǧar al-ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 614-615 no. 4; al-Iryānī, *Muḍakkirāt*, vol. 1, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ilmīyya"; Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza ʿamma," pp. 27-28; "al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 32. On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 585-587. For the Āl al-Ġindārī, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 1, pp. 705-706.

¹⁰⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza ʿamma," p. 28; al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-ilmīyya"; "al-Sayyid al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 33. On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), p. 176; for the different branches of the Banū l-Maswarī, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 6, pp. 380-384, for Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, see *ibid.*, p. 383.

¹¹⁰ Published (see bibliography).

¹¹¹ On the author, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 101-109; al-Wāsi'ī, *al-Durr al-farīd*, p. 7.

¹¹² On the author, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 658-660. For commentaries on the *ʿIqd al-ṭamīn*, see also al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmi' al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 2, pp. 1391-1392.

¹¹³ Published repeatedly (see bibliography).

is the most likely candidate;¹¹⁴ another possibility would be *‘Iddat al-akyās fī šarḥ ma‘ānī al-Āsās*, by the same commentator;¹¹⁵ further, *al-Maṣābīḥ* by Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī (fl. first half of the fourth/tenth century), a biographical work devoted to the lives of the *imāms*;¹¹⁶ Ibn Miftāḥ’s afore-mentioned *al-Muntaza‘ al-muḥtār min al-Ġayt al-midrār* (*Šarḥ al-Azhār*), and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nāẓirī’s *Ġawharat al-farā’id al-kāšif li-ma‘ānī Miftāḥ al-fā’id* (see above).

Another teacher with whom Muḥammad al-Manṣūr studied both at the *Madrasa al-šamsiyya* in Ḍamār and at the *Madrasa al-‘ilmiyya* in Ṣan‘ā’ was **‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Šamāḥī** (b. 1289/1872-73, d. 1357/1938),¹¹⁷ who had also been the teacher of Muḥammad’s father and uncles (see above). Muḥammad attended his lessons on Ibn Miftāḥ’s *al-Muntaza‘ al-muḥtār min al-Ġayt al-midrār* (*Šarḥ al-Azhār*) (see above). During his later life, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr seems to have been close to his teacher’s son, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Šamāḥī al-Muġāhid, as he wrote a poem in his memory on the occasion of his demise, on 10 Rabī I 1406/23 November 1985.¹¹⁸

There are other scholars Muḥammad al-Manṣūr studied with at different times and in various locations: these are **‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sudumī** (b. 1271/1854, d. 1364/1945),¹¹⁹ who taught the *Šaḥīḥ Muslim* (see above) in the *maġlis* of *al-Amīr* ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh, “*al-wazīr bi-Ta‘izz*,” which Muḥammad attended. In Ḥamr, a village located to the south of Ḥūt, Muḥammad read with **Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Muḥsin**

¹¹⁴ This commentary (published, see bibliography) was part of the curriculum at the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*; see al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404. See al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 691-692.

¹¹⁵ Published (see bibliography).

¹¹⁶ Published as *al-Maṣābīḥ fī l-sīra wa-l-tārīḥ* (see bibliography). On this work, see Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 84.

¹¹⁷ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iġāza ‘amma,” p. 27. He is not listed in al-Ānisī’s account.

¹¹⁸ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi‘*, pp. 155-157.

¹¹⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iġāza ‘amma,” p. 27; al-Ānisī, “Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 28. On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 453-454; al-Akwa‘, *Hiġar al-‘ilm*, vol. 2, p. 942 no. 2; on him and the Āl al-Sudumī, see also al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 2, pp. 816-817. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sudumī was also among the teachers of ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi‘ī for whom he issued an *iġāza ‘amma* which is quoted in ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘’s *al-Durr al-farīd*, pp. 9, 45-61.

Ḥinš [Ḥanaš]¹²⁰ Ḡār Allāh al-Zamaḥṣarī's *al-Kaššāf*, and with one **Šaraf Ḥinš [Ḥanaš]**¹²¹ he studied during the early 1350s (1931 or later)¹²² in the Friday mosque of Ḥamr¹²³ Ibn Miftāḥ's afore-mentioned *al-Muntaza' al-muḥtār min al-Ġayt al-midrār (Šarḥ al-Azhār)*, as well as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nāẓirī's *Ġawharat al-farā'id al-kāšif li-ma'ānī Miftāḥ al-fā'id* (see above). Among his fellow students in Ḥamr were al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥsin Dūs, Luṭf b. Muḥammad b. Muḥsin Ḥinš [Ḥanaš], and Aḥmad b. Muḥsin al-'Ansī, who hailed from Baraṭ.¹²⁴ Muḥammad also regularly attended the teaching sessions (*maḡālis al-tadrīs*) of **Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn** (r. 1948-1962 CE),¹²⁵ who ordered that an *iğāza* be issued to him.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr also received *iğāzas* from the following scholars: **'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bārī' al-Ahdal** (b. 1250/1834, d. ?)¹²⁶—as will be seen, Muḥammad apparently studied with him between the years 1363/1944 and 1370/1950-51 (see below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01374); **'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Aḡrī** (b. 1320/1902, d. 1407/1987);¹²⁷ **Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Bayḥānī** (b. 1326/1908, d. 1391/1971);¹²⁸ and **Muḥammad b. 'Abd**

¹²⁰ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza 'amma," p. 27; al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya"; "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 23.

¹²¹ Al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya"; "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 24. The identity of these two, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad and Šaraf, remains uncertain. For the various branches of the Āl al-Ḥinšī [Ḥanašī], see al-Maḡḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 1, pp. 1137-1138.

¹²² See Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, p. 102 n. 2.

¹²³ See al-Ḥaḡarī, *Maḡmū'*, p. 310.

¹²⁴ See Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, p. 102 n. 2. For Baraṭ, located to the North-East of Ṣan'ā', see al-Ḥaḡarī, *Maḡmū'*, pp. 107-115.

¹²⁵ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza 'amma," p. 26; al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya"; "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 17. For Aḥmad's *maḡlis* in Ta'izz during his time as representative of Imām Yaḥyā, see Taminian, "Persuading the Monarchs," p. 216.

¹²⁶ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza 'amma," p. 27; al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya." On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), p. 372; al-Akwa', *Hiḡar al-'ilm*, vol. 4, p. 2018. For the Banū l-Ahdal, see al-Maḡḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 1, pp. 156-163.

¹²⁷ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza 'amma," p. 27. On him, see al-Maḡḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 4, pp. 225-226 no. 4; for the Āl al-'Aḡrī, see *ibid.*, pp. 225-227. Muḥammad b. 'Alī is the author of the multi-volume exegetical work *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* (published, see bibliography). For a study of this work and its author, see Schwarb, "Mu'tazilism in a 20th-Century Qur'ān Commentary."

¹²⁸ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, "Iğāza 'amma," p. 27; al-Ānisī, "Ġānib min al-ḥayāt al-'ilmiyya"; "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr," no. 31. On him, see also Zabāra,

Allāh al-Haddār (b. 1340/1922, d. 1418/1997)—Muḥammad al-Manṣūr in turn also issued an *iğāza* ‘amma to al-Haddār (*wa-ağāzanī wa-ağaztuhu iğāza ‘amma*).¹²⁹

* * * * *

The account of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s formation shows him to be a typical representative of the Zaydī elite during the first half of the twentieth century. The central academic discipline that appears throughout his formative education is Zaydī-Hādawī *fiqh*, followed by the “five sciences” (*‘ulūm ḥamsa*) as stipulated by Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37) in the *muqaddama* of his *Kitāb al-Azhār* (and reinforced again by his twentieth-century commentator al-‘Ansī) as indispensable for the *muğtahid*—the Arabic language (*‘ilm al-‘arabiyya min naḥw wa-taṣrīf wa-luğa*), the Qur’ān (*‘ilm al-āyāt al-mutaḍammīna li-l-aḥkām al-šar‘iyya*), the Sunna of the Prophet Muḥammad, issues about which there existed a juristic consensus (*al-masā’il allatī waqa‘a l-iğmā‘ alayhā*) and, finally, legal theory (*‘ilm uṣūl al-fiqh*)—and these in addition to the science of *isnād* criticism (*‘ilm al-ğarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*) and doctrine (*uṣūl al-dīn*).¹³⁰ A somewhat different study program for *muğtahids* had been laid down by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šawkānī at the turn of the nineteenth century in his pedagogical work *Adab al-ṭalab wa-muntahā al-arab*, together with lists of titles he recommended for each field of study. The disciplines he considers to be indispensable for a *muğtahid muṭlaq* are grammar (*‘ilm al-naḥw*), a basic knowledge of logic (*al-mantiq*), morphology (*‘ilm al-šarf*), rhetoric (*‘ilm al-ma‘ānī wa-l-bayān*), semiology and argumentation (*fann al-waḍ‘ wa-fann al-munāzara*), the science of figures of speech (*‘ilm al-badī‘*), dictionaries (*mu‘allafāt al-luğa*), logic (*‘ilm al-mantiq*), legal theory (*fann uṣūl al-fiqh*), theology (*fann al-kalām al-musammā bi-uṣūl al-dīn*), Qur’ān exegesis (*‘ilm al-tafsīr*), the Sunna of the Prophet (*‘ilm al-sunna al-muṭahhara*), *isnād* criticism (*‘ilm al-ğarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*),

Nuzhat al-naẓar (2010), pp. 571-572; al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 1, pp. 387-389.

¹²⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, “Iğāza ‘amma,” p. 27; al-‘Ansī, “Ġānīb min al-ḥayāt al-‘ilmiyya”; “al-Sayyid al-‘Allāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr,” no. 27. On him, see “al-Ḥabīb Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-mulaqqab bi-l-Haddār”; al-Akwa‘, *Hiğar al-‘ilm*, vol. 2, p. 860; al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 7, pp. 293-294.

¹³⁰ See Ibn Miftāḥ, *al-Muntaza‘ al-muḥtār min al-Ġayt al-midrār*, vol. 1, pp. 128-139; al-‘Ansī, *al-Tāğ al-muḍhab*, vol. 1, pp. 7-8. For an analysis of the “five sciences” on the basis of Ibn al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqaddama*, with the commentaries of Ibn Miftāḥ and al-‘Ansī for Zaydī Yemen during the early twentieth century, see Messick, *Sharī‘a Scripts*, pp. 107ff.

historical works (*al-kutub al-muṣannaḥa fī tāriḥ al-duwal wa-ḥawādiṭ al-‘ālam*), law (*‘ilm al-fiqh*), poetry (*al-iṭṭilā‘ alā l-aš‘ār*), and fields such as mathematics, physics, geometry, astronomy, and medicine (*‘ilm al-riyāḍī wa-l-ṭabī‘ī wa-l-handasa wa-l-hay’a wa-l-ṭibb*).¹³¹ Though al-Šawkānī sought to eliminate the Zaydī-Hādawī tradition, his study list had only a limited impact on the curriculum among the Zaydī elite of Yemen and the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya* in Ṣan‘ā’, particularly in the fields of *ḥadīṭ*, law, and doctrine.¹³² Additional data about the curriculum of individual scholars, Zaydī as well as “traditionist,” during the nineteenth and early twentieth century can be gleaned from the individual *iğāzas* and *ṭabats* that provide information on the books that were studied in the various disciplines. Important sources in this respect are ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal’s (b. 1179/1765-66, d. 1250/1834-35) *al-Nafas al-yamānī wa-l-rūḥ al-rūḥānī fī iğāzat al-qaḍā’ Banī Šawkānī li-l-Ahdal*,¹³³ Ismā‘īl b. Ḥusayn Ġirmān’s (d. 1256/1840-41) *al-Simṭ al-ḥawī al-muttasī‘ mağālataṅ li-l-rāwī*,¹³⁴ ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ġālibī al-Ḍaḥyānī’s (d. 1297/1880) *al-Asğad al-manzūm fī asānīd al-‘ulūm*,¹³⁵ ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Abū Ṭālib’s (b. 1224/1809-10, d. 1309/1891) *al-‘Iqd al-naḍīd fīmā ittaṣala bihi min al-asānīd*,¹³⁶ ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi‘ī’s (d. 1379/1960) *al-Durr al-farīd al-ğāmi‘ li-mutafarriqāt al-asānīd*,¹³⁷ Muḥammad Zabāra’s *Nayl al-waṭar min tarāğim riğāl al-Yaman fī l-qarn al-tālī‘ ašar*, and his *Nuzhat al-naẓar fī riğāl al-qarn al-rābi‘ ašar*,¹³⁸ and Mağd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Manšūr al-Mu‘ayyadī’s (b. 1332/1913-14, d. 1428/2007) *al-Ġāmi‘a al-muḥimma li-asānīd kutub al-a‘imma*.¹³⁹

¹³¹ Al-Šawkānī, *Adab al-ṭalab*, pp. 154-168. See also Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 102-108.

¹³² See al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, pp. 404-406.

¹³³ Published (see bibliography).

¹³⁴ See al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, p. 86.

¹³⁵ See al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, p. 88.

¹³⁶ See al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, p. 89.

¹³⁷ Published, see bibliography. On the author, see below, Chapter Four.

¹³⁸ Zabāra’s *Nuzhat al-naẓar* was first published in 1979 (2 vols, Ṣan‘ā’: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāṭ al-Yamaniyya) and again in 1431/2010 (2 vols, Ṣan‘ā’: Maktabat al-Iršād), with different pagination but essentially containing the same contents (in the present study, all references to the work are based on the 2010 edition). The published version is, however, a heavily censored version of the original work. The complete original version (consisting of four volumes) was restored by Aḥmad Zabāra, in manuscript form only (ca. 1993). See Messick, *Sharī‘a Scripts*, pp. 95-96, 478.

¹³⁹ Published, see bibliography.

The majority of titles Muḥammad studied had been recommended by al-Šawkānī and/or were part of the curriculum at the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*. These include Ibn al-Murtaḍā’s *Kitāb al-Azhār*¹⁴⁰ and Ibn Miftāḥ’s commentary, *al-Muntaza‘ al-muḥtār (Šarḥ al-Azhār)*¹⁴¹ in the realm of *fiqh*; al-Nāziri’s commentary on al-‘Uṣayfiri’s *Miftāḥ al-fā’id* on inheritance law (*al-farā’id*);¹⁴² Ibn Hišām’s *Qaṭr al-nadā*, together with the author’s autocommentary,¹⁴³ Ibn Hišām’s *Kāfiya*, with al-Ḥabīšī’s commentary,¹⁴⁴ al-Ḥariri’s *Mulḥat al-i-rāb*, with Baḥraq’s commentary and al-Fākihi’s supercommentary,¹⁴⁵ al-Azharī’s commentary on Ibn Hišām’s *Qawā’id al-i-rāb*,¹⁴⁶ and al-Ḍufayri’s *al-Manāhil al-Šāfiya*,¹⁴⁷ for the disciplines of grammar, syntax, and morphology; al-Abharī’s *Īsāgūḡī*, together with Zakariyyā’ b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī’s commentary,¹⁴⁸ in logic (*mantīq*); Ibn Luqmān’s and al-Ṭabarī’s commentaries on Ibn Bahrān’s *al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su’l*,¹⁴⁹ al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim’s *Ġāyat al-su’l*, with the author’s autocommentary, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā’s *Mi’yār al-‘uqūl* in the field of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*);¹⁵⁰ al-‘Āmirī’s *Bahḡat al-maḥāfil* on the Prophet’s biography;¹⁵¹ al-Qazwīnī’s *Talḥiṣ al-miftāḥ*, together with the commentaries and supercommentaries of al-Taftāzānī, al-Dasūqī, al-Maḡribī and al-Subkī in the field of rhetoric;¹⁵² al-Zamaḡšarī’s *al-Kaššāf* in the field of Qur’ān exegesis;¹⁵³ *Miṣbāḥ al-‘ulūm* by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Raššāš, together with Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Saḥūlī’s commentary,¹⁵⁴ Ibn al-Murtaḍā’s *Kitāb al-Qalā’id fi taṣḥīḥ al-‘aqa’id* and *Kitāb Riyādat al-afḥām*, and Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr

¹⁴⁰ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-fiqh*, no. 1).

¹⁴¹ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-fiqh*, no. 2).

¹⁴² Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 405 (*al-farā’id*, no. 1).

¹⁴³ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 405 (*al-naḥw*, no. 2).

¹⁴⁴ Al-Šawkānī, *Adab al-ṭalab*, p. 154.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Šawkānī, *Adab al-ṭalab*, p. 154.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 405 (*al-naḥw*, no. 3).

¹⁴⁷ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 405 (*al-ṣarf*, no. 2).

¹⁴⁸ Al-Šawkānī, *Adab al-ṭalab*, p. 155; al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 405 (*al-mantīq*, no. 2).

¹⁴⁹ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*uṣūl al-fiqh*, nos. 1, 2).

¹⁵⁰ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-fiqh*, no. 4 “*al-Baḥr al-zahḥār*”).

¹⁵¹ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 406 (*al-sīra*, no. 1).

¹⁵² Al-Šawkānī, *Adab al-ṭalab*, p. 156; al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-balāḡa*, nos. 2, 3).

¹⁵³ Al-Šawkānī, *Adab al-ṭalab*, p. 162; al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-tafsīr wa-l-aḥkām*, no. 4).

¹⁵⁴ Al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-tawḥīd*, no. 2).

al-Dīn's *al-ʿIqd al-tamīn*,¹⁵⁵ on *kalām*; Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ṣanʿānī's *Subul al-salām*,¹⁵⁶ al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāḡī's *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*,¹⁵⁷ al-Ṣawkānī's *Nayl al-awṭār*,¹⁵⁸ and the six canonical Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections (*al-ummahāt*),¹⁵⁹ in the field of *ḥadīth*; and Ibn al-Aṭīr's *Kāmil* in history.¹⁶⁰

However, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr went beyond this list of titles by studying additional works that are all firmly rooted in the Zaydī-Hādawī tradition. In *fiqh*, he read the *Aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, by Imām al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq, and the *Uṣūl al-aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, by Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān; in the domain of *ḥadīth*, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr studied classical Zaydī *ḥadīth* works such as the *Amālī* by Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, the *Durar al-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya bi-l-asānīd al-yaḥyāwiyya* compiled by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Abī l-Naḡm al-Ṣaʿdī, the *Kitāb al-Dīkr* by Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Murādī, Ibn al-Walīd al-Quraṣī's *Šams al-aḥbār*, the *Šarḥ al-Taḡrīd* by al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh, the *Amālī* by al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq, and the *Amālī* by Abū Saʿd al-Sammān. He also read ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī's popular Ṣūfī work, *al-Irṣād ilā naḡāt al-ʿibād*, as well as the *Kitāb al-Asās li-ʿaqāʾid al-akyās* by Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad on *kalām*, and al-Ḥasanī's biographical work, *al-Maṣābiḥ*. These works had formed over the centuries the backbone of Zaydī scholarship in Yemen¹⁶¹ and they also figure prominently in Maḡd al-Dīn al-Muʿayyadī's *al-Ġāmiʿa al-muhimma*. As will be seen in Chapters Three and Four, the fact that Muḥammad al-Manṣūr was firmly rooted in the Zaydī tradition is further corroborated by the holdings in his library, which comprise a fair number of classical Zaydī works, and this in addition to the titles that were part of the curriculum of the *madrasa al-ʿilmiyya* and other works that were mainstream.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-tawḥīd*, no. 1).

¹⁵⁶ Al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, p. 406 (*al-ḥadīth*, no. 1).

¹⁵⁷ Al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, p. 406 (*al-ḥadīth*, no. 3).

¹⁵⁸ Al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, p. 405 (*šūbat al-iḡtihād*, no. 2).

¹⁵⁹ Al-Ṣawkānī, *Adab al-ṭalab*, p. 163; al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, p. 405 (*šūbat al-iḡtihād*, no. 1).

¹⁶⁰ Al-Ṣawkānī, *Adab al-ṭalab*, p. 165.

¹⁶¹ See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Licence to Transmit: The Spread of Muʿtazilī and Zaydī Thought as Documented in Ijāzas*.



Fig. 1b: Photography Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, Ṣan‘ā’ 2005
(photography Gabriele vom Bruck)

* * * * *

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s professional career¹⁶² began during the reign of Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1904–1948), as an assistant to his father, Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Manṣūr, who was in charge of the district of Bayt al-Faqīh (*i‘ānat wāliḍihi ... ‘alā a‘māl qaḍā’ Bayt al-Faqīh*).¹⁶³ In 1364/1945, Muḥammad joined the team of secretaries and judges in the office of Imām Yaḥyā’s son Aḥmad, who later became Imām Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1948–1962), who in 1939 was made the Imām’s representative for Ta‘izz. Muḥammad also worked for some time as assistant to al-Qāḍī Muḥammad Rāḡib Bey, who

¹⁶² The principal sources that provide information about Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s professional life are the same that inform about his scholarly biography. These have been discussed in detail above. Unlike the information provided about his formation as a scholar, the details of his professional career are scant. With few exceptions, no dates are provided nor any other details that would go beyond a mere list of functions and positions. See, for example, the editors’ introduction to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi’*, pp. 30–31.

¹⁶³ For Bayt al-Faqīh which is located in the Tihāma plain, some 150 km South West of Ṣan‘ā’, see al-Ḥaḡarī, *Maḡmū’*, pp. 131–132.

was chamberlain and foreign minister to Imām Yaḥyā from 1924.¹⁶⁴ During the reign of Imām Aḥmad, Muḥammad served as minister in the United Arab States, a short-lived confederation of Yemen, Egypt, and Syria 1958 to 1961, and for a brief period sojourned in Cairo as Imām Aḥmad’s representative.¹⁶⁵ It may have been on this occasion that Muḥammad purchased a manuscript (ZMT 01351)—the purchase note is dated Ṣafar 1381/July–August 1961.¹⁶⁶ It was possibly still before the outbreak of the September 1962 revolution that Muḥammad was appointed Supervisor of Legacies (*nāẓir al-waṣāyā*),¹⁶⁷ a title he regularly used in his purchase notes and ownership statements in his books. The earliest instance is a note dated Ğumādā I 1382/September–October 1962 (ZMT 01448), followed by another note dated Raġab 1382/November–December 1962 (ZMT 01370). Muḥammad retained the position for decades, and the latest purchase note in which the title is given dates to 1406/1986 (ZMT 01338).¹⁶⁸

After the 1962 revolution, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr became a member of the Supreme Council (*maġlis al-siyāda*) and served in various ministerial positions, as Minister of Justice (1384/1964–65 through 1387/1967–68) and as Minister of Religious Endowments (*wazīr al-awqāf*). In addition, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr had already been appointed representative of the Muftī of the

¹⁶⁴ Muḥammad Raġib Bey (d. 1378/1958) had previously served as a Turkish official in Yemen during World War I—in 1913 he was appointed *mutaṣarrif* in al-Ḥudayda and he returned to Istanbul in 1918 after the Ottoman defeat. Following the Kemalist revolution of 1924 he came back to Yemen, where he entered the service of Imām Yaḥyā. See Clayton, *An Arabian Diary*, p. 345; Georges S. Colin, “Compte-rendu d’une mission au Yémen” Annex II (“*Mohammed Ragheb Bey: un ancien gouverneur turc qui joue le rôle d’intermédiaire entre l’imam et les Européens*”)—for Colin’s unpublished report, see Guesdon, “Georges S. Colin au Yémen en 1929”. Cf. Willis, *Unmaking North and South*, pp. 257–258, according to whom Rāġib Bey did not return to Istanbul after World War I but stayed behind in Yemen.

¹⁶⁵ For poetry he composed while in Cairo, see Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmiʿ*, p. 153. For the United Arab States, see Rahmy, *Egyptian Policy*, pp. 59–65 and *passim*.

¹⁶⁶ For a detailed description, see below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01351.

¹⁶⁷ “Legacies” (*waṣāyā*) in the Yemeni legal context are former family *waqfs*. Once a family has died out and there is no descendent either to supervise the *waqf* or to receive its revenues, the *waqf* is transferred to the *maktab al-awqāf*, where it is grouped with other such *waqfs* under the administrative heading of “legacies.” See Messick, *Transactions in Ibb*, pp. 164–165.

¹⁶⁸ All relevant codices are described in detail below, Chapter Three. See also ZMT 01348 (note dated 1393/1973), ZMT 01483 (note dated 1400/1979), and two undated notes, which carry the title (ZMT 01354 and ZMT 01311).

Republic (*manṣīb nā'ib muftī al-ḡumhūriyya*).¹⁶⁹ He also served as a member of the Committee for the Codification of the Judgments of Islamic Law (*hay'at taqnīn aḥkām al-ṣarī'a al-islāmiyya*), which had been established in 1975 during the presidency of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamdī (r. 1974-1977),¹⁷⁰ and of the People's Constituent Council (*maḡlis al-ša'b al-ta'sīsī*), installed in 1978 to replace the Parliament (*maḡlis šūrā*), which had been suspended in 1975.¹⁷¹ Following the country's unification in 1990, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr took part in founding the Party of Truth (*Ḥizb al-Ḥaqq*) in Yemen.¹⁷²

As has been observed by Bernard Haykel for other personalities, such as Aḥmad Zabāra,¹⁷³ the continuity of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's career in official service from the time of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn imamate to the post-revolutionary period and up until the turn of the twenty-first century is remarkable yet by no means exceptional.

Transmission of knowledge was another area that was important to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr throughout his life. Not only did he continue to study for most of his life (see below, Chapter Four, for *iḡāzas* he received in the 1970s), he also regularly taught in the Great Mosque, in the Fulayḥī mosque and the al-Nahrayn mosque,¹⁷⁴ in the Markaz al-Badr al-'ilmī wa-l-

¹⁶⁹ The post of *muftī* was introduced in 1967 during the presidency of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iryānī. See <http://al-bab.com/albab-orig/albab/bys/obits/zabara.htm> (accessed February 28, 2018).

¹⁷⁰ See Würth, *Aṣ-Ṣarī'a fī Bāb al-Yaman*, pp. 44ff. and passim; also Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 217, 224.

¹⁷¹ The People's Constituent Council functioned as a legislative body, some of whose members were elected and some appointed. See Würth, *Aṣ-Ṣarī'a fī Bāb al-Yaman*, p. 45 nn. 41, 44 (with further references); Glosemeyer, "The Development of State Institutions," pp. 83-84, 90, 100. During one of the sessions, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr and his colleague al-Ṣarīf Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Ḍamīn exchanged some lines of poetry; see Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, p. 223.

¹⁷² For the *Ḥizb al-Ḥaqq*, see vom Bruck, "Being a Zaydī in the Absence of an Imam," pp. 180ff.; Haykel, "Rebellion, Migration or Consultative Democracy," pp. 198ff.; Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 226-229; King, "Zaydī revival," pp. 413-414 (with further references); vom Bruck, "Regimes of Piety," passim; vom Bruck, "How the Past Casts Its Shadows," pp. 265ff. Al-Manṣūr was also one of the four signatories of the "Legal Manifest of the Religious Scholars of Yemen" (*Bayān ṣar'ī li-'ulamā' al-Yaman*), that had been drafted by the party's secretary general Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šāmī and was published on November 28, 1990. See Dorlian, *La mouvance zaydite*, pp. 30-37, 215-219.

¹⁷³ Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, p. 199 and passim.

¹⁷⁴ For al-Nahrayn, see al-Ḥaḡarī, *Masāḡid Ṣan'ā'*, p. 134; Lamprakos, *Building a World Heritage City*, passim.



Fig. 1c: Photography Egypt/Syria/Yemen union during the 1950s, King Ḥusayn of Jordan (middle), with Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (second from the right) (unknown photographer)

taqāfi, and in his private home in Ṣan‘ā’. One of the texts he taught was al-Zamaḥṣarī’s *Kaššāf* (see below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01354). Moreover, he was among those Zaydī ‘ulamā’ who—unsuccessfully—urged the government to reopen his former *alma mater*, the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*, which had been closed after the revolution in 1963, to counterbalance the anti-Hādawī bias of the *ma‘āhid al-‘ilmiyya* that had spread since 1972, with Saudi backing. In an interview in October 1985, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr reflected on the negative impact of the *ma‘āhid*, recalling the high standard of education and societal tolerance during the time of the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*: “In education, there should be more concentration on the ethical and religious aspects of life. If there is good faith and belief in a society, that is the best safeguard against social divisions and crime. ... There has been opposition to the *ma‘āhid* because their curricula have failed to take account of the social fabric of the areas in which they were established. This can only lead to conflict. Sometimes difference in thoughts can create more problems than ignorance. The government accepted the establishment of the *ma‘āhid* but disapproved of the continuation of teaching at the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*. It objected to a dual system of teaching religion, but if this is needed why

should we not have it? Since the *ma'āhid* have been accepted, we should have the *madrassa al-'ilmiyya* as well because it was successful. With regard to the teaching of the religious sciences and the Arabic language, Yemen was among the best nations in the Arab world. No school of Islam (*madhhab*) should deny the other its right to exist because all have the same source, the Qur'ān and the Sunna. There is no harm in co-existing *madhāhib*; each *madhhab* should respect each other. When we teach the Zaydī *madhhab*, one of our basic principles is to teach the students to respect all other *madhāhib*, and to accept that none of them is wrong. When a student has reached a high level of understanding, he should not follow any *madhhab*. He should neither follow the Zaydī *imāms* nor any other authority. The *Zaydiyya* is very liberal. If, for example, I find a student following the Hanafī school, I encourage him in this. Every *mujtahid* is correct (*kull mujtahid musib*). As long as the *Zaydiyya* accepts all other *madhāhib*, there should be no conflict among different religious groups. There are some extremist groups who want to impose their own beliefs on their followers and to create problems among people of different schools.”¹⁷⁵

* * * * *

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr was not a particularly prolific writer, and all of his works are characterized by concision. Moreover, many of them are works of poetry, an activity he pursued masterfully during his entire life. In 1412/1991-92, Muḥammad Maḥdī 'Alī al-Ġayl and Muḥammad Qā'id Ṣāliḥ al-Ġarāš conceived the idea of gathering his poetry in a single volume, and it took them about nine years—from 1420/1999-2000 until 1429/2008—to bring the relevant material together and to prepare a critical, annotated edition and submit the final book to the publisher, the Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī al-ṭaqāfiyya (Imam Zayd bin Ali Cultural Foundation, IZbACF). As was noted earlier, the collected poems constitute an invaluable source for their author's biography—in many cases the individual poems are preceded by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's remarks as to what prompted him to compose them. Numerous poems are dedicated to his colleagues and some of them were written while

¹⁷⁵ Interview October 1985, Ṣan'ā', with Gabriele vom Bruck, see vom Bruck, “Being a Zaydi in the Absence of an Imam,” p. 183; vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen*, pp. 239-240. Cf. vom Bruck, “Regimes of Piety,” p. 186 n. 2, where the interview is dated 1986. The translation of the interview slightly differs in the two publications.

al-Manṣūr was travelling. The title of the collection of poetry, *Lawāmi‘ min ḥawāṭir šawāsi‘*, was coined by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr himself who was also otherwise very much involved in the book’s genesis, as were two of his sons, Ibrāhīm and Yūnus, and he approved of the final product.¹⁷⁶

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr later provided commentary on some of his poems. One of them is a poem on the *faḍā’il* of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,¹⁷⁷ which he commented upon in his *al-Kalima al-šāfiya fī ḥukm mā ġarā bayn al-Imām ‘Alī wa-Mu‘āwiyya*. The commentary is preceded by a brief preface in which the author relates the genesis of the poem and its commentary. He composed the poem over nine days, in Ša‘bān 1394/August-September 1974, and immediately proceeded to write a commentary (*ta’līq*) on it, which he completed on 3 Dū l-Qa‘da 1394/18 November 1974. The work is extant in a single fair copy produced by the author on the basis of the *muswada*, a surrogate of which is preserved in the Maktabat al-Amīr li-taḥqīq al-turāt in Naḡaf. This served as the basis for a critical edition of the work by Sa‘d al-Ḥaddād, which was published in Karbalā’ in 1436/2016. Another poem Muḥammad al-Manṣūr commented upon is his *Qudsiyyat al-īmān*, a doctrinal poem,¹⁷⁸ he titled the commentary *Barq al-yamānī ‘alā Qudsiyyat al-īmān wa-huwa yamānī*. Both the poem and the commentary were first published in 1399/1979.¹⁷⁹ Though essentially a work on theology, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr states in its beginning that what prompted him to compose the text was the increasing influence of a religious strand that favors predetermination and anthropomorphism while loathing Imām ‘Alī and his descendants, the *ahl al-bayt (ġamā‘a min al-muġbira wa-l-muġassima wa-l-mubaġġidīn li-amīr al-mu‘minīn ... wa-ahl baytihi ...)*,¹⁸⁰ the work can thus aptly be described as a defense of the doctrinal (invariably Mu‘tazilite) notions of Zaydism against Salafism, a movement that forcefully emerged in Yemen during the early

¹⁷⁶ See his “Kalimat al-mu‘allif,” Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi‘*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁷ Published in Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi‘*, pp. 264-270.

¹⁷⁸ Published in Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi‘*, pp. 247-260.

¹⁷⁹ It was later republished with a preface by al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭwarī al-Ḥasanī, *Šan‘ā: Maṭbū‘āt Markaz Badr al-‘ilmī wa-l-ṭaqāfi*, 1424/2003. The copy at my disposal lacked al-Maḥaṭwarī’s preface. To his personal copy of the 1399/1979 publication of the text Muḥammad al-Manṣūr later added numerous comments and corrections. A surrogate of this copy is preserved in Qum in the Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā al-Mar’ašī al-Naḡafī. See Ḥāfiẓiyān Bābulī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ‘aksī*, vol. 4, pp. 262-263 no. 1433.

¹⁸⁰ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Barq al-yamānī*, pp. 25-26.

1980s.¹⁸¹ Muḥammad is also reported to have composed another treatise in verse on the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (*Manzūma fī l-sīra al-nabawiyya*), which is lost.¹⁸²

Another published work of his is entitled *Ḥikmat al-ḥiḡāb* (first published in 1988), and he is credited with glosses on the *Amālī Abī Ṭālib*,¹⁸³ that is the *Amālī* of Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḡyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 340/951–52, d. 424/1033), which are transmitted in the recension of al-Qāḏī Šams al-Dīn Ğa‘far b. Aḡmad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī (“Qāḏī Ğa‘far,” d. 573/1177), entitled *Taysīr al-maṭālib min [fī] Amālī Abī Ṭālib*. Muḥammad al-Manšūr’s glosses are reportedly preserved in manuscript, and it is possible that this reference is to one of the codices from al-Manšūr’s library discussed below, which has numerous margin comments by Muḥammad al-Manšūr on the *Amālī* (see below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01350).



Fig. 1d: Funeral procession after Muḥammad al-Manšūr’s demise on September 9, 2016 (photographer unknown)

¹⁸¹ The key figure was Muḡbil b. Hādī al-Wādīī (b. 1356/1937, d. 1422/2001), who hailed from Dammāḡ, in the district of Ša‘da, and who studied *ḡadīṭ* in Mecca and Medina. Upon his return to Yemen he founded a Dār al-ḡadīṭ in Dammāḡ to propagate Salafism and condemn Zaydism. See vom Bruck, “Regimes of Piety Revisited.”

¹⁸² See the editors’ introduction to Muḥammad al-Manšūr, *Lawāmi‘*, p. 29 no. 7.

¹⁸³ See the editors’ introduction to Muḥammad al-Manšūr, *Lawāmi‘*, p. 29 no. 8.

Chapter Two
Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's Collection of Manuscripts

The personal library of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr is counted among the most prestigious private collections of manuscripts in Yemen. The library was among those visited by the Egyptian expeditions to Yemen,¹ in 1951-52² and again in 1976,³ and some of its codices were microfilmed on those occasions.⁴ A handlist of the collection, prepared by ‘Abd Allāh [b.] Muḥammad al-Ḥibṣī, was published in 1978.⁵ Al-Ḥibṣī briefly describes 136 individual titles, recording in most cases the shelfmark, the date of the copy, the number of folios, and the number of lines per page. The handlist was republished in al-Ḥibṣī's *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt ba‘d al-maktabāt al-ḥāṣṣa fī l-Yaman* of 1994,⁶ with some bibliographical additions by the book's editor, Julian Johansen.⁷ The individual texts are arranged in al-Ḥibṣī's list according to disciplinary sections, viz. *‘ulūm al-Qur‘ān wa-l-tafsīr* (“Qur‘ānic sciences and exegesis,” nos. 1-5 [860-864]), *al-ḥadīth* (“Tradition,” nos. 6-20 [865-879]), *ilm al-kalām* (“theology,” nos. 21-59 [880-918]), *uṣūl al-fiqh* (“legal theory,” nos. 60-62 [919-921]), *al-fiqh* (“law,” nos. 63-91 [922-951]), *al-farā‘iḍ wa-l-mawāriṭ* (“law of inheritance,” nos. 92-96 [952-956]), *al-taṣawwuf* (“Sūfism,” nos. 97-112 [957-973]), *al-adab* (“literature,” nos. 113-122 [974-983]), *al-luḡa wa-l-naḥw* (“language and grammar,” nos. 123-127 [984-988]), *al-tārīḥ* (“history,” nos. 128-136 [989-997]). The shelfmarks recorded by al-Ḥibṣī suggest that the library consisted at the time of at least 295 codices—the highest number

¹ See Peters, *God's Created Speech*, pp. 25-26 (with further references).

² During the 1952 expedition, four codices were filmed; see Nāmī, *Ba‘ta*, p. 41. Those four titles are also recorded in *Qā’ima*, pp. 4 no. 37, 5 no. 43, 22 no. 200, 49 no. 410, a cumulative list of codices microfilmed during the two expeditions of 1952 and 1964. This indicates that in 1964 the Egyptians did not include the al-Manṣūr library among those they visited at the time. Generally on the various Egyptian expeditions to Yemen, see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 431-432.

³ The codices filmed during the 1974 expedition are recorded in “al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘ṭat al-Ma‘had,” pp. 53-55 nos. 331-347.

⁴ See above, nn. 2 and 3. Digital copies of those microfilms are also available in several libraries of Iran; see al-Maṣriqī and al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs-i yamānī*, pp. 77, 79-80, 94, 381-382, 401, 408, 411-412, 412-413, 415, 415-416, 421, 442, 458-459, 466-467, 467, 469, 554-555.

⁵ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya.”

⁶ Al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, pp. 360-415 nos. 860-415.

⁷ See al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, pp. 4-5.

of the shelfmarks reads “295.”⁸ While the handlist is fairly complete up to shelfmark 100, al-Ḥibṣī includes only five codices with shelfmarks numbered between 100 and 200 (viz. 100,⁹ 101,¹⁰ 103,¹¹ 105,¹² 106,¹³ 107,¹⁴ 109¹⁵), and two manuscripts with shelfmarks above 200 (viz. 256,¹⁶ and 295¹⁷). This suggests that the handlist covers about a third of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s collection at the time. The partial character of the handlist is corroborated by the various lists that record the results of the Egyptian expeditions—while they included titles that are listed by al-Ḥibṣī, they also record titles that have no correspondence in al-Ḥibṣī’s list:

Egyptian handlist	Title/Author	al-Ḥibṣī
“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘ṭat al-Ma‘had,” p. 54 no. 340	Volume Five of <i>al-Safīna al-ḡāmi‘a li-anwā‘ al-‘ulūm</i> , by al-Ḥākīm al-Ġiṣūmī (d. 494/1101)	—
“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘ṭat al-Ma‘had,” pp. 53 nos. 331, 334, 335, 54 nos. 337, 338, 339, 55 nos. 342, 345	<i>maḡmū‘a</i> of writings by Nūr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥumaydān b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥumaydān (d. mid-seventh/thirteenth century)	51 [910]

⁸ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” p. 35 no. 87; al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 393 no. 947.

⁹ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” p. 36 no. 98(a); al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 400 no. 958.

¹⁰ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” p. 35 no. 93; al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 397 no. 953.

¹¹ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” p. 39 no. 128; al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 413 no. 989.

¹² Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” p. 32 no. 59; al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 382 no. 918.

¹³ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” p. 31 no. 51; al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 380 no. 910.

¹⁴ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” pp. 29 no. 34, 32 no. 64; al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, pp. 375 no. 893, 386 no. 924.

¹⁵ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” p. 27 no. 19; al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 369 no. 878.

¹⁶ Al-Ḥibṣī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya,” p. 31 no. 51; al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 380 no. 910. This codex is a multi-text volume containing several writings of Nūr al-Dīn Ḥumaydān b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥumaydān (d. mid-seventh/thirteenth century), which is also preserved among the microfilms produced by the Egyptians, in the Stookey collection and in the digital collection (ZMT 01427). On the title page the shelfmark is indicated as “106.” Unless a different shelfmark is recorded elsewhere in the codex, which is not included in any of the surrogate copies, al-Ḥibṣī’s recording of the shelfmark as “256” may have been wrong.

¹⁷ See above, n. 8.

Egyptian handlist	Title/Author	al-Ḥibṣī
“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” p. 55 no. 347	<i>al-Munūr, wa-yusammā al-Anwār fī ma‘rifat Allāh wa-ma‘rifat rusulihi wa-ṣiḥḥat mā ḡā‘ū bihi</i> , of Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Ṭabarī (d. 325/936-37) ¹ [part of a <i>maḡmū‘a</i>]	55 [914]
“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” p. 55 no. 344	<i>Mī‘yār aḡwār al-afhām fī l-kaṣf ‘an munāsabāt al-aḥkām</i> , by ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Naḡrī al-Zaydī (d. 877/1472-73) [part of a <i>maḡmū‘a</i>]	87 [947]
“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” p. 54 no. 336	<i>al-Taṣfiya li-l-qulūb ‘an kadar al-awzār wa-l-dunūb</i> , by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348-9)	98(a) [958]
Nāmī, <i>Ba‘ta</i> , p. 41; <i>Qā’ima</i> , p. 4 no. 37	<i>Aqrāt al-dahab fī l-mufāhara bayna al-Rawḍa wa-Bī‘r al-‘Azab</i> , by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī Ibn al-Wazīr (b. 1074/1664, d. 1147/1760)	— ² [note, however, that al-Ḥibṣī published an edition of the work in 1986 on the basis of the manuscript in al-Manṣūr’s library that had been copied during the lifetime of the author ³]
Nāmī, <i>Ba‘ta</i> , p. 41; <i>Qā’ima</i> , p. 5 no. 43	<i>al-Amṭāl</i> (anonymous author), followed by a fragment of <i>al-Qalā’id wa-l-farā’id fī aḥkām al-siyāsa</i> (anonymous author) ⁴	—
Nāmī, <i>Ba‘ta</i> , p. 41; <i>Qā’ima</i> , p. 22 no. 200	<i>Salāḥ al-mu‘min</i> , by Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazarī (“Ibn al-Ġazarī,” b. 751/1350, d. 833/1429) ⁵	15 [874]

Egyptian handlist	Title/Author	al-Ḥibṣī
Nāmī, <i>Baʿta</i> , p. 41; <i>Qāʾima</i> , p. 49 no. 41	<i>Manāhiğ al-anzār al-ʿāšima min al-aḥṭār</i> , by Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Ṣanʿānī (b. 582/1186–87, d. 652/1254)	— ⁶
“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿtat al-Maʿhad,” p. 53 no. 332	<i>Iṣrāq al-iṣbāḥ fi manāqib al-ḥamsa al-aṣbāḥ</i> , by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Nizār al-Ṣanʿānī	— ⁷
“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿtat al-Maʿhad,” p. 54 no. 341	<i>Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Qalāʾid fi taṣḥīḥ al-ʿaqāʾid</i> , by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nağrī al-Zaydī (b. 825/1422, d. 877/1472-73)	— ⁸
<p>Notes:</p> <p>¹ For the author, see GALS, vol. 2, p. 967 no. 4.</p> <p>² Cf. also al-Ḥibṣī, <i>Maṣādir</i>, p. 443 where al-Ḥibṣī lists several manuscript copies of the work but not the copy in the Muḥammad al-Manṣūr collection.</p> <p>³ See the editor’s introduction to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Wazīr, <i>Aqrāt al-ḍahab</i>, p. 11 for a description of the manuscript.</p> <p>⁴ See below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01488.</p> <p>⁵ See below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01459.</p> <p>⁶ See, however, al-Ḥibṣī, <i>Maṣādir</i>, p. 121, where the copy in Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s library as well as the microfilm in Cairo are listed.</p> <p>⁷ See also al-Ḥibṣī, <i>Maṣādir</i>, p. 485, where the copy in Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s library is also not mentioned.</p> <p>⁸ See also al-Ḥibṣī, <i>Maṣādir</i>, p. 137, where the copy in Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s library is also not mentioned.</p>		

While it remains unclear when al-Ḥibṣī had prepared his catalogue of al-Manṣūr’s library, the former United States Foreign Service officer Robert W. Stookey (b. 1917, d. 1998) was permitted in 1973 to microfilm selected codices of al-Manṣūr’s library, in addition to some manuscripts from other private and public libraries in Yemen, which were also made accessible to Stookey through Muḥammad al-Manṣūr.¹⁸ One set of the Stookey collection,

¹⁸ Stookey opted in 1969 for early retirement and enrolled as a graduate student in the University of Texas at Austin, where in 1972 he completed his dissertation entitled *Political Change in Yemen: A Study of Values and Legitimacy*. See *ibid.*, pp. viii-ix, 579 for a brief sketch

which consists of sixteen reels of microfilm, both negative and positive, containing surrogates of 139 codices in total, was given by Stookey to the Yemeni Studies Center (*Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūṭ al-yamaniyya*) in Ṣan‘ā’. Another set of films was presented by Stookey in June 1980 to the University of Texas at Austin, and the material is now housed in the University’s Perry-Castañeda Library.¹⁹ Together with the microfilms, Stookey submitted a hand-list of the collection, which is incomplete, with lacunae throughout.²⁰ As is the case with the microfilms produced by the Egyptians, the Stookey collection contains surrogates of several codices of the al-Manṣūr library that are not included in al-Ḥibṣī’s handlist (some of these had already been filmed by the Egyptians):

of his professional life. After completing his dissertation, Stookey continued working at the Middle East Studies Center at the University of Texas at Austin as a research associate. In 1973, the Committee on International Exchange of Persons awarded Stookey a Fulbright-Hays Senior Research Scholar grant, which allowed him an extended sojourn in Yemen, and it was during this stay in Yemen that he was given the opportunity to produce the microfilms, though his own interest was primarily concerned with Yemen’s modern history. Among his important publications are “Social Structure and Politics in the Yemen Arab Republic. Parts I and II”; *Yemen: The Politics of the Yemen Arab Republic; South Yemen: A Marxist Republic in Arabia*; and, with Arnold H. Green, “Research in Yemen: Facilities, Climate and Current Projects”.

¹⁹ The catalogue PURL is <http://catalog.lib.utexas.edu/record=b4802988~S29> (accessed February 28, 2018). Other than what is indicated in the catalogue record, the library possesses nowadays only 4 of the 16 rolls of the negative copies. The positive copies are completely preserved. In a letter to Dr. James A. Bill, Acting Director of the University of Texas Libraries (dated June 2, 1980), Stookey provides some background on the history of the microfilming project and details the conditions for its usage. I thank Dale J. Correa, Middle Eastern Studies Librarian for the University of Texas Libraries, for having shared a scan of the letter with me. Moreover, I thank Dale Correa and the library staff for the opportunity to inspect the Stookey collection in Austin between 28-30 June 2017.

²⁰ Stookey, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya min al-Yaman fī Maktabat Ğāmi‘at Tikṣas fī Awstin [=] Arabic Manuscripts from Yemen in the Library of the University of Texas at Austin” (Perry-Castañeda Library, call number: FILM 22,632 LIST MICRO). Stookey also refers to the list in his letter to Dr. James A. Bill, though it remains unclear whether he had prepared the list himself: “A proper bibliography of the microfilm collection remains to be made. I have, however, distributed a rough hand-list of the contents to certain scholars and Yemeni officials, and am now receiving requests for copies of some of the texts.” An analysis of the list and a brief introduction to the collection, together with a transcript of the list submitted by Stookey and an index of authors and titles on the basis of Stookey’s handlist prepared by ‘Abd al-Qādir Maḥfūz Ğālib, the head librarian of CEFAS in Ṣan‘ā’, was published by Regourd, “La collection de manuscrits microfilmés” (two parts). On the Stookey collection, see also Correa, “Recovering Yemen’s Cultural Heritage.”

Stokey collection	Title/Author	Egyptian handlists	al-Ḥibṣī
L.3	<i>Šarḥ Muqaddimat al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aqā'id</i> , by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nağrī al-Zaydī (d. 877/1472-73)	“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had,” p. 54 no. 341	—
N.8	<i>al-Iršād al-hādī ilā nağāt al-'ibād</i> , by 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī (b. 593/1196–97, d. 667/1268) ⁹	—	—
K.8	<i>mağmū'a</i> ¹⁰	—	—
K.7	<i>mağmū'a</i>	—	—
K.5	<i>al-Lubāb fī 'ilal al-banā' wa-l-i'rāb</i> , by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Alawī	—	—
J.8/cont. in K.2	<i>Mağmū' šir'</i> ¹¹	—	—
I.5	Volume Five of <i>al-Safīna al-ğāmi'a li-anwā' al-'ulūm</i> , by al-Ḥākim al-Ğišumī (d. 494/1101)	“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had,” p. 54 no. 340	—
C.7	<i>Talqīḥ al-albāb</i> , by al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr	—	—
B.9	<i>Išrāq al-iṣbāḥ fī manāqib al-ḥamsa al-aṣbāḥ</i> , by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Nizār al-Şan'anī	“al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had,” p. 53 no. 332	—
B.5	<i>Manāhiğ al-anzār al-'āşima min al-aḥṭār</i> , by al-Ḥumayd al-Muḥallī [apparently a multitext volume which also contains <i>al-Barāhīn al-zāhira</i> , by al-Ḥasan al-Raşşāş]	Nāmī, <i>Ba'ta</i> , p. 41; <i>Qā'ima</i> , p. 49 no. 41	—
<p>Notes:</p> <p>⁹ See also below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01311.</p> <p>¹⁰ See also below, Chapter Four, ZMT 01495.</p> <p>¹¹ See also below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01458.</p>			

In January 2000, a significant portion of al-Manṣūr's manuscripts were photographed, 150 items in total. Beside significant overlap with the codices described by al-Ḥibšī, the Stookey collection, and the Egyptian microfilms, the digital collection prepared in 2000 contains material that is not attested in al-Ḥibšī's handlist, the Stookey collection, or among the Egyptian microfilms. While some of these codices are evidently later acquisitions as is indicated by purchase notes that are dated after 1978 (see below, Chapter Three), others became part of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's library prior to this. This again confirms the partial character of al-Ḥibšī's handlist.

The manuscripts contained in the digital collection prepared in the year 2000, as well as scans of microfilms of the Stookey collection that originated in the Muḥammad al-Manṣūr library but were not among the material that was digitized in 2000, have now been included in the "Zaydi Manuscript Tradition" Project (ZMT), a joint project initiated by the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS), Princeton, New Jersey, in partnership with the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML) at Saint John's University, Collegetown, Minnesota. The Muḥammad al-Manṣūr collection is accessible under the shelfmarks ZMT 01310 through ZMT 01504 in HMML's *virtual* reading room (vHMML).²¹

The digital ZMT collection, together with the data provided by al-Ḥibšī for codices that are not available in digital form in vHMML, provide only an approximate estimation of the entire scope of the collection, at least up until the turn of the twenty-first century. Al-Ḥibšī described in his handlist a total of seventy-six codices—this figure is based on the assumption that the shelfmarks mentioned by al-Ḥibšī are correct. Since he described the individual texts contained in the numerous multitext volumes separately, and in the appropriate sections (see above), it is only on the basis of the shelfmarks that the overall contents of multitext volumes can be reconstructed—although it remains uncertain whether al-Ḥibšī included descriptions of all items of multi-text volumes, parts of which are described in his handlist. The digital collection consists of 150 codices, thirty-eight of which are described in al-Ḥibšī's list. The collection thus contains 112 codices, which are in addition to the seventy-six codices that are described in al-Ḥibšī's handlist. How much of the entire al-Manṣūr collection (as it existed in 2000) the total sum of 188 codices represents cannot be determined—in

²¹ Access to the entire collection is through <https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/> (accessed February 28, 2018). Search "ZMT" in the HMML Project Number field.

1978, when al-Ḥibšī's list was published, it would have been about two-thirds of the entire collection. Since al-Manṣūr continuously purchased manuscripts, there is no way to establish the total volume of his collection either in 2000 or even at the time of his demise.

Nor can it be determined when Muḥammad al-Manṣūr began to add shelfmarks to the manuscript codices in his possession, though it is certain that he started doing so before al-Ḥibšī began to prepare his handlist. Nevertheless, the chronological overview of his acquisitions as reflected in the dated purchase notes (see below, Chapter Three) shows that it must have been at a fairly late stage that the codices were given shelfmarks, since there is no evident congruence between the chronology of the purchases and the sequence of the shelfmarks, and in many cases the purchase notes have been added years or even decades later. Moreover, according to the data provided by al-Ḥibšī, two shelfmark systems were in place—simple numbers, which were used in most cases for single-text volumes, and combinations of numbers followed by “*mağāmi*” for multitext volumes.²² The division between single-text and multi-text volumes is not applied consistently, however. There are a fair number of multi-text codices that were assigned shelfmarks consisting of numbers only.²³ There are some cases in which al-Ḥibšī fails to record any shelfmark,²⁴ and there is at least

²² Al-Ḥibšī describes the following works with shelfmarks that suggest that they are part of multitext volumes: 1 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 362 no. 862); 2 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 406 nos. 974, 975); 3 *mağāmi* (Fihris, pp. 375 no. 895, 414 no. 992); 4 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 400 no. 959); 5 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 400 no. 957); 6 *mağāmi* (Fihris, pp. 365 no. 865, 366 no. 868, 374 no. 891, 389 no. 931, 403 no. 970, 406 no. 977); *mağmū'a raqm* 6 (Fihris, p. 387 nos. 926, 927); 7 *mağāmi* (Fihris, pp. 368 no. 876, 401 no. 961); 8 *mağāmi* (Fihris, pp. 368 no. 877, 377 no. 900, 378 no. 902); 9 *mağāmi* (Fihris, pp. 379 no. 908, 402 no. 965); 10 *mağāmi* (Fihris, pp. 363 no. 864, 372 no. 884); 11 *mağāmi* (Fihris, pp. 362 no. 861, 367 no. 872, 389 no. 932, 411 no. 987); 12 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 377 no. 901); 13 *mağāmi* (Fihris, pp. 377 no. 899, 392 no. 943, 398 no. 956, 401 nos. 960, 962, 410 no. 986); 14 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 391 no. 940); 15 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 382 no. 917); 16 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 397 no. 954); 19 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 397 no. 952); 27 *mağāmi* (Fihris, p. 406 no. 978).

