Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril
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THE FATE OF YEMENI MANUSCRIPTS, LATE NINETEENTH TO EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES:

AN INTRODUCTION

HASSAN ANSARI AND SABINE SCHMIDTKE

THE KHIZĀNA AL-MUTAWAKKLIYYA AS A WINDOW INTO THE HISTORY OF LIBRARIES AND BOOK CULTURE IN YEMEN

In the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire’s collapse at the end of World War I, the northern part of Yemen came under the rule of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn dynasty. Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Yahyā b. Muhammad b. Yahyā Hamīd al-Dīn (r. 1904–1948) devised an idiosyncratic religio-pedagogical program to advance religion and culture in Yemen and strengthen its Zaydi identity, while at the same time attempting to shield its citizens from the advances of modernity. His educational reforms included the foundation in 1926 of a “mosque university” (al-Madrasa al-ʿIlmiyya), where the country’s elite was educated over
the next several decades. Moreover, in 1925 Imam Yahyā issued a decree announcing the establishment of a public library, al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya (today Maktabat al-Awqāf) on the premises of the Great Mosque in Sanaa, which in many ways constituted a novelty in Yemen. The principal purpose behind the library, as spelled out in the 1925 decree, was to gather what remained of the many historical libraries dispersed all over the country and thus to prevent further losses. For this purpose, the imam appointed as library officials qualified scholars, who started to build up the collections. The details of this process can be gleaned from the notes that were added to each codex. These record the provenance of the individual codices and the date when each was transferred to the Khizāna, as well as occasional specific regulations for the codex in question (figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 65, 82). Gradually, registers of the holdings of the newly founded Khizāna were produced, culminating in a catalog published around 1942/43.5

The catalog, a large folio volume consisting of 344 pages and describing some eight thousand titles of both manuscripts and printed books, is a remarkable piece of work: although the information about each manuscript and printed volume is kept to a minimum, it methodically records the origin of each item.6 Taken together, these data allow for an inquiry into the history of the library’s manuscript holdings (some four thousand items), dating from the tenth century CE up until the first decades of the twentieth, thus opening a representative window into the history of manuscript production and book culture in Yemen over the course of a millennium.

The oldest layer of manuscripts (constituting 5 percent of the Khizāna’s total holdings), which includes some which were produced in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, came from the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (r. 593–614/1197–1217), which was situated in his town of residence, Zāfār (Dhibin).

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6 For sample images from the catalog, see figs. 2 through 10 in Brinkley Messick’s contribution to this volume.
Figure 1. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf, majāmiʿ 10 (title page with ownership statement by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim and note of transfer to Sanaa, dated Rajab 1343/January–February 1925).
Figure 2. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 543 (title page of mujallad 5 of the K. al-Mughnī by ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī).
Figure 3. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Aqwāf 551 (title page of Ibn Mattawayh’s al-Majmūʿ fi l-Muḥiṭ bi-l-taklīf).
Figure 4. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Aqwāf 599 (title page of a supercommentary [ta’līq] of Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-Farrazādī on the Sharḥ al-‘Uṣūl al-khamsa by ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, with various ownership statements by members of the Āl al-Wazīr).
Figure 5. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 207 (title page of volume 5 of *al-Bāṣīṭ fī l-tafsīr* by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mattūya [d. 468/1076]).
Figure 6. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr, 3024 (titlepage of Ṣawārim al-yaqīn by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mansūr al-Qāsim, with a note indicating that the codex belonged to Imām Yaḥyā’s personal library).
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Figure 7. MS Muscat, Dāʾirat makhṭūṭāt wizārat al-turāth wa-l-thaqāfa bi-Salṭanat ʿUmān 101 (title page of volume five of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumīʾs al-Tahdhib fi tafsīr al-Qurʾān).
Figure 8. MS Rome, Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiana, Or. 364 (title page of volume 8 of al- Basīt fī l-tafsīr by Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ḥamad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Mattūya [d. 468/1076]).
Figure 9. MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Taymūr ʿaqāʾid 357 (title page of volume 1 of Ibn Mattawayh’s al-Majmūʿ fi l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf, dated Ramaḍān 683/August–September 1284 and copied by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAtiyya al-Najrānī).
Figure 10. MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Taymūrʿaqāʾid 357 (end and final colophon of volume 1 of Ibn Mattawayh’s *al-Majmūʿ fi l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, dated Ramadān 683/August–September 1284 and copied by ʿAlī b. Abd Allāh al-ʿAtiyya al-Najrānī).
Figure 11. MS Cairo, Maktabat al-Azhar 10633 (title page of al-Kāfiya fi l-jadal, attributed to al-Juwaynī).
Figure 12. MS Cairo, Maktabat al-Azhar 10633
(end of text and final colophon of *al-Kāfiya fī l-jadal*, attributed to al-Juwaynī).
Figure 13. MS Bursa, Haraçcioğlu Library, no. 1309
(title page of Kitāb al-Uṣūl by Jaʿfar b. Ḥarb).
Figure 14. MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 811 (title page of an exegesis attributed to al-Qushayri).
Figure 15. MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 811, fol. 295r (final page in the codex).
Figure 16. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehit Ali Paşa 1575 (title page of Tathbit dalā'īl al-nubuwwa, attributed to ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī).
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Figure 17. MS Ankara, Milli Kütüphanesi Yz A 295 (first leaf of Ābd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī’s K. al-Tanzīh).

Figure 18. MS Ankara, Milli Kütüphanesi Yz A 295 (final leaf of Ābd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī’s K. al-Tanzīh).
This layer includes well-known works of Muʿtazilī literature, such as several volumes of the *K. al-Mughni* (*fi abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadd*) by the chief judge and head of the Baṣra Muʿtazila ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025) ([figs. 2, 65](#)), as well as writings by some of the latter’s students and companions, including Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī and Abū Muhammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdūl ʿAdwān b. Mattawīyāh ([fig. 3](#)). Another set of particularly precious and old manuscripts in the library of the Aḥmad al-Wazīr, a

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‘Abd al-Jabbār’s Tanzīḥ al-Qurān ‘an al-maṭāʿīn is also preserved in at least one manuscript in Cairo and it was first published in Cairo: al-Maṭba’ā al-Jamāliyya in 1329/1911 (frequently reprinted), decades before the Egyptians visited the libraries of Yemen, and again in 2006 (ed. Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahim al-Sayhī, Cairo: Maṭbāṭ al-Ḥākim al-Dīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muṭṭadāʾī, 2006; the editor remains silent about the manuscript[s] he consulted for the edition). See ‘Adnān Muḥammad Marzūr’s introduction to his edition of ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s Mutashābih al-Qurān, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1969, vol. 1, p. 25 n. 4, where Marzūr specifies the manuscript consulted for the 1329/1911 print (MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, tafsīr 330) and announces that he has discovered a second copy of Tanzīḥ al-Qurān (but provides no further information). Another witness of the Tanzīḥ that has never been consulted so far is preserved as MS Ankara, Millī Kütüphanesi Yz A 295 (figs. 17, 18). The first leaf containing the book’s title page and its beginning is missing, and some folios are missing throughout the codex. Otherwise, the codex, which is evidently not of Yemen origin, can be tentatively dated to the seventh/thirteenth century, if not before. For a future new edition of the work, this manuscript would have to be consulted. It is noteworthy that the book’s title according to al-Hākim al-Jishmī’s (d. 494/1101) Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-maṣāʾīl is just al-Tanzīḥ; see Fuʾād Sayyid (ed.), Fodli al-ītizāl wa-tabaqāt al-Muṭṭazila, Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2017, p. 376. Moreover, the work not only circulated among the Sunnis but also among the Imamis. It is mentioned, for example, by Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mūṣā ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266). See Etan Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭawūs and His Library, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992, p. 355 no. 593. For the case of ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s Mutashābih al-Qurān, see below n. 74.

Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī (d. 488/1095), a former student of ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, wrote K. al-Wādīḥ, a work on legal theory, which is preserved in a unique manuscript in Istanbul, viz. MS Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi 18944; for the work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Al-Sarīl al-Murtaḍāʾī’s Oeuvre and Thought, chapter 1.6. A critical edition of K. al-Wādīḥ by Hassan Ansari, Ehsan Mousavi Khalkhālī, and Sabine Schmidtke is forthcoming. Our work on the edition began some two years ago, after Hassan Ansari had identified MS Istanbul, Beyazıt 18944 as the K. al-Wādīḥ (the manuscript’s title page has merely a descriptive title, Mukhtasar fi usūl al-fiqāḥ) and written about it on social media. Subsequently, Muḥammad al-Husaynī (i.e., Muḥammad b. Sha(ra)b al-Dīn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-
Husaynī, on whom see below) and ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghizzi published the book (Kuwait: Dār al-Fāris, 2021). We have not seen the publication and cannot judge its quality.

The Kitāb al-Tajrīd fi ʿusūl al-īrāq by Rukn al-Dīn Māhmūd Ibn al-Malāhīmī (d. 536/1179) is preserved in a single witness, copied in 575/1179 by one Abū l-Īzz Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The copy, which is nowadays preserved as MS Oxford, Bodleian, Arab. E. 103, was apparently produced in Khascheduler. For a detailed description and study, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, pp. 76–79. Another copy of the book was kept until 1947 in a private library in Aḥdal in southern Yemen when it was presented as a gift to Muhammad Hamidullah (on whom see also above, n. 7), the editor of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣaʿīdī’s K. al-Muṭamad (Damascus, 1964–65), by the qāḍī of the Bayt al-Faqqīh of Aḥdal. Its current whereabouts are unknown. For details, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, p. 78. For Hamidullah’s trip to Yemen during the spring of 1947 (and not 1946 as is erroneously mentioned in the French introduction to his edition of the Muṭamad, p. 29), see his correspondence with Paul E. Kahle (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR, 925).

Abū l-Maʿāli Ṣāḥīd b. Aḥmad al-ʿUjālī al-ʿUṣūlī, who hailed most likely from Khurāsān and may have been a member of the famous Ḍū ʿl-Ṣāmīḥa family in Nishapur, was probably a student of Ibn al-Malāhīmī. He is the author of a K. al-Kāmil fi ʿusūl al-dīn, in which the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣaʿīdī are systematically compared with those of the Bahshamiyya. A precious copy of the work is preserved in Yemen (MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Fikr, 16. This suggests that the fragment did not originate in Yemen. For the fragment’s tentative identification, see Hassan Ansari, “Kitāb al-Kāmil-i Ṣāḥīd b. Aḥmad al-ʿUṣūlī, kitābī dar dānish-i kalām-i muʿtazīlī,” Barrasi-hā-yi tārīkhī, http://ansari.kateban.com/post/4841 (accessed 21 January 2022).

MS London, British Library 8613 contains a fragment of a work that can possibly be identified as the Sharḥ al-ʿUṣūl al-kabīr by the Iranian Ṭāhirī author Aḥī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Ṣāḥīḥ Ṣāḥīḥ] [Ṣarbijān] [fl. fifth/twelfth century], a supercommentary on the Kitāb al-ʿUṣūl by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Khaḷālād al-Ṣaʿīdī, the distinguished disciple of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāṭī (d. 321/933). The fragment’s editor, Richard C. Martin, writes about the manuscript: “Little is known of the provenance of the text; it was purchased in 1926 by the British Museum from the collection of Majid Belshah who, I am told, was a dealer who sold several MSS to the British Museum in that period.” See Richard C. Martin, “A Muʿtazilī Treatise on Prophethood and Miracles: Being Probably the Bāb ʿalā l-Nubwawwah from the Ziyādat al-Sharḥ by Abū Rashid al-Nīṣabūrī,” PhD dissertation, New York University, 1975, p. 16. This suggests that the fragment did not originate in Yemen. For the fragment’s tentative identification, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, pp. 123–124.

It is also noteworthy that certain Muʿtazīlī works were transmitted exclusively among the Imamīyya. This applies to some dogmatic tracts by al-Ṣāḥīb b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995), notably the Ibāna and the Tadhkira, which are preserved among the Imamīs and never reached Yemen; for details, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Al-Ṣarif al-Murtaḍa’s Oeuvre et Thought, passim. In 1374/1955, HusaynʿAli Maḥfūẓ published an edition of al-Ṣāḥīb b. ʿAbbād’s Risāla fī l-ḥidāya wa-l-dalāla (Tehran: Matbuʿāt al-Haydari) on the basis of an allegedly very old copy of the text that appeared to go back to the time of the author (MS Tehran, Dānishgāh 1437; figs. 72, 73). However, the manuscript has since turned out to be a twentieth-century fabrication; see Hassan Ansari, “Risāla fī l-ḥidāya wa-l-dalāla mansūb bih Ṣāḥīb b. ʿAbbād,” Barrasi-hā-yi tārīkhī, http://ansari.kateban.com/post/4841 (accessed 21 January 2022). Although the antigraph of the fabricated copy is unknown (the text itself appears to be authentic), the possibility that this manuscript is of
powerful Zaydi family in Yemen, whose members had been engaged in scholarship and politics since the sixth/twelfth century (fig. 4); some rose to power while others failed. During the reign of Imam al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl (r. 1054–1087/1644–1676), when the holdings of the Āl al-Wazīr family library were about to be dispersed, the imam ordered the books to be gathered and placed in a designated area on the premises of the Great Mosque of Sanaa (fi khizāna fi gharbi mu‘akhkhar Jāmi‘ Šan‘ā‘). The codices that are described in the 1942/43 catalog as originating in the library of the Āl al-Wazīr also match an inventory of titles, dated 1101/1690, that lists the books of this family that were transferred to the Great Mosque during the Qāsimī era, indicating that they were subsequently incorporated into the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya. The fate of other parts of the Āl al-Wazīr library remains unknown; a significant portion of the family’s books is said to have ended up in Istanbul. Most of the books that had remained in the possession of one of the branches of the family were confiscated and transferred to the Great Mosque after the failed 1948 coup d’État in which members of the Āl al-Wazīr played a leading role. Another portion, which belongs to another branch of the family, is still held by the family in Hijrat al-Sirr. The descriptions of the codices in Hijrat al-Sirr, the Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya, the 1101/1690 inventory, and other related historical documents indicate that the library of the Āl al-Wazīr constituted one of the most important Yemeni Zaydi libraries, with particularly valuable, old manuscripts.

