

# Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril



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# Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril

Edited by

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Sabine Schmidtke

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# THE FATE OF YEMENI MANUSCRIPTS, LATE NINETEENTH TO EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES:

## AN INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

HASSAN ANSARI AND SABINE SCHMIDTKE

### THE KHIZĀNA AL-MUTAWAKKILIYYA 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.<sup>2</sup> Imam al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1904–1948) devised an idiosyncratic religio-pedagogical program to advance religion and culture in Yemen and strengthen its Zaydī identity, while at the same time attempting to shield its citizens from the advancements of modernity.<sup>3</sup> His educational reforms included the foundation in 1926 of a “mosque university” (*al-Madrasa al-‘Ilmiyya*), where the country’s elite was educated over

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks are due to the following libraries for providing us with digital copies of the codices referred to in this introduction and for granting us permission to include reproductions of selected images: in Ankara, Milli Kütüphanesi; in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz; in Bombay, Kutubkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Muḥammadiyya-yi Jāmi‘ Masjid; in Bursa, Haraççioğlu Library; in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya and Maktabat al-Azhar; in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library; in Hyderabad, al-Maktaba al-Khalīliyya; in Leiden, Leiden University Library; in Leipzig, Leipzig University Library; in Lucknow, the Nāṣiriyya Library; in Mashhad, the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library; in Muscat, Dā‘irat Makhtūṭāt Wizārat al-Turāth wa-l-Thaqāfa bi-Saltanat ‘Umān; in New York, Columbia University Library; in Najaf, the library of Mu‘assasat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ al-‘Āmma; in Naples, the library of University “L’Orientale”; in Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University Library; in Rome, Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiana and Biblioteca IsMEO; in Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf and Mu‘assasat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Thaqāfiyya (Imam Zayd bin Ali Cultural Foundation, IZbACF); in Tarim, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf; in Vienna, the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Austrian National Library; in Žatec, Regionální muzeum K.A. Polánka.

<sup>2</sup> For Yemen under Ottoman rule, 1849–1919, see Thomas Kuehn, *Empire, Islam, and Politics of Difference: Ottoman Rule in Yemen, 1849–1919*, Leiden: Brill, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of Yemen during the era of Imam Yaḥyā, see Paul Dresch, *History of Modern Yemen*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, chapters 1 and 2.

the next several decades.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, in 1925 Imam Yaḥyā 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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, Ḥaḍramūt (Dhībīn).

<sup>4</sup> See Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Akwa', *al-Madāris al-Islāmiyya fī l-Yaman*, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla / Sanaa: Maktabat al-Jil al-Jadīd, 1406/1986, pp. 400–434. The Madrasa al-'Ilmiyya was closed in 1963.

<sup>5</sup> *Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya al-'āmirā bi-l-Jāmi' al-muqaddas bi-Ṣan'ā' al-maḥmiyya*, Sanaa: Wizārat al-ma'ārif, [ca. 1942/43]. Although no author is named in the publication, Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Akwa' mentions Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥajrī (1307–1380/1889 or 1890–1960) as the person responsible for the compilation of the catalog; see al-Akwa's preface to Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Īsawī and Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Malīḥ, *Fihris makḥḥūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi' al-kabīr bi-Ṣan'ā'*, Alexandria: Manshā'at Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1978; see also 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Wajīh, *Al'ām al-mu'allifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 2nd rev. and enl. ed., 2 vols., Sanaa: Mu'assasat Imām Zayd b. 'Alī al-Thaqāfiyya, 1439/2018, vol. 2, pp. 192–193. Al-Ḥajrī also compiled a catalog of the personal library of Imam Yaḥyā, but this was never published. One of the few non-Yemeni scholars able to consult the catalog was Muhammad Hamidullah (1908–2002) during his visit to Sanaa in 1947; see Muhammad Hamidullah, "Le 'Livre des Généalogies' d'al-Balāḍūriyy," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 14 (1952–1954), pp. 197–211, here p. 198. For Hamidullah and his journey to Yemen in 1947, see also below, n. 8. For the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya and its 1942/43 catalog, see also Brinkley Messick's contribution to this volume. When the Egyptians visited Sanaa in the early 1950s (for details see below), the private library of Imam Yaḥyā with some 1,000 codices was still kept separate from the library of the Great Mosque; see Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane = Maṣādir tārikh al-Yaman fī l-'aṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1974, p. 421.

<sup>6</sup> For sample images from the catalog, see figs. 2 through 10 in Brinkley Messick's contribution to this volume.

<sup>7</sup> The figures in the following are based on our own statistical analysis of the data in the 1942/43 catalog, *Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*. The only study to touch briefly on the history of the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya and its holdings is Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Akwa', "al-Turāth al-fikrī fī ḡhābir al-Yaman wa-ḥāḍirihā," *Majallat Majma' al-lughā al-'arabiyya al-urdunnī* 4, nos. 11–12 (1401/1981), pp. 77–91.

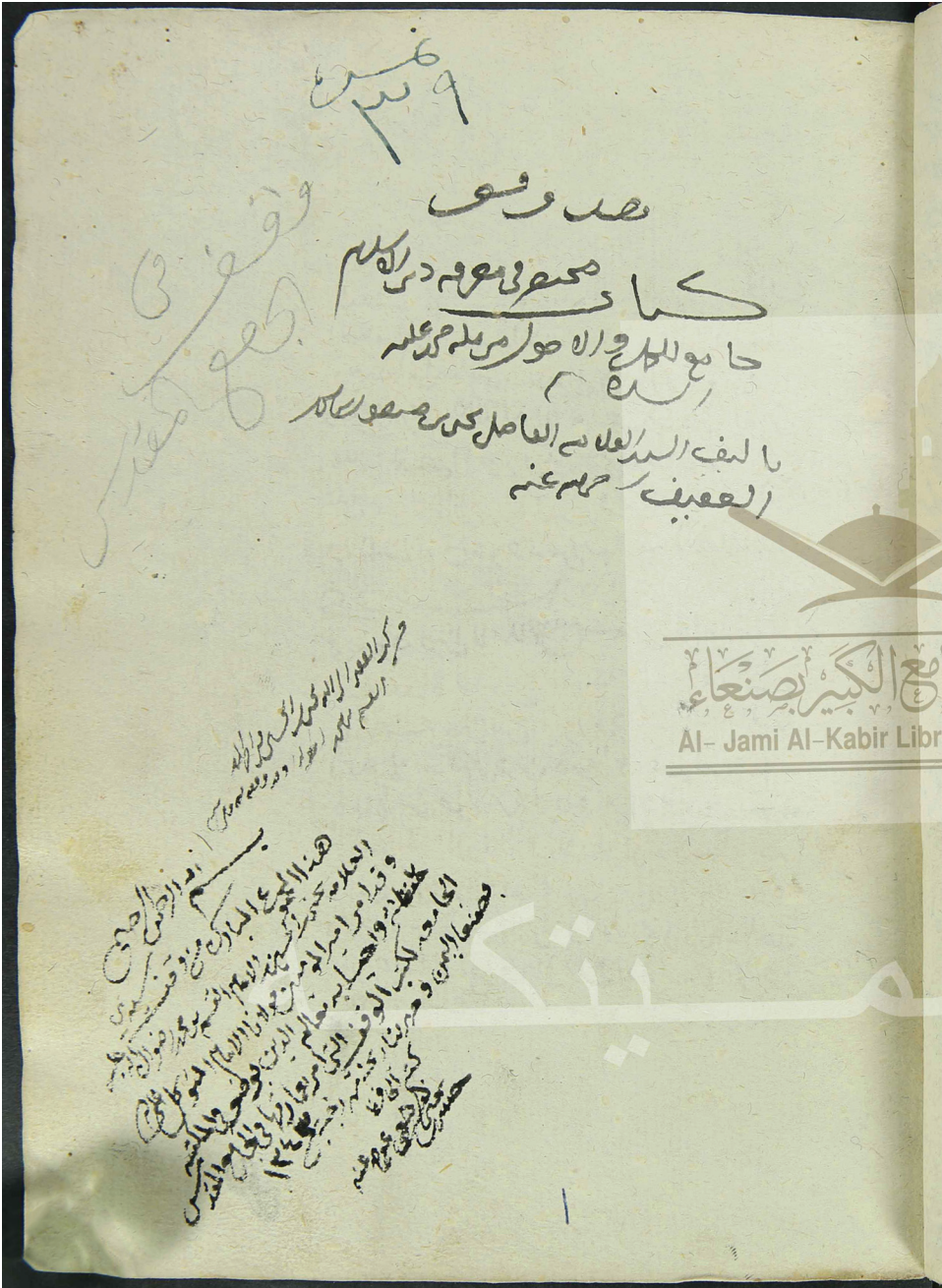


Figure 1. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf, *majāmi'* 10 (title page with ownership statement by Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim and note of transfer to Sanaa, dated Rajab 1343/January-February 1925).





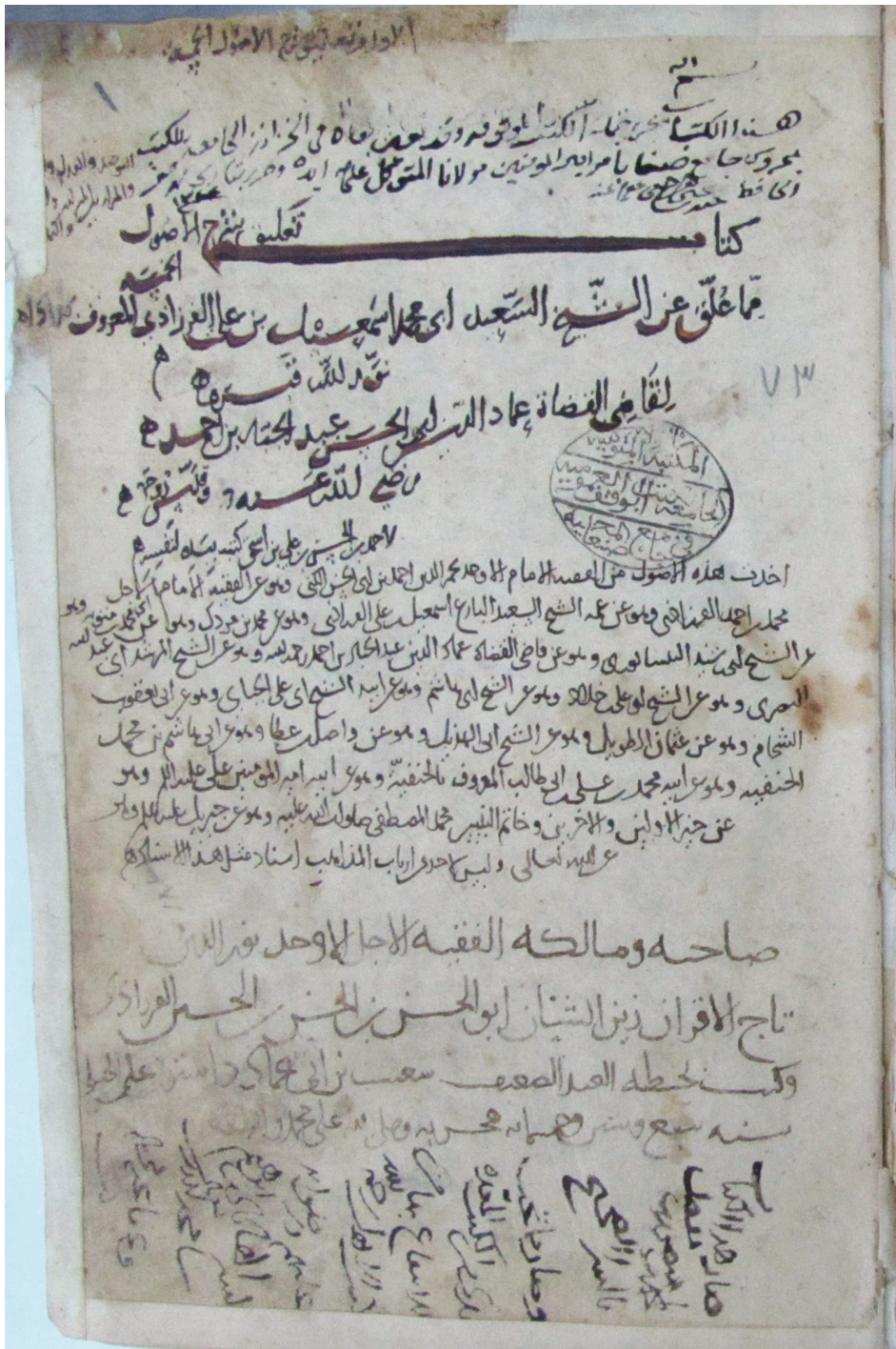


Figure 4. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 599 (title page of a supercommentary [ta'liq] of Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Farrazādī on the *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa* by 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, with various ownership statements by members of the Āl al-Wazīr).



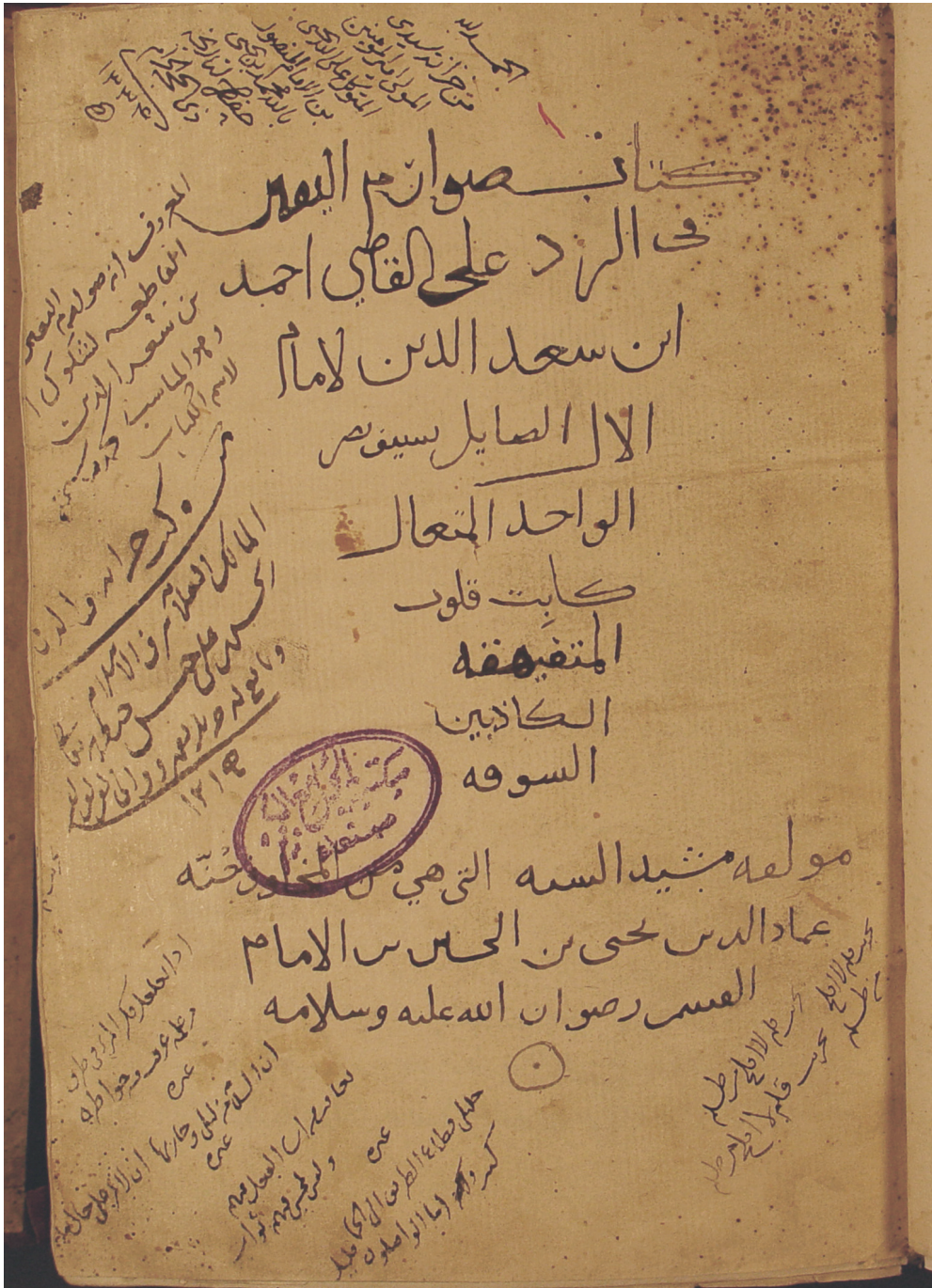


Figure 6. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmi' al-kabīr, 3024 (titlepage of *Ṣawārim al-yaqīn* by Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim, with a note indicating that the codex belonged to Imām Yahyā's personal library).



Figure 7. MS Muscat, Dā'irat makhtūṭāt wizārat al-turāth wa-l-thaqāfa bi-Salṭanat 'Umān 101 (title page of volume five of al-Ḥākīm al-Jishumī's *al-Tahdhīb fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*).



Figure 8. MS Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiana, Or. 364 (title page of volume 8 of *al-Basīṭ fi l-tafsīr* by Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mattūya [d. 468/1076]).



Figure 9. MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Taymūr ‘aqā’id 357 (title page of volume 1 of Ibn Mattawayh’s *al-Majmū’ fi l-Muḥīt bi-l-taklīf*, dated Ramaḍān 683/August–September 1284 and copied by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Atiyya al-Najrānī).



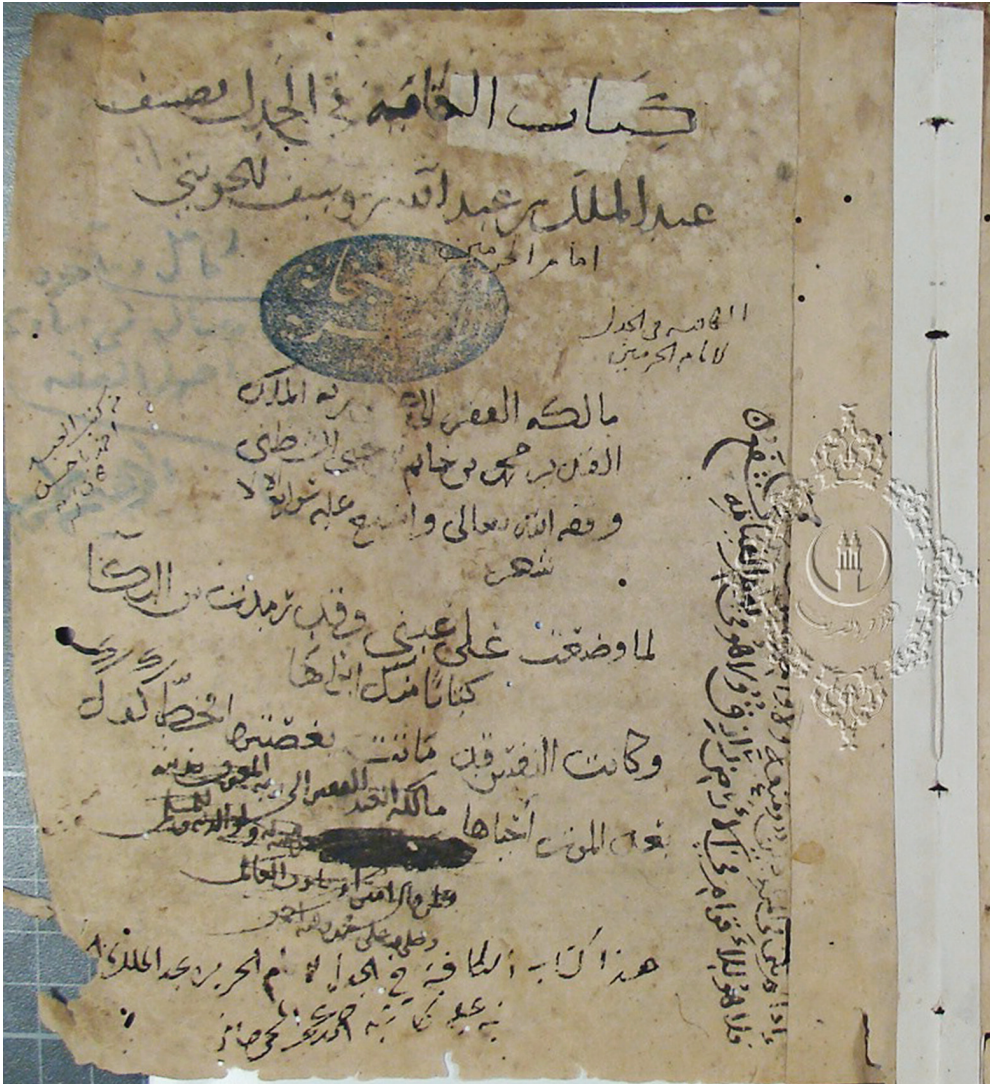


Figure 11. MS Cairo, Maktabat al-Azhar 10633 (title page of *al-Kāfiya fī l-jadal*, attributed to al-Juwaynī).



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 Ja'far b. Ḥarb).

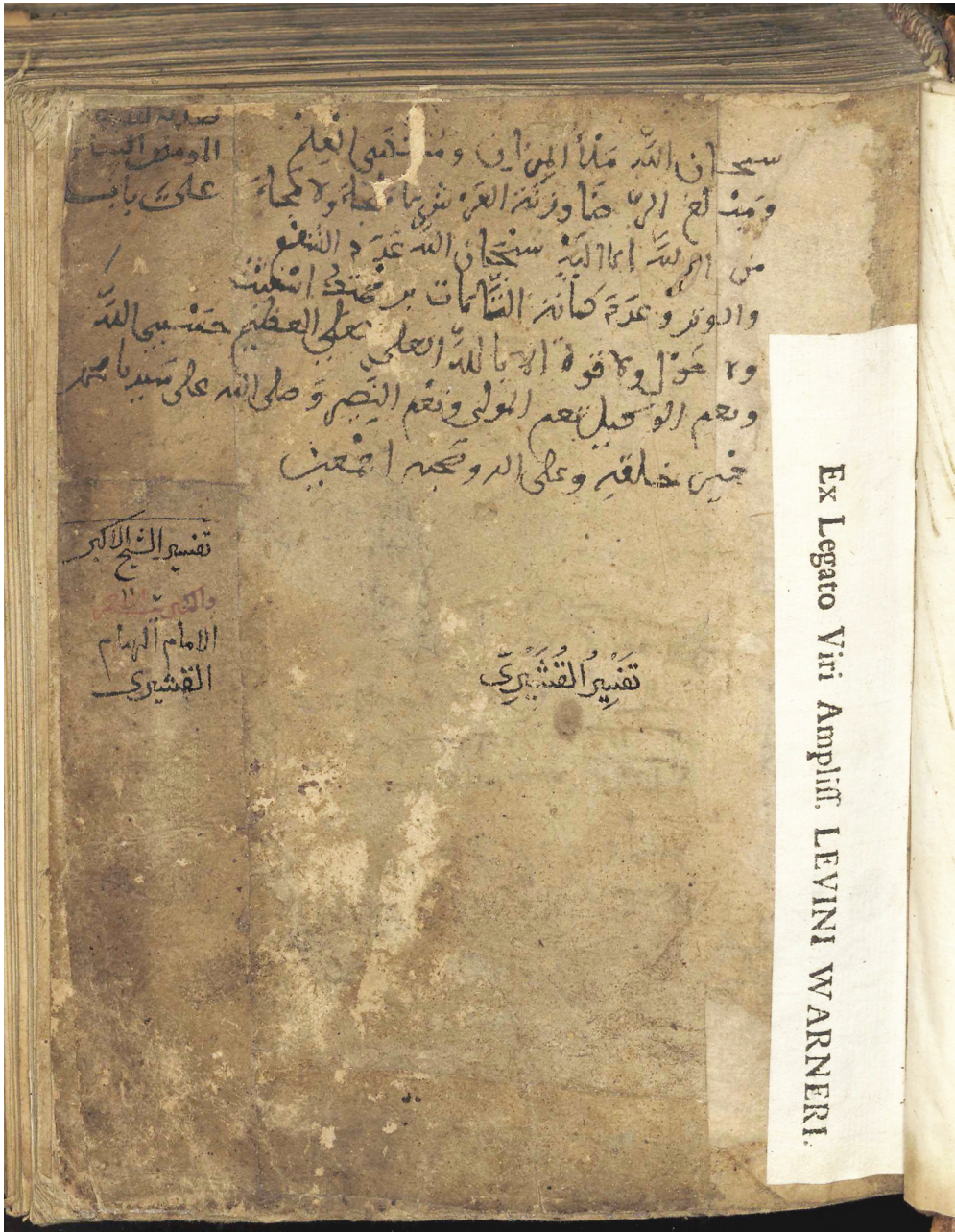


Figure 14. MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 811 (title page of an exegesis attributed to al-Qushayrī).

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الروح الولد هذا اذا جعل على نوح الروح من حياض الله تعالى وما  
 اذا جعل حياضه عن خلق عيسى صمد الله عليه وسلم فلا يشك فيه وال  
 الاصم وال كعصم لم ينج حياض الله عليه من فزع الدرع وليس في شئ  
 وقال المفسرين له لم ينج في الفرج واللا حيب ربهما فلا عرف  
 في التوف او افشاح فقال الروح وكذا اعمال للموضع الذي يحيا  
 منه العود في كذا فوضه في كذا وقال تعالى وصرفت بكلمات ربها واهلها  
 بكرمهم من قال تعالى لم يحسبوا على الله ان لا يعال بها عيسى صمد الله  
 عليه فقال وكلمته الفاء الى مريم او قال عز وجل اذا قالت اللاتي  
 كن من الله يفتكرن كلمة وقد سئنا معناه اذا سئنا عيسى صمد الله  
 عليه له كائنه وهذا قول ابي ومهم من قال لعيسى صمد الله  
 حياضه صمد الله عليه انما اناس ركب لهب كذا علاما زكيا في مهم  
 تلك ما اوتي السما وحيا من الله عليه فامنت به وهذا قول الاصم وال  
 لعصم به ما حو طب لم كتول عز وجل يا مريم امني لربك الى غير ذلك  
 وهو عز وجل وكاب قد اختلفت الرواه في قول ابو جعفر وعصم عن  
 عاصم على الجمع ويكون الراه التولية واكمل الحبل وحبرها من  
 الكتب المنزلة على الانبياء صلوات الله عليهم وورا الياقون وكما به على  
 واحد والراه الاحبل ثم قال وقال وكحات من القانتين والاب التولى  
 رحمه الله وهو الياقون على طاعة الله تعالى وعلى القانتين يدبره واليات  
 هو المايت على طاعة الله تعالى واليق يدسه ووقد قل فكانت  
 من القانتين والياقون وورع الملا اطالة الفتون في الصلاة ووردنا الاحلاف  
 في ذكر في غير موضع والله اعلم بالصواب

Figure 15. MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 811, fol. 295r (final page in the codex).

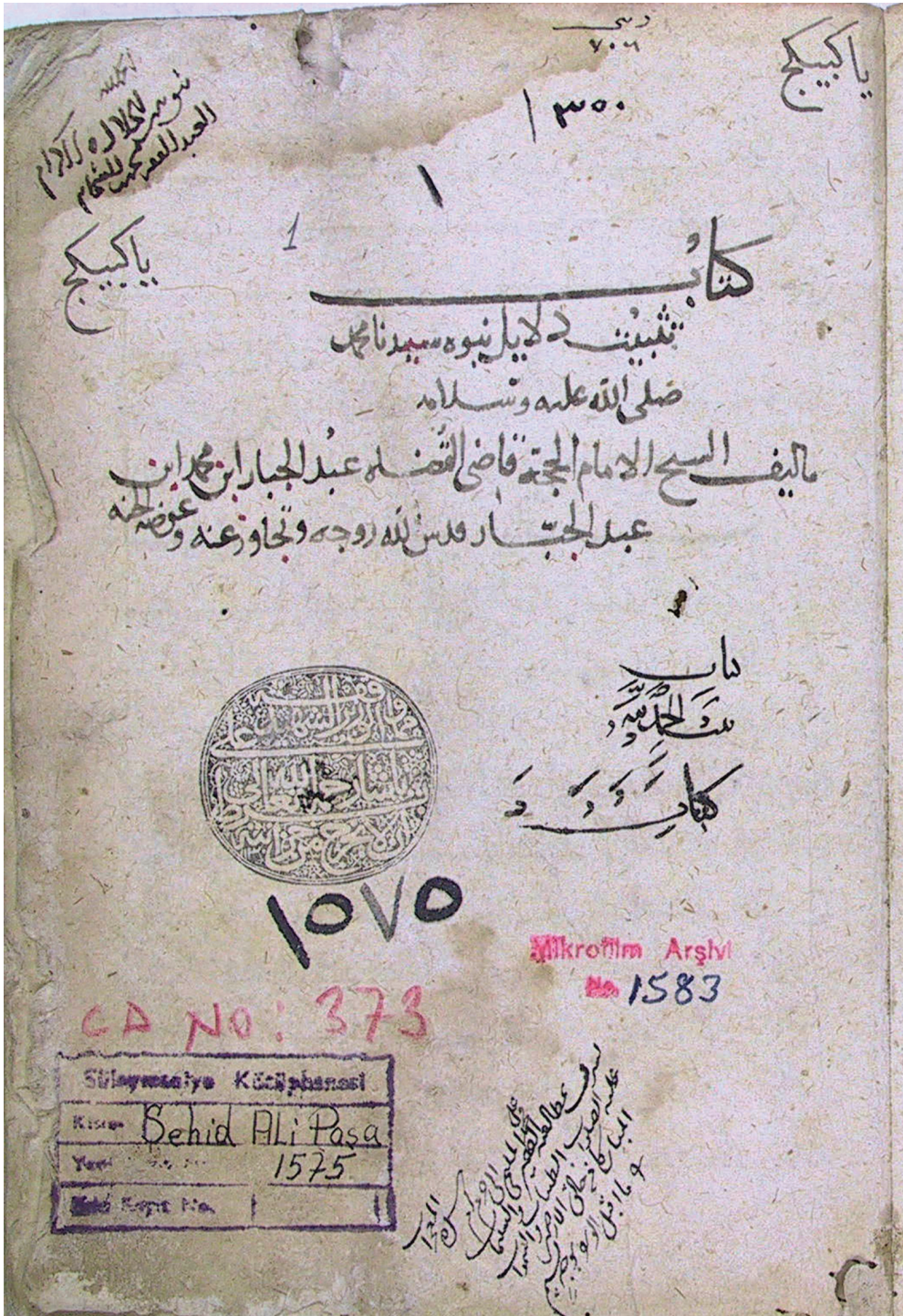


Figure 16. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa 1575 (title page of *Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, attributed to 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī).

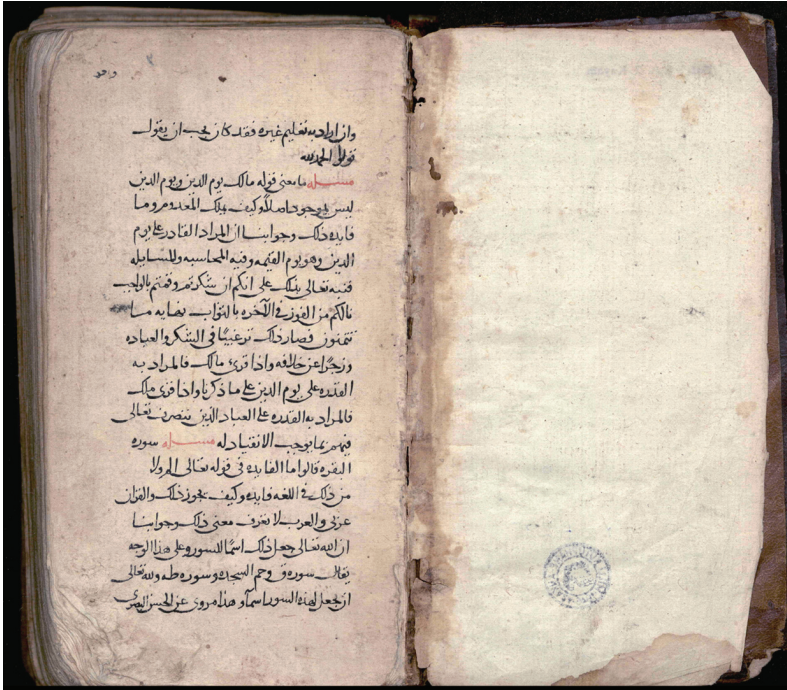


Figure 17. MS Ankara, Milli Kütüphanesi Yz A 295 (first leaf of 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī's K. al-Tanzīh).

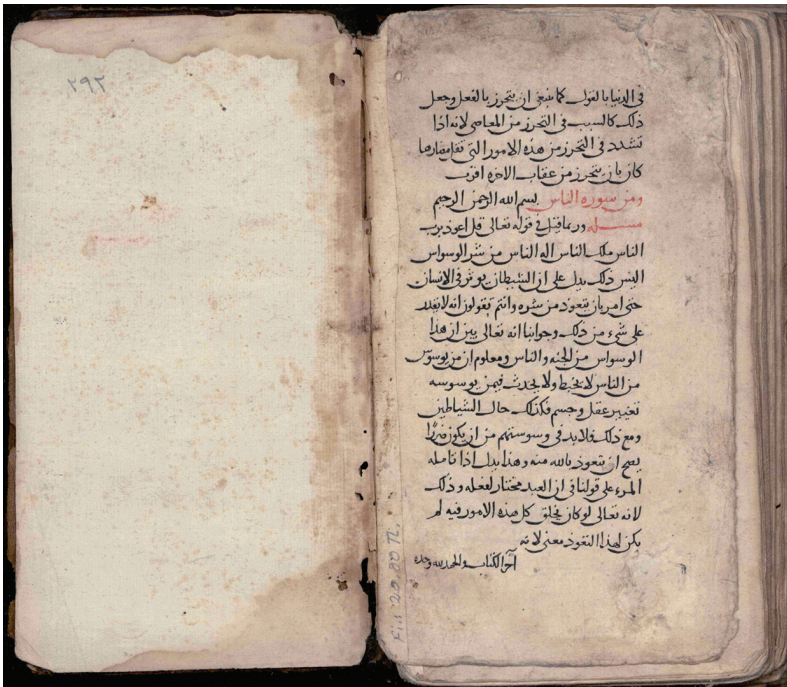


Figure 18. MS Ankara, Milli Kütüphanesi Yz A 295 (final leaf of 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī's K. al-Tanzīh).