²³ Shelfmark nos. 2 (Fihris, pp. 384 no. 921, 408 no. 983), 14 (Fihris, pp. 371 no. 880, 374 no. 890, 392 no. 942), 17 (Fihris, pp. 373 nos. 886, 887, 374 no. 892, 379 no. 909), 20 (Fihris, pp. 372 no. 883, 380 no. 912), 24 (Fihris, pp. 376 no. 898, 401 no. 963, 403 no. 969), 25 (Fihris, pp. 362 no. 863, 369 no. 879, 384 no. 919, 391 no. 938), 28 (Fihris, pp. 374 no. 889, 388 no. 930, 402 no. 967, 404 no. 971), 29 (Fihris, pp. 376 no. 897, 392 no. 944), 38 (Fihris, pp. 402 no. 966, 404 no. 972), 57 (Fihris, pp. 362 no. 860, 390 no. 936), 94 (Fihris, pp. 390 no. 937, 394 no. 949), 107 (Fihris, pp. 375 no. 893, 386 no. 924).

²⁴ Al-Ḥibšī, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya,” pp. 27 no. 22, 30 nos. 45, 48, 31 nos. 52, 55, 56, 57, 32 no. 63, 35 no. 86, 40, no. 134; al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, pp. 371 no. 881, 378 no. 903, 379 no. 907, 380 no. 911,

one case where the same shelfmark was assigned to more than one codex, according to al-Ḥibšī.²⁵

It is not entirely clear where the shelfmarks are marked on the codices. The digital surrogates often display the shelfmark numbers on the title page of the individual codices but in most cases the shelfmark recorded by al-Ḥibšī cannot be traced on the digital surrogates. It may well be that these were added to the spine of the codices or on one of the bookblocks. In some cases, where the shelfmarks recorded by al-Ḥibšī are visible in the digital surrogates, it is certain that these were not added by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr but rather by one of the previous owners (see below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01333, 01465, 01351, 01340). In other cases, it cannot be determined whether it was Muḥammad al-Manṣūr or a previous owner who added the shelfmark (see below, Chapter Three, ZMT 01315). Moreover, numerous multi-text volumes that are preserved in the digital collection suggest that yet another shelfmark system was introduced at some stage. These have a piece of paper glued onto the board, listing at times the titles included in the codex and displaying a shelfmark, such as *maǧmūʿa dāl* [ZMT 01492], etc. Assuming that the numbering is based on the *abǧad* system, none of those shelfmarks agrees with the *maǧāmiʿ* shelfmark system recorded by al-Ḥibšī.

381 nos. 914, 915, 916, 386 no. 922, 393 no. 946, 415 no. 995.

²⁵ Shelfmark no. 14 is assigned to a multitext codex (nos. 21 [880] and 31 [890]) and again to a copy of Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ġayt al-midrār šarḥ al-Azhār*, in four volumes (no. 82 [942]).

Chapter Three
Growth of the Library: An Analysis of Purchase Notes and Ownership Statements

While the material at hand provides at least a partial picture of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's personal library as far as its manuscript holdings are concerned, nothing is known about the printed books that were in his possession. During the reign of Imām Yahyā and by his order,¹ a few classical Zaydī texts that were part of the curriculum of the *madrasa al-ʿilmiyya* appeared in print in Ṣanʿāʾ. These include the *Kitāb Muntahā al-marām li-āyāt al-aḥkām* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mansūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (1924),² and *al-Kāšif li-dawī al-ʿuqūl ʿan wuḡūh maʿānī al-Kāfil* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Luqmān (1928),³ along with other classics, such as the *Amālī* by Imām al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020) (1936-37)⁴ and primers of anonymous authorship such as *Muḥtaṣar fī ʿilm taḡwīd al-Qurʾān* (1924),⁵ *Kitāb al-Bināʾ fī ʿilm al-ṣarf* (1924),⁶ and *Muḥtaṣar fī ʿulūm al-dīn yaḡīb ʿalā kull mukallaḥ muslim taʿlīmuhu* (1924).⁷ Publications by contemporary Yemeni authors also began being printed during the same period,⁸ and a growing number of works by Yemeni (mostly traditionalist) authors had appeared in print in Egypt from the turn of the twentieth century.⁹ All of these publications must have been of immediate interest to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, and over the next decades his exposure to printed books increased exponentially,

¹ See vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen*, p. 50; Messick, *The Calligraphic State*, pp. 115-119. See also Renaud, "Éléments de Bibliographie sur le Zaydisme," for an overview of published works by Zaydī authors both in and outside Yemen up until 1979.

² See Rossi, "La stampa nel Yemen," p. 571 no. 1; cf. al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-tafsīr wa-l-aḥkām*, no. 2).

³ See Rossi, "La stampa nel Yemen," p. 572 no. 1; Messick, "On the Question of Lithography," pp. 164-166; cf. al-Akwaʿ, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*uṣūl al-fiqh*, no. 1).

⁴ See Rossi, "La stampa nel Yemen," p. 572 no. 6.

⁵ See Rossi, "La stampa nel Yemen," p. 572 no. 2.

⁶ See Rossi, "La stampa nel Yemen," p. 572 no. 3.

⁷ See Rossi, "La stampa nel Yemen," p. 573 no. 7.

⁸ See Rossi, "La stampa nel Yemen," pp. 572-574.

⁹ See Rossi, "La stampa nel Yemen," p. 578-579; Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 206-210.

both in Yemen as well as during his travels.¹⁰ While nothing is known about his collection of printed books, this chapter demonstrates the central role that manuscripts played throughout his life. A fair number of codices in al-Manṣūr's collection contain purchase notes that allow insights into the growth of his collection over the decades. While the majority of notes are precisely dated, some contain additional information, such as prices and information about former owners, as well as details as to where Muḥammad al-Manṣūr acquired them and/or through whom.

This chapter discusses all codices among the digital surrogates of al-Manṣūr's collection that include purchase notes by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, in chronological order of the acquisition, beginning in 1354/1935 and up until 1406/1986. The respective ZMT number is followed, in pointed brackets, by the shelfmark of the codex in al-Manṣūr's library, to the extent that it is captured in the digital surrogates. For codices that are described in al-Ḥibšī's catalogue, reference to the latter is given, in square brackets, followed by the shelfmark in the Stookey microfilm collection for manuscripts that are represented among the microfilms. Each codex is briefly described, followed by a full quotation of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's purchase note as well as other related statements.

ZMT 01492 <mağmū'a dāl>

A codex of 121 leaves containing a supercommentary (*ḥāšiya*) by 'Abd al-Ġafūr al-Lārī (d. 912/1506) on the commentary by his teacher, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ġāmī ("al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ġāmī," b. 817/1414, d. 898/1492), *al-Fawā'id al-ḍiyā'iyya 'alā l-Kāfiya*, on Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥāḡib al-Kurdī's (d. 646/1249) book on syntax, *al-Kāfiya fī l-naḥw*. According

¹⁰ This comprised an array of literary genres including poetry. See, e.g., Taminian, "Persuading the Monarchs," pp. 209-210: "In the early 1930s, journals, poetry collections, and novels published in the Arab countries began to find their way to Yemen. They were brought to Yemen from Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon by passengers or by Yemeni students studying abroad. Publishers also sent journals as presents to the Imam, the princes, and high ranking state officials. The neo-classical poems of known Arab poets, especially the poetry of Ahmad al-Shawqi, an Egyptian poet, were widely read and appreciated by the younger literary elite. They also generated debates on the authenticity of neo-classical poetry in comparison to classical. Young poets and scholars were involved in the debates that were published in al-Barīd al-Adabi, a hand-written journal issued in 1943, and circulated among the elite of the main cities in Yemen." See also Renaud, "Éléments de Bibliographie sur le Zaydisme," pp. 312ff. Some indication as to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's travel activities throughout the Middle East, Africa, and Europe, can be gleaned from his *Lawāmi'*. See also *Fihrist kutub al-Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya*, passim, for books (printed books as well as manuscripts) that were available in the Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya by 1942. About half of its holdings were printed books.

to the colophon (fig. 39), the copy was completed towards the end (*al-‘uṣr al-awāhir*) of *Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa* 1165/October 1655 in the *masḡid al-Ḥulla* in al-Rawḏa. The copyist, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd al-Waḥṣ, relates that he produced the copy at the behest of Ṣafī al-Islām Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Imām. The latter is presumably the cousin of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq b. al-Mahdī—in 1168/1754-55 the two cousins set out together to *ḡabal Baraṭ* and from there to *bilād Wuṣāb*. See al-Akwa‘, *Hiḡar al-‘ilm*, vol. 3, p. 1588 no. 15. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was also, as it seems, the father of ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Mahdī (b. 1150/1737-38, d. 1220/1805-6). On the latter, see al-Akwa‘, *Hiḡar al-‘ilm*, vol. 3, pp. 1588-1589.

For al-Ḡāmī’s commentary on the *Kāfiya* and al-Lārī’s glosses, see GAL, vol. 1, p. 369 no. 13; GALS, vol. 2, p. 267; GALS, vol. 1, p. 533 no. 13. Al-Lārī had written glosses on several other works by his teacher; see Heer, *The Precious Pearl*, pp. 1-29. For Ibn al-Ḥāḡib and al-Ḡāmī as grammarians, see Sadan, *Subjunctive Mood*, Appendix B, 2.28 (p. 328), 2.50 (p. 335).

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr had purchased the codex in **Ḡumādā I 1354/August 1935** from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ḡirāfi, who was one of his teachers (see above). The following note is placed on the first page of the codex (fig. 2)—the hand is evidently not Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s and unlike other comparable notes of his, it is not signed by him:

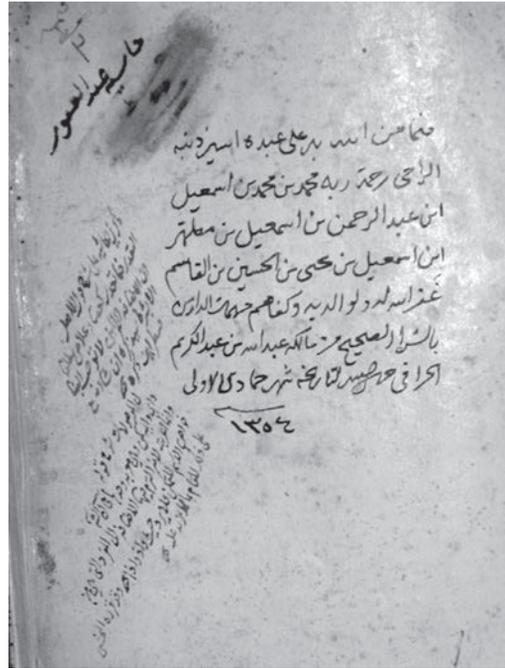


Fig. 2: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01492_002)

فيما من الله به على عبده اسير ذنبه | الراجي رحمة ربه محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | ابن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر | ابن اسماعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين بن القاسم | غفر الله له ولولديه وكفاهم محمات المارين | بالشراء الصحيح من مالكة عبد الله بن عبد الكريم | الجرافي ساعه الله بتاريخ شهر جمادى الأولى | سنة

1354

ZMT 01317 <2 mağāmi‘>

The codex of 150 leaves contains two works. These are identified on the title page of the codex as (1) *al-Tuḥfa al-‘aliyya wa-l-farḥa al-bahiyya al-musammāt bi-Sirr al-‘ulūm min al-manṭūr wa-l-manzūm al-‘ağīb wa-mā uḥtira min al-aš‘ār al-rā’iqa min ta’hīl al-ğarīb* and (2) *Kitāb Man ġāba ‘anhu l-muṭrib*, by ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Ṭa‘ālabī (b. 350/961, d. 429/1039), a prominent literary figure in Ḥurāsān.

A second manuscript of the first title of uncertain authorship is attested in another unidentified private library of Yemen, see <http://k-tb.com/manuscript/brnamjyamen0036-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D9%81%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A9%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%A9%D8%A8%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%88%D9%85%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%86%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B8%D9%88%D9%85> (accessed February 28, 2018).

The second title, *Man ġāba ‘anhu al-muṭrib*, is not included in the digital surrogate. For this work (published repeatedly), see Orfali, “The Works of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha‘ālabī,” p. 289 no. 17.

Muḥammad purchased the codex on **19 Ramaḍān 1354/15 December 1935** from the codex’s first owner, al-Qāḍī ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṣābiġ al-Buraī (fig. 40); for al-Buraī, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 1, pp. 253-254. The note reads as follows:

من مواهب الله تعالى | على عبده اسير ذنوبه | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل المطهر | ساحمهم الله بالشراء
الصحيح | من مالكة اولا القاضي عبد الله | بن محمد الصايغ البرعي ساحمهم | الله جميعا وغفر لهم وللمؤمنين
اجمعين | آمين حرر ليلة الأحد الموافق | 19 شهر رمضان سنة 1354

ZMT 01319 <55>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 390 no. 935]

A codex of some 390 leaves containing *al-Taḍkira al-muḥarrara fī fiqh al-‘itra al-ṭāhira*, by Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naḥwī (d. 791/1389). The manuscript, which is incomplete, with text at the end missing, has numerous glosses in the margin and additional slips of paper that are glued into the codex throughout. The end of the text as preserved

in the codex corresponds to p. 748 line 4 of Ḥumayd Ḡābir ‘Ubayd’s edition of the work (Ṣan‘ā’ 1427/2006).

For the work, commonly known under the title *al-Taḍkira al-fāhira fī fiqh al-‘itra al-tāhira*, and its author, see al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 211-212; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 279-280 no. 786; GAL, vol. 2, p. 237 no. 3.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a purchase note retrospectively, on 26 Ṣawwāl 1390/25 December 1970, relating that he bought the codex through the mediation of his maternal uncle, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, most likely in 1354/1935-36 or even before that date. The title page also has a shelfmark, “55,” most likely added by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (fig. 41):

من كتب المفترق الى رحمة الله | وغفرانه محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر | المنصور ساجهم الله آمين بالشراء |
بواسطة الخال سيدي محمد بن محمد بن علي المنصور حفظهم الله من زمنية لعله | سنة 1354 أو قبلها وحرر
هذا | في 26 شوال سنة 1390 هـ | محمد بن محمد ساجها الله آمين

ZMT 01430

A codex of 138 leaves containing *Iḡābat al-sā’il šarḥ Buḡyat al-āmil bi-naẓam al-Kāfil*, by Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Amīr al-Ṣan‘ānī (b. 1099/1688, d. 1182/1768). According to the colophon (fig. 42), the copy was transcribed by Ismā’īl b. Aḥmad, who may tentatively be identified as Ismā’īl b. Aḥmad al-Ġirāfī (b. 1331/1913; on him see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar*, pp. 186-187; al-Akwa’, *Hiġar al-‘ilm*, vol. 1, pp. 369-370). It was completed on 26 Ġumādā I 1352/16 September 1933.

The work relates to the author’s *Buḡyat al-āmil fi naẓm al-Kāfil*, which is a versification of the renowned *Kitāb al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su’l fi ‘ilm al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Bahrān (d. 957/1550), on legal theory. The *Iḡābat al-sā’il* has been published as *Uṣūl al-fiqh al-musammā Iḡābat al-sā’il šarḥ Buḡyat al-āmil*, li-l-Imām al-muḥaddiṭ Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Amīr al-Ṣan‘ānī (Ṣan‘ā’ / Beirut 1408/1988). For the work and its author, see al-Waḡīḥ, *A’lām*, pp. 863-872 no. 929; al-Akwa’, *Hiġar al-‘ilm*, vol. 4, pp. 1815-1857 no. 17; al-Ḥibšī, “Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Amīr al-Ṣan‘ānī”; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, p. 189;

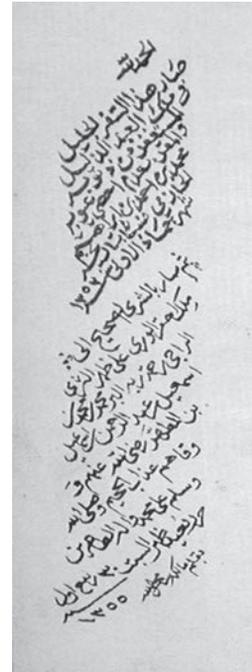


Fig. 3: MS Ṣan‘ā’,
Maktabat Muḥammad
al-Manṣūr
(ZMT_01430_002)

al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 45 no. 66, 209 no. 567; vol. 2, p. 370 no. 2550; for the *Kitāb al-Kāfil* and its author, see also GALS, vol. 2, p. 557 no. 1b.

On the title page of the codex, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr placed his ownership statement below that of the previous owner, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāzimī, from whom he acquired the codex on **30 Rabī' I 1355/20 June 1936** (fig. 3). Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥāzimī had also added his ownership note onto the final page of the codex (see fig. 42). For the different branches of the Āl al-Ḥāzimī, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 1, pp. 807-809. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's purchase note reads as follows:

ثم صار بالشراء الصحيح الى | ملك احقر الورى على ظهر الثرى | الراجي رحمة ربه البر محمد بن محمد بن |
اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل | بن المطهر رضي الله عنهم | وقاهم عذاب الجحيم وصلى الله | وسلم
على محمد وآله الطاهرين | حرر بعيد ظهر السبت 30 ربيع اول | سنة 1355 | بقلم مالكه صاحبه الله

ZMT 01359 <35>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 407 no. 980; Stookey microfilm collection, E.6 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 5 Micro)]

A slim codex of 20 leaves, containing *Sulwān al-muṭā' fi 'udwān al-atbā'*, a work in the literary genre of "Mirrors for Princes," *Fürstenspiegel*, the most popular book of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥafṣ al-Ḥāzimī (d. 565/ 1169). The text begins on fol. 1r and is interrupted after fol. 4r (fols 1r-4r corresponding to pp. 113-122 line 12 of the printed edition edited by Muḥammad Aḥmad Damaḡ, Beirut 1416/1995). While fol. 4v is not preserved in the digital copy, the digital surrogate continues with fols

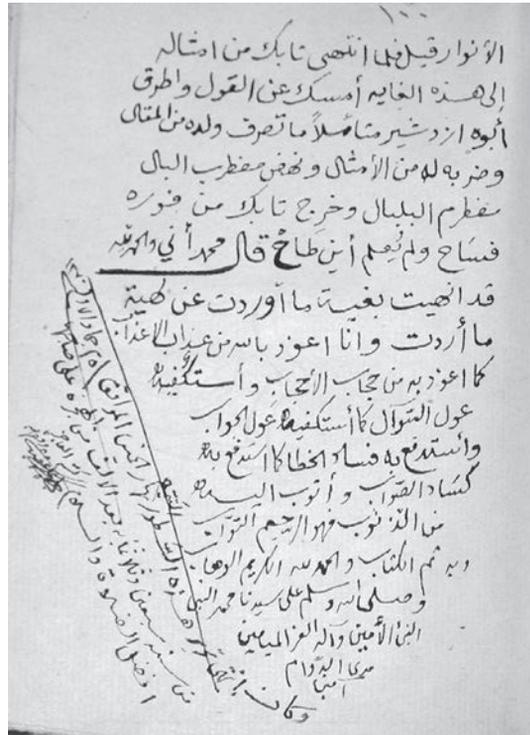


Fig. 4: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01359_021)

86v-100r, corresponding to pp. 293 line 6-321 of the printed edition. The text is concluded with a colophon dated 25 Ġumādā I 1370/4 March 1951, signed by one ‘Alī (?) b. ... (fig. 4):

وكان انتهى تحرير هذه السطور التتمة (؟) نهار الخميس الموافق 25 جمادى الاولى سنة 1370 | من سنة
سبعين وثلاثمائة بعد الالف من الهجرة على صاحبها | افضل الصلاة والسلام كتبه العاجز اقر عباد الله علي
(؟) بن ...

For the *Sulwān al-muṭā’*, which has been published repeatedly, and its author, see GAL, vol. 1, p. 431 no. 5.i; GALS, vol. 1, p. 595A; Dekmejian and Thabit, “Machiavelli’s Arab Precursor: Ibn Zafar al-Ṣiqillī”; Demiri, “Ibn Zafar” (with further references).

The date mentioned in the colophon conflicts with the date mentioned in the ownership statement by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, which is added to the title page of the codex, viz. **Ṣafar 1355/1936**, i.e., some fifteen years earlier. The last four pages of the codex (fols 98r line 4-100r) are written in a different hand than the preceding leaves, and the colophon evidently refers only to those last pages, which were added at a later stage to complete the work, as is suggested by the wording *intahā tahrīr hādihī l-sutūr*. Some decades later, in 1390/1970-71, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added some further details as to how he purchased the codex, which originally belonged to Māṭar b. ‘Ayḏa al-Sawdī, the brother of Muḥammad al-Sawdī, through the mediation of al-Ḥāġġ Ḥusayn Dūsī (fig. 5). The two notes, of 1355 AH and of 1390 AH, read as follows:

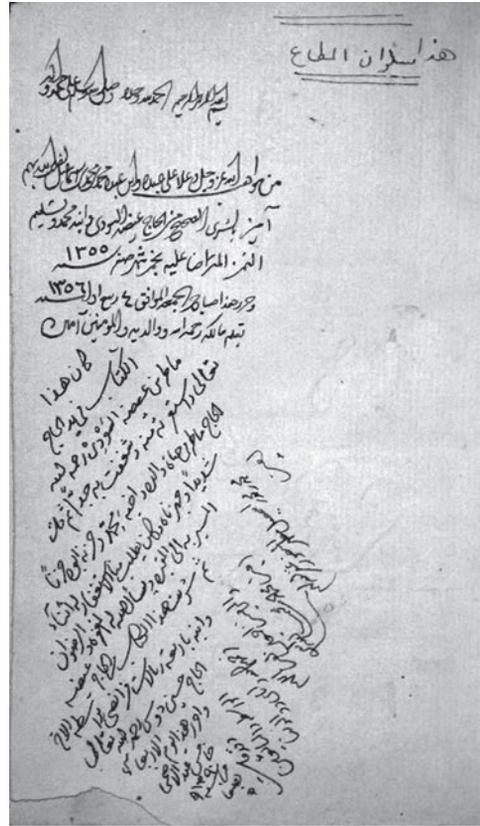


Fig. 5: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01359_002)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله وسلم على محمد وآله

من مواهب الله عز وجل وعلا على عبده وابن عبده محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل لطف الله بهم | آمين بالشراء الصحيح من الحاج عيضة السوداني وابنه محمد وتسليم الثمن المتراضى عليه نجم شهر صفر سنة 1355 | وحرر هذا صباح الجمعة الموافق 4 ربيع اول سنة 1356 | بقلم مالكة رحمه الله والديه والمؤمنين آمين

كان هذا | الكتاب في يد الحاج | ماطر بن عيضة السؤدي رحمه الله | تعالى واستعترته وشغفت به جداً ثم مات | الحاج ماطر في حياة والده واخيه محمد وحزنه أبوه حزناً | شديداً وجمهزناه وكان يطلب منا الاستغفار له أثناء | المسير به الى المقبرة ونسأل الله له المغفرة والرضوان | ثم شريت له هذا الكتاب من الحاج عيضة | وابنه باربعة ريات فرانصي (?) بواسطة الأخ | الحاج حسين دوسي رحمه الله تعالى | وأحرر هذا يوم الأربعاء | خامس عيد الأضحى من سنة 1390 بصنعاء

ZMT 01448 <64>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 366, no. 869]

A codex of 239 leaves, containing the *Kitāb Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd*, i.e., the *Amālī* of Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī (b. 157/773, d. 247/861), in the recension of Abū Ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Yazīd al-Murādī (alive in 252/866). The work is divided into five parts (*aǧzāʾ*, sg. *ǧuzʾ*). Part One is paginated (76 pages), and a new pagination starts with Part Two (out of the total of 38 pages the first eleven are paginated)—the remainder of the codex is neither paginated nor foliated. Parts One, Two, and Three, together with Four respectively are concluded by brief undated colophons. Part Five is incomplete and the end of the text as preserved in the codex corresponds to vol. 3, p. 1633 line 12 of the published work (Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, *Kitāb Raʾb al-ṣadʾ*, Beirut 1410/1990). Throughout the codex there are occasional margin notes which seem to be in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, and in a few cases these are signed as م م م.

Muḥammad relates in the ownership statement on the title page of Part One of the work (dated Ġumādā I 1382/October 1962) that he purchased the codex in or before **1360/1941**, through the mediation of al-Ḥāǧǧ ʿAbd Allāh ʿAqīq (fig. 43):

في دول المفتقر الى رحمة الله ناظر الوصايا | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن | مطهر بن اسماعيل المنصور غفر الله لهم آمين | بالشراء بواسطة الحاج عبد الله عتيق حررته قديماً قبل نحو سنة 1360 | وحرر بتاريخ 4 شهر جمادى الأولى يوم الثلاثاء بصنعاء | سنة 1382

ZMT 01459 <67>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 367 no. 874; Stookey microfilm collection, O.3 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 15 Micro)]

A codex of 103 foliated leaves containing *Salāḥ al-mu'min*, a work on *du'ā* in twenty-one chapters, by the Damascene scholar Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazarī (“Ibn al-Ġazarī,” b. 751/1350, d. 833/1429). The colophon (fol. 103r) relates that the copy was completed in Ramaḍān 1283/January-February 1867. The shelfmark as mentioned by al-Ḥibšī (“67”) is not visible in the digital surrogate of the codex. For the author, see EI2, vol. 3, p. 753 (M. Ben Cheneb).

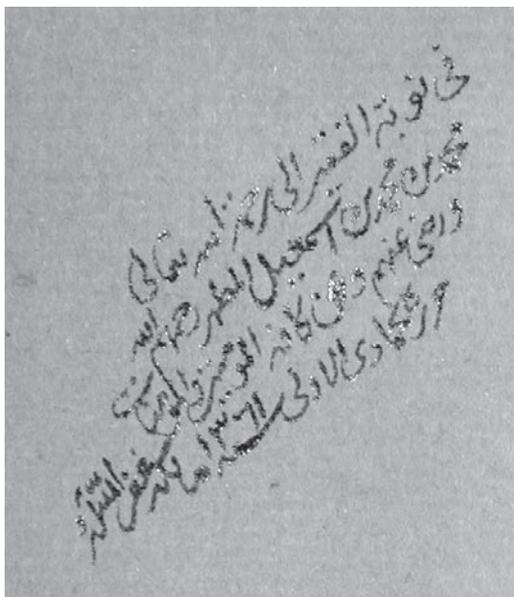


Fig. 6: MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01459_001)

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a brief ownership statement dated to **Ġumādā I 1361/May-June 1942** on the page that precedes the title page (fig. 6):

في نوبة الفقير الى رحمة الله تعالى | محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل المطهر رحمهم الله | ورضي عنهم وعن كافة
المؤمنين والمؤمنات | حرر بالجمادى الأولى سنة 1361 مالكة غفر الله له

ZMT 01374 <10 maḡmū‘a>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, pp. 363 no. 864, 372 no. 884]

A multitext volume of 130 leaves containing the following works: (1) a brief anonymous work with numerous references to Ibn al-Ḥāḡib; (2) the title page (only) of *al-Kāšif li-ḍawī* [*l-‘uqūl*] ‘an *wuḡūh masā’il al-Kāfil*, a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su’l fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bahrān (d. 957/1550); (3) *Kitāb al-Badr al-sārī*, an autocommentary on *Kitāb Wāsiṭat al-darārī fī tawḥīd al-Bārī*, a dogmatic treatise by Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-šahīr bi-l-Muftī (d. 1049/1639-40 or 1050/1640-41). For the works and its author, see al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, pp. 144-145; al-Akwa’,

Hiġar al-‘ilm, vol. 3, pp. 1635-1636 no. 34; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 196 no. 529, vol. 3, p. 141 no. 3261; (4) *Kitāb Waqf Ḥamza wa-Hišām ‘alā l-hamz*, by Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Qāsim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Murādī b. Umm Qāsim (d. 749/1348-49); for the work and its author, see GAL, vol. 2, p. 27 no. 6; GALS, vol. 2, p. 16 no. 6 (10). For additional attestations of this work, see *Arabic Union Catalogue* (www.arug.org) *raqm al-ḍabṭ* 11202827275 [<http://www.aruc.org/ar/web/auc/search;jsessionid=D640EECB5F8FF57D6C6B85DC189C5548?page=FullDisplay&searchType=Bib&mId=2827275> (accessed February 28, 2018)]; (5) *Kitāb Asnā al-‘aqā‘id fī ašraf al-maṭālib wa-azlaq al-maqāsid*, by Imām al-Nāšir al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Dāwūd al-Yamānī al-Hādawī (d. 1024/1615 or 1025/1616). For the work and its author, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 122 no. 305; al-Akwa‘, *Hiġar al-‘ilm*, vol. 4, pp. 2197-2198 no. 1; al-Waġīh, *A‘lām*, pp. 334-336 no. 319.

Muḥammad al-Manšūr received this codex as a gift from his teacher, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ahdal (on him see above). The latter wrote a note to that effect on the title page of *Kitāb al-Badr al-sārī* which is partly cut off. Below his teacher’s note Muḥammad al-Manšūr adds an explanatory note, identifying the hand in the aforementioned note as being that of his teacher and adding that it was **between 1363/1944 and 1370/1950-51**, during one of his visits to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s house, that he received the codex as a gift (fig. 44):

هذا بقلم الوالد عبد الرحمن بن محمد الأهدل | رحمه الله تعالى والهبة كانت ما بين | سنة 1363 هـ وسنة
1370 هـ في إحدى زياراتي | إلى منزلته وحرر هذا يوم | 30 سلخ شوال سنة 1390 هـ | محمد بن محمد بن
اسماعيل مطهر المنصور | غفر الله لهم آمين

ZMT 01367

A multitext volume of 201 folios containing the following works, written by different hands: (1) *Burda*, a poem in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, by Šaraf al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Būšīrī (b. 608/1212, d. between 694/1294 and 696/1297). On the work and its author, see Daub, *Formen und Funktionen*; (2) Parts One and Two of *Kitāb “Aḥbār” Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* of Abū l-Faraġ ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Išfahānī (b. 284/897, d. 356/967). The two parts are paginated individually: Part One concludes with a colophon (page 136) dated 24 Muḥarram 1069/October 1658 and signed by the copyist, ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Hādī b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Qāsim b. Abī l-Faḍā’il b. Muḥammad b. al-Amīr al-Mustanšir bi-llāh Ibrāhīm b. al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā. Part Two

is incompletely preserved; the end of the text as preserved in the codex corresponds to p. 457 line 12 of the published work (Nağaf 1385/1965). On the *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, see Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen*; (3) several pages containing various correspondences; (4) *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, a work on genealogy by al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ašraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf b. Rasūl, Sultan of Yemen (d. 696/1296). The text is again paginated and covers pp. 1 through 39 and was completed on 25 Rabī II 1060/April 1650, by Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd al-Habal (?). The work has been edited by Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen (b. 1866, d. 1953) (Damascus 1949). On Zetterstéen’s edition, see also the review by Werner Caskel, *Oriens* 5 (1952), pp. 364-365.

The portion containing al-Iṣfahānī’s *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* was given to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr by his teacher, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ahdal. A note to this effect by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is found on the title page of al-Iṣfahānī’s work, dated to Ġumādā II 1365/May 1946. To this Muḥammad al-Manṣūr again adds an explanatory note, dated 14 Šaʿbān 1367/22 June 1948 (fig. 45), which reads as follows:

ملك المفتقر الى رحمة الله وغفرانه | محمد
 بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن
 اسماعيل بن المطهر | رحمهم الله جميعاً
 رحمة واسعة هدية من مالكة | بالهبة كما
 تراه عقيب هذا | تاريخ 14 شعبان
 سنة 1367 | يوم الاثنين | 14

On the title page of *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb* there is another note by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ahdal (dated 10 Ġumādā I 1362/15 May 1943), followed by a purchase note by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, in which the latter relates that he bought the codex from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s son, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, in **Ġumādā II 1375/January-February 1956**. This suggests that the individual texts contained in the codex were bound together only at a later stage. Muḥammad’s note (fig. 7) reads as follows:

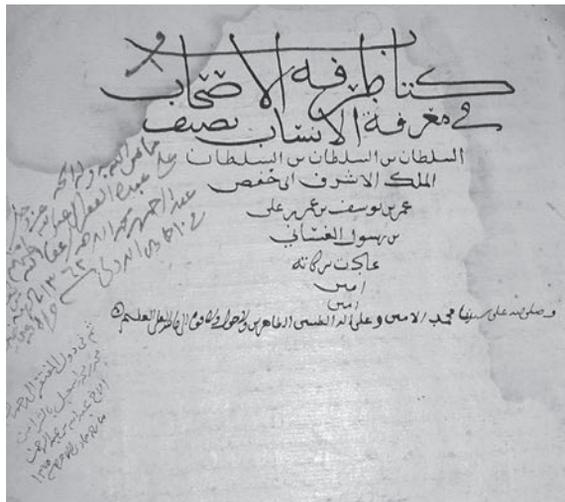


Fig. 7: MS Šanʿāʾ, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01367_184)

ثم في دول المفتقر الى رحمة [الله] | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بالشراء من | الأخ عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن |
بتاريخ جادى الاخرى سنة 1375

ZMT 01329 <96>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 410 no. 985; Stookey microfilm collection, B.11 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 2 Micro)]

A codex of 110 leaves, containing *al-Ḥāṣir li-fawā'id al-Muqaddima fī 'ilm al-i'rāb*, a commentary on the *Muqaddima fī 'ilm al-i'rāb* by the Egyptian grammarian Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābašād al-Naḥwī al-Miṣrī (“Ibn Bābašād,” d. 469/1077), by Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (b. 669/1270, d. 749/1348-9).

For the *Muqaddima* and its author, see Haarmann, *Ibn Babashadh's "Muqaddima": An Arabic Grammatical Treatise of the 11th Century A.D.*; Sadan, *Subjunctive Mood*, Appendix B 2.24 (p. 327); EI2, vol. 10, pp. 103-104 (M. G. Carter). For commentaries written on the text, including the *Ḥāṣir*, see al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmi' al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 3, pp. 2111-2113. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza's commentary was published under the title *al-Ḥāṣir li-fawā'id Muqaddimat Ṭāhir fī 'ilm ḥaqā'iq al-i'rāb* (ed. Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥanṭāya, Ṣan'ā' 2007); see also the edition and study by Muḥammad Abdul-Rahman, *A Critical Edition of Al-Ḥāṣir li-Fawā'id al-Muqaddima*.

The title page has an ownership statement (partly cut off) by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, dated to Ġumādā II 1378/December 1958-January 1959, in which he relates that he purchased the codex about ten years earlier or more, i.e., around **1368/1948-49** (fig. 46):

ثم من كتب الفقير | [الى] عفو الله محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | ابن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر ... | لهم
بالشراء قبل عشر سنين فصاعداً | وحرر جادى الاخرى سنة 1378

ZMT 01458

[Stookey microfilm collection, J.8 with K.2 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reels 10 and 11 Micro)]

A volume of 400 pages in the oblong format (“*saḥīfa*”) containing numerous pieces of poetry, copied by several hands, including a fair number of pieces that were transcribed by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, which appear on the first and the last pages of the codex. The codex also has numerous margin notes in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, often signed as م م. On

one occasion Muḥammad identifies the hand as that of his cousin and foster-brother, Yaḥyā b. Muṭaḥhar, adding that the latter was born on 24 Šawwāl 1324/11 December 1906 in Šahāra and that he died on 30 Ramaḍān 1394/17 October 1974 in Ṣan‘ā’ (fig. 47):

هذا خط أخي يحيى بن مطهر بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن هو ابن عمي وخالي
أخو أمي من الأم وأخي من الرضاعة | من جدتي أم أمي رحمه الله تعالى مات
بصنعا يوم عيد الفطر سنة 1394 ومولده في 24 شوال سنة 1324 بشهارة |
لعله في بيت لعساجي وكتب محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل غفر الله لهم اجمعين

The first page of the codex has an ownership statement dated to **Rabī I 1368/January 1949** (fig. 8). The handwriting suggests that the note was not written by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr himself:

في دول المفتقر | الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد | بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | ابن
اسماعيل بن المطهر | ساعحه تعالى آمين | بتاريخ شهر ربيع الأول | 1368

ZMT 01339

A codex of 212 pages containing *Hāšiyat Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt fī ḍikr faḍl al-‘ulamā’ wa-‘ilmihim wa-muṣannafātihim wa-l-ṭanā’ ‘alayhim min man ‘āṣarahu al-muṣannif raḥimahu llāh ta‘ālā wa-man māta qablahu*, also known as *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāḡim riḡāl al-Zaydiyya al-atyāb*, by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Yamanī al-Šan‘ānī (b. 1035/1625, d. after 1099/1688). The copy was produced at the behest of the work’s author and completed in Ġumādā I 1094/April-May 1683 (Part One; see colophon fol. 102r) and Ġumādā II 1094/May-June 1683 (Part Two; see colophon fol. 209v). On the work and its author, see al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, p. 518; Gochenour, “A Revised Bibliography,” p. 314. (On the codex, see also below, Chapter Four).

In addition to occasional margin notes throughout the codex (see, e.g., pp. 38, 39, 68), Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added an ownership statement to the title page (fig. 9), dated **29 Dū l-Qa‘da 1369/12 September 1950**, which reads as follows:

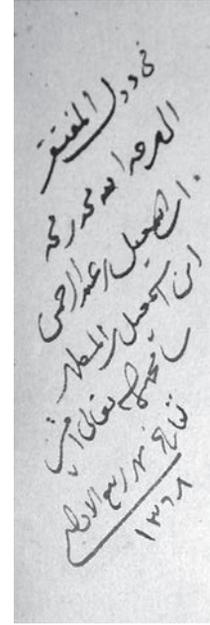


Fig. 8: MS
Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat
Muḥammad
al-Manṣūr
(ZMT_01458_002)

ثم ساقته يد الاقدار الالهية الى يد الفقير الى رحمة الله | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل | ابن المطهر بن اسماعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين | ابن القاسم لاطفهم الله | في الدارين آمين | 29 القعدة الحرام | سنة 1369

ZMT 01333 <“88”>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 391 no. 939]

A codex of 174 leaves containing the *Ziyādāt* by Imām al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 333 / 944, d. 411/1020), consisting of *fatāwā* of al-Mu‘ayyad that were collected by Abū l-Qāsim b. Tāl al-Hawsamī *al-ma‘rūf bi-l-Ustād*. The copy is dated 24 Rabī II 776 / October-November 1374 and the name of the copyist is Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Suhayl al-Šabāṭī al-Nizārī (see colophon on fol. 174r). On this work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, pp. 204-205 no. 105, 230 no. 118.

Muḥammad al-Manšūr’s ownership statement on the title page is dated **14 Dū l-Qa‘da 1370/17 August 1951**, and there is also a stamp that is placed next to it (fig. 48). The shelfmark “88,” which appears on the upper outer corner of the title page and which is also recorded by al-Ḥibšī in his catalogue evidently does not originate with Muḥammad al-Manšūr. The ownership statement reads as follows:

صار في ملك المفتقر | الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | ابن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر | غفر الله لهم اجمعين | 14 القعدة الحرام سنة 1370

ZMT 01488 <mağmū‘a tā’>

Multitext volume of 58 leaves, containing two works: (1) *Kitāb al-Amṭāl fī makārim al-aḥlāq* (fols 1-20v). While no further information on the work is

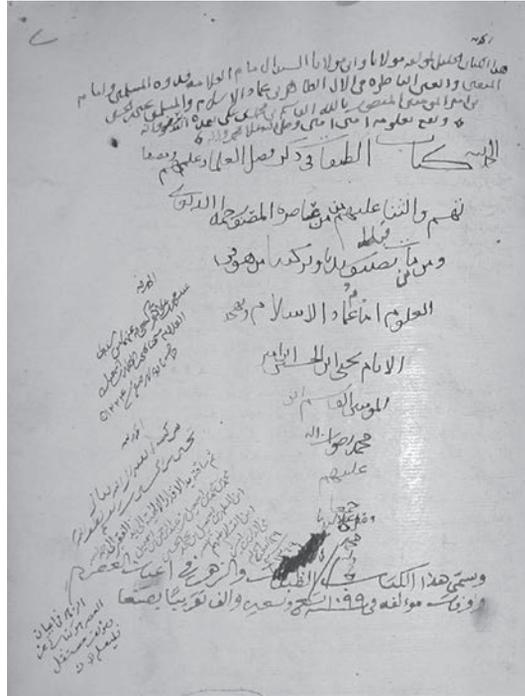


Fig. 9: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01339_004)

given in the codex itself, the text seems to be identical with Chapter Five of Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Bakrī’s (d. 487/1094 or 496/1103) *Faṣl al-maqāl fī šarḥ Kitāb al-Amṭāl* (Khartoum 1958). For Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh, see EncIslam, vol. 2, pp. 672-677 (Enayatollah Reza); (2) *Kitāb al-Qalā'id wa-l-farā'id fī aḥkām al-siyāsa wa-naẓm al-riyāsa* (fols 21r-57r). Again, no author is given for this work, the beginning parts of which are missing.

Muḥammad al-Manšūr’s ownership statement on the title page of the codex (partly cut off) is dated to **Ġumādā I 1371/28 January 1952** (fig. 10) and reads as follows:

ثم ساقته يد الاقدار الصمدانية | الى يد المفتقر الى رحمة
الله محمد بن محمد بن اساعيل | ابن عبد الرحمن بن
اساعيل بن مطهر بن اساعيل بن يحيى ... | غفر لهم
ولنويمهم آمين | اللهم آمين جادى الاولى | سنة 1371
هـ | آمين | محمد بن محمد سامحها الله

ZMT 01360 <50>

A codex of 625 pages (paginated throughout) containing Part One (*al-ṭum̄n al-awwal*) of *Šarḥ al-Taḥrīr*, also known by the title *al-Ġāmī fī l-Šarḥ*, by Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Kalārī (fl. fifth /eleventh century), a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Taḥrīr fī l-kašf ‘an nuṣuṣ al-a'imma al-naḥārīr* by Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 340/951–52, d. 424/1033). The first leaf was evidently missing—Muḥammad al-Manšūr added a ruled bifolio to the codex which contains the text that is missing in the beginning.

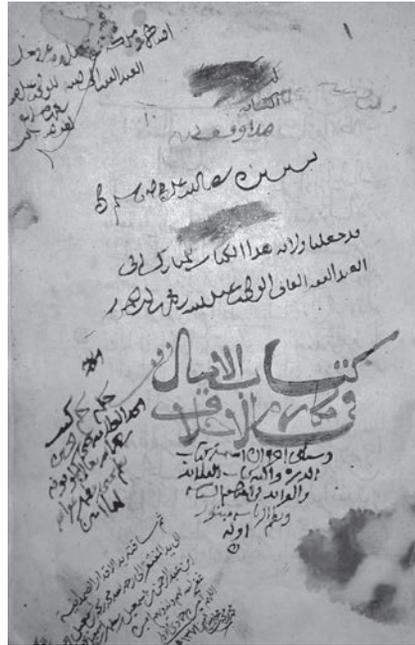


Fig. 10: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01488_002)

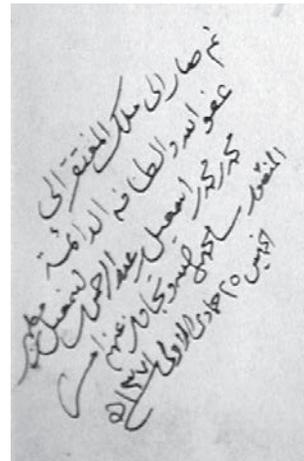


Fig. 11: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01360_002)

The *Kitāb al-Taḥrīr* has been published in the edition of Muḥammad Yaḥyā Sālim ‘Azzān (Ṣan‘ā’ 1997). On the *Taḥrīr*, see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 178-179; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 253 no. 701. On the author of (the still unpublished) *al-Ġāmī‘ fī l-Šarḥ* and extant manuscripts of the work, see al-Waḡīḥ, *A‘lām*, pp. 449-450.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s ownership note on the title page of the codex is dated to **25 Ġumādā II 1371/21 February 1952**, and there is a shelfmark “50” on the upper left corner of the title page, which may well be in his hand (fig. 11). The note reads as follows:

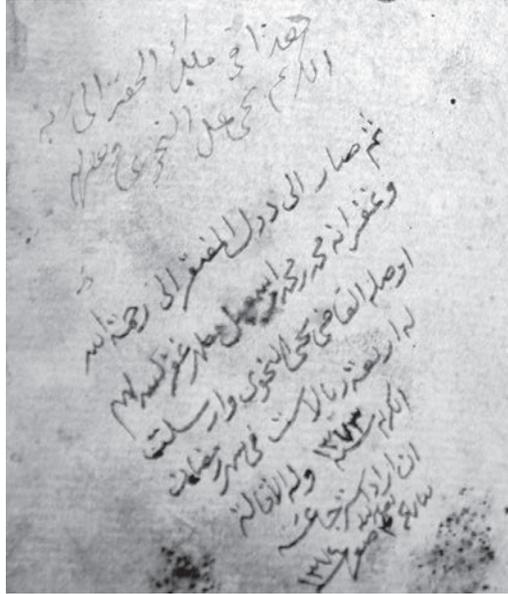


Fig. 12: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01318_002)

ثم صار الى ملك المفترق | الى عفو الله والطفاهه الدائمة | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل
بن مطهر | المنصور ساجهم الله وتجاوز عنهم آمين | الخميس 25 جمادى الأولى سنة 1371 هـ

ZMT 01318

An incomplete copy of *al-Taḍkīra al-fāḥira fī fiqh al-‘itra al-ṭāhira* by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naḥwī (d. 791/1389), containing the beginning of the work. The digital surrogate of the codex, which carries several layers of margin commentaries, consists of only 17 leaves, and the end of the text in the digital surrogate corresponds to p. 56 line 16 of Ḥumayd Ḡābir ‘Ubayd’s edition of the work (Ṣan‘ā’ 1427/2006). It is uncertain whether the physical original comprises additional material. On the first page of the codex Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added an ownership statement in which he relates that the codex was given to him by al-Qāḍī Yaḥyā l-Naḥwī and that he had sent to the latter in **Ramaḍān 1373/May 1954** four *riyāls* in return. Muḥammad’s note follows upon an ownership note of the previous owner, Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Naḥwī (fig. 12):

ثم صار الى دول المفتقر الى رحمة الله | وغفرانه محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر غفر الله لهم | اوصله القاضي
يجبي النحوي وارسلت | له اربعة ريات في شهر رمضان | الكريم سنة 1373 وله الاقالة | ان اراد
استرجاعه | بتاريخ لعله ليلة 4 صفر سنة 1374

ZMT 01465 <62>

The codex of 121 leaves contains a partial copy of *Šarḥ al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aqā'id* by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-Nağrī (d. 877/1472–73). On the work and its author, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, p. 174 no. 1971; al-Wağīḥ, *A'lām*, pp. 616–618 no. 635. According to the colophon on the final page of the codex, the copy was completed on 17 Ramaḍān 1077/13 March 1667, by the hand of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Zaylāī, and this at the behest of Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Sa'īd b. Ibrāhīm *al-mulaqqab bi-l-Zaylāī*. At the end of the codex there is a statement recording the purchase of the manuscript by Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šalāḥ *al-muhtasib* from the previous owner, Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan, with a barely legible date. Muḥammad al-Manšūr adds a brief comment (dated to Ğumādā II 1406/February–March 1986), in which he explains that the correct reading of the date is Ša'bān 1099/June 1688 (fig. 49). For the 'Alī al-Zaylāī, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 2, pp. 733–735. Throughout the codex there are additional margin notes by Muḥammad al-Manšūr, signed as م م.

The shelfmark that is recorded on the upper edge of the title page (“62”) seems to have been written by the same pen that was used to record another anonymous ownership statement, which appears to its left. The name of the owner has been wiped out and remains illegible. On the same page, there is a statement on the purchase of the manuscript by Muḥammad al-Manšūr through a dealer whom he describes as “al-Ġabalī,” for the price of five and a half *riyāls*, dated **28 or 29 Rabī' II 1374/24 or 25 December 1954**. While the statement seems to be written by a different hand, it has been signed by Muḥammad al-Manšūr (fig. 50). The statement reads as follows:

في دول المفتقر الى | عفو الله ورحمته محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر | غفر الله لهم آمين بالشرء بواسطة
الجبلي الدلال | وتسليم الثمن اليه بخمسة ريات ونصف بتاريخ | 29\28 شهر ربيع آخر سنة 1374 | محمد بن
محمد ساجحها الله

ZMT 01315 <77>

A codex of 260 leaves, containing Part Two (*al-ğuz' al-tānī*) of *al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār* by Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–

37), together with margin glosses throughout the codex, in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, as it seems (the notes are not signed for the most part).

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr adds a note on the title page, dated Ğumādā I 1414/November-December 1993, in which he relates that he had purchased the codex some forty years earlier, i.e., around **1374/1954-55** (fig. 51):

اخيراً في ملك محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر | المنصور غفر الله لهم شراء قبل اربعين سنة | من تاريخ هذا
تقريباً وحرر جادى الاخرة سنة 1414 | محمد بن محمد صاحبه الله

ZMT 01478

Multitext volume containing numerous texts, mostly poetry, including *Nafaḥāt al-as'ād ilā bulūġ al-murād* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ğār Allāh Maṣḥam al-Ṣa'dī al-Yamanī (d. 1181/1767). For another manuscript of the *Nafaḥāt al-as'ād*, see <http://totfim.com/Books/Details/5372> (accessed February 28, 2018) and <http://totfim.com/Manuscripts/Details/16506> (accessed February 28, 2018). For the author, see al-Šawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī*, pp. 618-619 no. 405; al-Waḡīh, *A lām*, pp. 855-858 no. 920.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr relates that he had purchased the codex on **13 Ğumādā I 1375/28 December 1955** from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān [al-Ahdal] (see below, ZMT 01375) and he adds some lines of poetry on the title page (fig. 52):

ثم صار بملك المفتقر الى رحمة الله | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور | بالشراء من الأخ عبد الله | بن
عبد الرحمن وحرر | 13 جادى الاولى سنة 1375

ZMT 01375 <5>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 415 no. 996]

A codex of 220 leaves (paginated up until page 118), containing the complete text of *Kitāb al-'Ibar fī ḥabar man ġabar* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḍahabī (d. 806/1404), covering the years one through 700 AH, as well as the author's *Ḍayl al-'Ibar*, together with the *Ḍayl* of Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī and an anonymous summary (*muḥtaṣar*) of *Mīzān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-riḡāl* by al-Ḍahabī. Al-Ḍahabī's *Ibar* was published in the edition of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid (5 vols, Kuwait 1960-6). The codex also contains the complete text of al-Ḍahabī's *Ḍayl al-'Ibar*, covering the years 701 through 740 AH (published in the edition of 'Abd al-Muṭallib, pp. 13-215), followed by another addendum (*Ḍayl*) covering the years 741 through 763 AH by Abū l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-

‘Irāqī al-Šāfi‘ī (b. 725/1325, d. 806/1403) which is opened by a brief *tarğama* by the author. The codex ends with several shorter texts, notes, and excerpts. Al-Ḍahabī’s *‘Ibar* together with his *Ḍayl* were also published in the edition of Abū Ḥāğir Muḥammad al-Sa‘īd b. Basyūnī Zağlūl (Beirut 1985).

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr had bought this codex in **Ġumādā II 1375/January-February 1956** from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (fig. 53):

بملك المفتقر الى رحمة الله | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر سباحم الله | بالشراء من السيد عبد الله بن عبد
الرحمن الأهدل | بتاريخ جادى الاخرة سنة 1375

ZMT 01457

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, pp. 362 no. 861, 367, no. 872]

A codex of 60 leaves containing responsa of Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620) to various questions posed to him.

The codex was presented to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr as a gift by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad al-Ahdal in **Muḥarram 1377/July-August 1957**. The additional note, by the former owner, to which Muḥammad refers in his statement, is not preserved in the digital surrogate of the codex (fig. 54):

اهدى لي حاكم المراد عبد الله بن | عبد الرحمن محمد الأهدل رضي الله عنه ورحم مثواه | بهذه النسخة كما تراه
بخطه في الحامية | الأولى قبل هذه | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور رحمهم الله جباغًا | محرم سنة
1377

In 1377/1958-9, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr purchased a number of codices from the heirs of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kuḥlānī. These include the following codices (ZMT 01472, 01476, 01436, 01467, 01364, 01365, 01311, 01334, 01370):

ZMT 01472 <28 / mağmū‘ ‘ayn>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, pp. 374 no. 889, 388 no. 930, 402 no. 967, 404 no. 971; Stookey microfilm collection, B.7 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 2 Micro)]

A multitext volume consisting of 242 unfoliated leaves, containing, among other shorter texts and correspondences: (1) *Kitāb Mağmū‘ min al-*

šū'ār, poems written by Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Wazīr (b. 921/1515, d. 985/1577) for Šams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad; (2) *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā l-mulhid*, an account of Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī's (d. 246/860) discussions with a sceptic in Egypt that was most likely written down by one of Imām al-Qāsim's sons (see Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 100). The text has been published in al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, *Mağmū' kutub wa-rasā'il*, vol. 1, pp. 291-318; (3) *Kitāb al-Ihlīlā*, attributed to Imām Ġa'far al-Šādiq (d. 148/765); the work has been published in the edition of Ḥusayn Mahmal Ḥasan Mahmal al-Mağzī (Šan'ā' 2009); (4) *Miṣbāḥ al-šarī'a wa-miftāḥ al-ḥaqīqa*, attributed to Imām Ġa'far al-Šādiq (published, with Persian translation, Tehran 1363[/1984]); (5) *Kitāb al-Šafwa* li-Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (published in the edition of Ḥasan Muḥammad Taqī al-Ḥakīm, Beirut 1992).

