

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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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-Şafadī (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 Şākīr 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 Şākīr al-Kutubī: *'alā yad jāmi'ihī Muḥammad b. Şākīr 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 Şākīr 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)

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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).

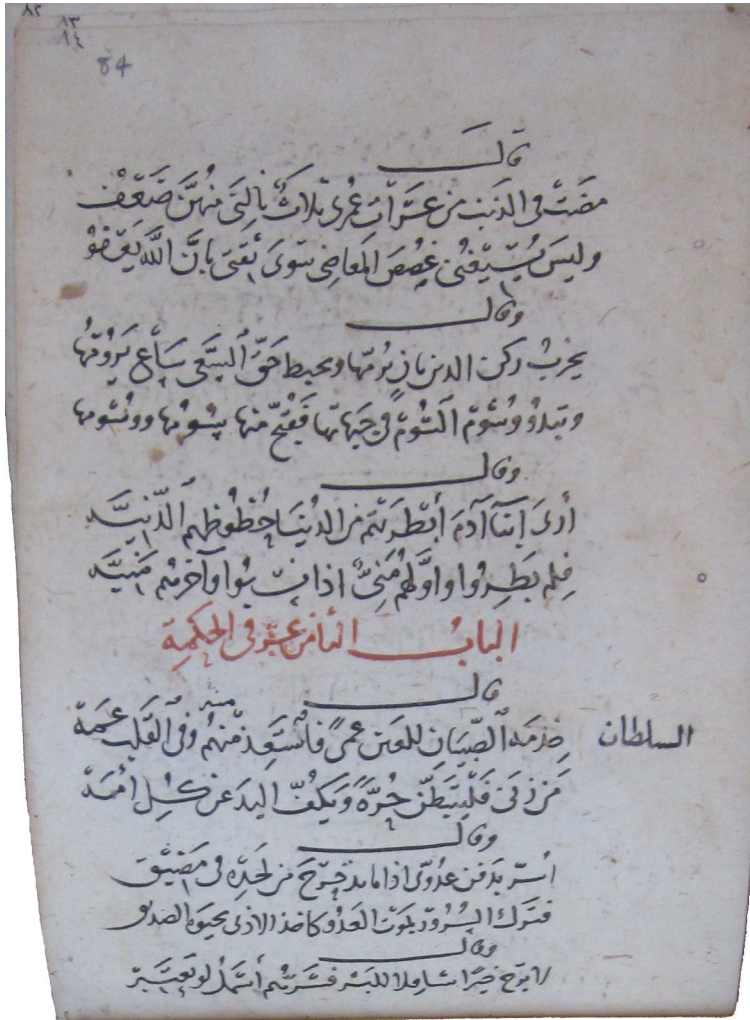


FIGURE 1.1 MS PUL Garrett 3570 Y, f. 33, al-Şafadī's *Tadhkira*, Holograph ms

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-khaṭṭ Fulān* “in So-and-so’s hand”/*bi-khaṭṭihi* “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 NVM̄IS SVMTVM
comparatum cum Alphabeto Cufico, ut in libris scriptis reperitur.*

Ductus particulares	E num̄is			MS.
	ornatae vulgo Carmat.	finales	initiales	
الهدى الوط	ب	ل	ل	ل
علي علي علي	ف	ر	ر	ر
محمد محمد محمد	ح	ع	ح	ح
فرب صر	ك	و	و	و
صالح صالح الملك المظالم	س	س	س	س
في في في	ط	ط	ط	ط
دي دي دي	د	د	د	د
ناصر ناصر درهم كاه	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
محمد محمد حروف	ز	ز	ز	ز
Numerorum notae, cum similibus notis aliarum gentium comparatae ad n. XXXXXVI. Aegyptiarum e num̄is				
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠
Indorum ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠
Arabum et Periarum ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠ vel ٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠
Nostrae ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠	١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠

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 Musdī 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 *nasta‘līq* when referring to a non-calligraphic bookhand is not correct, though referring to it as a “nasta‘līq-ish script” is fine. In this sense, Abbott’s “*naskhī*” 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-Musta‘šimī 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 *bā’*, 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 *ṭurūs* (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-tīb* 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 Reisülkütüb 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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