This layer includes well-known works of Mu‘tazilī literature, such as several volumes of the *K. al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawhīd wa-l-‘adl* by the chief judge and head of the Baṣran Mu‘tazila ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) (figs. 2, 65), as well as writings by some of the latter’s students and companions, including Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> Another set of particularly precious and old manuscripts in the Khizāna originated in the library of the Āl al-Wazīr, a

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<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that a few Mu‘tazilī works have come down to us that originated in Sunni circles. This is the case with the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, a heresiography written, according to Wilferd Madelung, by Ja‘far b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850), which is preserved in a unique manuscript in Bursa, Haraççioğlu Library, no. 1309 (fig. 13); for the work, see Wilferd Madelung, “Frühe mu‘tazilitische Häresiographie: Das *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* des Ğāfar b. Ḥarb?,” *Der Islam* 57 (1980), pp. 220–236; Josef van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*, 2 vols., Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011, vol. 1, pp. 140–148. An *editio princeps* was published in Josef van Ess, *Frühe mu‘tazilitische Häresiographie: Zwei Werke des Nāṣi’ al-akbar (gest. 293 H.)*, Beirut: Orient-Institut, 1971, which identifies the text as a work by Nāṣi’ al-Akbar (d. 293/906) on the basis of the manuscript’s title page. A new edition was published in 2007 by Seyit Bahçivan as *Mezhepler tarihi yazmalarında aidiyet problemi: “Usulu’n-Nihal ve el-firaku’l-İslamiyye”; Örneği ve Eserlerin Edisyon Kritiği*, Konya: Adal Ofset, 2007. Hassan Ansari rather proposes Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl al-Misma‘ī (d. ca. 270/883–84) as the most probable author of the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*; see Hassan Ansari, “Kitāb-i Uṣūl al-nihāl az kīst? Naqdī bar Āqāyān fān Ess wa Mādilūng,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <https://ansari.kateban.com/post/4927> (accessed 21 February 2022).

Another example is the single extant copy of al-Khayyāt’s (d. ca. 300/913) *K. al-Intiṣār*, which was copied in 347/958–59 and purchased by the Dār al-Kutub in July 1910. For the history of the codex, see Nyberg’s introduction to his edition of the book: Abū l-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Khayyāt, *K. al-Intiṣār wa-l-radd ‘alā Ibn al-Rawandī al-mulḥid*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, Cairo: n.p., 1344/1925.

MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 811 (dated 535/1140; see colophon on fol. 200v) is a partial exegesis, covering verses Q 57:21 through 66:12 (fig. 15), that is attributed on the title page to Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) (fig. 14). This is evidently a misattribution—the work was clearly composed by a Mu‘tazilī author, and the dates of the individual *majālis*, which constitute the basic structural organization of the material, indicate the time of the work’s composition: the first *majlis* is dated 2 Dhū l-Ḥijja 413/25 February 1023 and the last one 19 Rabī‘ l 414/10 June 1023. Hassan Ansari, in “Kashf-i nuskhā-yi yik tafsīr-i tāza yāb-i mu‘tazilī: Ta’līf Abū Muslim Ibn Mihrīzād Iṣfahānī wa yā tafsīrī az Abū l-‘Abbās-i Sammān?,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/4899> (accessed 21 January 2022), has suggested that the author could be either Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mihrīzād al-Naḥwī al-Mu‘allim al-Adīb al-Iṣbahānī (b. 366/976–77, d. 459/1066–67), a Mu‘tazilī who was renowned for his comprehensive *tafsīr* of twenty volumes, or, more likely, Abū l-‘Abbās al-Sammān, who belonged to the circle of ‘Abd al-Jabbār; see Fu‘ād Sayyid (ed.), *Faḍl al-‘itizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Mu‘tazila*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, Beirut: al-Ma‘had al-‘Almānī li-l-Abḥāth al-Shar‘iyya, 1439/2017, pp. 398, 406. Al-Sammān is also renowned for his *tafsīr*. See Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, *Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s Oeuvre and Thought in Context: An Archaeological Inquiry into Texts and Their Transmission*, Cordoba: UCOPress, 2022, p. 134 n. 205. An overview of earlier scholarship on the Leiden codex is given in Martin Nguyen, “*Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*: An Investigation of al-Qushayrī’s Major Qur’an Commentary,” *Journal of Sufi Studies* 2 (2013), pp. 17–45, here pp. 20–22. Nguyen tentatively defends al-Qushayrī’s authorship, but his argumentation is not convincing. Nguyen tries to show that the work’s frequent references to Abū ‘Alī, Abū l-Qāsim, *qāḍī l-quḍāt*, and Abū Muslim do not refer to Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā‘ī (d. 303/915), Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka‘bī al-Balkhī (d. 319/931), ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, and Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī (d. 322/934), as they appear to do, and he appeals to the division of the work into *majālis* as evidence of al-Qushayrī’s authorship but ignores the fact that this was a common structural arrangement in this period (and

beyond) that was not restricted to Sufi circles. For a digital surrogate of MS Leiden, Or. 811, see <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1934500> (accessed 8 December 2021).

The exegetical work, *al-Jāmi' fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān* of the Mu'tazili 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) apparently circulated only among Sunnis; for the extant manuscripts, see Alena Kulinich, "Representing 'a Blameworthy Tafsīr': Mu'tazilite Exegetical Tradition in *al-Jāmi' fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān* of 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994)," PhD thesis, University of London, 2021, pp. 62–63; see also the introduction by Khaḍīr Muḥammad Nabḥā to his edition of *Tafsīr Abī l-Ḥasan al-Rummānī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2009, esp. p. 8).

Mention should also be made of Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī's *Qabūl al-akhbār wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*; the single extant copy of the work, dated Dhū l-Qa'da 572/May–June 1177, is held by the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo. For a description of the copy, see Abū 'Amr al-Ḥusaynī b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm's introduction to his edition of the work (Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akhbār wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Abū 'Amr al-Ḥusaynī b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 23–24), and Hüseyin Hansu's introduction to his edition (Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī, *Qabūl al-akhbār wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Ḥusayn Khānshū [Hüseyin Hansu], Amman: Dār al-Fatḥ / Istanbul: KURAMER Center for Quranic Studies, 1439/2018, pp. 23–25).

A further example is *Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, attributed on the title page of the single extant copy, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehit Ali Paşa 1575, to "Qāḍī l-Quḍāt 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī" (fig. 16); see 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān's introduction to his edition of the text (Beirut: Dār al-'Arabiyya, 1386/1966), p. kāf. Hassan Ansari has questioned 'Abd al-Jabbār's authorship of the text; see Hassan Ansari, "Yük pursish-i muhimm dar bāra-yi kitāb-i mashhūr: *Tathbīt dalā'il-i nubuwwa*," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2226> (accessed 21 January 2022); Hassan Ansari, "Nawīsanda-yi *Tathbīt-i dalā'il al-nubuwwa* (2)," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2236> (accessed 21 January 2022).

'Abd al-Jabbār's *Tanzīh al-Qur'ān 'an al-maṭā'in* is also preserved in at least one manuscript in Cairo and it was first published in Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Jamāliyya in 1329/1911 (frequently reprinted), decades before the Egyptians visited the libraries of Yemen, and again in 2006 (ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Sāyih, Cairo: Maktabat al-Nāfidha, 2006; the editor remains silent about the manuscript[s] he consulted for the edition). See 'Adnān Muḥammad Zarzūr's introduction to his edition of 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Mutashābih al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1969, vol. 1, p. 25 n. 4, where Zarzūr 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 *Tanzīh al-Qur'ān* (but provides no further information). Another witness of the *Tanzīh* that has never been consulted so far is preserved as MS Ankara, Milli 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-Ḥākim al-Jishumī's (d. 494/1101) *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il* is just *al-Tanzīh*; see Fu'ād Sayyid (ed.), *Faḍl al-ītizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazila*, 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. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266). See Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992, p. 355 no. 593. For the case of 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Mutashābih al-Qur'ān*, see below n. 74.

Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī (d. 488/1095), a former student of 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, wrote *K. al-Wāḍiḥ*, a work on legal theory, which is preserved in a unique manuscript in Istanbul, viz. MS Istanbul, Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi 18944; for the work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought*, chapter 1.6. A critical edition of *K. al-Wāḍiḥ* by Hassan Ansari, Ehsan Mousavi Khalkhali, and Sabine Schmidtke is forthcoming. Our work on the edition began some two years ago, after Hassan Ansari had identified MS Istanbul, Beyazit 18944 as the *K. al-Wāḍiḥ* (the manuscript's title page has merely a descriptive title, *Mukhtaṣar fi uṣūl al-fiqh*) and written about it on social media. Subsequently, Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (i.e., Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. 'Abd Allāh al-

Ḥusaynī, on whom see below) and ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghizzī published the book (Kuwait: Dār al-Fāris, 2021). We have not seen the publication and cannot judge its quality.

The *Kitāb al-Tajrīd fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Malāḥīmī (d. 536/1179) is preserved in a single witness, copied in 575/1179 by one Abū l-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The copy, which is nowadays preserved as MS Oxford, Bodleian, Arab. E. 103, was apparently produced in Kh̲wārazm. 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 Ahdal 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-Baṣrī's *K. al-Mu'tamad* (Damascus, 1964-65), by the *qāḍī* of the Bayt al-Faqīh of Ahdal. 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 *Mu'tamad*, p. 29), see his correspondence with Paul E. Kahle (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR\_925).

Abū l-Maʿālī Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-ʿUjālī al-Uṣūlī, who hailed most likely from Khurāsān and may have been a member of the famous Āl Ṣāʿid, a Ḥanafī family in Nishapur, was probably a student of Ibn al-Malāḥīmī. He is the author of a *K. al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn*, in which the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī are systematically compared with those of the Bahshamiyya. A precious copy of the work is preserved in Yemen (MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 711; **figs. 81, 82**), and another one is preserved as MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 487 (**figs. 84, 85**); see [https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/q6ue0j/UBL\\_ALMA21323469060002711](https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/q6ue0j/UBL_ALMA21323469060002711) (accessed 13 December 2021). It seems that the two witnesses represent different versions of the *K. al-Kāmil*. MS Leiden, Or. 487 was possibly produced in Khurāsān and is part of the Levinus Warner (d. 1665) collection, indicating that it was purchased in Istanbul. For a description of the Leiden codex, see al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Shāhid's introduction to his edition of the work (which was based on the Leiden manuscript only), *al-Kāmil fī l-istiṣāʿ fīmā balaghanā min kalām al-qudamāʾ*, li-l-Shaykh al-ʿAllāma Taqī al-ʿĀmma wa-l-Dīn Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-ʿUjālī al-Muʿtazilī *al-shahīr bi-Taqī al-Dīn al-Najrānī*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Shāhid, Cairo: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1420/1999. Al-Shāhid misidentified the work's author by conflating the names of two different scholars; see Hassan Ansari, “*Kitāb al-Kāmil-i Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-Uṣūlī*, kitābī dar dānish-i kalām-i muʿtazilī,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1829> (accessed 21 January 2022).

MS London, British Library 8613 contains a fragment of a work that can possibly be identified as the *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-kabīr* by the Iranian Zaydi author ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Shāh] Sarjān [Sarbijān] (fl. fifth/twelfth century), a supercommentary on the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Baṣrī, the distinguished disciple of Abū Ḥāshim al-Jubbāʾī (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 Muʿtazilite Treatise on Prophethood and Miracles: Being Probably the *Bāb ʿalā l-Nubuwwah* from the *Ziyadat al-Sharḥ* by Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī,” 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 Muʿtazilī works were transmitted exclusively among the Imamiyya. This applies to some dogmatic tracts by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995), notably the *ibāna* and the *Tadhkira*, which are preserved among the Imamis and never reached Yemen; for details, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought*, passim. In 1374/1955, Ḥusayn ʿAlī Maḥfūz published an edition of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād's *Risāla fī l-hidāya wa-l-ḍalāla* (Tehran: Maṭbūʾāt al-Ḥaydarī) 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-hidāya wa-l-ḍalāla* mansūb biḥ Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <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 (*fī khizāna fī gharbī mu'akhhkar Jāmi' Ṣan'ā*).<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> Another portion, which belongs to another branch of the family, is still held by the family in Hijrat al-Sirr.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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 qāḍī-l-quḍāt 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad fī anna l-mujbira wa-l-mushabbīha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl 'alā l-nubuwwa* circulated exclusively among the Twelver Shī'is as a regular component of miscellanies of writings by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044); see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought*, chapter 2.1 and passim. Likewise, 'Abd al-Jabbār's *al-Mukhtaṣar fī 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.

<sup>9</sup> The relevant passage from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Yamanī al-Ṣan'ānī's (d. after 1099/1688) *Mustaḍāb* is quoted in al-Akwā', "al-Turāth al-fikrī," pp. 82–83; a portion of it is also quoted in 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abbās al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir al-turāth fī l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*, 2 vols., McLean, VA: Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī al-Thaqāfiyya, 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 356–357.

<sup>10</sup> 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].

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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-Akwā', "al-Turāth al-fikrī," pp. 86ff.

<sup>13</sup> For catalogs of the holdings of the Hijrat al-Sirr library (which are not accessible), see 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt ba'ḍa l-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*, London: Mu'assasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1994, pp. 33–68 (listing 125 titles); al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, pp. 355–402 (listing 111 codices).

<sup>14</sup> For the history of the library of the Āl al-Wazīr and the family's different branches, see also Zayd al-Wazīr's contribution to this volume. See also 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Miqrā'ī, *Maknūn al-sirr fī taḥrīr naḥārīr al-sirr*, ed. Zayd b. 'Alī al-Wazīr, McLean, VA: Markaz al-Turāth wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamanī, 1423/2002, pp. 150–151.

founder, Imam al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (r. 1006–1029/1597–1620), namely, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim (1029–1092/1620–1681), whose collection represents 10 percent of the Khizāna’s holdings, and Aḥmad’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. ‘Alī b. Qays (d. 1096/1685) (21 percent). Imam Yaḥyā 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 the libraries of some prominent contemporary scholars of Yemen, including ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi’ī (1295–1379/1878–1960), ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm (1302–1396/1885–1976),<sup>15</sup> ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī Kubās (1325–1402/1907–1981 or 1982), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī (1350/1932–?),<sup>16</sup> and others.<sup>17</sup>

Imam Yaḥyā’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 ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza and members of the Qāsimī dynasty, for example, had been sold and are nowadays found in the libraries of Riyadh, Oman,<sup>17a</sup> Cairo,<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> On him, see Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī al-Akwa’, *Hijar al-‘ilm wa-ma’āqiluhu fi l-Yaman*, 6 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu‘āṣir, 1424/2003, vol. 2, pp. 961–962 no. 15; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra, *Nuzhat al-naẓar fi rijāl al-qarn al-rābi’ ‘ashar*, 2 vols., Sanaa: Maktabat al-Irshād, 1431/2010, p. 489.

<sup>16</sup> On him, see al-Akwa’, *Hijar al-‘ilm*, vol. 1, p. 304 no. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Their donations are regularly recorded in Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayḥī, ‘Abd al-Allāh al-Ḥibshī, and ‘Alī Wahhāb al-‘Anisī, *Fihrist makḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Jāmi’ al-kabīr Ṣan‘ā*, 4 vols., [Sanaa:] Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Irshād, 1404/1984.

<sup>17a</sup> This is the case, for example, with a copy of volume five of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī’s *al-Tahdhīb fi tafsīr al-Qur’ān*. As is indicated on the titlepage (**fig. 7**), the copy was produced as the behest of Imam al-Manṣūr ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza. The titlepage also has an *ijāza*, issued by al-Manṣūr for his sons Aḥmad and Muḥammad (dated Dhū l-Ḥijja 603/July 1207). For a description of this manuscript, see the introduction of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān 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 *ijāza*. Another example are some copies of *al-Mutashābih fi l-Qur’ān* by the Mu’tazilī author Abū Ṭāhir al-Ṭuraythīthī in the libraries of Oman; see ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sālimī, “*al-Mutashābih fi l-Qur’ān* li-l-Ṭuraythīthī: Dirāsa li-l-kitāb wa-nusakhihi al-khaṭṭiyya,” *Majallat Ma’had al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-‘Arabiyya* 52 (1429/2008). pp. 7–42, here pp. 26–28.

<sup>18</sup> An example is volume 1 of Ibn Mattawayh’s *al-Majmū’ fi l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, dated Ramaḍān 683/August–September 1284 and copied by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atiyya al-Najrānī (**fig. 10**), who belonged to a renowned family of Zaydi scholars in Yemen (for a later member of the ‘Atiyya family, see al-Wajīh, *A’lām*, vol. 2, p. 84 no. 905; for the Āl ‘Atiyya, see also al-Maqḥafi, *Mawsū‘a*, vol. 4, p. 478). The manuscript is part of the Taymūr collection, which is nowadays kept in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo; see *Fihris al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya*, vol. 4: *al-‘Aqā’id wa-l-uṣūl*, Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1369/1950, p. 117 (shelf mark: ‘*aqā’id* 357). The title page (**fig. 9**) has several ownership statements from Yemen, as well as Aḥmad Taymūr’s (1288–1348/1871–1930) stamp. The copy was consulted for the edition of the text (see Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Majmū’ fi l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, vol. 1, ed. J. J. Houben, Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1965, p. jīm). For the copy the editor refers to Hellmut Ritter, “Philologika. III. Muhammedanische Häresiographien,” *Der Islam* 18 (1929), pp. 34–59,

here p. 42; Ritter, in turn, had learned about the copy through H. S. Nyberg (“Liegt auch vor in einer Handschrift 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 *Tadhkira* (Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1975, p. 17), the Taymūr collection also contains a copy of volume 1 of the *Tadhkira*. 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 Ja’far b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī’s (d. 573/1177–78) *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Ṣāhib b. ‘Abbād* (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 Fu’ād Sayyid, *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya: Tārīkhuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā*, Beirut: Awraq Sharqiyya, 1417/1996, pp. 74–86.

Another example is MS Cairo, Maktabat al-Azhar 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 Ash’arī. The manuscript was completed on 8 Rajab 650/14 September 1252 on the basis of a copy owned by the prominent Zaydī scholar Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254). The latter added a note to his copy stating that he had collated it with a manuscript of the text from ‘Irāq, i.e., Rayy and Jibāl in Iran, and that he completed his collation in Dhū l-Qa’da 640/April–May 1243. The scribe of MS Maktabat al-Azhar 10633, in turn, collated his copy with that of al-Muḥallī 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 Ash’arī literature. It is possible that the text was one of those brought by Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja’far b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd 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-Muḥallī, whom he calls “Ḥamd” b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī; see Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī, *al-Kāfiya fī l-jadal*, ed. Fawqiyya Ḥusayn Maḥmūd, Cairo: ‘Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1399/1979, p. 566. On the work, the identity of its author, and the manuscript, see Hassan Ansari, “Mawrid-i ‘ajīb-i *Kitāb al-Kāfiya fī l-jadal* mansūb bih Juwaynī,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3507> (accessed 21 January 2022). Another manuscript attesting to the familiarity of the Zaydis in Yemen with Ash’arite literature is preserved as MS Vatican, Vatican Apostolic Library 1147, containing a copy of *Nuzhat al-absār wa-maḥāsīn al-āthār*. While the book’s author is not mentioned in this unique copy, Hassan Ansari identified him as Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Maḥdī al-Ṭabarī al-Māmaṭīrī, the well-known student of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash’arī (d. 324/936), who was still alive during the mid-fourth/tenth century. See Hassan Ansari, “*Nahj al-balāgha* pīsh az *Nahj al-balāgha*,” *Nashr-i Dānish* 103 (1381sh/2002), pp. 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 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib that are included in it. Moreover, the author hailed from Ṭabaristān, where Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī (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, Borgiani, Rossiani*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935, p. 170; and Ṣādiq al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fī Maktabat al-Fātikān (Rūmā—al-Fātikān)*, Qum: Manshūrāt Dār al-Hudā, 2001, p. 166. The book’s author is indicated as anonymous in both catalogues.

Istanbul, Berlin, Leiden,<sup>19</sup> Milan, Rome (**fig. 8**), Vienna, Munich, London, and even Benghazi.<sup>20</sup> Others are today in the possession of private owners in Yemen.<sup>21</sup> 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 *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ‘alā l-falāsifa*, by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī (d. 536/1141). This copy, dated Dhū l-Ḥijja 1104/August 1693, was produced on the basis of an antigraph dated Rajab 693/June 1244 and copied by a Zaydī.<sup>22</sup> The library also possesses a copy of the *K. al-Marātib fī faḍā’il Amīr al-Mu’minīn wa-Sayyid al-Waṣiyyīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, by Abū l-Qāsim Ismā’il b. Aḥmad al-Bustī, who was a student of ‘Abd al-Jabbār. 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 Zaydī scholar Ḥanzala b. al-Ḥasan b. Shab‘ān (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 Ḥafar Dhībīn).<sup>23</sup> Yemeni manuscripts

<sup>19</sup> For examples from Leiden, see Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk’s contribution to this volume.

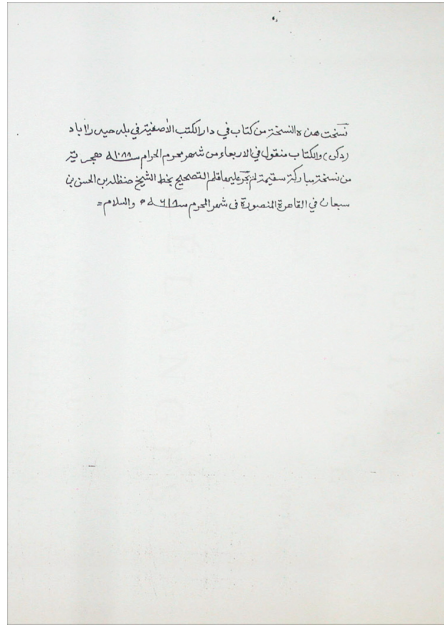
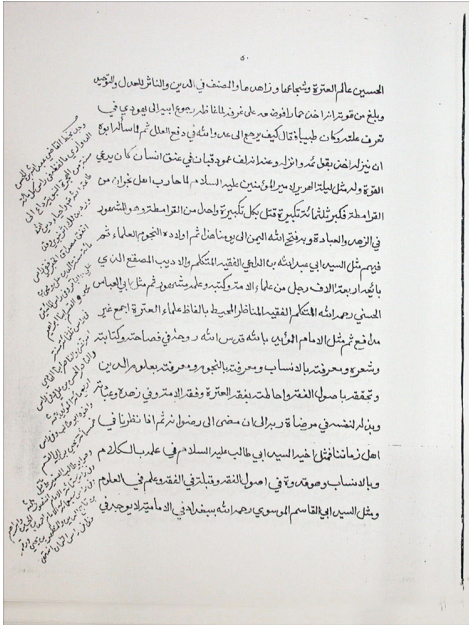
<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., Anne Regourd, “Note sur *Akhbār al-Zaydiyya bi-al-Yaman* et autres oeuvres du muṭarrifite al-Laḥjī,” *Nouvelles chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 11 (2020), pp. 131–146. According to the editor’s introduction to Musallam b. Muḥammad al-Laḥjī, *al-Juz’ al-rābi’ min K. Akhbār al-Zaydiyya min ahl al-bayt ‘alayhim al-salām wa-shī’atīhim bi-l-Yaman*, ed. Muqbil al-Tāmm ‘Amīr al-Aḥmadī, [Sanaa:] Majma’ al-‘Arabiyya al-Sa’īda, 1437/2015, a unique copy of al-Laḥjī’s *K. al-Mithlayn* is preserved in the library of the University of Benghazi. It was on the basis of this copy that Fayṣal Miftāḥ al-Haddād prepared his edition of al-Laḥjī’s *K. al-Mithlayn* (Benghazi: Manshūrāt Jāmi‘at Qāryūnis, 1988; for a description of the manuscript, see pp. 63–65 of the editor’s introduction) (for al-Laḥjī and his preserved works, see below, n. 63).

<sup>21</sup> See Sabine Schmidtke, *Traditional Yemeni Scholarship amidst Political Turmoil and War: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā’il b. al-Muṭaḥhar 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-llāh ‘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 vom Bruck.

<sup>22</sup> See Hassan Ansari and Wilferd Madelung’s introduction to their edition of the book (Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 1387sh/2008). For the manuscript of the *Tuḥfa*, see Riḍā Ustādī, “Fihrist-i diwīst wa sī nuskhā-yi khattī,” *Nūr-i ‘ilm* 54 (1373sh/1994), pp. 84–106, here p. 88; for more details, see Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “Sixth/Twelfth-Century Zaydī Theologians of Yemen Debating Avicennan Philosophy,” *Shii Studies Review* 5 (2021), pp. 217–269.

<sup>23</sup> For the location, see Robert T. O. Wilson, *Gazetteer of Historical North-West Yemen in the Islamic Period to 1650*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1989, p. 267. On the two Indian copies of the work, see also ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, *Ahl al-Bayt fī l-Maktaba al-‘arabiyya*, Qum: Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt li-lḥyā’ al-Turāth, 1417/1996, p. 462. For Ḥanzala b. al-Ḥasan b. Shab‘ān (or Sha‘bān), see Ansari, and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 183 no. 29. The Nāṣiriyya copy was not consulted by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Anṣārī al-Qummī for his edition of the *Marātib* (Abū l-Qāsim Ismā’il b. Aḥmad al-Bustī al-Mu’tazilī, *Kitāb al-Marātib fī faḍā’il Amīr al-Mu’minīn wa-Sayyid al-Waṣiyyīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Anṣārī al-Qummī, Qum:

got even as far as Tashkent, possibly through the *ḥajj*.<sup>23a</sup> The Maktaba al-Khalīliyya in Hyderabadabad owns a multitext volume comprising several texts pertaining to the history of Sanaa, which is of Yemeni origin (figs. 21, 22).<sup>23b</sup>



Figures 19 and 20. MS Lucknow, Nāṣiriyya Library (end of *K. al-Marātib fī fadā'il Amīr al-Mu'minin* by Abū l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Bustī).

al-Dalīl, 1421/2000–1). It is noteworthy that the Nāṣiriyya Library has a number of Mu'tazilī works among its holdings, including volume 4 of Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Majmū' min al-Muḥiṭ bi-l-taklīf*, which is clearly of Yemeni provenance; see Ustādī, "Fihrist-i diwīst wa sī nuskha-yi khaṭṭī," p. 103. The manuscript was completed on 4 or 5 Jumādā II 666/20 or 21 February 1268 (fig. 44). Additionally, there is a copy of a work identified as *Masālik al-abrār al-manẓūm min Jalā' al-abṣār* by al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī (d. 494/1101); see *Fihrist-i nusakh-i khaṭṭī-yi Kitābhkhāna-yi Nāṣiriyya Laknu*, ed. Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Fārsī, New Delhi: n.p., n.d., p. 165 entry no. 190; Ustādī, "Fihrist-i diwīst wa sī nuskha-yi khaṭṭī," p. 107. As is evident from the titlepage (fig. 45), this work is a *tartīb* prepared by the renowned seventh/thirteenth-century Zaydi Yemeni scholar Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī of al-Jishumī's *Jalā' al-abṣār*. This text is not preserved elsewhere and its existence was in fact so far entirely unknown, as it is not mentioned in the biobibliographical literature. A selection of excerpts from the *Jalā' al-abṣār* was prepared by Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Maswarī (d. 1079/1668) under the title *Tuḥfat al-abrār min akhbār al-'itra al-aṭḥār*; for this work, see Wilferd Madelung, *Arabic Texts concerning the History of the Zaydī Imāms of Tabāristān, Daylamān and Gīlān*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1987, p. 18 (English introduction). For the Nāṣiriyya Library, its history, and its holdings, see *Ṣaḥīfat al-Maktaba*, vol. 2, Najaf: Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minin 'alayhi l-salām al-Āmma, 1373/1953–54, pp. 14ff.

<sup>23a</sup> This is the case, for example, with volume 2 of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazraji's (d. 812/1410) *al-'Aqd al-fākhīr al-ḥasan fī ṭabaqāt akābir ahl al-Yaman wa-huwa Ṭīrāz al-'ālam al-zaman fī ṭabaqāt a'yān al-Yaman*; see ed. 'Abd Allāh Qā'id al-'Abbādī et al., Sanaa: Maktabat al-Jīl al-Jadīd, 2009, p. 161. A systematic search among the manuscripts of Tashkent may bring to light additional codices of Yemeni origin.

<sup>23b</sup> Access to the codex is provided through <https://www.alukah.net/spotlight/8011/147345/> (accessed 11 January 2022).



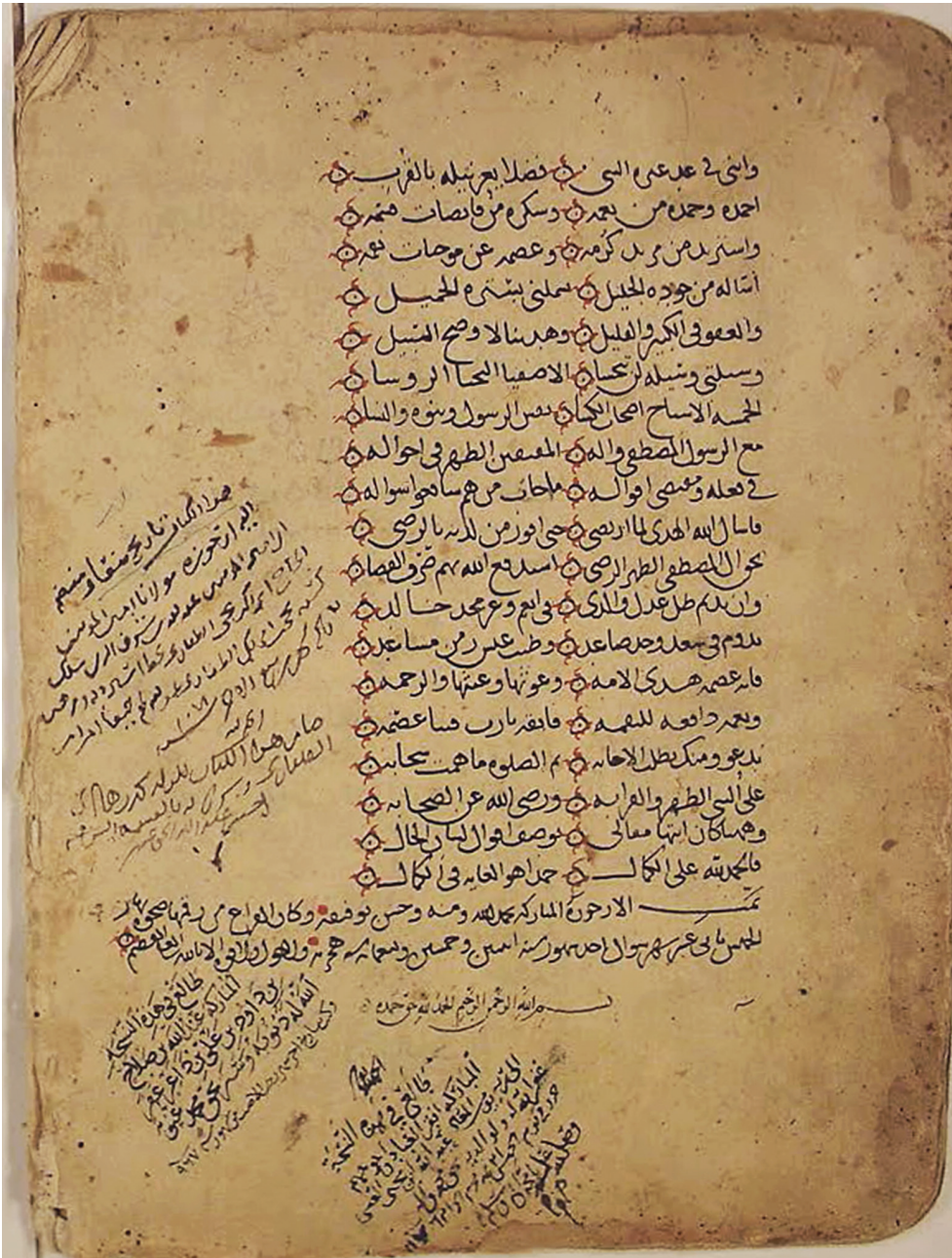


Figure 22. Ms. Hyderabad, al-Maktaba al-Khalīliyya, tārikh 540, final page.

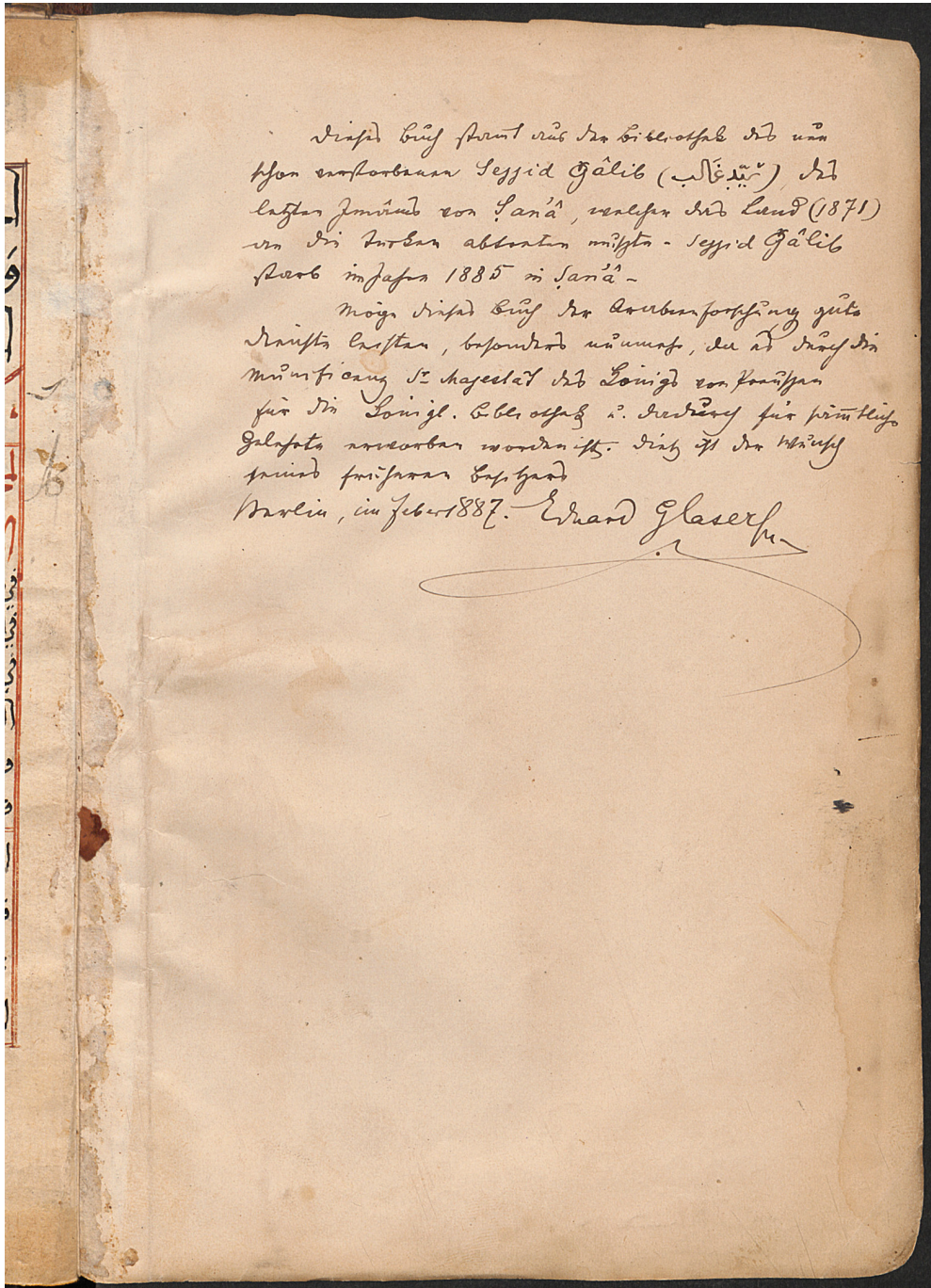


Figure 23. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 22 (one of the rare instances in which Glaser gives information on the provenance of a codex).

