

## *Shii Treasures in North American and European Libraries*



### **A Zaydī Multitext Manuscript from the Glaser Collection (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin): MS Glaser 37**

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#### **Abstract**

This communication provides an expanded description of the contents of a Yemeni codex from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Glaser 37. It discusses the dating of the codex and some of the unique texts preserved in it.

#### **Keywords**

Zaydism – manuscript – codex – Glaser collection (Berlin)

The manuscripts of the Glaser collection are one of the most important sources for the study of Zaydism. Collected in Yemen by Eduard Glaser (1855-1908), they are currently held in several European libraries, including the British Library, the Austrian National Library, and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm Ahlwardt was the first to describe the manuscripts of the Glaser

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<sup>1</sup> Hollenberg, Rauch, Schmidtke, "Introduction", in eidem (eds.), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 2f.; Schmidtke, "The History of Zaydī Studies," p. 187.

collection at Staatsbibliothek.<sup>2</sup> In 1887 he wrote that the collection belonged to an insular and highly developed tradition, of which even the Muslim bibliographers (Ḥājji Khalīfa, for instance) were unaware.<sup>3</sup> Not all manuscripts in the collection are composed by Yemeni Zaydis or even by Yemeni authors—some of them were categorized by W. Ahlwardt as “allgemeine Litteratur.”<sup>4</sup> The manuscripts in the Glaser collection cover a variety of topics—*ḥadīth*, philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetry, history, theology and law.<sup>5</sup> Most manuscripts in the collection have been dated by W. Ahlwardt to the eighth through tenth century AH (fifteenth through seventeenth century AD), but many lack colophons, which makes precise dating problematic.

MS Berlin, Glaser 37,<sup>6</sup> a codex from this collection owned by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, is an interesting case. First, it is a compilation of texts whose dates of composition span eleven centuries, composed by an impressive range of authors, not all of whom were Yemenis or Zaydis. Second, it apparently underwent considerable transformations before it reached its current state. A study of the compilation process might offer insights into the intellectual life of Yemeni scholars. Finally, although Ahlwardt’s description of the manuscript is detailed, it is far from complete and some texts contained in the codex that could be of interest to scholars of Zaydism have so far remained understudied.

The codex contains several large texts and a poetic compilation. It begins with two chronicles, *Kitāb al-Ifāda fī tārikh al-a’imma al-sāda* and *Tatimmat Kitāb al-Ifāda*, that together complete a history of Zaydi imams from ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib to al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Ismā‘īl (d. 1087/1676). The manuscript also incorporates *Sarḥ al-Uyūn fī sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn*, a commentary on *al-Risāla al-Hazaliyya* of the Andalusī poet Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1071) composed by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (d. 768/1367). The rest of the codex contains large parts of Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī’s (d. 357/968) *dīwān*, and a compilation of poetry. In all, the manuscript contains works of 54 authors.

Since MS Glaser 37 is a multitext volume, one should analyze how it was assembled. Such an analysis can be conducted on the basis of colophons, statements and certificates contained in the manuscript, as well as the manuscript’s physical characteristics. Although the present author was unable to access

<sup>2</sup> Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, p. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, p. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, p. v.

<sup>5</sup> Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, pp. vii.

<sup>6</sup> The manuscript has been digitized and is available as part of the digital collection of the Berlin Library at <https://goo.gl/eJXv3Q> [consulted November 28, 2016].

the physical copy of the manuscript, the high-quality digital version made it possible to assess some aspects of the layout of the manuscript.

Two texts in the compilation have colophons. The colophon of the commentary of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī on the *Risāla* of Ibn Zaidūn gives the date of 17 Rabīʿ II 1134/1722.<sup>7</sup> At the end of an excerpt from one of al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad al-Jurmūzī's (d. 1077/1666) works, another relevant colophon can be found—the year it gives is 1133/1721, the date when the copy of the text was completed.<sup>8</sup>

Abundant ownership statements, located in various parts of the manuscript, are just as useful for dating the manuscript. The first statement only gives the name of the owner—al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ishāq.<sup>9</sup> A second ownership statement was added by Wajīh al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ānīsī in 1267/1851.<sup>10</sup> It is probable that he is the same person who signed his name as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Ānīsī,<sup>11</sup> and that he is the Yemeni scholar and poet born in 1167/1754 and mentioned in al-Shawkānī.<sup>12</sup> Another ownership statement gives the date Monday 8 Dhū l-qaʿda 1300/1883.<sup>13</sup> This makes 1267/1851 the earliest date in an ownership statement. However, there are even earlier certificates in the manuscript. It is likely that the ownership statements were added to the codex when it reached its current state, whereas other notes and remarks, often of earlier dates, are witnesses of a time when it was not yet assembled completely.

7 MS Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 223a: “Tammat hādhihi l-risāla wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh wa-dhālika [ṣaḥḥ] yawm [...] 17 min shahr rabīʿ al-ākhirā sanat 1134”. See also below, fig. 9.

8 MS Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 230a: “Intahā dhalika fī shahr rabīʿ al-awwal sanat 1133”. See below, fig. 10.

9 MS Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 48a: “Fī mulk faqīr raḥimahu llāh al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ishāq laṭāfa Allāh bihi”. See below, fig. 1.

10 MS Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 115a: “Šārat hādhihi l-majmūʿa bi-mulk al-ḥaqīr ilā raḥmat Allāh al-qāḍī al-ʿallāma Wajīh al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ānīsī bi tārikh shahr rajab sanat 1267”. See below, fig. 5.

11 MS Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 176b: “Kātibuhu ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Ānīsī...”. See below, fig. 8.