Among the largest collections that were incorporated into the Khizāna are the libraries of members of the Qāsimī dynasty, which ruled the country for most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These members include two grandsons of the dynasty’s eponymous

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Yemeni provenance can safely be excluded. ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s Mas’ala min kalām qādir i-qudāt ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Ahmad fi anāna l-mujbira wa-l-mushabbiba lā yumkinuhum al-istidīl alā l-nubuwwa circulated exclusively among the Twelver Shi‘is as a regular component of miscellaneous writings by al-Sharīf al-Murtadā (d. 1044/1635); see Ansari and Schmidtke, Al-Šarīf al-Murtadā’s Oeuvre and Thought, chapter 2.1 and passim. Likewise, ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s al-Mukhtaṣar fi uṣūl al-dīn also never reached Yemen; see Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2017, p. 121 n. 52.


For an edition and analysis of this inventory, see Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “A Family Library in the Hands of the Qāsimīs at the Turn of the Twelfth/Eighteenth Century” [in preparation].

See Zayd al-Wazīr’s contribution to this volume. For a codex from the family’s library that is now part of the Imam Muhammad ibn Saud University in Riyadh, see below.

For the fate of the Āl al-Wazīr in the twentieth century, see Gabriele vom Bruck, Mirrored Loss: A Yemeni Woman’s Life Story, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. The books that were confiscated in 1948 were transferred to al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya (on which see below); see al-Akwa‘, “al-Turāth al-fikrī,” pp. 86ff.


founder, Imam al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muhammad (r. 1006–1029/1597–1620), namely, al-Mahdi li-Dīn Allāh ʿAbd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim (1029–1092/1620–1681), whose collection represents 10 percent of the Khizāna’s holdings, and ʿAbd Allāh’s older brother, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim (1010–1079/1601–1668), whose private library stands out for its size (31 percent) (fig. 5). Some of the leading bureaucrats during the first century of the Qāsimī period also had substantial personal libraries, and the remains of these were likewise transferred to the Khizāna; an example is the personal library of Muḥammad b. ‘Ali b. Qays (d. 1096/1685) (21 percent). Imam Yahyā also contributed a significant number of manuscripts from his personal library to the newly founded Khizāna (17 percent) (fig. 6). Over the course of the twentieth century, the Khizāna also received endowments of the partial or complete holdings of some prominent contemporary scholars of Yemen, including ʿAbd al-Wāsī b. Yahyā al-Wāsī (1295–1379/1878–1960), ‘Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm (1302–1396/1885–1976),15 ʿAbd Allāh b. ‘Ali Kubās (1325–1402/1907–1981 or 1982), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Ḥaymī (1350/1932–?)16 and others.17

Imam Yahyā’s concern to salvage what remained of the historical libraries to prevent further losses was certainly justified. Prior to the 1925 decree, numerous codices that had originally belonged to the libraries of Imam al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Hamza and members of the Qāsimī dynasty, for example, had been sold and are nowadays found in the libraries of Riyadh, Oman,17a Cairo,18

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17a This is the case, for example, with a copy of volume five of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumi’s al-Tahdhib fi tafsīr al-Qurʾān, As is indicated on the titlepage (fig. 7), the copy was produced as the behest of Imam al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Hamza. The titlepage also has an ājāza, issued by al-Manṣūr for his sons ʿAbd Allāh and Muhammad (dated Dhū l-Hijja 603/July 1207). For a description of this manuscript, see the introduction of ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sālimī to his edition of the work (10 vols., Cairo/Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī/Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 2018/2019), vol. 1, p. 154. Al-Sālimī does not mention the ājāza. Another example are some copies of al-Mutashābīḥ fi l-Qurʾān by the Muṭẓālī author ʿAbū Tāhir al-Ṭuraythī in the libraries of Oman; see ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sālimī, “al-Mutashābīḥ fi l-Qurʾān li-l-Ṭuraythīti: Dirāsa li-l-kitāb wa-nusakhīhi al-khaṭṭīyā,” Majāliat Maḥdād al-Makhtūṭāt al-ʿArabīyya 52 (1429/2008). pp. 7–42, here pp. 26–28.

18 An example is volume 1 of Ibn Mattawayh’s al-Majmūʿ fi l-Muḥīṯ bi-l-taklīf, dated Ramaḍān 683/August–September 1284 and copied by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, Atiyāya al-Najrānī (fig. 10), who belonged to a renowned family of Zaydi scholars in Yemen (for a later member of the Atiyāya family, see al-Wajīh, ʿAṭāʾ, vol. 2, p. 84 no. 905; for the ʿĀṭāʾiyāya, see also al-Maḥḍafi, Mawsūʿā, vol. 4, p. 478). The manuscript is part of the Taymūr collection, which is nowadays kept in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo; see Fihrist al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya, vol. 4: al-ʿAqāʾid wa-yaṣir al-ṣūr, Cairo: Matbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyya, 1369/1950, p. 117 (shelf mark: ʾaṣḥāb al-Qurʾān 357). The title page (fig. 9) has several ownership statements from Yemen, as well as ʿAṭāʾ Taymūr’s (1288–1348/1871–1930) stamp. The copy was consulted for the edition of the text (see Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad Ibn Mattawayh, al-Majmūʿ fi l-Muḥīṯ bi-l-taklīf, vol. 1, ed. J. J. Houben, Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1965, p. jim). For the copy the editor refers to Hellmut Ritter, “Philologika. Ill. Muhammedanische Hāresiographien,” Der Islam 18 (1929), pp. 34–59,
here p. 42; Ritter, in turn, had learned about the copy through H. S. Nyberg (“Liegst auch vor in einer Hand- 
schrift von Teimur Pasha [Briefliche Mitteilung von H. S. Nyberg!”). According to Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf and Fayṣal 
Budayr ‘Awn’s introduction to their edition of volume 1 of Ibn Mattawayh’s Ṣadḥkira (Cairo: Dār al-Thuqāfa, 
1975, p. 17), the Taymūr collection also contains a copy of volume 1 of the Ṣadḥkira. The editors note that the 
copy is incomplete in the beginning but provide no further details about it. The Taymūr collection also has 
copies of other Zaydi works, including Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī’s (d. 573/1177–78) Ṣaḥr Ḍaṣidat al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād (see below, n. 100). A study of the holdings of the 
Taymūr collection might bring additional copies of Zaydi/Yemeni books to light. For the Taymūr collection, 
see Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyya: Tārīkhuhā wa-ṭawwuruhā, Beirut: Awrāq Sharqiyya, 
1417/1996, pp. 74–86.

Another example is MS Cairo, Maktabat al-Azhār 10633, the single extant copy of al-Kāfiya fī l-jadal, a work 
attributed to Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) (fig. 11). Although there are reasons to doubt al- 
Juwaynī’s authorship of the work, it is evident that the author was an Ashʿarī. The manuscript was comple-
ted on 8 Rajab 650/14 September 1252 on the basis of a copy owned by the prominent Zaydi scholar Abū 
ʿAbd Allāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muhallī (d. 652/1254). The latter added a note to his copy stating that he 
had collated it with a manuscript of the text from ʿIrāq, i.e., Rayy and Jibāl in Iran, and that he completed 
his collation in Dhū l-Qaʿda 640/April–May 1243. The scribe of MS Maktabat al-Azhār 10633, in turn, collated 
his copy with that of al-Muhallī in Jumādā I 651/July 1253 (fig. 12). The codex demonstrates that already 
in the sixth/twelfth century the Zaydis of Yemen were interested in Ashʿarī literature. It is possible that the 
text was one of those brought by Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī 
from Iran to Yemen. It is unclear when the manuscript reached Cairo, but the numerous statements added 
to the codex by Sunni readers suggest that it left Yemen fairly early. The work has been published, but the 
editor was unable to identify Ḥumayd al-Muhallī, whom he calls “Ḥamd” b. Aḥmad al-Muhallī; see Imām al-
Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī, al-Kāfiya fī l-jadal, ed. Fawqiyya Ḥusayn Maḥmūd, Cairo: ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-
Ḥalabī, 1399/1979, p. 566. On the work, the identity of its author, and the manuscript, see Hassan Ansari, “Mawrid 
iʿajīb-i Kitāb al-Kāfiya fī l-jadal mansūb bih Juwaynī,” Barrāsī-hā-yi tārīkhī, http://ansari.kate-
ban.com/post/3507 (accessed 21 January 2022). Another manuscript attesting to the familiarity of the 
Zaydis in Yemen with Ashʿarite literature is preserved as MS Vatican, Vatican Apostolic Library 1147, con-
taining a copy of Nuzhat al-absār wa-mahāsin al-āthār. While the book’s author is not mentioned in this 
unique copy, Hassan Ansari identified him as Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mahdī al-Ṭabarī al-Māmāṭīrī, the well-
known student of Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿAshārī (d. 324/936), who was still alive during the mid-fourth/tenth cen-
64-66. The reason for the interest among the Zaydis in this book, which is not mentioned in any Sunni 
source, were evidently the praises for and sermons by Imam ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib that are included in it. Moreo-
er, the author hailed from Ṭabaristān, where Imam al-Naṭīq bi-l-Haqq Abū Ṭalib al-Ḥarunī (d. 424/1033) 
studied with him. This explains why the work was brought to Yemen. For the manuscript, see Giorgio Levi 
Della Vida, Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana: Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgia, 
Rossiani, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vatibana, 1935, p. 170; and Ṣādīq al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, al-
166. The book’s author is indicated as anonymous in both catalogues.
Istanbul, Berlin, Leiden,19 Milan, Rome (fig. 8), Vienna, Munich, London, and even Benghazi.20 Others are today in the possession of private owners in Yemen.21 Some manuscripts of Yemeni provenance left the country and subsequently served as antigraphs for new copies; although the antigraphs themselves often have not come down to us, the apographs remain as testimonies of the Yemeni copies of the relevant books. For example, the Nāṣiriyya Library in Lucknow (India) held a copy of Ṭuḥfat al-mutakallimin fī l-radd ‘alā l-falāsifa, by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muhammad al-Malāḥिमī al-Khwārazmī (d. 536/1141). This copy, dated Dhū l-Hijja 1104/August 1693, was produced on the basis of an antigraph dated Rajab 693/June 1244 and copied by a Zaydi.22 The library also possesses a copy of the K. al-Marātib fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn wa-Sayyid al-Waṣīyyīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, by Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Bustī, who was a student of Abd al-Jabbar. This copy, dated 12 Jumādā II 1357/9 August 1938 (figs. 19, 20), is based on a 1188/1774–75 copy that is nowadays kept in the Āṣafiyya Library in Hyderabad; the latter’s antigraph, in turn, was a copy produced by the Zaydi scholar Ḥanẓala b. al-Ḥasan b. Shabān (or Sha’bān), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 656/1258), in Muḥarram 618/February–March 1221 in al-Qāhira al-Manṣūra (located north of Ṣafār Dhibīn).23 Yemeni manuscripts

19 For examples from Leiden, see Karin Schepker and Arnoud Vrolijk’s contribution to this volume. 20 See, e.g., Anne Regourd, “Note sur Akhbār al-Zaydiyya bi-al-Yaman et autres œuvres du muṭarrifite al-Lahği,” Nouvelles chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen 11 (2020), pp. 131–146. According to the editor’s introduction to Musallam b. Muhammad al-Lahği, al-Ju’z al-rābiʾ min K. Akhbār al-Zaydiyya min ahl al-bayt ‘alayhim al-salām wa-sh’atihim bi-l-Yaman, ed. Muqbil al-Tāmm ʿĀmir al-Jumāh (located north of Ẓafār Dhībīn), is based on a 1188/1774–75 copy that is nowadays kept in the Āṣafiyya Library in Hyderabad; the latter’s antigraph, in turn, was a copy produced by the Zaydi scholar Ḥanẓala b. al-Ḥasan b. Shabān (or Sha’bān), one of the teachers of Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 656/1258), in Muḥarram 618/February–March 1221 in al-Qāhira al-Manṣūra (located north of Ṣafār Dhibīn).23 Yemeni manuscripts

21 See Sabine Schmidtke, Traditional Yemeni Scholarship amidst Political Turmoil and War: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Muṭahhar al-Manṣūr (1915–2016) and His Personal Library, Cordoba: UCOPress, 2018, p. 105 for a copy produced in 611/1214 for the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-l-lāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza that nowadays belongs to the library of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr and his descendants. The book drain to Europe and other parts of the worlds is by no means limited to Yemen; similar phenomena can be encountered elsewhere in the Islamic world. For the case of Cairo, see, e.g., Mercedes Volait, Antique Dealing and Creative Reuse in Cairo and Damascus 1850–1890, Leiden: Brill, 2021, pp. 107ff. We owe this reference to Gabriele von Bruck.


I

TRODUCTION

27

got even as far as Tashkent, possibly through the ḥajj.\textsuperscript{23a} The Maktaba al-Khaliliyya in Hyderabad owns a multitext volume comprising several texts pertaining to the history of Sanaa, which is of Yemeni origin (\textit{figs. 21, 22}).\textsuperscript{23b}

\textbf{Figures 19 and 20. MS Lucknow, Nāṣiriyya Library (end of K. al-Marātib fi fadāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn by Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Bustī).}

\textsuperscript{23a} This is the case, for example, with volume 2 of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazrajī’s (d. 812/1410) \textit{al-ʿAqd al-fākhīr fī ṭabaqāt akābīr ahl al-Yaman wa-huwa Ṭirāz aʿlām al-zaman fī ṭabaqāt aʿyān al-Yaman}; see ed. ʿAbd Allāh Qāʾid al-ʿAbbādī et al., Sanaa: Maktabat al-Jil al-Jadīd, 2009, p. 161. A systematic search among the manuscripts of Tashkent may bring to light additional codices of Yemeni origin.

