

In the Author's Hand

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In the Author's Hand

*Holograph and Authorial Manuscripts in the
Islamic Handwritten Tradition*

Edited by

Frédéric Bauden

Élise Franssen



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Contents

- Preface VII
List of Authors' Handwritings Appearing on the Cover Image X
List of Figures XI
List of Diagrams and Tables XVI
List of Abbreviations XVIII
Notes on Contributors XIX
- 1 Introduction 1
- 2 Comment reconnaître un autographe parmi les papyrus littéraires grecs? L'exemple du *P. Oxy.* 74.4970 38
Marie-Hélène Marganne
- 3 Arabic Holographs: Characteristics and Terminology 55
Adam Gacek
- 4 “*Bi-khaṭṭ mu'allifihī*” ... Vraiment?! L'apport de l'analyse judiciaire d'écritures à l'étude des manuscrits arabes 78
Élise Franssen
- 5 Maqriziana xv: The Characteristics of al-Maqrīzī's Handwriting 136
Frédéric Bauden
- 6 The Art of Copying: Mamlūk Manuscript Culture in Theory and Practice 232
Elias Muhanna
- 7 The Holograph Notebooks of Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muflih (d. 1011/1603) 260
Kristina Richardson
- 8 Al-'Aynī's Working Method for His Chronicles: Analysis of His Holograph Manuscripts 277
Nobutaka Nakamachi

- 9 Textual Criticism of the Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn's
Autobiography 300
Retsu Hashizume
- 10 *Les safīnas yéménites* 323
Julien Dufour et Anne Regourd
- List of Quoted Manuscripts 437
Index of Names 444
Index of Places 449
Index of Technical Terms 450

Preface

This volume is the material achievement of an international conference entitled *Autograph/Holograph and Authorial Manuscripts in Arabic Script* that took place at Liège University on 10–11 October 2013. At the conference, seventeen participants gathered to share best practices and to think collectively about the issues raised by these specific manuscripts, that is, the autograph, holograph, and authorial manuscripts. Next to the necessary theoretical frame, we focused on the practical approach to the manuscripts.

Indeed, research specifically dealing with holograph, autograph, or authorial manuscripts in Arabic script is often unplanned and erratic. Nevertheless, these manuscripts raise numerous important questions of interest to a variety of disciplines, such as paleography, codicology, textual criticism, linguistics, and intellectual history (working methods and methodology). These disciplines pose questions such as:

- How can we identify handwriting with a degree of scientific confidence, beyond intuition?
- What are the discriminating criteria? Is there a method to be used/developed?
- Can these books be analyzed like other manuscripts?
- What kinds of information do their specific characteristics offer?
- How important is this category of manuscripts in an editorial process?
- When more than one authorial manuscript of the same text is available, how should we choose the one to use in an editorial process?
- What importance should we give to the status of a manuscript—fair copy, draft, copybook, notebook, etc.—and how should we classify these versions?
- How could holographs improve our knowledge of Arabic?
- What information can we deduce from different authorial versions of the same text?
- What about originality, plagiarism, or even authority?

Among these issues, paleography is particularly significant. In the field of Islamic manuscripts studies, handwriting identification is still a question of experience: experienced scholars can recognize one handwriting at first glance, but no one teaches how to do this. Paleography courses deal with the deciphering and dating of handwritings, not with the specific characteristics that are personal to the scribes, with the only exceptions being some renowned calligraphers or some handwritings in old Qurʾāns. There is no study of informal handwritings or scholars' hands, and even fewer courses about them. Since both of us are working on a celebrated scholar—respectively al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442)

and al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363)—or on a particular manuscript tradition whose origin is related to a given person—the Egyptian recension of the *Thousand and One Nights*—, accurate and efficient handwriting identification is crucial for our research work.

We organized this conference because we wanted to think collectively, to give space and time to questions, to share knowledge and experience, discussions, and debate, but also to cross the usual boundaries marking the various fields. Hence, the conference convened not only renowned researchers in Arabic manuscripts (literary, historical, philosophical, or encyclopedic manuscripts), but also specialists of ancient and Byzantine Greek documents, manuscripts, and papyri, and a judicial expert in handwriting identification. The latter delivered a very detailed and pragmatic speech about the methods applied in the legal community. The papers were distributed in five panels, dealing with terminology and methodology; codicology; working methods; paleography; and textual criticism, respectively. The conference discussions were extremely rich and these proceedings are their faithful reflection.

We would like to warmly thank all the participants to the conference and the members of the scientific and organizing committees: Cécile Bonmariage (Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium), Yehoshua Frenkel (University of Haifa, Israel), Adam Gacek (formerly McGill University, Montreal, Canada), Retsu Hashizume (Chiba Institute of Science, Japan), Stephen Hirtenstein (Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society, UK), Caroline Macé (Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium), Marie-Hélène Marganne (Liège University, Belgium), Elias Muhanna (Brown University, USA), Nobutaka Nakamachi (Konan University, Kobe, Japan), Anne Regourd (CNRS, France), Kristina Richardson (Queens College, New York), Valentina Sagaria Rossi (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Italy), Tilman Seidensticker (Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena, Germany), Aida Shalar Gasimova (Baku State University, Azerbaijan), Suha Taji-Farouki (University of Exeter, UK), Anne-Marie Verjans (freelance researcher, Belgium), and Jan Just Witkam (formerly Leiden University, Netherlands). We also express our deepest gratitude to Professor Robert Wisnovsky (McGill University, Montreal, Canada) for sharing with us reproductions of manuscripts quoted by Adam Gacek in his article. Another special thank goes to the two anonymous reviewers whose remarks and critical comments were helpful.

Last but not least, the organization of the conference would not have been possible without the assistance and support of the personnel of Liège University Library, particularly the curator of the Department of Old Prints and Manuscripts, Cécile Oger, whose support was critical for the launch of the small exhibition of manuscripts especially organized on the occasion of the confer-

ence. It is also our pleasure to acknowledge the financial and material support of the Faculty of Humanities and the Patrimoine of Liège University, as well as the Fund for Scientific Research (F.R.S.-FNRS, Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles), without whom this conference could not have been organized.

Frédéric Bauden and Élise Franssen

List of Authors' Handwritings Appearing on the Cover Image

- Ibn Iyās* (d. 930/1524)
Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480)
al-Biqā'ī (d. 885/1480)
Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406)
al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348)
Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1406)
al-Maqrīzī
Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449)
al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497)
al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405)
al-Şafadī (d. 764/1363)
Ibn Şākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363)

Reading of the inscriptions: Ibn Iyās: *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās*; Ibn Fahd: *Muḥammad al-mad'ū 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Khayr Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Hāshimī l-Makkī*; al-Biqā'ī: *Ibrāhīm al-Biqā'ī*; Ibn Khaldūn: *wa-kataba mu'allifuhā 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn*; al-Dhahabī: *kātibuhu Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. al-Dhahabī*; Ibn Duqmāq: *Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aydamur Duqmāq*; al-Sakhāwī: *Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī*; al-Maqrīzī: *Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī l-Shāfi'ī*; Ibn Ḥajar: *li-kātibihī Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar*; al-Damīrī: *Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Damīrī l-Shāfi'ī*; al-Şafadī: *wa-kataba Khalīl b. Aybak b. 'Abdallāh al-Şafadī*; Ibn Şākir al-Kutubī: *'alā yad jāmi'ihī Muḥammad b. Şākir b. Aḥmad al-Kutubī*.

Sources: al-Biqā'ī: MS Ayasofya 3139 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); al-Damīrī: MS Ayasofya 4110 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); al-Dhahabī: MS Ayasofya 3007 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); Ibn Duqmāq: MS A2832 (TSMK, Istanbul); Ibn Fahd: MS Feyzullah 1413 (Milli Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); Ibn Ḥajar: MS Ayasofya 3139 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); Ibn Iyās: MS Fatih 4197 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); Ibn Khaldūn: MS 1936 (Atıf Efendi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); Ibn Şākir al-Kutubī: MS A2922 (TSMK, Istanbul); al-Maqrīzī: MS Or. 560 (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden); al-Sakhāwī: MS Ayasofya 3139 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul); al-Şafadī: MS Ayasofya 2968 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

Figures

- 1.1 MS Garrett 3570 Y (Princeton, University Library), f. 33, al-Şafadî's *Tadhkira* 5
- 1.2 Adler's Arabic Alphabet 11
- 1.3 İbn Khaldûn, *al-Muqaddima*, MS Atıf Efendi 1936 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. v11^a 17
- 1.4 al-Mawşilî, *Ghâyat al-wasâ'il ilâ ma'rifat al-awâ'il* (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Reisülküttab 862) 19
- 2.1 "The Bankes Homer", P. Lit. Lond. 28, Brit. Libr. inv. 114 (London, British Library) 42
- 2.2 P. Rein. 2.82, inv. Sorb. 2070 (Paris, Sorbonne Université, Institut de Papyrologie) 46
- 2.3 P. Oxy. 74.4970, The Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project (Oxford, Oxford University Sackler Library, Oxyrhynchus Papyrus) 49
- 3.1 MS Arabic 3945, fol. 137^b (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library) 57
- 3.2 MS Garrett 3520Y, fol. 37^b (Princeton, University Library) 58
- 3.3 MS Arabic 3456, fol. 225^b (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library) 59
- 3.4 MS Arabic 4731, fol. 2^a (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library) 61
- 3.5 MS W 591, fol. 78^a (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum) 62
- 3.6 MS Ayasofya 2662, fol. 69^a (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi) 63
- 3.7 MS Damad Ibrahim Paşa 822, fol. 354^b (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi) 64
- 3.8 MS 1153, fol. 1^a (Tehran, Kitâbkhâna-yi Millî-i Jumhûri-i Islâmî-i İrân) 65
- 3.9 MS Yeni Cami 763, fol. 198^b (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi) 66
- 3.10 MS Or. 7969, fol. 3^a (London, British Library) 66
- 3.11 MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1618, fol. 43^a (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi) 67
- 3.12 MS 792, fol. 214^a (Istanbul, Rağıp Paşa Kütüphanesi) 67
- 3.13 MS Carullah 1442, fol. 1^a (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi) 68
- 3.14 MS Carullah 1442, fol. 51^b (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi) 68
- 3.15 MS Ayasofya 4732, fol. Ab (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi) 70
- 3.16 MS Or. Oct. 3806, fol. 1^a (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek) 71
- 3.17 MS Arab. Add. 83, fol. 154^a (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek) 72
- 3.18 MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 867, fol. 1^a (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi) 73
- 3.19 MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 831, fol. 142^a (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi) 74
- 3.20 MS 781, fol. 229^a (Istanbul, Rağıp Paşa Kütüphanesi) 74

- 3.2.1 MS Esad Efendi 3733, fol. 47^a (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi) 75
- 3.2.2 MS 12388, fol. 190^a (Qum, Mar'ashī Kitābkhānah) 76
- 4.1 Schéma et lexique de description des graphies 85
- 4.2 Comparaison de formules introductives des *Nuits* 98
- 4.3 Scribe 1 (Saint-Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS B-1114, vol. 2, f. 302) 101
- 4.4 Scribe 1 (Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2241, f. 404) 102
- 4.5 Scribe 1 (London, British Library, MS Or. 2917, f. 57) 103
- 4.6 'Alī l-Anṣārī (Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 3602, f. 34) 104
- 4.7 'Alī l-Anṣārī (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod. ar. 624, f. 328) 105
- 5.1 Handwriting identified as being al-Awḥadī's (Istanbul, TSMK, MS Emanet Hazinezi 1405, fol. 83^b) 143
- 5.2 al-Maqrīzī's handwriting at the age of 28 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Murat Molla 575, fol. 3^b) 143
- 5.3 Timeline of al-Maqrīzī's holograph and authorial manuscripts 147
- 5.4 Al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Ayasofya 3416, fol. 1^a) 148
- 5.5 Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan* (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 294, fol. 327^a), Ibn Ḥajar's colophon 155
- 5.6 Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan* (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 294, fol. 1^b), beginning of the text in Ibn Ḥajar's restrained handwriting 155
- 5.7 Abū Dāwūd, *al-Marāsīl* (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 294, fol. 356^a), Ibn Ḥajar's unrestrained handwriting 156
- 5.8 Spacing between words and the overlapping of words (above: 1M [Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi, MS 575], fol. 20, l. 9, 47 letters; below: 1Y [Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Şehit Ali Paşa 1847], fol. 28 a, l. 19, 57 letters) 167
- 5.9 The word *ithnān* in Lg (Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232), fol. 166^a, l. 17 (left: *thnān*) and 1F3 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4340), fol. 117^a, l. 2 (right: *thnatay*) 168
- 5.10 The word *allafa* in Lg (Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232), fol. 8^b, l. 20 (left: *allafahā*) and 1Y (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Şehit Ali Paşa 1847), fol. 4^a, marginal addition, last l. (*fa-allaftu*) 168
- 5.11 Examples of the use of *matres lectionis* and of diacritical dots to specify the phonological value of a letter: Lg (Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232), fol. 64^a, l. 12 (left:

- lahiqū*); An (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, MS Isl. 605), p. 8, l. 18 (center: *al-ʿaskar*); 1F3 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4340), fol. 125^a, l. 5 (right: *ʿarīb*) 170
- 5.12 Occurrences of abusive ligatures, contractions, and *sīn/shīn muʿallaqa* in Lg* (Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232) 178
- 5.13 An almost similar line in three different manuscripts 185
- 5.14 A sliding window patch (left) and patches of connected components (right) (Boiarov et al., Arabic Manuscript 3, figs. 3–4) 195
- 5.15 The word *madrasa* penned by al-Awḥadī (Istanbul, TSMK, MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405, fol. 96^b, l. 10 (left); fol. 98^b, l. 1 (right)) 196
- 5.16 The word *madrasa* penned by al-Maqrīzī (right) (Istanbul, TSMK, MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405, respectively fol. 97^a, l. 12 (left); fol. 96^b, l. 9 (right)) 196
- 5.17 A: 1T2 (Istanbul, TSMK, MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405), fol. 83^a (with the exception of two words added in the margin by al-Maqrīzī, the leaf, contains nineteen lines in al-Awḥadī's hand) 198
- 5.18 B: 1T1 (Istanbul, TSMK, MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405), fol. 54^b (entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand) 198
- 5.19 C: Du (Dushanbe, Kitobhona-i milli-i Toʻdʻjikiston, MS 1790), fol. 77^b (entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand) 198
- 5.20 D: MS 702, fol. 2^b (Afyon Karahisar, Gedik Ahmet Paşa Kütüphanesi: *al-Dhakhāʾir wa-l-tuhaf*, entirely in Ibn Duqmāq's hand) 199
- 5.21 E: MS cod. ar. 437, fol. 3^a (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Ibn Duqmāq, *Naẓm al-jumān fī ṭabaqāt aṣḥāb imāminā al-Nuʿmān*, unknown copyist) 199
- 5.22 F: MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 242, fol. 39^b (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi: Ibn Manda, *al-Tārīkh al-mustakhrāj min kutub al-nās*, unknown copyist, seventh/thirteenth c.) 199
- 5.23 G: 1M (Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi, MS 575), fol. 21^a (entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand) 199
- 5.24 H: L4 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 14533), fol. 348^a (seven lines in al-Maqrīzī's hand (top), ten lines in Ibn Ḥajar's hand (bottom)) 200
- 5.25 I: Lg (Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232), fol. 48^b (entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand) 200
- 5.26 MS Al (Alexandria, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, MS 2125 dāl Tārīkh), fol. 4^b 210
- 5.27 MS An (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, MS Isl. 605), p. 8 211
- 5.28 MS Du (Dushanbe, Kitobhona-i milli-i Toʻdʻjikiston, MS 1790), fol. 37^b 212
- 5.29 MS G1 (Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MS Ar. 1652), fol. 10^b 213
- 5.30 MS IA (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 3362), fol. 74^b 214

- 5.31 MS IM (Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi, MS 575), fol. 15^b 215
- 5.32 MS IY (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Şehit Ali Paşa 1847), fol. 12^b 216
- 5.33 MS IT2 (Istanbul, TSMK, MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405), fol. 16^b 217
- 5.34 MS IY (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Yeni Cami 887), fol. 28^a 218
- 5.35 MS L5 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 560), fol. 9^b 219
- 5.36 MS Lg (Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232), fol. 131^a 220
- 5.37 MS Lg* (Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232), fol. 188^a 221
- 6.1 Volume 25 of al-Nuwayrî's *Nihāyat al-arab fî funûn al-adab*. (Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 2i) 247
- 6.2 Leiden, University Library, MSS Or. 2i (top) and Or. 2l (bottom), al-Nuwayrî's *Nihāyat al-arab fî funûn al-adab*, vols 24–25 and 26–27 249
- 6.3 Colophon of al-Nuwayrî's *Nihāyat al-arab fî funûn al-adab* (Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 2f) (chap. 5). 250
- 6.4 Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 2d 251
- 6.5 The Yüniniyya recension of al-Bukhārî's *Kitāb al-Jāmi' al-Şahîh*, copied by al-Nuwayrî in 725/1325. MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 362 (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi), fols. 17^b–18^a (title page) 253
- 6.6 MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 362 (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi), fols. 19^b–20^a 254
- 6.7 Final pages of the Yüniniyya manuscript. MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 362 (Istanbul, Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi), fols. 314^b–315^a 255
- 7.1 The Banū Mufliḥ Family Tree 272
- 7.2 MS We. 408 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), fol. 99^a 273
- 7.3 MS 1004 (Beirut, American University Library), fols. 9^b–10^a 274
- 7.4 MS Pococke 26 (Oxford, Oxford University Library), fols. 62^b–63^a 275
- 8.1 MS A2911/A18 (Istanbul, TSMK), fols. 16^b–17^a 279
- 8.2 MS Arabe 1544 (Paris, BnF), fols. 102^b–103^a 280
- 8.3 MS Süleymaniye 830 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fols. 216^b–217^a 295
- 9.1 MS Ahmet III 2924/13–14 (Istanbul, TSMK), fol. 374^a 315
- 9.2 MS Ayasofya 3200 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 63^a 316
- 9.3 MS Ar. 1528 (Paris, BnF), fol. 36^a 317
- 9.4 MS Ayasofya 3200 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 1^a 317
- 9.5 MS Ayasofya 3200 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 1^a 317
- 9.6 MS Ayasofya 3200 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 1^b 318
- 9.7 MS Ayasofya 3200 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 11^b 318
- 9.8 MS Ayasofya 3200 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fols. 11^b–12^a 319
- 9.9 MS Ta'riḫ 109 mîm (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), fol. 1^b 320

- 9.10 MS Ta'riḫ 109 mīm (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), fol. 2^a 320
- 9.11 MS Ar. 1528 (Paris, BnF), fol. 3^b 320
- 9.12 MS Ṭal'at Ta'riḫ 2106 (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), fol. 160^b 320
- 9.13 MS Ṭal'at Ta'riḫ 2106 (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), fol. 161^a 321
- 9.14 MS Esad Efendi 2268 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 2^a 321
- 9.15 MS Esad Efendi 2268 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 13^a 321
- 9.16 MS Ayasofya 3200 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 14^a 322
- 9.17 MS Esad Efendi 2268 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 15^b 322
- 10.1 *Safīna* 2 (Sanaa, Dār al-makḥṭūṭāt, MS Adab 2336), *Dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, fol. 1–p. 23 325
- 10.2 *Safīna* 2 (Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt, MS Adab 2336), *Dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, fol. 83–p. 191 337
- 10.3 *Safīna* 2 (Sanaa, Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt, MS Adab 2336), *Dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, fol. 84–p. 193 (fol. supérieur) et p. 191 (fol. inférieur) 338
- 10.4 MS Sharaf al-dīn (Sanaa, collection privée). 112^a. Reliure. 112^b. Reliure, marque de propriété. 112c. Reliure, contreplat (partiel) et dos (vue interne), cahiers et couture. 112d. Cahiers et couture, gaze, contreplat (partiel). 112e. Tranche-file et dos (vue interne) 340
- 10.5 MS Sharaf al-dīn (Sanaa, collection privée) 341

Diagrams and Tables

Diagrams

- 9.1 Lineage of *al-Taʿrīf* manuscripts based on Ibn Tāwīt's conclusion 302
- 9.2 Lineage of *al-Taʿrīf* manuscripts according to the archetypes 304
- 9.3 Lineage of *al-Taʿrīf* manuscripts according to Hashizume 306

Tables

- 4.1 Reconstitution de trois ensembles complets fondée sur l'analyse des graphies 117
- 4.2 Tableau d'analyse des graphies 118
- 4.3 Tableau d'analyse de lettres spécifiques 130
- 5.1 Paces of al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts 161
- 5.2 List of the sizes of al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts 163
- 5.3 Comparative table of occurrences of *lām-alif* (unconnected and connected) 175
- 5.4 Number of occurrences of abusive ligatures and contractions 178
- 5.5 Some examples of contraction (*idghām*) and curtailment (*ikhtilās*) 179
- 5.6 Comparative table of the word *hattā* 180
- 5.7 Comparative table of occurrences of *sīn/shīn muḥaqqāqa* and *muʿallaqa* 184
- 5.8 Comparative table of occurrences of *yāʾ mabsūṭa* and *rājīʿa* and of the two shapes of *fī* 184
- 5.9 Comparative table of occurrences of *kāf mabsūṭa* (left) and *mashkūla* (right) 186
- 5.10 Examples of *lām-alif* and of *dāl* with a hanging stroke 189
- 5.11 Examples of pressure causing the widening of the nib 189
- 5.12 Examples of problems of coordination 191
- 5.13 Examples of tremor 192
- 5.14 Comparative table of letters *alif-sīn* 202
- 5.15 Comparative table of letters *ṣād-qāf* 204
- 5.16 Comparative table of letters *kāf-nūn* 206
- 5.17 Comparative table of letters *hāʾ-yāʾ* and of some ligatures in specific combinations 208
- 6.1 Manuscripts of the *Nihāyat al-arab* attributed to al-Nuwayrī 240
- 6.2 A Timeline of al-Nuwayrī's Compilation of the *Nihāyat al-arab* 246
- 8.1 Holograph manuscripts of *ʿIqd al-jumān* 278

- 8.2 Handwritings in MS Ar. 1544 (BnF) 280
- 8.3 Descriptions of the year 801/1398–9 282
- 8.4 Descriptions of the year 816/1413–4 289
- 8.5 Number of topics in al-‘Aynī’s chronicles 292
- 8.6 Famine and high price in Egypt in 816/1413 293
- 8.7 Death of Sultan Barqūq in 801/1399 294
- 8.8 Appointment of Faṭḥ Allāh b. Nafīs in 801/1399 297
- 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 358
- 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 376
- 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 396

Abbreviations

BK	Beyazıt Kütüphanesi
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
CEDOPAL	Centre de DOcumentation de PApYROlogie Littéraire, Liège Université
COMSt	Comparative Oriental Manuscripts Studies
DaM	Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, Sanaa
DH	Digital Humanities
DKM	Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo
EI ²	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> . New Edition, ed. C.E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2007), 11 vols.
GAL	Brockelmann, C., <i>Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur</i> , Leiden, 1937–42, 2 vols. and 3 vols. of supplement.
GAS	Sezgin, F., <i>Geschichte des arabischen Schriftums</i> , Leiden and Frankfurt 1967–84, 17 vols.
GRAPHEM	Grapheme based Retrieval and Analysis for PaleographiC Expertise of Middle Age manuscripts
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
MZbAT	Mu’assasat Zayd b. ‘Alī l-Thaqāfiyya, Sanaa
OCR	Optical Character Recognition
PUL	Princeton University Library
SHOE	Standard Handwriting Objective Examination
SK	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi
Spr.	Sprenger (a collection of Berlin Staatsbibliothek)
TEI	Text Encoding Initiative
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul
Ubl	Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden
We	Wetzstein (a collection of Berlin Staatsbibliothek)
XML	eXtensible Markup Language
YMDI	Yemeni Manuscripts Digitization Initiative

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Introduction

In recent years, a growing interest in “Oriental manuscripts” in all their aspects, including the extrinsic ones, has been observed.¹ The COMSt project is certainly emblematic of this interest, and the manual, published as a result of the activities of the group, is its best achievement.² The inter- and trans-disciplinary “Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures” created in Hamburg University reflects a similar interest. In addition, new notions like “social codicology” or “collectology,” coined by Olly Akkerman,³ have appeared and open new perspectives of research. Konrad Hirschler’s current project and talks about Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī’s *Fihrist* of the manuscripts of the ‘Umariyya Madrasa of Damascus are part of this new trend, to cite only these few examples.

Nevertheless, specific questions raised by the exceptional manuscripts that are holographs have yet to be investigated. Some of the aspects to be scrutinized include their intrinsic value in terms of philology, textual criticism and ecdotics, codicology or paleography, their importance for our understanding of the working methods of past scholars, for our apprehension of book culture and the publication process, for our grasp of the transmission of knowledge, or more simply, the necessity that we compare these specific manuscripts in order to acknowledge other holograph manuscripts or autograph notes by the same author.

The question of terminology should be addressed before we begin. We must first clarify and precisely define “autograph,” “holograph,” and “authorial manuscript.” Chapter 3 in this volume shows eloquent examples of possible case studies, and within the scope of this introduction, we offer a theoretical clarification of the situation. But first and foremost stands the question of authorship: could there be a holograph without any author?

1 Frédéric Bauden wrote the sections “Holographs as Collectibles” and “Ecdotics (Textual Criticism)” while Élise Franssen is the author of the remainder.

2 Bausi et al., *Comparative*.

3 She refers to “codicological ethnography” as well, see the title of her PhD: Akkerman, *The Bohra dark archive* (and its review by Bhalloo). The title of the workshop she organized in October 2018 at the Netherlands Institute in Morocco and at the Centre Jacques Berque in Rabat was entitled “Social Codicology: The Multiple Lives of Texts in Muslim Societies”; one of the panels was called “collectology.”

1 Authorship

The notion of authorship in pre-modern Islam is not as simple as it is at the present time: the isolated scholar composing his texts alone is not the only reality attested. As eloquently exposed by Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, we can observe different degrees of authorship.⁴ The intellectual paternity of texts is not the only way to consider authors in pre-modern Islam. If we turn to the expressions used in the sources and in the colophons, we find many different terms: next to the *kātib*, we have the *muṣannif*, the *mu'allif*, the *jāmi'*, the *murattib*, etc. Each one refers to different aspects of authority, from the material activity of writing (*kātib*), to the intellectual process of creating a text (*muṣannif*), to the arrangement and compilation process (*mu'allif*, *jāmi'*, *murattib*). It is important to note that the activity of a compiler, who chooses to gather together different texts is understood to be creative work, to a certain degree, since it gives birth to a new work, with new meanings coming into reality from the union of the different pre-existing texts.⁵ In this sense, the person who compiles a notebook or a commonplace book (*tadhkira*), a collection of tales or an anthology of poems, can be considered an author as well (see chapter 4, pp. 78–135, and chapter 10, pp. 323–431).

Finally, we should include a note on orality, since it adds a new layer of authority: we have examples of texts which, after publication (in the first sense, i.e., after having been rendered public) were modified in order to suit their audience (e.g., recited poems that were then written and distributed, or texts for which an *ijāza* was issued that were later modified by their author).⁶ The context and transmission process thus play a significant role in the very nature of the text. In the same sense, an amorphous collection of tales with a common structure but also notable differences—like the *Thousand and One Nights*—does not always present the same texts, in the same order. Various textual traditions or recensions exist, and sometimes more than one manuscript contains the same text. The identification of a particular hand traceable in different manuscripts of a same textual recension is thus similar to the identification of holograph manuscripts.

4 Behzadi and Hämeen-Anttila, Preface 7 and n. 2; Behzadi, Introduction 13–7.

5 On the Arabic terminology applied to the different functions of an author and for examples, see Ghersetti, *A pre-modern anthologist* 24–6.

6 Bauer, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī* 28. Or simply because authors' knowledge and work was going forward. See the example of Maimonides as well, *Sirat, Writing as handwork* 479.

2 Terminology

Etymologically speaking, the word “holograph” comes from late Latin “hōlōgrāphus, a, um” (from the Greek ὁλόγραφος) and means “entirely written by the author’s hand.”⁷ The legal terminology kept the term: a holograph will is fully handwritten by its author, and hence considered more faithful to one’s last wishes, while a typed will hand signed by the testator bears an autograph of the latter, the autograph being the signature. In French, the term “*holographe*,” also spelled more faithfully to its Greek etymology “*olographe*,” is attested as early as 1235, in its form “*orograff*,” whereas “*autographe*” is first attested only in 1553 in the form “*aftographe*.”⁸ In English, both the terms “holograph” and “autograph” derive from the French and appear in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.⁹ Following Gacek,¹⁰ we recommend the use of this precise terminology: a *holograph* is a manuscript entirely written by its author. An *autograph* is a short inscription by a person bearing his/her name (in the frame of manuscript studies, typically a signed colophon, an ownership mark, or a consultation note).

An *authorial manuscript* is defined here as a manuscript copied by a scribe and then revised by the author of the text, who left *autograph* interventions, such as corrections, emendations, cancellations or comments, in the margins or in any blank space of the manuscript (interlinear space, title page, margin, etc.). This is typically the case of MS Or. 560 (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek), al-Maqrīzī’s *Collection of opuscles* that is currently being edited separately in the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* series.¹¹ At the time he published these works, al-Maqrīzī was already in his old age. He asked a scribe to make a fair copy of his opuscles and he then collated the manuscript. He was right to do this, because

7 See Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire* 751: “hōlōgrāphus, a, um (ὁλόγραφος), olographe, écrit en entier de la main de l’auteur: Sid. Ep. 9, 11; Ibid. 19, 22, 14.” The dictionary by Lewis and Short says: “entirely autograph (late Lat.): epistula, entirely written by one’s own hand, autograph, Hier. adv. Ruf. 3, 5; membrana, Sid. Ep. 9, 11 med.: testamentum, Isid. Orig. 5, 24.”

8 Both references come from the Lexical portal of the Centre National des Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales: <http://www.cnrtl.fr>.

9 Hoad, *Concise* 28, 219; Onions et al., *The Oxford* 63, 445; Barnhart, *The Barnhart* 66, 487.

10 Gacek, *Vademecum* 14: “Both ‘autograph’ and ‘holograph’ are used as nouns and adjectives, and often interchangeably, although strictly speaking a ‘holograph’ is a manuscript *wholly* written by the author. An ‘autograph’, on the other hand, can mean a person’s own signature or a short statement signed by him.”

11 Thus far, three opuscles have been published (see <https://brill.com/view/serial/BIMA>).

he had to correct many passages in his own hand. He also added a comment at the end of each treatise, sometimes complaining about the poor quality of the scribe's work.¹²

With regard to texts copied by a famous author, scholar or calligrapher, Adam Gacek tackled the well-known case of Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) whose handwriting was handsome; thus, he served as a scribe, calligrapher, and illuminator on various occasions.¹³ But if the text is not an original work handwritten by the author, the manuscript cannot be called a holograph—otherwise, any manuscript would be the holograph of its scribe. We have no particular word to refer to such manuscripts, we are reduced to using an expression as precise as possible, like “MS x by So-and-so, in the hand of So-and-so, with the autograph comments of So-and-so.”

Some authors indeed played the role of copyists, perhaps to earn a living—chancery secretaries were especially gifted in this activity, since beautiful handwriting was necessary for such work,¹⁴—or for scholarship. We can assume that the features of the final manuscript differed according to its final destination: a manuscript penned to be sold was usually more nicely copied, with a steady handwriting, careful *mise en page*, regular margins, on even and good quality paper, and with the use of text dividers and rubrication when necessary. By contrast, if the manuscript was intended for the personal use of the writer/scholar, the result might be much more messy and hardly legible, the support might be reused paper, the lines of the writing may go in different directions, with hardly any margin delimited. Nevertheless, some medieval scholars who worked in the chancery were accustomed to writing well, such that they could not help doing it and even their drafts or personal notebooks resembled fair copies. Once again, this is the case with al-Ṣafadī who, even in his commonplace book (*tadhkira*), took the trouble to use red ink and to center the titles or subtitles of the book extract he was writing (see fig. 1.1). The same is valid for his drafts: MS Ayasofya 1970, the tenth volume of *A'yān al-ʿaṣr*, al-Ṣafadī's biographical dictionary of his contemporaries, shows obvious marks of a work in progress—parts of pages are left blank, others present many marginal glosses and additions, slips of paper are added in the binding—, but it is still very well structured, with a centered inscription in larger script at

12 See Bauden, *Al-Maqrīzī's collection* as well as chapter 5 in this volume, pp. 136–231.

13 See Gacek, The Copenhagen manuscript as well as chapters 3 (pp. 55–77) and 6 (pp. 232–69, regarding al-Nuwayrī) in this volume.

14 In this regard, see Bauden, Mamluk diplomatics 50. See also chapter 5 in this volume (pp. 136–231).

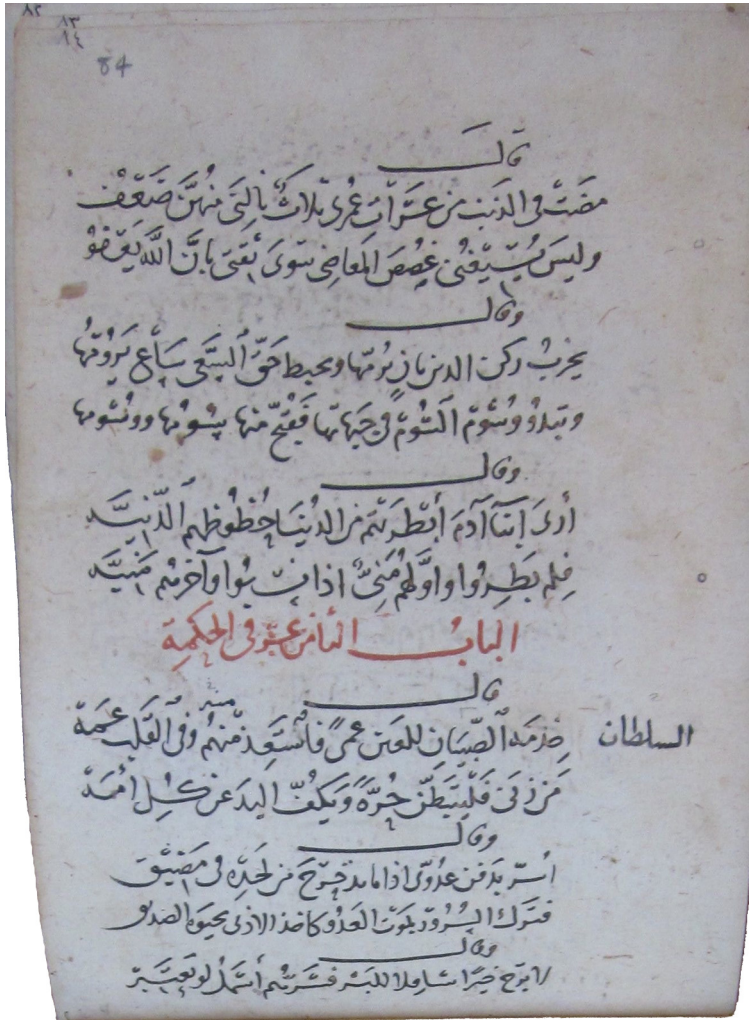


FIGURE 1.1 MS PUL Garrett 3570 Y, f. 33, al-Şafadī's *Tadhkira*, Holograph ms

every change of letter, the beginning of the names of each person cited is in red ink, it has even margins, and a beautiful and careful though quick handwriting.

Finally, we should mention some specific manuscripts in which a scholar copied a text by another author and commented upon it, adding his personal notes. These are in-between cases, and we designate them on a case-by-case basis that we explain individually. The *tadhkiras* do not enter into this category since they gather excerpts from more than one text, by more than one author; however, the copy of al-Ĥarīrī's *al-Maqāmāt* penned and illuminated

by al-Şafadī, now in the Danish Royal Library,¹⁵ is a good example, since the manuscript presents an impressive number of glosses, in red, next to the actual text by al-Ḥarīrī. In such a case, we must talk of a manuscript in al-Şafadī's hand, one that includes his personal textual commentary.

In other fields of research, such as classical,¹⁶ medieval, or Renaissance manuscript studies, the word “holograph” is not used, rather “autograph” is preferred, though “autograph” is not the only expression in use and we can observe a certain inconsistency in terminology. A brief overview of the situation will stimulate reflection and, we hope, justify our choices.

When the paleographer Paul Lehmann established the first list of medieval “autograph” manuscripts in 1920, the only criterion he used to define a medieval manuscript as an “autograph” was its handwriting, that is, it had to be that of the author of the text.¹⁷ Most later scholars, like Denis Muzerelle¹⁸ or Eef Overgaauw,¹⁹ use the same straightforward definition—though other specialists consider texts that are dictated by their author to a scribe to be “autograph manuscripts.” Olivier Delsaux and Tania van Hemelryck hold this view and even go a step further, adding to the family of the “autograph manuscripts” the manuscripts that were corrected by the author, calling them “*manufactures autographes*,” but also “manuscripts whose production was authorized (“*manuscrit original*”) or supervised (“*manuscrit auctorial*”) by the author of the text,”²⁰ even if these manuscripts do not show *any* trace of the author's handwriting. In 2014, the two scholars wrote a “Research Guide” on the question, but to date, there has not been any consensus on the terminology in their field of medieval and modern manuscript studies.²¹ Since the vocabulary has not been

15 MS Cod. Arab. Add. 83, see Perho, *Catalogue* iii, 1416–21.

16 Few Greek and Latin documents (rolls or codex) are preserved in their author's hand. Chapter 2 (pp. 38–54) updates our knowledge of “autograph” Greek literary papyri, and the way to identify them.

17 Lehmann, *Autographe* and Lehmann, *Autographe* (updated version 1941).

18 “Autographe: qui est écrit de la propre main de l'auteur ou du personnage en question,” Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire*.

19 “Un autographe est, selon notre définition, un manuscrit qui contient un texte écrit de la propre main de l'auteur,” Overgaauw, *Comment* 3.

20 “... nous avons également retenu les manuscrits dont la production a été autorisée (*manuscrit original*) ou supervisée (*manuscrit auctorial*) par l'auteur du texte,” Delsaux and van Hemelryck, *Les Manuscrits* 7.

21 This was confirmed by the eminent specialist of medieval manuscripts in Old French, Prof. Michèle Goyens, during her talk at the École nationale des Chartes, Paris, on 12 February 2018. The video of the talk is available: <http://www.chartes.psl.eu/fr/actualite/les-defis-de-l-edition-d-un-manuscrit-autographe>.

firmly settled, scholars working on these peculiar manuscripts must forge ad hoc expressions and explain their approach in each of their contributions.

In this field of study—i.e., medieval and modern manuscript studies—, the percentage of manuscripts (as outlined above, e.g., *manufactures autographes*, *manuscrit original*, *manuscrit auctorial*) that are more than “simple” copies of a given text (i.e., that are holograph, autograph or authorial manuscripts) is relatively low,²² hence, such a fluid terminology is not really problematic. Our field—the field of manuscripts in Arabic script—is different because (among other factors) the late adoption of the movable-type printing press means that the total number of manuscripts in Arabic script is far higher. Consequently, holographs and manuscripts showing traces of their author’s activity are more numerous as well, and thus, a widely accepted and precise terminology is required. Furthermore, if classical, medieval, and modern manuscripts in Occidental languages only rarely state, explicitly, that their scribe is also the author of the text,²³ Arabic sources and manuscripts themselves show a wide gamut of expressions referring to this fact. These can allude to the handwriting (*bi-khatt Fulān* “in So-and-so’s hand”/*bi-khattihi* “in his hand”) or to the stage of the redaction of the text: a manuscript can be an *aṣl*, i.e., an author’s personal copy that he modified, emended, or corrected; a *musawwada* (draft); or a *mubayyada* (fair copy). The mere fact that the author’s intervention in the manuscript is stated (or not) provides us with information about the perception of authorship on both sides of the Mediterranean.

3 Repertory of Holographs

As just shown, contrary to what exists for medieval Europe,²⁴ we do not have a comprehensive study devoted to the specific category of autograph notes, holograph or authorial manuscripts and the problems they pose for the Arabic manuscript tradition. One of the first Orientalists who demonstrated the relevance of a careful identification of holographs was Reinhart Dozy, who published, as early as 1847–51, a study of al-Maqrīzī’s holographs preserved in Lei-

22 Delsaux and van Hemelryck’s repertoire cites a bit more than 400 manuscripts, of which only one-quarter is what we call holographs, see the list in Delsaux and van Hemelryck, *Les Manuscrits* 57–127 (and 129–53 for the arrangement by type of manuscript).

23 Overgaauw, Comment 5. Note that the fact that the word “autograph” only appears in the sixteenth century shows that, in contrast to medieval scholars in the Islamic world, the question was not seen as important by medieval scholars in Europe.

24 Delsaux and van Hemelryck, *Les Manuscrits*.

den.²⁵ Dozy concluded his study emphasizing the necessity of producing facsimiles of autograph notes or holograph manuscripts in order to allow proper identification of the authorship of other manuscripts. With a few exceptions, this call has not been answered. One may quote Bernhard Moritz's paleographic album,²⁶ but it is limited in the sense that it does not display any manuscript created later than the year 1000AH. Georges Vajda's paleographic album is more comprehensive and arranged both geographically and chronologically,²⁷ but is restricted to the manuscripts of the BnF; in addition, the scribes are not all identified, and the manuscripts are not all penned by the authors to which they are attributed. Arthur J. Arberry was very interested in handwriting studies and published a compilation of excerpts of India Office manuscripts to contribute to the field of paleographical studies.²⁸ His catalogue of the Chester Beatty Library, renowned for the huge number of holographs it preserves,²⁹ is also extremely useful because it often provides illustrations; but again, in these two cases, the scope is limited to one library. Šalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid's *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī l-makḥṭūṭ* is worth consulting as well because it shows plates of manuscripts preserved in the Islamic world,³⁰ and folios containing paratextual elements, such as certificates of audition (*samāʿāt*) and licenses of transmission (*ijāzāt*).³¹ Finally, we can cite Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī's biographical dictionary,³² where the reproduction of a sample of the handwriting compensates for the lack of photographs. Interestingly, in this case, handwriting is placed on the same level as a portrait: indeed, both are entirely personal and representative of a specific individual.³³

The lack of a general study of the holograph manuscripts produced in the Islamic world is probably because holographs are only mentioned casually in catalogues, articles, and studies,³⁴ and the researcher does not have access to

25 Dozy, *Découverte*. See also chapter 5 in this volume, pp. 136–231.

26 Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*.

27 Vajda, *Album*.

28 Arberry, *Specimens*.

29 Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library*.

30 Al-Munajjid, *al-Kitāb*.

31 On *ijāzāt*, see *EI*² iii, 1020–2; on *samāʿāt*, see *EI*² viii, 1019–20. On both terms and concepts, see Görke and Hirschler, *Manuscript notes*.

32 Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*. Three other (old) publications can be mentioned in this category: Cheikho, *Spécimens*; Smith Lewis and Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-one facsimiles*; Tisserant, *Specimina*.

33 The material embodiment of the immaterial spirit of the individual as Roger Chartier expressed it (see the quotations at the beginning of chapter 4 and 5 in this volume, pp. 78 and 136).

34 One may cite Ritter, *Autographs*, or studies of a particular author's manuscript(s), such as: Bauden, *Maqriziana 1-1*; Bauden, *Maqriziana 1-2*; Bauden, *Maqriziana 11*; Bonebakker,

an exhaustive and unique repertoire which he/she could browse through to identify the particular handwriting of a given person. Such a repertoire would be most useful as a searchable online database that displays dated samples of handwritings in the form of autograph notes and representative leaves of manuscripts.³⁵

The *FiMMOD, Fichier des Manuscrits Moyen-Orientaux Datés* (“Repertoire of dated Middle-Eastern manuscripts”)³⁶ is another useful tool. For each manuscript, a record is created that contains basic information (language, library, shelf number, place and date of copy, name of the copyist, author, title, *waqf*, seals and dated paratextual elements, basic codicological description), a full-page picture of a folio, if possible in the original scale, and the detail of the colophon. These records are extremely useful for a paleographical approach to the holograph manuscripts, such as the one presented in chapter 5 in this volume (pp. 136–231).³⁷

4 Paleography

In order to identify and study holograph manuscripts and autograph notes, it is necessary to develop sound paleographic skills. As it is often the case, research in manuscript and philological studies is more advanced for the classical world than for the Islamic world. The Italian school is brightly represented, with Dorandi’s seminal work *Le stilet et la tablette*³⁸ certainly being the major one; it goes beyond paleographical questions and delves into methodological considerations. But Petrucci’s,³⁹ Ammirati’s, Capasso’s, and Cavallo’s research is no less significant;⁴⁰ Cavallo and Wilson are particularly relevant for Byzantine studies, especially Byzantine paleography.⁴¹ With Byzantium, we are closer to the Islamic world. In addition, we know that “Greek scholars of the fourteenth

An autograph; Bora, A Mamluk historian’s holograph; Makdisi, Ibn Taimiya’s autograph manuscript; Reisman, A holograph; Richardson, Reconstructing; Sublet, *Le Manuscrit*; Witkam, *Les Autographes*; Zaydān, *al-Makḥṭūṭāt*, etc.

35 Like Dutschke, Digital, for instance. For a similar claim, see Chapter 3, p. 76.

36 About FiMMOD, see <https://maxvanberchem.org/fr/activites-scientifiques/projets/epigraphie-calligraphie-codicologie-litterature/13-epigraphie-calligraphie-codicologie-litterature/92-fimmod-2003>.

37 Unfortunately, the project was terminated some years ago and only a few hundred cards were published.

38 Dorandi, *Le stilet*.

39 Petrucci, *La scrittura*; Petrucci, Au-delà; Petrucci, *Prima lezione*.

40 Ammirati et al., *Sul libro*.

41 Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek bookhands*; Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek bookhands*.

to sixteenth centuries were often active as scribes,⁴² a situation comparable to what we know for the Mamlūk period. Studies in Byzantine book culture are well advanced and very inspiring for us.⁴³

For right-to-left scripts, Hebrew paleography studies are worth considering. Malachi Beit-Arié is recognized as the world expert in Hebrew manuscripts and has obviously addressed questions of paleography as well.⁴⁴ Judith Olszowy-Schlanger directed a seminar at the EPHE (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris) on the methods used to identify hands in Hebrew manuscripts and documents.⁴⁵ This method is comparable in spirit with the one suggested in chapter 4 in this volume (see pp. 78–135), but is obviously not directly applicable to Arabic scripts because of the intrinsic cursive nature of Arabic writing, which is the opposite of the dissected Hebrew script. Nevertheless, working independently and unaware of the work of the other, Élise Franssen and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger took the method developed by the same legal expert in handwriting (Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn)⁴⁶ as a source of inspiration for the establishment of their methodology, and thus attest to an objective approach to the problem. This question of the identification of handwriting is crucial for the advance of Hebrew manuscript and documentary studies since most of the time it is the only way to reconstruct manuscripts from their *membra disjecta* that are scattered in bindings or notarial files around the world.⁴⁷

For Latin scripts, the bibliography of studies in handwriting identification in the field of forensics is given in chapter 4 in this volume. For more historical studies, in addition to the works of Olivier Delsaux and Tania van Hemelryck, the proceedings of conferences organized by the International Committee for Latin Paleography are of foremost importance, especially those published in 2013, since the question of the holograph/autograph manuscripts is the general theme of the publication.⁴⁸

As regards the paleography of Arabic script, the first occurrence of the word “paleography” itself, in the context of Arabic studies, is found in 1782, in the pen

42 Bausi et al., *Comparative* 52; Cavallo, Sodalizi.

43 Cavallo, *Le bibliothèque*; Cavallo, *Libri*; Hunger, *Schreiben*; Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes*; Steel and Macé, Georges Pachymère; Waring, Byzantine book culture; Wilson, *Scholars*.

44 For instance, see Engel and Beit-Arié, *Specimens*.

45 Olszowy-Schlanger, Manuscripts, contains “Programme de l’année 2011–2012: Identifier la main du scribe: petit guide paléographique appliqué aux écritures hébraïques documentaires.” In addition, Olszowy-Schlanger, *Un petit guide*, is more complete.

46 The method is called SHOE (Standard Handwriting Objective Examination).

47 See the project “Books within Books” at <http://www.hebrewmanuscript.com>.

48 Golob, *Medieval*.

Tab. I.

*ALPHABETVM CVFICVM E NVMIS SVMTVM
comparatum cum Alphabeto Cufico, ut in libris scriptis reperitur.*

Ductus particulares	E numis			MS.
	ornatae vulgo Carmat.	finales	initiales	
الهدى الوط	ب	ل	ل	ل
علي علي علي	ع	ر	ر	ر
محمد محمد محمد	م	ع	ع	ع
فرب فرب فرب	ف	ر	ر	ر
صالح صالح الملك المظالم	ص	س	س	س
في في في	ف	ب	ب	ب
دي دي دي	د	ب	ب	ب
ناصر ناصر ناصر	ن	خ	خ	خ
محمد محمد محمد	م	ع	ع	ع
Numerorum notae, cum similibus notis aliarum gentium comparatae ad n. XXXXVI. Aegyptiarum e numis				
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0	ك	ز	ز	ك
Indorum 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0	د	ل	ل	د
Arabum et Periarum 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 vel 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0	د	ل	ل	د
Nostrae 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0	د	ل	ل	د

ut anteced.
Forma initialis ut Be.
ut Be.

FIGURE 1.2 Adler's Arabic Alphabet

of Jacob Georg Christian Adler, in his *Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris*⁴⁹ where he gathers the reading, translation, and explanations of inscriptions, seals, medals, and coins, as well as their engravings. In addition, the German clergyman provided a table of an alphabet showing the forms of the letters in manuscripts and coins, as well as some peculiar cases (see fig. 1.2); thus, he demonstrated the real methods of paleography. Several of his successors have already been mentioned—Moritz, Vajda, Arberry, al-Munajjid—and to this list we could add the recent *Paleography between East and West*, which gathers contributions related to both Latin and Arabic paleography.⁵⁰

In paleographical studies of Arabic scripts, the clear prevalence of studies of calligraphic hands, and the few studies about simple, informal, bookhands is

49 Adler, *Museum*, 32 cited by Déroche, *La Paléographie*. A short biography of Adler is found in Behn, *Concise biographical companion* i, 12–3.

50 See pp. 7–8, nn. 23–27 for the references to the previously cited references, and d’Ottone, *Paleography*.

striking.⁵¹ This may be explained by a general preference for studies of exceptional artifacts—very old or very beautiful—even if to our eyes, very common and ordinary manuscripts reveal more information about the culture in which they were created.⁵² An eloquent example of this phenomenon is Nourane Ben Azzouna's excellent recent book,⁵³ in which she analyzes in detail the great Iraqi calligrapher's Yāqūt al-Musta'šimī's hand:⁵⁴ the latter was called "*qiblat al-kuttāb*" (the point of reference of calligraphers), because he was seen as the third and last great calligrapher after Ibn Muqla⁵⁵ and Ibn al-Bawwāb⁵⁶ (one of his masters). Ben Azzouna meticulously describes the letterforms, diacritics, and orthoepics and underlines the variety of forms within the general unity of this mastered handwriting.⁵⁷

Next to the very beautiful manuscripts, there are studies of the very old manuscripts, and François Déroche's research in this field is seminal, especially his classification of *Ḥijāzī* and Abbasid scripts, published in the first tome of the *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*.⁵⁸ The French scholar gives a series of characteristics worth analyzing to describe a handwriting or, of interest for him, a style of handwritings. These include the verticality or obliquity of the letters, the weight of the handwriting, and several letters: the *alif*, the *'ayn*, the *mīm*, the final *nūn*, the *hā'*, the *lām-alif* and the shape of the ligatures (in U or V) placed under the baseline.⁵⁹ Indeed, Déroche's main objects of study are the oldest Qur'āns known at that time and, as a traditional paleographer, his aim was to be able to date the manuscripts based on their handwriting. Marcus Fraser follows the same methodology, with the same goal.⁶⁰

But it would be erroneous to say that there are no paleographical studies of Arabic bookhands of later periods. In this regard, the Maghribī world is extremely well represented, and offers the majority share of all studies in Arabic scripts, starting from the nineteenth century. Indeed the first of the long

51 The following studies perfectly illustrate this fact: Atanasiu, *Le Phénomène calligraphique*; Atanasiu, *Les Réalités subjectives*; Blair, *Islamic calligraphy*; George, *The rise*; Ifrak, *Le Mabsūt*; Micheau, *La Calligraphie*; Polosin, *Ibn Muqlah*; etc.

52 See Franssen, *A Maḡribī copy*, and above all, Franssen, *What was there*.

53 Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*.

54 On Yāqūt al-Musta'šimī, see *ET*² xi, 263–4; Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme* 39–48 (biography) and sqq.

55 *ET*² iii, 886–7.

56 *ET*² iii, 736–7.

57 Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme* 74–84.

58 Déroche, *Catalogue*.

59 *Ibid.* 17–8.

60 Fraser, *The earliest*.

series is Houdas' study dating back to 1886.⁶¹ Many other scholars, including François Déroche,⁶² Nico van den Boogert⁶³ and others,⁶⁴ considered the question, but it is only very recently that Umberto Bongianino theorized a sub-classification within the broad category of *maghribī*.⁶⁵ Indeed, even if it shows a great unity at first sight, this style of handwriting could not possibly remain identical over the course of the ten centuries of its history! Nevertheless, we can explain the fact that the *maghribī* script has been more studied than any other bookhand by its easily recognizable attributes, notably because of the typical shapes of its *fā'*, with a dot behind the loop, and *qāf*, with only one dot above. In addition, it is rather well defined, geographically speaking, since this typical handwriting is only used by writers who learned to write in the western part of the Islamic world (from al-Andalus to halfway through Libya, including Muslim African regions, to the latitude of Senegal). This typical handwriting was taught in a different way to children, as attested by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1405) himself.⁶⁶ But as is clearly shown in chapter 9 in this volume (pp. 300–22) where Ibn Khaldūn's manuscripts are scrutinized, a writer from the Maghrib could change style in the course of his lifetime. Calligraphers easily changed their styles as well, as underlined by Carine Juvin, who cites a certain Ibn Muḍī l-Andalusī l-Gharnāṭī who, according to his biography by the Meccan historian al-Fāsī, used both the Occidental and the Oriental styles, "*maghribī* and *mashriqī*," she says.⁶⁷

The term "*mashriqī*" is not often used.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, it seems to us the best way to qualify bookhands used in the region corresponding to the Mashriq. These are still too often described as "*naskh*" or "*naskhī*,"—words that do not mean much, since they are used to describe very different handwritings.⁶⁹ In addition, *naskh* is originally a calligraphic style, hence it is not an accurate description for informal bookhands. As for "*naskhī*," it is a neologism forged

61 Houdas, Essai.

62 Déroche, O. Houdas; Déroche, Tradition; Déroche, Les Écritures.

63 Van den Boogert, Some notes.

64 Franssen, *Une copie en mağribī* 123–7; Franssen, A *Mağribī* copy 69–70; d' Ottone, *al-Ḥaṭṭ al-mağribī*; Maghraoui, Uṣūl.

65 Bongianino, *The origin*; see also Bongianino, Quelques remarques; Bongianino, Le Manuscrit x 56 Sup.

66 Quoted in Déroche, Les Écritures 67.

67 Juvin, Calligraphy 155–6.

68 Next to Juvin, to the best of our knowledge, we are the only ones to use the word: Bauden, *Catalogue passim*; Franssen, What was there 321. Nevertheless, the word was already used by Ibn Khaldūn, see Chap. 9, 309 n. 28.

69 Jan Just Witkam has already underlined this, see Witkam, Seven specimens 18, as well as Déroche, Les études de paléographie 366–7.

by Nabia Abbott in the twentieth century.⁷⁰ Using calligraphic terminology to describe bookhands is quite understandable, given that it is the only existing original Arabic terminology.⁷¹ This is the approach Gacek has brilliantly undertaken for numerous years,⁷² but this terminology cannot be used without nuance: talking of *nastaʿlīq* when referring to a non-calligraphic bookhand is not correct, though referring to it as a “nastaʿlīq-ish script” is fine. In this sense, Abbott’s “*naskhi*” is also acceptable, but since it is constructed as a *nisba*-adjective, it looks like a genuine Arabic word and is thus a bit misleading.

As a calligrapher, Yāqūt al-Mustaʿsimī easily changed style as well, but it is worth remarking that even within the same style, he could write the same letter in different ways.⁷³ This shows that when analyzing a handwriting, one should not go too deep into details and that an analysis of lettershapes is not enough. Thus, the most important question is, which characteristics remain? What is really typical of one’s particular hand? According to Nikolaj Serikoff,⁷⁴ text density, ratio between the height of the *alif* and the width of the final *bāʾ*, and the angle of the *alif* and of the *kāf* are the decisive criteria that even allow for a chronological or geographical attribution. We cannot follow him to this degree, but we do agree that a body of evidence is necessary in order to accurately describe a given handwriting. But how precisely can we describe a handwriting? This is one of the questions addressed in chapter 5 of this volume with regard to al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting (pp. 136–231). Chapter 4 (pp. 78–135) also illustrates the test of another much more complete method and answers the question as well.

5 Holographs as Collectibles

If rationally proving that a particular manuscript is effectively in the hand of a certain author is arduous, practically speaking, there have always been connoisseurs able to recognize prestigious hands. Noticing that the number of preserved holographs of European authors particularly surged from the mid-eighteenth century, Roger Chartier linked the increasing interest in this category of manuscripts with the need to guarantee the authenticity of an

⁷⁰ See Abbott, *The rise* 34, 37.

⁷¹ Because we all agree that epithets like “*ḥasan*” or “*ṭayyib*,” often found in biographies to refer to one’s handwriting, do not mean much. Examples are extremely numerous, among others in Juvin, *Calligraphy*.

⁷² Gacek, *Arabic scripts*; Gacek, *al-Nuwayrī’s classification*; Gacek, *The diploma*; Gacek, *Some technical terms*; Gacek, *The head-serif*.

⁷³ Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme* 74–99.

⁷⁴ Serikoff, *Image and letter* 58 and *passim*.

author's works.⁷⁵ He characterized the greed for this category of manuscripts as a fetishism of the author's hand, a phenomenon that exists for Islamic manuscripts as well.⁷⁶ Numerous references found in the literature demonstrate the importance Muslim scholars gave to holograph works that survived their authors. One such case is reported by Yāqūt al-Rūmī (d. 626/1229), with regard to Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's *Kitāb al-Aġānī* (Book of songs), a multi-volume work composed in the fourth/tenth century. It became known that the draft of this book had passed into the hands of a bookseller and was to be offered for sale. The person in question, who was eager to own such a precious witness of Abū l-Faraj's work, asked a friend to contact the owner to negotiate a price. After an inquiry, the inquirer informed his friend that the book had already been sold at auction for the amount of 4,000 dirhams. He specified that the manuscript was mainly written on the back of (loose?) leaves (*zuhūr*)⁷⁷ and was in a handwriting used for note-taking (*bi-khaṭṭ al-ta'liq*). He also provided the name of the potential buyer but, when contacted, the latter answered that he knew nothing about this manuscript. Despite a deep search, no trace of this manuscript could be found.⁷⁸ This anecdote—whether true or fabricated—shows how highly a manuscript in the author's handwriting was valued by some scholars and collectors.

Holographs could indeed become collectibles. If twenty-four volumes in al-Maqrīzī's hand are still preserved in various libraries around the world, it is due to the fact that al-Maqrīzī was famous during his lifetime and some of his works—particularly his *opus magnum* on the topography of Cairo (*al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*)—became what would now be described as a bestseller. Even his notebooks, the most significant witness of his writing activity and *modus operandi*, given that they are composed of résumés and various notes, were deemed valuable enough to survive and be kept in the libraries of some famous scholars. These notebooks are generally anonymous in the sense that his name does not appear in the manuscript; this means that some scholars were able to identify his handwriting, even several centuries after his death (see chapter 5 in this volume, esp. p. 164, n. 98). Al-Maqrīzī's case may seem exceptional, but hundreds, if not thousands, of holographs are preserved in libraries, particularly from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards.⁷⁹ Some scholars,

75 Chartier, *From the author's hand* 10.

76 Ibid. 8.

77 Sic! This reading does not make much sense. The word *zuhūr* must perhaps be read as *turūs* (palimpsests).

78 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 1719.

79 For the Mamlūk period, see Sublet, *Le Manuscrit autographe*.

like the judge Ibn Jamā'a (d. 790/1388) who never gave up trying to purchase the holograph of a text, deployed huge resources to collect holographs. In the meantime, he would acquire a copy which, in case he eventually purchased the author's holograph, he never parted with. His library was so renowned for its quality and the number of holographs it contained that most of it was bought by a Mamlūk amir who wanted it for his madrasa, for the benefit of students and scholars.⁸⁰

Those who were eager to purchase holographs were ready to disburse huge amounts for them. Scholars and collectors, two categories of potential buyers, were not necessarily driven by the same desire. The scholar wished to acquire a holograph because it was the tangible witness of its author's work, as imperfect as it might have been—for instance, loose sheets could be misplaced—the work in the author's hand that does not contain scribal errors usually found in copies. What is written and how it is written stirred the scholar's interest. By contrast, the collector was attracted to the holograph for other reasons: he wanted to build a library that contributed to his social status, to possess a much desired manuscript that no one owns, to be known and appreciated for owning a holograph that other scholars would dream of having in their libraries. Scholars and collectors competed to purchase the rarest items, though the latter usually had greater financial means. "God sends nuts to those who have no teeth" said an unlucky scholar who failed to buy a precious copy that was acquired by a nobleman whose interest in the book was purely material.⁸¹

Once the precious object of desire was in the possession of a scholar or a bibliophile, its owner often left a trace attesting to his acquisition. Ibn Khaldūn's personal copy of his *al-Muqaddima*, with an autograph note (later framed) indicating that it represented his draft (*musawwada*), is a perfect example of this phenomenon: the first leaf—not a title page in the full sense of the word—is covered with ownership marks added at various periods in the history of this singular manuscript (see fig. 1.3). Some owners also loaned their books to scholars who were eager to access what was sometimes a unique copy.⁸² As readers, scholars did not refrain from leaving notes testifying that they had accessed the copy on a certain date and in a given place. Ownership statements and consul-

80 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* i, 355. The amir was Maḥmūd al-Ustādār and the collection came to be known as al-Maḥmūdiyya, which was the name of his madrasa. A note on the title page of each volume was added, stressing the conditions of the *waqf*. Kyle Wynter-Stoner is currently studying this library in the framework of his PhD dissertation at the University of Chicago.

81 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* i, 463. See also Touati, *L'Armoire à sagesse* 31–4.

82 On book lending, see F. Sayyid, Naṣṣān qadīmān.



FIGURE 1.3 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, MS Atif Efendi 1936, fol. VII^a
SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ, İSTANBUL

tation notes have received little attention so far.⁸³ Clearly, they do provide us with critical data on the history of libraries, particularly those of scholars', and on the fortune and diffusion of specific works in certain milieus, aspects that touch on issues related to the sociology of culture.⁸⁴ Perhaps as importantly, they represent additional—and sometimes unique—examples of a scholar's handwriting. These autograph notes added a special value to a manuscript, because of the fame of the person who penned them.⁸⁵ Unsurprisingly, like holographs (see chapter 3 in this volume, particularly p. 63), they sometimes stimulated greed. False attributions were thus not rare in this respect. It is difficult to assess this phenomenon because of the lack of studies, but the example found in fig. 1.4 is eloquent: one of the ownership marks states that the book was owned by a certain Aḥmad b. 'Alī (*min kutub Aḥmad b. 'Alī sanat 811*). A later possessor identified this owner with the famous historian al-Maqrīzī,⁸⁶ whose name was indeed Aḥmad b. 'Alī. While the name and the date seem likely, the handwriting does not tally with al-Maqrīzī's hand and the content of the mark does not correspond to his practice of always using his family name (see fig. 5.4 in chapter 5, p. 148). Nevertheless, once attributed to this renowned historian, this specific mark could represent a valid reason for its purchase and increase its value in the eyes of a potential buyer.

6 Ecdotics (Textual Criticism)

Holographs are precious as collectibles, for their monetary value, but also for their philological value, since they clearly have a special status in the transmission history of a text. Indeed, when considering the critical edition of a text, scholars still consider the most reliable—and at times most accurate—witness to be the holograph.⁸⁷ Usually presented as the most desirable state of

83 See Gacek, Ownership statements; Touati, *L'Armoire à sagesse* 97–100; Liebreuz, The library; Liebreuz, *Die Rīfā'īya*; as well as the recent special issue (vol. 9, 2018) of the *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* directed by B. Liebreuz and entitled *The history of books and collections through manuscript notes*.

84 See Akkerman's works, cited above, 1 n. 3.

85 Ownership marks and consultation statements are sometimes circled when they were penned by a famous scholar. See figs. 1.3–1.4.

86 The note is in Ottoman Turkish: *Maqrīzīniñ khaṭṭidir* ("al-Maqrīzī's hand").

87 Literature about textual criticism applied to Arabic is abundant. For an assessment of this literature, see the excellent review presented by al-Qāḍī in her *How 'sacred' is the text*, particularly 13–22. Regarding issues linked to textual criticism, see also Witkam's reflections in his *Establishing the stemma*.



FIGURE 1.4 al-Mawṣilī, *Ghāyat al-wasā'il ilā ma'rifat al-awā'il* (ms Reisülkütub 862) SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL

a text, the holograph still raises concerns. Should the author's obvious handwriting errors be faithfully reproduced or corrected and duly indicated in the apparatus? What about the orthography: should it be standardized according to the rules applied since printing started on a large scale in the Arab world (thirteenth/nineteenth century) or left unchanged? Should grammatical errors be corrected or left in the text? Beside these legitimate questions, the editor also faces other problems. The holograph copy that has been preserved may represent only one stage in the elaboration of the text: it could be an early or intermediary draft, a fair copy used as a working copy which the author continued to modify through various means (inserts, cancellations, marginal or interlinear additions, etc). Even if the holograph corresponds to the fair copy that was ultimately 'published', which can be regarded as the most desirable witness of a text, it is legitimate to ask if it exempts the editor from considering other copies (for example, apographs, i.e., copied on the holograph or the authorial manuscript, or later copies). As with any other manuscript, holographs could be exposed to various vicissitudes. Perhaps more than other copies, holographs, depending on the stage of the text they corresponded to, were more amenable to alterations: inserts and loose leaves could be lost or marginal additions could be trimmed during the binding process, etc. In fact, the existence of a holograph does not make it less necessary to investigate other witnesses. An author could modify his text even after its publication, a process that might explain the presence of variants.⁸⁸

The collation of the holograph with later copies may also reveal differences, sometimes notable ones. All too often, the editor is eager to offer the reader the most 'complete' text. When Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid tackled the critical edition of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-ītibār*, he relied as much as possible on the two volumes of the draft (*musawwada*), which only cover about one half of the final work, and he collated them with later copies.⁸⁹ In so doing, he neglected to take into consideration that al-Maqrīzī worked on this text over a period of some thirty years, and the two volumes of the draft represented one version—the first—of the work. During the collation process, he noticed that the draft sometimes contained more detailed descriptions and also, sometimes, mentioned monuments whose entries were reduced or left out of the final version. As an editor, he faced a dilemma: which version should be kept in the critically edited text? Anxious to print the most exhaustive version of al-Maqrīzī's text, he opted to mix the two versions, sticking to the draft each time it offered more

88 On this specific issue, see Sobieroj, *Variance*.

89 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-ītibār* (1st ed.).

data, thus succumbing to the temptation to prioritize comprehensiveness over the author's intent.⁹⁰

Holograph and authorial manuscripts also bear crucial information about their author's working method. Indeed, the steps of the composition may have been preserved (drafts, fair copies, notebooks, commonplace books) and various aspects of the author's methodology are visible in these written traces: inserts, signs showing that a certain passage needs to be moved to another place in the work, words crossed out or cancelled, glosses referring to other works, etc. All these witnesses correspond to what has been termed the "avant-textes," i.e., what precedes the published version. Hence, holograph and authorial manuscripts constitute major evidence that *must* not only be taken into account for the elaboration of a critical edition, but also for the study of the author's methodology. Despite the quantity of material available, as outlined above, so far, this promising field of research has not drawn much attention from scholars working on Arabic manuscripts.⁹¹ Beside the obvious interest in the way an author conceived and composed his work, the study of his methodology can also offer solutions to a scholar interested in editing the 'final' version of a text but willing, at the same time, to publish the most 'complete' text. As stressed above, each version of a text represents one step in the author's creative process and the mixing of several of these versions, in an attempt to publish the most comprehensive version, should be avoided as it does not represent the author's intent. Genetic criticism is the way forward for anyone wishing to consider as much of the "avant-textes" as possible together with the 'final' version of a text.⁹² Rather than focusing on one particular state of the text, this approach consists of encompassing all the traces left by an author (notes, sketches, drafts, fair copies, correspondence, library) with the ultimate goal of presenting a genetic edition.⁹³ The study of the process which led to the production of the 'final' version is considered as significant as this 'final' version. As specialists of this field state: "... a genetic edition is more than a

90 See Bauden's review in *Mamlūk Studies Review* VIII/1 (2004), 169–76. These issues were not addressed in the second revised edition he published in 2013: Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-ītibār* (2nd rev. ed.). Theoretical works about author's variants are abundant for European literature, see for instance Ciociola, 'Storia.'

91 In addition to the work being done on al-Maqrīzī's working method by Frédéric Bauden in the framework of his Maqriziana studies, see chapter 7 in this volume (pp. 260–76, as well as Élise Franssen's current analysis of al-Şafadī's commonplace book (*al-Tadhkira*), and Reisman, A holograph.

92 On Genetic criticism, see Deppman et al., *Genetic criticism*.

93 Or an edition including the author's variants as it used to be called, see Ciociola, 'Storia' and many others.

'critical gathering' of primary documents. In a genetic edition it is possible to present the documents and texts that lead to the printed version of a particular work and also the variation among these printed texts."⁹⁴ To produce a genetic edition, scholars now have at their disposal electronic scholarly editing mainly made possible by the existence of the XML encoding language (eXtensible Markup Language) essentially in the frame of the TEI (Text Encoding Initiative). The genetic edition allows editors to combine a digital archive of all the written witnesses left by an author with an edition that fully embraces the two most favored approaches to digital editing: text- and document-oriented approaches. Nowadays, this process constitutes the best way to combine the necessity to take into consideration the form of the edited text and the requirement to reconstruct the dynamics of the composition process.⁹⁵ Undoubtedly, it should be considered for some Muslim authors like al-Maqrīzī, whose 'avant-textes' and texts in holograph form have been preserved in sufficient number.⁹⁶

7 Digital Humanities

As just underlined, the Digital Humanities (DH) offer new possibilities for various aspects of our research. In philology, we see the great advantages of digital editions. In terms of the tools of research, they make possible the computational analysis of texts, for instance, thanks to efficient tagging methods, some of which are semi-automatic. The tagging system OpenITI mARkdown, developed by Maxim Romanov, is an excellent and user-friendly tool that renders texts machine readable and thus allows large corpus analyses.⁹⁷ The KITAB project (for "Knowledge, Information Technology, and the Arabic

94 See <http://www.textualscholarship.org/gencrit/index.html>.

95 Unsurprisingly, projects in this field mainly address modern and contemporary authors. See, for instance, the Samuel Beckett Digital Manuscript Project (<https://www.beckettarchive.org>).

96 The *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* project (<https://brill.com/view/serial/BIMA>) aims to publish critical editions with annotated translations and thorough studies of al-Maqrīzī's oeuvre on the basis of the exceptional corpus of holograph and authorial manuscripts that have reached us. Each editor takes great pain to track any of the author's modifications and emendations that are noticeable in the manuscripts and report these in the apparatus. The facsimile published at the end of each volume allows readers to visually become cognizant of these traces of the working process. Nevertheless, such a project would greatly benefit from genetic criticism for the creation of a digital archive including the manuscripts al-Maqrīzī consulted.

97 See <https://alraqmiyyat.github.io/mARkdown/>.

Book”), whose PI is Sarah Savant,⁹⁸ developed a software that can detect text reuse and thus unveil the sources used by an author for a particular chapter. The same approach allows the detection of different styles of language and gives the same kind of information, i.e., the source(s) used by an author.⁹⁹ In philology, and more precisely in ecdotics, in terms of displaying possibilities, we are no longer limited by the size of a book page and many different views of the same text edition can be seen; we do not have to choose between critical and diplomatic editions, since we can now display the edited text next to the image of the folio, or next to the collation notes tab, or the biographical information tab, or a map relevant to the text under study, or a representation of the network of sources or scholars represented by the text, etc.¹⁰⁰ Thus, we have in hand a global contextualization of the manuscripts and of the edited text.

In the field of paleography, for the identification of hands, various approaches have been undertaken. For instance, the “paleographic metrology” that aims at applying quantitative-statistical methods to paleography,¹⁰¹ or the “spatial gray level dependence,”¹⁰² a method of “texture analysis” that applies “a segmentation-free approach” that allows researchers to determine a time-span for the copying of manuscripts, should be improved and refined in order to achieve more precise results. The table of contents of the *Proceedings of 2017 IEEE International Workshop on Arabic Script Analysis and Recognition*¹⁰³ leads us to hope for substantial solutions: more than forty percent of the communications deal with Arabic handwritten text recognition, using different techniques: “deep convolutional networks,” “neural network based recognition,” “trajectory recovery technique,” “sequential minimal optimization,” and “dynamic bayesian networks.” Yet, we did not find a single name of a colleague trained to work with Arabic manuscripts, not even with the mention “with the collaboration of” ... We could not read all these very specialized articles, but hope to hear about their results, and hope the majority of them will be more accurate than the one referred to in this volume with regard to al-Maqrīzī’s holographs:¹⁰⁴ as shown in chapter 5 (pp. 136–231), the results are not exactly convincing for a specialist of Arabic manuscripts, though they were for the authors of the study.

98 For the complete list of KITAB team’s members, see <http://kitab-project.org/team/>.

99 The software is called “passim”, see <http://kitab-project.org/text-reuse-methods/>.

100 These possibilities are offered by EVT (Edition Visualization Technology), a free open-source software developed at the University of Pisa, see <http://evt.labcd.unipi.it>.

101 See Rehbein et al. *Kodikologie*; Fischer et al. *Kodikologie*.

102 Abd Al-Aziz et al., Recognition.

103 Available online: <http://toc.proceedings.com/36341webtoc.pdf>.

104 Boiarov et al., Arabic manuscript.

The *Gazette du Livre médiéval* special double issue published in 2011 under the direction of Denis Muzerelle and Maria Gurrado¹⁰⁵ contains inspiring studies as well, and more traditional but still effective methods are exposed in Peter Rück's book.¹⁰⁶ Among these new approaches, the GRAPHEM project¹⁰⁷ is interesting because it uses a variety of methods to develop a global vision of the handwritings. Using the *Catalogue des manuscrits datés portant des indications de dates ou de copiste*¹⁰⁸ as a sample, the project developed a co-occurrence matrix based on the computer analysis of the letters contours pixels, and on wavelets¹⁰⁹ of the manuscript pictures that allow the automatic extraction of the main characteristics chosen a priori (for instance, the verticals) of the writing. In addition, it conducts an analysis of the inclination of the script, and a description of the ductus, in order to reconstruct the scriptor's hand movement. This description uses the automatic identification of the strokes, of their number and direction, and analyzes the thickness of the strokes and their color intensity. This exhaustive approach sounds excellent, but to the best of our knowledge, no tangible result has been published to date. This is too frequently the conclusion we come to: the same can be said of the ENTRAP software¹¹⁰ that gave (excellent) test results, but nothing more. One article published in 2012 in the *International Journal of Computer Applications*, promised the "automatic reading of historical Arabic MSS."¹¹¹ All these innovative methods are extremely promising and we look forward to reading successful results in the near future.

105 Muzerelle and Gurrado, *Analyse* (http://www.persee.fr/issue/galim_0753-5015_2011_num_56_1).

106 Rück, *Methoden*.

107 This interdisciplinary project was financed by the French Agence Nationale de la Recherche between 2008 and 2011 and involved five different CNRS laboratories, in Computer sciences (LIRIS based in Lyon, LIPADE based in Paris, and LIFO, based in Orléans), the IRHT (Institut de Recherche en Histoire des Textes), and the École nationale des Chartes. See Gurrado, Ricerche and the bibliography cited there.

108 Realized under the patronage of the "Comité international de Paléographie latine," the CMD-France is online and searchable, see <http://cmdf.irht.cnrs.fr>.

109 This technique derives from the theories developed in the nineteenth century by Joseph Fourier, a French mathematician, and today are mainly used in image compressing: it reduces the amount of information for each image and stores the residuals (that are easier to store) elsewhere in order to reconstruct the original image. The new image is thus lighter. On Fourier and the wavelets technique and function, see Koppe, Joseph Fourier. On Fourier, see Arago, Éloge.

110 Rezvan and Kondybaev, The ENTRAP software.

111 Farag, Handwritten text recognition system.

Dominique Stutzmann's effort, in the field of medieval and Renaissance Latin manuscripts, is highly interesting as well, since paleographical analysis is not her only final objective.¹¹² Indeed, she argues that the level of compliance to the norms (that is, the respect given to handwriting models) represents the extent to which the handwriting of a certain society has been normalized. Her research in script identification and machine reading of medieval manuscripts is extremely successful as well: she developed an OCR for manuscripts that is able to take into account the abbreviations as well.¹¹³ The technique used, convolutional neural networks, "which mimick[s] the way we learn"¹¹⁴ is the one used by the OpenITI team to develop their Optical Character Recognition software for the Arabic script.¹¹⁵ They argue that the same methodology could be applied to manuscripts, since they are currently training the machine to read manuscripts.

8 An Insight into the Contents¹¹⁶

Before addressing issues linked to the Islamic world, an opening to the classical world was deemed useful because of the great experience gathered by scholars working on this period. In chapter 2 (pp. 38–54), Marie-Hélène Marganne presents the current state of research in Greek literary autograph papyri. In classical Greece, the copying of manuscripts was seen as a servile activity: authors used to dictate their texts to their scribes, as attested by the literary sources and by the iconography; while in Rome, authors sometimes wrote their texts themselves. This is another factor, in addition to the passage of time that has destroyed documents, and explains why the number of Greek holographs/autographs is so low. Of the 7,000 Greek literary papyri preserved, the

112 Her research project, first entitled ORIFLAMMS (Ontology Research, Image Features, Letterform Analysis on Multilingual Medieval Scripts), is now called ECMEN ("Écriture médiévale & numérique"). See Stutzmann, *Système graphique*.

113 Kestemont and Stutzmann, *Script identification*.

114 As expressed by Romanov et al., *Important new developments 2*.

115 On OpenITI (Open Islamicate Texts Initiative), see the website <https://alraqmiyyat.github.io/OpenITI/>. On the OCR software, see Romanov et al., *Important new developments*.

Note that two other important achievements in textual analysis were possible thanks to machine readable texts; these are *Jedli*, developed by Peter Verkinderen and José Haro Peralta, see Haro Peralta and Verkinderen, *Jedli*; and *Qawl*, developed by Sébastien Moureau, see <https://uclouvain.be/qawl/>.

116 A Conference review was published a couple of months after the conference in COMSt Newletters, see Franssen, *Autograph/holograph*.

author presents an up-to-date list of autographs, adding five to the list that was established by Tiziano Dorandi, and thus reaching the number of twenty-nine. Since the author's name is seldom given, in order to identify these papyrus as autographs, the scholar must build on a body of evidence: the form and quality of the medium, the page layout, the hand, the state of the text, the literary genre, and the context of the redaction of the text, all while keeping in mind the characteristics of the scribal work *a contrario*. Then, Marganne gives a detailed analysis of each manuscript listed, of their extrinsic and intrinsic features. Finally, she analyzes the medical papyri in depth, more precisely of P. Oxy. 74.4970.¹¹⁷

Another methodological contribution can be found in chapter 3 (pp. 55–77). It opens with a short terminological clarification and quickly passes to richly illustrated explanations about the different types of holographs in the Islamic manuscript tradition. If drafts are easy to identify as holographs thanks to their specific features—a special type of book, the messy layout, informal hand, numerous *marginalia*, blanks, etc.—, and, sometimes, indications in their colophon, fair copies are more difficult to authenticate because they are more polished. Furthermore, for some of them, it is impossible to ensure that they are actually in their author's hand, since no other sample of their author's handwriting is preserved. Gacek also tackles the case of working copies, sometimes heavily glossed by other authors. Then, he exposes the Arabic terminology related to the question, before passing to the method used to avoid being trapped by fraudulent statements. Indeed, as already tackled, owners sometimes sought to increase the value of their manuscripts by stating that the latter are in the hand of the original author. One needs to confront all the information available about the author, his biography, his time, his habits, his handwriting, his signature, and the invocation added after his name.

Chapter 4 (pp. 78–135) is methodological and practical at the same time, since it concerns the actual testing of a forensic method for the identification of the handwritings of Arabic manuscripts, more precisely of a sub-group of the Egyptian recension of *The Thousand and One Nights*. The Egyptian recension appeared at the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century to the beginning of the

117 It is worth mentioning that during the conference, Caroline Macé, a reputed Byzantinist, presented her work on Georges Pachymeres, more precisely of MS Gr. 1810 (BnF, Paris), in which he acts both as a scribe and an author, since he added a scholarly comment to the text he copied. The material she presented during the conference was already published, and for this reason her work is not included in this volume. See Steel and Macé, Georges Pachymère.

thirteenth/nineteenth century with two main protagonists at work: a scribe and a compiler. Élise Franssen's aim was to ascertain, based on the very detailed method called SHOE ("Standard Handwriting Objective Examination"), which manuscripts were in their respective hand. After an exhaustive account of the method, with remarks and considerations about its adaptation to the Arabic alphabet, the case studies are carefully examined. This analysis proved convincing, in fact, an examination of only part of the criteria exposed is sufficient to reach meaningful conclusions. In this case, we can apprehend the genesis of the group of manuscripts and propose a change in the distribution of the volumes in three of the groups of manuscripts.

The second part of the volume, in which the contributions deal with a specific author, opens with chapter 5 (pp. 136–231). In this article, Frédéric Bauden answers the question of the very essence of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, especially over the passage of time, by examining twenty-four holographs and one authorial manuscript, written over a period of some fifty years. Al-Maqrīzī makes an excellent case study, because numerous holographs of his, of different types (notebooks, drafts, fair copies ...), have been preserved, as have other types of autograph notes (ownership marks, consultation statements, marginal comments in manuscripts he consulted). Therefore, after a recap of al-Maqrīzī's biography, especially of his probable training in calligraphy, Bauden uses various paratexts by al-Maqrīzī as samples of the scholar's handwriting, and considers all the aspects of the manuscripts studied, noticing for instance, a change of *mīṣṭara* at a precise point in the author's lifetime and precisely distinguishing drafts and fair copies. In conclusion, for the very first time, we gain a clear view of this great historian's handwriting and its peculiarities.

Al-Nuwayrī is the next author examined, in chapter 6 (pp. pp. 232–59). The analysis of al-Nuwayrī's holographs allows for an immersion into an encyclopedist's working method, and shows his strategies to cope with the great quantity of information available then. Al-Nuwayrī is an excellent candidate for such research in more than one respect. As a matter of fact, we have at our disposal information about his activity as an author and scribe of his own works from different sources: biographical sources (al-Udfuwī, al-Ṣafadī, and al-Maqrīzī recount interesting facts about his copying ability), theoretical sources (his own *Nihāyat al-arab* has a whole chapter about it), and material sources, since thirty holograph volumes of his are preserved. A question of terminology is also brought to our attention: the word *nāsikh* not only means copyist, but also compiler, anthologist, or editor. Finally, Elias Muhanna exposes the possible discovery of a copy of al-Bukhārī's *al-Jamī' al-ṣaḥīḥ* in al-Nuwayrī's hand. Al-Nuwayrī made this copy when he was in need of funds, to retire and devote his time to writing. The issue of handwriting identification is

particularly relevant in this case, since al-Nuwayrī was a highly skilled calligrapher and mastered different styles.

Chapter 7 (pp. 260–76) deals with particular holographs and their difficult identification: three miscellanies consist of three volumes of Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ's *Tadhkira* or commonplace book. Since personal information about the author's family is included in each of the three volumes, these can be used as an archive of a family history, a matter of particular importance in this case since Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ was accused of manipulating his genealogy in order to seize *waqfs*. Kristina Richardson begins with an account of Ibn Muflīḥ's biography, based on biographical sources and on paratextual elements found in various manuscripts. She continues with a list of examples of Mamlūk and early Ottoman-period notebooks, then goes on to describe the three manuscripts she has identified as volumes of Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ's *Tadhkira*. These manuscripts allow her to draw a genealogy of the *qāḍī* which figures in the end of the article.

Chapter 8 (pp. 277–99) tackles al-ʿAynī and the intricate relationships between three of his holographs on one hand, and with the works of his rival al-Maqrīzī on the other hand. The accurate and precise observations help to solve the puzzle. Contrary to previous assumptions, the texts of the three manuscripts appear to be three different works, dealing with roughly the same events. The analysis of the paratexts and *marginalia* of one of them allows Nobutaka Nakamachi to ascertain the mutual influence that existed between al-ʿAynī and al-Maqrīzī. Finally, the importance of al-ʿAynī's younger brother as a historian of some concern is revealed.

Chapter 9 (pp. 300–22) focuses on Ibn Khaldūn's *al-Taʿrīf*. Retsu Hashizume begins with a reconsideration of the lineage the editor of the text established, and convincingly proves that this needs to be corrected. This fine analysis of the textual tradition—mainly based on the marginal annotations and cancellations that were neglected by the editor of the text—leads him to identify a holograph draft that must have existed. He also explains his discovery of three other manuscripts of the text. Finally, he raises the issue of the handwriting, since the draft he has identified is not in *maghribī*, as one would expect from a native of the Maghrib, but in *mashriqī* script. Biographical sources about Ibn Khaldūn indicate that he mastered both styles, but the author prudently concludes that this requires further investigation.

The final contribution, chapter 10 (pp. 323–435), is the combined effort of two specialists of Yemeni manuscripts and literature, Julien Dufour and Anne Regourd. It deals with particular manuscripts: Yemeni personal poetic anthologies in the form of *safīna* (vertical format, with horizontal binding) that are progressively called, by metonymy, *safīnas* themselves. Dufour and Regourd

begin with a historical account of the *safīna* as a book form and as a literary genre in the Persian and Turkish worlds, then address the particular case of Yemen. The contents of Yemeni *safīnas* are then more precisely exposed, with interesting considerations about *ḥumaynī* poetry. The descriptions of six *safīnas* follow.

Thus, the second, fourth and last chapters of this volume deal with peculiar holographs: holographs whose author is unknown. Holograph manuscripts are representative of their authors, and if the latter is unknown, they give information about his time and culture. Indeed, this volume aims at examining the topic from all sides, theoretical and practical, particular and general, codicological, paleographical, and philological: these exceptional manuscripts deserve our focus and from their careful analysis, we can learn a great deal about the Islamic world in general.

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Comment reconnaître un autographe parmi les papyrus littéraires grecs ? L'exemple du *P. Oxy.* 74.497^o

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À la différence des manuscrits médiévaux qui ont transmis, à la suite de copies successives, les œuvres des auteurs grecs et latins antiques, les papyrus littéraires grecs et, dans une moindre mesure, latins, permettent d'observer sur le vif des témoignages de première main de l'élaboration d'un texte littéraire à toutes ses étapes, des premières notes prises par un auteur à la rédaction en cours ou terminée, et de sa copie personnelle ou de travail à sa copie calligraphique.

La plupart des papyrus grecs et latins ont été découverts en Égypte, où le climat sec a assuré leur conservation. Ceux-ci datent, *grosso modo*, des IV^e/III^e siècles avant notre ère aux VII^e/VIII^e siècles de notre ère, c'est-à-dire de la période qui s'étend de l'installation en Égypte de nombreux Grecs, suite à l'annexion de ce pays par Alexandre le Grand, en 332 avant notre ère, jusqu'à la conquête arabe, en 641 de notre ère. Parmi ces pièces, on distingue deux grandes catégories : les papyrus littéraires (restes de livres, de manuels, de brouillons, d'exercices scolaires, etc.), et les papyrus documentaires (documents officiels, rapports légaux, contrats, testaments, lettres privées, signalements, certificats de décès, inventaires, listes, etc.). Eu égard au thème étudié ici, ce sont les papyrus littéraires, dont plus de 7.000 sont actuellement répertoriés¹, – du moins pour les textes profanes –, qui retiendront notre atten-

1 Dans le texte et les notes, l'abréviation MP³ ou Mertens-Pack³ désigne la 3^e édition, mise à jour en permanence par nos soins, du *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins*, accessible sur le site web du CEDOPAL, à l'adresse <http://cipl93.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/dbsearch.aspx>. Ses deux premières éditions avaient été réalisées par Roger A. Pack : voir Pack, *The Greek and Latin literary texts*. Pour les abréviations papyrologiques, on se référera à la *Checklist of editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic papyri, ostraca and tablets*, régulièrement mise à jour, à l'adresse <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. Dans les notices MP³, les dates avant notre ère sont indiquées par ^a en exposant (abréviation d'*ante Christum natum*) ; in. indique le début (*ineunte*) et ex., la fin (*exeunte*) d'un siècle ; précisant les notions de recto et de verso, les flèches → et ↓ indiquent le sens des fibres du papyrus.

tion. Ceux-ci se présentent sous la forme de rouleaux ou de coupons de papyrus, de *codices* de papyrus ou de parchemin, et aussi de tablettes de bois et d'ostraca.

Des autographes sont-ils attestés dans les papyrus littéraires grecs et latins ? Quoique leur identification soit malaisée, plusieurs ont pu être identifiés parmi les papyrus littéraires grecs. Leur petit nombre pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que l'écriture autographe des œuvres littéraires, – fût-ce des traités techniques –, n'était pas très répandue dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine. Comme le confirme à plusieurs reprises le médecin Galien (129-c. 216)² dans ses traités, les auteurs grecs dictaient la plupart du temps leurs œuvres à des scribes, qui pouvaient être tachygraphes (sténographes)³. De fait, à la différence de l'Égypte pharaonique, où le statut du scribe était élevé⁴, le monde hellénique considérait la copie manuelle d'un texte comme une activité servile. Il s'ensuit que les orateurs, les philosophes, les poètes, les médecins grecs, etc., ont été généralement représentés, soit un rouleau fermé à la main, soit en train de lire, et pratiquement jamais en train d'écrire. Par exemple, dans les illustrations du fameux manuscrit grec connu sous le nom de "Dioscoride de Vienne" (*Vindobonensis Medicus Graecus* 1), élaboré, vers 512, à Constantinople, la plupart des écrivains médecins sont représentés, non pas en train d'écrire, mais bien tenant un rouleau (ainsi, au fol. 2^v, Machaon, Pamphile, Xénocrate, Sextius Niger, Héraclide et Mantias groupés autour du centaure Chiron; au fol. 3^v, Cratévas, Apollonios, Andréas [de Caryste ?], Dioscoride, Nicandre et Rufus entourant Galien, ainsi que Dioscoride au fol. 4^v) ou un codex fermés (Galien, au fol. 3^v) à la main. La seule exception à cette règle est, au fol. 5^v, la seconde repré-

2 Boudon-Millot, *Galien. Sur ses propres livres*.

3 Voir not. Galien, *Sur ses propres livres* 1.12, dans l'édition, traduite et commentée de Boudon-Millot, 139, 187-8 n. 1: ἐδεήθη μού τις φίλος ἐπαχθῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπαγορευσαί τὰ ῥηθέντα τῷ πεμφθησομένῳ παρ'αὐτοῦ πρὸς με διὰ σημείων εἰς τάχος ἡσκημένῳ γράφειν, "un de mes amis qui ne pouvait supporter [Martialis], me demanda de dicter mes paroles à la personne qu'il m'enverrait et qui était entraînée à prendre des notes en sténographie (...)"; voir aussi Galien, *De priorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione*, 9.9, dans l'édition de de Boer, *Galeni De priorum animi* 32.15-18 (de Boer 1937, p. 32, 15-8 = v 48 Kühn) (en ligne http://cmg.bbaw.de/epubl/online/cmg_05_04_01_01.html): βλέπω γὰρ σε μήτ'εἰς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων δαπανῆσαι τολμῶντα, μήτ'εἰς βιβλίων ὠνήν καὶ κατασκευὴν καὶ τῶν γραφόντων ἄσκησιν ἤτοι γ'εἰς τάχος διὰ σημείων ἢ εἰς κάλλος (καὶ) ἀκρίβειαν, ὥσπερ γε οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκόντων ὀρθῶς, "Je vois que tu n'oses pas dépenser pour de nobles actions, ni pour l'achat et la fabrication de livres, ni pour exercer les scribes à écrire soit rapidement au moyen de signes, soit avec élégance et précision, ni encore pour exercer les lecteurs à lire correctement" (traduction française, légèrement modifiée, de Barras et al., *Galien. L'âme et ses passions* 35); voir aussi les commentaires de Dorandi, *Le stylet* 65; Del Corso, Ercolano 160.

4 Piacentini, Scribes.

sensation de Dioscoride qui, semble-t-il, écrit sur une page de codex reposant sur ses genoux, tandis que l'illustrateur (Cratévas?) peint une planche fixée sur un chevalet⁵. Cependant, comme l'indiquent le décor et les vêtements du peintre, ce tableau n'appartient plus à l'antiquité, mais à la période byzantine. Le contexte culturel est différent. À la suite de l'émergence du christianisme, religion du livre, copier, – surtout les livres saints –, n'est plus considéré comme une activité servile⁶. La situation semble plus complexe dans le monde romain. Si Pline l'Ancien (23/24-79) paraît évoquer d'anciens documents (*longinqua monimenta*) autographes (*manus*) de personnages et d'auteurs célèbres, dans le passage suivant :

J'ai vu moi-même, au bout de deux cents ans ou presque, chez Pomponius Secundus, poète et citoyen très illustre, des autographes de Tiberius et Caius Gracchus. Quant à ceux de Cicéron, du divin Auguste et de Virgile, nous en voyons souvent⁷,

il n'en va pas de même de Quintilien (c. 35-100), qui se réfère bel et bien aux écrits littéraires autographes (*manus*) de Cicéron et de Virgile, lorsqu'il précise, à propos d'une particularité orthographique,

leurs manuscrits attestent que [Cicéron] lui-même et Virgile aussi ont utilisé de cette graphie⁸.

Au début, l'attitude des Latins envers l'écriture et les écrits semble bien différente de celle des Grecs. Comme l'a remarqué le regretté Paolo Radiciotti⁹, l'examen de la production graphique latine la plus ancienne montre qu'à Rome, pour longtemps, il n'y a pas eu de séparation nette entre l'écriture des livres et celle des textes liés à la vie quotidienne (documents) :

Les Romains, encore à l'époque de Caton le Censeur (234-149), acceptent l'idée qu'un livre soit directement écrit par l'auteur et puis conservé dans

5 Mazal, *Wiener Dioskurides* 17-25.

6 Cavallo, *Pratiche*.

7 Pline, *Histoire naturelle* 13.83: *Tiberi Gaique Gracchorum manus apud Pomponium Secundum uatem ciuemque clarissimum uidi annos fere post ducentos; iam uero Ciceronis ac Diui Augusti Vergilique saepenumero uidemus*. Nous sommes responsable de la traduction française.

8 Quintilien, *Institution* 1.7.20: *quo modo et ipsum et Vergilium quoque scripsisse manus eorum docent*. Toutefois, Dorandi, *Le stylet* 65-6, considère les témoignages de Pline l'Ancien et de Quintilien comme douteux.

9 Radiciotti, *Della genuità et Radiciotti*, Ercolano.

les archives de la maison, comme le serait un document holographe. La présence de l'interponction (c'est-à-dire les points qui séparent les mots), soit dans les documents, soit dans les écrits de la vie quotidienne, soit dans les livres latins les plus antiques, serait encore une conséquence de ce manque de séparation nette entre ce qui est un livre et ce qui ne l'est pas. C'est d'autant plus important qu'à l'origine de ce phénomène, il y a l'absence, dans la tradition graphique latine la plus antique, d'un groupe de scribes professionnels en mesure de produire des livres. C'est seulement avec le processus de lente hellénisation que se distinguent des pratiques de vie intellectuelle plus "modernes", à travers l'acceptation du modèle du livre-*volumen*, la conception de l'acte matériel d'écrire comme activité privée de signification diacritique et donc comme *opus servile*, et, enfin, la naissance des bibliothèques latines¹⁰.

Comment identifier des autographes dans les papyrus littéraires grecs ? L'opération est délicate car, en papyrologie littéraire, il est souvent malaisé de distinguer entre un manuscrit autographe et une copie privée, d'une part¹¹, entre un manuscrit autographe et un exercice scolaire, qu'il soit effectué par l'élève ou préparé par le maître, d'autre part. En revanche, ces types d'écrits diffèrent nettement des copies professionnelles reconnaissables par un certain nombre de caractéristiques dont font partie l'usage de papyrus neuf, plutôt que recyclé ("opisthographe" au sens antique, à savoir réutilisé au verso dans le cas d'un rouleau de papyrus), la présence de marques stichométriques, celle de variantes notées par une seconde main et d'autres signes prouvant la (re)lecture, l'usage intensif de signes de lecture, l'attention soigneuse à l'iota adscrit, l'orthographe évitant l'iotacisme, la coupure syllabique en fin de ligne, la régularité du format, et, éventuellement, la présence d'une étiquette pour un rouleau, ou d'une page de titre pour un codex¹².

Les recherches d'Armando Petrucci¹³ et surtout de Tiziano Dorandi¹⁴ ont montré que, pour identifier un autographe, très rarement signalé par le nom de son auteur dans les papyrus, il fallait se fonder sur un faisceau d'indices tirés de l'examen du support et de la forme de la pièce écrite, de sa mise en page, de

10 Radiciotti, *Della genuità* 371.

11 Fressura, *Tipologie* (spéc. 106, n. 125); Manetti, *Autografi* (spéc. 48-9).

12 Parsons, *Copyists* (spéc. 263).

13 Petrucci, *Minuta*; alors qu'elle est intitulée "Autografi", la contribution de Petrucci, *Autografi* ne sera pas utilisée ici, car elle est relative à l'épistolographie.

14 Dorandi, *Den Autoren*; Dorandi, *Le stylet* 51-75 (chapitre 3: *Sua manu scripsit*) et Dorandi, *Nell'officina* 47-64 (3. Tra autografia e dettato).

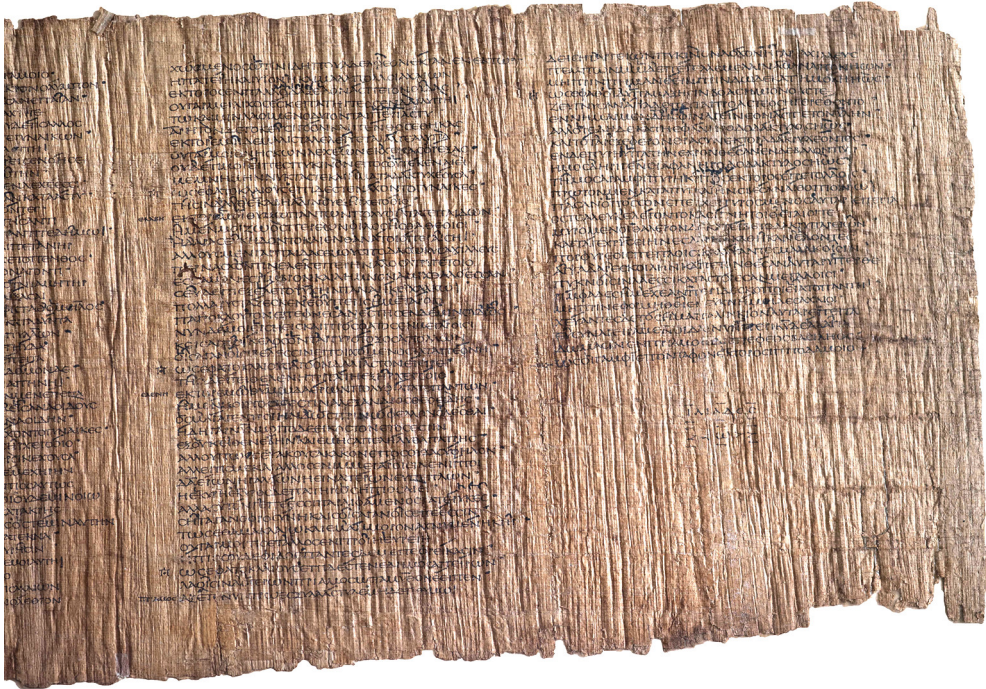


FIGURE 2.1 Exemple de copie professionnelle : fin du rouleau de papyrus contenant le chant xxiv de *l'Iliade* d'Homère, avec écriture calligraphique, titre final, esprits, accents et noms des personnages notés dans la marge ("The Banks Homer", P. Lit. Lond. 28, Brit. Libr. inv. 114, Éléphantine ?, 11^e siècle de notre ère)
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sa main, de l'état du texte, du genre littéraire auquel il appartient, ainsi que du contexte dans lequel il a été mis par écrit. En procédant de la sorte, à la suite d'une première liste établie par Maryline Parca¹⁵, T. Dorandi a identifié une vingtaine d'autographes, sans compter tous les textes littéraires de la composition et de la main de Dioscore d'Aphrodité, le notaire et poète de Thébaïde du vi^e siècle¹⁶, dont on connaît à coup sûr l'écriture par ses archives notariales¹⁷. En voici la liste¹⁸:

- 15 Parca, *Ptocheia* 3-4, n. 7.
- 16 Mac Coull, *Dioscorus* 2-3; Fournet, *Hellénisme*.
- 17 Del Corso, Le scrittura (spéc. 103-8: textes littéraires et paralitéraires, et 111-3: autographes des œuvres en vers).
- 18 Dorandi, *Le stilet* 58-60, écarte de la liste 1) *T. Berol.* inv. 14283 (MP³ 1436), provenance inconnue, 1, tablette de cire contenant une élégie qui pourrait être de Posidippe de Pella (111^a), et qui serait plutôt une copie personnelle; 2) plusieurs *P. Herc.* où l'on avait cru déceler des corrections et des additions autographes de Philodème de Gadara; 3) *P. Berol.*

- 1 *P. Cairo Masp.* 1.67097 (MP³ 348), Aphrodité, 567, écrit → sur le ↓ (→ doc.: comptes), Dioscore d'Aphrodité, brouillon de trois poèmes de circonstance, dont deux adressés au duc Athanasios et un à l'empereur Justin II, avec des modifications marginales ou interlinéaires;
- 2 *P. Cairo Masp.* 2.67131 (MP³ 348.09), Aphrodité, 565/566-573, écrit → sur le ↓ (→ doc.), Dioscore d'Aphrodité, restes de deux poèmes de circonstance adressés au praeses Biktôr et à Théodoros;
- 3 *P. Cairo Masp.* 2.67184 (MP³ 384.04), Aphrodité, c. 551, écrit → et ↓, palimpseste (*script. sup.*; *script. inf.*: doc.), Dioscore d'Aphrodité, poème de circonstance adressé à Dôrothéos le Silenciaire;
- 4 *P. Hibeh* 2.182 (MP³ 2084), Hibeh, milieu III^a, → (↓ écriture peu lisible), Vie et dits de Socrate, avec des corrections et additions marginales et interlinéaires par la même main à tendance cursive;
- 5 *P. Köln* 3.128 (MP³ 1763.4), provenance inconnue, I^a/I, ↓, ainsi qu'un doc. écrit →, mais tête-bêche (autre face → doc.), épigramme avec notes interlinéaires pour amender le texte ou la métrique, écriture à tendance cursive;
- 6 *PSI* 15.1482 (MP³ 1861.1), provenance inconnue, I, opisthographe, brouillon d'un hymne à Eirène en hexamètres écrit sur le recto et le verso d'un feuillet de papyrus, d'abord 15 vers sur le recto, puis réécriture des 10 premiers vers au verso, avec une suite et une fin différentes du recto, et des variantes entre les lignes, main experte à tendance cursive;
- 7 *P. Yale* 2.105 (MP³ 2495), Thèbes, I, rouleau, déclamation contre un général accusé d'avoir abandonné ses hommes, vivants ou morts, après un combat naval (exercice rhétorique ou copie privée?), tendance cursive, présence d'abréviations;
- 8 *P. Lit. Lond.* 62 (MP³ 1853.1), Fayoum?, I, d'un rouleau composite contenant aussi des documents et, sur l'autre face, des parties de trois plaidoiries légales (*P. Lit. Lond.* 138 = MP³ 2515), épigramme encomiastique en l'honneur d'Auguste à Actium (d'une école de rhétorique?), écriture informelle;
- 9 *P. Gissen Kuhlmann* 4.4 (MP³ 1853.2 = *P. Giss.* 3), Hermopolis (origine: Apollinopolis), 117, composition en mètres variés et prose rythmée retrouvée

inv. 10559/10558 (MP³ 1851), Hermopolis, IV, coupon de papyrus contenant deux épitaphes pour des professeurs de Beyrouth, qui auraient plutôt été écrites par un copiste professionnel sous la dictée de l'auteur; 4) *P. Cairo Zen.* 59532 (MP³ 1761), Philadelphie, 111^a, deux épitaphes anonymes pour Tauron, le chien de chasse de Zénon de Caunos, intendant du diécète (ministre des finances) Apollonios.

- dans les archives du stratège Apollonios et destinée à célébrer l'accession au trône de l'empereur Hadrien, main à tendance cursive;
- 10 *P. Berol.* inv. 11632 (MP³ 2207), provenance inconnue, II, pièce en prose sur le siège de Rhodes, en 304^a, par Démétrius Poliorcète, avec nombreuses corrections interlinéaires, main à tendance cursive;
- 11 *P. Oxy.* 54.3723 (MP³ 1757.31), Oxyrhynque, II, rouleau de petit format, ↓ (→ doc.), élégie sur le goût des dieux pour les éphèbes, petite écriture informelle à tendance cursive;
- 12 *P. Berol.* inv. 6870V + 14097V (MP³ 1706.1), provenance inconnue, 2^e moitié II, au verso des restes d'un *Pridianum cohortis I Augustae Praetoriae Lusitanorum Equitatae*, en latin, daté du 31.08.156, textes poétiques avec notation musicale, parfois effacée et corrigée, ou tragédie classique ou hellénistique avec notation musicale?, main informelle;
- 13 *P. Oxy.* 53.3702 (MP³ 2451.01), Oxyrhynque, II/III, ↓ (→ doc.), résumé mythologique en prose: les chefs contre Troie, les Prétendants de Pénélope, les Danaïdes, liste des Argonautes (manuel?), main informelle;
- 14 *P. Ross. Georg.* 1.11 (MP³ 1861), Fayoum?, III, ↓ (→ doc.), hymne en hexamètres à Dionysos, avec ratures et corrections de la même main informelle à tendance cursive;
- 15 *P. Oxy.* 37.2816 (MP³ 1873.1), Oxyrhynque, II/III, ↓ (→ brouillon [de lettre?] postérieur à 200), hexamètres d'une invocation aux Muses de Piérie, et d'une cosmogonie, main informelle à tendance cursive;
- 16 *P. Köln* 6.245 (MP³ 1965.41), Haute-Égypte?, III, → (↓ blanc), restes d'un poème en trimètres iambiques (tragédie?) sur Ulysse mendiant (πτωχός) à Troie, avec des corrections qui relèvent du vocabulaire, de la grammaire et de la métrique, comme dans un brouillon;
- 17 *P. Oxy.* 7.1015 (MP³ 1847), Oxyrhynque, 2^e moitié III, coupon de papyrus, éloge anonyme en hexamètres d'un certain Théon, avec un titre marginal et un titre final, ainsi que des corrections interlinéaires et marginales, des accents et des signes diacritiques, main à tendance cursive;
- 18 *P. Oxy.* 50.3537 (MP³ 1857.32), Oxyrhynque, IIIex./IVin., → (↓ MP³ 1849.1), éthopée intitulée "Ce qu'aurait dit Hésiode lorsqu'il fut inspiré par les Muses," avec additions entre les lignes et ratures, main semi-littéraire à tendance cursive;
- 19 *P. Oxy.* 50.3539 (MP³ 1942.9), Oxyrhynque, III/IV, vers d'un poème mélique (avec notations rythmiques?), main documentaire;
- 20 *PSI* 1.17 (MP³ 1608), Hermopolis, IV/V, opisthographe, restes de 6 rédactions avec variantes et corrections d'une épitaphe pour un Euprépios inconnu, copiées sur le recto et le verso d'un coupon de papyrus, sans respect de la cômétrie, avec des corrections, main à tendance cursive;

- 21 PSI 14.1399 (MP³ 2518), provenance inconnue, VIex./VIIin., ↓ (→ blanc), brouillon d'un discours en prose en l'honneur d'un certain Appion (peut-être le *praefectus praetorio per Orientem* du VIin.) à l'époque d'Anastasios I^{er}, avec des ratures, des renvois, des additions interlinéaires de la même main;
- 22 *P. Wash. Univ.* 2.70 (MP³ 1982.22), provenance inconnue, VI/VII, ↓ (→ *P. Wash. Univ.* 2.104, doc.), coupon de papyrus, hexamètres, phrases en prose et trimètres avec variantes, notes d'un poète;
- 23 PSI 13.1303 (MP³ 420), Oxyrhynque, III, ↓ (→ doc.), pastiche d'une scène des *Phéniciennes* d'Euripide, texte revu ou composition originale d'un poète amateur?, nombreuses fautes d'orthographe;
- 24 *P. Lit. Lond.* 165 (MP³ 2339), "Anonyme de Londres", Hermopolite, I, rouleau de papyrus (3,36 m × 0,23 m; 39 colonnes) écrit → (↓ deux passages médicaux relatifs au recto écrits par la même main, une recette¹⁹ et la copie plus tardive d'une lettre de Marc Antoine²⁰ par deux autres mains), doxographie médicale²¹. C'est D. Manetti²² qui, la première, a évoqué la possibilité d'un autographe en 1985 après avoir soumis le papyrus à un examen très approfondi lors d'un séjour de recherches à la British Library, où il est conservé. Ainsi a-t-elle pu relever notamment les caractéristiques suivantes: si l'écriture, personnelle ou cursive, dénote une main experte et désinvolte, le scripteur a souvent utilisé des abréviations et s'est livré à de très nombreuses corrections et additions, non seulement interlinéaires et marginales, mais aussi au dos du papyrus, ainsi qu'à de fréquents changements de construction grammaticale. Tout cela joint au fait que le texte s'interrompt brusquement, donne l'impression que le scripteur était en plein travail de rédaction au moment où il écrivait, et qu'il avait parfois des remords.

Dans le catalogue informatisé des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins du CEDOPAL²³, 54 papyrus sont répertoriés comme autographes, dont 28 de Dioscore d'Aphrodité, à la main aisément reconnaissable. Les 26 restants comprennent 5 papyrus non répertoriés par T. Dorandi, dont voici la liste:

19 Andorlini, La ricetta.

20 Ricciardetto, La lettre.

21 Voir la nouvelle édition de l'Anonyme de Londres, traduit pour la première fois en français, par Ricciardetto, *L'Anonyme*.

22 Manetti, Note; Manetti, Doxographical Deformation; Manetti, Autografi; Manetti, *Anonymous*; Dorandi, Per l'autografia; Del Corso, Ercolano 158-9.

23 <http://cip193.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/dbsearch.aspx>.

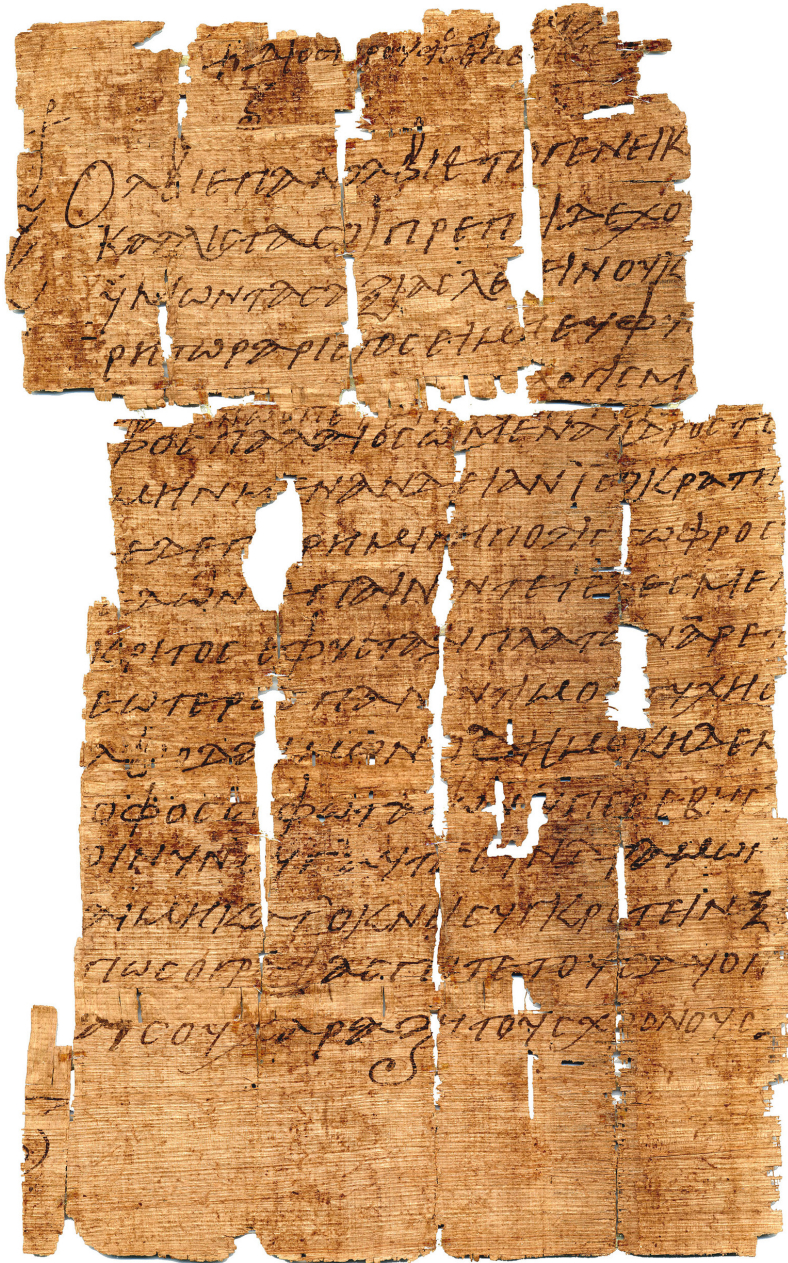


FIGURE 2.2 Exemple de rédaction autographe sur papyrus du notaire et poète Dioscore d'Aphrodité: enkômion de pétition adressé à Rômanos (P. Rein. 2.82, inv. Sorb. 2070, Aphrodité, vers 551)

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- 25 *P. Oslo* inv. 1413 A-B (MP³ 1706), Oxyrhynque?, c. 80-120, deux textes tragiques (d'une anthologie?), avec notation musicale, présence de corrections et de ratures, main à tendance cursive;
- 26 *PSI* inv. 1357v (MP³ 1949.01), provenance inconnue, 2^e moitié II/IIIin., ↓ (→ doc. 2^e moitié II), notes de commentaire à un texte poétique, avec des abréviations, main informelle à tendance cursive;
- 27 *P. Strasb.* inv. G 90 + *P. Ryl.* 1.29a + 29b (MP³ 2379), provenance inconnue, II, recto et verso utilisés, recettes utilisées en ophtalmologie et en stomatologie et étiologie de plusieurs affections des yeux;
- 28 *P. Cair. Masp.* 2.67141 (MP³ 2406), Aphrodité, VI^e., prescriptions médicales peut-être de la main de Dioscore, dans une page de comptes;
- 29 *P. Mich.* 17.758 (MP³ 2407.01), provenance inconnue, IV, codex de papyrus, recettes médicales ajoutées dans la marge inférieure, par le propriétaire du codex.

Si l'on applique à tous ces papyrus considérés comme autographes la grille d'analyse de la fiche Mertens-Pack³ du CEDOPAL (auteur, œuvre, date, provenance, forme, matériau, mise en page, main) et si on les compare, on observe les caractéristiques suivantes. Le seul auteur sûrement identifié est Dioscore d'Aphrodité. Tous les autres papyrus sont anonymes (*adespota*), ce qui n'est pas étonnant, d'une part en raison de la perte énorme des œuvres littéraires grecques au cours des siècles et, d'autre part, en raison du caractère personnel ou privé de certaines pièces littéraires qui n'étaient sans doute pas destinées à être publiées. Le genre le mieux représenté est la poésie, avec 18 pièces, particulièrement la poésie de circonstance (n° 1, 2, 3, 8, 17, 20), éventuellement accompagnée de notations musicales (n° 12, 19, 25). La prose réunit 11 papyrus, dont 5 relèvent de la rhétorique (n° 4, 7, 9, 18, 21), spécialement de circonstance, elle aussi (n° 9, 21), et 4, de médecine (n° 24 et 27-29). En ce qui concerne la datation, on trouve un seul papyrus d'époque hellénistique (n° 4), 18 d'époque romaine (n° 5 à 17 et 23 à 27) et 10 appartenant à la période byzantine (n° 1, 2, 3, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28 et 29). Si la provenance de 9 papyrus est inconnue, Aphrodité est la localité la mieux représentée, avec tous les papyrus appartenant à l'archive de Dioscore. Les autres lieux de provenance sont Oxyrhynque (7, ou peut-être 8 papyrus), Hermopolis et l'Hermopolite (3 papyrus), peut-être le Fayoum (2 papyrus), Hibeh (1 papyrus), Thèbes (1 papyrus) et peut-être la Haute-Égypte (1 papyrus). Pour la forme et le matériau, tous les textes ont été écrits sur du papyrus, presque toujours de réemploi (↓), et se présentant le plus souvent sous la forme d'un coupon. Cinq exceptions notables sont les rouleaux des n° 7, 8, 11 et de l'Anonyme de Londres (n° 24), encore que la qualité du papyrus utilisé pour ceux-ci soit plutôt médiocre, et le codex pharmaceutique de Michigan (n° 29). Toutes les écritures de ces

papyrus sont informelles et leur mise en page est non livresque²⁴. Dans la grande majorité des cas, on relève la présence de ratures, de corrections et de variantes trahissant des hésitations et des repentirs de la part des auteurs des textes. L'emploi d'abréviations n'est pas rare. Souvent aussi, l'auteur intervient dans le texte à la première personne, soit du singulier ("je"), soit du pluriel ("nous"). On note également des changements de construction grammaticale dans une même phrase. Enfin, l'écrit présente parfois un caractère inachevé.

On a pu constater que quatre papyrus considérés comme autographes sont médicaux²⁵. L'Anonyme de Londres (n° 24) contient l'œuvre d'un intellectuel qui médite sur le texte qu'il est en train d'écrire de sa propre main. Le *P. Strasb.* inv. G 90 + *P. Ryl.* 1.29a + 29b (MP³ 2379 = n° 27) est un manuel médical du 11^e siècle, qui contient, notées au recto et au verso (opisthographe), apparemment par la même main, – celle du médecin –, mais à des époques différentes, des recettes variées utilisées en ophtalmologie et en stomatologie, des recommandations pour l'administration de collyres et l'étiologie de plusieurs maladies des yeux²⁶. Les deux cas suivants sont un peu différents, car ceux qui ont écrit les textes n'en sont peut-être pas les auteurs, mais seulement les copistes. Dans le premier, ce pourrait être Dioscore, le notaire et poète d'Aphrodité, qui a copié deux recettes contre la migraine au bas d'une page en partie blanche (*P. Cair. Masp.* 2.67141 = MP³ 2406, f° 11^r = n° 28)²⁷ d'un codex documentaire de la fin du VI^e siècle. Dans le deuxième, c'est le propriétaire probable du codex pharmaceutique de Michigan (*P. Mich.* 17.758 = MP³ 2407.01 = n° 29), qui a ajouté de sa main des recettes dans la marge inférieure²⁸. On peut leur comparer la recette d'*artèriakè*, remède pour la trachée et les bronches (*P. Oxy.* 54.3724, fr. 1^r, col. 3, 1-6 = MP³ 2410.11), qui a été notée, – par le propriétaire de l'écrit? –, au-dessus d'une colonne d'un rouleau ou d'un feuillet de papyrus opisthographe contenant une collection d'épigrammes et d'*incipit* d'épigrammes (*P. Oxy.* 54.3724 = MP³ 1596.21, Oxyrhynque, fin du 1^{er} siècle de notre ère). On pourrait imaginer que le remède en question était destiné à éclaircir la voix lors de la récitation des poèmes.

24 Fressura, *Tipologie* 106, n. 125.

25 Marganne, *Le livre* 90-1.

26 Marganne, *L'ophtalmologie* 133-46.

27 Fournet, Un papyrus 320 et n. 22; Fournet, *Hellénisme* 2.671 et n. 9.

28 Youtie, *P. Michigan XVII*, ainsi que les commentaires de Hanson, Introduction; Andorlini, *I papiri* 20-7.

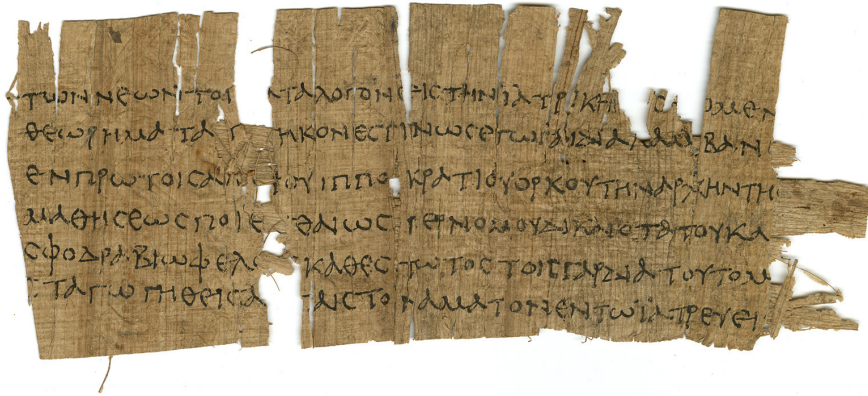


FIGURE 2.3 Exemple de rédaction autographe du début d'un discours ou d'un manuel médical écrite au verso d'un coupon de papyrus de réemploi, d'abord utilisé au recto pour un registre foncier (P. Oxy. 74.4970, Oxyrhynque, II^e siècle de notre ère)
COURTESY OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD IMAGING POPYRI PROJECT

Un papyrus littéraire grec médical récemment édité²⁹ et daté paléographiquement du II^e siècle (P. Oxy. 74.4970 = MP³ 2354.11) semble présenter plusieurs caractéristiques d'un autographe. Provenant d'Oxyrhynque, il se présente comme un coupon de papyrus mesurant 17 cm de large sur 6,4 cm de haut et contient, au recto (→), un document (registre foncier). Le verso (↓), qui nous intéresse ici, semble intact, sauf à droite. La marge supérieure mesure 1,7 cm, et la marge inférieure, 1,1 cm. Il porte 6 lignes en rapport avec la médecine, dont voici le texte et la traduction :

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | τῶν νέων τοῖ[ς κ]ατὰ λόγον εἰς τὴν ἰατρικὴν [ε]ἰσα[γ]ομέν[οις] |
| 2 | θεωρήματα, π[ρο]σῆκόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἔγωγαί διαλαμβάνω, |
| 3 | ἐν πρώτοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱπποκρατείου ὄρκου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς |
| 4 | μαθήσεως ποιε[ῖ]σθαι, ὥσπερ νόμου δικαιοτάτου κα[ὶ] |
| 5 | σφρόδρα βιωφελ[οῦ]ς καθεστῶτος. Τοῖς γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο μ[υ]- |
| 6 | σταγωγηθεῖς(ι) ἄ[π]ταιστον ἅμα τὸν ἐν τῷ ἰατροῦειν[ι] |

¹ ἰατρικην ² lire ἔγωγε ³ lire Ἱπποκρατείου ⁶ ἰατροῦειν

29 Le papyrus a été édité par Leith, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 51-5 et pl. 1. Une image digitale du papyrus est également disponible sur le site "POxy – Oxyrhynchus Online!" (<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>).

- 1 À ceux des jeunes qui débutent en médecine normalement,
 2 il convient, comme je l'explique moi-même, en tant que principes,
 3 de commencer leur instruction d'abord par le *Serment* hippocrati-
 que,
 4 comme loi établie la plus juste et
 5 puissamment utile à la vie. De fait, pour ceux qui, pour cette raison,
 6 sont initiés, ... sans faux pas... en même temps que le (ou la)... dans
 l'art de guérir ...

Ce texte qui fait état de la nécessité, pour les débutants en médecine, de “commencer leur instruction d'abord par le *Serment* hippocratique comme loi établie la plus juste et puissamment utile à la vie”³⁰, a été noté, par une main informelle, au verso d'un coupon de papyrus déjà utilisé pour un texte documentaire. Loin d'être livresque, la mise en page vise à tirer parti du maximum d'espace sur le support d'écriture. Les lignes d'écritures sont donc longues. Parmi les imperfections orthographiques et grammaticales, on relève deux dièses inorganiques sur l'iota (l. 1: ἰατρικην; l. 6: ἰατρευειν), un cas d'étacisme (l. 2: ἔγωγαί au lieu d'ἔγωγε), un cas d'iotacisme (l. 3: Ἱπποκρατίου au lieu d'Ἱπποκρατείου), la correction de ce qui est probablement une “coquille” (l. 5: au départ, la dernière lettre de Τοῖς était un gamma, qui, ensuite, a été transformé en sigma lunaire), une lettre manquante (l. 6: l'iota final dans σταγωγηθείς(ι)) et une incohérence dans la construction grammaticale de la première phrase. L'auteur intervient dans le texte (l. 2: ὡς ἔγωγαί διαλαμβάνω), qui s'interrompt abruptement à la fin de la ligne 6. La dernière phrase est incomplète. Toutes ces caractéristiques suggèrent que le texte est un autographe et qu'il correspond probablement au brouillon d'une introduction à un manuel³¹

30 Sur la réception du *Serment* hippocratique, particulièrement dans la documentation papyrologique, voir la synthèse de Leith, Hippocratic oath (avec bibliographie).

31 Comparer Hipp., *Du médecin* 2, dans l'édition, avec traduction française, de Littré, *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate* 206-7: τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην παραγγέλματα, δι' ὧν ἔστιν εἶναι τεχνικόν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συνοπτέον, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ μαθηθῆναι ὠνθρωπος ἀρξαιτο, “Relativement aux préceptes touchant l'art médical, à l'aide desquels on peut devenir artiste, il faut d'abord considérer ceux par lesquels on commencera son instruction”. Selon Jouanna, *Hippocrate* 550, ce traité est entré tardivement dans la *Collection hippocratique*, à l'époque hellénistique ou romaine, mais sa déontologie correspond à celle des écrits hippocratiques plus anciens. Comparer aussi *PSI* 12.1275 verso (MP³ 2345.1), Oxyrhynque, II, ↓ (→ *PSI* 12.1275 recto = MP³ 1011, Homère, *Iliade* 23.887-97, avec titre et n° du chant + collema médical en rapport avec le verso), qui conserve également une sorte de brouillon ou de copie personnelle d'une introduction à un manuel conseillant plutôt de commencer l'étude de la médecine par l'apprentissage de la nomenclature anatomique: (lignes 1-7) τῶν νέων τοῖς κατὰ λόγους εἰς | τὸ ἰατρεύειν προσάγουσιν, ὦ Δημό|σθενες, πρώτ[ο]ν καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτο[ν] | πρὸς

ou à celui du début d'un discours. On connaît en effet l'importance de la rhétorique dans la pratique médicale dès l'époque classique³², et son emprise grandissante, dans tous les domaines, à l'époque romaine³³.

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[εἰ]σαγωγὴν ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ δι|ακατασχέιν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐντός τε | καὶ ἐκτός τόποις τοῦ σώματος κε[ι]||μένων ὀνομάτων (...), "Pour ceux des jeunes qui abordent la médecine dans l'ordre logique, Démosthène, la première et la plus importante des choses pour l'introduction étant de retenir les noms attribués aux régions internes et externes du corps (...)"

32 Jouanna, *Hippocrate*.

33 Petit, *Galien* (avec bibliographie antérieure).

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Arabic Holographs: Characteristics and Terminology

Adam Gacek

1 Holograph versus Autograph

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the word “holograph” comes to us from the Late Latin *holographus*, “entirely written by the signer,” but originally from the Greek *holographos*. The same source states that the word “autograph” also comes from Late Latin *autographum*, neuter of *autographus*, and again originally from the Greek (*autographos*), meaning “written with one’s own hand.”

An autograph, defined by *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, is

any manuscript handwritten by its author, either in alphabetical or musical notation. (The term also refers to a person’s handwritten signature.) Aside from its antiquarian or associative value, an autograph may be an early or corrected draft of a manuscript and may provide valuable evidence of the stages of composition or of the “correct” final version of a work.

Webster’s New International Dictionary, on the other hand, gives these definitions: a holograph is “a document, as a letter, deed, or will, wholly in the hand of the person from whom it proceeds and whose act it purports to be,” while an autograph means “in the author’s own handwriting; as, an autograph letter; an autograph will.”

It is clear from the above definitions that an autograph can be understood to mean a person’s own signature as well as a manuscript (of any kind) in the author’s own handwriting. Perhaps it was because of this dual meaning that paragraph 4.7 of the *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules* (AACR2) recommends instead the use of the word holograph or holographs to denote “manuscripts handwritten by the person(s) responsible for the work(s) contained therein.”

In my *Vademecum*, having stated that both words are used interchangeably, I tended to use the word “holograph” for a work written entirely by its author,

and reserved the usage of “autograph” for an author’s signature or a short piece of writing, such as a certificate, ownership statement, or study/reading note, executed in his own hand.¹ We have opted to maintain these distinctions in this volume.

The holograph, therefore, is the author’s own intellectual output in the form of either a draft or fair copy. An Arabic holograph can be an original composition (*matn*) in prose or verse, an abridgment of the original (*mukhtaṣar*, *mūjaz*), or a versification (*naẓm*, *manẓūma*) of, or even a systematic commentary (*sharḥ*) or a gloss (*ḥāshiya*) on another scholar’s work. Holographs can be signed by the author himself or remain unsigned (anonymous), just as they can be dated or undated. The author’s signature (autograph) is usually found in his colophon but can also feature in his reading statements or transmission certificate (*ijāza*).

2 Drafts

Unlike fair copies, drafts are relatively easy to identify. They tend to have a number of distinct features, such as certain types of book structures (loose leaves, notebooks, irregular quires, etc.); a personal, even idiosyncratic hand, often lacking full pointing; an irregularly shaped main text with heavily annotated margins; a messy appearance; numerous cancellations/deletions; frequent additions (interlinear, marginal, and on inserts), and allocated blank spaces for material to be supplied later.²

We find this description in the colophon to a copy of Ibn al-Jawzī’s *al-Birr wa-l-ṣila* (Chester Beatty Library, MS Arabic 3945), penned by the prominent Ḥanbalī scholar Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Surramārī (d. 776/1374) (see fig. 3.1): “The draft in the hand of the author (*musawwada bi-khaṭṭ al-mu’allif*) was full of errors (*saqam*) [and had] numerous cancellations (*ḍurūb*), glosses (*ḥawāshin*), and additions (*ilḥāqāt*) between lines and on the front and back of the quires (*bayna al-suṭūr wa-wujūh al-ajzā’ wa-ẓuhūrihā*).”³

A good example of a draft may be found in a manuscript preserved in Princeton (MS Garrett 3520Y), namely a didactic poem, *Naẓm al-durar al-sanīyya fī l-siyar al-zakiyya* by Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Irāqī (d. 806/1404). This

1 Gacek, *Vademecum* 14–5.

2 For more on the way drafts were prepared and the working method of Muslim scholars, see Witkam, *Les Autographes*; Bauden, *Maqriziana I*; Bauden, *Maqriziana II*; Gardiner and Bauden, *Recently discovered*.

3 Ibn al-Jawzī died in 597/1200. The colophon carries the date 20 Shawwāl 735/1335.

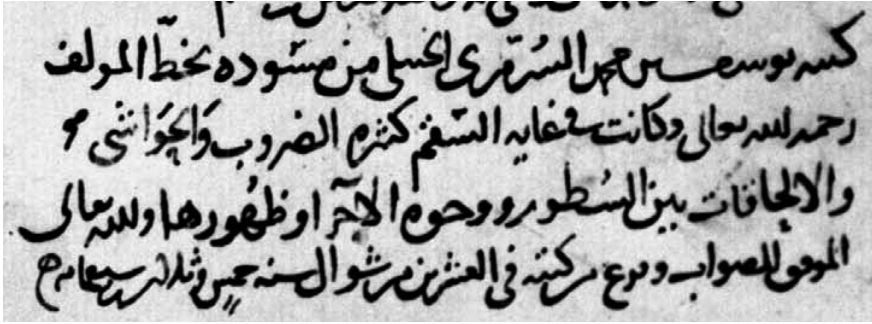


FIGURE 3.1 MS Arabic 3945, fol. 137^b
DUBLIN, CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY

draft was corrected in the presence of students, who read and audited it in a number of sessions, in Medina in the Mosque of the Prophet (near his tomb) in ca. 791/1387 (see fig. 3.2). It displays most of the features of a draft as mentioned above. Another excellent example is the draft of *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-tahrīr al-tahrīf* by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) (see below, p. 69).

Unlike regular compositions, glosses or comments were usually inscribed in the margins or between the lines (or both) of the author's original text or in a copy of a work by another author. They were gathered, if copious, into an independent composition, thus creating a fair copy of the original draft, be it a systematic commentary (*sharḥ*) or a gloss (*ḥāshiyā*). Occasional glosses incorporated in the margins of copies made from the holograph are known as authorial glosses (*minhiyāt*, from the word *minhu*, "from him"),⁴ and the process of copying these glosses into new codices is known in Arabic as *tajrīd* (from *jarrada*—"to peel, strip, divest, isolate," etc.)—hence the noun *mujarrid*, for a person engaged in this process.⁵

There is a very interesting manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library (MS Arabic 3456) which illustrates this process of glossing a text. It contains a colophon (see fig. 3.3), dated Damascus 679/1281, as a form of authorial approbation, copied in the hand of the commentator Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Sharīshī l-Mālikī l-Naḥwī (d. 685/1286). The work in question is a commentary on *al-Durra al-alfiyya* (a metrical Arabic grammar) composed by Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā l-Zawāwī (d. 628/1231). Al-Sharīshī completed it at the instance of the copyist of the manuscript Badr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥam-

4 Gacek, *Glossary. Supplement* 74.

5 See Gacek, *Glossary* 22. For instance, Walī l-Dīn Jār Allāh al-Rūmī (Carullah) (d. 1151/1738), an Ottoman scholar and collector of manuscripts, was a well-known *mujarrid*.

وقد آكل في ليلة الأربعاء
 وقتل يوم الموت العجيب
 وسرا لملوك الصلابة
 حجر تبا لانه افكار
 صل عليه وسوا وسليما
 هما الضحان القار
 هم على عقاب مع علي
 لها باطرها عدا هم احسن ابن العدي
 بالمدسة السريعة وعصها بالروضة كوان الحزن السريفة

او فلها بليله ليلاء
 صحى حاكم في الاكليل
 منها انها ان سقطت في بحره
 ها حيز الافكار اناك الدار
 وصاحبه ثعنا وانما
 ودجاونا في الحد خو جوار
 وساب الاصحاب والفوق

اقرار
 مع محمد بن ابي طالب
 والاب والعمير عبا
 والابن السعيد بن ابي طالب
 بلع صا الدين محمد
 ابن علي بن ابي طالب
 وراة علي بن ابي طالب
 وجماعة ساعد الخلد
 السوي
 بلع ابو العباس العالم
 بن علي بن ابي طالب
 بن ابي طالب
 وجماعة ساعد الخلد
 محمد بن ابي طالب

اكرمهم حسن وعلما السهل سرادقهم عالم محمد بن ابي طالب
 وبعدهم فقد كرمهم من العفة سيرة سواد سواد
 صل السهل بن علي بن ابي طالب سرادقهم سواد سواد
 في المنام حال الام عمر الكماط والامر فاص صاه
 حاله له الام له للفصل رة الام له للوصم رة سباد
 له الام

FIGURE 3.2 MS Garrett 3520Y, fol. 37^b PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

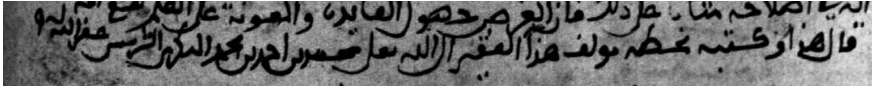


FIGURE 3.3 MS Arabic 3456, fol. 225^b
DUBLIN, CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY

mad al-Ḥalabī l-Tādifī, a well-known calligrapher who died in 705/1305. The commentator begins his statement by saying,

This is the end of the commentary (*sharḥ*) which I entitled *al-Ta'liqāt al-wāfiya bi-sharḥ al-Durra al-alfiyya* since it consists of various notes (*ta'liqāt*) I jotted down (*‘allaqtuhā*) during the recitation of the *Durra* in my presence. I forgot about them but when Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Ḥalabī, known as al-Tādifī, became acquainted with them (*waqafa ‘alayhā*), he urged me to collect them and arrange them by chapters for those who will read and profit from them, and I responded to his suggestion and made it an urgent task ...

The note ends with: *qāla hadhā wa-katabahu bi-khaṭṭihi mu‘allif hadhā l-sharḥ al-faqr ilā llāh ta‘ālā Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī l-Sharīsī ghafara llāh lahu.*

Another manuscript worth mentioning here is a copy of *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*, a commentary composed by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) but copied by the famous scholar Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī l-Taḥṭānī (d. 766/1364), the author of *Muḥākamāt bayna sharḥay al-Ishārāt* (MS Carullah 1310M). There are two statements in this manuscript that attest to the fact that it is indeed a copy in the hand of Quṭb Dīn al-Rāzī. The manuscript has numerous glosses, some signed with abbreviations (such as ش = Sharaf al-Dīn al-Khurāsānī and ق = Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī) and others unsigned, all in the same hand as the main body of the text. Everything (style of writing, numerous quotations from other relevant works, etc.) points to the fact that this indeed could be a private copy of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī with his extensive unsigned glosses in the margins.

3 Fair Copies

In contrast to drafts, fair copies may be difficult to authenticate as they often have far fewer corrections and additions, if any, while their appearance is much more polished and the style of writing has been made more legible or even

formal. Those without additions and corrections may be clean copies made by authors for their patrons and unless there is at least another authenticated specimen of that author's hand, it may be impossible to ascertain if that work was really executed by him.⁶

Here I discuss two examples of clean or almost clean fair copies made for patrons. The first is *Qalā'id al-'iqyān* (in praise of the Ottomans) by al-Karmī (d. 1033/1623) (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS Arabic 4731; see fig. 3.4) for a patron named Sulaymān Āghā, and the second, a supergloss on Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī's *Maṭāli' al-anwār*, was penned by its author Muḥammad b. Pīr Aḥmad al-Shahīr bi-Arghūn al-Shīrāzī for the library of the Ottoman Sultan Selim II; it was executed in Bursa in 918/1512, the year of his accession to the throne (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS 591; see fig. 3.5). Both manuscripts are written in elegant hands but, except for the fact that the styles of writing and the material supports correspond roughly to the periods and regions where the authors produced them or where they originated, there is very little else that can be said, since no authenticated samples of their writing have yet come to light.

Another interesting example here may be a fair copy of *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhas fī l-hay'a* by Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī (d. after 830/1487) (Süleymaniye, MS Ayasofya 2662).⁷ The codex was executed by the author himself six years after the date of composition—this being 814/1411, whereas the date of copying (*naskh!*) is the end of Jumādā II 820/1417, or approximately six years later.⁸ The beginning of the colophon reads (see fig. 3.6): *faragha min naskhihi mu'allifuhu l-faqīr ilā llāh al-Ghanī Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-ma'rūf bi-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī ...*

5 Arabic Terminology

In Arabic the generic terms for holographs are *aṣl* and *umm*, although these two words can also mean “exemplar” or “archetype.”⁹ Then there are more specific terms that relate to drafts and fair copies. For drafts, the terms *sawād*

6 Another connected issue here are simple ownership statements, whether just names or short ex libris (*min kutub*), which may have been penned by a librarian on behalf of a given author. This may be the case of the signature of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī on a copy of *Kitāb al-Bayān* by al-Ḥaṣṣār (Univ. of Pennsylvania, LJS 293) executed in elegant Iranian *ta'līq* script.

7 This is a commentary on the *Mulakhkhas fī l-hay'a* by Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Jaghminī (d. after 618/1221).

8 Interestingly, the commentator gives first the date of copying (i.e., fair copy) as 820 and then on the left in a chronostichon we read *وارخوا به* (*wāw alif rā' khā' wāw alif bā' hā' = 821*).

9 Gacek, *Glossary* 7, 8.

FIGURE 3.4 MS Arabic 4731, fol. 2^a

DUBLIN, CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY



FIGURE 3.5 MS W 591, fol. 78^a
BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART MUSEUM

(*taswīd*, *musawwada*) and *dustūr*; for fair copies, the terms *bayāḍ* (*tabyīd*, *mubayyaḍa*) are used.¹⁰

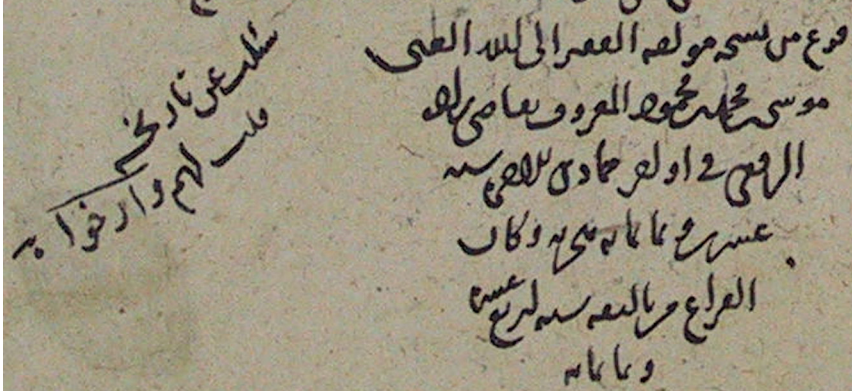
Furthermore, in authorial colophons we encounter, as part of the author's signature, a variety of verbs and verbal nouns expressing a mode of writing. These verbs and verbal nouns may or may not be helpful in the establishment of an authentic holograph since they are also used in various periods and regions for the simple process of copying. They are *kataba*, *ʿallaqa*, *zabara*, *nasakha*, *qayyada*, *dawwana*, *ḥabbara*, *ḥarrara*, *nammaqa*, *naqala*, *raqama*, etc.¹¹ For instance, the above-mentioned Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī uses *nasakha* for a fair copy, Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī uses *kataba* for a draft, but the same verb *kataba* is used by Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Surramarī to denote the copying of Ibn al-Jawzī's *al-Birr wa-l-ṣila*.

Two of these terms, however, originally had a more clearly defined usage, namely, *taʿlīq* (from the verb *ʿallaqa*), for a draft and *taḥrīr* (from the verb *ḥarrara*), for a fair copy. In its original meaning *ʿallaqa* is a synonym of *kataba*, i.e., "to write." However, it came to be associated, especially in the middle period, with informal writing characterized by the unconventional joining of letters and assimilations/contractions. Indeed, in many texts, *ʿallaqtuhu* means "I jotted down/wrote a quick note." Hence, *taʿlīqāt* are notes, glosses, or annotations.¹² The words *ḥarrara* and *taḥrīr*, on the other hand, tend to be associated

¹⁰ Ibid. 16, 46, 73.

¹¹ Gacek, *Glossary*, see under relevant roots.

¹² See above the case of al-Sharīshī and his note. See also *ibid.* 101–2 and Gacek, *Glossary Supplement* 55.

FIGURE 3.6 MS Ayasofya 2662, fol. 69^a

ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESI

with careful, even elegant writing. In the early Islamic period *muḥarrir* was a penman/calligrapher, often working in the state chancery.¹³

Even such expressions as *'alā yad al-mu'allif* ("in the hand of the author"), *katabahu mu'allifuhu bi-khaṭṭih* ("the author wrote it in his own hand"), etc., may not be of much help in terms of establishing the authenticity of a holograph, as these could easily have been copied by a scribe who neglected to record his own name.

5 Fraudulent and Authentic Attestations

Moreover, the difficulty of properly identifying a holograph may be compounded by statements in manuscripts which claim that a given hand belongs to such and such a person. Such claims have to be carefully evaluated. Some of these assertions, made by scribes and former owners, are certainly questionable. What one sees is not necessarily what one gets. There is a tendency to take such statements in manuscripts at their face value. This, however, is contrary to the principle of detection that should be one of the main characteristics of the codicologist and paleographer. Some of these statements are undoubtedly true, but some may be categorized at best as wishful thinking or at worst outright forgery.¹⁴ Here are a few examples.

13 Gacek, *Glossary* 30 and idem, *Glossary. Supplement* 15.

14 On forgeries in manuscripts, see idem, *Vademecum* 108–10.



FIGURE 3.7 MS Damad Ibrahim Paşa 822, fol. 354^b
ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

The McGill Mamlūk Qurʾān (RBD A22) has an inscription in a clumsy hand stating that this is the handwriting of Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940) expressed as *ḥarraru huwa Ibn Muqla al-Wazīr al-Aʿzam!* There is no doubt, however, that this manuscript was copied in an elegant *naskh* script, probably in Egypt in the eighth/fourteenth century.

MS Damad Ibrahim Paşa 822, a copy of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Shifāʾ*, has a collation note supposedly in the hand of the author himself, dated 412/1021–2 (see fig. 3.7); however, Ibn Sīnā composed this work in 420/1029 and died in 428/1037. Moreover, the style of writing does not fit the period in which the author lived, rather it is probably attributable to the seventh/thirteenth century.

There are three attestations in the National Library of Iran MS 1153, a copy of *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), claiming that this manuscript is in the hand of the commentator, that is, Naṣīr al-Dīn himself. These statements (see fig. 3.8) belong to Ṣāḥib al-Dīn al-Dabbūsī (dated Ṣafar 776/1374), Ḥaydar Āmulī (fl. eighth/fourteenth century) and a certain Muḥammad b. Raḍī l-Dīn Riḍawī. This manuscript, with an introduction by Sayyid Muḥammad ʿImādī Hāʾirī, was published in Tehran in 2011 with the sub-title “A facsimile edition of the author’s copy.”¹⁵

On close examination, however, one comes to the conclusion that these statements cannot be true. The extant copy consists of three parts by three different hands, including a very late last leaf (without a colophon). The earliest part, although copied probably in the late seventh/thirteenth or early eighth/fourteenth century, has corrections and glosses in the same hand as the body of the text. These corrections include textual variants (نسخ = *nuskha*) and conjectures (ظ = *zāhir*), while some of the glosses are superscript by the abbreviation ق, understood to indicate Naṣīr al-Dīn’s favorite pupil Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311).

15 An unsigned portion of this work may have survived in the University of Tehran (Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān), MS 1912.

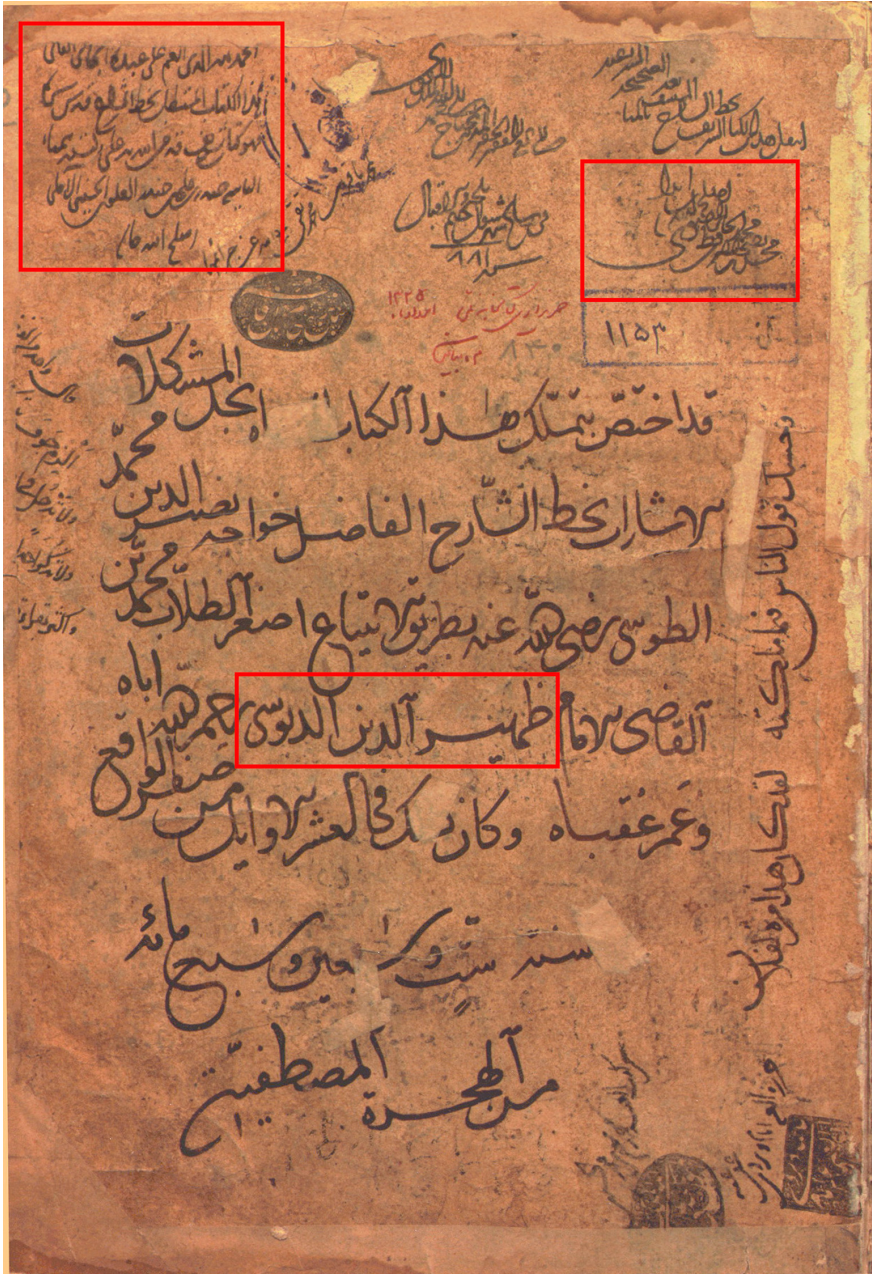


FIGURE 3.8 MS 1153, fol. 1^a

TEHRAN, KITĀBKHĀNA-YI MILLĪ-I JUMHŪRĪ-I ISLĀMĪ-I ĪRĀN

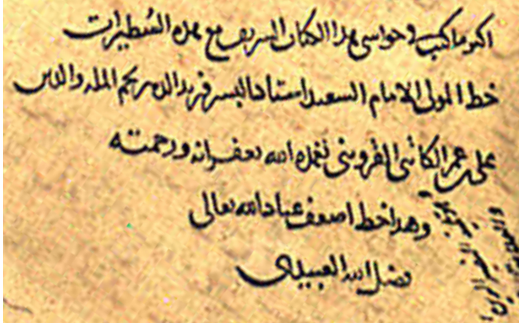


FIGURE 3.9
MS Yeni Cami 763, fol. 198^b
ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE
KÜTÜPHANESİ

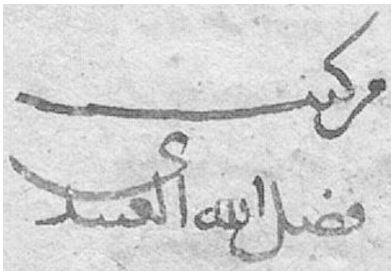


FIGURE 3.10
MS Or. 7969, fol. 3^a
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY

Naturally, not all such attestations in Arabic manuscripts are false. We can cite two examples of statements that can be corroborated by external evidence. The MS Yeni Cami 763 is another copy of the above-mentioned *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, collated in Jumādā 11 661/1263. It has a note (see fig. 3.9) by [Jalāl al-Dīn] Faḍl Allāh al-‘Ubaydī (d. 750/1350), the commentator of *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi l-hay’a* by Maḥmūd al-Jaghminī (d. after 618/1221), stating that most of the marginal glosses are by Najm al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Kātibī l-Qazwīnī (d. 675/1276). Is this statement really in the hand of Faḍl Allāh al-‘Ubaydī? And are those glosses indeed in the hand of Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī? The answer to both questions is yes. Faḍl Allāh’s signature is also visible in MS Or. 7969 (British Library; see fig. 3.10) and other examples of the handwriting of Najm al-Dīn can likewise be found in MS Fazl Ahmed Paşa 1618 (Köprülü Yazma Eser Library; see fig. 3.11) and MS Rağıp Paşa 792 (see fig. 3.12), two books known with certainty to have been copied by him.

From the later period there is, for instance, the work *al-Liwā’ al-marfū’ fi ḥall mabāḥith al-mawḍū’* by the great Ottoman scholar Ṭāshkūbrī-zādah (d. 968/1560). The MS Carullah 1442 (Süleymaniye Library) has a note below the title on the front of the textblock which reads (see fig. 3.13): *bi-khatt mu’allifihi Ṭāshkūbrī-zādah yadull ‘alayhi mā kutiba fi ākhir al-risāla* (“in the hand of its author Ṭāshkūbrī-zādah as it is indicated at the end of the work”). Is this work in

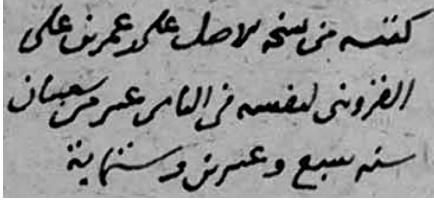


FIGURE 3.11
MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1618, fol. 43^a
ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ KÜTÜPHANESİ

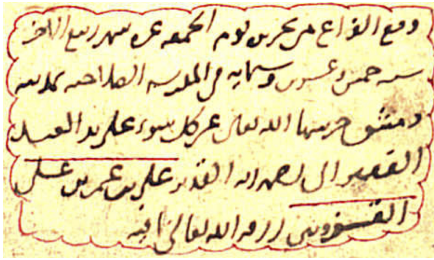


FIGURE 3.12
MS 792, fol. 214^a
ISTANBUL, RAĞIB PAŞA KÜTÜPHANESİ

the hand of its author? The colophon certainly implies it. It reads (see fig. 3.14): *najiza taḥrīruhu fī l-thālith ‘ashar min shahr Ramaḍān ... min shuhūr sanat tis‘ wa-arba‘in wa-tis‘imi‘a* (fī baldat Qusṭantīniyya al-mahmiyya ṣaḥḥa—insertion marked with a dotted line) *wa-anā mu‘allifuhu l-faqīr ilā ‘afw rabbih al-jalīl Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Khalīl arshadahu llāh ta‘ālā ilā l-ma‘ārif al-zākhirā ...* By carefully examining the whole manuscript, we can conclude that indeed, this appears to be a fair copy of the original, with a few additions, executed in an informal but clear Turkish *ta‘liq* (*nasta‘liq*) with a slant to the right.

6 Some Questions to Consider

The fact that a colophon or some other statement says that such and such a person wrote or copied a given work has to be corroborated by internal and external evidence. But how can such evidence be corroborated?

Here are some questions that need to be addressed before a verdict can be reached. For instance, How much do we know about the life of a given author? Where and when did he live? What was his upbringing and formation? Do we know, from existing sources, anything about the quality of his handwriting? What script or scripts were used in his time and the region where he was active? Does the script in question match the period and the region in which he lived? Are there extant samples of his handwriting, such as reading notes, ownership statements, transmission certificates (*ijāzāt*) or extant copies of works by other scholars but copied by him or attributed to him? How do they compare? If there

رسالة الله المرفوع
 في حل مباحث الموضوع
 ونهاية الشكر لله الموفق
 وصلى الله على من كان في حل مباحثه
 كخطا مولفه في حق كبريائه
 زيد عليه ما كتب في آخر
 الرسالة
 اجلها رسالة الواو المرفوع
 في حل مباحث الموضوع
 من الكاؤرية محمد بن
 العبدية والي الدين

FIGURE 3.13
 MS Carullah 1442, fol. 1^a
 ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

وتلهم الكلام في هذا المقام حاشا لله الكمال والعلامة وصليا
 على سيد الانام وعلى آله الكرام وصحبه العظام
 والذين اتبعوهم باحسان الى يوم الائم
 بحر بحر في العالمين من
 شهر رمضان سنة
 من هو ربيع
 ولله العباد
 الاحكام
 وانا مولفة الفقيه اليعقوبي اكليل المعجز مصطفي
 ارشده الله الى المعارف الراضية وليس له خير في الدنيا
 والآخرة وغوا لله في اسلافه وابق عنه اخلافه
 آمين فامين ثم آمين بحمده
 نبينا محمد الاخرة واليه
 وصلى الاكرم
 اللهم

FIGURE 3.14
 MS Carullah 1442, fol. 51^b
 ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

is an authenticated piece of his writing, what are the main features of his hand, such as ductus, aspect, characteristic way of writing specific letterforms, the use of ligatures, evidence of assimilation/contraction, unconventional joining of letters, etc.? Is his handwriting influenced by another style, and if so, which one? With regard to his name, how does he introduce himself and what invocations, if any, does he use after his name? And finally, is the writing surface (especially in the case of paper), binding, etc. contemporaneous with the style of writing?

7 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī and His Holographs

One of the most remarkable figures in Arabic literature is Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), who received his training and worked in the Mamlūk chancery, authored many books on diverse subjects, and copied and illuminated many of his and other authors' works, a good number of which are extant. One of those works is his *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf*, which has survived in both a draft and a fair copy (MS Ayasofya 4732).¹⁶ Neither the draft nor the fair copy has a colophon. However, the draft is accompanied by an *ijāza* in the hand of the author (see fig. 3.15). The certificate states that the draft was read in Aleppo in sixteen sessions and that the last session took place on Tuesday, 10 Dhū l-Qa'da 759/1358. It was recited by Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-'Umarī, in the presence of the author and a number of auditors including al-Ṣafadī's two sons (Muḥammadān), his daughter Fāṭima, and his Turkish slave Asan Buḡā. The signature reads, *wa-kataba Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī bi-Ḥalab al-maḥrūsa* and the handwriting shows a heavily influenced *tawqī'*, the chancery script *par excellence* with which al-Ṣafadī was very familiar, given his training as a secretary in the Mamlūk chancery. Furthermore, his draft has the following salient characteristics: cancellations by means of single lines across the canceled group of words, additions (*mulḥaqāt*) either in the margins or, for longer ones, on inserts linked to the main text by means of numbers or a dotted line, and blank spaces in between segments of text.

Another of his holographs is *Ṣarf al-'ayn* (MS Or. oct. 3806, Berlin), a self-help manual of the genre "Every man his own doctor."¹⁷ The manuscript has no colophon and no date but it does feature the title and the author's name on the front of the textblock executed by another scribe-illuminator (see fig. 3.16).

¹⁶ This codex was printed in facsimile by Fuat Sezgin in 1985.

¹⁷ The full title is *Ṣarf al-'ayn 'an ṣarf al-'ayn fī waṣf al-'ayn*. For more information on this work, see Sellheim, *Materialien* i, no. 54.

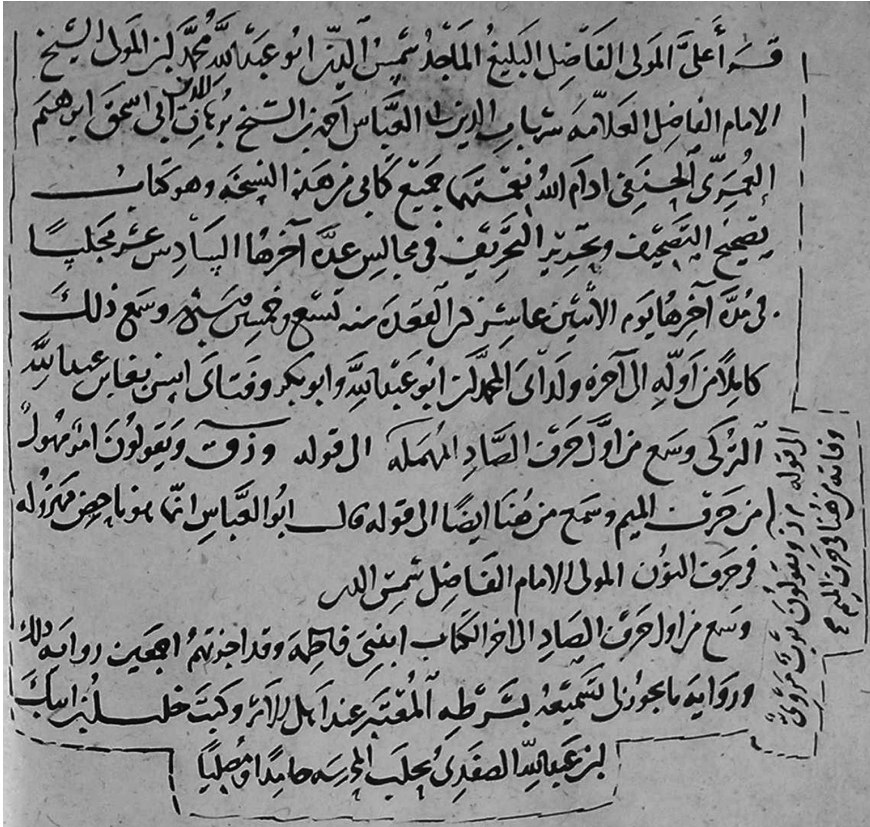


FIGURE 3.15 MS Ayasofya 4732, fol. Ab
ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

The author's name, in a lobed ornament, is given as *ta'rif al-adib al-fāḍil Khalīl al-Şafadī*. It exhibits, moreover, all the characteristics of the handwriting employed in the draft of *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf*.

Among the many surviving manuscripts that Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-Şafadī transcribed is the Copenhagen *al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīriyya* by al-Qāsim b. 'Alī l-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122). This copy was also illuminated and glossed by him in Şafad 720/1320 (Royal Library, MS Cod. Arab. Add. 83). The colophon reads (see fig. 3.17): *katabahā wa-dhahhabahā wa-raqama ḥawāshiyahā ... al-'abd al-faqīr ilā llāh ta'ālā Khalīl b. Aybak bi-Şafad al-mahrūsa ...* The manuscript was studied in class on a number of occasions; this is attested in transmission certificates in the hand of Şalāḥ al-Dīn himself. The main text is penned in an elegant Mamlūk *naskh* script influenced by *tawqī'*, whereas the chapter headings are chryso-graphed in a formal calligraphic *tawqī'*.¹⁸

18 See Gacek, Copenhagen ms.



FIGURE 3.16 MS Or. Oct. 3806, fol. 1^a
BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK



FIGURE 3.17 MS Arab. Add. 83, fol. 154^a
COPENHAGEN, KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK

8 The Author's Signature

Contrary to what one might expect, the author does not have to introduce his name by adjectives of humility and his name does not have to be followed by an invocation, though this was often the custom in the manuscript age.

Also, the fact that the name is preceded by such adjectives as *'abd*, *faqīr*, and the like, and is followed by a prayer, does not necessarily speak for the authenticity of the signature. In fact, copies made from holographs but lacking scribal colophons often repeat *verbatim* the original authorial statement. Nevertheless, it is very important to discover the way various authors presented their names, in order to use that knowledge to authenticate holographs. Here, for instance, the case of Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311) is interesting. In all extant examined manuscripts Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī always introduces himself by the phrase "*aḥwaj khalq Allāh ilayhi*" (see e.g., MS Yeni Cami 763, Süleymaniye Library; MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 867, Köprülü Library; see fig. 3.18). He also normally follows his name with the expression "*aṣlaḥa llāh a'mālahu*" but changed it, probably in old age, to "*khatama llāh lahu bi-l-ḥusnā*."

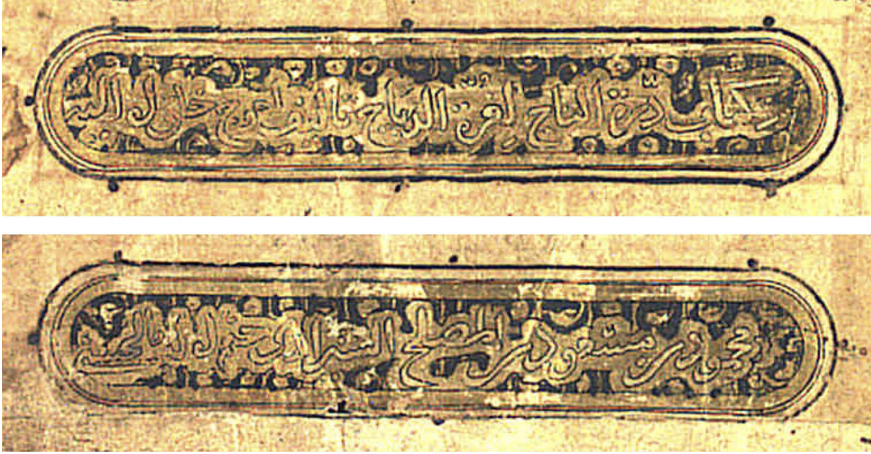


FIGURE 3.18 MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 867, fol. 1^a
ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ

Furthermore, most authors, such as Şalâh al-Dīn, Quṭb al-Dīn, Naşīr al-Dīn, Badr al-Dīn, never use honorifics as part of their signatures. This is the case with the above-mentioned Şalâh al-Dīn al-Şafadī who in all examined instances gives his name as Khalil b. Aybak, and not Şalâh al-Dīn or his earlier honorific Ghars al-Dīn, bestowed on him when he was a fledgling scholar. These were given to him by his contemporaries in recognition of his great learning. If such honorifics are used at the beginning of the name and even in such a statement as “known as,” they have to be looked at with suspicion.

There is a statement in a copy of Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s *Hall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* (MS Or. 95, Leiden Library) to the effect that Jamāl al-Dīn (!) Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī collated this manuscript with the author’s original. His name is preceded by the expression “*afqar ‘ibād Allāh.*” This is certainly a false statement. Muḥammad was the son of Ḥasan b. Yūsuf who died in 726/1326 and was known as Jamāl al-Dīn. Muḥammad’s authentic signature can be found in a copy of *Nahj al-mustarshidīn* by his father Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar (MS 4, Mar’ashī Library, Qum) where he styles himself simply as Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar. In another codex (University of Tehran, MS 2301, dated Sulṭāniyya 4 Jumādā II 710/1310), also containing his father’s work *Marāşid al-taḥqīq wa-maqāşid al-taḥqīq*, his signature reads, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. In addition, there is no comparison between those two specimens and the Leiden Or. 95 manuscript. They are simply two completely different hands.¹⁹

19 For discussion of this statement in Leiden 95 see also ‘Imādī, *Nuskahā* 185–9.

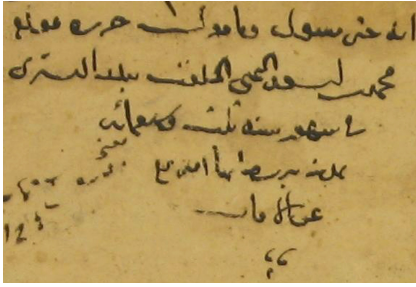


FIGURE 3.19
MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 831, fol. 142^a
ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER
KÜTÜPHANESİ

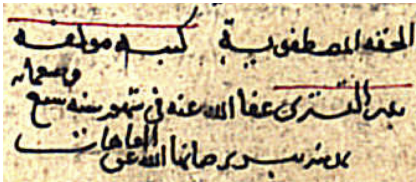


FIGURE 3.20
MS 781, fol. 229^a
ISTANBUL, RAĞIB PAŞA KÜTÜPHANESİ

Based on the information supplied in the colophons, some might consider another two manuscripts genuine holographs. The two works are commentaries by Badr al-Dīn al-Yamanī l-Tustarī (d. 732/1332) on *Ṭawālīʿ al-anwār* by al-Bayḏāwī (MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 831, Köprülü Library) and *Maṭālīʿ al-anwār* by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283) (MS Rağīb Paşa 781). The first one is dated 703/1303–4 and the second 705/1305–6; both were supposedly composed in Tabrīz.

The commentary on the *Ṭawālīʿ* has a colophon (see fig. 3.19) beginning *ḥarrararu muʿallifuhu Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Yamanī l-mulaqqab bi-Badr al-Tustarī*, while the colophon of the commentary on the *Maṭālīʿ* reads, *ʿallaqahu muʿallifuhu l-faqīr al-muḥtāj ilā raḥmat Rabbih al-Ghanī Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Yamanī l-madʿū bi-Badr al-Tustarī ...* The work *Sharḥ al-Maṭālīʿ* also has a reading note by al-Tustarī (see fig. 3.20), who introduces himself with the phrase “*yaqūlu l-faqīr al-ḥaqīr Muḥammad b. Asʿad al-Yamanī l-mushtahir bi-Badr al-Tustarī*” and signs the note “*katabahu muʿallifuhu Badr al-Tustarī ʿafā llāh ʿanhu.*” Could both be al-Tustarī’s holographs? The verbs *ʿallaqa* and *ḥarrara* are not of much help here. In both cases the style of writing is very similar but does not seem to reflect, as one might expect, an Iranian ductus of the period. Both manuscripts appear to be copies made from a holograph by an anonymous copyist who did not, for whatever reason, inscribe his name. More importantly, we have to ask the question: Would al-Tustarī speak of himself as “called (or known as) Badr al-Tustarī”?

As food for thought, there are two extant manuscripts of an *ijāza* granted by the Iranian scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502) to Muʿayyad-zāda

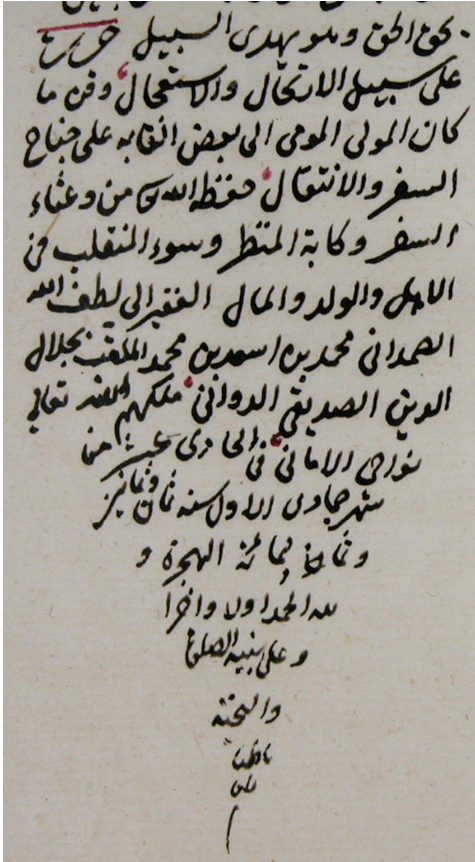


FIGURE 3.21
MS Esad Efendi 3733, fol. 47^a
ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE
KÜTÜPHANESİ

‘Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī (d. 922/1516), namely MS Esad Ef. 3733 (Süleymaniye Library; see fig. 3.21) and MS Escorial 687. In both cases the name Jalāl al-Dīn is given as “*al-faqīr ilā lutf Allāh al-Ṣamadānī Muḥammad b. As‘ad b. Muḥammad al-mulaqqab bi-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ṣiddīqī l-Dawānī*.” Nevertheless, both were copied by Ottoman Turkish scribes using two different styles of Ottoman *ta‘liq* (*nasta‘liq*). They are certainly copies of the original and not authentic. The authentic signature of al-Dawānī can be found in MS 12388 (Mar‘ashī Library, Qum), written in an informal Iranian *shikastah*, where the author gives his name (see fig. 3.22) as “*al-faqīr Muḥammad b. As‘ad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣiddīqī l-Dawānī*.” Here we see clearly that the introductory phrase and the expression “*al-mulaqqab bi-*,” followed by the honorific Jalāl al-Dīn, are absent.²⁰

20 For more on this see Pfeiffer, Teaching.

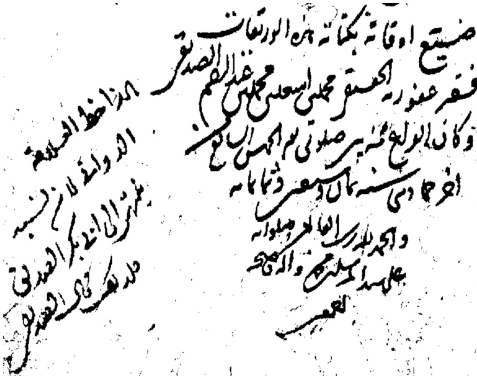


FIGURE 3.22
MS 12388, fol. 190^a
QUM, MAR'ASHĪ KITĀBKHĀNAH

9 In Conclusion

There are many authentic, noteworthy examples of holographs in various collections around the world that have not yet received the attention they deserve. Much research has yet to be done on various authorial practices. Authorial statements and attestations by former owners of Arabic manuscripts should never be taken at their face value. Very often the only way to authenticate a holograph, or a piece of writing attributed to an author, is to compare it, if possible, with other extant samples of that author's writing. In order to do that, there is an urgent need for a database of images with signed specimens of well-known scholars and authors.

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“*Bi-khatt mu'allifhi*”... Vraiment?! L'apport de l'analyse judiciaire d'écritures à l'étude des manuscrits arabes

Méthodes et étude de cas : la recension égyptienne des Mille et une Nuits

Élise Franssen

Assuredly Nature would prompt every individual to have a distinct sort of writing, as she has given a peculiar countenance – a voice – and a manner.

D' ISRAELI, *A second series* 208



Nous avons tous fait l'expérience de reconnaître au premier coup d'œil l'écriture de l'un de nos proches sur une enveloppe et donc de savoir qui nous a écrit avant même d'avoir ouvert ou lu le message¹. Mais nous sommes tous en peine d'expliquer précisément ce qui nous permet d'identifier si aisément les écritures familières. D'ailleurs, il nous arrive de douter, de nous tromper... Dès lors, même si de nombreux chercheurs habitués à l'écriture de l'auteur qu'ils étudient disent pouvoir la reconnaître entre toutes et de manière infaillible², il serait bon de mettre au point une méthode scientifique d'identification des écritures, des outils qui nous permettraient de justifier une attribution, arguments à l'appui, de dépasser la subjectivité et d'aller au-delà de la première impression, rarement neutre, générée par une écriture, une méthode qui permettrait au chercheur moins habitué à une certaine écriture de l'identifier également.

Un domaine où l'objectivité est primordiale et où l'identification d'une main peut avoir de lourdes conséquences est le domaine judiciaire. Il y a très

1 Cet article présente un approfondissement du chapitre six de la première partie de ma thèse de doctorat, v. Franssen, *Les Manuscrits* 97-116.

2 Ou presque : des exemples d'erreurs sont connus et soulignés, v. par ex. Bauden, Maqri-ziana IX 160, n. 5.

longtemps qu’une écriture identifiée par un expert peut servir de preuve au cours d’un procès: l’empereur byzantin Justinien (r. 527-565) mentionne déjà ce cas de figure dans ses *Novelles*, sa dernière œuvre juridico-législative, qui passera à l’Europe³. C’est toujours le cas aujourd’hui et il n’est pas rare que des experts en écriture soient appelés à la barre⁴. D’abord nommée “graphologie”, la discipline a été scindée en deux branches distinctes, différant tant par leurs objectifs que par leurs méthodes: la graphologie désigne actuellement l’“étude de l’écriture manuscrite, considérée comme révélatrice du caractère, des aptitudes d’une personne”⁵, tandis que la seconde, appelée désormais “expertise en écriture”, s’est débarrassée des considérations psychologiques pour se concentrer sur l’identification des scripteurs et la discrimination des faux⁶. Cette branche de la discipline s’est rationalisée et, dès la fin du xx^e siècle, plusieurs méthodologies s’inspirant des principes de la méthode scientifique, ont été publiées⁷. Cependant, aucune étude générale dans le domaine des écritures arabes n’est connue à ce jour⁸. Dès lors, comme en paléographie, il faut se tourner vers les travaux des experts en écritures “occidentales”, plus précisément en alphabet latin, et adapter leurs pratiques aux particularités de l’alphabet arabe. C’est ce que nous tenterons de faire ici, en exposant théoriquement l’une de ces méthodes et sa transposition à l’arabe, puis en la testant sur un groupe de manuscrits, la première phase de la recension égyptienne des *Mille et une Nuits*.

Une telle démarche, scientifique, la plus objective possible, est préférable par nature; elle permet de dépasser préjugés et *a priori*, condition *sine qua non* de toute analyse scientifique. Il est plusieurs cas où elle se révèle particulièrement utile. D’abord, une telle méthode systématique serait profitable à tout

3 Sur les *Novelles* et leur importance en droit moderne, v. Coffinières, *Analyse* 187 partic. pour ce qui concerne la preuve par l’identification d’une écriture donnée et les précautions à prendre à ce sujet, notamment la nécessité de corroborer cette preuve par le témoignage de trois personnes “dignes de foi”. L’importance des *Novelles* dans la reconnaissance de l’écrit comme moyen d’identification d’une personne a déjà été soulignée par Guiral, *La valeur* et citée par Münch, *L’Expertise* 10, parmi d’autres exemples.

4 L’affaire Dreyfus est un triste exemple en la matière, de même que l’affaire dite du petit Grégory (v. Michel, *40 ans* 46-57).

5 *Dictionnaire de l’Académie*, 9^e édition.

6 Pour un rappel concis et clair des différences entre les deux disciplines: Gervais, *Expertise*; v. aussi Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting* 351-92, et les entrées respectives du glossaire de Münch, *L’Expertise* 183, 185. v. aussi Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 9-11 (partic.).

7 Buquet, *L’Expertise*; Buquet, *Manuel*; Ellen, *Scientific Examination*; Guiral, *La valeur*; Günther et Ludwig, *Schrift*; Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting*; Münch, *L’Expertise*; Rück, *Methoden*; Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE*; ...

8 Seuls quelques articles traitant d’un point particulier, surtout de signatures, ont été publiés. v. par exemple Al-Haddad et al., *Examination*; Al-Musa Alkahtani et Platt, *Relative difficulty*.

chercheur qui, commençant un travail sur un auteur particulier, voudrait rapidement être en mesure d'identifier les manuscrits ou notes holographes⁹ de celui-ci, sans passer à côté des manuscrits non signés ou lacunaires, et sans devoir se fier à des attributions réalisées par d'autres. Par ailleurs, ces attributions n'étant pas toujours convaincantes, ce même chercheur devrait pouvoir étayer ses dires.

Deuxièmement, certains scribes respectent si bien le modèle scolaire que leur écriture, régulière et lisible, présente à première vue peu de particularités personnelles et se distingue difficilement des autres écritures normées. C'est le cas des scribes professionnels talentueux, des calligraphes et des secrétaires de chancellerie, dont les activités supposent une telle écriture¹⁰.

Troisièmement, quand on suspecte qu'un document ou une note serait un faux, qu'un colophon ne serait pas relatif au manuscrit en présence mais à son modèle – la copie des colophons étant monnaie courante, surtout si celui-ci est prestigieux, que ce soit en raison du ou des nom(s) mentionné(s), de la date de copie ou du modèle –,¹¹ il convient de le (dé)montrer, *a fortiori* si cette affirmation va à l'encontre de l'avis de tiers. Si le faux est réalisé avec soin et si les scribes sont habiles, rapprocher deux échantillons d'écriture peut ne pas suffire.

Ensuite, l'écriture varie au cours du temps (une même main, jeune, mature ou à l'aube de la mort, n'est pas identique¹²) et en fonction des circonstances (on est souvent malhabile quand il fait froid, par exemple), de l'état physique (fatigue et maladie altèrent le trait) et mental (l'angoisse, l'inquiétude, rendent une graphie plus saccadée)¹³. Mais l'écriture d'une même main conserve des

9 Par exemple, des notes de lecture, d'emprunt, des *ex-libris*, des commentaires, etc. Attention toutefois à l'étendue de l'échantillon: plus le texte est long, plus il offrira de données utiles à l'identification de la main qui l'a tracé. Notez cependant que dans certains textes courts et souvent tracés, comme les signatures, par exemple, on observe des singularités très caractéristiques et très personnelles, v. Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting* 73-4 et *infra* p. 94.

10 Khalil b. Aybak al-Şafadî et sa belle main régulière, même dans ses notes personnelles, sont la parfaite illustration de ce cas de figure. V. aussi la contribution d'Adam Gacek à ce volume, p. 69.

11 V. encore la contribution d'Adam Gacek à ce volume, p. 63: "Even such expressions as *'alā yad al-mu'allif* ("in the hand of the author"), *katabahu mu'allifuhu bi-khattihi* ("the author wrote it in his own hand"), etc., may not be of much help when it comes to establishing the authenticity of a holograph, as these could have easily been copied by a scribe who did not mention his own name."

12 V. le chapitre 5 de ce volume, p. 136-231.

13 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 6, 72; Beit-Arié et Pasternak, *Comfort*; Münch, *L'Expertise* 37.

singularités personnelles¹⁴ qu’il convient de déceler et de décrire. Ainsi, des manuscrits qui, au premier coup d’œil, pourraient sembler avoir été copiés par différentes mains, se révèlent parfois être l’œuvre d’une seule et même personne à des moments différents de sa vie¹⁵.

Enfin, un cas où l’identification des graphies revêt une importance particulière est celui des textes sans auteur. Identifier – avec un degré de certitude satisfaisant – une main revient parfois à identifier un compilateur et à préciser les conditions de naissance de la tradition en présence. Ce dernier cas sera abordé ici, à travers l’exemple de la recension égyptienne des *Mille et une Nuits*.

1 Méthode SHOE de Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn

Plusieurs chercheurs s’y sont essayés¹⁶, mais Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn, expert honoraire près la Cour d’Appel de Paris, est à ma connaissance celle qui est allée le plus loin dans cet effort d’objectivation de l’analyse des écritures occidentales et, surtout, c’est la seule qui ait publié une véritable méthode pratique¹⁷ : sa méthode SHOE (Standard Handwriting Objective Examination).

Après avoir défini l’écrit, à la fois message et trace, objectivation (au sens propre) du passage d’un vivant, forme et mouvement, objet physique, culturel et affectif, elle préconise tout d’abord une approche neutre et impartiale : l’on ne voit que ce que l’on s’attend à voir¹⁸, ou, pire, ce que l’on espère voir. Dès lors, pour contourner cet obstacle, il convient de rassembler le plus d’observations neutres possible, au sujet du (ou des) écrit(s) à étudier. Sedeyn propose un ensemble de 381 critères à observer systématiquement. Cette liste est le résul-

14 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 9, 99-104 et *passim*; Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting* 298-302 et 321; Kapoor et al., *Study*; Lester et al., *Differences*.

15 À cet égard, analyser les écritures d’un scripteur qui change de style d’écriture au cours de sa vie, comme par exemple Ibn Khaldūn (Tunis 732/1332-Le Caire 808/1406), formé dans son enfance à l’écriture *maghribi*, puis, avec l’âge, se rapprochant de plus en plus des modèles d’écriture orientaux, serait des plus intéressants. Sur l’écriture d’Ibn Khaldūn, v. la contribution de R. Hashizume dans ce volume, p. 300-22.

16 V. n. 7, p. 79.

17 Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting* est un ouvrage très complet ; cependant, il n’est pas facile d’usage. Organisé sous forme de questions-réponses pratiques et exclusivement tournées vers le domaine judiciaire, il s’agit plus d’un ouvrage à consulter ponctuellement pour obtenir une information précise que d’une méthode. Notons tout de même que les auteurs citent 21 “discriminating elements”, classés en trois groupes (éléments de style, d’exécution, liés aux habitudes d’écriture, p. 90-139), qui sont intéressants mais difficilement utilisables en pratique pour notre sujet.

18 V. introduction de Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 8, 9, 11-4 surtout.

tat de sa longue expérience, mais ne doit pas être vue comme fermée, chaque “praticien” étant invité à l’amender ou à l’augmenter en fonction de la réalité à laquelle il est confronté. Au terme de l’examen, on obtient donc une description de l’écriture étudiée, que l’on peut dès lors comparer aux autres écrits à authentifier ou sur lesquels porte l’analyse : points communs et différences apparaissent clairement. Mais ces critères sont à pondérer : certains sont caractéristiques de groupes (ainsi, les écritures anglo-saxonnes ont des caractéristiques communes et étrangères aux écritures francophones, par exemple, ou les scribes lettrés ont une graphie différente des personnes qui écrivent peu¹⁹) et ne reflètent donc pas un individu. Ensuite, et comme en tout, rien ne remplace l’expérience²⁰.

Un écueil fréquent dans lequel il ne faut pas tomber est celui de s’attacher au détail en perdant de vue l’ensemble. L’observer à distance, de biais, à l’envers, ou encore dans un miroir donne une “vision globale” de l’écrit et permet d’exprimer les caractéristiques les plus saillantes de celui-ci²¹. Dans le cas d’écrits volontairement falsifiés, des détails peuvent être facilement reproduits, sans que l’ensemble des caractéristiques de l’écriture ne concorde avec le modèle.

Plusieurs instruments sont nécessaires à l’examen des écrits : des instruments de mesure (règle, compas, rapporteur), le plus utile étant certainement le calque ou transparent millimétré, puisqu’il donne des informations sur les mesures, les angles, les orientations, etc.²² Il faut aussi plusieurs feuilles de papier calque, des feutres de couleurs et de quoi prendre des notes. Si possible, le mieux est de travailler conjointement sur le document original et sur une reproduction, à l’échelle 1/1, que l’on pourra annoter.

La méthode s’articule autour de 12 chapitres comprenant chacun une liste de critères à examiner accompagnée d’explications détaillées. Voici un aperçu des critères qui s’appliquent à notre propos et quelques précisions²³. Tout d’abord, le support, l’instrument et l’encre utilisés doivent être observés et décrits (p. 20-2). En effet, ils sont susceptibles de modifier le tracé. En ce qui concerne les manuscrits arabes, l’instrument utilisé est en grande majorité le calame, mais il ne présente pas toujours la même forme et il est intéressant d’au

19 À cet égard, v. l’étude de Verjans, *Écritures* ; v. aussi Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting 175-86*, 243, 297-98.

20 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 15.

21 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 16 et *passim*.

22 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 16.

23 J’avais pensé joindre en annexe les fiches synthétiques établies par M.-J. Sedeyn et reprenant les critères à analyser, mais celle-ci a préféré que le lecteur intéressé s’en remette à sa publication.

moins préciser s’il est biseauté ou coupé en pointe, comme c’est l’usage au Maghreb²⁴. Pour ce qui est du support, se limiter aux catégories générales suffira : papier oriental ou européen, parchemin, papyrus. Une indication concernant l’apprêt nous semble également à ajouter : un papier mal apprêté absorbe l’encre, ce qui modifie l’apparence du tracé²⁵.

Le deuxième chapitre concerne l’ordonnance et l’utilisation de l’espace (p. 23-34). Après des considérations générales (l’écriture est-elle parallèle à la longueur ou à la largeur du papier, diagonale, présente sur les deux faces ou non, et si non, sur laquelle ?), il convient de s’intéresser aux espaces laissés vierges, qu’il s’agisse des marges ou d’éventuels alinéas, et aux ajouts ou additions. L’auteure précise que ce ne sont pas des mesures absolues qu’il faut noter, mais plutôt des indications relatives par rapport au reste du document : “... il s’agit d’évaluer en quelque sorte l’équilibre des masses entre la partie écrite et les espaces blancs qui l’entourent.”²⁶ Une feuille de papier calque, de la même taille que le document examiné et pliée de manière à former des demis, des quarts et des tiers, dans les deux sens, et en outre des huitièmes, verticalement, est donc utile pour répondre à ces questions. Les marges sont évaluées en fonction du texte qu’elles pourraient contenir : une marge supérieure ou inférieure réduite ne peut pas abriter de texte, une grande marge est égale ou plus grande que deux ou trois interlignes, et une marge moyenne se situe entre les deux. Pour ce qui est des marges latérales, elles sont dites faibles ou absentes si elles ne peuvent abriter plus d’une ou deux lettres, petites si elles sont moins larges qu’un huitième de la largeur de la feuille, moyennes si elles sont comprises entre un quart et un huitième de la largeur de la feuille, larges si elles se déploient entre le quart et le tiers de la feuille et enfin très larges si elles atteignent ou excèdent le tiers de la largeur de la page. Leur régularité est également à décrire. Elles peuvent être régulières ou non, verticales ou plus ou moins progressives (c’est-à-dire croissantes) ou régressives (décroissantes). Une marge irrégulière peut être inégale, régressive, progressive ou ondulante, c’est-à-dire à la fois progressive et régressive, d’abord l’un ou l’autre. Les marges gauches et droites sont à distinguer. Pour notre propos, il faut évidemment inverser l’ordre des informations s’appliquant à l’une ou

24 V. Houdas, *Essai* 96 ; Déroche et al., *Manuel* 113-4 ; Déroche, *Le Livre* 79-80 ; Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 104-6 ; Gacek, *Vademecum* 42. Sur la préparation des calames, v. Levey, *Medieval* 13-4.

25 Sur l’apprêt dans les manuscrits arabes, v. Pedersen, *The Arabic book* 66 ; Levey, *Medieval* 39-40 ; Déroche et al., *Manuel* 59-60 ; Humbert, *La fabrication* 45-6 ; Déroche et al., *Islamic codicology* 53 ; Gacek, *Vademecum* 7, 188.

26 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 27.

à l'autre. Pour ce qui est de la marge située en fin de ligne, il est important de noter si elle est existante, volontaire et régulière, ou non, et si les lignes d'écriture présentent des tassements, des mots coupés, ou au contraire des blancs ou des étirements de mots en fin de ligne. L'emplacement des éventuels ajouts est également à décrire à ce stade; se situent-ils dans les marges (laquelle) ou entre les lignes? En pratique, tracer au feutre de couleur, sur la reproduction des feuillets étudiés, un trait rejoignant la fin de la dernière lettre de chacune des lignes écrites permet de dépasser l'impression de rectilinéarité souvent donnée par un texte justifié.

Le troisième chapitre s'intéresse aux axes des lettres (p. 35-42). Il est important de les décrire en termes de parallélisme, d'orientation et d'homogénéité. Pour ce faire, le calque ou transparent millimétré est encore très utile: il suffit de choisir un *alif* ou *lām*, par exemple, comme référent, et d'y superposer une verticale du papier millimétré; cela permet de vérifier si les autres hampes*²⁷ sont parallèles à celle de la lettre choisie. Il y a plusieurs cas de figure possibles, allant du parallélisme constant et régulier à l'anarchie, en passant par de légères inégalités ou des lettres parallèles entre elles mais selon un axe différent de celui d'autres lettres. Pour ce qui est de l'orientation, elle sera dite verticale dans le cas de lettres formant un angle de 90° par rapport à la ligne d'écriture, inclinée ou légèrement inclinée si cet angle est de 54° ou plus, et très inclinée dans le cas contraire (moins de 54°). Si l'écriture présente des orientations très différentes, il convient de mesurer les extrêmes. Enfin, le dernier critère concerne l'homogénéité: l'écriture présente-t-elle les mêmes caractéristiques tout du long, ou y a-t-il des "trains d'écriture": "des phrases entières, de une à plusieurs lignes, dont l'orientation relativement régulière diffère nettement du texte qui précède ou qui suit"²⁸?

Le critère suivant concerne la ligne d'écriture; stabilité, direction générale et homogénéité sont à scruter (p. 39-43). Ainsi, une ligne de base* peut être rectiligne ou très instable (inégalités d'une lettre à l'autre), en passant par stable (groupes de 4-5 lettres alignées) ou instable (2 ou 3 lettres alignées maximum). Un guide (papier ligné, ou traces de *mistara*, par exemple) n'aide pas à écrire droit, tout juste à respecter un certain interligne²⁹; les diverses méthodes de réglures du papier ne sont donc d'aucune utilité à cet égard. La direction générale de la ligne de base doit ensuite être définie. Elle peut être horizontale,

27 Les mots marqués d'un astérisque sont repris sur le schéma explicatif, v. fig. 4.1. Pour un glossaire anglais très complet, v. Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting* 394-411; Gacek, *Vademecum* 141-3 offre le vocabulaire principal.

28 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 38.

29 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 40.

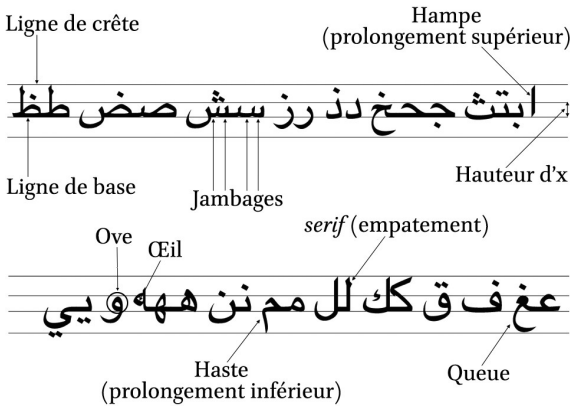


FIGURE 4.1 Schéma et lexique de description des graphies

légèrement ou très ascendante ou descendante, chuter en fin de parcours, être plutôt convexe ou concave, onduler (en commençant par monter ou par descendre), ou encore présenter plusieurs mouvements successivement ascendants ou descendants, elle est alors dite “chevauchante en montant/descendant”. Les lignes sont-elles rigoureusement parallèles, ou y a-t-il des inégalités ? Quand les lignes suivent des directions irrégulières, il faut noter si elles présentent de fortes inégalités ou carrément une absence totale d’homogénéité. En pratique, tracer quelques lignes de base théoriques au feutre de couleur, c’est-à-dire suivre la partie inférieure de chacune des lettres devant s’y trouver (en omettant donc les lettres faisant partie d’une ligature) permet de visualiser cette ligne de base.

Le cinquième chapitre s’intéresse aux dimensions et proportions des lettres (p. 43-50). C’est évidemment un chapitre qui a dû être adapté pour l’appliquer à l’alphabet arabe ; il a notamment fallu choisir des lettres étalons. D’après la méthode, les critères à prendre en compte sont : la régularité, le calibre général, les minuscules surélevées, la largeur des lettres, les proportions hauteur-largeur, les hampes* et hastes*, et enfin, deux critères qui, *a priori*, ne nous concernent pas (mais nous verrons que cette opinion est à nuancer) : les doubles lettres et les majuscules. Une écriture est régulière lorsque “... les petites lettres d’un mot peuvent s’inscrire entre deux parallèles, que ces parallèles soient rectilignes ou non.”³⁰ En arabe, les petites lettres sont les *bā’, tā’, thā’, ‘ayn, ghayn, sīn, shīn, mīm, nūn* et *yā’* dans leurs formes initiale et médiane, ainsi que le *hā’* isolé, c’est-à-dire toutes les lettres dont le corps est intégrale-

30 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 46.

ment inscrit entre la ligne de base et la ligne directement au-dessus, délimitant la hauteur d'*x**³¹. Si l'écriture en présence n'est pas régulière, plusieurs cas sont possibles: parfois, des lettres distinctes qui devraient avoir la même taille sont systématiquement de tailles différentes; ou une même lettre est tantôt haute, tantôt basse ou épaisse et maigre; ou une tendance au gladiolement (hauteurs décroissantes des lettres) ou, au contraire, au grossissement, est observée au sein des mots, voire des syllabes; enfin, la ligne de crête peut onduler. Le calibre général de l'écriture, son module, sont à estimer à partir d'une lettre étalon, le *mīm* initial, par exemple (pour remplacer le "a" latin). S'il mesure 2 mm, le calibre est petit, 3 mm, moyen et 4 mm ou plus, grand. Certaines écritures peuvent présenter un tassement systématique des lettres en fin de ligne ou une alternance de tassement et étalement apparemment sans lien avec la position du texte sur la ligne, qu'il convient de noter. Le rapport entre la hauteur et la largeur des lettres est à décrire également. Pour ce faire, il suffit d'observer les *dāl/dhāl* et *'ayn/ghayn* initiaux et de vérifier s'ils s'inscrivent dans un carré ou dans un rectangle, debout ou couché. Les hampes* et hastes*, prolongements supérieurs et inférieurs verticaux des lettres, sont également à observer, mesurer et comparer, entre elles et par rapport aux petites lettres. Les tiges des *alif*, *lām*, *ṭā'/zā'* sont-elles de dimensions égales? Sont-elles courtes (moins de la hauteur de deux *mīm* initiaux), moyennes ou longues (plus de deux *mīm* et demi)? Pour ce qui est des prolongements inférieurs, je suggère de mesurer et de comparer les *ra'* et *wāw*, d'une part, et les *lām* et *kāf* finaux, d'autre part, et de mesurer les *yā'* finaux ainsi que les *mīm maqlūba musbala*³² (c'est-à-dire à queue verticale), s'il y en a. Il s'agit ensuite de comparer ces mesures à celles des prolongements supérieurs, particulièrement pour les lettres qui comprennent les deux (comme les *lām* finaux). Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn passe ensuite à l'examen des lettres doubles, qui ne concerne pas à proprement parler l'arabe puisque c'est par l'usage de la *shadda* que l'écriture indique le redoublement d'une lettre. Cependant, si l'on omet les points diacritiques, il arrive assez fréquemment que deux lettres de *rasm* (forme) identique se suivent, ce qui fait que les observations au sujet des lettres redoublées nous concernent tout de même. Il faudra noter si elles sont toutes les deux de même hauteur, si la première ou la deuxième est plus haute que l'autre et si cela est récurrent ou si ces proportions relatives varient sans qu'il soit possible d'en déduire une logique. Après

31 V. Gacek, *Vademecum* 142-143.

32 Pour une illustration de ce type de *mīm* final, v. Gacek, *Vademecum* 319 (appendix II, num. 38).

des remarques quant aux majuscules, hors de propos pour nous, l’auteure conclut que, s’il nous est facile d’écrire grand ou petit, “... les proportions, qui résultent de mouvements inconscients, ne peuvent pas être modifiées avec la même facilité”³³. Voilà donc une caractéristique véritablement personnelle.

Le sixième critère d’analyse de la méthode SHOE s’intitule “liaison – parcours du geste” (p. 51-7) et concerne donc le mouvement qui donne naissance à l’écriture examinée. Il a évidemment été nécessaire d’adapter ce chapitre d’analyse également puisque l’écriture arabe présente par nature un degré de liaison très élevé. Ce chapitre reste cependant d’une importance capitale pour la description des écritures en alphabet arabe, leur comparaison et leur classement. Un premier critère à examiner est celui des ligatures abusives, c’est-à-dire des ligatures entre des lettres qui devraient normalement être séparées. Sont-elles fréquentes³⁴? Si oui, l’écriture peut être dite “hyperliée”, qualificatif s’appliquant *a fortiori* aux graphies présentant des liens occasionnels entre les mots. Le type de liaison est ensuite abordé. Dans l’ensemble, s’agit-il d’une écriture plutôt anguleuse ou plutôt arrondie? Pour répondre à cette question, il est conseillé de regarder l’écrit à une certaine distance, ou dans un miroir. D’autre part, s’agit-il d’une écriture progressive – dont les mouvements, c’est-à-dire les traits, sont principalement orientés dans le sens de l’écriture, vers la gauche pour nous – ou, au contraire, régressive? La façon dont les éléments circulaires des lettres – les oves* – sont formés est très instructive. Les lettres à observer sont les *mīm*, *wāw*, *fā* et *qāf*; tous leurs oves sont-ils formés de la même façon, indépendamment de leur point d’attaque (et si non, préciser)? Une même lettre est-elle toujours formée par le même geste? Si non, les différences sont-elles liées à l’environnement de la lettre? Où débute le geste traçant les oves: en haut, à droite ou à gauche, au niveau de la base, avec un recouvrement? Celui-ci comporte-t-il un trait d’attaque? L’ove est-il toujours fermé ou reste-t-il ouvert, et si oui, où: au sommet? à droite? à gauche? à la base? Sa fermeture se fait-elle par un trait supplémentaire? Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn propose ensuite de s’attarder sur la lettre “o”, aux multiples possibilités de tracés, et de l’utiliser comme cas d’étude, lettre que je suggère de remplacer par le *hā* (ou *tā marbūṭa*) isolé pour l’arabe. De la même manière, je propose de remplacer les remarques concernant les “m” et “n” par des observations au

33 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 50.

34 Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn ne définit pas le terme “fréquent”; pour ma part, je considère que si des ligatures abusives sont constatées dans plus de la moitié des cas sur une page, celles-ci peuvent être dites fréquentes.

sujet des *sīn/shīn*. Leur tracé³⁵ est-il anguleux, arrondi ou imprécis (ondulation, voire trait horizontal)? Présentent-ils toujours la même forme ou celle-ci dépend-elle de leur environnement? Le dernier critère qui nous concerne cherche à définir l'existence d'une certaine continuité entre les mots: le début du premier trait d'un mot est-il au même niveau que la fin du dernier trait du précédent?

Le chapitre sept concerne la pression exercée par la main pour tracer l'écriture (p. 58-64). Elle peut s'évaluer à l'aune de la couleur de la page (pâle, moyenne ou forte), même si celle-ci est évidemment influencée par les instruments utilisés et l'état de conservation du document, voire de la qualité de sa reproduction. La puissance d'appui est visible au verso du texte inscrit, sur l'original ou sur photo prise en lumière rasante, quand le support utilisé est assez fin pour permettre l'apparition d'un foulage (inexistant, moyen ou fort). La fermeté du trait est un critère moins évident, qui nous donne des indications sur l'assurance de la main. Pour l'évaluer, il convient d'examiner les traits descendants: sont-ils droits, courbes, en torsion, tremblés ou hachés? L'épaisseur du trait, bien que dépendant également en partie de l'instrument utilisé, donne des informations sur la pression exercée aussi, puisqu'une pression forte donne un trait d'autant plus épais. Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn propose les mesures suivantes: le trait est fin lorsqu'il mesure moins de 0,2 mm d'épaisseur, moyen lorsque sa largeur est comprise entre 0,3 et 0,5 mm, assez épais quand il est de 0,5 à 1 mm, et très épais quand il mesure plus de 1,5 mm de large. Les yeux des lettres (observer les *wāw*, *fā'*, *qāf*...) sont-ils épargnés ou remplis d'encre? Il convient ensuite d'examiner la netteté du trait, si nécessaire à la loupe ou en agrandissant la reproduction du document. Les contours sont-ils nets (d'un ou des deux côtés), flous (les 2 bords des traits sont imprécis) ou baveux? S'ils sont baveux, cela peut aussi résulter d'un mauvais apprêt du papier, qui se comporte à la manière d'un buvard. L'appui est-il uniforme, ou présente-t-il un léger relief (traits ascendants plus clairs et descendants plus encrés), un relief marqué (différence claire entre les pleins et déliés, qui, encore une fois, peut être due à l'instrument, un calame très biseauté, notamment), une pression déplacée (c'est-à-dire plus forte sur les traits régressifs), s'agit-il d'une écriture moirée (à déterminer en observant la page dans son ensemble: des lettres, groupes de lettres, ou mots entiers apparaissent plus foncés que d'autres)? Enfin, l'examen des finales, plus précisément de leur longueur (de suspendues, c'est-à-dire inachevées, à prolongées, éventuellement uniquement en fin

35 Seul le *rasm* est à examiner: la forme et la position des points diacritiques seront abordées ultérieurement.

de ligne, en passant par courtes, moyennes et longues, lorsqu’elles sont plus longues qu’une largeur de lettre), de leur direction (ascendante, horizontale, descendante ou arrondie), de leur forme (en crochet, supérieure et/ou inférieure, ou en “queue de renard”) et de leur appui (effilées, pointues, arrondies, épaissies et éventuellement prolongées en fin de ligne), clôt ce chapitre.

Viennent ensuite des considérations sur le rythme et la vitesse d’écriture (p. 65-9), critères difficiles à objectiver, mais importants puisqu’une même main ne produit pas exactement la même écriture si elle écrit vite ou lentement : plus le rythme est lent, plus le trait est lourd et épais, plus le modèle scolaire est respecté et moins les courbes sont souples. Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn propose la classification suivante : rythme très lent, lent, moyen (“main bien exercée, écrivant sans précipitation”), rapide (caractérisé par une grande souplesse des courbes, une fermeté des traits droits, mais des inégalités de tracé et une perte en lisibilité), ou précipité (avec des traits parfois exagérés)³⁶. Ces critères variant en fonction des circonstances, ils ne peuvent être un argument décisif permettant l’identification d’un scripteur.

Ensuite, le chapitre neuf nous enjoint d’observer la densité du texte et les espacements (p. 69-74) sur la page en général, puis entre les mots et entre les lignes. La description de la densité globale du texte doit se faire à une certaine distance, ou à travers un miroir. Cette observation peut révéler un texte compact ou aéré, homogène ou disparate. En effet, des blancs peuvent apparaître sur la page examinée ; s’agit-il de trous, de “cheminées” verticales, obliques ou en v, et où sont-ils situés (partie droite, gauche, centrale ou répartis) ? La page semble-t-elle divisée en deux parties distinctes par ces blancs, et si oui, plutôt verticalement, horizontalement ou en diagonale ? Les espaces entre les mots et les interlignes sont ensuite à examiner. La régularité des blancs séparant les mots et leur largeur, évaluée à l’aune d’une largeur de lettre (faibles, ils occupent la largeur d’une à deux lettres et larges, plus de trois lettres) sont à noter. Pour les interlignes aussi, régularité et mesures (petits, moyens, grands ou très grands) sont à évaluer, de même que leur netteté : y a-t-il des enchevêtrements et quelle est leur fréquence ? Noter sur un calque millimétré les départs de chacune des lignes rend cette analyse aisée. Un interligne est “normal” s’il est possible d’y inclure une ligne de petites lettres, c’est-à-dire une hauteur d’x*, il

36 Pour estimer la régularité du rythme d’une écriture, Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn préconise de tracer les “axes des lettres” sous la ligne d’écriture, sans tenir compte des lettres larges (comme les *sīn/shīn*, *ṣād/dād*, ... par exemple), puis d’estimer s’ils sont régulièrement espacés ou non, les inégalités pouvant se manifester sur un mot ou une ligne. L’éventuel tassement de l’écriture en fin de ligne pour respecter une marge ou à l’approche de l’extrémité du papier sera dès lors observable également. Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 67.

est “grand” lorsqu’il est double (il peut abriter une ligne d’écriture complète) et “très grand” s’il peut en contenir deux. Les enchevêtrements, c’est-à-dire les conflits entre les descendantes d’une ligne et les ascendantes de la suivante, sont occasionnels quand ils ne sont observés qu’à deux ou trois reprises sur une même page; ils sont par contre généralisés quand ils sont si fréquents qu’ils entravent la lisibilité du texte³⁷. Si la densité d’écriture est assurément une caractéristique individuelle, elle n’est cependant pas constante et ce critère ne peut donc être le seul argument en faveur de l’identification, ou de la réfutation d’identité d’une main³⁸.

Le dixième chapitre s’intéresse à la morphologie (p. 75-80). Il se rapproche dès lors des pratiques des paléographes occidentaux qui se constituent un alphabet, modèle auquel comparer les graphies étudiées. Les premiers critères concernent le type d’écriture (capitales, script, cursive, ...) et ne s’appliquent pas à l’arabe, sauf si un style calligraphique précis est représenté. La distance par rapport au modèle scolaire, le degré de lisibilité, les éventuels idiotismes et détériorations morphologiques sont à observer. Le respect du modèle scolaire peut présenter six degrés, de la conformité absolue virant à l’impersonnalité, jusqu’à la création de formes compliquant le graphisme, en passant par une proximité plus relative par rapport au modèle, une différenciation lisible, des formes très originales, ou très simplifiées. Pour évaluer la lisibilité du texte, il est utile d’isoler les mots, pour que le contexte n’interfère pas dans notre capacité à reconnaître les formes des lettres et, donc, à lire le mot en présence. En matière de détériorations morphologiques, on peut citer des courbes cabossées, des tremblements, des fractionnements, ou des spasmes et saccades. Toutes ces déformations peuvent être dues à l’âge, à la maladie, ou encore au contexte: effort, froid, émotions...³⁹ Les lettres présentant toujours une forme singulière sont à décrire et éventuellement à reproduire (v. Tableau 4.2).

L’avant-dernier chapitre concerne les habitudes graphiques (p. 80-6). Il s’agit d’un chapitre capital, même si certains critères abordés ne nous sont d’aucune utilité (date, abréviations, ponctuation, majuscules non justifiées) car il aborde “... les petits gestes que nous exécutons [...] sans y penser”⁴⁰ et c’est bien là que résident les caractéristiques les plus personnelles d’un scribeur donné. Ces habitudes graphiques sont appelées par d’aucuns “coups de plume indiciaires”⁴¹. Ils sont si caractéristiques que certains experts privilé-

37 Ce critère de lisibilité est cependant quelque peu subjectif.

38 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 72.

39 Beit-Arié et Pasternak, *Comfort*; Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 78; Münch, *L’Expertise* 11, 129-36.

40 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 83.

41 Buquet, *L’Expertise* 56-7, 65.

gient leur analyse, au détriment d’autres critères⁴². Pour l’arabe, l’étude de la forme et de la localisation des points diacritiques peut donner de bons résultats. En effet, l’écriture arabe en est abondante et ceux-ci font partie des signes tracés “sans y penser”. Les conseils de Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn concernant l’étude des points sur le “i” et des accents sont une bonne source d’inspiration (p. 81, 84). Il convient donc d’observer la localisation des points isolés par rapport à la lettre (dans l’axe, en avant ou en arrière, variable) et par rapport à la hauteur d’x* (sont-ils tracés tout contre la lettre ou très haut/bas par rapport à celle-ci, c’est-à-dire plus haut que le sommet des ascendantes ou plus bas que les hastes les plus longues?), en différenciant les points diacritiques placés au-dessus de ceux placés en dessous des lettres qu’ils complètent. Pour les points diacritiques multiples, il faut ajouter à cette description des indications sur leur localisation relative (le deuxième point est-il toujours/régulièrement au même niveau que le premier?) et décrire la forme résultant éventuellement de leur ensemble, d’autant plus quand ils ne sont pas distincts mais reliés par un même trait (deux traits obliques convergents en forme d’accent circonflexe pour les points triples, trait horizontal/oblique pour les doubles, par exemple). Leur forme individuelle peut être circulaire, en forme d’accent, de virgule, de losange, en flèche, de façon systématique ou non, et pas toujours en lien avec l’instrument utilisé. Les signes rubricateurs, notamment utilisés pour séparer les hémistiches d’un vers, doivent être décrits à ce stade-ci également. Les soulignements sont intégrés dans ce chapitre aussi. En arabe, il s’agit de surlignements et il peut être utile d’y prêter attention; sont-ils utilisés en complémentarité de l’encre rouge, ou pour la remplacer en cas d’oubli, ou pour accentuer encore l’emphase que son utilisation produit? Sont-ils proches du texte, coupent-ils les ascendantes, s’interrompent-ils pour ne pas les couper ou sont-ils simplement placés plus haut que celles-ci? Ces caractéristiques sont-elles systématiques?

Le dernier chapitre concerne la signature (p. 87-92). S’il n’est pas utile pour le propos actuel – les noms apparaissant dans les colophons étant généralement notés de la même manière que le reste du texte –, il peut l’être pour l’étude des notes paratextuelles présentes sur les manuscrits, comme les ex-libris, par exemple. Voici donc, pour mémoire, les critères retenus par Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn qui pourraient s’appliquer à ces marques. Tout d’abord, il convient de définir le type de signature (complète ou abrégée et préciser). Ensuite, la lisibilité est à caractériser (la signature est-elle claire, inutilement

42 V. les conseils reçus d’Anne-Marie Verjans, expert judiciaire en écritures près la cour de Liège, lors de son intervention au colloque *Autograph/Holograph and Authorial manuscripts*, Liège, 10-11 octobre 2013.

compliquée, illisible? ...), de même que sa position par rapport au texte (critère peu utile pour nous, s'appliquant dans le cas de lettres), les axes des lettres (parallélisme, divergence ou convergence, tendance verticale/inclinée/renversée), la ligne de base (stabilité et direction générale horizontale/ascendante/descendante) et les dimensions (conformes/plus grandes ou plus petites que les lettres du texte principal?). Les éventuelles particularités de fin de signature sont à noter aussi (point, soulignement, ajout d'un paragraphe avec extrémité finale vers la droite, vers la gauche ou encore plongeante), de même que l'aspect global du schéma, anguleux ou courbe (relier les points extrêmes de la signature et voir si elle s'inscrit dans un oval ou polygone). Enfin, le tracé est-il régulier ou inégal, lent, posé ou rapide-précipité, sans levée de plume ou avec levée(s) de plume entre des groupes de lettres, ou présente-t-il des lettres séparées? Est-il globalement anguleux ou arrondi?

Enfin, des remarques concernant l'application de la méthode closent l'ouvrage. L'auteure explique l'importance de réaliser des études sur des groupes d'individus, afin de mieux connaître les habitudes graphiques socio-culturelles et ainsi de mieux pouvoir cerner les caractéristiques individuelles de chaque scripteur⁴³. Elle donne ensuite des conseils aux aspirants experts en écriture sur la manière de construire leur démarche, sur la nécessité d'analyser de la façon la plus complète possible les pièces étudiées et les éléments de comparaison. Elle attire notamment à nouveau l'attention sur le fait que si l'on se contente d'isoler des lettres, on perd la vision globale du document alors que celle-ci est justement un élément primordial pour l'expertise. L'auteure note "... c'est l'absence de différences significatives entre deux écrits qui justifie leur attribution à une seule et même personne. Par contre, une seule différence irréductible suffit pour différencier un scripteur d'un autre scripteur."⁴⁴ Mais qu'est-ce qu'une "différence irréductible"? C'est toute la difficulté de l'exercice puisqu'il faudra juger, au cas par cas, si les différences observées peuvent être expliquées par des circonstances particulières, ou si elles révèlent l'existence de deux scripteurs différents. C'est cela qui amène Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn au paragraphe sur l'imitation ou le déguisement (p. 99-104), chapitre éminemment utile puisqu'il "... cherch[e] à établir des règles générales sur le degré de difficulté que représente la modification de chacune des caractéristiques graphiques..."⁴⁵, soit ce qu'il est plus ou moins difficile de falsifier, c'est-à-dire, en

43 Ces habitudes collectives, sortes de caractéristiques nationales des graphies, sont aussi abordées par Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting* 175-86 (par pays); Verjans, *Écritures*.

44 Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 97.

45 Ibid. 100.

miroir, ce qui relève de l’inconscient, ce qui est personnel à un individu donné, donc les critères qui doivent peser le plus dans notre analyse. Ainsi,

- la disposition du texte répond souvent à des “habitudes inconscientes qui risquent de réapparaître”;
- il faut prêter une attention particulière au parallélisme des axes et définir l’angle formé par ceux-ci par rapport à la ligne de base;
- la stabilité de la ligne de base est importante;
- les attaques, variations de pression et finales sont symptomatiques;
- la densité du texte est impossible à imiter; il faut donc porter son attention sur les interlignes, les espaces entre les mots, etc.;
- en termes d’habitudes graphiques, les différences sont toujours plus significatives que les similitudes;
- d’une manière générale, les différences de proportion, de densité de texte, de pression et certaines habitudes graphiques sont significatives.

Voici donc les quelques critères dont l’observation est particulièrement opportune. Si, comme on l’a vu, la disposition du texte répond à des pratiques scribales stéréotypées, le parallélisme des axes est par contre un critère spécifique et assez facile à observer, de même que la stabilité de la ligne de base ou l’espacement des mots/au sein des mots dans le texte, sur la ligne d’écriture et sur la page. Pour ce qui est de la pression, tout dépend de la nature du document de travail et de la qualité de la reproduction disponible. Identifier les habitudes graphiques spécifiques peut prendre plus de temps. Donc, même si Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn insiste à plusieurs reprises sur le fait que sa méthode peut sembler fastidieuse, il est primordial de ne rien négliger, car ce n’est qu’en fin de recherche que l’on découvre ce qui est *vraiment* significatif dans le cas concret en présence⁴⁶: privilégier les critères précités au détriment des autres peut donner de bons résultats, comme on va le voir.

2 Paléographie 2.0⁴⁷

Avant de passer à l’application pratique de la méthode exposée, quelques considérations pratiques s’imposent. En effet, la plupart des bibliothèques

46 Cette importance fondamentale de conserver une vision globale de l’écrit est constamment martelée, v. Sedeyn, *Méthode SHOE* 16, 19, 71, 72, 74, 76, 79, 91 et surtout 97: “La méthode qui consiste à rapprocher des formes de lettres ne peut [...] être considérée comme valable [...]; en portant l’attention sur la morphologie des lettres, en les isolant, on perd la vision globale, qui est un élément très important de l’expertise.”

47 Sur les apports des “digital humanities” pour notre propos, v. l’introduction à ce volume,

conservant des manuscrits arabes proposent aujourd'hui des reproductions numériques de ceux-ci ou de leurs microfilms. Il est possible d'acheter, ou de disposer gratuitement, de ces reproductions sous forme de fichier PDF ou de fichiers images (.jpg ou .tif, généralement). Les qualités proposées sont très variables, ce qui complique le travail de comparaison des graphies. En outre, en raison de leur piètre qualité, certains documents nécessitent un "lissage" préalable à toute étude⁴⁸. Malheureusement, aucune d'entre elles ne présente d'échelle, ce qui complique la tâche dès le début puisque l'établissement de l'échelle est un préalable indispensable à toute analyse. Par ailleurs, dans le cadre d'études paléographiques, il peut être utile d'isoler des éléments du manuscrit, qu'il s'agisse de lettres particulières pour illustrer une description, ou, mieux, de passages plus longs où l'écriture se déploie naturellement et où l'environnement des lettres, leur agencement les unes par rapport aux autres et leur disposition sur la ligne de base sont visibles. Bien que peu indiqué pour Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn, comme on vient de le voir⁴⁹, un tel fractionnement se révèle toutefois utile pour vérifier les conclusions de l'analyse de l'écriture ou tout simplement pour en faire voir un aspect, car comme le dit Colette Sirat "... one cannot *prove* that two texts are penned by the same hand. The only way to persuade other people that it is so is to show them."⁵⁰ Enfin, certains mots courts et très fréquents ne sont plus à proprement parler un enchaînement de lettres, mais deviennent presque des symboles unitaires, caractéristiques⁵¹, qu'il est intéressant d'isoler. Un bon programme de traitement d'image est dès lors de la plus grande utilité : en plus de rendre possible l'amélioration générale des images, en jouant sur les contrastes de couleurs ou en gommant les parasites, il permet de sélectionner précisément, copier et coller ces éléments significatifs, de manière à les rapprocher les uns des autres, voire à les superposer, et à pouvoir ainsi les comparer très finement (v. fig. 4.2).

Par ailleurs, cela fait plusieurs années que des informaticiens travaillent sur un programme qui permettrait d'identifier automatiquement des mains⁵².

p. 1-37, et Fischer et al., *Kodikologie*, partic. ii, 229-339; Bausi et al., *Comparative* 12-34, 364-6, 531-7, 570-80; Muhanna, *Digital humanities*, partic. 1-9, 65-91, 151-73.

48 Les reproductions de microfilms de la Dār al-Kutub égyptienne sont particulièrement difficiles, parfois impossibles, à utiliser en raison des nombreuses traces d'usure, griffes et trous polluant le texte.

49 V. n. 46, p. 93.

50 Sirat, *Writing* 493. V. aussi Münch, *L'Expertise* 80-1 (même si l'auteur écrit qu'il est parfois possible d'identifier une main "hors de tout doute raisonnable", p. 61 et 90; cité par Patenaude, *Chronique*, 423).

51 Huber et Headrick, *Handwriting* 73-4.

52 Nikolaj Serikoff en parlait déjà en 2001, v. Serikoff, *Image* 55-66.

Ainsi, une équipe de recherche pluridisciplinaire de l’Université publique de Saint-Petersbourg s’y consacre⁵³, mais d’après les dernières informations reçues, aucun algorithme performant n’a été mis au point à ce jour. Le traitement statistique des données relatives aux écritures arabes a également été mis en œuvre avec quelque succès, semble-t-il, à la fin du xx^e siècle, mais n’a eu que peu de postérité⁵⁴. Les récents progrès de l’OCR laissent entrevoir une possibilité de reconnaissance de caractères arabes manuscrits, réalisés en entraînant les ordinateurs à lire⁵⁵. Enfin, Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn a le projet de faire informatiser sa méthode, mais elle n’a pas encore trouvé l’informaticien qui mènerait cette entreprise à bien.

3 Cas d’étude : les manuscrits de la recension égyptienne des *Mille et une Nuits*

Passons désormais au volet pratique de cette étude, consacré à l’analyse des graphies des manuscrits d’une recension particulière des *Mille et une Nuits*. L’appellation “mille et une nuits” regroupe des textes de nature et d’origine chronologiques et géographiques très diverses, leurs points communs étant la division en nuits de récits enchâssés dans le conte-cadre de Shéhérazade qui, chaque nuit, raconte une histoire au roi Shāhriyār, s’interrompant avec l’aube à un moment critique de la narration dans l’espoir de sauver sa vie, d’éviter l’exécution matinale infligée à toutes les femmes précédentes du roi misogyne, puisque celui-ci voudra connaître la suite de l’histoire. L’ouvrage s’est répandu en Occident grâce à l’adaptation française d’Antoine Galland (1646-1715), commencée à la fin du xvii^e siècle et publiée à Paris de 1704 à 1717, les deux derniers volumes étant posthumes⁵⁶. Le recueil a rapidement suscité un enthousiasme

53 Équipe dirigée par les professeurs Redkin, Bernikova, Shalymov et Granichin, comprenant en outre plusieurs doctorants, v. l’article <http://english.spbu.ru/news/883-spbu-scientists-and-scholars-mathematics-and-sociolinguistics-a-new-insight-into-the-origin-of-islam>, où l’affirmation d’identification d’un holographe des *Khitaṭ* d’al-Maqrīzī est cependant très exagérée, pour ne pas dire fausse.

54 V. les études de Rezvan et Kondybaev, *New Tool* et Rezvan et Kondybaev, *The ENTRAP software*.

55 Le programme d’OCR développé par Benjamin Kiessling (Leipzig University) fonctionne déjà sur cette base, v. la présentation du corpus OpenITI, développé par Sarah Savant, Maxim Romanov et Matthew Miller, dans le cadre du *Kitab Project* : <http://kitab-project.org/corpus/> et v. l’introduction de ce volume, p. 1-37.

56 *Les Mille et une nuit (sic)*. Le texte de Galland ne constitue pas une traduction au sens où on l’entend aujourd’hui, mais plutôt une adaptation au goût français du siècle des Lumières ; sur ce point précis, v. notamment Hagège, *Traitement* ; Larzul, *Les Traductions* 20-119 ; Marzolph et al., *The Arabian Nights* 556-60 (spéc. 559).

extraordinaire dans le monde francophone et au-delà, le texte de Galland ayant été traduit à son tour en de nombreuses langues⁵⁷. Cependant, Galland a été confronté à un problème majeur : le manuscrit qu'il traduit⁵⁸ est incomplet ; il ne compte pas mille et une nuits – mais ce titre ne doit pas être compris de manière comptable⁵⁹ –, et il s'arrête abruptement, au cours du conte de Qamar al-Zamān et Budūr⁶⁰, dont il ne présente pas la fin. Il ne comporte pas non plus le dénouement du conte-cadre. Pour obtenir un texte cohérent selon les critères de son époque, qui présenterait autant de nuits qu'annoncé dans le titre, Galland a modifié la division en nuits, ajouté des contes issus d'autres sources, manuscrites ou orales, et inventé une conclusion pour le conte-cadre⁶¹. L'attrait exceptionnel suscité par ce recueil, mais aussi le malaise provoqué par le flou régnant autour du texte et de l'intervention de Galland, firent que, bientôt, tout voyageur européen en Orient chercha à se procurer une version authentique du texte, non modifiée et intégrale, un manuscrit complet des *Nuits*. Jusque dans les dernières années du XVIII^e siècle, tous rentrèrent bredouilles⁶², puis plusieurs manuscrits du même type apparurent soudainement et concomitamment, formant ce que l'on appelle aujourd'hui la tradition ou recension égyptienne des *Nuits*, ou encore la recension égyptienne de Zotenberg, du nom de l'orientaliste qui la décrivit le premier⁶³.

Derrière cette apparition soudaine et si à propos se trouve un homme qui a rassemblé des contes, histoires, anecdotes et romans d'origines diverses,

57 Y compris en arabe (!), v. la liste dans Chauvin, *Bibliographie* iv, 25-81 ; Marzolph et al., *The Arabian Nights* 724-7.

58 Paris, BnF, ms Arabe 3609-3611 ; en ligne sur Gallica depuis 2011 : [ark:/12148/btv1b8433372b]. McGuckin de Slane, *Catalogue* 619.

59 "Mille et un" étant utilisé pour signifier "beaucoup" ; à cet égard, v. par exemple Bencheikh et Miquel, Préface xlii.

60 Chauvin, *Bibliographie* v, n° 120, 204-12 ; Marzolph et al., *The Arabian Nights* 341-5.

61 Il a également modifié le début du conte-cadre. V. Zotenberg, *Histoire* 10-5, 28-33 ; Marzolph et al., *The Arabian Nights* 556-60 ; Bauden et al., *Journal* 84-90 (spéc. 88), 290 (surtout n. 365), 321-2, 327-30, 331-4, 335-8, 343-6, 347-52, 353-7, 358-63, 363-7, 369-72, 373-6 ; Bauden et al., *Journal II* 253-4, 302.

62 V. par exemple le témoignage de Jean Jacques Antoine Caussin de Perceval, dans Galland et Caussin de Perceval, *Les Mille et une Nuits* viii, v : "Les manuscrits complets des *Mille et une Nuits* sont rares, non seulement en Europe, mais même en Orient", ou celui d'un autre fameux traducteur des *Nuits*, Josef von Hammer-Purgstall, qui indique, au sujet de livres de contes : "Les Arabes sont extrêmement avares de tous les ouvrages de ce genre. [...] Leuravarice [...] vient surtout de ce qu'il leur serait très-difficile à eux mêmes de se procurer ces ouvrages complets. On peut en avoir facilement des fragments déchirés et dépareillés, mais il est très-rare qu'on soit assez heureux pour en trouver dans toute leur intégrité", dans von Hammer-Purgstall et Trébutien, *Contes inédits* i, XVI-XVII.

63 Zotenberg, *Histoire* 44-7.

pas uniquement issus des traditions précédentes des *Nuits*⁶⁴, les a divisés en mille et une nuits, les a ceint dans un conte-cadre complet, les a copiés en 4 volumes, toujours selon la même répartition de texte par volume, le même ordre, la même mise en page, toujours sur le même type de papier, avec les mêmes encres et dans le même niveau de langue. Cet homme a signé certains volumes et s’appelle ‘Alī l-Anṣārī⁶⁵. Le groupe compte aujourd’hui quatorze manuscrits⁶⁶; ceux-ci ne sont pas tous signés de la même main et certains des manuscrits sont plus tardifs de plusieurs années. Tout cela, ainsi que d’autres arguments développés ailleurs⁶⁷, laisse entrevoir l’existence de deux sous-traditions. L’étude actuelle se concentre sur la première phase chronologique de la recension, représentée par sept manuscrits conservés à ce jour à la Bibliothèque ALPHA de Liège Université (Lg), à la British Library (L), à la BnF (P1, P2 et P3), à l’Institute of Oriental Manuscripts de Saint-Petersbourg (SP), à la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich (Mu) et chez un particulier (v. la liste en annexe 1, p. 115-6)⁶⁸.

Lors d’une précédente recherche sur les graphies des manuscrits de ce groupe, alors que je ne connaissais pas encore les travaux de Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn, les critères d’analyse avaient été choisis empiriquement, d’une part, et en m’inspirant des recommandations des quelques auteurs s’étant penchés sur la question, d’autre part⁶⁹. Ces critères comprenaient des considérations d’ordre général, comme le module de l’écriture (en pratique, la hauteur de ligne des manuscrits avait été retenue), sa compacité (rapport entre le nombre de mots par ligne et la hauteur de ligne), sa linéarité (l’écriture se déploie-t-elle suivant une ligne droite ou est-elle mouvante par rapport à la ligne de base ?), la direction de ses hampes, la présence ou non de ligatures et d’empâtements. Plusieurs de ces critères se rapprochent donc de ceux de Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn.

64 La liste des contes compris dans les différentes traditions des *Nuits* est donnée dans Marzolph et al., *The Arabian Nights*, Appendix 1, 743-82.

65 Malheureusement non identifié à ce jour.

66 Seuls treize d’entre eux étaient connus jusqu’en octobre 2016 et la vente aux enchères d’un quatorzième ensemble, apparemment complet, à Londres, v. Christie’s, *Arts* 38. Notez que le manuscrit a atteint des sommets inattendus en termes de prix: il a été adjugé à 10.625 £! Pour une liste complète des manuscrits des *Nuits* connus avant cela, v. Akel, Liste (bien que les datations des manuscrits manquent parfois de précision); le corpus détaillé de la recension égyptienne avant cette découverte figure dans Franssen, *Les Manuscrits* 332-5.

67 Franssen, *Les Manuscrits*; une monographie tirée de ce travail est en préparation.

68 L’analyse des graphies des autres manuscrits du groupe sera publiée ultérieurement, dans la monographie en préparation.

69 Gacek, *Vademecum* 242; Déroche, *Catalogue* 17-8, 35-47; Polosin, *Arabic manuscripts*; Rezvan et Kondybaev, *New tool*.

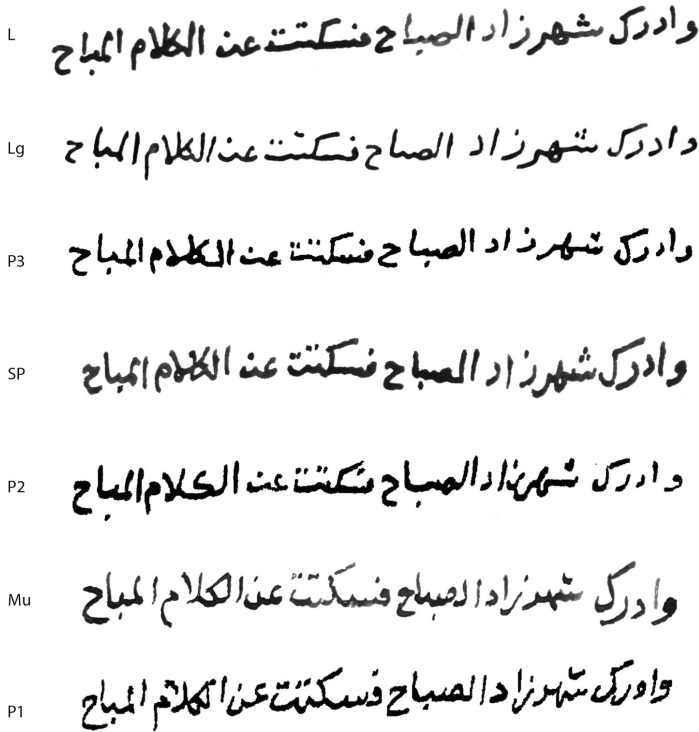


FIGURE 4.2 Comparaison de formules introductives des *Nuits*

Note: Dans un souci de concision, les manuscrits sont désignés par leur acronyme, tant dans cette illustration que dans le texte. Manuscrits et acronymes figurent en annexe 1, sous forme de liste et de tableau récapitulatif, v. p. 115. Les extraits de texte comparés ici proviennent tous du vol. 2, sauf dans le cas de P3 (dont le vol. 2 est manquant), v. *infra*, n. 72, p. 100.

En outre, quelques lettres au tracé franchement caractéristique avaient été scrutées plus attentivement, comme le font les paléographes occidentaux: l'*alif*, les oves des *fā'*, *qāf* et *wāw*, ou le degré d'ouverture des *dāl/dhāl*. Mais comme on l'a déjà souligné, l'arabe est une écriture intrinsèquement cursive dont la forme des lettres dépend grandement de leur environnement: un tel alphabet modèle ne suffisait pas pour aborder la morphologie des lettres. J'y avais donc ajouté la comparaison d'une formule entière identique (v. fig. 4.2, où seuls Mu et P1 sont de la main de 'Alī l-Anṣārī).

Dans le cadre de cet article, j'ai donc décidé d'appliquer la méthode ШОЕ, en l'adaptant aux particularités de l'arabe. Je dois reconnaître que j'ai eu beaucoup de mal à observer les espaces blancs superflus au sein du texte. D'après Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn, consultée à ce sujet, c'est une question de pratique.

Par ailleurs, plusieurs critères de la méthode se sont révélés peu pertinents dans le cadre de l’analyse de ces manuscrits, et le sont de manière générale pour l’analyse de manuscrits arabes copiés par des scribes. Ainsi, les données relatives au support, à l’instrument et aux encres étaient identiques et n’ont donc fourni aucune information utile. Une analyse plus fine de ces critères, surtout des encres, ferait certainement apparaître des divergences, sans qu’elles soient nécessairement significatives non plus – rien n’empêche un même copiste d’utiliser différents types d’encres... Les critères concernant l’ordonnance et l’utilisation de l’espace ont également été peu opportuns, l’utilisation du papier, le sens de l’écriture et la proportion de la page laissée en marge correspondant à des habitudes de scribes très courantes. Par contre, la linéarité des marges fait apparaître différents groupes de manuscrits et est donc intéressante à première vue, mais se révèle peu pertinente dans un deuxième temps; en effet, les différences par rapport à la verticale sont peu affirmées (plus ou moins une lettre) et sont à corréliser à la vitesse d’exécution. Ainsi, bien que tracés par la même main, les marges de SP, rédigé avec soin et à un rythme posé, sont bien plus rectilinéaires que celles de Lg, copié plus rapidement. Dans le chapitre “dimensions et proportions”, seul le critère de la proportion hauteur-largeur a donné des résultats, les autres critères étant soit trop peu précis, soit trop conditionnés par le modèle d’écriture, que ces scribes professionnels maîtrisent évidemment, ce qui explique également que les critères de pression, vitesse et morphologie soient eux aussi peu pertinents.

Pour résumer, les éléments d’analyse de la méthode SHOE qui se sont révélés judicieux concernent: les axes des lettres, la ligne de base, les proportions hauteur-largeur des lettres, les degré, type et système de liaison, la densité du texte et les espacements au sein de celui-ci et, enfin, les habitudes graphiques. Remarquons que ces critères sont précisément ceux que Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn désigne comme étant les plus pertinents⁷⁰.

Cette démarche nouvelle, alliant certains critères de la méthode SHOE adaptés à la situation en présence et des critères dont l’utilité a été empiriquement établie, a donc été appliquée aux manuscrits de la première phase de la recension égyptienne des *Mille et une Nuits*. Un échantillon de 3 pages⁷¹ a été soumis à l’analyse et, en cas de doute, d’autres feuillets ont été consultés. Dans un premier temps, ce sont principalement des feuillets issus du deuxième volume

70 V. *supra*, p. 93.

71 Sur l’étendue de texte à examiner pour pouvoir conduire une analyse, v. Huber et Healdrick, *Handwriting* 249-50.

de chacun des ensembles qui ont été analysés⁷². Les résultats de l'analyse ne concordant pas toujours avec les informations issues des colophons signés, des feuillets d'autres volumes ont à leur tour été examinés, ce qui a mis au jour le fait que tous les volumes d'un même ensemble n'avaient pas toujours été copiés par la même main. Cette deuxième phase du travail a profité de la première, puisque seuls les critères vraiment pertinents ont été étudiés, à savoir ceux qui concernent le degré de liaison et le parcours du geste (particulièrement le système de liaison et le tracé des oves) et les habitudes graphiques, notamment les points diacritiques (bien que les conclusions que l'on peut tirer de ces observations soient moins claires).

Les résultats de ces analyses, présentés sous forme de tableaux (v. 4.2-4.3), indiquent que deux mains sont responsables de la copie d'au moins vingt-cinq des vingt-huit volumes qui constituent le corpus⁷³. Si l'une d'entre elles, le copiste des manuscrits L, Lg, SP et Christie's (au moins du vol. 4) et des vols. 1, 3 et 4 de P₁, 2 et 3 de P₂, 1 et 4 de P₃, reste anonyme (on l'appellera scribe 1), l'autre, un certain 'Alī l-Anṣārī b. al-shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī, a signé trois colophons: ceux du vol. 2 de P₁, du vol. 4 de P₂ et du vol. 4 de Mu et est identifiable sur cinq autres volumes (vol. 1 de P₂, vol. 3 de P₃ et vols. 1-3 de Mu).

Les caractéristiques qui permettent de différencier les deux scribes sont multiples (cf. les fig. 4.3-4.5: scribe 1 et 4.6-4.7: 'Alī l-Anṣārī). La ligne de base des écrits du scribe 1 est instable, alors que celle de 'Alī l-Anṣārī est rectiligne. Les proportions hauteur-largeur diffèrent également: les *dāl* et *ayn* initiaux du scribe 1 s'inscrivent dans un carré, contrairement à ceux de 'Alī l-Anṣārī, qui sont plus élancés – ils s'inscrivent dans un rectangle vertical. L'aspect général des liaisons est aussi très différent: celles de 'Alī l-Anṣārī donnent une impression anguleuse, alors qu'elles sont arrondies, car elles sont réduites à l'extrême; autrement dit, les lettres de 'Alī l-Anṣārī sont plus proches les unes des autres que celles du scribe 1. De la même manière, les espaces entre les mots sont très réduits, chez 'Alī l-Anṣārī, à tel point qu'ils ne sont que rarement plus importants que ceux pouvant exister au sein des mots, ce qui complique parfois la lecture et ce qui accroît l'impression que le texte est un bloc uniforme.

72 Sauf dans le cas de P₃, dont le volume 2 est perdu. L'explication de ce choix est simplement pragmatique: ayant édité un conte issu du deuxième volume, je disposais principalement de reproductions de ce volume précis.

73 Les volumes 1, 2 et 3 de Christie's n'ont pas pu être analysés, leur acquéreur restant à ce jour inconnu (le vendeur aussi, du reste). Les responsables de la vente chez Christie's ont été contactés à plusieurs reprises, mais n'ont jamais donné suite à mes questions; je suppose que l'acheteur n'a pas désiré se faire connaître.

302
 1 من عندهم الا ان رحلت من الدرب الشرق بناحية الجبل وطوله ثلاثة
 شهور وانت سائر بين الرحوش والقبيلات وامردة والغاربيت
 وبعد ذلك تنتهب الي البحر المحيط بالدينيا واما ان رحلت من الدرب
 الغرب فان طوله اربعة شهور وفي راسه وادى يقال له واد النمل
 فاذا عرفت واد النمل تدخل اليه وتسير فيه وتحتز عني نفسك من
 5 هذه النمل حتى تنتهب الي جبل عالي وذلك الجبل يوقد فيه مثل
 النار ومسيرته عشرة ايام وادى من شهر من اذ الصباح فسكنت عن
 الكلام المباح **فلما كانت الليلة الاولى** بعد الخمسة قالت بلغني
 ايها الملك السعيد ان جانشاه لما قرأ ما في اللوح وراى ما ذكرناه
 10 واخذ الكلام ان الجبل الذي يوقد مثل النار مسيرته عشرة ايام
 فبعد ذلك تنتهب الي نهر عظيم وهو بحريا وجر يانه يحفظ البصر
 من شره وعزمه وذلك النهر في كل سنة يبسى ونجابت النهر مدينة
 اهلها كلهم يهود ولدين محمد محمود ما فيهم مسلم ايد او ما في ذلك
 الارض الا هذه المدينة وما من قاعد عند القزود هم منصورون
 15 على القبيلات واعلم ان هذا اللوح كتبه السير سليمان بن داود عليهما
 السلام فلما قرأ جانشاه هذا اللوح بكى بكاء شديدا ثم انه التفت الى اماليكه
 واعلمهم بما هو مكتوب في اللوح ثم انه سركب وركبت حوله عساكر القزود
 وساروا وهم فرجائيت بالنصر على اعدائهم حتى اتوا الي قلعتهم ومكث
 جانشاه في القلعة وسار سلطانا على القزود ومكث عندهم سنة ونصفا
 20 ثم بعد ذلك امر جانشاه عساكر القزود ان يركبوا للصير والقتض
 فركبوا وسركب جانشاه وصاليكه وساروا الي البراري والغفار وهم

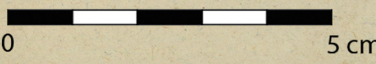


FIGURE 4.3 Scribe 1 (MS B-1114, vol. 2, f. 302)
 SAINT-PÉTERSBOURG, INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS. PHOTO:
 IOM, SAINT-PÉTERSBOURG

4104

1 بكى بكاشويوا وقال للراهب اريو منكل ان تامر
 هذا الطير يودين الي نحو كرايمه وامه في جبل البلور
 خلق جبل قاف ثم ان الراهب قال للطير ايها الطير اريو
 منكل ان تلحق هذا الولد في جميع ما يقول لك عليه فقال
 5 الجير للراهب السمع والطاعة لما تقول ثم ركب جانشاه
 علي ظهر ذلك الطير وطار به اياما وليالي حتى اقبل علي
 جبل البلور وغوا به الي الوطاه وسارا مائة يومين حتى
 وصل الي الوكر وادرك شهر زاد الصباح فسكتت
 10 عن الكلام المباح فلما كانت الليلة الثانية والعشرين
 بعد الخمسية قالت بلغيني ايها الملك السعيد ان
 الطير اخذ جانشاه وسار حتى وصل الي الوكر ثم
 ان الطير قال له يا جانشاه هذا الوكر الذي كنا فيه
 فخطه فيكبي بكاشويوا وقال للطير اريو منكل ان
 15 تخليني وتوديني الي الناحية التي مات ابوكم وامك
 يروح فيها وتحمي اليكما منها فقال له الطير السمع
 والطاعة يا جانشاه ثم ان الطير حمله وطار به سبعة
 ايام وليالي حتى اتى به الي جبل فنزله من على ظهره
 وقال له ما بقيت اعرف من بعد هذه المكاتب شيئا
 20 ونزله جانشاه في راس الجبل فلما استغاف جانشاه
 من النوم وهو علي ظهر الجبل بقي جيران في نفسه
 من ذلك اللحم الذي اراه من مسيرة شهرين وهيب

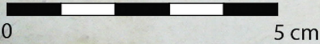


FIGURE 4.4 Scribe 1 (MS 2241, f. 404)

LIÈGE, LIÈGE UNIVERSITÉ, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ARCHITECTURE, LETTRES,
 PHILOSOPHIE, HISTOIRE ET ARTS. PHOTO É.F.

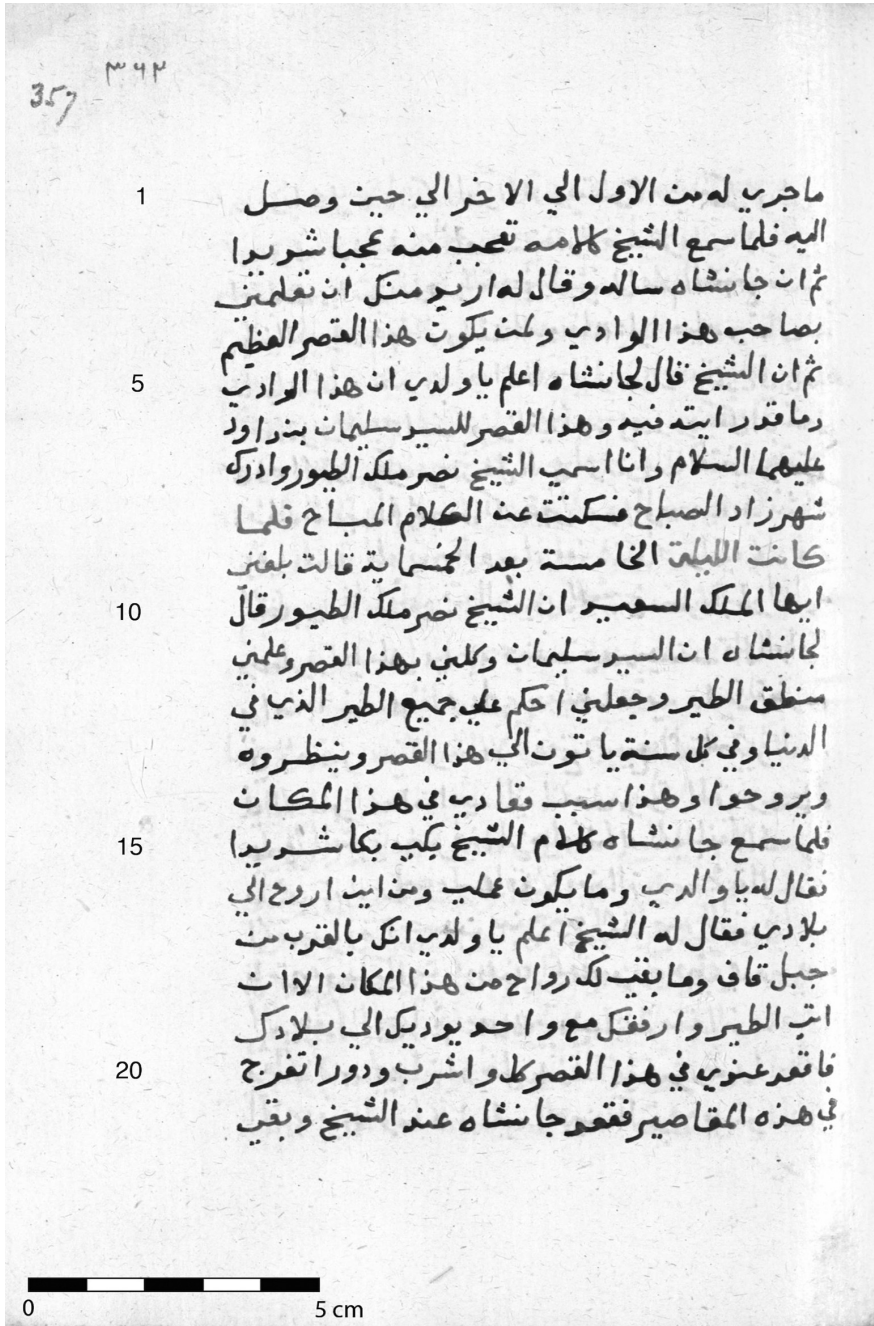


FIGURE 4.5 Scribe 1 (MS Or. 2917, f. 57)

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY. PHOTO: BL

94

1 وما مونية وامسار واصابع وبقعات العاقبي وقفات الطرف
 وعبت جميع اصناف الحلاويات في طبق وحطته في القفص
 فقال اجمال ياسمي كنت اعلمين كنت جيتا معي اكد يش
 بخبر عليه هذه الخوستحات فنبستت وجات وقفت على
 5 العطار واسترت منه عشرة امواه ما ورد وما زهر وما نوفر
 وما خلاف واخذت ابلوجين سكر واخذت مرش ما ورد
 مسك وحصا لبان ذكر وعود وعنبر ومسك واخذت
 شمع اسكندراني وحطت الجميع في القفص وقالت سئل
 قفصك وابتغيت فسئله القفص وتبتم به ايجان انت
 10 ايه دار مدبجة وقد اهبها رحبة فسيجة عالية البنيان مسيدة
 الاركان باهيا بد رفتين من الابنوس والعاج الايص
 مصعج به مغايح الذهب الاحمر وقفت الصبغة على الباب
 ودقت دقا حفيفا واذا بالباب قد انفتح وتسرعت الدرقتين
 فتفر الجال الي من فتح لها الباب واذا بها صبغة خاسنة لفة
 15 قاعدت الهند ذات حسن وجمال وقد اعتمدت الجبين كفرة
 الهلال وعبون لعمون القزلاق وحواجب كلال رمضان
 وخذ ودكشتيق النعمك وفي كخاتم سنيان وقد كان
 حشنتناك قدمت لسلطان وقد كانه سنا ذروان وزندين
 كانما لخلين رمان ويطن مدور سنع اوديتين دهن بان
 20 قال فلما نظر اجمال اليها سلبت عقله وكاد القفص يقع من عليه
 راسه ثم قال ما رايت عرك ابدا من هذا الزمان فقالت الصبية



FIGURE 4.6 'Alī l-Anṣārī (MS Ar. 3602, f. 34)

PARIS, BNF. PHOTO: BNF

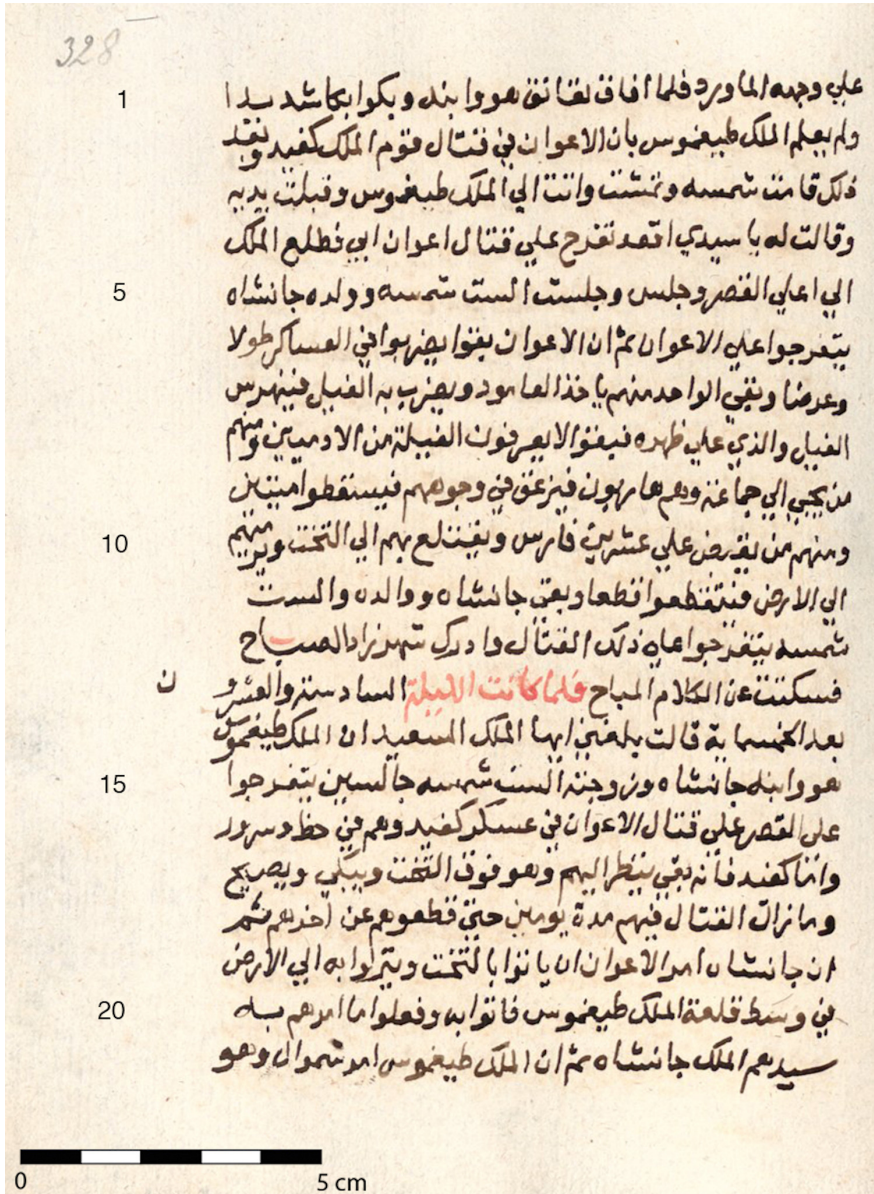


FIGURE 4.7 'Alī-l-Anṣārī (MS Cod. ar. 624, f. 328)
MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK. PHOTO BSB

Mais le critère principal permettant de différencier les deux mains est le parcours du geste. Le scribe 1 a une façon bien à lui de former les oves : il les trace toujours en deux temps, d'abord la boucle, en partant du sommet de la lettre vers la gauche, puis la suite, avec un recouvrement dans la partie droite de la lettre, recouvrement parfois incomplet, laissant un vide dans la partie droite de l'ove (v. par exemple fig. 4.3, l. 2 : *shuhūr* et plus loin, *al-wuḥūsh*, et fig. 4.4, l. 18 : *a'rifū*, et fig. 4.2), alors que 'Alī l-Anṣārī les forme d'un seul geste continu démarrant dans la partie inférieure de l'ove. Toujours dans le chapitre du parcours du geste, une différence notable entre les deux écritures que nous analysons concerne les *sin/shīn*. Sous la main de 'Alī l-Anṣārī, deux cas de figure sont possibles : soit leurs denticules sont bien marqués, soit ils sont volontairement lissés (v. par ex. fig. 4.6, l. 5 : *ʿashara* et fig. 4.7, l. 21 : *sayyiduhum*) ; pour le scribe 1, ces lettres présentent toujours des denticules et ceux-ci sont toujours très peu marqués (v. par ex. fig. 4.5, l. 15 : *al-shaykh* ou fig. 4.4, l. 21 : *masīra*). Un point commun entre les deux scribes concerne le tracé de l'*alif*, qui se fait (presque) toujours de haut en bas, même s'il est rattaché à la lettre le précédant. Dans ce cas, le scribe trace la liaison entre cette lettre et l'*alif*, puis lève son calame pour commencer l'*alif* par le haut (v. fig. 4.4, l. 4 : *fa-qāla*, ou l. 19 : *Jānshāh*, fig. 4.5, l. 11 : *Sulaymān* et fig. 4.6, l. 1 : *al-qāḍī*, où la forme et la couleur du trait, plus épais et plus foncé en haut, ne laissent aucune place au doute ; v. aussi fig. 4.2). Chez 'Alī l-Anṣārī, dans certains cas, ce trait de liaison est si ample qu'il n'est presque pas nécessaire d'ensuite tracer un trait vertical pour l'*alif* (v. fig. 4.7, l. 12 : *al-ṣabāḥ*). Les deux personnages respecteraient-ils les recommandations des traités théoriques sur l'écriture préconisant une analogie entre le tracé de l'*alif* et la chute de l'Homme sur Terre⁷⁴ ? C'est possible, mais ce tracé est plus vraisemblablement à corréliser au fait que les traits tirés sont plus faciles à former que les traits poussés⁷⁵, cette façon de faire s'illustrant d'ailleurs pour d'autres lettres, comme nous allons le voir.

En termes de morphologie, plusieurs formes de lettres sont particulières et permettent de distinguer les deux scripteurs⁷⁶. En suivant l'alphabet, après l'*alif*, déjà abordé, il faut mentionner les *bā'/tā'/thā'* qui sont particulièrement incurvés dans leur forme finale, chez 'Alī l-Anṣārī (v. fig. 4.7, l. 13 : *fa-sakatat*, à comparer à la fig. 4.5, l. 2 : *ta'ajjaba* ; v. aussi fig. 4.2). Le scribe 1 forme la tête des *jīm/ḥā'/khā'* en un seul trait, qu'il soit ondulante (une sorte de volute, v. fig. 4.5, l. 15 : *Jānshāh*) ou droit et oblique, laissant dès lors la tête de la lettre ouverte (v. fig. 4.2, particulièrement Lg), alors que 'Alī l-Anṣārī la trace à

74 Comme suggéré dans Atanasiu, Le rétroencrage 34 pour expliquer ce genre de pratique.

75 Cette règle des "pushed" et "pulled strokes" est exposée dans Gumbert, The Pen 14.

76 Seules les lettres et parties de lettres caractéristiques sont abordées.

l'aide de deux traits, lui donnant une apparence plus anguleuse (fig. 4.6, l. 12: *al-aḥmar*). Les *dāl*/*dhāl* du scribe 1 sont très ouverts (v. fig. 4.5, l. 21: *ʿind* ou fig. 4.3, l. 14: *al-qurūd*) – ils forment un angle de 90-100° – alors que ceux de ʿAlī l-Anṣārī sont plutôt fermés (v. fig. 4.7, l. 1: *wa-radda*) – angle de 70-90° (v. aussi fig. 4.2). La queue du *sīn* final du scribe 1 est dans le prolongement de la ligne d'écriture (fig. 4.3, l. 12: *yaybasu*), quand celle tracée par ʿAlī l-Anṣārī descend sous la ligne d'écriture d'autant que celle du *rāʾ* (fig. 4.6, l. 6: *mirashsh*). Les *ṭāʾ*/*ẓāʾ* du scribe 1 sont systématiquement formés en deux temps, la hampe n'étant tracée qu'après l'ove, de haut en bas, comme l'*alif* (v. fig. 4.5, l. 7: *al-tuyūr*), alors que ceux de ʿAlī l-Anṣārī sont tracés en un mouvement, de haut en bas, leur hampe étant légèrement inclinée (v. fig. 4.6, l. 1: *amshāṭ*).

Les têtes des *ʿayn*/*ghayn* sont assez différentes aussi d'un scribe à l'autre; à l'initiale, le trait inférieur de celles de ʿAlī l-Anṣārī s'arrête toujours légèrement plus loin que l'amorce du trait supérieur (v. fig. 4.7, l. 19: *al-aʿwān*), leur donnant un air incliné dans le sens de l'écriture, tandis que celles du scribe 1 sont droites, les deux traits se trouvant au même niveau (v. fig. 4.5, l. 5: *iʿlam*). Dans leur forme médiane et finale, elles sont plutôt arrondies, couchées sur la ligne d'écriture et obliques dans le sens de l'écriture chez le scribe 1 (v. fig. 4.5, l. 12: *jamīʿ* ou fig. 4.4, l. 15: *al-samʿ*) et en forme de triangle sur pointe chez ʿAlī l-Anṣārī (fig. 4.7, l. 20: *Ṭiḡhmūs*). Les *lām-alif* de ʿAlī l-Anṣārī sont toujours du type *mukhaffafa marshūqa*⁷⁷ (fig. 4.6, l. 11: *al-abnūs*), quand ceux du scribe 1 sont *warrāqiyya*⁷⁸ (fig. 4.5, l. 1: *al-awwal*), avec la singularité supplémentaire (fréquente, surtout après un *kāf*) d'une ligature à droite ressemblant à un *lām* supplémentaire (v. fig. 4.3, l. 10: *al-kalām* ou fig. 4.5, l. 2: *kalāmahu* et fig. 4.2, surtout Lg et Sp). Chez ʿAlī l-Anṣārī, la queue des *kāf* et *lām* finaux n'est pas horizontale, mais arrondie et très concave, et ne descend que peu sous la ligne de base (fig. 4.6, l. 7: *misk* et fig. 4.7, l. 2: *qitāl*). La tête du *mīm* initial varie également d'un scribe à l'autre. Très arrondie, petite et donc souvent remplies d'encre chez le scribe 1 (pochage, v. fig. 4.3, l. 14: *manṣūrūna*), elle est au contraire fine et anguleuse chez ʿAlī l-Anṣārī (fig. 4.7, l. 18: *muddat yawmayn*). En position médiane et finale, elle se trouve sous la ligne d'écriture pour l'un (fig. 4.3, l. 15: *Sulaymān*) et posée dessus pour l'autre (ʿAlī l-Anṣārī, fig. 4.7, l. 3: *Shamsa*). De la même manière que la queue du *sīn* final est dans le prolongement de la ligne d'écriture, le *nūn* final du scribe 1 est si peu incurvé qu'il ne descend que peu (ou pas) sous la ligne d'écriture et qu'il ressemble parfois à un *bāʾ* portant son point au-dessus de lui (v. fig. 4.3, l. 2: *sāyirīn* [*sic*] ou fig. 4.4,

77 Gacek, *Vademecum* 319-20 (appendix II, num. 62).

78 Ibid. (appendix II, num. 59).

l. 10: *inna* et fig. 4.2, surtout P₃ et Lg); sous le calame de ‘Alī l-Anṣārī, il est bien incurvé et son point diacritique est parfois dans son prolongement direct, et non centré (v. fig. 4.7, l. 14: *inna* et fig. 4.6, l. 17: *kāna*).

Venons-en au *hā’*, qui était à scruter particulièrement dans notre compréhension de la méthode ШОЕ, et ce, par analogie au “o” latin; chez le scribe 1, le *hā’* isolé adopte la forme d’une goutte d’eau dont la pointe est légèrement décentrée sur la droite (fig. 4.4, l. 12 ou fig. 4.5, l. 3: *Jānshāh* dans les deux cas), tandis que chez ‘Alī l-Anṣārī, il est arrondi (fig. 4.7, l. 11: *Jānshāh* ou fig. 4.6, l. 4: *hādhihi*), son trait d’attaque étant vertical et placé en haut à droite de la lettre (et non au centre). Le *hā’* initial prend toujours la forme d’un *hā’* médian *mash-qūqa*, avec deux boucles, ce qui fait de lui un *hā’ mulawwaza*⁷⁹ (fig. 4.3, l. 6: *hādihā*), chez le scribe 1, alors qu’il est plus conforme au modèle pour ‘Alī l-Anṣārī (c’est-à-dire *wajh al-hirr*⁸⁰, v. fig. 4.7, l. 16: *hum*), dont le *hā’* médian est de type *mudghama*⁸¹ (fig. 4.6, l. 10: *quddāmahā*). Enfin, le *yā’* final ou isolé du scribe 1 est particulièrement couché sur la ligne d’écriture (fig. 4.3, l. 11: *yajrī*, fig. 4.4, l. 21: *hiya*⁸² ou fig. 4.5, l. 12: *al-ladhī*)⁸³.

L’observation des points diacritiques n’a pas donné autant de résultat qu’escompté; cependant, les trois points du *shīn* ou du *thā’* permettent de différencier les scribes: ‘Alī l-Anṣārī les trace d’un seul geste, leur conférant une forme particulière caractéristique (v. fig. 4.7, l. 1: *shadīdan*, ou l. 11: *Jānshāh*, ou l. 12: *Shamsa*, ou fig. 4.6, l. 5: *‘ashara*, ou l. 8: *shīl* [*sic*]), alors que chez le scribe 1, ceux-ci sont la plupart du temps différenciés (fig. 4.3, l. 1: *thalātha* ou fig. 4.5, l. 5: *thumma* et *al-shaykh*) ou alors, de formes variées (fig. 4.5, comparer *al-shaykh* l. 15 et l. 17 et fig. 4.2).

Enfin, il est manifeste que ‘Alī l-Anṣārī a apporté plus de soin à la copie des manuscrits que le scribe 1, dont le rythme de travail apparaît en général plus rapide⁸⁴. La rectilinéarité plus ou moins affirmée des marges, point déjà abordé, va dans ce sens. C’est aussi l’opinion formulée par von Hammer, qui compara trois manuscrits certainement copiés par le scribe 1 (SP, le ms. de

79 Ibid. (appendix II, num. 45, 48).

80 Ibid. (appendix II, num. 46).

81 Ibid. (appendix II, num. 47).

82 D’autant plus couché ici que le mot est le dernier de la ligne et qu’il faut remplir tout l’espace restant.

83 Les prépositions se terminant en *yā’ (fi)* ou en *alif maqṣūra (‘alā, ilā)* n’ont pas été prises en compte car elles sont si courtes et fréquentes qu’elles peuvent être considérées comme des symboles monolithères et non comme des mots constitués de plusieurs lettres. À cet égard, v. p. 94 et n. 51.

84 Domage que les colophons ne présentent pas d’information sur la durée de travail nécessaire pour terminer une copie complète de cette recension des *Nuits*.

Clarke and Crisps, aujourd’hui perdu, et le ms. de Varsy, parfois identifié à P2⁸⁵) à sa copie personnelle, aujourd’hui disparue, signée ‘Alī l-Anṣārī: “Aucun de ces trois manuscrits ne peut être comparé avec le nôtre sous le rapport de la netteté et de l’élégance de l’écriture; car il est en même temps aussi beau que correct et lisible”⁸⁶. Un faisceau d’éléments concordants désigne donc ‘Alī l-Anṣārī comme étant le père de la recension égyptienne. Pour répondre à la demande insistante et constante de tant d’Occidentaux, ce lettré – comme son écriture rapide et assurée et sa désignation comme “shaykh fils de shaykh” et descendant d’un compagnon du Prophète, si l’on en croit son *laqab* – réalise donc un manuscrit modèle, dont il fera plusieurs copies lui-même, avec soin, qu’il datera et signera. La demande ne tarissant pas, il se fera seconder d’un scribe professionnel, très vraisemblablement payé à la copie et non à l’heure, si l’on en croit la vitesse à laquelle il semble travailler, et moins concentré sur le texte, travaillant sans doute sur plusieurs ensembles à la fois, puisque des hiatus et erreurs dans les numéros de nuits d’un volume à l’autre apparaissent dans ses manuscrits. La demande restant importante, leur travail sera complété par d’autres scribes, formant ensuite la deuxième phase de la recension et, encore plus tard, vers 1840, une autre recension⁸⁷.

4 En guise de conclusion

L’idée d’appliquer une méthode rationnelle d’identification des écritures avait fait naître de grands espoirs et des éléments d’analyse nouveaux et intéressants ont été mis en évidence. On reste évidemment loin d’une méthode miracle, rapide et efficace dans tous les cas de figures: l’œil exercé et l’expérience demeurent incontournables – comment aurait-il pu en être autrement? ... –, mais de grands pas sont franchis dans la direction d’une rationalisation des études paléographiques arabes.

En effet, il ressort de notre analyse que plusieurs nouveaux critères, outre les formes particulières de lettres, sont pertinents pour les études de mains arabes. Ainsi, les axes des lettres sont intéressants, bien que ce critère doive être couplé à d’autres et ne puisse, seul, entraîner l’identification (ou la réfutation).

85 Elisséeff, *Thèmes* 61.

86 von Hammer-Purgstall et Trébutien, *Contes inédits* III et XXXVIII. Pour l’analyse du texte et la fréquence légèrement accrue de plusieurs marques du Moyen Arabe dans les copies du scribe 1, v. Franssen, *Les Manuscrits* i, 220-228, et ii.

87 Représentée par le manuscrit Reinhardt, v. Marzolph et al., *The Arabian Nights* 20; Chraïbi, *Contes*.

tation) formelle d'un scripteur. Il en va de même pour les conclusions tirées de l'étude de la ligne de base, des proportions hauteur-largeur des lettres (les *dāl/dhāl* et *'ayn/ghayn* servant d'étalon), et de la linéarité des marges, qui donne une idée de la rapidité d'exécution de la copie en présence. Quant aux éléments révélateurs du système de liaison, ils sont véritablement distinctifs et se sont montrés décisifs pour ce cas d'étude. Les habitudes graphiques, particulièrement l'usage des points diacritiques, ne sont pas à négliger non plus, même si une seule caractéristique manifeste est apparue dans ce cas d'étude. Les critères de densité et d'espacement au sein du texte sont certainement importants, mais plus difficiles à maîtriser pour le novice.

Nous sommes donc bien loin de l'étude exigeante et chronophage des 381 critères de la méthode SHOE. Et tant mieux : nos documents de travail sont d'une ampleur autrement plus importante que ceux sur lesquels se penchent généralement les experts judiciaires. Par ailleurs, les conséquences d'une erreur de notre part sont beaucoup moins graves que pour un expert judiciaire. Enfin, nous sommes rarement confrontés à des documents de faussaires qui déguiseraient volontairement leur écriture. Dès lors, en dépit du credo de Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn sur la vision globale des documents, il n'est à mon sens ni réaliste, ni nécessaire de prendre en compte tous les critères de la méthode pour chaque étude. Par contre, observer la petite dizaine de données pertinentes mises en évidence ici n'est pas trop fastidieux et permet tout de même de tester une intuition et d'asseoir plus fermement une attribution.

Outre cette avancée théorique pour les études d'écritures, l'analyse détaillée des deux graphies représentées dans les manuscrits de la première phase chronologique de la recension égyptienne des *Mille et une Nuits* précise le statut des manuscrits en présence : modèles pour ceux d'al-Anṣārī et reproductions pour ceux du scribe 1. D'ailleurs, l'analyse philologique des textes confirme cette déduction⁸⁸. En outre, l'attention fine portée aux mains a montré que, contrairement aux autres, les ensembles de la BnF (P₁, P₂ et P₃) étaient particulièrement hétérogènes en termes de mains (v. annexe 1 et tableau 4.1). En effet, tous les autres ensembles complets sont intégralement de la même main : du scribe 1 pour L et SP et de 'Alī l-Anṣārī pour Mu. Il semble possible de reconstituer trois ensembles homogènes avec les volumes de Paris et celui de Liège, l'un de la main de 'Alī l-Anṣārī et deux de celle de son scribe. Ainsi, on doit à 'Alī l-Anṣārī un ensemble constitué de vol. 1 = P₂ (nuits 1-214), vol. 2 = P₁ (nuits 215-536), vol. 3 = P₃ (nuits [537]-771⁸⁹), vol. 4 = P₂ (nuits 771-1001). Les deux ensembles de scribe 1 se composent comme suit : vol. 1 = P₁ (nuits 1-214) et P₃

88 V. Franssen, *Les Manuscrits* i, 220-228, et ii.

89 Acéphale, la première nuit numérotée est la cinq-cent-quarante-neuvième ; la comparai-

(nuits 1-220)⁹⁰, vol. 2 = P2 et Lg (nuits 218-536)⁹¹, vol. 3 = P1 et P2 (nuits 537-771), vol. 4 = P1 et P3 (nuits 771-1001).

Enfin, la systématisation que suppose cette méthode ne peut qu’être positive; elle est particulièrement utile dans le cadre de l’étude de manuscrits holographes. Une connaissance précise des caractéristiques personnelles de l’écriture d’un auteur permettrait certainement l’identification d’autres holographes, tout en faisant avancer la recherche sur les variations de l’écriture avec le temps et l’âge du scripteur. Ces données enregistrées sur un formulaire type seraient à joindre à la base de données des manuscrits arabes holographes que nous préconisons de créer (comme indiqué dans l’introduction, p. 9), dans un champ dédié sur la fiche personnelle des auteurs.

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son avec le texte de Mu indique qu’il manque deux quinions et que le texte du volume commençait plus que probablement à la cinq-cent-trente-septième nuit.

90 Comme le volume 2 de Mu, qui a donc servi de modèle pour la copie de ce volume.

91 À l’exception de P1 et de sa copie L, qui commencent à la nuit 220, tous les volumes 2 de cette première phase de la recension débutent à la nuit 218, indépendamment du numéro de la dernière nuit de leur premier volume (celui-ci étant variable: 214, 215, 216 ou 220). Des flottements dans la numérotation des nuits de la fin du volume 1 sont manifestes et des tentatives de corrections sont observées (notamment dans SP).

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Annexe 1 : Liste des manuscrits

a) Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d’Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2241 (Lg)⁹²

Incomplet : uniquement vol. 2 ; non daté, non signé ; 422 ff., de 228×163 mm, 21 l./p., lignes longues. Nuits 218 à 536. Examen détaillé des ff. 369, 384, 404. Scribe 1.

b) London, British Library, MS Or. 2916-2919 (L)⁹³

Complet, non daté, non signé ; vol. 1 : 531 ff. de 240×168 mm, nuits 1-214 ; vol. 2 : 399 ff. de 236×171 mm, nuits 215-536 ; vol. 3 : 414 ff. de 214×154 mm, nuits 537-771 ; vol. 4 : 428 ff. de 224×156 mm, nuits 771-1001. 21 l./p., lignes longues. Examen détaillé des ff. 344, 352, 357 du vol. 2. Scribe 1.

c) Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 3598-3601 (P¹)⁹⁴

Complet, non daté, vol. 2 signé ‘Alī l-Anṣārī b. al-shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī ; vol. 1 : 532 ff. de 216×157 mm, nuits 1-214 ; vol. 2 : 334 ff. de 227×167 mm, nuits 215-536 ; vol. 3 : 368 ff. de 230×156 mm, nuits 537-771 ; vol. 4 : 392 ff. de 226×159 mm, nuits 771-1001. 21 l./p., lignes longues. Examen détaillé des ff. 291, 298 et 304 du vol. 2. Vol. 1 : scribe 1 ; vol. 2 : ‘Alī l-Anṣārī ; vol. 3 : scribe 1 ; vol. 4 : scribe 1.

d) Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 3602-3605 (P²)⁹⁵

Complet, non daté, vol. 4 signé ‘Alī l-Anṣārī b. al-shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī ; vol. 1 : 481 ff. de 212×160 mm, nuits 1-214 ; vol. 2 : 408 ff. de 220×157 mm, nuits 218-536 ; vol. 3 : 414 ff. de 214×157 mm, nuits 537-771 ; vol. 4 : 345 ff. de 214×155 mm, nuits 771-1001. 21 l./p., lignes longues. Examen détaillé des ff. 356 et 357 du vol. 2. Vol. 1 : ‘Alī l-Anṣārī ; vol. 2 : scribe 1 ; vol. 3 : scribe 1 ; vol. 4 : ‘Alī l-Anṣārī.

e) Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 3606-3608 (P³)⁹⁶

Incomplet (manque vol. 2), non daté (*terminus ante quem* 1222/1807-8, v. empreinte de sceau datée sur le f. 72b du vol. 2), non signé ; vol. 1 : 548 ff. (555 avec annexes non contemporaines) de 230×162 mm, nuits 1-220 ; vol. 3 : 279 ff. de 218×164 mm, nuits 549-771 ; vol. 4 : 416 ff. de 218×154 mm, nuits 771-1001. 21 l./p., lignes longues. Examen détaillé des ff. 50, 359 et 436 du vol. 1. Vol. 1 : scribe 1 ; vol. 3 : ‘Alī l-Anṣārī ; vol. 4 : scribe 1.

92 Bauden, *Catalogue* 21.

93 Rieu, *Supplément* 738.

94 McGuckin de Slane, *Catalogue* 618-9.

95 Ibid. 619.

96 Ibid.

f) Saint-Pétersbourg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS B-1114 (SP)⁹⁷

Complet, non daté, non signé; vol. 1: 495 ff. de 206×154 mm, nuits 1-216; vol. 2: 338 ff. de 205×153 mm, nuits 218-536; vol. 3: 326 ff. de 204×152 mm, nuits 537-771; vol. 4: 382 ff. de 204×152 mm, nuits 771-1001. 21 l./p., lignes longues. Examen détaillé des ff. 296, 302, 318 du vol. 2. Scribe 1.

g) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod. ar. 623-636 (Mu)⁹⁸

Complet, vol. 4 daté du 3 *Muḥarram* 1221/23 mars 1806 et signé 'Alī l-Anṣārī b. al-shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī; vol. 1: 498 ff. de 225×157 mm, nuits 1-220; vol. 2: 339 ff. de 215×160 mm, nuits 218-536; vol. 3: 316 ff. de 229×161 mm, nuits 537-771; vol. 4: 340 ff. de 216×162 mm, nuits 772-1001. 21 l./p., lignes longues. Examen détaillé des ff. 296, 312 et 338 du vol. 2. 'Alī l-Anṣārī.

h) Christie's⁹⁹

Complet (? en tout cas, 4 volumes conservés), non daté, non signé. Pas consulté à ce jour, mais d'après les images disponibles, scribe 1.

97 Khalidov, *Arabskie rukopisi* i, 414, ii, 202.

98 Aumer, *Die arabische Handschriften* 272.

99 Christie's, *Arts* 38.

TABLEAU 4.1 Reconstitution de trois ensembles complets fondée sur l'analyse des graphies

	Ensemble 'Alī l-Anṣārī		Ensemble scribe 1 – 1		Ensemble scribe 1 – 2	
	MSS	Nuits	MSS	Nuits	MSS	Nuits
vol. 1	BnF Ar. 3602	1-214	BnF Ar. 3598	1-214	BnF Ar. 3606	1-220
vol. 2	BnF Ar. 3599	215-536	BnF Ar. 3603	218-536	Lg	218-536
vol. 3	BnF Ar. 3607	537-771	BnF Ar. 3600	537-771	BnF Ar. 3604	537-771
vol. 4	BnF Ar. 3605	771-1001	BnF Ar. 3601	771-1001	BnF Ar. 3608	771-1001

TABLEAU 4.2 Tableau d'analyse des graphies¹⁰⁰

	Lg ALPHA 2241, ff. 369, 384, 404	L vol. 2 BL 2916-2919, ff. 344, 352, 357	P3 vols. 1, 4 BnF 3606-3608
Support-instrument			
Support	Papier blanc, filigrané (motif dans le pli de reliure), apprêt ok	Papier blanc, apprêt très inégal, parfois très mauvais	Papier blanc, apprêt ok
Instr.	calame biseauté	calame biseauté	calame biseauté
Couleur de l'encre	noire brunâtre/grisâtre, rouge claire-rouille	noire et rouge	noire et rouge
Ordonnance-utilisation espace – générale			
Sens de l'écriture	normal (// largeur)	normal	normal
Utilisation papier	r/v	r/v	r/v
Ordonnance-utilisation espace – distances verticales			
Marge sup.	grande	grande	grande
Marge inf.	grande	grande	grande
Ordonnance-utilisation espace – distances horizontales			
Marge int.	petite, ondulante (+/- une lettre) d'abord progressive	petite, en dents de scie +/- affirmées	petite, en dents de scie +/- affirmées
Marge ext.	large, volontaire	large, volontaire, régulièrement fin de mot dans la marge après un espace de 3-4mm, ondulante d'abord régressive	large, volontaire
Alinéas	∅ Lignes longues justifiées	∅ Lignes longues justifiées	∅ Lignes longues justifiées
Additions	corrections en surcharge dans le texte ou juste après erreur, barrée; un cas dans la marge; un cas de mot fini dans marge int. après petit espace	∅	dans la marge int., en oblique

¹⁰⁰ Dans les tableaux qui suivent, plusieurs abréviations sont utilisées : d. (droite), g. (gauche), horiz. (horizontal.e), inf. (inférieur.e), l. (ligne), sup. (supérieur.e), vertic. (vertical.e).

SP vol. 2 IOM B-1114	P2 vols. 2-3 BnF 3602-3605	Mu vol. 1-4 BSB Cod. ar. 623-626	P1, vol. 2 BnF 3598-3601	Conclusions
Papier blanc, apprêt ok	Papier blanc, apprêt ok	Papier blanc, apprêt ok	Papier blanc, apprêt ok	pas pertinent
calame biseauté noire et rouge	calame biseauté noire et rouge	calame biseauté noire et rouge	calame biseauté noire et rouge	pas pertinent pas pertinent
normal	normal	normal	normal	pas pertinent
r/v	r/v	r/v	r/v	pas pertinent
grande	grande	grande	grande	pas pertinent
grande	grande	grande	grande	pas pertinent
petite (? pli reliure!), rectiligne	petite (? pli reliure!), en dents de scie +/- affirmées	moyenne, rectiligne	petite, rectiligne	Lg-L-P2-P3 / SP-Mu-P1
large, volontaire	large, volontaire	large, volontaire, réguliè- rement fin de mot dans la marge après un espace de 3-4mm	large, volontaire, réguliè- rement fin de mot dans la marge après un espace de 3-4mm	pas pertinent
∅ Lignes longues jus- tifiées	∅ Lignes longues jus- tifiées	∅ Lignes longues jus- tifiées	∅ Lignes longues jus- tifiées	pas pertinent
∅	∅?	∅?	∅?	pas pertinent

TABLEAU 4.2 Tableau d'analyse des graphies (*suite*)

	Lg ALPHA 2241, ff. 369, 384, 404	L vol. 2 BL 2916-2919, ff. 344, 352, 357	P3 vols. 1, 4 BnF 3606-3608
Axes des lettres			
Parallélisme	sensiblement parallèles (constant, avec très légères inégalités)	sensiblement parallèles (constant, avec très légères inégalités)	sensiblement parallèles (constant)
Orientation générale	légèrement inclinés à d. (70°)	très légèrement inclinés à d. (75°)	verticaux
Homogénéité	oui	oui	oui
Ligne de base			
Stabilité	instable	instable	sensiblement rectiligne
Dir. gén.	horiz.	horiz.	horiz.
Homogénéité	régulière	régulière	faibles inégalités
Dimensions et proportions			
Régularité	régulière	régulière	régulière
Calibre général	petit	petit	petit
Largeur des lettres	sensiblement régulière (tas- sement ou étalement occa- sionnel en fin de ligne pour respecter "linéarité" de la marge)	sensiblement régulière (tassement ou étalement occasionnel en fin de ligne pour respecter "linéarité" de la marge)	sensiblement régulière (tassement ou étalement occasionnel en fin de ligne pour respecter "linéarité" de la marge)
Proportions hauteur-largeur	<i>dāl</i> et <i>'ayn s'</i> inscrivent dans un carré	<i>dāl</i> et <i>'ayn s'</i> inscrivent géné- ralement dans un carré	<i>dāl</i> et <i>'ayn s'</i> inscrivent géné- ralement dans un carré

SP vol. 2 IOM B-1114	P2 vols. 2-3 BnF 3602-3605	Mu vol. 1-4 BSB Cod. ar. 623-626	P1, vol. 2 BnF 3598-3601	Conclusions
sensiblement parallèles (constant, avec très légères inégalités)	sensiblement parallèles (constant)	sensiblement parallèles (constant)	sensiblement parallèles (constant)	Lg-L-SP / P3-P2-Mu-P1
verticaux, mais occasionnellement légèrement obliques vers la d. ou vers la g. (sans logique décelable)	verticaux, mais occasionnellement légèrement obliques vers la d.	légèrement inclinés à d. (70°-80°)	légèrement inclinés à d. (70°-80°)	Lg-L-Mu-P1 P3-SP-P2
à peu près	à peu près	oui	oui	Lg-L-Mu-P1 / P3-SP-P2
instable	instable	rectiligne	rectiligne	Lg-L-SP-P2 / P3-Mu-P1
horiz.	horiz.	horiz.	horiz.	Lg-L-SP-P2 / P3-Mu-P1
faibles inégalités	régulière	régulière	régulière	Lg-L-SP-P2 / P3-Mu-P1
régulière petit	régulière petit	régulière petit	régulière petit	pas pertinent identique
sensiblement régulière (tassement ou étalement occasionnel en fin de ligne pour respecter “linéarité” de la marge), fins de mots = régulièrement dans la marge, après espace	sensiblement régulière	sensiblement régulière (tassement ou étalement occasionnel en fin de ligne pour respecter “linéarité” de la marge), fins de mots = parfois dans la marge, après espace	sensiblement régulière (tassement ou étalement occasionnel en fin de ligne pour respecter “linéarité” de la marge, v. f. 291!), fins de mots = régulièrement dans la marge, après espace	identique
<i>dāl</i> et <i>ʿayn</i> s’inscrivent dans un carré	<i>dāl</i> et <i>ʿayn</i> s’inscrivent généralement dans un carré	<i>dāl</i> et <i>ʿayn</i> s’inscrivent dans un rectangle debout	<i>dāl</i> et <i>ʿayn</i> s’inscrivent généralement dans un rectangle debout (moins clair pour le <i>dāl</i>)	Lg-L-P2- P3-SP / Mu-P1

TABLEAU 4.2 Tableau d'analyse des graphies (*suite*)

	Lg ALPHA 2241, ff. 369, 384, 404	L vol. 2 BL 2916-2919, ff. 344, 352, 357	P3 vols. 1, 4 BnF 3606-3608
Prolongements supérieurs	égaux, moyen (<i>mīm</i> = 2 mm, <i>alif</i> etc. = 5 mm)	égaux, moyen (<i>mīm</i> = 2 mm, <i>alif</i> etc. = 5 mm)	égaux, moyen (<i>mīm</i> = 2 mm, <i>alif</i> etc. = 5 mm)
Prolongements inférieurs	<i>rā'</i> et <i>wāw</i> égaux = 2 mm sous la ligne d'écriture, <i>lām/kāf</i> finaux = 1 mm sous l., <i>yā'</i> = à peine 1 mm, <i>mīm maqlūba musbala</i> = 3-4 mm. → plus courts que prolongements sup. <i>Nūn</i> et <i>yā'</i> finaux descendent très peu sous la l., = presque sur la ligne	<i>rā'</i> et <i>wāw</i> égaux = 2 ou 3 mm sous la ligne d'écriture, <i>lām/kāf</i> finaux = 1 mm sous l., <i>yā'</i> = à peine 1 mm ou même posé sur la l. de base, id. <i>nūn</i> , <i>mīm maqlūba musbala</i> = 3-4 mm. → plus courts que prolongements sup.	<i>rā'</i> et <i>wāw</i> égaux = 1 ou 2 mm sous la ligne d'écriture, <i>lām</i> finaux = 2 mm sous l., <i>kāf</i> finaux = 1 mm sous la l., <i>yā'</i> = à peine 1 mm ou même posé sur la l. de base, id. <i>nūn</i> , <i>mīm maqlūba musbala</i> = 2-3 mm. → plus courts que prolongements sup.
Liaisons-parcours du geste			
Degr. de liaison	normal	normal	normal
Type de liaison, aspect général	plutôt arrondie, sauf avant <i>alif/lām</i> : angle droit; écriture progressive	plutôt arrondie, sauf avant <i>alif/lām</i> : angle droit; écriture progressive	plutôt arrondie, sauf avant <i>alif/lām</i> : angle droit; écriture progressive
Système de liaison	lettres à oves en position initiale = tracées de haut en bas, d'abord la boucle puis la suite de la lettre, avec trait recouvert à droite de l'œil, l'ove reste parfois ouvert à d. Pas de continuité entre les mots	lettres à oves en position initiale = tracées de haut en bas, d'abord la boucle puis la suite de la lettre, avec trait recouvert à droite de l'œil, l'ove reste parfois ouvert à d., surtout quand la suite du mot n'est pas dans le prolongement, ou dans le cas des <i>wāw</i> isolés. Pas de continuité entre les mots	lettres à oves en position initiale = tracées de haut en bas, d'abord la boucle puis la suite de la lettre, avec trait recouvert à droite de l'œil, l'ove reste parfois ouvert à d. Pas de continuité entre les mots

SP vol. 2 IOM B-1114	P2 vols. 2-3 BnF 3602-3605	Mu vol. 1-4 BSB Cod. ar. 623-626	P1, vol. 2 BnF 3598-3601	Conclusions
égaux, moyen (<i>mīm</i> = 1,5 mm, <i>alif</i> etc. = 4 mm)	égaux, moyen (<i>mīm</i> = 2 mm, <i>alif</i> etc. = 5 mm (sauf <i>alif</i> isolé : 4 mm)	égaux, moyen (<i>mīm</i> = 2 mm, <i>alif</i> etc. = 4-5 mm)	égaux, moyen (<i>mīm</i> = 2 mm, <i>alif</i> etc. = 4-5 mm)	identique
<i>rāʾ</i> et <i>wāw</i> égaux = 2 ou 3 mm sous la ligne d'écriture, <i>lām/kāf</i> finaux = 1 mm sous l., <i>yāʾ</i> = à peine 1 mm ou même posé sur la l. de base, id. <i>nūn</i> , <i>mīm maqlūba musbala</i> très courts, = 2-3 mm. → plus courts que prolongements sup.	<i>rāʾ</i> et <i>wāw</i> égaux = 2 ou 3 mm sous la ligne d'écriture, <i>lām/kāf</i> finaux = 1 mm sous l., <i>yāʾ</i> = à peine 1 mm ou même posé sur la l. de base, id. <i>nūn</i> , <i>mīm maqlūba musbala</i> très courts, = 2-3 mm. → plus courts que prolongements sup.	<i>rāʾ</i> et <i>wāw</i> égaux = 3 ou 4 mm sous la ligne d'écriture, <i>lām/kāf</i> posés sur la l. de base, <i>yāʾ</i> = 1 ou 2 mm sous la l. de base, <i>nūn</i> = quasi posés sur la ligne de base, ou dépassent de 1 mm, <i>mīm maqlūba musbala</i> très courts, = 4-5 mm. → égaux aux prolongements sup.	<i>rāʾ</i> et <i>wāw</i> égaux = 3 ou 4 mm sous la ligne d'écriture, <i>lām/kāf</i> posés sur la l. de base, <i>yāʾ</i> = 1 ou 2 mm sous la l. de base, <i>nūn</i> = quasi posés sur la ligne de base, ou dépassent de 1 mm, <i>mīm maqlūba musbala</i> très courts, = 4-5 mm. → égaux aux prolongements sup.	identique
normal plutôt arrondie, sauf avant <i>alif/lām</i> : angle droit ; écriture progressive	normal plutôt arrondie, sauf avant <i>alif/lām</i> : angle droit ; écriture progressive	normal plutôt arrondies, mais donnent impression anguleuse car très réduites ; écriture progressive	normal plutôt arrondies, mais donnent impression anguleuse car très réduites ; écriture progressive	id. Lg-L-P3- SP-P2 / Mu-P1
lettres à oves en position initiale = tracées de haut en bas, d'abord la boucle puis la suite de la lettre, avec trait recouvert à droite de l'œil, l'ove reste parfois ouvert à d. Pas de continuité entre les mots	lettres à oves en position initiale = tracées de haut en bas, d'abord la boucle puis la suite de la lettre, avec trait recouvert à droite de l'œil, l'ove reste parfois ouvert à d. Pas de continuité entre les mots	Lettres à ove tracées en un seul geste continu. Impression de continuité entre les mots car espaces très réduits	Lettres à ove tracées en un seul geste continu. Impression de continuité entre les mots car espaces très réduits	Lg-L-P3- SP-P2 / Mu-P1

TABLEAU 4.2 Tableau d'analyse des graphies (*suite*)

	Lg ALPHA 2241, ff. 369, 384, 404	L vol. 2 BL 2916-2919, ff. 344, 352, 357	P3 vols. 1, 4 BnF 3606-3608
	<i>Hā'</i> initial = médian : boucle démarrant au niveau de la ligne d'écriture, vers le bas, puis 1/2 cercle dont centre serait sur la l. de base, puis boucle repartant sur la l. de base. <i>Hā'</i> final = comme une goutte d'eau, tracé du haut vers la d., boucle puis remonte et trait remontant s'arrête souvent légèrement après le trait descendant, sécant, ou peu avant : boucle pas fermée. <i>Alif</i> = tracés de haut en bas → trait stoppé pour repartir du haut	<i>Hā'</i> initial = médian : boucle démarrant au niveau de la ligne d'écriture, vers le bas, puis 1/2 cercle dont centre serait sur la l. de base, puis boucle repartant sur la l. de base. <i>Hā'</i> final = comme une goutte d'eau, tracé du haut vers la d., boucle puis remonte et trait remontant s'arrête souvent légèrement après le trait descendant, sécant, ou peu avant : boucle pas fermée. <i>Alif</i> = tracés de haut en bas → trait stoppé pour repartir du haut	<i>Hā'</i> initial = médian : boucle démarrant au niveau de la ligne d'écriture, vers le bas, puis 1/2 cercle dont centre serait sur la l. de base, puis boucle repartant sur la l. de base. Plus allongé que mss Lg et Lz. <i>Hā'</i> final = comme une goutte d'eau, tracé du haut vers la d., boucle puis remonte. <i>Alif</i> = tracés de haut en bas → trait stoppé pour repartir du haut. Par contre, recouvrement pour <i>kāf</i> médians
	<i>Sīn</i> et <i>shīn</i> : denticules très peu marqués.	<i>Sīn</i> et <i>shīn</i> : denticules très peu marqués.	<i>Sīn</i> et <i>shīn</i> : denticules très peu marqués.
Pression			
Coloration d'ensemble	Forte	Forte	Forte (?) (microfilm)
Épaisseur du trait	assez épais ; pochages fréquents (oves remplis d'encre, boucles pleines)	assez épais ; pochages fréquents	assez épais ; pochages fréquents
Puissances d'appui	?	?	?
Contours	nets des deux côtés	nets des deux côtés	nets des deux côtés (?)
Fermeté du trait	traits descendants (<i>mīm</i> final) légèrement courbes : <i>mudgha</i> (<i>mu'allaqa</i>) <i>mukhtāla</i>	traits descendants rectilignes	traits descendants rectilignes
Variation de l'appui	uniforme, très léger effet moiré car reprises de plume	uniforme	uniforme

SP vol. 2 IOM B-1114	P2 vols. 2-3 BnF 3602-3605	Mu vol. 1-4 BSB Cod. ar. 623-626	P1, vol. 2 BnF 3598-3601	Conclusions
<i>Hā'</i> initial = médian : boucle démarant au niveau de la ligne d'écriture, vers le bas, puis 1/2 cercle dont centre serait sur la l. de base, puis boucle repartant sur la l. de base. <i>Hā'</i> final = comme une goutte d'eau, tracé du haut vers la d., boucle puis remonte	<i>Hā'</i> initial = médian : boucle démarant au niveau de la ligne d'écriture, vers le bas, puis 1/2 cercle dont centre serait sur la l. de base, puis boucle repartant sur la l. de base. <i>Hā'</i> final = comme une goutte d'eau, tracé du haut vers la d., boucle puis remonte	<i>Hā'</i> initial = rond, dif- férent du médian (mais le médian est moins allongé dans ce ms). Final = ouvert (2 traits en sens inverses) ou fermé (une goutte plus ou moins grande) sans logique déce- lable. Isolé, il est très rond, souvent ouvert aussi (trait de départ presque vertical), trait final pas toujours assez arrondi pour fermer la boucle	<i>Hā'</i> initial = rond, différent du médian (mais le médian est moins allongé dans ce ms). Final = ouvert (2 traits en sens inverses) ou fermé (une goutte plus ou moins grande) sans logique décelable. Isolé, il est très rond	Lg-L-P3- SP-P2 / Mu-P1
<i>Sīn</i> et <i>shūn</i> : denticules très peu marqués.	<i>Sīn</i> et <i>shūn</i> : denticules très peu marqués.	<i>Sīn</i> et <i>shūn</i> : denti- cules bien marqués ou volontairement lissés	<i>Sīn</i> et <i>shūn</i> : denti- cules bien marqués ou volontairement lissés	Lg-L-P3- SP-P2 / Mu-P1
Forte	Forte	Forte	Forte	id. pas perti- nent
assez épais ; pochages fréquents	assez épais ; pochages fréquents	assez épais ; pochages fréquents	assez épais ; pochages fréquents	id. pas perti- nent
?	?	?	?	?
nets des deux côtés	nets des deux côtés	nets des deux côtés	nets des deux côtés	id. pas perti- nent
traits descendants rectilignes	traits descendants rectilignes	traits descendants rectilignes	traits descendants rectilignes	id. pas perti- nent
uniforme	uniforme	uniforme	uniforme	id. pas perti- nent

TABLEAU 4.2 Tableau d'analyse des graphies (*suite*)

	Lg ALPHA 2241, ff. 369, 384, 404	L vol. 2 BL 2916-2919, ff. 344, 352, 357	P3 vols. 1, 4 BnF 3606-3608
Finales	ni allégées, ni alourdies, courtes mais parfois prolongées en fin de ligne, extrémité arrondie	courtes, extrémité arrondie	courtes, extrémité arrondie
Vitesse et rythme			
Allure générale	rapide	rapide	rapide
Régularité	régulier	régulier	régulier
Densité du texte – espacements			
Aspect général	Compact, disparate	compact, disparate	Compact, disparate
Espaces blancs superflus dans le texte	non	pas vraiment, mais certaines lignes plus étalées donnent aspect + aéré à certains endroits	pas vraiment, mais certaines lignes plus ondulantes donnent aspect + aéré à certains endroits
Espaces entre les mots	assez réguliers, faibles	assez réguliers, faibles	assez réguliers, faibles
Interlignes	réguliers, petits, nets	réguliers, petits, nets	assez réguliers, petits, enchevêtrements occasionnels
Différences de densité	régulièrement, mais pas systématiquement, interligne(s) +grand(s) au milieu de la p.	certaines lignes plus étalées donnent aspect + aéré à certains endroits, surtout en milieu de page	certaines lignes + ondulantes donnent aspect + aéré à certains endroits
Morphologie			
Détériorations morpho	/	/	/
Distance modèle scolaire	Assez proche	Assez proche	Assez proche

SP vol. 2 IOM B-1114	P2 vols. 2-3 BnF 3602-3605	Mu vol. 1-4 BSB Cod. ar. 623-626	P1, vol. 2 BnF 3598-3601	Conclusions
courtes, extrémité arrondie	courtes, extrémité arrondie	courtes, extrémité arrondie	courtes, extrémité arrondie	id. pas pertinent
posé	normal	très rapide (lien entre lettres pas toujours ok; se laisse emporter par son geste et ligature avec <i>alif</i>)	très rapide	pas pertinent car professionnels
régulier	régulier	régulier	régulier	pas pertinent car professionnels
Compact, disparate	Compact, disparate	Compact, homogène	Compact, homogène	Lg-L-P3-SP-P2 / Mu-P1
non	non	non	non	? v. avis Sedeyn
assez réguliers, faibles	assez réguliers, faibles	assez réguliers, (très) faibles	assez réguliers, (très) faibles	id.
assez réguliers, petits, enchevêtrements occasionnels en fin de l.	réguliers, petits, nets	assez réguliers, petits, enchevêtrements occasionnels en fin de l.	assez réguliers, petits, enchevêtrements occasionnels en fin de l.	Lg-L-P2 / P3-SP-Mu-P1
enchevêtrements de fin de l. et élongation donnent aspect irrégulier	non	enchevêtrements occasionnels en fin de l. donnent aspect légèrement irrégulier	enchevêtrements occasionnels en fin de l. donnent aspect légèrement irrégulier	? avis Sedeyn
/	/	/	/	
Assez proche	Assez proche	Assez proche	Assez proche	pas pertinent car professionnels

TABLEAU 4.2 Tableau d'analyse des graphies (*suite*)

	Lg ALPHA 2241, ff. 369, 384, 404	L vol. 2 BL 2916-2919, ff. 344, 352, 357	P3 vols. 1, 4 BnF 3606-3608
Lisibilité	Claire	Claire	Claire
Formes partic.	v. tableau 4.3	v. tableau 4.3	v. tableau 4.3
Habitudes graphiques			
Accents et points	séparateurs de vers: <i>hā'</i> finaux, avec souvent petite queue vers le haut = prolongement du trait final.	séparateurs de vers: <i>hā'</i> finaux, avec souvent petite queue vers le haut = prolongement du trait final.	séparateurs de vers: <i>hā'</i> finaux mais plus fins
	Un point diacritique dessus : centré au-dessus de la lettre ou légèrement plus à g., dessous : bien centré. Proche de la lettre : à 1,5 ou 2 mm	Un point diacritique dessus : centré au-dessus de la lettre ou légèrement plus à g., dessous : bien centré. Proche de la lettre : à 1,5 ou 2 mm	Un point diacritique dessus : centré au-dessus de la lettre ou légèrement plus à g., dessous : bien centré. Proche de la lettre : à 1,5 ou 2 mm
	2 points diacritiques dessus : 2 ^e toujours + haut que 1 ^{er} , souvent décalés vers la g., dessous : idem. Proches de la lettre (à 1 ou 1,5 mm de la lettre); quand plusieurs lettres à 2 points, la 1 ^{re} porte les points + hauts	2 points diacritiques dessus : au même niveau, dessous : idem. Proches de la lettre (à 1 ou 1,5 mm de la lettre); quand plusieurs lettres à 2 points, la 1 ^{re} porte les points + hauts	2 points diacritiques dessus : au même niveau (ou, rarement, le 1 ^{er} est plus bas), dessous : idem. Proches de la lettre (à 1 ou 1,5 mm de la lettre)
	3 points diacritiques forment des triangles d'apparence très variable (petit v ou au contraire triangle sur base). 1 ^{er} point = toujours le plus bas. Proches de la lettre : à 1 ou 1,5 mm	3 points diacritiques forment des triangles d'apparence très variable (petit v ou au contraire triangle sur base). 1 ^{er} point = toujours le plus bas. Proches de la lettre : à 1 ou 1,5 mm	3 points diacritiques forment des triangles sur base. 1 ^{er} point = toujours le plus bas. Proches de la lettre : à 1 ou 1,5 mm
Soulignements	/	/	/

SP vol. 2 IOM B-1114	P2 vols. 2-3 BnF 3602-3605	Mu vol. 1-4 BSB Cod. ar. 623-626	P1, vol. 2 BnF 3598-3601	Conclusions
Claire	Claire	Assez lisible mais espaces réduits entre les mots compliquent parfois lecture	Assez lisible mais espaces réduits entre les mots compliquent parfois lecture	pas pertinent car professionnels
v. tableau 4.3	v. tableau 4.3	v. tableau 4.3	v. tableau 4.3	
séparateurs de vers : <i>hā'</i> finaux, avec souvent petite queue vers le haut = prolongement du trait final.	?	séparateurs de vers : <i>hā'</i> finaux, avec souvent petite queue vers le haut = prolongement du trait final.	séparateurs de vers : <i>hā'</i> finaux, avec souvent petite queue vers le haut = prolongement du trait final.	pas pertinent, idem
Un point diacritique dessus : centré au-dessus de la lettre ou légèrement plus à g., dessous : 3 positions possibles : bien centré, ou légèrement plus à g., ou légèrement plus à d. Proche de la lettre : à 1,5 ou 2 mm	Un point diacritique dessus : décalé à g., à 2-3 mm de la lettre, dessous : centré, ou légèrement plus à g., à 1 ou 2 mm	Un point diacritique dessus : centré ou légèrement à g., à 1,5 ou 2 mm ; dessous : idem	Un point diacritique dessus : centré ou légèrement à g., à 1,5 ou 2 mm ; dessous : idem	Lg-L-P3 / SP / P2 / Mu-P1
2 points diacritiques dessus : au même niveau, ou le 1 ^{er} est plus haut, dessous : au même niveau, ou le 1 ^{er} est plus bas. Proches de la lettre (à 1 ou 1,5 mm de la lettre)	2 points diacritiques dessus : centrés ou à g., le 1 ^{er} étant plus bas ; dessous : idem. Proches de la lettre (à 2 ou 3 mm de la lettre)	2 points diacritiques dessus : 3 positions possibles (centré, légèrement à d. ou à g.), le 1 ^{er} = toujours le plus haut ; dessous : dessous, le 1 ^{er} = le plus haut. Proches de la lettre : à 1,5-3 mm	2 points diacritiques dessus : 3 positions possibles (centré, légèrement à d. ou à g.), le 1 ^{er} = toujours le plus haut ; dessous : dessous, le 1 ^{er} = le plus haut. Proches de la lettre : à 1,5-3 mm	Lg-L-P3 / SP / P2 / Mu-P1
3 points diacritiques forment des triangles sur base. 1 ^{er} point = parfois le plus bas. Proches de la lettre : à 1 ou 1,5 mm	3 points diacritiques forment des triangles sur base. 1 ^{er} point = le plus bas. Proches de la lettre : à 1 ou 1,5 mm	3 points = trait arrondi d'en bas à d. vers haut milieu (sorte de <i>dāl</i> inversé), Proches de la lettre : à 1 ou 1,5 mm	3 points = trait arrondi d'en bas à d. vers haut milieu (sorte de <i>dāl</i> inversé), Proches de la lettre : à 1 ou 1,5 mm	Lg-L / P3-P2-(SP?) Mu-P1
/	/	occasionnels, au-dessus de ligature	/	pas pertinent

TABLEAU 4.3 Tableau d'analyse de lettres spécifiques

	Lg	L vol. 2	P ₃ vol. 1, 4
<i>alif</i>			
	toujours de haut en bas	toujours de haut en bas	souvent de haut en bas
<i>bā', tā', thā'</i>			
	habituel	habituel	habituel
<i>jīm, ḥā', khā'</i>			
initial	volute ou ouvert	volute ou ouvert	volute ou ouvert
médian	lettre le précédant souvent suscrite (ligature), toujours attaqué par le haut	lettre le précédant souvent suscrite (ligature), toujours attaqué par le haut	lettre le précédant souvent suscrite (ligature), toujours attaqué par le haut
<i>dāl, dhāl</i>			
	<i>mukhtalasa</i> (habituel), très ouverts (90-100°), // <i>rā'/zāy</i> ou <i>wāw</i> : verticale courte, trait horizontal = oblique et part sous la l. de base	<i>mukhtalasa</i> (habituel), très ouverts (90-100°), // <i>rā'/zāy</i> ou <i>wāw</i> : verticale courte, trait horizontal = oblique et part sous la l. de base	<i>mukhtalasa</i> (habituel), très ouverts (90-100°), // <i>rā'/zāy</i> ou <i>wāw</i> : verticale courte, trait horizontal = oblique et part sous la l. de base
<i>rā', zāy</i>			
	<i>mabsūṭa</i> (habituel), queue oblique ne descendant pas très bas, mais allant parfois loin vers la g.	<i>mabsūṭa</i> (habituel), queue oblique ne descendant pas très bas	<i>mabsūṭa</i> (habituel), queue oblique ne descendant pas très bas
<i>sīn, shīn</i>			
	denticules peu marqués, queue longue presque horizontale	denticules peu marqués	denticules peu marqués
<i>tā', zā'</i>			
	en 2 mouvements, ove puis hampe	en 2 mouvements, ove puis hampe	en un trait (?)

SP vol. 2	P2 vol. 2, 3	Mu vol. 1-4	P1 vol. 2
parfois de haut en bas, mais pas systématique	parfois de haut en bas, mais pas systématique	le plus souvent de haut en bas mais pas toujours. Parfois arrondi en fin de mot (vitesse)	le plus souvent de haut en bas mais pas toujours. Parfois arrondi en fin de mot (vitesse)
habituel	finaux/isolés : très profonds	finaux/isolés : très profonds	
volute	volute ou ouvert	ouvert, anguleux (pas de volute)	ouvert, anguleux (pas de volute)
lettre le précédant souvent suscrite (ligature), toujours attaqué par le haut	lettre le précédant souvent suscrite (ligature), toujours attaqué par le haut	fin de la lettre le précédant suscrite, tête très anguleuse	fin de la lettre le précédant suscrite, tête très anguleuse
<i>mukhtalasa</i> (habituel), petits par rapport aux autres lettres (90-100°)	<i>mukhtalasa</i> (habituel), très ouvert (90-105°?), arrondi, petit (surtout la verticale)	<i>mukhtalasa</i> (habituel), taille normale, fermé (70-90°), anguleux	<i>mukhtalasa</i> (habituel), taille normale, fermé (70-90°), anguleux
<i>mudghama</i>	<i>mabsūṭa</i> (habituel), queue oblique ne descendant pas très bas, mais allant parfois loin vers la g.	<i>mabsūṭa</i> (habituel) ou <i>mudghama</i>	<i>mabsūṭa</i> (habituel) ou <i>mudghama</i>
denticules peu marqués	denticules peu marqués	denticules marqués, finaux/isolés : queue courte, pas plus longue qu'un <i>wāw</i> , très incurvée	denticules marqués, finaux/isolés : queue courte, pas plus longue qu'un <i>wāw</i> , très incurvée
?	en 2 mouvements, ove puis hampe (sauf initial)	en un trait, hampe courbe à l'initiale (d.-g.)	en un trait, hampe courbe à l'initiale (d.-g.)

TABLEAU 4.3 Tableau d'analyse des lettres spécifiques (*suite*)

	Lg	L vol. 2	P ₃ vol. 1, 4
<i>ʿayn, ghayn</i>			
initial	arrondi concave presque fermé, traits sup. et inf. au même niveau	arrondi concave presque fermé, traits sup. et inf. au même niveau	arrondi concave, trait inf. se prolonge un peu plus loin que trait sup.
médian	couché sur la ligne, plein (pochage), oblique dans le sens d'écriture	couché sur la ligne, plein (pochage), oblique dans le sens d'écriture	comme un triangle (bas), plein (pochage), tête plate
final	tête couchée sur la l., pleine, oblique, queue en 1/2 cercle, max. 3 mm de long, ne dépasse pas la tête en largeur	tête couchée sur la l., pleine, oblique, queue en 1/2 cercle, max. 3 mm de long, ne dépasse pas la tête en largeur	tête couchée sur la l., pleine, oblique, queue dépasse de la tête en largeur, par un trait horizontal, max. 3 mm de long
<i>fā, qāf, wāw</i>			
	en 2 mouvements, ove restant parfois ouverte sur la d.	en 2 mouvements, ove restant parfois ouverte sur la d.	en 2 mouvements, ove restant parfois ouverte sur la d.
<i>kāf</i>			
médian	trait vertical puis oblique, angle 120°, ou parfois <i>mabsūta</i> (titre nuit ou pour remplir une l.)	trait vertical puis oblique, angle 115-120° ou parfois <i>mabsūta</i> (titre nuit ou pour remplir une l.)	trait vertical, puis oblique, angle 100-120° ou parfois <i>mabsūta</i> (titre nuit ou pour remplir une l.)
final	forme médiane = <i>mashkūla</i> (<i>mashqūqa</i>)	forme médiane = <i>mashkūla</i> (<i>mashqūqa</i>)	forme médiane = <i>mashkūla</i> (<i>mashqūqa</i>), queue étroite
<i>lām</i>			
final	descend peu sous l. de base (max 1,5 mm)	descend peu sous l. de base (max 1,5 mm)	queue étroite

SP vol. 2	P2 vol. 2, 3	Mu vol. 1-4	P1 vol. 2
arrondi concave presque fermé, traits sup. et inf. au même niveau	arrondi, ouvert	arrondi, concave mais reste ouvert, trait inf. se prolonge légèrement plus loin que trait sup.	arrondi, concave mais reste ouvert, trait inf. se prolonge légèrement plus loin que trait sup.
comme un triangle (bas), haut de tête ronde	comme un triangle (bas), haut de tête ronde	tête plate sur le dessus, en triangle sur le dessous	tête plate sur le dessus, en triangle sur le dessous
tête couchée sur la l, pleine, oblique, queue en 1/2 cercle, max. 3 mm de long, ne dépasse pas la tête en largeur	tête arrondie sur le dessus, légèrement oblique dans le sens d'écriture, queue dépasse un peu la largeur de la lettre	tête plate sur le dessus, légèrement oblique dans le sens d'écriture, queue dépasse la largeur de la lettre horizontalement	tête plate sur le dessus, légèrement oblique dans le sens d'écriture, queue dépasse la largeur de la lettre horizontalement
en 2 mouvements, ove restant parfois ouverte sur la d. <i>Fā'</i> final ou isolé aussi concave qu'un <i>qāf</i>	en 2 mouvements, ove restant parfois ouverte sur la d.	un seul geste continu	un seul geste continu
trait vertical, puis oblique, angle 108-120°. Barre oblique très longue, égale ou sup. à verticale	trait vertical puis oblique, angle 100-115° ou parfois <i>mabsūṭa</i> (titre nuit ou pour remplir une l. ET devant <i>alif</i>)	trait vertical puis oblique, angle 110-120°	trait vertical puis oblique, angle 110-120°
forme médiane, queue étroite	forme médiane ou <i>mab-sūṭa</i>	forme médiane = <i>mash-kūla</i> (<i>mashqūqa</i>), fin de queue concave	forme médiane = <i>mash-kūla</i> (<i>mashqūqa</i>), fin de queue concave
descend peu sous l. de base (max 1,5 mm)	descend généralement peu sous l. de base, queue étroite	descend peu sous l. de base (max 1,5 mm), queue = oblique + retour vertical ou oblique opposé	descend peu sous l. de base (max 1,5 mm), queue = oblique + retour vertical ou oblique opposé

TABLEAU 4.3 Tableau d'analyse des lettres spécifiques (*suite*)

Lg	L vol. 2	P ₃ vol. 1, 4
<i>mīm</i>		
initial	arrondi, pochage, en un trait, parfois progressif, parfois régressif...	arrondi, pochage, en un trait, parfois progressif, parfois régressif...
médian	sous l. de base, tracé depuis le haut, vers la d.	sous l. de base, tracé depuis le haut, vers la d.
final	<i>musbala</i> (queue verticale) ou <i>mukhtāla</i> (queue vers la droite)	<i>musbala</i> (queue verticale) ou <i>mukhtāla</i> (queue vers la droite)
<i>hāʾ</i>		
initial	<i>mashqūqa</i> (forme médiane)	<i>mashqūqa</i> (forme médiane)
final	2 formes, en un geste ou 2: goutte, reste souvent ouvert	2 formes: un seul trait, ouvert, OU en goutte fermée
isolé	goutte, trait de droite dépasse parfois	goutte, trait de droite dépasse parfois
<i>yāʾ</i>		
final	presque sur la l. de base	à peine 1mm ou même posé sur la l. de base
<i>lām-alif</i>		
	lien sous ligne de base; après un <i>kāf mashkūla</i> (<i>mashqūqa</i> , normal), ligature à d. ressemble à <i>lām</i> supplémentaire	lien sous ligne de base; après un <i>kāf mashkūla</i> (<i>mashqūqa</i> , normal), ligature à d. ressemble à <i>lām</i> supplémentaire
serifs		
	non	rares
compacité		
	0,9	1,4

SP vol. 2	P2 vol. 2, 3	Mu vol. 1-4	P1 vol. 2
arrondi, pochage, en un trait, parfois progressif, parfois régressif...	arrondi, pochage fréquent, en un trait, progressif	anguleux et reste souvent ouvert	anguleux et reste souvent ouvert
sous l. de base, tracé depuis le haut, vers la d.	sous l. de base, tracé depuis le haut, vers la d.	sur l. de base, du haut vers la d.	sur l. de base, du haut vers la d.
<i>musbala</i> (queue verticale)	<i>mukhtāla</i> (queue vers la d.)	<i>musbala</i> (queue verticale)	<i>mukhtāla</i> (queue vers la d.)
<i>mashqūqa</i> (forme médiane)	<i>mashqūqa</i> (forme médiane)	initial: <i>wajh al-hirr</i> ; médian: <i>mudghama</i> (zigzag)	initial: <i>wajh al-hirr</i> ; médian: <i>mudghama</i> (zigzag)
2 formes: un seul trait, ouvert, OU en goutte fermée. souvent pas de pochage	2 formes: un seul trait, ouvert, OU en goutte fermée	2 formes: un seul trait, ouvert, OU en goutte fermée avec dépassement fréquent	2 formes: un seul trait, ouvert, OU en goutte fermée avec dépassement fréquent
goutte, très rond	goutte	goutte	goutte avec parfosi trait(s) dépassant
parfois <i>rājī'a</i> en fin de ligne; couché sur la ligne de base	à peine 1 mm ou même posé sur la l. de base	<i>rājī'a</i> en fin de ligne, 1 ou 2 mm sous la l. de base	<i>rājī'a</i> en fin de ligne, 1 ou 2 mm sous la l. de base
lien sous ligne de base; après un <i>kāf mashkūla</i> (<i>mashqūqa</i> , normal), ligature à d. ressemble à <i>lām</i> supplémentaire	posé sur la ligne de base, ligature à d. ressemble parfois à un <i>lām</i> supplémentaire	PARFOIS ligature à d. ressemble à un <i>lām</i> supplémentaire	PARFOIS ligature à d. ressemble à un <i>lām</i> supplémentaire
non, SAUF: systématique au <i>lām</i> de l'article, dans <i>al-malik</i>	non	occasionnels	non
1,5	1,3	1,3	1,5

Maqriziana xv: The Characteristics of al-Maqrīzī's Handwriting

Frédéric Bauden

Habet enim singularum ut vox ita manus quoque quiddam suum et peculiare

ERASMUS, *De recta pronuntiatione*¹

•••

Genuine handwriting had become the material embodiment of the immaterial spirit of the individual.

CHARTIER, *From the author's hand* 10

••
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1 Introduction

The identification of one of al-Maqrīzī's holograph manuscripts in the holdings of the Liège University was a key moment in my life as a researcher: its nature (a notebook) was an irresistible, though challenging, invitation to examine al-Maqrīzī's methodology as a scholar. Since then, I have devoted several studies to his working method and other issues related to his holograph manuscripts as well as his œuvre in general.² The discovery also led me to realize that, if al-Maqrīzī's works were largely available in print, sometimes with several editions for a single text, most editors did not rely on his holograph manuscripts despite

1 "Just as individual voices differ, so does every handwriting have something unique about it". Erasmus, *The right way* 39f.

2 The following are among my works on al-Maqrīzī: al-Maqrīzī; Maqriziana I; Maqriziana II; Maqriziana IV; Maqriziana VIII; Maqriziana IX; Maqriziana X; Maqriziana XI; Maqriziana XII; Maqriziana XIII; Maqriziana XIV; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī; *Vers une archéologie du savoir*.

their huge number. Moreover, whenever some of these editors considered the holograph copy, they did not pay attention to al-Maqrīzī's editorial work (e.g., the nature and place of his corrections and emendations). This statement of fact induced me to conceive the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* project, which aims to publish critical editions based on his holograph or authorial manuscripts (with a reproduction in facsimile) and takes into consideration al-Maqrīzī's editorial process and methodology as a copyist and an author. Each edition is accompanied by an annotated translation facing the Arabic text and a thorough study by a specialist of the field to which the edited text belongs.³

I identified al-Maqrīzī's notebook in 1997 in a fortunate stroke of serendipity. In April of that year, I attended an international conference in London. As usual, a few local institutions had displayed some of their most recent publications. Among them, the al-Furqān Foundation presented Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's recently released edition of the draft of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* (henceforth *al-Khiṭaṭ*).⁴ The dust jacket of the book featured a leaf from the holograph manuscript on which the edition was made, while several additional leaves were reproduced on glossy paper at the end of the introduction. Passing by the table, I could not help but to be attracted to the image: it contained two elements that reminded me of a manuscript that I had catalogued in the collection of the Liège University a few years before.⁵ The first, and most conspicuous given the size of the image, was a combination of two different handwritings: one line, written in large characters in a calligraphic style comparable to *thulth*, appeared in the middle of a text in smaller characters deftly arranged around the former.⁶ The second element—in terms

3 The series is composed of two sections: the *Opera minora*, which includes al-Maqrīzī's opuscles on a wide variety of subjects, and the *Opera maiora*, which is devoted to al-Maqrīzī's major works. So far, three volumes have been published in the *Opera minora* section (see al-Maqrīzī, *Daw' al-sāri*; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Maqrīzī's Trakat*; al-Maqrīzī, *Caliphate and kingship*) and two volumes in the *Opera maiora* section (*al-Maqrīzī's al-Ḥabar*, vol. v, sections 1–2: The Arab thieves, and section 4: Persia and its kings). In addition to *al-Khabar 'an al-bashar*, the following major works are currently being edited and translated: *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, *al-Sulūk*, and *al-Muqaffā'*. For a similar approach regarding the medieval Jewish philosopher Maimonides, see Sirat and Di Donato, *Maiṃonide*, which also includes an analysis of his handwriting by the expert in handwriting identification M.-J. Sedeyn.

4 Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat*.

5 The handlist was published in 2017: Bauden, *Catalogue*. In a presentation of the most significant Arabic manuscripts preserved in Belgium (published in 1993, shortly after the cataloguing work was finished) and well before the identification of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, I had correctly dated the manuscript to the ninth/fifteenth century and identified the place of production as Egypt. See Bauden, *Les Manuscrits* 151.

6 It turned out that these inscriptions belong to Mamlūk chancery documents that al-Maqrīzī

of chronology too—that drew my attention was the particular handwriting of the person who penned the main text around the *thulth* inscription. Before I could say Jack Robinson, I had the intuition that a manuscript I had described in the catalogue in Liège a few years earlier was a holograph of al-Maqrīzī. Upon my return to Liège a few days later, with a copy of Sayyid's edition in hand, I went to the Manuscripts Reading Room and asked for MS 2232 (Lg).⁷ The comparison of the two elements—the writings in larger characters and the handwriting around them—which were critical for the flash of remembrance led me to conclude that the manuscript in Liège was indeed a manuscript in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting and that it had the same characteristic as the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ* edited by Sayyid: it was partly written on reused Mamlūk chancery documents.⁸

I am sharing the circumstances of this discovery for the first time for several reasons. First, the identification was the result of pure serendipity. Second, to emphasize the significance of visual memory; even after several years, I retained a recollection of the distinctive and critical features, and this allowed for an identification. Third, the identification was made possible through comparison (i.e., of the same kind of reused paper; handwriting). Fourth, to highlight that the identification was confirmed based on a philological analysis (a comparison of the contents of the notebook with al-Maqrīzī's works). Indeed, comparison and philological analysis remain the main means of certifying that a manuscript is in the hand a specific scholar. In the mid-nineteenth century, when the Dutch scholar Reinhart Dozy (1820–83) wanted to establish that three volumes held in the collections of the University of Leiden (L1–3) were holograph copies of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā* (from now on *al-Muqaffā*), he used the same methods.⁹ He first noticed that the three volumes shared some characteristics, for example, numerous additions in the margins and on inserts were in the same handwriting as the main text, a feature the

reused as scrap paper. In my 1993 article, I referred to that by pointing out that the documents reused in the Liège notebook were from al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl's reign (743–6/1342–5). See Bauden, *Les Manuscrits* 151. On these documents, see Bauden, *The recovery*; id., *Diplomatic entanglements*; id., *Yemeni-Egyptian diplomatic exchanges*.

7 Henceforth, I refer to al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts with the abbreviations listed in the appendix at the end of this chapter.

8 I announced the discovery a year later with a paper entitled: *À propos du ms. 2232 de l'Université de Liège: découverte d'un nouvel autographe d'al-Maqrīzī?*, which was read at the *7th International Colloquium on Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Leuven, 12–13 May 1998).

9 The three volumes had already been identified as containing one of al-Maqrīzī's work. See Dozy, *Découverte* 9.

Leiden manuscripts shared with a copy of *al-Muqaffā* known to be a holograph (P).¹⁰ At that time, there were only two ways to verify whether or not a manuscript was in the hand of a given scholar: to ask another person or institution to send a manuscript considered to be a holograph or to share a facsimile of a sample of the handwriting. Though the first option was still widely practiced until the beginning of the twentieth century, Dozy opted for the second option.¹¹ Dozy sent a facsimile to Charles Defrémery (1822–83), a French Orientalist who frequently reviewed Dozy's publications for the French audience. Defrémery, in turn, shared a facsimile of P. Both scholars reached the same conclusion, that the handwriting was identical. Dozy also confirmed that L1–3 and P were part of the same work, i.e., *al-Muqaffā*.

One last, and perhaps less expected, impact of my discovery relates to two additional holographs that have been identified since then.¹² Undoubtedly, the

10 Dozy, *Découverte* 13–4.

11 The color facsimile was reproduced by Dozy, *Découverte*, after p. 28, to permit the comparison with two other presumed holograph manuscripts held in Gotha (G1 and G2). See Dozy, *Découverte* 14.

12 In this respect, it is worth mentioning that two of al-Maqrīzī's holograph manuscripts remained unnoticed for some time, though they had been described in old catalogues.

(1) The first one, A1, is now in the holdings of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, which incorporated the collections of the Municipal Library (al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya), where the manuscript was previously preserved. It was first described in 1955 by al-Shandī, *Fihris* 15, under the title *Qiṭa' tārikhiyya*. Al-Shandī identified the ms as a holograph that corresponds to preparatory drafts (*musawwadāt taḥḍīriyya*) for *al-Tārikh al-kabīr* (i.e., *al-Muqaffā*) and various notes on a wide range of topics that are briefly described in his catalogue. A few years later, the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo microfilmed the most significant manuscripts in this library, including al-Maqrīzī's holograph. These were then described in the catalogue of microfilmed manuscripts published by the Institute: see *Fihris al-makḥṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara: al-Tārikh*, part 2, 165. This manuscript was first mentioned in a scientific publication in 1990: 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, *al-Maqrīzī* 76 (no. 39: *nubadh tārikhiyya*) and Muṣṭafā, *al-Tārikh al-'arabī* 3, 149 (no. 19: *nubadh tārikhiyya*). After its incorporation in the Bibliotheca Alexandrina holdings, the manuscript was briefly described in Zaydān, *Fihris* 19 and 83–4 (no. 59). The manuscript is the subject of a thorough description in my *Maqriziana VII*.

(2) The second one, Da, is a manuscript that was first mentioned in the old catalogue of the Zāhiriyya Library in Damascus under the title *Dhikr binā' al-Ka'ba al-bayt al-ḥarām* and thereafter referred to in *GAL* ii, 675 (no. 17). In the subsequent years, it was mentioned in other Syrian catalogues like al-'Ishsh, *Fihris* 105 (*Binā' al-Ka'ba*) and al-Rayyān, *Fihris* 647. Though the volume opens with a text composed by al-Maqrīzī, entitled, as the title page witnesses, *al-Juz' fi binā' al-Ka'ba al-ḥarām*, it also contains some thirty additional leaves with his various notes that essentially make the whole volume another example of one of his notebooks. The manuscript was first mentioned in a study in 1990: Muṣṭafā, *al-Tārikh al-'arabī* 3, 149 (no. 26: *Dhikr binā' al-Ka'ba wa-l-bayt al-ḥarām*).

notice has drawn the attention of scholars from around the world, and consequently increased their awareness of some of the above-mentioned features.

In a 2002 catalogue of a selection of manuscripts held at the National Library of Dushanbe (Tajikistan), the authors described a so far unnoticed holograph manuscript of al-Maqrīzī. It consists of selections (*mukhtār*) al-Maqrīzī took from Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī's (d. 779/1377) *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-Atrāk*, a chronicle of the Mamlūk sultanate from its beginning until the year 777/1375. In the colophon (fol. 179^b), al-Maqrīzī specifies that he completed his work on Monday, 20 Rabi' 1 824/25 March 1421.¹³ Thanks to this note, identifying this manuscript as a holograph was fairly straightforward for the cataloguers and it could be corroborated by consulting some reproductions of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.

The next identification was made in 2010 at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor). In April of the same year, Noah Gardiner, then a third-year graduate student taking part in the cataloguing of a poorly known collection of roughly 1,100 Islamic manuscripts,¹⁴ started to look at MS Isl. 605, identified on the title page as the third volume of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khitat*. Gardiner noticed that the manuscript was unusual because it included blank spaces in the text, probably left for later inclusions, in addition, there were several pasted-in inserts with additions in the manuscript's primary hand—both features that usually set off alarms for cataloguers. Just as Dozy had done in the mid-nineteenth century, Gardiner compared the manuscript's handwriting with the reproductions he found in some of my articles, and concluded that they were a perfect match, something that he asked me to confirm by sharing some pictures of the manuscript.¹⁵

These stories tellingly illustrate that al-Maqrīzī's holographs are firstly identified on the basis of a personal impression. This personal impression is linked to one's ability to recognize specific physical characteristics (the presence of features commonly associated with drafts, reused chancery paper, handwrit-

13 See Bahramiyān and Yūnus Āf, *Fihrist* 91. In 2006, the author published a short study about this manuscript: Bahramiyān, *Atharī nāshinākhtah*.

14 The catalogue as well as the digitization of the whole collection are now complete. It can be consulted online (https://search.lib.umich.edu/catalog?filter.collection=Islamic+Manuscripts&filter.location=Special+Collections&library=All+libraries&sort=date_asc).

15 The discovery was officially announced in the newsletter of the University of Michigan Department of Near Eastern Studies in August of the same year. The text is now available online (<https://www.lib.umich.edu/international-studies/news/autograph-al-maqrizis-khitat-revealed-university-michigan-library>). Subsequently, we published together an article presenting the finding and its significance for al-Maqrīzī's methodology. See Gardiner and Bauden, *A recently discovered holograph fair copy*.

ing). Several scholars are now able to establish, with some confidence, whether or not a handwriting is that of al-Maqrīzī. Nonetheless, even if they are convinced of the soundness of their expertise—and this is generally trusted—, they are hardly able to demonstrate that their identification is beyond doubt. As Colette Sirat put it: “It is obvious that one cannot *prove* that two texts were penned by the same hand. The only way to persuade other people that this is so is to *show* them, to give them the *feeling* that it is the same hand.”¹⁶ The only way to reach this goal is to objectivize, to distance oneself from the object because nothing is worse than the absolute desire to detect—sometimes at all costs—a scholar’s handwriting on a manuscript.¹⁷ One can rightly ask if it is really al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting. The quantity of preserved material—some 5,000 leaves from twenty-five manuscripts¹⁸—and its variety (notebooks, sketches, drafts, fair copies), together with philological and paleographical analyses, are helpful to rule out the hypothesis that it could be in someone else’s handwriting. Other features strengthen the assumption that a work could be that of al-Maqrīzī, for example, the way he writes his name on the title pages or in the colophons (the *laqab* is always neglected, as it should be) or includes an invocation after his name.¹⁹ Al-Maqrīzī also left numerous consultation notes on manuscripts that he accessed for his work and these are useful for comparison.²⁰ Combined with other elements grasped from a codicological analysis, paleography allows scholars to develop great insight and enables them to accurately describe a handwriting and point to its idiosyncrasies. The contribution of other disciplines, fields, and techniques, like philology, expertise in handwriting, diplomatics and the digital humanities can only enhance the way we look at and describe a handwriting, and, can in fact, help us refine the analysis.

16 Sirat, *Writing* 493 (author’s emphasis).

17 See the interesting case reported by Griffel, Is there an autograph. The author shows that a license of transmission found at the end of a copy of al-Ghazālī’s *al-Wajīz fī l-fiqh* preserved at Yale (MS Landberg 318) and presented by the editors of one of his texts as a unique example of al-Ghazālī’s handwriting is in fact a copy of an original found in another manuscript. Apparently the editors neglected the fact that the colophon of the manuscript is dated after al-Ghazālī’s death (d. 505/1111): 570/1175 (not 507/1114 as Griffel reported on the basis of the cataloguer’s reading (*ibid.*, 174)). In any case, this means that, even though the editors wanted to see al-Ghazālī’s hand in this license, the intention of the person who penned it was pure. For other examples, see chapter 3 in this volume.

18 See next section.

19 See chapter 3 in this volume, 72. As the author states, these elements are not definitive proof of the identification. They must be considered together with other external and internal elements.

20 On these, see Bauden, Maqriziana XVIII. Once again, consultation notes can also be faked, but their number helps to dismiss such an hypothesis.

Why does it matter? The identification of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting not only counts for the owners—nowadays usually public libraries—who can boast about a precious item, but first and foremost for the historian who wants to ascertain whose work he is considering and to know that the words he is reading were penned by this scholar. Even more importantly, an irrefutable identification also relates to consultation notes that a specific scholar left in the books he consulted and, sometimes, notes or even criticisms he jotted down in the books he read and excerpted passages from.²¹ From the philological point of view, the editor needs to verify all the handwriting on the page; for instance, if a copyist copied a text of al-Maqrīzī, but al-Maqrīzī intervened in some way (an authorial manuscript), can the editor identify the hand of the copyist versus that of al-Maqrīzī.²² These are critical matters for significant issues like the accusations of plagiarism raised by some of al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries. When I found twenty leaves in a different handwriting in one volume of his draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ* (1T2), I approached them in light of the words expressed by al-Maqrīzī's colleague and friend, Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449), and later repeated by the latter's student, al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), in which he stated that al-Maqrīzī had taken advantage of his colleague and neighbor's manuscript and had appropriated it. The neighbor in question was al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408), who had been working for years on a book detailing the history of the city of Cairo from an architectural point of view. According to al-Sakhāwī, al-Awḥadī's manuscript was in part a fair copy and al-Maqrīzī, added material to it, greatly expanding the original work, but essentially availed himself of the work without naming its original author. I resorted to a paleographical and philological analysis in order to demonstrate that the hand that penned the twenty leaves still found in al-Maqrīzī's draft was that of al-Awḥadī.²³ Al-Awḥadī's handwriting is preserved in just a few consultation notes jotted down on the title pages of books he consulted for his work or in ownership marks. Enough specimens have been preserved to allow a fair comparison, though the size of these specimens, by definition, is limited.²⁴ The study of the text also revealed that al-Maqrīzī could not have written it because the author of the lines described some persons

21 On this, see Bauden, *Maqriziana* xviii.

22 This is particularly true for the edition of his opuscles preserved in L5, most of which are in someone else's hand but revised by al-Maqrīzī. See Bauden, *Al-Maqrīzī's collection*, as well as the opuscles so far published in the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana: al-Maqrīzī, Daw' al-sārī; al-Maqrīzī, Al-Maqrīzī's Traktat; al-Maqrīzī, Caliphate and kingship*.

23 See Bauden, *Maqriziana* ix.

24 In the case of the consultation notes, they include his name, the place where he read the text, and the date. The note is introduced by a verb that indicates the nature of the

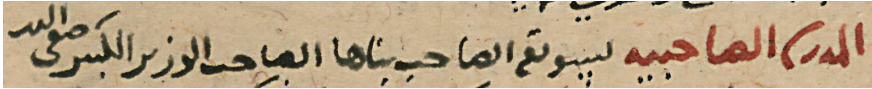


FIGURE 5.1 Handwriting identified as al-Awḥadī's (MS Emanet Hazinezi 1405, fol. 83^b)
ISTANBUL, TSMK

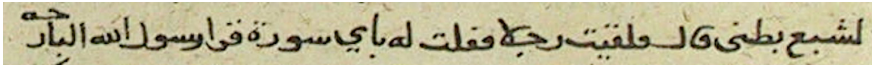


FIGURE 5.2 al-Maqrīzī's handwriting at the age of 28 (MS Murat Molla 575, fol. 3^b)
ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESI

as his masters, some people with whom al-Maqrīzī never studied. Despite the evidence presented, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, the editor of *al-Khiṭaṭ*, rejected the identification of al-Awḥadī's handwriting (see fig. 5.1), instead, he considered it to be al-Maqrīzī's handwriting and explained the large number of discrepancies between the two hands as due to the fact that that part of the manuscript was penned in his youth, as witnessed, for instance, by IM, copied when al-Maqrīzī was twenty-eight years old (see fig. 5.2).²⁵

consultation, i.e., if he only read it, or read it and took notes. Since the publication of my Maqriziana IX, I have identified two additional marks: one consultation note and one ownership mark.

- 25 Fu'ād Sayyid, *al-Maqrīzī* 90–1. A comparison between these writings cannot be tackled in the framework of this study (nevertheless, see below, 196, for at least two discrepancies). This issue will be scrutinized in a forthcoming study devoted to al-Awḥadī and his book. However, I can certainly respond to the issue of the masters. Fu'ād Sayyid tried to invalidate my argument by demonstrating that the two masters with whom al-Maqrīzī did not study were in fact part of his curriculum. Unfortunately, with regard to the first master, he cites a name that I specifically indicated as having been al-Maqrīzī's master (al-Bulqīnī; see Bauden, Maqriziana IX 184). Regarding the second master (al-Bilbaysī), he refers to two places (there are in fact three) in the *Khiṭaṭ* where al-Maqrīzī characterizes him as *shaykhunā*. As for the first two places (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, Fu'ād Sayyid ed., iv/2, 582 and 677), the passages appear in the twenty leaves that I identified as being in al-Awḥadī's hand. Al-Maqrīzī left out both passages in his final version (for the first see, al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, Bülāq ed., ii, 394; for the second, al-Maqrīzī ignored the whole entry for the *madrasa*). Finally, the third quotation (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, iv/2, 729) is found in al-Maqrīzī's hand in the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ* (1T2, fol. 111^b), but al-Maqrīzī cancelled it in his final version too (ibid., Bülāq ed., ii, 415). This final passage is further proof that the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ* is largely a fair copy of al-Awḥadī's text, as I suggested in Bauden, Maqriziana IX 209–12. Al-Maqrīzī faithfully copied al-Awḥadī's text (mostly a draft), and even included personal particulars that could only be related to al-Awḥadī. He only left out these particulars after he expanded the original text.

Before addressing al-Maqrīzī's handwriting in the framework of a fact-based and empirical analysis, I first consider elements that may have impacted his way of writing. First, I outline the main facts related to his life and his output as a scholar, I then detail the quantity, the quality, and the variety of the corpus constituted by the holographs preserved, particularly those aspects that are germane to a paleographical study. Finally, I tackle the issue of al-Maqrīzī's training in writing and, probably, in calligraphy.

2 A Prolific Author and Copyist²⁶

Born in 766/1364–5 in the Barjawān quarter of the Fatimid district of Cairo, Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) was raised in a family of scholars on his father's and mother's sides. After moving from Damascus, where he was born, to Cairo, al-Maqrīzī's father (d. 779/1378) cultivated a strong relationship with one of the most influential amirs of that time in the capital; thus, he secured his nomination to a position of secretary at the chancery. Married to the daughter of a prominent scholar, Ibn al-Ṣā'igh (d. 776/1375), al-Maqrīzī's father also took advantage of his father-in-law's standing and favor at court, as the latter had the privilege, in his capacity as *muftī*, of sitting at the supreme court at the citadel. Even though al-Maqrīzī lost his maternal grandfather and his father when he was barely a teenager, he continued his education in the religious sciences, until he reached his majority and received his first positions. In his early twenties, treading in his father's steps, he joined the chancery as a secretary, then started a career in the judiciary, and occupied various positions, like market inspector (*muḥtasib*). During these years, he enjoyed a privileged relationship with the military and ruling elite. In his early fifties, he decided not to run for office and to retire from public service to devote himself entirely to writing, especially the history of his homeland, Egypt.²⁷

In some fifty years of scholarship, al-Maqrīzī produced some of the most significant works ever written in the field of history, covering the full span of time, from the pre-Islamic period to his own time. His interests covered a wide range of disciplines, from economy to law and *ḥadīth*, from metrology to gemmology, and other fields. According to his own testimony, his works (*muṣannafāt*) exceeded two hundred large volumes.²⁸ The adjective "large" (*kibār*) implies

26 For al-Maqrīzī's life, see Bauden, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī 161–7.

27 For a similar pattern regarding al-Nuwayrī—this is clearly not a topos—, see chapter 6 in this volume.

28 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* ii, 23.

at least 200–250 leaves—the average number of leaves in the preserved holograph manuscripts of his personal works—, which means that he would have copied between 40,000–50,000 leaves. In total, including his drafts and notebooks, he must have penned over 100,000 leaves.²⁹ As al-Sakhāwī stressed, al-Maqrīzī wrote copiously in his own hand (*khaṭṭa bi-khaṭṭihi l-kathīr*);³⁰ the remains of his writing activity corroborate this: among the twenty-five volumes, representing the various stages of his scholarship (drafts, fair copies, notebooks, summaries), twenty-four are holographs.³¹ In sum, al-Maqrīzī controlled the whole process of creation, from reading, excerpting, and summarizing sources to drafting and preparing the fair copy of his works. One exception relates to his collection of opuscles (MS L5), composed at various periods in his life, which he gathered toward the end of his life and gave to a scribe whom he probably hired to prepare a fair copy of them. The reason behind this exceptional behavior is clear if we note his activities at that time: he was too busy with his last major work to copy the opuscles himself.³² Al-Maqrīzī indeed devoted himself to voluminous works. Those works that have reached us include, by order of size: *al-Muqaḫḫā* (sixteen volumes), *Imtā' al-asmā'* (six volumes), *al-Khabar* (six volumes), *al-Sulūk* (five volumes), *al-Khiṭaṭ* (four volumes), and *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* (four volumes), i.e., forty-one volumes in all.³³ Each of these works also involved at least two stages: a rough draft or first version, and a fair copy or last version. Of this prolific activity, about 5,000 leaves have been preserved, representing only the tip of the iceberg.

29 On the writing pace in general, see Déroche, *Copier des manuscrits*. For the specific case of al-Nuwayrī, see chapter 6 in this volume. In his biography of his master Ibn Ḥajar (*al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar* i, 167–9), al-Sakhāwī reports (under the heading “the hurriedness of [Ibn Ḥajar’s] nevertheless nice handwriting” [sur’at al-kitāba ma’a ḥusnihā]) several anecdotes related to his master’s prowess as a copyist.

30 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* ii, 22.

31 For the list of al-Maqrīzī’s holograph and authorial manuscripts, see the appendix at the end of this chapter.

32 The collection of opuscles was copied by the scribe before Sha’bān 841/February 1438, which is when al-Maqrīzī started to revise the scribe’s work. At that time, al-Maqrīzī was trying to complete *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*, a six-volume work devoted to the history of humankind before Islam. See Bauden, *Maqriziana* XIV; id., *Al-Maqrīzī’s collection*.

33 With the exception of *al-Khabar*, the information regarding the number of volumes for each work is given by the Meccan historian Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480), who studied with al-Maqrīzī and read his books during his last two pilgrimages to Mecca (834–5/1431 and 838–40/1435–6). See Ibn Fahd, *Mu’jam al-shuyūkh* 66. For *al-Khabar*, Ibn Fahd refers to two volumes because at the time of al-Maqrīzī’s last pilgrimage the work was not yet complete. It now stands at six volumes, of which five holograph volumes have been preserved (see appendix: 1A, 1F1, 1F2, 1F3, 1F4).

3 A Dated/Datable and Mixed Corpus

These leaves provide us with unique material, both in terms of chronology and variety. The corpus is indeed helpful to characterize al-Maqrīzī's handwriting as it covers a period of some fifty years, i.e., the majority of his life as a scholar, starting in 795/1392–3, when he was twenty-eight years old, and ending with the year of his death in 845/1442 at the age of seventy-seven. In fig. 5.3, I present a timeline of his holograph and authorial manuscripts. This timeline helps to visualize the periods when al-Maqrīzī completed some of these copies.³⁴ The dating, whether it is precise or estimated, is based on several internal and external elements. In the case of the independent summaries³⁵ (C, Du, IM), al-Maqrīzī revealed in the colophon the precise date of the completion of his work.

In other cases, the analysis of al-Maqrīzī's working method allows me to state that whenever he consulted and took notes from a source, he added a consultation note in the source manuscript, stating that he had taken advantage of it (*istafāda minhu*), by which he meant that he took notes from it, or that he prepared a summary (*intaqā*) (see fig. 5.4).³⁶ These notes are critical to date other summaries for which al-Maqrīzī neglected to write a colophon as well as some parts of his works that are based on material he selected from his summaries. For example, as his consultation note attests (see fig. 5.4), he read and prepared a résumé of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's (749/1349) *Masālik al-abṣār* in 831/1427–8. Some parts of this résumé are now found in one of his notebooks (Lg).³⁷ The study of these résumés demonstrates that they were made by al-Maqrīzī on the spot, i.e., while reading the source,³⁸ a method that we can now assume he used for his résumés of other sources. In the case of *Masālik al-abṣār*, the résumé can thus be dated accordingly, i.e., to 831/1427–8, which corresponds to the date he consulted this source (see fig. 5.4). Moreover, al-Maqrīzī sometimes reused the material selected in his résumés in his own works. In such cases, the relevant

34 I must stress that this timeline does not attempt to date the point when al-Maqrīzī started to compose these books. This is a different issue that I hope to tackle in the future.

35 By independent summaries, I mean those that stand as a single unit in one volume, that is, not those found in al-Maqrīzī's notebooks. In the case of the notebooks, al-Maqrīzī does not say when he completed the summary.

36 Bauden, *Maqriziana* II 72–3. Since this article was published, eight additional consultation notes have been identified and must be added to the list of consultation notes (twenty-five volumes representing seven works) found in appendix 2 of that study (*ibid.* 117–8). These consultation notes will be the subject of my *Maqriziana* XVIII.

37 Bauden, *Maqriziana* I–1 63–4; Bauden, *Maqriziana* I–2 135.

38 Bauden, *Maqriziana* II 60–7.

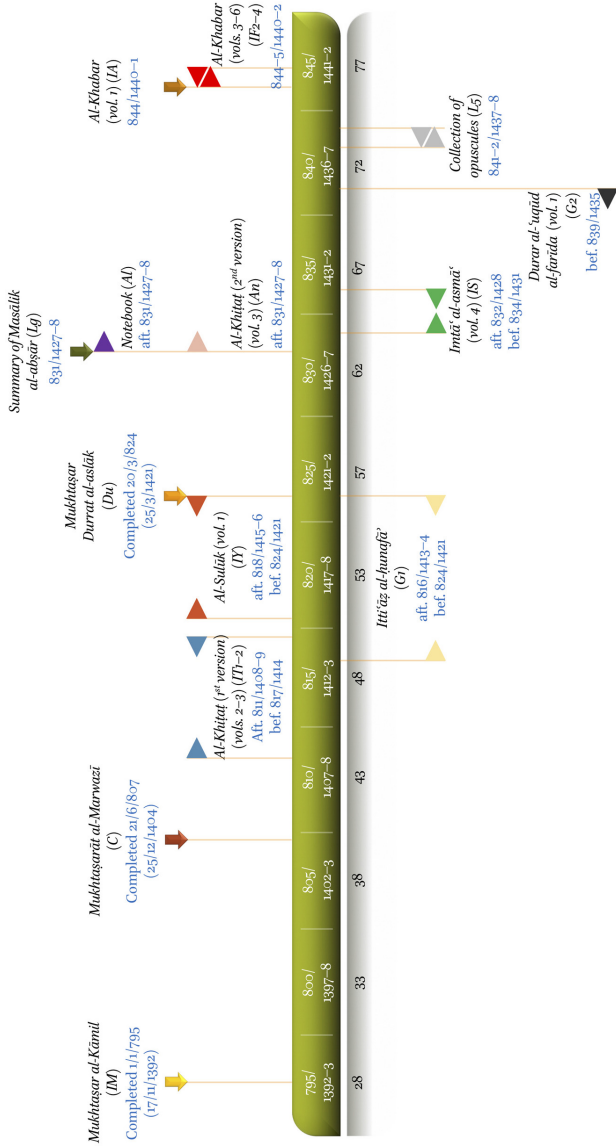


FIGURE 5.3 Timeline of al-Maqrizi's holograph and authorial manuscripts

Note: The timeline is divided in periods of five *hijra* years with indications of al-Maqrizi's age (according to CE years) beneath each reference point. An arrow indicates that the manuscript was dated by al-Maqrizi in the colophon or can be dated precisely thanks to other factors (e.g., date of consultation notes of the source on which the summary is based). The dates of the titles between flags are tentative and based on data collected either in the manuscript or elsewhere (e.g., a dated consultation note of a source on which the work is based). For the details that are useful to fix *termini ante quem* and *post quem*, see the appendix.

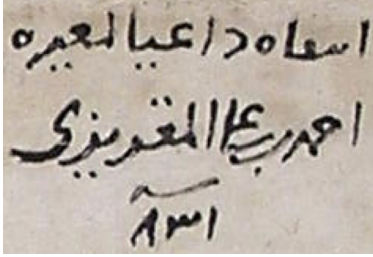


FIGURE 5.4

Al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*, vol. 3 (MS Ayasofya 3416, fol. 1^a)

Note: It reads: *intaqāhu dāʿīyan li-muʿirihī / Aḥmad b. ʿAlī l-Maqrīzī / sanat 831.*

ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

sections in these works can also be dated appropriately, like the section on the Mongol *Yāsa* (book of laws) in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, which is taken entirely from *Masālik al-abṣār* via the résumé found in Lg.³⁹ The last version of *al-Khiṭaṭ*, represented by a single manuscript (An), which includes the relevant section, was thus written down after 831/1427–8, most probably shortly after that date.

Al-Maqrīzī's reuse of chancery documents is also helpful to place his manuscripts—in full when the whole manuscript is made of the same document or, when that is not the case, some sections of it only—on the timeline when the original documents can be reconstructed and dated.⁴⁰

In other circumstances, the holograph manuscripts can be dated based on an internal reference, like vol. 1 of *al-Khabar* (1A), where al-Maqrīzī specifies that a practice he describes in his text is contemporaneous, i.e., in 844/1440–1.⁴¹

The variety of the corpus is also quite uncommon. Al-Maqrīzī's writing activity represents all the circumstances by which a writer commits to paper his or someone else's words, i.e., a combination of the activity of a writer and a copyist. As a writer composing his own work—in his particular case, given that he was mostly a compiler, his work was based on information he gathered from sources in résumés and notebooks—, his first sketches are the result of a cre-

39 On this see, Bauden, *Trusting the source*.

40 A section of *al-Khabar* (the one on Alexander the Great and Aristotle; 1F3, fols. 115^a–31^b) could only have been composed after 819/1416–7, as it was penned on a document that reached Cairo that year. In this case, it is clear that al-Maqrīzī took that section from a previous work, presumably lost, as it fitted well in *al-Khabar*, which is dated to the years 844–5/1440–2. It partly relies on a résumé al-Maqrīzī made based on Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's (d. 668/1270) *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, which is preserved in Lg (unfortunately undated). Part of the same text had already been used in *al-Khiṭaṭ*. The difference between the handwriting of this section on Alexander the Great and that of the remainder of the manuscript also confirms that it was penned earlier in al-Maqrīzī's life. See Bauden, Maqriziana 1–1 29–33; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Maqrīzī's al-Ḥabar* 5/4, 10–1, 399–434. For the reconstructed document, see Bauden, Yemeni-Egyptian diplomatic exchanges.

41 See Bauden, Maqriziana XIV.

ative process in which he chose his words and rephrased his source, if any. As a copyist preparing a fair copy from his drafts, he paid attention to every word and collated the result to ascertain that he did not make mistakes typical of copyists (*saut du même au même* and homeoteleuton being the most frequent phenomena). The aspects of the composition and copy usually indicate the various circumstances that may influence a scholar's handwriting.

The corpus is representative of those diverse circumstances in many respects. Some manuscripts correspond to summaries based on sources that al-Maqrīzī consulted. I have established, through an analysis of his working method, that the summarizing process was taking place while he was reading.⁴² As indicated, his summaries can be found in independent volumes or were inserted in notebooks, depending on their size. Other manuscripts may contain first sketches of his personal works. These first sketches may be the result of his personal testimonies collected over time and compiled to create a text that he jotted down in a single moment. These first sketches are typically found in his notebooks and on slips of paper inserted in his fair copies. In other cases, the manuscript is already the result of a rough draft that was copied into a neater copy, which he still intended to emend and enlarge.⁴³ Medieval authors usually referred to these copies as drafts (*musawwada* or *muswadda*).⁴⁴ However, the fair copy (*mubayyada* or *mubyadḍa*) rarely remained fair: authors continued to modify their texts with rewordings, additions, corrections, cancellations, etc. All of al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts that can be described as fair copies are full of such alterations, including pasted inserts and replaced leaves. Even the evidence left by al-Maqrīzī that he collated the copy is not a sufficient distinction because this evidence does not always appear, particularly in the final version.⁴⁵ In conclusion, most, if not all, of his manuscripts that consist of copies of his personal works must be regarded as fair or working copies; al-Maqrīzī's later revisions do not change their status as fair or working copies.⁴⁶

42 See Bauden, *Maqriziana* II 113.

43 This is typically the case of IT1 and IT2 (two volumes containing parts of *al-Khiṭaṭ*), a copy of a previous rough draft attributable to al-Awḥādī. We know that al-Maqrīzī knew that this was not the definitive fair copy because he recycled chancery scrap paper for both these volumes.

44 See chapter 3 in this volume.

45 Al-Maqrīzī uses the word *balagha* (for *balagha muqābalatan*, "he reached [this place] in the collation") in the following manuscripts: IA, IF1, IF2, IF3, IF4, IY, IT1, IT2. This phrase does not appear in An, G1, G2, and IS, which should nevertheless be considered fair copies. Note that these collation notes were usually in the margins (inner or outer), in most cases close to the edge, and they were trimmed when the manuscript was bound. On these collation notes, see Bauden, *Al-Maqrīzī's collection*.

46 See Sirat, *Writing* 479; Bauden, *Maqriziana* X-1. In the case of al-Maqrīzī, we know that the

All in all, with the exception of the first sketches, the majority of al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts may be characterized as copies, as they are the result of a writing activity that was a process of copying: his eyes moved from the text he was copying to the blank page where he wrote it.

4 Al-Maqrīzī's Training in Writing and Calligraphy

The training that al-Maqrīzī received in his younger days is another factor that must be taken into consideration. As noted by paleographers and handwriting specialists, children who are trained as scribes and taught to write usually adopt common shapes that were elaborated and taught over the course of centuries.⁴⁷ Furthermore, in modern times, it has been demonstrated that children who are first taught how to write with unconnected letters in the Latin alphabet develop cursive handwriting between the ages of 7 and 15, when the need to write more quickly arises. It is also during this period that children develop idiosyncratic shapes that diverge from the standard models they were taught when they were young. These idiosyncrasies are among the elements that make their handwriting personal;⁴⁸ therefore, in this respect, it is worth investigating whether or not al-Maqrīzī received a specific education and how it might have impacted his handwriting.

Despite al-Maqrīzī's fame and in comparison with some of his contemporaries like Ibn Ḥajar, little is known of al-Maqrīzī's primary education, aside from the fact that his maternal grandfather mainly took care of it.⁴⁹ Born in a propitious context—into a family of scholars on both his mother's and father's sides—, al-Maqrīzī went through the classical education of that time which began with memorizing the Qur'ān at the age of four or five.⁵⁰ Reading and writing the holy text were also part of the curriculum.⁵¹ Before reaching puberty

final fair copy was produced by a copyist based on al-Maqrīzī's working copy that corresponded to the last stage of his work. This corresponds to the moment when the work was published, i.e., made public.

47 Beit-Arié, *Stéréotypies* 201–2, speaks of the Hebrew tradition and also stresses that the would-be scribe would imitate his master's handwriting until his own writing matches it, thus the student reproduces what becomes a standardized handwriting.

48 Wing, *Étude* 134.

49 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* iv, 187.

50 By way of comparison, note that al-Sakhāwī attended a Qur'ānic school (*maktab*) at the age of four and his master, Ibn Ḥajar, at five. See Guérin du Grandlaunay, *Iršād al-ġāwī* i, respectively 198 and 79. Al-Sakhāwī's first teacher was a copyist (*nāsikh*). Ibid. 199.

51 Hirschler, *The written word* 91–9. As stated by Sirat, *Writing* 88: "To give an adequate

(*bulūgh*)—generally between the age of eight and twelve—, a student was expected to have memorized the whole text; this accomplishment was usually celebrated by a public recitation, which also tallied with the end of the primary education.⁵² Al-Maqrīzī was unique, as he was only seven when he memorized the whole Qurʾān,⁵³ a fact that corroborates that he received a good primary education.⁵⁴ As noted, his father worked as a secretary at the state chancery, which means that he must have practiced calligraphy, which was a prerequisite for a secretary.⁵⁵ Once his secondary education was complete, around the age of twenty, we know that al-Maqrīzī followed in his father's steps by entering the state chancery⁵⁶ and that he was quickly assigned to oversee the department of secretaries (*mubāsharat al-tawqīʿ*).⁵⁷ Thus, al-Maqrīzī must have received

account of Muslim schools is an impossible task, for two reasons: First, the Muslim cultural sphere penetrated vast stretches of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Each country had its own traditions of schooling and they cannot be treated as a whole. Second, we know almost nothing about how most of these schools taught Arabic writing." On the teaching of writing and calligraphy in the Mamlūk period, see now Behrens-Abouseif, *The book* 108–13. Moreover, we have a precise description of the teaching of writing for the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century in Egypt. In his *Nihāyat al-arab*, al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), who was known for his excellent handwriting, explains that writing was taught in two steps: primary training provided the pupil with the fundamentals of writing, followed by secondary training, where calligraphy was taught (see *Nihāyat al-arab* ix, 218–23). On this text, see also chapter 6 in this volume as well as Gacek, Al-Nuwayrī's classification, for a translation of the last part of the section referred to above.

- 52 In the case of Ibn Ḥajar, the public recitation took place when he was twelve, while for al-Sakhāwī it was before he turned thirteen. Guérin du Grandlaunay, *Iršād al-ġāwī* i, 189 and 204 respectively. This event was sometimes celebrated with even greater solemnity by allowing the pupil to recite the entire Qurʾān throughout the full month of Ramadan. See *ibid.* 189–91.
- 53 Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh* 64.
- 54 This is all Ibn Ḥajar says when he states that al-Maqrīzī “*nashaʿa nashʿa ḥasana*.” See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʿ al-ghumr* iv, 187.
- 55 Wiet, *Les Classiques*, 45. Prerequisite refers to the ability to write in one of the styles used by the chancery. Some obviously had more skill than others and therefore they were asked to pen the most significant documents. See below, n. 57.
- 56 Al-Maqrīzī personally affirms his activity at the chancery when he says that he wrote (*katabtu*) there. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* ii, 49.
- 57 During the Mamlūk period, the state chancery employed two categories of secretaries. The first category included the *kuttāb al-dast* or *al-muwaqqiʿūn*. These secretaries attended the sessions held in the sultan's presence, in which petitions were presented, and notes were written down (*tawqīʿ*) to record the decision taken during these sessions. According to al-Qalqashandī, this category of secretaries increased in number in the eighth/fourteenth century, rising from three to about ten by the third quarter of the same century, and continued increasing progressively until there were twenty by the end of the century, when al-Maqrīzī headed the department. Initially, the second category, the *kuttāb al-darj*, were

some training in calligraphy, though this is not clear from the list of his masters,⁵⁸ with one notable exception.

We would know nothing of his training in calligraphy if he had not mentioned, *en passant*, that one of the most important calligraphers of his time was his master: ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sinjārī, known as ‘Uṣfūr (d. 808/1406). ‘Uṣfūr, who was of Syrian origin, settled in Cairo later in life to become a secretary at the chancery.⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥajar depicts him as a calligrapher who wrote the pro-

responsible for issuing all categories of documents. This group also increased in number until they exceeded one hundred thirty at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. Yet, the tasks they performed decreased at that time, as they only issued documents of the lower categories, while the *muwaqqi‘ūn* took over the preparation of the most significant documents. Al-Qalqashandī underlines that some *kuttāb al-darj* were asked to issue some more important documents, provided they had nice handwriting; this means that most of the *kuttāb al-darj* at that time had not mastered the various styles used for the issuance of the documents of the highest categories. This also implies that all of the *muwaqqi‘ūn* had. Considering that al-Maqrīzī was the supervisor of this category of secretaries, it corroborates the claim that he had also studied how to pen documents. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā* i, 137–8. Behrens-Abouseif (*The book* 114) emphasizes that “... the bureaucracy, notably the chancery, was the main domain for recruiting calligraphers. Prominent calligraphers were sought after by the chancery and other administrative offices.” For a lavish example of the kind of manuscripts a secretary (*kātib al-darj* in this case) could produce, see MS Garrett no. 12G (PUL): the text, *Idrāk al-sūl fī musābaqat al-khuyūl*, was composed and copied by al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī in 729/1329 for the library of the reigning sultan, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

58 Al-Jalīlī argues that for most of his life and until his death al-Maqrīzī worked at the chancery (*Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* iv, 43–52 (52: “fa-yabdū anna l-Maqrīzī baqiya fi diwān al-inshā’ ḥattā qabl wafātihi fi 845h”). Al-Jalīlī’s assumption is based on his interpretation of passages in which al-Maqrīzī specifies that he had a close relationship with each of the secretaries of state from the reigns of Barqūq and his successors, and he means precisely that. Al-Maqrīzī did not state that he worked for them. The only clear indication that al-Maqrīzī worked at the chancery, like his father, is given by al-Maqrīzī himself, who states that he was employed at the *dīwān al-inshā’* until the 790s/early 1390s: “I sat in it [the hall of the vizier which is in the vicinity of the chancery], by the judge Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī [who was the secretary of state, for the second time, from 786/1385 to 792/1390], when I was supervising the sultan’s bureau that oversaw the issuance of official documents (*tawqī’*) until about the 790s [1390]” (“wa-anā jalastu bi-hā [qā’at al-ṣāhib bi-jīwār dīwān al-inshā’] ‘ind al-qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī ayyām mubāsharati l-tawqī’ al-sultānī ilā naḥw al-tis‘in wa-l-sab‘imi’a”). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-l-i’tibār* iii, 730 (Būlāq ed., ii, 225); Bauden, *The recovery* 74–5. *Ṣāhib* initially referred to the vizier, a position that fell into disuse in the eighth/fourteenth century. The term was then used to designate the secretary of state as well as the hall where the secretaries worked and the archives were kept (*qā’at al-ṣāhib*).

59 His full name was ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir al-Sinjārī l-Dimashqī. In the biography of another master calligrapher, al-Ziftāwī (on whom see below), al-Maqrīzī (*Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* iii, 119) reveals that he was his master: “I met him [al-Ziftāwī] at

portionate styles (*al-mansūb*) according to Yāqūt al-Musta‘šimī (d. 696/1298), though he followed the Syrian school in this respect. Ibn Ḥajar also mentions that a large number of notables (*a’yān*) learned calligraphy from him.⁶⁰ In addition to ‘Uṣfūr, al-Maqrīzī also may have studied under Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Ziftāwī (d. 806/1403), to whom he devoted an entry in the biographical dictionary of his contemporaries.⁶¹ There al-Maqrīzī underlines that al-Ziftāwī followed the school of Ibn al-‘Afif (d. 736/1336)⁶² and that al-Ziftāwī authored a short treatise on calligraphy.⁶³ Al-Maqrīzī also stressed that he and al-Ziftāwī attended the classes (*majlis*) of ‘Uṣfūr in Cairo⁶⁴ and that al-Ziftāwī dedicated himself to teaching calligraphy to many Egyptians.⁶⁵ Al-Maqrīzī also reckons that al-Ziftāwī was an authority for his knowledge of the proportionate styles, such that he was able to identify the calligrapher of any piece of writing presented to him.⁶⁶ He also reports that al-Ziftāwī boasted that he could write a proportionate script with the iron cubit (*al-dhirā’ al-ḥadīd*) used by merchants to measure fabrics the same way he used a reed pen.⁶⁷ If it is established that al-Maqrīzī studied the art of writing with ‘Uṣfūr, it remains to be demonstrated that al-Ziftāwī also taught him his art. In any case, it is clear that al-Maqrīzī was acquainted with two of the most prominent calligraphers of his time.

The question of his age when this training took place is central to the development and evolution of one’s writing. Unfortunately, al-Maqrīzī remains

the classes of our master, the most unique of his time, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Uṣfūr” (*ijtima’ tu bihi fi majlis shaykhinā awḥad al-zamān ‘Alā’ al-Dīn b. ‘Uṣfūr*). Even though he calls him “our master,” al-Maqrīzī did not deem it necessary to devote an entry to ‘Uṣfūr in his *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda*. On him see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 341 (no. 21); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* v, 316–7 (no. 1045); Behrens-Abouseif, *The book* 132–3 (what she states on p. 132 regarding his teaching (“He seems to have been associated with the aristocracy, which might have prevented him from teaching”) is contradicted by the above-mentioned quotation where his *majlis* is evoked).

60 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 341.

61 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* iii, 119 (no. 1004). On him see also Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma’ al-mu’assīs* iii, 255–6, no. 630; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* vii, 24.

62 On him, see Behrens-Abouseif, *The book* 135.

63 Al-Ziftāwī, *Minhāj al-iṣāba*. Al-Maqrīzī knew the treatise because he quotes its full title.

64 According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* ii, 341, he was ‘Uṣfūr’s friend.

65 In *al-Sulūk* iv, 23, al-Maqrīzī refers to him as the dean of calligraphers (*shaykh al-kuttāb*).

66 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* iii, 119; repeated by Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma’ al-mu’assīs* iii, 256, no. 630.

67 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* iii, 119. See also Behrens-Abouseif, *The book* 136. In Cairo at that time the length of the iron cubit (also known as the *dhirā’ al-bazz* or *al-qumāsh*) was 58.187 cm. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse* 56 and 58. Al-Ziftāwī probably used a long instrument (with which to trace the characters on paper) for the monumental stone inscriptions then carved on buildings.

silent on the circumstances that led him to attend ‘Uṣfūr’s classes. From al-Maqrīzī’s statement that it was there that he struck up an acquaintance with al-Ziftāwī, who was already a master calligrapher, we might deduce that this took place during his teenage years (al-Ziftāwī was fifteen years older than al-Maqrīzī).⁶⁸ To get a more precise answer, we must turn to al-Maqrīzī’s contemporaries. In fact, we know that al-Maqrīzī’s colleague and friend Ibn Ḥajar was first trained in calligraphy after he completed his primary education, around thirteen,⁶⁹ and afterward proceeded to study with another master, who allowed him to write in the style of calligraphers.⁷⁰ Al-Sakhāwī, who belonged to the following generation, started to study calligraphy (*al-kitāba*) at about the same time.⁷¹ These two cases might help us to speculate when al-Maqrīzī began to attend ‘Uṣfūr’s classes, i.e., around the age of thirteen to fifteen, when al-Ziftāwī, an accomplished calligrapher whom he met during the same classes,⁷² was already in his late twenties.

Be that as it may, al-Maqrīzī abandoned his career at the chancery in his mid-twenties and calligraphy was not required in the other positions he filled until his late forties. Unlike other scholars who spent their whole working lives employed at the chancery (e.g., al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1363), or those who earned a living by copying their own texts or those of others (like al-Nuwayrī),⁷³

68 He was born in 750/1349–50. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* iii, 119.

69 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhīr wa-l-durar* i, 167. His first master was Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Badamāsi (d. 802/1399–1400). On him see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma’ al-mu’assis* i, 185, no. 555; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda* ii, 553 (no. 871); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’* v, 438. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *ibid.*, he was a skilled calligrapher (*māhir fī šinā’at al-khaṭṭ*) who taught the proportionate styles (*al-mansūb*), had nice handwriting (*kataba l-khaṭṭ al-maliḥ*), and was also proficient in the art of the bookbinding (*‘arafa šinā’at al-wirāqa*).

70 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhīr wa-l-durar* i, 167 (*adhina lahu fī anyaktub ‘alā ṭarīqat al-kuttāb*). In this context *kuttāb* does not mean secretaries, but calligraphers, as in the expression *shaykh al-kuttāb* seen above (see n. 65). The second master was al-Ziftāwī, under whom al-Maqrīzī also may have learned calligraphy. Contrary to Behrens-Abouseif’s assertion (*The book* 111), Ibn Ḥajar did not study under Ibn al-Ṣā’igh (d. 845/1442), the author of a treatise on calligraphy (see Ibn al-Ṣā’igh, *Tuḥfat ūli l-albāb*). She quotes the same reference as above, where al-Sakhāwī simply indicates that al-Ziftāwī was Ibn al-Ṣā’igh’s master and that he, al-Sakhāwī, studied under the latter for a short period.

71 Guérin du Grandlaunay, *Iršād al-ġawī* i, 20, 120; ii, 439, 506 (n. 8), and 525 (n. 5). In general, scholars rarely detail the dates they studied under a specific master, a fact that complicates the historian’s quest to know precisely when they were tutored in a given discipline.

72 Al-Ziftāwī may have followed the teachings of ‘Uṣfūr because the latter had been trained according to the Syrian school. Perhaps al-Ziftāwī wanted to enhance his calligraphic prowess and further develop his own style.

73 See chapter 6 in this volume, pp. 232–259.

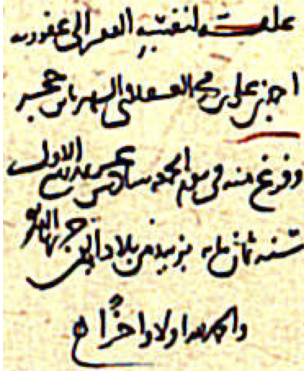


FIGURE 5.5
 Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan* (MS Fazil Ahmed Paşa 294, fol. 327^a), Ibn Hajar's colophon
 ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ

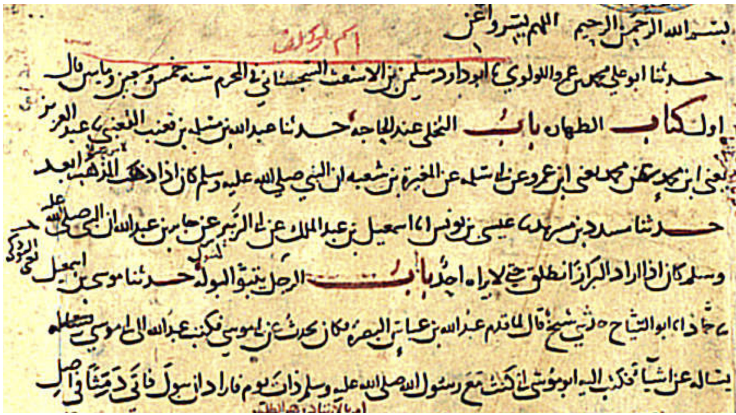


FIGURE 5.6 Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan* (MS Fazil Ahmed Paşa 294, fol. 1^b), beginning of the text in Ibn Hajar's restrained handwriting
 ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ

al-Maqrīzī no longer needed to practice calligraphy. Thus, his handwriting evolved independently from his training and his personal style developed. We can observe the same process in al-Maqrīzī's colleague and friend, Ibn Hajar. Though his master in calligraphy had licensed him to write as a calligrapher, Ibn Hajar's handwriting changed when he embarked on a career as a scholar and calligraphy was no longer a necessity. One of the texts (specifically, of *ḥadīths*) that he copied in the framework of his superior education, at the age of twenty-five, demonstrates that while his handwriting was restrained, it could not be identified with any of the proportionate styles used in calligraphy (see figs. 5.5–5.6). Rather, his hand already featured characteristics that make it recognizable and that later blossomed into his own unrestrained writing (see fig. 5.7).

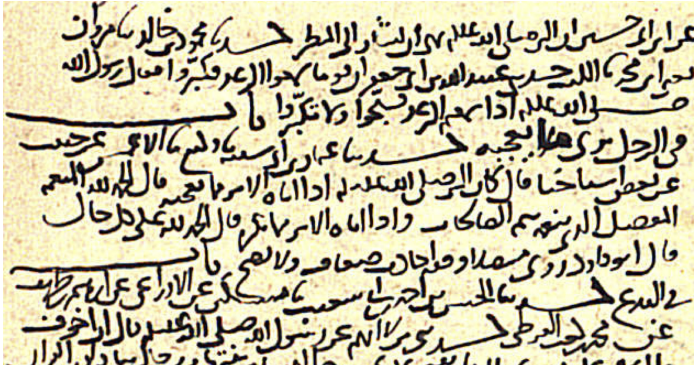


FIGURE 5.7 Abū Dāwūd, *al-Marāsīl* (MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 294, fol. 356^a),
Ibn Hajar's unrestrained handwriting
ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ

5 Al-Maqrīzī's Handwriting: Analysis

5.1 Some Considerations

Despite the exceptional character of the corpus, most of which has been known for decades, al-Maqrīzī's handwriting has never been thoroughly described and analyzed.⁷⁴ Thus far, the only attempt to characterize it was made by Jan Just Witkam, who stated that

[al-Maqrīzī's handwriting] is quite idiosyncratic. The letters are tilted a little backwards, there is a fairly large number of ligatures, punctuation⁷⁵ is rather limited but we can say that the text is, generally speaking, very readable. The handwriting has a very personal aspect. No doubt it is possible to maintain that we can always recognize this handwriting as soon as we have seen it.⁷⁶

74 Contrary to what the title indicates, Fu'ād Sayyid's *Khuṭūṭ al-Maqrīzī* is just a presentation of al-Maqrīzī's holograph and authorial manuscripts known to him. A revised and expanded version of the same article appeared in Fu'ād Sayyid's *al-Maqrīzī* 95–123.

75 By punctuation, Witkam is referring to diacritical dots.

76 Witkam, *Les Autographes* 92 ("Elle est bien caractéristique. Les lettres s'inclinent un peu en arrière, il y a un assez grand nombre de ligatures, la ponctuation est assez parcimonieuse, mais on peut dire que le texte est, généralement, bien lisible. L'écriture a un air très personnel. Sans doute il est possible de soutenir que l'on peut toujours reconnaître cette écriture dès qu'on l'a vue"). Fu'ād Sayyid's description, in his *Khuṭūṭ al-Maqrīzī* 140, seems to be an exact copy of Witkam's words: "Either in his drafts or in his fair copies, al-Maqrīzī's handwriting is clear and obvious with distinctive traits: the letters are slightly inclined towards the right; he quite often binds together the [unconnected] letters; he seldom uses the diacritical dots. Generally speaking, it is a handwriting that can easily

This depiction pinpoints some of the main features of the handwriting that are apparent to any scholar with some experience with manuscripts in Arabic script: he reports a general impression of letters leaning to the right, letters connected to the following ones despite the fact that they should remain unjoined, diacritical dots that are not fully indicated, and a degree of legibility. Nevertheless, this description, and the fact that “we can always recognize this handwriting as soon as we have seen it,” are far from precise enough to characterize al-Maqrīzī's handwriting beyond doubt. And clearly, several of these features can be noted in the handwriting of other scholars who preceded and followed al-Maqrīzī. In addition, Witkam reduces al-Maqrīzī's writing to basic elements that he observed in a small selection of the corpus, and he does not take into account other factors, like the chronology (did his writing evolve over time, and if so, how?) and the circumstances in which he wrote (typically leading to a fully—or slightly—restrained or unrestrained writing).

In order to characterize al-Maqrīzī's handwriting and help identify it beyond reasonable doubt, we must consider a wide gamut of factors and elements. First and foremost, writing is the result of a tension between two types of habits: those of a prescribed writing system—typically the system one learns at school—and those developed by the writer, which become and reflect his own idiosyncrasies.⁷⁷ Such habits must be identified in order to discern between the lucid (learned) and elusive (elements of execution) differences.⁷⁸ Several factors may also affect the appearance of a handwriting: the age of the writer, and the process of aging, the circumstances in which the text is produced, the nature of the text being written (personal notes, a copy of someone else's text, a fair copy of a personal text, etc). Depending on the combination of several of these factors, the writer might adopt a more restrained writing characterized by more lucid elements or a less restrained, more automatic, writing that features more elusive components. In this respect, we must analyze the handwriting across a full range of variations, as implied by the above-mentioned factors, and we must consider a broad spectrum of neutral observations. These observations must include the codicological features of the manuscripts produced

be recognized once you have seen it” (“wa-khaṭṭ al-Maqrīzī, sawā' fi musawwadātihi aw mubayyaḍātihi, wāḍiḥ wa-jalī, mutamayyiz al-khaṣā'is, tamīl fihi l-ḥurūf qalīlan ilā l-khalf wa-yarbuṭu ahyānan kathīra bayna ḥurūfihi, wa-'alāmāt al-tarqīm 'indahu qalīla. Wa-fi l-'umūm, fa-huwa khaṭṭ yumkin al-ta'arruf 'alayhi bi-suhūla, bi-mujarrad an narāhu”).

77 Huber and Headrick call the first type “class characteristics” and the second “individual characteristics.” Huber and Headrick, *Handwriting identification* 33.

78 Sirat, *Writing* 495.

by the author (support; layout: justification, alignment, spacing), the orthographical habits and mistakes, and the shapes of individual letters, knowing that the way they are connected within words may take specific and fixed forms. Phenomena, like abusive ligatures and the contraction of the ending of given letters, must not be overlooked to study the issue of control vs. the speed of execution, two factors that should be considered together with the circumstances linked to the writing. Finally, physical and/or mental impairment can reveal the problems a writer encounters with the passing of time. Taken together, all these elements offer a global vision recommended by handwriting experts,⁷⁹ one that will be applied, whenever it is useful, to characterize al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.

5.2 *Selection of the Corpus*

To tackle the various issues that I have outlined briefly, it is necessary to rely on a significant and multifarious corpus. As highlighted in the third section above, al-Maqrīzī's legacy in terms of holograph and authorial manuscripts is helpful in this respect: it reflects fifty years of activity,⁸⁰ it offers a plethora of material (more than ten thousand pages), and it covers a wide array of categories of texts copied in diverse circumstances. Thus, after six centuries, we can finally scrutinize al-Maqrīzī's handwriting in all its complexities. Paradoxically, the size of the corpus in itself poses a problem: the whole corpus can hardly be grasped in the framework of an analysis that attempts to address all the criteria detailed above. For this reason, I focus my attention on a selection of manuscripts that are dated or datable with some precision and that cover a variety of circumstances. This led me to put aside the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* (MSS L1–4, P), a biographical dictionary that al-Maqrīzī composed over a long period, though most of it is already a fair copy. Unlike some of his other texts, it has been impossible to accurately date the fair copy because al-Maqrīzī could add a quire at any time, given the nature of the text, which is alphabetically organized.⁸¹ G2, which contains another biographical dictionary, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, was

79 Sirat, *Writing* 499–6 largely based herself on the method developed by M.-J. Sedeyn, *Introduction*. This method is also described in detail in chapter 4 in this volume, see pp. 78–135. For the sake of exhaustiveness, I must also mention Huber and Headrick, *Handwriting identification*.

80 Unfortunately, there remains a big gap between the first witness of his activity as a scholar (1M, dated 795/1392–3 at twenty-eight years old) and the following references available to me (1T1 and 1T2, datable between 811/1408–9 and 817/1414, when he was between forty-four and fifty years old). See fig. 5.3.

81 For the dating of some parts, see Bauden, *Maqriziana* x–1.

set aside for the same reason.⁸² Two additional manuscripts were also left out: the Damascene notebook (Da),⁸³ and C, a dated volume of résumés preserved in Calcutta.⁸⁴ In addition, I could not physically examine them, which means that no codicological description is available, particularly regarding the paper.

Apart from these exceptions, I have taken into consideration most of al-Maqrīzī's holographs and authorial manuscripts. These include résumés made while reading (Du, 1M and Lg), the first sketches of sections to be included in his already composed works (Al and Lg*⁸⁵), fair copies of previous versions (An, 1A, 1T1, 1T2, 1S, 1Y, G1, G2), and finally, a copy of someone else's work that al-Maqrīzī undertook toward the end of his life (L5).⁸⁶

Unless otherwise stated, for the analysis of the writing that follows, I selected two contiguous pages located at some distance from the beginning of the manuscript.⁸⁷ I did this in order to avoid pages where al-Maqrīzī might have paid more acute attention to his writing: in other words, where he would have exercised more control (typically for the first leaves). For tables 5.14 through 5.17, I chose most of the letters and combinations of letters from these two pages, unless I could not find an occurrence there, in which case, I extended my search on the preceding and following pages until I found such an occurrence.⁸⁸ Whenever al-Maqrīzī uses allographs, i.e., two shapes for the same letter, I reproduced both in the tables. In addition to this sampling, I also perused the remainder of each text in search of idiosyncratic shapes of combinations of letters or full words. For tables 5.3–5.4, and 5.7 to 5.9, where specific shapes of individual and combined letters are provided according to the number of

82 The only element we know with certainty is that most of it was completed before 839/1435, though al-Maqrīzī added material until shortly before his death.

83 No color reproduction was available to me and the quality of the black and white copy that I have is not good enough for an analysis of this scope. Its physical state is not good either: it was severely damaged by bookworms and several leaves are in pieces.

84 I do not have a high quality color reproduction of this manuscript.

85 To distinguish this section in Lg from the above-mentioned résumé found in the same manuscript, I have appended an asterisk to it.

86 Al-Maqrīzī copied the short text (fols. 1^a–14^b) in Mecca in 841/1435. Though L5 is included in the timeline (fig. 5.3), this section does not appear there because, according to the definition adopted in this volume, it is neither a holograph nor an authorial manuscript. It is someone else's text in al-Maqrīzī's hand (see the introduction to this volume, particularly pp. 4–6).

87 The pages selected are as follows: Al, fols. 4^b–5^a; An, pp. 8–9; Du, fols. 37^b–38^a; G1, fols. 10^b–11^a; 1A, fols. 74^b–75^a; 1M, fols. 8^b–9^a; 1S, fols. 12^b–13^a; 1T2, fols. 16^b–17^a; 1Y, fols. 28^a–^b; MS L5, fols. 10^a–^b; Lg, fols. 131^a–^b, Lg*; fols. 188^a–^b. The reader will find a reproduction of the first of the two pages at the end of this chapter (see figs. 5.26–5.37).

88 In the cases of the first sketches (Al and Lg*), sometimes I was unable to find an occurrence, given the limited number of folios concerned (for instance, the section chosen in Al covers only two pages).

occurrences (for statistical reasons), I counted them on a single page (the first of the two selected), with the exception of manuscripts in a smaller format (Du, 1T2). In these cases, I used two pages in order to assess roughly the same quantity of text as for the manuscripts in a larger format.

5.3 *The Pace and Thumbnail Index Method*

In a 2001 article, Nikolaj Serikoff proposed to establish a thumbnail index based on pace for the identification of—particularly informal—hands.⁸⁹ Serikoff detailed the criteria as consisting of:⁹⁰ (1) a description of the script according to its resemblance to one of the calligraphic styles (e.g., *naskh*-like); (2) the number of lines to the page; (3) the density (Δ) of the text, calculated by multiplying the number of word segments⁹¹ by the number of lines to the page;⁹² (4) the ratio between the height of the *alif* and the width of the unconnected *bā'*;⁹³ and (5) the angles of inclination of the connected *alif* (*a*) and the stroke of the connected *kāf* (*k*).⁹⁴ The whole calculation constitutes the pace of the manuscript; for instance: *naskh*-like; 17; $\Delta 17 \times 31$ (530); 1:0.9; a 100°, k 30°. According to Serikoff, each manuscript can be characterized according to its pace and using tables, where such paces are organized on the basis of density, ratio, or angle of the *alif* allows us to quickly find possible matches for another hand. Such a system is presented as an effective tool to compare handwritings and manuscripts with similar features. Comparison is obviously key to the process: identical or evenly matched formulas do not imply that two manuscripts were penned by the same person.⁹⁵

89 See Serikoff, Image and letter.

90 Ibid. 57–8.

91 I.e., composed of connected letters (thus the word الأَطْبَاق contains three segments), without considering the *wāw* when used as a coordinator or the words written above the line.

92 Serikoff, Image and letter 57, recommends reducing the result to the nearest ten, but in his *Arabic medical manuscripts* 6–7, he seems to have adopted the nearest five.

93 Or *tā'* and *thā'*.

94 See also fig. 1 in Serikoff, Image and letter 57. Serikoff, *Arabic medical manuscripts* 544, recommends measuring several *alif*s and *kāf*s and giving the average value. He does not say so but he reduces the average of all the measures taken to the nearest five, as the figures in the tables show. We must also emphasize that the angle of the *kāf* can differ greatly according to its shape (either *mabsūta* or *mashkūla*). Serikoff does not seem to have taken this into consideration (in Image and letter, his description corresponds to the *kāf mashkūla*). For the sake of precision, I only measured the angle of the *kāf mashkūla*.

95 Serikoff put his method into practice in his catalog of medical manuscripts held at the Wellcome Institute in London: Serikoff, *Arabic medical manuscripts* 6–7, 544–50. As he stresses (ibid. 544): “As average values are used throughout the tables, one and the same pace can describe several different handwriting styles. It is therefore suggested that neigh-

TABLE 5.1 Paces of al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts

MS	Age	No. of lines	Density coeff.	Ratio <i>alif:bā'</i>	<i>alif</i>	<i>kāf</i>
IM	28	21	525	1:1.5	085	030
IT2	bet. 44-50	20	400	1:1.3	075	035
G1	bet. 49-57	27	620	1:1.25	075	030
IY	aft. 50	27	650	1:1.45	075	035
Du	bet. 51-7	14	400	1:1.25	065	030
Lg	56	21	440	1:1.25	075	030
Lg*	63	17	340	1:1.15	070	035
Al	aft. 63	24	530	1:1.65	070	030
An	aft. 63	27	620	1:1.3	070	030
IS	bet. 64-7	25	550	1:1.4	065	030
L5	71	25	450	1:1.4	065	030
IA	76-7	25	475	1:1.35	070	035

Before accepting or rejecting this method, I first checked to see if it provides significant results when applied to the corpus of al-Maqrīzī manuscripts I had selected. Table 5.1 presents the pace calculated for each of the manuscripts that are part of this corpus, with the data arranged according to the date of production as evidenced in the timeline (see fig. 5.3).⁹⁶

We immediately note the large discrepancies in density and ratio between the manuscripts. Density is calculated based on the number of word segments on one line. This number can vary greatly from one line to the next and according to the nature of the text. Therefore, the factor of density, when calculated this way, is not pertinent. Indeed, while choosing a line at random and multiplying the number of word segments by the number of lines produces a result, this result is hardly representative of a manuscript. But, if we calculate the average of the word segments found on several lines, we would have a better picture of this factor, and it would be a meaningful element in the identification of handwriting. The same assessment can be made with regard to the ratio of the average height of the *alif* to the isolated *bā'*: this ratio fluctuates between 1.15 and 1.65, with a majority (eight manuscripts) between 1.25 and 1.4. As for the angle of inclination of the connected *alif* and *kāf*, the results are more stable,

bouring paces are examined and the handwriting styles they describe be compared to that in the manuscript being studied."

96 The calculations were made on the first of the two pages selected, as explained above.

oscillating between 65° and 85° for the first, with a majority between 65° and 75° , and between 30° and 35° for the second, with a majority at 30° . In this case, the average is obtained by measuring five occurrences of each letter. Yet, the variation between each of these occurrences is at times large: for instance in IA, it gives 67° , 68° , 69° , 74° , 84° for the *alif*. Obviously, this sometimes large variation is completely lost in the average result calculated. As for the *kāf*, the variation is somewhat more limited: 28° , 33° , 35° , 36° , 38° .

But the best way to test the method is to apply it to another manuscript penned by al-Maqrīzī and see whether or not it identifies a match in table 5.1. For this I chose IF1, a manuscript belonging to a five-volume set of the same text copied the same year and in the same context as IA. I calculated its pace as 25, 425, 1:1.45, 65° , 30° . With the exception of the angle of the *alif* and the *kāf* and the number of lines to the page, the pace scarcely compares with the one calculated for IA—or with any of the other manuscripts considered: the density, the ratio, and the angle of the *alif* all differ slightly. On the basis of this pace, the manuscript would not be identified as possibly by the same author of IA despite the links that tie it to IF1 (text, period of copy, paper). In conclusion, at least in al-Maqrīzī's case, the pace method and the thumbnail index that relies on it cannot be regarded as a trustworthy and accurate way to identify a handwriting. The one element that may be a sufficiently accurate method of analysis is that of the angle of the *kāf mashkūla*, and to a lesser extent, of the *alif*.

5.4 *A Global Analysis*

5.4.1 Codicological Features

5.4.1.1 *Support*

Table 5.2 lists the formats of each of al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts (size of one leaf, size of the frame within which the text is justified, number of lines to the page, number of leaves, and number of leaves composed of reused documents). The table, divided into three sections on the basis of the number of lines to the page in each manuscript, helps us understand what kind of format al-Maqrīzī used for certain categories of texts. The first section shows that the size of one leaf varies between 140 and 180 in height and 120 to 162 in width, with a number of lines spanning between fourteen and twenty-one lines with an average of twenty to twenty-one. In the second and third sections, the table displays sizes that range between 233 and 255 in height and 152 to 169 in width, with a clear difference for the number of lines between sections 2 and 3 (25 for the first and 27 for the second). The first section is notable for the categories of texts it includes: the three notebooks, two independent résumés, and one draft of one of his texts. As the table shows, the manuscripts belonging to these categories

TABLE 5.2 List of the sizes of al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts^a

MS	Title	Size	Justification	No. of lines	No. of fols.	Reused docs. (no. of fols.; %)
1	Du <i>Mukhtaṣar Durrat al-aslāk</i>	140×162	105×125	14	179	107 (60%)
	Da Notebook	150×120	125×90	17–20	80	2 (2.5%)
	Al Notebook	155×120	120×95	20 (mostly)	52	0
	IT2 <i>al-Khiṭaṭ</i> (draft)	179×141	135×100	20	182	177 (97%)
	IT1 <i>al-Khiṭaṭ</i> (draft)	181×144	140×105	20	179	158 (88%)
	Lg Notebook	165×136	140×100	21 (mostly)	209	85 (41%)
	C <i>Mukhtaṣar al-Marwazī</i>	184×140	145×100	21	131	?
2	IA <i>al-Khabar</i>	233×152	180×110	25	245	2 (1%)
	IF1 <i>al-Khabar</i>	233×155	180×110	25	254	0
	IF2 <i>al-Khabar</i>	233×155	180×110	25	163	0
	IF3 <i>al-Khabar</i>	238×155	180×110	25	265	15 (6%)
	IF4 <i>al-Khabar</i>	235×155	180×110	25	276	0
	IS <i>Imtā' al-asmā'</i>	237×155	180×110	25	211	2 (1%)
	L5 Ibn Ḥabīb, <i>al-Mukhtalif</i>	239×154	180×110	25	214 ^b	0
	IM <i>Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil</i>	255×169	190×120	25	215	0
3	L4 <i>al-Muqaffā</i>	235×159	190×110	27	550	25 (5%)
	P <i>al-Muqaffā</i>	250×160	190×110	27	260	14 (5.5%)
	L2 <i>al-Muqaffā</i>	238×159	195×110	27	287	5 (2%)
	L1 <i>al-Muqaffā</i>	255×160	195×110	27	226	9 (4%)
	L3 <i>al-Muqaffā</i>	239×160	195×110	27	252	12 (5%)
	IY <i>al-Sulūk</i>	250×166	195×115	27	257	0
	G2 <i>Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda</i>	245×160	195×115	27	185	3 (2%)
	G1 <i>Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'</i>	245×160	200×115	27	58	0
	An <i>al-Khiṭaṭ</i> (fair copy)	245×165	200×115	27	261	0

a The manuscripts are arranged according to the number of lines to the page, then the size of the justified text.

b The text copied by al-Maqrīzī covers fols. 1^a–14^b, the remainder is mostly in someone else's hand.

have smaller formats in comparison with the remainder of the volumes in sections 2 and 3. Their format varies between 140 and 184 in height and 120 to 162 in width. Of these manuscripts, four are mainly composed of reused chancery paper (Du, IT1, IT2, Lg) with the percentage of reused paper ranging from 41 to 97%.⁹⁷

Al-Maqrīzī used discarded chancery paper for an obvious reason: these texts (notebooks, drafts, and résumés) were for personal use and were not meant to survive its author.⁹⁸ In this context, the use of a cheaper material was natural. Most chancery documents were issued on scrolls made of sheets of paper pasted one below the other. While the length of the scroll depended on the text to be copied, its width depended on the nature of the document and the rank of the recipient. The sheets used to make the scroll could be kept in their original size for the largest of documents that were for recipients of a higher rank, or cut into smaller sizes for the lower categories. The text was penned in large characters, the size of which depended on the category of the document, with a large interlinear space of several centimeters. Moreover, the writing covered only one side of the scroll.⁹⁹ These features explain why these kinds of documents could be reused once they were discarded.¹⁰⁰ Once discarded, the scrolls could be cut into smaller pieces to create quires, where usually only one line of text of the original document would appear on one side of each leaf inside the quire. In light of this, the size of these quires clearly depended on the category of the original document. Of course, this also determined the size of the quires of blank paper that al-Maqrīzī could use to complete a volume composed of reused documents, but also for a volume made entirely from blank paper, as in the case of two of the notebooks (Al and Da).¹⁰¹ Generally speaking, we can say

97 A copy of C is not yet available to me, thus I have not yet determined whether or not it contains recycled documents.

98 If such manuscripts have been preserved, this is a result of al-Maqrīzī's personality and fame: such objects became collectibles because they were in al-Maqrīzī's hand, something that could still be recognized several centuries after his death. For instance, Lg was part of the library of al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), who knew that the notebook had been penned by al-Maqrīzī though his name is never mentioned in the notebook. For his ownership mark, see Bauden, *Maqriziana* 1–1 25–6.

99 Bauden, *Mamluk diplomatics* 47–50; Dekkiche, *Diplomatics* 200–2.

100 These features were not specific to the Mamlūk chancery: they were also applied, though not necessarily in full, by the chanceries of other eastern dynasties, like the Rasulids of Yemen, the Qara Qoyunlu, the Timurids, etc. For the reused chancery documents in al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts, see Bauden, *The recovery*; Bauden, *Diplomatic entanglements*; Bauden, *Yemeni-Egyptian diplomatic exchanges*.

101 Da contains only one bi-folio from a reused document.

that al-Maqrīzī saved quires of a smaller format for the category of texts that may be defined as his *Nachlass* (texts not meant to be published).¹⁰²

When al-Maqrīzī prepared a fair copy of one of his texts—and in one case made a copy of someone else's text (L₅)—, he opted to use blank paper.¹⁰³ All the manuscripts listed in sections 2 to 3 share the same characteristics: the support is an Oriental laid paper that is creamy and rather thick with some imperfections (e.g., undissolved pieces of fabric, like pills and fibers, and unevenly distributed paste that produces thinner or thicker areas in the sheet) that are visible to the naked eye; its surface was unevenly sized; the chain lines are grouped in twos and, like the laid lines, they are sometimes askew.¹⁰⁴

With regard to the number of lines, the difference that we note between manuscripts of sections 2 and 3—25 and 27 lines respectively—should not be attributed to the small increase in the size of leaves between the two sections. Some manuscripts of section 2 share similar measurements with some of section 3 and vice versa (compare 1M with L₁ and L₄ with 1F₄).¹⁰⁵ We must find the reason in the tool (called *mīṣṭara*) al-Maqrīzī used to imprint a blind ruling of lines on the sheet he used. Interestingly, with the exception of 1M, all the manuscripts in section 2 were produced after 832/1428, while those in section 3 that can be dated were made after 816/1413–4 and shortly after 831/1427–8. This chronological shift in the number of lines to the page provides us with a significant piece of data: around his mid-sixties, al-Maqrīzī opted for a smaller number of lines to the page. It is difficult to argue why he would have needed to reduce this number. A decrease of two lines does not amount to a lot and can hardly be related to old age. Whatever the case may be, if we could confirm this pattern of using a 25-line *mīṣṭara* after the age of 65, it would help us date the other manuscripts in section 3 (L₁, L₂, L₃, L₄, P, G₂) to before the 830s/1426–7.

5.4.1.2 *Layout*

In this section, I consider the right and left margins, the alignment, and the interword and intraword spacings. To determine the most minor variations, I added a grid to the figures on which this section is based (see figs. 5.26–5.37).

102 One exception to this rule is 1M, a résumé al-Maqrīzī made at the beginning of his career entirely on blank paper. In this case, he used the usual format of paper that gives an in-quarto volume.

103 As noted in table 5.2, reused documents also feature in fair copies, but in smaller quantities (between 1 and 6 percent) and always for later additions.

104 Humbert, *Un papier*, describes this kind of paper. She gives the size of the sheet, after trimming, as being between 466–532 × 320–364.

105 These differences in size are attributable to trimming which, sometimes, took place more than once during the life of a manuscript.

The observation of the right margin shows that in most cases it moves progressively a few millimeters toward the left, usually around the middle (IM, G1, Lg*, IY, Du, An, L5, 1A). We notice that it is clearly regressive in only three cases (IT2, Lg, IS).¹⁰⁶ As for the inner margin, IM is the only manuscript with an almost rectilinear alignment; it is closely followed by G1. In both cases, al-Maqrīzī pays more attention to the justification than he does in most of the other manuscripts that follow them chronologically. In the other cases, the left margin is mostly irregular, and sometimes regressive. In order to keep the ending of lines aligned with the others a system was applied: the final part of the word was written above the last segment (see IM, l. 25: *al-Shāfiʿī*) or at some space in the inner margin (see IM, l. 22: *al-Shāfiʿī*), and the last letter was extended (see IM, l. 15: *māta*). These phenomena are all visible in IM, the manuscript in which the justification to the left is aligned most evenly, in comparison with the other manuscripts.

The study of the alignment of lines with the baseline also reveals interesting features. While in IM and Lg lines tend to descend slightly toward the end,¹⁰⁷ in all the other manuscripts, by contrast, the lines tend to slope upward. This is partly, but not fully, explained by the tendency to end the last word or part of it somewhat above the baseline, a practice commonly observed in documents produced in the Mamlūk chancery, and justified by the need to avoid breaking the last word at the end of the line. Moreover, in four cases, some lines look concave with the central part clearly at a lower level in comparison with the beginning and ending of the line: the impression is that the line snakes up and down and then up again. This feature can be observed in Lg* (ll. 7, 16–7), An (ll. 7–8, 21, 24–5), IS (ll. 10–6, 24), and L5 (ll. 9–10). In all these cases, the handwriting shows a wavy writing line.

The spacing between words and within words is irregular, with the exception of IM. Moreover, unlike IM, all the other manuscripts reflect a system in which the beginning of a word is usually written above the end of the preceding word. This system explains why the spacing between words is narrower, giving the writing a more compact aspect (see fig. 5.8).

5.4.2 Orthography

Issues linked to the way an author writes specific words must be addressed. Some traits or habits can help in the identification of an author's handwriting. Unfortunately, such features are rarely scrutinized and analyzed for authors

¹⁰⁶ Al is not considered here because the leaf is clearly not aligned on the picture and this gives a false impression of regressive movement, i.e., toward the right margin.

¹⁰⁷ Here again, Al is set aside for the same reason invoked in the preceding note.

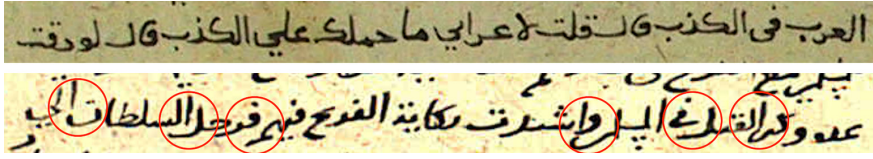


FIGURE 5.8 Spacing between words and the overlapping of words (above: IM [MS 575], fol. 20, l. 9, 47 letters; below: İY [MS Şehit Ali Paşa 1847], fol. 28 a, l. 19, 57 letters)
 ABOVE: ISTANBUL, MURAT MOLLA KÜTÜPHANESİ; BELOW: ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

in the Islamic world. The text editors pay scant attention to these characteristics and, in the majority of cases, standardize the orthography without noting details about the readings in the holograph. In a study based on a large part of Lg, I was able to list a series of orthographical, morphological, and syntactical phenomena when I worked on the assumption that Lg is a notebook composed of résumés made on the spot, first sketches, and personal notes. Examining a text in this way might reveal more of such phenomena that appear when an author is not just copying but writing, in the sense of composing or summarizing. In such conditions, my presupposition was that he might pay less attention to the way he writes some words.¹⁰⁸ As I noted then, some of the phenomena I identified result from archaic orthography still found in the Qurʾān, like disregarding the *alif* as the mark of the long vowel *ā* within certain categories of personal and common names (like *Sulaymān*, *ʿUthmān*, *qiyāma*, *thalāth* written *ثلث* *، قيمة*، *عثمن*، *سليمن*). Others are more idiosyncratic, and reflect what is now defined as Middle Arabic or Mixed Arabic, e.g., the support of the *hamza* (*ruʿūs* written *روس* for instance) or the use of the *alif otiosum* almost systematically at the end of words ending with a *wāw* (e.g. *banū* written *بنوا*). These phenomena, as interesting as they may be, are not necessarily characteristic of a way of writing and a writer as they can be observed in many other cases in holograph and non-holograph manuscripts.

Here, other cases that are less often observed in the hand of other authors are more pertinent to the issue. For example, al-Maqrīzī tends to drop the initial *alif* for the word *ithnān* and its various forms (feminine, different cases, in annexation; see fig. 5.9). This phenomenon appears in several of his holographs, indicating that this is his usual practice, one that should not be identified only in his notebooks. Another idiosyncrasy relates to the word *allafa*, which he writes systematically in its past form with two *lāms* (see fig. 5.10). I spotted no fewer than seven occurrences in Lg and one in İY; this indicates that it is his

108 Bauden, Maqriziana VIII.

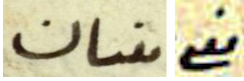


FIGURE 5.9 The word *ithnān* in Lg, fol. 166^a, l. 17 (MS 2232, left: *thnān*) and 1F3 (MS Fatih 4340), fol. 117^a, l. 2 (right: *thnatay*)

LEFT: LIÈGE, LIÈGE UNIVERSITÉ, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ARCHITECTURE, LETTRES, PHILOSOPHIE, HISTOIRE ET ARTS; RIGHT: ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

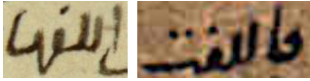


FIGURE 5.10 The word *allafa* in Lg (MS 2232), fol. 8^b, l. 20 (left: *allafahā*) and 1Y (MS Şehit Ali Paşa 1847), fol. 4^a, marginal addition, last line (*fa-allaftu*)

LEFT: LIÈGE, LIÈGE UNIVERSITÉ, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ARCHITECTURE, LETTRES, PHILOSOPHIE, HISTOIRE ET ARTS; RIGHT: ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

very personal way of writing this specific word.¹⁰⁹ Other cases can be found in his other holographs too. Even though this orthographic habit concerns a very specific word that does not appear frequently in his writings, it constitutes one peculiar element that is helpful for those seeking to identify his handwriting.

5.4.3 Handwriting

5.4.3.1 Letters

Handwriting specialists stress that writing is not the result of a regular combination of calibrated independent letters. Children are first taught how to write individual, separate letters, then they learn to combine them with other letters,¹¹⁰ to join them together with specific ligatures, and eventually, some create their own ligatures. This process implies that short words and combinations of letters reveal more about a handwriting than the study of independent letters because each word is a shape in itself: ligatures and spaces are considered more personal than the shapes of letters themselves.¹¹¹ Despite the fact that Arabic script is predominantly composed of connected letters (i.e., with ligatures,

109 This systematic phenomenon cannot be associated with letter stutter, where the repetition of a letter in handwriting is considered accidental.

110 In medieval Islam too according to al-Nuwayrī's description (*Nihāyat al-arab* ix, 218–9).

111 Berrichon-Sedeyn, *Acte mécanique* 221, 224 (no written element taken separately can be significant), 227 (similitudes and discrepancies noted in the shapes of letters are not significant in themselves); Sirat, *Writing* 492; and chapter 4 in this volume.

which makes the analysis of letters taken independently less pertinent),¹¹² I maintain that it is still useful to look at the shape of each letter, connected as well as unconnected, when the handwriting is an informal one.¹¹³ As we will see, these letters present features that are already characteristic of a person's age and the circumstances in which this person is writing. Here the caveat outlined by handwriting specialists is countered by the large chronological span of time during which one person may be writing. When considered in relation to the issue of the connections, which is dealt with in the following sub-sections on ligatures, idiosyncratic forms, and cursivity, they reveal features and trends that demonstrate the validity of this approach. In what follows, I describe the main attributes of each letter—or homograph—and focus on its evolution with the passing of time. My description is based on the occurrences gathered in tables 5.14–5.17 placed at the end of this chapter, where the manuscripts are arranged in chronological order based on the timeline (fig. 5.3).

5.4.3.1.1 *alif* (Table 5.14)

When unconnected, the letter is traced from top to bottom without a head-serif. The shaft generally consists of a dash that tends to be thick at the top and fades away to a thin line at the bottom. Largely vertical in IM (see table 5.1, where the average angle is 85°), it starts to slant slightly to the right with an angle that can vary up to fifteen degrees, the angle increasing a bit toward the end of al-Maqrīzī's life.

In its connected form, the letter is written from bottom to top, with the upper part of the shaft sloping toward the right. In one particular case (the word *qāla* not preceded by another connecting letter), the top of the *alif* curves above the *qāf* as if it took the place of the diacritical dots of that letter (that is always dotless in this case).¹¹⁴

5.4.3.1.2 *bā-tā-thā* (Table 5.14)

Isolated, it is similar to the *mawqūfa* shape of the letter, i.e., with the initial stroke leaning moderately to the left followed by a long stroke on the baseline and the ending faintly above it.¹¹⁵ In its initial form, the letter consists of a small

¹¹² Déroche, *Analyser* 4.

¹¹³ Scholars who want to analyze formal handwritings face more difficulties. See, for instance, the recent study of Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, especially chap. 3, where the author discusses her study of Yāqūt al-Musta'šimī's style and where discrepancies can be identified in the shape of a single letter, like the *alif*.

¹¹⁴ On the possible link of this idiosyncratic shape of the word with cursivity, see the following sub-section.

¹¹⁵ Gacek, *Vademecum* 318 (no. 5).

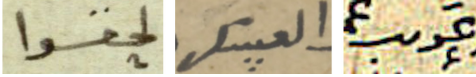


FIGURE 5.11 Examples of the use of *matres lectionis* and of diacritical dots to specify the phonological value of a letter: Lg (MS 2232), fol. 64^a, l. 12 (left: *lahiqū*); An (MS Isl. 605), p. 8, l. 18 (center: *al-askar*); IF3 (MS Fatih 4340), fol. 125^a, l. 5 (right: *arib*)

LEFT: LIÈGE, LIÈGE UNIVERSITÉ, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ARCHITECTURE, LETTRES, PHILOSOPHIE, HISTOIRE ET ARTS; CENTER: ANN ARBOR, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS LIBRARY; RIGHT: ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

and usually low stroke that is originally vertical, then, from *iy*, presents a slant toward the right. In its median form, one notices that the blank space left below the denticle disappears starting with *G*₁, giving the letter a flat base.

5.4.3.1.3 *jūm-hā'-khā'* (Table 5.14)

In its unconnected position, the letter corresponds to the *mursala* shape with its curved descender.¹¹⁶ The curve is plainly round in *IM* but tends to become more angular later. The initial part of the letter can have a *tarwīs*, i.e., a small serif, or not. For the median position, al-Maqrīzī uses two allographs: one form with or without *tarwīs*, the latter starting sometimes below the base of the letter (*IT*₂). In its final position, the letter looks quite peculiar in *IM*, at the beginning of al-Maqrīzī's career as a scholar: the stroke before the descender goes well toward the right, somewhat excessively. He soon abandoned this shape for a more conventional form that presents the same tendency for the angular curve noted in the isolated form, to such an extent that the letter looks almost like an isolated *'ayn*. It is noteworthy that al-Maqrīzī adds, from time to time, a small *hā'* as a *mater lectionis* to specify when the phonological value of the letter is that of a *hā'* (see fig. 5.11, left).

5.4.3.1.4 *dāl-dhāl* (Table 5.14)

This letter is initially (*IM*) written with a clearly curved shape, with the axis of the curve close to the line or the ligature of the preceding letter. In its isolated form, the axis starts to rise from *IT*₂ until it reaches its apex (45°) with *IA*. The upper part of the letter is also sometimes provided with a kind of *tarwīs*.¹¹⁷ Once connected, the curve of the letter tends to become flatter (*IT*₂, *G*₁, *iy*, *Lg*, *Al*, *An*, *Lg*^{*}), until it completely vanishes (*Du*, *IS*, *L5*, *IA*): the letter is then reduced to a straight oblique stroke.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 318 (no. 9).

¹¹⁷ This feature is studied in the sub-section on cursivity.

5.4.3.1.5 *rā'-zāy* (Table 5.14)

In its isolated position, the letter is initially written with a slight curve, with the descender parallel to the baseline.¹¹⁸ Like for the *dāl-dhāl*, the curve starts to decrease until it becomes a straight stroke (IA). For the connected form, al-Maqrīzī uses two allographs: in addition to the *mabsūṭa* form, he sometimes opts for the contracted shape (*mudghama*) where the descender adopts an ending like a hook.¹¹⁹ This second allograph seems to fall in disuse at the end of al-Maqrīzī's life.

5.4.3.1.6 *sīn-shīn* (Table 5.14)

The denticles of the letter are all clearly distinguished, and rise somewhat above the baseline in all the positions, but are never sharply pointed, rather rounded. However, from 1S onward, the height of these denticles is much smaller and they barely look like dents anymore. Very early on, after 1T₂, the blank space below the denticles fades away, and the base of the letter flattens. When the letter ends with its bowl, the curve is almost a half circle (at the beginning of al-Maqrīzī's career). Then the final part of the curve remains well below the baseline and somewhat angular. In many cases, al-Maqrīzī favors the *mu'allaqa sīn* (i.e., a straight line with no denticles) in the median position only. From time to time, he also writes three dots beneath the letter in the same position to specify that the letter represents a *sīn* and not a *shīn* (see fig. 5.11, center).

5.4.3.1.7 *ṣād-dād* (Table 5.15)

Initially (1M), this letter adopts a curly and rounded shape in all its positions. The upstroke at the junction of the end of the loop is clearly marked. From 1T₂ onward, the loop is elongated and slightly flattened. The upstroke at the junction tends to fade away with time and the curve of the bowl, as with the preceding letter, remains under the baseline with an angular hook in some cases.

5.4.3.1.8 *tā-zā'* (Table 5.15)

In its isolated position, this letter is penned in one or two strokes, starting with the stem that may or may not reach the baseline before tracing the loop. When connected, it is usually the loop that follows the ligature with the stem added afterward. In some cases, particularly in the final position, the letter is written

118 The shape is called *mabsūṭa*: Gacek, *Vademecum* 318 (no. 14).

119 For the link between this shape and cursivity, see sub-section 5.4.3.3.

in one stroke, as it is in isolation, but it nevertheless connects to the ligature from the preceding letter. The stem is vertical in 1M but starts to slant to the right from 1T2.

5.4.3.1.9 *ʿayn-ghayn* (Table 5.15)

Unconnected, the letter is characterized by its two curls, the first one almost closed, while the second one, the descender, is round, with its extremity pointing toward the baseline (1M).¹²⁰ From 1T2, the first curl opens up and becomes in some cases more angular, exactly like the descender which takes the shape already observed for the *jīm-ḥāʾ-khāʾ*. In its median position, the head of the letter is either flat or round with or without counter. In very rare cases, al-Maqrīzī places a small *ʿayn* as *mater lectionis* below the letter to specify that its phonological value is that of a *ʿayn* (see fig. 5.11, right).

5.4.3.1.10 *fāʾ-qāf* (Table 5.15)

Both letters can be written with or without counter. The unconnected *fāʾ* is written on the baseline with a curly ending (*majmūʿa*). This curly ending disappears from 1T2 and is replaced with a flat ending (without a curl at the end), as it is in its final position (*mawqūfa*).¹²¹ In its initial position, the letter is written like a small round with a closed counter, while in the median position, it is sometimes harder to distinguish it from the median *ʿayn-ghayn*, the top of the letter being somewhat flat and large. The *qāf* retains its curve. Over time, both letters tend to adopt a shape that is oblique to the baseline.

5.4.3.1.11 *kāf* (Table 5.16)

Al-Maqrīzī makes use of the two allographs available: the *kāf mabsūta* and *kāf mashkūla*. The first one, also described as the 's'-shaped *kāf*¹²² or the 'hairpin' *kāf*,¹²³ is written in one stroke, beginning with the upper part of the bar. The angle between the bar and the body can be sharp-cornered or wavy (1M), but over time, it has more of the first type. After 1M, the base of the body is separated from the baseline, adopting an oblique angle. The allograph (*kāf mashkūla*) is usually traced in two steps, starting with the shaft and its ligature or ending and followed by the upper bar written from the left, with an average angle of 30° (with a maximum of 35°). In the final position, the shaft slants to the right (Lg*, and more particularly at the end of al-Maqrīzī's life: 1S, L5, 1A). The bar

120 This is referred to as *makhṭūfa*. See al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmiʿ maḥāsīn* (ed. al-Mānīʿ), fol. 5^b.

121 Gacek, *Vademecum* 318 (no. 32).

122 Gacek, *The Arabic manuscript tradition* 8.

123 Déroche, *Analyses* 6.

remains sometimes unconnected or goes through the shaft, a feature probably linked to a question of rhythm. Al-Maqrīzī writes both allographs over time but not consistently and generally as table 5.9 shows. When it is unconnected, al-Maqrīzī largely favors the *mabsūṭa* form, thus conforming to the calligraphic rule set by al-Qalqashandī.¹²⁴

5.4.3.1.12 *lām* (Table 5.16)

Generally speaking, the letter presents a straight vertical shaft with an angled stroke. The descender is parallel to the baseline, particularly when the letter is unconnected, while it becomes curvy when in final position. Over time, the angle of the shaft slants toward the right in all its positions.

5.4.3.1.13 *mīm* (Table 5.16)

In IM, the body of the *mīm* is traced according to calligraphic rules. The letter is traced from the top, going down toward the baseline and then rising toward the top to form a circle with or without counter. After IM, the round shape of the letter vanishes in favor of a small dot, sometimes hardly distinguishable from the ligature. If it is connected on both sides, al-Maqrīzī adopts a ligature that descends and immediately turns to the left, leaving the trace of a small dot (*mulawwaza*).¹²⁵ In its unconnected or final position, beside the shape of the letter with a descender slightly curved toward the right (*mukhtāla*),¹²⁶ al-Maqrīzī favors a stroke that remains on the baseline.¹²⁷ Such a shape is not described in calligraphic treatises and is thus idiosyncratic. It seems to have been part of his early training. While it may completely disappear for the unconnected form after IM, there remains a trace of it in the final position: the descender is either parallel to the baseline or curvy. When it is curvy, most of the descender is oblique. While the letter can still present a counter in IM, it vanishes immediately after that.

5.4.3.1.14 *nūn* (Table 5.16)

In its unconnected and joined forms, the bowl is well rounded in IM. Afterward, the depth of the bowl shortens while its ending becomes angular as the bowl is

124 “The *kāf mashkūla* is used when joined in initial and median positions. It can definitely not be unconnected” (*fa-lā takūn illā murakkaba wa-mawḍi‘uhā l-ibtidā‘āt wa-l-wusaṭ wa-lā tanfarid al-batta*). Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā* iii, 84–5.

125 Al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmi‘ maḥāsin* fol. 7^a.

126 Gacek, *Vademecum* 319 (no. 41).

127 In IM, I counted seventeen occurrences of this horizontal *mīm* versus just two for the one with a descender on one leaf.

traced more obliquely. In certain circumstances, in its final position the letter adopts two different shapes: either a long straight and oblique stroke or a wavy one.¹²⁸

5.4.3.1.15 *hā'* (Table 5.17)

Unconnected, the letter is traced like a *mīm*, from the top, with a large counter (*mu'arrāt*).¹²⁹ In his seventies, al-Maqrīzī started the letter closer to the baseline, on the left, giving the letter a flatter shape. Two allographs are attested for this letter in its initial position: it resembles a cat face (*wajh al-hirr*)¹³⁰ or it is split and wrapped (*malḥūfa*).¹³¹ Al-Maqrīzī definitely prefers the first; the second features more in drafts, résumés, and first sketches (IT2, Lg*, Du). For the median position, al-Maqrīzī uses three allographs: mostly the *mudghama* shape (roughly like a 'v'), which he largely preferred to the following one split lengthwise (*mashqūqa ṭūlan*)¹³² or, even more rarely, the *wajh al-hirr*. For the final position, al-Maqrīzī initially (IM) wrote the letter with a counter (*mar-dūfa*), but quickly switched to the *makhṭūfa* shape, which consists of a small stroke with an acute or wavy angle.

5.4.3.1.16 *wāw* (Table 5.17)

Mostly written without counter, the descender of the letter is rather horizontal to the baseline in IM, then leans toward an oblique position. The head of the letter, round in most cases, became more angular when al-Maqrīzī was in his seventies.

5.4.3.1.17 *yā'* (Table 5.17)

Considered here only in its unjoined and its final position, the letter is represented by two allographs: the 'duck'-shaped *yā'* (*majmū'a*) and the one that turns back (*rāji'a*),¹³³ where the bowl is replaced by a horizontal stroke going backward and parallel to the baseline. For the former shape, we note that its bowl in the unconnected position is well rounded in IM, while its depth is reduced later, as the letter adopts a more oblique angle. In Lg*, the letter can be reduced to a long stroke that also represents the word *ibn* in other circum-

128 These shapes are reviewed in the sub-section on cursivity.

129 Gacek, *Vademecum* 319 (no. 53). In IM, he also uses the shape where the stroke crosses at the head of the letter, a shape known as *murabba'a* (ibid. 319 (no. 52)).






130 Ibid. 319 (no. 46).

131 Al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmi' maḥāsin* fol. 7^b.

132 Gacek, *Vademecum* 319 (no. 45); al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmi' maḥāsin* fol. 7^b.

133 Gacek, *Vademecum* 319 (nos. 64–5).

TABLE 5.3 Comparative table of occurrences of *lām-alif* (unconnected and connected)

MS	Age			Total			Total	
IM	28	8	3	11 (92%)	1	0	1 (8%)	0 (0%)
IT2	bet. 44–50	10	0	10 (71%)	2	2	4 (29%)	0 (0%)
G1	bet. 49–57	27	5	32 (86%)	0	5	5 (14%)	0 (0%)
Lg*	aft. 50	12	1	13 (30%)	29	2	31 (70%)	0 (0%)
IY	bet. 51–7	24	2	26 (60%)	2	15	17 (40%)	0 (0%)
Du	56	13	0	13 (81%)	1	2	3 (19%)	0 (0%)
Lg	63	15	2	17 (100%)	0	0	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Al	aft. 63	28	0	28 (78%)	5	3	8 (22%)	0 (0%)
An	aft. 63	24	2	26 (79%)	1	6	7 (21%)	0 (0%)
IS	bet. 64–7	2	0	2 (8%)	0	11	11 (44%)	12 (48%)
L5	71	0	0	0 (0%)	0	4	4 (29%)	10 (71%)
IA	76–7	0	0	0 (0%)	0	11	11 (30%)	26 (70%)
	Total	163 (67%)	15 (20%)	178 (56%)	41 (17%)	61 (80%)	102 (32%)	40 (16%) ^a

a Note that this figure is taken into account for the total number of occurrences together with the two other shapes, but not for the calculation of the sub-total for each of the two other shapes.

stances. As table 5.8 demonstrates, al-Maqrīzī does not use allographs indiscriminately. At the beginning of his career (IM), he favors the ‘duck’-shaped *yā*. Later, with the exception of Du and IY, he clearly prefers the *rāji‘a*.

5.4.3.1.18 *lām-alif* (Table 5.17)

In their unjoined form, the combination of the two letters can be rendered with one or two independent strokes. In the latter case, both strokes are traced from top to bottom where they connect.¹³⁴ With just one stroke, the letter is traced with an intersection on the baseline that is angular (*warrāqīyya*) or curved (*muḥaqqāqa*).¹³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī does not seem to have used the shape with two strokes: rather he wrote the two forms with the intersection, with a marked preference for the *lām-alif muḥaqqāqa* as table 5.3 reveals (67%). By contrast, for the connected form of the *lām-alif*, he used the *marshūqa* form (80%) for an obvious reason: it allowed him to pen the *lām* from the ligature and reach the baseline, then raise the pen to add the *alif*. As for the *lām-alif muḥaqqāqa*, he had to stop the ligature and raise his hand to trace the intersected stroke, resulting in a ligature that is sometimes quite long (see table 5.17). We must also

134 It corresponds to the *marshūqa* and *musbala* shapes. See Gacek, *Vademecum* 319 (nos. 62–3).

135 Ibid. (nos. 59 and 60–1).

note that, toward the end of his life (from 1S; see table 5.3), al-Maqrīzī adopted a slightly modified form for the *lām-alif* (whether connected or not) that seems to derive from the *muḥaqqāqa* shape, in which the combination is traced in one stroke, starting on the left with a curved *alif*, without the angular or curved intersection on the baseline.

5.4.3.2 *Ligatures and Idiosyncratic Forms*

If the analysis of the shapes of letters and the way they evolve over time reveals several idiosyncrasies that help characterize al-Maqrīzī's handwriting and allow the corroboration or confirmation of identifications, handwriting specialists (both paleographers and experts in handwriting identification) insist that such an analysis must also consider how the letters are connected and what shape specific repetitive words may take. In what follows, before studying three repetitive words, I consider the ligatures between specific letters, and distinguish between the usual and the abusive ones.

5.4.3.2.1 The Usual Ligatures: The Case of the Homograph ح

Among the letters of the Arabic alphabet, the homograph for *jīm*, *hā'*, *khā'* is one of the most problematic because its shape forces the writer to raise his pen and move it to the left to start to trace the letter. This is of course the case if the writer wants to stay on the baseline. Ligatures are indeed available to bypass the difficulty posed by this letter: this involves writing the preceding letter or letters slightly above the baseline in order to reach the baseline with the homograph or the end of the word. Al-Maqrīzī follows this practice.¹³⁶ Interestingly, when the homograph is preceded by a *lām* or the homograph ل, the way he treats the ligature changed between two periods: the beginning of his career (1M) and the remainder of his life (from 1T2). In the first case, the *lām* or the homograph ل is written perpendicular to the ح.¹³⁷ In the following years, they generally take the shape of an oblique stroke.¹³⁸

5.4.3.2.2 Abusive Ligatures

The abusive ligatures mainly involve four letters, among which two homographs each represents two sounds, which cannot be connected to the following letter and thus do not offer any ligature, compelling the writer to raise his

136 See, for instance, 1M, lines 2 (*ṣaḥīḥ*), 5 (*al-mujālasa*), 14 (*shaykhan*).

137 See 1M, lines 6 (*bi-l-ḥadīth*), 7 (*la-ḥalaftu*).

138 For instance see 1T2, lines 1 (*bi-ḥāra*), 10 (*al-khalīfa*); G1, l. 23 (*al-ḥarb*); 1Y, l. 2 (*al-khalīfa*); Lg, l. 3 (*taht*); Al, l. 1 (*takhāṣamū*); An, l. 5 (*al-jūdariyya*); 1S, l. 2 (*tazwīj*); L5, l. 25 (*wa-l-Ḥārith*); 1A, l. 3 (*al-Ḥasan*).

hand to trace the successive letter. These abusive ligatures are attested in the formal writing styles developed by calligraphers¹³⁹ and were elaborated in the framework of the chancery. Unsurprisingly, al-Maqrīzī was aware of their existence and used them in certain circumstances. Statistically, the most frequently observed cases concern the final *dāl/dhāl* or *rā'/zāy* followed by the *hā'* (see table 5.4). In such combinations, al-Maqrīzī wrote the *hā'* as an extension of the *dāl/dhāl* or *rā'/zāy*, giving it the shape of a small circle that closes down inside the preceding letter. As for the *wāw*, al-Maqrīzī sometimes connected it to a final *nūn*.¹⁴⁰ Other abusive ligatures relate to any of the four letters (and for two of them, two homographs) above, as well as the *alif* in connection with other letters: the *alif* with the homograph ا ,¹⁴¹ the *dāl/dhāl*,¹⁴² the *rā'/zāy*,¹⁴³ the *sīn/shīn*,¹⁴⁴ the *lām*,¹⁴⁵ or the *nūn*;¹⁴⁶ the *dāl/dhāl* with the final *yā'*;¹⁴⁷ the *rā'/zāy* with the homograph و ,¹⁴⁸ and ح ,¹⁴⁹ the *dāl/dhāl*,¹⁵⁰ the *ṣād/ḍād*,¹⁵¹ or the *yā'*;¹⁵² the *wāw* with the homograph و ,¹⁵³ and ح ,¹⁵⁴ the *rā'/zāy*,¹⁵⁵ or the *hā'*.¹⁵⁶ The majority of these cases feature in two manuscripts only: IT2, Lg* but first and foremost in the latter (see fig. 5.12). Abusive ligatures can also affect two words that are connected, but this only appears sporadically.¹⁵⁷

5.4.3.2.3 The Contraction (*idghām*)/Curtailed (*ikhtilās*) of the *rā'* and *nūn*
Treatises on calligraphy specify that the descender of the *rā'* and the bowl of the *nūn* can be given a specific shape. In the first case, the descender can be contracted (*mudghama*), meaning that a wavy move is added to give it

139 Déroche, *Analyser* 6.

140 For example, see G1, l. 4 (*ya'tamidūn*).

141 Lg*, l. 4 (*Ghurāb*).

142 Lg*, l. 14 (*'āda*).

143 IT2, l. 7 (*wa-arba'in*).

144 IT2, l. 20 (*Ismā'il*); Lg*, l. 1 (*wa-istaqarra*).

145 IT2, l. 14 (*bi-l-qabr*); Lg*, l. 14 (*wa-'āda*).

146 Lg*, l. 17 (*anna*).

147 An, l. 8 (*al-ladhī*).

148 IT2, l. 15 (*al-kurab*).

149 Lg, l. 8 (*juriha*).

150 Lg*, l. 11 (*bi-mufradihi*).

151 Lg*, l. 7 (*al-marad*).

152 IT2, l. 12 (*al-ṭariq*).

153 Lg*, l. 9 (*wa-thamāni m'a*).

154 Lg*, l. 12 (*tawajjaha*).

155 Lg*, l. 15 (*al-umūr*), l. 17 (*mashūratihī*).

156 Al, l. 11 (*ja'alūhu*).

157 Like *thamāni m'a* (Lg*, lines 9 and 13).

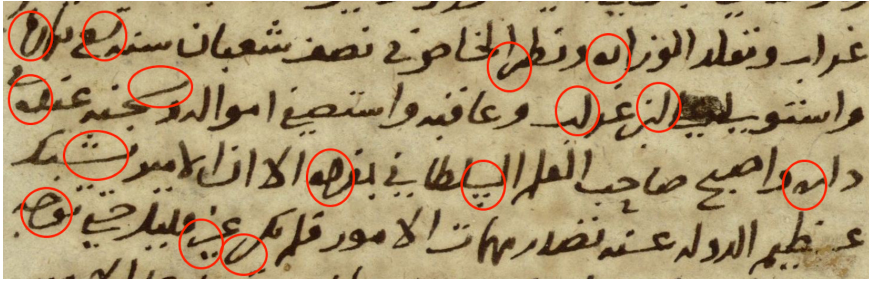


FIGURE 5.12 Occurrences of abusive ligatures, contractions, and *sîn/shîn mu'allaqa* in Lg* (MS 2232)
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TABLE 5.4 Number of occurrences of abusive ligatures and contractions

MS	Age	Abusive ligatures			Contractions		
		ده	ره	ون	بن	من	ين
IM	28	2 (6)	0 (3)	0 (2)	5 (13)	0 (6)	0 (5)
IT2	bet. 44–50	3 (3)	8 (8)	2 (3)	2 (3)	1 (3)	2 (4)
G1	bet. 49–57	2 (2)	3 (3)	3 (8)	0 (2)	6 (13)	0 (6)
Lg*	aft. 50	3 (3)	2 (2)	0 (0)	3 (4)	2 (3)	6 (7)
IY	bet. 51–7	6 (6)	3 (3)	4 (5)	0 (0)	5 (10)	4 (7)
Du	56	2 (2)	3 (3)	0 (1)	10 (14)	0 (4)	2 (10)
Lg	63	1 (1)	7 (7)	0 (1)	0 (0)	1 (11)	0 (1)
Al	aft. 63	2 (2)	0 (0)	2 (2)	0 (0)	8 (10)	3 (3)
An	aft. 63	5 (5)	6 (7)	3 (4)	0 (7)	2 (6)	1 (1)
IS	bet. 64–7	2 (2)	1 (6)	0 (0)	3 (3)	3 (10)	0 (1)
L5	71	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	42 (78)	0 (0)	0 (0)
IA	76–7	0 (6)	0 (2)	0 (11)	1 (3)	7 (12)	1 (4)

a hook-like ending.¹⁵⁸ The shape of the letter is also distinguished from its other allograph by its connection to the preceding one in such a way that the passage of one letter to the other is imperceptible. Hence the use of the Arabic word *idghām* to express the coalescence or the fact that two things come together to form one mass. For the *nūn*, a similar phenomenon is documented

158 See Gacek, *Vademecum* 318 (no. 13); Gacek, *The Arabic manuscript tradition* 24.

TABLE 5.5 Some examples of contraction (*idghām*) and curtailment (*ikhṭilās*)

ع	ير	من	عن	ين
Lg, l. 8	Lg*, l. 12	1Y, l. 24	1S, l. 9	Lg*, l. 1
				

but with two possible shapes, called *mudghama* and *mukhtalasa*. While in its contracted form (*mudghama*), the *nūn* takes a shape quite similar to the *rā'* *mudghama*, though a bit longer, the curtailed *nūn* (*mukhtalasa*) does not feature the hook-like ending: its descender is a long oblique stroke.¹⁵⁹ In his *opus magnum*, al-Qalqashandī specifies that the contraction of the *nūn* can only apply after three letters of a distinct shape: *mīm mu'allaqa*, *'ayn mulawwaza*, and *kāf mashkūla*.¹⁶⁰

Al-Maqrīzī uses these shapes in other circumstances too (see fig. 5.13. For the *rā'*, it appears in the middle of a word or at its end.¹⁶¹ He seems to prefer the *nūn*, mostly the *mudghama* form, when preceded by a *yā'* and in some repetitive words, like *ibn*, *min*, and *'an*. The word *ibn* is sometimes reduced to a single oblique stroke (see table 5.17). The same phenomenon can be observed for the word *'an* in a text mainly composed of traditions.¹⁶² Such idiosyncratic forms result from a simplified writing similar to stenography.¹⁶³ The reason he sometimes adopts the *mudghama/mukhtalasa* form remains to be investigated, but is likely a result of his desire to write more economically by eliminating unnecessary strokes but preserving legibility (see table 5.4 and next sub-section).

5.4.3.2.4 Fixed Shapes

Depending on the genre of text being written or copied, some words are given a particular shape that can be, essentially, regarded as characteristic, though not specific of a given person. One of those frequently used words is certainly *qāla*. In al-Maqrīzī's hand, the word often takes a specific shape in which the

159 See Gacek, *Vademecum* 318 (nos. 43–4); Gacek, *The Arabic manuscript tradition* 22.

160 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* iii, 92–3. Al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmi' maḥāsini*, fol. 7^b, gives an example of *sīn* followed by a *nūn mudghama*.

161 In the latter case, it can sometimes even be followed by a final *hā'* with an abusive ligature detailed above.

162 In 1S, where twenty of twenty-two occurrences on a page take this shape.

163 Wing, *Étude* 128.

TABLE 5.6 Comparative table of the word *ḥattā*

IM, fol. 11 ^a , l. 17	IT2, fol. 9 ^b , l. 8	G1, fol. 6 ^b , l. 14	IX, fol. 10 ^b , l. 22	Du, fol. 12 ^a , l. 3	Lg, fol. 161 ^a , l. 17	Lg*, fol. 187 ^a , l. 4	Al, fol. 5 ^a , l. 7	An, p. 9, l. 12	IS, fol. 15, l. 21	L5	IA, fol. 74 ^b , l. 13

alif is curved with its upper part extending toward the right, topping the letter *qāf* (see table 5.17). Such a fixed shape is rather typical of texts composed of *ḥadīths* where *qāla* is repeated several times on the same page.¹⁶⁴ As already noted by Déroche,¹⁶⁵ this fixed form could play the role of a visual sign that helps to quickly navigate through the text. This is certainly true of *ḥadīth* works. Al-Maqrīzī, who was educated in *ḥadīth*, certainly learned this fixed form that appears several times per page in IM. In his other manuscripts, the habit was well-established enough to repeat itself even though the nature of the texts changed.

Of course, al-Maqrīzī's propensity for the use of the *yā' rāji'a* in all circumstances, after IM, as evidenced above, determines the way words ending with this letter can be rendered. The repetition of some of these words can explain why their shape became characteristic, in a way, of al-Maqrīzī's hand. The following example is certainly one of the most striking. Table 5.6 lists several occurrences of the word *ḥattā* found in each manuscript considered in this study, save for L5.¹⁶⁶ The list shows some interesting features: the rather long ligature that connects the *ḥā'* with the following letter, the *tā'*, which has the shape of a pointed stroke, sometimes faintly indicated; and finally the *yā' rāji'a*.

Also composed of a final *yā'*, the word *fī* offers another case in point. The maximum number of occurrences spotted on a single page in our sample is thirteen (see table 5.8). In the majority of cases listed (88 percent), al-Maqrīzī writes the word with a *yā' rāji'a*, which is perfectly understandable given his preference for this shape after IM. Nevertheless, it is once again characteristic with its 'snake'-like shape.

164 There are other similar fixed forms relating to other words frequently found in those texts, like *ḥaddathanā*, *akḥbaranā*, etc.

165 See Déroche, *Analysér* 6.

166 The text deals with the genealogy of Arab tribes and is almost exclusively composed of names. So no occurrence of *ḥattā* could be found in the fourteen leaves.

5.4.3.3 *Cursivity*

Cursivity is an ambiguous term when applied to the Arabic script. It usually refers to a script, e.g., Latin, in which several elements of a letter or a word are written in one move, as opposed to a variation (e.g., printed Latin) that does not offer this possibility. Typically, cursivity is used in relation to a Latin script in which letters are connected one to the other in contrast with the variety of the script in which each letter is written separately. In its essence, Arabic is a cursive script with ligatures for most of the letters and these ligatures have always existed.¹⁶⁷ In this sub-section, I use the term in its etymological sense (meaning, 'to run') in order to address the issue of speed and how it may have impacted al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.

Despite the existence of numerous ligatures to connect letters to each other, Arabic has six letters that cannot normally be joined to the following letter. While limited in number, the frequency of these letters represents about 30 percent of all letters found in a text, with the *alif* alone accounting for 18 percent.¹⁶⁸ Each time the pen needs to be raised from the baseline to trace such a letter, the writer's movement is consequently slowed. It is not surprising that the chancery—and the calligraphers who elaborated the styles used in this context—tried to increase writing speed by creating various tactics, such as the abusive ligatures. Such tactics were also deployed to limit the number of strokes or moves necessary to write the other letters: for the most part, these included the cancellation of the denticles of the *sīn/shīn*, the contraction (*idghām*) of the *rā'/zāy* and *nūn*, and the backward descender for the *yā'* (*yā' rāji'a*). However, as Déroche emphasized, calligraphers adopted these shapes with a different intent¹⁶⁹ (aesthetics, variety, rhythm, etc.). We know that al-Maqrīzī was educated in calligraphy and that he had a high position in the chancery at the beginning of his career. Thus, it is legitimate to wonder if he used any of the above-mentioned tactics as a way to write more quickly or simply because he had learned them and they were part of his training. I have adopted a statistical approach to address this issue and better identify the reasons that may lie behind his use of the alternative shapes.

We have seen that al-Maqrīzī resorted to the abusive ligatures in a variety of circumstances. The cases most often represented involve the combination of the *dāl* and *rā'* with the final *hā'*. Table 5.4 shows that the combination with

167 See Déroche, *Analysér* 5.

168 The figures are given in Atanasiu, *De la fréquence* 154 and 156 (*alif*: 18.06%, *wāw*: 7.74%, *rā'*: 3.81%, *dāl*: 1.82%, *dhāl*: 1.52%, *zāy*: 0.5%, *lām-alif*: 1.57%). This calculation is based on the Qur'ān.

169 See Déroche, *Analysér* 5.

the *dāl* is present from the beginning (1M), though less often in comparison with the following manuscripts, where it seems to be systematic (that is, all the occurrences of the combination have the abusive ligature), and before it vanishes at the very end of his life (1A).¹⁷⁰ The same comment applies to the *rāʾ*. The fact that al-Maqrīzī used these abusive ligatures with parsimony or not at all in 1M, where his handwriting is the closest to his calligraphic training, and then almost systematically until his late sixties, is an indication that he perceived these abusive ligatures as a way to hasten his writing.¹⁷¹ We can draw the same conclusion for the *wāw* joined to the final *nūn*: the phenomenon is not attested in 1M, but it is in some other manuscripts he wrote before his seventies.

In light of the elements described above, which are clearly linked to the concept of cursivity, we may wonder if the use of the contraction of the *rāʾ* and the *nūn* (*idghām*) can be regarded as another way to increase writing speed. The samples collected on one leaf for each manuscript of the corpus (see table 5.4) show that their interpretation is more difficult. The percentage of occurrences of contractions in combinations like *ibn*, *min*, *īn-ayn* is definitely higher in Lg*, 1T2, and A1, implying that al-Maqrīzī had recourse to these forms for reasons of speed, but in specific circumstances (in the case of Lg* and A1 the first sketches, and the draft for 1T2). In the other manuscripts, which largely consist of fair copies, the percentage of their use is lower. However, depending on the number of combinations to be written on one leaf, al-Maqrīzī implemented the contraction, though not in a systematic way: for example, in the words *ibn* in Du, 1S, L5 and *min* in G1, 1Y, 1A. The contraction of the *nūn* in the group *īn-ayn* is not conclusive in this respect. It is perfectly understandable that repetitive words like *ibn* and *min* would be contracted. Notwithstanding this, we must note that even in a text with almost eighty occurrences of *ibn* (L5), only half of them are contracted. From this, we might conclude that we have another proof of cursivity that depends on the context. Indeed, the manuscript with the most restrained handwriting, that is closest to the school model (1M), does not include any of these contractions for the words *min* and the ending group *īn-ayn*. If al-Maqrīzī knew these contractions, he did not apply them in this early manuscript.

Other examples support this impression. As indicated in sub-section 5.4.3.2.1., when al-Maqrīzī joined the *lām* or the homograph *ل* with the homograph *ح*, he always did this at a 90° angle in 1M. In all the other manuscripts, he largely opted to incline each of the two letters that are represented by an

170 There are examples of this abusive ligature in 1A but they are clearly less frequent when compared to the preceding manuscripts (I could find only one case of a *rāʾ* with a final *hāʾ* out of several leaves, and no case for the *dāl*; see table 5.17).

171 As we see below, their disappearance in his seventies might be related to his aging.

oblique stroke.¹⁷² The *yā' rāji'a* is another case in point (see table 5.8) with its move backward, implying fewer hand movements: while this is seldom used in IM (only 12 percent), it is overwhelming in all the other manuscripts (69 percent of the total of occurrences).¹⁷³ The same is true for another repetitive word (*fi*), which he almost systematically writes with a *yā' rāji'a* after IM (in 88 percent of the total of occurrences). In this respect, we must also pay attention to the *kāf*. In its *mabsūta* shape, this letter requires the highest number of hand movements in different directions. As Déroche observed, the use of this shape decreases in writings of a medium or ordinary quality.¹⁷⁴ Al-Maqrīzī (see table 5.9) favors the *kāf mabsūta* in IM (64 percent), then the *mashkūla* shape takes the lead from IT₂,¹⁷⁵ and in Lg* (first sketch) he overwhelmingly (100 percent) overturns the calligraphic rule that specifies that in its unconnected form the *kāf* must always be *mabsūta*.¹⁷⁶ The letter *sīn/shīn*, with the allographs with or without denticles, also indicates the level of cursivity of a handwriting.¹⁷⁷ Its relevance in this respect can be gauged by comparing the number of occurrences of each shape in the same text (see table 5.7). While in IM al-Maqrīzī always uses denticles, it represents 77 percent in Lg* (first sketch) and 43 percent in IT₂ (draft). In all the other manuscripts, the *muḥaqqāqa* shape is massively represented (85 percent of the total of occurrences).¹⁷⁸ These figures confirm al-Maqrīzī's preference for the *sīn mu'allaqa* in unrestrained or less restrained contexts.

All these elements (specific allographs, contraction, inclination) are clearly linked to the issue of cursivity (i.e., speed of execution), as the occurrences listed demonstrate. Not all of them are necessarily applied in all circumstances, as we see, but a perusal of the number of occurrences is helpful to identify what these circumstances are (first sketches, drafts). In what follows, I tackle the issue of identifying the circumstances in which al-Maqrīzī's handwriting is more or less restrained.

172 This inclination, also observable in the beginning of words starting above the baseline (with an average angle of 5–10°), is another criteria of cursivity as observed by Déroche, Analyser 5.

173 In some cases, al-Maqrīzī clearly restrains his handwriting: for example, in IV and Du, the number of *yā' mabsūta* is proportionately inverted in comparison with the remainder (respectively 47 percent and 65 percent).

174 Déroche, Analyser 6.

175 Here again, al-Maqrīzī exerts a greater control of his handwriting, like in IS, where both shapes are equally used.

176 See above 173.

177 See Déroche, Analyser 5.

178 Even in Al, which is a first sketch though different in nature than Lg*, as al-Maqrīzī is composing the text based on one of his résumés. Thus, in this case, he is largely copying the text.

TABLE 5.7 Comparative table of occurrences of *sīn/shīn muḥaqqāqa* and *mu'allaqa*







MS	Age		
IM	28	41 (100%)	0 (0%)
IT2	bet. 44–50	16 (57%)	12 (43%)
G1	bet. 49–57	41 (100%)	0 (0%)
Lg*	aft. 50	7 (23%)	23 (77%)
IY	bet. 51–7	45 (80%)	11 (20%)
Du	56	48 (92%)	4 (8%)
Lg	63	43 (96%)	2 (4%)
Al	aft. 63	66 (99%)	1 (1%)
An	aft. 63	34 (97%)	1 (3%)
IS	bet. 64–7	27 (73%)	10 (27%)
L5	71	26 (87%)	4 (13%)
IA	76–7	34 (87%)	5 (13%)
	Total	444 (85%)	77 (15%)

TABLE 5.8 Comparative table of occurrences of *yā' mabsūta* and *rāji'a* and of the two shapes of *fī*

MS	Age				
IM	28	23 (88%)	3 (12%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)
IT2	bet. 44–50	7 (33%)	21 (67%)	1 (17%)	5 (83%)
G1	bet. 49–57	11 (25%)	33 (75%)	1 (7%)	13 (93%)
Lg*	aft. 50	4 (11%)	32 (89%)	1 (8%)	12 (92%)
IY	bet. 51–7	16 (47%)	18 (53%)	2 (18%)	9 (82%)
Du	56	17 (65%)	9 (35%)	1 (13%)	7 (87%)
Lg	63	3 (12.5%)	21 (87.5%)	1 (17%)	5 (83%)
Al	aft. 63	6 (33%)	12 (67%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)
An	aft. 63	16 (36%)	29 (64%)	1 (8%)	11 (92%)
IS	bet. 64–7	6 (12%)	43 (88%)	1 (14%)	6 (86%)
L5	71	10 (30%)	23 (70%)	2 (13%)	13 (87%)
IA	76–7	3 (9%)	30 (91%)	0 (0%)	10 (100%)
	Total	122 (31%)	274 (69%)	13 (12%)	97 (88%)

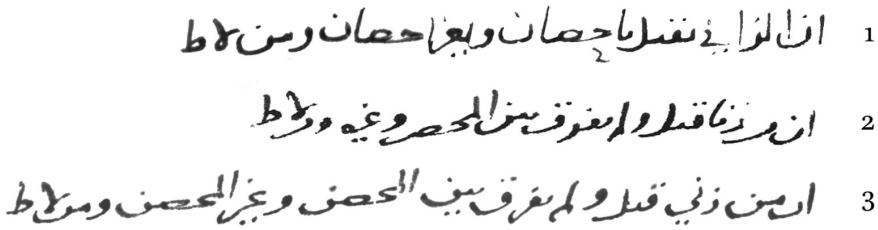


FIGURE 5.13 An almost similar line in three different manuscripts
 Note: 1: Lg, fol. 162^a, l. 7; 2: Al, fol. 5^a, l. 1; An, p. 471, ll. 13–4. The text reads:

- 1) ان الزاني يقتل باحصان وبغير احصان ومن لا ط
 2) ان من زنا قتل ولم يفرق بين المحصن وغيره ومن لا ط
 3) ان من زني قتل ولم يفرق بين المحصن وغير المحصن ومن لا ط.

5.4.3.4 Circumstances

The nature of the text being written is one of the factors that impacts writing. If the writer is composing a literary piece, he is involved in a reflexive and creative process, while if he is writing a personal letter, he is calling upon his emotional expression.¹⁷⁹ When he limits himself to copying a text (a fair copy or someone else's text), his writing will be the result of a mechanical process, one in which he can better control his hand.¹⁸⁰ In al-Maqrīzī's case, we have a variety of circumstances in which he is composing a personal text, summarizing a source, producing a draft, preparing a fair copy, or even just copying someone else's text. Rhythm and pressure are elements that reveal a great deal about these circumstances.

As for rhythm, we can consider three interrelated texts that reflect three different processes: (1) a résumé that al-Maqrīzī wrote while reading the source (Lg); (2) a sketch of a text he produced on the basis of the résumé (Al); (3) the fair copy of the section based on the sketch (An). In order to compare similar examples, I selected a succession of words that are similar in the three texts (see fig. 5.13).

In step 1 (Lg), the writing can be characterized as restrained: the words are largely written on the baseline, the shafts (*alif*, *lām*) slant slightly to the right, the text is devoid of abusive ligatures and includes just one contraction (*rā'* in final position in *wa-bi-ghayr*; the *nūn* in the *min* is not affected). In step 2 (An), the phrasing changes a bit and the general look of the writ-

179 Berrichon-Sedeyn, *Acte mécanique* 223.

180 *Ibid.*, 225.

TABLE 5.9 Comparative table of occurrences of *kāf mabsūta* (left) and *mashkūla* (right)

MS	Age	س			Unconnected	Total
		Connected with following letter	Connected with both letters	Connected with preceding letter		
IM	28	9 (39%)	12 (86%)	5 (100%)	3 (100%)	29 (64%)
IT2	bet. 44–50	4 (33%)	3 (43%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	8 (35%)
G1	bet. 49–57	7 (33%)	8 (40%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	16 (29%)
Lg*	aft. 50	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
IY	bet. 51–7	5 (22%)	4 (27%)	6 (100%)	2 (100%)	17 (37%)
Du	56	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	2 (7%)
Lg	63	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	4 (20%)
Al	aft. 63	10 (38.5%)	7 (58%)	3 (37.5%)	0 (0%)	20 (43%)
An	aft. 63	4 (12%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	5 (9%)
IS	bet. 64–7	3 (37.5%)	9 (64%)	1 (33%)	0 (0%)	13 (52%)
L5	71	7 (54%)	2 (67%)	1 (8%)	1 (100%)	11 (38%)
IA	76–7	10 (45%)	6 (55%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	17 (39%)
	Total	60 (28%)	53 (39%)	17 (20%)	12 (86%)	142 (32%)



Connected with following letter	Connected with both letters	Connected with preceding letter	Unconnected	Total
14 (61%)	2 (14%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	16 (36%)
8 (67%)	4 (57%)	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	15 (65%)
14 (67%)	12 (60%)	12 (92%)	1 (100%)	39 (71%)
12 (100%)	15 (100%)	5 (100%)	1 (100%)	33 (100%)
18 (78%)	11 (73%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (63%)
10 (92%)	5 (100%)	11 (100%)	0 (0%)	26 (93%)
9 (100%)	3 (60%)	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	16 (80%)
16 (61.5%)	5 (42%)	5 (62.5%)	0 (0%)	26 (57%)
30 (88%)	15 (100%)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	50 (91%)
5 (62.5%)	5 (36%)	2 (67%)	0 (0%)	12 (48%)
6 (46%)	1 (33%)	11 (92%)	0 (0%)	18 (62%)
12 (55%)	5 (45%)	10 (100%)	0 (0%)	27 (61%)
154 (72%)	83 (61%)	68 (80%)	2 (14%)	307 (68%)

ing betrays some tension: the line is striking in its inclination, an impression strengthened by the fact that some words begin above the baseline and the shaft of some *alifs* slant significantly to the right; the text presents a case of abusive ligature (*wa-ghayrihi*) and two contractions (two *mins* and at the end of *al-muḥṣin*); the compactness of the line is conspicuous (this is achieved by starting new words above the endings of the previous ones); the *lām-alif* features a kind of *tarwīs* to the left. In the third step (An), in which al-Maqrīzī is preparing the fair copy, we note that even though the beginning of some words starts above the line, the words stick more closely to the baseline; the shafts of the *alifs* and *lāms* lean slightly toward the right; the contractions of the *nūn* have vanished, apart from the presence of contractions in the *rā'* (two cases); and the words are more spaced out, making the line less compact.

Step 2 clearly demonstrates that when he is involved in a creative process, al-Maqrīzī paid less attention to his handwriting even though, in this case, it is a composition of a first sketch on the basis of a résumé; thus, he is largely copying material he had already, in a sense, digested. Lg*, which consists of a biographical notice of one of his contemporaries, definitely tallies more closely with what could be defined as a personal text, one in which he is largely drawing inspiration from personal recollections (see fig. 5.37). We have already noted that this text presents the highest number of abusive ligatures and other phenomena identified with speed of execution.¹⁸¹

These circumstances reveal situations in which al-Maqrīzī's hand is less restrained. There are other traces that help to assess the rhythm of his writing. Some of the cases of abusive ligatures that are identified in Lg* certainly contribute to our understanding of this issue (see fig. 5.12). Another element that helps us to appreciate his rhythm relates to the stroke that precedes unconnected letters with heads that start above the baseline and require that the pen be raised (typically the *dāl/dhāl* and the *lām-alif*). When these letters are preceded by another letter that requires a downward move, one notices that in the move that brings the pen from below the baseline up to the point where the head of the letter must be traced, it touches the surface earlier and leaves a somewhat long stroke in the case of the *lām-alif* and a shorter one for the *dāl/dhāl* (see table 5.10). Although we cannot find this example in 1M, the first example to the left illustrates how the move impacted the way al-Maqrīzī lengthened the descender of the *wāw* almost to the point that it joined the *alif*.

181 See above 182.

TABLE 5.10 Examples of *lām-alif* and of *dāl* with a hanging stroke

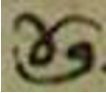
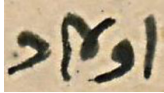
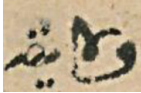
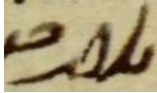
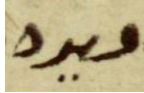
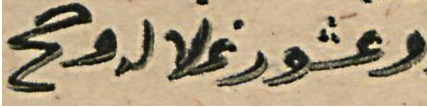
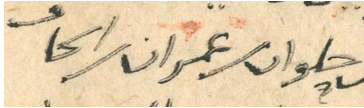
IM, fol. 2 ^a , l. 24 (<i>wa-lā</i>)	IT2, fol. 7 ^a , l. 4 (<i>awlād</i>)	IT2, fol. 6 ^b , l. 6 (<i>wilāyatihī</i>)	Lg, fol. 7 ^b , l. 21 (<i>thalāth</i>)	Lg, fol. 7 ^b , l. 16 (<i>wa-yaruddu</i>)
				

TABLE 5.11 Examples of pressure causing the widening of the nib

IT2, fol. 94 ^b , l. 12.	L5, fol. 2 ^b , l. 10
	

These features reveal that al-Maqrīzī was writing with a certain energy. In addition, they are idiosyncratic of his handwriting in certain circumstances.¹⁸²

Pressure can also betray the circumstances and the conditions in which al-Maqrīzī wrote. In the case of haste, the pressure the hand exerted on the reed pen widens the two parts of the nib. This widening leaves a white line between the two sides of the letters, as evidenced in table 5.11. This phenomenon is notably, but not exclusively, conspicuous in IT2 (a draft copied when al-Maqrīzī was in his mid-fifties) and L5 (a text copied by al-Maqrīzī when he was in his early seventies).

5.4.3.5 *Aging*

The aging process usually impacts a person's writing, though this depends on the state of health of the subject. In the analysis of writing, a number of factors should be taken into account: illness, visual disorders, joint problems, and shaking. Among the phenomena observed, scholars have identified examples of micrography, in which smaller letters are used at the beginning and ending of

¹⁸² We could also consider how the bar of the *kāf mashkūla* is added in a second move: the connection of the bar to the body can vary (i.e., be connected, unconnected, or cut through it).

lines, or the lines are not straight.¹⁸³ Writing specialists insist that these factors do not inevitably follow a downward curve, and that the analysis of handwriting must consider any variation that may be linked to any of these factors.¹⁸⁴

Given our corpus, which includes large samples of al-Maqrīzī's writing activity in his seventies, we are in a good position to observe if phenomena linked to some of these factors can be shown. We do not know if he had visual problems that required spectacles at such an advanced age.¹⁸⁵ But we do know that he is said to have died after a long illness.¹⁸⁶ Whatever this illness may have been, apparently, it did not impair his ability to write, as he managed to complete the fair copy of his last major opus—three volumes totaling some seven hundred leaves—during the last eight months of his life.¹⁸⁷ The results of the comparison of several of the elements outlined in the preceding sub-sections reveal that around age sixty-five (from 1S) al-Maqrīzī's movements became hampered.

First, his words are not aligned with the baseline: the beginning of several words in the line are written at an angle between 10 and 15°. Most letters adopt the same angle.¹⁸⁸ This general trend is accompanied by a slant toward the right for letters with a shaft (*alif*, *lām*). The axis of the curve of the isolated *dāl/dhāl*, which begins to rise with 1T2, reaches its apex from 1S up to 1A. Letters with a curve (connected *dāl/dhāl*, connected and unconnected *rā'-zāy*) see this curve reduced to a stroke that becomes straighter from 1S. The denticles of the *sīn-shīn* hardly ascend from the flat base of the letter.

Al-Maqrīzī seems to experience more difficulty with long curves too. This is noticeable in the bowls of the *sīn/shīn*, *ṣād/dād*, *qāf*, *nūn*, and *yā'* in their unconnected or final positions: the curve is characterized by an angular shape at the end of the bowl. Instead of closing the bowl with the second part of the curve once he reaches the lower part of the descender, al-Maqrīzī completes it with a straight stroke going upward (see the *nūn* in table 5.11, right). The same observation can be made regarding the *lām-alif*: al-Maqrīzī drops the *warrāqīyya* and the *muḥaqqāqa* shapes in favor of a shape derived from the former, as if he wanted to avoid the round intersection at the level of the

183 See Stiennon's remark, in Sirat et al., *L'Écriture* 75–6.

184 See, for instance, Berrichon-Sedeyn, *Acte mécanique* 223.





185 Spectacles were known in Egypt and Syria from the eighth/fourteenth century. They were imported from Europe where they were produced. See Mazor and Abbou Hershkovits, *Spectacles*.

186 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmī* i, 25 (*ba'd maraḍ ṭawīl*).

187 See the appendix. Besides his copying activity, al-Maqrīzī continued to hold sessions at home, to transmit texts, up to one month before his death. See Bauden, *Al-Maqrīzī's collection*, chap. 1.

188 See tables 5.14–17, all the letters with elongated bodies.




TABLE 5.12 Examples of coordination problems

L5, fol. 1 ^b , l. 10	L5, fol. 1 ^b , l. 9	L5, fol. 2 ^a , l. 11	L5, fol. 2 ^a , l. 9
			

baseline. The final *hā'* connected to a *rā'/zāy* with an abusive ligature confirms that al-Maqrīzī, at that point, had a problem with round shapes or loops: the *hā'* is traced in three moves, instead of just one, giving the letter a quadrangular shape. In any case, such abusive ligatures for the *dāl/dhāl* and *rā'-zāy* were no longer the norm at the very end of his life, as they tended to fall into disuse (see table 5.17 for 1A). With its curves, the *hā'* (unconnected, initial, and medial positions) represented a challenge for an old man. Several samples demonstrate that al-Maqrīzī struggled with the circular movements. In its unconnected position, we have seen that the *hā'* becomes flatter, with the circle sometimes remaining open. For the initial and median positions (see table 5.12), al-Maqrīzī tried to solve the problem of the multiple curves indicated by the cat face allo-graph by first tracing an imperfect—often incomplete—circle, then raising the pen to trace the central stroke whose extension constitutes the ligature for the next letter. Another interesting case relates to the fragmentation of a word into several segments instead of writing it with one stroke. Two examples containing the letter *ṣād/dād* (table 5.12) are meaningful. In the first case (*bi-damm*), al-Maqrīzī first traced the first two letters, stopping at the juncture of the flat loop of the *dād*. He then raised the pen and put it down at the end of the *dād* to trace the final letter. In the second case (*Ṣaṣa'a*), we can observe the same move: he wrote the first *ṣād* with a long extension to the second *ṣād*. The medial *ʿayn* was added in a second move, like an inverted 'L. Finally, in one move, he added the last two letters, shaping the second *ʿayn* in a normal way. All these features betray a problem in coordination that can be typical of old persons.

Trembling, another factor that can go along with aging, can also affect handwriting. Tremors produce dents, particularly in long strokes. Despite the coordination problem described above, al-Maqrīzī's hand was not shaky, not even in the manuscripts he copied at the end of his life. We do not have evidence of this because of the absence of long strokes in most manuscripts selected from the corpus. Nevertheless, we can spot at least one case in L5 (see fig. 5.35), copied when he was seventy-one years old, where the initial letter (*hā'*) of the first word on l. 4, written in red ink, shows some undulation. The most telling exam-

TABLE 5.13 Examples of tremor

G2, fol. 60 ^a , l. 9	G2, fol. 53 ^b , l. 1	G2, fol. 143, l. 1
		

ples of tremor can be found in G2—which was not incorporated in the corpus because we lack a precise date. The text consists of biographies, some of which al-Maqrīzī added at the very end of his life, with the first name usually written in red ink with long strokes between some letters. For a biography penned earlier in his life (table 5.13, center), the elongation is steady, but in two other cases (table 5.13 left and right), dents are conspicuous all along the long stroke. Despite the body of evidence provided by the large number of manuscripts for the late period, these examples prove that al-Maqrīzī’s hand was shaky at the end of his life and that he had difficulties controlling this impairment when he had to trace long straight lines.

5.4.3.6 *The Characteristics of al-Maqrīzī’s Handwriting*

We can outline some common characteristics of al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting. One regards the average angle of the bar for the *kāf mashkūla* which almost invariably corresponds to 30° (with a maximum of 35°). The formats of the volumes indicate some habits. Two formats are concerned: (1) one for the notebooks, drafts, independent résumés, mostly but not exclusively composed of reused chancery paper, with a justification from 140 to 180 in height × from 120 to 160 in width and with chiefly twenty lines to the page; and (2) one for the (fair or working) copies with a justification from 180 to 200 in height × from 110 to 120 in width with twenty-seven lines to the page before 832/1428 and twenty-five afterward. Some orthographic habits, like the stutter of the *lām* in the past form of the verb *allafa*, are idiosyncratic.

With the exception of these common characteristics, the earliest manuscript (1M) clearly stands apart from the rest of the corpus. The handwriting in 1M can be described as a controlled and careful one, in which al-Maqrīzī pays attention to the outcome: the text is taut with letters like guardsmen on parade. The shaft of tall letters (*alif*, *ṭā’/ẓā’*, *lām*) is mostly perpendicular to the baseline. Letters with bowls have almost perfect half circles. The words are generally aligned with the baseline and regularly spaced. In the case of a word containing the homograph ح, the word starts above the line, but remains aligned horizontally with the baseline. Al-Maqrīzī also uses abusive ligatures, but in limited circumstances. Contractions are not utilized. In his early years, he definitely favored

the *yā' mabsūta* over the *yā' rāji'a* and the *kāf mabsūta* over the *kāf mashkūla*. These features demonstrate that al-Maqrīzī maintained the models he studied at school in his childhood and during his secondary education when he learned calligraphy, and even though early on his handwriting can be described as individual, it shares some characteristics with the traits we recognize in al-Maqrīzī's later manuscripts.

In his late forties (with IT₂), in the interval that separates IM from IT₂, we can note that al-Maqrīzī's handwriting clearly underwent some developments. These were accompanied by an evolution in his handwriting, one that was characteristic until the end of his life. The alignment of the words with the baseline tends toward an oblique angle, with the beginning of words written at some distance above the baseline, and the ending joining it. The beginning of words frequently starts at the ending of the preceding word, strengthening an impression of compact lines and tilting in the handwriting. The slant to the right of stems (*alif*, *tā'/zā'*, *lām*) adds to the obliqueness of other letters (*bā'/tā'/thā'*, *dāl/dhāl*, *sīn/shīn*, *ṣād/ḍād*, *qāf*) increased with the passage of time and also contributes to this impression. Al-Maqrīzī also shows his preference for some allographs, like the *yā' rāji'a* that almost becomes the norm (with the exception of IY and Du). He also favors the *lām-alif muḥaqqāqa* when unconnected and the *lām-alif marshūqa* when joined. The *kāf mashkūla* also seems to be the norm, except when it is in an unconnected position; in this circumstance, al-Maqrīzī maintains the calligraphic model that imposes the *kāf mabsūta*. In its final position, the *hā'* is written in the *makhṭūfa* shape, i.e., like a circumflex. The connection of a *lām* or of the homograph ۞ with the homograph ح largely came to be written like an oblique stroke and not more at a 90° angle, like in IM. Al-Maqrīzī also had greater recourse to abusive ligatures as well as contractions (*idghām*) for the *rā'/zāy* and final *nūn*, and to the *sīn mu'allaqa* (without denticles), though these phenomena tend to diminish in his late seventies. Quite often, two letters (the *alif* in the *lām-alif* combination and the *dāl/dhāl*) are preceded by a stroke generated by the movement of the pen coming from below the baseline, in the wake of the preceding letter (typically with a descender).

The nature of the text may also have impacted the handwriting. Drafts (IT₂) and first sketches (Lg*, Al) contain more examples of abusive ligatures and contractions than any other manuscripts. In such cases, the handwriting is less restrained and shows the effects of pressure where the sides of the nib widens, leaving a blank line in the middle of the stroke that composes the letter.

In his seventies, al-Maqrīzī faced health problems that hindered his movements. Curves tend to become more angular (this is conspicuous in the way he writes the *dāl/dhāl*, *rā'/zāy*, the bowls of the *sīn/shīn*, *ṣād/ḍād*, *nūn*). Al-Maqrīzī encountered difficulties in tracing circular movements, like full loops (he gave

up the two shapes of *lām-alif* that he used throughout his career, opting instead for a new shape that is easier to write; the initial *hā'* is written in two steps with a broken circle; the abusive ligatures and the contraction of the ending of the *rā'/zāy* and the *nūn* fall into disuse). Words are also written progressively, in small segments. The long straight horizontal strokes also reveal tremors.

5.5 *The Future*

In the preceding section, I tried to delineate, in an empirical and analytical way, the main characteristics of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting in the widest gamut of circumstances. In so doing, I hope to make it easier for others to ascertain whether or not a given manuscript or note can be attributed to this author with some certainty. A sample of his handwriting can now be straightforwardly compared to the physical and material features just outlined. At the same time, my description is also intended to allow others to verify the validity of my identifications, which can be challenged on the basis of objective elements. In this respect, the contributions of the digital humanities are worth considering. In this matter, as in many others, the future seems to be upon us. Face recognition systems by artificial intelligence are a reality. Researchers validly argue that if computers can identify a human face in a crowd, they can certainly also differentiate between two handwritings. Over the last decade, computer scientists have developed various systems based on algorithms that are designed to authenticate handwriting in medieval manuscripts.¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the results garnered to date are far from satisfying, to say the least.

In Spring 2015, Alexander Knysh (University of Michigan) put me into contact with a team of Russian computer scientists who had created a program to verify whether or not a manuscript is in the handwriting of a specific author. They wanted to work more specifically on al-Maqrīzī's writing, particularly given the holograph that had been identified in the holdings of the University of Michigan a few years before. In contrast to the programs developed so far, the Russian algorithm created by Andrei Boiarov and Alexander Senov involves deep learning and works with a convolutional network on the basis of an analysis of consecutive patches. Two types of patches are taken into consideration: connected components, i.e., groups of letters, and a fixed-size sliding window, i.e., an image split into patches of fixed-size cells (see fig. 5.14).¹⁹⁰

189 See the references quoted in the introduction to this volume, as well as in Boiarov et al., Arabic manuscript 1, notes 2–6.

190 Boiarov et al., Arabic manuscript 1.



FIGURE 5.14 A sliding window patch (left) and patches of connected components (right)
BOIAROV ET AL., ARABIC MANUSCRIPT 3, FIGS. 3–4

The algorithm was first trained with twenty-six pages of An and a negative set of seven pages selected from five manuscripts that are not in al-Maqrīzī's hand, but are contemporaneous with him (ninth/fifteenth century). It was then tested with fourteen pages of An and another set of seven pages from three contemporaneous manuscripts by another hand and different from the manuscripts used in the first training step. I also shared several reproductions of some of al-Maqrīzī's other holographs. Once tested, the algorithm analyzed pages of An and compared that with the same corpus used in the testing level. It appeared that the level of accuracy for the sliding window patch was higher than for the connected components (87 percent against 80 percent). The former gave a result of 94 percent of probability that An was in al-Maqrīzī's hand and of 0.85 percent for another manuscript, corroborating that An is in al-Maqrīzī's hand. With some correction, the authors of the study concluded that the algorithm identified the handwriting with a precision of 99 percent. An analysis of the connected components revealed that the method was less credible, as it generated "many false positive predictions."¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, the results were deemed promising for future developments.

The level of accuracy of the authentication of An was clearly thrilling. For the first time, an algorithm was apparently able to corroborate my identification. I thus wanted to push the analysis further by using some leaves from the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ* (IT2) that are not in al-Maqrīzī's hand, leaves that I consider to be in al-Awḥadī's hand, on the basis of external (paleography) and internal (masters) elements.¹⁹² I asked Andrei Boiarov to submit some of those leaves

191 Ibid. 3–4.

192 See above, 142.

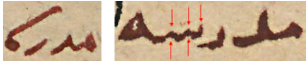


FIGURE 5.15 The word *madrasa* penned by al-Awḥadī (MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405, fol. 96^b, l. 10 (left); fol. 98^b, l. 1 (right))
ISTANBUL, TSMK

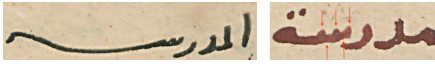


FIGURE 5.16 The word *madrasa* penned by al-Maqrīzī (right) (MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405, respectively fol. 97^a, l. 12 (left); fol. 96^b, l. 9 (right))
ISTANBUL, TSMK

and I advised him that the handwriting of both scholars sometimes features on the same leaf. The result was quite astonishing to me: according to the algorithm, both handwritings were attributed to al-Maqrīzī with a very high level of accuracy (more than 90 percent). The differences that I could see in the two handwritings were apparently not critical for the algorithm. I drew Boiarov's attention to the particular features that help me to distinguish between the two handwritings. I pointed to the noticeable difference that one can observe in the writing of the word *madrasa*, which appears more than thirty times in the twenty leaves in question. In most cases (see fig. 5.15, left), al-Awḥadī writes the word with a elongated *sīn* devoid of its denticles (*mu'allaqa*) and ends it with a *hā'* in the shape of a drop. In rare cases (see fig. 5.15, right), the word is written in a more controlled way: in such cases, the denticles of the *sīn* are well delineated, thin, and pointed, while the *hā'* takes the shape of a triangle (*mardūfa*). The first form is obviously idiosyncratic of the person who penned those lines and was never identified in any of al-Maqrīzī's other holographs.

When he wrote the word on these twenty leaves, al-Maqrīzī used both shapes, but with conspicuous differences: in the case of the elongated *sīn* (see fig. 5.16, left), the denticles are clearly traced with a final *hā'* that looks like a hook (*makhtūfa*) while in the other more restrained example (see fig. 5.16, right), the shape of the final *hā'* is round with a closed counter. In both cases, the denticles of the *sīn* are not pointed, as they are in al-Awḥadī's case. Compared with al-Awḥadī's *sīn* (fig. 5.15, right), we can also see that the base of al-Maqrīzī's *sīn* is, in both cases, flat on the baseline and does not present the characteristic indentations. The average angle of the *kāf mashkūla* also reveals a neat discrepancy: 40° for al-Awḥadī versus 30° to 35° for al-Maqrīzī.¹⁹³

193 See above, 162.

To further challenge the program, in mid-July 2016 I requested that a wider sample of handwritings be analyzed. I specifically selected some handwritings that differ significantly from those of al-Maqrīzī and al-Awḥadī, and I added some handwritings that were closer to al-Awḥadī's handwriting. The sample was anonymized, i.e., I submitted the reproductions without communicating the identity of the writers. The sample was composed of nine manuscripts (see figs. 5.17–5.25).

A few days later, I was informed of the following results: A = 97%, B = 79%, C = 100%, D = 12%, E = 82%, F = 0%, G = 72%, H = 0%, I = 50%, with the percentage indicating the probability that a text is in al-Maqrīzī's hand.¹⁹⁴ These results call for some remarks. First, A, which is in al-Awḥadī's hand, is considered, with a very limited margin of doubt (3 percent), to be in al-Maqrīzī's hand, like C, which is truly a holograph of al-Maqrīzī (100 percent). Then, three manuscripts (D, F, and H) are rejected even though the leaf selected in H (0 percent) contains seven lines in al-Maqrīzī's hand. The analysis of E is of greater concern: copied by an unknown copyist, but not al-Maqrīzī, it is considered, with a high probability, to be a holograph of al-Maqrīzī (82 percent). Finally, the algorithm considered I, which is entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand, dubious (with a probability of 50 percent).¹⁹⁵ These results demonstrate that while the algorithm can be trusted in some cases, it is entirely unreliable in others. In order to refine the analysis of the algorithm, the programmer should take into consideration several factors, among them, the width of the nib, certain connected letters with idiosyncratic shapes (like the *lām-alif*), and even the average angle of the stroke of the *kāf*.

In my mind, there remains little doubt that, once they are well trained and refined, such programs will be able to identify (within a small margin of error) handwritings in manuscripts. But there are caveats that indicate that entirely replacing human expertise may never be possible. The samples of someone's handwriting must be large and varied enough to avoid erroneous identifications or rejections, something that is possible in the case of al-Maqrīzī (both in terms of age and variety of circumstances), but not in the case of al-Awḥadī (we have twenty leaves dating from the same period and a few words in a limited number of ownership marks and consultation notes). In other words, the critical mass of data is central to the process. Even if we have numerous holographs from the Islamic world, there are few cases in which we have a varied and

194 Personal communication in email dated 20 July 2016.

195 The analysis also gives a lower result for B and G (under 80 percent) even though both manuscripts are al-Maqrīzī's holographs.

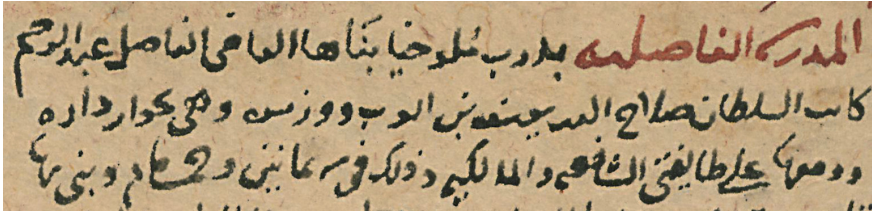


FIGURE 5.17 A: IT2 (MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405), fol. 83^a (with the exception of two words added in the margin by al-Maqrīzī, the leaf, contains nineteen lines in al-Awḥadī's hand)
ISTANBUL, TSMK

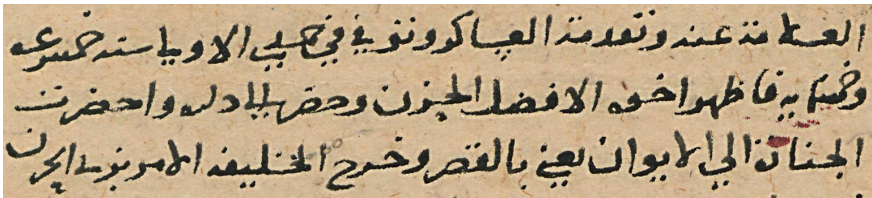


FIGURE 5.18 B: IT1 (MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405), fol. 54^b (entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand)
ISTANBUL, TSMK

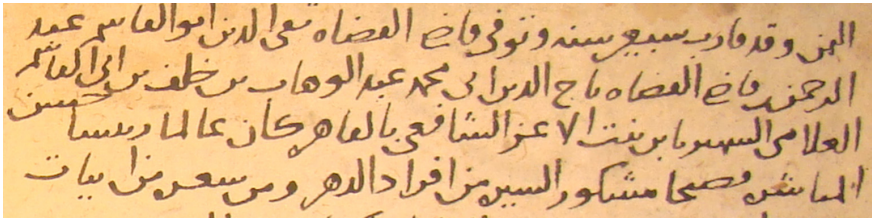


FIGURE 5.19 C: Du (MS 1790), fol. 77^b (entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand)
DUSHANBE, KITOBHONA-I MILLI-I TODJIKISTON

rich corpus like al-Maqrīzī's. In addition, whenever two different handwritings appear on the same leaf (H), the program is apparently unable to distinguish between them. This weakness is problematic, if one wants to authenticate a marginal note or just a few words in the hand of a given scholar. Moreover, such programs cannot analyze some material features that are key to the identification process, such as the paper (structure) and the pressure of the pen, unless they are provided by the researcher. This means that, ultimately, the human eye remains the best tool in this field, though clearly, confirmation from a program will be helpful, particularly in cases where an expert is not (anymore) at hand.

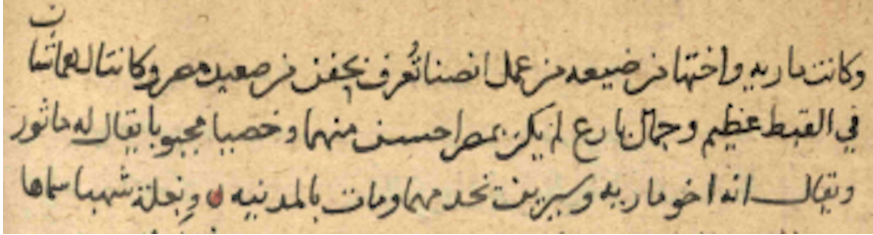


FIGURE 5.20 D: MS 702, fol. 2^b (*al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-tuhaf*, entirely in Ibn Duqmāq's hand)
AFYON KARAHISAR, GEDİK AHMET PAŞA KÜTÜPHANE

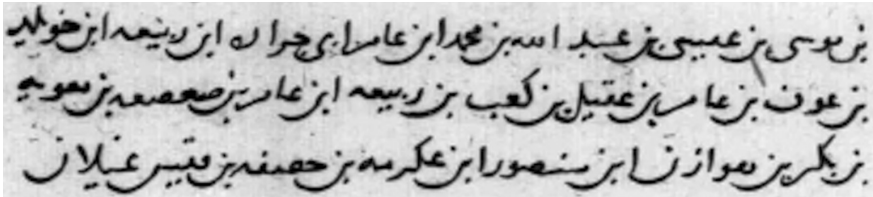


FIGURE 5.21 E: MS cod. ar. 437, fol. 3^a (Ibn Duqmāq, *Naẓm al-jumān fī ṭabaqāt aṣḥāb imām-
inā l-Nu'mān*, unknown copyist)
MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

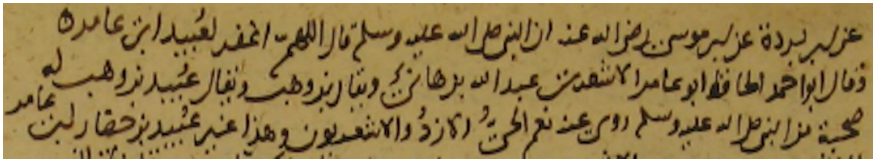


FIGURE 5.22 F: MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 242, fol. 39^b (Ibn Manda, *al-Tārikh al-mustakhraj min
kutub al-nās*, unknown copyist, seventh/thirteenth c.)
ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ

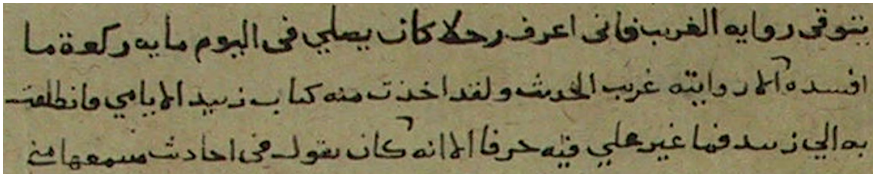


FIGURE 5.23 G: IM (MS 575), fol. 21^a (entirely in al-Maqrizī's hand)
ISTANBUL, MURAT MOLLA KÜTÜPHANESİ

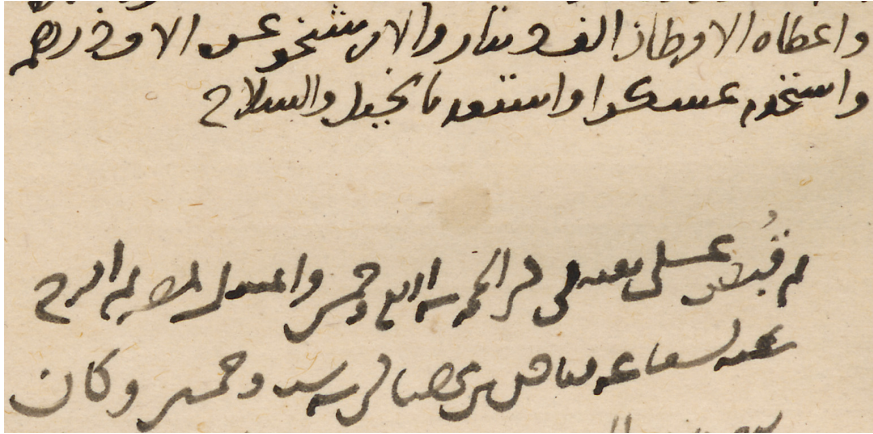


FIGURE 5.24 H: L4 (MS Or. 14533), fol. 348^a (seven lines in al-Maqrīzī's hand (top), ten lines in Ibn Ḥajar's hand (bottom))

LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK

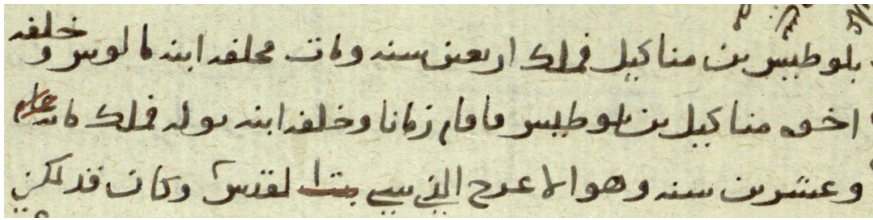


FIGURE 5.25 I: Lg (MS 2232), fol. 48^b (entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand)

LIÈGE, LIÈGE UNIVERSITÉ, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ARCHITECTURE, LETTRES,
PHILOSOPHIE, HISTOIRE ET ARTS

5 Conclusion

The starting point of this study was based on the need 'to show' how al-Maqrīzī's handwriting can be identified and describe how 'to give the feeling' that the same hand is at play in several manuscripts considered his holographs or authorial manuscripts. The global analysis applied to a wide corpus covering an almost uninterrupted fifty years of activity and some 5,000 leaves, yielded tangible results that must not, however, be read in a linear way, rather, we must assess them according to the nature of the written text, the circumstances that led to its writing, and al-Maqrīzī's age when he penned it.¹⁹⁶ Some

196 As Jażdżewski emphasized, though it is paradoxical, that "a writer is free to use some personal 'hands' and he should not be identified with his 'hand.'" See Jażdżewski, *Identifizierungsprobleme* 326.

general characteristics could be identified, both in codicological and paleographical terms. Other features relate to some categories of texts only. All in all, for the first time, this study offers a fact-based detailed analysis of a scholar's handwriting over time. The idiosyncrasies I have outlined will prove helpful to identify al-Maqrīzī's hand in still unknown manuscripts that have yet to be discovered in libraries around the world (three volumes were located during the last two decades). Hopefully, the global approach applied in this specific case will also offer key elements for further analyses of other scholars' hands. While the expert's 'eye' remains crucial for the identification of a given hand, in the near future, Artificial Intelligence (AI) will certainly contribute to the analysis of scholars' hands in the frame of the digital humanities. Though at present the programs developed do not fully satisfy the paleographer's desires, I am convinced that these programs, once they will have been refined, will provide us with an accurate tool. At the same time, we hope that their progress will not stymie the development of paleographical studies, particularly the informal handwritings of scholars, which have so far drawn little attention. To improve the analysis and knowledge of these handwritings, paleographers and computer programmers will have to establish a framework of mutual cooperation.

TABLE 5.14 Comparative table of letters *alf-sin*

MS	Age	ا		ر				ح				د		ر		ق					
		ا	ا	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ر	ح	ح	ح	ح	د	د	ر	ر	ق	ق	ق	ق
IM	28	ا	ا	ر	ر	ر	ر	ح	ح	ح	ح	د	د	ر	ر	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
IT2	bet. 44-50	ا	ا	ر	ر	ر	ر	ح	ح	ح	ح	د	د	ر	ر	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
G1	bet. 49-57	ا	ا	ر	ر	ر	ر	ح	ح	ح	ح	د	د	ر	ر	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
Lg*	aft. 50	ا	ا	ر	ر	ر	ر	ح	ح	ح	ح	د	د	ر	ر	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
IY	bet. 51-7	ا	ا	ر	ر	ر	ر	ح	ح	ح	ح	د	د	ر	ر	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
Du	56	ا	ا	ر	ر	ر	ر	ح	ح	ح	ح	د	د	ر	ر	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
Lg	63	ا	ا	ر	ر	ر	ر	ح	ح	ح	ح	د	د	ر	ر	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق

TABLE 5.15 Comparative table of letters *šād-qāf*

MS	Age	ص				ط			ع				ف			ق	
		ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	
IM	28	ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	
IT2	bet. 44–50	ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	
G1	bet. 49–57	ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	
Lg*	aft. 50	ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	
IY	bet. 51–7	ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	
Du	56	ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	
Lg	63	ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	
Al	aft. 63	ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق	

TABLE 5.15 Comparative table of letters *ṣād-qāf* (cont.)

MS	Age	ص				ط			ع				ف				ق	
		ص	ص	ص	ص	ط	ط	ط	ع	ع	ع	ع	ف	ف	ف	ف	ق	ق
An	aft. 63																	
IS	bet. 64-7																	
L5	71																	
IA	76-7																	

TABLE 5.16 Comparative table of letters *kāf-nūn*

MS	Age	ك				ل				م				ن	
		ك	ك	ك	ك	ل	ل	ل	ل	م	م	م	م	ن	ن
IM	28	ك	ك	ك	ك	ل	ل	ل	ل	م	م	م	م	ن	ن
IT2	bet. 44-50	ك	ك	ك	ك	ل	ل	ل	ل	م	م	م	م	ن	ن
G1	bet. 49-57	ك	ك	ك	ك	ل	ل	ل	ل	م	م	م	م	ن	ن
Lg*	aft. 50	ك	ك	ك	ك	ل	ل	ل	ل	م	م	م	م	ن	ن
IY	bet. 51-7	ك	ك	ك	ك	ل	ل	ل	ل	م	م	م	م	ن	ن
Du	56	ك	ك	ك	ك	ل	ل	ل	ل	م	م	م	م	ن	ن

TABLE 5.16 Comparative table of letters *kāf-nūn* (cont.)

MS	Age	ك				ل				م				ن	
		ك	ك	ك	ك	ل	ل	ل	ل	م	م	م	م	ن	ن
Lg	63														
Al	aft. 63														
An	aft. 63														
Is	bet. 64-7														
L5	71														
IA	76-7														

TABLE 5.17 Comparative table of letters /hā-yā/ and of some ligatures in specific combinations

MS	Age	ه				و		ي		لا		ها	بن	في	ده	ره	قال
		ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا						
IM	28	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
IT2	bet. 44-50	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
G1	bet. 49-57	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
Lg*	aft. 50	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
IY	bet. 51-7	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
Du	56	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق

TABLE 5.17 Comparative table of letters *hā'*-*yā'* and of some ligatures in specific combinations (*cont.*)

MS	Age	ه				و		ي		لا		ها	بن	في	ده	ره	قال
		ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا						
Lg	63	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
Al	aft. 63	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
An	aft. 63	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
Is	bet. 64-7	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
L5	71	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق
IA	76-7	ه	ه	ه	ه	و	و	ي	ي	لا	لا	ها	ب	ف	د	ر	ق

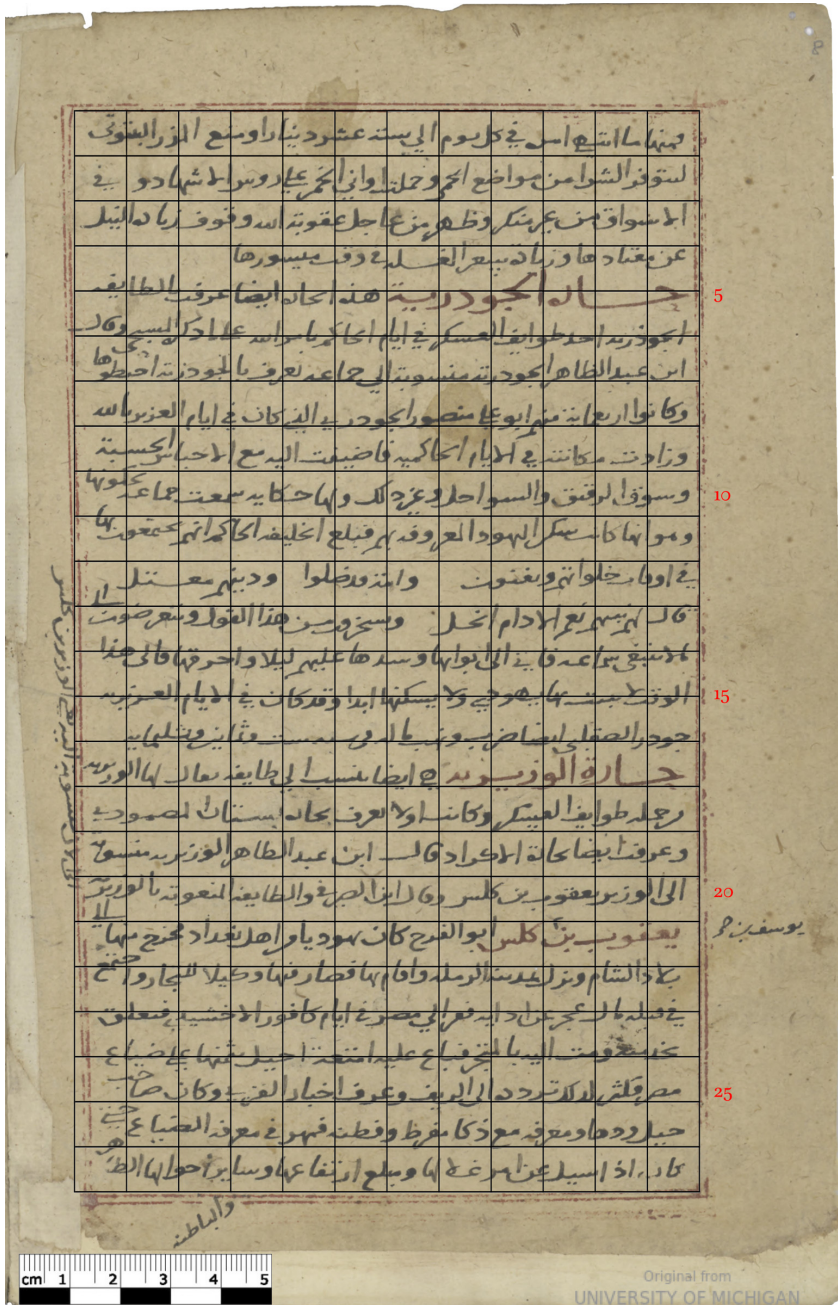


FIGURE 5.27 MS An (Ms Isl. 605), p. 8
ANN ARBOR, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
LIBRARY

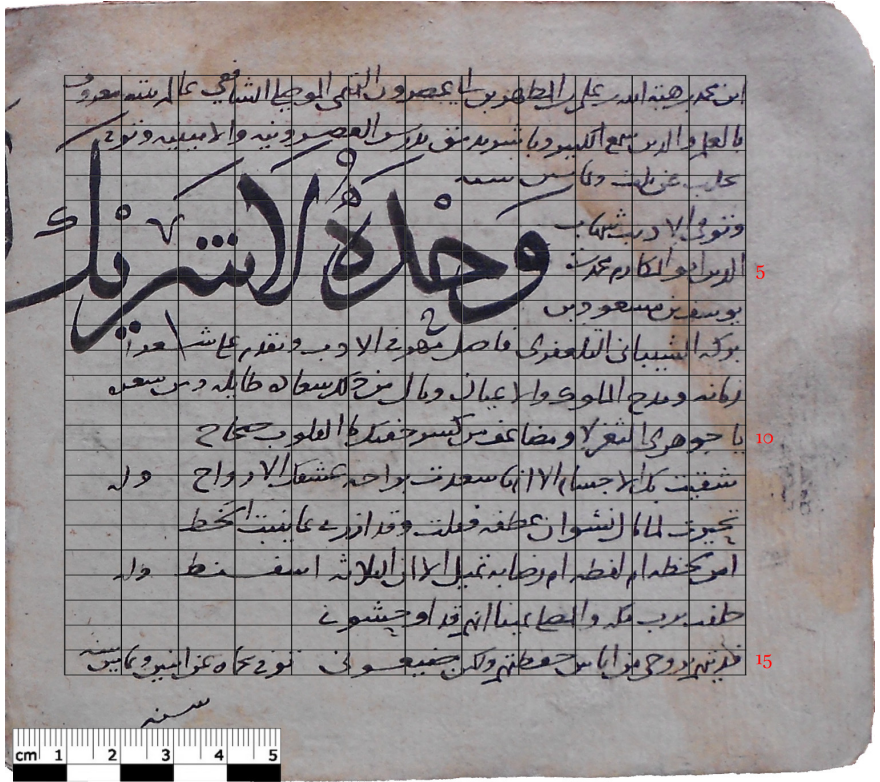


FIGURE 5.28 MS Du (MS 1790), fol. 37^b
 DUSHANBE, KITOBHONA-I MILLI-I TODJIKISTON

وقال العلامة نوزيد عبد الرحمن خلدون في كتاب العبرود بوا
 المتبادر وانجور من الاخبار الواضحة ما يذهب اليه الكثير من مورخين في
 العبيديين خلفا للشيعة بالغير وان العالم يعرف عن هذا البيت طوا
 الله عليهم والظفر في نسبه الى ابي عبد الله بن جعفر الصادق بعد موت
 ذلك علي اجماع ائمة البيت عشرين خلفا في العباسية لقالهم بالفتح
 فيمن احبهم ونفقت في النهايات بعد ذلك حسب ما يذكر بعض هذه الاحاديث
 في اخبارهم ويقولون عزالتنقض لشواهد الواقعات وادلة الاحوال الي
 اقتضاه لا وذلك من كذب دعواتهم والرد عليهم فانهم متفقون في حديثهم عن
 مبداء دولة الشيعة ان باعده انه المحتسب لما ادعى بكتامة للرضي الله
 واسمهم رجب وعلم بحويته علي عبيد الله المهدي وابنه ابي العباس خشيما علي
 فها من المشرق محل الخلاف واجازا للمصر وانها خرجا من الاسكندرية في
 زيد الخار وفي جنينهما الي عبيد الله بن عثمان بن قيس في طلبها الجمالة
 اذا ادركا في حالها علي ما يعهد بها لسواها من المشاة والرد فانتموا الي البحر
 وان لم ينعضوا وعزوا الي الاغالبه امر الافرنجيين بالقبول وان في مودعها
 جلاسه باخذ الافاق عليها واذ في العيون في طلبها فقتل بسبع صا
 سبيل سمن لدمه او علي خيف كانها لم يلدوا عتقها من حياها الخليفة هذا
 ابن طاهر الشيعة علي الاغالبه القبر وان ثم كان بعد ذلك ما كان في ظهور
 دعوتهم بافرنجية والغزبية ثم بالمرية بالاسكندرية ثم مصر والشام والحجاز
 وواسموا بآل العباس في تلك الاسلام بشق الابنية وكانوا المجرى عليهم موافق
 ويديون من مرهم ولقد اظهروا دعوتهم في بلاد وعرافها الامير البساسبي
 من موالي اهل البيت المغلبيين علي خلفا في العباس في معاضه جرت بينه
 امر العجم وخطبه علي مناهجها حوله كرتيا وادابوا العباس في حروف
 فكانت رودة ولتمه وملوكه امينه ووال البحر تادون بالويلدوا حرمه وكيف
 نفع هذا كدله في التسلسل كلف في الخيال الحروف وعت حال القوم
 اذ كان دعيافي في تنسبهم كيف بالاشارة دعوتهم ونفوق تنساعه وظهر
 سريعا خشيما ومكرهم فسات عاقبتهم وذاقوا وبال مرهم ولو كان امر
 العبيديين كدرك لعرف ولو بعد هلم صها كمن غير خليفه



FIGURE 5.29 MS G1 (MS Ar. 1652), fol. 10^b
 GÖTTINGEN, FORSCHUNGS- UND LANDESBIBLIOTHEK

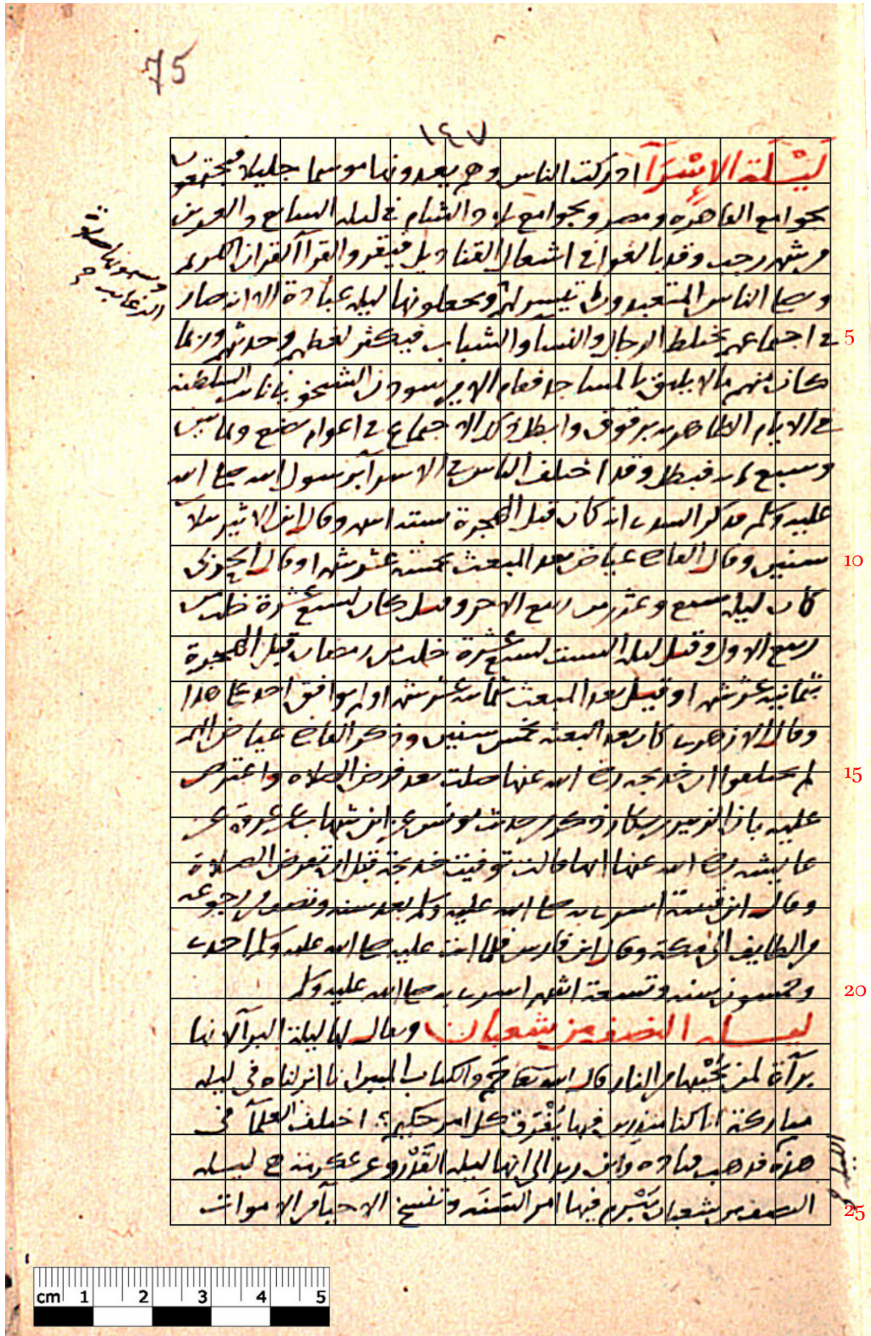


FIGURE 5.30 MS IA (MS Ayasofya 3362), fol. 74^b
ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ



FIGURE 5.31 MS IM (MS 575), fol. 15^b
 ISTANBUL, MURAT MOLLA KÜTÜPHANESI

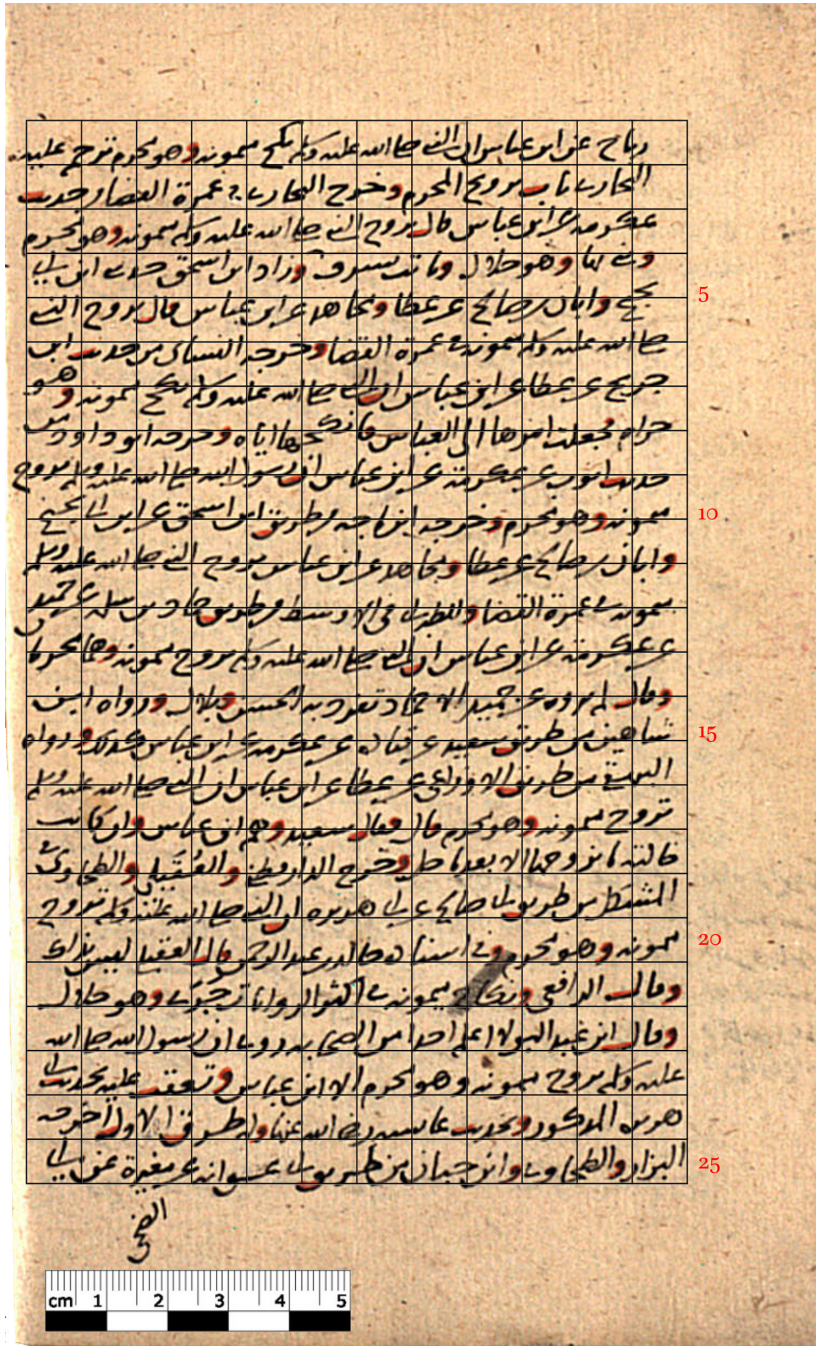


FIGURE 5.32 MS IS (MS Şehit Ali Paşa 1847), fol. 12^b
 ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

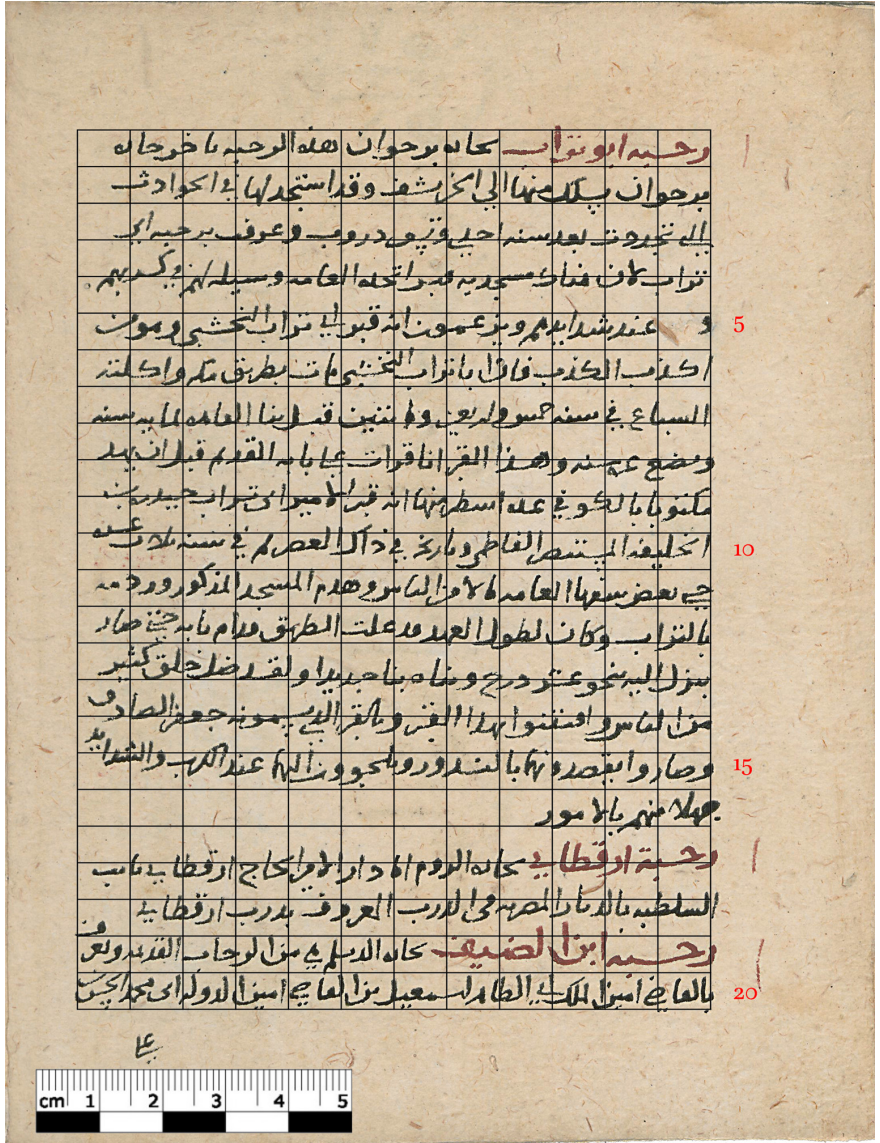


FIGURE 5.33 MS IT2 (MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405), fol. 16^b ISTANBUL, TSMK

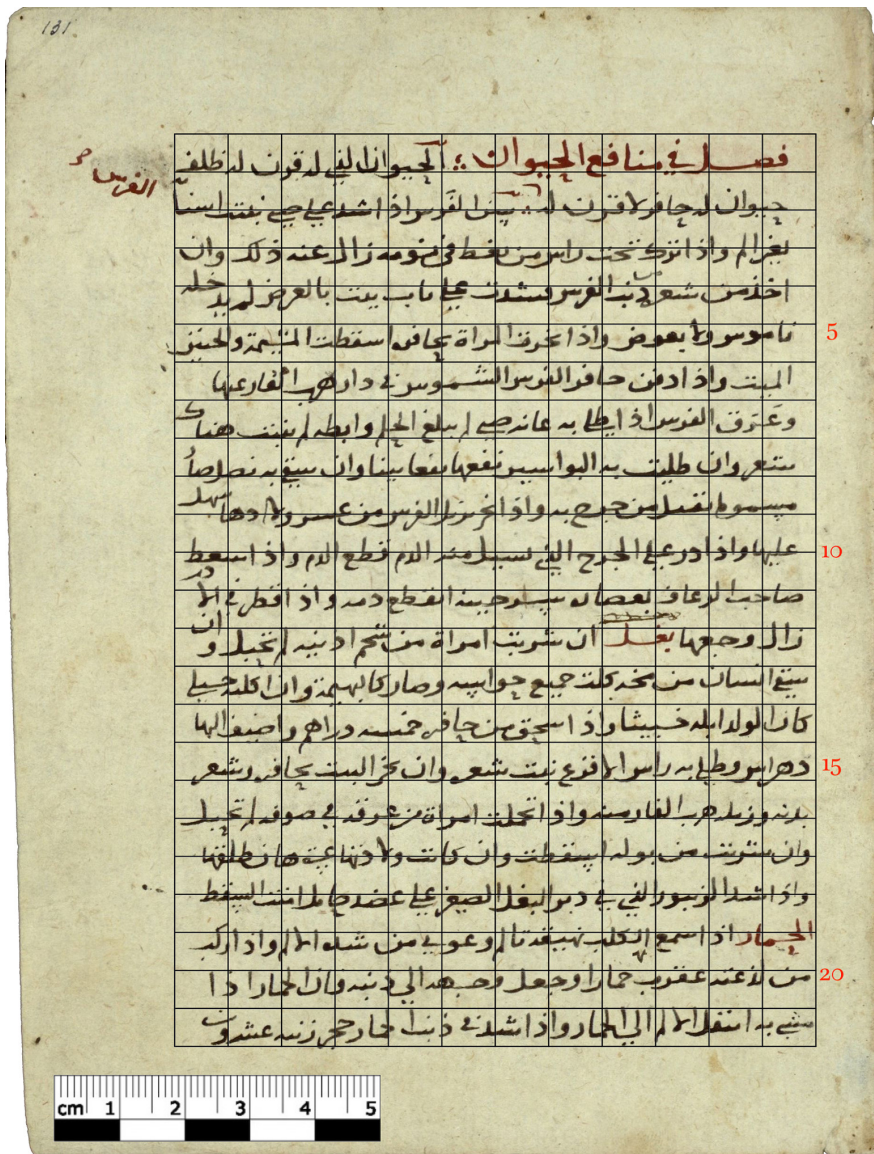


FIGURE 5.36 MS Lg (MS 2232), fol. 131^r
 LIÈGE, LIÈGE UNIVERSITÉ, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ARCHITECTURE, LETTRES,
 PHILOSOPHIE, HISTOIRE ET ARTS

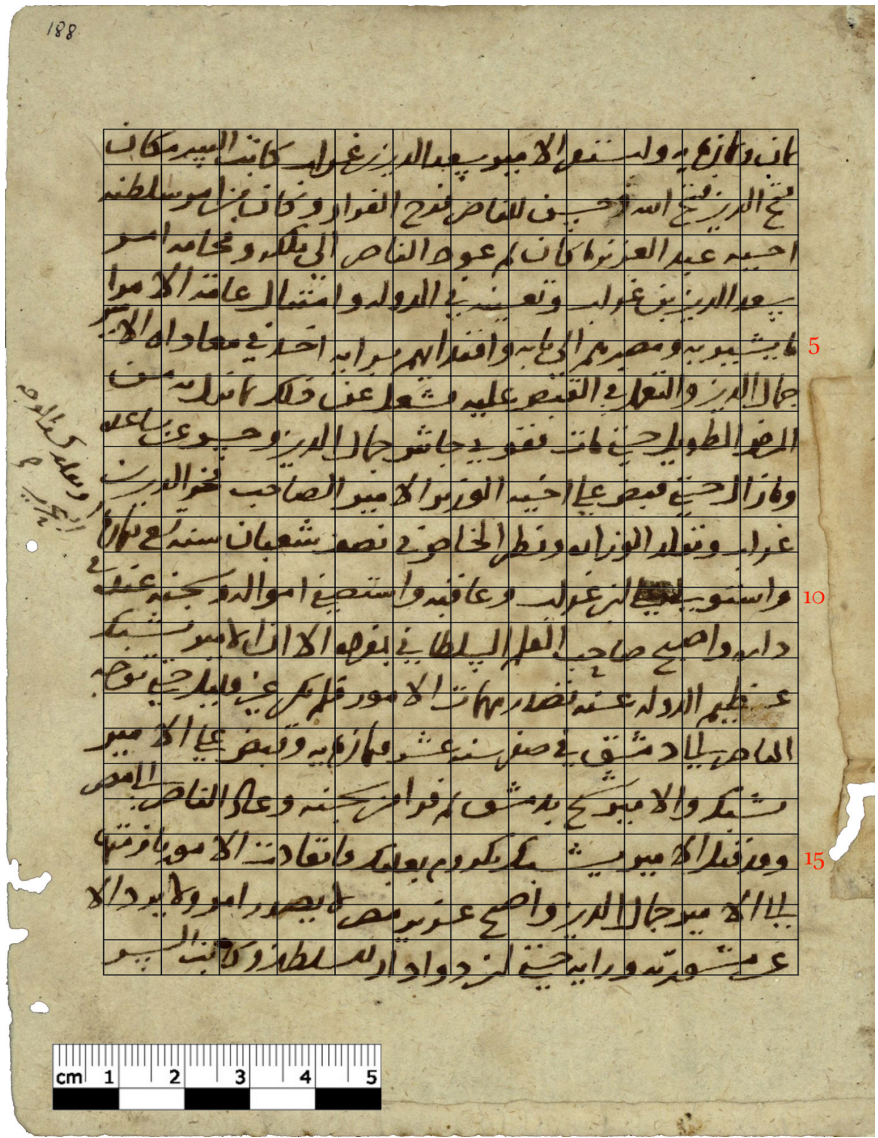


FIGURE 5.37 MS Lg* (MS 2232), fol. 188a
LIÈGE, LIÈGE UNIVERSITÉ, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ARCHITECTURE, LETTRES,
PHILOSOPHIE, HISTOIRE ET ARTS

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Appendix 1: List of al-Maqrīzī's holograph, autograph, and authorial manuscripts

- Al Alexandria, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, MS 2125 *dāl* Tārīkh
52 fols., 155 × 120 (120 × 95), mostly 20 lines.
A notebook gathering summaries from a variety of sources as well as the first sketches of some of al-Maqrīzī's writings. One of the first sketches can be dated to shortly after 831/1427–8 because it is entirely based on a source that al-Maqrīzī consulted that year.¹⁹⁷
- An Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, MS Isl. 605
261 fols., 245 × 165 (200 × 115), 27 lines.
The text corresponds to the second, and final, version of the third volume of *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*. The text can be dated to after 831/1427–8 because it includes the first version of a section found in Al which was based on a source al-Maqrīzī consulted that year.¹⁹⁸
- C Calcutta, The Asiatic Society, MS I 774
131 fols., 184 × 140 (145 × 100), 21 l.
The manuscript is composed of three summaries: *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Qiyām al-layl*, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Qiyām Ramaḍān*, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Witr*. The three original texts were authored by Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (d. 294/906). Al-Maqrīzī indicates in the colophon that he completed his summaries on Thursday 21 Jumādā 11 807/25 December 1404.
- Da Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad, MS 4805 *'āmm*
80 fols., 150 × 120 (125 × 90), 17 and 20 lines.
A notebook composed of the first version of one of al-Maqrīzī's opuscles and various other notes.
- Du Dushanbe, Kitobhona-i milli-i Toḍjikiston, MS 1790
179 fols., 140 × 162 (105 × 125), 14 lines.
The summary al-Maqrīzī made from Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī's (d. 779/1377) *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-Atrāk*. The colophon is dated Monday 20 Rabī' 1 824/25 March 1421.
- G1 Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MS Ar. 1652
58 fols., 245 × 160 (200 × 115), 27 lines.
The text corresponds to the beginning of the fair copy of *Ittī'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-khulafā'* (the end is missing). This copy can be dated to before the year

197 See Bauden, Maqriziana XII 70.

198 See Gardiner and Bauden, A recently discovered holograph 127; Bauden, Maqriziana XII 70.

- 824/1421, when he consulted a source which he mentions in the margin,¹⁹⁹ and after 816/1413–4, when al-Maqrīzī completed the first version of *al-Khiṭaṭ*.
- G2 Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MS Ar. 1771
185 fols., 245×160 (195×115), 27 lines.
The manuscript contains the beginning of the first volume of the fair copy of *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a’yān al-mufīda* (the end of the volume is missing). Most of the manuscript predates the year 839/1435, when it was consulted by a scholar who left a consultation note on the title page.
- IA Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 3362
245 fols., 233×152 (180×110), 25 lines.
The manuscript contains the first volume of the fair copy of *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*. In a passage, al-Maqrīzī discusses an event that he describes as still taking place at the time of the copy, which he gives as the year 844/1440–1.
- IF1 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4338
254 fols., 235×155 (180×110), 25 lines.
The third volume of the fair copy of *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*. The colophon indicates that al-Maqrīzī completed the copy on Thursday 25 Dhū l-Ḥijja 844/17 May 1441.
- IF2 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4339
163 fols., 235×155 (180×110), 25 lines.
The fourth volume of the fair copy of *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*. Given the date of MS IF1, this volume and the subsequent ones (IF3, IF4) can be dated between the end of 844/May 1441 and al-Maqrīzī's death in Ramaḍān 845/January 1442.
- IF3 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4340
265 fols., 238×155 (180×110), 25 lines.
The fifth volume of the fair copy of *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*. For the dating, see MS IF2.
- IF4 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4341
276 fols., 235×155 (180×110), 25 lines.
The sixth volume of the fair copy of *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*. For the dating, see MS IF2.
- IM Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi, MS 575
215 fols., 255×169 (190×120), 25 lines
The manuscript contains a summary of Ibn ‘Adī's (d. 365/976) *al-Kāmil fī ḍu‘afā’ al-rijāl* which al-Maqrīzī completed on 1 Muḥarram 795/17 November 1392.
- IS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Şehit Ali Paşa 1847
211 fols., 237×155 (180×110), 25 lines.

199 See Maqriziana XII 70.

The manuscript holds the fourth volume of the fair copy of *Imtā' al-asmā'*. The copy can be dated between 832/1428, when al-Maqrīzī started the fair copy, and 834/1431, when this volume was read aloud to al-Maqrīzī during his stay in Mecca (as several marginal notes confirm).²⁰⁰

- IT1 Istanbul, TSMK, MS Hazine 1472
179 fols., 181 × 144 (140 × 105), 20 lines.
This is the second volume of the first version (draft) of *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*. This copy can be dated after 811/1408–9, if one accepts that al-Maqrīzī started to work on this subject once he acquired al-Awḥadī's (d. 811/1408–9) work, and 816/1416, given that additions were made later, on the years 817–8/1414–6.²⁰¹
- IT2 Istanbul, TSMK, MS Emanet Hazinesi 1405
182 fols., 179 × 141 (135 × 100), 20 lines.
This manuscript contains the third volume of the first version (draft) of *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*. Its dating can be narrowed on the basis of the evidence provided by the preceding manuscript (MS IT1).
- IY Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Yeni Cami 887
257 fols., 250 × 166 (195 × 115), 27 lines.
This is the first volume of the fair copy of *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*. This volume can be dated after 818/1415–6 on the basis of one of the sources used by al-Maqrīzī (Ibn al-Furāt) whose work he accessed that year, and before 824/1421 on the basis of another source which he consulted that year and from which he added biographies (on slips of paper) to this manuscript.²⁰²
- L1 Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 1366a
226 fols., 255 × 160 (195 × 110), 27 lines.
This manuscript contains the fair copy of what must have been the first volume of *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffā*.
- L2 Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 1366c
287 fols., 238 × 159 (193 × 110), 27 lines.
The manuscript corresponds to the fair copy of what must have been the third volume of *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffā*.
- L3 Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 3075
252 fols., 239 × 160 (195 × 110), 27 lines.
The manuscript contains the fair copy of what must have been the second volume of *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffā*.

200 See Bauden, *Al-Maqrīzī's collection*.

201 See Bauden, *Maqriziana* II 205–12.

202 See Bauden, *Maqriziana* x/1.

- L4 Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 14533
550 fols., 235 × 159 (188 × 110), 27 lines.
This manuscript corresponds to the fair copy of what must have been the fourth and possibly fifth volume of *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*.
- L5 Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 560
214 fols., 239 × 154 (180 × 110), 25 lines.
This authorial manuscript is a collection of opuscles, the majority of which were composed by al-Maqrīzī. Most of the texts are in someone else's hand (probably a scribe he hired for this purpose), while only a few are in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting. The texts copied by the scribe were collated by al-Maqrīzī between 841 and 842/1438.²⁰³
- Lg Liège, Liège Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232
209 fols., 165 × 136 (140 × 100), mostly 21 lines (in some cases 20, 18, 17 lines).
A notebook that includes several summaries from a wide variety of sources. One of these sources (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*) was consulted in 831/1427–8. This enables us to date several parts of the notebook accordingly.²⁰⁴
- P Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2144
260 fols., 250 × 160 (190 × 110), 27 lines.
The manuscript contains the fair copy of what must have been one of the last volumes of *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*.

203 See Bauden, *Al-Maqrīzī's collection*.

204 See Bauden, *Maqriziana VII*.

The Art of Copying: Mamlūk Manuscript Culture in Theory and Practice

Elias Muhanna

The study of manuscript culture in the Islamic world is a subject that has attracted much scholarly attention in recent decades, even if the evolution and diversity of copying practices remains fairly little understood.¹ Less is known about the strategies of collation, edition, and source management used to produce large compilations. In the Mamlūk period, such works were composed in great quantity and drew upon hundreds of sources, swelling in physical size and thematic scope. The material conditions of book production during this age of bibliomania remain relatively obscure. What working methods did copyists use to assemble multi-volume manuscripts? How did one distinguish one's own copies of authoritative texts from those of other copyists? What kind of training was necessary to become a successful copyist?

In the case of the Egyptian encyclopedist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), we have an opportunity to explore such questions on the basis of several sources of evidence. First, al-Nuwayrī's copying prowess is discussed by his biographers, who mention how many pages he produced each day and how much money he commanded for his manuscripts. Second, several holograph volumes of his universal compendium of knowledge, *Nihāyat al-arab fi funūn al-adab* ("The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition", henceforth, *Nihāya*), have been preserved in manuscript libraries in Leiden, Paris, Berlin, and Istanbul. These texts are valuable for what they reveal about the production of fair copies and about the range of calligraphic scripts at al-Nuwayrī's disposal, a subject he discusses in the *Nihāya* itself. Third, al-Nuwayrī was noted for making fine copies of al-Bukhārī's canonical *ḥadīth* collection, which he sold while working on the *Nihāya*. I have discovered what appears to be one of these copies, which tells us something about an author's approach to copying his own work as opposed to a work by a different author, in addition to the differences between copying *ḥadīth* manuscripts and other types of works.

¹ See in particular Gacek, *Glossary*; id., *Vademecum*; Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*; Rosenthal, *The Technique*. A slightly modified version of this contribution appears in Muhanna, *World*, chapter 5.

Finally, al-Nuwayrī addresses the education and practice of the copyist in his chapter on secretaryship (*kitāba*), which lies at the heart of the *Nihāya* and, in certain ways, is its *raison d'être*. I will treat each of these sources of evidence in this essay with the aim of exploring aspects of al-Nuwayrī's working method and shedding some light on the theory and practice of the all-important craft of copying.

1 A Master Copyist

Born in 677/1279 in Akhmīm, a town in Upper Egypt, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī spent his childhood in Qūṣ and moved to Cairo at the age of nineteen, where he got a job in the Mamlūk imperial administration.² Over the next decade, al-Nuwayrī would rise in the ranks, becoming a close confidant of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.³ By the time he retired in the mid-710s/mid-1310s, he had held important positions in a number of scribal bureaus: managing the sultan's properties in Syria, overseeing the Nāṣiriyya madrasa and the Manṣūrī hospital in Cairo, and serving as head of the chancery and superintendent of army finances in Tripoli. As he tells his readers in the preface to the 31-volume *Nihāya*, al-Nuwayrī left a lucrative career in the empire's administrative elite in order to immerse himself in a world of books and humanistic learning. The eventual product of this decision was the *Nihāya* itself, a massive concatenation of poetic and prose excerpts from hundreds of authoritative sources, arranged thematically into five principal divisions: (1) the cosmos; (2) the human being; (3) the animal world; (4) the plant world; (5) a universal history.

In an age of big books, the *Nihāya's* enormous size was unexceptional. However, the fact that al-Nuwayrī produced more than one copy of this 9,000-page book while making and selling several copies of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was noteworthy even by Mamlūk standards. As his acquaintance Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'far b. Tha'lab al-Udfuwī (d. 748/1347) recounts in his biographical dictionary:

He wrote a great deal, copying al-Bukhārī several times, and compiled a large history in thirty volumes ... He held numerous scribal offices: he was Supervisor of Army Revenues (*nāẓir al-jaysh*) in Tripoli and he oversaw the bureau of al-Daqahliyya and al-Murtāḥiyya. He was intelligent,

2 On Qūṣ's Bahri period, when it witnessed its height as a provincial capital, military base, and center for scholars and poets, see Garcin, *Qūṣ* 181–410, esp. 287–357.

3 Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad reigned with two brief interruptions from 693/1293 to 741/1341. For a study of al-Nuwayrī's administrative career, see Muhanna, *Encyclopaedism*, chapter 2.

handsome, noble, and generous, and loving to his friends. He fasted for Ramaḍān during the year that he died, and he recited the Qurʾān assiduously. Each day after the afternoon prayers he would commence reading the Qurʾān until sunset. He was afflicted with pain in the ends of his fingers, which was the cause of his death. He died on the 21st of Ramaḍān in the year 733 [5 June 1333], and he was the author of some decent poetry and prose. He was my friend. May God have mercy on him.⁴

Al-Udfuwī's description of the *Nihāya* as "a large history in thirty volumes" provides an indication of its contemporary classification, as well as a sign that the work circulated *in toto* within a few years of al-Nuwayrī's death and was not broken up into its constituent parts. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) includes al-Nuwayrī in his *A'yān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, a biographical dictionary comprised of al-Ṣafadī's contemporaries. The two men, however, do not appear to have met, as al-Ṣafadī bases his biography of al-Nuwayrī almost entirely on al-Udfuwī, with the exception of the following report:⁵

He copied al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* eight times. He would draft a copy, collate it, copy the audition notes (*al-ṭibāq*), bind it, and sell it for between 700 or 1,000 *dirhams*, and he sold his work of history once to Jamāl al-Kufāt for 2,000 *dirhams*. He would fill three manuscript quires (*karārīs*) in a day.⁶

The quires of the *Nihāya*'s holographs are quinions, which suggests that al-Nuwayrī could copy sixty pages in a single day. That he could get such a significant sum for a copy of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (a widely available text) speaks to his talents as a copyist. On the other hand, it is interesting that he would part with a copy of his own 31-volume magnum opus for only twice the price of the single-volume *ḥadīth* collection. If this report is correct, then the comparatively less expensive cost of the *Nihāya* may be explained by al-Nuwayrī's status as a lesser-known author during his own lifetime.

4 See al-Udfuwī, *al-Ṭālī' al-sa'īd* 96–97. Note the incorrect name of al-Nuwayrī's grandfather (who was Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʿim), as well as his incorrect birthplace (which was Akhmīm and not Qūṣ).

5 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-ʿaṣr* i, 83. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) draws his biography of al-Nuwayrī from al-Ṣafadī's account; see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* i, 209.

6 Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) may be the source of the report about al-Nuwayrī's ability to copy three quires; see Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* ii, 303.

Al-Şafadī writes in his larger biographical dictionary, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, that he had seen a copy of the *Nihāya*,⁷ as did the Syrian jurist Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī (d. 779/1377) who described the work as “a book on *adab* and history in thirty volumes ... [entitled] *Muntahā l-arab fī ‘ilm al-adab*”. Ibn Ḥabīb states that he examined, copied, and benefited from it.⁸ Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) called al-Nuwayrī a “master copyist” (*nāsikh muṭīq*) and a rarity of his age, but mistakenly claimed that he had composed two thirty-volume collections: one on *adab* and another on history.⁹ It is possible that Ibn Kathīr was confused by an earlier report from the Coptic historian Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā’il (fl. 759/1358), who writes that al-Nuwayrī sold two copies of the *Nihāya* for 1,200 dirhams each, which, as we will see, tallies with the manuscript evidence.¹⁰ The work’s correct title first appears in al-Maqrīzī’s (d. 845/1442) *Kitāb al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*, a biographical dictionary about prominent Egyptians.¹¹ Al-Maqrīzī’s account rehearses some of the previous material from al-Udfuwī and al-Şafadī, but also provides some important additions, notably the description of al-Nuwayrī’s history as “famous” (*mashhūr*).

The biographical literature, then, provides several interesting glimpses of al-Nuwayrī’s working method. It suggests that he produced two copies of the *Nihāya* over the course of about twenty years, that he could copy about three quires or sixty pages a day, and that he also made several expensive copies of al-Bukhārī’s *ḥadīth* collection while working on his own book. It is little wonder that he was known as a master copyist or that he should have suffered from pain in the ends of his fingers. What these descriptions elide, however, is the great amount of work that went into producing the fair copies that were sold. Most of the extant holograph manuscripts, as we will see, are very fine specimens. There is hardly a slip of the pen across their hundreds of pages, which testifies to al-Nuwayrī’s great skill as a master calligrapher but also to the fact that these fair copies would have been preceded by a draft copy of the text, abstracted from the hundreds of books that al-Nuwayrī consulted while composing the *Nihāya*. In other words, the production of the two 30-volume copies that his biographers mention represented the culmination of a much larger process of copying, collating, and editing.

7 Al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfi* vii, 165.

8 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-nabih* ii, 246.

9 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya* xiv, 164.

10 Ibn Abī l-Faḍā’il, *al-Nahj al-sadīd* 55.

11 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* 521–2. See also id., *al-Sulūk* ii, 363, which has a brief death notice for al-Nuwayrī (“the author of the work of history”).

2 The Art of Copying

At the end of Book 11 of the *Nihāya*, al-Nuwayrī devotes a lengthy chapter to secretaryship and its different branches and duties. These included chancery writing (*kitābat al-inshāʿ*), bureaucratic and financial secretaryship (*kitābat al-dīwān wa-qalam al-taşarruf*), legal secretaryship (*kitābat al-ḥukm wa-l-shurūṭ*), the copying of manuscripts (*kitābat al-naskh*), and the teaching of reading and writing (*kitābat al-taʿlīm*).¹² While the whole chapter provides an important window on scribal practice in the early fourteenth century, it is the fourth subchapter on the copying of manuscripts that is of special relevance here, particularly the following passage on copying scholarly texts (*naskh al-ʿulūm*).¹³

As for he who copies [works of] the sciences, such as jurisprudence, philology, the principles of jurisprudence and other things, it is most fitting and suitable for him not to begin writing anything until he has surveyed the subject, reading and familiarizing himself with it. This is so that he may be free from errors, copying mistakes, and substitutions, and so that he may know where to move from one chapter to another, from a question to an answer, from one section to another, from a fundamental principle to a derivative principle or vice versa, from an exception to an illustration or a digression that is unrelated to an important principle, or to the speech of a speaker, or the question of a questioner, or the objection of an objector, or the critique of a critic.

The copyist must know what he is saying and where he is heading, separating each quote with a dividing mark that indicates its completion, and highlighting the statement of someone other than himself with a mark indicating its significance. If he does not do this, he will be like a wood-gatherer at night, not knowing when the morning will suddenly dawn on

12 This chapter (§ 2.5.14) may be found at al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* vii, 1-ix, 221. The sub-chapters' page ranges are as follows: *kitābat al-inshāʿ* (vii, 1-viii, 191); *kitābat al-dīwān wa-qalam al-taşarruf* (viii, 191-305); *kitābat al-ḥukm wa-l-shurūṭ* (ix, 1-160); *kitābat al-naskh* (ix, 160-218); *kitābat al-taʿlīm* (ix, 218-21). The end of the third subchapter is missing from the manuscript, as is the beginning of the fourth subchapter.

13 Part of this sub-chapter has unfortunately been lost. It begins *in media res* with an excerpt from *Kitāb al-Muʿtalif wa-l-mukhtalif* by ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd al-Azdī (d. 410/1019), followed by a second excerpt of the same author's *Mushtabah al-nisba*, two works that treat the similarities in the names of different *ḥadīth* transmitters. This suggests that al-Nuwayrī was mainly concerned here with the copying of *ḥadīth* manuscripts, given the greater space he devotes to this subject in comparison with the material on *naskh al-ʿulūm*.

him, or the sailor in a storm who does not know the difference between morning or evening.

As for copying historical works, one must know the names of the kings, their soubriquets, personal names, and patronymics, especially the kings of the Persians, Turks, Khwārizmīs, and Tatars, for most of their names are foreign and cannot be ascertained except through oral transmission. The copyist, when he writes these names, must specify them by using diacritics, markings, and notes that indicate [their correct pronunciation]. The same is true for names of cities, towns, villages, fortresses, rural areas, districts, provinces, and climes. He must indicate such instances in which the spelling [of two place names] is the same but the pronunciation is different, or instances where the spelling and pronunciation are the same but the referent is different, as in the case of Marw and Marw. The first one is Marw al-Rūdh and the other is Marw al-Shāhijān. Or, for example, al-Qāhira and al-Qāhira. The first is al-Qāhira al-Mu'izziyya [Cairo], and the second is the fortress al-Qāhira which was built in Zawzan by Mu'ayyid al-Mulk, the ruler of Kirmān. If the copyist refers to al-Qāhira without distinguishing it by its place and full title, the mind of the listener will rush to al-Qāhira al-Mu'izziyya because of its unsurpassed fame.

And as for the names of men, such as 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād and 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the first of them is 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abihi, [whose father] Ziyād was the son of Sumayya, and whom Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān appointed after his father ... This 'Ubayd Allāh was governor of Iraq after his father until the days of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, while the second was 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Ḍabyān. Their story is similar to one of those circular arguments in logic, as 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abihi was killed by al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī, who was killed by Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, who was killed by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Ḍabyān. If each of these two individuals is not distinguished by his grandfather and his lineage, the matter would remain confusing for the listener, insofar as he does not have a knowledge of the facts or a grasp of the historical reports. The copyist is responsible for clarifying such matters, and the same is true for the names of the Battle Days of the Arabs ... and other things as well. He must point out all of this, using the appropriate indications.

As for he who copies poetry, he cannot do this without the knowledge of its meters, for that will help him to copy it faithfully according to the original, as it was first copied. He must be knowledgeable about the Arabic language and about prosody so that he can determine the meter of a verse when its scansion is problematic. Thereby he may learn whether the poem is in its original form and order, or whether it contains a change in

meter due to omissions or additions. After correcting it, he should recognize the correction and mark it in its place, for its alteration changes the meaning and corrupts it, diverting it from the intended meaning.

If the copyist masters these skills, correctly applies these principles, clarifies these names, traces these lineages, [he will have achieved]¹⁴ the desired objective of his learning and secretaryship. At that point, let him deploy his pen widely in copying scholarly texts, setting down prose and poetry.¹⁵

As a branch of secretaryship, al-Nuwayrī considered the copying of scholarly manuscripts (*naskh al-ʿulūm*) to be a specialized craft that required an understanding of a discipline's principles, conventions, and authorities before one could embark upon copying its texts. This raises the question of what, precisely, *naskh* meant. Why should a scribe be expected to understand the subject matter of a work, rather than copying it as he found it? Even allowing for a degree of idealization in depictions of scribal practice, al-Nuwayrī's discussion suggests that *naskh* involved more than mere replication of exemplar manuscripts.¹⁶ Some level of editing and mark-up was not only considered acceptable, but was expected from a good scribe.

This editing might have taken two forms. At a basic level, a master copyist was assumed to be within his rights when correcting mistakes or making small changes to material copied from an exemplar. This could be as simple as replacing a word in a poem based on a flaw in its meter, clarifying the orthography of a foreign name, or glossing an ambiguous toponym. The copyist, al-Nuwayrī says, "is responsible for clarifying such matters" so that the reader would not be led astray, and the author's intention would be preserved from the corruption of time and human error.

However, the second dimension of *naskh* is more thoroughgoing than mere correction or glossing. As al-Nuwayrī states in the beginning of the passage, the scribe must know "where to move from one chapter to another, from a question to an answer, from one section to another," and so forth. Here, he may simply be referring to the conventions of *mise-en-page* observed by different disciplines, such as drawing attention to the structural divisions in a manuscript by using different calligraphic styles, colors, text sizes, symbols, and blank space. However, al-Nuwayrī's statement that the "copyist must know what he is saying and where he is heading" indicates that there was more at stake in this practice

14 There is a lacuna in the manuscript here; this is my suggested replacement.

15 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* ix, 214–8.

16 On the idealization of the *kātib*, see Carter, *The Kātib*; van Berkel, *al-Qalqashandī*.

than neatening up the page layout and highlighting elements already present in the original manuscript. Rather, the activity of the copyist likely also involved the introduction of structural elements into works that previously did not contain them, differentiating questions from answers, critiques from illustrations, chapters from sub-chapters, and so on and so forth.

One wonders, in fact, whether al-Nuwayrī considered the broader activity of compilation itself—which depends upon the selective quotation, embellishment, and rearrangement of older materials into new forms—to be a species of *naskh*. Translating the term *nāsikh* as “copyist” may be problematic in this regard, for what differentiates the person described in the passage above from what we would call an “editor,” “anthologist,” or “compiler” today? In fact, these are distinctions that are frequently difficult to draw in the world of Mamlūk letters. While al-Nuwayrī clearly had a sense of the importance of maintaining the integrity of transmitted material, he saw little contradiction between this *desideratum* and a parallel interest in serving his contemporary audience by making manuscripts more reader-friendly.¹⁷

3 The *Nihāya*'s Holographs

Scholars of medieval texts usually regard the existence of a single preserved holograph manuscript of a given work as a stroke of good fortune. In the case of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*, we are confronted with an embarrassment of riches. A survey of several manuscript libraries yields a list of thirty volumes of the *Nihāya* that have been attributed to al-Nuwayrī himself: Leiden University Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France hold thirteen of these volumes; sixteen are held by various Istanbul libraries; and there is a single volume at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Most of the Istanbul holographs were microfilmed by Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā around the turn of the twentieth century and brought to Egypt to be used as the basis for Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya's edition of the *Nihāya*, along with many other volumes copied in later centuries.

I have examined the Leiden and Paris manuscripts, and they contain among them what I believe to be a previously unidentified holograph (Leiden Or. 2d),

¹⁷ A final dimension of the term *naskh* that may be useful in this discussion is the concept of *naskh* as transcription rather than copying. If one bears in mind that *naskh al-'ulūm* often took place while sitting with a teacher and transcribing a book as it was read aloud (rather than copying a manuscript in a library or private study), one may appreciate more fully the relative fluidity of textual composition as the product of this mode of knowledge transmission.

as well as two manuscripts that may have been erroneously attributed to al-Nuwayrī (Leiden Or. 19b and BnF Arabe 1579, which I discuss below). As I have not had the opportunity to consult the remaining manuscripts, I have relied upon the work of other scholars, editors, and cataloguers for their descriptions and attributions of these volumes to al-Nuwayrī, recognizing that a comprehensive study of all the surviving manuscripts would be necessary to confirm the authenticity of the presumed holographs. In order to facilitate such a study, I have assembled a list of the relevant manuscripts in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1 Manuscripts of the *Nihāyat al-arab* attributed to al-Nuwayrī¹⁸

Vol. ¹⁹	Shelfmark	Date	Evidence for attribution
1	DKM 551	20 Dhū l-Qa'da 721/11 December 1321	Signed colophon ²⁰
4	DKM 551	Undated	Signed colophon ²¹
5	DKM 551	22 Rabī' 1722/10 April 1322	Signed colophon ²²

18 The manuscripts with the shelfmark DKM 551 are microfilms held at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya. According to a note by the editor of the seventeenth manuscript volume of the *Nihāyat al-arab*, the original manuscripts are held at the Ayasofya library in Istanbul, which contains a complete set of 31 holographs (see Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xix, 5–6). However, according to *Ayasofya Kütüphanesi* 210, there are only seventeen manuscripts of the *Nihāyat al-arab* held in the collection (shelfmarks 351–27; note the error in *GAL* ii, 140, who gives 351–37), some of which are duplicate volumes. This casts some doubt on the *Nihāyat al-arab* editors' claims that all of the manuscripts microfilmed under shelfmark DKM 551 were holographs. Furthermore, the information regarding the identification of holographs is often incomplete: sometimes the text of a signed colophon is supplied in the edition, while at other times an editor simply states that the edition was based upon a holograph without explaining how they authenticated it. It may be that some of the manuscripts listed in the table are not in fact holographs, just as it is possible that there are some holograph manuscripts extant that are not identified above.

19 Note that this column refers to the manuscript volume, which does not always correspond to the edition volume. The volume numbers of manuscript and edition are in sync from volumes 1–6. Between volumes 7–13, they begin to deviate, with the following correspondence between manuscript and edition: 7 = 7–8:101; 8 = 8:101–9:223; 9 = 9:224–10; 10 = 11–12; 11 = 13–14:81; 12 = 14:82–15:80; 13 = 15:81–end of 15. From manuscript vol. 14 to vol. 31, the correspondence is regular, with the edition numbering always two ahead of the manuscript. Thus, the 31-volume manuscript corresponds to a 33-volume edition.

20 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* 1, 416.

21 Ibid. iv, 423.

22 Ibid. v, 339. Note the error in Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī* 113, who gives the month as Jumādā I rather than Rabī' I.

TABLE 6.1 Manuscripts of the *Nihāyat al-arab* attributed to al-Nuwayrī (*cont.*)

Vol.	Shelfmark	Date	Evidence for attribution
10	DKM 551	Jumādā 1 722/May–June 1322	Signed colophon ²³
10	Berlin We. 86	Undated	Signed colophon ²⁴
11	DKM 551	Undated	Handwriting; no colophon (fragment) ²⁵
12	DKM 551	Undated	Signed colophon ²⁶
13	DKM 551	Undated	Signed colophon ²⁷
13	BnF Arabe 1573	Undated	Handwriting; no colophon ²⁸
14	Leiden Or. 2d ²⁹	Undated	Handwriting; colophon likely added later ³⁰
15	DKM 551	7 Ramaḍān 722/19 September 1322	Signed colophon ³¹

- 23 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* ii, III–IV. Note that the editor states in the preface that this printed volume's edition was based on three manuscripts, one of which was attributed to the author and dated Jumādā 1 922 (*sic*). I am assuming that this is a typographical error, and that the holograph is dated 722 AH. Curiously, however, the editor of vol. 12 of the printed edition (which should correspond to the same manuscript volume as vol. 11) states that this volume's edition was based on two manuscripts rather than three, one of which was an undated holograph (see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xii, III–IV). Direct consultation of the manuscripts or microfilms would be necessary to sort out this puzzle.
- 24 Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften* v, 482–3 (no. 6202).
- 25 The editor of print vol. 13 states in the preface that his edition was based on three manuscripts: two complete volumes copied in 966/1558–9 and a fragment of a third manuscript attributed to al-Nuwayrī based on its script. See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xiii, III–IV.
- 26 *Ibid.* xv, 80, fn. 2.
- 27 *Ibid.* xv, 434–5.
- 28 This manuscript is missing about eight folios and has forty folios out of order, as remarked by de Slane, *Catalogue* 296–7, who says that the manuscript “est considéré comme autographe,” presumably on the basis of its script; cf. Sauvan & Balty-Guesdon, *Catalogue* 122, who says it is “probablement autographe”. I am not fully convinced of this identification, and would propose that the hand resembles that of Leiden Or. 2c, which has not been identified as a holograph.
- 29 Some of the Leiden manuscripts have two volumes bound together under a single shelfmark. In the case of Or. 2d and Or. 2f, the two volumes were copied by different individuals; in the case of Or. 2i and Or. 2l, the copyist is the same.
- 30 On the basis of a colophon (fol. 254^b) dated 972 AH and signed by the copyist ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḥalabī this manuscript was not considered a holograph; see De Goeje & Houtsma, *Catalogus* 14; Voorhoeve, *Handlist* 252; Witkam, *Inventory* 13. However, the colophon is in a very different hand from the main text, which is more or less identical to the hand of several manuscripts attributed to al-Nuwayrī (in particular, Or. 2f, which has a signed colophon).
- 31 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xvii, 379; cf. Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī* 113, who mistakenly identifies this as volume 17, which corresponds to the printed edition's numbering rather than the manuscript volume numbering.

TABLE 6.1 Manuscripts of the *Nihāyat al-arab* attributed to al-Nuwayrī (*cont.*)

Vol.	Shelfmark	Date	Evidence for attribution
16	DKM 551	27 Ramaḍān 722/9 October 1322	Signed colophon ³²
16	Leiden Or. 2f	Dhū l-Qa'da 716/January–February 1317	Signed colophon and handwriting ³³
17	DKM 551	Undated	n/a ³⁴
19	DKM 554	9 Jumādā II 718/8 August 1318	Signed and dated colophon ³⁵
21	TSMK EH 1369	25 Šafar 724/22 February 1324	Signed and dated colophon ³⁶
21	BnF Arabe 1574	Undated	Handwriting ³⁷
22	BnF Arabe 1575	719/1319–20	Signed colophon and handwriting ³⁸
22	TSMK n/a	Undated	Handwriting ³⁹
23	BnF Arabe 1576	Undated	Handwriting ⁴⁰
24	Leiden Or. 2i	Undated	Signed colophon and handwriting ⁴¹

32 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xviii, 407. Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī* 113, mistakenly identifies this as volume 18; see previous note.

33 The colophon of this manuscript is undated. However, while discussing an important relic thought to belong to the Prophet Muḥammad, al-Nuwayrī states that it remained in the possession of its owners “until the present time, which is the last tenth of Dhū l-Qa'da, in the year 716” (see Leiden Or. 2f, fol. 140^b).

34 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xix, 5–6.

35 Ibid. xxi, 540, fn. 1. Note that the editor gives the shelfmark of this volume as DKM 554 rather than 551, which is puzzling given what the editor of manuscript volume 17 (printed volume 19, pp. 5–6) says about the Ayasofya microfilms being held together under shelfmark 551. See also Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī* 113, who does not make the same numbering mistake with this volume that she does with vols. 15 and 16 (see above).

36 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxiii, 5–7.

37 De Slane, *Catalogue* 297; Sauvan & Balty-Guesdon, *Catalogue*, 123–4.

38 The colophon of this manuscript is undated. However, while discussing the Merinid sultan 'Uthmān b. Ya'qūb on fol. 68^a, al-Nuwayrī states that he “is the current king at our present time, in the year 719.” See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxiv, 352.

39 Ibid. xxiv, 1–3. The edition of this volume was based on three manuscripts, one of which is held in the TSMK (with a microfilm copy at the library of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo). The editor does not provide the shelfmark of the TSMK manuscript; he identifies it as a holograph based upon a comparison of the script with a copy of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī's *Dīwān al-ma'ānī* that is held at al-Maktaba al-Zāhiriyya in Damascus and is apparently in al-Nuwayrī's hand. I have not had the chance to examine either manuscript.

40 De Slane, *Catalogue* 297; Sauvan & Balty-Guesdon, *Catalogue*, 123–4.

41 De Goeje & Houtsma, *Catalogus* 16; Voorhoeve, *Handlist* 253; Witkam, *Inventory* 14. The colophon on fol. 100^a is undated. Interestingly, there is a lacuna in the colophon where the number of the next volume would be, indicating that al-Nuwayrī was still working out the volume numbering of the entire work at this stage.

TABLE 6.1 Manuscripts of the *Nihāyat al-arab* attributed to al-Nuwayrī (cont.)

Vol.	Shelfmark	Date	Evidence for attribution
25	Leiden Or. 2i	714/1314–5	Signed colophon and handwriting ⁴²
26	Leiden Or. 2l	Undated	Handwriting; no colophon ⁴³
27	Leiden Or. 2l	Undated	Handwriting; incomplete colophon ⁴⁴
27	TSMK?	Undated	n/a ⁴⁵
28	DKM 551	29 Dhū l-Hijja 725/6 December 1325	Signed colophon ⁴⁶
28	BnF Arabe 1578	Undated	Handwriting; no colophon ⁴⁷
29	BnF Arabe 1578	after Jumādā II 726/May 1326	Handwriting; colophon by later copyist ⁴⁸

- 42 De Goeje & Houtsma, *Catalogus* 16; Voorhoeve, *Handlist* 253; Witkam, *Inventory* 14. The colophon on fol. 205^b is undated, however there are two places in the manuscript where al-Nuwayrī makes reference to the year in which he is writing (see fol. 129^b and 142^a, corresponding to al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxvii, 114, 162). As with the previous volume (which is bound together with this one under the same shelfmark), there is a lacuna in the colophon where the number of the next volume would be, which indicates that al-Nuwayrī had not yet determined the final numbering of the *Nihāyat al-arab* at this stage. The colophon reads: *kamula l-juz' alā yad mu'allifihī faqīr raḥmat rabbihi / yatluḥu in shā'a llāh ta'ālā fi awwal al-juz' [lacuna] al-bāb al-thānī 'ashar [...]*.
- 43 De Goeje & Houtsma, *Catalogus* 16; Voorhoeve, *Handlist* 253; Witkam, *Inventory* 14.
- 44 De Goeje & Houtsma, *Catalogus* 16; Voorhoeve, *Handlist* 253; Witkam, *Inventory* 14. The colophon (p. 427) is incomplete, stating only: *najiza l-sifr [lacuna] min Nihāyat al-arab fi funūn al-adab*. As with the two manuscripts bound in Leiden Or. 2i, it appears that al-Nuwayrī had not yet settled on the volume numbering at this stage.
- 45 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxix, 5–6. The edition of this volume was based on a single non-holograph manuscript until the editor found a microfilm of a presumed holograph in the library of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts. Given that the previous two Institute of Arabic Manuscripts microfilms were taken from the Treasury Collection at TSMK, I would speculate that this may have come from that collection as well.
- 46 Ibid. xxx, 401.
- 47 De Slane, *Catalogue* 298 mistakes this manuscript to be the twenty-fifth volume, while Sauvan & Balty-Guesdon, *Catalogue* 125–6 consider it to be the twenty-ninth volume. In fact, BnF Arabe 1578 contains both volumes 28 and 29. The end of volume 28 falls at fol. 104^b, where there is no colophon.
- 48 The final 18 fols. of this manuscript (including a colophon) were added by a later copyist in 814/1412, but the earlier fols. are in al-Nuwayrī's hand. With regard to dating the holograph portion, al-Nuwayrī makes a reference to the appointment of Qaratāy al-Šāliḥī as governor of Tripoli and says that he remained in this position until "he was removed from it in Jumādā II, 726" (see fol. 117^b). In the printed edition, however, (see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxi, 59), al-Nuwayrī says that Qaratāy was the governor "up until the time that we wrote this volume, and that was at the end of Rajab, 725." In other words, we can be certain that al-Nuwayrī made at least two copies of this volume: one in Rajab 725 (which reflects the text of the printed edition), and this copy, made one year later and updated to reflect the latest developments in the political arena.

TABLE 6.1 Manuscripts of the *Nihāyat al-arab* attributed to al-Nuwayrī (*cont.*)

Vol.	Shelfmark	Date	Evidence for attribution
29	BnF Arabe 1579	18 Šafar 726/24 January 1326	Signed colophon ⁴⁹
31	Leiden Or. 19b	After 730/1330	Comment on flyleaves in a different hand ⁵⁰

There are different types of evidence for the attribution of a manuscript to a copyist. The most direct evidence (which is not necessarily decisive) is the identification of the copyist in the manuscript itself. Other types of evidence include the copyist's handwriting, the way in which he is introduced in the work, the presence or absence of honorifics and certain supplications accompanying his signature, the types of paper and styles of script common to the region in which the copyist lived, etc.⁵¹ In al-Nuwayrī's case, the question of attribution is further complicated because of his noted skill as a copyist and his mastery of different kinds of scripts.⁵²

If we set aside for the time being the problem of authenticating holographs, what can we learn from such a large collection of manuscripts produced by a single copyist? For the purposes of studying working methods, one would ideally like to have draft copies and fair copies to compare. All of the *Nihāya* holographs that I have consulted are fair copies, with scarcely a word out of place. However, even such spotless exemplars have things to tell us about a copyist's practice and I will briefly address two issues of relevance to the case of al-Nuwayrī: composition schedule and the problem of different scripts.

49 De Slane, *Catalogue* 298; Sauvan & Balty-Guesdon, *Catalogue* 126–7. This manuscript has been attributed to al-Nuwayrī on the basis of a signed colophon, and yet the script, page layout, rubrication, and paper of this volume are very different from all the other manuscripts attributed to him, with the exception of Leiden Or. 19b. See below for a discussion of both manuscripts.

50 De Goeje & Houtsma, *Catalogus* 17; Voorhoeve, *Handlist* 253; Witkam, *Inventory* 16. The dating of this manuscript is based on the fact that it chronicles the years 721/1321 to 730/1330. It is in a very different hand from the other presumed holographs with the exception of BnF Arabe 1579. The attribution to al-Nuwayrī is not in a colophon but rather in a comment written on the flyleaves (*tārīkh Nuwayrī* [*sic*] *bi-khaṭṭ al-muṣannif*) in a different hand. See below for a discussion of both Leiden Or. 19b and BnF Arabe 1579.

51 See Chapter 3 in this volume.

52 Gacek, *Al-Nuwayrī's classification*.

3.1 *Composition Schedule*

As we see in fig. 6.1, there are two sources of evidence to consider with regard to the question of when al-Nuwayrī composed the *Nihāya*. First, there are nine manuscripts that have signed and dated colophons.⁵³ Second, there are five manuscripts that can be dated based on references to specific events or individuals in the text.⁵⁴ Putting the two sets of dates together, we can construct the following timeline:

Amīna Jamāl al-Dīn has suggested that al-Nuwayrī made two copies of the *Nihāya*: one begun before 718/1318, and another started in 721/1321.⁵⁵ She proposed that a single manuscript from the first set survives (DKM 554, vol. 19), while four other dated holographs belong to the purported second set and were copied within a ten-month span between 721/1321 and 722/1322 (DKM 551, vols. 1, 4, 15, and 16).⁵⁶ Table 6.2 contains several additional manuscripts that Jamāl al-Dīn was unable to consult, and they seem to substantiate her hypothesis. There is, however, the question of how to explain the earliest manuscript in the group: Leiden Or. 2i, vol. 25. This volume covers the history of the Saljūq, Khwārizmid, and Chingisid states, and there are two places in the text where al-Nuwayrī identifies 714/1314 as the year in which he is writing.⁵⁷ Could it be that this manuscript belongs to a third, even earlier set of the *Nihāya*? Or perhaps al-Nuwayrī wrote this volume before he knew where it might fit within an anticipated larger collection.

As we have already seen, the colophons of both volumes of Leiden Or. 2i have blank spaces where the volume numbers would have been written, as does vol. 27 of Leiden Or. 2l.⁵⁸ This suggests to me that these three volumes were in fact written at an early stage in the *Nihāya*'s compilation, before al-Nuwayrī knew how many volumes he would devote to the sections on the cosmos, the human being, the animal world and the plant world. We have another example of this practice in the table of contents of the *Nihāya*, where al-Nuwayrī describes chapter 5.5.12, which covers the political history of Egypt “up until our composition of this work in the year seven hundred and [lacuna]” (*ilā*

53 These are DKM 551, vols. 1, 5, 10, 15, 16, 28; DKM 554, vol. 19; TSMK EH 1369; BnF Arabe 1579.

54 These are Leiden Or. 2f, vol. 16; BnF Arabe 1575; Leiden Or. 2i, vol. 25; BnF Arabe 1578, vol. 29; and Leiden Or. 19b. See the footnoted annotation for each manuscript for an account of how I arrived at the copy date.

55 Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī* 111–4.

56 Note that Jamāl al-Dīn mistook the 7 Ramaḍān and 27 Ramaḍān manuscripts as being volumes 17 and 18, respectively, rather than 15 and 16. See Jamāl al-Dīn, *al-Nuwayrī* 113.

57 See note 42.

58 See notes 41, 42, and 44.

TABLE 6.2 A Timeline of al-Nuwayrī's Compilation of the *Nihāyat al-arab*

Date	Manuscript volume	Shelfmark
714/1314	Volume 25	Leiden Or. 2i
Dhū l-Qa'da 716/January–February 1317	Volume 15	Leiden Or. 2f
9 Jumādā II 718/8 August 1318	Volume 19	DKM 554
719/1319–20	Volume 22	BnF Arabe 1575
20 Dhū l-Qa'da 721/11 December 1321	Volume 1	DKM 551
22 Rabī' I 722/10 April 1322	Volume 5	DKM 551
Jumādā I 722/May–June 1322	Volume 10	DKM 551
7 Ramaḍān 722/19 September 1322	Volume 15	DKM 551
27 Ramaḍān 722/9 October 1322	Volume 16	DKM 551
25 Šafar 724/22 February 1324	Volume 21	TSMK EH 1369
29 Dhū l-Ḥijja 725/6 December 1325	Volume 28	DKM 551
18 Šafar 726/24 January 1326	Volume 29	BnF Arabe 1579
After Jumādā II 726/May 1326	Volume 29	BnF Arabe 1578
After 730/1330	Volume 31	Leiden Or. 19b

ḥīn waḍ'īnā li-hādhā l-ta'rif fī sanat [lacuna] *wa-sab'īmī'a*).⁵⁹ Given that the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya edition of this first volume was based on the 721/1321 holograph, this lacuna in the text is interesting. It may suggest that al-Nuwayrī planned to go back and fill in the composition date after he finished the historical section, so as to provide an accurate *terminus ante quem* for chapter 5.5.12 in the table of contents. As it happened, al-Nuwayrī did not go back and pencil in the date, and perhaps neglected to do so in the first version of the work as well, since two later copies of the manuscript preserve the lacuna in the same spot.⁶⁰

It is difficult, then, to establish exactly when al-Nuwayrī began compiling the *Nihāya* or the order in which he produced the volumes. The holographs suggest that he may have begun with certain volumes that he later decided to insert toward the end of the work, as his vision for it grew more ambitious. The *Nihāya*'s textual architecture and extensive cross-referencing demand that al-Nuwayrī would have had to establish the overall plan for the work before he

59 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* i, 25.

60 See BnF Arabe 5050, fol. 10^b; Leiden Or. 273, fol. 3^b; Muhanna, *Encyclopaedism* 60.

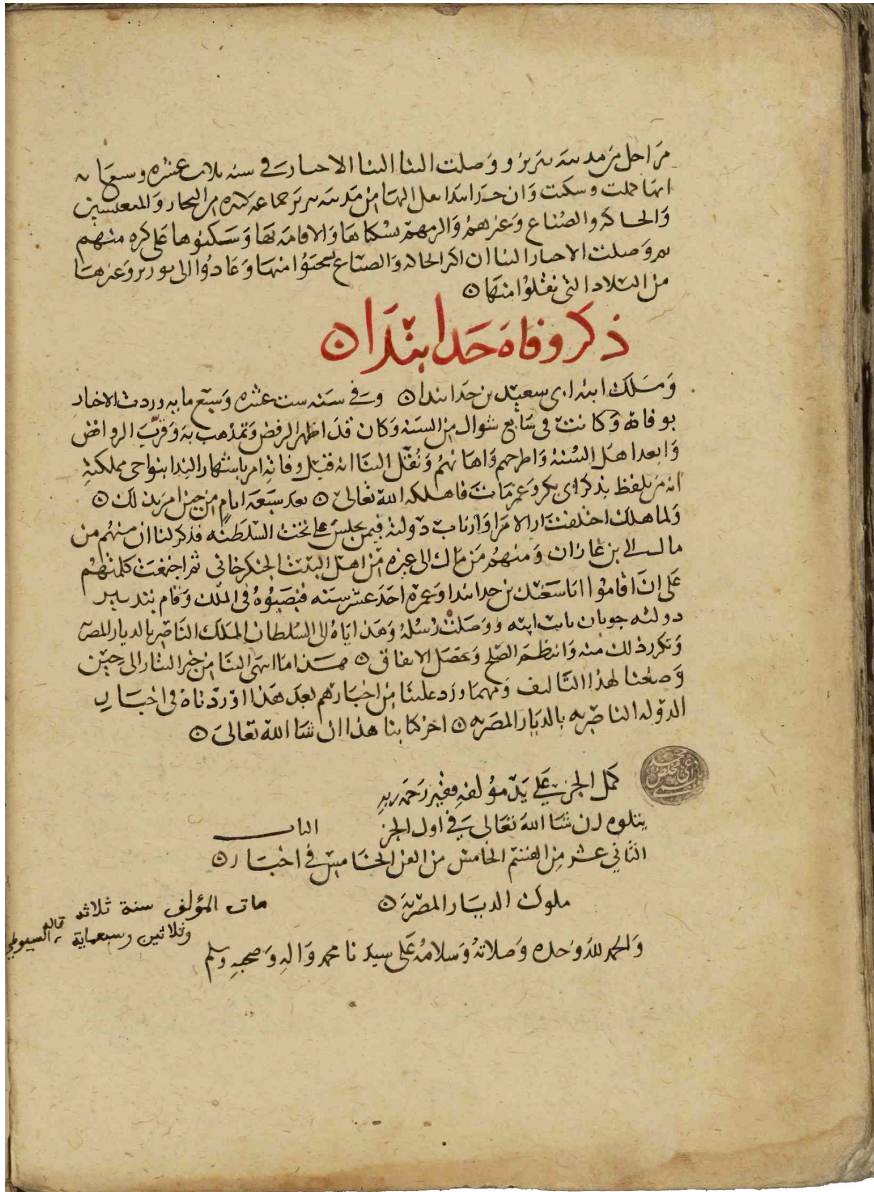


FIGURE 6.1 Volume 25 of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*. Note that the colophon identifies this manuscript as a holograph, and also shows a lacuna where the number of the next volume would be, suggesting that al-Nuwayrī had not yet established the final ordering of volumes in this copy of the work. (MS Or. 2i)
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produced his first fair copy. However, he may not have known exactly how many volumes each *fann*, *qism*, and *bāb* would encompass, even if their general order and contents were clear to him from the start.⁶¹

3.2 *Different Scripts*

It is often very difficult to identify a manuscript as a holograph purely on the basis of its script. Unless a copyist has a distinctive hand, one frequently finds oneself hazarding impressionistic guesses as to whether an unsigned manuscript might be a holograph. Most of the manuscripts of the *Nihāya* that I have consulted have very similar scripts, rubrication patterns, page layouts, colophons, and chapter titles, and running headers. Two volumes, however, look nothing like the others and strongly resemble each other: BnF Arabe 1579 (vol. 29) and Leiden Or. 19b (vol. 31). The former has a signed colophon identifying the copyist as al-Nuwayrī and the copy date as 18 Šafar 726/24 January 1326. The latter is unsigned and was copied between 730–3/1329–33; it seems to have been attributed to al-Nuwayrī on the basis of a comment made in a different hand on the flyleaves of the manuscript.

As al-Nuwayrī was a master of many scripts, one might propose that the difference between Leiden Or. 19b/BnF Arabe 1579 and the other Leiden and Paris holographs was the result of a conscious decision to use a different script in his manuscript copies toward the end of his life. Al-Udfuwī remarked in his biography that al-Nuwayrī “was afflicted with pain at the end of his fingers, which was the cause of his death.” Might these manuscripts reflect a debilitating condition that prevented him from producing the very fine specimens he copied a decade earlier? I would think not, given that we have a second copy of volume 29 (BnF Arabe 1578) produced at least a few months after BnF Arabe 1579, which is in the same hand as the other Leiden and Paris holographs. Alternatively, one might speculate that the manuscripts were produced by a different copyist and passed off as holographs, or perhaps were copied by an amanuensis.⁶² Further analysis of these manuscripts and comparison with other copies of the *Nihāya* would be necessary to solve this puzzle.

61 Muhanna, *Encyclopaedism* chap. 3.

62 A final possibility, suggested to me by Adam Gacek, is that Leiden Or. 19b and BnF Arabe 1579 are the true holographs while the rest of the manuscripts held at Leiden and Paris are forgeries.

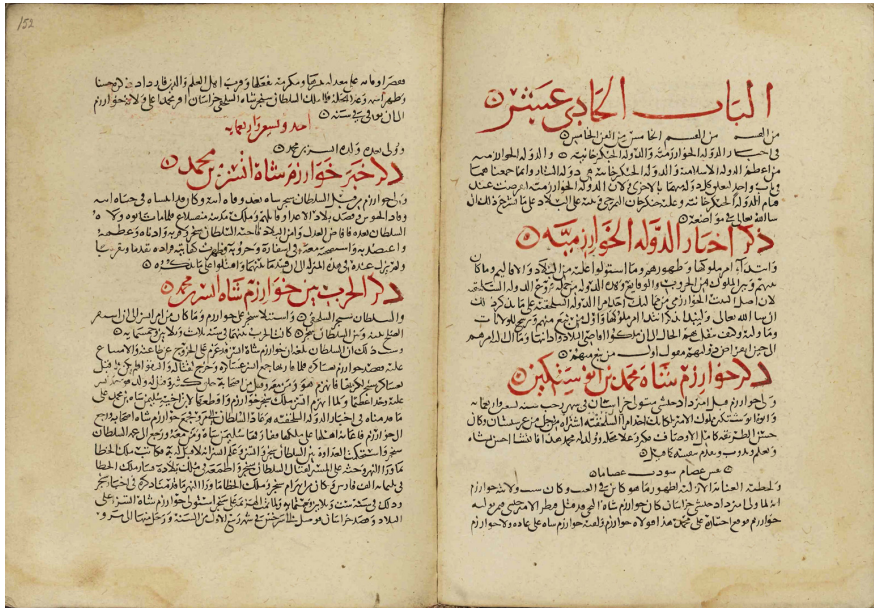


FIGURE 6.2 MSS Or. 2i (top) and Or. 2l (bottom), representing al-Nuwayri's *Nihāyat al-arab fi funūn al-adab*, volumes 24–25 and 26–27, respectively. These volumes are both presumed holographs.

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235

انى لك الوبلات مثل محمد في كل نايبة تنوب وشهد
 فيك المبارك والموفق اللطيف حامي الحقبة ذا الشاد المرشد
 من عن ابوك عن العائل عنه لود المعين في الصريح المحرر
 ام من كل مدفع ذي حاجة ومسلسل لسلكو الحد يتردد
 ام لوجو لله ينزل بيوتك في كل عسالة او في عار
 فقلبك رحمة بنا وسلاصه باذا الفواضل والمداد والسود
 وقالت هذ بيت اثنان من عمدا من المطيب بن عبد منات
 اسباب دو اني واذل ربي، بكاون فاطم الهيت الفقيد
 فاعطيت العظا فلم يكد رء واخدمت الوالايد والعيترا
 وكنت ملاذنا في كل اوسم، اذا هبت سامية برودا
 وانك خير من رب المطايا، والكرم اذا نسوا احد ودا
 رسول الله فارقتا وكنا نرجو ان يكون لنا خلو دا
 افاط فاصري فلقد اصابت رزيتك الهامم والنخودا
 واهل البر والاحار طردا فلم تحظ مصيبتة وخيدا
 وكان البحر بصير في ذرارة سعيد الحد قد ولد الشعودا
 ورتنا صلى الله عليه وسلم عندها لما لو استنقصينا ذلك لطالب
 والسبع دية الطال وخرالته صلى الله عليه وسلم ومداحة كتيرة تزداد في
 كل عمر وننصاعف في كل دهر صلى الله عليه وسلم كمال الحزء المسار عشر
 من كتاب في الارب في فنون الادب على يد مولف فخرهم احمد بن الوء ب
 ابن محمد بن عبد اللطيم البكري البقمي المعروف بالقبوري يتسوه ان شا الله في اول
 اجز المسابح عشر الباب الثاني من القسم الحسن الفز الحسن في اجاز الكفاء
 المراد من صلى الله عليه وسلم المعجى والحمد لله العالمن وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه
 تسلم كينال ورضى الله تعالى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

FIGURE 6.3 Colophon of al-Nuwayri's *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, signed by the author. MS Or. 2f
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4 An Important *Ḥadīth* Manuscript in al-Nuwayrī's Hand?⁶³

As his biographers inform us, al-Nuwayrī supported himself during the period in which he composed the *Nihāya* by making and selling copies of al-Bukhārī's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*. I have found what seems to be one of these copies, a manuscript held in the Fazıl Ahmed Paşa collection at the Köprülü Manuscript Library in Istanbul (MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 362) (see figs. 6.5–6.7).⁶⁴ Dated to Jumādā 1 725/April–May 1325, the manuscript contains 316 folios of compact script with ample marginal annotations. The title page indicates that it was commissioned for the library of a high official in the Mamlūk administration.⁶⁵ This may be further evidence of the esteem in which al-Nuwayrī's manuscript copies were held; one presumes that institutional commissions were reserved for very fine copies.⁶⁶

The value of this particular manuscript, however, may have had as much to do with the nature of its contents as the quality of the copy itself. As we learn from the final pages of the work (fol. 296^b), the manuscript was copied from an exemplar that had been authorized by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī (d. 701/1302), the older half-brother of the historian Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, whose chronicle *Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān* was one of al-Nuwayrī's main sources for Book v of the *Nihāya*. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī's redaction of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was a marvel of philological scholarship, an attempt to reconstruct the original text of this canonical *ḥadīth* collection several centuries after it was composed. He performed this task by collating the recensions of several important transmitters and making notes of the variants he encountered, labeling them with abbreviations in the margins much like a modern critical edition.

Perhaps as a result of this philological zeal, al-Yūnīnī's redaction (known as the Yūnīniyya) "was less suited for transmission by reading and listening" than other manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and so his careful work was mostly neglected by

63 I am grateful to Adam Gacek and Joel Blecher for their insights on the subject matter of this section.

64 Şeşen, *Fihris* i, 183.

65 Probably the chief of the chancery as the title *al-ṣāḥibī* could imply (i.e. *ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshā'*). The title page (fol. 19^a) states in ornamental script: *bi-rasm al-khizāna al-āliya al-mawlawiyya al-sayyidiyya al-mālikīyya al-makhdūmiyya al-ṣāḥibīyya*.

66 The first sixteen folios of the manuscript contain a detailed table of contents that is almost surely a later addition. The contents are organized in a tabular format, with five columns of twenty-three rows on each page. Each cell has a short title for the *ḥadīth* in question and its chapter (*bāb*) number. The foliation (also surely a later addition) restarts in the main portion of the work, on the folio following the title page.



FIGURE 6.5 The Yüniniyya recension of al-Bukhārī’s *Kitāb al-Jāmi’ al-ṣāhiḥ*, copied by al-Nuwayrī in 725/1325. MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 362, fols. 17^b–18^a (title page). ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ

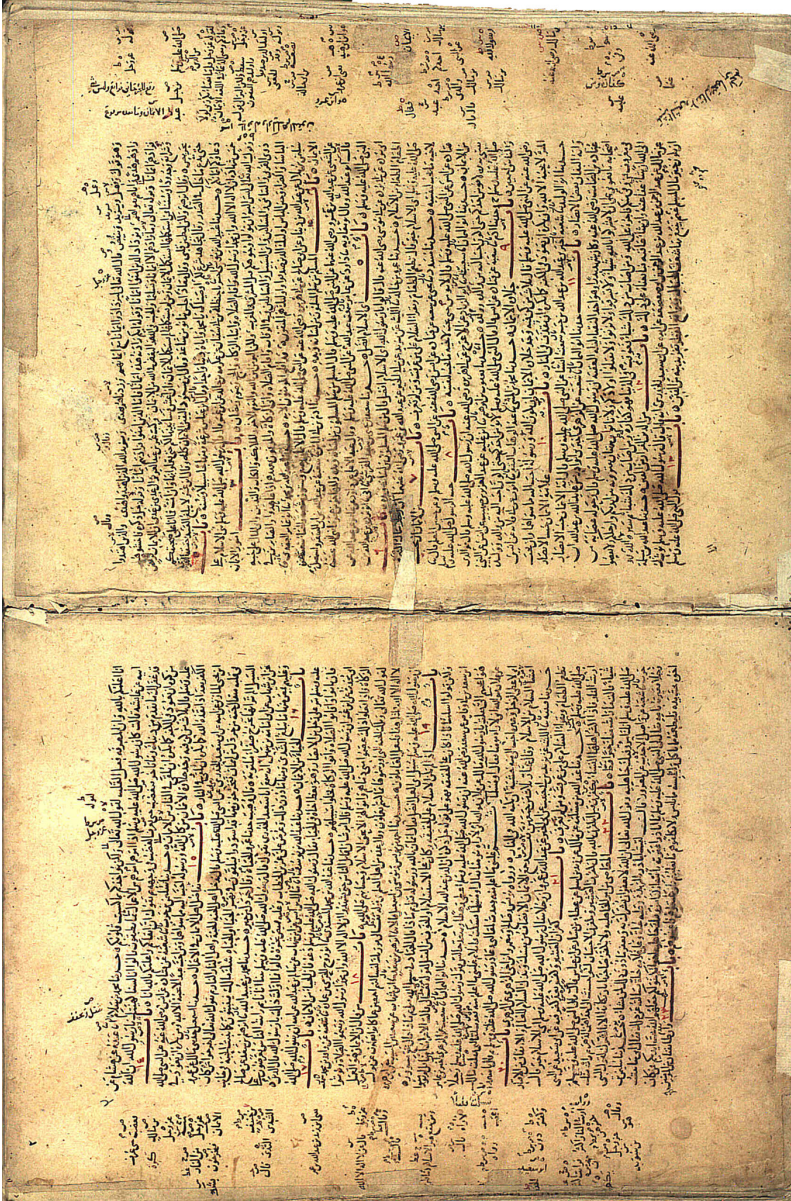


FIGURE 6.6 Ms Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 362, fols. 19^b–20^a.
 ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ

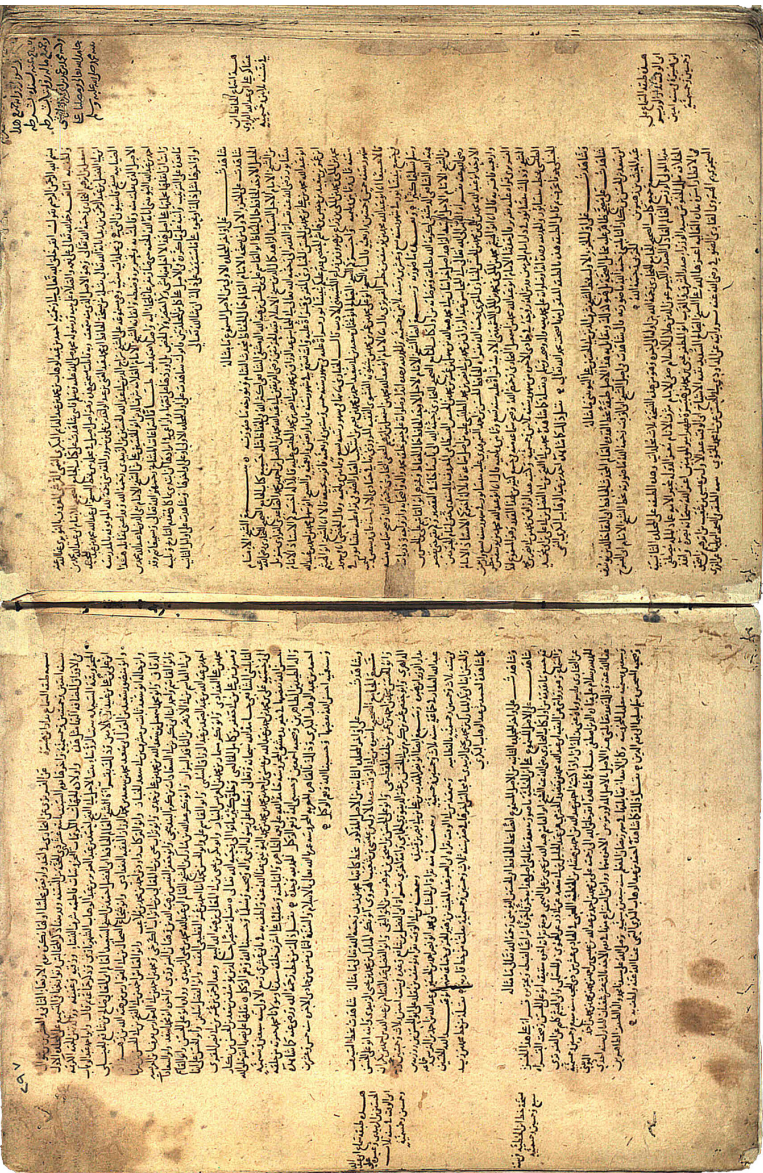


FIGURE 6.7 Final pages of the Yünihiya manuscript, containing audition statements and identifying the copyist as al-Nuwayrî. MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 362, fols. 314^b–315^a.
 İSTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 في هذا اليوم المبارك
 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ١٠٠٠ هـ الموافق
 ١٦٩٠ م

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 في هذا اليوم المبارك
 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ١٠٠٠ هـ الموافق
 ١٦٩٠ م

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 في هذا اليوم المبارك
 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ١٠٠٠ هـ الموافق
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الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
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 أن هدانا الله
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 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ١٠٠٠ هـ الموافق
 ١٦٩٠ م

later *ḥadīth* commentators, with the exception of al-Qaṣṭallānī (d. 923/1517).⁶⁷ After al-Yūnīnī's death, his personal copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with its precious annotations was sold, then lost, then found again, and eventually made its way to Istanbul, where it was held in an Ottoman library. According to Fuat Sezgin, the sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II sent it to Cairo in 1895–6 to be printed, after which it disappeared permanently.

In al-Nuwayrī's obituary of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī in the *Nihāya*, he states: "He concerned himself with al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in all of its channels, and he exactly edited his own copy, giving each channel its own abbreviation, and adding correct marginal annotations. I have copied al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from his model seven times, and I edited it just as he did, and collated it against his own model, which was the model upon which I performed my audition with al-Ḥajjār and Wazīra."⁶⁸ These last two figures were al-Nuwayrī's principal teachers of *ḥadīth*, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār and Sitt al-Wuzarā' Umm Muḥammad Wazīra bt. 'Umar al-Tanūkhī.⁶⁹ Like al-Yūnīnī, both of these teachers had studied *ḥadīth* with Ibn al-Zabīdī when they were young, which is why al-Nuwayrī felt he could collate the Yūnīniyya against the model of his own audition with al-Ḥajjār and Wazīra, as they both derived from the same source. He explains his methodology in detail in the last few pages of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* manuscript:

I have seen the *Kitāb al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* by the imam ... al-Bukhārī ... and it is the model that I heard (*sami'tu*) and collated this copy against. It is an authentic model in two volumes, in the hand of the shaykh Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Majīd b. Abī l-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd, may God distinguish him. He copied it from the copy of al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Alī b. Surūr al-Maqdisī, may God have mercy upon him, which is held in the Ḍiyā'iyya *madrassa*, at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn. It is in six volumes, and was audited by (*masmū'a 'alā*) the shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Zabīdī. The former manuscript, which I copied and collated against, was audited by the shaykh, imam, and great scholar Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥusayn 'Alī, son of the shaykh and imam Taqī l-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī, may God reveal Paradise to him. He occupied him-

67 Quiring-Zoche, *How al-Bukhari's* 212.

68 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* xxxii, 16–17.

69 Al-Nuwayrī received his *ijāza* to transmit al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from them in the Maṣūriyya *madrassa* in Cairo in Jumādā I 715 (August 1315), as he states in the introduction to the manuscript (fol. 19^b).

self greatly with the collation, editing, correction, and perfection of that manuscript, such that it would become an arbiter to which one could have recourse, and a model upon which one could depend ... I have decided to copy it in its entirety from the exemplar without forsaking, summarizing, or abbreviating any part of it. Rather, I determined to present it according to its original text ...⁷⁰

Al-Nuwayrī was careful to copy all of the reading and auditing statements at the end of the exemplar, and it seems that he took the same care in preserving al-Yūnīnī's editorial apparatus, listing variants in the margins of the text. For this reason, this manuscript would appear to deserve careful study by scholars working on the history of the transmission of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* during the medieval period. For the purposes of the present article, the Yūnīniyya manuscript represents an interesting comparandum to the holograph manuscripts of the *Nihāya*. It underscores the importance that al-Nuwayrī placed on maintaining the integrity of an exemplar in the course of copying it, as we discussed earlier, and it provides an example of how a copyist approached a work by a different author rather than his own work.

However, the Yūnīniyya manuscript also raises some interesting issues concerning the problems of authenticating holographs. The handwriting is very different from that of the Leiden and Paris holographs; it is much more compact and the text block has more lines per page, in addition to being uninterrupted by line breaks. This may have been due to al-Nuwayrī's desire to fit the entire work within a single volume. The exemplar had been in two volumes (and was itself based on another manuscript in six volumes), while this manuscript is squeezed into 300-odd folios. On the other hand, one cannot help but noting that the script is somewhat similar (again, impressionistically speaking) to that of the two problematic "holographs" of the *Nihāya*, Leiden Or. 19b and BnF Arabe 1579. Could it be that the Yūnīniyya and those two other manuscripts are the real holographs? Or perhaps there were amanuenses involved? Again, a broader survey of manuscripts would be necessary to settle these interesting puzzles.

70 Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Ms Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 362, fol. 296^b.

5 Conclusions

The aim of this essay has been to explore aspects of the copying of Arabic manuscripts in the Mamlūk period through the study of a single figure's work. Al-Nuwayrī is a rare example of a medieval author whose copying practices might be analyzed from such a wide range of perspectives. We have the testimony of his biographers to consider along with his own views on the education and practice of the model copyist; these textual sources alone constitute a valuable window on the production of medieval encyclopedic texts. Added to this documentary evidence, however, is the considerable codicological and paleographical evidence represented by at least thirty presumed holographs of the *Nihāya*, as well as one of several copies of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* that al-Nuwayrī was known to have made. In light of this enormous cache of materials, it is difficult to think of a Mamlūk-era figure better suited to the study of holograph manuscripts.

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The Holograph Notebooks of Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mufliḥ (d. 1011/1603)

Kristina Richardson

In this essay I identify and discuss three manuscripts authored by the Damascene judge and compiler Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mufliḥ (d. 1011/1603). The earliest of the three, MS Pococke 26 (Oxford, Bodleian Library), is listed in both the online *Fihrist* catalogue and in the 1787 print catalogue as an untitled, anonymous miscellany, but handwriting analysis and autobiographical clues in the text point to an identification of the scribe as Ibn Mufliḥ. The second oldest, MS We 408 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek),¹ is a miscellany. One entry is signed by Akmal al-Dīn b. Mufliḥ. The most recent volume, MS 1004 (American University of Beirut), is the only one with a title page that identifies it as the fifteenth volume of *al-Tadhkira al-akmalīyya al-mufliḥīyya* (Al-Akmal [b.] al-Mufliḥ's Commonplace Book). While only the Beiruti manuscript has a positively identified title, I argue that the Berlin and Oxford manuscripts are likely portions of other volumes of Ibn Mufliḥ's *Tadhkira*.

For the most part these *tadhkira* volumes consist of book excerpts and reading notes; this places the work squarely within the medieval Arabic scholarly genres of commentary, summarization, and compilation, i.e., encyclopedias, commonplace books, manuals, and abridgments, which proliferated in this period. In all of the volumes, Ibn Mufliḥ includes details about his family. Here I investigate the potential of these *tadhkira* volumes as archives of family history.

1 Biography of Akmal al-Dīn b. Mufliḥ

Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mufliḥ al-Ḥanbalī was known to his contemporaries as al-Qāḍī Akmal, or Judge Akmal.² He was one of the last surviving members of the

¹ Ahlwardt no. 8467.

² Al-Ghazzī, *Lutf al-samar* i, 73.

prestigious Muflīḥ clan, whose male members served as Ḥanbalī and Ḥanafī judges throughout Syria. He was born near Bāb Tūmā in Damascus in 930/1524 and later studied with his father and such luminaries of the period as Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546). In his professional life, he served as a court witness and eventually as a judge in Baalbek, the village of Zabadān, Damascus, Karak, Beirut, and Sidon. Sometime between 991/1583 and 997/1588–9, he accompanied Sulaymān b. Qubād (d. Rajab 997/May 1589), the Ottoman viceroy of Syria (*mālik al-umarāʾ*), to Istanbul and remained there for four years.³ Once back in Damascus, he befriended amir Muḥammad Bak b. Manjak (d. 1032/1623), who was appointed superintendent of Sultan Sulaymān's Syrian *waqfs* in Shawwāl 997/1589.⁴ As superintendent, Ibn Manjak paid Ibn Muflīḥ twenty *ʿuthmānīs* per day to oversee the architectural expansion of al-Takiyya al-Sulaymāniyya. Their relationship eventually soured due to unexplained circumstances.⁵

According to Ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣarī, one of his biographers, he possessed a thorough knowledge of documents and records. This same biographer noted that Akmal al-Dīn studied the verbal patterns and formulaic expressions of earlier judges. So, he knew how his contemporaries and historical figures back to the fourth/tenth century would likely have expressed praise for God. Ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣarī said: "He used to hear a phrase and be able to say 'this is what so-and-so used to say.'"⁶

In addition to this reputation for fastidious observation, Akmal al-Dīn was also known for more frivolous interests. Al-Ghazzī noted that by night, he gathered with others for fun and play. He was known for his debauchery and reportedly had a relationship with a young Egyptian man named Jaʿfar, and Syrians composed poems that mocked them. He partook of an addictive opium mixture called *barsh*. People also claimed that he manipulated official records, altering them in such a way that his relative was a *waqf* founder; thus he gave himself these endowments. People mocked him, saying: "O, Qadi, you have many ancestors!" He died in 1011/1603 in Damascus.⁷

One can also supplement the data in biographical dictionaries with information gleaned from manuscript colophons, *marginalia*, and ownership notes. Ibn Muflīḥ transcribed the works of many other authors, including two copies

3 Ibid.; Ibn Ayyūb, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāṭir* 107 (Arabic pagination). Ibn Qubād's death is mentioned in the *marginalia* of MS Or. A. 114 (Gotha), fol. 3^a. In MS We. 408 (Berlin), fol. 256^a, Ibn Muflīḥ mentions that he received an *ijāza* in 992/1584 from a judge in western Istanbul.

4 Ibn Ayyūb, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāṭir* 107 (Arabic pagination); El-Zawahreh, *Religious endowments* 111–3.

5 Ibn Ayyūb, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāṭir* 107 (Arabic pagination).

6 Ibid. 106–7 (Arabic pagination).

7 Al-Ghazzī, *Lutf al-samar* i, 74–7; Winter, Ottoman *qaḍīs* 98.

of a commentary on a *qaṣīda* by Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī (d. 400/1010), and single copies of Abū l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1201) critique of twenty-one *ḥadīths* and of Ibn al-'Afif al-Tilimsānī's (d. 688/1289) sermon on *taqlīd*.⁸ He added ownership statements to at least three manuscripts: al-Ābī's (d. 421/1030) anthology of prose and verse, al-Qazwīnī's (d. 682/1283) *Āthār al-bilād*, and al-Harawī's (d. 401/1011) treatise on difficult words in the Qur'ān.⁹ His annotations are also found on very many of Ibn Ṭūlūn's holograph drafts, namely MS Majmū'a Taymūr 79 (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, *al-Thaḡhr al-bassām fi dhikr man wulīya qaḍā' al-Shām*) and MS Garrett 196B (PUL, miscellaneous fragments).

It is unclear how many of his authored works have survived, as they may lie unidentified or uncatalogued in archives. According to Ibn al-Shaṭṭī (d. 1379/1959), Ibn Muflīḥ wrote the following:

- 1 a history from Adam to the reign of Sultan Qāyitbāy,
- 2 an excerpt of *Ta'riḥ Dimashq*,
- 3 a book on those who were appointed Ḥanbalī judges in Cairo,
- 4 a treatise on prophetic histories from Adam to our prophet Muḥammad,
- 5 a treatise on the caliphal period after the prophet,
- 6 a treatise on the affairs of the Egyptian kings,
- 7 an abridgment of Abū Shāma's *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, and
- 8 other works of commentaries, useful notes, poetry, literature, and history.¹⁰

Additionally, he planned a *Dhayl* to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawānī's tenth-/sixteenth-century history of Mecca and Yemen, as well as continuations of al-Nu'aymī's and Ibn Ṭūlūn's histories. "On his own, he undertook a multi-volume

8 The poetic commentaries are found in MS 0520 (Leipzig) and MS 'Ilm 'arabi 125 (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; a digitized copy is available at <http://www.wdl.org/en/item/14240>), pp. 41–89. Ibn al-Jawzī's work on *ḥadīth* is found on pp. 89–98 of the aforementioned Cairene manuscript (a digitized copy is available at <http://www.wdl.org/en/item/14241>). Note that the Dār al-Kutub manuscripts are paginated. Ibn al-'Afif al-Tilimsānī's work is MS Spr. 1962 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek; Ahlwardt no. 3953).

9 MS 0593 (Leipzig), MS Or. 3623 (London, British Library), and MS We.71 (Berlin; Ahlwardt no. 696).

10 Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar* 104. I believe that a holograph portion of the second listed work survives. Gotha Ms. or. A1778 is an abridgement of volume 54 of Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'riḥ Dimashq*. It is not a copy of Ibn Manzūr's *Ta'riḥ madīnat Dimashq*. The manuscript begins on fol. 1^a in the middle of a biographical entry for Muḥammad b. Wāsi' b. Jābir b. al-Akhnas b. 'Ā'id b. Khārīja b. Ziyād b. Shams. A later writer inscribed a *bismillāh* above this line to make it look as though it were the beginning of a treatise. This same writer also appended the erroneous title "Ta'riḥ Ibn Iyās" to the upper margin of fol. 1^a. The manuscript ends with a biography of Hārūn b. 'Imrān b. Yazīd in the right margin of fol. 200^b.

Tadhkira, following Ibn Ṭūlūn's organization of day, month, year, in which he assembled many inappropriate things about people's faults that were unrelated to illness."¹¹ Ibn Muflīḥ's *Tadhkira* was a self-initiated project that was inspired by the example of his esteemed teacher.

2 *Tadhākir* and Notebooks as Literary Genres in Mamlūk and Ottoman Arab Lands

Between the eighth/fourteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries, Arab scholars commonly used notebooks and commonplace books to record impressions, book passages or to copy documents. Let the following stand as an overview of the practice. The historian al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) compiled a *Tadhkira* of at least 49 volumes, in which he copied passages that interested him and could be incorporated into other works.¹²

Al-Burhān b. Jamā'a (d. 790/1388) served as chief judge in both Cairo and Damascus. His *Tadhkira* has survived as fragments in other individuals' works, for instance in Ibn Ṭūlūn's *al-Multaqaṭ min al-Tadhkira* (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS Ar. 3101, fols. 274–307), which consists entirely of excerpts from this *tadhkira*, and in Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ's MS We. 408 (Berlin), fol. 135^a.

The notebooks used by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) in composing his Cairene chronicles and topographies have been analyzed extensively. Frédéric Bauden has identified the paper used as scrap chancery documents, ascertained al-Maqrīzī's reading habits and compilation methods, and even found evidence in the notebooks that he had plagiarized one of his contemporaries. Bauden's series of *Maqriziana* articles serve as models for codicological and historical investigations of notebooks and *tadhākir*.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448) used notebooks to record excerpts (*muntaqā*) from other authors' works, and then used these to compile his histories. Each notebook was a long excerpt from a single work. David Reisman has identified three in manuscript: a *muntaqā* of the histories of Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn Duqmāq, and al-Dhahabī.¹³ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba himself mentioned that he had written a *Muntaqā* of *Ta'rikh Dimashq* in two volumes. MS We. 134 (Berlin; Ahlwardt no. 9783), fols. 1^b–29^a, is a treatise entitled *Ta'rikh binā' madīnat*

11 Ibn Ayyūb, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāṭir* 106.

12 Bauden, A neglected reservoir; Franssen, Aṣ-Ṣafadī. MS Ar. 3861 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library) contains volumes 14, 24, 25, and 26 of al-Ṣafadī's *Tadhkira*, for which see Arberry, *A Handlist* iv, 40. Élise Franssen is currently working on al-Ṣafadī's *Tadhkira*.

13 Reisman, A holograph 26–7.

Dimashq wa-ma'rifat man banāhā wa-ṭaraf min akhbārihā. In the colophon, the scribe, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shāfi'ī (d. 920/1514), wrote that this is a copy of what he had found in the handwriting of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba on 2 Dhū l-Ḥijja 913/3 April 1508. Someone, perhaps the scribe himself, used red ink to cross out his statement that it was a *muntaqā* from Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh Dimashq*.¹⁴

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī (d. 875/1471), a Cairene poet, composed a *tadhkira* filled with poetic excerpts from other authors. A later copy of it survives as MS 0620 (Leipzig).

In late Mamlūk and early Ottoman Syria one finds several surviving specimens of notebooks. Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) included the title *al-Ḥalāwa al-ṣābūniyya fī l-tadhkira al-ṭūlūniyya* in a list of his completed works, but its whereabouts are currently unknown.¹⁵ Ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣarī (d. 1000/1591) wrote *al-Tadhkira al-ayyūbiyya*, consisting of biographies of famous men from all historical periods. Two volumes are known to scholars. The first volume, MS Spr. 252 (Berlin; Ahlwardt 9887), was completed in 998/1590 in Damascus, and al-Ziriklī claimed to have seen the second in Damascus (currently Maktabat al-Asad).¹⁶ A fragment of an Aleppan silk-weaver's notebook (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, MS Or. A114), dateable to 997–8/1589–90, has been recently identified and edited.¹⁷ The diaristic notebook of the Aleppan scholar Muḥammad Faṭḥ Allāh al-Baylūnī (d. 1042/1632–3) consists mostly of entries about current events and people.¹⁸ Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651) maintained a notebook, wherein he jotted down poetry and notes on a variety of subjects.¹⁹

Tamar El-Leithy has recently called for scholars of medieval Islamdom, who often assume that no legal archives have survived from the period, to think more creatively about what could constitute an archive. He has found that surviving document repositories tend to reside in politically marginal communities, such as the collection of *fatwās* preserved with the monks of St. Catherine's monastery in the Sinai, and the Cairo Genizah maintained in a Jewish synagogue. Accordingly, during regime changes or political upheavals, their properties were not targeted for seizure or destruction. El-Leithy has also shown

14 Berlin, MS We. 134, fol. 29^a. On the scribe, see al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira* i, 100; and Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* viii, 13.

15 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fulk al-mashḥūn* 98.

16 Ibn Ayyūb, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-'aṭir* 6.

17 Liebreuz and Richardson, *Notebook*.

18 Al-Asad Library MS 4325; Schwarz, *Ich erzähle*.

19 BnF MS Ar. 5046.

that extralegal details, such as interest-bearing loans, are found in the notary Ibn Ṭawq's (d. 915/1509) journal, but absent from official records.²⁰

Here, I propose to "investigate the social logic of archival strategies" in Ibn Muflīḥ's notebooks, focusing on his passages related to his family. As a public figure accused of manipulating family records, I propose that these private records may have served as a defense against the claims or even as a purposeful falsification of family history to support his efforts to seize *waqfs*. Secondly, before the advent of systematically and centrally maintained birth and death records, collective memory, family lore, and personal records were the most common forms of record-keeping in pre-modern Islamdom. Ibn Muflīḥ's records were even cited in the works of such later historians as al-Ghazzī in his *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira* and al-Najdī in his *al-Suḥub al-wābila*.

3 First *Tadhkira*: MS Pococke 26 (Oxford, Bodleian Library) (fig. 7.4)

MS Pococke 26 appears to be the earliest of the three Ibn Muflīḥ manuscripts. In the text, the author mentions contemporaneous events that took place between 982/1574 and 991/1584. The 179-folio volume was apparently in four parts when the Oxfordian Edward Pococke acquired it in Aleppo between 1630 and 1633, approximately thirty years after Ibn Muflīḥ's death. As I was only able to examine a microfilm of this manuscript, I could not make a full codicological survey of this codex. It was later combined into a single volume. This process of recombination and rebinding likely accounts for this large range of dates. The folios may have originated from several older notebooks or *tadhākīr*.

3.1 Identification of MS Pococke 26

I found this manuscript while pursuing a separate project on Ibn Ṭūlūn's autograph fragments at Princeton University. A search of the term "Ṭūlūn" in the *Fihrist* database brought up MS Pococke 26, a miscellany with many Damascene topics (*madrasas*, Umayyad history, and most tellingly an anecdote on fol. 89^b from Ibn Ṭūlūn's paternal uncle Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf). I ordered a microfilm of the manuscript, hoping that it was a Ṭūlūnid fragment and found a text in a script I recognized from the margins of Ibn Ṭūlūn's holograph manuscripts. It was the hand of his student Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ, who had annotated many of his teacher's works. In fact, his relative al-Niẓām b. Muflīḥ figures among the anecdote's chain of transmitters.

²⁰ El-Leithy, Living documents.

In MS Pococke 26 itself, Akmal left clues about authorship. Across the top of fol. 113^a is written, “What is in this extract comes from the handwritten works of my paternal great-grandfather, the Chief Judge Ibrāhīm b. al-Akmal b. Muflīḥ.” Several couplets that I have been unable to identify follow. And there is a transcribed *ijāza* on fol. 62^b that closes with the following statement: “I, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Muflīḥ, wrote it in early Jumādā 11 982 [September 1574].” Based on the familial names, the script, and the date of the letter, there can be little doubt that this manuscript is one of the *tadhākir* of Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ. Even the known topics on which he wrote accord with many of the topics in the notebook.

The manuscript is in a single hand. There are no notes of ownership, reading or collation; this could simply be due to the missing leaves. Or more likely, it was intended for private consumption.

4 Second *Tadhkira*: MS We. 408 (Berlin) (fig. 7.2)

This second manuscript is the next oldest, as the dated entries range from 992/1584 to 1006/1598.²¹ The Berlin cataloguer Wilhelm Ahlwardt identified this manuscript as a mostly holograph miscellany by Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ, and based the authorial and scribal attribution on Ibn Muflīḥ’s dated signature on fol. 69^a.²² (On folio 203^a, a later hand has written the names of prominent scholars, and noted a death in 1044/1634–5, decades after Ibn Muflīḥ’s own death.) The manuscript consists of 256 leaves, measuring 21 × 13.5 cm each, of mostly poems, biographies, and historical extracts. Of the three manuscripts under discussion here, this one contains the greatest number of references to current events and family.

Ibn Muflīḥ noted that Ibn Ṭūlūn issued an oral *ijāza* and that he had received another *ijāza* in 992/1584 from a judge in western Istanbul.²³ On 3 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1003/9 August 1595, he attended a burial at al-Mu‘azzama *madrasa* on Mount Qāsiyūn in al-Ṣāliḥiyya, Damascus, and described the relative positions of several seventh/thirteenth and eighth-/fourteenth-century tombs and their inscriptions.²⁴

21 On fol. 69^a Ibn Muflīḥ signed and dated an entry “mid-Ṣafar 992,” [1584] and on fol. 256^a, an *ijāza* was issued in Rajab 992/July 1584. The most frequently mentioned year is 1003/1595 (fols. 110^b, 199–200, 255^b). The year 1006/1598 is mentioned on fol. 254^b.

22 Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis* vii, 440–2.

23 MS We. 408, fols. 11^b, 256^a.

24 *Ibid.*, fol. 110^b.

Ibn Muflīḥ also reproduced many of his ancestors' writings. He copied a letter from his paternal uncle Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Muflīḥ to the *muftī* of the time, Kamāl Pāshāzādah, on 26 Muḥarram 935/15 October 1528.²⁵ He also has an excerpt on bathers written by his ancestor Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muflīḥ (d. 763/1362).²⁶ Additionally, al-Akmal found a five-line poem by al-Shāfi'ī in the handwriting of his great-grandfather al-Burhān Ibrāhīm b. Muflīḥ and reproduced it here.²⁷ His grandfather Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muflīḥ had noted a *ḥadīth* related on the authority of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.²⁸ More cryptically, Akmal al-Dīn wrote an anonymized account of an event in Najm al-Dīn's life. He noted:

I saw a page in the hand of someone I did not know. This person related that the Ḥanbalī judge was in Cairo, his presence having been requested by the sultan. He was anguished by it. In his sleep one night, he heard someone recite verses. He memorized them. Even after he was released, what happened to him remained with him, and he feared it.²⁹

The six verses quoted after this paragraph were composed by the imam al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) and they urge those suffering through trials to turn to God for succor and refuge.³⁰ The identity of the Ḥanbalī judge in this excerpt remains anonymous, but the summons to Cairo and the judge's anguish are certainly suggestive of Najm al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ's own summons to Cairo to appear before the sultan in 888/1483. He had been accused of abusing the *waqf* of the 'Umayriyya *madrasa* in Damascus.³¹ Several factors suggest that this may be an anonymized account of the aftermath of that earlier incident. Akmal al-Dīn quoted extensively from his ancestors' personal letters, *fatwās*, and notebooks in his *Tadhākīr*, demonstrating that he was knowledgeable about his family's history. He would have learned about al-Najm's ordeal not only as family lore, but also from Ibn Ṭūlūn. Though Akmal al-Dīn maintained lengthy notebooks on various subjects, family members seem to have been spared

25 Ibid., fol. 138^a.

26 Ibid., fols. 61^a–63^a.

27 Ibid., fol. 40^b.

28 Ibid., fol. 242^a.

29 Ibid., fol. 1^b.

30 Al-Shāfi'ī, *Dīwān* 52–3.

31 Ibn al-Ḥimsī, *Ḥawādīth al-zamān* i, 185, 188; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān* i, 60; idem, *al-Qalā'id al-jawhariyya* ii, 269; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-amal* vii, 346; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* vii, 170–1.

such exposure.³² Anonymizing the account of his grandfather's summons to Cairo may have been Akmal al-Dīn's chosen method of preserving a particular legacy for his family. Secondly, Akmal al-Dīn later recorded in this same *Tadhkira* volume another poem by al-Shāfi'ī that he had found in his father's handwriting; this suggests a familial interest in al-Shāfi'ī's poetry.³³ If Akmal al-Dīn indeed anonymized his grandfather's experiences of 887–8/1482–3, then it can be read as an interesting impulse to preserve a dignified legacy for the Muflīḥ clan.

5 Third *Tadhkira*: MS 1004 (American University of Beirut) (fig. 7.3)

The title page of MS 1004 reads “*al-sifr al-khāmis ‘ashara min al-Tadhkira al-akmalīyya al-muflīḥīyya Muḥammad Akmal al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar b. Muflīḥ al-Maqdisī.*” The folios measure 21.5 × 11.5 cm, which are nearly the same dimensions of MS We. 408. This handwriting is the same as that throughout this 249-folio manuscript. It is the author's holograph work and consists of poems and fragments of literary prose, though many leaves may be out of order and the volume may certainly be missing folios. The catchword at the bottom of fol. 248^b is not reproduced on the subsequent page, and a note in the bottom left corner of fol. 249^a in Akmal al-Dīn's hand records the total number of pages in the volume as 345. The year most frequently mentioned in the text is 1003/1594–5, and the latest date I have found in the *Tadhkira* is 1005/1596–7, six years before the author's death. At least two owner's notes are still legible: Muḥammad al-Maghribī, dated 1208/1793–4, on fol. 2^b, and Ḥusayn al-Labatī, dated 1040/1630–1, on fol. 249^a.

On fols. 7^b and 9^a–10^a, Ibn Muflīḥ outlined his family tree (see fig. 7.1). The interpolated leaf, fols. 8^a and 8^b, interrupts what would have been a flowing narrative about the Muflīḥ clan. The eighth page features anecdotes from the historian al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346/957), the Mālikī jurist al-Khazrajī (d. 671/1272), and the Sufi leader Ibn Qawwām al-Bālisī (d. 658/1260), so the pages seem to have been bound slightly out of order. The following is a translation of the family passages from fols. 7^b and 9^a–10^a.

(Fol. 7^b) The author of *al-Furū'* is my most prestigious ancestor, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muflīḥ b. Mufarraǰ b. Muḥammad al-Rāmīnī. His

32 Ibn Ayyūb, *Das Kitāb ar-raud' al-‘āṭir* 106 (Arabic pagination).

33 MS We. 408, fol. 40^b.

children were chief judge Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the scholar of Muslims Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, and Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

As for Burhān al-Dīn, he had two honorifics: Burhān al-Dīn and Taqī l-Dīn. He is a major scholar. His children were chief judge Nizām al-Dīn ‘Umar and chief judge Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Bakr. Nizām al-Dīn had a son by the name of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. Ṣadr al-Dīn’s son, chief judge ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī, was appointed to the judgeship of Syria, then Aleppo. He died in the year [blank].

As for Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh, his children were Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad, ‘Abd al-Kāfi, and Rashīd al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Jabbār. Akmal al-Dīn’s son ‘Alī l-Alā’ was chief judge and head of the Ḥanbalis. [His other son was] Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, author of *al-Mubdī’ sharḥ al-Muqni’*, and he died in the year 884/1479–80. His father Akmal al-Dīn was a *nā’ib* of Syria and Egypt. He died in the year [blank]. His father Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh died in the year 834/1430–1, and Burhān al-Dīn b. Akmal al-Dīn had a son, who was my paternal grandfather, chief judge Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar, and he died in the year 919/1513–4.

As for the children of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn, they are Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan, ‘Abd al-Mun‘im, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad. They are buried in al-Rawḍa cemetery, except for ‘Alā’ al-Dīn and his son ‘Abd al-Mun‘im, who both died in Aleppo.

(Fol. 9^a) As for Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar and his children, Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh [was] chief judge in Damascus. He died in Istanbul in the year 955/1548–9. He was given a female slave (*jāriya*) who was called Aḥad Aḥad. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad was Ḥanafī and was deputy to the chief judge Walī l-Dīn b. al-Farfūr, then to his brother Sharaf al-Dīn, then to Damascene judge Ibn Isrāfīl, and to others [aside from them]. He was a minor figure (*khāmīl*) until he died in 970/1562–3. He was buried in Bāb al-Farādīs cemetery, and left behind four sons: Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar, Walī l-Dīn Yaḥyā, Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, and Raḍī l-Dīn Aḥmad. They died after their father in the year [blank] and were buried with him.

Muḥyī l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir, a Ḥanbalī, was appointed to a position in al-Ṣāliḥiyya, Damascus, in al-Maydān, and in Qanāt al-‘Awnī, and he died in 957/1550–1. He was also buried at the Bāb al-Farādīs cemetery. He had a son named Maḥmūd who was murdered in 955/1548–9. He was buried in al-Farādīs.

My father Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm was a renowned, perfect Ḥanbalī scholar who issued *fatwās*. Among his teachers was the scholar Aḥmad al-Shuwaykī. He was appointed a position in the Damascene courts, but

not in al-Şālihiyya. He taught at al-Jawziyya, Dār al-Ḥadīth, al-Şāhibiyya, al-Yūnusiyya, Abū ‘Umar *madrassa*, the Umayyad Mosque, and al-Zāwiyya al-ghazāliyya. He was best known as the head of the Ḥanbalīs, and he was glorified by scholars, princes, judges, elites, and commoners until he died in Sha‘bān 969/April 1562 and was buried with his father. (Fol. 9^b) All of his children moved away before his death, except for the author of this work, Muḥammad al-Akmal, Abū l-Su‘ūd Muḥammad, and a daughter. As for those who passed away before his death. Şalāḥ al-Dīn Şāliḥ died in 953/1546–7 or 952/1545–6. Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad was Mālikī, meritorious, intelligent, and generous. He was trampled by his father’s mule in a garden in a cedar grove, and he died in 961/1553–4. Karīm al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm was Ḥanafī. He lived a beautiful life and copied documents in the Buzūriyyīn quarter. He, and others, died suddenly in the year 964/1556–7. They were buried in the Bāb al-Şaghīr Cemetery. Şalāḥ [al-Dīn] and Karīm al-Dīn had no children. Quṭb al-Dīn left two daughters. One died after him in the year [blank], leaving her son by Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Şāliḥī. The second daughter had a son and a daughter from Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr b. Muḥibb al-Dīn. As for the writer of this work and his brother [Abū l-Su‘ūd Muḥammad], they are under the favors of God. May He protect them.

(Fol. 10^a, left margin) On Wednesday morning, 23 Muḥarram 1005/15 September 1596, a male child was born to the author. The slave mother (*mustawlada*) was Ḥaram bt. ‘Abdallāh. ... After evening prayers, I named him Muḥammad, out of piety and [?] with the name of the chosen one (*al-muṣṭafā*).

The passage reads straightforwardly like a patrilineal family tree. When Ibn Muflīḥ wrote the main passages on fols. 7^b, 9^a, and 9^b, he and his brother Abū l-Su‘ūd Muḥammad were childless. The marginal update on fol. 10^a allows me to date the manuscript prior to the start of 1005/September 1596, which accords with our preliminary dating of the composition to approximately 1003/1594.

It is also worth noting that in this long passage, the only women named are slaves: Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh’s slave Aḥad Aḥad and Akmal al-Dīn’s *umm walad* Ḥaram. Free Muslim daughters and sisters remain anonymous, only identified through their relations to husbands, fathers, sons, or brothers.

These preliminary identifications of portions of Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ’s holograph notebooks will hopefully spur future research into his literary and incidental output. Investigating family lore and local histories through scholars’ notes and notebooks is a necessary first step in understanding how family records were maintained in the absence of centralized bureaucracies that

tracked births, marriages, and deaths. Additionally, historians must recognize the importance of notebooks and commonplace books for understanding how people read, which literary topics captured readers' imaginations, and what constituted useful knowledge at a given time.