12 Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālīʿ*, vol. 1, pp. 340–52.

13 MS Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 130b: “Wa baʿd ḥamd Allāh ḥaqq ḥamdihī wa-ṣalātihi wa-salāmihi ʿalā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣuḥbatihī wa-sallam wa-baʿd fa annahu [...] yawm al-ithnayn fī thamāniyat ayyām shahr [dhi] l-qaʿda sanat 1300 waqaʿa ḥumra fī jihat al-sharq [...] ilā l-qibla wa-waqaʿa thalāth ayyām 8 wa 9 wa 10 [...]”. See also below, fig. 6. The statement discusses a natural phenomenon—*ḥumra*, a red sky. Interestingly, this phenomenon is also mentioned in the text of *Tatimmat al-Ifāda*. According to the text, this phenomenon occurred in the times of Imam Abū Ṭālib *al-akhīr* in Daylam (f. 53b). See below, fig. 2.

This could be the case for folio 176 (see below, fig. 7 and 8), which was used by the owners of the codex to write down birth and death certificates. It includes several groups of statements. The first three statements on the right margin of the page are dated 20 Ramaḍān 1076/1666, Rajab 1079/1668, and Shaʿbān 1081/1670; all three mark the birth of a girl.<sup>14</sup> A later statement in a different hand on the top of the page marks the birth of Maryam in the middle of Rajab 1090/1679.<sup>15</sup> There is also a remark on this folio that in the year 1139/1727 Imam al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn died, after having reigned for ten years and ten months.<sup>16</sup> The longest statement on folio 176 (see below fig. 7 and 8) is a birth certificate for an Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Sanḥānī, who was born in Rabīʿ I 1054/1644. It is possible that he later left a remark on the verso of this folio.<sup>17</sup> His *nisba* could mark his relation to ʿAlī b. al-Qāsim al-Sanḥānī, a Yemeni scholar, who lived in the tenth/sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Alternatively, it can simply mean that he was a native of Sanḥān, south of Ṣanʿāʾ.

The physical appearance of the text may be of use to the dating of the first two texts of the codex that lack colophons, *Kitāb al-Ifāda* and *Tatimmat al-Ifāda*. Information for the dating of the texts is provided by the title-page of *Tatimmat al-Ifāda* located on folio 48a (see below, fig. 1), which also serves as a colophon of the preceding *Kitāb al-Ifāda*. It was probably an intentional decision on the part of the copyist to bring the two texts into such proximity, since they complement each other. The layout of this part of the manuscript is completed in one style, which differs from the style of the rest of the codex: each folio contains 20 lines, and is marked by red borders, and there is also a consistent *riqāba* system. The script in this part of the codex is small and accurate with some characteristic features: the text has *iḥmāl* marks (the *dal* and *ṭā* are marked underneath with a dot, so that the reader does not confuse them with a *dhāl*), and some letters that are written in the text in their connected form are

14 “Wulidat [...] aṣṣaḥāhā Allāh wa aʿādahā min al-shayṭān al-raḥīm yawm al-jumʿa fī l-ʿishrīn min shahr ramaḍān al-karīm min sanat sitt wa-sabʿīn wa alf...”; “wulidat ʿĀmina aṣṣaḥāhā Allāh fī rajab sanat tisʿ wa-sabʿīn wa-alf”; “wa-wulidat [ʿĀliya] aṣṣaḥāhā Allāh taʿālā fī shahr shaʿbān al-karīm sanat iḥdā wa-thamānīn wa-alf”.

15 “Wulidat bintī Maryam aṣṣaḥāhā Allāh taʿālā fī niṣf shahr rajab al-mubārak sanat tisʿīn baʿd alf”.

16 “Tuwuffiya l-imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn raḥimahu llāh yawm al-khamīs 24 shahr ramaḍān sanat 1139 wa-muddat khilāfatihī ʿashr sinīn wa-naḥwā ʿashrat ashhur”.

17 “al-Faqīr ilā rabbihī ʿazz wa-jall Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā ʿafiya allāh ʿanhu”.

18 Al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 776f.

subscribed with their unconnected form. The latter makes a vivid appearance in the *laqab* of Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Ḥimāṭī.<sup>19</sup>

We can conclude that MS Glaser 37 was probably assembled over a period of time, between 1054/1644 (the earliest dated statement in the manuscript) and 1134/1722 (the earliest dated colophon), judging by the information provided in colophons, ownership certificates, various statements made by the readers, and the physical appearance of the manuscript. The earliest version of the codex might have included some parts of the poetic collection, but not the *Tatimmat al-Ifāda*, which, judging by textual evidence, must have been completed after this date, even after 1087/1676, the year when al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Isma‘īl b. al-Qāsim died.<sup>20</sup> It is also possible that when the earliest ownership statement was added (1267/1851), the manuscript had reached its current form. The latest date for the codex as it exists now could be 1267/1851, since this is the earliest dated ownership statement. It is conceivable, judging by the layout, that the two historical texts were copied together, and were combined with the poetic compilation.

From the point of view of content, MS Berlin, Glaser 37 is of potential interest to scholars of Zaydism, since it contains a valuable copy of a history of Zaydi imams. The first of the two historical works, *Kitāb al-Ifāda*, written by the Zaydi imam Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq (d. 424/1033), has been studied and edited repeatedly.<sup>21</sup> This is not the case of its 65-folio-long addition, *Tatimmat Kitāb al-Ifāda*, a work that circulated under various titles.<sup>22</sup> The text as contained in Glaser MS 37, although precisely identified by Ahlwardt, has so far mostly been neglected by scholars working on Zaydism. One of the few studies mentioning *Tatimmat Kitāb al-Ifāda* may have been based on a fragmentary copy of the text—its author presumed that it covered the history of imams only up to al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1171) and that it largely repeated material from *al-Ḥadā’iq al-Wardiyya fi*

19 MS Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 87b. See below, fig. 3. Several other cases of *iḥmāl* in Yemeni manuscripts are discussed in Witkam, “Yemeni Manuscripts,” pp. 340–43.

20 MS Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 109b. See below, fig. 4.

21 One of the first studies of the works of al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq was Madelung, “Zu einigen Werken”. The *Ifāda* has also been used extensively in Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*. Three published editions of the text exist (see bibliography).

22 Most sources give its name as *Tatimmat Kitāb al-Ifāda*, while some refer to it as *Tatimmat al-Ifāda li-Tārīkh al-a‘imma*. E.g., Zabbāra, “al-Mulḥaq,” vol. 2, p. 233; al-Qāsimī, *Maṭla‘ al-aqmār*, p. 65; or as *Dhayl al-Ifāda fi l-a‘imma al-sāda*; e.g. al-Ḥusaynī, *Mu‘allafāt*, vol. 1, p. 500.

*Manāqib a'immat al-Zaydiyya*, a historical work written by Ḥumayd al-Shahīd b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī (d. 652/1254).<sup>23</sup>

Little is known about the author of *Tatimmat Kitāb al-Ifāda*. 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Maḥdī al-Qāsimī al-Ḥabashī<sup>24</sup> (or al-Ḥibshī,<sup>25</sup> or al-Ḥaysī<sup>26</sup>) was a Yemeni Zaydi historian and 'ālim of the eleventh/seventeenth century, a native of Dhamār, an important Zaydi city to the south of Ṣan'ā'. He is mentioned in al-Jurmūzī's biographical work as a legal scholar who lived in the times of Imam al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. Qāsim (d. 1054/1644).<sup>27</sup> Al-Jurmūzī provides no death date, which may indicate that 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā was still alive at the time of its composition.<sup>28</sup> Other sources attest that he was born in 1053/1643 and died after 1104/1693.<sup>29</sup> The *terminus post quem* for his death is indicated by an *ijāza*, issued by 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā for his son, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, in 1104/1693, for the transmission of the text of *al-Shifā' al-awāmm. fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām* by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 663/1265).<sup>30</sup> The continuation of *Kitāb al-Ifāda* is his only known work.<sup>31</sup> It was probably composed between 1087/1676, the year al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Isma'īl b. al-Qāsim, the last imam mentioned in the text of *Tatimmat al-Ifāda*, died, and 1104/1693, the date of the above mentioned *ijāza*.

23 Gochenour, "A Revised Bibliography," p. 311.

24 'Isawī, *Fihris* (1978), p. 651; changed to al-Ḥabashī in the revised 2005 edition of the catalogue, 'Isawī, *Fihris* (2005), vol. 2, p. 1443.

25 Al-Qāsimī, *Maṭla' al-aqmār*, pp. 61-65; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, p. 1142; Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, pp. 251f. There are other versions of how his *laqab* could be read and vocalized (see below).

26 Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, vol. 13, p. 215; Zabbāra, "Mulḥaq," vol. 2, p. 233; al-'Amrī, *al-Mu'arrikhūn*, p. 56; Nuwayhid, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 732. Nuwayhid also explains the origins of the *laqab* as originating from a name of a village, Ḥays, in Yemen. The copyist of MS Berlin, Glaser 37 seems to have read the *laqab* this way as well.

27 Al-Jurmūzī, "Jawhara," p. 351.

28 Al-Jurmūzī, "Jawhara," p. 351.

29 Al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 1142f.; Brockelman (GALS, vol. 2, p. 551) incorrectly dates his death to 1087/1676, probably based on the periodization of the text of *Tatimmat al-Ifāda*.

30 Zabbāra, "Mulḥaq," 234; al-Qāsimī, *Maṭla' al-aqmār*, p. 67. This book is also mentioned in the text of *Tatimmat al-Ifāda*, MS Glaser 37, f. 53a. al-Qāsimī, *Maṭla' al-aqmār*, 66; al-Baghdādī suggests 1100/1689 as a death date; cf. al-Baghdādī. *Hadīyyat al-'arīfīn*, vol. 2, p. 533.

31 Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, vol. 13, p. 215; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, pp. 1142f.

**Appendix: Table of Contents for the *Tatimmat al-Ifāda*, Contained in MS Glaser 37**

1. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī al-‘Ayyānī (d. 393/1003)—f. 48b–49a
2. al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-‘Ayyānī (d. 404/1014)—f. 49a–50a
3. al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 410/1020)—f. 50a–51b
4. al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033)—f. 51b–52b
  - a. ‘Alī b. Ja‘far al-Ḥuqaynī (d. 490/1097)—f. 52a
5. Abū Hāshim al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nafs al-zakiyya (d.?)—f. 52b
  - a. Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan (d.?)—f. 52b–53a
6. al-Nāṣir Abū l-Faṭḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Daylamī (d. 444/1053)—f. 53a–54a
7. Abū Ṭālib *al-akhīr* Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad (d. 520/1126)—f. 53b
8. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1171)—f. 54a–56a
9. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1218)—f. 56a–59b
10. al-Mu‘tamid bi-llāh al-Dā‘ī Yaḥyā b. al-Muḥsin b. Maḥfūz (d. 636/1239)—f. 59b–60b
11. al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 656/1258)—f. 60b–62a
12. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 670/1272)—f. 62a
13. al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Ibrāhīm b. Tāj al-Dīn (d. 683/1285)—f. 62b
14. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh al-Muṭaḥhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muṭaḥhar (d.?)—f. 62b–63a
15. al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Muṭaḥhar (d. 729/1329)—f. 63b–64a
16. Sirāj al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Sirājī (d. c. 730/1330)—f. 63b–64a
17. al-Nāṣir li-l-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. Tāj al-Dīn (d. 730/1330)—f. 64a–64b
18. al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. ‘Alī (d. 750/1349)—f. 64b–67b
19. al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 773/1372)—f. 67b–68b
20. al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (d. 793/1391)—f. 68b–70a
21. al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (d. 840/1437)—f. 70a–75a
22. al-Mutawakkil al-Muṭaḥhar b. Muḥammad b. Sulayman (d. 879/1474)—f. 75a–77a
23. al-Hādī ‘Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan (d. 900/1495)—f. 77a–78b
24. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥasan b. ‘Izz al-Dīn (d. 929/1523)—f. 79a
25. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Washālī al-Sirājī—f. 79b–81a

26. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Yahyā Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 965/1558)—f. 81a–85b  
a. al-Muṭaḥhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 980/1572)—f. 85b
27. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Dāwūd al-Mu‘ayyad (d. 1024/1615)—f. 85b–86b
28. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620)—f. 86b–90b
29. al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (d. 1054/1644)—f. 90b–98a
30. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh Ismā‘īl b. al-Qāsim (d. 1087/1676)—f. 98a–110a

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FIGURE 1 Ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 48a (with kind permission).

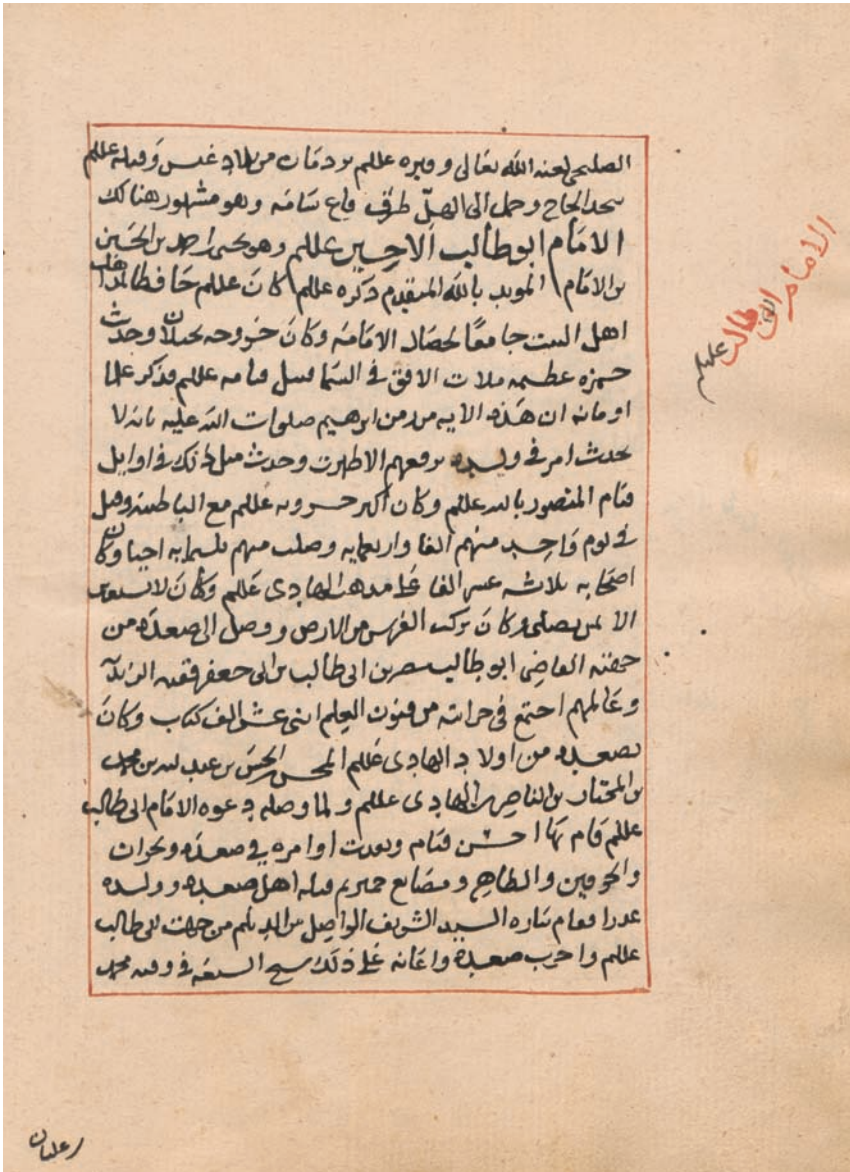


FIGURE 2 ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 53b (with kind permission).



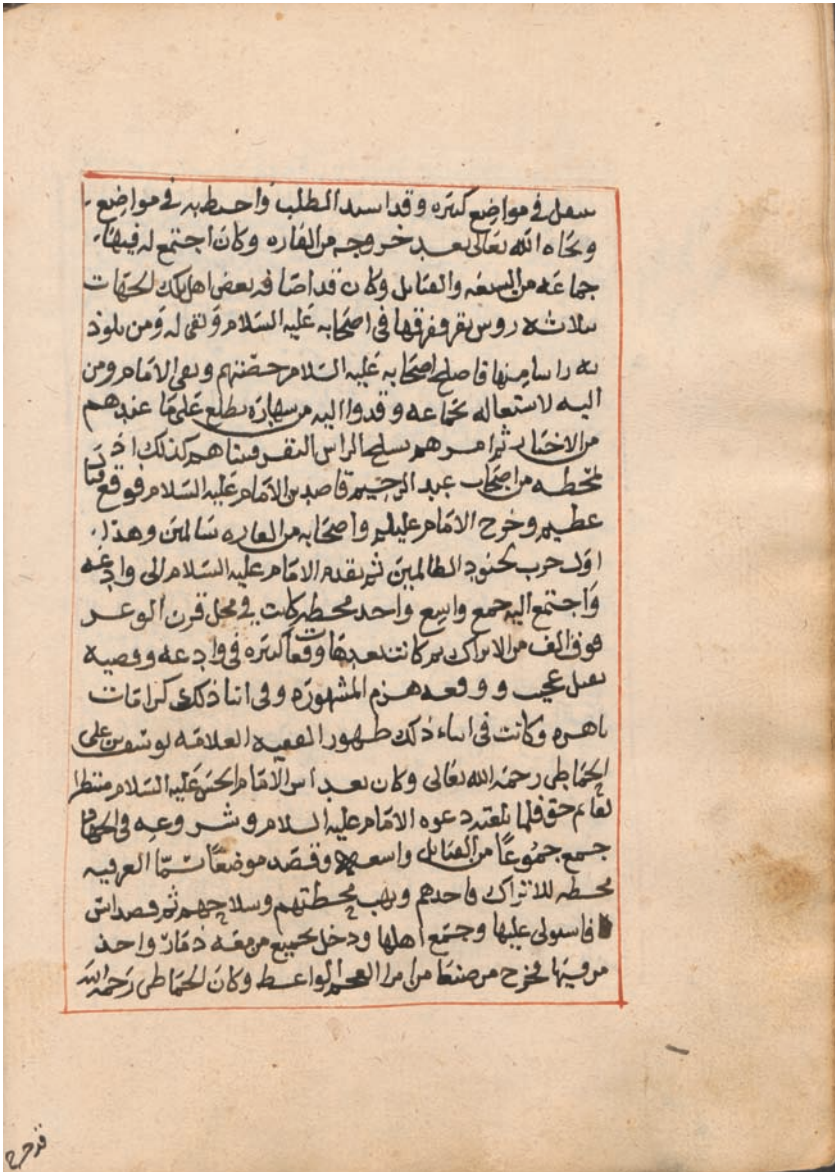


FIGURE 3 MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 87b (with kind permission).

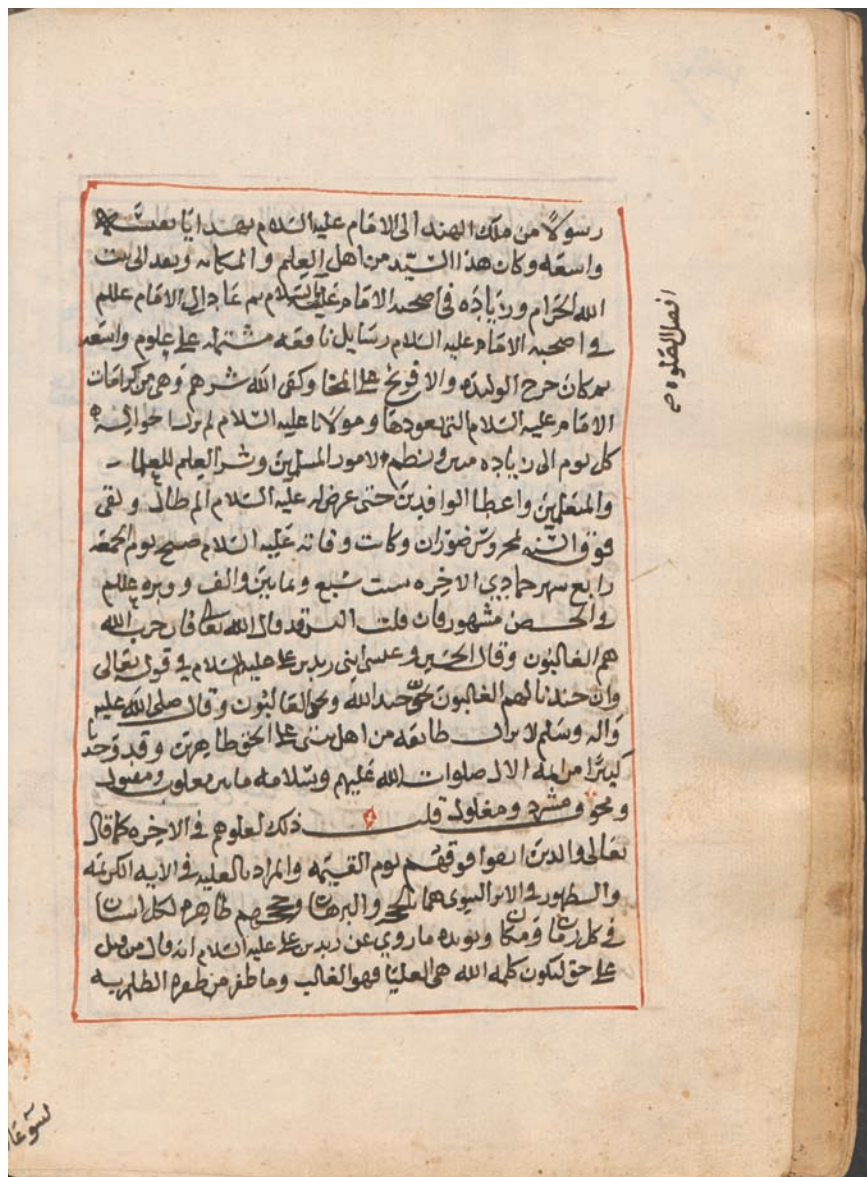


FIGURE 4 ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 109b (with kind permission).

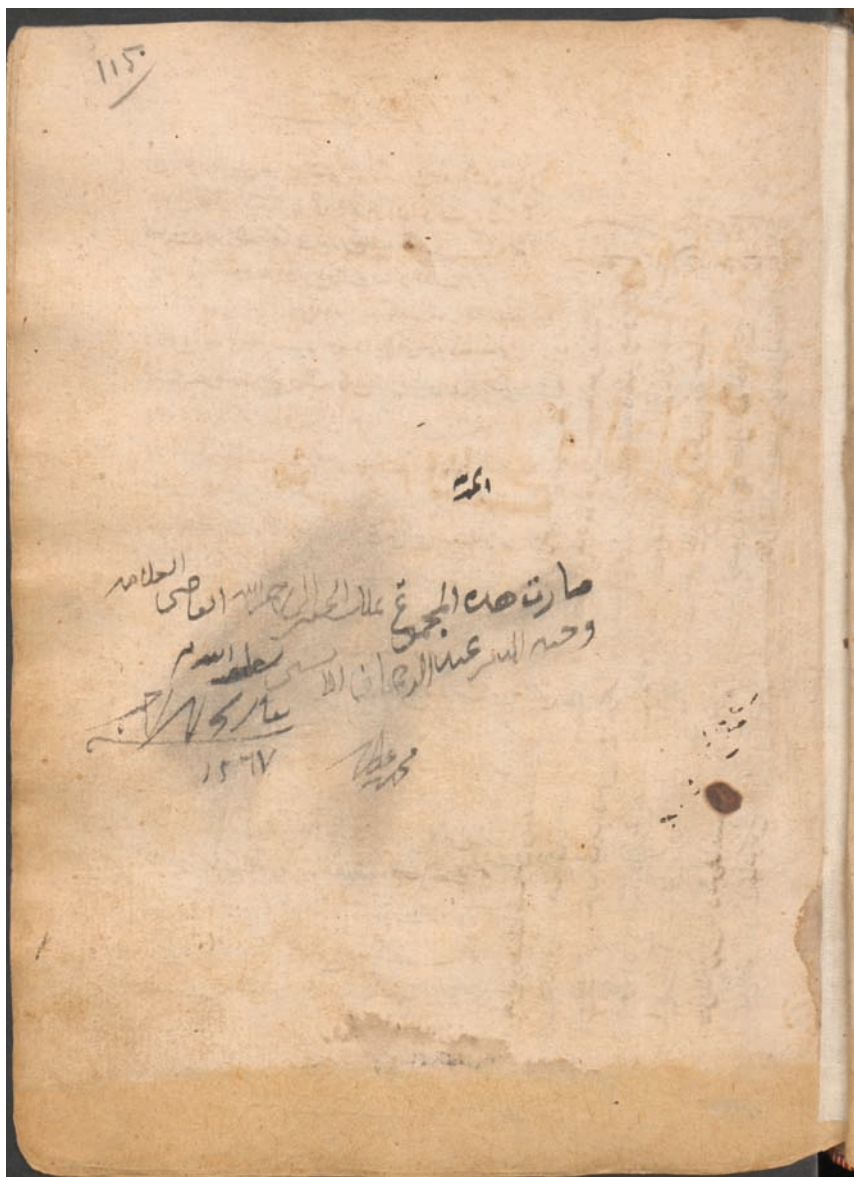


FIGURE 5 Ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 115a (with kind permission).



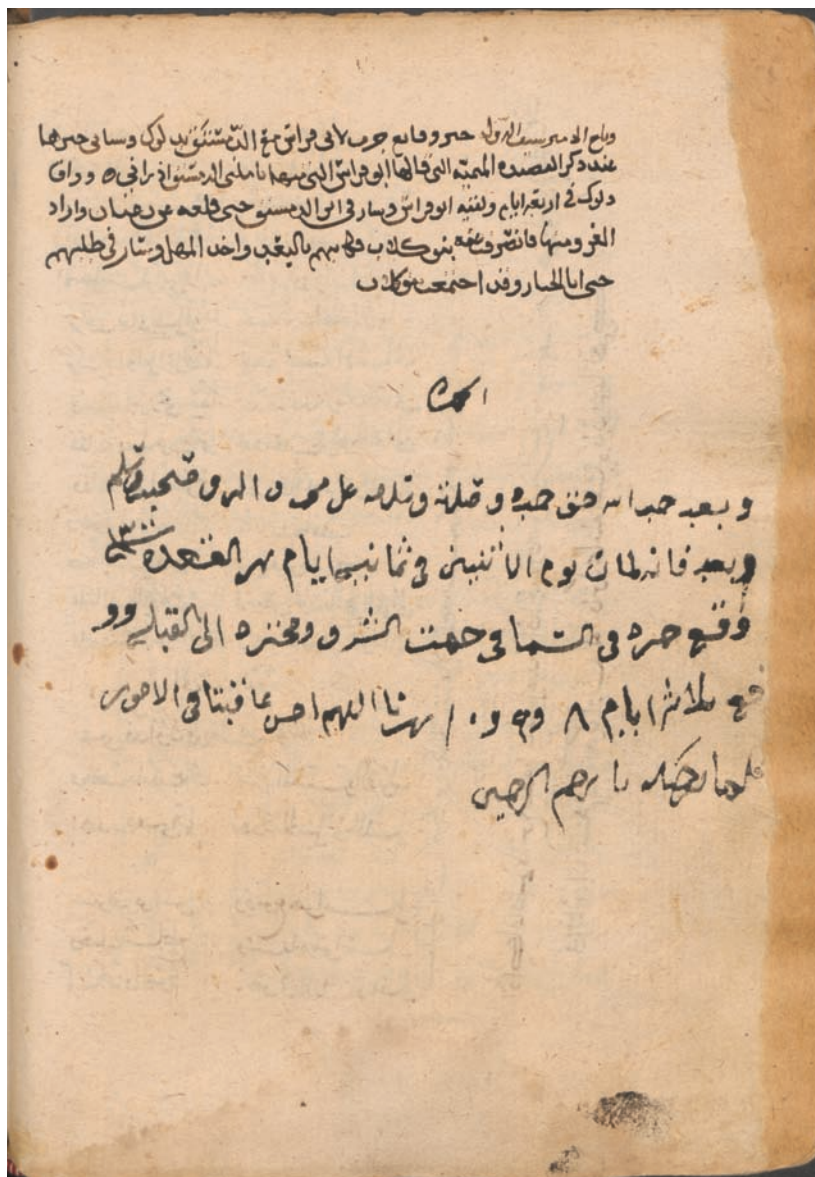


FIGURE 6 ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 130b (with kind permission).





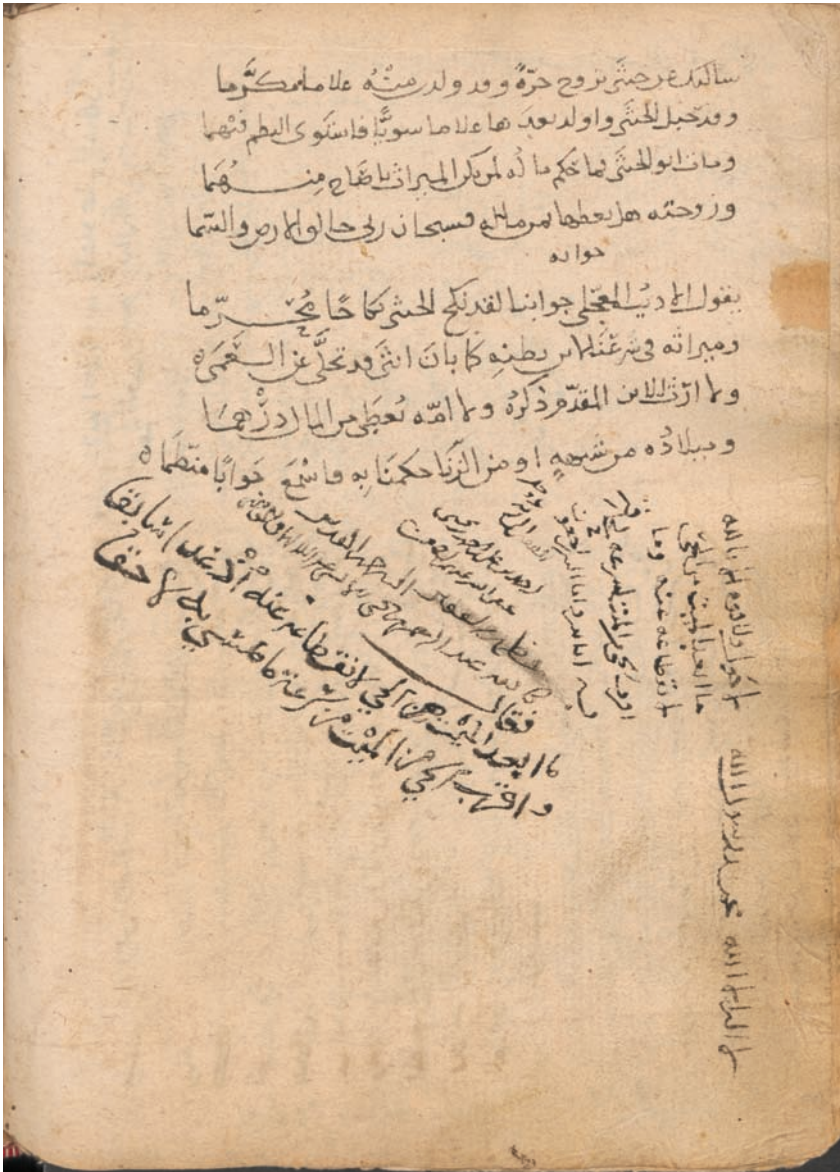


FIGURE 8 ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 176b (with kind permission).

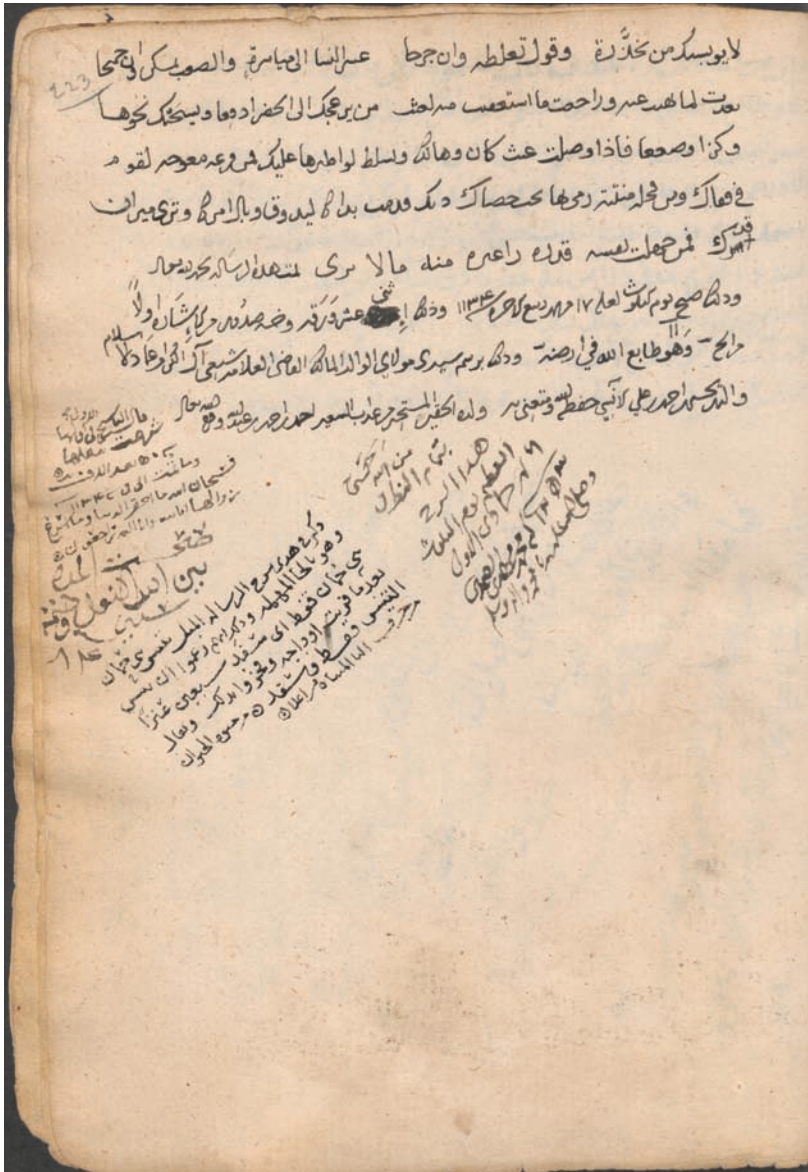


FIGURE 9 MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 223a (with kind permission).

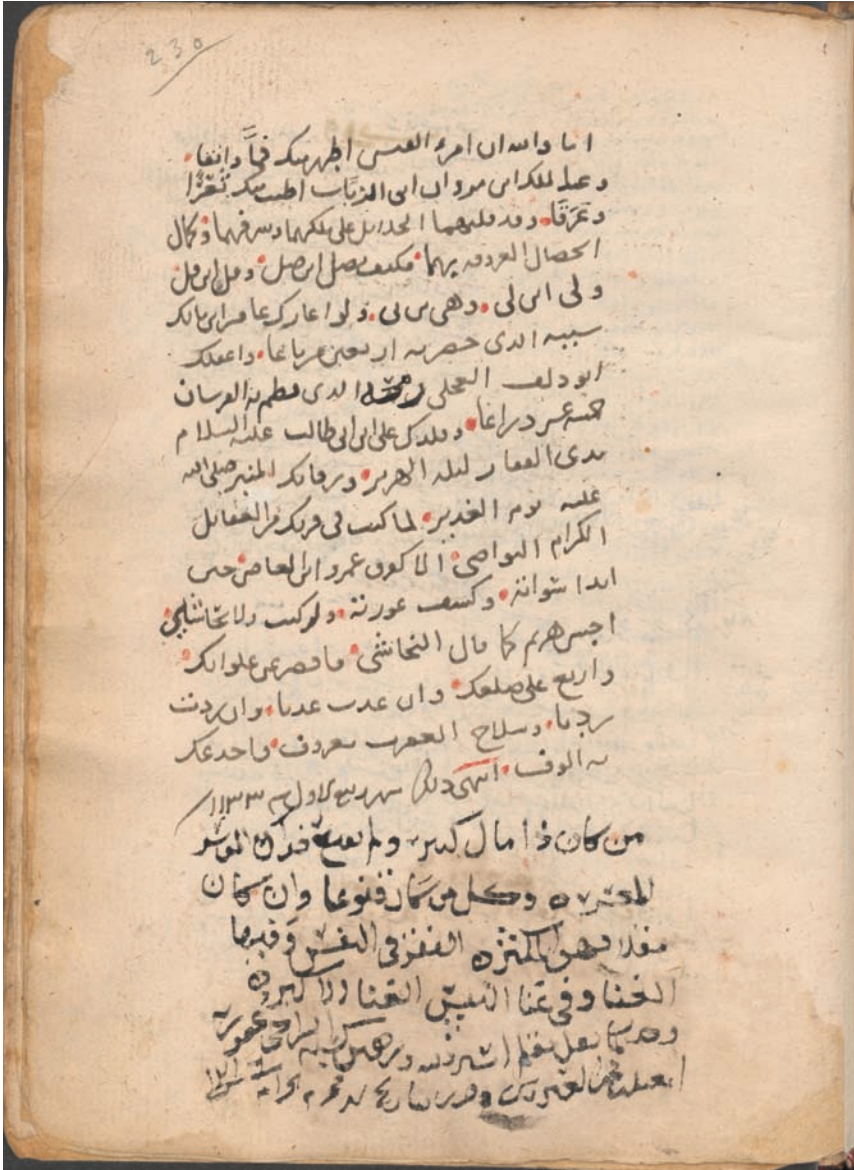


FIGURE 10 MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 37, f. 230a (with kind permission).