The codex was purchased from the heirs of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī in **Ramaḍān 1377/March-April 1958**. The manuscript has two ownership notes by Muḥammad al-Manšūr, the one on the first page of the *Kitāb Mağmū'* (fig. 55), and another one on the title page of *Miṣbāḥ al-šarī'a* (fig. 56). While both notes record the purchase as having taken place at the same time, it is likely that the two texts were only later brought together into a single codex—the second note is dated to Raġab 1382/November-December 1962.

The first ownership statement, which is accompanied by a stamp, reads as follows:

في نوبة المفتقر الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد بن | اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر بن اسماعيل بن
يجي بن | الحسين بن المنصور بالله القاسم بن محمد غفر الله لهم آمين اللهم آمين | بالشراء من ورثة الوالد محمد
| ابن محمد الكحلاني | رحمه الله تعالى في شهر رمضان الكريم سنة 1377

The second ownership statement reads as follows:

من فضل الله سبحانه وتعالى | ... هذا الكتاب إلى [يدي وتصرفي] | بالملك والملك لله وحده ... | الاقدار
إلى بالشراء من ورثة [الوالد محمد بن] | محمد الكحلاني رحمه الله تعالى في شهر رمضان [الكريم] | سنة 1377
وأنا المفتقر الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد | ابن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل | ابن مطهر بن اسماعيل بن
يجي الذي | تملكه من قبل الحسين بن القاسم غفر الله | لهم ولنا أجمعين آمين وحرره | لعله 29 شهر رجب
الفرد 1382

ZMT 01476

Multitext volume of 318 unfoliated leaves, containing the following twelve works: (1) *Kitāb al-Taṣfiya ‘an al-mawānī’ al-muhlika al-murdiyya*, a work on religious ethics by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī (d. 711/1311–12). On the work and its author, see al-Ḥusaynī *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 290–291; Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, p. 220; Madelung, “Zaydī Attitudes to Sufism,” pp. 128–129; cf. also al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 126, 324; (2) *Kitāb al-Uṣūl al-ṭamāniya fī l-īmān bi-llāh wa-l-yawm al-āḥar wa-l-malā’ika wa-l-kitāb wa-l-nabiyyīn wa-l-‘imma al-ṭāhirīn*, by Muḥammad b. Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā’īl al-Ḥasanī (d. 284/897–88), the son of Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860). On the work and its author, see al-Waḡīh, *A’lām*, pp. 978–979 no. 1049; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 131 no. 332 (“al-Uṣūl al-yamāniyya”); cf. also Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, passim. The present text, as well as other writings of his, have been published in Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, *Maḡmū’ kutub wa-rasā’il*; (3) *Kitāb al-Diyāna*, by Imām al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911). The text has been published in al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq, *al-Maḡmū’ a al-fāhira*, pp. 153–158. On the work, see also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 367 no. 1057; (4) *Kitāb al-Ḥaṣiyya*, by al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq. The text has been published in *al-Maḡmū’ a al-fāhira*, pp. 593–594; (5) *Kitāb al-Uṣūl fī l-dīn*, by al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq. The text has been published in *al-Maḡmū’ a al-fāhira*, pp. 133–139. On the work, see also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 129 no. 326; (6) a brief text entitled *Tawḥīd ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*; (7) *al-Bāliḡ al-mudrik*, by al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq (copy dated 4 Rabī’ I 1060/7 March 1650). The text has been published in *al-Maḡmū’ a al-fāhira*, pp. 147–152. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 191 no. 517; (8) *Kitāb Kanz al-raṣād wa-zād al-ma’ād*, another work on ethics, by Imām al-Hādī ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī (r. 879/1474–900/1495). Published, with glosses by ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi’ī, Cairo: s.d., ca. 1925; see Rossi, “La stampa nel Yemen,” p. 579. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, p. 390 no. 2615; Madelung, “Zaydī Attitudes to Sufism,” p. 136; (9) a short unidentified text on ethics; (10) *Kitāb Kasr al-šahwatayn* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111), this being Book XXIII of his *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn*. An edition of the text is included in Ġazālī, *Ādāb al-nikāh*, pp. 77–126; for an English translation, see Ġazālī, *On Disciplining the Soul*; (11) an epistle by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī to Abū l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Dimašqī; (12) *Kitāb al-‘Aṣr ḥiṣāl fī l-tazawwud li-l-māl* by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥayr (the last part of which is incomplete); for this brief work on ethics, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, p. 262.

This codex was purchased from the heirs of Muḥammad [b. Muḥammad] al-Kuḥlānī in **Rağab 1377/1958** (fig. 57):

في دول المفتقر الى رحمة الله | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | بن مطهر غفر الله لهم آمين |
بالشراء من ورثة الوالد محمد بن [محمد] | الكحلاني في رجب من سنة 1377 في شهر ... | المبارك

ZMT 01436 <68>

A codex of 86 leaves containing Part One of *Tārīḥ Rawḥ al-rūḥ fīmā ḥadaṭa ba‘da l-mi‘a al-tāsi‘a min al-fitan wa-l-futuḥ* by ‘Isā b. Luṭf Allāh b. al-Muṭaḥhar b. al-Imām Šaraf al-Dīn al-Kawkabānī al-Šan‘ānī (b. 986/1578-79, d. 1048/1638). The copy was completed on 22 Ġumādā II 1334/26 April 1916. The scribe adds that he had transcribed the codex by order (*bi-‘ināya*) of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kuḥlānī, and he identifies himself as Šāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq.

On the work and its author, see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 229-231; al-Wağīḥ, *A‘lām*, pp. 739-740 no. 806 (al-Wağīḥ erroneously mentions 1084 AH as his year of death). The work has been published in the edition of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Maḥḥafī (Šan‘ā’ 1424/2003); see also <http://zaidiah.com/articles/2190> (accessed February 28, 2018).

The title page has Muḥammad al-Manšūr’s note, dated to Šawwāl 1390/November-December 1970, in which he relates that he had purchased the codex from the heirs of Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī, “many years ago,” most likely in **1958-9** when he had bought other codices from the same seller (fig. 58):

في يد المفتقر إلى رحمة الله | ومغفرته محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل مطهر المنصور | تجاوز الله عنهم بالشراء من
ورثة | الوالد محمد الكحلاني رحمه الله قبل | سنوات بتاريخ | شوال 1390 هـ

ZMT 01467

The codex, which consists of 309 pages, contains two works: (1) *Šarḥ Nukat al-‘ibādāt wa-ğumal al-ziyādāt* of al-Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Ġa‘far b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Buhlūlī (“Qāḍī Ġa‘far,” d. 573/1177), copy completed on 10 Rabī II 1063/10 March 1653 (pages 1-219); on this work, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, p. 198 no. 2032; (2) *Durar al-qalā‘id wa-nukat al-farā‘id*, by Šāliḥ b. Manšūr al-Kūfī (pages 225-279), copy completed in Dū l-Qa‘da 1055/December 1645-January 1646. The last pages of the codex contain several responsa by various *imāms* (pages 280-308). The two works have been published in the edition of al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭwarī al-Ḥasanī under the title *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya fī l-masā‘il*

al-marḍiyya: Šarḥ Nukat al-‘ibādāt, ta’līf Šams al-Dīn Ġa’far b. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaḥyā ‘Abd al-Salām. *Wa-yalīhi Kitāb Durar al-qalā’id wa-nukat al-farā’id*, ta’līf Šālīḥ b. Maṣṣūr al-Kūfī, 2nd edition (Šan‘ā’ 2004).

On the title page of the codex there is an ownership statement dated to Šawwāl 1390/November-December 1970. In it, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr relates that he purchased the codex from the heirs of Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī “years ago,” most likely in **1958-9** when he had purchased other codices from the same seller. The title page also carries Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī’s ownership statement (fig. 59):

من دول | محمد بن محمد بن إساعيل مطهر المنصور | غفر الله لهم بما شريت من | ورثة الوالد محمد بن محمد |
الكحلاني رحمه الله | قبل سنوات وحرر | في شوال سنة 1390 هـ

ZMT 01364

A codex of 210 leaves (foliated up to fol. 131) containing an undated copy of the first volume of *Iqd al-aḥādīt fī ‘ilm al-mawārīt* of al-Faḍl b. Abī l-Sa’d al-‘Uṣayfirī (fl. seventh/thirteenth century). On the work, possibly an autocommentary on his *Miftāḥ al-fā’id*, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, p. 265 no. 2230.

The title page has an ownership statement, dated to Šawwāl 1390/November-December 1970, in which Muḥammad al-Manṣūr relates that he purchased the codex from the heirs of Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī earlier on, most likely in **1958-9** when he had purchased other codices from the same seller (fig. 13):

في دول محمد بن محمد بن اساعيل مطهر | المنصور غفر
الله لهم بالشراء | من ورثة محمد الكحلاني | رحمه الله
(؟) قديماً (؟) | وحرر في شوال سنة 1390 هـ

ZMT 01365 <59>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 407 no. 981]

The codex, consisting of 330 pages, contains *Fatḥ al-ḥāliq fī šarḥ Maḡma’ al-ḥaqā’iq wa-l-raqā’iq fī madā’ih rabb*

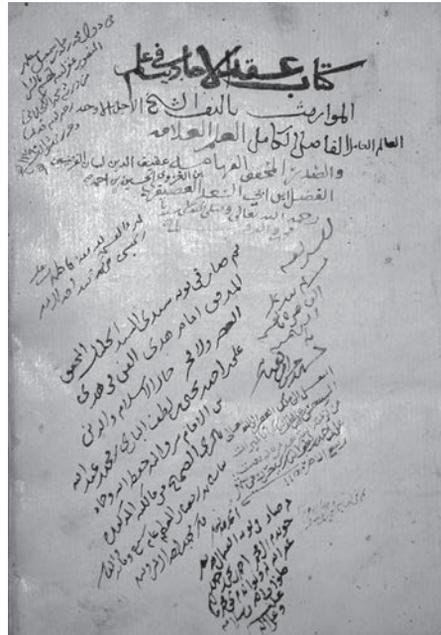


Fig. 13: MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01364_002)

al-ḥalā'iq by Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī (b. 1099/1688, d. 1182/1768), a commentary on the *Mağma' al-ḥaqā'iq wa-l-raqā'iq fī mamādiḥ rabb al-ḥalā'iq*, a *dīwān* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr al-Ṣan'ānī (“Ibn al-Wazīr,” d. 840/1436). The copy was completed at the beginning of Rağab 1353/October 1934, in Bi'r al-'Azab, at the behest of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh al-Šāmī (b. 1289/1872, d. 1381/1962); on the latter, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar*, pp. 358-361; cf. also Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, p. 211. The name of the copyist is not disclosed in the colophon on page 330.

On the work, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, pp. 306 no. 2359, 422 no. 2711; al-Ḥibšī, “Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī,” pp. 167-168 no. 182; al-Wağṭh, *A'lām*, p. 870. It has been edited by Barakat Allāh Ḥabīb Allāh Karāmat as an M.A. dissertation entitled *Faḥḥ al-ḥāliq fī šarḥ Mağma' al-ḥaqā'iq wa-l-raqā'iq fī mamādiḥ rabb al-ḥalā'iq li-l-Imām Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ṣalāḥ al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī: Taḥqīq wa-dirāsa* (Mecca 1422/[2001]).

On one of the pages preceding the main text there is an ownership statement by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī, followed by a note in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, dated to Šawwāl 1390/November-December 1970, in which the latter states that he purchased the book from the heirs of Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī “years ago,” most likely in 1958-9 when he had purchased other codices from the same seller (fig. 60):

ثم في يد المفتقر الى رحمة الله تعالى | محمد بن محمد بن
اسماعيل مطهر المنصور بالشراء | من ورثة الكحلاني
قبل سنوات حرر | شوال سنة 1390 هـ

ZMT 01311 <61>

[Stokey microfilm collection, N.8 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 14 Micro)]

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added an undated ownership statement to the title page (fig. 14) of the codex, which

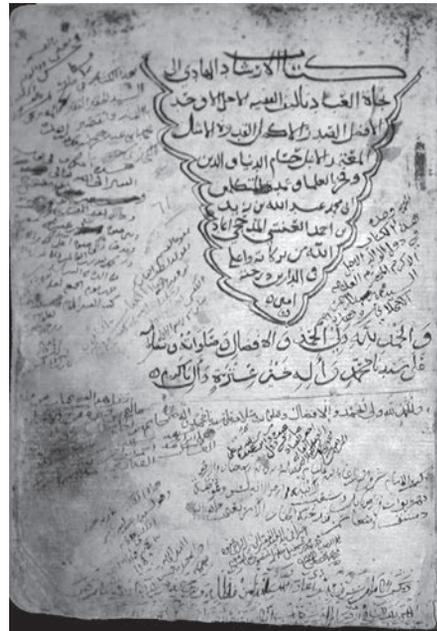


Fig. 14: MS Ṣan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01311_002)

consists of 141 (unfoliated) leaves and contains an undated copy of the *Kitāb al-Iršād al-hādī ilā nağāt al-ibād* by ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī (b. 593/1196–97, d. 667/1268). The title page also has an ownership statement by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kuḥlānī, which suggests that the codex was among those Muḥammad al-Manṣūr purchased in the 1950s from the heirs of its previous owner. Al-Manṣūr’s ownership statement reads as follows:

اخيراً في يد العبد الفقير الى ربه الراجي عفوه | ناظر الوصايا محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور رضي
الله عنهم | محمد بن محمد ساجدها الله امين

ZMT 01334 <40>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 367 no. 873; Stookey microfilm collection, G.6 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 7 Micro)]

A codex of 51 (unfoliated) leaves, containing *al-Safīna fī l-ad‘iya al-ma’tūra* by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Aḥmad b. Hāšim b. Muḥsin (d. 1269/1853), with two levels of commentary in the margins. The work, which is better known as *al-Safīna al-munğiya fī mustaḥlaṣ al-marfū‘ min al-ad‘iya* (published Ṣan‘ā’ 2003), has the end part missing.

On the work and its author, see Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, vol. 1, pp. 1, 235-241; al-Wağīh, *A lām*, pp. 194-196 no. 187.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr adds a brief note (dated 14 Dū l-Ḥiğğa 1382/8 May 1963) following Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī’s ownership statement to the title page of the codex. This again suggests that the codex was among those Muḥammad al-Manṣūr purchased in the 1950s from the heirs of its previous owner (fig. 61):

ثم في دول محمد بن محمد بن | اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن | اسماعيل بن مطهر بن اسماعيل | وحرر 14 الحجة
| سنة 1382 | يوم الاربعاء

ZMT 01370 <8>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 403 no. 968; Stookey microfilm collection, O.2 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 15 Micro)]

A codex of 314 leaves, containing *Kanz al-asrār wa-lawāqih al-afkār* by Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar al-Ṣanhāğī (“qādī Azammur,” d. 795/1393) (copy dated 14 Dū l-Qa‘da 908/11 May 1503). The work is available in the

edition of Belkacem Daouadi, *Le trésor des secrets et des idées fécondes du Qâdi Azmûr al-Shahîr bi, Al-Şanhâjî (m. en 795/1392)* (Lyon 2006).

The title page has two notes by Muḥammad al-Manşūr. One of them is placed right beneath Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kuḥlānī's ownership statement. This suggests that the codex was among those Muḥammad al-Manşūr purchased in the **1950s** from the heirs of its previous owner (see above). A second ownership note is dated to Raġab 1382/November-December 1962—whether the date reflects the date he purchased the codex or whether he added this note (and possibly the first one) later on cannot be determined (fig. 62):

ثم في دول المفتقر الى عفو الله ومغفرته | ورضوانه محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | ابن اسماعيل بن
مطهر بن اسماعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين | ابن القاسم بن محمد غفر الله لهم أجمعين آمين
عارية الله سبحانه في يد عبده | ناظر الوصايا محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل سالمهم الله | آمين | الاربعاء سلخ
شهر رجب سنة 1382

ZMT 01382

A multitext volume of 135 (unfoliated) leaves containing the following six works: (1) *Šarḥ al-sudûr bi-šarḥ al-mawtā fi l-qubûr* by Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). The work has been published repeatedly (see bibliography); (2) *Kitāb Ma'rifat al-ḥiṣāl al-mukaffira li-l-dunûb al-muqaddama wa-l-mu'aḥḥara*, by Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449); (3) *Iršād al-nuqqād ilā taysir al-iġtihād* of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr al-Şan'ānī (b. 1099/1688, d. 1182/1768) (copy dated 7 Rabī I 1161/7 March 1748). The work has been published repeatedly (see bibliography); on this work, see also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 110 no. 269; al-Waġīḥ, *A'lām*, p. 865; al-Ḥibšī, "Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr al-Şan'ānī," p. 148 no. 10; (4) queries by al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kibī (b. 1116/1704-5, d. 1201/1786-87) to the author of the previous work, *Iršād al-nuqqād*; (5) *Su'āl al-Ḥāmid b. Šākir fi ṣalāt al-ġum'a* with a responsum by Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr al-Şan'ānī to a query posed by Ḥāmid b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Šākir al-Şan'ānī (d. 1173/1759-60), which is published; see al-Waġīḥ, *A'lām*, p. 864 ("Ġawāb su'āl fi ṣalāt al-ġamā'a"). For Ḥāmid b. Ḥasan, see al-Waġīḥ, *A'lām*, pp. 290-291 no. 266; (6) an extract from (*wa-min*) *Musnad* Amīr al-mu'minīn Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The *Musnad* has been published as *Musnad al-Imām amīr al-mu'minīn Abī l-Ḥasan*

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, compiled by ‘Azīz Allāh al-‘Aṭārīdī [al-Ḥabūšānī] (Tehran 1386[/2001]).

The title page has an ownership statement that is dated **18 Ġumādā I 1378/1958**. Unlike most of his other ownership statements, in this one Muḥammad explicitly mentions where he wrote it, viz. in al-Ḥudayda in the “Dār al-Ittiḥād” (fig. 63):

في دول المفتقر الى | عفو الله وواسع رحمته محمد بن محمد بن | اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر
بن اسماعيل | تجاوز الله عنهم آمين وحرر ليلة الاحد لعله 18 شهر جادى الأولى سنة 1378 | بالحديدة
بدار الاتحاد بقلم مالكة سباحه الله آمين

ZMT 01450

A multitext volume of 85 leaves, containing (1) *Taḥrīr al-qawā'id al-mantiqiyya fī šarḥ al-Šamsiyya* by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 766/1364) (published repeatedly). The copy, dated 27 Šā'bān 919/28 October 1513, was transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad; (2) an anonymous medical work consisting of tables with names of diseases, entitled *Arqām fihrist a'dād al-amrād*, with detailed discussions.

Muḥammad al-Manšūr added a brief ownership statement on the title page of the codex, dated **Rağab 1380/December 1960-January 1961** (fig. 64):

في دول محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور | ساعهم الله شهر رجب سنة 1380

ZMT 01351 <85>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 367 no. 871]

A foliated codex of 342 leaves, containing *Ġam' al-wasā'il fī šarḥ al-Šamā'il* by ‘Alī b. Sulṭān al-Harawī al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605), a commentary on a work by Muḥammad b. Īsā al-Tirmidī (b. 209/824, d. 279/892) on the life and characteristics of the Prophet Muḥammad, *al-Šamā'il al-muḥammadiyya*; see al-Ḥibšī, *Ġāmi' al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 2, p. 1283. The copy was transcribed by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir in Medina, who completed the work on 24 Dū l-Ḥiğğa 1173/7 August 1760. The book has been published together with the commentary by ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Munāwī al-Miṣrī (Cairo 1317[/1899]).

It seems doubtful that the shelfmark “85” on the first page of the codex, which otherwise contains only a table of contents of the work (*hādā fihrist al-Šamā'il al-šarīfa*) was added by Muḥammad al-Manšūr. On the second page of the work, there is a purchase note, in which Muḥammad relates that he bought the codex in **Šafar 1381/1961** in Cairo in the vicinity of the shrine

of al-Ḥusayn for the price of eighty *qirš* (fig. 65). This seems to refer to the shrine of Ra's Ḥusayn in Cairo, see Talmon-Heller [et al.], "Vicissitudes of a Holy Place," pp. 192ff. Al-Manṣūr's purchase note reads as follows:

ملك المفتقر الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر | ابن اسماعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين بن القاسم بن محمد | غفر الله لهم جميعاً بالشراء من جوار سيدنا | الحسين عليه السلام بالقاهرة بثمانين قرش | بتاريخ صفر سنة 1381 هـ

ZMT 01345

A codex of 173 leaves, containing *Taysīr al-maṭālib fī Amālī al-Sayyid Abī Ṭālib al-Hārūnī*, a recension of the *Amālī* by Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 340/951–52, d. 424/1033) by al-Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ġa'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ġa'far," d. 573/1177). The work is concluded with a colophon dated 28 Ramaḍān 1338/15 June 1920, and the scribe identifies himself as 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥammūd b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad. On the work (published repeatedly, see bibliography), see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 347–348 no. 1005.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added an ownership statement to the codex, which is dated **25 Ġumādā II 1385/21 October 1965**. In it he also mentions the previous owner, namely Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥammūd al-Marwanī, evidently the son of the copyist. For Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥammūd al-Marwanī (b. 1357/1938–39), see al-Waḡīh, *A'lām*, p. 939 no. 1014. The title page also contains the latter's ownership statement (dated 25 Muḥarram 1377/22 August 1957) (fig. 15). Al-Manṣūr's statement reads as follows:

ثم صار بالشراء من الولد محمد بن عبد الملك الى ملك | كاتب الأحرف المفتقر الى عفو الله ورحمته محمد بن محمد | ابن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر بتاريخ | ليلة الاربعاء 25 جادى الثانية سنة 1385 | على صاحبها وآله الصلوة والتسليم محمد بن محمد صاحبها الله

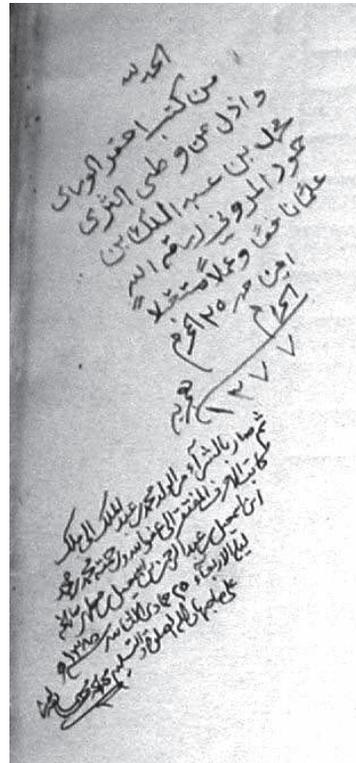


Fig. 15: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01345_006)

ZMT 01310 <39>

[Hībšī, *Fihrist*, p. 371 no. 882; Stookey microfilm collection, J.7 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 10 Micro)]

A codex of 369 pages (paginated throughout) containing *al-Iršād al-hādī ilā šarḥ Manzūmat al-Sayyid al-Hādī*, a commentary by ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Abū Ṭālib al-Rawḍī (b. 1224/1809-10, d. 1309/1891) on *al-Manzūma al-rā’iyya fī uṣūl al-dīn* of al-Sayyid al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr. The copy was completed on 22 Ramaḍān 1351/19 January 1933 (see colophon, page 369). On the work and its author, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 110-111; al-Waḡīh, *A’lām*, pp. 560-561 no. 566.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr dates the purchase of the codex to **25 Ğumādā II 1385/21 October 1965** and he adds his stamp to the purchase note. Although he does not mention the previous owner, there is an ownership statement on the title page by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥammūd al-Marwanī and it is likely that al-Manṣūr bought this codex from this scholar (as is the case with ZMT 01345, see above) (fig. 66). Al-Manṣūr’s note reads as follows:

ثم انتقل إلى دول المفتقر إلى عفو الله | ورحمته محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | بن إسماعيل بن
مطهر تجاوز الله عنهم أجمعين | بالشراء ليلة الأربعاء 25 جمادى الثانية | 1385 هـ على صاحبها وآله الصلاة
والسلام | محمد بن محمد صاحبها الله

ZMT 01466

A codex of 255 leaves containing *al-Anwār al-hādiya li-ḍawā l-‘uqūl ilā ma’rifat maqāṣid al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su’l*, a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su’l fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Bahrān (d. 957/1550), by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥābis al-Dawwārī (d. 1061/1651) (copy completed in Ša’bān 1335/May-June 1917). Muḥammad al-Manṣūr relates in his ownership statement, dated **Rabī’ II 1386/July-August 1966**, that he purchased the codex from the heirs of his teacher (*šayḥunā*) Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Kuḥlānī, who had died in Šafar 1386/May-June 1966, for the price of 10 *riyāls*. For Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kuḥlānī, one of the teachers of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, see above. The purchase note, which is placed on the title page (fig. 67), reads as follows:

في دول المفتقر | إلى رحمة الله الواسعة و | مغفرته الجامعة محمد بن محمد بن | إسماعيل مطهر المنصور صاحبها
الله | آمين بالشراء من ورثة الوالد العلامة | شيخنا أحمد بن علي الكحلاني | رضوان الله [و] يغشاه وقد توفي
| في شهر صفر سنة 1386 بصنعاء | وحرر في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة 1386 | الثمن عشرة ريالاً | محمد بن
محمد صاحبها الله آمين

Prior to the title page there is a page containing several pieces of poetry (fig. 68). Muḥammad al-Manṣūr identifies the hand responsible for the upper two lines as that of Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Šāmī. Al-Manṣūr later on added that Aḥmad al-Šāmī was the owner of the codex before it became the property of Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Kuḥlānī, from whom al-Manṣūr bought the codex (al-Manṣūr refers to his purchase note on the title page). In addition to this, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr adds some lines of poetry of his own, which he dates to 1 Raġab 1386/1 Nov. 1966. For Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šāmī (b. 1324/1906, d. ?), see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 92–94.

ZMT 01468

An (unfoliated) codex of 244 leaves containing the *Šawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawā‘id al-tafḍīl fī l-āyāt al-nāzila fī Ahl al-Bayt*, by the Ḥanafī author ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥākīm al-Ḥaskānī al-Nīsābūrī (d. after 470/1077–78). On the work (published), see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, pp. 231ff. and passim. The colophon that concludes the work provides additional details on its transmission among the Zaydīs of Yemen (fig. 16). Muḥammad al-Manṣūr relates in his purchase note on the title page that he bought the codex in **Rabī‘ II 1386/July-August 1966** from Yaḥyā al-Daylamī (fig. 69):

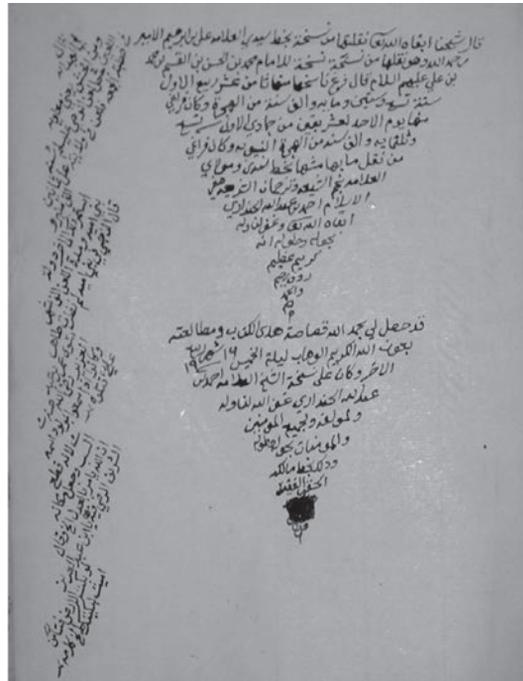


Fig. 16: MS Ṣan‘ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01468_245)

في دول المفتقر إلى رحمة الله تعالى | محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | بن إسماعيل بن مطهر بن
إسماعيل | بن يحيى بن الحسين بن القاسم المنصور | غفر الله لهم بالشراء من الولد العباد | يحيى الديلمي
شريك الفخري عبد الله عتيق اليوم | الماضي بتاريخ شهر ربيع الثاني سنة 1386 هـ

Yaḥyā al-Daylamī is possibly the father of the litterateur (*adīb*) ‘Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Daylamī with whom Muḥammad al-Manṣūr travelled at

some stage to Jordan and for whom the latter composed on this occasion a poem.¹¹

ZMT 01340 <86>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 407 no. 982; Stookey microfilm collection, G.1 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 7 Micro)]

A codex of 724 pages (paginated throughout) containing *al-Farağ ba'da l-šidda*, the renowned compilation of anecdotes by al-Qāḍī Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin b. 'Alī al-Tanūhī (b. 329/941, d. 384/994) (copy dated 3 Ġumādā II 1084/16 September 1673; see colophon on page 721), which was first published in 1903-4 in the edition of Muḥammad al-Zuhrī al-Ġamrāwī; on this edition, see the review by D. S. Margoliouth in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1905), pp. 425-426.

It seems again unlikely that the shelfmark “86,” which is added twice to the upper edge of the title page (fig. 70) is in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. In his purchase note Muḥammad relates that he bought the codex in **Rabī II 1386/July-August 1966** from the heirs of “al-Wālid al-Ṣafī” for the price of 7 *riyāls*.

ثم في دول | المفتقر إلى رحمة الله
الواسعة | ومغفرته الجامعة محمد بن محمد
بن | إسماعيل مطهر المنصور | ساحمهم
الله بالشراء من ورثة الوالد | الصفي
رضي الله عنه بسبعة ريالات شهر ربيع
| الثاني سنة 1386 | محمد بن محمد
ساحمها الله آمين

ZMT 01390

This slim volume of six leaves contains a holograph by the Egyptian author Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Salāṭīn (b. 1336 /1917, d. 1395/1975), a brief

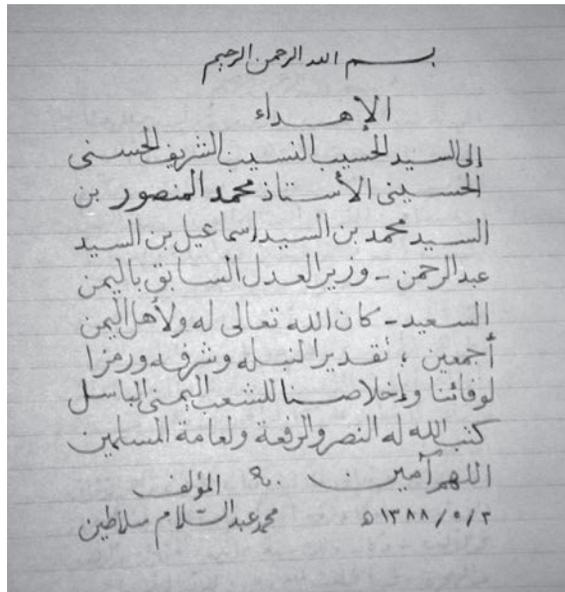


Fig. 17: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01390_002)

¹¹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, pp. 217-218, see also *ibid.*, p. 273.

biographical work that seems not to be attested elsewhere, *Mūğaz al-burūq al-mu'nisa fī tarāğim al-ašraf al-adārisa: Mulūkan wa-ru'ūsan wa-awliyā' wa-'ulamā'*. The work opens with a dedication to Muḥammad al-Manšūr, dated 3 Ġumādā I 1388/29 July 1968 (fig. 17), which reads as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | الإهداء | الى السيد النسب الشريف الحسيني | الحسيني الأستاذ محمد المنصور بن
السيد محمد بن السيد اسماعيل بن السيد | عبد الرحمن – وزير العدل السابق باليمن | السعيد – كان الله
تعالى له ولأهل اليمن | أجمعين، تقديراً لنبله وشرفه ورمزا | لوفائنا وإخلاصنا الشعب اليمني الباسل | كتب
الله له النصر والرفعة ولعامة المسلمين | اللهم آمين | 1388/5/3 هـ | المؤلف | محمد عبد السلام سلاطين

ZMT 01388 <58>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, p. 381 no. 913; Stookey microfilm collection, B.8 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 2 Micro)]

A codex of 188 leaves, containing *Minhāğ al-tahqīq wa-mahāsin al-talfīq*, a comprehensive doctrinal summa by 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Qurašī al-Ša'dī (d. 780/1378-79) (copy dated to the end of Ġumādā I 954/July 1547). On the work and its author, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 3, p. 75 no. 3067; al-Wağīh, *A'lām*, pp. 1097-1098 no. 1176. Muḥammad al-Manšūr's brief ownership statement on the title page is dated Dū l-Qa'da 1393/November-December 1973 (fig. 71) and reads as follows:

واخيراً في دول المفتقر الى رحمة الله
سبحانه | محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل
مطهر المنصور | غفر الله لهم آمين
بتاريخ | القعدة سنة 1393 هـ | محمد
بن محمد ساجها الله آمين

ZMT 01348 <71>

A codex of 594 pages (paginated throughout), containing volume four (*al-ğuz' al-rābi'*) of *Ta'līq al-Tahrīr*, by Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Kalārī (fl. fifth/ eleventh century).

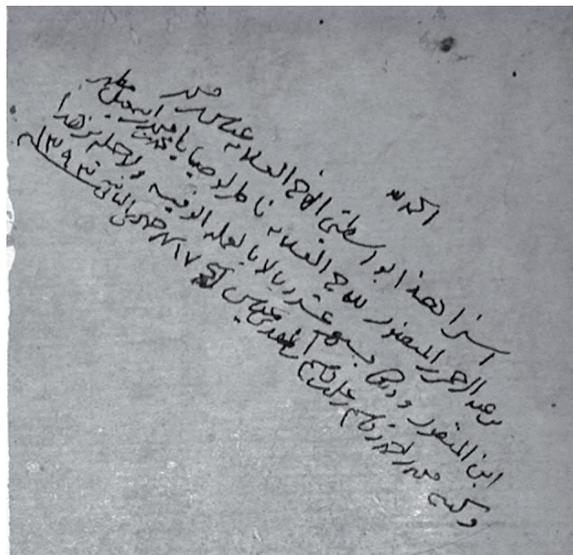


Fig. 18: MS Šan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01348_002)

The work, which is also known under the titles *Šarḥ al-Taḥrīr* and *al-Ġāmi‘ fi l-Šarḥ*, is a commentary on *al-Taḥrīr fi l-kašf ‘an nuṣuṣ al-a‘imma al-naḥārīr* by Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 340/ 951–52, d. 424/1033). On the work and its author, see Ibn Abī l-Riġāl, *Maṭla‘ al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 309–312 no. 587; al-Waġīh, *A‘lām*, pp. 449–450 no. 438; cf. also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, pp. 186, 216.

On the page that precedes the title page there is a note (fig. 18) written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. Qāsim b. al-Mahdī *amīr al-mu‘minīn*, who facilitated the transaction between the seller of the codex, namely ‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Manṣūr, and the buyer, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. The note is dated **17 Ġumādā II 1393/18 July 1973** and reads as follows:

الحمد لله | اشترى هذا بواسطتي الاخ العلامة عباس بن محمد | بن عبد الرحمن المنصور للاخ العلامة ناظر
الوصايا محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر | ابن المنصور وذلك بسبعة عشر ريالاً بالعملة الوفية (؟) ولاجله
كُتِبَ هذا | وكتبه محمد بن احمد بن قاسم بن علي بن قاسم بن المهدي أمير المؤمنين 17 شهر جادى الثانية
سنة 1393

ZMT 01352 <107>

[al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris*, pp. 375 no. 893, 386 no. 924]

Multitext volume of 156 leaves, containing several works by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620), Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s prominent ancestor, namely *al-Taḥdīr li-l-‘ibād min mu‘āwanat ahl [al-zulm wa-]l-fasād* (see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 251 no. 694), *al-Ġawāb al-muḥtār ‘alā masā’il ‘Abd al-Ġabbār* (composed in 1005/1596–97, as is noted on the title page of this tract; see also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 375 no. 1085), *al-Iršād ilā sabīl al-rašād fi tariq a‘māl al-‘ibād ‘inda faqḍ al-iġtihād* (see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 107 no. 260), along with some poetry. The codex was transcribed in Šafar 1067/November–December 1656 at the behest of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim, one of the sons of the author (see the colophons at the end of *al-Taḥdīr*, *al-Ġawāb*, and *al-Iršād*, as well as the title page of *al-Ġawāb*). In the digital surrogate the codex is incompletely preserved; of the *Taḥdīr* only the last page is extant. Throughout the codex there are margin notes and corrections in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, many of which are signed م م. Whether the physical manuscript is completely preserved or not cannot be determined. On the works and its author, see al-Waġīh, *A‘lām*, pp. 777–782 no. 839.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added an ownership note to the codex dated **28 Raġab 1395/6 August 1975** (fig. 72):

في يد المفتقر إلى رحمة الله سبحانه محمد بن [محمد] | ابن إسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن إسماعيل بن مطهر | ابن
إسماعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين بن القاسم | مؤلفه غفر الله لهم آمين محمد بن محمد سباحه الله | الثلاثا
1395/7/28 هـ على صاحبها الصلاة والتسليم

He adds on the last page of *al-Ġawāb* that he had collated this text with two copies of the same work that are preserved in the Maktaba al-mutawakkiliyya (Maktabat al-awqāf), namely MSS 158 and 260 *‘ilm al-kalām*, and that he completed the collation on 2 Ġumādā II 1398/10 May 1978 (fig. 73). For a description of the two manuscripts, see *Fihrist kutub al-Ĥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya*, p. 86.¹² The note reads as follows:

الحمد لله | بلغ مقابلة على نسختين من مكتبة الجامع | المتوكلية (الأوقاف) احداها برقم | 158 علم الكلام
والأخرى برقم 260 | حسب الطاقة والامكان بتاريخ 2 جادى الاخرى | سنة 1398 هـ وصلى الله على محمد
وآله وسلم

ZMT 01347 <14>

[al-Ĥibšī, *Fihris*, pp. 371 no. 880, 374 no. 890]

A multitext volume of 31 leaves containing (1) *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-iḥwān fī faḍl kalimat al-īmān* by Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṣalāḥ Zabāra al-Ṣan‘ānī (b. 1116/1704, d. 1179/1766) (copy completed on 4 Ġumādā I 1343/1 December 1924); on the work see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 259 no. 719; al-Waġīḥ, *A lām*, p. 1176 no. 1235 (here, a manuscript of the work in the library of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr is explicitly mentioned); (2) *Kitāb al-Naṣṣ al-ġalī fī faḍā’il al-imām amīr al-mu‘minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, by the Damascene Ṣūfī author Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (b. 1099/1688, d. 1162/1749) (copy completed on 5 Ġumādā II 1343/1 January 1925). The title is not included in Elger’s list of al-Bakrī’s writings (see Elger, *Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī*, pp. 13-34) and its authenticity/identity remains uncertain; (3) *Iġābat al-dā’i ilā nafyi da‘wat al-iġmā’*, by Ishāq b. Yūsuf b. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Ismā’īl b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī al-Ṣan‘ānī (b. 1111/1699-1700, d. 1173/1760) (copy dated 7 Ġumādā II 1343/3 January 1925); on the work and its author, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt*

¹² Their current shelfmarks are MSS Maktabat al-awqāf, 653 and 652. See al-Ruqayḥī [et al.], *Fihrist*, pp. 587-588.

al-Zaydiyya, vol. 1, p. 45 no. 64; al-Wağīh, A'lām, pp. 220-223 no. 211; (4) the codex concludes with various short pieces of poetry.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's brief ownership statement on the codex's title page is dated 1395/1975 (fig. 74) and reads as follows:

في يد محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل | مطهر المنصور ساعه الله | بالشراء سنة 1395 هـ | محمد بن محمد ساعهها
الله آمين

ZMT 01355

A codex of 260 pages (paginated throughout) containing a commentary on the *Qaṣīda* by Naṣwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/ 1177), *Šarḥ Qaṣīdat Naṣwān*, or *Ḥulāṣat al-siyar al-ġāmi'a li-'ağā'ib aḥbār al-mulūk al-Ṭabābi'a*, followed by various brief pieces of poetry at the end of the codex. The work was published in the edition of 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Mu'ayyad and Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Ġirāfi (Cairo 1395 [/1975]). For the *Qaṣīda* and its commentary, see also al-Akwa', *Hiġar al-'ilm*, vol. 1, pp. 541-549 no. 2; Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 78-79. For the political significance of Naṣwān's poem in twentieth-century Yemen, see vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen*, pp. 53-54; for Naṣwān, see also Persenius, *The Manuscripts* (with further references).

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's brief ownership statement on the title page of the codex (fig. 19) is dated 1395/1975 and reads as follows:

في يد العبد الفقير إلى | عفو الله الملك القدير | محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل مطهر المنصور | ساعه الله تعالى
بالشراء | سنة 1395 هـ | محمد بن محمد ساعهها الله آمين

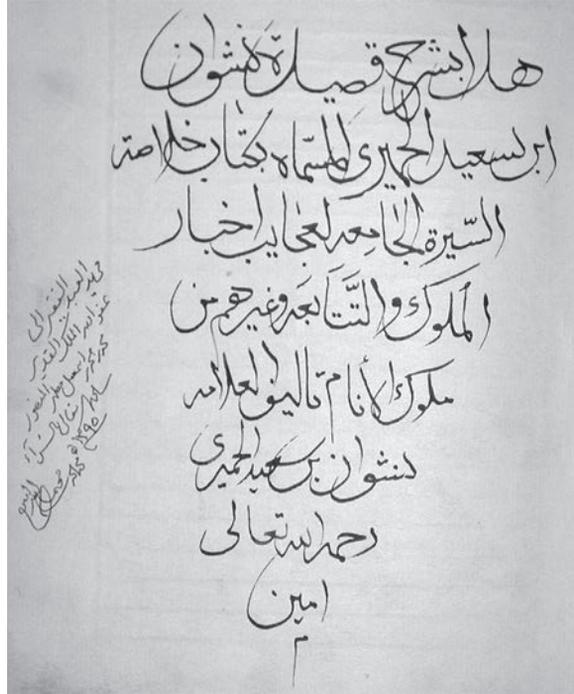


Fig. 19: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01355_002)

ZMT 01439 <15>

A codex of 33 leaves (unfoliated) containing *al-Sirr al-maṣūn fī nuktat al-iḏhār wa-l-iḏmār fī aḡtar al-nās wa-aḡtaruhum lā ya'lamūn*, by 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr al-Ḥasanī al-Ṣan'ānī (b. 1171/1757-58, d. 1219/1804-5). The colophon states that the copy was completed in Ša'bān 1335/May-June 1917, and that the copyist was Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iryānī (b. 1316/1898, d. 1358/1939-40). For Yaḥyā b. 'Alī, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 679-680. For the work and its author, see al-Waḡīḥ, *A'lām*, pp. 650-652 no. 677. The work has been edited by Ḥabīb Sufyān Muḥammad Riḏwān in the framework of an M.A. dissertation, entitled *al-Sirr al-maṣūn fī nuktat al-iḏhār wa-l-iḏmār fī aḡtar al-nās wa-aḡtaruhum lā ya'lamūna li-l-'Allāma 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī: Dirāsa wa-taḥqīq* (Malaysia 1433/2012).

On the title page there is a brief purchase note (fig. 75) by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, dated 1395/1975, which reads as follows:

في يد محمد بن محمد بن إساعيل المنصور سامحه الله | آمين بالشراء سنة 1395 هـ | محمد بن محمد سامحها الله

ZMT 01454

A slim codex of eleven leaves, containing *Durrat al-ḡawwāṣ nazm Ḥulāṣat al-Raṣṣāṣ* by al-Ḥādī b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Wazīr (b. 758/1357, d. 822/1419), copied by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Warīṭ. For the work and its author, see al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 132-133; al-Waḡīḥ, *A'lām*, pp. 1069-1073 no. 1149; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 457 no. 1345. It is followed by a brief untitled epistle by Šams al-Dīn al-Samarqandī. The epistle ends with a colophon dated Ša'bān 1350/ December 1931-Jan. 1932 in which the copyist, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Warīṭ,

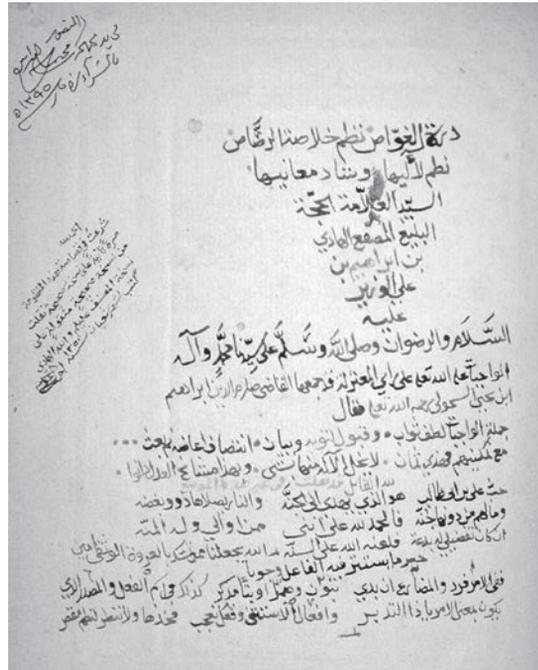


Fig. 20: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01454_002)

relates that he produced the copy from an antescrpt written by Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Daylamī. On the title page, the scribe has an additional note, dated Ša‘bān 1351/November-December 1932, in which he relates that he collated his copy a second time with another copy of the work (‘*alā nushā ṣaḥīḥa nuqilat min nushā ṣaḥīḥa manqūla ‘alā nushat al-muṣannif*). Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Warīṭ (b. 1331/1913, d. 1359/1940) was a scholar who hailed from Ḍamār; he died young, at the age of 27. On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 113-115.

On the title page of the codex there is a brief note by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, in which he relates that he purchased the codex in Ġumādā [I or II] 1395/1975 (fig. 20). The note reads as follows:

في يد محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل المنصور صاحبهم الله | بالشراء حرره جمادى سنة 1395 هـ

ZMT 01461

A codex of 71 leaves (unfoliated), containing *Šarḥ al-Taḥḍīb fī l-manṭiq* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šīrāzī (fl. tenth/sixteenth century), being a commentary on the *Taḥḍīb al-manṭiq* by Sa‘d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390). The copy was completed on 23 Rab‘ I 1184/17 July 1770. For the commentary, see al-Ḥibšī, *Ġamī‘ al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 1, pp. 695-696. Another manuscript of the commentary of Yemeni provenance was photographed in the framework of the Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative (YMDI) and is accessible at <https://pulsesearch.princeton.edu/catalog/7849640> (accessed February 28, 2018). Princeton University Library also owns an autograph *muswada* of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šīrāzī’s commentary, dated Ramaḍān 953/October-November 1546 (Garrett no. 1410Y), see <https://pulsesearch.princeton.edu/catalog/6265129> (accessed February 28,

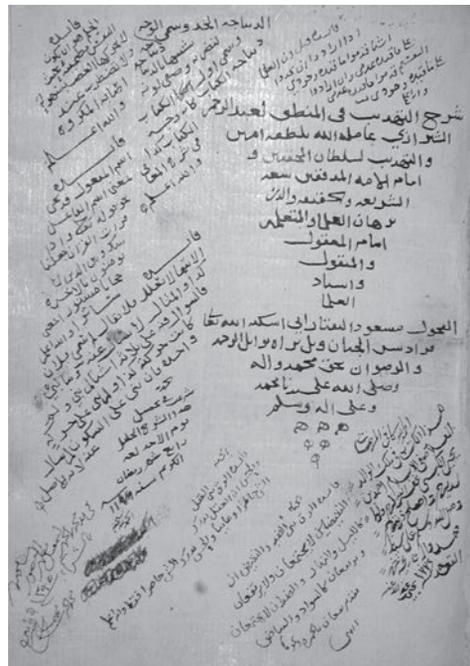


Fig. 21: MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01461_002)

2018). For al-Taftāzānī's *Tahdīb al-mantiq wa-l-kalām*, see Würtz, *Islamische Theologie*, pp. 81-82 (with further references).

On the title page there is a brief purchase note by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, dated 1395/1975 (fig. 21):

في يد محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل مطهر المنصور صاحبه الله | بالشراء سنة 1395 هـ | محمد بن محمد صاحبه الله

ZMT 01500 <33>

A codex of 71 leaves (unfoliated), containing a short (*muḥtaṣar*) anonymous legal work, the end of which is missing. On the book cover there is a shelfmark, “33,” and a brief description of the codex's contents as “*mağmū' muḥīd fī l-furū' wa-l-ṭibb fī 'ilm al-bāṭin*.” It is unclear whether the digital surrogate reflects the entire physical manuscript or whether only a single text from among several was selected for digitization.

On the first page of the main text there is a purchase note by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr dated 1395/1975 (fig. 22) which reads as follows:

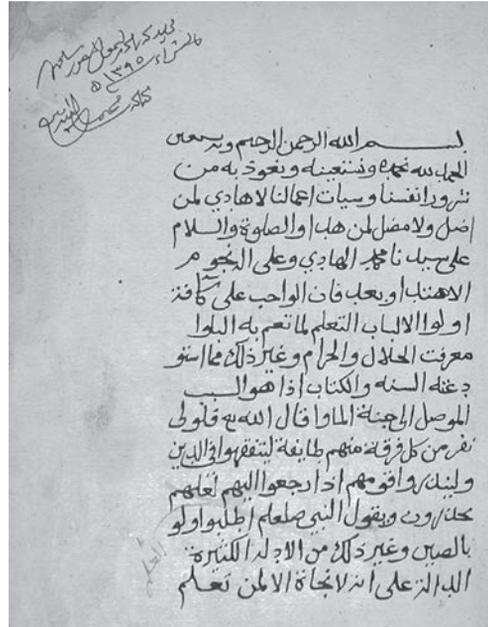


Fig. 22: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01500_004)

في يد محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل المنصور صاحبه الله | بالشراء سنة 1395 هـ | محمد بن محمد صاحبه الله

ZMT 01501 <mağmū‘a yā’>

A multitext codex of 150 leaves (unfoliated), copied in the hand of Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣalāḥ b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥabūrī al-Maswarī, containing the following works: (1) *Kitāb al-Asās li-‘aqa’id al-akyās fī ma‘rifat rabb al-‘ālamīn* by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620); (2) a fragment of the *Kitāb Uṣūl al-‘adl wa-l-tawḥīd*, attributed to Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860). An edition of the text is included in al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, *Mağmū‘ kutub wa-rasā’il*, vol. 1, pp. 629-634. The text is concluded

with an undated colophon; (3) *Kitāb al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aḳā'id*, one of the introductory sections to *al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār al-ġāmi' li-maḍāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, by Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37). See Muḥammad Muḥammad Tāmir's edition of *al-Baḥr al-zaḥḥār* (Beirut 1422/2001), vol. 1, pp. 52–113. The text ends with a colophon dated 29 [Dū] l-Qa'da 1014/7 April 1606; (4) *Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-'ulūm fī ma'rifat al-ḥayy al-qayyūm* (or *al-Ṭalātūn al-mas'ala fī usūl al-dīn*) by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224) (published, see bibliography). The text concludes with an (undated) colophon in which the copyist gives his full name; (5) *Kitāb al-Takmila li-l-aḥkām wa-l-taṣfiya 'an bawāṭin al-anām* by Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37). The work has been published repeatedly (see bibliography). The text concludes with a colophon dated 13 Šawwāl 1014/21 February 1606; (6) *Kitāb Ḥawāšī Takmilat al-aḥkām* by 'Alī b. Zayd b. Ḥasan al-Šaẓabī (d. 882/1477–78), also known under the title *al-Ḥawāšī al-mukmila li-aḥādīṭ al-Takmila*, being a commentary on the *Takmilat al-aḥkām wa-l-taṣfiya min bawāṭin al-ātām* of Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā; for the work and its author, see al-Waḡīḥ, *A'lām*, p. 679 no. 716; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, p. 333.

On the upper outer corner of the title page of the first tract there is a brief purchase note by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (fig. 76), dated 1395/1975, which reads as follows:

في يد محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | المنصور
سأحه الله | بالشراء سنة 1395 هـ

ZMT 01447

Codex of 98 leaves containing the *Taysir al-maṭālib min [fi] Amālī Abī Ṭālib*, a recension of the *Amālī* by Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 340/951–52, d. 424/1033) by al-Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ġa'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ġa'far," d. 573/1177).

