Chroniques du Manuscrit au Yémen

حوليات المخطوطات اليمن

عدد ٨ (٢٧)، يناير ٢٠١٩

N° 8 (27) / Janvier 2019

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ISSN 2116–0813

Photo de couverture/Cover's image : Grande mosquée/Great Mosque, Ibb, 08.06.2008
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(Ancienne série 27)

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(période de juillet à décembre 2018)

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Comment citer les Actualités ?/How to refer to the News?
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CmY 18 (Juil. 2014), Actualités, <26 avril 2014>

CmY 19 (Janv. 2015), Actualités, <Décembre 2014>, p. 25.

Sans date/Without date

CmY 18 (Juil. 2014), Actualités, <Oman. Activités de l'Organisation des Archives Nationales du Sultanat d'Oman>

CmY 19 (Janv. 2015), Actualités, <Nouvelle série « Studies on Ibadism and Oman »>, p. 39.

N.d.l.R.

Yémen

2016. Daniel Mahoney, « The Political Agency of Kurds as an Ethnic Group in Late Medieval South Arabia », *Medieval Worlds* 3, p. 146-157.

En s'appuyant sur des sources rassoulides comme *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya* d'al-Ḫazraǧī (m. 812/1410) et la chronique zaydite *Ġāyat al-amānī* de Yaḥyā al-Ḥusayn al-Yamanī (m. 1080/1689), Daniel Mahoney examine la présence du peuple kurde au Yémen à l'époque rassoulide. Il s'intéresse à la question de savoir comment leurs actions individuelles, collaboratives et collectives, contribuaient à la formation d'une identité ethnique qui, de plus en plus, marquait les frontières de leur communauté jusqu'à ce qu'elle disparaisse, apparemment, des récits historiques vers la fin du viiie/xive s.

La présence kurde au Yémen remonte à la fin du vi^{e}/xiie s., c'est-à-dire à l'arrivée de soldats professionnels kurdes employés par les Ayyoubides lors de la conquête du Yémen. Les sources rassoulides leur donnent le nom de *ǧuzz* (employé aussi pour désigner les Turcs). D'un côté, ils continuent d'être au service des Ayyoubides et des Rassoulides, mais, de l'autre, ils se rebellent contre les deux dynasties et s'allient avec les Zaydites du nord du Yémen. Il apparaît, en conséquence, que les Kurdes agissaient plutôt selon des critères pragmatiques et n'étaient pas constamment loyaux à un autre groupe.

La dernière information sur des Kurdes figurant dans les sources yéménites date de 791/1388. L'auteur conclut que cette date marque la dissolution d'une identité ethnique spécifiquement kurde dans la société yéménite.

L'article est accessible ici : https://www.medievalworlds.net/7988-4inhalt?frames=yes

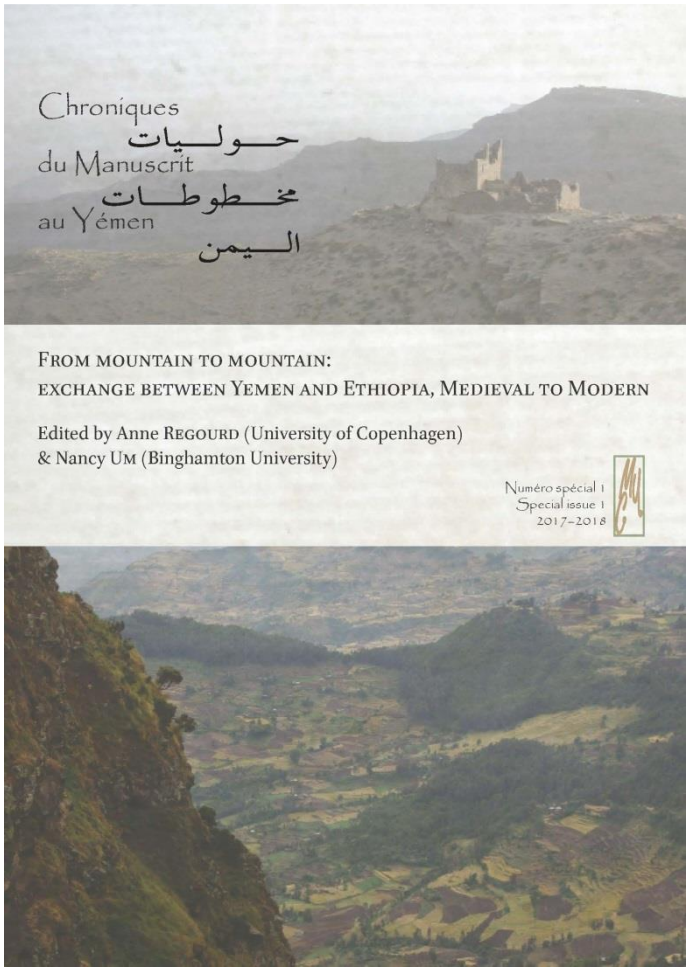
2017. Gülden Sarıyıldız & Oya Dağlar Macar, « Cholera, Pilgrimage, and International Politics of Sanitation: The Quarantine Station on the Island of Kamaran », dans : Nükhet Varlık (éd.), *Plague and Contagion in the Islamic Mediterranean. New Histories of Disease in Ottoman Society*, Kalamazoo/Bradford, ARC Humanities Press, coll. « Black Sea World », p. 243-307, carte+ill.+tableau.

L'article porte sur l'unité de quarantaine qui vît le jour en 1882, sur l'île de Kamaran, une île yéménite de la mer Rouge, proche de Bab el-Mandeb, dans le contexte de la politique sanitaire internationale de la fin du xixe-début du xxe s. Lors de sa création, décidée à la Conférence internationale sanitaire d'Istamboul en 1866, à la suite de la pandémie de choléra de 1865, il s'agissait de l'un des plus grands bâtiments de ce type ayant jamais existé. Son rôle sanitaire, un rôle-clé, était de faire barrage au choléra, lequel, au xixe s., était perçu comme venant de l'Est, en particulier de l'Asie du Sud : les pèlerins musulmans en provenance de l'océan Indien représentaient donc un vecteur potentiel de maladie. Ils venaient alors d'Inde, de Java, du golfe Persique, mais aussi d'Afghanistan et d'Asie Centrale ; un autre flux de pèlerins était pris en considération, celui qui les emmenait, après le pèlerinage, en Méditerranée via le Canal de Suez, ouvert en 1869. En 1893, 31.673 pèlerins passèrent par Kamaran et, en 1907, ce nombre atteint 36.363. Cependant la situation de l'île à l'entrée de la mer Rouge et les luttes d'intérêt entre grandes puissances pour prendre son contrôle, ont fait de la Quarantaine de Kamaran un point focal, où s'est joué la politique internationale sanitaire pour la période. Gülden Sarıyıldız & Oya Dağlar Macar abordent les questions suivantes dans leur contribution au livre édité par Nükhet Varlık : quelles raisons ont présidé à l'établissement d'une Quarantaine sur l'île de Kamaran ? Quelles étaient les dispositions (« policies ») sanitaires suivies par les Britanniques en mer Rouge au xixe s. ? Enfin, quelles étaient les attentes britanniques en termes politiques et économiques, dans la coulisse de ces dispositions ? L'Archive ottomane du Premier ministère (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi), les collections de Yıldız, Office du Grand Vizir (Sadaret), du ministère de la Santé (Sıhhiye Nezareti) et de l'Institut des Documents (Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası), les minutes des meetings du Conseil sanitaire ottoman, les cartes et les photographies de la Quarantaine de Kamaran conservées à l'Université d'Istamboul, Section des livres rares, sources principales de l'étude du fait du rôle octroyé aux Ottomans dans l'opération, illustrent les débats et désaccords internationaux qui ont fait de cette Quarantaine, de sa construction, de son organisation et de sa fonction, un enjeu. Historiographie de la question aux pages 246-248.

2017-2018. Anne Regourd & Nancy Um (éd. invitée), « From Mountain to Mountain: Exchange between Yemen and Ethiopia, Medieval to Modern », *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*, numéro spécial/special issue 1, 140 p., ill. et cartes.

Avec les contributions de Maria Bulakh, Yasuyuki Kuriyama, Dominique Harre, Tamon Baba, Anne Regourd & Menashe Anzi. Conclusions finales par Nancy Um & Anne Regourd, « 'From Mountain to Mountain': An Epilogue ».

http://www.cdmy.org/cmyhs/cmyhs01.pdf



2018. Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balḫī, *Kitāb Al-maqālāt wa-maʿahu ʿUyūn al-masāʾil wa-al-ǧawābāt*, éd. Hüseyin Hansu, Rāğiḥ al-Kurdī & ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kurdī, Istanboul/Amman, Kuramer/Dār al-Fatḥ, 2018, 744 p. ISBN : 9786059437226.

Les *Maqālāt* d'Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balḫī (m. 319/931) de l' « École muʿtazilite de Bagdad » est l'une des doxographies théologiques les plus anciennes et les plus importantes qui ait survécu. Parmi les Zaydites du Yémen, il y avait des partisans de la théologie de l' « École de Bagdad », ce qui explique que le seul manuscrit de ce livre qui ait survécu soit une copie yéménite. Le manuscrit unique est daté de 408/1017 et précède donc l'arrivée de la grande majorité des œuvres muʿtazilites qui ont été préservées au Yémen. L'explication historique en est que les doctrines de l' « École de Bagdad » ont été supplantées par celles de l' « École muʿtazilite de Bassora » à une époque plus tardive, notamment au vi^{e}/xxiie s. La plupart des manuscrits de traités muʿtazilites préservés dans les collections yéménites ont été écrits par des partisans de l' « École de Bassora ». Cependant, il n'y reste que très peu de traces littéraires de l' « École de Bag-

dad »[1]. L'exception des *Maqālāt* d'al-Kaʿbī s'explique plausiblement par le fait que les informations hérésiographiques du livre étaient utiles même à partir du moment où les doctrines de l' « École de Bagdad » ne jouaient plus un rôle significatif dans la théologie des Zaydites yéménites. Effectivement, les citations dans la littérature zaydite-yéménite réunies par Josef van Ess démontrent non seulement la présence des *Maqālāt* avant le vi^{e}/xxiie s., mais aussi l'usage du livre jusqu'au ixe/xxve s. (le dernier auteur s'appuyant sur les *Maqālāt* ayant été identifié par van Ess est l'Imam Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā [m. 840/1436])[2].

Les *Maqālāt* d'al-Kaʿbī sont déjà connues depuis longtemps, mais jusqu'ici, seulement un extrait du texte contennant des biographies muʿtazilites était accessible dans l'édition de Fu'ād Sayyid[3]. C'est dans la nouvelle édition préparée par Hüseyin Hansu, Rāğiḥ al-Kurdī & ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kurdī que le texte complet est pour la première fois publié dans son intégralité. Le texte des *Maqālāt* est suivi par *ʿUyūn al-masā'il wa-al-ǧawābāt* du même auteur, texte qui est contenu dans le même codex et qui a déjà été publié en 2014[4].

On ne sait rien de précis sur la localisation du manuscrit original des *Maqālāt*. Les éditeurs de la nouvelle édition disent qu'il est préservé dans « l'une des bibliothèques privées du Yémen » (p. 34) ; Fu'ād Sayyid n'était pas moins vague dans l'introduction de son édition partielle, où il écrivait que le manuscrit avait été découvert par son père Aymān lors d'un voyage en 1952 « au Yémen dans la bibliothèque de l'un des savants [du pays] » (p. 31). L'édition intégrale de H. Hansu, R. al-Kurdī & ʿA. al-Kurdī a été préparée à partir d'une reproduction du manuscrit et non pas du manuscrit original. La nouvelle édition de *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl* d'Aymān Fu'ād Sayyid contient, pourtant, des illustrations du manuscrit en couleur et de très bonne qualité, ce qui implique qu'elles ont été faites récemment (p. *76-*81).

Les éditeurs des *Maqālāt* décrivent l'écriture du copiste comme « maghrébine » (p. 34)[5]. Au vu des facsimilés de plusieurs folios du manuscrit, il est évident que cette description n'est pas correcte. En fait, l'écriture ne manifeste pas les caractéristiques du grand groupe appelé « maghrébin »[6] : le trait du *ṭā'*/*ẓā'* est toujours horizontal, ja-

[1] Voir aussi Racha el Omari, *The Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931)*, Leyde, E. J. Brill, 2016, coll. « Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science », XCIX et le compte rendu du livre dans *CmY* 3/22 (Juil. 2016), Actualités, <2016>, p. 8-11.

[2] Josef van Ess. *Der Eine und das Andere. Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*. Berlin/New York, De Gruyter, 2011, coll. « Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients », n. F. XXIII, vol. 1, p. 363-367.

[3] Fu'ād Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-muʿtazila*, Le Caire, Dār al-kutub al-misṛiyya, 1974, p. 43-119 ; une nouvelle édition de ce livre a été publiée par le fils de l'éditeur, Aymān Fu'ād Sayyid, Beirut, Orient Institut, 2017, coll. « Bibliotheca Islamica », LV, librement accessible sous le lien suivant : http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-98317.

[4] Abū al-Qāsim al-Balḫī al-Kaʿbī, *ʿUyūn al-masā'il wa-al-ǧawābāt*, éd. Rāğiḥ al-Kurdī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kurdī & Hüseyin Hansu, ʿAmmān, Dār al-Ḥāmid, 2014.

[5] Ainsi l'avaient déjà décrit les éditeurs de *ʿUyūn al-masā'il* (voir note précédente) dans leur introdution (p. 27).

[6] Pour les caractéristiques du groupe « maghrébin » voir Adam Gacek, « Maġribī », *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Leyde, E. J. Brill, 2007, vol. 3, p. 110-113.

mais incliné vers la droite ou incurvé ; les *ṣād*s/*ḍād*s sont indentés ; il manque les courbes et les ouvertures amples des *ʿayn*s initiaux et finals qui sont caractéristiques du groupe « maghrébin » ; et puis, les points diacritiques du *fāʾ* et du *qāf* suivent la convention « orientale ». Ici, il s'agit d'une écriture de type coufique – vu la date de la copie, on dirait un coufique tardif – et rien ne soutient l'hypothèse d'une origine occidentale du manuscrit.[7]

2018. Eric Birlouez, Jacques Fleurentin, Annick Le Guérer et al., *La fabuleuse odyssée des épices*, Rennes, Éds. Ouest-France, 95 p., ill. en noir et en couleur. ISBN : 978-2-7373-7854-6.

Catalogue de l'exposition organisée au Domaine départemental de la Roche-Jagu du 5 mai au 30 septembre 2018. Thématique : Épices – Industrie et commerce – Histoire. Parmi les éditeurs du Catalogue, notons Jacques Fleurentin, ethno-pharmacologue, qui a consacré sa thèse à la pharmacopée yéménite en faisant son apprentissage dans une herboristerie du souk de Sanaa.

2018. Guy Burak, [Revue de : Brinkley Cliford Messick, *Sharīʿa scripts. A Historical Anthropology*, New York, Columbia University Press, 536 p. ISBN : 978-0-23117-847-7], *MESA RoMES* 52/2, p. 415-418.

DOI:10.1017/rms.2018.74

2018. Matthew Adam Cobb, Introduction: « The Indian Ocean in Antiquity and global history », dans : *idem* (éd.), *The Indian Ocean Trade in Antiquity: Political, Cultural and Economic Impacts*, Londres, Routledge, 252 p., index. ISBN : 9781138738263, p. 11-23.

L'ensemble des dix contributions réunies dans un panel qui s'est tenu à Dublin, du 22 au 25 juin 2016, est publié dans ce livre qui examine l'effet produit par le commerce dans l'océan Indien sur différentes sociétés de l'Antiquité, définie ici comme allant de 300 avant J.-C. à 700 de notre ère. Le projet inclut réseaux d'échange, points nœudaux et interactions culturelles précis tenant compte de l'impact politique, culturel et économique au sens large du mouvement des marchandises, des personnes et des idées. Les contributeurs se rattachent aux études classiques, sud-asiatiques ou sur le Proche-Orient selon des approches variées, par exemple la littérature, les documents historiques, l'archéologie ou l'histoire de l'art, dans une volonté de rendre perceptible les fruits de l'interdisciplinarité.

Dès le premier millénaire après J.-C., il est clair que les marchands du Sud-Est de l'Inde se rendaient dans la Baie du Bengale pour atteindre la région du Ganges et l'Asie du Sud-Est. Les inscriptions de la cave Hoq de Socotra illustrent abondamment la pré-

[7] Dans l'introduction du *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl* (p. *71), A. F. Sayyid décrit l'écriture comme « semi-coufique » ; il propose l'hypothèse que le manuscrit ait été copié à Balḫ ou Rayy.

sence de marchands du Nord-Ouest et de l'Ouest de l'Inde, en particulier autour de 200-500. La présence de poteries décorées à la roulette (« Rouletted Ware »)[8] et selon une technique d'impression au battoir (« Paddle-impressed Ware »)[9] à Berenike, sur la côte égyptienne de la mer Rouge, à Arikamedu, au Sud-Est de l'Inde, et à Khor Rori (dans le Sud de la péninsule Arabique, fait aussi état de liens entre ces régions à la fin du premier millénaire avant J.-C. et le début du premier millénaire de notre ère. Si les limites temporelles définies par le livre ne doivent pas être considérées au pied de la lettre, il ne fait aucun doute que de profonds changements prirent place au cours de la période ici définie.

Un point bref sur la terminologie désignant les approches holistiques (global history, universal history, world history, global history, transnational history, world-systems theory et le concept de globalisation(s)) souligne qu'en fait, la multiplicité des perspectives est le meilleur garant d'une couverture optimale des facettes variées du commerce dans l'océan Indien durant l'Antiquité, traitées par des contributeurs spécialistes de périodes et sujets bien distincts.

Ces sont finalement les huit critères de Jennings qui sont retenus comme hypothèse de travail pour aborder le commerce dans l'océan Indien en tant qu'indicateurs de manifestation de (proto-) globalisation (« time-space compression », « de-territorialisation », « standardisation », « unevenness », « cultural homogenisation », « cultural heterogeneity », « re-embedding local culture », enfin « vulnerability »).[10] Si certains de ces critères semblent s'appliquer sans trop d'effort, d'autres paraissent *a priori* plus discutables, l'étude de l'océan Indien dans l'Antiquité se compliquant du fait que l'on traite d'un ensemble de sociétés distinctes avec des degrés divers d'intégration dans les réseaux marchands de la zone. À titre d'exemple, Cobb interroge : « Did the Roman Empire experience more 'vulnerability' than the polities of the Tamilakam? Was Han China less exposed to 'de-territorialisation' as a result of the Indian Ocean trade than societies in South East Asia? ». S'il ne s'agit ni de valider, ni d'invalider les critères de Jennings, l'ensemble du livre donne du grain à moudre à ceux qui voudraient explorer ces concepts en détail.

Les contributions sont classées sous trois thématiques majeures :

I. The Western Indian Ocean: A Developing Trade

Matthew Adam Cobb, « From the Ptolemies to Augustus: Mediterranean Integration into the Indian Ocean Trade » (Chap. 2) ;

[8] Voir Vimala Begley, « Rouletted Ware at Arikamedu: A New Approach », *American Journal of Archaeology* 92/3, 1988, p. 427-440, p. 427.

[9] Jean-Christophe Galipaud, "De quelques impressions. L'exemple de la poterie imprimée au battoir en Océanie lointaine », dans : *idem* & I. Lilley (éd.), *Le Pacifique de 5000 à 2000 avant le présent : suppléments à l'histoire d'une colonisation/The Pacific from 5000 to 2000 BP: colonisation and transformations*, Paris, IRD, p. 531-541, PDF en ligne :
http://horizon.documentation.ird.fr/exl-doc/pleins_textes/pleins_textes_7/divers2/010020770.pdf

[10] Justin Jennings, *Globalizations and the Ancient World,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 123-141.

Leonardo Gregoratti, « Indian Ocean Trade: The Role of Parthia » (Chap. 3) ;

Himanshu Prabha Ray, « Ethnographies of Sailing: From the Red Sea to the Bay of Bengal in Antiquity » (Chap. 4) ;

Federico De Romanis, « Patchworking the West Coast of India: Notes of the 'Periplus of the Erythaean Sea' » (Chap. 5) ;

II. The Indian Ocean and Cross-Cultural Engagement: People, Commodities, and Society

Raoul John McLaughlin, « Indian Ocean Commerce in Context: The Economic and Revenue Significance of Red Sea Trade in the Ancient World Economy » (Chap. 6) ;

Pierre Schneider, « Erythaean Pearls in the Roman World: Features and Aspects if Luxury Consumption (late second century BCE-second century CE) » (Chap. 7) ;

Frederick M. Asher, « India Abroad: Evidence for Ancient Indian Maritime Activity » (Chap. 8) ;

III. The Indian Ocean Influence on Literary Culture

Fiona Mitchell, « The Universe from an Egg: Creation Narratives in the Ancient Indian and Greek Texts » (Chap. 9) ;

Juan Pablo Sanchez Hernandez, « The Impact of the Indian Ocean Trade on the Ancient Novel » (Chap. 10) ;

Marco Palone, « Between Egypt and India: on the Route of the Ancient Novel » (Chap. 11) ;

Matthew Adam Cobb, Conclusion (Chap. 12).

L'ensemble du livre intéresse les *CmY*, même si les contributions de littérature comparée de la 3e partie, confrontant les mondes grecs et romains à la littérature et aux mythes indiens, en semblent immédiatement plus éloignées.

2018. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil fī al-uṣūl,* éd. Ramazan Yildirim, Le Caire, Dār al-iḥsān.

L'auteur de ce livre, édité pour la première fois, est le muʿtazilite Abū Saʿd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. Karāma al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqānī, plus connu sous le nom d'al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (m. 494/1101). Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī a reconnu l'imamat de Zayd b. ʿAlī, le premier imam qui divise la chaîne zaydite des autres branches chiites. L'œuvre d'al-Ḥakim al-Ǧišumī a été transmise au Yémen à partir du vie/xiie s. et a exercé une profonde influence sur la communauté des Zaydites du pays. À l'exception de son œuvre exégétique intitulée *Al-tahḏīb fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, les traités d'al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī ont seulement survécu dans des collections de manuscrits yéménites.

2018. Eileen Kane, [Revue de : John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj: 1865–1956*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 2015, 440 p. ISBN : 9780674504783], *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 50, p. 141-143.

2018. Walter Pohl (éd.), *Narratives of Ethnic Origins: Eurasian Perspectives,* dossier publié dans *The Medieval History Jounal* 21/2, p. 187-399.

The Medieval History Journal a publié un dossier sur *Narratives of Ethnic Origins: Eurasian Perspectives*, édité par Walter Pohl. Pour les lecteurs des *CmY*, on mentionnera les deux contributions suivantes :

– Jonathan Heiß, « Migrations and Federations: The Origins of the Tribal Federation of Khawlān according to al-Hamdānī », p. 365-379.

Résumé repris de l'article :

> "This contribution focuses on the beginnings of the tribal federation called Khawlān in the north of what today is Yemen. Al-Hamdānī, the Yemeni philosopher, genealogist and astronomer writes about these beginnings in two of his works; a passage from Nashwān's 'Shams al-ʿulūm' will complete the picture. At first, a son of Khawlān migrates from Maʾrib to Ṣirwāḥ, in the territory of another group called Khawlān. From there, a grandson of the first migrant goes on to the region of Ṣaʿda, where he forms a federation with another tribal group. Both settle in the plain of Ṣaʿda or in the mountainous region west of it. To accomplish that, they have to wage war against Hamdān who are the original settlers there.
>
> These are the basic facts deducible from the texts. Khawlān really comes into view when the tribal groups wage war. The groups of the original migrants and their allies are not related. Religion plays no part in the occurrences put forward in the texts. As far as possible, these narrations are interpreted and brought into relation to the tribal situation of Yemen at the time".

– Daniel Mahoney, « Writing the Ethnic Origins of the Rasulids in Late Medieval South Arabia », p. 380-399.

Les deux livres *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb* par le Sultan rassoulide al-Ašraf ʿUmar (m. 696/1296) et *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya* d'al-Ḫazraǧī (m. 812/1410) sont fameux pour leur généalogie qui inclut les Rassoulides dans la confédération tribale Kahlān de l'Arabie du sud. Cet article offre une analyse approfondie des deux sources et discute plus précisément comment leurs auteurs reprennent des idées de la tradition yéménite et plus généralement de l'historiographie islamique sur le passé pré-islamique de l'Arabie du sud pour établir leur discours. Bien qu'il n'y ait aucune évidence permettant de supposer que le discours sur l'origine ethnique des Rassoulides dans *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb* était la source directe d'al-Ḫazraǧī, les ressemblances entre les deux livres autorisent à conclure qu'ils relèvent d'un effort puissant de la part des souverains politiques pour légitimer leur pouvoir en faisant appel à leur généalogie et parenté.

Voir aussi le lien : https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/mhja/21/2

2018. Anne Regourd (éd.), ***The Trade in Papers Marked with Non-Latin Characters. Documents and History/Le commerce des papiers à marques à caractères non-latins. Documents et histoire*****, vol. 1, Leyde/Boston, E. J. Brill, coll. « Islamic manuscripts and books », 15. ISBN : 9789004357402.**

Cet ouvrage comprend neuf études portant sur des papiers utilisés pour la copie de manuscrits ou documents et présentant des marques, filigranes ou timbres secs, avec caractères non-latins. Il s'agit en grande majorité de caractères arabes et plus rarement cyrilliques ou arméniens. Les papiers concernés ont été utilisés aux xixe et xxe s. – à l'exception d'un seul, employé au xive s. – et dans différentes régions du monde : Maghreb (Tunisie), péninsule Arabique et mer Rouge (La Mecque, Yémen, Corne de l'Afrique), Afrique subsaharienne (Nigéria), Méditerranée orientale (Naplouse et Damas) et Iran. Une carte présente les lieux de production et de commerce du papier mentionnés dans l'ouvrage, de Liverpool à Calcutta, de Saint-Pétersbourg à Lamu (Kenya) (p. 8).

Ces études montrent la persistance de la longue tradition de fabrication et d'exportation des papiers italiens avec usage du filigrane permettant d'identifier les fabricants dès le xiiie s. : Evyn Kropf (« Recalling Alikurna « ليكورنا » Countermarked Paper among Scribes in the Late 19th Century Ottoman Levant », p. 36-80) examine ceux qui portent des marques en caractères arabes apparentées à « Alikurna » et ont été utilisés surtout dans les régions de Damas et Naplouse pour des manuscrits en arabe et samaritain jusqu'à la fin du xixe s. Mais d'autres productions s'imposent et entrent en concurrence avec la production italienne : Michaelle Biddle (« Arbib, Yidlibi ahd Sùrù (Hakurī): Three Arabic script Watermarks in Northern Nigerian manuscripts (end 19th–beginnng 20th century », p. 11-33) s'attache à trois marques en caractères arabes en langues arabe et yoruba dans des papiers fabriqués à la machine au Royaume-Uni, qui entrent, à cette époque, en concurrence avec les papiers italiens.

Deux études concernent des papiers russes qui ont circulé en Perse : Francis Richard (« Note sur les papiers à timbre sec (*dry seal*) en russe ou en arménien (second tiers du XIXe siècle) », p. 184-189) observe des inscriptions en caractères cyrilliques apparues entre 1850 et 1880 dans des manuscrits persans, ainsi qu'une inscription en caractères arméniens dans un manuscrit turc, avec le nom de l'auteur – non celui d'un papetier. Olga Yastrebova (« Collection of Persian farmāns on Russian paper in the National Library of Russia (two first decades of the 19th century », p. 227-244) présente des firmans persans des deux premières décennies du xixe s. écrits sur un papier fabriqué en Russie.

La fonction du filigrane est abordée par Michaelle Biddle (« Note on a dated Tunisian watermark (1860–1861) », p. 34-37) : il s'agit là de documents du gouvernement tunisien datés de 1277/1860-1861 conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Princeton, pour lesquels le filigrane jouait le rôle d'en-tête pour authentifier l'origine du document. Alice Shafi-Leblanc (« Un exemple rare de contremarque du VIIIe/XIVe siècle en langue et caractères arabes », p. 190-205) aborde un cas unique : la contremarque « al-ğalālī » que l'on trouve sur le papier de plusieurs *ǧuz'*-s d'un coran réalisés probablement à Chiraz dans la deuxième moitié du xive s.

L'origine des papiers utilisés dans la péninsule Arabique et la région de la mer Rouge, qui nous intéressent ici particulièrement, reste en grande partie italienne. Jan Just Witkam (« Copy on demand. Abū Šubbāk in Mecca, 1303/1886 », p. 206-226) aborde les papiers dits « Abū Šubbāk » avec filigrane représentant un croissant à profil humain dans un écu, accompagné ou non d'une inscription en caractères latins ou arabes, à partir d'une source autre que le papier lui-même : une correspondance d'un agent du Consulat néerlandais à Djeddah, Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat à Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs, Consul de Suède et Vice-Consul des Pays-Bas à Djeddah, datée du 14 février 1886. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje écrivait son ouvrage sur La Mecque, dont il avait été expulsé en août 1885, et avait demandé à van der Chijs qu'il lui fasse parvenir des copies d'ouvrages. Le papier utilisé dans les copies réalisées à sa demande porte un filigrane avec croissant à profil humain dans un écu, soit « Abū Šubbāk » ou « l'homme à la fenêtre ». Finalement, il s'agit d'un papier Andrea Galvani, désigné comme « Abū Šubbāk », qui a été acheté par le copiste.

Deux études d'Anne Regourd concernent directement la région de la mer Rouge : « Manuscrits de la mer Rouge (première moitié du XXe siècle) : papiers Abū Šubbāk du Yémen et d'Éthiopie », p. 81-140 et « Papiers 'indiens' de manuscrits éthiopiens (fin XIXe-début XXe siècle) », p. 141-183.

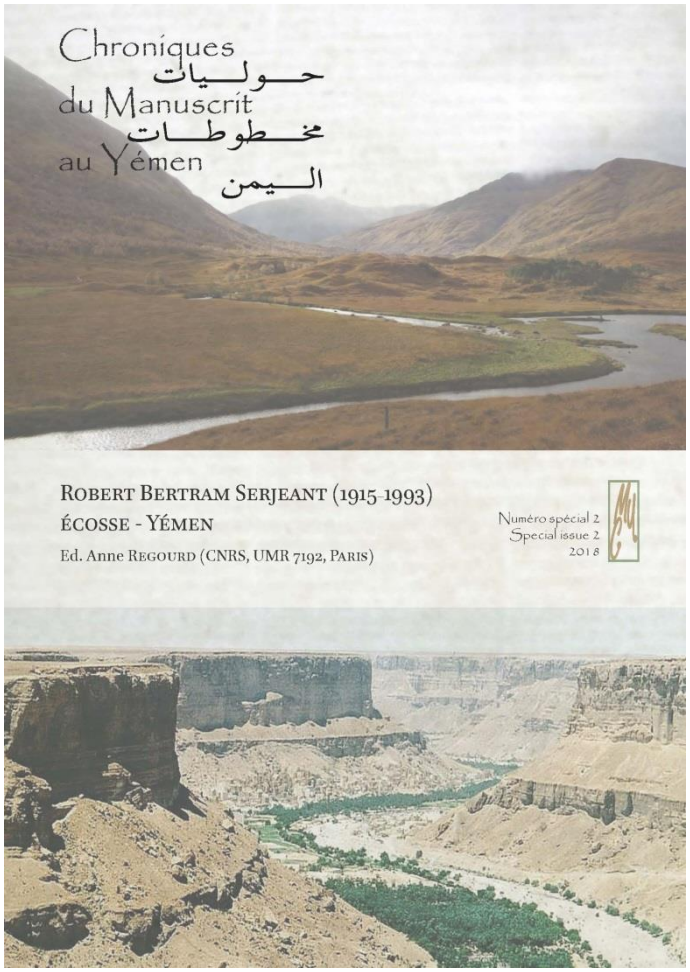
Le premier consiste en une étude statistique prenant en compte uniquement des manuscrits datés au colophon (excepté un ouvrage imprimé daté), de l'usage des papiers Abū Šubbāk au Yémen et en Éthiopie, et s'intéresse à la circulation de ces papiers. En vue de consolider la fourchette de datation, l'auteur développe une classification prenant en compte les vergeures, les fils de chaînette, les filigranes et les contremarques. Le type A, avec un filigrane en forme de croissant à profil humain dans un écu à double contour et l'inscription « Beyāḍ Abū Šubbāk isṭambulī ʿalī aṣīlī », est le plus courant et comprend deux sous-groupes différenciés par les dimensions du filigrane et certains caractères de l'écriture présentant quelques variantes. Elle parvient, pour le Yémen et l'Éthiopie, à des fourchettes de datation dans l'utilisation de chacun de ces sous-groupes. Le type B a été utilisé pour un ouvrage imprimé en 1942-1943, le catalogue d'al-Ḫizāna al-ʿāmira, établie dans la grande mosquée de Sanaa. Les types C et D portent l'inscription « Waraq Abū Šubbāk » ou « Šibbāk » en caractères arabes à laquelle, dans le type C, s'ajoute l'inscription « al-aṣīlī » et, dans le type D, en caractères latins, « Andrea Galvani Pordenone ». Le type E, quant à lui, renvoie à un papier dénommé Abū Šubbāk au Yémen, de bonne qualité, mais ne présentant pas forcément de filigrane. L'auteur conclut au fait que le foyer le plus probable d'importation des papiers du type A et B, dont le lieu de production n'est pas identifié (mais pourrait être Istanbul, évoquée dans la contremarque), est le Yémen. Le type D est de fabrication italienne, mais la provenance du type C reste à identifier : le nom d'Abū Šubbāk répond à une demande sur un marché et ne permet pas l'identification d'un fabricant.

La seconde étude s'attache à un papier de fabrication britannique présentant une contremarque en caractères latins et arabes (« stār fī Sind ») mentionnant Bombay, que l'on trouve dans des documents provenant de Harar conservés à l'Institut d'études éthiopiennes d'Addis Abeba, ainsi que dans un codex de Zabīd. Ces papiers produits

au Royaume Uni et en Belgique (sauf dans un cas à Calcutta), étaient commandés et importés par des commerçants indiens de Bombay installés en Éthiopie et à Harar. L'auteur situe ce commerce dans l'ensemble de l'économie locale.

La perspective de l'histoire économique est affirmée pour l'ensemble de l'ouvrage dans l'introduction d'Anne Regourd (« Le papier des manuscrits, une source pour l'histoire du commerce », p. 1-9). Les auteurs sont cependant des spécialistes des manuscrits, plus que des économistes, et cette histoire rejoint celle de la production des livres, elle n'a pas uniquement un aspect commercial : « Ici, le statut épistémologique des papiers fait d'eux plus qu'un élément de critique externe des sources, il en fait l'une des données de l'histoire du commerce, de la migration des hommes, des idées et des religions. » (p. 2). L'ouvrage présente donc un intérêt direct pour les historiens mais aussi pour les chercheurs et conservateurs amenés à travailler sur des manuscrits des xixe et xxe s. Les sept index en font un outil d'identification des papiers pour les personnes amenées à travailler sur des manuscrits, éventuellement les dater. Le premier concerne les inscriptions : contremarques, cachets secs, langues et écritures, les suivants les motifs des filigranes et cachets secs, les noms ou initiales des producteurs, moulins, compagnies et commerçants, les sortes de papiers et composants, les lieux et communautés, les manuscrits cités dans l'ouvrage, les noms de personnes autres que ceux des fabricants de papier.

Marie-Geneviève Guesdon
Bibliothèque nationale de France



2018. Anne Regourd (éd.), « Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915-1993). Écosse-Yémen », *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*, numéro spécial 2, 135 p., ill.

Avec les contributions d'Aline Brodin, Ronald Lewcock, du Fonds Social de Développement (Sanaa) & de l'Istituto Veneto per i Beni Culturali (Venise), Philippe Provençal, Mikhail Rodionov & G. Rex Smith. Introduction par Anne Regourd, « Vingt-cinq ans après : Hommage à Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915-1993). L'homme et ses archives », p. 5-12.

http://www.cdmy.org/cmyhs/cmyhs02.pdf

2018. Sabine Schmidtke, « The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition: Virtual Repratiation of Cultural Heritage », *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 50/1, p. 124-128.

Dans cet article, publié dans la rubrique « Roundtable: Digital Humanities in Middle East Studies » de l'*International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Sabine Schmidtke présente la philosophie et les objectifs du projet « The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition (ZMT) » (http://projects.ias.edu/zmt/) que les *CmY* ont signalé par le passé dans les

« Actualités » et dans un article écrit par le même auteur (*CmY* 4/23 (Janv. 2017), p. 103-166).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743817001003

2018. Sabine Schmidtke, *Traditional Yemeni Scholarship amidst Political Turmoil and War: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Muṭahhar al-Manṣūr (1915–2016) and His Personal Library*, Cordoba, UCOPress, coll. « Series Arabo-Islamica », I, 306 p., ill. ISBN : 9788499274232.

Ce nouveau livre de Sabine Schmidtke est une étude de la bibliothèque privée de Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Muṭahhar al-Manṣūr (1915-2016), savant zaydite de Sanaa, mort il y a peu. L'étude est partie du projet « The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition (ZMT) » (http://projects.ias.edu/zmt/), portail digital de manuscrits yéménenites zaydites numérotés qui vise à faciliter l'accès à la littérature manuscrite de cette branche du chiisme et à la préserver[11].

La bibliothèque de Muḥammad al-Manṣūr a déjà attiré l'attention de chercheurs précédents : elle a fait partie des bibliothèques visitées lors des expéditions de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes (*Maʿhad al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*) du Caire, en 1951-1952, puis en 1976. À cette occasion, plusieurs manuscrits ont été microfilmés et inventoriés[12]. En 1973, Robert W. Stookey (1917-1998) a microfilmé 139 manuscrits de la collection de Muḥammad al-Manṣūr et en a produit un inventaire incomplet. Les microfilms ont été donnés au *Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-al-buḥūṯ al-yamaniyya* à Sanaa et à l'Université de Texas, Austin (UT). C'est à partir de la collection de l'UT qu'une première étude de la bibliothèque de Muḥammad al-Manṣūr à été publiée par Anne Regourd dans la présente revue en 2009 et 2011[13]. Un catalogue rudimentaire et également incomplet d'une bonne centaine de manuscrits de la collection a été publié par ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī en 1978, puis dans une version actualisée en 1994. En janvier 2000, des chercheurs iraniens ont photographié 150 manuscrits de la collection de Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. Ces codex numérotés ainsi que des reproductions de la collection Stookey qui ne se trouvent pas dans la collection iranienne ont été incorporés dans le portail digital du ZMT. C'est sur cette collection que l'étude de Sabine Schmidtke s'appuie.

Le livre offre des descriptions méticuleuses de la partie de la collection qui a été accessible à l'auteur. Mais l'intérêt de ce livre va au-delà d'un catalogue, catalogue qui est pourtant plus complet que ceux produits auparavant. Le lecteur y trouvera aussi une histoire de la collection : en analysant le matériel paratextuel des manuscrits, l'auteur démontre que la collection n'a jamais été une entité stable, mais qu'elle était dans un

[11] Pour plus de détails sur ce projet voir Sabine Schmidtke, « Preserving, Studying, and Democratizing Access to the World Heritage of Islamic Manuscripts: The Zaydī Tradition », *CmY* 4/23 (Janv. 2017), 2017, p. 103-166.

[12] Voir p. 51, n. 2 & 3 pour les détails bibliographiques.

[13] Pour un aperçu voir aussi Dale J. Correa, « Recovering Yemen´s Cultural Heritage: The Stookey Microfilms », *Shii Studies Review* 2/1-2, 2018, p. 308-318, présenté dans *CmY* 7/26 (Juil. 2018), Actualités, <2018>, p. 17.

procès constant de changement et d'extension. Enfin, le livre est aussi une contribution à l'histoire intellectuelle du Yémen qui nous offre l'une des rares biographies intellectuelles de savants yéménites du xxe s.

http://www.uco.es/servicios/ucopress/index.php/en/catalogo/subjects/product/679-traditional-yemeni-scholarship-amidst-political-turmoil-and-war
https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12111/176

2018. Sabine Schmidtke, *Al-marǧaʿ fī taʾrīḫ ʿilm al-kalām*, trad. Usāma Šafīʿ al-Sayyid, Beyrouth, Markaz Namāʾ li-al-Buḥūṯ wa-al-Dirāsāt, 2 vols., 1344 p. ISBN : 9786144316689.

Ce livre est la traduction arabe du *Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016). Le livre contient certains chapitres qui sont pertinent pour le champs couvert par les *CmY*, tels que la contribution de Hassan Ansari sur la réception de la pensée muʿtazilite par les Zaydites et le chapitre de Hassan Ansari, Sabine Schmidtke et Jan Thiele sur la théologie des Zaydites au Yémen. Pour la version anglaise du livre, voir les *CmY* 3/22 (Juil. 2016), Actualités, <2016>, p. 11.

2018. Daniel Martin Varisco, *The State of Agriculture in the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of Yemen, 1918–1962: A Documentary Overview*, Vienne, Institut für Sozialanthropologie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, coll. « AAS Working Papers in Social Anthropology/ÖAW Arbeitspapiere zur Sozialanthropologie », XXXII, 70 p. ISBN-Online : 978-3-7001-8256-6.

Daniel Martin Varisco analyse l'activité agricole sous le Royaume mutawakkilite au Yémen, entre le début du xxe s. et la fin de l'imamat zaydite en 1962, en s'appuyant sur la *Ṣifat ǧazīrat al-ʿArab* d'al-Hamdānī (m. 334/945) et le *Tāǧ al-ʿarūs* d'al-Zabīdī (m. 1205/1790) ainsi que sur les huit sources suivantes :

1. ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī (m. 1379/1959), *Taʾrīḫ al-Yaman*, Le Caire, Maṭbaʿat ḥiǧāzī, 1366/1948.

   Ce livre a été publié pour la première fois en 1346/1927, puis, dans une forme plus complète, en 1366/1948. L'auteur, al-Wāsiʿī, a mémorisé le Coran et a étudié les sciences islamiques à Sanaa, Zabīd, La Mecque, Damas et Le Caire. Il offre une longue discussion sur l'agriculture yéménite dans les années 1920.

2. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ (m. 1419/1998), *Ṣaḥfat min taʾrīḫ al-Yaman al-iǧtimāʿī wa-qiṣṣat ḥayātī*, Damas, Maṭbaʿat al-kātib al-ʿarabī, 1979.

   L'auteur est l'un des historiens yéménites les plus importants et le frère du *qāḍī* Ismāʿīl al-Akwaʿ (m. 1429/2008). Le livre explique en détail l'almanach agricole.

3. Nazīh Muʾayyid al-ʿAẓm, *Riḥla fī bilād al-ʿarabiyya al-Saʿūdiyya*, Le Caire, Šarikat dār al-tanwīr li-al-ṭibāʿa wa-al-našr, 1986.

   L'auteur est un journaliste syrien qui a visité le Yémen quatre fois entre 1927 et 1936. Il offre une description saisissante du Yémen de la fin des années 1920 qui

est nourrie de ces voyages entre la Tihāma, Sanaa et le Sud du pays. À plusieurs reprises, il fait des observations sur l'agriculture, bien qu'elles soient moins approfondies que celles d'al-Wāsiʿī.

4. Ettore Rossi (m. 1955), « Note sull'irrigazione, l'agricoltura e le stagioni nel Yemen », *Oriento Moderno* 33/8-9, p. 349-361, 1953.

   L'auteur, un orientaliste italien qui a visité le Yémen entre 1936 et 1937, a écrit la première grammaire dialectale de Sanaa. L'article porte sur le système d'irrigation, sur des proverbes et le droit coutumier, ainsi que sur le vocabulaire lié à l'agriculture et aux saisons. Toutes ces informations s'appuient sur des travaux de terrain dans les alentours de Sanaa.

5. Muḥammad Ḥaydara (m. 1973), *Takwīm*, Taʿizz, 1945 [Translated by Serjeant (1954)]

   Cet almanach a été composé en 1945 pour l'usage officiel et a été dédié au prince héritier Aḥmad. L'auteur était un érudit et un astronome. Son ouvrage a été traduit par Robert Betram Serjeant (m. 1993, voir *CmY* n. s. 2, 2018, dédié à Serjeant) (« Star-calendars and an almanach from South-West Arabia », *Anthropos* 49, p. 433-459).

6. Nello Lambardi, « Divisioni Amministrative del Yemen con Notizie Economiche e Demografiche », *Oriente Moderno* 27/7-9, p. 143-162, 1947.

   Cette étude est une liste annotée des districts administratifs du Yémen entre 1940 et 1944 et s'appuie sur des statistiques du Gouvernement yéménite et des enquêtes personnelles de Nello Lambardi. Elle inclut des informations sur l'agriculture du pays.

7. FAO, *Report of the FAO Mission to Yemen*, Rome, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1960.

   Ce rapport est le résultat d'une mission de la Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) de l'Organisation des Nations unies au Yémen mutawakkilite qui s'est déroulée durant les trois derniers mois de 1955. L'objectif était de faire une enquête générale sur les ressources alimentaires et agricoles du pays afin d'identifier des problèmes de développement de ces ressources et de proposer des recommandations pour assurer le développement agricole.

8. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Waysī, *Al-Yaman al-kubrā*, Cairo, Maṭbaʿat al-nahḍa al-ʿarabiyya, 1962.

   Ce livre de 298 pages offre un aperçu de la distribution régionale de l'agriculture au Yémen avant la Révolution de 1962. L'auteur a rassemblé des informations remontant jusqu'à 1351/1932.

En ce qui le concerne, D. M. Varisco offre un aperçu de l'agriculture et quelques appendices sur des poids et mesures, ainsi que sur les céréales cultivées au Yémen mutawakkilite.

Accessible ici : https://epub.oeaw.ac.at/?arp=0x0039b10b

2018. Damaris Wilmers, *Beyond Schools: Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr's (d. 840/1436). Epistemology of Ambiguity*, Leyde, E. J. Brill, coll. « Islamic History and Civilisation », CLIV, x+396 p. ISBN : 9789004381117.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (m. 840/1436) est considéré parmi les protagonistes d'un développement intellectuel qui a été décrit – pour la première fois par Michael Cook dans *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000) – comme la « sunnisation » du zaydisme. Ibn al-Wazīr propose d'installer tout enseignement de théologie et de droit sur l'étude des sources primaires et, surtout, sur le corpus du hadith sunnite. C'est un critique sévère de l'approche rationnelle de la théologie (*ʿilm al-kalām*), approche qui prédominait dans la pensée zaydite depuis l'adoption du muʿtazilisme au iiie/ixe s. Il est aussi connu pour son appel à la pratique de l'*iǧtihād* dans le domaine du droit dans le but de faire revivre l'interprétation individuelle du droit islamique par des juristes professionnels. C'est seulement récemment qu'on a vu un timide essor de l'intérêt scientifique pour Ibn al-Wazīr qui s'est traduit par la publication de quelques articles dédiés à son projet intellectuel[14]. Le livre de D. Wilmers est la première étude monographique sur ce personnage clef de l'histoire intellectuelle du Yémen. Étudiant un corpus très riche de la littérature zaydite du ixe/xve s., l'auteur établit son analyse sur de nombreuses sources manuscrites yéménites.

D. Wilmers décrit Ibn al-Wazīr comme un penseur unique, au moins pour son temps et son environnement intellectuel. Afin de démontrer le caractère exceptionnel de la pensée d'Ibn al-Wazīr, l'auteur compare son enseignement avec celui de son contemporain, l'Imam Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (m. 840/1436). Ibn al-Murtaḍā est un représentant de ce qui peut être considéré comme le courant dominant du zaydisme yéménite de l'époque : en théologie, il était partisan du *kalām* muʿtazilite (plus précisément de l' « École de Bassora ») et suivait dans le domaine du droit l'approche traditionnelle zaydite, centrée sur l'autorité des imams anciens. Ibn al-Murtaḍā a écrit plusieurs œuvres qui font preuve d'une approche encyclopédique au sens où elles représentent une tentative de réunir le savoir dans les domaines de la théologie, du droit (*fiqh*), de la méthodologie juridique (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) ou de l'historiographie intellectuelle (qu'il présente sous forme de *ṭabaqāt*).

D. Wilmers commence son livre par une étude de l'environnement intellectuel dans lequel elle situe la biographie d'Ibn al-Wazīr. Ce cadre offre une explication convaincante du projet intellectuel d'Ibn al-Wazīr : le Yémen dans lequel Ibn al-Wazīr a reçu son éducation était en fait un paysage marqué par une pluralité de traditions intellectuelles. Les voisins sunnites des Zaydites de la montagne yéménite, c'est-à-dire la dynastie rassoulide, avaient contribué à la diversification des traditions théologiques et juridiques. Fils d'une famille zaydite, Ibn al-Wazīr a été instruit par des savants zaydites et sunnites, notamment dans la science des traditions prophétiques du corpus de hadith sunnite. Cette éducation a profondément influencé Ibn al-Wazīr, influence qui se traduit dans la quête d'une approche qui puisse transcender les différentes écoles

[14] Voir *CmY* 7/26 (Juil. 2018), Actualités, <2018>, p. 16-18.

théologiques et juridiques et qui, selon Ibn al-Wazīr lui-même, doit s'appuyer sur des sources textuelles dont l'autorité est acceptée par toutes les écoles.

Après un chapitre sur la production littéraire d'Ibn al-Wazīr, D. Wilmers dédie des chapitres spécifiques à la méthodologie, la pensée théologique et la pensée juridique d'Ibn al-Wazīr. Selon la théorie d'Ibn al-Wazīr, les sources du savoir certain se limitent – à part la perception sensuelle et l'expérience – strictement aux sources primaires, c'est-à-dire au Coran et à la Sunna. Cette théorie était en contradiction avec la méthodologie établie parmi les Zaydites qui, enclins au mu'tazilisme, partaient de la supposition que la raison humaine a des capacités démonstratives et peut donc produire du savoir certain. La méthodologie d'Ibn al-Wazīr a des conséquences directes sur son approche de la théologie et sur sa pensée juridique. Vu que le concept de la croyance religieuse ne permet aucun doute et ne peut se nourrir que du savoir certain sur Dieu, toute pensée théologique doit se fonder, selon Ibn al-Wazīr, sur les sources textuelles du Coran et du hadith. Cela exclut l'usage du raisonnement dans ce domaine, méthode favorisée par les partisans du *kalām* en général et du mu'tazilisme en particulier. Pourtant, cela ne veut pas dire qu'Ibn al-Wazīr désapprouve la réflection rationnelle en tant que méthode scientifique en général. Selon D. Wilmers, c'est tout le contraire : si la théologie requiert la connaissance certaine de Dieu, Ibn al-Wazīr considère que le plus haut degré de certitude qui peut être atteint dans le domaine du droit est la probabilité. La qualité du raisonnement juridique doit être mesurée, selon Ibn al-Wazīr, par la pratique correcte de l'interprétation du droit, interprétation qui peut pourtant mener les juristes à tirer des conclusions diverses. Pour Ibn al-Wazīr, cette diversité d'interprétations n'invalide pas les conclusions des juristes à condition qu'elles soient le résultat d'un *iǧtihād* correct. Le livre de D. Wilmers représente une contribution essentielle à une appréciation meilleure de l'histoire intellectuelle du Yémen.

https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004381117

1er juin 2018. Paris, Mairie Paris 2e arrondissement. AIDL, conférence-débat Socotra

Sous les auspices de l'Association internationale pour la défense des libertés (AIDL), une Conférence-débat : « L'île de Socotra joyau de la biodiversité mondiale entre importance stratégique, violation du droit international et convoitise régionale » a pris place à la Mairie du 2e arrondissement de Paris. Parmi les intervenants, se trouvaient Marie-Claude Siméone-Senelle, François Burgat et Franck Mermier. En ce qui concerne les *CmY*, Anne Regourd a contribué à la mise sur pied de la conférence, à son organisation et donné une communication sur les épisodes de l'histoire de l'île montrant son importance géo-stratégique : « Contexte historique – Socotra, la bien placée ».

http://www.aidl.eu/fr/permalink/3089.html

5 juillet 2018. Mashal Saif, [Revue de : Brinkley Cliford Messick, *Shari'a scripts. A Historical Anthropology*, New York, Columbia University Press, 536 p. ISBN : 978-0-

23117-847-7], ***Reading Religion. A Publication of the American Academy of Religion***. Publication en ligne,

http://readingreligion.org/books/shar%C4%ABa-scripts

13 septembe 2018. Paris, Palais Bourbon. Colloque « Le Yémen : un pays riche de culture dans la tourmente », Groupe d'amitié France-Yémen

Ce colloque d'une demi-journée, à l'initiative du Groupe d'amitié France-Yémen de l'Assemblée nationale, a pris place le 13 septembre au Palais Bourbon. En ce qui concerne les aspects patrimoniaux, l'épigraphie/archéologie était représentée par Christian Darles et les questions de préservation des sites couvertes par l'UNESCO. Le patrimoine immatériel était couvert par Jean Lambert et la création artistique par l'écrivain Ali al-Muqri. Pour les manuscrits, on notera l'intervention de Muhammad Tawaf, alors Doctorant à l'École des Chartes, qui a décrit la situation des Archives yéménites, et celle d'Anne Regourd sur les livres manuscrits. Anne Regourd a participé à l'organisation du colloque à la demande du Groupe d'amitié France-Yémen.

http://fabien-gouttefarde.fr/colloque-yemen-un-pays-riche-de-culture-dans-la-tourmente/

https://christian-darles.fr/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/INVITATION-YEMEN-13-09-2018.pdf

20 octrobre 2018. Paris, Les Grands Voisins. Contribution d'Anne Regourd, « Zabid – Yémen : joyau du patrimoine culturel »

L'Association Salam for Yemen a organisé « Un jour au Yémen », une journée durant laquelle tables rondes ont alterné avec performances artistiques diverses. Plusieurs aspects du patrimoine du Yémen ont été abordés, dont le patrimoine manuscrit, à travers le cas de Zabīd.

https://salamforyemen.org/2018/10/17/programme-un-jour-au-yemen-20-octobre-2018/

15 novembre 2018. Leyde, Bibliothèques de l'Université. Digitisation Project of Yemeni Manuscripts

Les manuscrits yéménites des Bibliothèques de l'Université de Leyde sont en cours de numérisation dans le cadre du projet « The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition », coordonné par Sabine Schmidtke, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

https://leidenspecialcollectionsblog.nl/articles/digitisation-project-of-yemeni-manuscripts-at-leiden-university-libraries

15-18 novembre 2018. San Antonio, Texas. Le Yémen à la MESA

La conférence annuelle de la Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA), qui s'est tenue en 2018 à San Antonio (Texas), a été marquée par la vivacité des études yéménites et par l'intérêt grandissant qu'elles suscitent auprès de jeunes chercheurs, pour des sujets et suivant des approches variées. Si les sciences sociales et politiques florissent, l'histoire contemporaine séduit de nouveaux chercheurs et les études médiévales se maintiennent. On compte onze contributions individuelles, auxquels s'ajoutent deux panels entièrement dédiés au Yémen, le P5057, à l'initiative de Marieke Brandt, « The Birth of Modern Yemen: Internal Views of the 1960s Civil War » ; le P5224, de Marina de Regt, « Anthropology in War-torn Yemen: Challenges, Dilemmas, and Alternative Methodologies ». Malheureusement, le P5258 « New Perspectives on Zaydi Literature and Intellectual history », mis sur pied par Jan Thiele, n'a finalement pas été maintenu. Il devait accueillir les contributions de trois membres des *CmY*, Hassan Farhang Ansari, « Imam al-Mansur bi-llah Abdullah b. Hamza: A Zaydi ruler and author » et Jan Thiele, « Reflections on Metaphysics in 7th/13th-century Zaydi kalam works », ainsi que Sabine Schmidtke, « Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (b. 669/1270, d. 749/1348–9), and his literary œuvre ».

Pour les *CmY*, on retiendra les contributions individuelles sur le Yémen de :

- Kerstin Hünefeld, « Dhimma Space: The Protection Relationship as a Socio-Political 'Field' » ;
- Shuaib Ally, « Geographical and Genre Boundaries: On Qasimi's Curious Use of Jishumi's Tafsir » ;
- Sahar Bazzaz, « Ottoman Exploration in Yemen, 1849 » ;
- Richard Harrod, « Hamid al-Din Yemen & The United States in the Early Post-war Period: Diplomacy, Modernity and Challenges, 1946–1954 ».

Et la contribution individuelle sur Oman de :

- Ahmed AlMaazmi, « Belonging Across the Omani Sea: De-Soldiering Baloch History in the Arabian Peninsula ».

Portant sur la péninsule Arabique, le panel P5059, organisé par Corrado la Martire, « Beyond the written word: unity and diversity across transmission and transformation of medieval textual traditions in the Arabian Peninsula », et dirigé par Anne Regourd, réunissait les contributions de :

- Massimo Campanini, « The Qur'an and Late Antiquity: a Critical Reconsideration » ;
- Valerie J. Hoffman, « The Development of Ibadi Textual Tradition in the Arabian Peninsula » ;
- Corrado la Martire, « How to conceal the tradition into the text: Tayyibi Isma'ili 'codes of conduct' (*adab al-du'at*) between Yemen and India » ;
- Anne Regourd, « Questioning the birth of a tradition ».

Voir la présentation du panel ici :

https://mesana.org/mymesa/meeting_program_session.php?sid=ead5658f15964ad09dbddc0fd8fb869c

Les contributions au panel seront éditées, avec des articles additionnels, par Corrado la Martire et publiées dans *CmY* n. s. 3, 2019.

Accès à l'ensemble du programme ici :

https://mesana.org/mymesa/meeting_program.php?program_bookyr=2012

6-7 décembre 2018. Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study. Conférence internationale, « Yemeni Manuscript Collections and Zaydi Studies »

La conférence a été organisé par Hassan Ansari et Sabine Schmidtke dans le cadre du « Shii Studies Research Program » dont l'objectif général est de promouvoir l'étude du chiisme. Le programme de cette conférence portait spécifiquement sur la branche zaydite et l'histoire de sa communauté au Yémen et en Iran. Les manuscrits yéménites restent l'une des sources principales pour les études zaydites : d'une part, les approches textuelles de l'étude du zaydisme ne peuvent se passer de la multitude de textes qui restent sous forme manuscrite et souvent inexplorés ; d'autre part, les manuscrits yéménites représentent une source extrêmement riche pour l'étude de la culture matérielle du zaydisme. Par conséquent, de nombreuses interventions de cette conférence portaient sur des collections de manuscrits yéménites et leur histoire, ainsi que sur des manuscrits spécifiques traitant de domaines divers, tels que la méthodologie du droit (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), le droit, la théologie (*ʿilm al-kalām*) ou la polémique.

Le programme complet ainsi que les résumés de tous les interventions sont accessibles en ligne :

https://www.ias.edu/ssrp/events_conferences

11 décembre 2018. Philadelphie, Katz Centre. Présentation informelle d'Anne Regourd : « Beneyton report on Yemen (pub. October 2013) and his observation on the Jewish community in Sanaa »

Alfred Beneyton est ingénieur des Chemins de fer français (né en 1869-m. après 1937), qui s'est rendu deux fois au Yémen, en 1909-1910 et 1911, pour un projet de construction de chemin de fer frano-ottoman. La présentation d'Anne Regourd, « Beneyton report on Yemen (pub. October 2013) and his observation on the Jewish community in Sanaa », a été suivie d'une longue discussion sur les deux passages du rapport dans lesquels Alfred Beneyton livre ses réflexions sur la communauté juive de Sanaa, sur sa vision du Yémen, sur le règne de l'Imam Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ḥamīd Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1918-1948 ; m. 1367/1948) et sur la présence ottomane dans le pays.

Abu Dhabi

14 sept. 2018. Kevin Blankinship, « Of Fights and Fables: A Warrior Poet of Pre-Islamic Arabia » [Revue de : *War Songs: ʿAntarah ibn Shaddād*, trad. James E. Montgomery & Richard Sieburth, New York, New York University Press, coll. « Library of Arabic Literature », New York University Abu Dhabi, 2018, 320 p. ISBN : 978-1-4798-5879-8 (broché) ; 978-1-4798-8090-4 (relié)], *Marginalia, Los Angeles Review of Books*.

En ligne,

https://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/fights-fables-warrior-poet-pre-islamic-arabia/

Voir aussi la publication liée,

2 octobre 2018. James E. Montgomery, *Dīwān ʿAntarah Ibn Shaddād: A Literary-historical Study*, New York, New York University Press, coll. « Library of Arabic Literature », 400 p. ISBN : 147986188X (broché) ; ISBN : 978-1479861880 (relié).

Interview de James E. Montgomery,

http://www.libraryofarabicliterature.org/2018/war-songs-interview-part-1/

Arabie Saoudite

Décembre 2018. Yahya Saleh Hasan Dahami, « The Magnificence of Arabic: Orwa ibn Al-Ward an Epitome », *International Journal of English and Literature* 9/7, p. 79-87.

"I will use my life to buy fame as long as I can afford buying it, for it alone will survive, while the young man is mortal".[15] Declaring this to his wife in a dialogue reconstructed, or probably imagined, by him in verse, ʿUrwa b. al-Ward (d. 607 AD), a legendary poet and brave pirate of the desert from the ʿAbs tribe, means fame acquired in reckless raids for plunder. What indeed brought him immortal fate, however, was poetic mastery. Paying tribute to ʿUrwa's oeuvre as "an instance of the greatness of Arabic poetic language" and "an epitome of its magnificence", Yaḥyā Ṣāliḥ Ḥasan Dahamī (Depart-

[15] *ḏarīnī wa-nafsī Umma Ḥassāna innanī // bihā qabla an lā amlika* (*a*)*l-bayʿa muštarī*
aḥādīṯa tabqā wa-(*a*)*l-fatā ġayru ḫālidin //iḏā huwa amsā hāmatan fawqa ṣuyyarī*
See ʿUrwa b. al-Ward (d. 607 AD), *Dīwān ʿUrwa b. al-Ward amīr al-ṣaʿālīk*, ed., stud. A. A. Muḥammad, Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1998, p. 67.
Literally, the poet says in verse addressed to his wife: "*Leave me and my soul, oh Mother of Ḥassān, for verily, using it* (i. e. using my life and soul), // *before I will become unable to buy* (i. e. as long as I am able to), *I will buy // stories* (i. e. fables about my deeds of valour, that is, fame), *which* [alone] *will survive, while the young man is not immortal, // as he* (i. e. his soul) *becomes an own above the grave slab* (according to an ancient Bedouin belief, the soul of a killed man was supposed to appear in the night as a howling owl till his death is avenged)".

ment of English, Faculty of Science and Arts, Al-Bāḥa University, Al-Bāḥa, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) elucidates ʿUrwa's contribution not merely to elegant Arabic, but, above all, to the art of articulating traditional tribal virtues of manliness (*muruwwa*). The latter virtues include knightly courage, on the one hand, and ultimate hospitality and generosity, especially in taking care of the poor, on the other. ʿUrwa, as Dahamī notes, presented elegant pictures of pre-Islamic Arabs by both word and deed.

Dahamī's paper sets off with an outline of the traditional role of the Arab poet as protector of the tribe's conventions and singer of its magnificence and glory. This is a reasonable and even necessary introduction, especially for a wider readership, for indeed, it would be impossible to perceive the significance of any of the pre-Islamic poets without understanding the essence of tribal Arab poethood. The author, in particular, considers the traditional role of the Arab poet as a spokesman of the tribe. Then, he pays attention to ʿUrwa's biography and, considering the poet's fame as "the prince of the brigands" (*amīr al-ṣaʿālīk*)—to the phenomenon of the brigands in early Arab history. Considering ʿUrwa's personality, the author stresses the poet's poverty and self-sacrifice. Considering his raids, he establishes an important link between courage and generosity, for, as follows from the tradition, ʿUrwa's raids were aimed at acquiring means for helping the poor. Relying on Ǧawād ʿAlī's *Al-mufaṣṣal*,[16] Dahamī explains that the *ṣaʿālīk* are "the poor men or those men who go raiding" and that, usually, the Arab "brigands" refused to obey their clans, because, in their view, their interests and needs were neglected by their fellow-tribesmen. In the central part of the paper, the author, employing numerous illustrations from the poet's *dīwān*, discusses ʿUrwa as a knight and a generous father of the poor, presenting him as one of the symbols of Arab nature. Several points should be outlined to concretise the ongoing study of ʿUrwa's oeuvre.

1) Studying the *dīwān*, we deal merely with poetic description of deeds rather than with deeds themselves. Therefore, the object of the discussion would be not so much ʿUrwa himself, but rather his concentration on virtues and his manner to represent them (or to represent himself as a perfect bearer of these virtues) in verse. Developing as a tribal duty, Arabian poethood, from the very beginning, was a socially standardised mode of activity and would be best interpreted in terms of its role as the chief instrument of distributing honour and dishonour. This role was possible, or even necessary, because of the organisation of Arab tribal society: structures of kinship; courage, generosity and glory as qualities necessary to sustain a community; moral thinking based on the notion of virtues. Therefore, praise and self-praise based on articulation of virtues such as courage in battle, fearlessness of death, hospitality and readiness to provide shelter and to feed guests, widows and orphans are common literary strategies in Arab tribal poetry. These virtues are qualities that had to manifest themselves in actions required by a man's role in Bedouin society. Thus, their articulation in the production of a particular tribal poet tells not so much of a concrete person who boasts of them, but rather of his society in general and its ideology in particular.

[16] ʿAlī, Ǧawād, *Al-mufaṣṣal fī tārīḫ al-ʿarab qabl al-Islām*, Baghdad, Ǧāmiʿat Baġdād, 1993, 10 vols.

Similarly, the propensity to articulate virtues in their ultimate, unattainable perfection, as ʿUrwa does, is typical for early Arabic poetry in general, reflecting the attitude of tribal society toward its moral background. Over centuries, tribal poethood was a social commitment. Articulation of virtues aimed at producing moral effects within and outside the tribe. Literary strategies designed to articulate virtues were influenced by aesthetics of exclusiveness and perfection. Virtues were articulated as collective representations of the tribe, contributing to the awareness of its unity and peculiarity. To engender preferable actions in his fellow-tribesmen and to impress other tribes, the poet had to convince and to make the propagated moral doctrine plausible. Each virtue was articulated in its ideal form—in the highest degree surpassing the reality. Aspiring to effectiveness through the articulation of virtues in their perfection, the poet was expected to express what ought to be and what should happen, for a likely and convincing impossibility was preferable to an unconvincing possibility.

Considering that early Arab poets commonly used to articulate ultimate courage, generosity and readiness to take care of the poor, debates on ʿUrwa b. al-Ward should focus on what made this master unique against this background. Dahamī, though not aiming at answering this question, does illustrate some characteristics that are peculiar to ʿUrwa's representation of generosity. Firstly, that ʿUrwa describes his hospitability and readiness to provide shelter, at the same time, stressing his personal poverty. Secondly, ʿUrwa does not simply ascribe to himself virtues, but tells of his personal experience of practicing them, as in the case of "the people of corral-huts" (*aṣḥāb al-kanīf*).

ʿUrwa's strategy of stressing his generosity against the background of his poverty deserves attention as it attains two objectives. Firstly, poverty fits the image of ʿUrwa as a brigand. Secondly, the extreme generosity of ʿUrwa is described as the pure power of honour and nobility, but not as a derivative of might and wealth. This power of generosity overpasses the power originating in wealth, for it does not depend on the financial situation and cannot be overpowered by riches. This idea could be best illustrated by the following line: "*When evening brings me guests of the glorified, // generous man* (the poet means himself), *my camels, which are the camels of a poor man* (i. e. are little in number), *are released from the corral* [to graze unwatched]".[17] ʿUrwa describes utmost generosity without hyperboles and figurative language, which are typical for poetic references to magnanimity in the production of early Arab poets. Describing the power of generosity and nobility, ʿUrwa articulates the virtue of hospitality in its highest degree. The meaning of his words is not simply that, regardless of poverty, he generously feeds any guests coming to his tent in the evening. ʿUrwa shows an extremely huge and noble aspiration to feed passers-by. To hide his poverty in the evening, when guests may come, he releases his camels to graze unwatched. In other words, to make his guests feel comfortable, he produces a false impression that they are received by a rich man. Approaching the camp, the guests will not discover how few are the host's animals and will not restrain themselves from enjoying his unlimited hospitality.

[17] *yurīḥu ʿalayya* (*a*)*l-laylu aḍyāfa māǧidin // karīmin wa-mālī sāriḥan mālu muqtirī* (ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān*, 1998, p. 69).

2) Another point to be considered is the relationship between Arabian poethood as tribal commitment and the phenomenon of brigands. Dahamī mentions the traditional roles of the Arab poet as the spokesman of the tribe, the protector of the tribe's conventions and the singer of its magnificence and glory. The verbal art of the desert raiders and plunderers who acted on their own, either aspiring to individual freedom and leadership or being expelled from their tribes, forms a special class of poetry—"the poetry of the brigands" (*šiʿr al-ṣaʿālīk*)—precisely because this sort of verse, unlike most of early Arabic poetry, does not defend tribal interests and does not promote tribal pride. ʿUrwa's poetry is typical in this respect. Though articulating the values of *muruwwa*, it does not promote the ideology of *ʿaṣabiyya* (loyalty to the kin) and does not contain tribal boast. The group whose ideology this poet does promote, and whose pride he does glorify, is the caste of independent raiders, which brings us to the third point.

3) Quoting Ǧawād ʿAlī, Dahamī notes that the *ṣaʿālīk* are "the poor men or those men who go raiding", which means that some *ṣaʿālīk*, though famous for raiding, were not paupers. The author explains that ʿUrwa was famous for raids, ultimate generosity and self-sacrifice, but, at the same time, for poverty. In this context, a more systematic reference to the phenomenon of *ṣaʿālīk*, and to the ambiguity of the term *ṣuʿlūk*, would be of value. Indeed, a "brigand" could act independently from his tribe, because of deciding that his interests were not considered by his relatives, but such a raider was not necessarily an expelled person. On the other hand, there were Bedouins who became famous for raiding precisely because of being expelled from their tribes. Finally, not all poor brigands were necessarily raiders. Thus, the term *ṣuʿlūk* connoted at the same time: 1) to a respected raider-hero; 2) to an antihero expelled from the tribe; 3) to a disrespected beggar. ʿUrwa b. al-Ward is the clearest example of a *ṣuʿlūk* of the first type. Apparently, the fact that the term *ṣuʿlūk* simultaneously connoted to roaming beggars (to those who made their living from mendicancy instead of raiding) annoyed the poet. Not in vain, in one of his most famous poems (*Aqillī ʿalayya* (*a*)*l-lawma yā binta Munḏirī*…), ʿUrwa combines praise of the *ṣaʿālīk* of the heroic type with invective against the *ṣaʿālīk* of the despicable kind.[18]

As for "brigands" expelled from their tribes by relatives who were reluctant to bear collective responsibility for their actions, their experience is clearly different from that of ʿUrwa. The poet does not focus on the attitude of his relatives toward him and does not accuse them of betrayal. The latter motives, on the other hand, are clearly articulated in the poems of those poets who, according to the tradition, indeed experienced the described situation. The example is al-Šanfarā al-Azdī (d. 525), who dedicated to his conflict with relatives his famous *lāmiyya*-ode, in which he declares that his new tribe are wild animals in the desert.[19] In the Umayyad period, the example is Saʿd b. Nāšib, who refers to the conflict with fellow-tribesmen in the poem "*Sa-aġsilu ʿannī*

[18] ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān*, 1998, pp. 68–69.

[19] Al-Šanfarā (d. 525), *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭalāl Ḥarb, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1996, pp. 55–56.

(*a*)*l-ʿāra bi-*(*a*)*l-sayfi ǧālibā…*", in which he accuses his relatives of betrayal for letting the authorities to destroy his house.[20]

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Oman

18 mars 2019. Oman, Mascate. Visit to the National Records and Archives Authority (NRAA) in Muscat

From March 11th to March 22nd a group of 10 students from the Department of Oriental and Islamic Studies at the Ruhr-Universität-Bochum (RUB, Germany) accompanied by a number of lecturers from the University of Bochum and Tübingen participated in an academic visit to Oman. This visit carried the title "Modern Oman: History and Culture from the Seventeenth Century to the Present." The organizers were Johann Büssow (RUB), Michaela Hoffmann-Ruf (University of Tübingen) and Ferhat Demirel (University of Tübingen). The funding was supplied by the PROMOS program at the RUB (financed by the DAAD and the Ministry for Education and Research). The host institution in Oman was the University of Nizwa with which cooperation was established during several previous visits in November 2016, February 2017 and April 2018 (see *CmY* 4/23 (Jan. 2017), Actualités, <2016-2017. Tübingen, Université de Tübingen – Institut d'étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Centre de e-Sciences, Institut Asie Orient, Dépt. d'études orientales et islamiques. Programme : « Settlement and Society in Premodern Oman »>, pp. 23-26; *CmY* 5/24 (Jul. 2017), Actualités, <February 2017. Tübingen, University of Tübingen – Asia Orient Institute, Dept. of Oriental and Islamc Studies, in collaboration with the Institute for Ancien Near Eastern Studies and the eScience Center. State archives of Oman: Report on an exploratory exercise in February 2017>, pp. 34-38).

The visit pursued several, equally important objectives. One of them was a German-Arabic language exchange which was organized in cooperation with the German Language Section of the University of Nizwa. Another aim was to deepen the knowledge of research-oriented graduate and undergraduate students from Bochum concerning Oman's modern history and culture as well as Ibadi Islam. With regard to this a number of half-day and full-day field trips were organized. These included visits to historically important cities and sites such as Nizwa, Bahla, Jabreen and Manah where the participants gained insight into the specific urban structures and architecture of these settlements. Another focus of this program was on the institutions that provide further knowledge about Oman's eventful past and the cultural heritage of the country, such

[20] Al-Marzūqī (d. 421/1030), *Šarḥ Dīwān al-ḥamāsa li-Abī Tammām*, ed. Ġarīd al-Šayḫ & Ibrāhīm Šams al-Dīn, Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2003, pp. 52–57.

as the National Museum, the Al Salimi library in Biddiye and—last but not least—the National Records and Archive Authority (NRAA) in Muscat.

The visit to the NRAA took place on Monday 18th from 10.00 am to 12.30 am. The German students were accompanied by Nasser Al Saqri, a local cooperation partner, and Johachim Düster from the German Embassy in Muscat. The institution's directorate had met the request for a visit with great enthusiasm and organized a program that covered a variety of interests. It was especially intended to demonstrate the possibilities for further research into the history of Oman and the Indian Ocean region on the basis of written unpublished source material such as is provided by the NRAA.

At the beginning an official welcome and some general information on the objectives of the NRAA were provided. This was followed by a film on the institution's history and structure. As mentioned in another contribution to the *CmY* (see *CmY* 5/24 (Jul. 2017), Actualités, <February 2017. Tübingen, University of Tübingen – Asia Orient Institute, Dept. of Oriental and Islamc Studies, in collaboration with the Institute for Ancien Near Eastern Studies and the eScience Center. State archives of Oman: Report on an exploratory exercise in February 2017>, pp. 36ff.) this institution was founded in 2007 by royal decree with the objective of collecting documents of all kinds (contracts, bequests, endowments, letters, etc.) concerning the political, economic and social history of Oman. The focus is on documents from Oman itself, but the inventory also includes (copied) material from archives abroad such as the National Archive in Zanzibar.

Ill. 1. Welcome and general information on the NRAA. Courtesy of the Department of Media, NRAA.

The next section that the group visited was the collection of private documents (*Qism al-waṯāʿiq al-ḫāṣṣa*) where the various steps of collecting, preserving and digitizing those documents were explained by one of the institution's staff.

Ill. 2. Visit to the collection of private documents. Courtesy of the Department of Media, NRAA.

This was followed by a presentation of a hitherto little known aspect of the NRAA's work, the collection and presentation of oral history. As was demonstrated by film recordings, employees of the NRAA either went to see—mostly elderly—people at the place where they live to conduct and record interviews (with video and audio recording) on topics of historical or socio-cultural interest. Alternatively the interviews were conducted in the premises of the NRAA where a special room equipped with cameras and audio recording devices was reserved for that purpose. The records of these interviews were later transcribed and filed according to topic.

Ill. 3. The room where the interviews were (video & audio) recorded.
Courtesy of the Department of Media, NRAA.

The next point in the visiting program consisted in an introduction to the various research possibilities offered by the online catalogue, including information on the procedure for ordering print copies of the documents. The final item on the agenda was the visit to a small but well-designed exhibition housed in a neighbouring building dealing with the history of writing in general and presenting key documents on Oman's history.

Ill. 4. The exhibition dealing with the history of writing in Oman
and presenting key documents on its history. Courtesy of the Department of Media, NRAA.

The visit proved to be a great success even if the students may not yet fully realize the possibilities that such an institution can provide. However, with regard to future student visits the NRAA will be an important part of their program. It is also intended to expand the cooperation between the NRAA and the University of Bochum including the possibility to do an internship at the NRAA.

Ill. 5. Farewell. Courtesy of the Department of Media, NRAA.

http://www.nraa.gov.om/english/

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Océan Indien

2018. Francesca Declich, « Translocal Relations across the Indian Ocean. An Introduction », in: idem (éd.), *Translocal Connections Across the Indian Ocean: Swahili Speaking Networks on the Move*, Leyde, E. J. Brill, xii-322 p. ISBN : 978-90-04-36598-8, p. 1-46. DOI 10.1163/9789004365988_002.

Dans son introduction au livre *Translocal Connections Across the Indian Ocean: Swahili Speaking Networks on the Move*, Francesca Declich (éd.) opère une déconstruction de la perception que les Occidentaux ont eue des voyageurs de langue swahilie, pêcheurs et marchands, dans l'océan Indien, les présentant comme de fervents admirateurs des cultures rencontrées dans les différents ports, capables de s'y ajuster et d'apporter leur soutien aux communautés locales. Le projet de ce livre collectif est de creuser notre compréhension des pratiques translocales et d'une perception « cosmopolitanisante », commune, des personnes de langue swahilie, là où elles constituent des noyaux importants de la zone océan Indien. Les sources sur lesquelles reposent les contributions sont multiples et reflètent la période couverte, principalement les xixe et xxe s. On note les nombreuses mentions à Oman et aux Hadramis.

Liste des contributions :

I. Translocality in the Past

Alessandra Vianello, « Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Brava. A Swahili Cultural Enclave in a Somali Context » (p. 49-69) ;

Mohamed Kassim, « Sufism, Salafism, and the Discursive Tradition of Religious Poetry in Brava » (p. 70-91) ;

Francesca Declich, « Translocal Links and Women Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Somalia » (p. 92-118).

II. Vectors (Carriers) of Translocality

Katrin Bromber, « Sasa, pote, majeshi yetu duniani. Swahili Poetry and the Translocal Moment of World War II » (p. 121-131) ;

Gerard C. van de Bruinhorst, « Translocality, Texts and Discourses. Ritual Transformations of Islamic Sacrifices in Tanzania » (p. 132-159).

III. Reflections (Representations) of Translocal Connections

Maria Suriano, « Local Ideas of Fashion and Translocal Connections. A View from Upcountry Tanganyika » (p. 163-189) ;

Linda Giles, « Translocal Interconnections within the Swahili Spirit World. The Role of Pemba and the Comoro Islands/Madagascar » (p. 190-224).

IV. Experiencing Translocality: Translocality from the Bottom—Translocality in Daily Experience

Kjersti Larsen, « Translocal Experiences and Intersecting Mobilities. Reflections on Motility and Actual and Imagined Movability in Contemporary Zanzibar » (p. 227-255) ;

Rebecca Gearhart Mafazy, « Skype, Facebook, and Chat Rooms. New Modes of Expression and Changing Gender Relations among Swahili Youth at Home and Abroad » (p. 256-270) ;

Ida Hadjivayanis, « Integration and Identity of Swahili Speakers in England. Case Study of Swahili Women » (p. 271-295) ;

Mohamed Ahmed Saleh, « Swahili Elites and the Concept of Long-Distance Nationalism within the Diaspora » (p. 296-314).

https://brill.com/view/title/35744

QATAR

3-5 décembre 2018. Rabat, Archives nationales du Maroc. Cours sur l'identification des pigments organisé par la Qatar National Library en collaboration avec l'UNESCO et les archives nationales du Maroc

En décembre 2018, la Qatar National Library a organisé à Rabat, en coopération avec les archives nationales du Maroc, un cours sur l'identification des pigments des ma-

nuscrits. Des bourses ont été allouées à des spécialistes algériens, tunisiens et mauritaniens de la conservation des livres et manuscrits pour leur permettre de participer à cette formation. Antonino Cosentino (Cultural Heritage Science Open Source) & Maxim Nasra (Qatar National Library) étaient les formateurs.

https://www.qnl.qa/en/about/news/conservation-and-preservation-experts-attend-qatar-national-library-training-course

Actualités Internationales

2018. **Nouvelle édition et traduction annotée de : Marco Polo, *Le devisement du monde*, éd. et trad. par Joël Blanchard & Michel Quereuil, collaboration Thomas Tanase, Genève, Droz, LXVI-806 p., cartes, index des noms propres représentés dans la traduction, poids et mesures. ISBN : 978-2-600-05900-8.**

[Présentation française adaptée du prospectus ; présentation anglaise intégrale, N. d. éd.]

Le devisement du monde, autrement dit « la description du monde », est le fruit d'une collaboration entre le célèbre voyageur vénitien et un écrivain de métier, Rustichello da Pisa, qui avait choisi le français comme langue d'écriture, à l'instar de nombre d'écrivains italiens de son temps. L'œuvre a connu rapidement le succès, elle a été adaptée ou traduite en plusieurs langues, de sorte qu'elle nous a été transmise dans diverses « versions » ou « rédactions », française, toscanes, vénitiennes, latines, catalane, franco-italienne. C'est cette dernière, souvent considérée comme la rédaction de référence et la plus proche de l'original, que propose le présent ouvrage, pour la première fois sous la forme d'une édition bilingue, édition critique du seul manuscrit sous lequel elle nous est parvenue (BnF, fr. 1116). On découvre une langue déroutante et chatoyante, un français coloré de nombreux italianismes. Cet ouvrage bénéficie d'une traduction en français contemporain fidèle et élégante, d'une introduction et de notes substantielles.

If the name of Marco Polo is universally known, we know less about Le devisement du monde*, the book that documented his travels.* Le devisement du monde *was a collaboration between Polo and the professional writer, Rustichello da Pisa, who wrote in French, like many contemporary Italian writers. This text presents, for the first time, a bilingual edition of the text—a critical edition of the only surviving Franco-Italian manuscript* (*BN Fr 1116*) *with a translation into contemporary French.*

Janv.-avril 2018. Jean-Louis Triaud, « Autour des manuscrits de Tombouctou. Un état des lieux », *Sociétés politiques comparées* 44, p. 2-39.

[Résumé par l'auteur] « Bien qu'ils soient connus depuis longtemps par les chercheurs, les manuscrits de Tombouctou, qui représentent plusieurs milliers de documents, pour la plupart en arabe, répartis entre une soixantaine de fonds, l'un public et les autres privés, ont retenu, depuis une vingtaine d'années, l'intérêt des médias. Les at-

taques jihadistes, en 2012, ont relancé les préoccupations autour de ce capital culturel. Le décalage entre le rythme de la recherche et celui de la découverte par les médias est au centre de notre analyse, qui insiste sur les conflits qui en découlent. L'exposition médiatique apporte une meilleure visibilité à ces fonds, stimule l'engagement des États et des bailleurs de fonds, tout en faisant monter les enchères locales, transformant les manuscrits de Tombouctou en objet d'ostentation, de distinction urbaine, de « business », de géopolitique, tandis que les exigences scientifiques viennent en second plan. Les travaux récents tendent, d'autre part, à réduire la centralité de Tombouctou dans la conservation des héritages manuscrits subsahariens ».

Article disponible en ligne :

http://www.fasopo.org/sites/default/files/varia2_n44.pdf

Press Review

As follows from the Arab press, two major trends which mark the second half of 2018 in the world of Arabic manuscripts are both related to Egypt. At the governmental level, legislative and practical measures are taken to protect the country's historical manuscripts and to return the treasures smuggled in the past. At the same time, the Cairo-based Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, which belongs to the Tunisia-based Arab Organisation for Education, Science and Culture (ALECSO), draws attention to the study of manuscripts via organising conferences and publishing medieval works and scholarly studies on them.

Yemen

August 2018. *Al-Yaman al-yawm*, "The Director of the Centre for the Study of Historical Manuscripts in Zabīd kidnapped by the Ḥūṯī militia"

ʿArafāt ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaḍramī, the researcher of Yemeni manuscripts and the Director of the Centre for the Study of Historical Manuscripts (*Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt al-tārīḫiyya*) in the city of Zabīd (the Governorate of al-Ḥudayda in the West of Yemen) was kidnapped by the Ḥūṯī militia on August 1 in the morning. According to *Al-Yaman al-yawm*,[21] Mr. al-Ḥaḍramī, the son of the historian and writer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaḍramī, was captured and taken in an unknown direction after not allowing the militants access to the manuscripts and not letting them to house in the Centre. The Centre for the Study of Historical Manuscripts in Zabīd contains a collection of several thousand hand-written historical documents, previously stored in private libraries of the local scholars. The oldest manuscripts kept in *Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt* date back to the 8th/14th century. Most of them have not been published yet. The website *Al-ǧanūbiyya* reports that the relatives of ʿArafāt ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaḍramī demanded from the Ḥūṯī militia to provide them with information on the scholar and appealed to the international organisations to interfere actively and immediately in the situation.[22] Dur-

[21] https://www.alyementoday.com/37/184328-الحوثيون-يختطفون-مدير-مركز-المخطوطات-في-مدينة-زبيد

[22] http://www.jnobia.com/109202.html

ing the recent years, the Ḥūṯī militia are systematically destroying the objects of cultural heritage in Yemen, including monuments, old books and ancient manuscripts.

Voir *CmY* 7/26 (Juil. 2018), Actualités, <ʿArafat al-Hadhrami, libération>, pp. 6–7.

November 2018. *Sputnik*, "A collection of unique Yemeni coins discovered in Laḥiǧ"

Three unique coins dating from 441/1049 were discovered during excavations in the southern Yemeni governorate of Laḥiǧ in November 2018. According to the Egyptian site *Sputnik* and the Yemeni news agency Saba' based in Riyadh and Aden,[23] the discovery was announced by the Culture Minister of Yemen Marwān Dammāǧ. The coins had been struck in Aden, in the days of the Sultan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī (439/1047–458/1066), the founder of the Ismāʿīlī Šīʿī dynasty of the Ṣulayḥides in Yemen (438/1047–532/1138). Each coin has the first part of the *šahāda* (*lā ilāha illā Allāh*– "There is no god but God") on its front side and the inscription "Amara bihi al-Mukarram b. ʿAlī" ("Al-Mukarram b. ʿAlī has ordered this") on its back side. Aḥmad al-Mukarram b. ʿAlī (473/1080–484/1091), the son of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, was born in 441/1049 and had been the heir to the throne. The coins were purchased by the Ministry of Culture for the Museum of Aden. In the past, the Ministry bought for the Museum several Roman coins discovered in the Governorate of Abyan.

November 2018. *Saba' Net*, "Germany is ready to help Yemen in preservation of manuscripts by contributing to organisation of exhibitions"

German-Arab Friendship Association (DAFG) in collaboration with German museums and the Staatsbibliothek Berlin can contribute to organising arts and folklore exhibitions in order to support the discussion on the necessity to save the antiquities and manuscripts of Yemen. As reported by Saba' Net, this was discussed on 5 November by Yemen's ambassador to Berlin, Dr. Yaḥyā al-Šuʿaybī, and the vice-President of DAFG, Dr. Claus-Peter Haase. The ambassador told of the efforts taken by the Government of Yemen to preserve antiquities and manuscripts in the country which is enduring an armed conflict in recent years. According to Dr. Haase, several cultural events will take place in Germany in 2019 to display the cultural heritage of the Yemeni civilization.[24]

Egypt

July 2018. *Al-maṣrī al-yawm*, "The University of Alexandria succeeds in restoring dozens of manuscripts"

The restoration team of the University of Alexandria has accomplished the repair of 125 rare and unique manuscripts of the University's Central Library. As *Al-maṣrī al-yawm* reports,[25] Dr. Ġāda ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mūsā, the Dean of the Faculty of Literature

[23] https://arabic.sputniknews.com/arab_world/201811211036915459-عملات-أثرية-اليمن/

[24] https://www.sabanew.net/viewstory/40872

[25] https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1309709

and the consultant of the University's Rector on the matter of libraries, told that, by July 2018, 125 manuscripts had been repaired as a result of the six stages of the work. The seventh stage implies the restorations of another 26 historical manuscripts. The total amount of 151 manuscript books and documents includes some 10 thousand parchments. During the first stage, in 2005–2006, a portion of 27 manuscripts was repaired. During the second stage, in 2006–2007, another 50 manuscripts were restored. The collection of the Central Library of the University of Alexandria contains 1,312 manuscripts, of which 1,095 are written in the Arabic language.

October 2018. *BBC Arabic*, "The manuscripts of the Saint Catherine's Monastery become available online"

Manuscripts that were kept for centuries in the storage of the Saint Catherine's Monastery on the Sinai Peninsula will become available online. As *BBC Arabic* reports,[26] according to Father Justin, the Librarian of the Monastery, who stands at the head of a group of specialists involved in copying and cataloguing its manuscripts, researchers will have access to the collections as early as in the middle of 2019. About 1,100 rare and unique manuscripts dating from the 4th–17th centuries are being digitalised in collaboration with the University of California, Los-Angeles (UCLA) Library[27] and the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library (EMEL).[28] The library of the Saint Catherine's Monastery is one of the most ancient in the world. It contains some 3,300 manuscripts, most of which are written in the Greek language. There are more than 600 Arabic manuscripts and about 200 manuscripts in the Syriac language.

October–November 2018. *Al-yawm al-sābiʿ*, "Mamluk Manuscripts from Egypt sold at Sotheby's and returned to the country"

Sotheby's, one of the world's largest brokers of fine and decorative art, has auctioned off four Egyptian manuscripts of the Mamluk era. Islamic manuscripts were sold in the framework of Sotheby's biannual auction "The Arts of the Islamic World in the Middle East". One of the pieces exhibited at the auction in October was called "Al-Samad Astrological Images", and it dates back to the late 8th/14th–early 9th/15th century. The website *Al-yawm al-sābiʿ* reports that, among the Islamic manuscripts auctioned off, there was a part of the Qurʾan dating back to 909/1503.[29] The manuscript includes 28 parchments which contain the fourth *juzʾ* of the Qurʾan—from verse 92 of *Sūrat Āl ʿImrān* and till verse 23 of *Sūrat al-Nisāʾ*. Each page contains 7 lines written with black ink in the solid *nasḫ*-script. The names of surahs are written with golden ink. The outside borders of the flowers separating the verses from one another are brown, while the petals are coloured with gold. The Qurʾan belonged originally to the Mamluk sul-

[26] http://www.bbc.com/arabic/art-and-culture-46004075

[27] http://www.library.ucla.edu/

[28] http://emel-library.org/

[29] https://www.youm7.com/story/2018/10/15/3990413/سوثبى-تعرض-مخطوطة-قرآنية-من-العهد-المملوكى-للبيع-فى-مزاد

tan al-Ašraf Qānṣūh al-Ġūrī (906/1501–922/1516). The manuscript was valued in at ten thousand British pounds. According to *Al-Yaman al-yawm*,[30] it was purchased by the Egyptian state to be returned to the country and is now stored it the National House of Books and Documents (*Dār al-kutub wa-al-waṯā'iq al-qawmiyya*). As *Al-maṣrī al-yawm* reports,[31] Dr. Īnās ʿAbd al-Dāyim, the Minister of Culture of Egypt, reassured in November 2018 the decisiveness of the state to return to the country all manuscripts that were smuggled from it in the past. Commenting on the reports on the manuscripts purchased in London by the Egyptian government, she promised that such steps will continue to be taken in the future.

November–December 2018. *Al-yawm al-sābiʿ*, "Egypt develops legislation protecting manuscripts"

The President of Egypt ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Sīsī signed in December 2018 the amendments to the law that protects historical manuscripts on the territory of the country (No. 9 of 2009).[32] As *Al-yawm al-sābiʿ* reports, the law introducing the amendments (No. 183 of 2018) had been approved by the Parliament in November 2018.[33] The law protects all hand-written documents created in Egypt during the pre-printing era, regardless of their form, sort and content. One of the amendments implies summoning a legislative commission composed of representatives of the Noble Al-Azhar, the Ministries of Waqfs, Culture, Justice and Defence, as well as of the governmental bodies responsible for protection and preservation of manuscripts. The commission will elaborate detailed criteria of classification, numbering, assessment and control for manuscripts for the sake of their protection. According to the amendments, any institution in the country, if publishing or discovering a manuscript, must inform the board of the commission within 30 days after the publication, discovery or purchase. Any governmental institution in the country or abroad, if aware of an attempt to sell a manuscript protected by the law in an auction or via any other channel, including attempts of exchange, must take measures to keep manuscripts in the country or return them from abroad.

Arabian international

November 2018. *Al-maṣrī al-yawm*, "The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts shed light on the unknown peak of the development of the Islamic civilisation"

The annual Conference of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts (est. 1946)[34] was held in 2018, November 28–29, under the title "The Manuscripts of the 7th Islamic Century:

[30] https://www.alyementoday.com/317/080507-مصر-تستعيد-مخطوطًا-قرآنيًا-نادرًا-يعود-لفترة-حكم-السلطان-الغوري

[31] https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1346349

[32] https://www.youm7.com/story/2018/12/14/السيسي-يصدر-قانون-حماية-المخطوطات-والزام-جميع-أجهزة-الدولة-بـ/4068157

[33] https://www.youm7.com/story/2018/11/25/صور-البرلمان-يوافق-نهائيا-على-تعديل-قانون-حماية-المخطوطات/4044716

[34] http://www.malecso.org/

between Bibliographic Research and Civilisational Appraisal" (*Maḫṭūṭāt al-qarn al-sābiʿ al-hiǧrī bayn al-baḥṯ al-bibliyūġrāfī wa-al-taqwīm al-ḥaḍārī*). This year, the conference was organised in collaboration with the Zayyān ʿĀšūr University of al-Ǧilfa (Djelfa, Algeria) and was held in the city. As the internet site of *Al-maṣrī al-yawm* reports,[35] the major question of the Conference was that of the reliability of the sources. The 4th/10th century is considered the period of the highest scientific and civilisational achievements of the Islamic world in the Middle Ages, which means that the following centuries, including the 7th/13th century, on which the Conference was focused, might have been regarded as the time of a certain decline. The Conference aimed at proving that, on the contrary, in terms of civilisational and scientific development of the Islamic world, the 7th/13th century was the time of glory and one of the shining peaks of Islamic history. At a number of panels, the participants of the conference discussed the pivotal persons and works dating back to the 7th/13th century, the state of the art in the major fields of knowledge at that time, as well as bibliographical issues related to the dissemination of the manuscript copies of the texts created in the studied period. The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts is based in Cairo and belongs to the Tunisia-based Arab Organisation for Education, Science and Culture (ALECSO), an institute of the Arab League.

October 2018. *Al-yawm al-sābiʿ*, "The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts continues publishing scholarly studies along with primary sources"

The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts has published the book *Al-tālid wa-al-ṭarīf fī fann ǧināṣ al-taṣḥīf* (The inherited and the newly acquired in the art of homogenisation and modification) by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bisāṭī, the scholar of the 11th/17th century. As *Al-yawm al-sābiʿ* reports,[36] the book was edited and studied by Ašraf al-Iskandarānī, who started the work on the manuscript within his MA-project several years ago. The book and the study on it came to light in October 2018 in Cairo, in the series "Turāṯunā", which, apart from scholarly editions of primary sources, publishes fundamental academic studies and dissertations in the Arabic language in the field of textual and source criticism. In the past, for instance, the Institute published the work "The modes of referential and textual quotations in Arab culture" (*Anmāṭ al-istišhādāt al-marǧiʿiyya wa-al-naṣṣiyya fī al-turāṯ al-ʿarabī*) by Tāmir al-Kāšif, who also wrote it as his dissertation.

November 2018. *Al-ʿarabī al-ǧadīd*, "A fundamental study on the manuscripts of Morocco is published in Cairo"

The monograph "Mamluk Manuscripts in the Storages of Morocco: Bibliography and Research" (*Al-maḫṭūṭāt al-mamlūkiyya fī al-ḫazā'in al-maġribiyya: bibliyūġrāfiyyā wa-dirāsa*) by a Moroccan scholar Aḥmad al-Saʿīdī came to light in November 2018 in Cai-

[35] https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1315100

[36] https://www.youm7.com/story/2018/11/2/4015078/معهد-المخطوطات-العربية-ينشر-التالد-والطريف-للبساطى

ro in the series "Turāṯunā", among the studies of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts. According to the website of the newspaper *Al-ʿarabī al-ǧadīd*,[37] the study aims at examining the manuscripts dating from the Mamluk era (648/1250–923/1517) and stored in the public and private collections of Morocco: Al-zāwiya al-ʿAyyāšiyya (or Ḥamzawiyya) library in the city of al-Rāšīdiyya, the storage of al-Imām ʿAlī in Tarūdant, the storage of the Great Mosque (al-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr) in Miknās, al-Ḥasaniyya Library and the National Library (al-Maktaba al-waṭaniyya al-ʿāmma) in Rabat, Dār al-kutub al-nāṣiriyya in Tāmekrūt, and the storage of the Great Mosque (al-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr) in Wazzān. The study includes the statistical analysis of the Mamluk manuscripts in the collections of the mentioned storages in terms of time, authors, preservation state, script. It also contains explicatory data on the relevant fields of art and knowledge, historical events and biographies.

[37] https://www.alaraby.co.uk/books/2018/11/23/المخطوطات-المملوكية-في-الخزائن-المغربية-تاريخ-ثقافي-من-النسخ

Articles

NOTE SUR DEUX MANUSCRITS EN HÉBREU DE ZAYLAʿ (SOMALILAND)

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Résumé

Deux manuscrits hébreux yéménites furent récemment trouvés à Zaylaʿ, au Somaliland. Leur étude permet de préciser le contexte historique, liturgique et technique de la rédaction de ces deux textes, datés respectivement du xvie et du xixe s. Cette littérature n'a pas encore été suffisamment défrichée et elle constitue un apport intéressant à la connaissance de la présence de communautés juives, structurées ou non, sur le littoral de la Corne de l'Afrique.

Abstract

Two Yemeni Hebrew manuscripts were recently found in Zaylaʿ, Somaliland. Their study made it possible to specify the historical, liturgical and technical context of these two texts' drafting, dating back to the 16th and 19th centuries. This literature has not yet been sufficiently explored and is an interesting contribution to the knowledge of Jewish communities' presence, structured or not, in the Horn of Africa.

خلاصة

تم العثور مؤخراً على مخطوطتين عبريتين يمنيتين في زيلع بأرض الصومال. تتيح دراستها تحديد وبيان السياق التاريخي والطقس الديني والتقني لكتابة هذين النصين، ويعود تاريخهما الى القرن السادس عشر والتاسع عشر الميلادي. ولم يتم استكشاف هذا الأدب بشكل كاف حتى الآن، وتشكّل المخطوطتان إسهاماً مهماً في معرفة وجود المجتمعات اليهودية المنظمة أو غير المنظمة في ساحل القرن الافريقي.

Mots clés

Manuscrit, hébreu, liturgie, communautés, Yémen, Corne de l'Afrique, Zaylaʿ, Somaliland

Keywords

Manuscript, hebrew, liturgy, communities, Yemen, Horn of Africa, Zaylaʿ, Somaliland

التعابر الرئيسية

المخطوط، عبرية، الطقس الديني، المجتمع، اليمن، القرن الافريقي، زيلع، أرض الصومال

I. Introduction

Lors d'un séjour à Zaylaʿ, petite ville portuaire du Somaliland, au mois d'avril 2016, j'ai eu l'opportunité d'examiner deux manuscrits écrits en hébreu, présentés par leur propriétaire comme étant de facture locale. Il semble cependant qu'il s'agisse d'une production yéménite, dont ces textes présentent toutes les caractéristiques. Ce sont les particularités codicologiques (support de l'écrit, reliure, etc.) et paléographiques qui permettent de rattacher les manuscrits à une origine : l'isolement de la ville de Zaylaʿ avaient jusque là rendu cette opération impossible.

Cette note cherche donc à réunir les éléments caractéristiques qui permettent, en utilisant une méthodologie comparative, d'établir l'origine yéménite de ces deux manuscrits. Les manuscrits yéménites en caractères hébreux en dépôt à la Bibliothèque nationale de France ont été particulièrement utiles pour ce faire[1].

II. Le contexte historique de la présence juive à Zaylaʿ, du viie au xive s.

Procope de Césarée (c. 500-c. 560) écrivit un récit détaillé du règne de Justinien Ier (527-565) dans lequel l'historien byzantin signale la campagne menée par les Éthiopiens contre les Himyarites "qui étaient tous Juifs". Il mentionne également la présence de populations juives établies sur les îles du littoral de la mer Rouge où elles s'adonnaient au commerce[2]. Cet espace insulaire et côtier, constitué d'une multitude d'îles soumises à un environnement naturel particulièrement défavorable, était faiblement peuplé. Seuls les ports indépendants, tels Zaylaʿ ou Bärbära, purent développer des activités prospères. Ces villes durent tout d'abord leur fortune aux échanges régionaux et à la distribution de produits locaux sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge[3]. La pêche et les fonctions commerciales (récolte des perles, des écailles de tortues marines et de l'ambre gris, …) constituaient les principaux revenus de ces groupes.

Dès la période de pouvoir des califes *rāšidūn*, de 632 à 661, les ports riverains du golfe d'Aden tirèrent profit de l'avancée de l'islam en devenant des centres commerciaux de première importance à la croisée des routes entre l'Asie, l'Afrique et le Levant. Ces communautés juives, établies sur les rives de la mer Rouge, se développèrent en se succédant les unes aux autres, dans une chronologie alternant le dynamisme commercial de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler « l'âge d'or islamique », qui commença avec le règne d'Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Manṣūr (754-775) et la récession économique suivant la destruction de Bagdad par les Mongols, en 1258.

La communauté adénite constitue un exemple intéressant. L'immigration[4] de Juifs persans, fuyant l'instabilité de la Mésopotamie et attirés par la prospérité économique de la ville d'Aden, renforça le particularisme de cette communauté, qui restait tout naturellement tournée vers l'autorité religieuse des académies, *yeshivot*, babylo-

[1] L. Héricher, « Manuscrits yéménites », 2010, p. 9.

[2] J. Cuocq, *L'Islam en Ethiopie*, 1981, p. 19.

[3] T. Power, *The Red Sea*, 2012, p. 211.

[4] S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 1973, p. 10.

niennes, malgré la présence de familles caraïtes. L'ouvrage posthume de Shelomo Dov Goitein, publié avec Mordechai Akiva Friedman étudie un corpus formé de différentes collections de lettres de marchands échangées entre les ports indiens, Aden et l'Égypte, véritable terminus du commerce maritime entre la Méditerranée et la mer Rouge[5]. Ce dynamisme économique a été étudié par Amir Ashur et Ben Outhwaite dans une correspondance commerciale montrant le rôle attractif du Yémen[6]. Les documents de la Geniza du Caire[7] témoignent de la présence, au xiie s., d'une communauté prospère, dirigée par la famille Bundār, d'origine persane, qui connut son « âge d'or » sous les règnes des Ayyoubides (1173-1229), puis des Rassoulides (1229-1454), durant lesquels la ville devint la plaque tournante du commerce maritime entre la Méditerranée et l'océan Indien. Tamon Baba fait également un point de situation sur les échanges commerciaux entre le Yémen et la Corne de l'Afrique à cette période[8]. Un autre manuscrit du xiie s. recense les ports d'attache des bateaux qui accostaient à Aden, dont ceux venant de Bärbära, de Zaylaʿ et de Ḥäbäš[9]. Il s'agit là de l'un des rares témoignages qui fasse état de relations commerciales avec le continent africain. Les négociants en provenance du Yémen entretenaient de solides échanges avec la Corne de l'Afrique, essentiellement avec les ports de Bärbära et de Zaylaʿ, comme le confirme un manuscrit de la Geniza, daté du xie s., cité par Shelomo Dov Goitein, concernant un tapis de cuir envoyé de Bärbära à un négociant adénite, pour une valeur de deux dinars[10]. Profitant des conditions économiques et politiques favorables au développement des échanges avec Ormuz et ses dépendances, des familles juives se fixèrent sur la côte somalienne pour y commercer, notamment par la vente des textiles qu'ils importaient d'Inde[11]. Parmi elles, nous retrouvons la famille Bundār, issue d'une lignée de marchands adénites d'origine persane, dont un des membres, Dā'ūd b. Maḍmūn al-Yahūdī, contrôlait les bateaux-citernes qui approvisionnaient Aden en eau potable à partir du port de Zaylaʿ[12]. Les documents de la Geniza mentionnent, sous le vocable de *kārim*, habituellement réservé aux négociants saisonniers musulmans qui affrétaient des convois entre l'Inde et l'Égypte, que des marchands juifs faisaient essentiellement le commerce des épices et du poivre avec la ville de Bärbära[13].

Vers 1331, le géographe Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visita Zaylaʿ[14], où un groupe de marchands yéménites était resté tributaire d'un pouvoir politique non-musulman, jusqu'à l'islamisation de la ville au début du xiie s.[15]. Parmi ces commerçants, ce sont certaine-

[5] S. D. Goitein & M. Friedman, *Indian Traders*, 2008, p. 450.

[6] A. Ashur & B. Outhwaite, « Between Egypt and Yemen », 2014, p. 198-219.

[7] S. D. Goitein, « Letters and Documents in the India Trade », 1954, p. 190-197.

[8] T. Baba, « Notes on migration », 2018, p. 69-87.

[9] Per H161/IB.36/II.71, recto, l. 1-4, cité par R. E. Margariti, *Aden & the Indian Ocean Trade*, 2007, p. 153.

[10] S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1971, p. 129.

[11] R. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas*, 2002, p. 56.

[12] Al-Muğāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, 1954, p. 117.

[13] R. E. Margariti, *Aden & the Indian Ocean Trade*, 2007, p. 152.

[14] *Voyageurs arabes*, 1995, p. 603.

[15] F.-X. Fauvelle-Aymar & B. Hirsch, « Le port de Zeyla », 2011, p. 54.

ment les marchands d'esclaves, juifs ou musulmans, qui jouèrent un rôle de premier plan dans les relations avec la côte yéménite, principalement avec la ville de Zabīd, et, de fait, le Talmud présente les femmes éthiopiennes comme des rivales des femmes juives[16]. Ce marché fut immortalisé par une planche de l'ouvrage d'al-Ḥarīrī (1054-1121), *Maqāmāt*, sur laquelle on distingue, parmi les personnages mis en scène, le *muḥtasib*, le représentant des douanes califales, qui était souvent juif : Maḍmūn b. Ḥasan b. Bundār (m. 1151) en constitue un excellent exemple. Ce notable adénite fut en effet nommé chef des douanes du port d'Aden par le Sultan, héritant ainsi du droit de fixer le montant des taxes d'importation et de désigner ses agents. Il affréta également, en association avec des marchands musulmans, un navire qui partit ouvrir une route maritime entre Aden et Ceylan[17]. La Corne de l'Afrique constitua ainsi la plateforme de la traite à destination du monde arabo-persan, en jouant un rôle d'étape incontournable avec les grands marchés yéménites de Zabīd et Aden.

En résumé, ces connexions avec le grand commerce maritime sont confirmées par les documents de la Geniza du Caire qui montrent le rôle charnière de Dahlak et de Zaylaʿ[18] comme escales principales vers le détroit d'Ormuz, aux xie et xiiie s.[19].

III. Le contexte liturgique

Le rituel yéménite, de même que celui des communautés du Golfe persique, se fondait sur le *siddur* de Sa'adia Gaon (892-942)[20] qui représentait une compilation en arabe des prières annuelles, souvent accompagnées d'instructions et de commentaires. Les livres de prières du rite yéménite se développèrent à partir du xe s.[21], comportant essentiellement des bénédictions et des passages bibliques. Trois prières quotidiennes, celle du matin, *shaharith*, celle de l'après-midi, *minhah* et celle du soir, *arbith* rythmaient la journée, chacune commençant par la récitation du *shema Israel*.

Le théologien caraïte Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī (vers 937) expliqua que les communautés du Yémen et du Hadramout se référaient au Talmud de Babylone, dont l'étude ne fut jamais généralisée car elle était laissée à l'initiative de quelques écoles rabbiniques, principalement implantées à Aden et à Tarīm[22]. Les *yeshivot* hadramies préférèrent encourager l'étude de la Bible et de la Mishna (l'un des deux recueils, avec le Talmud, des obligations de la loi orale), affirmant ainsi son particularisme religieux[23]. L'étude des *midrashim* se développa, notamment sur l'initiative d'un rabbin

[16] Talmud de Babylone, *Megillah*, 1975, 6ab.

[17] R. E. Margariti, *Aden & the Indian Ocean Trade*, 2007, p. 159.

[18] F.-X. Fauvelle-Aymar & B. Hirsch, « Le port de Zayla », 2011, p. 64.

[19] S. D. Goitein, « Newlight on the beginnings », 1958, p. 175-184.

[20] S. Stroumsa, « Sa'adya and Jewish Kalam », 2003.

[21] C. Sirat, « Les livres de prières », 2005, p. 56.

[22] J.-F. Faü, *Les Caraïtes*, 2000, p. 93-96.

[23] Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. Samaʿwayh al-Qirqisānī, dit Jacob al-Qirqisānī, fut un théologien et historien caraïte du xe s. Il prêcha le droit et le devoir de tout individu à construire un jugement personnel fondé sur la raison, principe de base du discours d'Anan Ben David. Al-Qirqisānī rédigea un exposé cri-

adénite du xiiie s., Dāvūd ben Amram al-ʿAdanī, auteur du traité de *Midrash hagadol*, qui partageait le Pentateuque selon un cycle de lecture annuel en faisant commencer chaque paragraphe par un petit poème sur le retour en Terre promise[24].

De la moitié du xiie au début du xvie s., les rabbins yéménites rédigèrent huit *midrashim* à orientation philosophiques qui permirent de véhiculer l'expression intellectuelle et religieuse du judaïsme sud-arabique à travers tout le Moyen-Orient. Cette importante contribution des Juifs yéménites à la littérature midrashique reflète ainsi les tendances spirituelles de la diaspora orientale.

Les livres de prières du rite yéménite comportaient un seul corpus englobant l'ensemble des prières de l'année, à la différence d'autres rites qui comprenaient plusieurs volumes : un pour les prières du mois, un pour la fête de Pessah, un autre pour celle de Chavouot.

De même la cantillation[25], l'adaptation des accents massorétiques à la psalmodie liturgique de la Bible, connut certaines règles particulières au Yémen et dans le Hadramaout.

IV. Les deux manuscrits étudiés

A. Manuscrit 1 : une *seliḥa*

Le texte du premier manuscrit correspond à une *seliḥa*, qui signifie « pardon » en hébreu, prière récitée pendant la cérémonie des *seliḥot* durant les quarante jours qui précèdent le jeûne de kippour ; elle est également psalmodiée durant les cinq offices de la fête.

Le contenu de ce manuscrit composé d'un feuillet unique de quatorze lignes, qui n'est pas vocalisé, couvre pratiquement l'intégralité de cette « supplique ».

tique des principes du caraïsme, qui est resté le fondement de cette doctrine, voir L. Nemoy, « Account of the Jewish sects », 1930, p. 378-382.

[24] D. Levine, *The Bustan*, 1966, p. 83.

[25] La cantillation de l'Écriture doit, en principe, se conformer aux *teanim,* les signes de vocalisation apparus pendant la période talmudique et post-talmudique.

Pyyout, feuillet unique, manuscrit de Zaylaʿ.
Photo Jean-François Faü.

a. Le support

Le texte de 14 lignes est copié sur une page de parchemin jaunâtre, présentant des similitudes avec le parchemin des manuscrits éthiopiens rédigés en guèze ou en amharique, mais qui a été lissé car le scribe a utilisé un calame. La réglure de ce genre de support se faisait généralement suivant la technique de la *miṣṭara*, de la « tablette à régler », exactement comme pour les manuscrits musulmans. Le trou percé dans la partie supérieure de la page pourrait être postérieur à la rédaction du manuscrit. Il correspond à la technique de conservation des archives à l'époque de l'imam Yaḥyā : le document était alors accroché à un support par un fil.

b. L'écriture

La graphie du texte montre une écriture régulière, tracée à l'encre noire, affiche un certain caractère esthétique malgré la particularité calligraphique du module de l'*aleph*, par exemple l. 8 et 9. Son élégance simple montre un style dépouillé, presque naïf, caractérisé par des courbes allongées et des lettres courtes dont la régularité s'apparente à l'hébreu carré, réservé à la copie des textes bibliques. Les lettres sont bien séparées, les *alef* sont écourtés en fin de texte, les *lamed* sont légèrement courbés et un mouvement de flottement du texte est sensible. Les hampes supérieures des lettres, sans plein ni délié, paraissent réduites.

En effet, la forme des lettres de l'alphabet hébreu, a évolué au cours des siècles selon les communautés dont les traditions scripturaires ont présenté et présentent toujours des variantes importantes, permettant ainsi de les identifier[26]. Durant la période qui nous intéresse, du xie au xive s., les communautés juives yéménites utilisèrent de préférence des lettres de grand module[27].

Il peut s'agir ici d'un manuscrit datant du xvie ou du xviie s.

B. Manuscrit 2 : Ketouvim.

Le deuxième manuscrit est moderne. Il produit un passage de la Bible, tiré des Ketouvim, correspondant à la fin du Livre de Ruth, chapitre 4, versets 7 à 21 inclus.

Ce manuscrit de quatorze feuillets se rapproche de livres liturgiques du rite yéménite, dont les copies d'exemplaires imprimés furent produites au xixe s.

[26] Voir les travaux de Malachie Beith Arié sur la taxonomie des styles calligraphiques. Comme en arabe, ils sont à la fois géographiques et chronologiques, voir M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew codicology*, 1977.

[27] L. Héricher, « Manuscrits yéménites », 2010.

Passage du *Megilath* Ruth, manuscrit de Zaylaʿ composé de 14 feuillets.
Photo Jean-François Faü.

a. Le support

Le manuscrit est copié sur papier, de couleur grise et de facture assez grossière, qui ne comporte ni contremarque, ni filigrane ; il n'a pas été possible d'en déterminer l'origine.

b. L'écriture

La calligraphie, à l'encre brun foncé, est particulièrement soignée, elle est très régulière. Une partie du texte est vocalisé selon le système tibérien, ce qui confirme l'origine occidentale du modèle imprimé. Une distinction existe entre la vocalisation palestinienne (supralinéaire, rare) et tibérienne (sublinéaire, commune), bien que les deux aient leurs origines dans la Palestine de la fin de l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge. La vocalisation lisible sur cet exemplaire comporte des signes de cantillation caractéristique de l'École tibérienne. Dans tous les cas le copiste a utilisé un calame, plus ou moins fin.

c. Les commentaires et la tradition

Ce manuscrit est une Bible yéménite de type *Tāǧ*, le texte en hébreu est entouré par le Targum, la traduction du texte hébraïque en araméen. Il comporte également des incipits hébreux dans les marges extérieures et dans la marge inférieure, car le scribe n'a pas calligraphié la version en araméen au même niveau que le texte hébreu traduit.

Le corpus principal est copié sur une colonne, mais diffère des notes massorétiques habituelles telles qu'elles peuvent exister dans une Bible sans Targum.

Signalons certains manuscrits copiés d'après un ouvrage imprimé, à preuve la mise en page qui reproduit fidèlement celle des livres hébreux imprimés du xixe s. En

effet, on doit à l'imprimerie l'édition des commentaires aux côtés du texte principal, placé, lui, au centre, alors que la tradition voulait que les commentaires soient copiés dans d'autres manuscrits ou éventuellement cités en extraits dans les marges. Cet usage était assez répandu au Yémen, dans les communautés juives pauvres où les livres imprimés étaient rares.

V. Conclusion

Au vu des caractéristiques textuelles, paléographiques et matérielles des deux manuscrits analysés dans cette note, nous pouvons désormais affirmer qu'ils sont bien représentatifs de la production de manuscrits hébreux au Yémen du xve et du xixe s. Il est possible que le second codex soit arrivé à Zaylaʿ lors des migrations vers la Corne de l'Afrique entreprises dès la fin du xixe s. par les populations juives yéménites. Beaucoup cherchèrent protection auprès des autorités coloniales italiennes, françaises et anglaises, respectivement installées en Érythrée, à Djibouti et au Somaliland.

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TAQRIR ʿAN AL-YAMAN DE FUDAYL AL-WARTILANI : UN PAPIER MANUSCRIT A L'ORIGINE DE LA CHUTE DU RÉGIME DE L'IMAM YAḤYA (1947-1948)

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Résumé

Cet article se penche sur les sources manuscrites en arabe laissées par le voyageur franco-algérien Fudayl al-Wartilani à l'issue de son voyage au Yémen en avril 1947. Les notes rassemblées par le voyageur permettent d'esquisser le portrait d'un des plus anciens régimes monarchiques du Moyen-Orient en proie à l'instabilité politique et économique durant l'année 1947. Nous verrons à travers cette analyse en quoi les écrits de ce voyageur ont pu avoir un impact sur le cours des événements politiques au Yémen à la fin des années 1940.

Abstract

This article focuses upon Arabic manuscript sources left by the French-Algerian traveler Fudayl al-Wartilani following his visit to Yemen in April 1947. The collection of notes made by the traveler portray one of the oldest monarchies in the Middle East undergoing political and economic instabilities during the year 1947. In this paper, we will analyze how the written sources of the traveler were able to have an impact on the course of political events in Yemen at the end of the 1940s.

خلاصة

يعرض هذا المقال للمصادر (المذكرات) المخطوطات باللغة العربية التي خلفها العالم الفرنسي (الجزائري) الفضيل الورتلاني عقب زيارته إلى اليمن في أبريل 1947 وتمثل مجموعة من الملاحظات عن أقدم نظام ملكي في الشرق الأوسط (نظام الإمام يحي حميد الدين) الذي كان يعاني من عدم الاستقرار الاقتصادي والسياسي في تلك الفترة. وسنحلل في هذا المقال كيف تمكنت تلك الملاحظات (المذكرات) المكتوبة لهذا الرحالة من التأثير على سير الأحداث السياسية في اليمن في نهاية الأربعينيات.

Mots-clés

Yémen, Frères musulmans, xxe s., Fudayl al-Wartilani, Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, Yéménites libres, Révolution de 1948, récit de voyage, papier

Keywords

Yemen, Muslim Brotherhood, 20th century, Fudayl al-Wartilani, Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, Free Yemeni Movement, 1948 Revolution, travelogue, paper

تعابر رئيسية

اليمان، جمعية الأخوان المسلمين، القرن العشرين، الفضيل الورتيلاني، يحيى حميد الدين، الأحرار اليمانين، ثورة 1948، رحلة، ورقة

I. Introduction et contexte historique

En 1947, le Nord Yémen se trouvait sous l'autorité du régime imamite vieillissant dirigé par le Commandeur zaydite l'Imam Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1918–1948 ; m. 1367/1948) tandis que l'Empire britannique stationnait au Sud Yémen près du comptoir commercial d'Aden. Le Nord Yémen était sous la coupe de la dynastie zaydite, installée depuis l'an 898 à Sanaa. En 1918, le royaume mutawakkilite du Yémen, ainsi appelé par son Commandeur spirituel l'Imam Yaḥyā, figurait parmi les plus anciens territoires du Moyen-Orient préservés de l'influence extérieure des empires ottoman[1] et européen. Le royaume recevait néanmoins les pressions de ses voisins, notamment celle de l'Arabie saoudite et de l'Égypte qui reprochaient au souverain une politique trop isolationniste du reste de ses voisins fraternels.

Fudayl al-Wartilani (al-Fuḍīl al-Wartīlānī, m. 1378/1959) intervient dans ce contexte précis de l'histoire yéménite alors que les États arabes voisins constatent le retard accumulé par le Yémen en matière de développement et d'économie. Le principal rapporteur des actions de Fudayl al-Wartilani, le Professeur yéménite Aḥmad Muḥammad Nuʿmān (m. 1417/1996), s'installe au Caire en 1937 après avoir fondé une école à Ḏubḥān au Sud de Taez où la géographie, l'arithmétique et les langues furent enseignées. Les pressions de l'Imam Yaḥyā sur les dangers que pouvait représenter cette école, susceptible de promouvoir la domination étrangère au Yémen, provoquent sa fermeture et le départ d'Aḥmad Nuʿmān pour le Caire via Laḥiǧ et Aden[2]. La même année, le chef de file des Frères musulmans du Caire Šakīb Arslān (m. 1365/1946) intègre Aḥmad Nuʿmān dans ses rangs[3].

Le Yéménite Aḥmad Nuʿmān s'oppose également aux agissements de l'Imam Yaḥyā au même titre qu'une grande partie d'une importante communauté d'émigrés yéménites installée au Caire durant les années 1930. Il s'allie à Fudayl al-Wartilani, lui aussi intégré par Šakīb Arslān, dans le cadre du projet des Frères musulmans visant à réformer le système politique et économique du Yémen[4]. Ce pays de la péninsule Arabique offrait aux Frères musulman, un laboratoire d'expérimentations politiques dans l'objectif de pouvoir appliquer une série de changements dans les États arabes dont le

[1] L'Empire ottoman exerçait de fait une domination au Nord du Yémen. Le pouvoir de la monarchie zaydite fut toutefois préservé des directives politiques émanant de la Sublime Porte ce qui laissa à l'Imam zaydite la liberté d'être aux commandes de la politique intérieure de son royaume.

[2] P. Dresch, *A History of Modern Yemen*, 2000, p. 51.

[3] J. L. Douglas, *The Free Yemeni Movement 1935–1962*, 1987, p. 48-49.

[4] J. L. Douglas, *The Free Yemeni Movement 1935–1962*, 1987, p. 53.

système économique et politique, dominé par les puissances franco-britannique, restait à réformer[5].

Après avoir fui les autorités françaises, Fudayl al-Wartilani arrive au Caire en 1940 et rencontre Aḥmad Nuʿmān par l'intermédiaire de Šakīb Arslān. C'est alors que Fudayl al-Wartilani prend connaissance du dossier et se rend en avril 1947 à Taez pour retrouver Aḥmad Nuʿmān au service du Gouverneur de la province, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1948–1962 ; m. 1381/1962). Ce dernier prétend fonder une société commerciale de moyens de transport. C'est au cours de cette visite qu'il entreprend de réaliser un rapport sur le Yémen (*Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*) destiné aux Frères musulmans du Caire. Ce document n'est pas seulement un banal rapport sur le Yémen mais se révèle être une source dont l'incidence sur les événements politiques futurs fut insoupçonnée de ses commanditaires parmi lesquels figure Ḥassan al-Bannā (m. 1366/1947), leader de l'organisation.

Cet article a pour objectif d'analyser en quoi ce rapport manuscrit est une source déterminante dans le changement politique du Nord Yémen, entraînant la formation d'un imamat constitutionnel et la chute inévitable de l'Imam Yaḥyā en 1948. L'analyse du voyage de Fudayl al-Wartilani au Yémen permet aussi de souligner le rôle du support papier, ses limites et défis, dans la fabrication d'un rapport controversé sur la situation intérieure du Nord Yémen. Comment cette source manuscrite peut-elle être le point de départ d'un dessein politique à l'encontre de l'Imam Yaḥyā ?

II. Fudayl al-Wartilani et le *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*

Fudayl al-Wartilani est un voyageur, sujet français d'Algérie, qui a parcouru pas moins de vingt-quatre États et territoires entre 1936 et 1958. Issue d'une famille de notables implantés depuis plusieurs siècles dans le village algérien de Beni-Ourtilane, il est l'un des descendants du voyageur du xviiie s., Hocine al-Wartilani (m. 1193/1779)[6]. Fudayl al-Wartilani débute ses voyages en 1932 lorsqu'il est mandaté par ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs (m. 1358/1940)[7] pour se rendre à Paris et fonder des cercles d'éducation littéraire et scientifique destinés à la diaspora de travailleurs nord-africains installée en région parisienne. Fudayl al-Wartilani fit cependant l'objet d'une mesure d'expulsion de la part des autorités françaises. Dès 1936, il mène une vie précaire, rythmée par des voyages successifs aux quatre coins du monde, qu'il effectue jusqu'à la fin de sa vie[8].

[5] F. Burgat & M. Sbitli, « Les 'libres' yéménites, le courant réformiste et les frères musulmans ; Premiers repères pour l'analyse », p. 12.

[6] Hocine al-Wartilani était un voyageur algérien du xviiie s. ayant entreprit plusieurs voyages en Algérie et dans la Péninsule arabique.

[7] C. Courreye, « L'Association des ulémas musulmans algériens et la construction de l'État algérien indépendant : fondation, héritages, appropriations et antagonismes (1931-1991) », 2016, p. 8. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs fut une figure emblématique du réformiste musulman et fondateur de l'Association des ulémas algériens.

[8] S. Lagati, « Trajectoire et carrière transnationale de Fudayl al-Wartilani : un voyageur à l'épreuve des circulations en Europe et dans le monde arabe et musulman (1931-1959) », 2017, p. 36-48.

La présence éphémère du voyageur au Yémen en 1947 et 1948 reste l'un des plus notables de ses voyages[9] car il laisse derrière lui une série de sources sur le Yémen dont le *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*, daté d'avril 1947, fait partie. Son contenu, envoyé tel quel aux Frères musulmans du Caire, fut publié et édité dans l'ouvrage « Trois document sur la révolution de 1948 ». En 1985, la maison d'édition libanaise Dār al-ʿAwda réalise un recueil de sources autour de la révolution de 1948 au Yémen. Les éditeurs réussissent à retrouver le rapport manuscrit sur le Yémen de Fudayl al-Wartilani et le publient à la page 315-316 du recueil[10]. Ce rapport manuscrit d'une page a été rédigé en arabe et figurait parmi les archives privées de Ḥassan al-Bannā, interlocuteur direct de Fudayl al-Wartilani durant son périple au Yémen[11].

Le rapport final sur le Yémen est le fruit d'un processus de rédaction en plusieurs étapes. En l'espace de quelques mois, le voyageur devait se rendre dans plusieurs villes yéménites dont Aden, Taez, al-Ḥudayda et Sanaa. Compte tenu du vaste espace que Fudayl al-Wartilani devait couvrir au Yémen et des contraintes temporelles liées aux exigences de Ḥassan al-Bannā, l'utilisation de brouillons aurait pu être une étape préalable à la constitution de ce *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*. Après avoir récolté des informations tel un ingénieur agricole, Fudayl al-Wartilani produit un document manuscrit final, i. e. son rapport, et expose les résultats de son enquête à l'intention de Ḥassan al-Bannā et de son groupe au Caire[12].

Le Yémen faisait partie des plus anciens États arabes indépendants, il est isolé du monde arabe. Ḥassan al-Bannā, chef de file du mouvement des Frères musulmans, voyait dans l'État yéménite un terroir d'expérimentation politique et économique. Plus loin, Ḥassan al-Bannā, comptait faire du Yémen, un laboratoire dans l'établissement d'un État arabe et musulman liant modernité et éducation[13]. De plus, la monarchie zaydite vieillissante et vulnérable, menaçait l'intégrité du Yémen face à l'Empire britannique, stationné au Sud du Yémen, autour du comptoir commercial d'Aden. C'est sur ce constat de la part du mouvement, que le *Guide* mandate Fudayl al-Wartilani pour l'élaboration d'un rapport sur l'état de l'agriculture, du commerce et du régime imamite au Yémen.

Ḥassan al-Bannā devait avoir entre les mains un rapport manuscrit informatif et synthétique sur la situation économique et politique du royaume zaydite qui s'enlise dans la politique isolationniste de l'Imam zaydite Yaḥyā. Le *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman* fait état d'une situation qui se détériore en décrivant la stagnation du rendement des terres, la nécessité d'offrir aux Yéménites une éducation pluridisciplinaire ainsi que des infrastructures de circulations et de communications modernes. Fudayl al-

[9] M. al-Ahnaf, « Fudayl al-Wartilani, un Algérien au Yémen », 1999.

[10] F. al-Wartilani, *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*, 1947, dans : Anonyme, *Trois documents sur la révolution de 1948*, 1985.

[11] F. al-Wartilani, *L'Algérie révoltée. Les écrits du vénérable et grand professeur Al-Fudayl al-Wartilani*, 2007, p. 263.

[12] F. al-Wartilani, *L'Algérie révoltée*, 2007, p. 263-264.

[13] F. Burgat & M. Sbitli « Les 'libres' yéménites, le courant réformiste et les Frères musulmans », 2003, p. 12.

Wartilani met en avant la question de la représentativité politique dans le royaume yéménite à l'heure où l'Imam semblait verrouiller les institutions décisionnaires du royaume[14]. Toutes ces considérations relayées par Fudayl al-Wartilani fournissent aux Frères musulmans du Caire le moyen d'agir pour la modernisation du royaume yéménite. Le contenu du rapport sur le Yémen laisse à penser que la fin du règne de l'Imam pourrait être une condition à la modernisation du royaume. De plus, il constitue une source historique incontournable sur le mouvement constitutionnel yéménite de 1948 et l'élaboration du *Pacte National Sacré* (PNS), texte fondateur du régime éphémère constitutionnel de l'Imam ʿAbd ʿAllāh al-Wazīr (r. 1948 ; m. 1367/1948)[15].

Le papier utilisé et envoyé au chef de fil des Frères musulmans ressemblait aux supports que Fudayl al-Wartilani utilisait habituellement pour correspondre avec ses amis en Europe et dans le monde arabe. Il s'agit d'un papier de format A4 et de maigre épaisseur, prévu pour être enveloppé et envoyé par les postes.

Ill. 1. Fudayl al-Wartilani,
un professeur de l'Association des oulémas musulmans algériens s'apprêtant à rédiger (c. 1930).

[14] F. al-Wartilani, *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*, 1947, dans : Anonyme, *Trois documents sur la révolution de 1948*, 1985, p. 315.

[15] S. Lagati, « Trajectoire et carrière transnationale de Fudayl al-Wartilani », 2017, p. 141-169.

III. Recourir au papier, une nécessité stratégique au Yémen de l'Imam Yaḥyā

1. Un rapport étroit du voyageur au support manuscrit

La raison pour laquelle Fudayl al-Wartilani consigne ses observations sur du papier s'explique par le caractère singulier d'un support de communication qui offre au voyageur l'opportunité d'une expression de pensées permise par l'écriture et le support papier. L'observation et la prise de notes par Fudayl al-Wartilani sont le reflet d'un attachement à l'écrit et au support manuscrit qui rythment quotidiennement la vie des lettrés du Caire dont il s'est imprégné. L'utilisation de la presse par Šakīb Arslān, le Palestinien Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ṭāhir (m. 1394/1974) ou encore le Mufti de Jérusalem Amīn al-Ḥusaynī (m. 1394/1974) suscite un engouement pour la rédaction et la publication d'une production intellectuelle au sein de journaux locaux et militants[16] dans lesquels une série de pamphlets sur la politique isolationniste de l'Imam Yaḥyā[17] était publiée par ces trois personnages. Fudayl al-Wartilani intègre rapidement les réseaux de la presse cairote lorsqu'il débarque en 1940. Propulsé par Šakīb Arslān, il est admis à l'Université d'al-Azhar ce qui lui permet de travailler à nouveau sur des corpus de manuscrits et de journaux dont il s'imprègne pour écrire le *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*. C'est le cas notamment du pamphlet d'Aḥmad Nuʿmān publié en 1940 dans le quotidien d'Aden *Fatāt al-Ǧazīra* dans lequel ce dernier analyse l'inadéquation du système éducatif yéménite et dont le style d'observation et de rapport se retrouve chez Fudayl al-Wartilani :

> [Au Yémen] Nous définissons l'ignorance comme un déficit de connaissances de la jurisprudence islamique, sa grammaire, morphologie, rhétorique et éloquence… [Nos] institutions n'ont ces derniers siècles produit qu'une centaine d'éminents *qadis*… De plus, il n'est pas possible de trouver un médecin suffisamment intéressé pour guérir ceux qui souffrent, soigner les malades et secourir ceux qui le désirent, et il n'y a pas d'experts en agriculture… ni d'industries capable de fournir aux individus des produits manufacturés[18].

Le lancement d'une expédition au Yémen était synonyme d'immersion dans les profondeurs d'un pan de la péninsule Arabique coupé du monde moderne et de ses technologies de moyens de transport et de communication. Le recours au papier dans le cadre de la mission de Fudayl al-Wartilani s'explique à défaut par le retard, constaté en amont par Šakīb Arslān, des infrastructures vitales du pays. Bien que l'administration royale contrôlât étroitement les canaux de communication qui quadrillaient le royaume, le Yémen de l'Imam Yaḥyā bénéficiait d'un réseau télégraphique

[16] Le journal de Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ṭāhir s'intitule *Al-ʿalam*. D'autres journaux similaires comme *Al-rābiṭa al-ʿarabiyya* et *Al-ṣadāqa* furent édités dès 1939 par ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Rifāʿī.

[17] J. L. Douglas, *The Free Yemeni Movement 1935–1962*, 1987, p. 47.

[18] A. Nuʿmān, *The Consequence of Ignorance for Yemen*, 1940, dans L. J. Douglas, *The Free Yemeni Movement 1935–1962*, p. 66 (trad. de l'anglais par S. Lagati).

et postier, héritage de l'Empire ottoman à la fin du xixe s, connectant les sujets du Nord Yémen au monde extérieur. En 1947, la société américaine Aramco offre un émetteur radio à la famille royale. Radio Sanaa émettait quatre heures par semaine, les jeudi et vendredi [19]. Néanmoins, le télégraphe ou la lettre demeuraient des canaux d'informations volatiles qui requièrent l'assistance d'officier télégraphiques ou agent de postes susceptibles d'être tenus au courant des intentions de Fudayl al-Wartilani à l'égard de l'Imam. Le papier se présente alors comme un instrument nécessaire, sinon une condition *sine qua non*, pour communiquer ou consigner des informations au cours d'une mission d'exploration. Il est courant de voir dans les sources manuscrites à l'origine des récits de voyage d'explorateurs européens[20] au pays de la Reine de Saba qu'un travail de collecte de notes manuscrites et observations sont les ingrédients qui ont servi à la narration du récit de voyage. Les sources manuscrites laissées par Fudayl al-Wartilani et d'autres explorateurs européens s'attellent à la description d'un environnement singulier et préservé de toutes influences extérieures. Plusieurs pages étaient souvent consacrées par les voyageurs qui décidaient de s'arrêter dans ce pays à la description et à l'analyse de la singularité du paysage mythique et mystérieux du Yémen.

Quoi qu'il en soit, toutes notes devaient être consignées sur des feuillets de papier par quiconque, voyageur ou commerçant, entreprenait de parcourir l'arrière-pays yéménite. Les autoroutes et routes goudronnées ne constituaient qu'un maigre pourcentage du réseau de circulation automobile au Yémen. Marchands et pasteurs dessinaient le réseau routier du royaume grâce aux caravanes marchandes marquant à terre un axe de circulation informel et à l'épreuve du temps. Il demeurait également difficile de prendre contact avec l'extérieur à partir d'un point de communication, au demeurant rare au-delà des grands centres urbains yéménites tels que Sanaa, Aden ou Taez, ce qui favorisait d'autant plus l'utilisation du papier comme moyen de conservation de données.

Même si Aden concentrait un grand nombre de machines à presse défiant la politique isolationniste de l'Imam[21], le transport d'un trop grand nombre de papiers pouvait poser problème à ce dernier alors que Fudayl al-Wartilani planifiait de se rendre à Sanaa et sa région pour y faire des relevés. Le voyageur pourrait avoir adopté une stratégie d'écriture condensée et serrée afin d'économiser du papier et d'éviter les pertes de feuillets. Ainsi que le montrent ses précédentes correspondances à l'intention d'amis, tels que le General Spears ou Habib Bourguiba[22], il y a une volonté de la part de

[19] F. Burgat & E. Vallet, *Iconographie historique du Yémen (1900-1970) : Formes et instruments de la modernisation. Du télégraphe à radio Sanaa*, p. 279-281.

[20] F. Stark, *Les portes du sud de l'Arabie inconnue,* 1938. Freya Stark livre le récit de son voyage au Yémen en partant d'Aden. Elle fut temporairement employée au Département de l'information et de la communication du Secrétariat britannique d'Aden.

[21] A. Regourd, « Manuscrits de la mer Rouge (première moitié du XXe siècle) : papiers Abū Šubbāk du Yémen et d'Éthiopie », 2018, p. 121.

[22] F. al-Wartilani, *L'Algérie révoltée*, 2007, p. 403.

l'émetteur et du destinataire de clarifier le contenu d'une lettre par l'allègement de la structure des phrases et un espacement d'un demi centimètre entre les lignes.

2. Les sources d'approvisionnement en papier

Le papier devient alors une pièce du puzzle indispensable à la conception du rapport sur le Yémen. En amont du processus d'écriture du document, la question de la recherche de papiers neufs et accessibles se posait. Les voyageurs européens qui entreprirent de parcourir le Moyen-Orient se rattachaient à des centres d'approvisionnement en papier tels que les postes consulaires et chancelleries français, britanniques ou ottomanes disséminés dans le monde arabe et musulman. Les représentations consulaires et chancelleries ottomanes étaient largement imprégnées par la révolution industrielle de la fin du xixe s. entraînant une hausse de la production et de l'utilisation de papier dits « indiens »[23]. Le papier industriel était une pièce maîtresse du fonctionnement des postes consulaires et des chancelleries ottomanes. Support incontournable de la circulation de l'information et des questions financières et administratives, le papier était un moyen de communication privilégié au milieu du xxe s[24]. Diplomates et agents entretenaient régulièrement des correspondances, en témoignent les fonds actuels sur la péninsule Arabique, Yémen inclus, des archives diplomatiques françaises.

Fudayl al-Wartilani n'avait toutefois pas accès aux ressources des postes diplomatiques français puisqu'il était toujours poursuivi par les autorités françaises pour ses activités d'enseignement à Paris au cours des années 1930. Dans le cadre de la préparation d'une expédition aux quatre coins des provinces yéménites, il se devait de trouver d'autres sources d'approvisionnement en papier.

Le rapport sur le Yémen, commandité par les Frères musulmans du Caire, permettait à Fudayl al-Wartilani de s'intégrer dans les réseaux de cercles de lettrés ayant recours au papier pour la production d'articles et de publications dans les journaux du Caire. La capitale égyptienne était au xxe s. un lieu d'effervescence de la production littéraire et journalistique pour des personnalités politiques, exilés et intellectuels, se réunissant dans des clubs littéraires privés[25]. Les sources photographiques laissées et annotées par Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ṭāhir[26] confirment que Fudayl al-Wartilani s'est introduit avec succès à l'intérieur des clubs de lettrés cairotes dans lesquels il a rencontré pour la première fois les représentants du mouvement des Yéménites libres d'Aden

[23] A. Regourd, « Papiers filigranés de manuscrits de Zabīd, premier tiers du XVIIIe jusqu'au milieu du XXe siècle : papiers importés et 'locaux' », 2015, p. 251.

[24] S. Kenderova, « Les documents sur l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque ottomane conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Bulgarie à Sofia, 3e partie », en ligne, https://journals.openedition.org/cmy/1929#tocto1n1.

[25] G. Šabasevičiūtė, « Du littéraire au religieux en passant par le politique : Une trajectoire en contexte révolutionnaire. Le cas de Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) », 2015, p. 99-100.

[26] M. ʿAlī Tāhir, « Documents, correspondances et photos », voir ʿAlī al-Ṭāhir, Muḥammad (m. 1393/1974), Archives personnelles en ligne, http://eltaher.org.

ainsi que les délégués du Sultanat yéménite du Laḥiǧ au cours d'une réunion du Club des Alaweyyeen en l'honneur de ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Faḍl, le Sultan yéménite du Laḥiǧ. L'effervescence des clubs littéraires au Caire permettait donc d'alimenter un solide marché de papiers, accessible aux individus de passage comme Fudayl al-Wartilani.

Ill. 2. Réception organisée en mars 1940 par le Club des Alaweyyeen au Caire afin de souhaiter la bienvenue au Prince ʿAlī, fils du Sultan yéménite du Laḥiǧ, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Faḍl. Fudayl al-Wartilani s'y trouve à gauche de la porte © Eltaher.org.

La ville d'Aden pourrait figurer parmi les centres d'approvisionnement de papier pour le voyageur. En avril 1947, Fudayl al-Wartilani débute son expédition au Yémen en passant par Aden, ville portuaire la plus active du Yémen et grand centre d'utilisation de papier. L'administration portuaire à elle seule recourait de plus en plus au papier à mesure que de nombreux navires transitaient par Aden. L'Empire britannique y faisait accoster les navires commerciaux provenant d'Asie-Pacifique dans lesquels des cargaisons de papier transitaient pour repartir ensuite vers l'Europe. Par ailleurs, au Caire, Fudayl al-Wartilani avait tissé des liens avec Aḥmad Nuʿmān et Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Zubayrī (m. 1385/1965), les chefs de file du mouvement des Yéménites libres basés à Aden. Très vite, il prend connaissance du journal *Fatāt al-Ǧazīra* dont la rédaction possède une imprimerie à la base du système de tirage des numéros à destination d'un lectorat composé d'immigrés du Nord Yémen installés au Sud Yémen et au Caire[27]. En plus d'un organe de presse développé, les Yéménites libres comptaient sur l'existence de l'hebdomadaire *Ṣawt al-Yaman* « La voix du Yémen », instrument de communication majeur du mouvement des Yéménites libres. Par con-

[27] I. Blumi, *Destroying Yemen: What Chaos in Arabia Tells Us about the World*, 2018, p. 225.

séquent, Fudayl al-Wartilani bénéficiait du soutien logistique de son ami Aḥmad Nuʿmān et des ressources dont disposait le siège du mouvement des Yéménites libres à Aden. Le protectorat britannique soutenait les organes de presse du mouvement en leur fournissant ce dont il fallait pour communiquer y compris le papier nécessaire à l'édition des numéros du *Fatāt al-Ǧazīra*. Fudayl al-Wartiani disposait donc des matériaux nécessaires pour débuter une excursion vers le Nord Yémen.

Toutefois, Fudayl al-Wartilani aurait pu avoir accès à des sources d'approvisionnement en papier à l'intérieur même du royaume yéménite. Les lettrés de différentes régions, notamment ceux des hauts plateaux, utilisaient des papiers « Abū Šubbak » de type A à D du début au milieu du XXe s. pour rédiger leurs œuvres ou copier des livres nécessaires à l'étude et à l'enseignement[28]. Le territoire ne fut pas épargné par la révolution industrielle du papier car les ateliers de presse à journaux, laissés par les Ottomans en 1920, se situaient au plus près du monarque yéménite. Secrétaires et intendants étaient par ailleurs chargés de rédiger les correspondances du souverain yéménite[29]. Des secrétaires assistaient l'Imam en tenant de leur main gauche un papier prêt à être utilisé pour écrire une lettre et apposer le sceau du *Commandeur des Croyants*. La lettre passait entre les mains de l'Imam afin qu'il puisse effectuer une relecture, un ajout de mots et y insérer sa signature[30]. D'après les sources du poète yéménite Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Šāmī (m. 1426/2005), Fudayl al-Wartilani entretenait d'ores et déjà un rapport étroit avec l'Imam Yaḥyā par l'intermédiaire de son fils, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (m. 1381/1962)[31]. En avril 1947, Fudayl al-Wartilani prononce à la mosquée d'al-Muẓaffar de Taez un discours et gagne la confiance du gouverneur Aḥmad, prince héritier de l'Imam Yaḥyā. Cette confiance placée en Fudayl al-Wartilani le rapproche des secrétariats royaux du régime et lui ouvre l'accès aux trésors cachés de l'Imam, nécessaires à la constitution du *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*. Le papier figurait parmi les trésors de l'Imam auxquels la population yéménite, trop éloignée des centres de pouvoir de l'imamat, ne pouvait avoir accès[32].

Le caractère précieux du papier se confirme alors au début du règne de l'Imam Yaḥyā en 1914. Le souverain avait émit une directive interne orale, invitant la chancellerie à réutiliser le papier consigné dans les archives royales[33]. Cette directive souligne les difficultés économiques de l'administration royale dans l'importation de papiers vierges et évoque des limites dans le stock de papier dont dispose l'Imam. De plus, les fonctionnaires royaux devaient recevoir un ordre écrit de l'Imam pour se procurer et utiliser du papier de deux à quatre pages[34]. Il arrivait que l'Imam Yaḥyā donnât l'ordre

[28] A. Regourd, « Manuscrits de la mer Rouge (première moitié du XXe siècle) : papiers Abū Šubbāk du Yémen et d'Éthiopie », 2018.

[29] B. Messick, *Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society: The Calligraphic State*, 1996, p. 118.

[30] P. Dresch, *A History of Modern Yemen*, 2000, p. 45.

[31] S. Lagati, « Trajectoire et carrière transnationale de Fudayl al-Wartilani », 2017, p. 146.

[32] P. Dresch, *A History of Modern Yemen*, 2000, p. 47.

[33] M. Tawaf, « L'évolution de la politique de l'archivage au Yémen : des origines (année 1960) jusqu'aux évolutions technologiques actuelles », 2019, p. 81.

[34] M. Tawaf, « L'évolution de la politique de l'archivage au Yémen », 2019, p. 88.

aux fonctionnaires de réutiliser le verso de documents ottomans consignés dans les archives royales. Aussi, bon nombre de ces archives manuscrites furent-elles endommagées à la suite de leur réutilisation : elles subirent des déchirures et des réécritures, orchestrées par l'administration royale, résignée aux ordres du souverain[35]. L'administration disposait donc d'une gamme de papiers variés, allant d'un papier épais fabriqué en Inde à du papier plus fin, pré-ligné, introduit par les Ottomans à partir de 1872[36].

L'espace géographique du Yémen de 1946 rendait l'utilisation du papier nécessaire à Fudayl al-Wartilani. Le papier constitue une valeur refuge pour les observations et les notes récoltées alors que le voyageur s'aventurait dans l'arrière-pays, là où l'inconnu dominait un espace aux reliefs divers, sans frontières et repères temporels. La note de papier prenait alors une place prédominante, pour documenter l'état de cet arrière-pays. Support léger et fin, le papier se transportait aisément, se prêtait à un envoi par-delà les frontières du Yémen tout en défiant la censure prééminente qui pesait sur la population yéménite, en particulier sur les écrivains, les intellectuels et les professeurs.

3. Le papier à l'épreuve de la censure de l'Imam Yaḥyā

L'utilisation du papier par Fudayl al-Wartilani dans la conception du rapport sur le Yémen incarne le moyen de contourner la censure omniprésente de l'Imam Yaḥyā sur l'intégralité du royaume et de sa population. L'Imam ne devait pas soupçonner que Fudayl al-Wartilani était venu au Yémen pour produire un rapport écrit sur la situation intérieure du royaume. Toutes traces écrites d'informations d'ordre typologique pouvaient menacer l'intégrité du régime imamite. Par conséquent, aucun document ne devait sortir du territoire yéménite. L'Imam Yaḥyā contrôlait étroitement la circulation du papier et des publications de manuscrits[37]. En 1937, il décida de fonder la Commission d'Histoire visant à publier une série de manuscrits yéménites zaydites. Les impressions furent autorisées et débutèrent au Caire, ville de départ de Fudayl al-Wartilani. Le service des postes et la circulation du courrier étaient cependant sous la coupe de l'administration royale si bien que les Yéménites ne disposaient pas de ressources suffisantes pour envoyer du courrier ou un télégramme à l'intérieur du territoire. Seule une poignée de sujets proches du secrétariat royal bénéficiait de tels moyens de communication, synonymes de privilège.

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[35] E. O'Ballance, *The war in the Yemen*, 1971, p. 59.

[36] M. Tawaf, « L'évolution de la politique de l'archivage au Yémen », 2019, p. 24. La description de ce papier indien ne correspond pas au papier dit « indien » : commissioné, généralement en Angleterre, par des marchands de Bombay, il a pu servir à l'administration anglaise à Aden (A. Regourd, « Papiers filigranés de manuscrits de Zabīd, premier tiers du XVIIIe jusqu'au milieu du XXe siècle : papiers importés et 'locaux' », 2015), et, par le biais des mêmes réseaux, dans des versions pré-lignées, à l'administration du Harar au tournant des xixe et xxe s. (A. Regourd, « Papiers 'indiens' de manuscrits éthiopiens (fin xixe s.-début du xxe siècle) », 2018).

[37] P. Dresch, *A History of Modern Yemen*, 2000, p. 50.

La tentative d'Aḥmad Nuʿmān et Maḥmūd al-Zubayrī (m. 1384/1965) de lancer une école d'éducation moderne, ayant été mal perçue par le souverain, entraîna l'exil volontaire de ces derniers vers Aden[38] afin qu'ils puissent poursuivre leurs actions contre le régime vieillissant de l'Imam. Si pour l'Imam Yaḥyā le papier était un véritable trésor caché, il l'était également pour Fudayl al-Wartilani. Il fallait donc rédiger un rapport en se prémunissant des autorités royales qui pouvaient organiser sa destruction. Il était donc nécessaire que le voyageur se dote d'une couverture afin de protéger sa collecte de données et dissiper tous soupçons de la part de l'Imam Yaḥyā et du Gouverneur de Taez et prince héritier au trône, Aḥmad. Face à ce constat, Fudayl al-Wartilani annonce fonder une société commerciale avec la participation de Ḥāǧǧ Muḥammad Salīm al-Badr, propriétaire d'une société de transports yéménite et égyptienne[39]. Bien que le cahier des charges de cette entreprise fût inexistant, le plan de modernisation du réseau de transports routiers par cette société commerciale à capitaux égyptiens recevait l'approbation du prince héritier Aḥmad. Ainsi, Fudayl al-Wartilani se dotait d'une parfaite couverture qui lui permettait de circuler en toute liberté dans le royaume sans être entravé par les autorités royales. Le papier demeurait un moyen d'expression pour les Yéménites du Nord et faisait l'objet d'un contrôle strict des autorités. Poètes, enseignants et autres hommes de lettres qui utilisaient un support manuscrit à des fins d'expression risquaient d'être incarcérés à la prison de Ḥaǧǧa, à l'intérieur de laquelle les détenus continuaient à écrire secrètement en utilisant l'encre de citron ou de blanc d'œuf afin de dénoncer les conditions de détention[40]. Ces détenus étaient également des auxiliaires de l'Imam, l'aidant dans la rédaction de documents officiels tels que des lettres d'hommage et divers discours.

Le qualificatif d' « aventurier solitaire » du Yémen peut être pertinent pour désigner Fudayl al-Wartilani. Les facteurs qui rendent possible la constitution du rapport sur le Yémen, mentionnés précédemment, soulèvent alors la question de l'existence d'un rapport singulier du voyageur à la note manuscrite. La solitude est un aspect omniprésent chez un voyageur et les caractéristiques géographiques du Yémen renforcent d'autant plus les liens entre le voyage et les moments de solitude[41]. Dans ce contexte précis, les interactions sociales du voyageur avec la population yéménite étaient réduites aux stricts objectifs de la mission confiée par Ḥassan al-Bannā ce qui lui permettait d'opérer discrètement sur le territoire yéménite sans tomber dans l'escarcelle de l'Imam Yaḥyā. La note de papier offre au voyageur le moyen d'une communication-refuge, à l'abri de toutes politiques de censure, un moment à l'intérieur duquel peuvent être consignés les perceptions et sentiments d'un environnement singulier tirés des observations du voyageur, observatoire vivant et mobile des événements.

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[38] F. Burgat, « Aḥmad Muḥammad Nuʿmān et la construction d'une identité nationale yéménite », 2008, p. 189.

[39] 30PO/1/51, CADN, « Notice individuelle sur Fodil al-Wartilani », 1954.

[40] S. Carapico, *Civil Society in Yemen: The Political Economy of Activism in Modern Arabia*, 2007, p. 98-99.

[41] La plupart de l'activité humaine au Nord et au Sud du Yémen était concentrée autour des grandes villes (Sanaa, Ḥudayda, Taez et Aden). Au-delà des frontières citadines, le territoire rural yéménite restait un espace inconnu des voyageurs et de tous ceux qui n'étaient ni agricultures, ni pasteurs.

IV. Le *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman* : une source historique incontournable, à l'origine de la chute de l'Imam Yaḥyā

1. Caractéristiques et particularités d'un manuscrit à la toute fin du règne de l'Imam Yaḥyā

Le voyage de Fudayl al-Wartilani au Yémen en avril 1947 offre un panorama historique inédit d'un territoire à la veille des bouleversements politiques de 1948 :

> D'après ce que j'ai entendu dire par des gens connaissant le Yémen, d'après ce que j'ai observé sur les routes de Aden à Taez, puis de Taez à Ḥudayda et de Ḥudayda à Sanaa, et d'après les endroits que j'ai visités dans ce pays, il me semble que 75 % des terres ne sont pas cultivées alors que 25 % le sont imparfaitement. Cette terre dans son ensemble convient à toutes les cultures connues et se distingue par sa convenance à certaines plantes mieux que toute autre terre[42]. [Pourtant la terre du Yémen est fertile et bonne pour moult cultures (le café d'abord, puis le tabac, le coton, la soie, le ricin et même le caoutchouc, sans compter les céréales, les palmiers dattiers)][43].

Le style d'écriture n'en est pas moins le reflet d'un travail de synthèse en amont grâce aux notes consignées sur de maigres feuillets qu'il s'est constitué au cours de ses déplacements au Yémen. Dans l'extrait du rapport ci-dessus, Fudayl al-Wartilani opte pour un style narratif lorsqu'il décrit le rendement des terres agricoles, même s'il n'est pas ingénieur, et articule ses observations autour de données quantitatives et de pourcentages afin de mettre en avant la faiblesse du rendement agricole des terres. L'emploi du discours indirect est par ailleurs omniprésent dans ce rapport. Il se pourrait que Fudayl al-Wartilani y ait eu recours afin d'affirmer l'authenticité des sources orales utilisées pour l'écrire et afin de décrire précisément les conséquences du retard économique du Yémen. Les Yéménites locaux, habitants d'al-Ḥudayda ou de Sanaa, furent soigneusement interrogés, pour que finalement les informations collectées sur la situation économique précaire du royaume yéménite soient rapportées à travers l'œil de Fudayl al-Wartilani, percepteur et transmetteur de témoignages.

Le rapport sur le Yémen évoque principalement l'usure économique du royaume yéménite en analysant méticuleusement le rendement des terres agricoles. Cette caractéristique était un indicateur incontournable pour mesurer le niveau de développement d'une économie et de sa population. L'exploitation agricole va de pair avec le développement de manufactures implantées dans les espaces urbains et ruraux et l'augmentation des investissements dans le secteur du bâtiment et des services[44]. Quant au rendement des terres, l'absence de techniques d'irrigation et de culture intensives ne permettait pas l'accroissement *in fine* de la production agricole. Fudayl al-Wartilani suggère alors des ressources à forte valeur ajoutée telles que le café, le tabac

[42] F. al-Wartilani, *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*, 1947 (trad. partielle de l'arabe par S. Lagati et M. Al-Ahnaf dans « Fudayl al-Wartilani, un algérien au Yémen », 1999.

[43] F. al-Wartilani, *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman*, 1947.

[44] G. Saab, « Motorisation et développement agricole au Moyen-Orient », 1960.

et le caoutchouc dont la production est insuffisamment soutenue par le royaume. Ces matières premières étaient pourtant prisées des marchés et commerçants étrangers du fait de leur potentiel financier. Le territoire du Nord Yémen ne bénéficiait aucunement des vertus de ses ressources naturelles, les politiques agricoles coordonnées par l'Imam demeurant quasi inexistantes à la fin des années 1940.

Le constat de Fudayl al-Wartilani sur l'usure économique du Nord Yémen était un sujet sensible aux yeux des autorités. Le contenu de ce rapport ne devait donc pas tomber entre les mains des autorités zaydites car il exposait des éléments qui pouvaient représenter une menace pour l'Imam. L'utilisation du papier en une sorte de stratégie de détournement de la censure par l'Imam évoquée précédemment se double d'une stratégie de circulation et d'expédition du rapport vers l'Égypte dans l'objectif cette fois-ci d'exfiltrer le document afin que les Frères musulmans du Caire prennent connaissance des observations de Fudayl al-Wartilani.

2. Faire parvenir les recommandations de Fudayl al-Wartilani au Caire

Il restait à faire parvenir les observations jusqu'au Caire, là où les Frères musulmans attendaient avec impatience le compte rendu de Fudayl al-Wartilani. Bien que le voyageur ait entretenu des liens privilégiés avec le Gouverneur Aḥmad, il lui était difficile d'envoyer le *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman* par voie postale depuis Sanaa et, ce faisant, de courir le risque que le courrier soit contrôlé par les autorités royales. Même si Fudayl al-Wartilani avait reçu l'autorisation de l'Imam Yaḥyā pour envoyer une lettre à Ḥāǧǧ Salīm al-Badr et Ḥassan al-Bannā afin de faire part de son idée d'une réforme générale, le contenu du rapport sur le Yémen risquait d'aller à l'encontre des volontés du souverain[45]. Fudayl al-Wartilani comptait alors sur deux solides alliés, Aḥmad Nuʿmān et al-Zubayrī aux commandes de *Ṣawt al-Yaman* et *Fatāt al-Ǧazīra* à Aden. Ces organes de presse et de communication offraient à Fudayl al-Wartilani la possibilité d'être en liaison directe avec Le Caire et les Frères musulmans grâce aux nombreux réseaux de postes, à Aden, renforcés par la présence des clubs littéraires tenus par l'un de ses interlocuteurs rencontré au Club des Alaweyeen du Caire, le Sultan du Laḥiǧ, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Faḍl[46].

[45] M. al-Ahnaf, « Fudayl al-Wartilani, un algérien au Yémen », 1999.

[46] J. L. Douglas, *The Free Yemeni Movement 1935–1962*, 1987, p. 71.

Ill. 3. Carte postale d'Aḥmad Zakī Pasha lors d'une visite au Yémen.
Le recto de la carte contient la note suivante :
« Paix et salutation de Sanaa au Yémen », juillet 1906[47]

Les qualités d'expression et d'éloquence de Fudayl al-Wartilani, recevant par ailleurs les éloges d'al-Šāmī et d'Aḥmad Nuʿmān, sont mises à mis en œuvre dans l'envoi de ses recommandations, attendu par Ḥassan al-Bannā. L'adoption du style d'écriture du *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman* a donc été pensé de sorte qu'il remplisse les attentes de ses interlocuteurs, au Caire, en première ligne, la branche des Frères musulmans, et d'y livrer une esquisse de l'urgence de réformes politiques et économiques au sein du royaume yéménite. Les notes de Fudayl al-Wartilani étaient par conséquent destinées à un lectorat proche des Frères musulmans, susceptible d'être réceptif à l'urgence de la formation d'un programme politique, économique et social en mesure de mettre un terme à l'usure du régime en vigueur. Par précaution, Fudayl al-Wartilani décidait de ne pas mentionner dans ses recommandations le candidat idéal à la succession de l'Imam Yaḥyā.

À l'issue de sa mission, Fudayl al-Wartilani demanda à l'Imam Yaḥyā de pouvoir retourner au Caire afin de présenter les résultats de ses recherches à son associé Ḥāǧǧ Salīm al-Badr et de recruter un directeur et des employés pour administrer sa nouvelle société dans la perspective de moderniser le réseau de transport routier transrégional[48]. Il s'agissait d'un prétexte pour pouvoir sortir du territoire yéménite et présenter oralement ses recommandations au mouvement des Frères musulmans, à la Ligue arabe ainsi qu'aux émigrés yéménites du Caire.

[47] M. ʿAlī al-Tāhir, « Documents, correspondances et photos », voir ʿAlī al-Ṭāhir, Muḥammad (m. 1393/1974), Archives personnelles en ligne, http://eltaher.org.
[48] J. L. Douglas, *The Free Yemeni Movement 1935–1962*, 1987, p. 128.

3. Une source écrite à l'origine du *Pacte National Sacré*

Les recommandations qui figurent dans cette source manuscrite s'inscrivent dans un projet politique qui dépasse les objectifs fixés par le petit commerce lancé par Fudayl al-Wartilani au Yémen. Cette source historique est à l'origine d'un projet politique, maintes fois débattu par les responsables de la Ligue arabe et des Frères musulmans, qui s'est concrétisé à la fin de l'année 1947. L'objectif du *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman* était clairement de préparer le terrain à l'élaboration d'un nouveau régime constitutionnel qui répondrait à deux impératifs. Il s'agissait d'abord de rattraper le retard accumulé par le Yémen face à ses voisins arabes en identifiant les principales défaillances structurelles du royaume et en injectant des capitaux dans l'agriculture, l'industrie et l'éducation. Puis de mettre un terme à la politique isolationniste du royaume mutawakilite en offrant aux tribus sous la coupe de l'Imam une meilleure représentativité au sein des institutions politiques du royaume.

Le rapport sur le Yémen est aussitôt publié dans de nombreux journaux du Caire et d'Aden. Aḥmad Nuʿmān le présente aux lecteurs du *Ṣawt al-Yaman* tandis que Ḥassan al-Bannā le publie dans l'organe de presse des Frères musulmans, *Al-iḫwān al-muslimūn*, daté du 3 août 1947 :

> Les circonstances ont permis à notre ami al-Fudhayl al-Wartilani de visiter le Yémen en compagnie de notre collègue le professeur Aḥmad Fakhry et avec l'accord de l'entrepreneur musulman à succès (*al-muslim al-fāʿil al-iqtiṣādī al-nājih*) aux affaires réussies Hadj Salim Salim dans une mission économique réformatrice dont nous escomptons les meilleurs effets pour l'avenir du Yémen. (...) Sayyid al-Fudhayl, avec sa loyauté, sa foi et son attachement à l'intérêt général des peuples musulmans et des nations arabes, et sa longue expérience de ces affaires [a pu] présenter à sa Majesté l'Imam une image claire et détaillée de tout ce qui doit être fait[49].

À la fin de l'année 1947, Fudayl al-Wartilani rédige le *Pacte National Sacré* qui a valeur de constitution pour le futur régime yéménite. Composé de 39 articles et de 4 articles complémentaires, le *Pacte National Sacré* se nourrit principalement du *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman* et constitue le texte fondateur de l'éphémère régime parlementaire de 1948. Le premier paragraphe introductif du pacte fait état du retard accumulé par le Yémen, constaté par Fudayl al-Wartilani dans son rapport, et constitue l'un des premiers arguments de l'élaboration d'une nouvelle Constitution. L'un des aspects de ce retard, illustré par le pacte, se retrouve dans l'article 32, stipulant que le secteur agricole, à la base de l'économie yéménite, doit être impérativement modernisé. La question de la représentativité des tribus dans le régime yéménite, abordée dans le rapport, transparaît dans l'article 7 relatif à la constitution d'un parlement et au droit de vote. Ainsi, le rapport sur le Yémen donne son fondement à la rédaction du *Pacte National Sacré*, catalyseur de réformes structurelles et de mesures économiques urgentes afin de moderniser le royaume[50].

[49] M. al-Ahnaf, « Fudayl al-Wartilani, un algérien au Yémen », 1999.

[50] M. al-Ahnaf, « Fudayl al-Wartilani, un algérien au Yémen », 1999, Annexe.

Le *Pacte National Sacré* ne met pas fin au régime monarchique yéménite. Il pose les fondations d'un régime constitutionnel composé d'un imam détendeur d'une légitimité religieuse, garant du Coran et de la *Sunna*. Il dispose d'un pouvoir législatif limité et supervise la rédaction d'une nouvelle constitution par une assemblée consultative de 70 représentants. La constitution est amendée, discutée puis votée par l'assemblée constituante qui est élue par le peuple yéménite. Les articles n° 19, 33 et 35, tirés des observations du rapport sur le Yémen, dessinent les premières mesures d'ouverture du Yémen aux circulations de marchandises, de capitaux et d'hommes du monde arabe et musulman. Le pacte propose l'envoi d'avions militaires pour sécuriser le territoire et d'experts arabes pour réorganiser l'administration de l'État. La présence du Yémen dans le monde arabe doit s'accentuer par l'implantation de corps diplomatiques qui se chargent des relations avec les États arabes frères et les émigrés yéménites. Fudayl al-Wartilani obtient par la close additive n° 1 du pacte, le poste de Conseiller Général de l'État et Membre permanent de l'Assemblée consultative chargée d'appliquer la nouvelle constitution.

V. Conclusion

Le *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman* à la fois représente une source historique précieuse dans la compréhension du changement politique au Nord du Yémen à la fin des années 1940 et permet la mise en exergue du rôle d'un document manuscrit qui provoquera, un an plus tard, le tragique assassinat de l'Imam Yaḥyā. Les risques encourus par Fudayl al-Wartilani en se rendant au Yémen et en élaborant une stratégie pour contourner les obstacles potentiels de l'Imam à sa rédaction ont permis la concrétisation de ce rapport rédigé dans un contexte où le Nord Yémen présentait des carences structurelles en matière d'équipements pour la circulation et la communication. Ces retards poussent le voyageur à utiliser le papier pour consigner ses observations. Par son contenu critique vis-à-vis de la gestion des terres agricole par le souverain, contenu que nous venons d'analyser, ce manuscrit représentait une source d'instabilité pour l'Imam : s'il était tombé entre les mains d'acteurs étrangers, tels que la Ligue arabe, les Frères musulmans ou des autorités étatiques voisines, la politique de censure de l'Imam en aurait été instantanément brisée par une forme d'ingérence étrangère, créditée par une importante communauté de Yéménites du Nord installée au Caire.

Par le prisme de Fudayl al-Wartilani, le *Taqrīr ʿan al-Yaman* joue un rôle déterminant dans les préparatifs du coup d'État de 1948. Le papier utilisé pour écrire ce rapport se pose en catalyseur des préparatifs qui ont conduit à l'inévitable assassinat de l'Imam Yaḥyā.

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The Contribution of Ismāʿīlī Colophons to the Discussion on the Birth and Construction of the Arabic Manuscript Tradition

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In memory of my dear friend Muhammad Umar Memon (1939-2018),
the editor of *The Annual of Urdu Studies*,
the only English journal in the world devoted to Urdu humanities.

Abstract

The writing of colophons in Arabic manuscripts, according to some scholars, emerged from the time of the Umayyads, while others contend that its origin could be traced back to 3rd/9th century. Despite this disagreement there is consensus that colophons are one of the most important elements in the study of manuscripts. However, they remain an underused source of information. The following study assesses the state of extant Ismāʿīlī manuscripts and scrutinizes two hundred and fifty manuscripts accessible to the author from various collections. It compares and contrasts the Arabic manuscript tradition with that of the Ismāʿīlī and reveals many remarkable similarities as well as some stark differences between the parent convention and its offshoot, the Šīʿī-Ismāʿīlī representation. It is followed by the portrayal of the forms and contents of Ismāʿīlī colophons. Finally, the conclusion is drawn from one entire collection by detailed analysis and classification of its colophons. The findings suggest the existence of several scattered centers of intellectual activity where the *ʿulamāʾ* and their small band of students kept the torch of learning aflame by studying their heritage and transcribing books as a mark of religious devotion. The movement of manuscripts between different towns and cities provides material evidence that there was an intricate web of communication between the *ʿulamāʾ*. This, in turn, gives another testimony to the cultural links between diverse centers of intellectual learning and puts a manuscript in an historical and cultural context of the time and its society.

Résumé

Selon certains specialistes, c'est à l'époque umayyade que la pratique du colophon a été introduite dans le manuscrit arabe, alors que d'autres croient que son origine peut remonter au iiie/ixe s. En dépit de ce désaccord, un consensus a prévalu sur le fait que les colophons représentent l'un des éléments les plus importants pour l'étude des manuscrits. Malgré cela, ils restent une source d'information insuffisament utilisée. Cet article étudie approximativement 250 manuscrits ismaéliens de différentes collections qui ont été accessibles à l'auteur de cet article. Il compare et contraste la tradition manuscrite arabe avec celle des ismaéliens et fait ressortir des similtudes remarquables ainsi que quelques différences importantes entre la tradition arabe en général et la tradition chiite-ismaélienne en particulier. Ensuite, l'article décrit les formes et les contenus des colophons ismaéliens. Finalement, les conclusions tirées par l'auteur pour analyser en détail et classifier ces colophons s'appuient sur une collection complète. Les résultats suggèrent l'existence de plusieurs centres d'activité intellectuelle dispersés où les *ʿulamāʾ* et leur petit entourage d'étudiants entretenaient l'étude de leur héritage et copiaient des livres en tant qu'exercice de dévotion religieuse. Le déplacement de manuscrits d'une ville à une autre offre une évidence matérielle de l'existence de réseaux de communication complexe qui reliaient les *ʿulamāʾ*. Cela représente un autre témoin des relations culturelles entre les différents centres intellectuels

d'apprentissage et permet de contextualiser les manuscrits historiquement, culturellement et socialement.

خلاصة

قد ظهرت كتابة البيانات التي تُذكر في نهاية المخطوطات العربية (الخواتيم)، بحسب بعض الباحثين منذ عصر الدولة الأموية، وبحسب الآخرين قد برزت تلك الخواتيم في القرن الثالث من الهجرة. وبالرغم من هذا الاختلاف يوجد إجماع الرأي مع أكثرية الباحثين بأنّ تلك الخواتيم، هي من أهمّ العناصر في دراسة المخطوطات، مع اعترافهم بأن تلك البيانات لم تُدرس حتّى الآن بالرغم من كونها الممثّل الأساسي في الفحوصات الدقيقة للمخطوطات. فالبحث الذي نقدّم، فيما يلي، يقيّم المخطوطات الإسماعيلية التي وصلت إلينا، خاصّةً من اليمن والهند، وما جاء في أواخرها. وقد فحّصنا تلك المعلومات المفيدة بدقّةٍ في أكثر من مئتين وخمسين نسخةً موجودةً في عدّة خزاناتٍ خاصّةٍ في الهند والمكتبات العامّة حول العالم بما فيه من المخطوطات المصورّة بالميكروفيلم عن أصولٍ موجودةٍ لها بالجمهورية العربية اليمنية، والتي قام باختيارها وتصويرها بعثتان مصريتان، سافرتا إلى اليمن في عامي 1952 و1964. فتركّز هذه الدراسة على المقارنة والمفارقة بين ما ورد في نهاية المخطوطات الإسماعيلية مع المخطوطات العربية الإسلامية. ويكشف البحث بأنّ هناك تشابهٌ مماثلٌ بين تقاليد المخطوطات العربية الإسلامية وبين تقاليد المخطوطات الإسماعيلية من بعض الجوانب، وكذلك توجد بعض الاختلافات الواضحة من النواحي الأخرى. ويُظهر هذا البحث بأن المخطوطات الإسماعيلية، مثل المخطوطات العربية الأخرى، كانت تنتقل من مدينةٍ إلى مدينةٍ في الهند. وأخيراً نستنتج من دراسةٍ شاملةٍ للخزانة الواحدة (أي خزانة والدي الشيخ قربان حسين بن فدا حسين في مدينة گودهرا في ولاية گجرات بالهند) بأنّ العلاقات الوثيقة كانت قائمةً بين العلماء الإسماعيليين الساكنين في مختلف مراكز النشاطات الثقافية والعلمية.

Keywords

Ismāʿīlī colophons, Yemen, Fyzee collection, Zāhid ʿAlī collection, Hamdani collection, *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn's *ḫizāna*, *al-warrāq*, *al-kuttāb*, *al-nussāḫ*, *ʿulamāʾ*, *šuyūḫ*, Godhra (Guǧarāt, India)

Mots-clés

colophons ismaéliens, Yémen, collection Fyzee, collection Zāhid ʿAlī, collection Hamdani, *ḫizāna* de *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, *al-warrāq*, *al-kuttāb*, *al-nussāḫ*, *ʿulamāʾ*, *šuyūḫ*, Godhra (Guǧarāt, Inde)

تعبيرات رئيسية

خواتيم المخطوطات الإسماعيلية، اليمن، خزانة الفيضي، خزانة زاهد علي، خزانة الهمداني، خزانة ملا قربان حسين، الورّاق، الكتّاب، النسّاخ، العلماء، الشيوخ، مدينة گودهرا (في ولاية گجرات بالهند)

Introduction[1]

In his *Arabic Manuscripts*: *A Vademecum for Readers*, Adam Gacek notes that substantial progress has been made during recent decades in the study of the Arabic manuscript tradition.[2] In order to document that development he cites the section on "Bibliography" in his previous book *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition* and its *Supplement* as a good illustration.[3] The "Bibliography" in the above two works, is arranged by subject and covers various aspects of the Arabic manuscript tradition, particularly the disciplines of codicology and paleography. Codicology, defined as "the branch of knowledge that deals with manuscripts and their interrelationships," is a relatively new discipline which emerged in the mid-twentieth century.[4] It is concerned with in-

* I am grateful to my friend and colleague Prof. Arianna D'Ottone Rambach for reading the final draft of this paper and recommending additional sources. I would also like to express thanks to my research assistant Anas Mahafza, a PhD candidate in Islamic Studies, for carefully reading the final version, flattening its rough edges, making valuable comments and suggesting improvements.

[1] The first appearance of the term "manuscript" meaning "a book manually inscribed" or "written by hand," appeared in the late sixteenth century in English and French—indicating that its advent is due in part to the invention of printing. The word manuscript is derived from Latin "manu" meaning by hand, and medieval Latin "manuscriptum" refers to document in a person's own hand. *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. manuscript (or vol. 1, p. 1696).

[2] A. Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*, 2009, p. ix; hereafter referred to as *Vademecum*. It should be noted that theoretical books on editing Arabic manuscripts appeared rather late. The first was a series of lectures delivered at the Egyptian University in the academic year 1931–1932 by G. Bergsträsser on the principles of critically editing Arabic manuscripts. These lectures were edited by M. Ḥ. al-Bakrī, *Uṣūl naqd al-nuṣūṣ wa-našr al-kutub*. The second consisted of two articles by M. Mandūr concerning the principles of editing/publishing entitled "*Kitāb qawānīn al-dawānīn*," based on al-Asʿad al-Mammātī's (d. 606/1209) manual by the same title which was edited by A. S. Atiya, in 1943. Both the articles were published in *Al-ṭaqāfa* (Cairo), no. 277, 18 April 1944, pp. 20–23 and no. 280, 9 May 1944, pp. 21–24. Subsequently, both the essays were expanded and published as a book titled *Fī al-mīzān al-ǧadīd*, n. d. Ibn al-Mammātī held the secretaryship of all the *dīwān*s during the sultanates of both Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and al-ʿAzīz (564–595/1169–1198). For more details, see A. S. Atiya, "Ibn Mammātī," *EI*[2]. The third was by R. Blachère & J. Sauvaget, *Règles pour éditions et traductions de textes arabes*, 1953 (1945). The fourth was F. Rosenthal's seminal study on the medieval Muslim scholar's approach and procedures in writing their manuscripts entitled *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 1947; hereafter referred to as *Technique* [it is based on ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. Mūsā al-ʿAlmawī's (d. 981/1573) *Muʿīd fī adab al-mufīd wa-al-mustafīd*, an abridgment of the *Durr al-naḍīḍ* of al-ʿAlmawī's contemporary, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazzī (d. 1577)]; Arabic trans. by A. Frayḥa, *Manāhiǧ al-ʿulamāʾ al-muslimīn fī al-baḥṯ al-ʿilmī*, 1980. For other manuals in Arabic see W. al-Qāḍī, "How 'Sacred' is the text of an Arabic Medieval manuscript?", 2007.

[3] A. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, 2001; hereafter referred to as *Glossary*; idem, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, *Supplement*, 2008; hereafter cited as *Supplement*.

[4] *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. codicology (or vol. 1, p. 441). The term codicology dates back to the mid-twentieth century. Codex means a book copied by hand for centuries—and more precisely the "codex"—is the focus of codicology studies. See also F. Déroche et al., *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, 2000, for a comprehensive introduction to this subject; English trans. *Islamic Codicology*, 2005; Arabic trans. *Al-madḫal ilā ʿilm al-kitāb al-maḫṭūṭ bi-al-ḫarf al-ʿarabī*, 2005. Another book of F. Déroche translated into Arabic by M. Tadġūt is entitled *Al-kitāb al-ʿarabī al-maḫṭūṭ*: *muqaddimāt tārīḫiyya*, 2016. The exact title of Déroche's book is not indicated in the Arabic heading; however, I think it is: *Le Livre manuscript arabe: Prélude à une histoire*. Not having access to the original French or Arabic translation I cannot verify my conjecture.

vestigating the materials and processes involved in the making of a book or a manuscript, such as the study and analysis of the paper, ink and form of script.[5] Codicology also tries to answer such questions, as: How, when and where was a given book made? For what purpose was it made? Who was its patron?[6] Similarly, this type of study deals with other related issues, for example quires, foliation, dates, dating, abbreviations, transcription, corrections, *marginalia*, ownership statements, seals of possession and bookbinding. In this respect Witkam observes:

> On the whole, features such as colophon, copyist's verses, owner's marks and reader's certificates, enable us to gain an idea of the functioning of a certain text in general and the use of a certain manuscript volume in particular. Therefore, the study of these features, which belongs to the field of codicology inasmuch as the study of writing materials and script are part of it, gives a text an extra dimension and places it in its cultural context.[7]

Codicology also deals with two important additional features, namely *iǧāzāt* (pl. of *iǧāza*) and *samāʿāt* (pl. of *samāʿ*). These terms are peculiar to the Islamic manuscript tradition. The *iǧāza* is the license or authorization for transmission, while the certificate of reading or hearing, called *iǧāzat al-samāʿ*, sometimes written near the colophon or on the title page preceding the text for which the authorization is granted, confers upon the recipient the right to transmit a text, or to teach, or to issue legal opinions.[8] It also bears witness to attendance at a reading session. The *iǧāza* is a conspicuous feature of Arabic manuscripts and it illustrates how a text functions in an educational or cultural environment. Studying *iǧāza*s increases our knowledge of the human element in the use of texts and manuscripts. For a better understanding of the *iǧāza* it is also important to be aware of the individual and personal element in the

[5] For the bibliography of paper making in Islamic countries and the use of paper in Islamic manuscripts see the recent article by E. Kropf & C. Baker, "A Conservative Tradition," 2013. For the most recent work, see A. Regourd (ed.), *The Trade in Papers Marked with Non-Latin Characters*, 2018. Technical terms for various types of paper and ink are explained by A. Gacek, *Glossary*, 2001, pp. 27–28, 45, 149–150.

[6] A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, p. 64.

[7] J. J. Witkam, "The Human Element between Text and Reader," 1995, p. 130.

[8] Manuscript copies with the attestation of *samāʿa* were more valuable and coveted. A. F. Sayyid, "Le rôle des conservateurs des *ḫazāʾin al-kutub* dans la reproduction des manuscrits arabes," 2007, pp. 198–199; for photocopies of some MSS with *samāʿa*, *muqābala*/*muʿāraḍa* (collation), see pp. 304–312. It should be noted that dictation played a major role in the transmission of the text. We are told that al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), the grammarian of al-Kūfa, transmitted the text of a *tafsīr* while two *warrāq*s were writing down his words. J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, 1984, p. 45; F. Déroche, "The Copyists' Working Pace," 2007, p. 205. In the latter article (pp. 203–213) Déroche offers a few comments, such as that in the great majority of cases, copying was a solitary experience and that some copyists specialized in a particular discipline, and proceeds to shed some light on the conditions under which the copyists worked. As to the question where did the copyists work, there is a wide range of situations, including commercial workshops, or workshops close to the royal patron. Many professional copyists worked at home or in a small shop. Déroche also discusses the speed of transcription. Some fast copyists in the sixteenth century under the Ottoman Sultan Selim were able to transcribe the Qurʾan and the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ in eight to ten days. J. Pfeiffer, "A Turgid List of the Mongol Empire in Persia," 2007, p. 114. Al-Nadīm cites the opinion of al-Kindī that the Arabic writing makes possible greater speed that can be attained in other forms of writing. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, 1971, p. 13; English trans. *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, 1970, vol. 1, p. 19.

transmission of Muslim scholarship.[9] Furthermore, the *iǧāza* is an important source for the history of scholarly and cultural networks and provides the details by which an entire cultural environment can be reconstructed.[10] Advances in the fields of codicology have opened new avenues for research about Arabic manuscripts in general and Ismāʿīlī manuscripts in particular.

Gacek, who himself has cataloged several Arabic manuscript collections, makes an incisive observation concerning the state of most of the catalogs stating: "Catalogues of Arabic manuscripts [are] concentrated on the identification of texts rather than providing data about the manuscripts themselves as archaeological objects."[11] His assessment of the state of affairs related to Arabic manuscripts is very relevant for explaining the reason why codicology of Arabic manuscripts is still in its infancy. The following study, devoted to examining and analyzing the colophons of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts, is a modest attempt to fill this lacuna in the field of codicology of the Arabic manuscript tradition in general and the Ismāʿīlī manuscript tradition in particular.[12] However, before we deal with the current state of affairs concerning the extant Ismāʿīlī manuscripts and their location, it is incumbent upon us to review the Arabic manuscript tradition in general with the intention of providing a better perspective to situate the Ismāʿīlī manuscript tradition and its colophons within the larger Islamic practice of book making.

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[9] In Islam it is the personal relationship between the teacher and his pupil, through the generations of scholars, that has produced a powerful driving force which ensures a continuity of its own. The early *ḥadīṯ* collections were organized not according to subject matter but to their authorities; hence, they are referred to by the name *Musnad* of so-and-so. In fact, half of the *ḥadīṯ* literature consists of *ʿilm al-riǧāl* (knowledge of the transmitters). Only an authentic chain of trustworthy authorities validates the text of a given tradition. I. Goldziher & A. Bonebakker, "Idjāza," *EI*², 1986; R. Sellheim, "Samāʿ (as a term in education)," *EI*², 1995; J. J. Witkam, "The Human Element between Text and Reader," 1995, pp. 123–36 (its Arabic version entitled *Dirāsat al-maḫṭūṭāt al-islāmiyya bayna iʿtibārāt al-mādda wa-al-bašar*, was published from London in 1997); the above article is reprinted in *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, ed. G. Roper, 2013, pp. 89–102.

[10] For example see F. Déroche (ed.), *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, 1989; Y. Dutton (ed.), *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts*, 1995; S. Leder et al., *Les certificats d'audition à Damas, 550–750 h./1155–1349*, 1996, and id., *Recueil de documents. Facsimilés des certificats d'audition à Damas, 550–750 h./1155–1349*, 2000; G. Roper (ed.), *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, 2013.

[11] A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, p. ix. It is unfortunate that some editors and translators totally ignore the *marginalia* of their given manuscript/s they edit or translate. See for example my review of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *The Disagreements of the Jurists: A Manual of Islamic Legal Theory*, 2015.

[12] In this respect it is relevant to refer to A. D'Ottone, "The Pearl and the Ruby," 2015. In it she discusses various typologies of manuscript notes, namely, copyist's dicta and other marginal notes pertaining to textual transmission. She also observes that while interest in these metatextual notes—typically found at the end of a text, and in the margins and other blank spaces of a codex—has been voiced for more than a century, only recently has it been recognized as "one of the more fascinating areas of the study of manuscripts." (A. D'Ottone, "The Pearl and the Ruby," 2015, p. 83). See also A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, p. 127; J. Sublet, "L'écriture dans les marges des manuscrits arabes," 2001, pp. 228–231; J. Sublet, "Les marges du manuscrit arabe, espace de la transmission orale," 1988, pp. 109–112.

Origins of Colophons

The term colophon, derived from the Greek, meaning "summit" or "finishing touch," is defined as an inscription, usually placed at the end of a book or manuscript. It typically contains the facts relative to its production.[13] The history of colophons in general takes us back to Greek manuscripts in antiquity. They seem to have emerged from the practice of putting the titles of works at the end, not the beginning, of the text. This was done with papyri rolls, which borne tags with the names of the author and the work to identify them. This practice continued with the advent of the codex (book form) in the third and fourth centuries.[14] Syriac manuscripts followed suit relatively early as well, certainly by the fifth century.[15] Colophons added by scribes in Syriac manuscripts often provide a great deal of valuable information. This often consisted of the scribe's name and parentage, date, place of writing, the person who commissioned the work, and the name of the reigning hierarchs. For the date, the Seleucid era was normally used; however, by the late seventh century *hiǧra* dating was also employed. Colophons can be both short and long and may contain additional information, such as the place of writing, if not a monastery, may include the church, as well as the village or town name. At times later owners substituted their names, imprinted their seals of possession and often erased the name of the original owner.[16] In short, by the time of the advent of Islam, the practice of including a colophon was common in Greek and Syriac manuscripts.[17]

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[13] *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*, 1961, p. 447.

[14] The above information was conveyed to me in a private communication by D. Gutas, the author of *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 1998. The questions arises: Did these ancient copyists have a word that resembled the function played by "colophon" in modern writings? In a private communication my colleague A. Regourd informs me that the Greek term "colophon" was not used by Greek-Byzantine copyists but was employed in modern codicological studies. She further states that even in earlier Egyptian papyrus scrolls and in the Assyrian production this term was not used. See H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, 1968.

[15] In the Greek and Syriac legal documents dating from the early 240s A. H., the scribe identifies himself by name. This practice continues to be frequently found in the colophons to Syriac literary and liturgical manuscripts. There the scribe is normally a deacon, priest, or monk. Women scribes are extremely rare. S. P. Brock et al. (eds), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, 2011, p. 363 (s. v. Scribes).

[16] S. P. Brock et al. (eds), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, 2011, pp. 101–102 (s. v. Colophons). According to S. P. Brock the oldest dated Christian MS in any language is preserved in the British Library. Its colophon states that it was written in Edessa and completed in Nov. 411.

[17] From the late fourth to the late ninth centuries an enormous number of Greek texts, including secular texts on medicine and philosophy were translated into Syriac by scholars who also played a significant role in the "translation movement" of the late eighth and ninth centuries under ʿAbbāsid patronage. Their efforts provided the Arabic-speaking world with the Greek philosophical and scientific heritage of Late Antiquity. Their contribution was particularly important during the earlier years of the translation movement, seeing that there was a long tradition of translation from Greek into Syriac, but none yet from Greek into Arabic. For this reason many translators, including the most famous of them all, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 260/873), first translated from Greek into Syriac, and then from Syriac into Arabic. S. P. Brock, *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, 2011, pp. 180–181.

In *Encyclopedia of the Book*, G. A. Glaister states that the term "colophon" is derived from the Ionian city of that name. It was held that the Colophonians, who, being good fighters, tipped the scale in favor of

Now the question arises: When did colophons make their first appearance in Arabic manuscripts? It is difficult to answer with precision as to when the colophon was introduced into the tradition. However, the sources at our disposal suggest that the colophon appeared very early, especially in Islamic documents. In his illuminating study entitled "Esquisse d'une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits musulmans," Ramazan Şeşen states that colophons emerged in many Arabic manuscripts from the time of the Umayyad period onwards.[18] He argues that ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb's (d. 23/644) institution of the *hiǧri* calendar played an important role in the subsequent introduction of colophons in Arabic books.[19] He states:

> L'adoption du calendrier hégirien dès l'an 16 de l'hégire, la prise de conscience rapide par la société islamique de l'histoire et de la chronologie, l'apparition précoce de la notion d'État comme institution, tous ces facteurs ont joué un rôle important dans l'introduction des colophons. Dès l'époque du Prophète, les musulmans ont indiqué à la fin des traités et des lettres la date calculée d'après l'hégire ; en plus de cette indication figure le plus souvent le nom du scribe. Cette façon de faire a dû servir de modèle pour les colophons des manuscrits.[20]

He further argues that for Muslims chronology is particularly an important matter. Hence, they always indicated the date when a document was written and in many cases also included the name of the scribe, and in certain instances the names of the witnesses to the deed just concluded. Şeşen then cites several examples from different historical sources, such as *Tārīḫ al-Ṭabarī* (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*; al-Ṭabarī d. 310/923), *Futūḥ al-buldān* (*The Conquests of the Countries*) of al-Balāḏurī (d. *ca.* 279/892), and *Maǧmūʿat al-waṯāʾiq al-siyāsiyya li-al-ʿahd al-nabawī wa-al-ḫilāfa al-rāšida* (*Compilation of Political Documents During the Times of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphate*), edited by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh.[21]

Let me cite one illustration derived from *The History of al-Ṭabarī* where the author quotes the text of the treaty drawn between Ḫālid b. al-Walīd (d. 21/642), the

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whichever side of a battle they fought on, bringing it to an end. Hence the phrase of Erasmus: "Colophonem adidti," meaning that "I have put the finishing touch on it." G. A. Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, 1996, p. 103.

[18] R. Şeşen, "Esquisse d'une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits musulmans," 1997.

[19] The Prophet's emigration from Mecca to Medina, the starting point of the Muslim calendar, took place in 622 A. D. See L. della Vida & M. Bonner, "ʿUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb," *EI*², 2000.

[20] R. Şeşen, "Esquisse d'une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits musulmans," 1997, p. 191.

[21] M. Ḥamīd Allāh (ed.), *Maǧmūʿat al-waṯāʾiq al-siyāsiyya li-al-ʿahd al-nabawī wa-al-ḫilāfa al-rāšida,* 1969. It contains numerous documents with the names of the scribes, and witnesses as well as dates. For example, the treaty between the inhabitants of Maqnā and the Prophet, written by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/66) on Friday, 4 Ramaḍān in the fifth year of the *hiǧra*, and witnessed by ʿAmmār b. Yāsir (d. 37/657), Salmān al-Fārisī (d. 37/657) and Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī (d. 32/652–653), see M. Ḥamīd Allāh (ed.), *Maǧmūʿat al-waṯāʾiq al-siyāsiyya li-al-ʿahd al-nabawī wa-al-ḫilāfa al-rāšida,* 1969, pp. 93–95. Another treaty between the second caliph ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb and the Christians of Madāʾin drafted by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar in the year 17 of the *hiǧra* was witnessed by ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān (d. 35/656) and al-Muġīra b. Šuʿba (d. *ca.* 48–51/668–671), M. Ḥamīd Allāh (ed.), *Maǧmūʿat al-waṯāʾiq al-siyāsiyya li-al-ʿahd al-nabawī wa-al-ḫilāfa al-rāšida,* 1969, pp. 162–164.

commander of the Arab forces and the people of Ḥīra (the capital of the Laḫmids).[22] Al-Ṭabarī concludes the agreement with the following words: "This was written in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the year 12 [16 May-14 June 633]."[23] Following more examples from historical documents, Şeşen cites some specimens from very early copies of the Qurʾan dating back to the Umayyad period that bear the date as well as the name of the copyist.[24] He then concludes that the above format (i. e., the date and the scribes' name) served as a model for colophons written at the end of books or manuscripts.[25]

However, according to the most recent study by Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche the oldest books in the Arabic language bearing a date of completion, the most simple form of colophon, originate from the 3rd/9th century. The oldest manuscript written on paper is a copy of *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ* by Abū ʿUbayd (d. *ca.* 223/837) preserved in the library of the University of Leiden.[26] She further adds that the scribes initially confined themselves to a few notes, such as the date, their names and their place of work. In the course of time they began to add further information, such as the book's title and the name of its author. At times they briefly described the original model/copy used in transcription and embellished the colophon with eulogies. Before long, the mode of expression became stereotyped. Later the layout was designed using certain characteristic forms.

Quiring-Zoche's main contention is that although a large number of colophons occur in Arabic manuscripts, there was no technical term denoting them that existed in the manuscript age. Only with the recent emergence of Arab codicology has the word colophon been acknowledged and given an Arabic name.[27] As there is no equiva-

[22] I. Shahid, "Al-Ḥīra," *EI²*, 1986. In 12/633 Ḥīra capitulated to Arab-Muslim army under Ḫālid and undertook to pay tribute to the conquering army.

[23] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ al-Ṭabarī*, 1962, vol. 3, p. 364; English trans. *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1993, vol. 11, pp. 34–35.

[24] R. Şeşen, "Esquisse d'une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits musulmans," 1997, pp. 192–194. Leaving aside the story about the official collection of the Qurʾan by the third caliph ʿUṯmān b. al-ʿAffān, al-Nadīm (d. *ca.* 385–995) reports that the man who at the beginning of Islam first wrote copies of the Qurʾan, being honored for the beauty of his penmanship, was Ḫālid b. Abī al-Hayyāǧ. Al-Nadīm further adds that he had seen a copy transcribed by the latter. It is also reported that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 101/720), the Umayyad caliph, requested Ḫālid to make a copy of the Qurʾan for him. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, 1971, p. 9; English trans. *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, 1970, vol. 1, p. 11. It should be noted here that the oldest extant copies of the Qurʾan attributed to ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib are most probably from the second half of the first century or the first half of the second century of the Islamic era, i. e., from the Umayyad period. See, ʿUṯmān bin ʿAffān, *Al-muṣḥaf al-šarīf*, 1428/2007; ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Al-muṣḥaf al-šarīf*, 1432/2011.

[25] For more specimen of colophons see R. Şeşen, "Esquisse d'une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits musulmans," 1997, pp. 195ff. For more specimens of Yemenite colophons that are more recent and more substantial, see A. D'Ottone, "Il Colofone nei Manoscritti Arabo-Islamici," 2016; especially Appendice where she has cited 51 colophons in Arabic with their translations into Italian. It should be noted that these colophons match closely with the Ismāʿīlī colophons in their structure and language.

[26] R. Quiring-Zoche, "The Colophon in Arabic Manuscripts. A Phenomenon without a Name," 2013.

[27] R. Quiring-Zoche, "The Colophon in Arabic Manuscripts. A Phenomenon without a Name," 2013, pp. 69–73.

lent of the expression colophon, its concept in Arabic is expressed in several ways. The word often used for the end of the manuscript in Arabic, including colophon, is *ḫatm* (or *ḫātima*, *iḫtitām*, meaning the end, or the seal). Other terms found in technical literature, but rarely used by the editors of classical Arabic texts, include *ḏayāla* (tail of the text), *ḏayl al-kitāb* (tail of the book), *ḥard* (or *ǧard*) *al-matn*,[28] *qayd al-farāġ* (colophon) and *taḫtima* (conclusion, closing matter).[29] As there is no equivalent of colophon in Arabic, it is generally expressed in a phrase: *fa-qad ǧāʾa fī āḫir al-nusḫa* (the end of the manuscript states) or *bi-al-ṣafḥa al-aḫīra* (at the end of the last page states). *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage* also defines colophon in a phrase as follows:[30]

بياناتٌ تُذكر في نهاية المخطوطة، أو الكتاب، تتعلّقُ بالنَّسْخِ أو النشرِ.

(Information mentioned at the end of a manuscript, or a book concerning its transcription or publication.)

Importance of Colophons

Colophons, generally found at the end of the manuscripts, are one of the most important elements in the study of manuscripts, yet they are an underused source of information.[31] They indicate the date when the manuscript was copied, and in many cases give the name of the scribe. Occasionally, they disclose other pertinent data, such as the date of composition of the original text and the features of the copy used by the scribe. All these things are crucial to evaluate the worth of a given manuscript.

The colophon may be constructed either by the author himself or by the scribe. The former is called "authorial" and the latter "scribal."[32] Otherwise, the information contained in the colophon varies from one manuscript to the next. Colophons can provide us with valuable information for constructing the history and development of various calligraphic styles. Colophon references help us to discover previously unknown scholars, intellectual centers, as well as libraries and private collections. Similarly, copies of the works of various scholars and calligraphers can be identified from the colophons. There are manuscripts which, in addition to the principal colophon written by the scribe, also contain colophons written by the commissioner or sponsor

[28] In his edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, 1967, vol. 1, p. 15, Ǧ. al-Šayyāl translated the term colophon by stating فقد جاء في حرد الكتاب. See also al-Maqrīzī's *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ,* 2010, vol. 1, p. 43 (فقد جاء في حرد متنه).

[29] A. Gacek, *Glossary*, 2001, pp. 22, 30, 38, 51, 109, 132.

[30] *The Oxford English-Arabic of Current Usage*, s. v. colophon.

[31] The book in the Islamic world is closely integrated with Islam as a religion and with the Arabic language and script, which were the early means of communication in the Islamic world. Hardly has the literary life of any other culture played a role such as that played in Islam. For some interesting essays on this topic see, G. Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World*, 1995. M. Arkoun aptly described the position of the book in the Islamic world as a "société du livre." See F. Déroche, "The Copyists' Working Pace," 2007, p. 211.

[32] For the author's colophon see, R. Quiring-Zoche, "The Colophon in Arabic Manuscripts," 2013, pp. 76–79.

wanting to obtain a particular copy of the book. Finally, one finds in some manuscripts a series of later colophons written by their subsequent recipients or owners. All of these provide, in a sense, the "biography" of an individual manuscript.

It is worth noting that the authors of Armenian colophons developed a unique tradition in that they did not simply confine themselves to brief statements concerning the circumstances of the production of individual manuscripts; rather, they also recorded contemporary information on a broad range of subjects including political and social events.[33] Such colophons continued to be written until recently. With the invention of the printing press, this old convention of book making is still followed and has been expanded to include the publisher's name and the date of printing and other facts at the back of the title page.[34] This brings us to another interesting subject, namely that of copying and the role of the copyist in the medieval Islamic civilization.

Copying and the Copyists

The copyists played an important role not only in the production of but also in shaping the Arabic medieval manuscript corpus.[35] In order to obtain a glimpse of book making before the invention of the printing press, scanning of electronic copies and high speed internet, let us briefly visit the Middle Ages. We know very well that anyone occupied with disciplined study in the medieval Islamic world, for example, had to undertake a large amount of transcribing.[36] Just to cite a few examples, we are told that the Spaniard Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) is reputed to have written about four hundred volumes, totaling around eighty thousand pages. According to Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), the celebrated traveler and scholar, Ibn Ḥazm himself was surpassed by al-Ṭabarī, the celebrated historian and the Qurʾanic exegete. When he died his disciples counted the days of his life from the day he became an adult. Then they divided them by the number of his written pages. This calculation showed him to have written an average of fourteen folios (twenty eight pages) a day. Some students claimed that,

[33] The writing of colophons in Armenian manuscripts is a tradition that goes back to the beginning of the fifth century. For more details, see A. K. Sanjian (ed.), *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301–1480: A Source for Middle Eastern History*, 1969, pp. vii–xv, 1–41. A. Sirinian's "Libri per il paradiso: aspetti di mentalià nei colofoni armeni del XIII secolo," 2017, is devoted to the colophons of the 13th century. The author states that those texts can be seen to have assumed over time a formulaic language, and, even if varied on occasion, their compositional scheme repeats itself with a certain constancy.

[34] Generally it contains information about the printer, publisher, copyright, ISBN no. etc.

[35] Arabic manuscripts are simply too many. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, the author of *Kašf al-ẓunūn*, lists about 15,000, while C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 1937–1948, lists approximately 25,000. In its various libraries, Istanbul itself holds around 200,000 MSS. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaǧǧid estimates the total number of Arabic MSS in the vicinity of three million. See also J. J. Witkam, "Aims and Methods of Cataloguing Manuscripts of the Middle East," 1989. Witkam states: "Although three million is a tremendous figure, I believe that the actual amount may well surpass these three million [...] Arabic manuscripts are simply too many, their number is beyond our imagination, and, by extension, the same goes for Middle Eastern manuscripts in general."

[36] For details see, A. Gacek, "Technical Practices and Recommendations Recorded by Classical and Post-Classical Arabic Scholars Concerning the Copying and Correction of Manuscripts," 1989; also reprinted in G. Roper (ed.), *The History of the Book in the Middle East*, 2013, pp. 89–102.

indeed, he wrote forty folios a day for forty years.[37] All records seem to have been broken by the Egyptian Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). According to the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyās (d. *ca.* 930/1524), al-Suyūṭī's books numbered 600.[38]

Let me entertain you with some more interesting statistics. Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1200), a prolific author, is said to have written or recopied, according to his own account, 2,000 volumes in all, that is four quires, or forty folia, or eighty pages per day.[39] Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī (d. 698/1298), the famous Arabic calligrapher, is reported to have copied two *ǧuz'*s (a one thirtieth part of the Qurʾan, that is two *ḥizb*s) every day, resulting in two qurʾans every month and 1,001 Qurʾans in his lifetime.[40] Although there were some prolific Ismāʿīlī authors and copyists—who we will discuss shortly—they cannot be compared to the above Sunnī giants who wrote and transcribed thousands of pages.

Some scholars and students transcribed books to earn money. For example, Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/974), the Christian Arab philosopher and theologian, translator and commentator of the works of Aristotle, earned his living as a copyist. It is said that he transcribed al-Ṭabarī's immense exegesis of the Qurʾan twice.[41] According to Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, the same story is true of a number of literary figures. He further reports the strange case of a person called Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (d. 620/1223), a well-to-do man who squandered his huge inheritance. Henceforth, he was forced to become a scribe for wages until the day should come when he might find employment. In fact, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī himself was originally a slave. After being freed from slavery, he too made his living by transcribing (*nasḫ*) books for payment.[42]

The great majority of copyists were professionals, working full-time and whose sole source of livelihood was copying manuscripts. Then there were the "amateurs" who occasionally copied books. This is particularly frequent in the case of Qurʾans and other pious works. The author of a history of Cordoba, written during the Umayyad

[37] J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, 1984, pp. 37–38.

[38] J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, 1984, p. 38.

[39] A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, p. 240.

[40] A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, p. 240.

[41] J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, 1984, p. 43. It is interesting to note that Isḥāq b. Nuṣayr *al-kātib* al-Baġdādī (d. 297/909) began his life as a copyist. In order to earn money he used to copy borrowed books, deferring payment to the *warrāq*s (booksellers) who lent them to him. Being an honest and ambitious man, he promised the booksellers that eventually he will pay them when his fortunes improve. Subsequently, he achieved a great success in Tūlūnid Egypt. Initially he was hired at the salary of forty dinars a month. Ḫumārwayh was so pleased with his writing abilities and style as a *kātib* (secretary in the chancellery) that he raised his salary tenfold, to four hundred dinars a month. Hence, he not only repaid his old debts to the *warrāq*s in Baġdād but also made rich gifts to two famous grammarians al-Mubarrad (d. *ca.* 286/900) and Ṯaʿlab (d. 291/904). Ibn al-Dāya, *Kitāb al-mukāfaʾa wa-ḥusn al-ʿuqbā*, 1940, pp. 16–18; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ*, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 628–629 (no. 227).

[42] Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, n. d., vol. 6, p. 127; J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, 1984, pp. 43–44; Cl. Gilliot, "Yāḳūt al-Rūmī," *EI²*, 2002. Costs of books in Medieval Yemen varied according to the number of quires and the quality of the script, see A. D'Ottone, "La bibliothèque d'un savant yéménite du XIIIe siècle d'après une note manuscrite autographe," 2013.

rule in Spain, reports that in the eastern suburb of the city one hundred and seventy women were occupied with transcribing Qurʾans in Kufic script.[43]

The above list, however, represents a minority of copyists. It is narrated that some authors even did not write their own books, but rather had their own private copyists or hired copyists to do that job. For example, Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), the author of *Al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (*The Great Categories* [*of Generations*]) was known as *kātib al-Wāqidī* (The Copyist/Scribe of [the historian] al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822)).[44] Numerous examples in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's *Iršād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb* (*Guide of the Intelligent towards Knowledge of the Men of Letters*), generally known as *Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ* (*Dictionary of Men of Letters*), illustrate that it was not uncommon in the time of the early ʿAbbāsids for an author to have his own copyist (*warrāq*). It is reported that the celebrated man of letters, for example, al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–869), had his own copyist.[45] Indeed, by having copyists present, the author also assured his book would be disseminated widely.

Another thing worth noting is that wages for scribes varied dramatically. With some scribes enjoying a good standard of living, especially those in the service of wealthy patrons, while many others were underpaid.[46] Some Arabic literary sources portray a *warrāq*'s profession as a reprehensible occupation (*ḥirfa maḏmūma*) because it did not provide the person engaged in copying an adequate income and had to live in poverty, so much so that he could not afford to leave enough money to buy his own shroud. Nevertheless, the *warrāq* was devoted to his craft. In his *Kitāb al-ḫāṣṣ al-ḫāṣṣ* (*The Book of the Distinguished* [*Persons*] *among the Distinguished* [*People*]), Abū Manṣūr al-Ṯaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), a man of letters, a linguist and a historian, describes one such *warrāq*:

> A *warrāq* (scribe) was asked, "What is the pleasure?" He answered: "Parchments, papers, shiny ink and cleft reed pen." He often complained about the insecurity of his profession. And when asked about his condition, he replied that he lived a miserable life and said: "My livelihood is narrower than an inkwell, my body more slender than a ruler, my rank (standing) more delicate than glass, my face darker than vitriol, my lot more concealed than the slit of a nib, my hand weaker than a reed, my food comes from gall nuts, and bad luck clings to me like Arabic gum.[47]

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[43] F. Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 2005, p. 77.

[44] J. Fück, "Ibn Saʿd," *EI²*, 1986; S. Leder, "Al-Wāḳidī," *EI²*, 2002.

[45] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ*, 1993, vol. 5, pp. 2108, 2117 (no. 872); J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, 1984, p. 46. It should be noted that I came across one example in Ismāʿīlī colophons where a person called *mullā* Aḥmad ʿAlī had his own *kātib*. For this colophon of al-Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī's book *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* in my father's collection see below the examples of colophons, no. 9.

[46] In his study entitled "The Copyist's Working Pace", 2013, F. Déroche notes that some copyists worked in private libraries or in government run libraries, such as *Bayt al-ḥikma* in Baghdad and elsewhere. See A. F. Sayyid, "Le rôle des conservateurs," 2007, p. 199. In his *Al-mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wa-al-āṯār*, 2002, al-Maqrīzī notes that the copyist in *dār al-ʿilm* under the Fāṭimids was paid ninety dinars annually.

[47] A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, p. 240; M. A. J. Beg, "Warrāḳ," *EI²*, 2002.

On the other hand, al-ʿUkbarī (d. 428/1037) boasted that he used to buy paper sheets for five dirhams and make a copy of the celebrated poet al-Mutannabī's *Dīwān* in three or four nights, earning thereby between 150 to 200 dirhams.[48] But such cases were exceptional. Average copyist earned much less, yet the public regarded them highly because of their association with the literati and intellectuals in society.

Advent of *al-Warrāq* and His Workshop

François Déroche, a leading Islamic codicologist, has raised some important questions concerning the ability of colophons to lead us to the exact identity of the copyist. He argues that colophons provide the name of a specific individual, but that alone is of little help in determining the identity of the person who transcribed the text whether he was a *warrāq, nassāḫ* or *kātib* because the original meanings of these three terms are lost when they are used in their secondary meaning of being a scribe. *Warrāq*, literally means "producer or seller of leaves/paper (*waraq*)," however, in medieval Islam it became the designation for the copyist of manuscripts, paper seller, and also bookseller. In Arabic dictionaries *nassāḫ* (pl. *nassāḫa* and *nāsiḫ*, pl. *nussāḫ*) is described as a copyist, a scribe.[49] *Kātib* (pl. *kuttāb*) means a writer, a scribe, a secretary, or a record-keeper.[50]

It is interesting to note that in his *Kitāb al-ansāb,* ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166) states that a *warrāq* is one "who copies the Qurʾan and books about traditions of the Prophet (*yaktub al-maṣāḥif wa-kutub al-ḥadīṯ*), but in Baghdad a seller of paper (*warrāq*) might also be called a *warrāq*." The earliest materials used for writing were parchment (*qirṭās*) and papyrus (*raqq*),[51] but were gradually replaced by paper, whose production in Baghdad began in the late 2nd/8th century. The earliest known person bearing the designation of *warrāq* seems to be a man from Wāsiṭ called Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aṣbaġ al-Warrāq (d. 195/811).[52] Thus, one can infer that there is some early

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[48] Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam,* as cited by M. A. J. Beg in the previous note; he cites another case of a *warrāq* who copied ten folios a day and earned 10 dirhams.

[49] M. M. al-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ al-ʿarūs*, 1970, s. v. n-s-ḫ; he states:

نَسَخَ الكتابَ: كَتَبَهُ عن مُعارَضَةٍ. وفي التهذيب: النسخُ اكتِتابُك كتاباً عن كتابٍ حرفاً بحرفٍ، والكاتِبُ ناسِخٌ ومُنتسِخٌ.

English trans. (He copied/transcribed a book means he copied a book by collating it with another copy. In his famous dictionary entitled *Tahḏīb al-luġa* (*Refining the Language*), Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Azharī (d. 370/980), a lexicographer, states that copying/transcription signifies transcribing a book from another book word by word). The scribe is, thus, a copyist. See also R. Blachère, "Al-Azharī," *EI*², 1986; A. Gacek, *Glossary*, 2001, p. 140.

[50] A. Gacek, *Glossary*, 2001, pp. 122, 150.

[51] A. Gacek, *Supplement*, 2008, pp. 31, 61.

[52] Al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, 1977, vol. 13, pp. 300–301. He states:

الورّاق: بفتح الواو وتشديد الراء وفي آخرها القاف. هذا اسمٌ لمن يكتب المصاحف وكتب الحديث وغيرها. وقد يقال لمن يبيع الورق، وهو الكاغذ، ببغداد الورّاق أيضاً. والمشهور به أبو عبد الله أصبغ بن يزيد الورّاق الجهني، من أهل واسط، كان يكتب المصاحف بواسط مات سنة 195 هـ.

evidence that the term *warrāq* was used in reference to copyists focused on sacred literature. In the most revered Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* collection, the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Buḫārī (d. 256/870) states that the Prophet's wife Ḫadīǧa's cousin, the Christian priest who assured Muḥammad of the truth of his revelations, named Waraqa b. Nawfal, was known as a scribe (*kātib*) of the Hebrew scripture.[53] In his *Madḫal ilā kitāb al-iklīl*, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014), a *ḥadīṯ* collector, reports that Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Rāzī al-Ḥanẓalī (d. 277/890), an Iranian *ḥadīṯ* scholar and critic, severely censured the *ḥadīṯ* collectors of Kūfa known as the *warrāq* of Sufyān b. Wakīʿ for their fabricated traditions.[54] On the other hand, the Qurʾan refers to the practice of copying the Torah by using the Arabic term *nasaḫa*, and states: *When the anger abated in Moses abated, he took the tablets, and there was guidance and mercy for those who fear their Lord in what was inscribed on them.*[55] The word *kātib* occurs several times in the Qurʾan in the sense of a scribe or recorder having a secular connotation,[56] but in other verses the Qurʾan warns against scribes of scripture who write the Book (*yaktubūn al-kitāb*) with their hands, and say: "*This is from Allah, in order to gain some money*."[57]

Déroche further adds that since the art of calligraphy occupied a prominent place in the Islamic world, it would be natural to begin with the calligraphers, a group *a priori* and distinct from that of the copyists. It is also a difficult problem for the codicologists whether calligraphical manuscripts should be considered a distinct category of its own. What the extant sources suggest, Déroche adds, is that there emerged a special type of professional copyists called a *warrāq* during the 3rd/9th century. We learn from the historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) that there was a special quarter called Qaṣr al-Waḍḍāḥ, famed for its booksellers and paper vendors, in Baghdad as early as the year 200/815–816.[58] The fourth/tenth century litterateur Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī

See also M. A. J. Beg, "Warrāḳ," *EI*², 2002.

[53] Al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī*, 2015, p. 9. He states:

[...] ورقة بن نوفل بن أسد بن عبد العزّى، ابن عمّ خديجة، وكان امرأً تنصّر في الجاهلية، وكان يكتب الكتاب العبراني، فيكتب من الإنجيل بالعبرانية ما شاء الله أن يكتب.

[54] Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Madḫal ilā kitāb al-iklīl*, 2010, p. 67; he states:

حدّثنا أحمد بن الحسن الأجهاني عن ابن أبي حاتم [الرازي]، قال: سمعتُ أبي يقول: دخلتُ الكوفة فحضرني أصحابُ الحديث، وقد تعلّقوا بورّاق سفيان بن وكيع، فقالوا: أفسدت علينا شيخنا وابن شيخنا. قال: فبعث إلى سفيان بتلك الأحاديث التي أدخلها عليه ورّاقه، ليرجع عنها، فلم يرجع عنها، فتركه.

See also J. Brown, *Hadith*, 2009, pp. 78, 81; C. Gilliot, "Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī al-Ḥanẓalī," *EI*³, 2011.

[55] *The Qurʾān* 7:154. I have used *The Qurʾān*, translated into English by A. Jones, 2007.

[56] *The Qurʾān*, 2:282; it states: *O you who believe, when you contract debts with one another for a fixed term, record in writing. Let a scribe record it justly in writing between you. Let no scribe refuse to write in the way God had taught him. Let him write and let the one who has incurred the debt dictate, and let him fear his Lord, God, and let him not diminish any of it*. See also *The Qurʾān*, 2:283; 21:94; 82:11.

[57] *The Qurʾān*, 2:79; it says*: Woe to those who write the Scripture with their own hands and then say, "This is from God," so that they may sell it for a paltry price. Woe to them for what their hands have written. Woe to them for what they earn*.

[58] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ al-Ṭabarī*, 1963, vol. 8, p. 544; English trans. *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1987, p. 43.

(d. 411/1023) also mentions that there was a special market in Baghdad called *sūq al-warrāqīn* (market of the paper vendors), or briefly, *al-warrāqūn*.[59] It is estimated that there were more than one hundred shops of copyists and paper sellers (*ḥānūt al-warrāqīn*) near Qaṣr al-Waḍḍāḥ in Baghdad.

Déroche further adds that those *warrāqūn* were also described as booksellers (*aṣḥāb al-kutub*). He might run the *ḥānūṭ* (workshop), sell and buy books, but it is very difficult to ascertain whether he himself was involved in the actual copying process or not. Probably one can say that a measure of versatility might have been the rule in the book trade. Hence, in the early centuries of Islam the *warrāq*'s role might have been to oversee every stage of manuscript production, while the role of the *nassāḫ* (the professional copyist) who signs the manuscript might have been restricted to copying books. Then, there are other terms, such as *naqqāš* (painter), and *muḏahhib* (illuminator) whose respective roles need to be clarified. Similarly it is superfluous to discuss the working practices of copyists. This aspect of book production is not easy to discern in the finished product since numerous basic facts, such as who was to receive the work, how long it took to copy, and where this task was undertaken, remain unknown.

To sum up an important and familiar figure known as *al-warrāq* (pl. *warrāqūn*, paper dealer or copyist) had emerged in scholarly life during the early period of Islam.[60] They worked for authors, for princes and other rich men who wanted to build up their own libraries. They were available to make copies for people who did not themselves take down dictations from their teachers. By having copyists present, the author also assured his book of wide dissemination. The rise of *al-warrāq*, a person who made a profession out of transcribing books, was a high point in Islamic civilization, which is still often described as the "Civilization of the Book."[61] The vast majority of the copyists were professional copyists, i. e., they worked full time, and their sole source of livelihood was copying books/manuscripts. Unlike the situation in the medieval West, there was no shortage of copyists in the Muslim world, as Franz Rosenthal remarked.[62]

Michael Carter notes that unlike in the medieval West, the physical production of manuscripts in the Arab world was essentially a secular activity. There were no

[59] Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Kitāb al-imtāʿ wa-al-muʾānasa*, 1939-1944, vol. 2, p. 11. He mentions the market in Baghdad as *al-warrāqūn*. *Sūq al-warrāqīn* was common in all major cities, such as Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, Cordova, etc. See A. F. Sayyid, "Le rôle des conservateurs des *ḫazāʾin al-kutub* dans la reproduction des manuscrits arabes," 2007, p. 197.

[60] Although it remains hard to place this character in any one fixed category described above. For more details see F. Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 2005, pp. 185ff.

[61] A. Gacek writes: "One of the principal characteristics of Arab Islamic civilization is undoubtedly the cult of books. This central position of the book in Arabic culture has its roots in Islam itself, more specifically in the Qurʾan, the Arabic book par excellence." See. A. Gacek, *Glossary*, 2001, p. xiii.

[62] F. Rosenthal, *Technique*, 1947, p. 2; he states: "In the East, on the other hand, there never was a lack of skilled scribes which might have stimulated the establishment of an institution like the pecia [in the West]."

monasteries in Islam, and the counterpart of the *scriptorium*[63] was the *warrāq*'s (the paper vendor and the copyist combined) *ḥānūt* (shop), located in an urban and secular environment.[64] The majority of the copyists worked in a *ḥānūṭ* in the marketplace, while a minority of them worked in more scholarly settings, such as a library of a prince or an author's house.[65] The *warrāqūn* were the link between men of letters and the general public. They were interested not only in beautiful calligraphy, but also in reproducing the text correctly and precisely. In addition to being copyists they were also booksellers, and very often men of letters themselves. At a *warrāq*'s stall or booth (*dukkān*, *ḥānūt*) trained copyists transcribed books and treatises, and trade in books was conducted. The *warrāq* would take orders and work in his shop for a fee. He would also lend some of his own copied books for others to make copies from them, also for a fee.[66]

In most cases, the copyist copied a book by himself, no matter how long it was. It is worth noting that colophons rarely indicate the conditions under which transcription took place. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270), a physician and bibliographer, reports an exceptional case where Ibn ʿAsākir's (d. 571/1176; the famous historian of Damascus) holograph copy of *Tārīḫ madīnat Dimašq* (*History of the City of Damascus*), in 80 volumes, was needed to be copied. It is narrated that it was distributed among ten professional copyists. What they needed was two years each to complete one copy of the whole book.[67]

In their own opinion, the copyists considered their profession as demanding, even draining to their health. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, a great prose writer who was by profession a copyist of the first order, states that copying is the profession of ill omen, because it destroys both eyesight and life and barely keeps the copyist out of poverty.[68]

Ideally, the copyists had to abide by demanding rules that they should copy very carefully with a good hand to produce trustworthy copies. When copying religious books, there were further requirements on the copyists of ritual purity, expression of piety and that they should face the *qibla* (direction to which Muslims turn in praying toward the Kaʿba/Mecca) while copying. His body, clothes, the ink and the paper he

[63] The term is used by medievalists to designate a manuscript copying room. *Webster's Third International Dictionary* defines a *scriptorium* as a copying room in a medieval monastery set apart for the scribes.

[64] M. G. Carter, "Arabic Literature," 1995, p. 556.

[65] There are very few clues to suggest where a copyist performed his task. The specific location where copying was undertaken is rarely mentioned. However, "workshops" or "ateliers" of variable sizes are mentioned in the sources. Workshops are portrayed in miniatures, for instance, in a copy of the *Aḫlāq-i Nāṣirī* by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in the Prince Ṣadruddin Aga Khan Collection, which shows various artists and craftsmen together in the same local. F. Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 2005, pp. 187, 191, 192.

[66] F. Rosenthal, *Technique*, 1947, p. 9.

[67] Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 1882, vol. 2, p. 236; F. Rosenthal, *Technique*, 1947, p. 2. The *Kitāb al-aġānī* by Abū al-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī in 20 vols. was copied by one copyist in two years. A. F. Sayyid, "Le rôle des conservateurs des *ḫazāʾin al-kutub* dans la reproduction des manuscrits arabes," 2007, p. 197.

[68] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ*, 1993, vol. 5, pp. 1923–1946; al-Tawḥīdī, *Aḫlāq al-wazīrayn*, 1965, p. 306.

uses should be clean.[69] Most copyists did their job adequately, but various considerations made their works less satisfactory. Speed, boredom, oversight, and occupational hazards made their task far from ideal. At times they copied works whose subject they knew nothing or too little about while working from a corrupt or undotted (without diacritical points either over or under a letter) original. At times they would make mistakes in copying because they elected to amend what appeared to them to be errors, or fill out blanks intentionally left blank by the authors to fill out with correct information later, and so on. Hence, copyists came to have a reputation for making mistakes. However, there was a large degree of freedom the copyists enjoyed in their profession because there was lack of institutionalization of the profession. On the other hand, the fact that the profession resisted institutionalization meant that copyists enjoyed a large degree of freedom over their work. The employment of a copyist was not subject to scrutiny. Their shortcomings are a subject of study by medieval Muslim scholars as well as by modern scholars.[70] In short, there was sufficient demand for books to keep some unqualified copyist employed.[71]

One finds that the *warrāq* had his sense of importance both as a representative of the world of learning and as an independent entrepreneur. The books copied in the course of the *warrāq*'s business were produced either to order or with a view toward sale on the open market. To this end he also obtained books by purchase. Many noted scholars and literary figures bore the description *al-warrāq* (the copyist) appended to their names. The most famous of them was al-Nadīm (or Ibn al-Nadīm, d. 385/995), the author of *Al-fihrist* (*The Catalog/Index of Books*). Al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–869) wrote a treatise on the virtues of the *warrāq* and another treatise on his shortcomings.[72] In his

[69] F. Rosenthal, *Technique*, 1947, p. 12.

[70] W. al-Qāḍī, "How 'sacred' is the text of an Arabic medieval manuscript," 2007, pp. 30–33. She has indicated the shortcoming of the copyists; hence the title of her paper. See also F. Rosenthal, *Technique*, 1947, p. 14; it states: "The copy of a manuscript should be collated with another text (*aṣl*) which is known to be correct and reliable [...] ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr asked his son, Hišām: Did you do your copying? The son replied: Yes. The father asked: Did you compare your copy with another correct text? The son responded: No. So, the father said: Then you did not do any copying." The author then quotes the Imam al-Šāfiʿī (d. 204/820) who said: "Whoever copies a manuscript and does not compare it with another correct text, i. e., collate it, is like a person who enters a latrine and after its use does not clean himself."

[71] W. al-Qāḍī, "How 'Sacred' is the Text of an Arabic Medieval Manuscript," 2007, pp. 30–33. See also M. Carter, "Arabic Literature," 1995, p. 557. Carter has given the example of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), Arabic poet and philologist known principally for this *Maqāmāt*, who personally authorized the copying of 700 copies of his *Maqāmāt*. See also D. S. Margoliouth & Ch. Pellat, "Al-Ḥarīrī," *EI*².

[72] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, 1971, p. 211; he lists the following treatises:

رسالة في ذمّ الكتـّاب، رسالة في مدح الكتـّاب، رسالة في مدح الورّاقين، رسالة في ذمّ الورّاقين.

(*A treatise on the blameworthy traits of scribes*, and another *On the virtuous traits of scribes; A treatise on the blameworthy traits of copyists*, and another *On the virtuous traits of copyists*). English trans. *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, 1970, vol. 1, p. 407; B. Dodge translates *kuttāb* as secretaries, but does not translate the *warrāqūn*. See also Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ*, 1993, vol. 5, p. 2120; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī also mentions the above four treatises. The *Risāla fī ḏamm al-kuttāb* is edited as part of the printed edition of *Rasāʾil al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 137–156.

It is worth noting that the aforementioned epistle on the reproach of *kuttāb* (scribes) begins with the name of ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, who used to write down revelation for the Prophet (*kāna yaktubu*

famous book, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (*The Book of Animals*), al-Ǧāḥiẓ dedicated a lengthy section to the topic of "the Book." In it he responds to a critic of books by describing the value of the book as a companion, a vehicle of learning, and a versatile tool for the success of all human endeavors. He also narrates stories about book collecting, calligraphy, ancient writing, the preservation of cultural heritage, translation of religious books, and the conflict between the written and oral traditions.[73]

To sum up this section one can state that an independent *warrāq* performed a function that in our days is shared by the printer or publishing house and the bookseller. In short, the selling and buying of books throughout the Muslim world was conducted like all other businesses.

The State of Ismāʿīlī Manuscripts

Now, let us turn to our main subject, *viz*., the Ismāʿīlī manuscript tradition and Ismāʿīlī colophons. The study of the history of the Ismāʿīlī religion, quite correctly remarked by Wilferd Madelung, had for long depended largely on the polemical and often distorted accounts of its opponents. However, this situation has been gradually transformed during the past century since the discovery of large private collections of authentic Ismāʿīlī works in India and elsewhere.[74]

The question is: How did the Ismāʿīlī works, written mostly by their *duʿāt* (pl. of *dāʿī*, i. e., missionaries) in different countries, at distinct times, under diverse circumstances, come to be preserved chiefly in Yemen having completely disappeared from the countries where those missionaries lived or operated and composed their works? The answer to this intriguing question can be found in Ismāʿīlī history.

The Ismāʿīlīs are historically associated with Yemen even before the founding of the Fāṭimid dynasty in North Africa. I have dealt with this issue elsewhere; hence there is no need to go over it here.[75] In short, the Library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in

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li-rasūl Allāh). Al-Ǧāḥiẓ names him as the first renegade (*murtadd*) in Islam because he violated the Prophet's dictation. The Prophet had instructed his commanders when they entered Mecca only to fight those who resisted them, except a small number who were to be killed even if they were found beneath the curtain of the Kaʿba. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ was among them. When he apostatized he returned to Qurayš in Mecca and fled to his foster-brother ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān. The latter hid him until he brought him to the Prophet after the situation in Mecca was tranquil and asked that he might be granted immunity. For details, see Ibn Hišām, *Al-sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1936, vol. 4, pp. 51–52; English trans. by A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 1955, p. 550.

The next name in al-Ǧāḥiẓ's list is Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān who also used to write revelation. According to al-Ǧāḥiẓ he was the first who acted treacherously in Islam … ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān comes next as he used to write for Abū Bakr. Despite his good character he was reproached for his misdeeds and nepotism.

[73] Al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, [1357/1938], vol. 1, pp. 38ff.

[74] F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 2007, p. xiii. For a detailed survey see I. K. Poonawala, "Ismāʿīlī Manuscripts from Yemen," 2014, esp. pp. 232–241; S. Traboulsi, "Sources for the History of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī *Daʿwa* in Yemen and Its Relocation to India," 2014, pp. 246–274.

[75] I. K. Poonawala, "Ismāʿīlī Manuscripts from Yemen," 2014. It should be noted that a few Ismāʿīlī manuscripts are to be found in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. Those manuscripts were acquired by the Italian merchant Giuseppe Caprotti (d. 1919) and now forms the largest collection of Yemeni manuscripts outside the Arab world. D. Hollenberg et al. (ed.), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, 2015, p. 3.

London, founded in 1979, houses the largest collection of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts. In 1946 when the Ismaili Society of Bombay succeeded the Islamic Research Association founded in 1933 in the same city, it inherited a large collection of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts in Arabic acquired from the Dāwūdī Bohras. During the early 1960s this collection was transferred to the Ismailia Association of India in Bombay and the Ismailia Association of Pakistan, which had been established in Karachi. With the founding of the Institute of Ismaili Studies and its Library in London in 1977, the manuscripts of those two societies in Bombay and Karachi were transferred to the new Library. This collection was catalogued by Adam Gacek in two volumes.[76] The largest donations of manuscripts to the expansion of the Library's holdings came mainly from two individuals, namely, Zāhid ʿAlī's son ʿĀbid ʿAlī and Abbas Hamdani, who held their family collections of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts. Both the collections are cataloged.[77] Another major collection of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts, known as the Fyzee Collection, is held by the Library of the University of Bombay.[78] Small collections are also held in London and Tübingen.[79] A number of private collections of the community, and other public libraries are listed in my *Biobibliography*. Unfortunately, we do not know the precise extent of extant Ismāʿīlī manuscripts, because the religious establishments of both the Dāwūdī (headquarters in Surat and Mumbai) and Sulaymānī (headquarters in Naǧrān, now in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) Bohras are unwilling to share this information with me. Furthermore, we do not know of all private holdings by individuals or families in the Indian subcontinent, Yemen and other countries.

Colophons of Ismāʿīlī Manuscripts

The following study concerning the colophons of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts is based on my examination of two hundred and fifty manuscripts accessible to me. The bulk of them, that is around 80, belonging to my late father's *ḫizāna*, are in my possession.[80] The re-

[76] A. Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in The Library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies*, 1984–1985, 2 vols. Vol. 1, consists of 167 Ismaili manuscripts, while vol. 2, consists of 255 manuscripts and it covers a wide variety of subjects with a sizeable amount of small treatises by the exponents of the Šayḫī school.

[77] D. Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts: The Zāhid ʿAlī Collection*, 2003 (hereafter referred to as *Zāhid ʿAlī Collection*); F. de Blois, *Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts: The Hamdani Collection*, 2011 (hereafter cited as *Hamdani Collection*). For the story of Zāhid ʿAlī's collection and its journey from Hyderabad to Los Angeles and final relocation in London, see *Adʿiyat al-ayyām al-sabʿa: Supplications for the Seven Days of the Week*, 2006, by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (d. 365/965).

[78] M. Goriawala, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fyzee Collection of Ismaili Manuscripts*, 1965 (hereafter referred to as the *Fyzee Collection*).

[79] A. S. Tritton, "Notes on Some Ismaili Manuscripts," 1933; those 17 manuscripts in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, were later catalogued with other manuscripts by A. Gacek, *Catalogue of The Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 1981. Ismaili manuscripts in the Library of the University of Tübingen (Germany) numbering around 17 were purchased from M. Ġālib in 1970–1972. They are of Indian provenance and listed in I. K. Poonawala's *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature*, 1977 (hereafter cited as *Biobibliography*).

[80] *Ḫizāna* or *Ḫizānat al-kutub*, see A. Gacek, *Glossary*, 2001, p. 41. Unfortunately, half of the total collection of my father was destroyed in a fire near Montreal, Canada, in 1970, while they were being transported from Halifax to Montreal where I was teaching at the McGill University.

maining copies were obtained through microfilms or xerographic reproductions from various private and public libraries, such as the Bombay University Library, Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London, Library of the University of Tübingen, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, and the Library of the American University in Beirut as well as certain private family collections in India.[81] I had acquired most of these copies over a long period of time for my own research. I have also used, with certain reservations, published catalogs of the Fyzee, the Hamdani and the Zāhid ʿAlī collections. A scrutiny of manuscripts from my father's *ḫizāna* reveals that approximately 80% of those manuscripts contain colophons, either short or long, 15 are without colophons, 10 with partial colophons (i. e., either the date of transcription or the scribe's name, and 2 are incomplete at the end.[82] However, before embarking on our main task to scrutinize Ismāʿīlī colophons it is indispensable for us to briefly sketch the Ismāʿīlī manuscript tradition in the context of the larger Arabic manuscript tradition as delineated above.

Ismāʿīlī Manuscript Tradition

Let me stress at the outset that there are many remarkable similarities as well as some stark differences between the parent Arabic manuscript tradition and its offshoot, the Ismāʿīlī manuscript tradition. In sharp contrast to the parental tradition described above, the derivative Ismāʿīlī tradition of book making differs widely in the sense that it is a private confidential service. Given the hostility of the Sunnī world toward them, Ismāʿīlīs had to guard their religious literature from hostile surroundings and the uninitiated. Hence, there was neither the professional class of scribes nor the *warrāq* with a shop in the market-place conducting his business of copying or buying and selling of books in the Ismāʿīlī tradition. All the scribes were not merely adherents of the Ismāʿīlī faith; they were also initiated into the *ʿulūm al-daʿwa* (the religious sciences of the rightly guiding mission) by the Ismāʿīlī *ʿulamāʾ* (learned scholar in Islamic religious sciences) and possessed an advanced knowledge of Arabic. They undertook the laborious task of copying as a kind of utmost religious devotion with the hope of gaining God's forgiveness and reward in the hereafter. These students made copies for their own use or copied books for their teachers (called *mufīd,* an active participle from the IV form, meaning one who benefits or helps, is a technical term for a spiritual teacher in Ismāʿīlī terminology), or for other scholars on request. For example, two *dīwān*s

[81] The detailed inventory of manuscripts examined for colophons is as follows: 82 from my late father *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn Godhrawala's (or Poonawala's) *ḫizāna*; 60 from the Fyzee Collection (including some copies retained by Fyzee and not donated to the Bombay University Library); 60 from the Zāhid ʿAlī Collection; 10 from the Hamdānī Collection; 17 from the library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies; 5 preserved in the Sanaa mosque Library and microfilmed by the Egyptian delegation (microfilms held by Dār al-kutub, Cairo; see also I. K. Poonawala, "Ismāʿīlī Manuscripts from Yemen," 2014, pp. 222–223, n. 8, 233–236); and the rest obtained from private family collections of the Bohra community in India and listed in I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature*, 1977, p. xiv.

[82] Similar statistics could be obtained from the three major collections, namely the Fyzee, the Hamdani and the Zāhid ʿAlī as described in those catalogues.

(collection of religious poetry), one by Sayyidunā al-Ḫaṭṭāb (d. 533/1138)[83] and the other by Sayyidunā ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan (d. 886/1481), a nephew of the nineteenth Yemenī *dāʿī* Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468),[84] were copied by Ṣādiq ʿAlī b. *mullā* ʿAbd al-ʿAlī of Udaipur in Ḍū al-Ḥiǧǧa of 1331/Nov. 1913 for another scholar named Raǧab ʿAlī b. *mullā* Ibrāhīm who resided in a town called Šūpūr (Šahpur or Sidhpūr?). In reading the colophons of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts one cannot fail to discern that an overwhelming number of the scribes were from the progeny of *ʿulamāʾ* and *šuyūḫ*, i. e., sons of a *mullā*, or a *šayḫ* or had themselves attained the status of a *mullā* or an *ʿālim*, or *šayḫ*. For example, one reads the following names of scribes in the collection of my late father:

> Šaraf ʿAlī b. *mullā* Yūsufǧī (the hindī suffix *-ǧī* is added to a name for deference); ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. *mullā* Ṭayyibḫān; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. *šayḫ* Dāwūd; Ṣādiq ʿAlī b. *mullā* ʿAbd al-ʿAlī; Ḥaydar ʿAlī b. *mullā* ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn; Ḥasan b. *al-šayḫ al-fāḍil* (outstanding) ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. *al-šayḫ al-aǧall* (more sublime) Yūsufbhāʾī (the hindī suffix *-bhāʾī*, meaning brother is added for respect) b. *al-ḥayy* (lit. living, this epithet is applied to a great learned and pious person) *al-muqaddas* (sanctified) *mullā* Īsābhāʾī; Aḥmad ʿAlī b. *al-šayḫ al-māǧid* (illustrious) Nūrbhāʾī b. *al-marḥūm* (the late) *mullā* Hibat Allāh; *mullā* ʿAbd al-Qayyūm b. *al-marḥūm* Walībhāʾī; *mullā* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. *mullā* Hibat Allāh b. *al-šayḫ al-fāḍil* Ṭayyibbhāʾī; Nūrbhāʾī b. *al-māǧid al-marḥūm mullā* Hibat Allāhǧī; ʿAbd al-Qādir b. *al-šayḫ al-faḍil* ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn; Akbar Ḥusayn b. *al-marḥūm mullā* ʿAbd al-Qādir b. *al-šayḫ* Fidā ʿAlī.[85]

At times some *ʿulamāʾ* themselves were engaged in transcribing a number of books. For example, Zāhid ʿAlī's father Faḍl ʿAlī, who himself was a scholar and son of

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[83] Al-Ḫaṭṭāb, *Al-Sulṭān al-Ḫaṭṭāb*, 1999, p. 191; the colophon states:

قد فرغتُ من هذا الديوان لسيّدنا ومولانا الخطّاب في إحدى وعشرين من ذي الحجّة بعد ألف وثلاثمائة وإحدى [و]ثلاثين من الهجرة النبوية الشريفة بخطّ الحقير صادق علي بن ملاّ عبد العلي ساكن أوديپپور، كتبتُ لرجب علي بن ملاّ إبراهيم ساكن شوبور [سدهپور].

(I completed [the transcription of] this collection of poems by our master and liege, al-Ḫaṭṭāb, on the twenty-first of Ḍū al-Ḥiǧǧa, in the year one thousand three hundred and thirty one following the noble Prophet's *hiǧra*. [The book] was handwritten by the despicable Ṣādiq ʿAlī b. *mullā* ʿAbd al-ʿAlī, who resides in Udaipur. It was copied on behalf of Raǧab ʿAlī b. *mullā* Ibrāhīm, who resides in Sidhpur).

[84] The poems are in eulogy of the Prophet with the *qāfīya* in accordance with the letters of the alphabets, each ode consisting of twenty-nine verses, see I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography,* 1977, pp. 175–176; it is bound with the *Dīwān* of al-Sulṭān al-Ḫaṭṭāb, see the previous note.

[85] In olden days the titles of *mullā* and *šayḫ* carried much prestige because of the learning and piety associated with persons who held those honorific titles. But since the days of Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1965) the gentlemen in question earned those titles and many novel ones, such as NKD (abbreviated from *al-nāšit fī ḫidmat al-daʿwa*, i. e., one who is active in the service of the *daʿwa*) and MKD (abbreviated from *al-muḫliṣ fī ḫidmat al-daʿwa*, i. e., one who is sincere in the service of the *daʿwa*) by means of large financial contributions despite their ignorance in religious matters. In recent times the payments for those titles have multiplied several folds. Most of these fabricated title holders are utterly ignorant and could neither recite the Qur'an in Arabic nor lead people in prayers. See Dawoodi Bohra Commision, *Dawoodi Bohra Commission* (*Nathwani Commission*), *Report* (*of investigation conducted by the Commission appointed by the Citizens for Democracy into the alleged infringement of human rights of reformist members of the Dawoodi Bohras in the name of the High Priest*), 1979, p. 122.

a scholar *mullā* Muḥsin ʿAlī (b. Murād ʿAlī b. *mullā* Afḍal ʿAlī) copied 35 books and treatises,[86] while his grandfather Murād ʿAlī copied five books.[87] Ten copies were transcribed by Yemeni students of Muḥsin ʿAlī and Zāhid ʿAlī.[88] We find a similar situation with the Hamdani Collection. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. Ḥālī al-Yaʿburī al-Hamdānī, the progenitor of the Hamdani family in India, transcribed three books.[89] His grandson Fayḍ Allāh copied two books,[90] and the latter's son Muḥammad ʿAlī copied three books.[91] Muḥammad ʿAlī's son ʿAlī transcribed two books.[92] Another son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ṭāhir copied one book,[93] while Muḥammad ʿAlī's daughter Ṣafiyya copied one book.[94] The lady Fāṭima, daughter of Ādam Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. Sayyidnā Ḥusām al-Dīn (granddaughter of the 48th *nāẓim dāʿī,* or the second *nāẓim*, and the spouse of Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad ʿAlī), transcribed two books.[95] Another lady named Raḥmat, daughter of Walīğī b. ʿĪsāğī, a resident of Nawanagar (i. e., Jamnagar) also copied two books.[96] Likewise, in my late father's collection, my late elder sister Maymūna transcribed three books and my father's two students copied two books.[97]

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[86] I combed through this information from D. Cortes, *The Zāhid ʿAlī Collection*, 2003. They bear the following numbers in *The Zāhid ʿAlī Collection*: 3, 5–7, 13, 17, 28–29, 45, 48, 52, 72–73, 76–77, 87–88, 117, 119, 121, 123–124, 126–127, 129–130, 136–138, 154–155, 160, 165, 174, 179.

[87] D. Cortese, *The Zāhid ʿAlī Collection*, 2003, nos. 11, 122, 128, 155 (two copies of this MS).

[88] D. Cortese, *The Zāhid ʿAlī Collection*, 2003, nos. 20–21, 42, 45, 54, 59, 99, 145–146, 157.

[89] F. de Blois, *The Hamdani Collection,* 2011, pp. 22 (MS 1413), 98 (MS 1492), 115 (MS 1506).

[90] F. de Blois, *The Hamdani Collection,* 2011, pp. 23 (MS 1414), 123 (MS 1513).

[91] F. de Blois, *The Hamdani Collection,* 2011, pp. 129–130 (MS 1516, it consists of three treatises).

[92] F. de Blois, *The Hamdani Collection,* 2011, pp. 39 (MS 1440), 77 (MS 1474).

[93] F. de Blois, *The Hamdani Collection,* 2011, p. 73 (MS 1467).

[94] F. de Blois, *The Hamdani Collection,* 2011, p. 176 (MSS 1570–1597).

[95] F. de Blois, *The Hamdani Collection,* 2011, pp. 31 (MS 1427), 193 (MS 1635 (2), ff. 39b–57a).

[96] F. de Blois, *The Hamdani Collection,* 2011, pp. 46 (MS 1448), 191 (MS 1634).

[97] My elder sister Maymūna transcribed the following three treatises:

رسالة النعي لسيّدنا ومولانا بدر الدين بن سيّدنا ومولانا عبد علي سيف الدين؛ رسالة الشجرة في ذكر أسماء بني مولائي يعقوب البهارملية؛ الرسالة المباركة المسمّاة بـــ[ـالـ]بطشة الكبرى.

(*An epistle announcing the death of our master and liege Badr al-Dīn*, son of our master and liege ʿAbd-i ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn; a treatise entitled *"The Tree,"* concerning the names of the descendants of Mawlāy Yaʿqūb al-Bhārmal; a blessed epistle entitled "*The Greatest Calamity*," [about the death of Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, written by ʿAbd-i ʿAlī ʿImād al-Dīn]).

My father's two students transcribed the following two books:

"ثلاثة عشر رسائل" [للكرماني] [...] بخطّ الضعيف [...] سيف الدين بن بدر الدين [...] كتبها لأخيه الأديب [...] ملاّ قربان حسين بن المرحوم فدا حسين [...] "كتاب الاقتصار"، النصف الثاني [...] بخطّ سيف الدين بن فدا حسين [...].

(*Thirteen Epistles* [authored by al-Kirmānī] [...] written by the hand of the weakling [...] Sayf al-Dīn b. Badr al-Dīn [...] written on behalf of his brother, the litterateur [...] *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, son of the late Fidā Ḥusayn [...] the second half of "*The Digest*," [...] written by hand of Sayf al-Dīn, son of Fidā Ḥusayn).

For women scholars and their role in the copying of Qurʾan, see Ṣ. al-Munağğid, "Women's Roles in the Art of Arabic Calligraphy," 1995, pp. 141–148.

In this way the secrecy of Ismāʿīlī religious literature was well protected by the *ʿulamāʾ* and their dedicated students. Thus, we can infer from the above facts that the Ismāʿīlī tradition of transmission of their religious and intellectual heritage over a millennium, on the whole, seems to be quite trustworthy and accurate. Most of the manuscripts transcribed by the scribes contain errors of *taṣḥīf* (e.g., misplacement of diacritical marks, misspellings, slips of the pen) and *taḥrīf* (e.g., phonetic corruption of a word, distortion) depending on their proficiency of Arabic language and grammar.

In this context I would like to mention two outstanding Ismāʿīlī intellectuals. The first is al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974), who according to his own testimony in *Kitāb al-himma fī ādāb atbāʿ al-aʾimma* (*The Book of High Ambition Concerning the Code of Conduct for the Followers of the Imams*) states that in his youth he used to collect books and transcribe them.[98] In another book, the *Kitāb al-maǧālis wa-al-musāyarāt* (*The Book of Sessions and Strolling* [with al-Muʿizz]), he states that he served the grandson of al-Mahdī, the young prince al-Manṣūr, by collecting and transcribing books for some time during the reign of al-Mahdī (from 313/925 to 322/934) and throughout that of al-Qāʾim (r. 322/934–334/996).[99]

The second is Luqmānǧī b. Ḥabīb Allāh (d. 1173/1760), a great Ismāʿīlī savant of India.[100] He is well-known for his vast learning and piety, but rarely remembered for transcribing a greater number of books than any other Ismāʿīlī scholar in India. When his father's valuable collection was ransacked in Rampur he went with his learned son *mullā* Walībhāʾī to Jamnagar, the seat of the thirty-ninth *dāʿī*, Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn (d. 1150/1737). They remained there for five years and both the father and the son transcribed all the books that were lost from his father's collection. It is further reported

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[98] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-himma fī ādāb atbāʿ al-aʾimma*, [1948], p. 102; he states:

ولقد أفادني بعض مَنْ لا أعتقد مذهبهُ، ولا أرضى قولهُ وحكمهُ، وأنا حديثُ السنِّ يومئذٍ وهو شيخٌ، ونظر إليَّ أجمع الكتبَ وأكتبها وأشتغل بها [...].

(And I so happened to be benefited by someone whose school of thought was different from mine, whose word and judgment [in religious matters] I did not accept. I was young then, he was an elderly man. He used to observe me as I compiled, copied and worked with books [...]).

[99] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-maǧālis wa-al-musāyarāt*, 1997, p. 74; he states:

وكنتُ أخدم المنصور بالله عليه صلوات الله عليه بعض أيّام المهدي بالله صلوات الله عليه، وأيّام القائم كلّها، وكانت له عليَّ من النعمِ والآلاءِ ما لا أحصي عددَها. وكانت خدمتي أيّاهُ في جمعِ الكتبِ له وانتساخِها.

(I used to be in the service of al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh, may God's blessings be upon him, during part of al-Mahdī's—may God's blessing be upon him!—tenure as caliph, and throughout the days of al-Qāʾim. He bestowed many favors and graces upon me, the number of which is so much more that I can make account of. My service to him consisted of compiling books and copying then for him).

His book *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa* is the only book with a dated colophon. See al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, 1975, p. 339.

[100] Because of Luqmānǧī's vast learning, the thirty-eighth *dāʿī* (d. 1150/1737), Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn gave him the title *šams al-ʿulūm al-nāṭiqa* (The Speaking Sun of [Exoteric and Esoteric] Knowledge), while Ibrāhīm Waǧīh al-Dīn, the thirty-ninth *dāʿī* (d. 1168/1754) used to address him as *Nuʿmān al-waqt* (i. e., al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān of the Time; al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, the founder of Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence, was Ismāʿīlī's most celebrated jurist), and gave him the title *bāb al-ʿilm* (The Gate of Knowledge).

that he himself transcribed most of the books he read with the *dāʿī* Ismāʿīl Badr al-Dīn and his successor Ibrāhīm Waǧīh al-Dīn (d. 1168/1754). His biographer has provided a comprehensive list of those books covering the disciplines of *taʾwīl*[101] and *ḥaqāʾiq*,[102] excluding *fiqh* (jurisprudence). Furthermore it is narrated that whatever he transcribed he carefully collated it with the master copy from which he had copied. Hence, his personal copies were replete with marginal comments.[103] This fact is noted by the late Asaf Fyzee who for the edition of the first volume of *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* (*The Pillars of Islam*) relied heavily on the copy transcribed by *mullā* Walībhāʾī, which was subsequently corrected and commented on by Luqmānǧī.[104] Unfortunately, we do not know the fate of this learned family's *ḫizāna*.

Another thing worth noting is that a number of early distinguished Muslim authors, including al-Ṭabarī, dictated their works to students. Because of the secretive nature of Ismāʿīlī doctrines this practice, except for some exoteric (*ẓāhirī*) works of jurisprudence by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿman, is totally absent among the Ismāʿīlī authors.[105] Similarly, the Ismāʿīlī tradition does not permit the issuance of *iǧāza* or *samāʿa* as one finds them in a number of manuscripts elsewhere in the main Islamic tradition. However, here again, there are some exceptions, such as those law books of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān which were meant for wider circulation, including his most famous *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*. The extant text of *Kitāb iḫtilāf uṣūl al-maḏāhib* (*Disagreements of the Jurists*) is in the recension of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's grandson, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad. In his preface, the latter states:

> My grandfather's composition of the book and transmission of it to his son, and the son's transmission of it to his son after him, took place after each transmitter among them had presented the work to the Imam of his time and obtained permission from him to transmit it on the Imam's authority.[106]

It means that three consecutive Imams, namely al-Muʿizz, al-ʿAzīz and al-Ḥākim had granted permission for the transmission of *Kitāb iḫtilāf uṣūl al-maḏāhib.* Likewise,

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[101] *Taʾwīl* is a technical term for the esoterical and allegorical interpretation of a text or a ritual.

[102] *Ḥaqāʾiq* (lit. truth, reality) is a technical term used for the ultimate cosmological and eschatological Ismāʿīlī system.

[103] ʿAbd-i ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn, *Mulaḫḫaṣ min sīrat Mawlāʾī Luqmānǧī b. al-mawlā Ḥabīb Allāh*, MS in the *ḫizāna* of *šayḫ* Ibrāhīm, Bombay. Towards the end, the author has given a comprehensive list of approximately 57 books Luqmānǧī read with the two *dāʿī*s. The *Mulaḫḫaṣ* (recension) is based on the original biography written by Luqmānǧī's student Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Maǧdūʿ (the author of *Al-fihrist*). See also A. ʿA. Rāǧ, *Lumayʿāt al-naǧm al-ṯāqib fī-mā li-al-duʿāt*, 1988, pp. 93–110.

[104] In contrast to the colophon, the collation of the copy, i. e., the comparison with another copy of the text, was accorded a special term from the early days. The technical terms used were *muqābala* (from the verbal form *qābala* meaning to face or stand exactly opposite or to collate) or *muʿāraḍa* (from the verbal form *ʿāraḍa* meaning to oppose, to compare). In Yemen the term used for collation is *qiṣāṣa* or *qaṣāṣa* (derived from *qaṣṣa* meaning to relate, or to track someone/something). It is also known as the authentication of a copy. R. Quiring-Zoche, "The Colophon in Arabic Manuscripts," 2013, pp. 73–76.

[105] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's sons and grandsons dictated certain legal works of their father and grandfather to their students and interested people as indicated in the following note.

[106] For the Arabic text of the Qāḍī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad's preface and its English trans. see al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Disagreements of the Jurists: A Manual of Islamic Legal Theory*, 2015, pp. 2–3.

the text of *Kitāb al-iḫtiṣār li-ṣaḥīḥ al-āṯār ʿan al-aʾimma al-aṭhār* (*The Compendium of Sound Traditions Transmitted on the Authorities of the Pure Imams*) is in the recension of his grandson al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's eldest son ʿAlī had read the *Iḫtiṣār* with his father in 348/959. Hence, he obtained the *iǧāza* from his father to relate it on his (i. e., his father's) authority.[107] This type of double or triple *iǧāza* is unique

[107] This book is unpublished; hence it is appropriate to cite two prefaces: the first written by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's son al-Qāḍī ʿAlī and the second by the grandson al-Qāḍī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. See *Muḫtaṣar al-āṯār* in the Zāhid ʿAlī Collection, p. 120. The preface written by the grandson reads:

بعد البسملة والحمدلة [...] قال القاضي الحسين بن عليّ بن النعمان: رويتُ هذا الكتاب وغيرِهِ من الكتب المروية عن موالينا الأئمّة الصادقين من أهل بيت رسول الله (صلع) التي صنّفها جدّي القاضي النعمان بن محمّد، رضوان الله عليه، عن أبي القاضي عليّ بن النعمان، رضي الله عنه وأرضاهُ، سماعاً وإجازةً بإسنادِهِ الذي أذكرُهُ قبل صدر هذا الكتاب. ثم ذكرتُ ذلك لمولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله، أمير المؤمنين، صلوات الله عليه، واستأذنتُهُ في رواية ما في هذا الكتاب عنه، صلوات الله عليه، وأنْ أملأ هذا الكتاب على من يرغب في روايته، بعد أنْ أحضرتُهُ إيّاهُ، وقرأتُ عليه، ع م (عليه السلام)، بعضهُ. فأذن لي في ذلك. فامتثلتُ أمرهُ ع م (عليه السلام)، العالي، وبدأتُ بالصدر الذي أرويه عن أبي رضي الله عنه، وهو:

بسم الله الرحمـــن الرحيم. الحمدُ لله حقَّ حمدِهِ، والشكرُ له كُنْهَ شكرِهِ، وصلّى الله على محمّدٍ نبيّه، وعلى الأئمّة، أولي أمرهِ وأهل ذكرِهِ. قال القاضي عليّ بن النعمان: قرأتُ هذا الكتابَ على أبي القاضي النعمان بن محمّد بن المنصور بن أحمد بن حيّون، رضي الله عنه وأرضاهُ، سنةَ ثمانٍ وأربعين وثلاث مائةٍ، وأذن لي في روايته عنه بإسناده. فلمّا توفّي، رضي الله عنه، وندبني مولانا المعزّ لدين الله أمير المؤمنين، قدّس الله روحهُ، وصلّى عليه وعلى الأئمّة من آبائهِ والصفوة من أبنائهِ، إلى ما كان ندب أبي إليه، واقتصر به عليه من الاستفادة منه، والرواية عنه، أحضرتهُ، صلوات الله عليه، هذا الكتاب مع غيرِهِ من الكتب المروية عنه، عليه السلام، وذكرتُ له قِرائتي إيّاها علي أبي، وإذنهِ لي في روايتها عنه. فأذن لي في رواية صدر هذا الكتاب، وصدور غيره من الكتبِ التي قرأتُها على أبي، رضي الله عنه، وأجازَ لي في رواية ما فيها عنه، صلوات الله عليه. فامتثلتُ أمرهُ العالي إلى حين وفاتهِ، قدّس الله روحه. ولمّا وفضتْ خلافةُ الله إلى مولانا، وليّ الله، الإمام العزيز بالله أمير المؤمنين، صلوات الله عليه، صاحب العصر والزمان، ووليّ أهل الإسلام والإيمان، ذكرتُ ذلك له، ورفعتُهُ إليه، واستأذنتُهُ فيه، صلوات الله عليه، فأجازَ لي وأذن لي في روايته عنه حسبَ ما تقدّم لي من ذلك من المعزّ لدين الله، قدس الله روحه وصلّى عليه، فامتثلتُ أمرهُ العالي، وبدأتُ بالصدر الذي أرويه من هذا الكتاب عن أبي، رضي الله عنه.

English trans. (After invoking the name of God and singing praises for Him [...] al-Qāḍī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān wrote: I related this book—as well as other books composed by my grandfather, al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad, may God be pleased with him, containing the narrations of our masters, the truthful imams of the household of God's Messenger, may God bless him and his family!—from my father al-Qāḍī ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān, may God be pleased with them, both audibly and by written permission, in a chain of authorities which I cite in the preamble of the book. I raised this matter with our Master, the Imam, the Commander of the Faithful, al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, may God bless him and his family!, and sought his permission to transmit the content of these works on his behalf and to dictate their content to those desirous of receiving them, after I had presented them to him, peace be upon him, and read parts of these works in his presence. He gave me permission to do do. I thus acted in accordance with his, peace be upon him, lofty command and began with the preamble of the book, which I transmit from my father, amy God be pleased with him, and it is as follows:

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise is for God, as is His due. Thanks to God, as such thanks are owed to Him. May God bless His Prophet Muḥammad and the Imams, the People of His

to al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's legal works. It seems that these *iǧāzāt* were endorsed especially for al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's law works as they were intended for wider circulation. The above report further indicates that al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān had divided his intellectual legacy between his two sons, ʿAlī and Muḥammad, by permitting them to transmit a select number of works on his behalf.

There is yet another important difference between the testimonies of both the grandsons. In contrast to the testimony of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad did not claim that he had the authority to transmit any work other than the *Kitāb iḫtilāf uṣūl al-maḏāhib* of his grandfather. On the other hand, in his preface to *Muḫtaṣar al-āṯār*, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī categorically states that he transmitted this book, i. e., *Muḫtaṣar al-āṯār,* as well as other books composed by his grandfather.[108] Thus, one can assume that al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's eldest son ʿAlī had read more books with his father. Consequently, his father permitted him to transmit a greater number of works than he had permitted his younger brother Muḥammad to transmit. Unfortunately, we do not have any additional evidence as to which supplementary books were transmitted by ʿAlī or his son al-Ḥusayn.

A good number of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts after having been copied were collated either with the manuscript from which it was transcribed or with other copies. From time to time the transcribed copies were read in the *ḥalaqa* (a group of students sitting circularly around their teacher) or *dars* (lessons taught to a group of students by a teacher) of a *šayḫ* by students giving them the opportunity to make corrections and note variants in their own copies. For example, the second colophon in Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq al-Siǧistānī's *Kitāb al-iftiḫār* (*The Book of Pride*; the manuscript was transcribed

remembrance who are [rightful] in authority [over the believers]. Al-Qāḍī ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān said: "I read this book with my father, al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyūn, may God be pleased with him and grant him bliss, in the year 343 [of the *hiǧrī* calendar], and he permitted me to transmit this work from him with its full chain of authorities. When [my father], may God be pleased with him, passed away, our Master, the Commander of the Faithful, al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh—may God sanctify his spirit, and bless him and his forefathers, the Imams, as well as those chosen [for imamate] from among his descendants—prodded me along the path that my father aforetime has set before me—in that I seek to gain and transmit [knowledge] only from him (i. e., the Caliph-Imam)—I produce this work before him, may God bless him and his family, along with other works that had been transmitted on his—peace be upon him—behalf, and I mentioned to him that I had read these works with my father, and that my father had permitted me to transmit these works to others. He (i. e., the Caliph-Imam) gave me permission to transmit the preamble of the work, as well as the preambles of other works that I had read with my father—may God be pleased with him—and gave me written permission to transmit the contents of these works on his—may God bless him—behalf. I acted in accordance with his lofty command until his—may God sanctify his spirit—demise. Thereafter, when God's vicegerency passed to our [current] Master, the confidant of God, the Imam, the Commander of the Faithful, al-ʿAzīz bi-Allāh—may God bless him—the regent of these days and times, and the patron of Muslims [in general] and the believers [in particular], I mentioned all this to him, and raised my petition to him, seeking his, may God bless him, permission [to transmit these works on his behalf]. He thus granted me written permission to transmit these works on his behalf, in accordance with the writ previously issued by al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh—may God sanctify his spirit—and I acted in accordance with his (i. e., the former's) lofty command, and began by transmitting the preamble of the book which I relate from my father—may God be pleased with him—and it is as follows.

[108] See the preceding note in Arabic with English translation.

before 1110/1698–1699) states that ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. *mullā* Ṭayyib Ḥān (the owner of the book) began and finished its reading in the *dars* of the thirty-fifth *dāʿī* ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn (d. 1110/1699 in Jamnagar).[109]

A long scribal colophon in Ǧaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman's *Kitāb al-šawāhid wa-al-bayān* (*The book of Textual Evidence and Elucidation*; in the Fyzee collection) by Ṭayyib ʿAlī b. *al-šayḫ al-fāḍil* Hibat Allāhǧī b. *mullā* Muḥammad ʿAlī, written in 1254/1838, in Poona, provides valuable information. First, we learn that there was an archetype copy of this book transcribed by the second *dāʿī,* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī (d. 557/1162). Second, a note written by al-Ḥāmidī in that copy commenting upon the importance of this book states:

> Among the books that I have copied, this noble book [i. e., *Kitāb al-šawāhid wa-al-bayān*] of Ǧaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faraḥ al-Manṣūr al-Yaman, is the most outstanding amongst the books of *al-daʿwa al-hādiya* (the rightly guiding mission). Within the folds of this book, the author has set down the *ḥaqāʾiq* (the truths, realities) that will heal the hearts of the seekers [of truth], those who reflect, and those who are blessed with understanding of the truth, and those who possess the knowledge of the Book. *Praise belongs to God who has guided us to this. Had God not guided us, we would never have been guided aright.*[110]

Third, it demonstrates that some old Yemeni copies had survived through the vagaries of time. Ṭayyib ʿAlī's colophon further adds that there was another note in that archetype written in the hand of the thirtieth *dāʿī*, ʿAlī Šams al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs (d. 1042/1632 in Yemen) approving the book as al-Ḥāmidī did earlier. Similarly, in the same note ʿAlī Šams al-Dīn also commended *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ wa-ḥudūd al-dīn* (*The Book of Divine Precepts and the Ranks of the Daʿwa Hierarchy*) composed by some *dāʿī* of the Imam.[111] The latter's testimony confirms my findings in the *Biobibiography*[112] that

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[109] Abū Yaʿqūb al-Siǧistānī, *Kitāb al-iftiḫār*, 2000, p. 40.

[110] Qurʾan 7: 43 reads:

وَقَالُوا الحَمْدُ للهِ الَّذِى هَـدَانَا لِهَـٰذَا وَمَا كُنَّـا لِنَهْتَدِىَ لَوْلاَ أَنْ هَدَانَا اللهُ.

[111] M. Goriawala, *The Fyzee Collection*, 1965, pp. 16–17 (no. 24). The Arabic note reads:

تمّ شرح هذه القصّة في سليمان النبي صلّى الله عليه، وبتمامها تمّت "كتاب الشواهد والبيان". والحمد لله ربّ العالمين وصلّى الله على رسوله سيّدنا محمّدٍ وآله الطاهرين. ق له [غير واضح: قبله؟] في الأمّ. وُجد في نسخةٍ من نسخ هذا الكتاب الشريف، بخطّ سيّدنا [إبراهيم] ابن الحسين الحامدي، أعلى الله قدسه، ما نسختهُ: "هذا الكتاب الشريف، مِن أشرف كتبِ جعفر بن الحسن بن الفرح المنصور باليمن في الدعوة الهادية، نضر اللهُ وجههُ ورزقنا شفاعته. وفي غضون وضعه هذا من الحقائق ما يُشفي صدورَ المحقّقين لمن تدبّر، ووُفّق لفهمهِ، ومَن عندهُ علم الكتاب. ﴿الحَمْدُ للهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهـذَا وَمَا كُـنَّا لِنَهْتَدِي لَوْلاَ أَنْ هَدَانَا اللهُ﴾ [سورة الأعراف 7: 43]، وصلّى الله على سيّدنا محمّدٍ وآله وسلّم".

وفي الأمّ أيضاً بخطّ حيّ سيدنا شمس الدين علي بن الحسن بن إدريس الأنف، أعلى الله قدسه، ما فصّهُ، وعلى نمط ما في الكتاب الشريف، ووفق هذا التصنيف: "كتاب الفرائض وحدود الدين"، لبعض دعاة الأئمّة الهادين ﴿مَّا تَرَىٰ فِي

خَلْقِ الرَّحْمَـٰنِ مِن تَفَـٰوُتٍ﴾ [سورة المُلْكِ 67: 3]. قدّس الله أرواحهم القدسيّة الزكيّة، وذواتهم الطاهرة الزكيّة، وصلوات الله على هديهم بالموادّ الإلـٰـهية، وسلامه". انتهى.

وكان الفراغ من رقمِهِ وتحريرِهِ وتتميمِهِ وتسطيرِهِ في اليوم الثاني عشر من شهر جمادى الآخر من سنة 1254 أربعٍ وخمسين ومائتين بعد الألف من هجرة النبي الأكرم صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم. كتبتُ هذه النسخة المباركة الشريفة العالية المنيفة في پونه [Poona] في درس سيّدنا ومولانا المتّان، وتاج بني الدين والإيمان، شمس الدعاة الأمجدين، وتاج الهداة الأوحدين، قبلة المؤمنين وكعبة المؤقنين، مولانا محمّد بدر الدين نجل الداعي الأجل الأكمل المقدّس في غرفات المخلّدين مولانا عبد العلي سيف الدين، طوّل الله تعالى عمرهُ، وأعلى كلمتهُ وأمرهُ، وأنمى فخرهُ، وتولّى تمكينهُ ونصرهُ بحقّ سيّدنا محمّدٍ وآله الطيّبين الطاهرين.

وكاتبهُ ومالكهُ أقلّ مماليك سيّدنا ومولانا محمّد بدر الدين، طوّل الله عمرهُ إلى يوم الدين، طيّب علي ابن الشيخ الفاضل هبة الله جي ابن ملاّ محمّد علي، ثبّتهُ اللهُ على طاعته وطاعة وليّ الزمان، وعليه سلامٌ بحقّ سيّدنا محمّدٍ وآله الطاهرين، صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين، وسلّم تسليما، و﴿حَسْبُنَا اللهُ وَنِعْمَ الوَكِيلُ﴾ [سورة آل عمران 3: 173].

English trans.: "The commentary on this story of the Prophet Solomon, may God bless him, is hereby complete, and with it the *Book of Proofs and Clarification* is also complete. All praise is due to God, the Lord of the worlds. May God bless His Messenger, our Master Muḥammad, and his family, who are pure [of sin]. [unreadable in the original copy].

The following was found in one of the copies of this noble book, in the handwriting of our master, [Ibrāhīm] b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī—may God elevate him in sanctity—as follows:

'This is a noble book—indeed, one of the most noble books written during the blessed call to guidance by Ǧaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faraḥ, the conqueror of Yemen, may God illuminate his countenance and bless us with his intercessory prayer! Indeed, in the midst of what he laid down therein one finds truths that are sufficient to heal the heart of every contemplative truthseeker who, aided with knowledge of scripture, has been graced by God with a [proper] understanding of it. *Praise belongs to God, who has guided us to this. Had God not guided us, we would* [*never*] *have been guided aright*. (Qurʾan 7:43). May God bless Muḥammad and his family and grant the peace!'

'In the original [manuscript] we find as well in the handwriting of our living master, Šams al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Idrīs al-Anf—may God elevate him in sanctity!—what follows, and it is along the lines of what we found in the noble text, and this book was granted success [by God, and entitled] '*The Book of Obligations and the Ranks of* [*the daʿwa*] *Hierarchy,*' authored by one of the emissaries of the rightly guiding Imams. *You cannot see any fault in the Merciful's creation*. [Qurʾan 67:3] May God sanctify their pure and lofty souls, their immaculate and sacred essence, and may God's blessings and peace by upon their guidance [the Imams, aided by] the substance of Divine [power].'

The [tasks] of writing and copying were completed on the twelfth day of the month of Ǧumādā II, in the year one thousand two hundred and fifty four [1254] following the noble Prophet's—may god bless him— *hiǧra*. I handwrote this blessed, noble, lofty and sublime copy in Poona during the lesson [given] by our master and liege, the endless bestower of bounties, the crown [on the heads] of the sons of religion and faith, like the sun among the most lofty emissaries, and like the crown of unique guides, the prayer-direction of the believers and the Kaʿba of those with certainty, our master Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, the son of our master ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn, that most esteemed, virtuous and pure emissary of the faith, who will live on in palaces of spendor for all eternity. May God elongate his life and elevate his word and command, cause him to grow loftier in prestige, and take on the task of giving him strength and victory. The owner and copier [of this manuscript] is Ṭayyib ʿAlī that lowliest of servants of our master and liege Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn—may God elongate his life until the Day of Judgment!—and the son of the virtuous *šayḫ* Hibatallāhǧī, the son of *mullā* Muḥammad ʿAlī. May God give him [the ability to] hold fast to His obedience and the obedience of the regent of the time—upon whom be peace—[and I ask this in hope that my prayer will be answered] by the intercessory rights of our Master Muḥammad and his pure family. May God's blessings and peace be upon them all. *God is sufficient for us. How excellent a guardian He is*. (Qurʾan 3:173)."

no authority before al-Maǧdūʿ considered *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ wa-ḥudūd al-dīn* among the authentic works of Ǧaʿfar b. Manṣūr.

Now, let me turn to a copy of the *Dāʿāʾim*, vol. 1 (indicated by the letter T), which the editor, Asaf Fyzee, describes as the most valuable manuscript transcribed by an eminent scholar Walī Muḥammad b. *mullā* Luqmānǧī b. *mullā* Ḥabīb Allāh in 1144/1731.[113] The scribe's family is well-known in the community for their learning. The copy of the *Dāʿāʾim* was made by the son, Walī Muḥammad and later he collated it carefully with the original from which it was copied. The transcription was completed on 7 Ḏū al-Qaʿda 1143/14 May 1731. The father, Luqmānǧī[114] collated it with a copy written by *šayḫ* Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, the grandson of the twenty-second *dāʿī*, ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Idrīs (d. 933/1527 in Yemen). The latter copy is the most famous extant manuscript of the *Daʿāʾim*. Luqmānǧī corrected it with the utmost care and completed his self-appointed task of collation some four months later on 17 Rabīʿ I, 1144/19 September 1731.[115]

The question is: Where is this famous Yemenī codex transcribed by the grandson of the twenty-second *dāʿī* now located? It was in the possession of Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (known as the fifty-first *dāʿī* (*nāẓim*), or the fifth *nāẓim*, d. 1385/1965). The late Asaf Fyzee, after numerous attempts, was permitted to see it in Badri Mahal, Bombay, in the presence of Yūsuf Naǧm al-Dīn, a younger son of the *nāẓim*, for about an hour. Fyzee was able to copy the colophon which states that it was transcribed by Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Idrīs b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī in 989/1581.[116] Following the succession dispute that arose after the death of the *nāẓim* Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn

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[112] I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 73.

[113] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-islām*, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 10–12.

[114] For Luqmānǧī and his son Walī Muḥammad see n. 90 above.

[115] Fyzee noted that the colophon on p. 609 of the MS is not by the scribe Walī Muḥammad, but by his father Luqmānǧī, after he completed the collation. Fyzee further adds: "This is the finest MS I have been able to use, and follows the original [i. e., the copy transcribed by the grandson of the 22nd *dāʿī*] with the greatest exactitude. It is written in a beautiful, strong and scholarly hand, which without having the grace of calligraphy, is yet most pleasing to the eye and is perfectly legible. Written by a scholar and corrected by another scholar, it is free from defects of grammar, or errors of commission and omission." Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-islām*, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 11–12. In this regard see, A. Gacek, "Technical Practices and Recommendations Recorded by Classical and Post-Classical Arabic Scholars Concerning the Copying and Correction of Manuscripts," 1989.

[116] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 14–16. The place where it was copied is not mentioned, but Fyzee thinks that it is the Yemenite exemplar. The colophon reads:

تمّ كتاب دعائم الإسلام في الحلال والحرام والقضايا والأحكام عن أهل البيت عليهم السلام، [يوم] 4 جمادى الأولى سنة 989 [هـ]. رقمهُ لنفسهِ، أقلُّ عبيد حدودِ الدين، حسن بن إدريس بن علي ابن الحسين بن إدريس بن حسن ابن عبد الله بن علي بن محمّد بن حاتم بن الحسين بن الوليد الأنف القرشي، عفى الله عنه.

English trans. (The [transcription of] the book *The Pillars of Islam: The Lawful, the Unlawful, Legal Judgements, and Legal Prescriptions of the Prophet's Household*, peace and blessings be upon them, was completed on the fourth of Ǧumādā I, in the year nine hundred and eighty-nine of the *hiǧrī* calendar. It was handwritten by the lowliest servants of the *daʿwa*'s ranks of hierarchy, Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd al-Anf al-Qurašī—may God forgive him).

in 2014, between the latter's second son Mufaḍḍal and the latter's half-brother Ḥuzayma, we do not know the fate of this unique manuscript or which of the contending parties possesses it.[117]

For the critical edition of the second volume of the *Daʿāʾim*, Fyzee used an old copy preserved by the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* transcribed in 865/1461 in Yemen. Unfortunately, the scribe's name is erased. On the first page of the first folio of the second volume, which is the last page of volume I, the colophon reads:

> The book of *ǧihād* was completed and with it [the first volume of] the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* was completed on the twenty-first day of Ḏū al-Qaʿda, which happened to be the Wednesday forenoon in the year eight hundred and sixty-five [after the *hiǧra*].[118]

The second volume begins on the second page of the first folio. The colophon at the end reads:

> The *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* was completed on Friday, the thirteenth of Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa in the year eight hundred and sixty-five [after the *hiǧra*].[119]

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[117] Following the death of Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, on Jan. 17, 2014, his second son Mufaḍḍal Sayf al-Dīn out foxed his step-uncle Ḥuzayma Quṭb al-Dīn and became acknowledged as the fifty-third incumbent *dāʿī* (*nāẓim*) by an overwhelming majority of the community. Ḥuzayma, an aspirant to that position, had no alternative left except to counter claim the succession for himself. Mufaḍḍal immediately dismissed him from the high rank of the late *dāʿī nāẓim*'s *maʾḏūn* (assistant, second in charge of the *daʿwa*), which he held for close to fifty years. It should be noted that Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn appointed his half-brother Ḥuzayma to that high rank immediately after his own accession to the *dāʿī* (*nāẓim*)ship in 1965 as instructed to by his late father, Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn. Ḥuzayma, unable to muster significant support from the community, filed a civil case against his nephew Mufaḍḍal in the High Court of Judicature at Mumbai on March 28, 2014. The case is still pending before the judge Gautam Patel with interrupted hearings.

[118] The Arabic text of the colophon reads:

كتب العبد الضعيف الفقير الراجي إلى رحمة الله الكريم الوهّاب، [...] غفر الله له ولوالديهِ، ولقاريهِ ولناظرِهِ، بحقّ محمّدٍ وآله أجمعين. تمّ [في الأصل: تمت] كتاب الجهاد، وقد فرغ من كتاب دعائم الإسلام في اليوم الحادي والعشرين من شهر ذي القعدة، وكان يوم الأربعاء وقت الضحى، وكان سنة خمسٍ وستّين وثمان مائةٍ.

English trans. (It was handwritten by the pauper, the weakling, the slave who hopes for the mercy of God, the Gracious Gift-Giver [...] may God forgive him and his parents, and for everyone who reads [this book] or peeks in it. [I hope my prayer is answered] by the [intercessory] right of Muḥammad and his entire progeny. The [transcription of the] *Book of Ǧihād* (armed struggle) is complete, [and thereby the task of transcribing the entire] *Book of the Pillars of Islam* was completed on the twenty-first day of the month of Ḏū al-Qaʿda, on a Wednesday at forenoon, in the year eight hundred and sixty five [865 of the *hiǧrī* calendar]).

[119] The colophon in Arabic reads:

تمّ كتاب الدعائم في الحلال والحرام والقضايا [والأحكام] عن أهل [البيت، عليهم] الصلاة والسلام، وسلّم تسليماً. كتب العبد الضعيف الفقير النحيف الراجي إلى رحمة الله الكريم الوهّاب، [...] غفر الله له ولوالديهِ، ولقاريهِ ولناظرِهِ، بحقّ محمّدٍ وآله. وقد فرغ من كتاب دعائم الإسلام في يوم الجمعة من ثالث عشر من ذي الحجّة سنة خمسٍ وستّين وثمان مائةٍ.

English trans. (The [transcription of] the book *The Pillars of Islam Concerning What is Lawful, and What is Unlawful, and about Legal Cases and Ordinances* of the Prophet's household, peace and blessings be upon them; may much peace descend upon them, is hereby complete. It was handwritten by the pau-

We do not know how much time was taken for transcribing the first volume but the second volume according to the colophon, was copied in twenty-two days. Commenting on it, Fyzee states that that there is nothing impossible in this, as the task of copying around 146 folios in that time involves the labor of transcribing about 7 folios, or 14 pages per day.[120]

It is to be noted that in some Arabic manuscripts in general, and in very many Ismāʿīlī manuscripts in particular, one finds evidence of a codicological unit, intermediary between the quire and the whole book, which is usually called *ǧuzʾ* (fascicle). This unit may be made up of various quires and generally bears no relation to the logical divisions of the text. The various *ǧuzʾ* (pl. *aǧzāʾ*) of a manuscript are remarkable for their autonomy, and they all have the same title page on the left top of the paper. I have noticed this division in most works of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and other major Ismāʿīlī authors of the Fāṭimid period.[121] Unfortunately, this feature is totally ignored by the catalogers of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts.

Forms and Contents of Ismāʿīlī Colophons

In their basic structures of style, expression and content, the colophons of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts in general display uniformity with the main Arabic manuscript tradition except for some marked Šīʿī-Ismāʿīlī features. For example, in most of them the name of the living *dāʿī*, during whose time the manuscript was transcribed is eulogized, at times, with high flown words and prayers for his longevity. Very often God's blessings on the Prophet and the pure Imams from his progeny are invoked. The conformity in style of those colophons, one might say, was preserved through a recurrent repetition of stylized forms with some variations on the theme. Within these general limitations, however, some scribes sought new ways of expressing those elements that were essential elements to this genre. A typical colophon in an Ismāʿīlī manuscript—similar to the main Arabic manuscript tradition—would begin with one of several stereotyped expressions which states when the book was finished or the transcription was completed, or by stating that "I (the scribe) finished copying it," and so on.[122]

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per, the weakling, the feeble, the slave who hopes for the mercy of God, the Gracious Gift-Giver [...] may God forgive him and his parents, and for everyone who reads [this book] or peeks in it. [I hope my prayer is answered] by the [intercessory] right of Muḥammad and his progeny. [The task of transcribing the entire] book *The Pillars of Islam* was completed on Friday, the thirteenth of Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa, in the year eight hundred and sixty five [865]).

[120] A. A. A. Fyzee, "An Ancient Copy of the *DAʿĀʾIMUʾL-ISLĀM*," 1934, pp. 127–133.

[121] For more details and recent sources see I. K. Poonawala, "The Chronology of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's Works," 2018, pp. 106–107, n. 78.

[122] These expressions in Arabic are:

تمّ كتابُ ...؛ تمّ الكتابُ المسمّى ...؛ تمّتْ تمام؛ تمّتْ تمام شُدْ هذا الكتاب ...؛ وقع الفراغُ من النسخةِ ...؛ وقع الفراغُ من انتساخ ...؛ قد وقع الفراغُ من نساخةِ ...؛ وقع الفراغُ من تحريرِ ...؛ فرغتُ من تحريرِ ...؛ قد فرغتُ من تسويدِ ...؛ قد فرغتُ من هذا ...؛ قد حصل الفراغُ ...؛ أو بالاختصار: كتب أو كتبتُ، أو تمَّ، أو ختمتُ، أو الزَّبْرُ والتَّحريرُ.

This is generally followed by an expression that the task of transcribing had been successfully completed through the help of God and by the grace of His *walī* (i. e., the imam of the time) and by the blessing of the *dāʿī* of the time (with an explicit reference to his name) and prayers for the latter's longevity and prosperity, frequently including the use of superlative adjectives intended to express admiration.[123] As far as I was able to ascertain during the Yemeni period commendations of the *dāʿī* did not include high-flown language or verbose eulogies with lavish praise as one finds during the late Indian period. Thenceforth the scribe provides the approximate time and the day (such as forenoon, noon, afternoon, evening), the month and the year in which the copying was completed, always according to the Muslim *hiǧrī* calendar. Subsequently, the author of the colophon identifies himself with a series of deprecatory epithets, showing humility, modesty and regret for living a sinful life, imploring God's forgiveness not only for himself but very often for his parents and sometimes for the reader of the book (manuscript) and all the faithful.[124] At times the copyist would ad-

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English trans. (The [transcription of] the book is complete …; The [transcription of] the book entitled is complete … is completed; this book's [transcription] is now complete in its entirety …; The [transcription of] the book is now complete …; completion of the transcription occurred on …; completion of the transcribing occurred on …; completion of transcribing occurred on …; I completed the copying of …; I completed the writing of …; I completed from [transcribing] this …; the completion [of the task] happened on …; (concise patterns): It was handwritten, or I wrote, or [it has been] completed, or I completed [its copying], or writing and inscription).

Verbal forms, most commonly used for completion are:

تمّ (إتمام)، ختم (خَتْم)، اختتم (إختِتام)، انتهى (إنتهاء)، نجز (نَجْز، نَجاز)، فرغ (فراغ، فراغة).

(Different verbal forms of expressing the meaning that "the copying is completed.") See also A. Gacek, *Glossary*, 2001, pp. 18, 38, 109, 146. Each of the above verbal nouns may be used with any of the following verbs:

كان، وقع، وافق، حصل، اتّفق، صادف.

(*Kāna*: it happened on; *waqaʿa*: it fell on; *wāfaqa*: it corresponded to; *ḥaṣala*: it occurred on; *ittafaqa*: it coincided with; *ṣādafa*: it so happened to occur on).

For the main Islamic tradition, see also A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, pp. 74–75.

[123] The English rendering of *walī Allāh*, pl. *awliyāʾ Allāh* as "the Friends of God," does not convey the correct meaning. The point in this expression is either they are on God's side, His Allies, or that He watches over them, so that He is their Guardian, and they are His special wards.

[124] A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, pp. 239–240. He states that all throughout the manuscripts' age there was a tendency on the part of the scribe to introduce his/her name by adjectives and phrases indicative of humility. Hence, we find the following words and expressions before the scribe's name:

العبد، الفقير، الحقير، المذنب، الضعيف، اللحيف، المسكين، النحيف، الذليل، الأثيم، الخاطيء.

(*al-ʿabd*: the slave; *al-faqīr*: the pauper; *al-ḥaqīr*: the despicable; *al-muḏnib*: the guilty; *al-ḍaʿīf*: the weakling; *al-laḥīf*: the frail; *al-miskīn*: the downtrodden; *al-naḥīf*: the feeble; *al-ḏalīl*: the low; *al-aṯīm*: the sinner; *al-ḫāṭiʾ*: the wrongdoer).

The name is usually followed by pious invocations. Asking for forgiveness is often a standard element of these prayers. For more information on the above examples see, P. S. van Koningsveld & Q. al-Samarrai, *Localities and Dates in Arabic Manuscripts*, 1978. The following phrases occur frequently:

تمّت الكتاب بعون الله، الملك الوهّاب … على يد الضعيف المذنب المحتاج إلى رحمة الله؛ بعون الله، الملك المتعال … الحقير المحتاج إلى رحمة الرحيم القدير؛ على يد أفقر الورى؛ على يد أضعف العباد وأحقر الورى؛ على يد الفقير الحقير

dress the reader with a plea to forgive the errors he might have committed during the process of transcription. From time to time the scribe cites well-known scribal verses pleading the reader to pray for him and begging the reader to seek God's forgiveness for him. Some commonly cited verses, such as those reproduced below, are mottos summing up the meaning of the copyist's work, indicating a feeling of humility, of openheartedness to the reader, of closing with hope of religious piety:

الخطُّ يبقىَ زماناً بعد كاتبهِ وكاتبُ الخطِّ تحت الرَّمْسِ ملحودُ

The written word will survive for a long time after the scribe's [death]
While the one who inscribed it is buried under the grave.

يا قارئَ الخطِّ قُلْ بالله مجتهداً واغفرْ لكاتبـهِ، يـا خيـرَ معبـودِ

O, the one who reads the written script, say diligently [seeking God's help],
O, the generous Deity, forgive the one who inscribed [this book]![125]

المعترف بالذنب والتقصير، الراجي لُطْفَ مولاهُ/مُفتقر الشفاعة؛ على يد العبد الضعيف المذنب المحتاج، الراجي إلى رحمة الله تعالى؛ على يد العبد الضعيف اللهيف الأسيف، المحتاج إلى رحمة الرحيم القدير؛ بقلم أفقر الورى إلى عفو الله وغفرانه، المستجير بالله من عذاب نيرانه؛ غفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات؛ غفر الله له ولوالديه، ولمالكه، ولمن قرأ به، ولمن دعا له بالمغفرة؛ غفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات برحمتك يا أرحم الراحمين؛ اللهم اغفر لكاتبه ولوالديه ولمن دعالهم بالمغفرة والرحمة ولجميع المسلمين، يا مجيب السائلين بحرمة سيّد المرسلين (أو بحقّ سيّد المرسلين).

English trans. (The [transcription of] the book is now complete by the help of God, the Gift-Giving King … [transcription is now complete] at the hand of the weakling, the sinner, the one in need of God's grace … [it is complete] by the help of God, the Supreme King … the despicable one who is in need of the mercy of the Merciful and Powerful One … [the copying was completed] by the hand of the most impoverished being … [the transcription was completed] by the hand of the most weak of God's slaves, the most despicable one who acknowledges his faults and shortcomings and is hopeful of his master's grace/in need of intercession … [the copying was completed] at the hand of the slave, the weakling, the sinner in need of and one hopeful of God's the Most High's mercy … [the copying was completed] at the hand of the slave, the weakling, the contrite, the one wrought in despair but in need of the mercy of the Merciful and Powerful One … by the pen of the human most in need of God's forgiveness and mercy, who writes now beginning God to protect him from the punishment of the Fire … may God forgive him and his parents, and all faithful men and women … may god forgive him and his parents, and forgive the one who own [this text], and who reads it, as well as he who prays [for its transcriber] to be forgiven … may God forgive him and his parents and all the faithful men and women, [we pray in hope of] your mercy, Most Merciful of the Merciful! … O God, forgive the transcriber [of this text], as well as his parents, and for any who prays for me and my parents to be forgiven and to be shown mercy, and to all Muslims, O you who answers prayers, [I pray in hopes of the intercession afforded by the] sanctity of the Master of God's messengers, or by the [intercessory] right of the Master of God's messengers).

Persian and Turkish colophons are beyond the scope of this study, but in structure they also resemble the colophons of Arabic manuscripts.

[125] In Arabic manuscript tradition one finds the following verse:

يا ناظـراً فيـه سـل بـالله رحـمـةً على المصنّف واستغفـر لصـاحبـه

O you who peers in this [text], ask for God to show mercy
To the author, and to show forgiveness to [the book's] owner.

كتبتُ، وقد أيقنتُ يومَ كتبتُهُ بأنّ يديَّ تفنىَ، وتبقىَ كِـــتـابُها

I transcribed [this book] while I knew, for certain, on the day I transcribed it

That my hands will perish, but what they transcribed will survive.

ستبقىَ خُطوطي بعد موتي برهةً ألاَ، أنّها تبقىَ وتفنىَ الأنـامِـلُ

My transcription will endure for a while after my death

Indeed, the fingertips will perish, but what they transcribed will endure.

فيا قارئاً فيه، سَلِ اللهَ رحـمةً لكاتبـهِ المدفـونِ تحت الجنـادلِ

So, O, reader [of this book], please ask for God's mercy

For its scribe who is buried under the ground.

و كَمْ من خطوطٍ باقياتٍ لَوامِعٍ وكاتبـهُ قـد عَيَّـرَتْـهُ المقـابـــرُ

How many manuscripts glimmer with continued life,

And while their scribes have been rendered lifeless in their graves.

يلوح الخطُّ في القرطاس دهراً وكاتبـهُ رميـمٌ في التـرابِ

The written word on [a piece of] paper shines for a long stretch of time

While its scribe's [bones] are decaying under the earth.[126]

غفر الإلٰـهُ ذنوبَ هذا الكاتبِ وذنـوبَ قاريـهِ معـاً والنـاظـرِ

May God forgive the sins of this scribe

As well the sins of his reader and the beholder of [his book]!

The gist of the aforementioned verses could be summarized as: "The copyist will die, but the written word he transcribed will endure for a long time." In other words, it articulates the idea of the copyist's transience—expressed via the synecdoche in which man identifies himself with the hand that writes with—in contrast to the permanence of the written word. It emphasizes the contrast between human mortality and the eternity of the written word and reflects as some authors have suggested "the absolute nihilism of the Greek man facing the concrete product of his own intellect."[127] The same sentiment is also broached by the famous Ismāʿīlī poet and thinker, Nāṣir-i Ḫusraw (d. *ca.* 481/1088–1089), where he states in his *Dīwān*:

ثمّ اطلب لنفسك من حاجةٍ تريد بها مـن بعـد ذلـك غـفـــرانًا لكـاتبـه

Then ask [of Him] in regards to whatever need you might have,

Then pray to God to show forgiveness to the one who transcribes [the book].

[126] In some Arabic manuscripts one finds the following verse:

يكون الخطّ في القرطاس دهـراً وكـاتبـه رميـمٌ في التـــراب

[127] Commenting on "Scribal Dicta and Other Metatextual Notes in Yemeni Medieval Manuscripts," A. D'Ottone remarks that an analysis of the particular formulae and verses found in the copyists' colophons reveal a specifically Yemeni writing style. She further adds that after a sufficient quantity of manuscripts of this genre from Yemen and other regions is collected and transcribed, it will be possible to analyze the data for regional trends. This distinct approach has already been proposed by Piemontese: A. M. Piemontese, "Devises et vers traditionnels des copistes entre explicit et colophon des manuscrits persans," 1992. He seems to have detected Indian stylistic features in the copyists' statements composed in Persian.

> Thy soul is a book, thy deeds are like the writing; write not on thy soul aught else than a fair inscription;
>
> Write what is wholly good in the book, O brother, for the pen is in thine own hand![128]

Certain colophons give the place of the scribe's birth or residence and the name of the town or city or other location where the transcription was completed. A few colophons also give personal information about the copyist. Some colophons are brief while the others are long and offer a variety of information. Some examples of these colophons, with their assorted patterns, are given in Appendix I (below).

Conclusion

Since I did not have full access to any of the three major collections, namely the Fyzee, the Hamdani, or the Zāhid ʿAlī, I will confine myself to my late father's partial collection to draw certain tentative conclusions. My father's collection, contrary to the Hamdani and the Zāhid ʿAlī family collections, was built by his own religious devotion and single handed personal endeavors. Unlike Asaf Fyzee, he was a man of very limited means. Thus, he was not able to purchase manuscripts from the families of deceased *ʿulamāʾ* when the occasion arose.[129] Moreover, he did not come from a learned or well-to-do family. Yet, he decided on his own to pursue the study of Islam and Islamic culture and went through insurmountable difficulties to achieve his goal. After acquiring sound knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages and literatures from Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī scholars in his native town of Godhra in northern Gujarat he went to Surat and studied in the famous seminary college Sayfī *daras*,[130] obtain-

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[128] E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1969, vol. 2, p. 232. See below Appendix I, colophons nos. 1 and 2 for examples of those verses.

[129] Purchasing manuscripts was legal. In some manuscripts one finds the expression "the humble servant so-and-so bought it" (اشتراهُ الفقير). We have attestation of transfer of ownership by purchase in one Zaydī manuscript. It states:

انتقل هذا الشرح المبارك من ملك سيّدي المصنّف السيّد العلاّمة صفي الدين أحمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أمير المؤمنين إلى ملك سيّدي الوالد [...] بالشرا[ء] الصحيح بثمنٍ مقبوضٍ متراضٍ عليه.

(The ownership of this blessed commentary was transferred from my master, the author, al-Sayyid, the most erudite, Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the son of the commander of the faithful, to that of my master, my father [...] in a valid transaction, with price agreed upon and paid).

J. J. Witkam, "Yemeni Manuscripts in the University of Leiden Library, Acquisitions of the Year 2000: Texts and Themes," 2014, p. 281.

[130] This celebrated Ismaili seminary for the study and teaching of *ʿulūm al-daʿwa* was established in 1814 by the forty-third *dāʿī* ʿAbd-i ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817). Teaching was interrupted for several years following the sudden demise of Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, the forty-sixth *dāʿī*, in 1256/1840. During the time of the fifth *nāẓim dāʿī*, Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1965), it was given a new name, *al-Ǧāmiʿa al-Sayfiyya* and radical changes were made to its curriculum. From 1970 to 1974 four distinguished scholars who had taught there for several decades, *šayḫ* Saǧǧād Ḥusayn, his brother *šayḫ* Ḥasan ʿAlī, their nephew *šayḫ* Aḥmad ʿAlī and *šayḫ* ʿAlī Aḥmad Ūdaypūrī, were dismissed, humiliated and their homes were ransacked. This plot was hatched by Yūsuf Naǧm al-Dīn, Dean of the Academy, to punish them for holding the view that the forty-sixth *dāʿī* was poisoned and died suddenly without appointing his successor. Certainly, such a view had grave consequences for the religious establishment. For more details see, M. S. Ḥ. Sarangpurwala, *Life History of al-Muqaddas Shaheed Shaikh Sajjad Husein Sarangpurwala*, 2015. The article "Al-Jāmiʿah al-Sayfiyah" written by M. Abdulhussein, who defends the Bohra religious estab-

ing the certificate of *al-faqīh al-ǧayyid* (accomplished jurist).[131] During his adolescence Godhra, the capital town of a district called Panch Mahal, and home to a Bohra population of around three thousand, could boast of having several *ʿulamāʾ*. It was said about the town that no *ʿāmil* (agent of the *dāʿī* or the *nāẓim*), unless he was well-educated in the *ʿulūm al-daʿwa* would accept its *ʿimāla* (position as the agent of the *dāʿī*), because Godhra was renowned for its local *ʿulamāʾ* who would not hesitate to reprimand the *ʿāmil* if he made any error during the delivery of Muḥarram sermons or in dealing with legal matters. A prominent contemporary scholar at that time in Godhra was Ġulām ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīlǧī (d. *ca.* 1940), the author and translator of several Ismāʿīlī books.[132] My father, who passed away on 8 Rabīʿ II 1372/26 Dec. 1952, was the last of that generation and inherited most of his manuscripts from his senior colleagues.

With regard to the age of the manuscripts (i. e., the dates of their transcription), I would classify the manuscripts in this collection belonging to three broad time categories: Seven manuscripts were transcribed during the twelfth century of the *hiǧra* (1688–1784); eighteen were copied during the thirteenth century of the *hiǧra* (1785–1881); and thirty-nine were copied during the fourteenth century of the *hiǧra* (1882–1978). The rest are either undated or incomplete at the end. Almost half of the corpus is of recent provenance—that is, copied during the last century. *Kitāb iḫtilāf uṣūl al-maḏāhib*, transcribed in 1283/1866 was given as a gift to my father by *mullā* ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. *mullā* Ḥasan ʿAlī from Uǧǧayn in 1339/1921. *Maǧmūʿ al-fiqh*, volume 1, copied by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn, a resident of Ahmedabad in 1304/1887, was given as a present to *šayḫ* Ǧābir b. *šayḫ* Ismāʿīlǧī Godhrawala, a senior colleague of my father who then gifted it to my father. Since this paper is devoted to the study of colophons I have overlooked another important aspect, namely metatextual notes—typically found at the end of the text, and in the margins and other blank spaces of a codex.

With regard to the scribes' birth places and the towns or other locations where the manuscripts were transcribed, the above corpus yields the following result. Nineteen manuscripts were copied in Godhra; three in Surat;[133] two each in the respective cities of Ahmedabad, Udaipur[134] and in Ādamǧī Pīrbhāʾī's *madrasas*;[135] and one each in each of Bharampur, Bhikapur, Bhopal, Bombay, Burhanpur (in the mausoleum of Sayyidunā Ḥakīm al-Dīn), Dhoraji (in the Madrasa of Ādamǧī Pīrbhāʾī), Dhandhuka (in the Madrasa of Ādamǧī Pīrbhāʾī), Dholka, Ghodhkarwi, Islampur (also known as Rampur), Lunawara, Mandasor, and Sidhpur (in al-Madrasa al-Yūsufiyya). These findings

lishment, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 360-361 should be read with a grain of salt and skepticism.

[131] It is similar to that of a *muǧtahid* among the Twelver Šīʿa. Indeed, the notion of *iǧtihād* is forbidden in Ismāʿīlī law. J. Schacht & D. Macdonald, "Idjtihād," *EI*[2], 1986.

[132] For the list of his works, see I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, pp. 234–235.

[133] One was copied in ʿAbd al-Qādir Nağm al-Dīn's Madrasa.

[134] Both the manuscripts transcribed in Udaipur were copied by the scribe for Rağab ʿAlī b. *mullā* Ibrāhīm, resident of Šopūr [Sidhpur or Šolapur].

[135] Names of the towns are not specified. For Ādamǧī Pīrbhāʾī, see n. 168 below.

imply that besides the headquarters of the *dāʿī*s, such as Ahmedabad (974/1567–1065/1655), Jamnagar (1065/1655–1122/1710), Ujjain (1150/1737–1193/1779), Burhanpur (1193/1779–1200/1785) and Surat (1200/1785–1315/1915), there were several scattered centers of intellectual activity where the *ʿulamāʾ* and their students kept the torch of learning aflame by studying their heritage and transcribing books as a mark of religious devotion. In other words, the study of *ʿulūm al-daʿwa* was considered as an *ʿibāda ʿilmiyya* (intellectual worship) in contrast with *ʿibāda ʿamaliyya* or *šarʿiyya* (ritual worship). The movement of manuscripts provides material evidence that there were various connections linking one town to another. It also gives one more piece of testimony to the cultural links between diverse centers of intellectual learning. Furthermore, it puts a manuscript in an historical and cultural context. A group of manuscripts that originate from a certain town can be linked to the activities of the *ʿulamāʾ* in that town. The study of manuscript production and its dispersal can offer new ways to view what disciplines were taught or studied in a particular town or region.

The production of books remained entirely in the hands of scribes and *ʿulamāʾ*. This reflects the maintenance of a monopoly of knowledge by a traditional élite group—the *ʿulamāʾ*—whose control over the scribal transmission and dissemination of texts served to reinforce established patterns of authority. Printing eventually served to break this monopoly by creating a new culture based on a new means of transmitting texts, but also a new approach to selecting, writing, and presenting them, and aimed at a new kind of readership.

Without delving too deeply into the history of the Bohras in Godhra, it suffices for us to mention two facts. First, Luqmānǧī b. Ḥabīb Allāh visited the town three times:[136] first in the 1150s/the late 1730s; then in 1162/1748 and finally in 1164/1750. During his trips to Godhra he also visited towns in neighbouring regions with substantial Bohra population, such as Lunawara, Dohad, Umreth, Kapadwanj, Walasinor (also pronounced Balasinor), and Nadiad. In his second visit to Godhra he was accompanied by another scholar named ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Hamdānī, who had recently immigrated to Surat from Yemen.[137]

Second, the mausoleum of a saint, called Ismāʿīlǧībhāʾī *šahīd*, is located there. He was the son of *faḫr al-mukāsirīn,* ʿAbd-i Mūsā Kalīm al-Dīn, who visited Godhra during the time of the forty-second *dāʿī* Yūsuf Nağm al-Dīn (d. 1213/1798) for missionary (*daʿwa*) work. In order to spread the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the surrounding region, he left Godhra to preach to the native population in rural areas. While he was in a very small village called Saniyāra, about eight miles from Godhra, he was attacked and assassinated by the Bhils, a group of native inhabitants, on 14 Rabīʿ II, 1200/February 1786. His body was brought back to Godhra for burial and a mausoleum was built over his tomb. Soon, it became a shrine for pilgrimage and the population of the Bohras there grew gradually. In short, the Bohra population in Godhra dates back to more

[136] For Luqmānǧī b. Ḥabīb Allāh, see n. 100 above.

[137] ʿAbd-i ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn, *Mulaḫḫaṣ min sīrat Mawlāʾī Luqmānǧī* (an abridged version of Luqmānǧī's biography by his noted student Ismāʿīl al-Mağdūʿ), f. 18bff.

than three centuries. The above collection of my late father is an eloquent testimony to the intellectual activity in that town during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Hence, it is no exaggeration to state that this long tradition of learning was key to Godhra becoming the center of Bohra reformist activities during the mid-fifties and sixties of the last century. Indeed, it was there in 1960 that Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, the fifty-first *nāẓim dāʿī*, who had earlier faced two famous court litigation cases, namely the Chandabhai Gulla case of 1917 and the Burhanpur Durgah case of 1925, was greeted for the first time by the reformist protestors with placards and black banners demanding social justice, democratic governance for local *ǧamāʿat*s, and the abolition of crude unIslamic customs and exorbitant religious dues extorted from the community every year during the holy month of Ramaḍān.

Appendix I

Examples of Ismāʿīlī Colophons in chronological order (the Arabic text is followed by English trans.)

The colophons consist of the following common elements:

1. An indication of the end of the book.
2. The title of the book as well as the volume/part if it is in several volumes/parts.
3. The name of the author.
4. Approximate time of day, day of the week, or the date with month and the year (always according to the *hiǧri* calendar) during which transcription was completed. It should be noted that the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs follow a fixed lunar calendar adopted by the Fāṭimids; hence, the dates might differ slightly from the general Muslim calendar.
5. The place where the manuscript was copied, usually indicating the name of the copyist's town, or the name of the Madrasa or some other place.
6. An invitation of praise for God for the completion of the task and an invocation that God bless the Prophet and his family.
7. The name of the *dāʿī* during whose time the manuscript was copied followed by prayers for his longevity and prosperity, often in high-flown words, especially during the later Indian period.
8. If the manuscript was read and corrected during the *dars* of a particular *dāʿī* or *šayḫ*, their names are mentioned.
9. Whether the copy was collated with the original or some other copy.
10. Identification of the scribe with a series of self-abasing epithets, showing his humility.
11. and imploring God's forgiveness for himself, for his parents and the faithful at large.
12. If the manuscript was transcribed for himself or some patron, the latter's name is mentioned.
13. On rare occasions the scribe might give certain private information about himself or his family.
14. At times the colophon is followed by familiar verses affirming that the copyist will perish, but that the written words he transcribed will persist for a long time, followed by an imploration of God's forgiveness for the scribe and the faithful.[138]

The photocopies of the MSS are from the Collection of my late father *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn (in my possession).

[138] They are known as "Scribal Verses," see A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, pp. 237–238. Most of the Ismāʿīlī manuscripts are written in *nasḫ* script, see ibid., pp. 162–165; for the introductory section of the Arabic manuscript, see ibid., pp. 200–203.

1. *Kitāb al-iftiḫār* (*The Book of Pride*) by Abū Yaʿūb Ishāq al-Siğistānī;[139] the scribe states his name but not the date of copying. However, the owner's colophon states that he had read the entire book with ʿAbd al-Ṭayyid Zakī al-Dīn (the thirty-fifth *dāʿī* who died in 1110/1699) in Jamnagar. Thus we can infer that it was transcribed some time before that date.

تمّت تمام شد هذا كتاب ا[لا]فتخار، كاتب عبد الرحيم [بن] شيخ داؤد، ساكن في الأحمداباد [في الأصل: الأحمداواد].

يلوحُ الخطُّ في القرطاس دهراً وكاتبهُ رميمٌ في التـــرابِ
غفر الإلٰـهُ ذنوبَ هذا الكاتبِ وذنوبَ قاريهِ معاً والناظرِ
وحَبَا هُم ربّي بألطفِ لطفهِ وحَمَاهم من كلِّ شدّةِ ظالمِ
يا ربِّ، يا مولاىَ، أنت وَلِيُّنا يا غافراً عنّا عظيمَ جرائمِ
اقْضِ الحوائجَ في أموري كلِّها وَاحْمِ لِعبدك يا إلٰـــه العالمِ
وَامْدُ[دْ]هُ بالعلمِ واحفظْ ذاتهُ يا سيّدي عن كلِّ لومة لائمِ

This book *Kitāb al-iftiḫār* (*The Book of Pride*) was completed by the scribe ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, [son of] *šayḫ* Dāʾūd in Ahmedabad.

The written word will shine on the paper for a long stretch of time
While the one who inscribed it is decaying in the ground.
May God forgive the sins of this scribe
And the sins of [this book's] reader as well as the one who glances over it.
O, my Lord, award them with more elegant of your kindness
And protect them from the oppressive grip of every tyrant!
O, my Lord, O, my Master, You are our protector
O, the One who forgives our major offensives!
Please satisfy our necessities in every matter
O, the Lord of this world, protect your servant.
And assist him in knowledge and shield his person
O, my Master, from censorious accusation of every accuser.

The scribal verses are followed by the owner's colophon which states:

[بخطّ غير خطّ الكاتب] صاحب هذا الكتاب عبد المالـ[يـــ]ـك، بليد الذهنِ، مُقصِّرٌ، لسيّدنا [موسى] كليم الدين [المتوفى سنة 1122 هـ] داعي الثلاثِ الجزائر قنه [رزقنا شفاعتهُ]، عبد الرحيم ابن ملاّ

[139] I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 86. It is edited with notes and comments by I. K. Poonawala, see n. 98 above; Abū Yaʿqūb al-Siğistānī, *Kitāb al-iftiḫār*, 2000, pp. 62–63 (description of the manuscript). This manuscript belonged to my late father's close friend late *šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. Yūsuf Bāğī who was kind enough to present it to me while I was preparing its critical edition.

طيّب خان، ثبّتهُ اللهُ تع [تعالى] لطاعة سيّدنا، ولقارئهِ. ابتدأتُ وختمتُ عند سيّدنا ومولانا وحُجّتنا زكي الدين شيخ طيّب. ثبّتنا اللهُ تع [تعالى] ولجميع المؤمنين.

[Owner's colophon, in a different hand than that of the scribe]: The owner of this book is a dull-witted, slack, servant of *sayyidnā* [Mūsā] Kalīm al-Dīn,[140] the *dāʿī* of the three islands,[141] may God bless us with his intercession, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, son of *mullā* Ṭayyibḥān, may God make fast his and the reader's obedience to our *sayyidnā*. I began and ended [my reading of this book] with our *sayyidnā* and *mawlānā* and our *ḥuǧǧa* ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakī al-Dīn.[142] May God make fast our obedience and that of all the faithful to him!

[بعدها]: وقفٌ لوجهِ الرحيم الرحمان على بني الدعوة والإيمان، من خزانةِ [داعي] إمام الزمان.

[This book] is endowed to all the people of the *daʿwa* and faith for the sake of the Compassionate and Merciful [God], [it is] from the *ḫizāna* of the one who summons (*dāʿī*) people to the imam of the time.

The same *waqf* expression in the owner's handwriting appears on the front page:

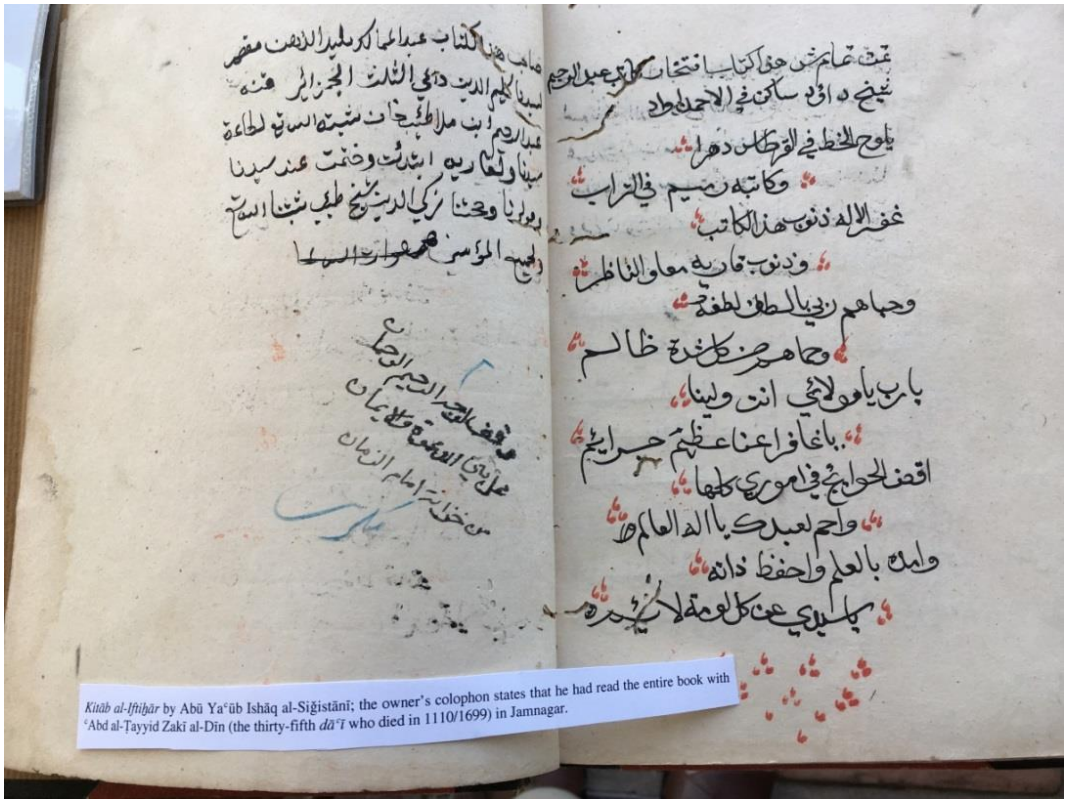
وقف لوجه الرحيم الرحمان على بني الدعوة والإيمان، من خزانة داعي إمام الزمان.

([It is set aside] as an endowment for the sake of the Compassionate and Merciful One, for the sake of [my fellow] sons of the *daʿwa* and faith. [It belongs] to the private collection of the *dāʿī* (vicegerent) of the imam of the time.

[140] He was the thirty-sixth *dāʿī* and died in 1122/1710; I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 367.

[141] According to Ismāʿīlī belief the world is divided into twelve *ǧazīra*s (regions), each one representing a separate region for the spread of the *daʿwa*, placed under the charge of a *ḥuǧǧa*. The Indian *dāʿī* seems to represent three regions: India, Sind and Yemen.

[142] He was the thirty-fifth *dāʿī* and died in 1110/1699. I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 367.



Kitāb al-Iftiḫār by Abū Yaʿūb Ishāq al-Siğistānī; the owner's colophon states that he had read the entire book with ʿAbd al-Ṭayyid Zakī al-Dīn (the thirty-fifth *dāʿī* who died in 1110/1699) in Jamnagar.

Ill. 1. *Kitāb al-iftiḫār* by Abū Yaʿūb Ishāq al-Siğistānī; the owner's colophon states that he had read the entire book with ʿAbd al-Ṭayyid Zakī al-Dīn (the thirty-fifth *dāʿī* who died in 1110/1699) in Jamnagar.

2. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* (*The Pillars of Islam*), vol. 2, by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, copied in 1127/1715.[143] It contains scribal verses following the colophon.[144]

تمّ كتابُ آداب القضاة، وتمّ بتمامهِ النصف الآخر من كتاب دعائم الإسلام والحلال والحرام والقضايا والأحكام، بحمد الله وعونهِ وتوفيقهِ. كاتب فقير، حقير، صغير، الناقص، رحيم بن صالح علي بهائي في محلّ بهرم پور. تمّ هذا الكتابُ يومَ الثامن عشر من شهر ربيع الثاني في سنة السابع والعشرين من المائة والألف، 1127، من هجر[ة] النبيّ المصطفى، في دَرْسِ ملاّ صاحب قاسم خان بن ملاّ حمزة رحيم بن صالح بن علي بهائي في محلّ بهرم پور. شعر:

الخطُّ يبقىَ زماناً بعد كاتبهِ وكاتبُ الخطِّ تحت الرَّمْسِ ملحودُ
يا قارئَ الخطِّ قُلْ بالله مجتهداً واغفرْ لكاتبهِ، يا خيرَ معبودِ
كتبتُ، وقد أيقنتُ يومَ كتبتُهُ بأنّ يديَّ تفنىَ، وتبقىَ كِتابُها
واعلمْ بأنّ الله سائلُها غداً فيا ليتَ شعري ما يكون جوابُها!

And, know, indeed, God will ask it [the hand] tomorrow
I wish I knew what would be its answer!

ستبقىَ خُطوطي بعد موتي برهةً ألاَ، أنّها تبقىَ وتفنىَ الأنامِلُ

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[143] See *The Pillars of Islam*, 2002–2004.

[144] A. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 2009, p. 237, states that some Arabic dictums have their equivalents in Latin. Frequently cited verses are:

سَيَبْقَى الخطُّ بعدي في كتابي ويَفْنَى الكفُّ مِنّي في التُّرابِ

After I pass, the words will remain written in my [transcribed] book
The while my hand disintegrates under the dirt.

وإنْ تَجِدْ عَيْباً فَسُدَّ الخَلالَ جَلَّ مَن لاعيبَ فيه وعَلا

If you find any fault in it, set it right
[And don't think too harshly of me,] for there is [but] One who is free of faults and Sublime [He is!].

أو

يَكُن الخطُّ في القرطاس دَهْراً وكاتبهُ رميمٌ في التـرابِ

The transcribed word will remain on paper for eternity
While nothing remains of its transcriber but bones underneath the earth.

أو

يا ناظِراً فيه سَلْ بالله مَرْحَمَةً على المُصَنِّفِ واستغفرْ لِصاحبهِ

O you who peers in [this book], ask God to show mercy
To the author, and seek forgiveness for its owner.

ثمَّ اطلُبْ لِنَفْسِكَ من حاجةٍ تُريد بها من بعدِ ذلك غُفْراناً لكاتبه

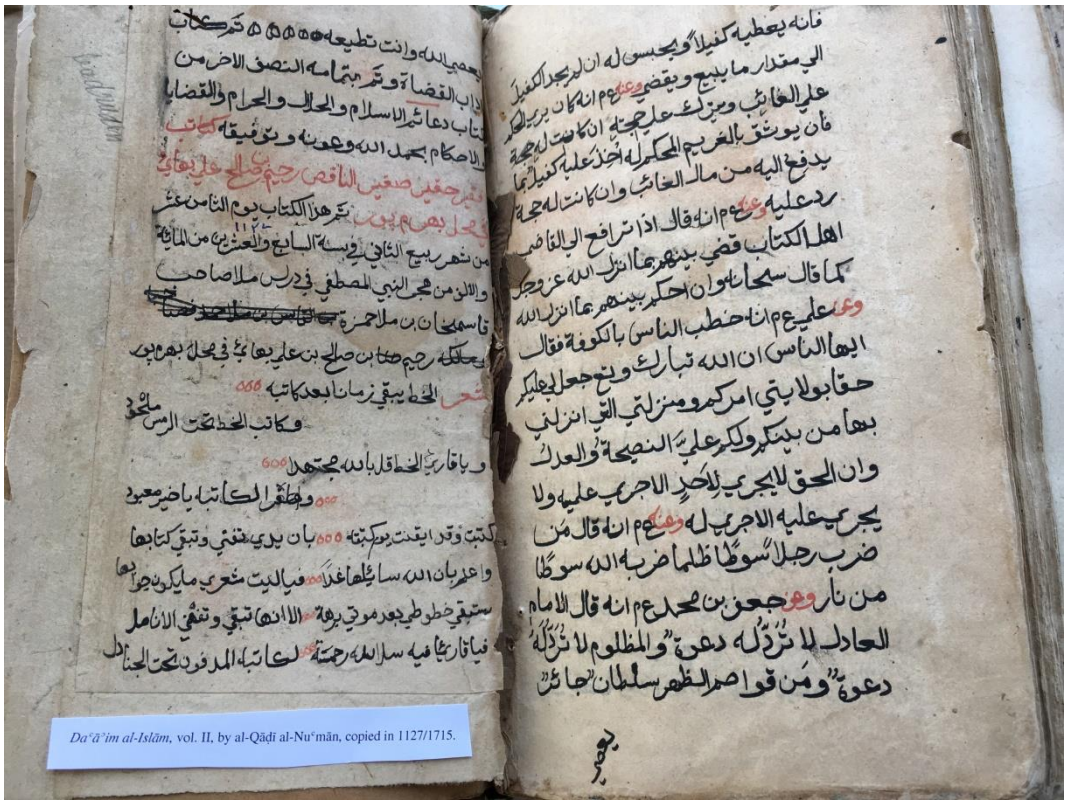
Then ask [God for relief] in some affairs of yours,
Then ask forgiveness for he who transcribed [this work].

فيا قارئاً فيه، سَلِ اللهَ رحمةً لكاتبهِ المدفونِ تحت الجنادلِ
و كَمْ من خطوطٍ باقياتٍ لَوامِعٍ وكاتبهُ قد عَيَّرَتْهُ المقابرُ
كذلك خطّي في الدفاتر لامعٌ أموتُ وتبقىَ بعد موتي الخطوط[145]

Likewise my written words will shine in booklets
I will die but my written words will endure.

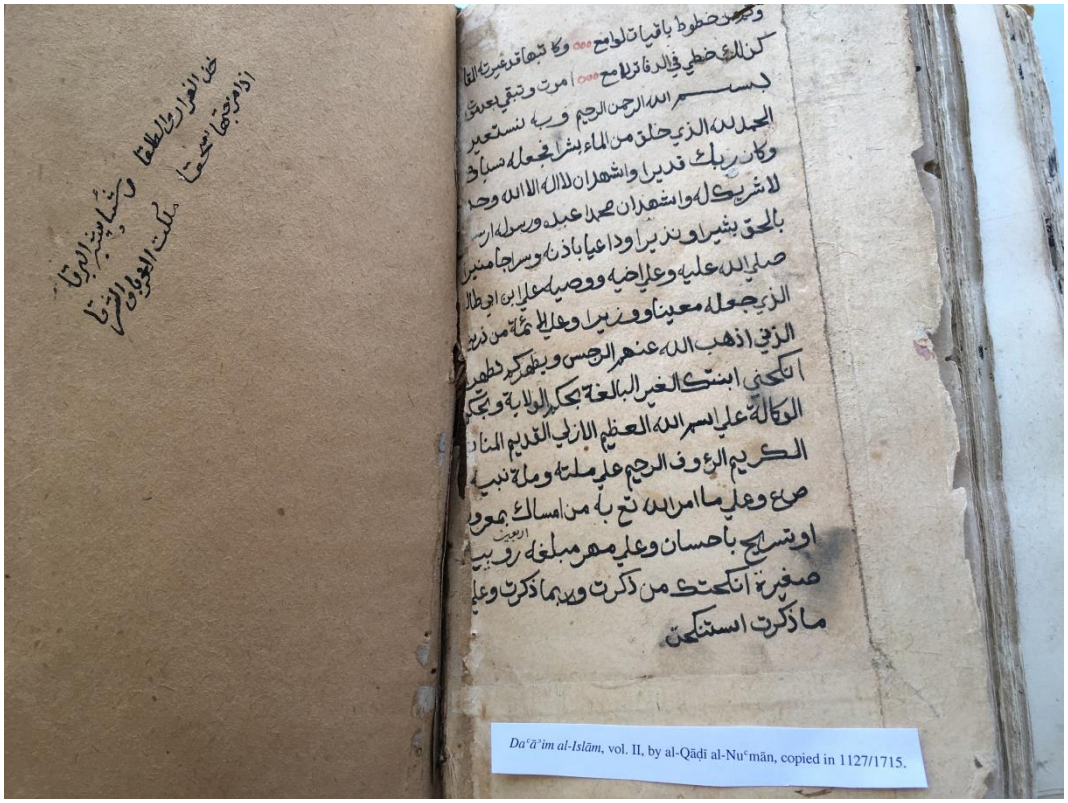
The chapter on the etiquette of the judges is completed, and with it the second half of the book *The Pillars of Islam* concerning what is permitted and what is prohibited, judicial contests and legal provisions is concluded with the praise and help of God and success granted by Him. The poor, miserable, insignificant and imperfect scribe is Raḥīm, the son of Ṣāliḥ ʿAlībhāʾī a resident of Bharampur. This book was completed on 18 Rabīʿ II in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty seven [1127] following the *hiǧra* of the chosen Prophet during the lessons taught by *mullā* Ṣāḥib Qāsimḥān, the son of *mullā* Ḥamza Raḥīm, the son of Ṣāliḥ, the son of ʿAlībhāʾī in the town of Bharampur.

Verses: Since most of those verses are already translated above (see p. 106), the remaining two verses not translated before are translated here.


Daʿāʾim al-Islām, vol. II, by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, copied in 1127/1715.

Ill. 2. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, vol. 2, by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, copied in 1127/1715.

[145] The last words are erased due to binding.



Ill. 3. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, vol. 2, by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, copied in 1127/1715.

3. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* (*The Pillars of Islam*), vol. 1 of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, copied in 1150/1738.[146]

تمّت الـ[ـمـ]ـجلّد الأوّل من كتاب دعائم الإسلام في دعائم الإسلام من الطهارة والصلاة والزكاة والصيام والحجّ والجهاد، بعون الله الملك الوهّاب، في اليوم الثالث والعشرين من شهر ذي الحجّة سنةَ 1150 من الهجرة، على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة والتسليم،[147] في عهد سيّدنا ومولانا وهادينا وداعينا، وجيهِ الدنيا والدين، شيخ إبراهيم ابن شيخ سيّدي شيخ عبد القادر المرحوم ابن ملاّ خان، طوّل اللهُ عمرهُ، وزاد دولتهُ، بخطّ أقلّ المماليك، وأصغر الصعاليك، ميان بهائي ابن ملك جي ابن آدم جي ابن بابوجي، ثبّتهُ اللهُ على طاعته، وطاعة وليّهِ في أرضه، بحقّ محمّدٍ وآله الطيّبين الطاهرين،[148] وسلّم عليهم أجمعين.

The first volume of the book *The Pillars of Islam*, concerning the pillars of Islam, such as ritual purity, ritual prayer, alms tax, fasting, pilgrimage and *ǧihād* was completed

[146] I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, pp. 56–57; for the *Daʿāʾim*'s English translation see *The Pillars of Islam: Daʿāʾim al-Islām of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān*, 2002–2004 (hereafter cited as *The Pillars of Islam*). See also I. K. Poonawala, "The Chronology of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's Works," 2018, pp. 137–143.

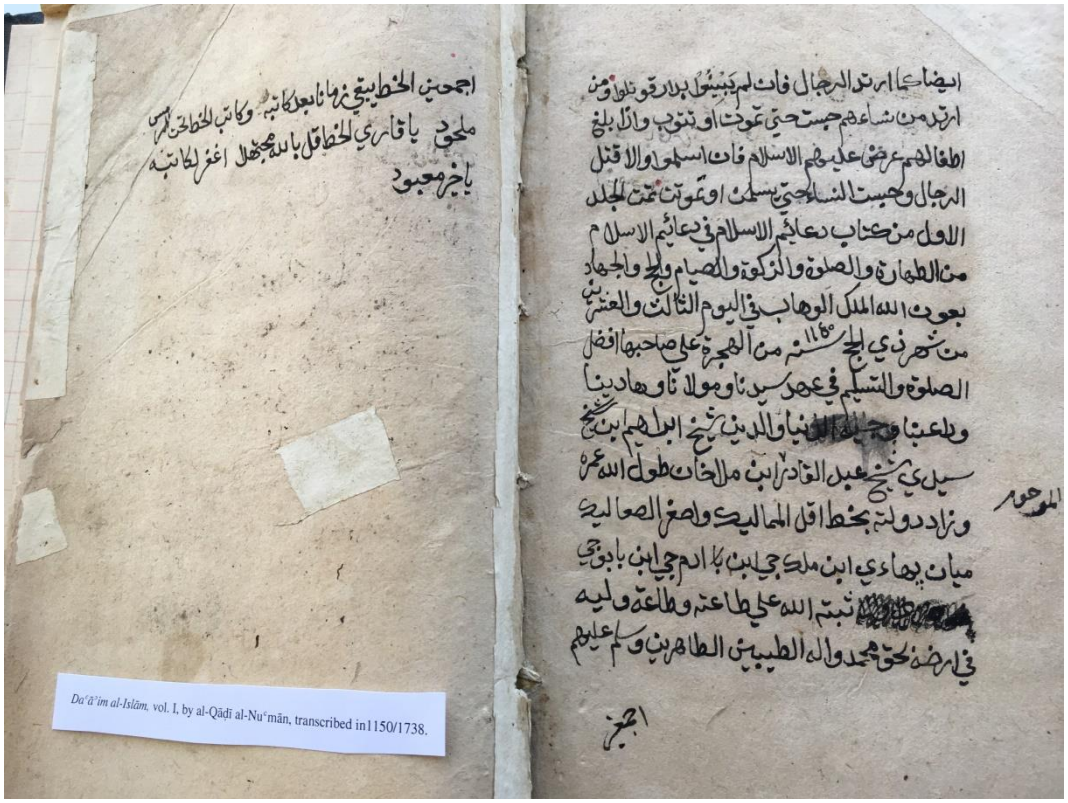
[147] It is also common in Islamic Manuscript Tradition, for example the following expressions occur:

من الهجرة المحمدية، أو النبوية على مهاجرها، أو صاحبها أفضل الصلاة والسلام.

(Following the emigration of Muḥammad, or the Prophetic [migration], on the migrant or its subject, i. e., the Prophet, the choicest of blessings and peace!).

[148] See n. 155 above.

with the assistance of God, the Munificent King, on twenty-third of Ḍū al-Ḥiğğa in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty [1150] of the *hiğra*, [God's] finest blessings be on its subject [i. e., Muḥammad] and grant him salvation. [It was copied] during the times of our master, lord, guide, and *dāʿī*, of distinguished faith and worldly life, *šayḫ* Ibrāhīm, the son of the *šayḫ*, my master the late *šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Qādir, the son of *mullā* Ḫān. May God extend his life and increase his power! [It was written by] one of the lowest slaves and most destitute of brigands, Miyānbhāʾī, the son of Malikğī, the son of Ādamğī, the son of Bābūğī. May God confirm him in his obedience to Him and to His *walī* in His land, by the intercessory right of Muḥammad and his good and pure progeny! Blessings of God be upon all of them!



Ill. 4. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, vol. 1, by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, transcribed in 1150/1738.

4. *Muntazaʿ al-aḫbār* (*Extracts Concerning the History of the Best Missionaries*) by Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymānğī Burhānpūrī, Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, copied in 1231/1816.[149]

The manuscript contains two volumes/parts bound in one. It is a very interesting case in that the scribe has copied the author's colophon which reads that the book was completed in 1231/1816. However, a year, seven months and three days later, the forty-

[149] See I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 217. A small section of it up to the Dāʾūdī-Sulaymānī schism, ed. by S. F. Traboulsi, is entitled *Muntazaʿ al-aḫbār fī aḫbār al-duʿāt al-aḫyār* (*The History of the Ismāʿīlī Ṭayyibī daʿwa up to the Dāʾūdī-Sulaymānī Schism*), 1999.

third *dāʿī*, ʿAbd-i ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn passed away. Afterwards, the author decided to continue the history from where he left off and brought it up to the end of 1236/1821, with the death of the forty-fourth *dāʿī*, Muḥammad ʿIzz al-Dīn, who died on Tuesday afternoon, four hours after the decline of the sun, on the nineteenth of Ramaḍān 1236/1821. Unfortunately, the last few pages of the manuscript are missing and so the scribal colophon is lost. The author died on 24 Šawwāl 1241/1 June 1826.

Another manuscript of the second volume can be found in the library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, copied in 1356/1937, ending with the events of 11 Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa 1241 in Surat. This is strange given the fact that the author had died about six weeks earlier.[150]

The author's colophon reads as follows:

تمّ الكتاب المسمّى بمنتزع الأخبار، بعون الله الملك الجبّار، وبمادّة وليّهِ سيّدِ الأبرار، وببركاتِ حجّتهِ داعي وقتنا، ومالكِ أمرِنا، مولانا الشيخ عبد عليّ سيف الهُدى والدين، زُبدة سيّدنا ومولانا، والدِ الجميع، الشيخ عبد الطيّب زكي الدين، أطال الله بقاءهُ، وجعلنا بآبائِنا وأمّهاتِنا فِداءَهُ، وأنالهُ في ولده المبارك الميمون [...] وأدام في عَقِبِهِ الدعوة الغُرّاء إلى يوم التنادِ، بحقّ سيّدنا محمّدٍ وآله الأمجاد، وصلّى عليهم ربُّ العباد. والحمد لله المنّان الكريم، لا إله إلاّ هو الرحمان الرحيم، وصلّى الله على أفضل النبيّين محمّدٍ، سيّدِ المرسلين، وعلى وصيّهِ عليّ ابن أبي طالبٍ، أسدِ الله الغالب، وعلى الأئمّة من ذُرّيتهما الذين أذهب اللهُ عنهم الرجسَ، وطهّرهم تطهيراً [﴿إنما يُريد اللهُ لِيُذهِبَ عنكم الرجسَ أهلَ البيتِ ويُطهّركم تطهيرا﴾، قرآن 33: 33]، وعلى مولانا وسيّدِنا الإمام الطيّب أبي القاسم أمير المؤمنين، وعلى أبنائه الأكرمين الذين افترضَ طاعته، فمَنْ أطاعهم، فقد فازو فوزاً كبيراً.

وقع الفراغ من تحرير هذا الكتاب في يوم العاشر من ربيع الآخر سنةَ إحدى وثلاثين ومائتين وألفٍ من هجرة النبيّ المختار، عليه وآله صلوات العزيز الغفّارِ. حَسْبُنا اللهُ وَنِعْمَ الوَكِيلُ [قرآن 3: 173]، ونعمَ الوليُّ ونعمَ الكفيلُ، الغفّارُ. ولا حولَ ولا قوّةَ إلا بالله العليّ العظيم.

بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم، وبه نستعين. ولمّا فرغتُ من تأليف هذا الكتاب في اليوم العاشر من شهر ربيع الآخر من سنة إحدى وثلاثين بعد ألفٍ ومائتين عامٍ، ومضى على ذلك سنة واحدة وسبعة أشهرٍ وثلاثة أيّامٍ، وقعتِ المصيبةُ العظيمة، والداهيةُ الجسيمة، لو نزل بعضُها على الأرض لانْصدعتْ، وعلى الجبال لانهدمتْ. وذلك وفاةُ سيّدنا الأجلّ الهُمام، ومولانا الأنبل، القُمْقام الموصوفُ في القرآن العظيم: [﴿ما هذا بشراً إنْ هذا إلاّ ملكٌ كريمٌ﴾، قرآن 12: 31] عبدِ عليّ سيف الدين والهُدى ابن الحيّ المقدّس سيدنا ومولانا زكيّ الدين، أعلى اللهُ قدسهُ، ورزقنا بِرَّهُ وأُنْسَهُ، في يوم الاثنين، يوم الثاني عشر من شهر ذي القعدة من سنة اثنتين وثلاثين بعد الألفِ ومائتين، وقد مضتْ أربعُ ساعاتٍ [...] [continuation of the history].

[150] See A. Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies* (MS I, 146), 1984–1985, vol. 1, pp. 82–83; Gacek has reproduced a xerox copy of the colophon. Probably the narration of those events might have been added later by the scribe.

The book entitled *Muntazaʿ al-aḫbār* was completed with the help of God, the Almighty King, and the substance of His *walī* (*māddat-i waliyyihi*),[151] the master of the pious people, and the benediction of His *ḥuǧǧa*,[152] the *dāʿī* of our time, and the maestro of our affairs (*mālik amrinā*, our master, i. e., to whom we owe unmitigated obedience), *mawlānā* ʿAbd-i ʿAlī [Sayf al-Dīn], the sword of right guidance and faith, the quintessence of our *sayyidnā* and *mawlānā*, the father of all, *šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib Zakiyy al-Dīn—may God elongate his life, and permit us, as well as our mothers and fathers, to be ransomed for his sake. And [may God] fulfill his hopes in his blessed and fortunate son, and perpetuate the radiant *daʿwa* in his progeny until the Day of Judgment, as is the right of our Master Muḥammad and his illustrious progeny! May the Lord of mankind bless them all! Praise be to God, the Benefactor, the Munificent. There is no God except Him, who is Merciful and Compassionate. God bless Muḥammad, the most excellent of the prophets, the Master of the messengers, and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, his plenipotentiary (*waṣī*), the victorious lion of God, and the Imams from their progeny, those from whom God removed all that might be loathsome and purified them to the utmost,[153] and [may God's blesssings be upon] our master and protector Imam Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭayyib,[154] commander of the faithful, and his distinguished progeny, to whom obedience is obligatory. Hence, those who obey them have indeed attained a great victory.

Writing of this book was completed on 10 Rabīʿ II in the year one thousand two hundred and thirty one [1231] following the *hiǧra* of the chosen Prophet, the blessings of the Mighty and much-Forgiving [God] be upon him! God is enough for us! How excellent a Guardian is He![155] And how excellent a Supporter, and how excellent a Guarantor, a much Forgiving [God] is! There is no strength nor power but by means of God, the High, the Great!

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, it is from Him that we seek help! I finished composition of this book on 10 Rabīʿ II in the year one thousand two hundred and thirty one [1231]. Thereafter, one year, seven months, and three days had elapsed and a great calamity and an immense catastrophe occurred, [one so great] that had only part of it befallen the earth it would have cracked, and had only part of it

[151] In Ismāʿīlī terminology it denotes the imam of the time. According to the Šīʿī Ismāʿīlī belief the world cannot last without an Imam's present. Even when there are only two persons on this earth, one has to be the Imam.

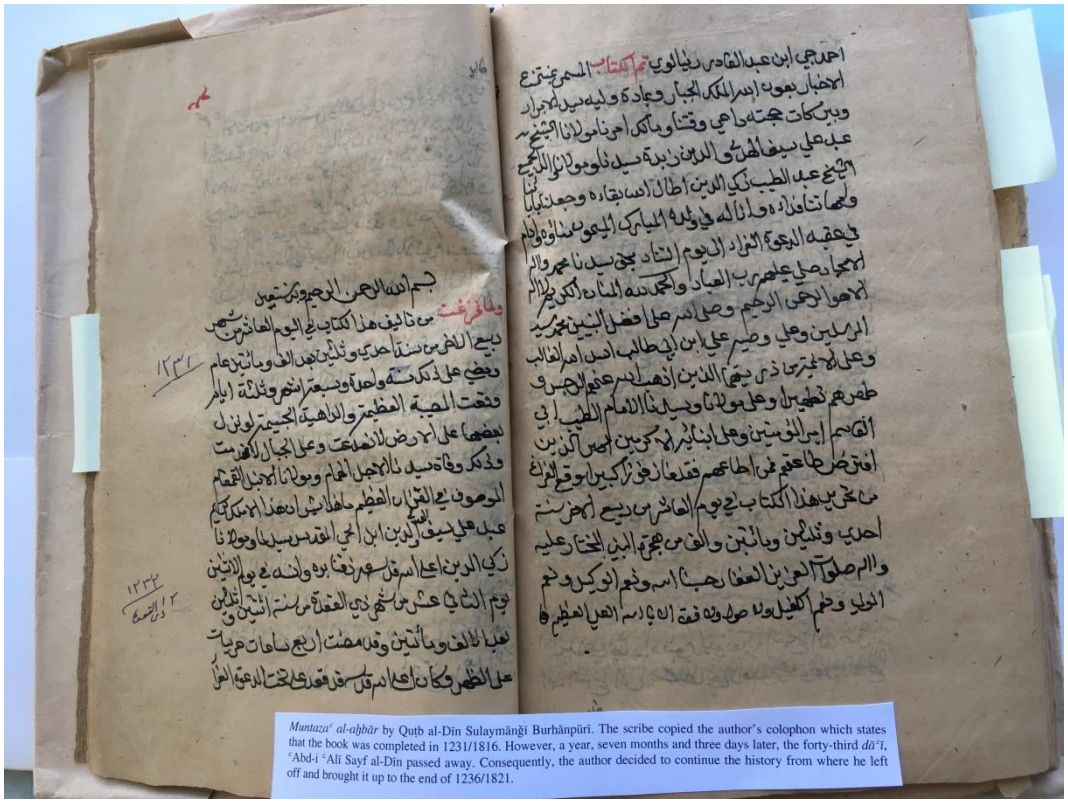
[152] In Ismāʿīlī terminology it meant the proof of God's presence or will, and as such it refers to that person who at any given time served as evidence among mankind of God's will. Generally, it refers to the imam of the time.

[153] It alludes to the Qurʾan 33:33 (*For God only wants to remove from you all that might be loathsome, O you members of the* [*Prophet's*] *household, and to purify you to utmost purity*). *The Message of the Qurʾān*, 2003, p. 724.

[154] According to the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* he was the twenty-first Imam (born in 524/1130), and heir apparent to his father the Caliph-Imam al-Āmir who was murdered by the Nizārīs. Soon after this event the child al-Ṭayyib was taken away into occultation by his supporters. His followers believe that the line of the imamate continues until the promised Mahdī will appear from his progeny.

[155] Qurʾan 3:173.

befallen the mountains they would have come tumbling to the ground! That [calamity] was the death of our sublime and generous master, our noblest lord, for whom an apt description is found in the Qurʾan: "*This is not a mortal; this is nothing but a gracious angel,*"[156] [i. e.,] ʿAbd-i ʿAlī, the sword of faith and guidance [pun on his name Sayf al-Dīn], the son of our living and sanctified master and lord Zakī al-Dīn. May God raise his sanctity, and bestow on us his piety and intimacy! [The copying was completed] on Monday, 12 Ḏū al-Qaʿda, the year one thousand two hundred and thirty two [1232 A. H.], four hours have elapsed since then [...].



Ill. 5. *Muntazaʿ al-aḫbār* by Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymānǧī Burhānpūrī. The scribe copied the author's colophon which states that the book was completed in 1231/1816. However, a year, seven months and three days later, the forty-third *dāʿī*, ʿAbd-i ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn passed away. Consequently, the author decided to continue the history from where he left off and brought it up to the end of 1236/1821.

5. *Al-Mabdaʾ wa-al-maʿād* (*The Beginning and the Return/Hereafter*), ascribed to Abū Yaʿqūb al-Siǧistānī, Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, copied in 1256/1840.[157]

تمّ الكتاب المسمّى بالمبدأ والمعاد بعون الله خالقِ العباد، وبدعاءِ وليّهِ، وداعيهِ، في يوم الأربعاء اليومَ الخامس عشر من شوّال سنةَ 1256 ألفٍ ومائتين وستّةٍ وخمسين من هجرة النبي المختار، ما جنَّ الليلُ

[156] Qurʾan, 12:31.

[157] See I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 89.

وأضاءَ النهارُ. بخطّ أقلّ عبدان داعي الدعاة، وعينِ الحياة، ومعدنِ الخيرات، وشمسِ البركات، حُجّةِ إمام المتّقين، سيّدنا ومولانا عبد القادر نجم الدين، نجل الداعي الأجلّ الأوحد والعَلَم المُفرَد، الراقي إلى أسنى غرفاتِ المُخلّدين، سيّدنا ومولانا طيّب زين الدين، خلّد اللهُ مُلكَهُ إلى يوم الدين، قمر الدين ابن المرحوم ملاّ جلال بهائي ابن نور بهائي ابن موسى جي، مسكنهم في موضع گودهرة.

The book entitled *al-Mabdaʾ wa-al-maʿād* was finished with the help of God, the Creator of human beings, and with the prayers of His *walī* and the *dāʿī*, on Wednesday 15 Šawwāl in the year one thousand two hundred and fifty six [1256] following the *hiǧra* of the Chosen Prophet, [may God's blessings be upon him] as long as the night conceals and the day illuminates, by means of the handwriting of Qamar al-Dīn, son of the late *mullā* Ǧalālbhāʾī, son of Nūrbhāʾi, son of Mūsāǧī, residents of Godhra, that most insignificant of servants of the chief *dāʿī*, wellspring of life, mine of good things, sun of blessings, the servant, *ḫuǧǧa* of the imam of the pious, our master, our lord ʿAbd al-Qādir Naǧm al-Dīn, son of the greater, unique *dāʿī*, the solitary guidepost, aspirant to the most radiant chambers [reserved for] the immortals, our master and lord Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn. May God perpetuate his rule until the Day of Judgment!

6. Rasāʾil Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ, vol. 1 (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity), Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, copied in 1265/1849.[158]

وقع الفراغ من انتساخ هذا القسم الشريف[159] [القسم الأول من إخوان الصفا[ء]] يوم الثلاثاء بعد صلاة الظهر، الثاني عشر من شهر جمادى الأولى من سنة خمسٍ وستّين ومائتين وألفٍ من هجرة النبيّ المختار، صلّى الله عليه وآله الأطهار، في موضع بهوپال، في وقت سيّدنا ومولانا عبد القادر نجم الدين، خلّد اللهُ سلطانهُ إلى أبد الآبدين، بخطّ أقلّ عبدانهِ شرف عليّ ابن ملاّ يوسف جي خيرغوني، وفّقهُ اللهُ لمرضاتهِ بمحمّدٍ وآله.

Transcription of this illustrious portion [i. e., vol. 1 of the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*] was completed on Tuesday, after the midday prayer, 12 Ǧumāda I, in the year one thousand two hundred and sixty five [1265] following the *hiǧra* of the chosen Prophet [Muḥammad], God bless him and his pure descendants, in the [city of] of Bhopal, during the time of our Master (*sayyidnā*) and Patron (*mawlānā*) ʿAbd al-Qādir Naǧm al-Dīn, may God perpetuate his authority forever and ever, in the hand writing of [his *dāʿī*'s] lowliest servant Šaraf ʿAlī, the son of *mullā* Yūsufǧī Ḫayrǧūnī. May God give him success in [attaining] His pleasure [with the intercession of] Muḥammad and his progeny!

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[158] For the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, see I. K. Poonawala, "Why We Need an Arabic Critical Edition with an Annotated English Translation of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*," 2008.

[159] In the Islamic manuscript tradition the following phrases are also common before or after the title of the book:

النسخة الشريفة، أو المباركة، أو الميمونة، أو هذا الكتاب المستطاب المسمّى.

(The sacred copy; the blessed copy; the auspicious copy, this delightful book entitled).

7. *Kitāb iftitāḥ al-daʿwa wa-ibtidāʾ al-dawla* (The Beginning of the Mission and the Establishment of the State) by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿman, Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, copied in 1267/1851.[160]

تمّ الكتاب بحمد الله وعونهِ، ومادّة وليّهِ، عليه السلام، في وقت سيّدنا ومولانا، وهادينا وراعـ[ـيـ]ـنا ومُرشدُنا ومُنعِمُنا، وبابُ نجاتنا، سيّدنا ومولانا عبد القادر نجم الدين ابن سيّدنا طيّب زين الدين، طوّل الله عمرهُ إلى يوم الدين، بخطّ الفقير المحتاج إلى رحمة الله ،كريم ابن إبراهيم ابن نوربهائي ساكن گودهر.

غفر الإلـــهُ ذنوبَ هذا ساطـرٍ وذنـوبَ قاريـه معـاً والنـاظـرِ

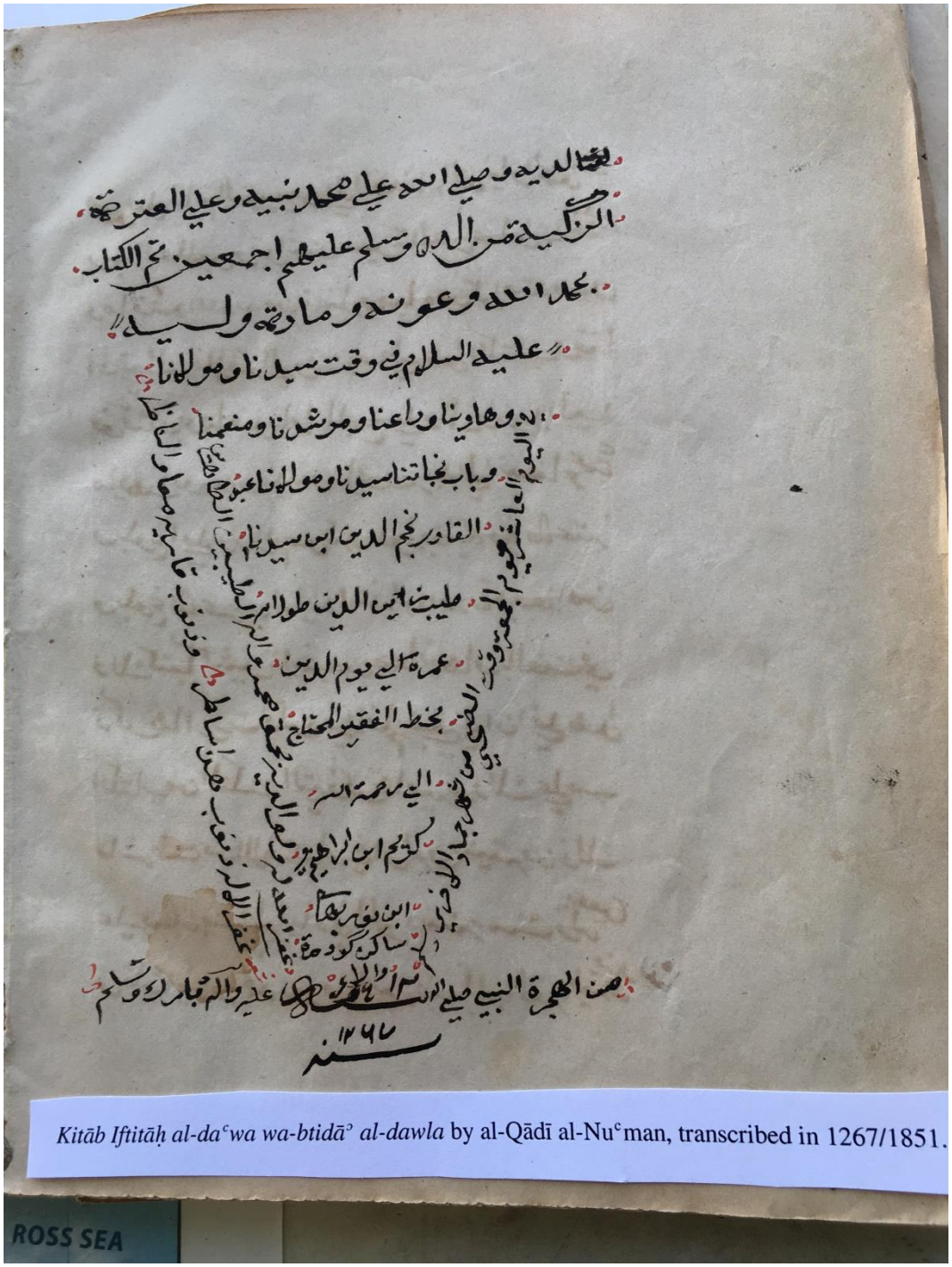
في اليوم العاشر يومَ الجمعة، وقتَ الضحى، من شهر جماد[ى] الأخرى سنة 1267 من الهجرة النبي (هكذا)، صلّى الله عليه وآله، تبارك وتسلّم.

The book was completed with God's favor and assistance, and [with the assistance of] the substance of His *walī*, peace be on him, during the time of our master, our lord, our guide to the right way, our shepherd, our spiritual example, our benefactor, the gate of our redemption, *sayyidnā* and *mawlānā* ʿAbd al-Qādir Nağm al-Dīn, son of *sayyidnā* Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn, may God extend his life until the Day of Judgment, in the hand-writing of poor man in need of God's mercy Karīm, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Nūrbhāʾī, resident of Godhra.

May God forgive the sins of this scribe

And the sins of [this book's] reader as well as the one who glances over it.

[160] I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, pp. 58–59. W. al-Qāḍī edited it first in 1970 under the title *Risālat iftitāḥ al-daʿwa* with the subtitle *Risāla fī ẓuhūr al-daʿwa al-ʿUbaydiyya al-Fāṭimiyya*, 1970. The word *Risāla*, instead of *Kitāb*, in the title is incorrect and she did not explain from what source it is derived. Farḥāt al-Dašrāwī (Farhat Dachraoui), as stated in the introduction, had completed a critical edition of the *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa* in 1961, but was published from Tunis, STD, in 1975. This edition is superior and the editor has divided the Arabic text into paragraphs, giving analytical summary of each paragraph in French. ʿĀrif Tāmir edited the *Iftitāh* in 1996, and Ḥusām Ḫuḍūr also edited it. In 2006, Hamid Haji published the *Iftitāḥ*'s English translation with annotation. For details see I. K. Poonawala, "The Chronology of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's Works," 2018, pp. 130–134.



Ill. 6. *Kitāb iftitāḥ al-daʿwa wa-ibtidāʾ al-dawla* by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿman, transcribed in 1267/1851.

8. *Kitāb al-muntaḫaba*, or *Al-urǧūza al-muntaḫaba* (*The Selected Poem* [*on jurisprudence*]) by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān,[161] Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn.

The date of transcription is not given, but the scribe, who copied a number of books for ʿAbd al-Qādir Naǧm al-Dīn and expressing his intention to copy more books, implores the *nāẓim dāʿī* (an administrative chief without spiritual authority)[162] to provide him with enough sustenance to feed his family and young children. This colophon is quite unique in this respect and it reads:

هذا الكتاب من كتبِ[163] عبدِ سيّدنا عبدِ القادر نجم الدين، أطال الله عمرهُ، التي كتبها[164] عبدُ القادر بن ماما جعفر جي بن نور بهائی بن قاسم جي بن آدم خانجي، ساكن إسلام پوره، لأنْ يرضى عليَّ سيّدنا ومولانا، أطال الله عمرهُ، وعزمتُ [...] سيّدنا ومولانا، أطال الله عمرهُ، بكتابة خزانةٍ واحدةٍ من أوّلها إلى آخرها، إن شاء الله تع [تعالى] حقّاً حقّاً، وفرضتُ على نفسي حتماً واجباً، ورجوتُ سيّدنا، وأسألهُ أنْ يعتق رقابي في الدنيا والآخرة، وأنْ يرزقني بما تيسَّر لي، ولأولادي وأهلي، ممّا نكتفي بالحُزْمة والعُدّة. وبعد هذا أعرض لمولانا، أطال الله عمرهُ، أنْ يرزق أولادي وأهلي بما يكتفوهُ بعدي، لا يحتاجون بعد موتي، وأنّهم صغيرٌ صغيرٌ. وأسأل مولانا بحرمة محمّدٍ وآله، وبحرمة أهل بيت،[165] سيّدنا أطال الله عمرهم، وبحرمة الخزانة والكتب التي كتبتُها، آمين، آمين. والحمد لله ربّ العالمين، والصلاة على رسوله سيّدنا محمّدٍ وآله الطاهرين، وأسأل مولانا، أطال الله عمرهُ، أنْ يذخر هذا المكتوب في الكتب الحضرة العالية، ويقرأ هناك [...].

This book belongs to the books of the servant of our master ʿAbd al-Qādir Naǧm al-Dīn, (may God prolong his life!), that were copied by ʿAbd al-Qādir, the son of Māmā Ǧaʿfarǧī, the son of Nūrbhāʾī, the son of Qāsimǧī, the son of Ādam Ḥānǧī, resident of Islāmpūra (i. e., Rampur), so that our master and lord, may God extend his life, might be pleased with me! Certainly, I intend to copy, God willing, the whole collection [of ʿAbd al-Qādir] from its beginning to the end. I have taken this [task] upon myself as an unmitigated obligation and I prayed that my master look kindly upon my request to emancipate me from [punishment] in this [world] and the next and to provide me with a means of subsistence that would be enough for me, my family and my children to [live] with respect and dignity and readiness [of provision]. I also propose to our *mawlānā*, may God extend his life, to make enough provision for my children and family that would suffice them after my death such that [they] would not need [to extend their hands to anyone] following my death, [as my children] are very little. This I ask

[161] See I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 53; I. K. Poonawala, "The Chronology of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's Works," 2018, pp. 112–113.

[162] Ibid., p. 14, for the details of a serious crisis that threatened the very existence of the Dāʾūdī Bohras.

[163] In the original it incorrectly reads: كتوت.

[164] In the original it incorrectly reads: كتبهم.

[165] The same turn of phrases occur in the Arabic manuscript tradition, such as:

بحرمة محمّد/بحرمة حبيبه، سيّد الأنام؛ بحرمة سيّد الأنبياء والمرسلين؛ بحقّ النبي الكريم.

(By the sanctity of Muḥammad/by the sanctity of His beloved, the Master of Creation; by the sanctity of the master of prophets and messengers; by the [intercessory] right of the noble Prophet).

our *mawlānā* [ʿAbd al-Qādir], may God elongate his life, and in hope that the sacrosanctity of Muḥammad and his progeny, that of the Prophet's house (*Ahl al-Bayt*), as well as that of the books I copied, will intercede on my behalf. Amen, Amen! [...] I pray that our *mawlāna*, will store this writing among the books [chosen for] his exalted presence and that he might read of it.

9. Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Al-urǧūza al-muḫtāra* (*The Chosen Poem* [*on the imamate*]),[166] Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, colophon by the manuscript's owner concerning his bequest for the book reads:

وإنّي وقفتُ هذه النسخة على نفسي مدّةَ حياتي، وعلى مَن صَلُحَ مِن قرابتي بعد وفاتي. وجعلتُ أمْرَها بعد الانتقال إلى مولايَ، وليّ اللهِ، المفيدِ الأوّاب الأوّاه، داعي الله الأمين، نائبِ أمير المؤمنين، سيّدنا ومولانا نجم الدين، نجل الداعي الوضيء الرضيّ المُرْضيّ مولانا وسيّدنا طيّب زين الدين، آنس اللهُ الدينَ والدنيا، بطولِ حياتهِ، كما آنسَ روحهُ القدسيّة بالسعي في طلب مرضاتهِ، أنْ يرى في القرابة مَن يصلَح لها، وإلاّ ضمَّها إليه، وأبقاها، ليقرأَ فيها أهلُها، راجياً بذلك جزيلَ الثوابِ، والفوزَ في المرجع والمآبِ. وصلّى الله على خيرِ الأنجاب، محمّدٍ وآله الأطهار والأطياب.

I have bequeathed this manuscript to myself as an endowment during my lifespan, and after my death to the one of my kinship who is suitable [to benefit from it]. [However, unable to find an appropriate candidate from his relatives, he stated that] following my departure to my Lord I have left this task [of finding a deserving relative] to my master, the *walī* of God, my penitent and wailing teacher, the trustworthy missionary [who summons people to God], the deputy of the Commander of the Faithful [ʿAlī], our master and lord Naǧm al-Dīn, the son of our master and lord, the pure, the one with whom God is pleased and who, in turn, is pleased with God, Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn, may God give reassurance to both the faith and this world by granting him a long life, just as He gave reassurance to his holy soul as he sought His pleasure, and that he finds among my kinship one who is worthy to have [this manuscript], and if not he should annex it to his [collection] and keep it there so that the deserving might read it. I hope, with this [act] to attain good reward and success in the hereafter! God bless the best of the noble breed, Muḥammad and his pure and best progeny!

[166] The late A. A. A. Fyzee kindly gave this manuscript to me when I was engaged in its critical edition. Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Al-urǧūza al-muḫtāra*, 1970, pp. 22–23; I. K. Poonawala, "The Chronology of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's Works," 2018, pp. 114–115.

10. *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* (*Warning to the Heedless*) by Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī,[167] Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, transcribed in 1317/1899 for his teacher in the *dars* of Sir Ādamǧī Pīrbhāʾī.[168]

قد وقع الفراغ من هذه النسخة الميمونة المباركة المسمّية "تنبيه الغافلين" في اليوم الثالث عشر، في يوم الأحد، من شهر ربيع الآخر سنةَ 1317 [من] هجرة النبي، صاحب القرآن، صلّى الله عليه وآله، خير الإنس والجانّ، بتوفيق المنّان، بيد القاصر الحقير الراجي رحمةَ الله الغافر، شمس الدين ابن علي بهائي ابن آدم جي ساكن دهندهوكا في درس الرئيس آدم جي ابن فير بهائي، زاد اللهُ في مالهِ وفي عمرهِ، في وقت سيّدنا محمد برهان الدين ابن سيّدنا نجم الدين، أطال الله عمرهُ. والحمد لله ربِّ العالمين، والصلاة والسلام على محمّدٍ وآله غُرّ الميامين. تمّت تمام. كاتب شمس الدين ابن علي بهائي، للمعلّم الفقيه، الفصيح، العاقل، الفاضل، الشفيق، ملاّ أحمد علي ابن الشيخ الفاضل عبد الطيّب، سلّمه اللهُ تعالى من حوادث الزمانِ.

يلوح الخطُّ في القرطاس دهراً وكاتبهُ رميمٌ في التـرابِ

This auspicious and hallowed copy entitled *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* (*Warning to the Careless*) was completed on Sunday, the thirteenth of Rabīʿ II, in the year one thousand three hundred and seventeen [1317] following the *hiǧra* of the Prophet, the bearer of the Qurʾan, and the best among mankind and *ǧinn* (invisible beings), God bless him and his progeny. [It was completed] with the good luck of the Benefactor at the hand of that despicable incompetent who can only hope for the mercy of a Forgiving God, Šams al-Dīn, son of ʿAlībhāʾī, son of Ādamǧī, resident of Dhandhuka during the *dars* of the *raʾīs* Adamǧī, son of Fīrbhāʾī (Pīrbhāʾī), may God extend his life and increase his wealth, during the time of *sayyidnā* Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, son of *sayyidnā* Naǧm al-Dīn, may God prolong his life! Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Beings. Blessings and peace be on Muḥammad and on his fine and blessed progeny! The copying is completed. The scribe is Šams al-Dīn, son of ʿAlībhāʾī [transcribed] for the teacher, an

[167] I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 153.

[168] Ādamǧī Pīrbhāʾī (also spelled as Adamǧi Peerbhoy) was born in 1846, at Dhoraji, in Kathiawar. His parents were poor. They were therefore unable to give him more than an elementary education. He was, however, endowed with strong commercial proclivities. Eventually, he induced his parents to move to the burgeoning new city of Bombay which was growing rapidly under the British rule. He succeeded in obtaining government contracts and built up his reputation for honesty and reliability. Soon he was able to secure contracts of greater lucrativity and established himself as an entrepreneur with an army of laborers in manufacturing factories. He was the first Bohra to be appointed as a Justice of the Peace, to receive the honor of being selected the Sheriff of Bombay and to be awarded the title of Sir by the British government. He was a self-made man and spent an enormous amount of his vast wealth for charitable purposes, helping not only the Bohras but also other communities during times of famine and natural disasters. In Kathiawar he opened twenty-seven *madrasa*s (schools) in different towns and cities. In Bombay he built a sanitorium for the use of his community, along with a charitable medical dispensary. He also started a boarding and lodging *madrasa* for boys where religious education, along with study, in Arabic and Islamic history was provided. He is known in the community as a great philanthropist. He died on 13 August 1913. It is a great irony that the present posh residence of the Mullāǧī, known as the Sayfī Maḥal on the Malabar Hills overlooking the Indian Ocean, was originally Ādamǧī's residence. It was acquired by Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn through crooked maneuvers. *Life Sketch of Sir Adamji Peerboy*, by A. A. Jasdenwala (unpublished typescript obtained through private correspondence).

expert in jurisprudence, the intelligent, virtuous and compassionate *mullā* Aḥmad ʿAlī, son of the outstanding *šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib—may God protect him from the vagaries of time!

The written word will shine on the paper for a long stretch of time
While the one who inscribed it is decaying in the ground.

11. *Dīwān* of Sayyidnā ʿAbd Allāh, Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, transcribed in 1331/1913.[169]

قد تمّت الديوانُ بعون الله، وبعون وليّهِ الزمان، في اليوم السابع من شهر ذي الحجّة في سنة إحدى وثلاثين وثلاثمائةٍ بعد الألف من الهجرة النبويّة، سلام الله على النبيّ وعلى وصيّهِ، وعلى ولديهما الطيّبين الطاهرين، صلوات الله ورحمة الله عليهم أجمعين، بخطّ الحقير صادق ابن ملاّ عبد العليّ، حفظهما الله تعالى من أسوءِ الزمان، ساكن أوديپور، كتبتُ لرجب عليّ ابن ملاّ إبراهيم، ساكن شوپوري [سدهپور].

[Copying of] the *Dīwān* [of Sayyidnā ʿAbd Allāh] was completed with God's help and the help of His *walī* of the time, on 7 Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa in the year one thousand three hundred and thirty one [1331] following the *hiǧra* of the Prophet. Peace be on the Prophet and on his executor (*waṣī*), and on their two noble and pure sons [Ḥasan and Ḥusayn]. May the blessings and mercy of God be on all of them! [Copying was done] in the handwriting of the despicable one Ṣādiq, the son of *mullā* ʿAbd al-ʿAlī, may God protect them from worse times, [who is a] resident of Udaipur. I transcribed it for Rağab ʿAlī, the son of *mullā* Ibrāhīm, who resides in Šopūr [Sidhpur or Šahpur?].

12. *Dīwān* of Sayyidnā al-Ḫaṭṭāb[170] (attached to the above *Dīwān*).

تمّت تمام شُدْ. قد فرغتُ من هذا الديوان لسيّدنا ومولانا الخطّاب في إحدى وعشرين من ذي الحجّة بعد ألفٍ ثلاثمائةٍ واحدى ثلاثين من هجرة النبويّة الشريفة، بخطّ الحقير صادق عليّ ابن ملاّ عبد العلي، ساكن أوديپور، كتبتُ لرجب عليّ ابن ملاّ إبراهيم، ساكن بشوپور.

It is completed. I finished [transcribing] this *Dīwān* of our *sayyidnā* and *mawlānā* al-Ḫaṭṭāb on 21 Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa in the year one thousand three hundred and thirty one [1331] following the august *hiǧra* of the Prophet. [Transcription was done] in the handwriting of the despicable one Ṣādiq ʿAlī, the son of *mullā* ʿAbd al-ʿAlī, resident of Udaipur. I transcribed it for Rağab ʿAlī, the son of *mullā* Ibrāhīm, who resides in Šopūr [Sidhpur or Šahpur?].

[169] ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan (d. 886/1481) was a nephew of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn. I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, pp. 175–176.

[170] This *Dīwān* is edited by I. K. Poonawala, *Al-Sulṭān al-Ḫaṭṭāb*, 1999.

13. *Risālat ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm wa-miṣbaḥ al-ʿulūm* (The Treatise on the Brightness of Intelligence and the Lamp of Knowledge) by ʿAlī b. Ḥanẓala, Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, copied in 1333/1915.[171]

فرغتُ من تحرير هذه الرسالة الموسومة بـ"ضياء الحلوم ومصابيح العلوم" في اليوم الرابع المعروف بالثاني من شهر ذي الحجّة من هجرة النبي المختار، صلى الله عليه وآله الأبرار، سنةَ 1333، في عصر سيدنا ومولانا طاهر سيف الدين ابن سيدنا ومولانا محمد برهان الدين، خلّد اللهُ ملكهُ إلى أبد الآبدين، بخطّ الفقير، المسكين، المحتاج إلى رحمة ربِّ العالمين، الراجي لفضل اللهِ الملك الحقّ المبين، ملاّ عبد القيّوم ابن الماجد ولي بهائي، ثبّتنا اللهُ على طاعته، وطاعةِ إمام الزمان وحدودهِ، بحقّ محمدٍ وآله الطاهرين، صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين.

I have completed copying this treatise titled *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥulūm wa-miṣbaḥ al-ʿulūm* on Wednesday known as the second of Ḍū al-Ḥiǧǧa following the migration of the chosen Prophet, may God bless him and his pious progeny, in the year one thousand three hundred and thirty three [1333], during the time of *sayyidnā* and *mawlānā* Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, son of *sayyidnā* and *mawlānā* Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, may God perpetuate his reign forever and ever, in the handwriting of humble, poor soul desperate for the mercy of the Lord of all being, the one hopeful of kindness from God—the King, the Real, the Apparent—*mullā* ʿAbd al-Qayyūm, son of the illustrious Walībhāʾī, may God make fast our obedience to Him, and to the imam of the time and his coterie who holds various ranks within the *daʿwa* hierarchy, and in hope that Muḥammad and his pure progeny exercise their right to intercede on my behalf. God's blessings be upon them all!

14. *Rāḥat al-ʿaql* (*The Intellect's Repose*), by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. after 411/1020–1021), Collection of *mullā* Qurbān Ḥusayn, copied in 1341/1922.[172]

تمّ الكتاب المبارك الميمون الأكمل، الموسوم بـراحة العقل، بعون الله تعالى، في اليوم السادس، يوم الاثنين، من شهر المحرّم في سنة الحادية والأربعين وثلاثمائةٍ بعد الألفِ من الهجرة النبويّة، صلّى الله عليه، في وقت سيّدنا طاهر سيف الدين، نجل سيّدنا برهان الدين، أطال الله عمرهُ إلى يوم الدين، بخطّ الأحقر شيخ آدم ابن حسن علي ابن عبدو بهائي ابن كريم ابن نور بهائي ابن موسى جي، ساكن قرية گودهرا، ثبتّهُ اللهُ تعالى على طاعته، وطاعة رسولهِ، وطاعة أولي الأمرِ، الإمام ابن الإمام الطيّب أبي القاسم، أمير المؤمنين، وحدوده صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين.

The auspicious, hallowed and most comprehensive book titled *Rāḥat al-ʿaql* was completed with the help of God, the High, on Monday, 6 Muḥarram in the year one thousand three hundred and forty one [1341] following the Prophetic *hiǧra*, God's blessing

[171] I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, pp. 162–163.

[172] I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 96. 9. *Rāḥat al-ʿaql* has been edited twice: i), ed. by M. K. Ḥusayn & M. M. Ḥilmī, 1952; ii), ed. by M. Ġālib, 1967. Also translated into French by D. de Smet, *La quiétude de l'intellect*, 1995.

be on him, during the time of *sayyidnā* Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, son of *sayyidnā* Burhān al-Dīn, may God extend his life until the Day of Judgment. It was written by the most despicable *šayḫ* Ādam, son of Ḥasan ʿAlī, son of ʿAbdūbhāʾī, son of Karīm, son of Nūrbhāʾī, son of Mūsāǧī, resident of the town Godhra. May God confirm him in obedience to Him, and obedience to His Messenger and those in authority among the believers (*ūlī al-amr*),[173] the Imam, son of the Imam, al-Ṭayyib Abī al-Qāsim, the Commander of the Faithful, and the various ranks of his *daʿwa* hierarchy (*ḥudūd*).[174] Blessing of God on them all!

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[173] Reference to the Qurʾan 4:59. Muslim exegetes differ on the interpretation of "*those of you who have authority*," The Šīʿī interpretation is that it refers to the Imams.

[174] For the term *ḥudūd* or *ḥudūd al-daʿwa*, see I. K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, 1977, p. 376.

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NOTE SUR LE MARCHE DES CORANS RASSOULIDES : CATALOGUE

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Résumé

Cette note fait le point sur le marché des corans rassoulides en période de conflit au Yémen.

Abstract

This note gives an update on the market in Rasūlid qur'ans during the conflict in Yemen.

خلاصة

يبتحدث هذا المقال القصير عن بيع وشراء نسخ من القرآن من عصر دولة بني رسول، خلال فترة الصراع في اليمن.

Mots-clés

corans, rassoulide, Yémen, marché, commerce de l'art, salles de vente, patrimoine en période de conflit

Keywords

qur'ans, Rasūlid, Yemen, market, art-market, auction houses, heritage in a period of conflict

تعابر رئسية

القرآن، بنو رسول، اليمن، سوق، سوق الفنون، قاعة المزايدة، التراث في فترة الصراع

La mise aux enchères en 2019 par la salle des ventes Christie's, à Londres, d'un feuillet de Coran rassoulide[1] rend nécessaire un point sur le marché de l'art en relation avec l'état de nos connaissances de ces corans.

L'existence de réseaux organisés pour l'acquisition de manuscrits au départ des terres yéménites n'est pas un phénomène nouveau, de même que la mise en place d'actions institutionnelles pour leur contrôle par les Yéménites. Il est possible d'avancer, sans prendre trop de risques, que les manuscrits du Yémen ont été massivement copiés par des lettrés pour des lettrés. Les « beaux manuscrits », enluminés, à frontispice, savemment rubriqués ou rutilants d'or, sont donc une minorité. Avant le Printemps arabe, ces pièces d'exception quittaient le pays par une voie différente des circuits

[1] Mes vifs remerciements à l'antenne de l'UNESCO/Doha pour me l'avoir signalé. Ma gratitude va à Sana Mirza (The Institute of Fine Arts, Université de New York) pour nos échanges bibliographiques et à Jan Thiele pour son aide dans la rédaction de la note 9.

« ordinaires ». Cela permettait d'en inférer une clientèle différente, comprenant des Occidentaux.

Depuis 2014, le patrimoine culturel manuscrit du Yémen se doit cependant d'être analysé comme patrimoine en contexte de conflit, sur fond de situation économique et sanitaire dégradée, dans une partie du pays où la densité de la population est la plus importante. Pillages et actes de contrebande organisés ou individuels, qu'il s'agisse de manuscrits ou de pièces archéologiques, se sont multipliés et les circuits d'évasion se sont stratégiquement adaptés à la nouvelle donne de la guerre ou ont évolué avec elle. Ils ont suivi aussi l'évolution technologique et les possibilités offertes par la toile.

En contexte de conflit, la traçabilité de l'histoire d'un manuscrit devient d'autant plus difficile à réaliser qu'elle est indicible. Ce court catalogue annoté, probablement non-exhaustif, représente, nous l'espérons une première contribution au décryptage du marché des corans rassoulides.

I. Christie's Londres

1.

Le Coran de la vente Christie's était décrit sur sa fiche électronique par sa provenance, le Yémen du xive s. Il était accompagné d'une illustration. Le lien, encore actif durant les deux à trois premières semaines de mai 2019, ne l'est en effet plus au moment où nous rédigeons, cad la fin mai,

> https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/books-manuscripts/quran-juz-rasulid-yemen-14th-century-6195210-details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=6195210&sid=599330b6-8dc8-4a75-b7e7-c186c63cd63a

2 & 3.

Le 27 avril 2017, Christie's Londres avait déjà mis en vente plusieurs feuillets de corans rassoulides[2],

> 2. lot 11, « Four folios from a Rasulid Qur'an. Probably Yemen, 1st half of 14th century », images de trois feuillets seulement, pixellise rapidement,
>
> https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/four-folios-from-a-rasulid-quran-probably-6065356-details.aspx
>
> Dim. feuillet : 15 ½ × 12 ½ inch (39 × 31,4 cm).
>
> Arabic manuscript on paper, each folio with 13ll., the first and last in very strong black *thuluth* outlined in gold, the central line in gold *thuluth* outlined in black, the other 10ll. arranged in two blocks of 5ll., each of very strong *naskh*, each folio with at least one *sura* heading illuminated and extensively gilt, mounted.

[2] Catalogue de vente en ligne *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds Including Oriental Rugs and Carpets*, 27 avril 2017.

3. lot 28, « Qurʾan Juzʾ XXI. Rasulid Yemen, 15th century », trois images : feuillet liminaire du *ǧuzʾ* avec titre de propriété illisible ; bifeuillet avec sourates 30, al-Rūm, v. 57-60, à 31, Luqmān, v. 1-4 ; plat supérieur de la reliure,

https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/quran-juz-xxi-rasulid-yemen-15th-century-6065374-details.aspx

Selon l'annotation à l'encre noire en marge supérieure, il s'agit du *ǧuzʾ* XXI, mais dans le cartouche de la partie enluminée, du *ǧuzʾ* XXII.

Dim. feuillets : 7 1/8 × 4 ¾ inches (18,1 × 12 cm).

Arabic manuscript on buff paper, 35ff. plus one fly-leaf, each folio with 6ll. of large flowing *naskh*, red diacritics, clusters of three gold dots marking verses, three *sura* headings in loose gold *naskh*, opening folio with gold and polychrome carpet page framing title, some staining to margins, in brown morocco stamped with elaborate cruciform motif, doublures stamped with central medallion within calligraphic frame.

II. Sotheby's Londres & Paris

4.

Son célèbre confrère, Sotheby's Londres, a lui aussi mis aux enchères, le 1er mai 2019[3],

lot 16, « A large illuminated Qurʾan in two volumes, Egypt or Yemen, Mamluk or Rasulid, 15th century », deux images : bifeuillet avec sourate al-Fātiḥa, complète, et 2, al-Baqara, v. 1-4 ; bifeuillet avec sourates 9, al-Tūba, v. 127-129, et 10, Yūnīs, v. 1-7,

http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2019/arts-of-the-islamic-world-l19220/lot.16.html

Dim. feuillets : 27,6 × 18,5 cm.

Arabic manuscript on pink and cream papers, two volumes, 202 and 197 leaves each, 13 lines to the page, written in neat *naskh* in black ink, diacritics in red, ruled in gold, red and blue, verses separated by triple inverted comma-like markers in blue, surah headings in large blue *thuluth*, margins with extensive commentaries in red and blue and occasional purple and green, f.13b and 14a with illuminated double page, in later brown Mamluk-style binding.

5.

Chez Sotheby's Paris, le 23 octobre 2014, le catalogue annonçait[4] :

lot 3, « Section de coran mamlouke (Juzʿ) Égypte, XIVème siècle. An ink and gold on paper Mamluk Juzʿ, Egypt or Syria, 14th century », une image : feuillet liminaire du *ǧuzʾ*, avec titre de propriété,

http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/art-orientaliste-islam-pf1419/lot.3.html

[3] Catalogue de vente en ligne *Arts of the Islamic World including fine rugs and carpets*, 01 mai 2019.

[4] Catalogue de vente en ligne *Regards sur l'Orient – Tableaux et sculptures orientalistes et art islamique*, 23 octobre 2014.

Selon l'annotation à l'encre noire en marge supérieure, il s'agit du *ǧuz'* XIX, mais dans le cartouche de la partie enluminée, du *ǧuz'* XX.

> Dim. feuillet : 18 × 13,5 cm ; 7 1/4 × 5 3/4 inches.
>
> Trente-sept pages, six lignes de texte coranique par page, écrites à l'encre noire, rouge et blanche, en *muhaqqaq*, première page enluminée à l'or et en polychromie, le numéro de *juz'*, erroné, vingtième au lieu de dix-neuvième, indiqué dans un cartouche trilobé, flanqué de demi-disques, au centre, un quadrilobe inscrit du nom du propriétaire : Badr al-Din Hasan Muhammad ibn [?], les versets séparés par des motifs en virgules, les titres des sourates inscrits à l'or, reliure à rabat en maroquin rouge-brun décor poinçonné sur un fond de rinceaux ; restaurations, les marges coupées.

6 & 7.

Le catalogue Sotheby's Londres du 25 october 2017 comptait deux corans rassoulides[5] :

> 6. Lot 20, « An illuminated Qur'an juz' (XXV), Near East or Yemen, Mamluk, 14th century », une image : feuillet liminaire avec titre de propriété très partiel,
>
> http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/arts-of-the-islamic-world-l17223/lot.20.html
>
> Dim. feuillets : 18 × 12,7 cm.
>
> Arabic manuscript on paper, 32 leaves plus 2 later folios, 6 lines to the page, written in fine naskh script in black ink, verses separated by three pointed gold dots, surah headings written in gold thuluth outlined in black, opening gold and polychrome frontispiece, in brown morocco binding stamped with flap.

> 7. Lot 21, « An illuminated Qur'an juz' (XVIII), Near East or Yemen, Mamluk, 14th century », une image : feuillet liminaire avec titre de propriété très partiel,
>
> http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/arts-of-the-islamic-world-l17223/lot.21.html

Selon l'annotation à l'encre noire en marge supérieure, il s'agit du *ǧuz'* XVIII, mais dans le cartouche de la partie enluminée, du *ǧuz'* XIX.

> Dim. feuillets : 18 × 12,7 cm.
>
> Arabic manuscript on paper, 36 leaves, 6 lines to the page, written in fine *naskh* script in black ink, verses separated by three pointed gold dots, surah headings written in gold *thuluth* outlined in black, opening gold and polychrome frontispiece, in brown stamped and tooled morocco binding.
>
> Catalogue note: (…). At the end of the juz', there is a photocopy of the original colophon at the end of the final volume of the Qur'an. The colophon states that it was copied by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karim ibn Radwan ibn ʿabd al-Ghaziz al-Mosuli on Tuesday 29 Ramadan 727 AH/8 August 1327 AD. The scribe is recorded as being born in Balbek in 1300 AD, educated in Damascus and Trablus, and is known for having studied jurisprudence. He died in 1372 AD. (…).

[5] Catalogue de vente en ligne *Arts of the Islamic World*, 25 octobre 2017.

Le décor des plats est comparé à un manuscrit de la Chester Beatty Library, B. Moritz coll. 66, attribué à l'Arabie Saoudite des xive-xve s., citant à l'appui : Gulnar Bosch, John Carswell & Guy Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings & Bookmaking, exhibition catalogue*, Chicago, 1981, cat. 10, p. 98-99 ; voir la notice suivante.

Selon la notice, ces deux sections de Coran, ainsi que les *ǧuz'*s XXI vendu par Christie's Londres, le 27 avril 2017, lot 28, et XIX offert par Sotheby's Paris, le 23 octobre 2014, lot 3, appartiennent au même Coran.

III. Biblio.com

8.

Sur le site Biblio.com, se trouvait en vente à la fin mai 2019, un Coran rassoulide,

> « Rasulid Yemen Qur'an juz' XIX from the 14th or 15th c. », huit images, dont : feuillet liminaire du *ǧuz'*, *waqfiyya* ; trois images de reliure, dont deux montrent les plats supérieurs et inférieurs,
>
> https://www.biblio.com/book/rasuld-yemen-quran-juz-xx-14th/d/969127701
>
> Arabic manuscript on buff paper, each folio with 6ll. of large flowing naskh, red diacritics, clusters of three gold dots marking verses, three sura headings in loose gold naskh, opening folio with gold and polychrome carpet page framing title, some staining to margins, in contemporary brown morocco stamped with elaborate cruciform motif, doublures stamped with central medallion within calligraphic frame.

Ce site sert d'interface entre vendeurs et clients. Le vendeur de ce Coran est la Société anonyme Archive, 24 Al Jazeera st. Olaya district, Riyadh 11513, Arabie Saoudite ; elle est membre du site depuis 2008.

Les informations tirées de l'examen de la reliure, bien conservée (18 × 13 cm), occupent la moitié de la notice. Décrit par un historien de l'art, son décor est comparé à un manuscrit de Dublin et l'inscription, à un manuscrit fameux de la collection Khalili (QUR 525) :

> Complete binding with flap. (…) The composition of its decoration is arranged around a central quatrefoil. Four untooled fleur-de-lys rise from this quatrefoil to form a large lozenge or four-pointed star. The points of this star encroach on the rectangular borders of the cover whilst stylized palmettes, also untooled, fill in the spandrels. These motifs are silhouetted against a densely textured ground of stamped ringlets. A very close comparable example is provided by a 14th or 15th century South Arabian bookcover in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Gulnar Bosch, John Carswell, Guy Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings & Bookmaking, exhibition catalogue*, Chicago, 1981, cat.10, p.98–99). It is the work of the maker Isma'il[6]. The doublures of our manuscript are stamped with the

[6] Voir notice précédente pour le manuscrit de la collection B. Moritz, qui porte la marque du relieur *'amal Ismā'īl*, relevée et publiée par G. Bosch, J. Carswell & G. Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings & Bookmaking*, 1981, cat. 10, p. 98). La notice de Biblio.com, ainsi rédigée, reste quant à elle confuse sur la question de savoir si la reliure de l'exemplaire en vente porte bien cette marque ou si, de sa présence sur le manuscrit Chester Beatty et étant donné certaines caractéristiques de la reliure, il en est déduit qu'il s'agit d'une œuvre laissée par ce relieur : observation ou déduction post-comparative ?

> repeated benedictory inscription al-ʿizz al-muqim al-daʾim (‘lasting and perpetual glory’) which also appears on the binding of a Yemeni Qurʾan dated to 1450–1500 in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (David James, *After Timur*, Oxford, 1992, cat.11, pp.52-53).

La formule *al-ʿizz al-muqīm al-dāʾim* fait en effet partie du répertoire particulier des fers épigraphiés apparaissant sur les reliures de manuscrits yéménites datés ou datables du xive-xve s.[7] Cependant, le site Biblio.com offre trois images pour la reliure de ce *ǧuzʾ* manuscrit : deux montrent séparément les plats, avec le rabat, d’un même ensemble qui ne semble pas de facture ancienne, tandis que la troisième, celle d’une reliure photographiée *in extenso*, semble l’être. Malheureusement, l’image, minuscule, n’est pas accessible à la loupe, qui, actionnée, livre les détails d’une autre image, celle de la page liminaire du *ǧuzʾ*. Aucun des outils ordinaires à ma disposition n’a permis d’accéder au détail de cette reliure, qui, de loin, ressemble au type 1 de reliure yéménite dégagé par Ursula Dreibholz[8].

La notice de Biblio.com relève encore l’existence d’une *waqfiyya* à la date de 991/1583-1584, dont le fondateur (*wāqif*) est al-Mahdī b. ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-Ḥasan b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Muʾayyad. Il est identifié comme « one of the well-known Zaydi scholars in Yemen and grand son of the Imam al-Ḥasan ʿIzz al-Dīn »[9].

Autre point important, la notice renvoie à la vente de Christie’s du 27 avril 2017, citée ci-dessus, spécifiant qu’il s’agissait d’un *ǧuzʾ* du même Coran. L’image du feuillet liminaire donnée par Biblio.com et celle du lot 3 de Christie’s sont en tous les cas identiques. On relèvera en particulier la même différence entre l’annotation à l’encre noire en marge supérieure, i. e. *ǧuzʾ* XIX, et celle du cartouche de la partie enluminée, i. e. *ǧuzʾ* XX. L’une des images du site Biblio.com montre le début de la sourate 26, al-Šuʿarāʾ, qui appartient bien au *ǧuzʾ* XIX.

Au total, sur 8 livres en vente et en laissant de côté le cas n° 1, on compte un Coran en un seul volume et un second en deux volumes, les autres sont des sections. En s’appuyant sur les notices des catalogues de vente, les *ǧuz*’s suivant appartiendraient au même Coran :

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[7] A. d’Ottone, « La reliure arabo-yéménite médiévale : un projet d’étude », 2007, par. 8, entrée 1.

[8] U. Dreibholz, « Unusual and not-so-usual decorations on Yemeni bindings », 2003, type 2, « central rosette », type 1, Fig. 1, p. 37-38.

[9] La notice est fautive, le nom dans le texte de la *waqfiyya*, autant que l’image en ligne permette de le dire, est le suivant : al-Mahdī b. ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-Ḥasan b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn … b. al-Muʾayyad (omission soulignée par nos soins). Étant donné la date de la *waqfiyya*, il pourrait s’agir du fils de ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan, soit le fils de la personne correspondant à Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Abī al-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 2004/1425, vol. 3, p. 172-173, notice 829. Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh al-Ḥassan b. ʿIzz al-Dīn régnait entre 900-929/1495-1523. Voir pour une autre branche de la famille, ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Muʾayyadī, *ibid.*, notice 831, vol. 3, p. 174-176 ; Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. al-Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-Allāh, *Ṭabaqāt al-zaydiyya al-kubrā* (*al-qism al-ṭāliṭ*) *wa-yusammā Bulūġ al-murād ilā maʿrifat al-isnād*, 1421/2001, vol. 2, notice 400, p. 678.

(XVIII) (Sotheby's Londres du 25 october 2017, lot 21),

(XIX) (Sotheby's Paris, vente 23 octobre 2014, lot 3),

(XXI) (Christie's London, vente 27 avril 2017, lot 28),

(XXV) (Sotheby's Londres du 25 octobre 2017, lot 20).

En outre, la notice du *ǧuz'* (XIX) (Biblio.com) envisage qu'il puisse appartenir, avec le *ǧuz'* (XXI) (Christie's Londres, vente 27 avril 2017, lot 28), au même Coran.

Si l'on s'appuie sur les images des feuillets liminaires des sections des lots recensés ici,

- la section du lot 3 de Sotheby's est identique à celle mise en vente par Biblio.com.

- ils partagent la même composition et les mêmes types de décor, la même rectification concernant le numéro du *ǧuz'* (en marge supérieure, numéro de section en deçà d'une unité par rapport à celui du décor ; lot 20 montre un écrit marginal, d'une main différente, rogné et partiellement effacé) et le même titre de propriété pour ce qui en reste apparent (lot 28 illisible).

IV. Collections de musée

Les corans rassoulides ou « médiévaux » publiés appartenant à des collections de musée sont également peu nombreux. Une comparaison de certains d'entre eux avec des feuillets en vente sur le marché visible précise nos conclusions.

A. La collection Khalili, Londres

a. QUR 850 et 1092

Le premier manuscrit de Coran rassoulide catalogué, en 1992, est le QUR 850 de la Khalili collection[10]. Les caractéristiques de ce Coran d'un type nouveau, telles que dégagées par David James, ainsi que la question de son attribution à une aire mamelouke non-égyptienne, avec l'hypothèse qu'il soit de production yéménite ou partage les traits de corans ilkhanides, seront abondamment reprises. Lorsqu'il rédige son texte D. James a déjà noté plus qu'une coïncidence de période entre les dynasties rassoulide et ilkhanide, mais un point de contact dans la circulation des textes grâce à un Coran Chester Beatty en 30 sections, dont certaines contiennent une *waqfiyya* au nom de la femme de l'eunuque Ǧamāl al-Dīn Farḥān pour son usage dans la Madrasa Farḥāniyya de Taez. D. James situe en conséquence la mise en *waqf* du « Coran de Taez » entre 734/1334 et 803/1400[11].

La cote QUR 850, selon le catalogue de la collection Khalili, ne recouvre qu'un seul feuillet, portant les sourates 31, Luqmān, v. 33-34, à 32, al-Sağda, v. 1-7,

[10] D. James, *The Master Scribes*, vol. 2, 1992, cat. 40, p. 160-161. Repris brièvement, par J. M. Rogers, *The Arts of Islam*, 2010, cat. 165, p. 142-143, avec la même face du feuillet en illustration.

[11] D. James, *Manuscripts of the Holy Qur'ān from the Mamlūk Era*, « Tabrīz : the Taʿizz Qur'ān of the 'Eunuch's Lady' », 1999 [rééd. de 1988], p. 161-162.

> 39.2 × 32 cm, with 13 lines to the page, *Material* A hard, thin off-white paper, laid, with 5–6 lines to the centimetre; chain lines are visible, about 10 cm apart, *Text area* 33.5 × 22.5 cm, *Interlinear spacing* 2 cm, *Script* A combination of naskh, muḥaqqaq and thulth

Il ajoute une information importante pour notre enquête :

> Several pages from the same manuscript were in the hands of a London dealer in the early 1980s but their current whereabouts are unknown. According to uncorroborated information, the manuscript came from Yemen and dates from the Rasulid period (1229–1454). If true, this would explain why these pages have a superficially Mamluk apprearance but clearly belong to another tradition. Although Rasulid Qur'ans are said to survive in Yemen, none has been reproduced.

Récemment, la collection a acquis des feuillets manquants (QUR 1092), selon la page dédiée, mise en ligne en 2016, sur le site de la collection,

> https://www.khalilicollections.org/collections/islamic-art/khalili-collection-islamic-art-single-folio-from-a-quran-qur850-qur1092/

Le descriptif concerne les deux cotes QUR 850 et 1092, illustré par l'image d'une face d'un bifeuillet comportant les sourates 24, al-Nūr, v. 59-64, à 25, al-Furqān, v. 1-6,[12]

> Perhaps Yemen, 1300–1350 AD, ink, gold and opaque watercolour on paper copied in naskh, *muhaqqaq* and *thuluth* scripts, incidentals in Kufic; 13 lines to the page, 39.2 × 32cm (…).

Le texte poursuit, reprenant intégralement John Michel Rogers, qui synthétise D. James :

> The lay-out of the text is impressive: the top and bottom lines of each page are in black *muhaqqaq* outlined in gold, and the middle line, the seventh, is in gold *thuluth* outlined in black. This variety of scripts on a single page, and the type of surah heading, which is more often seen in Ilkhanid work, suggest that the Qur'an was written outside Mamluk Egypt, perhaps in the Yemen under the Rasulids.

Finalement, en dépit de l'achat de ces feuillets, toujours selon la page dédiée en ligne : « The text is incomplete, with gaps where folios have been removed, and the opening and closing folios are more recent replacements »[13].

[12] Malheureusement, sur cette page dédiée, le titre de : « Single Folio from a Qur'an », ne correspond pas à l'image d'illustration qui est celle d'un bifeuillet ; il reprend en réalité le titre de la notice de QUR 850, rédigée par D. James, *The Master Scribes*, 1992, cat. 40, p. 160-161, créant un moment la confusion. De même, les versets du Coran indiqués par la page dédiée ne correspondent pas à ceux du bifeuillet d'illustration, mais au feuillet unique de QUR 850, dans : D. James, *ibid.*

[13] Les renvois bibliographiques sont aux notices de QUR 850, par D. James, *The Master Scribes*, 1992, cat. 40, p. 160-161, et J. M. Rogers, *The Arts of Islam*, 2010, cat. 165, p. 142-143.

b. QUR 525

Il est décrit ainsi par la notice du catalogue rédigée par D. James : « Volume 4 of a 10-volume Qur'an », Une image du plat inférieur de la reliure est fournie, suivie par celle d'un bifeuillet,

> Yemen, circa AD 1450–1500. 38 folios, 26 × 20.4 cm, with 11 lines to the page, *Material* A coarse, dark cream wove paper, *Text area* 17.5 × 14 cm, *Interlinear spacing* 1.6 cm, *Script* The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth, *Binding* Contemporary [14].

L'identification à un Coran yéménite du xve s. semble plus aisée à établir pour D. James, qui en souligne la rareté. Les derniers feuillets contenant des notes marginales ont servi à enregistrer la mort d'une femme en ḏū al-qa'da 953/décembre 1546 ou janvier 1547, mais c'est la comparaison avec le manuscrit hébreu British Library OR.MS.2348 et le catalogue des anciens corans de Sanaa exposés au Koweït[15], qui lui permet de ramener le manuscrit à une date ultérieure.

La reliure fait l'objet d'un paragraphe. Le décor du plat, dont le motif central est une rosette à huit pétales, de même que la marque à la formule : *al-'izz al-muqīm al-dā'im* sont en effet à comparer avec profit à la reliure de codex yéménites médiévaux, suivant des études plus récentes : le cas de QUR 525 a été par exemple rapproché des manuscrits Glaser 9 (Bibliothèque nationale autrichienne, Vienne), Or. 2552 de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Leide, de deux exemples de la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich et d'un manuscrit de la Grande Mosquée de Sanaa (?)[16]. Or, un doute subsiste pour le scientifique sur la question de savoir si la reliure de QUR 525 est la reliure d'origine, du fait de restaurations ultérieures ayant entraîné l'insertion du plat en cuir dans la nouvelle reliure[17].

B. Musée Agha Khan, Toronto

AKM 00814

L'autre pièce manuscrite attribuée, avec prudence, au Yémen rassoulide se trouve conservée au musée Agha Khan, Toronto. Catalogué deux fois en 2010, le bifolio portant le texte de la sourate 10, Yūnus, v. 109, à la sourate 11, Hūd, v. 1-15, est placé en illustration de la notice de l'exposition de Berlin, Martin-Gropius-Bau, et d'Istamboul, mu-

[14] D. James, *After Timur*, 1992, cat. 11, p. 52-53.

[15] *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, 1985.

[16] U. Dreibholz, « Unusual and not-so-usual decorations on Yemeni bindings », 2003, type 2, « central rosette », p. 39-40, Fig. 2 (rosette) ; 41, Fig. 3 & 4 (formule). Voir également, A. d'Ottone, « La reliure arabo-yéménite médiévale : un projet d'étude », 2007, formule : par. 8, entrée 1 et, ici, n. 7 ; décors des plats, dont rosettes : Fig. 1-3.

[17] U. Dreibholz, « Unusual and not-so-usual decorations on Yemeni bindings », 2003, type 2, « central rosette », Fig. 2, p. 39-40, qui précise, qu'à cette date, la reliure de QUR 525 est la seule reliure de Coran qu'elle ait jamais rencontrée dans ses travaux sur les codex yéménites. Le commentaire du Coran étudié par C. Colini, « How Conservation Can unveil the Story of a Manuscript. An Arabic Qur'an Commentary from the Yemen », 2016, a connu trois reliures successives.

sée Sabancı[18]. Celle-ci explique : « Possibly Yemen, c. 1300–1350, Ink, opaque watercolour and gold, on paper, 38.9 × 64 cm ». Soixante-quatre cm est la largeur du bifeuillet, ce qui donne 32 cm pour un feuillet, soit des dimensions très proches du Coran QUR 980-1092 de la collection Khalili. Les images accessibles donnent d'autres charactéristiques partagées (paléographie, nombre de ligne/page, rubrication, marques de versets, utilisation de l'or, …).

Les deux corans, Khalili QUR 980-1092, et Agha Khan AKM 00814, rappellent les quatre feuillets du lot 11 de la vente du 27 avril 2017, chez Christie's Londres.

V. Au Yémen

Au Yémen, le 10 juin 2014, l'Agence Internationale de Presse Coranique (IQNA) et AhlulBait News Agency (ABNA) faisaient part de la saisie d'un Coran rassoulide près de Taez. Le texte des deux Agences, ainsi que l'image d'accompagnement, sont similaires, elles indiquent leur source, le site Al-tagheer.net. En résumé,

> Les forces de sécurité yéménites ont saisi ce Coran dans la région Hazran en province de Taez. Il s'agit d'un ancien Coran manuscrit, datant de l'époque des Rassoulides qui régnaient entre 1229 et 1454 au Yémen. Cet ancien Coran se trouvait chez un Al Charabi, 32 ans, de la ville Hadida (al-Ḥudayda ?) au Yémen. La police de Taez a arrêté Al Charabi pour enquêter sur la manière dont il a obtenu ledit Coran. Le Coran est actuellement maintenu au centre de police de Taez et l'enquête se poursuit pour obtenir plus de renseignement (…).

L'image, peu informative, représente un Coran imprimé. D'après la brève, il s'agirait d'un Coran en un seul volume. Voir,

10.06.2014, IQNA, « Saisie d'un Coran manuscrit de l'époque des Rassoulides au Yémen »,

http://www.iqna.ir/fr/news/1415913/saisie-d%E2%80%99un-coran-manuscrit-de-l%E2%80%99%C3%A9poque-des-rassoulides-au-y%C3%A9men

10.06.2014, ABNA, « Saisie d'un Coran manuscrit de l'époque des Rassoulides au Yémen »,

http://fr.abna24.com/france/cultural/archive/2014/06/10/614895/story.html

Site Al-tagheer : nous n'avons pas retrouvé la brève en utilisant la fonction recherche sur le site,

https://www.al-tagheer.com/

VI. Conclusion

On note un net intérêt pour les corans rassoulides sur le marché de l'art. Trois stratégies de vente ressortent de l'étude. Elles consistent à mettre sur le marché des

[18] V. Daiber & B. Junod (éd.), *Schätze des Aga Khan Museum*, 2010, p. 41, n° 9 ; M. S. Graves & B. Junod, *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, 2010, notice 29, p. 76. Les notices dans les deux langues sont très proches et largement inspirées par celle de D. James, *The Master Scribes*, 1992, cat. 40, p. 160-161.

sections d'un même Coran une à une, à démembrer un manuscrit ou à faire du « fishing » ou des « têtes de gondole ». Les deux premières pratiques sont bien connues et anciennes.

Le nombre de pièces en circulation ne peut qu'être restreint, mais il semblerait de plus – si l'on retient les informations en ligne – que ce soit les sections d'un même Coran qui alimentent les salles des ventes depuis quelques années. Par ailleurs, des feuillets retirés du Coran de la Khalili collection ont été acquis pour elle par la suite, promettant d'autres à de nouvelle(s) vente(s) séparée(s), ainsi qu'à une dispersion des lieux d'étude pour le chercheur. Enfin, si l'on en croit les images d'accroche en ligne, le lot 3 de Sotheby's, i. e. la section XIX d'un Coran, a été acheté par la S. A. saoudienne Archive qui l'a mis en vente sur le site Biblio.com.

Les notices des catalogues en référence de cette note se font l'écho de l'état d'avancement des travaux scientifiques, en fait des difficultés d'attribution de ces corans, encore compliqués à qualifier étant donné précisément les rares exemples à notre disposition et même si la méthodologie comparative s'étend à d'autres types de documents, par ex. à l'épigraphie et aux décors architecturaux.

En ce qui concerne les manuscrits, la bibliographie de référence est courte et historiquement cantonée à une approche d'histoire de l'art.

28 mai 2019

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