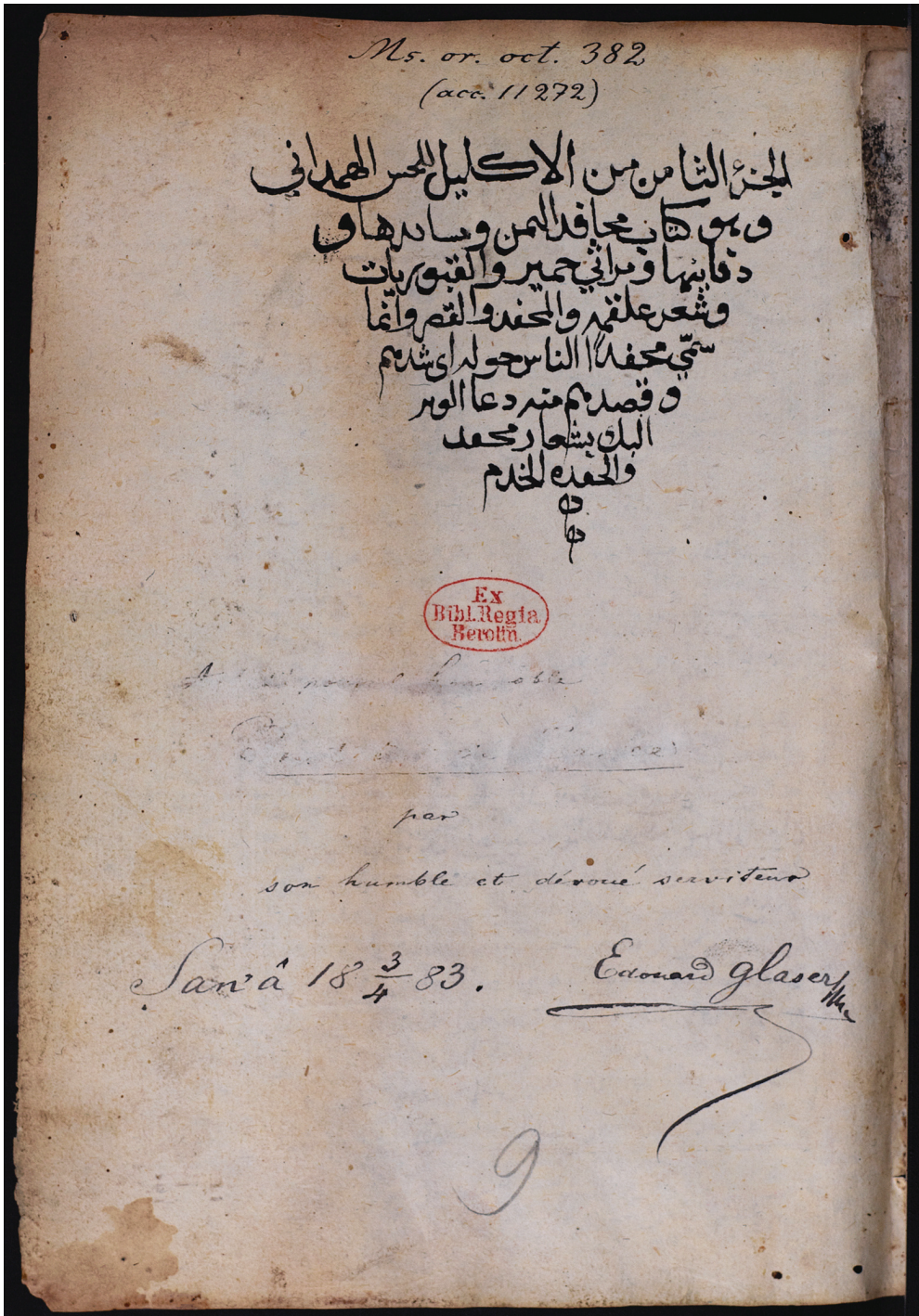


Figure 24. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 382 (another of the rare instances in which Glaser gives information on the provenance of a codex; the details he provides are for the most part wiped out).

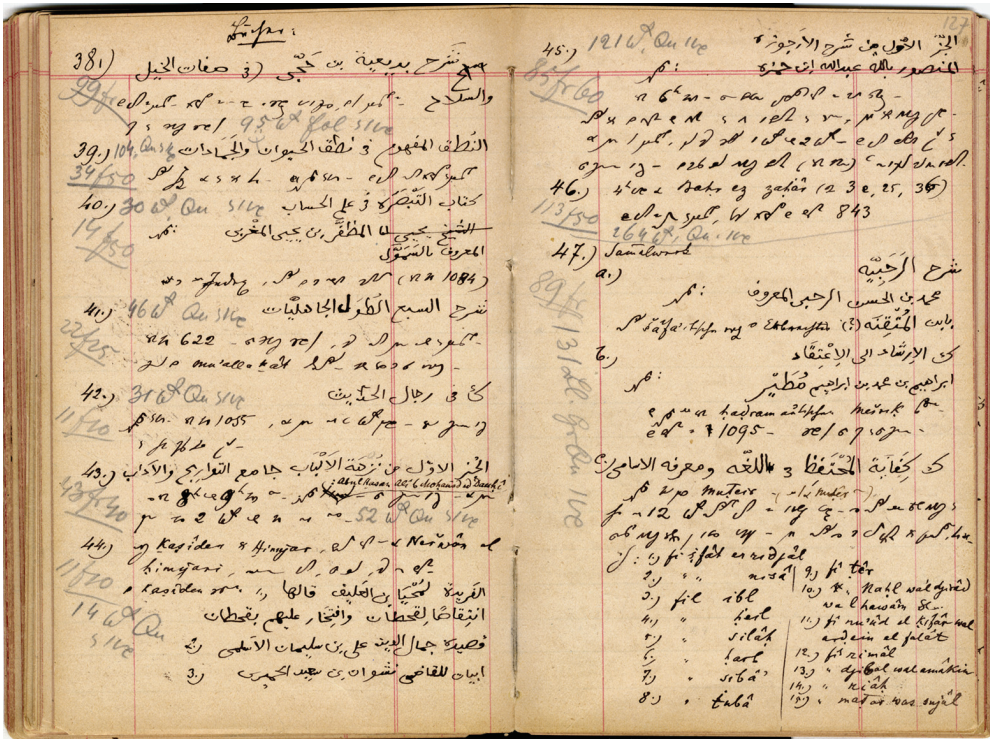


Figure 25. From Glaser’s list of manuscripts purchased during his first trip to Yemen (Academy of Sciences in Vienna, Sammlung Glaser-K3-A1002).

**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.<sup>24</sup> 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

<sup>24</sup> For a study of (primarily) European travelers to Yemen before Glaser, see David Malkiel, *Strangers in Yemen: Travel and Cultural Encounter among Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Colonial Era*, Oldenburg: de Gruyter, 2021.

Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) in Vienna.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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)

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<sup>25</sup> 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 Wettkampfe 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/imaf0/read/yemeni-manuscripts-in-viennese-archives> (accessed 21 January 2022).

<sup>26</sup> See Valentina Sagaria Rossi's contribution to this volume.

<sup>27</sup> See Emil Gratzl, "Die arabischen Handschriften der Sammlung Glaser in der königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München," *Orientalistische Studien: Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 31. Juli 1914 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1916, vol. 2, pp. 194–200; Florian Sobieroj, "Arabic Manuscripts on the Periphery: Northwest Africa, Yemen and China," *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, ed. Jörg Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014, pp. 79–112, here pp. 92–96.

to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.<sup>28</sup> 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-Madanī (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.<sup>29</sup> Around the turn of the twentieth century, additional collections of manuscripts supplied by al-Madanī were offered on the market; al-Madanī 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,<sup>30</sup> and in 1900 Morris K. Jesup (1830–1908) bought another Landberg collection (774 manuscripts), which he then donated to Yale University Library.<sup>31</sup> 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.”<sup>32</sup> 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

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<sup>28</sup> Classified under the shelf marks MSS Vat. ar. 946–1206, 1357–1375. See Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana: Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935, p. viii and passim.

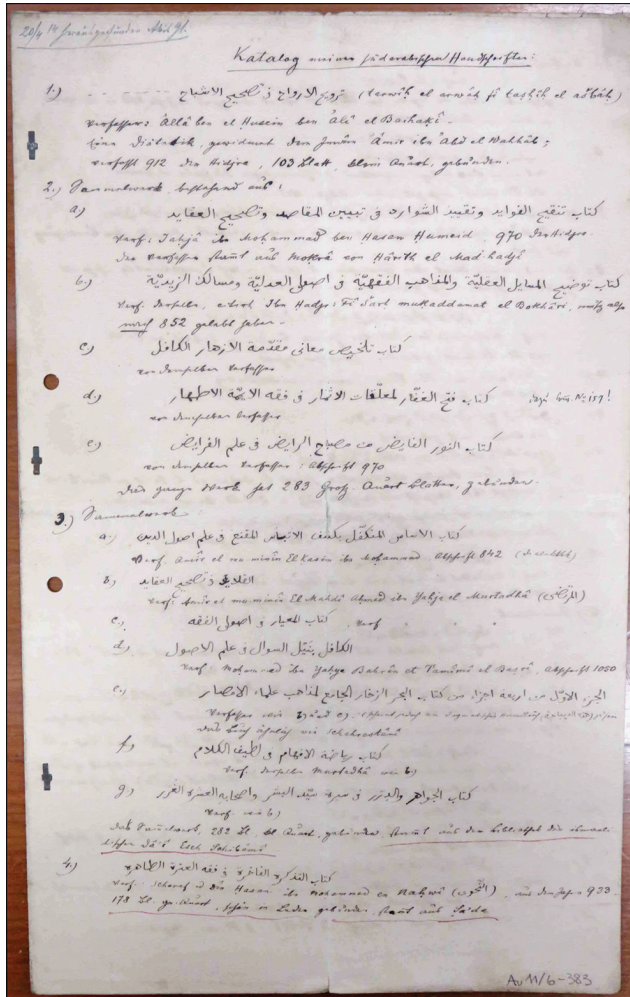
<sup>29</sup> See Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk’s contribution to this volume.

<sup>30</sup> Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *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.

<sup>31</sup> The collection was first described in Harrassowitz’s sales catalog, *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 Zetterstéen, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala verzeichnet und beschrieben*, 2 vols, Uppsala: [s.n.], 1930–35.

<sup>32</sup> The manuscripts were again sold to E. J. Brill by al-Madanī, and they were first partly described in Martijn Theodoor Houtsma’s (1851–1943) *Catalogue d’une collection de manuscrits arabes et turcs appartenant à la maison E. J. Brill à Leide*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1886 (containing descriptions of only 791 items), which was followed by an enlarged edition (published in Leiden by E. J. Brill in 1889) with descriptions of all 1,194 items. See also Enno Littmann, “Special Collections in American Libraries: The Garrett Collections of Arabic Manuscripts at Princeton University Library,” *Library Journal*, May 1904, pp. 238–243; Enno Littmann, *A List of Arabic Manuscripts in Princeton University Library*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Library / Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1904; Philip K. Hitti, Nabih Amin Faris, and Butrus ‘Abd al-Malik, *Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1938; Philip K. Hitti, “The Arabic and Islamic Manuscripts,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 3, no. 4 (1942), pp. 116–122.

was unable to inspect them more closely at the time or to take any of them with him when he returned to the Netherlands.<sup>33</sup>



**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).**

<sup>33</sup> 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 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle, j’ai conseillé à un de mes élèves [Snouck here refers to Cornelis van Arendonk] de s’enforcer 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 imâms Zaidites.” See also Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk’s contribution to this volume.

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,<sup>34</sup> the University of Michigan Library,<sup>35</sup> and Princeton University Library.<sup>36</sup> Other libraries in Europe, including the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and Cambridge University Library, also own manuscripts of Yemeni origin.<sup>37</sup>

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,<sup>38</sup> as does the library of the State University of New York at Binghamton.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> In the same period, the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (now the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library,

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<sup>34</sup> See Raquel Ukeles, "Abraham Shalom Yahuda: The Scholar, the Collector and the Collections," Efraim Wust, *Catalogue of the Arabic, 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 Nabih Bashir, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 1–12.

<sup>35</sup> Ewyn Kropf, "The Yemeni Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection at the University of Michigan: Provenance and Acquisition," *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 13 (2012), <https://cmv.revues.org/1974> (accessed 21 January 2022). See also *Catalogue of the Yemeni Manuscripts in the University of Michigan Library*, n.d., [https://cefas.cnrs.fr/IMG/pdf/4\\_michigan\\_catalogue\\_mss\\_michigan\\_cp.pdf](https://cefas.cnrs.fr/IMG/pdf/4_michigan_catalogue_mss_michigan_cp.pdf) (accessed 12 December 2021).

<sup>36</sup> Rudolf Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977. For the various Yahuda collections, see also <https://yahuda.princeton.edu/>, "a guide to the collecting practices, history and current locations for the vast manuscript collection of 20th century collector Abraham Shalom Yahuda" (accessed 8 December 2021).

<sup>37</sup> See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Maṣādir tāriḫ al-Yaman fī l-ʿaṣr al-islāmī = Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane*, Cairo: al-Ma'had al-ʿilmī al-Faransī li-l-Āthār al-Sharqiyya, 1974, p. 44. See also Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, "Dix-sept manuscrits arabes rassemblés au Yémen et donnés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France par Pierre Bardey," *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 1 (2006), <http://cmv.revues.org/183> (accessed 21 January 2022); Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, "Georges S. Colin au Yémen en 1929," *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 15 (2013), <http://cmv.revues.org/2004> (accessed 21 January 2022); H. Loucel, "À propos du manuscrit arabe no 1747 du laboratoire de phanérogamie du Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Paris (don de M. Deflers, auteur de *Voyage au Yémen*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1889)," *Arabica* 23 (1976), pp. 212–213.

<sup>38</sup> See <https://www.slu.edu/library/special-collections/vatican-film-library/index.php> (accessed 12 December 2021).

<sup>39</sup> Thomas J. Martin, *North American Collections of Islamic Manuscripts*, New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1977, pp. 51–52.

<sup>40</sup> Martin, *North American Collections*, pp. 22–23; Astrik L. Gabriel, "The Ambrosiana Microfilming Project," *Folia Ambrosiana I*, ed. Astrik L. Gabriel and Joseph N. Garvin, C.S.C., Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, Mediaeval Institute, 1965, pp. 7–16; Astrik L. Gabriel, *A Summary Catalogue of Microfilms of One Thousand Scientific Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, Mediaeval Institute, 1968; Olevnik, "Selected Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collections," pp. 13–15.

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.<sup>41</sup> In 1957 the board of the Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya 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.<sup>42</sup> The resulting microfilms have been housed since 1960 at the Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya. In Iran, the Mar'ashī Library and the Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāth-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,<sup>43</sup> the British Library, the Ambrosiana, and the Berlin State Library.<sup>44</sup> Today, many of the European libraries with major holdings of Yemeni manuscripts, such as Leiden University Library,<sup>45</sup> the Berlin State Library, and the Bavarian State Library in Munich, provide open access to these materials.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Martin, *North American Collections*, pp. 43–44; Peter P. Olevnik, “Selected Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collections in Microform,” University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science, Occasional Papers, June 1978, no. 133, pp. 15–17.

<sup>42</sup> See the introduction to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Fihrist al-makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī l-Ambrūziyānā bi-Mīlānū: Al-juz' al-thānī = Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de l'Ambrosienne de Milan: 2ème Partie, D No. 220–420*, Cairo: Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, 1960.

<sup>43</sup> See also al-Ishkawaṛī, *al-Makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī Maktabat al-Fātīkān (Rūmā—al-Fātīkān)*, which includes descriptions of all Arabic manuscripts from the Vatican Library microfilms of which are in Qum.

<sup>44</sup> Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawaṛī, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi 'aksī-yi Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāth-i Islāmī Qum*, 7 vols., Qum: Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāth-i Islāmī, 1377–1387/1998–2008; Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥā'irī, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi 'aksī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi 'umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat Āyat Allāh al-'Uẓmā Mar'ashī Najafī*, 2 vols., Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi 'Umūmī-i Ḥaḍrat Āyat Allāh al-'Uẓmā Mar'ashī Najafī, 1369–1370 [1990–1991]; Abū l-Faḍl Ḥāfīziyān Bābulī, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi 'aksī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi 'umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat Āyat Allāh al-'Uẓmā Mar'ashī Najafī: Ganjīna-yi jahānī-yi makhtūṭāt-i islāmī*, 3 vols., Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi 'Umūmī-i Ḥaḍrat Āyat Allāh al-'Uẓmā Mar'ashī Najafī, 1387–1388/2008–2009.

<sup>45</sup> Arnoud Vrolijk, “Digitisation Project of Yemeni Manuscripts at Leiden University Libraries,” *Leiden Special Collections Blog*, 15 November 2018, <https://leidenspecialcollectionsblog.nl/articles/digitisation-project-of-yemeni-manuscripts-at-leiden-university-libraries> (accessed 21 January 2022); Karin Scheper, “A Silk Binding from Yemen,” *Leiden Special Collections Blog*, 7 June 2019, <https://leidenspecialcollectionsblog.nl/articles/a-silk-binding-from-yemen> (accessed 21 January 2022).

<sup>46</sup> Christoph Rauch, “Handschriften aus dem Jemen digitalisiert,” *Blog-Netzwerk für Forschung und Kultur*, 25 November 2019, <https://blog.sbb.berlin/handschriften-aus-dem-jemen-digitalisiert/> (accessed 21 January 2022); Christoph Rauch, “Alte arabische Texte aus entlegenen Bergdörfern: Die Welt der jemenitischen Handschriften wird digital,” *Bibliotheksmagazin: Mitteilungen aus den Staatsbibliotheken in Berlin und München* vol. 20, no. 2 (May 2020), pp. 42–47 (discussing Berlin and Munich). A significant part of the digitization efforts has been paid by the European Research Council (ERC) Advanced Research Grant “Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam” (on which see also below).

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,<sup>47</sup> and the physician Cesare Ansaldi, who was a member of the Italian health mission to Yemen from 1929 to 1932 (**fig. 27**).<sup>48</sup> 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**).<sup>49</sup> 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 (ICRPCAL, 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**).<sup>50</sup> The Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Turin also owns a Yemeni codex that is part of the Paul Kahle collection.<sup>50a</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> On Rossi's travels, see Ettore Rossi, “Appunti di un viaggio nel Yemen,” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana*, 7th ser., 2 (1937), pp. 117–139, and Ettore Rossi, “Itinerari yemeniti,” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana*, 7th ser., 3 (1938), pp. 281–297. We thank Valentina Sagaria Rossi for bringing these two publications to our attention and providing us with copies of both.

<sup>48</sup> Renato Traini, *I manoscritti arabi di recente acquisizione della fondazione Caetani*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1967. Microfilms of most of the manuscripts in this collection are kept in the Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mirāth-i Islāmī in Qum; see Ṣādiq Ḥusaynī Ishkawārī, *Fihrist-i nuskhā-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Akādīmī-yi Linchī (Rum-Itāliyā)*, Qum: Majma'-i Dhakhā'ir-i Islāmī, 1381/2002.

<sup>49</sup> See <http://www.bncrm.beniculturali.it/it/1259/fondo-emilio-dubbiosi> (accessed 21 January 2022).

<sup>50</sup> For a detailed account of Sarnelli's sojourn in Yemen and his observations, see Tommaso Sarnelli, “Notizie preliminari sui risultati della mia missione sanitaria nell' alto Yemen: Con particolare riguardo alla medicina indigena,” *Archivio italiano di scienze mediche coloniali* 15, no. 1 (January 1934), pp. 1–44. We thank Valentina Sagaria Rossi for bringing this publication to our attention. For the collections of Yemeni manuscripts in Italian libraries, most of which have now been digitized within the framework of the Zaydi Manuscript Tradition Project, see Valentina Sagaria Rossi and Sabine Schmidtke, “The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition (ZMT) Project: Digitizing the Collections of Yemeni Manuscripts in Italian Libraries,” *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies (COMSt) Bulletin* 5, no. 1 (2019), pp. 43–60. For the political background of the Italian presence in Yemen during the first decades of the twentieth century, see John Baldry, “Anglo-Italian Rivalry in Yemen and 'Asir, 1900–1934,” *Die Welt des Islams*, n.s., 17 (1976–1977), pp. 155–193. For Italian scholarship on Yemen during the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, see Renato Traini, “Il contributo italiano alla conoscenza geografica dello Yemen,” *Storia e cultura dello Yemen in età islamica con particolare riferimento al periodo rasūlide (Roma, 30–31 ottobre 2003)*, Rome: Bardi Editore, 2006, pp. 9–31; Sabina Antonini de Maigret, Paola D'Amore, and Michael Jung (eds.), *Il trono della Regina di Saba: Cultura e diplomazia tra Italia e Yemen; La collezione sudarabica del Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale*, Rome: Editoriale Artemide, 2012.

<sup>50a</sup> 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-Laṭâ'if al-saniyya fi l-akhbâr al-yamaniyya* by Muḥammad b. Ismâ'il al-Kibsi, suggesting that the copy was commissioned for an Italian collector).



جريدة الإمان - السنة الرابعة - العدد (٤٢) - شوال سنة ١٣٤٨هـ		
<p>وقد توفق المشار إليه بالتحق تماماً للأحكام المتبعة بالمسائل المذهبية الزهيدة، ونال حروف المثل، والرفوب في الحضرة الشريفة الملكية مع الاحتمات الملكي.</p> <p>جرت بعدنا تعلن اجترامها الصبسية لحضرة المشار إليه، وحتى له الموقية.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>(قائمة جوامع الجهر)</b></p> <p>جرت العادة بانجام أكثر جوامع اليمين الآتين من جهات التشرق، والجوبو إلى العاصمة، وهم الذين يتصنون الوصول إلى الحجاز، ومحاط الوحي بالسر برأ، فهم يصلون وقدما بعد وقد من الجهات اليمينية، وينظرون إلى اليوم الثاني والعشرين من شهر شوال الحرام، وفي صباحه يتكلم موكب الرحمة، ويخرجون فرجا بعد فوج يتقدم الأمير العيين لتقيام الإيمارة عليهم، والموسيط به مدير إقامتهم، وإرفاعهم، وهناك يخرج أهالي العاصمة على كرتهم لتصبح التوكب الأذخه جميع القلوب رقة، وخشوعاً، وتوقى، وإقبالاً على آباري البريات، وإتداء وجهه الكرم، فإ نديراً أنفسهم له من القيام بأداء الزكن الخامس من أركان الإسلام، وزيارة قبر نبيه سحليه أفضل الصلاة والسلام، وتبجيل لنداء سيدنا رسول الله إبراهيم الخليل المشار إليه بقوله تعالى: ﴿وَأُولَئِكَ فِي الْقَائِمِ الْحَكِيمَ﴾ ويكلم رجالاً وعلمن كمن ضلواهم يتأين من كمن فغ غيبي في أتيه؛ ولكن من القاصدين للبح يصالون من الأهم، والناس يتأيدون إلى الناس الدعاء منهم، والترك بشعهم، ويتسابقون إلى اقتحام ذلك المثقة، وتزودهم الدعوات القولية بن الله تعالى، ولم تزل هذه العادة جارية منذ ذلك الزمن، وظفر صبحه المنير المسنين، وفي هذا العام في اليوم الثاني والعشرين من الشهر الحجازي أول النهار كان خروج موكب الحجاج من العاصمة بعد أن كرتت جمعهم في الأيام التي قبله، وخرج أهالي العاصمة لتتبع المعاد فكان المنظر لطيفاً، والمنظر ظرفياً، ولتلقب في ذلك الحال من الإفرق ما لا يمكن على العقول، ولا يتبادر عن تجليه على المدارك الحساسة لغاي الإقبال على من إليه فمكر الوجود، وبعد اقتضاء حلة التتبع عاد المشيعون، واستقل المع الغير من الحجاج للسفر. صاحبهم السلامة في الإرتحال والإقامة، وورقهم الله ما يرجونه من البر والكرامة، وأبركنا في صالح دعائهم، إله على كل شيء قدير آمين.</p>	<p>وكان قدومه بالمقربة بعد أن مكث في تلك الجهة من اجداء الحركات التأديبية إلى ختامها، وكان وصوله إلى العاصمة في آخر أيام رمضان المبارك، وقد حظي المشار إليه بالمثل في حضرة مولانا الإمام، ونال ما هو جدير به من الاحتمات، فبارك له في القبول، والعودة المحمودة [ص ٢].</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(****)</p> <p>وقدم إلى العاصمة في أثناء الشهر الحجازي السيد العام الفاضل محمد بن حسن النباي وكل عامل قضاء رفاع بعد أن غفر الإذن الشريف، وبعد وصوله حظي بالمثل في الحضرة الشريفة سأل الله شاهنا، ونال ما يرجوه من الاحتمات الجليل.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">***</p> <p>وقدم أيضاً القاضي النبيل حسين بن علي الخلالى عامل قضاء الجهرية من أهالي لواء من مأدرة من الحضرة الشريف الإمامية سأل الله شاهنا، وقد حظي بشيئه في المحضرة، وتلقى ما ينتهيه من الاحتمات، والإقبال الإيماني.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">***</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>«حضرة الرسول وصال الحزم»</b></p> <p>في أوائل الشهر الحجازي، وصل إلى مملكتنا أحد أعضاء جمعية المستشرقين العلمية العالمية، وأحد أركان مؤسسى لجنة العلوم العالمية، والفرع بألمانيا حضرة المحرم «أهر ستروتمان» بقصد إجراء التتبعات العلمية، والتاريخية، وكان وصوله إلى عاصمتنا عن طريق الجديدة وثاقفة.</p> <p>إن حضرة المستشرق المشار إليه جزة ذو حياة لجمعيات المستشرقين العلمية العالمية بألمانيا، وكافة أوروبا، ومن مشاهير رجال تلك الجمعيات ذوي التتبع، وهو ذو خصال عالية في عالم العلم، ولكن بما له من المصنعات الكبيرة المتتقة بالشرق، والعلوم الشريفة القديمة، وادى الاستخبار بوصول المشار إليه إلى عاصمتنا كان الأمر لن يازم من طرف المحضرة الملكية الهاشمية بإجراء الاحتمات، والاحترام لحضرة المشار إليه.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">***</p> <p>نوسب قل كاتب مائة ناحية جبل التشرق من مملكات قضاء أسس القبة أحمد بن عبد الله الأوكج إلى مثل وظفته في ناحية عمة من مملكات القضاء المذكور، ونقل كاتب مائة ناحية عمة القبة محمد بن عبد الرزاق إلى مثل وظفته في ناحية جبل التشرق بعد أن رؤي اقتضاء المصلحة لهذه المحافظة.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(صودة)</p> <p>قد ذكرنا في العدد السابق قدوم صهر جلالة مولانا الإمام عامل شجاعة السيد العام محمد بن محمد الكسبي- إلى العاصمة زاراً لجلالة مولانا الإمام سيده الله- بصبه لوجه التتبع، وبعد اقتضاء أيام العيد السيد، واقتضاء أيام مأدوته بمرور ذلك الأيام تشريف بالمثل في الحضرة الإمامية، وتيل الإذن بالعودة إلى مقر عمله، وقد أرح العاصمة على إثر ذلك متوجهاً إلى شجاعة رافته السلامة.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(في الماروف)</p> <p>بناء على اقتضاء أيام تعطيل الدراسة باقتضاء أيام عيد الفطر السيد كان فتح المدارس العلمية العالمية، والاندادية، والثانية، وكافة المعاهد بمتعلمية طلبها، والإشعار بالعودة إلى الدرس، وإنذاك أقبل طلاب تلك المعاهد من كل صوب يبادون إلى مدارسهم، وبخاصة طلاب المدرسة العلمية المتفوية فجميعها لما كان قد اضرمحوا إلى أوطانهم المتابعة لزيارة أعلهم، وأقربهم في أثناء أيام تعطيل الدراسة لأن بدهام تكاد أن تكون جميع أنحاء القطر فما وافق دور التتبع، وفتح المدرسة حتى تقبلوا من كل صوب مسترعين إلى دروسهم، فامتلات المدرسة بطلابها الوافدين، وأسدانها المدرسين، وقامت سوق العلوم، واللغون، وراجت بضاعها لمن الذين أقبلوا إليها يؤمن، وكذلك الشأن كان الذي جرى في معهد الأبنام الكبير، والمكتب الحربية، ودار المعلمين، أعانهم الله على التتبع، وسلكهم في ما به يشقون سواء التصيل.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(قدوم)</p> <p>قدم إلى العاصمة من قضاء بيت التتبع، ومن مقام المولى سيف الإسلام وفي العهد سحفظه الله- حضرة أمير الجيش الأمير الشريف عبد الله بن محمد الضمين،</p>

Figure 30. Al-Īmān, no. 42 (Shawwāl 1348/March 1930), p. 35 (“Ḥaḍrat al-Hirr Strūtmān al-muḥtaram”).

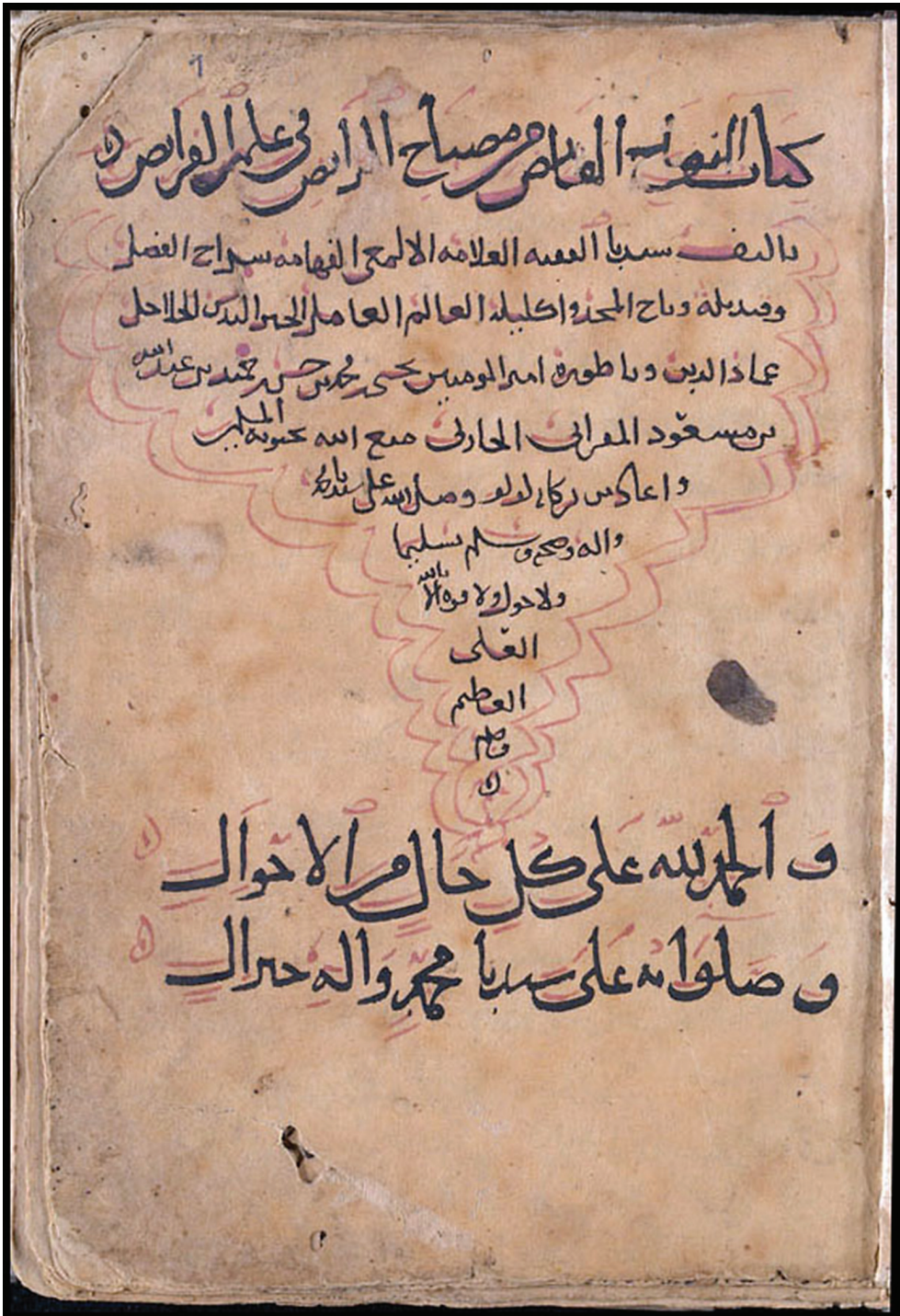


Figure 31. MS Leipzig, Leipzig University Library, Ms. or. 354  
 (title page of 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Miqrāṭ's  
 autocommentary on his *Miṣbāḥ al-rā'īd*).