\textsuperscript{23b} Access to the codex is provided through https://www.alukah.net/sspotlight/8011/147345/ (accessed 11 January 2022).
Figure 21. Ms. Hyderabad, al-Maktaba al-Khaliiyya, tahrir 540, fols. 1v-2r.
Figure 22. Ms. Hyderabad, al-Maktaba al-Khaliliyya, tārīkh 540, final page.
Figure 23. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 22 (one of the rare instances in which Glaser gives information on the provenance of a codex).
Figure 24. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 382 (another of the rare instances in which Glaser gives information on the provenance of a codex; the details he provides are for the most part wiped out).
The history of Zaydi manuscript collections outside Yemen

For Yemen’s book culture, it is both a curse and a blessing that some of Yemen’s most precious collections were purchased by European, Ottoman Turkish, and Saudi scholars, diplomats, merchants, and travelers during the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth (and beyond). These manuscripts, numbering between ten and twenty thousand, are nowadays housed in libraries outside of the country.

The earliest European collections of Yemeni manuscripts were inaugurated at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. They were assembled by European explorers and merchants who, while sojourning in Yemen, accumulated considerable collections and later sold them to libraries in Europe. Among these sellers was the Austrian Eduard Glaser (1855–1908), who visited Yemen on four occasions between 1882 and 1894, taking some 858 manuscripts out of the country.24 Glaser sold the manuscripts he acquired during his first and second journeys to the Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin (now Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). His third collection was purchased by the British Museum in London (and later transferred to the British Library), and his fourth collection was bought by the

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Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) in Vienna. An even larger collection was brought together by the Italian merchant Giuseppe Caprotti (1862–1919), who arrived in Yemen in 1885 together with his brother Luigi (who died soon after, in 1889) and spent the next 34 years, until 1919, in the country. During his stay in South Arabia, Caprotti collected 1,790 manuscripts. A small portion of these, 157 manuscripts, was offered to the Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München (now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in 1901 through Glaser’s mediation, and the purchase was concluded in 1902. Caprotti shipped the bulk of his collection, 1,610 manuscripts in total, to Italy between 1903 through 1906 with the goal of selling the codices in Europe. The suggestion that the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan acquire the collection was first made by the young Italian Arabist Eugenio Griffini (1878–1925), who had been introduced to Caprotti in 1897 and was intimately familiar with the latter’s manuscript collection. But it was Achille Ratti, the Ambrosiana’s director at the time (and later Pope Pius XI), and Luca Beltrami (1854–1933) who successfully promoted a subscription to amass the required funding in 1909. A few years later, in 1914, Beltrami donated another 180 manuscripts of the Caprotti collection to the Ambrosiana, and in April 1922, he gave the remaining Caprotti manuscripts (about 280 in number)

25 See Christoph Rauch’s and Jan Thiele’s contributions to this volume. For the acquisition of the Berlin Glaser collection, see also Christoph Rauch, “Im Wettkampf mit den Bibliotheken anderer Nationen: Die Erwerbung arabischer Handschriften an der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin zwischen 1850 und 1900,” Sammler – Bibliothekare – Forscher: Zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2022, pp. 87–150, esp. pp. 130–135. For the Glaser collection in Vienna, see Stefanie Brinkmann’s contribution to this volume, and the digital project The Glaser Collection, curated by Petra Aigner under the auspices of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna; see http://glaser.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/gl/about (accessed 8 December 2021). The project, which is still in the early stages, will eventually provide open access to the Glaser collection acquired in 1910 by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. We thank Marieke Brandt for having alerted us to this project. It is mostly not known through whose mediation Glaser gained access to the codices he eventually acquired. In rare cases, such as in MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 22 (fig. 23), Glaser commented on the provenance of an individual codex; in MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 382 his statement has been partly erased (fig. 24). In one of his diaries, which are kept in the Academy of Sciences in Vienna (Sammlung Glaser-K3-A1002), he records the contents of his first collection of manuscripts and parts of the second collection. The diary also appears to contain some information on the amounts he paid for each codex (fig. 25). Glaser also prepared a concise handlist of the first and second collections (possibly also the third and the fourth), which was later reproduced in Wilhelm Ahlwardt, Kurzes Verzeichniss der Glaser’schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften, Berlin: Gebr. Unger (T. Grimm), 1887. Glaser’s handwritten handlist (fig. 26) is preserved in the Regionální Muzeum K. A. Polánka, Žatec, Fond Glaser, Krabice č 6, Av 11/6–383. We thank Jan Thiele for having shared with us his photographs of Glaser’s handlist. Another recent Vienna-based research project, Wiener Bestände südarabischer Manuskripte gesammelt von Eduard Glaser, funded by the City of Vienna Fund, was discontinued, and its results remain unpublished. For this project, see Odile Kommer, “Yemeni Manuscripts in Viennese Archives,” Historical Identity Research Blog (Austrian Academy of Sciences), 1 October 2020, https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/read/yemeni-manuscripts-in-viennese-archives (accessed 21 January 2022).

26 See Valentina Sagaria Rossi’s contribution to this volume.

to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.\textsuperscript{28} With close to 1,800 codices, the “Collezione Caprotti” is the largest collection of South Arabian manuscripts outside Yemen.

In 1883, the Medinan scholar and book dealer Amīn b. Ḥasan al-Ḥulwānī al-Madani (d. 1898) visited the International Colonial and Export Exhibition in Amsterdam, bringing with him a sizeable collection of 664 manuscripts, which contained a fair number of manuscripts from Yemen. Through the mediation of Carlo Landberg (later Count de Landberg; 1848–1924), the collection was purchased by E. J. Brill and subsequently sold to the library of the Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden.\textsuperscript{29} Around the turn of the twentieth century, additional collections of manuscripts supplied by al-Madani were offered on the market; al-Madani continued to collaborate closely with Landberg, and the collections thus came to be known as “Landberg collections.” The Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin purchased a significant Landberg collection (1,052 manuscripts) in 1884,\textsuperscript{30} and in 1900 Morris K. Jesup (1830–1908) bought another Landberg collection (774 manuscripts), which he then donated to Yale University Library.\textsuperscript{31} In the same year, Princeton University was given yet another Landberg collection (1,194 manuscripts), acquired for its library by Robert Garrett (1875–1961) and henceforth known as the “Garrett Collection.”\textsuperscript{32} Like the Leiden Landberg collection, all these collections contain numerous codices of Yemeni provenance. Through C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), Leiden University Library also obtained a number of Zaydi manuscripts that originated in Aceh. Snouck Hurgronje related that he also came across Zaydi manuscripts in 1885 during his sojourn in Arabia, but he


\textsuperscript{29} See Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk’s contribution to this volume.

\textsuperscript{30} Wilhelm Ahlwardt, \textit{Kurzes Verzeichniss der Landberg’schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften}, Berlin: A. W. Schade’s Buchdruckerei (L. Schade), 1885. See also Christoph Rauch’s contribution to this volume.

\textsuperscript{31} The collection was first described in Harrassowitz’s sales catalog, \textit{Sammlung arabischer Handschriften des Dr. C. Grafen von Landberg: Zum Verkauf angeboten von Otto Harrassowitz Buchhändler}, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1900. The Landberg collection at Yale constitutes in fact the majority of Landberg’s personal library. For the Yemeni manuscripts in it, see Roberta L. Dougherty, “Yemeni Manuscripts at the Yale University Library.docx,” http://works.bepress.com/bintalbalad/40/ (accessed 21 February 2022). The remainder of Landberg’s personal manuscript collection (83 codices) was given to Uppsala University after his demise in 1924; descriptions of the Uppsala Landberg collection are included in Karl Vilhelm Zetterstén, \textit{Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala verzeichnet und beschrieben}, 2 vols, Uppsala: [s.n.], 1930–35.

was unable to inspect them more closely at the time or to take any of them with him when he returned to the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{33} See letter Snouck Hurgronje to Griffini (26 June 1911), Biblioteca comunale centrale, Palazzo Sormani, Milan, Archivio Eugenio Griffini, MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/77: "[L]es Zaidites ont été un objet de ma curiosité depuis que je me suis occupé de l’histoire de la Mecque, où leur secte ou plutôt maḏhab a eu si longtemps une certaine prépondérance; enfin, moi-même j’ai rapporté d’Arabie en 1885 quelques manuscrits Zaidites, peu nombreux mais d’une certaine valeur. Faute de temps pour dépouiller moi-même ces sources littéraires et pour faire une étude approfondie de la littérature de ce genre qui est venue enrichir les bibliothèques d’Europe dans le cours du 19ème siècle, j’ai conseillé à un de mes élèves [Snouck here refers to Cornelis van Arendonk] de s’enfoncer dans cette branche de la littérature islamique. Il se trouve à présent à Londres et sa thèse inaugurale aura probablement pour sujet la biographie d’un ou deux des premiers imāms Zaidites." See also Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk’s contribution to this volume.

Figure 26. First page of Glaser’s handwritten catalog of his first and second collections of manuscripts from Yemen (Žatec, Regionální muzeum K.A. Polánka, Fond Glaser, Krabice č 6, Av 11/6-383).
Yemeni manuscripts are also found within the collection brought together by Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951). Portions of the Yahuda collection are nowadays housed in the British Library, the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, the US National Library of Medicine, the Jewish National and University Library, the University of Michigan Library, and Princeton University Library. Other libraries in Europe, including the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and Cambridge University Library, also own manuscripts of Yemeni origin.

During the 1950s and 1960s, some European collections with significant holdings of South Arabian manuscripts were microfilmed and made available to scholars outside of Europe. Saint Louis University in Missouri holds surrogates of nearly the entire manuscript collection of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, including the Vatican's Islamic Arabic manuscripts, in its Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library, as does the library of the State University of New York at Binghamton. Shortly after 1960, the University of Notre Dame reached an agreement with the Biblioteca Ambrosiana to film the latter’s entire manuscript and archival collections, including the Collezione Caprotti, and to make them available to researchers at Notre Dame and elsewhere in the United States. In the same period, the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (now the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, 34 See Raquel Ukeles, “Abraham Shalom Yahuda: The Scholar, the Collector and the Collections,” Efraim Wust, Catalogue of the Arab, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection of the National Library of Israel, vol. 1, ed. Raquel Ukeles with Sagit Bulbul, Khader Salameh, and Yusuf al-Uzbeki, trans. into English Leigh Chipman, trans. of introductory material into Arabic Nabi Bashir, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 1–12.
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HMML in Minnesota set out to film the manuscript holdings of numerous libraries in Europe. By 1973, HMML had produced microfilms of the holdings of seventy-six Austrian libraries, including the Austrian National Library with its Arabic manuscript collection, of which the Glaser collection forms an important part. In 1957 the board of the Ma’had al-Makhtūṭat al-ʿArabiyya in Cairo dispatched an expedition to Milan under the direction of the Syrian scholar Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (1334–1431/1920–2010), the institute’s director at the time. The goal of the expedition was to film and catalog the until then uncataloged manuscripts of the Ambrosiana collection. The delegation stayed in Milan for two months (July–August 1957); for lack of time, the filming and cataloging enterprise had to be restricted to series D of the Nuovo Fondo. The resulting microfilms have been housed since July–August 1957); for lack of time, the filming and cataloging enterprise had to be restricted to series D of the Nuovo Fondo. The resulting microfilms have been housed since 1960 at the Ma’had al-Makhtūṭat al-ʿArabiyya. In Iran, the Ma’rūshī Library and the Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mihrāb-i Islāmī (both in Qum) also possess large microfilm archives of manuscripts, among them numerous Yemeni ones, that are held in European libraries, including the Vatican Library,43 the British Library, the Ambrosiana, and the Berlin State Library.44 Today, many of the European libraries with major holdings of Yemeni manuscripts, such as Leiden University Library,45 the Berlin State Library, and the Bavarian State Library in Munich, provide open access to these materials.46

43 See also al-Ishkawī, al-Makhtūṭat al-ʿarabiyya fi Maktabat al-Fāṭikān (Rūmā—al-Fāṭikān), which includes descriptions of all Arabic manuscripts from the Vatican Library microfilms of which are in Qum.
Over the course of the twentieth century, some European libraries continued to purchase manuscripts from Yemen. The Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (BANLC) in Rome owns a number of South Arabian manuscripts, which were obtained by various Italian travelers to Yemen during the first decades of the twentieth century, notably Griffini’s former student Ettore Rossi (1894–1955), who traveled to Yemen twice, in 1936 and 1937,\(^{47}\) and the physician Cesare Ansaldi, who was a member of the Italian health mission to Yemen from 1929 to 1932 (fig. 27).\(^{48}\) In 1990, a collection comprising 223 Yemeni codices was donated to the former Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente (ISIAO, Rome) by the family of Dr. Emilio Dubbiosi, medical officer in Yemen from 1926 to 1938, who was an avid collector of manuscripts (fig. 28).\(^{49}\) The Istituto per l’Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino (IPOCAN, Rome) holds fourteen Yemeni manuscripts collected by the Italian Arabist Carlo Alfonso Nallino. The Istituto Centrale per il Restauro e la Conservazione del Patrimonio Archivistico e Librario (ICRCPAL, Rome) owns two Yemeni Arabic manuscripts donated by the Arabist and physician Tommaso Sarnelli, who was in Yemen in the years 1930–1932, while the Biblioteca di Storia della Medicina of the University “La Sapienza” (BSM, Rome) has two additional manuscripts donated by Sarnelli. The library of the University “L’Orientale” in Naples (UNIOR) holds another forty-two Yemeni manuscripts that were collected by Sarnelli (fig. 29).\(^{50}\) The Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Turin also owns a Yemeni codex that is part of the Paul Kahle collection.\(^{50a}\)

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\(^{50a}\) See Roberto Tottoli, Maria Luisa Russo, and Michele Bernardini, *Catalogue of the Islamic Manuscripts from the Kahle Collection in the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Turin*, Rome: Istituto per l’Oriente C. A. Nallino, 2011, pp. 322-323.
Figure 27. MS Rome, Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Or. 364 (title page of *K. al-Laṭāʾif al-saniyya fī l-akhbār al-yamaniyya* by Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Kibsī, suggesting that the copy was commissioned for an Italian collector).
Figure 28. MS Rome, Biblioteca IsMEO, Fondo E. Dubbiosi 186, pp. 17–18.

