The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition contributes to the study of the manuscript codex and its role in scholastic culture in Yemen. The articles in this volume, which range in period from Islam's first century to the modern age, result from the authors' close scrutiny of the manuscripts of Yemen. Collectively, these studies demonstrate the variety and richness of scholarly methods closely tied to the material text and the importance of cross-pollination in the fields of codicology, textual criticism, and social and intellectual history.

Contributors are: Hassan Ansari, Menashe Anzi, Asma Hilali, Kerstin Hünefeld, Wilferd Madelung, Arianna D'Ottone, Christoph Rauch, Anne Regourd, Sabine Schmidtke, Gregor Schwarb and Jan Thiele.

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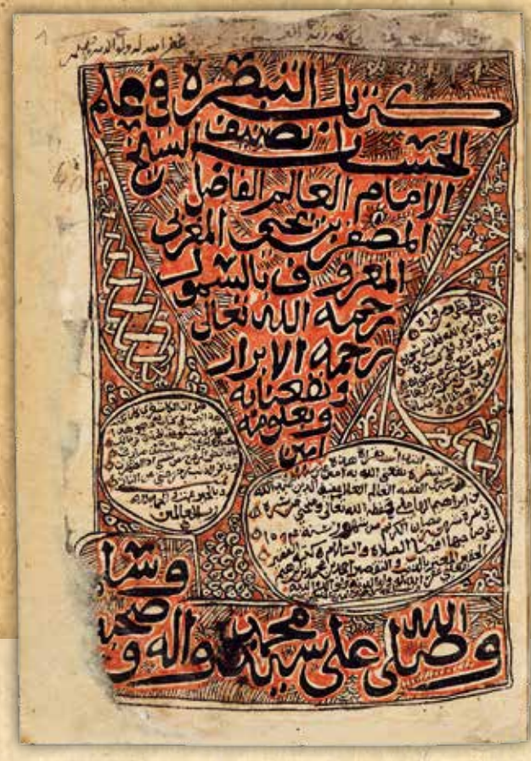

The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition

Edited by
DAVID HOLLENBERG, CHRISTOPH RAUCH
AND SABINE SCHMIDTKE

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The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition

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Cover illustration: *Kitāb al-Tabṣira fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, a mathematical treatise of al-Muẓaffar b. Yaḥyā al-Maġribī, copied in Yemen in 1084/1673. MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 40 © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin PK, Fotostelle.

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the Ancient Greeks" (in *The Study of Shi'i Islam: The State of the Field, Issues of Methodology and Recent Developments*, ed. F. Daftary and G. Miskinzoda, London, Tauris, 2014), and "Neoplatonism in Early Fatimid Doctrine: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Prologue of the *Kitāb al-fatarāt wa-l-qirānāt* (The Book of Periods and Conjunctions)" (*Le Muséon* 2010). He is the Director of the Yemeni Manuscripts Digitization Initiative (ymdi.uoregon.edu), a scholarly collective devoted to preserving the manuscripts of Yemen.

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Introduction

David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch and Sabine Schmidtke

The past decade has witnessed a dramatic rise in interest in the Islamic manuscript codex. In the field of Islamic codicology proper—the study of the material book and its components—this is signaled by the establishment of new journals,[1] book series,[2] facsimile publications of priceless manuscript codices,[3] and new professional organizations and initiatives devoted to the study of Islamic manuscripts and book culture.[4] Concomitantly, the study of the genres and practices associated with scholasticism and post-classical Islamic thought has gained momentum, aided by the establishment of numerous research groups in Europe and North America.[5]

Scholastics often expressed themselves in genres closely tied to the material text itself, making use of devices such as the super-commentary, gloss, margin note, scribal statement, and audition statement, and this feature of their tradition has further stimulated interest in what has come to be termed "manuscript

1 For example, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, St. Petersburg, Thesa Publishers, http://manuscripta-orientalia.kunstkamera.ru/archive/; *Nāma-yi Bahāristān*, Tehran, Majlis Library, http://www.ical.ir/index.php?option=com_digitarchive&show_intro=32&Itemid=19; *Nāma-yi Bahāristān*, Tehran, Majlis Library, http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/1878464x; *The Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, Leiden, Brill, http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/1878464x.