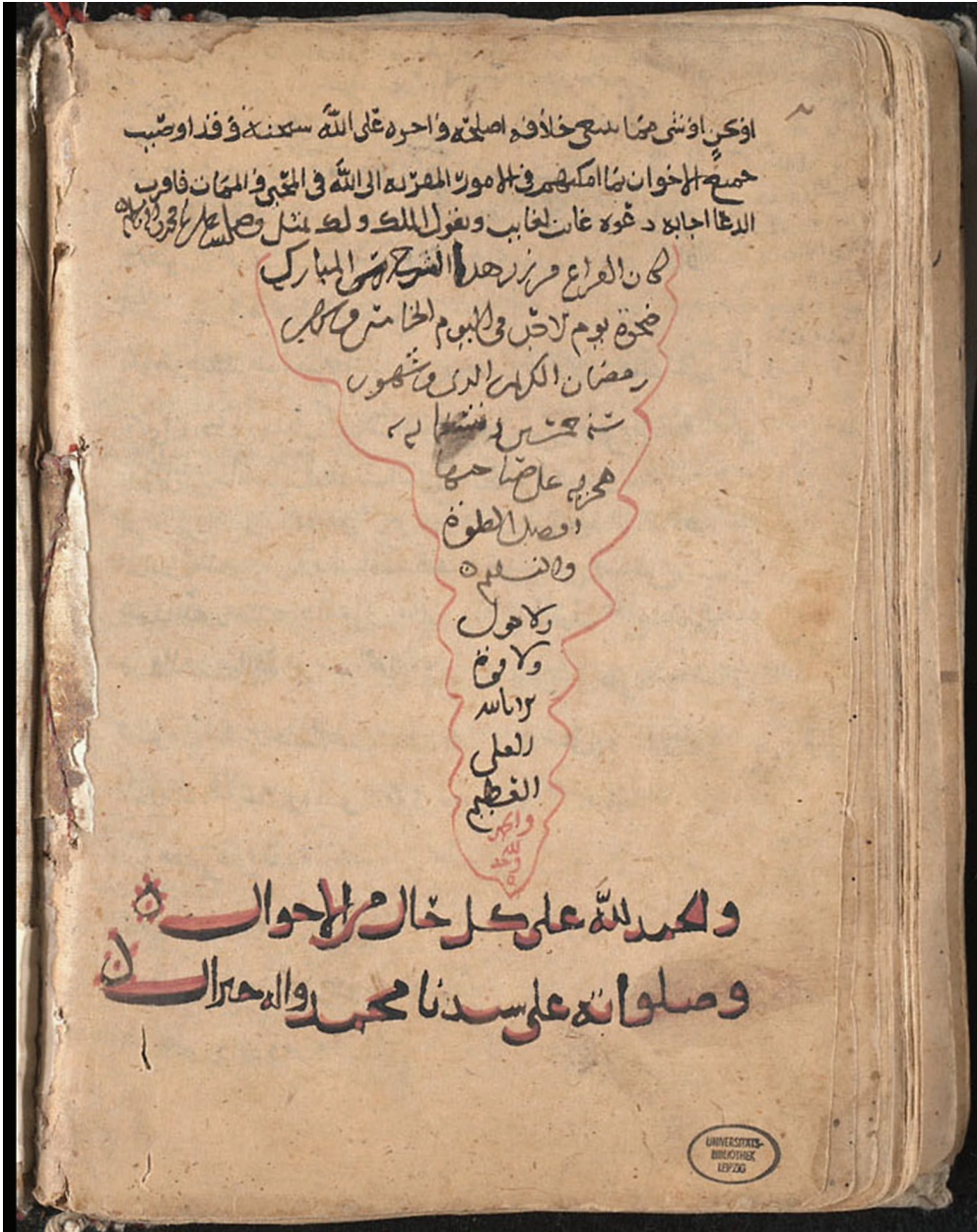


Figure 32. MS Leipzig, Leipzig University Library, Ms. or. 354 (final colophon of 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Miqrā'ī's autocommentary on his *Miṣbāḥ al-rā'ī*).





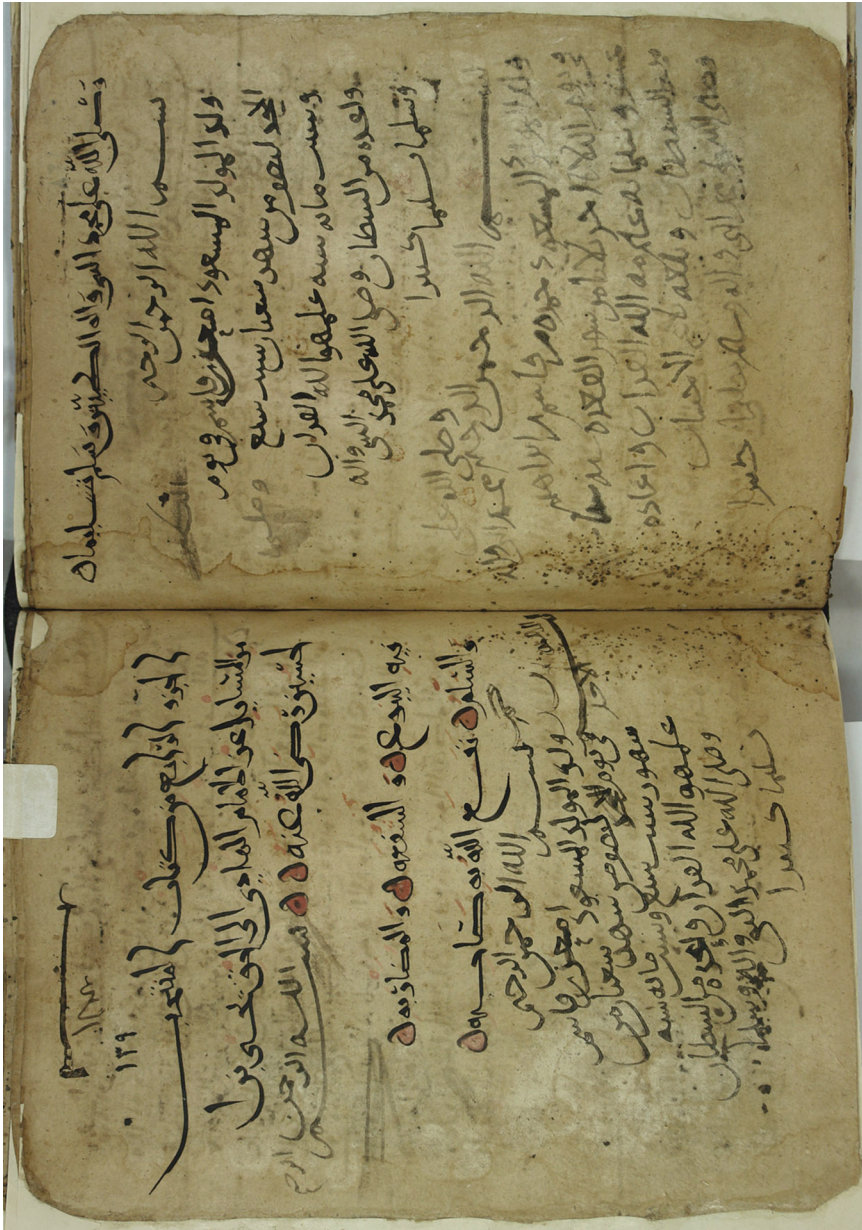


Figure 35. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 2612 (K. al-Muntakhab fi l-halāl wa-l-  
 ḥarām, fols. 138v-139r).

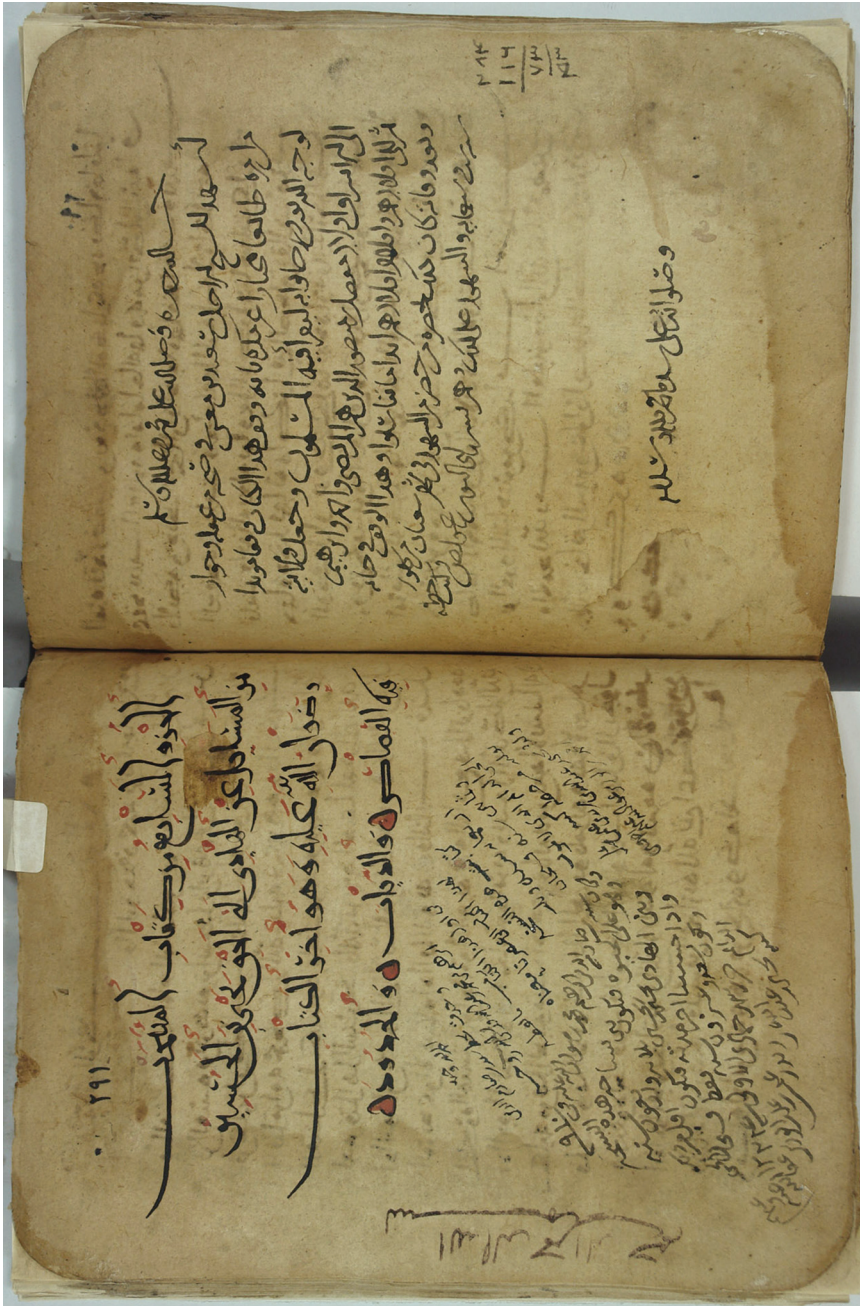


Figure 36. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 2612 (K. al-Muntakhab fi'l-halal wa-l-haram, fols. 290v-291r).





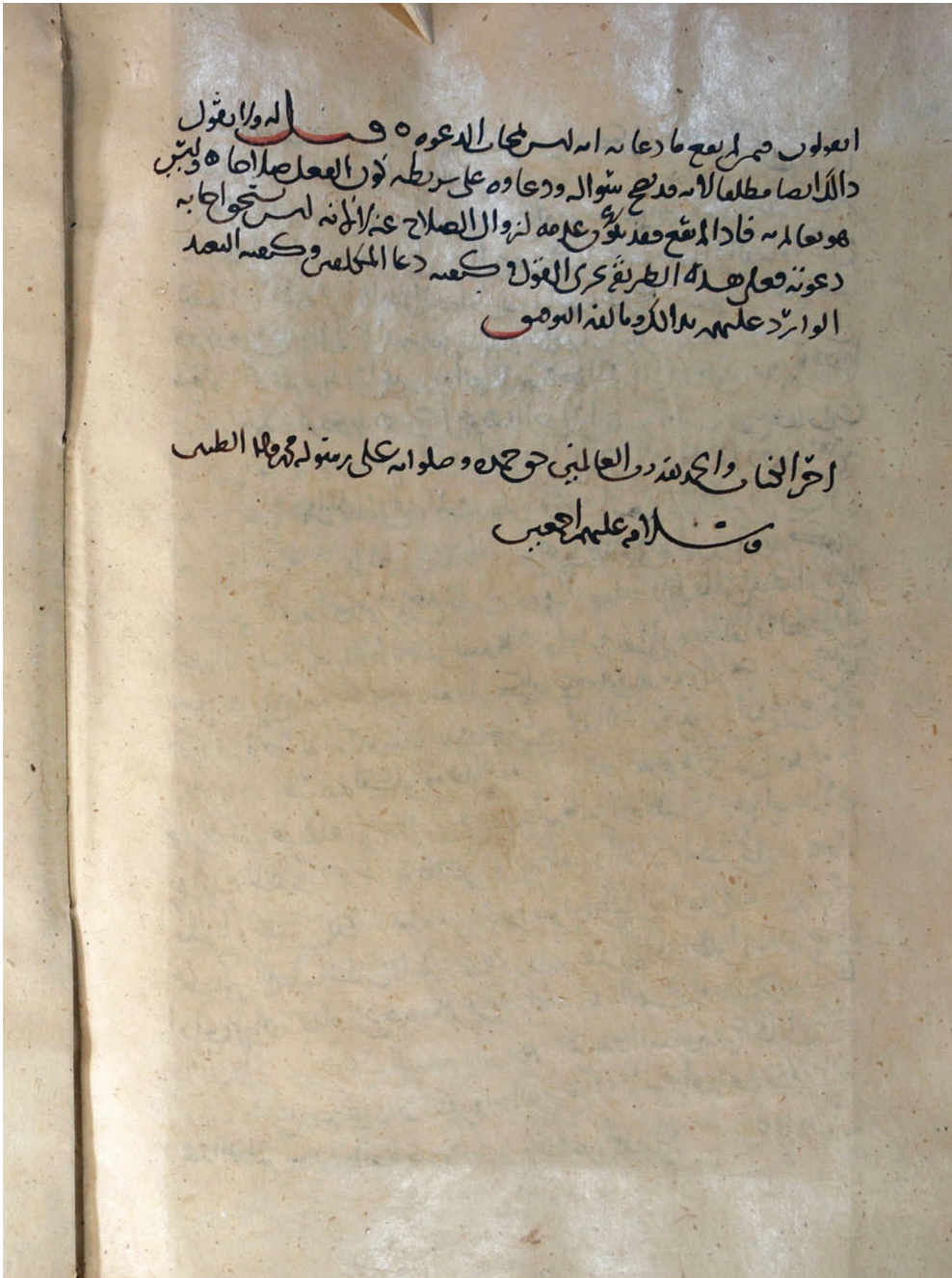


Figure 39. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 8737  
 (final page of Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Majmū' fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*).



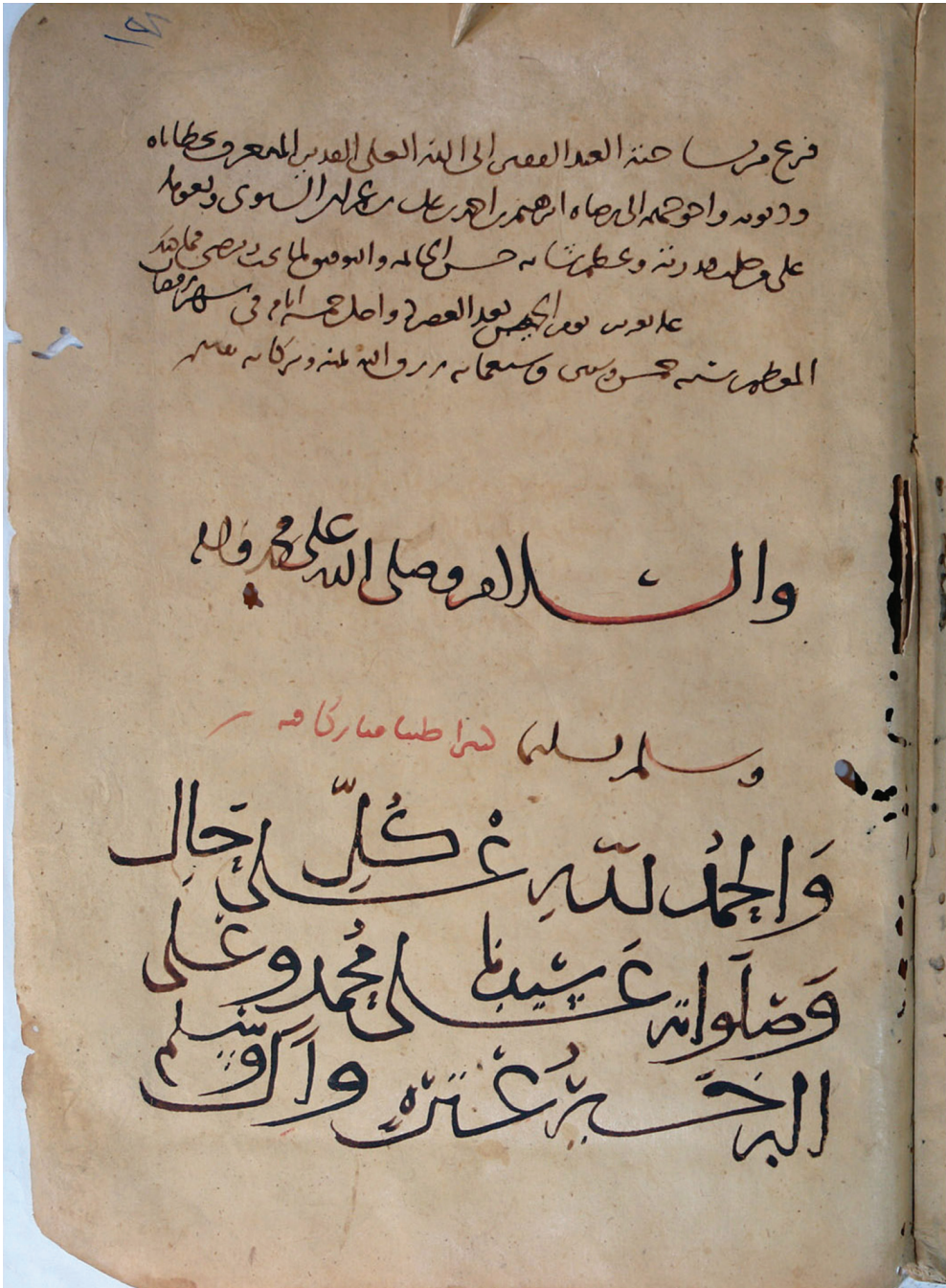
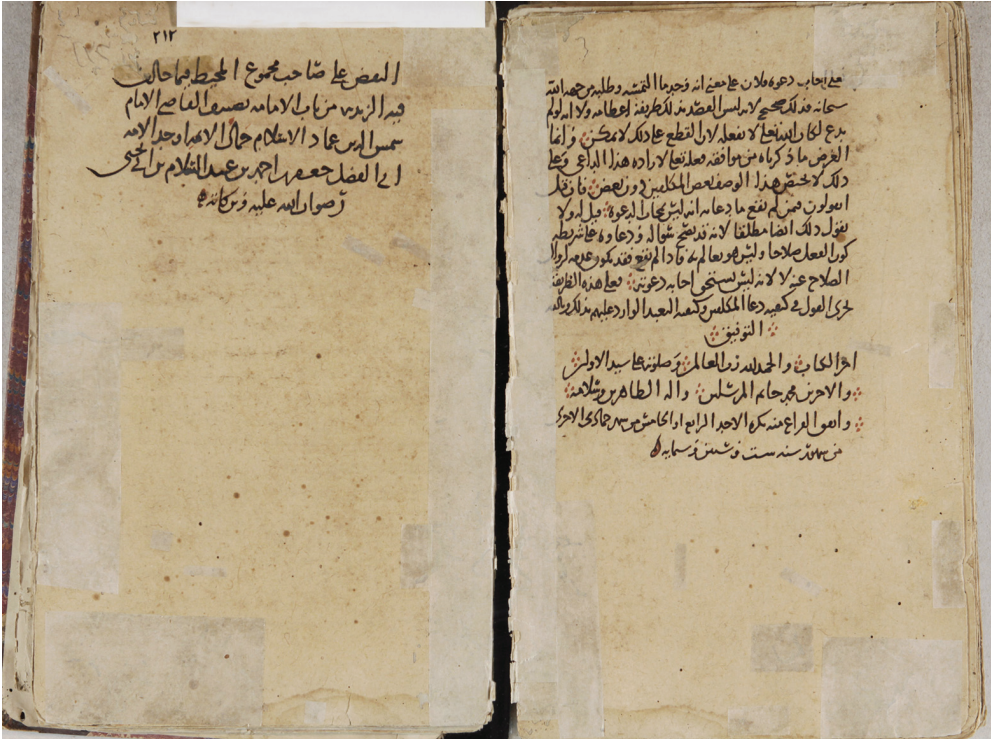


Figure 41. MS Riyadh, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University 8737  
 (dated colophon of Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Jaʿfar's *al-Naqq' alā ṣāhib al-Majmū' al-Muḥīṭ  
 bi-l-taklīf fīmā khālafa fīhi al-Zaydiyya min bāb al-imāma*).





**Figure 44. MS Lucknow, Nāṣiriyya (final page of Ibn Mattawayh's *Majmū' min al-Muḥiṭ bi-l-taklīf*, and title page of Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja'far's *al-Naqḍ 'alā ṣāhib al-Majmū' al-Muḥiṭ bi-l-taklīf fimā khālafa fihī al-Zaydiyya min 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-'Ilmiyya, 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-'Ilmiyya 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.<sup>51</sup> It is unknown how many codices Strothmann brought back from Sanaa, but it is

<sup>51</sup> Rudolf Strothmann, *Mein schönstes orientalisches Semester: Von Sarajewo nach Ṣan'ā', 18.9.1929–10.5.1930*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke and Gaby Strothmann [in preparation]; see also Sabine Schmidtke, "Rudolf Strothmann in Yemen, 24 February through 28 April 1930," *Religious and Intellectual Diversity in the Islamic World and Beyond*, ed. Omer Michaelis and Sabine Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill [forthcoming]. The Lebanese American writer Amīn Fāris al-Rayḥānī (1876–1940), who visited Sanaa around 1922, relates similar experiences with the local book dealers; see Ameen Rihani, *Arabian Peak and Desert: Travels in al-Yaman*, Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930, pp. 206ff. Rihani makes the following comment on Imam Yaḥyā's personal library (*Arabian Peak and Desert*, p. 130): "... His Eminence is a

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*.<sup>52</sup> 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-Awqāf in Sanaa during the summer of 1968.<sup>53</sup> 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-Makḥṭūṭāt. During these visits, Schmidtke and Thiele also photographed several codices in the Maktabat al-Awqāf.

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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup>

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

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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-Iklil* 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 Sa'nā, it will be given in book form to the world.”

<sup>52</sup> For details, see Sabine Schmidtke, *The Beginnings of Shī'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].

<sup>53</sup> For a vivid description of his sojourn in Sanaa, see Wilferd Madelung, *Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Aḥmad an-Nāṣir wider die ibaditische Prädestinationslehre*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985, p. 2: “Die Edition der mir zunächst einzig bekannten, Münchener Handschrift des *Kitāb an-naḡāt* [by Imam al-Nāṣir Aḥmad] wurde im Frühjahr 1964 mit Unterstützung eines Forschungsstipendiums der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft begonnen. Die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek erleichterte die Arbeit an der Handschrift durch ihre Übersendung nach Hamburg. Nach Abschluß der Abschrift erfuhr ich durch eine freundliche Mitteilung Stefan Wilds nach seiner Rückkehr von einer Jemenreise von der Existenz einer zweiten Handschriften des Werks in der Bibliothek der großen Moschee von Ṣan'ā'. Ein Vergleich meines Texts mit dieser Handschrift schien umso dringlicher, als sich während der Abschrift der Münchener Handschrift herausgestellt hatte, daß ein oder mehrere Blätter in ihr ausgefallen waren. Das Oriental Institute der University of Chicago ermöglichte durch finanzielle Unterstützung eine Forschungsreise nach Ṣan'ā' im Sommer 1968. Gütige Vermittlung von Qāḍī Ismā'īl al-Akwa', der ein persönliches Interesse an meinem Vorhaben nahm, eröffnete die Einreise nach dem Jemen und Zugang zur Moscheebibliothek. Es stellte sich nun heraus, daß die Textlücke in der Münchener Handschrift fast ein Viertel des Buches ausmachen. Da keine Möglichkeit zum Photokopieren der Handschrift bestand, mußte der fehlende Text an Ort und Stelle abgeschrieben werden. Das Ministerium für religiöse Angelegenheiten erleichterte diese Arbeit wesentlich durch die Erlaubnis, die Handschrift ausnahmsweise in mein Hotelzimmer zu bringen.”

<sup>54</sup> See Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk's contribution to this volume.

<sup>55</sup> See Christoph Rauch's contribution to this volume.

83) of his autocommentary on the *Miṣbāḥ al-rāʾiḍ* (MS or. 354) (figs. 31, 32),<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup> 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-Qurāʾ University in Mecca,<sup>59</sup> and in Riyadh the King Faisal University,<sup>60</sup> the King

<sup>56</sup> For a description of the manuscript and a digital surrogate, see [https://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook\\_islamhs\\_00000217](https://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook_islamhs_00000217) (accessed 8 December 2021). For the author, see al-Wajīh, *Aʿlām*, vol. 2, pp. 471–473 no. 1432. See also Zayd al-Wazīr's introduction to his edition of al-Miqrāṭī's *Maknūn al-sirr*.

<sup>57</sup> See Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsūʿat al-aḳāb al-yamaniyya*, 7 vols., Beirut: al-Muʿassasa al-Jāmiʿiyya li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1431/2010, vol. 4, pp. 728–732. For a description of the manuscript and a digital surrogate, as well as references to some studies on the codex, see [https://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook\\_islamhs\\_00000311](https://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook_islamhs_00000311) (accessed 8 December 2021). That the manuscript was in Yemen remains unmentioned in the otherwise detailed description. Among the studies on the codex that are not listed on the website are Ismail K. Poonawala, "Note on *Kitāb al-Zīna* of Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī (d. 322/934)," *Chroniques du Manuscrit au Yémen* 21 (2016), pp. 126–156, and Hassan Ansari, "Nuskhā-yi kuhna az Ismāʿīliyyān-i Rayy dar Yaman," *Barrasi-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1860> (accessed 21 January 2022). Ansari shows in detail that the codex was transferred from Rayy to Yemen.

<sup>58</sup> Renato Traini, "Les manuscrits yéménites dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973) pp. 203–230; Muḥammad ʿIsā Ṣāliḥiyya, *al-Makḥṭūʿāt al-yamaniyya fī Maktabat ʿAlī Amīrī Millat bi-Istānbul*, Beirut: Dār al-Ḥadātha/ Sanaa: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamanī, 1984. Other libraries of Istanbul and beyond also hold codices of Yemeni provenance; a systematic study of the Yemeni Zaydī manuscripts in the libraries of Turkey remains a desideratum. In 2008, an agreement was signed between Turkey and Yemen to provide Yemen with digital images of all manuscripts of Yemeni provenance that are kept in the libraries of Turkey; see <https://www.saba.ye/en/news147557.htm> (accessed 20 January 2019). Whether this ever materialized is unclear. The Yemeni Ministry of Culture approached during the same time the Ambrosiana Library in Milan hoping to reach a similar agreement, but the negotiations came to naught; see Sabine Schmidtke, "The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition: Virtual Repatriation of Cultural Heritage," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 50 (2018), pp. 124–128, here p. 126.

<sup>59</sup> *Fihris makḥṭūʿāt Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurāʾ*, 6 vols., Mecca: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurāʾ, ʿImādat Shuʿūn al-Maktabāt, al-Maktaba al-Markaziyya, Qism al-Makḥṭūʿāt, 1403/1983.

<sup>60</sup> See <https://www.kfu.edu.sa/ar/deans/library/pages/manuscripts.aspx> (accessed 9 December 2021). See also Fuʿād Sayyid, "Makḥṭūʿāt al-Yaman," *Majallat Maʿhad al-makḥṭūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya* 1, no. 2 (1375/1955), pp. 195–209; *Fihris al-muṣawwarāt al-mikrūfīmiyya bi-Qism al-makḥṭūʿāt*, Riyadh: Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal li-l-Buḥūth wa-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 1988–.

Saud University,<sup>61</sup> 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 Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/910) gathered by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī (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 (fols. 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. Maṣūḥ b. al-ʿAfīf (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,<sup>62</sup> and it is likely that most of the codices that were or are part of the library of the Āl al-Mufaḍḍal contain similar statements.<sup>63</sup> A large collection of Yemeni manuscripts was also amassed during the 1950s by the former ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Yemen, al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUbaykān (1899–1993) whose private library is located in Riyadh.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> See <http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/> (accessed 9 December 2021). For comments on the library’s digital manuscript repository, see van L.W. Cornelis Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts: Philology, Codicology, Paleography in a Digital World*, Leiden: Brill, 2020, pp. 80–81 and passim.

<sup>62</sup> See the contributions by Zayd al-Wazīr and by Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke to this volume.

<sup>63</sup> The codex was not consulted for the edition of the *Muntakhab* (*Kitāb al-Muntakhab: Wa-yalīhi ayḍan Kitāb al-Funūn mimmā saʿala ʿanhumā Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, Sanaa: Dār al-Ḥikma al-Yamaniyya, 1414/1993). The partial catalog of the collection also testifies to the enormous significance of the holdings of this library; see Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, *al-Fihris al-waṣfī li-baʿd nawādir al-makḥṭūṭāt bi-l-Maktaba al-Markaziyya bi-Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya fi l-Riyāḍ*, Riyadh: Wizārat al-Taʿlīm al-ʿĀlī, Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya, ʿImādat Shūʿūn al-Maktabāt, Qism al-Makḥṭūṭāt, 1413/1993. The library holds, for example, a copy of a supercommentary (*taʿlīq*) by Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Farrazādī on the commentary (*taʿlīq*) by Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Ḥāshim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī (“Mānkḍīm Shashdīw,” d. ca. 425/1034) on the *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa* of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī; see *ibid.*, p. 42 no. 31 (the author of the *taʿlīq* is here misidentified as Abū Saʿd Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sammān al-Rāzī [d. 445/1053]). The codex is dated 8 Shawwāl 610/20 February 1214. The only other extant copy of the work is preserved as MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 599, copied by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Iṣḥāq al-Farrazādī and dated 3 Muḥarram 543/24 May 1148 (**fig. 4**). Another precious manuscript that is described by al-Ṭanāḥī is a unique copy of the final portion of Musallam b. Muḥammad al-Laḥjī’s (alive in 530/1135–36) *Akhbār al-Zaydiyya bi-l-Yaman*, dated 30 Dhū l-Qaʿda 566/4 August 1171 and also originating with the library of the Āl al-Wazīr (**fig. 37**); see *ibid.*, p. 19 no. 4; this portion has been published on the basis of this copy (Musallam b. Muḥammad al-Laḥjī, *al-Juzʿ al-rābī min K. Akhbār al-Zaydiyya min ahl al-bayt ʿalayhim al-salām wa-shīʿatihim bi-l-Yaman*, ed. Muqbil al-Tāmm ʿAmir al-Aḥmadī, [Sanaa: Majmaʿ al-ʿArabiyya al-Saʿīda, 1437/2015]. For al-Laḥjī, see also Fayṣal Miftāḥ al-Ḥaddād’s introduction to his edition of al-Laḥjī’s *K. al-Mithlayn* (Benghazi: Manshūrāt Jāmiʿat Qāryūnis, 1988) that was prepared on the basis of a copy transcribed for the *khizāna* of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza and kept in the Maktabat al-Awqāf; for this work, see Hassan Ansari, “Kitābī tāza az Musallam-i Laḥjī, nawīsanda-yi muṭarrifi wa Ḥākim-i Jishumī,” *Barrasf-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/831> (accessed 21 January 2022). Finally, al-Ṭanāḥī describes in his *Fihris* a codex containing volume four of Ibn Mattawayh’s recension of ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s *Muḥīṭ*, *al-Majmūʿ fi l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* (**figs. 38, 39**), as well as Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī’s *al-Naqḍ ʿalā ṣāḥib al-Majmūʿ al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf fīmā khālaḥa fīhi al-Zaydiyya min bāb al-imāma*, dated 725/1325 (**figs. 40, 41**); see *ibid.*, pp. 63–64 no. 64, 76 no. 80.

<sup>64</sup> 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-Sa'āda) 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 1968<sup>65</sup> and became the Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt 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 Ismā'īl al-Akwa' (1338–1429/1920–2008).<sup>66</sup> 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-Makḥṭūṭāt has changed repeatedly. The changes are reflected in the two catalogs of the holdings of the Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt, issued in 1978<sup>67</sup> 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-Āmma li-l-Kitāb (Dār al-Kutub al-Yamaniyya) as recently as 2014.<sup>68</sup>

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),<sup>69</sup> a group of Yemeni scholars consisting of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayḥī (b. 1929), 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī (b. 1949), and 'Alī Wahnāb al-Ānīsī, 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.<sup>70</sup> As a result of the relocation of the Ma'had al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya to Kuwait City (1981–1990), Kuwait also contributed to the estab-

<sup>65</sup> See al-Akwa's preface to 'Isawī and al-Malīḥ, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi' al-kabīr bi-Ṣan'ā'*; al-Akwa', “al-Turāth al-fikrī,” p. 86.

<sup>66</sup> For al-Akwa' and the General Organization for Antiquities and Libraries, see Anne Regourd's contribution to this volume.

<sup>67</sup> 'Isawī and al-Malīḥ, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi' al-kabīr bi-Ṣan'ā'*.

<sup>68</sup> “Al-Amn al-siyāsī yu'ṭdu kutub fikriyya ṣādarahā al-nizām al-sābiq ilā al-Hay'a al-āmma li-l-kitāb,” *Yemen Press*, 27 July 2014, <https://yemen-press.com/news33493.html> (accessed 21 January 2022). See also *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 19 (January 2015), “Actualités,” “Décembre 2014,” p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 1987, p. 14 (English introduction). Today, a scan of the catalog is available at, for example, [https://archive.org/details/1963\\_20200421/page/n3/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/1963_20200421/page/n3/mode/2up) (accessed 9 December 2021).