Figure 29. MS Naples, University “L’Orientale,” ARA 5 (ex libris stamp of Tommaso Sarnelli).
Figure 30. Al-Īmān, no. 42 (Shawwāl 1348/March 1930), p. 35 ("Ḥādrat al-Hirr Strūtmān al-muḥtaram").
Figure 31. MS Leipzig, Leipzig University Library, Ms. or. 354 (title page of ʿImād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Miqrāʾī’s autocommentary on his Miṣbāḥ al-rāʾid).
Figure 32. MS Leipzig, Leipzig University Library, Ms. or. 354 (final colophon of ʿImād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Miqrāʾī’s autocommentary on his Miṣbāḥ al-rāʾid).
Figure 33. MS Leipzig, Leipzig University Library, Ms. or. 377 (title page of *K. al-Zīna* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī).
Figure 34. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 2612 (title page of *K. al-Muntakhab fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, containing the *fatāwī* of Imām al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn).
Figure 35. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 2612 (K. *al-Muntakhab fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, fols. 138v–139r).
Figure 36. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 2612 (K. al-Muntakhab fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām, fols. 290v–291r).
Figure 37. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 2449 (title page of final portion of Musallam b. Muḥammad al-Lahjī’s [alive in 530/1135–36] Akhbār al-Zaydiyya bi-l-Yaman, dated 30 Dhū l-Qa‘da 566/4 August 1171).
Figure 38. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 8737 (title page of Ibn Mattawayh’s al-Majmūʿ fi l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf).
Figure 39. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 8737 (final page of Ibn Mattawayh’s al-Majmūʿ fi l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf).
Figure 40. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 8737 (title page of Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Jaʿfar’s al-Naqd ʿalā šāhib al-Majmūʾ al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf fīmā khālafa fī al-Zaydiyya min bāb al-imāma).
Figure 41. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 8737 (dated colophon of Qādī Shams al-Dīn Ja’far’s al-Naqḍ ’alā šāhīb al-Majmū’ al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf fīmā khālafa fīhī al-Zaydiyya mīn bāb al-imāma).
Between 14 March and 20 April 1930, the German orientalist and pioneer of Shi'i studies Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960) sojourned in Sanaa (fig. 30), seeking access to Zaydi sources he had been unable to locate in any of the European libraries. Strothmann held numerous conversations with local scholars, book dealers, and the faculty of the Madrasa al-ʿIlmiyya, as well as with Imam Yaḥyā and some of his sons. Strothmann approached his interlocutors, mostly in vain, with specific questions about manuscripts of works by Yemeni and Zaydi authors that he hoped to find. He asked repeatedly for an opportunity to visit the library of the Madrasa al-ʿIlmiyya and even the imam’s private library, but such requests were regularly refused. In his diary Strothmann mentions several times that local book dealers frequently brought him codices for inspection and that he purchased some of them.51 It is unknown how many codices Strothmann brought back from Sanaa, but it is

possible that some were destroyed in the 1943 bombing that wrecked Hamburg University, as Hamburg University Library holds only a few codices of Yemeni provenance from Strothmann’s Nachlass. Strothmann’s erstwhile student Wilferd Madelung was one of the first European scholars able to consult some of the manuscripts held in the Maktabat al-Aqwāf in Sanaa during the summer of 1968. He returned to Yemen with Sabine Schmidtke and Jan Thiele in 2008 and 2009, at which time he visited several private libraries and consulted codices in the Dār al-Makhtūtāt. During these visits, Schmidtke and Thiele also photographed several codices in the Maktabat al-Aqwāf.

Leiden University Library also continually expanded its holdings of manuscripts from Yemen. In the 1930s, additional purchases were made through Cornelis Adriaanse (1896–1964), the acting Dutch chargé d’affaires and consul in Jeddah from 1931 through 1939, and between 1993 and 2000 numerous manuscripts were purchased from Paul Spijker (b. 1957), a freelance tourist guide who had obtained them during his repeated trips to Yemen. The Berlin State Library purchased Yemeni manuscripts on various occasions over the course of the twentieth century, notably acquiring in 1939 the collection of Hermann Burchardt, who was murdered in Yemen in 1909, and twenty-six further codices in the 1980s and 1990s. Most recently, the Berlin State Library bought a small collection of fourteen Yemeni codices containing various Zaydi works from Bernard Quaritch Ltd. in London.

Leipzig University Library acquired in 1996 a codex containing an autograph by the Zaydi Yemeni scholar ʿImād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Miqrāʾī (d. 990/1582–

book lover . . . a collector rather of ancient manuscripts. His library, all in MS., is the biggest, I was told, in all Arabia. But he is most jealous of it; no outside eye or hand has ever seen or touched a single volume of the precious collection. I am also told—and I set it down as I have the story of the treasures—that the famous book Al-Iklīl is only found, complete in its ten volumes, in the library of the Imam, and that some day, inshallah, when the printing press, in its slow Arab journey, reaches Sanʿa, it will be given in book form to the world.”

52 For details, see Sabine Schmidtke, The Beginnings of Shi‘ī Studies in Germany: Rudolf Strothmann and His Correspondence with Carl Heinrich Becker, Ignaz Goldziher, and Eugenio Griffini, 1910 through 1923, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. [in press].


54 See Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk’s contribution to this volume.

55 See Christoph Rauch’s contribution to this volume.
83) of his auto-commentary on the Miṣbāḥ al-rāʾīḍ (MS or. 354) (figs. 31, 32),56 and another codex containing the K. al-Zīna by the prominent Ismāʿīlī author Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934) that had been completed on 14 Rabīʿ I 544/22 July 1149 in Jayyān, the administrative district (rustāq) of Rayy in northern Iran (MS or. 377). That the latter codex spent considerable time, possibly centuries, in Yemen is suggested by the characteristic Yemeni hand of some of the statements on the book’s title page (fig. 33). Moreover, one of the names mentioned on the title page is “al-ʿAnsī,” a nisba for members of the Yemeni tribe of ʿAns.57

Important collections of manuscripts from Yemen were also brought together by Ottoman officials serving in Yemen during Ottoman rule over the country (1839–1914), and these are today held in libraries in Istanbul, notably the ʿAlī Amīrī Efendi (1857–1924) collection in the Millet Kütüphanesi.58 Moreover, the number of Yemeni manuscripts in the libraries of Saudi Arabia has grown exponentially over the past decades. Significant holdings of Yemeni manuscripts as well as surrogates are attested in the libraries of al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya in Medina, Umm al-Qurā’ University in Mecca,59 and in Riyadh the King Faisal University,60 the King


SAUD UNIVERSITY, 61 and the Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University, which is renowned for its particularly precious manuscripts. Examples include a copy of the K. al-Muntakhab fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām, containing the fatāwī of Imam al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yāḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/910) gathered by Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḳūfī (d. early fourth/tenth century) (fig. 34). The codex features a number of birth statements added by earlier owners and dated between 628/1230–31 and 685/1286–87 (fol. 43v, 89r, 138v, 139r, 187r, 234r, 234v, 235r; fig. 35). These provide a terminus ante quem for the production of the codex. Most importantly, the codex includes a waqf statement (fol. 290v; fig. 36) for the three sons of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Mansūr b. ʿAlī (d. 682/1283), called al-Murtaḍā, Aḥmad, and Ibrāhīm, which is dated Shaʿbān 706/February–March 1307. Al-Mufaḍḍal was one of the forefathers of the Banū l-Wazīr, 62 and it is likely that most of the codices that were or are part of the library of the Al-Mufaḍḍal contain similar statements. 63 A large collection of Yemeni manuscripts was also amassed during the 1950s by the former ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Yemen, al-Sayyid Mūḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUbaykān (1899–1993) whose private library is located in Riyadh. 64

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63 The codex was not consulted for the edition of the K. al-Muntakhab fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām, see van L.W. Cornelis Lit, Among Digitized Manuscripts: Philology, Codicology, Paleography in a Digital World, Leiden: Brill, 2020, pp. 80–81 and passim. 64 See Bernard Haykel’s contribution to this volume.
EFFORTS TO ACCOUNT FOR AND SALVAGE THE YEMENI MANUSCRIPT TREASURES

Following the coup d’état of 1962, the former palace (Dār al-Saʿāda) library and the personal book collections of the members of the royal family as well as the collections of former ministers and other government officials were confiscated and eventually transferred to al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya, which was founded shortly after the coup in 1968⁶⁵ and became the Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt on 25 September 1982 (it is today housed in a new building outside the premises of the Great Mosque). This institution falls under the aegis of the General Organization for Antiquities and Libraries, which was established in 1969 and was directed until 1990 by al-Qāḍī Ismāʿīl al-Akwa’ (1338–1429/1920–2008).⁶⁶ The unpacking and arranging of the thousands of codices and the assignment of shelf marks have been a slow and gradual process—over the decades, the shelf mark system of the Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt has changed repeatedly. The changes are reflected in the two catalogs of the holdings of the Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, issued in 1978⁶⁷ and 2005, respectively (see also below). The collection seems to be growing still: a large number of codices (3,380 volumes) were handed over to the Hay’a al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb (Dār al-Kutub al-Yamaniyya) as recently as 2014.⁶⁸

Following the publication of the 1942/43 catalog of the holdings of the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya (“a bibliographic rarity outside the Yemen,” in that predigital age),⁶⁹ a group of Yemeni scholars consisting of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayḥī (b. 1929), ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī (b. 1949), and ʿAlī Wahhāb al-Ānisī, began work on a new catalog of the holdings of the Maktabat al-Awqāf; this was published in 1984 in four volumes. In the process, they also replaced the shelf marks of the former Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya with a new system.

In 1951–1952, in 1964, and again in 1974, scholarly expeditions from Egypt were dispatched to Yemen. They explored the holdings of the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya and the Maktaba al-Gharbiyya in Sanaa as well as those of some of the smaller libraries in Sanaa and other cities, and they produced microfilms of a select number of manuscripts (ca. 555 codices in total), which they brought back to Cairo.⁷⁰ As a result of the relocation of the Maḥād al-Makhtūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya to Kuwait City (1981–1990), Kuwait also contributed to the estab-

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⁶⁶ For al-Akwa and the General Organization for Antiquities and Libraries, see Anne Regourd’s contribution to this volume.


lishment of infrastructure in Yemen for the preservation of the country's manuscript holdings. Between October and December 1982, a delegation from Kuwait assessed and partly microfilmed the primarily Sunni Shāfī’i holdings of the Maktabat al-Āhqāf (founded in 1972) in Tarim, Hadhramaut, and in February and March 1985 a Kuwaiti team engaged in filming and cataloging some 308 manuscripts held by the Dār al-Makhtūṭāt in Sanaa. The various handlists prepared by the Egyptian and Kuwaiti delegations provide essential information on the public and private libraries of Yemen at that time; since then, many have ceased to exist. Some of the physical codices that were microfilmed by the Egyptians or the Kuwaitis have since left Yemen. Examples include Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka’bī al-Balkhī’s (d. 319/931) important doxographical work, the K. al-Maqrīzī’s introduction to their edition (Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka’bī al-Balkhī, ed. Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, 3 vols., London: [Yemen]: Dār al-Ṭūṭāt in Sanaa, 1974). Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, in his 2017 republication of his father’s 1988 edition of the Arabic Manuscripts Microfilmed by the Institute from the Manuscripts House in Sanaa (Yemen Arab Republic) from 28/1–4/3/1985, al-Ṣafāt, Kuwait: Maḥāfaẓat al-Makhṭūṭāt al-‘Arabiyya, al-Munazzama al-‘Arabiyya li-l-Tarbiya wa-l-Thaqāfa wa-l-ʿUllum, 1988.


Mutashābih al-Qurān\textsuperscript{74} and his Faḍl al-ītizāl,\textsuperscript{75} and some volumes of ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s theological summa, \textit{K. al-Mughnī}.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{74} See Zarzūr’s introduction to his edition of the \textit{Mutashābih al-Qurān}. One copy, completed Ṣafar 618/March–April 1221 in Ṣafār (Dhibīn), was produced for the library of al-Manṣūr bi-l-lāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Hamza. This copy is particularly valuable since it was collated with a copy of the work, dated 6 Rabīʿ I 478/2 July 1085, that was in the possession of Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī b. Abnāwī. Fuʾād Sayyid obtained the codex when he visited Yemen in 1952. The copy’s location in Yemen until 1952 is unknown—it is not listed in the \textit{Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya} of 1942/43. For the codex, see also Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid’s introduction to his father’s \textit{Faḍl al-ītizāl}, as well as Zarzūr’s introduction to his edition of the \textit{Mutashābih al-Qurān}, vol. 1, p. 26 n. 3. The second copy of \textit{Mutashābih al-Qurān} consulted by Zarzūr also dates to the early seventh/thirteenth century, but unlike the first copy it has some lacunae. This copy was transferred in 1348/1929 from Ṣafār (Dhibīn) to the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya in Sanaa, and it is accordingly included in the \textit{Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya}, pp. 31–32. It was one of the codices that were microfilmed by the Egyptians in 1952.

\textsuperscript{75} The copy included in this codex constitutes the single extant witness of the \textit{K. Faḍl al-ītizāl} of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī. Fuʾād Sayyid included a partial edition of it in his \textit{Faḍl al-ītizāl}.