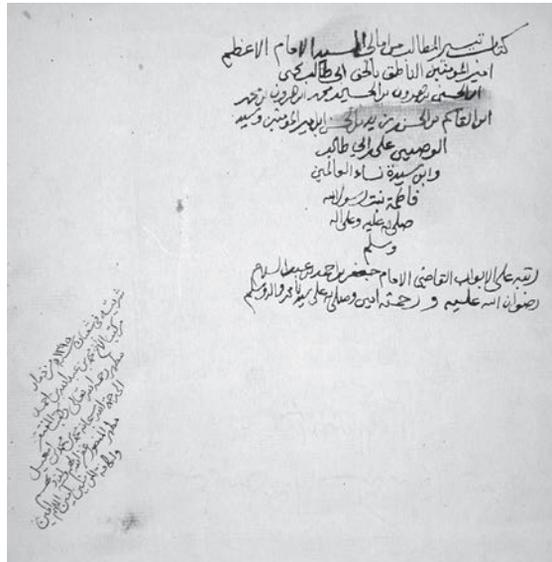


Fig. 23: MS Šan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01447_002)

On the title page Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a purchase note relating that he bought the codex in **Ša'bān 1395/August-September 1975** in **Ḍamār** from among the books of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Muṭahhar (fig. 23). The note reads as follows:

شريتته في شعبان سنة 1395 هـ من دمار | من كتب الأخ محمد بن عبد الله بن أحمد | مطهر رحمه الله تعالى
 وكتب المفتقر | إلى رحمة الله سبحانه محمد بن محمد بن إساعيل | مطهر المنصور غفر الله لهم ولذريتهم | ولكافة
 المؤمنين آمين الله آمين

ZMT 01346

A codex consisting of 75 leaves, containing an incomplete copy of Part One of *al-Bayān al-šāfi fī l-durr al-šāfi al-muntaza’ min al-Burhān al-kāfi* by ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Ibn Muẓaffar (d. 875/ 1470-71). A facsimile of a manuscript of the work, transcribed by Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl Šuwayl (d. 1359/1940) and dated Raġab 1347/ December 1928-January 1929 (*al-ġuz’ al-awwal*) and Rabī I 1357/ May 1938 (*al-ġuz’ al-tānī*), was published as *Kitāb al-Bayān al-šāfi al-muntaza’ min al-Burhān al-kāfi* (Šan‘ā 1401/1981). The end of the text as preserved in the codex corresponds to vol. 1, p. 132 line 5 of the published work.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added an ownership statement on the page facing the title page of the work, dated **1396/ 1976** (fig. 24), which reads as follows:

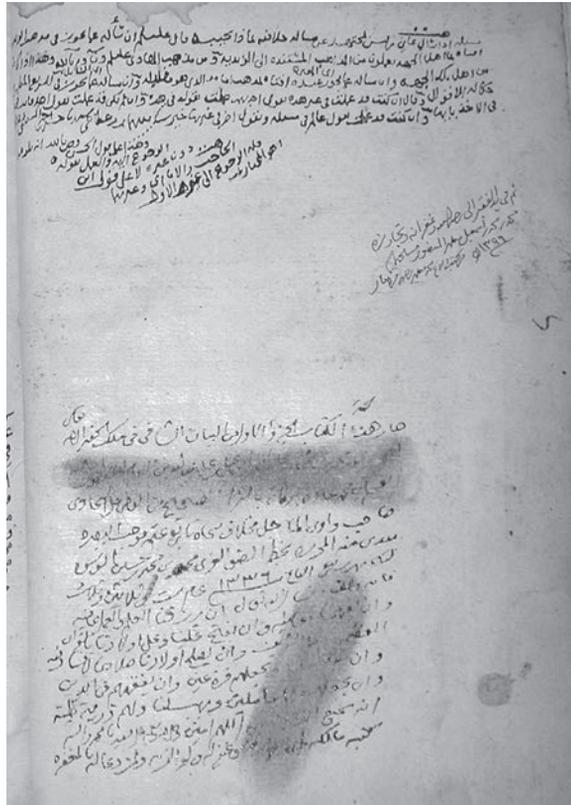


Fig. 24: MS Šan‘ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01346_009)

ثم في يد الفقير إلى رحمة الله وغفرانه وتجاوزه | محمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل مطهر المنصور ساعده الله | سنة
1396 هـ من كتب الأخ محمد مطهر رحمه الله من ذمار

ZMT 01312

A multitext volume of 204 leaves (unfoliated) containing the following works: (1) *Kitāb al-Anwār al-muntaẓa'a min al-aḥādīṭ al-muḥtāra*, also known under the title *al-Anwār al-muntaqā min kalām al-nabī al-muḥtār*, by Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37). For the work, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 175 no. 471; al-Waḡīh, *A'lām*, p. 207. The copy was produced at the behest of 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Qāsim al-Samāwī (b. 1029/1620 or 1031/1621–22, d. 1117/1705–6) and completed on 26 Šawwāl 1092/8 November 1681, by al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. 'Amir b. Aḥmad al-Šabāḥī. For 'Alī al-Samāwī, see al-Akwa', *Madāris*, p. 338; al-Akwa', *Hiḡar al-'ilm*, vol. 3, pp. 1400–1401; (2) an anonymous commentary on a dogmatic work, which is written by a different hand (copy completed on 21 Raḡab 1025/4 August 1616), which can be identified as the *Ta'līq al-Ḥulāsa*, also known under the title *al-Yatīma*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāš (d. 656/1258), a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Ḥulāsa al-nāfi'a bi-l-adilla al-qāṭi'a fī fawā'id al-tābi'a* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāš (d. 621/1224). Another manuscript of the commentary is preserved in the library of the Ġāmi'at Umm al-Qurā, Mecca; see Arabic Union Catalogue (AUC) no. 12203085197 [<http://www.aruc.org/ar/web/auc/maunscripts> (accessed February 28, 2018)]. On the upper margin of the first page of the text there is an ownership statement by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Samāwī, dated 28 Rabī' II 1093/6 May 1682.

On the top edge of the title page, Muḥammad al-Manšūr added a purchase note, dated **1397/1976–77**, which is cut off and only partly legible. Here he relates the name of the previous owner from whom he purchased the codex, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh [b. Aḥmad] Muṭahhar al-Ḍamārī (fig. 77):

في دول الفقير إلى رحمة الله ... | التقدير محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن [إسماعيل] | مطهر المنصور ... | لهم بالشراء ... |
الأخ محمد بن عبد الله [بن احمد] | مطهر الذماري | ... محمد بن محمد ... | ... سنة 1397 هـ

ZMT 01483

A multitext volume of 159 leaves (unfoliated) containing the following three works: (1) *Simṭ al-ḡumān šarḥ al-Risāla al-nāsiḥa li-l-Iḥwān*, by Šafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ġindārī (b. 1279/1863, d. 1337/1919), a commentary on the *Risāla al-nāsiḥa* by al-Manšūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), a work on theology. The copy was completed on 12 Raḡab 1338/1 April 1920.

For additional manuscripts of this text see <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/1544bq38f> (accessed February 28, 2018), containing a digital surrogate of a codex from an unidentified private library in Yemen, and MS Leiden, Or. 6637; see Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 7, p. 240; for the author and the work, see al-Wağīh, *A'lām*, pp. 133-136; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, p. 100 no. 1784; (2) a commentary of the *Qaṣīda al-kāmila* by al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995), by al-Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ġa'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ġa'far," d. 573/1177). The copy was completed on 9 Muḥarram 1339/23 September 1920. The commentary has been published in the edition of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āl Yāsīn (Baghdad 1394/1974), with several reprints; see al-Wağīh, *A'lām*, p. 279; (3) *Kitāb al-Ḥikma al-durriyya wa-l-dalāla al-nabawiyya*, by Imām al-Mutawakkil bi-llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī (d. 566/1170). The copy was completed on 25 Dū l-Qa'da 1335/12 September 1917. For the work, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 434 no. 1278. All three texts were copied by Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Radamī al-Šan'ānī (b. 1318/1900-1, d. 1376/1956). On him, see Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 561-562. The dates of the colophons indicate that the third text was united with the first two works into one codex only at a later stage. This is corroborated by the layout of the pages, which is similar for the first two items but entirely different for the third.

On the title page of the first text, there is a note by Muḥammad al-Manšūr dated **Muḥarram 1400/November-December 1979**, in which he relates that the codex was given to him as a gift by 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mutawakkil (fig. 78). The note reads as follows:

صار الى ملك الفقير الى رحمة الله وتجاوزه محمد بن محمد | ابن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور ناظر الوصايا اليمنية |
بالاهداء من الاخ العلامة علي بن أحمد بن حسن المتوكل حفظه تعالى | في محرم سنة 1400 هـ على صاحبها
وآله الصلاة والسلام | محمد بن محمد سأمحها الله آمين

ZMT 01354

A codex of 258 leaves, which contains glosses of Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390) on the *Kaššāf* of Ġār Allāh al-Zamaḥṣarī (b. 467/1075, d. 538/1144), covering the first ten *sūras* of the Qur'ān. The work ends with a colophon explaining that the author had died on 22 Muḥarram 792 [sic] AH and that this is the reason that the glosses were discontinued at this point. The copy itself was completed on 22 Ġumādā I 1153/15 August 1740 by Ibn Maḥdī (?) Ḥālid b. Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-'Ulaḥī (fig. 79).

The first page of the codex has numerous ownership statements, among them one by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Mutawakkil, which is dated Raġab 1370/April-May 1951. On the same page, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added an undated note stating that ‘Alī b. Aḥmad had given him the codex (fig. 80). The note reads as follows:

ثم اعطاني هذا المجلد الأخ علي | بن أحمد المتوكل حفظه (؟) وجعله في | ملكي او رزقنا بنظري (؟) | محمد
بن محمد المنصور ساعهما الله آمين | ناظر الوصايا

On the opposite page there is an additional explanatory note (fig. 25), signed by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil and dated Ramaḍān 1412/March-April 1992. Here he explains that he had lent the codex at an earlier stage first to Ġamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Dīb and thereafter to Aḥmad al-Ānisī. The codex was still with Aḥmad when he died, and his children erroneously thought that the book had belonged to their deceased father, which prompted them to add an ownership statement on his behalf. Once they realized their error they removed the statement and returned the codex to its owner. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad then bequeathed the codex as a *waqf* to the Great Mosque but allowed Muḥammad al-Manṣūr to borrow it while teaching the *Kaššāf* of al-Zamaḥṣarī, with the understanding that he would later return it to the Great Mosque:

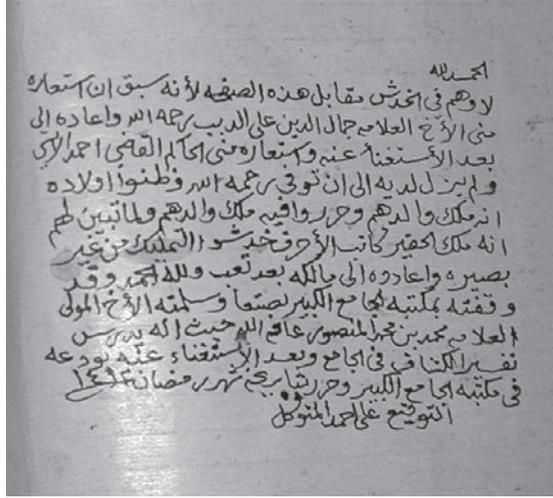


Fig. 25: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01354_002)

الحمد لله | لا وهم في الخدش مقابل هذه
الصفحة لأنه سبق أن استعاره | مني الأخ العلامة جمال الدين علي الديب رحمه الله واعاده إلي | بعد
الاستغناء عنه واستعاره مني الحاكم القاضي احمد الأنسي | ولم يزل لديه الى أن توفي رحمه الله وظنوا أولاده |
أنه ملك والدهم وحرروا فيه ملك والدهم ولما تبين لهم | أنه ملك الحقير كاتب الأحرف خدشوا التمليك من غير
| بصيرة وأعادوه إلى مالكة بعد تعب والله الحمد وقد | وقتته بمكتبة الجامع الكبير بصنعاء وسلمته الاخ المولى

ثم في يد محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور | غفر الله لهم بالشراء من ورثته في جمادى الثانية سنة 1406 هـ | محمد بن محمد سامحها الله

ZMT 01337

A multitext volume containing the following two works: (1) Volume One (incomplete in the beginning) of the *Kitāb al-Šāfi* of Imām al-Manšūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (r. 593/1197 to 614/1217). The copy had been produced in Ḥaḍramawt for the library of Imām al-Manšūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza and was completed in Rabī’ I 611/1214 (fig. 27). On this work, which has been published in the edition of Mağd al-Dīn al-Mu’ayyadī (Ṣaḥā’ 1406/1986), see also Plato, *Identitätskonstruktion in der jemenitischen Zaidīya*; (2) *al-Durr al-maṅṭūr fī faḍā’il al-Imām al-Manšūr* by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Walīd al-Quraṣī (d. 623/1226).

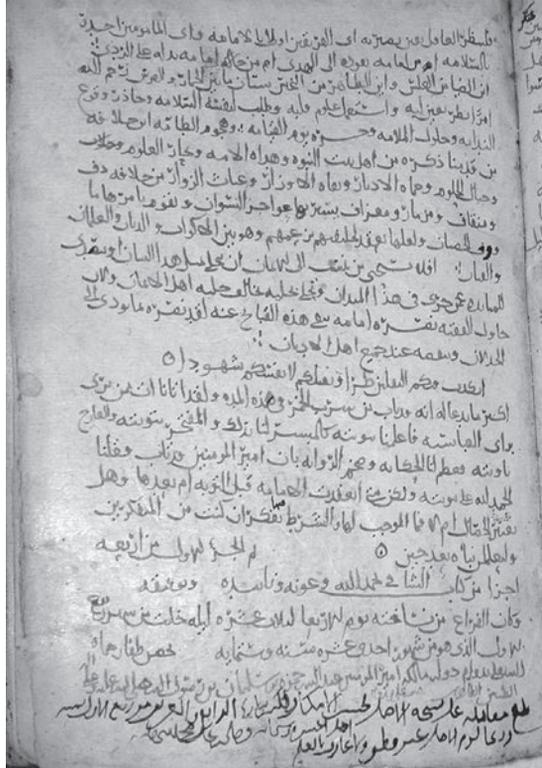


Fig. 27: MS Ṣaḥā’ 1406, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01337_208)

Muḥammad al-Manšūr added an ownership statement on the margin of the first page of the codex (fig. 81), which reads as follows:

في ملك | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن مطهر المنصور | سامحهم الله آمين | بالشراء سنة 1406 | من ورثة
رحمه الله | الحسين بن احمد | ذي جبلة

ZMT 01338

A codex of 237 leaves containing the *Kitāb al-Šifā’ bi-ta’rif ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* by ‘Iyād b. Mūsā (“al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād,” d. 544/1149). The work ends with a colophon relating that the copy was produced at the behest of Faḥr al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh

b. Aḥmad al-Lāḥiḡī al-Ānisī and completed on 24 Rabī II 1093/1682 (fig. 82). For the work and its author, see Daub, *Formen und Funktionen; Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 6, pp. 404-434 (Delfina Serrano); and Fierro, *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores Andalusíes (HATA)*. III Fiqh, no. 702 and V Ascetismo. Mística. Obras de contenido religioso en general, no. 261.9. For the Āl al-Lāḥiḡī, see al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū'a*, vol. 5, pp. 741-742.

To the first page of the codex Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a purchase note relating that he acquired the codex from the heirs of Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Mutawakkil at the beginning of Ğumādā [I or II] 1406/1986 (fig. 83):

ثم آل بالشراء من ورثة الاخ حسين بن احمد | بن اساعيل المتوكل جبلة رضي الله عنه الى | ملكي وانا
الفقيه الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد بن اساعيل | مطهر المنصور غفر الله لهم آمين ناظر الوصايا | اليمنية اوائل
جادی سنة 1406 محمد بن محمد ساعها الله آمين

ZMT 01361

A codex of 24 leaves, which contains a fragment of a commentary on Ğār Allāh al-Zamaḡṣarī's (b. 467/1075, d. 538/1144) compendium on Arabic grammar, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan'at al-i'rāb*, entitled *al-Tāḡ al-mukallal bi-ḡawāhir al-ādāb 'alā Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan'at al-i'rāb*. The commentary, the end of which is missing, is ascribed both on the book cover and on the title page to Ğamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Salīm *al-ma'rūf bi-bn Huṭayl*. This is confirmed by the information provided by Ismā'īl Bāšā al-Baḡdādī (d. 1920-1) in *Hadiyyat al-'arifīn* (vol. 1, p. 729), according to whom 'Alī b. Muḥammad *al-ma'rūf bi-bn Huṭayl al-Yamanī*, who died in 812 AH, had composed a *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*; see also al-Ḥibšī, *Ĝāmi' al-šurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāšī*, vol. 3, p. 2079; 'Isawī [et al.], *Fihris*, vol. 2, p. 1008 (MS Ṣan'ā', Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, 2007); al-Ruqayḥī [et al.], *Fihrist*, pp. 145-146 (MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat al-awqāf, 1768). Cf., however, MS London, British Library, Or. 3720 which contains Volume One of *al-Tāḡ al-mukallal*. In this manuscript, the author is identified as Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436-37). See Rieu, *Supplement*, pp. 602-603. Cf. also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 232-233, referring apparently to the aforementioned MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat al-awqāf, 1768 (although al-Ḥusaynī has "no. 1767"), which he ascribed to Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā. A partial edition and study of the work (with Ibn Huṭayl as its author) has been produced by Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Muqaddam as an MA dissertation, Cairo: Ĝāmi'at al-Azhar, 1986, under the title *al-Tāḡ*

al-mukallal bi-ḡawāhir al-ādāb ‘alā l-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan’at al-i’rāb li-bn Huṭayl al-mutawaffā sanat 812 AH: Dirāsa wa-taḥqīq.

On the title page of the codex, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added the following ownership statement, dated **Ĝumādā II 1406/February-March 1986** (fig. 84):

في يد الفقير الى عفو الله | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور | غفر الله لهم آمين بالشراء من ورثة
الأخ | حسين بن احمد بن اسماعيل ذي جبلة في جادى الثانية | سنة 1406 هـ | محمد بن محمد ساعجها الله

ZMT 01368

The digital surrogate of this item consists of three pages of an unidentified legal work. On the first page Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a purchase note in the margin, again dated **Ĝumādā II 1406/February-March 1986**, which reads as follows (fig. 85):

في ملك الفقير الى | ربه محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | مطهر المنصور رحمهم الله | بالشراء من ورثة | الأخ
حسين بن احمد بن اسماعيل | ذي جبلة رحمهم الله | في جادى الثانية سنة 1406 | محمد بن محمد ساعجها الله

ZMT 01376

A multitext volume of 266 leaves containing the following works, in addition to various excerpts and notes throughout the codex: (1) *al-Kawātib al-durriyya fī ṣarḥ al-Abyāt al-badriyya* by Imām al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī (b. 660/1261–62, d. 728/1327–28) (copy completed on 13 Ĝumādā I 1072/4 January 1662); for the work and its author, see al-Akwa‘, *Hiġar al-‘ilm*, vol. 2, pp. 797–800 no. 7; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 2, pp. 391–392 no. 2619; al-Waġīh, *A‘lām*, pp. 997–999 no. 1069; (2) a commentary on the *Muṭallaf fī l-luġa* by Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mustanīr Quṭrub (d. 206/821), by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥasan b. Barakāt al-Muhallabī al-Bahnasī (d. 685/1286). On the work and its author, see GAL, vol. 1, p. 103; GALS, vol. 1, p. 161; vol. 2, p. 916 no. 17. For Quṭrub as a grammarian, see Versteegh, “A Dissenting Grammarian”; (3) *Kitāb al-Arba‘īn al-fiḡhiyya*, by Abū l-Ġanā‘im Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maymūn al-Narsī al-Kūfī al-Muqri‘ (b. 424/1033, d. 510/1116–17) (copy completed in Rabī II 1123/May-June 1711). Another copy of the work is preserved as MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat al-awqāf, maġāmi‘ 80, fols 66–83; see al-Ruqayhī [et al.], *Fihrist*, p. 276 (“*al-Arba‘ūn ḥadīṭan al-ma‘rūfa bi-l-fiḡhiyya*”). For Abū l-Ġanā‘im see al-Dahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 19, p. 274; (4) *Mi‘yār aġwār al-afhām fī l-kaṣf ‘an munāsabāt al-aḥkām* by Faḥr al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Naġrī (b. 825/1422, d. 877/1472). The work has been published as an M.A. dissertation by ‘Abd Allāh ‘Umar Aḥmad al-Ġaraww, *Mi‘yār aġwār al-afhām fī l-kaṣf ‘an munāsabāt al-aḥkām, ta’lif ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Naġrī al-Yamānī*

al-mutawaffā sanat 877 H: Taḥqīq wa-dirāsa (Cairo 1992); see <http://www.alukah.net/library/0/80477/> (accessed February 28, 2018). For the work and its author, see also al-Waḡīh, *A'lām*, pp. 616-618 no. 635; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 3, p. 38 no. 2949; GALS, vol. 2, p. 247 no. 8c.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added an ownership statement (fig. 28) to the first verso page of the codex, which reads as follows:

من كتب الفقير الى غفر الله
محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر
المنصور ساحمهم الله | بالشراء
من ورثة الأخ حسين بن احمد
بن اسماعيل ذي جبلة في
جداى | الثانية سنة 1406 هـ
محمد بن محمد ساحمها الله آمين

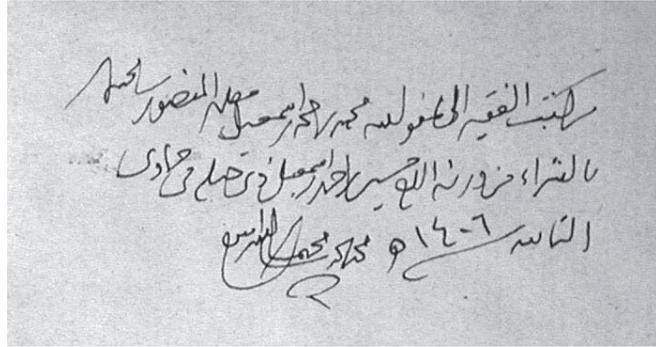


Fig. 28: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01376_002)

ZMT 01435

The codex of 228 leaves contains an anonymous legal work, the end of which is incomplete. On the book cover it is described as “*Kitāb fī l-fiqh min al-i'tikāf ilā l-rabawīyyāt bi-ḡayr ism fihi wa-lā dīkr al-mu'allif*.” On the top left corner of the second page Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a purchase note (fig. 29), which reads as follows:

من كتب الفقير الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد بن
اسماعيل | مطهر المنصور غفر الله لهم آمين بالشراء
| من ورثة الأخ حسين بن احمد بن اسماعيل
المتوكل رحمه الله | ذي جبلة محمد بن محمد ساحمها
الله | جداى الاخرى سنة 1406 هـ

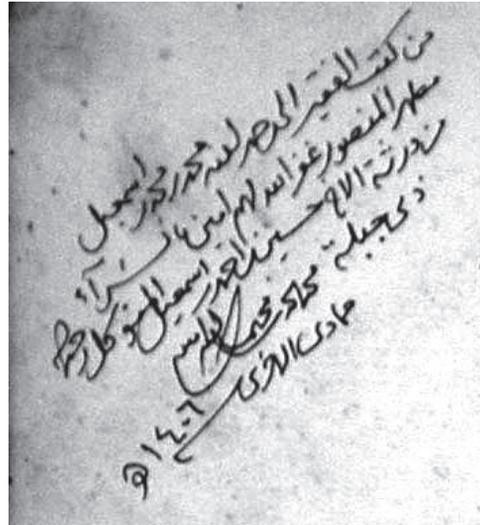


Fig. 29: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01435_003)

ZMT 01432

This is a photocopy of a codex of 39 pages (paginated throughout) containing *al-Adilla al-ġaliyya fī tahrīm al-naẓar ilā l-aġnabiyya*, by Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī (b. 1099/1688, d. 1182/1768). On the work, which has been published in the edition of Abū Hammām Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣawmāʾī al-Bayḍāwī (Cairo, 1433/2012), see al-Ḥibṣī, “Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī,” p. 148 no. 8; al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʿallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 90 no. 205. On the title page of the codex, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a note relating that the copy was presented to him as a gift by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad al-Sayāġī on a Friday, after the *ġumʿa* prayer, in **Ġumādā II 1406/February-March 1986**. The note reads as follows (fig. 86):

هذه الصورة مhadaة للحقير | من الاخ العلامة عبد الكريم بن احمد السياغي | حفظه [الله] يوم الجمعة بعد
صلاتها | جمادى الاخرى سنة 1406 هـ | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور | غفر الله لهم آمين

On Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s younger contemporary, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sayāġī (b. 1339/1921), see al-Waġīh, *Aʿlām*, p. 558, no. 563; al-Akwaʿ, *Hiġar al-ʿilm*, vol. 3, p. 1555. The original codex was completed on 3 Dū l-Qaʿda 1157/8 December 1744 (see colophon on page 39). Its owner, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. al-Sayāġī, added a note beneath the colophon, in which he records that he collated the present copy with another copy of the text, dated 25 Muḥarram 1306/1 October 1888, and he dates this note to 27 Rabīʿ I 1403/12 January 1983.

ZMT 01373 <34>

A codex of 22 leaves containing the *Kitāb al-Azhār fī fiqh al-aʿimma al-aṭhār* of Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37). The copy was completed on 10 Ramaḍān 1078/23 February 1668, during the reign of Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Ismāʿīl b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsīm (r. 1054/1644–1087/1676). While the name of the copyist is disclosed on the last page of the text (fig. 87), viz. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Sūdī, the name of the patron at whose behest the copy was produced has been wiped out (ʿImād al-Dīn ...?). The work is followed by a fragment (the end of which is missing) of an anonymous *Tahlīl al-Qurʿān* work.

On the first page of the codex, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a note in which he relates that he purchased the codex from al-Faḥrī ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā ʿAtīq, who was a bookdealer, on **20 Dū l-Qaʿda 1370/23 August 1957**, and that the transaction took place in the house of al-Manṣūr’s father, in the area of al-ʿAlamī in the old city of Ṣanʿāʾ (fig. 88):

في ملك المفتقر الى رحمة الله | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | ابن اسماعيل بن مطهر غفر الله لهم
 بالشراء من الفخري عبد الله بن يحيى | عتيق حرسه الله قبل نحو ثلاث | او اربع سنين تقديراً وهو كتيبى |
 يبيع لغيره كدلال ويشري لنفسه | ويبيع أيضاً بتاريخه ليلة 12 (?) [ذو] القعدة | الحرام سنة 1370 ليلة
 الخميس لعله عشرين | ذي القعدة الحرام من شهور سنة سبعين وثلاثمائة والى هجرية قمرية على | صاحبها وآله
 افضل الصلاة والسلام | بمكان والذي رضي الله عنهم في بيتنا | في العلمي في صنعاء اليمن

ZMT 01356

A codex of 387 leaves, containing an undated copy of *Durar nuḥūr al-ḥawr al-ʿayn bi-sīrat al-Imām al-Manṣūr wa-aʿlām dawlatihi al-mayāmīn*, a *sīra* relating events that took place during the reign of Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥusayn, from 19 Raġab 1189/1775 until his death in 1224/1809, by Luṭf Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Luṭf Allāh b. Aḥmad Ġaḥḥāf al-Ṣanʿānī (b. 1179/1766, d. 1243/1827-28).

On the work and its author, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʿallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 467 no. 1376; al-Waġīh, *Aʿlām*, pp. 795-796 no. 851 (here, a copy of the work in the library of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr is explicitly mentioned); Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 289-291. The work has been published in the edition of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Maqḥafī (Ṣanʿā 2004) as well as in the edition of ʿArīf Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Fāriʿ al-Raʿawī (Ṣanʿā 2004). An earlier publication contains excerpts of the work: Luṭf Allāh b. Aḥmad Ġaḥḥāf, *Nuṣūṣ yamaniyya ʿan al-ḥamla al-faransiyya ʿalā Miṣr*, ed. Muṣṭafā Sālim (Ṣanʿā 1975).

On the title page there is an undated note by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr stating that the volume belonged earlier to the private collection of Yaḥyā, the son of Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (b. 1869, d. 1948) and that the Imām's son had bequeathed it to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. The volume originally belonged to Imām Yaḥyā's collection, as is indicated by another note on the title page (dated 1351/1933) (fig. 89). Muḥammad's note reads as follows:

ثم من كتب سيدي سيف الإسلام | يحيى بن أمير المؤمنين يحيى غفر الله | لها وقد وقفه بنظري وانا |
 المفتقر الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد ابن | اسماعيل مطهر المنصور وصي الوقف | محمد بن محمد سامحها الله

A number of codices are marked with undated ownership statements. In some cases, the ownership statements are incompletely preserved in the digital surrogates with the dating no longer visible:

ZMT 01314

The codex, which is paginated and consists of twenty pages, contains one leaf of a fragment of an unidentified work (pages 1-2), followed by an incomplete copy of *al-Īdāh ‘alā l-Miṣbāḥ* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥābis al-Dawwārī (d. 1061/1651), a commentary on Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ’s *al-Miṣbāḥ* (pages 3-20). The text breaks off shortly after the beginning of *al-mas’ala al-ūlā al-kalām fī ṭibāt al-ṣāni’* (corresponding to p. 59 line 15 of the published work, ed. Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Yūsufī, Ṣan‘ā’ 2000). Throughout the text, there are numerous margin notes in different hands, including some by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (pages 2, 11, 16), who invariably signs them as م م. Muḥammad added an undated ownership statement onto the margin of the title page (fig. 90):

في يد عبد الله | المفتقر | الى عفوه | وتوفيته | محمد بن محمد | ابن اسماعيل | ابن عبد الرحمن | ابن اسماعيل
ابن مطهر بن | اسماعيل بن | يحيى بن الحسين | ابن القاسم | تجاوز الله | عنهم آمين

ZMT 01321 <57>

[al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, pp. 362, no. 860, 390 no. 936]

A multitext volume of 268 unfoliated leaves, containing the following works: (1) *Kitāb al-Tarḡumān al-mufattiḥ li-ṭamarāt akmām [kamā'im] al-bustān*, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Muḥaffar (d. 926/1250); for the work and its author, see al-Akwa‘, *Hiḡar al-‘ilm*, vol. 4, pp. 2246-2247 no. 6.

Other copies of the *Kitāb al-Tarḡumān* are preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (MS arab. C 100; see Löfgren/Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 172 no. 356; MS arab. D 345; see Löfgren/Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 302 no. 601), and the Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (MS Or. 319 [Rossi 19], fols 23v-122). For additional copies, see al-Waḡīḥ, *A’lām*, pp. 854-855 no. 919; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 282 no. 795; cf. GALS, vol. 2, p. 244 no. 5, where the work is ascribed to ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. al-Muḥaffar (d. 875/1470-71); (2) *Kitāb Buḡyat al-rāḡib wa-‘umdat al-ṭālib* by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Zākī al-Ġarrāzī. The end of the text is incomplete; (3) the final pages of the codex contain various shorter textual fragments, prose as well as poetry.

The Mu’assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-ṭaqāfiyya (Imam Zayd bin Ali Cultural Foundation, IZbACF) records a digital surrogate of a codex (CD IZbACF no. 93/1, 540 pages), which consists of two works, *al-Tarḡumān al-mufattiḥ* and *Buḡyat al-rāḡib*; see <http://al-majalis.org/>

books/wp-content/plugins/books-lib/readers/wp-text-reader-iframe.php?id=1042&perpage=50&page=77 (accessed February 28, 2018). The digital surrogate represents the same physical manuscript.¹⁴

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added the shelfmark “57” to the title page of the *Tarǧumān al-mufattiḥ*, as well as the following undated ownership statement to the title page of the first text of the codex (fig. 91):

في دول | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر | غفر الله | لهم

ZMT 01330 <30 [maǧmū‘a ṭā]>

[al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, pp. 386 no. 922, 393 no. 945 (item no. 3 is not described by al-Ḥibṣī); Stookey microfilm collection, C.1 (The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library, Film 22,632 Reel 3 Micro)]

A multi-text codex of 85 leaves, containing the following works: (1) *Kitāb al-Ḥafīz fī l-fiqh* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d. 779/1377). See also GALS, vol. 2, p. 242 no. 2b (“al-Bausī um 750/1350”). The work is foliated (fols 1-64v) and the end of the work is incomplete; (2) *al-Aǧwiba al-rāfi‘a li-l-iškāl al-fātiḥa li-l-afāl* by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217). The text stretches over 13 leaves, which are neither foliated nor paginated. The copy is undated and the scribe is not identified. According to al-Waǧīḥ, another copy of this text is preserved in the Maktaba al-ǧarbiyya; see al-Waǧīḥ, *A‘lām*, p. 579; (3) *Tuḥfat al-iḥwān*, again by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, which is copied in the same hand as item no. 2 of the codex. Al-Waǧīḥ again records two additional copies of this text in the Maktaba al-ǧarbiyya; see al-Waǧīḥ, *A‘lām*, p. 580; (4) the final six leaves of the codex contain various short texts and notes by former owners.

On the title page of the *Kitāb al-Ḥafīz*, there is an undated ownership statement (fig. 92) in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, which reads as follows:

في دول المفتقر الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | بن اسماعيل بن مطهر غفر الله لهم
آمين

¹⁴ I thank Jan Thiele, who owns a digital copy of CD IZbACF no. 93/1, for having verified this (e-mail communication Jan Thiele, 20 February 2018).

ZMT 01383 <105>

[al-Ḥibṣī, *Fihris*, p. 382 no. 918]

A multitext codex of 204 unfoliated leaves containing a number of works, among others, the *Yanābi‘ al-naṣīḥa fī l-‘aqā’id al-ṣaḥīḥa*, by Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 662/1263–64 or 663/1264–65). The work has been published twice (see bibliography). With the exception of some brief texts and notes throughout, which were apparently added by later owners, the entire codex was copied in one hand. The name of the copyist is disclosed in the colophon concluding the *Yanābi‘* as one Nāšir b. Muḥammad al-‘Iyār[n]ī (?), who produced the codex at the behest of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh, a grandson of al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (r. 1009/1602-1054/1644). Nāšir b. Muḥammad may possibly be identified as al-Nāšir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Qāsimī al-‘Iyānī al-Ġurbānī *al-ma‘rūf bi-l-Šabaḥ*; on him, see al-Akwa‘, *Hiġar al-‘ilm*, vol. 3, p. 1592 no. 3. The colophon is dated Šafar 1064/December 1653-January 1654. Item no. 4 of the codex, entitled *al-Risāla al-Sa‘diyya*, was completed on 5 Rabī II 1064/23 February 1654, again at the behest of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā. The title page of this work has a note relating that the copy was produced for Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā’s personal library (*ḥizāna*).

Muḥammad al-Manšūr added an undated signature to the page opposite the title page of the *Yanābi‘ al-naṣīḥa* (fig. 30).

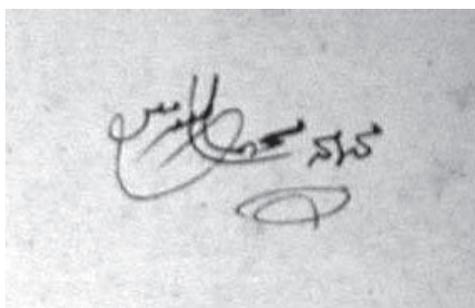


Fig. 30: MS Šan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01383_003)

Chapter Four
The Library as a Testimony to Scholarly Practices in Twentieth-Century Yemen

Shifting from a manuscript culture to print culture has major impacts on modes of instruction and pedagogy. Whereas in the traditional context the transmission of any given work depends on a teacher who dictates it (or has it dictated) to his students, with subsequent related practices, such as rereading aloud the copied text for collation and correction, and for understanding and memorization, this process completely changes once students are able to purchase printed copies of the work in question, which they can then bring to class.¹ Towards the end of the nineteenth century traditional schools such as al-Azhar in Cairo tried to ban the use of printed books by disallowing them; this was the case at the *madrassa al-‘ilmiyya* in Ṣan‘ā’ at some point,² and similar rules were put in place at the *madrassa Aḥmadiyya* in Ta‘izz.³ The continuing reliance on manuscripts in Yemen is further corroborated by Ettore Rossi’s (b. 1894, d. 1955) observations in Ṣan‘ā’ during the mid-1930s.⁴ To what extent such bans were effective and when

¹ Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (b. 1857, d. 1936) describes both the traditional methods and the impact of printed books on teaching circles in Mecca during the penultimate decade of the nineteenth century: “Pen, ink, and paper have of old been the sole traditional equipment of the Moslim student. A public library has been an advantage but not a necessity, the dictation of a professor either of his own compilation or of a recognized text book, to which he adds his own glosses, being in general sufficient, while a book could sometimes be bought or borrowed” (*Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, p. 169). “All students now bring to lecture printed copies of the text which is being treated, which circumstance has entirely changed the mode of instruction. Formerly the teacher had first to dictate the text, in the margin of which the students then noted down his glosses. Now, on the contrary, the student notes down only a few oral remarks (*taqārīr*) of the professor, and often has nothing to write at all” (*ibid.*, p. 192).

² See Messick, *The Calligraphic State*, p. 116 (with further references).

³ See Messick, *The Calligraphic State*, p. 116.

⁴ See Rossi, “La stampa nel Yemen,” pp. 579-580: “Nel Yemen fiorisce ancora la professione del copista, che fa agevolmente concorrenza alla stampa; la copia di un foglio (*kurrāsah*, pl. *karārīs*, 16 pagine) viene a costare un tallero (al cambio odierno circa dieci lire). Gli studenti della *Madrassah ‘ilmiyyah*, scuola superiore di studi religiosi a Ṣan‘ā’, studiano su testi quasi tutti manoscritti e zibaldoni che acquistano o copiano da sè. Anche i ragazzi delle scuole elementari hanno a loro disposizione pochi libri stampati; per lo più imparano sulle tavolette che fanno loro da lavagna o prendono nota in quadernetti sotto la dettatura dell’insegnante.

and how the established teaching practices had to succumb to changing circumstances can in most cases not be determined precisely. It seems, however, that traditional modes of learning and instruction continued longer in Yemen than elsewhere in the Islamic world. It is worthwhile to recall in this context *Orality and Literacy*, Walter Ong's 1982 seminal study, which treats the impact on our consciousness and thought of the shift from orality to literacy, from manuscript to print, and from typography to the electronically processed word. On the impact of the shift from manuscript culture to print he writes: "Print encourages a sense of closure, a sense that what is found in a text has been finalized, has reached a state of completion ... Print encloses thought in thousands of copies of a work of exactly the same visual and physical consistency. ... The printed text is supposed to represent the words of an author in definitive or 'final' form. For print is comfortable only with finality. Once a letterpress forme is closed, locked up, or a photolithographic plate is made, and the sheet printed, the text does not accommodate changes (erasures, insertions) so readily as do written texts. By contrast, manuscripts, with their glosses or marginal comments (which often got worked into the text in subsequent copies) were in dialogue with the world outside their own borders. They remained closer to the give-and-take of oral expression. The readers of manuscripts are less closed off from the author, less absent, than are the readers of those writing for print. ... Print is curiously intolerant of physical incompleteness. It can convey the impression, unintentionally and subtly, but very really, that the material the text deals with is similarly complete or self-consistent ... Manuscript culture had taken intertextuality for granted. Still tied to the commonplace tradition of the old oral world, it deliberately created texts out of other texts, borrowing, adapting, sharing the common, originally oral, formulas and themes, even though it worked them up into fresh literary forms impossible without writing. Print culture of itself has a different mindset. It tends to feel a work as 'closed', set off from other works, a unit in itself."⁵

While the preceding chapter included several examples of codices that were produced during the twentieth century, this chapter focuses on select

Non è stato ancora stampato nel Yemen un libro e neppure un sillabario per le elementari. Il libro di prima lettura in uso nelle scuole di Ṣan'ā' nel 1937 era il sillabario detto *Qā'idah baġdādiyyah* (stampato al Cairo da ʿIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī) con annessi capitoli brevi del Corano."

⁵ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp. 129-131.

codices from Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's collection that provide insight into scholarly practices in twentieth-century Yemen and al-Manṣūr's life as a scholar. One codex (ZMT 01464) contains ample paratextual material that provides information about scholarly practices in the *madrasa 'ilmiyya* during the mid-1930s. Some of the data found in another codex (ZMT 01495) corroborate and complement the information provided in the available accounts of Muḥammad's scholarly education. Two codices show that still in the 1970s traditional ways of studying a text through dictation (*imlā'*) were practiced (ZMT 01350, ZMT 01495). Remarkable are also two codices (ZMT 01381, ZMT 01372), copied in 1397/1977 in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, clearly for the purpose of a pious exercise. The personal library of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (along with comparable private manuscript collections in Yemen) provides evidence that traditional modes of transmitting and consuming products of the literary tradition through manuscripts remained a living reality in Yemen throughout most of the twentieth century, and this alongside an ever-growing (and partly state-sponsored) print culture.

ZMT 01350

The codex contains the *Taysīr al-maṭālib min [fi] Amālī Abī Ṭālib*, a recension of the *Amālī* by Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (b. 340/951–52, d. 424/1033) by al-Qāḍī Šams al-Dīn Ğa'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī ("Qāḍī Ğa'far," d. 573/1177). The title page (fig. 93) has several ownership statements, some of which are dated 1151/1738–39, 1177/1763–64, 1178/1764–65, and 1223/1808–09, as well as a lengthy note by Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maswarī (b. 1007/1598, d. 1079/1668) providing detailed information on the redactor of the work, Qāḍī Ğa'far. Next to the title page there is (are) one (or two) sheet(s) of paper, typewritten as it seems, containing an extract from Mağd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Mu'ayyadī's (d. 1428/2007) *al-Ĝāmi'a al-muhimma li-asānīd kutub al-a'imma* (the visible sheet contains the following text of the printed edition: pp. 40 line 3–43 line 11: *hādā sanad ğāmi' li-mu'allafāt Imām al-Yaman al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq ...*). Throughout the codex there are numerous margin notes and comments, some of them by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, who typically signs them as م م. The codex ends with a colophon (fig. 94) stating that the work was transcribed by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥayrānī al-Ḥaymī and completed on 8 Ğumādā I 1054/13 July 1644, in Šahāra. The copyist adds that he produced

continued studying the work together with Ḥammūd al-Muʿayyad in the presence of their joint teacher, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. They completed their reading on 16 Raġab 1391/7 September 1971, the same date given in the note on the previous page:

انتهى املاء | وساع امالي ابي طالب | في
 المنزل بالنهرين امليتها | في شهر رمضان المبارك
 سنة 1390 هـ | من أولها الى الباب 26 أكثر
 من النصف | ثم واصلت ذلك املاءً وساعاً
 من سيدي العلامة حمود المؤيد | ومن الوالد
 علي بن محمد بن ابراهيم شيخنا جميعاً واملاءً
 مني | وهما يسمعان وكان الانتهاء يوم الاثنين
 سادس عشر | شهر رجب الاصح سنة 1391
 ودرس التمام في منزل سيدي | العلامة علي بن
 محمد بن ابراهيم ابقاهم الله تعالى آمين | محمد بن
 محمد بن اسماعيل ساجدهم الله آمين

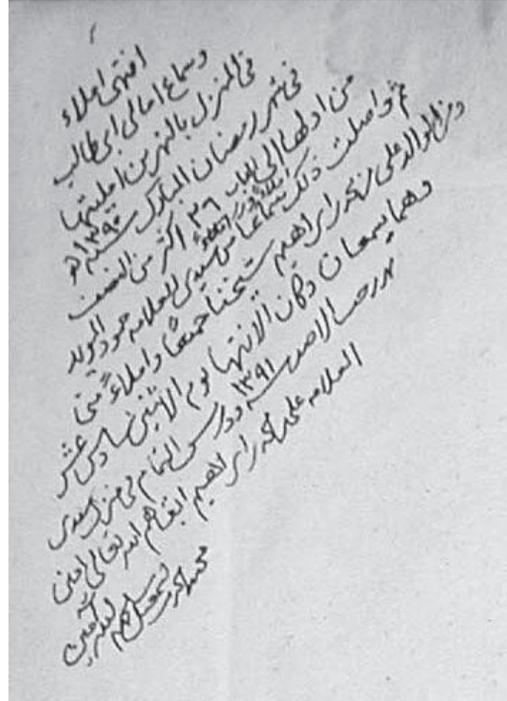


Fig. 32: MS Ṣanʿā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01350_149)

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was among Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s teachers (see above) with whom the latter was reported to have studied many of the “writings of the family [of the Prophet]” (*kutub al-āl*)

and who had issued an *iġāza ʿamma* to him. Moreover, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad owned a precious collection of manuscripts, some of which he bequeathed to the Maktabat al-awqāf in Ṣanʿā and some he presented as a *waqf* to the al-Nahrayn mosque and to the Qubbat al-Mahdī ʿAbbās—for the two last-mentioned donations he appointed Ḥammūd b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muʿayyad as supervisor.⁷ Ḥammūd, who was born in 1336/1917-18 (he died

⁷ See al-Akwaʿ, *Hiġar al-ilm*, vol. 2, p. 962. These include, for example, MS Maktabat al-awqāf 1964; see al-Ruqayhī [et al.], *Fihrist*, p. 1692. Some of the manuscripts from the al-Nahrayn mosque collection were handed over at some stage to the Maktabat al-awqāf, for example MSS Maktabat al-awqāf, 829 (see al-Ruqayhī [et al.], *Fihrist*, p. 1201), 813 (ibid., p. 1209).

on 19 March 2018, aged 103), was a younger contemporary of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, and the two seemed to have been close friends over many decades. As is the case with Muḥammad, Ḥammūd's genealogy goes back to Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620). Ḥammūd enrolled in the *madrasa al-'ilmiyya* around 1350/1931-32, i.e., a few years after Muḥammad, and they studied partly with the same teachers, such as 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Other than that, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr is also counted among the teachers of Ḥammūd.⁸ Muḥammad also composed verses in praise (*taqrīz*) of some of Ḥammūd's writings, namely his *al-Šu'ā' al-muḍī fī ḥuṭab al-ġum'a* (Beirut n.d.), a collection of Friday sermons,⁹ and Ḥammūd's work on *ḥadīth*, *al-Nūr al-asnā al-ġāmi' li-aḥādīth al-šifā'* (Amman 2002).¹⁰ The two were also close in terms of politics—they were both affiliated with the *Ḥizb al-Ḥaqq*, which had been founded after 1990.¹¹

ZMT 01495

This is a multi-text volume transcribed by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. Each of the works is individually paginated, and they may have been bound together into a single codex at a later stage. The first pages of the codex contain various brief pieces, among them a fair amount of documentary material about Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's formation as a scholar and providing some details about his family.

On the first page of the codex (fig. 95), there is a note dated 16 Raġab 1361/30 July 1942, in which Muḥammad al-Manṣūr attests that he completed collating "*al-Aḥkām al-šar'iyya*," i.e., *al-Aḥkām fī l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* by Imām al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq through dictation on the basis of an unusually precious antescrypt in Bayt Šibām of Volume One of the work that had been copied by al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Mulawwaḥ, completed on 20 Dū l-Qa'da 543/1 April 1149. While the collection of digital surrogates of manuscripts from Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's collection does not include his copy of the text (the present codex contains only the note but not his copy of the work), the copy of Volume One of the work, transcribed

⁸ On Ḥammūd b. 'Abbās, see "al-Sayyid al-'Allāma Ḥammūd b. 'Abbās al-Mu'ayyad"; Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), p. 311; al-Akwa', *Hiġar al-'ilm*, vol. 1, pp. 362-363; see also Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, p. 96 n. 1.

⁹ Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, p. 295.

¹⁰ See Muḥammad Manṣūr, *Lawāmi'*, pp. 96-97.

¹¹ See vom Bruck, "Regimes of Piety," *passim*. Like Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, Ḥammūd had also signed the *Bayān šar'ī li-'ulamā' al-Yaman* of 1990; see Dorlian, *La mouvance zaydite*, p. 30.

by al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Mulawwaḥ and dated 20 Dū l-Qa‘da 543 AH, is preserved as MS Ṣan‘a’, Maktabat al-awqāf, 1167.¹² Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s note reads as follows:

قد | بلغت في | املاء الاحكام الشرعية | لمولانا الامام الهادي عليه السلام في | نسخة بيت شبام المدومة
النظير | الموقوفة على الذرية الى باب | القول في زكاة الابل نسال الله | ان يوفق ويعين على الاكمال وانما |
قيدت المبلغ هنا يخشى من | حصول عائق عن مواصلة الاملاء | حتى يجهل قيد | المبلغ في الاملاء من | هذا
الكتاب الجليل | في النسخة المباركة المؤرخة | تمام الجزء الاول منها | ضحوة يوم الجمعة | وهو اليوم العشرون
من ايام شهر ذي القعدة من | شهور سنة ثلث واربعين وخمس | مائة بهجرة وقش بخط الحسين بن محمد |
ابن الحسين بن محمد بن يوسف الملقح | غفر الله له ولنا ووالدينا واهلينا و | المؤمنين والمؤمنات آمين الخميس |
لعله 16 او 17 شهر رجب سنة 1361 | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل رحمهم الله تعالى

The verso page of the first folio has some quotes gleaned from the writings of some of the Zaydī *imāms* on the issue of God’s attributes. It is concluded with Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s signature in the form of م. م. Muḥammad adds that he penned the quotes on 6 Ramaḍān 1390/5 November 1970, in the quarter of al-Nahrayn, in Ṣan‘a’.

On fol. 2r Muḥammad al-Manṣūr relates that on the night of 6 Šawwāl 1393/2 November 1973, he saw in a dream his grandfather Ismā‘īl and his great-grandfather ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. This is followed by detailed biographical information on some of Muḥammad’s ancestors, including their respective dates and places of death (fig. 33):

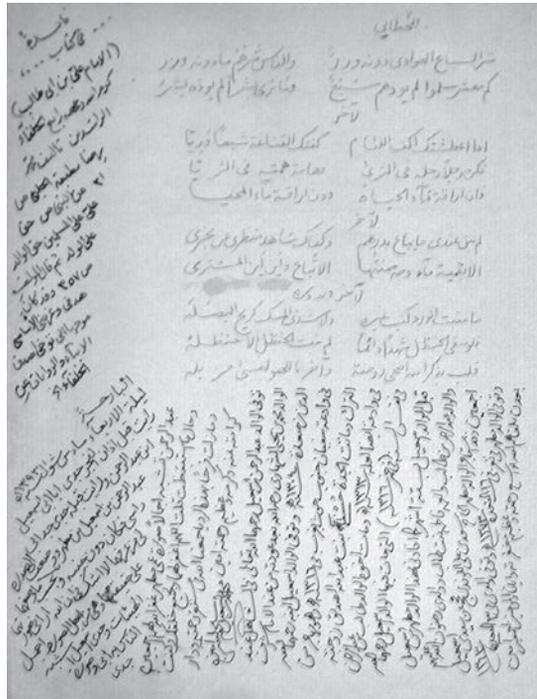


Fig. 33: MS Ṣan‘a’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01495_002)

¹² See al-Ruqayhī [et al.], *Fihrist*, p. 882.

البارحة | ليلة الاربعاء سادس شوال سنة 1393 هـ | رأيت قبل اذان الفجر جدي أبا أبي اسماعيل | ابن عبد الرحمن ورأيت قبله جدي جد ابي | عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن مطهر ووضعت الى صدره | راسي وكان دون جنبه و بحسب ما وصفها | لي من عرفها لا اشك ان الله اراني صورتها | على حقيقتها وهي من اجل الصور واجمل | الهيئات وجدي اسماعيل اشبه | الناس به ابي وصورة | جدي | عبد الرحمن تشبه اجالاً صورة عمي مطهر غفر الله لهم اجمعين | وحال ما استيقظت قلت اللهم اغفر لها وجميع خلقك وكنت | وما زلت فرحاً بهذه الرؤيا جمعنا الله في مستقر رحمته ودار | كرامته بمنه وكرمه وعظيم رحمته آمين محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل سامحه الله آمين

توفي الوالد عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل رحمهما الله تعالى في الشاهل عند | الوالد محمد بن يحيى الشهاري رحمه الله بعد عودته من عند الامام شرف | الدين من صعدة سنة 1304 هـ وتوفي الوالد اسماعيل ابنه رحمه الله | في وادعة سفبان جنوب حوث بغرب في سنة 1316 هـ وهو مهاجر من الترك وماتت الجدة حسنى (?) بنت عبد الله الصديق زوجته | في وادعة ايضاً لعاه سنة 1313 هـ ومات اخوه الوالد طالب بن عبد الرحمن في نفس السنة (في صفر سنة 1316) التي مات قبلها الوالد اسماعيل رحمه الله | قبل الوالد اسماعيل بستة اشهر كما افادني بهذا الوالد مطهر بن اسماعيل | والوالد عبد الرحمن بن طالب والعممة فاطمة بنت طالب ووالدي رضوان الله عليهم | اجمعين وقد استأجر الوالد مطهر الحاج سعد بن علي اللوندي ففج عن سيدي اسماعيل | وتوفي الوالد مطهر في تعز في 16 [ذي] القعدة سنة 1373 هـ وتوفي والدي في 3 [ذي] القعدة سنة 1363 | بعدن تلقاهم الله بواسع رحمته وعظيم مغفرته وايانا والمؤمنين اجمعين آمين

On fol. 2v Muḥammad relates the chains of transmission of his teacher, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfi (fig. 96).

Fols 3r-v have two study notes, which are not signed and may have possibly been written by a hand other than Muḥammad’s. The first relates to a lesson (*dars*) on 18 or 19 Ramaḍān 1390/17 or 18 November 1970 in *al-manzil fī l-Nahrayn*, presumably his residence in the quarter of al-Nahrayn, focussing on the *Amālī al-Muršad*, that is, *al-Amālī al-ḥamīsiyya* by Imām al-Muršad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā’īl al-Šaḡarī (d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1106).¹³ The second note relates to a lesson on 24 Ramaḍān 1390/23 November 1970, again in *al-manzil bi-l-Nahrayn*, focussing on the *Amālī* by Abū Sa’d Ismā’īl b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. between 440/1048 and 447/1056).¹⁴

¹³ On the work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, p. 184 no. 40 and *passim*.