2 For example, Brill's *Islamic Manuscripts and Books*, http://www.brill.com/publications/islamic-manuscripts-and-books.

3 *Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism. Facsimiles and Editions*, Tehran; *Muslim History and Heritage Series*, Tehran; *Classical Muslim Heritage Series*, Tehran.

4 Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, http://www.al-furqan.com/, The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts/Maʿhad al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya, http://www.manuscriptsinstitute.org/; The Islamic Manuscript Association (TIMA), http://www.islamicmanuscript.org/home.aspx; Written Heritage Research Centre/Markaz-i pižūhišī-yi mīrāṯ-i maktūb, http://mirasmaktoob.ir/; The Center for Studies and Research and Heritage Revival/Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-l-abḥāṯ wa-iḥyāʾ al-turāṯ, http://www.almarkaz.ma/default.aspx.

5 For example, Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies (COMSt), University of Hamburg, http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/COMST/; Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe, University of Hamburg, SFB 950 Manuskriptkulturen, http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/index_e.html; the Post-classical Islamic Philosophy Database Initiative (PIPDI), McGill University, http://islamsci.mcgill.ca/RASI/pipdi.html; the Mellon Sawyer Seminar entitled "The Ḥāshiya and Islamic Intellectual History"; see the special issue of *Oriens* 41 (2013) containing some of the results of the seminar, edited by Asad Q. Ahmed and Margaret Larkin.

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culture". As a number of recent studies show, knowledge preserved in these extra-textual forms can tell us about the transmission of knowledge and textual reception in the medieval and post-classical scholarly communities that preserved them.[6] Moreover, an increasing number of collections of Islamic manuscripts and manuscript catalogues are digitized and accessible on the World Wide Web.[7] As a result of these efforts, we expect these areas of inquiry to grow exponentially in the coming years.

In the field of Islamic manuscript studies, we would like to suggest that Yemen occupies a special place. As the articles in this volume demonstrate, the scholars of Yemen in general, and those of the Zaydī *maḏhab* in particular, preserved sources and developed lines of intellectual inquiry not extant elsewhere. Yemen thus provides a vast corpus of extremely rich material for scholars of Islam to pursue their growing interest in the transmission of knowledge in Islam, classical and post-classical Islamic scholasticism, and the study of the Islamic book.

Many of these Yemeni manuscripts that are available in libraries in Europe and North America have only begun to be explored. The first substantial collections

6 Mention should be made, by way of example, of the following recent publications: Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*, Leiden, Brill, 2009; Yakubu Yahaya Ibrahim et al. (eds), *Arabic/Ajami Manuscripts: Resource for the Development of New Knowledge in Nigeria. Proceedings of the National Conference on Exploring Nigeria's Arabic/Ajami Manuscripts*, Kaduna, Nigeria, Arewa House Center for Historical Documentation and Research, Ahmadu Bello University, 2010; Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler (eds), *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources*, Würzburg, Ergon, 2012.

7 To take the manuscript collections of Iran as an example, see the online union catalogue at http://www.aghabozorg.ir/. A union catalogue of all recorded manuscripts was first published in handlist form (Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra-yi dastnivišt-hā-yi Īrān* (*Dinā*) 1–12, Tehran, Kitābḫāna, Mūzih wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389/2010), to be followed by a more detailed version, of which so far twenty-eight volumes have been published; idem, Fihristgān: Nusḫa-hā-yi ḫaṭṭī-yi Īrān (Fanḫā), Tehran, Sāzmān-i Asnād wa Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Ǧumhūrī-i Islāmī-i Īrān, 1390–/2011–. The number of libraries that are making available parts, or even all, of their collections to researchers online is steadily increasing. Various sites and blogs are regularly updating the information about what is available. See, e.g., http://hazine.info/2013/10/10/open-access-digitized-islamic-manuscripts-2/ (Open-Access Digitized Islamic Manuscripts); http://amirmideast.blogspot.com/2010/12/alphabetical-list-of-open-access_10.html (Alphabetical list of Open Access Islamic Manuscripts Collections). See also http://guides.lib.umich.edu/islamicmsstudies/online (Resources for the study of manuscripts produced in the Islamic world and the manuscript cultures they represent, by Evyn Kropf). These lists represent only a fraction of the ever growing digital manuscript collections provided by libraries of the Middle East.