\textsuperscript{76} According to the 1942/43 catalog of the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya (pp. 103–104), the following parts (ajżā’, sg. juz) of the work are preserved in the Khizāna: 4 (ruyaṭ al-bārī), 5 (al-firaq ghaṣr al-islāmiyya), 6 (al-tagālī wa-l-tajwīr al-īrāda), 7 (kaḥal al-Qurān), 8 (al-makhtūq), 9 (al-tawālīd; only eleven and a half out of twenty-one chapters are preserved), 11 (al-taklīf), 12 (al-nazar wa-l-māʾārīf), 13 (al-lutf; the end of this part is missing), 14 (al-aslāḥ; istihqāq al-dhumm; al-tawwab), 16 (ījāz al-Qurān), and 20 (fi-l-imāma). Meanwhile, the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo holds copies of parts 5, 6, 15, 16, and 17. See the editors’ introduction to Omar Hamdan and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), \textit{Nukat al-Kitāb al-Mughnī: A Recension of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī’s (d. 413/1023) ʿal-Mughnī fi Abwāb al-Tawḥīd wa-l-Adl}, Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2012, pp. xiii–xvi. The parts mentioned in the Khizāna catalog are also listed in al-Ruqayḥī et al., \textit{Fihrist}, vol. 2, pp. 759–762 (MSS Maktabat al-Aqwāf 542 through 550). Their presence in the Khizāna is confirmed by al-Akwa’, “al-Turāth al-fikrī,” p. 85, as well as by G. C. Anawati and Maḥmūd El-Khodeiri, in “Une somme inédite de théologie moʿtazilite: Le Mughnī du Qadi ʿAbd al-Jabbar,” \textit{Mélanges de l’Institut dominicain d’études orientales} 4 (1957), pp. 281–316, here p. 284, who state: “De ces vingt joz, la mission envoyée au Yémen n’a pu trouver que douze, soit les trois cinquièmes d’ouvrage total. Les parties existantes sont les suivantes: 4°, 5°, 6°, 7°, 8°, 9°, 11°, 12°, 13°, 16° et 20°.” Part 14 was mistakenly not included in this list, but Anawati and El-Khodeiri give a description of it in their article (ibid., pp. 308–310). Anawati and El-Khodeiri confirm that all twelve parts were copied for the library of al-Manṣūr bi-l-lāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Hamza; see ibid., p. 284: “Seule la section seizième a été copiée par Jaʿfar b. Ahmad al-Tāmi. Les onze autres sections sont de la main du copiste Mohammad b. Ahmad b. ʿAli b. al-Walīd, moḥyī l-dīn wa-zayn al-mowahhidin. L’ensemble du livre a été copié pour la Bibliothèque de ʿAbdallāh b. Hamza b. Solaymān b. Rasūl, al-Manṣūr billāh, inmām solaymanite alide, mort en 612 [sic] de l’H. L’écriture est en naskhī ancien, la plupart du temps sans points diacritiques et le plus souvent
At the request of the Arab Republic of Yemen, a UNESCO delegation visited Yemen on 14–30 September 1971 to assess “the situation regarding ancient books and manuscripts in the country.” In their final report, the delegation’s leaders, American University of Beirut professors Yūsuf Ibiš (1926–2003) and Maḥmūd al-Ghūl (1923–1983), not only elaborated on the unique value of the Yemeni manuscript collections but also gave recommendations on how best to preserve this treasure. The UNESCO report led to additional international initiatives to preserve the manuscripts of Yemen. Following exploratory visits to the country by the German orientalist Albrecht Noth (1937–1999) in 1977, 1978, and 1979, the Cultural Preservation Programme of the Federal Foreign Office of Germany funded a long-term project focusing on the organization, conservation, and microfilming of the old Qurʾān fragments discovered in the Great Mosque of Sanaa. In its first decade, 1979 through 1987, the project was directed by Albrecht Noth. It was concluded in 1997, when the microfilmed materials arrived in Germany. The technical infrastructure remained in Yemen.77

In addition to the various governmental initiatives, there have also been private endeavors to film some of the Yemeni manuscripts. In 1973, Robert W. Stookey (1917–1998), a former US Foreign Service officer who joined the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Texas at Austin as a research associate in the 1980s, was able to film significant portions of the private library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr (1333–1437/1915–2016). That microfilm collection is nowadays housed at the University of Texas, and duplicates of the collection were deposited in the Markaz al-Dirāsāt...
wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamaniyya in Sanaa. 78 The Lebanese scholar Riḍwān al-Sayyid (b. 1949) taught at Sanaa University from 1989 to 1991, and during this time, he assembled a collection of photocopies of some 400 texts in the Maktabat al-Aqwāf and some private libraries in Yemen. 79 Using the manuscripts he had collected as his basis, al-Sayyid also devoted some studies to the history of Zaydi Yemen, including, most importantly, an edition of a sīra of the two sons of Jaʿfar b. al-Qāsim al-ʿl-yānī (d. 450/1059), al-Sharīf al-Fāḍil al-Qāsim (d. 468/1075) and Dḥū l-Sharafayn Muḥammad (d. 477/1084), composed by the amīrs’ secretary, Mufarrīḥ b. Aḥmad al-Rabaʿī. 80 This was a collaborative editorial project, carried out with the Egyptian scholar ‘Abd al-Ghānī Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-ʿĀṭī, who also devoted a study to the Muṭarrifiyya. 81 Mention should also be made of Daniel Gimaret (b. 1933), one of the pioneers of the modern study of the Muṭṭazila: although he never traveled to Yemen, he brought together a sizeable collection of microfilm surrogates of Muṭṭazili texts held in Yemeni libraries. The microfilms are today preserved as the Fonds Gimaret at the Institute de recherche et d’histoire des textes, section arabe, in Paris. 82 Wilferd Madelung collected


79 For an unpublished list of these surrogates, see “al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya: Hiya majmūʿa min al-rasāʾil al-khāṭṭiya al-latī qāma bi-taṣṣwīrāt al-Dukṭūr Riḍwān al-Sayyid athnāʾa tadrīshī fi Jāmiʿat Ṣanʿāʾ fi tiš’īnīyāt al-qarn al-mādī min maktabāt khāṣṣa,” https://baroudipublishing.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/d985d8b5d988d8b1d8a7d8aad8a7d984d985d98ad986d8a921-10-2015.pdf (accessed 9 December 2021. The list does not provide any information on the whereabouts of the physical originals. During his sojourn in Beirut in 1997, Hassan Ansari had access to Riḍwān al-Sayyid’s collection of surrogates.


82 Gimaret’s first major publication on the Muṭṭazila—“Les Usūl al-Ḥamsa du Qāḍī ‘Abd al-ʿĀbbār et leurs commentaires,” Annales Islamologiques 15 (1979), pp. 47–96—was published only in 1979, but it was around 1970 that
over the years numerous copies (all of Yemeni origin) of the doctrinal writings of Rukn al-Din Mahmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥīmī (d. 536/1141), a follower of Abū l-Husayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), a former student of 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī and the founder of what became to be known as the last innovative school of the Muʿtazila.  

Iranian libraries hold a significant number of Zaydī manuscripts, some of which testify to the persistence of Zaydism in the various centers of Zaydi scholarship in ʿTabaristan, Daylamān, and Gīlān in the Caspian region up until the tenth/sixteenth century.  


Together with Martin McDermott, Medelung published a critical edition of Ibn al-Malāḥīmī’s K. al-Muṭamad fi uṣūl al-dīn (London: Al-Hoda, 1991; revised and enlarged edition Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2012, on the basis of MS Jāmiʿ al-ʿUẓmā Najafī’s primary sources in the Dānishgāh-i Tihrān. The manuscript was transcribed for the library of the Zaydi Imam al-Muʿayyad bi-illāh Yahyā b. Hamza (d. 749/1348–49) and at some stage traveled to Iran (MS Tehran, Dānishgāh, Mishkāt 204); see Hassan Ansari, “Nuskha-yi khaṭṭī-yi mutaʿalliq bih kitābkhāna-yi imāmī zaydi dar Kitābkhana-yi Markazi-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihrān,” Barrasi-hā-yi tārīkhī, http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2181 (accessed 21 January 2022). Of related relevance are three copies of Yemeni origin (Qum, Marʿashī 4557, 12397, as well as another copy in the private library of Muhammad ‘Ali Rawdātī in Isfahan) of the K. al-Miʿyār wa-l-muwāzana by the Muʿtazili theologian Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Iskāfī (d. 420/845). The work was published in the edition prepared by the Iranian scholar Muhammad Bāqir Maḥmūdī (Beirut 1402/1981) on the basis of MS Qum, Marʿashi 4557). While the editor does not specify the manuscript he consulted, this is mentioned by al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Aḥl al-dawlatī wa-ʾumūmī-i Āyat Allāh al-Ḥadīd, 1991; revised and enlarged edition Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2012, on the basis of Zaydi sources in various libraries in Yemen (MSS Qum, Marʿashī 4557, 12397, as well as another copy in the private library of Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawdātī in Isfahan) of the K. al-Miʿyār wa-l-muwāzana by the Muʿtazili theologian Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Iskāfī (d. 420/845). The work was published in the edition prepared by the Iranian scholar Muhammad Bāqir Maḥmūdī (Beirut 1402/1981) on the basis of MS Qum, Marʿashi 4557). While the editor does not specify the manuscript he consulted, this is mentioned by al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Aḥl al-dawlatī wa-ʾumūmī-i Āyat Allāh al-Ḥadīd, 1991; revised and enlarged edition Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2012, on the basis of Zaydi sources in various libraries in Yemen (MSS Qum, Marʿashī 4557, 12397, as well as another copy in the private library of Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawdātī in Isfahan).
ijāzas issued and received by Yemeni Zaydi scholars to and from Iranian scholars over the course of the twentieth century testify to a continuous scholarly dialog between the two communities in the modern period, which no doubt also featured the circulation of manuscripts between Yemen and Iran. For example, Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā al-Sayyid Shihāb al-Dīn al-Najafi al-Marʿāshī (1315–1411/1897–1990), the founder of the Marʿāshī Library in Qum, received a number of ijāzas from well-known Yemeni scholars and personalities, the most prominent mujīz being Imam Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, who issued an ijāza for Shihāb al-Dīn on 16 Muḥarram 1355/8 April 1936. Shihāb al-Dīn also received ijāzas from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zabāra (1325–1421/1908–2000), the muftī of the Republic of Yemen (dated Jumādā I 1395/May–June 1975); from the latter's father, the historian Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra (1301–1380/1883–1961) (dated 20 Jumādā II 1355/7 September 1936); from the prominent Yemeni scholar ʿAbd al-Wāsī b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsī (1295–1960/1878–1960) (dated Shawwāl 1355/December–January 1936); and from many other Yemeni Zaydi scholars. Another example testifying to the scholarly relations between contemporary Zaydi and Imami scholars is an ijāza issued by al-Shaykh Ḥamūd b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muʾayyad al-Yamanī al-Zaydī (1336–1439/1917 or 1918–2018) to the prominent Imami scholar and founding director of the Open School in Chicago al-Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Isfahan, see Rasūl Jaʿfariyān and Rasūl Jazīnī, Waqf-nāma-hā-yi kitāb-i šafawī, Qum: Nashr-i Muwarrī, 1397sh/2018. For the introduction to this volume, see https://historylib.com/articles/1831/%DA%AF%D8%B2%D8%A7-%D8%B1%D8%B4+324+%D9%88%D9%82%D9%81+%D9%86%D8%A7-%D9%85%D9%87+%DA%A9%D8%AA%DB%8A%D8%B4%DB%88%AF%D9%88%DB%88%8C (accessed 21 January 2022).


b. al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Jalālī al-Ḥa’iri (1362–1442/1943–2020) on 14 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1396/6 December 1976 when the two scholars met in Mecca.92

Some of the libraries in the ‘Atabāt cities in southern Iraq, such as the library of the Kāshīf al-Ghiṭā’ family, also hold manuscripts that contain Zaydi works or are of Yemeni provenance.93 This explains why Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī’s (1293–1389/1876–1970) al-Dhāri’a ilā ṣaṣānīf al-Shī’a contains several titles by Zaydi authors. The sources at his disposal included a partial copy comprising two volumes (from the letter tā’ to the end) of Ahmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abī l-Rijāl’s (d. 1092/1690) biobibliography, Maṭṭa’ al-budūr wa-majma’ al-buḥūr, which he consulted in the library of the Iraqi Twelver Shi‘i scholar Muḥammad ‘Alī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī (1301–1386/1884–1967). (figs. 46, 47, 48). Al-Shahrastānī had returned in 1332/1913 from a three-year trip that had taken him to various destinations in the Middle East, including Yemen. In Yemen he had inspected a number of manuscripts, and...


93 The Mu’assasat Kāshīf al-Ghiṭā’ (which is to be distinguished from the Maktabat Kāshīf al-Ghiṭā’) also holds numerous surrogates of Zaydi manuscripts from Yemen. For those two libraries, see Ansari and Schmidtke, Al-Šarīf al-Murtoḍa’Oeuvre and Thought, passim.

and copies of these were later made available to him.\(^{95}\) Āghā Buzurg prepared an abbreviated version of the second half of the work, which he entitled *Maḥṣūl Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* and completed in Ramaḍān 1335/June–July 1917.\(^{96}\) Another important source that was accessible to Āghā Buzurg and other Imami scholars was *Nasmat al-soḥār bi-dḥikr man tashāy̲yaʾa wa-shāʾar* by Dīyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī (1078–1121/1667 or 1668–1709), a close relative of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḡāsim al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī (1035/1625–after 1099/1688), who had converted from Zaydism to Imamism. The book covers Shiʿi poets, including Zaydis and Imamis, which explains why it circulated in both communities. Āghā Buzurg relates that he consulted a complete copy of the work in the library of al-Shaykh ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Ghuṭāʾ (1267–1350/1850–1931) in Najaf (\(\text{figs. 49, 50, 51}\)) and that volume 2 of the book was also found in the library of al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣādīr (1272–1354/1856–1935), likewise in Najaf. Moreover, Āghā Buzurg prepared an epitome/fihris of the book, which he entitled *Nuzhat al-baṣar fī fihris Nasmat al-soḥār*.\(^{97}\)


\(^{96}\) See Muḥammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg al-Ḥasanī, *al-Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shahrastānī*, pp. 195–258, here p. 252. Moreover, he states that Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿArabī Kāshif al-Ḥuṣaynī, see ibid., pp. 373ff. and passim. See also al-Ṣāfī al-Ḥuṣaynī, *al-Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shahrastānī*, p. 41. As he explains in the introduction to his edition of *Minḥāj al-ḥājj*, Hibat al-Dīn had seen a copy of the text in Yemen, but it was only in 1334/1915–16 that he himself obtained a copy of this work (as well as other works from Yemen) (\(\text{fig. 80}\)).

