

The Beginnings of Yemeni and Zaydi Studies in Europe: The Eugenio Griffini Archive, Milan

Valentina Sagaria Rossi | ORCID: 0000-0002-4518-3205

Senior Research Associate, School of Historical Studies, Islamic Intellectual History, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ, USA
valesagaria@gmail.com

Sabine Schmidtke | ORCID: 0000-0002-6181-5065

Professor, School of Historical Studies, Islamic Intellectual History, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ, USA
scs@ias.edu

Abstract

The arrival of large numbers of Yemeni manuscripts in European libraries towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century was a sensation that was enthusiastically received by the scholarly world. One of the principal reasons for this enthusiastic reception was the upsurge of South Arabian studies in Europe since the first half of the nineteenth century, together with the hope that the new material would fill some of the gaps in the literary sources on the history and geography of southern Arabia, especially during the pre-Islamic period. The most significant such lacuna was the missing volumes 1 through 7 and 9 of al-Hamdānī's *Ikhlīl*. The two most important collections of Yemeni manuscripts that arrived in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had been gathered by Eduard Glaser and Giuseppe Caprotti, respectively, and their collections were sold to Berlin, London, and Vienna (Glaser) and to Munich, Milan, and the Vatican (Caprotti). The collections included some new material on South Arabian history (including volumes 1, 2, and 6 of the *Ikhlīl*), but they also opened up entirely new vistas and laid the foundation for the new discipline of Zaydi studies. Unlike South Arabian studies, the study of Zaydism had a slow start, with initially only a few scholars being interested in this entirely new field. Moreover, the scholarly exploration of the respective subcollections depended on the availability of catalogues. The early history of the Caprotti collection is intimately linked to Eugenio Griffini. Caprotti had dispatched nearly his entire manuscript collection of some 1,600 codices to Griffini, who kept it in his apartment in

Milan until 1909, when the collection was donated to the Ambrosiana Library. Griffini was also the first and, for a long time, the only scholar to study the collection and prepare studies as well as catalogues of it. The process of his engagement with the material can be reconstructed on the basis of the Griffini archive, the whereabouts of which were for decades uncertain. This study outlines the discovery of the Griffini archive in the Biblioteca Comunale Centrale Palazzo Sormani in Milan and provides an initial overview of its contents, including Griffini's epistolary exchanges with some ninety-nine correspondents, his descriptions of some of the Ethiopic manuscripts of the Ambrosiana, and, most importantly, his *schedario*, containing his extensive notes on all manuscripts of series A of the Caprotti collection. The large corpus of so far unexplored material promises to provide new insights into the network of Islamicists and Arabists at the turn of the twentieth century and the nascent phase of Zaydi studies in Europe.

Keywords

Eugenio Griffini – Biblioteca Comunale Centrale Palazzo Sormani – Ambrosiana – Giuseppe Caprotti – Oscar Löfgren – al-Hamdānī – *Iklīl* (al-Hamdānī) – Charles Schefer – Eduard Glaser – Samuel Barrett Miles – Angela Codazzi – South Arabian studies – Zaydi studies – Yemeni studies – Ethiopian studies

Introduction

Over the first half of the nineteenth century, European scholars gained increasing access to epigraphic material from southern Arabia, prompting a blossoming of the nascent discipline of Sabaic studies.¹ The interest among Orientalists in the geography, history, genealogy, and antiquities of southern Arabia was further kindled by the encyclopaedic writings of the South Arabian

1 See, e.g., Eugen Mittwoch, "Aus der Frühzeit der Sabäistik", *Orientalia*, n.s., 4 (1935), pp. 344–352. One of the last scholars to bring original epigraphic material to Europe before Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1904–1948) banned the export of antiquities from Yemen in 1931 was Carl Rathjens (1887–1966); see, e.g., E. Mittwoch and H. Schlobies, "Altsüdarabische Inschriften im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde", *Orientalia*, n.s., 5 (1936), pp. 1–34. For the history of Sabaic studies, see also part 2 of Gertraud Sturm and Mohammed Maraqten, *In Stein gemeisselte Geschichte(n): Nikolaus Rhodokanakis (1876–1945), Pionier der Altsüdarabistik*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2021. For the current state of Sabaic studies, especially relevant epigraphic material, see also "DASI—Digital Archive for the Study of pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions" at <http://dasi.cnr.it/> (accessed 15 February 2022).

scholar Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945), which started to arrive in Europe around the mid-nineteenth century. The French diplomat and scholar Charles Schefer (1820–1898) had a copy of al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*, a description of the Arabian Peninsula, produced in Istanbul on the basis of MS Istanbul, Köprülü 1027.² Alfred von Kremer (1828–1889) knew about the *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab* in Schefer's possession when he was writing his 1866 monograph, *Über die südarabische Sage*.³ In this book, von Kremer also assembled material from secondary sources on al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl*,⁴ concluding with the following comment, which suggests that at this point European scholars did not yet have direct access to the *Iklīl* or to parts of it:

[E]s genügt dieses Wenige um die Bedeutung des Iklīl in ein helles Licht zu stellen und den Wunsch zu rechtfertigen, dass Jemen, welches seit Niebuhr und Seetzen keiner umfassenden Erforschung mehr gewürdigt worden ist, recht bald der Zielpunkt wissenschaftlicher Entdeckungsreisen werden möge. Ist das Glück uns hold, so bringt dann wol auch ein unternehmender Reisender aus dem staubigen Bücherschranke einer südarabischen Moschee oder Medrese die wurmstichigen Folianten des Iklīl nach Europa und dann werden wir im Stande sein, ein leeres Blatt in der Geschichte des Semitismus wieder auszufüllen.⁵

A year earlier, in 1865, von Kremer published an *editio princeps* and translation of *al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥimyarīyya* of Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178),⁶ another important source for ancient Arabia written some two centuries after al-Hamdānī, “die in poetischer Form eine Geschichte des alten ḥimjaritischen

2 Today preserved as MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5822; see Edgar Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection de manuscrits orientaux, arabes, persans et turcs formée par M. Charles Schefer et acquise par l'état*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900, pp. 2–3; Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de la collection Schefer à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Extrait du *Journal des Savants*—Mars–Juin 1901), Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901, pp. 17–18. For a description and a digital surrogate, see <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvib100321013> (accessed 14 February 2022). Schefer had other copies transcribed on the basis of manuscripts kept in the Köprülü Library; see Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, pp. 11–12 (MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5863), 21 (MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5907).

3 See Alfred von Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1866, p. 46 n. 2 (“Ein Werk von ihm: *Ṣifāt gezīret-el-ʿarab* ist in Paris in Herrn Ch. Schefers Besitz”).

4 Von Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, pp. 135–140.

5 Von Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, p. 140. Von Kremer also collected manuscripts of Yemeni provenance, some of which were later given to the British Museum; see Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1894, passim.

6 Alfred von Kremer, *Die ḥimjaritische Kasideh*, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1865.

Reiches enthält und uns eine lange Reihe von himjarischen Königen und Fürsten vorführt, deren Herrlichkeit in den Staub gesunken ist und von denen uns nur die Denkmäler und Geschichtsbücher Kunde bringen”,⁷ to use David Heinrich Müller’s (1846–1912) description of the work, which encapsulates the antiquarian desires of European Orientalists of the time. Von Kremer based his edition of the *qaṣīda* on a manuscript that had been produced in 1817 at the behest of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) on the basis of a copy held by Claudius James Rich (1787–1821) in Baghdad.⁸

At some point, Schefer acquired copies of volume 8 and 10 of al-Hamdānī’s ten-volume encyclopaedic work on southern Arabia, *al-Iklīl*,⁹ along with other books on the history of Yemen during the ancient and Islamic periods, bringing together what seems to have been the most comprehensive library on Yemen

7 David Heinrich Müller, “Himjarische Inschriften: Nebst einem Anhang ‘Zur Textkritik der himjarischen Kaṣīde’”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29 (1876), pp. 591–628, here p. 620.

8 MS Vienna, Austrian National Library, N.F. 112; for the codex, see Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 1, Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1865, p. 472 no. 482. The manuscript also included an anonymous commentary on the *qaṣīda*, another rich source for ancient south Arabia, which von Kremer cites extensively in his *Über die süd-arabische Sage*. The collection of the former British resident in Baghdad, Claudius James Rich, consisting of 799 manuscripts, was purchased for the British Museum in 1825; see J.R. Fawcett Thompson, “The Rich Manuscripts”, *British Museum Quarterly* 27, no. 1/2 (autumn 1963), pp. 18–23.

9 Dated 1303/1886. The codices are nowadays preserved as MSS Paris, BnF, arabe 6056 and 6057. See Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 54; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10031303d> and <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10031304v> (accessed 14 February 2022). Volume 8 of the *Iklīl* deals with the castles, forts, and monuments of Yemen, and volume 10 treats the genealogy of the tribes descended from Hamdān. For the *Iklīl* and its author, see Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, *Maṣādir tārikh al-Yaman fī l-‘aṣr al-islāmī* = *Sources de l’histoire du Yémen à l’époque musulmane*, Cairo: al-Ma’had al-‘ilmī al-Faransī li-l-Āthār al-Sharqiyya, 1974, pp. 68ff.; Christopher Toll, “Al-Hamdānī”, *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. H. Selin, Dordrecht: Springer, 2016, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7747-7_9311 (accessed 1 March 2022). For the history of modern scholarship on al-Hamdānī and his *Iklīl*, with a list of extant partial manuscripts and editions up to 1935, see Oscar Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund: Über das Berliner Unicum der beiden ersten Bücher des “Iklīl”*, Uppsala: A.B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1935, pp. 4–13. For editions of the extant volumes of the *Iklīl* (with the exception of volume 6, on which see below), see Ibrahim Al-Selwi, *Jemenitische Wörter in den Werken von al-Hamdānī und Naṣwān und ihre Parallelen in den semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1987, pp. 8–9, 19; Johann Heiss, “Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung: Der Norden des Jemen zur Zeit des ersten Imams (10. Jahrhundert)”, PhD dissertation, Vienna University, 1998, pp. 24–29; Daniel Mahoney, “The Formation of South Arabian Identity in *al-Iklīl* of al-Hamdānī”, *Historiography and Identity IV: Writing History Across Medieval Eurasia*, ed. Walter Pohl and Daniel Mahoney, Turnhout: Brepols, 2021, pp. 137–156, here p. 155.

outside Arabia at the time.¹⁰ Some years after Schefer, the British army officer and diplomat Samuel Barrett Miles (1838–1914), who served as cantonment magistrate and assistant resident in Aden between 1867 and March 1869 and

- 10 Schefer's library included the following works that either treat various aspects and periods of the history of Yemen or are of Yemeni provenance (all are today kept in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris; digital surrogates are accessible via <https://gallica.bnf.fr/>): **Mss Paris, BnF, arabe 5821** and **6058**, *Qurrat al-'uyūn bi-akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn* by Wajih al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī al-Shaybānī al-Shāfi'ī al-Zabīdī "Ibn al-Dayba" (d. 944/1537) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, pp. 2, 54; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 19; for the author and the work, see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 200–205); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5822**, *Şifāt jazīrat al-'arab* by al-Hamdānī (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, pp. 2–3; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, pp. 17–18; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 68–76; see also above, n. 3); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5824**, *Tārīkh Şan'ā' al-Yaman* by Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Rāzī (d. ca. 460/1068) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 3; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 18; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 104–105; G.R. Khoury, "Zur Bedeutung des Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh ar-Rāzī (gest. 460 H./1068) für die Geschichte des Jemen", *Die Welt des Islams* 20 [1980], pp. 87–103); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5831**, *al-La'ālī al-muḍḍiyya al-multaqīta min al-Lawāḥiq al-nadīyya fī akhbār al-a'imma al-Zaydiyya*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Şalāḥ al-Sharafi (d. 1055/1645) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 4; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 20; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 232–233); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5832**, a multitext volume including *al-Kifāya wa-l-i'lām fīman waliya l-Yaman wa-sakanahā min mulūk al-Islām* by Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Khazraǧī (d. 812/1410), *Aḥsan al-sulūk fī naẓm man waliya madīnat Zabīd min al-mulūk* by Ibn al-Dayba', and *al-Fuṣūl al-muhimma fī ma'rīfat al-a'imma* by Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Şabbāgh al-Mālikī al-Makkī (d. 855/1451) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, pp. 4–5; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 19; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 161–165 [for al-Khazraǧī] and 200–205 [for Ibn al-Dayba'], and for *al-Fuṣūl al-muhimma*, Āghā Buzurg al-Tihānī, *al-Dhar'ā ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'a*, 25 vols, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1403–1406/1983–1986, vol. 16, p. 246); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5883**, *al-Sāmī fī-l-asāmī*, an Arabic-Persian dictionary by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124), copied in Şan'ā' in 528/1201 (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 16); **Mss Paris, BnF, arabe 5897** and **6069**, *Bughyat al-mustafīd fī akhbār madīnat Zabīd* by Ibn al-Dayba' (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, pp. 19, 57; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 19; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 200–205); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5927**, *al-Barq al-yamānī fī l-fath al-'Uthmānī* by Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Nahravālī (d. 990/1582) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 25; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 214–215); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5952**, *Mir'āt al-jinān wa-'ibrat al-yaqẓān fī ma'rīfat ḥawādith al-zamān* by 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad al-Yāfi'ī al-Yamanī *thumma* al-Makkī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 768/1366) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 30; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 147–148); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5955**, *Khulāṣat al-'aṣjad fī ayyām al-amīr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad* by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasan al-Bahkalī al-Tihānī (d. 1224/1809) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 31; see Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 287); **Mss Paris, BnF, arabe 5963** and **6062**, *Tārīkh thaghr 'Adan* by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib Bā Makhrama (d. 947/1540) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, pp. 33, 55; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 19; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 205–208); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5973**, *al-Iḥsān fī dukhūl al-Yaman taḥt ẓill 'adālat āl*

then as political agent and consul in Muscat from 1872 through 1886, brought from Yemen another copy of *Şifat jazīrat al-‘arab*.¹¹ He also procured copies of volumes 8 and 10 of the *Iklīl* (with a full list of the contents of all ten volumes on the title page of volume 8¹²) as well as other works on ancient southern Arabia, including the *K. al-Tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyar*, a history of the kings of Yemen, by

Uthmān by Shams al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Šamad b. Ismā‘īl al-Mawza‘ī (d. 1031/1621) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 35; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 20; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 225–226); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5977**, *Bahjat al-zaman fī tārikh al-Yaman* by Ibn ‘Abd al-Majīd (d. 744/1343) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 36; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, pp. 18–19 [here the shelf mark is erroneously given as 5077]; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 143–144); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5982**, *Rawḍat al-akhbār wa-kunūz al-asrār* by Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥafīš “al-Ḥajūrī” (fl. seventh/thirteenth century) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 37; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 17 [both Blochet and Derenbourg misidentify the work]; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 133–134, 487 n. 1); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 5984**, *Tuḥfat al-aṣḥāb wa-nuḥat dhawī l-albāb* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sharājī (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 37; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 18 [here the shelf mark is erroneously given as 6089]; see Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 217); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 6021**, *Tārikh al-Mustabshir*, by Ibn al-Mujāwir (d. 630/1232) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 46; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 18 [Derenbourg mentions that MS London, British Library, Or. 1511 is an apograph of this copy, dated August 1862 and transcribed by Robert Lambert Playfair (1828–1899), a British soldier and diplomat and the author of *A History of Arabia Felix or Yemen from the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time, Including an Account of the British Settlement of Aden*, Bombay: Education Society’s Press, Byculla, 1859]; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 123–124); **MSS Paris, BnF, arabe 6056 and 6057**, volumes 8 and 10 of *al-Iklīl* by al-Hamdānī (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 54; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 18; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 68–76); **MS Paris, BnF, arabe 6060**, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī ma‘rifat al-ansāb* by al-Ashraf al-Rasūlī Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Yūsuf (d. 696/1296) (Blochet, *Catalogue de la collection Schefer*, p. 55; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 131–132). Derenbourg lists some additional copies under the rubric “Histoire du Yemen”, but the shelf marks he cites are incorrect; see Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, pp. 17 (MS arabe 5823), 19–20 (MS arabe 5027), 20 (MS arabe 5954).

- 11 Aloys Sprenger, “Ein arabischer Geograph”, *Das Ausland: Ueberschau der neuesten Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Natur-, Erd- und Völkerkunde* 52 no. 13 (31 March 1879), pp. 241–243. On p. 242 Sprenger relates about the discoveries by Schefer and Miles of their respective copies of the work: “Die erste Handschrift hat Ch. Schefer nach Europa gebracht und sie wurde zum erstenmal für die Post- und Reiserouten benützt. Später schickte der Verfasser der Routen [i.e., Sprenger] Auszüge daraus an Freiherrn [Heinrich] von Maltzan [1826–1974] nach Aden, und sieh da—es tauchte ein anderer viel besserer Codex auf. Er gehörte dem hochverdienten Reisenden und Bibliographen Oberst Miles, der ihn später über Wabern an das British Museum in London schickte.”
- 12 See David Heinrich Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, Wien: In Commission bei Karl Gerold’s Sohn, 1877, pp. 8 n. 2, 9.

the third/ninth-century scholar Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, best known for his edition of Ibn Ishāq’s biography (*sīra*) of the prophet Muḥammad.¹³ In 1872, Miles published a brief account of some essential books

- 13 For the *K. al-Tījān* and its author, see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 61–62. For Miles’s collection of manuscripts relating to Yemen and its political and religio-intellectual history, see Rieu, *Supplement*, pp. 239 no. 391 (volume 2 of *Ḍaw’ al-nahār al-mushriq ‘alā šafaḥāt al-Azhār fī fiqh al-a’imma al-aḥbār* by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Jalāl [d. 1084/1673–74], **MS London, BL Or. 2900**; for the work and its author, see ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fī l-Yaman*, Abu Dhabi: al-Majma’ al-Thaqāfi, 2004, pp. 251–252), 365–367 no. 578 (a multitext volume comprising Ibn Hishām’s *al-Tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyar* and *Akhbār ‘Abīd b. Sharyah al-Jurhumī fī akhbār al-Yaman wa-ash’ārihā wa-ansābihā*, **MS London, BL Or. 2901**; for the *Akhbār*, see Ludwig Nix, “Die südarabische Sage”, published in Wassilios Klein, *Ludwig Nix († 1904): Privatdozent für semitische Sprachen in Bonn, nebst seiner Habilitationsschrift “Die südarabische Sage” und einem Vorwort von Stephan Conermann*, Birkach: EB-Verlag, 2007), 368 no. 579 (**MS London, BL Or. 2424**, a transcript of **MS London, BL Or. 2901**), 368–369 no. 580 (volume 8 of *al-Iklīl*, **MS London, BL Or. 1382**), 371–372 no. 583 (*Tārīkh Ṣan‘ā’ al-Yaman* by Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Rāzi [on whom see above, n. 10], **MS London, BL Or. 2903**), 373–374 no. 584 (a multitext volume comprising *al-Qaṣīda al-ḥimyarīyya* by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī and *Ṣifat jazīrat al-‘arab* by al-Hamdānī, **MS London, BL Or. 1383**), 454–456 no. 671 (*Ṭirāz a’lām al-zaman fī ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Yaman* by Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Khazraǧī [d. 812/1410], **MS London, BL Or. 2425**; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 161–165), 457–458 no. 673 (*Simṭ al-la’āl fī shi’r wa-akhbār al-āl* by Ismā’il b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zaydī al-Ḥasanī al-Ṭālibī [d. 1080/1669], **MS London, BL Or. 2426**; see Sayyid, *Sources*, p. 239), 459–460 no. 675 (*Tib al-samar fī awqāt al-saḥar* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaymī al-Shibāmī al-Kawkabānī [d. 1151/1738], **MS London, BL Or. 2427**; see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 267–268), 460–461 no. 676 (**MS London, BL Or. 2428**, a partial copy of **MS Or. 2427**), 583–585 nos 858–863 (*Shams al-‘ulūm* by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, **MSS London, BL Or. 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909**), 670 no. 1061 (*al-Qaṣīda al-ḥimyarīyya* by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, **MS London, BL Or. 1061/2**; Rieu cites a note by Miles on the flyleaf of the codex: “Nishwan’s Kasidah is well known to the Yemen tribes of Oman; but this is the only copy I have been able to procure in this country. Muscat. S.B.M.”), and 752–753 no. 1202 (*Taṣfiyat al-nufūs ‘an al-radḥā’il wa-tazkiyat al-akhlāq* by al-Mu’ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad [d. 1054/1644–45], **MS London, BL Or. 2897/2**; see al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 697–698). In his “Account of an Excursion into the Interior of Southern Arabia”, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 41 (1871), pp. 210–245, here p. 222, Miles reports that he had learned about “a copy of the great history of Aden, of Tayib, Ba Makhrumah” in a private library in Ḥabbān, but when he visited the town on 19 July 1870, he found the library locked and its owner absent. The reference here is undoubtedly to the *Tārīkh thaghr ‘Adan* by Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib Bā Makhruma (d. 947/1540), a book that Schefer also owned; see above, n. 11. Before Schefer, the English Anglican missionary George Percy Badger (1815–1888) possessed a copy of the work and quoted it in a 1863 publication; see K.V. Zetterstéén, “Über Abū Maḥrama’s تاريخ ثغر عدن”, *Festschrift Meinhof*, Glückstadt and Hamburg: J.J. Augustin, 1927, pp. 364–370 (reprinted in Fuat Sezgin [ed.], *Texts and Studies*

on the *Historical Geography and Topography of Central and South Arabia*, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 202–208), here p. 364 n. 3. According to the “Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society” read on 3 June 1872 and published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, n.s., 6 (1873), pp. i–xxxvi, here pp. viii–ix, Miles had a copy of volume 10 of the *Iklil* in his possession: “Of another work of Hamdānī, the *Iklil fi Ansab*, which consists of ten volumes, the eighth was presented to the Society by Captain Miles two years ago.... That industrious officer has since discovered the tenth volume of the same work.... Captain Miles thinks there is good reason to believe that various other historical MSS, unknown in Europe, still exist in Arabia, which, together with the inscriptions in bronze and stone in which the ruined cities in S.W. Arabia are known to abound, will yet yield an abundant harvest; and he expresses a hope that before long an exploration of the country may be undertaken, and its hidden treasures drawn forth and made available.” See also below, n. 20. Between 1875 and 1891 Miles’s collection came into the possession of the British Museum; see Rieu, *Supplement*, p. viii. What happened to Miles’s copy of volume 10 of the *Iklil* is unclear, as it is not listed in Rieu’s *Supplement*. Löfgren reports that the copy may have ended up in Vienna but he was unable to confirm its whereabouts; see Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, p. 12 no. 7. The British Museum nonetheless owns two copies of volume 10 of the *Iklil*. One of them had been purchased by Wilhelm Spitta, who presented it as a gift to Alfred von Kremer in 1879 (MS London BL Or. 3021, dated 1296/1879); see Alfred von Kremer, *Ueber meine Sammlung orientalischer Handschriften*, Vienna: In Commission bei Carl Gerold’s Sohn, 1885, p. 14 [164] no. 19; Rieu, *Supplement*, pp. 370–371 no. 582. Another copy is part of the Glaser collection (MS London BL Or. 3783 = Glaser, no. 68); see Rieu, *Supplement*, pp. 369–370. In his *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter: Abū Maḥrama’s Adengeschichte nebst einschlägigen Abschnitten aus den Werken von Ibn al-Muǧāwir, al-Ġanadī und al-Aḥdal*, 2 vols, Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz / Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells / Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1936–1950, vol. 1, pp. 20–21, Löfgren mentions that Miles’s copy of Ibn Muǧāwir’s *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir* ended up in Leiden as MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 5572 (former shelf mark Ar. 2450); for the copy, see https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/q6ueoj/UBL_ALMA21323501690002711 (accessed 11 March 2022). The codex, which was inspected by Sabine Schmidtke on 8 April 2022, has occasional pencil margin notes, in English, which probably originated with Miles (fols 71r, 91r, 94v, 95r, 95v, 97v, 99r), as is the case with the identification on the title page, beneath the Arabic title, “The Tarikh El Mustansir of Ibn El Mojawir”. It was apparently also Miles who prepared (or commissioned) a list of places mentioned throughout the book; the six-pages list is placed at the end of the codex. Miles gave the manuscript to Michael Johan de Goeje (1836–1909), as the latter intended to prepare an edition of the work; see Miles’s letters to de Goeje, 3 January 1893 and 15 March 1893 (MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, BPL 2389; see https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/003ulj/UBL_ALMA21185987340002711 [accessed 11 March 2022]). We thank Arnoud Vrolijk for having shared those letters with us. There is no indication that any of Miles’s other manuscripts were ever given or sold to Leiden University Library (email communication Arnoud Vrolijk to Sabine Schmidtke, 22 February 2022). Miles’s collection of printed books was bequeathed by his widow to Bath Public Library in 1920; these (or some of them) were offered for sale in 2017 by Peter Harrington Ltd. of London. See *The Arab and Islamic World*, Peter Harrington, London, Catalogue 133, <https://www.peterharrington.co.uk/blog/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/133.pdf> (accessed

on the history of Yemen;¹⁴ besides the two works by al-Hamdānī, it describes *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, attributed to Ibn al-Mujāwir (d. 690/1291), an important source for the geography, history, and customs of western and southern Arabia during the early seventh/thirteenth century,¹⁵ and *Qurrat al-ʿuyūn bi-khabar al-Yaman al-maymūn*, a work on the history of Yemen during the Islamic period by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Daybaʿ al-Shaybānī (d. 944/1537).¹⁶ Both works were also included in the library of Schefer, through which they first became known and accessible to Western scholars.¹⁷ Aloys Sprenger

19 February 2022). For another title from Miles's library offered by Maggs Bros. Ltd., see https://www.maggs.com/the-land-of-the-permauls-or-cochin-its-past-and-its-present_224943.htm (accessed 19 February 2022). For Miles, see also Hilal Said al-Hajri, "Oman through British Eyes: British Travel Writing on Oman from 1800 to 1970", PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2003, pp. 155–170; and the published version of the thesis, Hilal al-Hajri, *British Travel-Writing on Oman: Orientalism Reappraised*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2006, pp. 162–176.

- 14 Samuel Barrett Miles, "A Brief Account of Four Arabic Works on the History and Geography of Arabia", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, n.s., 6 (1873), pp. 20–27. In 1877 Miles also published extracts from the *Mustabṣir* relating to the history of Aden; see Samuel Barrett Miles, "Extract from an Arabic Work relating to Aden", in Frederick Mercer Hunter, *An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia*, London: Trübner & Co., 1877, pp. 183–196. Both papers were republished in Sezgin, *Texts and Studies on the Historical Geography and Topography of Central and South Arabia*, vol. 2, pp. 138–160.
- 15 For the work and the question of its authorship, see G. Rentz, "Ibn al-Muḍjāwir", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3300 (accessed 15 February 2022); Jean-Charles Ducène, "Ibn al-Mujāwir (m. 1291): Un marchand sagace au Yémen ayyoubide", *Les clés du Moyen-Orient* (5 March 2021), <https://www.lesclesdumoyenorient.com/Ibn-al-Muj%C4%81wir-m-1291-un-marchand-sagace-au-Yemen-ayyoubide.html> (accessed 20 February 2022). A critical edition of the work was published by Oscar Löfgren (Ibn al-Muḡāwir, *Descriptio Arabiae meridionalis praemissis capitibus de Mecca et parte regionis Ḥiǧāz qui liber inscribitur Taʾrīḥ al-Mustabṣir*, ed. Oscar Löfgren, 2 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1951–1954). Schefer also possessed a copy of this work; see above, n. 11.
- 16 For the work and its author, see Sayyid, *Sources*, pp. 200ff., here pp. 203–204; G. Rex Smith, "The Ṭāhirid Sultans of the Yemen (858–923/1454–1517) and their Historian Ibn al-Daybaʿ", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 29 (1984), pp. 141–154. Miles does not comment in the publication on the witnesses he consulted for these four works.
- 17 See above, n. 11. For the *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, see Michael de Goeje, "Communication sur le livre d'Ibn al-Modjāwir", *Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris 1897*, 3rd section: *Langues et archéologie musulmanes*, Paris: s.n., 1897, pp. 23–33 (reprinted in Sezgin, *Texts and Studies on the Historical Geography and Topography of Central and South Arabia*, vol. 2, pp. 181–191), here p. 23: "Le livre d'Ibn al-Modjāwir contient une description de la Mecque et de l'Arabie méridionale et a été mis en écrit un peu avant 630 de l'hégire. L'honneur d'avoir reconnu le premier l'importance de cet ouvrage revient au digne président de la présente séance du Congrès des Orientalistes, M. Schefer, qui de son séjour en Orient en rapporta une copie." In the 1860s Schefer made the work accessible to Sprenger, as the latter acknowledges in his *Die Post- und Reiserouten*

(1813–1893) consulted Schefer's copy of *Şifat jazīrat al-ʿarab* for his 1864 monograph, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*.¹⁸ This study was followed in 1875 by his *Die alte Geographie Arabiens als Grundlage der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Semitismus*, for which he consulted both Schefer's and Miles's copies of *Şifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*.¹⁹ Miles's colleague William Francis Prideaux (1840–1914),

des Orients, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1864, p. xxiv. See also de Goeje, "Le livre", passim. Alfred von Kremer also had a copy of *Qurrat al-ʿuyūn bi-khabar al-Yaman al-maymūn* in his library; see von Kremer, *Ueber meine Sammlung orientalischer Handschriften*, p. 14 [164] no. 20. The copy, which is an apograph of a manuscript of the text in the Khedival Library in Cairo, is nowadays held in the British Library (MS London, British Library, Or. 3022); see Rieu, *Supplement*, pp. 378–379. It is likely that this copy was also commissioned by Spitta, who had numerous manuscripts of the Khedival Library transcribed; see Theodor Nöldeke, "Die arabischen Handschriften Spitta's", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 40 (1886), pp. 305–314, here p. 305. Spitta served as director of the Khedival Library in Cairo from 1875 until 1882; see Sabine Mangold, "Die Khedivial-Bibliothek zu Kairo und ihre deutschen Bibliothekare (1871–1914)", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 157 (2007), pp. 49–76.

- 18 See Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p. xviii: "Die zweite Hälfte des März [1863] verlebte ich in Paris, und Herr Schefer zeigte und lieh mir bei dieser Gelegenheit unter anderem 'die Beschreibung der arabischen Halbinsel' (*Şifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*) von Abū Moḥammad Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb Hamdānī." See also Aloys Sprenger, "Versuch einer Kritik von Hamdānīs Beschreibung der arabischen Halbinsel und einige Bemerkungen über Professor David Heinrich Müller's Ausgabe derselben", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 45 (1891), pp. 361–394, here p. 365 n. 1. Sprenger also consulted a copy of the *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir* attributed to Ibn al-Mujāwir (on which see below) that was in Schefer's possession (*ibid.*, p. xxi), as well as other manuscripts unrelated to Yemen; see Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, pp. xvi, xxiv. Sprenger dedicated the book to Schefer, "dem ausgezeichneten Kenner des Morgenlandes und Sammler orientalischer Handschriften Ch. Schefer als ein Zeichen der Hochachtung und Freundschaft."
- 19 Aloys Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens als Grundlage der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Semitismus*, Bern: Commissionsverlag von Huber & Comp., 1875, p. 2 n. 1: "Bisher sind zwei Handschriften dieses wichtigen Werkes [i.e., *Şifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*] entdeckt worden, welche ich beide benützen konnte. Die eine ist das Eigenthum des Herrn Capt. S.B. Miles, Residenten in Masqat; sie wurde in 908 d. Fl. von einem wurmstichigen Codex copirt, wesswegen einige wenige kleine Lücken darin vorkommen. Der Copist beurkundet sein Interesse an dem Gegenstand durch einige wenige Randbemerkungen und hat grossen Fleiss auf seine Arbeit verwendet. Es fehlen aber einige Blätter. Der andere Codex gehört dem Herrn Ch. Schefer; er ist höchstens zwanzig Jahre alt, die Schrift ist schön, aber incorrect, und er enthält denselben Text wie der Codex Miles, doch ohne die kleinen Lücken. Dieser Text ist bisweilen besser, bisweilen schlechter.... Da der Codex Schefer vollständig ist, verweise ich auf dessen Seitenzahlen." Like von Kremer, Sprenger was unaware of Schefer's copies of volumes 8 and 10 of the *Iklīl*. See Sprenger, "Ein arabischer Geograph", p. 241, where he refers only to the two copies in Miles's possession ("Sein Hauptwerk ist der *Iklīl*, die Krone, in zehn Bänden, wovon bis jetzt durch Oberst Miles zwei aufgefunden worden sind"). That Miles was the first who obtained copies of volumes 8 and 10 of the *Iklīl* is corroborated by a brief notice by Heinrich von Maltzan (1826–1974), "Sanā in Südarabien", *Mittheilungen der kais. und königl. geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 14

an avid collector of antiquities who served as assistant political resident in Aden from 1864 to 1875, also had a number of relevant manuscripts in his possession, including Ibn Hishām's *al-Tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar*²⁰ and volumes 8 and 10 of the *Iklīl*.²¹ Prideaux also published in 1879 an edition and English translation of Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī's *Qaṣīda* in an attempt to improve on von Kremer's earlier work. Prideaux consulted a manuscript that was made available to him by "Captain F[rederick] M[ercer] Hunter [1844–1898], Assistant Resident at Aden."²²

(1871), pp. 200–202, here pp. 201: "Was ferner die Literatur betrifft, so hat sich nicht minder Sanā als eine wertvolle Fundgrube erwiesen. Aus dieser ist in neuester Zeit ein Werk wieder ans Tageslicht gelangt, welches die Orientalisten schon nahezu verloren wähten, und auf das sie besonders begierig waren, da es sich in vielen Handschriften citiert findet. Dieses Werk ist das Iklīl el Ansab el Himyar, das heißt 'die Krone der Traditionen über das Himyarische', nämlich das Altsüdarabische.... Es muss jedoch gesagt werden, dass dieser Fund noch nicht ganz vollständig ist, sondern nur einige Bände begreift, während andere sehr wichtige bis jetzt fehlen. Unter diesen fehlenden ist auch der neunte ... Vielleicht wird es dem unermüdlichen Eifer des jungen englischen Assistant-Governor, Capitän Milles [*sic*], dessen Nachforschung wir die obigen Fünde verdanken, gelingen, auch diesen noch fehlenden Band durch seine Agenten in Sanā aufzustöbern, und so die Wissenschaft wesentlich zu bereichern." See also Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, p. 9, who also relates that Miles had volumes 8 and 10 of the *Iklīl* in his possession.

20 See Prideaux's introduction to his *The Lay of the Himyarites by the Kadhi Neshwan ibn Sa'id*, Sehore: High School Press, 1879, p. xiv n. 1: "These were collected by Ibn Hisham the historian of Mohammed, under the title of the Tijān fi—Mulūk, of which a ms. is in my possession. It is of excessive rarity, if not unique, and I trust, when leisure permits, to publish an analysis of it." See also Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 365.

21 See Carl Phillips and St. J. Simpson, "A Biographical Sketch of Britain's First Sabaeologist—Colonel W.F. Prideaux, CSI", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 37 (2007), pp. 201–218, here p. 212. For Prideaux's copies of volumes 8 and 10 of the *Iklīl*, see also below, n. 29. Where Prideaux's collection of manuscripts ended up is uncertain; see Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, pp. 7–8 n. 2.

22 Prideaux, *Lay of the Himyarites*, pp. xixff. Hunter served as assistant resident in Aden from at least 1873 to 1877, and on the basis of his experience in Aden, he wrote *An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia* (1877). On him, see James Fargher, "Hunter in Somaliland: Consul Frederick M. Hunter and the Creation of the British Somaliland Protectorate", *Northeast African Studies* 21 (2021), pp. 119–136; <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG85051> (accessed 15 February 2022) and <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F71749> (accessed 19 February 2022). Another edition of the text was published in 1914 by René Basset, *La Qaṣīdah Ḥimyarite de Nachouan ben Sa'id*, Algiers: Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, 1914. To judge by his brief introduction, Basset did not consult any manuscript of the text but worked exclusively on the basis of von Kremer's and Prideaux's editions, in addition to which he consulted Müller's comments on and partial edition of the text in Müller, "Himjarische Inschriften", as well as Theodor Nöldeke's review of von Kremer's edition in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 20 (1866), pp. 770–783.

In 1877, the Austrian scholar David Heinrich Müller published a systematic overview of the extant works by al-Hamdānī and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, to the extent that these were known at the time.²³ Besides the *Iklīl*, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*, and *al-Qaṣīda al-ḥimyarīyya*²⁴ this corpus included Nashwān's *Shams al-ʿulūm wa-dawāʾ kalām al-ʿArab min al-kulūm*, a dictionary filled with information on South Arabian history, which Müller accessed through MS Berlin, SBB, Wetzstein I 149.²⁵ He apparently planned to edit the relevant historical materials contained in this book, but his plan was never realized. Müller's work was continued by ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad (1882–1949), who devoted his PhD dissertation to Nashwān's *Shams al-ʿulūm* at the suggestion of his teacher August Fischer (1865–1949).²⁶ In 1879–1881 Müller published *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem "Iklīl" des Hamdānī*, an annotated translation of volume 8 of the *Iklīl*, for which he used primarily von Kremer's excerpts from Miles's copy of the relevant *Iklīl* volume,²⁷ as well as Prideaux's copies

23 Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, pp. 3–14 ("I. Die handschriftlichen Werke des Nešwān al-Ḥimjarī und des Abū-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī").

24 Müller consulted both the Vienna copy of the *Qaṣīda* and its antigraph in the Rich collection, as well as a witness of the poem in MS London, BL Or. 1383 (Miles's collection); MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 184/5; and a copy of the *qaṣīda* in Cambridge (in the Niebuhr collection). His assessment of the manuscripts was that the British Museum copy, which had previously belonged to Miles, was superior to all the other witnesses in quality; see Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, pp. 5–7.

25 See Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, pp. 3ff.; see also Müller, "Himjarische Inschriften", pp. 593 n. 1, and passim; Müller, "Himjarische Studien", passim. For the codex, see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin, 10 vols, Berlin: A.W. Schade's Buchdruckerei (L. Schade) / A. Asher & Co., 1887–1899, vol. 6, pp. 245–247 no. 6963.

26 See ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im "Šams al-ʿulūm", gesammelt, alphabetisch geordnet und herausgegeben*, Leiden: E.J. Brill / London: Luzac, 1916, p. xv: "Die vorliegende Arbeit ist eine Sammlung hauptsächlich auf Südarabien bezüglicher Auszüge aus dem *Šams al-ʿulūm wa-dīwāʾ kalām al-ʿArab min al-kulūm* des Našwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimjarī gest. 573/1117.... Mein hochverehrter Lehrer, Herr Prof. Dr. Fischer, machte mich auf dieses Werk aufmerksam und riet mir zu der vorliegenden Arbeit. Er wies mich dabei darauf hin, dass einige Auszüge daraus schon durch Hofrat Prof. D.H. Müller veröffentlicht worden waren, der eine Bearbeitung der gesamten in Frage kommenden Materialien geplant hatte, und hatte auch die grosse Freundlichkeit, sich meinestwegen mit Hofrat Müller in Verbindung zu setzen. Dieser war so liebenswürdig, mir seine noch unveröffentlichten Auszüge, auf deren Edition er inzwischen verzichtet hatte, zu übersenden, die dann für meine eigenen Auszüge als Wegweiser gedient haben."

27 Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, p. 4: "Herr Hofrath Alfred von Kremer war so gütig, mir ... seine Excerpte aus dem achten Buche des Iklīl, das ihm von Herrn Capitain Miles früher zur Verfügung gestellt worden war, abzutreten." Later Müller had direct access to

of volumes 8 and 10 of the *Iklīl*.²⁸ This was followed in 1884–1891 by an *editio princeps* of al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*.²⁹ Müller consulted four witnesses of this book: Miles's copy,³⁰ Schefer's copy (as well as its antigraph, MS Istanbul, Köprülü 1027, which he saw in 1877³¹), another copy of the work purchased in 1879 by Wilhelm Spitta (1853–1883) in Cairo,³² and a copy acquired by the French explorer Charles Huber (1847–1884) on one of his trips to Arabia.³³

volume 8 of Miles's copy of the *Iklīl*, but not to Miles's copy of volume 10; see Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, pp. 9, 12.

- 28 Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, pp. 4–5: "Zu ganz besonderem Danke hat mich aber Herr Capitain Prideaux in British Bushire dadurch verpflichtet, dass er auf meine Mittheilung hin, dass ich nach London zu gehen gedenke, um im British Museum die Schriften des Hamdānī zu copiren, mir in zuvorkommendster Weise die in seinem Besitze sich befindenden Copien von den zwei Büchern des Iklīl, welche er während seines Aufenthalts in Jemen von einem Araber sich hat anfertigen lassen, für so lange zur Verfügung gestellt hat, als ich sie für meine Arbeiten benöthige. Dann werden die beiden Hss. in den Besitz des British Museum übergehen." See also *ibid.*, p. 14, where Müller quotes the final colophon of volume 10, which is dated 23 Rabi' 1 1288/12 June 1871. The name of the copyist whom Prideaux had commissioned with the copy is not mentioned. For Müller's publication, see also Carlo Landberg's review in *Arabica*, by Carlo Landberg, vol. 3, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1895, pp. 116–122.
- 29 David Heinrich Müller (ed.), *Al-Hamdānī's Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel nach den Handschriften von Berlin, Constantinopel, London, Paris und Straßburg*, 2 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1884–1891.
- 30 See David Heinrich Müller, "Über meine Ausgabe der Ṣifat Ġazīrat al 'Arab (Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel) von al-Hamdānī", *Dr. A. Petermanns Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 32 (1886), pp. 117–121, here p. 117: "Im Jahre 1876 habe ich in London im British Museum die von Captain Miles dorthin geschenkte Handschrift der Ġazīrat al 'Arab kopiert ..."; also Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, p. 5. See also Sprenger, "Versuch einer Kritik", p. 362: "Müller hat seine Arbeit 1876 damit begonnen, dass er den Codex Miles, den ich im Auftrage des Eigenthümers, nachdem ich ihn zum eignen Gebrauch mit meiner Abschrift des Codex Schefer collationirt hatte, an das British Museum schickte, abschrieb."
- 31 Müller, "Über meine Ausgabe der Ṣifat Ġazīrat al 'Arab", p. 117.
- 32 Today preserved as MS Berlin, SBB, MS or. fol. 1196. For a description of the copy and a digital surrogate, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=770832385> (accessed 14 February 2022).
- 33 See Müller, "Über meine Ausgabe der Ṣifat Ġazīrat al 'Arab", p. 118. See also Gertraud Sturm, *David Heinrich Müller und die südarabische Expedition der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1898/99*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015, pp. 89–90. For Charles Huber, see Marcel Kurpershoek and Claude Lorentz, "Charles Huber, voyageur en Arabie: sur deux manuscrits de poésie bédouine de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg", *La revue de la BNU* 17 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.4000/rbnu.316> (accessed 10 April 2022); see also briefly Hélène Lozachmeur und Françoise Biquel-Chatonnet, "Charles Huber und Julius Euting in Arabien nach französischen, auch heute noch nicht veröffentlichten Dokumenten", *Anabases* 12 (2010), <https://>

The desire and hope to discover additional volumes of the *Iklīl* was shared by virtually all travellers to Yemen over the following decades, European as well as non-European.³⁴ Their zeal was further fired by rumours about libraries that allegedly contained a complete set of the *Iklīl*.³⁵ Ironically, additional volumes

journals.openedition.org/anabases/1230 (accessed 5 March 2022). Müller's edition was harshly criticized by Eduard Glaser; see Müller, "Über meine Ausgabe der *Ṣīfat Ǧazīrat al-'Arab*", which is a reply to Glaser's criticism. Other, more balanced reviews of volume 1 of Müller's edition were published by Theodor Nöldeke in *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland* 41 (4 October 1884), columns 1424–1426, and by Carlo Landberg in *Critica Arabica*, vol. 1, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1886, pp. 7–18. Another review, Sprenger's "Versuch eine Kritik", was a defense of Müller's edition against Glaser's criticism. For a brief evaluation of Müller's edition and the controversy prompted by Glaser's critique, see Löfgren's comment in *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, p. 6 n. 1. In 1883 Glaser also produced in Ṣan'ā' a translation of and commentary on al-Hamdānī's work, which remains unpublished: "Übersetzung und Commentar des Djezīrat al-'Arab des Hamdānī." The manuscript is preserved as MS Prague, Naprstek Museum, ar Glaser 3/1. We thank Jan Thiele for having brought this manuscript to our attention.

34 The Egyptian scholar and politician Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1868–1934), who visited Yemen in July 1926 to mediate between Imām Yaḥyā and Ibn Sa'ūd in their conflict over the border, collected antiquities and manuscripts, including a volume (volume 8) of al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl* that was later donated to the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; see Anwar al-Jundī, *Aḥmad Zakī al-mulaqqab bi-Shaykh al-'Urūba: Ḥayātuhu, āwā'uhu, āthāruhu*, Cairo: al-Mu'assasa al-Miṣriyya al-Āmma li-l-Ta'līf, 1964, p. 92; cf. also Umar Ryad, "An Oriental Orientalist: Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1868–1934), Egyptian Statesman and Philologist in the Colonial Age", *Philological Encounters* 3 (2018), pp. 129–166.