¹⁴ On this work, see Ansari, “Un *muḥaddiṭ* mu’tazilite zaydite.”

Fol. 5r (fig. 97) contains an *iğāza* issued by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr's teacher 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm for the *Durar al-aḥādīṭ al-nabawiyya bi-l-asānīd al-yahyāwiyya*, a work which is also included in the present codex (see below). 'Alī b. Muḥammad relates his own chain of transmission for the work and adds that he had already issued an *iğāza 'amma* to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr at an earlier stage. The *iğāza* is dated 9 Šawwāl 1393/5 November 1973 and reads as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | درر الاحاديث النبوية بالاسانيد اليحيوية للعلامة عبد الله محمد ابن ابي النجم ارويهما
قراءة على سيدي العلامة محمد بن حسن الكبسي الملقب المراجل وهو يرويها | عن سيدي العلامة احمد بن
زيد الكبسي رحمه الله عن شيخ الاسلام محمد بن علي الشوكاني وهو سند عال وقد اجزت للاخ العزي (?)
| العلامة محمد بن محمد بن اساعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن مطهر بن اساعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين بن الامام
القاسم بن محمد ان يرويها | عني بعد ان اجزته الاجازة العامة قبل سنوات واملى علي في عدة كتب في كتب
اهل البيت عليهم السلام | وغيرهم واملى من اوائل الاحاديث المذكورة علي فقد اجزته ان يروي عني ذلك
واسئل الله سبحانه ان يفتح عليه فتوح العارفين | آمين اللهم آمين كتبه الحقير علي بن محمد بن احمد بن عبد
الرحمن بن احمد بن اساعيل بن ابراهيم بن المهدي بن محمد بن المهدي بن احمد بن الحسن بن الامام القاسم |
بن محمد رضي الله عنهم وعنا لتاسع من شهر شوال سنة 1393

Right above the *iğāza*, Muḥammad has added a brief explanation about Aḥmad b. Zayd al-Kibsi (mentioned in 'Alī b. Muḥammad's *isnād*), who was the father of Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Zayd al-Kibsi (b. 1261/1845, d. 1316/1898). For both, father¹⁵ and son, see al-Wāsiī, *al-Durr al-farīd*, p. 25. The explanation reads as follows:

سيدي احمد بن زيد | هو والد زيد بن احمد وهذا | عرفه سيدي العلامة | علي بن محمد بن ابراهيم أبقاء الله
وهو من العلماء تولى الأوقاف قبل سيدنا حسين بن علي العمري رحمهم الله جميعاً.

The codex includes the following works:

(1) the *Kitāb al-Amālī* of al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buḥānī (b. 333/944, d. 411/1020) (15 pp.) (figs. 98 and 99).¹⁶

¹⁵ It is possible though not likely that he may be identified as Aḥmad b. Zayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nāṣir al-Kibsi (b. 1209/1795, d. 1271/1855); on the latter, see al-Akwa', *Hiḡar al-ilm*, vol. 4, p. 1790 no. 18.

¹⁶ See al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 152 no. 402. The work has been published repeatedly.

Throughout the work, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added numerous glosses onto the margins. The text is concluded with a colophon stating that Muḥammad completed his copy on 17 Raġab 1355/3 October 1936, and that he had produced his copy on the basis of an antescrpt produced by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Ġirāfī, another teacher of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (see above). ‘Abd Allāh al-Ġirāfī had completed his copy, Muḥammad goes on to explain, on 5 Ramaḍān 1335/25 June 1917:

تم بحمد الله نقل هذا الكتاب ساعة عشر ونصف من يوم السبت الموافق | سابع عشر شهر رجب الفرد من
شهور سنة الف وثلاثمائة وخمسة وخمسين من نسخة بخط المولى العلامة | الفخري عبد الله بن عبد الكريم بن
محمد الجرافي حفظه الله بخط مالكه | الراجي رحمة ربه محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل |
ابن المطهر بن اسماعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين بن | القاسم رحمهم الله آمين وصلى الله وسلم على محمد وآله |
قال الفخري في آخر نسخته تم الكتاب بحمد الله | ومنه وكرمه يوم الاثنين خامس شهر | رمضان الكريم سنة
1335

On the lower margin of the page there is a note, dated Ramaḍān 1390/November 1970 in the hand of Ḥammūd b. ‘Abbās al-Mu‘ayyad, stating that he had studied the work together with Muḥammad al-Manṣūr:

الحمد لله | وبعد فانه تم لي | قراءة على سيدي العلامة محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | المنصور قراءة هو علي وانا
اسمع من اوله الى اخره | جزاه الله خيراً وعافاه وتولاه وحرر في شهر رمضان | سنة 1390 وكتب حمود بن
عباس المؤيد

(2) *Durar al-aḥādīṭ al-nabawiyya bi-l-asānīd al-yaḥyāwiyya*, compiled by the seventh/thirteenth-century scholar ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Abī l-Naġm al-Ṣa‘dī (112 pp.). On the page immediately preceding the title page, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr states in detail his chain of transmission for the work, beginning with his immediate teacher, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Ġirāfī (fig. 100):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم يقول المفتقر الى رحمة الله وتوفيقه محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | ابن
اسماعيل بن المطهر اروي الدرر النبوية بالاسانيد اليحيوية بطريق السماع والاملاء | عن شيخنا العلامة التقي
فخر الدين عبد الله بن عبد الكريم بن محمد الجرافي حفظه الله وهو | يرويها بطريق السماع علي سيدي علي
بن محمد بن ابراهيم سنة 1336 وهو يرويها عن السيد الأجل محمد بن حسن المراحل الكبسي عن سيدي
احمد بن زيد الكبسي عن شيخه العلامة صارم الدين ابراهيم بن عبد القادر عن ابيه عن شيخه العلامة احمد
بن عبد الرحمن | الشامي عن السيد العلامة حسين بن احمد زيارة عن شيخه العلامة احمد بن صالح ابن ابي

رجال قال اخبرنا شيخنا العلامة احمد بن سعد الدين المسوري عن شيخه احمد بن صلاح الشرفي عن القاضي العلامة احمد بن سليمان النسري عن الامام القاسم بن محمد عليه السلام عن السيد امير الدين بن عبد الله عن | السيد احمد بن عبد الله الوزير عن الامام شرف الدين عن السيد صارم الدين ابراهيم بن محمد الوزير عن السيد ابي العطايا عبد الله بن يحيى بن المهدي عن ابيه عن الامام الواثق المطهر بن محمد عن ابيه عن السيد محمد بن الهادي عن ابيه قال اخبرنا القاضي عبد الله بن حمزة بن ابي النجم فقال بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الكتاب الى آخره

On the title page (fig. 101) Muḥammad al-Manṣūr added a note stating that he studied the work with his teacher ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfi between Muḥarram and Raġab 1355/March-April and September-October 1936:

وكان قراءة الاسانيد كالأ | على شيخنا العلامة الفخري عبد الله بن عبد الكريم | حفظه الله في عام خمس وخمسين | وثلاثمائة والف هجرية على صاحبها | وآله افضل الصلوة والسلام | ما بين المحرم ورجب من هذه السنة وفقنا الله لمرضاته آمين | محمد بن محمد رحمهما الله

Throughout the work, Muḥammad al-Manṣūr penned numerous glosses in the margins and occasionally between the lines. These include crossreferences to relevant material in other works which are referred to with the indication of title, volume, and page number (e.g., pp. 52-53). On page 108 (fig. 102), which is written by two different hands, there is a margin note explaining that most of the page is in the hand of Muḥammad’s paternal uncle, Muṭahhar b. Ismā’īl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. In this context Muḥammad relates the respective dates and places of death of his uncle and his father. The note is dated 23 Ramaḍān 1390/22 November 1970 and was added in *manzil al-Nahrayn* in Ṣan‘ā’:

أكثر | هذه الصفحة بخط والدي | العم مطهر بن اساعيل بن | عبد الرحمن بن اساعيل بن | مطهر رضي الله عنهم وعن | والدي وارضاهما و | تغمدهما وايانا بواسع | رحمته آمين اللهم آمين | وقد توفي الوالد ايضاً في | 16 ذي القعدة سنة 1373 في تعز | وتوفي والدي في 3 ذي القعدة | سنة 1363 في عدن أسأل | الله ان يجمعنا في مستقر رحمته | ودار كرامته وكتب هذا ناسخ هذه النسخة وهذا المجلد | محمد بن محمد بن اساعيل ساحمهم الله آمين | ليلة الاحد 23 شهر رمضان الكريم | سنة 1390 بمنزل النهين | بصنعاء جعلنا الله و | كل من نحب من عتقائه | من النار في هذا | الشهر الكريم والخواتم | المباركة آمين والحمد لله | رب العالمين

The work is concluded with a colophon on page 112 (fig. 103), stating that the copy was completed on 30 Ġumādā II 1355/17 September 1936 and that it was transcribed on the basis of two antescrpts, one of which was in the possession of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfī, and the other one belonging to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Izzī (b. 1291/1874, d. 1380/1960). On the latter, see al-Waḡīh, *A’lām*, p. 769 no. 827. The colophon reads as follows:

تم لي والحمد لله كما يجب | نقل هذا الكتاب | ليلة الخميس الموافق | ثلاثين شهر جادى | الآخرة سنة 1355
 | على نسخة بخط الفخري عبد الله بن عبد الكريم | الجرافي حفظه الله | ونسخة اخرى عليها | انها من كتب
 | الوالد قاسم بن حسين | العزي | مامن كاتب إلا سيفنى | ويبقى الدهر ما كتبت يداه | فلا تكتب بكفك
 غير شئ يسرك في القيامة ان تراه | لا اله الا الله وحده

(3) *Muḥtaṣar sīrat rasūl Allāh*, by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ġalāl (d. 1084/1673-74)¹⁷ (4 pages). The brief text concludes with a colophon (fig. 104) dated to the end of Ġumādā II or the beginning of Raġab 1355/September 1939. It was again copied from an antescrpt produced by Muḥammad’s teacher, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfī, who in turn had completed his copy in Dū l-Ḥiḡġa 1335/September-October 1917. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr adds a note (*fā’ida*) on the definition and subject matter of the discipline of history (*tārīḥ*), dated 24 Rabī II 1361/11 May 1942, adding that both the main text and this later note are written by the same person, although the hand may seem to be different, which is to be explained by the time that has lapsed between the two notes:

تمت من نسخة الفخري الجرافي حفظه الله وكان الفراغ نحو الساعة الحادية عشر ونصف | من نهار الخميس
 غرة رجب أو سلخ جادى الآخرة سنة 1355 بقلم افقر العباد محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | بن عبد الرحمن بن
 اسماعيل بن المطهر سالمهم الله آمين | وقال في آخرها الفخري عافاه الله | حرر نقل هذه النبذة صبح الجمعة
 شهر الحجة | سنة 1335

فائدة: حدّ التاريخ علم تعرف به احوال الماضين وموضوعه اخبار السابقين | وثمرته الايقاظ وكبح النفس عن
 الاعتزاز بزهرة الدنيا والنظر بتقلب احوالها تمت الفائدة نقلًا | اصيل يومنا الاحد لعاه 14 شهر ربيع سنة
 1361 بخط مالكة وبين الخط الاعلى وهذا اختلاف | مع اتحاد الكاتب المفتقر الى رحمة الله محمد بن محمد
 رحمهما الله ووالديهما والمؤمنين والمؤمنات آمين اللهم آمين

¹⁷ For the work and its author, see al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, p. 102.

(4) A commentary by Abū l-Makārim Nūr al-Dīn Šāliḥ b. al-Šiddīq b. ‘Alī al-Namāzī (d. 975/1567-68) on the *Silsilat al-ibriz bi-l-sanad al-‘azīz* by Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib al-Ḥusaynī al-Balḥī (d. 532/1137-38), entitled *al-Qawl al-wağīz fī šarḥ aḥādīṭ Silsilat al-ibriz*.¹⁸ The text again ends with a colophon dated 25 Ğumādā II 1355/12 September 1936, which includes a full quotation of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfi’s colophon, whose copy Muḥammad al-Manšūr had again used (fig. 105):

تمت | من نسخة القاضي العلامة عبد الله بن عبد الكريم الجرافي قال في آخرها قال مؤلفه تغمده الله | برحمته
اتفق الفراغ من هذا الشرح ضحوة يوم الخميس سادس شهر ربيع الآخر سنة 945 بمزلي | بتعز عدن حرسها
الله تعالى ثم قال الفخري بعد هذا وكان الفراغ من رقمه يوم الخميس احد وعشرون | وذلك بحروس مدينة
صنعاء المحمية بالله في الفليحي اللهم ارزقنا العلم والعمل والرضا تمت شهر الحجة سنة 1344 | وكان الفراغ من
ذلك ضحى يوم السبت الموافق 25 شهر جادى الاخرى سنة 1355 بقلم | مالكة العبد الفقير الى رحمة ربه
الغني محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن المطهر بن اسماعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين | ابن
القاسم رحمه الله ووالديه واياهم اجمعين انه غفور رحيم وصلى الله وسلم على محمد وآله الاكرمين آمين

(5) *Bayān ma‘rifat niṣāb al-zakāt min al-dahab wa-l-fiḍḍa* by Imām al-Hādī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sarrāġī (d. 1248/1832-33 or 1250/1834-35).¹⁹ This text was completed on 29 Ğumādā II 1355/16 September 1936, again on the basis of an antecscript by Muḥammad’s teacher, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfi (fig. 106):

تم بحمد لله من نسخة الفخري عبد الله بن عبد الكريم الجرافي قال في آخرها تم بحمد الله وقد قابلت هذه
النسخة | على نسخة القاضي العلامة محمد بن احمد سهيل عن خط السيد المذكور رحمه الله ولا حول ولا قوة
الا بالله العلي العظيم وصلى الله وسلم على محمد وآله | وتم لي نقلها | يوم الربوع | عله 2 جادى | الاخرة
سنة | 1355 | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | بن المطهر ساجهم الله | آمين

(6) Muḥammad al-Manšūr provides his chains of transmission for two works: (a) *Kanz al-rašād wa-zād al-ma‘ād*, a work on ascetism and Sufism by Imām al-Hādī li-Dīn Allāh ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī (b. 845/1442, d. 900/1495),²⁰ which starts with his teacher ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-

¹⁸ For the work and the commentary and their respective authors, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, pp. 209 no. 52, 214 no. 99.

¹⁹ For the work and its author, see al-Wağīh, *A‘lām*, pp. 145-146 no. 121; Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, vol. 1, pp. 150-152 no. 66.

²⁰ On the work (published repeatedly) and its author, see al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, pp. 677-681.

Ġirāfī, who transmits from their joint teacher, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (see above); and (b) *Silsilat al-ibriz bi-l-sanad al-‘azīz* of Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Balḥī, together with the commentary by Abū l-Makārim Nūr al-Dīn Šāliḥ b. al-Šiddīq al-Namāzī (see above no. 4), again starting with his teacher ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfī (figs 107 and 108).

(7) *Kitāb al-Nāsiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ* by al-Muẓaffar b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. Ḥuzayma al-Fārisī,²¹ which Muḥammad al-Manšūr again transcribed from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfī’s copy. After ‘Abd Allāh’s colophon, in which the latter relates that he collated his copy with a “corrected copy” (*nusha ṣaḥīḥa*), Muḥammad al-Manšūr remarks that he nevertheless found some errors (there are some margin notes throughout his copy of the text) (fig. 34):

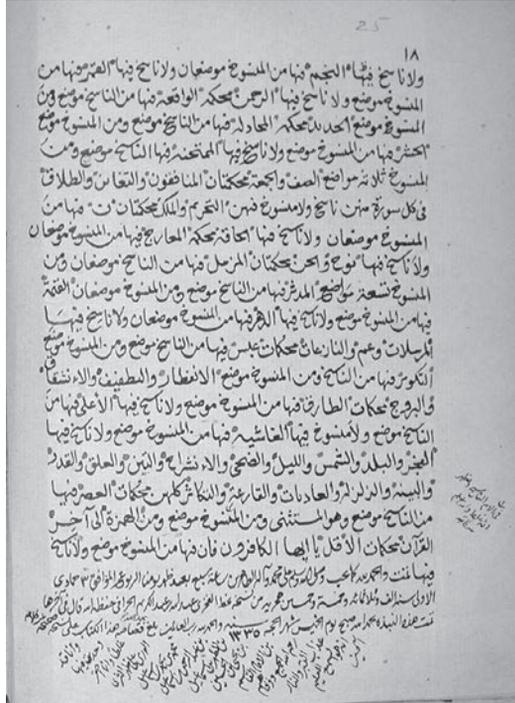


Fig. 34: MS Šan‘ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01495_092)

تمت والحمد لله كما يجب وصلى الله وسلم على محمد وآله الطاهرين ساعة سبع بعد ظهر يومنا الربوع الموافق 3
جبادى | الاولى سنة الف وثلاثمائة وخمسة وخمسين هجرية من نسخة بخط الفخري عبد الله بن عبد الكريم
الجرافي حفظه الله قال في آخرها | تمت هذه النبذة بحمد الله صبح يوم الخميس شهر الحجة سنة 1335
والحمد لله رب العالمين بلغ بحمد الله قصاصة هذا الكتاب على نسخة صحيحة تمت كلامه | وانا قد | وجدت
فيها | غلطاً وانا اصغر | الورى على ظهر الثرى | محمد بن محمد بن اساعيل | بن المطهر بن اساعيل | بن يحيى
بن الحسين | بن الامام القاسم | رحم الله الجميع ووقاهم | عذاب القبر والنار | انه هو السميع العليم | آمين

²¹ The work was published as *Kitāb al-Mūğaz fī l-nāsiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ*, as an appendix to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl al-Šaffār al-Murādī al-Naḥwī al-Miṣrī (d. 338/949-50), *Kitāb al-Nāsiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ fī l-Qur‘ān al-karīm*, [Cairo] 1357/1938, pp. 259-275. Cf. also GALS, vol. 1, p. 201.

(8) One page containing a brief excerpt from Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's (b. 849/1445, d. 911/1505) *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* on the question of abrogation (*nash*), again on the basis of an antescrypt by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfī (fig. 109).

(9) *Masā'il al-iğmā'* by Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–37), which Muḥammad al-Manšūr again transmits through his teacher, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ġirāfī (fig. 110):

فهذا ما امكن تحصيله من هذه المسائل كما وجدتها بخط الأخ العلامة فخر الاسلام عبد الله بن عبد الكريم الجرافي وقال في آخرها تمت كما وجدت وصلى الله وسلم على سيدنا محمد وآله الطاهرين جادى الاولى سنة 1355

(10) Four pages with various pieces of poetry.

(11) A *qaṣīda* sent by a noblewoman of Yemen (*ṣarīfa min al-Yaman*) to Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim (r. 1054/1644–1087/1676).²² She explains in this text that her mother had been the wife of the son of one of al-Mutawakkil's brothers. Following the demise of her mother, the daughter now seeks to be given back her mother's money, which the family had refused to give to her. In a margin note the *ṣarīfa* is identified as Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad uḥt al-*ṣarīfa* Zaynab al-*ṣahāriyya* al-*adabiy-ya* al-*ma'rūfa* al-*mašhūra* (fig. 35). Al-*ṣarīfa* Zaynab al-*ṣahāriyya* al-*adabiy-ya* al-*ma'rūfa* al-*mašhūra* may possibly be identified as Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Imām al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Dāwūd (d.

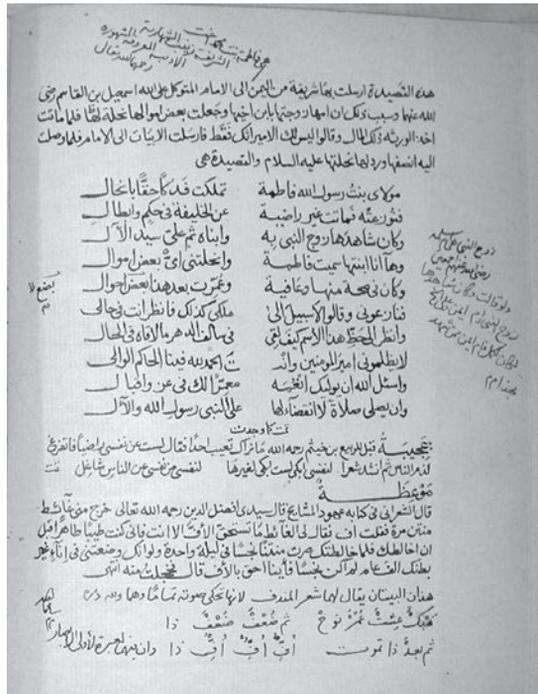


Fig. 35: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01495_097)

²² On him, see the study by al-Ġalībī, *al-Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim*.

1114/1702 in Šahāra); on her, see al-Akwa‘, *Hiġar al-‘ilm*, vol. 2, p. 1094; al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, p. 437.

(12) *Kitāb al-Nāsiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ min al-Qur’ān al-karīm* by ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Naġm al-Ša‘dī (d. 647/1249). For the work and its author, see al-Šahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā*, vol. 1, pp. 610ff.

Muḥammad al-Manṣūr completed copying this work on 15 Ġumādā I 1354/15 August 1935. Unlike the other works included in this codex, the antescrpt of this text had not been produced by his teacher ‘Abd Allāh al-Ġirāfī but rather by an anonymous copyist, who had completed his copy of the text on 12 Rabī‘ II 1065/19 February 1655 (fig. 111). Moreover, a new pagination (red numbers, on the top margin of each page) sets in with this tract (the work covers pages 1 through 37). Noteworthy is Muḥammad’s comment on his faithfulness to the antescrpt and the manner in which he marked additions to it in his own copy:

تم كتاب الناسخ والمنسوخ قبيل الظهر وقت التسبيح يوم | الجمعة الموافق خامس عشر شهر جمادى الأولى
سنة اربعة وخمسين | وثلثائة والى من نسخة قال فيها تم وقت شروق | الشمس يوم الخميس لعله ثاني عشر
في شهر | ربيع الآخر سنة 1065 من الهجرة | النبوية على صاحبها | افضل الصلوة والتسليم والله اسئل ان
يلهمنا طاعته | ولقينا ملمات الدارين وما | بينها ويجعل الاعمال خالصة | لوجهه الكريم وقد نقلت عن | الأم ولم
ازيد عليها الا | بذكر السلام مع الصلوة | على محمد وآله فليس فيها سوى الصلوة | نادر تعليقة حسبما ظهر
للفهم القاصر | حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل وصلى | الله وسلم على سيدنا محمد | وآله الاكريمين

(13) *Kitāb Asās al-asās li-mā yaġibu taqdīmuhu min taṣḥīḥ ‘aqā’id al-akyās* by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620), in reply to some questions posed by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥġūd (pages 38-43).²³ The antescrpt of this text was part of the same codex that also contained the preceding text, *Kitāb al-Nāsiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ* (fig. 112):

تم بحمد الله وعونه رقمه ليلة السبت | نحو الساعة الثالثة الموافق سادس عشر جمادى الأولى سنة الف وثلثائة
| واربعة وخمسين من مجموع نسخ منه | الناسخ والمنسوخ قال في آخر | هذا الكتاب تم بحمد الله | وكرمه ...
نسأل الله | ان يعيننا | على | فهمه وحفظه وينفعنا به | والمؤمنين وصلى الله وسلم على محمد وآله الطاهرين |
كتب احقر الورى محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن | عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن المطهر رحمهم الله وعفى عنهم
انه رؤوف رحيم جواد كريم

²³ On the work, see also al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, p. 691 no. 6.

(14) On a separate page (page 44), the chain of transmission of the *Kitāb Mirqāt al-wuṣūl ilā ‘ilm al-uṣūl* by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (b. 967/1559, d. 1029/1620) is cited from Imām al-Manṣūr’s son Muḥammad up until Aḥmad b. Sa‘d al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maswarī (b. 1007/1598, d. 1079/1668).

(15) A brief unidentified work on legal theory (pages 45 through 57), which is concluded with a colophon stating that Muḥammad al-Manṣūr completed the copy on 17 Ġumādā I 1354/17 August 1935 (fig. 36):

وقد كان بحمد الله وعونه وفضله على عبده | اسير الخطايا والذنوب محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل | بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل بن المطهر رحمه | الله واياهم ومن عليهم جميعا بالرضى | والعفو انه جواد كريم التام في ليلة الاحد الساعة الثانية | الموافق سابع عشر جمادى الاولى سنة الف وثلاث | مائة واربعة وخمسين استل الله الهداية | الى الصراط المستقيم والعلم النافع في الحال | والمآل وصلى الله على محمد وآله الطاهرين

(16) *al-Waraqāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ġuwaynī (d. 478/1085), together with the commentary by Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī al-Šāfi‘ī (b. 791/1389, d. 864/1459) (pages 58 through 78). Al-Maḥallī’s work has been published (Casablanca 2006). For additional copies of the commentary in Yemen, see, e.g., al-Ruqayḥī [et al.], *Fihrist*, pp. 827-828. For al-Ġuwaynī’s *Kitāb al-Waraqāt*, see Vishanoff, *A Critical Introduction to Islamic Legal Theory*. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr’s colophon is dated 17 Raġab 1354/15 October 1935 (fig. 113). Again, he includes the wording of the colophon of his antescrpt, signed by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maḥnakī, dated 24 Ġumādā II 1067/9 April 1657. This ‘Alī b. Aḥmad may possibly also be the scribe of the

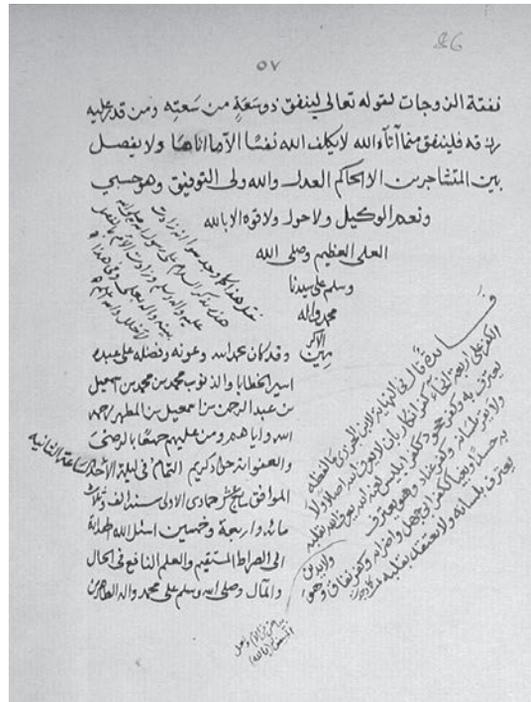


Fig. 36: MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01495_124)

antecscript of the preceding works. On the bottom of the page a stamp is added:

تم ذلك بفضل الله واحسانه وكرمه وانعامه فله الحمد كما يجب | وله الشكر كما يجب صباح يوم الخميس الموافق
سابع عشر [او سادس عشر والله اعلم] شهر رجب | الفرد سنة 1354 الف وثلاثمائة واربعة وخمسين هجرية
على | صاحبها وآله افضل الصلوة والسلام من نسخة قال | في آخرها كان الفراغ من رقم هذا | وقت الضحى
يوم السبت لعله | رابع وعشرون جمادى | الآخرة سنة 1067 | بخط | مالکها الفقير الى الله علي بن احمد بن
محمد المحنكي تم كلامه مختصراً بخط | مالکها احقر الوری محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن | بن
اسماعيل بن مطهر بن اسماعيل بن | يحيى بن الحسين بن | القاسم رحمهم | الله آمين | آمين

(17) An excerpt, entitled *min kalām Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī karrama Allāh waḡhahu fī l-qaḏā' wa-l-qadar*, in the transmission of Ibn 'Asākir (b. 499/1105, d. 571/1176). There is no colophon in the end but the piece is again clearly written in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr.

(18) A note of two pages, *fā'ida fī l-isti'āra*, written in a different hand. The anonymous copyist identifies the copyist of his antecscript at the end of the brief text as 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Ṭālib, who had noted it down in Rabī II 1354 (?). Muḥammad al-Manṣūr adds a note, dated 9 Dū l-Qa'da 1405/27 July 1985, in which he identifies the hand as that of Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Ḥusayn al-'Izzī,²⁴ written during the 1350s/1930s (fig. 114):

هذا خط الاخ محمد بن قاسم بن حسين العزي ابو طالب ايام شبابه ودراسته في الخمسينيات في القرن الرابع
عشر وهو صحيح اذنه عافاه الله وايانا آمين | وحزّر هذا يوم الخميس 9 ذي القعدة سنة 1405 هجرية قمرية
على صاحبها آلاف الصلاة والسلام محمد بن محمد سامحها الله تعالى

(19) Brief excerpt from one of the writings of Bahā' al-Dīn 'Abd al-Waḥhāb b. Taqī l-Dīn al-Subkī, that is Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Taqī l-Dīn 'Alī (b. 719/1319, d. 773/1371), followed by some short pieces of poetry and notes taken from a variety of sources.

ZMT 01381

This codex is likewise written in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, and yet it is of an entirely different nature. It was copied some forty years later,

²⁴ He was born some two years before Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, in 1331/1913. See Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (2010), pp. 218-219.

in 1397/1977, and there is no indication that the codex was ever used in a teaching context, and the relatively small format, the fancy colors, and the large script suggest that Muḥammad may have written out the (invariably concise and popular) works that are included in the codex for his own consumption, perhaps to take the volume on a trip, or as an exercise to assist in memorizing the text, as is suggested by the occasional later additions and corrections in his own hand, or simply as an act of piety. The following works are included:

(1) *Kitāb al-Kāfil bi-naʿyl al-suʿl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Bahrān (d. 957/1550), on legal theory (fig. 115). The colophon is dated 30 Ramaḍān 1397/14 September 1977 (fig. 116):

فرغت منه بحمد الله ليلة الثلاثاء ثلاثين | شهر رمضان المبارك سنة سبع وتسعين | وثلاثمائة والف نفع الله به
محمد بن محمد | ابن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور غفر الله لهم ولكل من | نحبّ والمؤمنين اجمعين والحمد لله رب
العالمين

(2) *Lāmiyat al-afāl* (also known as *al-Miftāḥ fī abniyat al-afāl*), a didactic poem on morphology (*ṣarf*) by Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Mālik (b. ca. 600/1203, d. 672/1273),²⁵ which he completed on 6 Šawwāl 1397/20 September 1977. In the colophon concluding this text Muḥammad al-Manṣūr states that he produced the copy for himself (fig. 117):

كملت بمن الله وفضله اثناء ليلة | الثلاثاء سادس شوال سنة سبع وتسعين | وثلاثمائة والف من هجرة سيد
المرسلين | عليه وعلى آله افضل الصلوات والتسليم | رقمها الفقير الى رحمة الله وغفرانه محمد بن محمد | ابن
اسماعيل مطهر المنصور تجاوز الله عنهم و | احسن له ولذويه الختام كتبها لنفسه | والحمد لله رب العالمين

(3) *al-Ġazariyya*, that is *al-Muqaddama al-ġazariyya* by Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazarī (“Ibn al-Ġazarī,” b. 751/1350, d. 833/1429), a popular poem on the correct pronunciation of the Qurʾānic text, which he finished copying on 2 Dū l-Qaʿda 1397/15 October 1977. The colophon (fig. 118) reads as follows:

كملت يوم الجمعة ثاني شهر القعدة الحرام | سنة 1397 هـ الف وثلاثمائة وسبعة وتسعين | هجرية على صاحبها
وعليه افضل الصلاة والسلام | محمد بن محمد بن اسماعيل مطهر المنصور غفر الله لهم آمين

²⁵ On the work and the author, see GAL, vol. 1, pp. 359-363 no. 4.

(4) al-Faḍl b. Abī al-Saʿd al-ʿUṣayfirī's (fl. seventh/thirteenth century) *Miftāḥ al-fā'id fī 'ilm al-farā'id*, on inheritance law (fig. 119). The colophon is dated 8 Dū l-Qa'da 1397/21 October 1977 (fig. 120):

تم نقلها صبح الخميس 8 ذي القعدة |
الحرام سنة 1397 هـ محمد بن محمد بن
اسماعيل مطهر المنصور | غفر الله لهم
ولمن نحب وللمؤمنين والمؤمنات | اجمعين
أمين اللهم آمين سبحان ربك | رب العزة
عما يصفون وسلام | على المرسلين والحمد
لله رب العالمين

(5) *Mulḥat al-i'rāb*, a didactic poem on grammar by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (b. ca. 446/1054, d. 516/1122) (fig. 121), which Muḥammad al-Manṣūr finished transcribing on 15 Dū l-Qa'da 1397/28 October 1977 (fig. 37):

تمت نسخًا الخميس 15 ذي القعدة سنة 1397 هـ على صاحبها وعليه | افضل الصلاة والسلام محمد بن محمد
سأحبهما الله والله الحمد | كما يجب ورضى وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى | والحمد لله رب العالمين

ZMT 01372

This is another codex that has been produced by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. It contains a copy of the popular book on syntax *al-Kāfiya fī l-naḥw* by Ḡamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥāḡib al-Kurdī (d. 646/1249). The relatively small format, the different colors, and the large script are similar to the previously described codex (ZMT 01381), though the present book has yet another peculiarity in that the layout of the text is divided into four sections on each double page, which are numbered consecutively (fig. 122). In total, the *Kāfiya* stretches over 385 quarters of a double page. The text ends with a colophon (fig. 123) dated 12 Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 1397/24 November 1977, i.e., about the same time ZMT 01381 was transcribed. The *Kāfiya* is followed by a

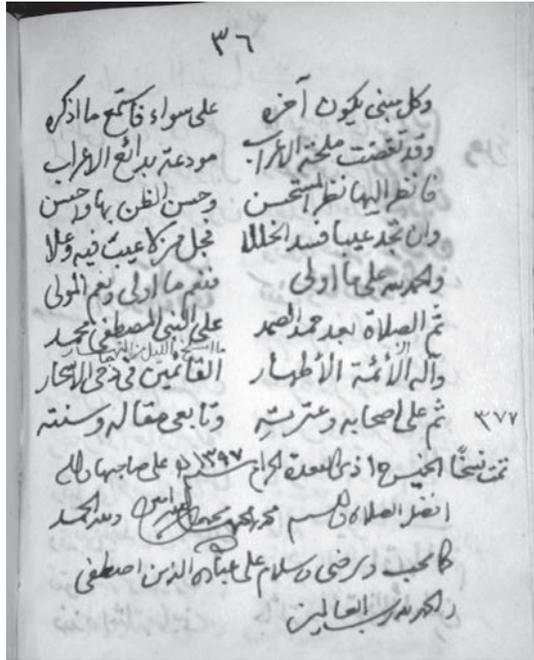


Fig. 37: MS Ṣan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01381_165)

number of small notes and brief texts, all written in the hand of Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. Throughout the codex, there are numerous margin notes, all in the hand of Muḥammad and in most cases signed (م) (fig. 124).

ZMT 01339

This codex contains a copy of *al-Mustaṭāb fī tarāḡim riḡāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb*, by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī, purchased by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr in 1369/1950 (see also above, Chapter Three). At the beginning of the codex (preceding fol. 1, according to its current foliation) there is a page containing two lengthy notes in the hand of and signed by Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (fig. 125), written in response to another note on the same page (in blue ink) signed by Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Sayāḡī, whose identifications Muḥammad al-Manṣūr considers to be wrong. Muḥammad also comments on the lines of poetry on the same page, suggesting that these were written by his ancestor, Ismāʿīl b. Muṭahhar. He goes on to suggest that the latter wrote the poems when he was still a young boy, and that his father had died when the boy was still young. Moreover, he further suggests that the poetry, which is found on the last page of the codex, was likewise written down by his ancestor. Muḥammad also comments on some of the margin notes throughout the codex, pointing particularly to the one on fol. 61r which, in his view, is in the hand of his ancestor Muṭahhar b. Ismāʿīl:

ملاحظة يظهر والله اعلم | ان هذه الابيات بخط الجد اسماعيل بن | مطهر بن اسماعيل بن يحيى مؤلف
الطبقات وأظن | والعلم لله انه كتبها في سن الصغر ولعله مات | والده وهو صغير وكذلك ما كتب بظهر آخر
| ورقة في هذا السفر يظهر أنه خطه ولاحظ | مثلاً كتابته (+ لا وهو مشطوب) هنا وهناك وهذا كاف في
الدلالة | على ما ذكرته آنفاً كذلك يلاحظ أن | المستنير المحرر ما يراه تحت هذا السجل العارية | والظاهر أنه
خط سيدي الجد مطهر بن اسماعيل | رضي الله عنهم اجمعين وفي الصفحة الاولى من ورقة 61 | على
الهامش بنفس المداد والقلم تسويد لكلمة جآنا | تسويد للتبيض وفوقها ظ إشارة الظن بدون ألف | ومن
الجميع يستدل على أن سحجة سيدي مطهر رضوان الله | عليه كانت ميالة إلى الایجاز والحذر والمبالغة في
محاسبة | النفس والاكتفاء بأقل [ما] يلزم رحمه الله وإيانا | والدنيا أجمعين والمؤمنين والمؤمنات آمين محمد بن
محمد بن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن اسماعيل | ابن مطهر | وعلى صاحبها وآله الصلاة والسلام | وحرر هذا
بعد عصر | يومنا الاثنين 16 شهر الربيع الاخر | سنة 1383

ثم انتهت به | التصرفات إلى يد المفتقر | إلى رحمة الله ومغفرته محمد بن محمد | ابن اسماعيل بن عبد الرحمن بن
اسماعيل بن مطهر | ابن اسماعيل بن يحيى بن الحسين بن القاسم غفر الله لهم | أجمعين وقد أرجعه إلي الوالد

العلامة محمد بن محمد زبارة | والوالد العلامة عبد الرحمن بن حسين الشامي غفر الله لها لاعتقادها | اني أحق
 الورثة به وبسائر كتب الأجداد رحمهم الله جميعًا وإيانا | والمؤمنين والمؤمنات أجمعين لغير اللهم آمين وارجاعه
 كان قبل أربعة عشر عامًا من التاريخ لهذا يومنا الاثنين لعله | سادس وعشرين شهر ربيع الآخر سنة 1383 هـ
 على صاحبها | وآله افضل الصلاة والسلام محمد بن محمد رحمه الله

ZMT 01464

This codex is a multitext volume, which was studied and probably produced in the context of the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya* in Ṣan‘ā around 1355/1936. It contains numerous margin notes that provide information about the process of instruction in the *madrasa*. The codex consists of three texts, each of which is paginated separately.

The first text (110 pages) is a commentary on Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ’s (d. 621/1224) *Miṣbāḥ al-‘ulūm fī ma‘rifat al-ḥayy al-qayyūm* (or *al-Ṭalātūn al-mas‘ala fī uṣūl al-dīn*) by Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Šaḡarī al-Šaḥūlī al-Ṣan‘ānī (b. 987/1579-80, d. 1060/1650), a work that was part of the curriculum at the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*.²⁶ While its title is given on the title page as *Kitāb Šarḥ al-Ṭalātīn al-mas‘ala*, the commentary also circulated under the title *al-Durr al-manẓūm fī ma‘rifat al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm*.²⁷ The text concludes with a colophon (p. 110) (fig. 126) in which the unidentified scribe relates that he had transcribed the copy at the behest of ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiī. It is likely that it was ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ who taught this text to a group of students, although neither the teacher of the study context mentioned in a second note on page 110 nor the participating students are identified. While the colophon is undated, the teaching sessions ended on 15 Ġumādā I 1355/3 August 1936:

تم نسخ هذا لكتاب الجليل بعناية مالكه سيدي | المولى الجليل وجيه الإسلام العلامة عبد الواسع | ابن يحيى
 الواسعي نفع الله المسلمين به (؟) في أمور الدين | والدنيا آمين وغفر لنا وللمؤمنين والمؤمنات | انه غفور رحيم
 ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله | العلي العظيم وصلى الله وسلم على سيدنا محمد | وآله الطاهرين الغر الميامين |
 وأصحابه الراشدين | آمين

²⁶ See al-Akwa‘, *Madāris*, p. 404 (*al-tawḥīd*, no. 2)

²⁷ On the work and its author, see al-Waḡīḥ, *A‘lām*, pp. 75-76 no. 39; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 452 no. 1330.

الحمد لله | كمل بحمد الله إملائه لبعض الطلبة | الكرام مع القصاصة حسب الطاقة | والإمكان في المدرسة العلمية | المتوكلية شيد الله أركانها | في صبح يوم الأحد لعله | 15 شهر جمادى الأولى | سنة 1355 جعل الله | ذلك خالصاً لوجهه | الكريم وموصلاً إلى | جنات النعم آمين | خادم العلم الشريف

‘Abd al-Wāsi’ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi’ī (b. 1295/1878, d. 1379/1960) was one of the prominent scholars of Yemen during the first half of the twentieth century who also taught at the *madrasa al-‘ilmiyya*.²⁸ His formation as a scholar is documented in his *al-Durr al-farīd al-ġāmi’ li-mutafarriqāt al-asānīd*, a comprehensive collection of autobiographical accounts (*tabat*) about his teachers, the works he studied, and the *iġāzas* he received, which provides valuable information on the curriculum of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship in Yemen (published Cairo 1357[/1938-39]). ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ also took on the responsibility of seeing into print some of the key Zaydī texts in the fields of law and *ḥadīṭ*, such as the *Musnad Zayd b. ‘Alī*,²⁹ Ibn al-Murtaḍā’s *Azhār* (Miṣr 1913-14),³⁰ Ibn Miftāḥ’s *Šarḥ al-Azhār*,³¹ and Imām al-Mu’ayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī’s *Amālī* (Ṣan‘ā’ 1355/1936-37),³² as well as other works, like the *Kitāb Kanz al-rašād wa-zād al-ma‘ād*, a work on ethics by Imām al-Hādī ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī (r. 879/1474-900/1495) (Cairo ca. 1925),³³ and *Šaḥīfat/Musnad al-Imām ‘Alī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā* (Miṣr 1921 and Ṣan‘ā’ 1353[/1934-35]). ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ was also a prolific writer in his own right and his works cover a large disciplinary spectrum, ranging from grammar (*al-Durar al-mardiyyāt fī l-mu‘arrabāt wa-l-mabniyyāt*),³⁴ *ḥadīṭ*,³⁵ and astronomy (*Kanz al-naġāt fī ‘ilm al-awqāt*, completed on 3 Ramaḍān 1328/8 September 1910), to legal theory (*K. al-Tahḍīb fī ‘ilm al-*

²⁸ On him, see al-Akwa’, *Madāris*, pp. 417-418; al-Waġīh, *A’lām*, pp. 633-634 no. 657; al-Ḥibšī, *Mašādir*, pp. 94-95; al-Wāsi’ī, “Tarġamat mu’allif *al-Durr al-farīd al-ġāmi’ li-mutafarriqāt al-asānīd*.”

²⁹ See al-Mar‘ašlī, *Nuṭr al-ġawāhir*, pp. 836-837.

³⁰ See also Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, p. 207.

³¹ See Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, p. 207; Messick, *Sharī’a Scripts*, p. 423 n. 19.

³² See Rossi, “La stampa nel Yemen,” p. 572 no. 6.

³³ See Rossi, “La stampa nel Yemen,” p. 579.

³⁴ Published, see bibliography.

³⁵ See, e.g., his publication of 1926 which contains three works of his: (1) *al-Muḥtaṣar fī tarġīb wa-tarḥīb ḥadīṭ sayyid al-bašar ...*; (2) *al-Laṭā’if al-bahiyya šarḥ al-Arba’in al-ḥadīṭ al-saylaqiyya*; (3) *al-Badr al-muzil li-l-ḥuzn fī faḍā’il al-Yaman wa-maḥāsīn Ṣan‘ā’ ḍat al-minan*.

uṣūl), and he regularly contributed to the Yemeni literary journal *al-Ḥikma*, which was published between December 1938 and March 1941.³⁶ Apart from his *al-Durr al-farīd*, ‘Abd al-Wāsi’s most prominent books are in the field of history, namely *Tārīḥ al-Yaman al-musammā Furğat al-humūm wa-l-ḥazan fī ḥawādīṯ wa-tārīḥ al-Yaman*, an “unofficial history” that was published in 1346/1927-28 (and republished repeatedly),³⁷ followed by an appendix volume, *Mulḥaq li-Tārīḥ al-Yaman fī ḍikr al-ḥukūma al-ğadīda* (Miṣr 1948).

The Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (BANLC) in Rome holds codices from ‘Abd al-Wāsi’s former library. MS Rome, BANLC, Or. 346 (Rossi 45) contains another commentary on Aḥmad al-Raṣṣās’s *al-Miṣbāḥ*, *al-Īdāḥ ‘alā l-Miṣbāḥ* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥābis al-Dawwārī (d. 1061/1651). The wording of the colophon (*wa-hādā ḥīn faragnā min naṣḥ hādā l-kitāb wa-ta’līfihi...*) and the date of the copy (19 Rağab 1028), which coincides with the date on which the work is known to have been completed, suggest that this is a holograph. In the beginning of the codex there is an ownership statement by ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ Yaḥyā al-Wāsi’ dated Ṣafar 1352/May-June 1933 (fig. 38).³⁸ MS Rome, BANLC, Or. 339 (Rossi 38), a multi-text volume, has an ownership statement on fol. 1 by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi’, the son of ‘Abd al-Wāsi’. The codex also contains (fols 45-47r) a brief text by ‘Abd al-Wāsi’, entitled *al-Rātīb al-‘azīm wa-l-wird al-karīm*, copied by

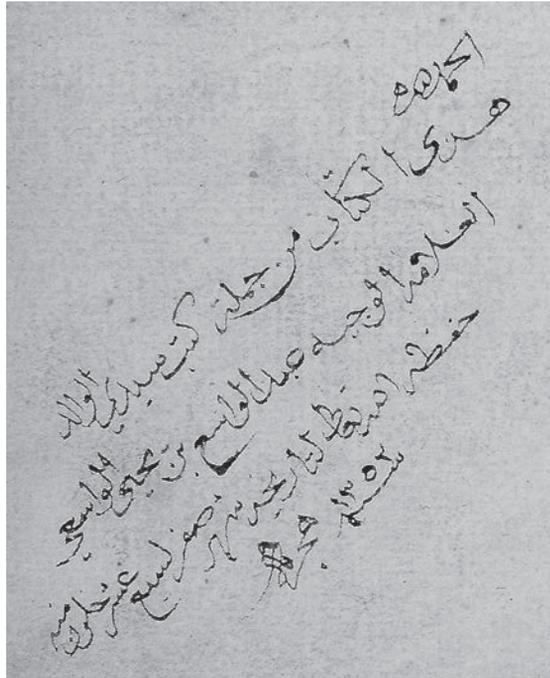


Fig. 38: MS Rome, BANLC, Or. 346

³⁶ See Taminian, “Persuading the Monarchs,” p. 209.

³⁷ Haykel, *Revival and Reform*, pp. 206, 212.

³⁸ For a description of the codex, see Traini, *I manoscritti arabi*, pp. 85-86. The ownership statement is not mentioned by Traini. The commentary is published; see bibliography. On the work and its author, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu’allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 183.

his son, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ (b. 1326/1908, d. 1405/1985).³⁹ Other than that, ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ also bequeathed some of his books, manuscripts as well as printed volumes, to the Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya (now Maktabat al-awqāf) in Ṣan‘ā’.⁴⁰

Throughout the *Šarḥ al-Ṭalātīn al-mas’ala*, there are numerous margin notes by several different hands. The scribe himself seems to have added regular study notes. These contain for the most part brief explanations on individual terms in the main text and are signaled by numbers placed above the respective terms in the main text and at the beginning of the corresponding notes. Typically, the term that is being explained is repeated at the beginning of the note, and occasionally the note is titled *fā’ida* (page 16). In most cases the numbers as well as the beginnings of the notes are in red ink, and the numbering of the annotation starts on each page with “1.” A second set of notes was added by a different hand, it seems, invariably in pale ink, including the second note on page 110, which provides details about the teaching context (see above). The notes in pale ink are typically opened with either numbers or letters (especially ت and ث), occasionally with other symbols. In the same pale ink there are numerous interlinear comments and corrections throughout the text. There are additional notes, typically starting with “1,” again on each page, in yet another hand throughout the text, which are likewise introduced with either numbers or letters. In many cases, the notes contain pertinent quotations that are gleaned from other works. The sources are in most cases identified at the end of the note, e.g. “Raṣṣās,” “*Šarḥ Raṣṣās*,” “Asās,” “*Šarḥ Asās*,” “*Mīnhāğ* [al-] Qurašī,” “Ḥābis,” “*Qalā’id*,” “*Šarḥ Qalā’id*,” “*Kaššāf*,” “*al-Šāfi li-l-Manṣūr bi-llāh*,” “*Kifāya*,” “*Šarḥ Luqmān*,” “*Šarḥ al-Risāla al-Nāṣiḥa*,” “Sayyidunā Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Saḥūlī,”⁴¹ etc., or at times at the beginning of the note (e.g.,

³⁹ See Traini, *I manoscritti arabi*, pp. 62-70, esp. 62 and 64.

⁴⁰ This is the case, for example, with MS Maktabat al-awqāf, 1479 (see al-Ruqayḥī [et al.], *Fihrist*, p. 844), with MS Maktabat al-awqāf 2260 (see *ibid.*, p. 1924), with MS Maktabat al-awqāf 421, containing the *Mağmū’ Zayd b. ‘Alī* copied in the hand of ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ and dated 21 Dū l-Qa’da 1318/12 March 1901 (see *ibid.*, p. 446), and possibly with MS Maktabat al-awqāf 207 (see *ibid.*, p. 106); see also *Fihrist kutub al-Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya*, pp. 6 (*al-tağwīd wa-l-qirā’āt* no. 32), 40 (*muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīṭ* nos. 1, 77, 88), 42 (*muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīṭ* nos. 6, 133), 43 (*muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīṭ* no. 21), 59 (*al-ḥadīṭ* no. 614), 73 (*al-ḥadīṭ* nos. 1, 4, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278), 85 (*‘ilm al-kalām* no. 284), 86 (*‘ilm al-kalām* no. 272). For the history of the Maktabat al-awqāf, see also Schmidtke, *Towards a History of the Libraries of Yemen*.

⁴¹ Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Saḥūlī al-Šağarī (d. 1109/1687). On him, see Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 252.

“*qāla fī l-Asās mā lafzuhu*,” “*qāla fī Šarḥ al-Asās mā lafzuhu*,” “*lafz al-Minhāġ*”). In addition to the annotation in the margin, there is also one reading note on page 20: *balaġa qirā’a fī 13 [Dū] l-Qa’da [13]54* (6 February 1936). A different set of margin comments are invariably signed م م, i.e., Muḥammad al-Manšūr, in whose library the codex eventually ended up (e.g., pp. 54, 61, 85, 89). Unlike Muḥammad al-Manšūr’s occasional remarks, none of the other margin notes are signed and the identity of the respective readers remains unknown.

The second work included in the codex is the concise creedal work by Šaraf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn (d. 662/1263–64 or 663/1264–65), entitled *al-‘Iqd al-ṭamīn fī ma’rifat Rabb al-‘ālamīn*, which has been transcribed in a different hand than the previous text. The work is again paginated (17 pages), with the title page on the verso page (fig. 127) of the preceding leaf while the recto page of the leaf that has the beginning of the text (verso) displays a eulogy to God and the prophet Muḥammad. On the right hand of the title page there is a lengthy note, in the same pale ink in which the notes to the first work in the codex are added, providing details on the author of the tract, which are gleaned from a brief biographical work by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ġindārī (b. 1279/1863, d. 1337/1919). Al-Ġindārī’s work, which is devoted to Ibn Miftāḥ’s transmitters in his *Kitāb al-Muntaza’ al-muḥtār min al-Ġayt al-midrār*, circulated under titles such as *Tarāġim al-riġāl al-maḍkūra fī Šarḥ al-Azhār* or *Riġāl Šarḥ al-Azhār* and has been published repeatedly together with Ibn Miftāḥ’s *Kitāb al-Muntaza’* (see bibliography). The relevant passage corresponds to Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ġindārī, “*Riġāl Šarḥ al-Azhār*,” p. 48 lines 13–18; idem, “*Tarāġim al-riġāl al-maḍkūra*,” p. 12 lines 21–25. The note concludes with a brief comment by the scribe and is dated to 20 Raġab 1355/6 October 1936; it is signed by *ḥādīm al-‘ilm al-šarīf*.

On the opposite page (fig. 128) there is an indication as to when the reading of the text in the *madrasa al-mutawakkiliyya* began. The note is cut off in the digital surrogate and the date is no longer visible.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ | كان شروع قراءة هذه ال... | طلبة المدرسة المتوكلية | ربيع الثاني... | الحمد لله |
وأيضاً كان شروع قرآته لبعض... | شرف آخر في صبح يوم الأربعاء...

The text ends with a colophon (fig. 129) stating that the copy (*zabr*) was completed on 6 Muḥarram 1352/1 May 1933, again at the behest of ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi’ī. The copyist is identified here as ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Alī b. Ismā’īl Qāḍī. On the same page, there is an additional note, stating

that the dictating of the text was completed on 18 Ṣafar 1352/12 June 1933. Again, it was a group of students who had studied the work together, and neither their identities nor that of the teacher is revealed here.