Figure 45. MS Lucknow, Nāṣiriyā Library (Masālik al-ābrār al-manẓūm min Jalāʿ al-abṣār).

copy of the Qurʾān with the ownership note of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh ʿAbbās b. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh, i.e., a member of the Qāsimī dynasty.
Figure 46. MS Najaf, Maktabat Muḥammad ʿAlī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī (title page of Ibn Abī l-Rijāl’s Maṭlaʿ al-budūr).
Figure 47. MS Najaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṭalḥa b. ‘Abd al-Dān Ṭalḥa b. ‘Abd al-Dān al-Maṣḥūṣ al-Qaṣīṣī (page from Ibn Abī l-Rijāl’s Maṭlaʿ al-budūr).
Figure 48. MS Najaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṭalḥa b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿAlī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī (page from Ibn Abī l-Rijāl’s Maṭlaʿ al-budūr).
Figure 49. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (title page of volume 1 of *Nasmat al-saḥar* by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī).
Figure 50. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (title page of volume 2 of Nasmat al-saḥor by Ḟiyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yāmani al-Ṣanʿānī).
Figure 51. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (beginning of volume 2 of Nasmat al-saḥor by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī al-Ṣanʿānī).
Figure 52. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshīf al-Ghīṭāʾ (title page of Aʾlām Nahj al-balāgha by Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakhsī, copied in Żafār and dated Ramaḍān 701/April–May 1302).
Figure 53. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshīf al-Ghiṭā (end of Aʿlām Nahj al-balāgha by Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakhsī, copied in Żafār and dated Ramaḍān 701/April–May 1302).
Figure 54. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā (end of Aḥam Nahj al-balāgha, by Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakhsī, copied in Ẓafār and dated Ramaḍān 701/April–May 1302, with final colophon).
Figure 55. MS Bombay, Kutubkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Muḥammadiyya-yi Jāmiʿ Masjid (title page of Shawāhid al-tanzīl by al-Ḥāfiẓ ’Ubayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī al-Nisābūrī).
Another example of a work that was accessible to Zaydi scholars in Yemen as well as to Imami scholars is *ʿAlām Nahj al-balāgha*, a commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha* written by al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakhsī (fl. late sixth/twelfth and early seventh/thirteenth centuries). Al-Sarakhsī’s students included a number of Zaydi, and one of them, Tāj al-Dīn Zayd (or Ahmad) b. Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī al-Baraqwānī al-Ḥājjī, brought both the *Nahj al-balāgha* and the *ʿAlām Nahj al-balāgha* to Yemen.98 The Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ in Najaf holds a copy of the *ʿAlām Nahj al-balāgha* dated Ramadān 701/April–May 1302 that was produced *fī l-mashhad al-mansūrī*, that is, Ẓafār (Dhiḥīn), where al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza lived and was buried100 (figs. 52, 53, 54). The copy, which was brought to Iraq at some stage, is now available in a facsimile edition prepared and introduced by al-Sayyid Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn al-Baghdādī. The copy, which was brought to Iraq at some stage, is now available in a facsimile edition prepared and introduced by al-Sayyid Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn al-Baghdādī. The copy, which was brought to Iraq at some stage, is now available in a facsimile edition prepared and introduced by al-Sayyid Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn al-Baghdādī.

Numerous Yemeni manuscripts are also found among the holdings of the Nāṣirīyya Library in Lucknow (India), in which Imami books are otherwise strongly represented. Besides some copies of works by Muʿtazili authors that are, directly or indirectly, of Yemeni origin,101 the library holds codices with writings by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436)102 and al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620).103 The Kutubkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Muḥammadiyya-yi Jāmī’ Maṣjid in Bombay owns a copy of *Shawāhid al-tanzīl il-qawāʾid il-taftil fī l-ayāt al-nāzila fī Ahl al-Bayt* by the Ḥanafi scholar al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hākim al-Ḥaskānī al-Nisābūrī (d. after 470/1077–78) (fig. 55), which circulated among the Zaydis of Yemen.104 The copy was transcribed by Ahmad b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, a member of the Qāsimī dynasty of Yemen, for his own use and is dated 12 Rabī’ I 1169/16 December 1755. In the final colophon, the scribe identifies his antigraph as a copy of the work in the Taymūr collection in Cairo.105

98 See Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, chapter 9 and passim.
100 Qāḍī Jaʿfar b. Ahmad al-Buhālūlī al-ʿUṣūlī al-Muʿtazī, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-ṣāḥib b. Abbād*, which is based on two witnesses, one held in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan and the other in the Taymūr collection in Cairo.
101 See above, n. 18.
104 See Ansari and Schmidtke, Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions, passim.
beginning of this introduction) (fig. 56). The copy contains no information that would explain how it got to Bombay. It is possible that Ṭayyibis leaving Yemen for Bombay took with them some manuscripts produced among the Zaydis.104a


Columbia University Library owns a copy of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kaṭāmī’s (alive in 898/1492–93) Junnat al-amān al-vaqīya wa-jannat al-imān al-baqiya, known as al-Misbāḥ (MS Or. 122), copied by Muhammad Ḥādī b. Mīrzā Ḥarāb five years after his return from the ḥajj to Iran (fig. 62). The codex came at some stage to Yemen as it was kept in the library of Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ṣan’ašīr al-Ḡāṣīm b. Muḥammad, i.e., a descendant of the founder of the Qāsimī dynasty, al-Ṣan’ašīr al-Ḡāṣīm (d. 1029/1620) (fig. 61). The book’s transfer from Iran to Yemen may have occurred in the context of the political and scholarly contacts between Safavid Iran and Qāsimī Yemen. The titlepage also has a stamp in Persian, suggesting that the codex was returned at some stage to Iran where it was kept in a public library or one of the major private libraries. When and why it became part of the collection of David Eugene Smith (1860–1944) who later donated it to Columbia University Library is unknown.107a

MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 113 is a copy of a

104a For copies of Yemeni manuscripts in Indian libraries, see also Sayyid, Sources de l’histoire du Yémen, passim.
106 For a detailed description of the codex and its history (until the early twentieth century it was still in Iran), see Hassan Ansari, “Atharī māndagār az yik dānishmand-i nāshinākhta-yi imāmī madḥhab,” Kitāb-i māh-i din 47–48 (1380sh/2001), pp. 3–6.
existence of this manuscript to our attention. That the transmission of Imami books from Iran to Yemen continued beyond the Safavid period is suggested by a Yemeni copy of al-Šaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya compiled by Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. ‘Ali al-Hurr al-‘Āmilī (d. 1104/1693) that is kept in one of the private libraries of Yemen (figs. 70, 71). The work was edited on the basis of witnesses from Iranian libraries only (ed. Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm, Qum: Muʾassasat al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Šiʿa ʿalā ahl al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1693) has been preserved in the transmission of the Yemeni Zaydi Qādī Shams al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī. The Iranian scholar Muḥammad al-‘Āfī al-Khurāsānī recently published a critical edition and study of the text on the basis of a manuscript held in a private library in Yemen (fig. 83).

commentary (ḥāshiya) on Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd al-Thānī’s (d. 1011/1602–3) Maʿālim al-dīn wa-malāḥīdh al-mujtahīdīn by the prominent seventeenth-century Iranian scholar Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Māzandarānī (d. 1081/1671). The manuscript, which is dated 1086/1675–75 (and thus one of the earliest extant copies of the text; fig. 64), was evidently not produced in Yemen, but some of the ownership statements on the opening page (fig. 63) confirm that it got to Yemen at some point.107 An interesting case is that of al-Ṭarāʾīfī fi maʿrifat madhāḥib al-tawāʾif by ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭawūs (d. 664/1266), a polemical anti-Sunni book that Ibn Tawūs published under a pseudonym, ‘Abd al-Mahmūd b. Dāwūd. Unaware of Ibn Tawūs’s authorship, the book circulated among the Zaydis in Yemen under the title Nuṣrat al-Shīʿa al-ʿālāʾ al-madhāḥib al-shaniḍa.108 Moreover, the Šaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya by Imam Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjādī (d. 975/1563–4) is also preserved in Yemen, with the same chain of transmission as that found in the copies that circulated among the Imamis (figs. 75, 76).109 And a collection of aḥādīth of Imam ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib that was transmitted by the renowned Imami muḥaddith and imām zāda ‘Abd al-‘Azīm b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥasāni (d. 252/866) has been preserved in the transmission of the Yemeni Zaydi Qādī Shams al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī. The manuscript, which is dated 1145/1733 and transcribed by a Yemeni, Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAffī al-Dīn Yūnisī in Qum, introd. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm, Qum: Dār al-Maʿārif al-Islāmiyya, 1421/2000-1).108 For a copy of the work under the title Nuṣrat al-Shīʿa al-ʿālāʾ al-madhāḥib al-shaniḍa in the Maktabat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ijīrī in Dahyan (fig. 74), see al-Wajih, Alām, vol. 1, p. 307. A photocopy surrogate of the codex is kept in the Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Hādī in Dahyan; see al-Wajih, Alām, vol. 1, p. 475. For the Ṭarāʾīfī, see Hassan Ansari, “Ṭarāʾīfī-i Ibn Tawūs wa raddiya-yi bar ān,” Barrasi-hā-yi tārikhi, http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1234 (accessed 21 January 2022); Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work, pp. 57–59 no. 51.


INTRODUCTION

Figure 56. MS Bombay, Kutubkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Muḥammadiyya-yi Jāmiʿ Masjid (final colophon of Shawāhid al-tanzīl by al-Ḥāfiẓ ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Ḥaskānī al-Nīsābūrī).
Figure 57. MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf 23
(title page of K. al-Tībyān by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī).
Figure 58. MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf 23 (end and final colophon of K. al-Tībyān by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī).
Figure 59. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 1350 (title page of Talkhiṣ al-marām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām by al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī).
Figure 60. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 1350 (end and final colophon of Talkhīṣ al-marām fī maʿrifat al-ḥkām by al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī).
Figure 61. Ms. New York, Columbia University Library, Or. 122, title page.
Figure 62. Ms. New York, Columbia University Library, Or. 122, colophon.
Figure 63. Ms. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 113, opening page.
Figure 64. Ms. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 113, colophon.
Figure 65. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awkāf 547
Figure 66. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmīʿ al-kabīr, 2090 (al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjadiyya, titlepage).
Figure 67. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr, 2090 (al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya, beginning of text).
Figure 68. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr, 2090 (al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya, end of text).
Figure 69. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr, 2090 (al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya, colophon).
Figure 70. MS kept in a private library in Yemen
(al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya al-thāniya, by al-Ḥurr al-ʿAmili)
Figure 71. MS kept in a private library in Yemen (al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya al-thāniya, by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmīlī).
Figure 72. MS Tehran, Dānishgāh 1437 (title page of al-Ṣāḥib b. 'Abbād’s *Risāla fi l-hidāya wa-l-ḍalāla*, allegedly written during the author’s lifetime).
Figure 73. MS Tehran, Dānishgāh 1437 (end of al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād’s Risāla fi l-hidāya wa-l-ḍalāla, allegedly with al-Ṣāhib’s own handwriting).
Figure 74. MS Ǧahyān, Maktabat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿIjrī [no shelfmark] (title page of Nuṣrat al-Shīʿaʿ ala ahl al-madhāhib al-shanīʿa by ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd b. Dāwūd, i.e., al-Ṭarāʾif fi maʿrifat madhāhib al-ṭawāʾif by ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭawūs).

Figure 75. MS private library in Yemen (IZbACF) (al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya, title page).
Figure 76. MS private library in Yemen (IZbACF) (al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya, beginning of text).

Figure 77. MS Shahāra, Maktubat al-Jāmiʿ [no shelfmark] (title page of K. al-Tahrish by Ḍirār b. Amr).
Figure 78. MS Shahāra, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿ [no shelfmark] (end of K. al-Tahrīsh by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr).

Figure 79. Title page of Zayd b. ʿĀlī, Minhāj al-ḥājj, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī, Baghdad: ʿAlā nafaqat Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zanjānī, 1342 [1923–24].
Figure 80. Editor’s introduction (pp. 2–3) of Zayd b. ʿAlī, Minhāj al-ḥājj, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī, Baghdad: ʿAlā nafaqat Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zanjānī, 1342 [1923–24].

