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Eugenio Griffini and Zaydi Studies in the Light of His Correspondence with Ignaz Goldziher, 1908 through 1920

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Abstract

Eugenio Griffini (1878-1925), the Italian Arabist, was the person who first realized the relevance and cultural significance of the Zaydi manuscript sources, who conveyed the largest Western collection of Zaydi manuscripts (the Caprotti collection) to the Ambrosiana Library in Milan in 1908, and who first immersed himself in this unique and virgin collection of manuscripts of Yemeni origin. Through his exploration of a treasure of nearly 2,000 manuscripts, he became experienced and acknowledged in the practice of reporting extended notes excerpted from the manuscript texts he examined. This outstanding experience over the course of twenty years of study and first-hand research at the Ambrosiana allowed him to unveil the existence and identify hundreds of unknown texts, opening up unexplored fields of interest and investigations into Zaydi literary production. With an extremely collaborative spirit, he lavished on many Orientalist scholars the insights that he had gleaned from the manuscripts he had come across, providing them with partial transcriptions and readings, sometimes upon request and other times even going beyond the requests. This article focusses on Griffini's life and scholarly activity, particularly his involvement with Zaydi works, in the light of his correspondence with Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), of which an annotated edition is provided. The correspondence spans the period from 1908 to 1920 and reveals Griffini's attitude towards his main projects: the cataloguing of the first three series of the Caprotti collection and his *magnum opus*, the edition of the *Majmū' al-fiqh* attributed to Zayd b. 'Alī, on the basis of the Ambrosiana's exemplars.

Keywords

Eugenio Griffini – Ignaz Goldziher – scholarly correspondence – Zaydi studies – Zaydism – Ismaili studies – Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Giuseppe Caprotti collection – Zaydi manuscripts – Yemeni manuscript collections – Gibb Memorial Trust – Henry Frederick Amedroz – Rudolf Strothmann

Introduction

Eugenio Griffini was born on 26 December 1878 in Milan into a Catholic family. He was the only son of Rocco, chief inspector of the municipality of Milan, and Maria Giacomina Reina, a cousin of Luca Beltrami (1854-1933), the architect and senator of the Kingdom of Italy.¹

Griffini's passion for Oriental languages was aroused when he was still a student at the royal high school, *Gymnasium Alessandro Manzoni* in Milan, where he was taught by the geographer Lodovico Corio. He noted in his diary that he purchased a manual of vernacular Arabic on 26 December 1893, his fifteenth birthday, having already started studying Hebrew and Sanskrit by himself two years earlier.²

The year 1897 saw a decisive event in the nineteen-year-old Griffini's life: he met a fellow countryman, the tradesman Giuseppe Caprotti from Magenta (Lombardy), and their destinies were joined thanks to a common acquaintance, the abovementioned Corio, who had been Giuseppe Caprotti's teacher and, fifteen years later, taught Griffini history and geography.³ Passionate about Arabic civilization and steeped in its history and literature, Griffini travelled to Magenta, where Corio brought him to Caprotti's house and tested his knowledge of Arabic; Caprotti showed Griffini his collection of artefacts imported from Sanaa. Later, Griffini conveyed his impressions of this first visit to his

1 Beltrami, who played a crucial role in Griffini's fortunes and the fate of the Caprotti manuscript collection, produced a unique profile of Griffini's life and activities, "Eugenio Griffini Bey", for which he gathered firsthand accounts from his cousin's diary and correspondence. Beltrami's profile of Griffini was reviewed by Rudolf Strothmann in 1927. A recent overview of Griffini's life is given by Soravia in "Griffini, Eugenio".

2 Beltrami, "Eugenio Griffini Bey", p. ix. During summer vacations in Lombardy, Griffini also had the opportunity to meet an Italian family established in Cairo that provided him with some rudiments of the Cairene dialect: Nallino, "Eugenio Griffini", p. 124.

3 Giuseppe Caprotti, with his brother Luigi, had set up a trading house in Sanaa, Yemen, through which he imported to Italy not only coffee but also carpets and Oriental objects, as well as a large quantity of books and manuscripts. See Sagaria Rossi, "Opening Yemen up to Italy".

maternal cousin, describing enthusiastically the age, writing, supports, and bindings of these books:

Volumi sottoscritti, datati [...], firmati! Molti di quei codici, su grossa carta giallo-scura di cotone, mi dicevan subito della loro età: cinque, sei, sette, secoli. Di altri, me la diceva la forte pergamena, la grossa scrittura cufica, la solida rilegatura con tavolette di legno—all'abissina—: dieci secoli, un millennio! Fuori, quasi sempre forti rilegature in cuoio, con risvolto [...].⁴

He was equally fascinated by the books' contents:

E dentro? Di tutto, di tutto. Un materiale informativo di primissimo ordine: raccolte sistematiche di tradizioni maomettane, [...] opere originali arabe classiche e medioevali, note e nuove, complete ed in tronco, di filosofia musulmana, di medicina, di veterinaria; ricettarî, [...] vastissime enciclopedie e dizionari di zoologia e di botanica; e superbi canzonieri [...] vastissime cronache di annali; raccolte alfabetiche di biografie con appendici antologiche; dizionari di nomi di religioni e di sette ed esposizioni di dottrine religiose e filosofiche, teistiche e pagane; [...] opere astronomiche, trattati di algebra e di geometria, di logica formale, o di diritto successorio e testamentario musulmano, i più allegri manuali di indiavolati e di miracoli di prestidigitazione.⁵

This was not Griffini's only crucial meeting and visit that year. The Arabist Eduard Glaser invited him to Munich, where the young Italian could examine study materials, photographic reliefs, and casts of Sabaeen and Himyarite inscriptions gathered by the German scholar in Yemen. Glaser's proposal to travel with him did not distract Griffini from pursuing his studies of Arabic.

At this time, Griffini was visiting the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, and in 1897-1898 he obtained a diploma in the Arabic language from the Istituto Orientale in Naples, his teacher being the eminent Arabist Carlo Alfonso Nallino. He was also able to explore the Ambrosiana's Ancient Fund of Arabic manuscripts thanks to the support of the then-prefect, Monsignor Antonio Ceriani. Griffini pursued his dream of dedicating himself to the study of these manuscripts and the culture they represented through years of study and travel in Egypt, France, and Great Britain (from 1899 through 1902) as well as Tunisia and Algeria (1905, 1907), where he came into contact with the fervent world of Oriental studies

4 Beltrami, "Eugenio Griffini Bey", pp. x-xi.

5 Griffini, "La grande raccolta", pp. 370-373.

and became aware of the scientific progress and the powerful activity of collecting promoted by the great European institutions and the libraries of Berlin, Munich, Leiden, London, Paris, Budapest, and Cambridge.

Griffini reconnected with Giuseppe Caprotti in 1903, right after graduating in law from Genoa University in 1902 with a study on the legal institution of the *waqf*. He took advantage of the presence in Genoa of Turkish naval officers to practice the spoken Turkish language, which he had studied only from books.⁶ In a letter dated 23 May 1903, the merchant Caprotti made an unusual offer to the young booklover Griffini: he proposed to send his entire manuscript collection to Griffini's house in Milan so the latter could find either a depository or a purchaser for it. Caprotti acknowledged Griffini's unrivalled competence with these manuscripts and the great work he had already undertaken on them, and he specified no particular price in advance. But although Griffini agreed to house the manuscripts arriving from Yemen, he categorically refused any remuneration and accepted as his only reward the chance to study the manuscripts and to publish catalogues of and writings on them. The agreement between Caprotti and Griffini included a commitment to search for potential buyers for the manuscripts in Italy and abroad.⁷ Whatever lay behind Caprotti's decisions and choices, hundreds of Yemeni manuscripts, wrapped in palm mats and coffee bags and stored in large boxes, entered Griffini's house on via Dante in Milan. The first group, which he had already seen in Magenta, was followed by six regular shipments from 1903 to 1906, usually sent each spring and autumn. In April and November 1903 Griffini received altogether 256 manuscripts (Ambrosiana A 1-124, B 1-132); in May and November 1905 he received 574 manuscripts (Ambrosiana C 1-219, D 1-355); in June 1905 he received 465 manuscripts (Ambrosiana E 1-465); and in 1906 the last 315 manuscripts (Ambrosiana F 1-315) reached Milan. The total of 1,610 volumes contained, according to Griffini's estimate, around 5,600 works.⁸ Once

6 See Beltrami, "Eugenio Griffini Bey", pp. xiii-xiv; Nallino, "Eugenio Griffini", p. 125.

7 For this proposal, see Codazzi, "Eugenio Griffini e l'Ambrosiana", pp. 83-84, which quotes a letter from Caprotti to Griffini dated 23 May 1903. In 1902, 157 Arabic manuscripts from the Caprotti collection, mostly of Yemeni origin and of great antiquity, were purchased by the Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) through Glaser's mediation; see Schmidtke, "Preserving, Studying, and Democratizing Access", pp. 106, 116-118, 121. On the extension of Schmidtke's project "Zaydi Manuscript Tradition" to Italian collections, see Sagaria Rossi and Schmidtke, "Zaydi Manuscript Tradition (ZMT) Project".

8 Griffini, "La grande raccolta", p. 373; "Una lieta notizia", p. 107. The last shipment of manuscripts was accompanied by a gift from Caprotti: an ancient and rare copy of *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya wa-ʿiwār madhhabihim* by Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Bustī, quoted in Griffini's letter to Goldziher of 24 September 1916 and partially transcribed in the attached list dated 22 November 1908. See nn. 112 and 121.

this impressive shipping operation was complete, the relationships between Caprotti, Griffini, and Glaser changed, and the balance between them deteriorated dramatically because of Glaser's disapproval of the entrustment of the Caprotti collection to Griffini rather than to himself.

In the years 1904-1905 Griffini taught practical evening courses in Arabic at the Philological Circle of Milan, and in April 1905 his participation in the fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists in Algiers oriented his research in a more structured and partly less popular direction.⁹ His first scholarly writings appeared between 1906 and 1908, though they were not without some weaknesses and naïveté. They included the publication of some variants to a famous poem by the pre-Islamic poet al-A'shā' and an attempt to decipher two minor Sabaean inscriptions, both based on manuscript materials and casts of inscriptions provided to him by Caprotti, as well as the facsimile edition of a manuscript of poems by the Arabic-Christian poet al-Akhṭal, and a further three contributions published in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*.¹⁰

In spring 1907 Griffini stayed in Tunis for about five months with the aim of improving his knowledge of Arabic and acquiring some manuscripts; the result of his Tunisian sojourn was the publication of the sepulchral epigraph of the Mālikī jurist Sulaymān b. 'Imrān (d. 270/883), which he discovered in Qayrawan, and a much more remarkable contribution on manuscript texts on juridical, cosmographic, geographical, and other subjects, studies that displayed his rightly acknowledged mastery of the material.¹¹

During these years, before the publication of his first catalogue of the Caprotti manuscripts in 1910, Griffini also drew up an inventory consisting of seven big notebooks, regrettably arranged not by subject matter but by order of arrival, which was determined as the manuscripts were pulled out of the boxes: "I codici, dopo qualche mese di viaggio e di peripezie, venivan fuori di

9 See Nallino, "Eugenio Griffini", p. 125.

10 "Zu al-A'shā's 'Mā bukā'u'" (1906); "Due brevi nuove iscrizioni sabaiche" (1906); *Le "Dīwān" d'al-Aḫṭal* (1907); "Intorno alle stazioni lunari nell'astronomia degli Arabi" and the related "Annotazioni all'articolo" (1907-1908); and "Una nuova qaṣīda attribuita a Imru 'l-Qais" (1908). See Nallino, "Eugenio Griffini", p. 125, where Nallino quotes reviews of these works and highlights that the *qaṣīda* ascribed to Imru 'l-Qais was in fact a late forgery by some Arabic philologist (see also Levi Della Vida, "Eugenio Griffini", p. 729). Griffini sent two of these articles to Goldziher (see letter dated 13 November 1908).

11 In 1910, on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Michele Amari, Griffini published a long contribution on new Arab-Sicilian texts worthy of special mention, manuscripts of which he had gathered during his stay in Tunis in 1907 and among the Yemeni codices that he had received from Caprotti; this contribution, titled "Nuovi testi arabo-siculi", was published with the much shorter "Nota intorno alla tomba di Sulaymān ibn 'Imrān". These studies are not mentioned in his letters to Goldziher.

sotto le stuoie, saturi, all'uso yemenico, del forte profumo delle foglie secche d'assenzio."¹² Once the collection had arrived in Milan, its fame spread among both Italian and foreign scholars. It became known as "la collezione di Milano", "la collezione milanese", or "i manoscritti arabi di Milano"; Griffini made a point of stressing the collection's connection to the city of Milan. As it grew in size to encompass around fifty boxes weighing a total of fifteen quintals, Griffini committed himself to describing the manuscripts in a vast catalogue organized by subject matter.

In early 1909 Griffini decided to move from his apartment in via Dante to via Borgospesso 23 in Milan, and he found himself forced to return the manuscripts to their owner because he had no room to house them. This event stimulated his patriotic vein, as he feared that the huge collection might fall into the hands of foreign buyers.¹³ Griffini's Catholic education and his close ties with Lombardy and its entrepreneurial social class, from which Caprotti came, may also have predisposed the latter to favour the Ambrosiana, the most prestigious religious and cultural institution in northern Italy. Indeed, the link between Griffini and the Ambrosiana had its roots in the crucial role that the Milanese library had played in Griffini's formation since the beginning of his education as an Arabist. In the case of the Caprotti collection, a conjunction of factors led to the final outcome: the tradesman from Sanaa was keen to find a worthy buyer for his books; the manuscripts needed a new suitable location as an alternative to Griffini's new house; and there was a growing fear that an appealing offer would reach Caprotti from Germany, in particular from the Berlin library through Hermann Burchardt. The relationship of trust between Griffini and the Ambrosiana's previous prefect, Ceriani, continued with Ceriani's successor, Achille Ratti, who served as prefect of the Ambrosiana from March 1907 to 1914, then as prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and finally as pope under the name Pius XI from 1922 onward. As prefect of the Ambrosiana, Ratti, who had been born in Brianza (Lombardy), proved an enlightened supporter of a worldwide and open-minded cultural policy. In late 1908, through the mediation of Griffini, Caprotti was telegraphed by the prefect Ratti and offered the sum of 30,000 liras for his manuscripts.

Since the institution did not have the financial means to pay the offered amount but nonetheless wished to keep the Caprotti collection within the boundaries of the Italian state, Ratti, with the essential support of Beltrami,

12 Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 1-2; Codazzi, "Eugenio Griffini e l'Ambrosiana", p. 84. This first inventory is kept in the Ambrosiana.

13 On Griffini's attempts to sell the Caprotti collection and other related negotiations, see Sagaria Rossi, "Opening Yemen up to Italy".

devised a non-public subscription scheme, in which the amount needed was divided into ten equal parts, to be covered by ten donors. Within a few days twenty-five Milanese donors¹⁴ had joined the scheme with smaller donations, and the Banca Commerciale Italiana decided to complete the donation to bring the total to 30,000 liras, the amount requested by Caprotti as the price of the manuscripts. Thanks to the farsightedness and network of Ratti, who was sympathetic to the modernist movement in the liberal and progressive Milan, the acquisition of this remarkable new fund of Arabic manuscripts of Yemeni provenance was applauded and celebrated as a special gift from the city to the Ambrosiana on the third centenary of the library's foundation on 8 December 1909.¹⁵

Donations of manuscripts collected by Caprotti continued. On 12 May 1914 the benefactor Luca Beltrami donated to the Ambrosiana 180 further codices in Arabic (156 mss), Turkish, and Hebrew that Caprotti had acquired in Sanaa, Najran, and Iraq during the years 1910-1913 and brought to his home in Magenta. These manuscripts were added to the Nuovo Fondo, series H.¹⁶ Next in the chronological order of acquisitions and donations of Caprotti manuscripts was a batch of 280 codices sent by Senator Beltrami to the Vatican Apostolic Library in April 1922 (shortly after Caprotti's return to Magenta and his death at home in 1919), as a tribute to the newly elected Pope Pius XI, Achille Ratti.¹⁷

One last batch of Arab manuscripts of Yemeni provenance was given to the Ambrosiana after Griffini's premature death in Cairo in 1925. His mother fulfilled his wish by arranging for his Oriental books and manuscripts—in all probability provided by Caprotti over the previous decades—to be donated to the Ambrosiana; his archive and study materials entered the library later.¹⁸

14 Among the subscribers we find a variety of illustrious citizens: prelates, nobles, bankers, the newspaper *Corriere della sera*, the mayor of Milan, and Beltrami. The donors are listed on a plaque displayed at the library; Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. xiv.

15 On this occasion, Ratti officially announced the purchase of the entire Milanese Arab library, totalling sixty-one crates of books, as Griffini disclosed to the general public in his article in *Corriere della sera* ("La grande raccolta") and in his subscription call addressed to Milanese citizens published in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* ("Una lieta notizia").

16 They were first described by Griffini in "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften" and then by Traini in *Catalogue*, vol. 4, series H.

17 The Caprotti manuscripts at the Vatican Library have been incorporated into the Codici Vaticani Arabi (nos 946-1206, 1357-1375) and catalogued by Levi Della Vida, in *Elenco dei manoscritti*. The manuscripts Vat.Ar. nos 1357-1375 are fragmentary texts.

