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# *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen 23*

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PRESERVING, STUDYING, AND DEMOCRATIZING ACCESS  
TO THE WORLD HERITAGE OF ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS:  
THE ZAYDĪ TRADITION<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

The article provides an overview of the history of Zaydi manuscript collections, both in Yemen as well as outside of the country, and the parallel evolution of Zaydi studies as a scholarly field. The accessibility of the various collections over the course of the twentieth century is discussed—while scholars outside of Yemen continue to profit from the advances of digital technology, scholars who are based in Yemen have virtually no access to Zaydi materials in any of the European or North American collections. The most recent initiative to democratize access to the Zaydi manuscript culture around the world is presented, a collaboration between the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, and the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library in Minnesota.

### Résumé

Cet article donne un aperçu de l'histoire des collections de manuscrits zaydites au Yémen et ailleurs ainsi que de l'évolution parallèle des études zaydites en tant que champs d'étude scientifique. Il discute l'accessibilité des différentes collections au cours du xx<sup>e</sup> s. Tandis que les chercheurs hors du Yémen bénéficient des progrès des technologies numériques, les chercheurs yéménites n'ont pratiquement pas accès aux matériaux zaydites conservés dans des collections européennes et d'Amérique du Nord. L'article présente l'initiative la plus récente visant à démocratiser l'accès global à la culture manuscrite zaydite, un projet collaboratif de l'Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, et du Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Minnesota.

### خلاصة

تتناول المقالة تاريخ مجموعات المخطوطات الزيدية في مكتبات اليمن وخارجها والتطور المتزامن للدراسات الزيدية كمجال بحثي مستقل. كما تتناول المقالة تأثير سهولة الاطلاع على هذه المجموعات في القرن العشرين حيث أن الباحثين خارج اليمن استفادوا من تطور التكنولوجيا الرقمية في هذا المجال بينما لم يكن باستطاعة علماء اليمن الاطلاع على المخطوطات الزيدية في مكتبات أوروبا وأمريكا الشمالية. كما تعرّف المقالة بالمبادرة التي أطلقت مؤخراً بالتعاون مع معهد الدراسات المتقدمة في برنستون ومتحف ومكتبة المخطوطات هيل في مينسوتا لجعل التراث الزيدي المخطوط متناول الجميع.

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## Keywords

Zaydiyya, Yemen, Zaydi Manuscript Tradition, Eduard Glaser, Guiseppa Caprotti, Carlo Landberg, Rudolf Strothmann, Eugenio Griffini, Institute for Advanced Study, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML), manuscript digitization, Oscar Löfgren

## Mots-clés

Zaydisme, Yémen, manuscrits "zaydites", Eduard Glaser, Guiseppa Caprotti, Carlo Landberg, Rudolf Strothmann, Eugenio Griffini, Institute for Advanced Study, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML), numérisation de manuscrits, Oscar Löfgren

## عبارات رئيسية

الزيدية، اليمن، المخطوطات الزيدية، أدوارد جلاسير، جوسيبى كابروني، كارلو لندبيرغ، رودلف ستروتمان، أوجينيو غريفيني، معهد الدراسات المتقدمة في برنستون، متحف ومكتبة المخطوطات هيل في مينسوتا، رقمنة المخطوطات، أسكار لوفجرين

## I. Introduction

A significant portion of the Yemeni heritage of manuscripts consists of literature copied and preserved over more than a millennium by the country's Zaydī community. Since the third/ninth century, the Zaydī community flourished mainly in two regions, the mountainous northern highlands of Yemen and the Caspian region of northern Iran. During the following centuries, the Zaydīs of Yemen remained largely isolated from their coreligionists in Iran as a result of their geographical remoteness and political seclusion. A rapprochement between the two communities began in the early sixth/twelfth century and eventually resulted in their political unification. The political development was accompanied by a transfer of knowledge from northern Iran to Yemen that comprised nearly the entire literary and religious legacy of Caspian Zaydism. The sources—*iğāzas*, chains of transmission and colophons in manuscript codices, correspondence, and *sīra* literature, as well as biobibliographies and other historical works—provide detailed information about the mechanisms of this process.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the sixth/twelfth century various prolific Zaydī scholars from the Caspian region were invited to come to Yemen. They brought along numerous books by Ḥurāsānian and northern Iranian authors and acted as teachers to the Yemeni Zaydī community's spiritual and political leaders, the imams, and to other scholars in Yemen. At the same time, Zaydī scholars traveled from Yemen to Iran and Iraq for the purpose of study. The knowledge transfer reached its peak during the reign of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (r. 593–614/1197–1217). The Imam founded a library in Ḥafār, his town of residence, for which he had a wealth of textual sources copied by a team of scholars and scribes. Moreover, the recent discovery of some texts from Yemen in Iranian libraries suggests that the intellectual dependence of Yemeni

<sup>2</sup> See H. Ansari & S. Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, 2017, chapter 7.

Zaydism on the northern Zaydī state was reversed.<sup>3</sup> More than seven hundred years later, in 1929, the holdings of al-Manṣūr's library, which had continued to grow under his successors, were transferred to the newly founded al-Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya (now al-Maktaba al-šarqiyya/Maktabat al-awqāf) in Sanaa, housed in the complex of the Great Mosque of Sanaa.

The Zaydī literary tradition is among the richest and most variegated such traditions within Islamic civilization and at the same time one of the least studied. The literary production of Zaydī scholars stretches over more than a thousand years and covers a wide spectrum of traditional disciplines. Moreover, the Zaydīs were at all times familiar with intellectual developments beyond the confines of their own community, and they actively engaged with them. The typical library of a Zaydī scholar would contain not only works belonging to his own religious tradition, but also an array of titles by authors from other communities, including the literary legacy of the Mu'tazila, one of the most important rational schools in the history of Muslim theology. Yemeni manuscript collections thus constitute a unique treasure trove for large segments of the Islamic intellectual tradition—Sunnī as well as Šī'ī—much of which has not survived anywhere else in the Islamic world.

It is fortunate that the bulk of the Zaydī literature is still extant, mostly in the form of manuscripts. The downside is that the Zaydī manuscript tradition is widely dispersed and for the most part poorly documented. The most significant and by far largest collections of Zaydī manuscripts are housed in the numerous public and private libraries of Yemen (estimates of these holdings range from 40,000 to 100,000 manuscript codices).<sup>4</sup> Many of these libraries have been severely damaged, looted, or even destroyed over the course of the twentieth century as a result of the political turmoil and wars that Yemen has witnessed, and the continuing war in the country, with daily bombardments, constitutes an imminent threat not only to the local population but also to the cultural heritage of the country, including its many libraries.<sup>5</sup> Several European libraries also own considerable collections of Zaydī manuscripts, as do North American libraries. Of importance are also the many libraries of the Middle East, especially in Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Iraq, as well as India, and other places with substantial holdings of Zaydī manuscripts.

## II. The History of Zaydī Manuscript Collections outside Yemen

The earliest European collections of Yemeni manuscripts were established 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

<sup>3</sup> See H. Ansari & S. Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, 2017, chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Ibn al-Wazīr, "al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya," [2008] where the total number of manuscripts within Yemen is estimated at 150,000 codices.

<sup>5</sup> Details on the period 2014 to March 2016 are provided in a report by D. Hollenberg & A. Regourd, "Manuscript Destruction and Looting in Yemen," 2016. See also generally "Decision 40 COM 7 State of Conservation of World Heritage Properties" of the World Heritage Committee (2016) and "Security Council Condemns Destruction, Smuggling of Cultural Heritage by Terrorist Groups" of March 2017.



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 with him some 858 manuscripts. Glaser sold the manuscripts purchased 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 (the collection was later transferred to the British Library) in London, while his fourth collection was sold to the Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) in Vienna.<sup>6</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 there, until 1919.<sup>7</sup> During his sojourn in South Arabia, Caprotti collected 1,790 manuscripts. A small portion of them, 157 manuscripts, was offered in 1901 through the mediation of Eduard Glaser to the Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München (now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), and the purchase was concluded in 1902.<sup>8</sup> Caprotti shipped the bulk of his collection, 1,610 manuscripts in total, to Italy between 1903 through 1906 in six batches, A-F, with the goal of selling the codices in Europe.<sup>9</sup> An initial suggestion to purchase the collection for the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan was 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 the later Pope Pius XI), and Luca Beltrami (1854–1933) who successfully promoted a subscription to collect the required funding in 1909.<sup>10</sup> A few years later, in 1914, Beltrami donated another 180 manuscripts of the Caprotti collection to the Ambrosiana,<sup>11</sup> and in April 1922, he gave the remaining Caprotti manuscripts (about 280 in number) to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See S. Schmidtke & J. Thiele, *Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) and His Collections of Arabic Manuscripts*, forthcoming.

<sup>7</sup> See E. De Leone, "I fratelli Caprotti," 1963; De Leone, "L'assedio," 1956.

<sup>8</sup> See E. Gratzl, "Die arabischen Handschriften," 1916; P.F. Fumagalli, "Raccolte," 2001, p. 199.

<sup>9</sup> See P.F. Fumagalli, "Raccolte," 2001, p. 199; see also E. Griffini, "Una lieta notizia," 1910, p. 107. Series G and H were shipped later. The division of the collection into series A through H has been kept by the Ambrosiana and is reflected in its system of shelf marks. See O. Löfgren & R. Traini, *Catalogue*, 1981, vol. 2, preface A.

<sup>10</sup> See E. Griffini, "La grande raccolta," 1910; id., "Una lieta notizia," 1910; P.F. Fumagalli, "Raccolte," 2001, pp. 199–206; A. Codazzi, "Eugenio Griffini," 1963; L. Beltrami, *Eugenio Griffini Bey*, 1926, passim.

<sup>11</sup> Following Griffini's untimely demise in 1925, the Ambrosiana also received Griffini's private collection of manuscripts (56 codices), which he had mostly collected during his travels in Tunisia and Algeria. A brief handlist of those manuscripts was prepared by A. Codazzi, "Catalogo," 1926, pp. 114–124. See also R. Strothmann's comments on this list in his review on L. Beltrami, *Eugenio Griffini Bey*, 1926.

<sup>12</sup> Classified under the shelf marks MSS Vat. ar. 946–1206, 1357–1375. See G. Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 1935, p. viii and passim. See also J. Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothéque Vaticane*, 1973, p. 266.

With close to 1,800 codices, the “Collezione Caprotti” is the largest collection of South Arabian manuscripts outside Yemen.<sup>13</sup>

In 1883, the Medinan scholar and book dealer Amīn b. Ḥasan al-Ḥulwānī al-Madanī (d. 1898) visited the Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling (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>14</sup> Around the turn of the twentieth century, additional collections of manuscripts were offered on the market, again supplied by al-Madanī, who continued to collaborate closely with Landberg (hence their designation, “Landberg collections”).<sup>15</sup> The Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin purchased in 1884 a significant Landberg collection (1,052 manuscripts),<sup>16</sup> and in 1900 Morris K. Jesup (1830–1908) bought another Landberg collection (774 manuscripts), which he then donated to Yale University Library.<sup>17</sup> In the same year, Princeton University was given yet another Landberg collection (1,194

<sup>13</sup> For the history of the Caprotti collection, see also P.F. Fumagalli, “Raccolte,” 2001, pp. 194–206; A. D’Ottone, “Les manuscrits arabes du Yémen,” 2003; id., *I manoscritti arabi dello Yemen*, 2006, chapter 1 and passim.

<sup>14</sup> “Following the sale of the collection to Brill, Carlo de Landberg prepared a sales catalogue which is now generally regarded as inadequate (C. Landberg, [*Catalogue de manuscrits arabes*,] 1883). Upon arrival in the library, the manuscripts were assigned the call number Or. 2363–3025. One item was later given the call number Or. 8409. The collection was first described by M.J. de Goeje in his *Catalogus Codicum Arabicorum*, 1888–1907, where they appear with their new call numbers together with the designation ‘Amīn’ and the number in the Brill sales catalogue”; A. Vrolijk, “Collection Amin b. Hasan al-Madani.” See also S. Roman, *Development of Islamic Library Collections*, pp. 174–175; A. Vrolijk, “Usual Leiden Types,” 2014; T. Verde, “Brill’s Bridge to Arabic,” 2015; K. Schwartz, “An Eastern Scholar’s Engagement,” forthcoming. I thank Kathryn Schwartz for having made a draft of her paper available to me.

<sup>15</sup> To make the most out of the material at his disposal, al-Madanī apparently broke up single texts into numerous volumes. An example is the case of MS Berlin Landberg 437 (= Ahlwardt 10280) and MS Leiden Landberg 613 (= MS Leiden Or. 2973), which constitute two parts of a single codex. See the editors’ introduction to Abū al-Qāsim al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Baḥt*, xii–xiv. Moreover, on al-Amīn’s practices in assembling his collections, see also W. Ende, “Medina und seine Bibliotheken,” 2016, 143–144: “Bei einigen arabischen Autoren erscheint Amīn al-Madanī’s Name im Zusammenhang mit Bemerkungen über die Gründe für bedeutende Bestandsverluste von Handschriften in osmanischer Zeit. Da ist u.a. von Bränden die Rede, aber auch von mißbräuchlicher Verwendung und von ‘diebischen Händen’. Anscheinend wird al-Madanī von den Autoren nicht direkt beschuldigt, große Mengen von Handschriften . . . in unlauterer Weise an sich gebracht zu haben, um sie dann (angeblich zu Tausenden) ins Ausland zu verkaufen. Zwischen den Zeilen findet sich aber die Unterstellung, mangelnde Aufsicht und korruptes Verhalten seitens des Bibliothekspersonals hätten al-Madanī seine Geschäfte erleichtert. Das klingt plausibel: Dass die Bibliotheksaufseher auf Grund unregelmäßiger oder gänzlich ausbleibender Bezahlung ihren Dienst vernachlässigten bzw. andere Tätigkeiten ausübten, hatte . . . Šakīb Arslān in seinem Bericht von 1914 notiert. . . . Ob Landberg . . . jemals Zweifel an der rechtmäßigen Provenienz (zumindest einiger) der von Amīn al-Madanī angebotenen Handschriften aus Medina hatte oder nicht, lässt sich mit dem mir gegenwärtig zur Verfügung stehenden Material nicht ermitteln.”

<sup>16</sup> W. Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Landberg’schen Sammlung*, 1885.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. Cutler Torrey, “Special Collections,” 1903. See also S. Roman, *Development of Islamic Library Collections*, 1990, p. 225. The collection was first described in Harrassowitz’s sales catalogue, *Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, 1900.

manuscripts), acquired for its library by Robert Garrett (1875–1961) and henceforth known as the “Garrett Collection.”<sup>18</sup> As is the case with 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 Zaydī manuscripts that originated in Aceh.<sup>19</sup>

Yemeni manuscripts are also found among the collections 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 National Library of Israel (formerly the Jewish National and University Library; 1,400 manuscripts),<sup>20</sup> the University of Michigan Library,<sup>21</sup> and Princeton University Library (5,321 manuscripts).<sup>22</sup> Other libraries in Europe also own manuscripts of Yemeni provenance, among them the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and Cambridge University Library.<sup>23</sup> Iranian libraries likewise hold a significant number of Zaydī manuscripts, most of which testify to the continuation of Zaydism in the Caspian region up until the fifteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Important collections of manuscripts of Yemeni provenance are also found in some libraries in Istanbul, notably the ‘Alī Amīrī Efendi (1857–1924) collection.<sup>25</sup> Finally, Zaydī manuscripts are preserved in some of the libraries of Iraq (especially the Kāšif al-Ġiṭā collection<sup>26</sup> and the library of Sayyid Hibat Allāh al-Šahrastānī in Kāzīmāyn), Damascus, Cairo, and Rampur.