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of Yemeni manuscripts arriving in the Western world were purchased in 1884 and 1886 (264 volumes) by the Royal Library in Berlin (today Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). They were brought to Germany by the Bohemian researcher and explorer of Southern Arabia Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) after his first and second journey to Yemen. Glaser sold the results of his third and fourth journeys to the British Museum (328 volumes, 1889) and the Austrian National Library in Vienna (282 volumes, 1894).[8] Glaser then arranged for the acquisition of the collection of the Italian merchant Guiseppe Caprotti (1869–1919) through the Royal State Library (today Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in Munich (157 volumes, 1902). Another group of manuscripts collected by Caprotti now forms the largest collection of Yemeni manuscripts outside the Arab world in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (1.600 volumes, 1906–1909). Later, American universities such as Princeton and Yale started to build substantial collections of Arabic manuscripts, including numerous codices from the Arabian Peninsula.

The German Arabist Wilhelm Ahlwardt (1828–1909), who from the 1860s was in charge of cataloguing the huge Arabic collection of the Royal Library in Berlin and who included the Glaser manuscripts in his catalogue shortly before its completion,[9] had to struggle to identify many new works and authors, because the material was almost completely unknown to Western orientalists. The catalogues from the late 19th and early 20th centuries are thus at least partly in need of revision (Berlin, London).[10] Other collections have only recently been completely catalogued (Munich,[11] Milan[12]) or are still accessible only via provisional

8 See the forthcoming study by Sabine Schmidtke and Jan Thiele, *Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) as a Collector of Yemeni Manuscripts*.

9 See Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, Berlin, Gebr. Unger (T. Grimm), 1887, followed by his comprehensive catalogue of all Arabic manuscripts of the Royal Library, including the Glaser collection, viz. idem, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* 1–10, Berlin, A.W. Schade, 1887–1899 [repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1980–1981].

10 The details of the British Library's Glaser collection are included in Charles Rieu, *Supplement of the Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the British museum*, London: Longmans & Co, 1894. See also Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, Maṣādir al-turāth al-yamanī fī l-maṭḥaf al-brīṭānī, Damascus, 1400/1980; *Subject-Guide to the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Library*, compiled by Peter Stock, ed. Colin F. Baker, London 2001.

11 Florian Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften*. Band 1, Stuttgart, Steiner, 2007.

12 Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, Vicenza 1975–1995. The fourth and last volume of the catalogue has now

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accession lists (Vienna).[13] The scholarly exploration of the Yemeni manuscript treasures and, more specifically, those of the Zaydī *maḏhab* is still less advanced than is the case with many other fields of investigation within Islamic studies and even Šīʿī studies.[14]

Of course, the vast majority of Yemeni manuscripts remains in Yemen's manuscript libraries, most importantly, the Dār al-Maḫṭūṭāt, formerly al-Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya, "The Western Library" (so called because it was located in the Western part of the Great Mosque in Ṣanʿā'). An apposite collection, known today as al-Maktaba al-Šarqiyya, is housed on the second floor of the building complex of the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿā'. This collection was the former *imām*'s library, founded by Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217) in Ẓafār his town of residence. It was transferred during the 1920s to the Maktaba al-ʿĀmma al-Mutawakkiliyya al-Ǧāmiʿa li-Kutub al-Waqf al-ʿUmūmiyya

been published as Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana. Vol. IV: Nuovo Fondo: Series F–H* (*Nos. 1296–1778*), Milan, Silvana Editoriale/Cinisello Balsamo, 2011.