Figure 81. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 711 (title page of K. al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-ʿUjlālī al-ʿUṣūlī).
Figure 82. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Aqwāf 711 (beginning of text of *K. al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn*, by Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-ʿUjālī al-Uṣūlī).
Figure 83. MS Yemen, private library (surrogate provided by the IZbACF) (beginning of a ḥadīth collection, *Aḥādīth Amīr al-Muʿminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib*).
Figure 84. MS Leiden, Leiden University Library OR 487 (title page of K. al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Ṣā‘īd b. Aḥmad al-ʿUjālī al-Uṣūlī).
Figure 85. MS Leiden, Leiden University Library OR 487
Since the final decades of the twentieth century, Iranian scholars and institutions have been engaged in methodological study of Yemeni manuscript culture. Prompted by the occasional entries on works by Zaydi authors in Āghā Buzurg’s *al-Dhari‘a ilā taṣānīf al-Shī‘a*, Āhmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī developed a plan to compile an inventory of the entirety of Zaydi literature, and in 1977 he traveled to Yemen for an initial short visit for this purpose. Upon returning to Qum, he began compiling the inventory on the basis of all the reference works that were available to him. Sometime before 1992, he paid another, more extended visit to Yemen, where he explored libraries in Sanaa, Sa‘da, Dahyan, Baqim, and Hijrat al-Sirr. He returned to Qum with numerous photocopied manuscripts from those places, and these are nowadays kept in the Mar‘ashī Library in Qum. Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī’s efforts resulted in a three-volume publication, *Mu‘allaftāt al-Zaydiyya*, which came out in 1413/1992. The publication lists 3,346 individual titles, each entry consisting of a brief description, information about printed editions and, occasionally, a record of manuscript copies. Although *Mu‘allaftāt al-Zaydiyya* is largely outdated by now, its publication constituted a major advance in the study of Zaydism at the time. In 1992, the Iranian scholar Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥujjatī spent the month of July in Sanaa, where he visited both the Maktabat al-Awqāf and the Maktaba al-Gharbiyya (i.e., Dār al-Makhtūṭāt). On the basis of the catalogues and the codices he consulted here, he prepared a list of manuscripts that were most important in his view and should be microfilmed. However, he never managed to return to Yemen to have the microfilms prepared. During the early 1990s, various Zaydi scholars from Yemen, including ʿAbd al-Karīm Jadbān (1965–2013), visited Iran and brought along surrogates of some 200 Yemeni codices, which they gave to Hassan Ansari. The corpus consisted primarily of works on *kalām* and *fiqh*. Ansari, in turn, donated the material to the library of the Dā‘īrat al-Ma‘ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī in Tehran, where it remains today. Before 1999, a delegation of scholars from Mashhad, including Kāẓim Muḍīr...
Shāna-chī, who was a professor at Mashhad University, went to Sanaa twice. The delegation visited the Maktabat al-Aqwaf and selected codices they wished to have scanned. In 1999, Muḥammad Wafādār Murādī traveled to Sanaa on behalf of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library. He spent several months in the city and prepared microfilms of around 200 codices in the Maktabat al-Aqwaf, chosen on the basis of the list prepared by Kāẓim Muḍīr Shāna-chī and his colleagues, as well as of selected codices held by private libraries in Yemen. The microfilm collection he brought back to Mashhad is nowadays housed in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library.\(^{113}\) In 2001 and 2002, the Markaz-i Asnād wa Tārīkh-i Dīplumāsī, which belongs to the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sponsored three extended scholarly expeditions of Iranian scholars, including Hassan Ansari, to Yemen (to Sanaa, Sa’da, and Tarim in Ḥadramawt). The Iranian delegation brought back duplicates of all the microfilms that had been prepared by the various earlier Egyptian and Kuwaiti expeditions, as well as those that had been produced by the Dār al-Makhtūṭāt in Sanaa over time. The members of the delegation were also granted permission to go through the holdings of the Maktabat al-Aqwaf and the Dār al-Makhtūṭāt and microfilm any codex they deemed worthwhile, and their selections amounted to several hundred codices. Moreover, they visited a number of private libraries and made paper photocopies of selected codices, and they made arrangements to have some 2,000 privately held manuscripts scanned, a task that was completed over several years.\(^{114}\) Copies of these were also given to the Mu’assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Ṭhaqāfiyya (Imam Zayd bin Ali Cultural Foundation, IZbACF). During one of these trips, Hassan Ansari discovered a precious codex in the library of the Shahāra mosque that had been copied around 540/1145 and contained several texts in- cluding Dirār b. ‘Amr’s (d. ca. 200/815) K. al-Taḥrīsh (figs. 77, 78) and Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbāṭi’s (d. 303/915) K. al-Maqālāt. It was Ansari who identified the two works, and he subsequently published on them on various occasions.\(^{115}\) Upon returning to Tehran, Ansari also prepared

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a detailed description of every codex in the Wafādār Murādī collection as well as of all of the photocopied manuscripts that were brought back from Yemen. The majority of those photocopied codices were printed out and bound individually, accompanied by Ansari’s description at the beginning of each codex.116 By the end of 2002, several sets of the entire collection of close to 500 codices had been produced and made accessible in all major Iranian libraries, including the Majlis Library and the library of the Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī in Tehran, the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mashhad, and the Mar‘ashi Library in Qum. At the time, this collection, also known as the “Ṭāwūs-i Yamānī Series,” constituted one of the largest consolidated collections of Yemeni manuscript surrogates worldwide.117 The 2001/2 expedition also led to the publication (in 2001) of a catalog, Ṭawwūs-i Yamānī: Fihrist-i mikrūfilm-hā-yi majmūʿa-yi Dār al-makhṭūṭāt-i Ṣanʿā’.118 While this volume is unrelated to the aforementioned “Ṭawwūs-i Yamānī Series,” it includes entries on all manuscripts in Yemeni libraries that had been microfilmed by the Egyptian and Kuwaiti expeditions as well as the Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt. It was prepared on the basis of duplicates of the microfilms that the Yemeni authorities had provided to the Iranian delegation. Finally, the

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117 That the collection was also accessible for non-Iranian scholars was experienced by Sabine Schmidtke, who consulted the “Ṭawwūs-i Yamānī Series” in 2002 during a visit to the Majlis library. She was also provided with digital images of some of the microfilms held by the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library as a result of Wafādār Murādī’s expedition to Sanaa.
Iranian delegation brought back to Tehran the raw material for a new catalog of the holdings of the Dār al-Makhtūṭāt/al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya in Sanaa and of the Maktabat al-Aḥqāf in Tarim, and these catalogs were prepared for publication in collaboration with the Maʿrashi Library in Qum.\(^{[119]}\)

In 2004, UNESCO launched a project aimed at supporting documentation and conservation of the manuscript holdings of the Dār al-Makhtūṭāt.\(^{[120]}\) The various digitization efforts supported by the German Foreign Office (“Preserving Yemen’s Cultural Heritage: The Yemen Manuscript Digitization Project” [YMDP], 2010)\(^{[121]}\) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in conjunction with the National Endowment for the Humanities and the IZbACF (“The Yemen Manuscript Digitization Initiative” [YMDI], 2010 through 2013)\(^{[122]}\) were also aimed at digitizing selected private collections. The manuscripts filmed within the framework of the YMDP are now accessible through HMML’s virtual reading room.\(^{[123]}\) The manuscripts filmed under the aegis of the YMDI are accessible through Princeton University Library.\(^{[124]}\) The most recent initiative to provide open access to the Zaydi manuscript tradition for scholars worldwide is “The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition (ZMT): A Digital Portal” (curated by Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke), a joint project initiated

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in 2017 by the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, NJ, in partnership with the HMML and funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Charles & Lisa Simonyi Fund for Arts and Sciences, the Gerard B. Lambert Foundation, the Middle East Center at the University of Pennsylvania, the Ruth Stanton Foundation, and Sherwin Seligsohn. The initiative consists of two components: a digital portal, which is hosted on the website of the Institute for Advanced Study,125 and HMML’s virtual reading room, vHMML, which serves as a repository of digital surrogates of manuscript codices.126 The purpose of the ZMT is threefold. Through its digital portal, it serves as a comprehensive research guide to relevant collections of Zaydi manuscripts, providing precise information on the location of each collection with a full list of its holdings and the relevant bibliography for every single codex. Each entry in the portal is linked to a corresponding entry in the vHMML. Each manuscript thus has a permanent link and a stable HMML Project Number—a unique identifier that is particularly important for the holdings of private libraries, which as a rule do not have shelf marks. In the second phase of the project, full metadata are being produced for the manuscripts included in the project using the vHMML’s cataloging tools. These measures will also effectively democratize access to the Zaydi manuscript tradition, which is expected to result in an upsurge in this important field of study. For the first time, scholars in Yemen will have unlimited access to their own intellectual, cultural, and religious heritage as reflected in the Zaydi manuscripts preserved in Europe, North America, and other Middle Eastern countries through a single consolidated platform.127

Of the various nongovernmental organizations currently digitizing holdings of private libraries within Yemen, the IZbACF has been the most active since around 2000.128 In November 2021, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, within its Funding Initiative Patrimonies, awarded IZbACF another grant to capture the holdings of some of the private libraries in Kawkabān.129 Most of the digital surrogates that have been produced by the IZbACF over the past two decades are today available, through open access, on a website sponsored by the Omani Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs.130 However, although the open

125 See www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi_manuscript_tradition (accessed 9 December 2021).
127 For the continuously growing list of collections included in the project, see https://projects.ias.edu/zmt/ (accessed 10 December 2021). The digital divide between Yemen and the rest of the world will hopefully shrink over the coming years to allow uninhibited access to the digitized material. For the current situation and possibilities to improve it, see A. N. Nosary and G. M. Al-Asadi, “Bridging the Digital Divide in Yemen,” 2021 1st International Conference on Emerging Smart Technologies and Applications (eSmarTA), 2021, pp. 1–8, doi: 10.1109/eSmarT-A52612.2021.9515744.
128 Over the past two decades, the IZbACF, as well as other nongovernmental institutions in Yemen such as Markaz Badr al-ʿIlmi, which was founded by al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥatwarī (1373–1436/1954–2015), have also been actively engaged in preparing editions of works by Zaydi authors. For the Markaz Badr and its founder, see also Gabriele vom Bruck’s contribution to this volume.
access it provides is commendable, the website offers no useful search functions and allows only online viewing. The inbuilt viewer is very basic and permits only limited magnification, and browsing can only be done page by page. The viewer offers the option of having a table of contents as a sidebar when viewing a manuscript, but this function did not work in practice—when we consulted the site, the sidebar remained blank. The site does not comply with current technical standards, such as the International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF) standard, and it is thus a stand-alone product that is not interoperable with any other digital repository containing related material. The metadata for the thousands of codices are rudimentary at best, especially in the case of multitext volumes, which represent the majority of the material. Moreover, there is no record for any of the surrogates about the whereabouts of the physical codices, which makes it hard to refer to the individual codices properly or to get a sense of the holdings of the many individual private libraries in Yemen. The shelf mark system (ZA 001 through 695, as of 26 November 2021) does not correspond to the numbering of the CDs containing digital surrogates of Yemeni manuscripts that have been produced and disseminated by the IZbACF since the 2000s.

The history and holdings of the many private libraries throughout Yemen therefore remain largely undocumented, and their current situation is in most cases uncertain. The Qāʾima bi-l-makhtūtāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muṣawwara bi-mikrūfilm min al-Jumhūriyya al-ʿarabiyya al-yamaniyya, prepared by members of the second Egyptian expedition to Yemen in 1964, remains vague about the ownership of some of the microfilmed manuscripts, with statements such as “fi milk aḥad ʿulamāʾ Ṣanʿāʾ,”131 “muṣawwar ʿan nuskha fi milk aḥad ʿulamāʾ Ṣanʿāʾ,”132 and “al-kutub al-muṣādarā bi-madīnat Taʿizz.”133 Similar observations can be made of the many Yemeni manuscript surrogates that are held by the Marʿashi Library in Qum and other Iranian libraries.134 Only a fraction of the smaller libraries of Yemen have been cataloged systematically thus far, and the few available catalogs seem to cover only portions of these libraries’ holdings. Important contributions in this regard have been made by two Yemeni scholars. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshi published handlists of the holdings of various private libraries during the 1970s and brought these

131 Qāʾima, pp. 9–10 no. 86.
132 Qāʾima, p. 18 no. 163.
133 Qāʾima, pp. 1 no. 2, 7 no. 59, 12 no. 107, 14 no. 133, 17 nos. 154–155, 18 no. 159, 19 no. 169, 22 nos. 194 and 196, 24 no. 217, 28 no. 252, 32 nos. 283 and 286, 33 no. 296, 38 no. 326, 39 no. 338, 46 no. 388, 51 no. 429, 52 no. 439, 53 nos. 444 and 452, 56 no. 461.
Introduction

handlists together in a volume published in 1994.\textsuperscript{135} ‘Abd al-Salām al-Wajih (b. 1957) published a two-volume catalog describing the holdings of thirty-nine private libraries in Yemen in 2002.\textsuperscript{136} Al-Wajih has announced additional volumes, but these have not yet materialized. Additional materials are included, however, in the second revised and enlarged edition of al-Wajih’s \textit{Alām al-mu‘allifīn al-Zaydiyya}.\textsuperscript{137} Moreover, as mentioned earlier, handlists for individual private collections have also been produced by Āḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, ‘Abd Allāh Ḥamūd Dirham al-‘Īzzī, and others.\textsuperscript{138}

Additional factors complicate efforts to obtain precise information on the holdings of private libraries. Family libraries change ownership from generation to generation and are often divided among the heirs. It is frequently unclear whether a library mentioned in earlier literature still exists, and if it does, under whose ownership.\textsuperscript{139} Moreover, for centuries manuscripts have been a commodity in Yemen. Analyzing the ownership statements in the codices of the Munich Caprotti collection, Florian Sobieroj has remarked on the frequency with which the manuscripts changed hands,\textsuperscript{140} and the quantity and quality of Yemeni manuscripts that have been traded between the end of the nineteenth century and today show that manuscripts continue to be goods in high demand. In the meantime, reports of incidents of severe damage, systematic destruction, looting of libraries, and illicit trade in manuscripts abound.\textsuperscript{141} This is all the more deplorable since the Zaydis of Yemen have preserved for centuries not only their own Zaydi-Shi‘i tradition but also the heritage of non-Zaydi strands, especially the intellectual heritage of Mu’tazilism. It cannot be denied that an anti-Shi‘i and anti-rational bias plays an important role in making Yemen’s cultural heritage a target. According to a Qatari scholar, who prefers to remain anonymous, “Yemen is