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

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<sup>18</sup> The manuscripts were again sold to E.J. Brill by al-Madanī, and they were first described in M.T. Houtsma’s (1851–1943) *Catalogue d’une collection*, 1889 (containing descriptions of 791 manuscripts), followed by a revised edition (published in 1889) with descriptions of all 1,194 items. See also E. Littmann, “Special Collections,” 1904; id., *List of Arabic Manuscripts*, 1904; Ph.K. Hitti et al., *Descriptive Catalog*, 1938; Ph.K. Hitti, “Arabic and Islamic Manuscripts,” 1942.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., MS Leiden Or. 7094.

<sup>20</sup> Wust, *Catalogue*, 2016. See also Raquel Ukeles’s study “Abraham Shalom Yahuda: The Scholar, the Collector and the Collections” in *ibid.*, pp. 1–12.

<sup>21</sup> E. Kropf, “Yemeni Manuscripts,” 2012. See also *Catalogue of the Yemeni manuscripts in the University of Michigan Library*, n.d.

<sup>22</sup> R. Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, 1977. The history of the Landberg collections, especially those held by US libraries, is being studied by Ahmed El Shamsy in the framework of his current research project.

<sup>23</sup> See A.F. Sayyid, *Mašādir*, 1974, p. 44. See also M.-G. Guesdon, “Dix-sept manuscrits arabes,” 2006; id., “Georges S. Colin au Yémen en 1929,” 2013; H. Loucel, “A propos du manuscrit arabe no 1747,” 1976.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., M.T. Dānišpažūh, “Du mašīḥa-yi Zaydī,” 1350/1971; *Tafsīr-i kitāb-i Allāh*, 1388/[2010]; *Al-ibāna*, 1389/[2010–11]; H. Ansari & S. Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, 2017, chapters 5 and 6. See also id., *Studies in Iranian Zaydism*, forthcoming.

<sup>25</sup> R. Traini, “Les manuscrits yéménites,” 1973; Šāliḥiyya, *al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya*, 1984. See also A.F. Sayyid, *Mašādir*, 1974, p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> See *Dalil maḥṭūṭāt Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā al-‘amma*, 1434/2003.

the twentieth century, notably Griffini's former student Ettore Rossi (1894–1955) who travelled to Yemen twice, in 1936 and 1937, and Cesare Ansaldi, who lived in Yemen from 1929 through 1932.<sup>27</sup> Leiden University Library also continued to expand its holdings of manuscripts from Yemen—during the 1930s additional purchases were made through C. Adriaanse (d. 1964), the Dutch consul in Jeddah from 1931 through 1939,<sup>28</sup> and during the 1990s numerous manuscripts were purchased through Mr. Paul Spijker from Amersfoort, “a free-lance tourist guide living in Amersfoort, who had purchased the manuscripts in the Yemen on one of his travels.”<sup>29</sup> Leiden's most recent acquisition (comprising 18 codices) occurred in 2000.<sup>30</sup> The Berlin State Library purchased manuscripts of Yemeni provenance 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,<sup>31</sup> and some 26 further codices during the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>32</sup> Bernard Quaritch Ltd. in London still has a small collection of fourteen codices of Yemeni provenance, containing various Zaydī works, on offer.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the number of Yemeni manuscripts in the libraries of Saudi Arabia has grown

<sup>27</sup> Renato Traini describes in *I manoscritti arabi*, 1967 a total of 70 manuscripts of Yemeni provenance. See also C. Colini, “How Conversation Can Unveil the Story of a Manuscript,” 2016. For the Rossi collection, see also M.L. Russo, “Il Fondo Yemenita,” 2008.

<sup>28</sup> See J.J. Witkam, *Inventory*, 2006–2016, vol. 7, p. 129 [Or. 6326–6337], p. 137 [Or. 6348–6370], p. 239 [Or. 6632–6643]: “Collection of Arabic manuscripts from the Yemen. Purchased [in July 1932 (1933)] in the Yemen on behalf of the Library by C. Adriaanse (d. December 2, 1964), who was then Dutch chargé d'affaires in Jeddah [Registered in June 1934].” See also S. Roman, *Development of Islamic Library Collections*, 1990, p. 175; R. Traini, *I manoscritti arabi*, 1967, p. viii. For Adriaanse, see D. Oostdam, *West-Arabian Encounters*, 2004, passim.

<sup>29</sup> See, e.g., J.J. Witkam, *Inventory*, 2006–2016, vol. 24, p. 48 [Or. 23.267–23.270], p. 86 [Or. 23.406–23.415], p. 94 [Or. 23.444–23.450], p. 180 [Or. 23.971–23.980]. The manuscripts Or. 25.174–25.183, Or. 25.279–25.295, Or. 25.660–25.665, and Or. 25.735–25.746 were likewise purchased through Spijker; see A. Vrolijk, “List of Manuscripts,” 2007. See also J.J. Witkam, *Inventory*, 2006–2016 vol. 24, p. 53: “Or. 23.516: Collective volume with texts in Arabic, paper, ff. Yamani texts. Purchased in June 1996 from Dr. Léon Buskens, Leiden, who had purchased the manuscript in 1993 in Hagara, near Manakha, in the Yemen. (Ar. 5307).” For other acquisitions of South Arabian manuscripts during the second half of the twentieth century, no details are provided as to when and through whom they were purchased.

<sup>30</sup> See J.J. Witkam, “Yemeni Manuscripts,” 2014, p. 276.

<sup>31</sup> The Burchardt collection is described in *Arabische und persische Handschriften*, [1921]. See also the review by R. Strothmann in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 25 (1922). For Burchardt, who is otherwise primarily known for his photographs, see also E. Mittwoch, *Aus dem Jemen; Hermann Burchardt im Jemen, 1926*; A. Nippa & P. Herbstreuth, *Unterwegs am Golf, 2006. Burchardt's Nachlass is kept by the National Library of Israel under the call number “Burchardt, Hermann (1857–1909), Orientalist. ARC Ms. Var. 525” (consulted November 9, 2013). During World War II all Islamic manuscript collections in Berlin were temporarily transferred to Marburg and Tübingen. See the communication of Dr. Walter Werkmeister, custodian of the Oriental collection at Tübingen University Library, on June 29, 2010, on the specific case of Ms. Or. Quart. 2039: “. . . dass es sich um eine Handschrift aus der Berliner Staatsbibliothek handelt, deren Bestände während des Krieges in einen Stollen im Schwarzwald ausgelagert waren und bis zu ihrer Rückführung Anfang der siebziger Jahre von unserer Bibliothek verwaltet wurden.”*

<sup>32</sup> See R. Quiring-Zoche, *Arabische Handschriften*, 2015, pp. xiii–xvi and passim. See also H. Kurio, “Die Imame des Jemen,” 1983, passim.

<sup>33</sup> Bernard Quaritch Ltd., *Islamic Manuscripts*, nos. 31.1–14 (collection of Zaydi manuscripts). See also M. Al-Kaisi, “Survey of Zaydi Manuscripts,” 2013. As of March 2017, the collection is still with Quaritch Ltd.

exponentially over the past decades. Significant holdings of Yemeni manuscripts are attested for the libraries of Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca,<sup>34</sup> the King Faisal University,<sup>35</sup> and the King Saud University in Riyadh.<sup>36</sup> A large collection of Yemeni manuscripts was also amassed during the 1950s by the former ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the Yemen, al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Ubaykān (1899–1993) whose private library is located in Riyadh.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that many of the recent acquisitions by collectors and libraries outside of Yemen left the country illegally. During his tenure as the head of the antiquities and libraries of Yemen (1969–1990), al-Qāḍī Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī al-Akwa‘ (1920–2008) fought manuscript dealers and tried to prevent them from smuggling manuscripts out of the country; he seems to have had only limited success.<sup>38</sup>

### III. The History of Zaydī Manuscript Collections in Yemen

The history of the libraries and manuscript collections inside Yemen still needs to be written, and it constitutes a difficult task in view of the turmoil the country has experienced over most of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and which it continues to be exposed to. The ruler’s library in Ḥaḍramūt was apparently subject to occasional theft prior to its transfer in 1929 to the newly founded al-Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya in Sanaa. A number of codices that had been copied in the thirteenth century for the library of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh are among the manuscripts collected by Glaser, Caprotti, and al-Madanī/Landberg. Nevertheless, the Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya (now Maktabat al-awqāf/al-Maktaba al-ṣarqiyya) is one of the oldest collections in Yemen that is still largely intact. A first handlist of its holdings was published in 1942.<sup>39</sup>

Following the *coup d’état* of 1962, the former palace (Dār al-sa‘āda) library and the personal collections of the members of the royal family, notably of Imam Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (1869–1948) in Sanaa, of his son Imam Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (1891–1962) in Ḥāḡḡa, and of other members of the family, as well as the collections of former ministers and other government officials were confiscated and eventually

<sup>34</sup> *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Ġāmi‘at Umm al-Qurā*, 1403/1983.

<sup>35</sup> The majority of its manuscript holdings can be accessed at <https://www.kfu.edu.sa/ar/deans/library/pages/manuscripts.aspx>

See also al-Zayd, *Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt*, 1415/1994.

<sup>36</sup> The majority of its manuscript holdings can be accessed at <http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/>

<sup>37</sup> See *Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt bi-maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Ubaykān*, 1390/1970–1971; see also A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, 1974, p. 48. On Muḥammad al-‘Ubaykān, see Ḥ. b. M. al-Ubaykān, *Muḥammad al-‘Ubaykān*, 2009, and [www.obaikan.net](http://www.obaikan.net) I thank Merza Hussain Hasan for having brought the biography and the website to my attention. For the published works that belonged to the Maktabat al-‘Ubaykān up to the year 1987, see *Fihris al-kutub al-maḥṭūṭāt bi-maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Ubaykān al-ḥāṣṣa*, 1987. Maktabat al-‘Ubaykān was also engaged as a publisher particularly during the years 1991 through 2006 (and possibly beyond).

<sup>38</sup> See D. Hollenberg & A. Regourd, “Manuscript Destruction and Looting,” 2016, pp. 173–175. Incidents of looting are also reported by ‘A. al-S. ‘A. al-Waḡīh, *Maṣādir*, 1422/2002 vol. 1, pp. 41–42, 68–91.

<sup>39</sup> M.A. Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Fihrist kutub al-Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya*, 1361/1942.

transferred to the newly founded (in 1968) al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya (since 1980 Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt) under the aegis of the Hay'at al-āṭār wa-dūr al-kutub (General Organization for Antiquities and Libraries), which was founded in 1969 and directed until 1990 by al-Qāḍī Ismā'īl al-Akwa'.<sup>40</sup> The unpacking and arranging of the thousands of codices and the assignment of shelf marks were a slow and gradual process—over the decades, the shelf mark system of the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt's holdings was repeatedly changed. The changes are reflected in the two catalogues, from 1978 and 2005, respectively, of the holdings of the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt (see also below). During my visit to Sanaa in July–August 2009, yet another attempt was made to recatalogue the collection and to assign new shelf marks to the codices. The collection still seems to be growing—a large number of codices (3,380 volumes) were handed over to the Hay'a al-āmma li-kitāb (Dār al-kutub al-yamaniyya) as recently as 2014.<sup>41</sup>

In 1951–1952, in 1964, and again in 1974, scholarly expeditions from Egypt were dispatched to Yemen. They explored the holdings of the Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya and the Maktaba al-ġarbiyya 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 to the Dār al-kutub (or, in the case of the 1974 expedition, the Ma'had al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya).<sup>42</sup> The material thus made available marked the beginning of the scholarly study of Mu'tazilism: since the late 1950s, numerous editions of primary sources have been published, notably the comprehensive theological summa by qāḍī al-quḍāt 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025), *Al-muġnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-al-ʿadl*, and there has been a steady rise in Mu'tazilī studies.<sup>43</sup>

At the request of the Arab Republic of Yemen, a UNESCO delegation was sent to Yemen on September 14–30, 1971, to assess “the situation regarding ancient books and manuscripts in the country.” The delegation's leaders, American University of Beirut professors Yūsuf Ībiš (1926–2003) and Maḥmūd al-Ġūl (1923–1983), not only elaborated in their final report 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 several exploratory visits to the country by the German

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<sup>40</sup> Some of the original holdings of the library of Imām Yaḥyā are listed by 'A. al-Maġribī, “Maḥṭūṭāt yamaniyya fī ḥizānat kutub al-Imām Yaḥyā,” 1953. Z. 'Inān, “Ba'd al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya,” 1399/1979 provides a select list of the manuscripts that were confiscated at the time and deposited into the Dār al-kutub in Sanaa without mentioning the former owner of the listed codices. On Ismā'īl al-Akwa', see A. al-Aulaqi, “Obituary: Qadhī Ismail bin Ali al-Akwa',” n.d. and the obituary by Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahim Jazim in *CmY* 7 (January 2008), Actualités <Nécrologie: Mort du Cadi Ismā'īl b. 'Alī Husayn al-Akwa'>.

<sup>41</sup> <https://yemen-press.com/news33493.html>

See also *CmY* 19 (January 2015), Actualités, <Décembre 2014>, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> Ḥ.Y. Nāmī, *Ba'ta*, 1952; A.F. Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955; *Qā'ima*, 1967; “al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had,” 1976; A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, 1974, pp. 419–433; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 102.

<sup>43</sup> See the editors' introduction to C. Adang, S. Schmidtke & D. Sklare, *A Common Rationality*, 2007 (with further references).

orientalist Albrecht Noth (1937–1999) in 1975, 1977 and 1979, the Cultural Preservation Programme of the Federal Foreign Office of Germany, in cooperation with Berlin State Library, funded the purchase of restoration equipment, which was set up in the National Library (Dār al-kutub) in Sanaa in 1980.<sup>44</sup> Kuwait also contributed significantly to the establishment of scholarly infrastructure in Yemen for the preservation of its manuscript holdings. The Emir of Kuwait had donated the funds for the foundation of the Dār al-kutub in 1968.<sup>45</sup> During February and March 1985 a Kuwaiti team engaged in filming and cataloguing some 308 manuscripts held by the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt in Sanaa.<sup>46</sup> Prior to this, between October and December 1982, a delegation from Kuwait had already assessed and partly microfilmed the manuscripts of the Maktabat al-aḥqāf in Tarīm in Hadhramaut (founded in 1972), which has a few works by Zaydī authors.<sup>47</sup>

Besides 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 Foreign Service officer who during the 1980s joined the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Texas at Austin as a research associate, was able to film significant portions of the private library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl b. Muṭahhar al-Manṣūr (1915–2016). The microfilm collection is nowadays housed by the University of Texas, and copies of the entire collection are also deposited in the Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-al-buḥūṭ al-yamaniyya in Sanaa.<sup>48</sup>

Various Iranian governmental and private institutions, notably the Mar‘ašī Library in Qum and the Ḥizāna al-‘ālamīyya li-al-maḥṭūṭāt al-islāmiyya (Markaz al-waṭā‘iq wa-al-tārīḥ al-diblūmāsī), which belongs to the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also engaged in preserving and filming significant portions of the manuscript holdings of Yemen at the turn of the millennium, and they made important contributions to the cataloguing of Yemeni manuscript collections. In 2001, ‘Abd al-Tawwāb Aḥmad ‘Alī al-Mašriqī and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Yaḥyā al-Qāḍī published a catalogue providing detailed descriptions of the manuscripts that had been filmed by the various earlier international expeditions to Yemen—the Egyptian expedition during the 1950s, the microfilming executed by the Ma‘had al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya in 1974, another microfilm project executed in 1983 and focused on the holdings of the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt in Sanaa, and the material filmed by the Kuwaiti expedition in 1985.