13 Max Grünert, *Kurzer Katalog der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften* [unpublished manuscript, ca. 1894]; Thomas Ripper, *Sammlung Glaser* (*arabische und persische Handschriften aus dem Jemen*) *in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (*Handschriften-, Autographen- und Nachlass-Sammlung*). *Signaturen-Katalog*. Erstellt von Dezember 2000 bis März 2001 auf der Grundlage des "Kurzen Kataloges" von Dr. Maximilian GRÜNERT, Prag, um 1894 (Ser. n. 2167) [unpublished manuscript].

14 An overview of the history and state of research on Zaydism is provided in Sabine Schmidtke, "The History of Zaydī Studies: An Introduction", *The neglected Šīʿites: Studies in the Legal and Intellectual History of the Zaydīs = Arabica. Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 59 iii–iv (2012), pp. 185–199.

15 Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿĪsawī and Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Malīḥ, *Fihris maḫṭūṭāt al-maktaba al-ġarbiyya bi-l-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr bi-Ṣanʿā'*, Ṣanʿā', al-Ǧumhūriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-yamaniyya, Maǧlis al-qiyāda, al-Hayʾa al-ʿāmma li-l-āṯār wa-dār al-kutub, 1978. The catalogue was preceded by an earlier, less complete, list of its holdings: Muṣṭafā Abū l-Ḥasan Ṣabāḥ and Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid Farāǧ, *al-Qāʾima al-bibliyūgrāfiyya li-l-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī l-Ǧumhūriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Yamaniyya: Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Ġarbiyya bi-l-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr*, Ṣanʿā', 1975. The most comprehensive catalogue of the library's holdings today is Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿĪsawī et al., *Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya li-Dār al-Maḫṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya bi-l-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr, Ṣanʿā'* 1–2, Qum, Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā al-Marʿašī al-Naǧafī al-Kubrā, 1426/2005. See also ʿAbd al-Tawwāb Aḥmad ʿAlī al-Mašriqī and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Yaḥyā al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs yamānī: Fihrist-i mikrūfilm-hā-yi maǧmūʿa-yi dār al-maḫṭūṭāt-i Ṣanʿā'*, Qum, Kitābḫāna-yi buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Marʿašī Naǧafī, 1421/2001. Cf. also Ḥasan Anṣārī, "Majmūʿa-yi Ṭāwus Yamānī numād ḥuḍūr-i Īrān dar Yaman," *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 51–52 (1380/2001), pp. 18–31.

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fī Ǧāmiʿ Ṣanʿāʾ al-Maḥalliyya (since 1984: Maktabat al-Awqāf).[16] Many more manuscripts—estimates are as many as 50,000—are located in the private collections of the scholarly families who composed and copied them.[17] Until recently, it was impossible for scholars outside Yemen to access manuscripts in these private collections. Over the past decades, a number of Yemeni scholars and institutions have begun the study their own Zaydī past and its heritage and, increasingly, to digitize and make available to scholars a large number of manuscripts in these collections and to produce editions of key texts. At present, the Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-Ṯaqāfiyya (IZbACF, founded in 1994) is the most active non-governmental organization dedicated to preserving the heritage of the Zaydī community through the publication of manuscript catalogues and critical editions as well as through the digitization of manuscripts. In addition, other cultural foundations and institutions are active in Yemen, such as Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḥūṯ al-Yamanī,[18] Markaz Badr al-ʿIlmī wa-l-Ṯaqāfī,[19] and Markaz al-Turāṯ wa-l-Buḥūṯ al-Yamanī. More recently, scholars and institutions from Iran, Europe, and North America have endeavored to complement these efforts, paying attention also to Yemen's rich holdings of non-Zaydī manuscripts in its traditionally Aš'arī-Šāfiʿī regions.[20] Since 2000, the Zabīd Programme (ZP), a project of the Centre Français d' Archéologie et de Sciences Sociales (CEFAS), has worked with the Yemeni government to safeguard the manuscripts in private libraries of religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) in Zabīd.[21] In 2010, The Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative (ymdi.uoregon.edu),