<sup>70</sup> Khalīl Yahyā Nāmī, *al-Ba'tha al-miṣriyya li-taṣwīr al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī bilād al-Yaman*, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Wizāra al-'Umūmiyya, 1952; Sayyid, “Makḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman”; Qā'ima bi-l-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya al-muṣawwara bi-l-mikrūfilm min al-Jumhūriyya al-'arabiyya al-yamaniyya, Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub, 1967; “al-Makḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'that al-Ma'had ilā l-Jumhūriyya al-'arabiyya al-yamaniyya,” *Majallat Ma'had al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya* 22, no. 1 (1976), pp. 3–81; Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, pp. 419–433; “Taqrīr al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī l-Jumhūriyya al-'arabiyya al-yamaniyya,” *al-Mawrid: Majalla turāthiyya faṣliyya* 5, no. 1 (1976), pp. 100–105, here p. 102. Unfortunately, in our experience it is very difficult to obtain digital surrogates of any of the microfilmed manuscripts in the Ma'had al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, and the same applies to the original Yemeni manuscripts that are kept in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo.

ishment 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 Shāfi'ī holdings of the Maktabat al-Aḥqāf (founded in 1972) in Tarim, Hadhramaut,<sup>71</sup> and in February and March 1985 a Kuwaiti team engaged in filming and cataloging some 308 manuscripts held by the Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt in Sanaa.<sup>72</sup> 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-Maqālāt*,<sup>73</sup> a codex containing 'Abd al-Jabbār's

<sup>71</sup> "Al-Makḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarahā al-Ma'had min Maktabat al-Aḥqāf li-l-makḥṭūṭāt bi-Tarīm," *Majallat Ma'had al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya* 27, no. 2 (1983), pp. 681–748. On the library, see also Nico van den Boogert, "The Manuscript Library of Tarim in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 6 (1994), pp. 155–157. For a catalog of the holdings of some other nonprivate and private libraries in Tarim and other locations in Ḥaḍramawt, see 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Fihrist al-makḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya fī Ḥaḍramūt: al-Muḥāfaẓa al-khāmisa*, [Aden:] al-Markaz al-Yamanī li-l-Abḥāth al-Thaqāfiyya, 1975.

<sup>72</sup> 'Iṣām Muḥammad al-Shanṭī, *al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya allatī ṣawwarahā al-Ma'had min Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt fī Ṣanā' (al-Jumhūriyya al-'arabiyya al-yamaniyya) fī l-faṭra min 1/25–3/4/1985 = 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: Ma'had al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, al-Munazzama al-'Arabiyya li-l-Tarbiya wa-l-Thaqāfa wa-l-'Ulūm, 1988.

<sup>73</sup> The book was discovered by Fu'ād Sayyid (1335–1387/1916–1967) in 1952 during his first visit to Yemen, and he brought the original copy back to Cairo. This is evident from the comment of his son, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, in the latter's edition of Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, in his annotation on Ibn al-Nadīm's entry on Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī and his writings; see Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq Ibn al-Nadīm, *K. al-Fihrist*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, 3 vols., London: Mu'assasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1435/2014, vol. 1, p. 615 n. 2. That the physical codex is today located in the library of Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid is also mentioned by van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 1, p. 339 n. 103. Fu'ād Sayyid included a partial edition of the text in his posthumously published *Faḍl al-i'tizāl* (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Nashr, 1974). Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, in his 2017 republication of his father's *Faḍl al-i'tizāl*, relates that a surrogate of the original codex (or perhaps even the original codex) was no longer in his possession. It evidently came into the hands of Ḥusayn Khānshū, who, together with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kurdī and Rājīḥ Kurdī, published an edition of the text (Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī, *K. al-Maqālāt wa-ma'ahu 'Uyūn al-masā'il wa-l-jawābāt*, ed. Ḥusayn Khānshū, Rājīḥ Kurdī, and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kurdī, Amman: Dār al-Faṭḥ / Istanbul: KURAMER Center for Quranic Studies, 2018). For the history of the manuscript since its discovery by Sayyid, see also Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's introduction to the 2017 edition of *Faḍl al-i'tizāl*, pp. 34\*, 37\*; see also *ibid.*, p. 37\*, for his ambiguous reference to the codex or its surrogate: *Nashara l-kitāb 'an ṣūra li-l-aṣl al-maḥfūẓ fī khizānat wālidī raḥimahu llāh wa-lā adrī kayfa waṣala ilayhim!* He further states that he considers the edition by the three scholars untrustworthy. To add to the confusion, Fuat Sezgin, in the entry on Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī in his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1: *Qur'anwissenschaften, Ḥadīth, Geschichte, Fiqh, Dogmatik, Mystik bis ca. 430 H.*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, pp. 622–623, says about the *Maqālāt* that "ein Exemplar davon soll im Yaman gefunden worden und jetzt im Besitz von Kuentz sein." Sezgin does not disclose his source, but he is apparently referring to Charles Kuentz (1895–1978), who served as director of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale in Cairo between 1940 and 1953. It should be noted that Ḥusayn Khānshū, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kurdī, and Rājīḥ Kurdī state in the introduction to their edition (p. 34) that they relied on the single extant witness of the work, preserved in a private library in Yemen, and that it was Dr. Rājīḥ Kurdī who provided access to a surrogate of the codex (*i'tamadnā fī taḥqiq hādha l-kitāb 'alā l-nuskha al-waḥīda al-maḥfūẓa fī aḥad al-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa bi-l-Yaman wa-qad zaw-*

*Mutashābih al-Qurʾān*<sup>74</sup> and his *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*,<sup>75</sup> and some volumes of ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s theological summa, *K. al-Mughnī*.<sup>76</sup>

*wadnā bi-muṣawwara ʾanhā al-Duktūr Rājiḥ Kurdī*). Similar misleading information is provided in their earlier edition, which contained only Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī’s *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil wa-l-jawābāt* and was based on the same codex (Ammān: Dār al-Ḥāmid, 1435/2014, pp. 11–12). In view of Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid’s account of the history of the codex since its discovery by his father, this statement cannot be true. That Khānṣū, Kurdī, and Kurdī relied on the very same manuscript that Fuʾād Sayyid has discovered in 1952 is evident from the description they provide of the witness, which matches precisely Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid’s depiction of the copy. According to Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (*Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, p. 34\*), Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī’s (1310–1396/1893–1976) entry on Fuʾād Sayyid in *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-mustaʾribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 8 vols., Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyyīn, 2002, vol. 5, pp. 160–161, shows Fuʾād Sayyid’s handwriting on the physical codex containing al-Balkhī’s *Maqālāt* (p. 160). For Fuʾād Sayyid’s trips to Yemen, see Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*, p. 69.

<sup>74</sup> See Zarzūr’s introduction to his edition of the work, vol. 1, pp. 59–62, where he relates that he consulted two witnesses of the *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān*. One copy, completed Ṣafar 618/March–April 1221 in Ḍafār (Dhībīn), was produced for the library of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza. 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. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-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 *Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya* of 1942/43. For the codex, see also Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid’s introduction to his father’s *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, as well as Zarzūr’s introduction to his edition of the *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān*, vol. 1, p. 26 n. 3. The second copy of *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān* 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 Ḍafār (Dhībīn) to the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya in Sanaa, and it is accordingly included in the *Fihrist kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, pp. 31–32. It was one of the codices that were microfilmed by the Egyptians in 1952.

<sup>75</sup> The copy included in this codex constitutes the single extant witness of the *K. Faḍl al-iʿtizāl* of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī. Fuʾād Sayyid included a partial edition of it in his *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*.

<sup>76</sup> According to the 1942/43 catalog of the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya (pp. 103–104), the following parts (*ajzāʾ*, sg. *juzʾ*) of the work are preserved in the Khizāna: 4 (*ruʾyat al-bāriʾ*), 5 (*al-firaq ghayr al-islāmiyya*), 6 (*al-taʿdīl wa-l-tajwīr; al-irāda*), 7 (*khalq al-Qurʾān*), 8 (*al-makhlūq*), 9 (*al-tawlīd*; only eleven and a half out of twenty-one chapters are preserved), 11 (*al-taklīf*), 12 (*al-naẓar wa-l-maʿārif*), 13 (*al-luṭf*; the end of this part is missing), 14 (*al-aṣḥāb; istiḥqāq al-dhamm; al-tawba*), 16 (*iʿḡāz al-Qurʾān*), 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.), *Nukat al-Kitāb al-Mughnī: A Recension of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī’s (d. 415/1025) “al-Mughnī fi Abwāb al-Tawḥīd wa-l-ʿAdl,”* Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2012, pp. xiii–xiv. The parts mentioned in the Khizāna catalog are also listed in al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 2, pp. 759–762 (MSS Maktabat al-Awqāf 542 through 550). Their presence in the Khizāna is confirmed by al-Akwaʿ, “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 *Moghni* du Qadi ʿAbd al-Jabbar,” *Mélanges de l’Institut dominicain d’études orientales* 4 (1957), pp. 281–316, here p. 284, who state: “De ces vingt *jozʾ*, 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<sup>e</sup>, 5<sup>e</sup>, 6<sup>e</sup>, 7<sup>e</sup>, 8<sup>e</sup>, 9<sup>e</sup>, 11<sup>e</sup>, 12<sup>e</sup>, 13<sup>e</sup>, 16<sup>e</sup> et 20<sup>e</sup>.” 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-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza; see *ibid.*, p. 284: “Seule la section seizième a été copiée par Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Ṭāmī. Les onze autres sections sont de la main du copiste Moḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Walīd, *mohyī l-dīn wa-zayn al-mowaḥiddīn*. L’ensemble du livre a été copié pour la Bibliothèque de ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamza b. Solaymān b. Rasūl, al-Manṣūr billāh, imām 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 ʿĪbish (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.<sup>77</sup>

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

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joignant entre elles certaines lettres qui ne comportent pas de liaison avec les lettres qui suivent, ce qui contribue à créer une certaine confusion dans la lecture de certains mots, ou même de certaines phrases.” El-Khodeiri describes some additional copies of the *Mughnī* (parts 15 and 17) in an article published in 1958 as “nouvelles acquisitions de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Caire (Dār al-Kotob)”; see Mahmoud El-Khodeiri, “Deux nouvelles sections du Moghni du Qadi ‘Abd al-Jabbar,” *Mélanges de l’Institut dominicain d’études orientales* 5 (1958), pp. 417–424, here p. 417. This suggests that the latter parts were discovered by the Egyptian expedition outside the Maktabat al-Awqāf and that the physical codices were taken to Cairo. Further examination of the physical codices is needed to determine their provenance. The codicological division of the *Mughnī* as preserved in the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya/Maktabat al-Awqāf can be reconstructed as follows (whether the additional copies in Cairo follow the same division is unknown): Parts (*ajzā*) 1 through 3 (lost) were grouped together in two codicological units (*mujallad*), volumes 1 and 2; parts 4 and 5 are contained in volume 3; parts 6 and 7 in volume 4; parts 8 and 9 (incomplete) in volume 5; part 10 (lost) in volume 6; part 11 in volume 7; part 12 in volume 8; part 13 in volume 9; part 14 in volume 10; part 15 (lost) in volume 11; part 16 in volume 12; parts 17 through 19 (lost) in volumes 13–15; and part 20 in volume 16. The editors’ introductions to the individual edited parts of the *Mughnī* (‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-‘adl*, general editor Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, 16 vols., Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya li-l-Taʿlīf wa-l-Tarjama, [1960–]) are often vague regarding the manuscripts they consulted. See also Sayyid, *Sources de l’histoire du Yémen à l’époque musulmane*, pp. 422–423, where it is related that the Egyptians bought eleven codices, including the *K. al-Mughnī*, during their sojourn in Sanaa. The codices described by El-Khodeiri may well have been among those codices.

<sup>77</sup> For a detailed account, see Thomas Eich, “Die Wissenschaft, eine Revolution—und der Alltag: Das Jemen-Projekt an der Hamburger Orientalistik in den 1980er Jahren,” *100 Jahre Universität Hamburg: Studien zur Hamburger Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte in vier Bänden*, vol. 2: *Geisteswissenschaften, Theologie, Psychologie*, ed. Rainer Nicolaysen, Eckart Krause, and Gunnar B. Zimmermann, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2021, pp. 489–508.

wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamaniyya in Sanaa.<sup>78</sup> 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-Awqāf and some private libraries in Yemen.<sup>79</sup> 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-ʿIyānī (d. 450/1059), al-Sharīf al-Fāḍil al-Qāsim (d. 468/1075) and Dhū l-Sharafayn Muḥammad (d. 477/1084), composed by the *amīrs*' secretary, Mufarriḥ b. Aḥmad al-Rabaʿī.<sup>80</sup> This was a collaborative editorial project, carried out with the Egyptian scholar ʿAbd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, who also devoted a study to the Muṭarrifiyya.<sup>81</sup> Mention should also be made of Daniel Gimaret (b. 1933), one of the pioneers of the modern study of the Muʿtazila: although he never traveled to Yemen, he brought together a sizeable collection of microfilm surrogates of Muʿtazilī 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.<sup>82</sup> Wilferd Madelung collected

<sup>78</sup> See Dale J. Correa, "Recovering Yemen's Cultural Heritage: The Stookey Microfilms," *Shii Studies Review* 2 (2018), pp. 308–318.

<sup>79</sup> For an unpublished list of these surrogates, see "al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya: Hiya majmūʿa min al-rasāʾil al-khaṭṭiyya allatī qāma bi-taṣwīrihā al-Duktūr Riḍwān al-Sayyid athnāʿa tadrīsihi fī Jāmiʿat Ṣanʿāʾ fī tisīniyyāt al-qarn al-māḍī min maktabāt khāṣṣa," <https://baroudipublishing.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/d985d8b5d988d-8b1d8a7d8aad8a7d984d985d8aed8b7d988d8b7d8a7d8aad8a7d984d98ad985d98ad986d8a921-10-2015.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.

<sup>80</sup> Mufarriḥ b. Aḥmad al-Rabaʿī, *Sīrat al-amīrayn al-jalīlayn al-sharīfayn al-fāḍilayn al-Qāsim wa-Muḥammad ibnay Jaʿfar b. al-Imām al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿIyānī: Naṣṣ tārikhī yamanī min al-qarn al-khāmis al-hijrī*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid and ʿAbd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, Beirut: Dār al-Muntakhab al-ʿArabī, 1413/1993.

<sup>81</sup> ʿAbd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī, *al-Šīrāʾ al-fikrī fī l-Yaman bayna l-Zaydiyya wa-l-Muṭarrifiyya: Dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ*, al-Haram [Giza]: ʿAyn li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḥūth al-Insāniyya wa-l-Ijtimāʿiyya, 2002. During his sojourn in Yemen, al-Sayyid also consulted the relevant Zaydī sources for his study *al-Nafs al-zakiyya Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: Kitāb al-Siyar, wa-mā baqiya min rasāʾil al-daʿwa wa-l-thawra*, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd al-Muttaḥad, 1444/2021. In *ibid.*, p. v, he mentions that he began teaching in Sanaa in the fall of 1988, but his curriculum vitae on his professorial website mentions the years 1989 through 1991 instead; see <https://www.aub.edu.lb/fas/arabic/Documents/Ridwan%20Al-Sayyid.pdf> (accessed 9 December 2021). It should be noted that al-Sayyid's 2021 publication does not reflect the current state of Zaydi studies—since al-Sayyid's sojourn in Yemen, many additional materials have been discovered (and were partly published), but for the most part he did not consult them. Another Lebanese scholar who has contributed to the scholarly study of Zaydism is Maher Jarrar, most importantly through his edition of *Akhbār Fakhkh wa-khabar Yahyā b. ʿAbd Allāh wa-akhīhi Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh. Intishār al-ḥaraka al-Zaydiyya fī l-Yaman wa-l-Maghrib wa-l-Daylam*, ed. Maher Jarrar, Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2011. The authenticity of the work has been disputed and the alleged origin of the text from Rayy seems fabricated—it was rather composed in Yemen. See Hassan Ansari, "Akhbār Fakhkh wa khabar Yahyā b. ʿAbd Allāh taʿlīf-i Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī: kitābī majhūl (1)," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1836>; Hassan Ansari, "Dar bāra-yi Kitāb-i Akhbār Fakhkh (2)," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3862>; Hassan Ansari, "Bāz dar bāra-yi Kitāb-i Akhbār Fakhkh wa afsāna-hā-yi ān," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3895> (all accessed 21 January 2022).

<sup>82</sup> Gimaret's first major publication on the Muʿtazila—"Les *Uṣūl al-Ḥamsa* du Qādī ʿAbd al-Ġabbār 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-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141), a follower of Abū l-Ḥusayn 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 Mu‘tazila.<sup>82a</sup>

Iranian libraries hold a significant number of Zaydi manuscripts, some of which testify to the persistence of Zaydism in the various centers of Zaydi scholarship in Ṭabaristān, Daylamān, and Gīlān in the Caspian region up until the tenth/sixteenth century.<sup>83</sup> Further, the

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he began to delve into the history of this movement, initially focusing on the *K. al-Mughnī* of ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī; see “Entretien avec D. Gimaret,” *Autour du regard: Mélanges Gimaret*, ed. Eric Chaumont with Denis Aigle, Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, and Pierre Lory, Leuven: Peeters, 2003, pp. ix–xxii, here pp. xvff. and passim. Gimaret’s last major contribution to this field of research was his edition of Ibn Mattawayh’s *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-a‘rāḍ*, which was again based on several witnesses of Yemeni provenance: Ibn Mattawayh, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-a‘rāḍ li-Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Mattawayh*, ed. Daniel Gimaret, 2 vols., Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2009.

<sup>82a</sup> Together with Martin McDermott, Madelung published a critical edition of Ibn al-Malāḥimī’s *K. al-Mu‘tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (London: Al-Hoda, 1991; revised and enlarged edition Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2012, on the basis of MS Jāmī’ al-Imām al-Hādī in Ṣa‘da, which was first discovered and digitized by the Iranian delegation [on which see below]) and of his *K. al-Fā‘iq fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2007).

<sup>83</sup> Prominent examples are discussed in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapters 5 and 6. Iranian libraries also hold a significant number of Zaydi works from Yemen. An example is the *K. al-‘Iqd al-naḍīd al-mustakhraj min Sharḥ Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd* by Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Hādī b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. late eighth/fourteenth century). In addition to copies in Yemeni libraries (al-Wajh, *Alām*, vol. 1, p. 603), a witness of the work is preserved in the Majlis Library in Tehran, and Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī prepared an edition of the work on its basis. Another example is a copy of *al-Ḥulal fī sharḥ abyāt al-jumal* by the Andalūsī scholar Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 521/1127), now held in the library of the Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān. The manuscript was transcribed for the library of the Zaydi Imam al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1348–49) and at some stage traveled to Iran (MS Tehran, Dānishgāh, Mishkāṭ 204); see Hassan Ansari, “Nuskha-yi khaṭṭī-yi muta‘alliq bih kitābkhāna-yi imāmī zaydī dar Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2181> (accessed 21 January 2022). Of related relevance are three copies of Yemeni origin (MSS Qum, Mar’ashī 4557, 12397, as well as another copy in the private library of Muḥammad ‘Alī Rawḍātī in Isfahan) of the *K. al-Mīyār wa-l-muwāzana* by the Mu‘tazili theologian Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Iskāfī (d. 240/854). The work was published in the edition prepared by the Iranian scholar Muḥammad Bāqir Maḥmūdī (Beirut 1402/1981) on the basis of MS Qum, Mar’ashī 4557). While the editor does not specify the manuscript he consulted, this is mentioned by al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, *Ahl al-bayt fī l-maktaba al-‘arabiyya*, pp. 502–504 no. 679. Additional witnesses of the work are preserved in some of the private libraries of Yemen (figs 42, 43). While some scholars have doubted the authenticity of the work as a book by al-Iskāfī, Hassan Ansari has proven its authenticity (“*Kitāb al-Mīyār wa-l-muwāzana az kīst?*,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <https://ansari.kateban.com/post/1224>, accessed 21 January 2022). For the manuscripts of the work in the Mar’ashī Library, see Maḥmūd Mar’ashī et al., *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Najafī-yi Mar’ashī*, Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Najafī-yi Mar’ashī, n.d., vol. 12, p. 131; vol. 31, p. 341. Moreover, according to the thirteenth/nineteenth-century Iranian scholar Muḥammad Jawād al-Shīrāzī, one of his acquaintances brought in the year 1251/1835–36 about 120 Zaydi Yemeni books to Shiraz. These were Muḥammad Jawād al-Shīrāzī’s primary sources when he wrote *al-Kawātib al-muḍī‘a li-l-shī‘a al-marḍiyya fī qiyām al-ḥujaj al-Imāmiyya ‘alā firaq al-Zaydiyya*, a refutation of Zaydism from an Imami perspective. For this work, see Hassan Ansari, “Mu‘arrifi-yi nuskha-yi shumāra-yi 91 majmū‘a-yi Glāzir-i kitābkhāna-yi dawlatī-yi Birlīn,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1641> (accessed 21 January 2022). For some Yemeni manuscripts, which were given as *waqf* to the Madrasa-yi Chahār Bāgh in

*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-ʿUzmā al-Sayyid Shihāb al-Dīn al-Najafī al-Marʿashī (1315–1411/1897–1990), the founder of the Marʿashī 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.<sup>84</sup> 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);<sup>85</sup> from the latter’s father, the historian Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra (1301–1380/1883–1961) (dated 20 Jumādā II 1355/7 September 1936);<sup>86</sup> from the prominent Yemeni scholar ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī (1295–1960/1878–1960) (dated Shawwāl 1355/December–January 1936);<sup>87</sup> and from many other Yemeni Zaydi scholars.<sup>88</sup> This was a reciprocal process—Shihāb al-Dīn, in turn, granted numerous *ijāzas* to scholars from Yemen.<sup>89</sup> 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-Muʿayyad al-Yamanī al-Zaydī (1336–1439/1917 or 1918–2018)<sup>90</sup> to the prominent Imami scholar and founding director of the Open School in Chicago al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn

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Isfahan, see Rasūl Jaʿfariyān and Rasūl Jazīnī, *Waqf-nāma-hā-yi kitāb-i ṣafawī*, Qum: Nashr-i Muwarriḥ, 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%D8%A7%D8%A8+%D8%A7%D8%B2+%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%87+%D8%B5%D9%81%D9%88%DB%8C> (accessed 21 January 2022).

<sup>84</sup> Maḥmūd al-Marʿashī (ed.), *al-Musalsalāt fi l-ijāzāt: Muḥtawīya ʿalā ijāzāt ʿulamāʾ al-islām fi ḥaqq wālidī al-ʿAllāma Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā al-Sayyid Abī l-Maʿālī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī al-Najafī*, 2 vols., Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā al-Marʿashī al-Najafī al-Āmma, 1416 [1995 or 1996], vol. 1, pp. 430–432. The *ijāza* is reprinted in Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Muʿallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 3 vols., Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, 1413/1992–1993, vol. 1, pp. 15–17.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Marʿashī, *Musalsalāt*, vol. 1, pp. 435–436.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Marʿashī, *Musalsalāt*, vol. 1, pp. 433–434.

<sup>87</sup> Al-Marʿashī, *Musalsalāt*, vol. 1, pp. 403–404.

<sup>88</sup> See al-Marʿashī, *Musalsalāt*, vol. 1, pp. 429–628 (*al-juzʿ al-thālith fi ijāzāt ikhwānīnā ʿulamāʾ al-Zaydiyya*).

<sup>89</sup> See al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Muʿallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 21.

<sup>90</sup> On him, see Schmidtke, *Traditional Yemeni Scholarship*, pp. 118–120, 124. Karrām ʿAlwān Ḥusayn al-Kaʿbī al-Baghdādī gathered seven *ijāzas* received by al-Shaykh Ḥamūd between Muḥarram 1380/1960 and Jumādā II 1398/1978 in Karrām ʿAlwān Ḥusayn al-Kaʿbī al-Baghdādī (ed.), *al-Durr al-manḍūd min ijāzāt al-Sayyid Ḥamūd: al-Imām al-Muʿammar al-Ḥujja al-Sayyid Ḥamūd b. ʿAbbās al-Muʿayyad (1336–1439h)*, private publication, 2019, [https://archive.org/details/20191127\\_20191127\\_2052](https://archive.org/details/20191127_20191127_2052) (accessed 21 January 2022).

b. al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Jalālī al-Ḥāʾirī (1362–1442/1943–2020)<sup>91</sup> on 14 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1396/6 December 1976 when the two scholars met in Mecca.<sup>92</sup>

Some of the libraries in the ʿAtabāt cities in southern Iraq, such as the library of the Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ family, also hold manuscripts that contain Zaydi works or are of Yemeni provenance.<sup>93</sup> This explains why Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī's (1293–1389/1876–1970) *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa* contains several titles by Zaydi authors. The sources at his disposal included a partial copy comprising two volumes (from the letter *tāʾ* to the end) of Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ b. Abī l-Rijāl's (d. 1092/1690) biobibliography, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr wa-majmaʿ al-buḥūr*, which he consulted in the library of the Iraqi Twelver Shīʿi scholar Muḥammad ʿAlī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī (1301–1386/1884–1967) (figs. 46, 47, 48).<sup>94</sup> 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,

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<sup>91</sup> Al-Jalālī was also in contact with the renowned Yemeni Zaydi scholar Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Muʿayyadī (d. 1428/2007); see Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī, *Ijāzat al-ḥadīth*, ed. Saʿīd Ayyūb, Cairo: Dār al-Manār, 1409/1989, p. 189. Among the many obituaries for him, see, e.g., “Condolences on the Passing of His Eminence, Sayyid Mohammad Hussein al-Husseini al-Jalali,” Council of Shia Muslim Scholars of North America website, 22 November 2020, <https://www.imams.us/condolences-on-the-passing-of-his-eminence-sayyid-mohammad-hussein-al-husseini-al-jalali/> (accessed 21 January 2022). See also Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī, *Fihris al-turāth*, Qum: Dalīl-i Mā, 1422/2001–2, which concludes with an autobiographical account. Al-Jalālī's younger brother, Muḥammad Riḍā (b. 1365/1946), also received an *ijāza* from al-Muʿayyadī, which was published in facsimile as Majd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Muʿayyadī al-Ḥasanī, *al-Jāmiʿa al-muḥimma li-asānīd kutub al-aʿimma*, Tehran: Kitābforūshī-yi Muṣṭafawī, 1396sh/1976. See also *Thabat al-asānīd al-ʿawālī ilā marwiyyāt al-Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī*, Qum: Majmaʿ-ī Dhakhāʾir-i Islāmī, 1420/1378sh/1999, pp. 8, 107–108 (where he mentions again Majd al-Dīn al-Muʿayyadī among his transmitters); Muḥammad Riḍā al-Jalālī mentions two other Zaydī scholars of Yemen from whom he transmits, namely Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jalāl al-Ḥasanī al-Šanʿānī (ibid., p. 9) and Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥūthī (d. 1431/2010), who had spent more than a year in Qum, during which al-Jalālī met him and also received an *ijāza* from him (ibid., p. 102). Both Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Jalālī and Muḥammad Riḍā made scholarly contributions to the study of Zaydism. Among Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Jalālī's publications, mention should be made of his *Musnad Nahj al-balāgha*, Qum: Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Majlisī, 1431/2010, and *al-Dirāsa ḥawla Nahj al-balāgha*, Beirut: Muʿassasat al-ʿAlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 2001; in both studies he pays special attention to the Zaydi transmission of *Nahj al-balāgha*. Their brother Muḥammad Jawād al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī also published an edition of the *K. Irshād al-muʿminīn li-maʿrifat Nahj al-balāgha al-mubīn*, a work by the Yemeni Zaydī scholar Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Jaḥḥāf (d. 1102/1690–91), with an introduction by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī (3 vols., Qum: Dalīl-i Mā, 1422/1380sh/2002).

<sup>92</sup> The text of the *ijāza* is published in Ḥusayn al-Wāthiqī, *al-Turāth al-Makkī: al-Ijāzāt, al-mustansakhāt, al-muʿal-lafāt, al-taṣḥīḥāt, al-tamallukāt wa . . .*, Qum: Dānīsh-i Hawza, 1431/1389 [2010], pp. 47–48. Al-Jalālī also published through the Open School in Chicago a copy of the Qurʾān that was produced by Ḥamūd al-Muʿayyad in 1396/1976, which combined the readings of Nāfiʿ (d. 117/735, 118/736, 119/737 or 120/738) and ʿĀṣim (d. 127 or early 128/745); *al-Qurʾān al-karīm bi-khaṭṭ al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Ḥamūd ʿAbbās al-Muʿayyad ayyadahu llāh jamʿan bayna qirāʾatay Nāfiʿ wa-ʿĀṣim ʿan nuskha farīda bi-l-Jāmiʿ al-Abhar fi Ṣanʿāʾ al-Yaman*, Chicago: The Open School, n.d. The volume concludes with Ḥamūd al-Muʿayyad's *ijāza* for al-Jalālī.

<sup>93</sup> The Muʿassasat Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (which is to be distinguished from the Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ) also holds numerous surrogates of Zaydi manuscripts from Yemen. For those two libraries, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought*, passim.

<sup>94</sup> See also Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Ayān al-Shīʿa*, 6 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Taʾaruf li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, n.d., vol. 8, p. 300.

and copies of these were later made available to him.<sup>95</sup> Āghā Buzurg prepared an abbreviated version of the second half of the work, which he entitled *Maḥṣūl Maṭla' al-budūr* and completed in Ramaḍān 1335/June–July 1917.<sup>96</sup> Another important source that was accessible to Āghā Buzurg and other Imami scholars was *Nasmat al-saḥar bi-dhikr man tashayya'a wa-sha'ar* by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī al-Ṣan'ānī (1078–1121/1667 or 1668–1709), a close relative of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Yamanī al-Ṣan'ānī (1035/1625–after 1099/1688), who had converted from Zaydism to Imamism. The book covers Shī'i 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 'Alī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (1267–1350/1850–1931) in Najaf (**figs. 49, 50, 51**) and that volume 2 of the book was also found in the library of al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣadr (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-saḥar*.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> For his trip, see 'Abd al-Sattār al-Ḥasanī, *al-Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shahrastānī: Ḥayātuhu wa-nashātuhu al-'ilmī wa-l-ijtimā'ī*, Qum: Mu'assasat Turāth al-Shī'a, 2008, pp. 37–44, esp. p. 41, where his sojourn in Yemen in 1331/1913 is mentioned. Later Hibat al-Dīn prepared an edition of a work by Zayd b. 'Alī (d. 122/740), *Minhāj al-ḥājj, aw, manāsik Āl Muḥammad, wa-huwa al-ma'rūf bi-Mansak Zayd al-Shahīd b. al-Imām al-Sajjād 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn*, which was published by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī, Baghdad: 'Alā nafaqat Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zanjānī, 1342 [1923–24] (**fig. 79**); see also al-Ḥasanī, *al-Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shahrastānī*, p. 41. As he explains in the introduction to his edition of *Minhāj 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) (**fig. 80**). His interest in Zayd b. 'Alī was possibly prompted by his being a descendant of the latter.

<sup>96</sup> See Muḥammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'a*, 25 vols., Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1403–1406/1983–1986, vol. 21, p. 152 no. 4382 (*Maṭla' al-budūr*), vol. 20, p. 151 no. 2351 (*Maḥṣūl Maṭla' al-budūr*). A copy of volumes 3 and 4 of *Maṭla' al-budūr* (dated 1180 AH) in the library of Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī is also recorded in Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz, "al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī l-'Irāq," *Majallat Ma'had al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya = Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes* 4, no. 1 (1377/1958), pp. 195–258, here p. 252.

<sup>97</sup> See Āghā Buzurg, *Dharī'a*, vol. 24, pp. 154–155 no. 794 (*Nasmat al-saḥar bi-dhikr man tashayya'a wa-sha'ar*), 115 no. 594 (*Nuzhat al-baṣar fī fihris Nasmat al-saḥar*). The work was published twice, by Kāmil Salmān al-Jabūrī (3 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Mu'arrikh al-'Arabī, 1420/1999) and by Aḥmad Mahdawī Dāmghānī (2 vols., Tehran: Wizārat al-Khārijīyya, 1380sh/2001). Al-Jabūrī relates in his introduction that the autograph of the work is kept in Istanbul in Millet Kütüphanesi under the shelf mark 2393 (vol. 1, p. 37), that a copy of volume 2 of the work is found in Karbalā' (p. 33), and (contra Āghā Buzurg and the images that are available to us; see **fig. 49**) that the copy kept in the library of al-Shaykh 'Alī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' contains only volume 2 of the work (p. 34); moreover, he states that Muḥsin al-Amīn commissioned a copy of volume 2 of the work for his own use (that al-Amīn had a copy of the work is confirmed in al-Amīn, *Aḡyān al-Shī'a*, vol. 1, p. 152), and that Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī (d. 1370/1950) produced a copy of the complete text, which was later added to the library of Muḥammad Riḍā Faraj Allāh (d. 1386/1966) in Najaf (p. 35; for the library, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought*, p. 146 n. 233; for al-Samāwī, see *ibid.*, pp. 373ff. and *passim*). See also al-Jabūrī's introduction on Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā (pp. 9–23). Āghā Buzurg also mentions a copy of the *siyar* work *al-Ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya* by Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (killed in 652/1254) in the Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'; see Āghā Buzurg, *Dharī'a*, vol. 6, pp. 291–292. The same copy, as well as a copy of the text prepared by al-Samāwī, is also mentioned in Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane*, p. 128; see also Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz, "al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī l-'Irāq," *Majallat ma'had al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya* 4, no. 1 (1377/1958), pp. 195–258, here p. 225 no. 199. Moreover, according to Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, "Kitābkhāna-hā-yi 'Irāq wa 'Arabistān-i Su'ūdī," *Nashriyya-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān* 5 (1345 [1946]), pp. 405–583, here p. 421, the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm in Najaf owns a



Figure 45. MS Lucknow, Nāṣiriyya Library  
 (Masālik al-abrār al-manẓūm min Jalā' al-absār).

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 Qāsimi dynasty.