<sup>44</sup> See H. Böhrenz & E. Bartelt, “Handschriftenrestaurierung im Jemen,” 1982.

<sup>45</sup> See “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 100.

<sup>46</sup> I.M. al-Šantī, *al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya*, 1988. Kuwait has also sponsored the foundation of Sanaa University and its library; see “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101.

<sup>47</sup> “Al-Maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarahā al-Ma‘had min Maktabat al-aḥqāf,” 1976. On the library, see also N. van den Boogert, “Manuscript Library of Tarīm,” 1994.

<sup>48</sup> See A. Regourd, “La collection de manuscrits microfilmés,” 2009 (including a handlist of the collection and a link to an online catalogue of the collection at the University of Texas). See also S. Schmidtke, “The Intricacies of Capturing the Holdings,” forthcoming. On Stookey, see “Robert W. Stookey, 1917–1998,” 1998. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar al-Manṣūr’s library is also listed in Appendix 1 (with further references).

Surrogates of the manuscripts listed in the *Ṭāwūs-i yamānī* can be consulted in several major libraries of Iran, among them the Maḡlis Library in Tehran and the Astān-i quds-i Raḡawī library in Mašhad. The Kitābhāna-yi ‘umūmī-yi Ḥaḡrat Āyat Allāh al-‘uzmā Mar‘ašī Naḡafī in Qum holds a large collection of microfilmed Yemeni manuscripts from the Maktabat al-awqāf in Sanaa as well as numerous private libraries throughout the country,<sup>49</sup> and surrogates of Yemeni manuscripts are also kept in the Markaz-i iḡyā’-i mīrāt-i islāmī in Qum.<sup>50</sup> The Mar‘ašī Library also sponsored the cataloguing of the holdings of the Maktabat al-aḡqāf in Tarīm—although the majority of manuscripts of the library represent the Šāfi‘ī school, with many Sufi manuscripts among them, the library has a small but important number of Zaydī works among its holdings.<sup>51</sup> The Astān-i quds-i Raḡawī library also owns a collection of microfilm copies of manuscripts from the Maktabat al-awqāf in Sanaa.<sup>52</sup> During the early 2000s, Iranian scholars continued their work in Yemen, digitizing a significant number of private collections and sponsoring the publication of additional catalogues of the Dār al-maḡtūṭāt<sup>53</sup> and of various private collections.<sup>54</sup> The handlists prepared by the Egyptian, Kuwaiti, and Iranian delegations provide essential information on the respective public and private libraries in Yemen, many of which have ceased to exist. In 2004, UNESCO launched a project that aimed at supporting documentation and conservation of the manuscript holdings of the “House of Manuscripts” in Sanaa.<sup>55</sup>

The various digitization efforts supported by the German Foreign Office (“Preserving Yemen’s Cultural Heritage: The Yemen Manuscript Digitization Project” [YMDP], 2010)<sup>56</sup> and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in conjunction with the National Endowment for the Humanities (“The Yemen Manuscript Digitization

<sup>49</sup> Descriptions are included in ‘A. Ḥā’irī, *Fihrist*, 1369–1370/[1990–1991]; Abū al-F. Ḥ Bābulī, *Fihrist*, 1387–1388/2008–2009.

<sup>50</sup> Descriptions are included in al-Sayyid A. al-Ḥ. al-Aškawārī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ‘aksī*, 1377–1387/1998–2008.

<sup>51</sup> The catalogue, prepared by ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Muḡammad al-‘Aydarūs and ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Šāliḡ b. Šihāb, was published in 2004 and again, with ‘Abd al-Raḡmān al-Saqqāf, in 2009, see ‘Abd A. b. Ḥ. b. M. al-‘Aydarūs & ‘Abd al-Q. b. Š. b. Šihāb, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḡaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi aḡqāf-i Astān-i Ḥaḡramawt-i Ġumhūrī-yi Yaman*, 1383/[2004]; id. & ‘Abd al-R. al-Saqqāf, *Fihris al-maḡtūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-aḡqāf*, 1430/1388/2009.

<sup>52</sup> M. Wafādār Murādī, “Fihrist-i alifbā’ī-yi mikrūfilm-hā,” 1381/[2001].

<sup>53</sup> A.M. al-‘Isawī [et al.], *Fihris*, 2005.

<sup>54</sup> E.g., ‘Abd A. Ḥ. D. al-‘Izzī, *Fihrist*, 1369–1370/[1990–1991]; al-Sayyid A. al-Ḥ. al-Aškawārī, *Maḡtūṭāt Maktabat ‘Abd al-Aẓīm al-Hādī*, 1424/2003.

<sup>55</sup> A. Mirabile, “UNESCO project for San’a – Yemen Dar al-makhtutat (house of manuscripts) collections,” 2014. See also *CmY* 1 (2006), Actualités, <Catalogage, codicologie, numérisation, préservation/conservation. Actualité yéménite>.

<sup>56</sup> S. Schmidtke & J. Thiele, *Preserving Yemen’s Cultural Heritage*, 2011. See also

[http://www.sanaa.diplo.de/Vertretung/sanaa/de/06/KulturerhaltProgramm\\_20des\\_20Ausw\\_C3\\_A4rtigen\\_20Amtes/Dieigitalisierung\\_Seite.html](http://www.sanaa.diplo.de/Vertretung/sanaa/de/06/KulturerhaltProgramm_20des_20Ausw_C3_A4rtigen_20Amtes/Dieigitalisierung_Seite.html)



Initiative” [YMDI], 2010 through 2013)<sup>57</sup> also aimed at digitizing a select number of private collections.<sup>58</sup>

Following the 1942 publication of the catalogue of the holdings of the Ḥizāna al-mutawakkiliyya (now Maktabat al-awqāf/al-Maktaba al-šarqiyya), which was, in the pre-digital age, “a bibliographic rarity outside the Yemen,”<sup>59</sup> Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿĪsawī and Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Maliḥ, two Egyptian scholars teaching in Kuwait, began in 1974 to prepare a first catalogue of the holdings of the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt (al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya); the catalogue was published in 1978.<sup>60</sup> In the meantime, a group of Yemeni scholars, Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ruqayḥī, ʿAbd al-Allāh al-Ḥibšī, and ʿAlī Wahhāb al-Ānsī, worked on a new catalogue of the holdings of the Maktabat al-awqāf, which was published in 1984 in four volumes. In the process, they also replaced the old shelf marks with a new system. The catalogue does not provide a concordance of the old and new shelf marks. Since scholars often still refer to the manuscripts using the old system, consultation of both catalogues, of 1942 and 1984, is still indispensable.

The history and the holdings of the many private libraries and libraries that were attached to mosques and madrasas throughout Yemen remain largely undocumented, and their current situation is in most cases uncertain. The *Qāʾima bi-al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muṣawwara bi-mikrūfilm min al-Ġumhūrīyya al-ʿarabiyya al-yamaniyya*, prepared by members of the second Egyptian expedition to Yemen in 1964, remains vague about the ownership of some of the microfilmed manuscripts, with statements such as “*fi milk aḥad ʿulamāʾ Ṣanʿā*,”<sup>61</sup> “*muṣawwar ʿan nuṣṣa fi milk aḥad ʿulamāʾ Ṣanʿā*,”<sup>62</sup> and “*al-kutub al-muṣādara bi-madīnat Taʿizz*.”<sup>63</sup> Similar observations can be made of the many surrogates of Yemeni manuscripts that are held by the Marʿasī library in Qum and other Iranian libraries.<sup>64</sup> Only a fraction of the

<sup>57</sup> <https://ymdi.uoregon.edu/>

<sup>58</sup> The manuscripts filmed within the framework of the YMDP are accessible through Hill Museum & Manuscript Library’s virtual reading room ([vhmml.org](http://vhmml.org)) as well through “The Zaydī Manuscript Tradition: A Digital Portal” at [https://www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi\\_manuscript\\_tradition](https://www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi_manuscript_tradition) The manuscripts filmed under the aegis of the YMDI are accessible through <http://pudl.princeton.edu/collections/pudl0079>

<sup>59</sup> W. Madelung, *Arabic Texts*, 1987, p. 14 (English introduction).

<sup>60</sup> A.M. ʿĪsawī & M.S. al-Maliḥ, *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya bi-al-Ġāmiʿ al-kabīr bi-Ṣanʿā*, 1978.

<sup>61</sup> *Qāʾima*, 1967, pp. 9–10 no. 86.

<sup>62</sup> *Qāʾima*, 1967, p. 18 no. 163.

<sup>63</sup> *Qāʾima*, 1967, 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>64</sup> ʿA. Ḥāʾirī, *Fihrist*, 1369–1370/[1990–1991], vol. 2, pp. 290, 332, 333 (“*az nuṣṣa-yi kitābhāna-yi šaḥṣī dar Ṣanʿā*”), pp. 314, 337 (“*az nuṣṣa-yi kitābhāna-yi ayy šaḥṣī dar Yaman*”), 339 (“*az nuṣṣa-yi kitābhāna-yi ayy dar Ṣanʿā*”); Abū al-F. Ḥ. Bābulī, *Fihrist*, 1387–1388/2008–9, vol. 3, p. 276; vol. 4, pp. 255, 363, 402, 447, 500, 516, 542, 544, 551; vol. 5, pp. 286, 393 (“*nuṣṣa-yi aṣl dar yiki az kitābhāna-hā-yi Yaman*”); vol. 3, p. 537 (“*nuṣṣa-yi aṣl dar yiki az kitābhāna-hā-yi Ṣanʿā dar Yaman*”); vol. 4, p. 324 (“*nuṣṣa-yi aṣl dar yiki az kitābhāna-hā-yi šahr Ṣanʿā dar Yaman mahfūz ast*”); al-Sayyid A. al-Ḥ. al-Aškawārī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ʿaksī*, 1377–1387/1998–2008, 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 (“*kitābhāna-āy dar Yaman*”).

smaller libraries of Yemen have by now been catalogued, and the few available catalogues seem to cover only portions of the holdings of the relevant libraries. Mention should be made of the work of two Yemeni scholars. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥibšī (b. 1949) published handlists of the holdings of various private libraries during the 1970s and brought these handlists together in a volume published in 1994. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Waḡīh (b. 1957) published a two-volume catalogue describing the holdings of 39 private libraries in Yemen in 2002. Al-Waḡīh has announced additional volumes, but these have not materialized so far. Handlists for individual private collections were also produced by Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Aškawārī,<sup>65</sup> ‘Abd Allāh Ḥammūd Dirham al-‘Izzī,<sup>66</sup> and others. Moreover, al-Ḥibšī, al-Waḡīh, and other Yemeni scholars,<sup>67</sup> as well as scholars from Egypt<sup>68</sup> and Iran,<sup>69</sup> have compiled reference works documenting the Zaydī literary tradition, and these works provide information on the whereabouts of many manuscripts in the libraries of Yemen.

In the meantime, reports of incidents of severe damage, systematic destruction, looting of libraries, and illicit trade in manuscripts abound.<sup>70</sup> There are also other factors to be taken into account. Family libraries change ownership from generation to generation and are often divided among the heirs as a result. It is often unclear whether a library mentioned in earlier literature still exists, and if so, under whose ownership.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, for centuries manuscripts have been a commodity in Yemen.<sup>72</sup> Analyzing the ownership statements in the codices of the Munich Caprotti collection, Florian Sobieroj has remarked on the frequency with which manuscripts changed hands,<sup>73</sup> and the quantity and quality of Yemeni manuscripts that were traded from the end of the nineteenth century until today show that manuscripts continue to be goods in high demand. Moreover, the ongoing digitization efforts by some local research institutions and NGOs systematically omit information on the whereabouts of the original collections. While this is understandable in view of the potential threat to which private collections of Zaydī materials and their owners may be exposed,<sup>74</sup> from an academic point of view the practice causes confusion and impedes scholarly

<sup>65</sup> Al-Sayyid A. al-Ḥ. al-Aškawārī, *Maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Hādī*, 1424/2003.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Abd A. Ḥ.D. al-‘Izzī, *Fihrist*, 1425/2004.

<sup>67</sup> E.g., I. al-Akwa‘, *Hiḡar al-‘ilm*, 1424/2003; ‘Abd A. M. al-Ḥibšī, *Marāḡī‘*, 1972; id., *Maṣādir*, 1408/1988 and 1425/2004; id., *Dirāsāt*, 1977; ‘Abd al-S. ‘A. al-Waḡīh, *A‘lām al-mu‘allifīn al-Zaydiyya*, 1420/1999; I.A. al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘at al-alqāb al-yamaniyya*, 1431/2010.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, 1974.

<sup>69</sup> E.g., ‘A. Mūsawī Naḡād, *Turāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1384/2005; al-Sayyid A. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1413/1992–1993. Works by Zaydī *mutakallimūn* are also regularly listed in Ğ. Subḡānī (ed.), *Mu‘ḡam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, 1424/[2003–2004].

<sup>70</sup> See, e.g. ‘Abd al-S. ‘A. al-Waḡīh, *Maṣādir*, 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 35–42, 68–101; Ibn al-Wazīr, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya,” [2008]. The earthquake of December 13, 1982, also caused major destruction. See USAID, “Yemen Arab Republic – Earthquake,” 1982. See also below, Appendix 1.

<sup>71</sup> See also ‘Abd al-S. ‘A. al-Waḡīh, *Maṣādir*, 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 42; id., “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šāhāra,” also A. Regourd, “Introduction,” 2015, p. 123.

<sup>72</sup> See also A. Regourd, “Introduction,” 2015, p. 124.

<sup>73</sup> F. Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, 2007, p. xxiii.

<sup>74</sup> This has also been the policy of the Yemen Manuscript Digitization Initiative (YMDI).

conversation and should thus be avoided to the extent possible. Digital surrogates of manuscripts have largely replaced the physical objects as a commodity, which may be another reason to omit information about the whereabouts of the originals.<sup>75</sup>

#### IV. The Evolution of Zaydī Studies as a Scholarly Field

The wide dispersal of Zaydī manuscripts and the slow and uneven process of cataloguing the relevant collections have left their mark on scholarship, which is dependent on the availability of primary sources and their accessibility and as such is often accidental. The history of the Yemeni manuscript collections, their (in)accessibility and (un)availability, and the evolution of Zaydī studies offer a case in point.