16 *Fihrist kutub al-Ḫizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya al-ʿāmira bi-l-Ǧāmiʿ al-muqaddas bi-Ṣanʿāʾ al-maḥmiyya*, Ṣanʿā', Wizārat al-Maʿārif, 1361/1942; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayḥī, ʿAbd al-Allāh al-Ḥibšī, and ʿAlī Wahhāb al-Ānsī, *Fihrist Maḫṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Kabīr Ṣanʿāʾ*, Ṣanʿā', Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Iršād, 1404/1984.

17 Partial inventories are provided by ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris maḫṭūṭāt baʿḍa l-maktabāt al-ḫāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*, London, Furqān Foundation, 1994; ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Waǧīh, *Maṣādir al-turāṯ fī l-maktabāt al-ḫāṣṣa fī l-Yaman* 1–2, McLean, VA, IZbACF, 1422/2002.

18 http://www.ycsr.org/.

19 http://www.facebook.com/markizbadr?v=info#!/markizbadr.

20 See, e.g. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-ʿAydarūs, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Ṣāliḥ b. Šihāb, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saqqāf (eds.), *Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf bi-Muḥāfaẓat Ḥaḍramawt, al-Ǧumhūriyya al-Yamaniyya*, Qum, Maktabat Samāḥat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā al-Marʿašī al-Naǧafī al-kubrā; al-Ḫizāna al-ʿĀlamiyya li-l-Maḫṭūṭāt al-Islāmiyya/ Ṭihrān: Markaz al-Waṯāʾiq wa-l-Tārīḫ al-Diblūmāsī; Wizārat al-Ḫāriǧiyya li-l-Ǧumhūriyya al-Islāmiyya al-Īrāniyya, 2009.

21 http://www.anne.regourd.org/programme-zabid.

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a collective of international scholars and librarians dedicated to the preservation of the manuscripts of Yemen and hosted by the University of Oregon, began working with IZbACF. YMDI oversaw a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)-Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) awarded jointly to Princeton University Library and Freie Universität Berlin to provide technical training and equipment to IZbACF, and to virtually conjoin three of these private libraries to the Yemeni manuscript collections in the Princeton University Library and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Technicians at IZbACF in Yemen digitized the materials and created catalogue entries, which were then authorized by librarians in Princeton. All such catalogue entries, and the complete digitized sources, are now discoverable through the OCLC/WorldCat search engine, and the complete works are available online through Princeton University Digital Library.[22] In 2012, Freie Universität Berlin founded The Digital Bāb al-Yaman Project, a portal that will link and provide a single point of entry for all digitized Yemeni manuscripts worldwide. In 2013, building on its work as host for YMDI, The University of Oregon's Knight Library began work to establish The Islamic Manuscript Resource Center, devoted to providing training and support for non-profit organizations in Yemen and elsewhere in the Islamic world wishing to digitize and make available their manuscript collections.

The availability of increasing numbers of manuscripts from Yemen will not only stimulate the study of the Islamic manuscript codex, but also the great many fields that depend upon this kind of new knowledge. The topics of the articles in this volume, which range in time from the beginnings of Islam to the modern period, all directly emerge from close scrutiny of the manuscripts of Yemen, and demonstrate the range and richness of scholarly methods closely tied to the material text.