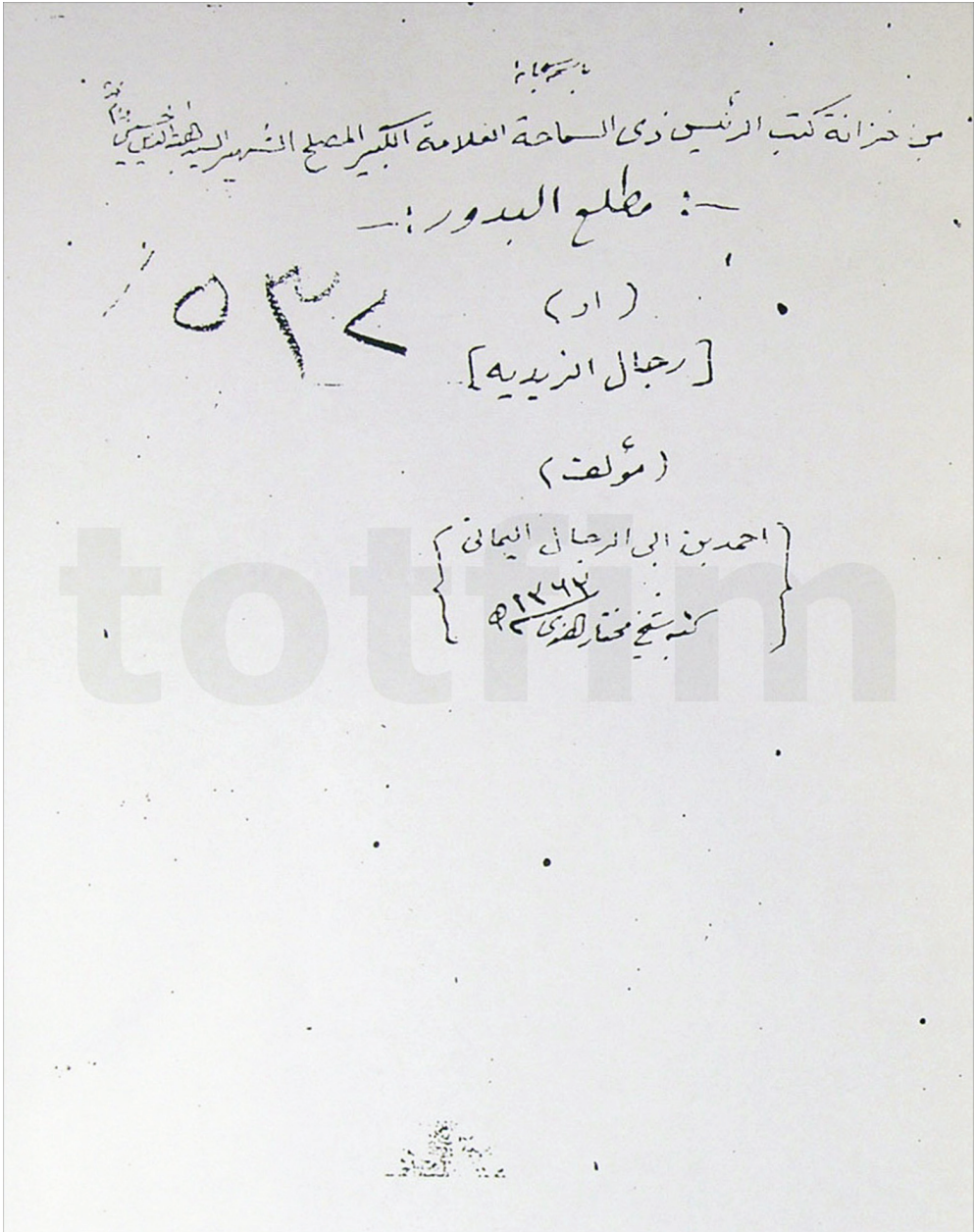


Figure 46. MS Najaf, Maktabat Muḥammad 'Alī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī (title page of Ibn Abī l-Rijāl's *Maṭla' al-budūr*).

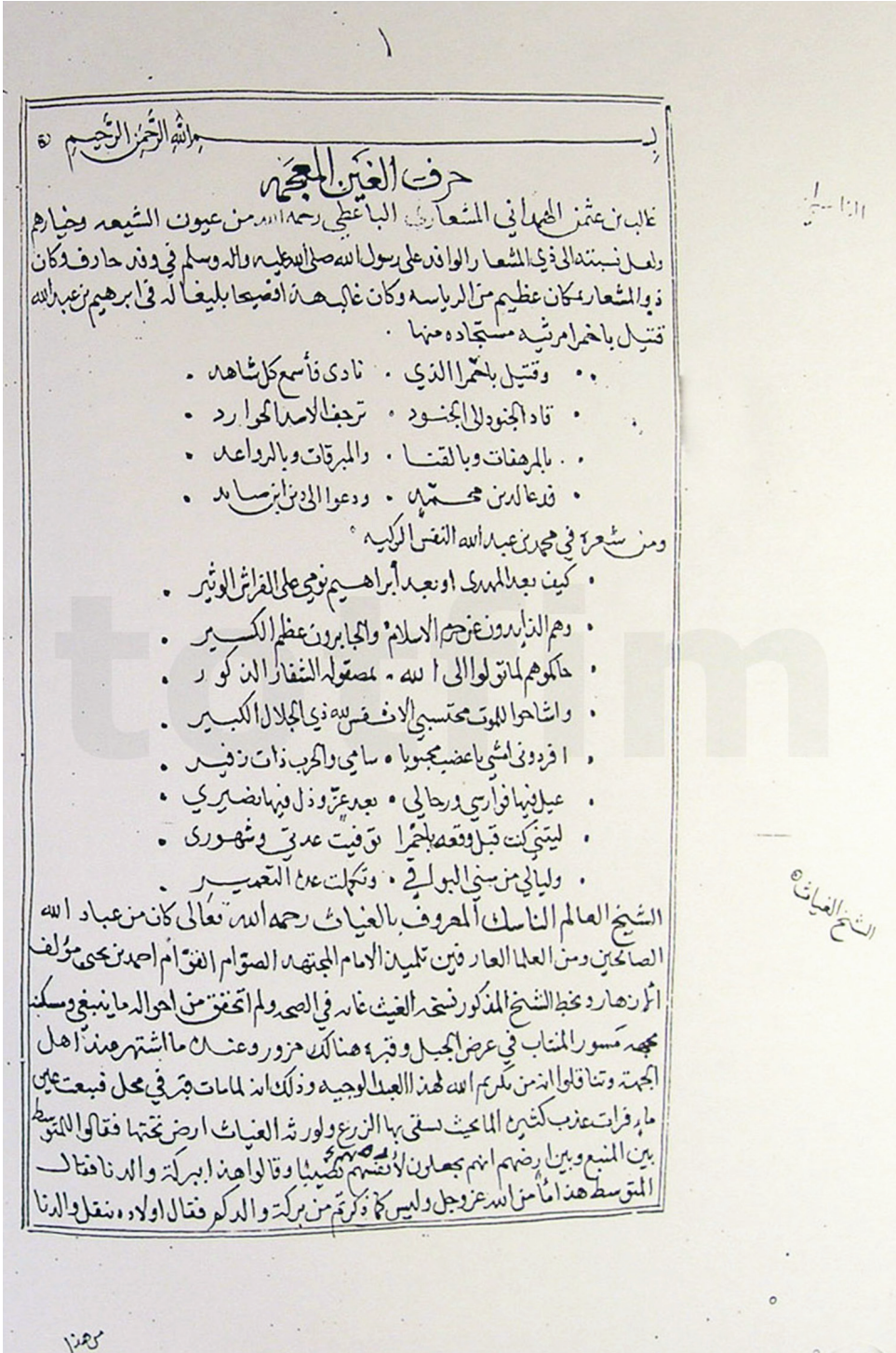


Figure 47. MS Najaf, Maktabat Muhammad 'Alī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī  
 (page from Ibn Abī l-Rijāl's *Maṭla' al-budūr*).





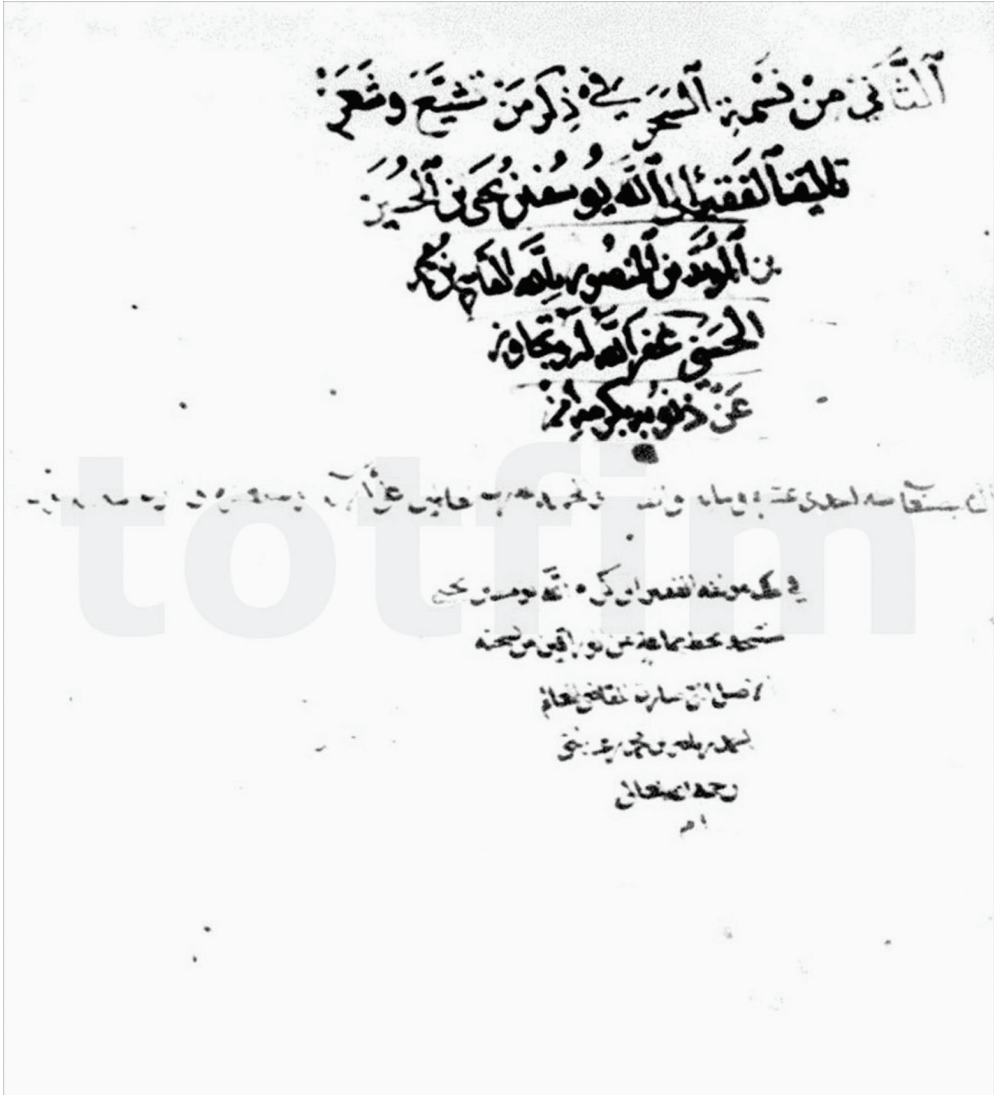


Figure 50. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (title page of volume 2 of *Nasmat al-saḥar* by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī al-Ṣan'ānī).

هو الطالع العبد  
خلع بن زكريا

**بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ**

وبلغت اسما من المسلمين نصر الدين . فاضل اجتمعت فيه متفرقات المحاسن  
 فكان يظهر اللؤلؤ في اجساد طيما المعاني نظمة الزمان في اسود الجواش وجمه  
 لا يطبقها المزج وان قلبي وفضل بقصر بقول سبحان عن وصفه وان غلبي ووجود  
 بكوخذ الغمير حمره وهو يعمل الحياذله انه اذا رتل العبارة وعلم مرسع بالادب  
 بوضع الغنود بالذهب . وكان فاضلا عالما حسن السياسة جواد انجما شامرا مجددا  
 وله معنى يدع قوله ديوان شعره . وقال احمد بن المقرئ في اخباره انه قدم في اول من  
 الى زيارة شهيد الامام علي بن طالب غلبت الخلاء بارضا الخلف من العراق فباعه من  
 القنوا واما رشيد الامام علي بن ابي طالب يومئذ السيد بن الغصون فزار طلائع واضعاه  
 فبات هناك فلما بن معصوم في مناهه الامام طيا طيه السلام يقول له قد ورد عليك الله  
 اذ هو من فقير من حملهم من حل اسمه طلائع بن زكريا من البار وخصا فعل له اذهب فقد  
 وليناك مضوق فلما اضع امر من ينادي فيكم اسمه طلائع بن زكريا فليم الى السيد  
 بن الغصون فحاط طلائع وسلم عليه فقص عليه ما راى فصار حينئذ الى مصر وتوفي بالمدينة  
 حي ورضية بن حبيب فلما اقتل نصر بن عمار الخليفة الطاهر استعمل بعثت الى القصر  
 الى طلائع لستعين برقي الاخذ بناره وحعلن في طي الكتاب شعور الساجع طلائع  
 الناس وثار بن يد القاهر الخازنه للوزر غناش فلما قرب من المدقم عمارس ودخل  
 طلائع الى القاهره فخلعت عليه خلع الوزارة ونعت الملك الصالح الجار من المسلمين ضو  
 نصير الذي فاشر البلاد احسن مباشرة واستبد بالامر لغصون الخليفة القاهر سمر الله  
 الى ان مات الفايرو فامر بالامر القاض له بن الله عبد الله بن محمد ويبيع لمو حكان  
 ضعفه الى مبلغ الحبل فقوت حومة طلائع وازداد تمكنه من الدولة فتقل على اهل القصر  
 لكثرة تمكنه واستبداده بالامر فوقف رجاله بدهلي القصر وضربوا باسيافهم حتى  
 سقط على وجهه وحل جرحه لا يفي الى طاره فبات يوم الاثنين تاسع عشر رمضان سنة  
 وثمانين وثمانمئتين وكان شيخا عاكرا محجورا فاضلا بحما اهل الايت حيد الشعر رجل  
 حكومه فصلا وفلا وسبقه وقد بين ان ما في شكله فظيما في خطوبه وجمع امور  
 نظيه وكان محافظا على الصلوات فراضها ونوافلها شديد المغالاة في التسع ضنف كان  
 عيا في الزد على اهل العناد وناظرهم عليه وهو يضمن امامه امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب  
 عليه السلام والكلام على الاحاديث الواردة فيه ذلك وله شعر كثير يشمل على محمد بن علي  
 فن منه في اعتقاده

سنة ١١٠٠  
 شهر ربيع الثاني  
 يوم الخميس  
 في شهر رمضان  
 سنة ١١٠٠  
 قتلوه وهو  
 ان سمع شعره

يا امة سلكت ضلالا ابينا  
 قلتم لان القاضي لم يكن  
 لو صح ذلك ان الاله يملك  
 حاشا وكلان يكون القناه  
 حتى شوا قراها ووجودها  
 الاستقود الاله وجودها  
 منع الشريعة ابن قباير وجودها  
 ينق عن القضاير وجودها

Figure 51. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghīṭā' (beginning of volume 2 of *Nasmat al-saḥar* by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yahyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī al-Ṣan'ānī).

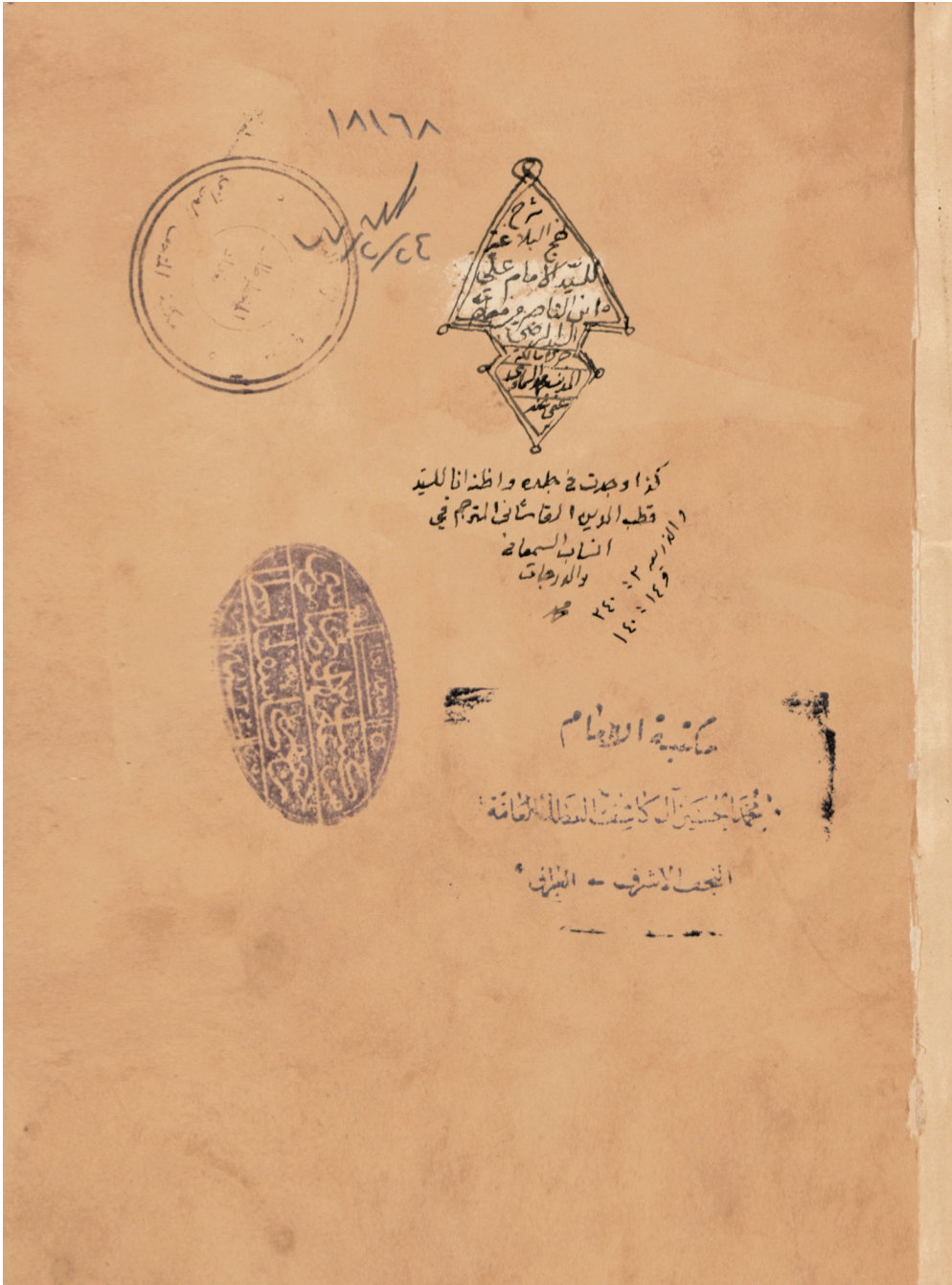


Figure 52. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (title page of *A'lām Nahj al-balāgha* by Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakhsī, copied in Ḍafār and dated Ramaḍān 701/April–May 1302).



Figure 53. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (end of *A'lām Nahj al-balāgha* by Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakhsī, copied in Ḍafār and dated Ramaḍān 701/April–May 1302).

الرعود والنوازل والرياح والصواعق والبرص والصداع  
 وتتوقض من جانبها وشبهه الي العالمه من تلك الزوايع بالمال الذي  
 التي خلقت طبعه وتفتعد مسيحه في قرض الفرس وعنه اذ اذوع يديه  
 وطرحهما معا وعجز من حليبه اى ضربت بها الارض وتتوقض ان تنرو  
**وقيل** له عليه السلام لو غيرت من شيك ما من المؤمن فقال  
 عليه السلام الخضاك ربه ونحن قوم في مضيئه يزيد من ينو الله صلى  
 الله عليه واله وسيلم **وقيل** عليه السلام القناعه ما لا ينفذ  
 وقدر ويغضه هذا الكلام عن النبي صلى الله عليه واله **وقال**  
 عليه السلام لربنا ربنا الله وقد استخلفه لعبد الله بن العباس رضي الله عنهما  
 عا فان تنوعاها في كلام طويل كان اذ ان سبها نهاه فيه عن تقدير  
 المراج **استخرج** العزل واخذ العسف والحرف العسف يعقد  
 بالخل والجيف يدعوا الى الشيف **وقيل** عليه السلام اشد الرؤيب  
 ما استخبر به صاحبه العسف الاخذ عا غير الظربوق والجيف الظلمه  
**وقيل** عليه السلام ما احدث الله على اهل الخصال نعمة واحدا  
 على اهل العلم ان تعلموا **وقيل** عليه السلام شر الاحوان من تكلف  
 له **وقيل** عليه السلام اذ احتمى المؤمن من اذاه فقد فاز به  
 نزل الكتاب بعون الله وخير نبي ربه في شهر رمضان المعظم من  
 سنة احدى وخمسين مائته المصنوعه في يوم الاثنين من شهر ربيع  
 الثاني سنة 701

Figure 54. MS Najaf, Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (end of *A'lām Nahj al-balāgha*, by Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakhsī, copied in Ḍafār and dated Ramaḍān 701/April–May 1302, with final colophon).



Another example of a work that was accessible to Zaydi scholars in Yemen as well as to Imami scholars is *A'lām Nahj al-balāgha*, a commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha* written by al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarakhsī (fl. late sixth/twelfth and early seventh/thirteenth centuries). Al-Sarakhsī's students included a number of Zaydis, and one of them, Tāj al-Dīn Zayd (or Aḥmad) b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqānī al-Ḥājī, brought both the *Nahj al-balāgha* and the *A'lām Nahj al-balāgha* to Yemen.<sup>98</sup> The Maktabat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' in Najaf holds a copy of the *A'lām Nahj al-balāgha* dated Ramaḍān 701/April–May 1302 that was produced *fi l-mashhad al-manṣūrī*, that is, Ṣafār (Dhībīn), where al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza lived and was buried (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 al-Mūsawī al-Burūjirdī.<sup>99</sup> One of the earliest publications of a text of a Zaydi author by an Iraqi Twelver Shi'i scholar was Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn al-Kāẓimī's (1350–1427/1931–2006) edition of Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Buhlūlī al-Abnāwī's (d. 573/1177–78) *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Ṣāhib 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.<sup>100</sup>

Numerous Yemeni manuscripts are also found among the holdings of the Nāṣiriyya Library in Lucknow (India), in which Imami books are otherwise strongly represented. Besides some copies of works by Mu'tazilī authors that are, directly or indirectly, of Yemeni origin,<sup>101</sup> the library holds codices with writings by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436)<sup>102</sup> and al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620).<sup>103</sup> The Kutubkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Muḥammadiyya-yi Jāmi' Masjid in Bombay owns a copy of *Shawāhid al-tanzīl li-qawā'id al-tafḍīl fi l-āyāt al-nāzila fi Ahl al-Bayt* by the Ḥanafī scholar al-Ḥāfiz 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥākīm al-Ḥaskānī al-Nīsābūrī (d. after 470/1077–78) (fig. 55), which circulated among the Zaydis of Yemen.<sup>104</sup> The copy was transcribed by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, 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 dated Jumādā II 1063/April–May 1653, which, he explains, was in the possession of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim (whose private library is discussed in the

<sup>98</sup> See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 9 and passim.

<sup>99</sup> Najaf: Dār al-Turāth / Qum: Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Majlisī, 1434/2013. An edition of the work was prepared by 'Azīz Allāh al-'Aṭarīdī and published in Tehran by Mu'assasat al-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Nashr al-Tābī'a li-Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Islāmī in 1415/1994–95. Al-'Aṭarīdī consulted two manuscripts of the work in India, but he did not have access to copies in Yemen or Iraq. The two Indian copies are apographs of Yemeni manuscripts.

<sup>100</sup> Qāḍī Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Buhlūlī al-Yamānī al-Mu'tazilī, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād fi uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn, Baghdad: al-Maktaba al-Ahliyya, 1965. For the copy of the work in the Taymūr collection, see *Fihris al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya*, vol. 4, p. 85 (shelf mark: *majāmi'* 380); here the hand is described as *khaṭṭ yamanī ḥadīth*.

<sup>101</sup> See above, n. 18.

<sup>102</sup> Ustādī, "Fihrist-i diwist wa sī nuskha-yi khaṭṭī," p. 93 (*al-Rawḍ al-bāsim*).

<sup>103</sup> Ustādī, "Fihrist-i diwist wa sī nuskha-yi khaṭṭī," pp. 93 (*al-Risālāt wa-l-masā'il*), 105 (*Tuḥfat al-walad limā 'alayhi al-mu'tamad fi imāmat amir al-mu'minīn*). For another case, see *ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>104a</sup>

It is noteworthy that works by Imami scholars also reached Yemen. Partial copies of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's (d. 436/1044) *Ghurar al-fawā'id*, or *Amālī*, were available in Zaydi circles.<sup>105</sup> The Maktabat al-Aḥqāf in Tarim holds a sixth/twelfth-century copy of volume 5 of *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) (**figs. 57, 58**).<sup>106</sup> One of the private libraries of Yemen holds a unique copy of the *K. Iqrār al-ṣaḥāba bi-faḍl imām al-hudā wa-l-qarāba* by the Imami author Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Mashhadī (alive in 580/1184–85).<sup>106a</sup> The Maktabat al-Awqāf possesses a copy of *Talkhīṣ al-marām fī ma'rifat al-aḥkām* by al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar "al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī" (d. 726/1325), transcribed by one Ḥasan b. Ḥamdān (?) and dated 10 Rajab 726/12 June 1326 (MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 1350) (**figs. 59, 60**).<sup>107</sup> Columbia University Library owns a copy of Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kafamī's (alive in 898/1492–93) *Junnat al-amān al-wāqiyā wa-jannat al-imān al-bāqiyā*, known as *al-Miṣbāḥ* (MS Or. 122), copied by Muḥammad Hādī b. Mīrzā 'Arab al-Shīrāzī five years after his return from the *hajj* to Iran (**fig. 62**). The codex came at some stage to Yemen as it was kept in the library of Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mansūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, i.e., a descendant of the founder of the Qāsimī dynasty, al-Mansūr al-Qāsim (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.<sup>107a</sup> MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 113 is a copy of a

<sup>104a</sup> For copies of Yemeni manuscripts in Indian libraries, see also Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, passim.

<sup>105</sup> See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought*, pp. 114–115.

<sup>106</sup> 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 madhhab," *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 47–48 (1380sh/2001), pp. 3–6.

<sup>106a</sup> An edition of the work was published on the basis of this manuscript in Iran (ed. Lajnat al-Taḥqīq fī Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Majlisī, Markaz al-Taḥqīqāt wa-l-Dirāsāt al-Turāthiyya, Qum: Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Majlisī, 1439/1396/2016). The work was first identified by Hassan Ansari, "Kitābī tāza yāb az Ibn al-Mashhadī," *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 83–84 (1383/2004), pp. 89–93.

<sup>107</sup> See al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 2, p. 1003.

<sup>107a</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see [https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0032/html/ms\\_or\\_122.html](https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0032/html/ms_or_122.html) (accessed 11 January 2022). The copyist of the codex, Muḥammad Hādī b. Mīrzā 'Arab al-Shīrāzī, sojourned for some time in Mecca. On him, see Ḥusayn al-Wāthiqī, *Al'ām al-mujāwirīn bi-Makka al-mu'aẓẓama*, 2 vols, Qum: Bustān-i Kitāb, 1395sh/1437/2016, vol. 2, pp. 731–732. For al-Kafamī and his *Junnat al-amān*, see Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work*, pp. 90–91 and passim. For David Eugene Smith and his collections, see Kaoukab Chebaro and Jane Rodgers Siegel, "A History of the Muslim World Manuscript Collection at the Columbia University Libraries," *Philological Encounters* 5 (2020), pp. 258–281. On the relations between the Qāsimīs and the Safavids, see Hassan Ansari, "Dū sanad muta'alliq bih dawra-yi Shāh 'Abbās-i duwwum-i Ṣafawī," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1118> (accessed 21 January 2022); Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanā'ā' fī l-qarn al-ḥādī 'ashar*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥibshī, Abu Dhabi: al-Mujamma' al-Thaqāfī, 1996, passim. We thank Rasul Jazini for having brought the

commentary (*ḥāshiyā*) on Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd al-Thānī's (d. 1011/1602–3) *Ma'ālim al-dīn wa-malādhdh al-mujtahidīn* 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.<sup>107b</sup> An interesting case is that of *al-Ṭarā'if fi ma'rifat madhāhib al-ṭawā'if* by 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), a polemical anti-Sunni book that Ibn Ṭāwūs published under a pseudonym, 'Abd al-Maḥmūd b. Dāwūd. Unaware of Ibn Ṭāwūs's authorship, the book circulated among the Zaydis in Yemen under the title *Nuṣrat al-Shī'a 'alā ahl al-madhāhib al-shan'ā*.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, the *Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya* by Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjād (d. 95/713–14) 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**).<sup>109</sup> 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-Ḥasanī (d. 252/866) has been preserved in the transmission of the Yemeni Zaydi Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja'far 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**).<sup>110</sup>

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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-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya al-thāniya*, an addendum to *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya* compiled by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḥurr 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: Mu'assasat al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya, 1421/2000-1).

<sup>107b</sup> For the manuscript (without identification), see [https://search.onb.ac.at/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=ONB\\_alma21295730220003338&context=L&vid=ONB](https://search.onb.ac.at/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=ONB_alma21295730220003338&context=L&vid=ONB) (accessed 11 January 2022). Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Māzandarānī's commentary on the *Ma'ālim* was published repeatedly; for a future critical edition, MS Vienna, Cod. Glaser 113 would have to be consulted.

<sup>108</sup> For a copy of the work under the title *Nuṣrat al-Shī'a 'alā ahl al-madhāhib al-shan'ā* in the Maktabat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Ijrī in Dahyan (**fig. 74**), see al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, 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-Wajīh, *A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 475. For the *Ṭarā'if*, see Hassan Ansari, "Ṭarā'if-i Ibn Ṭāwūs wa raddiyya-yi bar ān," *Barrasi-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1234> (accessed 21 January 2022); Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work*, pp. 57–59 no. 51.

<sup>109</sup> See Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm's introduction to *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya al-kāmila li-l-Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn*, facsimile edition of a manuscript transcribed by Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Kafamī, dated 867 AH, from the private collection of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Yūnisī in Qum, introd. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm, Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Millī/Bunyād-i Muḥaqqiq-i Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1394sh [2015], pp. 27, 39–40. Moreover, the Maktabat al-Awqāf holds a copy of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya*, dated 1145/1733 and transcribed by a Yemeni, Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥamzī *al-ma'rūf bi-l-Ḥarra*, for his own use (*li-nafsihi*), on the basis of an antigraph copied by the aforementioned al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāsīm (d. 1092/1620). The latter's copy reflects the copy of the prominent Imami scholar al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384) (**figs. 66, 67, 68, 69**).

<sup>110</sup> *Aḥādīth Amīr al-Mu'minin 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām bi-riwāyat 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Ḥasanī wa-bi-implā' al-Qāḍī Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Yamānī* (t. 573h): *Min makḥṭūṭat al-zaydiyya*, ed. Muḥammad al-'Āfī al-Khurāsānī, Qum: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1399sh/1442 [2021]. For additional examples, see Bernard Haykel's contribution to this volume.





Figure 57. MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf 23 (title page of K. al-Tibyān by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī).





Figure 59. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 1350 (title page of *Talkhīṣ al-marām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām* by al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī).

قيمها عشرة فعليه ثلثة وثلث والسالى الف بلتها وقيمتها ثمانية فعليه درهمان  
 وثلثان والسالى الف بلتها وقيمتها عشرة فعليه درهمان وثمانون تقسم  
 عليها العشرة حصه كل واحد منهم ما سواها الف ولو كان احدى الجنابا من  
 المال سقظ ما قال جنابا وفي كلب الصيد ربعون درهما وخصه موم بالسوق  
 وفي كلب العم كسر وروى عشرة من درهما وربع في كلب الحيا بط عشرة من في كلب اربع قنبر  
 ولا يفخر بغيرها من الكلاب وغيرها من المجرمان والنقد بل للقاتل اما العاصم  
 ولو اتلف على ذمي خذيرا صه بغيره عند تحليله وفي اطرافه الارض وكذا الحرم  
 والانت المهور بسط الاستنار ولو اتلف المسلم ولا ضمان الا لشهاده وان كان  
 مسلم ومنه من يباح للمانئيد اذا حن على الودع ليل الا انها او الودع استنار التقيوط  
 في الفنين ليلها ونهاها وفضي امير المؤمنين عليه السلام في عجزه لادبه عقلة احدهم ما اتلف  
 ان على الفتن كما حصنه وكفاه العمد في الثلث مع العضو ومع الفنون قيل المالح بماله  
 وثلثه ياتي الخط مع المباشرة ما السبيح فبفضل اليلد ذكر كان او التي حرا  
 او عيبا صيبا او بالفا عاقلا او مجنوننا ولو قتله في دار الحرب عاقلا لا ضرورة والفتن  
 والصفارة ولو ظنه كافرا فالصفارة ملاذيه ولا تؤد ولو كان الصبر اصله يفتن الدير الكفار  
 والشركون تنعده عليهم الصفارة ثم الكتاب — هون الله الوهاب

والحمد لله ومنههاه وبلته والصلوة والسلام على محمد بنيه  
 وعلى اله الذي اجمع عنهم الارحاس وطهرهم من اللادناس  
 على يد العبد المذنب الصغير الى الله العلي حسن عريان  
 عفا الله عنه وعن والده وعن الوالد والجد والاب والعم  
 له بالامر في ذلك في العشر الاوالم  
 رجب السالك سنة ستة وعشرين وسبعماية  
 وصل على محمد واله وصحبه اجمعين

١٥٦

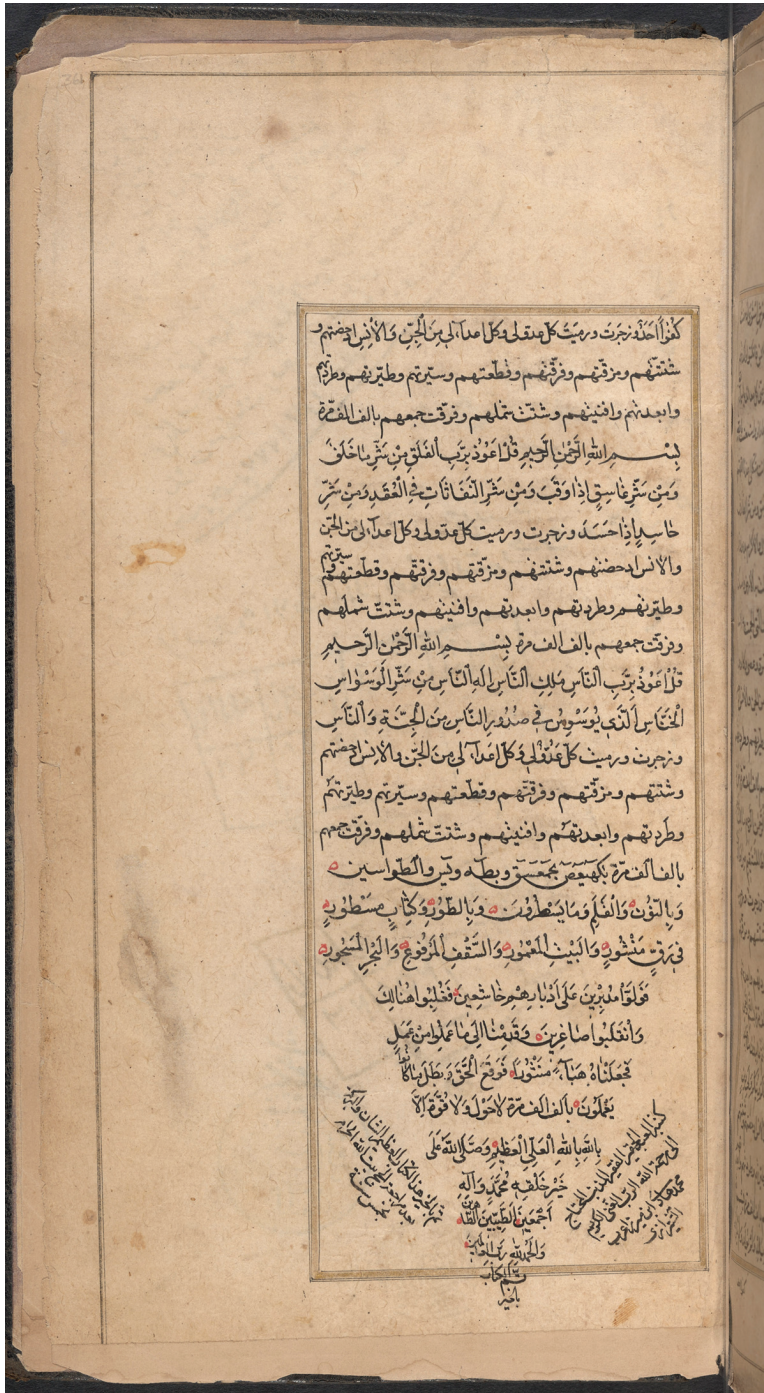
(Vertical marginalia on the right side of the page, including the title 'Talkhis al-marām...' and other handwritten notes.)

(Vertical marginalia on the left side of the page, including the name 'al-Hasan b. Yusuf...' and other handwritten notes.)

Figure 60. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 1350 (end and final colophon of *Talkhīṣ al-marām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām* by al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī).



Figure 61. Ms. New York, Columbia University Library, Or. 122, title page.



كذا أحدهم جرت ورويت كل عدل من الجين والأندلس منهم  
 شنتهم ووزقتهم وفتعتهم وسيرتهم وطيرتهم وطرفهم  
 وابدانهم واندنهم وشتتهم وفتقتهم ووزقتهم ووزقتهم  
 بين الله الرحمن الرحيم فلما عوذ برئب العلي بن بشر ما حو  
 ومن ستر فاستبى إذا وقب ومن ستر النفاثات في القدر ومن ستر  
 طاسب إذا حسد ونجرت ورويت كل عدل وكل عدل من الجين  
 والأندلس حنهم وشتتهم ووزقتهم ووزقتهم وقطعتهم  
 وطيرتهم ووزقتهم وابدانهم واندنهم وشتتتهم  
 ووزقتهم بالالف مرة بين الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 فلما عوذ برئب الناس بلك الناس إلى الناس من ستر الواسر  
 الحنا من الذي يؤسور في صدق الناس من الجنة والناس  
 ونجرت ورويت كل عدل وكل عدل من الجين والأندلس حنهم  
 وشتتهم ووزقتهم ووزقتهم وقطعتهم وسيرتهم وطيرتهم  
 وطرفتهم وابدانهم واندنهم وشتتتهم ووزقتهم  
 بالالف مرة بهم بصيرهم وبتهم وبتهم والطواسير  
 وبالنون والياء وما يظفره وبالطوق والكرار مستطوي  
 في بيت مشهور والبيت المعنوي والسقف المرفوع والبر السجود  
 فلما مد بين علي أبا رهم خاشعين فقلوا هانك  
 وأنقلبوا صاعرين فبقينا إلى ما عملوا من عمل  
 فقلنا هانك مستوي فخرج الحق وطل ما  
 فقلنا بالالف مرة لا حول ولا قوة إلا  
 بالله الله العلي العظيم وصلى الله على  
 خير خلقه محمد وآله  
 محمد بن الحسين بن الحسين  
 أحمد بن الحسين بن الحسين  
 والله أعلم بالصواب  
 والحمد لله رب العالمين  
 آمين

Figure 62. Ms. New York, Columbia University Library, Or. 122, colophon.

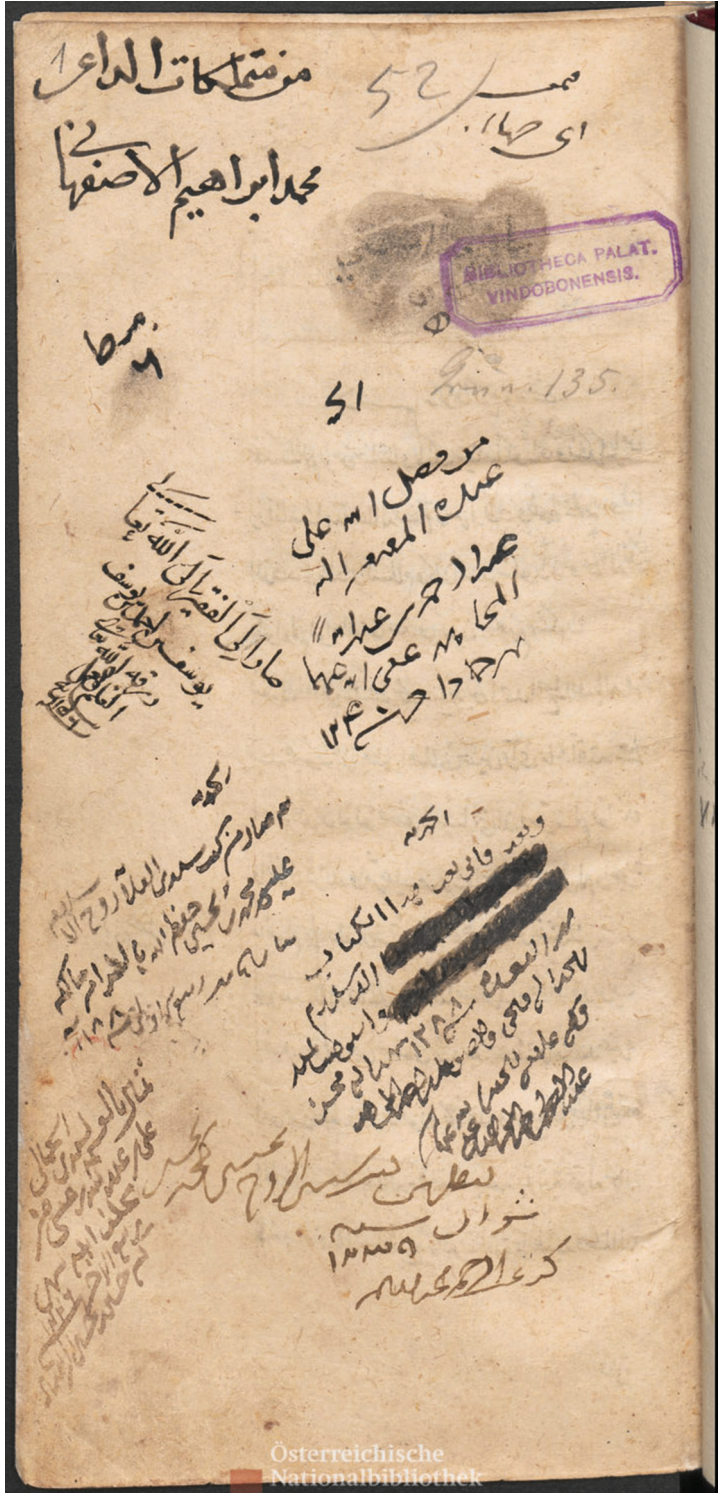


Figure 63. Ms. Vienna, Austian National Library, Cod. Glaser 113, opening page.

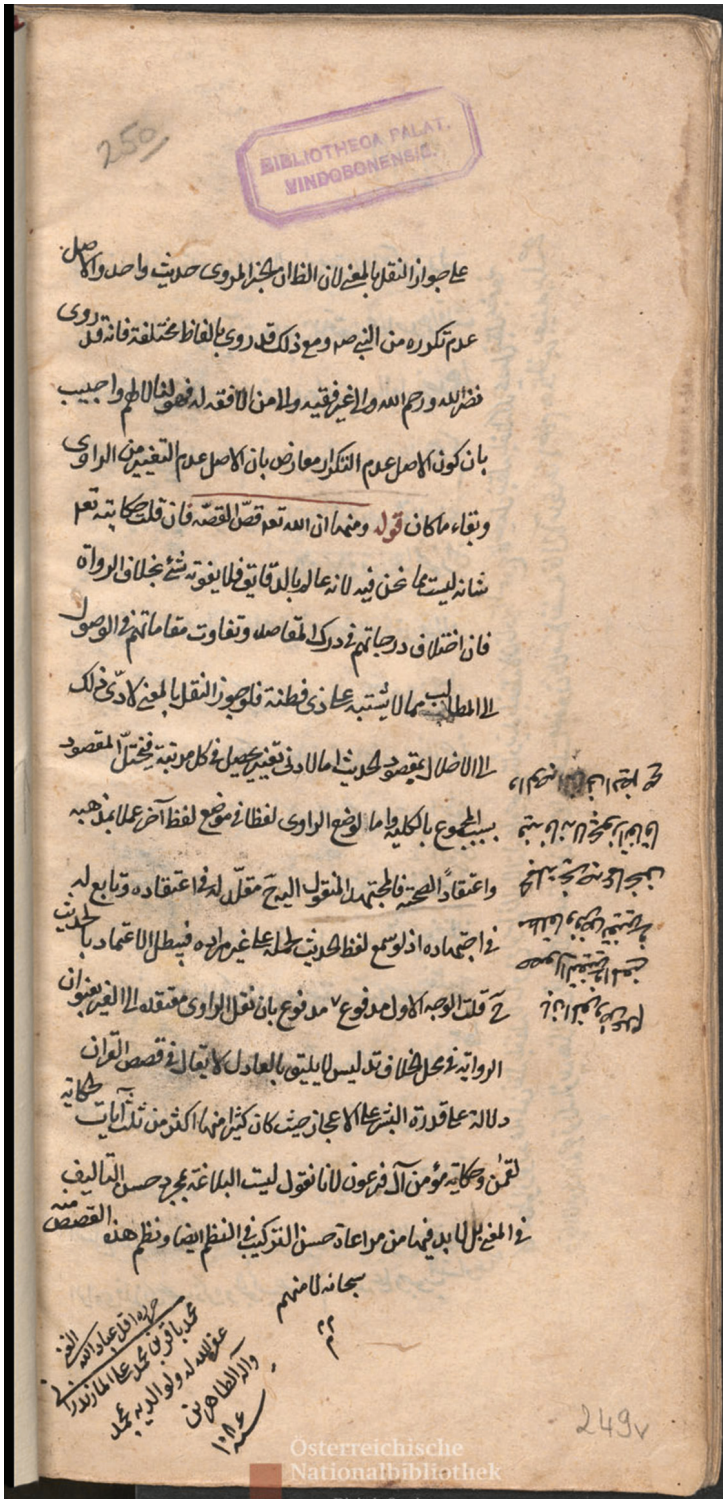


Figure 64. Ms. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 113, colophon.





Figure 66. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmi' al-kabīr, 2090  
(*al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya*, titlepage).



Figure 67. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmi' al-kabīr, 2090  
(al-*Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya*, beginning of text).



Figure 68. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmi' al-kabīr, 2090  
(al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya, end of text).



Figure 69. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Jāmi' al-kabīr, 2090  
(*al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya*, colophon).

كُتِبَ هَذَا وَالْحَقِيقَةُ الْمُبَاجِجَةُ لِنَهْضِ الْفَرَجِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ  
**وَلِحُجْمِ الْإِيْدِ السَّيِّئِ الْمُبِينِ لِنَهْضِ الْفَرَجِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ**  
 عَزَّ وَجَلَّ لَهُ وَسَائِرُهُ مَعْتَمَدَةٌ مِنْ مَجْتَمَعِ الْعُلَمَاءِ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ مَوْلَانَا أَمِيرِ  
 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْمُجِيدِ بَدْرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْمُجِيدِ بْنِ لُحَيْشِ بْنِ أَمْرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ  
 عَنْهُمْ لِحُجْمِ الْفَرَجِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ بِرُؤْيَا أَنْ تَكْتُبَ مَا رَفَعْنَا مِنَ الرُّؤْيَا  
 بِصُورَتِهِ هَذَا فِي الرَّقْمَةِ **قَالَ فِي الْأَوَّلِ مَا لَفْظُهُ** نَقَلْتُ هَذَا وَالْحَقِيقَةَ  
 مِنْ خَطِّ الشَّيْخِ الْفَرَجِيِّ السَّجَّادِيِّ الْهَيْدَرِيِّ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ هَيْدَرِيِّ مَجْدِيْدِي  
 اللَّهُ رَحِمَهُ وَوَجَّهْتُهُ وَوَجَّهْتُمْ مِنْ خَيْرِهِ فِي يَوْمِ الْأَرْبَعِ سَابِعِ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ  
 الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ حَسَنٍ خَمْسِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ مِائَةٍ قَابِلِ لِنَهْضِ الشَّيْبَانِيِّ  
 صِيغَتِهِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ كَتَبْنَا مَا عَرَفْتُمْ عَارِضَتُنَا بِأَصْلِهَا الْمَذْكُورِ فِيهَا مَا مَجَّ  
 بِمَعْنَاهُ الشَّيْبَانِيُّ تَقَدَّمَ بِأَعْيُنِهِ وَالْمَعْرُوفَةُ وَجَدَهُ وَصَادَقَهُ عَلَيْهِ  
 هَذَا وَاللَّهُ وَسَلَامُهُ وَكَتَبَ هَيْدَرِيُّ مَجْدِيْدِي مَا كَتَبَهُ الشَّيْبَانِيُّ وَالْحَقِيقَةُ  
 تُرُوِّجُهُ فِي الْمَجْتَمَعِ الْقَائِلِ وَبِهَا هَذَا نَقَلْتُ هَذَا وَالْحَقِيقَةَ مِنْ خَطِّ الشَّيْخِ  
 السَّجَّادِيِّ دَعَاةَ اللَّهِ وَوَجَّهْتُمْ فِي جَادِي عَشْرَ بَشْتِيَانِ سَنَةِ الْخَمْسِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ  
 وَفِي كِتَابِ مَا صُوِّرَتْهُ نَقَلْتُ هَذَا وَالْحَقِيقَةَ مِنْ خَطِّ الشَّيْخِ الْمَسْكُونِ وَتَمَّعَ أَرْضِي  
 عَنْ أَقْسَامِهِ حَسْبَ لَهْفِهِ الْأَمْرَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَجَسَّعَتْهُ الْمَعْرُوفَةُ لِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ  
 فِي يَوْمِهِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ وَهَذَا أَيْضًا خَطُّ الشَّيْخِ السَّجَّادِيِّ

مَكْتُبًا وَتَلَيْتُهَا أَيْضًا بَلَّغْتُ مَمَّا لِي وَتَعْضُطُهَا بِأَيْدِيهِمْ الْمَعْتَمَدَةُ لِنَهْضِ الْفَرَجِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ  
 لِأَمْرٍ أَرَادْتُهُ الْفَرَجِ وَتَعْضُطُهَا الْمَعْتَمَدَةُ وَذَلِكَ فِي يَوْمِهِ مِنْ الْأَرْبَعِ وَالْخَمْسِينَ  
 وَتَعْضُطُهَا وَهَذَا لِهَيْدَرِيِّ الْهَيْدَرِيِّ مَوْلَانَا أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ  
 عَنْهُمْ لِحُجْمِ الْفَرَجِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ بِرُؤْيَا أَنْ تَكْتُبَ مَا رَفَعْنَا مِنَ الرُّؤْيَا  
 بِصُورَتِهِ هَذَا فِي الرَّقْمَةِ **قَالَ فِي الْأَوَّلِ مَا لَفْظُهُ** نَقَلْتُ هَذَا وَالْحَقِيقَةَ  
 مِنْ خَطِّ الشَّيْخِ الْفَرَجِيِّ السَّجَّادِيِّ الْهَيْدَرِيِّ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ هَيْدَرِيِّ مَجْدِيْدِي  
 اللَّهُ رَحِمَهُ وَوَجَّهْتُهُ وَوَجَّهْتُمْ مِنْ خَيْرِهِ فِي يَوْمِ الْأَرْبَعِ سَابِعِ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ  
 الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ حَسَنٍ خَمْسِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ مِائَةٍ قَابِلِ لِنَهْضِ الشَّيْبَانِيِّ  
 صِيغَتِهِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ كَتَبْنَا مَا عَرَفْتُمْ عَارِضَتُنَا بِأَصْلِهَا الْمَذْكُورِ فِيهَا مَا مَجَّ  
 بِمَعْنَاهُ الشَّيْبَانِيُّ تَقَدَّمَ بِأَعْيُنِهِ وَالْمَعْرُوفَةُ وَجَدَهُ وَصَادَقَهُ عَلَيْهِ  
 هَذَا وَاللَّهُ وَسَلَامُهُ وَكَتَبَ هَيْدَرِيُّ مَجْدِيْدِي مَا كَتَبَهُ الشَّيْبَانِيُّ وَالْحَقِيقَةُ  
 تُرُوِّجُهُ فِي الْمَجْتَمَعِ الْقَائِلِ وَبِهَا هَذَا نَقَلْتُ هَذَا وَالْحَقِيقَةَ مِنْ خَطِّ الشَّيْخِ  
 السَّجَّادِيِّ دَعَاةَ اللَّهِ وَوَجَّهْتُمْ فِي جَادِي عَشْرَ بَشْتِيَانِ سَنَةِ الْخَمْسِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ  
 وَفِي كِتَابِ مَا صُوِّرَتْهُ نَقَلْتُ هَذَا وَالْحَقِيقَةَ مِنْ خَطِّ الشَّيْخِ الْمَسْكُونِ وَتَمَّعَ أَرْضِي  
 عَنْ أَقْسَامِهِ حَسْبَ لَهْفِهِ الْأَمْرَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَجَسَّعَتْهُ الْمَعْرُوفَةُ لِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ  
 فِي يَوْمِهِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ وَهَذَا أَيْضًا خَطُّ الشَّيْخِ السَّجَّادِيِّ

**وَالْحَقِيقَةُ الْمُبَاجِجَةُ لِنَهْضِ الْفَرَجِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ**  
**وَلِحُجْمِ الْإِيْدِ السَّيِّئِ الْمُبِينِ لِنَهْضِ الْفَرَجِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ**  
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Handwritten marginal notes in the left margin of the left page, including a circular stamp at the top left.



Figure 70. MS kept in a private library in Yemen (al-Şahīfa al-sajjādiyya al-thāniya, by al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī)



Figure 71. MS kept in a private library in Yemen  
 (al-*Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya al-thāniyya*, by al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī).



Figure 72. MS Tehran, Dānishgāh 1437 (title page of al-Šāhib b. ‘Abbād’s *Risāla fī l-hidāya wa-l-ḡalāla*, allegedly written during the author’s lifetime).



Figure 73. MS Tehran, Dānishgāh 1437 (end of al-Şāhib b. ‘Abbād’s *Risāla fī l-hidāya wa-l-ḍalāla*, allegedly with al-Şāhib’s own handwriting).

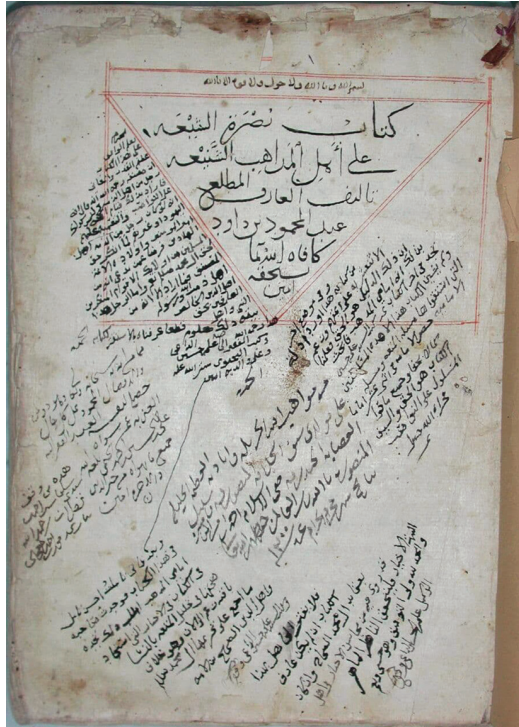


Figure 74. MS Ḍahyān, Maktabat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ĵrī [no shelfmark] (title page of *Nuṣrat al-Shī'a 'alā ahl al-madhāhib al-shanī'a* by 'Abd al-Mahmūd b. Dāwūd, i.e., *al-Ṭarā'if fī ma'rifat madhāhib al-ṭawā'if* by 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs).



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).

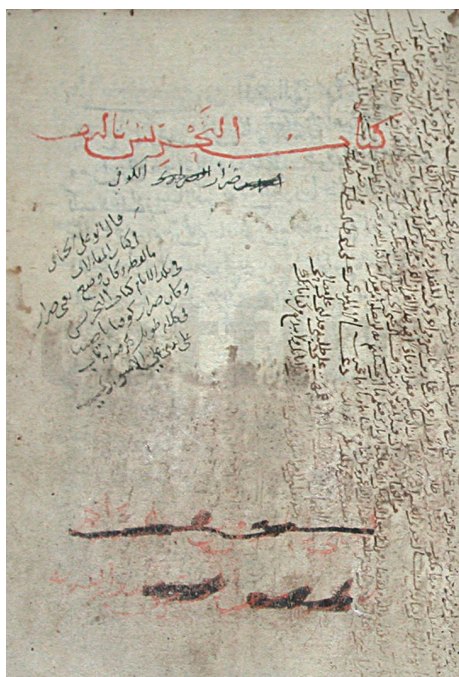


Figure 77. MS Shahāra, Maktabat al-Jāmi' [no shelfmark]  
(title page of *K. al-Taḥrīsh* by Ḍirār b. 'Amr).

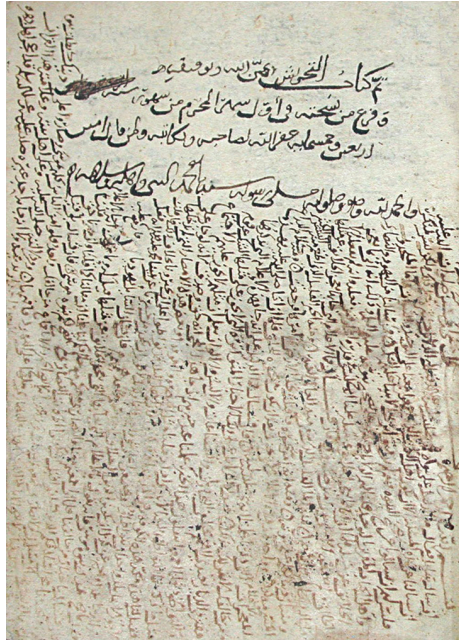


Figure 78. MS Shahāra, Maktabat al-Jāmi' [no shelfmark]  
(end of *K. al-Taḥrīsh* by Ḍirār b. 'Amr).

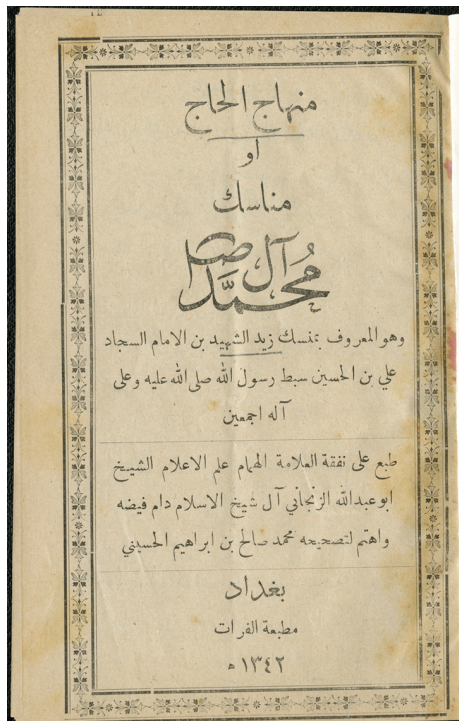


Figure 79. Title page of Zayd b. 'Alī, *Minhaj al-ḥājj*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī, Baghdad: 'Alā nafaqat Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zanjānī, 1342 [1923–24].

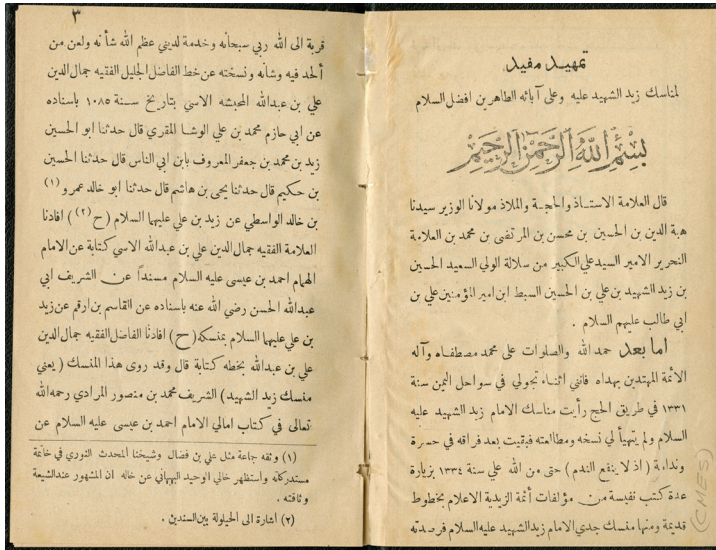


Figure 80. Editor’s introduction (pp. 2–3) of Zayd b. ‘Alī, *Minhāj al-ḥājj*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī, Baghdad: ‘Alā nafaqat Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Zanjānī, 1342 [1923–24].

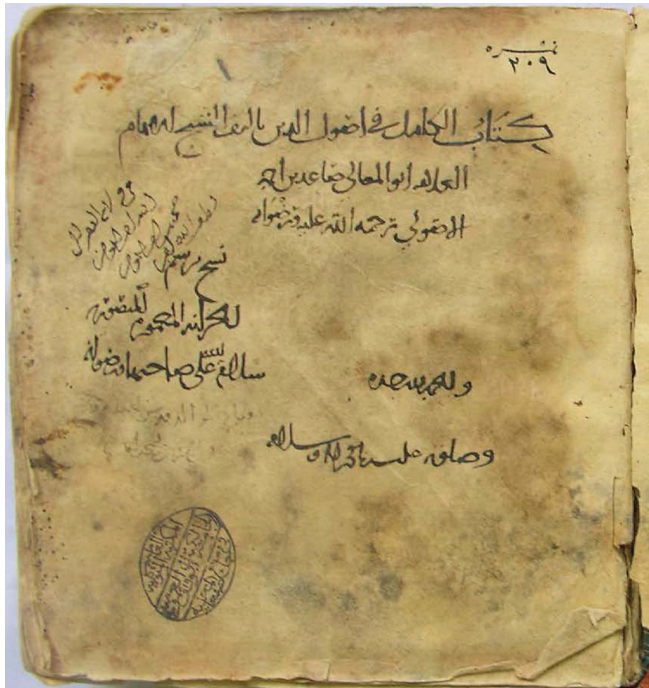


Figure 81. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 711 (title page of *K. al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn*, by Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-‘Ujālī al-Uṣūlī).



Figure 82. MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 711 (beginning of text of K. al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-Ujālī al-Uṣūlī).

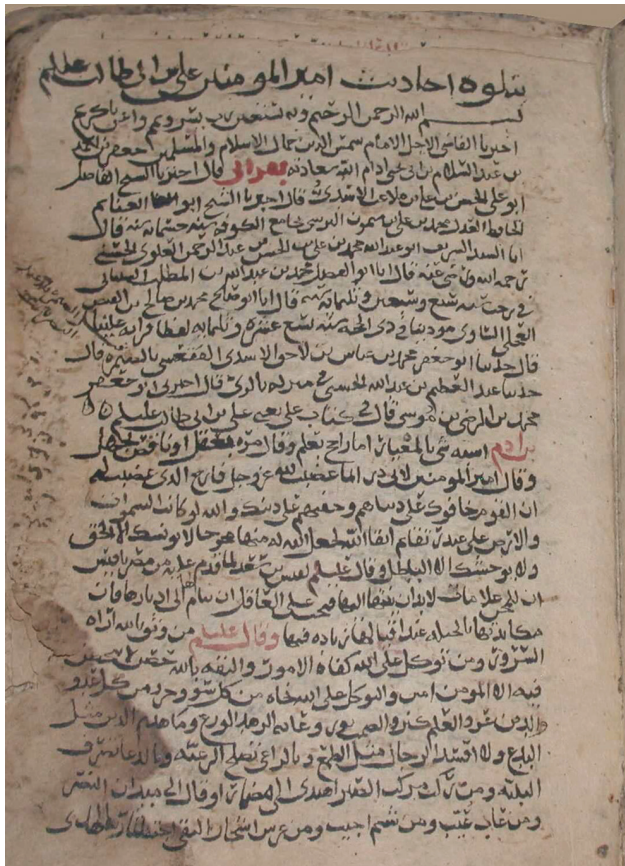


Figure 83. MS Yemen, private library (surrogate provided by the IZbACF) (beginning of a *ḥadīth* collection, *Aḥādīth Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib*).



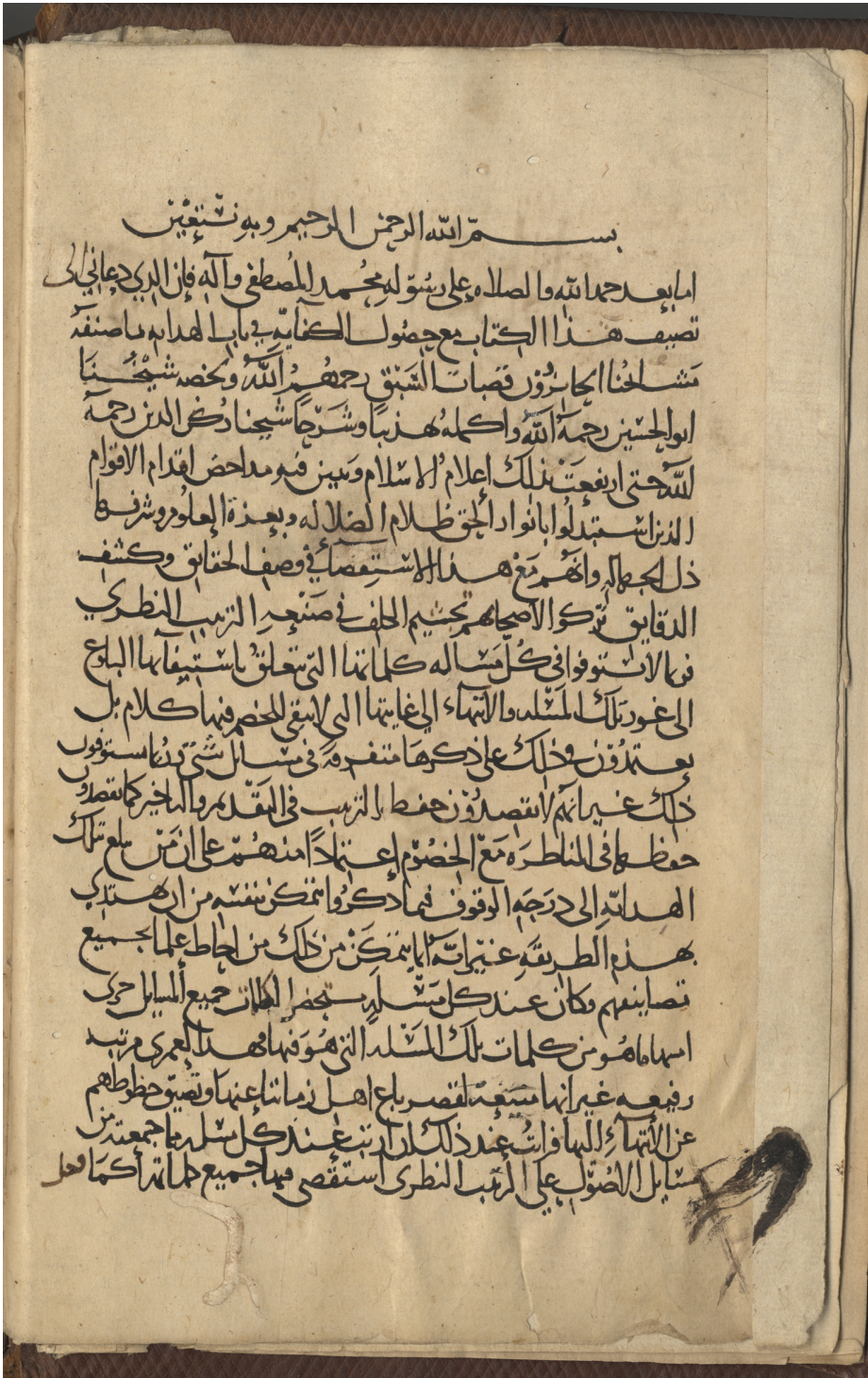


Figure 85. MS Leiden, Leiden University Library OR 487  
 (beginning of the *K. al-Kāmil fi uṣūl al-dīn*, by Šā'id b. Aḥmad al-'Ujālī al-Uṣūlī).

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-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'a*, Aḥmad 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'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, which came out in 1413/1992.<sup>111</sup> 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'allafāt 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 spend 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.<sup>111a</sup> During the early 1990s, various Zaydi scholars from Yemen, including 'Abd al-Karīm Jadbān (1965–2013),<sup>112</sup> 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'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī in Tehran, where it remains today. Before 1999, a delegation of scholars from Mashhad, including Kāẓim Mudīr

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<sup>111</sup> See al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 19–23 for an account of the author's engagement with the Zaydi literary tradition, his various trips to Yemen, and the genesis of the work. During his time in Yemen, al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī established close relations with some of the scholars and notables of the country. In Dahyan, he specifically mentions Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Hādī, in whose house he lodged when visiting the city. He also compiled a catalog of the holdings of the latter's library, which was published separately as Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Makhtūṭāt Maktabat 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Hādī (Dahyān-Yaman)*, Qum: Majma' al-Dhakhā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 1424/2003. *Mu'allafāt al-Zaydiyya* opens with a preface signed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zabāra, the *muftī* of the Republic of Yemen at the time, and by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, who signs as *tilmidh al-muftī*—his official position was that of representative (*nā'ib*) of the *muftī* of the Republic; see Schmidtke, *Traditional Yemeni Scholarship*, pp. 45–46.