The Glaser collections of Berlin and London were purchased at a fortuitous time when both Wilhelm Ahlwardt (1828–1909) and Charles Rieu (1820–1902) were still working on their respective catalogues of the Arabic manuscripts. The Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin had purchased the first Glaser collection of 23 manuscripts in 1884,<sup>76</sup> followed by its acquisition of the second Glaser collection of 242 manuscripts in February 1887. Ahlwardt had been asked to evaluate the latter material, and he submitted a favorable report, dated June 10, 1886, in which he recommended the acquisition of the collection and provided a brief handlist of its contents. A revised version of his report, together with the handlist, was published in the same year as *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*.<sup>77</sup> More detailed descriptions are included in his *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, published between 1887 through 1899. One of the first scholars to consult the manuscripts of the collection, particularly those pertaining to the Mu'tazila, was Martin Schreiner (1863–1926), a scholar of Jewish and Islamic studies who, from 1894 onwards, taught at the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin. For his studies on Jewish and Muslim Mu'tazilite *kalām*, "Der Kalām in der jüdischen Literatur" (1895) and "Jeschu'a ben Jehuda" (1900),<sup>78</sup> Schreiner consulted such manuscripts as Ibn Mattawayh's *Al-mağmū' fi al-Muḥīṭ* (MS Glaser 52), *Al-baḥr al-zahḥār* of Ibn al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1436–1437) (MS Glaser 230), and *Al-masā'il fi al-ḥilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-al-Bağdādīyyīn* by Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī (MS Glaser 12).<sup>79</sup>

Following Rieu's positive assessment, the British Museum bought the third Glaser collection of 328 Arabic manuscripts in July 1889. In May 1899, Rieu published an entry on its purchase in "Account of the Income and Expenditure of the British

<sup>75</sup> See A. Regourd, "Digitising between the lines," 2015.

<sup>76</sup> The collection was briefly catalogued by K. Vollers, "Mittheilung," 1884.

<sup>77</sup> W. Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Glaser'schen Sammlung*, 1887.

<sup>78</sup> M. Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1983, pp. 280–346, 503–619.

<sup>79</sup> See *Manuscripta orientalia Berolinensia*, passim. See also S. Schmidtke, *Study of Islam*, forthcoming. Generally on Schreiner, see T. Turán, "Martin Schreiner and Jewish Theology," 2017. I thank Dennis Halft to having brought Turán's study to my attention.

Museum (Special Trust Funds) for the Year ending the 31st day of March 1890,”<sup>80</sup> and descriptions of the Glaser manuscripts are included in his *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the British Museum*, which was published in 1894.<sup>81</sup>

The collections that ended up in Vienna and Munich were less fortunate. Max Grünert (1849–1929), who was asked to assess the collection housed at the Austrian National Library, prepared a brief handlist as an appendix to his report on the collection.<sup>82</sup> He presented an abbreviated version of his report to the International Orientalists’ Congress in 1894; the handlist remains unpublished.<sup>83</sup> The information included in Grünert’s handlist, with slight revisions and emendations, has since been integrated into the electronic catalogue of the Austrian National Library.<sup>84</sup> Glaser’s plans to catalogue the Caprotti collection in Munich never came to fruition, and for a long time scholars were limited to a brief summary published by Emil Gratzl (1877–1957) in 1916.<sup>85</sup> Although the Bavarian State Library proved extremely forthcoming over the decades when it came to providing scholars access to the Glaser manuscripts,<sup>86</sup> it was only in 2007 that Sobieroj completed a catalogue containing descriptions of the entire Munich collection of 157 South Arabian manuscripts.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> I thank Jan Thiele for this reference.

<sup>81</sup> Like W. Ahlwardt, Ch. Rieu was able to rely in his work on a concise handlist prepared by Glaser himself: “Dr. Glaser had no leisure for a ‘catalogue raisonné.’ His lithographed ‘Verzeichnis’ is a hastily drawn up list without any attempt at classification or detail.” (Rieu, *Supplement*, 1894, p. viii). The original Glaser numbers were replaced with new shelfmarks, Or. 3717–4044, and a concordance of the old Glaser numbers and the relevant entries in the catalogue is included in Rieu, *Supplement*, 1894, pp. 925–928.

<sup>82</sup> “Bericht über die durch Eduard Glaser von seiner vierten Reise in Südarabien nach Europa gebrachten Sammlungen erstattet von dem o.ö. Professor der semitischen Sprachen und Literaturen an der deutschen Universität Dr. Max Grünert in Prag” (completed on June 6, 1894) with “Beilage: Kurzer Katalog der Glaser’schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften verfasst von Prof. Dr. Max Grünert (Prag).”

<sup>83</sup> M. Grünert, “Über Ed. Glaser’s jüngste arabische Handschriftensammlung,” 1897. The Glaser collection was not included in Loebenstein, *Katalog der arabischen Handschriften*, 1970 as it was planned to be described in a second volume. See *ibid.*, p. ix (“Geleitwort”): “Der zweite Teil wird jene arabischen Handschriften verzeichnen, die vom österreichischen Arabienreisenden Eduard Glaser gesammelt und im Jahre 1894 erworben worden sind. Trotz ihres besonderen Wertes und ihres Interesses für die Wissenschaft wird dieser Teil im Programm der Herausgabe zeitlich nachgesetzt, da er in einem handschriftlichen Katalog von Max Grünert bereits bearbeitet ist; wenn auch in sehr knapper Form gehalten und veraltet, so stellt dieser Katalog doch noch ein brauchbares Hilfsmittel dar.”

<sup>84</sup> The individual entries can be found at <https://www.onb.ac.at/>

In addition to Grünert’s handlist, the entries also reflect the revisions included in Th. Ripper, *Zettelkatalog*, n.d. See <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00159367> “Grünerts Angaben bilden die Grundlage für die Datensätze zu den 254 Handschriften Glasers in dieser Datenbank. Sie wurden anhand eines 2000/2001 von Thomas Ripper angelegten Zettelkataloges mit translitterierten und aktualisierten Daten zu Autoren und Titeln ergänzt.”

<sup>85</sup> E. Gratzl, “Die arabischen Handschriften,” 1916. On Gratzl, see also H. Rebhan, “Emil Gratzl als Orientalist,” 2011.

<sup>86</sup> See below, fnn. 106, 113.

<sup>87</sup> F. Sobieroj, *Arabisches Handschriften*, 2007. While the catalogue excels in detail, it does not include the original Glaser numbers, which were still used by scholars such as Rudolf Strothmann or Wilferd Madelung. A “Konkordanz Codd. arab. Glaser – Codd. arab.” is available at

Eugenio Griffini worked unremittingly on the rich holdings of the “Collezione Caprotti” or “Nuovo Fondo” of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, but when he passed away in 1925, he had completed descriptions of less than a quarter of the collection, series A through C, as well as some selected manuscripts belonging to series H of the collection.<sup>88</sup> The Caprotti Collection of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana was described in detail in Giorgio Levi Della Vida’s (1886–1967) *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici*, published in 1935. Šalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid (1920–2010) continued Griffini’s work with another partial catalogue of the Ambrosiana collection, covering series D of the Nuovo Fondo and published in 1960. Initially unaware of al-Munaḡḡid’s work, Oscar Löfgren (1898–1992) had since 1955 paid regular extended visits to Milan<sup>89</sup> to study its rich Arabic manuscript collections with the aim of (re)cataloguing them in their entirety, starting with the “Antico Fondo” (or Ancient Fund, consisting of 224 Arabic manuscripts)<sup>90</sup> and extending to the more recent acquisitions since the publication of Joseph von Hammer’s (1774–1856) catalogue, including the Griffini manuscript collection, or the “Medio Fondo,” as he labelled this group of 134 manuscripts. Löfgren was supported in his endeavors by Enrico Rodolfo Galbiati (1914–2004) and especially by Renato Traini (1923–2014), and he presented a first report on his work in 1962,<sup>91</sup> followed by another, more detailed account in 1963.<sup>92</sup> By 1970, he had completed a draft handlist of the entire Arabic manuscript collection of the Ambrosiana, including the Nuovo Fondo of South Arabian manuscripts.<sup>93</sup> The first volume of the catalogue, covering the Antico Fondo and the Medio Fondo, was published in 1975; the remaining volumes are devoted to the more than 1,700 manuscripts of the Nuovo Fondo, volume 2 (published in 1981) covers the series A-D, followed by Volume 3, covering series E, which was published in 1995, three years after Löfgren’s demise. Traini continued the project on the basis of the draft catalogue prepared by Löfgren and published the final volume, covering the series F-H, in 2011.

Details about contents of the various Landberg collections were accessible from the outset through the sales catalogues of Brill and Harrassowitz. As he did with the Glaser collection, Ahlwardt published a first brief description of the Berlin collection

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<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00026277/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&seite=24&pdfseitex=>

On some codicological features of the Munich collection of South Arabian manuscripts, see also F. Sobieroj, “Arabic Manuscripts on the Periphery,” 2014, pp. 92–97 and *passim*.

<sup>88</sup> His catalogue was published between 1910 and 1918 in *Rivista degli Studi orientali*. The individual parts were later brought together and published as *Catalogo dei manoscritti Arabi di Nuovo Fondo*, 1910–1919. See also G. Gabrieli, *Manoscritti*, 1930, pp. 24–25 nos. 3–6.

<sup>89</sup> The story of Löfgren’s connection to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, which began in 1934 when he visited Italy for the first time, is recalled in the preface to O. Löfgren & R. Traini, *Catalogue*, 1995, vol. 3. See also R. Traini, “Ricordo di Oscar Löfgren,” 1993.

<sup>90</sup> Prior to this, Joseph von Hammer had prepared a first (incomplete) catalogue of the “Antico Fondo.” On the history of the Antico Fondo, see G. Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 1939; P.F. Fumagalli, “Raccolte,” 2001. On the early history of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, see also P. Nicelli, “Manoscritti,” [2016].

<sup>91</sup> O. Löfgren, “I manoscritti arabi,” 1963.

<sup>92</sup> O. Löfgren, “Unbekannte arabische Texte,” 1963.

<sup>93</sup> See preface to O. Löfgren & R. Traini, *Catalogue*, 1995, vol. 3.

in his *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Landberg'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften* (1885) and incorporated more detailed entries on the Berlin Landberg manuscripts in his *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (1887–1890). The Yemeni manuscripts of the Landberg collection purchased by Leiden University Library were first catalogued by Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909)<sup>94</sup> and Martijn Theodoor Houtsma (1851–1943), and then again by Petrus Voorhoeve (1899–1996), curator of the Oriental Collections in the Leiden University Library since 1950, in his *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, published in 1957 and followed by a revised and enlarged edition in 1980.<sup>95</sup> Voorhoeve's descriptions were integrated, and partly revised and enlarged, by Jan Just Witkam in his comprehensive *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in Leiden University Library* (published 2006–2016), which also includes descriptions of the library's later acquisitions of Yemeni and/or Zaydī manuscripts.

During the 1950s and 1960s, some European collections with significant numbers 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 in the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library (established in 1953), including the Vatican's Islamic Arabic manuscripts,<sup>96</sup> as does the library of the State University of New York at Binghamton.<sup>97</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. The creation of the Frank M. Folson Ambrosiana Microfilm and Photographic Collection was funded by the National Science Foundation in Washington, DC, and the filming began in 1962.<sup>98</sup> During the same period, the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (now the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, HMML) set out to film the holdings of numerous libraries in Europe (focusing primarily but not exclusively on Christian manuscripts), starting with Austria. By 1973, HMML had produced microfilms of the holdings of some 76 Austrian libraries, including the Austrian National Library with its Arabic manuscript collection, of which the Glaser collection forms an important

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<sup>94</sup> M.J. De Goeje & M.T. Houtsma, *Catalogus codicum arabicorum*, 1888–1907.

<sup>95</sup> See also J.J. Witkam, "Verzamelingen," 1987. On Voorhoeve, see G.E. Marrison, "Obituary: Dr. Petrus Voorhoeve," 1996.

<sup>96</sup> <http://lib.sl.u.edu/special-collections/collections/vfl>

<sup>97</sup> Th.J. Martin, *North American Collections*, 1977, pp. 51–52.

<sup>98</sup> Th.J. Martin, *North American Collections*, 1977, pp. 22–23; A.L. Gabriel, "Ambrosiana Microfilming Project," 1965; id., *Summary Catalogue*, 1968; P.P. Olevnik, "Selected Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collections," 1978, pp. 13–15. See also "The Ambrosiana Microfilm Collection," n.d. Not included in Notre Dame's collection are the following items of the Nuovo Fondo: A 60, A 124, C 41, C 136, D 263, D 331, D 389, D 390, D 404, D 405, D 516, D 527, E 92, E 328.



part.<sup>99</sup> In 1957 the board of the Ma‘had al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya in Cairo dispatched an expedition under the direction of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid, who was at the time the Director of the institute, to Milan to film and catalogue those manuscripts of the Ambrosiana collection that remained uncatalogued. The Egyptians sojourned in Milan for two months (July–August 1957); for lack of time, the filming and cataloguing enterprise had to be restricted to series D of the Nuovo Fondo.<sup>100</sup> The microfilms have been housed since 1960 at the Ma‘had al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya. Moreover, it can safely be assumed that surrogates of all European manuscript collections relevant to Zaydī studies are kept at the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, which was founded in 1983,<sup>101</sup> and at the Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca.<sup>102</sup> In Iran, the Mar‘aṣī Library and the Markaz-i iḥyā’-i mīrāt-i islāmī (both in Qum) also possess large microfilm archives of manuscripts from European libraries, including the Vatican Library, the British Library, the Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, the Ambrosiana, and the Berlin State Library, among them numerous manuscripts of Yemeni provenance.<sup>103</sup>

On the basis of the collections of Yemeni manuscripts especially in Berlin and Milan, it was mostly German and Italian Arabists who initiated the scholarly investigation of Zaydism during the early decades of the twentieth century. On the suggestion of Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956),<sup>104</sup> the German scholar Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960) began to study the rich holdings of the Berlin Glaser collections during a visit to the city on October 5–17, 1908. Over the next couple of years he spent extended periods of time in the Berlin library studying a large number of Zaydī manuscripts,<sup>105</sup> and his rich scholarly output on Zaydism (published between 1910 and 1923) laid the foundation for this at the time entirely new field of study. During the early stages of his work, Strothmann had only limited access to Yemeni manuscripts beyond Berlin. In the opening pages of his “Die Literatur der Zaiditen” (published in 1910), he laments the lack of information about the Vienna collection, whereas he was able to consult some of the material held in London and Munich.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Th.J. Martin, *North American Collections*, 1977, pp. 43–44; P.P. Olevnik, “Selected Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collections,” 1978, pp. 15–17.

<sup>100</sup> See the introduction to Ṣ. al-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid, *Fihrist*, 1960.

<sup>101</sup> See *Fihris al-muṣawwarāt al-mikrūfilmiyya bi-Qism al-maḥṭūṭāt*, 1988–; <http://www.kff.com/en/King-Faisal-Center-for-Research-Islamic-Studies>

<sup>102</sup> *Fihris al-muṣawwarāt al-mawḡūda bi-Markaz al-baḥṭ al-‘ilmī bi-Ġāmi‘at Umm al-Qurā*, 1983–.

<sup>103</sup> Al-Sayyid A. al-Ḥ. al-Aṣḡawārī, *Fihrist-i nuṣḥa-hā-yi ‘aksī*, 1377–1387/1998–2008; ‘A. Ḥā’irī, *Fihrist*, 1369–1370/[1990–1991]; Abū al-F. Ḥ. Bābulī, *Fihrist*, 1387–1388/2008–9.