In "Was the Ṣanʿāʾ Qurʾān Palimpsest a Work in Progress?" Asma Hilali offers a new theory for one of the earliest extant Arabic-Islamic parchments, the so called Ṣanʿāʾ Qurʾān Palimpsest. The 38 fragments in question are a subset of a larger cache discovered in a ceiling of the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ during its renovation in 1981. The fragments are a palimpsest with both the upper and lower texts containing passages of Qurʾān; in this article, Hilali focuses on the older, lower text. While recent arguments that the lower text was copied prior to 646 have met with skepticism, most scholars agree that the fragments are extremely old, and Hilali does not depart from this view. Previously, scholars

22 pudl.uoregon.edu/ymdi.

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who analyzed the lower text of the fragments have linked it to medieval Islamic *ʿilm al-qirāʾāt* (lists of Qurʾānic variants); they suggest that the fragments bear witness to a lost pre-ʿUṯmānic codex. After showing that these claims do not withstand close scrutiny, Hilali builds on her prior publications to present an entirely different context for the fragments. Noting the presence of scribal corrections and notes pertaining to recitation, Hilali argues that these leaves were never part of a lost *musḥāf* (a complete codex of the Qurʾān). Rather, they were the notes of a scholar studying the newly developing field of Qurʾān copying and recitation. Hilali's work shows that close investigation of the material text can complicate and enrich our understanding of such basic issues as the Qurʾān's early transmission.

If Hilali's piece shows that the investigation of extremely early manuscripts can raise questions of traditional accounts of textual transmission, the second article in the volume shows that discoveries in late manuscripts can help authenticate earlier sources. In "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Rebuttal of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in a Yemeni Zaydī Manuscript of the 7th/13th Century", Hassan Ansari, Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke present new evidence from a thirteenth-century partial manuscript to contribute to our understanding of an eleventh-century *kalām* debate. Based on their analysis of the source and its correspondence with a Geniza fragment, Ansari, Madelung, and Schmidtke identify the anonymous fragment's author as the seminal Jewish Muʿtazilite theologian Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. between 1037 and 1039). The text in question, which the authors produce in full, consists of sections of a treatise that is otherwise lost, an attack on the theory of accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) by the Muʿtazilite author Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1045). Abū l-Ḥusayn's departure from the Bahšamī school of *kalām* was the source of major controversy both in its own time, in late fourth/tenth-century Rayy, and later in seventh/thirteenth-century Yemen, where adherents of the Bahšamī and Abū l-Husayn's theological camps competed for influence. The debate's importance in Yemen is indicated by a margin note by an eighth/fourteenth-century reader who attributes the work to ʿImrān al-Hamdānī (d. after 630/1322–1323), an adherent of the Yemeni-Zaydī Bahšamite school. The authors' analysis of the source contributes to our understanding of the fourth/tenth century theological debate, of Zaydism's incorporation of earlier materials and sources, along with arguments of theologians from other religious communities into its own intellectual landscape, and to our appreciation of the movement of ideas and texts from Northern Iran to Yemen in the sixth/twelfth century with the political unification of Yemen under Abū Ṭālib *al-aḫīr* (d. 520/1126).

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

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and Jan Thiele provide an in-depth study of the prominent Yemeni Zaydī scholar Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫurāšī, a student of the renowned al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 584/1188), one of the leading Zaydī theologians of sixth-twelfth century Yemen. While biographical works contain next to no information on al-Ḫurāšī, the State Library of Berlin holds a unique copy of Volume Three of his commentary on al-Raṣṣāṣ's theological summa, *al-Taḥṣīl*, entitled *Kitāb al-Tafṣīl li-ǧumal al-Taḥṣīl* (MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 51). Ansari and Thiele reconstruct al-Ḫurāšī's biography from this work, and from a second anonymous work on legal methodology that was evidently composed by al-Ḫurāšī's student (MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 171).