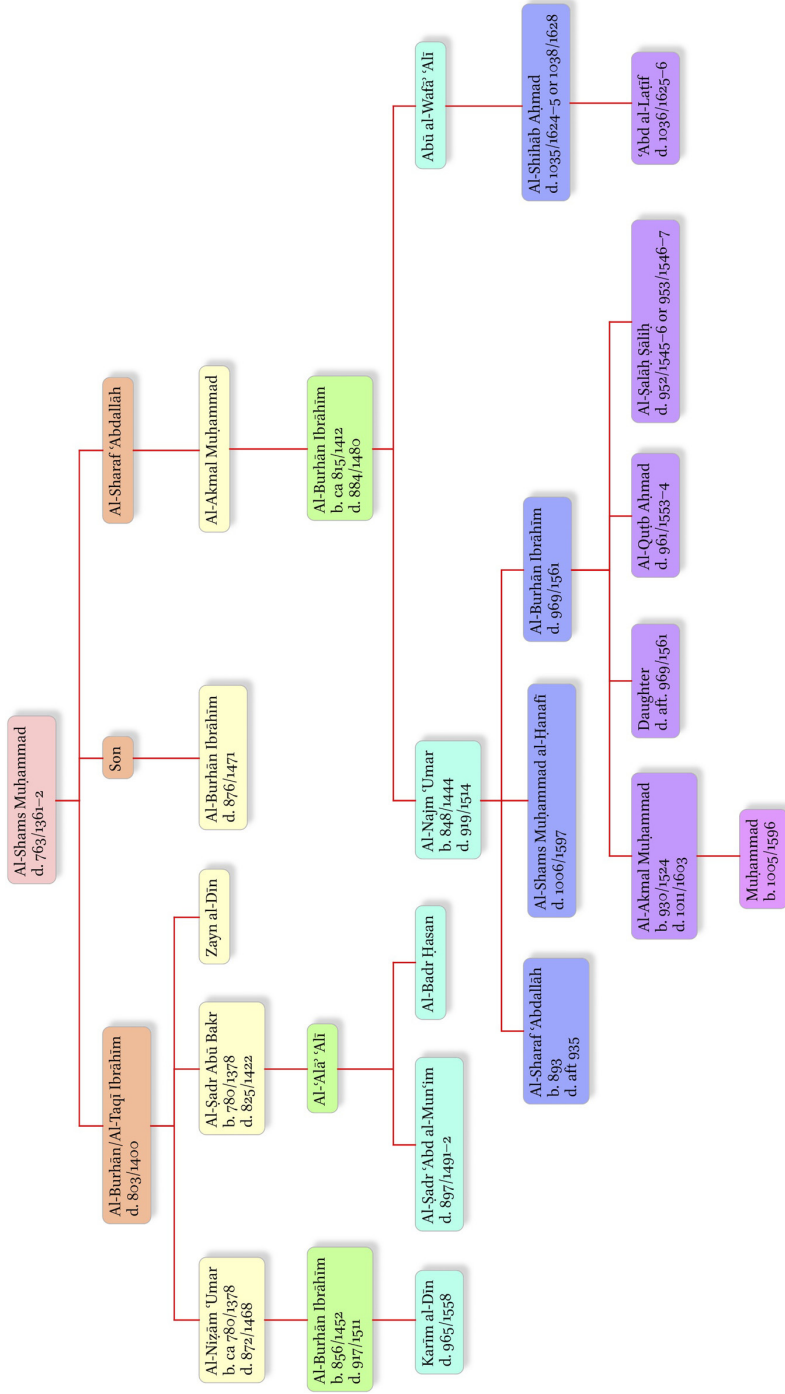


FIGURE 7.1 The Banū Muḥfīḥ Family Tree
 Note: Cf. the Ibn al-Muḥfīḥ genealogy given in Mandaville, *The Muslim judiciary* 125.



FIGURE 7.3 MS 1004, fols. 9^b-10^a
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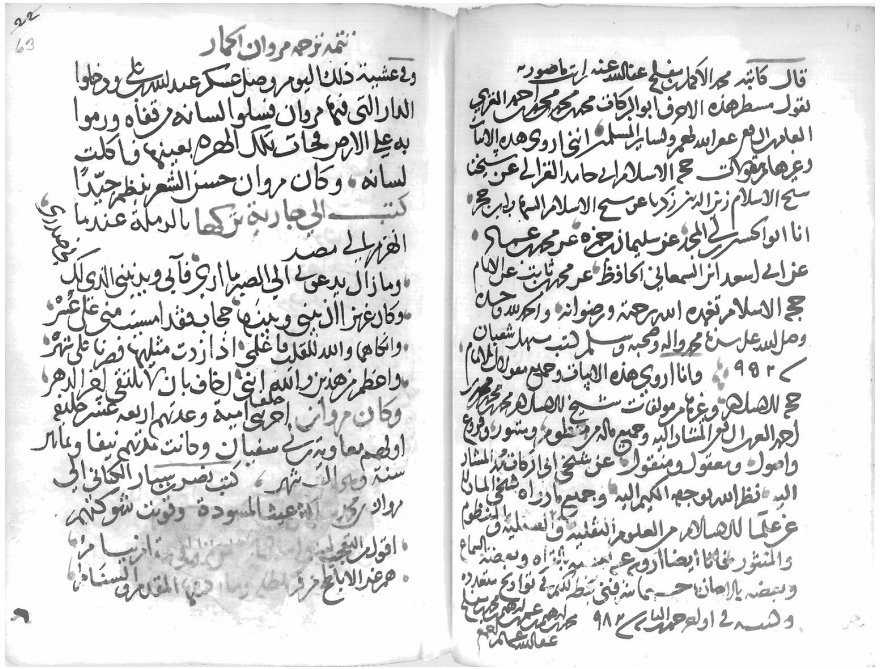


FIGURE 7.4 MS Pococke 26, fols. 62^b–63^a
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Al-‘Aynī’s Working Method for His Chronicles: Analysis of His Holograph Manuscripts

Nobutaka Nakamachi

1 Introduction

According to the two major Mamlūk biographical dictionaries, al-Sakhāwī’s *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* and Ibn Taghrī Birdī’s *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī (762–855/1361–1451) was so well known for his skilled penmanship and quick writing that “he wrote [the book of] al-Qudūrī in one night.”¹ This statement suggests how much al-‘Aynī’s handwriting impressed his contemporary intellectuals, although it is difficult for us to evaluate the aesthetics of his penmanship. Fortunately, modern scholars can access dozens of extant holograph manuscripts by al-‘Aynī, including the holographs of his famous chronicle, *‘Iqd al-jumān fī ta’rīkh ahl al-zamān*.

Since the nineteenth century, several scholars have highlighted the existence of al-‘Aynī’s holographs. Otto Spies was the first scholar to mention al-‘Aynī’s holographs preserved in the Beyazıt National Library (MSS Veliyyüddin 2390 and 2392).² Fehmi Edhem Karatay, who edited the catalogue of the TSMK, stated that a dozen volumes of *‘Iqd al-jumān* in the Ahmet III collection were written in the author’s hand.³ Another manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 2317, can be added to this list. Thus, fifteen holograph manuscripts labeled *‘Iqd al-jumān* are known to exist (see table 8.1).⁴

Are these manuscripts definitely holographs of *‘Iqd al-jumān*? If we observe the time span of the last three volumes on the list in table 8.1, we find overlaps between volumes 17 and 18, and between volumes 18 and 19. Therefore, these manuscripts cannot be considered a coherent version of *‘Iqd al-jumān*.

On the other hand, some scholars have studied the interrelationships between al-‘Aynī and his contemporary historians, the most famous among them being al-Maqrīzī. Thus, it is not clear who wrote the more primary descriptions.

1 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* x, 133; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xi, 197.

2 Spies, *Beiträge* 88.

3 Karatay, *Topkapı* iii, 392–5.

4 See also Nakamachi, Al-‘Aynī’s chronicles 143.

TABLE 8.1 Holograph manuscripts of *ʿIqd al-jumān*

Catalogue no.	Volume (contents)	Completion date (AH/AD)
MS A2911/A1 (TSMK)	Vol. 1	30.01.825/24.01.1422
MS A2911/A2 (TSMK)	Vol. 2	10.04.825/02.04.1422
MS A2911/A3 (TSMK)	Vol. 3 (-10/631-2)	27.07.825/17.07.1422
MS A2911/B6 (TSMK)	Vol. 6 (61/680-1-95/713-4)	26.06.828/15.05.1425
MS A2911/B7 (TSMK)	Vol. 7 (96/714-5-150/767-8)	n.d.
MS A2911/A8 (TSMK)	Vol. 8 (151/768-9-225/839-40)	30.01.830/30.11.1426
MS A2911/A9 (TSMK)	Vol. 9 (226/840-1-330/941-2)	24.08.830/19.06.1427
MS A2911/A10 (TSMK)	Vol. 10 (331/942-3-430/1038-9)	03.02.831/22.11.1427
MS Esad Efendi 2317 (SK)	Vol. 11 (431/1039-40-520/1126-7)	10.05.831/26.02.1428
MS A2911/A12 (TSMK)	Vol. 12 (521/1127-8-578/1182-3)	08.09.831/22.06.1428
MS Veliyyüddin 2390 (BK)	Vol. 13 (579/1183-4-620/1223-4)	28.01.832/06.11.1428
MS Veliyyüddin 2392 (BK)	Vol. 15 (689/1290-1-707/1307-8)	n.d.
MS A2911/A17 (TSMK)	Vol. 17 (725/1324-5-745/1344-5)	n.d.
MS A2911/A18 (TSMK)	Vol. 18 (727/1326-7-835/1431-2)	n.d.
MS A2911/A19 (TSMK)	Vol. 19 (799/1396-7-849/1445-6)	n.d.

For instance, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭantāwī l-Qarmūṭ, the editor of *ʿIqd al-jumān*, remarks that al-ʿAynī frequently borrowed from al-Maqrīzī, while Sami Mas-soud postulates the exact opposite, i.e., al-Maqrīzī borrowed from al-ʿAynī.⁵ Donald P. Little, who evaluated al-ʿAynī’s fundamental importance as a source for the Baḥrī period, does not undertake a strict source analysis between these two historians.⁶

This article focuses on al-ʿAynī’s three holograph manuscripts that describe his lifetime (the early Circassian Mamlūk period); these are preserved in the TSMK and the BnF. This comparison clarifies al-ʿAynī’s working method, and illustrates the textual relationship among several recensions of al-ʿAynī’s chronicles. This article also clarifies the textual relationship between al-ʿAynī and his rival historians, in order to answer the question: Who borrowed from whom?

5 Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* ii, 28; Massoud, *The chronicles* 160-1.

6 Little, *An introduction*; idem, A comparison.

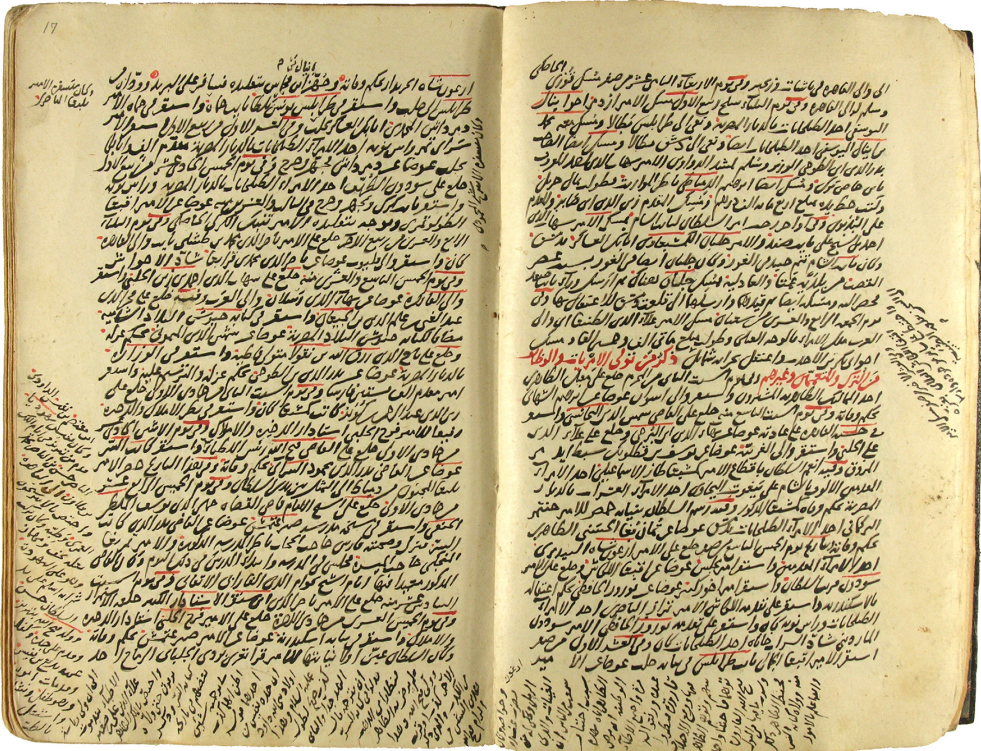


FIGURE 8.1 MS A29n/A18, fols. 16^b–17^a
 ISTANBUL, TSMK

2 Codicological Data

As seen in table 8.1, the TSMK preserves most of the holographs of *ʿIqd al-jumān* in the Ahmet III collection. Among these, volumes 18⁷ and 19 cover the early Circassian period. The manuscripts share certain features: right-inclined *haskhi* handwriting, a 30-line layout, and 27 cm × 18 cm size (fig. 8.1).

One manuscript, however, has a 31-line layout and 25 × 16 cm size and also covers the early Circassian period, from 799/1396–7 to 832/1428–9. It is MS Arabe 1544 (Paris, BnF), which consists of three persons' handwriting (table 8.2). William McGuckin de Slane, the compiler of the BnF catalogue, identified handwriting A as that of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, al-ʿAynī's younger

7 Karatay numbered this manuscript "A18," although the catalogue kept in the reading room of the TSMK marked it "B2," according to my survey in March 2004. This article follows the numbering in the published catalogue.

Although de Slane labeled this manuscript a volume of *ʿIqd al-jumān*, its contents differ from the text of the version of *ʿIqd al-jumān* edited by al-Qarmūṭ, based on volume 19 of MS A2911.

Thus, these three manuscripts differ in their contents, although all of them cover the same time period. Consequently, al-'Aynī wrote three recensions for this era in his own hand. This raises the question: What stage does each of these manuscripts represent?

3 Sample Test

In this article, we analyze the two annals, 801/1398–9 and 816/1413–4, as samples. Tables 8.3 and 8.4 show all the paragraphs, events (*ḥawādith*), and obituaries (*wafayāt*) for each year, listing whether they are contained in each manuscript. The topic order in the tables follows the one found in MS A2911/A19 (TSMK), while the numbers in the tables indicate the order of equivalent paragraphs appearing in the other manuscripts. As these tables roughly show, MS A2911/A19 has the most detailed descriptions of the three, and MS A2911/A18 (TSMK) has the fewest details.⁹

A comparison between MSS A2911/A18 and A19 simply demonstrates that the text of MS A2911/A18 is an excerpt (*mukhtaṣar*) of MS A2911/A19; we base this on the following reasons. First, all of the paragraphs in MS A2911/A18 are included in MS A2911/A19. Second, the topic order of MS A2911/A18 is identical to that of MS A2911/A19. Third, the narratives of MSS A2911/A18 and A19 contain similar material.

Although MS Arabe 1544 (BnF) has fewer descriptions than MS A2911/A19, it cannot be regarded as merely another excerpt of MS A2911/A19 text. First, the narrative of MS Arabe 1544 differs more from that of MS A2911/A19 than that of MS A2911/A18 does. The BnF text also contains some original information not found in MS A2911/A19. Second, the topics in the *ḥawādith* part of MS Arabe 1544 follow a strict chronological order, while those in MS A2911/A19 are arranged by common themes (such as “amirs who are under arrest and titleholders who have been dismissed,” “death of the sultan Barqūq,” and “past events of Syria”). Therefore, the text of MS Arabe 1544 should not be regarded as merely an excerpt from the TSMK series, but as an independent work.

Which, then, is an older recension: MS Arabe 1544 or MS A2911/A19? Closer textual comparisons focusing on a single event illustrate the relationship

⁹ See also the quantitative data in table 8.5.

TABLE 8.3 Descriptions of the year 801/1398–9

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS	MS	MS Ar.
		A2911/ A19	A2911/ A18	1544
List of officials and rulers		1	1(+)	1
Arrest of <i>amīrs</i> and dismissal of titleholders				
Karīm al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn's dismissal	01/02	2		2
Shams al-Dīn al-Bajānisī as <i>muhtasib</i>	01/09	3	2	3
Ibn al-Ḥārīrī as <i>kāshif</i> of Lower Egypt	01/28	4		4
‘Alibāy’s brothers’ crucifixion	01/16	5	3	44(-)
Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dimashqī as chief secretary in Damascus	01/10	6		
Sūdūn al-Ḥamzāwī executed	01/20	7	4	
Īnāl, a treasurer of Tānībak, arrested	02/01	8		
A report of Baklamish’s death	02/09	9		
Nawrūz al-Ḥāfīzī arrested	02/13	10	5(-)	5(-)
Qūzī l-Khāṣṣakī arrested	02/18	11	6	
Īnāl al-Yūsufī’s family arrested	03/30	12	7	7, 17(-)
Arrest of Syrian <i>amīrs</i>	07/30	13		8(-)
Arrest of governor of Arabs in Upper Egypt	08/24	14		32(+)
Āqbughā l-Lukāsh arrested in Gaza	02/30	15		6
Appointment of Turks and Turbans				
Muqbil al-Ẓāhirī as viceroy of Aswan	01/02	16		
An appointment to <i>muhtasib</i>	01/09	17		
Jāntamur al-Turkmānī as viceroy of Hims	01/09	18		
Arghūnshāh al-Baydamurī as <i>amīr majlis</i>	02/09	19		9
Āqbughā l-Jamā’ī as viceroy of Aleppo	02/10	20		10
Appointment to viceroys of Tripoli and Hama	02/10	21		11(-)
Sarāytamur as <i>atabeg</i> of Aleppo	03/10	22		13
Sūdūn al-Ẓarīf as viceroy of al-Karak	03/11	23	8	12
Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tashlī as governor of Qalyūb	04/24	24		
Shihāb al-Dīn b. Zayn al-Ḥalabī as governor of Cairo	04/29	25	9	14
Ibn al-Jī’ān as secretary and Tāj al-Dīn Nūqūlā as <i>wazīr</i>	04/23	26	10(-)	15, 16

TABLE 8.3 Descriptions of the year 801/1398–9 (*cont.*)

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS A2911/ A19	MS A2911/ A18	MS Ar. 1544
Zayn al-Dīn b. Kuwayz as <i>nāzīr</i>	05/02	27		18
An episode regarding Faṭḥ Allāh al-Dāwūdī	05/11	28	11(-)	19(-)
Faṭḥ Allāh as chief secretary	05/11	29	11	
Yalbughā l-Majnūn’s visit from Damietta	05/11	30		20
Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf as master of the <i>madrasa</i> of Ṣarḡhitmish	05/14	31	12(-)	21(-)
Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Sunqur as <i>ustādār</i>	05/16	32		22
Faraj al-Ḥalabī as viceroy of Alexandria	06/20	33		23
Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣaghīr as head doctor	06/24	34		24
Yalbughā l-Aḥmadī receiving <i>iqṭā’</i>	07/06	35	13	25
al-Maqrīzī as <i>muḥtasib</i>	07/11	36	14	26
Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Munāwī as chief Shāfi‘ī <i>qāḍī</i>	07/15	37	15(-)	27
Yalbughā l-Majnūn as <i>ustādār</i>	07/22	38	16	28
Faraj al-Ḥalabī departing to Alexandria	07/22	39		28
Yalbughā l-Sālīmī as <i>nāzīr</i> of the <i>madrasa</i> of Shaykhūn	08/02	40	17	29(-)
Alṭunbughā l-‘Uthmānī as viceroy of Ṣafad	08/00	41		30
Asīl al-Dīn al-Shāfi‘ī as chief Shāfi‘ī <i>qāḍī</i> in Damascus	08/23	42	18	31
Wazīr Tāj al-Dīn b. Nūqūlā receiving a robe	09/01	43		34
Ibn Khaldūn as chief Mālikī <i>qāḍī</i>	09/15	44	19	36
Sharaf al-Dīn b. Ghurāb as head of <i>dīwān al-mufrad</i>	09/19	45		37
Rukn al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Kūrānī as governor of Fustāṭ	09/22	46		39
Ibn al-Kuwayz and Ibn Sam‘ as supervisors	09/29	47		40
Appointment of Ṣāḥirī <i>amīrs</i>	04/20	48	h2	43(-)
Wazīr Tāj al-Dīn Rizq Allāh receiving a mule	06/29	49		47
‘Umar b. al-‘Adīm receiving a robe of chief <i>qāḍī</i> in Aleppo	08/10	50		
Commanders of thousands receiving robes	08/10	51		
Amīn al-Dīn b. al-Ṭarābulusī as <i>qāḍī l-‘askar</i>	03/02	52		
Rest of the events before the death of Barqūq				
Birth of the prince Ibrāhīm b. Barqūq	09/02	53		35

TABLE 8.3 Descriptions of the year 801/1398–9 (*cont.*)

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS	MS	MS Ar.
		A2911/ A19	A2911/ A18	1544
Confiscation of the property of Aḥmad b. al-Shaykh ‘Alī	09/20	54		38
Ibn al-Shaykh ‘Alī as viceroy of Ṣafad	10/10	55	20	42
Ibn al-Shaykh ‘Alī as commander of one thousand	10/10	56	20(+)	
Disposal of the sultan’s mules	02/10	57		45
Summons of Badr al-Dīn b. al-Tūkhī	06/14	58		46
Artisans leaving for Jerusalem	07/15	59	55	48
Baybars al-Dawādār’s wedding	07/18	60		49
Al-Qudsī and Ibn Muflīḥ were appointed as chief <i>qāḍīs</i> in Damascus	07/01	61		
Tīmūr invaded India		62		51
Tuqtamish encounters the Ottomans		63		52
Repair of Jerusalem wall	08/15	64		53
A stranger in the stable	04/25	65		
Revolt of Arabs	05/30	66		
‘Alā’ al-Dīn b. al-Ṭablāwī’s release	09/27	67		
al-Ṭablāwī departs for al-Karak and Jerusalem	10/06	68	21	41(-)
A solar eclipse	02/28	69		
A lunar eclipse	08/14	70		
Arrest of a <i>sharīf</i> in Damascus	09/00	71		
Obituary of the Sultan Barqūq				
Omen of death	09/30	72		54
Physical disorder	10/05	73	22	55(-)
Leaving a will		74	23(-)	55(-)
Almsgiving		75	24(-)	56
Civil disturbance	10/13	76		57
Summons for the <i>khalīfa</i> and <i>qāḍīs</i>	10/14	77		58
An oath of notables		78		
His death and burial	10/15	79	25(-)	59

TABLE 8.3 Descriptions of the year 801/1398–9 (*cont.*)

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS A2911/ A19	MS A2911/ A18	MS Ar. 1544
His race and age		80	26(-)	60
Episode of accession to <i>atabeg</i>		81		
Episode of accession to sultan		82		
His character 1		83	27	61
His character 2		84	28	62
His achievement		85	29(-)	63, 64
His children		86	30	73(-)
Viceroy of Egypt		87		65
Viceroy of Damascus		88		
Viceroy of Aleppo		89		
Viceroy of Tripoli		90		
Viceroy of Hama		91		
Viceroy of Şafad		92		
Viceroy of al-Karak		93		
Viceroy of Gaza		94		
<i>Ustādārs</i>		95		67
<i>Dawādārs</i>		96		68
<i>Amīr ākhūrs</i>		97		69
Chief secretaries		98		70
<i>Nāzīr al-jaysh</i>		99		71
<i>Nāzīr al-khawāṣṣ</i>		100		
Chief <i>qādīs</i> of the Shāfi‘īs		101		72
Chief <i>qādīs</i> of the Ḥanafīs		102		
Chief <i>qādīs</i> of the Mālikīs		103		
Chief <i>qādīs</i> of the Ḥanbalīs		104		
Chief <i>qādīs</i> of the Shāfi‘īs in Damascus		105		
<i>Wazīrs</i>		106		66
His inheritance		107	31(-)	

TABLE 8.3 Descriptions of the year 801/1398–9 (*cont.*)

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS A2911/ A19	MS A2911/ A18	MS Ar. 1544
Elegy 1		108		
Elegy 2		109		
Appointment of <i>kāshif</i> in Lower Egypt and governor of Qūṣ	08/24			33
Decline in grain prices				50
“Enthronement of Faraj b. Barqūq”	10/15	110	32	74
An episode regarding his title “al-Nāṣir”		111		75
Summon of <i>amīrs</i> after his enthronement	10/15	112		76(+)
“Appointment of Aytamish as <i>nizām al-mulūk</i> ”		113	33(-)	77(-)
Dispatching messengers to viceroys in Syria	10/16	114	34	78
Arrest of <i>amīrs</i>				
Arrest of Sūdūn, the <i>amīr ākhūr</i>	10/12	115	35	79
Āqbāy al-Karakī and Quṭlūbughā l-Karakī receive robes of honor	10/19	116		80
Arrest of Aristāy and Tamurāz al-Nāṣirī	10/21	117	36	81
Transfer of Qarākusk al-Khāṣṣakī to Tripoli	10/25	118		82
Appointment of <i>amīrs</i>				
Nāṣir al-Dīn Sunqur as an <i>ustādār</i>	10/23	119	37	83
Salary for the Ṣāhiriyya	10/23	120	38	84(-)
Quṭlūbughā l-Karakī as <i>shādd sharābkhāna</i>	10/25	121	39	85
A false report of revolt	10/25	122		86
Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā l-Turkumānī as governor of Cairo	10/27	123	40	87
Alṭunbughā l-Murādī as governor of Aswan	10/28	124		88
Advancement of the Ṣāhiriyya	11/02	125	41	89
Duqmāq al-Khāṣṣakī, a man of the viceroy of Damascus, arrested	11/05	126	42	90
Appointment of Dunkuzbughā l-Khuṭaṭī and etc.	11/09	127	43	91
Shaykh al-Islām as shaykh of the <i>khānqāh</i> in Siryāqūs	11/14	128		92
Transfer of Yalbughā l-Majnūn to Alexandria	11/15	129	44	93

TABLE 8.3 Descriptions of the year 801/1398–9 (*cont.*)

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS A2911/ A19	MS A2911/ A18	MS Ar. 1544
Rest of the events				
Appointment of the <i>khalīfa</i> and three <i>qādīs</i>	11/16	130		94
Aqbāy al-Karakī as <i>khāzindār</i>	11/17	131	45	95
Arghūn Shāh as <i>nāzīr</i> of the Mosque of Shaykhūn	11/19	132	46(-)	96
Sūdūn al-Ṭayyār as <i>amīr ākhūr</i>	11/21	133	47	97
Shihāb al-Dīn b. Qutayna as <i>wazīr</i>	11/23	134	48	98
‘Alam al-Dīn Sulaymān as governor of Fustāṭ	11/24	135		99
Jarkas al-Qāsīmī as lesser <i>dawādār</i>	11/25	136		100
Tāj al-Dīn b. al-Baqarī as governor of Alexandria	11/28	137		101
al-‘Aynī as <i>muhtasib</i> and Ibn Khaldūn as chief <i>qāḍī</i>	12/01	138	49	102(-)
Nūr al-Dīn al-Bakrī as <i>muhtasib</i> of Fustāṭ	12/07	139	50	103
Fakhr al-Dīn b. Ghurāb as <i>wazīr</i>	12/09	140	51	104
Dispatch of Tamurbughā l-Mashtūb to Damascus	12/15	141		105(+)
Sūdūn al-Ṭayyār inspects troops	12/13	142		106
Transfer of Nawrūz to Damietta	12/00	143	52	
Dispatch of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn b. al-Ṭablāwī to Damascus	11/30	144		
Abolition of taxes	12/00	145		
Information about the Ottoman Bāyazīd		146	53	
Fulfillment to the Nile		147		
Pilgrimage		148	54	107
Obituaries				
Q. Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kastanī	05/10	1	1(-)	2
Sh. Qunbur al-Sabzawārī l-Shāfī’ī	07/02	2	2	19
Q. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Tūnisī	09/01	3	3	18(-)
Q. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-‘Ibādī	04/19	4		
Q. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī	04/00	5		
Q. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Adhra’ī	02/00	6		
Q. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad	12/00	7		

TABLE 8.3 Descriptions of the year 801/1398–9 (*cont.*)

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS	MS	MS Ar.
		A2911/ A19	A2911/ A18	1544
Q. ‘Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā l-Muqayrī l-Karakī	03/17	8	4	
Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bilisī	03/00	9		
Sh. Khalīl b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqri’	03/00	10	5	
Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh al-Saksūnī l-Mālikī	04/00	11		
Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Miḳāṭī l-Munajjim	01/00	12	6	
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa’d al-Kāzarūnī		13		
Qāsim b. al-Ashraf Sha‘bān	03/12	14		3
A. Baklamish al-‘Alāī	02/01	15	7	4
A. Arghūn Shāh al-Khāzindār al-Ibrāhīmī	03/01	16	10(-)	5
A. Azdamur al-‘Izzī, <i>amīr</i> of forty	04/27	17	11(-)	6
A. Tamurbughā l-Qūjawī	05/10	18		7
A. Şarhitmish al-Khāşşakī	06/15	19	12(-)	8
A. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kujukunī	07/03	20	13(-)	9
A. Shaykh al-Şafawī l-Khāşşakī	04/01	21	8	10
A. Kumushbughā l-Ḥamawī	09/30	22	9	11
A. Mankalibughā l-Qarājā l-Ẓāhirī	07/16	23	14(-)	12
Mu‘allim Muḥammad al-Ṭūlūnī l-Muhandis	07/25	24		13
Zayn al-Dīn Şandal al-Ṭawāshī l-Manjakī	09/23	25	17	14
A. Ḥājj b. Mughultāy	02/15	26	15(-)	20
A. Urunbughā l-Ḥāfiẓī	11/15	27	16(-)	21
al-Manşūr Muḥammad b. al-Muzaffar Ḥājjī	01/09	28	20	1
Sh. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Zuhūrī	02/01	29	19	15
Sh. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Kalāmī, <i>khalīfat</i> al-Shaykh Ḥusayn	04/02	30	18	16
Sh. Khalaf b. ‘Abdallāh al-Sutūḥī	04/00	31		
Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Aybak al-Dimashqī		32		
Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yalbughā		33		
Q. Karīm al-Dīn b. al-Bahār al-Kārimī	02/30			17

A.= *al-Amīr*, Q.= *al-Qāḍī*, Sh.= *al-Shaykh*

TABLE 8.4 Descriptions of the year 816 /1413–4

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS A2911/ A19	MS A2911/ A18	MS Ar. 1544
List of officials and rulers		1	1(-)	1
Qurqumās leaving for Syria	01/20	2	2	2(-)
Şadr al-Dīn b. al-‘Ajāmī as <i>nāẓir al-mawārith al-ḥashriyya</i>	02/30	3	3	3(-)
Execution of Faṭḥ Allāh	01/15	4	4	
Famine and Epidemic in Egypt	01/02	5	5	4
Execution of Fāris al-Muḥammadī	03/07	6	6	5(-)
Arrest of Khusraw	03/07	7	7	
Shihāb al-Dīn al-Umawī as <i>chief qāḍī</i> of the Mālikīs	04/12	8	8	6
Fulfillment to the Nile	05/04	9		7
Tāj al-Dīn b. Haytham as <i>wazīr</i>	05/05	10	9	8
‘Alam al-Dīn b. Kuwayz as <i>nāẓir al-jaysh</i>	05/08	11	10	9(-)
Execution of Muḥammad b. Sha‘bān, the <i>muḥtasib</i>	05/10	12	11	10
Şadr al-Dīn b. al-Ādamī as <i>muḥtasib</i>	05/12	13	12	11
Submission of Jānibak al-Şūfī and Taghrībīrdī	05/12	14	13(-)	11/2
“Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī leaving”	05/17	15	14	12
Turbulence among the people	05/17	16	15	13
Ṭūghān going to Alexandria	05/20	17	16	14
Arrest of Sūdūn al-Ashqar and Kumushbughā l-Īsawī	05/21	18	17	15
Execution of viceroy of Jerusalem	05/22	19	18	16
Distribution of the <i>iqṭā‘</i> of the arrested <i>amīrs</i>	05/23	20	19	17
Īnāl al-Şaşlā‘ī as <i>amīr majlis</i>	05/23	21	20	18
Jānibak as <i>dawādār</i>	05/28	22	21	19
Fakhr al-Dīn b. Abī l-Faraj as <i>ustādār</i>	05/30	23	22	20
Visit of Jārquṭlū, the <i>atabeg</i> of Damascus	07/06	24	23	21
Prince Ibrāhīm’s wedding	07/08	25		22
Qurqumās and Taghrībīrdī as viceroys of Şafad and Gaza	07/12	26	24	23(-)
Return of envoys from Sinop	07/19	27		24(-)
Manklibughā l-‘Ajāmī as <i>muḥtasib</i>	07/20	28	25	25(-)

TABLE 8.4 Descriptions of the year 816 /1413-4 (*cont.*)

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS	MS	MS Ar.
		A2911/ A19	A2911/ A18	1544
Revolt of viceroys	08/01	29		26,28
“Viceroy of Aleppo, Damurdāsh’s visit”	09/01	30	26	29
Şadr al-Dīn al-‘Ajāmī as <i>shaykh</i> of a mosque and dispatch of Āqbughā Buzq	09/06	31	27	30
Transfer of Sūdūn al-Ashqar and Kumushbughā l-‘Īsawī to Dami-etta	09/06	32	28(-)	31
Transfer of Sūdūn al-Qāḍī	09/07	33		32
Arrest of two <i>amīrs</i> in Ramaḍān	09/02	34	29	33
Suppression of Taghrībirdī	09/10	35	30(+)	35
Nāşir al-Dīn al-‘Adīm as chief <i>qāḍī</i> of the Ḥanafīs	09/10	36	31	34
Qānibāy as viceroy of Damascus	09/13	37	32	36
Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan receives a robe	10/06	38	33	37
Sultan going to Giza	10/06	39		38
The <i>atabeg</i> Yalbughā going to Syria	10/06	40		39
Şadr al-Dīn al-‘Ajāmī as <i>nāzir al-mawārith al-ḥashriyya</i>	10/21	41		27,40
Death of Taghrībirdī and execution of Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ahwal	10/07	42	34	
Regulations for Jews and Christians	11/19	43	36	41(-)
Inspection of troops	11/25	44	35	42
Departure of viceroys of Aleppo and Gaza	11/25	45	37	43
Campaign to Syria	12/17	46	38	44
Accession of <i>khalīfa</i> al-Mu‘taḍid	12/17	47	39	45
A bonus for <i>mamlūks</i>	12/17	48	40	46
Departure of Sūdūn min ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Sūdūn al-Qāḍī	12/20	49	41	47
Departure of Qānibāy	12/20	50	42	
Shams al-Dīn al-Tabbānī as Ḥanafī <i>qāḍī</i> in Damascus	12/20	51	43	48(-)
Departure of the sultan	12/27	52	44	49
<i>Wazīr</i> Tāj al-Dīn b. Ḥayṣam beaten	12/28	53	45	50
Events in Syria				
Murder of al-‘Ajl b. Nu‘ayl, the <i>amīr al-Arab</i>	03/24	54		

TABLE 8.4 Descriptions of the year 816 /1413–4 (*cont.*)

Topics	Date (MM/DD)	MS A2911/ A19	MS A2911/ A18	MS Ar. 1544
‘Uthmān the stranger appeared in ‘Ajlūn	03/00	55		
Rumaytha, <i>amīr al-‘Arab</i> , in Mecca	06/00	56		
al-Harawī as chief <i>qāḍī</i> of the Shāfi‘īs in Damascus	07/00	57		
Prices				
Price rise	01/30	58		4
Decline of grain prices	08/00	59		
Pilgrimage		60	46	51
Obituaries				
Sh. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥijjī l-Ḥusbānī		1	3	
Q. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Khalīfa al-Nāṣirī l-Bā‘ūnī	01/04	2	2	
Sh. Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ‘Alī l-Ābiyurdī		3		
Sh. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ibn Zuqqā‘a	12/15	4	1	
Sh. Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Birmāwī	08/07	5		4
Q. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Miṣrī l-Qarāfi	09/00	6	8	
Q. Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī, Ibn al-Ādamī	09/08	7	4	5
Sh. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-‘Arrāqī	08/05	8	5	3
Q. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ikhnā‘ī l-Sa’dī	07/00	9	6	6
Sidī ‘Umar b. al-Mu‘ayyad	02/25	10		1
Q. Faṭḥ Allāh b. Musta‘ṣim, <i>kātib al-sirr</i>	03/05	11	7	2
Bint al-Mu‘ayyad	03/09	12		
A. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Altunbughā l-Mihmandār	08/25	13		10
A. Mubārak Shāh al-Zāhiri	09/00	14	9	8
Q. Tāj al-Dīn Rizq Allāh, ‘Abd al-Razzāq		15		
A. Taghrībirdī, Sidī Ṣaghīr	10/07	16		9
A. Qurqumāsh, Sidī Kabīr		17		
Q. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfi	09/20			7
A. Jaqmaq al-Aḥmadi	05/30			11

TABLE 8.5 Number of topics in al-ʿAynī's chronicles

	801/1398–9			816/1413–4		
	<i>Ḥawādīth</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Sum	<i>Ḥawādīth</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Sum
MS Ar. 1544 (BnF)	107	21	128	51	11	62
MS A2911/A19 (TSMK)	148	33	181	60	17	77
MS A2911/A18 (TSMK)	55	20	75	46	9	55

between these texts. The first example concerns famine and high prices in Egypt in 816/1413. As presented in table 8.6, MS A2911/A19 has two paragraphs that each, separately, addresses epidemics and high prices. MS A2911/A18 contains a *verbatim* repetition of the first paragraph (on epidemics) of MS A2911/A19 and no equivalent paragraph to its last paragraph (on high prices). MS Arabe 1544 has only one paragraph that addresses both epidemics and high prices. By comparing the texts of MS A2911/A19 and MS Arabe 1544, we can identify two possibilities about al-ʿAynī's writing process: al-ʿAynī wrote the mixed paragraph in MS Arabe 1544 first and then divided it into two paragraphs and enlarged each of them in MS A2911/A19, or he wrote the two separate paragraphs in MS A2911/A19 first and then later combined and summarized them.

The next example is taken from the descriptions of the death of Sultan Barqūq in 801/1399, as shown in table 8.7. In this case also, MS A2911/A19 has the most detailed descriptions; however, it not only lacks chronological order but also duplicates some information. MS Arabe 1544, on the other hand, follows a strict chronological order. For example, in MS A2911/A19, al-ʿAynī reports the rumor of Barqūq's death on 13 Shawwāl and his summons of the notables on 14 Shawwāl (lines D and E), and then reports the same events again in a different form (lines H and I). This duplication shows that al-ʿAynī was confused while writing the text of MS A2911/A19; no such confusion is reflected in the writing of MS Arabe 1544. We can explain this by assuming the following: When al-ʿAynī wrote the text of MS A2911/A19, he may have copied several phrases from other sources and inserted them into the proto-text and carelessly, for unknown reasons, failed to delete previous phrases. If this is the case, the text of MS Arabe 1544 should be regarded as the pre-insertion prototext.

To conclude, al-ʿAynī's writing process can be reconstructed as follows: First, al-ʿAynī wrote the text of BnF Arabe 1544. Second, he incorporated it into the text of MS A2911/A19. Finally, he reproduced an excerpt of it: i.e., MS A2911/A18.

TABLE 8.6 Famine and high price in Egypt in 816/1413

MS A2911/19, fols. 126 ^b , 129 ^b	MS A2911/18, fol. 171 ^a	MS Ar. 1544, fol. 107 ^b
<p>وفي أواخر المحرم وأوائل صفر، وقوي الفناء بمصر والقاهرة، وتزايد الطاعون. فبلغ الموتى في كل يوم مائة وعشرين، وعز البطيخ الصيفي حتى بيعت واحدة بخمسمائة درهم. وفي أواخر صفر، ارتفع الفناء عن المسلمين برحمة الله ولطفه.</p>	<p>وفي أواخر المحرم وأوائل صفر، قوي الفناء بمصر والقاهرة، وتزايد الطاعون، فبلغ الموتى في كل يوم مائة وعشرين وعزّ البطيخ الصيفي حتى بيعت واحدة بخمسمائة درهم. وفي أواخر صفر، ارتفع الفناء عن المسلمين برحمة الله</p>	<p>وقوي الفناء في القاهرة في أواخر المحرم، وبلغ عدة الموتى إلى مائة وعشرين نفس وأكثر، وتحسنت الأسعار جدا. فأصرف الدينار من الذهب المصري مبلغ مائتين وأربعين، وعومل بمائتين وخمسين. والمشخص الأفرتي مبلغ مائتين وثلاثين والناصري بمبلغ مائتين وعشرة. والرطل المصري من العسل يبع بأربعة عشر درهما، وكذا الرطل من السمن ومن الزيت بثمانية،</p>
<p>وفي أواخر المحرم، وتحسنت الأسعار جدا. فبلغ الأفرتي إلى مائتين وثلاثين درهما فلوسا، والناصري إلى مائتين وعشرة، ودينار المصري إلى مائتين وأربعين. وفي المعاملة بالقماش ونحوه كل واحد يزايد عشرة على ما ذكرنا. والرطل من العسل المصري إلى أربعة عشر درهما، وكذا من السمن ومن الزيت إلى ثمانية</p>		

4 Classification of the Manuscripts

These three recensions seem to represent the three histories (*ta'rikhs*) described by al-Sakhāwī in his biographical dictionary: “[Al-'Aynī has] a large history in nineteen volumes, of which I saw the final part, which ends in [8]50 [AH]. And [he has] the middle (*mutawassit*) [version] in eight [volumes] and has also excerpted it (*ikhtaṣarahu*) in three [volumes].”¹⁰

It is clear that MS A2911/A19 is a holograph of his “large history,” *Iqd al-jumān*, and MS A2911/A18 may also be an excerpt of it. Therefore, does MS Arabe

10 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* x, 134. See also Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* xi, 197.

TABLE 8.7 Death of Sultan Barqūq in 801/1399

	MS A2911/19, fols. 19 ^a –20 ^b	MS A2911/18, fol. 115 ^a	MS Ar. 1544, fols. 16 ^b –17 ^a
A In the end of Ramaḍān, astrologers circulated the idea that something serious would happen to Barqūq.	1	/	1
B On 5 Shawwāl, Barqūq had pain in his head and heart and he stopped [tending to] his affairs.	/	/	2
C On 5 Shawwāl, Barqūq ate <i>kahtāwī</i> honey and got diarrhea and a fever. The matter [continued to] worsen until 9 Shawwāl.	2	1	/
D On 13 Shawwāl, Barqūq [developed a] death rattle and a rumor of his death spread. The governor of Cairo settled the confusion.	3	2	/
E On 14 Shawwāl, Barqūq summoned the <i>khalīfa</i> , the four <i>qāḍīs</i> , and the <i>amīrs</i> to dictate a will (long statement)	4	3	/
F Only <i>jamḍārīyya</i> and the eunuchs could meet with him and the <i>qāḍī</i> Faṭḥ Allāh stayed by during his treatment	5	/	3
G On 10 Shawwāl, Barqūq ordered the <i>amīr</i> Sūdūn to donate 15 thousand <i>afṛantī</i> to the poor.	6	4	4
H On 13 Shawwāl, there was a rumor of a revolt by the <i>amīr</i> Arstāy and the governor of Cairo settled the confusion.	7	/	5
I On 14 Shawwāl, Barqūq realized his end and summoned the <i>khalīfa</i> , the <i>atābak</i> , all the <i>amīrs</i> , and the <i>qāḍīs</i> in order to dictate a will.	8	/	6

1544 correspond to “the middle version,” i.e., another of al-‘Aynī’s chronicles, *Ta’rīkh al-Badr fī awṣāf ahl al-‘aṣr*?

To determine this, we must consult another manuscript, one that is copied by al-‘Aynī’s younger brother, Shihāb al-Dīn. The manuscript, MS Süleymaniye 830, which is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library and labeled as *‘Iqd al-jumān*, seems to have features in common with MS Arabe 1544: they share the same handwriting, line numbers, and size (see fig. 8.3). While the Süleymaniye manuscript ends in the year 798/1395–6, MS Arabe 1544 text starts in the year 799/1396–7. Therefore, these two manuscripts can be regarded as a continuous series. As I pointed out in a previous article,¹¹ the title page of MS Süleymaniye 830 reads: “volume 9 of (*al-*)*Ta’rīkh al-Badr(ī)*.” Therefore, MS Arabe 1544 should be labeled as volume 10 of *Ta’rīkh al-Badr*.

11 Nakamachi, Al-‘Aynī’s chronicles 146.

والله اعلم
 فتح الدين صفة من الحاج سعيد توفي يوم الخميس الثاني عشر من
 من هذه السنة سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 بن جبار في هذه السنة سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 العشر من ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 في وظيفه من هذا التاريخ المذكور المذكور المذكور المذكور
 العشرة والست بالبرية توفي في شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 ابنة من الميرزا بن ربيعة الشيطان المذكور المذكور المذكور
 كانت له زوجة من الميرزا بن ربيعة الشيطان المذكور المذكور
 ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 من الجوز الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 الطبع الاضطرار في سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 العاشرة من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 في سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 المصيبة والثانية المذكور المذكور المذكور المذكور
 على الله والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه
 اعترافا له ولجميع المسلمين في سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 برصفا والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه
 الخط الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ

والله اعلم
 علم الدولة المذكور المذكور المذكور المذكور
 انما من تاريخه المذكور المذكور المذكور المذكور
 في هذا التاريخ المذكور المذكور المذكور المذكور
 من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 في وظيفه من هذا التاريخ المذكور المذكور المذكور المذكور
 العشرة والست بالبرية توفي في شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 ابنة من الميرزا بن ربيعة الشيطان المذكور المذكور المذكور
 كانت له زوجة من الميرزا بن ربيعة الشيطان المذكور المذكور
 ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 من الجوز الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 الطبع الاضطرار في سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 العاشرة من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 في سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 المصيبة والثانية المذكور المذكور المذكور المذكور
 على الله والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه
 اعترافا له ولجميع المسلمين في سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ
 برصفا والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه
 الخط الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ من شهر ربيع الثاني من سنة ٨٣٠ هـ

SÜLEYMANIYE G. KÜTÜPHANESİ	
Yayımlı No:	830
Eski Kopya No:	
Tasnif No:	

FIGURE 8.3 MS Süleymaniye 830, fols. 216^b–217^a ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

The TSMK also preserves several holographs of *Ta'rikh al-Badr* (the manuscripts written by the elder al-'Aynī), one of which has a colophon showing that it was written in 799/1396.¹² Al-'Aynī's younger brother Shihāb al-Dīn copied them in 813/1410, as shown in the colophon of the Süleymaniye manuscript.

As for *Iqd al-Jumān*, some of the holographs in the TSMK have colophons, which we can see were first written in 825/1422. Furthermore, MS A2911/A19 seems to have been written after 838/1434.¹³ Thus, their date of writing also clearly demonstrates that *Ta'rikh al-Badr* preceded *Iqd al-jumān*.

12 MS A2911/D1. This manuscript was also erroneously labeled *Iqd al-jumān*. See Nakamachi, A historiographical analysis 46.
 13 This manuscript can be separated into two parts with a *basmala* attached to the beginning of the year 838/1434–5, written on fol. 217^b. See *ibid.* 43–4.

5 The Interrelationship between al-‘Aynī and al-Maqrīzī

We must now address the issue of the interrelationship between al-‘Aynī and al-Maqrīzī. Table 8.8 shows the information of the *kātib* Faḥ Allāh b. Nafīs,¹⁴ who was appointed head secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) in 801/1399. The body of the text in MS Arabe 1544 and MS A2911/A19, both holographs, shows the same simple descriptions of Ibn Nafīs’s appointment; it states only the date and names of the persons involved. However, MS A2911/A19 has a long and revealing insertion in its margin that describes his family history, origin, and secret to success.

Al-Qarmūṭ, the editor of *‘Iqd al-jumān*, pointed out that al-‘Aynī cited this marginal annotation from al-Maqrīzī’s chronicle, *al-Sulūk*, and mentioned that “some of them say” (*dhakara ba’duhum*). For example, al-‘Aynī describes, in the margin, the career of Faḥ Allāh’s Jewish grandfather, who came to Cairo from Tabrīz and who advanced through the favor of an amir (superscript A). These descriptions are obviously a *verbatim* copy from *al-Sulūk*. Thereafter, al-‘Aynī criticizes his source for reporting that Faḥ Allāh was a descendant of the Prophet David (superscript B) and was appointed head secretary despite another candidate’s attempt to procure this position with a bribe (superscript C). Rather, al-‘Aynī asserts that Faḥ Allāh was favored by the sultan because he drank his urine for medical examinations. Further, al-‘Aynī discredits his informant, al-Maqrīzī, for relating such a false story, and insists that he was a necromancer.¹⁵ Needless to say, al-‘Aynī may have disparaged al-Maqrīzī and his patron Faḥ Allāh because of a personal rivalry or animosity toward al-Maqrīzī.¹⁶

However, it is also noteworthy that these three texts share the basic details about Faḥ Allāh’s appointment. Massoud postulated that al-Maqrīzī often borrowed from al-‘Aynī, and in this case, Massoud’s postulation is probably correct, although it must be stressed that al-Maqrīzī’s reference was restricted to *Ta’rīkh al-Badr*, and did not relate to *‘Iqd al-jumān*.

To summarize, we classify the works of these two historians’ chronologically, as follows: al-‘Aynī wrote his minor chronicle *Ta’rīkh al-Badr* after 799/1396. Then al-Maqrīzī wrote *al-Sulūk*, presumably citing *Ta’rīkh al-Badr*. Later, after 838/1434, al-‘Aynī completed *‘Iqd al-jumān*, in which he refers to *al-Sulūk*. The relationship between these two historians may have occurred sequentially, like moves in a chess game, rather than simultaneously.

14 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* viii, 375–7.

15 Al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-jumān* ii, 574.

16 About the rivalry and animosity between these two historians, see Broadbridge, *Academic rivalry*.

TABLE 8.8 Appointment of Faṭḥ Allāh b. Nafīs in 801/1399

MS Ar. 1544, fol. 14^a

وفي يوم الاثنين الحادي عشر من جمادى الأولى، خلع على القاضي فتح الله رئيس الأطباء واستقر كاتب الشريف عوضا عن القاضي بدر الدين محمود السراي بحكم وفاته.

MS A2911/19, fols. 16^b–17^a (in the margin)

وفي يوم الاثنين الحادي عشر من جمادى الأولى خلع على القاضي فتح الله رئيس الأطباء ابن معتصم بن نفيس الداودي. // واستقر كاتب السر عوضا عن القاضي بدر الدين محمود السراي بحكم وفاته.

(وكان نفيس يهوديا قدم من تبريز في أيام الملك الناصر حسن بن الناصر محمد بن قلاوون إلى القاهرة، واختص بالأمر شيخون العمري وطيبه، وكان يركب بغل بخف ومهماز وهو على اليهودية، ثم إنه أسلم على يد السلطان حسن، وولد فتح الله ببتريز وقدم على جده، وكفله عمه بديع بن نفيس، وقد مات أبوه وهو طفل ونشأ واشتغل بالطب إلى أن ولي رئاسة الأطباء بعد موت علاء الدين ابن صغير واختص بالملك الظاهر برقوق حتى ولاه كتابة السر^(A)، وذكر بعضهم في تاريخه في ترجمته شيئين، أظن أنهما كذب أحدهما قوله أن جده نفيس من أولاد نبي الله داود عليه السلام^(B)، وهذا كذب صريح لطول المدة جدا، والثاني أن مترجمه قال بذلوا في كتابة السر قنطارا من الذهب، فلم يرض به الظاهر وولي فتح الله^(C)، وهذا الآخر كذب أو قريب من الكذب، والذي أكد هذين الشيئين من إلزام فتح الله وخواصه، وكان يضرب عنده الرمل ويحكي له المغيبات. والذي سمعت من الناس أن سبب اختيار الظاهر إياه لهذه الوظيفة، أنه مرض مرة واجتمع الأطباء عنده ودفعوا له قارورة، فنظروا فيها ووقع الاختلاف بينهم وتوهم الظاهر توهما فاحشا، وأخذ فتح الله القارورة وشرب ما فيها من البول، فحفظ الظاهر منه ذلك وولاه كتابة السر والله أعلم بالأمور.)

Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, iii, 927

وفي يوم الاثنين حادي عشره، استدعى الرئيس فتح الدين فتح الله ابن معتصم بن نفيس الداودي—رئيس الأطباء—وخلع عليه، واستقر في كتابة السر عوضا عن بدر الدين محمود الكلستاني بحكم وفاته.

TABLE 8.8 Appointment of Fath Allāh b. Nafis in 801/1399 (cont.)

وفتح الله هذا كان جده نفيس يهوديا^(A) من أولاد نبي الله داود عليه السلام^(B)، فقدم من توريز في أيام الملك الناصر حسن بن محمد بن قلاون إلى القاهرة، واختص بالأمر شيخو العمري وطيبه، وصار يركب بغلة بخف ومهماز، وهو على اليهودية. ثم أنه أسلم على يد السلطان حسن، وولد فتح الله بتوريز وقدم على جده، فكفله عمه بديع بن نفيس، وقد مات أبوه وهو طفل، ونشأ وعانى الطب إلى أن ولي رئاسة الأطباء بعد موت شيخنا علاء الدين علي ابن صغير، واختص بالملك الظاهر، فولاه كتابة السر^(A) بعدما سئل فيها بقنطار من ذهب، فأعرض عنه، واختار فتح الله^(C)، مع علمه ببعده عن معرفة صناعة الإنشاء، وقال "أنا أعلمه" فباشر ذلك، وشكره الناس.

6 Conclusion

How can we evaluate these three holograph manuscripts of al-‘Aynī? From a historiographical point of view, al-‘Aynī’s minor chronicle, *Ta’rikh al-Badr*, deserves more attention. Since MS A2911/A18 is not *Iqd al-jumān* but an excerpt of it, as table 8.1 shows, the part(s) covering the period from 746/1345–6 to 798/1395–6 of *Iqd al-jumān* remain(s) unknown. Because copies covering this period have not yet been found, to reconstruct the missing part of volume 18 of *Iqd al-jumān*, if there was one, it is necessary to consult both the proto-text of *Iqd al-jumān* (that is, *Ta’rikh al-Badr*), and an excerpt of *Iqd al-jumān*.

From a codicological point of view, MS Arabe 1544 has specific characteristics. It must be a draft containing the text of *Ta’rikh al-Badr*. It was copied by Shihāb al-Dīn first, and then written by al-‘Aynī himself, and thereafter supplemented by Shihāb al-Dīn again. Shihāb al-Dīn was a minor historian whose biography does not appear in any biographical dictionaries. In fact, he was not only a copyist, but also the author of his own chronicle entitled *al-Ta’rikh al-Shihābī wa-l-qamar*. Based on its descriptions, we can deduce that his chronicle was written after he copied *Ta’rikh al-Badr*.¹⁷ If this is the case, then who is the author of MS Arabe 1544? We could argue that Shihāb al-Dīn was a co-author of this manuscript. This doubly holograph manuscript is a unique example of the writing history of this era.

17 About Shihāb al-Dīn’s life and chronicle, see Nakamachi, *Life*.

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Textual Criticism of the Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn's *Autobiography*

Retsu Hashizume

1 Introduction¹

Several methods are used to identify whether a certain manuscript is, in fact, a holograph. Although the process of revising a given edition of a manuscript and elucidating its lineage is indispensable, in the field of Arabic textual criticism, this is often not undertaken. The edition of Ibn Khaldūn's *Autobiography* (hereafter *al-Ta'rif*) revised by Muḥammad Ibn Tāwīt is a clear example. The present article examines the holograph of Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography and emphasizes the need to focus on the marginal notes of the manuscripts. Since *al-Ta'rif* and, of course, *al-Muqaddima*, constitute a part of Ibn Khaldūn's voluminous work, *al-Ibar*, the three works should be regarded as a single work and each of these should be examined comprehensively.² However, there is not enough material on *al-Muqaddima* and *al-Ibar* at my availability. Therefore, I will only focus on *al-Ta'rif* in this study. In addition, I not only attempt to ascertain which is Ibn Khaldūn's holograph of *al-Ta'rif*, but I also clearly describe his overall writing activity, because this enables us to understand the interrelationship between the surviving manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif*, *al-Muqaddima*, and *al-Ibar*. Furthermore, this examination elucidates Ibn Khaldūn's intellectual activity as a polestar in the study of Islamic history.³

Information on the manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif* used for this study is provided in the *List of manuscripts* at the end of this chapter. This information is based on the introduction of Ibn Tāwīt's edition as well as on my own research. Of particular importance are MS Ayasofya 3200 (hereafter *Ayasofya*) and MS Ahmet III 2924/13–14 (hereafter *Zāhiri*).

1 This work was supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, KAKENHI Grant no. 24720319.

2 Regarding his three works, see the bibliography.

3 On Ibn Khaldūn's intellectual activity, see Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane*; Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt*; Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldūn's Philosophy*.

2 The Lineage of the *al-Taʿrīf* Manuscripts According to Ibn Tāwīt

Diagram 9.1 presents the lineage of *al-Taʿrīf* manuscripts, based on Ibn Tāwīt's conclusion,⁴ including the manuscripts that he utilized, which are enumerated in the *List of manuscripts*. A closer examination of the lineage reveals the ramified process of *al-Taʿrīf*. First, Ibn Khaldūn wrote the original manuscript (*nuskhat al-umm*); this was followed by Archetype 1, which is the copy of the early version of *al-Taʿrīf* (*farʿ qadīm*) created from the original. Second, five manuscripts were copied from Archetype 1 while Archetype 2, which is the copy of the middle version (*farʿ mutawassit*) of *al-Taʿrīf*, was simultaneously made from Archetype 1 (although Ibn Tāwīt did not indicate that Ibn Khaldūn made additions and deletions during this process). Third, three manuscripts were copied from Archetype 2, while Archetype 3, which is the copy of the late version (*farʿ ḥadīth*) of *al-Taʿrīf*, was established on the basis of Archetype 2.⁵ Finally, two manuscripts were copied from Archetype 3, while four manuscripts were copied from *Ayasofya*.⁶

According to Ibn Tāwīt, *al-ʿIbar* was derived from three archetypes. The first archetype⁷ is the copy presented to the Ḥafṣid ruler—Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mustanṣir (r. 772–96/1370–94)—before Ibn Khaldūn left for Egypt on 15 Shaʿbān 784/24 October 1382 (hereafter the *Ḥafṣī Copy*).⁸ The second archetype (*nuskha ukhrā*) is the book that Ibn Khaldūn gave as a gift to the Mamlūk sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–9, 792–801/1389–99) (hereafter the *Zāhirī Copy*).⁹ Finally, the third archetype (*nuskha thālitha*) is the copy donated as a *waqf* to the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez during the reign of the Marinid ruler, Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 796–9/1394–7) on 799/1396–7 (hereafter the *Qarawiyyīn Copy*).

4 See Ibn Tāwīt's explanation and diagram of the manuscripts' lineage in *al-Taʿrīf* 5 (*hā*)-17 (*yā* *zāy*) of the introduction.

5 In this case as well, Ibn Tāwīt did not indicate whether or not Ibn Khaldūn made any additions or deletions.

6 Regarding this argument, see *ibid.*

7 According to Ibn Tāwīt, this exemplar is *al-nuskha al-ūlā min kitābihi li-Abī l-ʿAbbās al-Ḥafṣī malik Tūnis* (the first copy copied from Ibn Khaldūn's book for Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ḥafṣī).

8 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* 233, 241, 245. Cf. Cheikha, *Los manuscritos* 356. Although the details are unclear, Cheikha states that the book presented to the Ḥafṣid ruler was lost after it was used for the *Būlaq* edition.

9 It is likely that the *Zāhirī* copy was given to Barqūq during his second reign (792–801/1389–99) since the year written on the last folio of *Zāhirī* is 797/1394–5. However, the exact date of the gift is unknown. In 797/1394–5 al-Zāhir Barqūq ousted Ibn Khaldūn from public office (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* 331, 347).

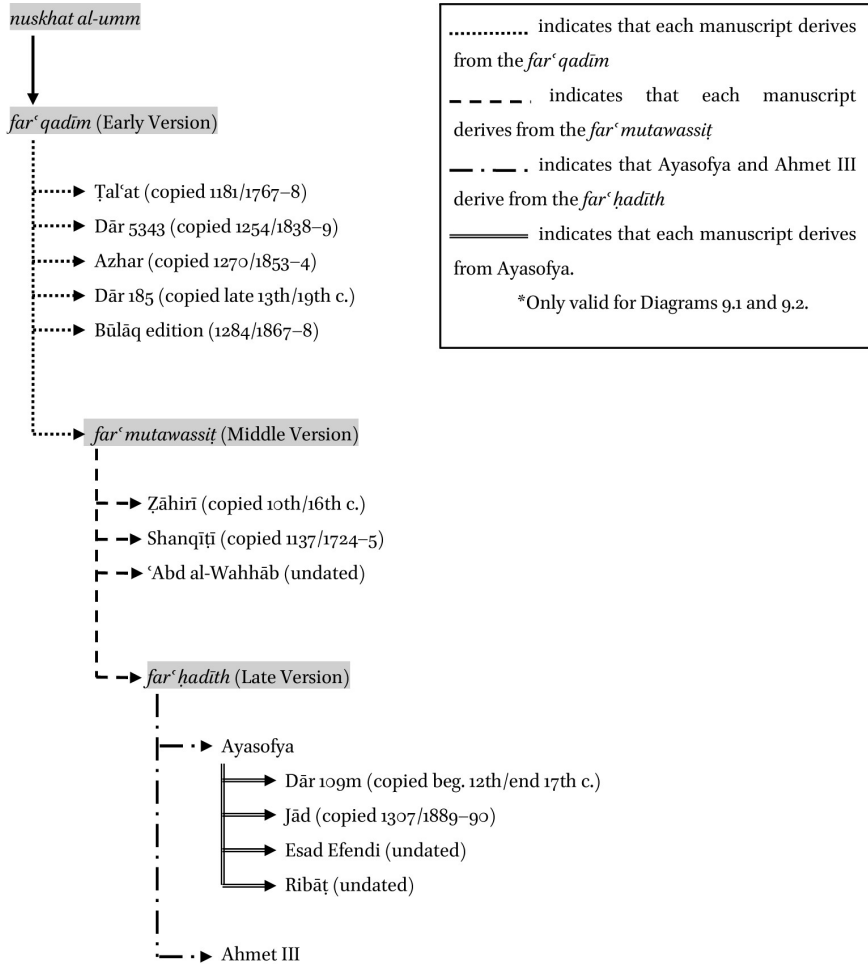


DIAGRAM 9.1 Lineage of *al-Ta'rif* manuscripts based on Ibn Tāwīt's conclusion

Among these three archetypes, it is assumed that the *Zāhirī Copy* is related to the *Zāhirī* manuscripts housed in the TSMK (MS Ahmet III 2924). The existence of the copies corresponding to the other two archetypes has not yet been confirmed.¹⁰ Although I cannot substantiate the validity of Ibn Tāwīt's opin-

10 According to Prof. Kentaro Sato at Hokkaido University, Ibn Khaldūn donated several manuscripts of *al-Ibar* as a *waqf* in 799/1396–7 to the Qarawīyyin Mosque in Fez; these can still be found in the library of this institution. However, the presence of manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif* cannot be confirmed by his research conducted in February 2014. In addition, Rosenthal reported that the *Muqaddima* manuscript was lost (Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah* i, xciii).

ion, his conclusion has so far to be accepted since there is no alternative. As described in diagram 9.1, Ibn Tāwīt mentions that the extant manuscripts of *al-Taʿrīf* are divided into three versions, which are related to the three aforementioned archetypes of *al-Ibar*. Furthermore, Ibn Tāwīt states that manuscripts of *al-Taʿrīf* can be classified into the early version derived from the *Ḥafṣī Copy* and the late version derived from the draft in which Ibn Khaldūn made additions and deletions several months before his death (hereafter the *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft*).

However, there is no mention that *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft* is, in fact, the *Qarawīyyīn Copy* nor does Ibn Tāwīt refer to Archetype 2. According to diagram 9.1, it is clear that the *Zāhirī Copy* is included among the manuscripts of Archetype 2,¹¹ but it is not clear whether or not the *Qarawīyyīn Copy* is included among Archetype 2 or 3, since Ibn Tāwīt does not refer to it at all.

I believe that it may not be included among the manuscripts of Archetype 3 because the *Qarawīyyīn Copy* was made in 799/1396–7 and Archetype 3 can be regarded as *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft* (although Ibn Tāwīt did not say so explicitly in his diagram). On the other hand, it is not clear whether the *Qarawīyyīn Copy* is included in Archetype 2 and whether its contents correspond to the *Zāhirī Copy*. Thus, further investigation is necessary.

We can summarize this as follows:

Archetype 1 of *al-Taʿrīf*: *Ḥafṣī Copy*

Archetype 2: unknown (*Zāhirī Copy?* or *Qarawīyyīn Copy?*)

Archetype 3: *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft*

Furthermore, Ibn Tāwīt states that all the manuscripts derive from the first original version (*umm ūlā*)—the *Ḥafṣī Copy*. Conversely, the new manuscript (*aṣl ḥadīth*) corresponds to *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft*, which includes additions and deletions made by Ibn Khaldūn himself toward the end of his life.¹² Therefore, Ibn Tāwīt states that in order to create an accurate edition of *al-Taʿrīf*, it is necessary to base it on the new manuscript included in the late version.¹³

11 Judging from the last folio of the *Zāhirī*, the end point of the middle version of *al-Taʿrīf*'s content is the same as the early version (see figs. 9.1–9.3). That is, both versions include contents that correspond to pages 1–278 of Ibn Tāwīt's edition. Although he asserts that the middle version is different from the late version because it does not include Ibn al-Khaṭīb's letters (pp. 155–209 in the edition), similarly, the early version does not include these letters. Thus, we must determine whether it is correct to classify *al-Taʿrīf* manuscripts into these two versions.

12 *Al-Taʿrīf* 8 (*ḥāʾ*): *wa-l-aṣl al-ḥadīth min hādhihi l-uṣūl huwa lladhī baqiya bayna yaday Ibn Khaldūn ḥattā l-ayyām al-akhīra min ḥayātihi*.

13 See diagram 9.2 for more details.

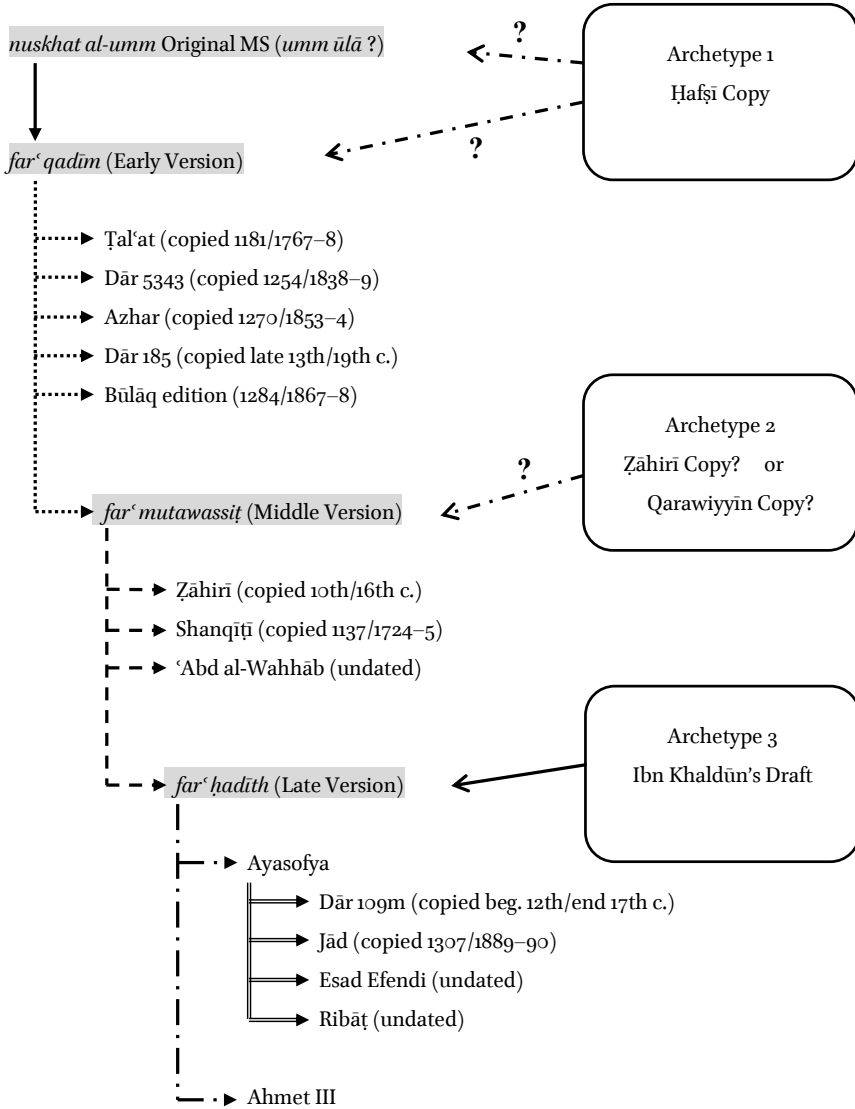


DIAGRAM 9.2 Lineage of *al-Ta'rif* manuscripts according to the archetypes

3 The Lineage of the *al-Taʿrīf* Manuscripts

According to Ibn Tāwīt, the original manuscript exists, though the archetypes of each version have not been identified. In his opinion, all the manuscripts of *al-Taʿrīf* are derived from the original, which is the *Ḥafṣī Copy*. However, he does not indicate which manuscript is the *Ḥafṣī Copy* (*nuskha umm, umm ūlā* or *farʿ qadīm*).¹⁴

In addition, Ibn Tāwīt does not indicate which manuscripts correspond to the Archetypes 2 and 3, which he believes were gifts for the rulers (al-Zāhir Barqūq and Abū Fāris). If his assumption is correct, then we must accept the idea that Ibn Khaldūn wrote the archetype of the newer version based on the book housed in the ruler's library. However, it is unlikely that Ibn Khaldūn created a new archetype in such a procedure, rather it is possible that there was one identical copy or a draft on which the gift copy was based. Therefore, we may reasonably conclude that Ibn Tāwīt lacked the concept of a draft or fair copy.

Diagram 9.3 presents the lineage of manuscripts of *al-Taʿrīf* based on my study. The difference between this diagram and that of Ibn Tāwīt is the position of *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft*.¹⁵ In my opinion, *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft* is the original, from which Ibn Khaldūn prepared fair complimentary copies (the *Ḥafṣī Copy*, the *Zāhirī Copy*, and the *Qarawīyyīn Copy*). This conclusion is much more reasonable than assuming that Ibn Khaldūn made a copy from the manuscript that he gave away as a gift. Moreover, since Ibn Khaldūn frequently modified his text by adding or omitting words and sentences, we assume that there should be some marginal notes in the draft of *al-Taʿrīf* (or *al-Ibar*). Moreover, he could not have presented the manuscripts as gifts if they had marginal notes. Therefore, it is valid to conclude that Ibn Khaldūn prepared his fair copies from his personal draft—*Ibn Khaldūn's Draft*.

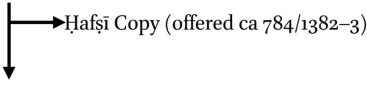
Based on this conclusion, diagram 9.3 shows that the *Ḥafṣī Copy*, the *Zāhirī Copy*, and the *Qarawīyyīn Copy*, as well as all the other manuscripts, were copied from *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft*. In other words, although *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft* is a unique archetype, its contents have been gradually changed according to Ibn Khaldūn's marginal notes.

In addition to Ibn Tāwīt's edition, there are twelve duplicates of the manuscripts of *al-Taʿrīf*: *Ayasofya*, *Ahmet III*, *Dār 109 mīm*, *Esad Efendi*, *Ṭalʿat*, *Azhar*, *Dār 185*, *Dār 5343*, *Būlāq*, *BN*, *Zakīyya*, and *Nuruosmaniye*. Unfortunately, I was

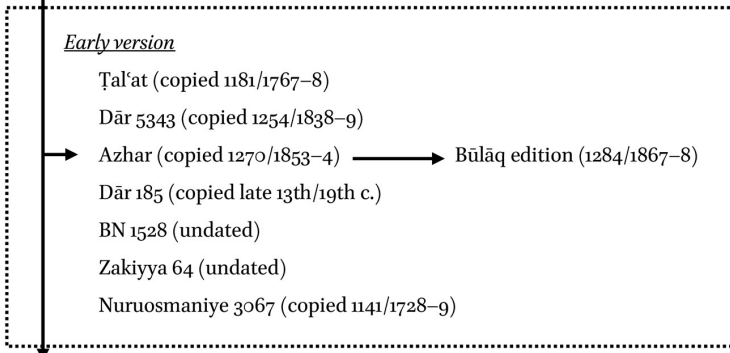
¹⁴ See diagram 9.2.

¹⁵ Compare diagrams 9.2 and 9.3.

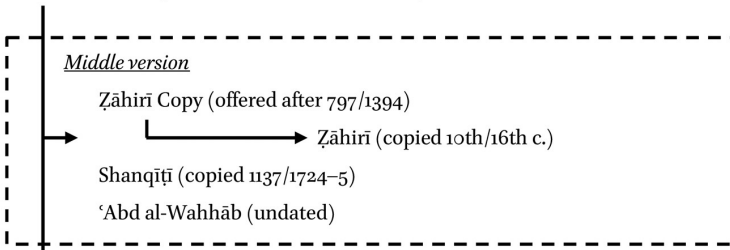
Ibn Khaldūn's draft (*maghribī handwriting?*)



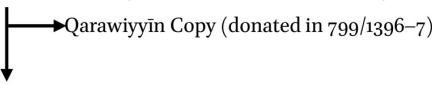
Ibn Khaldūn's draft (changed to *naskh* handwriting (?) and with additions and deletions)



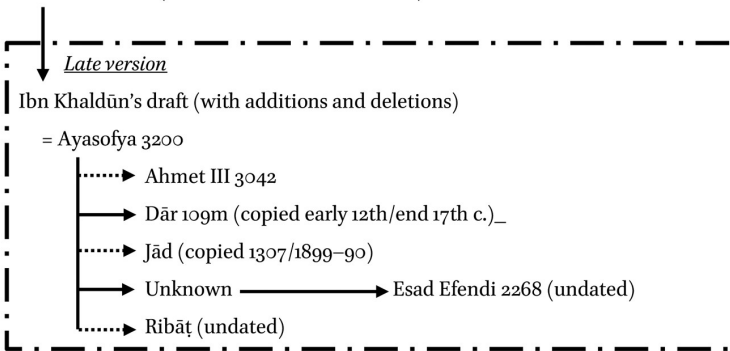
Ibn Khaldūn's draft (with additions and deletions)



Ibn Khaldūn's draft (with additions and deletions)



Ibn Khaldūn's draft (with additions and deletions)



*The line shape of each frame corresponds to each of the three versions as envisaged by Ibn Tāwīt.

DIAGRAM 9.3 Lineage of the *al-Ta'rif* manuscripts according to Hashizume

not able to analyze manuscripts of *al-Taʿrīf* that Ibn Tāwīt classified as belonging to the middle version.¹⁶

For this study, I conducted a comparative investigation between the manuscripts of the early and late versions and discovered certain differences between them. Four manuscripts (*Ayasofya*, *Ahmet III*, *Dār 109 mīm*, and *Esad Efendi*) are classified as the late version. Conversely, the remaining eight manuscripts (*Ṭalʿat*, *Azhar*, *Dār 185*, *Dār 5343*, *Būlāq, BN*, *Zakiyya*, and *Nuruosmaniye*) are classified as the early version. These manuscripts cover the period of Ibn Khaldūn's career until his dismissal as the supervisor of Baybars' *Khānqāh* in the year 790/1389, which corresponds to pages 1–278 in the edition. In the process of my research, I discovered the *BN*, *Zakiyya*, and *Nuruosmaniye* manuscripts, which are not listed in the edition.

As described above, the classification of these versions corresponds to their contents. For comparison, I selected two manuscripts (*Ṭalʿat* and *BN*) from the early version and three manuscripts (*Ayasofya*, *Esad Efendi*, and *Dār 109 mīm*) from the late version. Since *Ayasofya* is used in the comparison, it is necessary to provide a reason for emphasizing this particular manuscript. Ibn Tāwīt concludes that the *Ayasofya* is a holograph of *al-Taʿrīf*, based only on the notes from the title pages.¹⁷ However, I believe his conclusion is ill-founded, since these notes are not supported by other evidence. This raises the question of whether there is any other basis on which to judge the *Ayasofya* as a holograph.

The *Ayasofya* includes numerous marginal notes,¹⁸ which are useful for comparing the *al-Taʿrīf* manuscripts. The similarities in the handwriting lead us to conclude that a majority of these notes appear to be written by the same person who composed the main body of *Ayasofya*. According to Fischel, some marginal notes in the *Ayasofya* were written by Ibn Khaldūn himself.¹⁹

At this point, let us examine four manuscripts (*Ṭalʿat*, *BN*, *Esad Efendi*, and *Dār 109 mīm*) based on the marginal notes of the *Ayasofya*. The scope of the examination is as follows:

16 Since the TSMK was closed in summer 2013, I was not able to see *Ahmet III* and *Zāhiri* (considered as being part of the middle version) housed in the library. In Spring 2017, I was finally able to check both manuscripts but I am still unable to solve a problem related to an argument where these manuscripts are included.

17 See figs. 9.4 and 9.5. There are three notes in a different handwriting; these suggest that this manuscript was written by Ibn Khaldūn himself. Fig. 9.4: *Kitāb riḥlat li-Ibn Khaldūn bi-khaṭṭihi* and *miʿellif hattuladur*; fig. 9.5: *riḥlat Ibn Khaldūn bi-khaṭṭihi raḥimahu llāh taʿālā*.

18 See figs. 9.6, 9.7, 9.8, 9.16.

19 Cf. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane*, 7–12. See figs. 9.7 and 9.8: long marginal note in *Ayasofya*, fols. 11^b–12^a.

Ayasofya: fols. 1^b–22^a; 62^a–63^a;
Ṭal'at: fols. 160^b–174^a; 195^b–196^a;
BN: fols. 3^b–15^b; 34^b–36^a;
Esad Efendi: fols. 1^a–23^b; 68^b–69^a;
Dār 109 mīm: pp. 1–36; 107.

As a result of my comparison of the contents of these folios, a majority of the marginal notes in the *Ayasofya* are reflected in *Ṭal'at*, *BN*, and *Dār 109 mīm* manuscripts. *Dār 109 mīm* belongs to the late version and thus, it is similar to *Ayasofya*.²⁰ However, the marginal indications in the *Ayasofya* (which is classified as the late version) are reflected in the main body of *Ṭal'at* and *BN* (belonging to the early version);²¹ this indicates a strong possibility that *Ayasofya* is the copy from which both manuscripts were made. In other words, it is quite possible that the *Ayasofya* corresponds to *Ibn Khaldūn's Draft* from which *Ṭal'at* and *BN* (or their exemplars) were directly copied.

If the indications in the margins of the *Ayasofya* were written after the archetype of the early version was copied, then it would be almost impossible for these indications to be reflected in the main body of *Ṭal'at* and *BN* (or their exemplars). In addition, if these manuscripts or the copies from which they were made were copied from the *Ayasofya* toward the end of Ibn Khaldūn's life (or even after his death), then we cannot explain why both manuscripts do not include all the contents of *Ayasofya*.

As stated earlier, *Esad Efendi* belongs to the late version. However, it does not reflect many of the marginal emendations in the *Ayasofya*²² (among 86 emendations in *Ayasofya*, 26 are not reflected in *Esad Efendi*).²³ This leads us to inquire if there is a direct relationship between the *Esad Efendi* and *Ayasofya* manuscripts. In addition, in the bottom-left margin of *Ayasofya* (fol. 14^a),²⁴ there is evidence that the sentence “*wa-dhahaba bi-l-a'yan wa-l-ṣudūr wa-jamī'*

20 Compare figs. 9.6 and 9.9–9.12. In fig. 9.6, there are two indications of additions and deletions in the margins of the *Ayasofya* fol. 1^b. Then, see figs. 9.9–9.10. We can see that the sentence ‘*wa-fihim Wā'il hādhā*’ is added in the *Dār 109 m*, fol. 2^a and that the sentence ‘*intahā kalām Ibn Ḥazm ... wa-kānat lahum akhbār*’ is deleted in the *Dār 109 mīm* p. 2 according to a marginal indication in the *Ayasofya*. In fig. 9.14 (*Esad Efendi*, fol. 2^a), we can see the same difference.

21 See figs. 9.11 (*BN*) and 9.12–9.13 (*Ṭal'at*). We can see that the scribes of these manuscripts added the sentence ‘*wa fihim Wā'il hādhā*’ and deleted the sentence ‘*intahā kalām Ibn Ḥazm ... wa-kānat lahum akhbār*’, according to marginal indications in the *Ayasofya*.

22 Compare figs. 9.8 and 9.15. The *Esad Efendi* does not indicate the addition of a long marginal note in the *Ayasofya* fols. 11^b–12^a.

23 This result is based on a comparison of the two manuscripts (*Ayasofya*: fols. 1^b–22^a; 62^a–63^a; *Esad Efendi*: fols. 1^a–23^b; 68^b–69^a).

24 See fig. 9.16.

al-mashyakha” was added. *Esad Efendi* has this sentence, with the exception of the last word (*al-mashyakha*).²⁵ Based on these two facts, we can conclude that *Esad Efendi* was not copied directly from the *Ayasofya*. In the case of the latter, it is unlikely that the scribe would have failed to copy this explicit indication. Rather, there is at least an intermediate manuscript between the *Ayasofya* and *Esad Efendi*. When *Esad Efendi* was copied from this intermediate manuscript, the scribe may have mistakenly omitted the word *al-mashyakha*. However, since we have not yet discovered this intermediate manuscript, this argument requires further consideration.

According to the aforementioned findings, we can make two conclusions: (1) The *Ayasofya* must be identified as *Ibn Khaldūn’s Draft* (holograph), in which he added and deleted certain words and sentences; (2) Ibn Khaldūn made gift copies, i.e., the archetype of each version, from this draft.²⁶

4 A Problem of Handwriting Style

Although we have concluded that the *Ayasofya* is a holograph, as described above, one issue remains: his handwriting style. Ibn Khaldūn was born and educated in the Maghrib, so it is believed that his style of handwriting was originally *maghribī*. However, the *Ayasofya* is written in *naskh*.²⁷ I propose that Ibn Khaldūn could write in *naskh* because, according to his autobiography, he was able to copy a *qaṣīda*, written in *maghribī*, in a *naskh* style so that they (al-Zāhir Barqūq and his entourage) could read it easily.²⁸ Therefore, we may reasonably conclude that he could write in a *naskh* style²⁹ and, if we assume that this conclusion is correct, we can state that Ibn Khaldūn wrote in *naskh* during his time in Egypt. However, this assumption is not conclusive, since it is based on indirect evidence.³⁰ Thus, there is room for further investigation.³¹

25 See fig. 9.17.

26 See diagram 9.3 for more details.

27 It is a common style of handwriting in the eastern Islamic world, sometimes called *mashriqī*, see the introduction to this volume pp. 13–4, and this chapter, n. 28.

28 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta’rīf* 271: *adhina li fi naskh al-qaṣīda al-madhkūra bi-l-khaṭṭ al-mashriqī li-tashul qirā’atuhā ‘alayhim fa-fa’altu dhālika*.

29 In this case, Rosenthal notes that Ibn Khaldūn “presumably did not do the actual copying himself.” However, since Ibn Khaldūn’s sentence is written in the first person, I believe that he must have done this himself. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah* i, xcv–xcvi.

30 Ibid.; Cheikha, *Los manuscritos* 356, 358–9. They point out that Ibn Khaldūn signed an *ijāza* regarding the qualification to transmit his works for his pupil Ibn Ḥajar who inserted it in his *al-Tadhkirat al-jadīda*; and this signature is in *maghribī* script. Thus, it is possible that Ibn Khaldūn wrote in *maghribī* script routinely.

31 If we are allowed to consider a book that was written from Ibn Khaldūn’s dictation or tran-

5 Conclusion

In this study I focus on the issues of Ibn Tāwīt's understanding and use of the manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif* to present an alternative viewpoint that identifies the *Ayasofya* as a holograph. In addition, I demonstrate a more valid understanding of the lineage of the manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif*, based on a comparative investigation between them.

Ibn Tāwīt, the author of the revised edition of *al-Ta'rif*, concluded, based only on the notes of the title page, that the *Ayasofya* is a holograph of *al-Ta'rif*. In contrast, through the comparative study of the manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif* and by focusing on the marginal notes in the *Ayasofya*, I demonstrate that the *Ayasofya* is an archetype of all the other manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif* and that it is a holograph, because those indications were reflected in some form or other in all the subsequent manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif*. Moreover this study helps us to understand that Ibn Khaldūn kept the draft of *al-Ta'rif* (or *al-Ibar*) at hand, the text of which he frequently modified, and had fair gift copies made from it. I believe that the draft in question must be identified with the *Ayasofya*. Nevertheless, because I was not able to consider all of the manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif* (of course including *al-Ibar* and *al-Muqaddima*), future studies should focus on the manuscripts of the three works (*al-Muqaddima*, *al-Ibar*, and *al-Ta'rif*) to clarify the issue of Ibn Khaldūn's holographs in a broader perspective.

6 List of the Manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif* with Their Abbreviations

Ayasofya

Manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library, *Ayasofya* 3200, 83 fols. 25.9 cm × 18.5 cm, 25, 29 lines, *naskh*. It is separated from the manuscript of *al-Ibar* and divided into two parts because of the difference in handwriting and the number of lines per folio. The first part consists of fols. 1^b–40^b, 49^a–67^b, while the second part includes the remainder. Based on the handwriting, Ibn Tāwīt assumed that the scribe of the second part is 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. al-Fakhkhār, who was the scribe of one of the *Muqaddima* manuscripts (MS Yeni Cami 888 in the Süleymaniye Library). However, Ibn Tāwīt's view on the scribe of the first part seems to be uncertain; he states that the scribe was unknown but revises the edition of *al-Ta'rif* based on the *Ayasofya* as Ibn Khaldūn's holograph. Thus,

scribed by a certain scribe or pupil from his draft written in *maghribī* script (under his supervision) to be a holograph, then it seems reasonable to conclude that the *Ayasofya* is Ibn Khaldūn's holograph.

his statement regarding the manuscripts of *al-Ta'rif* in his introduction of the edition is extremely dubious.

Ahmet III

Manuscript in the TSMK, Ahmet III 3042/4, 51 fols., 32×51.5 cm, 35 lines, n.d., *naskh*. The information about this manuscript offered by Ibn Tāwīt (*al-Ta'rif yā'yā'*) is in all probability wrong; I based this on the folio size and the fact that there is no information about the manuscript with the classifying number "Ahmet 3042/4" in Karatay's catalogue. The correct information about the manuscript, including Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography, is (according to my direct examination of the manuscripts at the TSMK in Spring 2017) the following: Ahmet 3042/b-1-a, fols. 148^b-198^a, 31.5×22 cm, 35 lines (cf. Karatay, *Topkapı* 382, no. 5885).

Ahmet III is attached to the end of the manuscript of *al-Ibar*. Ibn Tāwīt assumed that the scribe is Ibn al-Fakhkhār, as mentioned above, and that *Ahmet III* is newer than the *Ayasofya*, since it includes the letter sent from al-Zāhir Barqūq to the Ḥafṣid Abū l-'Abbās. According to Ibn Tāwīt, he revised the edition of *al-Ta'rif* on the basis of these two manuscripts.

Dār 109 mīm

Manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ta'rikh 109 mīm, fols. 1^a-75^b, 23×17 cm, 31 lines, *ta'liq* (*fārsī*). It was transcribed at the beginning of the twelfth/end of the eighteenth century. Ibn Tāwīt assumed that it is the manuscript derived from the *Ayasofya*, since it shares the same title. Furthermore, it was not used to revise the edition of *al-Ta'rif* due to the scribe's inability to use Arabic.

Jād (not investigated yet)

Manuscript in a private library (it may be owned by Ibn Tāwīt himself), 128 fols., 25×17.5 cm, 19 lines, *naskh*, transcribed in 1307/1889-90. According to Ibn Tāwīt, it was transcribed from the *Ayasofya* by the scribe Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Jād. Based on the result of Ibn Tāwīt's comparison between *Jād* and *Ayasofya*, we will accept for the moment that the former is in fact derived from the latter. Its abbreviation is *jīm* in the edition.

Esad Efendi

Manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 2268, 93 fols., 32.7×15.5 cm, 25 lines, *naskh*. The date of transcription and the name of the scribe are unknown. Although Ibn Tāwīt did not state it clearly, he may have concluded that it is derived from the *Ayasofya*, based on the result of a comparison of the

contents of the two manuscripts. In addition, it was not used in the revision of the *al-Taʿrīf* edition.

Ribāṭ (not investigated yet)

Manuscript in the Library of Rabat, D1345. Its details are unknown, since Ibn Tāwīt did not describe the manuscript. He assumed that the *Ribāṭ* is derived from the *Ayasofya*, as it has the same title as the *Ayasofya*. In addition, it was not used to revise the *al-Taʿrīf* edition. According to Ibn Tāwīt, the above-mentioned manuscripts that derive from the *Ayasofya* belong to a late version of the manuscript of *al-Taʿrīf*.

According to Ibn Tāwīt, the following manuscripts belong to the middle version:

Zāhirī

Manuscript in the TSMK, Ahmet III 2924/13–14, vol. 14, fols. 313^b–374^a, 27 × 18.5 cm, 21 lines, *naskh*, transcribed in the tenth/sixteenth century. Ahmet III 2924 contains twelve volumes (vols. 3–14) in six books, but lacks volumes 1 and 2.³² *Al-Taʿrīf* is contained in the latter part of volume 14 and the set of these manuscripts includes the title, *Kitāb al-Zāhirī*. If we accept Karatay's perspective regarding the era in which this manuscript was transcribed, then it is not a holograph and does not correspond to the manuscripts offered to al-Zāhir Barqūq. However, Karatay did not give an exact year for its transcription, and there is room for debate about this manuscript.³³

Shanqīṭī (not investigated yet)

Manuscript in the Library at Chinguetti, Mauritania, Taʿrīkh 1 shīn, 20 fols., 31.4 × 21.4 cm, 42 lines, *maghribī*. This is the manuscript given as a gift to the ʿAlawid ruler, al-Malik Mawlā Ismāʿīl (r. 1072–1139/1661–1727). According to Ibn Tāwīt, it belongs to the same group as the *Zāhirī*.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (not investigated yet)

Manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya in Tunis, 127 fols., 22.2 × 16.7 cm, 26 lines, transcribed in 1304/1886–7. The owner was Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bāshā.

32 Karatay, *Topkapı* 381–4, nos. 5886, 5888–92.

33 It is presumed that the ms Damad Ibrahim 863 in the Süleymaniye Library is equivalent to volume 1, i.e. *al-Muqaddima*, of *Zāhirī*.

According to Ibn Tāwīt, the following manuscripts belong to the early version:

Azhar

Manuscript in the Azhar University Library (Cairo), Ta'riḫ Abāza 6729, fols. 203^b–247^a, 31 lines, *naskh*, transcribed in 1270/1853–4 by the scribe, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Ḥamd b. Turkī l-Shāfi'ī l-Azharī. The *Būlāq* edition is derived from this manuscript.

Ṭal'at

Manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (Cairo), Ṭal'at Ta'riḫ 2106, fols. 160^b–196^a, 31 lines, *maghribī*, transcribed in 1181/1767–8. Originally, it was housed in the library of Aḥmad Bey Ṭal'at. Ibn Tāwīt stated that there is no difference between this and the *Azhar* (except the scribe). Therefore, it belongs to the same group as the *Azhar* manuscript.

Dār 5343

Manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (Cairo), Ta'riḫ 5343, fols. 215^b–262^a, 32.7 × 23 cm, 27 lines, *naskh*, transcribed in 1254/1838–9.

Dār 185

Manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (Cairo), Ta'riḫ 185, fols. 160^b–196^a, 33.2 × 22.8 cm, 29 lines, *maghribī*, transcribed in the thirteenth/nineteenth century. This manuscript, and *Dār 5343* are considered to correspond to the early version, based on a comparison with the *Azhar* and *Ṭal'at*.

The following three manuscripts are not mentioned in the *al-Ta'rif* edition:

BN

Manuscript in the BnF (Paris), Arabe 1528, fols. 3^b–36^a, 32 × 21 cm, 33 lines, *maghribī*, possibly transcribed in 1192/1778–9. It is contained in volume III of the *al-Ibar* manuscript. Judging from its contents, it may be appropriate to classify it with the early version. However, it must be compared with the manuscripts that belong to the middle version.

Zakiyya

Manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (Cairo), Zakiyya 64, fols. 189^a–231^a, 30 × 21.5 cm, 31 lines, *maghribī*. It is contained in volume VII of the manuscript of *al-Ibar*. It can also be classified with the early version, for the same reason as the *BN*.

Nuruosmaniye

Manuscript in the Nuruosmaniye Library, 3067, fols. 177^a–204^b, 43 lines, *naskh*, transcribed in 1141/1728–9, by the scribe Shāhīn b. al-Dafrāwī. It can also be classified with the early version, for the same reason as the *BN*.

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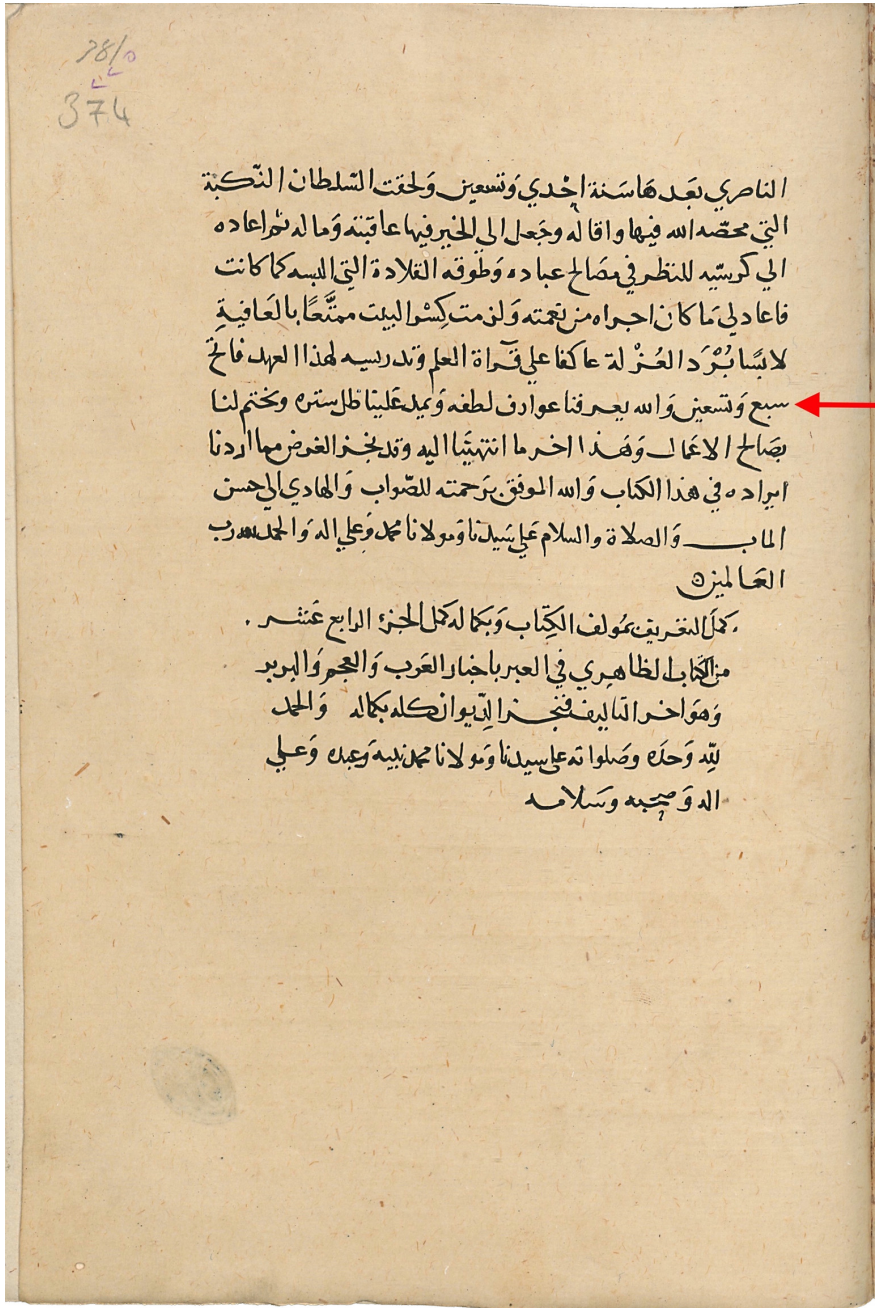


FIGURE 9.1 MS Ahmet III 2924/13-14, fol. 374^a
ISTANBUL, TSMK

طبع في
مطبع
بيروت
١٩٢٧

وحعل الخبر فيها عاقبه وماله ثم اعاده الى كرسه للسطر في مصالح عماده
 فطوقه العلاءه التي النسبه كما كانت واعاد لي ما كان احراه من نعمه ولرمت
 كسر البت ممعانا العاقبه لاسا يرد العزله كما كفا على فراه العلم ويد رسه
 لهذا العهد فالح سبع وتسعين / **ولاية الدروس والخواتق**
 اهل هذه الدوله التركه مصر والشام معنيون على القدامه منكم عهدوا بهم بلوك حتى
 اوب ما نشاء القدامه من العلم والخواتق وامه رسوم الفقراء في الخلق باداب الصوفيه
 السننيه في مطارحه القدامه من الخواتق احد واحدا في علمهم من الدول الخلامه
 فخطون بها ما يفتون في الاراضي الختمه للانفاق منها على طرقتهم وتندري الفقراء وان
 استفصل الربع شتاعن ذلك جعلوه في اجماهم حونا على الاربعه من العيله واقتدا
 بسنتهم في ذلك من محب ادهم من اهل الراسه والنزوع فكثرت لذلك الدارس والخواتق بكنه
 العاهره واصبح محاشا للفقراء من الفقهاء والصوفيه وكان ذلك محاسن هذه الدوله التركه
 وانازها المحمله الخالد وكث لاول تدوي على العاهره وحصولي في كنهه السلطان شغرت
 مدرسه مصر ثم ايشاء صلاح الدين ابوب وقفا على المالكه سلا رسون بها العفده وقفا
 علمها اراضي من الهوم تغل اللحم فسنت لذلك العفده كما وقفا اخرى على الشافعيه هنا لك
 وبنو في مدرسه احمد فولاني السلطان بدرسها واعقبه بولاه صاه المالكه سنه ست
 وما يبرك ذكرت ذلك من قبل وحضر في يوم جلوسه للدرس فيها جماعة من اكار الامراء
 بينهم اذكرى وعنايه من السلطان ومهم مجاني وخطت يوم جلوسه في ذلك الحفل
 لخطبه الممت فيها ذكر القوم بما ناسبهم وبنو في حقه ووضعت المقام وكان نصها
 الحمد لله الذي بدانا العفده قبل سوالها ووفور هدها للشكر على من انصرت وجعل جزاء المحسنين
 في محبته ففاضوا بعظم نوالها وعلم الانسان الاسما والبيان ما لم يعلم من امثالها ومنه بالعقل
 الذي فصله على اصناف الموجودات واجيالها وهداه ليعول امامه الكلف وحمل البقالها
 وحلوا الحزن والانس للعباده فقار منهم بالسعاده مجرد في امثالها وسر كالمخلوق له مرهديه
 نفسه او اضلالها وربع ركن من خلقها وخلقها وارزاقها واجلالها واصلها على سدنا
 ومولانا محمل نكه الاكوان وجمالها والحجه الداعيه لله على كمالها الذي رقاها في اطوار
 الاطفال واد من الطير والمآج خاير اسما بها وارسالها وسمع الملائك بعينه البيضا

FIGURE 9.2 MS Ayasofya 3200, fol. 63^a
 ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

36

على هذه القصيدة العليج المدعو ميمنة وطلمية العتبة المدعو ميمنة وكفى التردد في التخص الفضية التي انجزت
 الغد وتوجيه السلطان في العباد سرتهم الله حكمة يخرج من رضوان محصنة ثمانية وكان ما كان حسبا تلغيتهم
 من الرعيان هذه اماروسح الوقت من الكلال في عاروضهم **هذه الحظائر** وان
 كانت غاربية عن عرض هذا التبعيد بالموالعين فيما تحفيضا لهذه الوا افعالهم من كورة في اماكنها
 من الكتاب في ما يحتاج الناكث اليه فيعمل من هذا الموضع وبعد فضاء اليه يرضه ريجت اليه القافية
 مجموعها جسر الله والعبادة ولغيت السلطان بتلغ في ابي الله تعالى بعمود ميمته وعملته به ولغيت
 السلطان المتكلمة التي محصنة الله فيها واقدم وجه اليه الذي عافيتهم بهما وماله في اعلاءه التي سميه
 ليمنح في مصانع عباده وكفو في الغلادة التي التمسها كما كانت ولا عاردا ما كان اجراء من محتمه لارمت
 كسر اليق فتعلم العداية ما جسد التي لله عارضا عن امة العلم وتدرسيه هذه الحمد في
 سبع وتسعين والله يبع جنا عوارب الطير وفيه علينا كل ستمه ويحق لنا بضاع
 الحامل وهذه اخر ما انتهى اليه وقد في القرض ما اردنا ايراد في هذا
 الكتاب والله القوي للمصواب واليه المرجع والنتيجة
 والتصلاة والسلام على سيرة ما وسوان محمد
 وعليه السلام وكبيره وسلم تسليما آمين
 ايد اجد التي مع النبي محمد
 لشرب العلي

FIGURE 9.3 MS Ar. 1528, fol. 36^a
PARIS, BNF

رسالة ابو خلدون
 عنما اقتضا
 كتاب رحله لابن خلدون بخطه
 مؤلف خطه

FIGURE 9.4 MS Ayasofya 3200, fol. 1^a
ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESI

رسالة ابو خلدون
 بخطه رحمه الله

FIGURE 9.5
MS Ayasofya 3200, fol. 1^a
ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESI

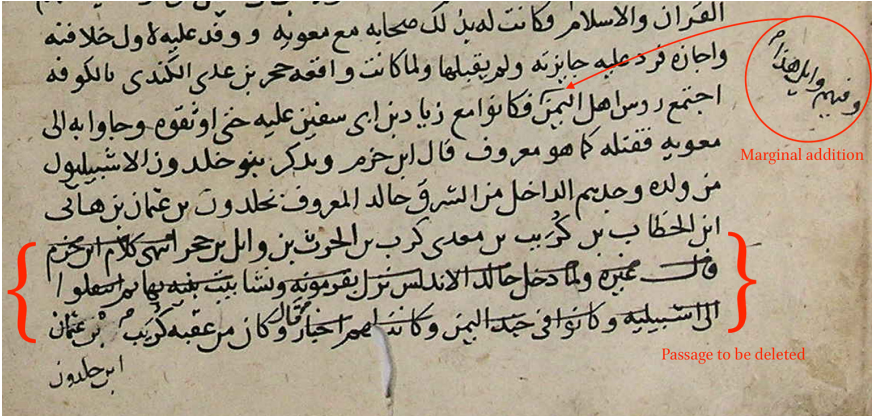


FIGURE 9.6 MS Ayasofya 3200, fol. 1^b
 ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESI

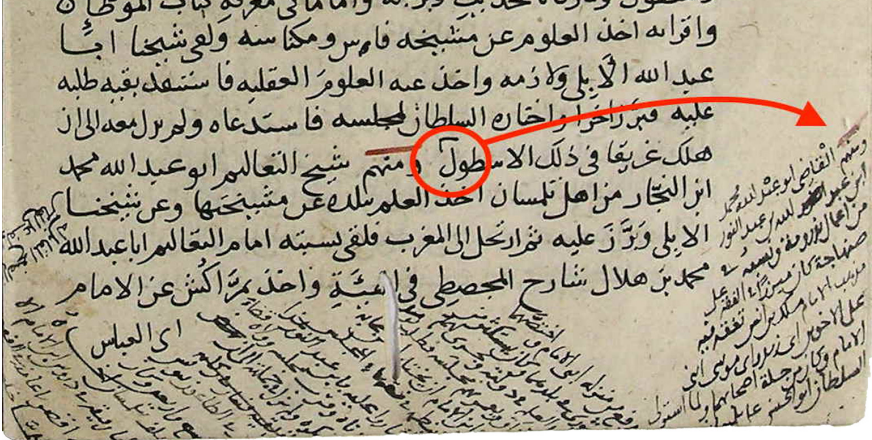


FIGURE 9.7 MS Ayasofya 3200, fol. 11^b
 ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESI

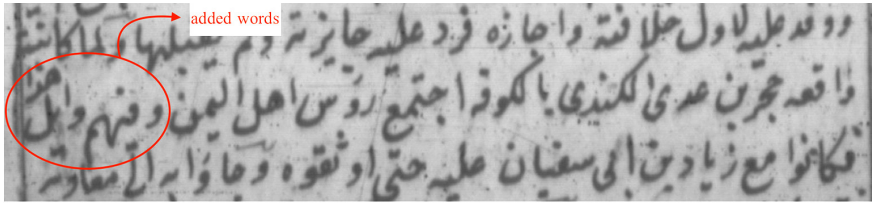


FIGURE 9.9 MS Ta'riḫ 109 mīm, fol. 1^b
CAIRO, DĀR AL-KUTUB AL-MIṢRIYYA

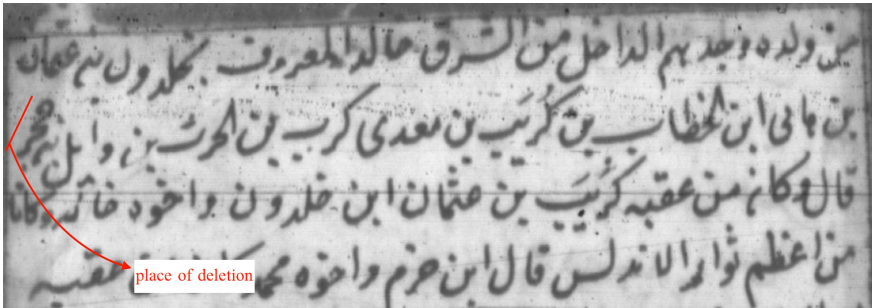


FIGURE 9.10 MS Ta'riḫ 109 mīm, fol. 2^a
CAIRO, DĀR AL-KUTUB AL-MIṢRIYYA

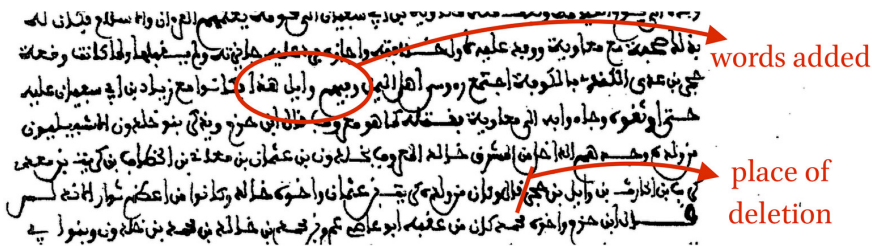


FIGURE 9.11 MS Ar. 1528, fol. 3^b
PARIS, BNF

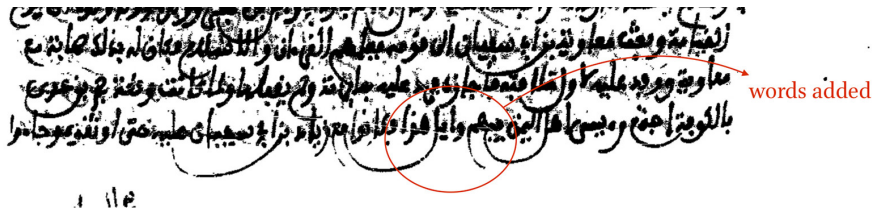


FIGURE 9.12 MS Ṭal'at Ta'riḫ 2106, fol. 160^b
CAIRO, DĀR AL-KUTUB AL-MIṢRIYYA

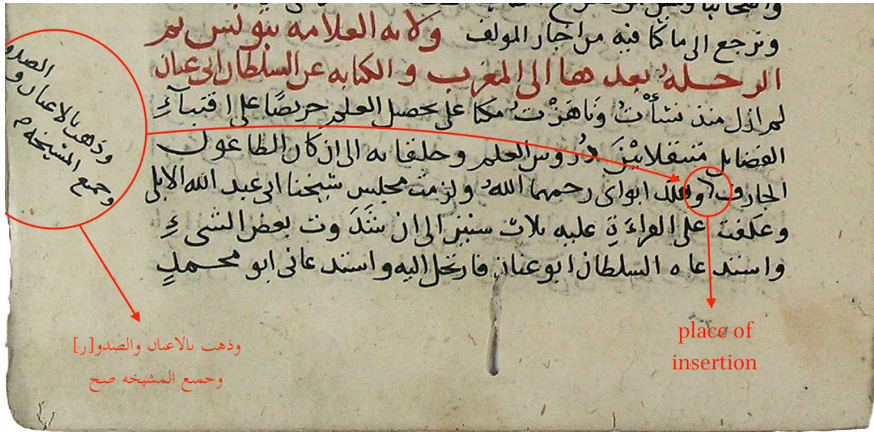


FIGURE 9.16 MS Ayasofya 3200, fol. 14^a
 ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

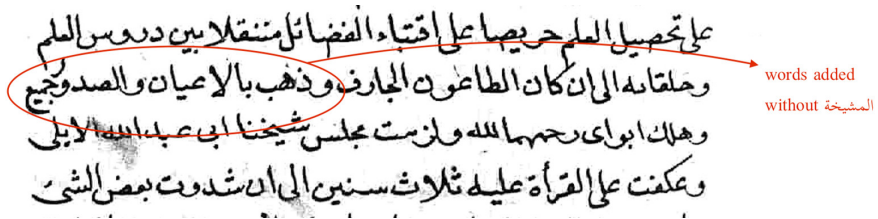


FIGURE 9.17 MS Esad Efendi 2268, fol. 15^b
 ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ

Les *safīnas* yéménites

Julien Dufour et Anne Regourd

1 Introduction

Comparé au format rectangulaire, le format oblong, ou “*safīna*”, est, à l’instar du format carré, particulier dans la production de manuscrits en arabe. Il est resenti comme localisé dans l’espace et le temps, voire abandonné, mais aussi lié à un type de livre et de support de l’écriture : l’exemple le plus emblématique de format oblong est en effet celui des premiers corans abbassides, sur parchemin¹. Cependant, le format oblong a survécu au Maghreb et en Espagne, tout au moins jusqu’au xv^e s., aux côtés de formats carrés et rectangulaires, pérennes, pour des manuscrits qui ne sont pas seulement des corans².

L’autre tradition de “*safīnas*” (*safīna*, pl. *safāyin*) désigne habituellement des anthologies poétiques persanes, empruntées à l’œuvre d’un seul ou plusieurs poètes. D’un format à l’italienne, elles s’ouvrent de la même manière qu’un calepin³ (fig. 10.1) : lorsque le manuscrit est en position ouverte, le texte débute en haut du feuillet supérieur et se poursuit en haut du feuillet inférieur, si bien que le texte de deux feuillets à la fois peut être lu, ou du moins vu, en continu, de la même façon que le serait un projet panoptique d’enluminure sur deux feuillets. La ligne d’écriture peut être parallèle, perpendiculaire ou oblique par rapport au petit côté relié (dos de la reliure) et à la direction des décors marginaux⁴. En réalité, ce format oblong a abrité plus que des anthologies poétiques

1 Björkman, *Ḳaṭʿ* 742 : “Apart from these distinctions, it is worth noting that literary papyri have an almost square format whereas an oblong format, later on called *safīna*, was reserved for the *Ḳurʿān*”.

2 Ainsi que l’a illustré une exposition récente du Louvre. Voir, Lintz et al., *Le Maroc médiéval*, formats oblongs : Coran, vers 1230, probablement à Marrakech (Istanbul, TSMK, inv. R. 21, fig. 3, p. 539) ; recueil de prières en hébreu copié à Fez en 1401 (Paris, BnF, ms. hébreu 657, fig. 1, p. 311) ; nombreux exemples de formats carrés. Sur la persistance de ce format oblong dans la partie occidentale du monde islamique et du format carré au Maghreb jusqu’au xix^e s., voir Gacek, *Vademecum* 34 (“Book formats”), qui cite Bosch et al., *Islamic bindings* 25.

3 Witkam, *Nuskha* 150, “noteblocks” ; Gacek, *Glossary* 69, “s.f.n., safinah, (...) 2. note-pad” ; id., *Vademecum* 34.

4 On a pu dire que leur “utilisation rappelle celle du rouleau”, Déroche et al., *Manuel* 60 ; Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology* 53 ; Déroche et Sagaria Rossi, *I manoscritti* 67. On note des exemples de textes obliques ou horizontaux, à côté de textes horizontaux, par rapport au dos

dans les mondes persan, arabe et turc-ottoman, mais un lien s'est peu à peu constitué entre un type de texte et un format, au point que, par métonymie, des recueils poétiques ont été nommés "*safīnas*". Des travaux récents se penchent sur ce lien étroit pour le monde turc-ottoman⁵. Quant au format, il a été souligné que, parmi les différents types de recueils à disposition en persan, les *safīnas* étaient les seules à renvoyer à un format⁶.

Au Yémen, la tradition des "*safīnas*-calepin" a perduré jusqu'au xx^e s. et la désignation de recueils poétiques par le nom de *safīna* jusqu'à récemment⁷. Différents manuscrits examinés ici sont décrits par leur texte-même comme "*safīna*" et abritent une collection (*majmū'*) d'œuvres poétiques et de poètes différents⁸. Cette tradition n'a cependant pas été étudiée: au cours de cette étude, nous tâcherons de montrer que, bloc-note personnel, elle vient enrichir le giron des cas de manuscrits holographes.

2 Retour historique et définitions des recueils de type "*safīnas*-calepin"

La tradition des *safīnas* est attestée au Moyen-Orient par les sources scripturaires dès le x^e s⁹. Une *safīna* orientale du xvi^e s. abritant une grammaire de Zamakhsharī, acquise par Leonardo Abel, qui a séjourné en Syrie de 1583 à 1586 et a continué à acquérir des manuscrits après son retour à Rome, est conservée à la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana de Florence¹⁰.

Dans le monde persan, de nombreux exemples ont été relevés pour le xv^e s., sans écarter le fait qu'il en existe toutefois de nettement antérieurs¹¹. Pour

dans des anthologies poétiques dès le xv^e s., voir par ex. le ms. BnF, ms. Suppl. persan 1798, Iran central vers 1450?, reproduit dans: Richard, *Splendeurs* 83 (n° 49); un intéressant exemple de la fin du xvii^e-xviii^e s. a récemment été mis en vente, cf. Zisska & Lacher 4 (notice 14, pl. 2, fig. 14).

5 Gülgün Yazıcı, chercheuse invitée par la BnF, programme "Profession culture", a travaillé sur des *cönk*, entre autre des albums de poésies (*mecmulatü'l-eşâr*) conservés dans les collections des manuscrits turcs en juillet et août 2013, m'a indiqué les *cönks* comme recueils spécifiques de poésies populaires en dialectal. Par ailleurs, nos sincères remerciements vont à Sara Yontan pour sa relecture attentive des passages concernant les "*sefines*" ou "*cönks*".

6 Roxburgh, *Persian Album* 149 (chap. 4, "Reinventions of the Book", entre autres).

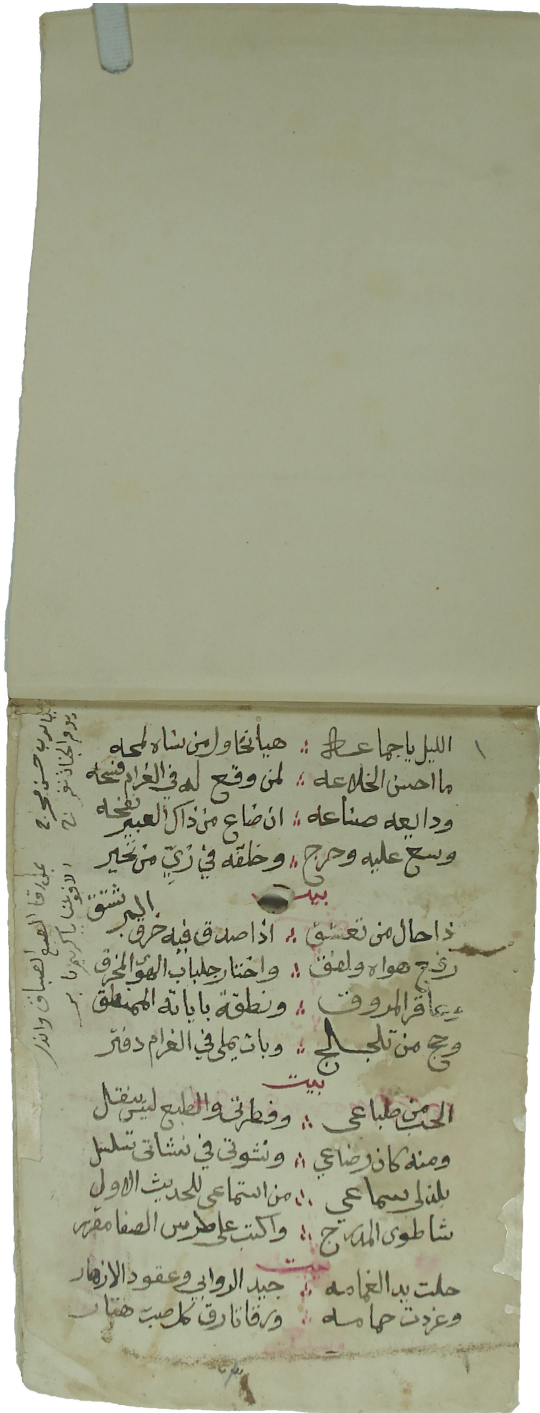
7 Cf. le recueil poétique al-'Amrī, *Safīna*.

8 BnF, ms. ar. 7084, fol. 17, les *safīnas* 5 et 6.

9 *Safīna*, dans le sens de collection de poésies notées et possédées par des individus, apparaît dans al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmat* 37-38, 54-55, 87. Cité par Wagner, *Like Joseph* 127.

10 Ms. Orientale 394, cf. Fani & Farina, *Le vie* 164 (n° 34, notice de S. Fani).

11 Richard, *Splendeurs* 55.



هذا هو الكتاب الذي
 كتبه في سنة ١٠٠٠
 في مدينة صنعاء
 في شهر ربيع الثاني
 سنة ١٠٠٠
 في سنة ١٠٠٠

الليل باجماعه : هيأنا اول من ساء له
 ما احسن الخلاءه : لمن وقع له في الغرام فغناه
 وداعيه صناعه : ان ضاع من ذلك العبير
 وسع عليه وخرج : وخلق في ربي من خير
بيت
 اذا حال من تعسق : اذا صدق فيه حرف
 رفح صواه ولفق : واختار جلباب الهو الخوف
 عميق الهروف : ونطقه باياته المصطلق
 ورج من تلجلج : وبان يمل في الغرام دفتر
بيت
 الح من طباعي : وفطره والطبع ليقتل
 ومنه كان رضي : ونشوق في نشاق تسلسل
 بلذ سماعي : من استماعي للحديث الاول
 شاطون المذبح : واكتب على من الصفاه مفر
بيت
 حلت يد الغامه : جيد الراء وعقود الازهار
 وعزت حمامه : وقفا نارق كل صبت هتار

FIGURE 10.1
 Ouverture en calepin. *Safīna*
 2 (MS Adab 2336), *Dīwān d'al-*
Ahdal, fol. 1-p. 23
 SANAA, DĀR AL-MAKḤṬŪṬĀT

preuve, cette copie de l'édition par al-Ṭūsī des *Éléments* d'Euclide, le *Tahrīr Uṣūl Uqlīdis*, dont l'achèvement est situé vers 678-679/1280¹². Mais le xv^e s. est le moment où la production d'anthologies de cour voit s'élaborer une organisation de la page, l'usage de nouvelles techniques et le renfort d'enluminures, d'éléments textuels, telle la rubrication, et de tables des matières, afin de conjurer le "chaos" anthologique, produire un effet d'unité et finalement aider le lecteur à se diriger ou se repérer dans des manuscrits non foliotés ; parmi cette efflorescence d'anthologies de diverses sortes figurent des "*safīnas*"¹³. Généralement décrites comme des anthologies de l'œuvre d'un ou plusieurs poètes, par différence avec les *dīvāns* et *kullīyyāts* consacrés à un seul poète, ou avec les *majmū'as* et *jungs*, accueillant également de la prose¹⁴, leur production et leur usage sont alors largement répandus¹⁵. Leur contenu est organisé, elles sont écrites sur du beau papier et sont illustrées¹⁶. Le mot de "*safīna*" viendrait du persan¹⁷. Le monde persan nous a légué de précieuses miniatures représentant des personnages portant des *safīnas* en biais, prises dans la ceinture¹⁸. Leur nom de "bateau" découlerait de leur format mince – largeur et

12 Voir Sotheby's n° 22.

13 Nous suivons Roxburgh, *Persian Album* 149. Voir l'analyse d'un groupe de *safīna*, 155 sq., et les exemples, *infra*, n. 649.