<sup>104</sup> See R. Strothmann, “Die Literatur der Zaiditen,” 1910, p. 356.

<sup>105</sup> July 7–August 5, 1909; October 5–16, 1909; January 3–8, 1910; July 20–August 3, 1910; October 4–15, 1910; December 27, 1910–February 11, 1911; October 5–7, 1911; January 6–9, 1912; March 14–April 19, 1912; July 15–August 24, 1912; April 2–July 14, 1914; January 26–February 17, 1917; September 1–October 18, 1919; June 28–July 1, 1922; August 20–22, 1923. See *Manuscripta orientalia Berolinensia*, passim.

<sup>106</sup> R. Strothmann, “Die Literatur der Zaiditen,” 1910, p. 357: “Die vorliegende Untersuchung stützt sich in erster Linie auf das reichhaltige Material von Berlin, das mir seit mehreren Jahren in ausgiebigster Weise gütigst zur Verfügung gestellt wurde. Lücken im Berliner Bestande konnten ausgefüllt werden nach freundlicher Überlassung von zwei Manuskripten aus der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leiden,

Eventually Strothmann gained access to some of the Vienna Glaser manuscripts, which he used for his 1923 publication, “Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. ‘Alī.”<sup>107</sup>

In Italy, it was Griffini who created the basis for the new field of Zaydī studies through his studies and catalogues, compiled while delving into the rich holdings of the Ambrosiana collection. Other Italian scholars who contributed to the development of the field include Ignazio di Matteo (1872–1948), Michelangelo Guidi (1886–1946), and Renato Traini.<sup>108</sup> In Leiden, Cornelius van Arendonk (1881–1946), a specialist on Zaydism who had completed his doctoral dissertation in 1919 with a study of the *sīra* of Imām al-Hādī ilā al-ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911) on the basis of a Glaser manuscript held by the British Museum,<sup>109</sup> was appointed keeper of Oriental manuscripts and books (“adjutor Interpretis Legati Warneriani”), a position he held until his death in 1946. His intimate familiarity with the Leiden collection is legendary, and he generously shared detailed information and partial transcripts of Leiden manuscripts through correspondence.<sup>110</sup> Strothmann profited significantly from both

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Sammlung ehemals Landberg-Brill, und durch Auszüge, die mir durch das British Museum, Department of oriental printed books and manuscripts, in zuvorkommendster Weise übermittelt wurden. Unter den Stätten, deren Kataloge noch nicht vorliegen, fand ich die liebenswürdigste Unterstützung in München, wo Herr Oberbibliothekar Dr. [Georg] Leidinger [1870–1945], dem ich neben dem Herausgeber den Hinweis auf die mir bislang unbekannt Sammlungen verdanke, und Herr Custos Dr. Gratzl die Vergleichung der ihrer Obhut anvertrauten Schätze mit dem Bestand von Berlin, London (und Leiden) für mich vornahmen. Dagegen ist es mir bislang nicht gelungen, von Wien nähere Auskunft zu erhalten über das Fehlen oder Vorhandensein wichtiger Werke. Doch werden für Mailand die zu erwartenden Fortsetzungen von E. Griffini I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano Aufschluß darüber bringen, ob der dortige Bestand wesentliche Ergänzungen . . . bietet.” Portions of the correspondence between Strothmann and Gratzl are extant in the Gratzl *Nachlass* at the Bavarian State Library, Munich (call number: Gratzliana G). See <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-316143>

<sup>107</sup> R. Strothmann, “Das Problem,” 1923, p. 2: “Hauptquelle für die Untersuchung ist neben dem *maǧmūʿ* [i.e., E. Griffini (ed.), *Corpus iuris di Zaid ibn ‘Alī*, 1919] der Berliner Sammelkodex Ms. arab. Glas. 116, der in Ṣan‘āʾ als *k. rasāʾil wa-tefsīr li-Zaid b. ‘Alī* gekauft wurde. Hilfsstoff stammt aus anderen Handschriften der deutschen Bibliotheken in Berlin, Wien und München.” See also below, Appendix 2, Strothmann’s query to the K. k. Hofbibliothek, as a result of which the Vienna Library got Grünert’s permission to publish indices prepared on the basis of his handlist. Although this apparently never materialized, it can be assumed that Strothmann was provided with a copy of this material. Strothmann’s study of the writings attributed to Zayd b. ‘Alī was a response to Griffini’s *Corpus iuris*). For a summary of Griffini’s and Strothmann’s views on the matter, as well as later scholarship, see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1967, vol. 1, pp. 552–556.

<sup>108</sup> On him, see A. Arioli, “Lessico codici,” 2014; C. Baffioni, “Ricordo,” 2015.

<sup>109</sup> C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst*, 1919. His principal source was MS British Library, Or. 3901, except for a small portion of the text, for which Griffini provided van Arendonk with images of another manuscript of the text in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS Ambrosiana, ar. E 57. See *ibid.*, pp. xiii, 294–302. The translator of *De opkomst*, Jacques Ryckmans, had a complete microfilm of the Ambrosiana manuscript at his disposal, as well as a surrogate of another copy of the work from the Maktabat al-awqāf in Sanaa. See C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts*, 1960, pp. vi, xi–xiii.

<sup>110</sup> See J.J. Witkam, “Middle Eastern Holdings,” 1981, p. 61: “Until 1946 the keeper of Oriental manuscripts and printed books was C. van Arendonk, who was possessed of such wide erudition that he was considered, during the thirty years of his employment in the library, to be its walking manuscripts’ catalogue.” See also Kramers, “Levensbericht,” 1946, p. 148: “Kwam aldus zijn wetenschappelijke arbeid zelden tot



Griffini and van Arendonk. The British scholar Arthur Stanley Tritton (1881–1973) also contributed to the study of the Zaydiyya with a number of publications during the first half of the twentieth century, focusing on manuscripts from the Glaser collection in London.<sup>111</sup>

Strothmann's erstwhile student, Wilferd Madelung, who provided in his seminal 1965 book *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* a still unsurpassed analysis of the doctrinal developments among the Zaydis from the time of Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) until 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-'Ansī (d. 667/1269), was the first scholar to consult nearly all relevant collections of Zaydī manuscripts in Europe.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, for his later publications he was also the first Western scholar who was able to consult some of the collections in Yemen.<sup>113</sup>

Scholars in Yemen have for the most part been unable to profit from the continuously improving conditions for Zaydī studies outside Yemen. Even today they have only limited access to information on the Yemeni manuscripts held by European and North American libraries and often remain unaware of the extremely rich and valuable holdings beyond the country. This holds true not only for the collections that

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het niveau der gedrukte openbaarheid, hij kwam in anderen vorm ten goede aan de zeer velen, die in binnen- en buitenland in zijn functie of als vrienden mit hem in aanraking kwamen. Hij was een van het welbekende type van conservatoren, die zichzelf en hun tijd niet spaarden om anderen de gewenste in- en voorlichting te geven. Door zijn bemiddeling vonden de schatten van de Leidsche handschriftenverzameling overall heen hun weg, terwijl zij, die op het Legatum Warnerianum kwamen werken, zich ieder oogeblik van zijn bereidheid konden overtuigen om hun moeilijkheden op te helderen." Leiden University Library also owns photostats of some of the Yemeni manuscripts in Berlin, London, Milan, and various other European libraries that had been prepared at the request of van Arendonk, as well as numerous excerpts from Yemeni manuscripts in his hand. His research materials and personal notes are preserved at Leiden University Library under the shelf marks Or. 8261–8305. One of van Arendonk's very few publications after his dissertation falls within the field of Zaydī studies, namely, "De Jemenitische secte der Mutarrifieten," 1927. He also contributed various entries to the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* that are relevant for Zaydī studies and/or the history of Yemen.

<sup>111</sup> See the bibliography for details. A.S. Tritton mentions in his "The Muṭarrifiyya," 1950, p. 59, that in addition to the three London manuscripts that he consulted for this study, "[a] few details can be gleaned from other manuscripts and there is more material in Berlin but it has not been possible to use it."

<sup>112</sup> See W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 1965, pp. 254–258.

<sup>113</sup> See W. Madelung, *Streitschrift*, 1985, p. 2: "Die Edition der mir zunächst einzig bekannten, Münchener Handschrift des *Kitāb an-naḡāt* 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."

are still uncatalogued: in addition to the enormous costs that make most existing catalogues unaffordable for Yemeni scholars and research institutes, the languages in which they are written (Latin, German, Italian, and English) render them largely useless for scholars who are proficient only in Arabic. Scholars in Yemen usually refer to the few catalogues that are available in Arabic, namely, Ḥusayn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Amrī’s (b. 1944) catalogue of the British Library manuscripts of Yemeni provenance (published in 1980)<sup>14</sup> and al-Munaḡḡid’s 1960 catalogue describing series D of the Caprotti collection at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Nemoy’s 1956 handlist of manuscripts held by Yale University Library (which includes among the Landberg collection some twenty-three Zaydī works)<sup>15</sup> was translated into Arabic in 1985. In the same year, the Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-al-buḡūṭ al-yamanī in Sanaa published an extract of Carl Brockelmann’s *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, containing all materials relating to Yemen, in Arabic translation.<sup>16</sup> In 1984, Šāliḡiyya’s Arabic catalogue of the ‘Alī Amīrī Efendi collection was published in Sanaa. A heavily abbreviated Arabic translation of Levi Della Vida’s catalogue of the holdings of the Vatican Library was published by Šādiq Ḥusaynī Aškawārī in 2001 in Iran, followed in 2002 by a similar publication of his on the holdings of the Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana in Rome. Hassan Ansari investigated the Zaydī manuscript collections in Berlin, Vienna, Munich, Rome, and Milan and published detailed descriptions of and corrections to the catalogues on selected codices from the respective collections, mostly in Persian, occasionally in Arabic.<sup>17</sup>

Illustrative of the challenges experienced by Yemeni scholars is the work of ‘Abd Allāh Muḡammad al-Ḥibšī and ‘Abd al-Salām ‘Abbās al-Waḡīh, two prolific Yemeni bibliographers of Zaydī literature.<sup>18</sup> Both largely focus in their work on the holdings of libraries in Yemen and include only a fraction of the relevant manuscripts housed in European and North American libraries, as their access to the relevant sources is limited. In the 2004 edition of his *Mašādir al-fīkr al-islāmī fī al-Yaman* al-Ḥibšī states that he had finally gained access to the ten-volume Ahlwardt catalogue of Berlin

<sup>14</sup> On Ḥ. ‘Abd A. al-‘Amrī, who hails from Sanaa and was educated in Cairo, Damascus, and the United Kingdom (Cambridge and Durham), and his scholarly work, see

<http://fikir.com/fikrauthor/%D8%AF-%D8%AD%D8%B3%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D9%87-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%8A>

<sup>15</sup> L. Nemoy, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 1956, pp. 119–121 nos. 1096–1115.

<sup>16</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Al-adabiyāt al-yamaniyya*, 1985.

<sup>17</sup> H. Ansari, *Az ganḡīna-hā-yi nusah-i ḡaṭṭī*, 2015. See also his blog posts on various manuscripts held by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana:

<http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3113>

<http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3122>

<http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3127>

<http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3124>

<http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3117>

<http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3114>

<http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3115>

<sup>18</sup> For ‘Abd A. M. al-Ḥibšī, see

<http://www.al-aalam.com/personinfo.asp?pid=17232>. For al-Waḡīh, see <http://www.al-aalam.com/personinfo.asp?pid=16530>

manuscripts (which had been published more than a century earlier, between 1887 and 1899).<sup>119</sup> Al-Waḡīh, in turn, lists in his *A'lām al-mu'allifīn al-Zaydiyya* (published in 1999), as his sources for Zaydī manuscripts outside Yemen, al-Ḥibšī's *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī al-Yaman*, al-'Amrī's *Maṣādir al-turāt*, and the Arabic version of Brockelmann's *Al-adabiyāt al-yamaniyya fī al-maktabāt al-'ālamīyya*.<sup>120</sup>

## V. Toward Democratizing Access to the Zaydī Manuscript Tradition

Scholars' access to manuscripts has been significantly facilitated by advances in technology, particularly in view of the (nearly) unlimited possibilities for digital dissemination of knowledge and its carriers. Thanks to the many filming and digitization projects in Yemen during the second half of the twentieth century, scholars in the field of Zaydī studies outside Yemen are able today to work under (nearly) ideal conditions, provided they can buy access to those collections that are not (yet) freely accessible.

The situation has developed less favorably for scholars who are based in Yemen itself. With few exceptions, the microfilming and digitization initiatives have not included any of the European collections, and little thought has been given to the question of how Yemeni scholars might gain access to the Yemeni/Zaydī holdings of libraries outside their country. Even when they are aware of the existence of manuscripts outside of Yemen that are relevant to their work, it is virtually impossible for Yemeni scholars to gain access to them. And although some Western libraries with significant holdings of Yemeni manuscripts have adopted an open access policy, only a fraction of the Yemeni manuscripts in Europe and the United States has so far been digitized and made available online. The same holds true for most libraries throughout the Middle East that house Zaydī materials among their holdings.

Many works by Zaydī authors are preserved in unique or extremely precious copies in libraries outside Yemen and thus out of reach (and often unknown) to Yemeni scholars. Examples include MS Berlin State Library, Glaser 51, which contains the third volume of the *Kitāb al-tafṣīl li-ḡumal al-Taḥṣīl* by Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥurāšī, a commentary on the theological summa, *Kitāb al-taḥṣīl fī al-tawḥīd wa-al-ta'dīl*, of al-Ḥurāšī's teacher al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 584/1188), which was copied during the lifetime of its author. No other copy of this work, or of parts of it, is attested anywhere else.<sup>121</sup> MS Berlin State Library, Glaser 12 contains a unique copy of the *Kitāb al-masā'il fī al-ḥilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-al-Baḡdādiyyīn*, a work on natural philosophy by *qāḍī al-quḍāt* 'Abd al-Ḡabbār's student Abū Rašīd al-Nīsāburī.<sup>122</sup> The comprehensive theological summa of Imam al-Mu'ayyad bi-Allāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (b. 669/1270, d. 749/1348–1349), *Kitāb al-šāmil li-ḥaqā'iq al-adilla al-'aqliyya wa-uṣūl al-*

<sup>119</sup> 'Abd A. M. al-Ḥibšī, *Maṣādir*, 2004, p. 12.

<sup>120</sup> 'Abd al-S. 'A. Al-Waḡīh, *A'lām*, 1420/1999, pp. 18–20, 21ff.

<sup>121</sup> See H. Ansari & J. Thiele, "MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 51," 2015 (with further references).

<sup>122</sup> See H. Ansari & S. Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, 2017, chapter 1 (with further references).

*masā'il al-dīniyya*, consisting of four volumes, is dispersed across several libraries in Yemen, Iran, and the Netherlands, and a future critical edition should be based on all extant manuscripts.<sup>123</sup> Copies of volumes 2, 3, and 4 originally belonged to the library of the Iranian scholar Šayḥ al-Islām al-Zanḡānī,<sup>124</sup> and they are now part of the collection of the Maḡlis Library in Tehran (MSS Tehran, Maḡlis 86223, 86224, and 86225).<sup>125</sup> Leiden University Library owns a partial holograph of the work, containing the end of volume 3 and all of volume 4 (MS Leiden, University Library, Or. 2587). The beginning of the text is missing, and the manuscript is misidentified in Voorhoeve's catalogue.<sup>126</sup> Leiden University Library also owns a precious copy of volume 2 of the theological summa by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'il al-Ḥasanī al-Ġurḡānī, the later Imam al-Muwaffaq bi-Allāh (d. after 420/1029), *Kitāb al-iḥāṭa fī 'ilm al-kalām* (MS Leiden Or. 8409). The codex was transcribed for the library of Imam al-Manšūr bi-Allāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, and the copy was completed in Ša'bān 605/1209. A unique copy of al-Muwaffaq's work on legal theory, *Mas'ala fī anna iḡmā' ahl al-bayt huḡḡa*, is preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (MS Ambrosiana, ar. F 29/5, fols 295a–308b).<sup>127</sup>

Moreover, there is not a single critical edition prepared by a scholar of Yemen for which manuscripts from Europe have been consulted alongside copies found in Yemen.<sup>128</sup> Another unfortunate example is an edition of MS Vatican Arab. 1100<sup>129</sup> prepared by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Alī Abū Zunayd, professor at the College of Sharia and Islamic Studies in Burayda, Saudi Arabia, which was published in 1989–1990. The manuscript, of which parts are missing in the beginning and at the end, was identified by the editor as Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Bašīrī's (d. 436/1044) commentary (*šarḥ*) on 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamadānī's *Kitāb al-'umad*. In fact, it constitutes part 2 of *Al-muḡzī fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by the Zaydī Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-al-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033); the editor was unaware of two other, complete copies of the work. One of them is preserved as MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ar. E 409. This manuscript is particularly precious because it was copied in 1028/1619 by Šalāḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥāliq b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥabūrī al-Qāsimī from a copy dated 544/1150 that had been written by Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḥurāsānī al-Bayhaqī (d. ca. 551/1156), who arrived in Yemen

<sup>123</sup> A critical edition is currently under preparation by Hišām Maḥmūd, in cooperation with the present writer. See also S. Schmidtke, "Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-Allāh Yaḥya b. Ḥamza," forthcoming.

<sup>124</sup> See Āḡā Buzurg, *Darī'a*, 1403–1406/1983–1986, vol. 13, pp. 13–14 no. 34.

<sup>125</sup> I thank Hassan Ansari for having made copies of the three manuscripts available to me.

<sup>126</sup> P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, 1980, p. 328. The work has been correctly identified by Michael Cook; see M. Cook, *Commanding Right*, 2000, p. 218 n. 115.

<sup>127</sup> See H. Ansari & S. Schmidtke, *Studies in Iranian Zaydism*, forthcoming.

<sup>128</sup> For attempts to provide an overview of what has been published in critical edition in Yemen, see, e.g., M.L.M. al-Mālikī, *Al-maḥṭūṭāt*, 1425/2004; id., "Taḥqīq al-maḥṭūṭāt," 2006; 'Abd al-M. M. al-Maqḥafī, *Fihrist al-maṭbū'āt*, 1403/1983; B. Haykel, "Recent Publishing Activity," 2001. An exception is Ġamāl al-Šāmī, who is based in Ša'da and who regularly consults the digital repositories of the Bavarian State Library and the Berlin State Library, publishing selected manuscripts partly as facsimiles and partly as editions. His publications, most of which seem to have appeared in 2016 and 2017, do not specify either place or publisher, and al-Šāmī distributes his work in PDF form through his Facebook page

<https://www.facebook.com/Alshami.Jamal>

<sup>129</sup> See G. Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 1935, pp. 145–146.

in 541/1146–1147 and instructed Imam al-Mutawakkil bi-Allāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1170).<sup>130</sup> Another complete manuscript of the work is preserved in the Maktabat al-aḥqāf in Tarīm (no. 98 *fiqh*), copied in the seventh/thirteenth century and consisting of 217 folios.<sup>131</sup> Recently, ‘Abd al-Karīm Ğadbān (1965–2013) has published the work in its entirety on the basis of the abovementioned Tarīm manuscript, as well as another incomplete manuscript of the work from the Maktabat al-Imām Zayd b. ‘Alī. He, too, lacked access to the Ambrosiana manuscript.<sup>132</sup>

The most recent initiative to preserve Zaydī manuscript culture aims to remedy this imbalance by providing full access to the manuscript tradition for scholars worldwide, including those based in the Middle East and especially in Yemen itself. This initiative is “The Zaydī Manuscript Tradition (ZMT): A Digital Portal,” a joint project initiated in 2017 by the Institute for Advanced Study in partnership with the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML) in Minnesota. The initiative consists of two components: a digital portal, which is hosted on the website of the Institute for Advanced Study,<sup>133</sup> and HMML’s virtual reading room, vHMML, which serves as a repository of digital surrogates of manuscript codices.<sup>134</sup>

The purpose of the ZMT is threefold. (1) Through its digital portal, it serves as a *comprehensive research guide* to relevant collections of Zaydī manuscripts, providing precise information on the location of each collection with a full list of its holdings (including shelf marks) and the relevant bibliography for every single codex. Each entry is linked to a corresponding entry in the virtual reading room of the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library. This provides a stable HMML Project Number and a permanent link for each manuscript—a unique identifier that is of special importance for the holdings of private libraries, which as a rule do not have shelf marks. In the second phase of the project, full metadata will be produced for the manuscripts included in the project using the vHMML reading room’s cataloging tools. This will also help prevent illicit trafficking of manuscripts as the portal, together with the vHMML repository, will provide a reliable and comprehensive database for the holdings of Yemen’s libraries which can also be consulted by entities engaged in the battle against smuggling.<sup>135</sup> (2) The digital portal functions as a gateway to manuscripts that have already been digitized. As long as a repository has uploaded digital images of its holdings, the portal links the user directly to that repository.<sup>136</sup> Images of the

<sup>130</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see O. Löfgren & R. Traini, *Catalogue*, 1995, vol. 3, pp. 165–166 no. 1239.

<sup>131</sup> See ‘Abd A. b. H. al-‘Aydārūs et al., *Fihris*, 1430/1388/2009, vol. 1, p. 471 no. 1052. See also H. Ansari & S. Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, 2017, chapter 3, n. 17.

<sup>132</sup> On Ğadbān and his contribution to Zaydī and Yemeni studies, see J. Thiele, “In memoriam,” 2016.

<sup>133</sup> [www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi-manuscript-tradition](http://www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi-manuscript-tradition)

<sup>134</sup> [www.vhmml.org](http://www.vhmml.org) See also <http://www.hmml.org/news-media/hmml-partners-with-the-institute-for-advanced-study-to-share-threatened-manuscript-heritage-from-yemen-and-neighboring-countries>

<sup>135</sup> The lack of any kind of database for the entire Yemeni manuscript tradition is lamented, for example, by Ibn al-Wazīr, “Al-maḥṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya,” [2008].

<sup>136</sup> To date, the following libraries have agreed to partner with the initiative: Berlin State Library; Bavarian State Library; Columbia University Library; Austrian National Library; Biblioteca dell’Accademia Na-

holdings of other collections of Zaydī manuscripts, to the extent that these are available or can be produced, will be uploaded to the digital reading room of vHMML, and links to the respective digital codices are again provided through the portal. The project aims to provide open access to an estimated 15,000 digitized manuscripts over the course of the next three years (2017–2020). (3) These measures will also effectively *democratize access* to the Zaydī 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 Zaydī manuscripts preserved in Europe, North American, and other Middle Eastern countries.

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### Appendix 1: Private Libraries, Mosque Libraries, and *Madrassa* Libraries of Yemen with holdings of Zaydī materials (1954–Present)

The following table brings together the names of the public and private libraries, personal collections, and libraries of mosques and *madrassas* that are mentioned in the various handlists and catalogues of manuscripts published since 1954, together with the relevant references and, to the extent they exist, catalogues of their holdings. No attempt has been made to trace the history of any of these collections, and in most cases it remains uncertain whether the library or collection in question is still intact and in its original location and/or whether its owner has changed. Whenever the current status of a collection is known, the relevant information is provided. It is hoped that the list may prove useful for identifying some of the many surrogates in circulation even as the whereabouts of the original codices remain unknown.

Place	Name	Current situation (if known)	References and/or inventories
‘Ans	Maktaba fī bayt ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hamām al-Şan‘ānī (Maktabat Bayt ‘Abd al-Razzāq)		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1974 pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaşr,” 2010, no. 20
Baqim	Maktabat al-Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qāsimī	Destroyed? Hollenberg & Re-gourd, “Manuscript Destruction,” 2016, p. 167	
Bayt al-Faqīh	Maktabat Bayt al-Faqīh		Sayyid, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432
Ḍaḥyān	Maktabat Āl al-Ġalibī	Images available through vHMML	al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 648–649; al-Waġīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 143–150
Ḍaḥyān	Maktabat Āl Ḥūriyya		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 649–650
Ḍaḥyān	Maktabat Āl al-Şa‘dī/Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Şa‘dī		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 650; al-Waġīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002 vol. 2, pp. 131–142

Ḍaḥyān	Maktabat Sayyid Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥūṭī		al-Aškawārī, <i>Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ‘aksī</i> , 1377–1387/1998–2008, vol. 1, pp. 103–104 nos. 80, 81; vol. 4, pp. 28–30 nos. 1207, 1208, pp. 233–234 nos. 1383, 1384
Ḍaḥyān	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-‘Ağrī		al-Wağīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 290–312
Ḍaḥyān	Maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Hādī		al-Wağīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 416–546; Bābulī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1387–1388/2008–2009, vol. 3, pp. 591–595 no. 1263; vol. 4, pp. 364–365 no. 1483; al-Aškawārī, <i>Maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Hādī</i> , 1424/2003; al-Aškawārī, <i>Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ‘aksī</i> , 1377–1387/1998–2008, vol. 4, p. 258 no. 1415
Ḍaḥyān	Maktabat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāsimī		al-Wağīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 175–188
Ḍaḥyān	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḍaḥyānī		al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 650–651
Ḍamār	Maktabat Āl al-Akwa‘		al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 652–653
Ḍamār	Maktabat Āl al-‘Ansī		al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 653–654
Ḍamār	Maktabat Āl al-Yūsufī		al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 654
Ḍamār	Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan al-Daylamī (al-Dayyāmī)		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249 no. 1626; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 17
Ḍamār	Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Warīt (Maktabat al-Warīt)		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, p. 62; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249 no. 16129; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 24

Ḍamār	Maktabat Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Niṣāfi		al-Mu'ayyad, "Yemen," 1994, pp. 655–656
Ḍamār	Maktabat Aḥmad al-ʿAnsī		al-Mu'ayyad, "Yemen," 1994, pp. 651–652
Ḍamār	Maktabat Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAyzarī (Maktabat al-ʿAyzarī)		"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿtat al-Maʿhad," 1976, pp. 61–62; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249, no. 1625; Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," 2010, no. 23
Ḍamār	Maktabat Aḥmad al-Maḡribī		al-Mu'ayyad, "Yemen," 1994, p. 652
Ḍamār	Maktabat Ḥammūd al-Dawla		al-Mu'ayyad, "Yemen," 1994, pp. 654–655
Ḍamār	Maktabat al-Madrasa al-ʿilmiyya		al-Mu'ayyad, "Yemen," 1994, p. 655
Ḍamār	Maktabat al-Madrasa al-šamsiyya	Now part of the Maktabat al-Awqāf in Ḍamār	"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿthat al-Maʿhad," 1976, pp. 59–61; al-Ghumari, "Projet," 2007; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249 no. 1624; Regourd (ed.), <i>Catalogue partiel</i> , 2008; see also <a href="http://cefas.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article104&amp;lang=fr">http://cefas.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article104&amp;lang=fr</a>
Ḍamār	Maktabat Muḥammad al-Ḥaḡḡī <i>muḥāfiẓ</i> Ḍamār		"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿtat al-Maʿhad," 1976, p. 62; Ḥāʾirī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1369–1370/[1990–1991], vol. 2, pp. 17–19 nos. 516, 517, 518; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249 no. 1628; al-Aškawārī, <i>Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ʿaksī</i> , 1377–1387/1998–2008, vol. 1, pp. 59–60 nos. 43, 44, 45
Ḍamār	Maktabat al-Taʿizzī		al-Mu'ayyad, "Yemen," 1994, p. 656
Ḍamār	Maktabat Yaḥyā al-Maḡribī		al-Mu'ayyad, "Yemen," 1994, pp. 656–657



Damār	Maktabat Zayd b. ‘Alī al-Daylamī (al-Dayyāmī)		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 21; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249 no. 1627; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 18
al-Dāmiġ	Maktabat Ğāmi‘ al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh Ismā‘il	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waġīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 37
al-Dārī	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dārī		“Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 658–659; al-Ḥibšī, <i>Fihris</i> , 1994, pp. 306–359
Ḍawrān	Maktabat Ğāmi‘ al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waġīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 37
Ğibla	Maktabat Madrasat Ğibla		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 212; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432
Ḥaġġa	Maktabat al-Imām Aḥmad	Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, Sanaa	Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101
Ḥaġġa	Maktabat Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ğaḥāf	YMDP; images available through vHMML	
Hiġrat Fallala	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Šāyim al-Mu’ayyadi		al-Waġīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 65–129
Hiġrat Fallala	Maktabat Sirāġ al-Dīn ‘Adlān		al-Waġīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 43–64
Hiġrat Wadi‘a	Maktabat al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Wadi‘ī		Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 21
Ḥurayḍa	Maktabat Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-‘Atṭās		al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 657; al-Ḥibšī, <i>Fihris</i> , 1994, pp. 142–189

Ḥūt	Maktabat Ğāmi‘ Ḥūt		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 212; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101
Ibb	Maktabat Ğāmi‘ Ibb		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 212; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101
Ibb	Maktabat Madīnat Ibb		Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991 p. 248 no. 1613
Ibb	Maktabat ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al- Ḥubayšī (al- Ḥabīšī)		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, p. 63; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 248 no. 1615; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 26
Ibb	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al- Ḥaddād		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, pp. 63–66; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 248 no. 1614; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 27
Kawkabān	Maktabat Muḥammad Ḥusayn Šaraf al- Dīn	YMDP; images available through vHMML	
Kawkabān	Maktabat ‘Alī b. Ḥammūd Šaraf al-Dīn	Original holdings (ca. 1,000 manuscripts) were divided among the heirs after ‘Alī b. Ḥammūd’s demise, and a part of the library came into the possession of Ḥammūd b. Muḥammad Šaraf al-Dīn (al- Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 42)	Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 213; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 42; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 4
Kawkabān	Maktabat Ḥammūd b. Muḥammad Šaraf al-Dīn	Its holdings were divided among his heirs and a portion of the library now belongs to the library of his son, Makta- bat ‘Alī b. Ḥammūd Šaraf al- Dīn (see above)	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 304–354; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 4
Kawkabān	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Karīm Šaraf al-Dīn		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2