<sup>111a</sup> See his two reports, with a list of manuscripts he had earmarked for microfilming, Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥujjatī, "Ashnā'ī bā du kitābkhāna az Yaman," *Āyina-yi pazzūhish* 4, no. 20 (1372sh/1993), pp. 49–55; Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥujjatī, "Guzārīshī az Yaman," *Āyina-yi pazzūhish* 4, no. 20 (1372sh/1993), pp. 86–93. Ḥujjatī also mentions that he visited Rome in 1989, where he inspected some of the manuscripts held at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, and that he procured microfilms of some of them. These microfilms, he continues to explain, were later given to the Wizārat-i Farhang wa Irshād-i Islāmī in Tehran.

<sup>112</sup> On him, see Jan Thiele, "In Memoriam: 'Abd al-Karīm Ğadbān (1965–2013)," *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 21 (January 2016), pp. 2–3.

Shāna-chī, who was a professor at Mashhad University, went to Sanaa twice. The delegation visited the Maktabat al-Awqāf 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-Awqāf, chosen on the basis of the list prepared by Kāzīm Mudīr 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.<sup>113</sup> 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 Haḍramawt). 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-Awqāf 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.<sup>114</sup> Copies of these were also given to the Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī al-Thaqāfiyya (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 including Ḍirār b. 'Amr's (d. ca. 200/815) *K. al-Taḥrīsh* (figs. 77, 78) and Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī's (d. 303/915) *K. al-Maqālāt*. It was Ansari who identified the two works, and he subsequently published on them on various occasions.<sup>115</sup> Upon returning to Tehran, Ansari also prepared

<sup>113</sup> Muḥammad Wafādār Murādī, "Fihrist-i alifbā'ī-yi mīkrūfilm-hā-yi tahiyya shuda az Kitābkhāna-yi Jāmi'ī-ī Ṣan'ā," *Ma'rifat al-āthār: Majmū'a-yi maqālāt-i nuskhā-yi shināsī wa majmū'a-hā-yi khaṭṭī*, Tehran: n.p., 1381sh [2001], pp. 178–213.

<sup>114</sup> Hassan Ansari published a report of his trips to Yemen as well as a handlist of the manuscripts he had inspected in Yemen in "Guzārīshī az nuskhā-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Yaman," *Āyina-yi mirāth* 12, no. 7 (1380sh/2001), pp. 105–111, and "Majmū'a-yi Ṭāwūs-i Yamānī namād ḥuḍūr-i Īrān dar Yaman," *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 51–52 (1380sh/2001), pp. 18–31.

<sup>115</sup> Hassan Ansari, "Kitābī kalāmī az Ḍirār b. 'Amr," *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 89–90 (1383–84sh [2004–05]), pp. 4–13; Hassan Ansari, "*Kitāb al-Taḥrīsh* li-Ḍirār b. 'Amr," trans. 'Alī 'Abbās al-Wardī, *Nuṣuṣ mu'āṣara* 13 no. 50 (1439/2018), pp. 299–318; Hassan Ansari, "Abū 'Alī Jubbā'ī wa *Kitāb al-Maqālāt*," *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn* 91/92 (1384sh/2005), pp. 4–11; Hassan Ansari, "Abū 'Alī Jubbā'ī wa *Kitāb al-Maqālāt*," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2789> (accessed 21 January 2022); Hassan Ansari, "Abū 'Alī Jubbā'ī et son livre *al-Maqālāt*," *A Common Rationality: Mu'tazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke, and David Sklare, Würzburg: Ergon, 2007, pp. 21–37 (see *ibid.* pp. 23–24 for a description of the codex). Ansari's discovery predates the publication of 'Abd al-Salām al-Wajīh's catalog of the library (*Maṣādir*, vol. 2, pp. 593–623). Al-Wajīh describes the codex in *Maṣādir*, vol. 2, p. 616 no. 69, but without identifying either of the two works. He names the author of the *Taḥrīsh* as "Ḍirār al-Kūfī," simply reproducing the name on the title page (fig. 77) and thus indicating that he did not know who the author is. As for Abū 'Alī's *Maqālāt*, al-Wajīh describes the text as *kitāb ḥawla l-firaq* but remains unaware of the true identity of the work and its author. Ansari's discovery and identification of the two works are acknowledged in van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 1, pp. 132–133, 158 and in Josef van Ess, review of *Bar-rasīhā-yi*

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.<sup>116</sup> 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'ashī 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.<sup>117</sup> The 2001/2 expedition also led to the publication (in 2001) of a catalog, *Ṭāwūs-i yamānī: Fihrist-i mīkrūfilm-hā-yi majmū'a-yi Dār al-makḥṭūṭāt-i Ṣan'ā'*.<sup>118</sup> While this volume is unrelated to the aforementioned "Ṭāwūs-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-Makḥṭūṭāt. 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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*tārīḥī dar ḥawza-yi Islām ve taṣāyū'* / *Historical Studies in the Field of Islam and Shiism*, by Hassan Ansari, *Der Islam* 91 (2014), pp. 161–242, here p. 163. In 2014, Hüseyin Hansu and Mehmet Kaskin published an edition of the *K. al-Taḥrīsh* without remarking on the history of the codex. In their respective reviews of the publication, both Sean Anthony and Josef van Ess criticize the poor quality of the edition and lament the editors' failure to mention Ansari's role in the discovery and identification of the text; see Sean Anthony, review of *Kitāb al-Taḥrīsh*, by Ḍirār ibn 'Amr al-Ghaṭafānī, ed. Hüseyin Hansu and Mehmet Kaskin, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 76 (2017), pp. 199–203; Josef van Ess, "Das *K. at-Taḥrīsh* des Ḍirār b. 'Amr: Einige Bemerkungen zu Ort und Zeit seiner Abfassung," Josef van Ess, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Hinrich Biesterfeldt, Leiden: Brill, 2018, pp. 2461–2500. Although a critical edition of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī's *Maqālāt* had been announced by Ansari, three other scholars, Özkan Şimşek, A. İskender Sarıca, and Yusuf Arıkaner went ahead and published the text (Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, *K. al-Maqālāt = Kitābū'l-Makalat: İtikadi Mezheplere Yönelik Klasik Bir Eleştiri*, ed. Üzkân Shimshak, 'Abd al-Karīm Iskandar Şarıḥā, and Yüsus Ārikānar, Istanbul: Mu'tezile Kitaplığı, 2019), and although they refer to Ansari's publications on the work, they fail to mention his role in the text's discovery and identification.

<sup>116</sup> Some of Ansari's detailed descriptions have been published; see Hassan Ansari, "Az nuskhā-hā-yi Ṣan'ā' (1)," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2823> and 2502; Hassan Ansari, "Az nuskhā-hā-yi Ṣan'ā' (2)," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/2824>; Hassan Ansari, "Nuskhā-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi dīgar az Ṣan'ā' (3)," *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3130> (all accessed 21 January 2022); Hassan Ansari, *Az ganjīna-hā-yi nusakh-i khaṭṭī: Mu'arrifi-i dast niwisht-hā-yi arzišmand az kitābkhāna-hā-yi buzurg-i jahān dar ḥawza-yi 'ulūm-i islāmī*, Isfahan: Daftar-i tablīghāt-i islāmī ḥawza-yi 'ilmiyya-yi Qum, 2015, pp. 339–344.

<sup>117</sup> That the collection was also accessible for non-Iranian scholars was experienced by Sabine Schmidtke, who consulted the "Ṭāwūs-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.

<sup>118</sup> *Ṭāwūs-i yamānī: Fihrist-i mīkrūfilm-hā-yi majmū'a-yi Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt-i Ṣan'ā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Tawwāb Aḥmad 'Alī al-Mashriqī and Muḥammad Şālih Yahyā al-Qāḍī, Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uẓmā Mar'ashī Najafī / Tehran: Markaz-i Asnād wa Tārikh-i Dīplumāsī: Idāra-yi 'Umūmī-yi Makḥṭūṭāt-i Sāzmān-i Mūzihā, Āthār wa Makḥṭūṭāt, 1421/2001. For an index to the volume, see 'Abd al-Karīm al-Kirmānī, *Kashshāf makḥṭūṭāt Kitāb al-Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī: Fihris majmū'at al-mīkrūfilm li-Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt fi Ṣan'ā'*, [Baghdad:] Mu'assasat al-Rāfid li-l-Maṭbū'āt, 2018.

Iranian delegation brought back to Tehran the raw material for a new catalog of the holdings of the Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt/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 Maʿashī Library in Qum.<sup>119</sup>

In 2004, UNESCO launched a project aimed at supporting documentation and conservation of the manuscript holdings of the Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt.<sup>120</sup> The various digitization efforts supported by the German Foreign Office (“Preserving Yemen’s Cultural Heritage: The Yemen Manuscript Digitization Project” [YMDP], 2010)<sup>121</sup> 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)<sup>122</sup> 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.<sup>123</sup> The manuscripts filmed under the aegis of the YMDI are accessible through Princeton University Library.<sup>124</sup> 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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<sup>119</sup> Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿIsawī et al., *Fihris al-makḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr, Ṣanʿā*, 2 vols., Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat ʿĀyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Maʿashī Najafī, 1426/2005. An index to the catalog was published separately as Farīd Qāsimlū, *Namāya-yi Fihris al-makḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya*, Tehran: Markaz-i Chāp wa Intishārāt-i Wizārat-i Umūr-i Khārija, Markaz-i Asnād wa Tārīkh-i Dīplumāsī, 1386 [2007]. The catalog of the Maktabat al-Aḥqāf was published in 2004 as ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-ʿAydārūs and ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shihāb, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Aḥqāf bi-Muḥāfaẓat Ḥaḍramawt, al-Jumhūriyya al-Yamaniyya*, Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat ʿĀyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Maʿashī Najafī, 1383 [2004], followed by a revised and enlarged version, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-ʿAydārūs, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shihāb, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saqqāf, *Fihris al-makḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf bi-Muḥāfaẓat Ḥaḍramawt, al-Jumhūriyya al-Yamaniyya*, 3 vols., Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat ʿĀyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Maʿashī Najafī, 1430/1388/2009. The following catalog of a smaller library in Saʿda was published within the same framework: ʿAbd Allāh Ḥamūd Dirham al-ʿIzzī, *Fihrist makḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Mazār al-Imām Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hādī ilā al-ḥaqq, Ṣaʿda, al-Jumhūriyya al-yamaniyya*, Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat ʿĀyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Maʿashī Najafī, 1425/2004. For the catalog and the library, see also Sabine Schmidtke, “The Intricacies of Capturing the Holdings of a Mosque Library in Yemen: The Library of the Shrine of Imām al-Hādī, Ṣaʿda,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 3 (2018), pp. 220–237. For the continued scholarly collaboration between Iran and Yemen, see also Anne Regourd’s contribution to this volume.

<sup>120</sup> Antonio Mirabile, “UNESCO Project for Sanʿa–Yemen Dar al-Makhtutat (House of Manuscripts) Collections,” 2014; see also *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 1 (2006), “Actualités,” “Catalogage, codicologie, numérisation, préservation/conservation: Actualité yéménite.”

<sup>121</sup> Sabine Schmidtke and Jan Thiele, *Preserving Yemen’s Cultural Heritage: The Yemen Manuscript Digitization Project*, Sanaa: Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland and Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Außenstelle Sanaa, 2011. Another outcome of this project is an online exhibition sponsored by Google Arts & Culture, “Yemeni Manuscripts: The Digital Bab al-Yemen, Freie Universität Berlin,” <https://artsandculture.google.com/partner/the-digital-bab-al-yemen> (accessed 9 December 2021).

<sup>122</sup> Nancy Um, “Yemeni Manuscripts Online: Digitization in an Age of War and Loss,” *Manuscript Studies* 5 (2020), pp. 2–48.

<sup>123</sup> See <https://www.vhmm.org/> (accessed 9 December 2021).

<sup>124</sup> See <http://publ.princeton.edu/collections/publ0079> (accessed 9 December 2021).

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,<sup>125</sup> and HMML's virtual reading room, vHMML, which serves as a repository of digital surrogates of manuscript codices.<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup>

Of the various nongovernmental organizations currently digitizing holdings of private libraries within Yemen, the IZbACF has been the most active since around 2000.<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> 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.<sup>130</sup> However, although the open

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<sup>125</sup> See [www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi\\_manuscript\\_tradition](http://www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi_manuscript_tradition) (accessed 9 December 2021).

<sup>126</sup> See <https://hmml.org/stories/hmml-partners-with-the-institute-for-advanced-study-to-share-threatened-manuscript-heritage-from-yemen-and-neighboring-countries/> (accessed 13 December 2021).

<sup>127</sup> 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/eSmarTA52612.2021.9515744.

<sup>128</sup> Over the past two decades, the IZbACF, as well as other nongovernmental institutions in Yemen such as Markaz Badr al-ʿIlmī, which was founded by al-Murtaḍā b. Zayd al-Maḥaṭṭawī (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.

<sup>129</sup> Email communication Gerda Henkel Foundation to Sabine Schmidtke, 21 November 2021. For the funding line, see <https://www.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/en/patrimonies> (accessed 10 December 2021).

<sup>130</sup> See <https://elibrary.mara.gov.om/> (accessed 10 December 2021).

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 *Qā'ima bi-l-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya al-muṣawwara bi-mīkrūfilm min al-Jumhūriyya al-'arabiyya 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 “*fī milk aḥad 'ulamā' Ṣan'ā'*,”<sup>131</sup> “*muṣawwar 'an nuskha fī milk aḥad 'ulamā' Ṣan'ā'*,”<sup>132</sup> and “*al-kutub al-muṣādara bi-madīnat Ta'izz.*”<sup>133</sup> Similar observations can be made of the many Yemeni manuscript surrogates that are held by the Mar'ashī Library in Qum and other Iranian libraries.<sup>134</sup> 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. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī published handlists of the holdings of various private libraries during the 1970s and brought these

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<sup>131</sup> *Qā'ima*, pp. 9–10 no. 86.

<sup>132</sup> *Qā'ima*, p. 18 no. 163.

<sup>133</sup> *Qā'ima*, 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, 54 no. 461.

<sup>134</sup> Ḥā'irī, *Fihrist*, vol. 2, pp. 290, 332, 333 (“*az nuskha-yi kitābkhāna-yi shakhṣī dar Ṣan'ā'*”), 314, 337 (“*az nuskha-yi kitābkhāna-yi shakhṣī dar Yaman*”), 339 (“*az nuskha-yi kitābkhāna-ī dar Ṣan'ā'*”); Ḥāfiziyān Bābulī, *Fihrist*, vol. 3, p. 276; vol. 4, pp. 255, 363, 402, 447, 500, 516, 542, 544, 551; vol. 5, pp. 286, 393 (“*nuskha-yi aṣl dar yikī az kitābkhāna-hā-yi Yaman*”); vol. 3, p. 537 (“*nuskha-yi aṣl dar yikī az kitābkhāna-hā-yi Ṣan'ā' dar Yaman?*”); vol. 4, p. 324 (“*nuskha-yi aṣl dar yikī az kitābkhāna-hā-yi shahr Ṣan'ā' dar Yaman maḥfūz ast*”); al-Ishkawārī, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi 'aksī*, vol. 1, pp. 32 no. 20, 33 no. 21, 54–55 nos. 40–41, 79–80 no. 66, 84–92 no. 71, 113 no. 90, 133–135 no. 113, 198–199 no. 177, 400–403 no. 341; vol. 3, p. 68 no. 876; vol. 7, pp. 333–334 no. 2735 (“*kitābkhāna-ī dar Yaman*”).

handlists together in a volume published in 1994.<sup>135</sup> ‘Abd al-Salām al-Wajīh (b. 1957) published a two-volume catalog describing the holdings of thirty-nine private libraries in Yemen in 2002.<sup>136</sup> Al-Wajīh has announced additional volumes, but these have not yet materialized. Additional materials are included, however, in the second revised and enlarged edition of al-Wajīh’s *A’lām al-mu’allifin al-Zaydiyya*.<sup>137</sup> Moreover, as mentioned earlier, handlists for individual private collections have also been produced by Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, ‘Abd Allāh Ḥamūd Dirham al-‘Izzī, and others.<sup>138</sup>

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.<sup>139</sup> 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,<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup> 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

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<sup>135</sup> Al-Ḥibshī, *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt ba’d al-maktabāt al-khāṣṣa fī l-Yaman*. See also above, n. 71. See also ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman*, Abu Dhabi: al-Majma’ al-Thaqāfi, 2004, and ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Mu’allafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, ed. Elke Niewöhner, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979.

<sup>136</sup> Al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*.

<sup>137</sup> See also ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abbās al-Wajīh, “Makḥṭūṭāt madīnat Shahāra wa-usaruhā al-‘ilmiyya,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 5 (2014), pp. 357–380.

<sup>138</sup> E.g., Anne Regourd (ed.), *Catalogue partiel de la bibliothèque des Waqfs de la Grande mosquée Dhamar*, Sanaa: Centre français d’archéologie et de sciences sociales, 2008.

<sup>139</sup> See al-Wajīh, *Maṣādir*, vol. 1, p. 42; al-Wajīh, “Makḥṭūṭāt madīnat Shahāra”; also Anne Regourd, “Introduction: Sur la trace de l’histoire des collections et des bibliothèques du Yemen,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 5 (2014), pp. 111–124, here p. 123.

<sup>140</sup> Florian Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007, p. xxiii.

<sup>141</sup> See, e.g., Christian C. Sahner, “Yemen’s Threatened Cultural Heritage,” *Wall Street Journal*, 25 December 2018, [https://www.wsj.com/articles/yemens-threatened-cultural-heritage-11545739200?reflink=desktopweb-share\\_permalink](https://www.wsj.com/articles/yemens-threatened-cultural-heritage-11545739200?reflink=desktopweb-share_permalink) (accessed 21 January 2022); Najm aldain Qasem and Rose Chacko, “Stolen Heritage: The Illegal and Rising Trade in Yemen’s Rare Manuscripts,” *New Arab*, 10 June 2021, <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/features/stolen-heritage-illicit-trade-yemens-rare-manuscripts> (accessed 21 January 2022); see also the contributions by Gabriele vom Bruck and Anne Regourd to this volume. For examples of Wahhābī attacks on libraries in Ḥaḍramawt during the nineteenth century, see ‘Alī Ṣāliḥ al-Khalāqī, *Ḥamlā bin Qamlā al-wahhābiyya ‘alā Ḥaḍramawt: al-Qarn al-thālith ‘ashar al-hijrī/al-tāsī ‘ashar al-milādī*, al-Mukallā: n.p., 1442/2021, pp. 53–54, 61–62.

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.<sup>142</sup>

The many advances in the study of the Yemeni Zaydi manuscript tradition over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries<sup>143</sup> 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,<sup>143a</sup> and no attention has been paid to the rich historical paratextual materials found in the individual codices.<sup>143b</sup> 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-

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<sup>142</sup> Email communication to Sabine Schmidtke, 21 November 2021. See also the 2019 report of the Antiquities Trafficking and Heritage Anthropology Research (ATHAR) Project: Amr al-Azm and Katie A. Paul, *Facebook’s Black Market in Antiquities: Trafficking, Terrorism, and War Crimes*, ATHAR Project: Antiquities Trafficking and Heritage Anthropology Research Project, June 2019, <http://atharproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ATHAR-FB-Report-June-2019-final.pdf>, pp. 39–40, as well as the project’s website, <https://atharproject.org/> (both accessed 10 December 2021). This also includes fragments of early Qur’an copies of Yemeni provenance; see, e.g., Aḥmad Shākīr, “Waraqā qur’āniyya mubakkira bi-l-khaṭṭ al-mā’il min Muṭḥaf Ṭāriq Rajab bi-l-Kuwayt,” [tafsir.net/article/5218](https://tafsir.net/article/5218) (accessed 21 January 2022).

<sup>143</sup> See Sabine Schmidtke, “The History of Zaydī Studies: An Introduction,” *Arabica* 59 (2012), pp. 185–199, and the editors’ introduction to David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch, and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, Leiden: Brill, 2015. Over the past decade, a considerable amount of new scholarship in this field has been produced.

<sup>143a</sup> In Berlin, Milan, and Vienna, for example, six manuscripts are identified either on the titlepages or in the respective catalogs and handlists as the *K. al-Tibyān* by Nashwān al-Ḥimyārī (d. 573/1178), namely MSS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 182, 229, 232, 236, MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 108, and MS Milan, Ambrosiana, arab. C 18. Hassan Ansari has inspected all six manuscripts—none of them is in fact by Nashwān al-Ḥimyārī; see Hassan Ansari, “Nashwān Ḥimyārī wa nuskha-hā-yi tafsīr-i Qur’ān-i u,” *Barrasi-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/1910> (accessed 21 January 2022). The electronic catalog entry for MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 232 has in the meantime been corrected; see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=1046459163> (accessed 14 January 2022).

<sup>143b</sup> 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.<sup>144</sup> Moreover, the catalogs of the two major public libraries in Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf and Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt, 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 Zaydism, 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.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, the growing tendency to re-“edit” works that have already been published in reli-

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<sup>144</sup> Before the ERC project, in 2007, Ansari investigated the collections of Yemeni manuscripts held by the Vatican and the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana in Rome. For **Berlin**, see Ansari, *Az ganjīna-hā-yi nusakh-i khaṭṭī*, pp. 413–423, as well as the following posts on Ansari’s blog *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*: “Nuskha-hā-yi dīgar az Birlīn (3),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3114>; “Nuskha-hā-yi dīgar az Birlīn (4),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3115>; “Nuskha-hā-yi Birlīn (5),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3116>; “Nuskha-hā-yi Birlīn (6),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3117>. For **Leiden**, see Hassan Ansari, “Mu’arrifi-yi nuskha-hā-yi Lāyidin (1),” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3495>. For **Milan**, see Ansari, *Az ganjīna-hā-yi nusakh-i khaṭṭī*, pp. 434–452, and the following blog posts: “Nuskha-hā-yi Ambrūziānā (3),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3122>; “Nuskha-hā-yi Ambrūziānā (4),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3124>; “Nuskha-hā-yi Ambrūziānā (5),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3127>; “Majmū’a-yi dīgar az nuskha-hā-yi khaṭṭī dar Khitābkhāna-yi Ambrūziānā (6),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3219>; “Majmū’a-yi dīgar az nuskha-hā-yi khaṭṭī dar Khitābkhāna-yi Ambrūziānā (7),” <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3494>. For **Munich**, see Ansari, *Az ganjīna-hā-yi nusakh-i khaṭṭī*, pp. 392–412. For **Paris**, see Ansari, *Az ganjīna-hā-yi nusakh-i khaṭṭī*, pp. 388–391. For **Rome**, see Hassan Ansari, “Mu’arrifi-yi chand nuskha,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3006>. For **Vienna**, see Hassan Ansari, “Nuskha-hā-yi dīgari az Kitābkhāna-yi Wīan (Majmū’a-yi Gilāzir),” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3113> (all accessed 21 January 2022); Ansari, *Az ganjīna-hā-yi nusakh-i khaṭṭī*, pp. 424–433.

<sup>145</sup> See above, nn. 8, 73, 115. Another example is the case of the *K. al-Muktafī fī l-naqḍ ‘alā man yaqūlu bi-l-imām al-mukhtaṭī*, by the Zaydī Mu’tazilī author Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī al-Ḥasanī (d. 465/1073). The refutation is preserved in a single manuscript, copied in 605/1208–9 in Rayy and brought to Yemen by the Zaydī scholar al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Alawī al-Mar’ashī (Ms. Sanaa, Dār al-makḥṭūṭāt, *majmū’a* 3189/1). The copy was identified by Hassan Ansari, who published about it on two occasions; see Hassan Ansari, “Nuskha-yi khaṭṭī-yi yik raddiyya-yi kuhansāl-i zaydī az Nīshābūr-i sada-yi panjum dar rābiṭa bāh andīsha-yi ghaybat-i imām,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <https://ansari.kateban.com/post/1929>, and “Yik raddiyya-yi kuhansāl-i zaydī az Nīshābūr sada-yi panjum bar *Kitāb al-Muqni’-i Sharīf-i Murtaḍā dar-bāra-yi mas’alat ghaybat-i imām* (2),” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <https://ansari.kateban.com/post/1984> (both accessed 23 February 2022). The *K. al-Muktafī* has been published in an edition prepared by Kāzīm al-Zaydī and published in 1442/2021 (n.p.: s.n.) under the title *al-Naqḍ al-muktafī ‘alā man yaqūlu bi-l-imām al-mukhtaṭī*. The editor’s introduction, which should be used with caution, is essentially based on the abovementioned two publications by Ansari, though the editor refrains from citing them.

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, Ḥusām Khaḍūr’s 2019 publication of the Ismā’īlī commentary *Mizāj al-tasnīm* by Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Ismā’īl b. Hibat Allāh al-Ismā’īlī al-Sulaymānī (d. 1173/1760),<sup>146</sup> 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,<sup>147</sup> the announced publication of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ’s *al-Mu’aththirāt wa-miftāḥ al-mushkilāt* by the aforementioned (see above, n. 8) Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī,<sup>148</sup> an *editio princeps* of which was published by Jan Thiele in 2011,<sup>149</sup> and the recent publication of Ibn Sharwīn’s *Ḥaḡā’iq al-ashyā’* by A. İskender Sarica and Serkan Çetin,<sup>150</sup> 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-Awqāf in Sanaa (MS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 589, fols. 1v-4r).<sup>151</sup> Although Sarica and Çetin’s edition improves

<sup>146</sup> Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Ismā’īl b. Hibat Allāh al-Ismā’īlī al-Sulaymānī, *K. Mizāj al-tasnīm*, ed. Ḥusām Khaḍūr, 2 vols, Salamīyya: Dār al-Ghadīr li-l-Ṭibā’a wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī’, 2019.

<sup>147</sup> Rudolf Strothmann (ed.), *Ismā’īlischer Kommentar zum Koran, Abschnitt 11–20: Arabische Handschrift Ambrosiana H 76*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1944 (Lieferung 1 und 2), 1948 (Lieferung 3), 1955 (Lieferung 4). According to the title page, the two-volume 2019 publication by Khaḍūr, a Syrian physician and editor of primarily Ismā’īlī works, contains an “edition and introduction” (*taḡā’iq wa-taqdīm*). However, a comparison with Strothmann’s edition shows that the 2019 publication is a simplified reprint of Strothmann’s edition (which remains unmentioned in the brief introduction in vol. 1, pp. 3–6), with occasional omissions and without Strothmann’s critical apparatus. Moreover, the secret script, which was faithfully reproduced in Strothmann’s edition, has been replaced by Arabic characters in Khaḍūr’s. Strothmann’s Lieferung 1 (pp. 3–58) corresponds to 2019 ed., vol. 1, pp. 7–136; Lieferung 2 (pp. 59–114) = 2019 ed., vol. 1, 137–272; Lieferung 3 (pp. 115–184) = 2019 ed., vol. 1, pp. 273–450; Lieferung 4 (pp. 185–371) = 2019 ed., vol. 2, pp. 455–859. Relying on the work of earlier scholars seems to be a pattern of Khaḍūr’s publications. For a critical review of another one of Khaḍūr’s “critical editions,” see Hassan Ansari, “Tarjama-yi ‘arabī-yi *Jāmi’ al-ḥikmatayn*-i Nāṣir Khusrūw,” *Barrasī-hā-yi tārikhī*, <https://ansari.kateban.com/post/2068> (accessed 21 January 2022).

<sup>148</sup> *Al-Mu’aththirāt wa-miftāḥ al-mushkilāt ta’līf Abī ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ wa-sharḥuhu Miṣbāḥ al-zulumāt fī kashf ma’ānī al-Mu’aththirāt, wa-yalīhimā nuṣūṣ muḥaqqāqa*, ed. Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, Kuwait: Dār Fāris; see <https://twitter.com/thmarat/status/1370784001712123904> (accessed 11 January 2022). For Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, see also above, n. 8.

<sup>149</sup> Jan Thiele, *Kausalität in der mu’tazilitischen Kosmologie: Das Kitāb al-Mu’aththirāt wa-miftāḥ al-mushkilāt des Zayditen al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ*, Leiden: Brill, 2011.

<sup>150</sup> A. İskender Sarica and Serkan Çetin, “Zeydī-Mu’tazilī Düşüncede Terimler: İbn Şervīn’in Ḥaḡā’iḡu’l-eşyā’ Risālesi’nin Tahkik ve Tercümesi,” *Kader* 19 (2021), pp. 813–854.

<sup>151</sup> Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “Mu’tazilism in Rayy and Astarābād: Abu l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Sharwīn (Studies on the Transmission of Knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> c. II),” *Studia Iranica* 41 (2012), pp. 57–100; republished as chapter 2 in Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*. Atlanta, GA: Lockwood Press, 2017. In the following, we cite our edition on the basis of the 2017 publication.

our earlier edition in a few instances,<sup>152</sup> their work is problematic in other respects.<sup>153</sup> Fayṣal Budayr ‘Awn’s publication of Ibn al-Malāḥimī’s *K. al-Fā’iq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, which appeared in

<sup>152</sup> E.g., ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 824 line 23 (بالعدم) rather than (بالقديم) in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 57 line 15. Ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 825 line 4 (لغوية لقولهم) rather than (تقوية بقولهم) in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 57 line 21. Ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 829 line 22 (لا جتلاب) rather than (لا كتساب) 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 (الأمر) 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 (قتلته) which should be (قتلته), as we correctly have on p. 60 line 29 (مفتول الخلاق). 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.

<sup>153</sup> 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 (البغداديون/البغداديين) into (البغداديون/البغداديين). Since Baghdadādh is the more ancient form of Baghdadād 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 (لا بين) rather than ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 60 line 25 (الانئين), where our reading is again correct. Another example is ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 832 line 5-6 (شيوخنا أبي علي وأبي هاشم), where their reading agrees with the manuscript but evidently needs to be emended, as has been done in ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 62 line 32-33 (شيوخنا أبي علي وأبي هاشم). Elsewhere Sarica and Çetin emend our reading, creating new mistakes; an example is ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 824 line 18 (وحدة المحدث), whereas ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 57 line 11 reads (وحدة المحدث وتحقيقه). The manuscript, which is hardly legible here, has either (وحقيقة) or (وتحقيقه), with a correction above the line (وحدة المحدث), 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 *bi-ḥuṣūlihi* (ed. Sarica and Çetin, n. 57), since our reading *li-ḥuṣūlihā* is correct. Ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 827 line 14 has (وحقيقة الظن ما) and (يوجب هذا الحكم هو المعقول); Sarica and Çetin fail to mention that ed. Ansari and Schmidtke does not have *huwa* in this passage—indeed, in the manuscript *al-ḥukm* is followed by (الم), which is crossed out. The copyist clearly made a mistake when he wanted to write *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, n. 51 (ب + كذا), referring to an editorial comment by Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 58 line 16 at the end of a sentence that is evidently incomplete (فعلت هذا الذات والله تعالى [كذا]); and ed. Sarica and Çetin, p. 833 line 21 (مع كذا مثل), which reflects not the manuscript but rather a misunderstanding of ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, p. 64 line 2 [(مع كذا: مثل)], 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 *ma’a*. Since *ma’a* makes no sense but is clearly visible, we included the word *ma’a* in our edition, signaling within brackets that we doubted the correctness of the word, and suggesting instead *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,<sup>154</sup> 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-Awqāf 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.<sup>155</sup> Imām Ḥanafī Sayyid 'Abd 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,<sup>156</sup> 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-Awqāf in Sanaa, 'Abd Allāh used only the Sanaa copy, which he considered the only extant witness of al-Bustī's work.<sup>157</sup> Such practices of re-"editing" with no scholarly need or justification (or worse, such as in the case of Khaḍūr),<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup>

The contributions brought together in this volume address a wide spectrum of aspects of Yemeni manuscript cultures, with special emphasis on the Zaydi tradition.<sup>160</sup> Part

<sup>154</sup> Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya bi-l-Qāhira.

<sup>155</sup> Tehran: Institute for Islamic Philosophy, 2007. Madelung and McDermott consulted MSS Sanaa, Maktabat al-Awqāf 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-Awqāf 558 (= '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.

<sup>156</sup> Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-'Arabiyya.

<sup>157</sup> Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1382sh/2003-4. See the respective introductions by the editors. An unauthorized reprint of the edition by Madelung and Schmidtke was published in Baghdad and Cologne by Manshūrāt al-Jamal in 2009, without the editors' introduction.

<sup>158</sup> Another deplorable example is the regular exact reprints of H.S. Nyberg's edition of al-Khayyāt's *K. al-Intiṣār* that omit the name of the editor.

<sup>159</sup> Occasional cases of censorship constitutes another thorny problem that hampers scholarship. A case in point is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra's (1333–1537/1915–2016) biographical dictionary of twentieth-century Yemeni scholars, *Nuzhat al-naẓar fī rijāl al-qarn al-rābi' 'ashar*, which was first published in 1979 (2 vols., Sanaa: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāth al-Yamaniyya) and again in 1431/2010 (2 vols., Sanaa: Maktabat al-Irshād), with different pagination but essentially the same contents. The twice published version is, however, a heavily censored version of the original work. The complete original version (consisting of four volumes) was restored by the author's son, Aḥmad Zabāra (1325–1421/1908–2000), in manuscript form only around 1993. See Brinkley Messick, *Shar'ā Scripts: A Historical Anthropology*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2018, pp. 95–96, 478.

<sup>160</sup> Yemen is also important for the Ismā'īlī Ṭayyibī manuscript tradition, which is not discussed in this volume. See Ismail K. Poonawala, "Ismā'īlī Manuscripts from Yemen," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 5 (2014), pp. 1–25;

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 Khizāna 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-Wazir unravels the history of the Āl al-Wazīr 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-ma'ārif fī nuẓum wa-qawānīn wa-a'rāf al-Yaman fī l-'ahd al-Muẓaffarī al-wārif*, a unique register of court archives from the reign of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf 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 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Anṣī al-Madhḥijī (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-Bukhārī's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* that was produced in Timurid Iran and was held for several centuries in the possession of descendants of Imam al-Mutawakkil Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā (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 Tihāma 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. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Ubaykān.

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Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, passim; and Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-dīniyya fī bilād al-Yaman ḥattā nihāyat al-qarn al-sādis al-hijrī*, Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1408/1988, pp. 91–208.