وكان الفراغ من زير هذا المختصر في وقت الظهر 16 شهر محرم مفتتح سنة 1352 | بعناية سيدي
المولى العلامة وشيخنا الفهامة عبد الواسع | ابن يحيى الواسعي وذلك بالمدرسة العلمية المتوكلية | نسأل الله
الكريم ان يوقفنا الى ما يحب ويرضى | تم ذلك بعون الله ومته على عبده | الراجي عفوہ ومغفرته | عبد الملك
بن علي بن اساعيل قاضي | وفقه الله | آمين

بسم الله | كمل بحمد الله تعالى املائه لبعض الطلبة الكرام في المدرسة العلمية | المتوكلية اصالح الله تعالى
شأنها مع القصاصه | حسب الطاقة والامكان وذلك | في 18 شهر صفر الظفر [الضفر، كذا في الأصل] سنة
1352 | أسأل الله تعالى أن يلهمنا | الى العمل بما فيه آمين

Throughout the copy, the work is divided into several units, which are marked in the margin. First, the thirty-three chapters (*fuṣūl*, sg. *faṣl*) are numbered consecutively throughout the text, and the respective numerals are indicated in red in the margin. In addition, the text is divided into themes, each one of them being further divided into individual questions. These are again mentioned in the margin in the same pale ink that is found in the preceding text. The first note (page 1) reads: *hādīhi l-mas'ala al-ūlā min masā'il al-tawhīd al-'aṣar wa-hiya mas'alat al-ṣāni'*, with the remaining nine questions signaled in the margin. On page 6 the next theme, on divine justice, begins: *ilā hādā kamilat masā'il al-tawhīd wa-l-ṣurū' al-ān fī masā'il al-'adl wa-hiya 'aṣara wa-hādīhi al-ūlā minhā*, followed by the promise and the thread (page 10): *min hunā l-ṣurū' fī masā'il al-wa'd wa-l-wa'īd wa-hiya 'aṣara ayḍan wa-hādīhi l-ūlā minhā*. The last question on page 16 concludes the work: *hādīhi l-mas'ala al-'āšira min masā'il al-wa'd wa-l-wa'īd wa-hiya āḥiruhā fa-ta'ammal*. A third text division reflects the study context—the text has numbered *balāḡ* notes throughout (page 2: *balāḡa* 1, 2; page 3: *balāḡa* 3, 4, 5; page 4: *balāḡa* 6; page 5: *balāḡa* 7, 8; page 6: *balāḡa* 9, 10; page 7: *balāḡa* 11; page 8: *balāḡa* 12; page 9: *balāḡa* 13, 14; page 10: *balāḡa* 15; page 11: *balāḡa* 16, 17, 18; page 12: *balāḡa* 19; page 13: *balāḡa* 20, 21; page 14: *balāḡa* 22; page 15: *balāḡa* 23, 24, 25; page 17: *balāḡa* 26). These units are also identified in some cases as exercise units (*tamrīn*).

The division of the work into teaching (*dars*) and exercise units (*tamrīn*) is summarized in two notes in the last page of the text (fig. 129):

كان جملة هذا الكتاب اثنين وعشرين درسًا وسبعة | تمارين متخللة حال القراءة فيكون جميعه | تسعة وعشرين
درسًا | وبقية دروس النسخة | من كتاب الينايع | وذلك عدد | 121 بإدخال | التمارين | في هذه البقية
بلغ 26 ثم تمارين 10 جملة ذلك 36 | ستة وثلاثين | درسًا | بالمارين | العشرة | هذا نقلاً | من اصل | دفتر
التوزيع

On the right side of the colophon there is an additional note stating:

كمل بحمد الله تعالى في 25 جادى | الاولى سنة 1359 ثم كان معاونة | القاضي يحيى العنسي في النظر | من
أول المتصورات أهي من باب | المفعول به الى الحال بموجب | أمر مدير المدرسة وذلك يوم الاثنين 26 ...
(?)

The third text included in the *mağmū'a* is a work by 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi', namely his *al-Durar al-marḍiyyāt fī l-mu'arrabāt wa-l-mabniyyāt*. It is written in yet another hand, other than that of either of the two preceding works in this codex. The text ends with a colophon (fig. 130), without date or signature, stating that the copy was produced on the basis of the author's autograph. Unlike the two preceding texts, this work has only some few margin notes, most of which are corrections to the text, in addition to headings, which are added to the margin in red ink. There is nothing that would suggest that this copy, which was not part of the curriculum of the *madrasa al-ilmīyya*, was ever used in a teaching context.

Epilogue

The rich holdings of Yemen's private and public manuscript libraries constitute a unique laboratory providing ample material to engage a wide array of scholarly interests, ranging from historical anthropology and social science to intellectual history, codicology, and the history of libraries. The present study discusses a few samples that epitomize the intriguing potential for future research that the available and for the most part still unexplored material offers. The libraries of Yemen are well known to be treasure troves not only for the rich and still largely unstudied literary tradition of the Zaydī branch of Šī'ism, but also for a much wider spectrum of Islamic intellectual history, much of which is not preserved elsewhere. Significant progress has been made in recent decades by scholars engaged in the study of the intellectual history of Islamic civilization, in exploring, for example, the rationalist heritage of the Mu'tazila, which is exclusively preserved in Yemen. Less attention has been paid to research on the social practices of knowledge transmission over the course of the centuries, another area for which the libraries of Yemen provide particularly informative primary materials. One obvious source is the paratextual materials—that is, the colophons, purchase notes, chains of transmission and kindred (documentary) materials—contained in the manuscripts, samples of which are discussed in the present study. The paratextual material is complemented by another—again largely unexplored—source, namely the *iğāzas* that were issued by scholars to their students, granting them permission to transmit texts they had read with their teacher. These documents allow for a reconstruction of the network(s) of scholars and the processes of knowledge transmission among them. These often lengthy documents are partly dispersed in thousands of preserved manuscripts (a few examples of which are discussed in the present study) and were partly brought together in collections of licences. Both the individual licences and the collections of licences constitute important sources for biographical dictionaries, and the two genres often become blurred.¹

The history of the various libraries in Yemen—institutional ones, such as mosque libraries, or libraries founded by individuals, such as ruler's libraries or libraries of individual scholars and/or families—constitutes what up

¹ See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Licence to Transmit*, forthcoming.

until now has been terra incognita. Only a fraction of Yemen's libraries has been catalogued, and apart from the brief historical sketches of individual libraries that can be found in the prefaces of the relevant publications, no attempt has been made up until now to write a critical study of the history of any of the historical or present-day libraries of Yemen. The history of Zaydism in Yemen dates back to the ninth century, when Imām al-Hādī founded a Zaydī state, which continued to exist for more than a millenium, until it was abolished in the wake of the 1962 revolution. Vicissitudes notwithstanding, the remarkable political continuity of the Zaydīs is mirrored in the continuity of the library tradition in Yemen, making the study of this tradition even more rewarding.²

The extraordinary continuity of Yemen's manuscript culture, which has persisted beyond the turn of the twenty-first century, is evident from the fact that a huge number of manuscripts were still being produced throughout the twentieth century. The high percentage of twentieth-century manuscripts discussed in this study is a characteristic shared by every private or public library of Yemen. Moreover, this trend has allowed for interesting encounters of manuscript tradition and technology. Once photocopy machines became available in Yemen, owners of manuscript libraries began to produce copies of individual codices from their collections and often had them bound in the traditional manner. These mechanically produced "new" codices became a new commodity alongside the codices produced by hand. One example has been discussed in this study—ZMT 01432, which was presented to Muḥammad al-Manṣūr as a gift in 1986. That this was common practice is corroborated by 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Waḡīh's catalogue of selected private libraries in Yemen, *Maṣādir al-turāt fī l-maktabāt al-ḥāṣṣa fī l-Yaman* (1422/2002), in which he regularly distinguishes between original codices (*al-maḥṭūṭāt al-aṣliyya*) and mechanically produced codices (*al-maḥṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*) for the collections he describes, attributing equal status to both categories. Remarkable also are the handwritten codices that were produced in twentieth-century Yemen on the basis of published texts: examples include two works on geomancy (*'ilm al-raml*) held by the Maktabat al-awqāf in Ṣan'ā'—MSS Maktabat al-awqāf, 2276 (*Kitāb al-Faṣl fī uṣūl 'ilm al-raml* by Muḥammad b. 'Uṭmān al-Zanātī, fl. before 629/1232), and 2278 (*al-Asrār al-ḥafiya fī 'ilm al-raml wa-l-azyāḡ al-falakiyya*), both of which were transcribed,

² See also Schmidtke, *Towards a History of the Libraries of Yemen*.

according to al-Ruqayḥī, on the basis of prints produced in Egypt (*nusiḥa hādā ‘alā l-maṭbū‘a fī Miṣr*).³ With the rise of digital technology, digital surrogates of manuscripts have largely replaced the physical objects as a commodity, and this has opened an entirely new vista on the transmission, usage, and availability of handwritten texts.

While the Yemeni manuscript tradition is potentially rewarding for future scholarship, it must be remembered that the manuscript libraries in Yemen are under imminent threat. Throughout much of the second half of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first, Yemeni authorities have been constantly fighting manuscript dealers, trying to prevent them from smuggling manuscripts out of the country, with only limited success, it would seem. Moreover, many of the private libraries in Yemen have been severely damaged, looted, or even destroyed over the course of the twentieth century, as a result of the political turmoil and wars that Yemen has witnessed. At this writing, the continuing state of war in the country, with daily bombardments, constitutes an imminent threat not only to the local population but also to the cultural heritage of the country, including its many libraries. It is to be hoped that an increase in scholarship on Yemen’s rich manuscript tradition will help to save these unique cultural monuments, which are important sources for Yemen’s communal identity and constitute part of the cultural heritage of humankind, the preservation of which is a responsibility shared by all.

³ See al-Ruqayḥī [et al.], *Fihrist*, pp. 1939-1940, 1943-1944; neither of the two copies is dated. See also *ibid.*, pp. 1463-1464 (*nusha maḥḡūba kutibat ‘alā umm maṭbū‘a*). For a different case, see above chapter one, n. 138.

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MS Şan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01373	109f.
MS Şan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01374	39, 69f.
MS Şan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01375	78f.
MS Şan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01376	104, 107f.

MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01381	117, 132-134
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MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01472	79f.
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- MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01495 23n, 56, 117, 120-132
- MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01500 98
- MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, ZMT 01501 98f.
- MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr, 01504 57

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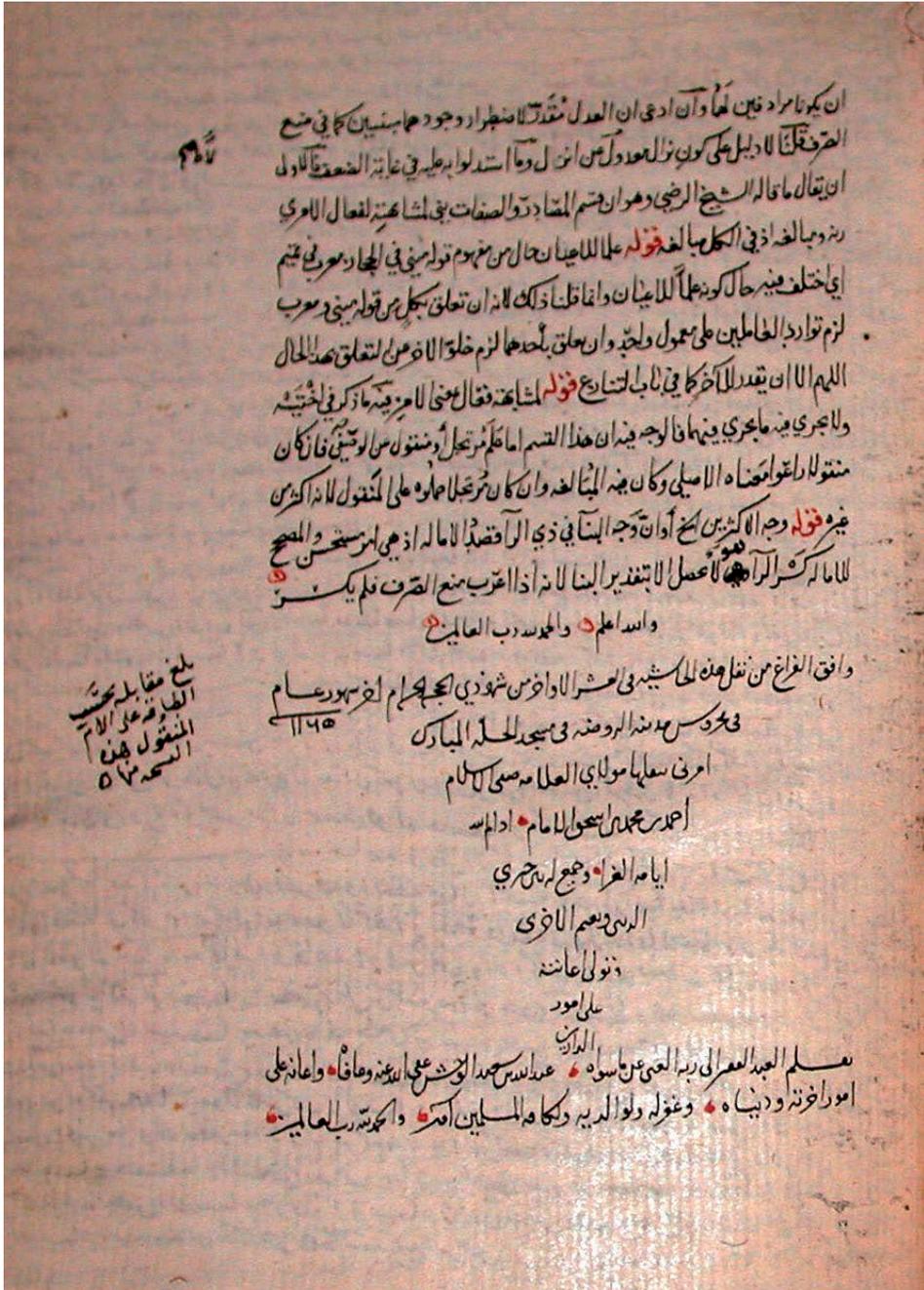


Fig. 39: MS Şan‘ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01492_118)

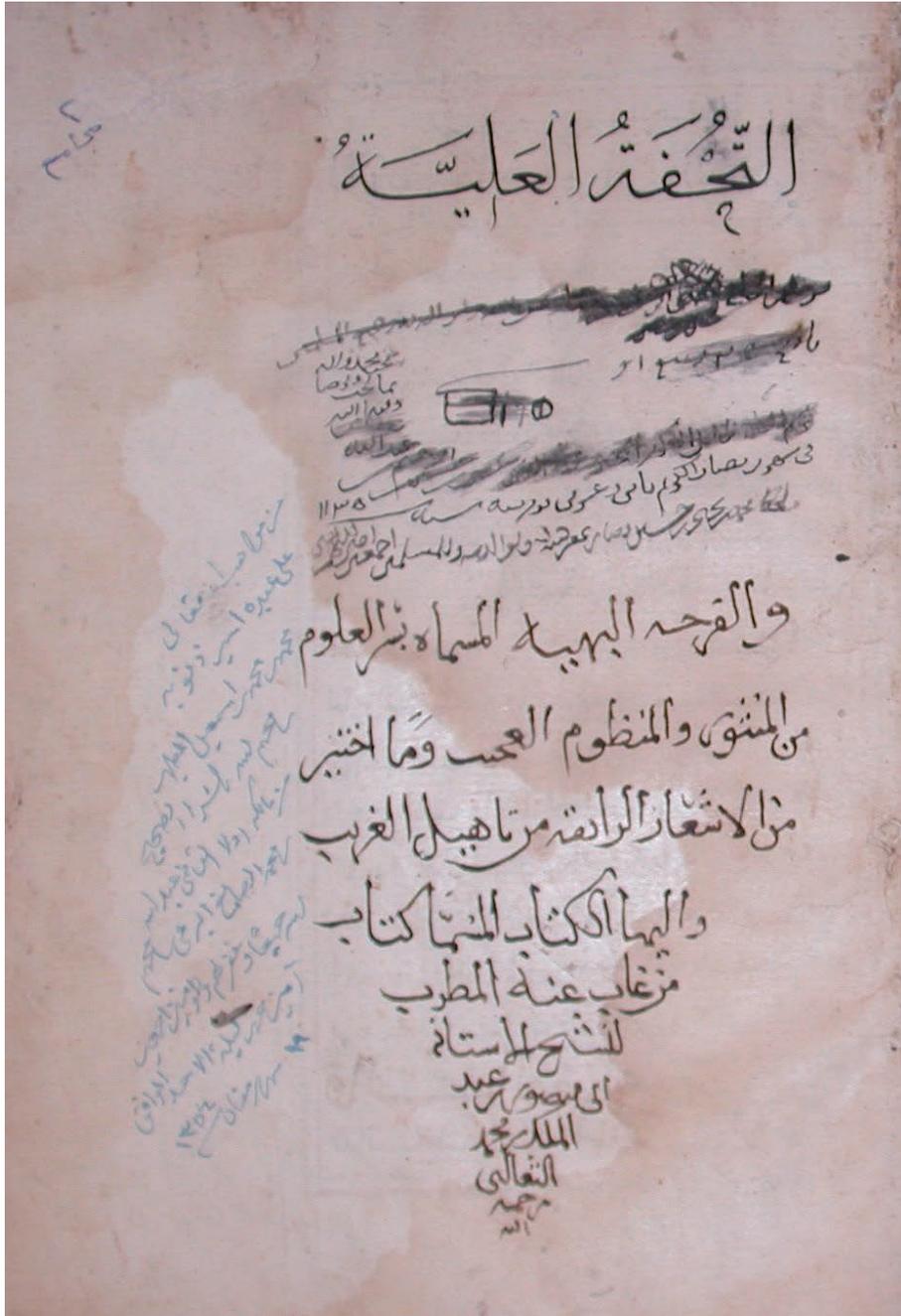


Fig. 40: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01317_002)



Fig. 41: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01319_002)

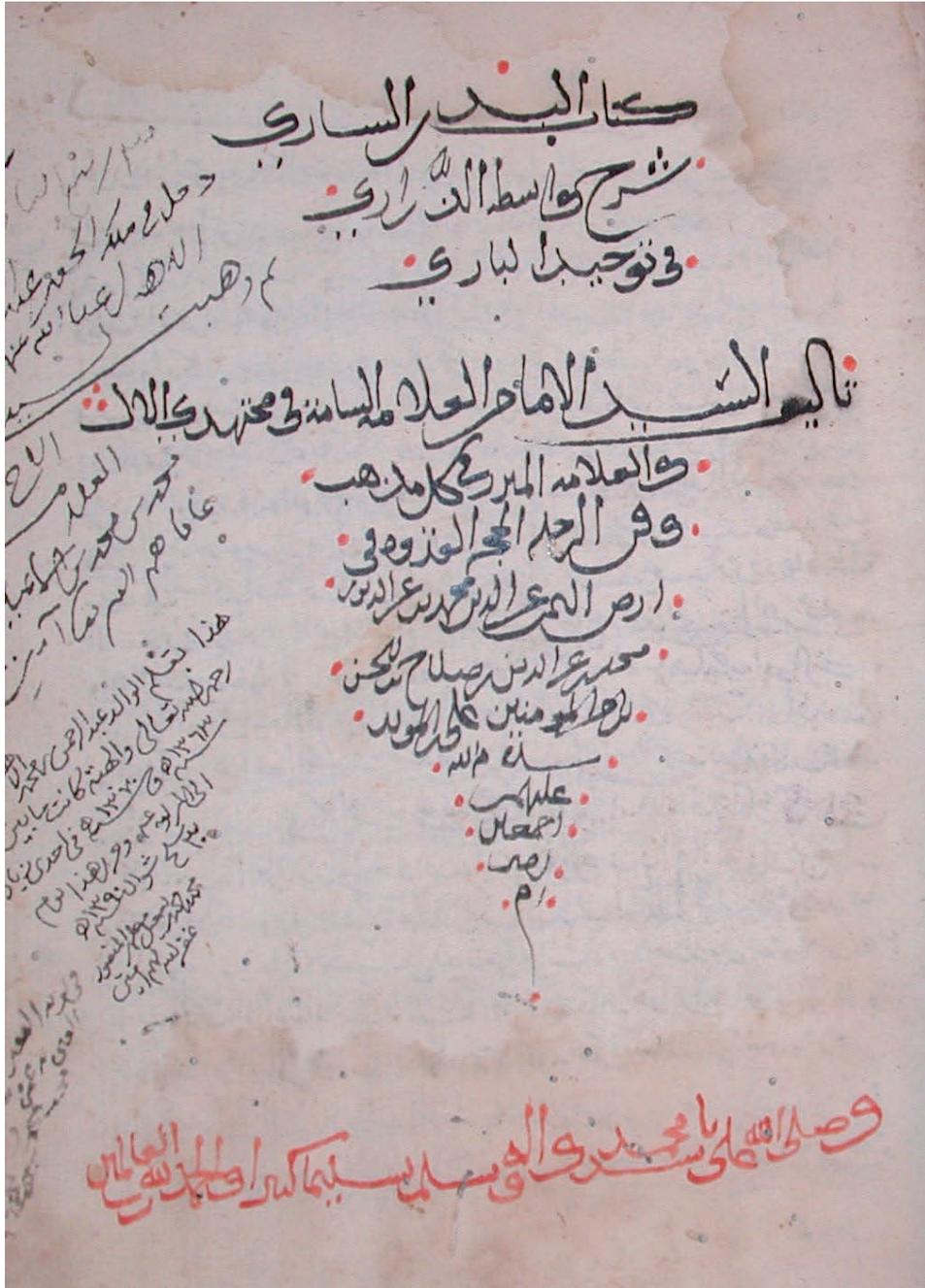


Fig. 44: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01374_008)

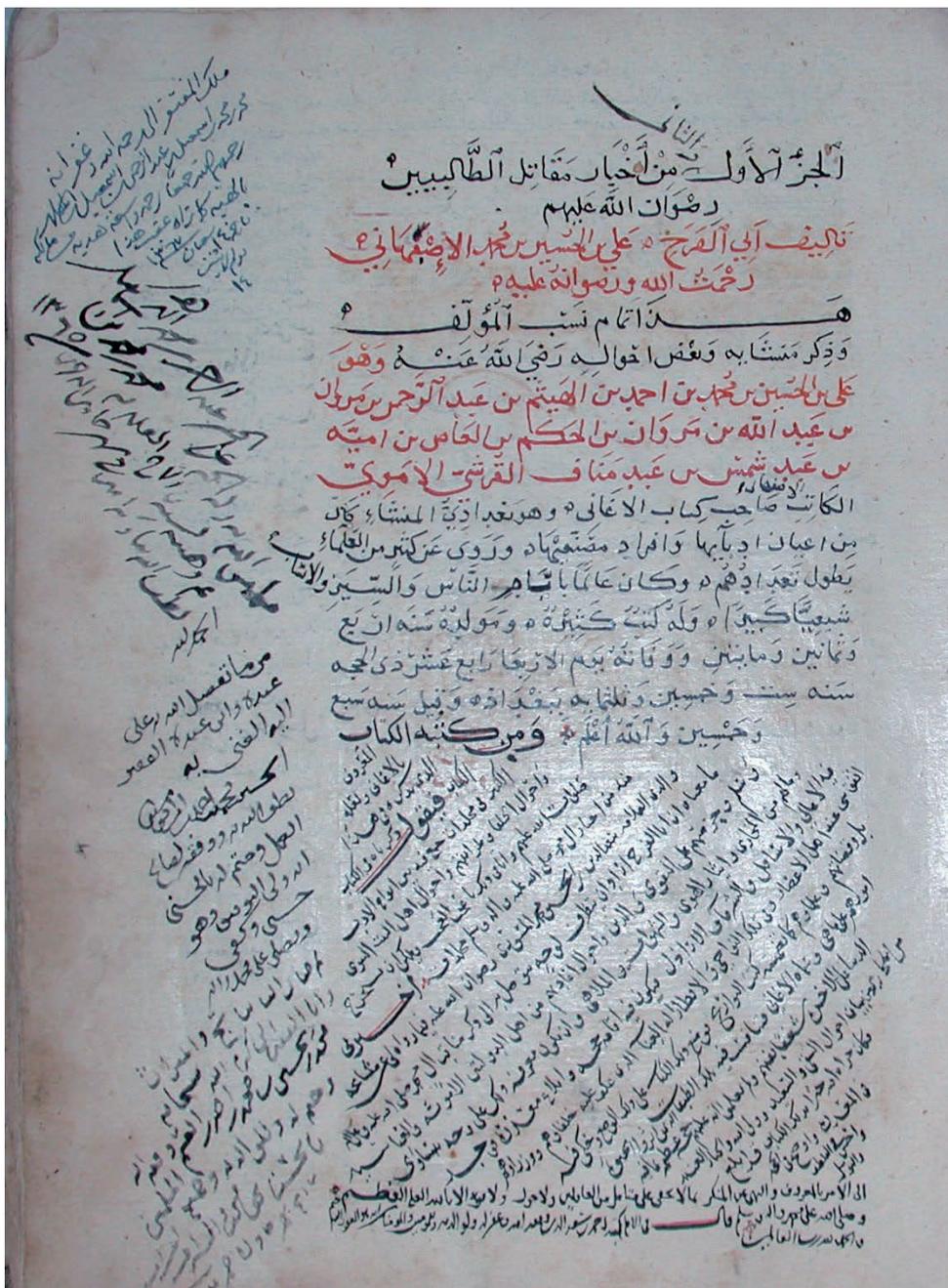


Fig. 45: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01367_031)

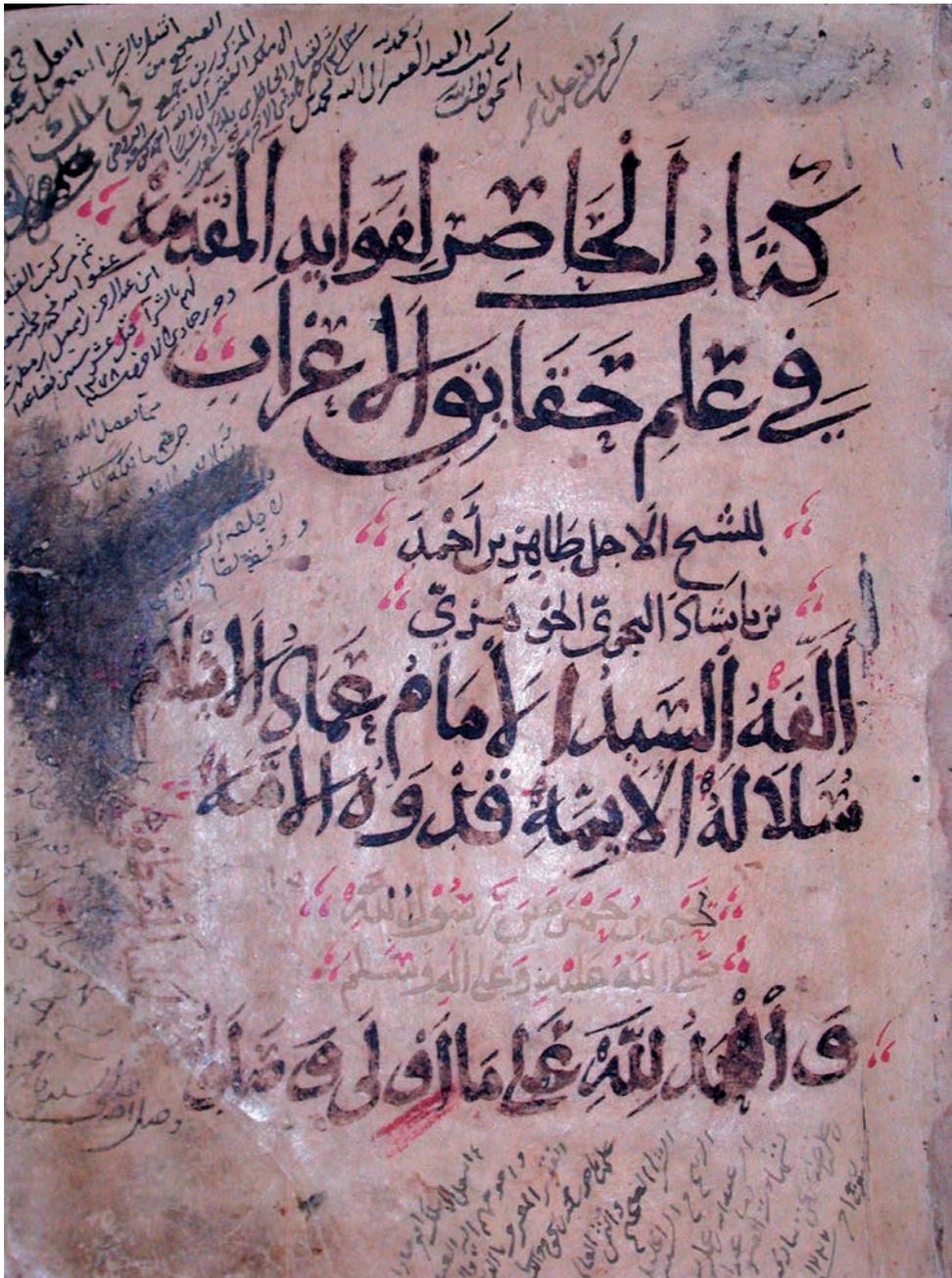


Fig. 46: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01329_003)

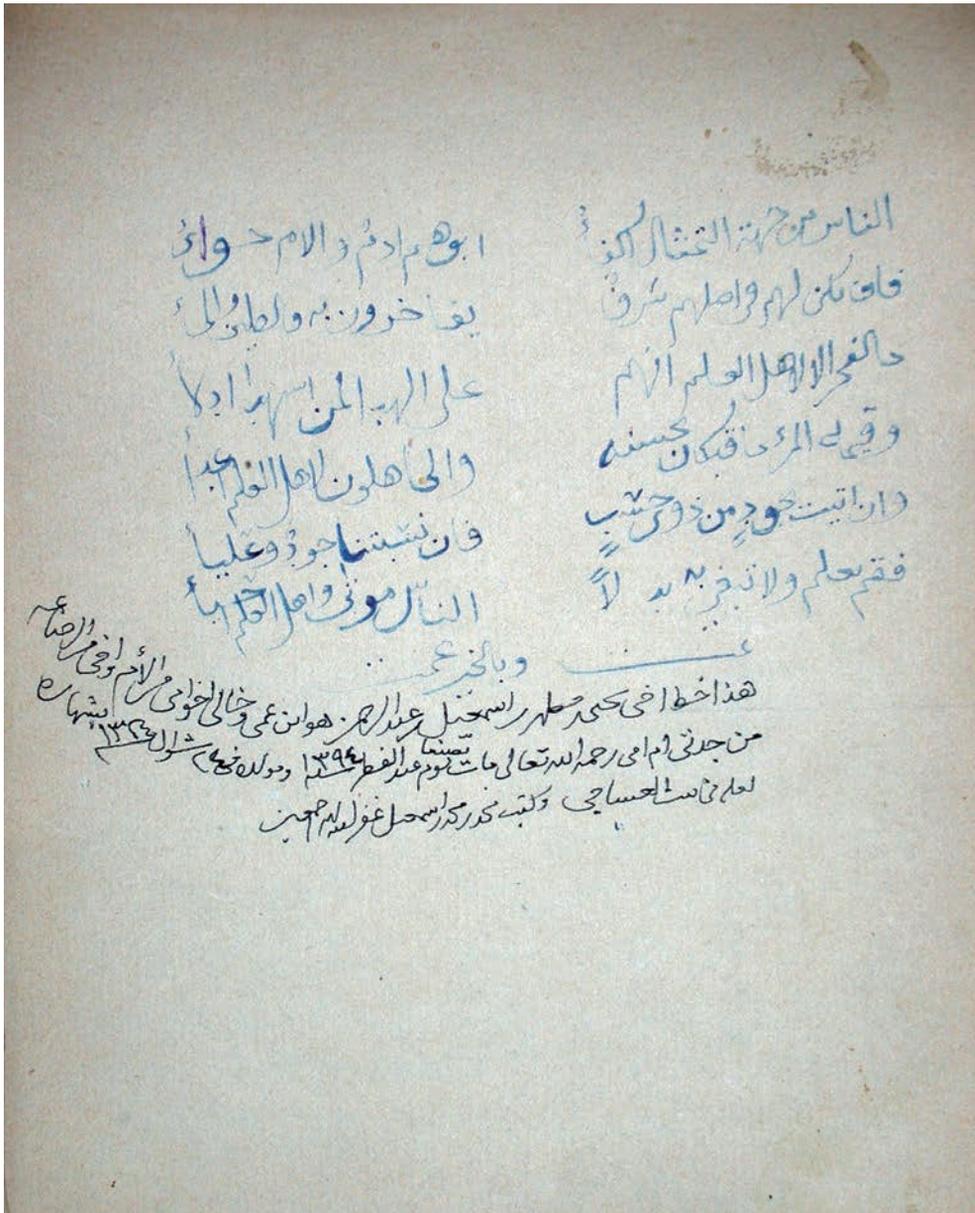


Fig. 47: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01458_393)

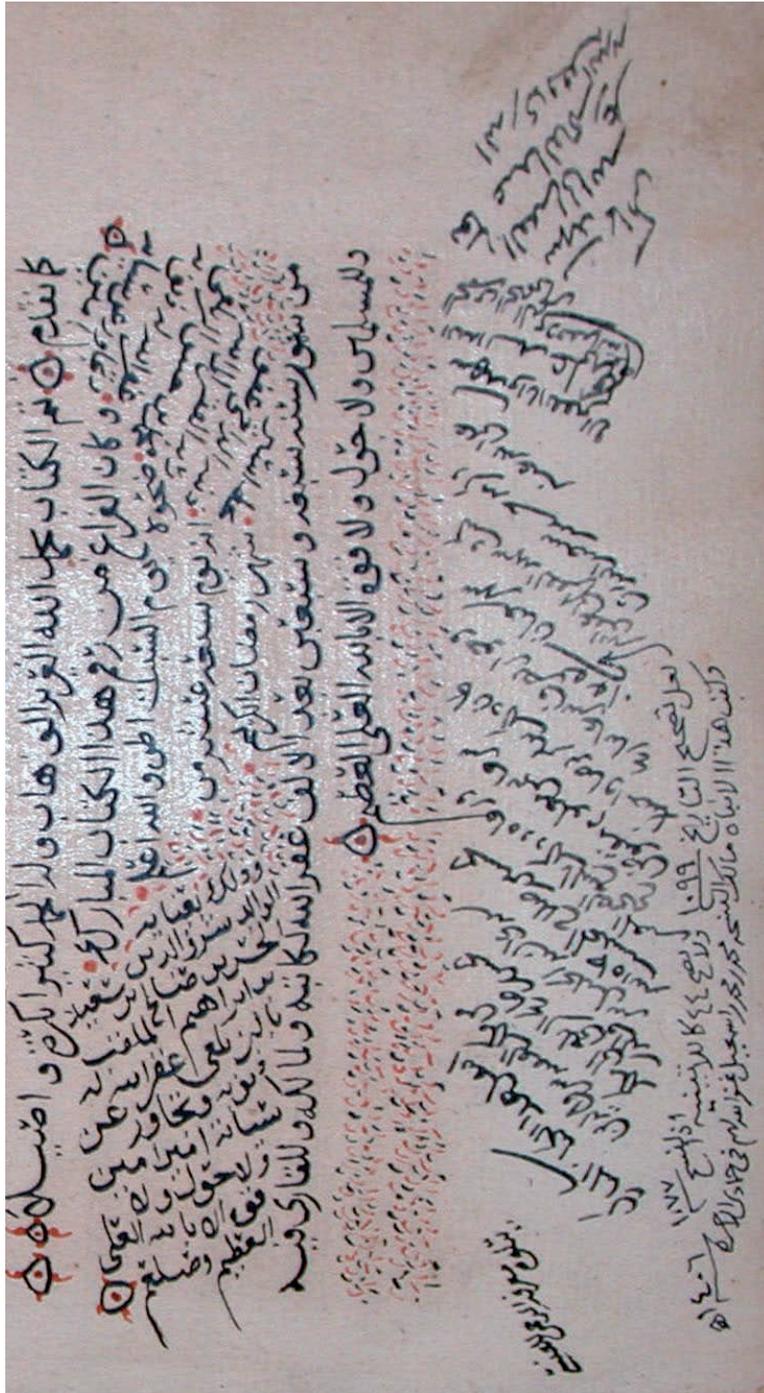


Fig. 49: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01465_122)

انقل هذه الكتاب اجليل بالشرارة
الصحيح العروة الختم الختام
تتمت في سنة ١١١٦

٢٤

احقره فاشترى في سنة ١١١٦
قد مر هذا المجلد في يد
الاعلم الفاضل الحسين بن
الرضا بن السريط القراء
والطلب المجمع

هذه زبوت الدباحة المقدسة ١٥ الف سنة ١١١٦
المعبر له ابو علي ٤ ابو جاسم فراو ابو عبد الله عند
واصر القضاة ابو الفتح البلخي ابو اسحق بن عباس بن
ابو الهذيل لاله شكافي ٢ عماد ابو الجبل الكوفي
ابو محمد نا الحاصط ط صالح فبه ١٥ سنة
المريسي ٢٢ الحاكم ابو طاهر الشافعي شانه ذكر محمد

سعران مقدم التوس
على السبعة من الاصول ثلاثة
بكرت شواها نافع الزخاروا
لورا استقام لمرات الخيرة الفنت
اللام ولا طه ضاروا ١٤

تتمت هذا الكتاب في سنة ١١١٦
الرملة العجمية في سنة ١١١٦
بعد علم رصا واخباره

في دار الفقه في سنة ١١١٦
في دار الفقه في سنة ١١١٦
في دار الفقه في سنة ١١١٦

تمت هذا الكتاب في سنة ١١١٦
الرملة العجمية في سنة ١١١٦
بعد علم رصا واخباره

تمت هذا الكتاب في سنة ١١١٦
الرملة العجمية في سنة ١١١٦
بعد علم رصا واخباره

Fig. 50: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01465_006)

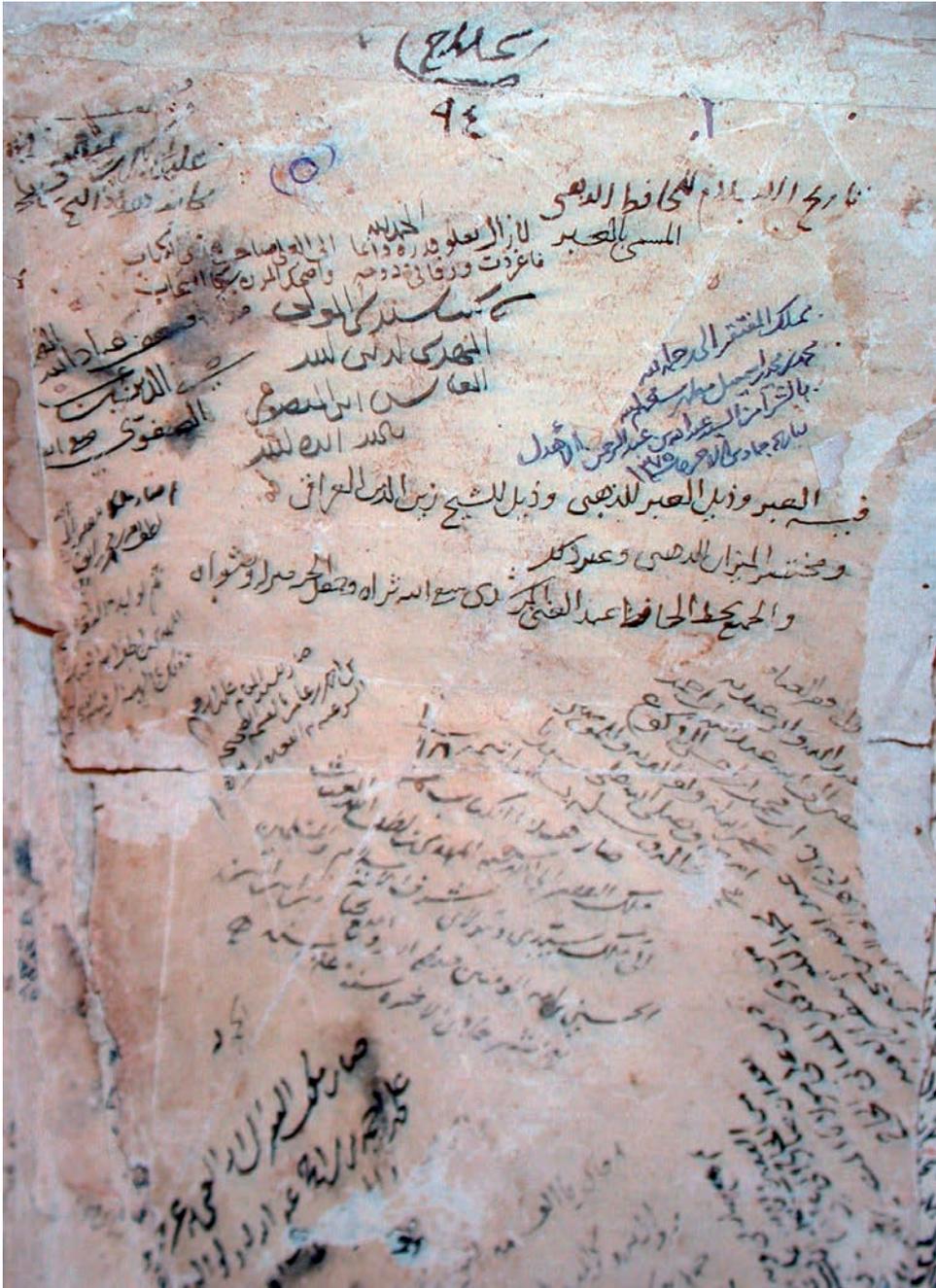


Fig. 53: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01375_002)

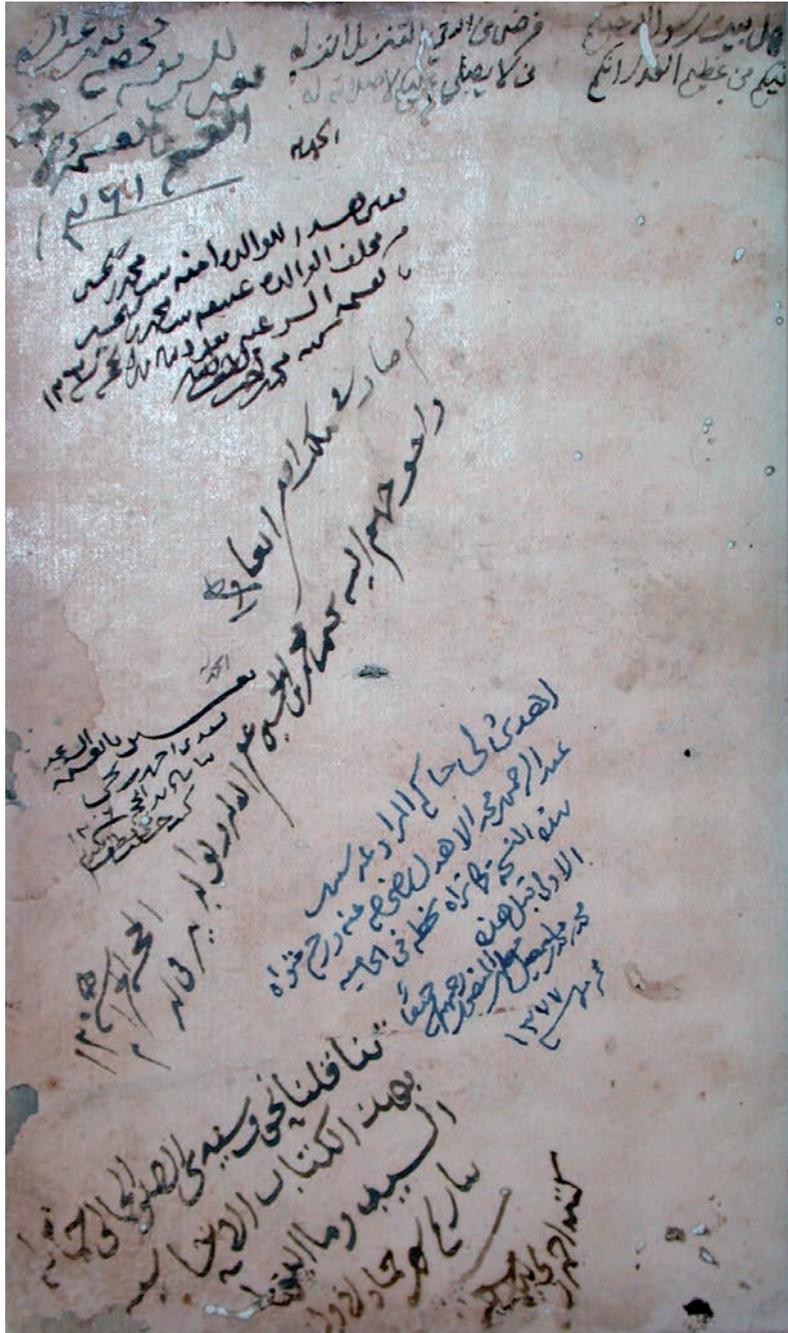


Fig. 54: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01457_002)

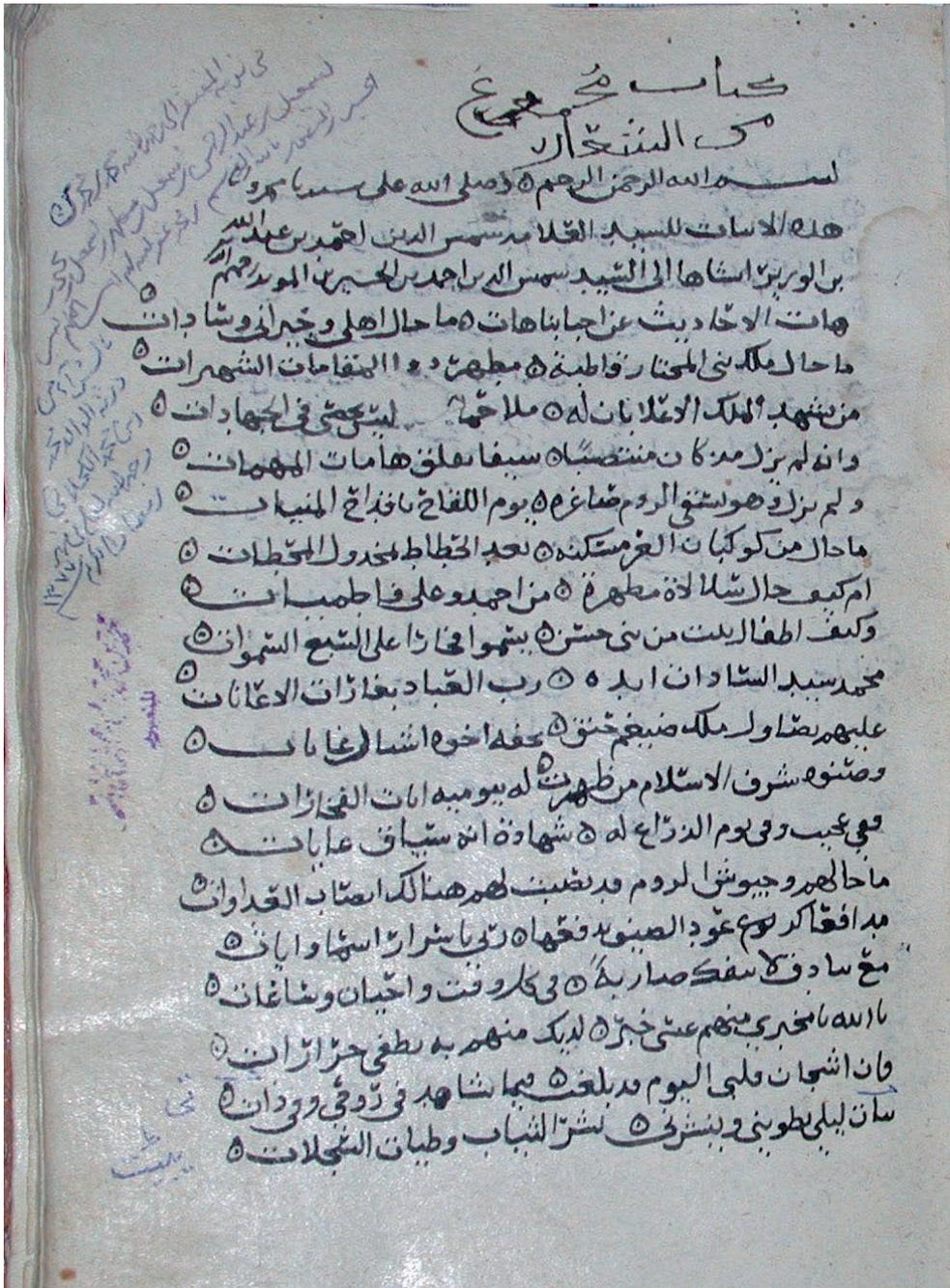


Fig. 55: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01472_004)

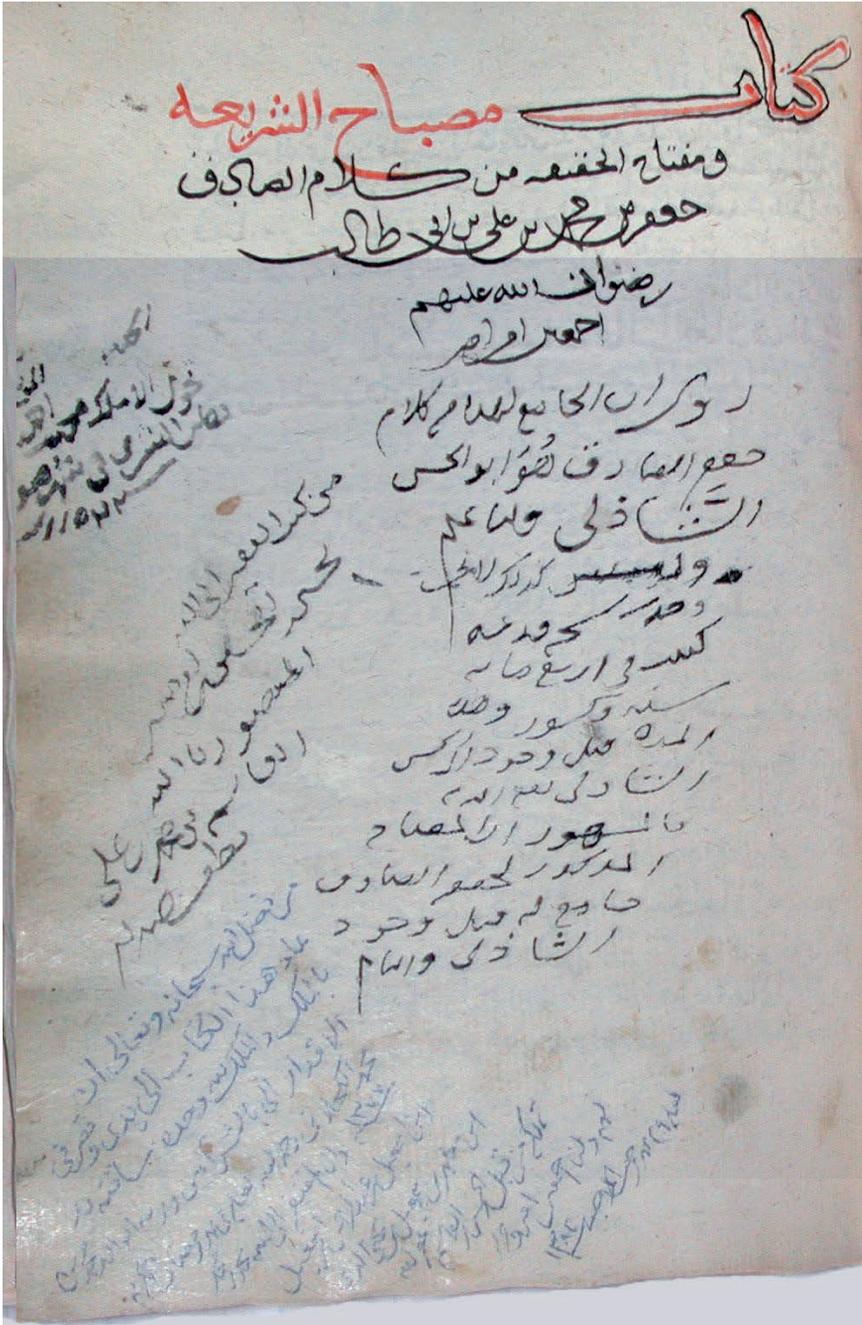


Fig. 56: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01472_157)