Namāra	Maktabat Madrasat Namāra		“Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991 p. 252 no. 1652
Rāziḥ	Maktabat Sālim Maṣṣūr Bādī	Destroyed? Hollenberg & Regourd, “Manuscript Destruction,” 2016, p. 167	
Rāziḥ	Maktabat ‘Alī Ṣāliḥ al-Rāziḥī	Destroyed? Hollenberg & Regourd, “Manuscript Destruction,” 2016, p. 167	
Rāziḥ	Markaz Zayd b. ‘Alī	Destroyed? Hollenberg & Regourd, “Manuscript Destruction,” 2016, p. 168	
Ṣa‘da	Maktabat Āl al-‘Antārī		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 659–660
Ṣa‘da	Maktabat Āl al-Ḍaw’		al-Waḡīḥ, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 279–289
Ṣa‘da	Maktabat Āl al-Hāšimī/Maktabat Bayt Hāšimī (Maktabat Ṣalāḥ al-Hāšimī wa-Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Hāšimī)		al-Waḡīḥ, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 322–415; Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 660–661; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 250 no. 1631; al-Aškawārī, <i>Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ‘aksī</i> , 1377–1387/1998–2008, vol. 7, pp. 120–121 no. 2528, p. 124 no. 2531; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 12
Ṣa‘da	Maktabat Āl Suhayl		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 660
Ṣa‘da	Maktabat al-Madrasa al-‘ilmiyya (Maktabat Ġāmi‘ al-Imām al-Hādī)		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 661; al-Waḡīḥ, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 429–514; al-‘Izzī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1425/2004; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249 no. 1630
Ṣa‘da	Maktabat al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Fiṣī		al-Waḡīḥ, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 151–158
Ṣa‘da	Maktabat Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā Suhayl		al-Waḡīḥ, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 159–161

Şa‘da	Maktabat Mağd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Mu‘ayyadī		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 662; al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 204–271
Şa‘da	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Aḥsan al-Mutamayyiz		al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 162–174
Şa‘da	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Qāsim al-Ḥūtī		al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 189–203
Şa‘da	Maktabat Muḥammad Ḥūriyya		Sayyid, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaşr,” 2010, no. 15
Şa‘da	Maktabat Şalāḥ b. Aḥsan Nūr al-Dīn		al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 558–577
Şa‘da	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh rāwiyat al-Damārī		al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 515–540
Şahāra	Maktabat ‘Alī b. Muḥsin al-Ānisī		al-Wağīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Şahāra”
Şahāra	Maktabat Ğami‘ al-Madān bi-al-Ahnūm		al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 403–412
Şahāra	Maktabat Ğami‘ Madīnat Şahāra		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 671; al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 593–623; al-Wağīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Şahāra”
Şahāra	Maktabat Şaraf b. Qāsim al-Wağīh		al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 649–660; al-Wağīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Şahāra”
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥūtī		al-Wağīh, <i>Maşādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 557–592

Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Šamāhī		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 38
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh b. Ismā‘īl Ġamḍān		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 670–671; al-Ḥibšī, <i>Fihris</i> , 1994, pp. 6–32
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī		Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 252 no. 1648; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 41
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Ġamḍān	Collection has been donated to Sanaa University Library (see al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994)	al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 663–664, 669; al-Ḥibšī, <i>Fihris</i> , 1994, pp. 245–305
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn al-Maḥbašī al-Šahārī (Maktabat Āl al-Maḥbašī)	YMDP; images available through vHMML	al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šahāra”
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad al-‘Ansī		Ḥā’irī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1369–1370/[1990–1991], vol. 2, pp. 288–289 no. 812
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Mutawakkil		al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šahāra”
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-Marwanī		al-Waḡīh, <i>Mašādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 541–555
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Qādir Šaraf al-Dīn	YMDP; images available through vHMML	Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Mašādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 10

Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abbās al-Waḡīh	Part of Maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abbās al-Waḡīh (Sanaa)	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 313–321
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥusayn al-Šāmī		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432 (“min al-kutub al-muṣādara”); <i>Qā’ima</i> , 1967, pp. 14 no. 132, 29 no. 258, 31 no. 279, 54 no. 453; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 7
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Salām ‘Abbās al-Waḡīh		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 169–185
Sanaa	Maktabat Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Mutawakkil		al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šahara”
Sanaa	Maktabat Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Nūr al-Dīn al-Ānisī		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 661–676
Sanaa	Maktabat Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Zabāra		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 37
Sanaa	Maktabat Aḥmad Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī	YMDP; images available through vHMML	
Sanaa	Maktabat Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zabāra	The holdings of the library were divided between Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zabāra's heirs	“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, pp. 56–57; Sīzkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 252 no. 1650; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010
Sanaa	Maktabat Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Dawla		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 662–663
Sanaa	Maktabat Āl al-Wazīr (Maktabat Bayt al-Wazīr)		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 663; al-Ḥibšī, <i>Fihris</i> , 1994, pp. 33–68; Sīzkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 251 no. 1635

Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Alī b. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Waḡīh	Held by the heirs of the library's founder	al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Ṣahāra”
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Abū al-Riḡāl		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 46
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm		al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 664; al-Ḥibšī, <i>Fihris</i> , 1994, pp. 69–141
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955 p. 213; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 5
Sanaa	Maktabat ‘Alī b. Qāsim al-Šāmī		al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 670
Sanaa	Maktabat al-Awqāf (al-Maktaba al-šarqiyya)		al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 665–667; al-Ḥaḡarī, <i>Fihrist</i> , [1900?]; Nāmī, <i>Ba‘ta</i> , 1952, pp. 17–37; Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, pp. 194–209; <i>Qā’ima</i> , 1967, passim; “Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī šawwarathā ba‘that al-Ma‘had,” 1976, pp. 4–27; Haddū, “Maḥṭūṭāt min Ḥizānat al-awqāf,” 1980; al-Ruqayhī [et al.], <i>Fihrist</i> , 1404/1984; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, pp. 250–251 nos. 1637–1640; Bābulī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1387–1388/2008–2009, vol. 3, pp. 32–35 no. 1010
Sanaa	Maktabat Banī al-Wazīr	Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, Sanaa	“Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 100
Sanaa	Maktabat Bayt al-‘Amrī		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 213; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 3
Sanaa	Maktabat Bayt al-Ġarāfi (Āl al-Ġarāfi)		Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 8



Sanaa	Maktabat Ğami‘ al-Rawḍa		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, pp. 57–58; Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 211; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 251 no. 1641
Sanaa	al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya (Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt)		‘Inān, “Ba‘ḍ al-maḥṭūṭāt,” 1399/1979; “Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, pp. 28–51; al-‘Īsawī & al-Maliḥ, <i>Fihris</i> , 1978; al-‘Īsawī [et al.], <i>Fihris</i> , 1426/2005; al-Mašriqī & al-Qāḍī, <i>Ṭāwūs yamānī</i> , 1421/2001; Ḥā’irī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1369–1370/[1990–1991], vol. 2, pp. 311–312 no. 834, pp. 316–18 nos. 840, 841, pp. 351–353 nos. 873–875; Bābulī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1387–1388/2008–2009, vol. 3, pp. 52–54 no. 1020, pp. 201–203 no. 1100, p. 503 no. 1216; vol. 4, pp. 128–129 no. 1362; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 251 no. 1642
Sanaa	Maktabat Ḥasan ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Miḍwāḥī	YMDP; images available through vHMML	
Sanaa	Maktabat Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Siyāġī	Status uncertain; see Thiele, “Causalité,” 2012, pp. 293–294. According to Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 9, the holdings of the library were possibly donated to Maktabat al-Awqāf in Sanaa	Nāmī, <i>Ba‘ta</i> , 1952, p. 42; <i>Qā’ima</i> , 1967, pp. 7 no. 63, 9 no. 79, 17 no. 155b, 22 no. 195, 27 no. 249, 28 no. 250, 31 no. 276, 40–41 nos. 347, 348, 42–43 no. 354, 45 no. 375, 48 no. 407 (“Maktabat al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Siyāġī bi-Ṣan‘ā”), 50 no. 418, 52 no. 442, 53 no. 450; Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 9

Sanaa	Maktabat Ibrāhīm b. al-Imām Yaḥyā	Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, Sanaa	“Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 100
Sanaa	Maktabat al-Imām Yaḥyā	Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, Sanaa	Nāmī, <i>Baʿta</i> , 1952, pp. 37–39; Sa-yyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, pp. 209–211; <i>Qāʾima</i> , 1967, pp. 2 no. 18, 3 no. 27, 4 no. 34, 8 nos. 74, 75, 12 no. 108, 16 no. 149, 22 no. 203, 23–24 no. 251, 25 nos. 225, 230, 26 no. 239, 28 nos. 253, 254, 29 no. 263, 44 no. 368, 52 no. 441; al-Maḡribī, “Maḥṭūṭāt,” 1953
Sanaa	Muʾassasat al-Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī al-ṭaqāfiyya (founded in 1994)		Unpublished .xls file with basic metadata, arranged according to CD numbers, and number of items on each CD. The whereabouts of the original codices are not recorded
Sanaa	Maktabat Ismāʿīl al-Akwaʿ (Maktabat al-Akwaʿ)		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿtat al-Maʿhad,” 1976, p. 52; Siz-kīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 252 no. 1647; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 22
Sanaa	Maktabat Luṭf Muḥammad al-Ḥaymī		<i>Qāʾima</i> , 1967, p. 24 no. 219
Sanaa	Maktabat al-ʿIzz al-Šarafī	Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, Sanaa	<i>Qāʾima</i> , 1967, pp. 11 no. 106 (“al-kutub al-muṣādara min Maktabat al-ʿIzz al-Šarafī bi-Šanʿā”), p. 49 no. 417 (“Maktabat al-ʿIzz al-Šarafī bi-Šanʿā”)
Sanaa	Maktabat Markaz Badr al-ʿilmī		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 251–257
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās al-Waḡīh	Original holdings (ca. 400 manuscripts) were divided among the heirs after Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās al-Waḡīh’s demise, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās al-Waḡīh and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās al-Waḡīh al-Mutawakkil	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 42, 157–168; al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šahāra”

Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥāliq al-Amīr		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 40
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ribā‘ī		Nāmī, <i>Ba‘ta</i> , 1952, p. 41; <i>Qā’ima</i> , 1967, p. 3 no. 25; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 42
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad ‘Abduh Ġānim		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 47
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad al-Badrī		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 48
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad al-Bar‘ī		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 50
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad al-Dāriḥī		al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 667–668
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad Ismā‘īl al-Ḥaġġī		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 25
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Kibṣī	The library was transferred from Ṣahāra to Sanaa after the death of its founder in 1962, unto the premises of Yahyā b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mutawakkil (d. 2010). Images available through YMDI at <a href="http://pudl.princeton.edu/collections/pudl0079">http://pudl.princeton.edu/collections/pudl0079</a>	al-Mu‘ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, pp. 668–669; al-Waġīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 186–250; al-Waġīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Ṣahāra”

Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr		al-Ḥibṣī, “Al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fi Maktabat al-ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Manṣūr,” 1398/1978; al-Ḥibṣī, <i>Fihris</i> , 1994, pp. 360–415; Nāmī, <i>Baʿta</i> , 1952, p. 41; <i>Qāʿima</i> , 1967, pp. 4 no. 37, 5 no. 43, 22 no. 200, 49 no. 410; “Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā baʿtat al-Maʿhad,” 1976, pp. 53–55; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; Bābulī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1387–1388/2008–2009, vol. 4, pp. 262–263 no. 1433 [“Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Muṭahhar al-Manṣūr al-Šahārī al-Šanʿānī”]; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 252 no. 1649; al-Aškawārī, <i>Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ʿaksī</i> , 1377–1387/1998–2008, vol. 4, pp. 257–258 no. 1414; vol. 5, p. 431 no. 1977; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 19; Schmidtke, “Intricacies of Capturing the Holdings,” forthcoming.
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra	The library was inherited by Muḥammad Zabāra’s son, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zabāra (see above)	al-Ḥibṣī, “Maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Muʿarriḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra bi-Šanʿā,” 1394/1974; Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; al-Ḥibṣī, <i>Fihris</i> , 1994, pp. 190–244; Ḥāʾirī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1369-1370/[1990–1991], vol. 1, pp. 191–192 no. 209; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 252 no. 1651; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 6
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥsin b. Muḥammad al-ʿIzzī	YMDI; images available through <a href="http://pudl.princeton.edu/collections/pudl0079">http://pudl.princeton.edu/collections/pudl0079</a> Contains also the books that were in the possession of his father, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-ʿIzzī al-Mutawakkil	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 547–557; al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šahāra”

Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Waḡīh	The holdings are now kept by the library founder's son, 'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Waḡīh	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 625–647; al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Ṣahāra”
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad al-Sārī		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 49
Sanaa	Maktabat Muḥammad al-Šarafī		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 50
Sanaa	Maktabat al-Murtaḍā b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uṭmān al-Wazīr		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 355–402
Sanaa	Maktabat Nadīm b. Muḥammad b. Šālīh 'Abbādī		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 413–428
Sanaa	Maktabat Qāsim b. 'Alī Ḥusayn al-Mutawakkil		al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Ṣahāra”.
Sanaa	Maktabat Qubbat Ṭalḥa (Maktabat al-Imām al-Mahdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad/Maktabat Qubbat al-Mahdī)	Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, Sanaa	Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 212; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; “Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had,” 1976, pp. 51–52; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 251 no. 1646
Sanaa	Maktabat Šafi al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Siyāḡī		Nāmī, <i>Ba'ta</i> , 1952, pp. 40–41; <i>Qā'ima</i> , 1967, p. 50 no. 425
Sanaa	Sanaa University Library		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 26 (catalogue announced as forthcoming)
Sanaa	Maktabat Šaraf Aḥmad Qāsim al-Mutawakkil	YMDP; images available through vHMML	

Sanaa	“Maktabat Sayf al-Islām ‘Abd Allāh [wazīr al-ḥāriḡiyya]”	Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, Sanaa	<i>Qā’ima</i> , 1967, pp. 35 no. 315, 45 no. 371, 48 no. 399
Sanaa	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. ‘Abbās ‘Amir		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 258–261
Sanaa	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Dāriḥī	The holdings of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Dāriḥī’s (1914–1975) library are now part of the library of his son, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 113–128
Sanaa	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Daylamī	YMDP; images available through vHMML	
Sanaa	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās al-Mutawakkil	The holdings of the library were transferred from Šahāra to Sanaa shortly before the revolution. Most of its books have been stolen in the meantime	al-Mu’ayyad, “Yemen,” 1994, p. 669; al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 129–155; al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šahāra”
Sanaa	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-Mutawakkil		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, pp. 262–278; al-Waḡīh, “Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šahāra”
Sanaa	Maktabat Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Iryānī	The holdings of the library were divided between his heirs, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Iryānī and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Iryānī	Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 11
Ta‘izz	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn al-Mutawakkil (Maktabat al-Mutawakkil)		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, pp. 76–77; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249 no. 1623; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 31