\textsuperscript{140} Florian Sobieroj, \textit{Arabische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften}, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007, p. xxiii.

now one of the main sources for looting of artifacts, including ancient manuscripts, in the region as a result of the ongoing war in the country.¹⁴²

The many advances in the study of the Yemeni Zaydi manuscript tradition over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries¹⁴³ have given rise to a vibrant international community of scholars who are engaged in various aspects of Zaydi studies, a trend that promises continued growth. What is still needed for the manuscripts themselves are detailed and reliable catalogs of the holdings of all private libraries in Yemen as well as of the various pertinent collections outside of Yemen. Important collections that have so far not been cataloged include the Glaser collection in the Austrian National Library, the Dubbiosi collection in Rome, and the Sarnelli collection in Rome and Naples, as well as some collections of Yemeni manuscripts in the libraries of Saudi Arabia. In addition, the collections of Yemeni manuscripts in Europe, the Middle East, and Turkey that have been cataloged in the past need to be reinvestigated carefully with the aim of producing new and better catalogs—the earlier catalogs (some of which date back to the nineteenth century) contain numerous errors and misidentifications,¹⁴³ᵃ and no attention has been paid to the rich historical paratextual materials found in the individual codices.¹⁴³ᵇ In the years 2008–2013, within the framework of the European Research Council (ERC) Advanced Research Grant “Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam” (directed by Schmidtke), Ansari visited the relevant libraries in Istanbul, Leiden, London, Milan, Munich, Paris, Vienna, and, of course, Berlin (where the project was based) repeatedly and for extended periods of time in order to pre-


¹⁴³ᵇ See, for example, Christoph Rauch, “Place Names in Colophons and Notes of Yemeni Manuscripts,” Journal of Islamic Manuscripts 13 (2022), pp. 81-166, who shows that Wilhelm Ahlwardt, for example, mentioned the place of transcription for only a fraction of the Yemeni codices of the Berlin Glaser collection.
pare full descriptions of the material. Some of his findings have already been published; others have not, for the time being. Moreover, the catalogs of the two major public libraries in Sanaa, Maktabat al-Aqwāf and Dār al-Makhtūtāt, need to be replaced by more detailed, reliable, and comprehensive catalogs of their respective holdings. The continuing efforts to digitize manuscript collections in Yemen and beyond are commendable and will certainly help generate even more scholarly interest in Zaydisim, which, in turn, will facilitate the task of producing new catalogs. Furthermore, comprehensive and detailed catalogs, especially of libraries within Yemen, would serve as an indispensable and effective tool in combating illicit trafficking of manuscripts.

A further important step will be the production of reliable critical editions of the literary products of Zaydi authors, as well as of works by non-Zaydi scholars that are preserved primarily or even exclusively in Yemeni manuscripts. The task at hand is enormous. Its challenges are compounded by the unprofessional practices that can occasionally be observed in the use of manuscripts; some of these have been discussed in the course of this study.145 Moreover, the growing tendency to re-“edit” works that have already been published in reli-


able critical editions without any valid scientific justification—such as the discovery of additional witnesses or the uncritical approach taken by earlier scholars to the material—should be curtailed and the focus should rather be on the countless as yet unpublished works. Such re-“editions” include, for example, Husām Khaḍūr’s 2019 publication of the Ismā‘īlī commentary * Mizāj al-tasnīm* by Diyyā’ al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. Hibat Allāh al-Ismā‘īlī al-Sulaymānī (d. 1173/1760), which is essentially a reproduction of Rudolf Strothmann’s edition of the work, which Strothmann prepared on the basis of a unique copy preserved in the Caprotti collection in Milan (MS Milan, Ambrosiana, Nuovo Fondo, ar. H 7) and published in four instalments between 1944 and 1955; the announced publication of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ’s *al-Mu’āththurāt wa-miftāh al-mushkilāt* by the aforementioned (see above, n. 8) Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, an *editio princeps* of which was published by Jan Thiele in 2011; and the recent publication of Ibn Sharwīn’s *Ḥaqāʾiq al-āshiyāʾ* by A. İskender Sarica and Serkan Çetin, following a 2012 *editio princeps* of the text by the present writers included as an appendix to a study on Ibn Sharwīn and prepared on the basis of a unique problematic witness of the text that is preserved in the Maktabat al-Aqwāf in Sanaa (MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Aqwāf 589, fols. 1v–4r). Although Sarica and Çetin’s edition improves

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our earlier edition in a few instances,\(^{152}\) their work is problematic in other respects.\(^{153}\) Faysal Budayr ’Awn’s publication of Ibn al-Malāḥimi’s \textit{K. al-Fā’iq fī uṣūl al-dīn}, which appeared in

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\(^{152}\) E.g., ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 824 line 23 (بالتعميم) rather than in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 57 line 15. Ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 825 line 21 (توحيد) rather than in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 57 line 22. Ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 829 line 22 rather than in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 61 line 8. Occasionally Sarica and Çetin also corrected small typos, as in ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 831 line 15 (الآمر) rather than ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 62 line 17 (الآمر); however, Sarica and Çetin fail to mention that the manuscript also has (الآمر), apparently with a correction above the line. Another typo on our part which they point out (ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 829 line 9), is ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 60 line 28 (ما) which should be (ما), as we correctly have on p. 60 line 29 (ما). Since Sarica and Çetin add a Turkish translation to their publication of the text, the more elegant and efficient solution for the few emendations they propose would have been to mention them in the annotation to their translation.

\(^{153}\) Besides technical aspects such as the lack of numbering of the lemmata, which would have facilitated citation, and the lack of references for the poetry in the text (they are provided in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, nn. 77, 78, 101), the frequent absence of references to corrections in the manuscript itself is deplorable. The copyist had evidently collated his copy of the text either with his antigraph or, perhaps more likely, with another witness, as is attested in the regular marginal and interlinear corrections. Whereas these are regularly adduced in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, only some are included in ed. Sarica and Çetin; not mentioned in ed. Sarica and Çetin are the cases indicated in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke in nn. 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 103, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 114, 115. A number of emendations proposed by Sarica and Çetin to ed. Ansari and Schmidtke are wrong or superfluous. This includes their regular correction of our (البغداذيون/البغداذيون) to (البغداذيون/البغداذيون). Since Baghdad is the more ancient form of Baghdād that is regularly used in early Mu’tazili and Zaydi manuscripts, our reading is correct. A further example is ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 829 line 7 rather than ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 60 line 25 (ما), where our reading is again correct. Another example is ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 832 line 5-6 (شيئنا أبي على وأي) (حيثية ودحة النحث ودحة النحث) whereas ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 57 line 11 reads (وحة النحث ودحة النحث) or (وحة النحث ودحة النحث) with a correction above the line, which is ambiguous. Whereas ed. Ansari and Schmidtke describes the manuscript evidence fairly accurately in n. 73, ed. Sarica and Çetin only mention, inaccurately, the reading of ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, without specification what the manuscript actually contains. Similarly unhelpful are Sarica and Çetin’s emendations of cases such as \textit{bi-ḥuşūlihi} (ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 57), since our reading \textit{li-ḥuşūlihā} is correct. Ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 827 line 14 has (沃尔ج هذا الحكم هو المعقول) Sarica and Çetin fail to mention that ed. Ansari and Schmidtke does not have \textit{huwa} in this passage—indeed, in the manuscript \textit{al-hukm} is followed by (ما) (الإبن), which is crossed out. The copyist clearly made a mistake when he wanted to write \textit{al-ma’qūl}, so he crossed out his error and followed it by the correct term. In numerous other cases, their and our suggested readings are equally plausible. Perhaps the most striking examples of Sarica and Çetin’s misunderstanding of ed. Ansari and Schmidtke are ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 51 (كما) (واب بالعديد) referring to an editorial comment by Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 58 line 16 at the end of a sentence that is evidently incomplete (فله هذا الذات وله تعالى) and ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 833 line 21 (كما) (كما) which reflects not the manuscript but rather a misunderstanding of ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 64 line 2 (كما) (كما) where we attempt to make sense of another unclear passage in the text. The manuscript here has an illegible word that has been crossed out and replaced above the line by \textit{ma’}. Since \textit{ma’} makes no sense but is clearly visible, we included the word \textit{ma’} in our edition, signaling within brackets that we doubted the correctness of the word, and suggesting instead \textit{mithl}. There are numerous other examples of inaccuracies and misunderstandings in Sarica and Çetin’s edition, but the examples given should be enough to alert future readers that their edition by no means constitutes an improvement over ours.
2010, three years after the publication of Wilferd Madelung’s and Martin McDermott’s *editio princeps* of the book on the basis of all three witnesses of the work that are held by the Maktabat al-Aqwāf in Sanaa, is a different case, since each edition was apparently prepared without the editors’ knowledge of the ongoing parallel project. Moreover, ‘Awn, who sojourned in Yemen during the years 1986 and 1988, when he taught at the Department of Philosophy at Sanaa University, had access to only two of the three copies consulted by Madelung and McDermott. Imām Ḥanāfī Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, who published an edition of the *K. al-Baḥth ‘an adillat al-takfīr wa-l-tafsīq* by the Zaydi scholar Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī (fl. late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh centuries) in 2006, two years after the publication of an *editio princeps* of the book prepared by Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke, was apparently also unaware of the latter editorial project. Whereas Madelung and Schmidtke consulted the two extant witnesses of the text: the Landberg manuscript that is split between Berlin and Leiden, and another copy of the work in the Maktabat al-Aqwāf in Sanaa, ‘Abd Allāh used only the Sanaa copy, which he considered the only extant witness of al-Bustī’s work. Such practices of re-“editing” with no scholarly need or justification (or worse, such as in the case of Khāḍūr), the lack of coordination among scholars, and the overall limited prestige of critical editions in Western academic institutions, are detrimental to the progress of scholarship, as scholars are increasingly hesitant to embark on the laborious work of preparing critical editions of hitherto unpublished materials. But this is precisely what is needed.

The contributions brought together in this volume address a wide spectrum of aspects of Yemeni manuscript cultures, with special emphasis on the Zaydi tradition. Part

155 Tehran: Institute for Islamic Philosophy, 2007. Madelung and McDermott consulted MSS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Aqwāf 557, 558, and 559, which they cited according to the old shelfmark system as MSS Sanaa, al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya ‘ilm al-kalām 53, 189, and 55. ‘Awn consulted only MSS Maktabat al-Aqwāf 556 (= ‘ilm al-kalām 189) and 559 (= ‘ilm al-kalām 55). This can be deduced from his description of the two copies in the introduction to his edition, although he refrains from mentioning their shelfmarks.
156 Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabiyya.
158 Another deplorable example is the regular exact reprints of H.S. Nyberg’s edition of al-Khayyāṭ’s *K. al-Intiṣār* that omit the name of the editor.
160 Yemen is also important for the Ismāʿīlī Ṭayyibī manuscript tradition, which is not discussed in this volume. See Ismail K. Poonawala, “Ismāʿīl Manuscripts from Yemen,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 5 (2014), pp. 1–25;
Part 1 focuses on manuscripts and libraries within Yemen. It opens with Gabriele vom Bruck’s anthropological study of the significance of private book collections for Yemenis during the recent periods of turmoil and war, drawing primarily on interviews with owners of private libraries and their descendants. Brinkley Messick analyses the foundation of the Khizâna al-Mutawakkiliyya in 1925 as a point of convergence of traditional scholarship, on the one hand, and Ottoman institutional patterns, on the other. Zayd al-Wazîr unravels the history of the Āl al-Wazîr since the sixth/twelfth century with special attention to the fate of the family’s important library. Anne Regourd offers a detailed account of the history of patrimonial institutions in Yemen from the foundation of the General Organization for Antiquities and Libraries in 1969 until 2020. Part 1 concludes with a case study by Daniel Varisco of Nūr al-maʿārif fi nuzum wa-qawānîn wa-ʾaʿrāf al-Yaman fi l-ʾaḥd al-Muẓaffar al-wârîf, a unique register of court archives from the reign of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yusuf that is a valuable source on the history of Yemen and the Red Sea/Indian Ocean trading network at the close of the seventh/thirteenth century.

Part 2 includes studies on selected collections of Yemeni manuscripts in Europe and Saudi Arabia. In their study of ʿAbd Allâh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsî al-Madḥîjî (d. 667/1269), a towering Zaydi scholar of seventh/thirteenth-century Yemen, Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke illustrate the importance of Yemeni manuscript collections in European libraries and the significance of the digital repatriation of this heritage, as well as the at times precarious situation of private manuscript collections in Yemen during the second half of the twentieth century and beyond. Stefanie Brinkmann analyzes the fate of MS Glaser. Cod. Glaser 30, which is part of the Vienna Glaser collection. The codex contains a copy of al-Bukhârî’s al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥîḥ that was produced in Timurid Iran and was held for several centuries in the possession of descendants of Imam al-Mutawakkil Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyâ (d. 965/1558). Christoph Rauch discusses manuscripts of Yemeni provenance in the Berlin State Library acquired both before and after the purchase of the two Glaser collections (until the early twenty-first century); some of these manuscripts are dispersed in collections other than Glaser, such as the Landberg and Burchardt collections, and are thus less well known. Valentina Sagaria Rossi tracks the presence of Italian travelers, traders, and physicians in Yemen since the mid-nineteenth century and uncovers their motives and methods in collecting Islamic manuscripts. She pays particular attention to Giuseppe Caprotti’s relations with Eugenio Griffini and the latter’s role in the fate of the Caprotti collection. Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk trace the origins of Zaydi manuscripts in the Leiden collections to the Tihâma and the highlands of Yemen and explore the notion of a “Yemeni manuscript” by considering the physical characteristics that define a manuscript as “Yemeni.” Finally, Bernard Haykel discusses Yemeni manuscripts in the libraries of Saudi Arabia, focusing on the collection of manuscripts assembled by the late Saudi merchant, civil servant, and diplomat Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUbaykân.