



## The History of Zaydī Studies An Introduction\*

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As a result of the geographical isolation of Yemen, the scholarly exploration of its political and intellectual history and of its rich manuscript holdings started later than was the case in most other parts of the Islamic world. This holds true in particular for Zaydism whose literary legacy has been preserved nearly exclusively in Yemen where the movement was continually present since al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (245-298/859-911) had founded a Zaydī imamate in the northern highlands of Yemen with Ṣaʿda as capital.<sup>1</sup> Its political and intellectual history has been recorded in a variety of sources, most importantly the extensive *sīra* literature.<sup>2</sup> Another important early source on Zaydī rulers, *sayyids* and scholars of Yemen is Abū l-Ġamr Musallam b. Muḥammad b. Ġaʿfar al-Lahġī's (alive in 544/1149) *Aḥbār al-zaydiyya bi-l-Yaman*.<sup>3</sup> It was only during the second half of the 17th century CE that

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<sup>1</sup> By contrast, the literary legacy of the two other main strands of Yemeni intellectual history, Šāfiʿite Sunnism (with Zabīd as their main centre) and Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism during the Ṣulayḥīd and post-Ṣulayḥīd periods, was not exclusively preserved in Yemen. The manuscript treasures of Zabīd's private libraries are currently the object of a large restoration and cataloguing project lead by Anne Regourd, see <http://www.anne.regourd.org/programme-zabid> [accessed 17/11/2011] (with further references). For some of the Ismāʿīli manuscripts from Yemen, most of which were transferred to India at an early stage, see François de Blois, *Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts: The Hamdani Collection*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2011; cf. also Ḥasan Anṣārī, "Guzārīšī az nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Yaman", *Ayana-yi mirāt*, 3/4 (1377-78/1998-99), p. 105-11.

<sup>2</sup> See Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The literary-religious tradition among 7th/13th century Yemeni Zaydīs: The formation of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258)", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 2 (2011), p. 165-222.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Sīra of Imām Ahmad b. Yaḥyā Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh from Musallam al-Lahġī's Kitāb Akhbār Al-Zaydiyya bi-l-Yaman*, ed. Wilferd Madelung, Exeter, Ithaca Press, 1990, containing the only published part of this comprehensive *ṭabaqāt* work edited on the basis of a manuscript

comprehensive biographical works were compiled collecting all known information on the earlier Zaydī imams, *sayyids* and scholars. These were composed by the *qāḍī* of Ṣan‘ā’ Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riḡāl (d. 1092/1690)<sup>4</sup> and his younger contemporary, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 1099/1698).<sup>5</sup> Yaḥyā’s nephew, Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Ṣahārī (d. 1150/1736), compiled *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya l-kubrā*, which is primarily based on Ibn Abī l-Riḡāl’s *Maṭla’ al-budūr*.<sup>6</sup> During the same period, Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā l-Ṣan‘ānī (d. 1121/1709) completed another biographical dictionary of Zaydī scholars and poets, *Nasmat al-saḥar bi-dīkr man taṣayyā’a wa-ṣā’ar*.<sup>7</sup> Until today these works constitute the most important sources for our knowledge of the Zaydī scholarly tradition of Yemen until the 11th/17th century and of Northern Iran until the 6th/12th century.

In 1763, a German-Danish scientific expedition arrived in Yemen. Among its members was Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), who was the only one to survive the expedition and who later on (in 1774) published his observations in his *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*.<sup>8</sup> Another important study by a Western scholar was published towards the end

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from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. A recently (re)discovered manuscript at the King Faisal Center in Riyadh contains the second portion of the third, and the complete fourth and fifth classes. The Riyadh manuscript originally belonged to a private library in Naḡrān in Yemen—see D. Thomas Gochenour, “A Revised Bibliography of Medieval Yemeni History in light of Recent Publications and Discoveries”, *Der Islam*, 63 (1986), p. 315ff.—but had disappeared during the 1980s. A facsimile edition of the two manuscripts will be published in the Muslim History and Heritage Series, co-published by Markaz-i Dā’irat al-ma’ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī and the Research Unit Intellectual History of the Islamicate World, Freie Universität Berlin.

<sup>4</sup> *Maṭla’ al-budūr wa-maḡma’ al-buḥūr fi tarāġim riḡāl al-zaydiyya*, ed. Maḡd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Mu’ayyidi, Saada, Markaz ahl al-bayt li-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 2004.

<sup>5</sup> For his *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt fi dīkr faḍl al-‘ulamā’* or *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, see Gochenour, “A Revised Bibliography”, p. 313ff.

<sup>6</sup> Partly published as *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya l-kubrā (al-qism al-tālī) wa-yusammā Bulūġ al-murād ilā ma’rifāt al-isnād*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abbās al-Waḡīh, McLean, VA, IZBACF, 1421/2001.—Both *Maṭla’ al-budūr* and *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* have been used by Renato Traini for his *Sources biographiques des zaidites (années 122-1200 h.): Lettres alif-hā’*, Paris, Centre national de la recherche scientifique (« Onomasticum arabicum, serie “listing” », 2), 1977.

<sup>7</sup> The work has been published twice: (i) ed. Kāmil Salmān al-Ġabbūrī, Beirut, Dār al-mu’arriḥ al-‘arabī, 1999; (ii) ed. Aḥmad Maḥdawī Dāmġānī, Tehran, n.p., 1379/2000 [partial edition].

<sup>8</sup> *Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern. Erster Band*, Copenhagen, Nicolaus Möller, 1774; the seven relevant chapters on Yemen are found on p. 295-447. For a digital copy of the *Reisebeschreibung* see <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/niebuhr1774abd1> [accessed 17/11/2011]. For an evaluation of Niebuhr’s description of Yemen, see Friedhelm Hartwig, “Carsten Niebuhrs Darstellung von Jemen in seiner ‘Beschreibung von Arabien’ (1772) und dem ersten Band seiner ‘Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien’ (1774)”, *Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) und seine Zeit: Beiträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 7.-10. Oktober 1999 in Eutin*, ed. Josef Wiesehöfer and Stephan Conermann, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2003, p. 155-202.

of the 19th century, viz. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld's (1808-1899) *Jemen im XI. (XVII.) Jahrhundert: Die Kriege der Türken, die Arabischen Imâme und die Gelehrten*.<sup>9</sup>

The initial exploration of the manuscript holdings of the public and private libraries of Yemen dates back to the last decade of the 19th century. Its primary textual foundation was the collection of manuscripts that had been brought together by Eduard Glaser (1855-1908) during his repeated journeys to Yemen in 1882-84, 1885-86, 1887-88 and 1892-94 and consisted mostly of Zaydî works and numerous Mu'tazilite theological writings. Glaser had sold the manuscripts collected during his first and second journeys to the Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin (nowadays Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) (265 MSS).<sup>10</sup> During his subsequent trips, he continued to purchase manuscripts, again offering them to the Berlin library. After fruitless negotiations between the Königliche Bibliothek and Glaser regarding the sale of the third collection, it was acquired by the British Museum (328 MSS).<sup>11</sup> Glaser sold the fourth collection to the Austrian National Library (282 MSS).<sup>12</sup> The Lombard merchant Giuseppe Caprotti (1869-1919) had in the course of thirty-four years assembled a collection of some 1,600 codices that were sold in 1909 to the Ambrosiana library in Milan (the so-called "Nuovo Fondo") through the mediation of Senator Luca Beltrami (1854-1933). Five years

<sup>9</sup> Vorgetragen in der Sitzung der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften am 2. August 1884, *Abhandlungen der Historisch-Philologischen Classe der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 32/1 (1884), p. 2-127. For a digital copy, see <http://ia700406.us.archive.org/32/items/jemenim1117jahrh00ws/jemenim1117jahrh00ws.pdf> [accessed 17/11/2011].

<sup>10</sup> The collection assembled during his first journey comprises 23 manuscripts; see K. Vollers, "Mittheilung über einige handschriftliche Erwerbungen der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 38 (1884), p. 574-80. During his second journey, Glaser purchased another 242 manuscripts which he offered in May 1886 to the Königliche Bibliothek. Both collections are described in Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, Berlin, A.W. Schade, 1887; see also *id.*, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin, A.W. Schade, 1887-99 [repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1980-81], X, p. 89-92.

<sup>11</sup> See C. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, Longmans & co, 1894, p. vii, 925-8; Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh al-'Amrī, *Maṣādir al-turāt al-yamanī fī l-mathaf al-briṭānī*, Damascus, Dār al-Muhtār li-l-ta'lif wa-l-tib'a wa-l-naṣr, 1400/1980.

<sup>12</sup> See Max Grünert, *Kurzer Katalog der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften* [unpublished manuscript, (ca. 1894)]; *id.*, "Über Ed. Glasers jüngste arabische Handschriftensammlung", *Actes du dixième Congrès international des orientalistes. Session de Genève. 1894*, Leiden, Brill, 1895-97, III<sup>e</sup> partie, p. 35-43; Thomas Ripper, *Sammlung Glaser (arabische und persische Handschriften aus dem Jemen) in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Handschriften-, Autographen- und Nachlass-Sammlung). Signaturen-Katalog*. Erstellt von Dezember 2000 bis März 2001 auf der Grundlage des "Kurzen Kataloges" von Dr. Maximilian Grünert, Prag, um 1894 (Ser. n. 2167) [unpublished manuscript].

later, the latter donated 180 additional Yemenite manuscripts to the Ambrosiana. With a total of 1,792 codices, the Ambrosiana library thus houses the largest and most significant collection of Yemenite manuscripts in Europe.<sup>13</sup> Another small portion of the Caprotti collection consisting of 157 manuscripts had already been sold in 1902 through the intermediation of Eduard Glaser to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich,<sup>14</sup> and the remnant of Caprotti's collection (c. 280 MSS) was donated in 1922 by Luca Beltrami to the Vatican library.<sup>15</sup> Important Yemeni manuscripts are also to be found in Istanbul,<sup>16</sup> Cairo, Princeton,<sup>17</sup> Yale,<sup>18</sup> Michigan<sup>19</sup> and in Leiden. Amīn al-Madanī (d. 1898), a scholar from Medina who had come to Amsterdam in 1883 to attend the world exposition, brought a collection of 665 codices to Europe that was first purchased by E.J. Brill Publishers, who had commissioned the private scholar Carlo de Landberg (1848-1924) to prepare a sales catalogue of the manuscripts.<sup>20</sup> In the same year the Leiden University library

<sup>13</sup> For the various catalogues of the collection, see below footnotes 28, 31, 32.

<sup>14</sup> See Florian Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften*, Band 1, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2007. The collection has been partially digitized and is available at <http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/> [accessed 17/11/2011].

<sup>15</sup> Descriptions of these manuscripts are included in Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana: Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani*, Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1935; *id.*, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1939; *id.*, *Secondo Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1965. For the catalogues of the "Nuovo fondo" of the Ambrosiana library, see below footnotes 28, 30, 31, 32.—Generally on the history of the relevant manuscript collections in Italy, see Valentina Sagaria Rossi, "La catalogazione dei manoscritti arabi conservati presso le biblioteche del territorio italiano", *Quaderni di Libri e Riviste d'Italia*, 44 ["La presenza arabo-islamica nell'editoria italiana", ed. Isabella Camera d'Affitto] (2000) (with further references), <http://www.let.unicas.it/links/didattica/palma/testi/rossi1.htm#note> [accessed 18/11/2011].

<sup>16</sup> Renato Traini, "Les manuscrits yéménites dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul", *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 3 (1973), p. 203-30; Muḥammad 'Isā Ṣālihiyya, *al-Maḥḥūḥāt al-yamāniyya fī maktabat 'Alī Amīri bi-Istānbul*, Beirut/Sanaa, Dār al-ḥadāṭa/Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūḥ al-yamanī, 1984.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. <http://publ.princeton.edu/collections/publ0079> [accessed 12/01/2012].

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Leon Nemoj, *Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library*, New Haven (CT), Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> Evyn Kropf, "The Yemeni manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection at the University of Michigan: Provenance and acquisition", *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*, 13 (2011), <http://www.anne.regourd.org/cmy/13/cmy13.02.texte2.pdf> [accessed 12/01/2012].

<sup>20</sup> Carlo de Landberg, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à el-Medina et appartenant à la Maison E.J. Brill*, Leiden, Brill, 1883. See also Sytze van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven voor de wetenschap*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 70-1. Al-Madanī also attended the 6th Orientalists' Congress in Leiden (10-15 September 1883). His reminiscences that were

purchased the entire collection from Brill's.<sup>21</sup> In Yemen, the holdings of the library that had been established by the imam al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (reg. 583-614/1187 or 8 -1217) were transferred in 1929 from Zafār to the newly founded al-Ḥizāna l-mutawakkiliyya in Ṣan'ā', which had been founded by the imam al-Mutawakkil 'alā Llāh Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (reg. 1869-1948), and a first handlist of its holdings was published in 1942.<sup>22</sup> The library, which until today is housed on the second floor of the building complex of the Great Mosque of Ṣan'ā', is also known as al-Maktaba l-šarqiyya (since 1984: Maktabat al-awqāf).<sup>23</sup> Later on, the manuscripts and books of al-Hay'a l-'amma li-l-āṭār wa-dūr al-kutub were integrated into the newly founded al-Maktaba l-ġarbiyya, which is likewise housed in a building complex on the premises of the Great Mosque (nowadays Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt).<sup>24</sup>

On the basis of the European collections of Yemeni manuscripts, a number of Western scholars initiated the scholarly investigation of Zaydism during the early decades of the 20th century. The German scholar Rudolph Strothmann (1877-1960) published a first survey of Zaydī literature in 1910 and 1911,<sup>25</sup> followed by two groundbreaking studies on the political doctrines (*Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*) and ritual practices (*Kultus der Zaiditen*) of the

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originally published in the Egyptian press have been translated and collected in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Leidsche Oriëntalistencongres: Indrukken van een Arabisch Congreslid*, Leiden, Brill, 1883.

<sup>21</sup> Descriptions of the Yemeni manuscripts are included in P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Collections in the Netherlands*, second enlarged edition, The Hague, Bibliotheca universitatis, 1980; Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, I, Leiden, Ter Lugt Press, 2006, available at <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html> [accessed 17/11/2011]. Additional still uncatalogued manuscripts from Yemen that were purchased in recent decades are included in the *List of manuscripts with a 'Yemeni' interest, from J.J. Witkam's unpublished inventory of Leiden manuscripts: Extract from Witkam's inventory prepared by Arnold Vrolijk*, Leiden, Leiden University Library, August 2007 [unpublished manuscript].

<sup>22</sup> *Fihrist kutub al-Ḥizāna l-mutawakkiliyya l-'āmira bi-l-Ġāmi' al-muqaddas bi-Ṣan'ā' al-maḥmiyya*, Sanaa, Wizārat al-ma'ārif, 1361/1942.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also Geoffrey Roper (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts. Volume Three*, London, Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1994, p. 664-7.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* For catalogues of the holdings of the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, see below footnotes 51, 56. For the various collections of Yemeni manuscripts, see also Sabine Schmidtke and Jan Thiele, *Preserving Yemen's Cultural Heritage: The Yemen Manuscript Digitization Project*, Sanaa, Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Sanaa/Deutsches Archäologisches Institut ["Hefte zur Kulturgeschichte des Jemen", 5], 2011. See also the various fascicules of the journal published since 2006 by the Centre Français d'Archéologie et de Sciences Sociales de Sanaa, *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* at <http://www.cefas.com.ye/spip.php?rubrique36> [accessed 23/11/2011].

<sup>25</sup> Rudolph Strothmann, "Die Literatur der Zaiditen", *Der Islam*, 1 (1910), p. 354-68; 2 (1911), p. 49-78.

Zaydiyya published in 1912.<sup>26</sup> His younger Dutch contemporary, Cornelis van Arendonk (1881-1946), devoted his doctoral dissertation to the founder of the Zaydī imamate in Yemen, al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, on the basis of the biography (*sīra*) of the imam composed by the latter's companion 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī l-'Alawī. The dissertation was published in 1919, followed by a French translation in 1960.<sup>27</sup> The manuscripts of the Caprotti collection in the Ambrosiana were studied during the first two decades of the 20th century by the Milanese Arabist, Eugenio Griffini (1878-1925),<sup>28</sup> who also published extensively on various aspects of Zaydism. In 1919 he published a major study on the works attributed to Zayd b. 'Alī (d. 122/740), a great-great-grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad who was killed during a Šī'ī uprising in Kūfa in Iraq and was recognized as the fifth imam.<sup>29</sup> Griffini's work on the Caprotti collection was continued by another partial catalogue by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid<sup>30</sup> and in a more comprehensive manner by the Swedish Arabist Oscar Löfgren (1898-1992)<sup>31</sup> who was later joined by Renato Traini,<sup>32</sup> librarian of the Fondazione Caetani in the

<sup>26</sup> Rudolf Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg, Karl J. Trübner, 1912; *id.*, *Kultus der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg, Karl J. Trübner, 1912.

<sup>27</sup> C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het zaidietische imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden, Brill, 1919 [French translation by Jacques Ryckmans, *Les débuts de l'imamat zaidite au Yémen*, Leiden, Brill, 1960]. The text of the *sīra* has been published as al-'Abbāsī l-'Alawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut, Dār al-fikr li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-naṣr wa-l-tawzī', 1392/1972.

<sup>28</sup> Eugenio Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano: catalogo della prima collezione", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 2 (1908-09), p. 1-38; 3 (1910), p. 65-104; *id.*, "Lista dei manoscritti arabi Nuovo Fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 3 (1910), p. 253-78, 571-94, 901-21; 4 (1911-12), p. 87-106, 1021-48; 6 (1914-15), p. 1283-316; 7 (1916-18), p. 51-130, 565-628; 8 (1919-20), p. 241-367; *id.*, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 69 (1915), p. 63-8; *id.*, *Catalogo dei manoscritti arabi di Nuovo Fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano. Vol. I: Codici 1-475*, Rome, n.p., 1920.

<sup>29</sup> "Corpus iuris", la piu antica raccolta di legislazione e di giurisprudenza musulmana finora ritrovata. Testo arabo pub. per la prima volta sui manoscritti iemmenici della Biblioteca Ambrosiana con introduzione storica, apparato critico e indici analitici da Eugenio Griffini, Milan, U. Hoepli, 1919. See also Rudolph Strothmann's subsequent study on the text, "Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī's", *Der Islam*, 13 (1923), p. 1-52.

<sup>30</sup> Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid, *Fibris al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fi l-Ambrūziyānā bi-Milān* [*Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*], Cairo, Ligue des États arabes. Institut des manuscrits, 1960.

<sup>31</sup> Oscar Löfgren, "I manoscritti arabi dell' Ambrosiana e la loro catalogazione", *Atti del Convegno La Lombardia e l'Oriente 11-15 giugno 1962*, Milan 1963, p. 209-16; *id.*, "Unbekannte arabische Texte in der Ambrosiana", *Orientalia Suecana*, 12 (1963), p. 122-34.

<sup>32</sup> Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, Vicenza 1975-95. The fourth and last volume of the catalogue has now been published as Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana. Vol. IV: Nuovo Fondo. Series F-H (Nos. 1296-1778)*, Milan, Silvana Editoriale/Cinisello Balsamo, 2011.

Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei from 1975 through 1995.<sup>33</sup> Other Italian scholars also contributed during the first decades of the 20th century to the scholarly investigation of Zaydism on the basis of the Milanese collection, such as Ignazio di Matteo (1872-1948)<sup>34</sup> and Michelangelo Guidi (1886-1946).<sup>35</sup> During the middle of the 20th century, Egyptian scholars developed an enhanced awareness of the rich and yet unexploited manuscript holdings of Yemen's public and private libraries. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973), Minister of Education (*wazīr al-ma'ārif*) of Egypt since 1950, was instrumental in dispatching an expedition of scholars to Yemen to prepare an inventory of the manuscript holdings there and to microfilm the most significant codices. The group of four Egyptian scholars that was led by Ḥalīl Yaḥyā Nāmī, a former professor at the University of Cairo, set out to Yemen on 23 December 1951 and spent the next three months there, until 11 March 1952, cataloguing and filming some 300 manuscripts. The significance of this expedition and its impact cannot be overestimated. Among other precious manuscripts, its members had filmed most of the Mu'tazilite works that had been copied during the 6th/12th century for the library of al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh and were preserved in the Maktaba l-ṣarḥiyya. Most of these texts were edited over the next decade and beyond, and these editions prompted a new interest in Mu'tazili (and to a lesser extent Zaydī) studies among scholars in the West and the Islamic world. A second Egyptian expedition to Yemen (1964) was directed by Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥusayn, the Vice-Minister of Culture. The two missions focused their activities on the cities of Ṣan'ā', Ta'izz, 'Ibb and Ḥuṭ but also took note of the rich holdings of private libraries in Ṣa'da, Zabīd, Ḍamār and elsewhere.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See also his *I manoscritti arabi di recente accessione*: Catalogo di Renato Traini, Rome, Accademia dei Lincei, 1967. This collection also contains some manuscripts relevant for the study of Yemen; cf. C.A. Nallino, "Due manoscritti di storia del Yemen appartenenti alla Fondazione Caetani", *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 9 (1933), p. 669-84.

<sup>34</sup> Ignazio Di Matteo, "Confutazione contro i Cristiani dello Zaydita al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 9 (1921-1923), p. 301-31 (containing an edition and translation of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm's *al-Radd 'alā l-naṣārā*).

<sup>35</sup> Michelangelo Guidi, *Gli scrittori zayditi e l'esegesi coranica mu'tazilīta*, Rome, Tipografia del senato, 1925 [non vidi]; *id.*, *La lotta tra l'islam e il manicheismo: Un libro di Ibn al-Muqaffā' contro il Corano confutato da al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, Rome, R. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1927 (containing an edition and translation of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm's *al-Radd 'alā l-zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffā'*).

<sup>36</sup> Ḥalīl Yaḥyā Nāmī, *al-Ba'īa l-miṣriyya li-taṣwīr al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī bilād al-Yaman*, Cairo, Dār al-ma'ārif, 1952; J.R.T.M. Peters, *God's Created Speech: A study in the speculative theology of the Mu'tazilī Qādi l-Qudāt Abū-Hasan 'Abd al-Jabbār bn Ahmad al-Hamadānī*, Leiden, Brill, 1976, p. 25-7; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Maṣādir tāriḥ al-Yaman fī l-'aṣr al-islāmī* [*Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane*], Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

The true founder of Zaydī studies is Wilferd Madelung, who in his seminal *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (published in 1965) provided a still unsurpassed analysis of the doctrinal developments of the Zaydīs since the times of the imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) until ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 677/1269).<sup>37</sup> He was also the first Western scholar who was able to profit from the Yemeni manuscript collections in Europe, in Egypt and, most importantly, in Yemen itself. Over the decades, Madelung added numerous editions and studies devoted to the intellectual history and historiography of medieval Zaydism in Yemen and Northern Iran, each one of them breaking entirely new ground and some of them translated into Arabic and Persian.<sup>38</sup> Other Western scholars have contributed over the past decades to the study of the political history of Zaydī Yemen and its more recent intellectual history,<sup>39</sup> and most recently a group of specialists has been working in Berlin on Zaydī intellectual history between the 3rd/9th to the

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du Caire, 1972, p. 417-33. Cf. also Fuʿād Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman”, *Maḡallat Maʿhad al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, 1 (1955), p. 194-215; *Qāʾima bi-l-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya l-muṣawwara bi-mikrūfilm min al-Gumhūrīyya l-ʿarabiyya l-yamaniyya*, Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya, 1967.

<sup>37</sup> Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1965.

<sup>38</sup> See specifically his edition of the *Kitāb al-Naḡāt* by the imam Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh (d. 322/934), *Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Aḥmad an-Nāsir wider die ibaditische Prädestinationslehre*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1405/1985; and *The Sira of Imam Ahmad b. Yahya al-Nasir li-Din Allah from Musallam al-Lahji's Kitab Al-Zaydiyya bi l-Yaman*, Exeter, Ithaca, 1990. Most valuable is also his collection of biographical texts relating to some of the Zaydī imams of Northern Iran, *Arabic texts concerning the history of the Zaydī Imāms of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gilān*, Beirut/Wiesbaden, Deutsches Orient-Institut/Franz Steiner, 1987. On Zaydism in Iran, see also his *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, New York, 1988 (Chapter Six: “The Imāmiyya and the Zaydiyya”). Most of his other studies on Zaydism are included in his *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam*, Hampshire, Variorum, 1992.

<sup>39</sup> Notably Thomas Gochenour, *The Penetration of Zaydī Islam into Early Medieval Yemen*, Ph.D. Diss. Harvard, 1984; *id.*, “A Revised Bibliography of Medieval Yemeni History in light of Recent Publications and Discoveries”, *Der Islam*, 63 (1986), p. 309-22; Tomislav Klarić, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der qāsimidischen Dynastie (11./17. Jh.)*. Dissertation zur Erlangung des philosophischen Doktorgrades an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Göttingen, 2007; Bernard Haykel, *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkāni*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003; Gabriele vom Bruck, *Descent and Religious Knowledge: ‘Houses of Learning’ in modern Sanaa, Yemen Arab Republic*, Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science, 1991; *id.*, *Islam, memory, and morality in Yemen: Ruling families in transition*, New York, Palgrave, 2005; *id.*, “Regimes of Piety Revisited: Zaydī Political Moralities in Republican Yemen”, *Die Welt des Islams*, 50 (2010), p. 185-223. Cf. also Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 227-51 (The Zaydīs); Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2004, p. 99-109 (The Zaydīs).



7th/13th centuries.<sup>40</sup> Since the 1970s, numerous scholars particularly from Yemen itself significantly contributed to advance our knowledge of the political and intellectual history of Zaydism in Yemen. Special mention should be made of Ismā'il b. 'Alī l-Akwa' (1920-2008; he served for many years as president of the Yemeni Antiquities Authority) and his numerous studies and editions, especially his biographical dictionary *Hiḡar al-'ilm wa-mā'āqiluhu fi l-Yaman*,<sup>41</sup> of Aḡmad b. Muḡammad al-Šāmī (b. 1924) and particularly his

<sup>40</sup> See Gregor Schwarb, "Mu'tazilism in the Age of Averroes", *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the Sixth/Twelfth Century*, ed. Peter Adamson, London, Warburg Institute, 2011, p. 251-82; *id.*, "Zaydī-Mu'tazilī traditions of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, 4th/10th-10th/16th centuries", *Theological Rationalism in Medieval Islam: New Texts and Perspectives*, ed. Lukas Muehlethaler and Gregor Schwarb, Leuven, Peeters [forthcoming]; *id.*, *Handbook of Mu'tazilite Works and Manuscripts*, Leiden, Brill [forthcoming], containing a comprehensive inventory of the Zaydī reception and elaboration of Mu'tazilī *kalām*; Jan Thiele, "Propagating Mu'tazilism in the 6th/12th century Zaydiyya: al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās", *Arabica*, 57/5-6 (2010), p. 536-58; *id.*, *Kausalität in der mu'tazilitischen Kosmologie. Das Kitāb al-Mu'attirāt wa-miftāḥ al-muškilāt des Zayditen al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās (st. 584/1188)*, Leiden, Brill, 2011; *id.*, "The Commentary Literature on al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās' *K. al-Taḡṣīl*", *Theological Rationalism in Medieval Islam: New Texts and Perspectives*, ed. Lukas Muehlethaler and Gregor Schwarb, Leuven, Peeters [forthcoming]; Hassan Ansari and Jan Thiele (eds), Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khurāshī, *Kitāb al-Taḡṣīl li-jumal al-Taḡṣīl*. Facsimile edition of Ms Berlin, Glaser 51. With Introductions and Indices, Tehran, [in press]; Camilla Adang, Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke (eds), *Baṣran Mu'tazilite Theology: Abū 'Alī Muḡammad b. Khallād's Kitāb al-uṣūl and its reception. A Critical Edition of the Ziyādāt Sharḡ al-uṣūl by the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḡyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥārūn al-Buḡḡānī (d. 424/1033)*, Leiden, Brill, 2011; Hassan Ansari, "Al-Barāḡhin al-zāḡhira al-jaliyya 'alā anna l-uujūd zā'id 'alā l-māḡbiyya by Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḡammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḡammad al-Raṣṣās", *A Common Rationality: Mu'tazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. Camilla Adang, David Sklare, Sabine Schmidtke, Würzburg, Ergon, 2007, p. 337-48; Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Zaydī reception of Ibn Khallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl: The ta'liq* of Abū Ṭāḡir b. 'Alī al-Šaffār", *Journal asiatique*, 298 (2010), p. 275-302; *id.*, "Mu'tazilism after 'Abd al-Jabbār: Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī's *Kitāb Masā'il al-khilāf fi l-uṣūl* (Studies on the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th c. I)", *Studia Iranica*, 39 (2010), p. 227-78; *id.*, "The literary-religious tradition among 7th/13th century Yemenī Zaydis: The formation of the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḡmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 656/1258)", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 2 (2011), p. 165-222; *id.*, "Iranian Zaydism during the 7th/13th century: Abū l-Faḡl b. Shahrdaḡir al-Daylamī al-Jilānī and his commentary on the Qur'ān", *Journal Asiatique*, 299 (2011), p. 205-11; *id.*, "Mu'tazilism in Rayy and Astarābād: Abū l-Faḡl al-'Abbās b. Sharwīn (Studies on the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th c. II)", *Studia Iranica* [in press]. See also the numerous relevant studies by Hassan Ansari at <http://ansari.kateban.com> and below footnotes 55, 57, 61.

<sup>41</sup> Ismā'il b. 'Alī l-Akwa', *Hiḡar al-'ilm wa-mā'āqiluhu fi l-Yaman*, Beirut/Damascus, Dār al-fikr al-mu'āṣir, 1995-2003.—On his contributions as a scholar, see *Le pèlerin des forteresses du savoir: hommage au qādī Ismā'il b. 'Alī al-Akwa' à l'occasion de son 85e anniversaire [al-Muḡāḡir ilā ḡiḡar al-'ilm fi l-Yaman]*, ed. Christian Julien Robin and Muḡammad 'Abd al-Raḡīm Ġāzim, Sanaa, Centre Français d'Archéologie et de Sciences Sociales de Sanaa, 2006.

*Tārīḥ al-Yaman al-fikrī fi l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī, 132-656H/750-1259M*,<sup>42</sup> of ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibṣī and especially his *Marāḡīʿ tārīḥ al-Yaman* and his even more comprehensive volume *Maṣādir al-fikr al-ʿarabī l-islāmī fi l-Yaman* (first published in 1977, repeatedly republished with revisions and additions),<sup>43</sup> of Aḥmad Ġābir al-ʿAfif's (b. 1929) *al-Mawsūʿa l-yamaniyya*,<sup>44</sup> of ʿAlī Muḥammad Zayd's important study *Tayyārāt muʿtazilat al-Yaman fi l-qarn al-sādis al-ḥiḡrī* (published in 1997),<sup>45</sup> of ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Waḡīḥ and his numerous editions and bio(biblio)graphical works,<sup>46</sup> and of Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Maqḥafī's *Mawsūʿat al-alqāb al-yamaniyya* (published in 2010).<sup>47</sup> ʿAbd al-Salām al-Waḡīḥ, Muḥammad Yaḥyā Sālim al-ʿAzzān and ʿAbd al-Karīm Ġadbān are also the most active contemporary Yemeni scholars when it comes to editing texts belonging to the Zaydī intellectual history. In addition, the journal *al-Masār* that is being edited by Zayd b. ʿAlī l-Wazīr and published by the Yemen Heritage and Research Center contains, in the twelve volumes that have already come out, numerous valuable contributions on Yemeni Zaydism by a variety of scholars. Outside of Yemen, the Egyptian scholar Fuʿād Sayyid (1916-1967), a former member of the Egyptian expedition to Yemen in 1951-52, has made considerable contributions to the study of the intellectual history of Yemen, including Zaydism, as has his son, Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, author of the seminal work *Maṣādir tārīḥ al-Yaman fi l-ʿaṣr al-islāmī* [*Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane*] that was published in 1974<sup>48</sup> and of *Tārīḥ al-madāhib al-dīniyya fi bilād al-Yaman ḥattā*

<sup>42</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šāmī, *Tārīḥ al-Yaman al-fikrī fi l-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī, 132-656 H/750-1259 M*, Beirut, Tawzīʿ Dār al-naḡāʿis, 1987.

<sup>43</sup> ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibṣī, *Marāḡīʿ tārīḥ al-Yaman*, Damascus, Wizārat al-ṭaqāfa, 1972; *id.*, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-ʿarabī l-islāmī fi l-Yaman*, Sanaa, Markaz al-dirāsāt al-yamaniyya, [1977]. Mention should also be made of his numerous editions of textual sources relating to the history of Yemen.

<sup>44</sup> *Al-Mawsūʿa l-yamaniyya*, ed. Aḥmad Ġābir al-ʿAfif, 2 vols, Sanaa, Muʿassasat al-ʿAfif al-ṭaqāfiyya, 1992, and the enlarged second edition in four volumes, *al-Mawsūʿa l-yamaniyya*, ed. Ḥamid Muṭīʿ al-ʿAwādī, Sanaa, Muʿassasat al-ʿAfif al-ṭaqāfiyya, 2003.

<sup>45</sup> ʿAlī Muḥammad Zayd, *Tayyārāt muʿtazilat al-Yaman fi l-qarn al-sādis al-ḥiḡrī*, Sanaa, al-Markaz al-faransī li-l-dirāsāt al-yamaniyya, 1997 [originally presented as the author's doctoral thesis, *Les tendances de la pensée muʿtazilite au Yémen au VIème siècle*, Université de Paris III, 1986].

<sup>46</sup> Notably ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbbās al-Waḡīḥ, *Aʿlām al-muʿallifīn al-zaydiyya*, Amman, IZbACF, 1999; and *id.*, *Maṣādir al-turāt fi l-maktabāt al-ḥaṣṣa fi l-Yaman* (vols 1-2), McLean, VA, IZbACF, 1422/2002.

<sup>47</sup> Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsūʿat al-alqāb al-yamaniyya*, 7 vols, Beirut, al-Muʿassasa l-ḡāmiʿiyya li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-naṣr wa-l-tawzīʿ, 2010.

<sup>48</sup> Cairo, Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1972. Cf. also Éric Vallet, "Fragments de bibliothèque yéménite médiévale sur Internet", *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*, 12 (2011), <http://www.anne.regourd.org/cmy/12/cmy12.02.texte2.pdf> [accessed 23/11/2011].

*nihāyat al-qarn al-sādis al-hiġrī* [Les doctrines religieuses au Yémen de l'origine jusqu'au VI<sup>e</sup>/XII<sup>e</sup> siècle] published in 1988.<sup>49</sup> Numerous other Egyptian scholars have also contributed significantly to advance the scholarly study of Zaydism.<sup>50</sup>

Additional efforts were made in Yemen itself to catalogue the holdings of the various local libraries. In 1978 a comprehensive catalogue of the holdings of the Maktaba l-ġarbiyya was published,<sup>51</sup> and in 1984 a four-volume catalogue of the holdings of the Maktaba l-šarqiyya replaced the earlier handlist of 1942.<sup>52</sup> Increasingly, the vast holdings of the so far mostly unexplored private libraries in Ṣa'da, Ṣan'ā' and other historical centres of Zaydism in Yemen were catalogued and partly digitized. Mention should be made of the one-volume catalogue by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī<sup>53</sup> and of the two-volumes catalogue by 'Abd al-Salām al-Waġīh providing bibliographical data of 3,190 codices from libraries in Ṣahāra, Ṣan'ā', Ḥaġġa, 'Amrān, Ḍamār, Ṣa'da, Ta'izz and 'Ibb.<sup>54</sup>

Apart from the two Egyptian expeditions, other countries also contributed to preserve the Yemeni, particularly Zaydī, manuscript holdings. Iranian scholars and institutions have been very active for several years cataloguing, digitizing and studying Zaydī manuscripts in the public and private libraries

<sup>49</sup> Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Tārīḥ al-madāhib al-diniyya fī bilād al-Yaman ḥattā nihāyat al-qarn al-sādis al-hiġrī* [Les doctrines religieuses au Yémen de l'origine jusqu'au VI<sup>e</sup>/XII<sup>e</sup> siècle], Cairo, Dār al-miṣriyya l-lubnāniyya, 1988.

<sup>50</sup> See, e.g., Aḥmad Ḥusayn Šaraf al-Dīn, *Tārīḥ al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman*, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Kilānī, 1968; Ḥasan Ḥuḍayrī Aḥmad, *Qiyām al-dawla l-zaydiyya fī l-Yaman*, 280-298 H/893-911 M, Cairo, Maktabat Madbūli, 1996; Ašwāq Aḥmad Mahdī Ġilis, *al-Taġdīd fī fikr al-imāma 'inda l-zaydiyya fī l-Yaman*, Cairo, Maktabat Madbūli, 1997; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra (1883-1961), *Tārīḥ al-'imma l-zaydiyya fī l-Yaman ḥattā l-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīṡ*, with preface by Muḥammad Zaynhum Muḥammad 'Azab, Cairo, Maktabat al-ṭaqāfa l-diniyya, 1998; 'Abd al-Ġanī Maḥmūd 'Abd al-'Āṭī, *al-Širā' al-fikrī fī l-Yaman bayna l-zaydiyya wa-l-muṭarrifiyya: dirāsa wa-nuṣūṡ*, al-Haram [Giza], 'Ayn li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūṡ al-insāniyya wa-l-iġtimā'iyya, 2002; al-Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Imām Ḥumaydān b. Ḥumaydān wa-ārā'uhu l-kalāmiyya wa-l-falsafiyya*, Alexandria, Dār al-wafā' li-l-dunyā, 2003; 'Abd al-'Azīz Qā'id al-Mas'ūdi, *Iskālīyyat al-fikr al-zaydī fī l-Yaman al-mu'āṣir: Qirā'a fī l-qirā'āt al-sab' li-turāt mu'tazilat al-'Irāq*, Cairo, Maktabat Madbūli, 2008.

<sup>51</sup> Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Isawī and Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Maliḥ, *Fihris maḥṡūṡāt al-maktaba l-ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġāmi' al-kabīr bi-Ṣan'ā'*, Sanaa, al-Ġumḥūriyya l-'arabiyya l-yamaniyya, Maġlis al-qiyāda, al-Hay'a l-'amma li-l-āṡār wa-dūr al-kutub, 1978. The catalogue was preceded by an earlier, less complete, list of its holdings: Muṡṡafā Abū l-Ḥasan Ṣabāḥ and Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid Farāġ, *al-Qā'ima l-bibliyūġrāfiyya li-l-maḥṡūṡāt al-'arabiyya fī l-Ġumḥūriyya l-'arabiyya l-yamaniyya: Maktabat al-Ġāmi' al-ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġāmi' al-kabīr*, Sanaa, 1975.

<sup>52</sup> Aḥmad 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayḥī, 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥibšī, and 'Alī Wahḥāb al-Ānsī, *Fihris Maḥṡūṡāt Maktabat al-Ġāmi' al-kabīr Ṣan'ā'*, Sanaa, Wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-irsād, 1404/1984.

<sup>53</sup> 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī, *Fihris maḥṡūṡāt ba'd al-maktabāt al-ḥāṡa fī l-Yaman*, London, Furqān Foundation, 1994.

<sup>54</sup> See above, footnote 46. Two additional volumes are forthcoming.

of Yemen.<sup>55</sup> For example, a new catalogue of the holdings of the Maktaba l-ġarbiyya was published by the Mar'asī Library in Qum in 2005,<sup>56</sup> and microfilm copies of practically the entire holdings of the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt in Ṣan'ā' are preserved in various Iranian libraries.<sup>57</sup> In the 1970s and 1980s, several smaller expeditions from Kuwait microfilmed selected manuscripts in Ṣan'ā'.<sup>58</sup> At present, the Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī l-ṭaqāfiyya (IZbACF, founded in 1994) is the most active NGO dedicated to preserving the heritage of the Zaydī community through the publication of manuscript catalogues and critical editions as well as through the digitization of manuscripts.<sup>59</sup> Recently, a joint German-American digitization initiative was launched to digitize the holding of some select private libraries of Ṣan'ā'.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Cf., e.g., Anṣārī, "Guzāriṣī az nuṣḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Yaman"; Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, Qum, Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā l-Mar'asī l-Naġafi, 1413/[1992-3]; Muḥammad Wafādār Murādī, "Fihrist-i alifbā'i-yi mikrūfilm-hā-yi tahiyya šudah az Kitābhāna-yi Ġami'i Ṣan'ā'", *Kitābdārī u iṭtilā' rasānī* [Library and information sciences: Quarterly journal of the Central Library and Documentation Center of Astan Quds Razavi], 2/3 (1378/1999), p. 127-71; 'Alī Mūsavi Naġād, *Turāt al-Zaydiyya*, Qum, Ma'had dirāsāt al-adyān wa-l-maḥḍāhib al-Islāmiyya, 1384/2005.

<sup>56</sup> Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Isawī et al., *Fibris al-maḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba l-ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġami'i al-kabīr, Ṣan'ā'*, vols 1-2, Qum, Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā l-Mar'asī l-Naġafi l-Kubrā, 1426/2005.

<sup>57</sup> 'Abd al-Tawwāb Aḥmad 'Alī l-Mašriqī and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Yahyā l-Qādī, *Ṭāwūs yamānī: Fihrist-i mikrūfilm-hā-yi maġmū'a-yi dār al-maḥṭūṭāt-i Ṣan'ā'*, Qum, Kitābhāna-yi buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Mar'asī Naġafi, 1421/2001. Cf. also Ḥasan Anṣārī, "Maġmū'a-yi Ṭāwūs Yamānī numād ḥuḍūr-i Irān dar Yaman," *Kitāb-i māh-i din*, 51-52 (1380/2001), p. 18-31.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Ḥamīd Maġīd Haddū, "Maḥṭūṭāt 'arabiyya min Ṣan'ā'", *al-Maurid*, 3/1 (1974), p. 217-42; 3/2 (1974), p. 279-306; *id.*, "Maḥṭūṭāt min Ḥizānat al-awqāf fi Ṣan'ā' (al-qism al-awwal wa-l-ṭānī)", *Maġallat al-ḥaliġ al-'arabi*, 12/11 (1980), p. 139-87; 'Iṣām Muḥammad al-Šanṭī, *al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya llatī šawwarabā l-Ma'had min Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt fi Ṣan'ā' (al-Ġumbūriyya l-'arabiyya l-yamaniyya) fi l-fatra min 28/1-4/3/1985*, al-Šafāt, Ma'had al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya, al-Munazzama l-'arabiyya li-l-tarbiyya wa-l-ṭaqāfa wa-l-'ulūm, 1988.

<sup>59</sup> See <http://www.izbacf.org/> for details. In addition, other cultural foundations and institutions are active in Yemen, such as Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūṭ al-yamānī (<http://www.ycsr.org/>), Markaz Badr al-'ilmī wa-l-ṭaqāfī (<http://www.facebook.com/markizbadr?v=info#!/markizbadr>) or Markaz al-turāt wa-l-buḥūṭ al-yamānī (<http://yemenhrc.com/>) [accessed 18/11/2011].

<sup>60</sup> The Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative (YMDI), a collective of research librarians and leading scholars of classical Islam, Middle Eastern history, and Arabic Literature whose mission is to preserve the Arabic manuscripts in the private libraries of Yemen. YMDI's partner institutions, Princeton University Library and Freie Universität Berlin received an NEH/DFG Enriching Digital Collections grant in 2010. Technicians from the IZbACF in Yemen are currently digitizing the codices of three private libraries in Yemen. These digital images will be virtually linked to Yemeni manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and Princeton University Library, uploaded to the Princeton University Digital Library, and made freely available on the World Wide Web. See <http://ymdi.uoregon.edu/> [accessed 24/11/2011]; David Holtenberg, "The Yemen Manuscript Digitization Initiative", *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*,

A number of preliminary studies by Iranian scholars and, again, by Wilferd Madelung have also shown that the tradition of Zaydī learning continued in Iran beyond the 6th/12th century until the 10th/16th century, as is confirmed by scattered documents attesting to the scholarly tradition of Zaydism of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, as well as by a number of manuscripts transcribed in the Caspian Zaydī community between the 7th/13th and the 10th/16th centuries.<sup>61</sup>

Despite these advances, the scholarly investigation of Zaydism still shows significant lacunae and the present volume seeks to fill at least some of them. The community's historical roots can be traced back to the 2nd/8th century, when Zayd b. 'Alī, referred to above, was killed during a Šī'ī uprising in Kūfa in Iraq. It was also in Kūfa that the community was located during its formative phase and that the earliest scholars laid the foundations for the emerging Zaydī legal tradition. In his contribution to this volume, Najam Haider is concerned with the legal tradition of early Zaydism in this city. He explores the intellectual legacy of the Kūfan jurist Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī (d. early 4th/10th century) who eventually settled in Yemen and was part of the intellectual circle surrounding al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911), focusing on his most important work, *Kitāb al-Muntaḥab*. He particularly shows the *Muntaḥab*'s value as a possible conduit for accessing a stream of Kūfan jurisprudence which has not survived into the modern period.<sup>62</sup>

13 (2011), <http://www.anne.regourd.org/cmy/13/cmy13.00.encart.d.hollenberg.pdf> [accessed 12/01/2012].

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpazhūh, "Dū mašīḥa-yi Zaydī", *Nāma-yi Minuwi: Mağmū'a-yi sī u bašt guftār dar adab u farhang-i Īrānī bih pās-i paṅgāb sāl taḥqīqāt u muṭālī'āt-i Muğtabā Minūwi*, ed. Īrağ Afšār, Tehran, 1350/1971, p. 179-88; Ḥasan Anšārī, "Mirāt-i zaydiyān-i Īrān (1): Kitābi kalāmī az Abū Muḍar al-Šurayḥī", <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1678.html> [consulted 21/01/2011]; *id.*, "Mirāt-i zaydiyān-i Īrān (2): Nuṣṣa-hā-yi šāmil-i dū kitāb naḥwī muta'alliq beh yek kitābhāna-yi zaydī-yi šumāl-i Īrān", <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1684.html> [consulted 17/11/2011]. *Tafsīr-i Kitāb-i Allāh, ta'līf-i Abū l-Faḍl b. Šabrdawir Daylamī (az 'ulamā'-yi zaydī-yi šumāl-i Īrān dar awāḥir-i qarn-i haštum)*, 2 vols, with an introduction by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Imādī Ḥā'iri, Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī, 1388[2010]; on this facsimile publication, see Ansari and Schmidtke, "Iranian Zaydism during the 7th/13th century". For some of the relevant studies by Wilferd Madelung, see above footnote 38. See also his *id.*, "The Alid Rulers of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gilān", *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Ravello 1966, Naples 1967, p. 483-92; "Abū Ishāq al-Šābī on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gilān", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 26 (1967), p. 17-56; *id.*, "The Minor Dynasties of Northern Iran", *The Cambridge History of Iran. Volume Four: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, ed. R.N. Frye, Cambridge, 1975, p. 198-249. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, "The Zaydī reception of Ibn Khallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*: The *ta'liq* of Abū Ṭāhir b. 'Alī al-Šaffār".

<sup>62</sup> See now also his *The Origins of the Shi'a: Identity, Ritual and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kufah*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

From the 3rd/9th through the late 6th/12th centuries, the leading intellectual centres of Zaydism were located in Northern Iran, namely in Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gilān in the Caspian region, as well as in Rayy during and after the Buwayhid age and in Bayhaq in Ḥurāsān, and aspects of the intellectual achievements of Iranian Zaydism are addressed in the contributions of Hassan Ansari, Sabine Schmidtke and Jan Thiele. Hassan Ansari explores the life and work of the Zaydī-Muʿtazilite traditionist, Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī l-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 445/1053), a former student of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī (d. 415/1025), focusing on his *Amālī*. Sabine Schmidtke investigates the use of biblical predictions as a way to prove the authenticity of the prophethood of Muḥammad and their possible sources in the works of the two Zaydī imams: al-Muʿayyad bi-Llāh (d. 411/1020) and al-Muwaffaq bi-Llāh (d. after 420/1029) and of their contemporary Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Sammān. Jan Thiele analyses al-Ḥākim al-Ġišūmī's (d. 494/1101) notion of causality as exposed in his systematic treatise devoted to the issue, *al-Taʿtīr wa-l-mu'attirāt fi ʿilm al-kalām*, and offers a partial edition of the text.

Following the political unification of the Caspian and Yemeni Zaydīs that was initiated at the end of the 5th/11th century, a massive transfer of Zaydī religious literature from Iran to Yemen began that reached its peak during the reign of the Yemenite imam al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh. As a result, Yemen largely replaced Northern Iran as the main cultural centre of Zaydism, while the Zaydī communities in Iran experienced a decline. Maher Jarrar's contribution focuses on one of the works of al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh, *al-ʿIqd al-ṭamīn*, analyzing his anti-Imāmī statements.

Over the centuries Zaydīs have been summoned from within and without to demonstrate the internal cohesion of their legal tradition. Noting that Zaydīs did not commonly follow the legal opinions of their eponym Zayd b. ʿAlī, Sunnī critics challenged them to justify their adoption of the label Zaydī. Within Zaydism itself, however, disagreement among leading imams on questions of law occasioned dissent among their followers. Bernard Haykel and Aron Zysow address this issue in their contribution, analysing the various strategies to counter these challenges. The dual focus of their contribution is a poem by Ishāq b. Yūsuf, *ʿUqūd al-taškīk* (12th/18th century), which called upon Yemeni Zaydīs to clarify their legal identity and the structure of authority of all the Sunnī *madhabs*, as well as the various responses to it in prose and verse. While several respondents sought to affirm the viability of the legal school, others, notably Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1182/1769) and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī l-Ṣawkānī (d. 1250/1834), argued that it could not be saved. Their objections to traditional legal authority (*taqlīd*) within Zaydism were widely

disseminated by 19th- and 20th-century Muslim reformers interested in undermining the Sunnī schools of law and continue to enjoy great currency.

Gregor Schwarb and James King focus on 20th century Zaydīs in Yemen. Schwarb examines the presence and quality of Mu‘tazilī *kalām* in a major Zaydī composition of the 20th century, namely ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-‘Aḡrī’s (b. 1320/1902, d. 1407/1987) *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda*, which was completed in May 1952, that is, ten years before the Revolution of 1962. Analyzing the wide range of Mu‘tazilī and non-Mu‘tazilī sources used and quoted in the *Miftāḥ* he shows that the Zaydīs in Yemen fostered the continuous transmission and study of Mu‘tazilī *kalām* up to the present time. James King investigates issues similar to those studied by Haykel and Zysow in post-Imamate Yemen up to the most recent times. In his contribution, he focuses on the identification and loyalty tensions facing Yemen’s Zaydī community, examines whether or not a recent revival in Zaydī identity, thought and practice has diminished Zaydīs’ loyalties to the Republic of Yemen, and explores the efforts of a community of Zaydī scholar-activists to broaden Zaydīs’ political, social and theological space to define their composite identifications and loyalties.

It is to be hoped that this special issue of *Arabica* will prompt more scholars to address the rich and mostly unexplored tradition of Zaydism. Thanks are due to Abdallah Cheikh-Moussa, the editor-in-chief of *Arabica*, for agreeing to have a special issue devoted to Zaydism, and to the three anonymous readers whose comments have helped tremendously to improve the contributions included in this issue.