Ta'izz	Maktabat Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Muḡāhid (Maktabat Ḥākīm Ta'izz/Maktabat al-Muḡāhid al-ḥāṣṣa / Maktabat al-Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Muḡāhid)		"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had," 1976, p. 76; Sayyid, "Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman," 1375/1955, p. 213; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 248 no. 1620; Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," 2010, no. 2
Ta'izz	Maktabat Ğami' al-Muzaḥḥar (Maktabat Maṣḡid al-Malik al-Muzaḥḥar)		"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had," 1976, pp. 64–66; Sayyid, "Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman," 1375/1955, p. 211; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432, "Taqrīr," 1976, p. 101; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 248 no. 1617
Ta'izz	Mu'assasat Hā'il Sa'īd/Maktabat al-Sa'īd al-'āmma (founded in 1996)		Regourd, "L'inventaire du fonds manuscrit," 2009
Ta'izz	Maktabat Ibrāhīm b. 'Aqīl ('Uqayl)		"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had," p. 75; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , p. 248 no. 1619; Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," no. 30
Ta'izz	Maktabat Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa' (Maktabat al-Akwa')		"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had," 1976, pp. 66–79; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 248 no. 1618; Ḥā'irī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1369–1370/[1990–1991], vol. 1, pp. 96–7 no. 93 ["Kitābhāna-yi Qādī Muḥammad 'Alī al-Akwa' al-Ṣan'ānī"], p. 111 no. 112; Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," 2010, no. 28



Ta'izz	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal (Maktabat Bayt al-Ahdal)		"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had," 1976, p. 81; Sayyid, "Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman," 1375/1955, p. 212; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; "Taqrīr," 1976, p. 101; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 250 no. 1633; Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," 2010, nos. 1, 36
Ta'izz	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Muṭahhar		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 2, pp. 272–303; al-Waḡīh, "Maḥṭūṭāt Madīnat Šahāra"
Ta'izz	Maktabat Mušarraf (Šaraf) b. 'Abd al-Karīm		"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had," 1976, pp. 70–74; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 249 nos. 1621, 1622; Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," 2010, no. 29
Ta'izz	al-Maḥḥaf al-waṭānī li-al-ātār	Destroyed; Hollenberg & Regourd, "Manuscript Destruction," 2016, p. 171	"Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba'tat al-Ma'had," 1976, p. 66; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 248 no. 1616
Tarīm	Maktabat Yaḥyā al-Dārī		Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," 2010, no. 14
Tarīm	Maktabat al-aḥqāf (founded in 1972)		al-'Aydārūs & Ibn Šihāb, <i>Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī</i> , 1383/[2004]; al-'Aydārūs et al., <i>Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt</i> , 1430/1388/2009; al-Aškawārī, <i>Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi 'aksī</i> , 1377–1387/1998–2008, vol. 1, p. 432; van der Boogert, "Manuscript Library," 1994
Tihāma	Maktabat Qāsim al-Ahdal		Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," 2010, no. 13
'Utma	Maktabat Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Samāwī		Qāsim, "Ḥaṣr," 2010, no. 39

Zabīd	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Inbārī (Maktabat Bayt al-Inbārī)		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, pp. 79–80; Sayyid, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yaman,” 1375/1955, p. 214; Sayyid, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1974, pp. 431–432; “Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 250, no. 1634; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, nos 16, 34
Zabīd	Maktabat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 4.
Zabīd	Maktabat Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, pp. 76–78; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 250 no. 1632; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 32
Zabīd	Maktabat Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sālīmī		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, p. 79; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 250 no. 1636; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 33
Zabīd	Maktabat Aḥmad Nāṣir		Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 43
Zabīd	Maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Ġuzzī		“Al-maḥṭūṭāt allatī ṣawwarathā ba‘tat al-Ma‘had,” 1976, p. 80; Sizkīn, <i>Tārīḥ</i> , 1411/1991, p. 250 no. 1635; Qāsim, “Ḥaṣr,” 2010, no. 35
	Maktabat Āl al-Na‘mī		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 27 (catalogue announced as forthcoming)
	Maktabat Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā ‘Amir		al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 27 (catalogue announced as forthcoming)
	Maktabat Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Kuḥlānī		Ḥā’irī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1369–1370/[1990–1991], vol. 2, pp. 341–342 no. 863
	Maktabat ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sirrāḡī		Ḥā’irī, <i>Fihrist</i> , 1369–1370/[1990–1991], vol. 2, pp. 364–365 no. 885
	Maktabat Maṣḡid al-Nahrayn	Holdings transferred to the Maktaba al-ṣarqiyya, Sanaa	“Taqrīr,” 1976, p. 101

	Maktabat Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Mūsā	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	Maktabat al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Mūsā	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	“ba‘ḍ maktabāt li-quḍāt Āl al-Ġašm”	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	Maktabat al-Qāḍī Ḥasan al-‘Ayzarī	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	Maktabat al-Qāḍī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	Maktabat Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad Zabāra	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	Maktabat Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. Muḡl al-Ġarbānī	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	Maktabat al-Qāḍī ‘Alī al-Ġuṣaynī	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	Maktabat Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarafī	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	Maktabat Ishāq b. Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	“ba‘ḍ maktabāt li-Āl al-Mutawakkil”	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36
	“ba‘ḍ al-maktabāt Āl al-Ḥilālī”	Destroyed in 1982 earthquake	al-Waḡīh, <i>Maṣādir</i> , 1422/2002, vol. 1, p. 36

	Maktabat Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Ḥūtī		
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## Appendix 2

Request Rudolf Strothmann to the Austrian National Library for Information on the Glaser Collection (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, shelf mark: 48/1912, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/DZ00016520>)

### K.k. Hofbibliothek Z. 555, Präsentiert am 5. IV 1911

Bitte des Oberlehrers und Pastors Strothmann um Auskunft über die von einem hohen k.k. Ministerium angekauften arabischen Handschriften

An ein hohes k.k. Unterrichts-Ministerium zu Wien.

Pforta, den 5. März 1911

Einem hohen k.k. Unterrichts-Ministerium gestattet sich der Unterfertigte eine Bitte vorzutragen.

Ich habe die Bearbeitung der “Literatur der Zaiditen” übernommen auf Grund der arabischen Handschriften, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten von Jemen nach Europa gebracht sind. Es handelt sich um folgende Sammlungen:

1. Sml. Graf Landberg in Rijks Bibliothek zu Leiden;
2. Sml. Dr. Ed. Glaser a) in Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, b) in British Museum zu London, c) k.k. Hofbibl. zu Wien,
3. Sml. G. Caprotti, a) kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibl. München, b) Biblioteca Ambrosiana zu Mailand c) Privatbibl. Caprotti Griffini zu Mailand.

Meine Arbeit ging von dem unter 2a) genannten Material aus. Doch war ich bei der Zerstreuung der Manuskripte auch auf die gütige Unterstützung der anderen Bibliotheken angewiesen. Ich fand sie reichlich in Leiden, London, München und an den beiden Mailänder Stellen. Leider habe ich trotz wiederholter Gesuche keine näheren Auskünfte von der k. k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien erlangen können. So habe ich mich entschliessen müssen, die (hier in Anl. 2 u. 3) beigelegten Skizzen,<sup>137</sup> die die Einleitung meiner Studien darstellen, zu veröffentlichen, ohne eine Übersicht über das ganze derzeit vorhandene Material zu haben. Und auch meine erste grössere Abhandlung “Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen” habe ich im Manuskript abschliessen müssen mit der Unsicherheit, ob die Lücken, welche selbst nach der Heranziehung der

<sup>137</sup> R. Strothmann, “Die Literatur der Zaiditen” 1910, pp. 354–368; 1911, pp. 49–78.

bei weitem reichsten und jüngsten Sammlung, die der Ambrosiana geblieben ist, nicht noch nach dem Wiener Bestande, der einste vor siebzehn Jahren auf dem Orientalistenkongress so überaus gerühmt wurde, ausgefüllt werden könnten. Da ich nun nach Anl. I. S. 36 oben annehmen darf, dass ein hohes k. k. Unterrichtsministerium über ein genaues Verzeichnis der Handschriften verfügt, so gestatte ich mir die ehrerbietige Bitte:

“Hohes K. K. Ministerium wolle mir gütigst die Einsicht in die Nummern über ‘Zaiditisches Recht’ (Anl. I. 39 Abs. 8–40 oben) und die “Dogmatik der Sektirer” (S. 41 oben) vermitteln oder geneigte Auskunft erteilen ob folgende Autoren in der Sammlung vertreten sind:

1. Zaid b. ‘Alī (gest. 122/740) etwa mit einem maǧmū‘ al-fiqh
2. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh an Nafsazzakīja (gest. 145/762) kitāb as sijar
3. An Naṣīrlil hagg al Hasan b. ‘Alī al Uṭrūš (gest. 304/916) irgendein Werk
4. Ad Dā‘ī al Ḥasan b. Zaid b. Muḥammad (gest. 250/864) irgendein Werk

Ein hohes k. k. Ministerium ehrerbietigster Rudolf Strothmann m. p.

Oberlehrer u. Pastor an der kgl. Landesschule Pforta

K. Naumberg s/S. Deutschland

**K.k. Hofbibliothek Z. 555 ad, Präsentiert am 5. IV 1911**

An Sr. k. u. k. Apost. Majestät

Oberstkämmereramt

Wien, am 3. April 1911

Das k. k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht hat an S<sup>c</sup>. k. u. k. Apost. Majestät Oberkämmereramt ein Gesuch des Oberlehrers und Pastors R. Strothmann übermittelt, in welchem sich dieser über den Mangel an Entgegenkommen seitens der k. k. Hofbibliothek bei der Abfassung seiner Arbeit “Die Literatur der Zaiditen”<sup>[138]</sup> beschwert, eine Arbeit, zu welcher er auch die seinerzeit vom k. k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht angekauften und der k. k. Hofbibliothek überlassenen arabischen Handschriften aus der Sammlung E. Glaser benötigte.

S<sup>c</sup>. k. u. k. Apost. Majestät Oberkämmereramt hat mit Erlaß vom 30. März d. J. Z. 1001 die unterzeichnete Direktion zur Äußerung in dieser Angelegenheit aufgefordert und die unterzeichnete Direktion beehrt sich nun folgendes zu berichten:

Das an die k. k. Hofbibliothek gestellte Ansuchen des Oberlehrers und Pastors R. Strothmann um Auskunft über den hiesigen Bestand an [z]aiditischen Handschriften (aus der Sammlung E. Glaser) wurde zunächst mit dem Hinweise auf eine in den

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<sup>138</sup> R. Strothmann, “Die Literatur der Zaiditen,” 1910, pp. 354–368; 1911, pp. 49–78.

“Actes du X. Congrès des Orientalistes 1894” enthaltene kurze Beschreibung der wichtigsten im Besitze der k. k. Hofbibliothek befindlichen Handschriften (Sammlung E. Glaser) beantwortet.<sup>[139]</sup> Diese Beschreibung ist ein Auszug des vollständigen von Universitätsprofessor Grünert seinerzeit im Auftrage des k. k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht verfaßten Kataloges, der sich nur handschriftlich in der k. k. Hofbibliothek befindet. Da diese kurze Beschreibung Herrn Strothmann nicht genügte, ersuchte er um Übermittlung einer vollständigen Liste der hiesigen [z]aiditischen Handschriften und die Identifizierung von mehr als 40 in den Bibliotheken zu Berlin, London und Leiden vorhandenen anderen zaiditischen Handschriften mit denen im Besitze der k. k. Hofbibliothek befindlichen. Da ein solches Ansuchen den Rahmen der Auskünfte, welche von Bibliotheken an Gelehrte gewöhnlich erteilt werden, weit überschreitet und seine Beamten auf unverantwortliche Weise auf längere Zeit dem regulären Dienste entziehen müsste, konnte die unterzeichnete Direktion ein derartiges Ansinnen und die Ausnützung fremder Kräfte für Privatzwecke nicht billigen. Zu dem kommt noch, daß der obenerwähnte von Prof. Grünert verfasste Katalog der Glaser’schen Sammlung nur nach Materien geordnet ist, weshalb beim Fehlen eines Verfasser- und Titelindeces eine Arbeit in dem von Herrn Strothmann gewünschten Ausmaße sehr erschwert wird.

Um diesem Übelstande abzuhelfen und Herrn Strothmann eventuell einigermaßen entgegenkommen zu können, hat die u. D. die sofortige Indizierung des Glaser’schen Handschriftenbestandes angeordnet, die soeben in Durchführung begriffen ist. Selbstverständlich würde Herr Strothmann, wenn er, wie andere Gelehrte in solchen Fällen, seine Nachforschung persönlich hier vornehmen wollte, des weitestgehenden Entgegenkommens sicher sein.

Zum Schluß gestattet sich die unterzeichnete Direktion auf den gewiß bezeichnenden Umstand hinzuweisen, daß Herr Strothmann sofort nach Empfang unseres bibliographischen Hinweises und der in freundlichster Weise gegebenen Versicherung größten Entgegenkommens bei persönlichen Forschungen folgenden Passus zu veröffentlichen angemessen hielt (Der Islam. Zeitsch. für Geschichte u. Kultur des islam. Orients, Bd. I, S. 357): “Dagegen ist es mir bislang nicht gelungen, von Wien nähere Auskunft zu erhalten über das Fehlen oder Vorhandensein wichtiger Werke.”

Der k. u. k. Hofrat und Direktor der k. k. Hofbibliothek: Karabacek<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup> M. Grünert, “Über Ed. Glaser’s jüngste arabische Handschriften-Sammlung,” 1897, pp. 35–43.

<sup>140</sup> Josef Ritter von Karabaček (1845–1918) served as Director of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna from 1889 through 1917. See <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz39805.html> (with further references).

**K. k. Hofbibliothek Z. 48, Präsentiert am 23. I. 1912**

Sr. Hochwohlgeboren Herrn Dr. Max Grünert  
o.ö. Universitätsprofessor  
Prag  
Deutsche Universität

Wien, am 22. Januar 1912

Die k. k. Hofbibliothek besitzt einen handschriftlichen Katalog über die in ihrem Besitze befindliche Glaser'sche Sammlung von arab. Handschriften, die Euer Hochwohlgeboren seinerzeit im Auftrage des k. k. Unterrichtsministeriums abgefasst haben. Da der seinerzeit nach Materien geordnete Katalog keinen Autoren- u. TitelindeX hat, sah sich die unterzeichnete Direktion veranlaßt, einen solchen herstellen zu lassen, um die verschiedenen Anfragen von Gelehrten und Bibliotheken über in der erwähnten Sammlung enthaltenen Handschriften ohne viel Zeitverlust beantworten zu können. Dieser Index ist nun fertig und die unterzeichnete Direktion beabsichtigt denselben zu veröffentlichen, um auch den übrigen Bibliotheken ein bibliographisches Hilfsmittel an die Hand zu geben, sich erforderlichenfalls über die in unserer Glaser'schen Sammlung enthaltenen Handschriften informieren zu können. Da der erwähnte Index streng auf Grundlage des von Eurer Hochwohlgeboren verfaßten Kataloges verfaßt wurde—eine eingehende Beschreibung und Durchsicht der erwähnten Handschriften muß einem spätere[n] Zeitpunkte vorbehalten werden—, beehrt sich die unterzeichnete Direktion Euer Hochwohlgeboren um die Zustimmung zu der beabsichtigten Publikation zu ersuchen.

Der k. u. k. Hofrat u. Direktor der k. k. Hofbibliothek: Karabacek

**K. k. Hofbibliothek Z. 48, Präsentiert am 26. I. 1912**

Hochverehrter Herr Hofrat!

Gerne gebe ich meine Zustimmung zur Publikation des Autoren- und TitelindeX zu der Glaser'schen Sammlung von arab. Mss.

Auch würde es mich freuen, wenn recht bald eine eingehende Beschreibung und Durchsicht der erwähnten Mss. stattfinden würde.

Viele und herzliche Grüsse!

Max Grünert  
Prag 25. I. 1912