35 See, e.g., a note by Carlo Landberg on his copy of volume 10 of the *Iklīl*: "Der ganze Iklīl soll sich nach Šeḥ Maḥmūd eš-Šinqīṭis Angabe in der Bibl. der Madrasat Āṣir Efendi in Cstple befinden und in der Stadt Ṭbb in Yēmen. Landberg"; quoted in Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala verzeichnet und beschrieben*, 2 vols, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1930–35, vol. 1, p. 102. The American-Lebanese traveller Amīn al-Rayḥānī (1879–1940), who visited Ṣan'ā' around 1922, related the rumour that Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamid al-Dīn's library had a full set of al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl*; see Ameen Rihani, *Arabian Peak and Desert: Travels in Yemen*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930, p. 130: "... His Eminence is a book lover ... a collector rather of ancient manuscripts. His library, all in MS., is the biggest, I was told, in all Arabia. But he is most jealous of it; no outside eye or hand has ever seen or touched a single volume of the precious collection. I am also told—and I set it down as I have the story of the treasures—that the famous book *Al-Iklīl* is only found, complete in its ten volumes, in the library of the Imam, and that some day, *inshallah*, when the printing press, in its slow Arab journey, reaches Ṣan'ā, it will be given in book form to the world." Rudolf Strothmann was also confronted with rumours about additional volumes of the *Iklīl* during his sojourn in Yemen in 1930; see Rudolf Strothmann, *Mein schönstes orientalisches Semester: Von Sarajewo nach Ṣan'ā', 18.9.1939–10.5.1930*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke

beyond 8 and 10 entered European libraries at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it took decades before they came to the attention of scholars. In 1905, the Berlin State Library purchased a codex containing volumes 1 and 2 of the *Iklīl* from Sayyid ‘Alī Bilgramī (1851–1911), who was at the time lecturer for Indian languages at Cambridge.³⁶ Oscar Löfgren (on whom see below) discovered the codex in June 1932 and published on it in 1935.³⁷ A facsimile edition

and Gaby Strothmann [in preparation], entries for 17 March 1930 (“Merkwürdigerweise erzählt der Buchhändler, daß sich im Privatbesitz des Imām der 9. und 10. Band des *Iklīl* befänden!!”) and 28 March 1930 (“[Muḥammad] Rāḡib [Bey (d. 1956), Imām Yahyā’s foreign minister] teilt mir mit, daß er schon nach dem gemeinsamen Tee bei [Harold F.] Jacob [1866–1936] den Imām für mich um *Iklīl* Bd. 9 u.a. gebeten habe; der habe sofort auswendig erklärt, daß das Manuskript vorhanden sei, wirklich der so wichtige Bd. IX?”). For Eugen Mittwoch’s (1876–1942) assumption that Carl Rathjens might have brought from Yemen a complete copy of al-Hamdānī’s *Iklīl*, see below, n. 38. On 24 March 1957, Charles L. Geddes wrote to Oscar Löfgren from Cairo (Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 652 E): “Prof. [Ḥusayn F. al-]Hamdani [1901–1962] has been lead to believe that a complete copy of all books of the *Iklīl* is to be found in Yemen which, I believe, is in the private collection of the Imam. I very much doubt that I shall be able to learn anything more definite when I go to Ṣan‘ā, which I am planning to do in July”. Other scholars doubted that al-Hamdānī had ever finished any of the other volumes; see e.g. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, p. 18 (“... ce sont toujours les huitième et dixième dont on nous présente des exemplaires et, jusqu’à preuve du contraire, je prétends que les autres ont seulement existé à l’état de projet”). See also Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, p. 8 (“... Vielleicht ist unter diesen Umständen H. Derenbourg nicht der einzige gewesen, der sogar begonnen hat, die Existenz der übrigen acht Teile zu bezweifeln?”). See also below, Appendix: Löfgren, “Die geplante Edition der beiden Bücher von Hamdānīs *Iklīl*”.

36 MS Berlin, SBB, Ms. or. oct. 968, dated 826/1423. For a description and a digital surrogate of the codex, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=1677407891> (accessed 15 February 2022); see also https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de/receive/KOHDArabicMSBook_manuscript_00003710 (accessed 15 February 2022). See *Jahresbericht der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin für das Jahr 1905/06*, Burg b. M.: A. Hopfer, [1906], pp. 23–24: “Die Vermehrung der Handschriftensammlungen, für die 12000 M. zur Verfügung standen, wurde im Laufe des verflossenen Jahres durch manche außerordentliche Zuwendungen sehr erheblich begünstigt.... Aus diesen Erwerbungen sind einige besonders wertvolle hervorzuheben ... ferner folgende Orientalia: das erste und das zweite Buch der süd-arabischen Geschichte Al Iklīl von Al Hamdānī, ein Unicum ...” We thank Christoph Rauch for having shared the annual report with us. For the acquisition, see also Christoph Rauch, “Yemeni Manuscripts of Diverse Provenance at the Berlin State Library”, *Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril*, ed. Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2022, pp. 385–415, here p. 391.

37 See Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, p. 14, where he writes: “Soweit mir bekannt ist, hat bisher kein Forscher diese Hs. beachtet, jedenfalls wird ihr Dasein den meisten Arabisten gänzlich unbekannt sein.... Nach der auf dem Titelblatt stehenden Notiz: ‘acc. ms. 1905. 25’ will es scheinen, dass sich dieses Ms. seit 30 Jahren in der Berliner Bibliothek befunden hat, ohne dass die gelehrte Welt davon erfahren hat, was fast unglaublich erscheint.” Giorgio Levi Della Vida suggests that Löfgren’s comment on p. 13 of the publication that

appeared in 1943,³⁸ followed by Löfgren's edition of volume 1, published in

he discovered the manuscript in June 1932 must be an error and that he meant to write "1934"; see Levi Della Vida, review of Oscar Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund, Orientalia*, n.s., 6 (1937), pp. 394–396, here p. 394 n. 1: "Il manoscritto si trovava in biblioteca fin dal 1905, ma era rimasto inosservato. Il Löfgren dichiara (p. 13) di aver fatto la scoperta nel giugno 1932, ma poiché alla pagina seguente narra di aver dovuto compiere in maniera affrettata lo studio del testo perché la biblioteca rimase chiusa straordinariamente a causa dei funerali del presidente Hindenburg, deve trattarsi di un errore di stampa per 1934." Paul von Hindenburg died on 2 August 1934. Levi Della Vida errs, however. Löfgren discovered the Berlin copy of volume 1 of the *Iklil* in 1932 and returned to Berlin during the summer of 1934 to continue his study of the manuscript. See Oscar Löfgren, "Hamdānī-Discoveries", *Al-Hamdānī: A Great Yemeni Scholar. Studies on the Occasion of His Millennial Anniversary*, ed. Yusuf Mohammad Abdallah, Sanaa: Sanaa University, 1407/1986, pp. 121–127, here p. 122; see also letter Löfgren to Carl Rathjens, 14 November 1933 (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Nachlass Carl Rathjens, Korrespondenz, L 294): "Im Sommer 1932, als ich in Berlin für Mittwoch studierte, hat er einmal die Vermutung ausgesprochen, die grosse genealogische Arbeit des Hamdānī: Iklil, von der ich in der Preuss. Staatsbibliothek eben einen früher nicht bekannten Teil gefunden hatte, befände sich vielleicht vollständig in Hamburg dank Ihrer Expedition. Erst vor ein paar Wochen fragte ich bei der Hamburger Bibliothek an, ob diese von Ihnen arabische Hss. erworben hat, was nicht der Fall war. Dagegen spricht der Direktor von einigen 'von der Berliner Bibliothek angekauften Hss'. Da es nun für mich sehr wertvoll wäre, über die von Ihnen mitgebrachten Hss. Näheres zu erfahren, wo sie sich jetzt befinden und ob darunter vielleicht Abschriften der Werke der drei genannten Autoren [al-Hamdānī, Bū Makhrama, and Ibn al-Mujāwir] Ihres Wissens vorkommen, bitte ich Sie höflichst um gefällige Auskunft. Da ich während des Sommers 1934 eine Studienreise nach Deutschland und Italien vorzunehmen beabsichtige, würde ich gern die Gelegenheit benützen, auch die von Ihnen mitgebrachten Hss. zu studieren, sei es dass sie in Berlin liegen oder anderswo." Rathjens encouraged Löfgren to approach Rudolf Strothmann on the issue (see letter Rathjens to Löfgren, 5 December 1933), which he did; see Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, p. 10 n. 1. Drafts of Löfgren's letter to Rathjens (14 November 1933) and to Strothmann (6 December 1933) are preserved in Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 652 E. Strothmann's reply to Löfgren has not come down to us.

- 38 Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Ja'qūb al-Hamdānī, *Al-Iklil: Buch 1 und 2; Faksimile der Handschrift Ms. or. oct. 968 der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, Berlin: Preussische Staatsbibliothek, 1943. The publication opens with a brief *Vorwort* by Max Weisweiler (1902–1968), since 1935 the *de facto* director of the Oriental department of Berlin State Library. We thank Christoph Rauch for having provided us with photographs of selected pages of this bibliographic rarity. The background story behind the facsimile print—it was initially intended as a gift for Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamid al-Dīn on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1939—is related in detail in Walter Schwarzeneker, "Erinnerungen an die Staatsbibliothek, hrsg. von Karl Schubarth-Engelschall", *Sammler—Bibliothekare—Forscher: Zur Geschichte der orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, ed. Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt, Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2022, pp. 277–314, here pp. 303–307. Additional information about the background of the facsimile publication and its later fate is provided in a postcard from Max Weisweiler to Oscar Löfgren, 26 March 1952 (Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 652E):

two fascicles in 1954 and 1965.³⁹ A parallel edition of the first two volumes was prepared by the Yemeni scholar Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Akwa‘ al-Ḥiwālī (1903–1998), published in 1963–1966.⁴⁰ A partial copy of volume 6 of the *Iklīl* was acquired by the Bavarian State Library in Munich in 1902, as part of the Caprotti collection (fig. 1). It is included in a multitext codex that also contains a fragment of al-Hamdānī’s *Ṣifāt jazīrat al-‘arab*.⁴¹ This copy came to the

“... Während des Krieges habe ich als Leiter der Orientalischen Abteilung der Staatsbibliothek die Handschrift als *Faksimile* mit einigen Zeilen Vorwort herausgegeben. Sie sollte von Herrn Schlobies als Geschenk der Reichsregierung dem Imam des Jemen zum 70. Geburtstag überreicht werden. Die Kriegseignisse ließen es nicht mehr zu dieser Überreichung kommen. Die Regierung verlangte damals von mir, daß das Faksimile bis zu der Überreichung an den Imam für niemanden zugänglich sei. Da ich jedoch befürchtete, daß die Fliegerangriffe die gesamte Auflage vernichten könnten, übersandte ich damals an eine größere Anzahl von deutschen Universitätsbibliotheken je ein Exemplar. Da, wenn ich richtig unterrichtet bin, in Berlin kein vollständiges Exemplar mehr vorhanden ist, hat das Faksimile Seltenheitswert und existiert nur noch in einigen unzerstörten westdeutschen Bibliotheken ...”. For the full text of the postcard, see figs 1a–b.

- 39 Al-Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl*, *erstes Buch: In der Rezension von Muḥammad bin Naṣwān bin Sa‘īd al-Ḥimyarī*. Nach der einzigen Berliner Handschrift or. oct. 968 [zum ersten Male] herausgegeben von Oscar Löfgren, 2 vols, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1954–1965. Löfgren had planned to edit volume 2 of the *Iklīl* as well; see Oscar Löfgren, “Die geplante Edition der beiden ersten Bücher von al-Hamdānī’s *Iklīl*”, *Actes du XX^e congrès international des orientalistes, Bruxelles, 5–10 Septembre 1938*, Louvain: Bureaux de Muséon, 1940, p. 306, containing an abstract of his presentation. For the full text of his lecture, see below, Appendix. This was only partly realized in al-Hamdānī, *Sūdārabisches “Muṣṭabih”: Verzeichnis homonymer und homographier Eigennamen; Aus dem Berliner Unikum des “Iklīl”*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1953, which contains an edition of fols 166v–179r of the Berlin codex. Since Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Akwa‘ al-Ḥiwālī had published an edition of volume 2 in the meantime, Löfgren felt that it would be redundant to re-edit the text; see Löfgren, “Hamdānī-Discoveries”, p. 122. Moreover, although volume 8 is the most widely transmitted portion of al-Hamdānī’s *Iklīl*, Löfgren has shown that the majority of copies of volume 8 reflect a late, unreliable recension of this part of the work. See Oscar Löfgren, “Über eine neuentdeckte bessere Textüberlieferung von al-Hamdānī’s *Iklīl* VIII”, *Orientalia*, n.s., 12 (1943), pp. 135–145, where he discusses in some detail MS Ambrosiana N.F. D 284, an extract of volume 8, which is more reliable than any other copy of this part of the work; see also Löfgren, “Hamdānī-Discoveries”, pp. 125–127.

- 40 Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1383/1963; the edition was apparently based on the Berlin codex as well as, directly or indirectly, another witness of volume 2 of the *Iklīl* in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo. Photostats of the Cairo witness are preserved in the Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 580. Löfgren had received the photostats in January 1959 through mediation of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo. For the copy, see also Löfgren, “Hamdānī-Discoveries”, pp. 122–123. Löfgren consulted al-Akwa’s edition for fascicle 2 of his edition (1965), and he added his critic of the edition in his own 1965 publication, pp. 178–180.

- 41 MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1334, dated 853/1449 and transcribed from an antigraph dated 627/1230.



FIGURE 1 MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1334 (title page of volume 6 of al-Hamdānī's *Iktilāf*)

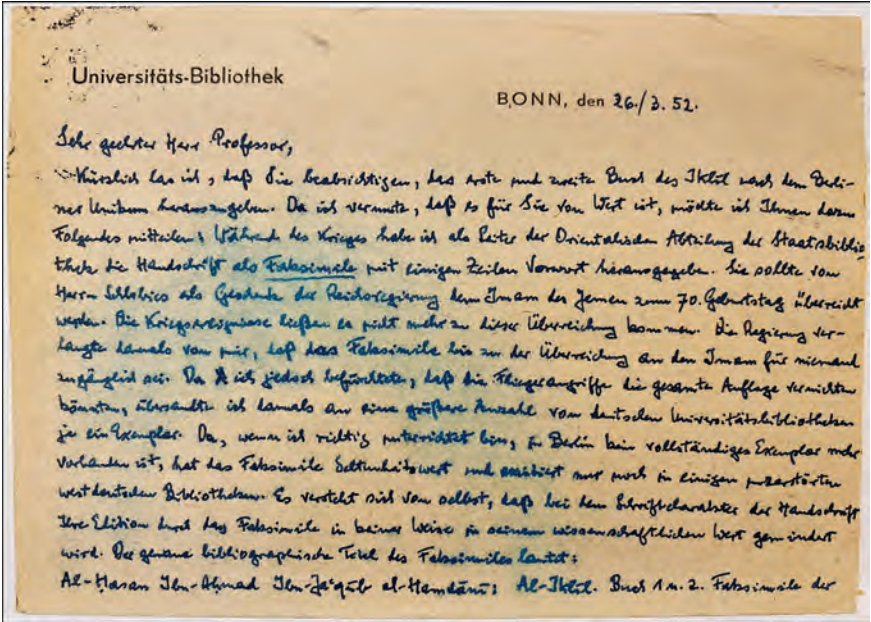


FIGURE 1A-B Postcard from Max Weisweiler to Oscar Löfgren, 26 March 1952
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, OSCAR LÖFGRENS ARKIV, BOX NC 652E

Uppsala 21.5.75

Dear Dr King,

Having received your letters of 5/3 and 1/4 with the most interesting material enclosed I shall be glad to give you summary information on astronomical/astrological texts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana beside those already known to you. Since the first volume of our Catalogue will be published in near future, perhaps already in June, I can refer to that work for details concerning Antico and Medio Fondo and restrict myself to a summary list of titles, with the shelf-marks of the most important mss. quoted. Most of that material seems to be unknown to you. Ms. Griffini 37 (Tuḥfat ar-rāḡib) has now the signum X 73 sup., the text cited occupies ff.1-35a. It is not identical with & 30 sup. (Cat.CXLIV), which is a curious "Collection of Arabic and Persian texts on astrology and magic". The ms. & 196 (Cat.CCXXXI) with the zīg-tables of Ibn al-Bannā (Minhāḡ at-ṭalīb and Rasā'il az-Zīḡ al-muqarraḡ) should interest you, although being a secondary copy from ms. Escorial 909 (Casiri 904), which seems to have escaped your attention so far. Colville has made an excellent copyists work. Ms. & 76 sup. (Cat.CXCV) whose ff.2-67 give the beginning of Ḡarā'ib al-funūn by Ibn al-ʿArabānī (-Ḡurbānī) al-Miṣrī, presents ff. 68-184 material from unknown source of considerable interest also from astronomical point of view (details in the Catalogue). For Nuovo Fondo I have dressed a list of all texts which ~~may~~ ^{might} interest the Smithsonian Institution Project in Medieval Islamic Astronomy. The Catalogue of series A-D might possibly be published in 76 or 77 (Traini is revising the Lista of Griffini), the rest and indices hardly before 1980. Several texts seem to be unknown, as also the authors. I suppose that you will procure microfilms of many texts and shall be glad to have your commentaries on them, to be made use of for the revision of my catalogue copy, which of course often is preliminary and summary. Unfortunately the number of defective texts is unusually high in the Arabic collections of the Bibl.Ambrosiana, as I have pointed out in my preface. So the task of cataloguing has been difficult, not to mention the lack of time and literature in loco. Here in Uppsala we are happy to possess a rich collection of Arabic literature, which is constantly being supplemented, not least from the book-shop al-Arab of Boustany. I have been seeking in vain for vol.1 of the biographical work Naṣr al-ʿarf li-nubalā' al-Yaman ba'd al-alf by Muḥ.b.Muḥ. Zahāra. In vol.2, published in 1376-7 in Cairo (Maṭb.as-Salaṣiyya), vol.1 is said to have been printed in 1357 in Cairo (Maṭb. as-Sa'āda), but it seems that not even Dār al-kutub has a copy, so I am afraid that vol.1 never was published. I shall be most thankful for any help you can give

FIGURE 1C-D Letter Oscar Löfgren to David A. Kind (draft), 21 May 1975, resent on 18 July 1979
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, OSCAR LÖFGRENS ARKIV,
BOX NC 652E

for the solution of this problem. Perhaps the Sa'āda printing house still exists? Vol. 2 has turned out very useful for our purpose, S. Arabian biography and literary history. Vol. 2 has the back title: Nubalā' al-Yaman bil-qarn at-tānī 'aṣṣar lil-hiğra, which possibly has complicated the matter. If you would happen to find a copy of vol. 1 or locate it anywhere, I shall be glad to ~~buy~~^{buy} the volume or have reproductions made of it. But I am rather pessimistic, although the information given at the end of vol. 2 is quite explicit.

I am sorry not to be able to give any assistance on Abū l-ʿUqūl etc., but I hope that you will not be disappointed with the material contained in the three leaves enclosed (A-C). My "Handlist" of the Ambrosiana-Mss. is already somewhat antiquated as to details, but it will fill a lacuna during the time until the publication of the last vol. of our Catalogue (IV: General Indices). I visited the Bibl. Ambrosiana in October 1974, so it is strange that we did not meet, only I spend all my time in the hall of manuscripts.

With kind greetings and best wishes for the progress of your important work!

Sincerely yours

Oscar Löfgren

18th July 1979

Director D.A. King,
American Research Center,
Cairo.
Dear Sir,

Four years ago I became a letter from you asking me information on astronomical mss. in the Ambrosiana. In my answer (21.5.75) I tried to point out some material which might be of interest to you. Since then I heard nothing from you, so I am afraid that my letter didn't reach you. As you will know the first vol. of our Ambrosiana-catalog was published in the autumn of 1975, and the second volume is being printed and will probably appear in the beginning of 1980. I have little hope that I shall see the work finished with vol. 4, being 81 years old but still able to work with Arabian and Ethiopian mss. - recently with our big collection of Arabic microfilms mainly from the Hellmut Ritter-fund acquired by us.

With best wishes for the continuation of your project,

Sincerely yours

Oscar Löfgren
Prof. em.

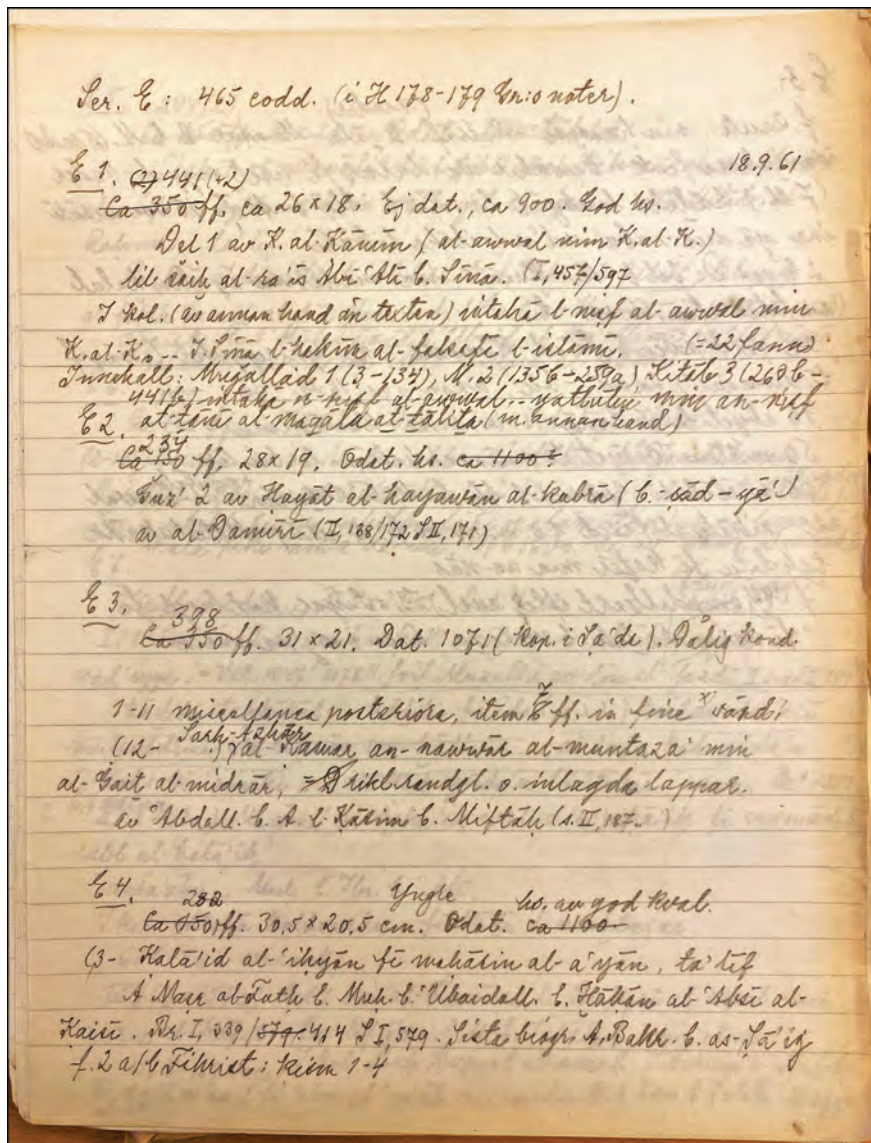


FIGURE 1E Sample page of Oscar Löfgren's handwritten draft catalogue of N.F., series E
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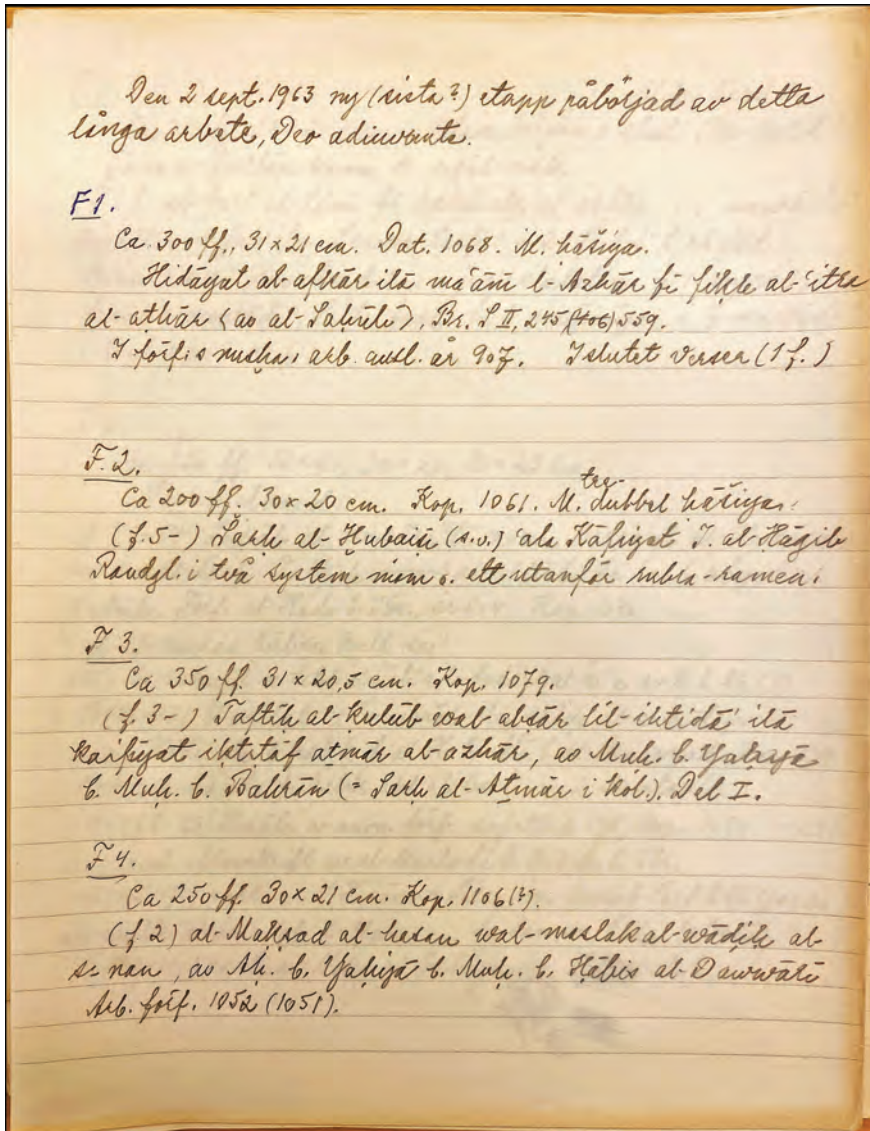


FIGURE 1G Sample page of Oscar Löfgren's handwritten draft catalogue of N.F., series F
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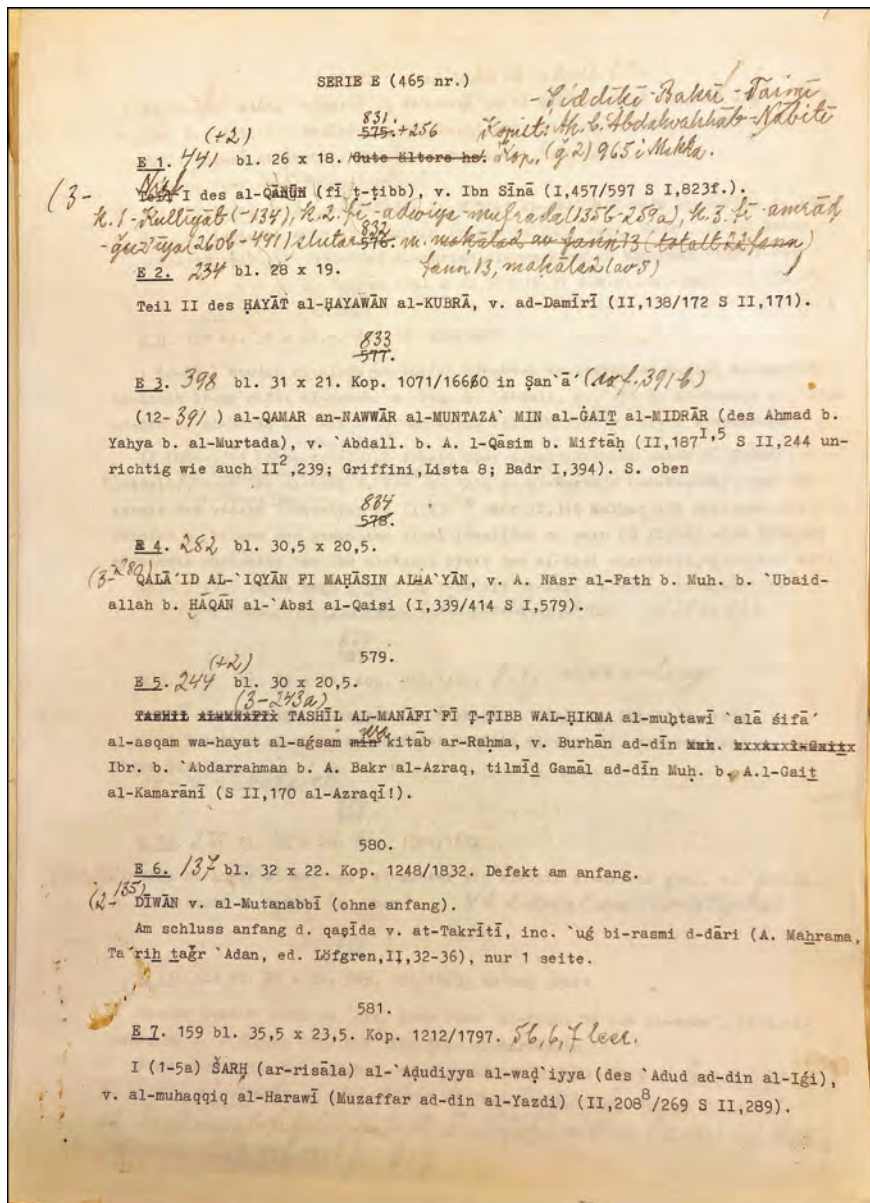


FIGURE 1H Sample page of Oscar Löfgren's handwritten notes on the typewritten draft catalogue of N.F., series E

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attention of scholars only after the publication of a catalogue describing the entire collection in 2007.⁴² On the basis of the Munich codex, Muqbil al-Tām 'Āmir al-Aḥmadī prepared a critical edition that was published in 1441/2020 by the Arabia Felix Academy (Majma' al-'Arabiyya al-Sa'ida) in Ṣan'ā'.⁴³

In view of the enthusiasm among nineteenth-century European scholars for South Arabian studies, the arrival of large numbers of Yemeni manuscripts in European libraries beginning at the end of the nineteenth century was a sensation and at same time opened up entirely new vistas. Among the first to arrive were the collections assembled by Eduard Glaser (1855–1908), which were sold to the Berlin State Library, the British Museum in London (1890), and the Austrian National Library in Vienna (1894).⁴⁴ Glaser visited Yemen four times, in October 1882–March 1884, from 21 April 1885 to 9 February 1886, in October 1887–September 1888, and from early 1892 to spring 1894, and his expeditions received enormous media attention in the European press, an indication of the Europeans' longing for exotica and antiquities.⁴⁵ MS Berlin,

42 See Florian Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007, pp. 509–511 no. 274. For the codex, see also https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de/receive/KOHDArabicMSBook_manuscript_00006447 (accessed 15 February 2022). Before Sobieroj, Emil Gratzl (1877–1957) included descriptions of some codices from the Munich Caprotti collection in several publications: Emil Gratzl, *Katalog der Ausstellung von Handschriften aus dem islamischen Kulturkreis im Fürstensaal der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, München / Leipzig: W. Drugelin, 1910; Emil Gratzl, "Die arabischen Handschriften der Sammlung Glaser in der königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München", *Orientalistische Studien: Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 31. Juli 1914 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1917, vol. 2, pp. 194–200; Emil Gratzl, "Islamische Handschriftenbände der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek", *Buch und Bucheinband: Aufsätze und graphische Blätter zum 60. Geburtstage von Hans Loubier*, Leipzig: Karl W. Hersemann, 1923, pp. 118–147. Gratzl briefly mentions Cod. Arab. 1334 (= Glaser 158) in Gratzl, "Die arabischen Handschriften", p. 198 without specifying the volume of the *Iklīl* ("Endlich umfangreiche alte Fragmente aus Ḥamdānī's ḡeẓīrat al 'arab und iklīl"). It is noteworthy that the Munich codex appears to have been temporarily lost or misplaced; this is suggested by Löfgren's note on the manuscript in *Ein Ḥamdānī-Fund*, pp. 12–13 n. 5: "Nach persönlicher Mitteilung des genannten Gelehrten [i.e., Gratzl] sind diese Fragmente späterhin auf unbekannte Weise verlorengegangen."

43 We thank Hassan Ansari for having alerted us to this edition and for having provided us with a copy.

44 Descriptions of the London Glaser collection are included in Rieu, *Supplement*. The Vienna Glaser collection was first announced in Max Grünert, "Über Ed. Glaser's jüngste arabische Handschriften-Sammlung", *Actes du dixième congrès international des orientalistes: Session de Genève, 1894*, part 1: *Comptes rendus des séances*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1897, pp. 35–43.

45 Regular reports appeared in *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), *Wiener Zeitung*, *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich), *Globus* (Hindenburghausen), *Das Ausland: Wochenschrift*

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB–PK), Hs. or. sim. 8948, a register of readers of Oriental manuscripts in the Berlin State Library (“Im Lesezimmer der Handschriften-Abtheilung benutzte Berliner Mss. Orientalia”), minutely records the manuscripts’ shelf marks, the dates of consultation, and the names of the respective readers over close to five decades, 1881 through 1928. The register thus allows reconstructing the reception of the manuscripts of the Glaser collections beginning on 15 July 1884, when the first collection (consisting of twenty-three codices) was purchased; the second collection (consisting of 241 codices) was acquired in February 1887.⁴⁶

für Erd- und Völkerkunde (Stuttgart), *Prager Tagblatt*, and *Bohemia* (Prague). Occasionally, reports also appeared in the US press, e.g. in the *Indiana Tribune*, *The Times* (Richmond, VA), the *St. Louis Post*, *The Jewish Messenger*, and *Der Deutsche Correspondent* (Baltimore). For an overview of Glaser’s expeditions and their results, see Walter W. Müller, “Der böhmische Südarabienreisende Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) und seine Bedeutung für die Erforschung des antiken Jemen”, *Forschungsbeiträge der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Klasse*, ed. Eduard Hlawitschka, Munich: Sudetendeutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste, 2002, pp. 195–220.

- 46 Not included in the register are the names of those readers who did not travel to Berlin to consult the codices on site but rather were able to borrow manuscripts from the library, as was common practice at the time; see, e.g., Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, pp. 3–4 n. 2: “Dem Oberbibliothekar der königl. Bibliothek in Berlin, Herrn Professor Lepsius, sei hier für seine liberale Verwaltung der ihm anvertrauten Schätze bestens gedankt. Derselbe stellte mir nicht nur die Benützung der Hss. innerhalb der Bibliothek frei, sondern vertraute mir mit einer Liberalität, die nur dem wahren Manne der Wissenschaft eigen ist, kostbare Hss. in meine Wohnung und sendete mir auf meinen einfachen Wunsch ohne jede langwierige diplomatische Vermittlung eine sehr werthvolle Hs. nach Wien.” For another example from a later period, the case of the Oriental Seminar in Bonn under the direction of Paul Kahle (1923 through 1938), see Paul Kahle, *Bonn University in Pre-Nazi and Nazi Times (1923–1939): Experiences of a German Professor*, London: [privately printed], 1945, pp. 27–28: “Manuscripts sent to the Seminar from other Libraries were carefully kept in one of the three safes. Such manuscripts came not only from German Libraries: I had spent several weeks in Leningrad in the Autumn of 1926, and had investigated there the great collection of Hebrew Mss., and in the course of the next few years more than 400 of these Mss. were sent to the Seminar at my request by the Russian Public Library. For a long time I had nearly 40 Mss. from America (New York) in the Seminar, and there were usually Mss. from important foreign Libraries in the Seminar for the use of students—for instance, from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the University Library in Leiden, different Libraries in Italy, the Library of the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad; also from Libraries in this country, as, for instance, the India Office Library in London, the Bodleian in Oxford, the University Library and Trinity College Library in Cambridge.” Cf. also Muhammad Hamidullah’s report on this during his time in Bonn in the 1930s: “Islamic Sections in the Western and Oriental Libraries”, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, December 1935*, Bangalore: Government Press, 1937, pp. 207–218, here p. 215. Another important collection containing manuscripts of Yemeni provenance that was purchased by the Berlin State Library in 1884

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that among the most frequently consulted codices of the Berlin Glaser collection was Ibn Hishām's *K. al-Tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyar* (MS Glaser 97),⁴⁷ volume 8 of al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl* (MS Glaser 138 and MS or. oct. 382),⁴⁸ volume 10 of the same work (MS Glaser 22),⁴⁹ and al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab* (MS or. quart. 730).⁵⁰ The Glaser collections also included another copy of Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī's *Shams al-ʿulūm* (MS Glaser 137) as well as additional copies of his *al-Qaṣīda al-ḥimyarīyya*, which is well represented in other collections of the Berlin State Library.⁵¹

Although it was convenient for German scholars to have these renowned works available for consultation in Berlin, they did not constitute novelties,⁵² in contrast to another group of books included in the Glaser collections, namely

was the so-called Landberg collection; see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Landberg'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, Berlin: Schade, 1885.

47 For the manuscript, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 9, p. 247 no. 9735; and <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=1042028370> (accessed 20 February 2022). The codex was consulted by Peter Jensen (1861–1936) in 1887, Felix Ernst Peiser (1862–1921) in 1890, Ludwig Nix (1865–1904) in 1891, Mark Lidzbarski (1868–1928) in 1891 and 1896, Karl Dyroff (1862–1938) in 1894, David Künstlinger (1867–1929?) in 1897 and 1898, Martin Hartmann (1851–1918) in 1899, Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942) in 1900, Georg Salzberger (1882–1975) in 1905 and 1907, and Friedrich Kern (1874–1921) in 1907 and 1912.

48 See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 5, p. 384 no. 6061. For MS Glaser 138, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=1672845866>; for MS or. oct. 382, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=73357792X> (both accessed 20 February 2022). MS Glaser 138 was consulted by Ludwig Nix in 1891, Mark Lidzbarski in 1896, Julius Lippert (1866–1911) in 1897, Martin Hartmann in 1898, and Friedrich Kern in 1908. MS or. oct. 382 was consulted by Ludwig Nix in 1891, Julius Lippert in 1897, and Martin Hartmann in 1898.

49 For the codex, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735762775> (accessed 20 February 2022). MS Glaser 22 was consulted by Mark Lidzbarski in 1896, David Künstlinger in 1897, Julius Lippert in 1897, Martin Hartmann in 1898, Friedrich Kern in 1903 and 1907, and Saeed Hasan (whose identity is unclear) in 1927. The Berlin State Library owns another copy of volume 10 of the *Iklīl* that was purchased later, as the copy is dated 6 Rabīʿ 1 1350/22 July 1931 (MS or. oct. 3530); see https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de/receive/KOHDArabicMSBook_manuscript_00005746 (accessed 1 March 2022).

50 For a description and a digital surrogate of the codex, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=1676021531> (accessed 14 February 2022). See also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 5, pp. 383–384 no. 6060. The codex was consulted by David Feuchtwang (1864–1936) in 1886, Eduard Glaser in 1886, Ernst Weill (1865–1947) in 1888, Ludwig Abel (1863–1900) in 1891, and Friedrich Kern in 1907. The Berlin State Library holds another copy of al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab* as MS or. fol. 1196; see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 5, pp. 382–383 no. 6059; and <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=770832385> (accessed 20 February 2022).

51 See Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 9, pp. 247 no. 9736, 248 no. 9737, 249 no. 9740.

52 A case in point is Ludwig Nix's Habilitation of 1894, "Die südarabische Sage: Nach den ältesten Quellen kurz dargestellt" (see above, n. 14). One of Nix's principal sources was Ibn Hishām's *Tījān*, and he consulted both of Miles's copies of the work, which were at

dogmatic writings by representatives of the Mu'tazila. Before the arrival of the Glaser manuscripts in Europe, students of Islamic dogmatic history could access the thought of the Mu'tazila only through the works of the latter's opponents, such as al-Shahrastānī's (d. 548/1153) *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*. Scholars of Jewish intellectual history were also aware of the writings of the Jewish Mu'tazilites, notably those of the Karaite scholar Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣīr (d. between 1037 and 1039 CE), whose works—initially in Hebrew translation but later also in the Arabic original—were known through the studies of Pinkus Friedrich Frankl (1848–1887), published between 1871 and 1887.⁵³ Through the Glaser collection, Mu'tazilī works by Muslim authors became accessible for the first time, and it was the Hungarian scholar Martin Schreiner (1863–1926), a former student of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), who first delved into this material.⁵⁴ Since the end of 1893, Schreiner had lived in Berlin, where he taught at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Between 30 October 1894 and 17 August 1895, Schreiner consulted MS Berlin, Glaser 12, a unique copy of the *K. al-Masā'il fī l-khilāf bayna l-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādīyyīn* by Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī, a prominent student of 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1024–25), and between 2 February and 17 August 1895 and again from 22 March until 31 October 1900, he read MS Berlin, Glaser 52, which contains a portion of Ibn Mattawayh's paraphrastic commentary on 'Abd al-Jabbār's *K. al-Muḥīṭ*. Schreiner made ample use of these works by two prominent representatives of the Bahshamī school of the Mu'tazila in his 1895 publication,

the time already in the British Museum (MSS Or. 2901, 2424), as well as the Berlin copy, MS Glaser 97.

- 53 Pinkus Friedrich Frankl, "Die Stellung Joseph al-Basir's in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie", *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 20 (1871), pp. 114–119, 150–157; Pinkus Friedrich Frankl, *Ein mu'tazilitischer Kalām aus dem 10. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der muslimischen Religions-Philosophie nach handschriftlichen Quellen der Bibliotheken in Leyden und St. Petersburg*, Vienna: In Commission bei Karl Gerold's Sohn, 1872; Pinkus Friedrich Frankl, "Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Karäer: 1. Nachricht über das arabische Original des Muḥṭawī Josef al-Basir's; Charakteristik des karäischen Übersetzers Tobjia hamma'tik. 3. Anhang", *Fünfter Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin*, Berlin: G. Bernstein, 1887, pp. 3–20.
- 54 On him, see Sabine Schmidtke, *Martin Schreiner between the Study of Islam and the Science of Judaism: A Study of His Life and Work, with Critical Editions* [forthcoming]; see also Sabine Schmidtke, "Scribal Practices among European Scholars during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Cases of Auguste Steinschneider (Auerbach), Moritz Steinschneider, and Martin Schreiner", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies (COMSt Bulletin* 6, no. 1 (2020), pp. 51–71 (with further references to earlier scholarship).

“Der Kalām in der jüdischen Literatur.”⁵⁵ He also consulted some of the specifically Zaydi codices in the Glaser collection, namely MS Glaser 37, a multitext manuscript containing, among other works, *Kitāb al-Ifāda fī tārikh al-a’imma al-sāda* by Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buthānī al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033); MS Glaser 101, consisting of nineteen tracts by the Zaydi Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī (d. 246/860); and MS Glaser 230, containing a portion of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā’s (d. 840/1326–27) *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār al-jāmi’ li-madhāhib ‘ulamā’ al-amṣār*. However, he evidently found this material less relevant for his interests than the aforementioned Mu’tazilī writings.⁵⁶ Moreover, Schreiner also steered some of his students towards the study of the Mu’tazila. Arthur Biram (1878–1967) wrote his doctoral dissertation under Schreiner’s supervision on Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī’s *K. al-Masā’il fī l-khilāf*.⁵⁷ Gotthold Weil (1882–1960) had initially also planned to write his doctoral thesis, “Die Erkenntnistheorie der Mu’taziliten”, under Schreiner’s guidance and to consult for this purpose Ibn Mattawayh’s *Majmū’*, Abū Rashīd’s *al-Masā’il fī l-khilāf*, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, as well as some of the writings of Sa’ādyā Gaon and various heresiographical works,⁵⁸ but he changed his subject and his supervisor when Schreiner was diagnosed in April 1902 with a mental illness from which he never recovered.

The methodical exploration of the rich Zaydi materials in the Berlin Glaser collections began in 1908. It may have been Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956) who directed his student Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960) towards the study of Zaydism. Between 1908 and 1912, Strothmann paid regular visits to the Berlin State Library, focusing on the Zaydi literary sources available there.⁵⁹ His

55 Martin Schreiner, “Der Kalām in der jüdischen Literatur”, *Dreizehnter Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin erstattet vom Curatorium*, Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1895, passim.

56 For details, see Schmidtke, *Martin Schreiner between the Study of Islam and the Science of Judaism*, appendix 1: Manuscripts (Arabic and Hebrew) consulted by Martin Schreiner.

57 Arthur Biram, *Kitābu ‘l-Masā’il fī ‘l-Ḥilāf bejn al-Baṣrijjīn wa ‘l-Baḡdādijjīn: Al-Kalām fī’l Ġawāhir; Die atomistische Substanzenlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen zwischen Basrensem und Bagdadensem*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1902.

58 See letter Gotthold Weil to Ignaz Goldziher, 19 March 1903, Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, GIL/46/08/01, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/13315> (accessed 16 February 2022). On Weil, see Sabine Mangold-Will, “Zwischen Berlin und Jerusalem: Der Orientalist und Bibliothekar Gotthold Weil und die Anfänge der Orientalischen Abteilung der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek”, *Sammler-Bibliothekare-Forscher: Zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, ed. Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt, Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2022, pp. 209–238.

59 See Sabine Schmidtke, *The Beginnings of Shī‘ī Studies in Germany: Rudolf Strothmann and His Correspondence with Carl Heinrich Becker, Ignaz Goldziher, Eugenio Griffini, and*

efforts resulted in two overview articles, published in 1910 and 1911,⁶⁰ followed by two monographs in 1912⁶¹ and another study on the eponymous founder of Zaydism, Zayd b. ‘Alī, in 1923.⁶² Wilhelm “Willi” Heffening (1894–1943) was another scholar who began exploring the Berlin Zaydi manuscript collections during the years 1914 through 1916 while working on his study *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, in which he gives ample attention to the Zaydi legal tradition. Although the book was published only in 1925, Heffening did the bulk of the work, on the Zaydi sections of the book at least, in the mid-1910s.⁶³

Cornelis van Arendonk, 1910 through 1926 [in press], appendix 3: Strothmann's visits to the Berlin State Library, 1908–1923, and the manuscripts he consulted, and appendix 4: Berlin State Library manuscripts consulted by Rudolf Strothmann, 1908–1926. It was already in 1907 that Strothmann received, through Berlin State Library, MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 2616, containing the *K. al-Ifāda* by al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033), which he had transcribed for himself. Later, he collated the text with other witnesses in European libraries. His plan to publish an edition of the work never materialized. See letters Strothmann to Cornelis van Arendonk, 17 August 1910 and 30 September 1910 (MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 14.606).

60 Rudolf Strothmann, “Die Literatur der Zaiditen”, *Der Islam* 1 (1910), pp. 354–368; 2 (1922), pp. 49–78.

61 Rudolf Strothmann, *Der Kultus der Zaiditen*, Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1912; Rudolf Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1912.

62 Rudolf Strothmann, “Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. ‘Alī”, *Der Islam* 13 (1923), pp. 1–52.

63 According to the register of readers of Oriental manuscripts in the Berlin State Library, Heffening paid several visits to the library. On 4–19 December 1914, he consulted MSS Glaser 74, 230, and 231, and during another visit to the library (16 July–5 August 1915), he consulted MSS Glaser 37, 74, 188, 213, 230, 231, and 233. He visited the library again on 15 July 1916, when he consulted MSS Glaser 145 and 188. In his *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, Heffening refers to the following codices of the Berlin Glaser collection: MSS Glaser 25 (see *ibid.*, pp. 49, 54, 122, 158), Glaser 37 (p. 138), Glaser 74 (pp. 14, 137, 153), Glaser 188 (p. 152), Glaser 213 (p. 138), Glaser 230 (pp. xiv, 141, 142, 154), and Glaser 231 (p. 158). He also consulted several codices from the Vienna Glaser collection: MSS Glaser 63 (see *ibid.*, pp. 34, 142, pp. [Arabic text] 26ff.), Glaser 80 (p. 154), Glaser 128 (p. 154), and Glaser 237 (pp. 150, 151). Of the Munich Glaser manuscripts, Heffening refers to the following: MSS Glaser 71 [= Cod. arab. 1185] (see *ibid.*, pp. 34, 142), Glaser 85 [= Cod. arab. 1329] (p. 142), Glaser 89 [= Cod. arab. 1295] (p. 158), Glaser 125 [= Cod. arab. 1187] (pp. xv, 125), and Glaser 130 [= Cod. arab. 1296] (pp. 12, 16, 31, 36, 39, 40, 47, 49, 50, 61, 65, 72, 73, 74, 75, 82, 85, 117, 158). Heffening further refers to several Ambrosiana N.F. codices, namely A 18 (see *ibid.*, p. 155), A 55 (p. 141), B 49 (p. 152), B 62 (p. 141), B 59 (p. 141), B 76 (p. 155), B 112 (pp. 20, 142), B 131 (p. 20), C 68 (pp. 12, 158), D 223 (p. 143), D 224 (p. 143), D 225 (p. 143), D 229 (pp. 12, 156), E 73 (p. 156), E 239 (p. 139), E 262 (p. 142), F 211 (p. 158), G 7 (pp. 150, 151), H 135 (p. 140), and H 137 (pp. 13, 20, 27, 32, 140, 151, Textbeilage 5). For Heffening's relation with the Ambrosiana and with Griffini, see also below, n. 138. On Heffening, see Hedda Reindl-Kiel, “Willi Heffening (1894–1944): Ein historischer Kopf aus der zweiten Reihe; Türkische Studien an der Universität Bonn”, *Die Bonner Orient- und Asienwissenschaften: Eine Geschichte*

The Swedish Arabist and notorious collector of manuscripts Carlo Landberg (1848–1924) visited Yemen on various occasions between 1895 and 1899, and his extensive private library contained a fair number of manuscripts of Yemeni provenance. He sold the majority of his collection (about 700 codices) to the Connecticut philanthropist Morris Ketchum Jesup (1830–1908), who donated it to Yale University in 1900,⁶⁴ but the remainder of his manuscript collection (83 codices) was given to Uppsala University after Landberg's demise.⁶⁵ These included a few Yemeni manuscripts,⁶⁶ which prompted Swedish Arabists to engage in the study of Yemen. Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen (1866–1953), professor of Semitic languages at Uppsala from 1904 until 1931, devoted several profound studies to books that were already well known to European Orientalists of the nineteenth century. In 1927 Zetterstéen published the first systematic study of Bā Makhrama's (d. 947/1540) *Tārīkh thaghīr 'Adan* and its witnesses in European libraries,⁶⁷ and in 1949 he published an edition of al-Ashraf al-Rasūlī's *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī ma'rīfat al-ansāb*.⁶⁸ Another important contribution to Yemeni studies was his work on Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī's *Shams al-ʿulūm*. Zetterstéen mentioned plans to edit this work in an initial article on

in *22 Porträts*, ed. Harald Meyer, Christine Schirmacher, and Ulrich Vollmer, Schefflitz: OSTASIEN Verlag, 2018, pp. 201–214.

64 See Carlo Landberg, "Kurzes Verzeichniss der Sammlung arabischer Handschriften des Grafen C. von Landberg", <https://hdl.handle.net/10079/bibid/3793562> (accessed 17 February 2022). See also Roberta L. Dougherty, "Yemeni Manuscripts at the Yale University Library" (Yale University: From the Selected Works of Roberta L. Dougherty, Spring 2021), <https://works.bepress.com/bintalbalad/40/> (accessed 5 March 2022).

65 Zetterstéen, "Über Abū Maḥrama's تاريخ ثغر عدن", p. 365. Descriptions of the codices of the Uppsala Landberg collection are included in Zetterstéen, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*.

66 Namely, volume 10 of al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl* (see Zetterstéen, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, pp. 101–102 no. 207), *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir* (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 102–103 no. 208), Bā Makhrama's *Tārīkh thaghīr 'Adan* (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 103–105 no. 209), *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī ma'rīfat al-ansāb* by al-Ashraf al-Rasūlī Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Yūsuf (d. 696/1296) (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 106–107 no. 211), and "Qasidehs de poètes ḥaḍramites et d'autres" (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 155–156 no. 247). Noteworthy is also a copy of Müller's 1884–1891 edition of al-Hamdānī's *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, "mit handschriftlichen Bemerkungen von der Hand Carlo Landbergs versehen" (see ibid., vol. 2, p. 14 no. 651).

67 Zetterstéen, "Über Abū Maḥrama's تاريخ ثغر عدن." For Zetterstéen's scholarly oeuvre until 1925, see Ernst von Döbeln, *Professor Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéens vetenskapliga författarverksamhet: Bibliografisk förteckning*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1926.

68 Damascus: Maṭba'at al-Tarkī, 1369/1949 (Maṭbū'āt al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī bi-Dimashq). Zetterstéen's occupation with the text was prompted by Landberg, who suggested that he prepare an edition of the text. See the editor's preface (*kalimat al-muṣaḥḥiḥ*), pp. 41–42.

the project in 1926, saying that the initiative for the edition was Landberg's.⁶⁹ Indeed, Landberg had bequeathed considerable funds to Uppsala University in support of Zetterstéen's work on this project.⁷⁰ Two volumes of Zetterstéen's edition were published, in 1951 and posthumously in 1953, covering the letters *alif* through *jīm*.⁷¹ After Zetterstéen's demise in 1953, the project was discontinued until 1988, when Tryggve Kronholm (1939–1999) was appointed to the chair of Semitic languages at Uppsala University. Under Kronholm's supervision, Mikael Persenius prepared a close study of fifty-four witnesses of parts 1 and 2 (out of four) of Nashwān's *Shams al-'ulūm* as his doctoral dissertation, which he completed in 1997.⁷² A few years later, in 1999, an edition of the complete text was published by a team of editors consisting of Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Amrī, Muṭahhar b. 'Alī al-Iryānī, and Yūsuf Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh.⁷³ Although Landberg's initial plans and hopes for this book were never totally fulfilled, Zetterstéen inspired one of his students, Oscar Löfgren (1898–1992), to pursue Yemeni and eventually Zaydi studies. Löfgren took up some of the interests of nineteenth-century European scholars by writing studies on Bā

69 Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen, "On a Proposed Edition of the *Shams al-'ulūm* of Nashwān bin Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī", *Oriental Studies Published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary (1883–1923) of Paul Haupt as Director of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University Baltimore, MD*, ed. Cyrus Adler and Aaron Ember, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press / Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926, pp. 462–470.

70 See also Zetterstéen's introduction to part 1, fascicle 1 of his edition (for details, see n. 72), pp. v–vi: "Im Artikel On a proposed edition ... habe ich mitgeteilt, wie Graf Carlo Landberg mir vor vielen Jahren vorschlug, auf seine Kosten eine vollständige Ausgabe des grossen arabischen Wörterbuches *Šams al-'ulūm* ... zu besorgen.... Um die Publikation des Nachlasses des Grafen Landberg († 1924) zu sichern, schenkten seine Erben der Universität Uppsala ein bedeutendes Kapital nebst seiner wertvollen Bibliothek unter dem Namen *Greve Carlo Landbergs stiftelse*, und in den vom Kanzler der schwedischen Universitäten am 18. Januar 1926 bestätigten Satzungen der Stiftung heisst es: 'Förrän Greve Landbergs Glossaire och Naschwāns lexikon fullständigt utkommit, få räntemedlen icke disponeras för något annat ändamål'."

71 Našwān bin Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, *Šams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'arab min al-kulūm*, ed. Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen, part 1, fascicles 1 and 2, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1951–1953.

72 Mikael Persenius, *The Manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 of "Shams al-'ulūm" by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī: A Study of Their Relationship*, Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1997. For the history of the project, see also Tryggve Kronholm, "The Completion of the Editio Princeps of al-Ḥimyarī's *Šams al-'ulūm*", *Miscellanea Arabica et Islamica: Dissertationes in Academia Ultrajectina prolatae anno MCMXC*, ed. F. de Jong, Leuven: Peeters, 1993, pp. 198–208.

73 Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'Arab min al-kulūm*, ed. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Amrī, Muṭahhar b. 'Alī al-Iryānī, and Yūsuf Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, 12 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āšir / Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1999. Prior to this, in 1983, the Wizārat al-Turāth al-Qawmī wa-l-Thaqāfa of the Sultanate of Oman had started to publish an edition of the work, but the project was discontinued after volume 5. We were unable to inspect this edition.

Makhrama⁷⁴ and preparing editions of some of his books, including his *Tārīkh thaghr ‘Adan*,⁷⁵ and by producing important work on al-Hamdānī’s *Ikliṭ*⁷⁶ and the *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*.⁷⁷ His most important contribution, however, was his work on the Arabic manuscripts in the Ambrosiana and the completion of a systematic catalogue covering the entire Antico, “Medio”, and Nuovo Fondo.⁷⁸

74 Oscar Löfgren, “Über Abū Maḥrama’s *Ḳilādat al-naḥr fī waḡayāt ‘a’yān al-dahr*”, *Le monde orientale* (Uppsala), 25 (1931), pp. 120–139; Oscar Löfgren, “Abū Maḥrama’s *Ḳilādat al-naḥr*: Ergänzungen zum Aufsatz Mos XXV, 120–139”, *Le monde orientale* 26–27 (1932–33), pp. 227–228. See also Löfgren, “Hamdānī-Discoveries”, p. 121. Hans Nordesjö, “List of Publications by Oscar Löfgren”, *On Both Sides of al-Mandab: Ethiopian, South-Arabic and Islamic Studies Presented to Oscar Löfgren on his Ninetieth Birthday, 13 May 1988, by Colleagues and Friends*, Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 1989, pp. 155–168, esp. nos 19, 74; Löfgren’s 1986 publication, “Hamdānī-Discoveries”, is not included in Nordesjö’s list.

75 Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*.

76 See above, nn. 38, 40.

77 See above, n 16. See also Nordesjö, “List of Publications by Oscar Löfgren”, pp. 18, 19, 25, 31, 35, 78, 95, 105, 106, 136, 151, 173. Prior to Löfgren, Michael Jan de Goeje and later Carlo Landberg intended to edit the work, but neither plan was ever realized; see Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, vol. 1, p. 20 (introduction). For de Goeje’s engagement with the work, see also above, nn. 14, 18.

78 Since 1976, Löfgren was supported by Renato Traini in the preparation of the catalogue of the Ambrosiana Arabic manuscripts. Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, holds their correspondence. It consists of thirty letters from Traini to Löfgren, all in Italian and written between 14 February 1976 and 8 October 1988, as well as drafts of some of Löfgren’s letters to Traini, all in English (dated 21 March 1976, 8 September 1978, 8 January 1979, 8 June 1986; all found in box NC 652E). Volume 1 was published in 1975 (Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, vol. 1: *Antico Fondo and Medio Fondo*, Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1975), and it was followed by additional volumes in 1981 (vol. 2: *Nuovo Fondo: Series A–D* [nos 1–830], Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1981), 1995 (vol. 3: *Nuovo Fondo: Series E* [nos 831–1295], Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1995), and 2011 (vol. 4: *Nuovo Fondo: Series F–H* [nos 1296–1778], Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2011); in the final, 2011 catalogue Renato Traini is named as the sole author (as Löfgren had already announced in his preface B to vol. 2 of the *Catalogue*, p. xiv). In view of his advanced age, Löfgren left the project towards the end of the 1980s, which caused considerable delay to the finalization of the project. In his last extant letter to Traini, 8 June 1986 (see above), Löfgren writes: “Thank you for your kind letters, the last one almost one year old. Excuse my long silence, which however has good reasons. I am growing old(er) - as we all!—88 years last May! I have enjoyed good health except for my slowly increasing deafness, but now my eyes, of which I have been a little proud, are beginning to get tired, until now only the left one, so the right one must take all the responsibility. So I have to abandon most of my activity, in the first place of course our common Catalogue, vol. III of which had been planned for 1985. From the first 20 leaves sent to you you will learn that very little remains to be added, or even corrected. Now I have thought it best to have photocopies made of all the rest i.e. series E–H, occupying pp. 111–385, and offer them to the Bibl. Ambrosiana as a deposition. I might possibly turn my ms. additions into typewriter script, but I hope that you will be able to read most of

With his cataloguing work on the Nuovo Fondo (abbreviated here as N.F.), in particular, he laid an important foundation for future Zaydi studies.

In the Netherlands, Leiden University Library purchased some manuscripts of Yemeni origin that had been part of the collection of ca. 650 codices brought to the Netherlands in 1883 by Amīn b. Ḥasan al-Ḥalawānī (al-Ḥulwānī) al-Madanī (d. 1898) with the mediation of the aforementioned Swedish Orientalist Carlo Landberg.⁷⁹ Moreover, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), who was appointed to the chair of Arabic at Leiden in 1907, had encountered Zaydi manuscripts both in Mecca (1884–1885) and later in Aceh (1889 through 1906) when living in the Netherlands East Indies (present-day Indonesia) as official advisor to the colonial government on matters of ‘Arab and Indigenous Muslim’ policy. Snouck Hurgronje brought some Yemeni manuscripts back to Leiden and directed his student Cornelis van Arendonk (1881–1946) towards this newly evolving field of study. Van Arendonk focused on the early history of the Zaydis in Yemen, and he worked primarily on MS London, British Library, Or. 3901, one of the Glaser codices containing the *Sīrat al-Ḥādī* in the British Museum in London, where he spent some time during the summer of 1911.⁸⁰

them. My planned last stay in Milan of ca. one month probably can't be realized. The cause of all this is that my left eye a few months ago was detected to be darkened by the rather common sickness glaucoma.... Of course I am leaving our common work with regret, at the same time feeling that my 25 years' toiling has not been met with much appreciation by Italian authorities. The Ambrosiana has not found any desire for honoring one of her most devoted servants. I have written Galbiati and Paredi on the planned deposition of one copy of our Catalogue, and Paredi has answered positively ...". The preliminary typewritten catalogue of series F–H Löfgren refers to in this letter is registered in the Ambrosiana under the shelfmark K 150 suss. In the preface to vol. 1, Löfgren explains the “Medio” Fondo as follows: “Later I discovered the existence of a third group of Arabic manuscripts, besides those of the Antico Fondo and of the Nuovo Fondo (= Collezione Caprotti). This third group, designated as ‘codice vaganti’, had been placed in series x sup. Further research in the department of manuscripts of the Ambrosiana revealed that there were more of these ‘vagabond’ manuscripts.... [F]urther unknown codices were found, such as the important private collection of Eugenio Griffini, described in 1926 by Dr. Angela Codazzi.... This collection had escaped the attention of Brockelmann when he compiled the Supplement of GAL. The existence of the 53 Arabic manuscripts of Griffini's legacy became clear to me only in 1971, when they were entered in series x. Thus the total number of additional manuscripts rose to 120.” For Löfgren, see also the obituary by his Italian colleague and collaborator Renato Traini (1923–2014), “Ricordo di Oscar Löfgren (1898–1992)”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 67, no. 1/2 (1993), pp. 189–195.

79 For the Amīn b. Ḥasan al-Madanī collection, see <https://collectionguides.universiteitleiden.nl/repositories/2/resources/154> (accessed 1 February 2022).

80 See letter Snouck Hurgronje to Griffini, 26 June 1911, MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/77: “... j'ai conseillé à un de mes élèves de s'enforcer dans cette branche de la littérature islamique. Il se trouve à présent à Londres et sa thèse inaugurale aura probablement pour sujet la

His monograph, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische imamaat in Yemen*, was eventually published in 1919, and the book was translated into French in 1960 by the Belgian scholar Jacques Ryckmans (1924–2005).⁸¹ Another former pupil of Snouck Hurgronje, Cornelis Adriaanse (1896–1964), occupied the post of acting chargé d'affaires and consul of the Netherlands in Jeddah from 1931 to 1939. Between 1932 and 1936, and again in 1939, Adriaanse travelled to Ṣanʿāʾ to negotiate a treaty with Imām Yahyā at the initiative of the Dutch government (the treaty was signed on 12 March 1933 and renewed on 12 April 1939). On these visits, Adriaanse also acquired manuscripts, and the Adriaanse collection that is nowadays kept in the Leiden University Library contains a total of sixty-one codices.⁸²

In Italy, the Zaydi literary tradition was introduced *en masse* between 1903 and 1913 thanks to Giuseppe Caprotti (1862–1919),⁸³ a Lombard tradesman who resided in Yemen for more than three decades, from 1885 to 1919, and thoroughly

biographie d'un ou deux des premiers imāms Zaidites." See also letter van Arendonk to Griffini, 10 October 1911, MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/5: "I am working at a thèse on the history of the earlier Zaidi imāms of Yemen (probably till the beginning of the 7th century including almansūr billah 'Abdallah b. Ḥamza † 12 Muh. 614.); for that purpose I copied and excerpted this summer several manuscripts of the British Museum." Letter van Arendonk to Griffini, 14 December 1911, MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/6: "A Londres j'ai fait des extraits et des copies de la *Sīrat al Hādī*, de celle d'El Qāsim b. Ali des Ḥadā'iq al Wardijja et de quelques autres manuscrits." Van Arendonk lists the manuscripts he consulted (in Berlin, Leiden, London, Munich, Oxford, and Paris) at the beginning of his dissertation; see van Arendonk, *Le debuts de l'imāmat zaidite au Yemen*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960, pp. ix–xviii. For the *Sīrat al-Hādī*, he also had access to witnesses from the Ambrosiana (E 57) and from the Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya in Ṣanʿāʾ. Photostats of all three witnesses of the work are preserved at Leiden University Library as part of the Cornelis van Arendonk legacy: MS Leiden, Or. 8276/1 (photostats of MS London, British Library, Or. 3901), MS Leiden, Or. 8943 (photocopy of MS Milan, Ambrosiana, N.F. E 57). On the basis of Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 9: *Manuscripts OR. 8001–OR. 9000*, Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2019, it is unclear under which shelf mark the photostats of the Ṣanʿāʾ witness are kept.

81 Ryckman's personal copy of van Arendonk's 1919 *De opkomst van het Zaidietische imamaat in Yemen*, with ample margin comments, is in the possession of Sabine Schmidtke.

82 See Karin Scheper and Arnoud Vrolijk, "From the Eyries of Yemen to the Pastures of Holland: The Acquisition and Preservation of Yemeni Manuscripts at Leiden University Library", *Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril*, ed. Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2022, pp. 485–515. Among the manuscripts Adriaanse brought back from Yemen are copies of volumes 8 and 10 of al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl*, which were perhaps commissioned by him: MSS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 6357a and 6357b. Digital surrogates of the two volumes are accessible at https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/q6ueoj/UBL_ALMA11352843830002711 (accessed 5 March 2022).

83 On him, see Valentina Sagaria Rossi, "Opening Yemen Up to Italy: Coffee, Textiles, and Arabic Manuscripts", *Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril*, ed. Hassan Ansari and Sabine

integrated himself into the country, forging profound and sustained ties with the local inhabitants and institutions. In view of its sheer size—close to 2,000 codices of immeasurable cultural value—his collection of manuscripts from Yemen far surpasses any other collection of Yemeni manuscripts in Europe. With its arrival in Italy, an unparalleled corpus of intellectual products from Yemen was for the first time available outside of their country of origin. Since Caprotti, being a merchant, was not part of the networks of European scholars, the elaborate process he undertook of collecting, shipping, and describing the manuscript material he acquired went nearly unnoticed in the community of Arabists and Islamicists. Before Caprotti had completed his final acquisition, however, the Italian Arabist Eugenio Griffini (1878–1925) made contact with him and subsequently interacted with Caprotti amid his ongoing collecting activity. We do not know to what extent Griffini influenced Caprotti's selection of texts to obtain in Ṣanʿāʾ, but he was certainly the first to grasp the significance of the extraordinary wealth of the manuscript Caprotti had amassed.

Eugenio Griffini personifies the beginnings of Zaydi studies in Italy. Apart from the descriptions of the Glaser collections in Berlin and London produced by Vollers,⁸⁴ Ahlwardt,⁸⁵ and Rieu,⁸⁶ Griffini's primary sources for understanding and interpreting the manuscripts of the Caprotti collection (which was, until 1909, kept in Griffini's apartment) were the manuscripts themselves, which included some reference works such as Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Abī l-Rijāl's (d. 1092/1690) biographical dictionary *Maṭlaʾ al-budūr*.⁸⁷ Griffini's published and unpublished work on the Caprotti manuscripts indicates the depth of his engagement with the material.⁸⁸ His first scholarly publication was a study devoted to Sabaic inscriptions on stone casts that he had received from

Schmidtke, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2022, pp. 439–483, here 440–446, also drawing on new archival sources.

84 Karl Vollers, "Mittheilung über einige handschriftliche Erwerbungen der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 38 (1884), pp. 567–580.

85 Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*.

86 Rieu, *Supplement*.

87 Griffini consulted Ibn Abī l-Rijāl's *Maṭlaʾ al-budūr* through MSS Ambrosiana N.F. B 130–132. Griffini was also invited to write the entry on Ibn Abī l-Rijāl for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (see letter van Arendonk to Griffini, 24 November 1914 [MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/8]), which he did; see E. Griffini, "Ibn Abī l-Rijāl", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition* (1913–1936), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2214-871X_ei_SIM_2937 (accessed 15 March 2022).

88 For Griffini, his scholarly trajectory, and his publications, see Valentina Sagaria Rossi, "Eugenio Griffini and Zaydi Studies in the Light of His Correspondence with Ignaz Goldziher, 1908 through 1920", *Shii Studies Review* 5 (2021), pp. 139–199. See also below.

Caprotti in 1906.⁸⁹ Then he moved to the Yemeni manuscripts of the Caprotti collection, beginning with some articles on individual manuscripts, published between 1906 and 1910, and culminating in his indefatigable efforts to catalogue the entire Caprotti collection (1908 through 1919). Additionally, he tirelessly kept his colleagues all over Europe informed about his new discoveries and replied to their queries about relevant codices in the Caprotti collection.

Griffini's work on the Caprotti manuscripts was a solitary endeavour, and despite all his efforts, it did not generate as much scholarship by others as it could have. Moreover, ever since 1909 the manuscripts of the Caprotti collection have been largely confined within the walls of the Ambrosiana Library.⁹⁰ Another portion of the Caprotti collection (280 codices), housed in the Vatican Library, experienced a similar fate and essentially fell into oblivion, especially with regard to Yemeni manuscripts.⁹¹ A third batch of Caprotti manuscripts has been housed since 1902 in the Bavarian State Library in Munich, and until the publication of Florian Sobieroj's catalogue in 2007 it, too, was largely ignored by scholars.⁹² The publication of the series of catalogues of

89 Eugenio Griffini, "Due brevi nuove iscrizioni sabaiche", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 60 (1906), pp. 662–665. The study was harshly criticized by Eduard Glaser in his *Altjemenitische Nachrichten*, Munich: Straub, 1906, pp. 251–255.

90 Unlike most other European libraries at the time, the Ambrosiana did not lend any of its manuscript holdings to other libraries. See fragment of letter Strothmann to van Arendonk, ca. early March 1912 (MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 14.606): "Von Mailand, *das ja unbedingte Praesenzbibliothek ist*, bin ich jetzt ganz abgeschlossen" [emphasis ours]. See e.g. <https://www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/2009/02/26/an-open-letter-to-the-ambrosian-library-in-milan/> (accessed 19 February 2022) for a comment by a potential user on the accessibility of the Ambrosiana collections. Recently, the Ambrosiana has announced plans to provide digital open access to at least a portion of its manuscript holdings; see e.g. "The Digital Library of the Ambrosiana Cuts the Goal of 500 Manuscripts Freely Consultable Online", Ambrosiana website, 21 April 2021, <https://www.ambrosiana.it/en/news/la-biblioteca-digitale-dellambrosiana-taglia-il-traguardo-dei-500-manoscritti-liberamente-consultabili-online/> (accessed 19 February 2022). However, this has not yet materialized. Moreover, the announcement suggests that the Arabic manuscripts (which were fully digitized back in 2016) will not be included in the project.

91 The Caprotti manuscripts at the Vatican Library have been incorporated into the Codici Vaticani Arabi (nos 946–1206, 1357–1375) and were catalogued by Giorgio Levi Della Vida in *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana: Vaticani, barberiniani, borgiani, rossiani*, Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935. One of the reasons Levi Della Vida's catalogue was largely ignored by scholars is the fact that Fuat Sezgin did not include it in the list of manuscript libraries and catalogues in volume 1 of his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967, pp. 710ff. ("B. Bibliotheken und Sammlungen"). Another example of a "forgotten" text in the Vatican Library is discussed in Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Abū Sa'd al-Ḥargūšī and His *Kitāb al-Lawāmī*: A Šūfī Guide Book for Preachers from 4th/10th Century Nishāpūr", *Arabica* 58 (2011), pp. 503–518.

92 See above, n. 43.

the N.F. by Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini between 1981 and 2011 was an important achievement that drew much attention to the Ambrosiana collection, although the information provided about individual codices remained minimal.⁹³ Compared to other collections of Yemeni manuscripts in European

- 93 For series A through C, as well as portions of series H, the catalogues published by Griffini (on which see below) provide far more detailed descriptions in most cases than do those of Löfgren and Traini. Over the past decade, numerous scholars have worked on selected items of the Caprotti collection in Milan, and their publications add important material. Mention should be made, by way of example, of the various descriptions prepared by Hassan Ansari, including numerous corrections to Löfgren and Traini's catalogues; see Hassan Ansari, *Az ganjīna-hā-yi nusakh-i khaṭṭī: Mu'arriḥ-i dast nūwīsh-hā-yi arzishmand az kitābkhāna-hā-yi buzurg-i jahān dar ḥawza-yi 'ulūm-i islāmī*, Isfahan: Daftar-i tablighāt-i islāmī ḥawza-yi 'ilmiyya-yi Qum, 2015, pp. 434–452, and the following blog posts: "Nuskha-hā-yi Ambrūziānā (3)", <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3122>; "Nuskha-hā-yi Ambrūziānā (4)", <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3124>; "Nuskha-hā-yi Ambrūziānā (5)", <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3127>; "Majmū'a-yi dīgar az nuskha-hā-yi khaṭṭī dar Kitābkhāna-yi Ambrūziānā (6)", <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3219>; and "Majmū'a-yi dīgar az nuskha-hā-yi khaṭṭī dar Kitābkhāna-yi Ambrūziānā (7)", <http://ansari.kateban.com/post/3494> (all accessed 19 February 2022). See also Jan Thiele, "À propos de l'attribution du ms. Ambrosiana ar. F 122, fol. 35b: Un fragment d'un texte zaydite du Yémen", *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 16 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.4000/cmy.2010> (accessed 20 February 2022); Mostafa Ahmadi, Hassan Ansari, and Jan Thiele, "The New Methods' (*al-Ṭarā'iq al-mustaḥdata*) by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās: *Editio Princeps* of a Treatise on Miscellaneous Theological Topics", *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 11 (July 2020), pp. 76–106 [an edition of MS Ambrosiana N.F. E 208, fols 151v–160v]; Scott Lucas, "Qāḍī Ġa'far in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana: An Overview", *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 7 (July 2018), pp. 105–140; Scott Lucas, "Consensus in Yemeni-Zaydī Jurisprudence: Selections from Unpublished Writings by Imam Aḥmad b. Sulaymān and Qāḍī Ġa'far", *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 9 (July 2019), pp. 56–99; Scott Lucas, "Islamic Theology in Thirty Topics: A Yemeni Zaydī Tradition Preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana", *Shii Studies Review* 4 (2020), pp. 135–175; Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "Abū Ṭālib Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033) on the Consensus of the Family of the Prophet: An *Editio Princeps* of His *Risāla fī anna ʾimā' ahl al-bayt ḥujja* (MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. F 29/4, fols 290v–295v)", *Shii Studies Review* 3 (2019), pp. 253–273; Hassan Ansari, 'Ammār Jum'a, and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Fifth/Eleventh-Century Zaydī Jurist and Theologian al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh al-Jurjānī on the Consensus of the Family of the Prophet: An *Editio Princeps* of His *Mas'ala fī anna ʾimā' ahl al-bayt ḥujja* (MS Milan, Ambrosiana, ar. F 29/5, fols 295v–309v)", *Shii Studies Review* 6 (2022). Detailed descriptions of N.F. manuscripts with Ptolemaic materials are also included in the Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus (PAL) online database at <https://ptolemaeus.badw.de/start>; as of 20 February 2022, the database includes descriptions of MSS Ambrosiana N.F. A 29, C 86, and E 179. Unlike Griffini in his partial catalogues of the N.F., Löfgren and Traini do not discuss any of the paratextual material in the codices, which provides invaluable information on the history of the individual codices. For example, in her recent PhD dissertation (2021), Ekatharina Pukhovaia pieced together some forty-eight manuscripts that were part of the Ibn Abī l-Rijāl family library during the seventeenth century on the basis of codices she consulted in the Ambrosiana in Milan; see Ekaterina Pukhovaia, "Between Sultans and Imams: The

libraries (at least those that were catalogued), the Ambrosiana received few visits from scholars interested in Zaydi studies until the 1970s. Among the few exceptions were Henry Frederick Amedroz (1854–1917), who visited the Ambrosiana Library in June 1911 to evaluate the doubtful authenticity of the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* in order to give advice on its publication;⁹⁴ Rudolf Strothmann, who visited the Ambrosiana in December 1912;⁹⁵ Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915–1993), who repeatedly visited the Ambrosiana during the 1950s (see below); Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (1920–2010), who spent several months in the Ambrosiana in 1957 to continue Griffini's catalogue of the Nuovo Fondo, resulting in the publication of a catalogue of series D of the N.F. (published in 1960 in Cairo); David A. King, who visited the Ambrosiana in October 1974 when working on his *Mathematical Astronomy in Medieval Yemen* (see below); and, of course, Oscar Löfgren, who visited the Ambrosiana regularly beginning in the early 1950s.

Along with Griffini, Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938),⁹⁶ Griffini's teacher, also became engaged in the study of Zaydism, and he later (in 1937) contributed the entries “El-Yemen,”⁹⁷ “Zaiditi,”⁹⁸ and “Zaid ibn ʿAlī Zain al-ʿĀbidīn”⁹⁹ to the *Enciclopedia Italiana*. Nallino went through the Caprotti manuscripts

State of Political Elites in Yemen (Late 15th–Middle of the 17th Century)”, PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 2021, p. 179 n. 122.

94 Amedroz was sent to the library by the E.J.W. Gibb Memorial trustees (who had refused to publish Griffini's edition of the text), and he examined MS Ambrosiana N.F. E 239/2 (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 101 no. 1069/11). According to Griffini, this was the Ambrosiana's “extended” exemplar of *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* attributed to Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, in the redaction of Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ishāq b. Jaʿfar Ibn al-Baqqāl al-Baghdādī (Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 568), divided into six *juzʿ*; see Sagaria Rossi, “Eugenio Griffini and Zaydi Studies”, pp. 165–166, 168–169.

95 See Schmidtke, *The Beginnings of Shīʿi Studies in Germany*.

96 On his scholarly profile, see Valentina Sagaria Rossi, “Exchanging Works, Reviews, and Opinions: The Correspondence between Carlo Alfonso Nallino and Ignaz Goldziher”, *Building Bridges: Ignaz Goldziher and His Correspondents; Islamic and Jewish Studies around the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Becker, Kinga Dévényi, Sebastian Günther, and Sabine Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill [forthcoming].

97 *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 35 (1937), pp. 834–841.

98 *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 35 (1937), pp. 868–869. In the references, Nallino lists all contributions by European scholars to Zaydi studies. Among the contributions by Italian scholars he mentions Ignazio Di Matteo, “Confutazione contro i cristiani dello Zaydita al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9 (1922), pp. 301–364; Michelangelo Guidi, *Gli scrittori zayditi e l'esegesi coranica mutazilita*, Rome: Tipografia del Senato del dr. Giovanni Bardi, 1925; Michelangelo Guidi, *La lotta tra l'Islām e il manicheismo: un libro di Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ contro il corano confutato da al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1927; Mario Martino Moreno, “La dottrina zeidita nello Yemen”, *Rivista delle colonie italiane* 2 (1928), pp. 687–699; 3 (1929), pp. 281–289, 392–403, 792–796.

99 *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 35 (1937), pp. 868.

while Griffini was still working on cataloguing the material,¹⁰⁰ and one of the first codices he examined was a unicum multitext volume containing various texts on astronomy and astrology (MS Ambrosiana N.F. C 86). He studied in detail MS C 86/7b, which contains an extract from the *Kitāb al-Zīj* by the Syrian mathematician and astronomer Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Sinān al-Battānī (d. 929 CE),¹⁰¹ and determined MS C 86/1 to be the oldest translation from Greek into Arabic of an astronomical work (completed in 125/743) attributed to Hermes Trismegistus.¹⁰² David A. King later continued Nallino's work on the astronomical codices in the Ambrosiana, drawing on twenty-two manuscripts from the Caprotti collection for his *Mathematical Astronomy in*

100 Caprotti's original inventories of series A and B that Griffini sent to Glaser (see below) were partly transcribed by Nallino—an indication of his involvement in the early examination of the Caprotti codices shortly after their arrival in Milan.

101 Carlo Alfonso Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatēnī Opus Astronomicum: Ad fidem codicis escurialensis arabice editum*, 3 vols, Milan: U. Hoepli, 1899–1907, vol. 2 [1907], pp. xx, 235. About MS Ambrosiana N.F. C 86/i (fols 1r–100r), containing *Kitāb al-Arḍ li-Hirmis* (the Latin *Liber latitudinis clavis stellarum*), he noted: “In one folio of the Arabic miscellaneous codex that, together with many others, was brought from southern Arabia and which I examined very recently (at the home of dr. Eugenio Griffini of Milan, whom I thank very much), the copyist drew this same figure of the winds with the same numbers as al-Battānī, omitting the names inside the smallest circle, but preserving in the folio's four corners the inscriptions of al-Battānī [a couple of verses follow]. The title of the figure in this codex is *سمت مطالع أوائل البروج ومغاربها من دوائر افاق الاقاليم السبعة*”; at fol. 167v (Nallino erroneously quoted 197r) an astronomical table follows at the end of the volume.” For descriptions of MS Ambrosiana N.F. C 86, see Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti arabi Nuovo Fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 7, no. 1 (1916), pp. 110–127; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 165–167 no. 341.

102 See Carlo Alfonso Nallino, *ʿIlm al-falak: Tārīkhuhu ʿinda l-ʿArab fī qurūn al-wuṣṭā*, Rome: al-Jāmiʿa al-Miṣriyya, 1911, pp. 142–143. Griffini also worked intensively on MS Ambrosiana N.F. C 86, and his study materials are found in MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/165. Nallino also collected six Yemeni manuscripts, which are today part of his legacy at the homonymous Istituto per l'Oriente “Carlo Alfonso Nallino” (IPOCAN) in Rome. These manuscripts were for the most part transcribed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and contain texts on Zaydi law and polemics, history, genealogies, and poetry; see Laura Bottini, *Islamic Manuscripts from the Library of the Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino (Rome)*, Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 2017, nos 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 28, and 31. A fairly unexpected discovery was that a couple of Caprotti's manuscripts found their way to Rome, as evidenced by the presence of his red stamp with his name in Arabic on two copies at IPOCAN that had belonged to Nallino and that had supposedly been given to Nallino by Griffini. They are MSS IPOCAN, CAN Ar. 1, 46bis, 19 (fol. 7v), and CAN Ar. 1, 46bis, 20 (fol. 1r); see Bottini, *Islamic Manuscripts*, pp. 93–95. On the activities of other Italians in various capacities—medical officers, Orientalist scholars—in Yemen in the 1920s and 1930s and their collections of manuscripts, see Sagaria Rossi, “Opening Yemen Up To Italy”, *passim*.



FIGURE 2 Biblioteca Comunale Centrale Palazzo Sormani, Milan
PHOTOGRAPH: VALENTINA SAGARIA ROSSI

*Medieval Yemen: A Bibliographical Survey*¹⁰³ and inaugurating the scholarly exploration of astronomy in Yemen through the rich Milanese manuscript collection. Subsequently he also devoted a study to some of the Caprotti codices on algebra.¹⁰⁴

The Griffini Archive in Milan

When the Italian Arabist Angela Codazzi passed away on 19 April 1972 at the age of 82, she left her entire library, study notes, and personal papers to the Biblioteca Comunale Centrale Palazzo Sormani in Milan (fig. 2), where they arrived on 15 June 1972.¹⁰⁵ The bequeathed materials included the scholarly

¹⁰³ Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1983; the list of the Milanese manuscripts he consulted is at p. 74. Oscar Löfgren had provided King with ample information about relevant Ambrosiana manuscripts in his letter of 21 May 1975, which may not have reached King at the time. This is suggested by the fact that Löfgren resent the letter on 18 July 1979. For Löfgren's draft of the 1979 letter, which is preserved in Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 652E, see figs 1c–d.

¹⁰⁴ David A. King, "The Invention of Algebra in Zabīd, between Legend and Fact", *Islamic Philosophy, Science, Culture, and Religion: Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas*, ed. Felicitas Opwis and David Reisman, Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 223–230.

¹⁰⁵ For Angela Codazzi and her scholarly biography, see Alessandra Miola, "Il fondo Angela Codazzi presso la Biblioteca 'Sormani' di Milano con carte di Giuseppe Ricchieri ed Eugenio Griffini", MA thesis, Università degli studi di Milano, 1994–1995, pp. 5–17.

legacy both of Griffini, Codazzi's former teacher of Arabic at the Accademia scientifico letteraria (later: University) of Milan, and of Giuseppe Ricchieri (1861–1926), with whom she had studied geography at the same institution. After Griffini's death in 1926, his mother, Maria Giacomina Reina, and her cousin Luca Beltrami (1854–1933) donated his manuscripts and books to the Ambrosiana Library, and they commissioned Angela Codazzi to prepare a catalogue of these materials. With this purpose in mind, Codazzi was apparently given her teacher's personal papers to facilitate the preparation of the catalogue. Codazzi's catalogue was published in 1926 under the title *Catalogo dei libri a stampa ed elenco sommario dei mss dal Dr. Griffini legati alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana*.¹⁰⁶ Griffini's *Inventario*, consisting of seven large notebooks and completed in May 1914, was given to the Ambrosiana by Codazzi in 1955 in execution of Griffini's last will, so that it would be accessible to scholars. The *Inventario* is kept at the Ambrosiana under the shelf marks MSS Ambr. N.F. H 177–184 ("Sussidio ... note di Griffini consegnate da A. Codazzi alla Bibl. Ambrosiana").¹⁰⁷

According to Codazzi's 1963 article "Eugenio Griffini e la Biblioteca Ambrosiana", the remainder of Griffini's papers were still in Codazzi's custody at that time, but their originally planned transfer to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, where they would be reunited with Griffini's books and manuscripts, was imminent.¹⁰⁸ However, the move never took place, and the Griffini archive eventually ended up in the Palazzo Sormani Library some five decades after Griffini's demise.

¹⁰⁶ Angela Codazzi, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa ed elenco sommario dei mss dal Dr. Griffini legati alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, published together with Luca Beltrami, *Eugenio Griffini Bey MDCCCLXXVIII–MCMXXV*, Milan: Tipografia Umberto Allegretti, 1926. See also Rudolf Strothmann's critical review of Codazzi's *Catalogo* in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, no. 10 (1927), columns 885–887. Löfgren and Traini included descriptions of all fifty-nine codices of the Griffini manuscript collection (MSS Milan, Ambrosiana, x 44 sup. through x 109 sup.) in Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 130ff. and passim; see *ibid.*, p. xxix (Cordordance II [Medio Fondo]).

¹⁰⁷ See Oscar Löfgren, "Unbekannte arabische Texte in der Ambrosiana", *Orientalia Suecana* 12 (1963), pp. 122–134, here p. 124. See also Oscar Löfgren, "I manoscritti arabi dell'Ambrosiana e la loro catalogazione", *Atti del Convegno di studi su la Lombardia e l'Oriente: Milano, 11–15 giugno 1962*, Milan: Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, 1963, pp. 209–216, here p. 214: "Nelle mie prime visite dopo la guerra sembra che l'inventario del Griffini non fosse ancora entrato nell'Ambrosiana. Il fatto che l'inventario sia stato ritrovato e incorporato alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana, grazie ai buoni uffici della professoressa Angela Codazzi, una dei discepoli di Griffini, significa migliori possibilità per l'esplorazione della collezione sud-araba." For the *Inventario*, see also below.

¹⁰⁸ Angela Codazzi, "Eugenio Griffini e la Biblioteca Ambrosiana", *Atti del Convegno di studi su la Lombardia e l'Oriente: Milano, 11–15 giugno 1962*, Milan: Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, 1963, pp. 79–88, here p. 82.

Because of its nature as an archive within an archive, the name of the formal donor (Codazzi) has obscured that of the materials' actual owner (Griffini). As a consequence, Griffini's archive fell into oblivion and remained unexplored for more than two decades after its arrival at the Palazzo Sormani. Even during Codazzi's lifetime, her peers were unaware of the Griffini archive in her possession. Löfgren, for example, who had worked with the Arabic manuscripts of the Ambrosiana from 1934 on¹⁰⁹ and began to prepare a systematic catalogue of the material in the early 1950s,¹¹⁰ did not know about Codazzi's Griffini archive or about the detailed descriptions of major parts of the N.F. that Griffini had prepared but never published. Löfgren knew only of Giorgio Levi Della Vida's (1886–1967) "privaten Zettelkatalog der nicht katalogisierten arabischen Hss. der Ambrosiana" or "il suo schedario della collezione Caprotti"¹¹¹

109 See Löfgren, "Über eine neuentdeckte bessere Textüberlieferung", p. 137; Löfgren, "I manoscritti arabi", p. 210.

110 See Löfgren, "Unbekannte arabische Texte", p. 122: "Wiederholte Unterstützungen seitens schwedischer Stellen haben es mir ermöglicht, in den letzten zehn Jahren fast regelmäßige jährliche Studienbesuche in die Biblioteca Ambrosiana zu Mailand abzustatten, zunächst um die dort befindlichen Sammlungen arabischer Handschriften genauer kennenzulernen, bald aber auch in der Absicht, ein vollständiges Verzeichnis dieses umfangreichen und sehr wertvollen Materials, das bisher nur zum kleineren Teil katalogisiert ist, vorzubereiten." Löfgren completed a draft version of his catalogue of all the Arabic manuscripts of the Ambrosiana in September 1963 (*ibid.*, p. 125), and he was supported in the revision of the catalogue and its preparation for publication by Renato Traini. Volume 1 was published in 1975, followed by additional volumes in 1981, 1995, and 2011; for details, see above, n. 79. The evolution of Löfgren's cataloguing enterprise can also be gleaned from his regular reports to the prefetto de l'Ambrosiana, e.g., Löfgren's letter to Carlo Castiglioni, 6 November 1957 (Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 652E). Of similar relevance is Löfgren's correspondence with prefetto Angelo Paredi (1908–1997) and prefetto Enrico R. Galbiati (1914–2004), portions of which are preserved in the Oscar Löfgrens arkiv in Uppsala. The Oscar Löfgrens arkiv also includes Löfgren's first handwritten handlist of the N.F. (figs 1e–g) as well as his comments on the typewritten handlists of some of the series, which reflect his joint work with Traini (fig. 1h).

111 See Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, p. 12 n. 1; Löfgren, "Über eine neuentdeckte bessere Textüberlieferung", p. 137; Löfgren, "I manoscritti arabi", p. 215. Whereas Löfgren relates on all three occasions that he consulted Levi Della Vida's "Zettelkatalog" during the summer of 1934, he relates elsewhere that it was in 1939 "als ich in Rom dank der Freundlichkeit meines Kollegen G. Levi Della Vida sein privates Verzeichnis der in der Ambrosiana befindlichen, nur zum kleineren Teil von E. Griffini katalogisierten Sammlung Caprotti flüchtig studieren konnte"; see Oscar Löfgren, "Dağfal und Di'bil als Gewährsmänner der südarabischen Sage: Über die Hs. Caprotti G 3 der Ambrosiana", *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1956, vol. 2, pp. 94–101, here pp. 94–95. It is unclear when Levi Della Vida prepared his "Zettelkatalog" and whether and where it is still extant. He may have done it after December 1917, when the Arabic manuscripts of the Ambrosiana were temporarily relocated to the Vatican Library for a few years; see Eugenio Griffini, "Corpus iuris" di Zaid ibn 'Alī (VIII. Sec. Cr.): *La più antica*

and Griffini's aforementioned rudimentary descriptions of the manuscripts of the Collezione Caprotti (*inventario*) that were kept in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (N.F. H 177–184) since 1955.¹¹²

In 1995 Griffini's papers were mentioned for the first time in a master's thesis by Alessandra Miola, which consisted of a survey and inventory of Codazzi's archival collection.¹¹³ While the Ricchieri papers were kept in relative order, the personal papers of Codazzi and Griffini were largely mixed up, to the extent that the individual archives could hardly be distinguished from one another. This had apparently been the case already in 1972, when the Codazzi

raccolta di legislazione e di giurisprudenza musulmana finora ritrovata, Milan: Hoepli, 1919, p. vii n. 2: "Nel dicembre 1917 i mss. arabi dell' Ambrosiana sono stati temporaneamente trasportati a Roma (Bibl. Vat.); mi vennero perciò a mancare così, proprio durante la stampa dell'introduzione e degli Indici, nel 1918 e 1919, molti codici di continua consultazione." The temporary relocation of all Arabic manuscripts of the Ambrosiana to Rome is also mentioned in a letter from Griffini to van Arendonk, 10 September 1918 (MS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 8276.10). Additional insights into the relation between Löfgren and Levi Della Vida can be gained from the latter's letters that are preserved in Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 652 E (dated 21 October 1955; 30 June 1956; 20 [July] 1959; 16 September 1959; 7 October 1963). In his letter of 16 September 1959 Levi Della Vida writes: "Obwohl ich im Frühling 1934 einige yemenischen [sic] Hdss. der Ambrosiana zu Rat gezogen habe, kenne ich die Sammlung Caprotti nur flüchtig, und muss zu meinem Scham gestehen, dass ich die ältere Sammlung [i.e., A.F.] nie gesehen habe". Levi Della Vida's "Zettelkasten", or portions of it, were also accessible to the British scholar Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915–1993); see letter Serjeant to Oscar Löfgren, 28 November 1957 (Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 652E): "Now regarding the Ambrosiana I worked on some of the MSS in 1953 and in 1954 I managed to get a list of the S. Arabian MSS made out from a copy of Griffini's unpublished cards in Levi Della Vida's possession....". Having refused the oath of allegiance to fascism on January 1, 1932, Levi Della Vida was dismissed from his position as professor of Semitics at the University of Rome and henceforth lived as a private scholar. After 1932 he was named an associate at the Vatican Library in order to prepare a catalogue of the library's collection of Arabic manuscripts; this was published in 1935 as *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*. The catalogue includes descriptions of 280 manuscripts of the Caprotti collection that were donated to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana by Luca Beltrami in April 1922 and are classified under the shelf marks MSS Vat. ar. 946–1206, 1357–1375.

112 Nonetheless, in 2019 Arianna D'Ottone Rambach wrote in "Al-Şiqillī or al-Şaqalī / Sicily or Tunisia? Ink Recipes from the Western Regions of Islamic Lands", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 10 (2019), pp. 171–189, here p. 172 n. 6: "In 1954, the Ambrosiana Library ... received Griffini's correspondence with other orientalist, his manuscript notes and the material for the continuation of the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts." This is precisely the material that was never handed over to the Ambrosiana. D'Ottone Rambach consulted other sources at the Ambrosiana for the same publication but evidently did not verify this statement.

113 Miola, "Il fondo Angela Codazzi", pp. 97–118.

archive was deposited at the Palazzo Sormani, and the conflation of the two legacies posed an enormous difficulty for Miola's attempts to rearrange and catalogue the material in 1995. As a result of the conflation and the poor preservation of the material in the library at the time, Miola missed a significant portion of the Griffini archive, which therefore remained unmentioned in her master's thesis. What she describes of the Griffini papers is today located in boxes 25 through 33 of the Codazzi archive.¹¹⁴

It was thanks to Miola's work on the Codazzi archive that we became aware of the fact that Griffini's papers are kept in the Palazzo Sormani.¹¹⁵ At the same time, the evident gaps in her inventory—she records, for example, only twenty-one leaves' worth of epistolary exchanges between Griffini and a mere fourteen correspondents¹¹⁶—and her comments on the conflation of the materials suggested to us that there might be material that had escaped her attention. In February 2021, with the kind permission of the Palazzo Sormani Library, Valentina Sagaria Rossi had the opportunity to inspect the Codazzi archive in person, and she discovered a substantial portion of the Griffini archive that Miola had not mentioned and that was evidently unknown to her (figs. 3, 4). Together with Donatella Cantele, librarian at the Palazzo Sormani,¹¹⁷ Sagaria Rossi identified and arranged the newly discovered material, which is now kept in boxes 53 through 60 of the Codazzi archive.¹¹⁸ This material includes the majority of Griffini's correspondence and his *schedario*—that is, his file index containing his detailed handwritten introduction, index cards, and notes on the manuscripts of series A of the Caprotti collection at the Ambrosiana Library (124 codices).¹¹⁹ The material

¹¹⁴ Miola, "Il fondo Angela Codazzi", pp. 92–118.

¹¹⁵ Between December 2020 and January 2021 we corresponded with Professor Carmela Baffioni and Dr. Pier Francesco Fumagalli about the possibility of locating the Griffini *Nachlass* at the Ambrosiana. Dr. Fumagalli kindly informed us that the *Nachlass* is not held at the Ambrosiana and that he is unaware of its whereabouts.

¹¹⁶ See Miola, "Il fondo Angela Codazzi", pp. 113 (= MSS Codazzi-Griffini 32/211), 118 (= MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227).

¹¹⁷ We are indebted to the Palazzo Sormani Library staff and especially grateful to Donatella Cantele for her competent and indispensable support during our inspection of the archive and her very careful assistance during the activities of reordering and digitizing the documents. A special thanks to Alessia Rovida of MIDA Informatica (Bergamo, Italy) for the accuracy of the digitization work and the excellent post-production process executed on the images.

¹¹⁸ The new materials were assigned shelf marks such as MSS Codazzi-Griffini 53/1.1–10, identifying the box (53) and, if applicable, the fascicle (1), followed by sequential numbers for every leaf or page (1–10).

¹¹⁹ For Caprotti's and other Italian collections of Yemeni manuscripts, see Sagaria Rossi, "Opening Yemen Up to Italy", pp. 223–254.



FIGURE 3 Some of the boxes of the Griffini archive, Biblioteca Comunale Centrale Palazzo Sormani, Milan

PHOTOGRAPH: VALENTINA SAGARIA ROSSI

also includes his twelve-page survey of the Caprotti collection and its contents (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 54/1) and his descriptions of four Ethiopic codices of the Ambrosiana (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/1.1–176). The archive further contains a few Arabic manuscripts (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 53), Griffini's Tunis diary of 1905 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 54/2), a detailed curriculum vitae with a list of his publications until 1913 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 54/4), and some other personal papers, as well as extensive study notes, including Griffini's 1902 MA dissertation on the legal institution of the *waqf* (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 54/5). In view of the significance of the material, the present authors signed an agreement in May 2021 with the Archival and Bibliographic Superintendence of Lombardy and the Palazzo Sormani to digitize the Griffini archive and prepare an inventory of its contents. With the financial support of the National Endowment of the Humanities, the digitization of the Griffini archive (boxes 53 through 60) was carried out in July 2021. Selected materials from boxes 25 through 32 (rudimentarily described by Miola) were further digitized for us by the Palazzo Sormani in February and March 2022. The following sections provide a first overview of the Griffini archive, with a focus on the recently discovered materials. The large corpus of so far unexplored material promises to provide new insights into the network of Islamicists and Arabists at the turn of the twentieth century and the nascent phase of Zaydi studies in Europe.



FIGURE 4 Samples from Griffini's schedario, Biblioteca Comunale Centrale Palazzo Sormani, Milan
PHOTOGRAPH: VALENTINA SAGARIA ROSSI

Correspondence

The archive contains Griffini's epistolary exchanges with some ninety-nine correspondents (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 32/211, 33/227, and boxes 56 through 60). The correspondence that stands out is undoubtedly that with Giuseppe Caprotti, consisting of 184 long and very detailed letters, rich in information about the manuscripts Caprotti purchased and collected in Ṣan'ā'. It spans the years from 1899 to 1917 and covers a crucial period in the shaping of the Milanese collection. Additionally, Caprotti wrote extensively about his more than thirty years in Yemen in his letters: he discusses his business relations, his personal acquaintances among the local authorities, his relations with the press, and any local events he deemed to be of interest to his friend in Italy. A close study of Caprotti's letters remains a desideratum, as it is clear that his letters offer an unparalleled insider's view into Yemeni society, politics, and culture during the three decades of Caprotti's sojourn in the country. At the same time, his intimate familiarity with Yemen alienated him from European visitors to the country, many of whom were on the hunt for exotic adventures.¹²⁰ Griffini's correspondence with Glaser, meanwhile, provides interesting insights into the difficult relationship between the two most important collectors of Yemeni manuscripts during this period—namely, Caprotti and Glaser—and Griffini's position between the two.¹²¹ Nallino, Griffini's teacher of Arabic at the Istituto Orientale in Naples during the years 1897–1898, had introduced Griffini to the more formal aspects of the language and the palaeographical aspects of the Arabic manuscript tradition. Their scholarly relationship is reflected in their correspondence, which stretches over twenty-five years and testifies to Nallino's scientific interests (astronomy, history of science, *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and the history of the Arabian peninsula and Yemen) as well as the various stages of Griffini's research on the Ambrosiana manuscripts. Nallino's judgements were often severe and reprimanding, and he regularly reproached his former pupil for his naivety and lack of philological acumen.

120 See also the comment by the British military officer and Arabist Major Arthur John Byng Wavell (1882–1916), who visited Ṣan'ā' in 1911 (A.J.B. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca and a Siege in Sanaa*, Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1912, p. 245): "The townspeople fall into four principal classes: the military and Government officials, who are for the most part Moslem Turks, a *coterie* of Levantine merchants, Ottoman subjects, but Christians, Roman Catholic or Orthodox; the Zaidie Arabs, and the Jews. Signor Caprotti, being the only foreign resident, forms a fifth class, all to himself." We thank Marieke Brandt for having brought this passage to our attention.

121 Together with Jan Thiele, the present authors are preparing a critical edition and study of the Caprotti–Griffini–Glaser correspondence.

The majority of the remaining correspondence was initiated by scholars all over Europe approaching Griffini with queries about the manuscripts in the Caprotti collection, which was considered a major sensation at the time. Griffini appears to have been forthcoming in his replies and provided colleagues across Europe with information about individual Caprotti manuscripts, often preparing excerpts from selected manuscripts and collating editions based on manuscripts in other collections with codices in the Caprotti collection.¹²² Another recurrent topic in some of the letters is Griffini's own work on the *Majmū' al-fiqh* attributed to Zayd b. 'Alī, an edition of which he published in 1919.¹²³ Griffini never retained copies of his own letters, and the archive thus holds only the letters of his correspondents. In some cases, individual exchanges can be complemented with Griffini's letters that are kept in other archives. This is the case, for example, with the various archives containing Glaser's personal papers in the Czech Republic,¹²⁴ and with complementary portions of the aforementioned Griffini-Nallino correspondence that are preserved in the Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino in Rome.¹²⁵ A somewhat odd case is Griffini's epistolary exchange with Ignaz Goldziher. While the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest holds sixteen letters and postcards sent to Goldziher by Griffini between 1908 and 1920 (in addition to a letter from Henry Frederick Amedroz to Griffini attached to one of Griffini's letters to Goldziher),¹²⁶ there are only two letters from Goldziher

122 See also Rudolf Strothmann, review of Luca Beltrami, *Eugenio Griffini, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 30 (1927), columns 885–887, here column 887: “[I]n verbindlichster Weise gab er Auskunft auf Anfragen von ‘toute l’Europe arabisante’, wie er einmal dem Ref. schrieb, und in selbstloser Hilfsbereitschaft kam der Sprachgewandte dem ausländischen Besucher seiner Schätze entgegen.”

123 Griffini, *Corpus iuris*.

124 See Thiele, “Eduard Glaser's Personal Nachlass.”

125 <https://www.lazio900.it/inventario/?id=169571> (accessed 4 April 2022). The Nallino archive also includes other materials beyond their correspondence that provide insights into the relation between Nallino and Griffini; see e.g. Riccardo Contini and Luca D'Anna, “Between Arabic Philology and Colonial Enterprise: Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938), Eugenio Griffini (1878–1925) and Libyan Toponymy”, *Advances in Comparative Colonial Toponomastics*, ed. Nataliya Levkovych, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020, pp. 155–182. For additional examples of Griffini's correspondence preserved in other archives, see the list of Griffini's correspondents as preserved in the Griffini archive, below. In some cases, Griffini's letters to others are preserved elsewhere, but no trace of the correspondence can be found in the Codazzi-Griffini archive. This is the case, for example, with a letter sent by Griffini to Michael Johan de Goeje in 1904 that is preserved at Leiden University Library (BPL 2389); see https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/003ulj/UBL_ALMA21185875870002711 (accessed 6 March 2022).

126 See Sagaria Rossi, “Eugenio Griffini and Zaydi Studies.”

to Griffini included in the Griffini archive in Milan.¹²⁷ The following is a list of Griffini's correspondents as preserved in the Griffini archive, with information on the number of preserved items, their dates, and the shelf marks:

- Amedroz, Henry Frederick (1854–1817), 4 documents, 1911–1916 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/1–4)
- van Arendonk, Cornelis (1881–1946), 7 documents, 1911–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/5–11)¹²⁸
- Asín Palacios, Miguel (1871–1944), 4 documents, 1915–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/12–15)
- Basset, René (1855–1924), 9 documents, 1911–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/16–24)
- Beguinet, Francesco (1879–1953), 18 documents, 1912–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/25–42)
- Beltrami, Luca (1854–1933), 8 documents, 1919 (and n.d.) (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227, 56/43–45)
- Bencheneb, Mohamed (1867–1929), 1 document, 1909 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/46)
- Bensaude, Joaquim (1859–1952), 10 documents, 1915–1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/47–55, 56/64)
- van Berchem, Max (1863–1921), 7 documents, 1910–1917 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/52–58)¹²⁹
- Bevan, Anthony Ashley (1859–1933), 1 document, 1906 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/59)
- Bloch, Edgard (1870–1937), 1 document, 1916 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/60)
- Boson, Giustino (1883–1954), 3 documents, 1915 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/61–63)

¹²⁷ Griffini apparently also corresponded with Hermann Reckendorf (1863–1924), although there is again no trace of this correspondence in the Griffini archive. Reckendorf's *Nachlass*, kept at the Berlin State Library (see Ludmila Hanisch, *Verzeichnis der Orientalisten-nachlässe in deutschen Bibliotheken und Archiven*, Halle: Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1997; <https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/handschriften/nachlaesse-autographen/nachlaesse-a-z> [accessed 11 March 2022]), may well include Griffini's letters to him.

¹²⁸ The legacy of Cornelis van Arendonk (MSS Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 8287, Or. 8291 K, and Or. 14.606) includes the letters sent to van Arendonk by Griffini, as well as drafts of some of van Arendonk's letters to Griffini.

¹²⁹ Some of the letters sent by Griffini to van Berchem are perhaps preserved in the archive of the Fondation Max van Berchem in Geneva; see <https://maxvanberchem.org/fr/bibliotheque> (accessed 11 March 2022).

- Brockelmann, Carl (1868–1956), 5 documents, 1907–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/65–69)¹³⁰
- Caprotti, Giuseppe (1862–1919), 184 documents, 1899–1917 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 57/1–184)
- Carusi, Evaristo (1866–1940), 3 documents, 1917–1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/70–72)
- Chajes, Hirsch [Zwi] Perez (1876–1927), 1 document, 1910 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/73)
- Cheikho, Louis (1859–1927), 3 documents, 1904–1905 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/74–76)
- Conti Rossini, Carlo (1872–1949), 17 documents, 1903–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/77–93)
- D'Erlanger, Rodolphe (1872–1932), 2 documents, 1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/98–99)
- De Castries, Henry (1850–1927), 3 documents, 1915–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/94–96)
- De Luigi, Carlo¹³¹ (Casa Editrice Italiana di Carlo De Luigi), 1 document, 1915 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/97)
- Di Cesarò, Giovanni Antonio Colonna (1878–1940), 1 document, 1918 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 56/100)
- Fagnan, Edmond (1846–1931), 1 document, 1913 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/1)
- Fernández, P. Felipe, 1 document, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/2)
- Fischer, August (1865–1949), 6 documents, 1906–1913 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/3–8)¹³²
- Foucart, Georges (1865–1943), 2 documents, 1922–1923 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Gabrieli, Giuseppe (1872–1942), 17 documents, 1913–1923 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227, 58/9–24)
- Gauthier, Léon (1862–1949), 1 document, 1901 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)

¹³⁰ Some of the letters sent by Griffini to Brockelmann may be preserved among the latter's *Nachlass* in the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle; see Hanisch, *Verzeichnis der Orientalistennachlässe*, p. 9; https://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/zweigbib/ha1/bibliothek_dmg/gelehrtennachlaesse_dmg/ (accessed 11 March 2022).

¹³¹ See also below, Ramoni, R.

¹³² Fischer's *Nachlass* is kept in the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle; see Hanisch, *Verzeichnis der Orientalistennachlässe*, p. 17; https://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/zweigbib/ha1/bibliothek_dmg/gelehrtennachlaesse_dmg/nachlassfischer/ (accessed 11 March 2022), and it apparently includes no letters from Griffini.

- Geyer, Rudolf (1861–1929), 3 documents, 1905–1906 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/77–79)¹³³
- Glaser, Eduard (1855–1908), 54 documents, 1897–1908 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/25–76, 58/209, 57/56)¹³⁴
- Goldziher, Ignaz (1850–1921), 2 documents, 1919–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 32/211)¹³⁵
- Grammatica, Luigi (1865–1935), 9 documents, 1914–1917 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227, 58/81)
- Gratzl, Emil (1877–1957), 2 documents, 1908–1914 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/82–83)¹³⁶
- Grohmann, Adolf (1887–1977), 2 documents, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/89, 60/78)¹³⁷
- Guidi, Ignazio (1844–1935), 32 documents, 1909–1924 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/90–121)
- Guidi, Michelangelo (1886–1946), 6 documents, 1913–1921 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/122–127)
- Heffening, Willi (1894–1944), 22 documents, 1914–1918 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/157–177, 60/154)¹³⁸
- Hell, Joseph (1875–1950), 2 documents, 1905–1907 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/155–156)
- Herz, Max (1856–1919), 43 documents, 1915–1918 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/128–169, 58/80)

133 It is likely that the Rudolf Geyer *Nachlass* that is kept in the Monastery Library at Stift St. Florian (Austria) holds Griffini's letters to Geyer. For an initial overview of its holdings, see Cornelis van Lit, "Spending the Summer with Rudolf Geyer († 1929)", <https://medium.com/@DigiOrientalist/spending-the-summer-with-rudolf-geyer-1929-42674a55f26> (accessed 6 March 2022).

134 For the Glaser–Griffini correspondence preserved in the various Glaser archives, see above.

135 For Griffini's letters to Goldziher, see above.

136 The Emil Gratzl *Nachlass* at the Bavarian State Library in Munich holds four letters sent to Gratzl by Griffini between 1908 and 1914. See <https://kalliope-verbund.info/de/query?q=ead.creator.gnd%3D%3D%22116835605%22> (accessed 4 March 2022).

137 Griffini's letters to Grohmann are perhaps preserved in the *Nachlass Adolf Grohmann* held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna; see <https://nlv.obvsg.at/AC14448048> (accessed 11 March 2022).

138 Of interest is also Heffening's review of Luca Beltrami's *Eugenio Griffini* and Angela Codazzi's *Catalogo* in *Der Islam* 19 (1931), pp. 64–65, here p. 64 n. 1, where Heffening defends himself against Griffini's accusation that he had consulted the Ambrosiana manuscripts of Islamic legal literature in the interest of and at the behest of the German government.

- Hess, Johann Jacob (1866–1949), 14 documents, 1916–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/170–183)¹³⁹
- Horovitz, Josef (1874–1931), 3 documents, 1908–1911 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/184–186)
- Horten, Max (1874–1945), 7 documents, 1907–1922 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/187–193)
- Houtsma, Martijn Theodoor (1851–1943), 3 documents, 1912–1916 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/194–196)
- Huart, Clément (1854–1926), 4 documents, 1910–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/197–200)
- Juynboll, Theodor Willem (1866–1948), 5 documents, 1915–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/201–205)
- Kohler, Josef (1849–1919), 2 documents, 1911 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/206–207)
- Kreysing, G. (Buchdruckerei Leipzig), 1 document, 1906 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 58/208)
- Kummer, Rudolf (1896–1987), 1 document, 1922 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/122)
- Lammens, Henri (1862–1937), 3 documents, 1916 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/1–3)
- Lasinio, Fausto (1831–1914), 2 documents, 1904 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/8–9)
- Levi Della Vida, Giorgio (1886–1967), 4 documents, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/10–12)^{139a}
- Littmann, Enno (1875–1958), 6 documents, 1905–1910 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/14–19)¹⁴⁰
- Lopes, David (1867–1942), 1 document, 1918 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/20)
- Mansour Pacha, Omar, 3 documents, 1917 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/24–26)
- Marçais, Georges (1876–1962), 1 document, 1913 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/27)
- Margoliouth, David Samuel (1858–1940), 2 documents, 1908–1910 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/28–29)
- Massignon, Louis (1883–1962), 2 documents, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/30–31)
- Mercati, Giovanni (1890–1956), 1 document, 1923 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)

139 Some of the letters sent by Griffini to Hess are perhaps preserved among the latter's *Nachlass* in the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle; see Hanisch, *Verzeichnis der Orientalistennachlässe*, p. 32; https://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/zweigbib/ha1/bibliothek_dmg/gelehrtennachlaesse_dmg/ (accessed 11 March 2022).

139a Some of the letters sent by Griffini to Levi Della Vida are perhaps preserved in the private archive of the latter's granddaughter, Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo.

140 Some of the letters sent by Griffini to Littmann may be preserved among the latter's *Nachlässe* at Tübingen University Library and the Berlin State Library; see Hanisch, *Verzeichnis der Orientalistennachlässe*, p. 47.

- Mittwoch, Eugen (1876–1942), 6 documents, 1910–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/32–37)
- Morata, Nemesio Martínez (1886–1960), 1 document, 1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Naama al-Mawṣilī, G., 1 document, 1915 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/38)
- Nallino, Carlo Alfonso (1872–1938), 118 documents, 1897–1922 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/39–156)¹⁴¹
- Negrotto Cambiaso, Lazzaro (1874–1943), 4 documents, 1921 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/4–7)
- Nielsen, Ditlef (1874–1949), 1 document, 1916 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/147)
- Nöldeke, Theodor (1836–1930), 3 documents, 1907–1908 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/148–150)¹⁴²
- Østrup, Johannes Elith (1867–1938), 1 document, 1916 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Paribeni, Roberto (1876–1956), 4 documents, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Pereira da Silva, Luciano (1864–1926), 2 documents, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/151–152)
- Piazza, Giovanni, 1 document, 1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/153)
- Pizzi, Italo (1849–1920), 1 document, 1909 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Ramoni, R.¹⁴³ (Casa Editrice Italiana di Carlo De Luigi), 1 document, 1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/154)
- Ratti, Ambrigio Damiano Achille (from 1922 Pope Pius XI) (1857–1939), 1 document, 1914 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 59/155)
- Rescher, Oskar (1883–1972), 2 documents, 1914–1922 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Ribera, Julián (1858–1934), 1 document, 1916 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Salhani, Antoine [Ṣāliḥānī, Anṭūn] (1847–1941), 45 documents, 1904–1907 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/1–45)
- Santillana, David (1855–1931), 5 documents, 1914–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/47–51)
- Sarasin, v., 2 documents, 1918–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/52–53)
- Scarpa, Gino, 3 documents, 1918 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/54–56)

141 For Griffini's letters to Nallino that are preserved in the latter's *Nachlass* at the Istitute per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino in Rome, see above.

142 Some of the letters sent by Griffini to Nöldeke are perhaps preserved among the latter's *Nachlässe* at Tübingen University Library and the Berlin State Library; see Hanisch, *Verzeichnis der Orientalistennachlässe*, pp. 58–59.

143 See also above, De Luigi, Carlo.

- Schaade, Arthur (1883–1952), 1 document, 1915 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/57)¹⁴⁴
- Schiapparelli, Celestino (1841–1919), 12 documents, 1904–1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/58–69)
- Seybold, Christian Friedrich (1859–1921), 5 documents, 1906–1910 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/70–74)¹⁴⁵
- Sforza, Cesare, 1 document, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/75)
- Smend, Rudolf (1851–1913), 1 document, 1904 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/76)
- Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857–1936), 1 document, 1911 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/77)
- Strothmann, Rudolf (1877–1960), 24 documents, 1910–1923 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 32/211.5, 60/79–101)¹⁴⁶
- Stumme, Hans (1864–1936), 22 documents, 1910–1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/102–123)
- Suali, Luigi (1881–1957), 1 document, 1915 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/124)
- Suter, Heinrich (1848–1922), 15 documents, 1909–1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/125–139)
- Taamrat, Emmanuel (1888–1963), 1 document, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/140)
- Teloni, Giulio Cesare (1857–1943), 1 document, 1919 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/141)
- Titius, Arthur (1864–1936), 1 document, 1911 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/142)
- Torrents, Joseph, 1 document, 1920 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/143)
- Vaccari, Alberto (PIB) (1875–1965), 4 documents, 1916 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/144–147)
- Veccia Vaglieri, Laura (1893–1989), 55 documents (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/148–153)
- Verrucci, Ernesto (1874–1945), 1 document, 1921 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Vittani, Giovanni (1875–1938), 1 document, 1924 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 33/227)
- Wahabi (Wahabe), 1 document, 1908 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/178)
- Wensinck, Arent Jan (1882–1939), 2 documents, 1919–1921 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/179–180)

144 Letters from Griffini to Schaade may be preserved among the latter's *Nachlass* at the Hamburg State and University Library; see Hanisch, *Verzeichnis der Orientalistennachlässe*, p. 75.

145 Some of the letters sent by Griffini to Seybold are perhaps preserved among the latter's *Nachlass* in the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle; see Hanisch, *Verzeichnis der Orientalistennachlässe*, p. 83; https://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/zweigbib/ha1/bibliothek_dmg/gelehrtennachlaesse_dmg/ (accessed 11 March 2022).

146 For an edition of this correspondence, see Schmidtke, *The Beginnings of Shīʿī Studies in Germany*, part 2.

Wiedemann, Eilhard (1852–1928), 1 document, n.d. (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/181)

Wiet, Gaston (1887–1971), 1 document, 1911 (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 60/182)

Griffini's Descriptions of Selected Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Ambrosiana

The Ambrosiana has a modest collection of twenty-two Ethiopic manuscripts. A first detailed catalogue of six manuscripts was published in 1933–1934 by Sylvain Grébaut (1881–1955),¹⁴⁷ and this was followed by a brief inventory of all twenty-two manuscripts by Enrico Galbiati (1914–2004), published in 1957.¹⁴⁸ Griffini never published on Ethiopica, and there is nothing to suggest that he ever planned to catalogue the Ethiopic manuscript holdings of the Ambrosiana. Nonetheless, the Griffini archive includes detailed descriptions of four Ethiopic codices, including long excerpts from each. It is unclear when Griffini worked on this material, but it seems fairly evident that he used these codices only as training material to improve his proficiency in the realm of Ethiopica. In view of the lack of digital images of the codices, which have so

147 Sylvain Grébaut, "Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la bibliothèque Ambrosienne", *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 29 (1933–1934), pp. 3–32 (abbreviated in the following to Grébaut 1933–34). On the French theologian and Ethiopist Sylvain Grébaut and his writings, see Joseph Tubiana, "Notice sur les travaux de Sylvain Grébaut (1881–1955)", *Journal Asiatique* 253 (1965), pp. 123–149; Joseph Tubiana, "AETHIOPS—AETHIOPICA—AETHIOPS: 1922–1938 Sylvain Grébaut à la tâche", *Aethiopica* 1 (1998), pp. 7–26.

148 Enrico Galbiati, "I manoscritti etiopici dell'Ambrosiana (Breve inventario)", *Studi in onore di Carlo Castiglioni Prefetto dell'Ambrosiana*, Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1957, pp. 339–353 (abbreviated in the following to Galbiati 1957). Thanks are due to Alessandro Gori and Samantha Kelly for having updated us on the catalogues of the Ethiopic manuscripts of the Ambrosiana. For a brief survey of these manuscripts, see also Enrico Galbiati, "I fondi orientali (siriano, etiopico, armeno) dell'Ambrosiana", *Atti del Convegno di studi su la Lombardia e l'Oriente: Milano, 11–15 giugno 1962*, Milan: Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, 1963, pp. 190–196 (abbreviated in the following to Galbiati 1963); Paolo Nicelli, "Manoscritti dell'Africa araba, etiopica e copta al tempo di Federico Borromeo, letti e catalogati da Enrico Rodolfo Galbiati ed Eugenio Griffini", *I tesori alla fine dell'arcobaleno: Giornale culturale e di informazione on-line a cura dei volontari per la cultura* (13 May 2016), <https://itesoriallafinedellarcobaleno.com/tag/eugenio-griffini/> (accessed 14 February 2022). It is to be hoped that the Ethiopic manuscript holdings of the Ambrosiana will eventually be included in the CaNeMEI project, dedicated to the rediscovering of ancient Ethiopian manuscripts in Italian libraries; see <https://www.unior.it/ateneo/20625/1/the-canamei-project.html> (accessed 14 February 2022).

far not been studied in detail, Griffini's descriptions and lengthy excerpts may perhaps be of some interest to scholars of related Ethiopian materials. In the following, a list of all Ethiopic manuscripts in the Ambrosiana is given on the basis of Galbiati's 1957 catalogue, with references to this catalogue as well as Galbiati's 1963 survey and Grébaud's 1933–1934 inventory. In the right column, the shelf marks in the Griffini archive are provided for the four codices for which his descriptions are preserved.

B. 20 inf. ^a [Grébaud no. 6] (Pentaglot)	Grébaud 1933–34, pp. 27–30; Galbiati 1957, p. 340	
B. 20 inf. II vol. ^b [Grébaud no. 7] (Tetraglot)	Grébaud 1933–34, pp. 30–32; Galbiati 1957, p. 340	
X. 104 sup. [Grébaud no. 1]	Grébaud 1933–34, pp. 4–5; Galbiati 1957, p. 341 no. 1; Galbiati 1963, p. 196	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/1.122–124, 125–150
X. 104 sup. bis. [Grébaud no. 1]	Grébaud 1933–34, pp. 5–9; Galbiati 1957, p. 342 no. 2; Galbiati 1963, p. 197	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/1.122–124, 151–176
O. 20 sup. [Grébaud no. 2]	Grébaud 1933–34, pp. 10–11; Galbiati 1957, p. 342 no. 3; Galbiati 1963, p. 197	
X. 101 sup. [Grébaud no. 4]	Grébaud 1933–34, pp. 23–25; Galbiati 1957, pp. 346–347 no. 9	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/1.105–119
X. 103 sup.	Galbiati 1957, p. 347 no. 11; Galbiati 1963, p. 197	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/1.40–104
B. 22 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 342–343 no. 4; Galbiati 1963, p. 197	
✠ 45 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 343–344 no. 5; Galbiati 1963, p. 196	
A. 44 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 344–345 no. 6	
I. 123 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 345–346 no. 7; Galbiati 1963, p. 197	

a For a digital surrogate, see <http://213.21.172.25/obo2da82801083c5> (accessed 13 February 2022).

b For a digital surrogate, see <http://213.21.172.25/obo2da82801083c6> (accessed 13 February 2022).

(cont.)

X. 100 sup.	Galbiati 1957, p. 346 no. 8
X. 102 sup.	Galbiati 1957, p. 347 no. 10
X. 105 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 347–348 no. 12
X. 106 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 348–349 no. 13
X. 107 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 349–350 no. 14
X. 108 sup.	Galbiati 1957, p. 350 no. 15
X. 187 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 350–351 no. 16; Galbiati 1963, p. 197
X. 188 sup.	Galbiati 1957, p. 351 no. 17
X. 232 sup.	Galbiati 1957, p. 351 no. 18
X. 233 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 351–352 no. 19
X. 234 sup.	Galbiati 1957, p. 352 no. 20
X. 231 sup.	Galbiati 1957, pp. 352–353 no. 21
X. 238 sup.	Galbiati 1963, p. 197

Griffini's Catalogue of the Nuovo Fondo

Griffini began to receive manuscripts dispatched from Yemen by Caprotti between 1903 and 1906, and he kept them in his apartment on via Dante in Milan. In April and November 1903 Griffini received altogether 256 codices (nowadays classified as series A 1–124 and B 1–132); in May and November 1904 he received 574 codices (series C 1–219 and D 220–574); in June 1905 he received 465 codices (series E 1–465); and in 1906 another 315 codices reached Milan (series F 1–315).¹⁴⁹ Moreover, in 1903 Griffini also had access to sixty codices of what would later be classified as series H.¹⁵⁰ During the same time, he was

149 See Griffini, "Una lieta notizia", p. 107.

150 Eugenio Griffini, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 69 (1915), pp. 63–88, here p. 63.

apparently able to consult another, smaller batch of fifteen manuscripts (today classified as series G 1–15); both series, G and H, were given directly to the Ambrosiana after 1909.

Upon their arrival in Milan, the codices were wrapped in palm mats and coffee bags and stored in large boxes, and some, or perhaps all, of the individual boxes were accompanied by basic lists of their respective contents—shipping documents perhaps. The Griffini archive includes such lists for what became series C and D (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.3, 164.4, and 164.5; **figs. 5, 6, 7, 18–21**) as well as E and F (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.2 and 164.6; **figs 8, 9, 10**). Whether similar lists existed also for the other series is unknown. It is also uncertain who compiled the lists; the way they are arranged points rather to a European than a Yemeni hand (perhaps they were written by Caprotti himself). As a rule, the lists mention only one title per manuscript (and, rarely, its author), even in the case of multitext codices, for which the first easily identifiable title was usually chosen. The letters A through H to designate the individual series were apparently introduced by Griffini at a later point, perhaps alongside the basic division of the corpus into series or subcollections. However, there is evidence that already in 1905/6 Griffini used the label “F” for the manuscripts of series F (**fig. 8**). By contrast, the lists for what are today series C and D suggest that they were initially treated as one subcollection or shipment, as the codices they contain are numbered consecutively, 1–219 (nowadays series C) and 220–574 (nowadays series D). Be that as it may, it is remarkable that the original numbering assigned to the codices of series C and D was preserved when the manuscripts were assigned shelf marks by Griffini. The same does not apply to the codices of what are today series E and F (**figs 9, 10**). The numbers assigned to these codices in the two shipping lists are different from the shelf marks that Griffini later gave them. Moreover, the list for what became series E (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.2) has only 382 items, but the series today consists of 465 codices. The Griffini archive includes Griffini’s descriptions of some codices of series E (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 164.7), and in most cases he mentions both the current shelf mark and the respective old number in the shipping list, confirming that MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.2 covers at least part of today’s series E (**figs. 10, 11**). The number of codices mentioned in the shipping list for what is today series F agrees with that of the series in its present form (315 codices). In view of the rudimentary information provided on the individual codices in the shipping lists of series E and F, it is impossible to establish a full concordance between the old and the new numbering system. Griffini’s early publications between 1906 and 1910 (see below) on individual items of

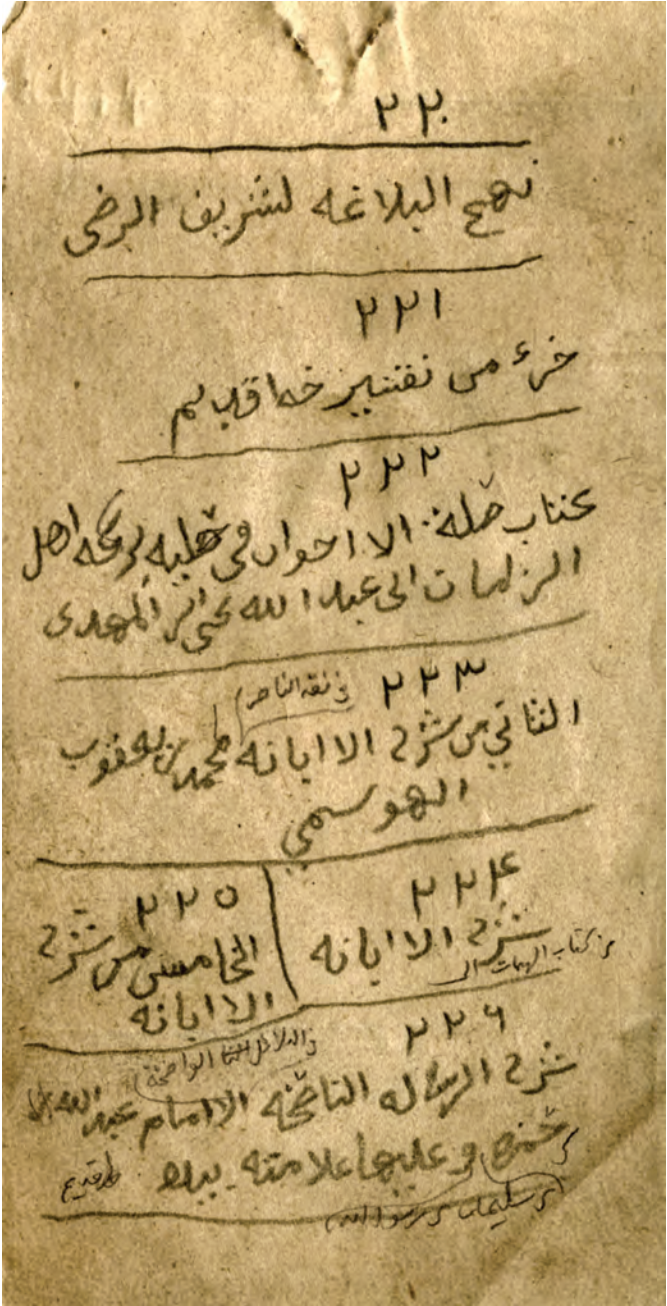


FIGURE 6 First page of the shipping list for series D, sent by Giuseppe Caprotti, listing MSS D 220–226
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.4

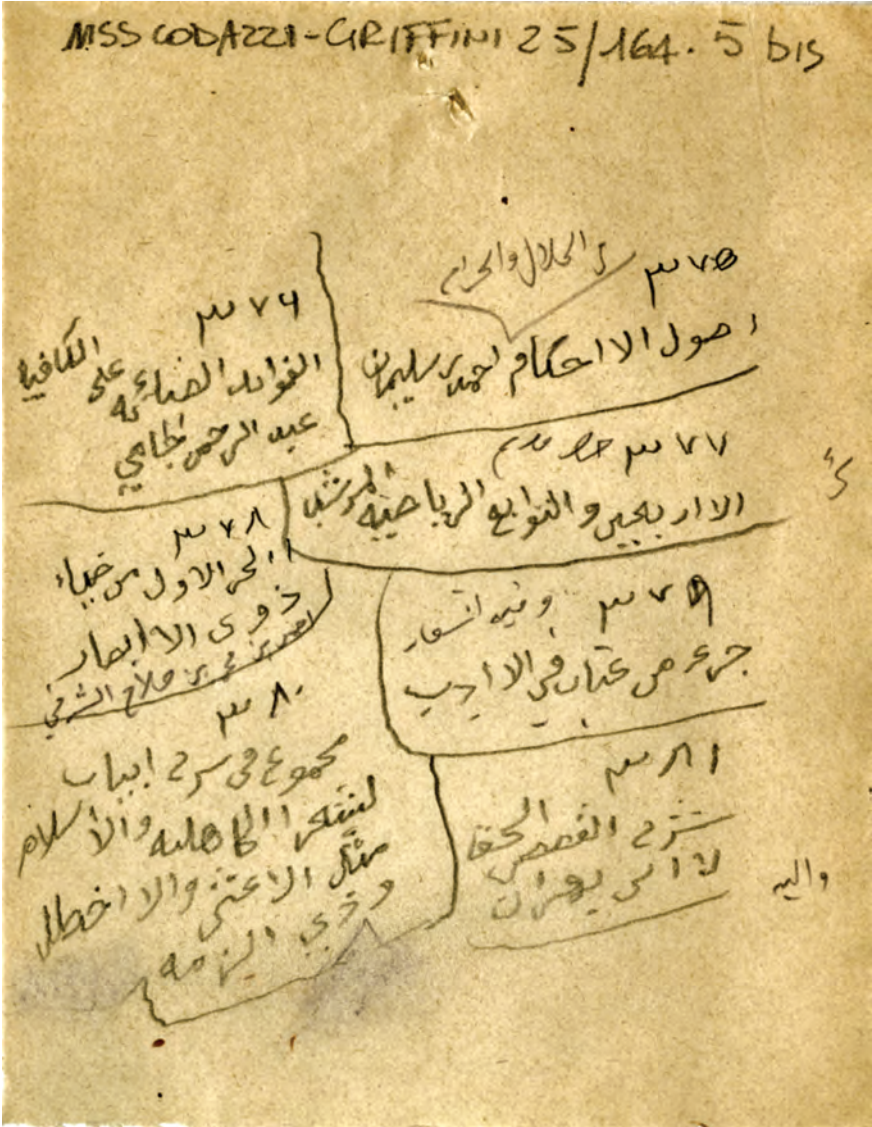


FIGURE 7 A page of the shipping list for series D, sent by Giuseppe Caprotti, listing mss D 375–380
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.5

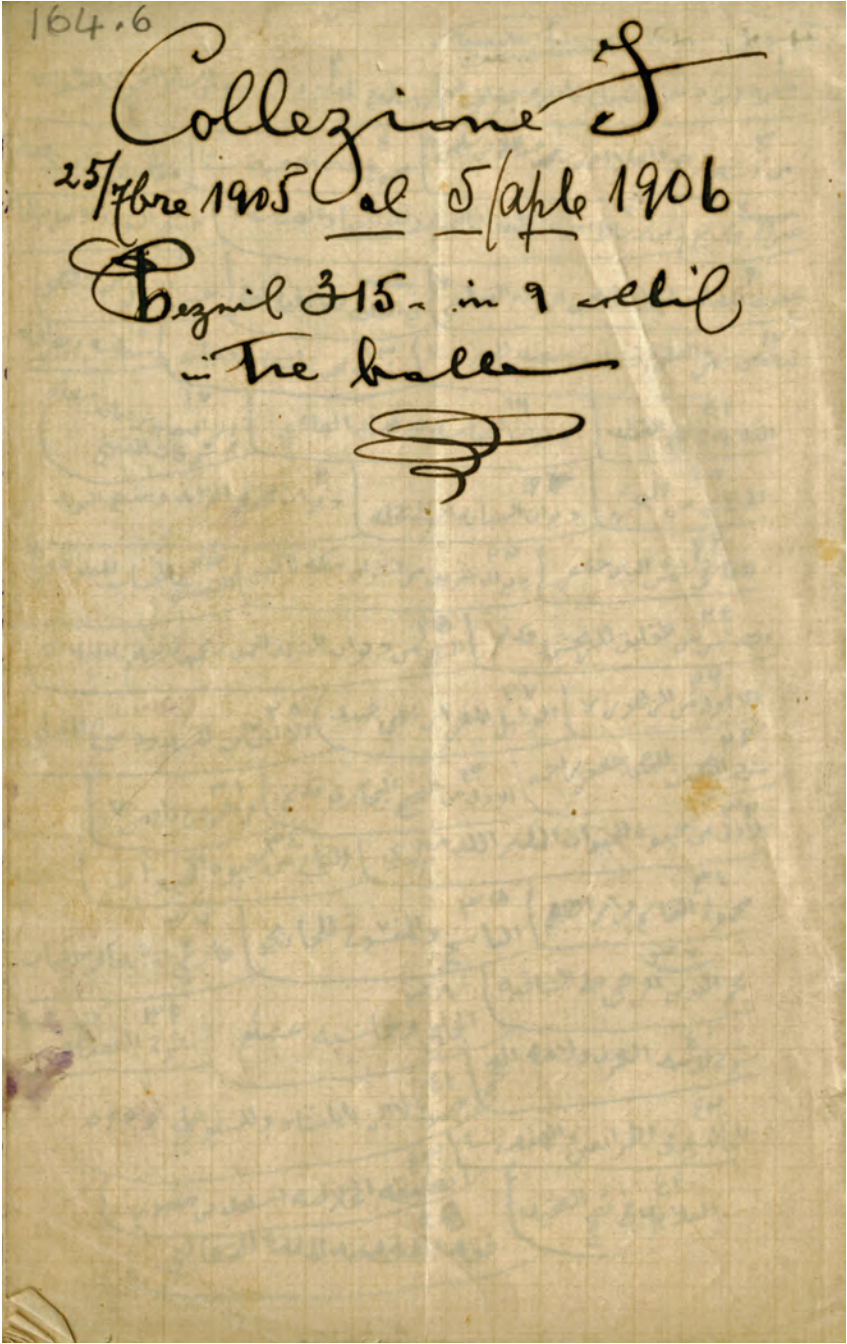


FIGURE 8 First page of the shipping list for series F, in the hand of Giuseppe Caprotti
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.6

٢٢٨	المنهاج للقرشي ٧	٢٢٤	فقيه اشجار وحكياب	٢٢٢	القصود اللولويه
٢٢٩	مجموع المصنف واليه	٢٢٥	مشكاة المصابيح محمد علي التبريزي	٢٢٦	كتاب الوقف
٢٣٠	التصفيه الامام يحيى رحمه	٢٢٧	مشارف الانوار للمصنف	٢٢٧	مرقان الانصار عبد الله الفري
٢٣١	نوري ونوحيد	٢٢٨	العيادة لاسر البطريرك ٧	٢٢٨	سيرة العاجري
٢٣٢	مروضة الابواب والاشباب محمد بن الامام عبد الله	٢٢٩	فقه قديم	٢٢٩	شرح التحرير والمناظف
٢٣٣	شرح القصص الحنفية شرف الدين	٢٣٠	الكتاب من البيان	٢٣٠	مجموع اجاب ٧
٢٣٤	من تفسير ٧	٢٣١	من فروع ٧	٢٣١	فقه قديم
٢٣٥	مجموع رايه قدس	٢٣٢	التحقيق الثاني من القبيح	٢٣٢	شرح القصص الحنفية
٢٣٦	الاول من البحر	٢٣٣	المصنف الوعيد القاسم بن سلام ٧	٢٣٣	عريب الحديث ابو عبيد القاسم
٢٣٧	سورة المروج	٢٣٤	الاطلاق في معرفة مخي الاطلاق الحديث	٢٣٤	شرح الاخبار علي بن حميد
٢٣٨	شرح الاخبار ٧	٢٣٥	مجموع اشعار فرائض	٢٣٥	كتابي
٢٣٩	شرح النص المايه والتلاخيص	٢٣٦	الكافور والشيرانى	٢٣٦	فروع قديم
٢٤٠	الحج الاول من الاغاني ٧	٢٣٧	الندوة الفاحه	٢٣٧	حاشية مولانا عباد
٢٤١	فتاوى علي افندي	٢٣٨	ولا اشجار واليه	٢٣٨	شرح الكافور
٢٤٢	الروضة البديه واليه في اسباب السوء	٢٣٩	خبره القصص في فقه حنبلية الفهر	٢٣٩	الفاكهى
٢٤٣	شرح نفع الملاغة الحافى	٢٤٠	الوجه الحس	٢٤٠	مجموع قديم
٢٤٤	مصباح الراغب محمد بن الحسين	٢٤١	مصباح الراغب	٢٤١	علا الشرح

FIGURE 9 A page of the shipping list for series F, sent by Giuseppe Caprotti, listing nos 225–286

MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.6

MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.2

٤٧	شرح ديوان الخنا قدیم	٤٤	كشف العباب للمنف
٤٨	تلاخيص من له تافص قدیم	٤١	مجموع سديد بر علی
٤٩	التلخیص من شرح الا انار قدیم	٧٠	ياقوتة العیاض
٥٠	متر الفایه الحمر الهام	٧٢	العمر النوا
٥١	مجموع الحقایق والعواجل	٧٤	مولید الرجال والنساء ابو محسن
٥٢	التلخیص من الاعیاض	٧٤	الذكر لقوتة الحاصل

FIGURE 10 A page of the shipping list for series E, sent by Giuseppe Caprotti, listing nos 66–77
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.2

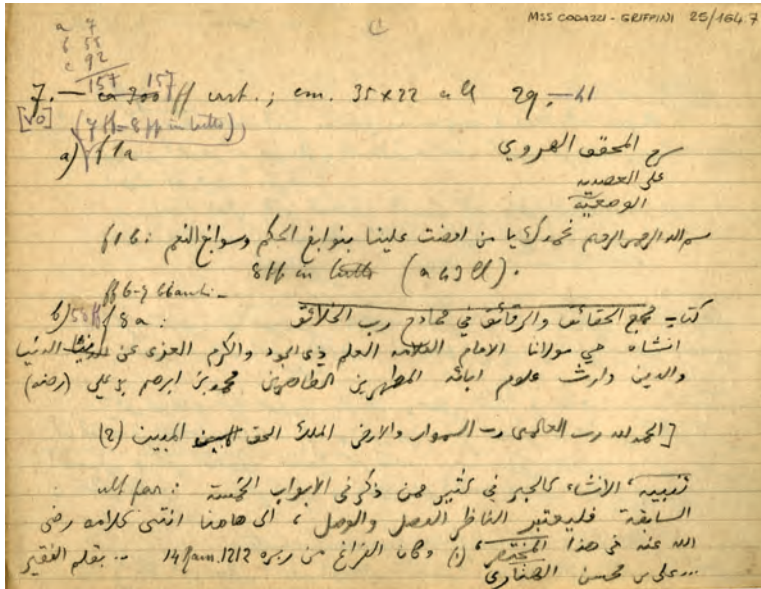


FIGURE 11 Griffini's catalogue notes for MS Ambrosiana N.F. E 7, with the old number "75" as in the shipping list marked in square brackets
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.7

series G and H suggest that the codices they include had not yet been assigned shelf marks and were perhaps never inventorized in a shipping list.¹⁵¹

Griffini began to catalogue the contents of the individual series as they reached him, but his manner of engaging with the material evolved gradually. As a very first step he apparently went through the shipping lists and compared them with the codices; this is suggested by occasional comments and corrections in his hand on some of them (figs. 5, 6, 7, 18–21). Moreover, for series D he noted down the individual codices in a notebook, leaving space to add more information on the codices later on (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.5; fig. 12). That there is only one such notebook and that it contains very few notes beyond each codex's shelf mark and principal title indicates that Griffini did not find this method very helpful and soon discontinued it.

Between 1906 and 1910, Griffini published a number of studies focusing on individual items of the collection. These included a study of some variants to a

¹⁵¹ See e.g. his 1910 publication "Nuovi testi arabo-siculi", *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo: Stabilimento Tipografico Virzi, 1910, vol. 1, pp. 364–448, here p. 403, where he says about MS Ambrosiana N.F. H 129: "farà parte della settima collezione Caprotti, non ancora numerata." See also below, nn. 156, 158.

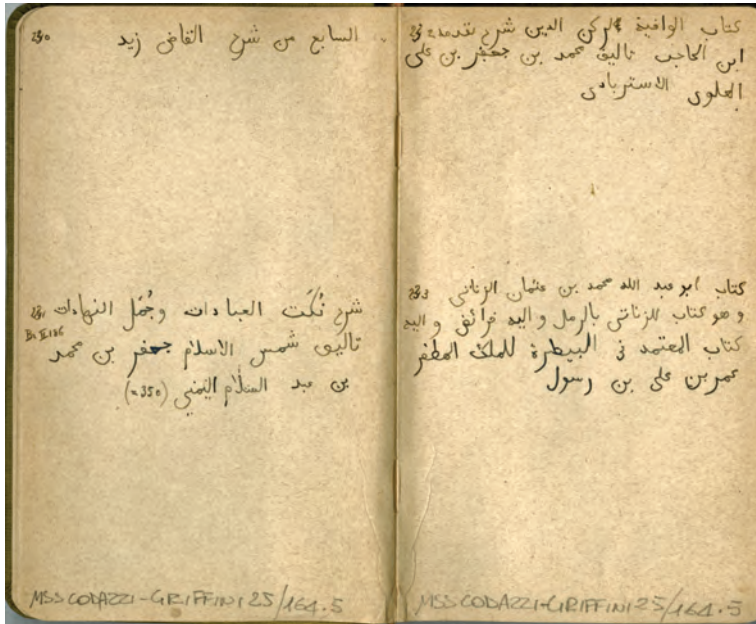


FIGURE 12 A page from Griffini's notebooks on series D
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.5

famous poem by the pre-Islamic poet al-A'shā,¹⁵² a facsimile edition of a manuscript of poems by the Arabic Christian poet al-Akḥṭal,¹⁵³ and a few additional

152 Eugenio Griffini, "Zu al-A'shā's 'Mā bukā'u'", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 60 (1906), pp. 469–476, discussing MS Ambrosiana N.F. B 1 (Griffini does not provide the shelf mark in this article). For the codex, see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 67 no. 125.

153 *Le Dīwān d'al-Aḥṭal*, reproduit par la photolithographie d'après un manuscrit trouvé au Yémen avec préface, glossaires, tables, renvois, variantes et notes par le Dr Eugenio Griffini (Milan), Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1907, containing a facsimile edition of MS Ambrosiana N.F. G 10; for the codex, see Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 200 no. 1618. See Griffini's introduction, p. 3, where he does not mention the codex's shelf mark: "Le service que la présente édition du Ms. yéménite du Dīwān d'Al-Aḥṭal pourra rendre, pour sa modeste part, à notre connaissance et intelligence de ces anciens poèmes, est dû principalement à deux hommes qui, par des voies diverses, ont apporté une forte contribution au progrès des études arabes: le R.P. Salhani [i.e., Anṭūn Šālīḥānī (1847–1941), with whom Griffini also corresponded over many years; see above], qui m'a conseillé cette publication, a bien voulu me prêter le concours de sa préparation spéciale et s'est chargé enfin du travail difficile, long et pénible, de contrôler sur l'original, lettre par lettre, la reproduction photolithographique;—et Mr Joseph Caprotti, riche Italien établi à Šan'ā qui a eu le bonheur de pouvoir recueillir au Yémen un véritable trésor d'anciens ouvrages arabes manuscrits, dont il a déposé provisoirement à Milan, dans ma bibliothèque privée,

studies published in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (abbreviated in the following as *RSO*).¹⁵⁴ Griffini's contribution to the *Centenario della nascita de Michele Amari* (1910) is particularly noteworthy. Because of its misleading title, "Nuovi testi arabo-siculi", this important publication, which is partly based on codices in the Caprotti collection, including some unique witnesses, has largely been ignored by later scholars.¹⁵⁵

In parallel, Griffini produced an initial inventory of the manuscripts of series A through F, letters that were for the most part assigned to the individual subcollections according to the order of their arrival in Milan as it seems. The *Inventario*, which consists of seven big notebooks and was completed in May 1914, was never published and was eventually handed to the Ambrosiana (MSS Ambr. N.F. H 177–184), where, in accordance with Griffini's intention,

plusieurs collections formant un total de près de deux mille volumes. Au milieu de ce *mare magnum*, où son propriétaire a bien voulu m'accorder la faculté de naviguer librement et tout seul d'un bout à l'autre, j'ai découvert,—pour continuer l'image,—un petit entassement solitaire de rochers confus. C'est le Ms. que je présente ici reproduit par la photolithographie, aux dimensions de l'original." Prior to Griffini's 1906 publication, Anṭūn Ṣāliḥānī published about the codex, which Griffini had made available to him, the article "Nuskha jadida min shi'r al-Akhṭal", *al-Mashriq* 7, no. 10 (15 May 1904), pp. 175–182.

- 154 Eugenio Griffini, "Intorno alle stazioni lunari nell'astronomia degli Arabi", *RSO* 1, no. 3 (1908), pp. 423–438, where he cites MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 78 as "il nr. 78 della prima delle sei collezioni di mss. sudarabici acquistati a Ṣan'ā' (Jemen) dal sig. G. Caprotti e depositati a Milano presso lo scrivente" (*ibid.*, p. 423); see also *ibid.*, 432 n. 4, where he refers to MS Ambrosiana N.F. E 201 as "mi servo dell'esemplare ms. 201 della quinta collezione sudarabica Caprotti." Eugenio Griffini, "Una nuova qaṣīda attribuita ad Imru 'l-Qais", *RSO* 1, no. 4 (1908), pp. 595–605, discussing a *qaṣīda* included in MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 119/16 ("... una poesia che si legge nel codice jemenico nr. 119 della prima collezione Caprotti"); for the codex, see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 60–64 no. 119.

- 155 Griffini, "Nuovi testi"; see also *ibid.*, p. 364, where he expresses his gratitude to Nallino for his help, advice, and amendments. Sections III and V–VII are devoted to Yemeni manuscripts. Section III ("I due episodi siciliani dello pseudo al-Wāqidi in una nuova redazione anonima"; pp. 402–415) is based on MS Ambrosiana N.F. H 129; see Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, pp. 284–286 no. 1751. Section V ("Descrizione dell'Etna nell'anonimo 'al-durr al-maṇḍūd"; pp. 426–430) is devoted to three copies of an anonymous cosmography, *al-Durr al-maṇḍūd fī 'ajā'ib al-wujūd* (MSS Ambrosiana N.F. A 113 ("il nr. 113 della prima collezione"), C 128 ("il nr. 128 della seconda [sic] collezione"), D 339 ("il nr. 339 della terza [sic] coll.)); see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 58 no. 114, 184 no. 384, 298 no. 595. Section VI ("Sicilia, Sardegna, Genova e Roma in un anonimo compendio geografico"; pp. 430–431) includes passages from MS Ambrosiana N.F. G 9 (erroneously identified by Griffini as "sesta coll. Caprotti, nr. 14"). Section VII ("Intorno al 'Kitāb al-Af'āl' o libro dei verbi del siciliano abū 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ġa'far Ibn al-Qaṭṭā"; pp. 431–444) consists of passages from the *K. al-Af'āl* (MS Ambrosiana N.F. D 335, correctly identified by Griffini as "quarta collezione, cod. 335"; see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 295 no. 591) by 'Alī b. al-Qaṭṭā' as-Ṣa'dī (al-Ṣiqillī) in the redaction (*tartīb*) of Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Amr al-Sulamī; this constitutes a recension of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya's homonymous work.

it is available scholars.¹⁵⁶ “Di tutta la raccolta di codici che rimane ancora da descrivere esiste già il mio Inventario manoscritto, terminato nel maggio del 1914, e che è a disposizione degli studiosi, in quanto che questi possono chiedere per corrispondenza, alla Direzione dell’Ambrosiana o a me, le notizie che desiderano: copia di estratti, collezioni di testi, riproduzioni fotografiche, ecc.” (“For all the MSS from the collection that are still to be described, there is already my Inventory, completed in May 1914, that is available to scholars. They may turn in writing to the Management of the Ambrosiana or directly to me for the information they desire: extracts, text collections, photographic reproductions, etc.”).

From 1908 onwards, Griffini published a detailed catalogue of series A of the Caprotti collection, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano”, which appeared in a series of instalments in the *RSO*.¹⁵⁷ At the beginning of the first instalment, published in volume 2, fascicle 1 of the journal (1908), pp. 1–38, Griffini explained his plan for the catalogue. He intended to describe the 315 individual texts included in the 125 codices of series A (“prima collezione”)—many of which were multitext volumes—arranged according to the following thematic rubrics:

Coranica – Tradizione – Dogmatica – Teologia – Sufismo – Scienze occulte e pratiche di religione – Giurisprudenza – Filosofia – Etica – Cosmografia – Astronomia – Geografia – Medicina – Veterinaria – Filologia (grammatica, lessicologia, prosodia e metrica) – Retorica – Poesia – Prosa ornata – Storia – Mss. in altre lingue orientali (ebraico, persiano, turco)

Less than a third of the originally planned catalogue was eventually published. The three published instalments of “I manoscritti” cover the first three thematic sections (dogmatics and theology were merged into a single rubric), as well as a portion of the fourth one. In total, the catalogue contains 82 individual entries out of the 315 that Griffini had initially envisaged:

156 Eugenio Griffini, *Catalogo dei manoscritti arabi di nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, vol. 1: *Codici 1–475*, Rome: s.n., 1910–1919, p. ix. We consulted a copy of the *Catalogo* that is kept in the University of California, Southern Regional Library Facility (shelf mark Z 6621 M65A7), which has Giorgio Levi Della Vida’s otherwise rarely seen ex libris stamp. Levi Della Vida added occasional margin notes and corrections to the copy. We thank the Ambrosiana for having provided us with digital images of the *Inventario*, which we will analyze in a future study.

157 Eugenio Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano”, *RSO* 2, no. 1 (1908), pp. 1–38; 2, no. 2 (1909), pp. 133–166; 3, no. 1 (1910), pp. 65–104.

- I. Coranica (nos 1 through 20, describing MSS A 122, A 66/3, A 66/1, A 4/1, A 4/2, A 66/2, A 42, A 95/2, A 51/3, A 51/4, A 47, A 14, A 31/1, A 46, A 93, A 102, A 32, A 6, A 73, A 75/11)
- II. Tradizione (nos 21–42, describing MSS A 57, A 72, A 106, A 63/1, A 37, A 99, A 12, A 52, A 80, A 70, A 25, A 15/2, A 75/14, A 107/3, A 86/1, A 86/2, A 75/2, A 84/9, A 107/1, A 107/6, A 75/9, A 75/10)
- III. Dogmatica (nos 43–77, describing MSS A 64/8, A 63/2, A 11/1, A 85/1, A 89, A 51/2, A 112/3, A 84/1, A 83/1, A 40/2, A 40/1, A 84/6, A 84/7, A 84/5, A 5, A 95/7, A 48/2, A 105/8, A 4/18, A 83/3, A 26, A 84/4, A 4/20, A 4/24, A 4/14, A 4/23, A 23, A 22/1, A 62, A 4/16, A 4/19, A 4/11, A 4/10, A 110)
- IV. Mistica (nos 78–86, of which only nos 78–82 are described in the final instalment: A 119/8, A 28/1, A 28/2, A 28/3, A 28/4)

MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.5–13 of the Griffini archive contain Griffini's vision for the structure of parts V through VII of the catalogue, up to no. 149 (there is no information about the planned structure and precise contents of the remaining 165 entries):

- v. Pratiche di religione e di occultismo (nos 87–93) (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.10–11)
 1. Preghiere
 - a. ad'ija (nos 33, 39, 93)
 - b. adkār (nos 87, 88)
 - c. awrād (nos 33, 89)
 - d. ḥuḡab (no. 93)
 2. Prediche (nos 90, 91)
 3. Pellegrinaggio meccano (no. 92)
 4. Testamenti (no. 85B)
 5. Superstizioni—aufāq, 'azā'im (no. 93)
- VI. Storia delle religioni e delle sette (nos 94–96) (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.12–13)

Storia generale (no. 94)

Polemiche coi Ġahmīja su questioni coraniche (no. 95)

Descrizione di riti giudaichi (no. 96)

- VII. Giurisprudenza (nos 97–149) (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.5–8)
 - i) Diritto hanafita (no. 97)
 - ii) Diritto sciafeita (nos 98–99)
 - iii) Diritto zeidita
 - a) sua storia (no. 100)
 - b) uṣūl (nos 101–103)
 - c) furū' (nos 104–139)
 - d) farā'id (nos 140–149)

The subsection devoted to Zaydi jurisprudence is described in more detail (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.9; fig. 15). It agrees by and large with the lemmata under the entry “Giurisprudenza zeidita” in Griffini’s analytical index (*indice analitico*) for series A (RSO 3, no. 2 [1910], p. 256).

Until 1909 Griffini kept the manuscripts of the Caprotti collection in his apartment on via Dante in Milan. The publication of the third and final instalment of “I manoscritti” in RSO 3, fascicle 1 (1910) was accompanied by Griffini’s brief notice (dated February 1910) in the same fascicle (“Una lieta notizia”, pp. 105–107), which reported the donation of the collection to the Ambrosiana Library at the end of 1909 and announced the imminent publication of a complete list of all 1,600 manuscripts of the N.F. (i.e. series A through F), major parts of which he had already prepared as draft versions. Starting with RSO 3, fascicle 2 (1910), Griffini accordingly began to publish a systematic catalogue under the title “Lista dei manoscritti arabi Nuovo Fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano”, which eventually covered the first three series of the N.F., A through C. The last fascicle appeared in RSO 8, fascicle 1–4 (1919–20).¹⁵⁸ In 1920, the entire “Lista” was reprinted under the title *Catalogo dei manoscritti arabi di nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, with a new preface by Griffini.¹⁵⁹ In 1915, he published an article containing detailed descriptions of 39 out of the 180 items of series H, which had been given to the Ambrosiana in 1914 by Luca Beltrami.¹⁶⁰ Griffini’s selective approach to the material in these catalogues and the detail of his descriptions evoke his style in the earlier “I manoscritti.”

Caprotti shared a partial copy of what seems to be Griffini’s *Inventario* with Glaser: transcriptions of inventories for series A and B are preserved in the Eduard Glaser archive at the Regional Museum of K.A. Polanek in Žatec, Czech Republic (Av 11/3–16 and Av 11/3–2).¹⁶¹ Caprotti received the transcriptions from Griffini on 24 October 1906 and sent them off to Glaser along with a letter dated 28 October 1906 (Av 11/1–71), apparently in response to Glaser’s requests for information on a number of codices.¹⁶² Both fascicles have Caprotti’s stamp

158 Eugenio Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti arabi Nuovo Fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano”, RSO 3, no. 2 (1910), pp. 253–278; 3, no. 3 (1910), pp. 571–594; 3, no. 4 (1910), pp. 901–921; 4, no. 1 (1911), pp. 87–106; 4, no. 4 (1911–12), pp. 1021–1048; 6, no. 4 (1914–15), pp. 1283–1316; 7, no. 1 (1916), pp. 51–130; 7, no. 3 (1917), pp. 565–628; 8, nos 1–4 (1919–20), pp. 241–367.

159 See above, n. 159.

160 Eugenio Griffini, “Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung.”

161 For the Glaser *Nachlass* in Žatec, see Thiele, “Eduard Glaser’s Personal Nachlass.”

162 See letter Caprotti to Glaser, 28 October 1906 (Av 11/1–71): “Avec le présent je vous envoie [*sic*] les catalogues A et B que M. Griffini m’a consigné avant quelques jours: il me dit comme il a beaucoup de notes sur votre demande il vous donnera les renseignements

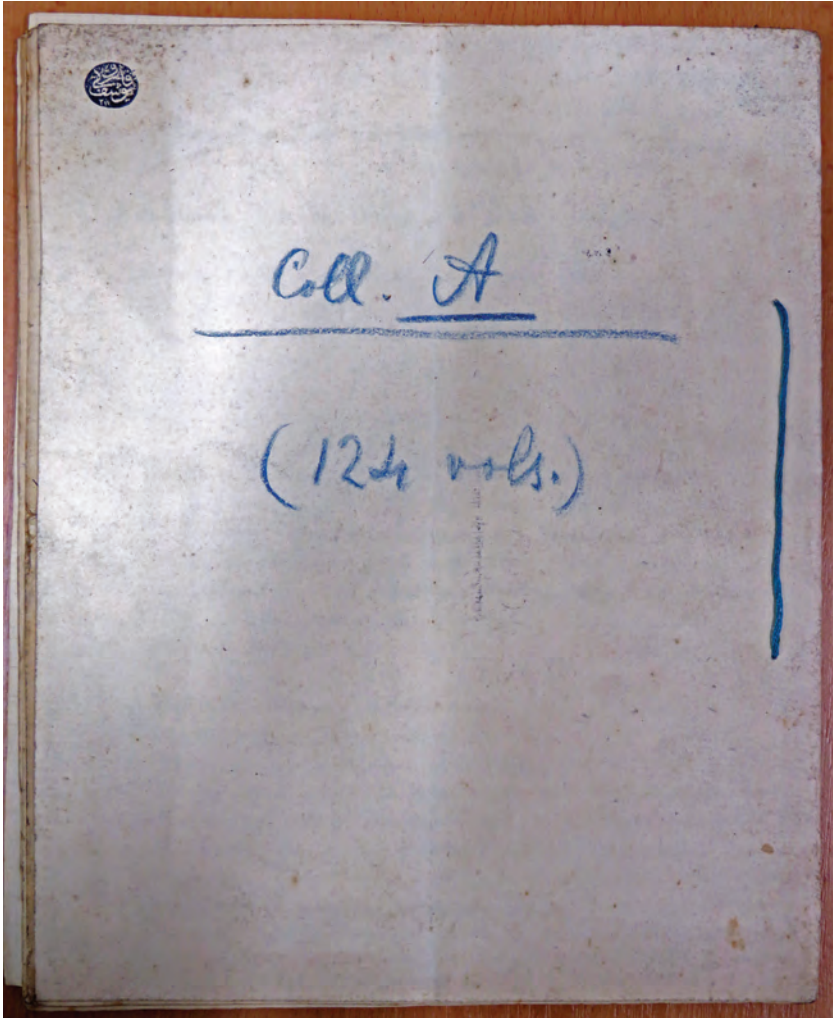


FIGURE 13 Title page of an inventory of series A, produced in 1906
 EDUARD GLASER ARCHIVE, REGIONAL MUSEUM OF K.A. POLANEK IN
 ŽATEC, CZECH REPUBLIC, AV 11/3–16

on the title page (fig. 13), and Griffini's stamp is also visible on page 1 of the fascicle containing the inventory of series A (fig. 14). The respective title pages have "Coll. A (124 vols.)" and "Coll. B (132 vols.)", in blue, added by Griffini. The

les plus détaillés sur les ouvrages plus [*sic*] intéressantes." We thank Jan Thiele for having brought this letter to our attention.

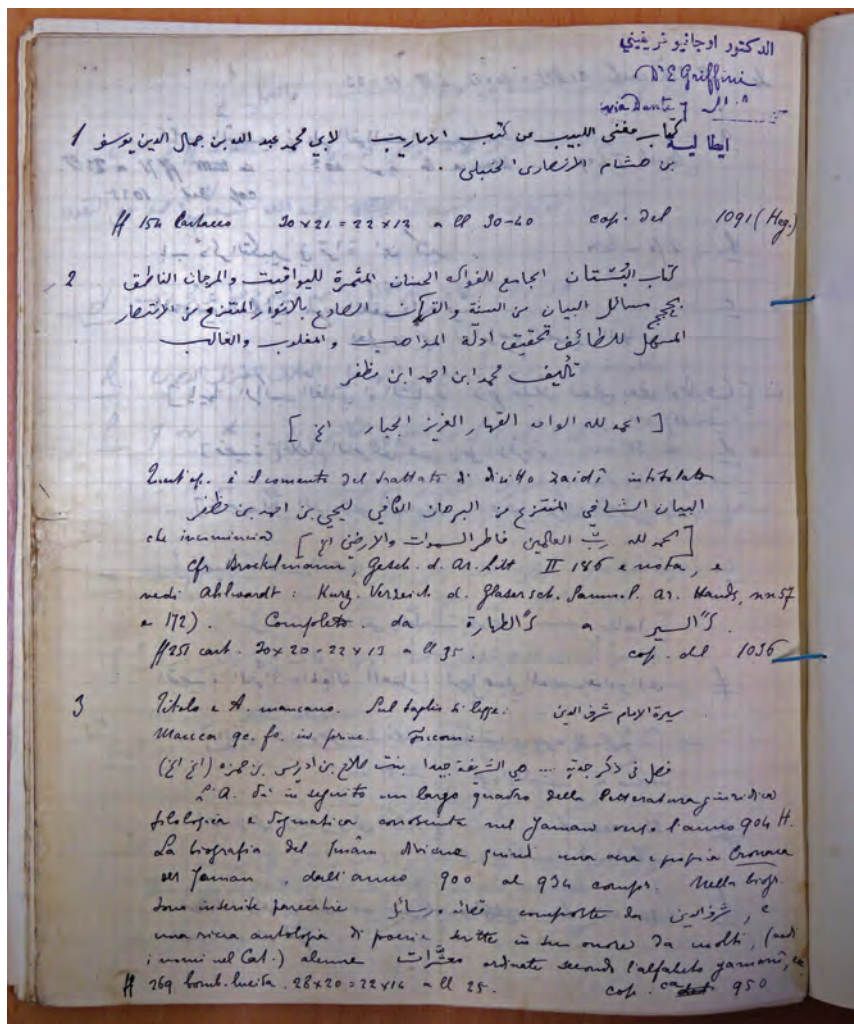


FIGURE 14 First page of an inventory of series A, produced in 1906

EDUARD GLASER ARCHIVE, REGIONAL MUSEUM OF K.A. POLANEK IN
ŽATEC, CZECH REPUBLIC, AV 11/3-16

inventories themselves are written in a hand different from Griffini's that cannot be identified for the moment. What prompted Caprotti to send the inventories to Glaser in 1906 was Glaser's proposal to sell the manuscript collection on Caprotti's behalf. In 1902 Glaser had already mediated a deal between Caprotti and the Bavarian State Library, and in the summer of 1906 he again offered to act as a middleman for Caprotti. Caprotti agreed to the conditions Glaser

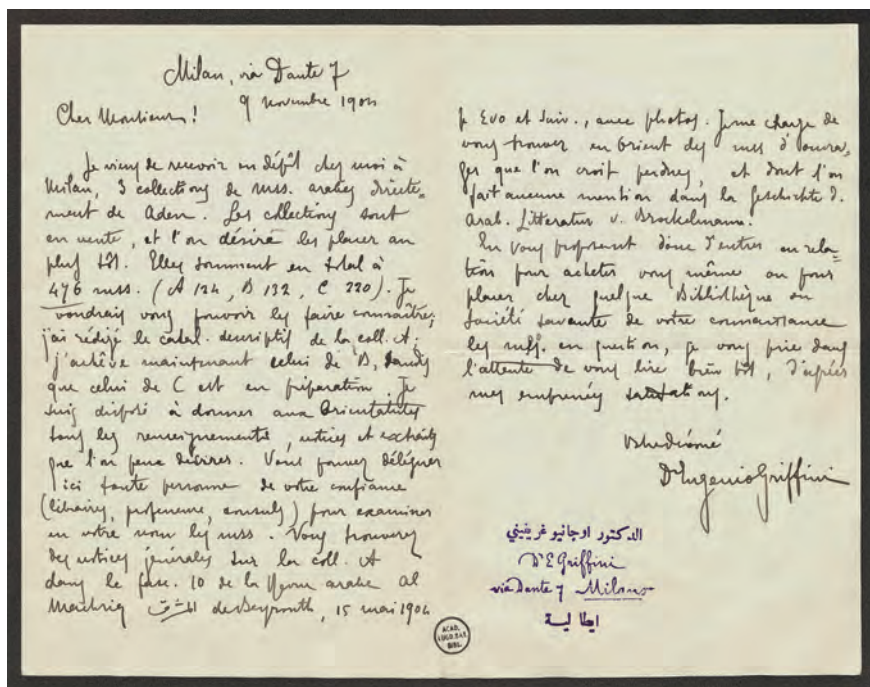


FIGURE 14A Letter Griffini to M.J. de Goeje, 9 November 1904

MS LEIDEN, LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, BPL 2389

proposed, although he expected some resistance from Griffini.¹⁶³ Griffini, in turn, was also engaged from the beginning to spread knowledge about the Caprotti collection, evidently in an attempt to arrange for the collection's sale to one of the European libraries on Caprotti's behalf. This is suggested by his letter to Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909), who served at the time as Interpres Legati Warneriani at Leiden, dated 9 November 1904 (fig. 14a). Griffini may have written similar letters to other institutions at the time.

Leiden University Library holds, as part of the Cornelis van Arendonk Legacy, a basic list of series C and D of the N.F., transcribed by van Arendonk (MS Leiden, Leiden University Library Or. 8291 k). Griffini had apparently sent the list to van Arendonk on 10 September 1918; the latter had transcribed it for

163 For details, see the correspondence between Caprotti, Glaser, and Griffini during 1906 as preserved in the Glaser *Nachlass* in Žatec and in the Griffini archive; a critical edition and study is in preparation by Valentina Sagaria Rossi, Sabine Schmidtke, and Jan Thiele.

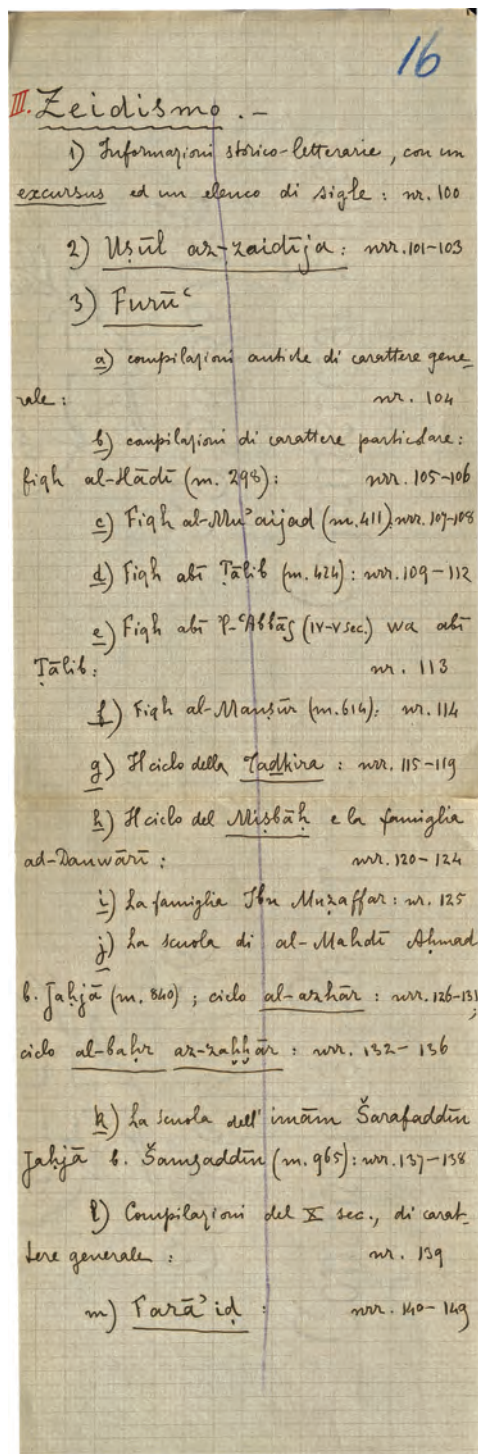


FIGURE 15

Griffini's plan for the structure of the subsection devoted to Zaydi jurisprudence in the continuation of "I manoscritti"

MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.9

himself and then returned the original to Griffini.¹⁶⁴ This list, which is far less detailed than the inventory Glaser received for series A and B, is in fact an apograph of Caprotti's shipping list. Moreover, Griffini's margin comments on the shipping list are integrated in the apograph, and it is therefore fairly certain that the list Griffini sent to van Arendonk is what is today preserved as MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.3 through 164.5 (figs 16–21). It is possible, however, that van Arendonk had received the same lists already back in 1912 through Strothmann. The latter related in a letter to van Arendonk, written presumably in early March 1912 (see above n. 90), that "besitze ich Zettelabzüge, vorläufige, blosse Titel der Serien C. u. D. alles durcheinander in der Verkaufsserie", which he then dispatched to van Arendonk. Van Arendonk's apograph of the shipping lists of C and D may be based on the material he received from Strothmann, which has not come down to us.

Griffini's File Index (*Schedario*) of the Caprotti Manuscripts

Griffini's *schedario*, containing his extensive notes on all manuscripts of series A of the N.F., holds a prominent place in his *Nachlass*. Moreover, it shows the effort he put into describing the manuscripts of the first Caprotti collection and the extent to which he in fact trained himself through this work ("una preparazione, una esercitazione, una scuola fatta da me a me stesso sui codici"). The *schedario* is accompanied by a preliminary note (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1–4; figs. 22–25) in which Griffini describes his methodology. The document, which was written after Griffini's partial catalogues had been published, not only sheds light on why the publication of Griffini's catalogues was discontinued but also underscores the significance of the unpublished material. The document consists of two parts: Part 1 (pages 1–2) constitutes the actual preface, which Griffini signed and dated on 2 September 1918. Part 2, a kind of appendix, explains the various layers of his descriptions throughout the *schedario*, the colour codes he employed to identify the shelf marks of the individual codices, and the numbering he introduced when arranging the material by subject. The following is an English translation of Griffini's preliminary note:¹⁶⁵

164 See letter Griffini to van Arendonk, 10 September 1918, MS Leiden, Leiden University Library Or. 8276.10.

165 In the translation we have tried to keep as close as possible to the author's terminology. Words and passages underlined in the original are rendered in italics in our translation.

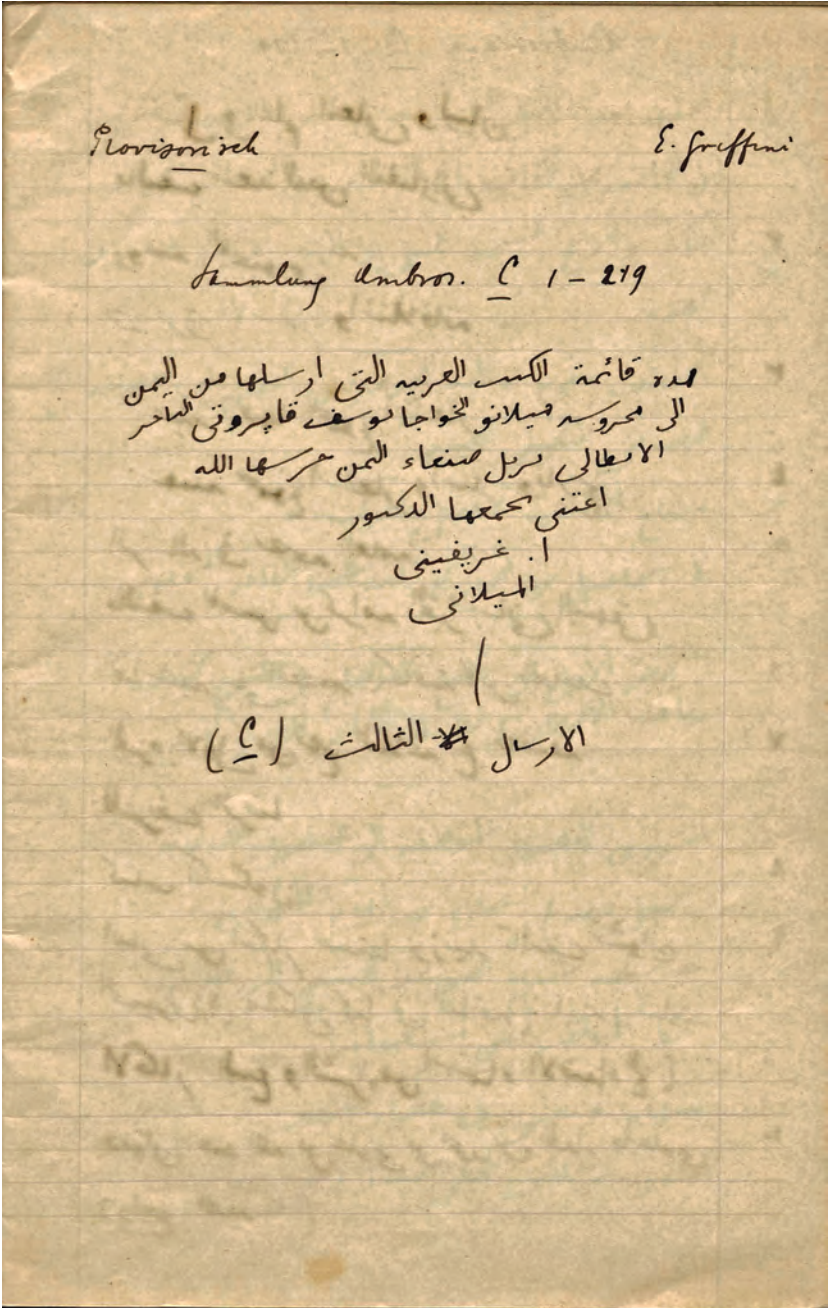


FIGURE 16 Title page of an apograph of Caprotti's shipping lists for series C and D
MS LEIDEN, LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, OR. 8291 K

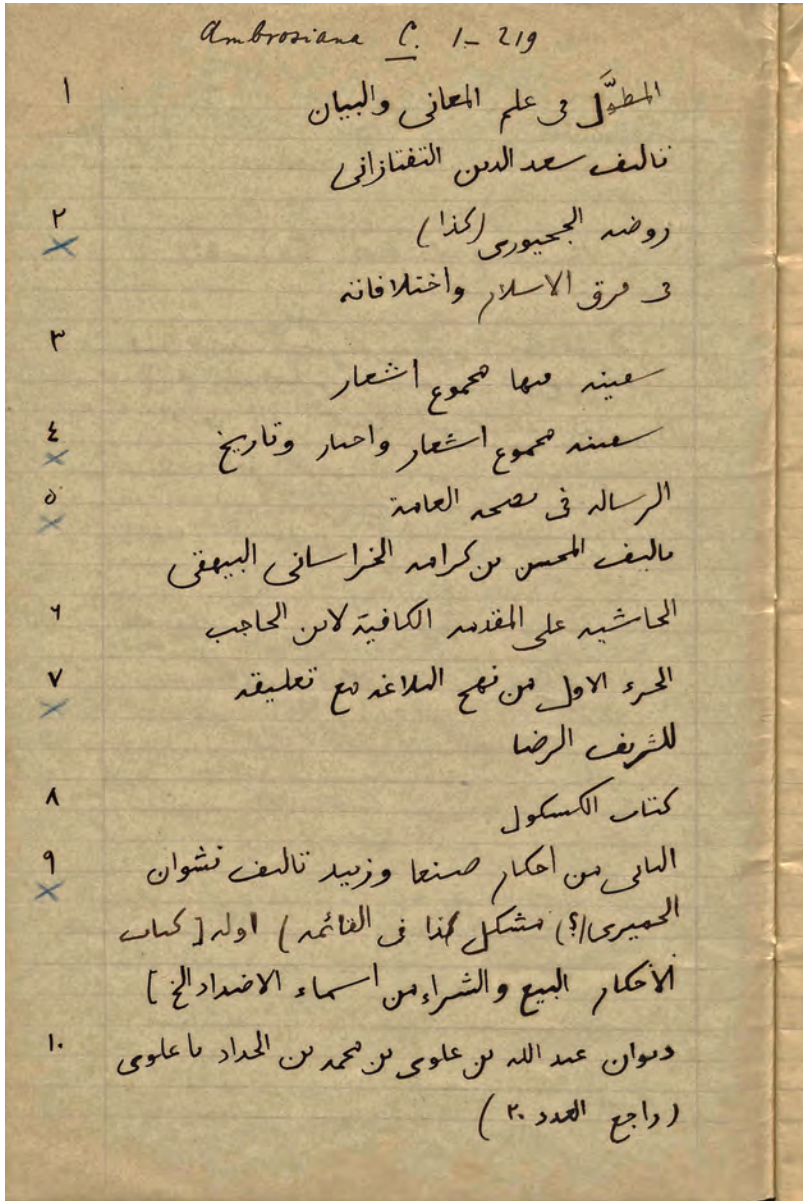


FIGURE 17 The beginning of an apograph of Caprotti's shipping lists for series C and D, listing MSS C 1-10
MS LEIDEN, LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, OR. 8291 K

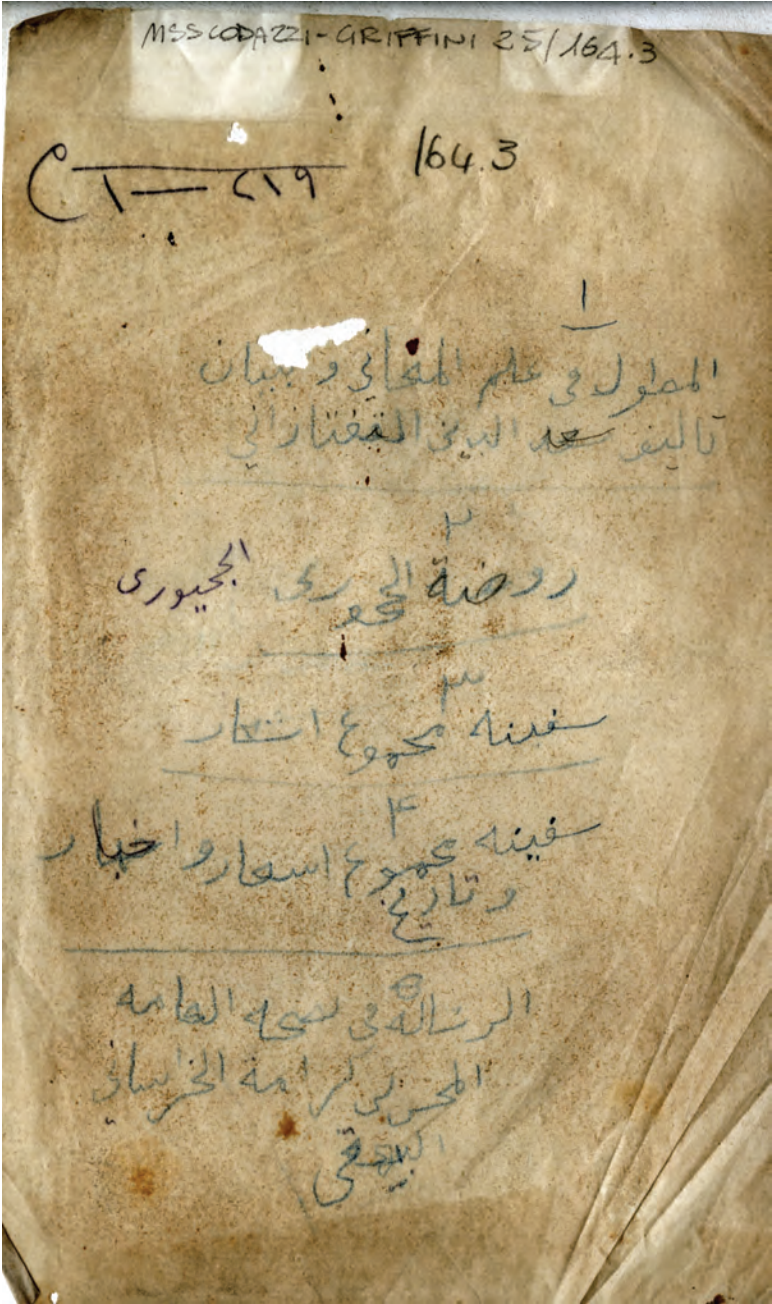


FIGURE 18 Caprotti's shipping lists for series C and D, listing MSS C 1–5, with Griffini's notes
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.3

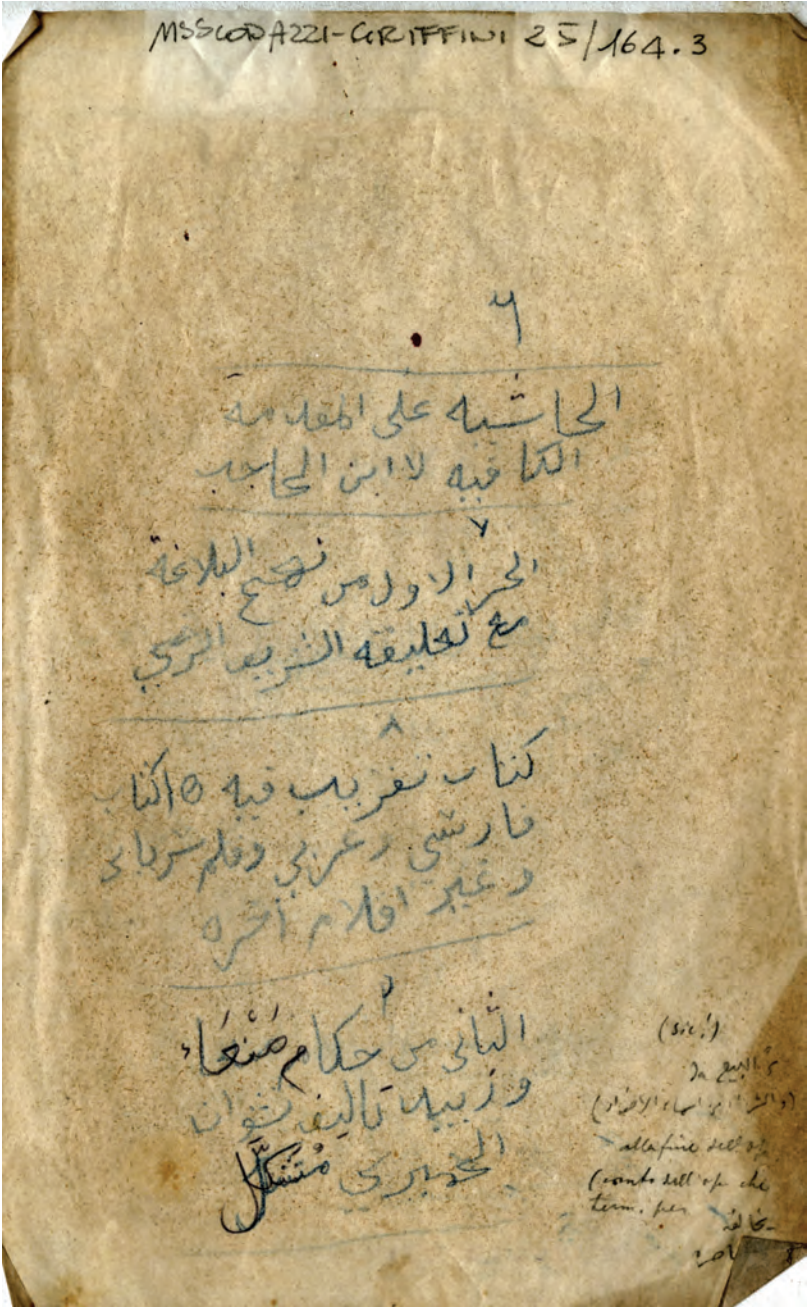


FIGURE 19 Caprotti's shipping lists for series C and D, listing MSS C 6–g, with Griffini's notes
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.3

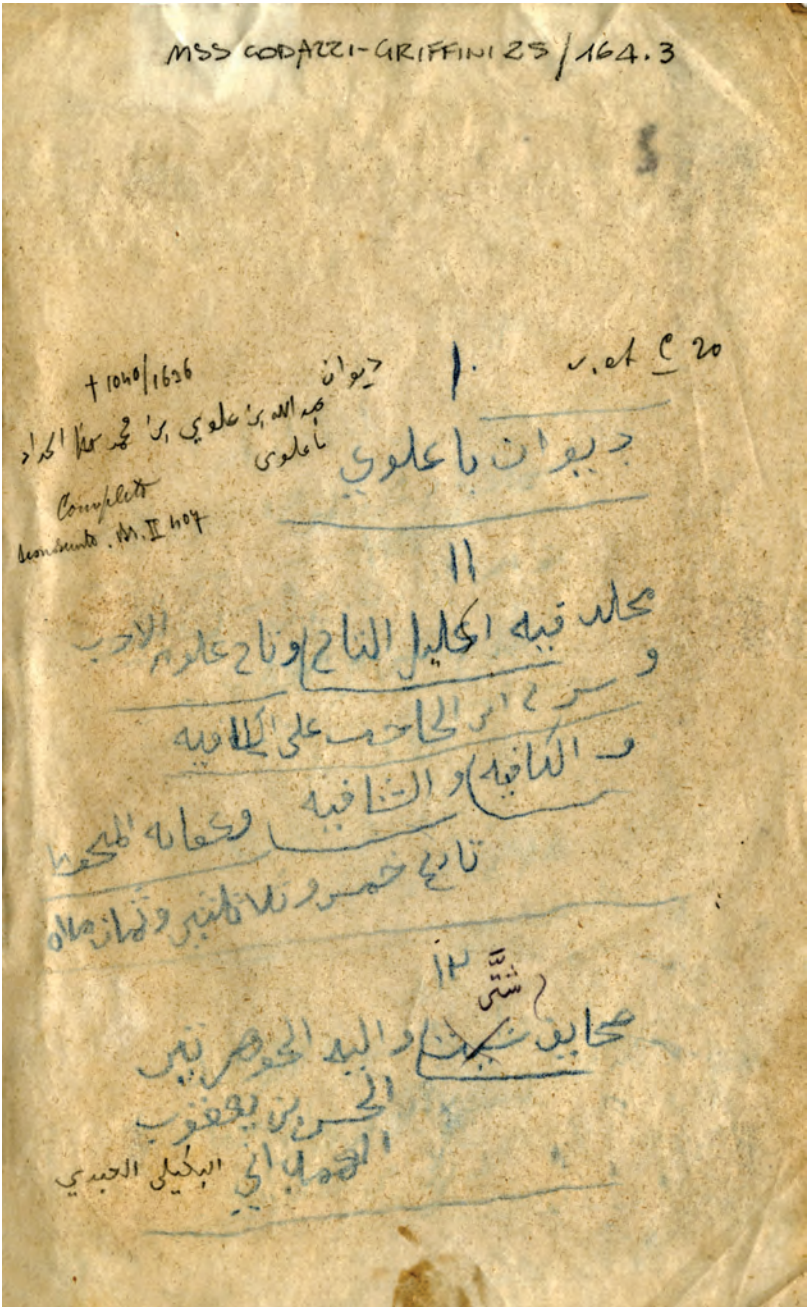


FIGURE 20 Caprotti's shipping lists for series C and D, listing MSS C 10–12, with Griffini's notes
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 25/164.3

	(الرسالة الرابع) coll. D 220-238.
٢٢٠	نهج البلاغة للشريف الرضا
٢٢١	حرة من تفسير غط قديم
٢٢٢	كتاب صلة الإخوان في حلية بركة أهل الزمان تأليف أبي عبد الله محمد بن أبي المهدى
٢٢٣	الثاني من شرح الأمانة في معناه المأخوذ تأليف محمد بن محبوب الهوشمي
٢٢٤	جزء من شرح الأمانة أوله كتاب الهبات
٢٢٥	المأخوذ من شرح الأمانة
٢٢٦	شرح الرسالة المأخوذة في الدلائل الواضحة للإمام عبد الله بن حمزة بن سليمان بن رسول الله وعليها علامته بيده
٢٢٧	الثاني من تعليق شرح التحرير علفه القاضي زيد بن محمد الكلازي
٢٢٨-٢٢٩	المالك والرابع والسابع من شرح الماضي رد
٢٣٠	لمحضر معدنه الأزهار وحاشيته للمقارئ
٢٣١	أشار الحق على الخلق في أصول الكلام لسيف السنة محمد بن إبراهيم بن الوزير

FIGURE 21 A page from an apograph of Caprotti's shipping lists for series C and D, listing MSS D 220-238
MS LEIDEN, LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, OR. 8291 K

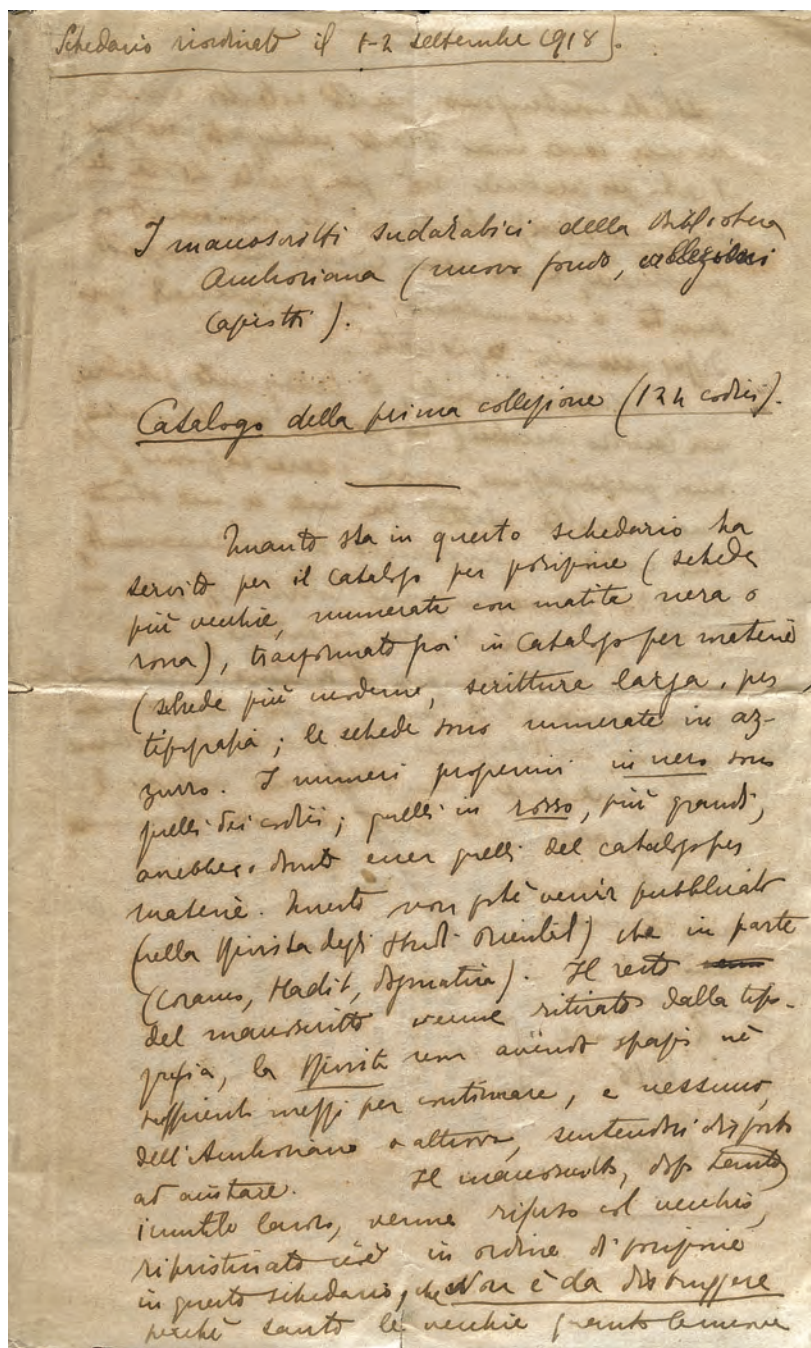


FIGURE 22 First page of Griffini's preliminary note to his schedario
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1-4

Utile contemporaneo molto estratto e visto
che non sono mai stati utilizzati né per
l'alt. per materie né per quella lista dei
mezzi aritmetici (ex) che ho poi incominciato a
pubblicare, e che non è che un rapido
sunto e inventario dei materiali qui
disposamente registrati.

Naturalmente, è tutto questo schedario
un lavoro vecchio (in parte molto vecchio),
una preparazione, una esercitazione,
una scuola fatta da me a me stesso,
sui codici, lavorando e perseverando,
facendo di Schenker un workman, non un
metto per aver di cose forentine, ma
una necessità per l'analisi mio, che
dalla storia e dal lavoro non ha mai
messo in disparte di quella di potere
fare una fine, anzi che un mezzo. E
però proprio
et al des
soli 5 anni
avanti.

2 settembre
1918.
Griffini.

I. Les phénomènes mécaniques
sont - ils dus à de simples altu-
rations; ou sont - ils des phénomè-
nes objectifs, biologiques dépendant
de l'organisme du médium et des
expérimentateurs; ou déterminés
en tout ou en partie par l'interven-
tion de forces inconnues étran-
gères à l'organisme du médium et
des expérimentateurs?

II. Admis la réalité des phéno-
mènes l'hypothèse spiritiste peut-
être acceptée et discutée comme
hypothèse de travail ou rejetée en-
sa retenant hors des limites du cir-
cuit des hypothèses scientifiques?

FIGURE 23 Second page of Griffini's preliminary note to his schedario
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1-4

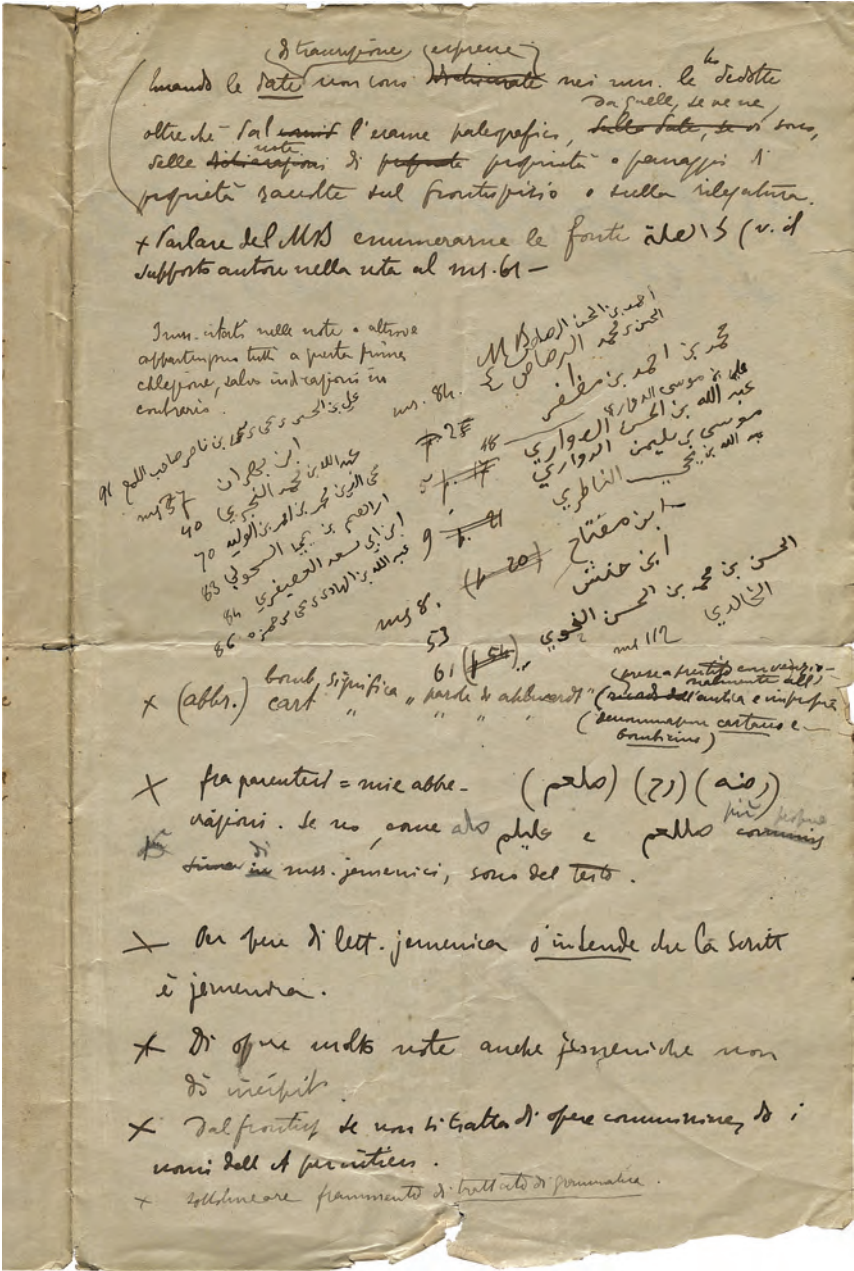


FIGURE 24 Third page of Griffini's preliminary note to his schedario
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1-4

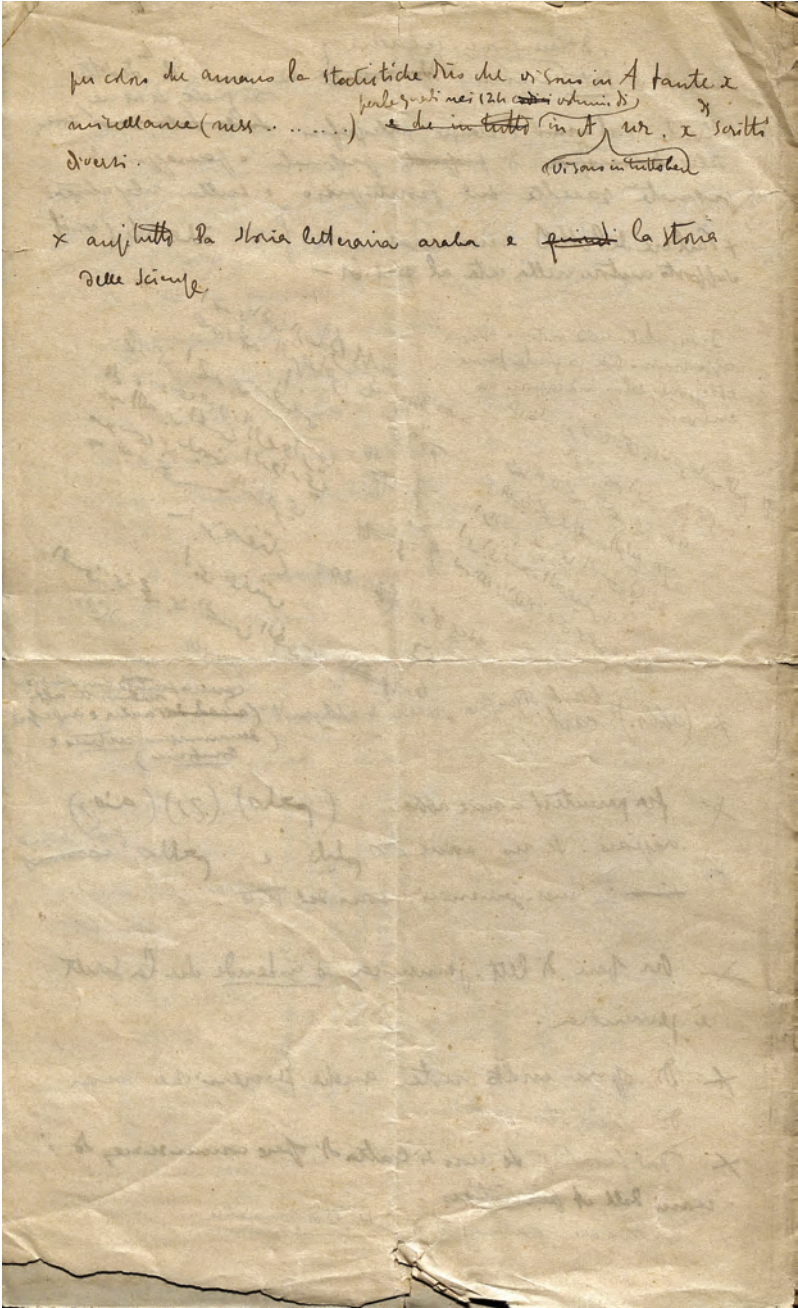


FIGURE 25 Fourth page of Griffini's preliminary note to his *schedario*
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1-4

File index rearranged on 1–2 September 1918

The South Arabian manuscripts of the Ambrosiana Library (Nuovo Fondo, Caprotti collection)

Catalogue of the first collection (124 codices)

What is included in this file index was used for the Catalogue according to the manuscripts' signatures (older cards, numbered in black or red pencil). The material was later transformed into the Catalogue by subject (more modern cards, large handwriting, for printing); the cards are numbered in light blue. The progressive numbers in *black* are those of the codices; the larger *red* ones should be the ones used in the subject catalogue. This could be published (in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*), but only in a partial form (Quran, Hadit, dogmatics). The rest of the manuscript was withdrawn from printing, as the *Rivista* had neither space nor sufficient means to continue, and no one from the Ambrosiana or elsewhere was willing to help. The manuscript, after so much useless work, was merged with the old, that is, it was reordered into this index, which *should not be destroyed* because both the old and the new files contain many extracts and notes that have never been used, either for the subject catalogue or for that *Lista dei manoscritti arabi* (etc.) that I then started to publish and that is only a quick summary or inventory of the materials extensively described here.

Of course, this entire file index is an old work (partly *very* old), a training, an exercise, a schooling done by me for myself on the codices, working and persevering, making "Schweigen und Wirken" not a motto for the sake of others but a necessity for my soul, which never drew greater satisfaction from studying and working than when able to make an aim of it, rather than a means. And this thanks to the help of my mother, and her one and only support.

September 2, 1918

E Griffini

Whenever the transcription dates are not expressly mentioned I have deduced them not only through palaeographic examination but also from ownership notes, whenever there are any, or ownership transfer notes, found on the title page or on the binding. In order to describe the manuscript, it is necessary to list the sources *ك الصلة* (see the author's reference in the note to MS 61). The manuscripts mentioned in the notes or elsewhere all belong to this first collection, unless otherwise indicated.

[a list of eighteen names of Arabic authors associated with non-sequential manuscript signatures appears to constitute an unrelated note]

× (abbr.) bomb. / cart. means paper, words by Ahlwardt (conventionally loaned from the ancient denominations “cartaceo” and “bombicinus”)

× in brackets = my abbreviations (رضه) (رح) (صلعم). Otherwise, عليهم صله and صلعم, which are more distinctive [eulogies] of Yemeni manuscripts, are in the text.

× For works of Yemeni literature, it is implied that the script is Yemeni style.

× On well-known works, including Yemeni ones, no incipit is given.

× From the title page, unless they are very common works, I provide the authors' names in full.

× Fragments of *grammar treatises* are underlined.

For those who are fond of statistics, there are many miscellaneous works in series A (MSS), in which there are x different works in the 124 volumes.

× First of all, Arabic literary history and the history of science.

As indicated in the preliminary note, the Griffini archive includes all of Griffini's notes on and descriptions of the manuscripts of series A of the Caprotti collection (MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.16–1371), reflecting the various stages of his engagement with the individual codices. Consequently, the descriptions found in the *schedario* are highly disparate, ranging from brief descriptions of a few lines in some cases to very detailed descriptions accompanied by extensive excerpts and detailed annotations and quotations from secondary sources (such as Ibn Abī l-Rijāl's *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*) for the majority of the manuscripts.¹⁶⁶ The *schedario* also includes Griffini's completed entries for the planned continuation of “I manoscritti”, covering nos 83 through 140—that is, most of the section on jurisprudence with the exception of the final subsection, on *farāʾid*:

83 (A 28/4), 84 (A 28/6), 85 (A 28/7), 86 (A 28/8), [...], 88 (A 86/4), 89 (A 78/1), 90 (A 85/2), 91 (A 22/2), 92 (A 67/4), 93 (A 124), 94 (A 107/5), 95 (A 119/30), [...], 97 (A 24), 98 (A 43/6), 99 (A 45), [...], 101 (A 67/2), 102 (A 95/6), 103 (A 75/7), 104 (A 18), 105 (A 10/2), 106 (A 21), 107 (A 90), 108 (A 10/1), 109 (A 108), 110 (A 91/1), 111 (A 20), 112 (A 53), 113 (A 91/2), 114 (A 81), 115 (A 61/10), 116 (A 38/1), 117 (A 61/2), 118 (A 38/2), 119 (A 67/1), 120 (A 109/3), 121 (A 48/1), 122 (A 82), 123 (A 50), 124 (A 109/1), 125 (A 2), 126 (A 27), 127 (A 60), 128 (A 49), 129 (A 87), 130 (A 8), 131 (A 75/8), 132 (A 11/2), 133 (A 76), 134 [sic] (A 57/1), 134 (A 58/1), 135 (A 58/2), 136 (A 75/15), 137 (A 101), 138 (A 33), 139 (A 15/1), 140 (A 84/2)

166 See figs 26–33 for an example of a medium-sized entry in the *schedario*, reflecting two stages of Griffini's occupation with MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 117.

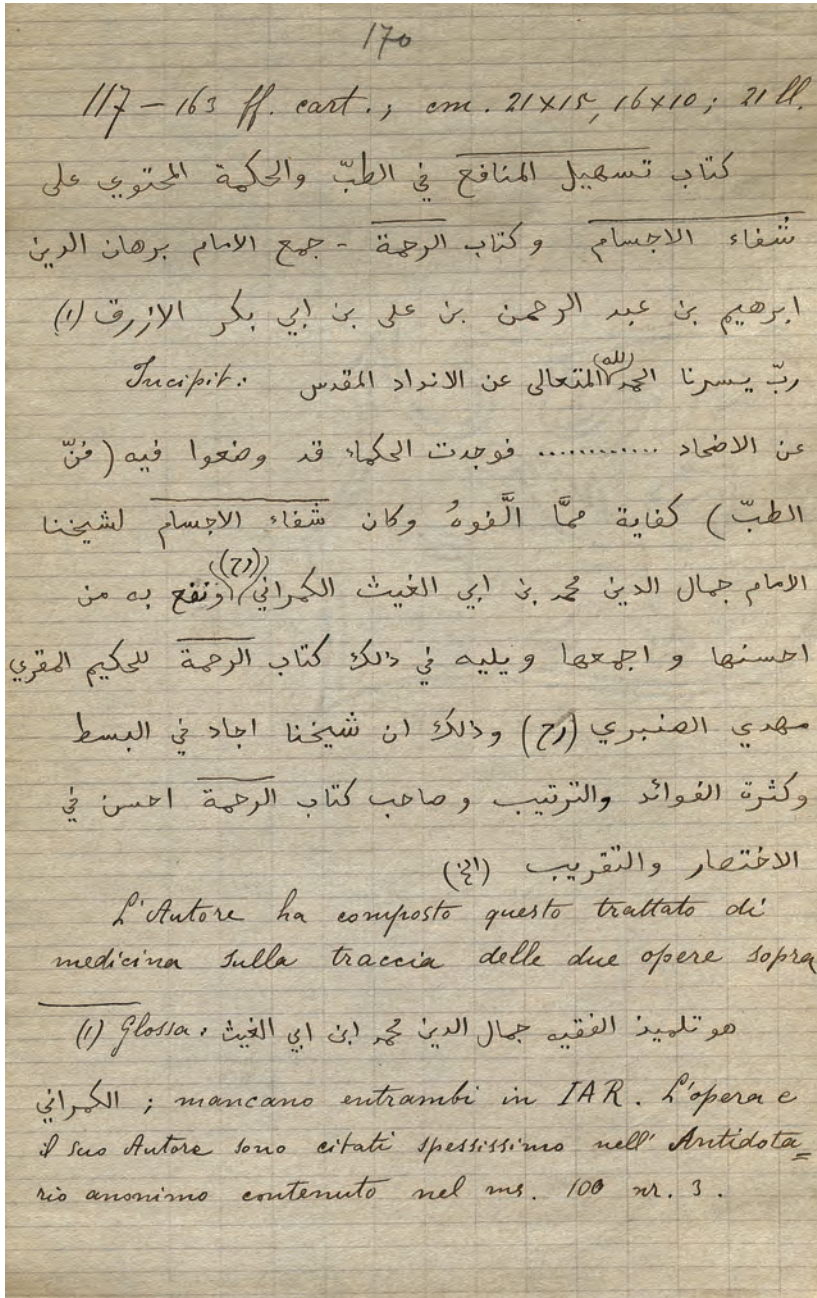


FIGURE 26 Material on MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 117 in Griffini's schedario
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1140-1147

171 (al-Mahdi)
 citate di al-Hamarani e di al-Mugri
 valendosi anche dei libri seguenti (ff. 2^a):
 ثم اردفها بزوائد تدعو الحاجة اليها ولا على الكتاب منها
 ما عثرت عليها من غير الكتابين كاللقط لاين الجوي (1)
 في كتاب برء ساعة للرازي (المجدين زكريا) وجميع السوي ورسالة
 المارديني واشياء من غير ذلك ما بين مختصر ومبسوط
 L'opera è divisa in 5 qasim:
 ١ : في اشياء من علم الطبيعة والامر بالتداوي
 - ٢ : في تفسير الحبوب وطبائع الاغذية والادوية وما
 فيها - ٣ : فيما يصلح للبدن في حال الصحة وفي
 اثناء ذلك احاديث تتضمن الطب عن المصطفى (صلى الله عليه وسلم)
 واشياء من وصايا الحكماء - ٤ : في علاج العلل خاصة
 بكل عضو مخصوص من اعضاء الجسد - ٥ : في علاج
 الامراض العامة المتنقلة في البدن وغير ذلك من
 الرقاع والمنافع والعزائم
 Ogni qasim si suddivide in fasul e in
 abjad. - Completo. E fermato con punti, in
 nero e giallo. Copia terminata il venerdì
 19 Saunāl 1062.
 118 - 49 ff. cart.; cm. 21x16, 17x11; 23 ll.
 كتاب المغني (المعنى) (ms. في البيطرة) مما عني
 (عنو. ms.) جميعه الامام عمر بن يوسف بن عمر بن علي
 بن رسول
 Vedi l'Autore in Brock. I 494 e 526,
 II 184. - L'opera è divisa in 90 fasl dei
 (brevi)
 (1) Brock. I 505

FIGURE 27 Material on MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 117 in Griffini's
 schedario
 (MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1140-1147), CONT.

172

quali è dato l'elenco completo al prin-
cipio (f. 2^a - 5^a); questo esemplare è
apoda e non ne contiene che i
primi 76, da الباب الاول في ذكر الوان الخيل
fino وصفاتها واجناسها واحد بعد واحد
الباب السادس والسبعون في عدد عروق الفرس وكُم :
يَقْرَأ (ms. rec) منها
dell' esteriore e delle malattie del cavallo;
(capi 77-90)
la rimanente parte dell' opera, ^{secundum} ^{sola}
~~non conservata~~, tratta della scelta, trat-
tante, ^{selle} ^(relative) ^{cure}
~~farnesito~~, * malattie e cura del mulo,
dell' asino, del buo, del montone e
della capra. Incipit: الحمد لله الملك القادر العظيم.
... وبعد فهذه (س) كتاب مختصر جمعناه في ما جربناه
وجربته اهل الخبرة من حكماء الخيل من ارض اليمن في
امراض الخيل وما يعرض لها من سائر انواعها واسبابها
وعلاجاتها وعلاجها فخير الكلام ما قل ودل ... وسميته
Jennarico in rosso e nero - كتاب المعنى في البيطرة
con punti. Copia ca. 1100.

FIGURE 28 Material on MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 117 in Griffini's schedario
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1140-1147), CONT.

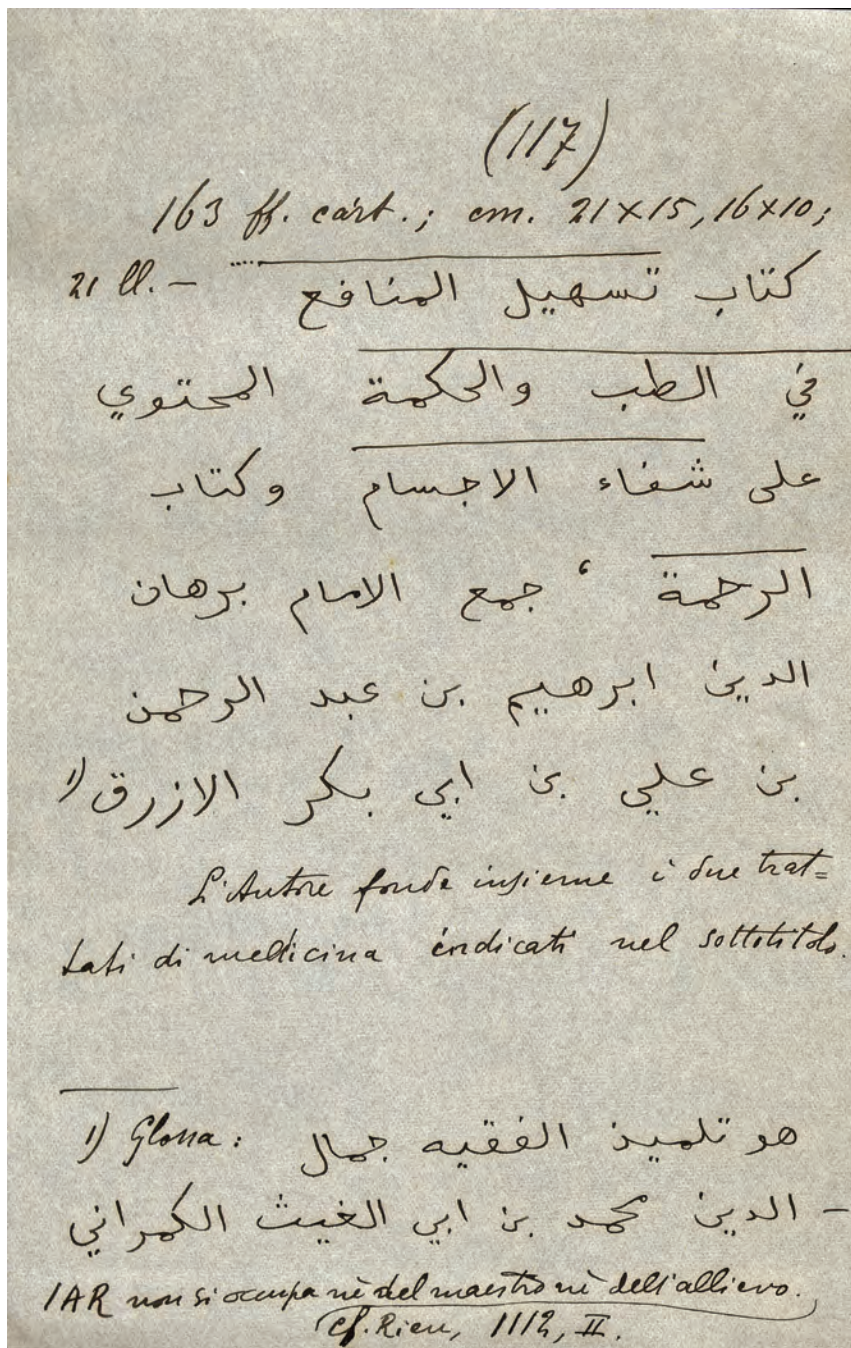


FIGURE 29 Material on MS Ambrosiana, N.F. A 117 in Griffini's schedario
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1140-1147), CONT.

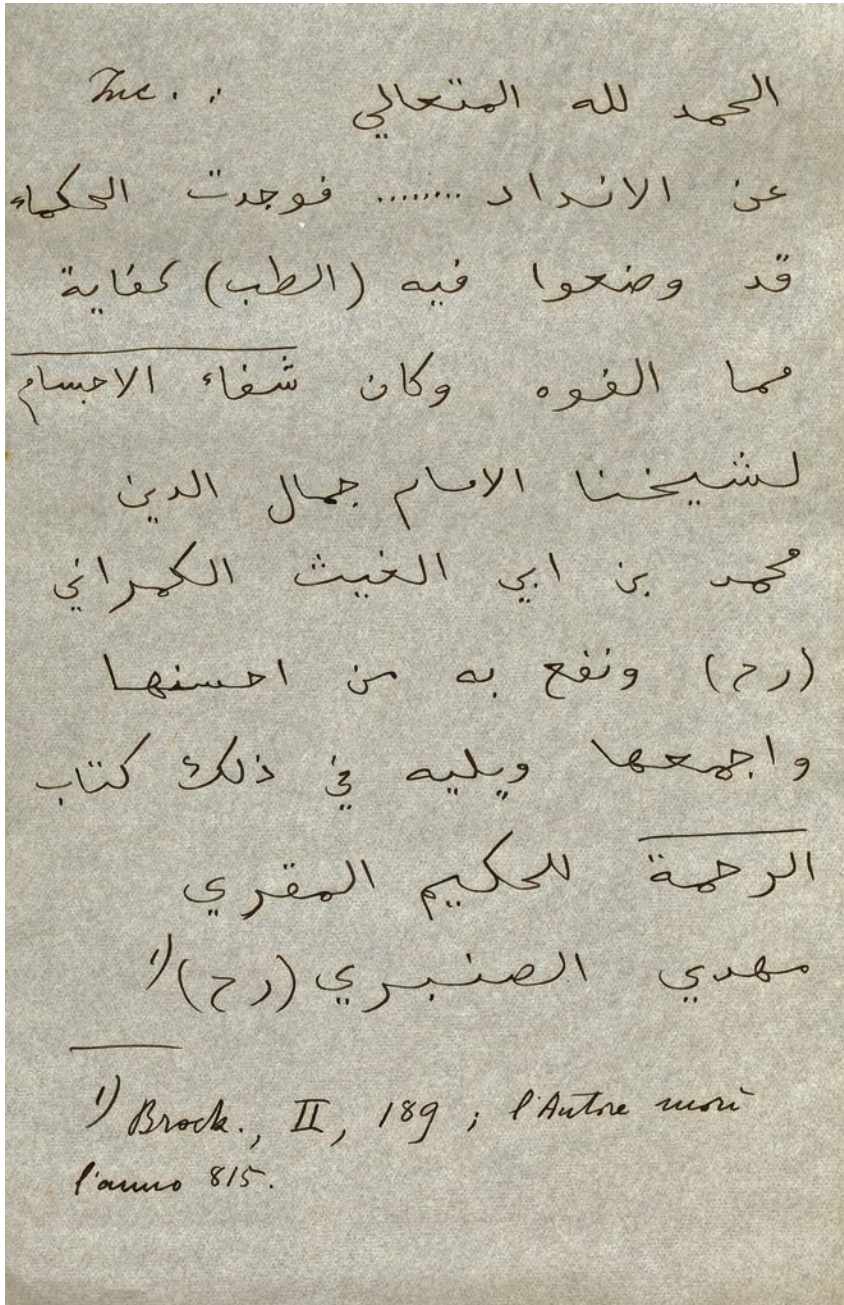


FIGURE 30 Material on MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 117 in Griffini's *schedario*
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1140-1147), CONT.

وذكر ان شيخنا اجاد في
 البسط وكثرة الفوائد والترتيب
 وصاحب كتاب الرحمة احسن
 في الاختصار والتقريب
 ثم اردفها بزوائد تدعو الحاجة
 اليها ولا على الكتاب منها
 ما عثرت عليها من غير
 الكتابين كاللقط لابن الجوزي
 في كتاب برء ساعة للرازي
 ومجموع السوداني ورسالة
 1) Brock, I, 505.

FIGURE 31 Material on MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 117 in Griffini's *schedario*
 (MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1140-1147), CONT.

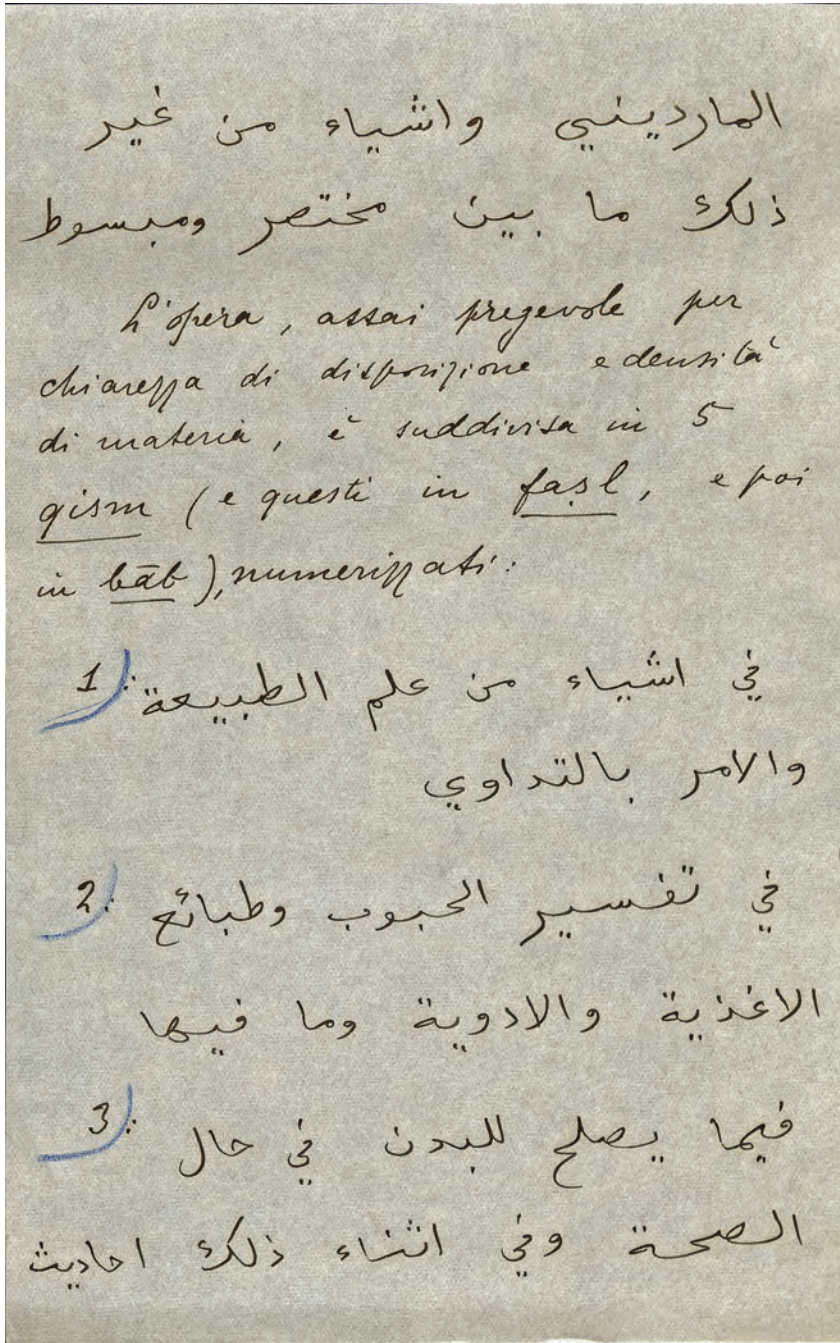


FIGURE 32 Material on MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 117 in Griffini's *schedario*
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1140-1147), CONT.

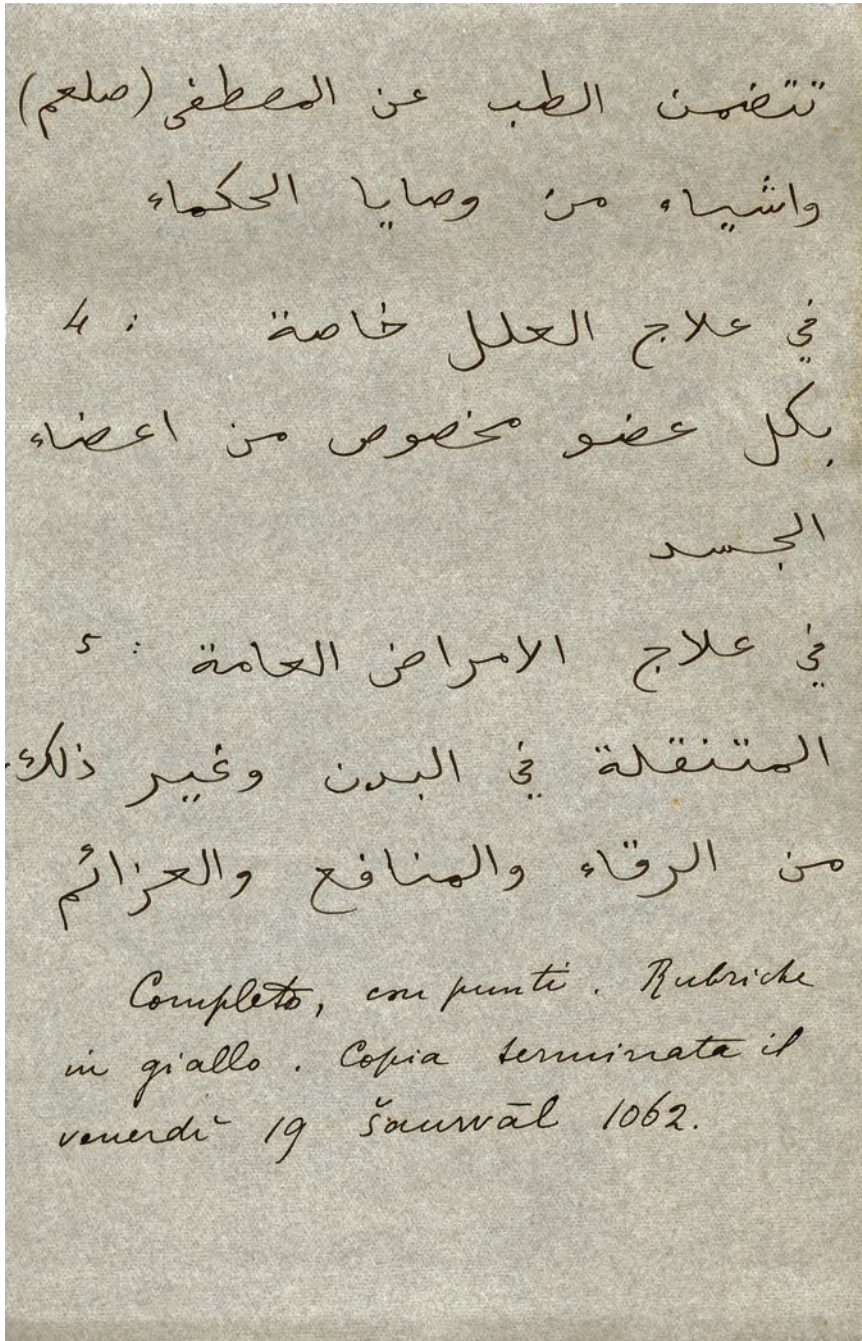


FIGURE 33 Material on MS Ambrosiana N.F. A 117 in Griffini's *schedario*
 (MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 55/2.1140–1147), CONT.

The following is an overview of Griffini's published and unpublished entries on the manuscripts of the N.F.:

Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 1	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 260 [8] no. 1	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.16–19
A 2	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 260 [8] no. 2	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.20–21
A 3	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 260 [8] no. 3	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.22–26, 28–29, 37–62
A 4	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 5–6 [5–6] nos 4, 5; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 160 [66] (addition/correction); "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 70–71 [78–79] no. 61, 74 [82] no. 65, 74–76 [82–84] no. 66, p. 76 [84] no. 67, 76–77 [84–85] no. 68, 85–87 [93–95] no. 72, 88–94 [96–102] no. 74, 94–95 [102–103] no. 75, 95–96 [103–104] no. 76; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 260–262 [8–10] no. 4	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.27, 29–36, 63–85
A 5	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 66–67 [74–75] no. 57; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 262 [10] no. 5	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.86–88
A 6	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 17 [17] no. 18; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 163–164 [69–70] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 262–263 [10–11] no. 6	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.88
A 7	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 263 [11] no. 7	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.88–97, 87
A 8	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 263 [11] no. 8	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.97, 99–100
A 9	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), 263 [11] no. 9	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.100–103
A 10	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 263–264 [11–12] no. 10	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.104–116
A 11	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 146–149 [52–55] no. 45; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 264 [12] no. 11	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.117–125
A 12	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 21 [21] no. 27; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 165 [71] (corection/addition); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 264 [12] no. 12	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.126

(cont.)

Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 13	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 264 [12] no. 13	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.126–136
A 14	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 13 [13] no. 12; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 264 [12] no. 14	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.136
A 15	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 34–35 [34–35] no. 32; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 264–265 [12–13] no. 15	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.136–146
A 16	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 265 [13] no. 16	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.146–147
A 17	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 265 [13] no. 17	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.148–149
A 18	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 265–266 [13–14] no. 18	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.150–165
A 19	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 266 [14] no. 19	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.166–169
A 20	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 266 [14] no. 20	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.169–175
A 21	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 266 [14] no. 21	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.176–179
A 22	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 78–82 [86–90] no. 70; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 266–267 [14–15] no. 22	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.179–183
A 23	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 77–78 [85–86] no. 69; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 267 [15] no. 23	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.184
A 24	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 267 [15] no. 24	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.184–197
A 25	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 34 [34] no. 31; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 267–268 [15–16] no. 25	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.197
A 26	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), p. 73 [81] no. 63; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 268 [16] no. 26	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.198
A 27	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 268 [16] no. 27	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.198, 199
A 28	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 100–102 [108–110] no. 79, 102 [110] no. 80, 102–103 [110–111] no. 81, 103–104 [111–112] no. 82; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 268 [16] no. 28	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.198, 200–208, 209

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 29	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 268–270 [16–18] no. 29	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.208, 209–231
A 30	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 270 [18] no. 30	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.232–238
A 31	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 13 [13] no. 13; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 270 [18] no. 31	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.238, 245–247
A 32	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 16–17 [16–17] no. 17; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 163 [69] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 271 [19] no. 32	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.238–240
A 33	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 271 [19] no. 33	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.240–242, 248
A 34	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 271 [19] no. 34	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.242, 249
A 35	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 271 [19] no. 35	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.242, 250–252
A 36	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 271–273 [19–21] no. 36	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.242–244, 253–274
A 37	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 19–20 [19–20] no. 25; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 273 [21] no. 37	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.244
A 38	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 273 [21] no. 38	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.275, 278–279
A 39	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 273–274 [21–22] no. 39	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.275, 280–286
A 40	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 151–153 [57–59] no. 52; 153–154 [59–60] no. 53; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 274 [22] no. 40	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.275–277
A 41	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 274–275 [22–23] no. 41	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.287–304
A 42	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 6–7 [6–7] no. 7; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 160 [66] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 275 [23] no. 42	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.305
A 43	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 275–276 [23–24] no. 43	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.305–310, 312–327
A 44	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 276–277 [24–25] no. 44	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.310, 328–349

(cont.)

Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 45	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 277 [25] no. 45	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.310, 350–354
A 46	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 13 [13] no. 46; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 277 [25] no. 46	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.310–311
A 47	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 7–13 [7–13] no. 11; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 161 [67] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 277 [25] no. 47	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.355
A 48	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 68–70 [76–78] no. 59; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 277 [25] no. 48	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.355–359
A 49	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 277 [25] no. 49	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.360, 362
A 50	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), p. 277 [25] no. 50	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.360, 363
A 51	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 7 [7] nos 9, 10; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 150 [56] no. 48; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/2 (1910), pp. 277–278 [25–26] no. 51	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.360–361, 364–367
A 52	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 21 [21] no. 28; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 166 [72] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 571 [27] no. 52	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.368
A 53	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 571 [27] no. 53	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.368–373
A 54	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 571 [27] no. 54	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.374, 375
A 55	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 571–574 [27–30] no. 55; "La più antica codificazione"; ^a <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. cxxxvii–cxxxviii	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.375–390, 393–458
A 56	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 574 [30] no. 56	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.390–392, 459–460
A 57	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 18 [18] no. 21; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 574 [30] no. 57	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.461, 472

a Eugenio Griffini, "La più antica codificazione della giurisprudenza islamica: Il 'Compendio' di Zaid ben Ali scoperto fra i manoscritti arabi della Biblioteca Ambrosiana", *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, 2nd ser., 44 (1911), pp. 260–275.

(cont.)

Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 58	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 574–575 [30–31] no. 58	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.462–471, 472
A 59	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 575 [31] no. 59	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.472–475
A 60	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 575–576 [31–32] no. 60	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.475–476
A 61	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 576 [32] no. 61	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.477–484
A 62	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 82–85 [90–93] no. 71; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 576 [32] no. 62	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.484–487
A 63	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 19 [19] no. 24; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 144–146 [50–52] no. 44; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 576–577 [32–33] no. 63	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.487
A 64	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 143–144 [49–50] no. 43; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 577–578 [33–34] no. 64	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.487–517, 523
A 65	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 578–579 [34–35] no. 65	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.518–522, 523
A 66	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 6 [5] nos 2, 3, 6 [6] no. 6; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 160 [66] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 579 [35] no. 66	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.523–524
A 67	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 579 [35] no. 67	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.524–538
A 68	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 580–582 [36–38] no. 68	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.538, 551–648
A 69	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 582 [38] no. 69	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.538–550, 649–651

(cont.)

Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 70	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 24–34 [24–34] no. 30; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 166 [72] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 582 [38] no. 70	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.651–663
A 71	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 582–584 [38–40] no. 71	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.664–674
A 72	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 18–19 [18–19] no. 22; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 165 [71] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 584 [40] no. 72	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.674
A 73	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 17 [17] no. 19; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 164 [70] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 584 [40] no. 73	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.674–675
A 74	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 584 [40] no. 74	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.676–677
A 75	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 17–18 [17–18] no. 20, 35 [35] no. 33; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 141–142 [47–48] no. 37, 142 [48] no. 41, 143 [49] no. 42; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 164–165 [70–71] (addition/correction), 166 [72] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 584–587 [40–43] no. 75	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.677–757
A 76	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 587 [43] no. 76	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.758, 759
A 77	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 588 [44] no. 77	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.758
A 78	"Intorno alle stazioni lunari nell'astronomia degli Arabi"; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 588 [44] no. 78	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.761–769, 782–783
A 79	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 588 [44] no. 79	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.770–781, 783–785
A 80	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 21–24 [21–24] no. 29; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 166 [72] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 589 [45] no. 80	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.786–788

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 81	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 589 [45] no. 81	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.788–795
A 82	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 589 [45] no. 82	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.794–798
A 83	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 151 [57] no. 51; <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 71–72 [79–80] no. 62; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 589 [45] no. 83	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.798–807
A 84	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 142 [38] no. 38, 155–157 [61–63] no. 54, 158–159 [64–65] no. 55; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 150–151 [56–57] no. 50; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 65 [73] no. 56, 74 [82] no. 64; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 589–590 [45–46] no. 84	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.808–830, 832
A 85	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 149 [55] no. 46; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 590 [46] no. 85	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.830–831, 833–836
A 86	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 133–141 [39–47] nos 35, 36; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 591 [47] no. 86	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.837–852
A 87	"Intorno alle stazioni lunari nell'astronomia degli Arabi"; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 591 [47] no. 87	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.853, 854
A 88	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 591 [47] no. 88	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.854, 855
A 89	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 150 [56] no. 47; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 591 [47] no. 89	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.854, 856
A 90	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 591 [47] no. 90	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.857, 858, 859–860
A 91	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 591–592 [47–48] no. 91	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.857, 858, 861–864
A 92	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 592 [48] no. 92	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.864–869
A 93	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 13–15 [13–15] no. 15; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 592 [48] no. 93	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.869–870
A 94	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 592–593 [48–49] no. 94	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.871–876

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 95	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 7 [7] no. 8; <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), p. 68 [76] no. 58; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), pp. 593–594 [49–50] no. 95	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/ 2.876–879, 880–891
A 96	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 594 [50] no. 96	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.879, 892, 903–904
A 97	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/3 (1910), p. 594 [50] no. 97	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/ 2.893–902, 905–907
A 98	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 901–902 [51–52] no. 98	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/ 2.908–922, 924–927
A 99	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 20 [20] no. 26; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 902 [52] no. 99	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.922–923
A 100	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 902 [52] no. 100	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.928–939
A 101	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 902–903 [52–53] no. 101	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.939–946
A 102	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 15–16 [15–16] no. 16; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), pp. 162–163 [68–69] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 903 [53] no. 102	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.947–948
A 103	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 903 [53] no. 103	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.949– 951, 954
A 104	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 903–904 [53–54] no. 104	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.953, 954–962
A 105	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), p. 70 [78] no. 60; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 904–905 [54–55] no. 105	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.952, 962–995
A 106	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 19 [19] no. 23; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 905 [55] no. 106	
A 107	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), pp. 35–38 [35–38] no. 34; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 142 [48] nos 39, 40; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 905–906 [55–56] no. 107	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.996–1006
A 108	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 906–907 [56–57] no. 108	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1006–1014

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
A 109	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 907 [57] no. 109	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1014–1025
A 110	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 96–98 [104–106] no. 77; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 907 [57] no. 110	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1025, 1027–1028
A 111	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 907–908 [57–58] no. 111	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1025–1026, 1029–1044
A 112	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 150 [56] no. 49; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 908–909 [58–59] no. 112	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1044–1065
A 113	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 909 [59] no. 113; "Nuovi testi", pp. 426–430 [63–67] (v)	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1066–1089, 1104–1115
A 114	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 909 [59] no. 114	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1090–1103, 1116
A 115	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 910–911 [60–61] no. 115	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1116–1138
A 116	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 911 [61] no. 116	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1139
A 117	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 911 [61] no. 117	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1140–1147
A 118	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 911–912 [61–62] no. 118	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1148–1151
A 119	"Una nuova qaṣīda attribuita ad Imru 'l-Qais"; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 3/1 (1910), pp. 98–100 [106–108] no. 78; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 912–920 [62–70] no. 119	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1152–1329
A 120	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 920 [70] no. 120	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1330–1332
A 121	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 920 [70] no. 121	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1333–1334
A 122	"I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/1 (1908), p. 5 [5]; "I manoscritti", <i>RSO</i> 2/2 (1909), p. 160 [66] (addition/correction); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 920 [70] no. 122	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1335
A 123	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), pp. 920–921 [70–71] no. 123	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1335–1344
A 124	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 3/4 (1910), p. 921 [71] no. 124	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 55/2.1345–1371

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
B 1	"Zu al-Aṣṣā's 'Mā bukā'u"; "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 93 [79] no. 125	
B 2	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 94 [80] no. 126	
B 3	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 94 [80] no. 127	
B 4	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 94 [80] no. 128	
B 5	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 94 [80] no. 129	
B 6	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 94 [80] no. 130	
B 7	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 94 [80] no. 131	
B 8	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 94 [80] no. 132	
B 9	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 95 [81] no. 133	
B 10	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 95 [81] no. 134	
B 11	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 95 [81] no. 135	
B 12	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 95 [81] no. 136	
B 13	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), pp. 95–96 [81–82] no. 137	
B 14	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 96 [82] no. 138	
B 15	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 96 [82] no. 139	
B 16	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), pp. 96–97 [82–83] no. 140	
B 17	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), pp. 97–98 [83–84] no. 141	
B 18	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 99 [85] no. 142	
B 19	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), pp. 99–100 [85–86] no. 143	
B 20	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 100 [86] no. 144	
B 21	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 100 [86] no. 145	
B 22	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 100 [86] no. 146	
B 23	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 100 [86] no. 147	
B 24	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 100 [86] no. 148	
B 25	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 101 [87] no. 149	
B 26	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 101 [87] no. 150	
B 27	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 101 [87] no. 151	
B 28	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 101 [87] no. 152	
B 29	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 101 [87] no. 153	
B 30	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 101 [87] no. 154	
B 31	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 101 [87] no. 155	
B 32	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), pp. 101–102 [87–88] no. 156	
B 33	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 102 [88] no. 157	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
B 34	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 102 [88] no. 158	
B 35	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), pp. 102–103 [88–89] no. 159	
B 36	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 103 [89] no. 160	
B 37	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 103 [89] no. 161	
B 38	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 103 [89] no. 162	
B 39	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), pp. 103–104 [89–90] no. 163	
B 40	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 104 [90] no. 164	
B 41	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 104 [90] no. 165	
B 42	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 104 [90] no. 166	
B 43	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 104 [90] no. 167	
B 44	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 105 [91] no. 168	
B 45	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 105 [91] no. 169	
B 46	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 105 [91] no. 170	
B 47	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 105 [91] no. 171	
B 48	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 105 [91] no. 172	
B 49	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), pp. 105–106 [91–92] no. 173	
B 50	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 106 [92] no. 174	
B 51	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 106 [92] no. 175	
B 52	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/1 (1911), p. 106 [92] no. 176	
B 53	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1021–1022 [93–94] no. 177	
B 54	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1022 [94] no. 178	
B 55	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1022 [94] no. 179	
B 56	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1022 [94] no. 180	
B 57	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1022 [94] no. 181	
B 58	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1022 [94] no. 182	
B 59	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1022–1023 [94–95] no. 183	
B 60	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1023 [95] no. 184	
B 61	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1023 [95] no. 185	
B 62	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1023–1024 [95–96] no. 186	
B 63	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1024 [96] no. 187	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
B 64	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1025 [97] no. 188	
B 65	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1025 [97] no. 189	
B 66	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1025 [97] no. 190	
B 67	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1025 [97] no. 191	
B 68	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1025–1026 [97–98] no. 192	
B 69	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1026 [98] no. 193	
B 70	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1026 [98] no. 194	
B 71	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1026 [98] no. 195	
B 72	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1026 [98] no. 196	
B 73	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1026 [98] no. 197	
B 74	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1026–1029 [98–101] no. 198	
B 75	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1029–1031 [101–103] no. 199	
B 76	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1031 [103] no. 200	
B 77	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1031 [103] no. 201	
B 78	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1032 [104] no. 202	
B 79	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1032 [104] no. 203	
B 80	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1032 [104] no. 204	
B 81	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1033 [105] no. 205	
B 82	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1033 [105] no. 206	
B 83	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1033–1034 [105–106] no. 207	
B 84	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1034 [106] no. 208	
B 85	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1034 [106] no. 209	
B 86	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1034 [106] no. 210	
B 87	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1034 [106] no. 211	
B 88	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1035 [107] no. 212	
B 89	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1035 [107] no. 213	
B 90	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1035 [107] no. 214	
B 91	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1035 [107] no. 215	
B 92	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1035 [107] no. 216	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
B 93	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1035 [107] no. 217	
B 94	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1035–1036 [107–108] no. 218	
B 95	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1036 [108] no. 219	
B 96	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1036 [108] no. 220	
B 97	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1036–1038 [108–110] no. 221	
B 98	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1038–1039 [110–111] no. 222	
B 99	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1039 [111] no. 223	
B 100	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1039 [111] no. 224	
B 101	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1039 [111] no. 225	
B 102	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1039 [111] no. 226	
B 103	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1039 [111] no. 227	
B 104	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1039–1040 [111–112] no. 228	
B 105	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1040 [112] no. 229	
B 106	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1040 [112] no. 230	
B 107	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1040–1041 [112–113] no. 231	
B 108	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1041 [113] no. 232	
B 109	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1041 [113] no. 233	
B 110	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1041 [113] no. 234	
B 111	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1041 [113] no. 235	
B 112	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1041–1042 [113–114] no. 236	
B 113	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1042 [114] no. 237	
B 114	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1042 [114] no. 238	
B 115	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1042 [114] no. 239	
B 116	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1042 [114] no. 240	
B 117	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1042 [114] no. 241	
B 118	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1043 [115] no. 242	
B 119	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1043 [115] no. 243	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
B 120	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1043 [115] no. 244	
B 121	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1043 [115] no. 245	
B 122	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1043 [115] no. 246	
B 123	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1043–1044 [115–116] no. 247	
B 124	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1044 [116] no. 248	
B 125	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1044–1045 [116–117] no. 249	
B 126	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1045 [117] no. 250	
B 127	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1045 [117] no. 251	
B 128	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1045–1046 [117–118] no. 252	
B 129	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1046 [118] no. 253	
B 130	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1046–1047 [118–119] no. 254	
B 131	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), p. 1047 [119] no. 255	
B 132	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 4/4 (1911–12), pp. 1047–1048 [119–120] no. 256	
C 1	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), pp. 1283–1284 [121–122] no. 257	
C 2	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), pp. 1285–1287 [123–125] no. 258	
C 3	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), pp. 1287–1288 [125–126] no. 259	
C 4	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), pp. 1288–1289 [126–127] no. 260	
C 5	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), pp. 1289–1303 [127–141] no. 261; "El poemetto du Qudam ben Qādim: Nuova saga jemenica del reggente 'Abd Kulāl", <i>RSO</i> 7/2 (1916), pp. 293–363, here pp. 335–336 and passim	
C 6	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1303 [141] no. 262	
C 7	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1304 [142] no. 263	
C 8	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), pp. 1304–1313 [142–151] no. 264	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
C 9	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), pp. 1313–1314 [151–152] no. 265	
C 10	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1314 [152] no. 266	
C 11	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1314 [152] no. 267	
C 12	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), pp. 1314–1315 [152–153] no. 268	
C 13	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1315 [153] no. 269	
C 14	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1315 [153] no. 270	
C 15	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1315 [153] no. 271	
C 16	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1315 [153] no. 272	
C 17	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1315 [153] no. 273	
C 18	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1316 [154] no. 274	
C 19	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1316 [154] no. 275	
C 20	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 6/4 (1914–15), p. 1316 [154] no. 276	
C 21	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 51 [155] no. 277	
C 22	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 52 [156] no. 278	
C 23	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 52 [156] no. 279	
C 24	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 53 [157] no. 280	
C 25	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 53 [157] no. 281	
C 26	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), 53–55 [157–159] no. 282	
C 27	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 55 [159] no. 283	
C 28	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 55–56 [159–160] no. 284	
C 29	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 56–57 [160–161] no. 285	
C 30	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 57 [161] no. 286	
C 31	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 57–58 [161–162] no. 287	
C 32	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 58 [162] no. 288	
C 33	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 58–59 [162–163] no. 289	
C 34	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 59 [163] no. 290	
C 35	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 60 [164] no. 291	
C 36	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 60 [164] no. 292	
C 37	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 60–61 [164–165] no. 293	
C 38	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 61 [165] no. 294	
C 39	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 61–62 [165–166] no. 295	
C 40	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 62–63 [166–167] no. 296	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
C 41	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 63 [167] no. 297	
C 42	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 63 [167] no. 298	
C 43	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 63 [167] no. 299	
C 44	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 63–64 [167–168] no. 300	
C 45	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 64 [168] no. 301	
C 46	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 64–65 [168–169] no. 302	
C 47	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 65–66 [169–170] no. 303	
C 48	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 66 [170] no. 304	
C 49	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 66–67 [170–171] no. 305; "La più antica codificazione"; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. cli–clihi	
C 50	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 67 [171] no. 306	
C 51	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 67 [171] no. 307	
C 52	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 67 [171] no. 308	
C 53	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 67–68 [171–172] no. 309	
C 54	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 68 [172] no. 310	
C 55	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 68–69 [172–173] no. 311	
C 56	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 69–71 [173–175] no. 312	
C 57	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 71 [175] no. 313	
C 58	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 71 [175] no. 314	
C 59	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 71–72 [175–176] no. 315	
C 60	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 72 [176] no. 316	
C 61	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 72–74 [176–178] no. 317	
C 62	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 74 [178] no. 318	
C 63	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 74 [178] no. 319	
C 64	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 74 [178] no. 320	
C 65	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 74–76 [178–180] no. 321	
C 66	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 76 [180] no. 322	
C 67	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 76 [180] no. 323	
C 68	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 76–77 [180–181] no. 324	
C 69	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 77 [181] no. 325	
C 70	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 77–79 [181–183] no. 326	
C 71	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 79 [183] no. 327	
C 72	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 79 [183] no. 328	
C 73	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 80–81 [184–185] no. 329	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
C 74	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 81 [185] no. 330	
C 75	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 81 [185] no. 331	
C 76	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 81–82 [185–186] no. 332	
C 77	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 82 [186] no. 333	
C 78	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 82 [186] no. 334	
C 79	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), p. 83 [187] no. 335	
C 80	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 83–84 [187–188] no. 336	
C 81	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 84–88 [188–192] no. 337	
C 82	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 88–106 [192–210] no. 338	
C 83	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 106–107 [210–211] no. 339	
C 84	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 107–108 [211–212] no. 340	
C 85	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 108–110 [212–214] no. 341	
C 86	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 110–127 [214–231] no. 342	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/165
C 87	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 127–128 [231–232] no. 343	
C 88	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 128–129 [232–233] no. 344	
C 89	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/1 (1916), pp. 129–130 [233–234] no. 345	
C 90	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 565 [235] no. 346	
C 91	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 565 [235] no. 347	
C 92	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 565–566 [235–236] no. 348	
C 93	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 566–567 [236–237] no. 349	
C 94	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 567 [237] no. 350	
C 95	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 567–569 [237–239] no. 351	
C 96	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 569–572 [239–241] no. 352	
C 97	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 572–573 [242–243] no. 353	
C 98	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 573 [243] no. 354	
C 99	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 573–576 [243–246] no. 355; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. cxxi–cxxxvii	
C 100	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 576–578 [246–248] no. 356	
C 101	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 578–579 [248–249] no. 357	
C 102	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 579–580 [249–250] no. 358	
C 103	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 580 [250] no. 359	
C 104	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 580–584 [250–254] no. 360	
C 105	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 584 [254] no. 361	
C 106	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 584–585 [254–255] no. 362	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
C 107	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 585–586 [255–256] no. 363	
C 108	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 586 [256] no. 364	
C 109	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 586–587 [256–257] no. 365	
C 110	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 587 [257] no. 366	
C 111	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 587 [257] no. 367	
C 112	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 587–591 [257–261] no. 368	
C 113	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 591 [261] no. 369	
C 114	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 591 [261] no. 370	
C 115	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 591 [261] no. 371	
C 116	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 591–592 [261–262] no. 372	
C 117	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 592–593 [262–263] no. 373	
C 118	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 593–594 [263–264] no. 374	
C 119	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 594–595 [264–265] no. 375	
C 120	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 595 [265] no. 376	
C 121	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 595–596 [265–266] no. 377	
C 122	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 596 [266] no. 378	
C 123	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 596–597 [266–267] no. 379	
C 124	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 597–599 [267–269] no. 380	
C 125	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 599–600 [269–270] no. 381	
C 126	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 600–601 [270–271] no. 382	
C 127	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 601 [271] no. 383	
C 128	"Nuovi testi", pp. 426–430 [63–67] (v); "Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 601 [271] no. 384	
C 129	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 601–603 [271–273] no. 385	
C 130	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 603 [273] no. 386	
C 131	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), 603–607 [273–277] no. 387	
C 132	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 607–608 [277–278] no. 388	
C 133	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 608 [278] no. 389	
C 134	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 608 [278] no. 390	
C 135	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 608 [278] no. 391	
C 136	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 608 [278] no. 392	
C 137	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 608–609 [278–279] no. 393	
C 138	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 609 [279] no. 394	
C 139	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 609 [279] no. 395	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
C 140	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 609 [279] no. 396	
C 141	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 609–610 [279–280] no. 397	
C 142	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 610 [280] no. 398	
C 143	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 610 [280] no. 399	
C 144	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 610–611 [280–281] no. 400	
C 145	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 611–612 [281–282] no. 401	
C 146	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 612–613 [282–283] no. 402	
C 147	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 613 [283] no. 403	
C 148	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 613–614 [283–284] no. 404	
C 149	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 614 [284] no. 405	
C 150	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 614 [284] no. 406	
C 151	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 614 [284] no. 407	
C 152	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 614–616 [284–286] no. 408	
C 153	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 616 [286] no. 409	
C 154	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 616–620 [286–290] no. 410	
C 155	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 620–625 [290–295] no. 411	
C 156	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 625–626 [295–296] no. 412	
C 157	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), p. 626 [296] no. 413	
C 158	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 7/3 (1917), pp. 627–628 [297–298] no. 414	
C 159	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), pp. 241–242 [299–300] no. 415	
C 160	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), p. 243 [301] no. 416	
C 161	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), p. 243 [301] no. 417	
C 162	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), p. 243 [301] no. 418	
C 163	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), pp. 243–248 [301–306] no. 419	
C 164	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), p. 248 [306] no. 420	
C 165	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), p. 248 [306] no. 421	
C 166	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), pp. 248–249 [306–307] no. 422	
C 167	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), p. 249 [307] no. 423	
C 168	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1–4 (1919–20), pp. 249–262 [307–320] no. 424	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
C 169	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 262-264 [320-322] no. 425	
C 170	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 264-280 [322-338] no. 426	
C 171	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 281 [339] no. 427	
C 172	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 281 [339] no. 428	
C 173	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 281-282 [339-340] no. 429	
C 174	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 282 [340] no. 430	
C 175	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 282 [340] no. 431	
C 176	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 282-284 [340-342] no. 432	
C 177	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 284-288 [342-346] no. 433	
C 178	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 288-289 [346-347] no. 434	
C 179	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 289 [347] no. 435	
C 180	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 289 [347] no. 436	
C 181	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 290-291 [348-349] no. 437	
C 182	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 291 [349] no. 438	
C 183	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 291 [349] no. 439	
C 184	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 291-292 [349-350] no. 440	
C 185	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 292 [350] no. 441	
C 186	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 293-297 [351-355] no. 442	
C 187	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 297-298 [355-356] no. 443	
C 188	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 298-313 [356-371] no. 444	
C 189	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 313 [371] no. 445	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
C 190	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 313-314 [371-372] no. 446	
C 191	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 314 [372] no. 447	
C 192	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 315 [373] no. 448	
C 193	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 315 [373] no. 449	
C 194	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 315-316 [373-374] no. 450	
C 195	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 316 [374] no. 451	
C 196	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 316-317 [374-375] no. 452	
C 197	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 317-318 [375-376] no. 453	
C 198	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 318-323 [376-381] no. 454	
C 199	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 323 [381] no. 455	
C 200	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 323-325 [381-383] no. 456	
C 201	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 325-326 [383-384] no. 457	
C 202	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 326-327 [384-385] no. 458	
C 203	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 327 [385] no. 459	
C 204	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 327-332 [385-390] no. 460	
C 205	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 332-334 [390-392] no. 461	
C 206	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 334-335 [392-393] no. 462	
C 207	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 335-336 [393-394] no. 463	
C 208	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 336 [394] no. 464	
C 209	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 336-338 [394-396] no. 465	

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Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
C 210	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 338 [396] no. 466	
C 211	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 338-339 [396-397] no. 467	
C 212	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 339-343 [397-401] no. 468; "La più antica codificazione"; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xxxviii-xxxix and passim	
C 213	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 343-345 [401-403] no. 469	
C 214	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 345-346 [403-404] no. 470	
C 215	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 346-347 [404-405] no. 471	
C 216	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 347-348 [405-406] no. 472	
C 217	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 348-350 [406-408] no. 473	
C 218	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), p. 350 [408] no. 474	
C 219	"Lista", <i>RSO</i> 8/1-4 (1919-20), pp. 350-351 [408-409] no. 475	
D 337	"La più antica codificazione"; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xxxv-xxxvi and passim	
D 339	"Nuovi testi", pp. 426-430 [63-67] (v)	
D463	"La più antica codificazione"; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xxxvi-xxxviii and passim	
E 1		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.4
E 2		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.5-6
E 3		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.7
E 5		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.9
E 6		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.12
E 7		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.13-16

(cont.)

Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
E 8		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.17–21
E 9		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.22
E 10		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.23
E 12		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.24–25
E 13		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.26–27
E 14		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.28–29
E 15		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.30–31
E 16		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.32–43
E 17		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.44–51
E 18		MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/164.7.52–53
E 167	“La più antica codificazione”; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xxxiii–xxxv and passim	
E 199	“La più antica codificazione”; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xlii–xliii and passim	
E 201	“Intorno alle stazioni lunari nell'astronomia degli Arabi”	
E 239	“La più antica codificazione”; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xix–xxiii and passim	
E 290	“La più antica codificazione”; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xl–xli and passim	
E 359	“La più antica codificazione”	

(cont.)

Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
E 394	"La più antica codificazione"; <i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. cxxi–cxxxvii	
F 178	<i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xxvi–xxxii and passim	
F 227	<i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xliii–xlv and passim	
F 282	<i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. lxxxv–lxxxix, xcvi–xcix	
F 289	<i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xli–xlii and passim	
G 9	"Nuovi testi", pp. 430–431 [67–68]	
G 10	<i>Le Dîwân d'al-Aḥṭal</i>	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 25/167
G 11	<i>Corpus iuris</i> , pp. xxiii–xxv and passim	
H 1	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 75	
H 2	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 70–71	
H 22	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 77	
H 54	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 72	
H 67	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 75	
H 68	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 73	
H 70	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 67–68	
H 73	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 65	
H 75	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 85–87	
H 76	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 87–88	
H 81	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 70	
H 96	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 73	
H 97	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 73	
H 98	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 72, 73	
H 102	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 77	
H 104	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 79–80	
H 105	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 70	
H 116	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 77	
H 125	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 73	
H 126	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 74	
H 127	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 80	
H 128	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 75–77	
H 129	"Nuovi testi", pp. 402–415 [40–52] (III); "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 77	

(cont.)

Shelf mark	Griffini's published description(s)	Cards in Griffini's <i>schedario</i> and other parts of the Griffini archive
H 130	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 78–79	
H 131	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 73	
H 132	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 69–70	
H 135	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 64–65	MSS Codazzi-Griffini 27/174
H 136	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 71	
H 137	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 65–66	
H 138	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 65	
H 139	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 71–72	
H 140	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 72	
H 141	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", pp. 68–69	
H 170	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 75	
H 171	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 75	
H 176	"Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 78	

Griffini's Survey of the Caprotti Collection

In 1910 or shortly thereafter,¹⁶⁷ Griffini compiled a survey of subjects included in the Caprotti collection, introduced by preliminary notes that went beyond what he had written in the 1908 preface to his "I manoscritti."¹⁶⁸ The survey, found in a quire of twelve pages and entitled "Notizia della provenienza e del contenuto dei 5600 mss. arabi (in 1610 codici) del nuovo fondo milanese (Collezione Caprotti)", was never published, and its purpose remains unclear. The document is preserved as MSS Codazzi-Griffini 54/1 (figs 34–46). What follows is an annotated English translation of the survey.

167 The document is undated, but the references in it suggest a *terminus post quem*.

168 Griffini, "I manoscritti", *RSO* 2, no. 1 (1908), pp. 1–3.

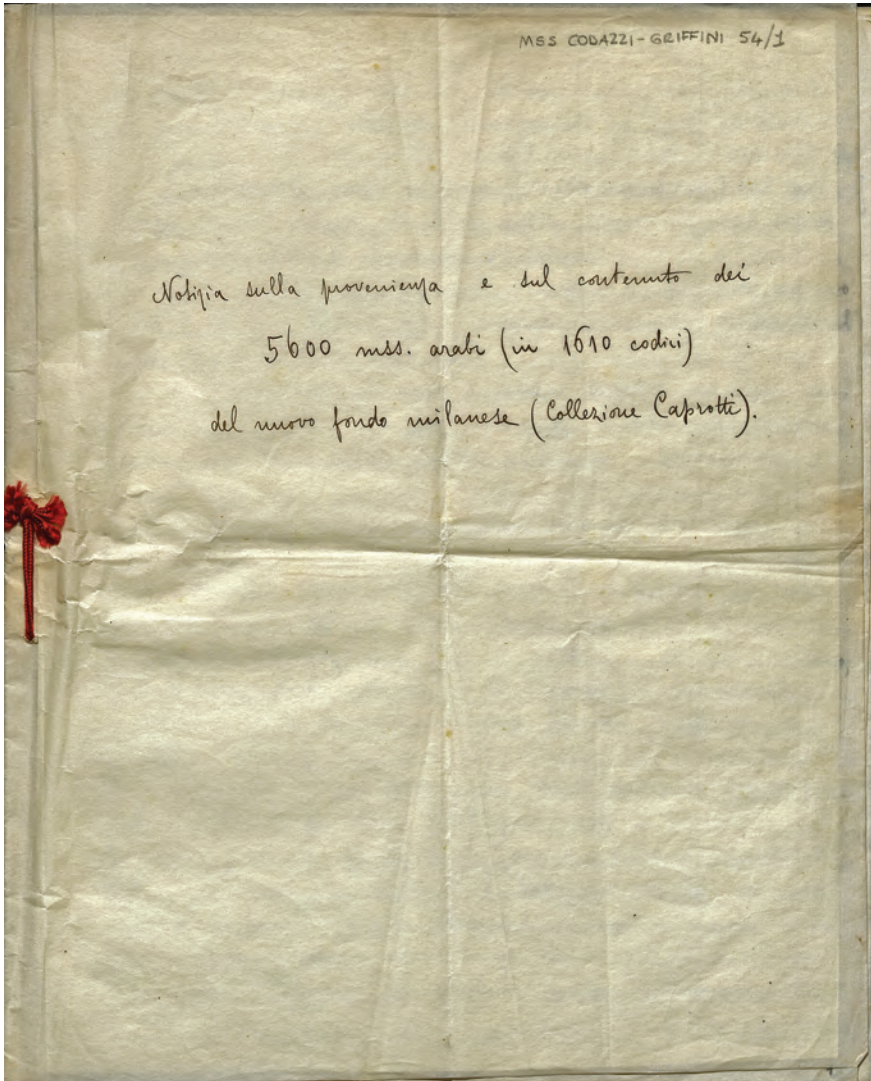


FIGURE 34 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1

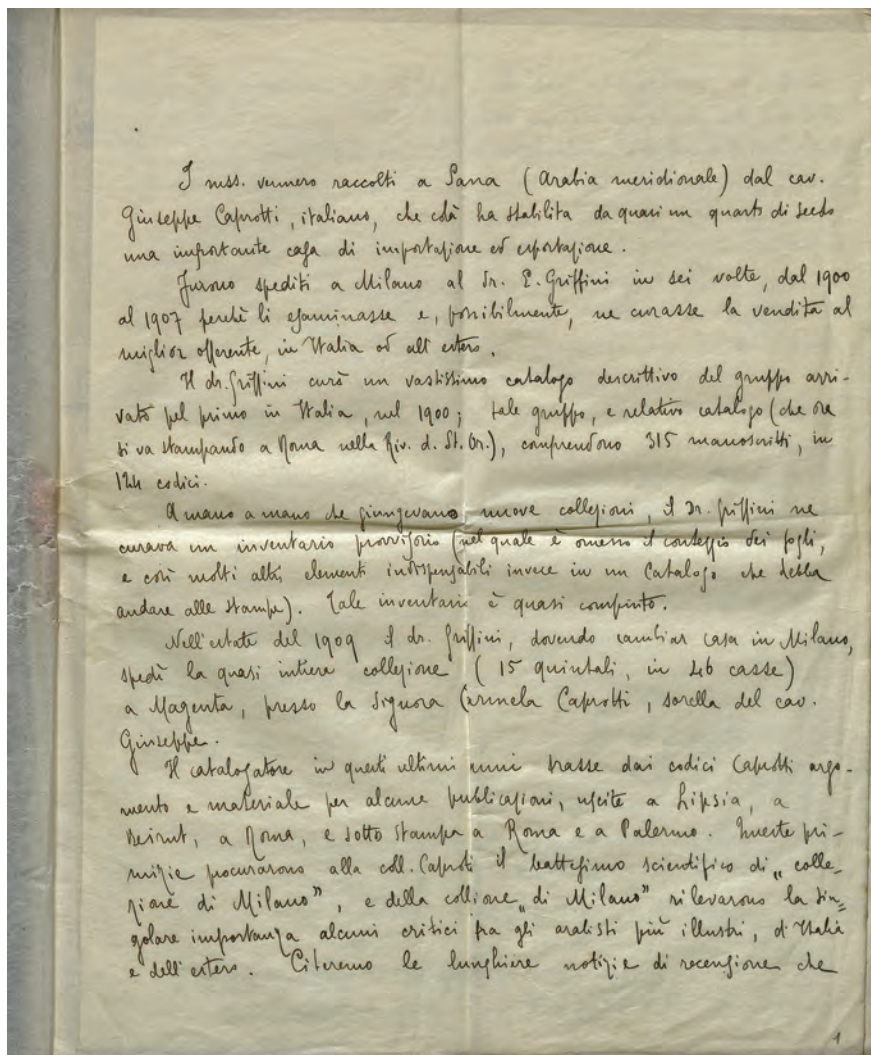


FIGURE 35 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

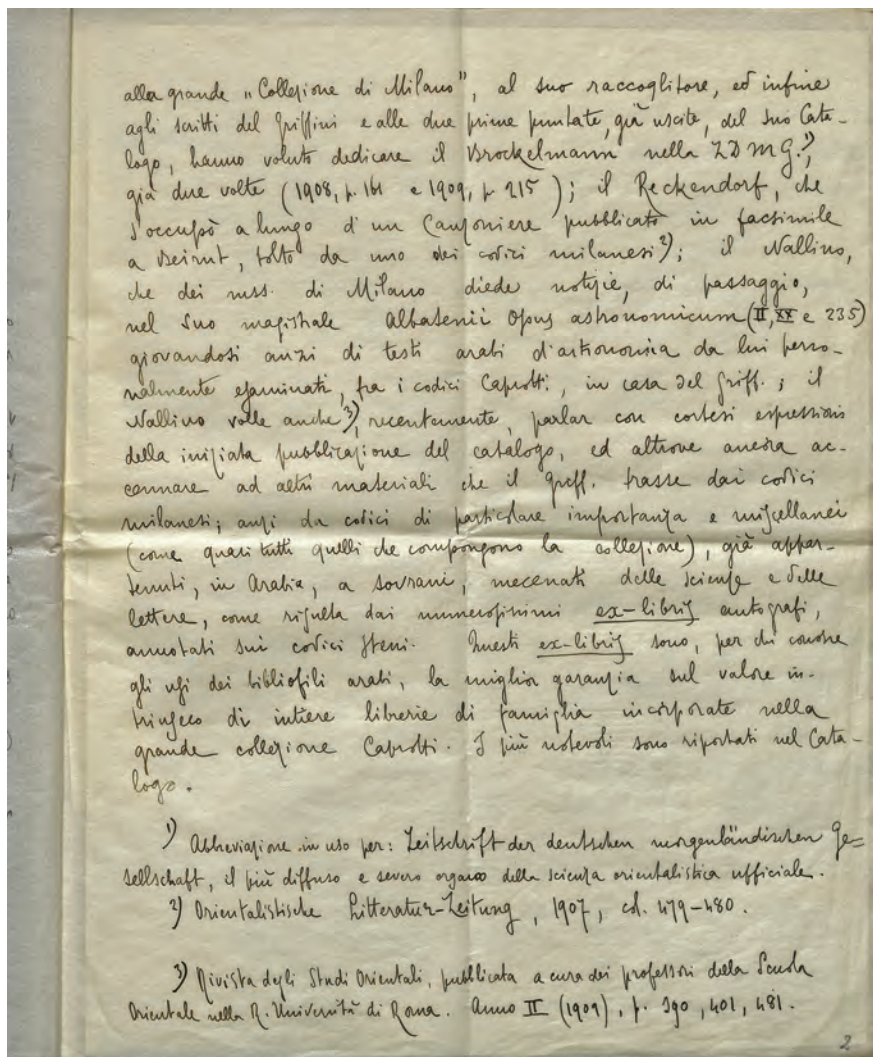


FIGURE 36 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

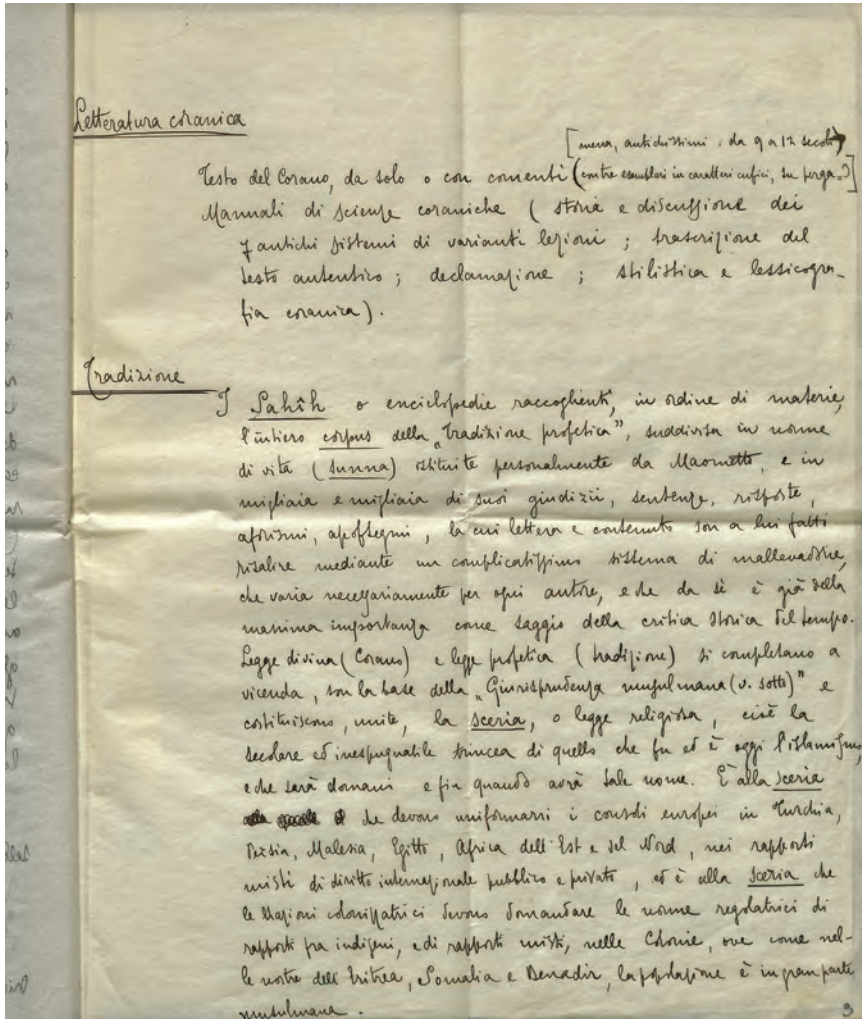


FIGURE 37 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
 (MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

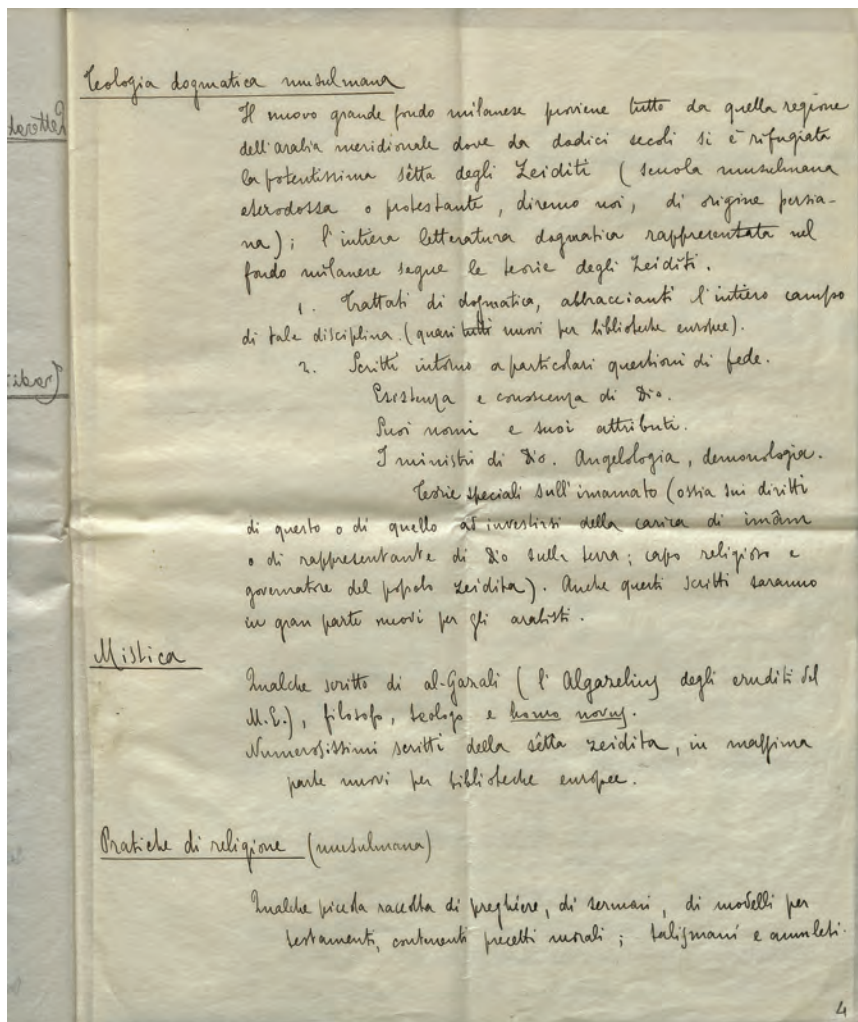


FIGURE 38 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
 (MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