18 After Griffini's death, Angela Codazzi published a catalogue of this donation (1925), on Beltrami's initiative: *Catalogo dei libri a stampa ed elenco sommario*. In 1962 she announced that all of his correspondence would be soon given to the Ambrosiana (Codazzi, "Eugenio Griffini e l'Ambrosiana", pp. 84-85). I have recently discovered Griffini's archival papers in

The fifty-two Yemeni manuscripts collected by Griffini were ignored by scholars (even by Brockelmann in his *Supplementbände*) until Löfgren uncovered them, included them in the first volume of the catalogue of the Ambrosiana Arabic manuscripts, and designated them as part of the Medio Fondo.¹⁹

With its 1,830 Arab-Yemeni manuscripts (1,778 from Caprotti and 52 from Griffini), the Biblioteca Ambrosiana holds the largest and most relevant collection of Zaydi Yemeni manuscripts outside Yemen. The Nuovo Fondo²⁰ is entirely of Yemeni origin,²¹ and it offers wide-ranging documentation of Zaydi and Yemeni literature in general, reflecting the extremely peculiar culture established in the region since the end of the third/ninth century.²² The legal rigor of the Zaydi branch of Shi‘ism, its ethical puritanism, and the theological rationalism derived from Mu‘tazilism have stimulated the prodigious Zaydi textual production, whose character appears to be more technical than literary, even in handwritten form; it has endured for more than a millennium, with peaks of particular intensity between the seventh/thirteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries.²³ As for the content of this corpus, the Zaydi strand

the Biblioteca comunale centrale, Palazzo Sormani, in Milan, which are now the subject of a comprehensive collaborative research project under my direction.

- 19 They were marked with X sup. signatures, denoting later donations; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. xxix (concordances of the Medio Fondo), 27, 130-162 (nos. xxv, ccxliii-ccxciv).
- 20 The manuscripts of the Nuovo Fondo retain the signatures assigned by Caprotti: series A-D (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, nos 1-830); series E (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, nos 831-1295); series F-H (Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, nos 1296-1778). The Nuovo Fondo's enormous corpus of texts also includes religious works of the Shāfi‘ite school and secular scientific works together with South Arabian and Sufi poetry, which flourished luxuriantly despite Zaydi opposition. Paleographically, the codices exhibit a general severity in their graphic and textual features with few decorative artifices, though the clarity and solidity of the archaic Yemeni script produce an irresistibly attractive, austere elegance, particularly in the most ancient exemplars.
- 21 There are a few exceptional manuscripts not transcribed in Yemen, but these codices were brought to Yemen by owners who integrated them into Yemeni collections. An example is ms. Ambrosiana, A 80, mentioned by Griffini in his letter dated 13 November 1908.
- 22 The oldest dated manuscript is a basic treatise on Zaydi law, *Jāmi‘ al-aḥkām fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* by Hādī Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn b. Qāsīm (the founder of the Zaydi imamate in Sanaa), dated 418/1027 (mentioned by Griffini in his letters to Goldziher on 24 September 1916 (and attached list) and 12 November 1919). Another fifty-one exemplars are dated to the seventh/thirteenth century or earlier. The eleventh/seventeenth century is the best represented among the dated codices, with 78% originating in this century.
- 23 Extensive studies, research, and projects on the Yemeni manuscript tradition have been carried out by Sabine Schmidtke during this last decade; to but some examples of her comprehensive contribution on the history of the collections of Zaydi manuscripts, see her “Preserving, Studying, and Democratizing Access” and Ansari and Schmidtke, *Yemeni Manuscript Cultures in Peril*.

predominates, especially in works on theology and law (which make up 43% of the collection); in these two areas Zaydi works account for 75% and 90% of the total, respectively. Nearly half of the material thus falls within the realm of the religious sciences, including also texts on ethics and Sufism. The other half, pertaining to profane knowledge, addresses the “Arab sciences” of grammar, lexicography, history and historiography, poetry, and various scientific subjects. The collection’s value is further heightened by the originality, if not the absolute rarity, of a considerable number of its texts.²⁴

Griffini focused his attention on the first group of manuscripts to arrive in Italy, a set of 124 codices containing 315 texts; he highlighted the great number of codices of a special type, namely, the miscellany, “dalla loro forma allungata e dall’esperante eterogeneità dei materiali caoticamente stipati in ogni angolo usufruibile [...], raccolti in una regione che si è distinta per aver avuto per secoli a Zabīd, a Ṣa‘da, a Ṣan‘ā’, a Ḥūt, ecc., grossi nuclei non solo di bibliofili, ma anche di eruditi”.²⁵

The task Griffini was undertaking was onerous, not only because of the amount of work it entailed. He dedicated himself to identifying and then describing this vast corpus of texts for the rest of his life with the greatest assiduousness and commitment, and this work made him a pioneer of Zaydi studies in Italy.²⁶ This project was undoubtedly his most important contribution to the study of the Arabic manuscript production, laying the foundation for extensive research on Yemeni textual production and opening up horizons still completely unexplored by the Western scholarly community. At the very beginning Griffini intended to draw up a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts, ordered by subject. He completed the task for the first eighty-two manuscripts (out of the intended total of 125, as indicated by his comments on his cataloguing plans in letters written in 1908), but he soon realized that the project was too wide and far-reaching, and it also failed for financial reasons.²⁷

24 About 230 are otherwise unknown, about 300 are unique, and 32 are autographs. In terms of their codicological structure, the 1,830 Ambrosiana codices (the Caprotti and Griffini collections) contain more than 2,700 identified texts, with 46% of the codices consisting of a single text each and about 43% being composite multitext codices or miscellaneous texts (*majmū‘āt*), such as poetic anthologies or medleys of various texts, at times by the same authors.

25 Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” (1908-1909), p. 2.

26 Beltrami (“Eugenio Griffini Bey”, pp. xxxv-xxxvi) remembered him being deeply engaged in consulting and comparing several manuscripts at a time in the Fagnani room of the Ambrosiana, and simultaneously dealing with technical and legal translations as a court-certified translator from English, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Modern Greek, Arabic, and Turkish.

27 Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano”.

Because of the urgency of the work he diverted his efforts into a summary catalogue, which appeared in nine instalments between 1910 and 1920; this was a hybrid between an inventory and a short catalogue, omitting the transcriptions of incipits and explicits and the description of contents and divisions that had enriched the first catalogue. Forced to summarize the information in more concise descriptions, Griffini neglected to follow a standard format in his reports, with the consequence that the descriptions are very dissimilar and, in some cases, scarcely informative.²⁸ Nevertheless, his sheer efforts to deal with such extensive virgin material, without any other data to start with, made his catalogues a mine of information on hitherto unknown or little-known authors and works, and they earned him a reputation as an expert in Zaydi literature and a seasoned manuscript hunter.

Having devoted himself to the manuscripts, Griffini replied to queries and research requests from many Arabists and Islamists. The Orientalist scholars who turned to him for information on the collection and its individual codices and who acknowledged its extraordinary relevance included Ignazio Guidi, Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Giorgio Levi Della Vida, Carl Brockelmann, Eduard Glaser, Hermann Reckendorf, Ignaz Goldziher, Cornelis van Arendonk, Rudolf Strothmann, Willi Heffening, Max Herz, Henry Frederick Amedroz, David Samuel Margoliouth, Hans Stumme, Eugen Mittwoch, Ugo Monneret de Villard, and many others with whom Griffini engaged in an extensive correspondence.²⁹

His formal role as “chargé de catalogue” at the Ambrosiana (see letter dated 4 July 1911) does not prevent us from noticing clearly, especially through his correspondence with Goldziher, what his real interest and passion was: not so much the mere activity of cataloguing, or arranging lists of codices, but rather

28 In the 1910-1912 instalments of his “Lista dei manoscritti arabi” Griffini described 131 manuscripts (Series B, or second Caprotti collection); in the 1914-1920 instalments he described 219 manuscripts (Series C, or third Caprotti collection). The “Lista” included the previous “Catalogo” and covered the first 475 manuscripts. The nine instalments were eventually brought together in the volume *Catalogo dei manoscritti arabi del Nuovo Fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, vol. 1: *Codici 1-475* (1920). In 1960 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, director of the Maḥad al-makḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya in Cairo, published some notes about 220 manuscripts of series D (D 220-440): al-Munajjid, *Fihris al-makḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fi l-Ambrūziyānā bi-Milānū*.

29 Many of these names emerge from the correspondence between Griffini and Goldziher; others were mentioned by those who knew him and emphasized his generosity in providing news, extracts, and photographs of “his” manuscripts to any scholar, known or unknown, who requested them: Beltrami, “Eugenio Griffini Bey”, p. lxii; Levi Della Vida, “Eugenio Griffini”, pp. 728-730; Nallino, “Eugenio Griffini”, p. 130, n. 2; Codazzi, “Eugenio Griffini e l’Ambrosiana”, pp. 84-85; see also n. 18.

the exercise of transcribing unidentified or misidentified Arabic texts by testing himself with the reading and comprehension of manuscript texts (see the letter dated 10 November 1910, in which he writes about his “apprentissage” on the manuscripts).

Griffini’s strong and genuine inclination towards the Arabic language in its manuscript manifestation became the guiding thread of his activity as cataloguer and scholar. At a more advanced and experienced stage of his career, perhaps also encouraged by the inputs received from scholars of the stature of Goldziher, Griffini began to combine his knowledge of law—he was, after all, a jurist by education—with that of the Arabic language to analyse a founding text of Zaydi law, the *Majmū‘ al-fiqh* by Zayd b. ‘Alī (see his letter to Goldziher of 21 June 1911, in which he mentions his wider project on the *Majmū‘*).

In February 1911 Griffini reported to the Royal Istituto Lombardo of Milan his discovery of two redactions, a longer and a shorter one, of a work known until then as a collection of mostly legal traditions that the Zaydi Abū Khālid ‘Amr b. Khālid al-Wāsiṭī (d. 150/767) was said to have compiled from the mouth of his master, the famous Zayd b. ‘Alī (d. 122/740), the eponym of Zaydism.³⁰ The question of the publication of the *Majmū‘ al-fiqh*, one of the first Zaydi texts to become known in the West, is discussed extensively in Griffini’s correspondence with Goldziher. Throughout 1911 Griffini relied on Goldziher’s support for the publication of his edition at the expense of the Gibb Memorial Trust, but the trustees’ refusal “largely due to doubts as to its authenticity, and indeed the authority of the same source, *عمر بن خالد الواسطي*”, despite Goldziher’s and Snouck Hurgronje’s endorsement, caused the venture to fail (see the letters from June to 3 December 1911). Griffini’s first, preliminary study of the work, conducted hastily in the enthusiasm of the discovery, was followed by the slow and patient preparation of the complete edition of this difficult text. The edition finally saw the light at the end of 1919, despite the war and some hostility, and thanks once again to the generous support of Griffini’s cousin, Senator Beltrami.

The volume was published with title “*Corpus iuris*” di Zaid ibn ‘Alī (VIII sec. Cr.): *La più antica raccolta di giurisprudenza musulmana finora ritrovata*.³¹ The edition contained 303 pages of Arabic text, and it was based on two manuscripts with extensive redactions of the text and nine other manuscripts with its abridged redactions. The 198-page introduction and the many notes and

30 Published as “La più antica codificazione della giurisprudenza islamica”.

31 Another edition of the *Majmū‘ al-fiqh* is *Musnad al-imām Zayd b. ‘Alī*. There is also a translation: *Recueil de la loi musulmane de Zaid ben ‘Alī*. See Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* [GAS], vol. 1, p. 558.

indexes represent a largely unprecedented degree of erudition and meticulous research on manuscript sources. Griffini unconditionally accepted the authenticity of the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* as a work by Zayd, and in this assumption he was followed by Sezgin.³²

However, Madelung has cast doubt on Griffini's conclusions, maintaining that the work edited by him reflects Kūfan legal tradition and that Zayd is thus unlikely to have had any significant part in it. Madelung pointed out that the Kūfan Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī was the sole transmitter of the text, and he argued that it represents currents among the early Kūfan Zaydiyya.³³ The edition was reviewed by authoritative scholars, who expressed a common scepticism about its authenticity but who devoted, with their lengthy critiques, considerable attention to Griffini's enterprise.³⁴

At any event, the scholars of Griffini's time generally recognized the *Majmūʿ* as a new source for knowledge of Zaydism and, at the very least, as a relatively ancient collection of traditions and laws. In his article in memoriam of Griffini, Nallino, Griffini's first teacher of Arabic in Naples, synthesized the widely shared opinion on his edition and study of the *Majmūʿ*:

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- 32 Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 552-556, with a detailed insight into the *Majmūʿ*'s transmission.
- 33 Madelung identified a compendium of religious law attributed to Zayd and collected by the Zaydi Ibrāhīm b. al-Zibriḳān (d. 183/799) on the basis of the transmission of the Kūfan Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī, who claimed to have heard it from Zayd while visiting Medina as a pilgrim for five years, as the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh* published by Griffini (Madelung, "Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn"); see also Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 54-55.
- 34 In 1920 the jurist David Santillana (on whose edition of the second volume of Khalil b. Ishāq al-Jundī's *Mukhtaṣar* Griffini comments in his letter to Goldziher on 12 November 1919), examined the contents of the *Majmūʿ*. He acknowledged the general accuracy of the text but questioned its authenticity and antiquity, critiqued the reliability of the *isnād* chains presented in the *Majmūʿ*'s different redactions between the figure of Zayd b. 'Alī and the rather late Zaydi sources referred to in the text, emphasized the numerous gaps in the chains leading back to Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī, and disagreed with Griffini's juxtaposition of Islamic and Roman law and of *ḥadīth* with the Roman-Byzantine *novella* in the latter's introduction to the *Majmūʿ* (Santillana, "Il Libro di diritto di Zayd b. 'Alī"). In 1922 Gotthelf Bergsträsser wrote a long review on the "*Corpus iuris*", highlighting some inconsistencies between it and early Zaydism, the substantial influence of Iraqi Sunni law, and problems in text's transmission. He also noted that the manuscripts were quite recent, the oldest of the two extensive redactions being dated 1029/1620 (ms. A in Griffini's edition: ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 239:11 [fols 128r-177r]; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 101, no. 1069). Rudolf Strothmann also doubted that the text could be dated to the first half of the second/eighth century. He identified "innere Widersprüche" relating to the aligning the opinions of 'Alī's followers to those of Sunni *fuqahāʿ*, deeming them signs of inauthenticity, and raised questions about Griffini's failure to recognize the autonomy of Islamic law (Strothmann, "Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī", pp. 2, 18, 20, 27, 49, 51-52).

Qualche stranezza in alcuni punti [...], la derivazione di certe particolarità redazionali arabe in opera di diritto canonico dalle divisioni e da alcuni particolari esteriori del *Corpus iuris* sono piccoli nei, che non influiscono per nulla sulla trattazione del tema e si possono ben perdonare a chi ha saputo condurre a termine un'opera di tanta lena. Certo, l'ottimismo del Griffini intorno all'autenticità dell'opera è, assai probabilmente, eccessivo; ma conviene notare che, dal punto di vista della storia del diritto e del culto zaydita, il carattere eventualmente apocrifo del libro non ne menoma l'importanza.³⁵

Beyond questions concerning the authorship of the text and the internal coherence of its transmission, the work is widely recognized as having originated in the second half of the second/eighth century, most certainly reflecting an Iraqi Zaydi environment.

Griffini's correspondence with Goldziher clearly illustrates the centrality of his activity of studying and cataloguing Yemeni manuscripts and editing the complex text of the *Majmū'* to his life as a scholar and his relationship with the scholarly community.

Griffini was involved in the Italian occupation of Libya and spent six months, from 3 January to 3 June 1912, in Tripoli as a translator for the Military Political Bureau at the Italian command headquarters (see postcard dated 3 December 1911).³⁶ However, his activities went much beyond his job description, and he spent time studying the local dialect, publishing in 1913 a book on Libyan Arabic, *al-Tuḥfa al-lūbiyya fī l-luḡa al-ʿammīyya al-ṭarābulusiyya*, which he did not have the opportunity to revise because of the burden of work. The book was the result of a perusal of recurring words in the grammar and texts of the Tripolitan dialect published and translated by Hans Stumme,³⁷ which Griffini had undertaken for his own use.

He distinguished himself by a genuine enthusiasm about the new discoveries—which were numerous and noteworthy—that he made on “his” beloved manuscripts, an enthusiasm that sometimes led him to accept texts and information that would have merited a more thoughtful and cautious examination. This was the case with his “Il poemetto di Qudam ben Qādim” (1916), which was published after the Libyan interlude and offered to Goldziher (letter dated 24 September 1916). As Giorgio Levi Della Vida pointed out, this

35 Nallino, “Eugenio Griffini”, pp. 129-130; Nallino also mentions a review of “*Corpus iuris*” by a Baghdadi author, Mustahill (?), which appeared in the Cairene journal *al-Ḥilāl* in 1921.

36 Beltrami, “Eugenio Griffini Bey”, pp. xxxvi-xli; Nallino, “Eugenio Griffini”, pp. 127-129.

37 Stumme, *Märchen und Gedichte*.

poem was nothing more than a very late product of the “*saga sud-arabica*”, in which the historical content, if not completely absent, was so altered by later hands as to require handling with extreme caution.³⁸

On 19 May 1915 Griffini was awarded the “*libera docenza*” (teaching qualification) in Arabic language and literature at the Royal University of Rome. He immediately transferred it to the Royal Scientific-Literary Academy (now University) of Milan, where he taught Arabic language and literature first as “*libera docenza*” and then as a lecturer.³⁹ In January 1922, after obtaining the position of extraordinary professor through competition, he was appointed professor of Arabic and Islamic civilization at the Royal Institute of Advanced Studies (now University) of Florence. But he never took up the Florentine chair, nor did he receive any salary from that university or give any lectures in Florence, probably because he was more inclined to pursue his studies of manuscripts and archival papers.

In any case, already by the end of 1920 Griffini had started to spend part of the year in Cairo as a librarian appointed by Sultan Fuʿād I,⁴⁰ reducing his lecturing in Milan to a very short time; his appointment in Florence overlapped with the commitment he had made to spend eight months of every year at the service of the sultan and four months in Italy, between July and August, in Baveno on Lake Maggiore. From 1920, his new assignment at the Royal Library in Cairo interrupted his scientific activity, and after the publication of the *Majmūʿ* he published only informative articles on political issues in Cairene newspapers, sometimes in debate with the well-known scholar and bibliographer Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1867-1934).⁴¹ Griffini joined the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in 1905, the Arabic academy al-Majmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿarabī (founded in 1919) in 1920, and the newly established Cairene al-Majmaʿ

38 Levi Della Vida, “Eugenio Griffini”, p. 729.

39 In 1916, according to Beltrami’s account, Griffini started to teach a complementary course on Arabic language and literature in Milan, attended by eleven young ladies; in 1917 he held lectures on Koranistics and Islamology, also open to those who were not enrolled in the courses (“Eugenio Griffini Bey”, p. lxiii).

40 Prince Fuʿād had met Griffini during the former’s frequent trips to Italy and had established excellent personal relations with him. When the prince, committed to the development of the Egyptian University, offered Griffini in 1910 a chair in the study of the ethnography of Muslim countries and economic geography in Cairo, Griffini accepted willingly, though subsequent events and the parenthesis in Libya in 1912 did not allow him to take up the post; Beltrami, “Eugenio Griffini Bey”, p. lxi.

41 Among others, he published a report denying the historical basis of the burning of the Alexandria library in *al-Aḥrām*, “Fī sabīl al-ḥaqq wa-l-taʾrīkh”, summarized by Giuseppe Furlani in “Sull’incendio della biblioteca di Alessandria”; see Nallino, “Eugenio Griffini”, p. 130, n. 3.

al-lughawī in 1921, and he was one of the founders of the Jāmi'a al-rābiṭa al-sharqiyya, founded in Cairo in 1922,⁴² in addition to holding an appointment as *attaché* at the Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

By integrating himself into the Egyptian society of the time, Griffini increasingly distanced himself from the Italian scene, to the point of reducing his contacts with his Orientalist colleagues. In the last years of his life he seemed to bridge his linguistic and psychological distance from Arab society by immersing himself in it, perhaps embittered by the criticisms made of his edition of the *Majmū'* or because of his failure to regain, in the aftermath of a catastrophic war, the concentration required to resume work in the "pêle-mêle" of a chaotic Ambrosiana, as he commented to Goldziher in a letter dated 19 November 1919.

Griffini's last stay in Italy took place in the summer of 1924. Back in Egypt (see Fig. 1), he worked hard to organize the International Geographical Congress, held in Cairo in mid-April 1925. A neglected indisposition acquired accompanying the Italian participants on a visit to the pyramids degenerated into pneumonia, and on 3 May 1925 Griffini died in Cairo, in the Italian Umberto I Hospital. King Fu'ād granted him solemn state honours, and his body was brought home to Italy at the expense of the king of Italy. Griffini rests in the cemetery of Cireggio, above Lake Orta, in the region of origin of his maternal family. As his final disposition, he wanted all of his books, both manuscript and printed, to be donated to the Ambrosiana.⁴³

Griffini's correspondence with Ignaz Goldziher is housed in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, within the extensive archive Goldziher Correspondence (recently digitized and available through open access).⁴⁴ Spanning nearly twelve years between November 1908 and January 1920, the preserved documents consist of one visiting card, ten letters, and six postcards sent by Griffini to Goldziher, one postcard from Amedroz to Griffini enclosed in one of Griffini's letters to Goldziher, and a long record enclosed in another of Griffini's letters—a total of nineteen documents. As for their chronology, two documents are dated 1908; the visiting card, though undated, is probably from 1908; the record enclosed in a later letter also dates from 1908; two documents are dated 1910 and eight are dated 1911; one document is from 1916, three documents from 1919, and one is from 1920. All were addressed to Goldziher's home address, Holló-Utcza 4, Budapest VII. Until 29 December 1908, Griffini sent his correspondence from via Dante 7,

42 Nallino, "Eugenio Griffini", p. 131.

43 Beltrami, "Eugenio Griffini Bey", pp. lxxi-lxxiv.

44 <http://konyvtar.mta.hu>; Dévényi and Schmidtke, "Published Correspondences of Ignaz Goldziher".

Milan, and after that date from via Borgo Spesso (or Borgospesso) 23, Milan. In addition, a letter dated 25 October 1911 was sent from the Ambrosiana, and another was sent from Menaggio (Lake Como); Amedroz sent his postcard from Bergamo. The first and third-to-last letters are in Italian, the long record is in Arabic, one letter is in German, Amedroz's enclosed postcard is in English, and the other documents in French.

Mainly focused on showcasing and disseminating his research on the manuscripts, Griffini's correspondence with Goldziher teems with notes about his findings and ongoing studies in the sea of the Caprotti manuscripts that were just being acquired by and relocated to at the Ambrosiana. Starting in November 1908, their letters make no mention of their meeting in person, although it is likely that the two had met in April 1905 during the fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists, in which they both participated.

In the first preserved letter, written on 13 November 1908, Griffini thanks Goldziher for acknowledging the receipt of two of the former's articles, left unspecified. Then he announces the upcoming publication of the first issue of his "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano: catalogo della prima collezione", and goes on to report on sequential issues of his "Lista dei manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana", pointing out authors and works and transcribing passages from manuscripts of possible interest to Goldziher—in short, trying in every way to please the master and arouse his interest. From June to December 1911 Griffini urged Goldziher fervently to help secure the Gibb Trust's support for the publication of the *Majmūʿ*, as already mentioned, and it was Goldziher who eventually informed him of the trust's rejection of the proposal. The denial is probably to be attributed to Guy Le Strange, given the positive reactions of Amedroz and Margoliouth (see postcard from Amedroz to Griffini, dated 3 July 1911, enclosed in Griffini's letter to Goldziher of 4 July 1911).

After that, the correspondence was interrupted until 24 September 1916, when Griffini wrote to express his gratitude for Goldziher's mentioning him in his *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*, in particular manuscripts and notes from Griffini's "Lista dei manoscritti arabi Nuovo fondo", and "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften".⁴⁵ Citing this last catalogue by Griffini, Goldziher reported the presence of the work of the Muʿtazilī Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī (d. 490/1029), to which there is a slightly later reference in one of Goldziher's many letters to Theodor Nöldeke, dated 18 October 1916, shortly after Goldziher had received from Griffini a long passage that the latter had transcribed from a unique manuscript of al-Bustī's *Min kashf al-asrār*: "Griffini hat mir vor einigen Tagen eine Photographie eines

45 Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī*, pp. 17, 18, 26, 41, 61.

S. 17 der Einleit. erwähnten Busti-Unicums geschickt, wobei er die Vermittlung eines gemeinsamen Züricher Freundes benutzt hat. Man begreift daraus, warum Gazali mit der Methode seiner Vorgänger unzufrieden war.”⁴⁶ These are the only explicit references to Griffini I could find in Goldziher’s works.

Another interruption until April 1919 was due to the events of the Great War. In the last four letters Griffini largely wrote about his edition of the *Majmūʿ*, which was finally published in late 1919. Although the letters are, as usual, full of annotations and comments, the increasing difficulty of obtaining new editions of texts in the challenging postwar circumstances appears to correlate with a state of mind that was rather withdrawn and lacking Griffini’s usual enthusiasm. He also stressed his preference and esteem for German and Dutch scholars over those of Britain and France: “Je n’ai des nouvelles que des nos Collègues d’Allemagne et d’Hollande; en général les autres n’existent pas (les Franco-Anglais), pour nous d’Italie, ni nous pour eux” (letter dated 3 January 1920). In this last letter, Griffini referred to some news contained in Strothmann’s last letter to him in 1915 and concluded with a small observation, this time by Griffini himself, disagreeing with Goldziher with regards to the issue of *mutʿa*, as addressed in Goldziher’s *Vorlesungen*.⁴⁷ As for Goldziher, little information about him can be deduced from the letters beyond the corrections he proposed to the Arabic transcriptions of terms and to the interpretation of individual passages in Griffini’s work.

Griffini’s correspondence sheds unexpected light on his practice of writing letters on the fly, without revision or consistent attention to grammar and spelling, which is somewhat surprising from a polyglot such as Griffini. Errors are particularly evident in letters written in French and German; Griffini’s Italian (his mother language) and Arabic are much more controlled. It must be noted that his mostly minor errors tend to recur and do not seem to be due to oversights. To cite a few examples, there are errors of syntax (fairly rarely): “le long extrait que j’en ai donné de la préface” (pp. 161-162), “dass dieselbe Notiz ist bei [...] zu finden” (p. 191); errors of grammar: “tous ces écoles” (p. 163), “il y aurai” (p. 166), “vous pouvez” (pp. 170, 173), “la lettre adressé” (p. 174), “je regrette de n’avoir pas pu étudier” (p. 193); errors of vocabulary: “confutez-moi” (p. 165); and errors of spelling (the most common category): “biografies” (p. 174), “wir Orientalisten ganz auf einander angewissen sind” (p. 188). The most common

46 Simon, *Ignác Goldziher*, p. 385. See letter dated 24 September 1916 and related notes, in particular the enclosed transcription made by Griffini of twenty-three folios of the manuscript of *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, dated 22 November 1908.

47 See the last letter and note.

error is the replacement of “à” with “a” (and vice versa) and similar mistakes involving French accents.

Editorial Principles

The editions below faithfully reproduce the originals: any errors in syntax, grammar, vocabulary, and spelling have been retained uncorrected, and the aim of the edition is simply to provide a readable text. The documents are likewise transcribed in accordance with the graphical features and writing habits of their authors in terms of capital letters, punctuation, paragraph divisions, lineation (underlining, overlining), and round and square brackets.

Passages in Arabic, whether transcriptions from manuscripts or other texts, are transcribed following the orthography of the originals.

Any deduced addition to the original text is indicated with curly brackets {}, as is any missing portion of text (whether cut off/erased or not readable), in order to distinguish such insertions or omissions from the round and square brackets already employed in the originals.

The notes contain critical annotations, biographical and bibliographical references (when not explicit in the letters), and comments to help identification of incomplete or unclear references by the author.



FIGURE 1
Eugenio Griffini

The Correspondence**Griffini to Goldziher**

[Milan], n.d. [1908]

Visiting card

(Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Goldziher Correspondence [henceforth Goldziher Correspondence], GIL/45/01/038, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/13753>)

Dr. Eugenio Griffini

Via Dante, 7 Milano

Griffini to Goldziher**Milan, 13 November 1908**

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/12, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4662>)

Milano, via Dante 7

13 novembre 1908

Illustrissimo Maestro.

La ringrazio infinitamente della cortesia di avermi riscontrato, a suo tempo, l'invio omaggio di due miei recenti articoli.⁴⁸

In questa settimana vedrà nella RSO. di Roma qualche notizia su « Coranica » e « Tradizioni » nella prima Collezione jemenica Caprotti.⁴⁹ Altre notizie usciranno poi nei fascicoli futuri,⁵⁰ spero senza interruzione. In apposite « Appendici »⁵¹ raccoglierò tutte le osservazioni e le emendazioni suggeritemi gentilmente per lettera o con altri mezzi. Naturalmente è a quest'ultima parte

48 Griffini refers presumably to his articles published in 1906: "Zu al-A'shā's 'Mā bukā'u", in which he presented the Yemeni textual variants in and glosses to the fragment containing al-A'shā's ninety-seven verses from *Jamharat ash'ar al-'Arab* by al-Qurashī, ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 1, dated 1084/1673 (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 67, n. 125), and "Due brevi nuove iscrizioni sabaiche", an attempt to decipher two minor Sabaeen inscriptions on the basis of casts provided to him by Caprotti from Yemen.

49 Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 1-38.

50 Between 1908 and 1920 Griffini described 475 manuscripts of the Caprotti collection; see n. 29.

51 He merely added "Aggiunte e correzioni" to the end of his "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 160-165, related to manuscripts 1-33, where he included emendations by Goldziher, Christian Friedrich Seybold, and David Samuel Margoliouth.

del mio lavoro che sarà riservato l'onore di essere utile, in šā' llāh, ai futuri cultori della bibliografia e storia della coltura araba.

Forse Le riusciranno interessanti, per ora, le notizie sommarie su di una certa redazione anonima del تفسير di Ibn 'Abbās,⁵² cugino (non zio, Huart, Littér. Ar., 254!) di Muḥammad; cf. HĦ., Fihrist, ecc.—e le notizie su di un certo Kitāb al-amṭāl,⁵³ raccolta di proverbi tradizionalistici.

La bontà dei Maestri e dei lettori deciderà sulla redazione, sulla proporzione e sul metodo che destinerò agli altri lavori sulle Collezioni II^a e segg.—⁵⁴

Voglia accettare ancora i miei vivissimi ringraziamenti e credermi di Lei dev.mo

EGriffini

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 29 December 1908

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/11, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4661>)

Milano, via Dante 7.
29 déc. 908.

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- 52 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 47; Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 7-13, no. 11 (old shelfmark 47): Griffini partially transcribed folios 6r, 16v, 27r, 37r, 43r, 66v, 75r, 83r, 87r, 91r, 93v, 95r, 95v, 102r, 105v, 109r, 112v, and tab. I (fols 83v-84r). In "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 161-162, he acknowledges a remark by Goldziher on the reading of a word; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 25, no. 47. The manuscript contains the *Tafsīr* (suras 19-37) of Abū Muḥammad Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafi al-Šan'ānī al-Mufasssīr (d. 190/805, uncredited Quranic commentator), not the so-called *Tafsīr 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās*, as Griffini as well as Löfgren and Traini stated; see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 39. The Ambrosiana exemplar was transcribed in Yemen around the mid-seventh/thirteenth century; just one other copy, in Medina, is attested.
- 53 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 80; Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 21-24, no. 29 (old shelfmark 80); a collection of *amṭāl al-ḥadīth* by the traditionist 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥayyān Abū l-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī (d. 368/970). The manuscript is a unicum dated 708/1309, presumably not transcribed by a Yemeni hand, likely produced in Iran; "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 161-162; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 42-43, no. 80; see also Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* [henceforth *GAL*], vol. 1, p. 190; Suppl. 1, p. 331; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 27. For an edition, translation, and study of this work, see Sagaria Rossi, *Il "Kitāb al-amṭāl" (Libro dei proverbi)*.
- 54 See n. 28.

Monsieur le Professeur.

Vifs remerciements pour Votre aimable lettre du 25 c. et pour les “emendanda”.⁵⁵ Sur le maḏhab ahl al-bait, maḏhab al-‘itra, maḏhab az-zaidija et sur certaines écoles comme maḏhab (= fiqh) al-Hādi, m. al-Manṣūr billāh etc., des zeidites de l’Irāq et du Jémen, on trouvera beaucoup de détails d’histoire littéraire surtout dans les notes à la section “Uṣūl al-fiqh” et “fiqh” de mon catalogue.⁵⁶ Dans les mss. Zeidites (ni dans les autres de Provenance jéménosie) je n’ai jamais rencontré les abréviations م ع م ص ع.⁵⁷ Un index des sigles, à la fin du catalogue, en ordre chronologique, ne sera pas inutile, peut-être, pour les études de paléographie sudarabique et chiite.⁵⁸

n. 1. [صار] انتقال il semble plutôt manquer quelque chose, p.e. [صار] انتقال.⁵⁹

p. 19, 4 تفصيل مشكّر. La ligne s’est débandée, en typographie, après la dernière correction des épreuves, et le compositeur l’a réunie de son mieu. Il faut lire, comme dans le ms. تفسير مشكّر = “commentaire transcrit avec les voyelles”, car le ms. est (en grande partie) voyellé.⁶⁰

J’ai retrouvé deux autres copies (dans la III^{me} et IV^{me} coll.) du كتاب شمس الاخبار (nr. 30)⁶¹ et je ne manquerai pas de collationner le long extrait que j’en

55 The corrections proposed by Goldziher to “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” (1908-1909).

56 He refers here to his forthcoming catalogue of Series B of the Caprotti collection, in which he listed nearly sixty manuscripts under the heading “Giurisprudenza zeidita”: Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici” (1911-1912), pp. 89-90.

57 On the eulogies م ع م ص ع (*‘alayhi l-salām*) and ص ع (*ṣallā Llah ‘alayhi wa-sallam*) and other abbreviations and sigla used in the manuscripts, see Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 2-6.

58 No list of such acronyms was added by Griffini to his catalogues beyond the subject arrangement of the manuscripts of the first collection (Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici” [1910], pp. 255-259) and the second collection, or Series B (Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici” [1911-1912], pp. 87-92), and rough palaeographical indexes (regional variants of scripts, autographed, ancient paper mss) related to the first collection as well as the third, or series C (Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici” [1911-1912], p. 259; [1919-1920], p. 367), in which he announced an inclusive index of the Yemeni scripts in chronological order for the three Series A, B, C, not published thereafter.

59 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 122; Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” (1908-1909), p. 5, no. 1: this is a Quranic exemplar in Maghribi script, dated by Griffini to the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. On fol. 371v he identified an ownership note: ... انتقال ملكه من ابى الى والده محمد بن. see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 65, no. 122, where the cataloguers detected two hands and acknowledged it as a “valuable old manuscript”.

60 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 72, containing the last portion of *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, dated 1200/1786 and transcribed in Yemen; the words تفصيل مشكّر, corrected later to تفسير مشكّر, are part of the explicit (Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” [1908-1909], pp. 18-19, no. 22); Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 36, no. 72.

61 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 70; Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” (1908-1909), pp. 24-34, no. 30, containing the *ḥadīth* collection *Shams al-akhbār*

ai donné de la préface⁶² (partie de laquelle est conservée aussi au Brit. Mus.,⁶³ voir Rieu 413 II).

Dans le prochain fascicule, qui paraîtra au plus tard à la fin de janvier, on continuera encore beaucoup à parler de ḥadīṭ, sciīte et non, et suivra une longue liste de “addenda et emendanda” relatives aux nos. déjà décrits dans I.

Le nr. 7⁶⁴ est le [التبيان كتاب] de al-‘Ukbarī sur l’i‘rāb coranique (Brock. I, 282), le nr. 16⁶⁵ est d’Auteur chiīte (siècle VII-VIII); le nr. 17⁶⁶ n’est rien d’autre

al-muntaqā min kalām al-nabī al-mukhtār compiled by ‘Alī b. Ḥumayd b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn al-Walīd al-Qurashī in 608/1211, acephalous and dated by Griffini to the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century (see also Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici” [1910], p. 582, no. 70); Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 35-36, no. 70. Other exemplars in the same collection (there are not only two copies, as Griffini claimed) are mss. C 208 (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 231, no. 464), copied in 1059/1649; D 352 (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 305, no. 608), incomplete and dated to the ninth/fifteenth century; D 405 (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 335, no. 661), incomplete and dated likewise to the ninth/fifteenth century; F 167:111 (Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, pp. 79-80, no. 1462:111), a fragment of five *bābs*; F 187 (Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 91, no. 1482:1), a rare version compared to other exemplars of the work; F 188 (Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 92, no. 1483), the oldest copy, dated 759/1358. The work has been published in Sanaa in 1987 (see the bibliography).

- 62 Griffini transcribed the long preface to the work, as well as the list of the arguments and the related *bāb*: “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” (1908-1909), pp. 32-34.
- 63 Ms. London, British Library, Or 413 (Glaser 90); Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue*, p. 249, no. 413:11; the manuscript consists of nine folios containing the preface to the work.
- 64 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 42; Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” (1908-1909), pp. 6-7, no. 7; p. 160: this is a Yemeni exemplar containing the first volume of the *Tibyān fi i‘rāb al-Qur‘ān* by Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū l-Baqā‘ ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn al-‘Ukbarī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 616/1219), dated by Griffini to the mid-seventh/thirteenth century; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 23, no. 42.
- 65 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 102; Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” (1908-1909), pp. 15-16, no. 16; pp. 162-163; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 52, no. 102: this is a “rather old ms.” (whereas according to Griffini it is datable to the tenth/sixteenth century), acephalous and glossed, containing the first half (276 fols) of the *Taqrib fi l-tafsīr*, an epitome of *al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143), by Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd al-Sirāfi al-Qālī al-Shuqqār (d. 698/1298). Other manuscripts confirm the identification: ms. London, British Library, Or 109 (Glaser 295), for which see Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue*, p. 63, no. 109, is a fragment of twenty-eight folios whose incipit is to be found at fol. 5r of the Ambrosiana exemplar; ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or 788 (Pm 134), for which see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 1, p. 311, no. 788, is a later exemplar (early twelfth/late seventeenth century), whose explicit is the same as that of the Ambrosiana copy.
- 66 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 32; Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” (1908-1909), pp. 16-17, no. 17; p. 163; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 19, no. 32: a “rather old ms.” (according to Griffini datable to the early ninth/fifteenth century) containing a Yemeni copy (243 fols) of *al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-tanzīl* by al-Zamakhsharī. Griffini also mentioned, in chronological order, the Yemeni copies of the work in the Ambrosiana: A 93 (Griffini, “I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano” [1908-1909], pp. 13-15,

الأمر الخطير عز الدين محمد بن محمد بن تاج الدين
 q'un du Kaššāf d'az-Zamaḥšarī. L'Auteur du nr. 18⁶⁷ est mort en 720 (v. mes "addenda"); le copiste a mal lu, et devait dire: الامام الخطير عز الدين محمد.

Le nr. 20⁶⁸ est déjà conservé à Berlin (Brock. 1, 191; l'Auteur est frère de al-Hādī, dont: madḥab al-Hādī, pour dire une des anciennes écoles chiites de l'Iraq; voir sur tous ces écoles mon cat., nr. 97,⁶⁹ sigle ه (= هادي); Brock. 1, 186, b).

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- no. 15), dated around 750/mid-fourteenth century; A 32 (see above); A 31 (ibid., p. 13, no. 13), a fragmentary exemplar, dated to the early ninth/fifteenth century; A 46 (ibid., p. 13, no. 14), dated around 1100/late seventeenth century. For other copies of different parts or fragments of the *Kashshāf* in the Ambrosiana, see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 147; vol. 2, p. 433; vol. 3, p. 221; Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 362.
- 67 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 6; Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), p. 17, no. 18; pp. 163-164; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 5, no. 6:I: this is an autograph and a unicum transcribed in 714/1314 (Griffini read 914 instead) containing the second part (109 fols) of *al-Rawḍa wa-l-ghadīr fī tafsīr āy al-aḥkām min tanzīl al-ḥakīm al-qadīr* by the Zaydi 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Hādī b. Taj al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 720/1320), identified by Griffini and Brockelman (GAL, Suppl. 2, p. 241:c), and not to be attributed to the misidentified al-Khiḍr b. Muḥammad (GAL, Suppl. 2, 986:35).
- 68 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 75:XI1; Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 17-18, no. 20; pp. 164-165; "Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici" (1910), p. 586; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 38-39, no. 75:XI1. This manuscript contains the final part of *juz' 1* and the beginning of *juz' 2* (fols 88-101) of *Kitāb al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* by 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Qāsim al-Ḥasanī Ṣāhib al-Za'farān al-Zaydī (Brockelmann, GAL, Suppl. 1, p. 334; Sezgin, GAS, vol. 1, p. 42), brother of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq (d. 298/911), consisting of four text fragments and, according to Griffini, transcribed in Yemen around the early twelfth/late seventeenth century by a different hand than the rest of the manuscript. Griffini mentioned one of the two complete copies (fols 5-45): ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or 10226 (Glaser 128) (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 9, p. 574). The other is ms. Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Or. 334⁴ (Traini, *I manoscritti arabi di recente accessione della Fondazione Caetani*, pp. 46-47).
- 69 I did not find any reference under "no. 97" in his catalogues, at least related to al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq (d. 298/911), the first imam to establish the Zaydi-Hādawī *madhhab* in Yemen. The imam's legal opinions (*madhḥad al-Hādī*) are set forth in a number of works, the main ones being his *Kitāb al-Aḥkām* (published as *Aḥkām fī bayān al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*) and *Kitāb al-Muntakhab*. Assuming that Griffini was referring to the first, he mentioned an Ambrosiana exemplar of the work on two occasions (the Ambrosiana collection contains twenty-nine exemplars of the work, including both complete or fragmentary copies): ms. H 138 (*Jāmi' al-aḥkām*), first volume dated 418/1027 (fols 235); Griffini, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften", p. 65, and facsimile of fol. 31r (tab. III); Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, pp. 294-295, no. 1760. Cf. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, p. 94, n. 4; p. 106, n. 1. See also n. 87 (letter 4 July 1911).

Agréez, avec mes plus distingués hommages, les meilleurs souhaits pour la nouvelle année!

V. dévoué
EGriffini

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 10 November 1910

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/13, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4663>)

Milan, via Borgo Spesso 23.

10 Nov. 1910

Monsieur et honoré Collègue.

Les premières trois livraisons de mon essai de catalogue par matières d'une première collection de mss. arabes (jadis chez moi, et maintenant achetés par la Biblioteca Ambrosiana de Milan) ont été réunies en brochure⁷⁰ dernièrement et je me procure le plaisir de Vous en envoyer la copie que je Vous dois. Seulement, j'avoue moi-même que ce travail a été rien d'autre qu'un exercice de lecture de mss. pour moi; un apprentissage! L'acquisition faite par la Bibliothèque a rendu urgent la publication d'une liste plus détaillée du point de vue bibliographique et moins riche du point de vue des extraits de textes, biographies in extenso et autres matériaux qui ne peuvent se trouver à leur aise que dans des ouvrages in -8 grand, in -4 etc., et pas dans une modeste Rivista. Celle-ci cependant à déjà commencé la publication des inventaires annoncés dans la "Lieta notizia" qu'on trouve au commencement de mon "Saggio". Je pense que Vous aurez l'opportunité de voir la nouvelle publication (Lista dei manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana). Je Vous prie de vouloir bien oublier le "Saggio" aussitôt reçu et placé sur le rayon le moins en vue de votre librairie!

Vous pouvez voir la première livraison de ma "Lista etc." dans la même Rivista, III, fasc. 2.⁷¹ Une autre livraison est déjà prête. Voyez l'index analytique

70 This is Griffini's *I manoscritti sudarabici della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano: Saggio del catalogo per materie della prima Collezione (coranica, tradizione, dogmatica, mistica)*, which brought together his first lists of manuscripts published in 1908-1910 in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* ("I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano"); the *Saggio* was introduced by an announcement of the donation of Caprotti's Yemeni manuscript collection to the Ambrosiana in December 1909, "Una lieta notizia".

71 "Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici" (1910), pp. 253-278, 571-594, 901-921.

et confutez-moi tout librement dans le cas que quelque numéro de liste puisse renfermer pour vous un intérêt spécial. Je serai bien heureux de vous transcrire les textes que vous voudrez bien choisir.

La Bibl. Ambr. m'a prié de bien vouloir partager, en bon camarade, la destinée des manuscrits, en les suivant chez elle. Je travaille maintenant en Bibliothèque.

Une bonne nouvelle: *votre* كتاب المعمرين existe aussi à l'Ambrosiana (ms. jémenoï, fragmentaire, moderne).⁷² Avant la fin de 1910 sera collationné sur Votre édition et envoyé pour Votre Festschrift,⁷³ إن شاء الله!

Tout à Vous

Votre dévoué

DrEGriffini

الوجينيو غريفييني ⁷⁴

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 9 December 1910

Postcard

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/02, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4653>)

Milan, via Borgo Spesso, 23.

9 Déc. 1910

72 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 193 (Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 94-95, no. 1488): this is a recent and heterogeneous manuscript (56 fols) by different hands, containing the following: I (fols 1-2) both anonymous and identified verses; II (fols 3-24) *Kifāyat al-mutahaffiz* [*wa-nihāyat al-mutalaffāz*] *fi l-lughā* by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulūsī Ibn al-Ajdābī (sixth/twelfth century), published most recently in 2003; III a collection of fragmentary texts drawn from (a) (fols 27-31r, 34) *Kitāb al-Mu'ammārīn* by Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 255/869) concerning Aktham b. Ṣayfī al-Tamīmī (see n. 76), Durayd b. al-Ṣimma al-Jushāmī, 'Amir b. al-Ẓarīb al-'Adwānī, Quṣṣ b. Sā'ida al-Iyādī, Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, and Ḥibbān b. Qays Nābigha al-Ja'dī; (b) (fols 31v-33) *Kitāb Sāmī fi l-asāmī* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124), regarding *bāb* 25, edited in 1967; (c) (fols 35v-38r) *Alfāz al-mutarādifa wa-mutaqāribāt al-ma'nā* by 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), in 147 short *bābs*; (d-i) (fols 38v-41r) verses and extracts from five other texts (Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 95); IV (fols 41v-54) a selection of verses from the *Dīwān* of Imru' al-Qays (see Boustany, "Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥudjir") in the recension of 'Abd al-Mālik b. Qurayb al-Aṣma'i; and V (fols 25v, 55-56) a selection of verses from the *Dīwān* of al-Nābigha al-Ḍubayānī (see Arazi, "al-Nābigha al-Ḍhubayānī"). Griffini browsed and examined this manuscript before cataloguing it, foreseeing the interest that the text of the *Kitāb al-Mu'ammārīn* could arouse in Goldziher.

73 In his *Festschrift* (ed. Bezold, 1911), no contribution by Griffini appears.

74 Calligraphic signature by Griffini.

Mr. Le Professeur.

La presente pour Vous exprimer toute ma reconnaissance et dévotion pour les emendanda signalées dans votre lettre du 3 et carte postale du 6. je les ferai connaître prochainement car sans cela il y aurait trop des guet-à-pens dans mes textes.—Le fragm. Ambros. du *المعمرين* ك" الوصايا ك" ne contient rien du *ك" الوصايا ك"*; au contraire, la longue lacune du nr. XI (p. 9) sur *ك" الوصايا ك"* sera comblée (par 93 lignes du ms, en neshī très-serré!). Mais à propos de ce fragm. j'aurai le plaisir de Vous écrire de nouveau aussitôt que la collation sera achevée. Le fragm. est contenu dans un cod. de miscellanea,⁷⁶ avec ces autres écrits:

- 1 كفاية المتحفظ في اللغة {sic} تأليف ... الطرابلسي
 2 — من شعر النابغة
 3 — [من] كتاب السامي في الاسامي الباب الخامس والعشرون
 4 — قال في كتاب المعمرين تأليف الشيخ ابن حاتم (الخ)
 5 — الالفاظ المترادفة⁷⁷ لعلي بن عيسى الرماني
 6 ديوان امرئ القيس (من نسخة ابي عبيدة والاصمعي حاصة {sic} وليس فيها من رواية؛ غيرهما)

aussi:

حدثنا أبو عمرو بن العلاء قلت لذي الرمة من اشعر لوصف المطر قال امرؤ
 القيس حيث يقال [القصيدة]

avec cmt.!

7.

ديوان النابغة الذبياني

etc etc.

75 Goldziher, *Das Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, p. 7, n. 14 (chapter x): "Hier ist eine beträchtliche Lücke, welche sich wahrscheinlich auf den Aktam d. Šejfī erstreckt", corresponding to the Arabic text at the end of chapter 10 (pp. 8-9).

76 See the preceding letter (n. 72).

77 To be read المترادفة.

• • •

Malheureusement, avec tant de trésors, je suis seul, absolument seul, à Milan, à connaître l'alif-bā!!

Votre bien devoué
EGriffini

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 21 June 1911

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/14, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4664>)

Milan, via Borgo Spesso 23.
21 Juin 1911.

Très honoré Professeur Goldziher.

Je viens de Vous offrir un exemplaire de la toute petite Note que l'Institut d'ici, tout en ne possédant des caractères arabes, a voulu publier sur la decouverte du ⁷⁸ مجموع الفقه عن زيد بن علي sur l'ouvrage que je pense d'avoir démontré avoir été le فقه في الجمع في الفقه, اول كتاب جمع في الفقه, par Zayd même. Malheureusement je n'ai pas pu donner des longs extraits de l'ouvrage, en caractères arabes. J'ai pensé alors d'envoyer à Titius pour sa *Theologische Literaturzeitung* une courte Mitteilung dans la quelle j'annonce d'avoir prise en considération l'opportunité de donner au plus tôt possible le texte en entier du مجموع.⁷⁹ Le professeur Amedroz⁸⁰ de Londres est venu voir de visu le manuscrit qui contient l'unicum de la rédaction entière, la majeure, en 6 اجزاء (98 pages de texte à 23 lignes).⁸¹ Il m'a proposé de

78 Griffini, "La più antica codificazione".

79 Griffini did not publish any contribution in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, the journal edited by Arthur Titius (1864-1936) between 1910 and 1921.

80 There is no mention of this visit in correspondence from Henry Frederick Amedroz (1854-1917), one of the trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, to Goldziher, but in a letter dated 19 December 1911, Amedroz wrote to Goldziher from London with regard to the *Majmū'* edition: "The refusal of the 'Gibb Memorial' to accept Dr. Griffini's Zaid text was largely due to the doubts as to its authenticity. And indeed the authority of the source, عمر بن خالد الواسطي is very doubtful. See Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* VII N° 41. I trust that the refusal was not a disappointment to you." (Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/04/29/20, <http://real.ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/804>).

81 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 239:11; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 101, n. 1069:11: according to Griffini, this is the Ambrosiana's "extended" exemplar of *Majmū'*

la publier (avec un sommaire, des Indices rerum, etc., et avec la reimpression de ma Note, modifiée pour le cas) dans un volume du “Gibb Memorial”, mais il crains de n’être pas en maitre pour persuader tous ses collègues et surtout G. Le Strange et Julius Bertram (le “clerk of the Trust”)⁸² de l’importance du *مجموع*, qui après tout ne demandera que 120-150 pages d’impression in-8°; tout le monde sait que ont donné jusqu’ici la préférence à des ouvrages de tout genre, sans programme déterminé, faute d’unité de goûts entre les Trustees.

Croyez vous que le *مجموع* soit digne du Gibb Memorial? Car je me permets de suivre le conseil d’Amedroz c. à d. de Vous écrire pour demander une espèce de imprimatur moral de votre part. Amedroz m’a assuré que seulement votre jugement favorable et le jugement de votre collègue Snouck Hurgronje⁸³ pourra servir à obtenir la votation favorable de Le Strange et de Bertram, c. à d. de tous ceux des Trustees qui ont des goûts différents de ceux de la plupart des orientalistes du continent. J’écris donc a Vous et à Snouck pour cet appui moral pour le quel suffira, de votre part, un seul mot d’encouragement, signé par Vous.

al-fiqh attributed to Zayd b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn, in the redaction of Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ishāq b. Ja‘far Ibn al-Baqqāl al-Baghdādī (Sezgin, GAS, vol. 1, p. 568), divided into six *juz*’.

82 Guy Le Strange (1854-1933) was much involved in the editorial and other affairs of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust. On the trust’s decision, a letter from Julius Bertram in London to Goldziher dated 5 November 1911 informed the latter that, despite Goldziher’s letter in support of Griffini’s “*Corpus iuris*” di Zaid ibn ‘Alī, the Trustees had decided not to undertake its publication; furthermore, “[...] I cannot hold out any expectation that the Trustees’ decision will be varied, as independent enquiry on their part has convinced them that the work is not suitable for their Series and they are very sorry not to be able to oblige you” (Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/04/19/01, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/1580>). I found no letter by Le Strange to Goldziher about this question.

83 On several occasions, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) mentioned to Goldziher Griffini’s publication project and his plan of supporting it after the Trustees had requested his opinion. In a letter from Stuttgart dated 22 July 1911, he asked for Goldziher’s opinion on the matter: “Ich habe bisher an keinen der Trustees des Gibb fund geschrieben; ich deutete Griffini’s Schreiben dahin, dass er eine an ihn gerichtete Aeusserung von mir verlangte, welche etwa den Trustees gezeigt werden konnte. Jetzt halte ich aber deine Auffassung für die richtige, und ich bin bereit, sei es an Browne [...], sei es an Bertram zu schreiben.” (Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/04/01/243, <http://real.ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/12340>). In another communication (13 July 1911), he asked Goldziher for information about the trustees’ decision not to publish the *Majmū‘* and told him of his intention to suggest it to the De Goeje Stiftung, if the Accademia dei Lincei would not accept it first; he was eager to know the reasons for the trust’s rejection of this “oldest *fiqh* book” and to discover who might have been the responsible for it (Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/40/01/245 01, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/12342>). To the correspondence Snouck-Hurgronje—Goldziher see van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft*. Cf. letter dated 4 July 1911.

Je Vous en rémercie d'avance!

Le volume, dans le cas d'un décision favorable des Trustees, sera imprimé à Rome; j'aurai donc l'opportunité de surveiller le progrès du travail, avec mes yeux, surtout pour ce qui se rattache aux Indices et aux quelques notes de comparaison avec les anciens traités de **فقه**.

Mes hommages bien dévoués!

EGriffini

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 23 June 1911

Postcard

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/03, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4654>)

Milan, via Borgo Spesso 23.

23 Juin 1911.

Honoré Monsieur!

Ma lettre d'hier a rencontré par route la carte postale que je viens de recevoir de vous, datée 20 courant. L'émendation proposée par Vous ⁸⁴ **وكان خاصاً** est confirmée par Ṭabari, glossaire, et par Lisan al-'Arab.

A page 271 de ma Note il faut lire "quaranta" et pas "trenta": sommez ensemble les 30 anneaux de la ligne centrale avec tous ceux des branches latérales et vous aurez 40 différents personnages.⁸⁵

Votre bien dévoué

DrEGriffini.

P.S.—Au sujet de la question d'hier (la publication du **مجموع**): est que Vous n'auriez a me proposer quelque maison ou Société (la DmG et ses *Abhandlungen*) chez laquelle Vous pourriez m'aider à offrir le **مجموع**, dans le cas que le Gibb Memorial ne Vous semble jouer la nécessaire consideration chez les orientalistes? Je ne me soucie que de l'école critique des pais allemands et de l'Hollande. France et Angleterre sont peu plus de l'Orient pour moi. EG.

84 In the chain of transmitters of the extended exemplar of the *Majmū'* (ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 239, fol. 171r), Griffini read these words as *wa-kāna ḥāṣā* and referred to the last word as *ḥājjan* ("La più antica codificazione", p. 267); Goldziher corrected the reading.

85 Griffini reconstructed the forty transmitters of the text in a family tree ("La più antica codificazione", pp. 270-271).

Griffini to Goldziher

[Milan], 4 July 1911

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/04, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4655>)

Honoré Professeur.

Ci-inclus vous avez par Amedroz même, la reponse a votre dernière carte; vous pouvez la garder pour vous; j'en ai prise une copie. On y parle de "l'appui des trois preferances"; c'est le *igmā'* de Vous, de Snouck et de Guidi, c. à.-d. selon Amedroz la condition sine qua non pour l'acceptation de la part de la Commission Gibb; les vœux de Amedroz et de Margoliouth sont assurés. Quant'à Snouck le bienveillant professeur à déjà écrit a moi une lettre d'appui, favorable à l'impression de l'ouvrage, et j'en ai transmise copie à Amedroz, qui je croyais à Londres et qu'au contraire est à Bergamo, a 50 km. d'ici! Je ne quitterai Milan que relativement, car bien que je compte de passer l'été sur le lac de Como, a Menaggio, je serai à Milan un jour pour semaine pour y retirer la correspondance. Le *مجموع* a été photographié (car la Bibl. ne prête pas mêmes a son "chargé de catalogue"), de façon qu'a Menaggio je pourrai continuer la transcription du ms., déjà commencée. Si Vous voudrez donc appuyer le projet avec le Prof. Snouck, qui l'a déjà fait dans des temps que je considère plus que persuasifs même pour des laïques, je serai bien heureux si avec votre permission je pourrai mettre votre nom dans le volume à titre de reconnaissance. Guidi ne nous servira pas, car il voudrait avoir le *مجموع* dans sa Revue ou pour l'Academie de Rome.⁸⁶ Du court aperçu du *مجموع* Vous ne pouvez pas constater si on y parle des sujets mentionnes dans Votre carte avant-dernière, excepté le *مسح الحفین*⁸⁷. A sa place on parle de la *متعة عام خبير*⁸⁸ et de Fontes des anciennes institutions juridiques plus intéressantes. Je ferai, dans l'apparatus

86 There is no confirmation of a plan to publish the *Majmū'* either by the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei or in the *Rivista di Studi Orientali*, the journal of the Sapienza University of Rome, founded, among others, by Ignazio Guidi (1844-1935).

87 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 138 (*Jāmi' al-ahkām*), fol. 31r, reproduced in Griffini, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften", p. 65, tab. 111, being the beginning of the *باب القول في المسح على الحفین الشراکین الرجلین الخمار والعمامة والقلمسوة*. Cf. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, p. 106, ann. 1. See n. 69 (letter dated 29 December 1908).

88 This is a reference to Griffini's "*Corpus iuris*" di *Zaid ibn 'Alī*, p. 328, where he transcribed the most salient passages about *mut'a* and *istimtā'* from ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 135, the *Amālī Aḥmad b. 'Īsā*, that is, the *Amālī* of Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī (d. 247/861); see also letter dated 24 September 1916, n. 116.

criticus, des concordances avec plusieurs anciens traités de **فقه**. Les indices seront nombreux et très riches; le sommaire aussi sera détaillé!

Mille et mille remerciements de votre dévoué

4 VII 1911 EGriffini.

Henry Frederick Amedroz to Griffini

Bergamo, 3 July 1911

Enclosed postcard

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/06, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4657>)

Cher Dr. Griffini,

je viens de trouver ici Votre lettre du 25 Juin. Priez Goldziher de bien vouloir écrire à notre Clerc. J. Bertram 14 Suffolk Street. London S. W. et non pas à Brown, comme il a fait à propos de la Nachrichten de ses Vorle“sunguen”⁸⁹ et Sa lettre ne m’a jamais été Communiquée. S’il tient à écrire à un des Trustees, je conseille A. G. Ellis (India Office Library—London. S. W.) je ferai mon possible pour le **مجموع** mais mes Collègues sont assez difficiles. L’important c’est l’appui des trois Professeurs. Je me charge d’écrire a Margoliouth. Vous avez raison de quitter Milan dans Cette Chaleur

Bien à Vous H. F. Amédroz.

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 5 July 1911

Postcard

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/05, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4656>)

Milan, via Borgo Spesso 23.
5 Juillet 1911

Très Honoré Professeur,

Esperons que votre Lettre au prof. Browne puisse obtenir le résultat désiré par Vous et souhaité par moi. Je vous prie de vouloir agréer Mr. le Professeur, tous mes plus vifs remerciements. Merci, merci!—Au sujet de Mr. Browne, je ne suis pas ainsi pessimiste que Mr. Amedroz; une lettre signé par vous est un **تنزيل**, et Mr. Br. doit souscrire à l’**iğmā‘** de tous ses collègues!—⁹⁰

89 Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*.

90 See the letter dated 21 June 1911 (n. 83).

Quant à *أحمد بن يحيى بن الامام (lisez المهدي لدين الله)* (dont le nom est *بن يحيى بن الامام*) auteur des livres *الغايات الافكار*, *البحر الزخار*, *الازهار* (المريض) *il est le bien connu* etc; voyez Brock., II, 187,⁹¹ où les dates sont exactes. Mais mieux encore, comparez Rieu, *British Mus. Supplement*, index of titles, sous *تحفة الايكاس*⁹² (lisez *تحفة الايكاس* et non *الاياس* dans cette saleté de catalogue publié chez Brill pour la collection Amīn, Catalogue⁹³ que je ne citerai jamais dans ma liste des mss. arabes de l'Ambrosiana dont j'ai le plaisir de Vous adresser le I fasc., que vous devez connaître déjà par la Riv. St. Orientali di Roma). Le livre *تحفة الايكاس* n'est qu'une partie infinitésimale du grand et précieux *غايات الافكار*, dont une foule d'exemplaires existe à l'Ambr. (exemplaires partielles qui se comblent l'un l'autre).⁹⁴

- 91 For the complete list of the Ambrosiana manuscripts containing the works of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn al-Murṭaḍā al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (d. 840/1436-37), see Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 200; Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 338; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, pp. 238-240; *GAL*, Suppl. 2, pp. 244-245 (incorrect as to the division of the author's work and commentaries). The *Kitāb al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār al-jāmi' li-madhāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār* by al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh is a comprehensive digest of Zaydi-Hādawī law preceded by six introductory sections (*dibāja/muqaddima*): Schwarz, "Ms Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294", pp. 166-168. On the author and his works see al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 215-222: 237, and the recent contribution to the biography of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn al-Murṭaḍā by Wilmers, *Beyond Schools*, pp. 44-59.
- 92 Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue*, pp. 251-252, n. 420:VII (Or. 3771, Glaser 55); p. 252, n. 421:I (Or. 3890, Glaser 176), fols 1-54, both dated 1025/1616; p. 253, n. 422:VII (Or. 3989, Glaser 283), fols 225r-248v, dated 1190/1776. All three carry the title *تحفة الايكاس في شرح تعيين آلي امية والعباس*, a minor part of the *Ghāyāt al-afkār*, an articulated commentary on the *Kitāb al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*.
- 93 Griffini refers to the list catalogue of 664 Arabic manuscripts published by Martijn Theodoor Houtsma, *Catalogue d'une collection de manuscrits arabes et turcs appartenant à la maison E. J. Brill*; most of the manuscripts were purchase by Brill from the Medinese scholar Amīn b. Ḥasan al-Ḥulwanī al-Madanī al-Ḥasanī (d. 1898), who brought them to Amsterdam in 1883 in the occasion of the Colonial Exposition.
- 94 The Ambrosian exemplars of the author's own commentary *Ghāyāt al-afkār* are scattered across several manuscripts, of which those the closest to the author's dating are C 14 (326 fols), consisting of the third volume of part 3 of *Dibājat al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār* (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 134, n. 270); C 59 (191 fols), the *Yawāqit al-siyar*, i.e. vol. 5 of *Ghāyāt al-afkar*; there are eight chapters, the first two being often treated as a *muqaddima* and the seventh being the *Tuhfat al-akyās* (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 156, n. 315); E 46 (63 fols), the *Yawāqit al-siyar*, i.e. vol. 5 of *Ghāyāt al-afkar*, including part of the *Tuhfat al-akyās* (fols 24r-45r) (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 22, n. 876); E 51 (90 fols), vol. 5 of *Ghāyāt al-afkar* (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 25, n. 881); and E 93 (331 fols), vol. 3 of *Ghāyāt al-afkar* (Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 48, n. 923). *Ghāyāt al-afkar* consists of an introduction and nine disciplinary sections (*funūn*): *funūn* 1-6 are commentaries on the six parts of the *dibāja* of *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār* (ed. Tāmir, vol. 1), while *funūn* 7-9 are commentaries on its principal legal part (*K. al-Aḥkām al-mutaḍammīn li-fiqh a'immāt al-Islām*) and two of its appendices (ed. Tāmir, vols 2-6).

Au Caire est déjà paru le premier جزء d'un ouvrage sur lequel je me permets d'appeler votre attention, un commentaire mixte du cité الأزهار de المهدي لدين الله⁹⁵ Sur l'auteur de cet ouvrage je me suis perdu; aussi l'éditeur égyptien y perde son latin! Appellons-le ابن مفتاح tout court sans aller plus loins aujourd'hui; vous pouvez voir mon Catal. Ambros.—"Indice analitico—giurisprudenza zeidita—Ciclo *al-azhār*, relativi commenti"⁹⁶ et les renvois que j'y ai recueilli dans la prétention d'avoir conclu quelque chose.

Si votre شرح كتاب الملل والنحل المهدي لدين الله (dont Arnold a publié le شرح كتاب الملل والنحل avec le titre *The Mutaziles*)⁹⁷ vous interesse, écrivez-le moi. Je Vous le presenterai mieux.

Tout à Vous!

EGriffini

Griffini to Goldziher

Menaggio (Lake Como), 16 July 1911

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/15, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4665>)

Menaggio (lago di Como)

16 Juillet 1911

Très honoré Professeur,

Je viens de recevoir votre honorée du 8 courant avec jointe la carte de Browne dont j'ai prise copie. Si donc Vous voulez vous déranger encore une

In the extant general introduction to *Ghāyāt al-afkār*, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh describes the encyclopaedic *Ghāyāt* project as كُتِبَ لَطِيفٌ يَتَضَمَّنُ الْأَحَادِيثَ بِعِلْمِ الْأَسْلَامِ جَمِيعِهَا (ms. London, British Library, Or. 3937, fol. 2v; Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue*, pp. 246-247); see Schwarb, "Ms Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294", p. 167. *K. al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār* has been reprinted several times (see the bibliography); the most recent edition is by Muḥammad M. Tāmīr, 6 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1422/2001.

95 Composed in four *juz'*, *al-Muntaza' al-mukhtār min al-ghayth al-midrār al-mufattiḥ li-kamā'im al-Azhār* (also known as *Sharḥ al-Azhār*) by al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh's second-generation disciple 'Abd Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim Ibn Miftāḥ (d. 877/1472) is the most important commentary on al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh's *Kitāb al-Azhār*, or rather on the latter's own commentary on *Kitāb al-Azhār*, his *Kitāb al-Ghayth al-midrār*: al-Shahārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya*, vol. 1, p. 229; al-Wajīh, *A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 589-590: 744. Its first edition appeared in 1328/1910, the most recent, containing ten volumes, in 1424/2003. See also letter dated 6 July 1911.

96 Griffini, "Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici" (1910), p. 256.

97 Arnold, *Al-Mu'tazilah*; published in full edition as *Kitāb al-Munya wa-l-amal*.

fois (la dernière, je veux espérer) pour l'avenir du *مجموع*, Vous pouvez écrire à Mr. Bertram (un français, si je me rappelle bien) en vous référant à la lettre écrite à Mr. Browne et en disant que la lettre, adressé à un de vos amis personnels, était moralement destinée à lui. La manque de rapports directs avec lui vous avait conseillé ce procédé. On peut ajouter: de bien vouloir consulter Mr. Amedroz qui vient de rentrer chez lui (48, York Terrace, London). J'attends de Mr. Amedroz des instructions pour la lettre récue de Mr. Snouck Hurgronje, dans la quelle votre collègue de Leiden écrit entre autre: "A mon avis le *مجموع* doit être publié, et une fondation comme le Gibb Memorial ne saurait employer les moyens dont elle dispose d'une manière plus utile qu'en publiant un texte de si tante importance. Je suis que mon ami Goldziher sera du même avis.... J'espère que dans peu de temps nous disposerons d'une belle édition du *مجموع* faite par vos soins, pourvue d'un bon apparatus criticus (indices, variaie lectiones etc.) et si possible accompagnée d'une traduction".

Quant aux volumes des "Memorie" de l'"Accademia dei Lincei" je ne songe pas à le choisir ni pour le *مجموع* ni pour mes autres travaux en préparation. A Londres on est beaucoup plus pratiques qu'à Rome: le coté éditorial et libraire de l'entreprise est un affaire qu'il faut savoir traiter aussi bien que les questions d'impression et de reliure; le Comité du Gibb sait faire et sait faire connaître ses publications, tandis que à Milan, par exemple, on ne trouve pas dans les Bibliothèques publiques que quelques volumes des "Memorie".

Je pense qu'à l'heure actuelle vous devez avoir reçu ma carte avec les renseignements sur *المهدي لدين الله احمد بن يحيى بن المرتضى*. J'y pense ajouter quelque chose dès maintenant:

À page [52]-[53] de mon essai "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano", en note, (= pages 146-147 de la RSO, vol. 11)⁹⁸ j'ai publié le texte arabe d'une biografie de *son fils* *شمس الدين*; à page [53] (= 147) ligne dernière, je disais: "Voyez des autres notices au nr. 132, note, du présent catalogue". Mais comme cet ancien cat. par matière a dû être substitué par la "Lista" plus rapide qui parait maintenant dans la même RSO., ces "autres notices" restent inédites. Il s'agit de la biografie de la *seur* de l'imâm Aḥmad. Il est curieux que le dictionnaire IAR (*ابن ابي الرجال ÷ كآب مطلع البدور الخ*) ne s'occupe du imâm que indirectement, et donne des renseignements sur lui (assez détaillés dans la biogr. de la *seur*)⁹⁹ sans lui dédier une *vita* spéciale. Mais je me rappelle d'avoir vu des biographies de lui tout récemment dans des autres mss. Ambros. dans le premier fascicule de la "Lista", fascicule que je viens de Vous envoyer avec le titre "I mss. arabi

98 Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1908-1909), pp. 145-146, ann. 1; Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*.