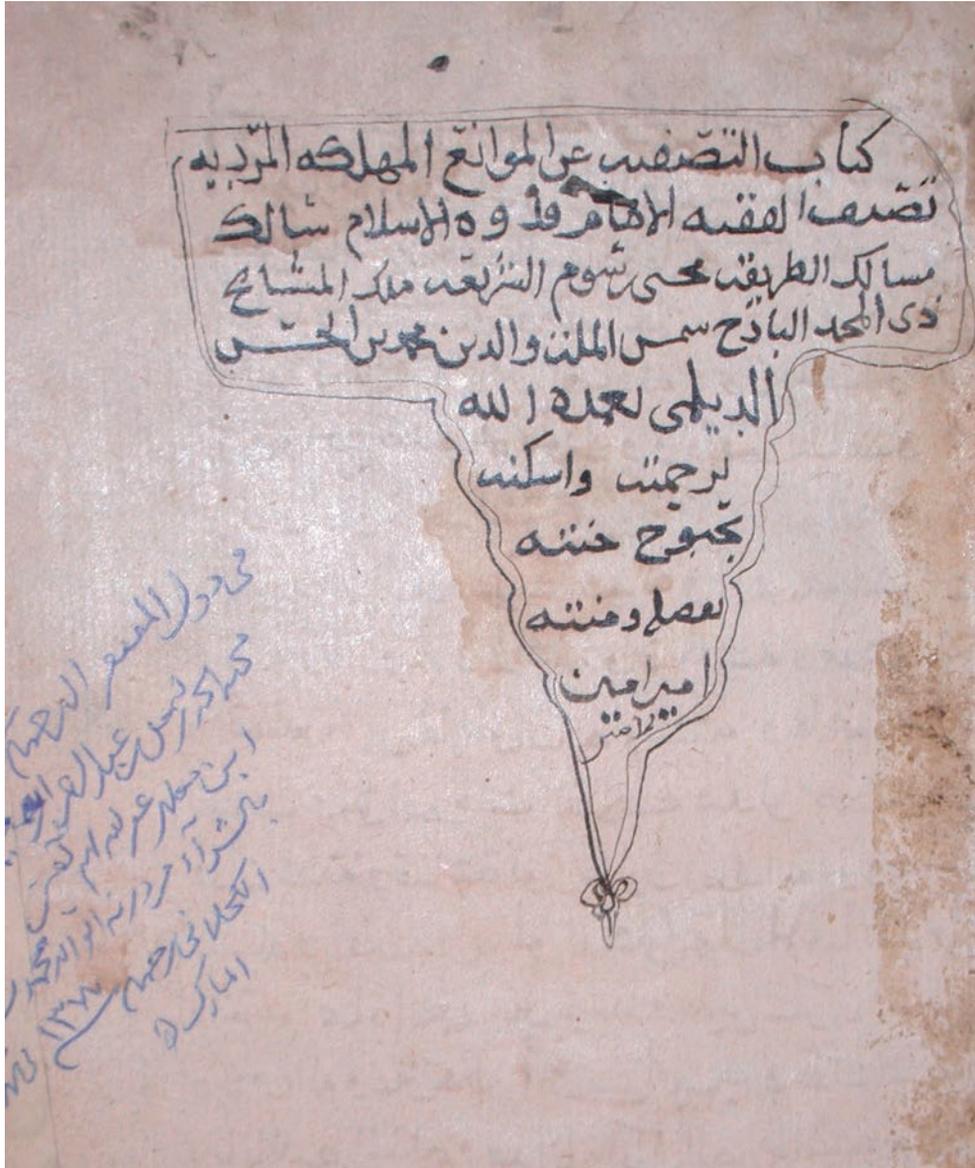


Fig. 57: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01476_002)



Fig. 59: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01467_002)

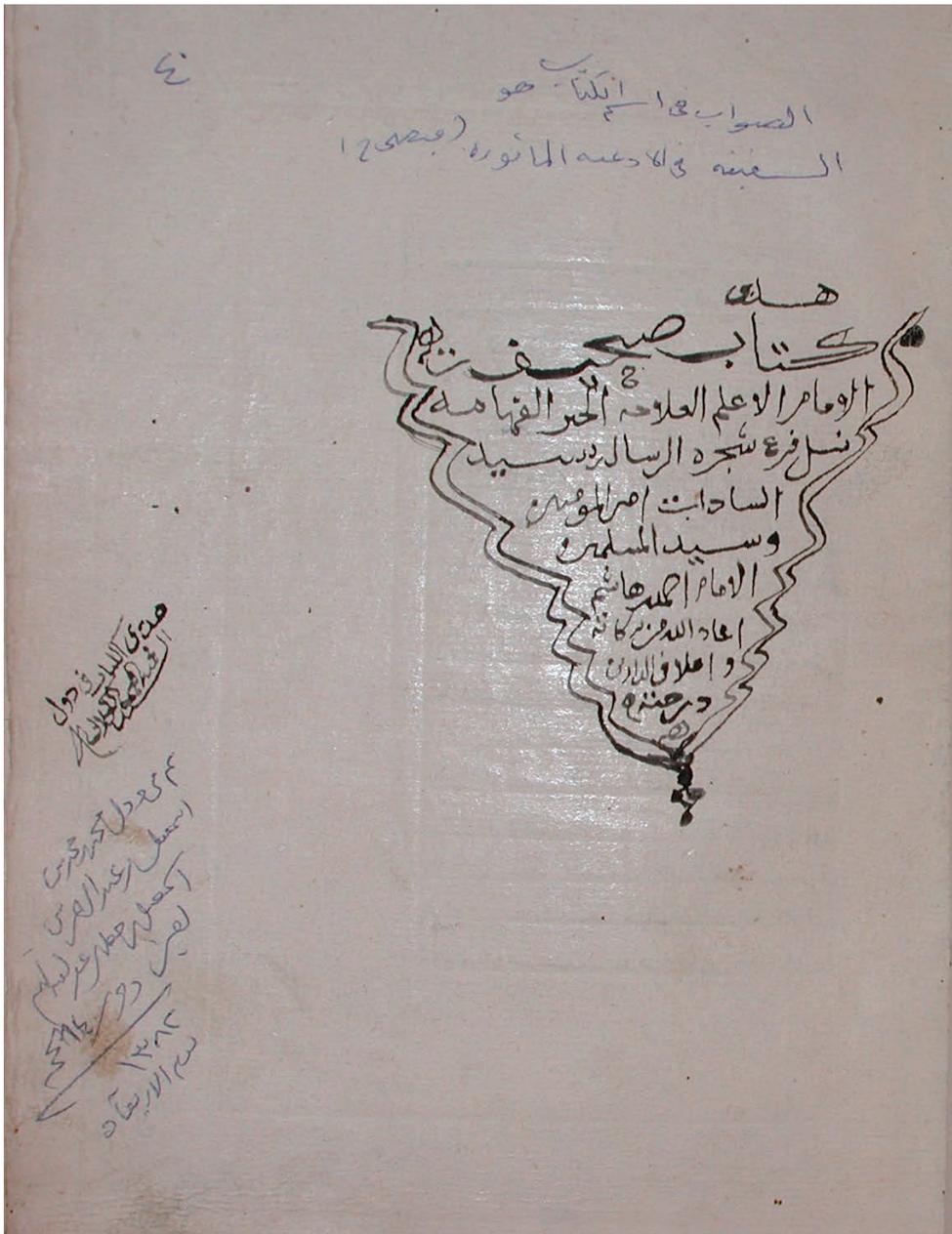


Fig. 61: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01334_002)

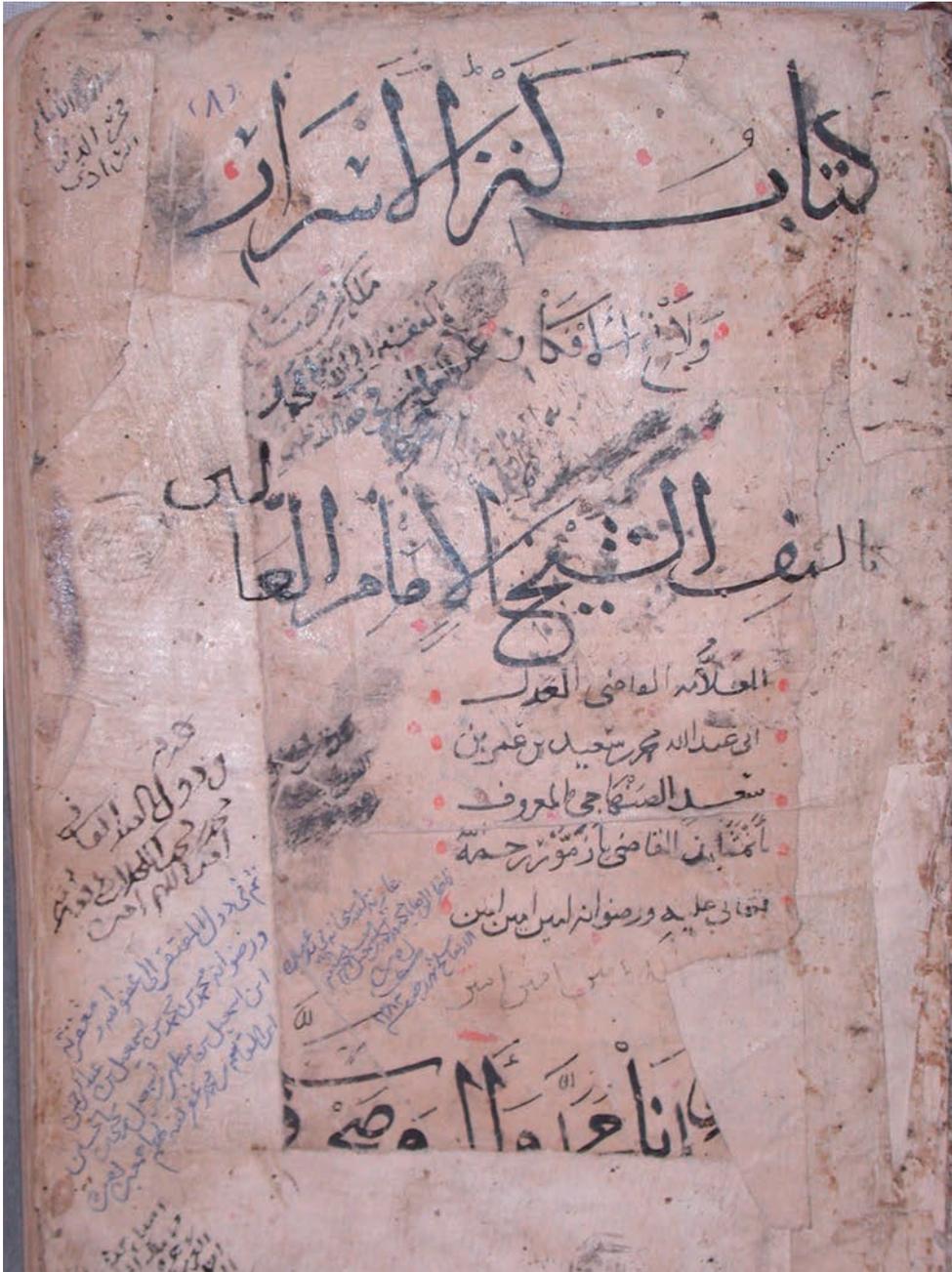


Fig. 62: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01370_002)

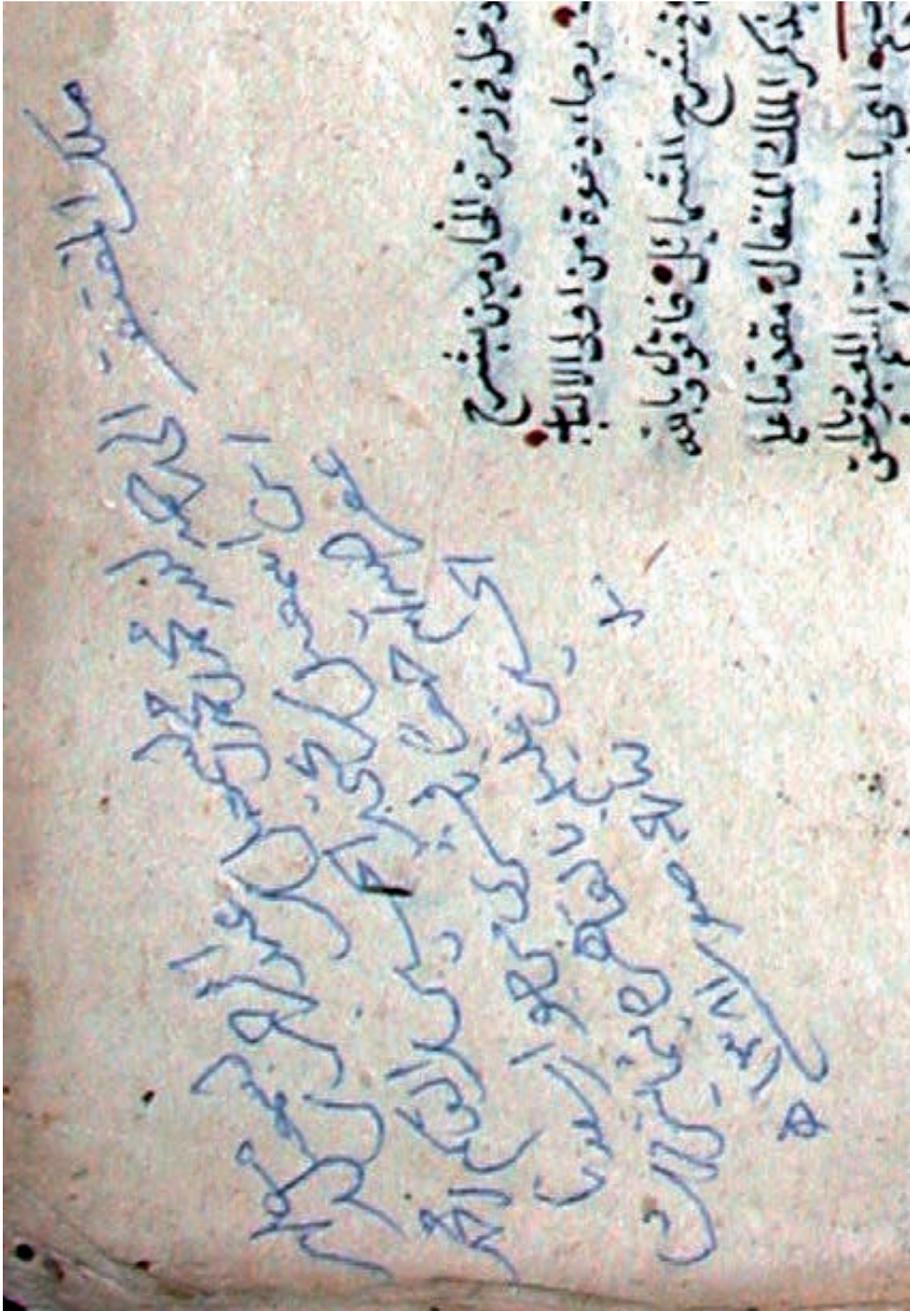


Fig. 65: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01351_003)



Fig. 70: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01340_002)



Fig. 71: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01388_003)

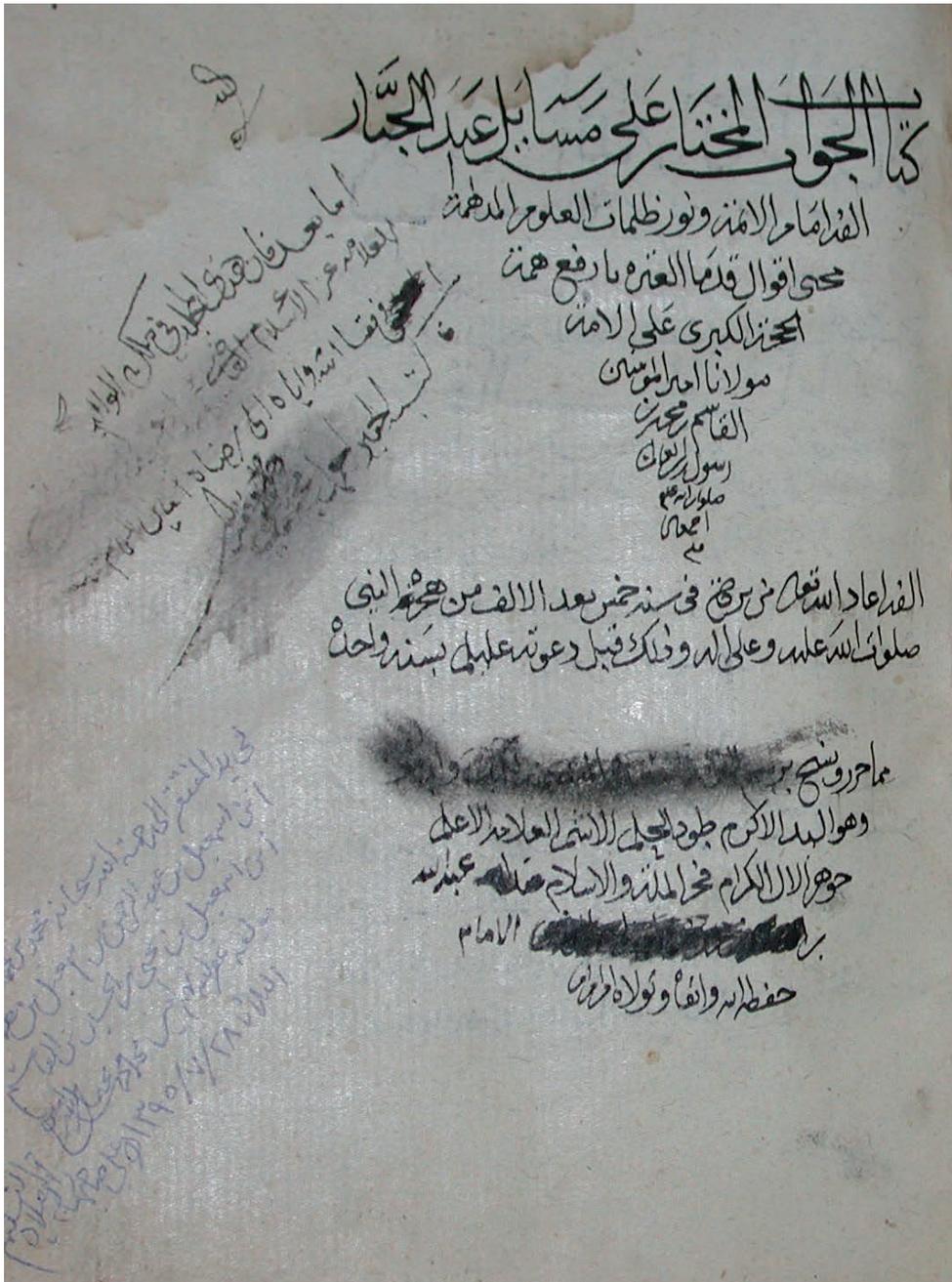


Fig. 72: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01352_156)

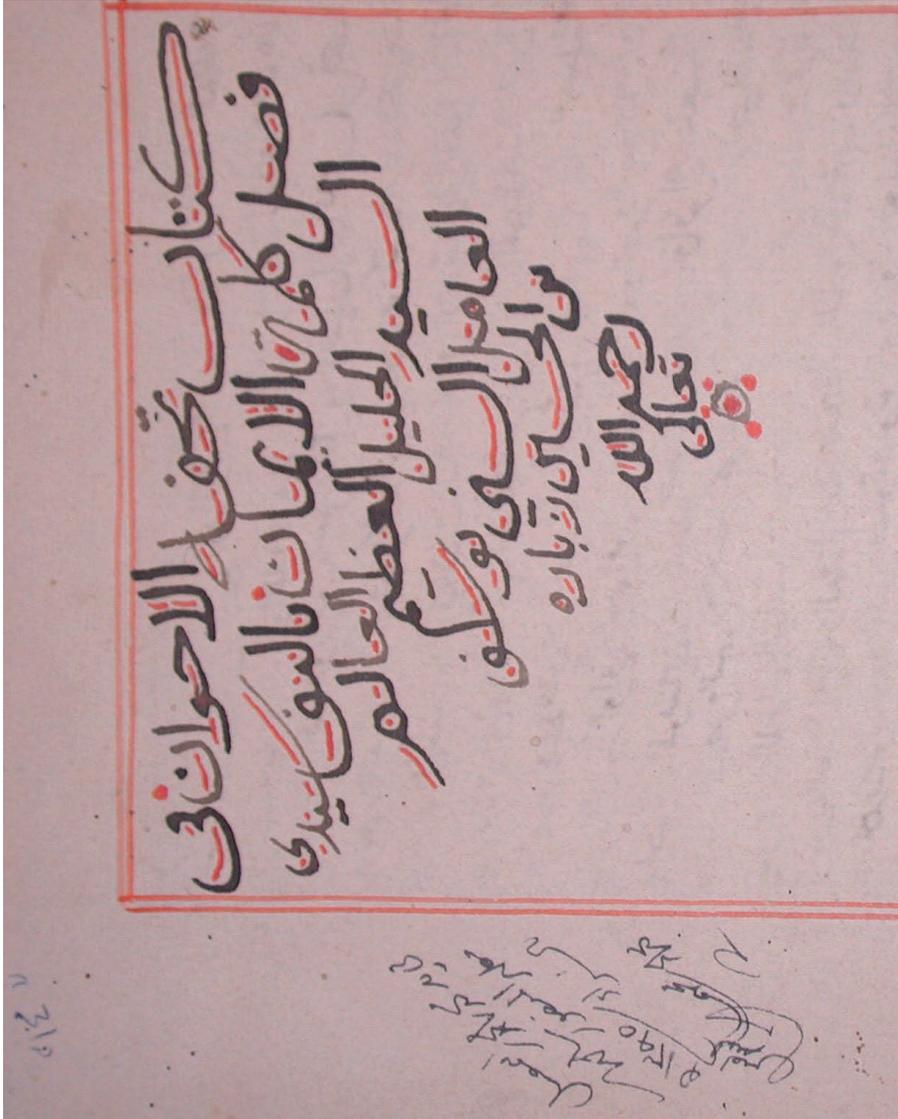


Fig. 74: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01347_001)

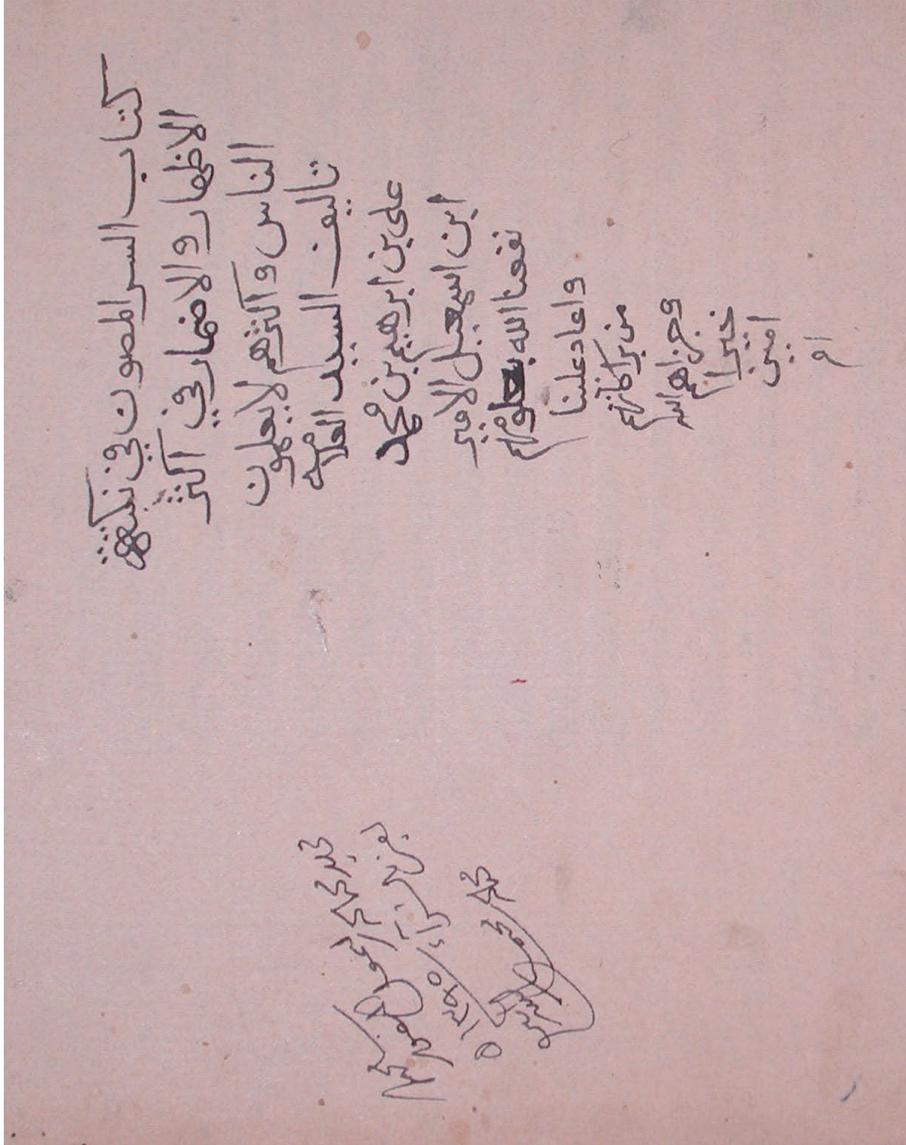


Fig. 75: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01439_002)

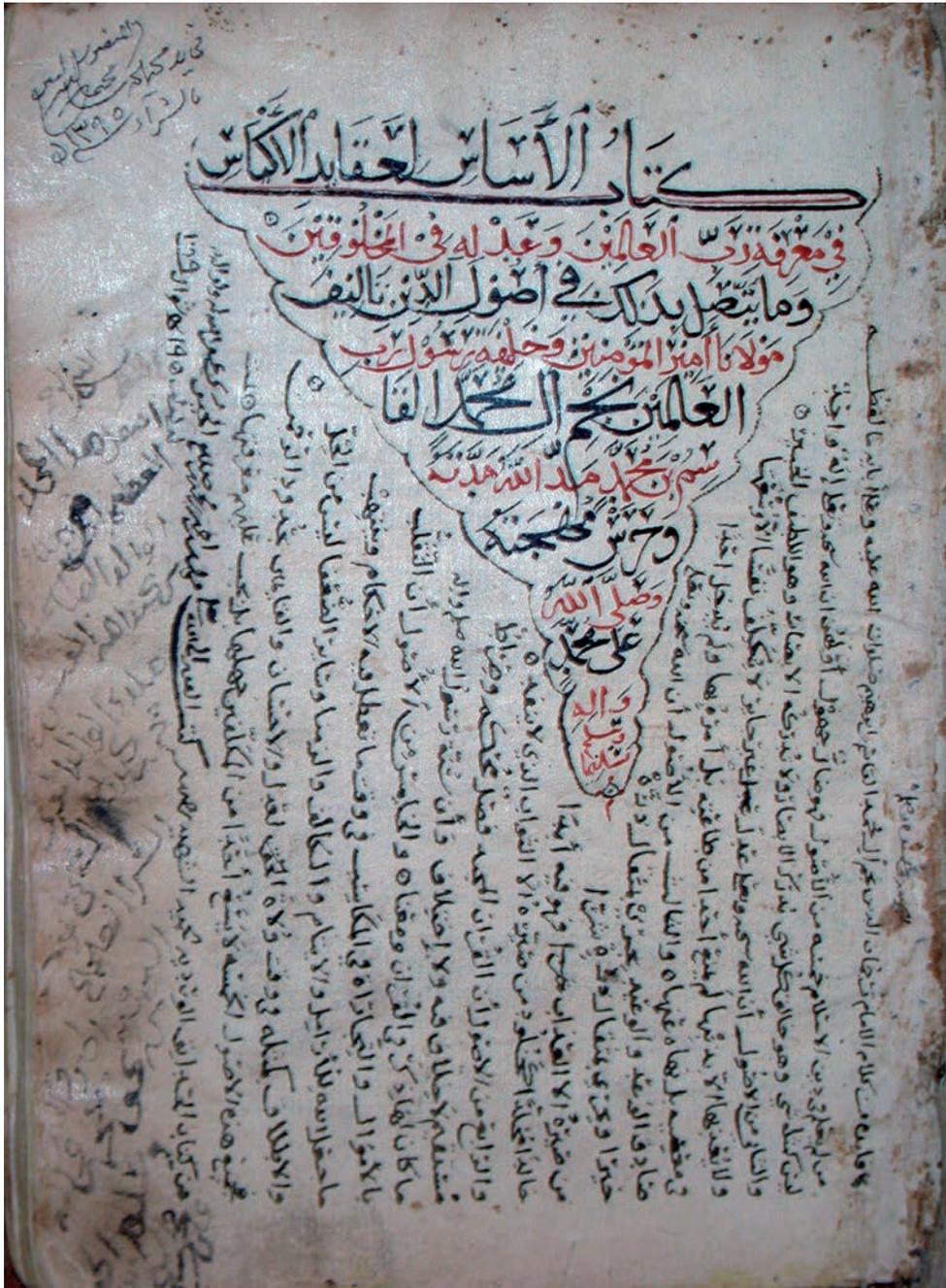


Fig. 76: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01501_002)

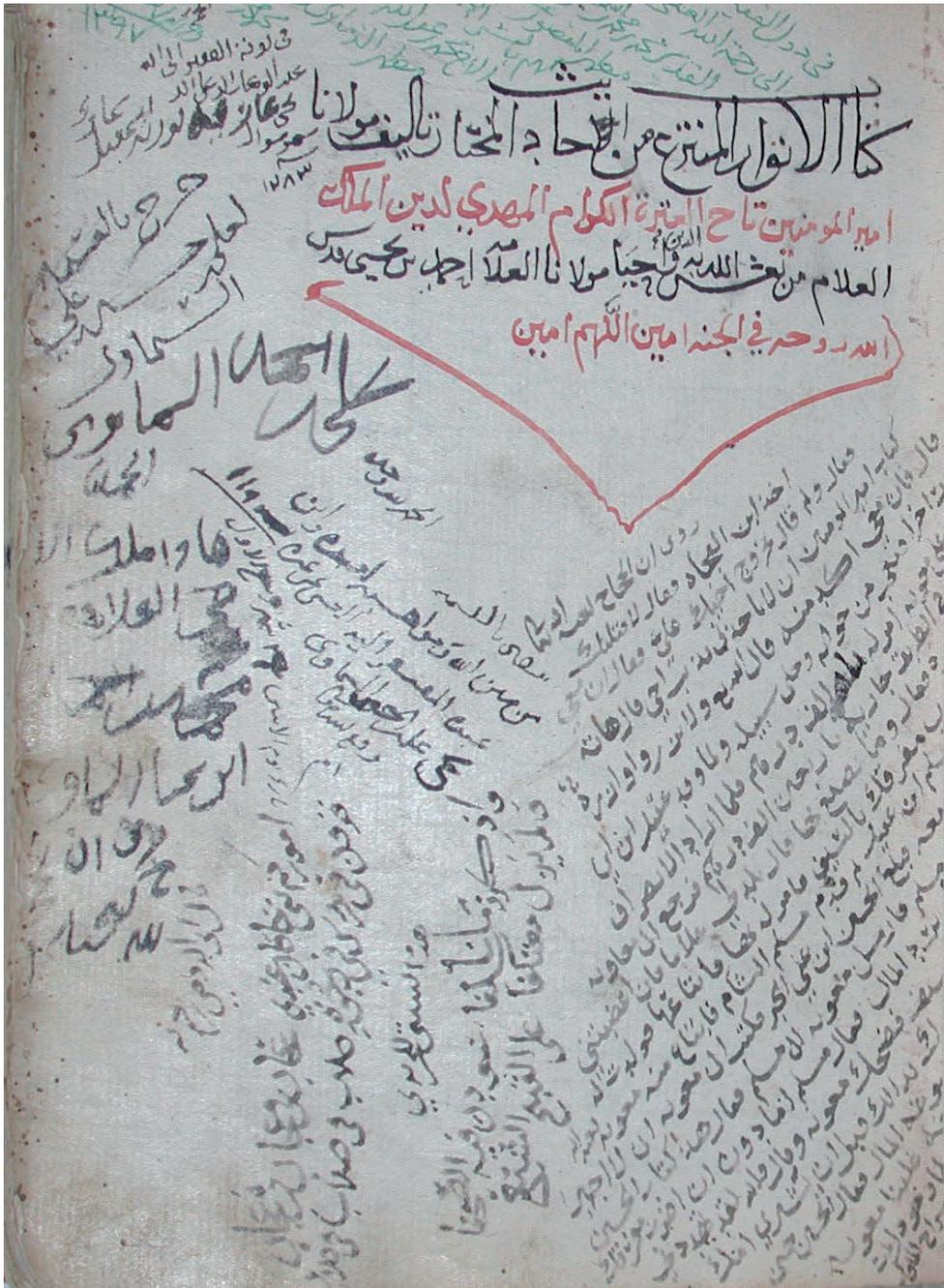


Fig. 77: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01312_006)

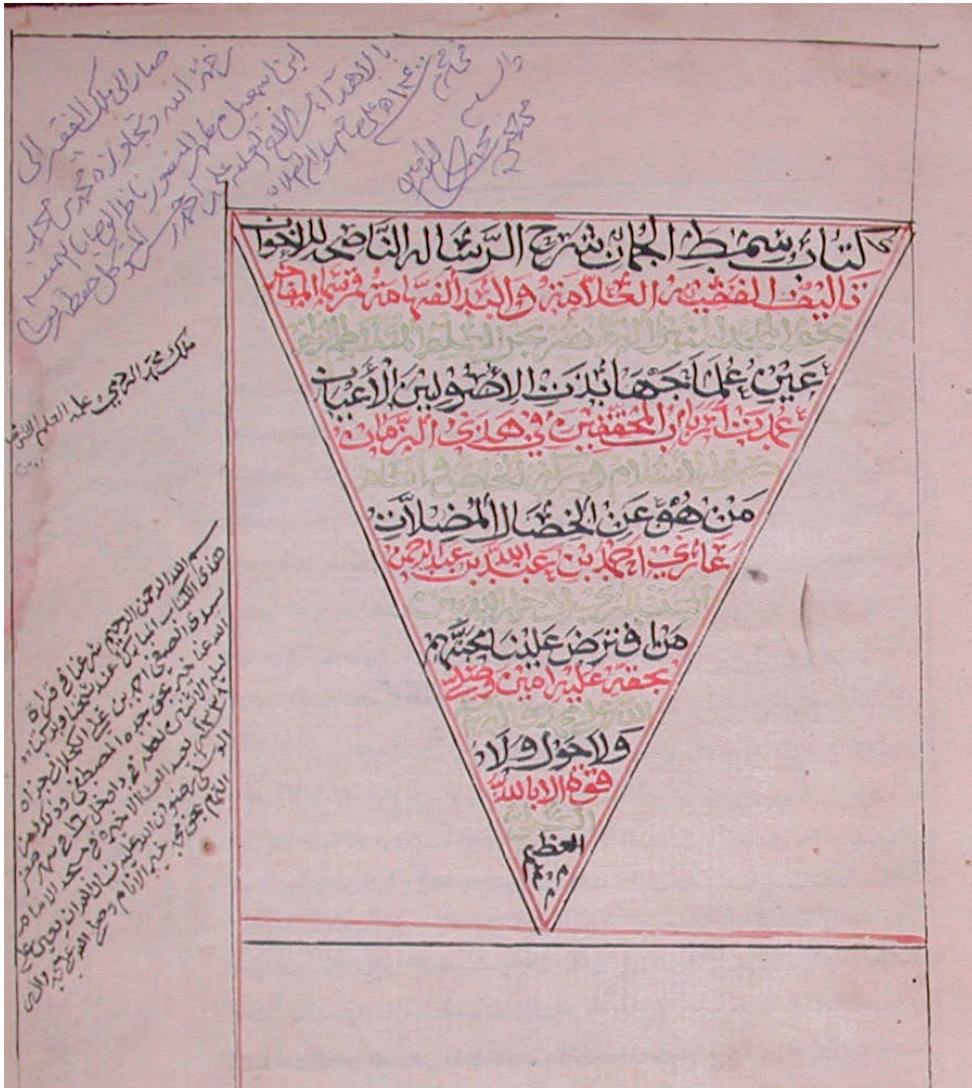


Fig. 78: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01483_004)

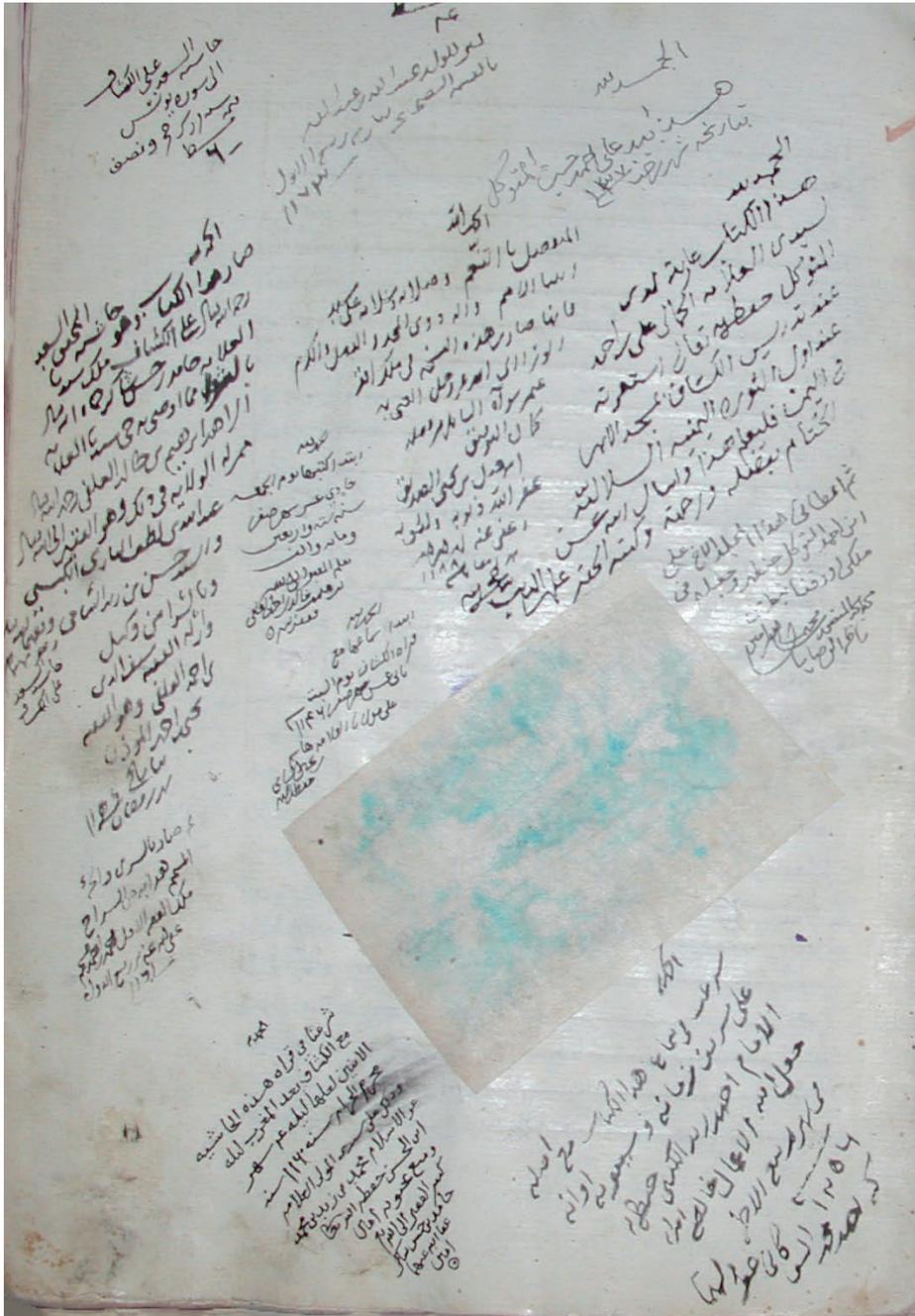


Fig. 80: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01354_002)



Fig. 81: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01337_002)

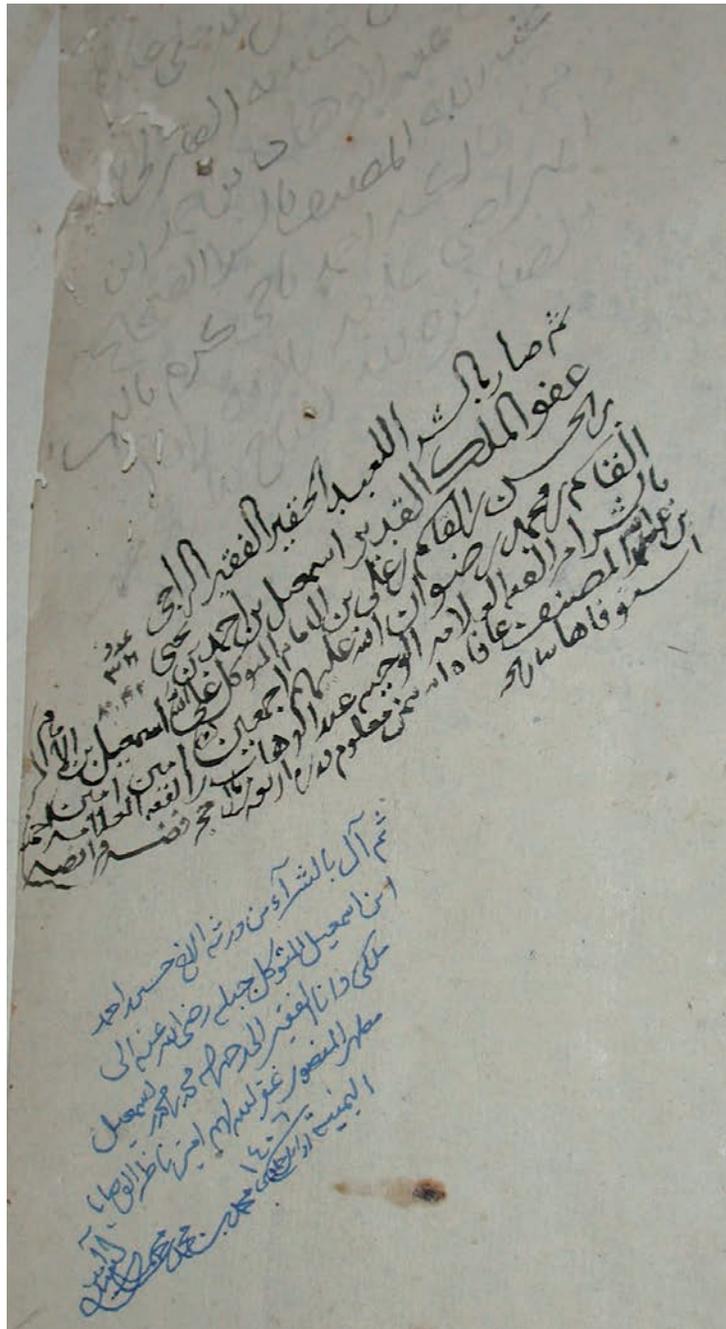


Fig. 83: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01338_002)



Fig. 84: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01361_003)

طَاهِرًا وَالْكَثْرَةُ نَفْعُ الْحَاشِيَةِ سَوَاءٌ كَانَ الْمَاءُ زَاكِرًا أَوْ حَارًّا مَا
عِنْدَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهُوَ قَوْلُ أَبِي يُونُسَ وَعِنْدَ سَائِرِ أَهْلِ الْبَيْتِ عَلَيْهِمُ
السَّلَامُ مَوْضِعُ الْحَاشِيَةِ تَكُونُ حَسَاوِيرًا وَهِيَ أَوْ حَاوِيرَةٌ وَمَلْحَاوِيرَةٌ
وَالْمَحَاوِيرُ وَالْمَالِثُ تَكُونُ طَاهِرًا مَا سَأَلَ عَلَى عِشْرِ لُبُوبٍ مِنَ الْحَاشِيَةِ
وَأَمَّا عَرُوفُ الْمَحَاوِيرِ الْمَالِي وَالْمَالِثُ يَعْنِي رَحْمَةَ الْحَاشِيَةِ وَهِيَ
قَوْلُ أَبِي حَنِيفَةَ وَجَمْعُ نَحْسِنِ الْحَسَنِ لِأَنَّ عِنْدَ هَازِلِ الْمَحَاوِيرِ الْمَالِي طَاهِرًا
وَأَصْلُهُ عِنْدَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ الْخَيْرُ الْمَقْدَمُ وَرَوَى عَنْ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ عَلَيْهِ
السَّلَامُ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَخْلُقُ الْمَاءَ طَاهِرًا إِلَّا حَسْبَهُ إِلَّا مَا عَمِرَهُ وَلَا يَمْلَأُ بَعْضُهُ طَاهِرًا
وَبَعْضًا تَكُونُ حَمِيضَةً طَاهِرًا إِذَا لَمْ يَرُدَّ لَيْلَةً أَوْ لَمْ يَرْتَفِعْ مِنْهُ حَاشِيَةٌ مِثْلُهُ
وَأَمَّا الْمُسْتَعْمَلُ عِنْدَهُ طَاهِرًا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهَكَذَا أَحْمَدُ الْخَوَارِزْمِيُّ
رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا عَلَى مَنْ ذَهَبَ عَنِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهُوَ أَحْصَارُهَا وَهُوَ قَوْلُ
عَمْرِو بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَجَمْعُهَا وَهُوَ أَحْصَارُهَا وَهُوَ قَوْلُ أَبِي حَنِيفَةَ تَرَوَاهُ عِنْدَهُ
أَبُو يُونُسَ وَمَنْ يَصْرُفُهُ مَسَاحِيخٌ وَالْوَجْهُ فِيهِ مَا رَوَى عَنْهُ أَنَّ النَّاسَ
كَانُوا يَسْأَلُونَ رُونَ إِلَى مَوْزِعِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَيْفَ يَكُونُ بَيْتُهُ
كَانَ خَيْرًا لَيْسَ فِيهِ مِنَ الرُّسُولِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَمَا تَرَى فِي حَقِّ الرُّسُولِ
سِوَا ذَلِكَ فَتَمَّ الْأَمَّا حَمِيضُهُ الْبَدَلُ وَاللَّيْلَةُ مَا طَاهِرًا لِقَائِهِ
طَاهِرًا وَجِبَانٌ تَكُونُ طَاهِرًا إِذَا لَمْ يَرُدَّ لَيْلَةً أَوْ إِذَا عَسَلَتْ بِهِ بَيْتًا طَاهِرًا
مِثْلُهُ وَلَا يَكُونُ الطَّاهِرُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا الْمُسْتَعْمَلُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهُوَ قَوْلُ
الْعَاسِمِ وَجَمْعُهَا السَّلَامُ وَأَبُو حَنِيفَةَ وَالسَّافِعِيُّ وَعِنْدَ الْمَالِكِيِّينَ بِاللَّيْلِ
عِنْدَهُ السَّلَامُ يَجُوزُ وَهُوَ مَحْمُولٌ عَلَى عَمْرِو بْنِ الْحَسَنِ الرَّجُلِ فَهُوَ أَمَّا تَمَّ
مَشْرُوبُهُ بِاللَّيْلِ فَهُوَ عِنْدَهُ مِثْلُ بَيْتِهِ فَهُوَ كَمَا الْبَيْتُ وَلَا يَسْقَطُ
الْفَرْصُ مِنْهُ وَلَا يَدْرَأُ مِنْ بَابِ مَا سَأَلَ عَلَى الْحَسَنِ الْمَعْنَى
الْكُفَّارَةُ مِثْلُهُ الْمَاءُ إِذَا رَدَّ أَوْ قَدَّمَ بِهِ الْحَاشِيَةَ بِحَسَنِ

وردت اما في
في قوله النور الى
سواء كان الماء زكرا
او حارا
على المشور
الذي هو
في قوله النور الى
سواء كان الماء زكرا
او حارا

Fig. 85: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01368_001)

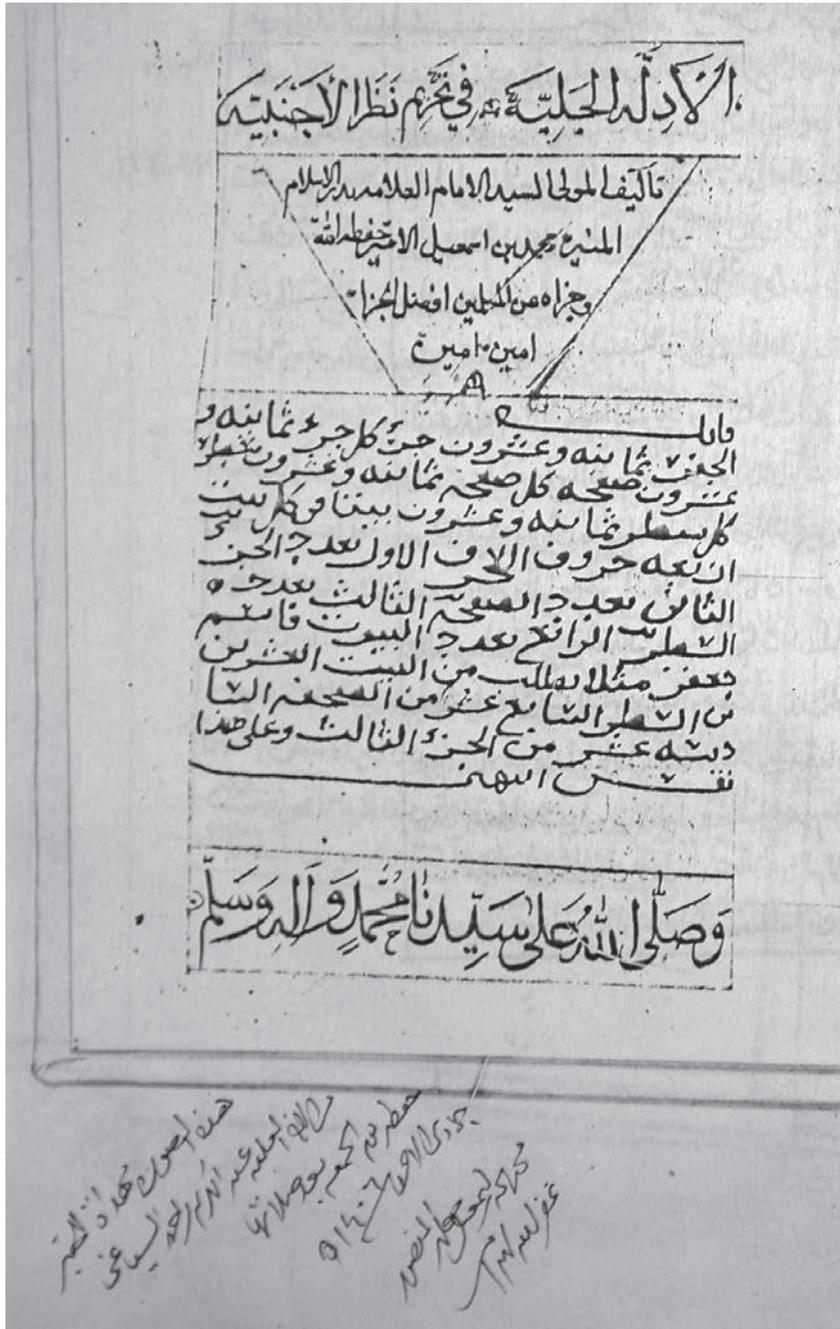


Fig. 86: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01432_001)



Fig. 87: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01373_217)

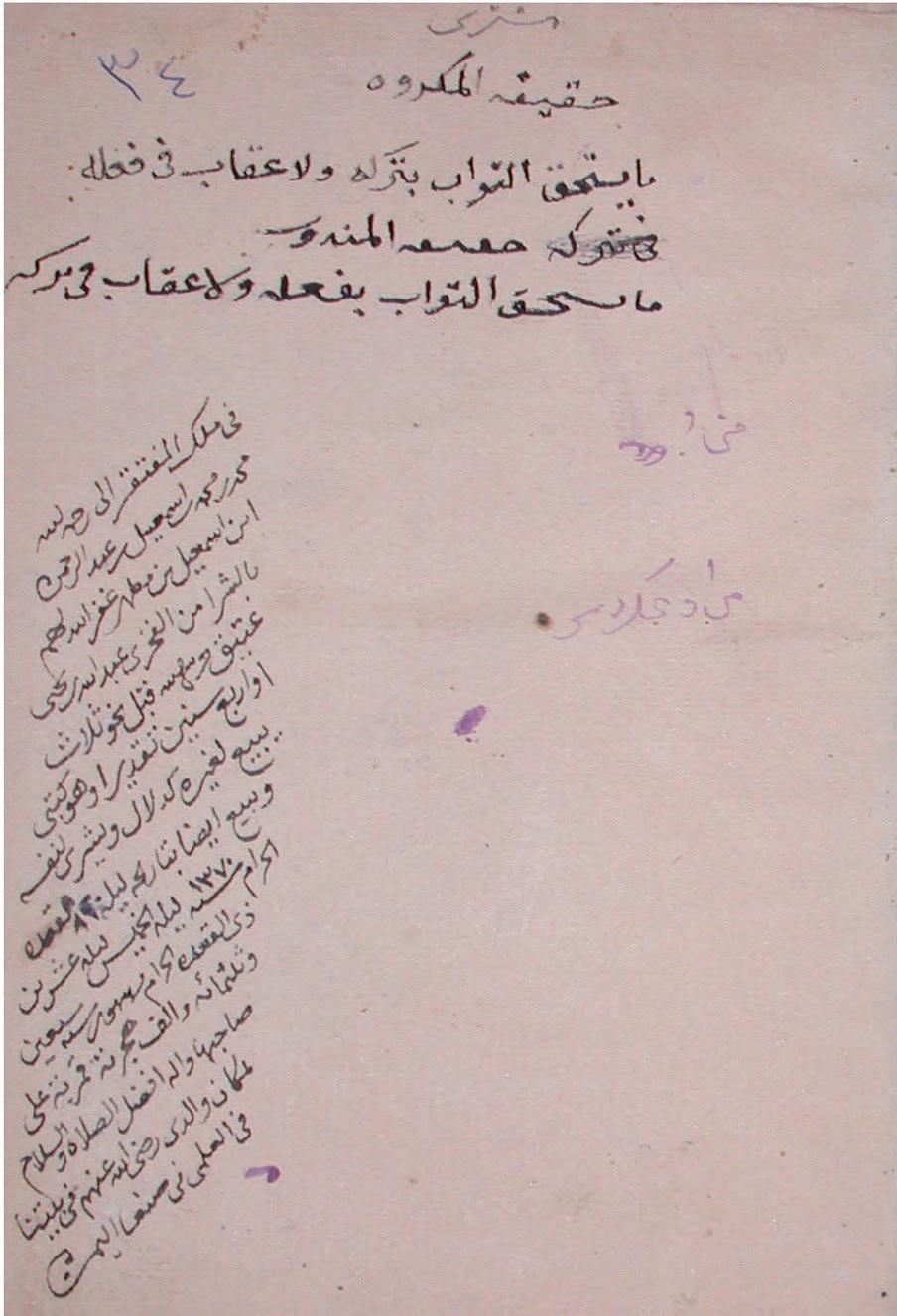


Fig. 88: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01373_002)



Fig. 90: MS Şan'ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01314_004)



Fig. 91: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01321_002)



Fig. 92: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01330_003)

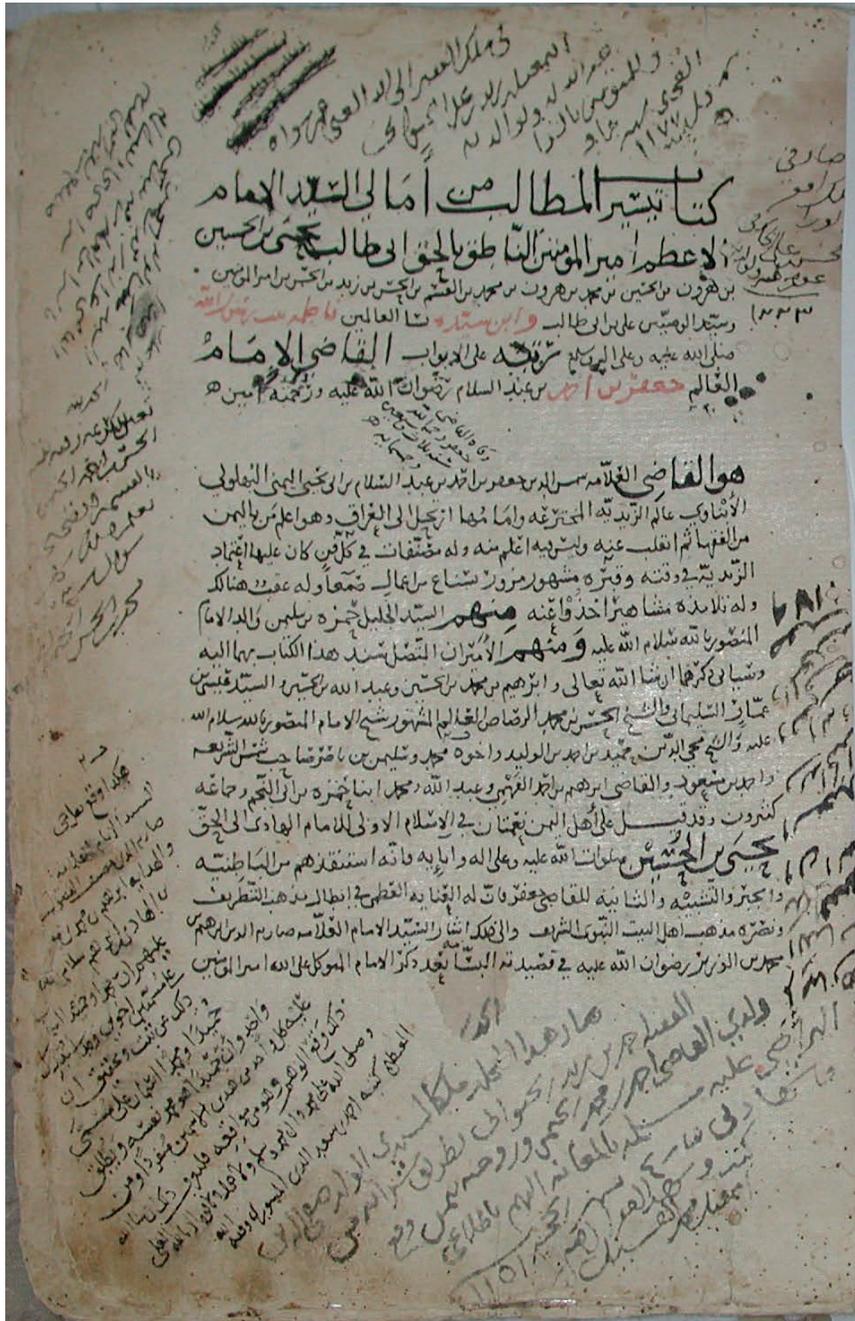


Fig. 93: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01350_003)

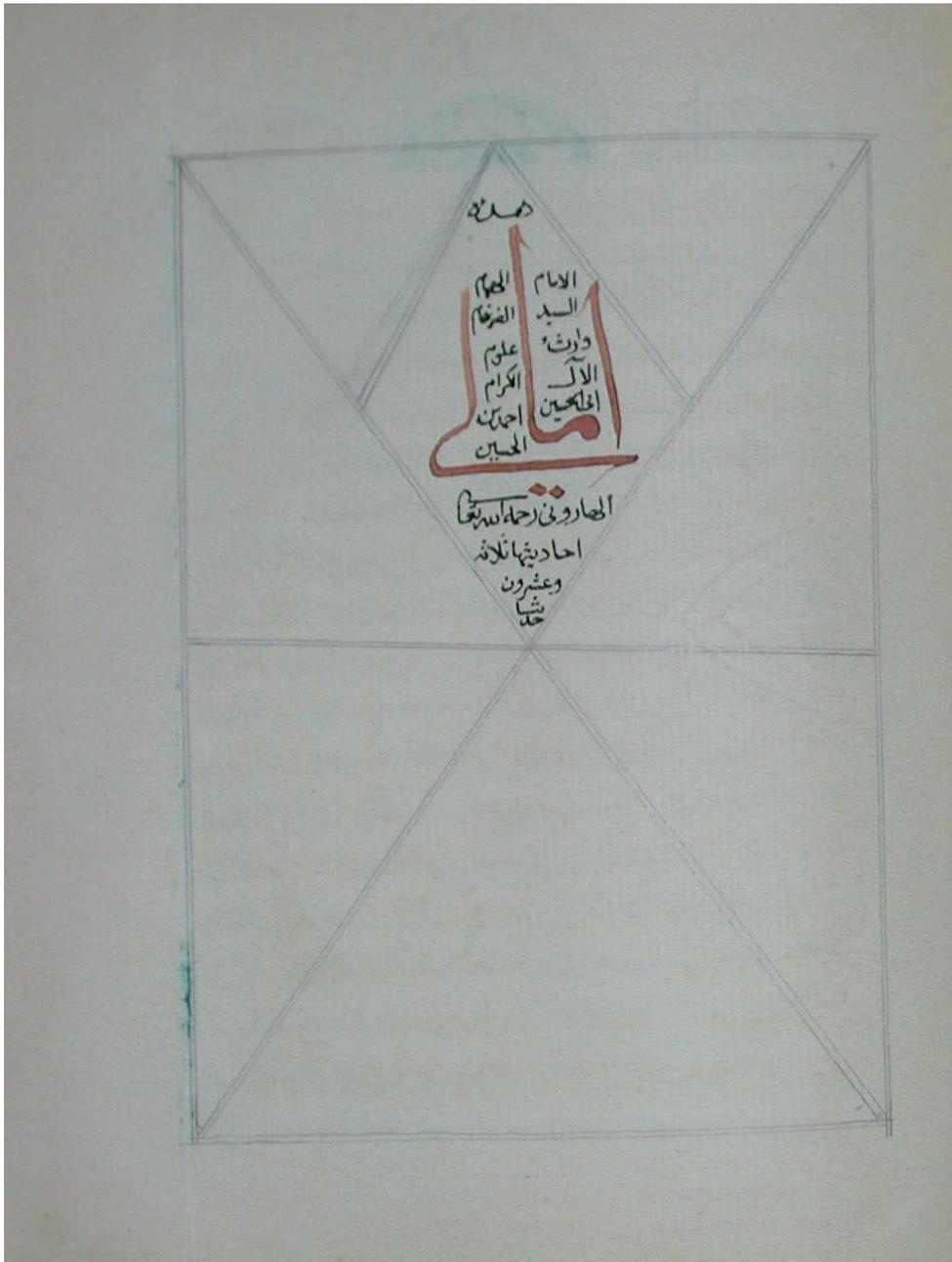


Fig. 98: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_008)

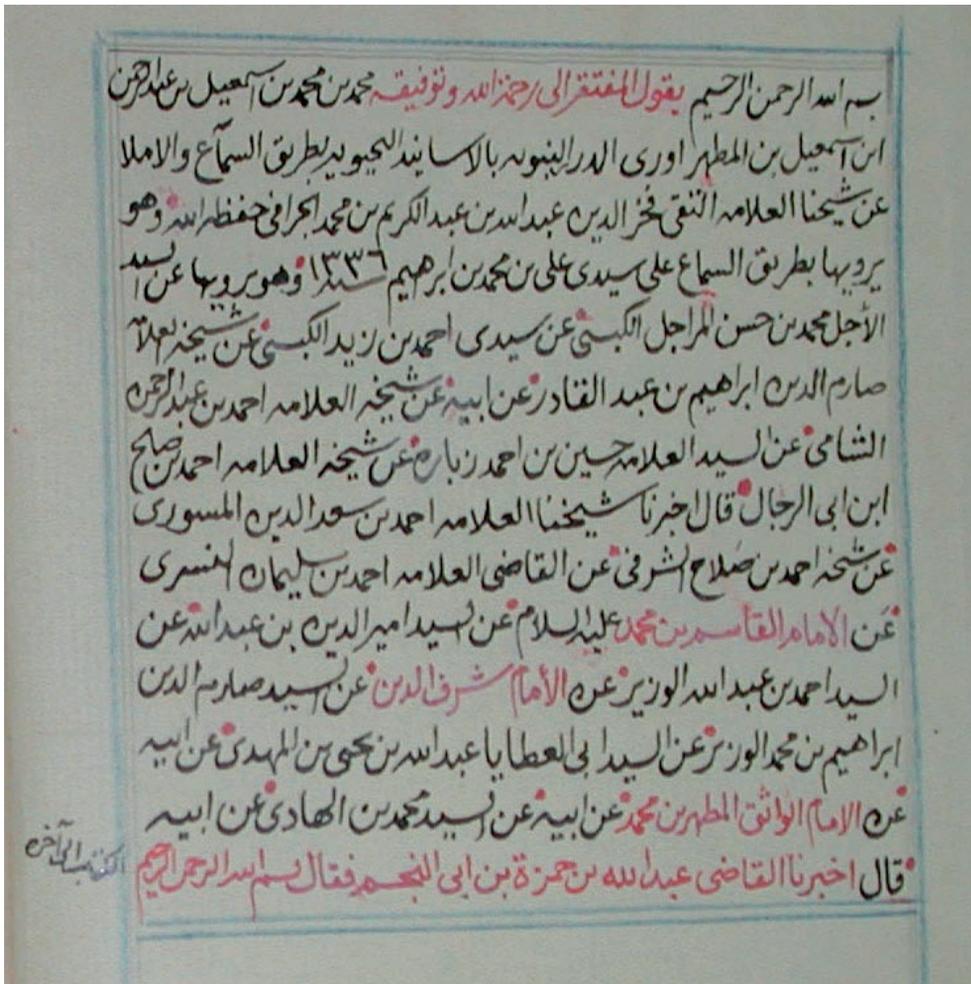


Fig. 100: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_016)

ثم غزوة ادطاس ثم غزوة الطائف وفي ذلك ما كان من خالد بن الوليد في بني جذيمة واسلام
 عباس بن مرداس وقضية كعب بن زهير ودين يدي الفتح كانت قصه تلاخ من جشامة في قسلة
 العامرين الاوسط الاسمعي واسرثا من انال وسنة غالب بن عبد البقيث على بن الملوح
 بالذيد وغزوة عبيد بن حصن بن العنبر بن تميم وسنة زيد بن جارية الى مدبر
 السنة التاسعة تسمى سنة الوفود فيها وفد عبد القيس ووفد نعيم ووفد بنو
 حنيفه واهل بخران ووفد طح وراسم زيد اخيل وشهر الوفود وفادة عامر بن الطفيل
 وازيد بن قيس وخير الوفود وفود اليمى فزوة من مسيك وغيره وفي هذه السنة
غزوة تبوك وتخلت الثلاثة عنها وهم كعب بن مالك ومرارة بن الربيع وهلال
 بن امية واعتز النبي صلى الله عليه واله وسلم نساءه وقيل قبل الحجاب وفيها وقع
 اللعان ورجع علي عليه السلام لتبليغ سورة برائه ونسخت آية العيف بقوله تعالى
 وان احدم المشركين استجارك سنة العاشرة فيها اسلم جرير بن عبد الله
 وفي شوال قدم وفد بني احارث اهل بخران وفيها كانت حجة الوداع السنة الحادية عشرة
 فيها مات رسول الله صلى الله عليه واله وسلم يوم الاثنين في ربيع الأول اجماعا
 حين اشتد الضجى والاحوال لا قوة الا بالله الصلى العظيم وصلى الله وسلم على سيدنا محمد الامين
 واله الطاهر من تدريس الغزى اجازى حنظلة له وكان الفراع نحو الساعة اجماعا على نوح
 من بنو ابيس مرة حبه الزد او ساج جهادى الآخرة سنة ١٣٥٥ قتل افقر العباد محمد بن حنظل
 عبد الرحمن بن ابي بلال المطهر محمد بن اسامين وقار في آخرها الغزى عاقاة امية
 حر نقل هذه البندزة صبح اجماع شهر رجب
 ١٣٣٥

فائدة حقا التاريخ علم يعرف به احوال الماضين وموضوعه اخبار السابقين
 وثمرته الانقاظ وكبح النفس عن الاعتزاز بزين هرة الدنيا والنظر بتقلب احوالها من القابض نقلها
 اصبل نوحا الاحد لعلة ٢٤٤٤ هـ ربيع اخر السنة بخط مالكه ومن الخط الاعلى وهذا الاختلاف
 مع اتحاد الكاتب المقتصر الى حده سحرهم بالله والدم والمؤمنين والمؤمنات امين اللهم امين

ث
 وقد جمع اليه السلام
 ان الذي يتخلف
 من الزيج مودة
 كعب بن مالك
 من المديون
 من المديون
 من المديون

Fig. 104: MS Şan‘ā’, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_074)

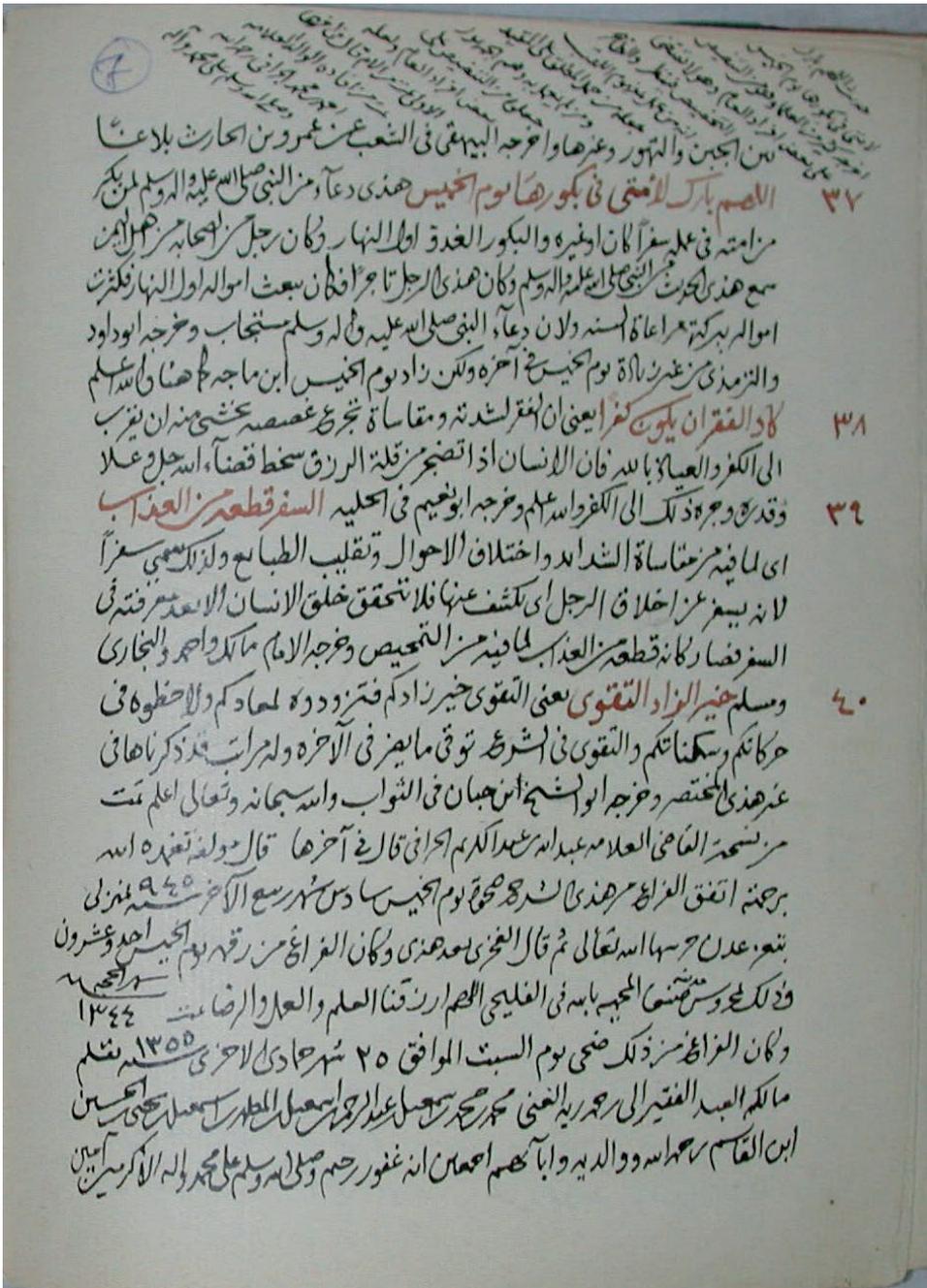


Fig. 105: MS Şan‘ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_078)

وزالمشاحصن — وثلث من الفضة — وز القروش — **وارش** حقاق بدن المرأة وباصغنة
 راسها وباصغنة بدن الرجل وهو آخز ما يكون فيه من السواك الثلاث من الابل **٢** وز القروش **٢٠٠**
 اشارة **٧٠** وز المشاقيل **١٠٠** من الفضة درهم **١٠٠** من احراف الحديد **٨** وثلث من القروش **٧٧٠**
وارش تلامس راس الرجل من الفضة لانيه من الذهب مشاقيل **٣٥** من احراف **٢٥** من الفضة درهم
٣٠٠ من القروش **٧٣** **وارش** تلامس راس المرأة و بدن الرجل نصف ذلك من
 الذهب مشاقيل **١٥** من احراف **١٢٠** من الدرهم **١٥٠** من القروش **وارش** تلامس
 بدن المرأة من الذهب **٧** من احراف **٦٤** من الفضة درهم **١١٤٧** **٧٥٠** من القروش
 المعروفة **٣٣٠** **وارش** دامية راس الرجل الكبري ووضعه بدن المرأة من الذهب مشاقيل
١٢ من احراف **١٢٥** من الفضة **١٢٥** من القروش **٩٤٧** **وارش** دامية راس
 المرأة الكبري وكبري بدن الرجل وصغري راسه من الذهب مشاقيل **٦٤** من احراف **٥٠** وفضة
 سدس من الفضة **٦٢٠** من القروش **٤٠٠** **وارش** دامية بدن المرأة
 الكبري وصغري بدن الرجل من الذهب مشاقيل **٣٣** من المشاحصن **٢**
 وخمسة اسداس الثمن من الفضة درهم **٢٤٧** من القروش **٢٤٧** **وارش** حاصصة
 راس الرجل وارضته وباصغنة بدن المرأة من الذهب مشاقيل **٥** من احراف **٤٠** حاصصة
 الفضة **٥٠** من القروش **٣٠٠** وفي صغري بدن **١٢٠** **وارش** حاصصة
 وارضته و بدن الرجل من الذهب **٢** من احراف **٢** وفضة سدس من الفضة درهم
٢٥ من القروش **٧٠** **وارش** ليجناية التي تحم او تخضر او تسود في راس الرجل
 ولم يقع معها دم من الذهب **٤** من احراف **٣٠** وثلث من الفضة **٤٠** من القروش
٣٠٠ وثلث نصف ذلك ان كانت في بدن الرجل و راس المرأة وكذلك من الذهب
 مشاقيل **٢** من احراف **١** وثلثان من الدرهم **٢٠** من القروش **١** وثلث
 نصف ذلك ان كانت في بدن المرأة ولم ترم وهو ايضا اقل قدر المهر الشرعي من الذهب مشاقيل
٢٠ من احراف **٢٠** من الفضة درهم **١٠** من القروش **٣٣٣** **واما حاصصة**
بدن المرأة وارضتها من الذهب مشاقيل **١٤** من احراف **١٤** من الفضة درهم
 من القروش **٣٤٤** تم بحكمة نسجه الفرس على الكرم **١٢** اخواتهم بحمد الله وقد فادى الله
 على نسجه القا في العلامة **١٤** من احراف **١٤** من الفضة درهم **١٢** من القروش **٣٤٤**

Fig. 106: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_082)



Fig. 107: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_082)

الثقة ابو القاسم عبدالرحمن بن ابي حمزة المكي حدثنا به نضر الدين ابو جعفر احمد بن محمد الحسيني بحطب
حدثنا به الامام محمد بن علي بن ابي طالب الحسيني
قراءة علينا من لفظه غير مرة في سنة ثمان مائة وسبع وعشرين قال حدثني سيدي والدي ابو الحسن
علي بن ابي طالب قرأنا سنة اربع مائة وست وستين حدثني سيدي والدي ابو طالب
الحسن بن عبيد الله الحسيني سنة اربع مائة واربع وثلاثين قال حدثني سيدي والدي عبيد الله
قال حدثني سيدي والدي محمد قال حدثني سيدي والدي **عبيد الله** قال حدثني سيدي والدي
علي قال حدثني سيدي والدي الحسن الاثمين اول من دخل بلخ من هذه الطائفة قال حدثني سيدي
والدي الحسن بن جعفر قال حدثني سيدي والدي جعفر الملقب بالحجة قال حدثني سيدي والدي
عبيد الله الزاهد قال حدثني سيدي والدي الحسن الأصغر قال حدثني سيدي والدي علي
ابن الحسين السجاد قال حدثني سيدي والدي الحسين بن علي قال حدثني سيدي والدي امير المؤمنين
ابو طالب عليهم السلام جميعاً قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه واله وسلم

علي بن
ليس الخبر كالعيان، المحاليس بالامانة، احمرت خدعه، المسلم مرآة المسلم، الدال على الخير كفاعله
والمتشاور مؤتمن، استعينوا على الخواص بالكتمان، اتقوا النار ولو بشق تمرة، الدنيا
سجن للمؤمن وجنة للكافر، الحياء خير كله، عدة المؤمن كأخذ الكفت لا يجمل للمؤمن ان يهجر
اخاه فوق ثلاث من غشنا فليس منا، ما قل وكفى خير مما كثر والهي الرجوع في هيبته كالرجوع
في قيده، البلاء موكل بالمنطق، الناس كاسنان المشط، الغني غني بنفسه، السعيد من
عظ بغيره، ان من الشعر لحكمة وان من البيان لسحرا، عضو الملوك ابقى للملك، المرؤع
من احب ما هلك امرؤ عرف قدره، الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر، اليد العليا خير من السفلا
ومن لا يشكر الناس لا يشكر الله، حبك للشئ نعمي ويصيم، جبلت القلوب على حب من احسن اليها
وبعض من اساء اليها، الثاب من الذنب لمن لا ذنب له، الشاهد يرى ما لا يرى الغائب
اذا جاء كرم قوم فاكرمهم، اليمين الفاجرة تدع الديار بلاقع، من قتل دون ماله فهو شهيد،
الاعمال بالنية، سيد القوم خادهم، خير الأمور اوسطها، اللهم بارك لأمتي في بكورها يوم
النجس كاد القرآن يكون كفرة، السفر قطعة من العذاب، خير الزاد التقوى، انتهت وجره

Fig. 108: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_083)

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أو ثلاثاً رابعاً في سنتين أو النصف والأقل يدخل تحت الأكثر في التقديم و
 التأخير. **فإن قلت** وكيف صار هذا المستند الظني قطعياً حتى أنها لا تجوز
 مخالفتها. **قلت** نعم كان قبل الإجماع ظنياً يجوز المخالفة فيه فلما وقع الإجماع
 على الحكم بيقينها صار قطعياً وتحترم مخالفتها على المختار. **فإن قلت** فقد
 وقع الخلاف في بعضها فلا يكون المعنى واتعاً في المحظر الذي نهى عنه نعم
 إذا وقع الإجماع قبل الخلاف فإنه حجة قاطعة على المختار لرجوع ابن عباس إلى
 قول الأكثر. الصحابي يبيع الدرهم بالدرهمين أنه لا يجوز فكان إجماعاً
 وهذا على ما اختاره الإمام عليهم السلام. **فإن قلت** فما تقول في خلاف من خالف
 هذه المسائل **قلت** هو منقوض ومردود كما ذكرنا في اثنا عشرها. **فإن قلت**
 هل يقع إجماع من غير مستند دليل أو امارة **قلت** المختار أنه لا يقع لأن
 القول في الدين بلا مستند خطأ وقيل يجوز أن يحصل من غير مستند واختاره
 موسى بن عمران من المعتزلة قال إذا المؤمنون موصوفون والصواب معرضون
فإن قلت وإذا كان لا بد للإجماع من مستند فنعمل بالمستند لا بالإجماع إذا فائدة
 له **قلت** فائدة عدم البحث عن الدليل وحرمة المخالفة. **فإن قلت** هل يجوز
 أن يكون المستند قطعياً أم يجوز أن يكون ظنياً **قلت** فلا يكون قطعياً
 وهو الأكثر ويجوز أن يكون ظنياً كما تقدم من دليل أو امارة وتصير بعد الإجماع
 قطعياً تحترم مخالفتها لقوله تعالى ومن يتبع عن رسول المؤمنين قوله ما
 تولى أخ هذلي ما ملكت جحشاً كذا وحديثه خطأ لا يخفى عليه من غير الإجماع
 عند من عبد الله بن أبي ذر قال في آخرها كذا وحديثه وصلى الله وسلم على سيدنا محمد وآله من جادى الأولى ٥٥٣

Fig. 110: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_094)



Fig. 111: MS Şan‘ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_115)

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الكلام من مسودته
 حقيقة استنزلت من الجسد والارواح
 بين الاستعراف والاعتدال والعلمية وقول الامام
 الجبريل بكلامه المبتدئ في فضل
 والاسرار والرسائل التي هي في اجود
 فالابواب التي هي في اجود
 في علمه وادبهم واما خلقه
 في علمه وادبهم واما خلقه
 انما العباد في العالمين ذلك
 انما العباد في العالمين ذلك
 بعد وقتا صعبا وهو من ياتي
 ليس تعلم ولاد خالفت قدرته
 ويستقيم من قائل ان الله عباده
 لا ينجي عباده الا ان الله عباده
 خيرا ونظامهم تحذروا انما
 ولم يكلت عليهم ولم تقض لارنا
 وقد عرفنا ان ذلك فلان الذي
 قول الله تعالى ان الله خلق كل
 قول الله تعالى ان الله خلق كل
 وادب من كل شيء مع ان الله عباده
 لم توت من اجابة الجاهل
 في اجابة الجاهل
 العلى والى الجاهل
 وتعلمه في اجابة الجاهل
 العلى والى الجاهل

الى تصويب اصل الضلالة من التصاري في توصلهم بالتثليث تعالى المذموم
 الأحد الذي لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد عن ذلك على كبير **والمجوس** با
 لأصلين للعالم النور والظلمة تعالى استنزلت كون **والبخاري** في فهم التوحيد
 وبعثه الرسل والمعاد الآخر في آيات الله وحده وبلاكنه وكلمته ورسوله و
 باليوم الآخر **والمجدين** في فهم صفاته تعالى كالللام وخلقهم افعال
 العباد وكونهم في الآخرة وغير ذلك **ودليل من قال ليس كل مجتهد في**
الفرع مصيبا قوله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم من اجتهد واصاب فله اجران
ومن اجتهد واخطأ فله اجر واحد وجملة دليل ان النبي صلى الله عليه وآله
وسلم خطا المجتهد من تارة وصوبه اخرى واحمدت رواه الشيخان
 وانظر البخاري اذا اجتهد احكام فحكم فاصاب فله اجران واذا حكم فخطا
 فله اجر واحد ثم ذلك بفضل الله واحسانه وكرمه وانعامه فله اجران كما يجب
 ولله الشكر كما يجب صباح يوم الخميس الموافق سابع عشر شهر رجب
 الفرد سنة الف وثلثمائة واربعمائة وخمسين هجرية على
 صاحبها قاله افضل الصلوة والسلام من شيخنا قال
 في اجابها كان النزاع من شيخنا هذا
 وقت لحي يوم السبت
 رابع وعشرون جمادى
 الآخرة سنة ١٠٦٧

خط
 ما كرهنا من قبل الله على امر محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن
 ما كرهنا من قبل الله على امر محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن
 ما كرهنا من قبل الله على امر محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن
 ما كرهنا من قبل الله على امر محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن

العلى والى الجاهل
 العلى والى الجاهل
 العلى والى الجاهل
 العلى والى الجاهل

Fig. 113: MS Şan‘ā, Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_135)

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ولدى عبد القادر بن أحمد ظابط آخر نقله من بعض مولفات المقرئين وهو
لمسائل الاستعارة جمعاً لا يقدر عليه أهل المطول لفظه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لكل أحد والمضاد والاسلام على احد وعلى الله سبحانه عن يد اللفظ اما مستعمل اولاً
الثاني للمهمل كبر والاول ما عن قصيد اولاً الثاني الغلط والاول ما في ما في
ام الا الثاني للجارة لقربها مانعة معينه والاول الحقيقة والثاني اما ان يكون علاقة المتشابه
اولاً الثاني الجارة المرسل والاول الاستعارة وهي اما في المفرد او في المركب الثاني التمثيل
والاول اما ان يطوى لفظ المشبه بغير حيد او المشبه ويذكر ما هو من لانها في
والمتعارف اما ان يكون كلياً او الاول الاصلي والثاني البيعي والاستعمال اما ان
له وجود في الخارج حساً او عقلاً او الاول التحقيد والثاني التخييل والاستعارة
اما ان يذكر مع ما هو من لوازم المشبه او المشبه اولاً الاول المرشح والثاني الجرد
والثالث المطلقة وابلغها الاول الثالث ثم الاستعارة تقسم باعتبار ما يعرضها
الى وفاقية وعنادية وتلجية وحكمة وعامية وخاصية وعقلية وغير ذلك
من حظ الوالد العلامة جيب الاسلاب الصمد عبد الرحمن بن ابي اسحاق
هذا الخط الاخر هو من حرم العبد الباطل الباطل شيا به ودراسة في تخمينها
وهذه الهمزة في اللفظ ام صنعها هو من غير علم بها الا لاسم اللفظ
في اللفظ الاخر

Fig. 114: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01495_137)

Fig. 115: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01381_005)

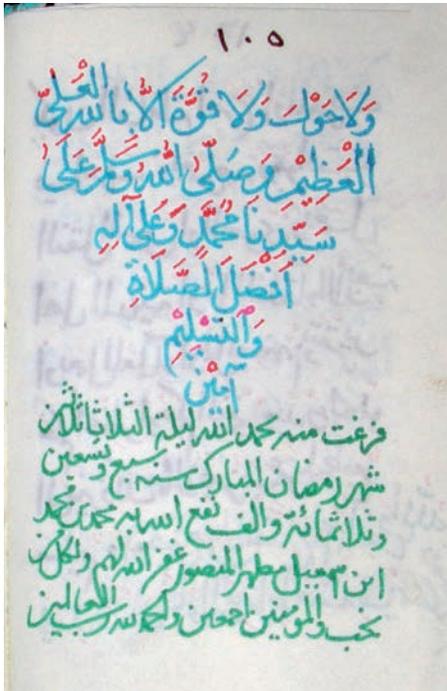
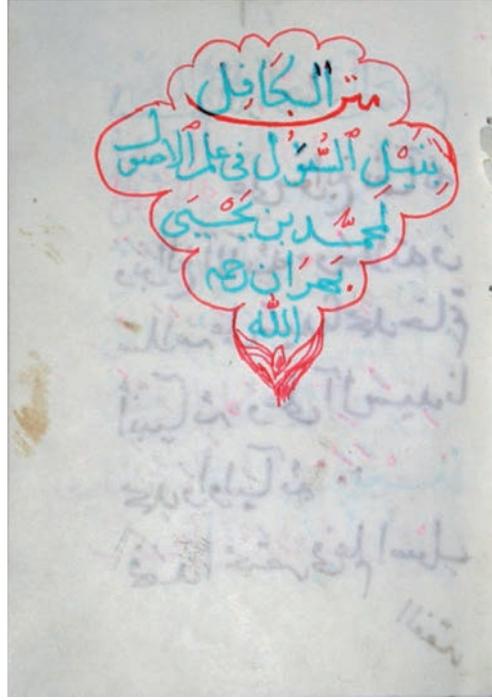


Fig. 116: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01381_058)

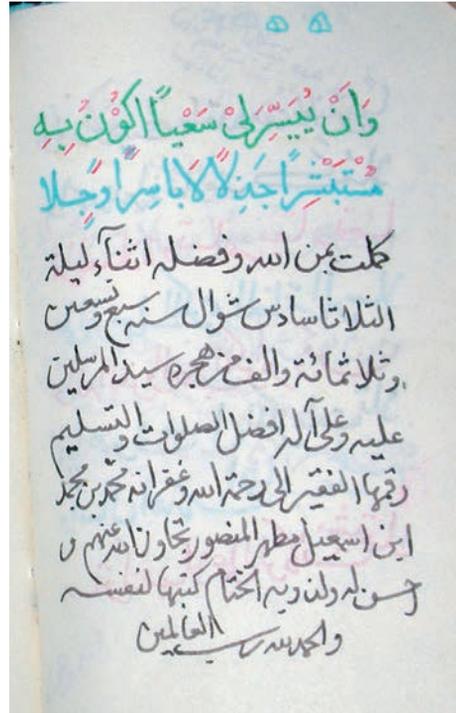


Fig. 117: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01381_087)

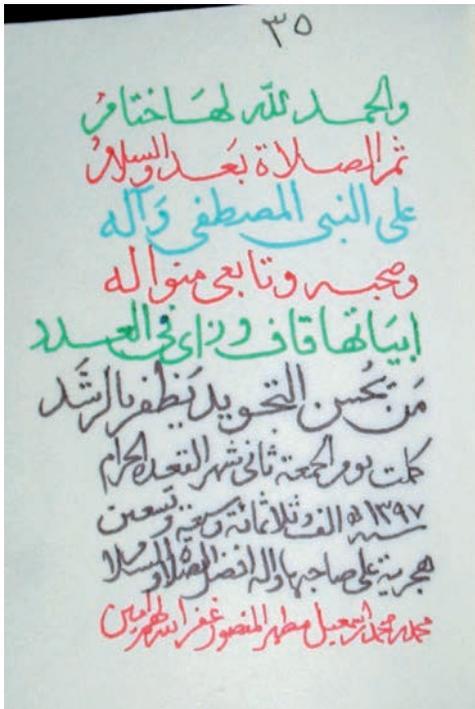


Fig. 118: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01381_104)



Fig. 121: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01381_145)



Fig. 122: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01372_004)

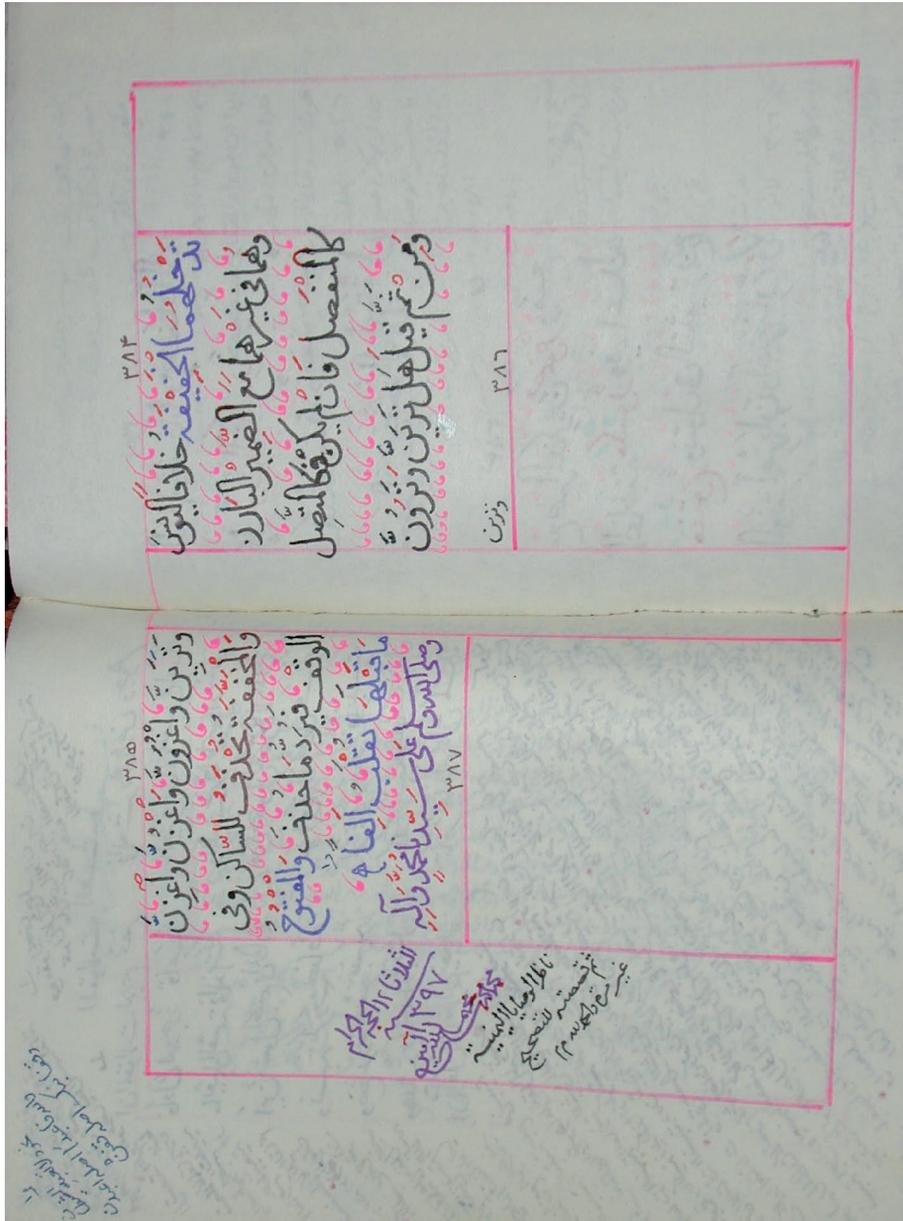


Fig. 123: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01372_100)

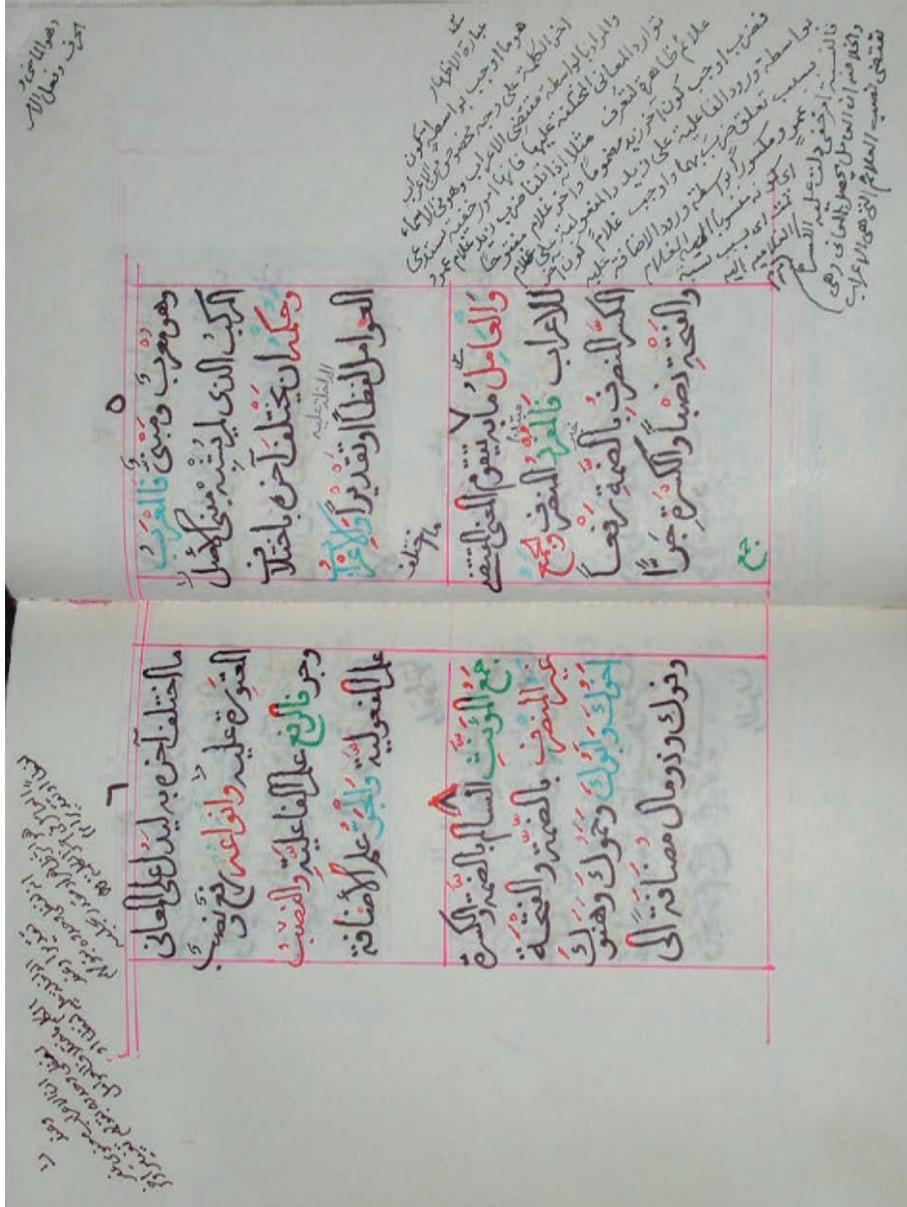


Fig. 124: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manṣūr (ZMT_01372_005)

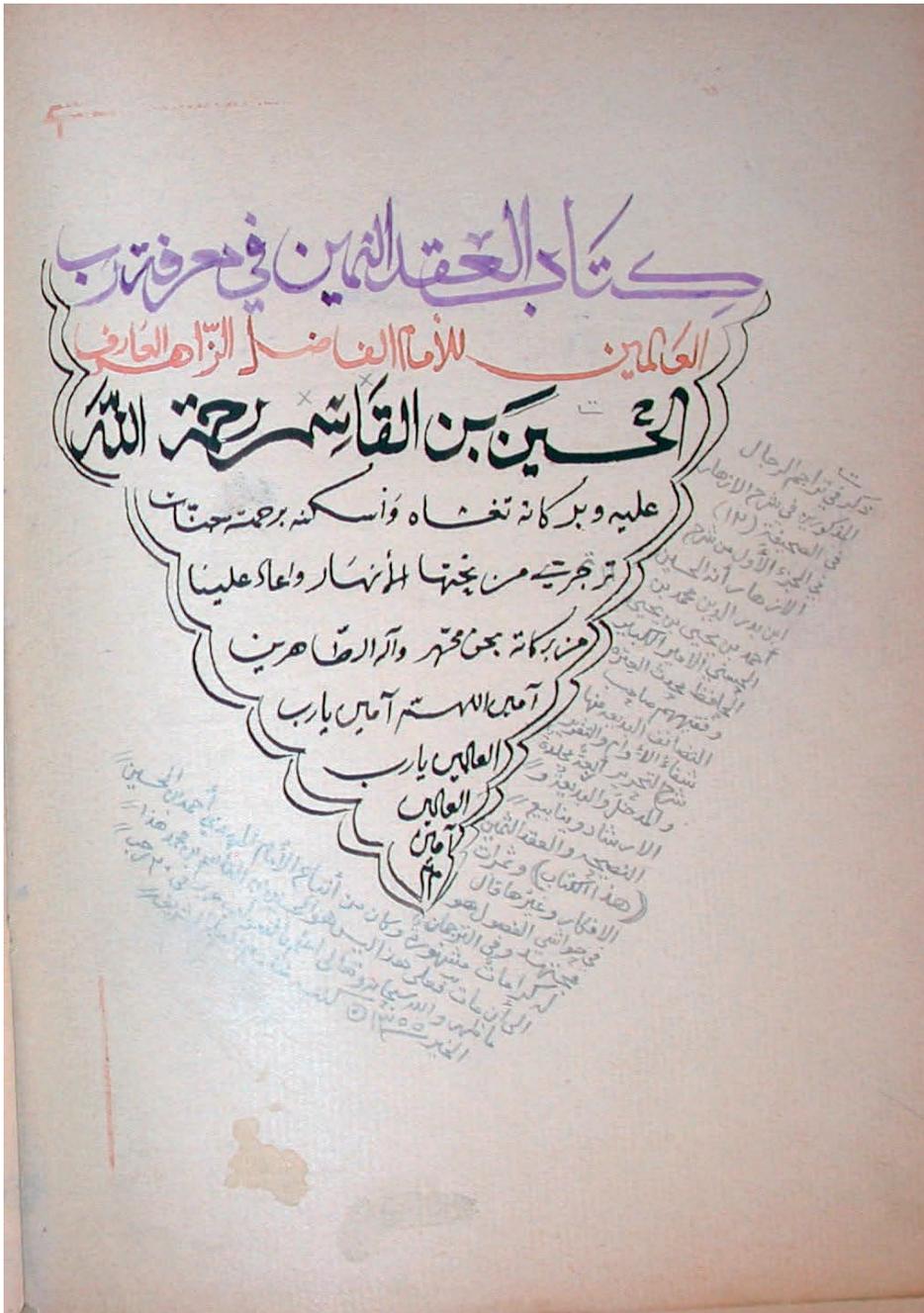


Fig. 127: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01464_057)

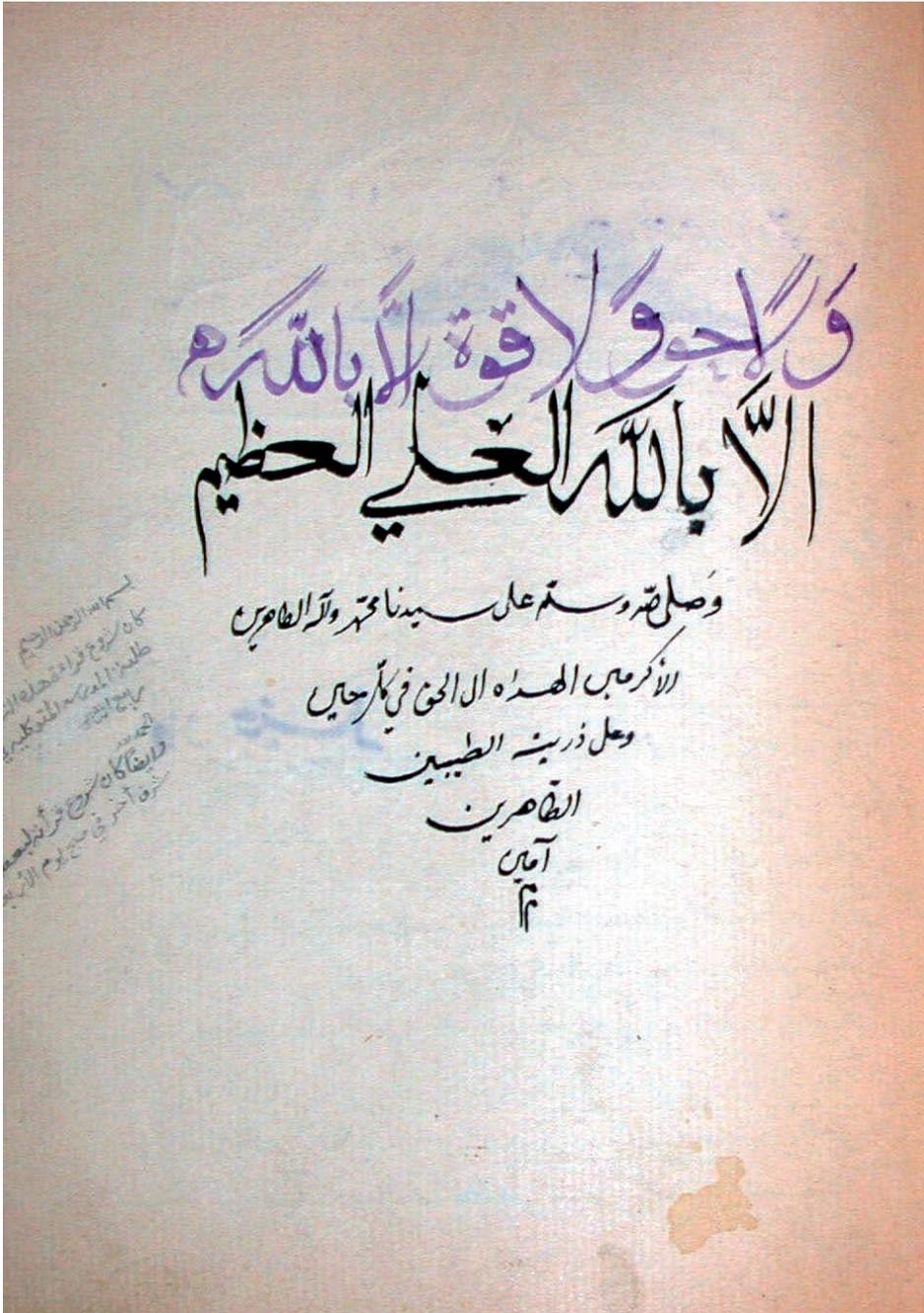


Fig. 128: MS Şan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manşūr (ZMT_01464_057)

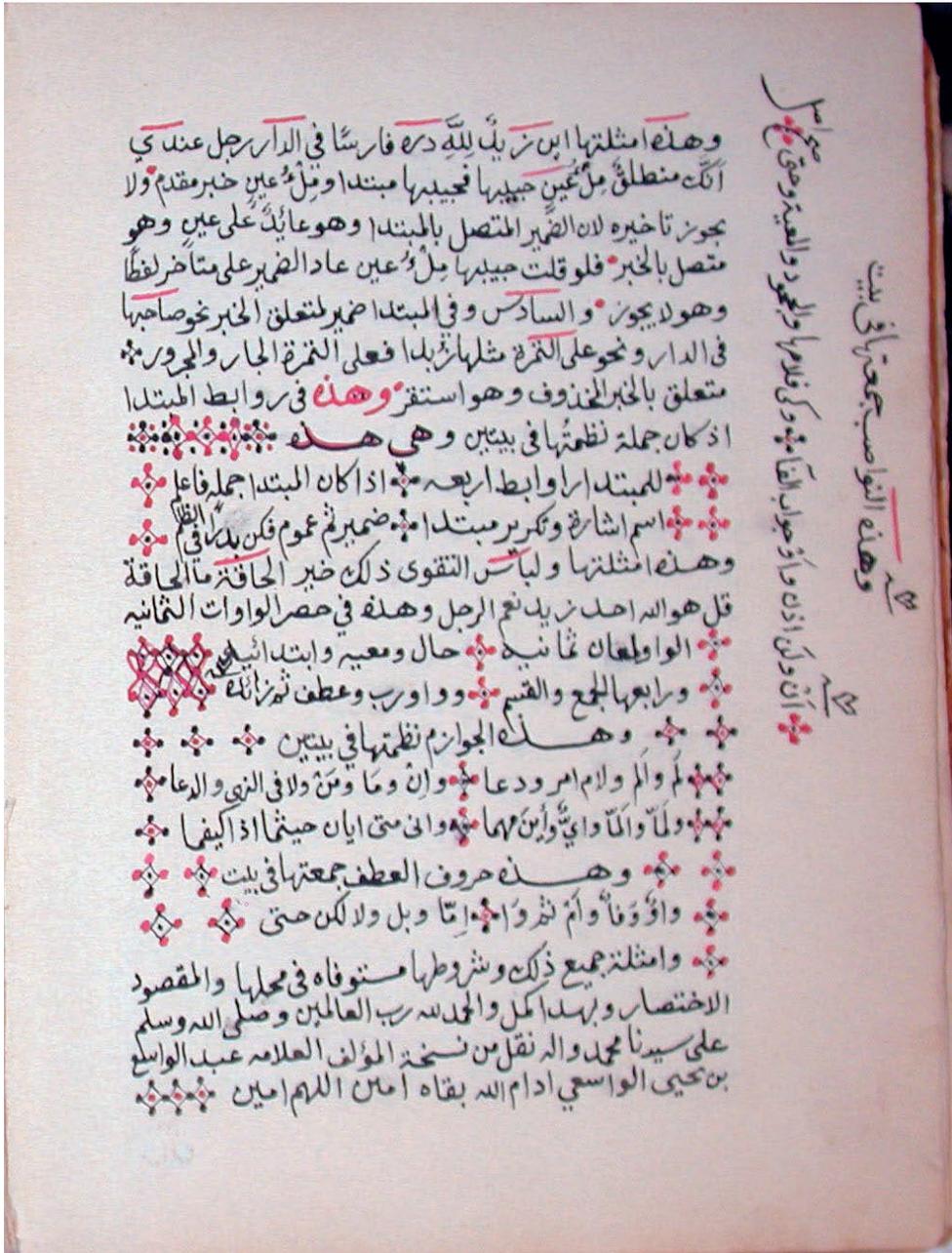


Fig. 130: MS Šan'ā', Maktabat Muḥammad al-Manšūr (ZMT_01464_078)