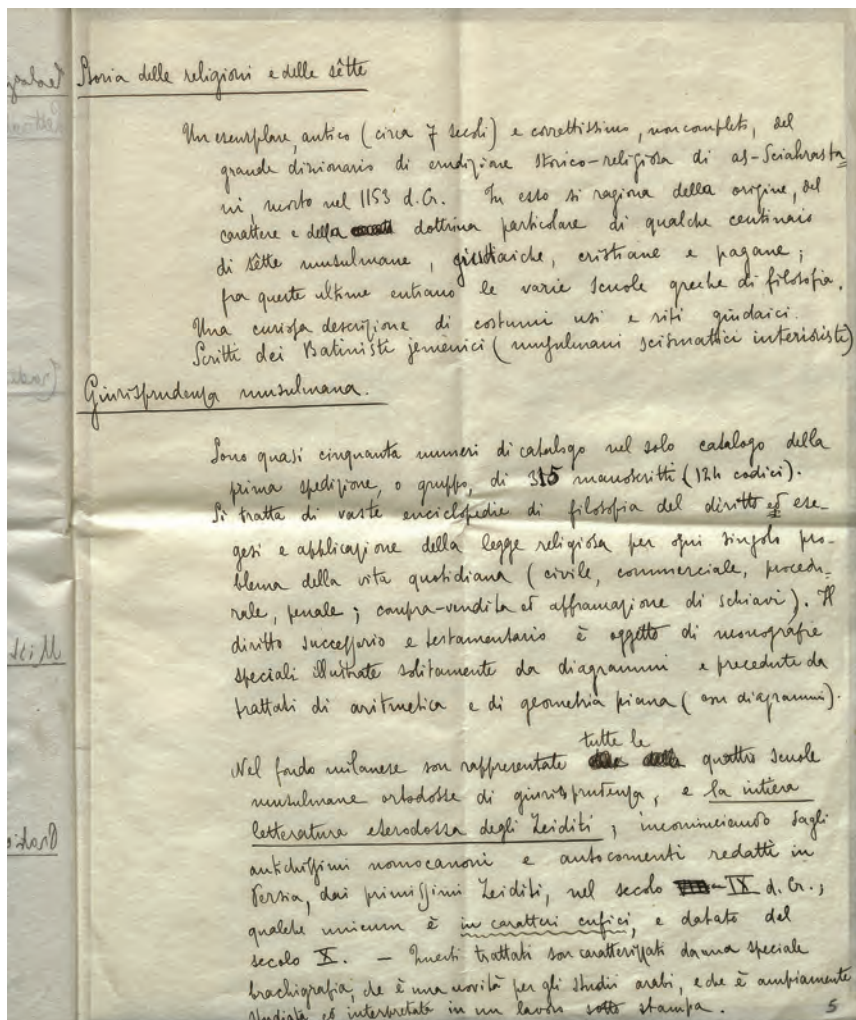


FIGURE 39 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

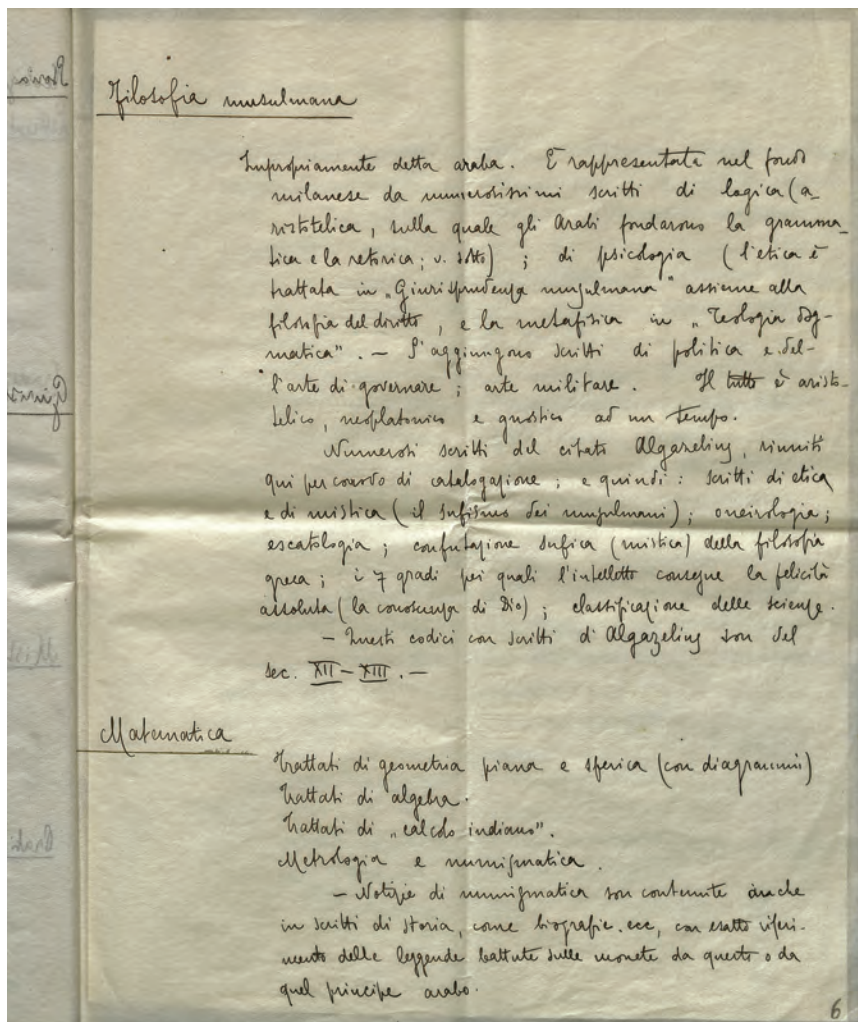


FIGURE 40 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

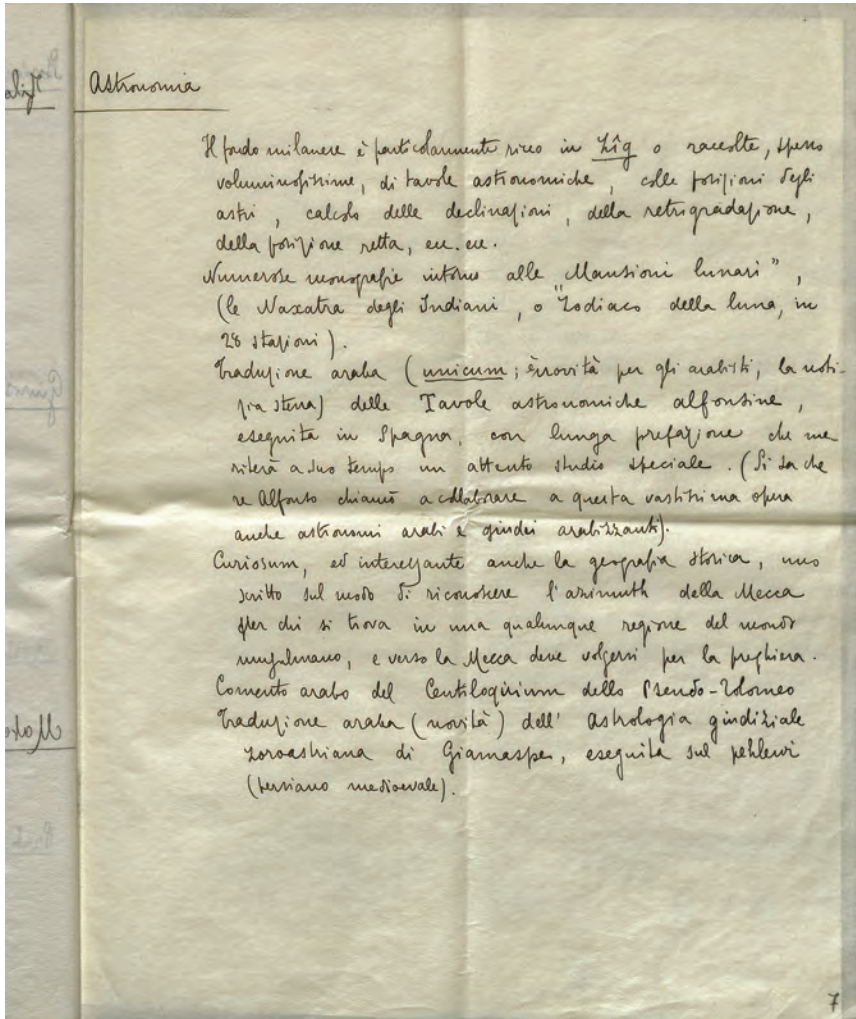


FIGURE 41 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

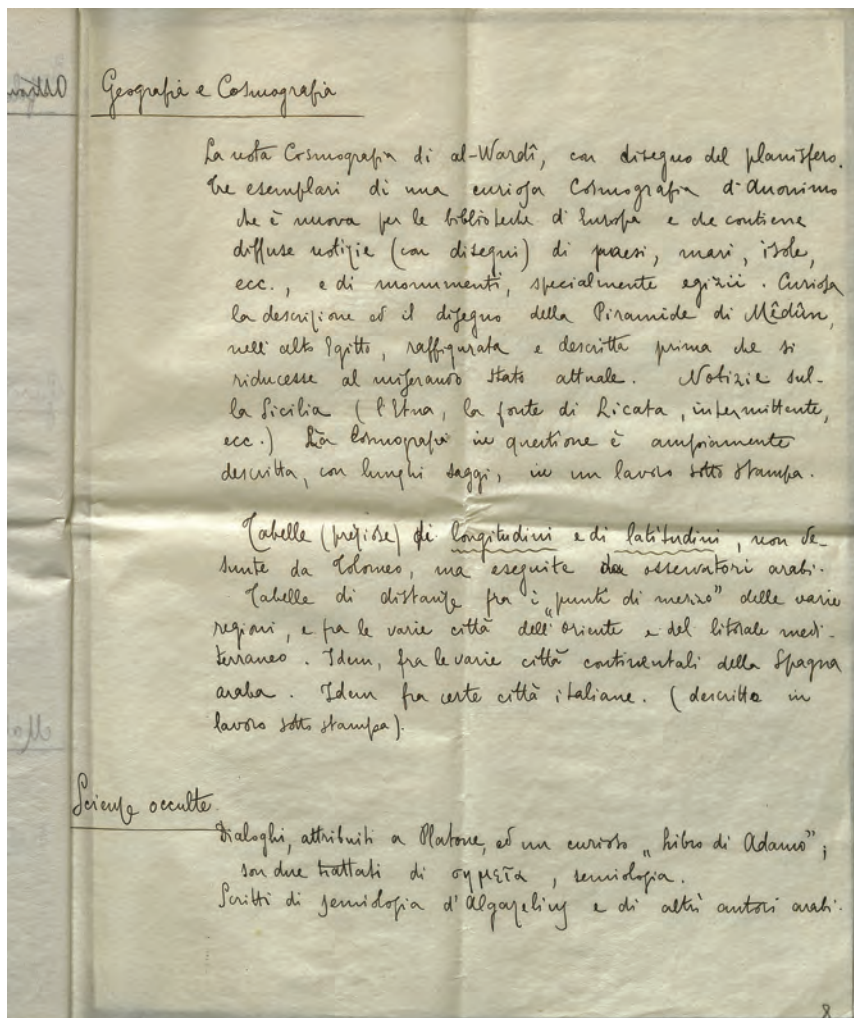


FIGURE 42 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

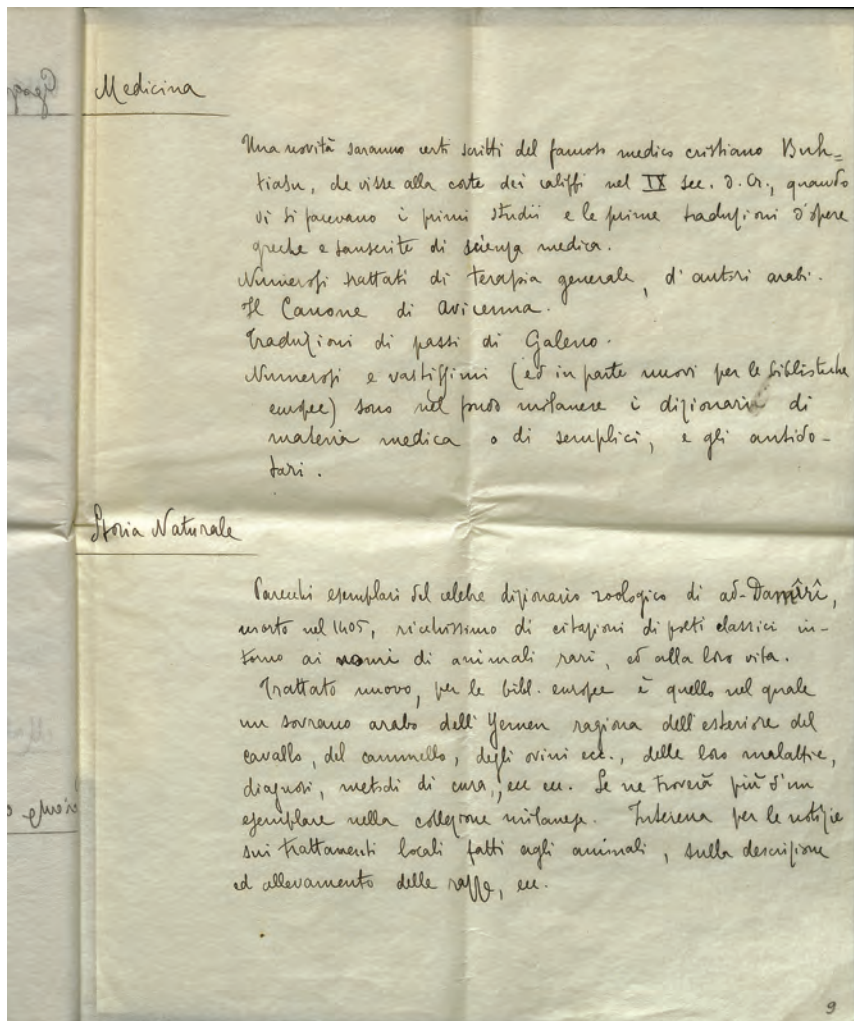


FIGURE 43 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

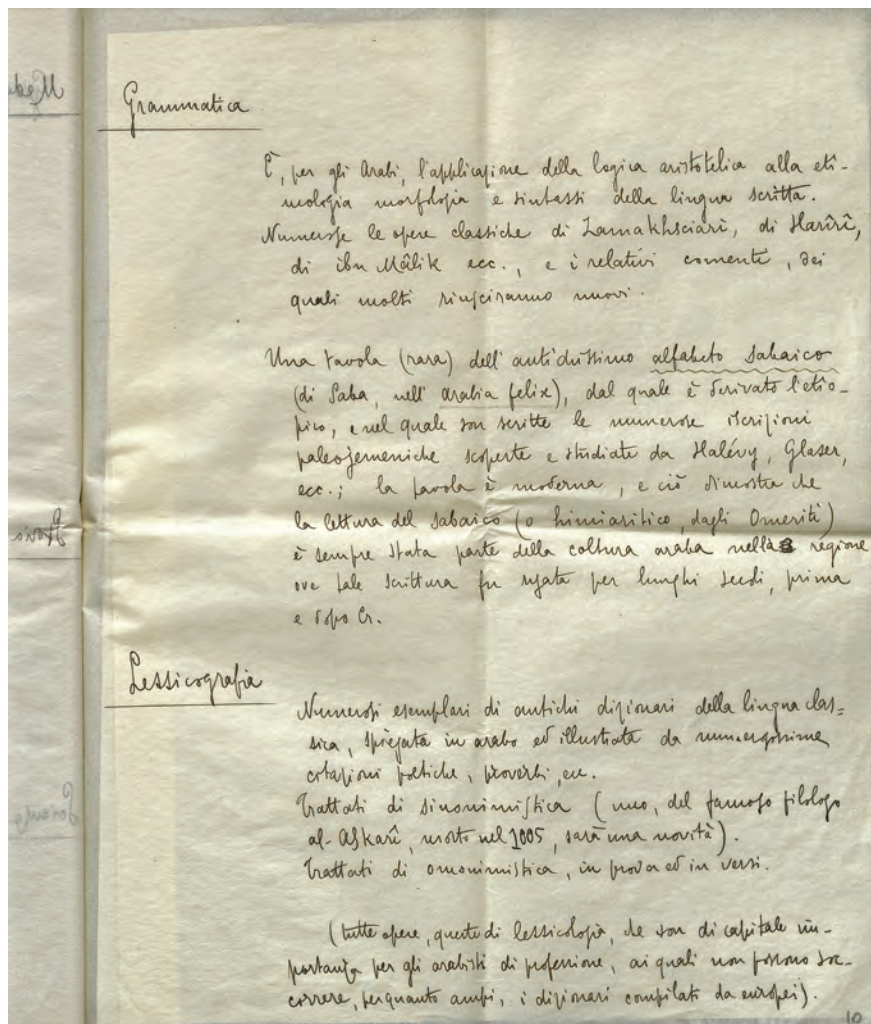


FIGURE 44 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

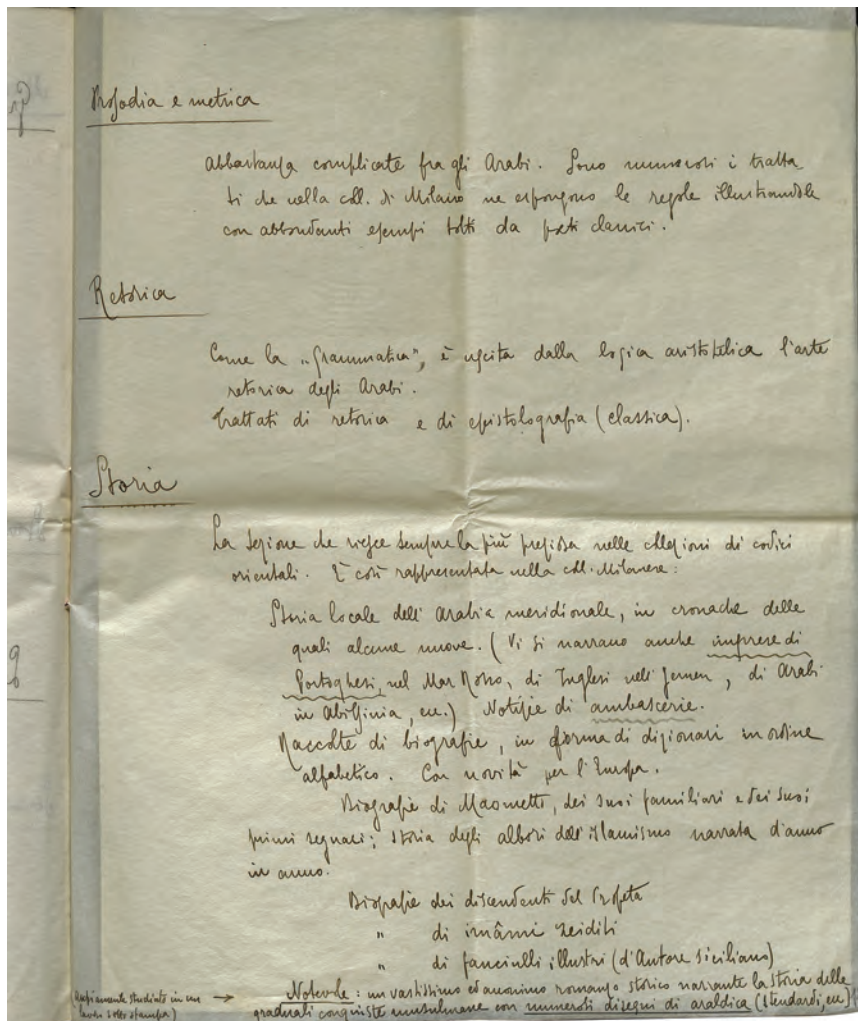


FIGURE 45 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

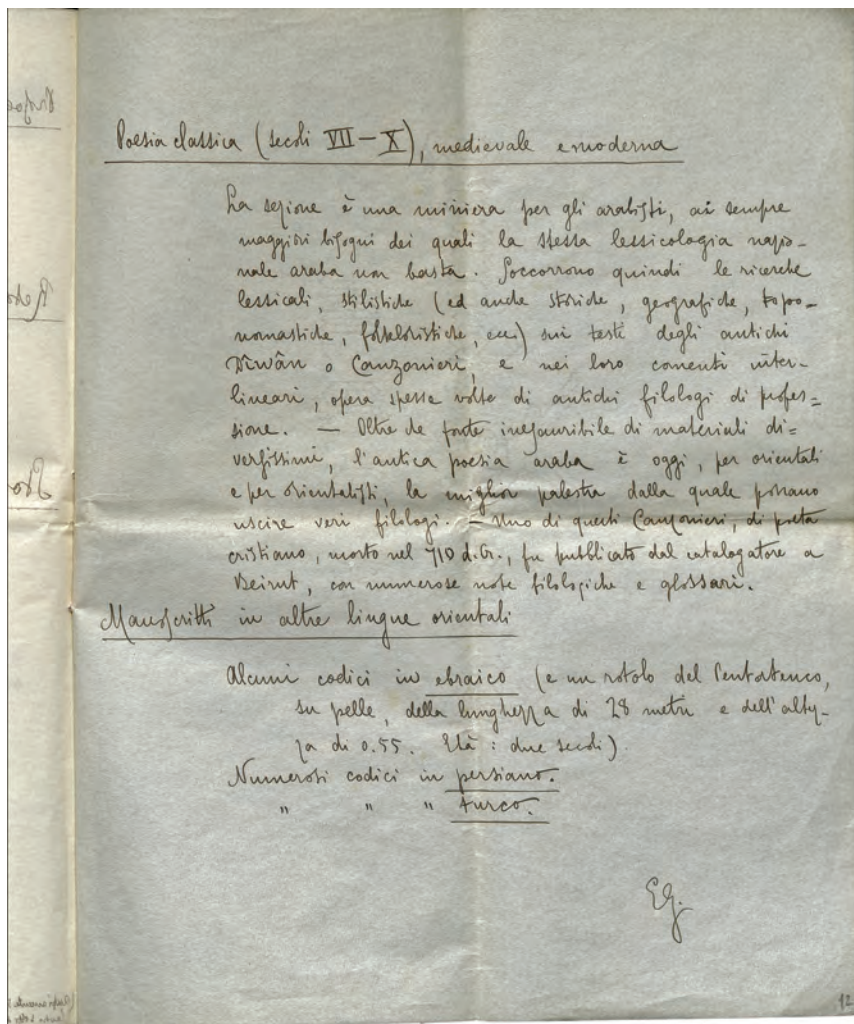


FIGURE 46 Griffini's survey of the Caprotti Collection
(MSS CODAZZI-GRIFFINI 54/1), CONT.

Note on the provenance and content of the 5,600 Arabic manuscripts (in 1,610 codices) of the new Milanese collection (Caprotti Collection)

The MSS were collected in Sanaa (southern Arabia) by the Italian Giuseppe Caprotti, who ran an important import and export agency there for almost a quarter of a century.

They were sent to Milan into the hands of Dr E. Griffini in six dispatches, between 1900 and 1907, so that he could examine them and possibly arrange for their sale to the highest bidder in Italy or abroad.

Dr. Griffini compiled an extensive descriptive catalogue of the first group, which arrived in Italy in 1900; this group and its catalogue (currently in press in Rome in the *Riv. d. St. Or.*)¹⁶⁹ comprise 315 writings in 124 codices.

As new [sub]collections arrived, Dr. Griffini prepared a provisional inventory of them (omitting the number of folios as well as many other details that are indispensable in a catalogue that is to be printed). This inventory is almost complete.¹⁷⁰

In the summer of 1909, Dr. Griffini, obliged to move to Milan, sent almost the entire collection (15 quintals, in 46 crates) to Magenta to the attention of Mrs. Carmela Caprotti, Mr. Giuseppe's sister.

The cataloguer, in recent years, has written about [some of] the Caprotti codices in a few papers published in Leipzig, Beirut, and Rome¹⁷¹ and [in others that] are currently in press in Rome and Palermo.¹⁷² These first works earned the Caprotti collection the scientific appellation of the "Milan Collection",¹⁷³ and some of the most eminent Arabists in Italy and abroad emphasized the singular importance of the "Milan Collection." We will mention the flattering reviews devoted already twice

169 Griffini, "Lista", *RSO* 3, no. 2 (1910), pp. 253–278; 3, no. 3 (1910), pp. 571–594; 3, no. 4 (1910), pp. 901–921.

170 MS Milan, Ambrosiana, N.F. H 177–184; see also above.

171 See above, nn. 155, 156, 157.

172 Referring to Griffini, "Nuovi testi" (see above, n. 158) and the next instalments of his "I manoscritti."

173 Griffini stressed the collection's connection to the city of Milan in his newspaper article "La grande raccolta di antichi manoscritti arabi donata alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana", *Corriere della sera*, 10 January 1910.

by Brockelmann in the ZDMG¹⁾ (1908, p. 161¹⁷⁴ and 1909, p. 215¹⁷⁵) to the large Milan collection, to its collector, and finally to Griffini's works and the two first already published instalments of his Catalogue. [We also mention] Reckendorf, who dealt at length with a collection of poetry published in facsimile in Beirut, taken from one of the Milanese codices;²⁾ Nallino, who referred in passing to the Milan MSS in his seminal work *Albatenii Opus astronomicum* (II, XX and 235),¹⁷⁶ taking advantage of Arabic texts on astronomy that he personally examined among the Caprotti codices in Griffini's house. Recently Nallino also made some kind remarks³⁾ about the latest publication of the Catalogue, and elsewhere he mentioned other materials that Griffini derived from the Milanese codices, or rather from particularly important multitext codices (a feature that characterizes almost all the MSS in the collection) that were in the possession of sovereigns and patrons of science and letters in Arabia, as is evident from the numerous autograph *ex libris* statements added to the codices themselves. For anyone familiar with the habits of Arabic bibliophiles, these *ex libris* are the best guarantee of the intrinsic value of entire family libraries that became part of the large Caprotti collection. The most remarkable [among them] are mentioned in the Catalogue.

1) Abbreviation in use for the Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, the most widespread and rigorous journal of the official Oriental science.

2) Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung, 1907, columns 479–480.

3) Rivista degli Studi Orientali, edited by the professors of the Oriental School of the Royal University of Rome. Year II (1909), p. 390, 401, 481.

174 Carl Brockelmann, "Das Semitische mit Ausschluß des Sabäo-Minäischen und der abessinischen Dialekte sowie der alttestamentlichen Studien" [part 1], *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 62 (1908), pp. 155–166, here p. 161: "Unser schon sehr reiches Material zur Kritik des Diwans von al-Aḥṭal vermehrt Griffini durch eine Reproduktion einer alten Handschrift, die mit zahlreichen anderen literarischen Seltenheiten durch die verständnisvolle Munifizenz eines italienischen Großkaufmannes, Herrn Caprotti zu Ṣan'ā', nach Mailand gekommen ist; einen vollständigen Überblick über die ganze Sammlung stellt uns Griffini in baldige Aussicht."

175 Carl Brockelmann, "Das Semitische mit Ausschluß des Sabäo-Minäischen und der abessinischen Dialekte sowie der alttestamentlichen Studien" [part 2], *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 63 (1909), pp. 212–219, here p. 215: "[V]on der Caprottischen Sammlung zu Mailand (s. Bd. 62, 161, 17) [sind] die Qor'an- und ein Teil der Ḥadīṭ-Handschriften durch Griffini [with n. 6: E. Griffini, I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano. Catalogo della prima collezione. I. (No. 1–34). Estr. dalla 'Rivista degli Studi Orientali', vol. II, 38 S.] verzeichnet."

176 Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum*, pp. xx, 235. See also above, n. 102.

Qur'anic Literature

Qur'anic text, plain or with comments (with three specimens in Kufic script, on parchment, very old, from the ninth to the twelfth century)

Qur'anic science textbooks (history of and debate on the oldest systems of variant readings; transcription of the authentic text; recitation; Qur'anic stylistics and lexicography)

Tradition

Ṣaḥīḥ or encyclopaedic collections, arranged by subject, the entire corpus of prophetic traditions, subdivided into rules of life (*sunna*) as instituted by Muḥammad and thousands and thousands of his judgements, sentences, responsa, aphorisms, and maxims, the letter and content of which are traced back to him by means of a very complicated system of trustworthy [transmitters]; such a system necessarily varies according to each author and is in itself already of the utmost importance as an example of the historical criticism of the time.

Divine law (Qur'an) and prophetic law (tradition) are complementary; they are at the core of "Muslim jurisprudence" (see below) and taken together they constitute the *shari'a*, or religious law, that is, the secular and invulnerable trench of what Islam was, is, and will be, as long as it bears that name. European consuls in Turkey, Persia, Malaysia, Egypt, and East and North Africa must conform to the *shari'a* in mixed relationships of public and private international law, and the colonizing nations must require the *shari'a* to provide regulations to govern relations among natives and mixed relations in colonies in which, as in ours in Eritrea, Somalia, and Benadir, the population is largely Muslim.

Muslim Dogmatic Theology

The new large Milanese collection originates in its entirety in southern Arabia, where the very powerful sect of the Zaydis (a heterodox Muslim school, or Protestants, we could say, of Persian origin) has taken refuge over twelve centuries. The entire dogmatic literature represented in the Milanese corpus reflects Zaydi dogmas.

1. Dogmatic treatises covering the entire spectrum of this discipline (nearly all constituting novelties to European libraries).
2. Writings about particular matters of faith. The existence and knowledge of God. His names and attributes. The ministries of God. Angelology, demonology. Special theories on the imamate (i.e., the rights of this or that person to invest himself in the office of imâm or representative of God on earth; religious leader and governor of the Zaydis). These works will also be largely new to Arabists.

Mysticism

Some writings by al-Ghazali (the Algazelius of the scholars of the M.E. [Middle Ages]), philosopher, theologian, and *homo novus*.

Extremely numerous writings of the Zaydi sect, most of them constituting novelties to European libraries.

Religious Practices (Muslim)

Some small collections of prayers, sermons, models of testaments, containing moral precepts; talismans and amulets.

History of Religions and Sects

An old (ca. seven centuries) and very good, but incomplete, copy of the great dictionary of historical-religious erudition by as-Sciahrastani, who died in 1153 AD. It discusses the origin, character, and distinctive doctrine of several hundred Muslim, Jewish, Christian and pagan sects, including several Greek schools of philosophy. A curious description of Jewish customs, habits, and rites. Writings of Yemeni Batinists (schismatic esoteric Muslims).

Muslim Jurisprudence

There are more than fifty entries just in the catalogue of the first series, or group, of 315 manuscripts (124 codices) alone.

These include extensive encyclopaedias of philosophy of law and exegesis [i.e., legal theory] and the application of religious law to every question of daily life (civil, commercial, procedural, criminal; purchase and sale and enfranchisement of slaves). The law of inheritance and bequests is the topic of special monographs that are typically illustrated with diagrams and are preceded by arithmetical treatises and discussions of plane geometry (with diagrams).

In the Milan collection all four orthodox Muslim schools of law are represented, as well as the *entire heterodox literature of the Zaydis*, starting with the very ancient canons and autocommentaries produced in Persia by the earliest Zaydis in the ninth century AD; a few unica are in *Kufic script* and date to the tenth century.—These treatises are distinguished by a special type of shorthand, which is a novelty in Arabic studies and which is extensively examined and interpreted in a work currently in press.¹⁷⁷

177 Griffini, "La più antica codificazione."

Muslim Philosophy

Improperly referred to as Arabic. It is represented in the Milanese collection by a large number of writings on logic (Aristotelian, on which the Arabs founded grammar and rhetoric; see below) and on psychology (ethics is treated under Muslim jurisprudence together with philosophy of law, as well as metaphysics under “Dogmatic Theology”).—In addition, there are writings on politics and the art of governance, and on the military arts. The entire [group of manuscripts] is at the same time Aristotelian, Neoplatonic, and gnostic.

Numerous writings by the aforementioned Algazelius, included here to facilitate cataloguing, namely: writings on ethics and mysticism (the Sufism of the Muslims); oneirology; eschatology; Sufi (mystical) refutations of Greek philosophy; the seven degrees through which the intellect achieves absolute happiness (knowledge of God); classification of the sciences.

Those codices containing works by Algazelius date to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries.

Mathematics

Tracts on plane and spherical geometry (with diagrams); tracts on algebra; tracts on “Indian calculus.” Meteorology and numismatics.—Notices on numismatics are also included in historical writings, such as biographies, etc., with precise references to the legends engraved on the coins by this or that Arab prince.

Astronomy

The Milanese collection is unusually rich in *Zīj* or assemblages, often very voluminous, of astronomical tables, with the positions of the stars, calculations of declinations, retrogradation, right angles, etc. A great number of monographs revolve around the “lunar mansions” (the Naxatra [Nakshatra] of the Indians, or the Zodiac of the moon, in twenty-eight stations). An Arabic translation (*unicum*; it’s a novelty for Arabists, the news itself) of the Alfonsine astronomical tables, executed in Spain, with a long preface that will deserve special study in due course. (It is known that King Alphonsus also called upon Arab astronomers and Arabizing Jews to collaborate on this vast work.) Curious as well as interesting for historical geography is a tract on how to recognize the azimuth of Mecca for those who are in any region of the Muslim world and need to turn towards Mecca for prayer. An Arabic commentary of Pseudo-Ptolemy’s

Centiloquium, and an Arabic translation (novelty) of Jamasp's Zoroastrian judicial astrology, executed in Pahlevi (medieval Persian).

Geography and Cosmography

The well-known cosmography of al-Wardî, with a drawing of the planisphere. Three copies of a curious cosmography by an anonymous author, a novelty for the libraries of Europe, which contains detailed information (with drawings) of countries, oceans, islands, etc., as well as monuments, especially Egyptian. It contains an intriguing description and drawing of the Pyramid of Mêdûn in Upper Egypt, depicted and described before it degraded to its present deplorable state. News about Sicily (Etna, Licata spring, intermittent, etc.); the cosmography in question is extensively described, with long essays, in a work in press.¹⁷⁸

(Valuable) *longitudes* and *latitudes* tables, not derived from Ptolemy but executed in Arab observatories. Distance tables between the "mid-points" of the different regions and between the cities of the East and the Mediterranean coast. Similar tables for a few continental cities in Arab Spain. Similar tables for specific Italian cities (described in a work in press).¹⁷⁹

Occult Sciences

Dialogues attributed to Plato, and an unusual "Book of Adam"; two treatises on *συμεία*, semiology. Writings on semiology by Algazelius and other Arabic authors.

Medicine

A novelty will be some writings of the famous Christian physician Buhtiasu, who lived at the court of the caliphs in the ninth century AD, when the first studies and translations of Greek and Sanskrit works of medical science were produced. Numerous treatises on general therapeutics by Arabic authors. The Canon of Avicenna. Translations of Galen's passages. Dictionaries on medical matters or common remedies and antidotaries are abundantly represented in the Milanese collection (some of them new to European libraries).

178 Another reference to Griffini, "Nuovi testi"; the cosmography referred to is *al-Durr al-mandûd fî 'ajâ'ib al-wujûd*. See above, n. 158.

179 Griffini, "Nuovi testi", pp. 430–431; see above, n. 158.

Natural History

Numerous copies of the renowned zoological dictionary of ad-Damîrî, who died in 1405, which is very rich in quotations from classical poets concerning the names of rare animals and their lives. New to European libraries is a treatise in which a Yemeni Arab ruler discusses the external appearance of horses, camels, sheep, etc., their diseases, diagnoses, methods of treatment, etc. More than one copy can be found in the Milanese collection. It is of interest for the information it contains about local treatments applied to animals, and the description and breeding of the races, etc.

Grammar

According to the Arabs, [grammar] involves applying Aristotelian logic to the etymology, morphology, and syntax of the written language. There are many classical works by Zamakhsharî, Harîrî, Ibn Mâlik, etc., with commentaries, many of which are new. A (rare) table containing the very ancient *Sabaic alphabet* (of Saba, in Arabia Felix), from which the Ethiopic alphabet is derived and in which are written the numerous Palaeo-Yemeni inscriptions discovered and studied by Halévy, Glaser, etc.: the table is modern, which shows that the reading of Sabaic (or Himyaritic, from the Homerites) has always been part of Arabic culture in the region in which such a script was used for many centuries, before and after Christ.

Lexicography

Numerous copies of ancient dictionaries of the classical language, explained in Arabic and illustrated with poems, proverbs, etc. Treatises on synonymy (one, by the famous philologist al-Askarî, who died in 1005, constitutes a novelty). Treatises on homonymy, in prose and in verse. (All these lexicographical works are of utmost importance to professional Arabists, to whom dictionaries compiled by European scholars, however comprehensive, are of no help.)

Prosody and Metrics

[They are] rather complicated among the Arabs. There are countless treatises in the Milan collection that explain and illustrate their rules with numerous examples taken from classical poets.

Rhetorics

As with grammar, the Arabs' art of rhetorics originated with Aristotelian logic. Treatises on rhetorics and (classical) epistolography.

History

The most valuable section in the collection of Oriental codices. It is represented in the Milan collection as follows: the local history of southern Arabia, in chronicles, some of which constitute novelties. (There are also accounts of the *enterprises of the Portuguese* in the Red Sea, of the British in Yemen, of the Arabs in Abyssinia, etc.) News of *ambassadorships*. Collections of biographies, in the form of alphabetical dictionaries. Among them novelties for Europe. Biographies of Muḥammad, his family members and early companions; the history of the beginnings of Islam narrated year by year. Biographies of the Prophet's descendants; biographies of Zaydi imāms; biographies of illustrious children (by a Sicilian author). Noteworthy: a very extensive and anonymous historical novel telling the history of the progressive Muslim conquests with many drawings of heraldry (banners, etc.). It has been thoroughly explored in a work in press.¹⁸⁰

Classical (Seventh–Tenth Centuries), Medieval, and Modern Poetry

This section is a mine for Arabists, to whom the national Arabic lexicology itself is insufficient for their ever-increasing needs. The lexical and stylistic (as well as historical, geographical, toponomastic, folkloristic, etc.) research on the texts of the ancient Dīwāns, or songbooks, and on their interlinear commentaries, often by professional ancient philologists, is therefore of great help.—As well as providing an inexhaustible source of very wide-ranging material, ancient Arabic poetry is today, for Orientals and Orientalists alike, the best training ground from which true philologists can emerge.—One of these songbooks by a Christian poet, who died in 710 AD, was published by the cataloguer [Griffini] in Beirut, with a wealth of philological notes and glossaries.¹⁸¹

180 Griffini, "Nuovi testi", pp. 403–415. The codex in question is MS Ambrosiana N.F. H 129; see Griffini, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung", p. 77; Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, pp. 284–286, no. 1751.

181 See above, n. 156.

Manuscripts in Other Oriental Languages

A few *Hebrew* codices (and a scroll of the Pentateuch, on leather, 28 metres long and 0.55 metres high. Age: two centuries). Many *Persian* codices. A number of codices in *Turkish*.

EG.

Appendix

Oscar Löfgren, "Die geplante Edition der beiden Bücher von Hamdānī *Iklīl*"

[Lecture presented on the occasion of the Twentieth International Congress of Orientalists, Bruselles, 5–10 September 1938. The text of the lecture is preserved in Uppsala University Library, Oscar Löfgrens arkiv, box NC 652 F]

Im Jahre 334 der Hīġra, bzw. 945 unserer Zeitrechnung, ist der grösste Gelehrte Südarabiens al-Ḥasan bin Aḥmed bin Ya'qūb al-Hamdānī in Ṣan'ā' gestorben, und zwar als Gefangener. Zum Glück ist es ihm vergönnt worden, sein Hauptwerk, die zehnbändige Enzyklopädie *al-Iklīl*, "die Krone", kurz vorher zu vollenden. Im *Iklīl* hat Hamdānī sein reiches Wissen über Genealogie, Geschichte und Archäologie seines Vaterlandes zusammengetragen und damit seine ungewöhnlich vielseitige Produktion in würdiger Weise abgeschlossen und seinem Lebenswerke die Krone aufgesetzt.

Seit etwa 65 Jahren waren vom *Iklīl* nur zwei Teile, das achte und zehnte, bekannt; von den übrigen war—abgesehen von einigen Zitaten—trotz wiederholter Nachforschungen keine Spur zu finden. Sie schienen für immer verlorengegangen zu sein, und ein Forscher hat sogar die, allerdings inbetracht der eben erwähnten Zitate ganz unwahrscheinliche, Hypothese aufgestellt, dass sie nie zur Ausführung gekommen sind.

Das Bekanntwerden der beiden ersten Bücher des *Iklīl* in einer Handschrift der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek kann daher als eine wirkliche Überraschung erfreulichster Art bezeichnet werden. In meiner kleinen Schrift "Ein Hamdānī-Fund" [see above, n. 9] habe ich vor drei Jahren über die im Jahr 1932 gemachte Entdeckung kurz berichtet und einige Textproben mitgeteilt. Diese beschränken sich, da nur ein kleiner Teil des Textes mir zugänglich war, hauptsächlich auf den Prolog des Werkes. Jetzt, wo mir Photographien des gesamten Textes zur Verfügung stehen, will ich versuchen, meine frühere Darstellung in einigen Punkten zu vervollständigen, besonders hinsichtlich Inhalts und Quellen der beiden Bücher des *Iklīl* und der Aussicht für ihre Veröffentlichung.

Zunächst betone ich, dass die Bezeichnung "Unikum" für die Berliner Handschrift noch immer zutreffend sein dürfte, und zwar nicht nur für die hier nicht näher zu

behandelnde *ḵaṣīda ad-dāmiḡa*, das gegen al-Kumaitis *jemenische Kaside* gerichtete, 590 Verse umfassende polemische Gedicht des Hamdani, sondern auch für die beiden Bücher des *Iklil*. Für die im Supplementband von Brockelmanns arabischer Literaturgeschichte stehende Angabe über eine Abschrift des zweiten Buches in Kairo finde ich im zitierten Katalog keine Stütze. Das ebenda erwähnte Exemplar von Buch IX der Barudi-Bibliothek in Beirut dürfte in Wirklichkeit eine junge Hs. des 8. Buches sein. Ausser den beiden längst bekannten Teilen ist also bis jetzt nur das erste Fünftel des *Iklil* bekannt, und zwar ausschliesslich durch die Berliner Handschrift.

Der Umfang der beiden ersten Bücher beträgt 357 Seiten, was etwa anderthalbmal mehr ist als Buch VIII und X zusammengekommen. Das ganze Werk dürfte also 1500 bis 2000 ordinäre Manuskriptseiten umfasst haben, was ebensovielen Druckseiten in Oktav annähernd entsprechen wird.

Dem Vorwort des Hamdānī zum *Iklil* geht in der Handschrift eine Einleitung von Muḥammed bin Naṣwān voraus. Diesen wichtigen Umstand wusste ich in meiner Schrift nicht recht zu erklären. Das Richtige hat Professor Levi Della Vida in einer Rezension ausgesprochen: es liegt uns der *Iklil*-Text in der Redaktion des im VI. Jahrhundert lebenden Ibn Naṣwān vor. Diese Annahme wird dadurch zur vollen Gewissheit, dass sich im Text teils einige Verse vom Vater des Redaktors, dem berühmten Lexikographen Naṣwān bin Saʿīd al-Ḥimyārī, vorkommen, teils auch vereinzelte spätere Zusätze, darunter ein paar Randglossen von der Hand des Naṣwān. Zum Glück ist die Rezension von Ibn Naṣwān [nur] sehr leicht kürzend: laut der Vorrede hat er nur genealogisch oder chronologisch Unwesentliches oder Zweifelhaftes ausgelassen. Wir können also feststellen, was schon früher als wahrscheinlich galt: dass dem Naṣwān für die jemenischen Altertümer der vollständige Text des *Iklil* zur Verfügung stand, dass somit die im *Šams al-ʿulūm* gebotene Überlieferung auf derjenigen von Hamdānī fusst.

Von den beiden früher bekannten Büchern des *Iklil* behandelt das achte bekanntlich die südarabischen Burgen und Begräbnisplätze, während das zehnte Buch die Genealogie des Stammes Hamdān, und zwar seiner beiden Unterabteilungen Ḥāšid und Bakīl, zum Gegenstand hat. Für die übrigen Teile waren wir bisher auf ein summarisches Inhaltsverzeichnis angewiesen. Diesem gemäss sollte das erste Buch "die Urgeschichte und die Grundlagen der Genealogie", das zweite Buch die Genealogie der Nachkommenschaft von al-Hamaisaʿ bin Ḥimyar behandeln. Diese Angaben haben sich als richtig erwiesen: beide Bücher sind vorwiegend genealogischen Inhalts. An die Spitze ist die Urgeschichte von Adam bis auf Noah und seine Söhne gestellt, und zwar zum grossen Teil nach dem verlorengegangenen Werke des Ibn Ishāq. Eine parallele Überlieferung der Leute von Ṣaʿda bzw. der *ahl as-siġill*—darüber mehr unten—wird mitgeteilt. Es folgen längere Ausführungen über Hūd und den Unterschied von Ḳaḥṭān und ʿAdnān. Der Rest des Buches—beinahe hundert Seiten—ist den Nachkommen des Mālik bin Ḥimyar gewidmet. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird den Banū Ḳuḍaʿa bin Mālik und vor allem dem Stamme Ḥaulān bin ʿAmr geschenkt. Die Banū Ḥaulān

allein, über deren Abstammung bisher wenig bekannt war, nehmen über 50 Seiten in Anspruch.

Das zweite Buch behandelt in ausführlicher Darstellung die Nachkommenschaft des Hamaisa' bin Ḥimyar, deren zahlreiche Verzweigungen hier aufzuzählen nicht in Frage kommt. Hamdānīs ausführliche Behandlung ist hier um so willkommener, als die bisher allein zugänglichen nordarabischen Genealogen über die Hamaisa'-Stämme sehr wenig wissen, während sie über die Mālik-Stämme gut unterrichtet sind.

Hamdānīs genealogische Hauptautorität ist der himjarische Gelehrte Abu Naṣr Muḥammed bin 'Abdallāh, mit den Beinamen al-Yaharī nach der alten himjarischen Adelssippe Du Yahar, und al-Ḥanbaṣī nach seinem Wohnsitz, der Burg Ḥanbaṣ, unweit von Ṣan'a'. Abu Naṣr war zur Zeit der Abfassung des *Iklīl*—d.h. um das Jahr 330—gegen 90 Jahre alt, muss also um 245 geboren sein. Auf seine Autorität beruft sich Hamdānī durchgehend, bisweilen mit dem Zusatz *fī l-uṣūl* oder *fī l-far'* bzw. *fī l-furū'*, was offenbar auf eine kürzere und eine ausführlichere Darstellung geht.

Eine zweite wichtige Quelle ist das *siğill* oder Urkundenbuch des Stammes Ḥaulān in Ṣa'da. Dieses oft zitierte Werk soll aus der Ġāhiliyya stammen und befand sich zur Zeit Hamdānīs im Besitz des Dichters Muḥammed bin Abān al-Ḥanfarī in Ṣa'da.

Ausserdem werden ab und zu einzelne Gewährsmänner angeführt; es sind laut dem Vorwort Gelehrte aus Ṣan'a', Ṣa'da, Nağrān, al-Ġauf und Ḥaiwān. Bisweilen kommen regelrechte Hadīṭ-Ketten vor.

Wenn wir das 10. Buch hinzunehmen, besitzen wir also nunmehr das vollständige genealogische System des Hamdānī, ein südarabisches Gegenstück und Komplement zur grossen *Ġamhara* des Ibn al-Kalbī, deren Veröffentlichung wir eifrig erwarten. Wenn einmal diese beiden Werke ediert sind, dann wird die Zeit für eine durchgreifende Revision der Tabellen von Wüstenfeld gekommen sein.

Ein weniger spezielles Interesse bieten die Gedichte. Solche werden in beiden Büchern in sehr grossem Umfang angeführt, und zwar nicht nur einzelne *Šawāhid*-Verse, sondern auch längere Gedichte. Ich schätze den totalen Umfang auf rund 2.400 Verse von zirka 150 verschiedenen Dichtern. Einige der klassischen Dichter, wie Imru l-Kais, Nābiġa, Ṭarafa, Labīd, Farazdak u.a., sind nur durch vereinzelte *Šawāhid* vertreten, von anderen, z.B. al-Ḳuṭāmī, Umayya bin Abi ṣ-Ṣalt und Ḥassān bin Ṭābit, kommen zusammenhängende Poesien vor. Die überwiegende Anzahl der Dichter sind aber, als Südaraber, früher gar nicht oder höchstens aus den beiden übrigen Büchern des *Iklīl* oder der Arabienbeschreibung Hamdānīs bekannt. Besonders reichlich vertreten sind: 'Abd al-Ḥalik bin Abī ṭ-ṭalh von den Banu Šihāb mit beinahe 400 Versen (hauptsächlich Polemik gegen die Abnā'), weiter Muḥammed bin Abān al-Ḥanfarī, der schon erwähnte Besitzer des *siğill Ḥaulān*, mit fast 200 Versen, und zwei Dichter der Banu Sa'd bin Ḥaulān: 'Abdallāh und Aḥmad bin 'Abbād mit rund 150 Versen. Hamdānī selbst tritt uns nicht nur als gründlicher Kenner der arabischen Poesie, sondern auch als Dichter vor die Augen: ausser der grossen selbständigen Kaside enthält

die Handschrift im *Iklil*-Text etwa 200 Verse von ihm. So liefert das *Iklil* einen wichtigen Beitrag zu der sonst nur wenig bekannten älteren Literaturgeschichte Südarabiens, besonders zur Kenntnis der *Mafāhir*-Dichtung.

Unsere mangelhaften Kenntnisse von den Lebensumständen des Verfassers werden in einigen Punkten ergänzt. So erfahren wir etwas über seine Gefangenschaft in Ṣa'da und die damit zusammenhängenden Fehden, welche offenbar seine Freilassung herbeigeführt haben. Durch Ibn Našwān hören wir von seinem Sohne Muḥammed, dass er die *Kaṣīda ad-dāmiḡa* des Vaters kommentiert hat. Überhaupt sind die eingestreuten biographischen, geschichtlichen oder geographischen Angaben, obgleich meist kurzgefasst, fast immer belangreich.

Stellt man nun die Frage: welche Bedeutung hat das neu hinzugekommene Material für die Sabäistik? so ist es schwer, eine präzise Antwort zu geben. Es wird ratsam sein, die Erwartungen nicht sehr hoch zu spannen. Dass den Genealogien für *alte* Geschichte und Chronologie keine eigentliche Bedeutung zukommt, ist wohl zweifellos. Mehr Interesse beanspruchen in dieser Hinsicht einzelne Ausführungen über südarabische Altertümer, z.B. über die acht Kurfürsten (*al-maṭāmina*) und über die 80 *aḡwāl* von Hamdān und Kahlān. Einige zehn Inschriftentexte werden mitgeteilt, die Mehrzahl davon sehr kurz und abgesehen von ein paar in reinem Nordarabisch abgefassten Fälschungen—von entschieden pseudohimjarischem Charakter, also beispielsweise mit präfigiertem n für den bestimmten Artikel. Einige der Texte sind schon aus den beiden anderen Büchern oder aus dem Kommentar zur himjarischen Kasīde bekannt; sie weisen hier etwas bessere Überlieferung, dazu stellenweise sogar Vokalisation auf. Ein restloses Verständnis dieser kuriösen Hybridtexte ist trotzdem nicht möglich; für das Verständnis der echten Inschriften ist aus ihnen nicht viel zu holen.

Die hauptsächliche Bedeutung der neuen Texte liegt meines Erachtens auf rein formalem Gebiet: sie betrifft die Aussprache der südarabischen Eigennamen, vor allem der Personennamen. Über Orthographie und Orthoepie derselben, wie sie im dritten Jahrhundert der Hīḡra von den südarabischen Archäologen überliefert wurden, erhalten wir hier zuverlässige Nachricht, teils durch ausdrückliche Angaben des Hamdānī, teils auch durch die allerdings ziemlich spärliche Vokalisation. Besonders wertvoll in dieser Hinsicht ist auch der am Ende des zweiten Buches stehende Anhang über himjarische Homonymen, welcher als ein südarabisches *Muṣṭabih* charakterisiert werden kann. Er umfasst 25 Seiten und schliesst mit der Aufzählung von etwa 200 *Aḡwā'*. Es lässt sich kaum denken, dass die im *Iklil* kodifizierte Überlieferung, auf welcher diejenige des Našwān im *Šams al-'ulūm* zweifelsohne im wesentlichen beruht, eine ganz künstliche wäre. Die bisherigen Hilfsmittel zur Feststellung der altsüdarabischen Aussprache sind übrigens so gering, dass jeder Zuschuss—ist er auch noch so klein—zu begrüßen ist.

„Dass die Herausgabe der hier besprochenen Texte mit grossen Schwierigkeiten verbunden sein wird, ist zweifellos, doch dürfte es, soweit aus den mir zugänglichen

Abschnitten ersichtlich ist, mit den jetzigen Hilfsmitteln nicht unmöglich sein, auf Grund der einzigen Handschrift einen in der Hauptsache zuverlässigen Text herzustellen.“ So habe ich im Jahre 1935 meine Ansicht von der Möglichkeit einer Herausgabe vorläufig formuliert. Das Studium des vollständigen Textes hat diese Ansicht bestätigt. Trotz vereinzelter Verderbnisse und der manchmal allzu spärlichen Punktierung kann die Berliner Handschrift als ein Textzeuge ersten Ranges bezeichnet werden. Der Kodex, der im Jahre 1005 den Besitz des Imāms von Ṣan‘ā’ al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim bin Muḥammed bin ‘Alī über gegangen ist, ist nicht nur etwa doppelt so alt wie die sonst ältesten in Europa befindlichen *Ikḻil*-Hss., er ist auch—was besonders wichtig ist—von einem Sachkundigen, dem auf dem Titelblatt und im Kolophon erwähnten, im 9. Jahrhundert lebenden Muḥammed bin Aḥmed bin Muḥammed bin ‘Alī, geschrieben und genau korrigiert worden. Die grösste Schwierigkeit werden die Gedichte bereiten, um so mehr als man für die Mehrzahl kaum mit einer parallelen Überlieferung rechnen kann.

Es besteht also die Aussicht, dass die behandelten Texte in absehbarer Zeit der gelehrten Welt zugänglich sein werden, vielleicht schon bis zum Jahre 1945, wo seit dem Tode des Hamdānī eintausend Jahre vergangen sind. Zur Verwirklichung dieses Plans wird man auf das Interesse und die Unterstützung der Fachgenossen rechnen dürfen.

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