The previous two articles focus on the intellectual world of the scholars who produced and studied the sources under investigation. Arianna D'Ottone's contribution, "The Pearl and the Ruby: Scribal Dicta and Other Metatextual Notes in Yemeni Mediaeval Manuscripts", focuses on what have been termed "meta-texts": readership, ownership, and transfer notes, and *iǧāza*s (permission statements). As D'Ottone's work demonstrates, these extra-textual notes themselves represent literary genres with their own forms, typologies, styles, norms, and aesthetics. D'Ottone focuses on the genre termed "scribal verses": poems composed not by the author of the source, but by the scribe copying it in the colophon in which he relates his name and place of copying. Scribal verses exhibit a wide range of themes—a supplicatory prayer for the survival of the manuscript after the copyist's death, a prayer for the book's owner, and a warning against lending books. D'Ottone calls for more study of these forms, and predicts that with their publication, practices particular to regions such as Yemen will emerge.

Hassan Ansari's and Sabine Schmidtke's "The Literary-Religious Tradition among 7th/13th-Century Yemenī Zaydīs (II): The Case of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1269)" is the latest in a series of publications charting the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries. This article produces and analyzes an *iǧāza* granted by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwaʿ (known as Šuʿla al-Akwaʿ) to the prominent Zaydī scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1268). The curriculum reflected in Šuʿla's *iǧāza*, in terms of the authors and works mentioned, represents a far more diversified curriculum than was the case with comparable documents issued some decades earlier. It includes works from Daylam (including several Persian titles), and Sunnī and Twelver Šīʿī titles, as well as works by Zaydī scholars from Iran, but, interestingly, lacks reference to early Zaydī authors of Yemen. Ansari and Schmidtke suggest that the *iǧāza* was intended to show Šuʿla's mastery of materials across disciplines and *maḏhab*s. Ansari and Schmidtke's soon to be published three-volume study, "License to

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transmit: The Spread of Muʿtazilī and Zaydī Thought as Documented in *Iǧāza*s" will provide a broader and more nuanced account of the Zaydīs' "Sunnification" during this period.

Gregor Schwarb's contribution, "MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294: A Guide to Zaydī *Kalām*-Studies during the Ṭāhirid and Early Qāsimite Periods (mid-15th–early 18th centuries)", demonstrates the importance of the Islamic manuscript for illuminating the intellectual character of post-classical scholasticism. Schwarb investigates a seminal theological commentary, the *Kitāb Mirqāt al-anẓār*, by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Naǧrī (d. 877/1472). The work is a commentary on the second introductory section of the *Kitāb al-Baḥr al-zaḫḫār al-ǧāmiʿa li-maḏāhib ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār* by Aḥmad al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1367). Through his investigation of a vast number of Yemeni manuscripts in a number of libraries, but principally the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, and the Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya in Ṣanʿāʾ, dated from soon after the composition of al-Naǧrī's work up to the twentieth century, Schwarb demonstrates that the work became one of the mainstays of the Zaydī curriculum soon after its appearance. His analysis shows that some of the margin glosses were eventually transmitted as independent works. Schwarb's study of the reception and transmission of a seminal work provides an example of the scholastic process during the post-classical period, when supercommentaries, and super-supercommentaries, were the vehicle for intellectual endeavor.

Schwarb's work shows that manuscripts can reveal not only the sources, but also their trajectory of dispersion to later generations of scholars. Christoph Rauch's contribution, "Zaydī Scholars on the Move: A Multitext Manuscript by Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥumayd al-Miqrāʾī (b. 908/1503, d. 990/1582) and Other Contemporary Sources", focuses on a distinctively Yemeni phenomenon: the importance of the *hiǧra* (singular: *hiǧar*) or "scholarly village." From the middle periods to the present in Northern Yemen, certain villages inhabited by *sāda* (descendants of the Prophet) have been designated safe-zones for scholars. Rauch reads a number of manuscripts copied in the *hiǧar* in Wadi al-Sirr, a tribal territory some 30 kilometers north of Ṣanʿāʾ, to reconstruct the rich intellectual life there. By analyzing the colophon, ownership and transfer statements, and readership notes of a multi-text manuscript, MS Glaser 2, a codex copied at the behest of the author, the scholar Yaḥyā al-Miqrāʾī (d. 990/1582), Rauch shows the importance of the *hiǧar* in the post-classical world. Scholars would travel to and from the *hiǧar* seeking knowledge: acquiring new works, collating manuscripts, and attending scholarly circles. He demonstrates that such secondary information found in manuscripts can corroborate and complement biographical information on scholars. Rauch suggests that the mobil-

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ity of scholars was strongly linked to the necessity for the Zaydi elite to retain and expand power in a tribal society.