99 His sister was Dahmā' bt. Yaḥyā b. al-Murṭaḍā (d. 837/1433-34): Ibn Abī l-Rijāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, vol. 2, pp. 278-281; see Wilmers, *Beyond Schools*, p. 45.

della Bibl. Ambr.; Vous trouverez des écrits du imâm aux numéros II, 58, 76, 85, 89 (البحر الزخار),¹⁰⁰

51 II, 83 I, 84 I, 112 III (القلائد, partie de l'introduction du البحر);¹⁰¹

27 (الازهار); 12 (الانوار) et quelques poésies (nos. 4 XIV, page [9]; a p. [10] ligne 3 lisez XVI).¹⁰²

Dans le prochain fasc. de la RSO vous aurez aussi la première livraison de la partie de Lista qui décrit les nos. 125-256, avec un index analytique au commencement (à titre de **إمفتاح**) très détaillé, dans le quel vous trouverez des autres mss. d'écrits de **الامام النهدي لدين الله احمد بن يحيى**,¹⁰³ dont le **كتاب الازهار** commence à paraître au Caire dans le commentaire de **ابن مفتاح** (v. ma lista, no 8 et 60), d'après un ms. de Berlin.¹⁰⁴ J'en parlerai dans une récénsion.

Mon adresse plus sûr, jusqu'à la fin de septembre, est: Dr. E. G., villa Messa, Menaggio (Lac de Côme, Italie).

•••

Recevez donc encore une fois mes plus vifs et dévoué sentiments de reconnaissance pour l'appui moral que Vous avez bien voulu accorder a mon project, qui d'ailleurs n'est que le mérite de Mr. Amedroz. Celui-ci est venu à Milan voir de visu le fonds arabe de l'Ambros. en général et les mss. du **مجموع** en particulier; la paternité du plan **مجموع**-Gibb est toute à lui, et je suis bien content d'apprendre par votre dernière lettre que Mr. Amedroz est aussi une de vos relations personnelles. Souhaitons-nous que l'entente cordiale entre Londres et Budapest puisse donner dans l'année un fruit, avec les Pandettes de Zeid, digne d'elle.

ولله الحمد حقَّ حمده

Votre bien dévoué
EGriffini.

100 Griffini, "Lista dei manoscritti arabi" (1910), pp. 574-575 (58), 587 (76), 590 (85), 591 (89), corresponding to different parts of *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār* (or *Dībājat al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*).

101 Griffini, "I manoscritti sudarabici di Milano" (1909), pp. 150-151; "Lista dei manoscritti sudarabici" (1910), pp. 277-278 (51), 589-590 (83, 84), 908-909 (112), corresponding to *al-Qalā'id fi taṣḥīḥ al-aqā'id* (part 2 of *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*).

102 Griffini, "Lista dei manoscritti arabi" (1910), p. 268 (27), corresponding to *Kitāb al-Azhār fi fiqh al-a'imma al-athār*; p. 264 (12), corresponding to *Kitāb al-Anwār al-muntaqā min kalām al-nabī al-mukhtār*; pp. 261, 262.

103 Griffini, "Lista dei manoscritti arabi" (1911-1912), pp. 87-106, 1021-1048.

104 Griffini, "Lista dei manoscritti arabi" (1910), pp. 263 (8), 575-576 (60). He is referring to ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or 4922 (Glaser 156); Ahwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 4, pp. 317-318, n. 4922, containing *al-Muntaza' al-mukhtār min al-ghayth al-midrār al-mufattiḥ li-kamā'im al-Azhār* by 'Abd Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim Ibn Miftāḥ (for the work and its editions, see letter dated 5 July 1911, n. 96). No review by Griffini of this edition was ever published.

Griffini to Goldziher
Milan, 25 October 1911

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/16, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4666>)

Milan Ambrosiana, 25 oct. 1911.

Honoré Monsieur!

“In tempore belli”, mêmes les occupations des arabisants doivent suivre la direction donnée par les événements, direction que dans le cas present n'est pas un **سبيل الله**. J'ai reçu (à Rome) votre dernière lettre avec la lettre de Mr. Bertram.¹⁰⁵ Mille et une fois merci!

L'ouvrage (transcription du ms., pour le moment) était déjà accompli pour une moitié en vertu de mes loisirs de Menaggio. Ce qui est arrivé après m'a obligé a m'arrêter. Mais “quod differtur non aufertur”. Je crois que pour 2 mois je resterai à Milan (Ambrosiana), en paix. Merci aussi des emendations à mon Ier fasc. du Catalogue. L'impression de la suite ne sera arrêtée pour aucune raison.

Aujourd'hui je peux donc examiner les questions posées par Vous en juillet: **المدخ** n'existe pas ni dans mes fiches ni dans Hamdānī. (Ce dernier connaît **المدح** et **المدج**; voir II Bd., Seite 108, Z. 3. et I Bd., Seite 106, Z. 1.).¹⁰⁶

Je n'ai pas retrouvé votre **المعجلى** **بن علي المبراهيم**; je trouve seulement:

- a) السيد العامل إبراهيم بن علي بن امير المؤمنين يحيى شرق الدين بن شمس الدين بن امير المؤمنين بن المهدي لدين الله احمد بن يحيى ابن المرتضى
- b) السيد العالم إبراهيم بن علي بن الحسين بن العوس (sic)
- c) الفقيه الفاضل ابواسحق ابراهيم بن علي بن يحيى المذبحي

105 See letter dated 21 June 1911, n. 82, quoting Bertram's letter to Goldziher informing him of the trustees' refusal to publish Griffini's *Majmū'*.

106 I did not find in al-Hamdānī either **المدج** (as Griffini claimed and Goldziher acknowledged at the bottom of this letter) nor **المدح**, but there are several references to **حراز** (about which Goldziher had asked Griffini for information): *Kitāb Sifat jazīrat al-'arab*, vol. 1, pp. 68, 72, 103, 105, 125, 126, 135, 193, 217.

- d) الفقيه العلم ابراهيم بن علي العراري
 e) الفقيه العلامة الفاضل ابراهيم بن علي بن احمد الاكوع
- a est du x^{ème} siècle.
 b est d'époque vague, ainsi que e.
 c était élève de محمد بن صلاح بن يحيى العلامة يحيى (950 ca.).
 d était du temps de الامام الواثق (proclamé l'an 749).
 Je n'ai pas réussi à identifier ni la حراز من المدخ من قرية المدخ ni votre Muqri'. Je me sou-
 haite d'être plus utile une autre fois!

Votre bien reconnaissant
 et dévoué
 DrEGriffini

Hamdānī 106, i حراز¹⁰⁷ in der Umgegend von والمدخ

Griffini to Goldziher

[Milan], 3 December, [1911]

Postcard

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/01, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4652>)

3 XII {1911}¹⁰⁸

Honoré Monsieur.

Au même temps j'ai {... ?} carte postale du 28 et une lett{re ...}. Ils ne peuvent pas publier {... ?}. D'autre part, je ne peu pas {... ?} pu d'avantage. Je suis no{... ?} au Commande d'expédition à Tripolis;¹⁰⁹ demain soir même je partirai pour Rome; plus tard, après être rentré à Milan pour une quinzaine de jours, je passerai en Afrique. Je suis tout pour le *فقه المالكية* et pour le dialecte *ṭrābēlsī*.¹¹⁰ Je dois servir des intérêts généraux pour quelque temps. L'imprimerie arabe de

¹⁰⁷ This is a pencilled annotation by Goldziher.

¹⁰⁸ The stamp and the upper right-hand corner of the postcard have been cut out, and portions of the writing on the other side, indicated with curly brackets, are missing. The content suggests that the card may be dated to 1911.

¹⁰⁹ On 3 January 1912 Griffini landed in Tripoli and spent six months as a translator for the Military Political Bureau of the Italian command headquarters (Beltrami, "Eugenio Griffini Bey", pp. xxxvi-xli).

¹¹⁰ Griffini's Libyan experience yielded his handbook of the local dialect, *al-Tuḥfa al-lūbiyya*; see also the introduction to this article, p. 153.

Rome est complètement occupée pour le Gouvernement aussi. On travaille beaucoup, tandis qu'on parle ainsi mal devons {no}us avoir la patience d'attendre. On vaira! {To}ut à vous bien dévouément!

Griffini

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 24 September 1916

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/17, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4667>)

Milano, 24 Sett. 1916.
via Borgo Spesso 23.

Illustre e caro Collega.

I miei migliori ringraziamenti per il modo col quale Ella, nel suo bel libro recentemente uscito a Leida (La confutazione di Gazali contro la setta dei Batiniti)¹¹¹ accenna alle notizie che io avevo messe insieme sui Batiniti stessi, ed a altre mie pubblicazioni di arabistica.

A proposito dello scritto di al-Bustī,¹¹² io desidero che Ella sappia fin d'ora che io non intendo occuparmene. A suo tempo io pubblicherò il catalogo della mia raccolta privata di manoscritti arabi.¹¹³ Ma un conto è catalogare ed un conto è rispondere, dopo il cortese accenno da Lei fatto, alla legittima curiosità

111 He is referring to Goldziher's *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinīyya-Sekte*, in which the author mentions Griffini's reports on *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭinīyya* by the Zaydi Abū l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Bustī, al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār's disciple (pp. 17-18), and the contents of other manuscripts related to the Bāṭinīyya (pp. 26, 41, 61).

112 After Griffini's note on the existence of *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭinīyya* by al-Bustī in his "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften", pp. 80-81 (on the Ambrosiana manuscript, see n. 122), Goldziher included it in his list of anti-Isma'ili treatises in his *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinīyya-Sekte*, pp. 17-18, and expressed his wish that Griffini provide more news about it and further develop the theme, but this did not come about, and important information which can be gathered from this text remained unknown for a long time. Strothmann highlighted the manuscript in his 1927 review of Beltrami, "Eugenio Griffini Bey". On the author and his works, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 626:21; Walker, "Al-Bustī, Abū l-Qāsim", and Mazaheri, "Al-Bustī, Abū al-Qāsim".

113 This never materialized; Griffini's fifty-two manuscripts were given to the Ambrosiana after his death in 1925. They were briefly listed by his student Angela Codazzi in her inventory, *Catalogo*, and catalogued by Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. xxix-xxx (Concordance II, list of the mss. of Medio Fondo). On Griffini's private collection of manuscripts, see Sagaria Rossi, "Opening Yemen up to Italy".

degli arabisti, i quali vorranno certamente conoscere, di quello scritto, qualche cosa di più di quanto finora ne abbiano detto Lei ed io.

Lo stesso devo dire per lo scritto di Al-Muḥāsibī intitolato “Libro della Scienza” e contenuto nel ms. C 204 IX della Biblioteca Ambrosiana(1), che mi risulta fin’ora un unicum. La relativa descrizione (poche righe in tutto) uscirà entro il 1917 nella RSO, o al più tardi nel primo semestre del 1918.¹¹⁴

Immagino che avrà ricevuto l’ultimo fascicolo uscito della RSO, annata VII, fasc. 1, con una grossa puntata (Lieferung) del mio Catalogo. Ha visto dunque le notizie sul manoscritto dei “dialoghi di Gāmāsp”? e sul “Libro della latitudine e della longitudine di Hermes”?¹¹⁵

Come Ella da qualche anno già sa, lavoro per l’edizione della Raccolta di Zaid (in due redazioni e Appendice). Ma preparo anche gli Amālī di Aḥmad b. ‘Isa (v. ZDMG, 1915, Tavole I e II), uno dei più antichi libri di iḥtilāf contenente il fiqh di Zaid, il fiqh di suo fratello, l’imām al-Bāqir⁽²⁾ e molte e molte altre belle cose.¹¹⁶ Vorrei, fra due o tre anni, poterlo consegnare per la stampa.

114 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 204:v (fols 18r-21r): *Kitāb al-‘Ilm* by al-Ḥārith b. al-Asad al-Muḥāsibī al-Baṣrī al-‘Anazī (d. 243/837), consisting of twelve unnumbered *faṣṣ* and dated to the eleventh/seventeenth century (Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. 1, p. 352:13; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 641:13, mentioning another ancient exemplar of the work); Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti arabi” (1919-1920), pp. 328-329, n. 460, VI; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 229-230, n. 460.

115 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 86; Griffini, “Lista dei manoscritti arabi” (1916-1918), pp. 110-127, n. 342, VI; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 166-167, n. 342. Ms. C 86:1 (fols 1-100r) contains the first part of a unicum of the Arabic translation of the Greek original of the astrological treatise by Hermes Trismegistos, whose title here is *Kitāb al-‘Arḍ li-Hermis* (fol. 1r) or *Kitāb ‘Arḍ miftāḥ asrār al-nujūm* (fols 80v, 99v), commonly known as *Miftāḥ asrār al-nujūm*, hence probably the oldest translation from Greek into Arabic, completed in 125/743 (fol. 100r). Griffini gave details on the content, which is divided into many chapters (“Lista”, pp. 110-114). Ms. C 86:111 (fols 101v-117v) contains Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Fārisī’s Arabic translation from the Pahlavi of *al-Aḥkām al-Jāmāspiyya* (*Kitāb Tīrāz al-dahr fī asrār al-khalq wa-l-amr fī l-aḥkām al-Jāmāspiyya ‘alā l-qirānāt al-‘ubwīyya*), a treatise on astrology applied to history, which is attributed to the Persian sage Jāmāsp/Jāmāsf/Jāmāsb (third/ninth century), but that may be a later Islamic work; it is divided into thirty-nine unnumbered chapters dealing with the main events of human history from the Flood to Muḥammad.

116 He is referring to ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 135 (240 fols), an old and complete copy, dated to the sixth/twelfth century (567/1172), of the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ‘Isā*; Griffini, “Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften”, pp. 64-65 and facsimiles (tables 1-11); Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, pp. 290-292, n. 1757, mentioning other partial or recent exemplars of the work (Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 563:6). Griffini did not dedicate a specific study to the work but rather intended to use it for his edition of the *Majmū‘ al-fiqh* instead of publishing it, as he claimed in its description: “[...] ich beabsichtige deshalb, diese Amālī für meine bald in Aussicht genommene Ausgabe des ältesten Versuchs einer Kodifikation des islamischen Gesetzes zu benutzen” (“Die jüngste ambrosianische

Per il Brill sarebbe un ottimo affare. Invece il libro di Zaid, per la cui stampa a Londra Lei si era tanto interessata (e poi Mittwoch per la stampa a Berlino) è in corso di stampa a Roma, in edizione di lusso (Casa Editrice della RSO) a spese del senatore Luca Beltrami.

Rovistando fra mie vecchie carte (del 1908) ho ieri trovato questi tre foglietti che accludo. Come vede, contengono (o dovrebbero contenere) un tentativo di raccolta dei nomi propri e di altri particolari caratteristici del libro di al-Bustī.¹¹⁷ Io La prego badare alla data! È del 22 novembre 1908! Non rispondo dunque oggi della fedeltà di quegli appunti! Allora non avevo alcuna esperienza di antichi manoscritti (senza punti per di più) e poca anche di arabo. Li accetti dunque per quel che valgono, come un mio *vecchio ricordo*. Abbia cura della Sua preziosa salute. Io mi devo risparmiare un poco la vista; ecco perché non rifaccio oggi quella lista di nomi sul manoscritto originale che tengo a Sua disposizione qualora Lei preferisse studiarlo nell'originale anziché in una copia fotografica, alquanto ridotta. Il ms. misura cm. 25 × 17,5.

Cordiali ossequi da Suo aff.mo Prof. E. Griffini

- (1) Nel suo libro *Vorlesungen*, Indice, p. 336, sub voce al-Muḥāsibī, bisogna correggere 11, 2 in 1, 2.—Veda ora anche Kašf al-Maḥğūb, traduzione Nicholson (Gibb Memorial), p. 176-183.¹¹⁸
- (2) Non so se mi potrà servire il libro che Lei cita in *Vorlesungen*, pag. 271, *الروايج السماوية* edito a Bombay, 1311,¹¹⁹ e che oggi disgraziatamente non riesco a trovare in vendita. Bisognerà scrivere a Bombay. Ma a chi?

Sammlung”, p. 65). On the author, see Madelung, “Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā”; Ansari, “Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā b. Zayd”. The most recent edition of the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā* appeared in 1990 under the title *Ra‘b al-ṣad‘*. See also letter dated 4 July 1911, n. 88, and below, 166.

117 See the introduction to this article, pp. 144, n. 8, 156-157.

118 These references are to passages on al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī in Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, pp. 195, 259, and in Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Maḥjub*, pp. 176-183.

119 He is referring to *al-Rawāshih al-samāwiyya fī sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-imāmiyya* by Mir Dāmād Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Astarābādi (d. 1041/1631), of which Goldziher translated a passage according to Imām Abū Ja‘far al-Bāqir (in whom Griffini was interested); the passage recalls a renowned speech by a Greek philosopher as an example of the connection between dominant Shi‘i dogmatics and the teachings of the Mu‘tazila in relation to their representation of a founding *imām*: “Gott wird ein Wissender und Vermögender genannt in dem Sinne, dass er dem Wissenden Wissen, dem Vermögenden können verleiht. Was ihr in eurer Vorstellung als seine subtilen Wesensbestimmungen unterscheidet, ist erschaffen und hervorgebracht und ist (insofern diese Attribute von seinem einheitlichen Wesen unterschieden werden) eure eigene (Gedanken-)Tat. Als ob die winzigen Ameisen sich vorstellten, dass Gott zwei Hörner habe; da doch solche zu ihrer eigenen Vollkommenheit gehören, und die Abwesenheit derselben, nach ihrer eigenen

Post-Scriptum. Ha ricevuto il mio Poemetto di Qudam?¹²⁰ Che ne pensa?

[Milan], 22 November 1908

Enclosed record

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/10, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4660>)

22 nov. 08 (1908)

Indice dei nomi e di altre particolarità contenuti nel ms. del libro di Al-Bustī dal sig. Caprotti donato a me nel 1906 (see Fig. 2).¹²¹

Vorstellung, ein Mangel wäre. Ganz ebenso ist es, wenn Vernunftwesen ihre eigenen Eigenschaften Gott beilegen." Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, pp. 235, 271.

120 Griffini, "Il poemetto di Qudam ben Qādim". On the authenticity of this poem, see the introduction to this article, pp. 153-154.

121 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, x 61 sup. (Griffini 41); A: fols 1v-24r, a unicum, written in an old Yemeni *naskhī* script, of *Min kashf al-asrār al-Bāṭiniyya wa-ʿiwār madhhabihim* by Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Bustī; Griffini, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften", p. 81, ann. 2; Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 137-138, no. 258; fol. 1r has a dedication "G. Caprotti de Sanaa all'amico carissimo Dr E. Griffini. Sanaa 8 febb. 1906" (see Sagaria Rossi, "Opening Yemen up to Italy"); the manuscript was first reported by Codazzi, *Catalogo*, p. 120, n. 41 and given to the Ambrosiana in 1925. The text has been studied and partially transcribed (fols 17v, lines 10-19r, 20) in Latin characters in Stern, "Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī", in the part of the treatise that concerns al-Bustī's passage on the origin of Ismaʿilism. Stern provides a list of the authorities used by al-Bustī as transcribed by Griffini (often without diacritics) in the list attached to this letter; however, he mixed the authors' names (the list is not exhaustive) and their works with other words and expressions that he considered meaningful for the comprehension of the text. Al-Bustī mentioned the standard authors representative of contemporary Ismaʿilism (al-Nasafi, al-Sijistānī), from whom he felt he could safely derive the authentic teaching of the movement, and his elaboration of Ismaʿili doctrine, unlike those of most of his predecessors, did not rely on the works of adversaries of Ismaʿilism but rather on the Ismaʿili works accessible to him; his list was extensive, and its value is increased by the fact that the names mentioned in it include some that are otherwise unknown or little known. The surviving extract of *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya* was published in 2002. On this manuscript, see also n. 113 (letter dated 24 September 1916). The authors mentioned by al-Bustī are quoted as authorities for combining Ismaʿilism and philosophy. Poonawala's introduction to al-Sijistānī's *al-Maqālid al-malakūtiyya*, pp. 13-15, re-examines al-Bustī's treatise and identifies some authors and texts, confirming that nothing is known about some of al-Bustī's sources; Daftary dedicated a study to Ismaʿili *daʿwa* in Persian-speaking lands (Daftary, "Medieval Ismāʿilis").

fol. 6a:

2^a, lin. 5.2^a (cf. 4^a)4^a (cf. 6^b e 7^b)

”

” e 7^bابو محمد المرادي النيسابوري¹²²السفني¹²³المرورى¹²⁴ في كتاب سلوة الارواحالحسعوحي السحري في كتاب الصار من كتاب سابع الحكمة¹²⁵

المروردي في كتاب سلوة الارواح

ابويوب الفرواني في كتاب حدث العالم¹²⁶

122 Abū Muḥammad al-Murādī al-Nisābūrī, one of the most eminent *dā'īs* of the *jazīra* of Khurāsān: *Min kashf asrār al-Bāṭinīyya*, ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 6r., line 5; Stern, “Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 23.

123 Mas'ūd b. al-Nasafī: ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 6r., line 6, son of al-Nasafī (see n. 128). The second of al-Nasafī's sons is said to have been head of the mission in the *jazīra* of Khurāsān; Stern, “Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 23. The *da'wa* survived in Khurāsān and Transoxania under the leadership of Mas'ūd b. al-Nasafī, nicknamed Dihqān (Daftary, “Medieval Ismā'īlīs”, p. 48). He is mentioned again six lines below.

124 To be read *المَرَوَزْدِي* or *المَرَوَزِي*: ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 4r (see also two lines below). Stern refers to him simply as “al-Marwarrūdhī” (“Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 23) without identifying him; Poonawala calls him Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Marwazī (in al-Sijistānī's *al-Maqālid al-malakūtīyya*, pp. 13-14). According to the annals of the Samanid dynasties, he was indeed Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Marwazī, one of chief *dā'īs* of Khurāsān and a well-known *amīr*; in his time, the provincial seat of the *da'wa* was transferred from Nisāpūr to Marw al-Rūdh (Daftary, “Medieval Ismā'īlīs”, p. 48).

125 The name of the author is to be read as *الخِصْفُوح السَّجَزِي*, without a final *ي*, contra the copyist: ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 4r. Stern, “Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 22, did not identify either of these two works as being by al-Sijistānī. Al-Khaysafūj was Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Aḥmad al-Sijistānī, and his works mentioned by al-Bustī are *Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir* and *Yanābī' al-ḥikma (Kitāb al-Yanābī')*. The *Kitāb al-Yanābī'* contains the major components and themes of his metaphysical system; for an edition and partial French translation, see Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, pp. 1-97, 7-177, and for a partial English translation, see Walker, *Wellsprings of Wisdom*, pp. 37-111. See also Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature*, pp. 82-89, and al-Sijistānī's *al-Maqālid al-malakūtīyya*, pp. 13, 15. A learned theologian and philosopher, the *dā'ī* al-Sijistānī was also a prolific writer, and it is mainly on the basis of his numerous extant works that modern scholars have begun to study the important tradition of philosophical theology developed by the *dā'īs* of the Iranian lands, particularly in Khurāsān, during the fourth/tenth century. This tradition of learning, which in fact represented a distinctive “Iranian school” of philosophical Isma'īlism, was evidently initiated by al-Nasafī, and Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī may be the school's later *dā'ī* disciple and successor in Khurāsān. He was executed as a heretic on the orders of the Saffārid *amīr* of Sistān, Khalaf b. Aḥmad, not long after 361/971, the date of completion of one of his last books (Daftary, “Medieval Ismā'īlīs”, pp. 49-52). On this author, see Walker, “Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī in Modern Scholarship”.

126 “Abū Ayyūb al-Qayrawānī fi kitāb ḥidath al-'ālam”: ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fols 4r, 7v; Stern, “Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 23.

5 ^a	السعي في الحصول ¹²⁷
6 ^a	مسعود الذي هو ابن السفي ¹²⁸
6 ^b	صاحب سجستان الملقب بالمنسوخ في كتاب
"	القداماء من الفلاسفة
7 ^a l. {...?}	في الضؤ من ذي الضؤ
7 ^b	في اللع ¹²⁹ والزندقة
"	السحري ¹³⁰ في مواضع
"	[“] في كتاب كشف المحجوب ¹³¹
"	وقد ذكر في هذا الكتاب في موضع اخر
9 ^a	كلام اهل البحرين واهل حراسان ¹³² في ... ان الطاهر باطناً
9 ^b	اهل حراسان (في الدعوة)
"	السعي ¹³³ واصحابه (“)
"	الحسموح ¹³⁴ (“)
" (cf. f. 19 ^a)	محمد بن اسماعيل (اسرار رجع الي امر...)

127 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī: ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 5r., most often mentioned by al-Bustī with his *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*; Stern, “Abu’l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 21. Al-Nasafī, a learned theologian and philosopher who hailed from the vicinity of Nakhshab (Arabicized Nasaf), is generally credited with having introduced a form of Neoplatonic philosophy into Ismā’īli thought. He also transferred the seat of the *da’wa* to Transoxania, where he had been advised to go by his predecessor in order to convert the dignitaries of the Samanid court. Subsequently, al-Nasafī settled down in Bukhārā and began to preach openly, while extending the *da’wa* to Sistān. The *dā’ī* al-Nasafī reaffirmed the mahdship of Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl in his *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*, which also contained a new emanational cosmological doctrine based on Neoplatonic philosophy. It seems that al-Nasafī’s *Maḥṣūl* gained widespread acceptance within the various Qarmaṭī circles and played a major part in unifying the Qarmaṭīs of the Iranian lands, who, in contrast to the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn, lacked a central leadership; Daftary, “Medieval Ismā’īlis”, p. 48.

128 The same individual as six lines above; see n. 123.

129 To be read اللغز.

130 On al-Sijzī, see n. 125.

131 To be read المحجوب: ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 7v. The Persian text of *Kashf al-maḥjūb* by Abū Ya’qūb al-Sijstānī was published and introduced by Corbin as *Abū Ya’qūb Sejestānī: “Kashf al-maḥjūb”*.

132 Cf. Stern, “Abu’l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 29. For the early history of these Qarmaṭī communities and their relations with the Fatimids, see Madelung, “Fatimids and Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn”, pp. 21-73; see also Madelung, “Qarmaṭī”.

133 On al-Nasafī, see n. 123.

134 On al-Khaysafūj al-Sijzī, see n. 125.

14 ^b	عالم الصغير وهو الانسان
14 ^b	البروج
16 ^b	“
16 ^b	عالم الصغير والكبير
” (l. 8 d.b. {dal basso}; v. f. 7 ^a)	منازل القمر (28)
” l. 2 d.b.	صاحب هذه المقالة
17 ^a	في رسالة الحسفوح ¹³⁵ اعتراضاً
17 ^a	منازل القمر التي هي السرطين والبطين الي اخرها
”	ربع المسكون (mauscoun)
”	المياه وهي العروق
17 ^b 136 l. 1	حساب المنجمين (حساب) (cf. HĤ s.v.)
18 ^a l. 4	اليهود والنصارى
”	الخلاف بين مذهب الباطنية وبين المجوس
”	العرب ودولتها تنتهي اليهم
”	زمان الاساكرة
18 ^a	دولة العجم
”	برمك البلخي ¹³⁷
”	الفلاسفة والهيولى
”	مذاهب السوثة ¹³⁸

135 Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, *al-Risāla al-bāhira fī al-ma'ād*; see n. 125.

136 Stern transcribed the text of ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup. in Latin characters from fol. 17v, line 10 to fol. 19r, line 20 (“Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, pp. 29-35).

137 وذلك ان الأصل في هذا المذهب هو برمك البلخي وكان خادم بيت النيريني فلها علم سعادة [...] (ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 18r, lines 15-16). The alleged affinity between Isma'ili doctrine and Iranian dualism is pointed out in the account of the foundation of Isma'ilism: Barmak al-Balkhī, the ancestor of the sect, was a priest of the fire temple at the Buddhist monastery of Balkh, but he appears in the Arabic sources as a Zoroastrian. Al-Bustī also asserted that Barmak, an Iranian patriot and a hater of the Arabs who had destroyed the empire of his people, understood that Arab rule could be overturned only by artifice, rather than direct resistance; Stern, “Abu'l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, pp. 25, 31.

138 مذاهب الثنوية (ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 18r): the passage presents the alleged origin of Isma'ilism in dualism (*madhhab al-thanawīyya*) and the belief in the two fundamental

- ”
 ”
 18^b من حورستان الى العراق
 ”
 ” ابو عبد الله محمد بن ررام الكوفي¹³⁹ (رح) في كتابه
 مات البرمك
 19^a cf. f. 9^b محمد بن اسماعيل¹⁴⁰
 ”
 ” حسن الحجار¹⁴¹ الذي ظهر من امره في بلاد الفرسى
 ”
 ” مذهب الحصفه—مذهب المحوس
 22^a l. 7
 23^a l. 2 وقال الحبابي¹⁴²
 ” l. 4 d.b. قول السفني
 ”
 ” كما وصف أبو تميم كتاب الدعائم وسماه دعائم ملة الحنفية¹⁴³—مذهب
 الامامية

principles of light and darkness; it declares the teachings of the Bāṭiniyya identical to those of the Zoroastrians (*al-Majūs*).

- 139 Here al-Bustī relied on anti-Isma‘īli sources such as Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Rizām al-Kūfī, who is cited by name (ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 18v); according to al-Bustī, the Isma‘īlis intentionally mingled their doctrine with Islam (and in particular with Shi‘ite thought) in order to vanquish and deceive the Arabs. Furthermore, the passage based on Ibn Rizām includes a detailed account of the methods of the Isma‘īli mission, aimed at converting different social groups. Stern, “Abu’l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 33.
- 140 Al-Bustī’s account goes on to report that al-Qaddāh was succeeded by his son Maymūn, who fled from Khūzistān to ‘Irāq. Realizing that it would be advantageous for his plans to join the Shi‘a, he frequented the company of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl, Ja‘far al-Šādiq’s grandson; the only one to whom he revealed his doctrines was his son ‘Abd Allāh, who won Ja‘far al-Šādiq’s grandson over to his teaching (ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fols 18v-19r; Stern, “Abu’l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, pp. 33-34).
- 141 Ḥusayn al-Najjār, whose role in Persia is “known”, according to al-Bustī, is associated with Dindān al-Iṣfahānī—not mentioned by Griffini in his list—who appears here only as one of the chief missionaries of early Isma‘īlism (ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 19r; Stern, “Abu’l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 35).
- 142 To be read الجُبَّائِي.
- 143 Abū Tamīm is the Fatimid caliph Ma‘d al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh (d. 365/975), the fourteenth Isma‘īli *imām*, who compiled the *Kitāb al-Da‘ā‘im*, calling it *Da‘ā‘im millat al-ḥanīfiyya* (ms. Ambrosiana, x 61 sup., fol. 24r; Stern, “Abu’l-Qāsim al-Bustī”, p. 24); the reference is to *Da‘ā‘im al-islām* (translated as *The Pillars of Islam*), commissioned by al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh and written by al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, his most prominent work and the most authoritative source on Isma‘īli law.

p.s.—Il **كتاب العلم** di Al-Muḥāsibī è contenuto nel manoscritto arabo Ambrosiano C 204 IX (di prossima descrizione nel mio catalogo).¹⁴⁴ Anche di questo io non mi occuperò ulteriormente.

EGriffini.



FIGURE 2 The list dated 22 November 1908

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 23 April 1919

Postcard

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/07, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4658>)

Milan, le 23 avril 1919

via Borgospesso 23.

Honoré Monsieur et chère Collègue,

Avec le plus vif plaisir je pense rétablir mes relations directes avec mes Maitres, Collègues et Amis de l'étranger. Je commence pour Vous, en me souhaitant que la présente Vous trouve en bonne santé. De temps en temps j'ai eu quelque nouvelle de Vous par Herz,¹⁴⁵ mais rien sur Vos études et travaux.

144 See letter 24 September 1916, n. 114.

145 Max Herz (1956-1919), Hungarian museum director and architectural historian who held the directorship of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe in Cairo

Je sais que Vous avez publié maintes choses; je n'ai vu, de tout ce que vous avez publié après le commencement du 1914, que le volume sur Gazali et le Batenites.¹⁴⁶ Je n'ai plus reçu la *Orient. Literaturzeitung* après le numéro de Mai 1916, ni *Der Islam* après le fascicule VI, 1 (1915), ni la *ZdMG* après le fasc. 69, 1/II (1915); vous pouvez juger de mon état d'informations sur l'activité scientifique de l'étranger!! Mon volume sur "La Jurisprudence musulmane au VIII^e siècle" (avec le texte du *Maǧmū'* de Zayd, et avec 198 pages d'Introduction historique, 50 pages d'*Indices materiae traditae, tradentium* etc., paraîtra au mois de mai ou plus tard. Pour la paix! Je suis venu que le *ḥadīṭ* est la *novella* [lex] ou *novella* [constitutio], dans le droit musulman, comme l'*isnād* est l'*inscriptio*. J'espère de pouvoir vous l'envoyer *bien tôt*, et d'avoir aussi bientôt de vos bonnes nouvelles! Croyez à mes sentiment toujours bien bien dévoués!
Votre Prof. Dr. Eugenio Griffini

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 12 November 1919

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/18, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4668>)

Milan, via Borgospesso, 23.

12 nov. 1919

Très honoré Maître,

Après 4 mois d'absence, me voici de retour à Milan, pour y rester. Je trouve vos deux cartes: celle du 18. Mai 1919, et celle du 1. Octobre .19. Je suis vraiment confus, mais l'état passé et actuel des choses m'a obligé à partir sans pouvoir trouver un moyen pour faire suivre la poste où je me trouvais. Avant tout, mes plus sincères condoléances pour la perte de Votre Bellefille!

J'ai trouvé ici, onze lettres aussi de Stumme, Brockelmann, Mittwoch etc.,¹⁴⁷ nombre de colis avec tout ce qui a paru de la *ZdMG*, *OLZ*, *Der Islam* etc., pendant la période 1915/19! Une librairie! Je regretterai pour toute ma vie d'avoir été forcé à renoncer à suivre le progrès des études scientifiques, dans le domaine de

from 1888 to 1914 and occupied the associated position of *waqf* minister; on him, see Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha*; Ormos, "Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Max Herz".

146 See letter 24 September 1916 (n. 11).

147 Hans Stumme (1864-1936), with whom Griffini collaborated in the transcription of the words of the Tripolitan grammar and texts translated and published by the German Semitist (see the introduction to this article, pp. 150, 153); Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956); Eugen Mittwoch (1876-1942).

l'Arabe et de l'Islamologie, pendant 4 ans et demi! J'ai dû travailler, sur Zaid et autres choses, dans des conditions absurdes! Je n'ai pas pu me déclarer, dans ma préface, sur ce point, mais une note (Fussnote) à la fin des Conclusions (Introduction, page CXCIII, note 1),¹⁴⁸ dit assez sur ce sujet. Le volume est prêt, mais encore à Rome chez l'imprimeur; l'éditeur (Ulrich Hoepli, Milan) veut faire une seule expédition avec les 4000 volumes de la traduction italienne du Muḥtaṣar de Siḍī Ḥalīl ("Il Muḥtaṣar o Sommario di diritto malechita di Ḥalīl b. Ishāq{"), tradotto dai professori Ignazio Guidi e Davide Santillana; in 2 vol. in -4°, di pp. XI-447 e 870, Milan, 1919). Plus que 1300 pages de traduction, avec résumé des commentaires (Dardīr, etc.), et glossaire arabe des termes techniques, comme supplément aux dict. arabes. David Santillana n'est connu presque que pour son "Avant-projet"¹⁴⁹ qui a été la base du Code Tunisien; il appartient à une ancienne famille juive du Magreb; il est né à Tunis; l'arabe est sa langue de l'enfance. Son commentaire italien du livre de Ḥalīl est destiné à prendre la première place dans la littérature en langues européennes sur le fiqh traduit et expliqué. Guidi a traduit la partie 'Ibādāt; Santillana le reste (le plus): droit civil, pénal, et procédure.¹⁵⁰ Les deux ouvrages donc, Ḥalīl e Zaid, paraîtront au même temps (le temps de faire le voyage Rome-Milan dans les conditions actuelles!) Je me permettrai de Vous offrir la mienne (et possiblement aussi Ḥalīl), en Vous l'envoyant d'ici le jour même de sa publication. Dans la courte Préface jé Vous ai appelé "il creatore dell'Islamologia scientifica" pour distinguer la Islamologie—science du colonialisme empirique de marque anglaise, le "dilettantismo", l'enciclopédie, etc. Brockelmann m'écrit que Landberg, dans sa Préface du volume sur le dialecte des 'Anezeh,¹⁵¹ à déclaré, affirmé, soutenu la vérité, que "wir Orientalisten ganz auf einander angewissen sind"; je crois d'avoir assez fait, dans ma Préface, dans les 200 pages de mon Introduction, etc. dans tout mon Apparat critique (ou fourmillent les renvois aux "Muh. Studien" et aux "Vorlesungen"), pour soutenir la même vérité dans un ouvrage qui n'à aucune autre ambition que celle de démontrer mon attachement à l'école d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, et d'Hollande: l'école scientifique des "Fachgenossen", et pas des parvenus, gens sans préparation ni méthode.

148 Griffini, "Corpus iuris" di Zaid ibn 'Alī, p. cxci, n. 1: "Mi trovo disgraziatamente nella impossibilità di conoscere, anche indirettamente, le conclusioni dell'Horovitz: *Alter und Ursprung des Isnād* (in *Der Islam*, VIII, 1917, p. 39-47), ed in genere tutto quanto è stato pubblicato all'estero dopo il 1915."

149 Santillana, *Code civil et commercial tunisien*, source of the Tunisian Code of 1906.

150 Khalīl b. Ishāq, *Il "Muḥtaṣar", o Sommario del diritto malechita*. Vol. 1: *Giurisprudenza religiosa ('ibādāt)*, ed. I. Guidi; vol. 2: *Diritto civile, penale e giudiziario*, ed. D. Santillana.

151 Landberg, *Langue des Bédouins Anazeh*. The preface was printed separately.

Avec le plus vif intérêt j'ai lu dans un des vols. de la revue "der Islam", que je viens de recevoir, un compte-rendu de l'édition de Stockholm 1915 de Vos Conférences d'Upsala (Der Islam, 1917, pagg. 149, ss.).¹⁵² Je regrette que dans vos études sur la Gesch. d. Koranauslesung¹⁵³ Vous n'avez pas pu considerer aussi Zaid et son تفسير غريب القرآن الكريم, et aussi la قراءة زيد بن علي, si ce n'est, peut être, que à l'aide du récent volume de C. van Arendonk: de opkomst van het Zaidiet. Imamaat in Yemen, Leiden 1919. À page CXIII de mon Introduction au Corpus iuris de Zaid, vous trouverez notice du livre النير الجلي في قراءة زيد بن علي, qui selon les Jémenites devrait être ouvrage du fameux exegète Abū Ḥaijān M. b. Jūsuf de Grenade; Brock., II, 109, 5. Un fragment est à l'Ambrosiana.¹⁵⁴ Dans mon Introd. j'ai recueilli notices sur autres révisions de la قراءة زيد بن علي (voir Ṭūsī, nr. 525). Sur la qira'a de 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib voir mon Introd., p. CXIII (Ṭūsī, 644, mais surtout Zaid, nr. ٢٧٣ et relative appendice).

Du plus vif intérêt a été pour moi hier la lecture de votre compte rendu de l'ouvrage de Aghnides: Moh. Theories of Finances, etc., New York 1916. J'en ai appris l'existence à la fin du 1919, seulement grace à la ZdMG.¹⁵⁵ Tous mes efforts, pendant la guerre, pour savoir que-ce-qu'on imprimait dans les ainsi dit pays "alliés et associés", dans les différents domaines des études, ont été vains. Ainsi j'ai dû renoncer à acheter vieilles éditions orientales indispensables pour mon étude de l'ancien droit (le موطاء de Šaibānī, la مدونة, Sarahšī, la أم etc. etc.¹⁵⁶), fautes de communications avec Harrassowitz; les prix du Caire sont

152 Goldziher, "Islam fordom och nu: Studier i Korantolkningens historia" (1915), translated into Swedish by Andrae Tor and presented in September 1913 at Uppsala University under the auspices of the Olaus Petri Vorlesungen; see also review by Walther Björkman.

153 Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, a revised and enlarged version of the original presentation in Uppsala.

154 Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 289:111 (fols 97-103), containing a fragment of a Qur'an commentary (suras 77-98, 103-109); Sezgin, GAS, vol. 1, p. 558; Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, pp. 160-161, no. 1582. According to a marginal note (dated 1066/1656) by Abū Ḥayyān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Nahwī al-Gharnāṭī, this text is taken from *al-Nayyir al-jalī fi qirā'at Zaid b. 'Alī* by Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ahwāzī al-Muqrī' (d. 446/1055), contra Griffini's claim ("*Corpus iuris*" di Zaid ibn 'Alī, pp. cxii-cxiii). Strothmann mentioned the manuscript briefly in "Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī", p. 11.

155 Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance*, reviewed by Goldziher in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

156 Griffini is referring to the following works on *uṣūl al-fiqh*: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī's recension of *al-Muwatta'* by Mālik b. Anas; *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā* transmitted by Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī from Ibn al-Qāsim al-'Utaqī; *Sharḥ al-sīyar al-kabīr* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī (a work of *furū'*, a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī); and *Kitāb al-Umm* by Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī.

augmentés du 100%; style de Londres! À Beyrouth aussi, 100%. Maintenant, c'est la revanche; mais Harrassowitz arrive tard, avec Zaid fini et relié. J'attends de Luzac le volume d'Aghnides; ce que Vous dites m'oblige à prendre cet ouvrage.

J'ai lu seulement maintenant Votre kurze Mitteilung, dans ZdmG (69, 451, et même 71, 443, note) sur ma gaffe ثمن pour يمين dans la rubrique d'al-Baihaqī.¹⁵⁷ Après les études de la question dans Zaid (voir mon Index des termini tecnici, s.v. jamīn et s.v. šāhid), et la notoriété de la question (voir aussi Perron, Balance, 446),¹⁵⁸ je ne m'explique pas ma lecture du 1914 (l'article est paru dans la ZdmG du commencement de 1915). Aujourd'hui même j'irai voir le ms. à l'Ambrosiana. J'ignore si ma transcription ثمن a été fidèle au ms. (transcription diplomatique), ou quoi. De l'intérêt que dans le vol. sur Ghazālī et les Bātenites, et puis encore dans Votre Note sur Mešāhad min Vous avez attesté pour mon article, je Vous remercie infiniment!

Le pauvre M. Herz Pacha est mort sans me laisser savoir s'il Vous a envoyé, de ma part, à son temps, une copie du كتاب العلم de al-Muḥāsibī, ancien ouvrage perdu, retrouvé à l'Ambrosiana, et les photos du ms. ambrosien d'al-Busti sur les Bāṭiniya.¹⁵⁹ Les 2 envois ont été un hommage, un souvenir de Votre élève spirituel de Milan, pendant la nuit sombre; le vœu au retour des beaux temps d'une fois. Nous voilà encore, sur l'ancien terrain de la paix, si non de l'ordre et de la justice.

Agréez, M. le Professeur, mes plus dévouées salutations.

EGriffini

P.S.—Voici, pris sur le ms., la rubrique القضاء باليمين مع الشاهد; on voit que القضاء بالشاهد¹⁶⁰ alors (1915) j'étais distrait. On travaille très mal, à l'Ambrosiana, au milieu d'étudiants de gymnase et de gens de tout genre, en pêle-mêle. Amedroz est resté navré, degouté, lors de son séjour chez nous (vers 1910). Une observation: cette rubrique n'est pas le titre du "letzte Kapitel des Sunanwerkes, usw.", mais le premier du gúz' qui suivra (dans un autre volume, que nous ne

157 This is a reference to Goldziher's "Kleine Mitteilungen", where Goldziher corrected Griffini's transcription of القضاء باليمين مع الشاهد with القضاء بالشاهد at the end of *juz'* 192 of *Kitāb al-Sunan al-kabīr* by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 126 (Griffini, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften", p. 74); Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 283, no. 1748.

158 Al-Sha'rānī, *Balance de la loi musulmane*, trans. Nicolas Perron.

159 See letter dated 24 September 1916 and enclosed list dated 22 November 1908.

160 The text is a calligraphic pencil transcription from the manuscript.

possedons pas: voir encore la souscription (Schluss), comme je l'ai donnée (ويتلوه الخ).

EG.

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 27 November 1919

Postcard

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/08, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4659>)

Mailand, den 27 Nov. 1919
via Borgospesso 23.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Endlich ist mir heute auch der Islam VI, Heft 4, zur Verfügung. Ihr Aufsatz zur wichtigen Frage der islamischen Entblössung des Hauptes¹⁶¹ ist voll von interessanten Mitteilungen.

Zu S. 312, Z.22: النبتية ist Nabtī zu lesen,¹⁶² aus Nabtī in der gegenwärtigen Mudīrīa aš-Šarġīja in Ägypten entstanden. Vgl. andere Beispiele derselben Nisbe in Pertsch, Gotha 1412; Steinschneider in OLZ, VIII, 41, no. 151; IX, 25; Ahlwardt, Verzeichnis, No. 5822, u. no. 10355 (Berl. 6409 hat, falsch, نبتيلي); Dorn apud Nallino, al-Battānī, II, 356; vgl. auch Tāġ al 'Arūs, I, 590, Z. 3 v.u.

Zu S. 302, Anm. 1: die riwāje سوداء عمامة ist auch die alte Zaiditische, hier aus Zaid, no. 861,¹⁶³ transkribierte Version: دخل مكة يوم الفتح وعلي رأسه عمامة لأنه دخل. Glosse dazu: حديثي زيد عن ابيه عن جده عن علي عليه السلام ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بغير احرام تمت; in einer zweiten Glosse ist hinzugefügt, dass dieselbe Notiz ist bei al-Ḥākim: Kitāb al-Mustadrak zu finden.

Mit ausgezeichnete Hochachtung ich grüsse Sie ergebenst!

EGriffini

161 Goldziher, "Die Entblössung des Hauptes".

162 Ibid., p. 312.

163 Griffini, "Corpus iuris" di Zaid ibn 'Alī, pp. 239-240; his annotation refers to Goldziher, "Die Entblössung des Hauptes", p. 302, n. 1.

Griffini to Goldziher

Milan, 3 January 1920

Letter

(Goldziher Correspondence, GIL/13/26/19, <http://real-ms.mtak.hu/id/eprint/4669>)

Milan, 3 Janvier 1920.

Cher et vénééré Professeur!

Mille remerciements pour Vos deux aimables lettres du 29 Nov. et 22 Dec. 1919. Je suis bien content que Vous ayez reçu tout ce que je Vous ai envoyée par l'intermédiaire de Max Herz Pacha. Evidemment, une lettre s'est perdue, en 1918.

Je n'ai aucune nouvelle de Strothmann; depuis de l'époque de son passage de Milan pour la Palestine, en décembre 1912,¹⁶⁴ je n'ai reçu rien qu'une lettre en Janvier 1915, de Pforta, fort intéressante, sur les résultats des voyages au Caire, Syrie et Constantinople. Il m'annonçait un nouveau volume en préparation: "Das bürgerliche Recht der Zaiditen"; un article: Fremdenrecht des Islam (qui aurait dû paraître en anglais dans *The Moslem World*), et des notes de folklore.¹⁶⁵ Je vais lui écrire; nous étions des très bons amis, et nous le seront toujours, اما لي ان شا الله Il m'a écrit, alors, surtout pour souligner l'importance des امالي احمد بن عيسى découverts à l'Ambrosiana, "für die geschichtliche Beurteilung sicher von grösster Bedeutung; die Ḥosainiden sind nämlich in der späteren Zaidija Stark vernachlässigt gegenüber den Ḥasaniden.... Durch Ihren neuen Fund ist die Lücke zwischen Zaid und al-Qāsim bedeutend durchbrochen". C'est pour ça que dans mes Appendices à Zaid j'ai laissé large place aux Amālī, dont je prépare une édition.¹⁶⁶ Je ne désire m'occuper que de l'histoire du fiqh le plus ancien: multum, non multa! Van Arendonk prépare des autres belles choses, sur les Qarmaṭes du Jemen; il publiera peut-être la سيرة الهادي. Je n'ai des nouvelles que des nos Collègues d'Allemagne et d'Hollande; en général les autres

164 Strothmann wrote to Goldziher a letter dated 24 December 1912 while visiting the Ambrosiana and consulting the manuscripts of the *Majmū' al-fiqh*; in letters he wrote to Goldziher after his visit to Milan, he quoted passages from Ambrosiana manuscripts that are also found in Griffini's "La più antica codificazione" and in his subsequently published "*Corpus iuris*" di Zaid ibn 'Alī. In 1923 Strothmann published his study on Zayd b. 'Alī, "Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī", in which he argued against the authenticity of the *Majmū'*. See in this number Schmidtke, *Beginnings of Shī'ī Studies in Germany*.

165 There are no references corresponding to Griffini's indication: "des notes de folklore" were included in Strothmann's "Analecta haeretica". See Schmidtke, "Beginnings of Shī'ī Studies in Germany".

166 Griffini had already announced to Goldziher an edition of the *Amālī Ahmad b. 'Isā*, never accomplished; see letter dated 24 September 1916 (n. 116).

n'existent pas (les Franco-Anglais), pour nous d'Italie, ni nous pour eux. L'achat de livres français et anglais est actuellement, pour nous, défendu par les prix! L'ouvrage d'Agnides dont Vous avez parlé dans la ZdMG,¹⁶⁷ ici m'a coûté 55 lire! Heureusement, tout le monde dit que ça passera! Aussi les nombreux vols. du Gibb Fund nous manquent et manqueront: un Oriental a publié le *شمس العلوم* de *نشوان الحميري* dans la Gibb Series,¹⁶⁸ sans se renseigner si il en existait des mss. parmi les collections sudarabiques de Milan!

Je passe maintenant à Votre lettre du 22 XII; Vous êtes infiniment bon, avec moi et mon Zaid; toutes Vos observations et émendations sont justes; quelqu'une, qui suppose une mauvaise lecture, doit être encore considérée directement sur les mss.; seulement pour *الحوامي* je dois laisser ma lection; il doit s'agir d'une expression vulgaire jemenoise; *حامية* et ne peuvent pas être synonymes. Aussi *حي* devant à un titre (... *حي الامام*) est sûr, comme leçon, si non comme signification. Autre vulgarisme: *الحالي* devant à un nom.

Vous avez trouvé typique l'intimité entre le fiqh de Zaid et celui d'Abū Ḥanīfa; ou mieux: entre 'Alī et d'Abū Ḥanīfa! Car Zaid nous a passé un code de 'Alī.

Je regrette de n'avoir pas pu étudier, en temps de guerre, l'important document historique en date 39 hégire, publié en Appendice au N. 916, note 7 de Zaid, c.à.dire Amālī, No. 976 et 977: *وصية علي بن ابي طالب في حدقته*.¹⁶⁹

Je ne sais pas si l'on pourra conclure que les trois rédactions ou versions (Zaid 916, Amālī 976-977) ont un fond de vérité historique. Caetani devrait s'occuper de la question dans le prochain volume (IX) de ses Annali; mais la manque de critique qui caractérise un peu toute sa compilation, et l'anémie dont est malade le vol. VIII, qui vient de paraître, et dans lequel on parle de 'Alī,¹⁷⁰ laissant peu de bien à espérer.

Seulement à propos de la Mut'a je me suis permis de faire une critique à une conclusion contenue dans une des vos publications (Zaid, page 325₃ ss.).¹⁷¹ Vous m'excuserez!

En Vous offrant en même temps mes meilleurs souhaits pour 1920, je Vous prie de bien vouloir agréer l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus dévoués!

Votre bien obligé

EGriffini

167 Agnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance*; see letter dated 9 November 1919, n. 155.

168 Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyārī, *Muntakhabāt fi akhbār al-Yaman*.

169 Griffini, "*Corpus iuris*" di Zaid ibn 'Alī, p. 262.

170 Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. 8, pp. 321-342.

171 Griffini, "*Corpus iuris*" di Zaid ibn 'Alī, p. 325, where he disagrees with Goldziher (*Vorlesungen über den Islam*, pp. 238-239, 274), and Caetani (*Annali dell'Islam*, vol. 3, p. 895) regarding the acceptance of *mut'a* as legitimate.

Acknowledgements

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