14 Voir la définition donnée par Roxburgh, *Aesthetics* 119-42 (surtout 137, note 1), et, surtout, *id.*, *Persian Album* 152.

15 Pour le xv^e s., on citera à titre d'exemple, par ordre chronologique, les manuscrits suivants : BnF, ms. suppl. persan 1425, ca. 1480, Hérat, Afghanistan ; Bibliotheca Bodmeriana (Cologne, Genève), ms. 522, 888/1483, Nā'im al-dīn Kātib, calligraphe de Shiraz ; BnF, ms. suppl. persan 1798, Iran central ?, ca. 1450 ; Chester Beatty, Dublin, ms. pers. 127, 1449, Hérat ou Shiraz ; Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, ms. Cl.III.10, 1440 ?, Piémontese, *Catalogo* n° 147, tous décrits comme anthologies poétiques. Richard, *Splendeurs* 83, 100 ; Blochet, *Catalogue* 147, 332 ; Chester Beatty, Dublin, ms. pers. 122, probablement 1431, Hérat, et ms. pers. 127, déjà cité, fol. reproduits dans : Roxburgh, *Persian Album* 156 (fig. 80 et 81-83).

16 Le "papier coulé" est fréquent. Ce papier, qui annonce le papier marbré, s'apparente au papier "coulé romantique" occidental : il s'agit de projeter la couleur directement sur le papier et de procéder à un séchage incliné de la feuille ; c'est ainsi que la couleur coule. Voir en particulier Teece, *Vessels of Verse* chap. 8 et 9, où le papier de *safīnas* persanes du xv^e-début du xvi^e s. est traité comme un des aspects visuels de ces manuscrits. La réflexion prend ensuite un tour plus théorique en articulant la "débauche" de techniques décoratives et l'élaboration dans la conception d'ensemble des feuillets en regard, qui distinguent ces œuvres, fondamentalement visuelles, d'autres manuscrits persans, avec le caractère non narratif des textes qu'elles contiennent.

17 Déroche et al., *Manuel* 60 : "On note aussi l'existence, dans le monde iranien en particulier, de volumes oblongs, à l'italienne (en persan *safīna*), ..." ; Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology* 53 ; et Déroche et Sagaria Rossi, *I Manoscritti* 67. *Safīna* en persan, de même qu'en arabe, signifie "bateau".

18 Nombreux exemples, parmi eux, le ms. suppl. persan 1113 (BnF), un petit personnage d'une des illustrations de "la madraseh de Ghazan à Tabriz" et une illustration du ms. suppl. per-

épaisseur – et, par voie de conséquence, de leur transportabilité, qui est finalement partie intégrante de leur définition¹⁹. En fait, c'est de leur contenu qu'il s'agirait, une "science" transportable, un *vade-mecum* pour une pensée circumambulatorie, un *compendium* de textes à méditer, instructifs, édifiants et distrayants, reflétant le goût de leur propriétaire²⁰. Les pratiques autour des *safīnas* ne s'arrêtent cependant pas là mais montrent que le plaisir peut être partagé, tout au moins avec l'aimée, et le texte qu'elles contiennent, lu à haute voix²¹.

La BnF conserve deux *safīnas* dont le texte est en langues persane et arabe, toutes deux datées du XVII^e s. (ar. 3423 et ar. 3430). Il s'agit d'anthologies poétiques en vers et en prose. Le papier de la seconde, un papier oriental, a quelques feuillets colorés en vert et rosé. Un papier coloré rosé, avec quelques particules brillantes rappelant l'or, est collé sur les ais de la première.

La production de *safīnas* en arabe se poursuit du XVII^e au XIX^e s., indépendamment du Yémen. Les genres poétiques abordés sont divers, y compris au sein du même recueil: on trouve des *qaṣīdas*, des *muwashshaḥāt*, des pièces courtes comme des *takhmīss* et des *mawāls*, ainsi que de la prose (anecdotes).

Les dimensions pour l'ensemble des aires et périodes décrites varient, aucun modèle ne semble s'imposer sur quelque 18 manuscrits observés²². Elles vont de 160 à 340 mm pour le grand côté et de 80 à 160 mm pour le petit côté, avec

san 1425 (BnF). Sur le lien lexicographique entre le terme "*safīna*", le sens de "bateau" (un générique ou un type de bateau) et son transport à la ceinture, cf. Roxburgh, *Persian Album* 152, 339 (note 7).

- 19 Roxburgh, Jong 11-14: "The jong, or *majmu'a*, contained an array of texts that were often densely copied over many folios to produce thick, comprehensive volumes. The *safīna*, by contrast, was not only smaller in size but also had fewer folios: these features enhanced its portability; it could be tucked under the belt".
- 20 Cf. Roxburgh *Persian Album* 152; plus loin, 158-159, analyse de deux recueils de cour réalisés par Shaykh Maḥmūd en 1460 pour Pīr Būdāq, gouverneur à Shiraz, dans une intention délicate, car il reflète les goûts de son destinataire. Un équivalent actuel pourrait être le lecteur de musique portable.
- 21 Voir par ex. Réunion des musées nationaux, *Louvre* n° d'inventaire OA7109: 'le lecteur', Boukhara vers 1600-1630, "Partie centrale par Muhammad Charif Musavvir. Marges par Muhammad Murād Samarqandi. Le lecteur tient une *safīna*, un manuscrit au format 'langue de bœuf', réservé à la poésie. À l'origine, le prince n'était pas seul: lui faisait face, sur la page opposée, une jeune femme l'écoutant et lui tendant sa coupe d'or".
- 22 BnF, suppl. persan 1425; suppl. persan 1798; ar. 3423; ar. 3430; ar. 3424; ar. 3426; ar. 3428; ar. 3429; ar. 3454; ar. 3458; ar. 3459; ar. 3461; ar. 3585; ar. 7084; suppl. turc 1620. Les mss. de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, ms. Cl.III.106, Piemontese, *Catalogo* n° 157 et Cl.III.10, Piemontese, *Catalogo* n° 147; Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Florence), ms. orientale 394.

une récurrence de 210-220 mm pour le grand côté de manuscrits des XVII^e et XVIII^e s. Mais il ne s'agit là que d'un premier travail d'observation, forcément limité.

Dans le monde turc-ottoman, ces recueils poétiques sont appelés "*sefine*" ou "*cönk*". En référence à leur format et à leur largeur exiguë, on dit aussi métaphoriquement "langue de bœuf". Le ms. suppl. turc 1620 de la BnF, daté de 1252/1836-1837, est un exemple de *cönk*, contenant de la littérature populaire turque. Il s'agit d'un don de Pertev Naili Boratav, spécialiste de littérature populaire turque. Sur le calepin, une note indique qu'il faisait partie de la collection de *cönks* de Raif Yelkenci, un bouquiniste de renom ("Raif Yelkenci Cöngü 6"). D'après Gülgün Yazıcı, il s'agit d'un recueil de poésies, de genres très variés (*gazel, koşma, ilahi, düstur, semai*, etc.), et, comme c'est le cas de beaucoup de *cönk* de ce format, on y trouve aussi des notes, par exemple la comptabilité du matériel d'un chantier naval et des recettes de remèdes. Le petit côté mesure 85 mm pour 190 mm de hauteur²³. La moyenne des dimensions de neuf manuscrits de format *safına* de la Bibliothèque universitaire de Leiden (Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, UBL) est de 110 × 210 mm, cinq étant ottomans²⁴. Les formats calepin antérieurs au XVII^e s. ayant été répertoriés ne semblent pas nombreux: ce pourrait être le cas du ms. UBL Or. 1088, ce que confirment les matériaux de la reliure (papier marbré et cuir, cf. n. 24). L'absence d'ais et donc la souplesse de ces manuscrits a été soulignée dans la foulée de remarques, applicables à la tradition persane, sur leur transportabilité et sur le caractère personnel de ces objets. L'usage de carnet des *safinas* est renforcé par le fait que certains volumes aient été achetés "tout prêts", de la même manière qu'un article de papeterie²⁵.

23 Ce sont des dimensions que l'on trouve dans d'autres zones culturelles: le manuscrit suppl. persan 1798 (BnF), Iran central, ca. 1450, 190 × 82 mm. Mais il est possible que ce modèle très étroit ait eu la faveur des Ottomans et des Turcs. On trouvera une contribution récente à la question *sefina* et *mecmū'a* dans: Aynur et al. (éd.), *Mecmū'a*.

24 Scheper, *Technique* 260. Il s'agit des mss: Or. 1088, fin XV^e/milieu XVII^e s., volume collectif de poètes turcs en turc, mais traces de persan et d'arabe (voir Schmidt, *Turcksche Boucken*), peut-être de la collection Warner; Or. 1090, note de propriété datée de 1591 et date la plus tardive collectée 1638-1639, abritant des modèles de lettres ou de parties de lettres en arabe, persan et turc, évoquant les recueils (*majmū'*) d'*inshā'*; Or. 1096, daté de 1658, contenant six poèmes mystiques en turc et un peu d'arabe; Or. 1097, non daté, anthologie de poésie, provenant de Turquie, en arabe; Or. 3071, non daté, carnet ("*notebook*"), principalement glossaire et notes géographiques, essentiellement en persan et latin, mais aussi un peu d'arabe et de turc, peut-être annotations de la main de Warner, selon Jan Schmidt. Nous remercions K. Scheper d'avoir eu l'obligeance de nous donner le détail de ces neuf manuscrits.

25 Pour l'ensemble, Scheper, *Technique* 313, 316 (note 39, ill. 173).

Deux autres *safīnas*, parmi les neuf exemplaires de la UBL juste mentionnés, revêtent un grand intérêt : les mss. Or. 14.637, daté de 1898, Macédoine, un carnet (“*notebook*”) en turc, et Or. 14.638, non daté, provenant de Thrace occidentale, regroupant des poèmes et chansons en turc. L’un comme l’autre probablement propriété d’un derviche bektashi²⁶, ils montrent la circulation du modèle dans la zone d’influence ottomane.

Les *safīnas* en persan ou en arabe ont accueilli d’autres sujets que de la poésie, bien qu’exceptionnellement à notre connaissance. Outre la copie du *Taḥrīr Uṣūl Uqlīdis* d’al-Ṭūsī, la grammaire d’al-Zamakhsharī et le recueil (*majmūʿ*) d’*inshāʾ* déjà évoqués, on citera un *tafsīr* en persan daté des deux dernières décennies du XVI^e-début XVII^e s. à la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Cl.III.106²⁷ ainsi qu’un recueil de fables, apologues, récits divers et anecdotes de 1165/1752, intitulé, dans l’*explicit*, “*safīna*” : le ms ar. 3585 (BnF).

La bibliographie sur le sujet des *safīnas* du Yémen est courte, si l’on veut parler d’une réflexion qui inclurait le format. Jaʿfar ʿAbduh Dafari (al-Zafārī) nous livre l’observation suivante, qui, selon Mark S. Wagner, ferait allusion au format : “A *safīnah* is generally a random collection of poetry owned by individuals who copy different poems either from books or *dāwāns* or as they hear them from singers and composers. They tend to have errors, no organization and a tendency to attribute poems to prominent *washshāḥīn*”²⁸.

Les recueils yéménites étudiés ici abritent de la poésie classique (*qaṣīdas*), appelée à Sanaa “*ḥakamī*”, surtout par distinction avec le “*ḥumaynī*”, un genre pratiqué – et probablement né – au Yémen, attesté depuis le XIII^e s.²⁹. M.S. Wagner indique, évoquant le célèbre salon de ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khafanjī (m. vers 1766/1767), appelé “al-Safīna”, à Sanaa, au XVIII^e s. : “At the same time, the word al-Safīnah also meant a scrapbook of poetry, primarily containing *ḥumaynī* verse”, pointant peut-être une évolution dans leur contenu³⁰. Le Yémen rassemble sous le terme de “*ḥumaynī*” la poésie qui s’écarte de la norme de la *qaṣīda* classique (classée, on l’a dit, dans la catégorie du “*ḥakamī*”), soit par sa forme (majoritairement strophique ou, lorsqu’elle n’est pas strophique, possédant deux rimes par vers), soit par sa langue, le plus souvent dépourvue des désinences flexionnelles dites *iʿrāb* de l’arabe classique et par conséquent qua-

26 Cf. Schmidt, *Catalogue* Or. 14.637, 484-9; Or. 14.638, 489-90.

27 Piemontese, *Catalogo* n° 157.

28 Dafari (al-Zafārī), *Ḥumaynī Poetry* 25 (cité par Wagner, *Like Joseph* 127, n. 67). Nos remerciements chaleureux vont à Mark S. Wagner qui a bien voulu partager ses notes sur la thèse de J.A. Dafari.

29 Dufour, *Huit siècles* 30 et sqq., 40, 41-42.

30 Wagner, *Like Joseph* 39.

lifiée de *malḥūn*, terme qui s'oppose à *mu'rab*. La langue "*malḥūn*" n'est pas forcément dialectale, mais il arrive qu'elle incorpore un nombre plus ou moins important de dialectalismes et qu'elle puisse alors être qualifiée de moyen arabe poétique. Le terme de "*ḥumaynī*" renvoie avant tout à des caractéristiques formelles (structure du poème en termes de strophes et de rimes, caractéristiques grammaticales et lexicales de la langue), sans préjuger d'un contenu pour ses poèmes: on verra figurer tour à tour, dans les *safīnas* examinées ci-dessous, des accents mystiques, du *ghazal*, du *madḥ*, etc.

Le terme de "*ḥumaynī*" semble propre au Yémen. Le sens large défini ci-dessus est celui que le mot a aujourd'hui, mais il est probable qu'à une époque ancienne, il ait eu un sens plus restreint, désignant une forme poétique particulière, sans doute le *mubayyat*. Le *ḥumaynī* yéménite s'est donné un visage qui lui est propre, mais l'usage de composer de la poésie strophique en langue "*malḥūn*" n'a rien de particulièrement yéménite et est abondamment attesté dans l'ensemble du monde arabophone à partir du XII^e siècle, en particulier – mais pas exclusivement – dans les milieux mystiques. Les formes d'origine andalouse du *muwashshah* et du *zajal* sont sans doute celles qui ont connu la plus grande faveur dans la composition de la poésie dite "*malḥūn*".

Notons enfin qu'au Yémen le terme de "*ḥumaynī*" désigne une poésie qui s'inspire à des degrés divers d'une culture savante – y compris pour s'en démarquer. Il ne comprend pas normalement la poésie de tradition orale, tribale ou rurale³¹.

C'est une poésie chantée et même dansée³². Son lien à l'oralité est attesté d'une autre manière: les élèves de Ḥātim b. Aḥmad al-Ahdal (m. 1013/1604), originaire de Moka en Tihāma, notaient dans leurs carnets ce qu'ils l'entendaient dire en transe³³. Mais cet exemple est par définition difficile à généraliser: tiré d'un contexte mystique, il peut être le fait d'une personnalité, d'une part, et, d'autre part, le *ḥumaynī* a évolué vers d'autres thèmes après qu'il a gagné les hauts plateaux.

Dans les *safīnas* yéménites, le classique apparaît en principe d'abord, suivi du *ḥumaynī*. Il y a du *ḥumaynī* dans les *dīwāns* aussi, mais les *safīnas*, elles, ont recueilli un "*ḥumaynī* d'allure tribale, qui se caractérise par son ton, sa forme, ses mètres et des particularités de scansion – et bien que ses limites soient imprécises –, (un *ḥumaynī* qui) n'a pas eu l'honneur d'être rassemblé dans des *dīwāns*. Les auteurs mêmes en sont méconnus. Il a cependant envahi les *safī-*

31 Wagner, *Like Joseph* 11 sq.

32 Cf. le titre du livre de Dufour, *Huit siècles*, et Dufour, *La Safīna* 17, 25 et 26.

33 Dufour, *Huit siècles* 50.

nas. À quelle époque? Cela reste à déterminer³⁴. D'autres formes poétiques s'y ajoutent, parfois reliées à une aire géographique (peut-être un terroir). Et il arrive souvent que l'on y trouve des proverbes, devinettes, historiettes ou œuvres de prose.

Quatre noms, ceux de poètes majeurs pour avoir marqué une étape dans le développement de la poésie *humaynī* postérieurement à l'époque rasūlide, reviendront fréquemment dans les *safīnas* étudiées: Muḥammad b. 'Abdal-lāh b. Sharaf al-dīn (m. 1010/1601), petit-fils d'imam zaydite; 'Alī l-'Ansī (m. 1139/1726), juge et haut fonctionnaire dans l'administration de l'imam al-Mutawakkil; et les Ānisī, père et fils, respectivement, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisī (m. 1250/1834) et Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisī (m. 1241/1825), juges et hauts fonctionnaires.

3 *Safīna* 1. Ms. ar. 7084 (BnF)

Le ms. ar. 7084 fait partie du fonds légué par Georges Séraphin Colin à la BnF³⁵. Sur la page de titre, après une *basmala* développée, une *ḥawla*, une *taṣliya* et "wa-ba'd": "*Hādhihi l-safīna majmū'a min 'iddat shu'arā' mashriqī wa-ḥakamī wa-ḥumaynī wa-mukātabāt wa-naḥwa dhālika wa-bi-llāh al-tawfiq wa-huwa al-rafiq*".

3.1 *Description du manuscrit*

1. Format oblong, ouverture "calepin" + cahiers, quinions?
2. Dimensions: 245 × 180 mm.
3. Papier: Abū Shubbāk, différents papiers de type A₁, présent, au Yémen, dans des manuscrits de 1345/1926 à 1372/1956 et de type A₂, relevé de 1324/1906 à 1386/1967, mais avec une présence forte jusqu'en 1940. Ce papier est aussi utilisé pour des formats rectangulaires³⁶.

34 Dufour, La *Safīna* 30.

35 Pour un historique de la collection Georges Séraphin Colin, voir Guesdon, Georges S. Colin.

36 Types A₁ et A₂, notre classification dans Regourd, *Manuscrits de la mer Rouge* (première moitié du xx^e siècle) 92-8. Fourchette de datation, résultat d'une recherche récente à la Bibliothèque universitaire de Leyde, affinant les résultats d'une première enquête au Yémen, voir *ibid.* 112-6, et Regourd, *Papiers filigranés* 227-51 (chap. 8) et spéc. tableaux n° 1 (p. 234) et n° 16 (p. 236), Zabid, ms. m/ḥ 1, 170 × 240 mm, et 50/3, 240 × 185 mm. La recherche à Leyde a été rendue possible grâce à un financement "Brill Fellowship".

4. Texte parallèle au dos. Page de titre, titre présenté en triangle inversé, entouré d'un triple trait en feston à l'encre mauve et rouge. Dans l'ensemble du vol., rubrication et marques de section de vers à l'encre mauve.
 5. Foliotation, paginations, nombre de lignes par page (désormais nb l/p): 359 fol., commençant à la page de titre et s'achevant au dernier feuillet écrit, foliotation au crayon à mine, BnF 2014 ou 2015, placé au feuillet inférieur lorsque le ms. est ouvert. Pas de réclame.
 6. Dates: ms. du xx^e s.
 - page de titre, mention d'achat: “Şan‘ā’ Déc. 1929 // acheté 18 Riyāl = 18 × 12 = 216 frcs // environ 800 pages (400 folios)”³⁷.
 - fol. 133^v-135^r: poème de type *madaḥ* félicitant les Ottomans, i.e. Mustafa Kemal et le Sultan, pour leur victoire sur les Grecs, en 1340/1921-2.
 - fol. suivants, 135^r-138^v: controverse sur la consommation de *qāt*, datée, fol. 138^v, 1340/1921-1922.
- Auteurs identifiés:
- Qusṭanṭīn al-Naṣrānī;
 ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. Muṭahhar;
 ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. al-imām;
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Kawkabān.
7. Reliure: demi-reliure d'origine, dos plat de cuir brun. Plats de carton recouverts de toile grise. Feuillet collés sur les ais et feuillets de garde: papier Abū Shubbāk.

3.2 Contenu et discussion

Ce manuscrit du xx^e s. porte une note d'achat à la date de 1929. La brièveté du séjour de G.S. Colin dans cette ville rend peu probable le fait qu'il ait été copié à sa demande, mais on observe qu'il ne contient pas de marques de transmission.

Le scribe anonyme introduit son recueil de la manière suivante: “Cette *safīna* rassemble [des textes] de nombreux poètes [de type] *mashriqī*, *ḥakamī* et *ḥumaynī*, des échanges poétiques épistolaires et autres choses du même genre”. Le contenu et la structure du texte manuscrit ont déjà fait l'objet d'une publication détaillée³⁸. L'ordre des genres, entre *ḥakamī* et *ḥumaynī*, n'est pas respecté. Le texte commence, sans préambule, par un poème introduit par: “*lil-Şaḫī Aḥmad b. Sunbul raḥimahū llāh ta‘ālā*”. Les principes de l'accumulation ou la logique présidant à l'ordonnement des poèmes échappent à la com-

37 Les doubles lignes obliques indiquent le passage à la ligne suivante.

38 Dufour, La *Safīna*.

préhension, par ex. entre les fol. 139 et 303^v, ou même au sein de la série de poèmes des Ānisī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (m. 1250/1834) et son fils Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (m. 1241/1825); l’accumulation se fait plutôt par couches successives, à partir de sources diverses, sans plan d’ensemble prédéfini.

Aux fol. 304^v-339^v sont regroupées des poésies de *ḥumaynī* ancien, qui n’ont peut-être pas été copiées dans la continuité de ce qui précède, car l’écriture, quoique de la même main, est légèrement différente, comme si le scribe avait employé un calame plus large ou, en tout cas, plus souple; l’encre violette, en outre, n’a pas exactement la même teinte qu’au feuillet précédent. Rien en revanche dans l’écriture ne la distingue de la section suivante³⁹.

Les auteurs de certains poèmes sont difficiles à identifier. Des poèmes sont anonymes, mais, il est vrai, la plupart se trouvent dans la section de poésie *ḥumaynī* ancienne (fol. 304 au verso du fol. 339).

Est indiqué pour un certain nombre de poèmes de la partie sur le *ḥumaynī* ancien le mode musical correspondant⁴⁰. La poésie *ḥumaynī* est très majoritairement destinée au chant, même s’il n’est pas rare que le chant accueille également du *ḥakamī*.

4 *Safīna* 2. Ms. Adab 2336 (Sanaa, Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt), *Dīwān* d’al-Ahdal

Ce *dīwān* manuscrit de Ḥātim b. Aḥmad al-Ahdal (m. 1013/1604), poète soufi, né à Moka en Tihāma⁴¹, est conservé à Sanaa (Yémen), dans le fonds de la Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt (désormais DaM) et porte la cote Adab 2336⁴².

4.1 *Description du manuscrit*

D’après images numérisées.

1. Format oblong, ouverture “calepin”, cahiers fixés sur le petit côté.
2. Dimensions: feuillets de taille variée, 260 × 185 mm, 240 × 180 mm.
3. Papier: non observé sur l’original.
4. Texte parallèle au dos de la reliure.

39 Ibid. 16.

40 Fait exceptionnel au Yémen, voir Dufour, *La Safīna* 18, qui note que c’est “le seul manuscrit yéménite qui indique pour un certain nombre de poèmes le mode musical correspondant”. Voir Reynolds, *Lost Virgins* 69-105.

41 Voir Dufour, *Huit siècles* 50.

42 Al-Maliḥ & ‘Īsawī, *Fihris* 582, Adab 28 (dans le ms., 28 a été barré et 2336 a été rajouté sous un trait tracé sous “Adab 28”); ‘Īsawī et al., *Fihris* ii, 1157-1158, cote Adab 2336.

5. Foliotation, pagination, nb l/p: 253 p., 113 fol.; pagination et foliotation au crayon à mine de plomb; foliotation postérieure à la pagination, qui a été raturée. Foliotation débutant au recto du deuxième fol. Nombre de lignes/page variable.
6. Dates: ms. du début du xx^e s.
En p. 191-fol. 83, colophon d'une moitié du manuscrit ("*wa-kāna l-farāgh min hadhā l-niṣf*") : 9 muḥarram 1323/16 mars 1905. Copiste: Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abbās, non identifié.
7. Reliure: apparemment récente, restaurée? Pas de feuillets dispersés.

4.2 *Contenu*

Il n'est traité ici que de la partie du manuscrit reproduite par les soins de la DaM⁴³. Le manuscrit abrite au moins deux recueils de poésies différents: le *Dīwān* d'al-Ahdal et la *Safīnat Munāzara bayn al-'inab wa-l-nakhl* de Zayd b. 'Alī Kibī⁴⁴. C'est le premier recueil qui est analysé ici.

D'un point de vue littéraire, il est difficile de se reporter à un texte éponyme, car "Plusieurs *dīwān* manuscrits d'al-Ahdal sont conservés, qui semblent remonter à des recensions différentes."⁴⁵ La partie du manuscrit de la DaM en notre possession est un recueil de poésies de genres divers. Les attributions des poèmes sont rendues compliquées parce que les feuillets ont été intervertis. L'analyse du processus de compilation de la poésie doit tenir compte du fait que les feuillets, tels qu'on les trouve aujourd'hui assemblés sous une même reliure, accusent des lacunes. Le manuscrit est acéphale et la foliotation, raturée, commence au fol. 23. Les feuillets ont été ensuite paginés suivant

43 Tous nos remerciements vont au Directeur de la DaM pour avoir bien voulu autoriser la reproduction de ce manuscrit. Dans al-Maliḥ & 'Īsawī, *Fihris* 582, le manuscrit est coté Adab 28 et est décrit ainsi: "Al-niṣf al-thānī, awwaluhu mabtūr wa-awwal al-mawjūd: (4 vers), ākhiruhu: (6 vers), nuskhat Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl 'Abbās, bi-khaṭṭ mutawassiṭ hadīth, fī 9 shahr muḥarram sana 1323 H. 191 ṣafḥa, mukhtalifa, 24 × 18 sm. Qāla fī nihāyatihi tamma bi-'awn Allāh ta'ālā l-niṣf al-ākhir min dīwān al-Ahdal. // Al-shī'r al-wārid bihi shī'r ḥumaynī. // Mabtūr min awwalīhi qadr 23 ṣafḥa idhā bada'a bi-l-ṣafḥa 24 bi-l-abyāt allatī dhakar-nāhā fī awwalīhi. // Bihi athar araḍa fī anḥā' mutafarriqa wa-qad kharibat fī awwalīhi min al-ṣafḥa 24-59 wa-fi l-ṣafḥa 79, 84, bihi athar ruṭba fī aṭrāfihi. // Yalihi ṣafaḥāt mabtūra tabda' min raqm 192 bi-maqtū'āt shī'riyya mukhtalifa ḥattā l-ṣafḥa 250. // Yalihi Safīnat Munāzara bayn al-'inab wa-l-nakhl li-l-shaykh Zayd b. 'Alī l-Kibī (*sic*) wa-jawāb al-shaykh 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Khalīl wa-lahumā mu'arīḍān Abī (*sic*) Bakr Mu'ayyad wa-'alayhim al-jamī' ḥukm al-'ālim Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr". Repris par 'Īsawī et al., *Fihris* ii, 1157-8, avec quelques corrections justifiées, tel al-Kibī, mais l'introduction de deux erreurs, 191 ff. au lieu de 191 p. et ff, au lieu de page, 24-59, 79 et 84.

44 Nous n'avons pu identifier cet auteur. Il n'est pas mentionné dans: al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*.
45 Dufour, *Huit siècles* 50.

leur nombre et leur ordre actuels. Mais l'analyse technique de la poésie, surtout de la rime, révèle des feuillets manquants. Néanmoins, certains sauts suscitent bien des interrogations sur le processus de compilation.

De manière générale, le recueil n'apparaît pas composé selon un plan. Les ruptures ne sont pas annoncées, par exemple par des rubriques. L'ensemble laisse une impression de pêle-mêle. D'un point de vue littéraire, l'ordre même d'apparition des genres poétiques à l'intérieur du recueil apparaît atypique, puisque la poésie classique (*ḥakamī*) vient habituellement avant le *ḥumaynī*.

Ponctuellement, on relève :

- a. p. 158; b. [p. 159]⁴⁶-fol. 69⁴⁷ : p. 158, poème *ḥumaynī*, sans rubrique introductive, sans doute de type *mubayyat* abababAB, interrompu brutalement au bas du feuillet. Il devrait en principe provenir du *dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, d'après les indications que ce manuscrit, aux feuillets désordonnés, donne, notamment la main, qui est celle du colophon.
- Feuillet inférieur, autre poème de style *ḥumaynī*, qui n'est pas pris à son début (de type *mubayyat* aaaA).
- a. [p. 164] ; b. p. 165-fol. 70 : suite et fin du poème précédent, suivi d'un nouveau poème, toujours dans le style *ḥumaynī*. Ils ne sont pas rubriqués en rouge contrairement à d'autres poèmes. Pour leur appartenance au *dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, mêmes remarques que précédemment.
- a. [p. 190] ; b. p. 191-fol. 83 : en b. p. 191-fol. 83, colophon daté de la seconde et dernière section du *dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, "al-niṣf al-akhīr min dīwān (...) al-Ahdal" [fig. 10.2].
- de : a. p. 192; b. p. 193-fol. 84, à : a. p. 196; b. p. 197-fol. 86, apparaissent des fragments de *ḥumaynī*, apparemment sans rapport avec le *dīwān* al-Ahdal. Le dernier poème est placé sur un feuillet distinct et tête-bêche par rapport au poème précédent; les deux poèmes ne couvrent pas la totalité du feuillet [fig. 10.3].
- de : a. p. 198; b. p. 199-fol. 87, à : a. p. 232; b. p. 233-fol. 104, 2 premières l. : poèmes classiques (non-*ḥumaynī*), d'inspiration soufie. La p. 19 commence avec le début d'un poème qui est dans le *dīwān* publié d'al-Ahdal⁴⁸, suivi d'un court poème. Le poème du feuillet suivant fait aussi partie du *dīwān*

46 Les numéros de page sont notés entre crochets lorsqu'ils ne sont pas visibles (feuillets fragmentaires).

47 Lorsque le manuscrit est ouvert, le feuillet folioté apparaît, optiquement, comme feuillet inférieur, à l'exception du dernier feuillet du ms. portant un texte, le fol. 113. Les feuillets paginés sans numéro de feuillets (i. e. au recto) correspondent donc, optiquement, au feuillet supérieur.

48 Al-Ahdal, *Shā'ir* 123.

- publié d'al-Ahdal⁴⁹. Il s'agit donc visiblement d'une partie du *dīwān* classique d'al-Ahdal, qui débiterait abruptement ici.
- de: p. 233-fol. 104, l. 3sq., à: a. p. 236; b. p. 237-fol. 106, poème *mubayyat* aaaA, rime en -ar, avec désinences d'*īrāb* – sans hiatus avec la partie classique de ce *dīwān*, rubriqué en rouge; la mention "*bayt*" en rouge séparant les quatrains de ce poème n'apparaît pas dès le début du poème (voir a. p. 236; b. p. 237-fol. 106). Suit une *qaṣīda* classique, présente dans le *dīwān* publié d'al-Ahdal⁵⁰. Les feuillets suivants contiennent eux aussi des *qaṣīdas* classiques, sans lacune, rubriquées en rouge. La section se finit au milieu d'une *qaṣīda* dont la fin n'apparaît nulle part ailleurs dans le recueil.
 - a. p. 253-fol. 113; b. dépourvu d'écrit, texte rédigé d'une autre main, titre d'une œuvre totalement différente, insérée dans un jeu de triangles et d'horizontales, tracés d'un double trait, rouge et mauve, la *Safīnat Munāẓara bayn al-'inab wa-l-nakhl* de Zayd b. 'Alī, suivie d'une réponse par le shaykh 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-Khalīl, puis d'une réponse faite aux deux premiers par Abū Bakr Mu'ayyad, et enfin, d'un jugement du 'ālim Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr.

4.3 Discussion

Recueil de poésie comprenant du *ḥakamī* et du *ḥumaynī*, avec colophon à la date de mars 1905.

Le manuscrit est acéphale. Il est probable que l'absence d'ordre dans l'apparition des deux parties de ce *dīwān* ne soit qu'apparente et résulte d'un accident, par exemple, au moment où la reliure actuelle a été réalisée. En effet, le début de la section de poésie *ḥumaynī* de même que la fin de la section de *ḥakamī* manquent, la section de *ḥumaynī* commence en cours de poème et le colophon qui clôture la section sur le *ḥumaynī* indique: "*tamma bi-'awn Allāh ta'ālā l-nisf al-akhīr min dīwān (...) al-Ahdal*". Le *ḥumaynī* constitue sans aucun doute la deuxième partie du *dīwān*, et, partant, l'on s'attend légitimement à une première partie consacrée au *ḥakamī*.

Dans l'ensemble, le manuscrit de la DaM n'en reste pas moins un rassemblement composite de poèmes parfois incomplets. L'absence de rubrique et les ruptures qui ne sont pas annoncées ne rendent pas l'identification des poèmes aisée. Il est possible qu'il abrite des versions inédites du *dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, issues de familles de manuscrits inconnus à ce jour ou bien puisées à une source orale.

49 Ibid. 131.

50 Ibid. 56 et suiv.

٧٣

قيل عتاب الشيخ يفتح كد باب المحيط الاسرار
 قله عبدك ما زال حافظا عميدك والرنيق ماله مخزني

سَمِعُونِ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى النِّصْفَ الْاِخْتِصَانِ دِيْوَانَ
 الْعَارِفِ بِاللَّهِ تَعَالَى الْفُطْبِ الرَّبَائِي
 السَّيِّدِ الْجَلِيلِ الْفَاضِلِ قَطْبِ الدَّلْوِيَّةِ
 الْمُسَوِّدِ الْاِمَامِ الْاَحْمَدِ
 حَامِدِ بْنِ اَحْمَدِ
 الْاَهْدَالِ
 اِعَادَته
 عَلِيًّا
 مَآ

سَمِعُوا سِرَّهُ وَاَمْرَهُ تَامَنِي وَيَسْأَلُونَ اَبِي اَمِيْنٍ وَصَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ

بِعَازَةِ الْوَلَاةِ الْمُخْفِضِ
 اَلْمُهَيَّبِ اَبِي اَحْمَدِ
 طَلْحَةَ
 بَنِي اَحْمَدِ

بِعَازَةِ الْوَلَاةِ الْمُخْفِضِ
 اَلْمُهَيَّبِ اَبِي اَحْمَدِ
 طَلْحَةَ
 بَنِي اَحْمَدِ

وَكَانَ الْفَرَاغُ مِنْ هَذَا النِّصْفِ تَارِيخَهُ ٩ شَهْرٍ رَجَبٍ ١٢٢٢

١٢٢

FIGURE 10.2 Colophon daté de la seconde et dernière section du *Dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, "al-niṣf al-akhīr min dīwān (...) al-Ahdal", Safīna 2: MS Adab 2336, *Dīwān* d'al-Ahdal, p. 191-fol. 83. SANAA, DĀR AL-MAKHṬŪṬĀT

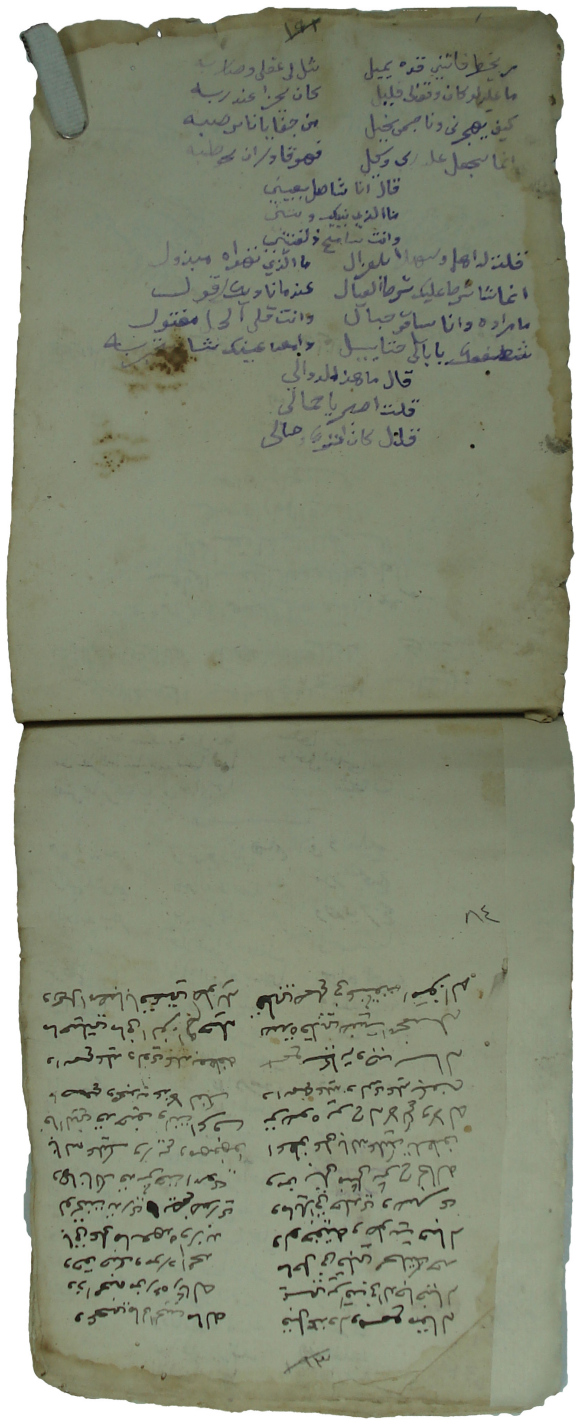


FIGURE 10.3
Safina 2, MS Adab 2336,
Dīwān d'al-Ahdal, poèmes
 placés tête-bêche sur des
 feuillets distincts, p. 193-
 fol. 84 (fol. supérieur) et
 p. 191 (fol. inférieur).
 SANAA, DĀR AL-MAKḤṬŪ-
 TĀT

5 *Safīna* 3. Le ms. Sharaf al-Dīn, collection privée

Ce manuscrit est conservé dans une bibliothèque privée de Sanaa, celle de Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn, dit Muḥammad Sharaf. Il a été consulté en 2004.

5.1 *Description du manuscrit*

N.B. : L'ensemble du manuscrit a été photographié. Nous ne disposons que des p. 5-9, puis 11-31. Elles sont toutes de la même main.

1. Format oblong, ouverture "calepin" + cahiers cousus ensemble sur le petit côté [fig. 10.4].
2. Dimensions : ca. 180 × 220 mm, un peu plus grand qu'un A5.
3. Papier : non observé sur l'original. Les feuillets sont prélevés dans un papier à la machine de couleur jaune sans marque, récent [fig. 10.5].
4. Le texte a été rédigé parallèlement au petit côté, celui où se trouve le dos de la reliure.
5. Foliotation, pagination, nb l/p. : nombre total de pages supérieur à 325 ; système de pagination entre parenthèses, en haut à droite, rappelant les livres typographiés ; autour de 20 l/p. Réclames.
6. Dates : ms. du deuxième quart du XX^e s. ?
Auteurs identifiés : de la fin XII^e-début XIII^e s. au XIX^e s.
7. Reliure : récente, bloc de cahiers lié aux ais par une bande de tissu.

5.2 *Contenu*

Il s'agit d'un recueil de poésies *ḥumaynī* ; le *ḥakamī* est pratiquement absent.

Les p. 1-4 nous manquent. De la p. 5 jusqu'en haut de la p. 172, se trouve le *dīwān ḥumaynī* de Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn (m. 1010/1601)⁵¹, *Mubayyatāt wa-muwashshahāt*, sans colophon. La fin du *dīwān* ou le début du texte suivant est marqué par deux traits horizontaux. Commence alors un recueil de poésies *ḥumaynī* diverses. Les auteurs sont surtout des poètes des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, sanaanis ou de la région de Sanaa, de ces poètes dont l'œuvre circule surtout dans les recueils sans que, semble-t-il, il leur ait été consacré de *dīwāns* – la plupart d'entre eux se trouvent dans la *safīna* de Colin : ils sont donc plutôt connus. Chaque poète a sa section et l'agencement n'apparaît donc pas désordonné : les poèmes d'un auteur donné ne sont pas disséminés dans la *safīna* mais tous groupés ensemble ; ces groupes sont à leur tour rassemblés en quatre sections suivant la lettre initiale du nom du poète (en l'occurrence *mīm*, *nūn*, *hā'*, *yā'*), bien qu'à l'intérieur de chaque section l'ordre alphabétique ne soit pas strict.

51 Voir ci-dessus, 2., p. 324.



a



b



c



d



e

FIGURE 10.4 MS Sharaf al-dīn, collection privée, Sanaa. a. Reliure; b. Reliure, marque de propriété; c. Reliure, contreplat (partiel) et dos (vue interne), cahiers et couture; d. Cahiers et couture, gaze, contreplat (partiel); e. Tranche-file et dos (vue interne).



FIGURE 10.5 Papier. MS Sharaf al-din, collection privée, Sanaa.

Deux sections tranchent cependant :

- a. P. 172-178 : poèmes de Mūsā b. Yaḥyā Bahrān (début XVI^e s.) ;
- b. P. 321-325 : des *muwashshaḥs* de l'Égyptien Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (fin XII^e-début XIII^e s.).

5.3 *Discussion*

Le manuscrit date du XX^e s. (second quart ?). On note une *tatimma* sans date, suivie du nom, zaydite, du propriétaire, Hādī b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. Il est fort possible qu'on ait affaire dans ce cas à une copie de manuscrit. Il contient diverses poésies *ḥumaynī*.

Les quatre manuscrits suivants appartiennent à la Fondation Zayd b. 'Alī pour la Culture (Mu'assasat Zayd b. 'Alī l-Thaqāfiyya, MZbAT), Sanaa. Numérisés dans le cadre du projet Yemeni Manuscripts Digitization Initiative (YMDI), ils sont accessibles sur le site de l'Université de Princeton (Princeton University Digital Library)⁵².

6 *Safīna* 4. Ms. MZbAT ymdi_03_131 / Princeton 88435/cr56n2275

Ce manuscrit est catalogué sous le titre : *Safīna adabiyya taḥṭawī fī awwalihā 'alā Dīwān al-'Ansī*⁵³.

'Alī l-'Ansī (m. 1139/1726) était juge et haut fonctionnaire dans l'administration de l'imam al-Mutawakkil⁵⁴.

6.1 *Description du manuscrit*

D'après images numérisées.

1. Format oblong, ouverture "calepin".
2. Dimensions des feuillets (fiche électronique du site de Princeton) : 150 × 250 mm, avec variations : 150 × 200 ; 125 × 215 et 135 × 225 mm. Sur les 23 premiers fol. (p. 9-56), traces de rognure.
3. Papier : non observé sur l'original. En dehors des feuillets de garde, semble homogène.
4. Texte parallèle au dos de la reliure.

⁵² Pour plus d'informations sur l'YMDI, <http://pudl.princeton.edu/collections/pudl0079>, et <http://ymdi.uoregon.edu/>.

⁵³ سفينة ادبية تحتوي في اولها على ديوان العنسي, texte intégralement en ligne, <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/cr56n2275>.

⁵⁴ Voir ci-dessus, *Safīna* 3.

5. Foliotation, paginations, nb l/p : 214 p., pagination au crayon à la mine de plomb. Nombre irrégulier de l/p.
6. Dates : jusqu' à la p. 56, fin xviii^e s. ? ; début xx^e s.
 - p. 31, poème, composé en éloge à l' imam al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim (r. 1716-27) après qu' il a repoussé l' attaque des tribus contre Sanaa en 1138/1725-6.
 - p. 185-195,
 - a. récit historique concernant l' imam al-Mahdi li-Dīn Allāh 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr b. Mufaḍḍal b. al-Ḥajjāj (m. 705/1305) et le rasūlide al-Malik al-Afḍal (m. 778/1377). Échange de poèmes et lettre de l' imam ?
 - b. P. 195, *tatimma* à la date du 18 dhū l-ḥijja 1318, soit le 8 avril 1901, écrite en lettre et en chiffre, de la main d' Ismā'īl b. Ḥasan al-?

Auteurs tardifs identifiés :

- p. 9-54, al-'Ansī (m. 1139/1726) ; al-Ruqayḥī (m. 1749 ?) ;
 - p. 55 à fin : al-Samarjī (m. 1170/1757) ; 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī l-Wazīr (m. 1147/1734) ; Ishāq b. Yūsuf al-Mutawakkil (m. 1173/1759 ?) ; Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn (m. 1010/1601) ; Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm Jahḥāf (m. 1118/1705).
7. Reliure : deux séries de dim., 170 × 285 mm, 170 × 270 mm (ais supérieur et inférieur ?, fiche électronique du site de Princeton) ; plein cuir, rouge-brun ; plats, décor à filets très fins : deux filets parallèles formant cadre rectangulaire, filet vertical central et filets obliques se croisant formant losanges ; contreplat, cuir. Feuillet de garde.

6.2 Contenu

Le manuscrit abrite des poèmes, aussi bien que des extraits de texte en prose, historique ou “technique”, ainsi que des notes de magie et de divination. Parmi les poèmes figurent deux *urjūzas* (p. 198-202 ; 204). D' après la fiche de Princeton, des variations dans la dimension des feuillets existent, que l' on ne peut localiser à partir d' une image. Cependant, les 24 premiers feuillets (p. 9-56) portent des traces de rognure. Le texte n' a pas été affecté ; le dépouillement ne montre aucun texte disloqué, dont différentes parties apparaîtraient ici et là, et les deux seules interruptions repérées (p. 105 et 205) ne soulèvent la question de feuillets manquants que dans le cas de la p. 205.

À partir de la p. 56 apparaît une main qui réapparaît ensuite régulièrement, jusqu' à clore le texte manuscrit ; les mains différentes de cette “main principale” sont, par comparaison, fugitives, et occupent parfois simplement des parties de feuillets laissées vierges (p. 106, 163, 165, 168, et, peut-être 171). Les pages précédant l' apparition de la “main principale”, les p. 9 à 56, sont écrites

de la même main, à l'exception des seules p. 54 et 55, "intercalaires". Elles se distinguent également par l'usage de rubrication et plus généralement d'encre rouge. La "main principale" coïncide donc avec la fin de l'utilisation d'encre rouge et signe également la fin du *dīwān* d'al-'Ansī (m. 1139/1726)⁵⁵.

6.3 Discussion

Ce recueil ne contient pas que de la poésie, mais des textes en prose, historiques ou traités, qui ne sont pas regroupés. On observe cependant des regroupements thématiques, par sujet, liant poésie et prose (p. 123-6) ou par type de poésie (p. 158-9, *maqta'*).

Le texte manuscrit débute par une phrase incomplète. Le *ḥumaynī* est quasiment absent (poèmes aux p. 55-6 et 205). Le principe de la composition d'ensemble, ainsi que l'organisation interne à la *safīna*, i.e. la succession d'une portion du *dīwān* d'un auteur à un autre, ne sont pas clairs, une impression que ne contribue pas à chasser l'absence de transition d'un texte – ou série de textes – à l'autre (hormis la rubrique annonçant une section de poésie d'al-'Ansī, p. 31) ou d'éléments d'identification du début du bloc suivant. Aucun principe d'organisation à l'intérieur des blocs ne se dégage à nos yeux.

La comparaison entre les cinq blocs communs à la *safīna* 4 et au ms. MZbAT ymdi_03_87 / Princeton 88435/rb68xd158, catalogué sous le titre : *al-Risāla al-'asjadiyya fi l-ma'ānī l-mu'ayyadiyya [safīna shi'riyya]*⁵⁶, qu'on nommera *safīna* 7, indique une alternance de ces blocs d'un manuscrit à l'autre :

	<i>safīna</i> 4, pages	Correspond à		<i>safīna</i> 7, pages
1.	9-13	→	2.	287-289
		←		
2.	18-29	→	4.	300-306
		←		
3.	31-55	→	3.	290-298
		←		
4.	57-63	→	5.	307-312
		←		
5.	108-122	→	1.	274-287
		←		

55 Pour la description du contenu, voir Annexes, tableau 10.1, p. 358.

56 الرسالة العسجدية في المعاني المؤيدية, <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/rb68xd158>. Elle ne fait pas partie de la collection de *safīnas* cataloguées dans cet article.

Pour le reste, les textes divergent.

On note la présence de devinettes (p. 18).

Le poème d'al-'Ansī, dont les quatre premiers vers furent improvisés “*fi l-majlis*” en salutation à l'imam al-Mutawakkil à l'occasion de la fête de rupture du jeûne, est un exemple de transmission de l'oral à l'écrit, du moins pour les quatre premiers vers (p. 33). Il est intéressant de trouver du *ḥakamī* attribué à al-'Ansī, dans la mesure où seule sa poésie *ḥumaynī* a été publiée à notre connaissance.

7 Safīna 5. Ms. MZbAT ymdi_03_142 / Princeton 88435/fj236338f

Ce manuscrit est catalogué sous le titre: *Safīna adabiyya wa-shi'riyya taḥṭawī 'alā Muthallath Quṭrub wa-l-Rawḍ al-bāsim wa-l-Zājira li-l-umma 'an isā'at al-zann bi-l-a'imma wa-'iddat qaṣā'id wa-rasā'il wa-mukātabāt wa-ash'ār*⁵⁷.

7.1 Description du manuscrit

D'après images numérisées.

1. Format oblong, ouverture “calepin”.
2. Dimensions (site de Princeton): 155×255 mm, avec variations: 105×210; 105×230 mm.
3. Papier: non observé sur l'original. P. 5-6, 7-8/2 fol. de garde: croissant à profil humain dans un écu, certainement papier Abū Shubbāk (voir ici, *safīna* 1). Pavé écrit: p. 9-296, peut-être même papier; p. 296-312: différents papiers, voir 7., visiblement fol. ajoutés.
4. Texte en position variable par rapport au dos.
5. Foliotation, paginations, nb l/p: 312 p.; pagination à la mine de plomb; nb de l/p variable.
6. Dates: ms. fin XIX^e-début XX^e s. (p. 9-296).
 - p. 0: marque de propriété au nom de et de la main de Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibṣī, à la date du début de ṣafar 1345, soit août 1926⁵⁸.
 - p. 12: date de composition, 25 jumādā l-ākḥira 1037/2 mars 1628.
 - p. 138: texte datant de 1190/1776-7.
 - p. 232: texte datant de 959/1551-2.

57 سفينة ادبية وشعرية تحتوي على مثلث قطرب والروض الباسم والزاجرة للامة عن اساءة الظن بالائمة
وعدة قصائد ورسائل ومكاتبات واشعار, <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/fj236338f>.

58 Sur le manuscrit, année 345.

- p. 237 : réponse à la date de 1128/1716.
- p. 259 : mention au début du règne de Sélim II, 975-1567-8.
- p. 260 : bataille à la date de 1023/1614-5.

Auteurs identifiés : XIII^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e s.

Ibrāhīm Sāhīlī, Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād Šāhīb al-Ṭāliqānī, *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim fī l-dhabb ʿan sunnat Abī l-Qāsim* de Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Wazīr, *Zājir li-l-umma ʿan isāʿat al-ẓann bi-l-aʿimma* d'al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (GAL, S II 563), Hādī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Wazīr.

7. Reliure : dim. 175 × 360 mm (site de Princeton) ; ancienne, plein cuir, brun ; plats : décor géométrique conçu par rapport au format ; contreplats cuir. Cahiers ; p. 11-83 et 230-304, langues de papier récupéré (imprimé ou manuscrit) fixant ensemble deux feuillets volants (l' un au début, l' autre à la fin du bloc écrit⁵⁹). P. 296-312 : rognés. Feuillet de garde. D' après l' état du bloc de texte, la reliure actuelle est postérieure.

7.2 Contenu

Le manuscrit s' ouvre sur des textes historiques en prose et se poursuit avec de la poésie. De particulière importance est le *dīwān* de Shams al-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ānisī (seconde moitié du XIX^e s. ?), peut-être apparenté aux Ānisī père et fils (p. 41-165 ; p. 211-2 ; p. 199-191). S' y ajoutent quelques poèmes de ʿAlī l-ʿAnsī (p. 167-9 ; p. 202). Les poèmes sont tous en *ḥakamī*. Le *Muthallath Quṭrub* ne représente qu' une infime partie de l' ensemble. Dans la partie de texte débutant à la toute fin du manuscrit, se trouvent de nombreux textes en prose, essentiellement des épîtres à portée historique (*Risāla min al-Muṭahhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn ilā ahl Šanʿā*, p. 216-24 ; *Zājira li-l-umma ʿan isāʿat al-ẓann bi-l-aʿimma min al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh*, p. 269-246 ; *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim ilā l-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim min al-Sayyid Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar*, p. 246-57) ; y figure aussi un texte de magie sous le nom d' al-Ghazālī (p. 266).

Du point de vue de la composition, on note ici aussi l' absence de préambule et des enchaînements abrupts entre poètes ou blocs de textes apparentés. L' architecture de la reliure, les rognures, ainsi que le papier, indiquent certes le rajout des p. 296-312 et mettent en évidence un nombre important de feuillets volants à un moment donné, mais ne rendent pas totalement compte d' un désordre. Plusieurs mains sont à l' œuvre :

59 Cf. ms. ar. 3428 (BnF).

- P. 9-16: main A: *naskh* rond, *dāl* et *ṭā'* sous-punctués, joli, ponctuation et vocalisation totales. Rédaction oblique
- 16-17: main B: *ruq'ā* minimaliste assez régulière et élégante, très peu de ponctuation. Cette main prend le relais de A et le passe à C sans transition. Rédaction oblique
- 17-39: main C: *naskh* élancé, grande maîtrise calligraphique, ponctuation abondante, vocalisation abondante, *dāl* non sous-punctué. Texte droit et oblique
- 39: main B': comme B mais moins régulier, plus penché vers l'arrière, très peu de ponctuation
- 41-165: main D: *naskh* élancé mais moins souple que C, moins de différence plein/délié, ponctuation abondante, vocalisation irrégulière, mais présente, *dāl* et *ṭā'* sous-punctués
- 166: B'
- 167-170: B'': style indécis plutôt *ruq'ā*, peu de maîtrise de l'orientation du calame, ponctuation irrégulière mais pas rare, *tanwīn*, *dāl* et *ṭā'* sous-punctués, pas très joli
- 170-180: B'
- 180-188: B''?
- 188-189: CHANGEMENT DE SENS DE LA SAFĪNA
- 312-310: E: espèce de *nasta'liq* / *naskh* assez horizontal, ponctuation irrégulière
- 309-305: P. vierges
- 304-303: Marques d'*ihmāl* (*rā'*, *sīn*, *dāl* sous-punctués)
- 302-298: F: *naskh* pas très adroit, peu de ponctuation, *dāl* et *ṭā'* sous-punctués
- 297: P. vierge
- 296: début du (d'un) papier récurrent de la *safīna*
- 296-286: B: élégant. Le corps du poème est écrit dans un style un peu différent de celui des notes marginales et interlinéaires, mais les deux sont sans doute du même scribe. C' est dans les notes qu' on reconnaît le mieux B comme p. 16-7
- 285-284: Le corps du poème continue à être écrit par B, mais les notes sont de A
- 283-269: A finit le poème seul
- 269-264: B
- 264-261: D
- 261-260: espèce de *nasta'liq* qu' on ne trouve pas ailleurs, ponctuation irrégulière, *dāl* et *ṭā'* sous-punctués
- 260-259: B
- 259-237: C, *dāl* sous-punctué.

- 237-211: D
 211-203: Sans doute toujours D, mais oscillation curieuse entre du *naskh* et quelque chose de plus ruq'ouïde
 202: B
 201-199: B'
 199-191: B''' : style un peu plus ornemental que B, plus régulier que B', cherche des effets un peu comme B'' dans l'éirement des traits horizontaux, mais y arrive élégamment contrairement à B'', peu de ponctuation, quelques *dāl* sous-ponctués
 191-189: B'.

Les mains A à D se retrouvent dans les deux 'parties' du volume, les mains E et F appartiennent au petit bloc rajouté. La main D est responsable de plus de la moitié des pages, suivie par la main A, avec 95 p⁶⁰.

7.3 *Discussion*

Le ms. est désigné par son propriétaire Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibṣī comme une *safīna*.

Ici encore, le recueil admet, à côté de la poésie, des textes en prose montrant un goût prononcé pour les épîtres historiques. L'ensemble du recueil est en *ḥakamī*.

L'existence d'une deuxième main importante soulève d'intéressantes questions sur la façon dont ce recueil a été constitué et sur le lien entre son contenu, son commanditaire ou son propriétaire. L'accumulation de textes historiques donne tout de même un parfum d'ensemble à cette *safīna*, ainsi qu'une idée des centres d'intérêt de la personne à l'origine de la compilation.

8 *Safīna* 6. Ms. MZbAT ymdi_03_137 / Princeton 88435/p2676w837

Ce manuscrit est catalogué sous le titre : *Safīna shi'riyya taḥtawī 'alā dīwān al-Sayyid al-'allāma 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī l-Wazīr wa-qaṣā'id li-'iddat shu'arā'*⁶¹.

8.1 *Description du manuscrit*

D'après images numérisées.

⁶⁰ Pour la description détaillée du contenu, voir Annexes, tableau 10.2, p. 376.

⁶¹ سفينة شعرية تحتوي على ديوان السيد العلامة عبد الله بن علي الوزير وقصائد لعدة شعراء, <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/p2676w837>.

1. Format oblong, ouverture “calepin”.
2. Dimensions (site de Princeton): feuillets 185×235 mm, avec variation: 145×210 mm.
3. Papier: non observé sur l’original. Possibles changements de papier aux fol. 81, puis 151, puis 261, puis 271.
4. Texte parallèle au dos.
5. Foliotation, pagination, nb l/p: 328 p.; pagination à l’encre rouge, p. 1-116 (la p. 1 correspond à la p. 81, la p. 116 à la p. 196), recouvrant l’ensemble du *dāwān* de ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī l-Wazīr et quelques œuvres de poètes divers; nb l/p: régulier, entre 22 et 24.
6. Dates: ms. 1348/1929.
 - p. 0: marque indiquant que le texte est de la main du propriétaire, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kibṣī, à la date du 17 rabī‘ l-awwal 1348/23 août 1929.
 - p. 62: date de composition d’un *takhmīs*, 22 jumādā l-awwal 1346/17 nov. 1927, à Shahāra/Shihāra.
 - p. 140: mort d’un dénommé ‘Umar Shaykhān à La Mecque en 1113/1701-2.
 - p. 145: réponse faite à un Shaykh en 1118/1706-7.
 - p. 171: date cryptée dans le dernier hémistiche d’un vers, 1121/1709-10.
 Auteurs identifiés: du XIII^e au dernier quart du XVIII^e s.
7. Reliure: dim. 190×245 mm (site de Princeton); ancienne, plein cuir, brun; décor sur les plats avec filets, mandorle centrale et écoinçons.

8.2 *Contenu*

La note autographe de la p. 0, par le propriétaire, compilateur et scribe, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kibṣī, désigne le manuscrit comme *safīna*. Parmi les poésies citées, deux vers de ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī l-Wazīr font l’éloge “d’une *safīna* qui contenait de la poésie”:

وقال في سفينة جامعة أشعار
سفينتك التي رقت وراقت - لديها القلب قد أضحى رهينة
وقد ضمت بحور الشعر طراً - ومن عجب بحور في سفينة.

Ta *safīna* délicate et charmante a pris notre cœur en otage.

On y trouve tous les mètres (*buhūr*) de la poésie:

quel prodige qu’un navire qui contient les océans!

Les *dīwāns* de nombreux poètes se trouvent représentés dans la *saḫīna* 6. Le plus développé est celui de ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī l-Wazīr (m. 1147/1734), dont une première partie, p. 81-185, suit un ordre alphabétique; l’autre partie, p. 197-217, est dédiée au *ḥumaynī*. Les p. 224-47 recueillent les poèmes et réponses de ceux que l’on pourrait nommer Banū Ishāq. Leur font suite des parties conséquentes des *dīwāns* d’al-Sharīf al-Raḍī l-Mawsū‘ī (m. 1016/1607-8), p. 251-73, d’al-Ṣafī l-Ḥillī (m. 750/1349), p. 274-87, d’al-‘Ansī (m. 1139/1726), dans un jeu de réponses où l’un des Banū Ishāq réapparaît (p. 290-8), d’Aḥmad al-Ruḳayhī (m. 1749 ?), p. 300-6, et de Muḥammad Khalīl al-Samarjī (m. 1170/1757), p. 307-12. Des devinettes en vers se trouvent à la p. 300. On note une pièce en *saḫīc* (p. 186-9). Parmi les textes techniques, en prose, la section sur les calculs géomantiques pour localiser un objet caché, p. 69, revêt un intérêt particulier. Sont aussi consignées des anecdotes (p. 189-186).

Le texte commence sans préambule, il est précédé de feuillets réglés. Il est d’une main unique, celle de son propriétaire, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Kibṣī. Le texte manuscrit est distribué entre deux grandes sections, la première consacrée à la poésie classique (*ḥakamī*) et la seconde à la poésie *ḥumaynī*. Dans cette seconde section, même si des poèmes, dont les auteurs alternent, peuvent être regroupés par le système des réponses, on a encore ici des sauts d’un bloc à l’autre ou dans le temps sans transition, on a le sentiment d’une juxtaposition.

Le recueil a été exécuté avec soin, sur des feuillets réglés à la *miṣṭara*, avec un usage modéré d’encre rouge, des variations dans la couleur des encres noires, puis de l’encre mauve⁶².

8.3 *Discussion*

Les deux vers de ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī l-Wazīr “à propos d’une *saḫīna* qui contenait de la poésie” (p. 176) confirment que le sens de “navire” pour *saḫīna* – ou l’association entre les deux notions – est bien présent dans les esprits. Ils laissent entendre aussi qu’une *saḫīna* peut être organisée autour d’un projet.

Dans une note autographe, al-Kibṣī prend la peine de dire qu’il est à la fois le propriétaire de la *saḫīna*, son compilateur – ou l’auteur du recueil –, et celui qui a tenu le calame (p. 0). Cette indication fait entrevoir un lien personnel à l’objet. Al-Kibṣī est par ailleurs propriétaire de la *saḫīna* 5, qui n’est pas de sa main.

62 Pour la description détaillée du contenu, voir Annexes, tableau 10.3, p. 396.

9 Discussion générale et conclusions

L'aire géographique de disponibilité des *safīnas* – tout du moins dont l'appartenance est attestée – pointe vers l'Asie, vers les pays du Shām, l'Iran, la Turquie et le Yémen. Dans différents domaines doctrinaux ou de la perception des sciences, le Yémen montre des affinités avec cet ensemble "culturel"⁶³. Dater le phénomène au Yémen est difficile car un catalogue des *safīnas* yéménites (format et titres de poésies ou de recueils) qui soit pourvu d'une vision sur la durée et tienne compte des problèmes de conservation affectant les manuscrits privés reste à faire. Le salon, déjà évoqué, de 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khafanjī (m. vers 1766-7), appelé "al-Safīna", qui se tenait à Sanaa atteste du lien entre *safīna* et poésie *ḥumaynī*, dès le XVIII^e s. Quant aux six exemples étudiés ici, ils se situent entre la fin du XIX^e s. et le second quart du XX^e s., assurant de la permanence de ces recueils. Ils semblent cependant être tombés peu à peu en désuétude, peut-être dès la seconde moitié du XX^e s., si l'on en croit nos observations sur les hauts plateaux auprès des deux générations suivantes.

Cette étude est une première contribution à la question de la quiddité des *safīnas* yéménites, fondée sur un nombre encore limité d'exemples, mais suffisamment variés pour amorcer une réflexion. Ce sont bien des recueils (sing. *majmū'*) sous format oblong. Les textes qu'ils abritent sont en poésie aussi bien qu'en prose poétique ou prose, avec pour la prose des sujets variés (textes scientifiques, historiques, louanges, textes littéraires, ...), l'ensemble présenté de manière chaotique. Plus qu'un "bateau" parce qu'il serait porté à la ceinture, les Yéménites ont vu dans la *safīna*, dans un trait d'humour typique des hauts plateaux, une allusion à l'Arche de Noé dont la mission était d'embarquer toutes les créatures⁶⁴.

Dans l'ensemble, cependant, la poésie émerge, corroborant le lien entre *safīna* et un genre d'écrit, le recueil de poésies, un lien que confirme l'usage qui, par métonymie, donne le titre de *safīna* à des recueils de poésies, indépendamment du format. C'est le cas ici de la *safīna* 2, qui abrite, aux côtés du *dīrwān* d'al-Ahdal, la *Safīnat Munāzara bayn al-'inab wa-l-nakhl* de Zayd b. 'Alī l-Kibsi.

63 Voir par ex. les travaux du "Mu'tazilite Manuscripts Project Group" sur le *kalām* mu'tazilite.

64 Piamenta, *Dictionary* i, 224b-225a, atteste historiquement les sens suivants: "anthology of Yemeni folk literature [Ṣan'āni songs] figuratively related to the Ark of Noah for its variegated selected items" (cite Al-Akwa', *al-Amthāl* v(e) et n. 2), "or because it holds much of Yemeni folk legacy" (cite Ghānim, *Shi'r* 8, et Rossi, *Appunti* 246), en même temps que les sens communs à l'arabe classique: "cf. oblong book, commonplace book" (cite Lane, *Dictionary* 1375c), "also a collection, a compilation" (cite Dozy, *Dictionnaire* i, 660a).

Quant au format oblong, on note que trois sur les six manuscrits décrits ici sont désignés par un locuteur (propriétaire, auteur de marque d'achat) comme *safīna*.

La présence de *ḥumaynī*, apparaissant *grosso modo* après la section de poésie classique (*ḥakamī*), sauf accident, et un cas, unique, de “*qaṣīda* en millefeuille”, confère une spécificité textuelle aux recueils poétiques yéménites. Les exemples réunis ici confirment la valeur des *safīnas* comme source d'un *ḥumaynī* qui n'a pas sa place dans les *dīwāns*. Il est plutôt représentatif de ce qui circule sur les hauts plateaux entre la fin du XIX^e s. et le deuxième quart du XX^e s., à savoir la production des hauts plateaux eux-mêmes à partir du XVII^e s., mais aussi des poèmes de la première zone de développement du *ḥumaynī*, la Tihāma, avec le *dīwān* de Ḥātim b. Aḥmad al-Ahdal (m. 1013/1604, *safīna* 2). Il n'en reste pas moins que leur exploitation devra passer par un effort et des stratégies d'identification. Certains sujets, telles les merveilles d'Égypte, dont font partie les pyramides, partagés avec des *safīnas* ottomanes⁶⁵, ouvrent sur une recherche comparée des textes en prose, élargie à l'ensemble des recueils, et soulèvent la question de *topoi* littéraires communs. Si l'épaisseur des volumes yéménites rend difficile leur transport à la ceinture, l'existence de devinettes, d'anecdotes ou de *khābars* rappelle le caractère tout à la fois éducatif et ludique attribué aux *safīnas* persanes, propres à agrémenter une pensée circumambulatorie. Avec devinettes et anecdotes, les poèmes courts (*maqāṭi'*), les *takhmīss* et les *urjūzas* placent les *safīnas* yéménites dans la lignée du Suppl. persan 1798 du milieu du XV^e s. et des recueils arabes du XVII^e au XIX^e s. conservés à la BnF.

Certes recueils poétiques, mais dont la composition ou l'organisation générale ne semblent pas suivre un plan présent d'entrée de jeu : ils commencent sans préambule, on note des sauts d'auteurs et de périodes sans annonce, progression ou plan visibles ; des poèmes sont incomplets et même leur écriture interromptue. Les textes en prose ressemblent à des extraits. Aucun principe de compilation n'est décliné ou indiqué. L'unité textuelle, lorsqu'on la ressent, vient du choix des textes, comme dans le cas de la *safīna* 5, qui peut résulter d'un projet général, comme le laissent entendre les deux vers de 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī l-Wazīr (*safīna* 6, p. 176).

Chaque *safīna* offre un recueil unique. Il reçoit des auteurs multiples et la *safīna* 6, écrite de la main de son propriétaire, ne fait apparaître aucune œuvre de son cru. Feuillet après feuillet, c'est à une prise de notes personnelles que l'on pense, bien différente des notes de savant ou de recherche, sans doute

65 Voir Rieu, *Supplément* 725-6 (n° 1147), une *safīna* selon son titre, datée de 1052/1642, contenant un passage sur les Pyramides aux fols. 126-34 ; l'origine du ms. est incertaine : il ne fait pas partie de la collection Glaser.

davantage un choix de poésies et de textes en prose qui reflète le goût ou l'intérêt de son possesseur. Ce choix peut entraîner l'addition pure et simple d'une partie d'un autre manuscrit (les 55 premières pages de la *safīna* 4). C'est dans ces limites précises que la notion d'auteur (*authorship*) doit être pensée. Réalisées parfois avec soin, on y voit des traces de réglure, des rubrications et un jeu d'encre de couleur. C'est le caractère unique de chaque *safīna* qui en fait des holographes potentiels; seule la *safīna* 6 correspond à la définition *stricto sensu* d'un manuscrit entièrement écrit par l'auteur (texte et main)⁶⁶, mais cela n'est pas suffisant pour remettre en question le lien générique aux holographes.

Les *safīnas* yéménites sont des codex. Parmi les exemples produits ici, on ne voit pas figurer de calepin acheté tout prêt à être utilisé⁶⁷. La *safīna* 2 a reçu une reliure postérieure, tandis que la 5 a connu une étape de restauration.

Il est possible que la *safīna* 3 soit la copie d'une *safīna*. Le *cadi* Yaḥyā l-'Ansī a reçu en héritage la *safīna* de son grand-père⁶⁸. Il n'est donc pas exclu que la copie de ces recueils soit commandée par des questions de transmissions familiales, qui pourraient aussi rendre compte de l'existence de mains différentes à l'œuvre, lorsqu'elles éclipsent la présence d'une main principale. Leur vente, comme tout manuscrit, à des personnes hors de la lignée est attestée par les cas de la *safīna* 1, du début du xx^e s., peut-être de la 5, en 1926, et de la *safīna* du *cadi* al-'Ansī, héritée de son grand-père, qu'il souhaitait vendre dans les années 1990.

Le *ḥumaynī* est lié à une culture savante et les connaissances de ceux qui le lisent et le pratiquent, on le voit ici, s'étendent à la poésie classique. La copie de textes écrits est un canal important, sans doute majeur, de la transmission des textes. Le poème d'al-'Ansī, dont les quatre premiers vers furent improvisés "*fi l-majlis*" en salutation à l'imam al-Mutawakkil (r. 1716-27) à l'occasion de la fête de rupture du jeûne, restitué dans la *safīna* 4 (p. 33), est non seulement un exemple d'improvisation, mais de transmission de l'oral à l'écrit, qui vient corroborer la description des *safīnas* donnée par Ja'far 'Abduh Dafari (voir ici, 2., p. 324). Le *ḥumaynī* chanté est attesté à Sanaa dans ces réunions sociales où l'on mâche du *qāt* que l'on nomme *magyals*, dont l'existence a été relevée dès

66 Nous suivons la définition d'holographe et d'autographe par Gacek, *Vademecum* 14-6 et ce volume, p. 55-6; v. aussi l'introduction de ce volume, particulièrement p. 3.

67 Les premiers manuscrits sur cahiers d'écolier relevés à Zabid (Tihāma) remontent au début des années 1970.

68 Nos remerciements vont à Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Jāzīm (CEFAS) pour nous avoir communiqué ces informations, ainsi que celles qui suivent sur la vente du manuscrit. Yaḥyā l-'Ansī est l'auteur d'ouvrages sur les calendriers agricoles au Yémen.

le XVI^e s.⁶⁹ : ils ont dû être un haut lieu de “relevé” de textes, copiés ou entendus. Les *safīnas* recueillent et reflètent potentiellement une poésie, plus largement un *adab*, vivants, en train de naître. Beaucoup d’auteurs nous sont inconnus. Cette autre chaîne de transmission – orale/non écrite – en fait aussi une source importante pour l’étude de la poésie.

‘Abdallāh al-Surayhī abonde dans le sens d’une transmission orale et écrite des textes des recueils et ajoute qu’il n’y avait pas de maison d’oulémas, au Yémen, sans une ou plusieurs *safīnas*⁷⁰. À partir de données encore bien minces, orales ou écrites, et en l’absence de relevés ethnographiques, on risquera que, recueils de lettrés pour des lettrés, elles ont tout à la fois une dimension personnelle et sociale. Identifiables immédiatement par leur format, elles posent socialement leur propriétaire ou leur compilateur. Voit-on en eux, dès que l’on reconnaît l’objet, un amateur de poésie, peut-être musicien ? C’est plus difficile à tenir.

Entre texte et pratique, les *safīnas* sont, au Yémen, à la fois un texte et un objet, à la lisière de l’objet social et personnel. De manière significative, des manuscrits produits au Yémen qui sont parvenus en Éthiopie, de la circulation d’apprentis savants et de lettrés ou clercs dans les deux directions, il n’est jamais ressorti jusqu’ici, ni de format oblong, ni de recueil-*safīna*, parmi les manuscrits arabes, ni non plus de phénomène d’acculturation de ce type de recueil⁷¹.

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69 Dufour, J’ ai ouï 14, 22; Lambert, *La Médecine* 39 et suiv. (chap. 11) sur les *magyals*, 76 et suiv. sur le *humaynī* en relation avec la musique.

70 Nos remerciements vont à ‘Abdallāh al-Surayhī (Université d’ Abu Dhabi et Bibliothèque nationale, Abu Dhabi).

71 Wetter, *Manzūma*.

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Annexes : description du contenu des *Safīnas* 4 à 6

N.B. : les poèmes se faisant suite et appartenant au *dīwān* d'un poète, ainsi que les poèmes liés directement les uns aux autres (ex. réponses), ont été encadrés d'un trait noir épais, simple. "*Dīwān*" est pris dans un sens large, couvrant toute pièce poétique d'un même auteur.

Les textes juxtaposés liés par un thème sont, eux, signalés par un triple trait noir.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
	Marque de bibliothèque. Autre marque (الله وفي ... الله؟)		1
Pages de garde vierges.			2-8
Partie supérieure, rubrication : le shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Dhahabī ayant demandé à 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Ansī (m. 1726) de lui envoyer un exemplaire de son <i>dīwān</i> , celui-ci le fit en l'accompagnant de deux vers faisant allusion à Imru' al-Qays (m. ca. 550). Vers d'al-'Ansī, réponse du cheikh. P. 12 : virgules à l'encre rouge, marques de début et fin de vers et lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.	ذا وشي برد سا بري	علي بن محمد العنسي (m. 1139/1726) عبد الرحمن بن محمد الذهبي	9
Réponse de 'Alī l-'Ansī ⁷² , introduite par, rubriqué : فأجابه القاضي العلامة بقوله deux premiers vers en rouge.	أرحيم لحن موصلي	علي العنسي	13
Devinette en vers d'al-Ruqayhī, sans doute, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Ruqayhī, m. 1749, introduite par, rubriqué : من هنا اللغز / وللبديع احمد الرقيحي مُلغزاً في آل وهو ... Marques à l'encre rouge de début, milieu et fin de vers. Lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.		الرقيحي (m. 1749?)	18

72 Comparer p. 9-13 avec *Safīna* 7, p. 287-9. Cité en *safīna* 7, 87 et 141.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Réponse, introduite par, rubriqué : فاحابه حسين الحداد بقوله Début, milieu et fin de vers marqués à l'encre rouge. Lettre rehaussée à l'encre rouge.		حسين الحداد	18
Deux poèmes courts, introduits par, rubriqué : وله في المكاتبه وله متغزلاً et <i>maqāṭi'</i> d'al-Ruqayhī, introduits rubriqué : وله في الحال والشارب مورياً وله عفى الله عنه وله مقطوع P. 19, début, milieu et fin de vers marqués à l'encre rouge, lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.		الرقيجي	18-9
Introduit par, centré : وله متغزلاً	في الثغدر وفي الخدين توريد	الرقيجي	20
Poème détaché du précédent par un espace.	أدرها كؤسا من معتقة صرفا	?	20
Réponse au précédent poème ? Poème détaché du précédent par un espace.	تبدت فغاب البدر في الأفق واستخفا	?	23
Poème détaché du précédent par un espace. P. 26, début, milieu et fin de vers marqués à l'encre rouge.	ما للأسير بحبها إطلاق	?	25
Introduit par وله سقى الله حديثه ابل الرحمة متغزلاً, rubrication dont lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge dans la première moitié du vers, seconde moitié du vers à l'encre rouge. P. 27, début, milieu et fin de vers marqués par une virgule à l'encre rouge.	ما روى عن صباية المشتاق	?	26

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, rubriqué: وله من هذا الدرّ التنظيم والغزل الذي يترك الخلى هم	هو الحب قد لاحت عليك مخايله	?	27
Poème détaché du précédent par un espace. P. 30, milieu et fin de vers marqués par une virgule à l'encre rouge, lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge. <i>Tatimma</i> rubriquée, s. d.	طمع العاذل فينا ان مامرى ⁷³	?	29
Ouverture d'une section consacrée à al-'Anṣī (m. 1726), rubriquée. Puis introduction au poème, un éloge à l'imam, sans doute al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim (r. 1716-27), après qu'il eut repoussé l'attaque des tribus contre Sanaa en 1138/1725-6, rubriquée par surlignage de lettres à l'encre rouge. Début, milieu et fin des vers marqués par une virgule rouge. Lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.	سفت كمد الاسلام والبيغي راغم	علي العنسي (m. 1139/1726)	31
Introduction au poème, rubriquée par lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge, وله رحمه الله قالها صبيحة عيد الفطر quatre premiers vers, improvisés "fi l-majlis" en salutation à l'imam al-Mutawakkil à l'occasion de la fête de rupture du jeûne, avec lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge. Vers rubriqués. P. 33, marques à l'encre rouge en début, milieu et fin de vers. Lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.	ملك اغر ويوم عيد أزهري	العنسي	33
Premier vers détaché du poème. P. 36-7, marques rouges en début, milieu et fin de vers, lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge. Rubriquées, mentions de Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim et de Zayd b. Muḥammad.	وما رضيت بالعبد منها كغيرها	?	35

73 Comparer p. 18-29 avec *Safīna* 7, 300-6.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (*suite*)

Remarque	<i>Incipit</i>	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, rubriqué:</p> <p>وللسد العلامة البليغ الحامل لواء الادب والمجلى في حلة البيان لكل من مارس الادب وداب محمد بن اسحق مكاتبا للقاضي العلامة علي بن محمد العنسي رحمهما الله هذه القصيدة التي عزت عن الاشباه</p> <p>Début, milieu et fin des deux premiers vers marqués par des virgules à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>ذنب الجفا عند ذنب البين معتقراً</p>	<p>العنسي</p>	37
<p>Réponse, introduite par, rubriqué:</p> <p>فاجابه سيدي محمد بن اسحق بقوله رحمه الله</p> <p>P. 42-3, milieu et fin des vers marqués par des virgules à l'encre rouge, lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>يا صاحب هذه شذا اهل الحمى عطر</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق (m. 1167/1754)⁷⁴</p>	40
<p>Au <i>cadi</i> al-'Ansī, introduit, rubriqué à l'encre noire et rouge:</p> <p>وللسد محمد المذكور للقاضي البليغ المذكور</p> <p>P. 43, milieu et fin des vers marqués par des virgules à l'encre rouge, lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>اي صبر لم تفنه الأشواق</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق</p>	43
<p>Poème détaché du précédent par un espace, mêmes mètre et rime que le précédent. Proba- blement réponse du <i>cadi</i> al-'Ansī.</p>	<p>هي شمس له الثريا نطاق</p>	<p>العنسي؟</p>	45
<p>Courte réponse de Muḥammad b. Ishāq. P. 48, milieu et fin des vers marqués par des virgules à l'encre rouge, lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>ايها السيد المكاتب عبداً</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق</p>	47

74 Cf. al-Zirikli, *al-A'lām* vi, 30.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, rubriqué:</p> <p>من شعر السيد العلامة الحسين بن علي بن الإمام رحمه الله مكاتبا للقاضي العلامة علي بن محمد العنسي رحمه الله.</p> <p>Sans doute al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Imām al-Mutawakkil, m. 1736. Dernier vers rubriqué. Milieu et fin des vers marqués par des virgules à l'encre rouge.</p>	لقد زار... قد رقا	الحسين بن علي بن الإمام المتوكل (m. 1736?)	48
<p>Réponse, introduite en gros caractères:</p> <p>فاجبه القاضي البليغ بهذه القصيدة التي نظم فيها اللثالي الفريده والله درهما</p> <p>P. 50-1, milieu et fin des vers marqués par des virgules à l'encre rouge, lettres rehaussées à l'encre rouge.</p>	عقيله ملك لو فرشت لها الطُرُقَا	العنسي	49
<p>Introduction rubriquée:</p> <p>وكان السد حسين بن علي هذا نادرة الدهر ومن حسنت الزمان التي اوجدها الكرم لاهل ذلك العصر جمع بين الهزل والجد مع علو الجِدِّ وشرف الجِدِّ ومن شعره مادحا حاله والله دره حيث جا باللطافه وعدل عن الجداله</p>	قمت في مركز الجمال بذاتك	حسين بن علي	51
<p>Changement de main. Introduit par, rubriqué:</p> <p>وله بلَّ اللهُ ثراه نوامل رحمته</p> <p>Milieu et fin des vers marqués par des virgules à l'encre rouge.</p>	سمعتُ في روضِ الحمى بالبلا	حسين بن علي	54

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, rubriqué: وله اصنا رحمه الله في الحَمِينِي البَدِيع متواسلاً الى الاله الكريم السميع.</p> <p>Tous les deux vers, “<i>bayt</i>”, et <i>tatimma</i>, rubriqués. Milieu et fin de vers marqués par des virgules à l’encre rouge.</p>	يا قديم الاحسان بلغوا... (٩) 75	حسين بن علي	55
<p>En milieu de p., passage à une autre main (dorénavant “main principale”). Parole de “<i>amīr al-mu’minīn</i>” (‘Alī?). [À partir de la p. 56, les introductions ne sont plus rubriquées, mais centrées avec, parfois, des caractères plus grands. Les expressions qui reviennent sont : “<i>غیره</i>”, “وله رحمه الله”, mais peuvent être indiqués le nom de l’auteur ou le sujet du texte. Ne seront donc signalées ci-dessous que les entrées riches d’informations supplémentaires.]</p>			56
<i>Madaḥ</i> dédié à al-Wazīr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Nihmī.	من ركب الشمس في اغصان بلور	محمد بن خليل سمرجي (m. 1170/1175)	57
	بدت بصبح جبين لاح ابلجه	محمد بن خليل سمرجي	58
	وسلام معنبر العرق يرتاح	?	58
Introduit par, centré: محمد خليل سمرجي رحمه الله	سيف الجفون وسهم الناظر الغنيح	محمد خليل سمرجي	59
Introduit par, centré: ولمحمد خلل سمرجي بمدح صنعا واهلها	سقى جانبي صنعا دل سخابه	محمد خليل سمرجي	60
Introduit par, centré: وله اصنا مما قاله في صنعا	خطرت من نحو نعمان تاجا	محمد خليل سمرجي	61

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, centré: وله بمدح بر العزب	سقا البير براق الوميض المفلج	محمد خليل سمرجي	62
	زارت وصدر الليل فود شايب	محمد خليل سمرجي	62
Poème détaché du précédent. La moitié inférieure de la p. est vierge.	ولما تلاقينا وللشوق في الحشا ⁷⁶	محمد خليل سمرجي	63
Introduit par, centré: للسد الحليل الاديب علامه عند الله بن صلاح العادل كان من بلغا اهل صنعا المفلقن المجيدن في جلتي النظم والنثر وله من النظم الوحيز المفرغ في قالب الابرز والمعاني المسكره في الاسالب الغربيه النصره فمن نظمه على جهة المحو والتكيت ما كتبه الى السد اسمعيل فابع وذلك انه وعده محايزة ابيات فبقي ... ايام لوصول الجارزه فلم شعر الا بوصول الموعود به وذلك قد حن ذره واقزه قد استارضت ونحل حوفها وذهب اللب وبعا؟؟ العشريطيش من النسيم اذا دنا منه ونفر من نغض الشياب وينبو عنه فلها تاملها وعرف مجملها ومفصلها جعل هذه القصيده وارسلها اليه فضايق السيد اسمعيل فابع لذلك درعا؟ واقبل نحوه يسعا مستدركا عثرته ومستقيلا من زلته واحزل له العطييه وهي هذه رحمه الله تعالى 1. Première partie (prose) 2. Poème	سلا هل الصب بعد الناظرين سلا ⁷⁷	عبد الله بن صلاح العادل	64

76 Comparer p. 57-63 avec *Safīna* 7, 307-12. Malgré le changement de main, suite de la même série de textes que dans l'autre *safīna*; si c'est le cas, celle-ci est plus probablement l'original (ou un ancêtre de l'original).

77 Voir *Safīna* 7, 7.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, centré: القاضي العلامة محمد ابن الحسن الحيمي Le tiers bas de la p. est laissé en blanc.	مغراخيلآ اين منه ملاذه	محمد بن الحسين الحيمي	65
<i>Mubayyat</i>	الصلاه تغشاك يا خير البريه	علي بن ابراهيم بن... الامير (cf. <i>safīna</i> 4, 97; <i>safīna</i> 7, 74, 244, 313-6)	66
Introduit par le nom de l'auteur du poème, centré.	لثمت ثغر عدولي حين سماك / فلذ حتى كاني لاثم فاك	جمال الدين ⁷⁸ ابن نباتة	69
Introduit par le nom de l'auteur du poème, centré.	كيف انحللاص وقلبي بعض... اك	شمس الدين بن الصايغ	69
Introduit par le nom de l'auteur du poème, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Tallā'afī (m. 696/1296), centré. Le poème connaît un autre <i>incipit</i> , "...رُدي الكؤوس", ce qui implique sans doute en amont ارى lu fautivement ارى.	ارا الكوس التي فيها حياك	التلعفري (m. 696/1296) ⁷⁹	70
<i>Qaṣīda</i> , introduite par, centré: وهذه القصيده للشهاب الرضى الموسوي بمدح الرسول صلى الله عليه واله وسلم	هذا العقيق وتلك شم رمانه	شهاب الرضى الموسوي	70
Louange à 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, introduite, centré: وقال بعمده الله رحمته واسكنه فسح جنته بمدح امير المومنين وسد الوصين على ابن ابى طالب كرم الله وجهه P. 75, partie inférieure du fol. laissée vierge.	غربت عنكم شمس التلاق	التلعفري	73

78 Le ms. donne: جمال الد ابن إنخ.

79 Voir *Safīna* 7, 10.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, centré: يمدح السيد بركات خان	خفرت لسيف الغنج ذمة مغفر	التلعفري	76
Introduit par, centré: وقال رحمه الله تعالى	اما ومواضي مقلتها الفواصل	التلعفري	78
Introduit par, centré: وقال رحمه الله تعالى يمدحه	ميلوا بنا نحو المحون ونكبوا	التلعفري	81
Introduit par, centré: وقال ايضا يمدحه	كتم الهوى فوشى النحول بسره	التلعفري	84
Introduit par, centré: وقال يمدحه ايضا	ضربوا القباب وطنبوها القنا	التلعفري	88
Introduit par, centré: وقال رحمه الله يمدحه Partie inférieure p. 93 laissée vierge.	خطرت فإ الغصن وهو ممنطق	التلعفري	90
Échange avec al-sharīf al-Mūsawī (al-Raḍī m. 1016?). Introduit par, centré: الحمد لله وحده Poème de Muhadhdhib al-Dīn introduit par: وهي avec extension du <i>yā</i> '.	عدّبت طرفي بالسهر	مهدب الدين بن منير الطرابلسي	94
Poème introduit par وهي avec extension du <i>yā</i> '.	بالحسن ثم الحسين... ال هاشم	علي بن ابراهيم الأمير (cf. <i>safīna</i> 4, 66; <i>safīna</i> 7, 74, 244, 313-6)	97
Texte formant un carré; à l'intérieur, 4×3 lettres séparées en diagonale, en direction du centre, la lettre centrale est toujours un <i>sīn</i> : talisman ?			97
Introduit par, centré: لعضهم	عادة الدهر بغيرته جنون	anonyme	98

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, centré: للقاصي عبد القادر النوبلي (؟) مكاتبا للسد عبد الله بن علي الوزير رحمهم الله تعالى	عد عن ذلك الحما والكثيب	عبد القادر النوبلي؟	98
Réponse, introduite par, centré: فاحاب سدى العلامة السد عبد الله الوزير رحمه الله بقوله واجاد	لا وقد تحت خد مذهب	عبد الله بن علي الوزير (m. 1147/1734)	99
Introduit par le nom de l'auteur, centré.	لوراننا ليل بدرى لا اختفا / بدرك الباهى السناني حجبك	إسحق بن يوسف المتوكل (sans doute celui m. 1173/1759?)	100
Le tiers inférieur de la p. 101 est laissé vierge. Petite pièce en <i>saj'</i> du même auteur sur <i>al-Rawḍa</i> ? Introduite par, centré: ومن قوله في نعت الروضة عند ان حصل التفضل لغيرها من المنتزهات فاطلق عنان القلم بقوله رحمه الله تعالى		إسحق بن يوسف المتوكل؟	100-1
Introduit par une <i>ḥamdala</i> , suivie du titre ci- contre, soit "Récits et faits étonnants sur les pyramides d'Égypte", centré. La moitié inférieure de la p. 105 a été cou- pée avec un instrument tranchant. Le texte s'interrompt brutalement après la mention وقال غيره خليلي, laissant un espace vierge. La partie prélevée n'est donc pas la cause de l'interruption du texte.	عجيبه في ذكر الاهرامات ?	?	102-5
D'une autre main, d'un calame très fin, partie d'un vers, isolée. Le reste de la p. est vierge. Il s'agit du verso de la p. précédente, dont il ne reste qu'une moitié.		?	106
Page vierge.			107

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Retour à la main principale. Introduit par le nom de l'auteur, al-Ṣafī l-Hillī (m. 750/1349), dont le texte précise qu'il est "un poète du VII ^e s.", centré من كلام الصفي الحلبي من شعراً القرن السابع فن شعره في الحماسة وعلو نفسه واجاد	لين ثلثت حدى صروف التواب	الصفي الحلبي (m. 750/1349)	108
Poème introduit par, centré: وله رحمه الله تعالى Tiers inférieur de la p. 111 vierge.	سل الرماح العوالي عن عالينا	الصفي الحلبي	110
Introduit par, centré: وقال رحمه الله تعالى ممدح	ان لم ازربكم سعيًا على الحدق	الصفي الحلبي	112
Introduit par, centré: وقال ايضا ممدح الملك شمس الدين P. 115, partie inférieure prélevée, visiblement avant la copie du texte qui respecte ces nouveaux contours.	دت عقارب صدغه في حده	الصفي الحلبي	114
Introduit par, centré: وقال ايضا ممدحه	اني لطرني العذول فانثني	الصفي الحلبي	117
Introduit par, centré: وقال الصفي وهو بمصر الى الامام قاضي القضاة تاج الدين السبكي الحنفي	تركتنا لواحظ الاتراك	الصفي الحلبي	119
Introduit par, centré: وله رحمه الله وقد سمّ الاقامه والراحه واللهو واستاق اقاربه والحركه اليهم والتزم في كل بت الجناس اللفظي في شطريه فقال	لسيري في الغلا والليل داچ	الصفي الحلبي	120

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (*suite*)

Remarque	<i>Incipit</i>	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, centré: وقال رحمه الله تعالى وقد كتب اليه الشيخ العالم المهذب محمود بن يحيى التحوي الحلبي من ماردن قصيده ادلها عبد العزيز على انت؟؟ ولجندك التعظم والتعزز فاجابه بقوله	من لي تقربك والمزار عززُ	الصفني الحلبي	121
Court poème fait de mots rares. Introduit par, centré: وقال رحمه الله تعالى وقد سمع احد الفضلا شعره في التحميس فاستحسنه وقال لا عيب فيه سوى قلة استعماله اللغة العربية وغرب الكلام فكتب اليه	انما الخيرويون والدردش ⁸⁰	الصفني الحلبي	122
Extrait d'un traité d'astrologie. Le texte com- mence en haut de la p. 123, visiblement au milieu d'une phrase. Noms: Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad et al-ṭabīb b. Qādir al-Shāfi'ī? Il enchaîne par une section (<i>bāb</i>) sur l'entrée de Saturne dans chacun des 12 signes du zodiaque et les conséquences sur l'année en cours en particulier au Yémen; elle s'achève au bas de la p. 124. Puis, suit la question des différentes manières de classer les signes du zodiaque selon leurs qualités. Enfin, la question du calcul du premier mois de l'année. Même main ("main carrée")? Copié en petits caractères, points diacritiques irréguliers.		?	123-6
Introduit par, centré: منصومه في طالع الفجر	طلسم بطا ما في المنارل تقتضي	?	126
Court texte, introduit par, centré: الحمد لله لبعضهم رحمهم الله Retour, semble-t-il, à la "main principale".	ان... منا الذي نحن فيه	anonyme	127

80 Comparer p. 108-22 avec *Safīna* 7, 274-87.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<i>Maqāṭi'</i> de divers poètes arabes, dont Abū Nuwās. Introduits par une référence à l'auteur ou par le sujet, centré. P. 135 et 137, tiers inférieur de la p. laissé vierge.		divers poètes	127-37
Description de Damas par Ibn al-Wardī (m. 1348-9). Débute par le texte ci-contre.	قال ابن الوردي دمشق من اجل اقليم الشام	ابن الوردي (m. 1348-9)	138
Poème d'al-Shihāb al-Rūmī, sans doute Yāqūt, sur Damas. Introduit par: ولما وصلها الشهاب الرومي لم تطب له المقام بها و[تضـ]ائق عليه الامر بها انشأ يقول رحمه الله تعالى	فيا لله من زمنٍ عجيب	الشهاب الرومي ياقوت؟ (m. 622/1225)	140
<i>Maqāṭi'</i> de divers poètes arabes. Introduits par غيره ou le nom de l'auteur, centrés. Citation d'al-Suyūṭī à l'année 820/1417-8. Le texte s'arrête au 2/3 de la p. 143; tiers restant, vierge.	<i>Maqāṭi'</i>		141-3
Retour à la main du traité d'astrologie ("main carrée")? Introduit par, centré: الحمد لله وحده قال في الستمه (?) وحدي ابو عد الله محمد بن حامد الحامدي (?) قال عدى ناني محمد النازن... الصاحب ابن عباد ينشد قصيدته فه الي اولها	هذا فوادك تهبها بن اهواء	أبو عبد الله محمد بن حامد الحامدي؟	144
Court poème, sans rubrique (<i>urjūza</i>). La moitié inférieure de la page est vierge. Sans doute main principale.	ملت مها فانتبته رقادها	?	145
Autre main? Un petit <i>khavar</i> , un <i>maqṭa'</i> , un poème d'al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī, introduit par son nom, centré. Il s'agit probablement de Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Abū Ismā'īl al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Ṭuḡhrā'ī (m. vers 1121), alchimiste, poète et écrivain, le Ṭuḡhrā'ī le plus célèbre et ce poème lui est attribué.	هب وهنا من الغوير نسيم		146

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Extrait d'un livre de médecine, introduit par une <i>ḥamdala</i> , suivi du texte ci-contre centré. Autre main ("main ronde").	هذا منقول من كتاب شرف اسرار الطب للعنان تاليف محمد بن احمد بن علي الحموي رحمه الله	محمد بن احمد بن علي الحموي	147
Main inconnue ? Récit historique sur al-Ḥajjāj (poète de Bagdad, m. ca. 941-1000), introduit par une <i>ḥamdala</i> . La page se finit par شعره يصف الأسد و من mais la page suivante (fol. différent) ne comporte pas la poésie annoncée.		?	150
La page commence au milieu d'un texte. <i>Akḥbār</i> avec citations poétiques. Le texte des <i>akḥbār</i> s s'achève dans la partie supérieure de la p. 157, dont plus des 3/4 est laissé vierge, à l'exception de quelques eulogies, peut-être d'une autre main. Retour à la main principale.		?	151-7
Au verso de la p. précédente, le texte commence sans transition par un vers de poésie isolé, suivi de غيره, centré, puis du premier <i>maqṭa'</i> , puis de غيره, centré, puis du second <i>maqṭa'</i> , enfin du poème de Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, introduit par son nom, centré.	اتراه يكتّم ما تحن طلوعه	Deux <i>maqṭa'</i> s anonymes, puis زيد بن محمد بن الحسن بن القاسم ابن محمد	158
Un <i>maqṭa'</i> de chacun des deux poètes. Le second, Abū l-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr b. Ismā'īl al-Tamīmī, est présenté comme un <i>faqīh</i> et poète égyptien, m. en 306/918-9.		أبو الصلت أمية بن عبد العزيز، وأبو الحسن بن منصور بن إسماعيل التميمي	159
Histoire, citation des <i>Ṭabaqāt</i> d'al-Subkī, au sujet de Nizām al-Mulk (m. 1092), célèbre vizir des deux grands sultans seldjoukides, Alp Arslān (r. 1063-72) et Malik-Shāh (r. 1072-92). Introduit par le texte ci-contre, centré.	ابو الحسن بن علي بن اسحق العباسي الطوسي الوزير (...) الملقب بنظام الملك	السبكي	159

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Al-Qushayrī est décrit, dans l'introduction au poème, comme l'auteur d' <i>al-Risāla al-Ṭariqa</i> (<i>sic</i>) ⁸¹ , né en rabī' al-awwal 378 (= juin-juil. 988) et m. le dimanche 16 rabī' al-ākhir 465 (= 30 déc. 1072), d'après al-Subkī.	يا من تقاصر شكري عن اياديه ⁸²	الإمام القشيري النيسابوري	161
Un <i>maqṭa'</i> , introduit par, centré : ومن نظمته	لا تدع خدمه الا كابر واعلم	الإمام القشيري النيسابوري؟	162
Même main que p. 146? Introduit par le nom de l'auteur, centré.	اهذه سير في المحدث سور	القاضي الفاضل عبد الرحيم	162
Partie supérieure de la p., deux vers de poésie isolés, main principale. Suivis d'un espace. Puis, <i>ṣifat sharāb al-tūt</i> (recette de la "boisson de mûres" tirée d'al-Ḥamawī), par la même main que le texte médical des p. 147 sq. ("main ronde").	صفة شرب التوت	المجوي (voir p. 147)	163
Trois vers de poésie, main principale, introduits par, aligné à droite, par une autre main : اسات في سدق		?	164
Sur une page blanche, horizontalement : Coran vi, v. 79, suivi sans transition du v. 162 ; verticalement : 2 phrases, code d'écriture des lettres de l'alphabet ? Est-ce par souci de remplir la page ? Main inconnue.	Dont Coran		165
Autre main inconnue. Milieu et fin de vers marqués. Le texte s'arrête au premier tiers de la page. Sur la portion restante, quelques "graffiti", dans le sens vertical, essentiellement des séries de chiffres indiens.	لولا تحيه بعض الأرسم الدرس	العمرى	166-7

81 Cette oeuvre n'est pas répertoriée par Brockelmann dans la *GAL*. L'imam Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī est en fait né en rabī' al-awwal 376/986, cf. Halm, al-Qushayrī. Les dates indiquées par le texte ne laissent néanmoins aucun doute, il s'agit bien du célèbre soufi, dont on a ici l'attestation que l'oeuvre était connue en pays zaydite, au début du xx^e s.

82 Le poème est cité dans : Ḥasan, *al-Rasā'il*. Voir la notice qui lui est consacrée.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Main difficile à identifier, mais visiblement différente de celle de la p. suivante. Début du texte d'astronomie repris p. suivante, débutant par un titre de section (ci-contre). Suivi de 2 vers sur la connaissance des figures géomantiques, débutant par un titre de section (ci-contre). Puis sur la moitié inférieure de la p. laissée libre, jouxtant les 2 vers, <i>basmala</i> , <i>taṣliya</i> et proverbe ?, de la même main que p. 165, et lettres isolées témoignant d'un exercice d'écriture. Plus du tiers inférieur de la p. vierge.	باب في معرفة اشرف الكواكب السبعة باب في معرفة اشكال الرمل		168
Main inconnue jusqu'à présent ? Texte d'astronomie agricole, débutant par une <i>ḥamdala</i> , suivie par le titre de section repris de la p. précédente, différentes sections. P. 170, moitié inférieure vierge.	باب في معرفة اشرف الكواكب السبعة		169
Introduction d'un poème (<i>qaṣīda</i>). Plusieurs mains dont certaines malhabiles, qui suggèrent un exercice d'écriture. À l'encre verte, " <i>tajriba</i> ".		?	171
Main ressemblant beaucoup à la "main principale", mais beaucoup plus régulière et plus anguleuse, qu'on nommera "main droite". Chronique tardive sur les Ayyoubides au Yémen (xvii ^e s. ?), débutant par une <i>ḥamdala</i> , suivie du texte ci-contre.	تاريخ مختصر في ذكر أيام بني أيوب ودولتهم في اليمن الميمون وبني رسول وبني طاهر والأتراك	?	172-8
La "main droite" continue. Le texte est introduit par, en gros caractères: من كلام الشيخ أبو بكر الخوارزمي... رسالة كتبها إلى أهل طبرستان Il s'arrête à mi-page, p. 184. Dans la partie inférieure restée vierge, perpendiculaire au petit côté, <i>abjad</i> donnant la valeur de chaque lettre en nombre.	رسالة إلى أهل طبرستان	أبو بكر الخوارزمي (<i>adīb</i> persan, m. ca. 993)	178-84

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Récit historique concernant l'imam al-Mahdi li-Dīn Allāh 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Maṣūṣ b. Mufaḍḍal b. al-Ḥajjāj (m. 705/1305) et le rasūlide al-Malik al-Afḍal (m. 778/1377). Échange de poèmes et lettre de l'imam ? P. 195, تم رقم ذلك, suivi, en lettre et en chiffre, de la date du 18 dhū l-ḥijja 1318, soit le 8 avril 1901. Mais il est difficile de savoir ce qui est daté. Quart inférieur de la p. vierge.			185
Toujours "main droite". Morceaux poétiques concernant les rois du Yémen préislamique, dont un poème de louange à Sayf b. Dhī Yazan ⁸³ , introduits par: لبعضهم رحمهم الله Le texte s'arrête au premier quart de la p. 197, le reste de la p. est vierge.		anonyme	196-7
<i>Urjūza</i> décrivant Sanaa. L'attribution de ce poème à Sharaf al-Dīn est inusitée. Introduit par, centré: منقول من مضمومة محمد بن عبد الله بن الامام شرف الدين رحمه الله يصف صنعا ومنتزهاها في هذه الارجوره والله دره فاترعت من ذلك وصف حده لكون مقابل ما اورد ال... وعيره في وصف الغوطه قال محمد بن عبد الله الحمد لله	وقد توسمت حميع ارضي	محمد بن عبد الله بن الإمام شرف الدين (m. 1010/1601)	198- 202
Sans doute même main, mais calame beaucoup plus fin. Introduit par, centré: مما قاله القروني ⁸⁴ العلامة شرف الدين (؟) ... الامام حفظه الله هذه القصده الفرده P. 203, <i>tatimma</i> ; le reste de la p. est vierge, à l'exception d'une <i>taṣliya</i> , écrite tête-bêche près du bord opposé au dos.	شمايل لا تنسا وان شغل الفكر	شرف الدين ؟	202-3

83 Cf. historique, Paret, *Sirat*; Chelhod, Geste; plus récent: Canova, Sayf; en arabe, Manqūsh, *Sayf*.

84 Points diacritiques du *qāf* absents.

TABLE 10.1 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 4 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Retour semble-t-il à la “main principale”. Vers d’Abū Nuwās, introduits par son nom, centré. <i>Urjūza</i> célèbre d’al-Aṣma’ī (m. ca. 828/212-3), introduite par, centré: للاصمعي أرجوزة	كان ثيابه اطلعن من ازراره قرأ صوت صغير البلبل	ابو نواس (m. ca. 815/1201) الاصمعي (m. ca. 828/212-3)	204
Interruption de l’ <i>urjūza</i> d’al-Aṣma’ī (fol. manquants?). Poème satirique burlesque en structure de “ <i>qaṣīda</i> en mille-feuille” ⁸⁵ , avec alternance de distiques de <i>qaṣīda mu’rab</i> xAxA et de <i>bayt mal-ḥūn</i> bbbA, le tout en <i>ṭawīl</i> . Le début du poème manque. Tiers inférieur de la p. vierge. Le papier de ce fol. est très abîmé.		?	205
Éclaircissement sur le sens à donner à certains mots employés par l’auteur, qui voulait parler de membres de la famille qāsimide ⁸⁶ . Introduit par le texte ci-contre, centré. Seul le début du texte figure.	هذ[!] سؤال... كل المعاني الرامقة ما... الطباع و... في الاسماع للسيد يحيى بن ابراهيم بحاف والظاهر انه يقصد بمعناه بعض الخلفاء من ال قاسم	يحيى بن ابراهيم بحاف (m. 1118/1705) ⁸⁷	206
Pages de garde vierges.			207-13
Au stylo.	Tentative de table des matières du ms., vite interrompue.		214

85 Dufour, *Huit siècles* 129, 217 sq.

86 La dynastie des imams zaydites qāsimides a régné sur le Yémen de 1597 à 1962.

87 al-Zirikī, *Al-A’lām* viii, 135.

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
	Marque de propriété au nom de Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibṣī, début de ṣafar 1345/août 1926.		محمد بن محمد بن محمد الكبسي	1
	Pages de garde vierges, plus courtes.			2-4
	Pages de garde vierges.			5-7
	Sur page de garde, tentative vite interrompue de table des matières du ms., au stylo, sans doute de la même main que dans la <i>safīna</i> ymdi_03_131.			8
A	Page endommagée qui devait être une des premières avant l'ajout des pages de garde. Bande de papier ajustant les deux parties du fol. séparées et restaurant le texte manquant, encre. Oblique/dos, <i>basmala</i> , texte à portée historique (épître?) qui semble écrit par le fils de l'Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (m. 1029/1620).		Fils de l'Imam al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (m. 1029/1620)	9
–	Oblique/dos, nouvelle <i>basmala</i> et autre texte du même genre (autre épître?). Date de composition, 25 jumādā al-ākhira 1037/2 mars 1628.		?	12
–	Oblique/dos, nouvelle <i>basmala</i> et autre texte du même genre, portant sur les conquêtes au Yémen (bas de page), suivi du nom de différentes villes (p. 15-16), Sanaa, Taz, Zabīd (autre épître?)		?	15
A B	Changement de main, qui enchaîne, sans raison apparente.			16
B C	Changement de main, qui enchaîne, sans raison apparente. Formule religieuse conclusive en p. 18.			17

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Parallèle, puis oblique/dos, introduit par, centré: وهذا الجواب من الامام (...) على الشريف مسعود بن إدريس بن حسن	جواب	الامام (...) على الشريف مسعود بن إدريس بن حسن	19-21
-	Parallèle, puis oblique/dos, introduit par, centré: وهذه ابيات للسيد الجليل العالم النبيل فخر الدين عبد الله بن المطهر بن محمد بن سليمان الحمزي تهنيه بقدوم الامام المنصور محمد بن علي السراجي عليه السلام إلى صنعاء وقد حط عليها عامر بن عبد الوهاب ستة اشهر	قَدِمَتْ لَنَا وَالْيَمِينُ دُونَكَ وَالْبَشْرُ	تفخر الدين عبد الله ابن المطهر بن محمد ابن سليمان الحمزي	21
-	Oblique/dos, introduit par: وهذه رسالة أنشأها الامام شرف الدين يحيى عليه السلام نائبا عن الامام المنصور بالله محمد بن علي السراجي عليه السلام إلى من وجهت اليه محرّضا على الجهاد والغارة الى صنعاء حين احاطت بها جنود عامر بن عبد الوهاب	رِسَالَةٌ إِلَى مَنْ وَجَّهَتْ إِلَيْهِ مَحْرُضًا عَلَى الْجِهَادِ وَالْغَارَةِ إِلَى صَنْعَاءَ حِينَ احَاطَتْ بِهَا جُنُودُ عَامِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْوَهَّابِ	الامام شرف الدين يحيى	22-3
-	Oblique/dos, introduit par: وَلِلْإِمَامِ شَرَفِ الدِّينِ عَادَتْ بَرَكَاتُهُ هَذِهِ الرِّسَالَةُ أَنْشَأَهَا فِي دَعْوَتِهِ	الرِّسَالَةُ فِي دَعْوَتِهِ	الامام شرف الدين يحيى	23-8
-	Oblique/dos, introduit par: وهذه رسالة للإمام شرف الدين عليه السلام أنشأها الى عامر ابن عبد الوهاب بن داود بن طاهر الطاهري في سنة اربع عشر وتسعمائة Date 914/1508-9.	رِسَالَةٌ إِلَى عَامِرِ ابْنِ عَبْدِ الْوَهَّابِ بْنِ دَاوُدَ بْنِ طَاهِرِ الطَاهِرِيِّ فِي سَنَةِ أَرْبَعِ عَشَرَ وَتِسْعِمَايَةَ	الامام شرف الدين يحيى	28- 39
B'	Notes marginales			39
B'?	Notes, sans doute de B'			40

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
D		دهر أغر ودولة غراء	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي (2 ^e moitié du XIX ^e s.?)	41
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال يمدحه ايضاً suivi d'une note à l'encre rouge d'une autre main.	سرا نحوكم ليلاً فصلّي وسلمنا	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	43
-	Après un espace, poème suivant. هنيهه رواجه بانته السلطان احمد بن علي الرصاص	أملت تهاد (٤) او المعنف قد أغفا	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	47
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال غفر الله له يمدحه ايضاً	بدت بدوراً في لسالي الذوايب	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	49
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال يمدحه ايضاً	ارحيق نابل ام سماع بلابل	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	52
-	Introduit par, centré: وله وقد اقترح عليه الامام هذا الوزن والقافيه واملا له بيتا على هذا P. 57 : partie d'une moitié de vers rubri- quée.	ما رحت عن تلك الصبأ سايلاً	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	55
-	Introduit par, centré: وله هسه لطواف عسكرو وصلت من الحبشه	صنعت لك الأقدار ما لا يصنع	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	58
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال هنيهه يعود انايه من المشرق بعد الصلح	بدور التهاني مشرق طوالع	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	60
-	Introduit par, centré: وله هنيهه بعد النحر	بطالع السعد وافا نحوك اللعيد	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	62

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال أيضاً محرضه على الجهاد	حَكِّمِ الْبَيْضَ فِي رِقَابِ الْأَعَادِي	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	65
-	Introduit par, centré: وله في مفاخره الخيل والوانها حسبما اقترح عليه حماه الله Éloge des différents types de chevaux selon leur robe, avec des sections. Puis éloge des lances et javelots.	فَنَافَخَتْ صَوَاهِلَ الْحِيَادِ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	67
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال وقد اقترح المولى حفظه الله تعالى ان يحمس القصيدة التي تحال الامام حى سدى احمد بن الحسن بن حمد الدين رحمه الله تعالى فقال	سَارِكُ اللَّهِ مِنْ الْحَسَنِ انْشَاكَ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	71
-	Introduit par, centré; وقال يمدح المحسن بن المهدي حفظ الله تعالى	وَأَفْتَتْ تَهَادَا فِي لَيْلِي الْجَعْدِ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	74
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال يمدح الصَّادِقِ بن المهدي على الله Corrections à l'encre rouge.	أَذَابِلٌ تُشْبِهُ أُمَّ قَوَامٍ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	81
-	Introduit par, centré: وله يمدح سده يوسف بن المهدي حماه الله تعالى	أَكْوَسُ بَدْرَهَا عَنَاكََا	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	85
-	Introduit par, centré: وله يمدح سده المحسن بن المهدي	حَطَرَتْ كَحَطَّارِ الْقَضِيبِ السَّمْهَرِي	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	86
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال يمدح الصَّادِقِ بن المهدي Mot dans la seconde moitié du 1 ^{er} vers à l'encre rouge.	دَتِ فِيهَا الْبَدْرُ بِالنَّيِّهِ مَحْتَالُ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	88

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال يمدح امير المومنين الهادي لذن الله ومهسه يعود اولاده من الحج	أَعْلَمْتَ مَا قَالَ النَّسِيمُ وَقَدْ سَرَى	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	90
-	Introduit par, centré: واقترح عليه الأمام ان محرض على الجهاد وقرا له بنتاً محذوه فقال غفر الله له	المجدُّ في شُهْبِ الرِّمَاحِ الذَّبَلِ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	93
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال بمدحه ويصف هداانا وصلت من الشام	تجمعت بعلاك العرب والعجم	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	95
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال ايضاً بمدحه	بَدَتْ كَمِحيَا البدرِ في طالعِ السَّعدِ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	99
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال يمدحه	ضحك الصَّبَاحُ وازمع الدَّبجورُ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	101
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال بمدحه ومهسه بالاسقال في الكسه للخلافه من الهادي الى المهدي	أَبالوحي أم نُودتَ بالطُّورِ من سيناً / تكنيت بالمهدي وقد كست هادناً	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	104
-	Introduit par, centré: وله هيبه نامصار سريته ووصول روس واسرى من المشرق وقرا له بنتاً محذوه وشرط عليه بصمته فقال	نهج الخليفه واضح المنهاج	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	107
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال هيبه بعرض من الاعراس واقترح عليه هذا	بَدَتْ كشمس الضُّحى في حنج غريب	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	108
-	Introduit par, centré: وله بمدحه ومهسه برجوع اولاده من الجهاد	سلسل أحداث المسرى والهنأ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	111

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال تمدحه وهيبه زواج ابنته بالسيد الحليل عماد الدين يحيى بن علي بن المتوكل P. 115, mot commenté et commentaire à l'encre rouge.	عن مطلع الحسن بدر التّم قد سفرًا	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	114
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال ايضاً يمدحُه وهيبه ابتدأ منه	حدثك عن رياً نفوحُ برناًها	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	118
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال تمدحه وهيبه بعد التجر	كرّر حدث الوصل عن سعادٍ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	121
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال غفر الله له وارسلها اليه الى السلامه	أحت لك السلامه في السلامه	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	126
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال مهنياً له ولاولاده بالاعراس وعمارَة حصن المواهب ايضاً	واقّت مختّر في زي الدّلال وفي	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	127
-	Introduit par, centré: واقبرح عليه المحسن بن المهدي ان عارض القصده التي اولها يا دمي ممهحتى افدك فقال تمدحه	أثناياك أم بناءي فيك	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	129
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال هني المولى بوصول رسول من سلطان العجم هديه له	نعم هذه نعمة وذا السّفح نعمان	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	131
-	Introduit par, centré: واقترح (كذا) عليه المولى امداح الحيل وووصفها وقد امر بصميرها للطراد فقال غفر الله له	دعاه نديماهُ فقال دعاني	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	136

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال في يوم العدر ومدحه ايضا سنة 1190 Date: 1190/1776-7.	أَيْسَلِيكَ عَنْ رِيًّا الْعَزَّةَ سَالِفُ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	138
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال ايضا مدحه حفظه الله تعالى	أَهَاجِكُ وَمُضُّ الْبَارِقِ الْمَتَالِقِ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	141
-	Introduit par, centré: وله عفر الله له وقد حصل بنه وبين جماعه من شعرا العراق والشام بفاحر فحكم بنه ويهمهم ان محفل كل واحد منهم قصده في هذا المنوال الذي عليه هي وبذكر ما قد لقيه من رمانه وفراق احوانه واوطانه ومن فعل ذلك في ليلة حكم له بالسبق في ميدان البلاغه وعارصه عده من اوليك ومدح في احراها الرسول صلى الله عليه واله وسلم	أَلَا حِي ذَاكَ الْحَيِّ مِنْ سَاكِي صَنَعًا	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	143
-	Introduit par, centré: وله عصى الله عنه ممدح امير المومنين المودع بالله رب العالمين رضوان الله عليه ويذكر العدر وما ورد فيه من فصائل امير المومنين عليهم	سَلَا إِنْ جَرَّمَا بِالرَّبِّ طِيًّا	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	146
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال ممدح المهدي لدن الله ومهنيه هدية	أَفِي أَوْجِ الْمَوَاهِبِ أَصْفَهَانُ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	148
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال ممدحه ومهنيه عرس حدث له	مَمْلُوعُ شَمْسِ الشَّرْقِ نَتَهَجُ الْغَرْبُ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	151
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال ممدحه ومهنيه باحد (كذا) سراياه السيد ابرهيم المخطوري في الشرف	مَا بَعْدُ اِبْرَهِيمِ اِبْرَهِيمُ	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الأنسي	154

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال وقد أفرح عليه المولى حفظه الله ان يفعل قصيدة ويذكر فيها الصلح الواقع بنه وبين على بن احمد ومحسنه ويذكر (؟) حسن خطابه له فقال غفر الله له و... (؟)	محققن دماء المسلمين لك الأجر	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	156
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال موسياً لا مير المومنين حفظه الله ومحرضاً على الجهاد	تأمن (؟) بموسى او بعيسى بن مريم	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	158
-	Introduit par, centré: وقال بمدحه وهيبه نصر سراياه في غرارة غراها على بعض الطوائف	قضى القضى بالذى تهواه والقدر	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	162
-	Introduit par, centré: وله سامحه الله كسب بها الى الشح محمد بن الحسين المرهبي رحمه الله	أما خبر عن طيهم طب النشير	شمس الدين بن احمد ابن احمد الآتسي	163
-	Introduit par, centré: السلطان الملك الموبد الغساني الى الامام محمد بن المطهر	روررك (؟) لا يحفل فإات علها	السلطان الملك المؤيد الغساني (r. 696-721/1296-7- 1321-2)	166
B'	Réponse, introduite par, centré, فاجاب الامام	ناخر عن الدست الذى ات صدره	الأمام محمد بن المطهر	166
B''	Introduit par, centré, للقاضي العلامة البليغ المصقع حمال السلام على بن محمد العنسي مخاطب امير المومنين الموكل على الله حفظه الله امين	دعوت قلباً السعد وامتل الدهر	علي بن محمد العنسي (m. 1139/1726)	167

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Introduit par: وله طول الله عمره يحاطب المولى امير المؤمنين وحلفه الرسول الامين الموكل على الله رب العالمين مع الله به الاسلام والمسلمين شافعا للك الدرہ الكرمه ناحبا هذه فلنست الاعلى المحار بيمه بعدر اليه حفظه الله عن الدحول الى مقامه السريف فالرحامه (؟) وعدم الصبر على ذلك وقرما (؟) في موقف واحد للامام ⁸⁸	امام البره جار الرحام	علي بن محمد العنسي	168
-	Introduit par, centré: وله يحاطب الزرر العظم الاستاد الحليل الكرم والقاصي العلامه المد... الفهامه سرف الاسلام انا على الحسين بن لعب (؟) الحمى حفظه الله ورحمه	سدى لا فارق السعد حى	علي بن محمد العنسي	169
B'	<i>Khabar</i> et poème visiblement tirés d' <i>al-Jalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfi wa-l-anīs al-nāsiḥ al-shāfi</i> d'al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā', séance 43 ⁸⁹ . D'autres versions du même poème circulent ailleurs sous d'autres noms, mais le manuscrit suit ici mot à mot le <i>Jalīs</i> .	با ضمير اخبرى ولست فاعل	أحمر بن الحارث بن عبد مناة	170
-	Autre <i>khabar</i> et poèmes.	مخطى الي الموت من بن ما ارى	أنيس بن خالد	171
-	Texte du poème annoncé à la page précédente.	انس فده النفس متا فعدنه (؟)		172
-	Introduit par, centré: القول	حلى هبا طال... ?		172

88 La mention "*tawwal Allāh 'umrahu*" laisse entendre que le poète était encore vivant à l'époque où a été rédigée la rubrique.