Anne Regourd's article, "Papiers filigranés de manuscrits de Zabīd, premier tiers du XVIII^e^-milieu du XX^e^ siècle: papiers importés et «locaux»" ("Watermarked Papers of the Manuscripts of Zabīd from the First Third of the Eighteenth to Mid-Twentieth Centuries: Imported and 'Local' Papers"), describes research on the papers used in manuscripts surveyed in Zabīd, an important scholarly city in the Tihāma on the Red Sea Coast. After describing Project Zabīd, The Franco-Yemeni cooperative project for the safeguarding and cataloging of private manuscript libraries in Zabīd, Regourd discusses a paper bearing the watermark "Bombay" in Latin characters. Based on her analysis, she determines that the paper was manufactured by a British company in the second decade of the twentieth century. It most likely was used by the copyist fifteen years after it was produced, part of the paper production and trade to British colonies that included Bombay and Aden, both cities under the administrative control of British India. The presence of Indian/English paper in Yemen shows that Bombay was a paper supply source for Yemen at that time. More broadly, the presence of common papers manuscripts from Yemen and Ethiopia shows Yemen's critical role in the circulation of paper on both sides of the Red Sea, and the importance of Yemen to the study of the trade in paper between the Indian subcontinent, the Persian Gulf, and Africa.

Menashe Anzi and Kersten Hünefeld's article, "Ṣan'ā', Jerusalem, New York: Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (1869–1948) and Yemeni-Jewish Migration from Palestine to the United States", analyzes documentary evidence from sources in Yemen and Israel to unpack a complex case of Jewish migration, Zaydī-Hādawī law, and Yemeni and international politics during the imamate of Imām Yaḥyā. In the 1920s and 1930s, Yemeni Jews who had immigrated to Palestine found the economic situation there untenable and the quotas filled of those eligible to emigrate from Palestine to the United States. They thus attempted to migrate from Palestine to the United States based on their status as Yemenis. To do so required birth certificates from Yemen. Until 1937, this entailed writing to relatives in Yemen and commissioning scribes to copy birth certificates in Judeo-Arabic, two examples of which are related in the article. By 1937, however, the situation had changed: Imām Yaḥyā had disallowed Yemeni documents in non-Arabic script in government offices. Anzi and Hünefeld explain this shift in light of Hādawī law: as the petitioners in question were *ḏimmīs* who had left their sphere of protection, they were no longer guaranteed by a permanent contract and could not count on support from the *imām*. Imām Yaḥyā's decision to enforce a narrow interpretation of the Hādawī legal work, the *Šarḥ al-Azhār* may have been due to the challenge to his legitimacy he faced from other Hādawī-Zaydī claimants to the imamate.

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Some of the papers were presented at the workshop "Yemeni manuscripts in European libraries", funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and held in May 2012 at the Staatbibliothek zu Berlin. A number of contributions were prepared within the framework of the European Research Council's FP 7 project "Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam". Heather Sweetser edited early drafts of several of the articles. The final copy-editing of the entire volume, by Linda George, was generously supported by a research grant from the European Research Council (Proof of Concept Grant, "Weaving the humanities into the web and the web into the humanities. Preserving the cultural heritage of Yemen by creating a universally accessible virtual library of manuscripts" [HumanWeb]). We thank all the above-mentioned institutions and organizations for their generous financial support. Thanks are also due to Arnoud Vrolijk, the editor of the series "Islamic Books and Manuscripts," for having accepted the volume to the series, and to Maurits van den Boogert and Franca de Kort (Brill) for seeing the volume through the press.