89 GAL S I, 312.

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Poème à l'encre rouge et noire.	مثلت قطرب	قطرب (m. 206/821)	173-6
-	Introduit par, centré: لا وتد (؟) الرحال حوار الافاق ابهم الساحلي السهر بالطويحي المغربي (؟) وفاه ب 29 من (؟) فصدده بمدح امر ملوك اليمن	خطرت كمد القما المقاطر	ابراهيم الساحلي الشهير بالطويحي المغربي؟	177
-	Introduit par, centré: للسهاب محمود بمدح ان...	نصحنما (؟) بالحدش كالروص بهحه	الشهاب محمود	178
-	Introduit par, centré: للعاملي من الرحاه	ماندمي ممهحتي افدك	العملي	178
-	Introduit par, centré: للقاصي الفاضل عبد الرحم (؟)	اهده سر في المحدث ام سور	القاضي الفاضل عبد الرحيم؟	179
B"	Introduit par للسحاب ابن عباد في مدح امير المومنين (...) علي بن ابي طالب commence au centre. La fiche électronique de Princeton pré- cise: Abū l-Qāsim Ismā'il b. 'Abbād <i>Ṣāhib</i> <i>al-Ṭāliqānī</i> .	لاح لعسك الطلل	الصاحب بن عباد	180-4
-	Introduit par, centré: للقاضي العلامه محمد احمد السلفي مادحا لسلطان اليمن مولانا الحسن ابن القاسم رصوان الله عليهما	كفا المحدث فخر ان عدالك من سلا	القاضي محمد بن أحمد السلفي	185-8

Changement de sens du volume, qu'il faut lire à rebours, à partir de la dernière page

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
E	Version versifiée du <i>Muthallath</i> de Quṭrub. Les mêmes mots à la rime, dans les trois premières colonnes, écrits à l'encre rouge. Poème attribué à Ibrāhīm al-Azharī, sur ce site, http://cb.rayaheen.net/showthread.php?tid=1799&page=1#p6493 , http://www.al-mostafa.info/data/arabic/depot/gap.php?file=m010204.pdf , tandis que le site de Princeton indique: <i>Muthallathāt Quṭrub</i> by Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr Quṭrub (GAL, S II 916).			312-1
-	Introduit par, centré: من كلام المقرئ في التعريب والترهيب وبعد احسن واحاد رحمه ورصى عنا وعنه Dans le ¼ de page demeuré vierge: بسم الموعظه العظيمة rien ne suit.		المقرئ	310
	Page vierge.			309
	Pages vierges, 2 fol. raccourcis (intentionnellement).			308-5
F	Introduction rubriquée.	سال الربع عن ضبأ المصلی	التلمساني	304
-	Introduit par: للبحر الفايض عمر بن الفارض rubriqué.	ارق ددا من جانب الغور لامع	ابن الفارض (m. 632/1235)	304
-	Introduit par, centré: وله ايضا Tatimma.	نسخت محي ابة العشق من قلبي	ابن الفارض	304

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Introduit par, rubriqué: [م]ساح الى الفارض	[شربنا على] ذكر الحبيب مُدَامَةً / سكرنا بها من قبل ان يخلق الكرم	ابن الفارض	303
-	Introduit par, rubriqué: للحاجري رحمه الله تعالى	هب لي حناية من زلة به القدم	الحاجري	303
-	Introduit par, rubriqué: للشيخ البكري رحمه الله	خَلَقْتُ لوعتي بنار الخلدودي	الشيخ البكري؟	303
-	Introduit par, aligné à droite: للصفي الحلبي في باب رد العجز على الصدر <i>Tatimma.</i>	يا بدني للفراق ذب كمدًا / دب كمدًا للفراق يا بدني	صفي الحلبي	302
-	Fol. à l'envers. Introduit par, aligné à droite: [هذه الفريده البلغه والهدى المديرة والدره الثمينه الدعه لاني العلامه ادب زمانه المدع ال... اللع ال... الاسلام اسمعيل محمد كبسي (؟) مكاتبنا اى سد شمس سمر الحموي (؟) نا ساعد (؟) Fol. rogné.	سلام على تلك الرباطيب النشر / يفوح على الارجا ويسمو على البدر	اسمعيل محمد كبسي (؟)	301- 2
-	Introduit par, aligné à droite: هدى الخواب الذي ترى البلغا فصاحة فلو راه الطاهر لطاطأ راسه... لما طاب له بعدها اختراعاته... ولصارت هبة اسأها والذي العلامه المحجج عر الاسلام محمد بن اسمعيل الكسي... حوابا علا احى العلامه... <i>Tatimma</i> dans la marge.	تسم ثغر البرق عن شنب الدر / والقض (؟) معتل الصبا نايم الزهر ⁹⁰		300

90 L'incipit évoque un poème d'Ibn al-Nabīh al-Miṣrī (époque ayyoubide):

تبسم ثغر الزهر عن شنب القطر / ودب عذار الظل في وجنة الزهر.

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
-	Introduit par, aligné à droite: وهدى الخواب للحقير القاصر قابل به الدرر المكنونه ⁹¹ سامحه الله تعالى Trace de <i>tatimma</i> dans la marge.	سرت في دياجي ظلمة الليل والشعر / عزال تحاكي طلعه الشمس والبدر		299
-	Deux poèmes. Le second, introduit par, aligné à droite: وهدى الخواب القاق والانشا البليغ الرائق للولد العلامة... الاسلام وناشيه سى الانام... محمد بن اسمعيل بن احمد... رحمه الله (٤)	[تبس؟]مت الارحا في واضح الثغر / ومال قصيب البان بشراً على بشر		298
-	Page vierge.			297
B	Parallèle/dos. Note, oblique/dos.	سرنا في الهوى... معينا / ... فكم يوما معينا	لسدى الحسين (٤) ابن علي	296
- P. 284-5, notes de A De p. 283, A	Perpendiculaire/dos, 6 à 10 vers/p. Introduit par, rubriqué à l'encre noire et rouge: هده القصده الفريده للسد العلامة الهادي بن ارهيم بن علي بن المرىى الورر رحمه الله إطلع Nombreux commentaires en marge, dont des noms; ils sont arrangés, évoquent des formes. P. 283, changement de main.	اليك اله العالمن توسلى / بأحمد المحمار اكرم مرسل [كذا]	الهادي بن ارهيم ابن علي بن المرتضى الوزير	295- 71

91 الدرر المكنونة a أبو زكريا يحيى بن موسى بن عيسى بن يحيى المغيلي المازوني

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
- P. 269- 64, B	Parallèle/dos, suivi d'une <i>tatimma</i> , تمت القصيدة الفريده المفيده في ايمة التوحيد وشيعتهم اهل العقيدة وسيرتهم الحميده الرشيده المشيده نفعنا الله بفضلهم واعاد علينا من بركاتهم وشركنا في صالح دعائهم امين اللهم امين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله الطيبين الطاهرين. P. 269, dans les 2/3 inférieurs de la p., obliquement, <i>fā'ida</i> .	قصيدة في ايمة التوحيد		270- 69
-	Oblique/dos. Titre, centré. P. 267, réponse d'al-Mutawakkil, intro- duite par, centré: وهذا حواب المتوكل عليه	كتاب من صاحب عمان الى الامام المتوكل		268- 7
-	Oblique dans un sens et dans l'autre/dos, deux textes. Le second est introduit par: وكلام الغزالي في حطه كتابه شفا العلال Suivis de noms, un carré magique et des versets curatifs, encre noire et rouge.	كتاب شفا العلال ⁹²	الغزالي، ابو حميد؟ (m. 505/1111)	266
-	Oblique/dos, prose, louange à Dieu.			265- 4
D	Parallèle/dos, introduit par, centré: من شعر السيد الحليل سرف الدين الحسين بن عد القادر رحمه الله تعالى قال بمدح النبي صلى الله عليه واله وسلم	سقا رباض مغان ضمها اضم / صوت الحيا وعليها دامت الدم	Sharaf al-dīn b. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Qādir	264- 3
-	Parallèle/dos. Réponse sans autre préci- sion, introduite par, centré: جواب عن ابيات	اهلا بها فهي انفاس ذكيات / ندية ما لها نديات		263- 2

92 La GAL S 1 754, sous le n° 536, atteste l'existence d'un *كتاب شفاء العلال*, une œuvre de *fiqh*.

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
Main inconnue	Parallèle/dos. Introduit par, centré: في نظم سدى سرف الدين الحسين بن علي بن المتوكل	أه كم اطوي على الضيم حناجي / واداجي في العلي قال ولاحي	Sharaf al-Dīn b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Mutawakkil	261-60
B	Perpendiculaire/dos, poème précédé par la date de l'assassinat du sultan 'Uthmān, 1023/1614-5: بارح في السلطان عمن لما قبله الحند [كذا] Suit un distique en <i>wāfir</i> : وصى عثمان سلطان البرانا / ناساف العساكر والخود ووافته المسه في السرانا / مورحه كعثمان السهد <i>waṣā 'Uthmānu sultānu l-barāyā / bi-asyāfi l-'asākiri wa-l-junūdī wa-wāfathu l-maniyyatu fi l-sarāyā / mu'arri/akhatan (ou mu'arrikhuhū) ka-'Uthmāna l-shahīdī</i> "Othman le prince des contrées est tombé sous les épées des soldats // Le trépas est venu le trouver parmi les bataillons, lui donnant une date en tant que Othman le martyr" Puis vient un autre distique sur le même personnage (وفته), mais en <i>ramal</i> : قد وصى عثمان طلبا حين خاسه الخود واللالي ارحته ان عثمان سهد <i>qad waṣā 'Uthmānu zulman / hīna khānathu l-junūdū wa-l-layālī 'arrakhathū inna 'Uthmāna shahīdū</i> "Othman est injustement tombé lorsque les soldats l'ont trahi // Les nuits l'ont daté, Othman est un martyr" Puis viennent quelques vers introduits par في الختم (peut-être non pas في الختم mais في الختم?):	Poème		260

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
	ومرفوعه بالخرف في حال نصبها / مسكنه لا يسام الناس انبها <i>wa-marfū'atin bi-l-jarri fī ḥālī naṣbihā / musakkinatin lā yas'amu l-nāsu 'unsaḥā</i> يعيس الورا في ظلها <i>ya'īshu l-warā fī ḥāzillihā.</i>			
-	Perpendiculaire/dos, poème précédé par la date de 975/1567-8, à laquelle le Sultan Salīm aurait entamé son règne (Selim II, r. 1566-74). Introduit par, centré: نارمخ ولانه السلطان سلم سه 975 Autre date, 1023/1614-5, alignée verticalement sur la première, renvoyant probablement à la fin du règne de Selim II.	نارمخ ولانه السلطان سلم تولا ملك الملك وان ملكه / عرا واقال ونفر واحسانى ce qui doit équivaloir à: تولى ملك الملك وابن ملكه / بعز واقبال ونفر واحسان Puis on a: وله في حماه محاصموا واصطلحوا مورحا 975 نصالح الاصحاب من بعد عداوات وصير / والحمد لله انى نارمخهم والصلح خير qu'il faut sans doute lire: يصلحُ الأصحاب من بعد عداوات وضير... Puis: وله مورحا رواحه بعض اصحابه 975 (il s'agit de la date d'un mariage عرسكم). Puis:		259

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
		وله نارحح ولانه مراد السلطان لما اراد الله مع عباده / ولا مراد الملك حر بلاده i.e. لما اراد الله بيع عباده / ولى مراد الملك خير بلاده		
C	Alterne texte parallèle et oblique (2 directions)/dos, épître, vocalisée, signes d' <i>ihmāl</i> sur lettres variées, p. 252, marques de section à l'encre rouge, p. 248, phrase à l'encre rouge ⁹³ .	الرَّاجِرَةَ لِلأُمَّةِ عَنْ أَسَاءَةِ الظَّنِّ بِالأَيِّمَةِ	الامام المهدي لذن الله احمد بن الحسن بن احمد بن القاسم ابن رسول الله (m. 656/1258)	259- 46
–	Même alternance/dos, prose, <i>al-Rawḍ al-bāsim ilā l-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim min al-Sayyid Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar</i> ⁹⁴ . Introduit par, rubriqué, centré: يَلِيهَا الرَّوْضُ الْبَاسِمُ إِتْلُحْ	الرَّوْضُ الْبَاسِمِ إِلَى السَّيِّدِ مُحَمَّدٍ ابْنِ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ مِنَ السَّيِّدِ مُطَهَّرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مُطَهَّرِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ	مُطَهَّرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مُطَهَّرِ	246- 5

93 *Zājira lil-umma 'an isā'at al-zann bi-l-a'imma min al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh*, GAL, S II 563. En ligne, *Majmū' rasā'il al-Imām al-shahīd al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (ṣāhib Dhībīn)*, ta'lif al-Imām Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [612-56 H], Rawā'i' turāth al-Zaydiyya, http://www.azzaidiah.com/kotob_mojavaah/aaqeedh/magmou_rasayel_almahdi.html [dernière consultation 3/10/2019].

94 GAL S II, 561, *al-Rawḍ al-nasīm*, 1128/1716.

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
	Parallèles/dos, poèmes, introduits par <i>shī'ran</i> . Puis 2 vers d'un poème introduit par, centré: شعراً لمخون ليلي d'une autre main, peu soignée sans vocalisation, <i>dāl</i> sous-ponctué. Poème de Qays, le Fou de Laylā.	اما شه ليلي لا براعي فابى / لك من بين الوحوش صدق ⁹⁵		244
	Parallèle et oblique/dos, texte en prose, vocalisé, contenant des poèmes, dont, p. 242, l'un de l'Imam al-Manṣūr, vocalisé. P. 243, sections de vers à l'encre rouge ; p. 242, introductions rubriquées, centrées, sections de vers marquées d'une virgule à l'encre rouge. Réponse et p. 237, sa <i>tatimma</i> avec date <i>yawm al-jum'a</i> 9 shawwāl 1128/26 sept. 1716.			243-37
C	Main D. Parallèle et oblique/dos, prose.	المرسوم الوارد من السلطان سليمن بن سليم خان الى المطهر بن سرف الدين في خروج مصطفى باشا الى اليمن الميمون	السلطان سليمان بن سليم خان	237-3
	Parallèle et oblique/dos, réponse d'al-Muṭahhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn/Muṣṭafā Bāshā, année 959/1551-2.	حواب المطهر سرف الدين الى الابواب العاليه على يد مصطفى باشا نكدار كى رسد سابقا وذلك فى سه 959		232-27
	Parallèle et oblique/dos, titre, centré.	صوره مكاب قاضى الى قاضى		227-6

95 Il manque un mot dans le deuxième hémistiche, ce qui fausse le mètre. Le texte correct est:

أيا شبه ليلي لا تراعي فإني. لك اليوم من بين الوحوش صديق

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
	Parallèle et oblique/dos, titre en forme de triangle inversé.	صوره كتاب تعود من حدر باشا الى امير المومنين الموند نالله رب العالمين في الصلح واشنا القاصي في ال... عد الله بن الصديق المحرفي رحمه الله تعالى	حيدر باشا	226-4
	Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥūthī, <i>Mirāth</i> , introduit par, centré: في مرث السد العلّامه بورالدين محمد بن عد الله الحوثي الى الامير صفر الى محروس صعده	كتاب المرث	نور الدين محمد بن عبد الله الحوثي	224-1
	Oblique/dos. Introduit par, centré: سلوه كات للفقيه عد الله بن عد الصمد المحرفي عن حدر باسا الى الفقهه صلاح بن يحيى الكاتب معاهداً له رحمه الله تعالى	كّات للفقيه عبد الله بن عبد الصمد المحرفي عن حيدر باشا الى الفقيه صلاح بن يحيى الكاتب معاهداً له	للفقيه عبد الله بن عبد الصمد المحرفي	221-17
	Oblique/dos. Réponse, introduite par, centré: تلوه جواب محمد ولي على القاضي عبد الله المحرفي	جواب	محمد ولي	217-6
	Oblique/dos, épître d' al-Muṭaḥhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn <i>ilā ahl Ṣan‘ā’</i> introduite par, centré, en forme de triangle inversé: وهذه رسالة من المطهر بن شرف الدين عليّم إلى أهل صنعا وبلادها يحثهم على الجهاد في سبيل الله Même main. Suivent le titre de l'épître, 2 vers, d'une autre main, saisissant l'occasion d'un peu d'espace vierge, introduits par لمحوب للى لما وصل مكة و... دات يوم حالس فادا داع دعا اللى	رسالة إلى أهل صنعا	المطهر بن شرف الدين	216-2

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
	Parallèle/dos. Introduit par, centré: شمس الدين أحمد بن محمد الانسي عند دعوة الامام المتوكل على الله عادت بركاته <i>Tatimma</i>	دعوة الامام المتوكل على الله	شمس الدين أحمد بن محمد الانسي	212-1
C	Main D? Parallèle/dos, épître, introduite par, centré: هذه الرسالة التي اشأها الرصاص على لسان الحسن بن وهّاس فوضع الحسن عليهما حطه واضافها الى نفسه وهذه لسحتها حرفاً حرفاً من عد الله امير المؤمنين الحسن بن وهّاس بن ابي هاشم بن رسول الله Même main. 1/3 de la p. laissé vierge, avec 3 vers de poésie d'un côté, 1 vers de l'autre, d'une autre main.	الرسالة على لسان الحسن بن وهّاس	الرصاص	211- 03
	Main B. Perpendiculaire/dos, poème introduit par: للقاصي العلامة علي بن محمد العنسي لما اعصمه بنته مطهر بن يحيى فاحرح منه اعن الخلفه... له	نالت اقسام او ناهل البت سادت الشر	علي بن محمد العنسي	202
	Main B'. Perpendiculaire/dos, <i>takhmīs</i> introduit par, centré: الاساب للكابد والحمدس لسدى محمد بن يحيى (؟) المتوكل في مدح امامنا وسدنا المتوكل على الله حفظه الله	مدح الامام المتوكل على الله	محمد بن يحيى ؟ المتوكل	201- 199
	Main B". Perpendiculaire/dos, introduit par, centré, en forme de triangle inversé: ويله احمد احمد الانسي في مدح ... احمد بن عالب امامه ولا... مكة المسرفه.	مدح	احمد احمد الانسي	199- 4

TABLE 10.2 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 5 (suite)

Main	Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	P.
	Parrallèle/dos, introduit par, centré: وللسد المذكور ممدحا امر المؤمنين الموند ناله رحمه الله يوم العدر	في عربتي لك عن وحدي عبارات / وفي النابات عن وصفي اسارات i.e. في عربتي لك عن وجددي عبارات / وفي النابات عن وصفي اشارات	احمد احمد الاسبلي	194-1
	Main B. Perpendiculaire/dos, introduit par, centré: وللسد الحليل الحسن بن عبد القادر بن الناصر في مدح النبي صلى الله عليه واله وسلم حده لمروس	مدح النبي	الحسن بن عبد القادر بن الناصر	191- 89

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Note autographe. Le propriétaire demande de bonnes choses à Dieu pour les croyants et les croyantes. Date: 17 rabī' al-awwal 13[48]/23 août 1929. Au stylo rouge, dans un coin, "raqam 68". Ce fol., plus court, a été collé sur le contreplat, masquant un texte; une bande de papier a servi à ajuster.	هذه السفينة النفيسة بقلم مالكها الحقير الفقير الى مولاه الغني الكبير محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن اسمعيل ابن محمد بن يحيى بن احمد الكبسي عفى الله عنهم وجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات و— 17 ربيع الاول سنة 48 ه ه ه		o

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Pages vierges. Réglures.			1-6
Introduit par وللسيد الجليل العلامة عبد الله بن صلاح العادل إنخ	سلا هل الصب بعد التازحين سلا / ام هل بغير هواهم عنهما اشتعالاً ⁹⁶	عبد الله بن صلاح العادل (صنعاء)	7
Introduit par, aligné à droite: قال القاضي العلامة محمد بن الحسن الحسني (؟) الحسني (؟) رحمه الله	مغرا محملا ان منه ملاده	محمد بن حسن الحشيمي؟	8
Introduit par, aligné à droite: جمال الدين ابن ساته	ثمت ثغر عدولي حين سَمَّاك	جمال الدين	9
Introduit par, aligné à droite: سمس الدين ابن الصايغ	كيف انخلاص وقلبي بعد اسراك	شمس الدين ابن الصايغ؟	9
Introduit par (× 2), centré: التلعفري	ارى الكووس اللتي فيها حمياك	التلعفري (m. 696/1296-7) ⁹⁷	10
Introduit par, centré: لسدى العلامة الكرم بن الكرم بن بدر بن محمد بن الحسن بن القاسم بن محمد عليهم السلام	اتراه يكتم ما تحن ظلوعه	الكريم بن الكريم ابن بدر بن محمد بن الحسن بن القاسم ابن محمد	10
Introduit par, aligné à droite: لسدى استحق بن يوسف المتوكل رحمه الله تعالى	لو رأنا الليل بدرى لا ختفا	استحق بن يوسف المتوكل (m. 1173/1759)	10

96 Voir v, p. 339.

97 Voir v, p. 339.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>قال سدى محمد بن عبد الله بن الامام شرف الدين رحمه الله بصف صنعا ومسرقاتها في هذه الارحوره إنلخ</p> <p>Plus du ¼ p. laissé vierge.</p>	وقد تو سمت جمع ارض	محمد بن عبد الله بن الامام شرف الدين	15-1
Pages vierges.			16-23
<p>Nombreux commentaires et usage d'encre rouge. Vers d'un trait plus épais.</p> <p>P. 62: date de composition du <i>takhmīs</i>: 22 jumādā l-awwal 1346/17 nov. 1927, à Shahāra.</p>	<p>تخميس لمقصورة ابن دريد مرثي للحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب. ويبدو أن التخميس تم نظمه في شهاة سنة 1346 هـ</p>		24
<p>مقطع</p> <p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>قال ابن عنين</p>		ابن عنين	63
<p>مقطع</p> <p>Introduit par</p> <p>عره</p>		ابن عنين؟	63
<p>قصيدة</p> <p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>وقد ادع اى الصابع في وصف دمشق</p>		ابن عنين؟	63
<p>Dans la marge, sur plus d'1/3 de la p. Introduit par:</p> <p>قال ابن الوردى</p>	دمشق من اجل اقليم الشام مكانا واحسنه انلخ	ابن الوردي	63
<p>مقاطع</p> <p>À la fin du poème, début du texte d'Ibn al-Wardī (cf. p. 63):</p> <p>دمشق من اجل اقليم الشام مكانا واحسنه⁹⁸</p>	عن دمشق	ابن الوردي	64

98 GAL G II, 140; S II, 174, n° 5a-5c.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
تمام ما قاله ابن الوردي عن دمشق وبدايته ص 63 في الهامش Le reste de la p. est vierge.	عن دمشق	ابن الوردي	65
Pages blanches.			66-8
Section sur l'extraction de quelque chose de caché par la géomancie (<i>al-raml</i>) en utilisant un carré quadrillé (<i>bi-l-tarbī</i>). <i>Fā'ida</i> , avec recette médicinale.	باب في استخراج الخفيه من الرمل إنطخ فائدة	?	69
Partie supérieure et inférieure de la p., vers introduits par: للحاجري Au centre de la p., calendrier circulaire avec, du centre du cercle vers l'extérieur, les quatre saisons, les douze mois (calendrier solaire), les signes du zodiaque correspondants, et les 28 "étoiles", mansions lunaires (7 par saison). Sans doute un calendrier agricole. Utilisation d'encre noire et rouge.	بدر الدجا في فلك خديك قد انجم ذؤبني بصدودك مثل ذوب الشمع	الحاجري	70
Quelques <i>ḥadīths</i> et anecdotes anciennes, introduits, horizontalement/au dos, par: الحمد لله سبحانه مقول من العقد للفقير شهاب الدين ابو عمر احمد بن محمد بن عبد ربه رحمه الله في المحاسنه puis obliquement, فاده puis horizontalement لما احتضر قيس بن عاصم قال لبنيه يا بني إنطخ puis obliquement, فاده			71

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Deux poèmes anonymes. Introduits par: مظومه في طالع الفجر et اسات في ندى	Poèmes		72
Tableau de 12 colonnes sur 21 l. qui produit des versets du Coran si l'on lit une lettre sur sept.			73
Titre centré dans la p.	العقد الثمين في سان الحق المبين لمولانا شيخ الاسلام وزينه الآل العلبا العاملين الاعلام البدر المنير محمد بن اسمعيل الامير ⁹⁹ نفع الله بعلمه المسلمين واعلى درجته من اعلا عليين	محمد بن اسمعيل الامير (cf. <i>safīna</i> 4, 66, 97; <i>safīna</i> 7, 244, 313-6)	74
Poème répondant à des doutes sur son ascendance, introduit par la <i>basmala</i> et une note en marge du poème.	بدرک يا رب الخلاق ابتدى	محمد بن اسماعيل الامير (cf. <i>safīna</i> 4, 66, 97; <i>safīna</i> 7, 244, 313-6)	74
Réponse des cadis d'al-'Ans (en prose), introduite par: وبعد ذلك نذكر ما وجدناه من احوه العلبا على اللؤما من بنى العنسى حواب سدى العلامه وحيه الدين عد القادر بن محمد بن الحسين وسدى العلامه النحر وحيه الاسلام عد القادر بن احمد بن عد القادر رحمهم الله على الكتاب الواصل الهما من القضاء بفي العنسى الساكين في جبل برط لفظه changements de section rubriqués.		قضاة العنسى	78

99 Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī, GAL S I, 612, 695.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>قال السد العلامة الادب البليغ فخر الدين عبد الله بن على الورير عليهم السلام محاطا... على طريق الاقتان الى سدى العلامة صبا الاسلام زيد بن محمد بن الحسن بن أمير المؤمنين القاسم</p> <p>P. 1 d'une pagination à l'encre rouge, dans un système différent de chiffres, commence ici; elle se clôt à la p. 116, soit p. 196 de la <i>safīna</i> actuelle.</p>	<p>طمعى قليل في بدور الارض يا بدر السما فما اطيل عتابي</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير (m. 1147/1734)</p>	81
<p>Introduit par, centré :</p> <p>وقال يمدح الحسين بن علي بن المتوكل</p>	<p>اذهلني حالك يا معجب</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	81
<p>Introduit par, centré :</p> <p>وقال ايضا الى السيد العلامة المعير (؟ السعيد؟) بن الحسن الحره (؟) رحمهما الله</p>	<p>ليس شقيقى من ابوه ابي</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	82
Rubriqué	حرف التنا		84
	<p>افدى الذى فصحت في الحيد باطقه</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	84
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال مكاتبا لسدى الحسين بن علي بن المتوكل رحمهم الله</p>	<p>قسما بالمصون من قساماتك</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	84
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال ايضا عند قدوم رمضان بقول عله بعض اصحابه... هذا السؤال</p>	<p>ما يقول الاكرمون انجبا</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	85
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال رحمه الله في تقيل</p>	<p>تقيل تميد الارض منه اذا مثنى</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	86
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال مرثيا الامير البليغ سدى العلامة الادب شرف الاسلام الحسن بن عبد القادر بن الباصر بن عبد الرب رحمهم الله وابانا والمومنين والمومات</p>	<p>اشقيق بدر الروض بعدك حده</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	87

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Rubriqué.	حرف الجيم		87
Introduit par, centré: وقال ومراجعا للشيخ عبد الرحمن بن محمد الذهبي الدمشقي ¹⁰⁰ نزيل مكة المشرفة القادم الى صنعا	وافى كشكل البدر في جنح الدمجى	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	87
Rubriqué.	حرف الحاء		88
Introduit par, aligné à droite: دارت بن السد محمد بن حسن الكوكباني رحمه الله وبين الشيخ مصطفى بن فتح الله مكاتبه في روى الحاققال علي منوالها	راى فرقه من تحت طرته صبحا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	89
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتب لسدى حسن بن عبد القادر بن الناصر	لا تتكروا وصف القد والملاح	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	90
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال ايضا رحمه الله	افدى الذى قلبى على ما به	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	90
Partie d'un vers à l'encre rouge.			
Rubriqué.	حرف الدال		91
	أما أن أن تنسا عهدا ومعهدا		92
Introduit par, centré: وقال مطالعا حصره سدى الحق بن امير المومنين المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم عليهم السلام	ارى خطرات همك يا فؤادى	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	93
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مهنيا لسيدى الحسن بن اسحق في عبد الاضحى	ما العيد الانحرهم العميد	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	95

100 Actif fin XVII^e-début XVIII^e s., voir *Safīna* 4, 9-13, et *Safīna* 7, 287-279. Cité dans *Safīna* 7, 141.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتباً للقاضي عبد القادر التزيلي والفقيه زيد بن صالح الشامي ومعاتبا	الا ما عمرو عنى قل	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	96
Introduit par, centré: وقال من قصيده رحمه الله	لولا اذكار شادن وشادى	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	97
Introduit par, centré: وقال رحمه الله	مرسل ومعى عليك في الحد	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	98
Introduit par: وقال معاتباً لصديق له	حيراني عن اهل نجد ونجدى	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	100
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال رحمه الله مادحا لسدى زيد بن المتوكل ومهنثاً له باعراس	ادرها كووسا بالهنا يا اخی سعد	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	101
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتباً لعص اصحانه وكان قد اسدى اليه معروفا	يا من سباني بعين كم تلا حظني	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	102
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مجيباً على السيد العلامة محمد بن الحسين بن يحيى الحمري رحمه الله تعالى	جار على ضعفى النوى واعتدى	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	103
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال في حصان للسد قاسم بن لقمان رحمه الله	لله من اشقر كمييت	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	104
Rubriqué.	حرف الرا		104
Introduit par, centré: قال من قصده	زفها بكرا على الشرط عقارا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	104
Introduit par: وقال اعضاً مكاتباً للسد البليغ احمد بن احمد الأتسى رحمه الله تعالى	عذار رطيب فوق ريحانه خضرا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	105

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال اضبا وقد اتخله بعض شعرا النمن ودونه	اضحى يوارى نفسه	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	106
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال من قصيده	اخذك ذا سلع وهذى محاجره	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	106
Introduit par: وقال من قصيده	لمن هذه الزهر التي تتحدُر	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	108
Introduit par: وقال À partir de cette p., mots exécutés d'un trait plus épais.	كيف حالى يا سنبل بن سرور (٤)	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	110
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مجيبا على الحكم شعبان سليم عن ايات	حذار امن معاشره العذارا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	111
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مطالعا حضره السيد محمد قاسم لقمان رحمه الله تعالى	من دون حطار قدك الخطر	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	113
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتبا لسدى الحسن بن عبد القادر بن الناصر بن عبد الرب رحهم الله	يا روض ساطى (٤) البان لست بناظري	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	114
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مجيبا على السد محمد بن قاسم لقمان رحهما الله	بك فليتم الافتخارُ	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	116
Introduit par, centré: وقال معاتبا لصدق له	والذي يعلم سري علنا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	117
Introduit par: وقال مرثيا للسد احمد مهدى بن بحى بن احمد السد الحمدي الكوكباني رحمه الله P. 118, des blancs laissés par le copiste doivent correspondre à des passages illisibles dans l'original.	بين (٤) الصبح لذي (٤) عينين يا / ايها الاهي بصبح وسمر	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	117

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال في السد حسن بن صلاح بن عز الدين وقد سعى به الى حصرة الخلافة فسار إلى	قل لنا يا ابن صلاح ما على	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	119
Introduit par : وقال مطالعا حضرة الشيخ زين العادين بن سعد المتوفى (؟ المتولى ؟) إلى حضرة الخلافة	اه ما احلى التصابي وامر	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	119
Rubriqué.	حرف الزاي		121
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال مكاتبا لسدى العلامة زيد بن محمد بن الحسن بن الإمام رحهم الله	نعم زمان السرور وافتا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	121
Introduit par : وقال ايضا	يا ابن صدر الكمال انت بحجرا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	121
Rubriqué.	حرف السين		122
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال إلى السيد علي بن يحيى العارضه	انا في ربيع مقامها العباس	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	122
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال مهنيا لسدى العلامة محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسين بن أمر المؤمنين باعراس رحهم الله	أيا من له حظ من العلم وافر	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	123
Introduit par : وقال مكاتبا بعض اصحابه	اسبأ بنفسك يا مولاي منتها	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	123
Introduit par, centré : وقال ايضا رحمه الله	وحده الحق في المقام النفيس	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	123
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وله الى سددي زيد بن محمد بن الحسن رحهم الله	ملاً الكاسات صرفا وحتسا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	124
Rubriqué.	حرف الشين		126

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال على السان/ بعض اصحابه الى عامل في الخفاش	اما في هذه الدنيا هلالٌ	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	126
Rubriqué.	حرف الضاد		128
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مشيرا الى الموترات عند الاصولين	ما سبب الهجر بلا علة	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	128
Rubriqué.	حرف الطاء المهملة		128
Introduit par, aligné à droite: قال على لسان بعض اصحابه	وحقك يا ابن الاكرمين ارومة	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	128
Introduit par: وكتب إلى سدى يحيى بن علي بن المتوكل	ارى قلبى مثل المثقف اذ يسطو	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	129
Rubriqué.	حرف العين المهملة		129
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتبا للسيد يحيى بن إبراهيم بخاف	مطالع الوصل قد بانت طوالعها	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	129
Introduit par, centré: وقال من قصيدة	رعا زهرات القلب ثم اضعاه	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	130
Introduit par, centré: وقال من قصيده رحمه الله	سلا عندما بان الحبيب مودعا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	131
Changement de calame? Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مجيبا على سدى العلامة محمد بن اسحق بن أمير المؤمنين رحمه الله	داعي التصابي لقوادي قد دعا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	131
Rubriqué.	حرف الفاء		132
Introduit par, centré: وقال من قصيده	لك الله هذا مورد الوصل قد صفا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	132

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مجيبا على سدى العلامة محمد بن زبد بن محمد بن الحسن بن أمر المؤمنين رحمهم الله	اسبكت قرطا او سبكت القرقفا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	133
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال لما وصل سليمان باشا نائب جده الى حصره الخلفه بالمواهب بنفاس من الخيل والا... صحبة احمد اغا الخ	شرّفتموننا يا بنى يافث	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	134
Rubriqué.	حرف القاف		135
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال لما وقف على كتاب مثال النعل النبوى للعلامه الفاسى مصورا بالذهب الاحمر فى سحة عليها قلم العناه	اى عيونى زهى الاحداق فى / شبه نعل المصطفى فوه حديثه	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	135
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال من قصيده	لحظ الزهور اطال فى تحديقه	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	136
Introduit par: وقال ايضا	كم ذا جفونك بالدموع تفرق	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	136
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله من قصده الى سدى الحسن بن احمد بن الحسن بن أمر المؤمنين رحمهم الله	اثرها تسامى الشمس اوجا واشراقا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	137
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مجيبا على الحكيم شعبان سليم!	محيّاك ام بدر لشعبان مشرق	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	138
Introduit par: وقال معربا لسدى الحسن بن الحسن بن ولده القسم بن بحى لما استشهد فى حفاش رحمهم الله	عز مولانا الحسين الملك فى / علم الاسلام ميمون الطريقة	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	139

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مرثيا للسيد الفاضل عمر شيخان المتوفى بمكة المشرفة سنة ثلاث عشرة ومائة والف (1113) ووجهت إلى ولده محمد بن عمر سحاه (؟) رحمهم الله جميعا Date: 1113/1701-2.</p>	مصاب له دمع المهاجر لا برقا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	140
Rubriqué.	حرف الكاف		141
<p>Introduit par: قال مجيبا على الشيخ عبد الرحمن بن محمد الذهبي¹⁰¹ نزيل مكة المشرفة</p>	امليك انت قل لى أم ملك	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	141
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مجيبا على الشيخ المذكور في هذه المتقدمة</p>	لا وحمرا قد (؟) عتقت في شفاتك	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	142
Rubriqué.	حرف اللام		143
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتبا سيدى الحسن بن علي بن المتوكل الى الروضه رحمهم الله</p>	الى م عن الرشا اسل	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	143
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مجيبا على الشيخ مصطفي بن فتح الله الحموى القادم صنعنا سنة 1118 Date: 1118/1706-7.</p>	قد انصفتنى بالوصال / والبدر ينصف للكمال	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	145
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مادحا لسيدى قاسم بن الحسين بن أمير المؤمنين لما نفده المهدي محمد بن أحمد إلى جهة القبلة (؟) وكان قد ظهر من حاشد وبكيل الخروج عن الطاعة</p>	مل عن القول اذا لم تفعل / ليس غايات المنا بالامل	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	146

101 Actif fin XVII^e-début XVIII^e s., voir *Safīna* 4, 9-13, et *Safīna* 7, 287-279. Cité dans cette *Safīna*, 87.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال ايضا على منوال قصيده القاصي العلامة الأدب على بن محمد العنسي ¹⁰² التي جعلها الى السد محمد بن قاسم لتمان رحمهم الله جميعا	منيتي ان ادخل الجنة يا / منيتي اما بفضل او عمل	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	148
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال ايضا مرثيا لسدي استحقق من أمير المؤمنين رحمهم الله	مصاب على مرّ الجديدين لا يبلا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	150
Rubriqué.	حرف النون		151
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مهنيا لامر المؤمنين المهدي محمد بن احمد بن الحسن بالشفا رحمهم الله	قيص الشفا ما حاطه قد انسان	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	152
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال ايضا وقد اقترح عليه بعضهم ذلك ولها مقتض حاص	اثرها بحاجا تلبس الجواردانا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	154
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مرثيا للقاضي العلامة على بن احمد السماوي رحمهم الله تعالى وايانا	ارى دمع عيني من كل شان	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	155
Introduit par: وقال رثي لسدي يحيى بن الحسن بن القاسم رضوان الله عليهم وعليها	اجل هدمت من شاح المجد اركان	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	156
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مرثيا لسدي الحسن بن الحسن بن القاسم رحمهم الله تعالى وايانا	ابدا كل من عليها فاني	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	157

102 M. 1139/1726.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال رحمه الله مرثيا للفقير احمد بن عبد المؤمن التزيلي رحمه الله تعالى	ان امرا بالجلال في كفن	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	158
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتبا للسيد محمد لقمان بعد عزمه من صنعنا رحمهم الله وايانا	يا بلبل البان طارحنى وكن خلفا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	159
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتبا لسدى محمد بن عبد القادر بن عبد الرب رحمهم الله وايانا	سلا هل سلا قلبي عن الرشا الغانى	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	160
Rubriqué.	حرف الميم		162
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مادحا للنبي المكرم والرسول المعظم محمد صلى الله عليه واله وسلم على منوال قصيده سدى الحسن بن عبد القادر امام اعتقاله فى قصر صصعا ورحمهم الله واانا والمومنين والمومنات وعفر لنا ولهم جمع السيآت P. 163, espace laissé en blanc et vers écrit d'un trait épais à l'encre rouge.	يا اهل طيبه لى من وصلكم ذمم	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	162
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مادحا للامام المتوكل على الله القاسم بن الحسن لما استولى على بلاد القبلة إنخ	حنث الواشون فيما اقسما	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	164
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال وقد نفذ إلى صنعنا بنفوذ سدى قاسم بن حسن إلى بلاد الحجة إنخ	قساما اكد له لام القسم	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	166
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مرثيا للقاضى على بن محى البرطى والقاضى حسين بن محمد المغربى رحمهم الله جميعا وايانا	مصاب له من حق الصيد احلام [كذا]	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	169

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	<i>Incipit</i>	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال مهنيا للسيد اسمعيل بن حسن الحره</p> <p>La somme des lettres du premier (et dernier) hémistiche donne la date de 1121H, soit 1709-10. Le calcul est détaillé et le résultat, 1121, est indiqué par une accolade, à l'encre rouge¹⁰³.</p>	السعد لا يحتاج تقيما	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	171
Rubriqué.	حرف الها		171
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال وقد ألفت السد شرف الدين القاسم مؤلفا في حداول النجوم وسماه النجم الثاقب وطلب منه تقريطه</p>	ردوا جدول العين الذي طاب سقيهاها	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	171
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال مكاتبا للسيد محمد بن قاسم لقمان وجعله على هذا الاسلوب العجب رحيمهم الله</p> <p>Le poème s'organise autour de l'<i>incipit</i>, dont chaque mot sert de point de départ à une manière alternative de compléter ce qui reste du vers. Chacun de ces vers 'latéraux' s'élève obliquement à gauche à partir du mot de l'<i>incipit</i> qui sert de point de départ, au-dessus et au-dessous de l'arête centrale formée par l'<i>incipit</i>, produisant ainsi un effet graphique¹⁰⁴. Virgules et points à l'encre rouge pour marquer le milieu et la fin des vers.</p>	كيف يخلو عن حكمة وصواب / زمن انت بيننا لقمانه	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	173
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال الى السد محمد بن قاسم لقمان اعتذارا من ترك التردد الى مقامه</p>	يا ابن لقمان يا كريم السجايا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	174
Rubriqué.	حرف اليا		174

103 Ce n'est pas exceptionnel d'avoir une date exprimée ainsi, à la fin de poésies, dans différentes régions du Yémen, entre le xviii^e s. et aujourd'hui.

104 Même exercice dans le ms. ar. 3426 (BnF), fol. 65^v.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال مكاتبا للقاضي علي بن محمد العنسي ¹⁰⁵ والتزم التوريه في الأعلب منها وسمها بعض الأديبا اهرامات مصر لاحكامها رحمهم الله وايبانا	انادم من تلك العيون جواريا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	174
مقاطع À l'encre rouge, aligné à droite, introduit, par: سلوا ذلك ما له من المقاطع قال أي (؟) السد اللع العلامة عبد الله بن علي الوزير		عبد الله بن علي الوزير	175
	اقنع بما قسم الرحمن واسال فكم	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	175
مقاطع Commencent dans la marge de gauche de la p. 175, perpendiculairement au texte central. Introduit par: وما قال من مقاطعه Les pièces suivantes ont une introduction; p. 181, introduction à un <i>madaḥ</i> rubriquée. Certaines sont dans la marge.		عبد الله بن علي الوزير	175- 81
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال معاتبا للسد الهمام العلامة الأجد محمد بن قاسم لقمان رحمهم الله وايبانا	الا الى الشمس اعنى (؟) البدر مطلبي	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	182
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال جوابا على سيدى عيسى بن محمد عبد القادر صاحب كوكبان	هزّت من القدر شيقا ماسا	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	183

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال رحمه الله في تعداد ضيافات Les ¾ de la p. 185 sont vierges.	قسماً برز ابن الوزير ومعبيل	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	184- 5
<i>Maqāma</i> /Épître ? en <i>saj'</i> peu aisée à suivre, évoquant de nombreuses anecdotes historiques plus ou moins célèbres. Introduit par une <i>basmala</i> et une <i>ḥamdala</i> , aligné à droite. Mots de section à l'encre rouge, et, p. 189, sections des vers marquées par des virgules et des points à l'encre rouge.			186- 9
Introduit par, aligné à droite : للصفي الحلي سعل لمحبوب له اسمه حسن	اذاب التبر في كاس اللجين	الصفي الحلي (m. 750/1349)	189
Introduit par, aligné à droite : لسدى الحسين (?) على بن المتوكل رحمه الله	ما زال ذكرك في الظلام سميري	الحسين بن علي بن المتوكل	192
Introduit par, aligné à droite : قال عبره	تعطف للاحبه كل حين	الحسين بن علي بن المتوكل	192
Introduit par, aligné à droite : للحب الطبري (?) رواه الامير العاصمي	يا جاعلا سنن النبي شعاره ودثاره	الحب الطبري ؟	193
Introduit par, aligné à droite : لسدى محسن 1/ بن المتوكل رحمه الله البت الاول والثاني ولسدى حسن 2/ بن علي رحمه الله الثالث والرابع ولسدى يوسف 3/ المتوكل رحمه الله/ الخامس وللقاضي علي 4/ بن صالح ابن ابي الرجال رحمه الله السادس والسابع	علام يهيج القلب وهو المتيم	Différents poètes	193

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>للسد محمد بن احمد الحلال اشدت في مقام فه سدی العلامة عبد القادر بن احمد رحمهما الله عد عزم المصور بالله للحماد</p>	<p>في دمه الله محروسا مدا الابد</p>	<p>محمد بن أحمد الجلال؟</p>	194
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>فاحارها سدی العلامة وحه الدين عبد القادر بن احمد بهذه الاسات</p>	<p>فاعزم بجيش من النصر المبين ومن...</p>	<p>وجيه الدين عبد القادر بن أحمد</p>	194
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>للسيد عبد المعطى قبل انه كان مجلس الامام المتوكل على اسمعل بن القسم عليهما السلام فدحل إنخ</p>	<p>سطى علينا امير المومنين سطا</p>	<p>عبد المعطى</p>	194
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>قال الفقيه العلامة المفاضل صفى الدين احمد بن محمد قطن رحمه الله مخاطبا على تعلم العلم ونشره بعد موت العلبا والاساره الى من يقوم بذلك وفه اساله الى مشاخه ورسه لهم رحمهم الله وانا وجميع المومنين</p> <p>La pagination à l'encre rouge s'achève ici, dans cette numérotation à la p. 116. P. 196, ¼ inférieur laissé vierge.</p>	<p>يا طالب العلم صف القلب عن شوس</p>	<p>الفقيه صفى الدين أحمد بن محمد قاطن (m. 1198/1784)</p>	195
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>قال السد العلامة الادب التحرير (؟) نخر الاسلام الفهامه الارب عبد الله بن علي الوزر</p> <p>AAB CCC mu'rab lllcllclclcl lllcllclclcl ll lllcllclclcl lllcllclclcl lllcllclclcl</p> <p>Sections des vers marquées à l'encre rouge par des virgules et une forme en escargot (<i>ḥaylazūnī</i>).</p>	<p>انصف قلبي الحبيب اذ وصلا</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزر (m. 1147/1734)</p>	197

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	<i>Incipit</i>	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, centré: وقال ايضا</p> <p>ab ab ab AB <i>malḥūn</i> llcllclcl llclcll llcllclcl llclcll llcllclcl llclcll llcllclcl llclcll</p> <p>Nouvelles sections de 4 vers marquées par “<i>bayt</i>” à l’encre rouge, centré. Dans cette partie du <i>dīwān</i> réservée au <i>ḥumaynī</i>, le copiste s’efforce de consacrer une page à chaque poème, ce qui le conduit, au besoin, à achever verticalement dans la marge. Cet effort, surtout perceptible au début, s’essouffle ensuite progressivement à partir de la p. 208.</p>	<p>عليش يا بابلي النظر / يا حالي الشمائل</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	197
<p>Introduit par: وقال رحمه الله</p> <p>ab ab ab AB ccc AB lclllclcll lclllcl lclllclcll lclllcl lclllclcll lclllcl lclllclcll lclllcl lclllcl lclllcl lclllcl lclllclcll lclllcl</p> <p>Sections des vers marquées à l’encre rouge par des virgules et une forme en escargot. Nouvelles sections de 6 vers marquées par “<i>bayt</i>” à l’encre rouge, centré.</p>	<p>القلوب من ذى الذوايب ذوايب</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	198

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>وله رحمه الله تعالى وارسلها الى السيد احمد المهدي الى قرنه القابل</p> <p>aa aa aa AA llclclllclcl llclcl llclclllclcl llclcl llclclllclcl llclcl llclclllclcl llclcl Nouvelles sections de 4 vers marquées par “<i>bayt</i>” à l’encre rouge, centré, et <i>tatimma</i> à l’encre rouge dans la marge.</p>	<p>لولاك يا غصن لم اطرب لسجع الحمام</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	<p>199</p>
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>وله رحمه الله تعالى وارسلها الى السدي زيد بن محمد بن الحسن</p> <p>llclclcl llclllclcl llclclcl llclllclcl llclclcl llclllclcl llclclcl llclllclcl llclclcl llclclcl llclclcl llclclcl llclllclcl Avant-dernier vers à l’encre rouge. Nouvelles sections de 6 vers marquées par “<i>bayt</i>” à l’encre rouge, centré; avant-dernier vers à l’encre rouge. Dans la marge, vers à l’encre rouge, dont les parties sont réunies par un motif en nuage à l’encre rouge et sections des autres vers marquées par des virgules et escargots à l’encre rouge. <i>Tatimma</i> à l’encre rouge.</p>	<p>استغفر الله العظيم</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	<p>200</p>

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وله رحمه الله الى شعبان سليم</p> <p>ab ab ab AB llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl Nouvelles sections de 4 vers marquées par “<i>bayt</i>” à l’encre rouge, centré. Dans la marge, <i>tatimma</i> à l’encre rouge.</p>	البارحه طيى الصريم الاغن	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	201
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وله رحمه الله مجيبا على السد احمد المنهدى رحمه الله</p> <p>ab ab ab AB ccc AB AB llcllclcl llcllclclcl llcllclcl llcllclclcl llcllclcl llcllclclcl llcllclcl llcllclclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclclcl llcllclcl llcllclclcl Nouvelles sections de vers marquées par “<i>bayt</i>” à l’encre rouge, centré. Dans la marge, vers à l’encre rouge et <i>tatimma</i> à l’encre rouge.</p>	فتاك لحظيك يا محجب (?)	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	202
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وقال رحمه الله تعالى</p> <p>ab ab ab AB llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl llcllclcl Nouvelles sections de 6 vers marquées par “<i>bayt</i>” à l’encre rouge, centré, et <i>tatimma</i> à l’encre rouge.</p>	ما هو السبب يا رريم رامة	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	203

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله رحمه الله تعالى ولها سرح طويل ل... حشمة التطويل</p> <p>ab ab ab AB lclclcllclcl lclclclcl lclclcllclcl lclclclcl lclclcllclcl lclclclcl lclclcllclcl lclclclcl Échos très nets du poème – sans doute postérieur – <i>Layt° shī'ri limvh khilliy al-yawm i'tadhar</i>. Nouvelles sections de 4 vers marquées par “<i>bayt</i>” à l’encre rouge, centré, et <i>tatimma</i> à l’encre rouge.</p>	يا حمام اسعدينا بتبليغ السلام	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	204
<p>ab ab ab AB CCC AB AB llcllclclclcl llcllclcll llcllclclclcl llcllclcll llcllclclclcl llcllclcll llcllclclclcl llcllclcll llcllclclcl llcllclclcl llcllclclcl llcllclclcl llcllclcll llcllclclcl llcllclcll À l’encre rouge, “<i>tawshīh</i>” et “<i>bayt</i>”. Dans la marge, vers et <i>tatimma</i> à l’encre rouge.</p>	لى خل من بين الطبا شرذ	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	205
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال رحمه الله</p> <p>ab ab ab AB CCC AB lclclcllclcl lclclcl lclclcllclcl lclclcl lclclcllclcl lclclcl lclclcllclcl lclclcl lclclclcll lclclclcll lclclclcll lclclcllclcl lclclcl À l’encre rouge, “<i>tawshīh</i>” et “<i>bayt</i>”. Dans la marge, vers et <i>tatimma</i> à l’encre rouge.</p>	الله المستعان يا خلى	عبد الله بن علي الوزير	206

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وقال عفى الله عنه</p> <p>ab ab ab AB llclll llclllclcl llclll llclllclcl llclll llclllclcl llclll llclllclcl À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>. Virtuosité calligraphique (<i>tafannun</i>) sur "al-ḥajj".</p>	<p>صلى الاله يا اخوان</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	207
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وقال عفى الله عنه</p> <p>aaaA llclllclcll llclllclcll llclllclcll llclllclcll À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>لى خل مثل البدر طال مغيبه</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	208
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وقال عفى الله عنه</p> <p>ab ab ab AB ccc AB llclllclcll llclll llclllclcll llclll llclllclcll llclll llclllclcll llclll lcclll lcclll lcclll lcclll lcclll lcclll llclllclcll llclll À l'encre rouge, "tawshūḥ" et "bayt".</p>	<p>ما تاج كسرى او قصور قيصر</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	208

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>ab ab ab AB cd cd cd AB llcllclcl llclll llcllclcl llclll llcllclcl llclll llcllclcl llclll lccll lccll lccll lccll lccll lccll llcllclcl llclll À l'encre rouge, "tawshīḥ" et "bayt".</p>	<p>قد نال عدولك كلبا [ما] تمّنى</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	210
<p>Introduit par, centré: وقال عفى الله عنه</p> <p>ab ab ab AB ccc AB llcllcl llclllclll llcllcl llclllclll llcllcl llclllclll llcllcl llclllclll llclllclll llclllclll llclllclll llclllcl llclllclll À l'encre rouge, "tawshīḥ", "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>اما وتغريد البلابل</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	211
<p>Introduit par, centré: وقال عفى الله عنه</p> <p>ab ab ab AB lccllclcl lcclllclll lccllclcl lcclllclll lccllclcl lcclllclll lccllclcl lcclllclll À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>كم وكم لى ادارى شجوني</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	212

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	<i>Incipit</i>	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وقال رحمه الله</p> <p>ab ab ab AB llclllll llclllcll llclllll llclllcll llclllll llclllcll llclllll llclllcll llclllll llclllcll À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>صادت فوادی غزال الدور</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	213
<p>Introduit par, centré :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وقال رحمه الله</p> <p>ab ab ab AB llcl llclllcll llcl llclllcll llcl llclllcll llcl llclllcll Échos très nets de <i>Ma'shūq al-jamāl</i> de Sharaf al-Dīn (m. 1010/1601) À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>يا اهل انخيام / ردوا لطرفي متامه</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	213
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وقال رحمه الله</p> <p>ab ab ab AB llclllclll llcll llclllclll llcll llclllclll llcll llclllclll llcll À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>من منصفى من درى الجماني</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	214
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وقال رحمه الله على لسان صديق له مات محبوبه</p> <p>ab ab ab AB llclllll llclllcll llclllll llclllcll llclllll llclllcll llclllll llclllcll À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>قالوا حبيبك فلان قد مات</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	214

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, centré:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وفال رحمه</p> <p>aaaA cllclclllcll cllclclllcll cllclclllcll cllclclllcll cllclclllcll À l'encre rouge, "bayt". Le poème se termine au tiers supérieur de la p. 216, dont le reste est laissé blanc</p>	<p>اسالك بالني يا حبيب القلب مالك</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	215
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">وفال رحمه الله تعالى محاطا لولده صلاح الدين بن عد الله على الورر رحمهم الله حمعا</p> <p>ab ab ab AB llclllclcl llclllclcl llclllclcl llclllclcl llclllclcl llclllclcl llclllclcl llclllclcl llclllclcl llclllclcl À l'encre rouge, sections marquées par "bayt". Le poème s'arrête aux 2/3 de la p. 219, par une strophe incomplète et sans <i>tatimma</i>. Le 1/3 restant est laissé vierge.</p>	<p>اغتم شبابك يا صلاح تغم</p>	<p>عبد الله بن علي الوزير</p>	217
<p>Introduit par, rubriqué:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">لبعضهم</p> <p>aaaA llclllclcll llclllclcll llclllclcll llclllclcll llclllclcll À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>متى متى بالوصل والتداني</p>	<p>؟</p>	220

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وللقاضى العلامة الادب على بن العنسى رحمه الله واتى بها على لغه تهامه</p> <p>Mentionne la Tihāma, sa langue. ab ab llclclll llclclll llclclll llclclll À l'encre rouge, "bayt" et <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>شابوك انا وامرفق بكره آسل</p>	<p>علي بن محمد العنسي (m. 1139/1726)</p>	221
<p>Introduit par, rubriqué, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وللقاضى على بن محمد العسى الى السد محمد بن قاسم لقمان رحهما الله</p> <p>Fin des vers marqué par un cercle à l'encre rouge et <i>tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>اوثقوا (؟) القلب وقالوا لي آسل</p>	<p>علي بن محمد العنسي</p>	222
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وقال القاضى العلامة جمال الاسلام على بن محمد العنسى رحمه الله ما لفظه اطلعت فى بعض الكتب على بعل سد المرسلين صلى الله عليه واله وسلم ممثلة ناحسن مثال وكان محظر فى نالى بظم قصده فى مدح سد المرسلين صلى الله عليه واله وسلم إنلخ</p> <p>À l'encre rouge, <i>tatimma</i>.</p>	<p>ما زلت النعل فى قول ولا عمل</p>	<p>علي بن محمد العنسي</p>	223
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>قال سدى العلامة عر الاسلام محمد بن اسحق بن المهدي احمد بن الحسن بن القسم عليهم السلام <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>ايا بارق الجزعا (؟) هال الجزع مطور</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم (m. 1167/1754)</p>	224
<p>Introduit par :</p> <p>وقال رحمه الله تعالى قصب قصب à l'encre rouge. Milieu de vers marqué par un escargot à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>يا بروحى الذى (؟) تجلى لطفى</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم</p>	224

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par:</p> <p>وقال رحمه الله قصب</p> <p>قصب à l'encre rouge. <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>افاطم هل يمضى الزمان الذى مرا</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم</p>	225
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>وله رضى الله عنه مجيبا على والده عليهما السلام قصب</p> <p>قصب à l'encre rouge. Milieu de vers marqué par un cercle à l'encre rouge. <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>لا ومثواك بقلبي وهوى</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم</p>	226
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>وله رحمه الله قصب</p> <p>قصب à l'encre rouge. Milieu de vers marqué par une virgule et fin de vers par un cercle à l'encre rouge. <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>جودى بوصلك او بوعدك</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم</p>	227
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>وقال رحمه الله قصب</p> <p>قصب à l'encre rouge. Milieu de vers marqué par une virgule et fin de vers par un escargot à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>أسمانت الشمس لا انت يا أسما</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم</p>	227
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>وقال رحمه الله قصب</p> <p>قصب à l'encre rouge. <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>مرّت وقد جرت ذبول المرح</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم</p>	228
<p>Introduit par, centré:</p> <p>وقال رحمه الله قصب</p> <p>قصب à l'encre rouge. <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>وحمامة بالقرب منى نوحها</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم</p>	228
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite:</p> <p>وقال رحمه الله تعالى وهو في السجن</p> <p>dernière l. de la p. 228, reprise p. 229, l. 1. <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.</p>	<p>سرى طيفها ليلا الى السجن مشفقا</p>	<p>محمد بن إسحق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم</p>	228

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite, à l'encre rouge : وقال وهو مما نظمه ايضا وهو واحوبه في السحن رحمهم الله حمعا <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.	لا تجزعا ان طال حبسكم فما في الحبس عاريا بنى استحاق	محمد بن إسحاق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم	229
Introduit par, aligné à droite, à l'encre rouge : وقال مضمنا في مליح قلع الطيب ثيبته وهو بدع قص <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge. Une première <i>tatimma</i> , erronnée, a été discrètement raturée.	لا كان هذا الطيب من رجل	محمد بن إسحاق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم	229
Introduit par, aligné à droite, à l'encre rouge : وقال مضمنا قص	مهلا ورفقا يا مطوق ان لى / قلبا يطير متى صدحت ويخفق	محمد بن إسحاق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم	229
Introduit par, aligné à droite, à l'encre rouge, à l'exception de قص : وقال في اللف والنشر المرتب قص وهو لسدى استحق قاله في محروس...	سقى الله هذا الروض اذ فيه كلها	محمد بن إسحاق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم	229
Introduit par, aligné à droite, à l'encre rouge, à l'exception du dernier mot : وقال سدى العلامة عر الاسلام رحمه الله تعالى قص	رمانى فاتن من مقلتيه	محمد بن إسحاق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم	229
مقاطع tous introduit, avec usage d'encre rouge.		محمد بن إسحاق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم	230- 1
Introduit par, aligné à droite, dernier mot à l'encre rouge : وقال ايضا رحمه الله مجسا على القاضى احمد بن محمد الحمى رحمه الله قص.	طوت نحوى الغلاه قطاه نفسى	محمد بن إسحاق بن المهدي أحمد بن الحسن بن القسم	231
Copie d'une lettre. P. 232, usage d'encre rouge		?	232- 3

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: ولسدى العلامة الادب الحسن اسحق الى سدى العلامة يوسف بن المتوكل على الله اسمعيل رحيم الله جمعا	دعوتك لما عيل يا سيدى صبرى	الحسن بن إسحاق	234
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله الى أخيه العلامة محمد بن اسحق رحيمهما الله	تَلَطَّفَ فِي تَحْيِلِهِ الرَّسُولَ	الحسن بن إسحاق	235
Introduit par, dans la marge, aligné à droite, à l'encre rouge: فاحاه أحوه العلامة عر الاسلام محمد بن اسحق رصى الله عهما P. 237, poème en marge introduit par "qāla" et <i>tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.	تحمّل عن احبنا الرسول (m. 1167/1754)	محمد بن إسحاق	236-7
Introduit par, aligné à droite: ولأخيها نخر الإسلام عد الله بن اسحق مجسا على الحسن رصى الله عنهم Le poème commence en haut de la page. Cinq vers sont donnés puis le texte s'interrompt, le reste de la page est laissé vierge. Le poème suivant commence en haut de la p. 239.	دع العيس تدرع عرض الفلا	عبد الله بن إسحاق	238
Introduit par, aligné à droite: ولسدى الحسن بن اسحق رحمه تعالى Dans la marge, poème introduit par, aligné à droite: وله رحمه الله <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre rouge.	عرفت قصدك يا من / اهدى الى سواكا	الحسن بن إسحاق	239
Introduit par, aligné à droite: لسمات الاستخار فى مرأى الحمار لسدى العلامة نخر الاسلام عد الله بن احمد بن إسحاق رحيمهم الله	سحاب مدمعى قاضت سجالا	عبد الله بن أحمد بن إسحاق	240

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, centré: وله رحمه الله في الحمار ايضا	يوم موت الحمار يوم الحمار	عبد الله بن أحمد بن إسحاق	240
Introduit par, centré: وله رحمه الله في عرض المرثى اعشم	كأن حمارى من دجا الليل قطعة	عبد الله بن أحمد بن إسحاق	241
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وسدى العلامة احمد بن يوسف بن الحسن حفظه مرثيا لذلك النجيب (؟)	جاد صوب الغمام اعظم عير (؟)	أحمد بن يوسف بن الحسين بن الحسن حفظه؟	241
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله ايضا في عوض المرثى	وعير جباه الليل لونا وسيره (؟)	عبد الله بن أحمد بن إسحاق؟	242
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله وقد عتب (؟) عله الفحرى حفظه مما جباله	مصاب العير جشمى النزلا (؟)	عبد الله بن أحمد بن إسحاق؟	242
Introduit par, aligné à droite: جواب الفحرى رحمه الله	أعلا من على حسبنا فطالا	أحمد بن يوسف بن الحسين بن الحسن حفظه؟	242
Introduit par, centré: وللفحرى رحمه الله	ما شان مولانا الحسن	أحمد بن يوسف بن الحسين بن الحسن حفظه؟	243
Introduit par: الجواب	عتب على اعلى سنّ	عبد الله بن أحمد بن إسحاق؟	243
Introduit par, aligné à droite: ثم فرضها الفحرى حفظه	عبرت بى نسمة من ادبك	أحمد بن يوسف بن الحسين بن الحسن حفظه؟	244
Texte à l'encre rouge. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr, cf. <i>safīna</i> 4, 66, 97; <i>safīna</i> 7, 74, 313-6	يتلو ذلك ما وجدته من المرثى فى سيدى العلامة البدر المنير محمد بن اسمعيل الامير رضوان الله عليه		244

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال سدى العلامة فخر الاسلام عبد الله بن احمد بن استحق رحمه الله تعالى مرثيا للمذكور	هو الخطب لا خطب سواه يمائله	عبد الله بن أحمد بن إسحق	244
Introduit par: وقال سدى العلامة يحيى بن حسن بن إسحق في الدر انضا رحمهم الله جمعا aligné à droite. Lettres ou mots d'un trait épais.	من الخطب ما يستاصل الصبر ناجمه	يحيى بن حسن بن إسحق	245
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال سدى العلامة وحده الدين عبد الرحمن بن علي بن استحق مرثيا للبدر انضا رحمهم الله جمعا Lettres ou mots d'un trait épais.	قضا العلم والارشاد بعد محمد	وجيه الدين عبد الرحمن بن علي بن إسحق	247
Introduit par, aligné à droite: تاريخ وفاة الدر المنير ايضا للسيد العلامة محمد بن هاشم الشامى رحمهم الله Lettres ou mots d'un trait épais. Un quart de la page, partie inférieure, laissé vierge.	عز الامجد من اهل المفخر في / طود من المجد لا اعنى به رجلا	محمد بن هاشم الشامى	250
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال الشريف الرضى الموسوى بمدح رسول الله صلى الله عليه واله وسلم	هذا العقيق وتلك شم رعانه	الشريف الرضى الموسوي (m. 1016/1607-8)	251
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال رحمه الله تعالى بمدح أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه	غربت عنكم شمس التلاق	الشريف الرضى الموسوي	254
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال رحمه الله تعالى بمدح السيد بركات خان ويهنيه بعدومه من عبد الشاه صفى 50	خفرت بسيف الغنج ذمة مغفر	الشريف الرضى الموسوي	256

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال رحمه الله تعالى	اما ومواض مقلتها العواصل	الشريف الرضي الموسوي	259
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال رحمه الله تعالى مدحه	ميلوا بنا نحو المحجون (؟) ونكبوا	الشريف الرضي الموسوي	262
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال ايضا مدحه	كتم الهوى فوشى التحول بسره	الشريف الرضي الموسوي	265
Introduit par : وقال رحمه مدحه Ici et ailleurs, de petits blancs de la taille d'un mot ou deux apparaissent dans le corps des poèmes, peut-être certains mots sont-ils illisibles dans l'original?	ضربوا القباب وطنبوها بالقنا	الشريف الرضي الموسوي	267
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وقال رحمه الله تعالى مدحه ويهنيه بختان ولده	خطرت فمال الغصن وهو ممنطق	الشريف الرضي الموسوي	270
Introduit par, aligné à droite : قال الصفي الحلبي من شعرا القرن السابع في الحماسه وعلو نفسه واجاب Lettres d'un trait épais.	لئن ثلثت حسدى من صروف التوائب	الصفي الحلبي (m. 750/1349)	274
Introduit par : وله رحمه الله تعالى	سل الرماح العوالى عن معالينا	الصفي الحلبي	276
Introduit par, aligné à droite : وله رحمه الله تعالى	ان لم ازربكم سعيا على الحدق	الصفي الحلبي	278
Introduit par وقال ايضا يمتدح الملك شمس الدين	دبت عقارب صدعه فى خده	الصفي الحلبي	280

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, centré: وقال ايضا ممتدحه	انى لينظرنى العدول فائتى	الصفي الحلي	283
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال ايضا وهو بمصر الى الامام قاضى القضاء تاج الدين السبكي الحنفى	تركنتنا لواحظ الا تراك	الصفي الحلي	285
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله رحمه الله تعالى وسَمَّ الاقامه والراحه واللهو واشتاق اكاره والحركه اليهم والتزم فى كل بت الحساس اللعطى فى سطره فقال	لسيرى فى الغلا والليل داج	الصفي الحلي	286
Introduit par, centré: وقال رحمه الله تعالى وقد كتب اليه الشيخ العالم المهنب محمود بن محى الحوى كل من ياردن قصده اولها عند العزيز على ات ومحدك فى العظم والعمرر فاحاه بقوله	من لى بقربك والمقام عزيز	الصفي الحلي	287
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وقال رحمه الله تعالى وقد سمع احد الفضلا شعره فاستحسنه وقال لا عيب فيه سوا قل استعماله اللغه الغربيه وغرب الكلام فكتب اليه	انما الخيرون (؟) والدر ديس ¹⁰⁶	الصفي الحلي	287
Dans la marge, obliquement, du shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Dhahabī à 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Ansī (m. 1139/1726) pour le remer-cier de lui avoir envoyé un exemplaire de son <i>dīwān</i> . <i>Rajaz.</i>	ذا وشى برد سا برى / ام سحر طرف بابلى	الشيخ عبد الرحمن بن محمد الذهبي	287

106 Comparer p. 274-87 avec *Safīna* 4, 108-22.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Réponse introduite par: فاحاه القاضى العلامه جمال الدين بقوله aligné sur une colonne de vers, à l'encre mauve, de même que le premiers vers. P. 290, <i>tatimma</i> à l'encre violette.	ارحم لحن موصلى / تنظيم شعر الموصلى ¹⁰⁷	علي العنسي (m. 1139/1726)	289
Introduit par, aligné à droite, à l'encre mauve: وللقاضى العلامه جمال الدين اصبا على بن محمد العنسى الدى سبق إنخ	شفت كمد الاسلام والبقى (٩) راغم	علي العنسي	290
Introduit par: وله رحمه الله صححه عند الاقطار عند سلامه للامام الموكل ارحمه الله / ارحل منها فى المجلس اربعه اسات واخره المولى... سامها وهى قوله aligné sur une colonne de vers, à l'encre mauve. La moitié inférieure de la page est laissée vierge.	ملك اغر ويوم عيد ازهر	علي العنسي	291
Page vierge.			292
Pas de rubrique, poème pris en cours. <i>Tatimma</i> à l'encre mauve.	وما رضيت بالبعد منها كغيرها	?	293
Introduit par, centré, encre mauve, puis noire: وقال اصبا مكاتب لسدى العلامه عز الاسلام الادب الكامل (٩) لوا الادب والم... فى حلته السان لكل من حارس الادب ودأب محمد بن اسحق بن المهدي بن احمد بن الحسن بن القاسم عليهم السلام وكان القاضى العلامه جمال الدين رحمه الله مقيما بوصاب بعد ارتحاله من صنعا	ذنب الجفا عند ذنب البين يغتفر	علي العنسي	293
Introduit par, aligné à droite, à l'encre mauve: فاجاب سدى العلامه الدرعر الاسلام محمد بن اسحق رحمه الله قوله	يا صاح هذا شذا اهل الحمى عطر	محمد بن اسحق (m. 1167/1754)	294

107 Comparer p. 287-279 avec *Safīna* 4, 9-13. Cité dans cette dernière *safīna* en p. 87 et 141.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite, à l'encre mauve:</p> <p>ولسدى العلامة عر الاسلام محمد بن اسحق رضى الله عنه اصبا الى القاضى العلامة على بن محمد العنسى رحمه الله</p> <p>Vers laissés blancs p. 296</p>	أي صبر لم تفنه الأشواق	محمد بن إسحاق	295
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite, encre mauve, puis noire:</p> <p>ومن شعر السد العلامة الحسين بن على بن الموكل وكان هذا السد نادره الدهر ومن حسسات الرمان الى القاضى العلامة الادب اللبيب حمال الدين على بن محمد العنسى رحمه الله وابانا وجميع المومنين</p>	لعدرار من... قدراقا	الحسين علي بن المتوكل	296
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite, encre mauve:</p> <p>فاحاه القاصى من اللع حمال الدين على بن محمد العسى رحمهما الله بهذه القصده التى نظم فيها الاى الفرده</p>	عقيلة ملك لو فرشت لها الطرقا	علي العنسى	297
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite, partie à l'encre noir clair:</p> <p>وقال سدى العلامة الادب الحسين بن على بن الموكل مادحاً خاله المهدي محمد بن المهدي لدين الله احمد بن الحسن بن القاسم</p>	قت فى مركز الجمال بذتك	يحيى بن علي بن المتوكل	297
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite, encre mauve:</p> <p>وقال اصبا رحمه الله</p>	سمعت فى روض الجا بلا بلا	يحيى بن علي بن المتوكل	298

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite, encre mauve :</p> <p>وله في الخميني</p> <p>“Bayt” à l’encre mauve. aaaA lcllclllll lcllclllll lcllclllll lcllclllll¹⁰⁸</p>	<p>يا قديم الاحسان يا جواد يا معطى</p>	<p>يحيى بن علي بن المتوكل</p>	298
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>للقاضى العلامة عد القادر النزيلي مكاتباً للسيد العلامة / عد الله بن علي الورير [رحمهما الله تعالى</p>	<p>عد عن ذكر الجما والكثب</p>	<p>عبد القادر النزيلي</p>	299
<p>Devinette en vers, réponse de Ḥusayn al-Ḥaddād, puis réplique à nouveau d’al-Ruqayḥī, introduits respectivement par, centré :</p> <p>فاحابه حسن الحداد نقول وله في المكاتبه وله رحمه الله متغزلاً</p>		<p>أحمد الرقيحي</p>	300
<p>tous introduits.</p>	<p>مقاطع</p>	<p>أحمد الرقيحي</p>	300
<p>Introduit par :</p> <p>وله متغزلاً</p>	<p>في الثغردر وفي الخلدن توريدُ</p>	<p>أحمد الرقيحي</p>	300
<p>Sans introduction (le copiste a laissé un blanc). P. 203, ¼ de la p., partie inférieure, vierge.</p>	<p>ادرها كووسا من معتقه صرفا</p>	<p>أحمد الرقيحي؟</p>	301
	<p>ما للاسير بجبها اطلاق</p>	<p>أحمد الرقيحي؟</p>	304
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>وله رحمه الله</p> <p>Lettres à trait épais.</p>	<p>ما روى عن صبابه المشتاق</p>	<p>أحمد الرقيحي؟</p>	304

108 Comparer p. 290-8 avec *Safīna* 4, 31-55.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (suite)

Remarque	Incipit	Auteur	Page
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله رحمه الله	هو الحب قد لاحت عليك مخاتله	أحمد الرقيحي؟	305
Espace laissé entre le poème précédent et le suivant.	109 طمع العاذل فينا ان ثماري	أحمد الرقيحي؟	306
Introduit par, aligné à droite, d'une encre plus claire: هذه نبذه من شعر الأديب محمد حليل سمرجي رحمه الله فمن ذلك ما اشاه بصعا بمدح الورر صبي الاسلام احمد بن على الهمي رحمه الله	من ركب الشمس في اغصان (؟) بلور	محمد جليل سمرجي	307
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله رحمه الله	بدت بصبح جبين لاح ابلجه	محمد جليل سمرجي	308
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله	سيف الجفون وسهم الناظر الغنج	محمد جليل سمرجي	309
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله يمدح صنعا واهلها	سقا جانبي (؟) صنعا در سخابة	محمد جليل سمرجي	310
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله مما قاله في صنعا	خطرت من نحو نعمان تناجا	محمد جليل سمرجي	310
Introduit par, aligné à droite: وله يمدح بير العزب	سقا البير براق الوميض المفلج	محمد جليل سمرجي	311
Introduit par: suivi par: وله وقد التقا هو وا رهم المنوفى عند الكعنه في الطواف alignés à droite.	زارت وصدر الليل فود شائب	محمد جليل سمرجي	312

109 Comparer p. 300-6 avec *Safīna* 4, 18-29.110 Comparer p. 307-12 avec *Safīna* 4, 57-63.

TABLE 10.3 Description du contenu de la *Safīna* 6 (*suite*)

Remarque	<i>Incipit</i>	Auteur	Page
<p>Introduit par, aligné à droite :</p> <p>قال السد الراهد العلامه العاند سدى جمال الاسلام وبلبل الابا الكرام العلبا الاعلام الدر المنير على بن ارهم بن محمد الامر رصى الله عنهم وعما جمع المومنين والمومنات</p> <p><i>Malhūn</i> aaaA lclllclllcll lclllclllcll lclllclllcll lclllclllcll Moitié de la page laissée vierge.</p>	<p>الصلاه تغشاك يا خير البريه</p>	<p>علي بن إبراهيم بن محمد الأمير</p> <p>(cf. <i>safīna</i> 4, 66, 97; <i>safīna</i> 7, 74, 244)</p>	<p>313- 6</p>
<p>Pages vierges.</p>			<p>317- 28</p>

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MS Isl. 605 (University of Michigan, Special Collections Library; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*)

Baltimore

MS 591 (Walters Art Museum; al-Shīrāzī, supergloss on Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī's *Maṭālī' al-anwār*)

Beirut

MS 1004 (American University of Beirut; Ibn Muflīḥ, *al-Tadhkira al-akmaliyya al-muflīḥiyya*)

Berlin

MS Or. oct. 3806 (Staatsbibliothek; al-Ṣafadī, *Ṣarf al-'ayn 'an ṣarf al-'ayn fī waṣf al-'ayn*)

MS Spr. 252 (Staatsbibliothek; Ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣarī, *al-Tadhkira al-ayyūbiyya*)

MS Spr. 1962 (Staatsbibliothek; Anonymous, *Majmū'a*)

MS We. 71 (Staatsbibliothek, al-Harawī, *al-Gharībayn*)

MS We. 86 (Staatsbibliothek; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*)

MS We. 134 (Staatsbibliothek, fols. 1^r–31^v: al-Asdī l-Dimashqī, *Ta'riḫ binā' Dī-mashq wa-ma'rīfat man banāhā wa-ṭaraf min akhbārihā*)

MS We. 408 (Staatsbibliothek; Ibn Muflīḥ Akmal al-Dīn, *Untitled notebook*)

Cairo

Microfilm no. 551 (and 554?) (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; microfilm of MSS Aya-sofya 3511–27, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*)

MS 'Ilm 'arabī 125 (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, fols. 41–89; al-Burīnī, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Bustī*)

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- MS Ṭal'at Ta'riḫ 2106 (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)
 MS Ta'riḫ 109 mīm (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)
 MS Ta'riḫ 185 (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)
 MS Ta'riḫ 5343 (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)
 MS Ta'riḫ Abāza 6729 (Maktabat al-Azhar; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)
 MS Majmū'a Taymūr 79 (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Ibn Ṭulūn, *al-Thaḡhr al-bassām fī dhikr man wulliya qaḍā' al-Shām*)
 MS Zakiyya 64 (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)

Calcutta

- MS I 774 (Library of the Asiatic Society; al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Qiyām al-layl*, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Qiyām ramaḍān*, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Witr*)

Chinguetti

- MS Ta'riḫ 1 shīn (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)

Copenhagen

- MS Arab. Add. 83 (Det Kongelige Bibliothek; al-Ḥarīrī, *al-Maqāmāt*)

Damascus

- MS 4325 (Maktabat al-Asad; al-Baylūnī, *Untitled notebook*)
 MS 4805 'amm (Maktabat al-Asad; al-Maqrīzī, *Untitled notebook*)

Dublin

- MS Arabic 3101 (Chester Beatty Library; Ibn Ṭulūn, *al-Multaqaṭ min al-Tadhkira*)
 MS Arabic 3456 (Chester Beatty Library; al-Zawāwī, commentary on *al-Durra al-alfiyya*)
 MS Arabic 3945 (Chester Beatty Library; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Birr wa-l-ṣila*)
 MS Arabic 4731 (Chester Beatty Library; al-Karmī, *Qalā'id al-'iqyān*)

Dushanbe

- MS 1790 (Kitobhona-i milli-i Toḍjikiston; al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar Durrat al-as-lāk*)

Florence

- MS Cl.III.10 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)
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 MS orientale 394 (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

Gotha

- MS Ar. 114 (Forschungs-und Landesbibliothek, Anonymous, *Untitled notebook*)
 MS Ar. 1652 (Forschungs-und Landesbibliothek; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*)
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 MS Ar. 1778 (Forschungs-und Landesbibliothek; Anonymous, *Mukhtaṣar Ta'riḫ Dimashq*)

Istanbul

- MS 575 (Murat Molla Kütüphanesi; al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil fī du'afā' al-rijāl*)
 MS 3067 (Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)
 MS 781 (Rağıp Paşa Kütüphanesi; al-Urmawī, *Maṭālī' al-anwār*)
 MS 792 (Rağıp Paşa Kütüphanesi; al-Shirāzī, *Sharḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal*)
 MS A2832 (TSMK; Ibn Duqmāq, *Nazm al-jumān*)
 MS A2911/A1–3, A8–10, A12–17 (TSMK; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-'Aynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān*)
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 MS A2922 (TSMK; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Uyūn al-tawāriḫ*)
 MS A2924/13–14 (TSMK; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)
 MS A2952 (TSMK; Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-'Aynī, *al-Ta'riḫ al-shihābī wa-l-qamar al-munīr fī awṣāf ahl al-'aṣr wa-l-zamān*)
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 MS Atıf Efendi 1936 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*)
 MS Ayasofya 1970 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Şafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr*)
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 MS Ayasofya 3139 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Tadhkira al-jadīda*)
 MS Ayasofya 3200 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*)
 MS Ayasofya 3362 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khabar*)
 MS Ayasofya 3416 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*)
 MS Ayasofya 3511–27 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*)
 MS Ayasofya 4110 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Damīrī, *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-Ajam*)
 MS Ayasofya 4732 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Şafadī, *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf*)
 MS Carullah 1310 M (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*, copied by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī l-Taḥṭānī)

- MS Carullah 1442 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Tāshkūbrī-zādah, *al-Liwā' al-mar-fū' fi hall mabāḥith al-mawḏū'*)
- MS Damad Ibrahim Pasha 822 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Ibn Sinā, *al-Shifā'*)
- MS EH1369 (TSMK; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*)
- MS EH1405 (TSMK; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭat*)
- MS EH1472 (TSMK; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*)
- MS Esad Efendi 2268 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rīf*)
- MS Esad Efendi 2317 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-'Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Iqd al-Jumān*)
- MS Esad Efendi 3733 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Dawānī, *Majmū'a*)
- MS Fatih 4197 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Ibn İyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*)
- MS Fatih 4338 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khabar*)
- MS Fatih 4339 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khabar*)
- MS Fatih 4341 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khabar*)
- MS Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 242 (Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi; Ibn Manda, *al-Tāriḫ al-mustakhrāj min kutub al-nās*)
- MS Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 294 (Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi; Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan* and *al-Marāsīl*)
- MS Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 362 (Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi; al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ al-mukhtaṣar al-musnad min umūr rasūl Allāh wa-sunanīhi wa-ayyāmīhi*)
- MS Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 831 (Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi; al-Tustarī, *Kāshif al-asrār 'an ma'ālī Ṭawālī' al-anwār*)
- MS Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 867 (Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi; al-Shīrāzī, *Durrat al-tāj li-ghurra al-Dībāj*)
- MS Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 1618 (Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi; *Collection of various texts*)
- MS Feyzullah 1413 (Milli Kütüphanesi; Ibn Fahd, *Tajrīd al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*)
- MS Murat Molla 575 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil*)
- MS Reisülküttab 862 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Mawṣilī, *Ghāyat al-wasā'il ilā ma'rīfat al-awā'il*)
- MS Şehit Ali Paşa 1847 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*)
- MS Süleymaniye 830 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-'Aynī, *Ta'riḫ al-badr fi awṣāf ahl al-'aṣr*)
- MS Veliyyeddin 2390 (Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*)
- MS Veliyyeddin 2392 (Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*)
- MS Yeni Cami 763 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Ṭūsī, *Hall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*)

MS Yeni Cami 887 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*)

MS Yeni Cami 888 (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*)

Leiden

MS Or. 2a–2l (Universiteitsbibliotheek; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*)

MS Or. 19b (Universiteitsbibliotheek; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*)

MS Or. 95 (Universiteitsbibliotheek; al-Ṭūsī, *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*)

MS Or. 560 (Universiteitsbibliotheek; al-Maqrizī, *Collection of opuscles*)

MS Or. 1088 (Universiteitsbibliotheek; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Or. 1366a (Universiteitsbibliotheek; al-Maqrizī, *al-Muqaffā*)

MS Or. 1366c (Universiteitsbibliotheek; al-Maqrizī, *al-Muqaffā*)

MS Or. 3075 (Universiteitsbibliotheek; al-Maqrizī, *al-Muqaffā*)

MS Or. 14533 (Universiteitsbibliotheek; al-Maqrizī, *al-Muqaffā*)

MS Or. 14637 (Universiteitsbibliotheek; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

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Leipzig

Vollers MS 0520 (Universitätsbibliothek; Nuḡrakār, *Sharḥ al-qaṣīda wa-l-jawhara al-farīda al-mansūba ilā l-shaykh Abī l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī*)

Vollers MS 0593 (Universitätsbibliothek; al-Ābī, *al-Qaṣḍ al-musirr fī kalām nathr al-durr*)

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Liège

MS 2232 (Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts; al-Maqrizī, *Notebook*)

MS 2241 (Université, Bibliothèque d'Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts; Anonymous, *Alf layla wa-layla*)

London

Papyrus 114, section 8, (British Library; "The Bankes Homer", *Iliad*, Scroll xxiv)

MS Or. 2916–9 (British Library; Anonymous, *Alf layla wa-layla*)

MS Or. 7969 (British Library; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*)

San Lorenzo de El Escorial

MS Árabe 687 (al-Dawānī, *Ijāza*)

Marocco

Private library, MS Jād (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf*)

Montreal

MS RBD A22 (McGill University Library; *Qurʿān*)

Munich

MS Ar. 437 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Ibn Duqmāq, *Naẓm al-jumān fī ṭabaqāt aṣḥāb imāminā l-Nuʿmān*)

MS Ar. 623–36 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Anonymous, *Alf layla wa-layla*)

Oxford

MS Pococke 26 (Bodleian Library; Akmal al-Dīn b. Muflīḥ, *Untitled notebook*)

P. Oxy. 74.4970 (The Egypt Exploration Society, University of Oxford, Oxford University Sackler Library; Anonymous, Beginning of a medical handbook or speech)

Paris

MS Ar. 1528 (BnF; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf*)

MS Ar. 1544 (BnF; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *Taʾrīkh al-badr fī awṣāf ahl al-aṣr*)

MS Ar. 1573–9 (BnF; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*)

MS Ar. 2144 (BnF; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*)

MS Ar. 3423 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3424 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3426 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3428 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3429 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3430 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3454 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3458 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3459 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3461 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3585 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Ar. 3598–601 (BnF; Anonymous, *Alf layla wa-layla*)

MS Ar. 3602–5 (BnF; Anonymous, *Alf layla wa-layla*)

MS Ar. 3606–8 (BnF; Anonymous, *Alf layla wa-layla*)

MS Ar. 5046 (BnF; al-Ghazzī, *Untitled diary and poetry*)

MS Ar. 7084 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Suppl. persan 1425 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Suppl. persan 1798 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

MS Suppl. turc 1620 (BnF; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

P. Rein. 2.82, inv. Sorb. 2070 (Sorbonne Université—Institut de Papyrologie; Dioscorus of Aphrodito, Petition enkômion addressed to Rômanos)

Princeton

- MS Garrett 12G (Princeton University Library; al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, *Idrāk al-sūl fī musābaqat al-khuyūl*)
 MS Garrett 196B (Princeton University Library; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Untitled notebook*)
 MS Garrett 3520Y (Princeton University Library; Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Irāqī, *Naẓm al-durar al-saniyya fī l-siyar al-zakiyya*)
 MS Garrett 3570Y (Princeton University Library; al-Şafadī, *al-Tadhkira*)

Qom

- MS 4 (Mar‘ashī Kitābkhānah; Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar, *Nahj al-mustarshidīn*)
 MS 12388 (Mar‘ashī Kitābkhānah; al-Dawānī, *Untitled majmū‘a*)

Rabat

- MS D1345 (al-Maktaba al-Malakiyya; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta‘rīf*)

Saint-Petersburg

- MS B-1114 (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts; Anonymous, *Alf layla wa-layla*)

Şan‘ā’

- MS Adab 2336 (Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)
 MS Sharaf al-Dīn (private collection; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)
 MS ymdi_03_131 (MZbAT; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)
 MS ymdi_03_142 (MZbAT; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)
 MS ymdi_03_137 (MZbAT; Anonymous, *Untitled safīna*)

Tehran

- MS 1153 (Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Jumhūrī-i Islāmī-i Īrān; al-Ṭūsī, *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*)
 MS 2301 (Library of the University of Tehran, Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar, *Marāşid al-tadqīq wa-maqāşid al-tahqīq*)

Tunis

- MS Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta‘rīf*)

Unknown location

- MS no. 42 sold at Christie’s London, South Kensington (Private collection; Anonymous, *Alf layla wa-layla*)

Index of Names

- Abbott, Nabia 14
'Abd al-Ḥamid II (Ottoman sultan) 256
'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. al-Imām
332
'Abd al-Wahhāb, Ḥasan Ḥusnī 312
Abel, Leonardo 324
al-Ābī 262
Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz (Marinid ruler) 301,
305
Adler, Jacob Georg Christian 11
Aḥad Aḥad 269, 270
al-Ahdal, Ḥātim b. Aḥmad 325, 330–8, 351–2
Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr b. Muḥibb al-Dīn 270
Akkerman, Olly 1, 18
Alexander the Great 148n40
'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 267, 365, 392n93
al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl
334n43, 336, 400n99, 427
Ammirati, Serena 9
Āmulī, Ḥaydar 64
Andréas [de Caryste?] 39
al-Ānisī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 331, 333, 346
al-Ānisī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 331,
333, 346
al-Ānisī, Shams al-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad
346
al-Anṣārī, 'Alī b. al-shaykh Ibrāhīm 97–8,
100, 106–10, 115–7
al-'Ansī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad 342–6, 350, 353,
358, 360–1, 430
al-'Ansī, Yaḥyā 353
Apollonios 39, 43n18, 44
Arberry, Arthur J. 8, 11
Asan Buḡā (al-Ṣafadī's slave) 69
al-Awḥadī 142–3, 149n43, 195–8, 230
al-'Aynī 28, 277–98

Banū Ishāq 350
Barqūq, al-Zāhir (Mamluk sultan) 152n58,
281, 283–4, 292, 294, 301, 305, 309, 311–2
Baybars, al-Zāhir (Mamluk sultan) 307
al-Bayḍāwī 74
al-Baylūnī, Muḥammad Faṭḥ Allāh 264
Behzadi, Lale 2
Beit-Arié, Malachi 10
Ben Azzouna, Nourane 12

al-Biqā'ī x
Boiarov, Andrei 194–5
Bongianino, Umberto 13
Boratav, Pertev Naili 328
al-Bukhārī 27, 232–5, 252–3, 256–8
al-Bustī, Abū l-Faṭḥ 262

Capasso, Mario 9
Cavallo, Guglielmo 9
Chartier, Roger 8n33, 14, 136
Chiron 39
Cicéron 40
Colin, Georges Séraphin 331–2, 339
Cratévas 39–40

al-Dabbūsī, Ḥāhir al-Dīn 64
Dafari (al-Zafārī), Ja'far 'Abduh 329,
353
al-Damīrī x
David (Prophet) 296
al-Dawānī, Jalāl al-Dīn 74–5
Defrémercy, Charles 139
Delsaux, Olivier 6, 7n22, 10
Déroche, François 12–3, 180–1, 183
al-Dhahabī x, 263
Dioscore d'Aphrodité 42–3, 45–8
Dioscoride 39–40
Dozy, Reinhart 7–8, 138–40

El-Leithy, Tamar 264
Euclide 326

Faraj b. Barqūq (Mamluk sultan) 286
al-Fāsī 13
Faṭḥ Allāh b. Nafis 283, 289, 291, 296–8
Fischel, Walter 307
Fraser, Marcus 12

Gacek, Adam 3–4, 14, 26, 62
Galien 39
Galland, Antoine 95–6
al-Ghazālī 141n17, 346
al-Ghazzī 261, 264–5
Gurrado, Maria 24

Hādī b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ 342

- al-Ḥajjār, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib
256
- al-Ḥalabī l-Tādifi, Badr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh
Muḥammad 59
- Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko 2
- Ḥaram bt. 'Abdallāh 270
- al-Harawī 262, 291
- Héraclide 39
- al-Ḥijāzī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad 264
- al-Ḥilli, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī
b. al-Muṭahhar 73
- Hirschler, Konrad 1
- Houdas, Octave 13
- Ibn 'Abbād, Abū l-Qāsim Ismā'il Šāhib al-
Ṭāliqānī 346, 385
- Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Yūsuf 1
- Ibn Abī l-Faḍā'il, Mufaḍḍal 235
- Ibn al-'Afif al-Tilimsānī 153, 262
- Ibn 'Asākir 262n10, 264
- Ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣarī 261, 264
- Ibn al-Bawwāb 12
- Ibn al-Dafrāwī, Shāhin 314
- Ibn Duqmāq x, 199, 263
- Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, Shihāb al-Dīn 146,
231
- Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, Badr al-Dīn
152n58
- Ibn Fahd x, 145n33
- Ibn al-Fakhkhār, 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan 310-1
- Ibn al-Farfūr, Sharaf al-Dīn 269
- Ibn al-Farfūr, Walī l-Dīn 269
- Ibn al-Furāt 230, 263
- Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī 140, 228, 235
- Ibn Ḥajar x, 142, 145n29, 150, 151n52, 152-5,
234n5, 309n30
- Ibn Isrāfil 269
- Ibn Iyās x
- Ibn Jamā'a 16, 263
- Ibn al-Jawzī 56, 62, 262
- Ibn Kathīr 235
- Ibn Khaldūn x, 13, 16-17, 28, 81n15, 283-7,
300-14
- Ibn Mufliḥ, 'Abd al-Kāfi 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, 'Abd al-Mun'im 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Abū l-Su'ūd Muḥammad 270,
272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b.
Ibrāhīm 28, 260-75
- Ibn Mufliḥ, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Akmal
al-Dīn 266-7, 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad 269,
272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Karīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm
270, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Maḥmūd 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Muḥammad b. Akmal al-Dīn
Muḥammad 270, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir 269,
272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān
269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Najm al-Dīn 'Umar 267, 269,
272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Niẓām al-Dīn 'Umar 265, 269,
272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad 270, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Radī l-Dīn Aḥmad 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Rashid al-Dīn 'Abd al-Jabbār
269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Šadr al-Dīn Abū Bakr 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Šāliḥ 270, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad
267-9, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad
'Abdallāh 267, 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Taqī l-Dīn 269, 272
- Ibn Mufliḥ, Walī l-Dīn Yahyā 269, 272
- Ibn Muqla 12, 64
- Ibn Musdi l-Andalusī l-Gharnāṭī 13
- Ibn Muṭahhar, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad
332
- Ibn Qawwām al-Bālisī 268
- Ibn al-Šā'igh 144, 154n70
- Ibn Šākir al-Kutubī x
- Ibn al-Shaṭṭī 262
- Ibn Sīnā 59, 64
- Ibn Sunbul, Šafi l-Dīn Aḥmad 332
- Ibn Tāwīt, Muḥammad 300-3, 305, 307,
310-3
- Ibn Ṭawq 265
- Ibn Ṭulūn 261-7
- Ibn Turkī l-Shāfi'ī l-Azharī, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b.
Ḥamd 313
- Ibn al-Wazīr, Hādī b. Ibrāhīm 346

- Ibn al-Wazir, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm 346
 Ibn al-Zabīdī, Sirāj al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn 256
 Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abbās 334
 'Imādī Hā'irī, Sayyid Muḥammad 64
 al-'Irāqī, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm 56, 62
 al-İşbahānī, Abū l-Faraj 15
 Ismā'īl ('Alawid ruler) 312
 Ismā'īl b. Ḥasan al-... 343
- al-Jaghminī, Maḥmūd 60n7, 66
 Jaḥḥāf, Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm 343
 Jamāl al-Dīn, Amīna 245
 Justinien (empereur byzantin) 79
 Juvīn, Carine 13
- al-Kabsī, *see* al-Kibsi
 Kamāl 267
 Karatay, Fehmi Edhem 277, 311–2
 al-Karmī 60
 al-Kātībī l-Qazwīnī, Najm al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar 66
 Kemal, Mustafa 332
 al-Khafanji, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan 329, 351
 al-Khalīl, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr or 'Umar 334n43, 336
 al-Khazrajī 268
 al-Kibsi, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 345, 348–50, 376
 al-Kibsi, Zayd b. 'Alī 334, 336, 351
 Knysch, Alexander 194
- Lehmann, Paul 6
 Little, Donald P. 278
- Machaon 39
 al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr b. Mufaḍḍal b. al-Ḥajjāj 343, 346, 374, 392n93
 al-Malik al-Afḍal (Rasulid sultan) 343, 374
 Manetti, Daniela 45
 Mantias 39
 al-Maqdisī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Alī b. Surūr 256
 al-Maqrīzī x, 3, 7, 14–5, 18, 20, 22–3, 27–8, 136–231, 235, 263, 277–8, 283, 296
 Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (Umayyad caliph) 237
- Massoud, Sami 278, 296
 al-Mas'ūdī 268
 McGuckin de Slane, William 279
 Moritz, Bernhard 8, 11
 Mu'ayyad, Abū Bakr 336
 Mu'ayyad-zāda 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī 74
 Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (Umayyad caliph) 237
 Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sharaf al-dīn 331, 339, 343
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Majīd b. Abī l-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd, Abū 'Abdallāh 256
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Kawkabān 332
 Muḥammad Bak b. Manjak 261
 Muḥammad, al-Nāşir (Mamlūk sultan) 152n57, 233
 al-Munajjid, Şalāh al-Dīn 8, 11
 Muş'ab b. al-Zubayr 237 301
 al-Mustanşir, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (Ḥafşid ruler) 301
 al-Mutawakkil (Yemen) 331, 342–3, 345, 353, 360, 362, 389, 390
 al-Mutawakkil, Ishāq b. Yūsuf 343
 Muzerelle, Denis 6, 24
- al-Nahrawānī, Quṭb al-Dīn 262
 al-Najdī 265
 al-Naşrānī, Quştanḥin 332
 Nicandre 39
 al-Nu'aymī 262
 al-Nuwayrī 27–8, 151n51, 154, 232–59
- Olszowy-Schlanger, Judith 10
 Overgaauw, Eef 6
- Pamphile 39
 Parca, Maryline 42
 Petrucci, Armando 9, 41
 Pline l' Ancien 40
- Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī 60, 62
 al-Qalqashandī 151n57, 152n57, 173, 179
 al-Qaşṭallānī 256
 al-Qazwīnī 66, 262
 al-Qudūrī 277
 Quintilien 40

- Radiccioiti, Paolo 40
 al-Rāmīnī, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh
 Muḥammad b. Muflīḥ b. Mufarraǰ b.
 Muḥammad 268
 al-Rāzī l-Taḥṭānī, Quṭb al-Dīn 59
 Reisman, David 263
 Riḍawī, Muḥammad b. Raḍī l-Dīn 64
 Romanov, Maxim 22
 Rück, Peter 24
 Rufus 39
 al-Ruqayḥī, Aḥmad 343, 350, 358–9, 433

 al-Şafadī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khalil b.
 Aybak 69
 al-Şafadī, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b.
 Khalil b. Aybak 69
 al-Şafadī, Fāṭima b. Khalil b. Aybak 69
 al-Şafadī, Khalil b. Aybak x, 4–6, 27, 57, 69–
 70, 73, 80n10, 154, 234–5, 263
 al-Şafī l-Ḥillī 350, 368
 Sāḥilī, Ibrāhīm 346
 al-Sakhāwī x, 142, 145, 150n50, 151n52, 154,
 293
 al-Şālīḥī, Aḥmad b. Mubārak 270
 al-Samarǰī, Muḥammad Khalil 343, 350
 Savant, Sarah 23, 95n55
 Sayyid, Aymān Fu'ād 20, 137–8, 143
 Sedeyn, Marie-Jeanne 10, 81, 86–9, 91–5,
 97–9, 110, 127, 137n3, 158n79
 Selim 11 (Ottoman sultan) 60, 346, 391
 Senov, Alexander 194
 Serikoff, Nikolai 14, 160
 Sextius Niger 39
 Sezgin, Fuat 256
 al-Shāfi'ī 267–8
 al-Shāfi'ī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm
 264
 Shāhrazād, *see* Shéhérazade
 Shāhriyār 95
 al-Sharīf al-Raḍī l-Mawsū'ī 350
 al-Sharīshī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥam-
 mad al-Mālikī l-Naḥwī 57
 Shaykhān, 'Umar 349
 Shéhérazade 95
 al-Shīrāzī, Muḥammad b. Pīr Aḥmad al-
 Shahīr bi-Argḥūn 60
 al-Shīrāzī, Quṭb al-Dīn 59, 64, 72
 al-Shuwaykī, Aḥmad 269
 al-Sinjārī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad 152

 Spies, Otto 277
 Stutzmann, Dominique 25
 Sulaymān (Ottoman sultan) 261
 Sulaymān Āghā 60
 Sulaymān b. Qubād 261
 al-Surayḥī, 'Abdallāh 354
 al-Surramarī, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf 56, 62

 Ṭal'at, Aḥmad Bey 313
 al-Ṭanṭāwī l-Qarmūṭ, 'Abd al-Razzāq 278
 al-Tanūkhī, Sitt al-Wuzarā' Umm Muḥammad
 Wazira bt. 'Umar 256
 Ṭashkūbri-zādah 66
 al-Thaqafī, al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd 237
 al-Ṭūsī, Naşīr al-Dīn 59, 60n6, 64, 66, 73,
 326, 329

 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi 237
 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Ḍabyān 237
 al-'Ubaydī, Jalāl al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh 66
 al-Udfuwī 27, 233–5, 248
 al-'Umarī, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh
 Muḥammad 69
 al-Urmawī, Sirāj al-Dīn 60, 74
 'Uşfür 152–4

 Vajda, Georges 8, 11
 van den Boogert, Nico 13
 van Hemelryck, Tania 6, 7n22, 10
 Virgile 40

 Wagner, Mark S. 329
 al-Wazīr, 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī 343, 346, 348–50,
 352
 Wilson, Nigel 9
 Witkam, Jan Just 156–7

 Xénocrate 39

 al-Yamanī l-Tustarī, Badr al-Dīn 74
 Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī 12, 14, 153, 169n113
 Yāqūt al-Rūmī 15
 Yazıcı, Gülgün 324n5, 328
 Yelkenci, Raif 328
 al-Yūnīnī, Quṭb al-Dīn 252
 al-Yūnīnī, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad
 252, 256–7
 al-Yūnīnī, Taqī l-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥam-
 mad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh 256

- al-Zabīdī 164n98
 Zaki Pāshā, Aḥmad 239
 al-Zamaksharī 324, 329
 al-Zawāwī, Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā 57
- al-Ziftāwī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī
 152n59, 153-4
 al-Ziriklī, Ḥayr al-Dīn 8, 264
 Zotenberg, Herman 96

Index of Places

- Akhmīm 233
Aleppo 69, 265, 269, 282–3, 285, 290
Aphrodité 42–3, 45, 47–8
- Baalbek 261
Byzantium 9–10, 26n17, 40, 47, 79
- Cairo 15, 142, 144, 148n40, 152–3, 233, 237, 256, 262–4, 267–8, 282, 286, 294, 296
Barjawān 144
Citadel 144
Genizah 264
Khānqāh of Baybars 307
Manṣūri hospital 233
Nāṣiriyya (*madrassa*) 233
al-Qāhira al-Muʿizziyya 237
al-Takiyya al-Sulaymāniyya 261
- Damascus 1, 57, 144, 260–1, 263–7, 269, 282–7, 289–91, 370
Abū ʿUmar (*madrassa*) 270
Bāb al-Farādis (cemetery) 269
Bāb al-Ṣaghīr (cemetery) 270
Bāb Tūmā 261
Buzūriyyin (quarter) 270
Dār al-Ḥadīth (*madrassa*) 270
Ḍiyāʿiyya (*madrassa*) 256
al-Jawziyya (*madrassa*) 270
al-Maydān (*madrassa*) 269
al-Muʿazzama (*madrassa*) 266
Qanāt al-ʿAwnī (*madrassa*) 269
al-Ṣāhibiyya (*madrassa*) 270
al-Ṣālihiyya (*madrassa*) 267, 269–70
ʿUmariyya (*madrassa*) 1
Umayyad Mosque 270
al-Yūnusiyya (*madrassa*) 270
al-Zāwiyya al-ghazāliyya 270
al-Daqahliyya 233
- Fayoum 43–4, 47
Fez 301, 302n10, 323n2
Qarawiyyin (mosque) 301, 302n10, 303, 305
- Hermopolis (Hermopolite) 43–5, 47
Hibeh 43, 47
- Karak 261, 282, 284–7
- Macédoine 329
Marw al-Rūdh 237
Marw al-Shāhijān 237
Medina 57
Moka (Tihāma) 330, 333
al-Murtāhiyya 233
- Oxyrhynque 44–5, 47–9
- al-Qāhira (Zawzan) 237
Qūṣ 233, 286
- Rome 25, 40, 324
- Sidon 261
Shahāra/Shihāra 349, 398
St. Catherine's monastery in Sinai 264
- Tabriz 74, 296
Thèbes 43, 47
Thrace occidentale 329
Tripoli 233, 243n48, 282, 285–6
- Yemen 28–29, 262, 323–435
- Zabadān 261

Index of Technical Terms

- Abbasid 12, 323
- Abbreviations (abréviations) 25, 43, 45, 47–8, 59, 64, 90, 252, 256
- Abridgments (*mukhtaṣar, mūjaz*) 56, 260, 262, 262n10, 281, 293
- Abū Shubbāk (paper) 331–2, 345
- Additions (*also* insertions, inserts; *ilhāqāt, mulḥaqāt*) 4, 20–1, 42n18, 43–45, 56, 59, 60, 67, 69, 83, 118, 137, 138, 139n12, 140, 149, 165n103, 168, 230, 238, 252n66, 296, 301, 301n5, 303, 308nn20–22, 353
- Allograph 159, 170–5, 178, 183, 191, 193
- Alteration 20, 149, 238
- Anthology (*also* anthologist; anthologie) 2, 27–8, 47, 239, 262, 323, 324n4, 326–7, 328n24, 351n64
- Apograph 20
- Archetype (*also* original, exemplar; *aṣl, umm*) 6–7, 45, 56–7, 60, 67, 72–3, 75, 141n17, 142, 148, 164, 237, 239, 240n18, 252, 257, 301, 303, 305, 308–10
- aṣl*, *see* Archetype
- Attribution (*also* identification) 2, 7–8, 10, 14, 18, 23–8, 39, 41–2, 47, 56, 64, 67, 76, 78–81, 89–90, 92–4, 95n53, 100, 109–11, 136–43, 146n36, 149n43, 153, 157, 160–2, 166–8, 176, 183, 189, 194–8, 200–1, 239–44, 247–8, 260, 262, 264–6, 270, 279–80, 300, 305, 309–10, 329, 332–4, 336, 339, 343–4, 346, 349, 352, 373–4
- Authorial gloss (*minhiyāt*), *see* gloss
- Authorial manuscript (manuscrit auctorial) 1, 3, 6–7, 20–1, 22n96, 27, 137, 142, 146–7, 158–9, 200, 228, 231
- Authorship 1–2, 8, 266, 353
- Autograph (autographe) 1, 3–4, 6–10, 16, 18, 25–7, 38–42, 45–50, 55–6, 228, 241n28, 265, 349, 350, 396
- Avant-texte 21–2
- Baseline (ligne de base) 12, 84–6, 92–4, 97, 99–100, 107, 110, 120, 122–5, 130, 132–5, 166, 169, 171–6, 181, 183n172, 185, 188, 190–3, 196
- bayāḍ*, *see* fair/clean copy
- Binding (reliure) 4, 10, 20, 28, 69, 154n69, 265, 323, 328, 332–4, 336, 339–40, 342–3, 346, 349, 353
- Blank (espaces [laissés] vierges) 3, 4, 26, 56, 69, 83, 140, 150, 164–5, 170–1, 193, 238, 245, 343, 347, 358, 364–8, 370–1, 373–6, 386, 388, 394–5, 397–9, 413–4, 422, 426, 428, 431, 433, 435
- Bookhand 13–4
- Calligraphy (*also* calligrapher; calligraphie, calligraphe) 4, 11–4, 27–8, 38, 42, 59, 63, 70, 80, 90, 137, 144, 150–5, 160, 173, 177, 181–3, 193, 232, 235, 238, 347, 419
- proportionate styles (*mansūb*) 153, 154n69, 155
- Cancellation (*also* deletion; rature; *ḍarb*) 3, 20–1, 28, 44–5, 47–8, 56, 69, 143n25, 149, 292, 301, 303, 308nn20–1, 309, 334, 425
- Certificate of audition (*also* auditing statement; *samāʿ*) 8, 57, 234, 255–7
- Chancery (chancellerie) 4, 63, 69, 80, 138, 140, 144, 148, 149n43, 151–2, 154, 164, 166, 177, 181, 233, 236, 252n65, 263
- Collation 3, 20, 23, 64, 66, 73, 149, 231–2, 234–5, 252, 256–7, 266
- Collectible (*also* collection, collectology, collector) 1, 14–8, 57n5, 164n98
- Côlométrie 44
- Colophon 2–3, 9, 26, 56–7, 60, 62, 64, 67, 69–70, 72, 74, 80, 91, 100, 108n84, 140–1, 146–7, 155, 228–9, 240–5, 247–8, 250–1, 261, 264, 295, 334–7, 339
- Commentary (*also* comment, commentator; commentaire; *sharḥ*) 4, 6, 26n17, 47, 56–7, 59, 60nn7–8, 64, 66, 74, 80n9, 244, 248, 256, 260, 262, 381, 388, 398
- Commonplace book (*tadhkira*) 2, 4–5, 21, 28, 260, 263–8, 271, 351n64
- cōnk*, *see* *safīna*
- Consultation note (*also* reading statement) 3, 16–7, 18n85, 27, 56, 141–3, 146–8, 197, 229, 257

- Contraction (*idghām, mudghama*) 62, 69, 108, 124, 131, 135, 158, 171, 174, 177–9, 181–3, 185, 188, 192–4
- Correction (*also correct*) 3, 4, 6–7, 42n18, 43–5, 47–8, 50, 55, 57, 59–60, 64, 111n91, 118, 137, 149, 195, 238, 256–7, 379
- Cursive (*also cursivity*) 10, 43–5, 47, 90, 98, 150, 169, 181–3
- Curtailment (*ikhtilās, mukhtalasa*) 130–1, 177–9
- Density (densité) 14, 89–90, 93, 99, 110, 126–7, 160–2
- Diacritics (pointing; points diacritiques) 12, 44, 56, 86, 88n35, 91, 100, 108, 110, 128–9, 156nn75–6, 157, 169–70, 237, 369, 374n84
- Dictation (dictée) 6, 25, 39, 43n18, 294, 309n31
- Digital humanities 22–5, 93–4, 141, 194, 201
- Doxographie 45
- Draft (brouillon; *musawwada, sawād, taswid, dustūr, ta'liq*) 4, 7, 15–6, 20–1, 26–8, 38, 43–5, 50, 55–7, 59–60, 62, 69–70, 137–8, 139n12, 140–2, 143n25, 145, 149, 156n76, 162–4, 174, 182–3, 185, 189, 192–3, 195, 230, 234–5, 244, 262, 298, 303, 305, 308–10
- Ductus 24, 69, 74
- Ecdotics 1, 18–23
- Emendation 3, 22n96, 137, 308
- Error (*saqam*; mistake) 16, 20, 56, 149, 158, 236, 238, 329
- Excerpts 5, 142, 145, 233, 260, 262–4, 267, 281, 292–3, 298
- Expert in handwriting (judicial/legal; expertise en écriture) 10, 79, 81, 90, 91n42, 92, 110, 137n3, 141, 158, 176, 201
- Fair/clean copy (*bayād, tabyīd, mubayyada, tahrīr*) 3–4, 7, 20–1, 26–7, 56–7, 59–62, 67, 69, 141–2, 143n25, 145, 149, 156n76, 157–9, 165, 182, 185, 188, 190, 192, 228–32, 235, 244, 248, 305, 310
- fatwā* 264, 267, 269
- Faux, *see* forgery
- Forgery (faux) 63–7, 79–80, 248n62
- Fraudulent statement/attestation 26, 63–7
- Ghazal 330
- Gift 301, 305, 309–10, 312
- Gloss (*hāshiya*; notes) 4, 6, 21, 26, 43, 56–7, 59–60, 62, 64, 66, 70, 80, 91, 238
- authorial (*minhiya*) 57
- Graphology (graphologie) 79
- ḥadīth* 144, 155, 180, 232, 234–6, 252, 256, 262, 267, 399
- ḥakamī* 329, 331–3, 335–6, 339, 345–6, 348, 350, 352
- Handwriting (*also* hand, script; écriture, main) 4–10, 12–5, 18, 20, 23–28, 41–5, 47–8, 55, 60n6, 64, 66–7, 69–70, 78–95, 97–100, 106–11, 118, 136–53, 154n69, 155–8, 160–2, 166–9, 176, 181–3, 188–99, 201, 231, 241–4, 248, 252, 257, 260, 264–8, 277, 279–80, 294, 307, 309–10, 333, 336, 343–50, 353–4, 362–3, 364n76, 367–76, 378, 388, 393–6
- formal (formelle) 60, 70, 169n13, 177
- identification 2, 10, 23, 26–7, 78–81, 89–90, 109, 111, 113, 114, 137n3, 138, 142–3, 160–1, 166, 176, 195–6, 198, 201, 240n18, 241n28, 244, 260
- informal (informelle) 11, 13, 26, 43–4, 47–8, 50, 62, 67, 75, 160, 169, 201
- restrained (contrôlée) 155–9, 182–3, 185, 188, 193, 196
- scholar's hand 141, 149, 202
- hāshiya*, *see* gloss
- Hijāzī* 12
- Holograph (holographe) 1–10, 14–23, 25–9, 41, 55–60, 62–3, 69, 72, 74, 76, 80, 111, 136–40, 144–8, 156, 158–9, 167–8, 194–7, 200, 228, 232, 234–5, 239–49, 251, 257–8, 260, 262, 265–6, 268, 270, 277–9, 293, 295–6, 298, 300, 307, 309–10, 312, 324, 353
- Homeoteleuton 149
- Honorifics (*laqab*) 73, 75, 244, 269
- ḥumaynī* 29, 329–36, 339, 342, 344–5, 350–4
- idghām*, *see* contraction
- Idiosyncrasy (*also* specificity, specific letterforms/shapes ...; particularité personnelle, différence irréductible) 56, 69, 80, 92–3, 141, 150, 157, 159, 167–8, 173, 176, 179, 189, 192–4, 196–7, 201

- ihmāl* 347, 392
ijāza, *see* license of transmission
ikhtilās, *see* curtailment
ilhāqāt, *see* additions
Inclination (inclinaison) 24, 84, 92, 107,
120-1, 156n76, 160-1, 182-3, 188,
279
Interlinear space/addition (espace/ajout
interlinéaire) 3, 20, 43-5, 56, 83-4, 89,
93, 164
Invocation (*also* supplication, honorifics)
26, 44, 69, 72, 141, 244
īrāb 329, 336

jung, *see* *saḥna*

laqab, *see* honorifics
Layout (mise en page) 4, 26, 41, 47-8, 50,
97, 158, 165-6, 238-9, 244n49, 248,
279
Letterforms 12, 69
mabsūṭa 130-3, 160n94, 171-3, 183-4,
186, 193
majmū'a 172, 174
makhṭūfa 172n120, 174, 193, 196
malḥūfa 174
maqlūba 86, 122-3
maidūfa 174, 196
marshūqa 107, 175, 193
mashkūla 132-5, 160n94, 162, 172,
173n124, 179, 183, 186, 189n182, 192-3,
196
mashqūqa 108, 132-5, 174
mawqūfa 169, 172
mudghama 108, 124, 131, 135, 171, 174, 177,
179
muḥaqqāqa 175-6, 183-4, 190, 193
mukhaḥḥāfa 107
mukhtāla 124, 134-5, 173
mukhtalasa 130-1, 179
mulawwaza 108, 173, 179
mursala 170
musbala 86, 122-3, 134-5, 175n134
mu'allaqa 124, 171, 178-9, 183-4, 193,
196
mu'arrāt 174
rāji'a 135, 174-5, 180-1, 183-4, 193
wajh al-hirr 108, 135, 174
warrāqīyya 107, 175, 190

Library 9, 16, 21, 60, 152n57, 164n98, 239n17,
252, 256, 305
License of transmission (*ijāza*) 2, 8, 56, 67,
69-70, 74, 141n17, 155, 256n69, 261n3,
266, 309n30
Ligature 12, 69, 85, 87, 97, 107, 127, 129-31,
134-5, 156, 158, 168-73, 175-8, 179n161,
180-2, 185, 188, 191-4, 208-9

madh 330
maghribī 12-3, 28, 81n15, 309-10, 312-3
magyal 353-4
majmū' (also majmū'a; miscellany) 28, 260,
265-6, 324, 326, 328n24, 329, 351
malḥūn 330, 415, 435
mansūb, *see* Calligraphy
maqāṭi' 352, 359, 370
Margin 3-5, 165-6, 323
Marginalia—marginal annotations 20, 26-
8, 43-5, 56-7, 59, 66, 69, 138, 149n45,
168, 198, 229-30, 252, 256-7, 261,
262n10, 265, 270, 296-7, 300, 305, 307-
8, 310, 347, 377
mashriqī 13, 28, 309nn27-8, 331-2
matn 56
mawāl 327
Middle/Mixed Arabic (moyen arabe)
109n86, 167, 330
Miscellany, *see* *majmū'*
Mistake, *see* error
miṣṭara 27, 84, 165, 350
mubayyada, *see* fair/clean copy
mubayyat 330, 335-6, 339, 365
muḥarrir, *see* calligrapher
mulḥaqāt, *see* additions
muwashshaḥa 327, 330, 339, 342
mu'rab 330, 375

naskh (also naskhī) 13, 14, 60, 64, 70, 160,
236, 238-9, 279, 309-14
nasta'liq 14, 67, 75, 347
Notebook 2, 4, 15, 21, 27-8, 56, 136-8,
139n12, 141, 145-6, 148-9, 159, 162, 164,
167, 192, 228, 231, 260, 263-7, 270-1,
328n24, 329
Notes 1, 5, 7-9, 15-8, 21, 23, 27, 38, 39n3, 43,
45, 47, 56, 59, 62, 64, 66-7, 74, 80, 82,
91, 139n12, 142, 146, 151n57, 157, 167, 194,
197-8, 228-30, 234, 237, 252, 260, 262,

- 264, 266, 268, 270, 300, 305, 307-8, 310, 328, 332, 343, 347, 349-50, 352, 377-8, 388, 396, 400
- Oblique (*also* obliquity) 12, 89, 91, 106-7, 118, 121, 130-3, 170, 172-4, 176, 179, 182, 193, 323, 347, 376-7, 388-9, 392-4, 399, 411, 430
- Opisthographe 41, 43, 44, 48
- Oral (*also* orality; oralité) 2, 96, 237, 266, 330, 336, 345, 353-4
- Orthoepics 12
- Orthography (orthographe) 20, 40-1, 45, 50, 158, 166-8, 192, 238
- Ostraca 39
- Ownership (mark, statement, note; propriété: marque, note) 3, 16-8, 27, 56, 60n6, 67, 76, 142, 197, 261-2, 266, 268, 328n24, 340, 345, 349, 350, 376
- Paleographic album 8
- Paleography (paléographie) 1, 6, 8-14, 23, 25, 29, 49, 63, 79, 90, 93-4, 98, 109, 141-2, 144, 195, 201, 258
- Paper (papier; *see also* Reuse) 4, 69, 83-4, 88, 97, 99, 118-9, 137-8, 159, 162, 165, 198, 230, 244, 326-8, 331-3, 339, 341-2, 345-7, 349
- Papyrus 25-6, 38-9, 41, 43-50, 83, 323n1
- Paratext 8-9, 27-8, 91
- Parchemin 39, 83, 323
- Philology 1, 9, 18, 22-3, 29, 110, 138, 141-2, 236, 252
- Plagiarism 142, 263
- Poetry (poème, poésie) 28-9, 39-40, 42, 44-8, 233-4, 237-8, 262, 264, 268, 323-4, 326-33, 335, 342, 344-6, 348-51, 350-4, 358-61, 364-6, 368-75, 378, 384-8, 390-1, 393, 395, 398, 400, 411, 413, 415, 418, 422, 426, 429, 431, 434
- Pressure (pression) 88, 93, 99, 124, 185, 189, 193, 198
- Prosody (*also* meter) 237-8
- qaṣīda* 262, 309, 327, 329, 336, 352, 365, 373, 375
- qāt* 332, 353
- Quire (*also* quinion; cahier) 56, 89n11, 158, 164-5, 234-5, 331, 333, 339-40, 346
- Quotation 59, 239
- Qurʾān (Coran) 12, 64, 150-1, 167, 181n68, 234, 262, 323, 372, 400
- Reading statement, *see* consultation note
- Reed pen (calame) 82, 83n24, 88, 106, 118-9, 153, 189, 333, 347, 367, 374, 406
- Résumé (*also* summary) 15, 44, 145-9, 159, 162, 164, 165n102, 167, 174, 185, 188, 192, 228-9, 231, 257, 260, 292
- Reuse (réemploi) 138, 140, 149, 164-5, 192, 263, 346
- Rhymed prose (*sajʿ*; prose rythmée) 43, 350, 367, 413
- Rhythm (rythme) 89, 99, 108, 126, 173, 181, 185, 188
- Rubrication 4, 244n49, 248, 326, 332, 344, 353, 358-9
- safīna* (*also* *junḡ*, *çönk*) 28-9, 323-54
- sajʿ*, *see* rhymed prose
- samāʿ*, *see* certificate of audition
- saut du même au même* 149
- Scroll (rouleau) 39, 41-5, 47-8, 164, 323n4
- Seal (sceau) 9, 11, 115
- Signature 3, 26, 55-6, 60n6, 62, 66, 69, 72-5, 79n8, 80n9, 91-2, 244, 266, 309n30
- Sketch 21, 141, 148-50, 159, 167, 174, 182-3, 185, 188, 193, 228
- Stenography (sténographie) 39, 179
- tabyīd*, *see* fair/clean copy
- Tachygraphe 39
- tadhkira*, *see* commonplace book
- taḥrīr*, *see* fair/clean copy
- tajrīd* 57
- takhmīs* 327, 349, 352, 395, 398
- taʿlīq* 15, 60n6, 62, 67, 75, 311
- taʿlīqāt*, *see* Autograph
- Textual criticism 1, 18-22, 300-22
- Textual variants 20, 21nn90-93, 41, 43-5, 48, 64, 252, 257
- Title page (page de titre) 3, 16, 41, 139-40, 252-3, 260, 268, 294, 307, 310, 331-2
- Tremor (tremblement) 88, 90, 191-2, 194

umm, see Archetype

urjūza 343, 352, 370, 374–5

Verticality (for letterforms) 12, 84, 86, 92,
169–70, 172–3

waqf 9, 16n80, 28, 261, 265, 267, 301, 302n10

zajal 330